

**AN ANALYTICAL NARRATION OF SIKH INFLUENCE IN  
MINIATURE PAINTINGS OF KANGRA- GULER STYLE  
FROM 18TH- 19TH CENTURY IN PUNJAB**

A

Thesis

Submitted to



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**DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY (Ph.D)**

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By

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2019**

## **DECLARATION**

The work embodied in the thesis entitled “**An analytical narration of Sikh influence in miniature paintings of Kangra- Guler style from 18th- 19th century in Punjab**” has been arranged by me under the guidance of Dr. Rohita Sharma. No part of this thesis has designed the basis for the award of any degree previously. All the concepts and references have been duly accredited.

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Date

## **CERTIFICATE**

This is to certify that the research work embodied in this thesis entitled “**An analytical narration of Sikh influence in miniature paintings of Kangra- Guler style from 18th- 19th century in Punjab**” has been carried out by Gurdeep Kour under my supervision.

As far as my awareness is concerned this work is original and has not been submitted so far, in part or in full for any other degree in this or any other university. She is allowed to submit the work for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Fine Arts, Department of Fine Arts, School of Journalism, Film Production and Creative Arts, Lovely Professional University, Punjab.

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## ABSTRACT

Images construe the anecdote of society, in which they emerged. Sikh miniature paintings grew widely in Punjab nurturing with varied styles. Like the diverse culture of Punjab, Sikh art vision through multiple phases and phraseologies. Influence of geography and ethnicity of Punjab mirror in Sikh paintings. Punjab absorbed Rajput, Mughal and Sikh culture broadly, acknowledged as Punjabi. Pre- Mughal and Mughal period artistic idioms formed the base of Sikh paintings, emerged among early Sikh community. Like other native Schools of India, Sikh art developed with the merger of folk and Mughal idioms. Difference in faith caused a distinct identity to the Sikhs, while changing centers of Sikh power caused the variation in style of Sikh paintings. Thus, the paintings of Punjab are of Punjabi culture, mesmerizing Persian, Mughal, Rajput, Kashmiri and folk feelings, which can be classified today as Sikh paintings. While scholars named Sikh paintings as Mughal- Sikh, Kashmiri- Sikh or Pahari- Sikh, but a unique and universal identity is reflected in different styles applied for Sikh paintings, which force one to call the 'paintings of the Sikhs'. Although Sikhism is not too old and Mughal impression on every field of life was also merged in depth. Even Rajput community had also absorbed social appearance of Mughal monarchs, which reflected in their paintings and sometimes Rajput character is misidentified as Mughal noble. Nevertheless, separate identity of Sikhs had granted by tenth Guru, not only immersed by the painters, but also influenced the Rajput aristocracy under Sikh dominance and their visuals, originally refused by their ancestors.

A number of endeavors have been made by art historians to re- write the history of arts in India, even though Sikh paintings are still unnoticed segment. Some scholars bared curiosity in Sikh paintings of nineteenth century, but a systematic and perpetual esthetic expansion of Sikh paintings in Mughal Punjab and its collaboration with other styles and sways have been lacking. As the study is historical, primary and secondary data have been collected through interviews, museums and libraries. Different questionnaires have been prepared for historians, traditional artists and scholars. Data- sorting, data- analyzing and discussions have been made on historical contexts.

The present study discusses the origin and development of miniature paintings of a martial plus cultured race and varied phraseologies applied by anonymous artists, often ignored by scholars. The thesis also efforts to identify painters' name through associating, comparing and

identifying styles before and during Maharaja Ranjit Singh. It also discusses the borrowing of stylistic idioms from Mughal and Pahari styles merged in Sikh paintings.

The study deliberates the stylistic features of Guler and Kangra Schools and later adjustments and alterations under Sikh impression, replacing established Mughal- Rajput conventions. The study concludes that Sikh themes inspired the hill artists from the last quarter of seventeenth century, while the Sikh identity enthralled the Rajput rulers after a century as social influence. Sikhs touched the Rajput fashion trends and lifestyle through socio- political relations due to their sovereignty on the hills, which echoed in their paintings.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

### Abbreviations

Acc. no.

C.

Ch. Museum

Coll.

Fig.

LACMA

Pl.

Publ.

SGGS

V & A Museum

Vol.

### Descriptions

Accession Number

Circa

Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh

Collection

Figure

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# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Introduction

A lot has been written by Indian as well as western scholars focusing Sikh artistic activities as the result of splendor of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, but Punjab as a great center of provincial Mughal art, conferred a splendid art heritage to the Sikhs during the days of its evolvement, but all literary, artistic and cultural activities held in the darbar of Sikh Gurus often remain concealed before their socio-religious- political struggles. The recent researches of about fifty years in the area of Sikh religion and literature throw light on the new art material and relics which compelled to rethink and revise the assumptions and growth of Sikh art in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century.

From the ancient times, Punjab remained a great center of artistic and cultural activities. Harappa and Mohenjo-daro are two great civilizations, grew on the land of Punjab. Mauryan, Kushan, Gandhara, Gupta sculptures and Sultanate- Persian manuscript embellishment finally merged and converted in the fine Mughal miniature visuals in the last of sixteenth century in Punjab through Persian *ustads* of Akbar during his visits and stay in Lahore for about two decades with his son Prince Salim. Almost all provincial Schools of miniature paintings emerged through the merger of Indian- Persian mediaeval Schools during Emperor Akbar. Secular philosophy of Sikhism was likewise taking place to mature among the early Sikh community during Mughal administration, which also presented an artistic atmosphere.

The purpose of this study is not to inquire the influences of Sikh lifestyle on the Rajput rulers of Guler and Kangra but the paintings of Guler and Kangra under Sikh influences in sequential way, through a constant development of Sikh lifestyle and art during the days of emergence of its philosophy under varied styles and phases, till the end of nineteenth century, when Vaishnava philosophy was followed by the Rajput rulers under socio-political Mughal peripheries. The study also aims to grasp varied types of patronage of paintings, commissioned under Sikhs and a shift of patronage of paintings from Punjab plains to hills and its extension onwards. Although, abundant art work of Punjab hills on sensuous- spiritual Vaishnava themes started under Mughal influences in the beginning and advanced stylistically in one direction merging regional variations in itself patronized under Rajput rulers, centered in Punjab hills and extended geographically in Punjab plains, have got universal significance and fame. While, varied

styles applied for Sikh themes and their interactions, borrowings from parental Mughal- Punjabi styles and their influences in eighteenth- nineteenth centuries, signify that Sikh art is not a descendant style and last phase of Indian arts, but a style emerged in seventeenth century like other regional styles of India with the merger of regional popular- Mughal style, which also started to influence matured style of Punjab hills from the last quarter of eighteenth century onwards, strewn by the Sikhs, as cultured and martial race, through analyzing hills paintings in a fresh and diversified perspective.

The study relates to Punjab, though Punjab did not exist as a separate political and administrative entity during the nineteenth century. It was carved out as a state of Indian Union only in 1960. Erstwhile Punjab or 'land of the five rivers', Jhelum, Chenab, Ravi, Beas and Sutlej; also included Haryana, Himachal Pradesh and Jammu- Kashmir. In the northern India, Punjab had Himalayan ranges on north, eastern boundary by the Jamuna and southern boundary by the Sind. Various crops make its landscape colourful. In the various seasons, the green pastoral land of Punjab changes with the colours of yellow mustard, green sugarcane, white cotton plants and sometimes golden with the mellow wheat, barley and rice. The blessed land where even birds sing spiritual songs as chirp of cuckoo, *kutroo kutroo* of barbet, *peeoooh peeoooh* of the brain fever bird papiha in the praise of God, delight to the ears of the people of Punjab. The people of Punjab sense and relish the changing flavours of Nature during various seasons.

A vast area of three hundred miles long and one hundred miles wide in the north- west of the Punjab plains comprised the land of Punjab hills nourished by five rivers extended from Tehri Garhwal to Jammu. Punjab Himalaya was divided into various native states, which had its own Hindu-Rajput culture. The big principalities divided time to time and various small principalities came into existence in the form of offshoots of the big principalities. Kashmir, Dugar or Jammu and Trigarta or Kangra were the most significant and oldest hill principalities. Their ancient marks can be found in the epics and Vedas, concerned with *Suryabamshi* and *Chandrabamshi* Rajput and some principalities were founded during twelfth century by the Rajput dynasties of Rajasthan and central India as the result of Mohamaden invasions.

Kangra and Guler; an offshoot of Kangra, two states of Punjab hills out of thirty-five big-small Rajput principalities, now situated in Himachal Pradesh. The district of Kangra, more accurately called Kot Kangra, is the northernmost of the three districts of the Jalandhar division, and lies between north latitude 31° 20' and 32° 58' and east longitude 75° 39' and 78° 35'. Kangra

state comprised of eastern group of states, included Kangra, Guler, Jaswan, Siba and Datarpur, offshoots of Kangra. Suket, Bangahal, Pathankot or Nurpur were the liberal states situated at the east of the Ravi. Jaswan, Guler, Siba and Datarpur states were the offshoots of Kangra.

## **1.2 Review Of The Previous Researches**

Several attempts have been made by art historians to build up the history of Mughal and other regional Schools of arts in India during twentieth century. Although, Indian regional Schools have been studied in-depth by numerous times, while Sikh paintings are still ignored phase. Some prominent scholars like W. G. Archer, M. S. Randhawa and B. N. Goswamy shade their interest in Sikh miniatures, but a systematic and chronicle analysis of styles applied for Sikh paintings is lacking. Sikh paintings have been perceived often as a decadent phase of Pahari style circulated from the last quarter of eighteenth century onwards. It must be noted at the outset that the researches by Archer and Goswamy do not pertain to the entire Sikh paintings of Punjab from seventeenth to nineteenth centuries, but only some aspects of Sikh paintings.

Archer deals with art of portraiture under Sikh patrons during first quarter of nineteenth century in Punjab. Archer focuses the portrait painting during royal period of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, while development of Sikh art during Sikh Gurus and afterwards ignored by Archer wholly.

Goswamy's concern is to study the likenesses of Sikh *misaldars* along with Maharaja and his officials. His studies also deal with portraits of Sikh Gurus and Janamsakhi illustrations of Guler style. Goswamy's study Painters of the Sikh kingdom based on the twenty documents revealing different types of grants issued for the Pahari painters during first quarter of nineteenth century, under Sikh Maharaja and his nobles, is a parental thesis for the scholars of Sikh paintings, but ignores the phraseologies of the artists. Despite these extensive studies, constant stylistic development of Sikh paintings in the persisting socio- cultural and political environment of Mughal Punjab, its extension and interaction with varied styles popular in Punjab plains applied for Sikhs and influences, have been lacking.

Srivastava's study covers art of manuscripts, miniatures and wall paintings in Punjab. Kang's approach is based on wall paintings of Punjab. Aryan discusses the art in Punjab during second half of nineteenth century onwards.

## **1.3 Aspects Ignored By Art Scholars**

The ignored aspects of Sikh paintings are as follows:



- 1) Negligence of Mughal- Rajput and Sikh socio- political relations effecting early Sikh School of painting.
- 2) Lack of knowledge about anonymous painters working for Sikh patrons.
- 3) Ignorance of the distinct socio- religious identity of Sikhs and its reflection in paintings.
- 4) Ignorance of regional, popular Mughal- Punjabi folk Schools due to lack of visual evidences.
- 5) Influence of Sikh lifestyle on the paintings of Punjab hills.
- 6) Absence of study of persistent and technical- stylistic analysis of Sikh paintings during different phases.

#### **1.4 Significance Of The Study**

For the scholars and researchers, Sikh art is only a decline phase of Mughal and Pahari Schools of painting, concerned with the portraiture of Sikh patrons and Gurus. The study defines the pictorial sensibility of Sikh miniature paintings through understanding, analyzing and interpreting the constant art practice and growth under Sikh patrons from the Guru period till the end of nineteenth century.

The study deals with the history of arts in Punjab from seventeenth to nineteenth century in terms of its various determinant. The selection of the theme for research does possess a point in the sense that such an attempt has not been made in Punjab in perspectives of the entire political, socio- cultural panorama within three centuries.

The period stretching from 1500- 1700 A.D. was the most decisive era for different Indian Schools of arts, merging with Persian, Mughal, European and indigenous idioms. The in-depth study of Sikh School not only denotes its growth, patrons and painters in different times, but also reveals its interactions with contemporary styles and borrowings as well as its influences on other art styles.

Sikh art grew in the form of manuscript illustrations, miniatures, murals and other objects through Mughal, Kashmir, Pahari and local Punjabi artists, but the main thrust of the researcher is to trace the origin of Sikh School of miniature paintings and to identify particular Sikh idioms varied from other regional styles of India. Having different lifestyle and identity; Sikhs remained free from Mughal- Rajput influences.

#### **1.5 The Operational Definition**

The title of the present research is worded as under: ‘**An Analytical Narration of Sikh Influence in Miniature Paintings of Kangra- Guler Style From 18th- 19th Century in Punjab**’. It concerns with the Sikh influences on the Kangra- Guler miniature paintings.

### **Analytical Narration**

Careful investigation of facts and information and its later interpretation in chronological order is termed as Analytical Narration.

### **Sikh Influence**

The term ‘Sikh’ refers a new philosophy founded by Guru Nanak in fifteenth century baptized in the form of Khalsa by Guru Gobind Singh on the land of five rivers.

The word ‘Influence’ signifies both, the impression of pious identity of Khalsa of five Ks. granted by tenth Sikh Guru to his followers in 1699 at Anandpur as well as impact of royal lifestyle emerged under Maharaja Ranjit Singh.

### **Miniature Paintings of Kangra- Guler Style**

The term ‘Miniature Paintings of Kangra- Guler Style’ is used to signify the paintings painted in these two hill states during eighteenth to nineteenth century.

### **Punjab**

In the present research, Punjab is used to denote the erstwhile Punjab, excluding Phulkian states.

### **1.6 Objectives Of The Study**

The following are the specific objectives of the present research:

- 1) To explore the historical, socio-cultural and religious perspective of Kangra- Guler and Sikh miniature paintings.
- 2) To analyze the development of stylistic features, themes and methods & materials of Sikh paintings.
- 3) To understand and analyze the representation of Sikhism in paintings of Kangra- Guler style.

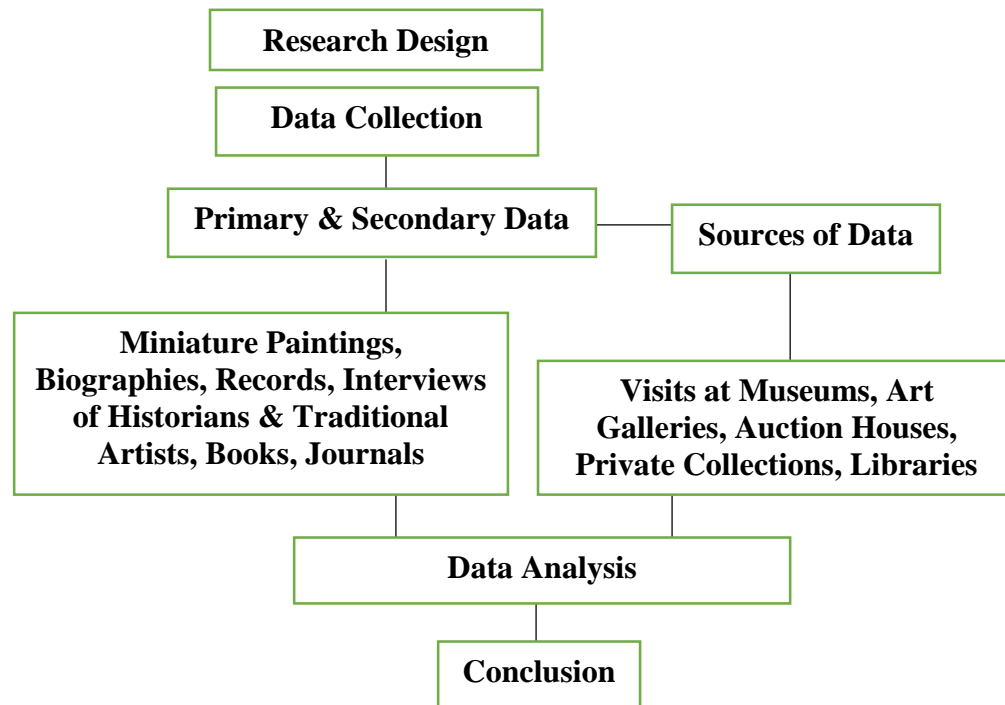
### **1.7 Research Questions**

- 1) When did Sikh art originate? What are the main characteristic of Sikh miniature paintings? How did different art practices associate with Sikh devotees and royals from sixteen to nineteenth century? What were the themes preferred by Sikh patrons for their paintings?
- 2) When and how did Sikh impression appear in the paintings of their own as well as others?

- 3) Who were the anonymous painters and what were their phraseologies applied for Sikh paintings? How painters of Kangra and Guler did adjusted their habitual style for Sikhs?

### 1.8 Research Methodology

To solve the research problem, researcher uses research tools known as Research Methodology. Methods and procedures play significant role in investigating and functioning of research. Research tools help the researcher to understand research problem, creating structure as well as possibilities for research. Since this study efforts to understand the historical paintings, the historical method is appropriate for the study.



#### 1.8.1 Historical Method

In place of the direct observations applied in science, the historian generally depends on the interpretations of others. Thus, the historical method implicates a method complementary to observation, a procedure by which the historian pursues to check the reliability of the minutes of examinations prepared by others. The historical process encompasses investigation, documentation, analysis and explanation the proceedings of the bygone to exploring generalities, accommodating to comprehend the past.

#### 1.8.2 Steps in Historical Research

Historical method being a scientific one, a historical investigator has to go through steps alike to those of an experimental researcher, such as stating and delimiting the problem and selecting the

sources. There are two chief steps in historical research. Collection of data through primary & secondary sources and analysis of data, comprising the external and internal examination and arrangement of specifics in a legible form involving composition, exposition and interpretation.

### **A. Collection of Data**

Historical sources generally fall into two types, namely, primary and secondary. The study is based on both the primary and secondary data.

#### **Primary Sources**

Information conveyed in the form of verbal or written records came through the actual participants or bystanders of an event classified as the primary data. Original documents, court-decisions, autobiographies, letters & diaries written by some indigenous scholars- historians, travelogues of officers of East India Company and memoirs of European officers of Maharaja Ranjit Singh come under conscious category. The miniature paintings, manuscripts, article and relics also fall in the category of testimony. Primary sources used in this study are travelogues, letters & diaries, miniature paintings, manuscripts, article and relics.

##### **▪ Relics**

Relics of Gurus with some devotee families and *toshakhana* of Gurdwaras have been observed. Robes, footwear, turban, *seli*, rosary, *bairagan*, chariot, furniture, utensils, arms, *pothis* & *gutka* (prayer books) and other article of Sikh Gurus are preserved at various Gurdwaras of Punjab and other areas. *Tasvir* (likenesses) of Gurus & devotees, illustrated manuscripts and some *hukumnamas* (orders) are now with the families, who served Gurus.

##### **▪ Miniature Paintings**

Miniature paintings are primary source in this study. The study of all the available paintings is not possible, so the researcher has to select relevant and appropriate amount for the research. Multiple stage cluster sampling technique is applied for the selection of paintings, dividing and choosing the whole amount into groups or clusters randomly. This research selects 400 miniature paintings of Sikh, Mughal, Guler and Kangra styles through multi- stage cluster sampling technique.

The miniature visuals uploaded on websites by the international museums, auction houses and libraries have been collected in digital form by the researcher. M. S. Randhawa Library; PAU, Ludhiana, Extension Library; Ludhiana, Punjabi Sahit Akademi and Reference Library; Ludhiana, War Museum; Ludhiana, Government Museum and Art Gallery; Chandigarh, Punjab University Library; Chandigarh, Punjabi University Library; Patiala, Bhai Gurdas Library; Guru Nanak Dev

University; Amritsar, Raza Library; Rampur, and NGMA Library; New Delhi, Kangra Museum; Dharamshala, Kangra Fort Museum; Dharamshala and Himachal Pradesh State Museum; Shimla are the places, personally visited by the investigator, while collection of paintings from the museums of Pakistan has not been observed due to some reasons.

- **Sikh Traditional Accounts**

Janamsakhis of Guru Nanak, Adi Granth, Guru Granth Sahib, Dasam Granth, biographies and genealogies of Gurus, *Gursobha*, *Gurbilas Patshahi chevi* and *Gurbilas Patshahi das* are some primary sources to study memoirs of Sikh Gurus and early Sikh community.

- **Minutes of Sikh Darbar**

Military chronicles by Alexander Gardner, records of *toshakhana* by Sita Ram Kohli, *Zafarnamah* of Ranjit Singh by Diwan Amar Nath, faithful and first-hand accounts written by Sohan Lal Suri, *Akhbar Nawis* (news writer) at the court of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh* and records of Fakir Family have been perceived.

- **Official Records, Letters and Travelogues of East India Company**

Records and reports of officers of ‘East India Company’ employed or traveled in northern India during eighteenth- nineteenth centuries, in order to inquire the ethnicity of Punjab, are commendable eye witnessed accounts of the people of Punjab. Letters and travelogues written by George Forster, George Thomas, John Malcolm, Henry Pottinger, Alexander Burnes, Henry Thoby Prinsep, W. G. Osborne, Godfrey Thomas Vigne, William Moorcroft, William Barr, Hugel Charles and G. Carmichael Smyth have been observed in this study.

- **Interviews**

Rather than writing, the required information comes orally through scholars or interviewee. The interview is comparatively a more flexible tool than any other written enquiry, which permits explanation, adjustment according to the situation. Therefore, the interviews were conducted with historians, philosophers, scholars, traditional artists of Kangra and art critics to collect more information regarding the Sikh paintings, particular Sikh idioms and their impression on Pahari paintings. Interviews have been proceeded by researcher through different questionnaires. Open-ended interview process is applied by researcher.

### **Secondary Sources**

The secondary sources are the explanation, investigation or clarifications of the primary source and second hand accounts. Encyclopedias, some published studies and articles on Mughal, Pahari

and Sikh paintings during the nineteenth- twentieth centuries are included in secondary sources. Consequently, a number of books have been reviewed and discussed in this study.

### **B. Analysis, Discussion, Findings and Conclusion**

A researcher of history has to depend on the records of others for the study. The actual existence of both primary and secondary sources does not guarantee their precision or legitimacy. The procedure of evaluation used to derive functional and reliable data, is known as historical criticism. It implicates the dual method of external and internal criticism. The historian must be persistently critical of the historic materials attained and observed. Thus historical data must be briskly measured.

External criticism is aimed at establishing the authenticity or genuineness of the data. To establish the authenticity of the era or authorship of documents, one may have to use several an intricate test of autograph, calligraphy, script and documentation. It may comprise chemical and physical tests. Thus, the validity of the sources used must be proven before their content is assessed for research.

After establishing the authenticity through the external criticism, internal criticism is applied to evaluate the truthfulness and the reliability of the statements that persist within the document to determine reliability of the data. Subsequently the data is used for the presentation of facts.

In this particular study the data collected through primary and secondary sources were subjected to internal and external criticism. Books of genuine authors have been reviewed. Historicity of miniature paintings have been perceived carefully. In the reports and travelogues of officers employed under East India Company, the investigator sometimes noted that they observed Punjabi populace, but Sikh philosophy is commonly added in their work, which came through both Sikh traditional reliable as well non- reliable sources. To overcome such limitations and to form the study more objective and impartial, the researcher referred to other contemporary sources. The investigator also observed inscriptions carefully, written on paintings and reread them to relate them with subject painted in the visual.

The method applied for this study is a blend of both chronological and thematic arrangements. For that reason attempt has been made to assemble the materials chronologically. But in a few places chronology was discarded for the sake of lucidity and consistency. The research throws exhaustive light on the Sikh miniature paintings. It identifies Sikh idioms through Sikh

lifestyle and their paintings, which fused in the Rajput paintings of Kangra and Guler. For writing the thesis, descriptive method is applied. It acquaintances the paintings chronically associating with historical events as well analyzes with subjective and objective perspectives in chapter third.

Although, European artists used golden rule for their paintings in mediaeval era, but Indian painters were free hand artists as well as expertise of mythology, philosophy and human sensibility. Pahari artists were also Pandits. They merged poetry into their paintings. The research appreciates the visualization of themes correlating with historicity as well as narrates the imaginations of painters reflected in different paintings in chapter fourth.

Analysis techniques play significant role in attaining research findings to the researcher. The parental thesis of Karl Khandalavala, W. G. Archer, M. S. Randhawa and B. N. Goswamy help to understand and analyzing miniature paintings. Usually, Indian traditional miniature paintings have been analyzed through different perspectives, applying the theories of figurative, stereotype, abstract and iconography, where elements and principles of arts are the undivided part of paintings. The historical material revealing Sikh influences on Kangra and Guler miniature paintings have been organized according to the theme in chapter fifth.

Lack of proper evidences due to changing centers of Sikhism and political upheavals of Punjab, a constant development of Sikh art during seventeenth century in the absence of royal atelier and grants, create boundaries of the study.

## **1.9 Proposed Chapters**

### **Chapter One**

‘**Introduction**’ discusses the problem, objectives, significance of the research. The Sources, Tools, and Methodology of the Research are also included.

### **Chapter Two**

‘**Review of Literature**’ concerns the Rajput- Pahari, Kangra- Guler and Sikh miniature painting scholarship under varied patrons along with costumes of Rajput and Sikhs and manufactures of Punjab to identify particular objects to find out their popular adoptions by Rajput and Sikhs.

### **Chapter Three**

‘**Sikh Miniature Paintings**’ discusses the origin, development and extension of Sikh miniature paintings. It also tries to reveal the patrons and artists of Sikh paintings working in varied phraseologies during different eras. Interactions of varied styles and their assimilation as well as

influences have been tried to trace. It too analysis and defines Mughal- Rajput artistic idioms borrowed and continued by hill painters for Sikh themes.

#### **Chapter Four**

**‘Guler and Kangra Miniature Paintings’** evaluates and analyzes the origin and growth of Guler and Kangra miniature paintings, comparing the development of Sikh miniature paintings simultaneously. Stylistic development of Guler and Kangra in different phases under Rajput patrons also analyzed.

#### **Chapter Five**

**‘Interactions and Influences’** identifies Mughal, Rajput and Sikh idioms and their interactions and influences in Guler- Kangra and Sikh miniature paintings.

#### **Chapter Six**

**‘Discussion’** reveals some misperceptions about Sikh miniature paintings.

#### **Chapter Seven**

**‘Conclusion’** includes summery and concluding remarks.



## **CHAPTER II**

### **REVIEW OF LITERATURE**

The analysis of literature is significant in establishing the framework for a research to relate and understand varied aspects. It also finds the gaps among existing literature and uncovers other areas on the subject matter. It helps to conclude persisting literature and provides new insights into the area of research to perceive meaningful conclusions. Hence, efforts are made to review some of the earlier studies on various aspects to ascertain origin, development and extension of Sikh School of painting and a distinct Sikh lifestyle emerged before Maharaja Ranjit Singh, which continued during and after him in Punjab plains, influenced the royal lifestyle of Kangra and Guler, reflecting in their visual culture during eighteenth- nineteenth century and make them distinct from actual hill Rajput paintings.

Rajput culture of Kangra- Guler and their art are very vast qualitatively as well as quantitatively. Sikh culture and its distinct identity emerged in Punjab plains among struggling & fanatical circumstances and external invasions, are also not much precise due to the intermixture of cultural diversity of the plains. Since, the study deals with the Sikh influences in Kangra- Guler miniature paintings, the review of literature has been classified as history of Punjab hills and plains, Rajput-Pahari and Kangra- Guler miniature paintings and its patrons, Sikh miniature paintings and its patrons, Pahari-Sikh painters, Technique of miniature paintings, Rajput-Sikh costumes and manufactures of greater Punjab.

#### **2.1 History Of Punjab Plains And Hills**

Travelogues by western travelers and memoirs by contemporary western officials appointed in India to serve the 'East India Company' as well Maharaja Ranjit Singh reflect the real glimpse of India. Base of their studies are native sources. Accounts written by native historians in Persian and *Gurmukhi* during eighteenth- nineteenth centuries are also great source of history of Punjab hills and plains. Modern historians also have significant researches twentieth century onwards.

##### **2.1.1 Westerners' Accounts**

The literary work of European visitors and officers of 'East India Company' in northern India during eighteenth- nineteenth centuries are worthy containing significant and eye witnessed account of the people of Punjab plains and hills.

**Forster, George, 1798**, (A journey from Bengal to England, through the northern part of India, Kashmire, Afghanistan and Persia, and into Russia by Caspian Sea 1782-1784, Vol. I & II,

London), the literary work of a civil servant of East India Company, journeyed from India through Kashmir, Afghanistan and Persia, by the Caspian Sea to Russia, and finally to England, visiting and interpreting other cities of India. While traveling in Kangra, the traveler represented the eye witness account of the siege of the Kangra Fort by Sikhs. Hindu Mythology and history of the Rohillas and Sikhs are additional themes discussed by the traveler.

**Thomas, George, 1805, Francklin William, (Ed.),** (Military memoirs of Mr. George Thomas, London), the travelogue by Mr. George Thomas; an officer joined Begum Sumroo's service in 1787 A.D., entered during 1800 A.D. in Punjab, narrates the geography of Punjab along with interesting account of contemporary manufactures, cavalry, customs, fighting methods, daily routines and practices, outfits, utensils, arms popular among Sikhs under Maharaja Ranjit Singh and also throws light on his relations with Marathas. Appendixes based on exports, trade routes, cavalries and infantries are also included at last.

**Malcolm, John, 1812,** (Sketch of the Sikhs; A singular nation, who inhabit the provinces of the Punjab, situated between the rivers Jumna and Indus, London), the study covers the origin and history of the Sikhs from Guru Nanak to Banda Singh Bahadur, with remarks on their sacred foundations, practices and conducts. The account presents small historical background of Sikh Gurus, including the state of Sikhs, their identity, socio-religious practices, occupations during 1805 in Punjab based on observation, but is not studied in depth. The narrative also deals with the nature and character of the Sikh administration to understand the contemporary state, including Sikh scriptures; the Guru Granth Sahib, the Dasam Granth, the Janamsakhis and the Varan by Bhai Gurdas.

**Pottinger, Henry, 1816,** (Travels in Beloochistan and Sindh; accompanied by a geographical and historical account of those countries with a map, London), a first-hand account of a journey taken in 1810–11 through parts of present-day India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Iran, and Iraq by a distinguished officer of the East India Company, accompanied by a friend and fellow officer, Captain Charles Christie, volunteered to undertake a mission to the region between India and Persia, about which the East India Company at that time had little knowledge. The book is in two parts. The first is a detailed account of Pottinger's journey, with observations on weather, territory, soil, floras and faunas, populates and clans, traditions, belief, and popular religions. The second volume includes a summary to the antiquity and geography of Baluchistan and Sind. An

appendix reproduces part of the journal kept by Christie on his travels through Afghanistan. The volume encloses one coloured image at the front and a large fold-out map after the end of the text.

**Burnes, Alexander, 1834**, (Travels into Bokhara; being the account of a journey from India to Cabool, Tartary, and Persia; also, narrative of a Voyage on the Indus, from the sea to Lahore, with present from the king of great Britain, performed under the orders of the supreme government of India, in the years 1831, 1832, and 1833, in three Vols., J. Murray, London), the three volumes are significant sources to study nineteenth century culture by Alexander Burnes who commenced his flight from 1831 – 1833, also traveled to Lahore and meet Sikh Maharaja. Punjab, its geography, people, products, culture, trades and administrative policies of Maharaja Ranjeet Singh are included in travelogue.

**Prinsep, Henry Thoby, 1834**, (Origin of the Sikh power in the Punjab and political life of Maharaja Ranjit Singh with an account of the religion, laws and customs of the Sikhs, G. H. Huttman, Military Orphan Press, Calcutta), the study starts with the decline of Delhi administration, rise of Sikh power under twelve *misals* and Ranjit Singh and his ancestors, successors and their associations with Afghans and British rule. Some references of Maharaja Sansar Chand and his successor Anirudh Chand are also presented. Personal observations and enquiries into the conducts, customs, rules and observances of the Sikhs are included in appendix by captain W. Murray.

**Osborne, W.G., 1840**, (The court and camp of Runjeet Sing, Henry Colburn Publisher, London) illustrated with sixteen lithographic portraits, journal presents an introductory note about the emergence of Sikhism in socio-political circumstances of Punjab along with ancestry and establishment of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. It also discloses interesting incidents happened at Lahore court, picturesque description of the personality and characters as well as the habits, manners, dresses of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, his courtiers and troops, common practices popular among Sikhs during May, 1838 by W.G. Osborne, military secretary to Lord Auckland, Governor General of India.

**Vigne, Godfrey Thomas, 1840**, (A personal narrative of a visit to Ghuzni, Kabul, and Afghanistan, and of a residence at the court of Dost Mohamed: with notices of Runjit Sing, Khiva, and the Russian expedition, G. Routledge, London), monograph of travelogue along with illustrations based on sketches and a map by an English traveler, who started his journey in 1836 through the Sulimani (Sulaiman) Mountains from the Punjab to Ghazni, and from there to Kabul

and recounted his meetings with Dost Mohammed Khan and Ranjit Singh. The travelogue presents physic, conduct and character of Maharaja Ranjit Singh as well as other officials of Lahore darbar along with practices and customs fashioned in Punjab observed by the author.

**Moorcroft, William and Trebeck, George, 1841**, (Travels in the Himalayan provinces of Hindustan and the Punjab; in Ladakh and Kashmir, in Peshawar, Kabul, Kunduz and Bokhara, from 1819 to 1825, in two Vols., John Murray, Albemarle Street, London), the travelogue account is based on journey between 1819–25 by a veterinary surgeon, engaged in the East India Company to manage the breeding of horses and undertook his travels in 1811 and 1812 to the northwest in search of larger and healthier stud horses. The accounts was posthumously edited and published by Horace Wilson, lecturer of Sanskrit at the University of Oxford and a member of the Royal Asiatic Society, based on Moorcroft's voluminous notebooks and correspondence. It includes eye witness account of the meeting with Maharaja Sansar Chand and his coll. of likenesses of nearby rulers. It also throws light on character of Katoch rulers and their socio-political status. The volumes encloses a meticulous map of Central Asia, compiled and drawn by the London mapmaker John Arrowsmith, based chiefly on the field summaries of George Trebeck, a Englishman, accompanied Moorcroft on his journey and recorded geographical specifics measured in paces combined with compass bearings.

**Vigne, G.T., 1842**, (Travels in Kashmir, Ladak, Iskardo, the countries adjoining the mountain-course of the Indus, and the Himalaya, north of the Panjab, in two Vols., H. Colburn, London), the travelogue presents culture of greater Punjab, in which Kashmir, Ladak and their mountainous lands as well as Rajput rulers of Bilaspur, Nurpur, Kangra, Chamba and Mandi based in Shivalik hills and their religion, culture, traditions, languages, scenery, crops and architectural designs of ruins of Hindu monuments are also narrated. Sikhs of Punjab plains and hills, Maharaja Ranjit Singh and his administrative policies and his relations with Jammu rulers are also defined.

**Barr, William, 1844**, (Journal of a march from Delhi to Peshawur, and from Thence to Cabul, with the mission of Lieut.-Colonel Sir C. M. Wade, including travels in the Punjab, a visit to the city of Lahore, and a narrate of operations in the Khyber Pass, undertaken in 1839, London), a first-hand account of an operation led by Lieutenant Colonel Claude Martine Wade during the first year of the First Anglo-Afghan War (1839–42) is written by a British officer, Lieutenant William Barr. Journal comprises the records penned between January 21 and July 25, 1839. Along with military engagements, it accounts the territories through which Wade's army trooped,

including a thorough narrative of Lahore, which concludes with the march from Kabul back to Ferozpur, in British India, which was finalized on December 31, 1839.

**Charles, Hugel, 1845**, (*Travels in Kashmir and the Punjab, containing a particular account of the government and character of the Sikhs*, London), travelogue of northern Indian travels during 1830s by Hugel, includes the historical background of Sikhism along with good explanation of ancestors of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and political associations of Sikhs with hilly areas. The account also throws light on various aspects about Sikhs, like socio-religious practices- festivals, habits, characters, costumes- dresses, objects and troops of Maharaja Ranjit Singh along with his successors and courtiers as well as incidents during the meetings of author with Maharaja Ranjit Singh.

**Smyth, G. Carmichael, 1847**, (*A history of the reigning family of Lahore, with some account of the Jummo Rajah, The Seik soldiers and their Sirdars*, W. Thacker and Co.—St. Andrew's Library, Calcutta), the study relates Maharaja Ranjit Singh and his ancestors briefly, while it throws light Sikh kingdom under the successors of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and Dogra Rajas of Jammu including treacheries of Sikh darbar.

**Eden, Emily, 1866**, (*Up the country, Letters written to her sister from the upper provinces of India*, London), the letters written by Emily Eden include the extraordinary experiences encountered in traveling during 1838 in Punjab and her association with Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Including the account of personality, habits, dresses of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and his companions, the interesting and picturesque account of harem of Maharaja is also represented.

**Gardner, Alexander, 1898, Pearse, Hugh, (Ed.)**, (*Soldier and traveller, Memoir of Alexander Gardner Colonel of artillery in the service of Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, W. Blackwood, London), the study throws light not only ancestral background of Maharaja Ranjit Singh but also on military management and campaign- war practices and policies in Sikh kingdom including the uniforms, indigenous officials and notes on white officers in the service of Maharaja and their contribution to Sikh kingdom till the annexation of Punjab by British government.

### **2.1.2 Ethnic Accounts**

**Guru Gobind Singh, 1695/1696**, (*Dasam Granth*), the second sacred scripture of Sikhism after *Guru Granth Sahib*, written primarily in *Gurmukhi*, Braj Bhasha, Awadhi, and Persian, presents authentic accounts of hill and Mughal rulers and the battles between them. Contemporary practices, Hindu- Muslim philosophy, mythological incarnations and their reinterpretation in the

context of Formless God, under the contents of *Bachittar Natak*, *Khalsa Mahima*, *Chandi Di Vaar*, *Chandi Charitra*, *Chaubis Avtar* and *Hikayat* are composed by tenth Guru. Two letters written by Guru Gobind Singh to Emperor Aurangzeb as *Fatehnama* and *Zafar Nama* are good source, representing Sikh- Mughal relations.

**Latif, Syad Muhammad, 1892**, (Lahore: its history and antiquities, The New Imperial Press, Lahore), very useful volume deals with the origin, historicity and advancement of Lahore city under varied dynasties. The book also throws light on rare arts and antiques of Lahore, along with their illustrations.

**Singh, Khazan, 1914**, (History and philosophy of the Sikh religion, Vols. I & II, Newal Kishore Press, Lahore), the first volume throws light on the sources for writing Sikh history, historical background of Sikh Gurus, along with the detailed account of twelve Sikh *misaldars* and Sikh kingdom of Lahore. Second volume analyzes Sikh philosophy, comparing with other religious aspects.

**Kohli, Sita Ram, 1927**, (Catalogue of Khalsa darbar records, Vol. II, The Superintendent, Government Printing, Punjab, Lahore), the volume is a first-hand record of *toshakhana*, literally a chamber or wardrobe for keeping the valuable objects, jewels, precious gems, gold and silver ornaments, the *khillats* and precious articles of dress, shawls, pashmina, saddle cloths, tents of red silk cloth supported by golden poles, golden- silver chairs, bedsteads and various utensils made of the same metal and other precious stones as well as documents and papers of Maharaja Ranjit Singh.

**Kohli, Sita Ram, 1928, (Ed.)**, (Zafarnamah-i-Ranjit Singh of Diwan Amar Nath, Edited with notes and introduction, The University of the Punjab, Lahore), a true, faithful and first-hand account written by Sohan Lal Suri, *Akhbar Nawis* or news writer at the court of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, who used to record day to day activities mainly conquests up to the end of 1836- 37, including an introduction by Sita Ram Kohli.

**Hutchison, J and Vogel, J. Ph. 1933**, (History of the Panjab hill states, in two Vols., Superintendent, Government Printing, Punjab, Lahore), very well researched study in two volumes, that lays out the historical background of the small hill kingdoms of Punjab, ceremonies, life styles, fashioned through centuries in hills, martial relations, annexations of hill states and political clashes of Rajput rulers with Mughal and Sikhs. The book finishes with 7 appendices

relating to the treaties of various states with the British or neighbouring states and death ceremonies of the hill rulers.

**Singh, Ganda, 1935**, (Life of Banda Singh Bahadur, Based on contemporary and original records, The Sikh History Research Department, Khalsa College, Amritsar), the study throws light on the early life of Banda Singh Bahadur, his association with tenth Sikh Guru and his baptismal ceremony, battles against hill chiefs and Mughals. Administration of Emperor Bahadur Shah is also accounted in the study. Martyrdom of Banda Singh Bahadur and other Sikhs in Delhi and the successors of Banda Singh is also interpreted in the book.

**Garrett, H. L. O. and Chopra G. L., 1935, (Eds.)**, (Events at the court of Ranjit Singh, 1810-1817, Trans. from the papers in the alienation office, Poona, Languages Department, Patiala, reprinted, 1988), the volume is an English translation of Persian papers attained from Alienation Office, Poona, comprising 193 loose sheets, preserved in the Alienation Office, Pune, entitled "Akhbar Deorhi Sardar Ranjit Singh Bahadur" cover the period from 1 November 1810 to 8 August 1817. The set of newsletters from the Sikh court of Lahore is an important source of information on the early period of Maharaja Ranjit Singh's career and offers close sights into his civil, armed and legal administration and efficient intelligence service of the Lahore darbar. The record is of much chronological and sociological value.

**Suri, Sohan Lal, 1961, (Ed.)**, (Umdat-ut-Tawarikh, S. Chand and Co., Delhi), the English translated version of an original work of history written in Persian under Khalsa darbar government of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and his ancestors by Sohan Lal Suri; a historian of the Sikh Maharaja, based on daily notes along with historical notes written by his ancestors, serving as historians under the ancestors of Maharaja. As a great and one of primary authentic sources of Punjab history, provides in-depth knowledge of day to day political, military and social events of this period, especially at the Khalsa darbar of Maharaja Ranjit Singh.

**Singh, Trilochan, 1967**, (Guru Tegh Bahadur, Prophet and martyr, A Biography, Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee Sis Ganj, Chandni Chowk, Delhi), well documented study based on genuine archival records of the ample biography of Guru Tegh Bahadur, the ninth Sikh Guru, as representative and symbol of defense of human rights and religious faith. Photographs of the Sikh historic shrines associated with Guru Tegh Bahadur, his original likeness and a childhood portrait of Guru Gobind Singh along with their *hukamnamas* (orders) are presented in the study. Guru's travels, his connotations with Sikh *sangat* and his intercourse with Emperor Aurangzeb,

his martyrdom at Chandni Chowk in Delhi and early period of Guru Gobind Rai are also accounted by the author.

**Singh, Kartar, 1967**, (Guru Gobind Singh and the Mughals, Guru Gobind Singh Foundation, Chandigarh), the book deals with the Sikh-Mughal affiliation in common and Guru Gobind Singh and Mughal association in specific. Written into two portions, first part deals with the appeasing attitude of Babar and Akbar and extremely fanatical attitude of Jahangir and Aurangzeb towards the Sikh Gurus leading to the execution of Guru Arjun Dev and Guru Tegh Bahadur. The second part deals exclusively with the hostility, encounters and correspondence between Guru Gobind Singh and Aurangzeb. In totality, the book, deals with the Sikh-Mughal relationship.

**Nijjar, Bakhshish Singh, 1968**, (Panjab under the Sultans 1000-1526, Sterling Publishers Pvt. Ltd., Jullundar City), the book is helpful to understand the Punjab under Sultans before Mughal dynasty. Along with administrative system under Sultans, social and cultural conditions, dresses, manners, customs, social practices, beliefs of Punjabis as well artistic developments in the form of architecture, painting, calligraphy, coinage and amalgamation of Indo- Persian styles also focused by the author.

**Singh, Fauja and Talib, Gurbachan Singh, 1975**, (Guru Tegh Bahadur Martyr and teacher, Publication Bureau Punjabi University, Patiala), the volume is divided into two parts. Life sketch of Guru Tegh Bahadur is penned by Professor Fauja Singh in first part, while second part compiled by Professor Gurbachan Singh, which includes Guru Tegh Bahadur's sacred writings along with their interpretations.

**Padam, Piara Singh, 1976**, (Sri Guru Gobind Singh ji de darbari ratan, Kalam Mandir, Lower Mall, Patiala), the account presents historical- literary and cultural background of Guru Gobind Singh as an admirable literary creative writer and benefactor of arts. It also provides the names of writers, poets, preachers, intellectuals and scribes, who pursued literary and artistic activities under the patronage of Guru Gobind Singh, along with their writings, continued even in the center of temporary camps during some clashes, which reflect the multidimensional character of Guru Gobind Singh and linguistic brilliance.

**Waheeduddin, Fakir Syed, 1981**, (The real Ranjit Singh, Publication Bureau, Punjabi University, Patiala), the utmost reliable source about the personal life of Maharaja Ranjit Singh is the book written by Fakir Syed Waheed-ud-Din of Lahore, a doyen and descendant of the famous



Fakir family who served with dedication and devotion to the Maharaja. The book is based on the archival material in the ownership of the Fakir family. It resolves several of the secrecies about Maharaja's personal life and state policy. Personal manners in which Ranjit Singh worked, daily routines, character, profound and secular reverence for all faiths, behaviors towards his officials, and his administrative policies are narrated in the study.

**Padam, Piara Singh, 2000,** (Gobind sagar, Kalam Mandir, Lower Mall, Patiala), the study is helpful to understand the life and character of Guru Gobind Singh, his personal objects, pictures, his literary contributions, including his poets and composers as well the relation of Guru with Mughals and hill rulers. The volume also includes a portrait of tenth Sikh Guru, found in the manuscript of 'Dasam Granth' (book of tenth Guru), commissioned by his wife Mata Sundri Kaur.

**Grewal, J.S. and Habib, Irfan, (Eds.) 2001,** (Sikh history from Persian sources, Tulika Indian History Congress, New Delhi), the volume presents renditions of all major Persian sources of Sikh history up to 1765, when Sikh authority was recognized over Punjab. The study also offers details that abundantly supplement the evidence preserved in the *Gurmukhi* tradition.

**Mann, Gurinder Singh, 2001,** (The making of Sikh scripture, Oxford University Press), although, the study attempts to construct an inclusive secondary literature to focus primary Sikh scripture 'The Adi Granth', while it also reveals the early Sikh community and practice of authentic Sikh writings and traveling of *pothis* only under Sikh Gurus at varied Sikh centers. It also exposes scribes and scribal practices at different centers.

**Srivastava, Sanjeev P. and Srivastava, R. P., 2001,** (Studies in Punjab sculpture, A. P. H. Publishing Corporation, New Delhi), the study reveals constant advancement of art in the form of Buddhist- Jain and Hindu sculptures during ancient and medieval periods in Punjab. It analyses subject- matter, styles and techniques of sculptures, reliefs and ornamental work based on ancient *murti lashana* found in various centers of Punjab, comparing with other centers of India.

**Sarna, Jasbir Singh, 2005,** (Jammu Kashmir de itihask gurdware, Jammu and Kashmir Gurdwara Parbhandhak Board, Srinagar), the study throws light on the Sikh- Kashmir associations through documenting the visits of Sikh Gurus in Jammu and Kashmir, where Gurdwaras are erected. The photographs of Sikh shrines and some relics founded at the historic places of seventeenth century are also documented in the study. Documentation of a finely embellished golden *birh* in Kashmir style collected from Mattan, prepared during seventeenth century is an evidence of growth of artistic activities under Sikhs of seventeenth century.

**Fenech, Louis E., 2008,** (The darbar of the Sikh Gurus: The court of God in the world of men, Oxford University Press), the study reveals the marvelous court (darbar) of the Sikh Gurus, which grew in size and importance as the line of Gurus progressed, establishment with the relatively simple following, which assembled around Guru Nanak, and climaxing in the illustrious darbar of Guru Gobind Singh. Centering on the traces of textual confirmation existing in Punjabi, Hindi and Persian sources, the study precisely restructures the progressing nature of the darbars of the Sikh Gurus in various historical perspectives.

**Singh, Vir, 2010, Mongia, M. L. (Trans.),** (Gur balam sakhian Stories of beloved Guru Gobind Singh, Bhai Vir Singh Sahitya Sadan, New Delhi), the book reveals the traditional stories and sayings popular among Sikh devotees, about Guru Gobind Singh's whole time. Guru Gobind Singh's philosophy is also included briefly in the last chapter.

**Sarna, Jasbir Singh, 2014,** (Guru Hargobind Sahib de lasani Sikh, Sant and Singh Publisher, Srinagar), the study throws light on the profound adherents of Guru Hargobind, who served whole life reverently. Various natives of Punjab plains- hills and Kashmir belonged to Muslim, Hindu and Sikh community loved Guru Hargobind and followed him. The study supports the relation of varied Kashmiris in the service of six Guru and force to rethink about the practice of embellishment of Sikh manuscripts through Kashmiri devotees.

**Sarna, Jasbir Singh, 2018,** (Flora and fauna in Guru Nanak's bani, Sant and Singh Publisher, Srinagar), the book is a major treasure of flora and fauna assembled from the revered texts of Guru Nanak. The hymns of Guru Nanak reflect a naturalists' empathies and one of the rich treasure of numerous common and rare species of animals, birds, insects, bacteria as well as flowers, herbs, shrubs and plants, incorporated in Guru Granth Sahib. The author included verses of Guru Nanak along with their philosophical meanings.

## **2.2 Rajput-Pahari Miniature Painting**

- **Books**

**Coomaraswamy, A. K., 1916,** (Rajput painting, Oxford University Press, London), had pioneer work on Rajput School of painting, which has historical as well as global approach. The study throws light on various aspects of Rajput- Hindu School developed and stretched in Rajputana and Punjab hills. The study presents evidences of growth of regional styles distinct from Mughal and other Schools of Asia and Europe, analyzing Hindu dialects, literature, religion and secular Hindu epics, themes, techniques and various centers & sub-centers of Rajput painting of

Rajasthan and Punjab hills. The study also includes briefly about Sikh portraiture distinct from Rajput School of arts.

**Gangoly, O. C., 1927**, (Masterpieces of Rajput painting, Rupam, Calcutta), the study contributes the great and lasting works of Rajput artists. The masterpieces have been collected from India and abroad for proper understanding of native art heritage.

**French, J. C., 1931**, (Himalayan art, Oxford University Press, London), study shares traveling experiences narrating the different seasons of Kangra Valley art grown at various local centers relating directly with the ancestry of ancient Indian art of wall paintings along with wall paintings existed in temples and forts of hills. The study is not merely history of Rajput princes but also includes circumstantial narrations and popular sayings about hill Rajputs and provinces as well sharing the impression of heart-touching hill landscapes and geographical limits of Rajput culture experienced by the author.

**Archer, W. G., 1952**, (Indian painting in the Punjab hills, HMSO, London), for the first time, valuable essay based on gradual analyzes and interpretation of stylistic development of paintings grown at various centers of Punjab hills to achieve clear and absolute conclusions based on fresh evidences. The essayist made deep and attentive efforts to ascertain the problems of growth, influences, interactions and adjustments of stylistic elements based on historical aspects for evaluations to achieve accurate suppositions.

**Khandalavala, Karl, 1958**, (Pahari miniature painting, The New Book Company, Bombay), the study mainly focuses and discusses widely on the development of Pahari miniature painting in Basohli by dispersed Mughal painters. On the stylistic basis of facial types, the School is mainly divided into three phases; Basohli, pre-Kangra and Kangra and its expansion at other local centers including socio-political, cultural, literary and religious background of the small centers. The pioneer and well-illustrated study made through the great struggles of Khandalavala, also discusses the themes, technique, and iconography along with genealogies of painter families as well as records the poets, whose cantos are written on the paintings.

**Archer, W.G., 1973**, (Indian paintings from the Punjab hills, Oxford University Press), the most valuable treatise of Pahari miniature painting to understand thirty-five provincial Schools of art grew at small principalities of Punjab hills, patronized by Rajput royals. The study covers geography, analyzing political, cultural and religious background of every principality. In addition, scholar reviewed the relevant literature and catalogued the paintings to analyze the stylistic

diversities evolved at different centers, by dividing them into various phases chronically. Illustrations have been divided in different phase concerning internal and external influences as the result of political uncertainties, which help to understand changes in elemental variations of different centers. In addition, review of literature up to 1970, shows the awareness and selfless efforts of a great scholar, for benefiting future generations.

**Randhawa, M. S., 1974**, (Travels in the western Himalayas in search of paintings, Thomson Press (India) Limited, Publication Division, Delhi), the travelogue in search of Kangra paintings, is embellished with illustrations and photographs, narrating the beautiful and naturalistic interior, dynastic history and socio- cultural aspects of the states of western Himalayas.

**Archer, W. G., 1976**, (Visions of courtly India, The Archer collection of Pahari miniatures, International Exhibitions Foundation, Washington D. C.), the study is a catalogue of an exhibition organized by the International Exhibitions Foundation, Washington D. C. The study includes eighty miniature paintings from fourteen centers of Punjab hills including their stylistic analysis and local distinctions. The study also shares author's experiences and discussions on various aspects. The study presents not only the vision of courtly India but also the vision of Rajput culture and ethnicity.

**Aijazuddin, F. S., 1977**, (Pahari painting and Sikh portraits in the Lahore Museum, Oxford University Press) catalogue discusses the coll. of Pahari miniatures from seventeen hill states and Sikh portraits done in Punjab plains exist at Lahore Museum, resembling Archer's volumes of 1973 in presentation and format. The study is helpful as for the publication of all miniature paintings of Lahore Museum and rare portraits of Sikh chiefs and nobles for the first time with stylistic narration. A large number of Sikh portraits is useful to identify the particular Sikh elements as well as variations of fashion and trends popular during nineteenth century among Sikhs. The study also includes stylistic analysis of illustrations from various Schools of Punjab hills as well comments on portraits with their characters on the historical grounds.

**Khadalavala, Karl, 1982**, (Pahari miniature paintings in the N. C. Mehta collection, Gujrat Museum Society, Ahmedabad), the text focuses the origin and development of Pahari miniature paintings from the coll. of N. C. Mehta. Very useful study to understand the origin of Pahari School of painting in Basohli and the spread of its stylistic influence in Guler, Chamba, Mankot, Kulu, Garhwal and Nurpur through comparison and analysis of different elements and detailed discussions & arguments based on different evidences and facts, as well helpful in

removing prevailing falsies. The study also includes notes on painters' families, their migrations in different hilly areas and patron Balwant Singh along with the descriptions of monochrome and coloured plates.

**Goswamy, B. N., 2015**, (Nala and Damayanti, A great series of paintings of an old Indian romance. Niyogi Books, New Delhi), the remarkable study tells the story from one of the great *kavyas* of Sanskrit literature, about the passionate love of king Nala for Princess Damayanti. The volume highlights the work of one of the most talented families of painters known to Indian art coming from a small principality of Guler in today's Himachal Pradesh. Out of 110 paintings, 47 complete paintings, all of them now in the coll. of the Amar Mahal Museum and Library in Jammu and the remaining having lasted merely in the form of extremely finished drawings are reproduced.

- **Research Papers**

**Coomaraswamy, A. K., 1912**, (Rajput paintings, The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs, Vol. 20, No. 108), the study which attracted very firstly the consideration at international level towards Hindu paintings widely divided under Rajput Hindu patrons of Rajputana and Punjab hills based on old Hindu art traditional practices of India and were of distinct feelings and themes from Mughal miniature paintings.

**Goetz, Herman, 1951**, (The background of Pahari-Rajput painting, Roopa-Lekha, Vol. XXII, No. 1, AIFACS, New Delhi), the study focuses on the historical-political and artistic background of the Pahari Rajput paintings emerged at various hill centers.

**Ghose, Ajit, 1958**, (Pahari Schools of Indian painting, Roopa-Lekha, Vol. XXVIII. No. 1 & 2, AIFACS, New Delhi), the study deals with the historical-political background of various regional Pahari Schools and their evolvment during various phases through Mughal interactions including painter-patron relations and themes of paintings.

**Randhawa, M. S., 1967**, (Chamba painting, Roopa-Lekha, Vol. XXXVII, Nos. 1-2, AIFACS, New Delhi), the study throws light on the development of various phases of art in the state of Chamba. Sikh influences in the paintings of Chamba are also discussed during Charhat Singh (1808-44) at the last.

**Sharma, O. P., 1968**, (Two dated and illustrated Pahari manuscripts in National Museum, New Delhi, Roopa-Lekha, Vol. XXXVIII, No. 1-2, AIFACS, New Delhi), the paper documents two bound volumes containing Hindi manuscripts with colophons dated 1776 and 1779 A.D. at

National Museum. The study discusses the colophons, scribes, varied styles applied in illustrations relating to the Pahari Schools.

**Goswamy, Karuna, 1968**, (Two Pahari illustrations of the Bhaktamala, Roopa-Lekha, Vol. XXXVIII, No. 1-2, AIFACS, New Delhi), study familiarizes us of two rare sketches based on *Bhaktamala* series of last quarter of eighteenth century at Ch. Museum, with the possibility of being painted in Jammu. *Bhaktamala*, a Vaishnava text by a Telang Brahmin, wrote under his pen name 'Nhabhaji'. The study clears all the confusions of identification of theme, narrating the surprising story and also analyzes the style of drawings.

**Goswamy, B. N., 1968**, (Pahari paintings of the Nala Damayanti theme: discussion in new light, Roopa-Lekha, Vol. XXXVIII, No. 1-2, AIFACS, New Delhi), the study discusses the problem concerning the place of origin of *Nala Damayanti* paintings in the coll. of Dr. Karan Singh of Jammu and their connection with the drawing of *Nala Damayanti* series at Boston Museum. Study presents evidences for connecting *Nala Damayanti* series of drawing and paintings with Basohli by the artist Ranjha during years 1790-1800 against Alvan Clark Eastman's assumption about the set of drawings having been painted in Kangra under Sansar Chand in the years 1810-14. The study also rejects the assumptions of Archer (1973), Randhawa (1970), who both connect *Nala Damayanti* series with Kangra state.

**Ohri, V. C., 1969**, (The origins of Pahari painting, Roopa-Lekha, XXXVIII, No. 1-2, AIFACS, New Delhi), the study rejects the assumptions of origin of Pahari miniature painting in Basohli under Raja Kirpal Pal by dispersed Mughal painters during Aurangzeb. The study suggests Nurpur state as the early center of architecture and wood carving under Raja Bas Dev and his son as well arrival of artisans from Mewar, whose work had resembled with the art of Lahore Fort stylistically. The wood and stone carvings of Nurpur, Bharmour Kothi and Chamba form the early Basohli style.

**Randhawa, M. S., 1975**, (Studies of Pahari painting, Roopa-Lekha, Vol. XLII, No. 1 & 2, AIFACS, New Delhi), the monograph presents review of previous studies based on Pahari painting and efforts of various authors, in addition, his own efforts contributed for this field. Analysis of circumstances in which the studies done by various scholars from different fields are also added. The study appears a remembrance of the priceless contribution of Indian and western scholars in this regards. Conclusions are also made by author at the end of the study with individual opinions.

### **2.3 Kangra- Guler Miniature Painting And Its Patrons**

- **Books**

**Archer, W. G., 1952**, (The Faber Gallery of oriental art, Kangra painting with an introduction and notes by W. G Archer, Faber and Faber), the study discusses the origin, development and completion of Kangra School of painting under Raja Govardhan Chand of Guler and Sansar Chand of Kangra, when vitality of School was on its peak during 1780- 1806 including ten plates of Kangra Valley style with their beautiful narration. It also discusses the adjustments in style during 1810 with the establishment of provincial centers of Kangra style in Lahore and Amritsar with the empowerment of Sikhism.

**Randhawa, M. S., 1954**, (Kangra Valley painting, Publications Division, New Delhi), the study includes cultural background of Hindu- poets of medieval period & Sikh Gurus and their literary contribution, which presented a base for Kangra Valley paintings. Secondly, great patrons of art in Kangra and Guler states, families of artists and themes of Kangra Valley paintings, charming females and beautiful symbols are also discussed. Various phases of God Krishna's life through religious- erotic literature, hero- heroin and their moods of separation & association and twelve months or seasons are narrated aesthetically.

**Randhawa, M .S., 1960**, (Kangra paintings of the Bhagavata Purana, National Museum of India, New Delhi), illuminate with twenty colour plates and ten monochrome sketches, the monograph concentrates the series of *Bhagavata Purana* painted in Kangra style. Scholarly introduction, detailed notes and aesthetic appreciation of each painting are included. The text inscribed at the rear of each painting and its translation are also specified extensively. While analyzing the paintings, author's approach is not critical, but sacred and sensitive.

**Randhawa, M. S., 1962**, (Kangra paintings on love, Publication division, Ministry and Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, New Delhi), the study focuses sensuous paintings from various coll. based on medieval love literature *Rasika Priya*, *Kavipriya*, *nayak-nayika* and *Baramasa*, in addition with introductory notes on literary background. Well- illustrated with twenty-five colour plates and monochromes along with descriptive notes, study focuses the development of love themes at different centers of Punjab hills. Mood of lovers, classifications of heroes and heroines, iconography and *Baramasa*, usually developed in the guise of lord Krishna and his adored Radha based on Indian literature also analyzed in cultural- religious perspectives. At last, erotic- sensitive symbols deep rooted in Indian culture and popularly used in Pahari paintings by painters are also listed and scholarly narrated by the author.

**Randhawa, M. S, 1963**, (Kangra paintings of the Gita Govinda, National Museum, New Delhi), the monograph illustrated with twenty colour plates and twenty-eight monochrome plates, introduces and discusses the *Gita Govinda* series of paintings in the coll. of Maharaja Manvindra Shah of Tehri-Garhwal, ascribed to the Kangra during Maharaja Sansar Chand on the basis of delicacy of superb Kangra style. The author connects the charming incidents from the life of the poet Jayadeva and in desire to feel Jayadeva, he also shares his experiences of travels in Bengal and Orissa. The efforts made by the author for the publication is also penned in the preface. Introduction written by W. G. Archer includes various discussions about the possibilities of the painters, patron and place of origin of this unique, sensuous and spiritual series. The inscriptions written on the illustrations of the two *Gita Govinda* series from two different places, their styles and periods of origin has been also discussed. The study deals with poet Jayadeva and his impact on society and popularity of his great spiritual love poetry through different series painted in various styles along with the interpretation of Maharaja Sansar Chand in historical perspective. Besides this, aesthetic and poetical narration of beautiful illustrations throws light on various symbolic idioms, moods, colours, seasons, landscapes and style practiced by Kangra painters, which justify the paintings entirely.

**Randhawa, M .S, 1966**, (Kangra paintings of the Bihari Sat Sai, National Museum, New Delhi), the monograph is based on the love illustrations of Bihari's *Sat Sai*, the classics of Hindi lyric court poetry, earlier in the coll. of Maharaja Narendra Shah of Tehri Garhwal, originally belong to the late Kangra phase, developed at Tira-Sujanpur. Illustrated in oval frames, the series is ascribed to Kangra on the basis of stylistic resemblances with another beautiful sensuous-spiritual series of *Gita Govinda*. The author also narrates the socio- political reasons behind the origin of the series in Kangra state under Maharaja Sansar Chand, ascribing the series to the painter Khushala, son of Manaku and rejects the assumptions of N. C. Mehta about the origin of the series in Tehri Garhwal state described in his '*Studies in Indian Painting*' published in 1926. Illuminated with the twenty-seven paintings of Bihari *Sat Sai*, the study also throws light on the literary and religious background of the love themes and its evolvment during various eras.

**Randhawa, M. S., 1971**, (Kangra Ragamala paintings, National Museum, New Delhi), the monograph based on a series of *Ragamala* illustrations, includes particular interpretation of the classical themes of *raga*, *ragini* and the other musical figures painted in the Kangra style.



**Randhawa, M. S. & D. S., 1982**, (Guler painting, Publication Division, Ministry and Information and Broadcasting, Government of India), the study is an aesthetic appreciation of the mountainous beauty, people and culture of Punjab hills. The study also throws light briefly on the origin, growth and decline of Mughal regime in India analyzing various aspects, arts and culture of Mughals connecting them with the origin of Rajput arts in Punjab hills. The study focuses on the origin of Guler style connecting it with its rulers. The study analyzes the style, subject matter chosen by artists and the spread of Guler style in Basohli and Chamba states.

**Sharma, Vijay, 2010**, (Kangra ki chitrangan parampara, Shilp Parishad, Chamba), the study throws light on the background of Kangra miniature paintings evolved at three centers Nurpur, Guler and Kangra. Besides analyzing various themes, the study also favors the existence of some other painters' families working for Katoch patrons in Kangra state except painter's family of Pandit Seu working at Guler and rejects Archer's assumptions about the foundation of Kangra School by Guler painters. The genealogy of some other painters is also included along with the technique of Pahari miniature paintings.

- **Research Papers**

**Vogel, J. Ph., 1947**, (Portrait painting in Kangra and Chamba, *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. X, No. 3), the study focuses the development of art of portraiture in Chamba and Kangra on the basis of socio-political background.

**Gangoly, O. C., 1948**, (The growth of a masterpiece- Some Kangra example, *Roopa-Lekha*, Vol. XX, No. 1, AIFACS, New Delhi), the paper discusses and narrates two pictorial motifs popularly used in Pahari paintings. Developed by the Kangra artists in their naturalistic style, the motif of 'Quelling of the Kaliya' as well the motif 'Varsa- Vihara', enjoying rain by Radha and Krishna are commonly applied in various stages of its development exquisitely.

**Randhawa, M. S. 1953**, (Kangra paintings illustrating the life of Shiva and Parvati, *Roopa-Lekha*, Vol. XXIV, No. 1, AIFACS, New Delhi), the study is useful to identify the type of work and splendid style practiced by the court painters of Maharaja Sansar Chand Katoch at Kangra atelier, through a series of Shiva- Parvati illustrations, now at Ch. Museum, originally came from the coll. of Mian Ram Singh, a direct lineal descendant of Maharaja Sansar Chand. The study introduces the theme through beautiful and aesthetic narration of the life of God Shiva and his consort Parvati, by introducing various incidents and experiences happened in their lives. The

study also throws light on the characters of other Gods and Goddesses and their role in mythical dramas.

**Kramrisch, Stella, Spring- 1955**, (Four Kangra paintings, The Philadelphia Museum Bulletin, Vol. 50, No. 245), the study concerns with four paintings centering Maharaja Sansar Chand resided chiefly at Sujampur after Sikh annexation of Punjab hills. The study discusses two court scenes of Maharaja Sansar Chand, including two mythological paintings done in the last of eighteenth and early nineteenth century.

**Randhawa, M. S., 1958**, (Kangra Ragamala painting, Roopa-Lekha, Vol. XXIX, No. 1 & 2, AIFACS, New Delhi), the study takes us in the imaginary world of *ragas* or musical modes through a series of eighty paintings on musical theme, based on *Ragamala* compiled by Mesakarna in 1590, which is ascribed to the period of 1790, during the reign of Maharaja Sansar Chand on the basis of style preserved at National Museum. The study includes narration of each painting, along with families of different *ragas*, nature, iconography and the time of *raga*. Different symbols used by Kangra painters to express their feelings in musical illustrations and their relations with nature, religion, society and their impacts are also discussed. The author also emphasizes *Sri Raga*, the *raga* of love and various forms of love.

**Mittal, Jagdish, 1962**, (An early Guler painting, Lalit Kala, No. 11), the study discusses and attempts to identify early Guler and early Jammu styles established by two brother artists Manaku and Nainsukh of Guler, classifying and separating Mughal, Guler and Jammu idioms.

**Randhawa, M. S., 1970**, (Maharaja Sansar Chand the patron of Kangra painting, Roopa-Lekha, AIFACS, New Delhi), is a most valuable monograph on Maharaja Sansar Chand and the origin, growth and decline of Kangra School of painting under a royal and ambitious patron on the historical and cultural ground of Punjab plains and hills. The study also throws light on two victorious Maharajas; Sansar Chand and Ranjit Singh and their political relations.

## **2.4 Sikh Miniature Painting And Its Patrons**

- **Books**

**Archer, W. G., 1966**, (Paintings of the Sikhs, HMSO, London), the thesis is a mile stone for the researchers of the Sikh paintings. Author has discussed historical background, religious aspects and socio-political structure concerned with the Sikhs and Maharaja Ranjit Singh to understand the circumstances in which Sikh paintings had grown. The study also focused on the personalities and character of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and other Sikh & non-Sikh officials of high

rank who played significant role in the rule of Punjab. The study presents a discussion on problems of identification the significant portraiture. The study relates the accounts of European travelers to justifying the great personalities active at the Sikh court along with the identification of Sikh elements emerged through the Sikh lifestyle.

**Aryan, K. C., 1975**, (Punjab painting, Punjabi University, Patiala), the study discusses the existence of art in Punjab during the ambiguous period from 1841 to 1941. It deals with the changing socio-political situations of Punjab during Maharaja Ranjit Singh and also debates on changing trends, styles and experimentations in manners of traditional Indian arts and new adaptation by indigenous painters under the impact of British academic style and technique before and after the British annexations of Punjab. It also throws light on the work done in Punjab with introductory biographical notes on artisans and painters working in Punjab during this period.

**Srivastava, R. P., 1983**, (Punjab painting-A study in art and culture, Abhinav publications), the thesis based on first inclusive survey of arts in Punjab approved by Meerut University, throws light on the existence of art activities in the form of wall paintings, miniatures and manuscript illustrations extended to the areas of trans- Sutlej and cis- Sutlej, with little reference of Punjab hills in the late eighteenth and whole of the nineteenth century under Maharaja Ranjit Singh (1780-1839) and rulers of the East Punjab. It also includes discussion on the themes, Pahari, Sikh, Muslim painters and their genealogies, who were patronized by Sikh royals. Materials, techniques and style practiced in Punjab are also analyzed. Well-illustrated study also contains beneficial appendixes in the last.

**Hans, Surjit, 1987, (Ed.)**, (B-40 Janamsakhi Guru Baba Nanak, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar), the study throws light on a rare illustrated manuscript, preserved at India Office Library dated 1733 A.D. contained 57 paintings on Janamsakhi theme as a specimen of early Sikh art emerged in Punjab plains. It includes stylistic analysis of 57 illustrations with descriptions associating with Janamsakhi text. The study also narrates the aesthetic perspectives as well as philosophy of Sikhism depicted in the Sikh visuals.

**Brown, Kerry, 1999, (Ed.)**, Sikh art and literature, Routledge, London), the study presents the first exhibition of Sikh art '*Splendors of the Punjab: Art of the Sikhs*' happened in 1992 patronized by Sikh Foundation, San Francisco. Along with the coll. of essays on Sikh art, literature, coloured and monochrome images related to early and courtly artistic culture of Sikhs are

represented in the volume. The study includes a vast area of colonial and contemporary Sikh art and also memorizes the contributors to the secular and diversified Sikh artistic culture.

**Stronge, Susan, 1999, (Ed.)**, *The arts of the Sikh kingdoms*, Prakash Books), the study presents the exhibition '*The arts of the Sikh Kingdoms*' held at V & A Museum from 25 March to 25 July 1999, curated by Susan Stronge. It throws light on various aspects of Sikh art emerged during various phases. Essays and catalogue cover a vast area of Sikh art in the form of Sikh paintings and portraits painted in diverse styles, objects, vessels, carpets, textiles, jewelry and artillery fashioned after Rajput-Mughal-Sikh associations and clashes in Punjab before and during Maharaja Ranjit Singh and later, its continuous practice in Phulkian states through Pahari-Rajasthani and Sikh painters. The study also includes western influences after the demise of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and arrival of photography in 1840s in Punjab. Very important notes are also comprised in the last of the study.

**Goswamy, B. N., 2000**, (*Piety and splendour, Sikh heritage in art*, National Museum, New Delhi), the study explores the exhibition '*Piety and Splendour, Sikh Heritage in Art*' held at National Museum of India on March, 9, 2000. The study throws light on artistic background of Sikh paintings during various phases interwoven with Pahari-Rajput and Sikh connections of Lahore and Phulkian states including the relations of painters working under Sikh patrons significantly. A rich catalogue of Sikh paintings as well Mughal-Rajput paintings, objects, arms, jewelry, coins, medals, textiles emerged through the interactions among them also represented. Opening with Guru Nanak's meets, through the Janamsakhis- traditional accounts of the life of Guru along with portrayals of Sikh Gurus moves from Piety, through the theme of Valour, to that of Splendour that one connects with the Sikhs of Punjab.

**Randhawa, T. S., 2000**, (*Sikhs: Images of a heritage*, Prakash Books), illustrated lavishly with rich coll. of paintings, murals, lithographs, photographs, ivory, medals and panels, the study presents a scholarly introduction based on social background in which Sikh paintings emerged during Maharaja Ranjit Singh till the end of nineteenth century. The images based on spiritual, courtly and ordinary life capture the sensation of the magnificent legacy of the Sikhs excellently.

**Singh, Kavita, 2003**, (*New insight into Sikh art*, The Marg Foundation), the study seeks out interesting and significant features of Sikh art and culture that have not usually been studied before. Beginning with an essay on spiritual expansions within Sikhism, it moves with the construction projects commissioned by Guru Arjun Dev and his son and successor Guru

Hargobind. Other important essays deal with the Sikh arts of the pre- modern period, numerous illuminated and illustrated manuscripts of the Adi Granth and courtly arts emerged in Patiala. Images symbolizing Sikh identity, including Khalsa Heritage Complex at Anandpur Sahib has been also added.

**Daljeet, 2004**, (The Sikh heritage, A search for totality, Prakash Books Depot), a unique guide narrating the lives and philosophy of the ten Sikh Gurus and Maharaja Ranjit Singh. The volume is artistically enriched with works of art and excellent coloured photography and artifacts that develop the cultural- artistic content of Sikh Heritage. It is a path-breaking endeavor for the scholars of Sikh painting.

**Goswamy, B. N. and Smith, Caron, 2006**, (I see no stranger. Early Sikh art and devotion, Rubin Museum of art, New York in association with Mapin Publishing), the study covers an exhibition organized by the Rubin Museum of Art, New York from Sept. 18, 2006, through January 29, 2007. The catalogue classifies into five parts. First part covers philosophy of Sikhism, emphasizing its founder Guru Nanak through the visuals of his birth accounts popular as Janamsakhi illustrations as early Sikh art emerged in varied styles. Second part includes Sikh portraits of varied styles displaying variation of styles practiced for Sikh patrons in the different parts of the country. Third part comprises the portraits of Sikh Gurus in multiple styles emerged during two centuries. Fourth part is a combination of objects defining the lifestyle of northern India. Fifth part concludes through the portraits of Sikh *misaldars* and later work of Sikh-Company style, in addition with some delicate specimen of Phulkari as a representative textiles of Punjab. This catalogue presents the works of art, associated with the Sikh beliefs in eighteenth century. The essays and descriptions of the objects penned by Goswamy and Smith offer keen perception into early Sikh devotion and observe the works of art in the context of the north Indian cultural synthesis in which they were shaped.

**Schmitz, Barbara, 2010**, (Lahore paintings, murals, and calligraphy, Marg Publications, 2010, Vol. 61, No. 4), the study includes innovative research on miniatures, manuscript illustrations, frescoes and Islamic calligraphy flourished in Lahore during two chief eras of glory- during the Mughals and the Sikhs. Author also focuses art subjects and materials under new influences from Europe during British rule. Ivory paintings in the coll. of the Lahore Museum and some contemporary aspects of art and artists are also studied.

**Singh, Sikandar and Singh, Roopinder, 2012**, (Sikh heritage Ethos & relics, Rupa Publications India Pvt. Ltd.), the volume is a rare frame into the domain of artefacts and relics that designed the Sikh culture, revealing on the spirit of Sikhism. Through images and explanations of various yet hidden relics of Sikh legacy, bequeathed by the Gurus upon the devotees, the study presents Sikh heritage in historical context with sensitive and clear perspectives.

- **Research Papers**

**Gupta, S. N., 1922**, (The Sikh School of painting, Rupam, No. 12), the very first study focused on Sikh art after Coomaraswamy (1916). The study focuses on existence of pictorial art and its continuous development and patronage in destructive political conditions of Punjab plains as Punjab is the gateway from Persia to India. The study also assumes the art activities under the patronage of Sikh Gurus and *misaldars* but emphasis the real foundation of Sikh School under Maharaja Ranjit Singh through the hands of hill painters in the form of portraiture.

**Anand, Mulk Raj, 1957**, (Specimens of paintings under the Sikhs, Marg, Vol. X, No. 2), the study includes social- historical background of Sikh painting from the Guru period in the context of Mughal- Rajput relations. It discusses the roots of artistic activities in the hills in the form of murals and miniatures and later, its continuity under some Sikh patrons through hill painters after the transfer of political center in Lahore and Amritsar. It also throws light on the interest and themes of Sikh paintings. Dissolution of traditional Indian art through alien influences also discussed to conclude the last chapter of Indian paintings via paintings of the Sikhs.

**Dales George, F., 1960**, (The “Old Fort” at Lahore, Restoration of a Moghul Fortress in west Pakistan, Expedition), the paper discloses the expansion of mosaic art, narrating figurative themes at Lahore Fort during Mughal period. Analyzing the themes, study reveals that technique is inherited from Persia, but motifs are Indian.

**Randhawa, M. S., 1961**, (Paintings from Arki, Roopa-Lekha, Vol. XXXII, No. 1, AIFACS, New Delhi), the study discusses various phases of development of art at Arki, Baghal state, including the Sikh influences in the paintings of Arki during Raja Kishan Singh (1840-76).

**Dosanj, S. S. and Singh, Rao Uttam, 1970**, (A dated Janam-Sakhi of Guru Nanak, Roopa-Lekha, Vol. XXXIX, No. 1, AIFACS, New Delhi), the study records a rare series of Janamsakhi illustrations dated 1793 A.D., prepared for Sardar Baghel Singh of village Chubba in Amritsar by Guler artists, now in the coll. of Rao Uttam.

**Randhawa, M. S., 1970**, (Paintings of the Sikh Gurus in the collection of the Mahant of Gurdwara Ram Rai, Dehradun, Roopa-Lekha, Vol. XXXIX, No. 1, AIFACS, New Delhi), the study is significant as to record one of the rare coll. of Mughal style portraits of Sikh Gurus, in the coll. of Gurdwara Ram Rai in Dehradun, came into light in 1961. The study also debates the style of the portraits of Sikh Gurus commissioned by Guru Ram Rai (1645-1688), who was a patron of Mughal artists during uncertainties among Sikhs and Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb and also reveals the good relations of Ram Rai with Mughals and their influence on him. The study also compares the coll. with another rare coll. of portraits of comparatively later period commissioned by Baba Sahib Singh now in the possession of Bedi Devinder Singh of Una, which is the work of Pahari painters to prove the authenticity of the former coll.

**Randhawa, M. S., 1970**, (Sikh painting, Roopa-Lekha, Vol. XXXIX, No. 1, AIFACS, New Delhi), the study is based on various aspects of Sikhism as well Sikh paintings with their distinct elements. It also mentions Sikh patrons; under whom Sikh art flourished at various centers of Punjab plains during eighteenth-nineteenth centuries through Pahari- Kashmiri and Sikh artists, continuously active till British annexation of Punjab, adopting European techniques of modern times.

**Anand, Mulk Raj, 1977**, (Painting and prayer: A note on hieratic pictorial art under the Sikhs, Marg, Vol. XXX, No. 3), the paper supports the continuous practice of folk art among Sikh community, which erected the imperial Sikh style later. The study also analyses varied artisans active during seventeenth century in Amritsar.

**Anand, Mulk Raj, 1980**, (Maharaja Ranjit Singh as patron of the arts, Marg, Vol. 34, No. 1), the study belongs to the great personality and hard life of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. The circumstances of struggle and uncertainties in front of Sikhs for new identity, patronage of arts and folk artisans by whom new style emerged for Sikhs through the inspiration of Sikh Maharaja are some matters, discussed by the author.

**Goswamy, B. N., 1980**, (A matter of taste: some notes on the context of painting in Sikh Punjab, Marg, Vol. 34, No. 1), the study seeks the references and existence of art in Sikh Punjab under Sikh patrons. It also discusses Sikh interests in art of painting focusing various incidents happened in Punjab during the lifetime of Maharaja to ascertain. Narrations of experiencing art in Punjab plains by European travelers as well as royal historian of Lahore darbar are also debated by the scholar. The appearances of Pahari painters at Lahore darbar, themes popular in Punjab

plains along with other styles fashioned in plains and varied intents of art are discussed additionally. The study also marks question on ignorance of true representation of court of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, while charming accounts of European travelers narrate Sikh court with much authenticity.

**Singh, Man Mohan, 1980**, (Changing faces of Maharaja Ranjit Singh in portraiture, Marg, Vol. 34, No. 1), the study deals with the different profiles applied for likenesses of Maharaja Ranjit Singh done by miniaturists in their style as well as by European painters habitual in academic realistic style. The study also concerns with the stages of development of portraiture of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, practiced in Lahore.

**Jasleen, Kandhari, 2007**, (In pursuit of the Divine: Arts from the Sikh courts of the Punjab, Apollo), the study explores the gorgeous heritage of Sikh arts from the supremacy of the Sikh Maharaja to the British annexation of the Punjab in 1849 as well as arts from the other Sikh courts of the Punjab, lavishly supported artists and craftsmen.

**Mann, Gurinder Singh, 2008**, (Sources for the study of Guru Gobind Singh's life and times, JPS, 15:1&2), the essay reviews the sites, articles and literary texts allied with Guru Gobind Singh's era and introduces varied sources of evidences. In short, the essay highlights the requisite for growing and rereading the existing understanding of the Guru's life.

**Naeem, Nadhra Shahbaz, 2010**, (Life at the Lahore darbār: 1799-1839, South Asian Studies, A Research Journal of South Asian Studies, Vol. 25, No. 2), the article is an effort to interpret the splendid lifestyle at the Sikh court in Lahore grounded on contemporary sources as well as Sikh monuments and objects used by royal Sikh family.

**Kaur, Singh Nikky- Gurinder, 2013**, (Corporeal metaphysics: Guru Nanak in early Sikh art. History of Religions, Vol. 53, No 1, The University of Chicago Press), the essay analyses the illustrations of B-40 Janamsakhi dated 1733 preserved at India Office Library. The study introduces the background of Janamsakhi illustrations. The study focuses on Guru's appearance and performativity functions and his iconic visualization in the illustrations, relating him with various versions of Janamsakhis and perception of painter, Sikh philosophy and contemporary customs prevailed in society.

**Khalid, Kanwal, 2014**, (City of Lahore and its cultural roots during the Ghaznavide period, THAAP Journal, Cultural Roots of Art & Architecture of the Punjab), the study covers



arts, sculptures, wooden work from Ghaznavide period onwards developed in Lahore continuing till twentieth century.

## **2.5 Pahari-Sikh Painters**

- **Books**

**Goswamy, B. N., 1999**, (Painters at the Sikh court: A study based on twenty documents, University of Heidelberg/ Franz Steiner Verlag, Wiesbaden), the study discloses rare twenty documents in the coll. of traditional painter Chandu Lal Raina, a descendant of the great and admired painter Nainsukh of Guler, resident of Rajol; Kangra. The study focuses twenty documents in Persian, Urdu and Hindi, issued by the Sikh Sardars and royals of Lahore including the translation and notes of the documents and technical terms, which throws light on the subject of patronage of hill painters by royal patrons at Lahore court.

**Goswamy, B. N., 2011**, (Nainsukh of Guler: A great Indian painter from a small hill-state, Niyogi Books), the study concerns with finished paintings, painted sketches, tinted drawings and the simple outlines by specific artist of Guler, named Nainsukh, who worked during the years 1730 to 1775 on varied themes under Balwant Singh of Jasrota.

**Goswamy, B. N. 2017**, (Manaku of Guler: The life and work of another great Indian painter from a small hill state, Niyogi Books), the work centers upon Manaku of Guler – older brother of the celebrated painter Nainsukh, following thoroughly his artistic journey from 1725 to 1745. Existence of Manaku and his work; both has been an issue of controversy. His work has always been disputed because of the changing styles of extreme stylization and naturalistic in different folios. The book appears a catalogue of the artist's work in actual ascribed by Goswamy on the basis of style and theme.

- **Research Papers**

**Mehta, N. C., 1949-50**, (Manaku, the Pahari painter, Roopa-Lekha, Vol. XXI, No. 1, AIFACS, New Delhi), the study deals with the discussion on the painter Manaku working on various series in Punjab hills. The author also assumes the existence of two painters with the same name working in Basohli and Garhwal and tried to correct his earlier assumptions about the Manaku as a lady painter (described in 'Studies in Indian painting').

**Chakravarti, N. P., 1951**, (Was Manaku a Pahari painter, Roopa-Lekha, Vol. XXII, No. 1, AIFACS, New Delhi), the study discusses about the painter Manaku disclosing N.C. Mehta's

doubts and also tries to re-read the inscription of *Gita Govinda* series at Lahore Museum. The study concludes that Manaku was a patron of Basohli *Gita Govinda* series and not a painter.

**Randhawa, M. S., 1956**, (Kangra artists, Roopa-Lekha, Vol. XXVII, No. 1, AIFACS, New Delhi), the study deals with painters of Guler and Kangra states including the genealogical tables of Pandit Seu, Dhummun and Tidoo and their successors working under Rajput rulers.

**Randhawa, M. S., 1959**, (Some inscribed Pahari paintings with names of artists, Roopa-Lekha, Vol. XXX, No. 1 & 2, AIFACS, New Delhi), the study concerns with some inscriptions disclosing the name of painters, written on rare Pahari paintings in different coll. The study also efforts to trace styles of various painters through the inscriptions.

**Randhawa, M.S, 1960**, (Manak: painter of the Gita Govinda paintings- was he a Garhwal artist? Roopa-Lekha, Vol. XXXI, No. 2, AIFACS, New Delhi), the study discusses the same inscriptions written on Basohli *Gita Govinda* at Lahore Museum and Garhwal *Gita Govinda* in the coll. of Maharaja Narendra Shah by the painter Manaku. The study efforts to re-read the inscriptions written on illustrations of both series and rejects the assumptions of N. C. Mehta about the painter of Manaku. The study concludes that Manaku was a Guler painter who migrated to Kangra during 1780 and *Gita Govinda* paintings were painted by him and were given as dowry on the marriage occasion of daughters of Maharaja Sansar Chand with Raja Sudarshan Shah of Garhwal.

**Goswamy, B. N., 1961**, (The Pahari artists; A study, Roopa-Lekha, Vol. XXXII. No. 2, AIFACS, New Delhi), the study discusses the painters working in different hill states on the basis of signatures, inscriptions, portraits as well as their patrons and patronages.

**Goswamy, B. N., 1964**, (The artist-family of Rajol: New light on an old problem, Roopa-Lekha, Vol. XXXV. No. 1 & 2, AIFACS; New Delhi), the study argues the problem of the settlement of the painter Nikka's family at Rajol in district Kangra, grandson of Pandit Seu. The study throws light on the settlement of Nikka's family at Rajol during Raja Raj Singh of Chamba after granting the land by him before his death in 1794, presenting the evidences of land settlement records and rejects the Randhawa's assumptions about his migration from his residence Guler during the period of Raja Shamsher Singh (1820-77). The study also rejects to *presume that the painter family of Seu was one of Kashmiri Brahmins who migrated into the lower hills of the Punjab either from Kashmir or from the plains of the Punjab* on the basis of caste-name 'Raina' residents of Guler.

**Goswamy, B. N., 1966,** (The problem of the artist ‘Nainsukh’ of Jasrota, *Artibus Asiae*, XXVII), the study corrects and solves the problem of an inscription written in *Takri* script by an extraordinary stunning hand on the upper of a familiar painting of ‘Balwant Singh with a party of Musicians’, at the Central Museum, Lahore, which was translated and published by Mr. Basil Gray in 1950s and discussed earlier by scholars many times. Connecting other inscriptions wisely, author fixed a decisive date in the antiquity of Pahari painting and form a connection of Raja Balwant Singh of Jasrota with renowned artist Nainsukh.

**Goswamy, B. N., 1966,** (A painter’s letter to his royal patron: an old *Takri* document, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 86, No. 2), the study discusses a letter written in old *Takri* dialect on *Sialkoti* paper, in the coll. of Shri Jagannath Upadhyaya of Basohli. Literal and meaningful translation of the inscription throws light on the usual relationship of Pahari artists and his patrons, mode of employment and manner of migration of artists. The petition of artist Shiba of Nurpur to his patron Maharaja Sansar Chand and their relations and identification of other persons are also tried by the author.

**Goswamy, B. N., 1968,** (Pahari painting-The family as the basis of style, *Marg*, Vol. XXI, No. 4, Bombay), the study is priceless contribution for the scholars and students of Pahari art. The study confiscates all inaccuracies and biases emerged through partial evidences regarding uncertainties of various artists and corrects their genealogies through land settlement reports. The study provides and correlates first-hand evidences came from inscriptions and signs written on the paintings as well as dates of birth and death of artists through *bahis* maintained by *pandas* of various Hindu pilgrimages to recreate genealogical tables of artists. To identify particular style emerged in the hands of artist family of Pandit Seu, his sons and successors, traveled in hill regions of Punjab to seek patronage, the study observes some significant, heart touching and meaningful masterpieces far from merely decorative art. Goswamy’s classification of artists on the basis of style is different from Archer’s conventional and popular classifications, which recognizes regional styles.

**Aryan, K. C., 1970,** (Some Punjabi artists, *Roopa-Lekha*, Vol. XXXIX, No. 1, AIFACS, New Delhi), the study focuses Punjabi artists working in traditional, European and Company style during the second half of nineteenth century. It also analyses different influences and interactions between European realistic style and easy going techniques of traditional and semi-traditional styles practiced by Hindu-Muslim and Sikh artists of Punjab working at different centers.

**Singh, Man Mohan, 1980**, (Maharaja Ranjit Singh's court: painters and the painted, Marg, Vol. 34, No. 1), the study deals with three European artists August Schoefft, G. T. Vigne and Emily Eden and their work in different mediums at Sikh Lahore court during Maharaja in new perspectives. The study analyzes the work done for Sikh patrons by both; indigenous and European painters. The study also shares experiences of artists at splendid court of Sikh Maharaja.

**Goswamy, B. N. and Fischer, Eberhard, 1992**, (Pahari masters: Court painters of northern India. *Artibus Asiae Supplementum*. Vol. 38), the study covers fourteen great Pahari painters and developments of individual styles based on true evidences. The study analyzes their specific styles, developments and experiments through identifying rare evidences, inscriptions and signs marked on the paintings from world class national-international and private coll. Narration of different meaningful illustrations with their aesthetic significance based on historical ground left no doubt in heart and mind of one and also helpful to understand various situations which painters having faced with the help of intelligent discussions. Moreover, the study identifies royal patrons and centers of arts, where artists migrated from their native states in search of employments. The study is outcome of great efforts of many pioneer scholars of the world.

**Ohri, Vishwa Chander, 1998**, (Nikka and Ranjha at the court of Raj Singh of Chamba, Marg, Vol. 50 Issue 1), the article centers Guler artists Nikka and Ranjha or Ramlal, sons of the master painter Nainsukh, working under Raja Raj Singh of Chamba and were responsible for popularizing Guler style in Chamba. The study discusses their distinct styles through several finished paintings, sketches and inscriptions written on them.

**Khalid, Kanwal, 2015**, (Artists and artisans of marginalized status, Culture, art & architecture of the marginalized & the poor, THAAP Journal), the study reveals two artisan families of Lahore, who are Mughals by ancestry and their ancestors used to work for Maharaja Ranjit Singh too. The families are of Imam Din and Habibullah. The paper also presents the genealogical table of both families.

**Khalid, Kanwal, 2015**, (Miniature painters as historiographers, JPUHS, Vol.28, No.2), the paper discloses the unique concept of representing the intrigues and happenings of the bothered era of Khalsa Raj, through five delicate paintings by the court painter, Keher Singh. The study focuses not only artistic perspective, but also socio, political and historical dimensions reflected in paintings, which proves that every artist has own style of depiction the story hidden behind social occurrences through art work.

**Kaur Singh, Nikky- Guninder, 2015**, (Visual phenomenology: *Seeing-in* Guru Nanak at the Asian Arts Museum, Sikh Formations, Vol. 11, Issue 1-2), the paper analyses artistic as well as aesthetic elements of 41 illustrations of Janamsakhi of Guru Nanak (1469-1539) from Kapany coll., now at the Asian Arts Museum. The paper also relates the function of their visual phenomenology with philosophical aspects of Sikhism in global society and its impact on the personal and collective identity of the Sikhs.

**Khalid, Kanwal, 2016**, (Stories of 19th century painters of Lahore, THAAP Journal, People's History of Pakistan), the paper identifies and discusses the distinct styles of five paintings as testimony, created by Sikh court artist Keher Singh after the death of Maharaja Sher Singh. Although, the miniaturists of the subcontinent painted with the help of memory, but the artist Keher Singh appears sitting in front of his model and painting on the spot to record historicity. The study proves the fact that the artists were allowed to sit in the Sikh court to portray the royal personages and occasions and the artist is a product of culture, who cannot detach from surroundings.

**Khalid, Kanwal, 2016**, (Life of an artisan..... The generation dying away, JPUHS, Vol.29, No.2), the study focuses and discusses an artisan Imam Din of Lahore, active in the 20th century, belonged to a family, who had been practicing arts for centuries. The study also reveals the family members of architects, craftsmanship and artisans, still resided at Mochi Darwaaza, Mori Darwaaza, Bhati Darwaaza and Lohari Darwaaza, situated in the walled city of Lahore as well as Shad Bagh, Mughalpura, Wasan Pura and other areas, active from centuries.

**Khalid, Kanwal, 2017**, (Family of Qamar Din, legacy bearer of the *larhi* system of the subcontinent, Journal of the Punjab University Historical Society, Vol. 03, Issue No. 2), the study focuses the family occupation, led to family oriented system, termed as *Larhi* system in the native vocabulary, in which specific artists would announce themselves the gems of the cord or *Moti* of that *Larhi*, followed by an artist family of Lahore for more than three hundred years and continuing till today, including the genealogical table of the family.

## **2.6 Technique Of Pahari-Sikh Miniature Paintings**

- **Books**

**Ohri, V. C., 2001**, (The technique of Pahari painting: an inquiry into aspects of materials, methods, and history based upon observation and field-work, Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Shimla), the richly illustrated and detailed study about the technique of Indian painting with an emphasis on the particulars for crafting of Pahari paintings of Basohli, Guler and Kangra styles.

The author presents an inclusive justification of technique, methods and materials used in miniatures and murals, based on field work, reviewing all features of the technique popular among master painters of Rajput rulers and discusses analytically the existing literature and important coll. as well as old masterpieces of Pahari painting. The book also discusses history of Pahari painting, sketches for drawings used for the execution of paintings, the stylistic developments during various periods for in depth understanding of technique.

**Sumahendra, 1990**, (Miniature painting technique, Rooprang Publications, Jaipur), the useful book covers different materials, preparation of materials, application of techniques and varied Indian styles of miniature paintings. The study also covers the preservation methods and restoration of paintings.

- **Research Papers**

**Goswamy, B. N., 1967**, (The technique of Pahāri painting- A discussion of colour and pattern notes, East and West, Vol. 17, No. 3/4), the study throws light on instructive notes inscribed on sketches of Pahari miniatures in hill dialects about colours and patterns helpful for finishing the paintings. The study also efforts to correct earlier efforts of reading notes by the scholars of Pahari miniature paintings.

## **2.7 Indian Traditional Costumes**

- **Books**

**Goswamy, B. N. 2002**, (Indian costumes II Patkas: a costume accessory in the collection of The Calico Museum of Textiles, Vol. VI, Historical textiles of India at the Calico Museum, Ahmedabad), the study deals with the waist band or *patka* in the coll. of The Calico Museum. Tracing the history of the fashion of wearing *patka* and its changing styles in different times in Indian culture discussed by the author through visual evidences. Different fabrics and woven techniques of *patkas* fashioned by Mughals also included by the scholar.

## **2.8 Manufactures Of Punjab**

- **Books**

**Powell, B. H. Baden, 1872**, (Handbook of the manufactures and arts of Punjab, Vol. II, Punjab Printing Company, Lahore), monumental study which covers the vast area of products manufactured in specific centers of greater Punjab. The study throws light on the varieties of textiles, embroideries, metal & wooden works, jewelry, ivory, pottery, utensils, equipment, arms, artillery, arts, agricultural and horticultural implements produced in Punjab plains, hills and

Kashmir and their trading routes. Moreover, sketches of models of the various products and the name of the producers and dealers as well as communities by whom the products were used during mid- nineteenth century also counted. At last, very useful English and vernacular index and glossary are also included.

## CHAPTER III

### SIKH MINIATURE PAINTINGS

#### 3.1 Origin Of Sikh Miniature Paintings

##### 3.1.1 Early Sikh Community and Mughal Inspirations

Guru Nanak's appearance among the populace of varied faiths was commonly popular. Guru Nanak's interactions with low caste society in which Jats, *tarkhans* and artisans were also included, offer a hope to assume artistic activities during last fifteen years of his stay at Kartarpur, placing on the pilgrimage routes from the Gangetic and Indus plains to the deep-rooted Hindu shrines of Amarnath in Kashmir and Jawalamukhi in the Shivalik hills. It is also nearby to Achal Batala, a midpoint for the Nath Yogis and the spot of an early temple of the God Shiva, and to Lahore and Sialkot, two nuclei of Islamic learning. The situation of Kartarpur intends that Guru Nanak preferred his civic to keep in everlasting touch with the realm of spiritual sites, a sphere in which he had taken part in the prior spans (Mann, 2001, 6, 139). Guru Nanak as a wandering saint, not only spent his life with the supreme motto to liberal the common and suppressed human being from ideological captivity along with promoting literary activities, but also being a great saint, philosopher and poet, he enriched the literature of India during his whole life, which were penned and preserved in the form of *pothis* by further Gurus and were continued till the final compilation of Adi Granth in the form of Guru Granth Sahib at the changing centers of Sikhism during two fifty years. The work of scribing the Sikh *pothis* was started during Guru Nanak's lifetime. Initial mentions to the activities of the Gurus seem in their personal hymns. In addition, the composers at the Sikh court whose compositions are comprised in the Adi Granth penned about the exclusive eminence of the Gurus surrounded by the community and the splendor of the Sikh court. Although, it was the time of scribing the early Sikh scriptures and Janamsakhi *prampra*, which were in circulation among Kartarpur community. The hymns of others *bhaktas*, poet- saints, Bhatt also mesmerized Punjabis. Many philosophers and Bhattas, originally Hindu learned Saraswat Brahmins following the word of Guru Nanak Dev, were present at the darbar of Guru Arjun.

The erudite Jats played a significant role in compiling the Sikh literature. Guru Nanak was accompanied by learned personnel during his various voyages (*udasi*) along with his musician friend, Mardana. Guru Nanak was also convoyed by Jats, blacksmith and a calico-printer during his later travels and in aggregation with rabab, the *lekhni* (pen) was also executed by figures hail from a truncated class or unattainable families.



Sultanate period manuscript illumination and illustrations; practiced in Persian style as well some Laur- Chanda examples of native style were in circulation from the second half of fifteenth century (Khandalavala, 1983, 4, 19-20) to inspire and influence Sikh manuscript illumination. The examples of figurative art in the form of illustrated Mughal- Lahori carpets and Chamba rumals were also in fashion at that time in the plains of Punjab, as an embroidered handkerchief with figurative patterns of Chamba presented by *Bibi Nanaki* to her brother Guru Nanak also proves the existence of art among early Sikhs. But these were of stereotype. In his *bani*, Guru Nanak describes, *ਕੋਠੇ ਮੰਡਪ ਮਾੜੀਆ ਪਾਸਹੁ ਚਿਤਵੀਆਹਾ ॥ (ਮੌ ੧)*. (*kothe mandap maniyan pasahoon chhitveeaha*) (SGGS, 729). Guru Nanak also used the term ‘*gach*’, a plaster prepared by gypsum, which also indicates his knowledge about wall decoration, although the term contains philosophical meaning.

*ਕਾਚੀ ਢਹਿਗ ਚਿਦਵਾਲ ਕਾਹੇ ਗਚੁ ਲਾਵਹੁ, (ਮਹਲਾ ੧)*

*kaachi dahagi diwaal kahe gach laavahu* (SGGS, 1170-71)

*ਘਰ ਗਚ ਕੀਤੇ ਬਾਗੇ ਬਾਗ, (ਮੌ ੧)*

*ghar gach kite baage bag* (SGGS, 1243)

*ਗਚੁ ਚਿਜ ਲਗਾ ਚਿਗੜਵੜੀ ਸਖੀਏ ਧਉਲਹਰੀ, (ਮਹਲਾ ੧)*

*gach ji lga girhvadi sakheeye dhaulhari* (SGGS, 1410)

The scribing of *Adi Granth* was continuous at Goindwal and Kartarpur until the final compilation of *Guru Granth Sahib* by the hands of *Guru Gobind*. Although, art activities were full blossomed in Lahore during first five Sikh Gurus, when they were centered in Kartarpur, Khadur Sahib, Goindwal and Chakk Ramdas near Lahore. Kartarpur became a center of Sikh scribal tradition during *Guru Nanak*’s stay in last years. *Bhai Mansukh*, a trader of Lahore stayed for three years at Kartarpur, chiefly to prepare *pothis* of *Gurbani* (Dhillon, 1999, 40), which were in the possession of Sikh centers to secure the originality of text. Some *pothis* of Goindwal were illustrated with Arabesque designs. There is an incident which indicates the copying of Sikh *pothi* during the last decades of sixteenth century under *Guru Arjun* (1581-1606). When *Guru Arjun* completed the text, a Sikh devotee named *Banno* wished acquiescence to bring the *pothi* to his area of *Khara Mangat* in the *Gondal bar* adjacent the city of *Gujrat*, at present in *Pakistan*. After much thought, the *Guru* decided to consent *Banno* to convey the manuscript to his village for single

night merely. As Banno desired to reproduce the text for himself, he moved to his destination in junctures, engaging a band of copyists to replica of the manuscript at every halt (Deol, 2001, 37). The copy of Bhai Banno is also illuminated, now at a Gurdwara of Kanpur. This incident evidenced the employment of scribes under common Sikh patrons in Lahore for copying and illuminating the Sikh texts. The interaction between scribes and manuscript illustrators was also not new and sometimes scribes were also good illustrators. But development of portraiture is not seen during pre- Mughal period. And the native painters of the pre-Mughal era had indeed not been concerned with likenesses as such or even with characterization. Facial features of male and female were clichéd and painted more or less to a schematic. But under the observation of the Persian *ustad* (masters), the Indian artists started to establish an understanding of portraiture and an enthusiastic sense of portrayal, which they lastly carried to a level of accomplishment scarcely perceived even in Persian painting (Khandalavala, 1974, 73).

Emperor Akbar also had good relations with Sikh Gurus. Sikh Gurus were great poet and had numerous talented scribes in their courts for writing manuscripts of *Gurmukhi* literature. Lahore and Agra as the regional capitals of Mughals, were full of skilled artisans and painters, when Sikh art and architecture got its inspiration from Mughal paintings. Guru Ram Das (1574-1581) met Emperor Akbar to represent Sikhism at the court of Agra, who bestowed Guru Ram Das with a robe of honour (Singh, 1967, 27. Jagdev, 1995, 56). In the *bani* (hymns) of Guru Ram Das, he also uses the word ‘*gach*’.

ਗੜ ਮੰਦਰ ਗਚ ਗੀਰੀਆ ਿਕਛੁ ਸਾਿਥ ਨ ਜਾਈ, (ਮਃ ੪)

*garh mandar gach geereeya kichu sath na jaai* (SGGS, 1246).

But God is defined as the true artist, who created the whole world.

ਚਚਾ ਰਿਚਤ ਿਚਤਰੁ ਹੈ ਭਾਰੀ ॥ ਤਿਜ ਿਚਤਰੁੈ ਚੇਤਹੁ ਿਚਤਕਾਰੀ ॥

ਿਚਤਰੁ ਬਿਚਤਰੁ ਇਹੈ ਅਵਝੇਰਾ ॥ ਤਿਜ ਿਚਤਰੁੈ ਿਚਤੁ ਰਾਖਿ ਿਚਤੇਰਾ ॥੧੨॥ (ਕਬੀਰ ਜੀ)

*chha rachit chitter hai bhari. taj chitre chetahu chitkari.*

*chitter bachiter ihe avjhera, taj chittre chitt rakh chitera* (SGGS, 340).

The shift of royal Mughal atelier to Lahore during Emperor Akbar accompanied by his royal artists and employment of local Lahori- Multani fine scribes for the copying of Persian manuscripts resulted the spread of Mughal illustrations in Punjab. Wall painters were also

employed for the embellishment of Lahori monuments. Percy Brown also recorded that in his new capital in the Punjab, the Emperor Akbar engaged several of his peculiar team of artists in their desired art of wall-decoration, for the interior of the Lahore palace, generously draped with coloured sights, some of which have been referenced by European authors (Brown, 1987, 68). Farrokh Beg also worked at Akbar's atelier from 1585 in Lahore (Skelton, 1957, 396, 400). Conceivably, the painters of the murals were not the alike as those of the miniatures and writings contains no declaration to dual staff of artists. While numerous Persian manuscripts were translated, copied and illustrated during Akbar's stay in Lahore through the hands of royal artists.

The major work of Akbar's atelier was the copying, illustrating and illuminating of Persian and Mughal manuscripts. The work of late Akbari period is the manuscript of '*Divan of Anvari*' of 1588 A.D. at Fogg Art Museum. The Arabic and Persian versions of *Panchatantra* tales, popular as *Kalila-u- Damna* and *Anwar- i- Suhaili* (1596- 97) were painted by Basawan (Welch, 1985, 177- 178). Akbar also ordered its translation as *Iyar-e-Danish*, which was copied and both versions were illustrated by court artists. A version prepared for Emperor (1595- 96 A.D.) in Lahore, is now at Bharat Kala Bhavan coll., in which European influence is clear. The manuscript of *Baharistan* at the Bodleian Library was also written in Lahore in 1595- 96. Along with Persian- Mughal manuscript of *Tarikh- i- Khandan- i- Timuria* (1584- 90), *Darabnama* (1580) British Library, London, *Baburnama* (1598) (Nath and Khandalavala, 1983), *Baburnama* (c. 1589) ascribed to Basawan and Madhav Khurd (Cleveland Museum of Art and Philadelphia Museum), *Diwan-i- Hafiz* (1595) (Nath and Khandalavala, 1983), *Zafarnama* (1598-1600 by Shrivana) (Cleveland Museum of Art, no. 2012.301), *Akbarnama* (1602-1604) (Philadelphia Museum), *Khamsa of Nizami* (1597-98) (The Walters Art Museum), Hindu epics *Ramayana* (1589) (Cleveland Museum of Art), *Harivamsa* (1590) (Welch, 1985, 175), *Razmnama* (1598) by Bhawani and Jamshed (Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto and Asian Art Museum), *Kathasaritsagara* (1590) (LACMA) and *Shahnama* (1620) (Asian Art Museum) were also illustrated, and on the basis of style, one can ascribe the work to Lahore atelier. There are other examples of last decade of sixteenth century Mughal atelier by Kashmiri painter Yaqub Kashmiri, the principal painter during 1590 and Miskina- Sarwan & Anant. Other royal painters; Basawan, Keso Lal, Miskin, Mukund, Sanwala, Farrukh Chela and Dharam Das were also active in Lahore darbar during the last of sixteenth century (Krishna, 1983, 32. Also see Manuja, 1999, 64). Scribes and painters from Kashmir were also active during Emperor Akbar. Lahore was a hub of master painters during Akbar and Jahangir.

Although, the work of writing Janamsakhi of Guru Nanak had been completed during Guru Angad's life time (1504-1552) before the arrival and artistic activities of Emperor Akbar in Lahore but the availability of these types of tales and illustrations in Lahore influenced Janamsakhi illustrators later. Some families of traditional Mughal painters were residing in Lahore from Akbar period. There is a *rath* (chariot) prepared by a craftsman of Kashmir named Khuda Bakhsh to present Guru Ram Das, now at village Bhai Rupa. Two stereotype figures engraved on the metal plate of the chariot are in Akbari period *atpati topi*.

The influence of royal painters Manohar, Bishandas, Kesu Das, Basawan and Mansur was continued during Prince Jahangir as he adjusted old masters for his atelier of Lahore and also released many painters of diverse interests, whose standards did not match the new Prince's standards (Welch, 1985, 179, 182). One can assume the possibilities of interaction between released Mughal- Lahori painters, Punjabi scribes and new patrons. Various portraits of Emperor Akbar exist today ascribed to Akbar's Lahore royal atelier of last decade of sixteenth century, but on the other hand the real portraits of Guru Nanak and Guru Angad are not available. While the inspirations and alterations of Persian- Mughal floral and geometrical motifs into Sikh style can be seen in Sikh manuscripts of seventeenth century. With the succession of Prince Jahangir, art of portraiture reached its height. Availability of contemporary portraits of Guru Hargobind suggests the presence of Mughal style painters working in Punjab plains. The Mughal painters' attention for new patrons and interests of Sikh devotees to portray the likeness or *darshan* of the Guru resulted the emergence of portraits of Sikhs. Archer's conclusions, until the second quarter of the nineteenth century, no painting that is truly Sikh can be said to exist and miniature painting, as practiced for the Mughals, however, had virtually lapsed and it was merely in the Punjab hills that artists painted for native princes and their courts (Archer, 1966, 18) was based on the then available evidences. The artist was an adherent and perpetual part of culture.

Surely, painters persistent to stay on the parcels endorsed to them by the rulers and merely hardly active in the palaces. The artists were active participants of the society. This initiated the refusal of any unresponsiveness between himself and the societies. Although, some families of various painters working for Rajput rulers of Punjab hills and Sikhs of plains are known today, but one can also identify an anonymous painter by individual style of work in the lack of proper evidences, inscriptions and signs.

With the succession of Guru Hargobind, Sikhs entered in politics, empowering themselves. The relation and love of Emperor Jahangir (1605- 1627) with Lahore and Kashmir is well known. Jahangir first visited Kashmir after his accession in 1607. Guru Hargobind's contemporary Jahangir was attached to Lahore and during his visits to Kabul and Kashmir, held his court there. During his various journeys to Kashmir, Emperor Jahangir was also accompanied by miniaturists and wall painters to draw flora- fauna, portraits and to embellish monuments of Kashmir. Artists were in attendance on his journey as is proven by Jahangir's request for the painting of a large Himalayan *Markhur* (serpent eating goat) near Lahore, though no miniatures are specifically mentioned in his Memoirs as being done in Kashmir. In 1620, Nadir-ul Asr Mansur was accompanying Jahangir to the Valley. Mansur was commissioned to depict more than one hundred Kashmiri flowers there (Rogers and Beveridge, 1914, Vol. II, 20, 108, 145, 157, 161- 162). Raja Basu Dev (1580-1613 A.D.) of Nurpur had relations with Jahangir and his portrait in the Lahore Fort during Jahangir was affirmed by William Finch (Singh, 1983, 79). Raja Jagat Singh (1620-1622) of Nurpur was also favourite of Jahangir and Begam Nur Jahan. His portrait was also prepared by artist Bichitr '*amal - i bandieh dargah*'. Guru Hargobind also visited Rajputana and Kashmir with Mughal Emperor Jahangir. Jahangir paid a visit to Amritsar with the Guru on his way to Kashmir. The visit had followed Guru Hargobind's emancipation from the Gwalior Fort and noticeable the period of outgoing connotations between the two. The relation of other Sikhs with Mughal Empire also established during Emperors Akbar and Jahangir. After the death of Jahangir, Nur Jahan and her daughter Ladli Begum resided in Lahore till their death. Painters were working for their family.

Hiradaya Ram Bhalla, a relative of Bhai Gurdas Bhalla, a Sikh scribe, relative and devotee of Guru Arjun, was associated with the court of Jahangir in 1623 A.D. employed by Akbar and was one of his famous nine poetic gems. His work was also edited in the court of tenth Guru later.

Center of Sikh activities changed from Lahore to Kiratpur situated between Hindur (Nalagarh) and Bilaspur (Kahlur); during Guru Hargobind, where he was also well received by Raja Dharam Chand of Hindur and resided for nine years till death. During his stay at Kiratpur, Guru exercised excessive impact over the hill Rajas. Guru Hargobind, on whose persuasions Emperor Jahangir released 52 Hindu Rajas held in captivity at Gwalior Fort, one of them was Raja Kalyan Chand and his son Tara Chand of Kahlur state (Singh, 1992, 132). With the shifting of Sikh center, Sikh- hill relations also established.

With the political empowerment of Sikhism during Guru Hargobind, art activities also promoted along with martial activities at Kiratpur, a center of Sikh activities belonged to Bilaspur state, founded by his son Baba Gurditta. Raja Kalyan Chand gladly offered the land as a free gift on April 23, 1624 (Singh and Talib, 1975, 13. Also see Singh, 1914, Vol. I, 133). The shift of Sikh center from Amritsar- Lahore to Kiratpur was decisive for the development of Sikh art. From the first half of seventeenth century, availability of proper evidences proves the existence of Mughal painters in Punjab plains among Sikh devotees. Portraits were not just for benefits to confrontation. They were regularly treated as offerings or as symbols of royal favor. In many cases, entire series were prepared, their subjects comprising all the chief notables of a region. Such series were enabling their owners to recognize local barons. Otherwise, portrayals concentrated on a particular ruler, interpreting his character. And in this connection, background, costume, stance and gesture delivered essential clues. Mostly, Indian portraits signified a standardized appearance of their subject. The portrait miniature in fact unifies with the annals and any occurrence of family interest might occasionally be preserved by means of miniatures. In this way the Indian passion for life, curiosity about the bygone and interest in human personality and behavior were deciphered into painting.

The artistic work which the Sikh Gurus had been capable to inspire during the depressing years of their quarrel with the Mughal reign was portraiture and Janamsakhi illustrations. To the admirers of these mystical leaders, the rendering of images of the Guru was important and somewhat a few of these portraits present in the various collection, done in the Mughal style, possibly by artists of the Mughal court whom the Gurus must have hired from time to time. Very firstly Guru Hargobind indorsed his portrayal. But there are some Mughal paintings of Dervishes or group of Dervishes of last quarter of sixteenth and early seventeenth century, in which center character has resemblances with the figure of Guru Nanak.

### **3.1.2 Contemporary Portrayals and Varied Phraseology**

Although, the followers of Guru Nanak, generally identified as Guru Sikhs, do not consider images, idols and temples, nonetheless, from the seventeenth century onwards, Sikh Gurus permitted for their likenesses and Sikh devotees also commissioned painters under them mutually. Bhai Rup Chand, also known as Bhai Rupa, (1614- 1709), who took the service of a painter for portraying Guru Hargobind (birth 1595, Guruship 1606- 44), during a visit to village Bhai Rupa, in the city of Bhatinda during 1630. Bhai Rup Chand and his family was a devotee of the Sikh

Gurus and served the Sikhism till Guru Gobind Singh. Bhai Rup Chand commissioned a Muslim painter and his son to portray Guru Hargobind (1606-44) during his visit to the village Bhai Rupa. The family possessed some relics of Sikh Gurus along with contemporary paintings in their coll. Another devotee and heroic warrior in the troop of sixth Guru; Bhai Bidhi Chand, who accompanied the Guru at the village Bhai Rupa also commissioned the same painter for the series of portraits. It is also specified in the *Suraj Prakash* that Guru Hargobind had his portrait prepared by an artist at village Sursingh near Kiratpur on the request of his relations. Twelve versions of portraits of Guru Hargobind (fig. 3.1) were prepared, some are with the family of Bhai Rup Chand & Bhai Bidhi Chand and few are in Dehradun coll. Bhai Rup Chand and Bhai Bidhi Chand's own portraits (figs. 3.2 and 3.3) are also available which indicate the interest for portraiture among Sikhs. It also concludes that Gurus and devotees accompanied by artists.

As a '*takhat*' (seat) of Sikh activities, Kiratpur, situated in the outer hills bordering the plain of Hoshiarpur, was a halt for Mughal painters dismissed from Akbari atelier, resided in Lahore and migrating in the hilly areas for patronage. It is also possible that Guru Hargobind had relations with Mughal painters while accompanying Emperor Jahangir to Kashmir. Jahangir had high veneration for his artists and conferred upon them designations and distinctions, taking deep thoughtfulness in their effort and taking them with him on his expeditions.

In the portraits of Guru Hargobind, some features are same, as small eyes, sharp nose, small blunt beard, muscular body and straight shoulders, a dagger tucked in his small sized waist band tied over *gherdar jama* with two stripes appear over chest and stripped turban with a narrow band tied on front, fashioned in Punjab plains and hills during seventeenth century, depicting Guru Hargobind's heroic qualities of '*miri and piri*'. He is portrayed either seated on a square carpet in easy posture of *sukhasana* (fig. 3.1), resting a pet hawk on his gloved hand or mounted on a stallion (also see Singh and Singh, 2012, frontispiece, 188, and 190). Dark green background is the feature of Jahangir period portraits. In the early portraits of Punjab hills, dark flat backgrounds were used for dominating enlarged figures, especially in Bilaspur, near Kiratpur, during last decades of seventeenth century. A fine likeness (c.1650-60) of Mian Bijai of Bilaspur, paternal uncle of Dip Chand and younger brother of the exalted Raja Tara Chand of Kahlur exists at Sotheby auction, which is on flat brown background. The style of portraits of Guru Hargobind is similar to styles of these centers developed little later. The portrait of Guru Hargobind commissioned by Bhai Bidhi

Chand is the most delicate and fine (fig. 3.1). Lines are soft and colours are subtle with detailing. Painter also efforts to capture the expression of Guru through eyes and forehead.

Guru's portrait now preserved at Sursinghwala by the same painter (Singh and Singh, 2012, 188) is also fine with softness of spontaneous gestures and postures. The likenesses of both portraits indicate that both portraits are done by the master painter and the standard of portraits also suggests that painter was trained in royal atelier. Halo popularly used in Jahangir period Mughal portraits is also not used for the likenesses of Guru. The delicate portrait of Bhai Bidhi Chand (fig. 3.2) wearing saffron coloured robe mounted on a stallion also appear by the same hand with detailing and softness of colours. Technically, these likenesses are done with extreme care, love for detail and fineness of drawing & modelling. Detailing of turban, hair, plates & patterns of robe, cushion and hawk are fine. The vogue for single-figure portraits on a plain ground continued in Mughal painting while standing against a void background.

The style of Guru Hargobind's portraits totally depict the Mughal influences. *Ekbal pardaz* (depicting each strand of hair separately) and totally distinct style of turban from other Gurus with some alteration in Jahangiri style stripped turban with a narrow band tied on front, fashioned in Punjab plains and hills during seventeenth century, with short *patka* (waist band) and *gherdar jama* (round skirted robe) and two stripes appear on chest looks like two sword- belts of *miri* and *piri*, termed as the symbol of worldly and spiritual powers accordingly. Probably, Jahangiri robe with embroidered upper half (fig. 3.1) was the favorite robe of Guru Hargobind, which also has resemblance with the later portrait of Bilaspur state (fig. 3.7). The Guru also had not his ears pierced and the fashion became popular during 1615 after Jahangir.

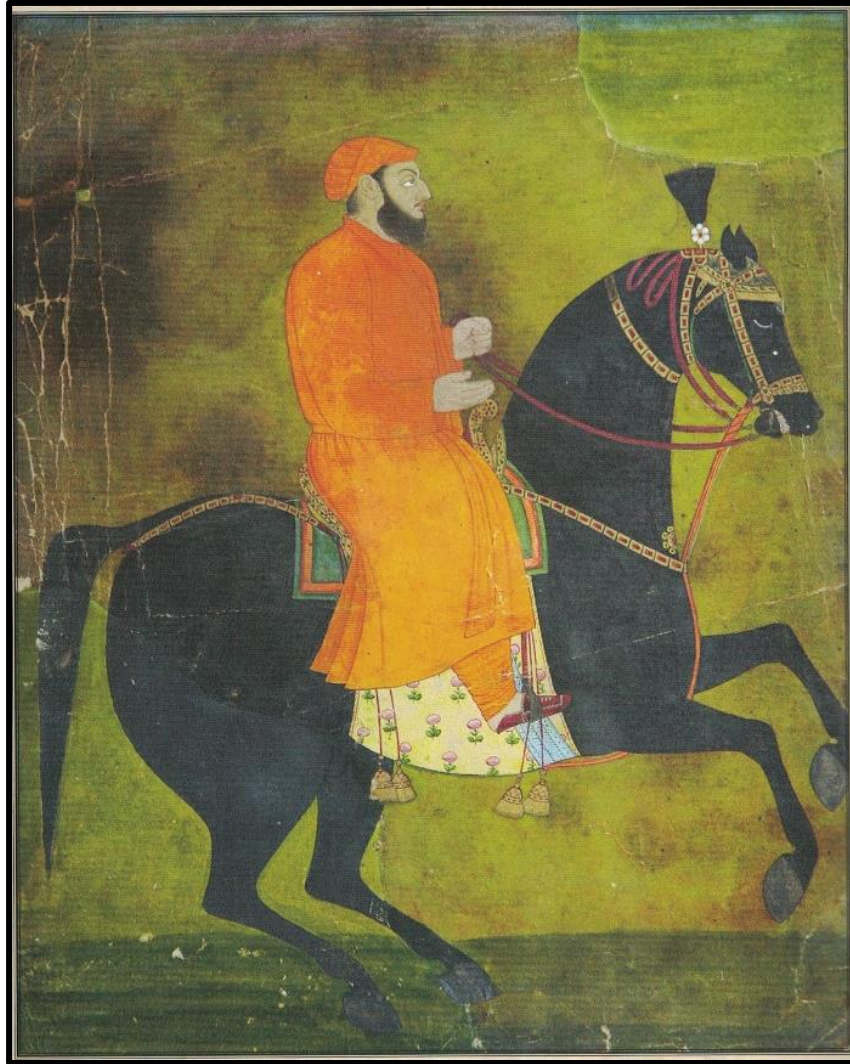
The portrait of Guru Hargobind in the coll. of Bhai Rup Chand's family (Singh and Singh, 2012, frontispiece) appear the work of another painter, who copied original portraits of Guru, in which style of face, one small eye, little curved eyebrow, small blunt beard, postures of hands, turban, robe, *patka* (waist band), its geometrical pattern and dagger as well as footwear are alike. Geometrical patterned *patka* was popular during Emperor Shah Jahan. The bust portrait in the coll. of Bhai Rup Chand's family is also not much delicate as the portrait of Guru commissioned by Bhai Bidhi Chand and may be done just for the study of facial expressions of Guru. There was not a royal atelier for the constant development of a style in the plains of Punjab due to political insecurities.



Lahore was already a flourishing center of arts and crafts, but it is furthermore sure that Mughal artists were working for Sikhs of Kiratpur, as being situated in the outer hills, Kiratpur became safe halt for art and cultural activities. Likenesses of Guru Hargobind (1606-44) and Guru Har Rai (1645-61) done in the mid of seventeenth century are also related with the later portraits of Arki and Bilaspur, both states also connected through marital relations, in which flat green background is common. Guru Hargobind's fashion style also indicate some relations with the fashions of Bilaspur and Mandi. The style of robe popular in Bilaspur during Raja Dip Chand of Bilaspur (fig. 3.7) and turban popular in Mandi during same era were also fashioned in Punjab plains.



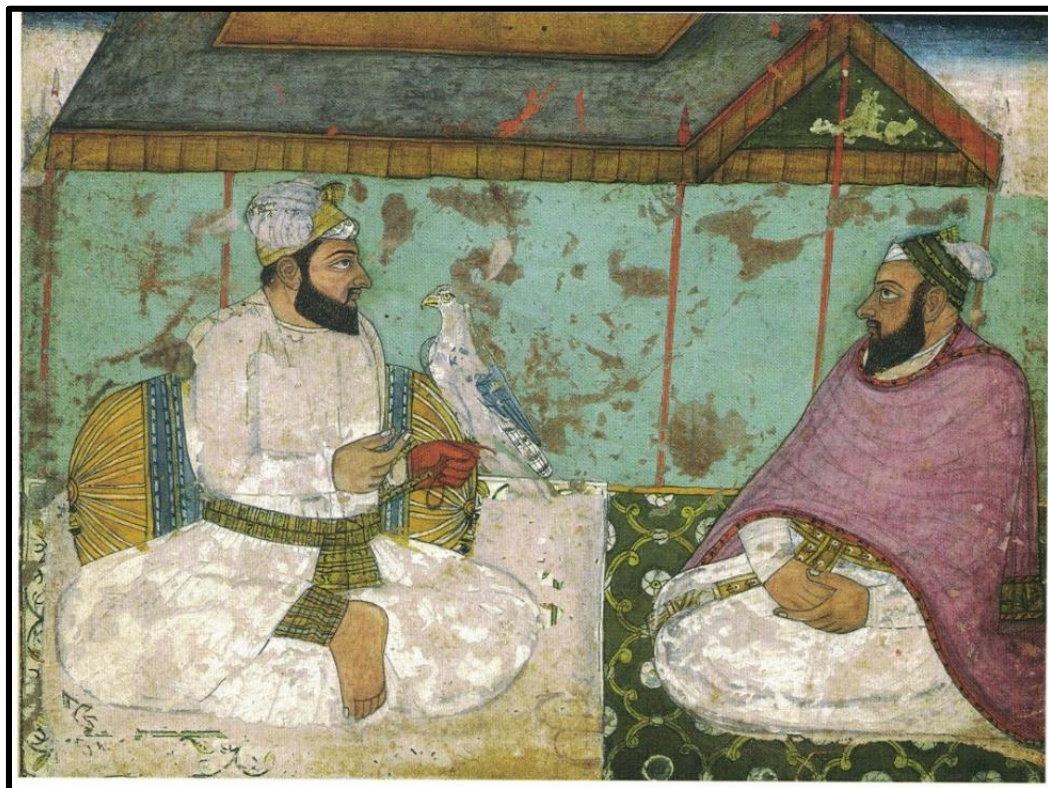
*Figure 3.1. Guru Hargobind, (Publ.: Singh and Singh, 2012, 115)*



**Figure 3.2.** Bhai Bidhi Chand, (Publ.: Singh and Singh, 2012, 184)

Illustrated *gutkas* (prayer books) of Guru Hargobind preserved at historic Gurdwaras of Punjab and Kashmir are the work of seventeenth century Kashmiri painters. Guru Hargobind's visit to Kashmir with Emperor Jahangir and availability of illustrated *pothis* & *gutka* as well as his portraits, all prove the commissioning of Mughal and Kashmiri painters at Kiratpur and Sursinghwal. A *Ragamala* series was also prepared during Guru Hargobind, now with Bagharian family (Singh Anurag, personal communication, May 9, 2017). Guru Hargobind was of artistic taste along with martial. Even his sword in the coll. of Sursinghwal is engraved with the figure of lion and Goddess Kali standing on demon, which is also an evidence of employment of skillful craftsmen, which offers early development of artistic activities in Punjab plains. Two Kashmiri *tarkhans* Bhai Maddu and his brother Bhai Dhingar were too associated with Guru Hargobind for

lifetime (Sarna Jasbir Singh, personal communication, June 9, 2018). A village, named ‘Gharuan’ near Rup Nagar, was a center of blacksmithy, deal with the utensils of ‘*sarbhloh*’ (pure iron). Guru Har Rai blessed the families of blacksmiths of village Gharuan. Even today, traditional families are working there.

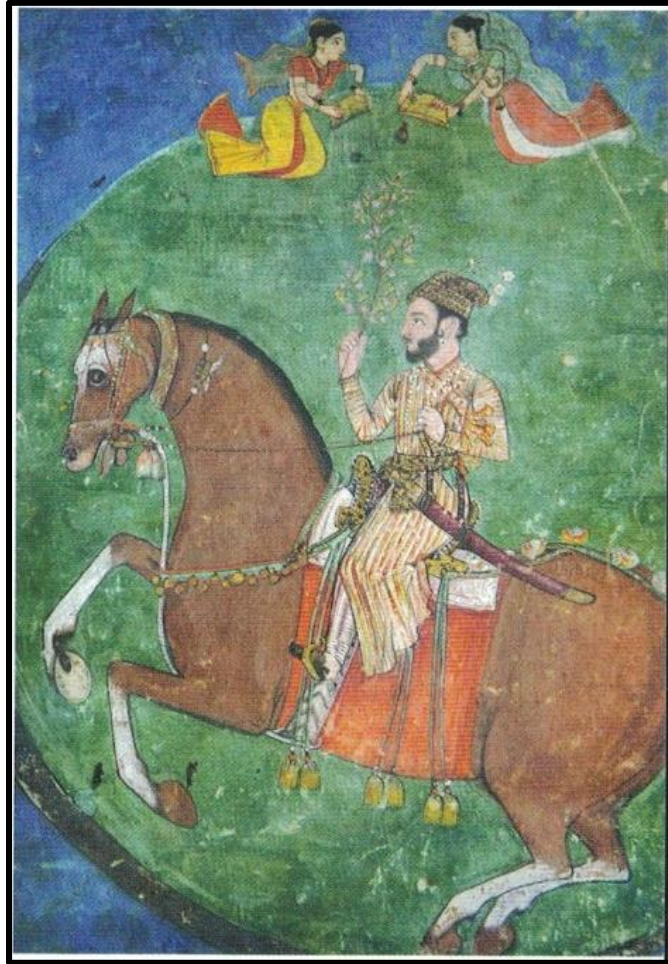


**Figure 3.3. Guru Hargobind with Bhai Rup Chand, (Publ.: Singh and Singh, 2012, 104)**

Guru Har Rai, born in 1630 at Kiratpur, succeeded Guru Hargobind at the age of fifteen and died at the age of thirty- one. He was thirty- five years younger than Guru Hargobind and sixteen years younger than Bhai Rup Chand. Residing at Kiratpur, Guru Har Rai was similarly associated with hill rulers and helped in releasing Raja Tara Chand of Kahlur from the captivity of Emperor Shah Jahan during 1645. Raja Dip Chand succeeded his father Raja Tara Chand in 1653 A.D., but his relation was good with Emperor Aurangzeb and he fought against Dara and Guru Har Rai, and later became sovereign of 22 hill states but poisoned at Nadaun by the Raja of Kangra (Singh, 1967, 95- 100).

Guru Har Rai also had friendly association with liberal viewed Mughal Prince Dara Shikoh, who was closely associated with Punjab and had an interesting spiritual discourse with Guru. Guru Har Rai also commissioned portrait of Guru Nanak. Prince Dara Shikoh, the eldest son of Shah Jahan, was in the habit of visiting saints both Hindu and Muslim. He met Guru Har Rai though he

was fifteen years younger than the Prince. There are various portraits of Dara meeting with saints and Dervishes. A group portrait depicting Dara Shikoh's meeting with Muslim saint Mia Meer and his disciple Mulla Shah of Lahore is about 1635 in Mughal Lahore style. Mia Mir laid the foundation stone of Sri Harmandir Sahib (Golden Temple). While meeting scene of young Guru with Prince Dara is not yet accounted.



*Figure 3.4. Guru Har Rai, (Publ.: Singh and Singh, 2012, 185)*



**Fig. 3.4.1.**

**Fig. 3.5.1.**

**Fig. 3.6.1.**

**Details of Faces of Guru Har Rai**

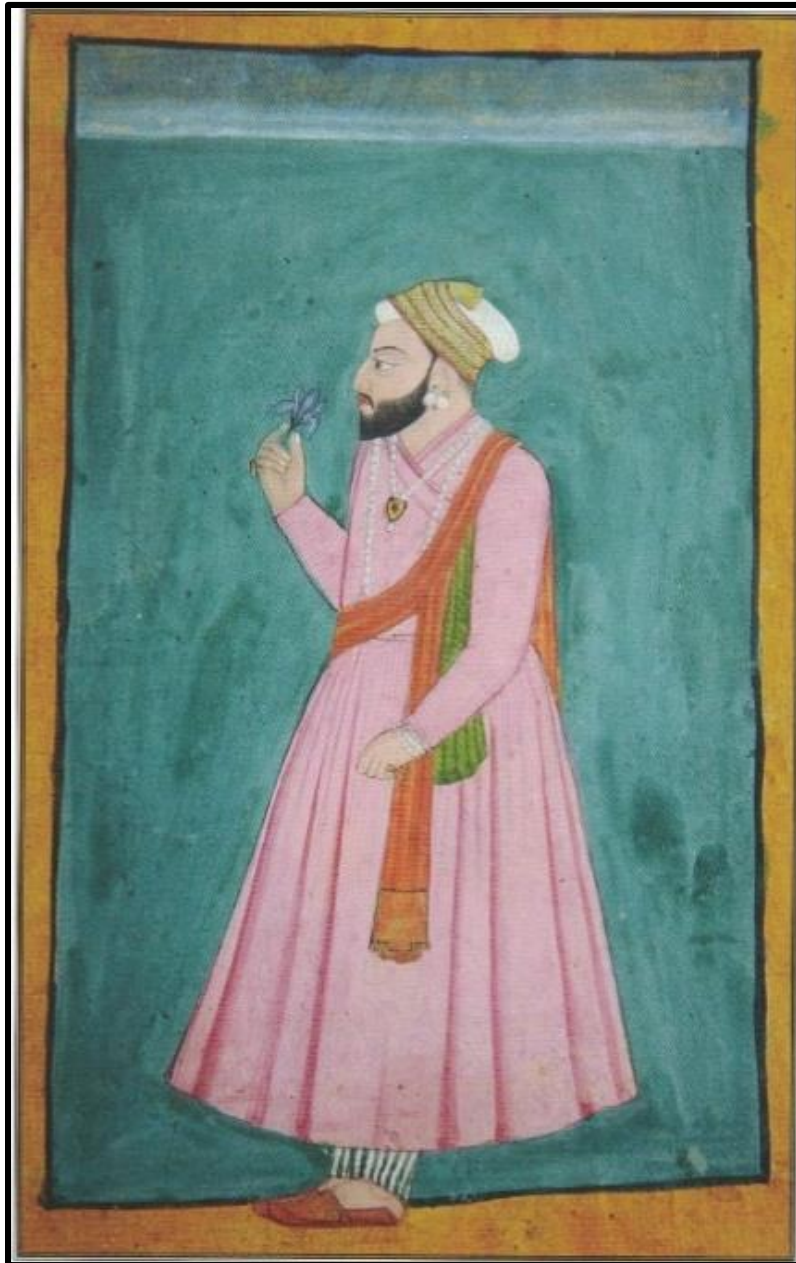


Figure 3.5. Guru Har Rai, (Publ.: Singh and Singh, 2012, 189)



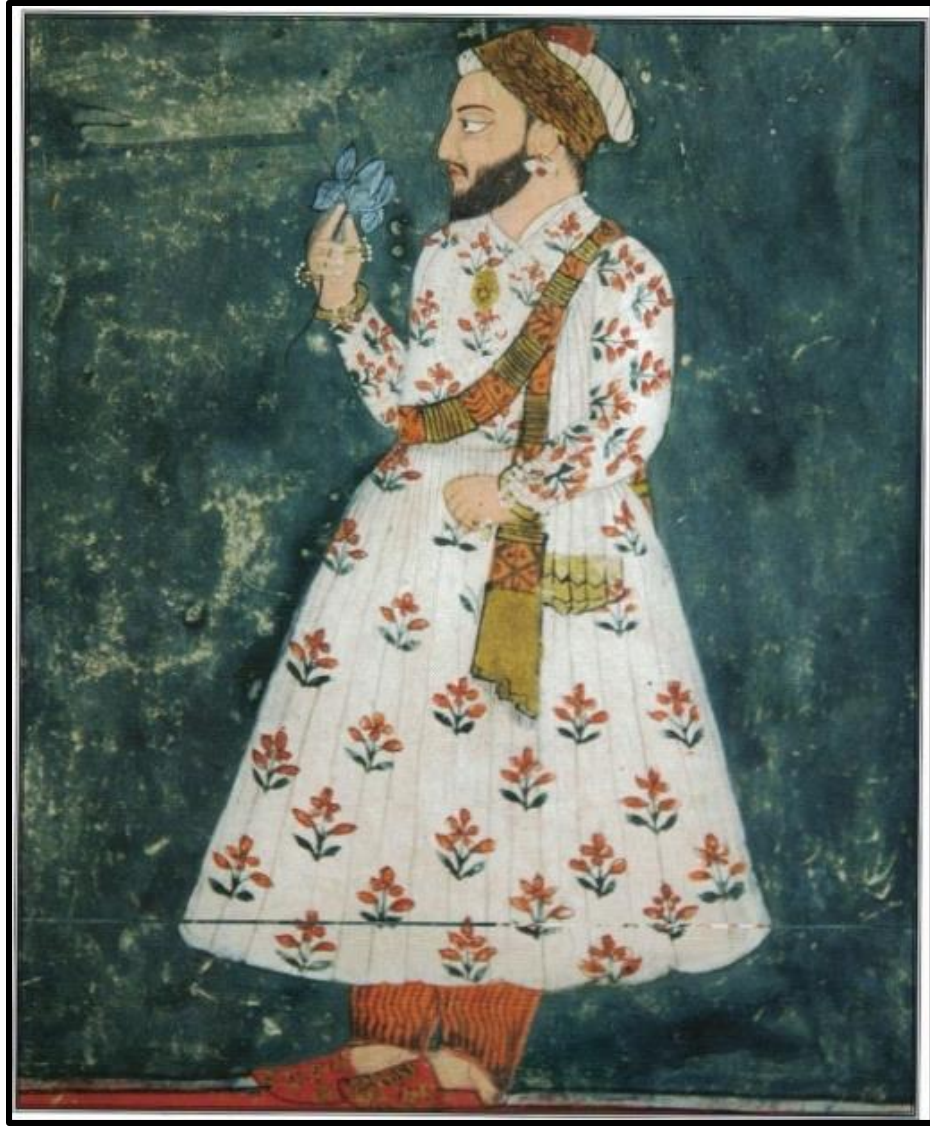
Fig. 3.3.1.

Fig. 3.3.2.

Fig. 3.6.2.

Fig. 3.6.3.

Details of Patterns



**Figure 3.6. Guru Har Rai, (Publ.: Singh and Singh, 2012, 191)**

Guru Har Rai (figs. 3.4- 3.6) often portrayed as mature person with bearded face, wearing plain- plated and richly flower patterned- plated robes of Shah Jahan period, stripped *payjama* and *angavastra* like *patka* unmistakably ‘northern’ dateable to the third quarter of the seventeenth century, which goes across the chest and over the shoulder before falling at the back and broad band turban of Shah Jahan style, holding a flower or blue coloured herb in right hand, having identifiable facial features from his young aged portrait (fig. 3.4) till matured aged (fig. 3.5). Although, the fashion of piercing ears was not followed by Sikh Gurus and was prevalent among Mughal and Rajput rulers but Guru Har Rai often depicted wearing earrings. SGGS does not support piercing of ears. ਮਖਟੂ ਹੋਇ ਕੈ ਕੰਨ ਪੜਾਏ ॥ (ਮਃ ੧) (*makhtoo hoy kea kann padhaye*) (SGGS,

1245). Guru Gobind Singh also supports the fact. ਜਟਾ ਨ ਸੀਸ ਧਾਰਿਓ ॥ ਨ ਮੁੰਦ੍ਰਿਕਾ ਸੁ ਧਾਰਿਓ ॥ (*jata na sees dhariho. na mundrika su dhariho*) (*Bachittar Natak*, canto 6, *chaupai/verse 36*).

The portrait of Guru Har Rai (Singh and Singh, 2012, 117) was also painted at the village of Bhai Rup Chand by another Mughal artist, because the style of Guru Har Rai's likeness and a portrait of Guru Hargobind seated with Bhai Rup Chand (fig. 3.3) has much resemblance and not much delicate as the real likenesses of Guru Hargobind. Guru Hargobind (1595- 44) visited Bhai Rup Chand (1614- 1709), when he was of thirty- five years, while the boy Rup Chand was of sixteen years. There is a portrait of Guru Hargobind with Bhai Rup Chand seated under a canopy (fig. 3.3), but the difference of nineteen years between two, does not appear in the portrait and Bhai Rup Chand appears aged person than the Guru. Although, Guru Hargobind's facial features appear absolutely distinct from original likeness, but Bhai Rup Chand's likeness appears real. Style of turban, robe and gestures are also not much fine and painter did not effort for so much detailing. Gestures of both are also not spontaneous. Position of foot of Guru is also wrong. Light and dull green- blue colour of background is a feature of late Jahangir and Shah Jahan period portraits. Ears of Bhai Rup Chand is also not pierced.

The proportionate portrait of Guru Har Rai in floral patterned robe and green background (Singh and Singh, 2012, 117) has much resemblance with another portrait in Sursinghwala coll. (fig. 3.6) also in similar style robe, on dark blue coloured background is the copy and blue coloured background is in Mandi style and a little disproportionate similar to Mandi style enlarged figures. The styles to capture the likenesses of Guru Har Rai are surely by different hands but blue coloured herb remains always identical. Possibly, more than one painters were surviving for the portrayals of Sikh Gurus in the mid- seventeenth century. The style of line, colours and patterns of turban, *patka*, wrap and *payjama* of Bhai Rup Chand (figs. 3.3.1, 3.3.2) and Guru Har Rai (figs. 3.6.2, 3.6.3) are much alike. The closeness of portrait of Guru Har Rai and Bhai Rup Chand concludes that artists were appointed little later for the *darshan* of Sikh Gurus by Bhai Rup Chand. Artists continued experimentations for the backgrounds.

On the other hand, some delicate likenesses of Guru Har Rai are also exist. Portrait of seventh Guru from Sursinghwala coll. with brownish red border with black rule (fig. 3.5) resembles with early style popular in Bilaspur (fig. 3.7) during Raja Dip Chand, while its blue coloured background with light coloured strip to depict sky is in Mandi style with enlarged likenesses sometimes crosses the border. The likeness of Guru Har Rai is as much alike and

authentic as in the coll. of his son Guru Ram Rai in Dehradun (Randhawa, 1970b, fig. 15). The likeness of Guru Har Rai at Sursinghwala (fig. 3.6) was copied after a delicate original likeness wearing pink coloured plated robe (fig. 3.5) painted from the same coll. Some fine artists were really active at Sursinghwala and Rup Nagar. He had good knowledge of medicines and herbs as well as warfare, which was depicted by the artists. An equestrian portrait of Guru Har Rai (fig. 3.4) holding an herb in right hand on the green coloured circle; symbol of prolific globe signifies love of the Guru with nature. Two seraph are pouring flowers on the Guru. Black pompom, *patka* of skirts, transparent (*odhni*) scarf and bun of hair; all depict merger of Akbari atelier with Jahangir- Shah Jahan period European influences combined a popular Mughal style in Punjab plains. Guru appears young aged and his turban with *kalghi* of three flowers also has resemblance with his father Gurditta's style of *kalghi* in Dehradun portrait. The *jama* of Guru Har Rai always tied in the left, while Muslim tied their *jama* to the right. Guru Har Rai always depicted wearing earrings of white pearls, which was not fashioned among Sikhs. The style of portraits of Guru Hargobind and Har Rai also have resemblance with Bilaspur style, in which dark green flat backgrounds are common during second quarter of seventeenth century. Later portraits of Ajmer Chand and Bhim Chand of Kahlur indicate the circulation of Mughal painters and their style in the area of Kiratpur- Bilaspur during second quarter of seventeenth century inherited from Jahangir period portraiture.

Guru Har Rai's portrait in transparent robe and *bairagan* (arm- rest) (fig. 5.39) also exists, which appears the copy from real likenesses by Punjabi or Pahari painters, as transparent thin robes of fine muslin was of late Akbar period and Jahangir period not in fashion during eighteenth century, which also evidenced the circulation of *darshan* among devotees. The iconography of Guru Har Rai emerged through Mughal painters during seventeenth century was continuously copied by Punjabi artists and altered by Pahari painters during last of eighteenth and early nineteenth century. After the death of Shah Jahan and arrival of Dara Shikoh and his son Suleman Shikoh in Punjab, artists started to migrate in the hilly regions of Punjab via plains of Punjab.

There is an imaginary portrait in Bilaspur style, at Ch. Museum (fig. 3.8), titled as 'Guru Nanak approached by princely figure'. The portrait is also inscribed above the head of figure in Persian '*shri guru awwal nanak ji*' and on the red border at the bottom in *Takri* '*guru nanak, guru arjun, guru har rai*'. The facial features of princely figure (fig. 3.8.1) has resemblance with Raja Dip Chand of Kahlur (fig. 3.7.1), far from the popular iconographies of Guru Har Rai and Guru



Gobind Singh. A curl of hair near the ear of the princely figure is same as in the likenesses of Raja Dip Chand and Bhim Chand of Bilaspur, wearing band turban, knee length white robe with dark upper of brown colour and short *patka* of Shah Jahan period. Its green background memorizes the background of original portrait of Guru Hargobind. Bilaspur was the first hill state of Punjab, where paintings on Sikh themes were experimented as the result of deep associations of Raja Kalyan Chand, his son Tara Chand and grandson Dip Chand of Kahlur with Guru Hargobind, Guru Har Rai and Guru Ram Rai.



**Figure 3.7.** Dip Chand of Bilaspur, (1650-1667), Bilaspur style, c. 1660,  
(Source: V & A Museum, no. IS.120-1954)



**Fig. 3.7.1.**

**Fig. 3. 8.1.**

**Details of faces of Raja Dip Chand and Princely figures**



**Figure 3.8. Guru Nanak approached by a Princely figure, (Courtesy: Ch. Museum, Acc. no. 1843)**

Guru Nanak perished in 1539 A.D. and the first Janamsakhi manuscript dated 1658 was owned by Pyare Lal Kapoor, based in Hauz Qazi, Delhi (Chaitanya, 1994, 9) copied by Gorakh Das, contains 29 paintings. It is another significant achievement which evidenced to locate the date of Sikh narrative paintings, during seventh Guru (1645-61) just after a century of Guru Nanak.

Guru Har Krishan (1661-64) also lived at Kiratpur. The portrait of child Guru with Mirza Raja Jai Singh paying homage at Delhi is also available, (fig. 3.9) which has stylistic resemblance with Bilaspur style of second half of seventeenth century, green background with herbs and cypresses trees in the background with small as well elongated human figures. Facial features of child Guru, his attendant and Raja Jai Singh appear common, not based on real likenesses, while floral patterned robes, *patka* and turban also suggest Bilaspur style. The portrait may be imaginary after the demise of child Guru in Delhi by royal painter, but surely work of seventeenth century, as green halo with golden rays around the face popularly used in Aurangzeb period and floral patterned robe with short *patka* embellished with floral designs and the detailing is of Mughal style popular in mid- seventeenth century. Although, Guru Hargobind and Guru Har Rai are not portrayed with nimbus, but Guru Har Krishan is portrayed with haloed face. Portrait of child Guru

also exists (fig. 5.47) with a lock of hair at the face, wearing a robe with short length overcoat of half-sleeved, depicts the contemporary fashion of Emperor Aurangzeb period and holding a flower in his right hand.



**Figure 3.9. Mirza Raja Jai Singh paying homage to child Guru Har Krishan,  
(Source: National Museum, New Delhi, Acc. no. 61.831)**

At the same time, a rival Sikh center emerged in the area of hills of Dun Valley founded by Guru Ram Rai, eldest son of Guru Har Rai, who was an opponent of Guru and a fellow & hostage of Emperor Aurangzeb resided here to keep an eye on the activities of Raja of Garhwal Prithi Shah (1635-c.1665), who gave asylum to Suleman Shikoh; son of Dara Shikoh in 1658 but surrendered him to Aurangzeb in 1660. Guru Ram Rai also visited Bilaspur with large number of his followers in 1660. During this period, Mughal painters started to migrate in hilly areas of Garhwal, in which Mughal painters Sham Das and his son Har Das in Suleman Shikoh's suite, retained by Prithi Shah after Suleman Shikoh's departure (Gupta, 2008a, Vol. I, 181, 228, 233. See

Lal, 1952, 46). At the same time, artistic activities also started under the patronage of Guru Ram Rai. A coll. of portraits of Sikh Gurus came into light in 1961, with the Mahant of Gurdwara Ram Rai, Dehradun, during a visit by Randhawa.

The coll. of portraits from Dehradun indicates some interesting facts. The name of Gurus inscribed on their portraits, with the term '*darshan*' (Randhawa, 1970b, figs. 3- 7, 15- 16) for earlier Gurus and Baba Gurditta, which means 'vision'. The term has equal meaning the word '*dhyana*', used for Hindu divinities. The portraits of Sikh Gurus are in Mughal style, which proves the existence of Mughal artists working under Sikh patronage. The coll. of portraits from Dehradun have its own significance, as the portraits of Guru Nanak to Guru Har Rai including Baba Gurditta and Guru Ram Rai exist in the coll. Except Guru Hargobind and Guru Har Rai; other Sikh Gurus are portrayed in common settings used for the earlier Rajput rulers seated on low wooden beds on white terraces, in traditional kneeling postures with one hand raised in conversation or instruction and another rested on thigh, accompanied by an attendant of Mughal-Rajput style, while Guru Nanak is portrayed wearing band turban of seventeenth century accompanied by his lifetime companions Bala and Mardana in two rare portraits. Other Gurus also portrayed wearing band turban of seventeenth century. Hill surroundings to create a background is also applied. Original likenesses of Guru Hargobind and Guru Har Rai in their known attires and postures, popular at Sursinghwala- Rup Nagar without attendants also influenced Dun portraits, as Bhai Rup Chand also visited Dun hills at the *dera* of Guru Ram Rai. The likenesses of Guru Hargobind and Guru Har Rai had been secured among Sikh devotees of Sursinghwala and Rup Nagar.

Guru Hargobind also appeared in the postures of a martial body riding on horse, holding a heavy sword, Mughal style shield and falcon in contemporary costumes of stripped-patterned frock (*gherdar*) robes as well as transparent delicate robe popular in Jahangir and Shah Jahan period. The changing style of Guru Hargobind's stripped turban wearing in young age (Randhawa, 1970b, fig. 9) till mature aged turban knotted on front also remained distinct from the portraits of other Gurus, which has little resemblance with Jahangiri turban knotted on front. Although, likenesses of Guru Hargobind from different coll. have some facial distinctions, but the style of robe is almost similar. The style of turban in the young aged portrait of Guru Hargobind in Dun coll. also has resemblance with the bust portrait in the coll. of Bhai Rup Chand's family. Although, portrayals of first five Gurus appear imaginary, while portraits of Guru Hargobind at different ages are original and authentic. The portrait coll. of Dehradun also solves the problem of patronage of artists

under Sikhs and existence of artistic activities in Punjab plains during mid-seventeenth century. An equestrian portrait of Guru Hargobind in the coll. of Shri Harish Chander of Chamba, attributed to Kashmiri painter of early nineteenth century by Goswamy (Goswamy, 2000, fig. 26) has also likeness Sursinghwala and Dun colls., possibly copied from an original by Chamba painter, as the idiom of flat red background is common idiom during last quarter of eighteenth century, while facial features, attires, postures and gestures are copied. The resemblance of Guru Hargobind's portraits till nineteenth century proves the copying and circulation of portraits as well as patronage of artistic activities under Sikh folk during early eighteenth century critical circumstances.

Guru Hargobind also portrayed with his sons and their faces are also identifiable based on true likenesses. Likenesses of Baba Gurditta, Baba Atal Rai and Baba Ani Rai also appear in the coll. of Guru Ram Rai. Baba Gurditta (1613- 38) is portrayed as mature personality, while Baba Atal (1619- 27), who died in the early age of nine, presented as a boy. The portraits are not stereotype but with authentic and distinct facial features. Baba Gurditta as grandfather of Guru Ram Rai also portrayed with nimbus around his face along with *kalghi* of three flowers. Copying of authentic likenesses of Guru Hargobind and his family members after many years of their demise indicates that Guru Hargobind and his followers had commissioned painters under them.

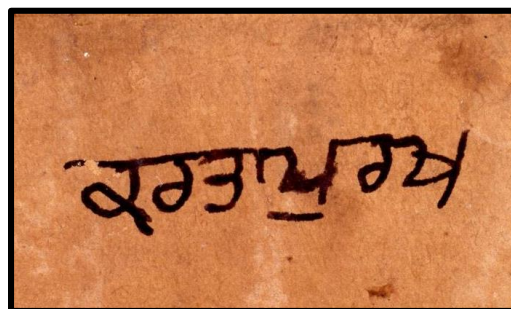
Guru Ram Rai himself appears a mature person and the text '*udasi sri guru kartapurakh ji*' inscribed on the upper of his portrait proves the authenticity of patronage by him, as he was popular as '*sri kartarpurakh*'. He is portrayed with divine halo around his face. He was worshipped by his followers. Portraits of Guru Ram Rai are in different style from Sursinghwala and Rup Nagar colls. Golden halo is also applied for his flattering likenesses. These type of portraits were popularized in Dehradun area by Mughal painters patronized by Guru Ram Rai. Probably, the posthumous likenesses of Sikh Gurus by Mughal painters are based on early renderings and the practice of renew legendary portraits was common among Mughal and Rajput rulers. It appears, that Guru Ram Rai prepared a succession series to prove himself the successor of Guru Har Rai as likeness of Guru Har Krishan is not existed in the coll.

Another inscribed portrait of Guru Ram Rai is at Asian Art Museum (fig. 3.10) in late Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb period, in which he is depicted in saffron coloured robe, turban and Jahangir period footwear, which remains open at the end standing against light blue ground with red and gold sky with clouds. A golden halo is also granted to adore him. '*kartapurakh*' is inscribed on verso (fig. 3.10.1), as he was popular by the name. Although, he was a rival of Sikh Gurus, but he

is depicted either seated on a wooden low bed or holding a hawk in his right hand like Guru Hargobind and ideal iconography of a Sikh Guru is also applied for his portrayals.



*Figure 3.10. Guru Ram Rai, inscribed on verso 'kartapurakh', 1670,  
(Source: Asian Art Museum, Object no. 1998.94)*



**Fig. 3.10.1. Inscription**

Influence of hill surroundings of Dun Valley can be sensed in the Sikh portraits. It was just like the development of Pahari paintings, in which a simple hillock appears in the background. The development of Sikh art was just like the development of Pahari paintings emerged from Mughal inspirations. Like the other provincial centers of art in India, the base of Pahari and Sikh paintings are also Mughal. But with the span, two different streams started to flow in different directions to fulfill the different needs under varied sponsorships. Efforts of Mughal artists of Punjab for Sikh themes also can be sensed in earlier portraits of Sikh Gurus. Walls of darbar of Guru Ram Rai are also illustrated with same likenesses of Sikh Gurus based on miniatures. A blend of popular Mughal and Punjabi style appear in these likenesses, which are not stereotype but seem individual and identifiable.

Today, easily identifiable imaginary portraits of Guru Nanak, Guru Angad, Guru Amar Das, Guru Ram Das and Guru Arjun Dev are available in various coll. wearing band turbans of seventeenth century Shah Jahani fashion, often ascribed to the Pahari painters of eighteenth-nineteenth centuries by Indian scholars, appear the copy of the seventeenth century Mughal work. Firstly, the Jahangiri turban along with Shah Jahani broad-band turban, short *patka* of Jahangir period and Mughal robes tied in left were popular in Punjab during seventeenth century. But first five Sikh Gurus wore a different type of headgear, worn by *fakirs*. The fashion of wearing royal turban decorated with royal emblem, started with Guru Hargobind, the sixth Guru during Emperor Jahangir after the martyrdom of Guru Arjun Dev in Lahore. At the time of accession, the *Masands* or tax collectors presented a *manji* (bedstead), a *seli*, religious book and a rosary to Guru Hargobind customarily. The Guru returned them envisioning to renovate the doctrine of the rosary to that of the sword, for the protection of faith, which could not be afforded without the arms. Proclaiming his intention of wearing arms; he wore two swords, one on each side, right and left, cancelling the *seli*, clarifying that one sword signified *fakiri* and the other *amiri*, merging the qualities of warrior and saint. Secondly, if the portraits of early Gurus are of late eighteenth and nineteenth century work, done by Pahari painters, then one can see the distinct style of turbans and outfits popular among Sikh *misaldars* and Maharaja Ranjit Singh, which also reflected in legendary portraits. Even Rajput rulers of Punjab hills also altered their fashions of wearing turbans. Thirdly, there are different types of iconography for Guru Nanak developed by different masters, Mughal prototypes like Mughal band turban and robe by Mughal artists' innovations of seventeenth century replaced by local Punjabi artists' innovation and experimentations during last decades of seventeenth and

early eighteenth century for Janamsakhi illustrations, in which soul of Punjabi folk can be sensed easily in the style of round turban, *seli* and robe of ascetic. The availability of dated and illustrated Janamsakhi manuscripts during mid- seventeenth century proves the presence of migrating Mughal artists' associations with early Sikh community. Thus, the Mughal style portraits of first five Gurus were emerged during seventeenth century by Mughal artists and further altered by Punjabi artists according to their knowledge during seventeen- eighteenth centuries and later, continuously copied and experimented by Pahari masters during eighteenth- nineteenth centuries.

The state of Bilaspur was a flourishing center of painting during Dip Chand because Mughal painters attained in Bilaspur in the second half of seventeenth century as the result of Dip Chand's (1650-1667) campaigns for the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb and his relations with Delhi. Mandi was also a center of art during early seventeenth century and also had marital relations with Bilaspur. After the demise of Guru Har Krishan, Guru Tegh Bahadur had two headquarters placing in two different hill states; one at Makhawal in Kahlur- Bilaspur and the other at Kiratpur in Hindur- Nalagarh. Guru Tegh Bahadur also stayed at Bilaspur for three days with his family and followers on the occasion of *Satarvin* (a ritual performed on the 17th day from death) on (1665) of Raja Dip Chand of Bilaspur, invited by the widowed queen. Rani offered a site of Makhawal to the Guru in the state of Kahlur for new settlement, but Guru paid for it and the work of construction started on 19 June 1665 A.D. (Singh and Talib, 1975, 27- 28. Also see Singh, 1967, 177- 179).

Portraits of Guru Tegh Bahadur were also commissioned under devotees of various areas by the hands of varied master painters. A Mughal style likeness of Guru Tegh Bahadur with small beard (Singh, 1967, see 84- 85), depicts royal Mughal pose, wearing Shah Jahan period robe, with floral patterned *patka*, and without *kalghi* & falcon, in which Guru appears younger. During his visit to Dhaka, royal attired Guru Tegh Bahadur had his portrait from a royal painter. The portrait was discovered by Sikh historian Trilochan Singh in 1958 along with a letter of Guru Gobind Rai dated 1694 A.D. and one illumined copy of Adi Granth. He was the first scholar, who on the basis of notes located this historic painting of Guru Tegh Bahadur in 1958 and published in his book. The description of the Dhaka portrait is also available in traditional Sikh accounts. To fulfil the request of mother of Bhai Bulaki Das, the chief represented of Dhaka, for making a portrait of Guru Tegh Bahadur, a royal painter of Shaista Khan, (nephew of Nur Jahan and the then governor of Bengal, was appointed in 1668 named Ahsan, to have a glimpse of the divine personality of the Guru. Guru Tegh Bahadur gave finishing touches to the self-portrait by preparing his radiant,



divine face with dazzling eye with the brush of the painter, (fig. 3.11), which also shows the awareness, interest as well as knowledge of the Guru about Mughal technique of *ekbal pardaz*, applied in portraiture. Arched eyebrow and bright eye is also depicting the sentiment of calmness on the face of Guru. Guru Tegh Bahadur was himself a scholar of *ragas* as well as a great warrior accompanied by his father Guru Hargobind in various battles during his early age. Small bearded face and curled mustaches, wearing floral patterned robe, with floral *patka*, and Shah Jahan style band of golden colour on red turban with *kalghi* and falcon resting on right gloved hand, seated cross legged on a terrace, Guru appears wiry and smart person in his Dhaka likeness and also presents the example of popular pose applied for portraits of royal India. The references of his dress is also available, that Guru was wearing a dark brown dress of Rajput style. The dress is still preserved at Benaras. The dimensions of the garb specify that Guru Tegh Bahadur was of middle stature and had a slim and attractive physique (Singh, 1967, see 203, 213).

Another portrait is at Christies Auction (fig. 3.12) wearing a delicate robe of golden coloured floral patterns with short *patka* and crimson coloured long embroidered boots of seventeenth century, holding a flower in right hand, appears aged person. Excellency and detailing is of pure Mughal style, probably painted for Amber ruler, because Guru was also associated with Raja of Amber. The portrait has facial resemblance with Dhaka portrait (figs. 3.11.1 and 3.12.1).

The hymns of Guru Tegh Bahadur was added by his son in SGGS. In the *bani* of Guru Tegh Bahadur, he says, ਨਾਨਕ ਮੂਰਿਤ ਚਿਤਰੁ ਿਜਉ ਛਾਡਿਤ ਨਾਹਿਨ ਭੀਤਿ ॥੩੭॥ (ਮਹਲਾ ੯). (*nanak moorat chitter jeon chhadit nahin bheet*) (SGGS, 1428). The hymn shows the knowledge of Guru about wall paintings.

The relations of Sikh Gurus with Mughal Emperors and Rajput rulers during the second half of seventeenth century also support the migration of the painters from Delhi, Amber-Jaipur, Kashmir and Bilaspur. Guru Tegh Bahadur traveled major parts of the country, accompanied by large group of Hindu- Muslim royal and common followers, delivering sermons and *kirtan*. After returning to Anandpur, Guru engaged in writing and listening of *bani* and getting written copies of *bani*. There was a huge crowd of Sikh followers from different parts of country established at Anandpur. Decorated manuscripts also support the patronization of Kashmiri- Mughal painters or illuminators under Guru Tegh Bahadur. There is an opening page of Adi Granth manuscript with the 'Mool Mantra' in Guru Tegh Bahadur's own hand, dated 1666 is finely illustrated in Kashmiri style, in the coll. of Patiala Archives. Close associations of Kashmir with Sikh Gurus was

established with the travels of Guru Nanak, continued during Guru Hargobind and Guru Har Rai. During Guru Tegh Bahadur, Kashmiri Pandits also arrived to meet the Guru, who were also expertise of Persian, Sanskrit as well as art of illuminating and illustrating. The love and affection of devotees also stirred the illumination of *pothis* as well as likenesses of Gurus by sponsoring varied painters.



*Figure 3.11. Original portrait of Guru Tegh Bahadur commissioned in Dhaka, (Publ.: Singh, 1967, frontispiece)*



*Figure 3.12. Guru Tegh Bahadur, (Source: Christies Auction)*



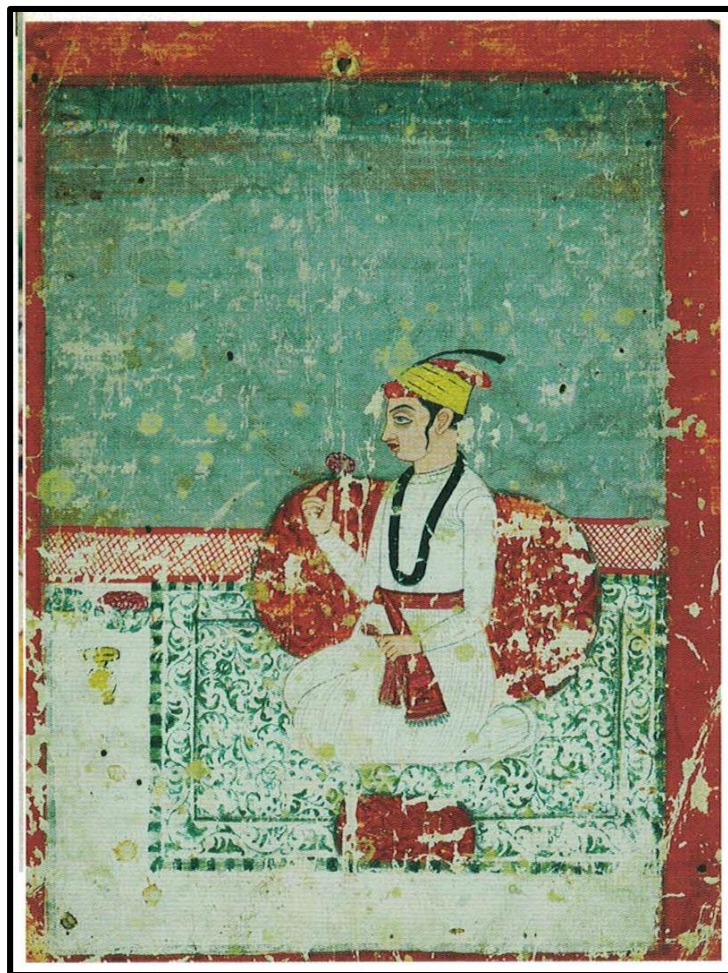
**Fig. 3.11.1.**      **Fig. 3.12.1.**  
**Details of faces of Guru Tegh Bahadur**

Born in 1666 in Patna, Guru Gobind Rai returned to Anandpur in about 1672 and succeeded his father in 1675 at the age of nine and his martial as well as etymological tutoring and upbringing was made here as promising child and future Guru (Singh and Talib, 1975, 62. Also see Singh, 2010, 68- 70). He was a scholar of Punjabi, Brij Bhasha, Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic, who inherited a literary and poetic darbar from his father. There are some childhood portraits of Gobind Rai in private coll. A childhood portrait at Gurdwara of Ahiya Ganz in Lucknow, is also mentioned by Piara Singh Padam (Padam, 2000, 285, 289). Another portrait from Patna is also believed to have been prepared during the Guru's lifetime (*hayati*), which was later copied by nineteenth century Sikh painter Kishan Singh (Aryan, 1975, 22).

A popular childhood portrait of Gobind Rai is available at the age of ten from the Patna area (Singh, 1967, see 214- 215). To see the plan red *hashiya* and black rule within red border, it can be assumed the work of local or hill painter of Punjab during the last decades of seventeenth century. On the bases of resemblances of facial features with father Guru Tegh Bahadur, it is clear that the portrait is of Gobind Rai (fig. 3.13). Identifiable and distinct face indicates the originality of the portrait. Like his father, he also wore red turban with golden broad- band, red coloured short *patka*, and black coloured woolen rosary worn by the *fakirs* and it shows the time of his succession at the age of nine after his father's martyr. Black rosary round the neck is the characteristic of the portraits of Sikh Gurus of last decade of seventeenth and early eighteenth century, but in the contemporary portraits of Guru Hargobind, Guru Har Rai and Guru Har Krishan, black rosary is not seen. In some later Mandi portraits, black rosary appears in Sidh Sen and Gurus' portraits. The practice of offering black *seli* on the occasion of Guruship ceremony was common among Sikh Gurus, but was rare in hill paintings. The facial features, Basohli style eye, round neck diaphanous robe, without earrings, fine lines and clarity of work shows the commission of fine artist from hill area. Golden coloured basin and flower pot near the child also proves the relevancy of style with early Pahari phase. The style of wooden balustrade also favors the early developed of art. The practice of toying with a flower goes back to seventeenth century.

There are accounts available of the *dastar* ceremony (turban) and Guruship ceremony of the child Gobind Rai. He wore zamurdi (green) coloured turban and ceremonial dress for the special occasion of *dastar* ceremony and was also putting on some arms. A *tilaka* mark of sandal wood was fixed on his forehead (Singh and Talib, 1975, 43, 49), while during the Guruship ceremony, wearing a garland of pearls round his neck and a beautiful turban on his head, a sword

hung tied round his waist, he sat on the Guru-seat, a throne, with cushion on which, Guru Tegh Bahadur used to sit, placed on a wooden platform (Singh, 2010, 84, 86- 87). Both accounts of the auspicious occasions do not match the portrait of child Guru. Simplicity and isolation indicates its non- ceremonial occasion or possibility of commissioning the portrait by any Sikh devotee during 1672- 1673 or copy of the original, as he always wore a *kalghi* in his turban from his childhood, popular as *kalghian wala*. In hill paintings of last decades of seventeenth century, a lock of hair is commonly seen. Stylistic changes can be grasped between the portraits of earlier Gurus and Guru Gobind Rai's portrait, in which design of carpet, sky strip, short basin and flower pot also have resemblance with the convention of hill paintings. To see the dullness of background, it is difficult to reach any conclusion, while dull green colour again indicates Bilaspur style, as in his early days, tenth Guru also resided at Kiratpur for some times (Singh Anurag, personal communication, May 9, 2017 and visit to Kiratpur).



**Figure 3.13. Childhood portrait of Guru Gobind Rai, (Source: Private collection)**

The wedded relations of Guru Gobind Singh associated him with Lahore. A new town founded by his father, 5 km. far from Anandpur named *guru ka Lahore* (Gurus's Lahore), was full of Sikh community surrounded by bazaars and abodes. *Baisakhi* celebration and advent of followers were sustained. Court of Guru Gobind Singh was a foremost fascination for musicians, scribes and poets beholding for new benefactors after the instabilities in cultural dogma instigated by the Emperor Aurangzeb had intended a decline in occupation at the Mughal court. The legendary accomplishments at his darbar echoed those logged for other monarchs of the era, who were his abrupt dogmatic foes.

Goswamy assumes, 'It is possible that a feeling that having such portraits made would amount to "idolatry" of the kind that Sikhism disapproved of prevailed among the followers. It is equally likely that the Sikh community, considerably grown as it was, still did not, except under Guru Gobind Singh, possess the air of a court to which artists naturally attach themselves. But nothing can be said with certainty. On the question of whether people at other courts where painters were active, or devotees who came to pay respectful visits to the Gurus might have had any likenesses of the Gurus made, there are indeed some scattered references to such portraits' (Goswamy and Smith, 2006, 30).

But traditional Sikh accounts convey that Guru formed the settings for bards, inscribes, artificers and musicians to congregate to the darbars. Due to the Emperor Aurangzeb's policy of conversions to Islam, they fled to the amiable darbar of the Guru. The created literature was surpassed the varied religions of the time with renderings of both Hindu and Muslim pious writings. Other themes were also covered from statecraft to love poetry. Vedic literature like *Mahabharata*, *Durga Saptashati*, *Hnuman Natak*, *Asvamedha Parva* and Guru's own writings in *Dasam Granth* includes *Jaap Sahib*, *Akal Ustat*, *Bachittar Natak*, *Chandi di Var (Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa)*, *Chandi Charitar*, *Ukti Bilas*, *Chaubis Avtar* (a narrative of twenty- four incarnations of Vishnu), *Brahma Avtar*, *Rudra Avtar*, *Charitropakhyan* (various characters of men and women), *Khalsa Mahima* along with *Zafarnama* and *Hikaaitnama*, which indicate the linguistic superiority and literary contribution of the tenth Guru. Above one hundred poets came to Anandpur and Paonta darbars from various parts of India to create secular- religious, medicinal and philosophical texts, in which Sainapat from Amritsar, Kavi Kankan, Bhai Nand Lal Goya were noticeable, who were handsomely remunerated. Guru delivered *Hukamnama* to the Sikhs in 1677 to invite poets, writers, painters and intellectuals to be present at his court (Gandhi, 2004, 109).

*Charitropakhyān* penned by tenth Guru, comprises four hundred and four stories depicting various characters of male and female. In *chritar* (character) fifty-one ‘*Tale of Sheel Manjari*’, there is a reference of true likenesses ‘*ਤੇਰੇ ਅਰੁ ਮੇਰੇ ਪਤਿਰ ਭੇਦ ਰੂਪ ਨਹਿ ਕੋਇ*’ ( *Charitropakhyān*, 51 - 8/1). On the other hand Guru Gobind Singh also denied idol worshipping, saying in *ਮਨਮ ਕੁਸ਼ਤਰਾਮਮ ਕੋਹਿਯਾਂ ਪੁਰਫਿਤਨ* ॥ *ਕਿ ਅੰ ਬੁਤ ਪਰਸਤੰਦੁ ਮਨ ਬੁਤਸ਼ਿਕਨ* ॥ ੯੫॥ (*manam kushteh am kohiyaan purfitan. ki aan boot parastandu mann butshikan*). (*Zafarnama, hikayat 1, 95*)

There is another interesting story of a Jain painter at Guru’s court. A spiritual teacher of the Jains, named Hansa, approached the Guru to perceive his mystical stature. Being a pandit, great artist and chief monk, he conveyed an offering of image of the dawn for the Guru. The Guru saw it and responded that technically the picture is adequate, but it appears painter’s soul was obscure and harsh (Gandhi, 2004, 183), which sights Guru’s perception for painting. Guru’s great poet Bhai Nand Lal Goya exemplified the psychology of a painter, who always submerged in his painting (*rubai / quatrain 4 of Kalaam-e-Goya*). He also wrote in the verse (77) of *Zindaginama* about universe, which reflects its creator, like an artist, who always submerges in his paintings.

In 1685, Guru founded Paonta Sahib on the invitation of Raja Medini Prakash of Nahan. Literary activities were continued under Guru Gobind Rai in the beautiful landscape of Paonta on the bank of river Yamuna. Fortunately, an extensive body of literature penned by both unidentified and distinguishable poets, who, in addition to other topics, composed and wrote about the Guru’s life. These poets would have come to the Guru’s darbar at both Paonta and Anandpur in search of benefaction and or out of devotion to him. During Guru Gobind’s stay at Paonta, Dehradun and Garhwal were also centers of art activities, while at Nahan, painting started a little later and earlier portraits of Nahan rulers came in Bilaspur style.

The stature and supremacy of the Guru raised in the region after his triumph in early battles against the Pahari superiors. Subsequently the battle of Bhangani, the erection of five forts; Fatehgarh, Holgarh, Lohgarh, Anandgarh, and Keshgarh commenced. Guru had moved to his court of Anandpur, which was at the height of prosperity as well incredible epicenter of literary efflorescence. Mann writes about Guru Gobind Singh’s court, that the writings offer explanations of how he (Guru Gobind Singh) sat on the throne (*takhat*), attended by his personal attendant (*hazuri taihilia*) waving the ceremonial flywhisk (*chaur*), and by the chamberlains (*ardasias*) who

announced the visitors, as well as by scholars (*muktas*), poets (*kavi*), scribes (*likharis*), musicians (*dhadhis/rababis*), drummers (*nagarachis*), and flag-bearers (*jhanda bardar*). All these were expected to be in attendance (*hazir*) (Mann, 2008, 259).

Although, after the battle of Bhangani, the relations of Guru Gobind Singh with Raja Bhim Chand of Kahlur became peaceful and friendly in 1701 and he also visited Anandpur for forgiveness from Guru and he received a robe of honour from Guru (Singh, 1999, 81. Also see Duggal, 1980, 10). Many people also migrated from Bilaspur to Anandpur for peaceful establishments. In the *Apni Katha*, Guru described the incident of the homecoming to Anandpur and leaving the villages of Kahlur after the battle. The possibility of migration of painters from Bilaspur can be assumed. While Goswamy pens that one comes upon a reference to a portrait of Guru Gobind Singh, having perhaps been prepared by a Pahari painter, dispatched by the ruler of Bilaspur to convey a likeness of the Guru. Whether the painter did indeed make such a portrait is not re-counted and such portrait has not survived (Goswamy and Smith, 2006, 30).

Abundant resources for comfort in the magnificence court of Guru Gobind Singh and disposition to oblige him on the part of all kinds of people exceeded every outskirts and the roads were bursting by caravans of folks carrying presents to him. Guru Gobind Singh also visited other hill states. Guru along with his family visited Ravalsar in Mandi at the invitation of Raja Sidh Sen and met here with other hill Rajas to discuss the political- religious policy of Emperor Aurangzeb. Guru Gobind Singh was generously entertained by the Raja of Mandi and stayed there for one month and blessed the city.

A rare portrait of Guru Gobind Singh by a painter, voyaged with Raja Sidh Sen of Mandi to record explicit moments, is now at National Museum (fig. 3.14), in which his appearance is fully distinct from the portraits founded in Anandpur scriptures. Green background with a band of white and blue at the top is a continuous feature of Mandi style. Portrait of Guru is in profile face without any emblem of divinity and his name is also inscribed on the portrait in *Gurmukhi* and *Takri* characters. The portrait seems to have been rendered about last decade of seventeenth century, when Guru Gobind Singh stayed in Mandi and was in all likelihoods a special visitor of Raja Sidh Sen. The portrait has distinct identity from earlier Mughalized features of dresses and artistic elements, in which his style of turban and robe had been changed and appeared of later years of Guru and the title of 'Singh' was also after baptismal ceremony of Khalsa. The Mandi portrait of tenth Guru is also important because it reflects a distinct identity granted by Guru to his



followers, a conical (*dumala*) turban and bearded face, which separates as well as liberal the Sikh Guru and his followers from Mughal- Rajput identity under Mughal dominancy.



**Figure 3.14. Guru Gobind Singh, Mandi, end of 17th century,  
(Source: National Museum, New Delhi, Acc. no. 71.93)**

There is a scene of 'Maharaja Sidh Sen Receiving an embassy' by a master painter of the Mandi atelier (fig. 3.15). In this scene, aged Sidh Sen is receiving two persons, seated in front of him. The young man's face has much resemblance with Guru Gobind Singh's portrait of National Museum and the other old age person is surely Mian Gopal Chand of Guler (also see Boston Museum, no. 17.2722), who also made his obeisance and large offerings to the Guru at Anandpur, after aided by Guru and his commanders in the battle of 1694-95 A.D. (Singh, 1998, 81. Also see Singh, 1992, 173- 176). This is a record of meeting in Mandi by a royal painter. In the foreground,

a blue coloured horse with other horses and some attendants appear. A person in unshaven beard depicts unavoidable Sikh identity among trimmed and clean shaven faces of rulers and attendants. In traditional accounts, it is said that Guru had a blue coloured horse and he is also known as '*neele ghore wala*' and a blue coloured horse is also appeared in the foreground. A blossomed tree is shown behind the young Guru. The robe and broad-waist band of Guru Gobind in both portraits also depict the fashion popular in Mandi. In the scene of assembly, Guru appears younger and his style of turban is distinct from the inscribed likeness (fig. 3.14).



**Figure 3.15. Maharaja Sidh Sen receiving an embassy, Mandi,**  
(Source: Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Acc. no. 1995.39)

Guru Gobind Singh shaped a race, which was not only martial, but also erudite and literary and was not less in any way from its contemporary Mughal- Rajput races. Tenth Guru would not have been proficient to structure a prosperous community at Anandpur if he only had warriors.

There were surely others, involved in nourishing the achievability of Anandpur. The Sikh tradition annals a narrative concerning a poet known as Nand Lal at the darbar of tenth master donning a weapon during the battles, only to be voiced by the Guru that in its place of wearing a sword, he should arm with his apposite weapon (*shashtar*), the pen. Literary activities in the darbar of tenth Guru was continued but in the battle of 1704 with Mughals and hill rulers, most of the original Sikh literature created at Anandpur and Paonta was lost in river Sirsa. After the tenth Guru; his wife and several devotees and some scribes made efforts to recollect the literature from varied sources. Some portraits of Guru Gobind Singh also found from the first original manuscripts of Sri Dasam Granth titled the ‘Anandpuri *Sarup*’ as that was the location where it was compiled in 1696 A.D. (Padam, 2008, 15- 16).



**Figure 3.16. Guru Gobind Singh, Anandpur Birh, (Publ.: Mann, 2008, 243)**

Distinct style of likeness of tenth Guru (fig. 3.16) with small, soft featured face and small beard also found pasted in Anandpuri scriptures with the name of scribes, commissioned by Mata

Sundri ji in the first decade of eighteenth century, also proves the authenticity of likeness of tenth Guru and his attendant, with fully distinct features from popular Mughal style. The standard of style is also better than its contemporary style prevalent in the hills. This style indicates the existence of a School in hills emerged at Anandpur, distinct from Mandi and Bilaspur styles. The style of tenth Guru in small conical turban with *kalghi* and *farra* (flag), wearing heavy blue- red robes, heavy *patka*, holding an arrow in left hand, seated in kneeling posture and a bow placed near him copied many times. The style is also distinct from Kangra- Guler style equestrian portraits of tenth Guru popular during late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The dress of attendant also has resemblance with the fashion of Emperor Farrukhsiyar (1713-19) and Mohammed Shah (1719- 48) period apparels, in which robes became long and longer to the bottom and besides became high waisted resulted in the *patka* being worn upper than the waist- line proper.



Figure 3.17. Guru Gobind Singh, (Courtesy: Ch. Museum, Acc. no. F- 49)



Fig. 3.13.1.

Fig. 3.15.1.

Fig. 3.14.1.

Fig. 3.16.1.

Details of faces of Guru Gobind Singh



Figure 3.18. Guru Gobind Singh, (Courtesy: Ch. Museum, Acc. no. 2457)

A similar style portrait of Guru Gobind Singh (fig. 3.17) is of little later period. Harsh facial features, more naturalistic treatment, symbolism and embellishment depict painter's experimentation and further development of Sikh themes. It appears the copy of the original (fig. 3.16). Blue border, the style of inscription at the top has very much resemblance with the early style portraits of Guler rulers, who had good relations with Guru Gobind Singh. Raja Gopal of

Guler also paid his homage in the form of large offerings to the Guru at Anandpur. But stylized tree laden with mangos, peacock on the terrace and golden rayed sun again force to rethink the work of Punjabi painter, different from flat red backgrounds preferred by Pandit Seu at Guler. While an equestrian portrait of Guru Gobind Singh with golden halo around his face, similar style turban of yellow colour and a robe of the same colour, holding a spear & an arrow on a dull background, during first quarter of eighteenth century, also exists (fig. 3.18).

The copying and circulation of Anandpur style portrait of Guru can be seen in Sikh scriptures, while likeness of Guru commissioned in Mandi state did not circulate in eighteenth century. Another reason of copying and attaching the portraits of tenth Guru with *Dasam Granth* may be an indication to differentiate it from Sikh scripture 'Guru Granth'.

Another likeness of tenth Guru (fig. 3.19) on a horseback, hunting a tiger also found pasted in a *Dasam Granth* scripture, is fully distinct from childhood portraits. There is an interesting account of hunt by Guru, at a distance of 8- 10 km. far from Paonta, when a man-eater tiger of white colour was troubling people. The hunt of a white tiger with a sword and a shield was done in the presence of Raja Medini Prakash and Fateh Shah and their companions (Singh, 2010, 157-158. Also see Gandhi, 2004, footnote 2 on 150). But the account does not match the painting as it appears an ideal equestrian portrait of Guru. Guru also mentioned in his autobiography about the hunting games and training of martial art and mock fighting to train the Sikhs. Mounted on a horse and releasing an arrow from a bow is an effort to capture a momentous scene. Detailing and clarity of facial features with curly beard of black colour appear authentic and contemporary as dated 1696, aged of about thirty. The fashion of green coloured robes while hunting was promoted by Mughals (Koch, 1998, 25) as well as green halo was also popular element of Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb period. Without any royal prop of hunting as popular among Mughals, only Guru is highlighted by the painter. Portrait also has stylistic resemblance with Emperor Aurangzeb period hunting scenes in which green colour is dominantly used. Pattern of the fabric also has much resemblance with Bilaspur style (see V & A Museum, no. IS.127-1954). Portraying the scene can be assumed by Bilaspur painter at Anandpur, as Guru also visited Bilaspur many times and settlement of painters from Bilaspur state to Anandpur is possible.



**Figure 3.19. Guru Gobind Singh, (Publ.: Mann, 2008, 244)**

A court scene of Guru Gobind Singh prepared in 1698 was found by Hatti Singh from Anandpur, and secured till 1783. It was published by Akali Kaur Singh in his book *Guru Shabad Ratan Prakash* (1986). The scene is very amazing and has stylistic resemblance with Bilaspur style. Guru is seated on a lower wooden bed surrounded by his sons, who wore small conical turban like his father. Two attendants are standing behind the Guru holding peacock feather fan. Some petitioners are standing in front of the Guru. The wooden balustrade is similar to the childhood likeness of Guru. Guru's facial features has much resemblance with the likeness of hunting scene.

There is also a dagger of Guru Gobind Singh, embellished with hunting scene in a private coll. in Patiala. Guru is portrayed hunting the tiger with his sword, and two elephants are facing each other, surrounded by a mounted person and some attendants, which really match the incident, happened at Paonta. These portraits are evidence that some of the proficient artists of the time had moved to Anandpur and were working under Sikh patronage. These paintings have fascinating communiqué with the voiced representations rendered by the bards singing at the darbar of Guru Gobind Singh. The line and colours of these portraits are from Pahari style. Migrating Sikh devotees as well as painters working at Anandpur circulated this type of stylized portrait of tenth Guru in other hill areas after disassemble of Anandpur darbar. Sikh devotees residing and serving

at Anandpur used to scribe their own *pothis* or prayer books. Some of them were good illustrators. There are numerous simple and illustrated *gutkas* in personal colls. prepared by such *sevadars*.

### 3.1.3 Era of Experimentations

After Guru Gobind Singh's declaration himself to be the last Sikh Guru in 1699 and supremacy of Guru Granth Sahib, imaginary pictures showing encounter between Guru Gobind Singh and Guru Nanak, had emerged significantly. Archer determines that it was an intense homage to his main achievement and showed how non-Sikhs might be expected to evoke him. It is significant that in no other styles of painting in the Punjab hills does this subject occur until the nineteenth century and then only in Guler (Archer, 1973, Vol. I, 354).

The experimentations and adjustments with Sikh themes started in Punjab hills during first half of eighteenth century. Guru Gobind Singh's later portraits appear imaginary accompanied by first Guru except the availability of real portrait. There are some imaginary portraits, which are mistakenly titled as '*Guru Gobind Singh (or a princely figure) encounters with a saintly figure*', probably Guru Nanak. Dr. Daljeet ascribed one of them to the Mandi style as '*Guru Gobind Singh meeting Sufi saints*' (Daljeet, 2004, 57, 137), while Khandalavala ascribed the same to the Kulu *kalam* as '*Falconers meeting Gosains*' datable between 1800- 1825 (Khandalavala, 1958, fig. 28). Another similar style painting at V & A Museum (fig. 3.20) is ascribed to Mandi style by Archer, who also rejected Khandalavala's assumption of Kulu origin (Archer, 1973, Vol. I, 354). Although, Daljeet also discussed the erroneous identification of the figures of Guru Nanak and Mardana by Archer. But in actual, both portraits are based on mid- seventeenth century delicate but imaginary portrait discussed earlier (fig. 3.8) painted in Bilaspur by a Mughal painter and later copied by Mandi painters roughly, far from the contemporary likeness of Gurus. These portraits create a bridge between Mughal, Mandi and Kiratpur- Bilaspur styles. Later portraits of Mandi style may be during the invasions of Banda Singh Bahadur on Mandi and Bilspur states to prove Sikh supremacy on the rulers of both states, after Guru Gobind Singh. The imaginary portraits of Guru Nanak in white plated garb dotted with black, holding a *morchala* (peacock feather) in left hand accompanied by Guru Gobind, appear first imaginary portraits by hill painters in hilly areas associated with Sikh Gurus, which is distinct from Guru Ram Rai's coll. painted by Mughal hands, in which Guru Nanak appears a Mughal official wearing band turban, *jama* and *patka*.





**Figure 3.20. Guru Gobind Singh and Guru Nanak, (Source: V & A Museum, no. IS.40-1954)**

In some other hill states, experimentations with Sikh themes started. There are some portraits of Guru Nanak in distinct styles from Mankot and Nurpur atelier, which suggest the interest of painters for Sikh themes, perhaps under Sikh devotees migrating to the hilly areas of Punjab, who tried to secure ‘*darshan*’ of Gurus.

### **3.1.4 Development of Popular Mughal- Punjabi Style for Janamsakhi Themes**

Except the political- religious clashes, Lahore remained cultural capital of Mughals during seventeenth- eighteenth centuries. During Emperor Shah Jahan, a manuscript with miniatures was completed by Zafar Khan, a prominent noble under Shah Jahan in Lahore, who was himself a patron of painters (Wilson, 1957, 419). Artists from the other regions used to initiate their training of miniature paintings and embellishment of manuscripts in Lahore, one of them was Dalchand, the son of the prominent Mughal and Kishangarh artist Bhavanidas, possibly commenced his training in Lahore (Court Paintings from Persia and India 1500–1900, 2016, 48).

Although the early Sikh art was developed by Sikh Gurus and devotees to secure the likenesses of Gurus along with Janamsakhi illustrations, which traveled and circulated far and near with devotees. The dated specimens of Sikh narrative art in the form of illustrated Janamsakhi manuscripts starts from the second half of seventeenth century. Evidences of dated material come with the advent of eighteenth century. A dated manuscript containing forty two illustrations is of

1724 A.D. with the family of Bhai Arduman Singh at Bagharian in Patiala. There is a long time between 1658 and 1724, and one can only assume about the practice of Janamsakhi illustrations in the lack of proper evidences. The one and the most significant specimen of illustrated Janamsakhi manuscript is B-40 (B-40; it's acc. no.) Janamsakhi at the India Office Library (Hans, 1987). This illustrated Janamsakhi manuscript was compiled by Daia Ram Abrol under the Sikh patron Bhai Sangu Mal, son of Dasvandhi and painted by Alam Chand Raj in the year 1733 A.D., just after thirty four years of Baptismal ceremony at Anandpur in Shivalik hills and after seventeen years, when Banda Singh Bahadur was executed in the year 1716 A.D. in Delhi. Susan relates the B- 40 manuscript with Lahore, Gujranwala or Kapurthala (Stronge, 1999, 209). There is remarkable stylistic resemblance between the illustrations of B-40 and the manuscript in the coll. of Bhai Arduman Singh, which shows the establishment of a tradition to illustrate Janamsakhi manuscripts in a common and popular standard style practiced in Punjab plains.

The growth of painting in Punjab is like general artistic growth of other regions. The evidence of painting must be assessed in the light of their social context; dates can signify the end or a late phase of an extensive and persisting practice of style not less than its incipience or widest fashion.

The style of B-40 illustrations is different from its contemporary Basohli style. It also has no resemblance with the iconography of Guru Nanak like a Muslim *fakir* in white garb, holding a peacock feather fan in his hand, emerged in Mandi or Bilaspur, two states associated with Sikh history of seventeenth century. The style of B-40 illustrations is also not associated with its contemporary Guler style. But the experimentation and development are of a distinct Punjabi style with Sikh themes. Shah Jahan period long flowing robes, broad band turban with sloping rear portion and the fashion came only after 1630, and short *patka* with floral decoration are used in B-40. The glimpse of architectures of red bricks and sandstone with niches and arches popular in Multan and Lahore during Sultanate and Akbar period form the backgrounds of B- 40 illustrations, but Akbar period *chakdar jama* and *atpati* cap are never used in Janamsakhi illustrations, which also accomplish the development of Punjabi style in the second half of seventeenth century for Sikh themes and concludes in the lack of evidences that influence of Akbar's royal atelier may be limited to the court, but the development of painting in Punjab during Akbar also can be seen in *Laur- Chanda* theme popular in Punjab before the narration of Sikh themes. The fashion of costumes is a changing trend, but architectural trends establish within centuries and their impact

remain long for centuries. The glimpse of floral patterns of Mughal frescoes also reflected in B-40 illustrations. Except the royal painters, some common painters also employed for Akbar's ateliers. Ibrahim Lahori and Kalu Lahori, whose slightly crude, angular manner, with attenuated figures signifies the bazaar-level recollections of a now little-known Sultanate style (Schimmel and Welch, 1983, 46- 50). Abul Fazl wrote, 'he (Akbar) employed more than a hundred major masters, there were many others in his ateliers, whose work could not have passed muster under Jahangir. Indeed, on coming to the throne, Jahangir released many of his father's painters, most of whom found work in the bazaars of Agra or moved to Rajput courts (Schimmel and Welch, 1983, 39). It appears that Punjabi painters learned popular Mughal style from Lahori masters and applied for Sikh themes. Painting of Akbari atelier can be considered as narrative than that of Jahangiri can be summarize as descriptive. A narrative style forms its specific conventions with a limited relevance to the surroundings. Although, a descriptive style arises with several conventions, continues to adjust and improve them and, when prerequisite and possible, espouse others from other sources. Its aim is more pleasing pictorial correspondence not with the types but, as far as possible, with individual instances of nature.

The depiction of three-quarter face with both eyes equal of Guru Nanak in B- 40 evidenced the continued experimentation in Persian- Mughal styles of sixteenth century. Development of a Punjabi style under Mughal influences, in which the disappearance of the second eye and the espousal of the strict profile as an indicium, was similar to the stylistic developments of Gujarat and Rajasthani paintings. The facial features of Guru Nanak is distinct from Mughal fine faces of Sufi Dervishes. Selection of populace is also from Punjab. Black pompom in the arms and waist, transparent scarf (*odhni*), skirt (*ghaghra*) with bodice (*choli*), white jewelry of female figures in B- 40 illustrations indicate a constant adjustment of a female type from Mughal Lahori style *Divan of Anvari* at Fogg Art Museum, to Punjabi elements. A golden coloured sun with human face in red- orange sky is also came from European influences of Jahangir period Mughal paintings, which also spread in Punjab and the idiom can be seen in the *pothis* of Dasam Granth and B-40 illustrations and also common in Rajasthan during second quarter of seventeenth century. Influence of European technique of light and shade also used in stereotype trees with star- like light green leaves, patches of dark- light green to depict small flowery herbs, cloudy sky of different realistic shades, backgrounds of pink rocks highlighted with blue- brown colours, orange- yellow coloured mango laden trees, peacocks and white cranes flying in the cloudy sky create a

sense of rhythm and realistic approach of Janamsakhi illustrators of Punjab. Akbar period Persian style mauve- brown coloured rocks of cylindrical shape was a popular element in Punjab plains, which also reflected in its contemporary *Ramayana* series of 1720 by Pandit Seu. Symbolism of fruits and flowers laden trees and depiction of a tree as a *chatra* were common and popular elements in Indian art.

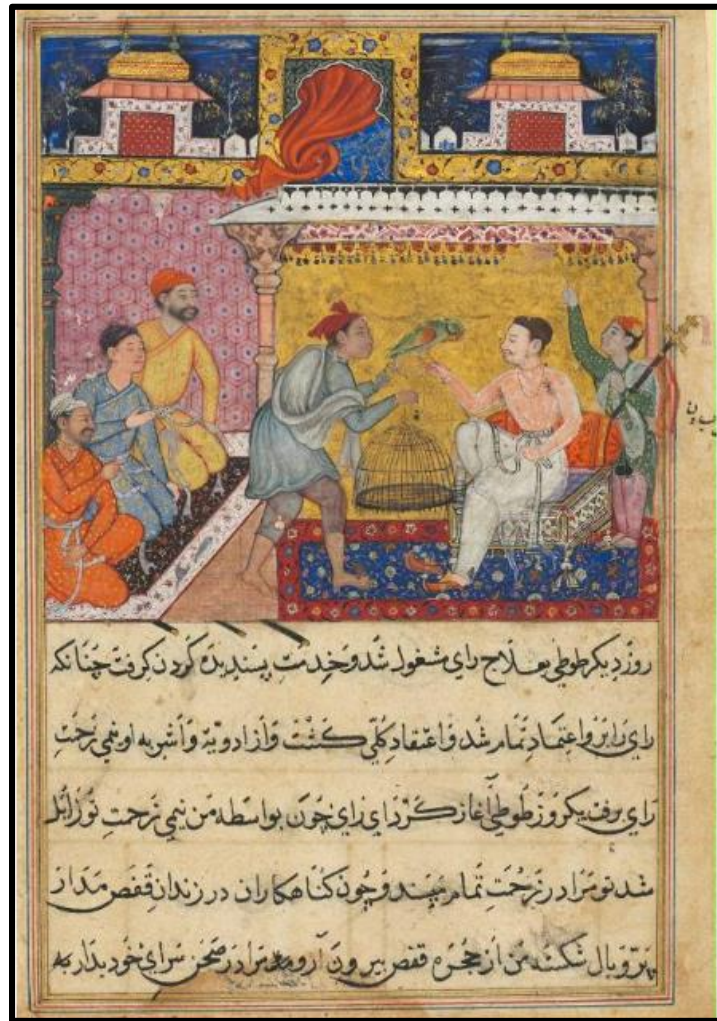
The early idiom of flat backgrounds of red, blue, green and brown popularly used in hill paintings, is not applied in Punjabi Janamsakhi illustrations. Slim figures and crowd scenes of Akbar period Lahori paintings are replaced by elongated and heavy figures of Punjab folk style. Hierarchical settings of early Mughal- Persian paintings is used to create two worlds in Janamsakhi illustrations. Horizontal setting of Jahangir period to create event on a single plan is also used, which fills the gap between typical Mughal hierarchical landscape settings and development of Sikh themes. B- 40 is important as being dated 1733, it solves the problem of development of a regional School in Punjab under Sikhs.

Although, the influence of Khalsa identity appears in the portraits of Guru Gobind Singh from *Dasam Granth*, while Janamsakhi illustrations remained uninfluenced, as the common iconographies of Janamsakhi illustrations had been established during mid- seventeenth century and was continuously copied till nineteenth century. But Punjabi painters appear fully aware of Sikh philosophy. Guru Nanak always depicted as a saint along with Mardana. A round turban for Guru Nanak and broad- band turban for Muslim companion Mardana and uncut hair and long beards are continuous elements of Janamsakhi illustrations.

Gestures and postures are also realistic and obvious. Knowledge of Hindu- Muslim philosophy to depict their fashion trends and habits in the form of saffron, blue, black and green robes as well as a variety of turbans depict the insight and skill of a common Punjabi painter working under a common patron. When the Punjabi text names the artist, it uses the term *likhna* (to pen), which connects visuals with scribing, ‘the figures (*surta*) are scribed (*likhia*) by Alam Chand Raj, the servant of the congregation (*Surta likhia alam chand raj sangat de tehlie*). The corporal figures are apparent as a writing, which marks Sikh epitomes and beliefs (Kaur Singh, 2013, 34).

Mughal style blue, yellow, saffron and white coloured robes with simple turban of child Guru Nanak, change into a *fakir* style robe, cap turban and *siropa* (literal meaning, ‘from head to toe) in his mature age. The work of B-40 Janamsakhi is not initial work, as lines, colours, forms,

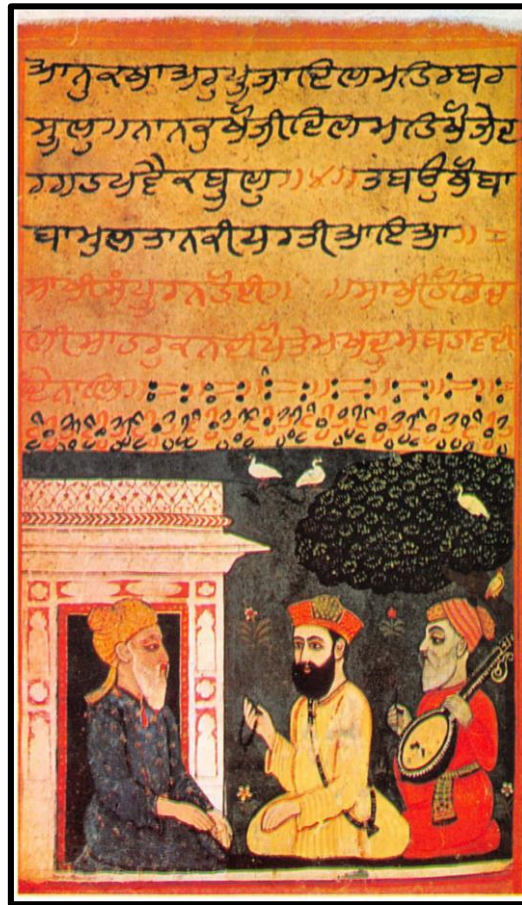
symbols, figures and awareness for sensitive Nature show a maturity of style. The alterations and experimentations in the work of Punjabi artists went ahead with the arrival of Pahari artists in Punjab plains and the assimilation of Punjabi spirit with Pahari alterations for the likenesses of Sikh Guru and Janamsakhi illustrations was continuous.



**Figure 3.21. Page from *Tutinama*, 1560-1600, Mughal,  
(Source: Cleveland Museum of Art, Acc. no. 1962.279.36.b)**

Akbar's ateliers were known for manuscript illustrations and calligraphy, inherited by Punjabi illustrators. Calligraphy written on upper or lower half of the page was a tradition of Akbari manuscripts. The style of placing calligraphy in the upper or lower half page evenly or in uneven proportions and divisions or panels are used in *Divan of Anvari*, *Tutinama* (fig. 3.21) and the *Khamsa* (Quintet) of Amir Khusraw of Delhi (The Walters Art Museum). It is a Persian trend of presenting sections of calligraphy into the picture space. The convention was continued during early Jahangir period, but later it went out of fashion. This style is used in B- 40 manuscript (fig.

3.22). The tradition of signing and naming a manuscript by scribes and illustrators were also inherited by Punjabi painters from Mughal traditions.



*Figure 3.22. B- 40 Janamsakhi Illustration, 1733 A.D., (Publ.: Hans, 1987, pl. 13)*

The embellishment of manuscripts advanced as an individual form of painting in Punjab with the nourishment of the peripheral inspirations, which mingled and fused with the local genus. Notwithstanding of the aspect of patronage and source of stimulation for the growth and advancement of façades of miniatures and manuscripts, in actual Punjab did bestow something palpable to the national rivulet of Indian painting which can never be repudiated. Thematic and stylistic resemblances as well as variations in Janamsakhi illustrations prove the developments and different types of experimentations with Sikh themes by Pahari and Punjabi painters on Mughal standards. Although, a constant royal patronage and promotion of paintings in peaceful hills based on mythical themes accomplished a dominant style. On the other hand, varied Mughal- Punjabi local and migrating painters or group of painters working in Punjab plains for common Sikh devotees were unable to create a single style for Sikh themes in the absence of a huge, royal atelier and constant patronage in unstable political circumstances of Punjab plains.

A shift of Sikh associations with Mandi & Bilaspur to Guler & Kangra caused the migration of Guler and Kangra painters under royal Sikh patronage which presented Guler and Kangra styles for Sikh themes during the second half of eighteenth century. Except the commissioning of religious themes, royal patronage for self-portraiture also granted by Sikh *misaldars*. The change of attitude and appearance of Sikh Gurus for portraits can be felt with the changing artistic trends. The visualization of Sikh themes started during Jahangir period, which extended into the northern hills with a dignity, absorbing Pahari idioms and later reflected its own style based on a distinct identity of Sikhism and influenced the hill paintings.

### **3.2 Mughal Legacy And Punjabi Artists Of 18- 19th Century**

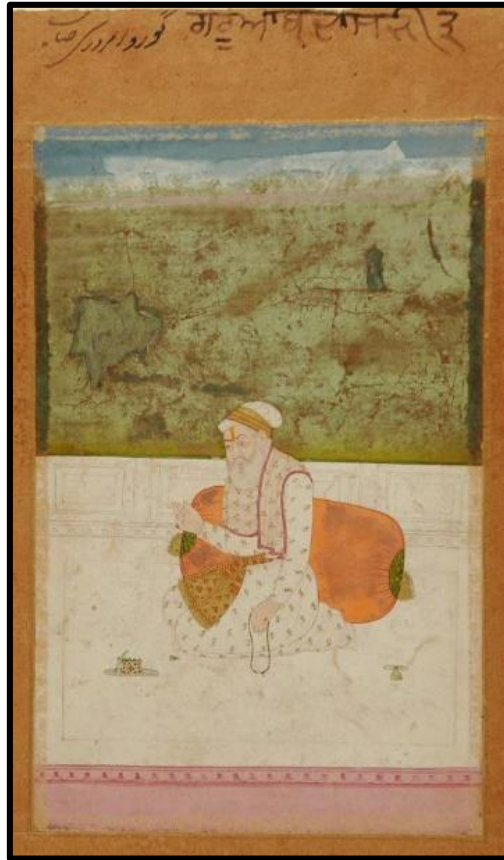
Whatever the nature and the level of benefaction, the area of the greatest confusion, or misjudgment, as far as painting in the Punjab is concerned, seems to be the range of themes treated of in it. The view commonly taken is that ‘painting in the Punjab’ is synonymous with ‘Sikh painting’, and Sikh painting is in turn “chiefly an art of portraiture”. In some ways, this is a neat, certainly a convenient, formulation, for it sets crisp limits and helps establish a clear identity for the work. However, the more one sees of painting in the Punjab in this period, and the more closely one analyses it, the greater one feels is the need to open the issue up and to question these statements. For there is far more to painting in the Punjab than themes that are easily recognizable as ‘Sikh’, or than portraiture alone (Goswamy, 2000, 5).

#### **3.2.1 Establishment of Legendary Iconographies**

There are various fine series of portraits of Sikh Gurus emerged during early eighteenth century by the painters of Punjab plains. Some characteristics became conventional for the likenesses of Sikh Gurus during early eighteenth century, as light green background, a blue wavy strip to indicate sky or high horizon, a white balustrade in the background, while in front, platform of pink coloured sandstone with or without an opening for entrance, Guru Nanak as an old aged person seated under a tree accompanying Mardana *rababi*, Guru Amardas as old aged, Guru Angad, Guru Ram Das and Guru Arjun as matured person, Guru Hargobind and Guru Tegh Bahadur resting hawk on hand, Guru Har Krishan as a child, while Guru Gobind Singh mounted on horseback or seated on a carpet or low wooden bed.

In early eighteenth century portraits, simple robes and decorative floral patterned robes were in use. Different types of flowers for robes and waist bands, while paisley, dots and square-cubes for wrap of Guru Nanak and carpets, were in fashion. Square carpet with dotted pattern and

square patterned wrap & waist band, which appears like a waist- belt and black coloured rosary are repeatedly seen in Guru Nanak's portrayal painted by Punjabi painters. These patterns also used in B- 40 illustrations. A big tree with birds is also common in these portraits. Similar style is applied for the portraits of Muslim saints like Madho Lal Hussain and Divan Hafaj, inscribed in *Gurmukhi* at Ch. Museum. Surly, the style was practiced in Lahore.



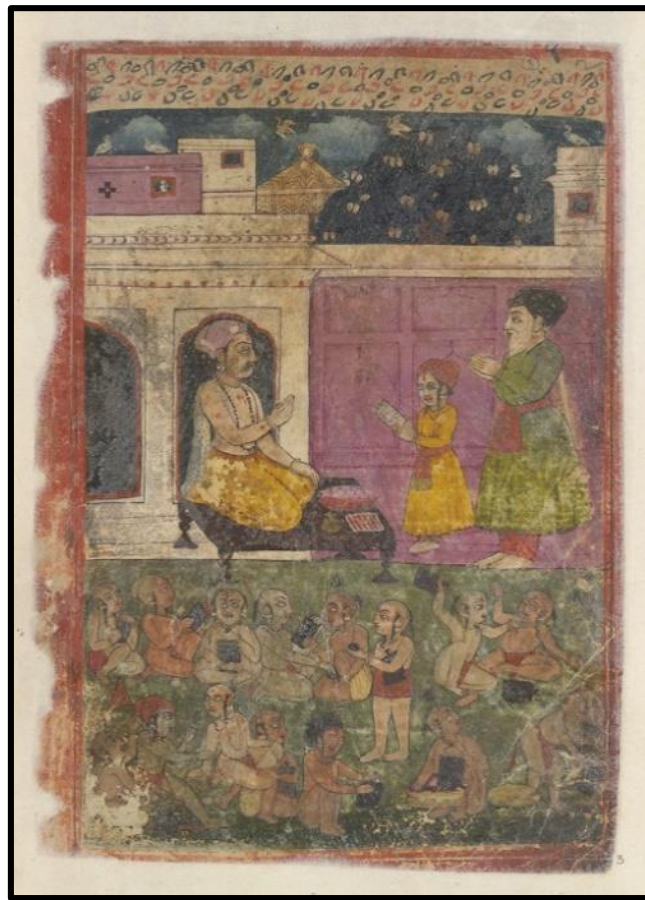
**Figure 3.23. Guru Amardas, (Source: Rietberg Museum, no. Inv.-Nr. RVI 1396)**

A series of portraits of Sikh Gurus is at Ch. Museum (acc. nos. 823, 1012 and 1013), acquired through Sham Sunder Bharaney and portraits from the same series also exist at Rietberg Museum, which has very much resemblance with early conventions, possibly based on the coll. of Guru Ram Rai. Facial features of Guru Amardas (fig. 3.23), postures, gestures, style of wearing turban, *patka* copied from Guru Ram Rai's coll. Guru Hargobind also appear in his known iconography. Guru Har Rai is seen in transparent robe (fig. 5.39), while he is often depicted in plan and floral patterned robe during last quarter of seventeenth century. Although, there are no portraits of Guru Har Krishan, Guru Tegh Bahadur and Guru Gobind Singh in Guru Ram Rai's coll. So, later painter added three portraits in the series.



### 3.2.2 Stylistic Establishment of Janamsakhi Themes

Although, Lahore was a flourishing center of Mughal arts but influence of slim figures of Mughal-Lahori illustrations does not appear on Janamsakhi figures, as local painters of Punjab plains created their own style for Sikh themes. Punjabi painters created unique masterpieces based on Janamsakhi themes inspired by Sufi compositions, which show alterations and adaptations for Sikh patrons.

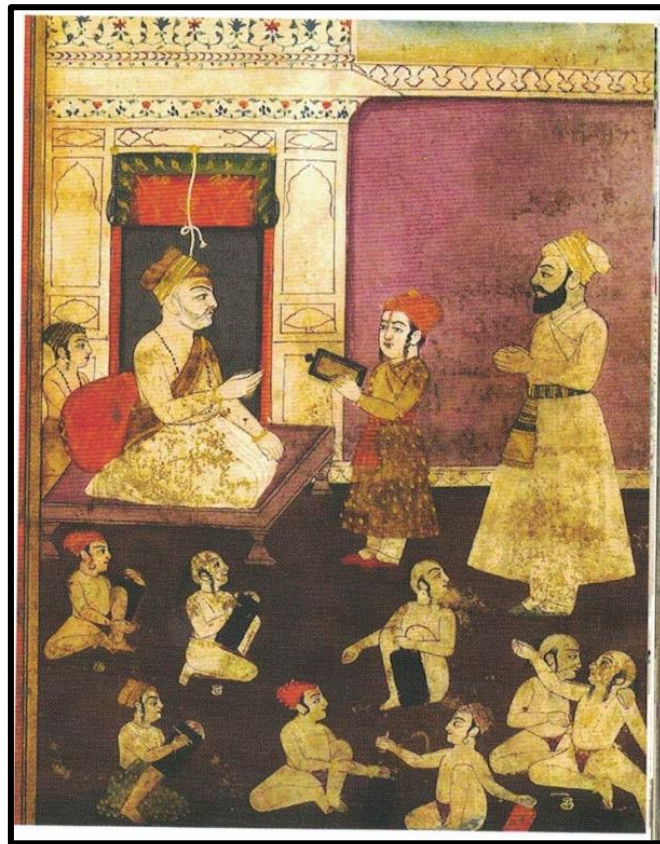


*Figure 3.24. B- 40 Janamsakhi Illustration, 1733 A.D., (Publ.: Hans, 1987, pl. 1)*

A manuscript having forty two illustrations, dated 1724 A.D. is with the family of Bhai Arduman Singh of Patiala. It gives the impression of the Pyare Lal Janamsakhi and has forty- two illustrations. The illustrations of B-40 Janamsakhi represent the unique style of Punjab plains. The style of the illustrations of B-40 Janamsakhi (fig. 3.24) is very amazing and not less worthy in any way from its contemporary hill paintings evolved in northern India. The figure of Guru Nanak is little stereotype but the ethnicity of Punjab plains is fully expressed by the painter Alam Chand Raj. To see the flowing lines, forms, variety & tones of colours and presentation of the local populace, the progress of art activities in Punjab plains can be sensed as it does not appear the

work on initial stage. The successful depiction of symbolism through forms, colours and perspective show the ability of the painter of Punjab plain to express the notions of Sikhism. Moonlight, flowers and mangos laden trees, cranes in the cloudy sky, pink bricked architecture, as well as white niches and arches of white stone are borrowed from Mughal illustrations.

A Janamsakhi is of 1747 A.D. with 152 illustrations in the personal coll. of Maharaja Yadvindra, Maharaja of Patiala. Another illustrated Janamsakhi with him is of 1770 A.D. contains eighty- two paintings.

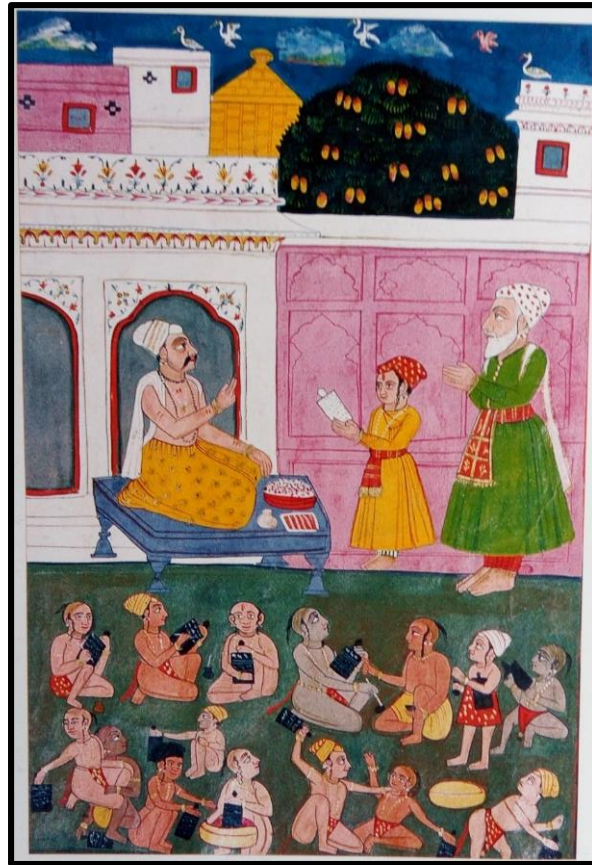


**Figure 3.25. Janamsakhi Illustration, early 18th century, (Publ.: Singh and Singh, 2012, 31)**

Another early eighteenth century Janamsakhi manuscript illustrations appear better than B-40 illustrations, but surely based on B-40 (fig. 3.25). The work is more realistic, fine and detailed, and continuous advance of style can be sensed, but by another painter. Although, slight variations also appear in early Janamsakhi illustrations because of different hands but a standard was set for the themes.

Two beautifully illustrated Janamsakhi manuscripts are preserved at Ch. Museum. The manuscript of acc. no. 4007 contains forty-nine illustrations and date of completion of manuscript is *samvat* 1813 (1756 A.D.) and the manuscript of acc. no. 3723 contains eighty illustrations and

date of completion of manuscript is *samvat* 1817 (1760 A.D.). Both manuscripts are in *Gurmukhi* script and have little variance. The illustrations are done in square space within the text, like the Pala paintings. Illustrations of both manuscripts are of eighteenth century, but sometimes mistakenly ascribed to nineteenth century by some scholars. The inspiration and influence of B-40 *Janamsakhi* is clear on both illustrated manuscripts even after a quarter century and mostly illustrations of these two manuscripts are inspired by B-40 illustrations.

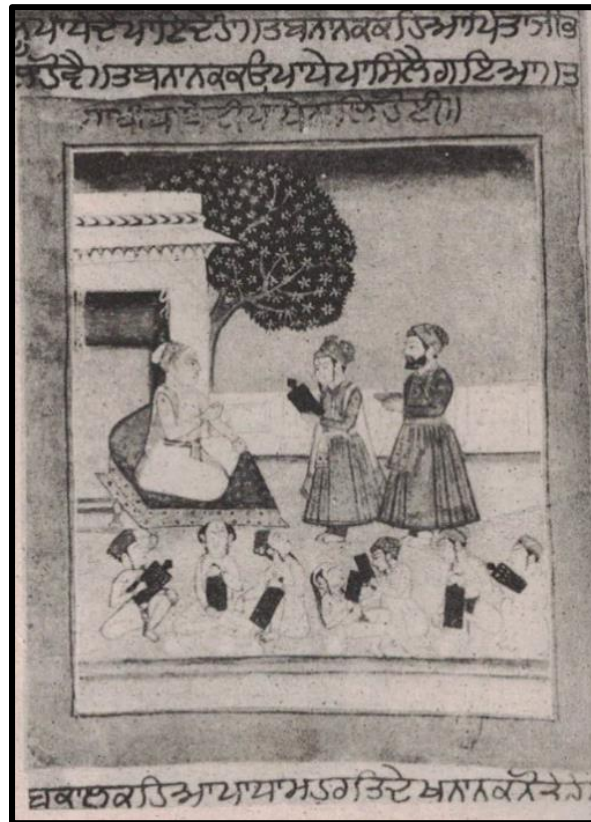


**Figure 3.26. Janamsakhi Illustration, 1756 A.D., (Courtesy: Ch. Museum, Acc. no. 4007)**

Although, some illustrations (fig. 3.26) of manuscript of acc. no. 4007 have accurate thematic and stylistic relevancy with B-40, while some are different from B-40. Stereotype grass and figures are added in new themes. Influence of Kashmiri two dimensional settings also appear in the illustrations.

The manuscript of acc. no. 3723 contains eighty illustrations (fig. 3.27). Stereotype Mountains of cylindrical shape, circular setting of grove and stylized trees with star shaped leaves, wavy patterned water and high horizon with stylized clouds are common features of the illustrations, but not a masterpiece. Some illustrations are based on B-40 illustrations, while added

themes are in some different style, possibly work of group of painters. It appears that group of local painters' expert in popular Mughal style adjusted Sikh themes for their Sikh patrons. Settings of *Ramayana* series of Pandit Seu and some illustrations of the manuscript also have resemblance, which also inspired the Janamsakhi series of Asian Art Museum of mid- eighteenth century. Kashmiri painters' were also patronized under Sikh patrons for illuminating and illustrating manuscripts during seventeenth- eighteenth centuries. Circulation of Kashmiri manuscript illustrations also influenced illustrations.



**Figure 3.27. Janamsakhi Illustration, 1760 A.D., (Courtesy: Ch. Museum, Acc. no. 3723)**

A Janamsakhi is with Harbhajan Singh Chawla, a trader of Amritsar of 1760 A.D. illustrated with eighty paintings. Janamsakhi in Patna of 1768 A.D. in the possession of Udasi Mahant; Shri Ram Krishan, is illustrated by artist Sadhu Ram.

The forty-one Janamsakhi leaves preserved at Asian Art Museum appear from different sets which is referred as unbound set in the museum record credited from the Kapany coll. and assumed as the work of west Bengal style. Undoubtedly, the leaves are also influenced through B-40 illustrations and illustrated manuscripts of Ch. Museum. Some themes are also added in this set. It may be the work of two or three painters as the basis of variation in style. Delicacy of

geometrical patterns for costumes, surface and carpets, high horizon, use of flat colours, a rim of mountain in the background and high horizon, traditional red border with white rule are the characteristics of these Janamsakhi leaves. A golden halo around the face of Guru Nanak is also added by the painter, while iconography of the characters are taken from early Punjabi style illustrations. Inscriptions are also written on the bottom in *Gurmukhi* script indicating the *sakhi* (story).

During the second quarter of eighteenth century, Punjabi folk style figures started to disappear due to the patronage of Pahari painters in the plains of Punjab. In Janamsakhi illustrations, ethnicity of eighteenth century is represented by local Punjabi painters. The earlier works on Janamsakhi themes opened the door in a new and diverse direction from persisting Hindu-Muslim themes to create an ideal base for the further development of Sikh paintings. It was also diversified path, as it was far from the Hindu mythical themes and Muslim Sufi, historic and courtly themes. Pahari painters advanced the work of local Punjabi painters. Through the associations of Pahari painters and Sikh patrons, the work of Janamsakhi illustrations remained continuous in the second half of eighteenth century.

Janamsakhi at the Punjab State Archives, Patiala of c. 1800 A.D. was purchased from Hakim Sita Ram of Amritsar, having thirty- eight paintings. Guru Nanak is represented as a child in all the paintings of this series. A Janamsakhi is at the Central State Museum, Amritsar of c.1800 A.D. with sixteen visuals. Janamsakhi at the National Museum, New Delhi of c. 1800 A.D., is a copy of the Janamsakhi created by Bhai Sant Das Chhibbar in 1777 A.D. along with seventy- four illustrations. Janamsakhi at the Panjab University, Chandigarh Library of 1845 A.D., was prepared by Bawa Ishar Singh Bedi of Phagwara. The manuscript of the Panjab University, Chandigarh is a replica of the Bawa's *pothi* having sixty- six paintings. A Janamsakhi is in the coll. of Pritam Singh; former Principal, Government College, Ludhiana during 1869 A.D. with one hundred- one paintings. It is very difficult to avail all Janamsakhi illustrations for stylistic analysis, but the existence of illustrations verify that painters were continuously commissioned under Punjabi populace.

### **3.3 Pahari Artists And Their Phraseology**

Raja Ghamand Chand of Kangra was appointed the governor of Jalandhar Doab in 1759. The first Sikh Nawab Jassa Singh Ahluwalia defeated Ghamand Chand in the battle of Mahilpur near Hoshiarpur, and forced him to pay tribute and Kangra hill states including Mandi, Kulu. Bilaspur

and Nalagarh had been made tributary till 1763. The Rajas of Nalagarh, Bilaspur, Kangra hills and Jammu touched his (Jassa Singh Ahluwalia) knees. The hill Rajas could not resist the rising tide of the Sikhs, so they found safety in submission. Raja Ghamand Chand and several other minor hill princes became tributary to Jassa Singh Ramgarhia in 1770. Raja Sansar Chand Katoch invited Jai Singh Kanheya to help him in getting possession of the Kangra fort. Jai Singh assigned his son Gurbakhsh Singh with Baghel Singh to Kangra. The three chiefs surrounded the Fort during 1783. Gurbakhsh Singh established his authority over all the Kangra hills up to Palampur (Gupta, 2007, Vol. IV, 34- 35, 43, 259, 261 and 280). Jammu state was also annexed by the Sikhs formerly. Later, Sardar Maha Singh Sukarchakia and Jassa Singh Ramgarhia helped Maharaja Sansar Chand to getting back the Fort from Jai Singh Kanheya. Maharaja Sansar Chand also employed Sikhs in his service.

Likenesses of Mughal governors, appointed in Punjab plains and hills, are also available today, painted at different hill centers during mid- eighteenth century. Real likenesses of Adina Beg and Mir Mannu; governors of Lahore, Zakariya Khan; governor of Kashmir were prepared by Nainsukh during mid- eighteenth century. The list of sixteen hill states of Punjab as patrons of arts in a magical diagram of *Devi* with fifteen arms in the collection of Shri Bhupendra Prakash Raina and Shri Chandu Lal Raina (Goswamy, 1968a, 18-19), perhaps made by Nikka or one of his sons, in which *Devi* also represents three names of Sikh patrons. Ramgarhia Jassa Singh; head of Ramgarhia *misal*, Shri Gurbakhsh Singh and Shri Jai Singh; leaders of Kanheya *misal*. Kanheya and Ramgarhia confederacies covered area of Punjab hills. The associations among Sikh *misaldars* and Guler painters were obvious with the extension of Sikh power. The Pahari artists started adjustments in their style for their Sikh patrons during the last quarter of eighteenth century.

### **3.3.1 Thematic Advancement**

#### **A. Legendary Portraits**

Experimentation in Mughal- Rajput style for portraits of Sikh Gurus started in the first quarter of eighteenth century under devotional patronage. Although, the portraits of Sikh Gurus of eighteenth- nineteenth centuries, reflect Pahari painters' imaginations, but these are depiction of character and personalities of Gurus. Guru Nanak as an old saintly figure surrounded by his fellow Mardana playing *rabab* and devotees; is portrayed in various stances, while Guru Gobind Singh's equestrian portraits accompanying unidentified attendants or with his five beloved impress everyone and are based on painters' knowledge of Sikh themes. Guru Hargobind as a stable

character having a hawk on his fist, Guru Har Krishan as a child and Guru Har Rai holding his armrest or *bairagan*, every character is well studied and portrayed with efforts. Various series with distinct stylistic features are at Ch. Museum. The copying of portraits was continued till the last of nineteenth century on various centers of Punjab plains and hills

## **B. Real Portraits**

Although, royal portraits are done for historical records, while commoners also had their portraits. During Sikh period, portraiture became really the art of commoners. Sikh *misaldars* also attained the feeling of commissioning self- portraits. Real portraits of Sikh leaders of Ramgarhia, Kanheya and Sukarchakia *misals* start to appear with authentic likenesses during second half of eighteenth century.

With the emergence of Maharaja Ranjit Singh in Punjab plains, the art activities increased with royal wealth and power. From 1800 onwards, likenesses of Sikh Maharaja along with his officials, who were the undivided part of Sikh kingdom forever, became a fashion in their well-known iconography in Punjab. Some portrait series emerged, containing royal figures, seated in isolation or in group, conversing with intimates, by one or more Pahari, Muslim and Punjabi painters' collaboration, portraying Maharaja Ranjit Singh and his officers, who were the part of his public image and had great importance during lifetime of Maharaja. Different series portray distinct heroes. These type of series emerged during Maharaja's lifetime and after him.

Numerous finished portraits, study sketches and line drawings of Sikh, Hindu, Dogras and Muslim officials of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, along with commoners emerged by hill painters till mid- nineteenth century. Archer concludes that 'a number of portrait sketches, depicting not the most famous characters at court but humbler employees, army commanders or visiting Sardars. Such portrait sketches appear to be from life and though, in certain cases, more finished pictures may possibly have been made later, they could well be trial ventures, increasing the artists' knowledge of Sikh character but perhaps going no further (Archer, 1966, 34). But in actual, Sikh *misaldars* commissioned painters for their portraits, and Sikhs were also well studied during seventeenth - eighteenth centuries by painters.

Equestrian and expedition scenes of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and his ministers Dhyhan Singh and Hari Singh Nalwa in isolation or with troop of unidentified likenesses survive at different museums.

After British annexation of Punjab plains, copying of masterpieces was also continued till the end of nineteenth century. Subsequently, the copying of portraits of Maharaja Ranjit Singh by westerners and easterners was also continued.

### **C. Domestic Scenes**

Painters observed the drinking habits of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, as well as his romantic personality and portrayed him drinking accompanied with his beloved. Paying homage to *Devi* and funeral of Maharaja through the scene of *sati* by Guler painters are to glorify his magnificence character. In the absence of imaginary love scenes of Hindu mythology and Rajput sentiments, to enjoy marital relations through paintings, Hira Singh Dogra & Maharaja Ranjit Singh with Lambagraon princess and Sikh governor with his Guler wife, visualized their marital relations, transforming through love scenes of Sikh heroes with Rajput princesses. These type of romantic scenes were limited to some Sikh heroes, but domestic scene of Maharaja Sher Singh is also available taking bath, resulted through the associations of Sikhs with Guler painters.

### **D. Sikh Court Scenes**

Sikh court scenes emerged during Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Before Maharaja Ranjit Singh, meeting scenes of Sikh *misaldars* with Guler, Kangra and Chamba rulers emerged during the last quarter of eighteenth century recording political associations, depicting identifiable likeness (fig. 3.37). There is also a meeting scene of young Maharaja Ranjit Singh (British Museum, no. 1936,0411,0.1) with Jaswant Rao Holkar in Amritsar. Probably there was a tradition to record political meetings among Sikh Sardars.

With the beginning of nineteenth century, splendor of Sikh court represented by migrating painters, to praise the power of Maharaja, which was continued with the successors of Maharaja. Politics of Punjab plains is also well depicted by painters. Seated on an oval rug, golden throne or chair receiving his officials under a canopy, Maharaja Ranjit Singh issuing instructions are common.

Just after the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh in 1839, Prince Kharak Singh was appointed Maharaja and some scenes of Kharak Singh's assembly with his officials were also prepared. After the death of Prince Kharak Singh, Kanwar Sher Singh ascended the Sikh throne. His court scenes also emerged after his succession with his loyal courtiers and his officials like Dhyani Singh. Some court scenes of child Maharaja Dalip Singh attended by his reliable officers emerged by the painter Hasan-ul-din working in Punjab plains. Attar Singh Sandhanwalia (fig. 3.51), Sikh governor of



Guler and other local Sikh chiefs also portrayed in their assemblies, except Sikh court of Maharaja Ranjit Singh.

#### **E. Historical Records**

Painters also started to record historical events under Sikhs and British officers. The recording of treaty signed between British government and the Sikhs is of great significance (British Museum, no. 1948,1009,0.109) and painters' observation for the characters to portray is also admirable. These are based on memory of the painter for character, he portrayed and composed on the surface, but skillful representation is also appreciable.

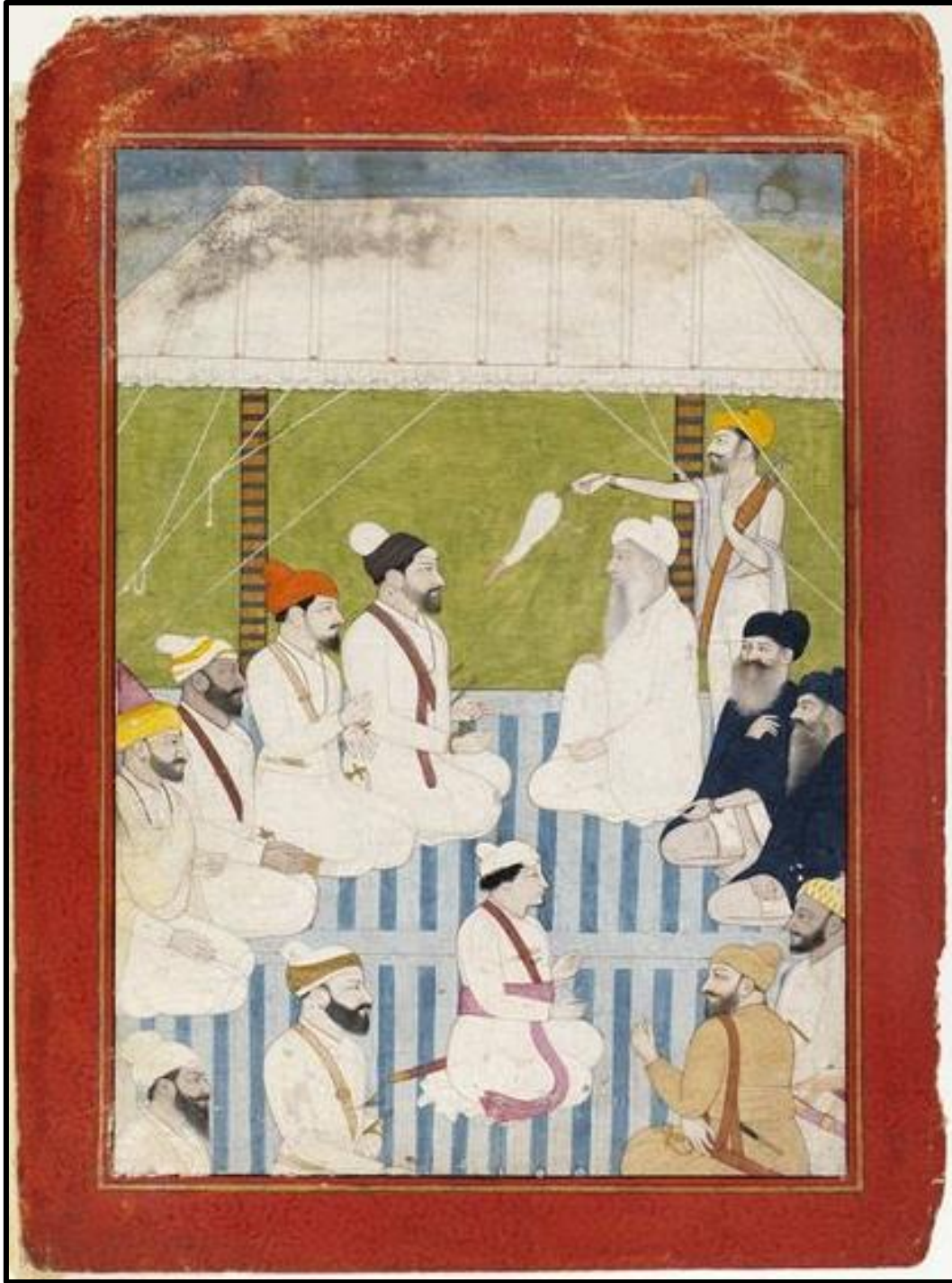
#### **F. Hunting Scenes**

Hunting expeditions are not new, but as old as human being. It was one of the joyful plays of royals for centuries. Some fine hunting scenes were also painted for Sikh patrons. Sikhs and Dogras were fond of hunting. Sher Singh's great hobbies were hunting and romance. A portrait of Maharaja Sher Singh depicting him seated in front of a caged tiger and attendants is at Sotheby Auction. Scenes of hawking and boar hunting were also painted under Sikh patrons. Even practice of falconry at Sikh court influenced Persian carpets (Phillott, 1908, pl. VI).

#### **G. Religious Narratives**

Guru Nanak's narratives are popular as Janamsakhis (birth stories), which are of various versions like Bala, Meharban and Puratan. Janamsakhi penned during different times, so these works are of some variations. From the second half of seventeenth century, populace of Punjab started to sponsor the Mughal- Punjabi illustrators to paint the manuscripts of Guru Nanak's life stories in the absence of Hindu myths. Artists usual in Guler style also started to practice Janamsakhi illustrations based on Punjabi popular style traveled through plains to the hills from mid-eighteenth century. The main purpose of illustrating the manuscripts was to understand and convey the *Nanakian bani* or worship the Guru through the miniature visuals preserved at home. Janamsakhi texts and *bani* of Guru are also the rich source to understand northern Indian culture and society of fifteenth century. Illustrated manuscripts, leaves and sketches inscribed in *Devanagari* and *Gurmukhi* script are now survive, which prove the authenticity and development of Sikh religious paintings. The whole work have thematic resemblances with each other, while the work excludes the stylistic likeness, painted through different hands.

#### **3.3.2 Progressive Portrayals**



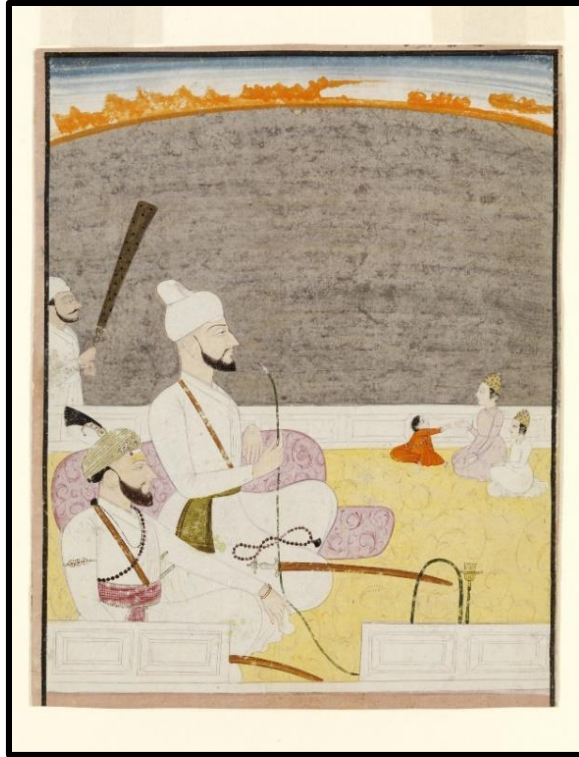
**Figure 3.28. Jai Singh Kanheya with Hill Rulers,**  
(Source: V & A Museum, no. IS.128-1955)

Jai Singh Kanheya, chief of Kanheya *misal*, was a patron of art, under whom, family members of Nainsukh and Purkhu were employed. There are some portraits available of early Guler idioms (Ch. Museum, acc. nos. 2703, 2757) and some record his meetings (fig. 3.28) with hill chiefs Raja

Raj Singh of Chamba, Raja Prakash Chand of Guler, Raja Jagrup Singh Jaswal, Raja Narain Singh of Siba along with Wazirs and Mian Katoch Sansar Chand; tributaries of Kanheya *misal* to fulfill the needs of identification of personages rather than interest in portraiture, with simple backgrounds and stripped carpet of mauve colour, while arrow in hand is a symbol of sovereignty (figs. 3.31 and 3.32). Copies of meeting scenes also prepared by artists (Ch. Museum, acc. no. 250 is copy of fig. 3.28).

Although, Gurbakhsh Singh Kanheya (fig. 3.31), son of Jai Singh Kanheya, died in young age, but painterly activities were continued under his patronage. Some of his portraits at different ages are in the coll. of Raja Dhruv Dev Chand of Lambagraon, now at Ch. Museum and Mehta coll. Possibly, portraits of Gurbakhsh Singh were done by the same painter, working for Raja Ghamand Chand. The style of the portraits of Raja Ghamand Chand and Raja Tegh Chand (figs. 3.29- 3.30) with grey background and yellow carpet embellished with curved line pattern have much resemblance with the portraits of Gurbakhsh Singh. Even portrait of Raja Ghamand Chand (fig. 3.29) is inscribed in *Gurmukhi* on reverse as '*raja ghamanda chanda raja tega chanda raja sansar chanda miha phate singh miha man singh katoch raje mihe*'. Another portrait of Raja Ghamand Chand (Ch. Museum, acc. no. 356) has square patterned yellow carpet and same patterned carpet is also applied for the likeness of Tara Singh Ghaiba (Ch. Museum, acc. no. 2758). Attendants of Ghamand Chand and Tegh Chand wear Sikh *misal* period turban (figs. 3.29- 3.30), distinct from Mughal- Rajput appearance. The style of early portraits and Persian inscriptions at the portraits of Kangra during Raja Ghamand Chand and Raja Tegh Chand (Archer, 1973, Vol. II, Kangra, pls. 3, 6, 8 (i- xv)) are similar to the portrait of Gurbakhsh Singh Kanheya (fig. 3.31), which goes till 1800.

In the likeness of Raja Amar Singh (fig. 5.135), he is portrayed as an old person with white bearded face. Reference of two persons with same name come from history of *misal* era. One, Raja Amar Singh Phul (1748-1782) of Patiala, who was contemporary of Raja Abhai Chand Katoch and a fellow of Tara Singh Ghaiba, who died at the age of 35, while another, Amar Singh Bagga was the fellow of Kanheyas based in Sujampur (Gupta, 2007, Vol. IV, 39, 42, 56, 262 and 264). It is possible that portrayed person was the fellow of Kanheyas. Portraits of Bhag Singh Ahluwalia (fig. 3.32) and Tara Singh Ghaiba of Rahon; companions of Kanheyas and Ramgarhias are also exist. Tara Singh Ghaiba was the leader of the Dallewalia *misal* and companion of Sardar Baghel Singh, who rendered great help to Baghel Singh in constructing seven Gurdwaras in Delhi.



**Figure 3.29.** Raja Ghamand Chand, c. 1770, inscribed in *Gurmukhi*,  
(Source: V & A Museum, no. IS.6-1956)



**Figure 3.30.** Raja Tegh Chand, c. 1770 - 1775, (Source: V & A Museum, no. IS.5-1956)

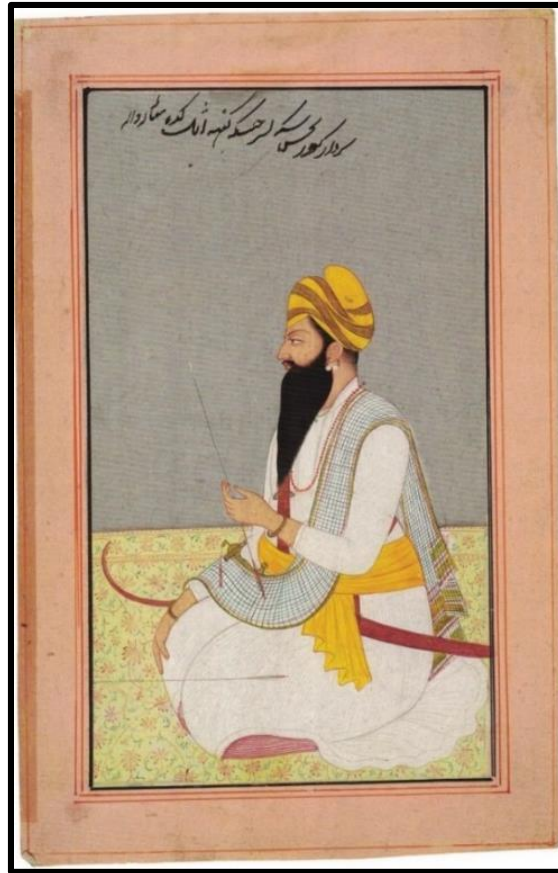


Figure 3.31. S. Gurbakhsh Singh, (Courtesy: Ch. Museum, no. 2756)

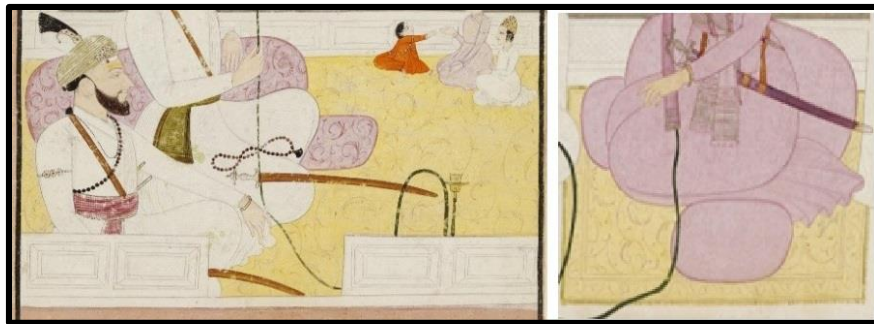


Fig. 3.29.1.

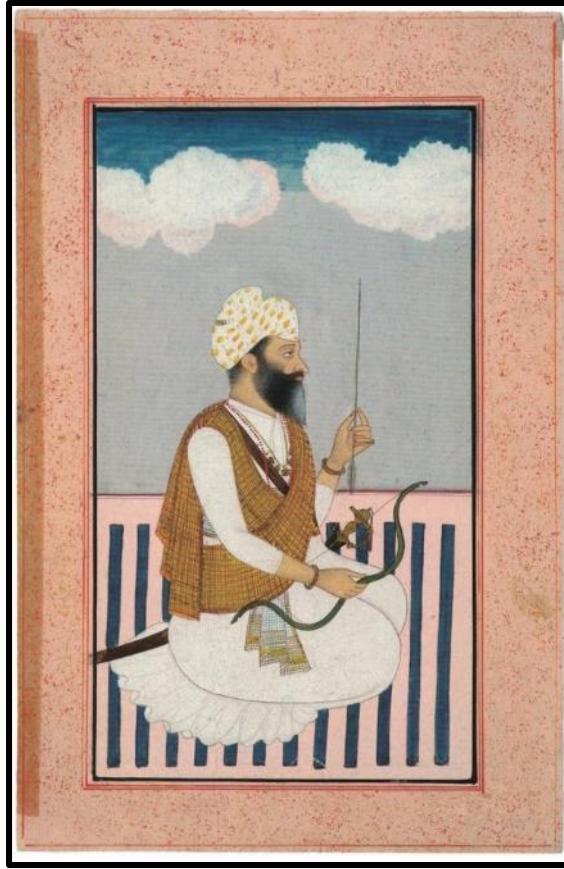
Fig. 3.30.1.



Fig. 3.31.1.

Fig. 3.33.1.

Similar style carpet patterns, possibly by Dhummun

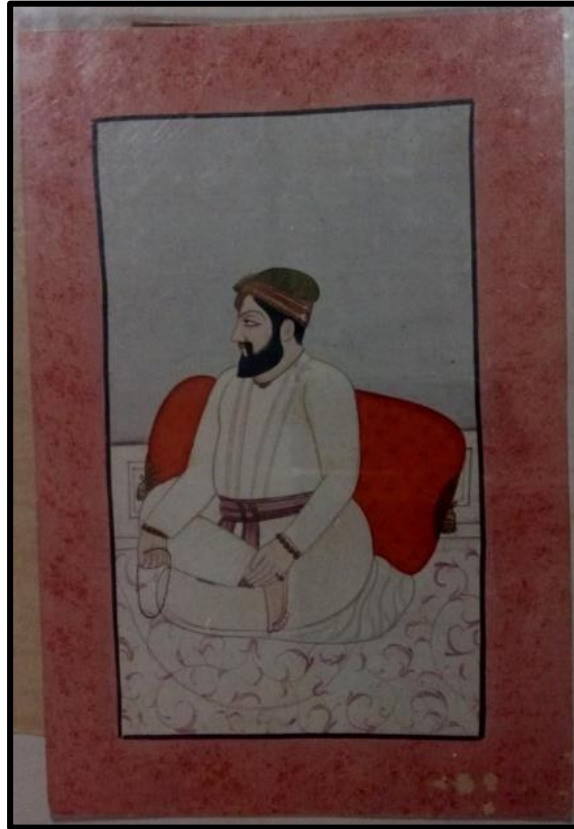


**Figure 3.32. Bhag Singh Ahluwalia, c. 1785, (Courtesy: Ch. Museum, no. 2750)**

Some other assembly scenes of last quarter of eighteenth century, painted in Kangra, indicate meetings of Nurpur and Kangra courtiers by Nurpur artists active in Kangra. Appearance of Sikh *misaldars* also can be sensed in those meetings. Painter Dhummun; father of Purkhu was also active during Raja Ghamand Chand and Raja Tegh Chand (Archer, 1973, Vol. I, 281. Also see Goswamy and Fischer, 1992, 369). In the lack of proper inscriptions, it is difficult to identify Rajput or Sikh characters portrayed in the paintings of hills, but their appearances surely can be sensed, assembled in political meetings.

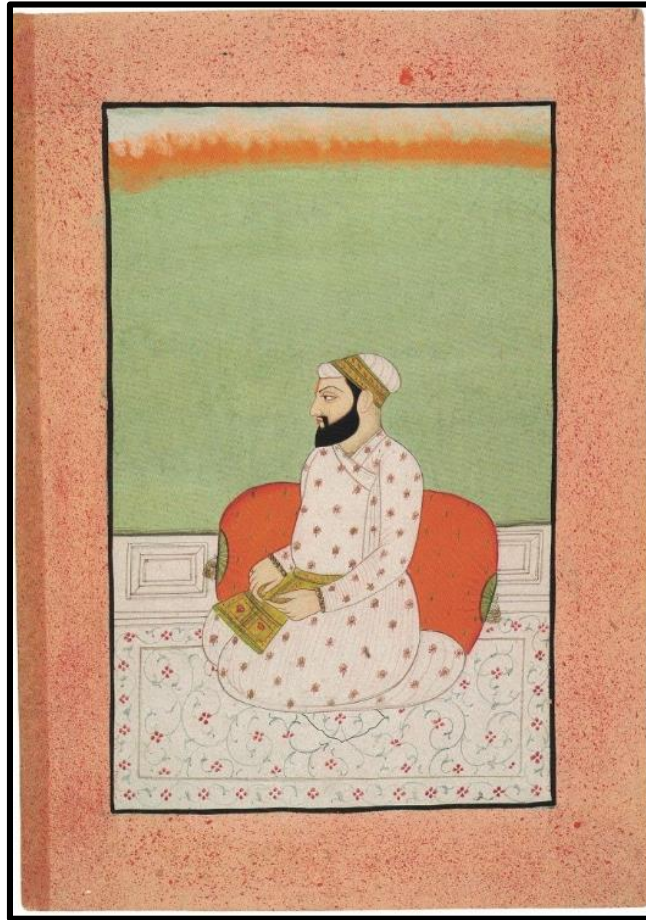
A series of portraits of Sikh Gurus (fig. 3.33) in early Kangra style (Ch. Museum, acc. nos. 2678, 3162, 3163), from the coll. of Raja Dhruv Dev of Lambagraon and B. P. Sharma, appears the work of last quarter of eighteenth century, as shade of orange and patches of white to depict clouds on flat grey coloured background and pink border with black rule are prominent features of the portraits of Raja Ghamand Chand & Tegh Chand, continued till childhood of Raja Sansar Chand, evolving pre- Kangra phase. The series possibly made for Kanheyas or Ramgarhias with simplicity of style and conventional *darshan* of Sikh Gurus, popular in Punjab plains among Sikh

devotees till mid- eighteenth century, which traveled with the devotees in the hilly areas and fell in the hands of Pahari painters for reproduction.



**Figure 3.33. Guru Hargobind, (Courtesy: Ch. Museum, Acc. no. 3162)**

Another series of portraits of Gurus at Ch. Museum also came from the coll. of Raja Dhruv Dev Chand of Lambagraon (acc. nos. 2666, 2668, 2701, 2702 and 1848). A fine series of about 1790 was acquired for the museum, in which drawing, colours and technique suggest the work of a court painter. Whole series is set on light green, flat background, under a sky, with some smoky, tangled clouds of pink- purple and grey hues on dark green- blue striped horizon. Conventional settings popular in Punjab plains with the portraits of Gurus, as broad- band turban, Guru Amar Das with white bearded face, *dupatta* like wrap and *patka* over fine patterned robe kneeling against bolster, Guru Har Rai in transparent robe- strip patterned *payjama* and holding an arm- rest in hand, walking outside, Guru Ram Das in saffron coloured robe, Guru Hargobind in his known style small blunt beard and small sized turban with a bulbous end at front and small waist band, inscribed in *shikasteh* just above the figures, finely patterned floral carpets, saffron mark on forehead and uncoloured border are some characteristics of the series. The series is done by a family workshop active in Kangra during last decade of eighteenth century.



**Figure 3.34. Guru Arjun Dev, (Courtsey: Ch. Museum, Acc. no. 1847)**

Another series too came from the coll. of Raja Dhruv Dev Chand of Lambagraon (fig. 3.34). Pink border with black rule, light green background, streaks of orange- white in the white stripped sky. The style of this dispersed series indicates the hands of family workshop of Purkhu of Kangra during 1800.

There is a portrait of Maha Singh Sukarchakia, head of the Sukarchakia *misal*, seated on a chair, possibly by the other painter, working in plains. A green curve, high horizon, herbs near balustrade are some idioms continuously copied by Punjabi painters till the nineteenth century.

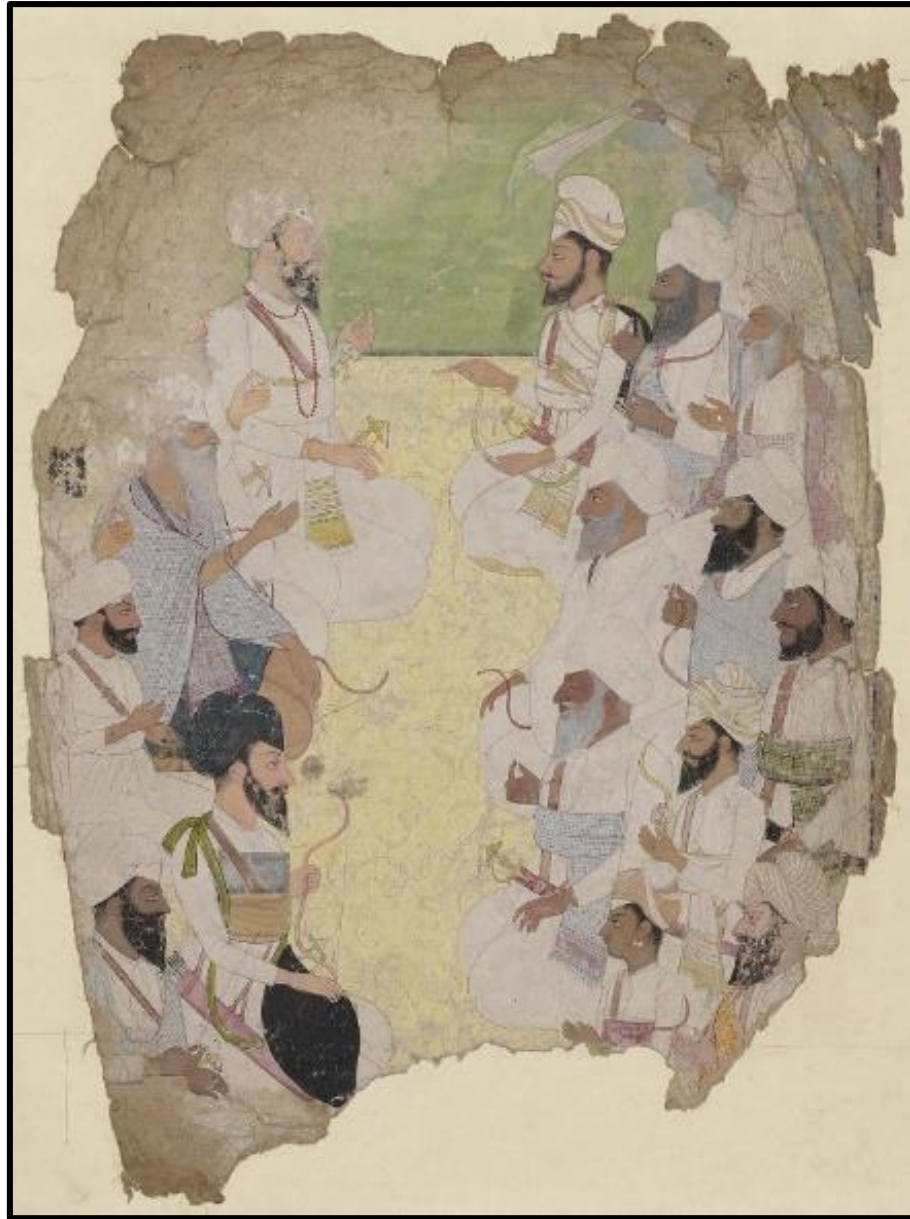
Sardar Jassa Singh Ramgarhia (1770-1774) contemporary of Raja Ghamand Chand, patronized painters of the family of Purkhu. There are some portraits of Jassa Singh Ramgarhia along with his sons, nobles and other companions (figs. 3.35 and 3.36), which surely indicates the style of Purkhu, who was appointed at the court of Kangra for likenesses of Maharaja Sansar Chand and his courtiers along with rulers of other principalities (fig. 5.137). Purkhu and his family saw personages as types basically. Nonetheless, there is no negligence to appearances. In the portraits



of Ramgarhia, he is depicted in same stance, raised his right hand in conversing (figs. 3.35, 3.36 and 5.137), as Purkhu set figures in the court scenes, as individual, and one can recognize even minor characters based on conventional standards.



*Figure 3.35. Jassa Singh Ramgarhia, inscribed in Devanagari, (Source: British Museum, no. 1948, 1009, 0.131), by Purkhu*



**Figure 3.36. Assembly of Sikhs and Sansar Chand of Kangra, 1780,**  
**(Source: Boston Museum, Acc. no. 17.2708), by Purkhu**

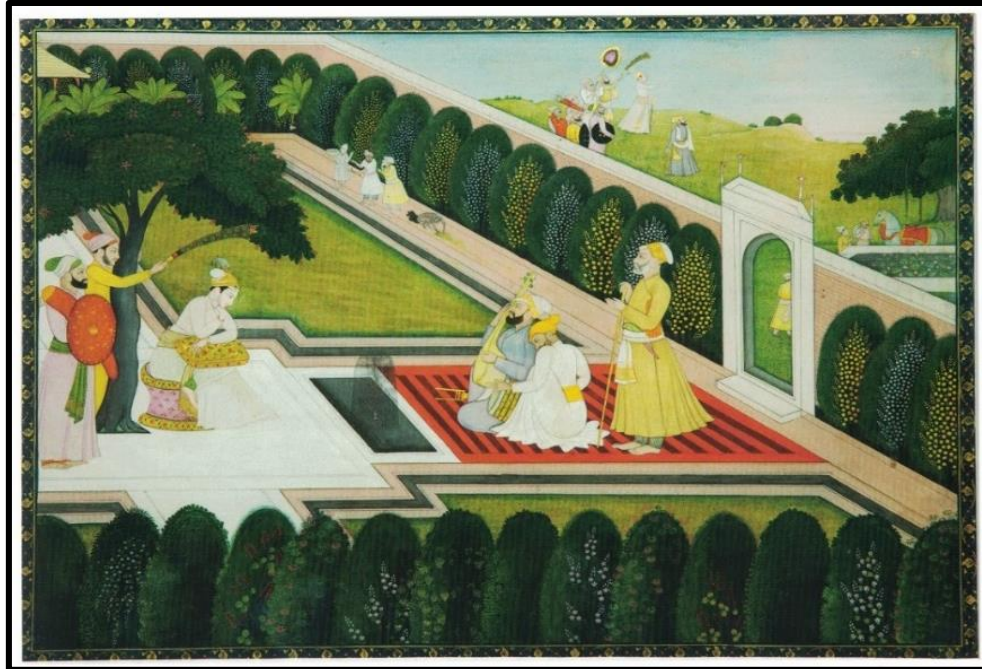
There is an inscribed portrait sketch of three seated Sikh Sardars, (left) Nahar Singh, (middle) Karam Singh and (right) Lehna Singh (fig. 3.37) dressed in *misal* period fashion, line patterned *patka*, *chaddar* (wrap), turban, white robe, *gatra* (sword- belt) and holding bow. Nahar (or Nahad) Singh was active in Anandpur and Makhawal, while Karam Singh was based in the parghanas of Shahzadpur and Kesari in Ambala district and Lehna Singh was amongst the Lahore chiefs and a fellow of Jassa Singh Ramgarhia (Gupta, 2007, Vol. IV, 124, 216 and 239). The sketch is by the hand of Purkhu. These portraits are more than local studied of a Sikh outsider.



*Figure 3.37. Three Sikhs, (Source: V & A Museum, no. IS.115-1986), by Purkhu*

### **3.3.3 Impression of Punjabi Janamsakhi Illustrations**

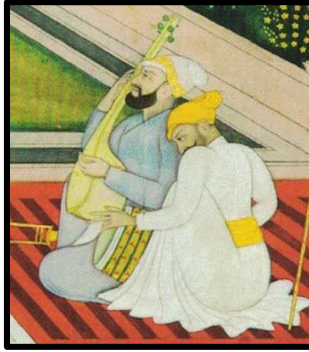
Pahari painters were also inspired by the available examples of Janamsakhi illustrations of *Gurmukhi* manuscripts painted in Punjab plains during mid-eighteenth century. A standard set of iconographies and settings developed for each figure and theme by Punjabi painters were copied and altered by hill painters. They altered the compositions into their fine style from the second half of eighteenth century onwards in the form of sketches and illustrations, which represent the style of hill painters. Fine work of Guler painters are the Janamsakhi leaves painted in 1793 A.D. for Sardar Baghel Singh of Amritsar, now in the coll. of Rao Uttam Singh. Sardar Baghel Singh was the companion of Gurbakhsh Singh, who helped Raja Sansar Chand in getting back Kangra Fort accompanying Gurbakhsh Singh, and also invaded Delhi in 1790 A.D. and extracted a large sum of money from Shah Alam II for renovation of Gurdwaras of Delhi.



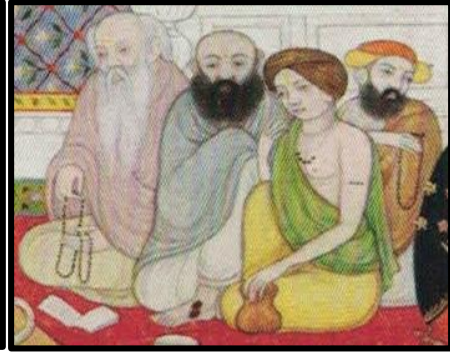
**Figure 3.38.** Folio from Nala- Damayanti series, last of 18th century,  
 (Publ.: Goswamy, 2015, pl. 13), by Ranjha



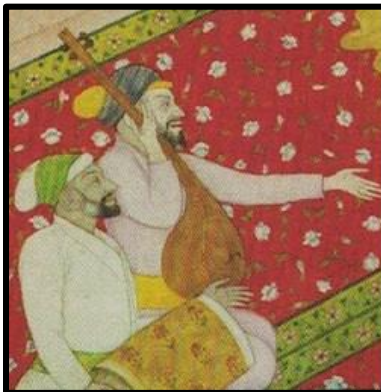
**Fig. 3.39.1.**



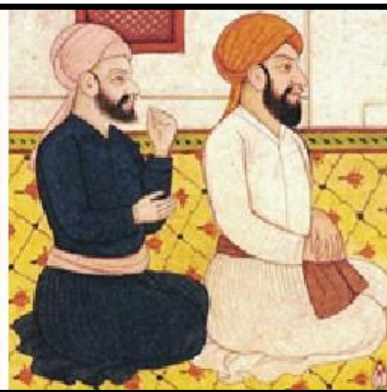
**Fig. 3.38.1.**



**Fig. 3.40.1.**



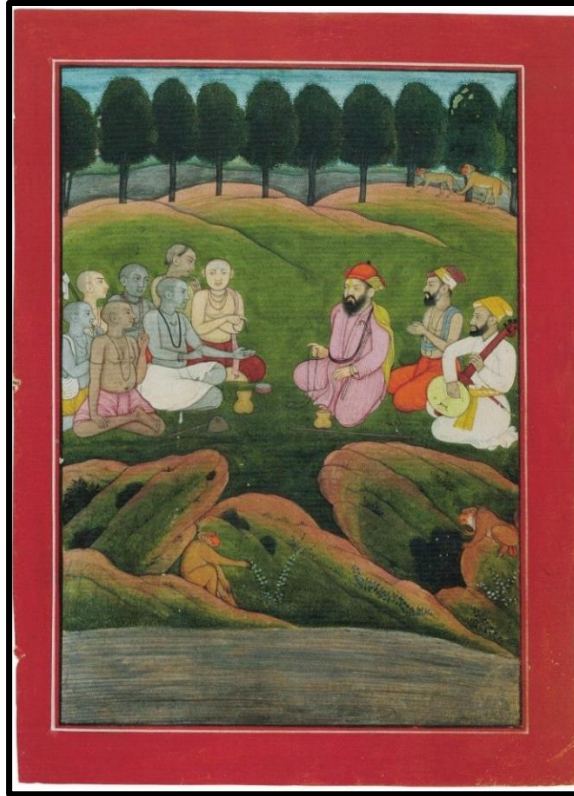
**Fig. 3.41.1.**



**Fig. 3.42.1.**



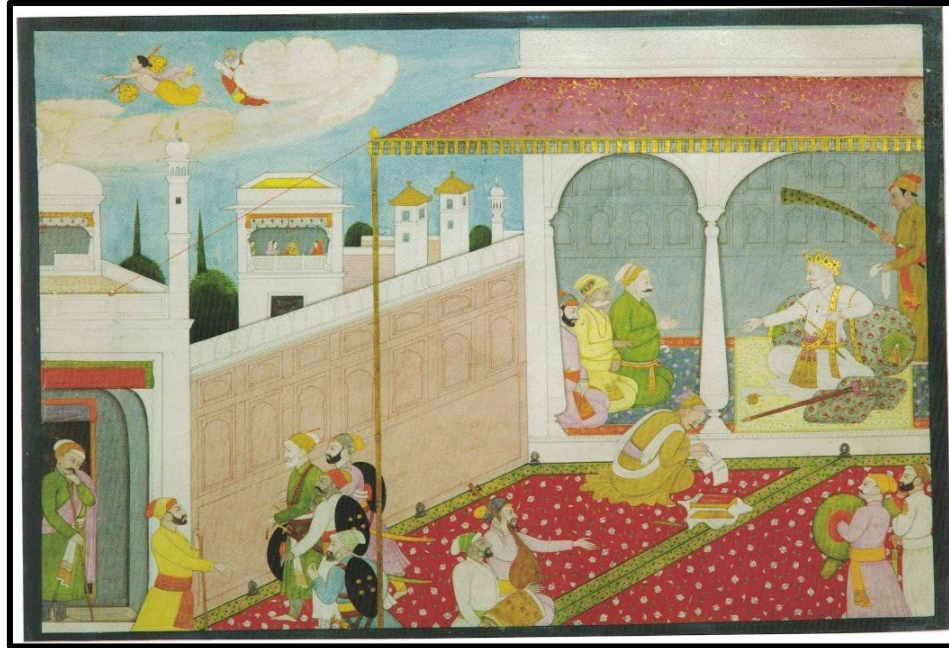
**Fig. 3.42.2.**



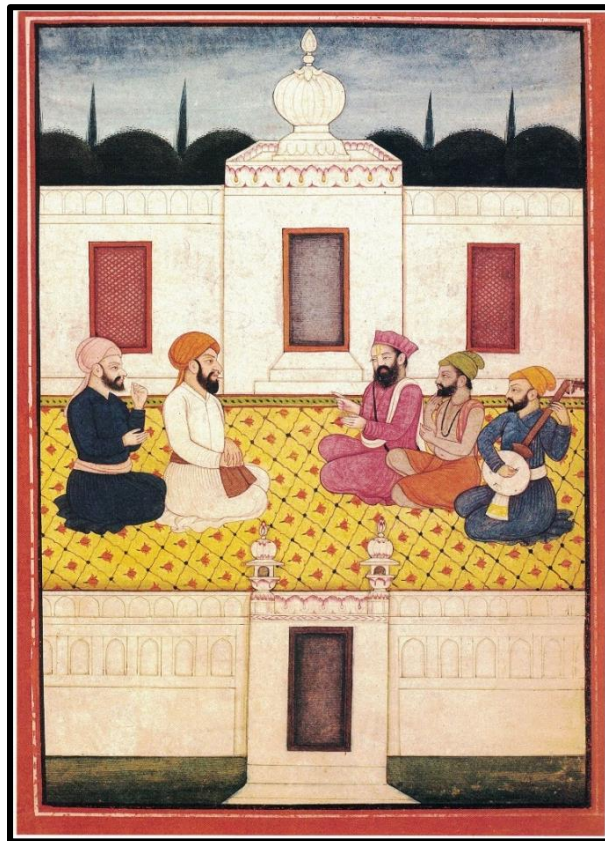
*Figure 3.39. Guler style Janamsakhi, last of 18th century,  
(Courtesy: Ch. Museum, Acc. no. 4072 (5))*



*Figure 3.40. Folio from Nala- Damayanti series, last of 18th century,  
(Publ.: Goswamy, 2015, pl. 47), by Ranjha*



*Figure 3.41. Folio from Nala- Damayanti series, last of 18th century,  
(Publ.: Goswamy, 2015, pl. 23), by Ranjha*



*Figure 3.42. Guru Nanak in conversation with two Muslim holy men,  
(Courtesy: Ch. Museum, Acc. no. 4072 (6))*

Influence of Pandit Manaku' style of mid- eighteenth century, flat rich backgrounds of yellow and red, a green or brown curve to divide background, depiction of grey coloured river with curved line of white, naturalistic trees of *Bhagavata Purana* series of 1740s, reflected later in the style of Nikka and his son Chhajju working for the ruler of Chamba in Guler style. The Janamsakhi series of Baghel Singh was possibly made by Nikka- Ranjha and their sons. Depiction of face and turban of Guru Nanak (figs. 3.39.1, 3.42.2) are different in each painting in Rao Uttam coll. Some leaves are more refine (figs. 3.39, 3.92), which resembles the style of Ranjha, the painter of *Nala Damayanti* series of Karan Singh coll. Possibly fine leaves were prepared by Ranjha and Nikka (see Ch. Museum, acc. nos. 4072 (2- 5) and 4205) in naturalistic backgrounds and fine facial features, while others are composed on single flat plans of red and brown, an early convention of Guler style. In some paintings, figures are composed with more naturalistic treatment and sentiments, borrowed from *Nala Damayanti* series. Figures of Guru Nanak, Mardana playing rabab (fig. 3.39.1) and Mullah (fig. 3.42.1) have clearly resemblance with *Nala Damayanti* series (figs. 3.38.1 and 3.41.1). Guru Nanak's face (fig. 3.39.1) entirely resembles with old age figure of an ascetic from *Nala Damayanti* (fig. 3.40.1). Nainsukh was employed in the service of Raja Amrit Pal of Basohli after the death of Raja Balwant Singh of Jasrota at least from the year 1763 onwards and his son Ranjha continued to work in Basohli till 1827. Goswamy ascribed the painter Ranjha, son of Nainsukh, responsible for the painted *Nala Damayanti* series of Karan Singh coll. between 1790 and 1800 on grounds of style (Goswamy, 2015, 75- 80). Before the employment in Basohli, Ranjha, also worked for Raja Raj Singh of Chamba for a considerable period of time (Ohri, 1998, 12) and Raja Raj Singh had good relations with *misaldars*.

Seventy- seven sketches of Guler style prepared for Janamsakhi illustrations of mid-eighteenth century came from the coll. of P.K. Kapoor, now at Ch. Museum (acc. nos. 2301- 2377). These sketches were prepared as a layout for final paintings by Pahari artists. Some illustrations from the coll. of Rao Uttam are absolutely based on these sketches. The Janamsakhi sketches of P. K. Kapoor coll. and Rao Uttam coll. of illustrations are related and possibly prepared by Nikka- Ranjha on the basis of style. But these Janamsakhi series are based on earlier models prepared by Punjabi painters, which indicates the constant circulation of work from Punjab plains to the hills. Daljeet assigns the large set of drawings of Chandigarh Museum's Janamsakhi, to artist Ranjha and his pupil son Gurusahai, rendered under the plausible benefaction and motivation of Sardar

Jassa Singh Ramgarhia, the known Sikh chief, which is a milestone in defining the evolution of Sikh painting (Daljeet, 2004, 129).

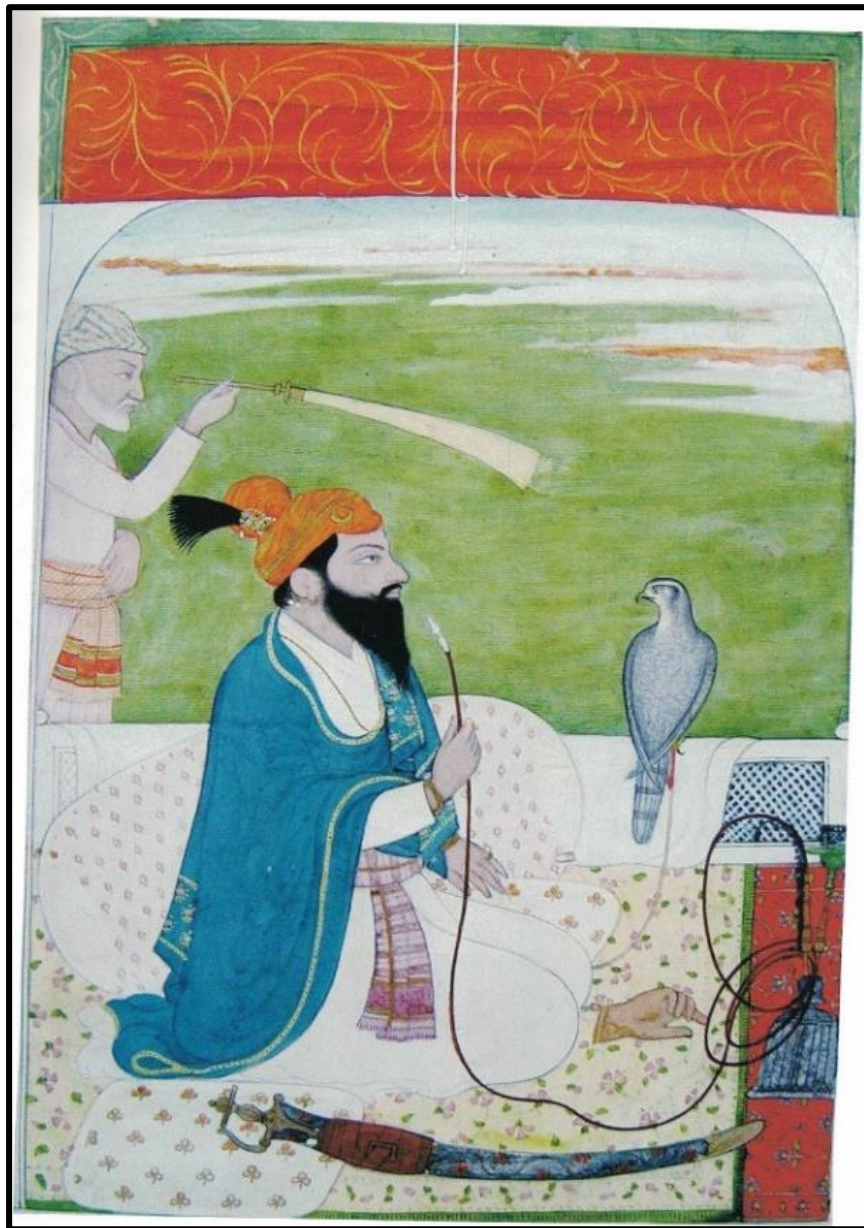
### 3.3.4 Alterations of Legendary Portraits

There are some dispersed series of portraits of Sikh Gurus. A series of portraits is in the coll. of Sardar Mohan Singh, clearly influenced with Guler- Chamba style by the atelier of Nikka- Ranjha. Although Archer ascribed the pictures in Guler style of about the years 1815 to 1820, invest each Guru with calm, serene grace. The features are based on traditional accounts and it is significant that Guru Nanak is portrayed along with Guru Gobind Singh- the last Guru confronting the first (fig. 5.24). Though the themes are Sikh, the treatment employs Guler settings such as terraces and landscapes as well as standard Guler idioms for all entourages and accessories (Archer, 1966, 19). However the settings are commonly used for the hill rulers of last quarter of eighteenth century. Guru Arjun is portrayed with imagination, attended by a Rajput style fly- whisker (fig. 5.30). Guru Har Krishan (fig. 5.46) does not appear a child but a young, wearing robe with overcoat and Guru Har Rai; holding a *bairagan* (arm- rest) in left hand and an herb in his right hand (fig. 5.41) is inspired by early conventions, but figure, postures as well as gestures of Guru Har Rai, wearing long robe, band turban, walking in a garden has much resemblance with the portraits of 'Govardhan Chand of Guler walking on terrace' or 'Amrit Pal of Basohli walking in a garden. Guru Hargobind's conventional likeness is also not used (fig. 5.37). Attendants also appear in turban style of Raja Prakash Chand's period.

A different series is at Lahore Museum and Ch. Museum, inscribed in *Gurmukhi*, *Devanagari* and Persian, which is ascribed by the scholars to the 1800 A.D. But portraits of Guru Hargobind and Guru Tegh Bahadur are based on popular iconographies, while others are based on painter's imaginations or *dhyanas*, as various stories were popular among hilly areas about the painters, portraying their deities with own imaginations. The painter, though, had too his choice in painting pictures from his own imagination and to his own taste. These were created for presentation to the Raja on special instances as *nazars* and customarily earned rewards. Guru Angad's facial features (fig. 5.25) are based on young Raja Raj Singh of Chamba (Archer, 1973, Vol. II, Chamba, pl. 40). Likeness of Guru Ram Das (fig. 3.44) is also clearly influenced with Chamba ruler Raja Raj Singh (fig. 3.43), ascribed to the painter Ranjha by Sharma, while Mittal attributed the same portrait to the painter Nikka (Sharma, 2008, fig. 26. Also see Mittal, 1962, fig. 19). Equestrian portrait of Guru Gobind Singh (Ch. Museum, acc. no. F- 48) also reminds the



series of *Nala Damayanti* again. Patterns used for the saddle cloth of Guru, also goes back to Raja Govardhan Chand and often appear in *Nala Damayanti* series. Softness and delicacy of faces also remind the face of Guru Nanak of Janamsakhi Rao Uttam coll. Attendants are in Sikh style turban (figs. 3.44 and 5.25), which appears second decade of nineteenth century. Thus, portrait series from the coll. of Sardar Mohan Singh was painted earlier. Later, with some alterations in the style of attendants from Rajput to Sikh appearance, series of Lahore and Ch. Museums was emerged in same atelier of family painters.



**Figure 3.43. Raja Raj Singh of Chamba,**  
(Source: Bhuri Singh Museum, Chamba, Acc. no. 08.325.17), by Ranjha



Figure 3.44. Guru Ram Das, (Courtesy: Ch. Museum, Acc. no. F- 42)



### 3.3.5 Aesthetic Advancement at Sikh Court

Jai Singh Kanheya, Gurbakhsh Singh, Jassa Singh Ramgarhia, Tara Singh Ghaiba and Baghel Singh are the heroes of Sikh history and victors of Punjab plains, hills and Delhi. Their role and importance are not less than Maharaja Ranjit Singh. The style in which Guler- Chamba painters were working for Sikh *misaldars*, also proves the authenticity of the magical diagram of *Devi*, depicting the patron hill states along with Ramgarhias and Kanheyas perhaps made by Nikka or one of his sons based in Rajol in the territory of Raja Raj Singh of Chamba. The facial features and settings used for the portraits of Sikh Gurus, the figures that come to mind are Raja Amrit Pal or Vijay Pal of Basohli and Chamba rulers Raja Raj Singh & Raja Jit Singh. Between the time periods of death of Raja Raj Singh of Chamba in 1794 and Gurkha invasion on Kangra in 1805 and later in 1809, when all the states of the Kangra group; Guler, Siba and Datarpur came under Sikh control, experimentation with Sikh themes progressed.

Although, from the last quarter of eighteenth century, Guler painters started to experiment with Sikh themes, inspired by the lifestyle of Sikh *misaldars*. But, with the first decade of nineteenth century, adjustments started again for royal Sikh lifestyle. Rajput type of attendants serving behind the Sikh Gurus (figs. 5.37, 5.41 and 5.46) represented till the first decade of nineteenth century, who used to portray in Sikh style turban of small size (figs. 3.44, 3.60) from second decade of nineteenth century, replacing Mughal- Rajput and heavy turbans of Sikh *misal* period. The appearance of Sikh Gurus also started to change from Mughal style band turban to Sikh style turbans (fig. 3.60) of nineteenth century. An umbrella also started to appear in the portraits of Sikh Gurus, based on earlier models of Basohli (figs. 5.41- 5.42) - Chamba style (figs. 5.43- 5.44), after the influence of royal Sikh lifestyle. Later, other series also emerged based on early series through the same atelier of next generation in the first quarter of nineteenth century.

Maharaja Ranjit Singh had a martial character, but he was also of cultural and artistic taste. Even the crimson coloured battle standard of Maharaja was embellished with the *dhyana* of *Devi* of golden colour, now at Christies Auction. Several other Pahari artists approached and settled in the plains. The work of the Punjab plains is to be perceived in a much more firm sense as an extension that was being through in the hills up to the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Donations for the decoration of the upper of the ground floor of Hari Mandir in Amritsar was granted by Tara Singh Ghaiba, Partap Singh, Jodh Singh and Ganda Singh Peshawari, within 1803-1823 A.D. Maharaja Ranjit Singh commissioned a Kangra painter especially for an equestrian

portrait of Guru Gobind Singh painted on the wall of Hari Mandir in Amritsar, which is believed to be exact copy of the likeness that initially was in the collection of Raja Sansar Chand of Kangra, which Ranjit Singh had envisioned to get derivative in the form of a mural in the Golden Temple. The artist of the original painting had already perished, so the mural was accomplished by the grandson of the painter (Kang, 1988, 59- 60).

Coll. of portraits of Sikh Maharaja and his companions now at V & A Museum came from different contemporary sources. Twenty- nine portraits given by O.E. Dickinson, were formerly in the coll. of Lord Auckland, Governor-General of India from 1836 to 1842 (museum nos. IS.111-1953 to IS.139-1953). Sir William Rothenstein, H. M. Queen Mary, Mr. Robert Skelton, P. C. Manuk, Miss G. M. Coles Bequest, Van Cortlandt family and Miss M. W. Patterson also donated their coll. of portraits to the V & A Museum. Similar style formal, seated and equestrian portrait series are now at India Office Library, Ch. Museum, National Museum, Delhi and private coll. which are contemporary. It appears that group of painters were working for Sikh Maharaja. The collaboration of some Jodhpuri painters with the Pahari painters under the employment of Ranjit Singh for the frescoes in Batala.

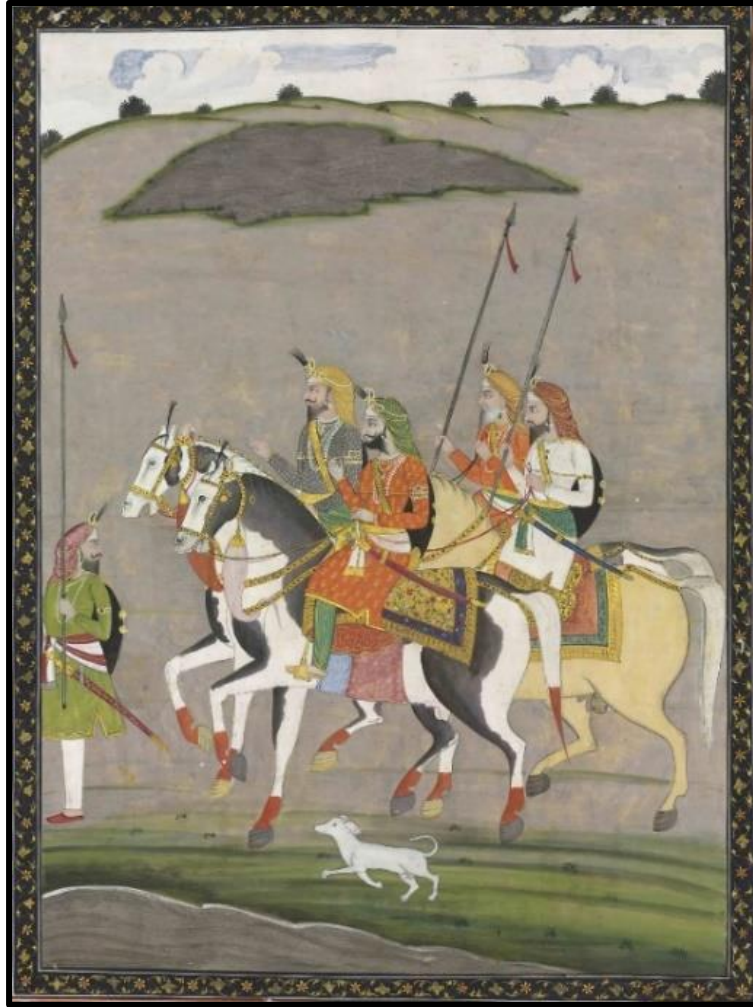
On the basis of style, the hands of Ranjha, Nikka and his sons already appeared in Sikh paintings. After the annexation of hill states by Sikh Maharaja, some documents related to the grants of land, offered to the painters also came through by the constant efforts of Goswamy. Goswamy's study is based on twenty documents pursuing the associations of Sikhs and Pahari painters through grants. The villages, in which painters lived, also came under Sikh authorities, where Nikka attempted to associate with Sardar Budh Singh Sandhanwalia, who was an intimate of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. But it is not sure that Nikka served both the Sandhanwalias and Ranjit Singh. Chhajju, Nikka's son was also worked for Wasava Singh, father of Ajit Singh Sandhanwalia. Today, portrait of Wasava Singh is also available with the name of Chhajju. The land granted to Nikka by Sardar Budh Singh was before A.D. 1825, which evidenced his employment under Sardar Budh Singh Sandhanwalia and Maharaja Ranjit Singh till 1825 (Goswamy, 1999, 13).

An equestrian portrait of Maharaja Ranjit Singh accompanying with Hira Singh holding lances in their hands, at Christies Auction (fig. 3.45), is possibly made by Nikka. A portrait of Raja Hari Singh is in similar settings (fig. 3.46). Both portraits are much embellished and detailing of work. The patterns used in saddle cloth are borrowed from Guler style.



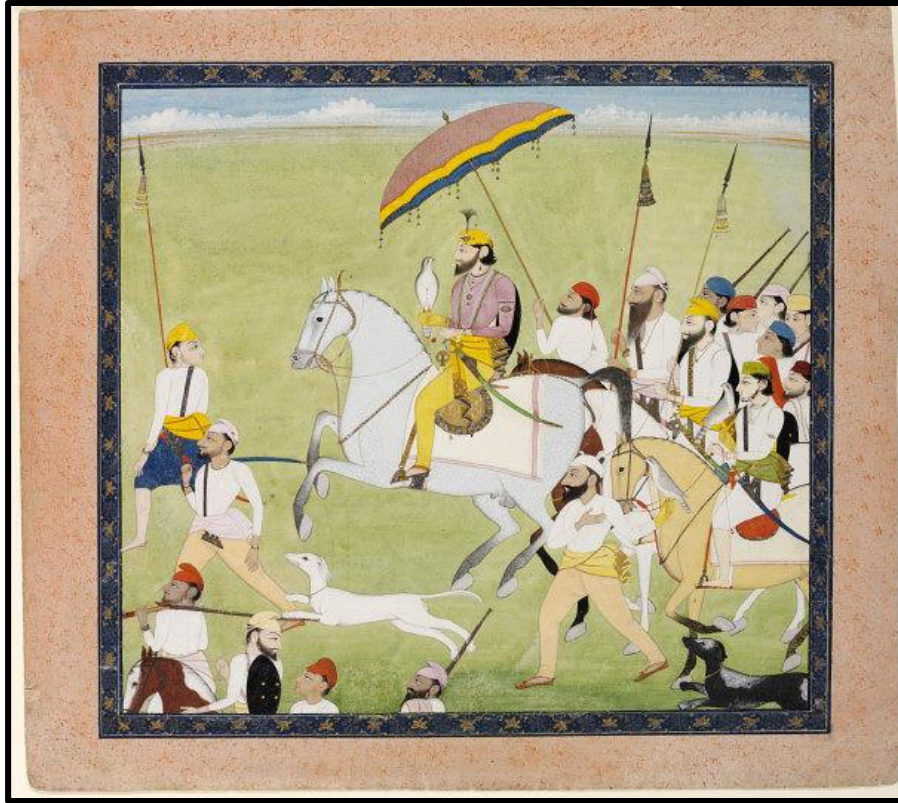
**Figure 3.45. Hira Singh and Ranjit Singh, c. 1820 A.D., (Source: Christies Auction)**

The patronage of Nikka was extended by Raja Dhyana Singh Dogra (Goswamy, 1999, 13), who became Prime Minister in 1828 at Sikh court. There is a painting of Dhyana Singh Dogra (1796-1843) on a hawking expedition at V & A Museum (fig. 3. 47). The delicate and sensitive execution with great simplification, against portraits of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and Raja Hari Singh (figs. 3.45 and 3.46), but settings are the same in three portraits. It is very difficult to identify the painterly styles of family members of Nikka and his brother Ranjha; who were master painters and had been learnt from his father Nainsukh and uncle Manaku. So their styles also have resemblances. But the figures of Nikka remain slim.

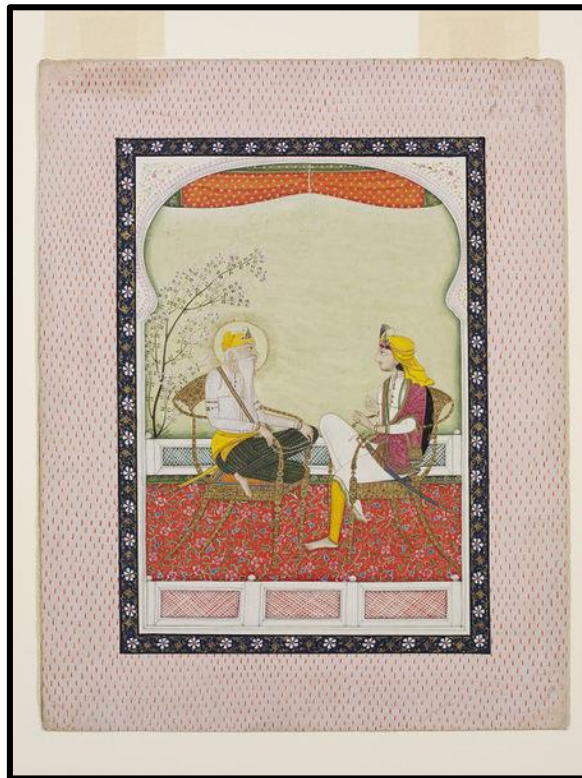


**Figure 3.46. Raja Hari Singh on horseback, (Source: Christies Auction)**

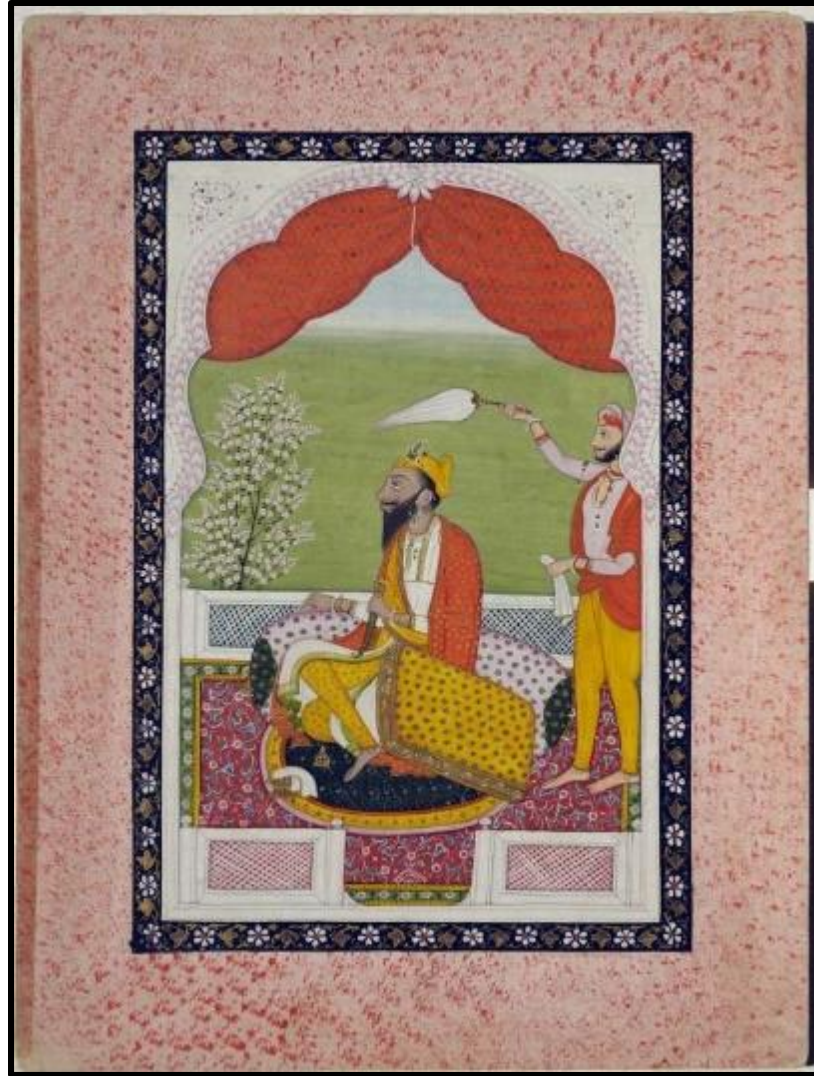
There are some paintings at V & A Museum by the painter Harkhu, the eldest son of painter Nikka, in which pink border and lively nature reflected. Gokal; second son of Nikka, was working for Lahore court in 1834. A new grant was also issued by Maharaja Ranjit Singh in Haripur- Guler through the hands of Sardar Lehna Singh Sandhanwalia to Gokal serving in Punjab plains, while earlier grant was at Rihlu in Chamba territory, where Nikka was settled by Raja Raj Singh. Gokal; working for Lahore court in 1834, was patronized by Sardar Ajit Singh Sandhanwalia in 1836 after the death of Nikka in 1833. At this time, the three sons of Nikka; Harkhu, Gokal and Chhajju were active. Gokal and Chhajju also worked on the wall paintings of *haveli* Raja Sansi; Amritsar, for Sandhanwalia Sardars. In 1837, Gokal along with his brothers served for Sardar Attar Singh Sandhanwalia. Another grant was in Ramgarh by Sandhanwalias in 1840 (Goswamy, 1999, 11-16).



*Figure 3.47. Raja Dhyansingh, (Source: V & A Museum, no. IS.124-1960)*



*Figure 3.48. Ranjit Singh and Hira Singh, (Source: V & A. Museum, no. IS.114-1953)*



*Figure 3.49. Prince Kharak Singh, (Courtesy: Ch. Museum, Acc. no. 225)*

There are some portraits of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, his son and successors Maharaja Kharak Singh and Sardar Attar Singh Sandhanwalia, brother of Sardar Wasava Singh, with much stylistic resemblances, who had patronized Gokal in 1837 (figs. 3.48- 3.51). The red- green coloured floral pattern carpet is common in these paintings. But the same style of painting with foliage in the background is ascribed to Harkhu by Sharma (Sharma, 2008, 124- 125). One can sensed that carpets may be by the hand of Gokal and foliage in the background is by his elder brother Harkhu.

A painting depicts a Sikh Sardar receiving petitions on a terrace (fig. 3.51). He has been identified as Lehna Singh Majithia by Archer, but he himself appears obscure in identification (Archer, 1966, 21, 142). The portrait is inscribed '*Sirdar Uttar Singh*' seated with minister '*Diwan*



*Ramchand'*. The style of carpet is similar to the portraits of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and Kharak Singh. Possibly, the floral style of carpet and foliage in the background are by Gokal- Harkhu, which also appear repeatedly in the portraits of Maharaja Ranjit Singh period. Possibly these portraits were done by Gokal- Harkhu brothers, in which some idioms used conventionally as, floral patterned red- dark green coloured carpets, canopies, golden chairs and architectures studded with white, red and green inlaid, which look like pearls, white balustrade, flat- dull green or naturalistic backgrounds and golden halo for Sikh Maharaja.

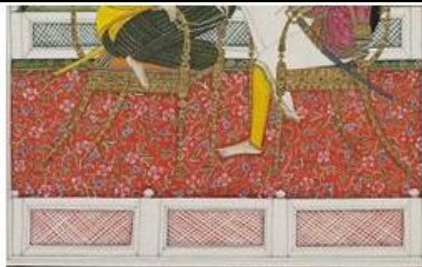


Fig. 3.48.1.



Fig. 3.49.1.



Fig. 3.50.1.



Fig. 3.51.1.



Fig. 3.53.1.

Similar style floral patterned carpets of red and green on white *jalidar* terrace balustrades, possibly by Gokal

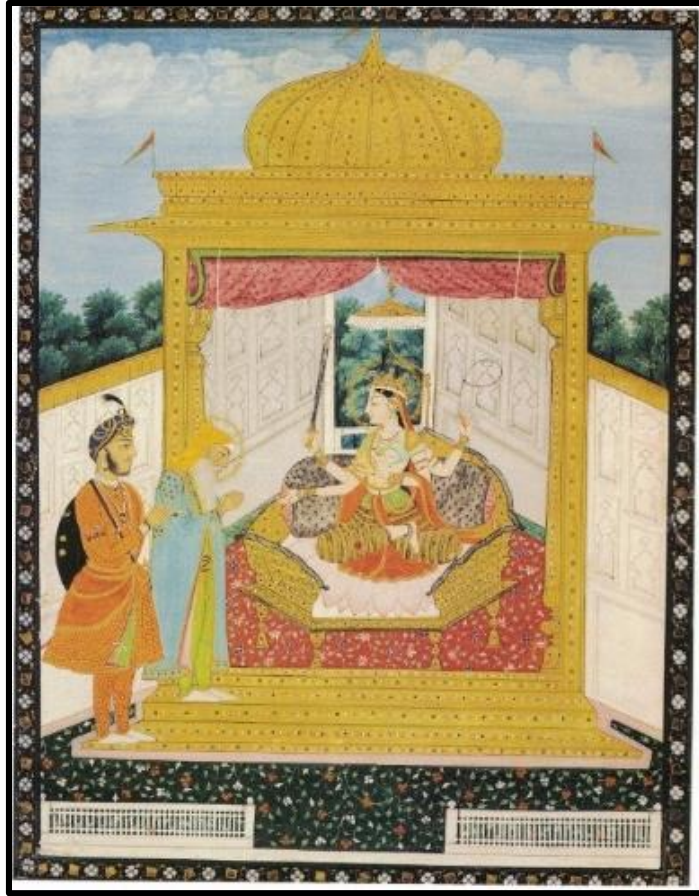


Fig. 3.50.2.



Fig. 3.51.2.

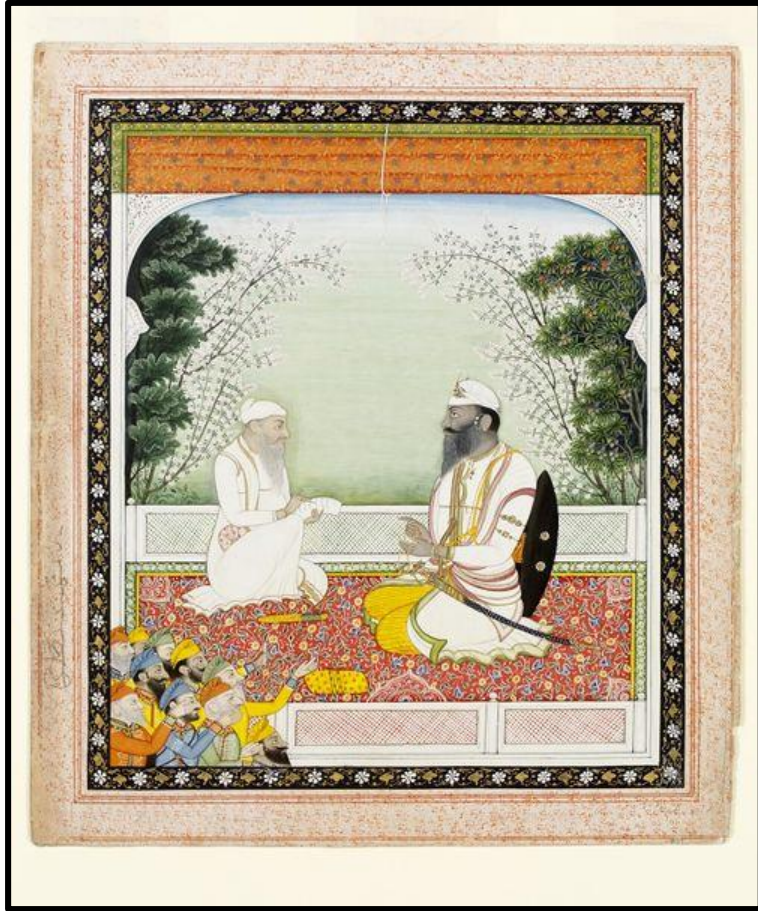
Naturalistic background with foliage, possibly by Harkhu



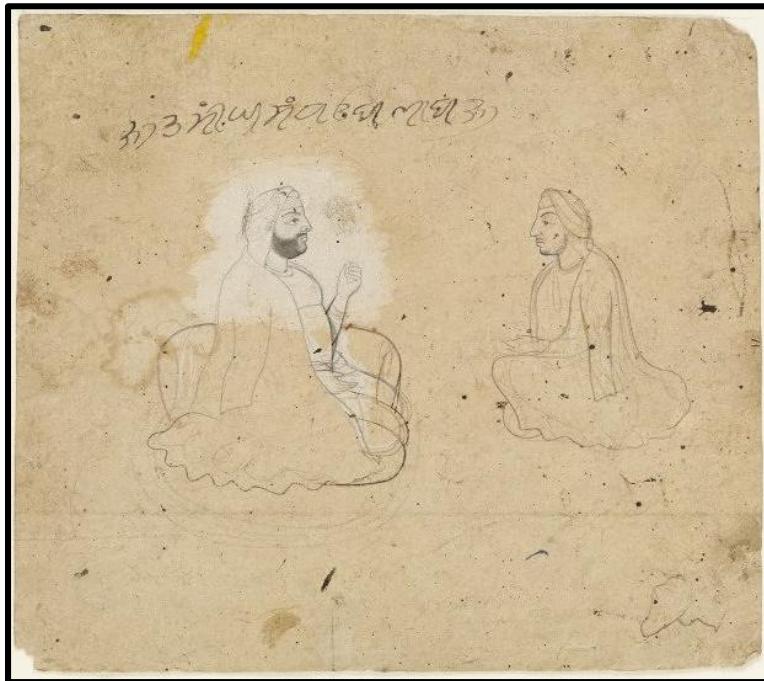
**Figure 3.50. Maharaja Ranjit Singh paying homage to Devi,**  
**(Source: National Museum, Acc. no. 72. 313)**

There is a sketch of Ajit Singh Sandhanwalia at V & A Museum (fig. 3.52), donated by Miss Margaret W. Patterson along with the sketch of Dina Nath, Finance Minister of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and a Sikh Sardar, possibly by Gokal- Harkhu. Slim figures are done by Gokal, on the other hand, Chhajju made enlarged figures. Gokal, younger brother of Harkhu, is said to have been an artist of considerable merit and a story is told by his descendants of how he was adjudged the best painter in a contest of painting organized at a small place called Mataur between Kangra and Rajol (Goswamy, 1968a, 29). Possibly, this was the reason of his patronization repeatedly by Sikh patrons.

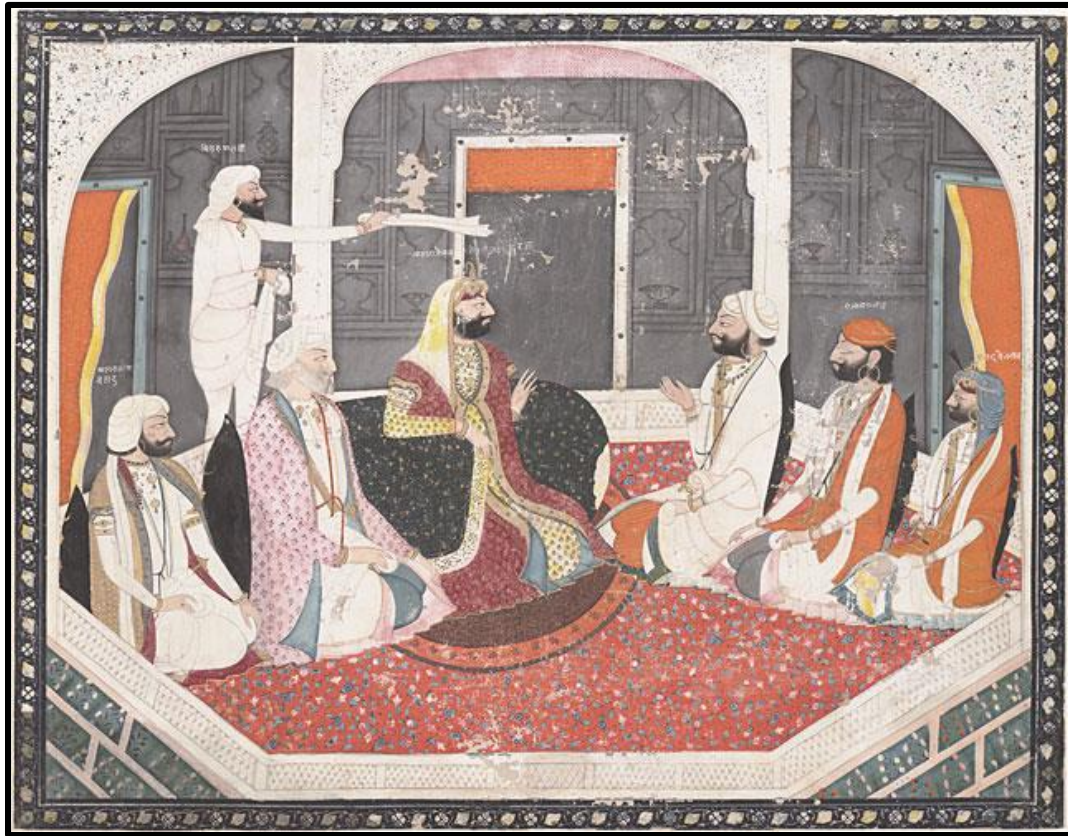
There are another references of commissioning the artists under Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Earlier in January 1836, Ranjit Singh sent an artist to draw the uniform of Baron Hugel, who had a portfolio filled with drawings, in which some were very good. He had been directed to paint a fine Gobind Singh on the flag too, who had accuracy and facility in his work (Hugel, 1845, 355). Hari Singh Nalwa also had a small coll. of drawings.



*Figure 3.51. Sardar Attar Singh Sandhanwalia, (Source: V & A Museum, IS.43-1960)*



*Figure 3.52. Ajit Singh Sandhawalia, (Source: V & A Museum, no. IS.171-1953)*



**Figure 3.53. Maharaja Sher Singh and courtiers, 1841 – 1843,  
(Source: Berkeley Art Museum, Identifier- 1998.42.208)**

Sher Singh ascended the Lahore throne in 1841. The same year, Maharaja Sher Singh was attached the painter Gokal through a grant in 1841, previously working for Sandhanwalia Sardars. Maharaja Sher Singh also ordered not to disturb the painters, working in the hills. The same style appear in the portrait of Maharaja Sher Singh (Archer, 1966, pl. 40). So, the hand of Gokal can be identified through the constant work, he had done for the Sikh masters. As Gokal died in 1847 (Goswamy, 1999, 4, 15), after that red- dark green coloured floral patterned carpets do not appear in Sikh paintings. A court scene of Maharaja Sher Singh with red- green floral patterned carpet (fig. 3.53), is possibly by Gokal.

On the basis of style, the hand of Nikka also appears in Sikh paintings. Carpet with square pattern by Nikka has resemblance with the style of Chhajju. Guler- Kangra type floral scroll in white and gold, pink border flecked with red, or pale pink border dotted with red strokes are commonly applied for nineteenth century Sikh portraits.

Portraiture is the most preferred subject of Sikh painting, was undeniably done on a substantial measure and several delicate renderings were turned out. Even beyond the formal

series- like the excellently- accomplished, widespread set presenting portraits of the courtiers and officials at the Lahore court by the painter Chhajju, now unluckily dispersed. It is the significantly big amount of casual tinted drawings. Some portraits of officials at Himachal Pradesh State Museum, Shimla, are with red carpet and floral patterns in square boxes and white dots are by Chhajju, while he was also an expertise in making floral patterns, as one can see through an inscribed portrait (Mittal, 1962, fig. 10). Undoubtedly, Harkhu and Chhajju erudite their art from Ramlal and Nikka, but their styles can distinguished from that of their elders. The work of Harkhu is more delicate, lyrical and abundance of colouring than Chhajju. Harkhu practiced a gorgeous terraverdish green, but in Chhajju's work it tended to be proximate sap or raw green; Harkhu used Indian yellow or yellow- ochre but Chhajju applied bright orpiment yellow which along with his greens sometimes gives a slightly harsh effect to his colouring. The geometrical pattern of carpets used in portraits also help to identify the style of Chhajju. Other portraits of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and Kharak Singh with more refinement and decoration with excess use of golden colour with similar patterns at V & A Museum, are possibly prepared by Chhajju. An imaginary group portrait of Sikh Gurus with earlier iconographies, applied by Guler painters, along with similar geometrical patterns on red carpet (Goswamy and Smith, 2006, 118- 119), is possibly prepared by Chhajju. A similar style imaginary group portrait of Sikh Gurus with beautifully border decoration of naturalistic style exist at Christies Auction is possibly done by Chhajju (fig. 3.54). Chhajju was eminent artist for the portraits of Sikh Gurus in Amritsar. Chhajju also painted zig- zag patterned canopies many times.

Some Muslim painters were also working for Maharaja. Artists are a primary part of the culture and they have their peculiar approach of express through art. Lahore has cultural ethnicities of its own and certainly there was not a line between the arts and crafts, expressing the highest order. Lahori artists considered their art practices as sacred and several of them cheered their future generations to follow the heritage of their forefathers. The youth used to feel pride in enduring the family occupation, which led to family concerned with *gharana*. Some families of Lahore, who were artists as well as craftsmen of a high value and were descendants of the Mughals. Later, their forefathers were allied with Maharaja Ranjit Singh's darbar and virtually each member had some arty expertise. Their lineages enjoyed art benefaction during Maharaja Ranjit Singh. They could touch back their lineages till seventeenth century, owning lands in an area nearby to Lahore. Many offspring of the Mughal and Pahari artists were active in Lahore until second half of twentieth

century. Haji Mohammed Sharif learnt the Mughal painting from his father, Basharat Ullah, who was one of the famous court artists. Habibullah and his father in law, who were *naqqash* and engraver of high esteem, used to design the shields and swords of the grandees of Lahore and were settled by Maharaja Ranjit Singh at Mochi Darwaaza, where they lived till 1970s. An engraver, named Mian Pir Bakhsh Koftgar, whom the Maharaja himself wanted to employ in the royal service (Khalid, 2017, 67. Also see Srivastava, 1983, 77).

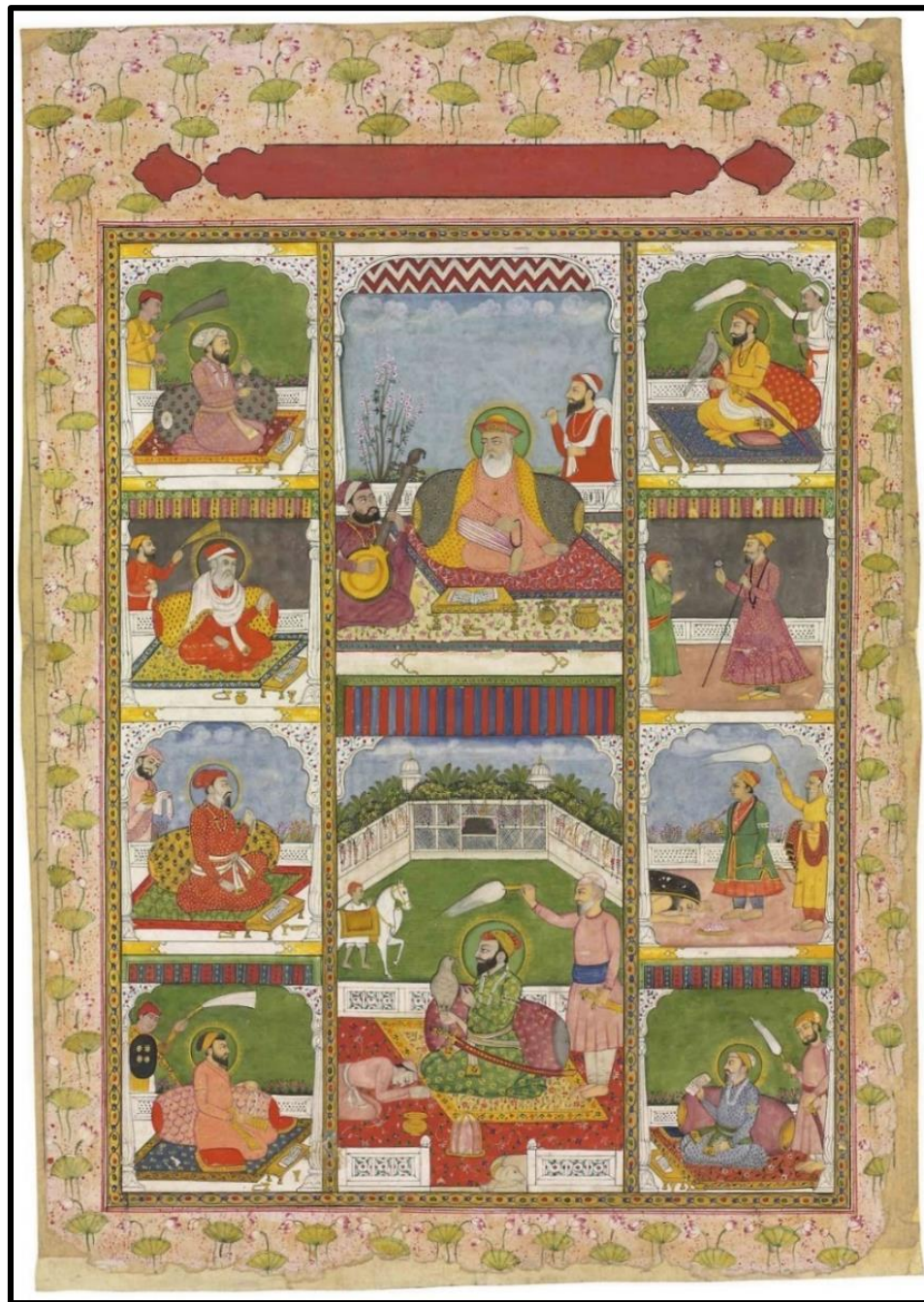
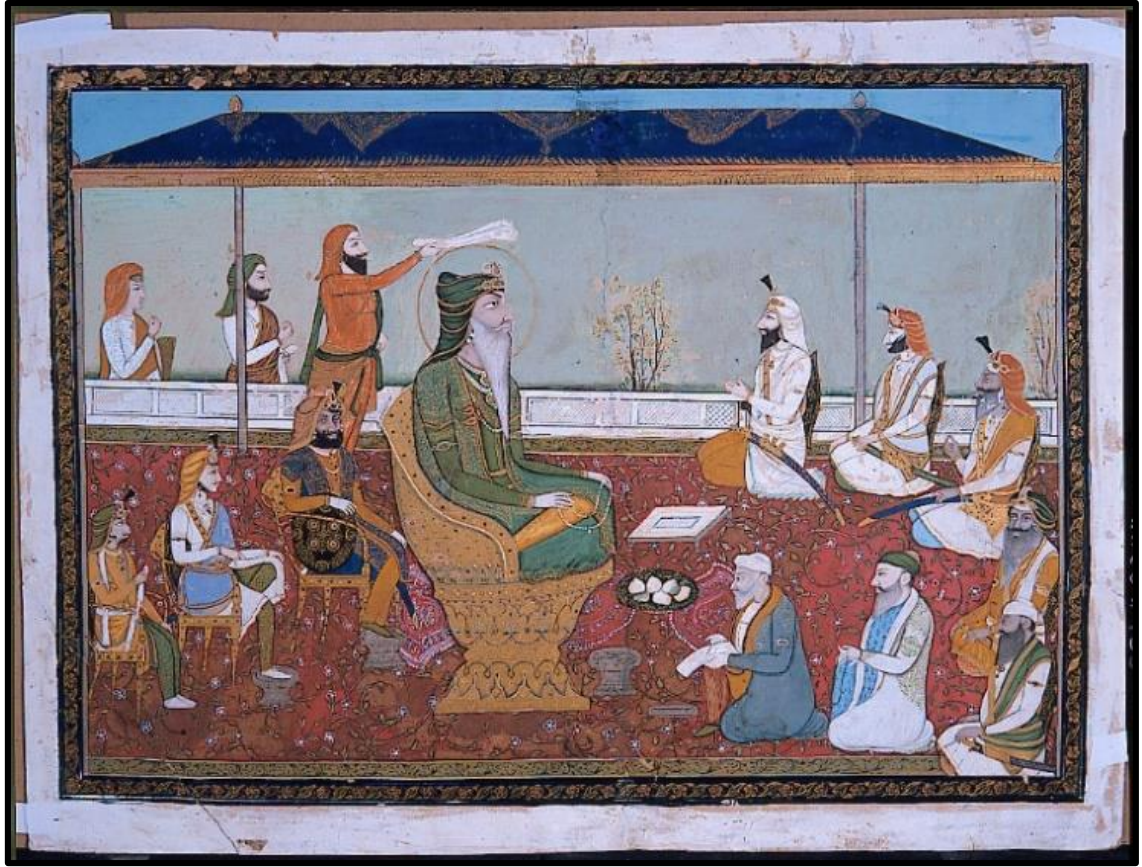


Figure 3.54. Sikh Gurus, c. 1820, (Source: Christies Auction)



**Figure 3.55. Ranjit Singh on his golden throne, c. 1830,**

**(Source: The San Diego Museum, no. 1990.1346), by Yechu Mussavir**

There is a court scene of Maharaja Ranjit Singh seated on golden throne of about 1830s at the San Diego Museum (fig. 3. 55), inscribed with the name of artist Yechu Mussavir. The style is different from Pahari painters and to emphasis the figure of Maharaja, he is portrayed enlarged and thus, lack of proportion can be noticed in the scene. A golden halo is also granted by the painter to Maharaja, who appears younger than his other portraits with white bearded face.

There is another group of assembly scenes by different hand (fig. 3.56). Similar style painting is at Chester Beatty Library. Possibly, this is the work of an unknown painter working for Lahore court during 1830s. Maharaja appears younger with black- grey beard. Maharaja is holding a flower in his left hand and two noblemen are seated on European style chairs fronting him, prime minister Raja Dhyan Singh placed right to him on an elevated cushioned stool holding a sword. Although, prime minister Raja Dhyan Singh always appears standing behind Maharaja, but in this assembly, he is seen seated, which represent the knowledge of painter for painted character and intimacy with royal family. An identifying inscription in black *nastaliq* script above '*tasveer*

*maharaj ranjit singh*' (Portrait of Maharaja Ranjit Singh), is within yellow rules and extensive polychrome florescent edges, with additional inscriptions in golden *nastaliq* script in lower margin.



**Figure 3.56. Maharaja Ranjit Singh seated on a terrace with Raja Dhyani Singh and officials, 1830-40, (Source: Christies Auction)**

Apart from the likenesses of royals and officials of Lahore, varied manuscripts were scribed in Persian and illuminated by painters. Military Manual of Maharaja Ranjit Singh was decorated with the portraits of Sikh Gurus, military officers and himself Maharaja along with his courtiers. Some scholars ascribed the manuscript illustration to Bikaner artists, but in actual the style of text and portraits within text again reminds Lahore style. A dated manuscript of *Gulgasht-i- Punjab* of 1849, scribed by Pandit Raja Ram Kaul Tota, illustrates architectural heritage of Punjab, which endeavors the grandeur and the gorgeous life of Maharaja Ranjit Singh's darbar and his time. Lively colours have been rendered for designs, sketches and pictures of monuments &

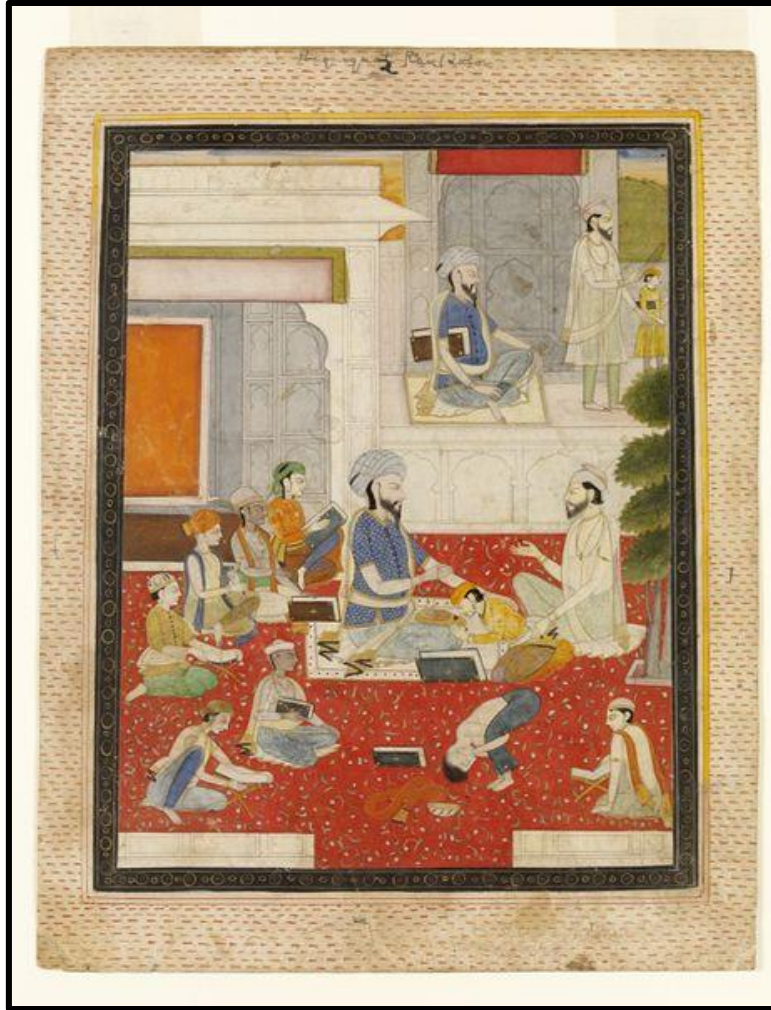


buildings, while portrayals are done in dynamic ones and with greater embellishment. Some other painters Ismail Khan, Ghulam Hosain and Nazr Ali Khan (Powell, 1872, Vol. II, 350).



**Figure 3.57. Desa Singh Majithia in assembly, (Source: V & A Museum, no. IS.153-1952)**

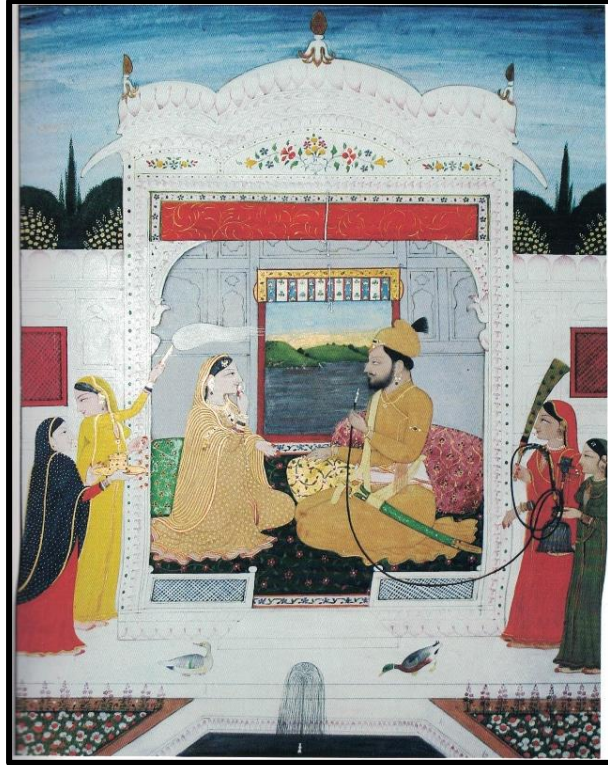
Majithias were also patron of artistic activities. Although, there is not identified portrait of Desa Singh Majithia, but as a ruling figure, he is portrayed, seated on a chair in a courtyard, among group of nobles and musicians (fig. 3.57). A Janamsakhi leaf preserved at V & A Museum is, possibly by the same painter (fig. 3.58). With the sophisticated style, it also presents the glimpse of ethnicity of Punjab plains. Guler painters were habitual of symbolism, which is well defined in this leaf. To see the vibrancy of leaf, one can presume that this may be the work of Guler painter after the Sikh annexation of Guler in 1809 A.D. under the royal Sikh patronage. Different from all traditional iconography of a Brahmin Guru, a Muslim teacher in blue attires, circled around pupils from different societies are new and innovative. Guru Nanak also went to learn Persian, but he did not touch the feet of teacher, but conversed with him to enlighten him with his spiritual knowledge, and the touching of feet is not a Muslim practice. Illustrator created a new setup for a traditional theme, by portraying child Nanak touching the feet of his Guru. Slim figures resemble with the assembly scene (fig. 3.57) of Desa Singh Majithia.



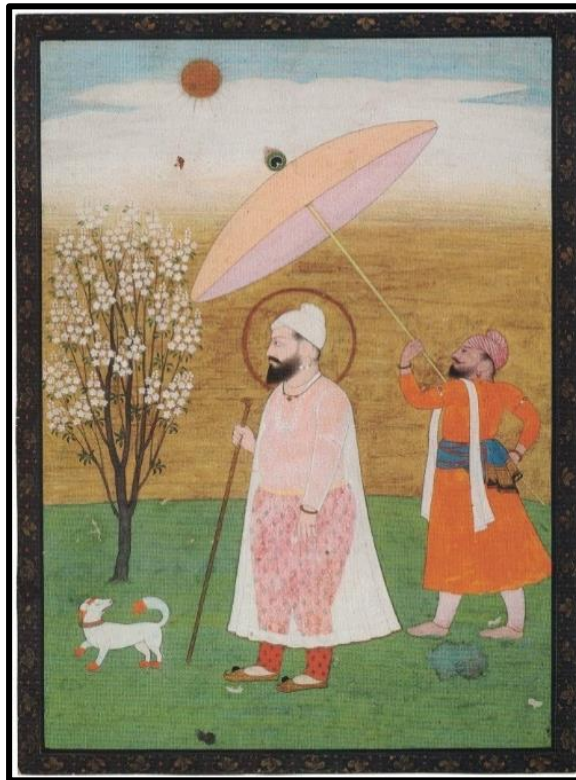
**Figure 3.58. Janamsakhi leaf, (Source: V & A Museum, no. IS.20-1952)**

A portrait of Sikh chief carousing with a hill lady is identified as Desa Singh Majithia's domestic life (fig. 3.61), with female of Guler-type features, seated closely to drinking liquor from wine-cups, in which carpet with analogous stripes, the crimson screens and pale green & blue background are archetypal of painting in Guler of about the years 1815 to 1830. The face of Sikh Sardar again reminds the face of Guru Har Rai (fig. 3.60) and Raja Jit Singh of Chamba (fig. 3.59). Females in the scene are surely by the hand of Chhajju and influenced by the females assembled in the portrait of Raja Jit Singh. There is a similar one (fig. 3.62) at National Museum, New Delhi.

Desa Singh Majithia's likeness in assembly scene, differs from the likeness of domestic scene (fig. 3.61). Maharaja Ranjit Singh married the two daughters of Maharaja Sansar Chand from Gaddi Rani Nokhu and third daughter of Nokhu was married to Lehna Singh Sandhanwalia, who was attached through a grant with Gokal during 1830s (Goswamy, 1999, 14). The portraits (figs. 3.61, 3.62) may be of Lehna Singh Sandhanwalia.



**Figure 3.59.** Raja Jit Singh of Chamba with his Rani, 1810,  
(Source: Bhuri Singh Museum, Chamba, Acc. no. 00.685.17), by Chhajju



**Figure 3.60.** Guru Har Rai, (Courtesy: Ch. Museum, Acc. no. F- 45)



Fig. 3.59.1.



Fig. 3.60.1.

Details of the faces of Jit Singh and Guru Har Rai



Fig. 3.59.2.



Fig. 3.61.1.

Details of the female faces by Chhajju

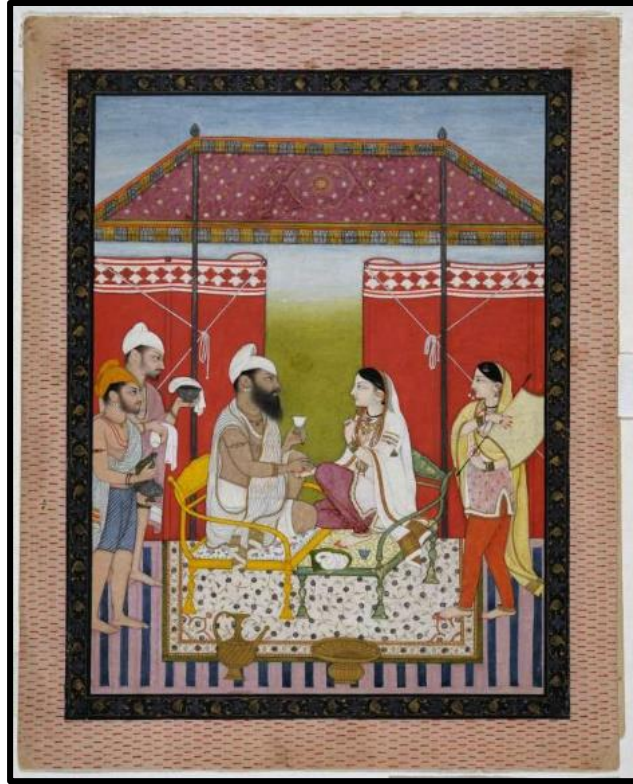


Fig. 3.59.3.

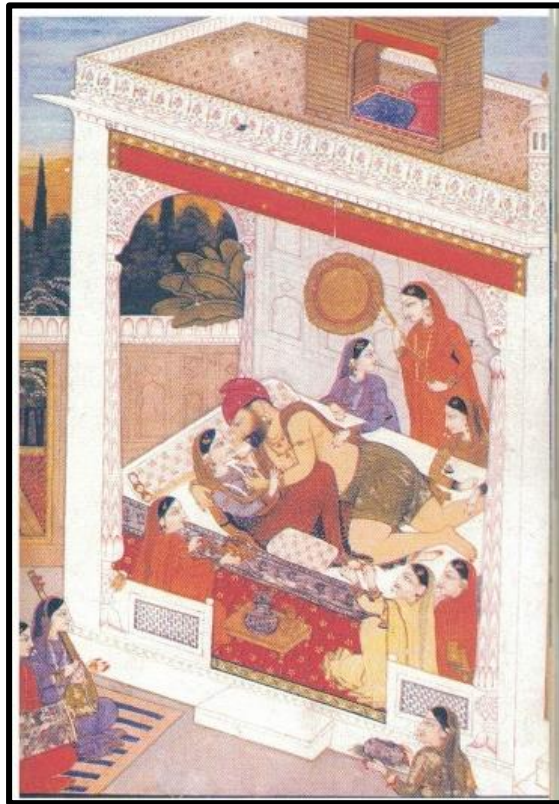


Fig. 3.61.2.

Female figures by Chhajju



*Figure 3.61. Possibly Lehna Singh Sandhanwalia, 1825, (Courtesy: Ch. Museum, Acc. no. 296), by Chhajju*



*Figure 3.62. Possibly Lehna Singh Sandhanwalia, (Source: National Museum, New Delhi)*

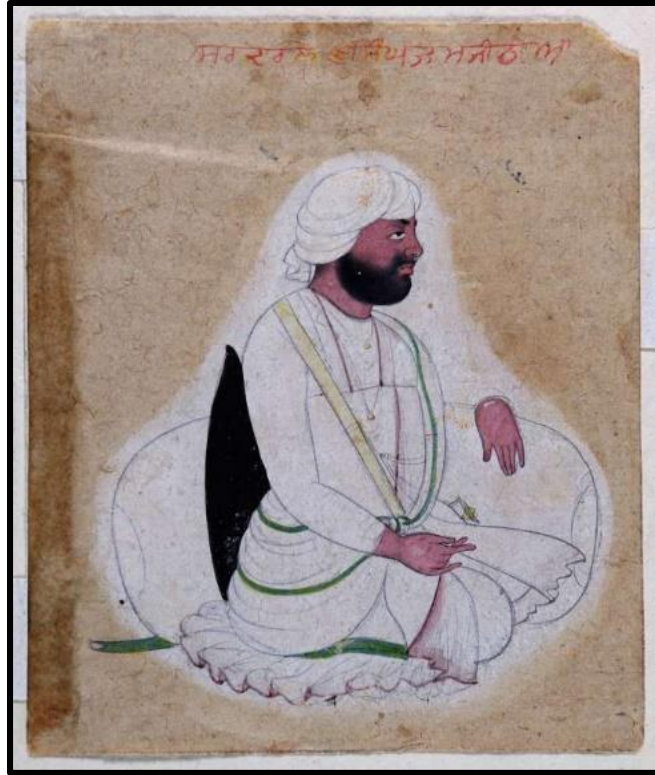


Figure 3.63. Lehna Singh Majithia, (Courtesy: Ch. Museum, Acc. no. D- 35)



Fig. 3.61.1.

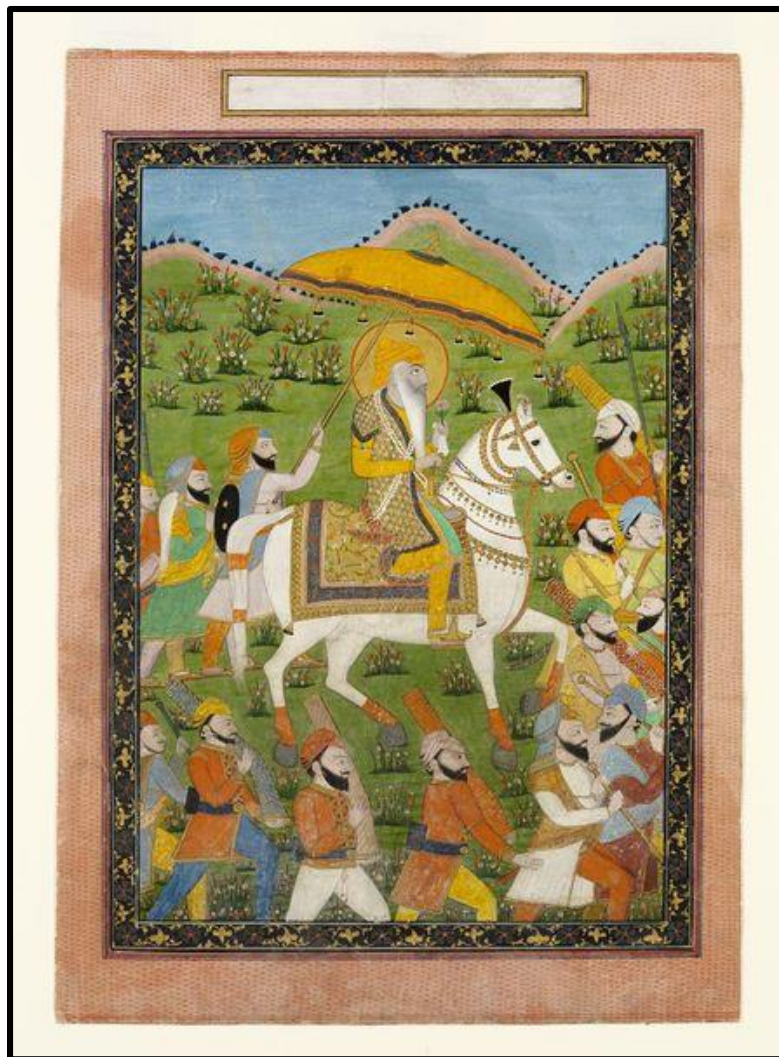
Fig. 3.63.2.

**Details of faces of Lehna Singh Majithia and Lehna Singh Sandhanwalia**

In 1842, painter Harkhu, replacing Fauju started to work for the Lehna Singh Majithia, governor of the Kangra hills. A portrait sketch of Lehna Singh Majithia, inscribed in *Gurmukhi*, now exists at Ch. Museum (fig. 3.63), ascribed to the family workshop of Purkhu. It is also possible that Fauju continuously worked for Desa Singh Majithia, but Lehna Singh patronized Harkhu after the death of Fauju. Sikh governor patronized the painter Chhajju. Ranjodh Singh, half-brother of Lehna Singh Majithia, took charge of the hills for about a year, in the absence of Lehna Singh and

also released grant to Gokal at Haripur in 1845 (Goswamy, 1968a, 29. Goswamy, 1999, 15- 16, 30).

An equestrian portrait of Maharaja Ranjit Singh accompanying troop with some distinct features is at V & A Museum (fig. 3.64), with mountainous background of brilliant arsenic greens, highlighted with brown, flowery herbs and different type of Sikh umbrella, halo around the face and decorative dress of Maharaja. In museum records, the painting was given to the V & A Museum in 1955 by Mrs L.M. Rivett-Carnac on behalf of the Van Cortlandt family, which was one of a pair of likenesses prepared for Ranjit Singh by his court painter and offered by him to Mrs Rivett-Carnac's grandfather, Colonel Henry Charles Van Cortlandt, the additional copy being reserved by the Maharaja. Van Cortlandt (1814–1888) entered Ranjit Singh's service in 1832, and after the first Anglo-Sikh War (1845–1846) directed Sikh detachments under the British.



*Figure 3.64. Maharaja with his troop, (Source: V & A Museum, no. IS.282-1955)*

Two dispersed leaves from *Devi* series (fig. 3.65) in similar style and idioms are at Ch. Museum with *Gurmukhi* text. The series may be painted by court painter of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. The similar idioms appear later in *Vishnu Avtara* series (fig. 3.66), painted in Garhwal during the years 1860- 1870. The work may be by the painter Saudagar; second son of Chhajju. Saudagar was employed in Tehri Garhwal along with his two sons, Maheshu and Kanhaiya from 1866 (Goswamy, 1968a, 30). Stylistic evidence proves that Saudagar was court artist of Maharaja Ranjit Singh.

Distinct from the style of Saudagar, a portrait of brother of Maharani Jindan, Sardar Jawahar Singh of about 1845 is at Christies Auction (fig. 3.67) with early patterns common in Chamba and Guler. Influence of Basohli also can be seen on the portrait. A portrait sketch of Jawahar Singh with inscription on front in *Devanagari* is at Ch. Museum (acc. no. D- 16), in which style of turban is similar, while long beard also appears in sketch. Damodar; son of worthy Gokal, was expert in painting floral patterned carpet like his father and grandfathers possibly.

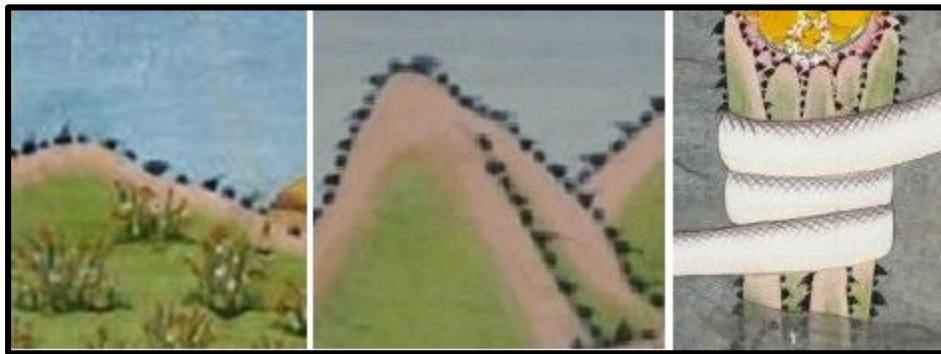


Figure 3.65. Devi series, (Courtesy: Ch. Museum, Acc. no. 3907 (1))





**Figure 3.66.** Vishnu as Kurma, Garhwal, (Source: V & A Museum, no. 1.M. 22.1917)



**Fig. 3.64.1.**

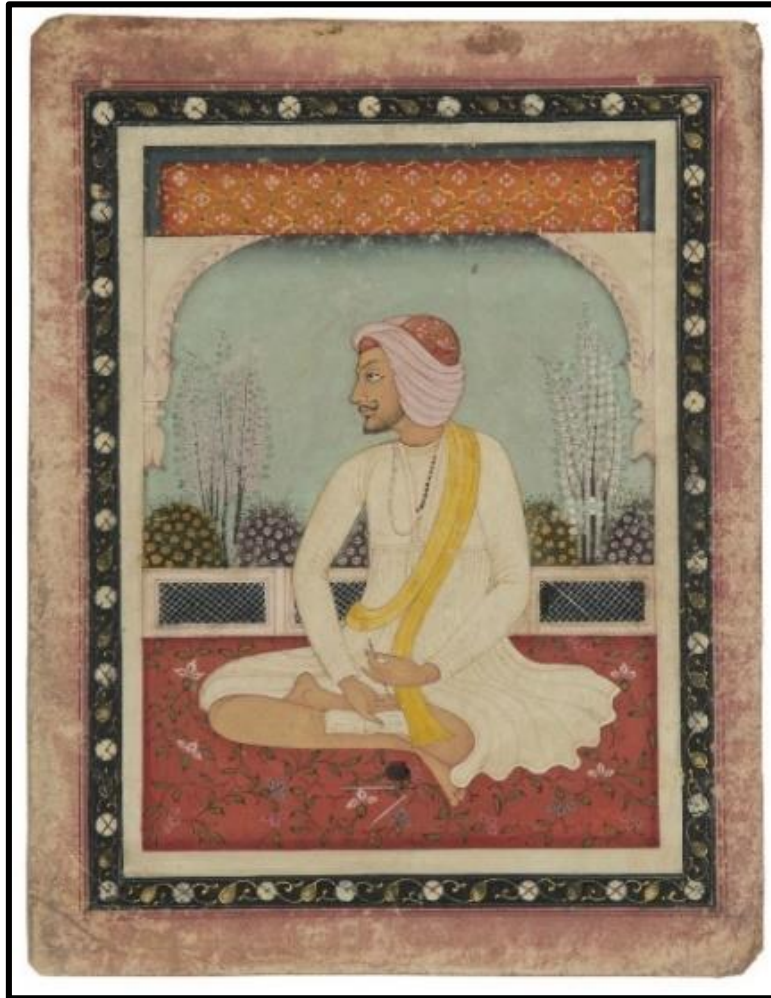
**Fig. 3.65.1.**

**Fig. 3.66.1.**

**Mountains and rocks highlighted with brown and flowery herbs & conical foliage, possibly by Saudagar**

Damodar was associated with British government in some ways during 1846- 47 (Goswamy, 1999, 18, 32). Pahari painters were commissioned under the Sikhs on the basis of salary, rations and land- grants. Fine portrait of Jawahar Singh is an evidence that even after the death of Maharaja, painters were working for royal Sikh family. Portrait of some British officers too appear by the hands of Pahari painters, possibly by Damodar now at Ch. Museum (fig. 3.68). With the declined of Sikh kingdom, painters started to migrate in their native places. Damodar; elder son of Gokal along with Harkhu, Chhajju died in the same year 1850. Numerous uninscribed

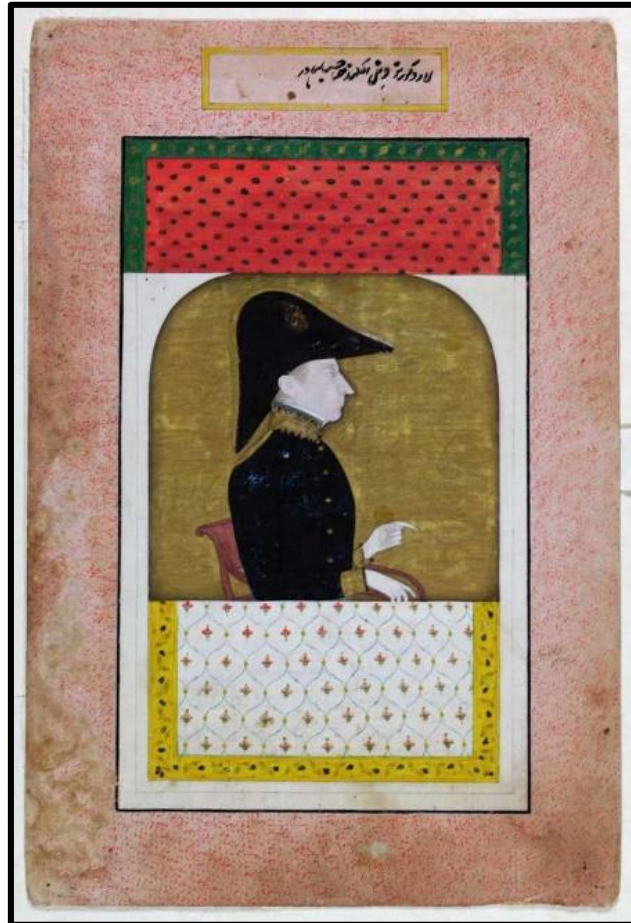
paintings and sketches of personnel of low or no rank survive and some of them must certainly owe their presence to this condition.



*Figure 3.67. Jawahar Singh (d. 1845), brother of Rani Jindan, (Source: Christies Auction)*

Family of Purkhu had been already worked for Ramgarhia and Kanheya chiefs. Purkhu's family also worked for Sikh Maharaja and his officials. Although Purkhu's family was active in Lahore and some finished portraits and sketches can be ascribed to the family members of Purkhu on the basis of style, while there is no record of any type of grant issued to the family of Purkhu by Maharaja and his officials. But Fakir Waheed- ud- din confirms of Purkhu of Kangra along with Kehar Singh and Muhammad Bakhsh as the artists' active at the Lahore court, apparently with reference to the coll. of paintings of the Fakir family some of which he reproduced. Purkhu's brother Buddhu often visited to Lahore (Waheeduddin, 1965, 121). Purkhu family created portraits of Maharaja, his family members and officials. A series of the portraits of Delhi Emperors was also prepared by Purkhu. Work of Purkhu depicts incredible clarity of tone and gracefulness of

treatment. His son Ramdayal inherited much of his father's talent. Purkhu's family was also expert in Guler style. Guler type floral scroll in white and gold or white and slate-blue colours are also applied by family members of Purkhu, but flat green coloured halo around face of Maharaja (Maharaja Ranjit Singh Museum, Amritsar, acc. no. 106) is different from the golden-rayed haloes granted to Sikh Maharaja by Nainsukh family (fig. 3.50).



**Figure 3.68. Officer, 1840, (Courtesy: Ch. Museum, Acc. no. D- 123)**

Family of Purkhu also worked for Maharaja Sher Singh. A portrait- sketch, inscribed in late hand in *Devanagari* characters 'Maharaja Sher Singh' is at Ch. Museum. So, it is surely after the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, when Kanwar Sher Singh ascended the throne in 1841. There are other portrait sketch of Lahore officials inscribed in *Devanagari* characters, possibly by Purkhu. Slim figures and an absence of detailing can be seen in these paintings and sketches.

Today, name of some Sikh painters Kishan Singh, Bishan Singh, Kehar Singh and Kapur Singh are also known. Muslims artists Muhammad Bakhsh and Hasan- ul- din; and the Delhi

painter, Azam, also puts in an appearance. But of the Pahari painters whose work for Sikh patrons mostly see in Sikh subject paintings, there is really very scanty knowledge.

Kehar Singh was also working for Maharaja Ranjit Singh and Maharaja Sher Singh. There is a court scene of Maharaja Sher Singh at Faqir Khana Museum, possibly painted after his death. Artist Kehar Singh himself appears in this painting, which also witnessed that, to record the events on some special occasions, the court painter was asked to paint and the artists were permitted to be seated in the court to portray the royal characters on some events. There is another painting, mentioned in the memoirs of Faqir Khana Archives, which records Sikh Maharaja Sher Singh showing gifts to Dhyana Singh received from the British Governor General, sitting opposite each other. The style of the angels showering red petals is a clear impression of Europe and the painter Kehar Singh seems to be conscious of perspective. The same style of angels veiled in the atmosphere of both scenes.

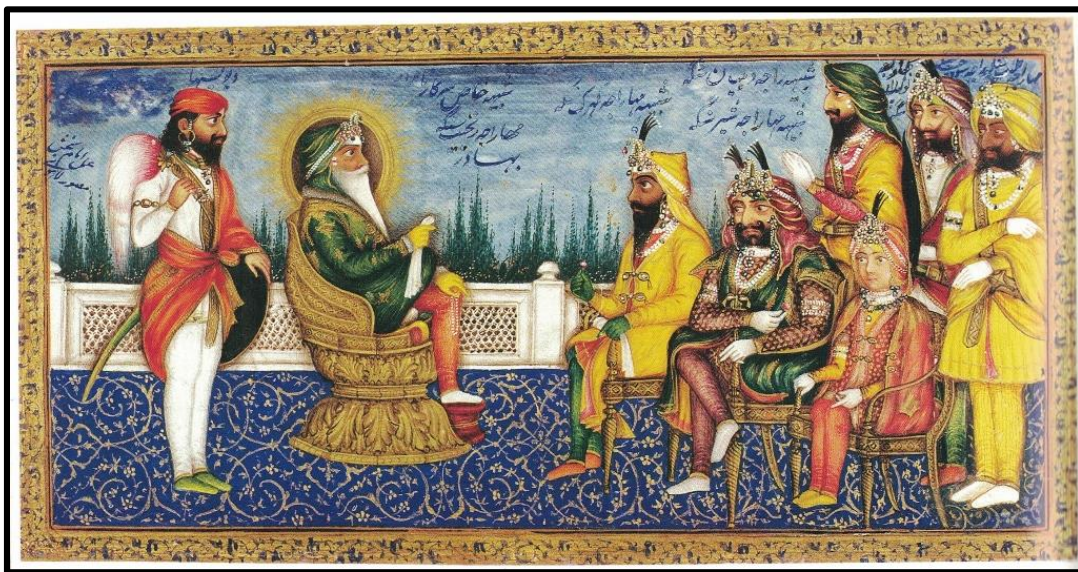


Figure 3.69. Court of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, (Courtesy: Ch. Museum, Acc. no. 3722), by Imam Bakhsh

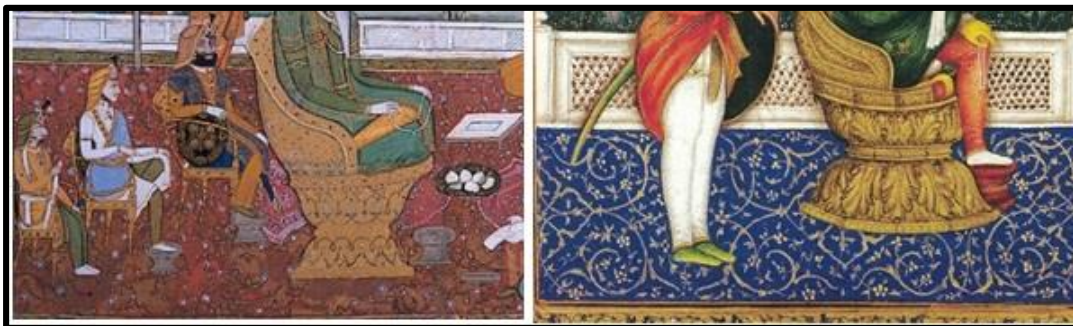


Fig. 3.55.1

Fig. 3.69.1.

Carpet patterns by Muslim- Lahori artists

Imam Bakhsh worked for General Allard, and was carried out even after Allard's death under the care of another French General, Ventura, who had the French fables roughly interpreted in Persian for the benefit of Imam Bakhsh (Goswamy, 2006). Imam Bakhsh also worked in Lahore after Maharaja Ranjit Singh and painted some imaginary assembly scenes of Lahore, in which Maharaja Ranjit Singh and his successors appear in their popular established iconographies and familiar faces (fig. 3.69), in bright colours. Different from red- green, yellow carpets of Pahari style, Lahori artists preferred traditional Mughal carpets, using blue, red and golden colours. Extremely formalized cypresses behind the white marble balustrade and the fashion of green-golden halo popularly used till 1850s in Lahore, which were in continuous practice from Mughal era. After perceiving human beings in the souks of Lahore, Imam Bakhsh and Mohammad Bakhsh used to render them from memory in their atelier, either for selling to the customers, or for gift to nobles and Rajas as tokens. There were other Muslim calligraphers, *naqqash*, artists, active in Lahore from the Mughal period. Their genealogies are also exist, but their styles are unknown today.



*Figure 3.70. Maharaja Dalip Singh, c. 1846,*  
(Courtesy: Ch. Museum, Acc. no. D- 8), by Hasan- ul- din

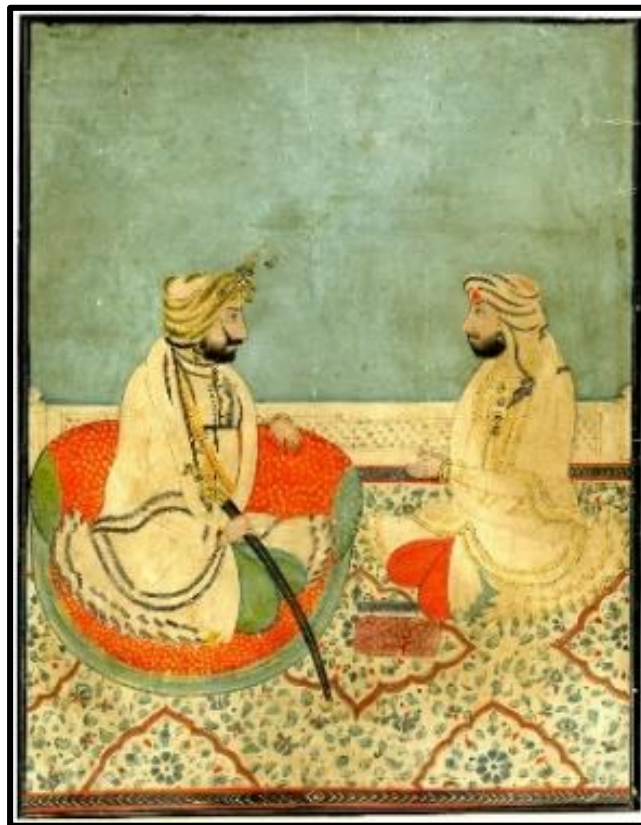
Numerous portraits of child Maharaja Dalip Singh's assembly by Hasan- ul- din are now survive (fig. 3.70). His style is also distinct from Pahari painters. Some loyal ministers are portrayed in assembly scenes of child Maharaja. A green coloured halo with golden outline is also

granted by Delhi painters to child Maharaja. Hasan- ul- din's work is simpler than Imam Bakhsh's highly embellished work.

Except Bishan Singh, another artist named Sani was active in Amritsar, whose book of coloured portraits of castes and tribes exhibited. There were other native painters working in Peshawar, Kapurthala, Patiala, Faridkot including Lahore on the themes of *Amir hat*, *Sudama Charitra* and *Ramayan*. Some of the artists were very old till 1850s, like Bahauddin Zakaria of Multan, Syad Julal Bokhari of Uch and Data Ganj Bakhsh. An unnumbered portrait of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, said to be an admirable likeness, was hung at the entrance of court; there are very few really good likenesses of this monarch. The best was taken at Rupa in 1831 by Jiun Ram, a painter of Meerut, in the suite of Lord William Bentinck (Powell, 1872, Vol. II, 351- 352, 355).

### 3.3.6 Arts under Dogras

There are various portraits of Dogra Rajas working at Sikh court. There are some series of portraits emerged under them by different painters. Some portraits of Dogras are also inscribed with the name of artists. There is a portrait sketch of painters at Ch. Museum (acc. no. 451), identified as Ruldu, Purkhu's son and Kanchanu, Sajnu's son, working at the court of the Maharaja of Jammu.



*Figure 3.71. Raja Ranbir Singh of Jammu and his secretary, (Source: British Museum, no. 1915,0915,0.2)*

Portraits of Maharaja Gulab Singh of Jammu and Kashmir along with his sons Udham Singh, Sohan Singh (or Randhir Singh) and Ranbir Singh are emerged by the hands of Ruldu, son of Purkhu (figs. 3.71, 3.72). Yellow carpet with minute floral pattern of triple- petalled flowers in green, blue and red, sometimes large cartouches, oval rug, background of dull blue- green, black border and intimacy of the character are portrayed in this series of portraits. Certain idioms as oval rug, pale carpet with leaf pattern, dresses with jagged edges, long sword pointing downwards, multi- coloured turbans- with the group of portraits bear a closeness to the more typical style of Guler artists.



**Figure 3.72.** Prince in Sikh costume seated on a chair, (Source: V & A Museum, no. IS.192-1951)

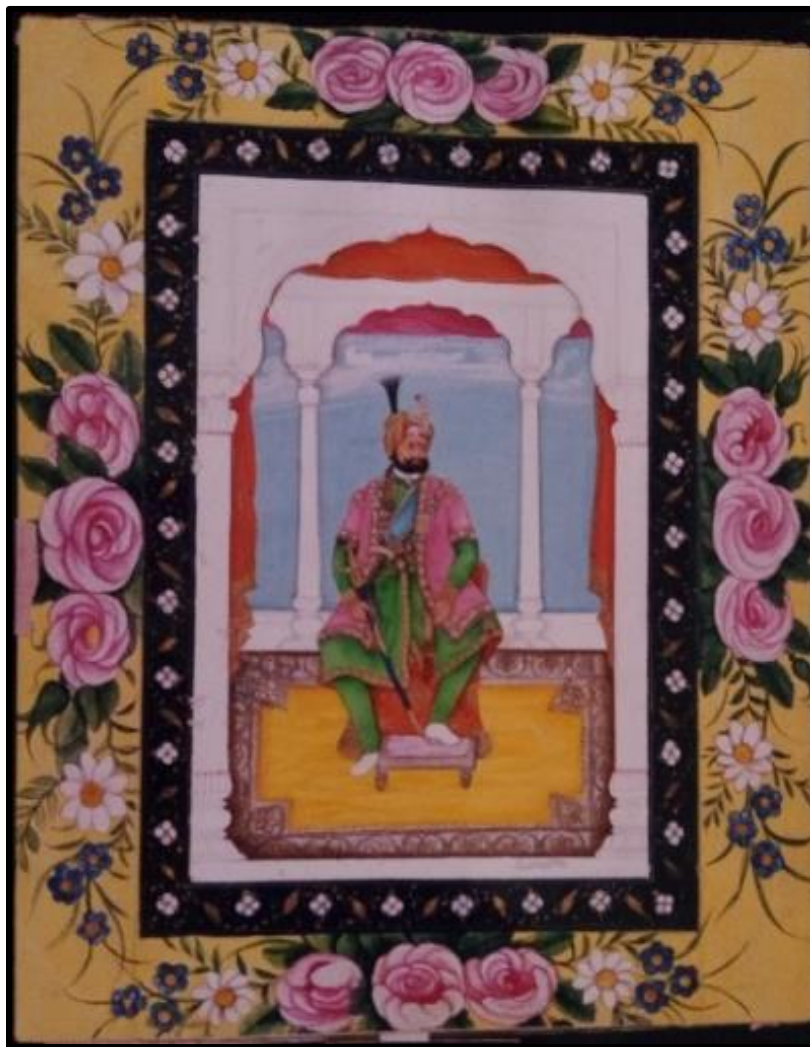


**Fig. 3.71.1.**

**Fig. 3.72.1.**

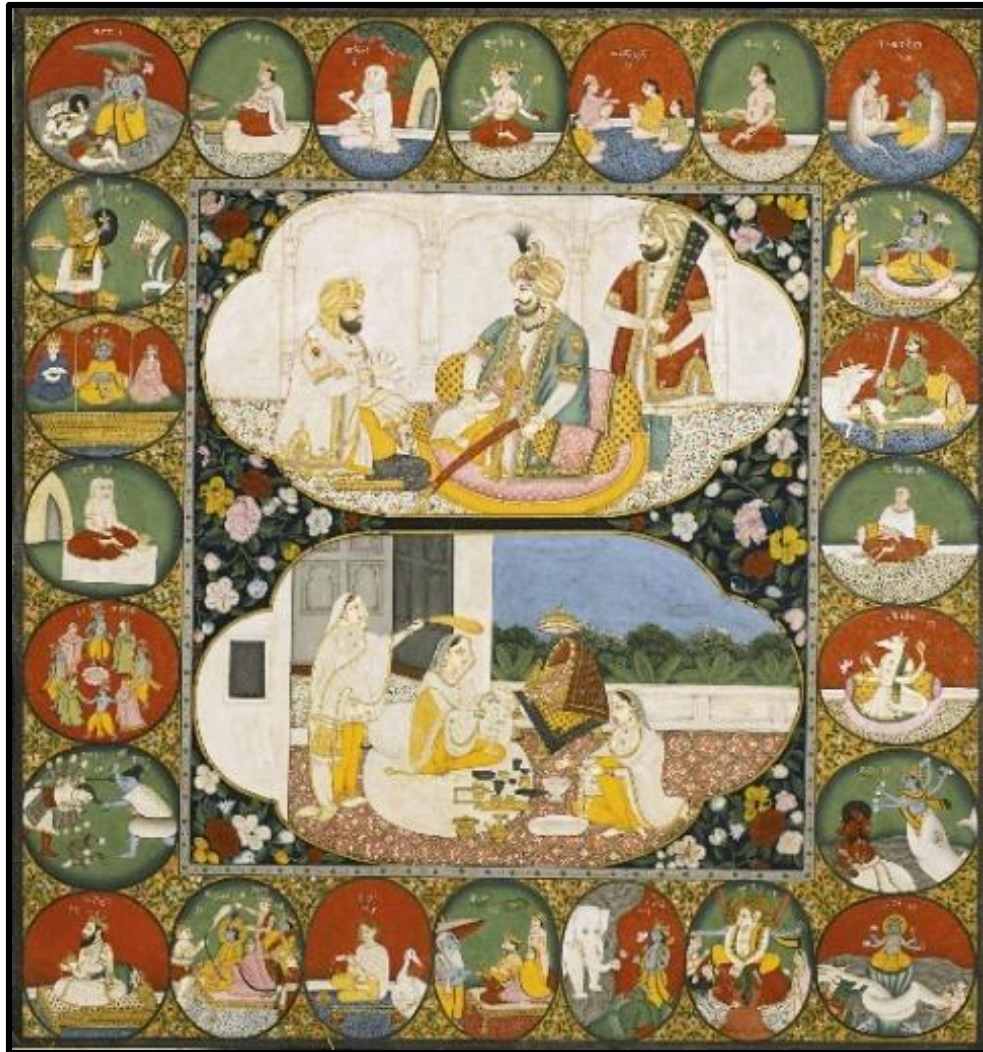
**Similar idioms applied in carpet patterns and sword possibly by Ruldu**

Kanchanu; son of Sajnu, was also employed under Raja Gulab Singh of Jammu. He followed the style of his father Sajnu of Mandi. Kanchanu applied the models and border settings used by his father. Sajnu of Mandi was an expertise of Guler style paintings, who was also connected with Pandit Seu's family, but some distinct features emerged in his style like, extraordinary frame designing, not practiced in Kangra, pale yellow- creamy carpets be- sprinkled with floral sprays and leaf designs, depiction of figures from the backside and oval shaped *hashiya* are some idioms borrowed by Kanchanu from his father. Some portraits of Maharaja Gulab Singh and his successors are done in the style of Sajnu, that one can ascribe them to his son Kanchanu (fig. 3.73). In a portrait of Maharaja Ranbir Singh (fig. 3.74), settings applied by Kanchanu, have much resemblance with the style of portrait of Raja Ishwari Sen of Mandi, prepared by his father Sajnu.



**Figure 3.73. Ruler, (Courtesy: Ch. Museum, Acc. no. 3714)**



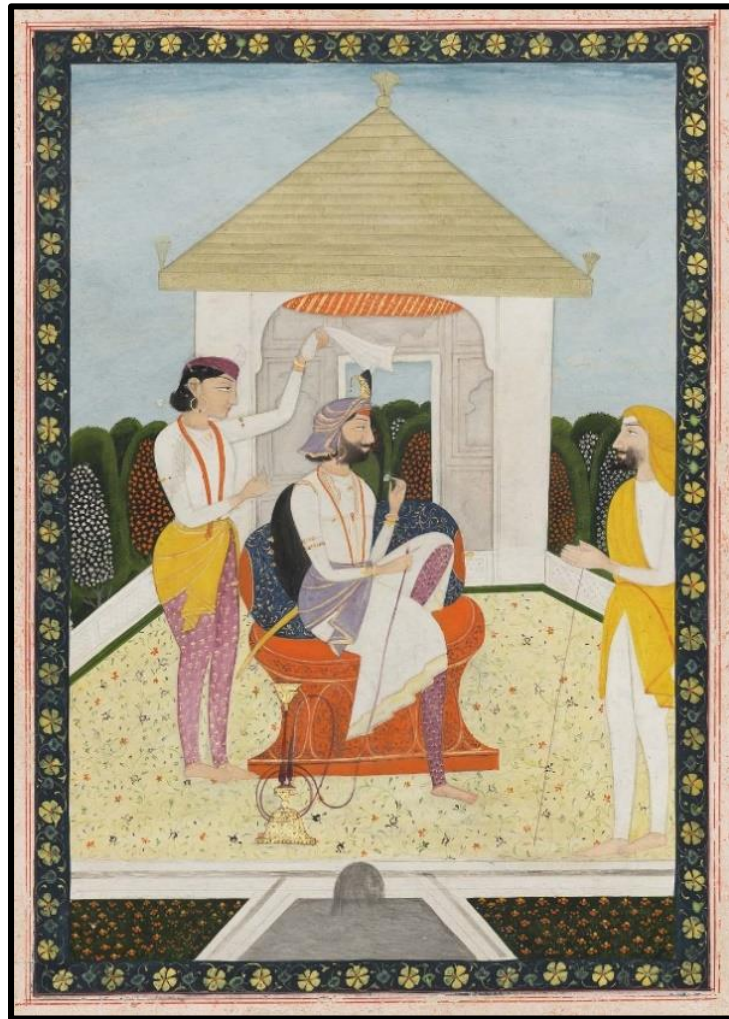


**Figure 3.74. Maharaja Ranbir Singh, 1850, (Source: Sotheby Auction)**

Another painter was Praga working for Raja Sucet Singh. A portrait of Sucet Singh of Jammu of c. 1839 at Boston Museum (fig. 3.75), is signed by the painter Praga. Inscription on this portrait indicates that it was prepared to offered (*nazar*) on the 8th day of *Ashad*, 1896. Praga also worked in Guler style. Naturalism, detailing of objects and depiction of character and yellow carpet with floral pattern are of Guler style.

Ranjha migrated to Basohli, whose son Gursahai was working for Raja Bhup Singh of Guler. Gursahai's son Deviditta, firstly worked for Basohli family but later, he started to live in Lahore for some time in the house of Bulaki Missar, in the *gali* (street) of Kanhaiya Kapoor, in the house of the town called Machhihatta. Here, he also worked for Dhyan Singh Dogra, accompanying him in the state of Mandi. A portrait of Raja Dhyan Singh Dogra is inscribed with the name of Deviditta, at British Museum (fig. 3.76). Pink border, simple white balustrade, blob

like green semblance of foliage and grey water, intimacy of character, fluent lines, softness, delicacy of colours and architecture on the green mountainous rocks to form a lively background are the characteristics of the style of Deviditta.

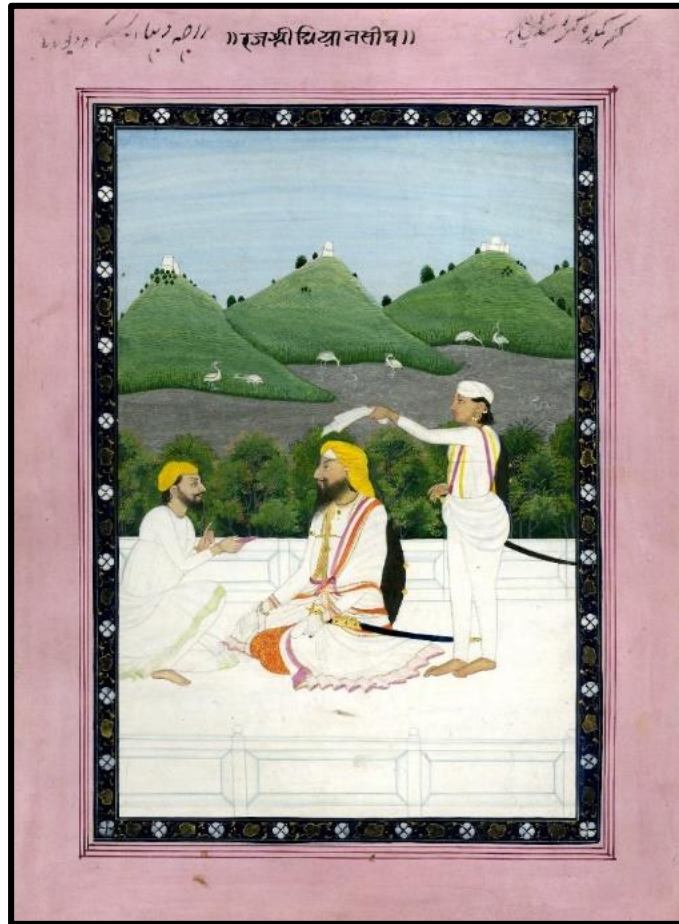


**Figure 3.75. Sucet Singh of Jammu, 1839, (Source: Boston Museum, Acc. no. 15.55), signed by Praga**

The style of Deviditta spread in Patiala around 1866 under Raja Mohinder Singh. The state artist prepared excellent and true likenesses of Maharaja Karam Singh, Maharaja Narendar Singh and Maharaja Mahendar Singh along with good colouring and finish.

There is a portrait of Sikh Guru at Sheesh Mahal Museum, Patiala (fig. 3.78). A similar one is at Christies Auction (3.79) with much detailing of carpet and pink border. Yellow carpet with floral pattern, yellow halo, green mountainous background with blob like foliage, grey water, brown- golden coloured high horizon, white marble balustrade without pattern. The attendant in breeches (figs. 3.78, 3.79) also memorizes the attendants' represented in the portraits of Sikh Gurus

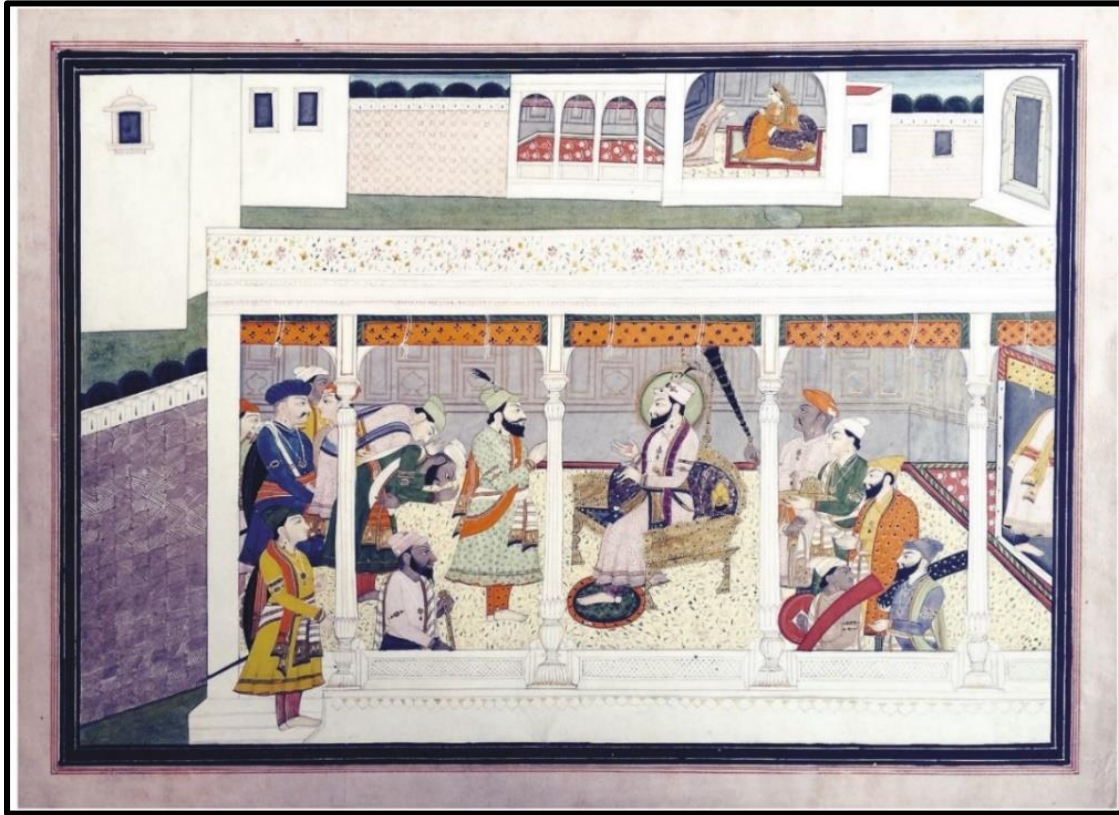
prepared by Ranjha (fig. 3.44). Another portrait of Sikh Guru at Sotheby Auction (3.77), represents similar idioms, and green halo, yellow carpet and pink border appear by similar hand. Green and yellow halos with golden rays (figs. 3.77, 3.78) have also closeness. Yellow carpet with the strokes of mauve to give the effect of floral pattern with simplicity, are also applied in some other portraits of Lahore (V & A Museum, nos. IS.117-1953, IM.58-1936 and IM.57-1936).



**Figure 3.76. Deviditta conversing with Raja Dhyana Singh flanked by attendants,**  
**(Source: British Museum, no. 1922,1214,0.1), by Deviditta**

While active in Lahore, Deviditta's style can be identified through the likeness of Raja Dhyana Singh and the similar idioms applied by him in Patiala area. Blob like clouds and flat green background with detailing and herbs painted in a portrait from Lahore (fig. 3.81) has much resemblance with a portrait of 'Maharaja Narinder Singh of Patiala in procession', now at Sheesh Mahal Museum. Similar treatment of background and clouds applied for another portrait from Phulkian states, now at Indian Museum (fig. 3.80), Calcutta, may be by the same artist or collaboration of two artists. On the basis of style, at least one or more Pahari painters migrated to

Phulkian state from Lahore. Another painter was Biba, working for Patiala rulers. A little later, the name of Biba of Guler comes, working for the Patiala court, and Basharatullah who painted portraits, including a signed one of Sardar Gurmukh Singh, also at Patiala (Goswamy, 1980, 51).



**Figure 3.77.** A Sikh Guru receives a delegation, (Source: Sotheby Auction)



**Fig. 3.76.1.**

**Fig. 3.80.1.**

**Fig. 3.80.2.**

**Fig. 3.81.1.**

**Fig. 3.81.2.**

**Treatment of background and clouds**

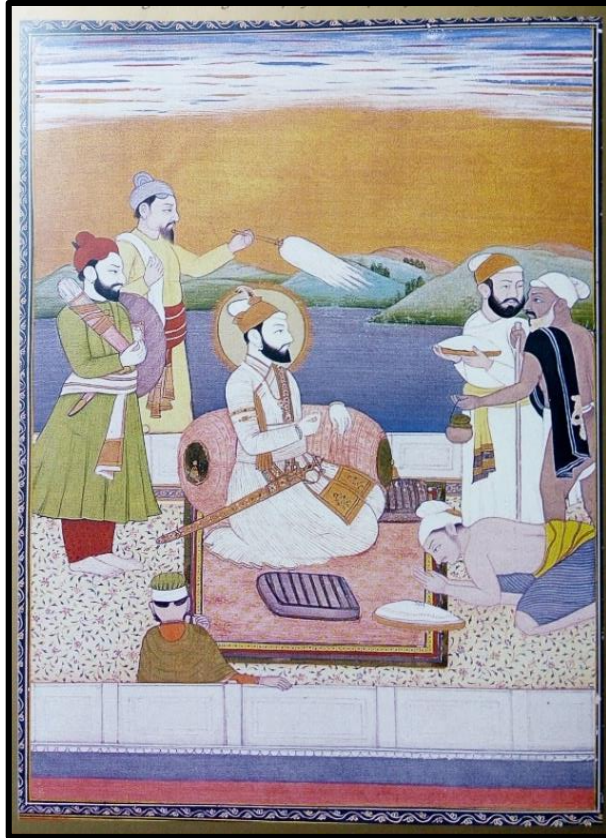


**Fig. 3.77.1.**

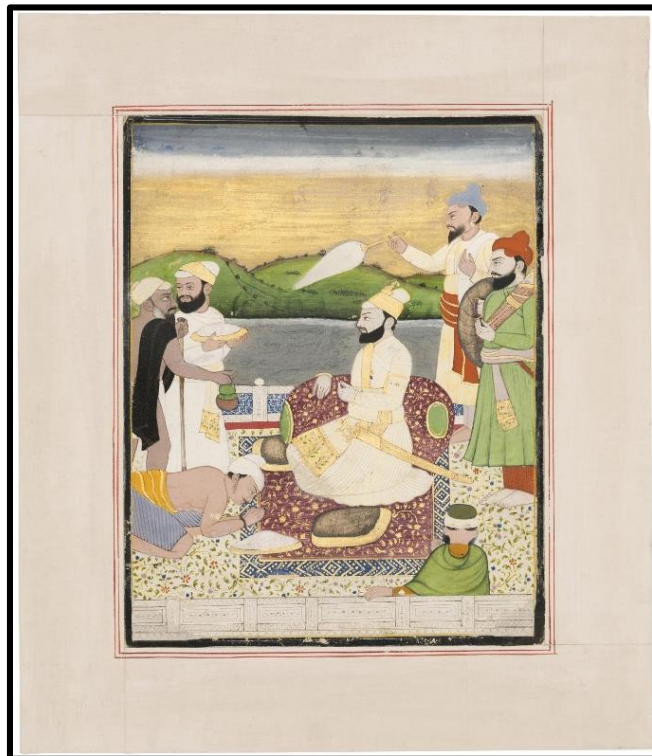
**Fig. 3.78.1.**

**Fig. 3.79.1.**

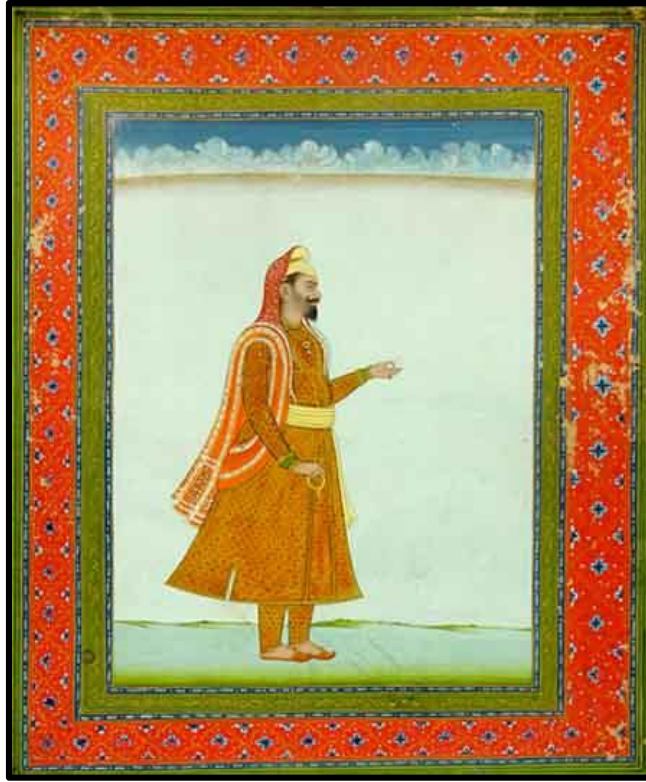
**Similar patterned yellow carpets**



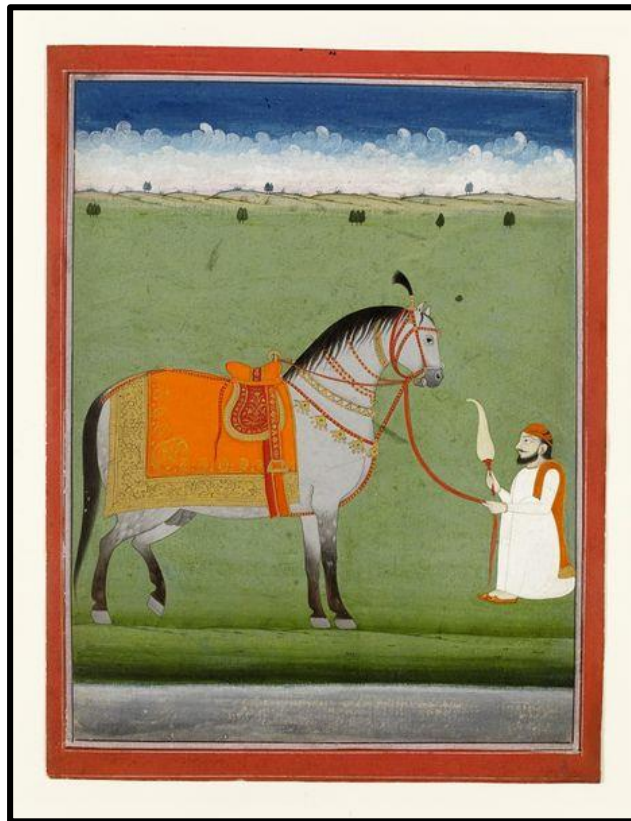
*Figure 3.78. Guru Hargobind, (Source: Sheesh Mahal Museum, Patiala, Acc. no. D/37)*



*Figure 3.79. Sikh Guru, (Source: Christies Auction)*



*Figure 3.80. A Sikh noble, (Source: Indian Museum, Calcutta)*



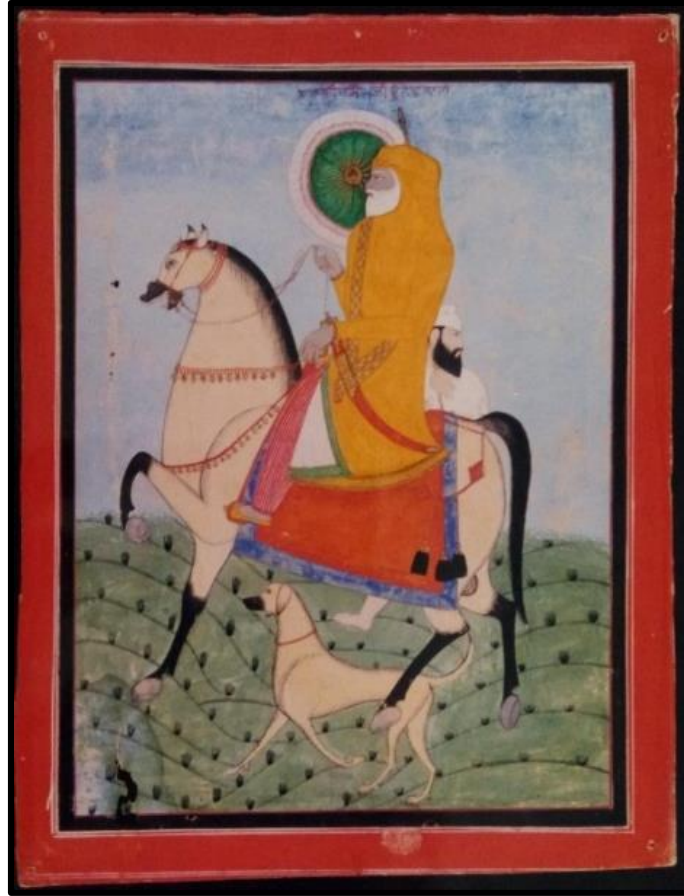
*Figure 3.81. A seated groom with saddled horse, (Source: V & A Museum, no. IS.201-1955)*

### 3.3.7 Punjabi- Pahari Painters of Una

Painters were also commissioned under Sahib Singh Bedi of Una in the Punjab hills. A series of Janamsakhi illustrations is preserved at National Museum, New Delhi of about first quarter of nineteenth century, painted under the patronage of Sahib Singh Bedi of Una (1756-1834 A.D.). The style of these illustrations is descendent and has some resemblance with B-40 series. There is an absence of naturalism, which is seen in B- 40 and Pahari paintings. Janamsakhi illustrations appear the work of Punjabi painters, in which flatness of colours, dull backgrounds and high horizon with a curve of orange on blue to depict sky, stylized trees and mauve mountains, two-dimensional architecture, heaviness of figures with the influence of Punjabi folk are also clear. Mural paintings on the walls of Baba Qala Dhari's mausoleum at Una were copied from these Janamsakhi paintings. Sahib Singh died in 1834, which is likely prepared about 1830.



*Figure 3.82. Sahib Singh Bedi seated with his son Tegh Singh, Dated VS 1896/1838-39 A.D.,  
(Source: Christies Auction)*



*Figure 3.83. Sahib Singh Bedi, (Courtesy: Ch. Museum, Acc.no. 3063)*

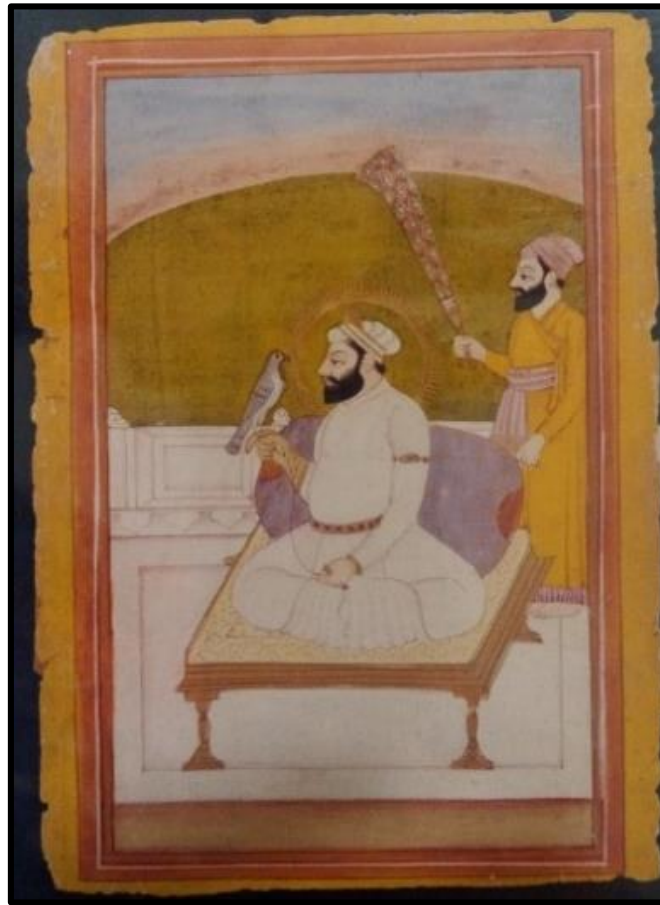
At least, three portraits of Baba Sahib Singh Bedi exist, two are in seated posture and third is equestrian. A seated portrait is at Christies Auction dated 1896 VS (1838- 39), in which his son Tegh Singh is paying homage to Baba Sahib Singh Bedi (fig. 3.82). Another portrait is at Ch. Museum (acc.no. 3674), which is the exact copy of this portrait. Sahib Singh was a patron of painting and probably several Kangra artists were functioning in his employ. In equestrian portrait, mid- nineteenth century common idiom of curved grass land with blob like foliage is applied (fig. 3.83). It appears that Baba Sahib Singh Bedi employed Pahari artists for fine portraiture, while Punjabi painters were commissioned for Janamsakhi series.

### **3.3.8 Artistic Activities among Punjabi Commoners**

After the death of Maharaja and British annexation of Punjab, copies of the portraits of Sikh Gurus along with Lahore courtiers started on early conventions. There was great demand of the bazaar artists, chiefly in Amritsar, made a blooming diligence by replication the best images of the Gurus done in Mughal eras. These type of portraits with early conventions are now at Ch. Museum from the coll. of C. L. Bharany. A green coloured rim in the background, low wooden bed, Muslim-



Rajput style attendant, wearing ankle-length robe, standing behind the Guru, waving *morchhal* and red border also proves that coll. of portraits of Guru Ram Rai was in circulation among Sikh devotees (fig.3.84).

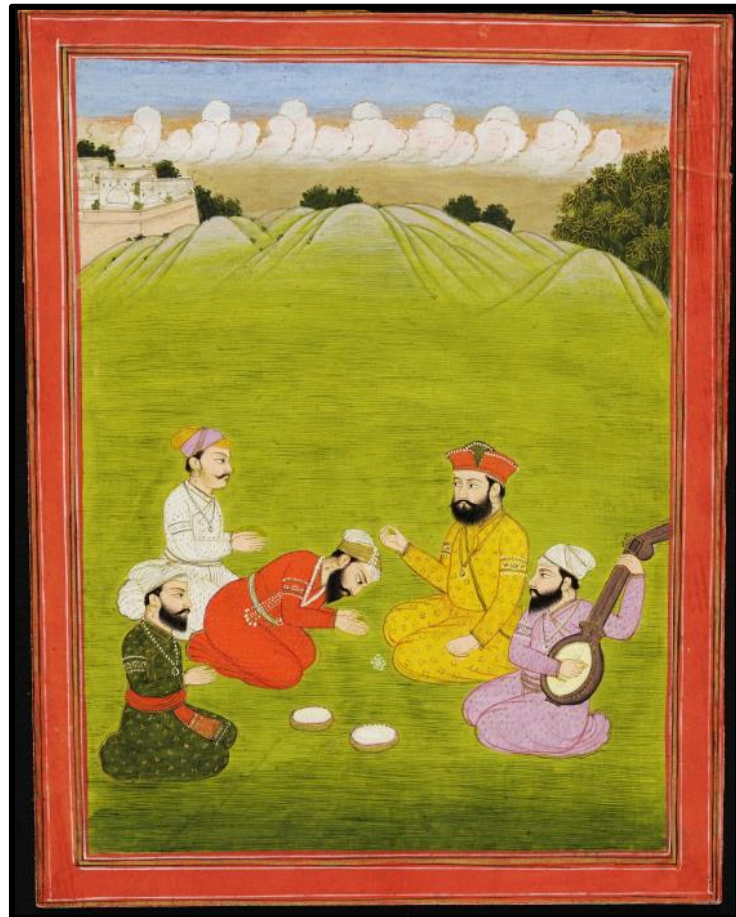


**Figure 3.84. Guru Hargobind, (Courtesy: Ch. Museum, Acc. no. 3662)**

There are some other work in the form of dispersed series but their patrons are not known. Some Janamsakhi leaves of nineteenth century came from the coll. of Badri Nath Gupta at Ch. Museum. Akbar period pink coloured stereotype cylindrical shaped mountains, high horizon, grey coloured rock, bulb shape & white coloured clouds in blue- orange sky, slim and small figures are painted in these leaves. One can see a connection among the work of Guler- Kangra style illustrations from different coll. and sketches (figs. 3.85, 3.86). Work of illustrating Janamsakhi themes was done on large scale, but little variation of style by different painters or family workshops are visible, active during eighteenth century. The series is fine and hand of a Pahari painter can be sensed.

Several of Janamsakhi series are regular creations, frequently in the hand of imperfect accomplished provincial artists, or of wandering Kashmiri scribes and painters; graphic and

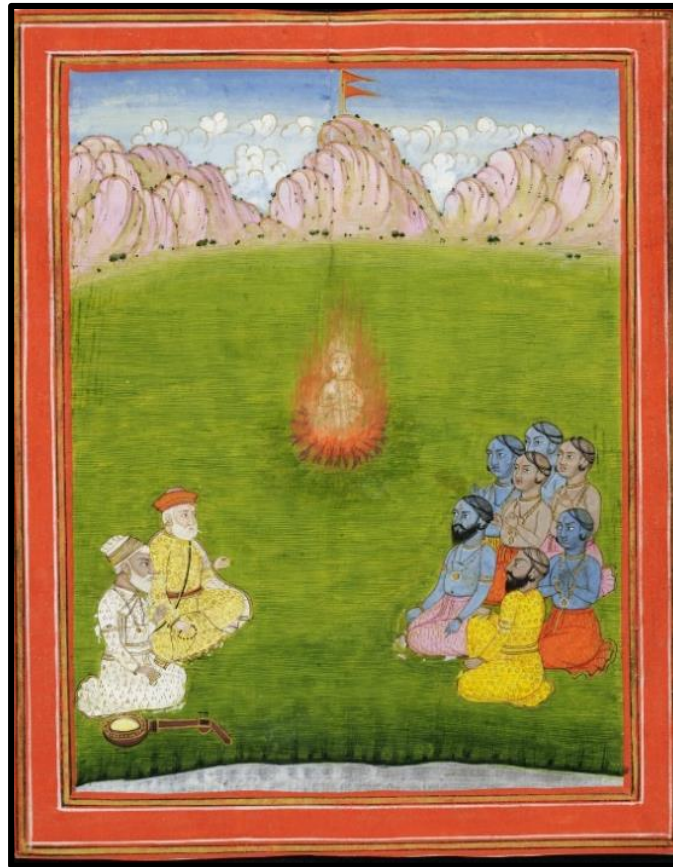
descriptive. The main setting of the illustrations remain almost same, but standard of the Janamsakhi illustrations falls during the second half of nineteenth century by the continuously copying of illustrations. Even colour scheme and figures also copied by the later illustrators without any artistic contributions. The variation of themes also indicates that there were various Janamsakhi texts popular in whole Punjab.



*Figure 3.85. Janamsakhi Illustration, (Courtesy: Ch. Museum, Acc. no. 3288)*

Janamsakhis painted in Kashmiri style are much embellished with sophisticated detailing. The colours and adornment are very prosperous. Kashmiri Janamsakhi illustrations are mostly in manuscripts. So the sizes of illustrations are small and more enhancing than Pahari Janamsakhi illustrations. The colour schemes used in Kashmiri miniatures are bold comparative to the naturalistic Pahari style. The figures are stereotype like Pala and Jain manuscript paintings. In these works, a glimpse of folk art is clear. Simple figures are painted on plain, flat backgrounds, within square or rectangular space, in the middle of two or three lines written in *Gurmukhi* script like mediaeval manuscripts. No evidence regarding official benefaction of Kashmiri painting is

obtainable. It is not improbable that much work especially illumination, was done for Sikh patrons, because an ample Sikh population, in a position of power, had settled in Kashmir after the establishment of Sikh supremacy. One can envision illuminated copies of the Guru Granth Sahib being made in huge numbers for Sikh clients in the Valley, the local craftsmen all too ready to accept commissions. There may even have been illustrated manuscripts of the Janamsakhis and other texts made in the Valley, but no records survives to verify this. When the painters worked in the plains, one hears of books written and illustrated for the Maharaja. Some patronage can thus be taken to have come from the State in this momentary epoch, but no straight association seems to emerge from an examination of documents. Sikh royal lifestyle also impressed Kashmiri painters and some idioms also reflect in their paintings.

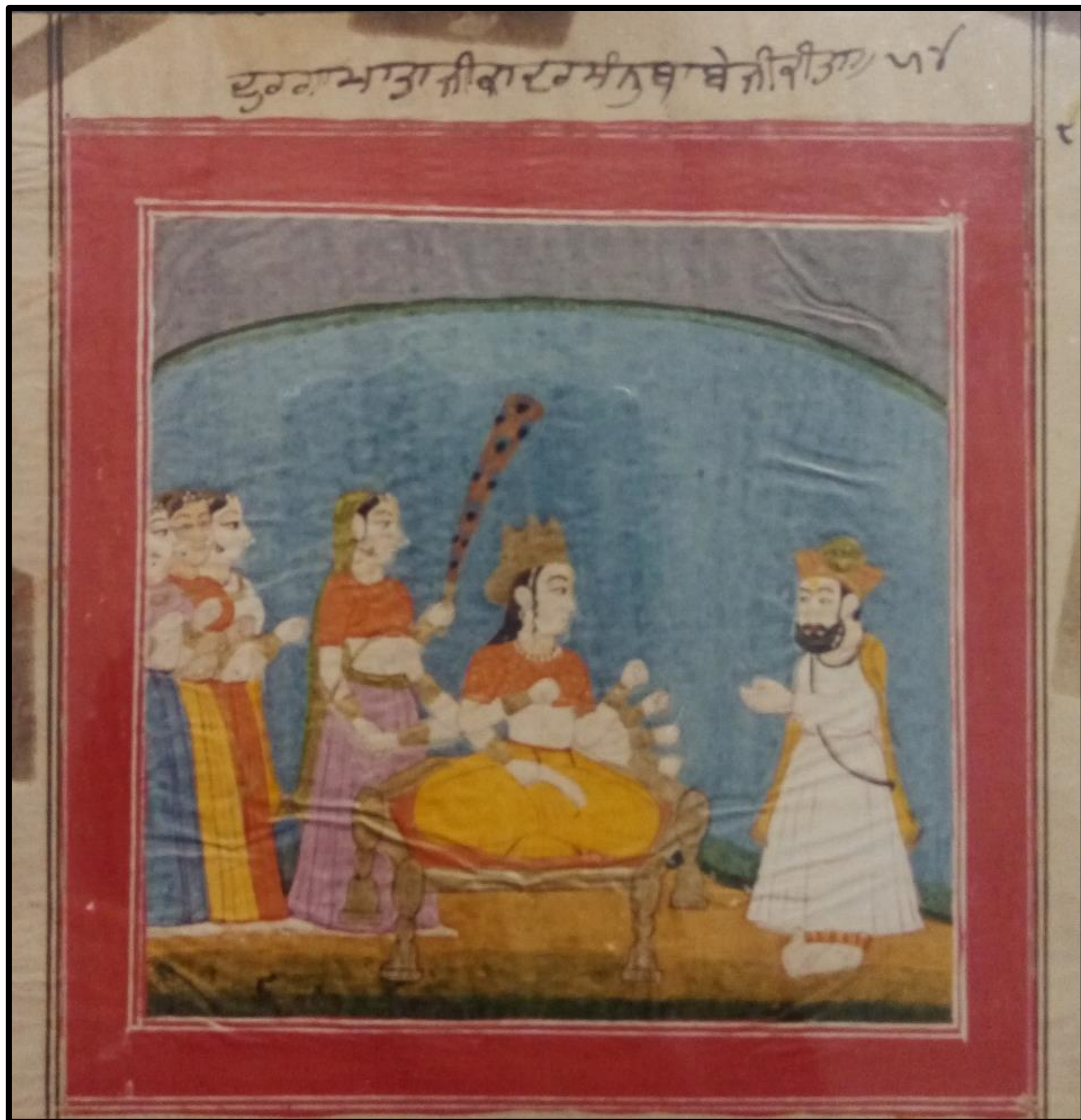


*Figure 3.86. Janamsakhi Illustration, (Courtesy: Ch. Museum, Acc. no. 3296 (2))*

During the third quarter of nineteenth century, the work of illustrating manuscripts continued by local Punjabi painters (fig. 3.87). A series of late nineteenth century at Ch. Museum, came from Mohanjo- daro (fig. 3.88), reflects the final descent style of Janamsakhi illustrations in Punjab plains. Figures became heavy, enlarged and unexpressive. Although, early convention of

high horizon continuously appears, but absence of imaginations, intimacy as well as perspective & proportion due to the lack of appropriate patronage and socio-political struggles of Punjab can be sensed.

A line can be drawn between the work of Punjabi and Pahari painters. Painters working in different styles got opportunity to evolve new versions of Janamsakhi illustrations before the expansion of Sikh kingdom of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Although, the iconography of Guru Nanak remains identical in Janamsakhi illustrations, but the variation in styles can be seen without difficulty because many Janamsakhi illustrators belonged to northern hills, Kashmir and Punjab plains. So the dissimilarities in styles emerged through regional differences. The variation in work and style of Janamsakhi illustrations are identifiable within two centuries.



*Figure 3.87. Devi and Guru Nanak, Janamsakhi Illustration, (Courtesy: Ch. Museum, Acc. no. 4302)*

But some common features remain constant in the whole series. All series are illustrated on consecutive pattern. Incidents are painted from birth to old age focusing the travels within and beyond the Punjab. The iconography of B-40 paintings popularly copied by manuscript illustrators and hill painters. The use of symbols are often based on the knowledge of the painters. Some symbols are frequently practiced and became still in the illustrations. Symbol of a big tree as a *chatra* (parasol) is usually shown behind Guru Nanak to emphasis his divinity and supremacy. Guru Nanak is often shown seated on a square carpet under a tree wearing turban, simple robe and wrap with *churidar payjama*. The rosary is usual in his right hand for *Jap* (recall) of the One Timeless. Guru Nanak is painted as spiritual messenger of the Divine. His followers are Hindus and Muslims as well. He bears vertical red *tilaka* on his forehead which is unified with Vaishnavas as well as turban and expressive lined robe allied with Muslim Sufis. He is connected with ethnic multiplicity meeting with Kabir, Sheikh, Pathans, *sadhus- sanyasis* and others, blessing them with his piety and theology. He is shown either busy in intercourse with Nature & God or debating with different populaces of various caste and creed, during his travels and daily routine along with his lifetime follower Mardana.



**Figure 3.88. Janamsakhi Illustration, (Courtesy: Ch. Museum, Acc. no. 2053)**

Alterations and adaptations were continuous as painters are liberal to inspire from anywhere. Punjabi folk style of Punjab plains and naturalistic style of Guler became established as two ideals, one by one from eighteenth to nineteenth century for the illustrations of Janamsakhi manuscripts and leaves in whole Punjab which also extended far and near areas of Punjab. By the copying of masterpieces, other secondary works generated by the local painters till the end of nineteenth century. So the Janamsakhi illustrations have a resemblance from the beginning to the end, but the base and inspiration of whole series of Janamsakhi illustrations were only Punjabi Janamsakhis. Other than Janamsakhi themes, the *Prem Sagar*, the vernacular translation of *Bhagavata Purana*, *Ramayana* (fig. 3.89), *Kathasaritsagar* (fig. 3.90), *nayak- nayika* and *raga-ragini* themes were also painted for Sikh- Hindu patrons.



Figure 3.89. A scene from Ramayana, (Courtesy: Ch. Museum, Acc. no. 4589, A-59)

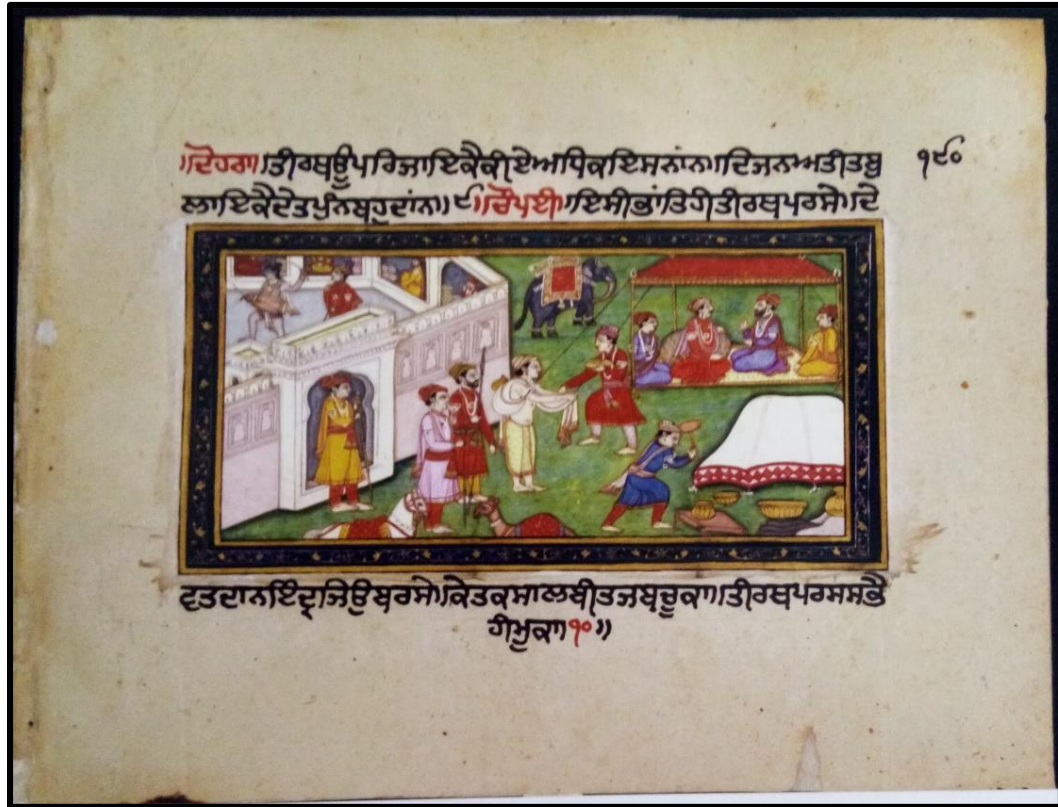


Figure 3.90. A scene from *Kathasaritsagar*, (Courtesy: Ch. Museum, Acc. no. 2011.2)

### 3.4 Materials And Techniques

Ananda Coomaraswamy led into this area by the significant miniature paintings which he found in an unfinished form. Various sketches and unfinished paintings of Pahari School define the name of colours, inscribed on them as instructive notes, to be employed in various parts of the picture, but mentioning the name of colours is very rare.

#### 3.4.1 Materials

##### a) Surface

Paper was introduced to India in the late thirteenth century. Technically, paper making requires large quantities of clean water. Keeping these requirements in view, paper making was first started in Kashmir and subsequently in Sialkot. Paper manufactured in Sialkot was popular as Sialkoti paper. Due to clean and abundant use of water, these both varieties of paper were of extremely high quality. Paper manufacturing factory was established in Sialkot, in west Punjab. The quality of this paper was so good for the purpose of painting and it ascertained second position. Paper

manufacturing technique in hilly areas was much different than the technique used in the rest of India.

Punjab had its full share in the development of the paper industry. The terms *kagad* (paper) and *masu* (ink) are used in Guru Granth Sahib many times, but these are applied in metaphysical terms.

ਕਲਮ ਜਲਉ ਸਣੁ ਮਸਵਾਣੀਐ ਕਾਗਦੁ ਭੀ ਜਿਲ ਜਾਉ ॥

ਲਿਖਣ ਵਾਲਾ ਜਿਲ ਬਲਉ ਿਜਿਨ ਲਿਖਿਆ ਦੁਜਾ ਭਾਉ ॥ ਮਃ ੩ ॥

*kalam jalau san masvaniye kagad bhi jalu jaou  
likhan vala jale bilaou jinni likhiya duja bhaou* (SGGS, 84)

ਕਾਗਦ ਕੋਟੁ ਇਹੁ ਜਗੁ ਹੈ ਬਪੁਰੇ ਰੰਗਿਨ ਿਚਰਨ ਚਤੁਰਾਈ ॥

ਨਾਨੀ ਸੀ ਬੰਦੁ ਪਵਨੁ ਪਿਤ ਖੇਵੈ ਜਨਿਮ ਮਰੈ ਿਖਨੁ ਤਾਈ ॥੪॥ (ਮਃ ੧)

*kagad kot ehu jagu hai bapuro rangan chihan chaturai  
nani ci boond pawanu pit khove janamu mare khin tai* (SGGS, 1274)

Sialkot alone had a number of papermaking concerns, where different varieties of paper brands were prepared. Sialkoti paper was white in colour and very stout. It was used throughout Punjab. Sialkot was perhaps the only papermaking center in Punjab in medieval times.

The terms of the products of Sialkot paper evidently propose that papermaking industries were established during or soon afore the reign of Jahangir (A.D. 1605- 1627). *Man Singhi*, *Nim Hariri* and *Khasah-i- Jahangiri* were produced in Sialkot, after the name of Raja Man Singh and Prince Jahangir. Paper made from hemp in Sialkot was favored at Mughal courts and by painters in the Punjab hills. But there were many other centers of paper production all over the country.

Numerous scholars considered the Sikh art as irrelevant and an offshoot of Pahari School. The paper manufacturing center in Punjab evidenced that artistic and literary activities were continued there and Sialkoti paper has been used not only by Mughal artists but also by Punjabi artists.

#### **b) Wasli- Paste Board**

Usually, the paper used for miniature paintings is of a stability and viscosity that abides the finely ground mineral pigments to be micro-crushed by the treatment of burnishing, hence causing the brilliance of an enamel-like surface and the very glittering effect of the colours. *Wasli* is used to



prepare by pasting two or more papers together to make it thick. There is not a firm rule of making *wasli*, but three papers can be pasted. To prepare *wasli*, flour paste made by wheat flour or *araroot* is required. The process of making *wasli* is called '*kagaj santhana*'. For commence painting, artists either use *astar* applied to *wasli* or *wasli* is used to fix on a *takhti* or wooden board.

### c) Brushes

The term *tulika* or *lekhni* was used for brushes in ancient times. In medieval period, the term *kalam* was popular for the brushes, thus process was called *kalamkari* for art of painting. Different sizes of brushes are in use from early times. Hair of goat, cow, calf, mongoose, sable and squirrel are used to prepare different types of brushes. Black hair with perfect edges are considered best for brushes.

### d) Colours

The pigments applied by the Indian artists are natural resources, prepared from stone, semi-expensive stones, metals, earth, organic material and synthetic pigments. These pigments are regularly used pure because of their erratic specific weight and native painters know what mixes well. Pallet is different due to personality of artist and areas while use of different colours is due to their easy availability in that particular area. Technically, all create paintings by applying paper on paper, a thick coat of natural earth, mineral, metal, vegetable and other colours in tempera technique, suitable and sustainable in Indian weather. Opaque technique of water colours is commonly used. There are four types of pigments used for paintings supplied by mineral, vegetable, animal and chemical.

#### i. Earthen or Mineral Colours

Colours extracted from stones and semi- precious stones are called earthen or mineral colours. Basically, white colour is produced from *khadia*. There are two types of *khadia*; *phool khadia* and *kath khadia*. Only *phool khadia* is used in miniature paintings. Gypsum popular as *khadia mitti* in India or chalk- earth and talc or soap- stone known as *silkhari* are also used for white. Cinnabar or cera or *shingraf* is found in the form of a stone also called *hansraj hingalu*. It is used for several shades of bright scarlet and brick-red possibly mixing with *supeda* termed as *cera samdhuri hulka* in the pattern of the carpet, *cera lal*, *samgrapha* and *samdhura* (Goswamy, 1967, 291).

Yellow ochre is obtained from *ramraj* stone. *Geru* or *hirmach*, a stone, is popular as Indian red ochre or orangeish colour. Indian red is a range of red ochre. Terre verte or *hara bhata* is used for creating green hue. *Multani mitti* is obtained as a stone of light yellow colour. Artists also use

it as primer or *astar* on paper, because its colour resembles with old paper. Lajward or lapis lazuli is used to produce blue colour. Yellow colour is produced from *pevd*. Pahari terms ‘*halka jaradiy vala*’ are used for light orange, towards paleness (Goswamy, 1967, 289). Hartal varki is used for making light yellow colour similar to the tone of flower of lentil. Malachite for green and azurite for blue are used. Antimony sulphide or *surma* is used for grey colour. Galena mineral is powdered and is used with binding glue.

### i. Organic Colours

Lamp- black or *kajal*; a form of carbon black, is produced from the black of sand- lamp. It is very steady and does not fade over time. It is a very strong opaque pigment. It has been used from the very beginning to make inks. It can either be mixed directly with water and a binder to make Indian ink or can be mixed with a water soluble glue to make an ink-stick. It was dominantly used as ink for writing. A stick of Indian ink can be rubbed on the palette for different type of strokes. Indian ink rarely absorbs the organic pigments a little, in the process of colouring. Indian ink is suitable for tempera painting, but cannot be applied with oil. Charcoal and ivory black are also used for black pigment. In *Gurbani*, the blue coloured ink (*siyahi/ masu*) is also mentioned.

ਰਤਾ ਪੈਨਣੁ ਮਨੁ ਰਤਾ ਸੁਪੇਦੀ ਸਤੁ ਦਾਨੁ ॥

ਨੀਲੀ ਿਸਆਹੀ ਕਦਾ ਕਰਣੀ ਪਿਰਰਣੁ ਪੈਰ ਿਧਆਨੁ ॥ (ਮਃ ੧)

*rata painan mann rata supedi satu daan*

*neeli siyahi kada karni pihran pair dhianou* (SGGS, 16)

ਜਾਿਲਿ ਮੋਹੁ ਖਿਸ ਮਸੁ ਕਿਰ ਮਿਤ ਕਾਗਦੁ ਕਿਰ ਸਾਰੁ ॥

ਭਾਉ ਕਲਮ ਕਿਰ ਿਚਤੁ ਲੇਖਾਰੀ ਗੁਰ ਪੁਛਿ ਿਲਖੁ ਬੀਚਾਰੁ ॥ (ਮਃ ੧)

*jalei mohou ghis masou karei mati kagad karei saar*

*bhaou kalam karei chitt lekhari gur pucch likh beechar* (SGGS, 16)

Gamboge is used for mustard yellow to deep saffron pigment. The colour indigo is termed after the indigo dye extracted from the plant *Indigofera tinctoria* and allied species. Dye is obtained from the processing of the plant’s leaves. Blue colour was prepared in Multan (Sumahendra, 1990, 22). *Laksharash* or lac colour is a gummy exude made by certain plants when pierced by the larva of the coccus lacca, an East Indian hemipterous beetle. Indian lake is slighter in beauty and in

variety of hues, to the colours from madder; it is also more affected by light. But it is much less fugitive than crimson lake and the other cochineal pigments (Church, 1901, 183- 184). Safflower or *kusum* is applied for red dye, which remains transitory like mortal world. Its references can be traced in SGGS.

ਕਚਾ ਰੰਗੁ ਕਸੁੰਭ ਕਾ ਥੋੜਿੜਆ ਿਦਨ ਚਾਿਰ ਜੀਉ ॥ (ਮਃ ੧)

*kaccha rang kasumbh ka thoddiya din chaar jeeo* (SGGS, 751)

While the deep crimson dye produced from madder plant is like true colour of Divine.

ਸਚਾ ਸਬਦੁ ਭਤਾਰੁ ਹੈ ਸਦਾ ਸਦਾ ਰਾਵੇਇ ॥

ਿਜਉ ਉਬਲੀ ਮਜੀਠੈ ਰੰਗੁ ਗਹਗਹਾ ਿਤਉ ਸਚੇ ਨੇ ਜੀਉ ਦੇਇ ॥ (ਮਃ ੩)

*saccha sabadu bhatar hai sada sada ravei*

*jeou ubli majeethe rang gahhara teou sacche nou jeou daei* (SGGS, 311)

Colour of poppies remains pure and dark too, like the permanent color of the Lord's Love which never fades away.

ਧਾਤੁ ਿਮਲੈ ਫਿਨ ਧਾਤੁ ਕਉ ਿਸਫਤੀ ਿਸਫਿਤ ਸਮਾਇ ॥

ਲਾਲੁ ਗੁਲਾਲੁ ਗਹਬਰਾ ਸਚਾ ਰੰਗੁ ਚੜਾਉ ॥ (ਮਃ ੧)

*dhaat milai phuni dhaat kaou siftei sifte samaie*

*laal gulaal gahbara saccha rang chadaou* (SGGS, 18)

Rosi or *kamela* tree for brilliant orange red & red- brown, flowers of *palash* for red colour, orpiment or *harital* for shining yellow, turmeric for deep yellow, saffron or *kesar* for deep yellow, *trifla* (*harad*, *bahera* and *amla*) for producing black and light saffron colour obtained from *kesula* flowers, are applied by artists. Red colour is created by adding lime in it. Pigment obtained from fruit of cactus to produce red is used for highlighting. *Kattha* is for producing brown.

## ii. Oxide or Chemical Colours

Oxide or chemical colours are produced by chemical processes of different materials. *Mainsal* or *manah shila* or realgar is an arsenic sulfide mineral, also known as 'ruby sulphur' or 'ruby of arsenic', found in crystals, granular, compact or powdery form. It produces red and yellow-orange hues. White- lead and zinc- oxide are used as white colour. Red- lead or *samdhura*, a variety of red is used in Pahari painting. *Samdhura* is the red oxide of lead. Verdigris or *zangaal* is a Persian

innovation used by Mughal painters commonly on paper. *Krimidana* is used to produce red. *Gaogoli* or *peori*, Indian yellow obtained from the urine of cow fed, generally occurs in the bazaars of the Punjab in the form of big balls, having an aggressive urinous odour. Conch shell or *sankh*; calcium carbonate is used for producing white pigment from ancient times.

### iii. Metal Colours

Fine powder of gold, silver, copper, tin (*ranga*), mica (*abraq*) and lead were applied after grounding like other colours and the process is called *hilkari*. Gold metal was used in Indian miniatures, both as sheet leaf, sometimes with punched decoration and as gold flake paint. Silver metal is seen on Indian miniatures less frequently than gold, but was used to represent armor, white metal vessels and occasionally water. Tin was occasionally used as a substitute of silver.

In local terminology of Persia, the term ‘*abarag*’, a distortion of *abraq*, is used for mica. Certainly, mica was used in the preparation of white for more luminous, by adding mica in *supeda* (Goswamy, 1967, 290). Smalt was also used by Pahari artists to paint areas of the sky and Krishna's skin; the pigment contained cobalt, iron, nickel and a trace of arsenic.

#### e) Preparation of Colours

Firstly, colours are grounded on a stone slab by rubbing or grounding to powder them. Mortar and pestle of a very hard quality stone are used for grinding colours. After grinding, colours are melted in water along with some gum. Through the continuous process of filtration, colours become sand free and after removing water, dry colours can be save in the form of balls. When required, the desired colour along with some dry gum is dissolved in water to ready the colour. This process of making colour paste is called *tav dena* or tempering and technique is called *tempera* (Sumahendra, 1990, 18-19).

#### f) Binding Gum

Largely, pigments are mixed with gum Arabic, the crystallized sap of the babul or acacia tree, as binding media and is used with water, most often laid in a number of thin layers and each one is sensibly burnished, pressed first into the primed paper and then into the lower pigment-wash.

### 3.4.2 Technique

#### a) Sketches

Art of painting is termed as *alekhya* in Sanskrit, but native experts leave their reflection in style and technique both. A craftsman or an artist performs his work in dissimilar ways. Pahari as well as Punjabi- Mughal painters inherited the technique of miniature painting from Mughal artists.

Practically, there is not much of variance in the painting techniques of the old time artists and the present ones and their gradual process of painting was almost same with little variations.

Mughal artists of seventeenth century applied opaque watercolour and gold on paper for early Sikh paintings, further followed by Pahari artists for Pahari as well as Sikh paintings.

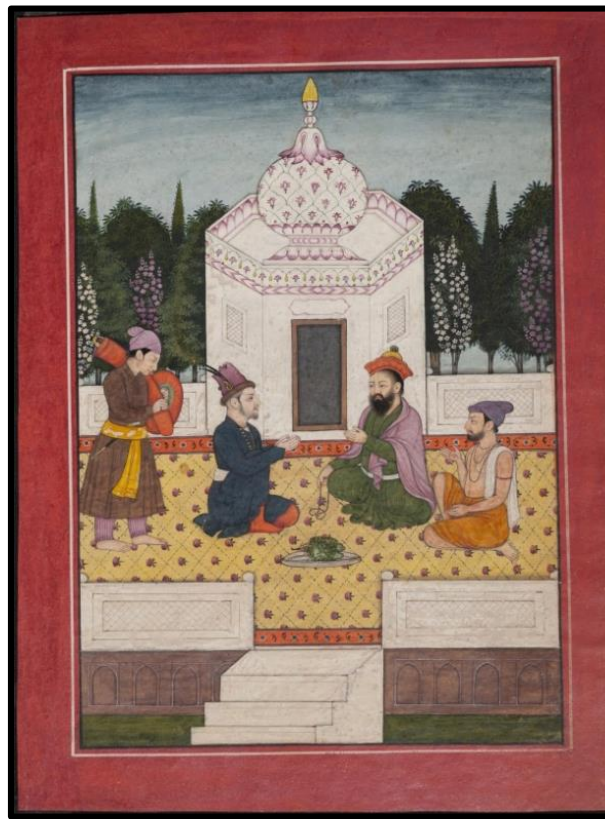


*Figure 3.91. Janamsakhi Sketch, (Courtesy: Ch. Museum, Acc. no. 2315)*

Sketching for a painting is completed in three stages. Firstly, a sketch is prepared with charred wood on the carrier. Today, pencil is used for this purpose. Artist enhances the drawing by adding more details. White priming is done afterwards. The artist uses the same kind of crayon for the first two sketches. The first sketch is done with charcoal. Improving the first sketch, second is done in sanguine with the brush. Third and final one is drawn with the brush in black colour. The paper on which the painting done is termed the carrier. The painting is not done directly on the surface. The white priming is also done on the ground for painting. All the designs are redrawn over the drawing, which remains perceptible under the transparent white ground. More minutiae are added to the sketch in the fourth stage (fig. 3.91) to ready for applying the colour pigments lastly.

### b) Application of Colours

Next stage involves the application of colours. At initial stage, consistency of the pigments remain thin and the colouring appears transparent like water colours and lighter hues are applied firstly. Application of colours from top to bottom and from left to right is common practice. Background is painted firstly and then figures. The pigments appear diluted usually. After drying the first coat of colour, painting is burnished from the rear. Afterward, all the colour pigments are laid again in the same order and after the completion of the second coat, the pigments are again burnished generally. And finally, third coat is applied and then burnished.



*Figure 3.92. Janamsakhi Illustration, (Courtesy: Ch. Museum, Acc. no. 4205)*

*Khulai* is done at the final stage, to add the details, outlines and *pardaz* (shading). Faint figures appear visible and clear after detailing. At the final stage, burnishing is not done.

Finally, the work of *moti-mahavar* (pearls and henna) is done in a painting. For white pearls *moti*; zinc oxide or *khadia* (chalk) and calcinated crushed oyster shell or conch shell are applied. Red lac is used for *mahavar* to finish the makeup of the figure, lips, fingers, toes and around the feet (fig. 3.92).

### c) Burnishing of Pigments

*Ghotai* or burnishing of the paper and pigments has a significant purpose in the technique of miniature painting. The placing of pigment is done on dry surface. Burnishing makes the pigment solid converting it into a plastic form. The existence of the binding medium (gum) and the force of the burnishing form the pigment firm and durable. The burnishing is generally done from the rear of the paper and not from the front of the painted surface. Painting is positioned fronting a hard smooth stone or marble slab or ivory sheet. An even and smooth piece of agate called *ghoti* or some other firm stone is used for burnishing. A family of traditional Pahari painters use conch - shell for burnishing.

#### **d) Modelling**

Modeling is also significant for the better finish of painting and to make it more appealing. The word *pardaz* is popular for modeling. Modelling is done for more detailing and patterning in the painting. Modelling done by Pahari artists is very delicate. Some wash with yellow or light brown may be applied, gold can finally be used on yellow undercoating, and white drops may be made for pearls from powdered conch shells or zinc oxide mixed with chalk. The gold, tin and silver effect can be powdered and applied like other mineral pigments, but also gold leaf could be pasted on the painting. In both cases, its surface was every so often punctured with a blunt pointer, known as *suikari*, after burnishing it, to enrich the sparkling effect.

#### **e) Colour Formulation**

Goswamy's conclusion is based on the instructing notes, written on the sketches that the palette of the Pahari artists was not narrow, but colour and pattern instructions mentioned on sketches were borrowed freely by pupil artists frequently. In actual, Pahari artists were habitual of the formulae of using popular colour combinations for certain objects, architectures and design- patterns, which had formed basic lessons for new artists and they brilliantly presented their work in new perspectives, dividing their work together partially among his pupils and not wholly like his Mughal masters. Pahari artists could take help in the preparation of the colours and burnishing process.

In the Guler paintings, cinnabar is applied as skin colour. From the hairline, each hair is drawn in fine strokes of brown mixing with black and cinnabar, highlighted with black.

Grey colour is applied over the white burnished surface for water. Decorative and stylized patterns used for water on other centers of Punjab hills, disappeared in the paintings of Guler and

Kangra style from the later half of eighteenth century. Depiction of water in the series of *Gita Govinda* presents realistic approach of Pahari artists.

Artists tried to create three dimensional effect of architectural form. In Guler and Kangra style paintings of late eighteenth century, trees are treated in realistic manner and landscape becomes an initial idiom of the paintings. The grass- land is given *pardaz* of horizontal lines of dark green, comprising black, yellow and blue. Different shades of malachite green are used in the background of early Sikh paintings, also applied for later Sikh paintings of Pahari style.

Floral as well as geometrical patterns are popularly practiced for carpets. Reference of carpets of red and white colours can be traced in SGGS among wealthy community. ਲਾਲ ਸੁਪੇਦ ਦਲੀਚਿਆ ਬਹੁ ਸਭਾ ਬਣਾਈ ॥ (ਮੰ ੩) (*lal suped duleechya bahu sabha banai*) (SGGS, 1247). In late eighteenth century Sikh portraits, pink- mauve and different shades of blue colours are used for *daris*. In later portraits, red, pink, orange, yellow and dark green colours are popularly used. Saddle- cloth and umbrella often painted in gold, crimson- red with yellow- green border.

The colour of the background and the sky merge naturalistically. For this, only diluted blue is applied. For the depiction of fluffy and bulb like clouds of white or in different tones of the blue, white and grey along with mauve are applied.

In early Pahari and Sikh paintings, borders or *hashiya* is commonly highlighted in monochrome, red cinnabar. In early Guler paintings, the border is painted in dark blue colour (fig. 4.1). Flower patterns of golden on dark blue colour became fashionable in later paintings (figs. 4.19- 4.23). Pink- red colours are also applied popularly for borders of Guler, Kangra and Sikh paintings (figs. 4.14, 3.48). Embellishment of borders with floral patterns is also done with gold pigment by Muslim artists. The later Sikh paintings generally have double border, the inner part remains ornamented and the outer rests plain.



## CHAPTER IV

### GULER AND KANGRA MINIATURE PAINTINGS

Guler rulers Mian Gopal, his great nephew Raja Dalip Singh (1695-1741) and Bhim Chandra (1690-1697) of Kangra were associated with Guru Gobind Singh (Hutchison and Vogel, 1933, Vol. I, 174) and the title of '*Dharam Rakshak*' or saviour of the Hindu faith was also granted to Bhim Chandra by tenth Guru, while his brother Kirpal Chand participated in the battle of Bhangani against Guru. The contemporary portraits of Sikh Gurus exist, but original likenesses of Guler and Kangra rulers do not appear, but some portraits of Guler rulers revived by local artists, possibly after Mughal originals, during first quarter of eighteenth century.

In the last decade of seventeenth century, artistic activities emerged at Guler and stylistic development till mid- eighteenth century and its shift from Guler to Kangra with the enthronement of Maharaja Sansar Chand resulted in Kangra Valley style. The style, first appeared at Guler during the infancy of Dalip Singh usually accepted as the time of birth of 'Kangra Valley painting', while Khandalavala presumes the origin of painting at Guler during the reign of Raja Raj Singh (1675-95) and a small atelier under his patronage (Khandalavala, 1982, 23). Conversing and modifying in local variations by painters, Guler style blossomed under Maharaja Sansar Chand, but relations of Sikh *misaldars* and Maharaja Ranjit Singh with hill rulers and political upheavals in the hilly areas also caused to shift hill painters to the plains of Punjab and their commissioning under them, experimenting with Sikh themes.

Guler came under the control of Ghamand Chand of Kangra from about 1758, and under the Sikhs at a later time, till 1786, when Raja Sansar Chand attained supreme power in the hills. Until mid of the eighteenth century, Basohli style totally disappeared from the hills, converting in pre-Kangra style through continuous experimentations of hill painters. The background of Kangra style was emerged through the family of Pandit Seu and his sons at Guler, where Basohli and Mughal styles were experimented to satisfy the Rajput needs of Vaishnava approach and further evolved final Kangra style in Kangra under Raja Sansar Chand. But at Guler, artistic activities were continued under Prakash Chand and his son Bhup Singh. Although Bhup Singh was the last ruling chief of Guler, but his successor Jai Singh also patronized arts of portraiture.

#### 4.1 Origin Of Guler- Kangra Paintings

Bilaspur, Mandi, Nurpur, Chamba, Mankot and Basohli were the early centers of arts in Punjab hills. Flat backgrounds of green, yellow, blue, brown and red, floral patterned robes, enlarged

figures, high horizon and simple *hashiya* are some common idioms of mid- seventeenth century paintings, practiced in Punjab hills and plains. While at Guler, painting started during last decades of seventeenth century.

## **4.2 Thematic Advancement**

### **4.2.1 Portraiture**

Drawing the likeness of anything is called *tasvir*. Portraits emerged at Guler reflect joyful lifestyle from the beginning till the end, free from political disturbances happened around rulers. To revive ancestral portraits and to record real likenesses for political needs; the art of portraiture was promoted by Raja Dalip Singh, which was a common practice in the hills. Govardhan Chand's (1743-1773) peaceful reign was the most creative period of Guler paintings, as 'succession series' of elephant portraits (fig. 4.1) with 'conventional likenesses' goes back to Raj Singh or Dalip Singh's reign and continuously painted till Govardhan Chand (fig. 4.3). Mughal *jharokha* scenes converted into terrace scenes for Rajput rulers with ethnicities and uniqueness of native style. Group and solitary portraits of Guler rulers exist. The behavior of rulers observed by local painters. Seated with folded legs on a square carpet, relaxing against an oval bolster smoking *huqqa*, facing left or right are the common features of portraits during primary evolvement. Rajas are often represented in long robe and Mughal turban, sometimes lonely seated on a terrace enjoying hill beauty and monsoon with favorite companions and hawk, concentrating attentively in the company of nobles, petitioners with attendants standing behind them or enjoying music parties or relaxing on bed under a canopy in romantic mood. Pandit Seu and his ancestors originated the Guler style. A phase of early painting at Guler involves delicate portraiture of Shah Jahan type, lively action scenes as developed at the court of Muhammad Shah and primitive & symbolic conventions of a kind practiced in Basohli and Nurpur. Mughal style portraits were altered by Guler artists under royal patronage.

Raja Govardhan Chand is the most painted character in Guler portrayals. His successors Prakash Chand, his son and grandsons were represented busy in activities till the end of nineteenth century. Isolated & double portraits and sketches of Kangra rulers Raja Ghamand Chand, Tegh Chand and Sansar Chand survive at various museums. After Maharaja Sansar Chand, his successors' portraits at Alampur under Anirudh Chand and Ranbir Chand (1833- 1847), at Nadaun under Jodhbir Chand (1823-1873) and at Lambagraon; resident of Fateh Chand, his son Ludar Chand (1828-1850) and grandson Partab (Pratap) Chand, were painted till the end of nineteenth

century. Male likenesses are based on actual observation while female figures are founded on conjecture.

#### **4.2.2 Court Scenes**

Raja Govardhan Chand of Guler and Maharaja Sansar Chand of Kangra were the celebrated rulers under whom art of painting reached its zenith. Local assemblies and political meetings started to surface during Raja Govardhan Chand surrounded by either identifiable rulers or crowd of unidentified attendants and petitioners. After Raja Govardhan Chand, his successors' had many political up and down, and a shift of power from Guler to Kangra under Maharaja Sansar Chand and later annexation of Guler by Sikhs, caused an absence of court scenes at Guler. After Prakash Chand; Bhup Singh and Jai Singh were the main characters of small gatherings held at Guler.

On the other hand, Kangra became a center of power during Raja Ghamand Chand, but court scenes emerged with the enthronement of child Maharaja Sansar Chand. After the demise of Raja Sansar Chand, Anirudh Chand was installed as Raja, presenting a *nazarana* and receiving a suitable *khillat* in return (Hutchison and Vogel, 1933, Vol. I, 193) from Maharaja Ranjit Singh at Adinanagar. After him, no more courts emerged, only the title of Raja remained behind. So later rulers had not court scenes but scenes of political associations or enjoying joyful dance parties, smoking *huqqa* with very few attendants in their service.

In some later paintings of Guler, account scenes also emerged, which reflect political changes in Guler administration. Raja Jai Singh also portrayed with Sikh finance minister Dina Nath.

#### **4.2.3 Domestic Scenes**

Representation of domestic atmosphere started at Guler from the last of seventeenth century. Mian Gopal Chand portrayed playing chess with his royal Pandit (fig. 4.2). Domestic scenes of Govardhan Chand, his son Prakash Chand and grandson Bhup Singh were also painted, while Bhup Singh's sons Shamsher Singh and Jai Singh were portrayed busy in dance parties. Maharaja Sansar Chand portrayed either examining the work of painters or enjoying dance parties along with his officials, which was his daily evening routine. Kanwar Anirudh Chand also portrayed enjoying dance parties. Although, Guler rulers portrayed with their spouses but Kangra rulers do not appear with their females, but to depict the romance of Pahari Maharaja, painters portrayed him as a divine hero; Nala with his beloved Damayanti as Nokhu, identified by Mr. Eastman (Goswamy, 1968b, 90). Symbolically Archer connects Sansar Chand with Krishna cult, that his

sensibility (Sansar Chand) seems, in fact, to have expressed itself not only in art and poetry but in a certain sexual romanticism and while in Rajput society the cult of Krishna must frequently have been a 'substitute gratification', for Sansar Chand it may also have served as a validating sanction, perhaps even as a complement, to his private experiences (Archer, 1952b, 4).

#### **4.2.4 Love Scenes**

Love poetry of mediaeval period touched the romantic sentiments of Guler and Kangra rulers which reflected through paintings celebrating divine lovers. *Nayak- nayika bheda, Baramasa, Gita Govinda, ragas, Bhagat- Mala*, Bihari's *Sat Sai, Kavipriya*, and *Rasika Priya* inspired Pahari painters. Association and separation of lovers, various moods and behaviors are translated through visual vocabulary.

#### **4.2.5 Religious Narratives**

Chief concern of Pahari paintings was faith and not portraiture of monarchs, nobles and their harem life as in Mughal painting. Here is an art which is enthused by the exquisiteness of the mountains of the outer Himalaya (Randhawa and Randhawa, 1982, 19). Narration of Indian divine heroes; Rama and Krishna through series of *Ramayana, Siege of Lanka, Bhagavata-Purana* and *Devi Mahatmaya (Markandaya Purana)* was practiced repeatedly at Guler and Kangra. There are no signed paintings by any court painter of Sansar Chand- Fattu, Purkhu, Kushan Lal and Sajnu, and the ascriptions have been suggested mostly on stylistic ground. The *Bhagavata Purana, Gita Govinda, Nala Damayanti, Ragamala, Baramasa* and *Sat Sai* were all illustrated by Kangra court artists. The first generation of Pandit Manaku and Nainsukh seems to work on master series, while Dhummun and his sons Purkhu & Fattu were employed for royal portraits, court events, assemblies, festivals and daily life of Kangra rulers for visual records from the period of Ghamand Chand. After the retirement of Maharaja Sansar Chand at Tira- Sujanpur from 1810 onwards until the death in 1823, was the period of mystical painting series based on great texts. *Usha-Anirudh, Rukmini Harana, Shiva Purana, Harivamsha* series, *Parijata Harana* series were also painted in Kangra.

#### **4.2.6 Flora and Fauna**

Sketches, coloured drawings and finished paintings of various flowers, birds and animals like elephants, pigs, goats, cows, dogs, tiger, camels, goose, hawk, duck, crane, *chikor*, snipe, myna, woodpecker, grasshopper, parrot and sparrow were also done for study in enlarged sizes at Guler. A big coll. of paintings is now well-kept at Ch. Museum.

#### 4.2.7 Dispersed Leaves

Dispersed leaves based on divinities and bathing beauties were painted at Guler and Kangra. Some tantric influence also can be seen on *Devi* paintings painted by Guler artists, currently at Ch. Museum.

#### 4.3 Birth Of Pre- Kangra Style At Guler

Most scholars assume the birth of Pahari art in Basohli state under Raja Sangram Pal (1635-73) who commissioned a *Devi* series (c. 1660-70); popular as *Tantric Devi* series, which is ascribed to the later period of Sangram Pal. The series reminds the likeness of Guru Har Rai (fig. 3.6) in floral patterned robe, much detailing and conical eye. A small group of illustrations of the *nayika bheda* (1670-75), early *Rasamanjari*, c. 1660-1670 (V & A Museum and Dogra Art Gallery, Jammu) prepared by painter Kirpal Pal and another *Rasamanjari* series (Bharat Kala Bhavan and National Museum, New Delhi) dated A.D. 1694/95, created by Devidasa of Nurpur for Raja Kirpal Pal (1678-1695), are full of Hindu elements. High horizon, flat background, stereotype figures and bright colours are identical features of Basohli style. Hero remains Krishna or a Mughal or Rajput-Hindu local person in Basohli series, wearing Mughal knee or ankle-length frock (*gherdar*) style, plated or plain *jama* with Mughal broad-band turban, while females are depicted in Hindu and Muslim both type of costumes, like skirt-blouse and scarf (*dupatta*) as well as long *jama* (*kurti*) and *payjama* (*suthan*). There is complete absence of *chakdar jama* in Pahari painting, but recent researches revealed a new series, which came into light in the year 1977, which goes back mid-sixteenth century (Goswamy and Fischer, 1992, 16- 17). On the other hand, Akbar period manuscripts had inherited Lodhi, Persian and Indian opulent style of arts, which were also popular in Lahore. *Chakdar jama* with *atpati topi* was in fashion during Akbar, which reflected many times in Lahori manuscripts of mid-sixteenth century.

The rulers of Guler and Basohli were associated with Mughals. As a parental style and source of inspiration; Basohli style and themes inherited by native artists of Guler, which resulted in pre-Kangra style under various stylistic experimentations, till its final phase of Kangra style, before the succession of Maharaja Sansar Chand in 1776. Guler was not only birth place of Kangra style, but also a supplier of artists to whole Punjab hill states, where art of painting was commissioned for religious as well political purposes.

#### 4.4. Experimenting Phraseology For Likenesses And Narrations

Basohli style spread at Guler with local variations, adjusting and modifying in its own style by local artists. Renewal of Mughal style ancestral portraits, real likenesses of royals & common populace and Hindu mythology are the themes of Guler artists for experimentations. The merger of Basohli-Mughal elements are precise in portrait series of Guler rulers during early eighteenth century onwards. Paterfamilias of Pandit Seu worked under Raja Dalip Singh between A.D. 1695-1744 (Goswamy, 1968a, 11, 13). Raja Dalip Singh was contemporary of Guru Gobind Singh and was aided by the Guru against Mughals. The portraits of Dalip Singh are in the early primitive style. Pandit Seu and his sons Manaku and Nainsukh were active at Guler during Dalip Singh.

In the favorable political air of Guler, very first series of the formal double portraits of Guler rulers, popular as elephant portrait series, emerged in Basohli conventions. Possibly series may be of Raj Singh (1685-1695) or Dalip Singh's reign (1695-1741), on the basis of equivalency of style (Ch. Museum, acc. nos. 174- 181), as the series goes back to the period of Raja Jagdish Chand (1570-1605) (fig. 4.1), being a contemporary of Mughal Emperor Akbar (1556-1605), not portrayed in the costumes of Akbar period.

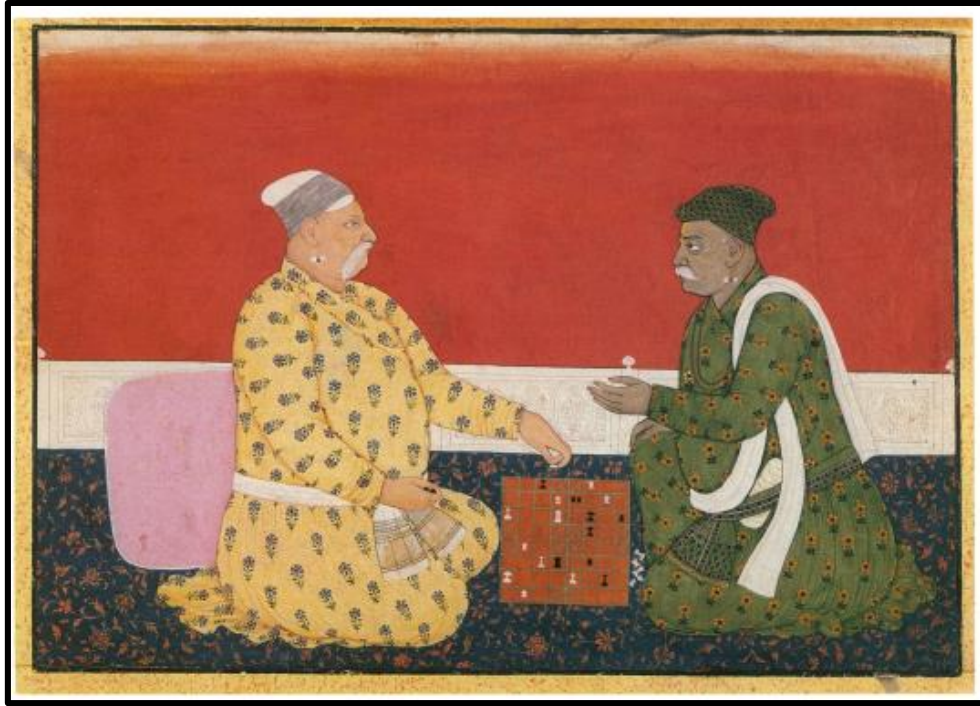
Guler rulers are represented riding on a Mughal style grand elephant with the succeeding ruler, showing all insignia of royalty, possibly to fulfill the courtly prerequisites of rulers. With ethnicities and uniqueness of native style which developed in Basohli, double portraits are painted to glorify royal Rajput family of Guler. Unique fusion of orange-red, green flats, thin bow of blue-white and individual study confirm the efforts of artists for adaptations of Basohli idioms. Mughal turbans, collar robes, armors and postures make the Guler portraits distinct. Like the vertical format of Mughal paintings, this series is also in vertical format, painted in flat red background. Experimentation for naturalistic background was continued and during Govardhan Chand, flat red background enriched with green blossoms, herbs and trees on mountains. Simplifying the backgrounds, the artist tried to emphasize royal figures occupying the foreground dominantly, which is also a unique feature of Indian painting. The series is prepared by Pandit Seu (1680-1740) and the series of elephant portraits comes to an end with a likeness of Govardhan Chand (fig. 4.3).

The impact of Basohli idioms can be seen firstly in Guler *Ramayana* series (1720) of Pandit Seu (fig. 4.4). The series '*Siege of Lanka* (1725) (fig. 4.5) and *Gita Govinda* (1730) (fig. 4.6) were prepared by his son Manaku, but he applied horizontal format replacing vertical setting of elephant portraits. Simplified compositions based on geometrical settings and stereotype figures, bright colours, high horizon and background of flat wash are common idioms applied by Pandit Seu and

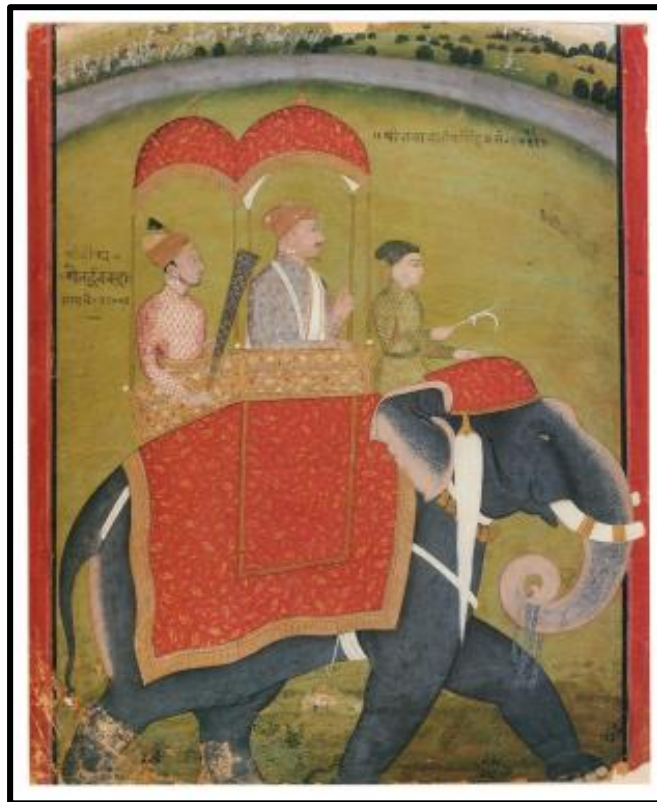
Manaku. Perhaps, *Ramayana* series (1720) is earlier than *Gita Govinda* on the basis of style. There is a constant connection among the work of Pandit Seu and Manaku.



**Figure 4.1.** Raja Jagdish Chand of Guler with heir apparent Roop Chand, c. 1740,  
(Courtesy: Ch. Museum, Acc. no. 174)

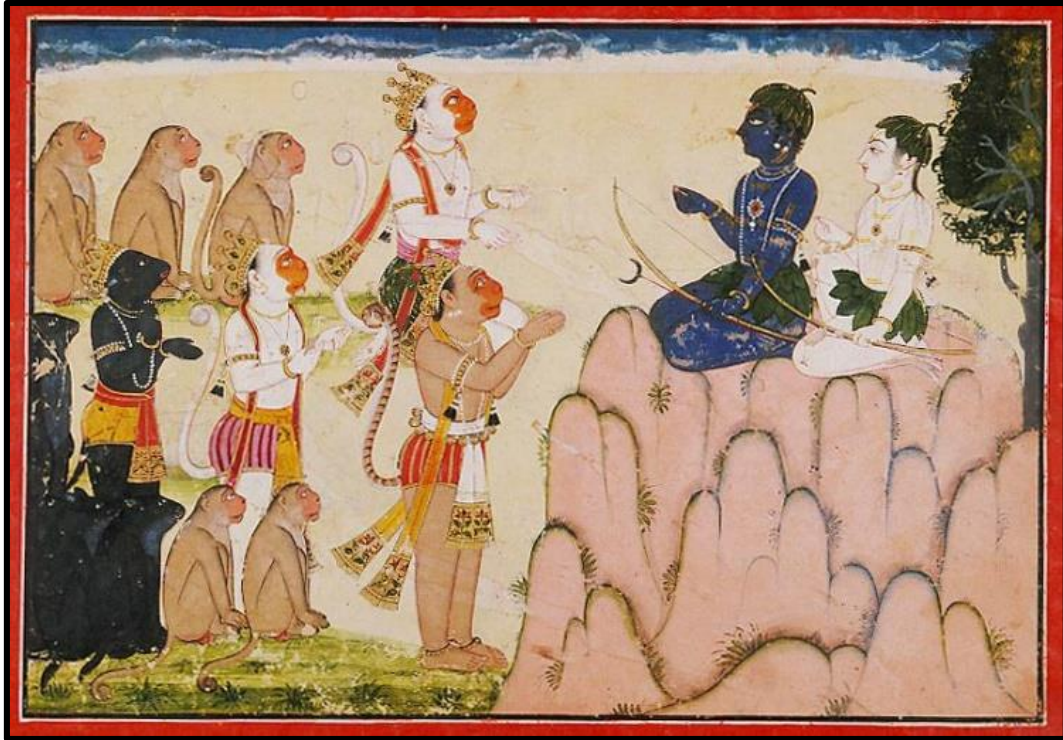


*Figure 4.2. Mian Gopal Singh playing chess with Pandit Dinamani Raina,  
(Courtesy: Ch. Museum, Acc. no. 214)*

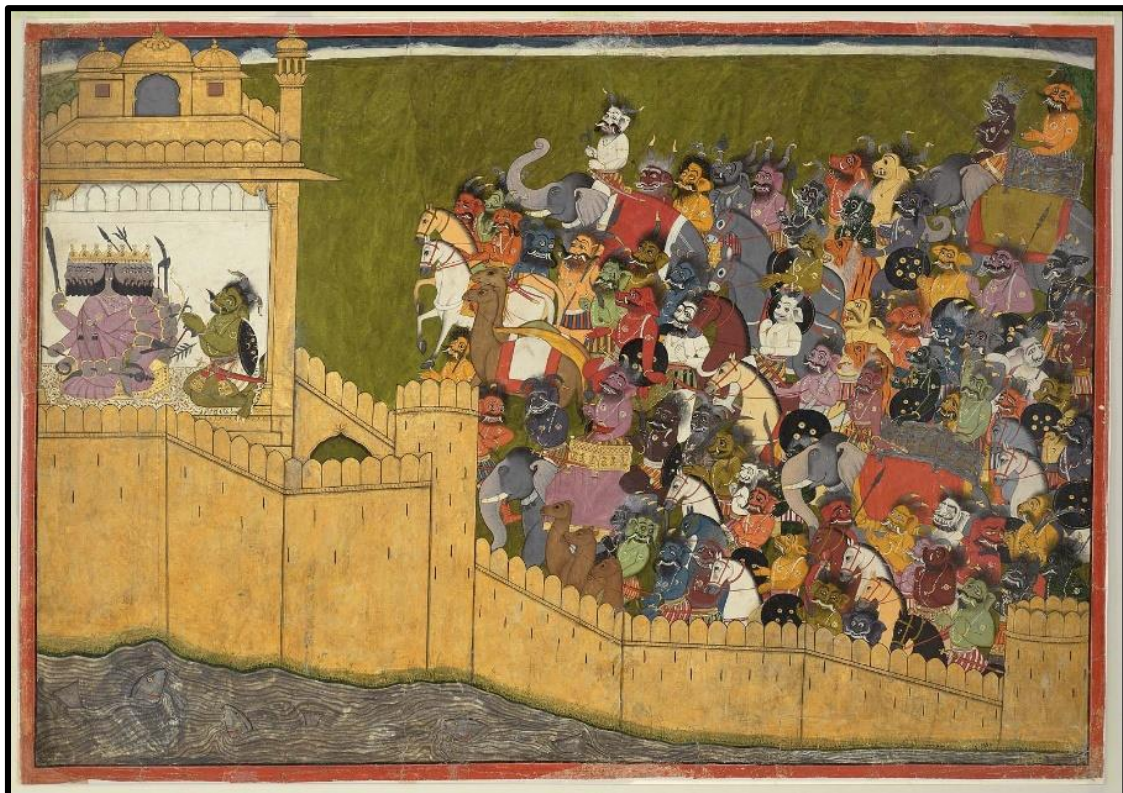


*Figure 4.3. Raja Dalip Singh of Guler with heir apparent Govardhan Chand, c. 1740,  
(Courtesy: Ch. Museum, Acc. no. 179)*





*Figure 4.4. Ramayana series, Guler, 1720,*  
(Source: Rietberg Museum, Acc. no. Inv.-Nr. RVI 843), by Pandit Seu



*Figure 4.5. Siege of Lanka series, 1725, (Source: Boston Museum, Acc. no. 17.2749), by Manaku*

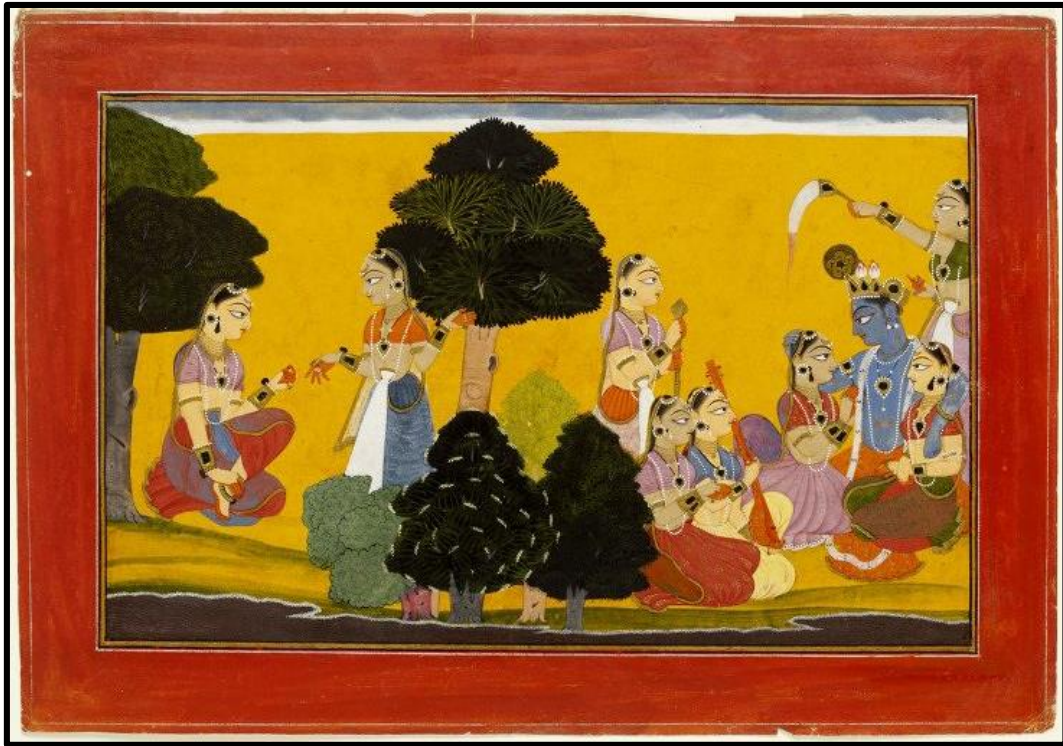


Figure 4.6. Gita- Govinda series, 1730-1735, (Source: V & A Museum, no. IM.87-1930), by Manaku

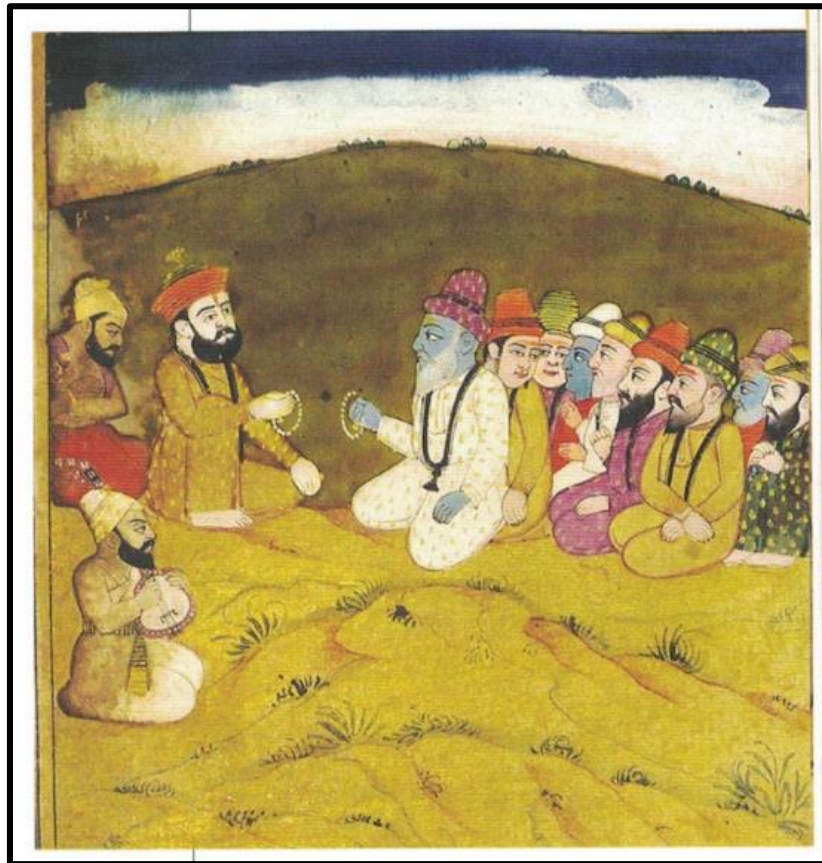


Figure 4.7. Janamsakhi, early 18th century, Punjab Plains, (Publ.: Singh and Singh, 2012, 7)

These idioms are also common in the paintings of Punjab plains. High horizon, folk figures and efforts for naturalism precisely appear in the Janamsakhi illustrations (fig. 4.7) of early eighteenth century.

#### 4.5 Assimilating Conventions, Naturalism And Symbolism

Experimentations were continued for naturalism during Govardhan Chand by Manaku. His series of *Bhagavata Purana* (fig. 4.8) including a large series of sketches on the same theme, now at different museums are more naturalistic than earlier work done by him. The stylistic development of portraits are clear in the succession series. The flat red- orange & green backgrounds and blue stripped high horizon converted into naturalistic backgrounds till Raja Govardhan Chand (fig. 4.12). The painting at Guler of about 1740 is in an altered style, which is considered by sophisticated naturalism and yet it breathes a different spirit. It endures the amaze of the exquisite scenery of the Siwalik Hills with their streams, jungles and birds. Its feminine types echo the prettiness of the womenfolk of Kangra Valley. Most of all, it has the intense appeal of Sanskrit and Hindi poetry, which rejoice the adoration of Radha and Krishna. Accordingly, an altogether tender art evolved from the Mughal style.

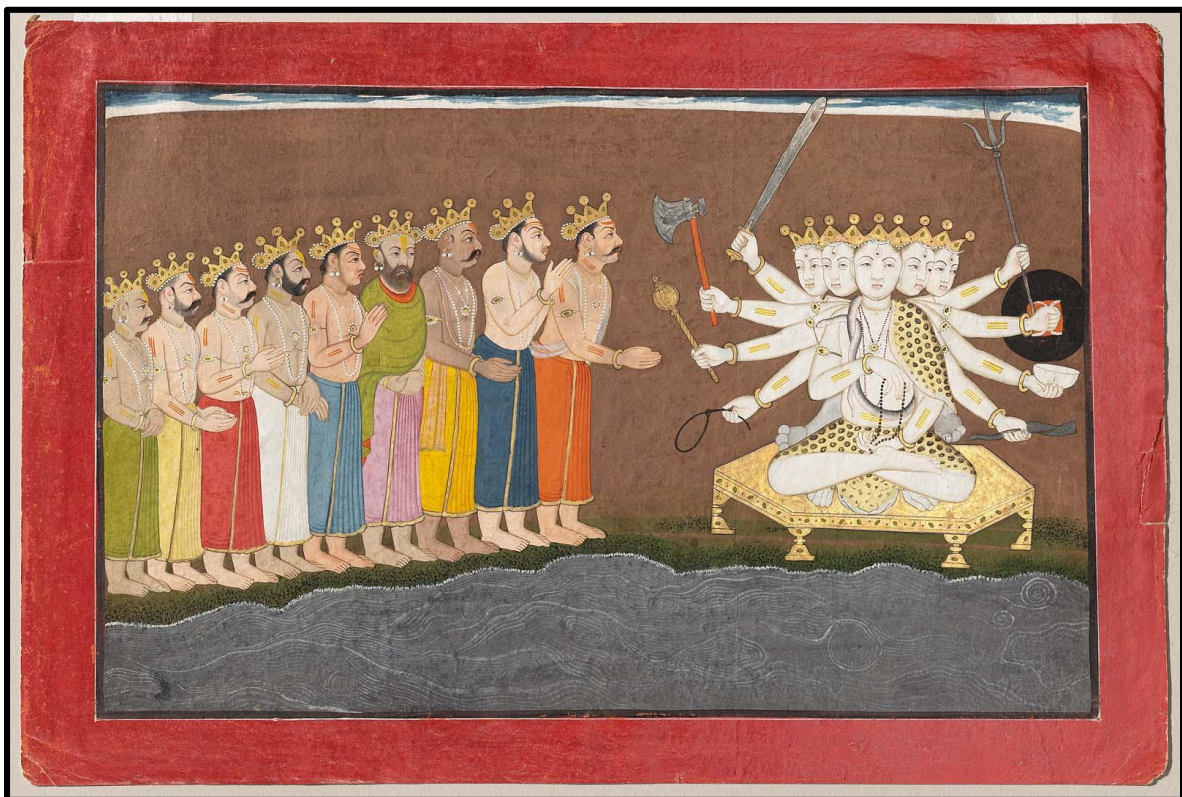


Figure 4.8. Bhagavata Purana series, 1740, (Source: Boston Museum, Acc. no. 63.144), by Manaku



Figure 4.9. Raja Govardhan Chand of Guler, (Courtesy: Ch. Museum, Acc. no. 195)

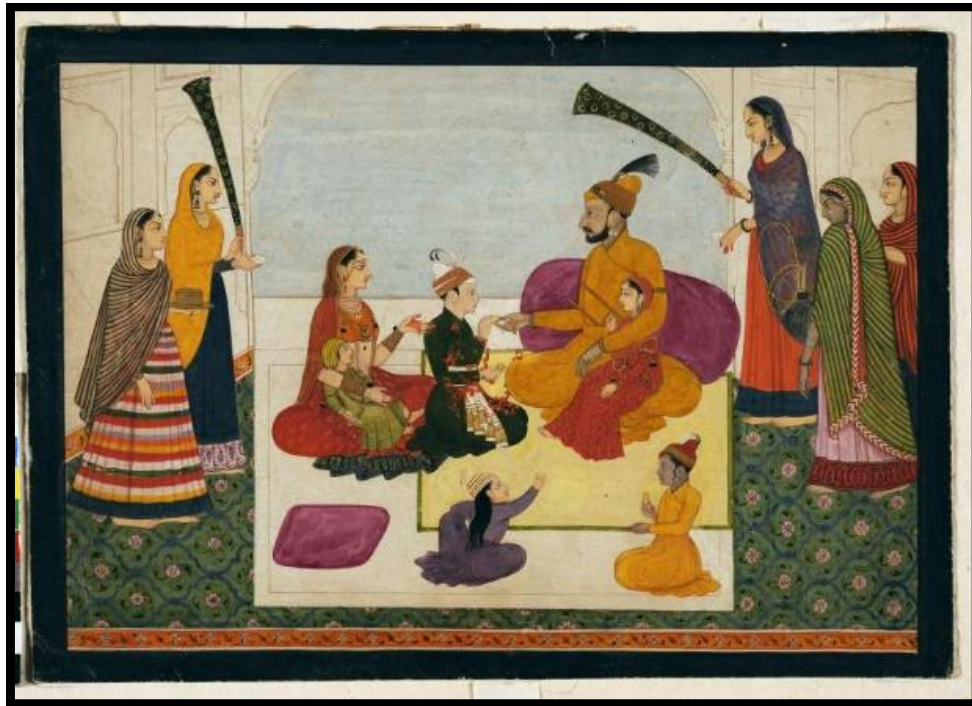


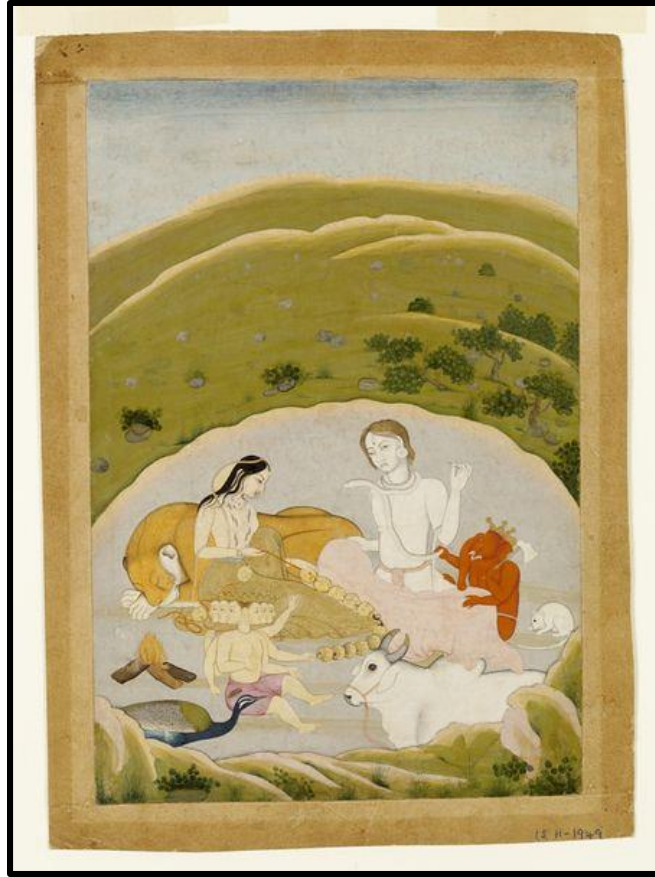
Figure 4.10. Raja Govardhan Chand of Guler, c. 1740, (Courtesy: Ch. Museum, Acc. no. 153)



*Figure 4.11. Govardhan Chand of Guler, c. 1740, (Courtesy: Ch. Museum, Acc. no. 190)*



*Figure 4.12. Raja Govardhan Chand listening to music, Guler, c. 1743 A.D.,  
(Courtesy: Ch. Museum, Acc. no. 251)*

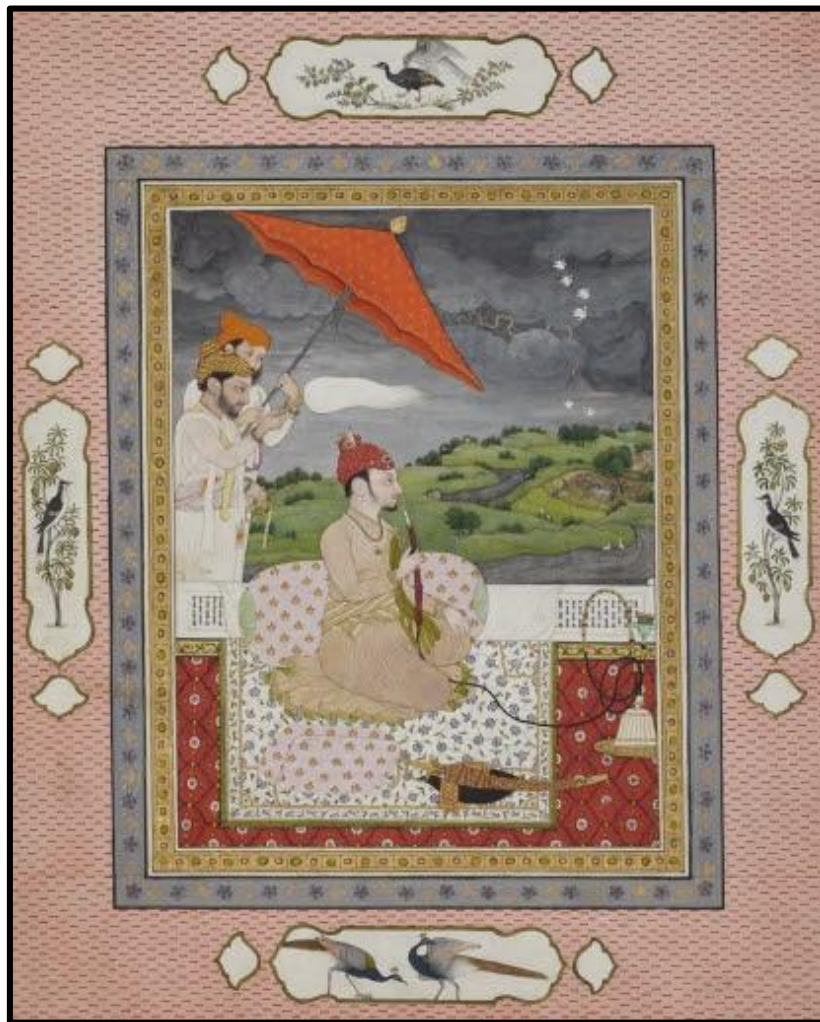


**Figure 4.13. Shiva and Parvati, Ganesh, Karttikeya and Nandi, 1745,**  
 (Source: V &A Museum, no. IS.11-1949)

Horizon became light blue, grey- brown fused with orange. Formal likenesses; seated on terraces, mounted on horse, court scenes as well as domestic scenes of Raja Govardhan Chand with his ranis surrounded by female attendants also represented (figs. 4.9- 4.12). During Govardhan Chand, varied stylistic experiments took place. Enthusiasm for the cult of Krishna, nourished by Raja Dalip Singh in the seventeen-thirties replaced by poetic and romantic subjects. Depiction of graceful female figures to symbolize divine heroines Radha, Parvati (fig. 4.13) and Durga busy in love or battle as well as lovelorn *raginis*, *nayikas*, Sohni and princess visiting out for hunting, hawking and smoking at terraces or near a lake, bathing in toilettes and ranis with their masters (fig. 4.10), started during Govardhan Chand. Employment of symbolic conventions to emphasize the sexual characters and experimentations for blending old- new conventions, female physical charm and lively- sensitive naturalism were continuously practiced to modify Guler style, replacing formalism, geometrical settings and stereotype features of Basohli style, recreating the Guler landscape at Haripur with its bare hill-sides, wavy ridges and pale edges (figs.

4.12- 4.13). The oval surround, perhaps derivative from Mughal painting of the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century does not seem to have been adopted at Guler before about 1760. But the practice of oval frame was also employed for contemporary portrait of Sikh Guru during mid-seventeenth century.

Various dispersed leaves were prepared during 1750, reflecting naturalistic style (fig. 4.13), and Guler artists achieved pure naturalistic style during Prakash Chand (fig. 4.14). Portraits of Guler rulers from last of seventeenth century onwards reveal changing life-style and culture through attires, arms, behavioral fashions and customs under varied phases.

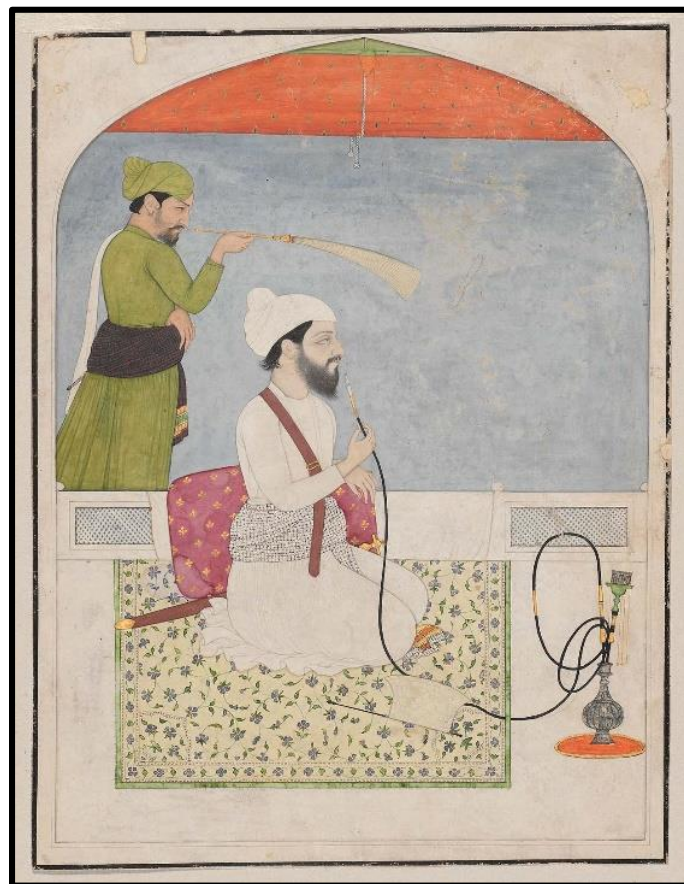


**Figure 4.14. Prakash Chand of Guler, 1775, (Source: Rietberg Museum, Acc. no. Inv.-Nr. RVI 2208)**

Ghamand Chand: (1761-1774) made Guler and other hill states his tributary c. 1762. Prakash Chand (ruled 1773-1790, died 1820) had little interest in painting. Artists started to migrate other centers of Punjab hills and plains. During young Prakash Chand, artists'

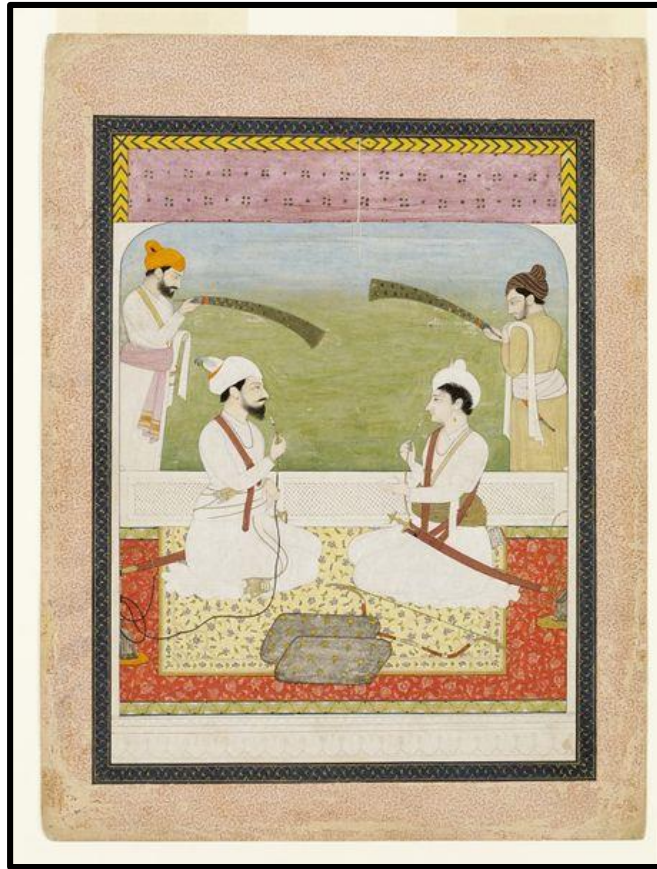
experimentations advanced towards naturalism, enriching the scenes with pastoral beauty, mountainous backgrounds, lively flora and fauna, circular settings of composition, three-dimensional architectural settings and perspective (figs. 4.14- 4.16). Lines became softer and range of somber colours extended, leaving bright colour pallet of Basohli style and stereotype forms presented through hard lines. The practice of border with its array of cartouches filled with birds and intimate little scenes or two scenes inserted in the border (fig. 4.14), developed on more lavish scale. This employment of border cartouches as decorative adjuncts, foils to the main picture or even in some cases as symbolic commentaries appears to have been a special Guler invention. Background of muted blue- grey colour and strokes of orange in sky (figs. 4.15- 4.17) reached Kangra under young Maharaja Sansar Chand, while during Gurkha occupation of Garhwal (1804-1815) and of Kangra (1806-1809), Guler style revived again.

To glorify the cult of the Goddess *Devi* and her warrior deeds, a series based on *Markandeya Purana* (fig. 4.17) was painted at Guler during 1745. The series really reflects significant Guler conventions of mid- eighteenth century.



**Figure 4.15. Young Raja Prakash Chand, (Source: Boston Museum, Acc. no. 17.2700)**





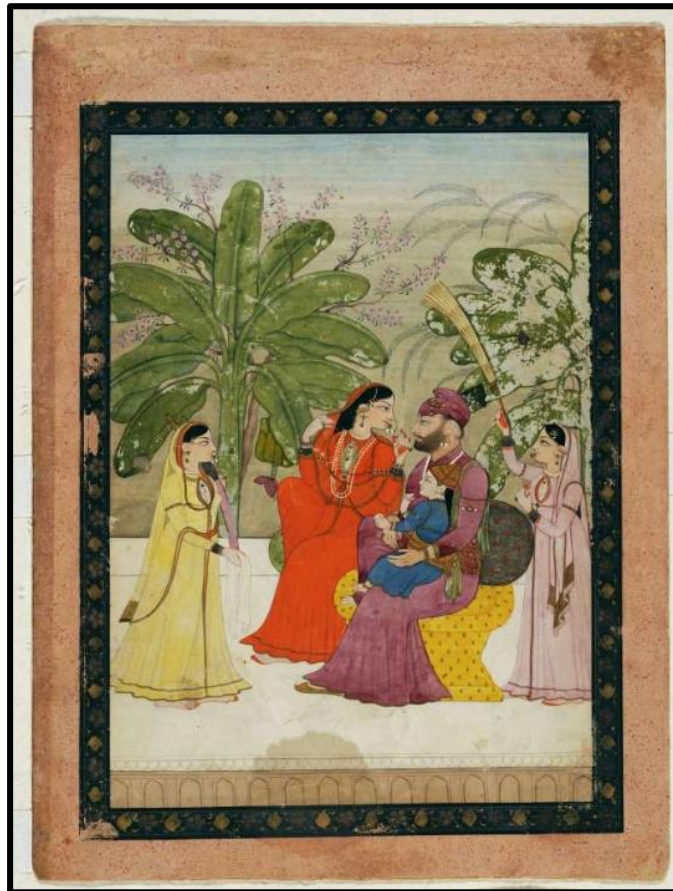
*Figure 4.16. Raja Prakash Chand and Raja Sansar Chand, Guler, c. 1780,  
(Source: V & A Museum, no. IS.150-1953)*



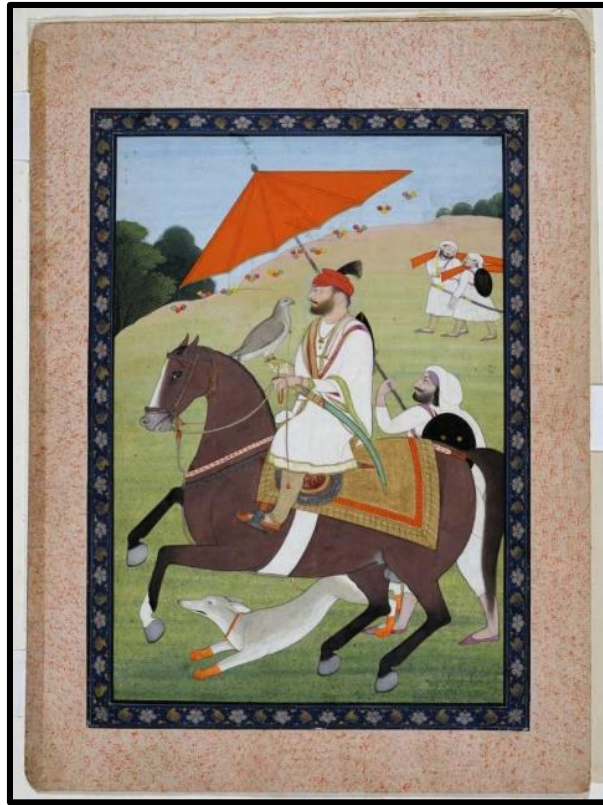
*Figure 4.17. Markandey Purana, Guler, c. 1760, (Courtesy: Ch. Museum, Acc. no. E-156)*



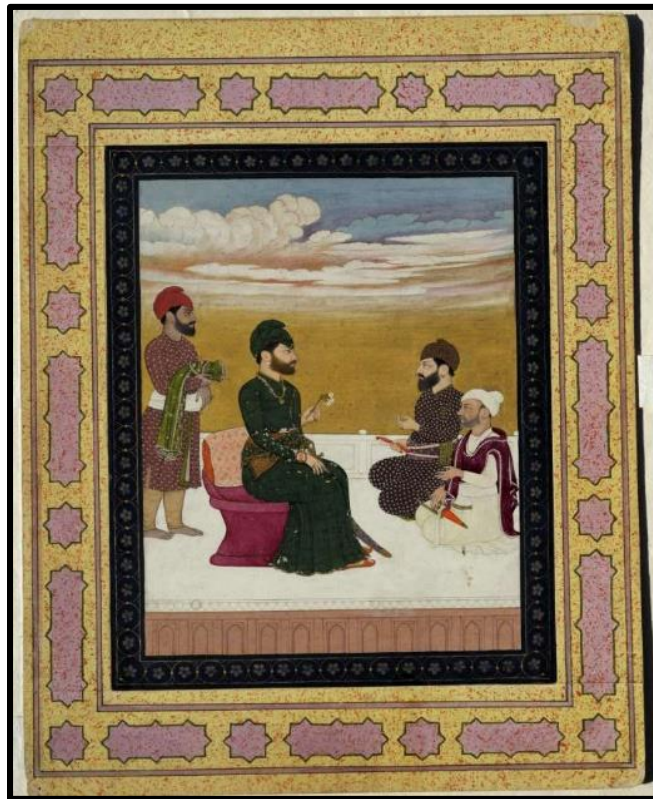
*Figure 4.18. Young Bhup Singh with troop, (Courtesy: Ch. Museum, Acc. no. 199)*



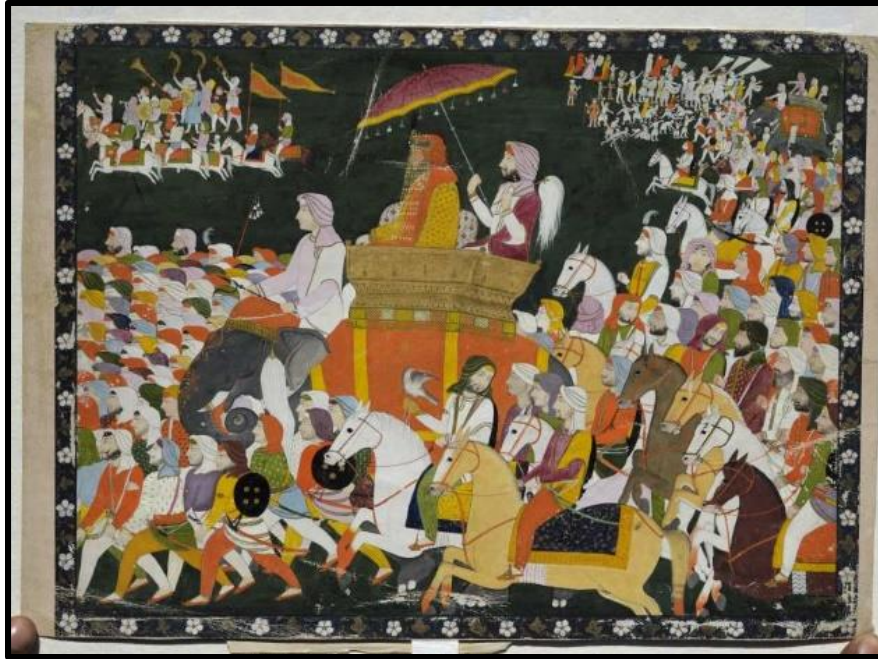
*Figure 4.19. Raja Bhup Singh with his Rani, (Courtesy: Ch. Museum, Acc. no. 150)*



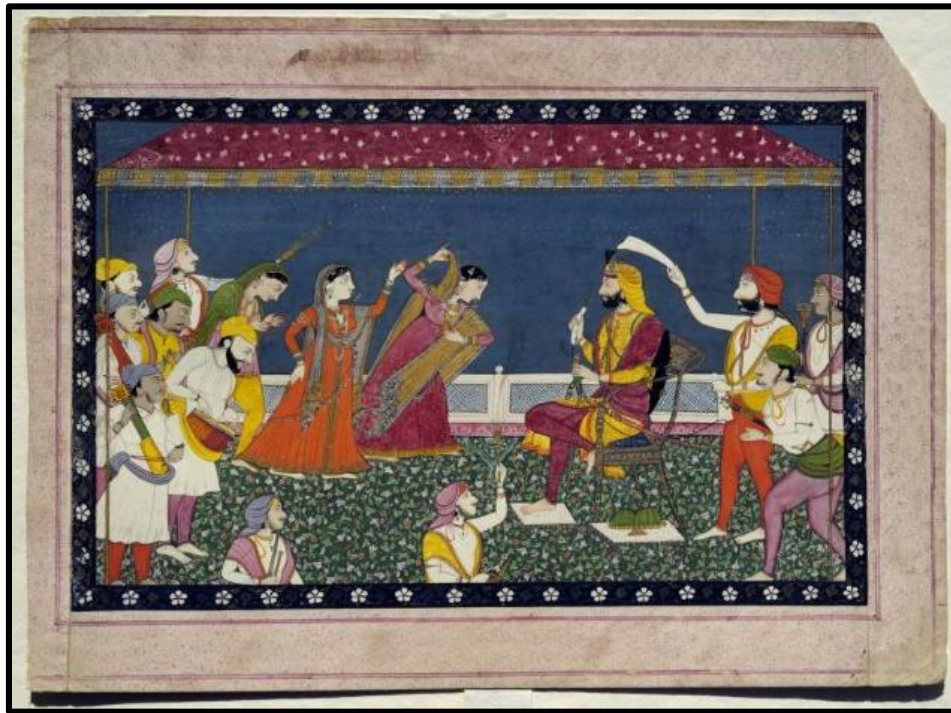
*Figure 4.20. Raja Bhup Singh, (Courtesy: Ch. Museum, Acc. no. 219)*



*Figure 4.21. Raja Bhup Singh, (Courtesy: Ch. Museum, Acc. no. 198)*



*Figure 4.22. Marriage procession of Mian Jai Singh, 1850, (Courtesy: Ch. Museum, Acc. no. 200)*



*Figure 4.23. Mian Jai Singh watching dance, 1845, (Courtesy: Ch. Museum, Acc. no. 210)*

During Bhup Singh, erotic portrait series evolved, showing him either embracing or reclining, sitting and relaxing with one or group of ranis surrounded by children (fig. 4.19). Although Bhup Singh had twelve ranis, while the name of only Rani Sampurana Devi from Patiala is known. Plantains, overlapping the courtyard wall, borders with empty cartouches, strictly

angular composition with little depth, and pair of ducks by pool-side & banana tree for symbolic representation of conjugal fidelity are common stylistic features of Bhup Singh's period. Although an angular, geometric type of composition is still in favor, there is a perceptible interest in recession and the Iris, plantains, cypresses and clouds are rendered with delicate softness (figs. 4.18- 4.21). Most of the erotic paintings with highly passionate themes are by Gursahai. He paints beautiful women with smiling faces decorated with nose-rings studded with pearls. He takes delight in painting family scenes of ranis playing with their children surrounded by maid-servants. He also takes delight in painting the nude, and most of the paintings from Guler in which women are shown bathing are by Gursahai. In these paintings a *lota* with a prominent spout and *chilmchi* invariably feature. A *kanat* with a border decorated with red triangles is often shown. A pair of women musicians, one playing the *dholak* and the other a *sitar*, are invariably introduced. He is also fond of painting architectural features, such as palace courtyards, garden pavilions, and minarets. Fountains are usually shown sprinkling water, and nearby a pair of ducks are gamboling. Peacocks are often shown promenading on the roofs of pavilions. Overhanging the walls of the palace behind the pavilion are plantains with their phallic leaves swaying in a very suggestive manner (Randhawa, 1956, 8).

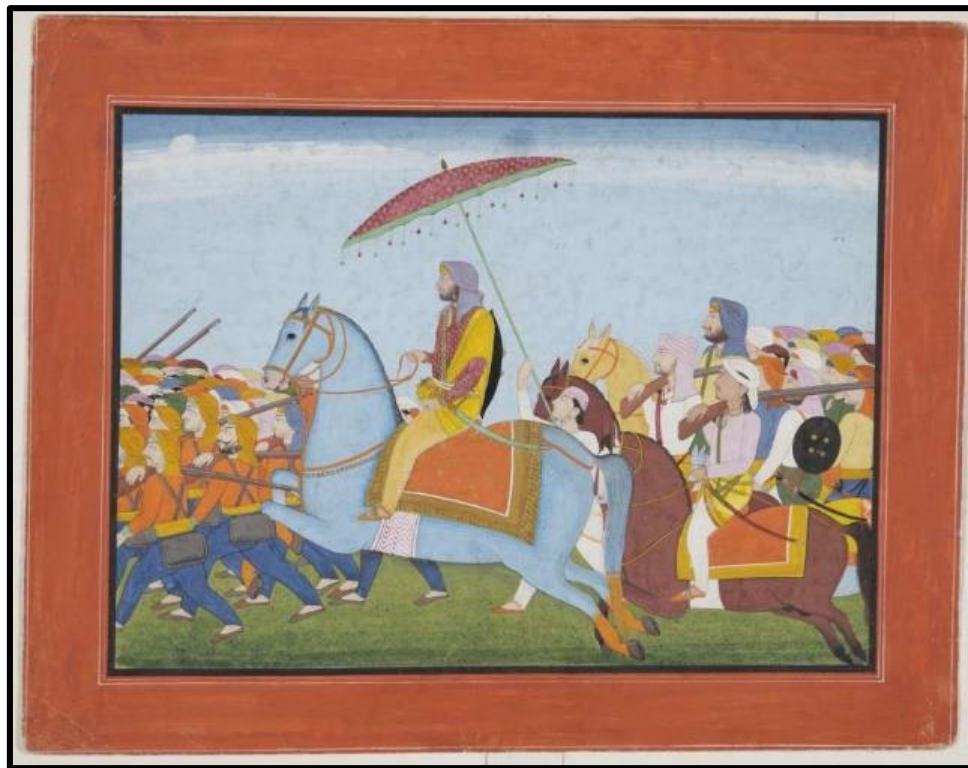
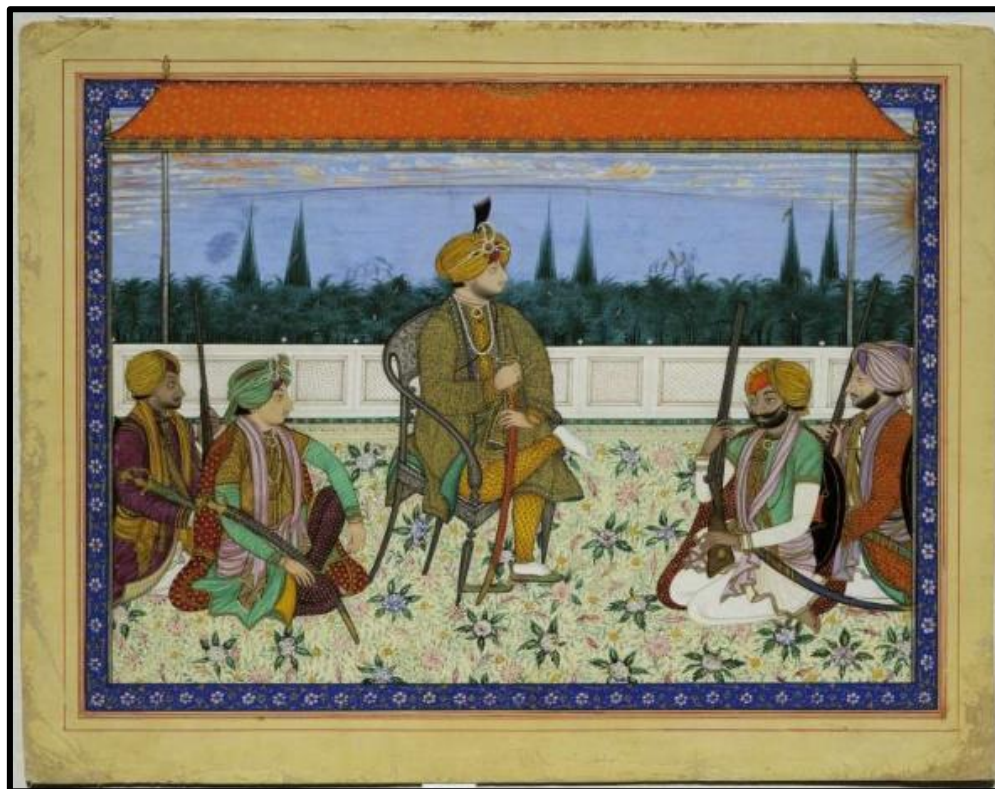


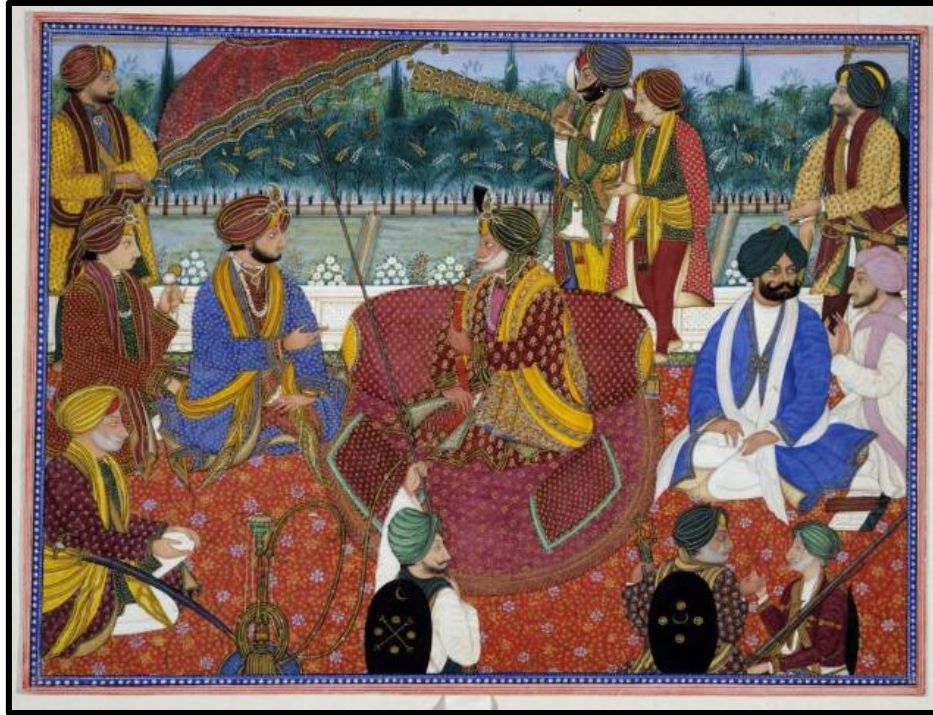
Figure 4.24. Mian Jai Singh of Guler riding with escorts, 1845, (Courtesy: Ch. Museum, Acc. no. 207)



*Figure 4.25. Mian Jai Singh watching dance performance, 1845, (Courtesy: Ch. Museum, Acc. no. 211)*



*Figure 4.26. Raja Jai Singh with his brother Hardit Singh and courtiers, 1882, (Courtesy: Ch. Museum, Acc. no. 202)*



**Figure 4.27. Raja Jai Singh with Prince Raghunath Singh and other courtiers,**  
**(Courtesy: Ch. Museum, Acc. no. 201)**

Guler paintings reveal changes in fashion trends from Mughal to Rajput and further Sikh influences from Prakash Chand to Bhup Singh and his successors Shamsher Singh and Jai Singh. Guler conventions popular during Govardhan Chand again revived for Jai Singh, while themes became distinct. Replacing family and intimate scenes; music scenes full of dancing girls and musicians (figs. 4.23, 4.25), in obsolete idioms and conventions, employed in fluent and dazzling colours. The practice of toying with a narcissus goes back to Bishan Singh, elder brother of Govardhan Chand, revived for the likenesses of Jai Singh (fig. 4.25). Early convention of plain backgrounds of green & scarlet, shallow structure and grey wall (figs. 4.22- 4.23, 4.25) with red blind were in fashion till nineteenth century, presenting precise Sikh influences in portraits, mirrored the lifestyle and culture of Guler rulers after adopting Sikh fashions.

In the portraits of old Raja Jai Singh, style and idioms remain previous, but with severe adulteration through British conventions (fig. 4.27) by the artist Muhammad Bakhsh, who was a native of Mandi state, while his work is closely related with traditional Guler style. Although Guler was annexed by British rule from the second half of nineteenth century, but paintings are symptomatic of the reviving effects of Sikh examples that Sikh turbans, beard, dress and chairs, remained a court fashion at Guler.

A series of the *Markandeya Purana* possibly based on tracings from the original pictures is dated 1781. Although, the later series is also immaculate, but lack of original compositions can be sensed.

#### **4.6 Early Renderings And Experimentations In Kangra**

During mid of the eighteenth century, Basohli style totally disappeared from the Punjab hills through experimentations for naturalism at Guler, which resulted in pre- Kangra phase. The pre-matured style reached Kangra through the first generation of Nainsukh, and evolved final Kangra style under Raja Sansar Chand. Likenesses of early rulers of Kangra came from the coll. of other hill centers. Alam Chand (1697- 1700), a contemporary of Guru Gobind Singh, sided unsuccessfully with Kahlur (Bilaspur) against the Sikhs during 1700. A portrait inscribed in *Takri* dialect *sri raja alam chand* exists at Ch. Museum, while the portrait of his son Hamir Chand (1700-1747), comes from Mankot coll. (Archer, 1973, Vol. I, 248 and Vol. II, Nurpur, pl. 1, mistakenly captioned as ‘Raja Jagat Singh of Nurpur’ and Mankot, pl. 18).

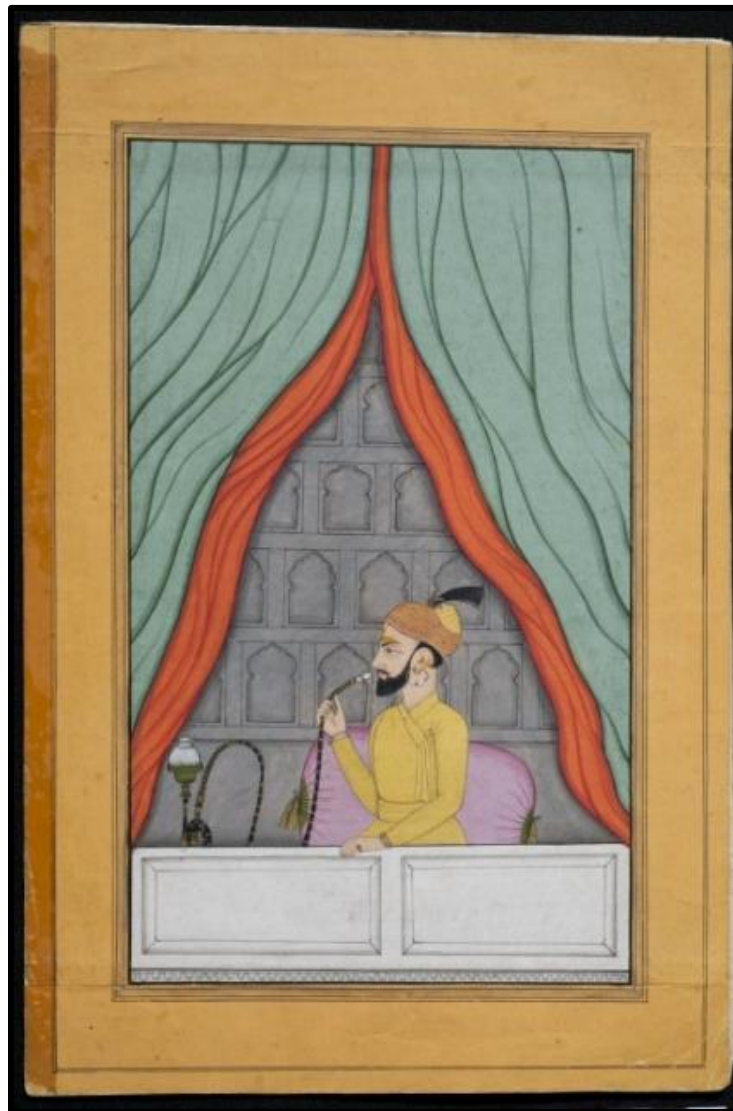
Real likenesses of young Raja Ghamand Chand (1761-1774) and Tegh Chand (1773-1774) are existed and form a part of series of royal portraits with identical inscriptions depicting members of the Kangra royal family and neighbouring rulers, promoted by ambitious Ghamand Chand to fulfil political reasons, resulted in novel type of harsh and hasty portraiture (figs. 3.29, 3.30, 4.28, 5.125 and 5.126).

Increasing power of Sansar Chand and shift of power from Guler to Kangra granted the artists a wide range of subjects. Court scenes of Maharaja Sansar Chand, festive celebrations, political likenesses as well as mythological narrations inspired the court artists of Kangra. The style of portrayal is formal from 1750 onwards. But Archer writes, that owing nothing to Guler precedents or models and without any obvious antecedents in Kangra itself, it is, at first sight suggestive of portraiture in Jammu - especially in its use of pale colours, sinuous outlines, single flat planes and slightly enlarged heads. He also assumes the possibility of arriving of artists from Nurpur due to marital relations and Nurpur was a center of arts from the late seventeenth century onwards and also had a large and flourishing painter colony (Archer, 1973, Vol. I, 280- 281). While Goswamy suggests the name of artist Dhummun, who was active during Ghamand Chand (Goswamy and Fischer, 1992, 369). Randhawa assumes the portraits of Ghamand Chand, as later productions painted during the reign of Sansar Chand (Randhawa, 1970a, 3- 4). The style of portraits under Prakash Chand of Guler and Ghamand Chand of Kangra remained simple and



formal, but distinction in both styles are also clear. Emphasizing on profiles by thin out- lines; Kangra artists' preferred grey for background and a rim of orange in the sky (figs. 3.29- 3.30), while fused blue- grey, cloudy- misty backgrounds with a rim of orange to symbolize skyline in Guler portraits (fig. 4.11- 4.17) were favored during Prakash Chand of Guler. Patterns of carpets are also of different style. These characteristics advanced in the early portraits of Raja Sansar Chand (figs. 4.29- 4.31).

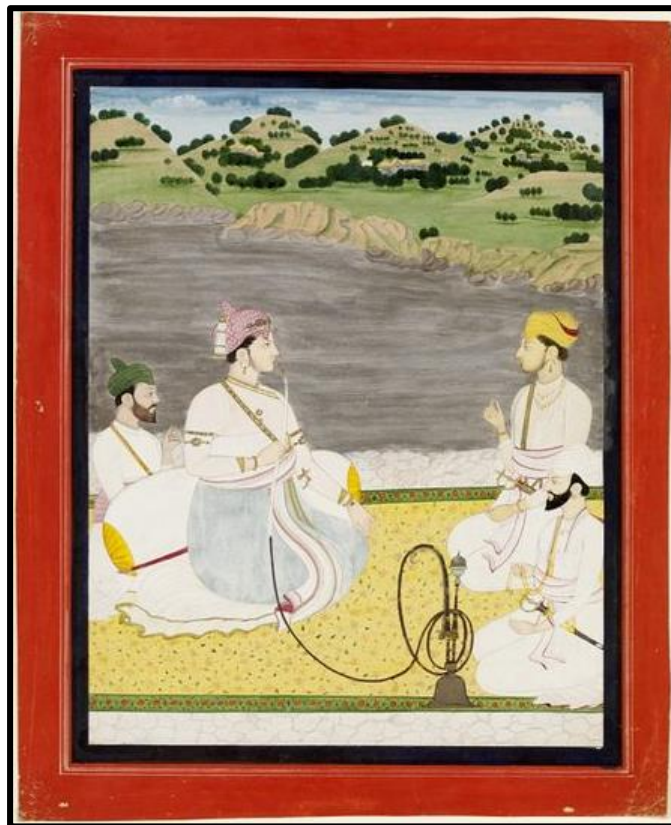
Unfolding Sansar Chand's fondness for drawing and his immense collection of pictures, Moorcroft (1820) states that the Raja has likenesses of all the adjacent families. Although some of these may have been commissioned personally, the collection was begun in the life-time of his grandfather, Ghamand Chand possibly, when portraits from life were made in the simple style.



*Figure 4.28. Raja Ghamand Chand, Nurpur, 1740, (Courtesy: Ch. Museum, Acc. no. 2693)*



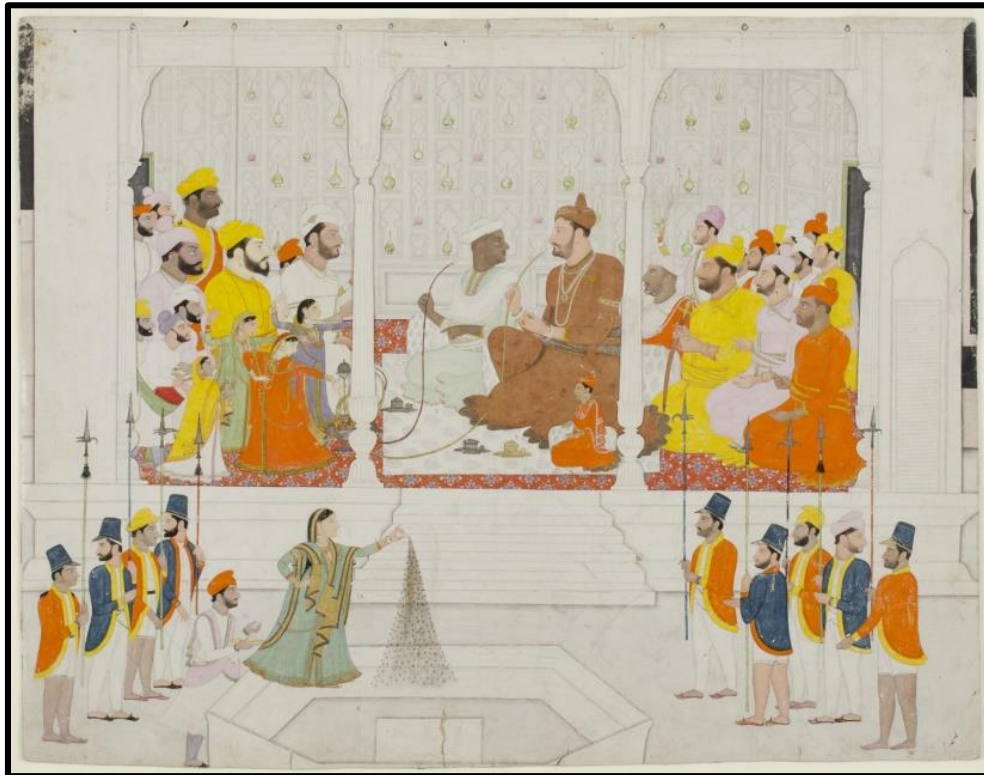
*Figure 4.29. Raja Sansar Chand of Kangra and courtiers, c. 1783,  
(Source: Cleveland Museum of Art, Acc. no. 1986.63)*



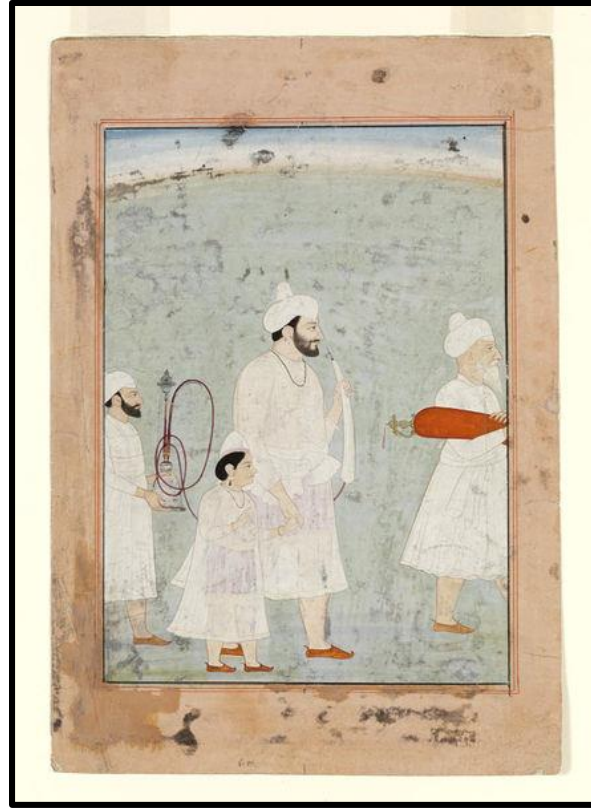
*Figure 4.30. Raja Sansar Chand and Fateh Chand, 1786, (Source: V & A Museum, no. IS.137-1949)*



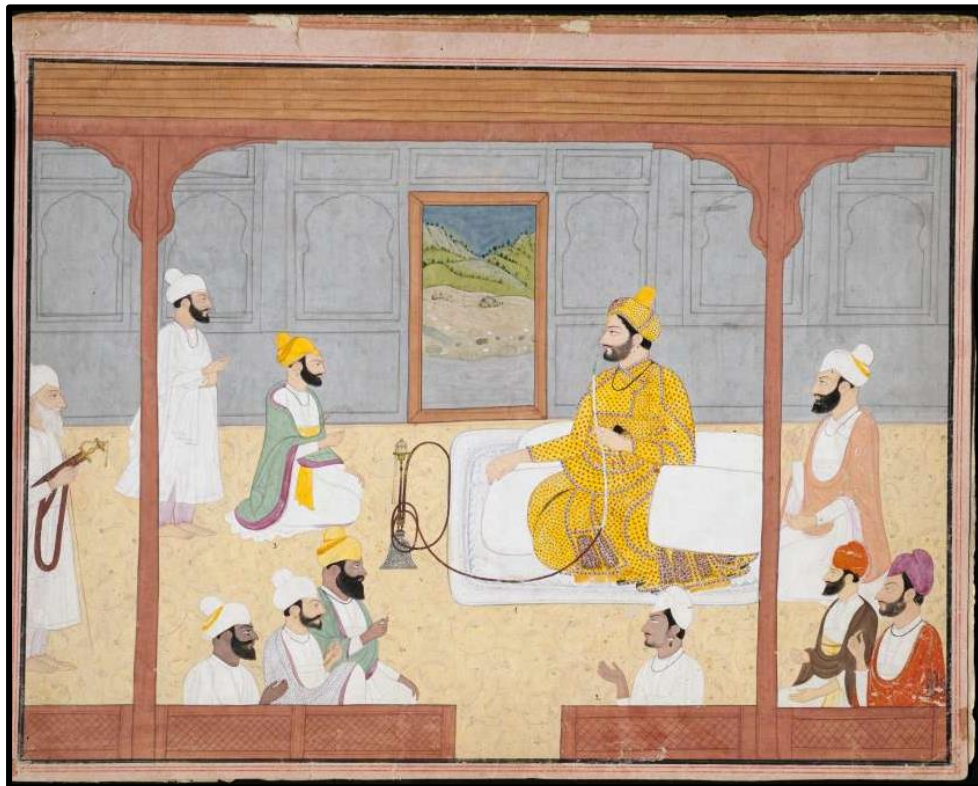
*Figure 4.31. Raja Sansar Chand on horseback, (Courtesy: Ch. Museum, Acc. no. 358)*



*Figure 4.32. Raja Sansar Chand with his small son, c. 1810-1820,  
(Source: Philadelphia Museum, Acc. no. 1955-11-3)*

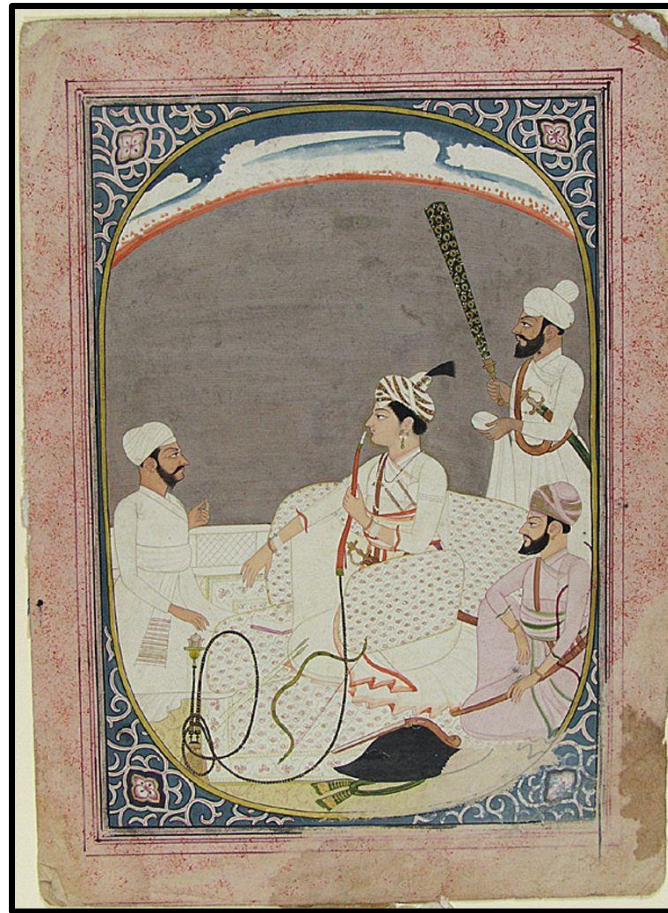


*Figure 4.33. Raja Sansar Chand and Anirudh Chand, 1796, (Source: V & A Museum, no. IS.173-1950)*



*Figure 4.34. Raja Sansar Chand at Nadaun Palace, c. 1797, (Courtesy: Ch. Museum, Acc. no. 899)*

Along with focusing the true likenesses, the artists started to portray a number of persons in action to create busy and dramatic scenes (figs. 4.29- 4.32). Early convention of harsh & thin line and presentation of characters in profile, grouping of forms with more complexity and colour were applied by Kangra artists, in both horizontal (fig. 4.32) and vertical (fig. 4.33) formats, in circular (fig. 4.29) & diagonal (figs. 4.30, 4.31) settings. A number of joyful scenes of Maharaja Sansar Chand, surrounded by courtiers, attendants and dancing girls were portrayed, to glorify his ambitious character. Possibly, by 1780 the first group of likenesses in Kangra state had been added by other artists. Hasty and crude portraiture initiated under Ghamand Chand with pale green background and two streaks of orange red at the top and a curving rim of white and pale blue sky was practiced in Kangra till 1800 (fig. 4.33).

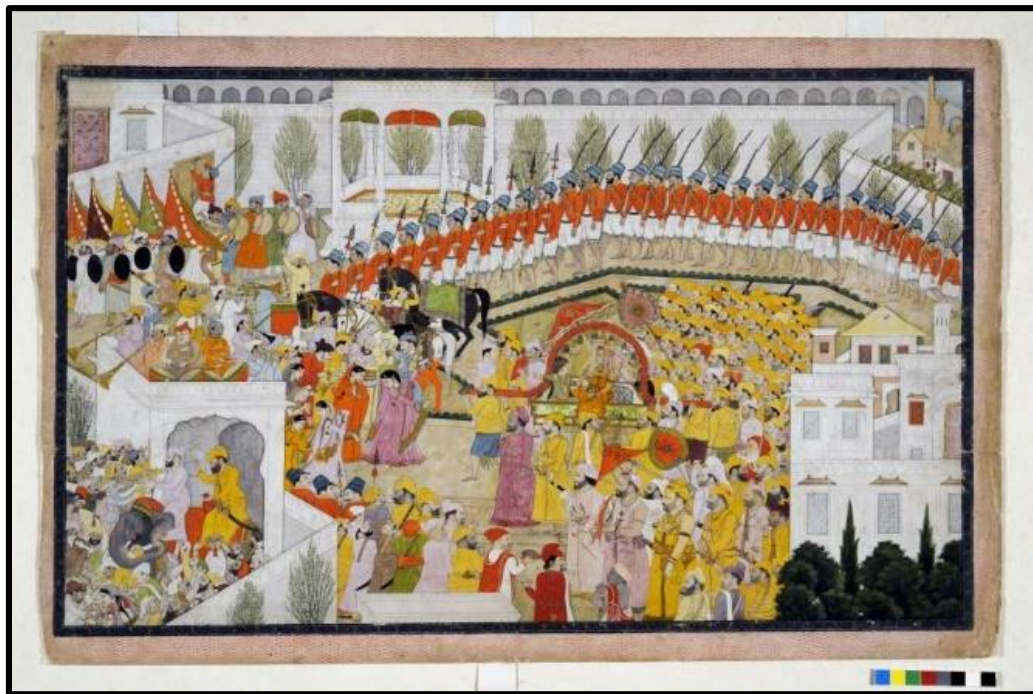


*Figure 4.35. Kanwar Anirudha Chand, (Source: Fogg Art Museum, no. 1972.69)*

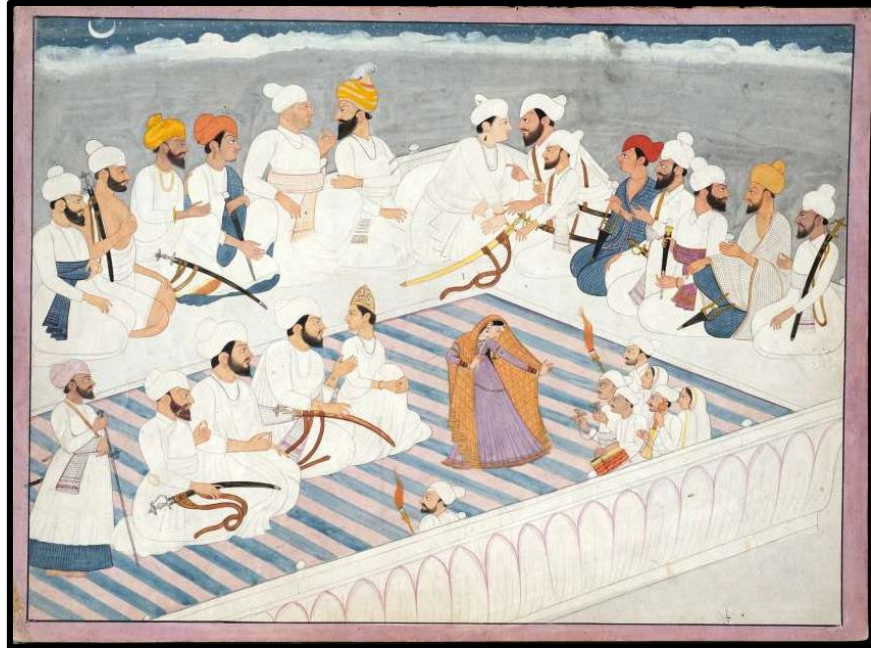
Possibly two group of painters were active for portraiture under Sansar Chand, who were experimenting from 1775 onwards for naturalistic backgrounds, preferring mountains and greenery with flowing river (figs. 4.30, 4.31 and 4.34), replacing early flat grey backgrounds and

curving rim of orange to depict sky and white clouds. Black rainstorm clouds with soft sensitivity and gardens can be sensed in the backgrounds of Kangra court scenes held at Tira Sujampur and Alampur, through creating minor changes by Kangra native artists. 1780 onwards, an oval form with patterned surrounds (fig. 4.35) also started to embellish portraits as well as narrative paintings (Archer, 1973, Vol. I, 284- 285 and Vol. II, pls. 10- 12. Also see Goswamy and Fischer, 1992, 371 and endnote 22 on 373. Goswamy identified the portraits of Anirudh Chand published by Archer as young Sansar Chand). Guler convention of a spurting fountain and an attendant plantain tree were acclimatized in Kangra by 1785.

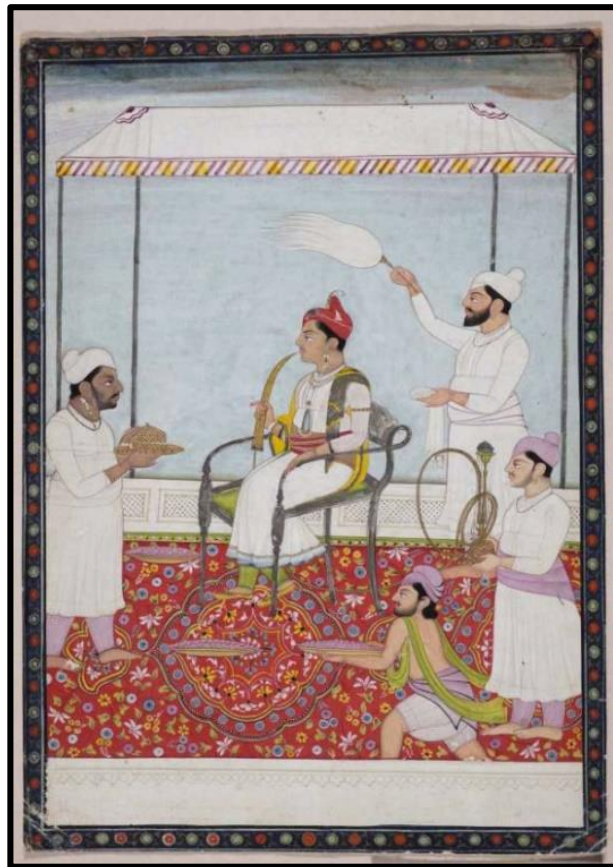
Except festive scenes, assemblies' of hill rulers led by Sansar Chand discussing Gurkhas of Nepal also portrayed during 1805. Group portraits with the looped stems of the *huqqas* forming a sinuous and twining rhythm created by Kangra court artist Purkhu, employed during 1780- 1820 especially for royal portraiture. There is a remarkable clearness of tone and delicacy of handling in most of Purkhu's works but he was not so great a master of colour as many other artists' inferior to him in other respects (Powell, 1872, Vol. II, 355). Portraiture was promoted by the successors of Kanwar Anirudh Chand (figs. 4.38- 4.39), but after the annexation of Kangra by Sikhs in 1828 onwards, collapse in portraiture can be sensed.



**Figure 4.36.** The sacred-thread ceremony of Ranbir Chand (1808-1847) son of Anirudh Chand, Dated: 1820, (Courtesy: Ch. Museum, Acc. no. 352)



*Figure 4.37. Mian Anirudh Chand at a dance party, c. 19th century,  
(Courtesy: Ch. Museum, Acc. no. 900)*



*Figure 4.38. Kanwar Ranbir Chand (1833- 1847), son of Anirudh Chand,  
(Courtesy: Ch. Museum, Acc. no. 1893)*



**Figure 4.39. Raja Pratap Chand, Lambagraon, (Courtesy: Ch. Museum, Acc. no. 279)**

#### **4.7 Mythological Narration In Ultimate And Vital Kangra Style**

Scholars accept that Kangra style emerged during 1770-1800 through the hands of first and second generations of Pandit Manaku and Nainsukh. Sansar Chand ascended the throne in 1776, before two years when Nainsukh died 1778. After the death of Mughal governor of Kangra Saif Ali Khan in 1783, Fort came under Jai Singh Kanheya for three years, and finally Maharaja Sansar Chand found back the Kangra Fort in 1786.

There are no signed paintings by court artists of Sansar Chand- Fattu, Purkhu, Kushan Lal and Sajnu and the scholars made ascriptions mostly on stylistic ground. The *Bhagavata Purana*, *Gita Govinda*, *Nala Damayanti*, *Ragamala* and *Sat Sai* illustrated by Kangra court artists, marvelously, which stretched Kangra painting at its height. The first generation of Pandit Manaku and Nainsuk seems to work on master series.





**Figure 4.40. Folio from Gita Govinda series, 1775- 1780,  
(Source: Rietberg Museum, Acc. no. Inv.-Nr. RVI 2108)**

Kangra *Gita-Govinda* (fig. 4.40) or Tehri Garhwal *Gita Govinda* series in the coll. of Maharaja Manvindra Shah of Garhwal came into light in 1960. The series comprises 140 paintings in full bloomed Kangra style, celebrating the romance of Radha and Krishna, ascribed to the period 1790-1805. Sketches and finished paintings, both survived and some of the pictures bore translations of the original Sanskrit verses in the Kangra dialect of Punjabi. The original colophon of the Basohli- Guler *Gita Govinda* series (fig. 4.6) by the artist Manaku has been neatly copied later on the back of Kangra *Gita Govinda*'s opening folio. Fattu and Khushala, two sons of Manaku & leading artists of Sansar Chand's court and a third artist, Gaudhu, their cousin, are responsible for Kangra *Gita Govinda*. Erotic scenes and adventures of Krishna with the cow girls are a dynamic part of the *Gita Govinda*. To portray rural atmosphere of the river Jamuna and forest, artists inspired by the river Beas and its tributary streams in the part of the Kangra Valley between Alampur and Sujampur as well Lambagraon. In placing the romance of Radha and Krishna in a native Kangra setting, Khushala and his colleagues were consequently not only creating visuals to enchant the young Sansar Chand but inaugurating a convention for imminent renderings of Krishna at Kangra. The paintings of *Gita Govinda* are a great combination of naturalism, symbolism and divine romance created by Kangra artists inspired by Jayadeva.



**Figure 4.41. Folio from Bhagavata Purana series, c. 1780,  
(Source: Freer Gallery of Art, Acc. no. F1930.84)**

*Bhagavata Purana* series (fig. 4.41) is popularly known as *Modi Bhagavata Purana* (1780-85). The series comprising sketches and highly finished paintings more than one hundred in numbers, now has been dispersed. Different from the supreme love of Krishna and Radha rendered in *Gita Govinda*; *Bhagavata Purana* interprets the whole life of Krishna, his innocent pranks, encounters with demons and God like interventions factually. The series is full of naturalism and explores perfect & vibrant rendering of action figures. Kangra *Bhagavata Purana* is also based on Manaku's *Bhagavata Purana* of Basohli- Guler style (fig. 4.8), involving the styles of at least two master artists. Archer suggests the name of Gaudhu or Purkhu. Like the *Gita Govinda* series, the landscape meticulously counterparts the mild, undulating scenery along with the large rocks near Alampur, Sujanpur and Lambagraon. Gaudhu and Purkhu are ascribed to this series on the basis of style (Archer, 1973, Vol. I, 294-5 and Vol. II, Kangra pls. 36(i- vii)), but Goswamy associates the series with first generation of Nainsukh and Manaku (Goswamy and Fischer, 1992, 312- 313, pls. 140- 142).

Court scenes of Maharaja Sansar Chand often represent his interest in music and singing as a medium of relaxation and enjoyment, which is reflected through Kangra *Ragamala* series of

1785, comprising 80 of the 84 illustrations symbolizing the various musical modes in human forms. From the late seventeenth century, Pahari *Ragamala* series had been fashioned at many hill courts - Kulu and Bilaspur being among the first to mature this type of art. Kangra *Ragamala* is based on Guler and Kangra conventions. A classification of *ragas* and *raginis* is provided at the end of Guru Granth, Sikh scripture compiled by Guru Arjun (1581- 1606). In the names of a number of *ragas* and *raginis*, the *Ragamala* from Guru Granth bears a resemblance to the *Ragamala* by Mesakarna compiled in 1590, but Kangra *Ragamala* is not as organized as the Guru Granth *Ragamala*. A *Ragamala* series was also prepared during Guru Hargobind, now with Bagharian family (Singh Anurag, personal communication, May 9, 2017).

A *Baramasa* series came from the family coll. of the Raja of Lambagraon, a descendant of Fateh Chand, younger brother of Sansar Chand. Oval format with surrounds in blue, gold and red borders and naturalistic background settings are indicative of Sujanpur.

Except portraying the love of Radha and Krishna dedicated to the devotion of Sansar Chand to the Krishna cult, the romance of Damayanti with Prince Nala based on Sriharsha's poem is also painted in Kangra style. Out of 110 paintings, 47 complete paintings, all of them are now in the coll. of the Amar Mahal Museum and Library in Jammu and extremely finished drawings are at Boston Museum. Although, Archer's thesis concludes the commission of *Nala Damayanti* series in Kangra, throwing light on the portraits of Sansar Chand, Nokhu & the Irish deserter William O'Brien and assuming their appearance in the paintings (Archer, 1973, Vol. I, 301-303). The romance of Pahari Maharaja with Gaddan Rani, Nokhu, the palace architecture, the terrace and the view across the river to the low hills beyond, strongly suggestive of Alampur and Sujanpur. Execution of the series is attributable to the year of Sansar Chand's marriage with Nokhu. The appearance of some Guler motifs as diagonal flower beds, oval trees sprinkled with blossom and assertively placed plantain trees are some idioms which indicate the possibility of completion of series before or after Gurkha invasion on the basis of style.

But Goswamy accepts the relation between *Nala Damayanti* paintings in the coll. of Dr. Karan Singh at Amar Mahal Museum and the drawings of *Nala Damayanti* series at Boston Museum, and ascribes the series to Basohli state by the artist Ranjha during the years 1790-1800 (Goswamy, 1968b, 98), rejecting the assumptions of Alvan Clark Eastman, Randhawa (Randhawa, 1970a, 18) and Archer (Archer, 1973, Vol. I, 299- 303) about the set of drawings having been painted in Kangra under Sansar Chand in the years 1810-14. Goswamy ascribes the painter Ranjha,

son of Nainsukh, responsible for the painted *Nala Damayanti* series of Karan Singh coll. between 1790 and 1800 on grounds of style (Goswamy, 2015, 79- 80).



**Figure 4.42.** Folio from Bihari- Sat Sai series, 1785, (Source: Rietberg Museum, Acc. no. Inv.-Nr. RVI 2112)

There are seven hundred verses in Bihari's *Sat Sai*, but apart from forty paintings (fig. 4.42), there are about twenty drawings or unfinished paintings and the inscriptions written on verso are also of later period and do not match the situation shown in the paintings. Artist Khushala started this series, but died parting his work ongoing. The night scenes with blue- black sky and silver dots powdered to create the stars or sky covered with dark clouds and skeins of white cranes as well as architectural background and simple compositions of pastoral atmosphere provide the settings for the lovely game of hide and seek for Krishna and Radha. Apart from two, all the illustrations of the *Sat Sai* are designed in an oval with an arabesque in the border.

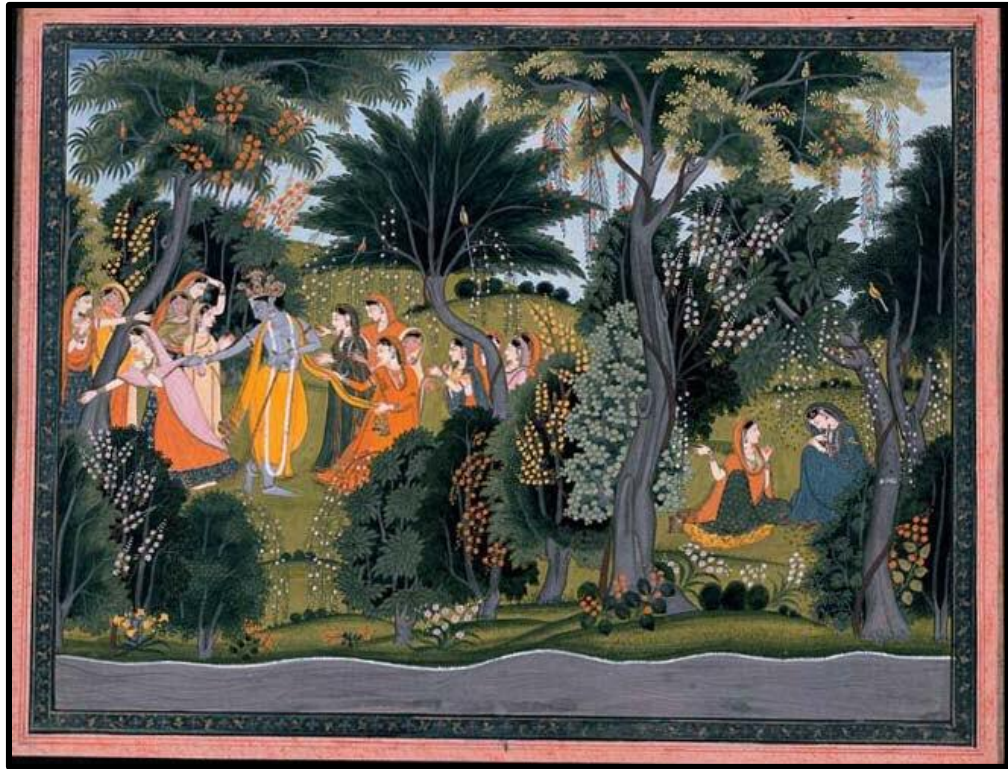
Different from the family style of Nainsukh and Manaku, Purkhu also prepared some series in his distinct style. Some other series originally came from Lambagraon coll. Except *Baramasa* series (1790), a second *Gita Govinda* (1820- 1825), *Shiva Purana* and *Ramayana* series were prepared possibly for Fateh Chand by Purkhu. There are some other series, which can be ascribed

to Purkhu. *Harivamsha series* (1800-15), *Devi Mahatmaya*, *Ramayana* (1800-15), *Parijata Harana series* (now at National Museum) and *Ashtanayika series* (1810-20). Archer connects a *Mahabharata series* with Garhwal state, while Goswamy also associates the series with Purkhu (Goswamy and Fischer, 1992, see endnote 18 on 373. Also see Archer, 1973, Vol. II, Garhwal-pls. 24 (i-ii)).



**Figure 4.43. Folio from Shiva Purana series, 1800-15,  
(Courtesy: Ch. Museum, Acc. no. 494), by Purkhu**

A series of 110 illustrations with scarlet border and rules of white, interpreting the theme of *Shiva Purana* exists (fig. 4.43). Names of the principal characters are inscribed in *Devanagari* on the illustrations. Randhawa connects the *Shiva Purana* (1800-15) series with the court painters of Maharaja Sansar Chand (Randhawa, 1953, 23), while Archer ascribed the series to Garhwal (Archer, 1973, Vol. II, Garhwal, pl. 34). Goswamy supports Randhawa and associates the series with Purkhu of Kangra (Goswamy and Fischer, 1992, 370, pls. 166, 167). Stereotype greenery, bulb like herbs, white- mauve coloured clouds and mountains, small figures, crowded compositions, designs, rendering of scenes in a pseudo perspective, diagonals and declining chambers appear like frames slung in the space.



*Figure 4.44. Folio from Lambagraon Gita Govinda series, 1810,  
(Source: Rietberg Museum, Acc. no. Inv.-Nr. RVI 1852), by Purkhu*



*Figure 4.45. Folio from Ramayana series, c. 1800-1815,  
(Source: Rietberg Museum, Acc. no. Inv.-Nr. RVI 986), by Purkhu*

A large series based on *Rasika Priya* of Keshav Das (1820- 1825) now dispersed, could have originally numbered several hundred folios. The oval format with yellow borders and floral surrounds clearly based on the Lambagraon *Baramasa* series. The use of lushly flowering trees, spikes of blossom, the occasional insertion of unusually large leaves, flattened faces & physiques and general lack of depth are the features of the series. The series is stylistically harsh and insensitive. The *Rasika Priya* series depicts the workshop of Purkhu, his pupils and assistants.

Second *Gita Govinda* series (1820- 1825) came from Lambagraon coll. probably executed for Fateh Chand. The series lack of grace (fig. 4.44), while forest scenes are painted with detail and the principal actors have a brisk artificiality. The features appear harsh. Replacing local landscape of Alampur and Sujampur, the pictures treat the forest.

*Ramayana* series (fig. 4.45) prepared by Purkhu have similarities with *Shiva Purana* series. Stereotype figures, artificial clouds of varied colours and chambers in the air are also used by Purkhu for *Ramayana* illustrations.

The dense, crowded scenes, vivid colouring, an affinity to set in a great many figures into the compositions, the treatment of architecture with its simulated perspective, open-fronted floating chambers and shrill diagonals, the coiled, billowy, colourful forms of the clouds, the abstracted treatment of rocks and the types of faces and gestures used for men and women narrate Purkhu's style of experimentations with conventional elements.

## CHAPTER V

### INTERACTIONS AND INFLUENCES

Sikh paintings are a part of Indian art, emerged by Mughal and Punjabi painters in seventeenth century and further nourished and aspersed by Guler and Kangra painters during eighteenth-nineteenth centuries, borrowing hereditary artistic elements of Indian art and finally ready to influence Pahari paintings through a distinct social identity and lifestyle reflected in them. Art does not essentially submit the laws of politics and is not a by-product of political commotions. It is plausible, but not necessary, to see an association between the growth of art and the rise or fall of empires. The upheaval in ideas ensuing upon political change, nevertheless, affects art-forms and the growth of Schools of art, as much as the society which they touch or enclose.

The style applied for Sikh paintings was popular Mughal style, which was altered and adopted by Punjabi painters as well as hill painters of Anandpur, Bilaspur and Mandi under devoted patronage. A stylistic shift of Sikh paintings from Anandpur, Bilaspur and Mandi to Guler and Kangra styles were the results of political associations of Sikh *misaldars* with hill rulers of Kangra and Guler. Although, both states were also associated with Guru Gobind Singh as the relations of Mian Gopal and his great nephew Raja Dalip Singh (1695-1741) were stable. The relation of tenth Guru with Bhim Chandra (1690-1697) of Kangra was also good as Guru granted him the title of '*Dharam Rakshak*' or saviour of the Hindu faith, while his brother Kirpal Chand participated in the battle of Bhangani against Guru. There are no real portraits available of these Kangra rulers, but are some later portraits under Mughal influences, revived by eighteenth century painters.

In the last decade of seventeenth century, the birth of art at Guler and stylistic development till mid- eighteenth century and its shift from Guler to Kangra with the enthronement of Maharaja Sansar Chand resulted in Kangra style. Pre-matured style of Guler firstly spread in Kangra and reached its zenith. But with the political upheavals of Kangra, final naturalistic style extended in other hill states & plains of Punjab with the traveling painters and became Kangra Valley style, which influenced and interacted with local styles and themes and this assimilation later reflected precisely in the paintings. The art work of Guler, Kangra and Sikh can be divided into various categories. The style of work done for Guler, Kangra and Sikh patrons is different but purpose may be the same.

#### **5.1 Influence Of Guler And Kangra Miniature Style In Sikh Paintings**



Pahari art is itself a synthesis of Persian, Indian, Mughal and European elements. Guler- Kangra painters working for the Sikh patrons from the last quarter of eighteenth century, contributed their artistic elements for the development of Sikh paintings, which are the merger of Mughal, Punjabi and Guler- Kangra elements till the last of nineteenth century. During 1755-75, when the gap between Guler and Kangra styles closed and some common features emerged and continued till the end of nineteenth century, also practiced for Sikh portraits and narratives from the last of eighteenth and whole of nineteenth century, which changed the form of Sikh paintings and a distinct style came in the form of Pahari- Sikh School.

### 5.1.1 Assimilation of Guler- Kangra Artistic Elements in Sikh Miniatures

The artistic style applied for Sikh paintings by Pahari artists was much naturalistic and pure, but was based on previous standards established by Mughal and Punjabi painters. Lines, forms, textures and colours of Guler and Kangra melded in Sikh paintings.

#### a) Line of Guler- Kangra



Figure 5.1. Janamsakhi Sketch, (Courtesy: Ch. Museum, Acc. no. 2301)

Various styles have been applied for Sikh themes but the work of Pahari painters for Sikh patrons is easily identifiable. Folk lines of Punjabi and Kashmiri styles as well Mughal lines are different from Guler and Kangra soft, curved and rhythmic lines, used for a particular group of work in Punjab plains, distinct from other styles under royal and common patrons, which mainly covers portraits and Janamsakhi illustrations. Rhythmic, flowing and soft curving lines of Guler and Kangra Schools can be sensed from the last quarter of eighteenth century applied for the portraits of Sikh *misaldars* and Guler Janamsakhi illustrations & sketches (fig. 5.1). From the beginning of nineteenth century, Sikh royal and common portraits prepared by Guler and Kangra artists are also in soft and delicate lines. Muslim and Sikh artists were also active at different centers of Punjab plains, but their lines are also distinct from Pahari style.

#### **b) Forms of Guler- Kangra**

Kangra artists were proficient in the tremendously difficult task of transforming verses into visuals, forming in the process a type of art which, if literary in origin, surpasses literature in its vital attainment. The forms of Guler and Kangra court scenes and illustrations are taken from real and rural life accordingly. Male forms are depicted wearing Mughal style robes and turbans (figs. 5.2-5.5), while females (fig. 5.8) of Guler and Kangra are of stereotypes.

Although, there are little differences among Punjabi- Sikh Janamsakhi illustrations assimilated with Pahari idioms and Mughal- Sikh & Kashmiri- Sikh styles due to adaptations of two or more styles circulating in Punjab but the rhythmic forms of Guler and Kangra fine style are fully distinct. The painters of Guler interpolated their habitual poetic forms for Sikh paintings, especially for Janamsakhi illustrations and other narratives.

Although, Punjabi painters assimilated local figures for Janamsakhi illustrations, while in Guler Janamsakhi illustrations, persons wearing band turbans, Hindu hermits (fig. 5.6) and ascetics (fig. 5.7) are taken from Guler and Kangra mythical narrative visuals and are the essential part of whole Pahari art. Pahari painters were also skilled to present the character of the forms as well as business of them in various tasks. But sometimes the form of Guru Nanak with front face and round turban, yellow- saffron robe and *tilaka* mark are taken from Punjab plains by Pahari painters. Sometimes, Guler painters represented Guru Nanak in *langot* (fig. 5.7) and his turban also has resemblance with the cap of a Pahari cow- boy (fig.5.8), in which appearance of Guler ruler is also reflected. Facial expressions of Guru Nanak and other characters are also common, borrowed from Kangra illustrations.

Demons of Guler Janamsakhi illustrations (fig. 5.10) with buffalo or human headed horn, bird-feet, scaly hides, hairy, round-eyed and elephant-ears, borrowed by Pahari and Punjabi painters (fig. 5.9), from Akbari- Persian manuscript illustrations of Lahore.

There are various types of *nayika* and *nayak* defined in SGGS but these are divine *sohagans* (married women), who love only God, the supreme Hero. Dasam Granth also narrates the characters of Heroes and heroines, but Punjabi artists remained free from these metaphysical tales.

To the Kangra artists the splendor of the feminine physique arises first and all else is secondary. It is her appeals that are echoed in the scenery of the Kangra Valley. Even, romantic and poetic female forms of Guler and Kangra type with profile faces and effective features are used in Janamsakhi compositions (fig. 5.13), different from Punjabi folk style female forms. Assimilation of female figures in royal Sikh portraits (figs. 5.11, 5.12) was the result of marital relations of Kangra and Sikhs. In the portraits of Maharaja Ranjit Singh (1786-1839), carousing with a Kangra lady & his funeral scene and Raja Nau Nihal with a girl; female figures with Guler and Kangra type features are applied and their attires have resemblance with Pahari as well local Punjabi style (figs. 5.11, 5.12).

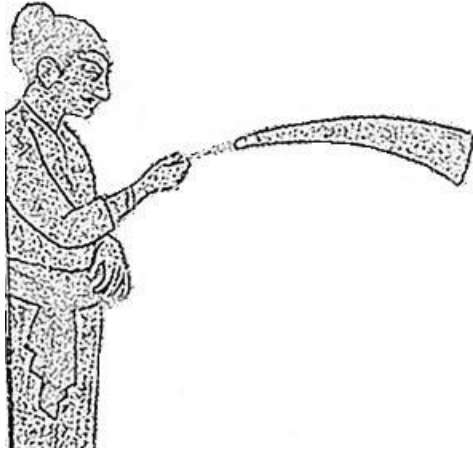
#### Attendants, Guler



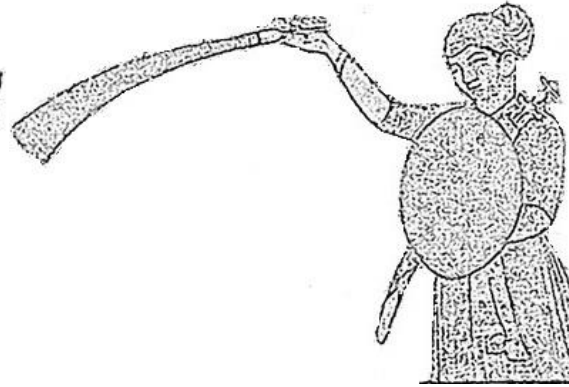
Figure 5.2.



Figure 5.3.



*Figure 5.4.*



*Figure 5.5.*



*Figure 5.6. Hermit*



*Figure 5.7. Guru Nanak in langot*



*Figure 5.8. Guru Nanak in cap as Pahari cow- boy with Ruler (possibly Guler Raja Prakash Chand)*



Figure 5.9. Demon, Punjab Plains



Figure 5.10. Demon, Punjab Hills



Figure 5.11. Female



Figure 5.12. Females

Under Sansar Chand, the foremost Kangra style had been enthusiastic and poetic, interpreting the temperaments of ultimate lovers, the zeal of Radha and Krishna and the courtly conventions of Rajput feudal life. So long as these themes were Rajput, their depictions had little plea to Sikhs. However, their basic themes - the charms of courtly love, the prerequisite of elegant females for gorgeous lovers - heartened the Sikh imaginings. The consequence then was a type of representation in which characters were delicately transformed. The *nayika* or girl in love endured a Kangra lady; the *nayak* or lover became a Sikh. Pictures of this type had no great craze yet to some Sikhs residing in Kangra for subtle gratification, yearning to be communally acknowledged.

Kangra pictures flattered their pride and by revealing Sikhs as lords and lovers affirmed to their success.



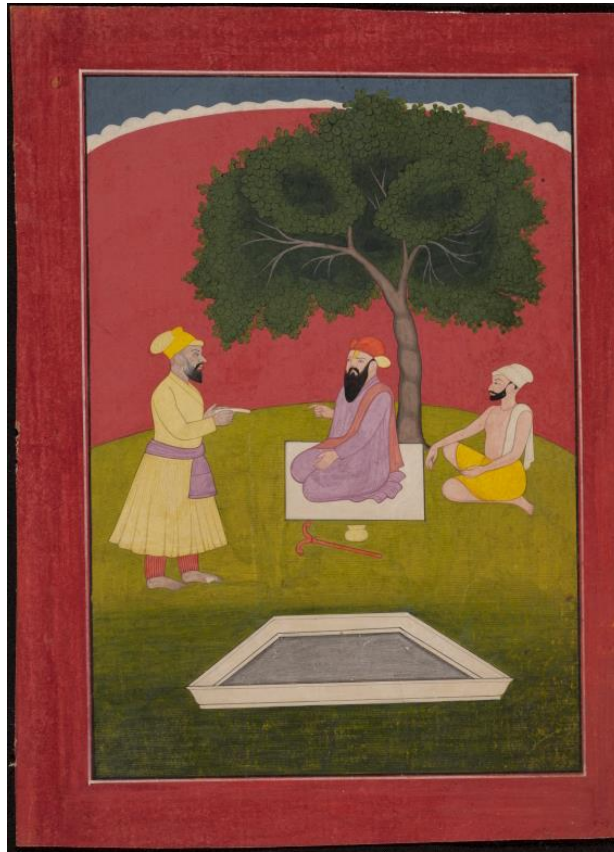
**Figure 5.13. Fairies meet Guru Nanak Dev with offering**

### **c) Colours of Guler- Kangra**

Soft colours of Guler and Kangra also have a distinct fame from seventeenth century Mughal colours or Kashmiri bright colours and Punjabi folk colours used for Sikh paintings. Although, soft colours are used in Guler and Kangra royal paintings, but mythical illustration are free from restrictions of colours, in which backgrounds have various shades of green taken from nature and forms are also depicted in soft coloured attires. Sometimes, bright colours are also used in illustrations, while white, saffron, mauve, yellow and green are the colours of Guler and Kangra royal scenes taken from real life, but the backgrounds of portraits often remain conventional represented by blue coloured formal sky and a strip or curve (fig. 4.16), seldom shaded with orange & blue coloured bulb like clouds. Inside view of the palace is depicted by the shades of smoke-grey colour, with white terraces (figs. 4.28, 4.34).

In Sikh portraiture, colours are also realistic. Portraits of *misaldars* in white and blue attires and flattering royal Sikh portraits of Lahore court in bright and royal colours indicate their own characteristics observed by Guler and Kangra painters, but free from Guler- Kangra influences, while conventional background colours of Sikh portraits (figs. 3.44- 3.51) always taken from mid-

eighteenth century Guler prototypes, which were also common in Guler (figs. 4.24, 4.27) and Kangra (figs. 4.38, 4.39) portraits till the last of nineteenth century.



**Figure 5.14. Janamsakhi Illustration, (Courtesy: Ch. Museum, Acc. no. 4290)**

Although early convention of Basohli- Guler style of flat red, green and yellow wash is sometimes used in Guler style Janamsakhi illustrations to depict high horizon (fig. 5.14), but mid-eighteenth century light blue- green- grey coloured smoky background colours used in portraits during Prakash Chand of Guler and Raja Raj Singh of Chamba became a constant element of backgrounds of royal Sikh portraits from late eighteenth century onwards by the hands of Guler painters.

Guler style Janamsakhi leaves at Ch. Museum emerged through the hands of the extraordinarily skilled family of Nainsukh. They are noticeable by agility of line and subtle sense of colouring. Saffron, yellow, blue, green and mauve colours of attire of Guru Nanak and his followers in Janamsakhi paintings of Guler style are influenced by Hindu philosophy.

Although, the symbolic and emotional application of colours in Guler and Kangra romantic paintings rarely used in Sikh portraits and paintings, while festive colour yellow to depict *Basant*

*panchami* and *Baisakhi* is used and green & yellow were also the court colours as well favorite colours of the Sikhs.

### **5.1.2 Thematic Impression of Guler- Kangra Miniatures on Sikh Miniatures**

Themes of Guler and Kangra miniatures also influenced paintings of the Sikhs in the form of portraits, gestures- postural behaviors- sentiments, compositional and architectural as well as naturalistic landscape settings, designs and patterns of frames merging with imaginations and further experimentations of Pahari artists inspiring through earlier establishments.

#### **a) Capture of Likenesses**

Guler painters working for Sikh *misaldars*, captured their real and identifiable likenesses holding bow and arrow, with their attendants in simplified background settings in the last quarter of eighteenth century, which evidenced the employment of painters under them. Sikh *misal* period was the time of experience of social identity of Sikh chiefs by Pahari painters, as there are some portraits available, recording the meetings of Guler- Kangra and Sikh administrators. These political associations among Pahari rulers and Sikh chiefs caused the development of Sikh portraiture of Guler and Kangra style. The main focus of the painters was to capture Sikh identity, while backgrounds remained simple dull coloured or unpainted.

But during Maharaja Ranjit Singh, the effort of the painters was to capture realistic and distinct Sikh identity in royal atmosphere and settings till the nineteenth century. Standard iconography of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, his family members and officials became popular among painters and repeatedly used for real and posthumous imaginary group portraits.

#### **b) Alterations in Traditional Identity of Gurus**

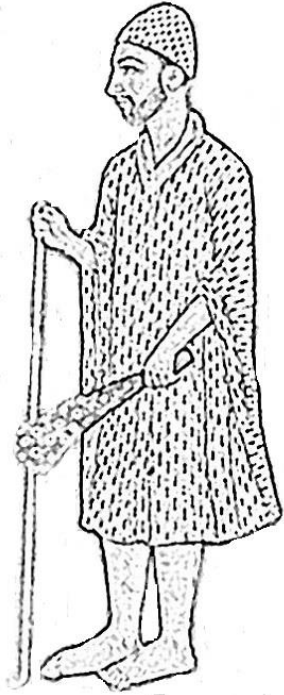
Guler and Kangra painters captured the real identity of their patrons but some identical changes can be traced in the real likenesses of Sikh Gurus prepared by Mughal painters of seventeenth century. Guler- Kangra painters copied the early eighteenth century portraits of Sikh Gurus with simplicity & formality and also merged their own creative elements under Rajput influences, as clean- shaved or trimmed bearded attendants are accompanying by Sikh Gurus, wearing Rajput attires and earrings. Facial features and settings used for Rajput rulers also adjusted for the portraits of Sikh Gurus.

Early iconographies of Guru Nanak found in Bilaspur (fig. 5.15), Mandi (figs. 5.16- 5.17) and Dehradun (fig. 5.18) were replaced by Punjabi painters and Guru Nanak appears in round turban and wrap (fig. 5.19). Except these experimentations, Mankot (fig. 5.20), Nurpur (fig. 5.21)



Guler (figs. 5.22- 5.24) painters also altered the personality of Guru Nanak continuously, but his figure always remains identical.

**Guru Nanak**



*Figure 5.15. Bilaspur- Sikh*



*Figure 5.16. Mandi- Sikh*



*Figure 5.17. Mandi- Sikh*



*Figure 5.18. Mughal- Sikh*



*Figure 5.19. Punjab Plains*





Figure 5.20. Mankot- Sikh



Figure 5.21. Nurpur- Sikh



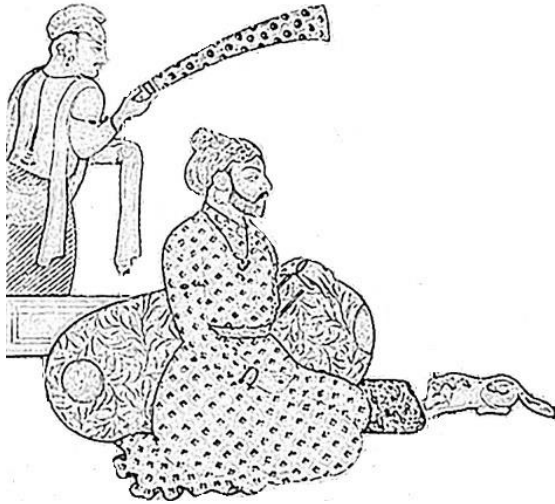
Figure 5.22. Guler- Sikh



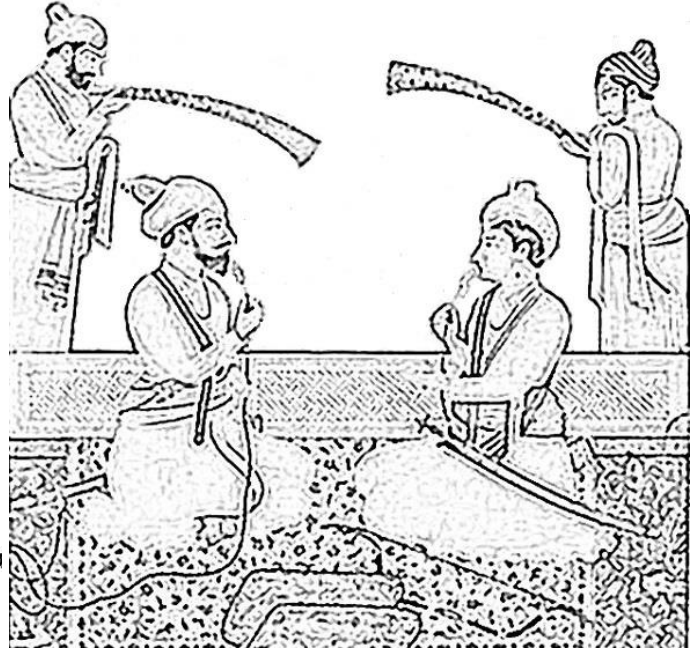
Figure 5.23. Guler- Sikh



Figure 5.24. Guru Nanak with Guru Gobind Singh



*Figure 5.25. Guru Angad*



*Figure 5.26. Raja Prakash Chand and Sansar Chand*



*Figure 5.27. Bir Singh of Guler*



Figure 5.28. Raja Raj Singh of Chamba



Figure 5.29. Guru Ram Das, Chamba- Sikh



Figure 5.30. Guru Arjun



Figure 5.31. Guru Arjun

Guru Hargobind



Figure 5.32. Mughal- Sikh



Figure 5.33. Mughal- Sikh



Figure 5.34. Punjab Plains



Figure 5.35. Punjab Plains



*Figure 5.36. Kangra- Sikh*



*Figure 5.37. Guler- Sikh*

**Guru Har Rai**



*Figure 5.38. Mughal- Sikh*



*Figure 5.39. Punjab- Sikh*



*Figure 5.40. Kangra- Sikh*



*Figure 5.41. Guru Har Rai, Basohli- Sikh*



*Figure 5.42. Amrit Pal of Basohli*



*Figure 5.43. Chamba- Sikh*



*Figure 5.44. Raja Jit Singh of Chamba*

Guru Har Krishan



Figure 5.45. Mughal- Pahari



Figure 5.46. Guler



Figure 5.47.



Figure 5.48.



**Guru Tegh Bahadur**



*Figure 5.49. Mughal*



*Figure 5.50. Mughal*



*Figure 5.51. Chamba*



*Figure 5.52. Guler*

**Guru Gobind Singh**



*Figure 5.53. Anandpur*



*Figure 5.54. Anandpur*



*Figure 5.55. Anandpur*



*Figure 5.56. Mandi*



*Figure 5.57. Guler*



**Figure 5.58. Guler**



**Figure 5.59. Guler- Sikh**



**Figure 5.60. Patiala**

Guru Angad's figure (fig. 5.25) was influenced by young Raja Prakash Chand (fig. 5.26) and Bir Singh of Guler (fig. 5.27). Iconography of Guru Ram Das (fig. 5.29) came from Raja Raj Singh of Chamba (fig. 5.28). Portrait of Guru Arjun (fig. 5.31) also influenced by Raj Singh of Chamba, while other portrait (fig. 5.30) is merely based on painter's imagination. Original *darshan*

of Guru Hargobind (figs. 5.32, 5.33) popularly copied by Punjabi (figs. 5.34, 5.35) and Kangra painters (fig. 5.36), while imaginations also worked for Guler style portrait of Guru Hargobind (fig. 5.37) possibly prepared on verbal accounts. Undoubtedly, original portrayals of Guru Har Rai was in fashion (fig. 5.38), and copied many times by Punjabi (fig. 5.39) and Kangra painters (fig. 5.40) but Guler painters portrayed Guru Har Rai (figs. 5.41, 5.43) on the models of Amrit Pal of Basohli (fig. 5.42) and Raja Jit Singh of Chamba (fig. 5.44) respectively. Child Guru Har Krishan (fig. 5.45) depicted in ideal figure of a child by Pahari and Punjabi painters (figs. 5.46- 5.48). Guru Tegh Bahadur's portraits were also in circulation (figs. 5.51, 5.52) and based on originals (figs. 5.49, 5.50). Far from originals (figs. 5.53- 5.56), likenesses of Guru Gobind Singh are also imagined by painters (figs. 5.57- 5.60). Equestrian portrait of Guru Gobind Singh (fig. 5.58) is also based on portrayal of Govardhan Chand of Guler mounted on horseback.

But social identity of Sikhs and royal life style of late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, also influenced the portraits of Sikh Gurus, which was also a departure from Mughal to Sikh character. Sikh attendants (fig. 5.29), royal umbrella (figs. 5.43, 5.59), embellishment and excess use of golden colour reflect Sikh prosperity. Conical turban in the original likeness of tenth Guru and an attendant wearing Farukhsiyar period ankle length robe (fig. 5.53) were replaced by Mughal broad- band turban and attendant wearing Sikh turban, breeches, shield on back and holding long poled umbrella (fig. 5.59).

Pahari painters also merged their own creative elements for Sikh themes, like treatment of line, colours, style and naturalistic settings, which became constant till the last of nineteenth century. Mughal style beard and green- golden halo are borrowed from Mughal paintings by Guler and Kangra painters. Some scenes signify the darbar of Sikh Gurus, full of musicians, attendants serving sweets and other items to the Gurus, which is the real contribution of Guler and Kangra painters for their Sikh patrons.

### c) **Guler- Kangra Sentiments**

Although, likenesses of Sikh *misaldars* and Maharaja Ranjit Singh & his officials by Guler and Kangra painters are full of calmness. But some Sikh erotic scenes are full of love sentiments borrowed from Guler and Kangra styles, which are the real innovation of painters. Before the arrival of Guler and Kangra painters, there was no depiction of love sentiments in the Sikh paintings, only devotional paintings were in fashion.

Maharaja Ranjit Singh is always shown in discipline surrounded by his courtiers or in isolation, but some portraits show his romantic mood and liberal nature of drinking habits. There are different reasons for the depiction of love scenes of three Sikhs. Sikh Maharaja, who married to Fateh Chand's granddaughter, his portrait with Kangra lady mirrors love sentiments. The replacement of a Rajput hero or Krishna with a Sikh courtier shows the new innovation of Kangra painter, where inspirations and female models, both are taken from Guler and Kangra paintings, from where the Rajput brides are related. Graceful rendering of Hira Singh Dogra with a Kangra Princess is an aspirant version of the role, which Hira Singh as husband of a Kangra bride might be appraised to endure. Romantic portrait of Hira Singh spectacles the model from the Pahari area for the Sikh paintings, which also emulates the erudition of the court of Sansar Chand.

The close associations of Sandhanwalias, Dogras and Maharaja Ranjit Singh & his son Sher Singh as administrators of Punjab hills caused the change, adjustments and alterations in Guler and Kangra paintings. Great curiosity being taken by Sikh patrons along with Maharaja Ranjit Singh in romantic themes. These were so essential a part of the repertory of the Pahari painters employed by Sikhs in the plains, with impeccable spontaneity with slender amendments, possibly in settings or costumes, or even the appearances of *nayaks* and *nayikas* in the paintings. In Sikh romantic scenes, Guler and Kangra females are adjusted as wives, not *nayikas* with Sikh heroes, while accompanying them, the feeling of calmness is depicted on female faces and there is an absence of loving and romantic *nayikas* and romantic feelings in the Sikh erotic scenes.



*Figure 5.61.*

In the Janamsakhi illustrations, the sentiment of calmness is also depicted on the smiling faces of Guru Nanak and his companion. Although, the narrative work of Punjabi painters for Sikh patrons are full of emotions and Sikh philosophy, in which folk figures with big, sharp and excited eyes and gestures of hands (fig. 5.61) always ready to depict Sikh doctrines, while feeling of calmness with smiling faces and lively gestures are depicted by Guler painters constantly (fig. 5.62).



Figure 5.62.

#### d) Gestures- Postures of Guler- Kangra

There are various lively gestures and postures '*mudra*' applied by Guler and Kangra painters for their patrons' likenesses and mythical illustrations. In royal portraits, postures and gestures remain official. In court scenes, ruler often portrayed kneeling on carpet against an oval shaped cushion, holding a sword or arrow or toying with flower or enjoying *huqqa* and another hand rests in lap or on thigh or praising a painting in the court among officials. While standing or walking slightly on terrace or in a garden, portrayed person used to hold either flower or sword in hand.

In illustrations, lively gestures and postures also applied by Guler and Kangra painters. Character of Rama- Sita, love legends Nala- Damayanti, Krishna- Radha and Usha- Anirudh painted by Kangra royal painters; all are live to tell their story in lyrical gestures and postures. Impressions of boldness and courage are depicted by *Devi* and demons in *Markandaya Purana* painted at Guler, holding various *aayudh* (weapons), fighting each other. *Nayikas* or heroines of Guler and Kangra often remain busy in writing letters or waiting for his husband or wandering in the rainy night to seek *nayak*. At Guler, the standing or the seated pose had chiefly claimed attention. In Kangra, it was the strange slithering poise of a girl in gesture- the head curved, the

garb filling out, the entire recommenced in a lone bent streak, which became the Kangra type par brilliance.

The excellence of poses also reflected in some fine Sikh paintings. Popular Guler gesture of downward glancing pose (Archer, 1952a, 41) on small female faces of mid- eighteenth century is also used (fig. 5.63). Sikh *misaldars* are depicted in kneeling postures holding bow and arrow, sword or flower in hand or mounted on stallion. Maharaja Ranjit Singh depicted mostly mounted on horse or in cross- legged posture, holding a flower, rosary, paying homage in *anjali mudra* or a cup of wine and white handkerchief or his hand remains raised in conversation while his successors, Kharak Singh, Sher Singh and Dalip Singh are portrayed in *vitarka mudra* showing their business in conversation, which are not new in Indian art.

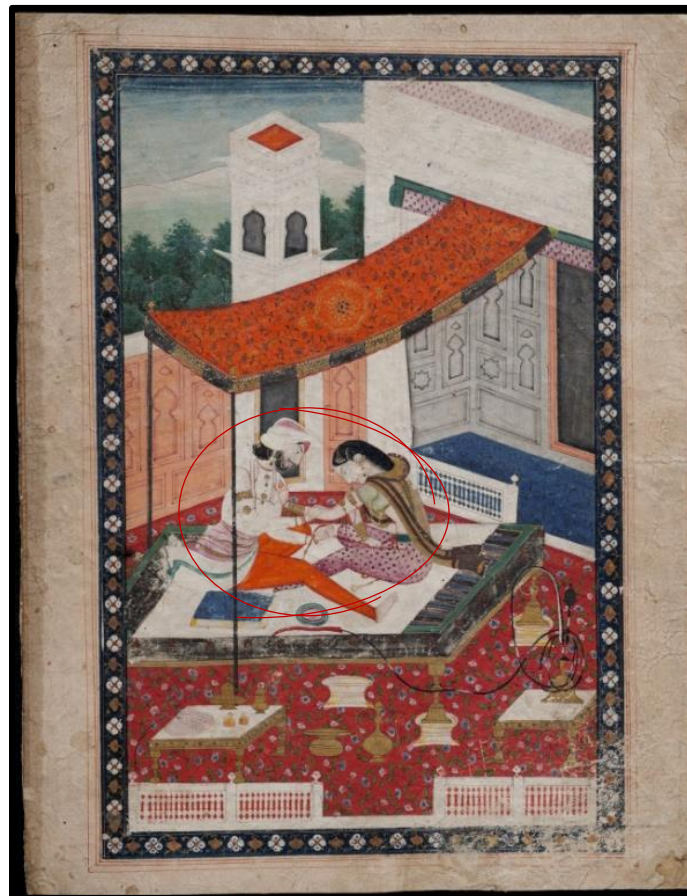


Figure 5.63. Nayak- Nayika, (Courtesy: Ch. Museum, Acc. no. 3071)

In Janamsakhi illustrations, the gestures and postures are also influenced by Indian mythology, as both hands folded in *anjali mudra* (figs. 5.64, 5.65), debating with others in *vitarka mudra* (fig. 5.66), holding a rosary in one hand and other hand raised in preaching of the almighty or in benediction called as *varad mudra* (fig. 5.70) or resting the ground in *bhumisparsha mudra*

(fig. 5.67). These stances are also very commonly followed by Punjabi painters for Janamsakhi illustrations. *Dhyana mudra* (fig. 5.68), *tarjani mudra* (fig. 5. 69) and *abhaya mudra* (5.71) are also used for Guru Nanak.



*Figure 5.64. Anjali Mudra*



*Figure 5.65. Anjali Mudra*



*Figure 5.66. Vitarka Mudra*



*Figure 5.67. Bhumi Sparsha Mudra*



*Figure 5.68. Dhyana Mudra*





*Figure 5.69. Tarjani Mudra*



*Figure 5.70. Varad Mudra*



*Figure 5.71. Abhaya Mudra*

**e) Nimbus**

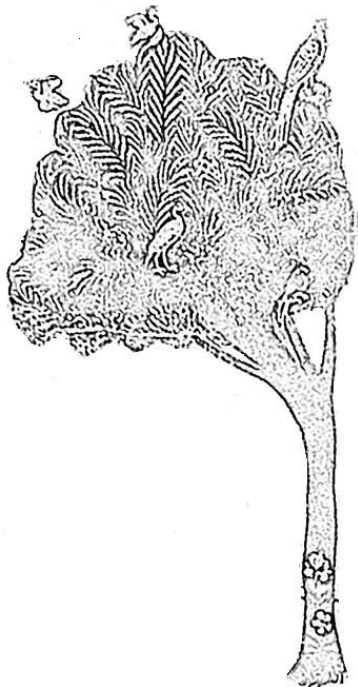
Nimbus was granted by Guler and Kangra painters and also by native painters to the Sikh Gurus and the idiom is also used later for the Sikh Maharaja, which is not applied for Pahari Rajput nobles. Guler and Kangra painters borrowed the idiom of nimbus from the circulating portraits of Sikh Gurus commissioned in Punjab plains. Ranjit Singh's haloed likenesses define the artists' adoption of an alien device breaking hill concords. Praising Ranjit above the Rajput gentry of the hills, they associated him, by insinuation, with the older houses of Rajasthan, invested him with Mughal supremacy and thus gifted him with regal majesty. Although, practice of granting nimbus to divinities is not new in Indian art, but Mughal-European influences also appear behind the concept of nimbus to present the dignity of Maharaja.

**f) Guler- Kangra Landscape**

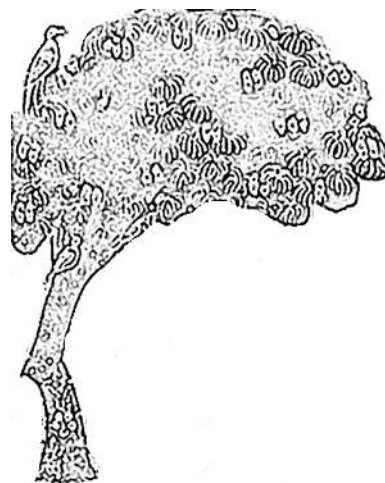
In early Guler paintings, flat background of dark red, orange, green, brown, blue and yellow with the high horizon symbolized by a strip of blue colour is a common feature borrowed from Basohli, while in Kangra, flat grey and blue- green coloured backgrounds were in vogue. Stereotype vegetation, mountainous backgrounds with geometrical settings and flatness of colours were continuously reflected in the work of Pandit Seu and his son Manaku. But naturalistic approach of Manaku and his brother Nainsukh during 1750s helped in emerging pre- Kangra and Kangra School's naturalism.

In the portraits of Sikh Gurus, dark flat green background is applied by Mughal artists, which has resemblance with early Pahari Schools. Punjabi painters also followed green background for Sikh legendary portraits. Guler painters also continued this practice. But with the time, Guler and Kangra painters nourished the portraits of Sikh Gurus with naturalistic backgrounds, blue- cloudy sky and flowery herbs, green mountains highlighted in brown, or seated under royal canopies or wandering in the garden.

**Stereotype Vegetation, Punjab Plains**



*Figure 5.72.*



*Figure 5.73.*



*Figure 5.74.*

In contemporary Punjabi style, high horizon is commonly used with blue striped red-orange cloudy sky, stereotype vegetation (figs. 5.72- 5.74) and red-brown coloured mountains and hillocks. But sometimes, in Guler Janamsakhi illustrations, convention of flat red, green and yellow is used to indicate high horizon. Early Guler convention of mid- eighteenth century of high

rim to separate foreground and background also appears in Janamsakhi illustrations in new settings. Because of royal patronage of hill painters, they could develop their individual styles progressively but, due to absence of royal patronage in Punjab plains, common painters copied Sikh illustrations many times and with the circulation of lively Punjabi folk style, hill painters could revive it.

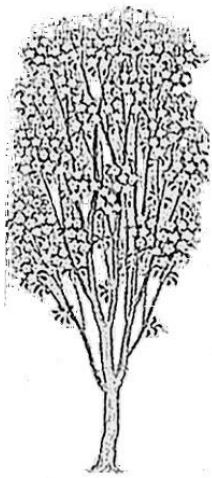
Although, from the last quarter of eighteenth century, natural vegetation of Guler style influenced Sikh narrative paintings, but there is an absence of naturalistic backgrounds in *misal* period Sikh portraits, when there was only effort to gain real likenesses of Sikh Sardars. The early feature of flat red background with a strip of blue at the top in Guler paintings are rare in Sikh portraits, but sometimes appear in the Lahore portrait of mid- nineteenth century (V & A Museum, no. IS.338-1951). Naturalistic backgrounds applied for portraits of Govardhan Chand and Prakash Chand are not used for the portrayals of Sikh *misaldars*.

Light blue flat with pale- green, bluish, greyish with a strip of blue sky or sometimes streaks of blue and white at the top to depict blob-like clouds (fig. 5.90) and smoky clouds (figs. 5.91, 5.92) are common and preferred feature of Sikh portraits at V & A Museum, but it was not new to Sikh portrait and can be seen in the portrait of Guru Gobind Singh from Anandpuri manuscripts (fig. 3.16). These elements emerged at Guler during mid- eighteenth century, replacing flat washed backgrounds for royal portraits. Blue sky streaked with red and frail tree with pink, yellow and white flowers (figs. 3.51, 5.75) and slopes in the distance and a band of grey water in the foreground (figs. 3.81, 5.85) are the features of Guler portraits of second- half of eighteenth century, borrowed for Sikh narrative visuals and seldom applied for likenesses, but some of them are not unknown in the plains of Punjab and constantly used in B- 40.

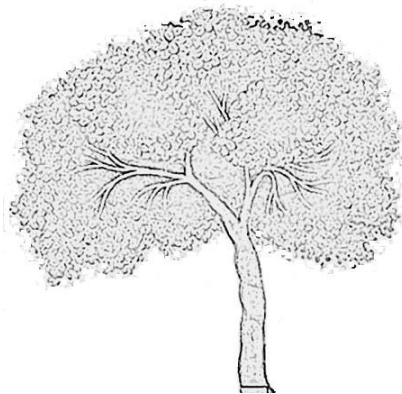
Pahari painters' affection for green herbs and shrubs growing on hillsides (figs. 5.75- 5.82) also enriched the backgrounds of Sikh paintings done in the plain of Punjab far from the hills. Early Guler idiom (fig. 5.85) of fanged and jagged hillside or hillside with bunches of blossoming trees, are also not new in the Punjabi style. The feature of blob like vegetation on mountains to create distance (fig. 3.83) goes back to Guler royal portraits of mid- eighteenth century (figs. 4.12- 4.13), which was also applied in Punjab plains by Punjabi illustrators and later adjusted for Sikh royal portraits & illustrations (figs. 3.64, 3.65) by Guler painters, resembled with *Shiva Purana* series by Purkhu. The big bulbs constantly became smaller and sharper (fig. 5.89). Sometimes, diagonal flower beds or *charbagh* gardens in the foreground are also depicted. The changing

seasons do not influence Sikh paintings at all, and the landscapes remain almost same, except some fine romantic and informal paintings along with Janamsakhi illustrations. To fill the vacant slopes of hills or for separating their ridges; bushes are used in Kangra paintings. The use of light pink or mauve colour at the upper slopes of the hills to create an illusion of distance favored by the Guler and Kangra artists, are also used in Sikh paintings (figs. 3.39, 3.64, 3.65). Birds and animals also appear lively (figs. 5.82- 5.87).

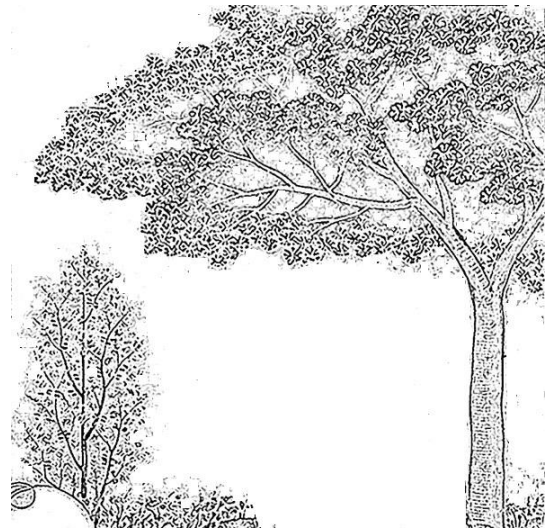
*Gita Govinda*, *Bhagavata Purana*, *Shiva Purana* and *Ramayana* were the major work painted in Kangra under Maharaja Sansar Chand influenced Sikh portraits and Janamsakhi illustrations of nineteenth century in the forms of naturalistic backgrounds, while *Nala Damayanti* series influenced court scenes and three dimensional architecture to create perspective (figs. 5.81, 5.83, 5.93). Portraits of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and his officials Sandhanwalias, Majithias and Dogras are full of naturalism; whose marital relations also influenced the standard of paintings, while, some portraits are in formal settings. Sikh hunting scenes are also full of vegetation and mountainous backgrounds, as Sikhs were also fond of hunting.



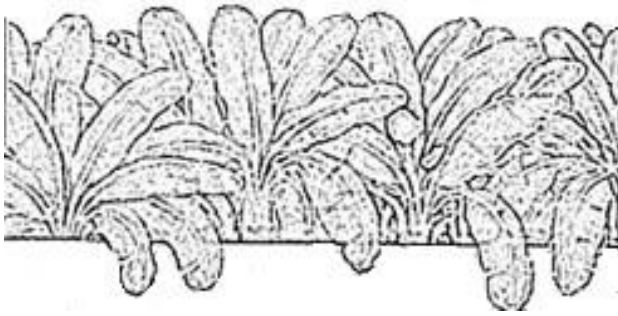
**Figure 5.75.**



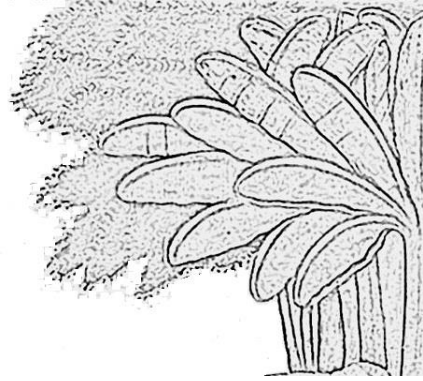
**Figure 5.76.**



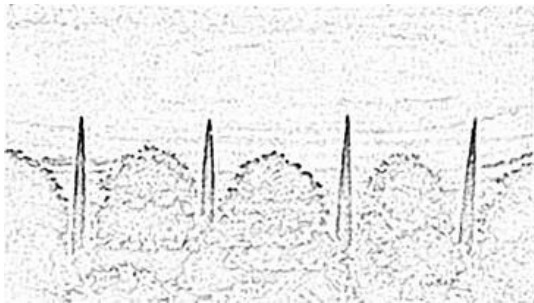
**Figure 5.77.**



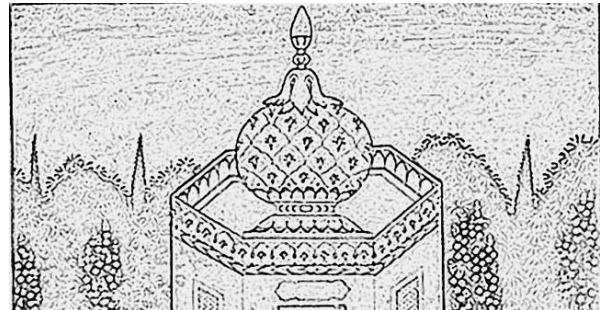
*Figure 5.78.*



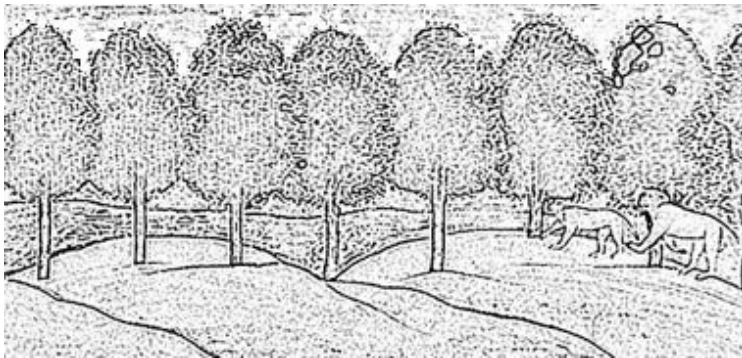
*Figure 5.79.*



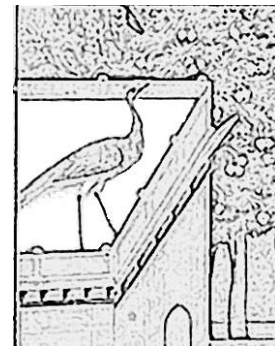
*Figure 5.80.*



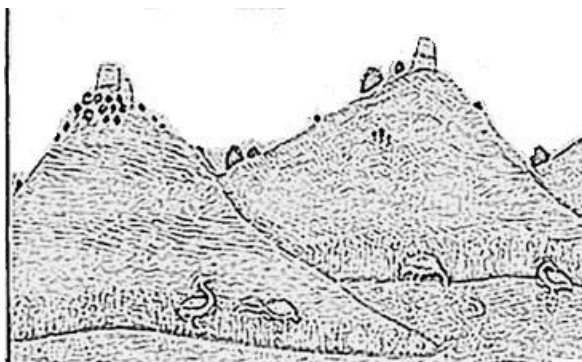
*Figure 5.81.*



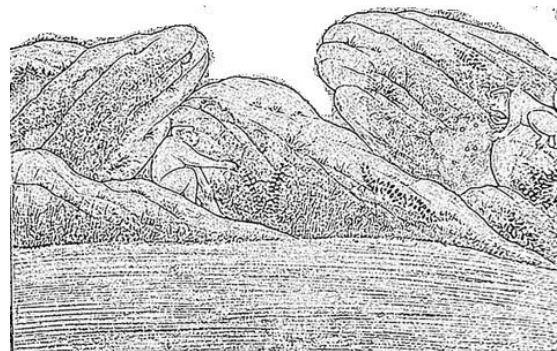
*Figure 5.82.*



*Figure 5.83.*



*Figure 5.84.*



*Figure 5.85.*

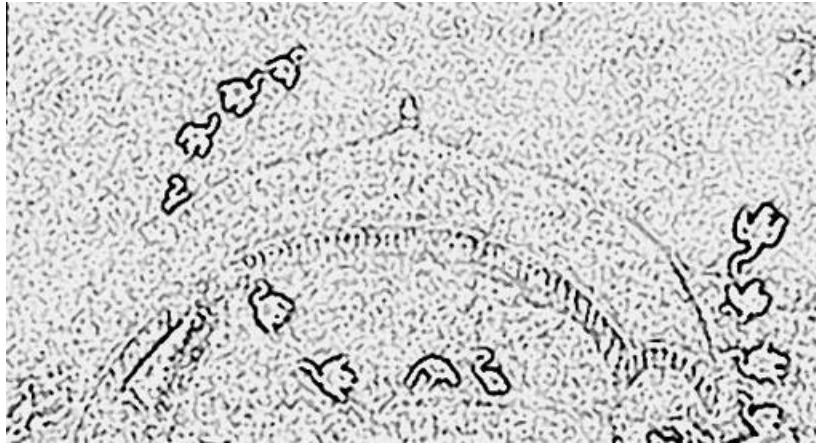


Figure 5.86.



Figure 5.87.

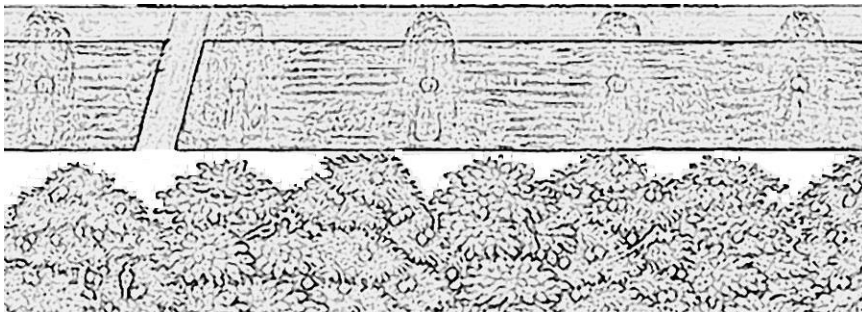


Figure 5.88.



Figure 5.89.

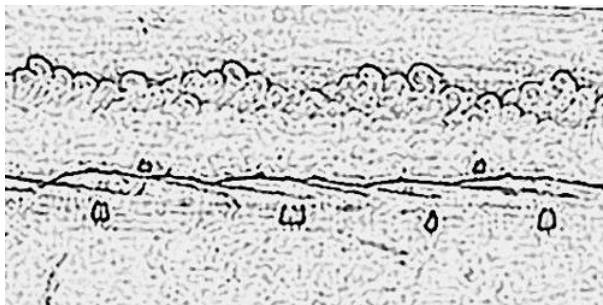


Figure 5.90.

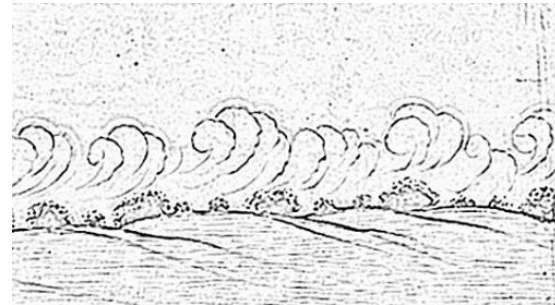


Figure 5.91.

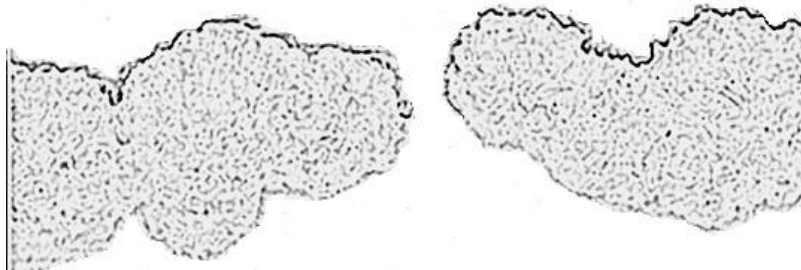
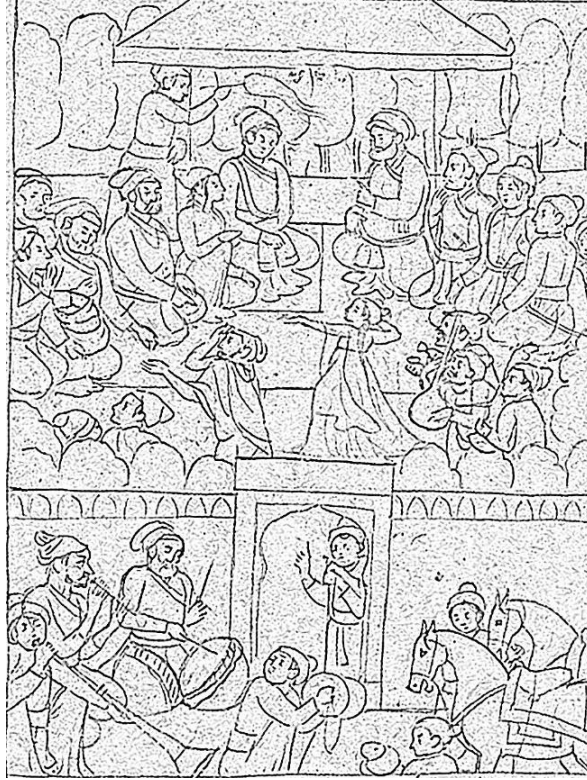


Figure 5.92.

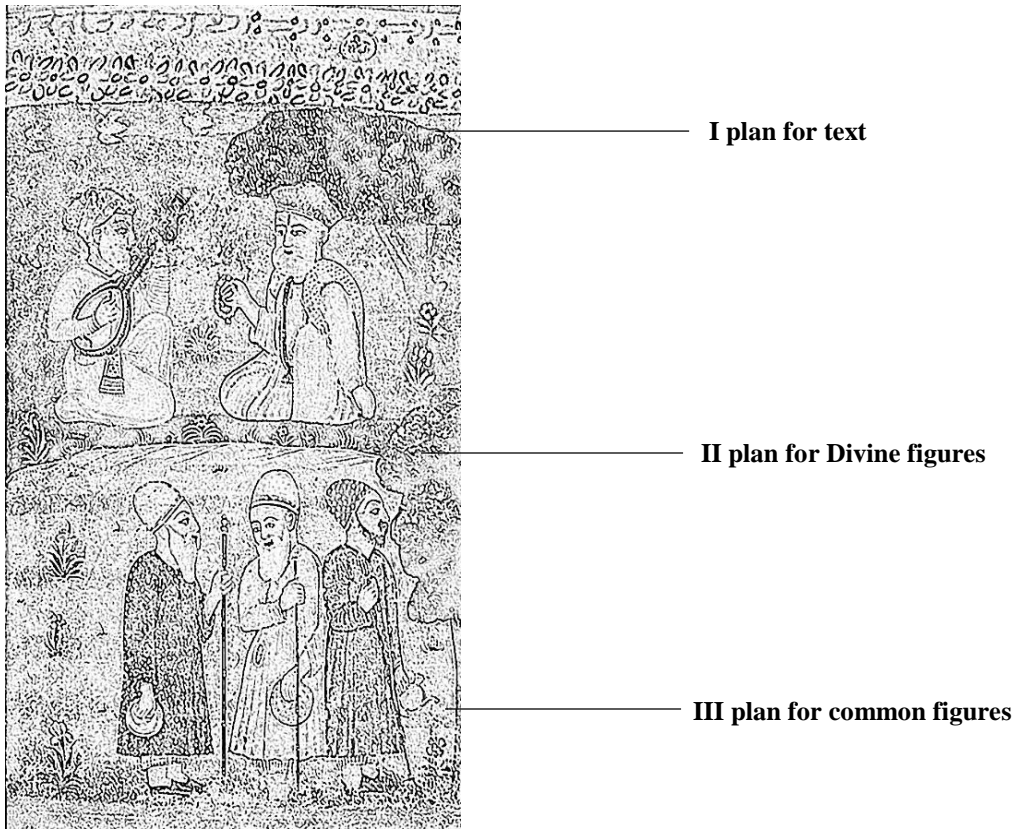


**Figure 5.93. Hierarchical setting of composition in three dimensional architectural settings**

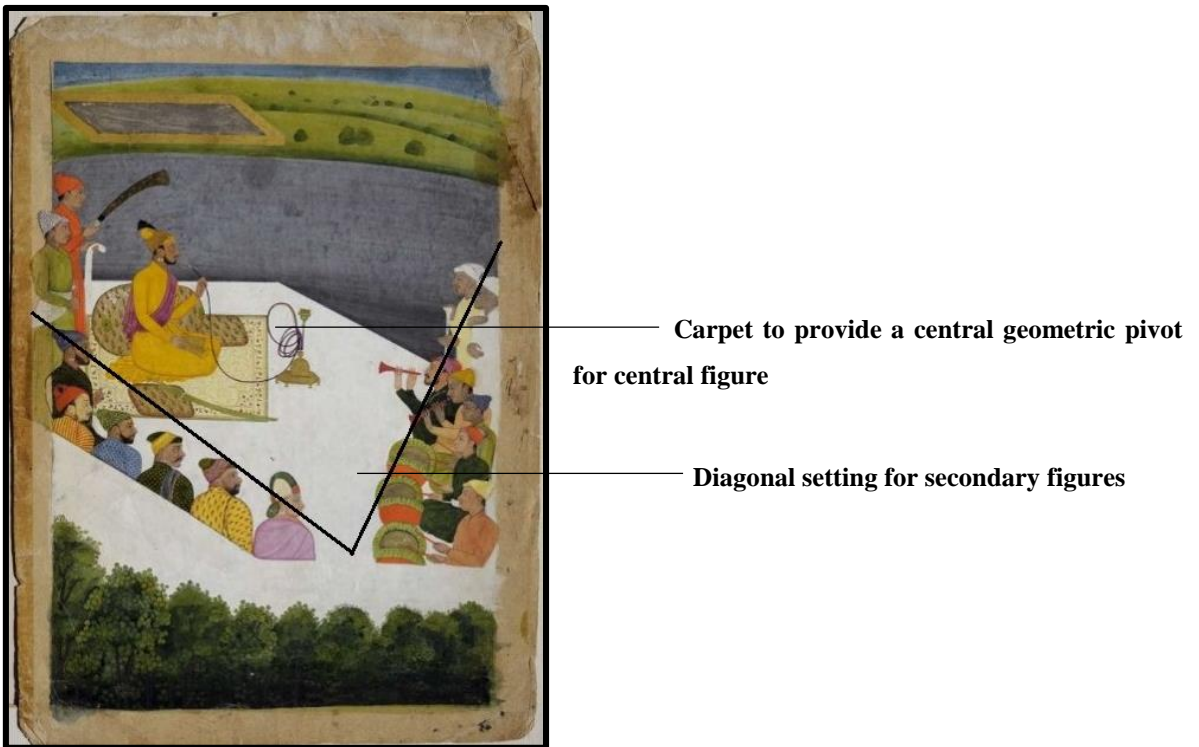
**g) Compositional Settings of Guler- Kangra**

In the beginning of eighteenth century, hierarchical settings of popular Mughal style is tried for Janamsakhi illustrations (fig. 5.94) but sometimes figures are presented on single flat plane by the Punjabi illustrators. On the other hand, geometrical settings used in Guler series of ‘*Siege of Lanka*’ by Manaku (fig. 4.5), later followed by Guler and Kangra painters as a formula of composition.

In early Guler settings of single- double portraits, forms are composed in various kneeling postures on white terraces, with single flat plane background to capture a momentous scene. Popular Guler settings of the circular grouping of the figures round the terrace and the use of the carpet to provide a central geometric pivot during mid- eighteenth century, are also applied many times for the settings of its contemporary group portraits of Sikh *misaldars*. Guler setting of a single shallow plane is used for the portraits of Sikh *misaldars*, but there is absence of terraces, only stripped carpets are used, sometimes a canopy also appear in the flat background treated mainly as a setting for the foreground in the absence of Rajput pastoral atmosphere used in hill paintings. These settings were continued till the end of nineteenth century for Sikh royal group portraits.



*Figure 5.94. Hierarchical setting*



*Figure 5.95. Diagonal setting*



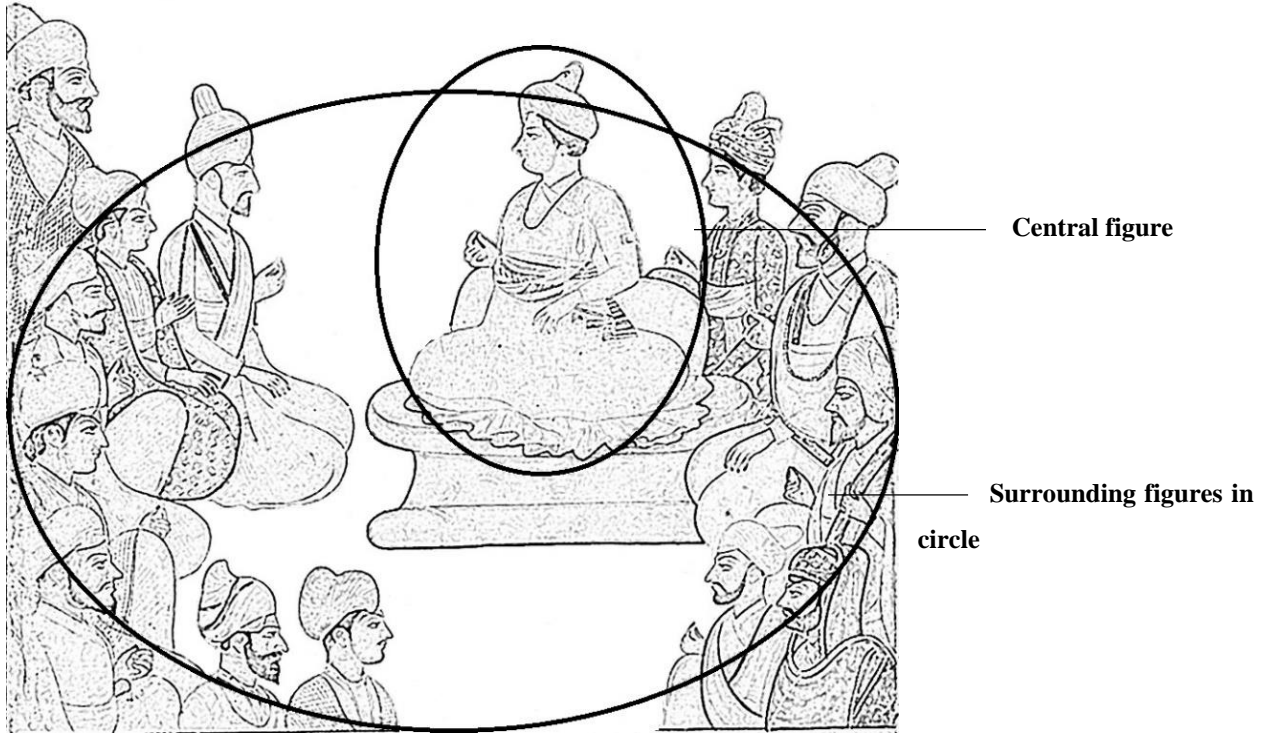


Figure 5.96. Circular setting

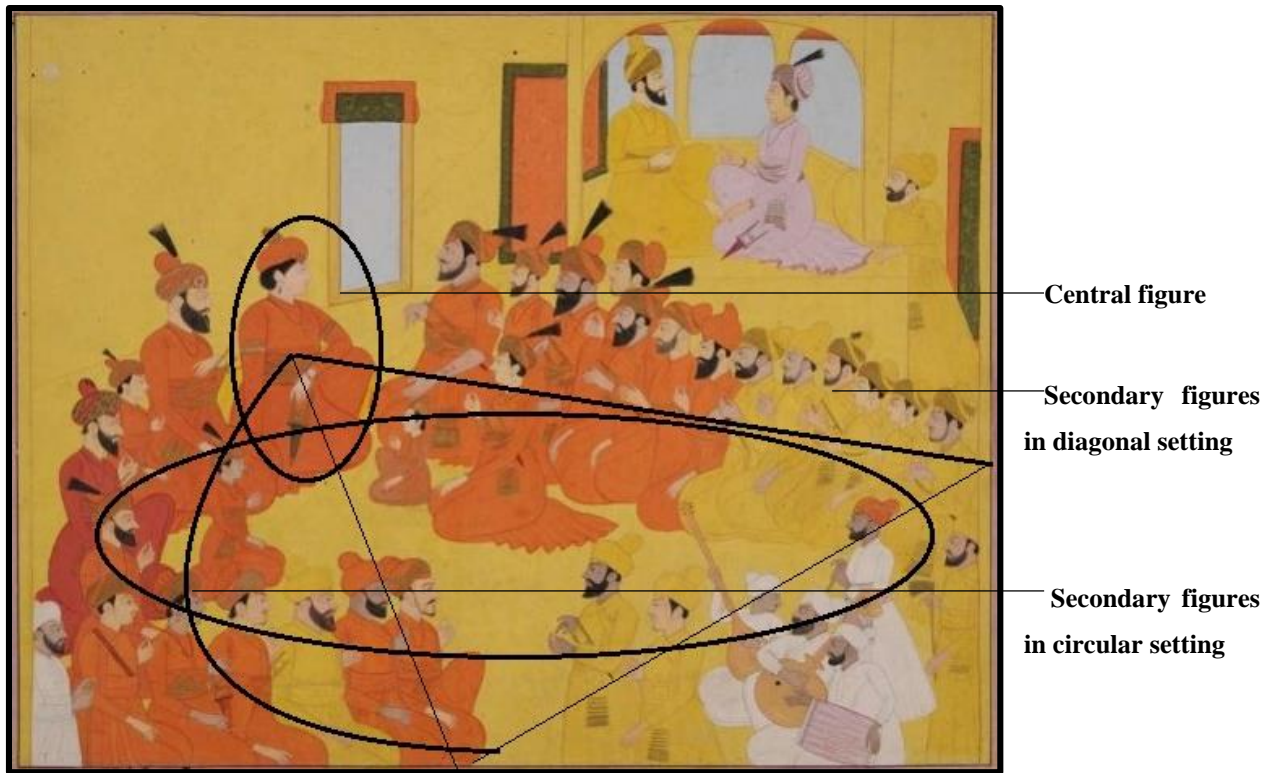
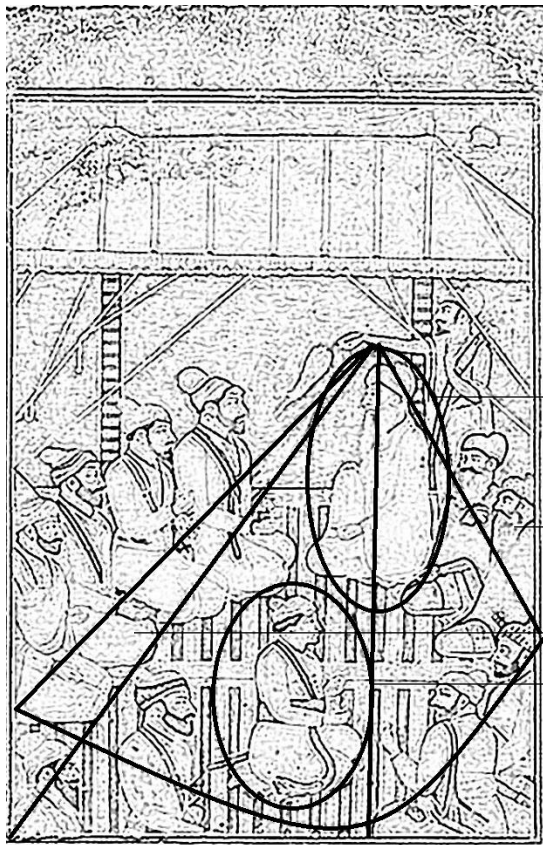


Figure 5.97. Diagonal and circular settings



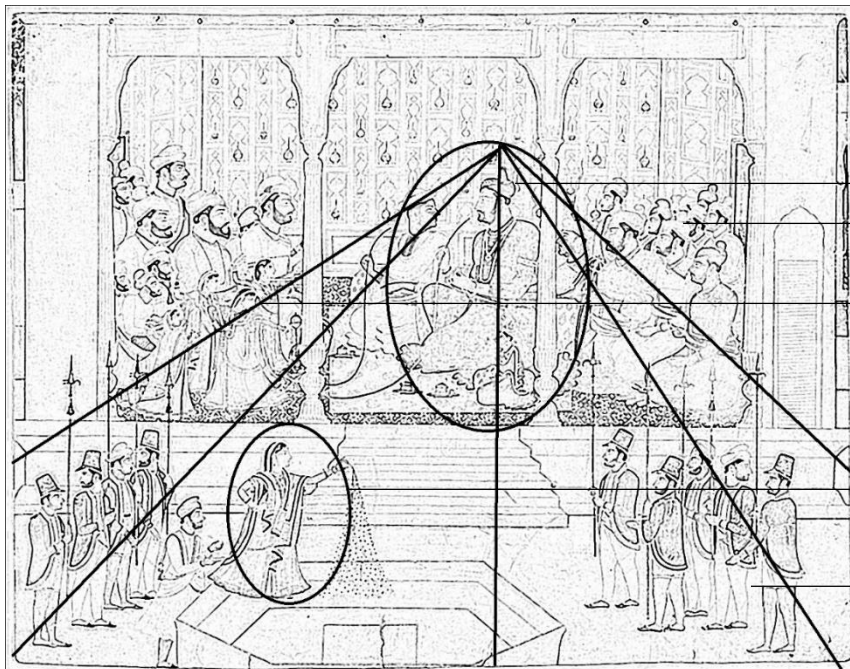
First central figure, Jai Singh Kanheya

Intimates of Jai Singh Kanheya

Visitors

Second central figure, child Maharaja Sansar Chand

Figure 5.98. Diagonal and circular settings



Central figure

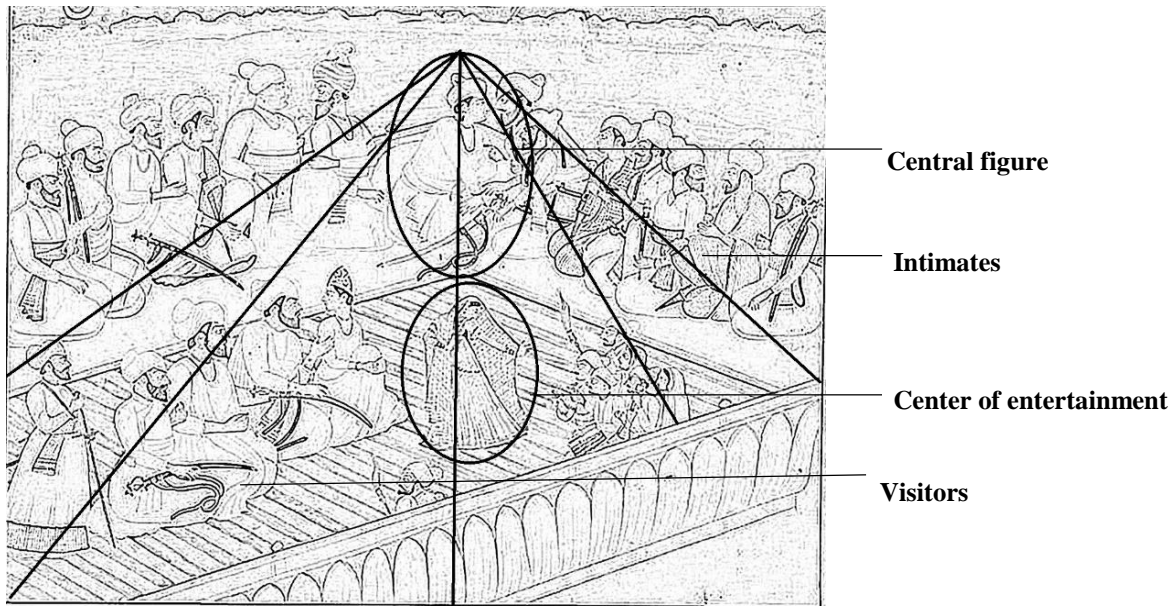
Intimates

Visitors

Center of entertainment

Attendants in diagonal setting

Figure 5.99. Diagonal settings



**Figure 5.100. Diagonal settings**

Purkhu and his family painters also followed the formula of diagonal, triangular and circular settings for portraits (fig. 5.96). Courtiers and visitors form two groups in the court paintings of Guler and Kangra, in which courtiers and officials remain behind the ruler, while visitors are portrayed in front enjoying dance party in the center (fig. 5.99). The formula to create perspective by drawing big figures in foreground and small figures in backgrounds is not used, but sometimes principle of emphasis is applied by enlarging royal figure among courtiers (fig. 5.99). During Maharaja Sansar Chand, court scenes of Kangra also characterized into two groups through diagonal settings, start from a central figure of profile face and profile body, while, sometimes, diagonal settings converted into triangular or circular settings, with profile face and three-quarter body (figs. 5.96, 5.97, 5.99, 5.100) to depict officials and dancers. In paintings of Kangra, depth is also created. In formal Sikh portraits, single flat is applied for the composition of figures, while depth is also created in court scenes (figs. 5.101- 5.103).

In actual, courts of Guler, Kangra and Sikh rulers had some distinctions. Courts of Guler and Kangra often remained full of attendants, musicians, dancers and courtiers involved in celebration, while Sikh darbar was full of attendants, ministers and accountants. In later Sikh court scenes, settings became more circular especially for Maharaja Ranjit Singh's court. These settings were inherited from Mughal style of Shah Jahan period and were common in almost local regional styles of contemporary India. In the court scenes, Maharaja always remains a dominant figure placed on golden throne or chair attended by the groups of his heirs, aristocrats, courtiers and

entourages. Golden throne is not a transportable article. So it can be perceived only in Lahore court scenes, in which Maharaja is seated to join court gatherings. Chairs can be effortlessly transfer from one place to another, so chairs are common in external assemblages held on terraces and camps. Although the crowd was more like a souk at the darbar of Ranjit Singh, but it was remarkable and even an individual could not speak without a sign. But instead of crowd, some certain nobles were universally painted in idyllic form. Courtiers used to take a seat according to their position, role and work in the Lahore court, which always remain identical because there was a stable place for every noble for sitting on flooring, chair and for standing after Maharaja.



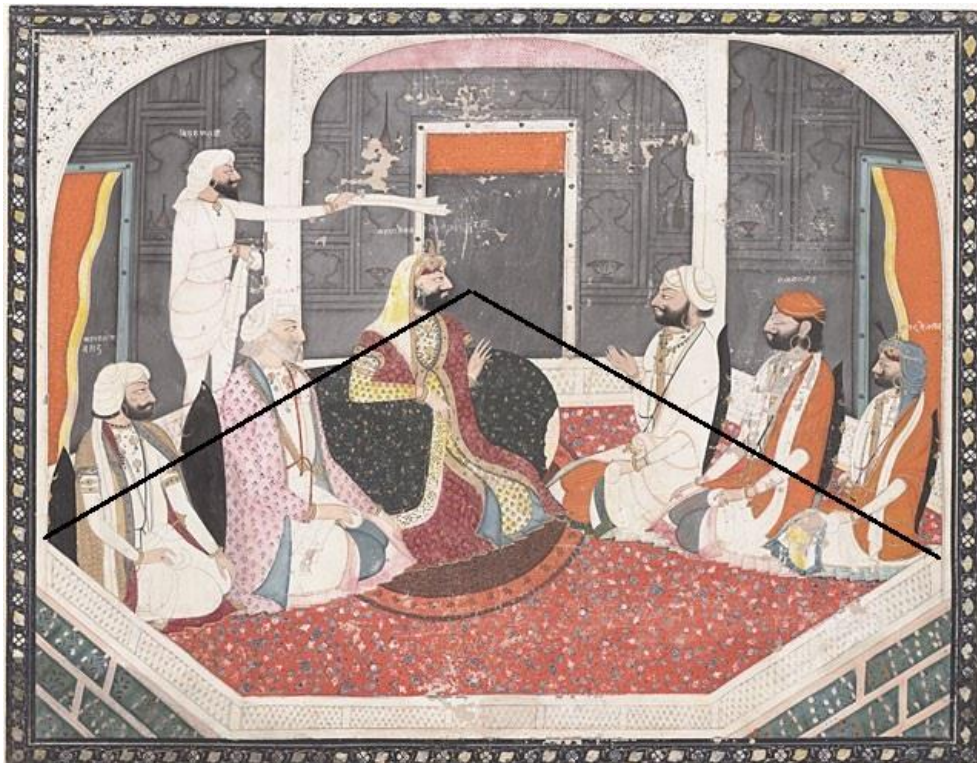
**Figure 5.101. Diagonal and triangular settings**

In Lahore court scenes; a group of successors and favorite persons Kharak Singh, Sher Singh, Nau Nihal Singh and Hira Singh often presented placed on chairs behind Maharaja's golden chair or throne. Dogra brothers, *fakirs* and various Sikh nobles and generals shown installed on carpet in front of Maharaja for conversing matters. Chief Minister Dhyyan Singh Dogra remains standing behind Maharaja to follow his commands, while retainers appear in front of him. In this way, the setting of Sikh court scenes emerged. In actual, Lahore darbar was always alienated into groups; in which a group of successors of Maharaja always seated on chairs behind him, second group was of courtiers always seated on carpet in front of Maharaja and some courtiers remain busy in the accounts, last group of attendants and ministers used to stand behind Maharaja to follow his orders immediately. Sher Singh, Hira Sing and Kharak Singh were allowed seats during

assemblies in the presence of Maharaja. On Runjeet's seating himself, his chiefs all squatted on the floor round his chair, with the exception of Dheean Sing, who remained standing behind his master.

Court scenes of Maharaja Kharak Singh, Sher Singh (fig. 5.102) and Dalip Singh also appear in diagonal settings. Except Sikh kingdom, other Sikh assemblies (fig. 5.103) also portrayed in diagonal settings. After Maharaja Ranjit Singh, isolation can be sensed in Sikh court scenes. In some Sikh narratives, same settings are applied (fig. 5.104).

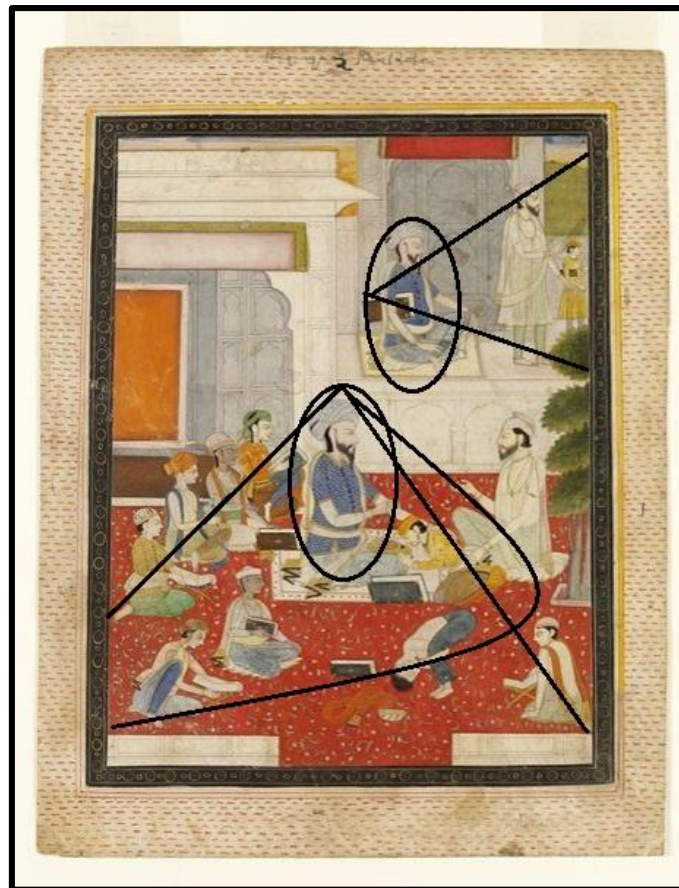
To illustrate eternity on a small surface of paper to relate the theme is a skill of the painter. Hierarchical settings of popular Mughal style used in outdoor scenes is also followed for Sikh outside scenes to depict a larger number of figures (fig. 5.105). For the successful representation of a hunting scene; hunters, hunted animals, mountains, greenery, all are necessary. In Janamsakhi illustrations, illusion of depth is created by composing the figures in the mid- ground surrounded with naturalistic backgrounds and foregrounds along with two- dimensional architectures. Grouping of figures is based on Guler and Kangra diagonal, triangular and circular settings (fig. 5.104). Crowded scenes of Kangra illustrations often remains absent in Janamsakhi illustrations, only necessary figures are drawn to fulfill thematic requirements.



*Figure 5.102. Diagonal setting*



*Figure 5.103. Circular setting*



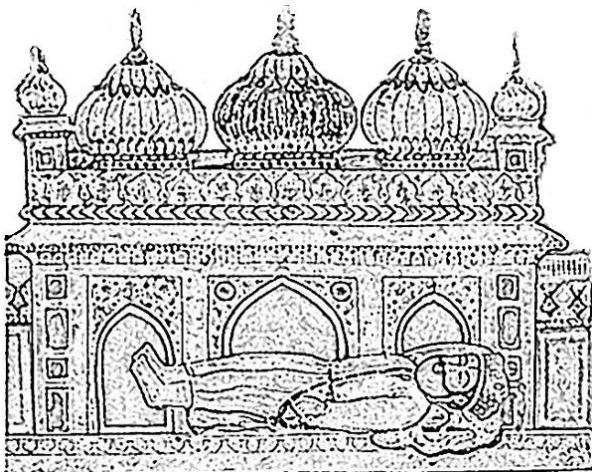
*Figure 5.104. Diagonal setting*



*Figure 5.105. Hierarchical setting*

**h) Architectural Settings of Guler- Kangra**

Akbar period Persian style vertical two- dimensional architecture started to change during Emperor Jahangir, but flat treatment of architecture of Persian style is used in a distant background in early Janamsakhi illustrations by Punjabi painters, but shading is employed in architectural columns, niches and arched gateways (fig. 5.106). Sometimes, three dimensional architecture is also applied in the mid- ground to support the theme, by creating inside scene (fig. 5.107). Typical Guler motif of the wide roofed pavilion of 1730s is also used in Sikh portraits and Janamsakhi illustrations.



*Figure 5.106. Outside view*

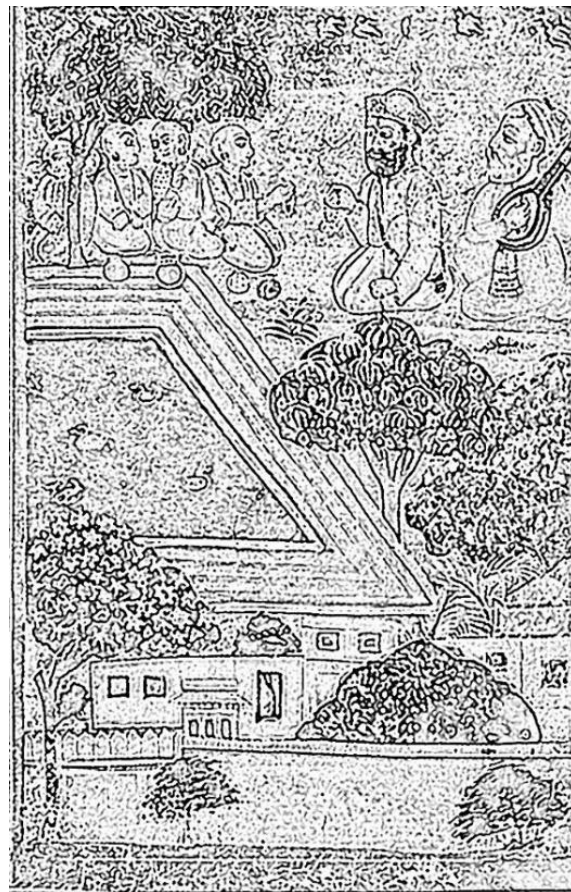


*Figure 5.107. Inside-outside views*

**Efforts for three- dimensional settings, Punjab Plains**

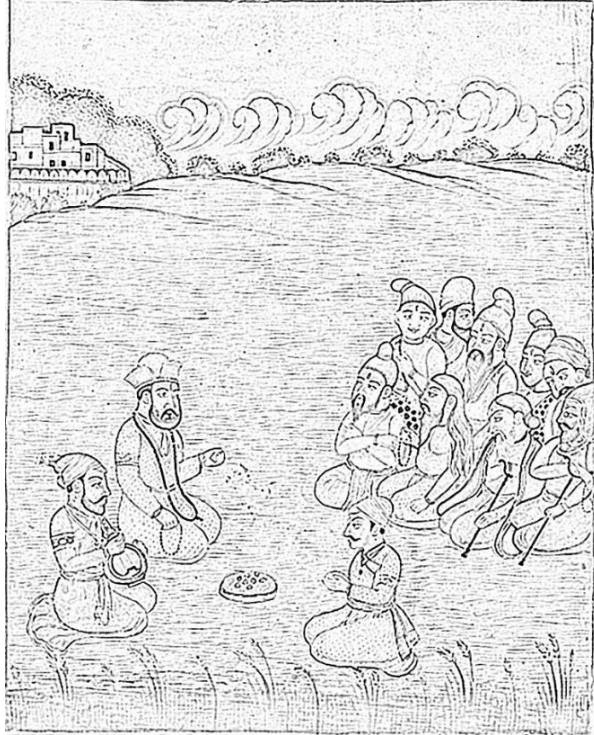
To create depth in later Sikh court scenes, figures are assembled in the mid-ground. Early eighteenth century Guler convention of dark grey or black of inside to depict darkness of inside is also followed for Sikh themes, but it was also not unknown to the Punjabi painters of eighteenth century and the convention is used many times in B- 40 illustrations. Use of white marble for *jalidar* terrace balustrades, glazed tiles, brown wooden walls, pink- red sandstone, arabesque designs and lacquered tiles, the inlaid pottery decorations and paneling on the walls were not new in Punjab plains and popularly used in Mughal atelier of Lahore region.

Wooden architecture is also seen in some Kangra paintings, which is also used in Guler Janamsakhi illustrations. Far from the foreground, to indicate a city or civilization, the style of two dimensional architecture is also borrowed from Guler and Kangra paintings (fig. 5.109), but it was not new in Punjab (fig. 5.108) and the element came from Persia to Indian regional Schools. Guler artists also effort to create three- dimentions in Sikh paintings (figs. 5.110, 5.111).

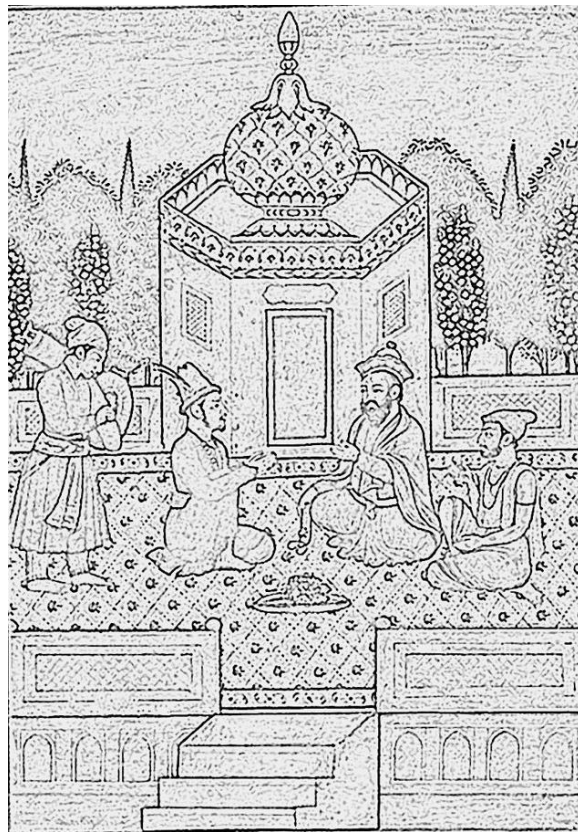


**Figure 5.108. Two- dimensional architecture in foreground, Punjab Plains**





**Figure 5.109.** Two- dimensional architecture effect in background, Guler



**Figure 5.110.** Efforts for three- dimensional architecture, Guler

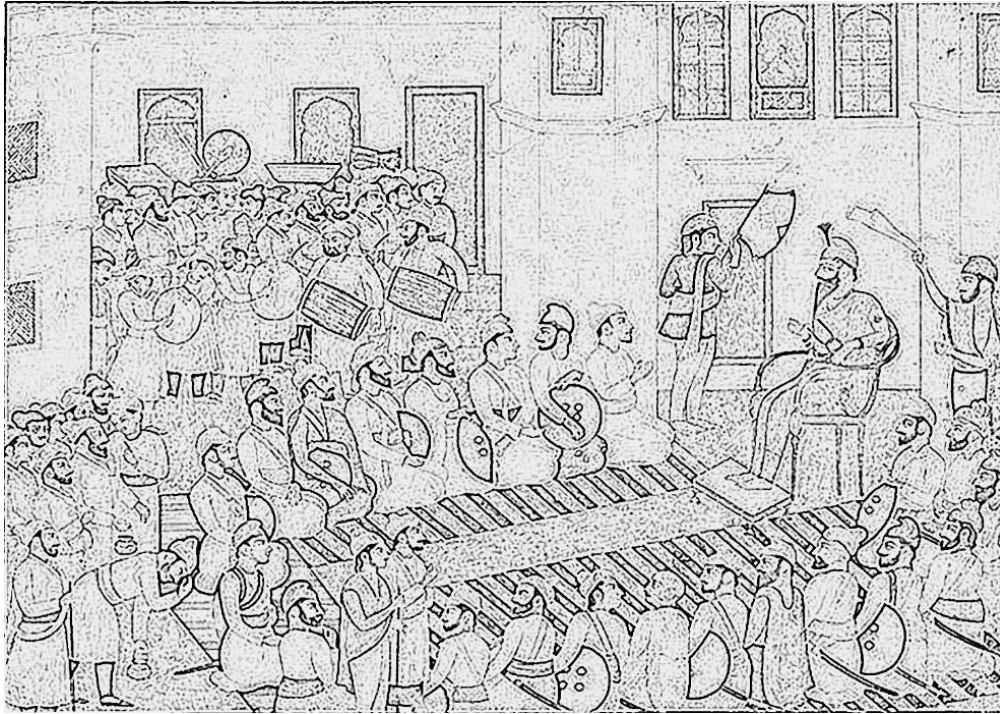


Figure 5.111. Perfect three- dimensional architectural settings

#### i) Patterns of Guler- Kangra

Patterns and motifs emerged in early Guler paintings by family of Pandit Seu are different from early Kangra portraits by the hands of painter Dummun. But with the expansion of Guler artists, Guler motifs also became popular in Kangra. Guler and Kangra, both types of patterns are followed in Sikh portraits from the very beginning due to the employment of Guler and Kangra artists. Kangra was a center of carpet production during Maharaja Sansar Chand and the patterns of Kangra style carpets were followed by Kangra painters for portraits but Kashmir, Lahore and Agra were great centers of carpet production during Mughal times, with Persian patterns. Kashmiri carpets were also manufactured for Sikh Maharaja. Popular pattern of *daris* of blue and flesh-coloured alternating stripes (figs. 3.28, 3.32), is common in the portraits of Sikh *misaldars*, but the stripped pattern of rugs is also very common and popular in Punjab plains. Rug of red and black stripes (fig. 3.38) is too used for Sikh portraits, and this type of thick rug is widespread even today in Punjab. Checkered pattern of different colours with red border for wrap used by *misaldars* (fig. 3.32) is also very communal in Punjab.

Several of the designs and colours of fabrics are found on finished visuals. The golden wrap with thin red streaks, the silver- gold bolsters with yellow & green florets have their counterparts in Kangra paintings. Standard colour blends precisely allied to assured items and

architectures are apparently existed. The shades of apparels, headrests, floorings, fences, railings, towers, ramparts at night and ramparts in daytime, walls on the exterior and walls in the grey shade of the inner, must well have been erudite by the artists as an ample measure of their creative repertoire. But these were borrowed from Mughal paintings by Guler and Kangra painters for Rajput as well as Sikh paintings.

Stripped, floral, dot and paisley patterned robes & trousers, skirts, bodice, *dupatta*, curtains, cushions, carpets and saddle clothes of bright colours combining with golden borders are common at Guler till Raja Govardhan Chand.

Stripped pattern and golden dots for trousers, dotted pattern for cushions, beautifully decorated red saddle-clothes edged with gold and royal carpets, curtain cloth (*chik*) and big umbrellas with floral and leaf patterns and large cartouches as well as dot and geometrical patterns of different colours applied by Guler and Kangra painters for Sikh portraits are not new in Indian culture. Red coloured screens popular in Guler paintings and scrolls of Sikh paintings are often ascribed to Guler and Kangra type by scholars, but Lahore as a center of Mughal politics, was also not unknown of big and roof sized royal canopies often painted in Akbari manuscripts. The depiction of water by greyish chocolate straight line pattern in Janamsakhi paintings has resemblance with Kangra *Gita Govinda* series painted under Maharaja Sansar Chand.

#### **j) Symbolism of Guler- Kangra**

Poetic symbols of Guler paintings inherited in Kangra master series with more refinement of naturalism, while there was no place of this type of romantic symbols in Sikh portraits, but in some romantic paintings, where hero is a Sikh or in some informal portraits signifying relaxing moods of the courtiers, peacock on the roof (fig. 5.83), cranes in the lake, pair of birds, flowery herbs, bangles, flower bracelets, perfume bottles, water streams, fountains, black cloudy sky with curly light are included. The symbol of toilet bottles with slender neck to depict sexual emotions and lover's desire in the romantic scene of Hira Singh is also applied. Symbol of black cloudy and smoky sky of funeral scene of Maharaja Ranjit Singh is also heart touching.

The painters of Punjab plains created more emotional and sensitive symbols to depict the concept of temporal and divine in Janamsakhi illustrations. Mango laden trees, two planes and cranes in the sky, peacock, birds and the form of Guru in the upper part of the background are some symbols introduced by the painter Alam Chand Raj in B-40, but Guler painters adjusted popular Punjabi symbols continued in local Punjabi Janamsakhi illustrations, like flowery herbs,

cranes, ducks, lotus pond, highlighted figures on dark background, symbol of a tree coiling with a creeper behind Guru Nanak's figure like a parasol in Guler Janamsakhi compositions. Some devotional symbols as plates full of sweets and flowers placed in front of Gurus or in the hands of devotees and flowery herbs in the background are based on their personal knowledge and observations of Sikh subjects. The banana tree is often used in Guler and Kangra *nayika* scenes to depict the absence lover, but in Janamsakhi illustrations, it is used to depict prosperity in the Guru's court.

**k) *Hashiya*- Frames of Guler- Kangra**

Far from the decorative marginal paintings of Mughal style, Guler painters borrowed flat red, yellow and blue colours of opulent style paintings. Dark blue border (fig. 4.1), red border with black, white and golden rules (figs. 4.2- 4.6) were used in the beginning of Guler paintings by Pandit Seu and his sons. Some changes can be seen in Manaku's style during mid- eighteenth century, and pink border with black rules and flecked with red or red borders flecked with pink (figs. 3.32- 3.34) also came in vogue from 1750s. Dark blue margin with golden coloured floral design appear from the last quarter of eighteenth century (fig. 4.14), which became a prominent style of *hashiya* in Kangra paintings (fig. 4.41) of last decades of eighteenth century. Pale pink border with rows of dashes along with blue margin and floral design in gold, fawn border flecked with red and with red rules, black border with floral scroll are also applied during mid- nineteenth century. In Guler and Kangra paintings, patterns of golden on red, pink, white, black and blue *hashiya* became constant till the end of nineteenth century. Oval shaped *hashiya* decorated with floral patterns painted in basic colours (fig. 4.42) also introduced in paintings of last quarter of eighteenth century borrowed from Mughal style.

In *misal* period Sikh portraits, simple red and pink borders with white & black margins are used, but red border is a common and popular Indian fashion from the mediaeval period. In B- 40 Janamsakhi, red border is used, which indicates the fashion of Punjab plains. In the Sikh portraits of nineteenth century, Guler and Kangra painters used pink, blue, black, white and golden patterned borders (figs. 3.46- 3.51) practiced at Guler and Kangra from mid- eighteenth century. Guler painters also used oval shaped *hashiya* decorated with floral patterns for Sikh portraits of nineteenth century, but it was also not new for Sikh portraits. Mughal painters of Punjab plains also used oval shaped *hashiya* for Sikh portraits of seventeenth century.

In Guler Janamsakhi illustrations, traditional red coloured *hashiya* is applied along with black and white rules. Sometimes pink border dotted with red is also used in Kangra style Janamsakhi leaves (fig. 5.104). Pink border emerged during first generation of Nainsukh in the series of *Bhagavata Purana* and blue border with golden floral pattern is the characteristic of *Gita Govinda* series, while merger of both type of borders pink- blue with floral design of golden colour is used in *Ramayana* and oval shaped *hashiya* of *Bihari Sat Sai* fashioned under Maharaja Sansar Chand, later used for Sikh portraits frequently.

### 1) Utensils of Guler- Kangra

Guler and Kangra painters included utensils of their style in Sikh paintings. In formal Sikh portraits, there is an absence of Guler and Kangra utensils, while in some informal scenes; low wooden beds (fig. 5.118), stools (fig. 5.114), *surahi* (fig. 5.113), basins (fig. 5.112), plates full of sweets and flowers, earthen bowls (fig. 5.116), cups, night lamps, water vessels (figs. 5.115, 5.117), wooden baskets, spinning wheel, perfume bottles are used, which were also essential part of Sikh lifestyle being conventional equipment. Some paintings are really based on painter's observation and close associations with their patrons (fig. 3.57). In actual, during Maharaja Ranjit Singh, objects made of jade were also in use which was a continuous practice of Mughals customs.



Figure 5.112.



Figure 5.113.



Figure 5.114.

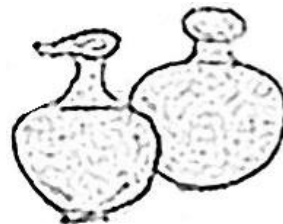


Figure 5.115.



Figure 5.116.



Figure 5.117.

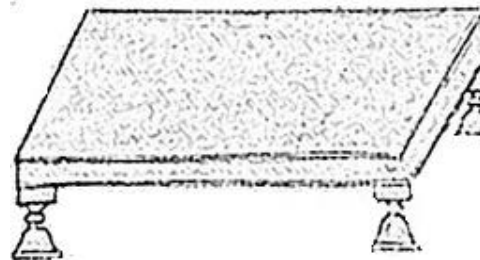


Figure 5.118.

Utensils

## **5.2 Influence Of Sikh Religious, Socio- Cultural Identity In Guler And Kangra Paintings**

Archer's assumption that of greater significance as a social symptom is the phase of Kangra painting connected with the Sikhs. As was natural in a people with no traditional art of their own, the Sikhs had avidly adopted whatever art forms were current in the areas they ravaged. They were thus, unconsciously, the art carriers of the Punjab Hills (Archer, 1952b, 24) is based on then available examples. Punjab hills borrowed artistic traditions from Mughal painters migrating via Punjab plains to hills during seventeenth century, when Rajput race had not even their own socio-political identity, but an identity influenced by Mughals. From the beginning of eighteenth century, a distinct social identity and artistic style of Rajput rulers had emerged, while Sikhs had their distinct socio- political identity granted by Guru Gobind Singh.

During nineteenth century, Sikh and Rajput, both cultures interacted and marital relations also took place between them. The major part of Sikh miniature paintings is portraiture of Sikh Gurus, nobilities, sovereigns and Janamsakhi illustrations. The Sikh portraits practiced from seventeenth century to nineteenth century depict variations in lifestyle emerged due to statues, personal interests and external influences but some fashions are common and adopted by all Sikhs as mark of dignity.

Before Sikh rule in Guler, Punjabi culture also interpreted by artists. In these renderings, their function severely adjusted. A Sikh character has replaced a Rajput doyen as subject and Sikh authority in the Punjab has received its first creative appreciation. Guler artists no longer felt alienated, who could approach their Sikh chiefs with confidence, feeling ease in their company. And it was this enthusiastic interruption of distrust that was just to bring Guler artists to the Punjab plains. Kangra also hailed Sikh themes. The replacement of a Rajput prince by a Sikh soldier or hero is a different concept, but adoption of Sikh fashions by Rajput rulers is a diverse perception, which is revealed in their paintings.

### **5.2.1 Impression of Khalsa Identity**

With the bestowal of pious identity by Guru Gobind Singh to his followers on the *Baisakhi* of 1699 at Anandpur challenging Mughal orthodoxies, Sikhs became distinct socially as well as philosophically, which was not a fashion but to prepare and uniform his followers named '*Sikhs*' and the transformation of this pious identity into royal fashion during Maharaja Ranjit Singh impressed everyone. The socio- religious identity which makes the Sikhs distinct from Mughal- Rajput common appearance, granted by Guru Gobind Singh, includes five ks: *kara* (steel bracelet),

*kangha* (comb), *kacchera* (breeches), *kirpan* (dagger) and *kes* (uncut hair). With the religious mandate of uncut hair; turban on head also became an article of faith and undivided part of socio-religious identity of the Sikhs along with uncut long flowing beard. Although this identity was not new in Indian culture but tenth Guru transformed the ancient Indian identity, manipulated and politically controlled and influenced by the Mughal Emperors. Miniature sword, comb, iron bangle and breeches are the part of Sikh attires but these often remain hidden while unshorn hair, long flowing beards along with different types of turbans impress publically.

Although, Rajput rulers of Punjab hills refused the concept of social equality and an distinct identity granted by the tenth Guru based on religious mandates, and Rajput lifestyle remained under Mughal adjustments but during the last quarter of eighteenth century, Sikh impression started to appear on the lifestyle of hill rulers in the form of pious identity granted by the tenth Guru to his Sikhs. The pious identity converted into royal fashion during Maharaja Ranjit Singh, which impressed precisely the life of whole Punjab hills, which reflected in their paintings of nineteenth century.

#### **a) Turbans**

The use of turban as the symbol of dignity is not new in India, but pursuing the religious mandate and first & foremost communal identity and an undivided part of the Sikh attire, turban makes them distinct from others. Till the early eighteenth century, Mughal Emperor Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb style broad- band turbans were in fashion among rulers of Guler and Kangra, while Guru Gobind Singh's Mandi portrait (fig. 5.131) is an evidence of his distinct style conical turban, later followed by his devotees. Turban as a mark of dignity, also could protect in warfare. Heavy turbans of Sikhs of about ten meters long and conical in shape, decorated with big- small ring shaped quoits and sharp-edges steel weapons of different sizes to fulfill warfare needs were of distinct style from Mughal- Rajput style broad band small sized turbans of seventeenth and mid-eighteenth centuries.

Till the second half of eighteenth century, Rajput and Sikhs adopted their own distinct styles of turbans. Before Raja Govardhan Chand (1741-1773) of Guler (figs. 5.119- 5.124) and Ghamand Chand (figs. 5.125, 5.126), Mughal turbans were in fashion. Alterations in Shah Jahani cross band turban by Raja Govardhan Chand (fig. 5.127) & Prakash Chand (1773-1790) of Guler (fig. 5.128) and Raja Ghamand Chand, Tegh Chand & Sansar Chand of Kangra (figs. 5.127-5.130) seem approximately similar, conical in shape, with a tall round *kullah* projecting.

Mughal Style Turbans



Figure 5.119. Jagdish Chand



Figure 5.120. Rup Chand



Figure 5.121. Bikram Singh



Figure 5.122. Gopal Chand



Figure 5.123. Raj Singh



Figure 5.124. Dalip Singh of Guler





**Figure 5.125. Hamir Chand**



**Figure 5.126. Ghamir (Gambhir) Chand of Kangra**

### Rajput Style Turbans



**Figure 5.127. Govardhan Chand**



**Figure 5.128. Prakash Chand of Guler**



**Figure 5.129. Ghamand Chand**



**Figure 5.130. Tegh Chand of Kangra**

**Sikh Style Turbans**



**Figure 5.131. Guru Gobind Singh**



**Figure 5.132. Jai Singh Kanheya**



*Figure 5.133. Gurbaksh Singh Kanheya*



*Figure 5.134. Jassa Singh Ramgarhia*



*Figure 5.135. Amar Singh*



*Figure 5.136. Bhag Singh Ahluwalia*



*Figure 5.137. Jassa Singh Ramgarhia with his sons*



*Figure 5.138. Three Sikhs*



*Figure 5.139. Tara Singh Ghaiba of Rahon*



Figure 5.140. Maharaja Sansar Chand in assembly



Figure 5.141. Maharaja Sansar Chand



Figure 5.142. Gurbaksh Singh Kanheya



Figure 5.143. Maharaja Sansar Chand

In the assembly of Sansar Chand Katoch, various hill officials also have resemblance with Sikh- *misal* style simple, heavy, stripped and undecorated turbans during the last quarter of eighteenth century. Officials presented in the assemblies of Kangra, look like Sikh *misaldars*, this was the time, when Jassa Singh Ramgarhia approached Raja Ghamand Chand for tribute money. Undoubtedly, the attitude of Jassa Singh Ramgarhia, the first Sikh *misaldar* to invade the Kangra

hills during Raja Ghamand Chand Katoch, influenced the politics of Kangra, Nurpur and Chamba, later replaced by another Sikh *misaldar* Jai Singh Kanheya in 1775. Guler painters working for these two Sikh *misaldars* absorbed social identity of Sikhs. During Raja Tegh Chand, an interesting feature also appears in turban in the last decades of eighteenth century, which is due to the combination of stripes of different colours, which became much popular during young Sansar Chand. The only difference is of cross- band, used by only Guler rulers in their turbans (fig. 5.127), not practiced by Kangra rulers, but stripped turban, in which cross- band was replaced by stripes of different combination colours (fig. 5.130). Maharaja Sansar Chand also can be seen in *misal* period stripped turban (figs. 5.140, 5.141, 5.143) along with his officials.

Sikh *misaldar* style simple, round turbans with a small protruding flap on the fore-head, its folds flat and tight rising vertically and then descending in a gradual curve along the line of the head (figs. 5.132- 5.139) started to appear seldom wearing by Rajput nobles in the assemblies of Guler during Raja Prakash Chand (1773-1790) from 1780, which remained in fashion during Raja Bhup Singh (1790-1826) in the last decade of eighteenth century, while, in mythical narratives, traditional Mughal- Rajput style turbans of cross- band can be seen frequently, along with caps (*kaantop*) for cowherds, golden crown for Krishna and leaf crown for Rama.

#### Royal Sikh Turbans



Figure 5.144. Small conical turban



Figure 5.145. Turban with wrap



*Figure 5.146. Wrap on head*



*Figure 5.147. Wrap with knot*



*Figure 5.148. Maharaja Sansar Chand*



*Figure 5.149. Raja Fateh Chand of Kangra*



**Figure 5.150. Young Anirudh Chand**



**Figure 5.151. Kanwar Anirudh Chand of Kangra**



**Figure 5.152. Bhup Singh of Guler**



**Figure 5.153. Jai Singh of Guler**

The fashion of Sikh turbans had been changing continuously from Guru Period till Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Royal Sikh turbans of nineteenth century are of distinct style from Guru period *Akali* conical *bunga* (castle) & *dumala* turbans and late eighteenth century *misal* period simple and striped turbans. During Maharaja Ranjit Singh, a variety of decorated turbans; in which small conical turban (fig. 5.144) and turban-wrap (figs. 5.145- 5.147) became fashionable among royal Sikhs and their officials. The Sikh pagri comprises of a long narrow piece of linen,



in which the hair is swathed up and it is so fastened either in the front or a slight on one side, that one cannot see either end or tie. It lies down suave on the head, one end dangling partially down the rear. Ranjit Singh stashes the end under his upper attire. Sikh turban was tied remaining its last edge loose to hang over shoulders called *shamala* turban which is also the symbol of liberty and sovereignty. Sometimes a small wrap over conical small turban was used to spread over the shoulders like a flap to protect royal turbans from dust. Although, royal turbans always remained decorated with pearl strings, gems and plume, while common populace also used to decorate their turbans occasionally. But Maharaja was well-founded about his simple turban deprived of adding any majestic insignia to it. During Mughals, the *kalghi* remained behind the band of Shah Jahani turban (figs. 5.119, 5.123), but among Sikhs, it remains either in front or right side of the turban during Maharaja, due to the absence of band, while during *misaldars*, it is rare or absent. A large variety of Sikh turbans are shown in the Sikh paintings of nineteenth century, which influenced the turbans of Rajput rulers precisely.

In the later paintings of Raja Bhup Singh of Guler; heavy and simple style Sikh-*misal* turbans disappeared and small sized conical royal Sikh turban started to appear (fig. 5.152), which continued till the end of nineteenth century at Guler along with wrap over shoulders (fig. 5.153). After the annexation of Guler by Maharaja Ranjit Singh, Desa Singh Majithia was appointed governor or nazim of the Kangra Valley but Bhup Singh was treated with respect and entitled as Baba by Maharaja Ranjit Singh, but the destruction of the domain was close at hand. In 1811 Ranjit Singh started to reveal his strategies on the hill states, and Guler was the first to be annexed and later in 1813 the rest of Guler state was also detained, which reflected in paintings of Guler.

Although, in his early days, young Sansar Chand portrayed in *kullah* turban (fig. 5.140), but he also adopted *misal* style stripped turban (fig. 5.143) due to his relations with *misaldars*. In his later days, he adopted the fashion of small conical turban (fig. 5.148). After his death, Kangra region was divided into three branches. Raja Anirudh Chand; son of Sansar Chand by Suket Rani was based in Alampur (Bhawarna), Jodhbir Chand, by Gaddi Rani Nokhu, was resided at Nadaun, while at Lambagraon; his younger brother Fateh Chand and his son Ludar Chand were based. Royal Sikh turbans appear in the portraits of Raja Fateh Chand (fig. 5.149), his son Ludar Chand and grandson Pratap Chand (fig. 5.163) with alterations, whose family had marital relations with Lahore darbar. Raja Jodhbir Chand and his family also had wedding relations with Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Raja Anirudh Chand (fig. 5.151) and his son Kanwar Ranbir Chand (fig. 5.178) also

portrayed in Sikh turbans. Kanwar Anirudh Chand similarly portrayed in stripped turban of *misal* period during his young age (fig. 5.150).

The bright colours of Sikh royal turbans were also followed by Guler and Kangra royals as well as commoners. During Guru Gobind Singh, blue and saffron coloured turbans were famous, but there was no restriction of colours for turban among Sikh warriors, as evidences tell that Banda Singh was in a gold embroidered red turban while imprisoned by Mughal Emperor. In the early portraits of hill rulers, they are portrayed in light and somber coloured turbans, which is totally different from colourful turbans of mythical paintings of hill regions. But in later Guler and Kangra court paintings, rulers are in turbans of bright colours and patterns. In the headdress, all Rajput rulers show great relish. They were habitual of wrapping two or more turbans of different colours pleasingly mixed mutually to spectacle the colours with elegant folds over the right ear. The common blend is red ground with a white exterior turban, which effects charming. Up to seven turbans of diverse hues, not very astutely picked, enfolded round the head of a Pahari ruler. With the combination of dark colour wrap of green, orange, yellow, purple or red over small turban or '*dastar*' of white colour were in use among Sikhs of Lahore court, which impressed rulers of Guler and Kangra.

#### **b) Moustaches and Beard**

Although second identity of a Sikh is long flowing beard but the fashion of uncut beard is also not new in India. Along with long beards, trimmed and shaven beards were also in fashion, which remained changing due to personal interests. The shaving of the chin was introduced with the establishment of the Din-i-Ilahi. The fashion of wearing beard and moustaches is distinct among Hindus and Muslims from centuries. When the Emperor Akbar shaved off his beard, he was destined by the orthodox Muslims to indulge the irreligious, by this uppermost insignia of amity and warmth.

A proclamation was issued by Emperor Jahangir to identify Sikhs, requiring the Hindus in common to shave off their beards. Many presented to this dishonor, but some men of name and position committed suicide to save the honour of their beards (Singh, 1914, Vol. I, 215). Although, the fashion of unshaven beard is an Indian tradition, but during seventeenth century, the unshaven chin became outmoded, as Shah Jahan favored a well-trimmed beard.

The concept of Sikh Gurus of uncut hair is related to the Cosmic Man, which is believed to be of pre-Aryan and Jain doctrines. God is defined with bearded face in SGGS, *ਸੋਹਣੇ ਨਕ ਿਜਨ ਲੰਮੜੇ ਵਾਲਾ (ਮੰ ੧) (sohane nak jin lamde vala) (SGGS, 567)*

Non- Muslims were not allowed even long beards during Mughals. Guru Gobind Singh and their Sikhs challenged these unfair assertions many times, but never gave up. Royal *firman*s were issued several times to identify Sikhs. A proclamation was also issued by Emperor Bahadur Shah, who followed his father's orthodox policy. In the meantime, fearing lest there should be any disguised Sikhs among the bearded Hindus in the royal camp, an order was issued in September, 1710, for all Hindus working in the Royal offices to shave off their beards. There was no Sikh at all in the entire establishment, and the Hindu *Peshkars* and *Diwans* compliantly submitted the regal instruction, shaved off their beards and received from the Emperor *khillats* for their implied obedience and trustworthy amenity. Imperial orders to control unstable socio-political circumstances of Punjab during Banda Singh Bahadur, Bahadur Shah reordered his royal *firman*. The hair and beard were considered to be the only perceptible peculiarity between the two. Even under misery of death, cut or shave beards, whiskers or hair of any kind on the body was followed in Lahore and its neighbouring areas. No non-Muslim was permissible to have a long beard. In order to distinguish the Sikhs from the other inhabitants of the Punjab, all Hindus were strictly commanded to shear their hair and beards off under pain of death, and any person found wearing them was instantly butchered (Singh, 1935, 128, 171- 173, 259).

Although the keeping of the beard was not insignia of servient to Islam and several chiefs' favored beards long or short according to their fondness. But the fashion of beard used to change under political pressures in the Punjab hills. Mostly portraits of hill rulers are in shaven or trimmed beards from last of seventeenth and first quarter of eighteenth century. Mughal declarations was challenged by the tenth Guru, but accepted by the Rajput hill rulers to gratify Mughal Emperors, as all hill principalities were under Mughal rule till mid- eighteenth century. In the young aged portrait of Mahipat Dev of Mankot (1650- 80) (Randhawa, 1959, pl. XXVII, figs. 4, 5), he is depicted in black trimmed beard but in his later portrait, he is portrayed in white beard (Randhawa, 1959, pl. XXVI, fig. 1). Apparently in his later years, he shaved off his beard (Randhawa, 1959, 73). His contemporary Hindal Pal of Basohli (1675) also shown in trimmed beard, but Raja Kirpal Pal of Basohli too shaved off his beard in his old age (1690) (Randhawa, 1959, pl. XXVI, figs. 2,

3). Portraits of hill rulers of around 1690, are with shaven faces, but after three decades, portraits again started to appear in trimmed beard faces from 1720 onwards.

Although, the fashion of mustaches remained unchanged at Guler. Raja Man Singh of Guler was famous for his mustaches, but shaven or trimmed beard were common till Govardhan Chand (figs. 5.119- 5.124, 5.127), while young Prakash Chand adopted fashion of long beard (figs. 5.128) which continued with the Guler rulers till the last of the nineteenth century. During Prakash Chand (1773-1790), the fashion of wearing long beard suddenly appears, so it can be easily presume that probably it came into fashion at Guler during Prakash Chand which was the result of Sikh relations with him and was reflected in contemporary paintings, but it was not compulsion for every Rajput ruler. Long beard was in fashion from Prakash Chand and continued till the end of nineteenth century under the Sikh impression. Both, long & partly trimmed beards and mustaches (figs. 5.152, 5.153) with Sikh turbans were in fashion, so Guler Rajputs look like Sikh nobles. Amar Singh *Darhiwala*, an association of the Kotla household, had so overwhelmed Ranjit Singh with his tremendously lengthy beard, that he was granted a monthly remuneration to nurture it. Maharaja Ranjit Singh also initiated a beard show and approved appropriate prizes to see the size of the whiskers, in which non- Sikhs also joined, termed as *Darhiwala* (whiskered) and promoting the fashion of long beard, Maharaja also used to grant the monthly stipend to cultivate it. Pahari populace also perpetually kept the beards. While engaging of Europeans in the Khalsa army, Ranjit Singh had conditions not to consume beef, smoke and shave.

Kangra rulers Raja Hamir Chand and Ghamir Chand (figs. 5.125, 5.126) preferred shaven face, while Raja Ghamand Chand and Tegh Chand had trimmed beard with mustaches. Maharaja Sansar Chand is often seen in close cropped beard and mustaches (fig. 5.140), but sometimes he also portrayed as a Sikh noble (figs. 5.141, 5.143) with unshaven face, along with his officials. His younger brother Fateh Chand also had untrimmed beard and mustaches (fig. 5.149). Later, the sons and grandsons of Maharaja Sansar Chand adopted the fashion of shaven face, but Kangra officials continued the fashion of unshaven beards. When the Sikhs under Ranjit Singh became the chief of Punjab including the hills, the Rajput monarchs discarded the practice of shaving to indulge their novel master. Since 1810 the Kangra Valley was under the rule of the great Ranjit Singh, and Sikh influence is ostensible in Kangra paintings of this period. From 1830 onwards, long flowing beards and marvelous turbans mirrored rather than whiskers sheared in the Mughal style. But in mythical

narratives, there was no restriction of mustaches, long beard as well as trimmed beard from the very beginning.

**c) Gatra- Sword- Belt**

Sword is a very common arm from ancient era used by *kshatriyas*. But in conjunction with turban, to keep sword and other ordnances were also illicit in the Mughal Empire. During Guru Nanak, Hindus was illicit to hold any arm like sword or arrows. Under the Mughals, Wearing the sword was a part of dress by a rank holder. Therefore, positioning the sword aside from one's belt was a perceptible sign of acquiescence. Challenging Mughal authorities, Guru Hargobind and Guru Gobind Singh favored the keeping of arms for the righteousness. Wearing arms was the honor and pride of merely *kshatriyas* and Rajput. The Khalsa was raised to this status.

In Mughal-Rajput royal fashion, sword remains tucked in a waist- belt, while a dagger was used to tuck in the waist band. Fashion of wearing of sword-belt over shoulder is rarely seen in Mughal paintings. Sword also can be seen either holding in the hand of a ruler (fig. 5.127) while standing, or can be placed near the seated person. But according to Sikh fashion, sword was not used to wear at the waist, attached with waist-belt. A sword was used to wear over shoulder attached in a belt called *gatra* made of cloth, which is a common practice till today for *Amritdhari* Sikhs, baptized by perusing the nectar of the Guru. In the Mughal style and Anandpur style portraits of tenth Guru, sword remains attached with the waist- belt (fig. 3.16), but the reference of the use of 'shoulder- belts' by Guru's followers is also available and eighteenth century portraits of Sikh *misaldars* evidenced the fashion of wearing *gatra* over shoulder among Sikhs like a rosary (figs. 3.28, 5.132- 5.139), as Guru Hargobind started to wear two swords signifying *miri* (temporal) and *piri* (spiritual) as two rosaries. Even *Akalis* also wore gold-laced baldric hung round neck.

Before Govardhan Chand, there was no fashion of wearing sword- belt over the shoulder, as sword or dagger remain tucked at the waist in a waist band (fig. 5.125) or waist- belt under Mughal fashion. It may be seen holding, in the hand of a standing character (figs. 5.124, 5.127) and places near a seated person while sitting (figs. 5.119- 5.121, 5.126). Thus, it may only after the influence of Sikh *misaldars* that, black coloured leather sword-belts or *gatra*, probably the product of Hoshiarpur were worn over the shoulder by Guler rulers and nobles since Prakash Chand (fig. 5.128), while Raja Ghamand Chand of Kangra started to portray in *gatra* from second quarter of eighteenth century and the fashion continued till the last of nineteenth century. *Gatra*

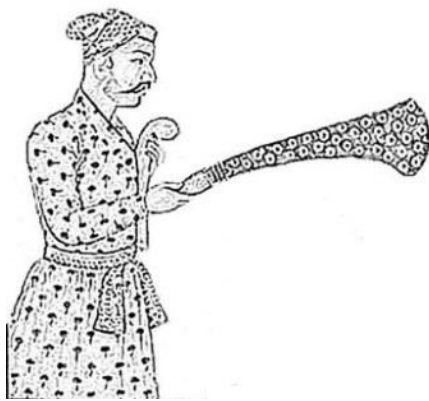
became more precious, made of silken fabric and embroideries among Sikhs of Lahore, which also influenced others.

**d) *Kacha- Breeches***

Breeches; an inner garment and the fourth identity of Khalsa, are also not new in India but in lower class, breeches as a more convenient option, replaced lower garment of long dhoti popular among Hindus and trousers of Muslims. Breeches with cutaway sloping coat is the fashion of Akbar and Jahangir period attendants. Breeches also replaced the fashion of loin- cloth or *langot*, a popular Indian costume. After Guru Gobind Singh’s order, breeches became an important article of Sikh attire. Different from present form, *kacha* was meant to be of bushy coarse fabric with many folds mainly to the front for a slender cushion to guard the most susceptible part of the body, which also helped in riding. The breeches also aimed at suppleness and prudence. It became popular during Guru Gobind Singh and *misal* period among Sikh *misaldars*, *Akalis* and their attendants, who used to wear it under short length robes of white- blue colours (figs. 3.28, 5.156), while during Maharaja Ranjit Singh, balloon shaped breeches reach only just below the knees, became fashion among Sikh attendants but royal Sikh community rarely appear in breeches (figs. 5.158, 5.169).

Rajput attendants of early eighteenth century, appear in Mughal style robe of various lengths and trousers (figs. 5.154, 5.155). But from the second quarter of nineteenth century, Rajput attendants started to appear in breeches (fig. 5.178) along with robes and dhoti. In his later period, Fateh Chand of Kangra also portrayed in breeches, which is very rare (fig. 5.149).

**Attendants**



*Figure 5.154. Mughal*



*Figure 5.155. Guler*



*Figure 5.156. Sikh- Guler*



Figure 5.157. Sikh



Figure 5.158. Sikh



Figure 5.159. Hindu- Sikh

## 5.2.2. Impression of Royal Sikh Lifestyle

### a) Dress

Mughal robes were ideal for the courts of India. The royals and common people often forced to follow the fashions of imperial personages. Long full- skirted coat with a lapel crossing over the other, fastening with ribbons near the arm-pit and the waist was a common court dress of Mughal-Rajput rulers. Emperor Akbar ordered the *jama* to be tied on the left side instead of right. Rajput dresses were under Mughal influences (figs. 5.119- 5.127, 5.129, 5.130) and the robes were used to tie in left till the mid- eighteenth century. Fashions are accepted in an assured social order. The provinces and the inferior follow the capital and the superior classes only at the time when the letter turn to more novel styles. Banda Singh Bahadur, while laden with irons, was attired in a gold embellished red turban and brocade robe of gold.

Before Prakash Chand, floral patterned robes of ground length in yellow, purple, orange and green colours, were popular at Guler, but white colour became dominant for robes during Prakash Chand (fig. 3.28), as the *misal* period Sikh robes are also of simple, light- weighted and white colour with colourful trousers and *chaddar* of line & check patterns (figs. 5.132- 5.139).

Although, the usual apparel of the lesser classes were for the males, a *topi*, skull cap and turban, a *kurti* or frock, a *cholu* similar to the lower garment along with *kacha*. In addition to these three articles, blanket was also carried by them in summer to guard from the sun rays. But the

aristocratic be dressed in English fabrics, which were also inspired by fashion. Frock was universally retained by all. Coloured vests and wraps were similarly fashioned among hill people.

Sikh paintings of nineteenth century is surely distinct in terms of dresses. Common Sikh dress of Lahore during Maharaja Ranjit Singh contains fitted *payjamas*, long sleeved shirt with round neckline and an opening at the neck (figs. 5.144- 5.147), which was distinct from Rajput-Mughal robes tied in right or left. The vest remains tucked into the trousers.

Collar neck of Mughal-Rajput style robes was replaced by Sikh robes with round neckline decorated with golden coloured designer laces, frontal slit and knee length. Legs appear between the frontal slit of robe at the knees while sitting. Full sleeves were continued in fashion with colourful trousers of line pattern. This alteration can also be traced before Maharaja Ranjit Singh. It appears that heavy and precious Mughal-Rajput robes were replaced by simple and light weighted robes, which were more comfortable while walking and riding for the Sikhs.



*Figure 5.160.*



*Figure 5.161. Maharaja Sansar Chand*

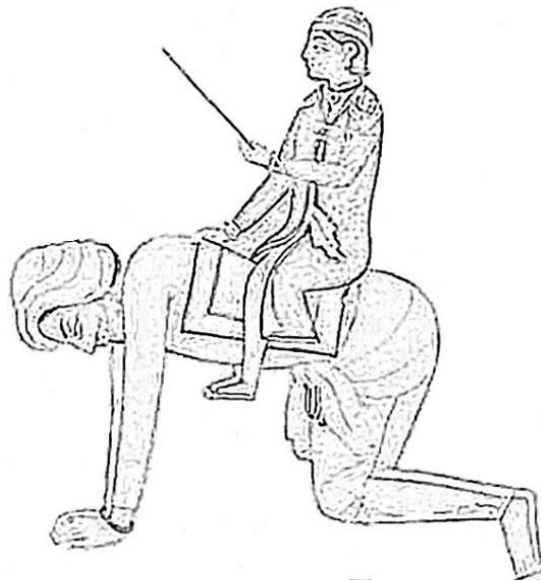


*Figure 5.162. Mian Jai Singh*

The knee length jacket with short sleeves (figs. 3.53, 5.145), long loose coat, with frontal slit, cutaway type coat of transparent fabric, brocade, velvet and Kashmiri fabric embellished with golden- silver embroideries were also in fashion. Maharaja Ranjit Singh also granted '*khillats*' to the hill Rajput rulers and European visitors on various ceremonial occasions. Possibly, it may also a reason behind the popularity of Sikh dresses which passed through hill states. Rulers of Guler were also honored by Maharaja Ranjit Singh during their visits to Lahore court. In the paintings of Guler (fig. 5.162) and Kangra (fig. 5.163), royals and officials appear in vest with trousers.



During Raja Bhup Singh, white coloured knee length robe came into vogue at Guler due to Sikh influences. Maharaja Sansar Chand (fig. 5.161) also started to portray in Sikh style robe of round neckline decorated with laces and frontal slit during first decade of nineteenth century, also followed in Alampur and Lambagraon. Sometimes, attendants appear in informal attire of lungi in the court of Kanwar Anirudh Chand (fig. 5.160), which is uncommon in a Rajput court. Blue coloured lungis and wraps with check pattern and without or with border of red and golden colours were common in Peshawar, which is often seen wearing as a wrap among Sikh *misaldars* (figs. 5.133, 5.136- 5.139).



**Figure 5.163. Raja Pratap Chand**

#### **b) Colours of Sikh Dresses**

Archer concludes, ‘from about 1810 onwards, certain Kangra painters seem to have adjusted their themes to Sikh requirements and thus a second provincial Kangra School was established, its chief centers being Lahore and Amritsar. Most of its products, though, have a garish brightness which makes them a travesty of Kangra painting proper (Archer, 1952b, 24), is not reasonable. Sikh *misaldars* appear in light coloured costumes during the last decades of eighteenth century and assembly scenes of Sikh governors of Guler during first quarter of nineteenth century, are also in simple white robes (figs. 3.28, 3.57, 5.132- 5.139). Even various finished portraits and sketches of common Sikh- Hindu and Muslim officials of Lahore court prepared during first half of nineteenth century are also in white robes with colourful trousers.

But on very special occasions, royal Sikhs of nineteenth century appear in bright coloured attires. In his likenesses; Maharaja often attired in various shades of green, red, white and yellow coloured dresses or in contrast colours. Probably, green, yellow and white were the favorite colours of Maharaja. The court colour of the Lahore darbar was yellow or green and the chiefs and officers remained clad in yellow costumes of the wool of Kashmir. While rejoicing *Basant* festival in Lahore, the entire corps remained unvaryingly outfitted in yellow, which was the gala outfit of Carnival.

Maharaja used to appear in divers ornaments in young age; but later he had discontinued. Green, yellow and white were used for his dresses. Yellow or green, straw- coloured dress with slight combination of green was preferred by Sikh Maharaja or light green being the favorite colour of his court called *Basantee*, the colour of spring.

Ranjit Singh himself might consciously affect a wilfully dull attire but his troops and courtiers exuded feverish brilliance. So strong a love for flashing, almost gaudy hues positively influenced the artists and it is hardly astonishing that in evoking the splendors of Ranjit's 'public image' they adopted a gay and dazzling palette. Confining pallid greens and misty blues to backgrounds, they employed colours as bold and loud as the great scarlet areas so usual in certain types of Guler painting. Rich blues and deep greens, blazing orange-reds and piercing yellows imbued their portraits with clamant gusto and by a strident heightening of tones, gave the Sikh community a vivid impression of Sikh majesty (Archer, 1966, 40).

Guler paintings were obviously impressed by the bright coloured costumes worn by the Sikhs of Lahore (fig. 4.27) but Kangra royal paintings are in limited colours bounded by royal costumes of somber colours. It appears that mauve, saffron, yellow and white colours (figs. 4.28-4.39) were popular among Kangra officials along with Maharaja Sansar Chand in darbar during ceremonial gatherings and Holi celebrations.

### **c) The Waist- Band**

The use of waist bands is also not new in India, but the style of wearing waist band is continuously changing from centuries. The waist bands popular in Punjab hills, were of Mughal style till the first quarter of eighteenth century (figs. 5.119- 5.124). During Raja Govardhan Chand, floral patterned long length (fig. 5.127) waist band of fine fabrics tied in left or right as well as short length *patka* (fig. 4.11) tied at the center were in fashion in almost Punjab hills.

Replacing royal Mughal style floral- geometrical patterned waist bands of costly fabrics; Sikh *misaldars* adopted cotton fabric waist bands of checkered patterned blue- red- pink and brown colours (figs. 5.132- 5.139), which were originally the product of Punjab plains. A sudden change appears during Raja Prakash Chand of Guler (fig. 5.128) and Raja Ghamand Chand of Kangra (figs. 5.129, 5.130) in the style of wearing as well as pattern & fabric of waist bands, including other centers of Punjab hills like Hindur (Nalagarh), Nurpur, Jammu, Jawan, Datarpur, Sirmur, Kahlur (Bilaspur).

Cotton fabric waist bands of checkered patterned popular among Sikh *misaldars*, became disappeared during first decade of nineteenth century, replaced by royal Sikh style waist bands fashioned at Lahore court, in which broad *kamarband* or waist band covering the bums used to tie at the waist (figs. 5.144, 5.146- 5.147). The fashion of waist band covering the back does not appear among Sikh *misaldars* except the portrait of Maha Singh Sukarchakia along with his attendant (Ch. Museum, acc. no. 364). This determines that the fashion was common in Gujranwala area before Maharaja Ranjit Singh, where Sukarchakias were based. The fashion was followed by Maharaja Ranjit Singh, his family members, officials and attendants, who were habitual of wearing waist band covering the back.

Maharaja Sansar Chand and Kanwar Anirudh Chand are portrayed in simple matching or contrast coloured waist bands with robes along with his royals and nobles, but during the later years of Maharaja Sansar Chand (figs. 5.148, 5.151, 5.161), the Sikh fashion also influenced attendants of Kangra. Kangra royals Kanwar Ranbir Chand (fig. 5.178) and Pratap Chand (fig. 5.163) also adopted the fashion of waist band along with their officials and attendants of Alampur and Lambagraon. At Guler, the fashion of waist band of Sikh style adopted by Raja Bhup Singh, which was fashioned till the end of nineteenth century among Guler rulers, nobles and attendants (figs. 4.19- 4.27). Wrap was not new in Indian culture. Fashion of wearing wrap like a *chaddar* with red border was similarly popular among Sikh *misaldars*, which was the product of Multan.

#### **d) Jewelry**

The fashion of wearing jewels by male is not new. The fashion of wearing jewelry by male is as old as ancient civilizations. Mughals were very fond of precious stones and ornaments. In the early illustrations of Basohli, divinities and demons; both appear in various ornaments of pearls and stones studded in gold. But in early royal portraits of Guler, rulers and their officials appear wearing single or double strings of pearls. Even in elephant portraits of Guler rulers, strings of

pearls appear (fig. 4.3). Till Prakash Chand, fashion of wearing string of pearls was common (fig. 4.16), which can also be seen among Kangra rulers and officials (figs. 5.124, 5.130, 5.140, 5.143), but after Sikh influence, a flower pendent also started to appear, as Sikh Maharaja was a simple person, but he liked to surround by well-dressed and ornamented persons (figs. 5.147, 5.165). The influence appear during young Raja Bhup Singh of Guler (fig. 5.152). In later portrait, Maharaja Sansar Chand also started to appear in Sikh type of jewelry, which was followed by Kanwar Anirudh (fig. 5.151), Raja Fateh Chand and their successors.

### e) **Big Black Shield**

The fashion of wearing shields strapped on the back while fighting in the battlefields or hunting is not new in Indian paintings, but in Mughal-Rajput common court manners, a shield was used to wear at the waist with the help of a waist- belt over right or left shoulder while standing and commonly placed in the lap of a seated person in sitting posture (fig. 5.164). Although, various types of round shaped, big sized shields of various colours and designs were in fashion among Mughals, but Mughal Emperors did not portrayed with shields strapped on their back in court scenes, but rarely appears in later times. Mughal soldiers wore shield on their back in battlefields or outdoor scenes, but it was not compulsory to wear the shield on the back in courts. On the other hand, in court scenes of Rajputana, shields can also be seen at the back.

#### **Big- Black Shields**



*Figure 5.164. Govardhan Chand of Guler*



*Figure 5.165. Raja Hira Singh Dogra*

The fashion of wearing big black shield made of buffalo-hide strapped on the back (fig. 5.165) was compulsory during Sikh Maharaja and nobles, but Sikh *misaldars* also used to wear black shield on their backs while sitting (fig. 3.36). Shield of *ghenda* rhinoceros hide, said to have belonged to Guru Gobind Singh. These glossy black shields were once in common use among the Multani and Frontier chiefs still carry them. Shields strapped on the back was not new, but this was never a popular court fashion with Guler rulers (figs. 5.119- 5.124) before Sikh influence. Govardhan Chand also rarely portrayed wearing big black shield on his back and a spear in his hand (fig. 4.11), while mounted on a horse. Bhup Singh also portrayed in black shield while mounted on a stallion (fig. 4.20). But the big black shields strapped on the back of the royals (figs. 4.23, 4.25- 4.27) in court scenes started to appear from Mian Jai Singh of Guler. Although, young Sansar Chand wearing black shield on his back accompanied by some nobles (Ch. Museum, acc. no. 350) can be seen, but the fashion of wearing shield strapped on the back in court by rulers and officials does not appear in Kangra.

#### **f) Uniform of Troop**

The uniform of a Mughal soldier comprised of a quilted coat, turban, trousers and shoes. The lapels of the coat were tied with a knot on the right side and a waist band was worn over the coat. The bow and arrow as well as sword & the shield were common weapons. But the most remarkable weapon introduced by the Mughals for the infantry was the Bandoor (gun). The foundation of the military system, which Guru Hargobind laid for the empowerment of Sikhs, had been made systematic and strategic by his grandson Guru Gobind Singh, who also granted his disciples; an identity of warrior, organizing the Sikhs into a martial race. He bequeathed the first uniform to the Sikhs embodying Khalsa or The Pure. Uniforming the Sikhs, five ks: *kara*, *kangha*, *kacchera*, *kirpan* and *kes* were declared as major components of the identity, and four out of these five constituents had military importance. Keeping long hair benefitted against the blow of a sword, the iron bangle too helped in combating the attack of daggers or could be used to hit the enemy on the face, the short pants were helpful and easy while riding and the sword was an evident weapon for attack and defense. Before the creation of the Khalsa in 1699, the Guru altered the structure of the *Akal Sena* with the effect that only a high ranking combatant was to be known as an *Akali* while a small grade soldier was designated a Nihang (the unafraid). The Nihang's profession was to defend the Gurdwaras and to remain forthright in the battleground which was further organized

and reinforce in the form of light cavalry bands by Sikh *misaldars* as well as *Akalis* dressed in blue, armed with quoits and other heavy armaments.

Employment of European and French officers by Maharaja Ranjit Singh fashioned the uniforms for disciplined army, which reflected in the Sikh paintings of mid- nineteenth century, in which finely embroidered scarlet, blue, yellow, green and white coloured velvet coats, jackets or gabardine, shirt, tunic, fitted trousers, black cross- belts attached with a bag (*toshdan*), belt richly embroidered in gold and red, chain armor, helmets and quilted jackets made of rich silk black heron's plume stuck in the front, blue or yellow silk turban with one end loose and spread to cover the head, back of the neck and shoulders were included. On the festive occasions like *Basant* and *Baisakhi*; all the courtiers, nobles and troopers were ordered to attire yellow garments. The arms and uniform of the Sikhs had much semblance with the troop of Company excluding their turban and their discipline had been strictly maintained till the rebellions which succeeded Ranjit's death.

In the battle scenes of Guler; rulers (Ch. Museum, acc. nos. 181, Q- 2) are represented in chain armors, which was a common uniform of Indian warriors to protect themselves in the battlefields. In *Devi Mahatamaya* series of Guler, *Devi* and demons, are also rendered in chain armors (fig. 4.17). Till the first half of nineteenth century, Mian Jai Singh also started to appear riding with the escort in modern uniform (fig. 4.24) which also has resemblance with the uniforms, designed for the Khalsa army, while Maharaja Sansar Chand designed the uniforms for his troop by Colonel O' Brien during the last decades of eighteenth century, portrayed on various celebrating occasions of Kangra (fig. 4.36), was different from the uniform of Khalsa army, in which blue coloured chako, red coat of cutaway style with yellow collar and white baggy breeches, and white waist band were included, which appears the combination of indo-western style. In other painting, the uniform of Kangra troopers contain blue and red cutaway coats with yellow, red & blue laces and white baggy breeches (fig. 4.32). European caps also can be seen in hill paintings, even in mythological paintings.

Maharaja Ranjit Singh westernized his troops in many ways. He not only adopted European uniforms for his troops, but also warfare strategies. His troops were disciplined and armed with muskets, guns and cannons. Armed with muskets and bayonets of tremendous construction, from Ranjit's foundry in Lahore also reflected in Sikh paintings, which impressed Guler painters. Various sketches of Sikh soldiers were prepared by Guler painters for the study purpose. Use of muskets also can be seen in Guler paintings of mid- nineteenth century. Lahore was famous for

the production of arms like matchlocks, swords, bows and arrows. Lehna Singh; Sikh governor of Kangra also knew use of artillery. The impression of uniformed Khalsa army reflected in Sikh paintings (fig. 3.64), which can be seen in Guler paintings (fig. 4.24), while there is lack of troop scenes in Kangra due to political turmoil.

### **g) Big Umbrella**

In early India, umbrellas had been used to shadow the royal head and therefore recognizes as vivid symbol of royalty. The practice had been hardly adopted by the Mughals, but in the Punjab hills and Rajasthan, a small imperial parasol with bent holder was sometimes stable in place after a doyen while seated on an elephant or a throne. Today, there are various references that Mughals also used umbrellas but painters rarely created the element of umbrella in Mughal paintings. It can also be seen in Persian miniatures, perhaps due to hot weather of Persia. But attendants also appear holding sunshades of circular and leaf shape in outdoor scenes of Mughals (fig. 5.166).

Big and long poled royal umbrellas of silk fabric like the modern umbrella of today were also in fashion (fig. 5.169) among Sikh Maharaja and his courtiers during their visits for hunting and expeditions. It was an emblem of royalty, which protects from heat and water in the summers and rains. Along with *khillats* and royal gifts; royal umbrellas were also the part of generosity for the comfort of royal guests, granted by Maharaja Ranjit Singh, which marks his attention to their comforts.

In the paintings of Punjab hills, sunshades of circular or leaf shape (figs. 5.166, 5.167) as well as big *morchhal* (fig.5.168) were commonly used to protect from sun rays. During young Prakash Chand, umbrella with short pole, was also popular (fig. 4.14) in hilly areas. Balwant Singh of Jasrota often painted with umbrella, while inspecting construction. In mythical –love scenes, a different type of umbrella, made of leaves, can be seen holding by the lovers to protect themselves from rain. But after Sikh influence, the big and long poled umbrella of silk fabric became fashion till the last decade of nineteenth century at Guler with more decorative patterns replacing sunshades. Guler rulers became habitual of big umbrella, since Bhup Singh and Jai Singh, who often presented with Sikh attendants holding a large poled umbrella in altered shape and patterns (figs. 4.20, 4.22, 4.24, 4.27 and 5.170).

### Sun- Shades and Umbrella



*Figure 5.166.*



*Figure 5.167.*



*Figure 5.168.*



*Figure 5.169. Maharaja Ranjit Singh*



*Figure 5.170. Mian Bhup Singh*

In Kangra paintings, Guler type simple umbrella for rainy season is also depicted during young Sansar Chand. In marriage ceremony of Kanwar Anirudh Chand, a sunshade of leaf shape seen along with an umbrella (fig. 4.36), but it is of distinct style from Sikh type umbrella.

#### **h) Waving Cloth**



*Morchhal* and *chauri* fans (figs. 5.119, 5.128, 5.130, 5.141) used to wave for the royals by attendants are not new in Indian painting, but waving by a white cloth was not much popular before Sikhs as this element is used popularly in the Sikh paintings of nineteenth century. The element of waving with a cloth appeared earlier in the illustrations of Baburnama (The Walters Art Museum) and Laur-Chanda illustrations of Lahore Museum and Ch. Museum of mediaeval period. The idiom is also used in *Rasika Priya* illustrations of Mewar c. 1660.

In the portraits of Sikh Gurus and *misaldars*, *morchhal* and *chauri* wavers are common (figs. 5.132, 5.135, 5.139), but in the portraits of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and his courtiers, waving with a white cloth also became fashionable (figs. 3.53, 3.55, 3.75, 3.76 and 3.82), along with *chauri*. Later, it merged at Guler and Kangra court scenes (figs. 4.23) with *morchhal* and *chauri*.

### i) Furniture

Hugel wrote about the use of *charpays*, or beds in hilly areas. These beds are made of cords stretched tightly over a frame of wood, and resting on four low feet (Hugel, 1845, 31- 32). In hill paintings, of cahirs and divans, we see very little; the Raja was generally content with sitting on an eminence, or on a low couch with four legs and a low back. In the later paintings, we find chairs with long thin legs, studded with gold. These probably came under Sikh influence. Tabor- shaped settees are also to be seen and these were made out of the stem of the *muni* grass. Small *chaukis* or low tables octangular in shape were used for various purposes, and ewers and basins were placed on these. Only in the houses of the commercial classes and, of course, of the rich, one could find bedsteads, palangs, in use (Goswamy, 1961a, 284- 285). In the later paintings, the use of chairs with long thin legs, studded with gold can be noticed.

#### Furniture of Maharaja Sansar Chand

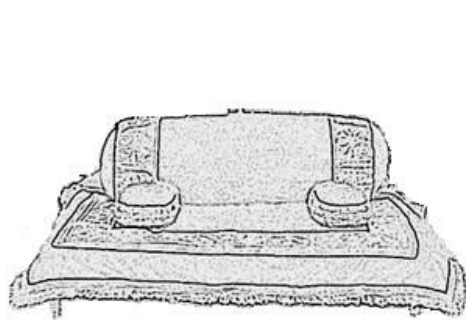


Figure 5.171. Masnad



Figure 5.172. Silver throne

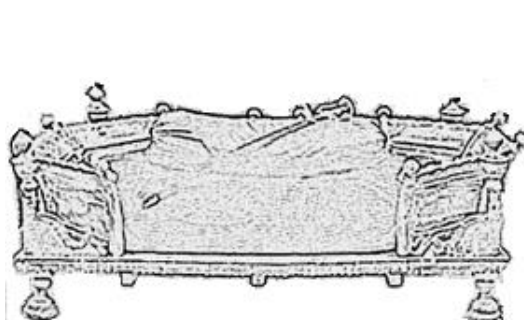
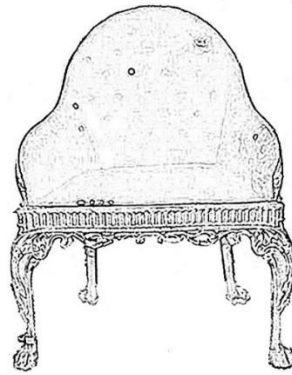


Figure 5.173. Silver throne

### Furniture of Maharaja Ranjit Singh



**Figure 5.174. Bath tub throne**



**Figure 5.175. Golden chair**



**Figure 5.176. Golden throne**

Before Maharaja Ranjit Singh, chairs can be seen in Mughal- Sikh Lahore. Finch noticed on the wall of a Lahore palace, king's picture, sitting cross-legged on a chair of state (Nath, 1990, 75). The likenesses of Guru Hargobind in Dehradun coll. and Emperor Jahangir also emerged in seated postures on chairs, but Punjabi furniture was different from Mughals. Ornamental furniture was less popular. Tables often inlaid, with legs covered with silver plate and arm chairs were alone in routine, and low wooden stools for sitting on. Lahore, Amritsar, Gujrat and Shimla were the centers of carpentry. Guler painters used dotted patterns of white- red and green on gilt- silver and golden chairs (figs. 3.48, 3.50) to create an effect of inlaid furniture, reflected in royal Sikh portraits. Along with golden and silver chairs; gilt chairs with looped arms after some alterations in English style chairs became popular in the Sikh court (figs. 3.48, 3.55, 3.56, 5.174- 5.176), also reflected in Guler paintings replacing low wooden beds. Wooden stools were also popular at Guler and Kangra after Sikh influence.

The interior of the abode remained furnished commonly in the simplest style. During the Sikh time, the rural classes used earthen vessels for the preparation of their food (Barnes, 1862, 95). During the first decade of nineteenth century, the influence of Sikh furniture reflected in the paintings of Guler in the form of chairs and wooden stools along with carpets during Bhup Singh and Jai Singh (figs. 4.19, 4.21, 4.23, 4.25, 4.26). During nineteenth century, Guler rulers portrayed on Sikh chairs and stools. In Kangra, Maharaja Sansar Chand and Kanwar Ranbir Chand also rendered seated on Sikh style chairs (figs. 5.177, 5.178), but Maharaja Sansar Chand also appears seated on a wooden stool from his young age portraits (fig. 4.29). Maharaja Sansar Chand had his own furniture (figs. 5.171- 5.173), but chairs can be seen in nineteenth century Kangra portraits. Guler and Kangra females also started to portray on wooden stools and chairs from first quarter of

nineteenth century. Sikh chairs, grounded on early nineteenth century English instances but altered with a new kind of coiled arm, switched the broad and low beds, on which Rajput monarchs used to relax.



Figure 5.177. Maharaja Sansar Chand



Figure 5.178. Kanwar Ranbir Chand

#### j) Carpets

Carpet on which ruler sit, is known as *maslat*. Rectangular shaped carpets with floral and arabesque patterns were popular among Mughals and Rajput, which were also famous in hills. While Sikhs of early nineteenth century, also preferred oval rugs of bright colours except square shaped carpets.

Dari or thick cotton carpet always remains spread in court scenes. In Mughal-Rajput court scenes, a small square or rectangular carpet with floral patterns, always spread over thick cotton carpet for dominating figure or ruler. But in Sikh portraits, oval rug became more popular along with square carpet for dominating persons (figs. 3.49, 3.53, 3.71, 3.74, 3.82). Although, a small manufactory of carpets was founded by Maharaja Sansar Chand in Kangra, but oval rugs were also mirrored in Kangra and Guler (figs. 4.27, 5.149) likenesses. Multan and Lahore were famous for its silk & cotton garments and varied types of carpets and oval rugs also seem a local production.

#### k) Huqqa

Although, smoking of *huqqa* was introduced during Mughals, but in the portraits of hill rulers, it is very common. In court assemblies, ceremonies and on terraces, smoking of *huqqa* was a fashion among Rajput rulers. Even during expeditions; *huqqa* remains the part of Rajput life, but it was banned by the tenth Sikh Guru. Along with adopting the external identity of Sikhs, Dogras employed at Lahore court rarely portrayed smoking *huqqa* (figs. 3.71- 3.74, 3.76), while Sucet

Singh Dogra of Jammu remained busy at military camps, he is portrayed with *huqqa* (fig. 3.75), which evidenced that *huqqa* was banned during Maharaja Ranjit Singh.

In the portraits of Rajput rulers, *huqqa* bowl is often placed near them while sitting on the carpet, but after the use of chairs, an attendant used to hold *huqqa* bowl, standing behind the chair of his master, while seated on chair (figs. 4.23, 4.38). Although, sometimes *huqqa* remains absent from Guler portraits, but Kangra likenesses are regularly portrayed smoking *huqqa* (fig. 4.38). As Raja Bhup Singh was a reputed personality in front of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, he often performed without smoking *huqqa* in his likenesses, who also adopted Khalsa identity and royal Sikh fashions (figs. 4.18- 4.21).

### **l) Sikh Figures**

Sikh lifestyle not only impressed courtly figures, but it also influenced common people working at hill courts. Sikh attendants of *misal* period (5.156) are different from nineteenth century Sikh attendants (figs. 5.157- 5.159). In Kangra court paintings, Sikh figures started to appear in last decades of eighteenth century, because of *misal* period Sikh identity and dresses (figs. 5.130, 5.141, 5.148, 5.150) replacing Mughal- Rajput attendants. George Forster who traveled across these hills about a decade later states, that the Sikhs also seized handsome and healthy boys for conversion to Sikhism and staffing in their armies. In later paintings, figures appear in the portraits of Sikh Gurus, wearing small conical turbans of early nineteenth century. Along with Bhup Singh and Maharaja Sansar Chand, later rulers of Guler (figs. 4.20- 4.27) and Kangra (figs. 4.37, 4.38) also portrayed with Sikh attendants.

### **m) Postural Behaviors**

There are various royal and comfortable postures and gestures in which rulers and nobles often portrayed smoking, conversing or dictating among officials seated kneeling on carpets, while attendants commonly depicted busy in serving or waving in standing postures. With the use of furniture, postures also started to change replacing most common kneeling posture in carpet portraits of Mughal- Rajput settings.

Maharaja Ranjit Singh was habitual of comfortable postures while seated with his intimates and courtiers. Changes in conventional kneeling postures were due to the use of chairs and Maharaja's habit of sitting in cross- legged comfortable postures. Maharaja preferred to sit cross- legged in golden chair and a large silver chair, very much resembling in shape like a hip bath or reclining against a cushion on the Kashmiri carpet instead of a royal throne. He refused to sit on

the throne like the Mughal Emperors and continued to hold darbar seated on chairs. While Rajput rulers were often publicized sitting on the square carpet in kneeling posture or laying on the low wooden beds reclining against oval cushion (figs. 5.119- 5.122, 5.126, 5.128- 5.130). *Misaldars* likewise portrayed in kneeling postures (figs. 5.132- 5.139). Although, cross-legged posture was not new, but it became much popular among the Sikh courtiers during Maharaja Ranjit Singh (figs. 3.48, 3.49, 5.146). Maharaja's favorite cross-legged postures also impressed Rajput rulers.

After 1830s, in the portraits of Maharaja he is publicized seated in a golden throne with his courtiers. Maharaja often shown in cross-legged sitting posture or *asana* popularly used in Indian ancient sculptures *maharajlilasana*, in relaxing moods in which the body of a sitter remains in little leaning position and one leg rests on the other, in cross-legged position and hands rest on thighs (fig. 5.101). Sometimes, both legs remain in cross posture resting on the chair.

His familiar posture of cross-legged sometimes changed and he sits on a chair or throne with straight legs downwards and both legs touch the ground, which indicates firmness of his character. Sometimes, one leg remains folded at knee and other remains resting on foot stool in '*lalitāsana*' position (fig. 3.56) to indicate his concern for sentient beings, and desires to be pro-active and an intention to engage in acts of compassion and liberation. While sitting on English chairs, Maharaja and his courtiers look like European officers in relaxed cross-legged or straight-legged postures.

Various Sikh portraits in cross-legged posture are exist replacing kneeling posture. Guler rulers started to depict straight- legged seated on chairs (figs. 5.152, 5.162) and cross- legged (fig. 5.153), from mid- nineteenth century after the popularity of looped- armed Sikh chairs, along with kneeling on carpets (figs. 4.25- 4.27). Postural behaviors of Sikh Maharaja and his officers really impressed the traditional postures of Kangra rulers, reflected in their portraits with the use of furniture. Maharaja Sansar Chand (figs. 5.161, 5.177), Raja Fateh Chand (fig. 5.149) and Kanwar Ranbir Chand (fig. 5.178) also portrayed seated on carpet and chairs in various cross- legged and straight- legged postures along with his grandson Pratap Chand.

#### **n) Impression of Sikh Compositions**

Although, court settings and compositions of Guler and Kangra were ideal for Sikh court scenes, but Sikh equestrian portraits are of different settings. Before the British influence in India, cavalry was an undivided part of Indian administration. So equestrian portraits became fashionable to depict royal strength. Settings for equestrian portraits accompanied by mounted troop was

common. Settings of Mughal paintings were followed by Guler and Kangra painters for equestrian portraits accompanied by mounted troop (figs. 4.18, 4.31).

There are various portraits of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, mounted on horse accompanied by either only attendant or his infantry troops as he promoted infantry battalions under his service. He was fond of horse riding and often used to inspect his troops on horseback. In equestrian portraits, Maharaja always remains a central figure, and his troop escort him in a circle (fig. 3.64). Maharaja's discipline troop impressed the settings of Guler and Kangra equestrian portraits, in which infantry troop remains ahead the central figure and mounted troop follow the master. Influence of disciplined Sikh infantry on compositional settings of Guler also reflected. During Raja Jai Singh, impression of infantry can be seen on equestrian portraits of mid- nineteenth century (figs. 4.22, 4.24), while in Kangra, influence does not appear, because after the death of Maharaja Sansar Chand in 1823, Anirudh Chand migrated to Garhwal. Due to political upheaval in Kangra, there is a lack of equestrian portraits of later Kangra rulers.

In equestrian portraits, stereotype unidentifiable attendants or without attendants, figures remain dominant and appear movable. In the group of mounted troop, royal figure always remains ahead or in circle followed by troop or companions. These settings were common from Mughal period and followed by Guler and Kangra painters till the end of nineteenth century for Rajput and Sikh, both types of paintings. Troop scenes emerged only during Sikh Maharaja and his commanders, in which crowd remains absent or portrayed with unidentifiable features (figs. 3.45-3.47, 3.64). There is an absence of Sikh troop scenes during *misaldars*.

Like the Sikh court scenes, Maharaja remains central figure in equestrian portraits encircled by infantry troop. But the work of Pahari-Muslim and local painters emerged new variations in Maharaja's portraiture. Where, Pahari portraitists represented Maharaja in hilly background as the sovereign of the hills (fig. 3.64), on the other hand, European influences via Mughal-Company style through the hands of Muslim- Sikh artists are also clear in the form of 'flattering, allegorical portraits' in which Maharaja and his successors are shown blessed with blissful supremacies.

## CHAPTER VI

### DISCUSSION

Sikh race is commonly known as martial race. Although, Indian and western scholars started to focus on Sikh art from the last quarter of twentieth century addressing architecture, wall paintings, miniatures, manuscript illustrations and illumination, calligraphy and other artifacts mutually, but there is an absence of constant stylistic as well technical analysis of Sikh paintings during different phases. Continuous contribution of S. N. Gupta, O. C. Gangoli, W. G. Archer, B. N. Goswamy, M. S. Randhawa, S. S. Dosanj & Rao Uttam Singh, K. C. Aryan, R. P. Srivastava, F. S. Aijazuddin, Kanwarjit Singh Kang, Man Mohan Singh, Kerry Brown, Susan Stronge, T. S. Randhawa, Kavita Singh, Dr. Daljeet, B. N. Goswamy, Caron Smith, Jasleen Kandhari and Barbara Schmitz erected a base for further study of Sikh arts, revealing artistic activities under royal patronage of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, while the contribution of Sikh historians and philosophers Trilochan Singh, Piara Singh Padam, Surjit Hans, Gurinder Singh Mann, Louis E. Fenech, Sikandar Singh, Roopinder Singh and Nikky- Gurinder Kaur Singh are also not less significant and supportive in studying Sikh culture and arts, throwing lights on relics of Sikh Gurus and heritage from different parts of country.

Sikhism supports the philosophy of formless God and equality of human being, rejecting idol worship and its supportive concept of incarnation. Its followers were low caste society of Jats, *tarkhans* and artisans as well as *bhaktas*, poet- saints, Bhatt and philosophers attending the darbars of Sikh Gurus. Circulation of Sultanate and Persian illustrated & illuminated manuscripts, Mughal carpets and Chamba rumals as well as *gach* work from the second half of fifteenth century inspired the natives of Punjab. Employment of scribes to copy the *pothi* of Guru Arjun by common Sikh devotee Bhai Banno in Lahore is also fascinating evidence that scribes were also good illustrators.

While analyzing Rajasthani, Deccan and hill paintings, scholars also study their relations with Mughals, while intercourses between Sikh Gurus, their fellows and Mughal Emperors & their governors on different occasions has been neglected. With the development of portraiture and characterization in Mughal period, Sikhs also started to take interest in likenesses to secure *darshan* of Sikh Gurus. Today, portraits of Babur and Humayun exist, but their portraits are considered of Akbar period. Guru Nanak, Guru Angad, Guru Amar Das and Guru Ram Das were too their contemporary. But their portraits create little confusion. Different styles were applied by artists for Guru Nanak's portrayals. Mughal painters applied their style of Mughal robe and band

turban for the portrait of Guru Nanak in Guru Ram Rai's coll., while Punjabi painters depicted him in round turban and *choga*. Easily identifiable portraits of Guru Nanak, Guru Angad, Guru Amar Das, Guru Ram Das and Guru Arjun in band turbans of seventeenth century Shah Jahani fashion create difficulties in determining the time period of their emergence, because they were contemporary of Emperor Akbar, while band turbans and short *patka* (waist band) came into fashion during Jahangir. Akbar period *chakdar jama*, *atpati topi* and long length waist bands never applied for the portraits of Gurus. While, in actual, a different type of headgear worn by *fakirs* was fashioned among first five Sikh Gurus and practice of wearing royal turban decorated with royal emblem had been started with Guru Hargobind. If the portraits of early Gurus emerged during eighteenth century by Pahari painters, styles of turbans and outfits also changed among Sikh *misaldars* and Maharaja Ranjit Singh as well as Rajput rulers. Originally, the Mughal style portraits of first five Gurus emerged during seventeenth century by Mughal artists of Jahangir period, were altered by Punjabi artists according to their knowledge during seventeenth- eighteenth centuries and later, continuously copied and experimented by Pahari masters from eighteenth century onwards.

However Dr. Anurag Singh accepts the evidences of *darshan* of Guru Nanak in *pracheen* (old) *pothis* of Bhai Bala *parampara* (tradition), which goes back to sixteenth century and two illustrated *pothis* were prepared during Guru Amardas and Guru Arjun (Singh Anurag, personal communication, May 9, 2017). Likenesses of Guru Nanak in Janamsakhi manuscripts of Bhai Bala tradition were originated, circulated and reserved by Punjabi painters, but later altered by Pahari painters. The portrait of Guru Amardas did not alter by Mughal, Punjabi and Pahari artists and continuously copied from Dehradun coll. Possibly the *darshan* of Guru Amardas in Dehradun coll. is also copied from any original source.

Varied *tarkhans*, architects, scribes, painters, illustrators and *naqqash* (decorators) of high esteem were active in Lahore during Lodi- Mughal administration. Circulation of illustrated manuscripts of Akbar period inspired Sikh narrative arts, along with alterations and adjustments of Persian- Mughal and Kashmiri floral & geometrical motifs into Sikh texts from seventeenth century. Sikh Gurus were great patrons of scribes, architects and *tarkhans*. Sikhism chiefly attracted the Jat peasantry and artisan castes such as *tarkhans* (carpenters) and *lohars* (blacksmiths). The *hukumnamas* (orders) were written either by the Gurus or by court scribes. A line cannot be drawn between the scribes, artisans and craftsmen of Punjab. Scribes were also fine



illustrators. Portraits of hill rulers of seventeenth century often counted and studied by scholars in order to see early developments of arts, but contemporary portrayals of Sikh Gurus in varied phraseologies of seventeenth century with flat green or blue backgrounds has been ignored, which essentially form the base of Sikh paintings. Sikh Gurus and their devotees were early patrons of Sikh arts. Even Bhai Bidhi Chand, being a bandit in his early days, was not unknown to the art of portraiture and Bhai Rup Chand was also a peasant. Both commissioned Mughal artists for the likenesses of Guru Hargobind including self- portraits. Portrait series of Guru Hargobind in Rup Chand and Sursinghwala colls. evidence that the series is not prepared by single artist, and the variation in style indicates that different painters were employed in different times. Painters were accompanied by Sikh patrons in sixteenth - seventeenth centuries, like Rajput and Mughal rulers.

Reflecting varied styles, Sikh portraits are also a good medium to study fashion trends in mid- seventeenth century Punjab, where Mughal influences were precise replacing rich culture of ancient India. Rajput rulers often portrayed in varied robes, *patkas* and turbans of Mughal styles, which are also supportive to relate the time period of development of artistic activities in Punjab hills. Akbar period *atpati topi*, *chakdar jama* and long *patka* are rare in hill paintings, as well Sikh portraits and visual narratives. Knee length, ankle length, transparent, plated robes, with floral-geometrical patterned *patkas* of short and long lengths, band turbans of Jahangir, Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb periods influenced Rajput rulers, but the impression of distinct Sikh identity is also helpful in exploring the status and life style of Sikhs. Guru Hargobind and his family members often portrayed in royal robes and turbans of Jahangir period, while Bhai Bidhi Chand and Guru Ram Rai are represented in saffron robes. Guru Har Rai portrayed in plain plated as well as floral robes with *angavastra* like *patka* fashioned during the third quarter of the seventeenth century with pierced ears wearing earrings, while the fashion was not followed by Sikh Gurus. The character of Sikh personalities also captured by the artists. Guru Hargobind and Bhai Bidhi Chand are portrayed on horseback with shield, sword and hawk as a martial personalities, while Guru Har Rai always represented as a Nature lover, holding an herb in his hand, while he was also a worthy warrior and had participated in many battles. Changing styles of backgrounds and their colours are evidenced of commissioning the varied artists during different times. Painterly activities can be noticed in Lahore, Sursinghwala, Kiratpur and Rup Nagar in the presence of Gurus and devotees. Even Guru Ram Rai, a rival of Sikh Gurus, was also patronized painters for his likenesses to circulate among

his followers and to embellish the building of *dera* (center). His likenesses were dispersed among his believers as '*kartapurakh*'.

Varied styles of Guru Har Rai's portraits are of different time periods by different hands. Young aged portrayal of Guru Har Rai on horseback is in post Jahangir period, reflecting a blend of indigenous idioms with European influences, while other likeness on blue coloured background with a strip of white evokes Mandi style. But two portraits in floral patterned robes in Sursinghwalla and Rup Chand colls. are precisely by dissimilar hands.

Guru Har Krishan as a child, portrayed with his follower Mirza Raja Jai Singh, who accompanied the Guru in Delhi darbar. Guru Har Krishan's demise in early age creates question on the patronage of artists. But his likeness as an ideal portrait prepared in Bilaspur style, supports the concept of patronage by a devotee through the hands of a migrating or local artist.

Guru Tegh Bahadur remained busy in traveling accompanied with large crowd. But tradition to reserve *darshan* of Gurus was continued during Guru Tegh Bahadur as he also allowed for his likeness. *Darshan* of tenth Guru from childhood to adult emerging in Luknow, Anandpur, Mandi and Bilaspur, have esthetic disparities. Devotees used to meet the Gurus and also commissioned their likenesses while leaving or on the basis of their memories. But seventeenth century portrayals of Sikh Gurus depict true psychology. Although, Sikh Gurus and their philosophy are anti- idolatry, but their likenesses emerged as the result of devotees' love for them and not for their worship. As Guru Gobind Singh announced that whoever calls him God will go to hell. ਜੋ ਹਮ ਕੇ ਪਰਮੇਸਰ ਉਚਰਿ ਹੈ॥ ਤੇ ਸਭ ਨਰਕਿ ਕੁੰਡ ਮਹਿ ਪਰਿ ਹੈ॥ (*Jo hum ko parmesar uchar hain. Te sabh narak kund mahi parihai.*) (*Bachittar Natak, canto 6, chaupai/verse 32*).

Guru Gobind Singh did not want his Sikhs to start idolizing him, but forced to worship one Immortal and possibly the announcing of this verse is to secure Sikhs from the tradition to paint likenesses of Gurus in those days and to make departed from idolatry as the physical body is not worthy of adoration. On the other hand, Vaishnava philosophy not only inspired Rajput hill rulers for singing and dancing, but also enriched the themes of painting.

Another problem of Sikh paintings is lack of proper & serial evidences and documentations, which creates uncertainty in determining the styles, painters as well patronage. During battles with Mughals and Rajput rulers, lots of literature of Guru Gobind Singh and his poets had been lost and destroyed. First half of eighteenth century is the time of countless martyrdom of Sikhs. Nonetheless, demise of Guru, imprisonment and martyrdoms after

martyrdom of Sikhs & Banda Singh Bahadur in the first quarter of eighteenth century, was not an era of dead blank of Sikh arts and culture. After Guru's demise, his wife and some devotees started to collect literature of tenth Guru. During early eighteenth century, circulation and copying of portraits were continued in hilly areas by the hands of Pahari painters and they started to merge their imaginations and alterations, while Mandi style portrait of Guru Gobind Singh did not circulate like portraits of other hill rulers. The experimentations for Gurus' portraits also started in Bilaspur, Mandi, Mankot and Nurpur states as well in plains of Punjab. Not only portraits of Sikh Gurus, but also the portraits of other Punjabi saints emerged by native Punjabi artists. The practice of *agan bhet* (cremation ceremony) for *birdh swaroop* (old or damaged Sikh manuscripts) also has been destroyed rich heritage, which could be well-maintained with utmost respect through conserving. Through this practice, artistic evidences also has been destroyed. Some valuable artifacts has been stolen and sold to the dealers and auction houses of other countries.

Some inscriptions also found on Sikh paintings of seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but several of them are doubtful, possibly written by unknown painters, dealers or devotees for the identification of characters portrayed in pictures. Study of varied iconographies of Gurus are helpful to clear suspicious inscriptions. A portrait at Asian Art Museum (fig. 3.10) captioned as 'Guru Tegh Bahadur' in museum records, is also inscribed on verso as '*kartapurakh*' in *Gurmukhi* while Guru Ram Rai was popular as *kartapurakh* among his followers and his other likenesses of Dehradun coll. are also inscribed as '*sri kartapurakh*'. A portrait of early eighteenth century at Asian Art Museum (no. 1998.59), is captioned as 'Guru Hargobind' in museum record, wearing black *simarni* and holding a *bairagan* (arm- rest) also inscribed in *Devanagari* and Persian '*guru hargobind*' on verso, which also appears doubtful because Guru Har Rai was habitual of holding *bairagan* while doing penance.

Traveling from early Sikh centers Lahore, Amritsar, Rup Nagar, Anandpur, Bilaspur and Mandi; Sikh art entered at Guler and Kangra after political associations of Sikh *misaldars* with rulers of Punjab hills. Under Sikh *misaldars*, patronage of arts extended during last quarter of eighteenth century. Jai Singh Kanheya, his son Gurbaksh Singh and Jassa Singh Ramgarhia & their fellows were patrons of painters' families of Guler and Kangra. Family of Nainsukh was employed by Sikhs during Prakash Chand of Guler and Raja Raj Singh of Chamba. Painters were also free and habitual of working with their imaginations to create *dhyanas* of Hindu deities to offer the Rajas on special occasions as *nazars* and were rewarded by them. Styles of Sikh legendry

portraits started to alter by painters' family of Nainsukh. The practice of portraying his patron *aandata* on the place of God Krishna or Rama was fashioned among Rajasthani painters. This practice also influenced the portraits of Sikh Gurus. Likenesses of Chamba ruler Raja Raj Singh & his successor Jit Singh and Amrit Pal of Basohli influenced the real likenesses of Sikh Gurus. Punjabi versions of Janamsakhi illustrations also copied, altered and modified into their naturalistic styles.

Although, likenesses of Gurus were influenced by Pahari rulers, but socio- cultural identity of Sikhs also impressed Pahari rulers and their attendants conversely. Possibly Ranjha and Nikka working for Chamba rulers were employed by Ramgarhias, Kanheyas and their companion Sardar Baghel Singh. Jai Singh Kanheya, Gurbakhsh Singh, Jassa Singh Ramgarhia, Tara Singh Ghaiba and Baghel Singh were heroic personalities as well victors. Being turban brothers of hill rulers, Sikh *misaldars* influenced through their large sized turbans and *gatra* or sword- belts. Masculine faces of Sikh *misaldars* with long- flowing beards also impressed hill rulers.

Purkhu and his father also worked for Sikh *misaldars*. Ghamand Chand and Sikh *misaldars* had their rapid portraiture. A big coll. of portraits of Rajput rulers of nearby states of Kangra including the likenesses of Sikh *misaldars* and Gurus, now at Ch. Museum, originally came from Lambagraon ancestral coll. Although some of these may have been commissioned individually, it is probable that the coll. was originated in the life-time of Ghamand Chand. The portrait of Ghamand Chand is inscribed in *Gurmukhi*, which also raises question that, was *Gurmukhi* known to hill painters till mid- eighteenth century. Inscription in *Gurmukhi* also suggests the commissioning of painter by Sikh patron for the likeness of a Rajput ruler. It is also possible that portrait was in the coll. of either Ramgarhias or Kanheyas during their annexation of Kangra fort.

Portraits of Sikh Gurus emerged by Guler painters were influenced by Rajput identity, while portraits of Gurus came from ancestral coll. of Lambagraon, Kangra are in different style. Grey coloured flat backgrounds and black rules are of Ghamand Chand period. Portraits of Gurbaksh Singh Kanheya from Lambagraon coll. are with grey flat backgrounds. Although, portraits of Guler and Chamba rulers are more naturalistic than early Kangra School. But sometimes Guler and Kangra artists also applied traditional Mughal style for legendry portraits, like flat green backgrounds and band turbans during *misal* period.

Except the portraits of Sikh Gurus and Janamsakhi illustrations, likenesses of royal Sikhs and their companions, court, hunting, domestic scenes as well narratives based on religious texts

started to inspire Pahari painters onwards. Maharaja Ranjit Singh also appointed painters for the wall decorations of Harmandar Sahib, Amritsar. Except Maharaja Ranjit Singh, Sandhanwalias, Majithias, Dogras, Fakirs and other natives along with British officers of Punjab patronized arts of miniatures as well as wall decoration of their *havelis* and *samadhs*. Guler and Kangra artists were active in Punjab plains while majority of native Muslim artisans and craftsmen were already active in Lahore from Mughal period. Some Sikh painters were also working for Sikh masters. Phraseologies applied by them are varied and can be identified easily. Some dispersed series of portraits of Gurus and Janamsakhi illustrations are of decedent style and their patrons are also not known, which appear later work copied from established iconographies by common painters for Punjabi natives during late nineteenth century.

Archer's thesis (1966) mainly covers the era of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, while Goswamy's study (1999) focuses the painters at the Sikh court under Maharaja Ranjit Singh revealing twenty documents of grants of different categories, issued to painters till mid- nineteenth century, which excludes individual phraseologies of different artists. Study of the grants issued to the hill painters by Sikh authorities can wane erroneous identification of characters. Majithia and Sandhanwalia Sardars, both were patrons of Guler painters and some grants were also issued by them, but Lehna Singh Sandhanwalia was associated to Kangra royal family through marital relations. Artists explored the official and domestic life of Sandhanwalia family.

The practice of art not less in plains than in hills, but continuous stylistic development in one direction inspired by Hindu mythology is now identified as Pahari School, while styles applied for Sikh themes are varied. Some common idioms emerged for Sikh paintings except applying varied phraseologies which influenced other Schools. These idioms were not based on styles, but enthused by distinct social identity of Sikhs granted by tenth Guru. Starting with Mughal, Kashmiri, Punjabi styles in seventeenth century, Sikh School had been matured, absorbing Pahari naturalistic style from the eighteenth century onwards creating masterpieces in fine lines, soft colours, forms, textures, sentiments, gestures- postures, landscape, architectures, patterns and symbolism as well as iconographies & compositional settings, based on popular Mughal and Punjabi styles, while experimenting and adjusting Pahari- Sikh themes and departing from stereotypes.

Social distinct identity bestowed by Guru Gobind Singh at Anandpur challenging Mughal orthodoxies, was not a fashion but religious mandates to prepare and uniform his '*Sikhs*' and to

separate them from the Mughals and their fashions, while Rajput rulers of hills remained under Mughal impressions till mid- eighteenth century, which is precisely reflected in their paintings. Though Rajput rulers also started to experiment with their fashions and adopted Mughal style long flowing robes with long *patka* and *kullah* turban replacing band turbans from mid- eighteenth century, but *kullah* turban was also not Rajput but Durrani's fashion. But during the last quarter of eighteenth century, Sikh impression started to appear on the lifestyle of hill rulers in the form of pious identity of Sikhs. This impression was just external reflecting through the adoption of Sikh fashions to please new supremacies, not Sikh philosophy. The alteration of pious identity into majestic fashion during Maharaja Ranjit Singh impressed everyone, which mirrored in whole Pahari paintings.

## CHAPTER VII

### CONCLUSION

From the Vedic period, Punjabi civilization has deepened artistic culture in the form of sculptures and monuments. People who migrated towards the land of Punjab, ushered their miscellaneous cultures with them, which form the art of Punjab heterogeneous. The researcher submits that Guru Nanak, his sister Bibi Nanaki and other Sikh Gurus were learned and cultured personalities with sophisticated taste. They were actually known the arts of *gach*, Chamba rumals, fabric printing, Hindu philosophy of incarnations and idols, flora & fauna, medicines, metals, arms, martial arts, different philosophies of colours, along with linguistic expertise, musical melodies and instruments, which revealed with the embellishment of Sikh texts and architectures in the form of early Sikh art. Portrait painting did not appeal to the painters and their patrons during sixteenth century, as Akbar period painting mainly concerned with manuscript illustrations and illuminations. With the advent of seventeenth century, portrait art developed and extended at different centers of India simultaneously, with Jahangir period Mughal influences. It was during Guru Hargobind that portrait painting was encouraged. Mughal- Sikh relations and interactions effect early Sikh paintings in Mughal Punjab. Before the departure of artists of Aurangzeb period, artistic activities were on the uppermost in the provincial Mughal capital Lahore.

From the seventeenth century, the art activities were promoted by Sikh Gurus and their followers together, by employing artists. During Guru Hargobind, passion for psychological portraiture and a taste for the dramatic gesture emerged under Mughal influences. But as concerning the source of inspiration for portraiture, it can be confidently state that the Punjabi natives drew from the local simulations of Punjab. The ambition of portrayals was not to depict types, but aims to represent certain individuals with careful efforts towards individual features and psychological characteristics. The researcher establish the opinion that contemporary portraits of the Gurus are real and authentic because their likenesses have mutual resemblances from the beginning till adult age, but different phraseologies were applied for the contemporary portrayals of Gurus. Court artists working for Lahore and Bilaspur darbars were appointed for fine *darshan* of Gurus till seventeenth century.

Art of portrayals grew among Sikhs not for worship, but for *darshan* and memoirs of Gurus. Tradition of copying *darshan* initiated by Bhai Rup Chand and Bidhi Chand, was endured by admirers of Gurus like mother of Bulaki Das and Raja Sidh Sen, who had sent royal artists for

the *darshan* of Guru Tegh Bahadur and Guru Gobind Singh. Some painters were surely active in Anandpur during Guru Tegh Bahadur and Guru Gobind Singh for likenesses and embellishments of texts.

Advanced as splendid art, Mughal and Rajput Schools of painting were centered within imperial boundaries far from the commoners, while due to the lack of royal patronage, Sikh art emerged as devotional in early phase, but later phase was patronized by royal Sikhs and commoners. Punjabi artists derived their style from Mughal as well as local sources among fluctuating social surroundings. Local Sikh narrative paintings from seventeenth century onwards, are essentially in popular Mughal style fusing with the local Punjabi, Kashmiri and European renaissance styles. The harsh palette of Lahore was mainly used in Janamsakhi illustrations during the days of evolvement. To embellish Sikh texts, Lahori and Kashmiri artists were continuously working under Gurus and devotees.

The researcher finds that corresponding the general trend of Indian art, the Sikh paintings portray spiritual, emotional and temporal matters. Themes were selected by the patrons rather than the artists themselves.

The detailed study of the works and the styles adopted by the Mughal painters leads to the conclusion that Sikhs employed Mughal artists of Punjab plains, because their phraseologies are little distinct from Delhi and Agra ateliers, but have little resemblance with early paintings of Punjab hills of seventeenth century, because Pahari artists also started to experiment with Sikh themes from second half of seventeenth century, as changing centers of Sikh power also influenced the phraseologies of paintings. Early associations of Sikhs with Mughals and Rajput rulers of Hindur (Nalagarh), Kahlur (Bilaspur), Kiratpur, Anandpur, Dehradun and Mandi helped in emerging paintings of Sikh themes in Mughal, Pahari and local Punjabi styles till mid of eighteenth century.

Association of Sikh *misaldars* and Maharaja Ranjit Singh with Punjab hills, caused their attraction towards hill style and employment in their paintings eighteenth century onwards. Court artists of Kangra, Purkhu and his father Dhummun worked for Gurbaksh Singh Kanheya and Sardar Jassa Singh Ramgarhia & his fellows Sardar Nahar Singh, Karam Singh, Lehna Singh and Wazir Singh of the Nakai *misl*.

Guler family of artists' was employed under Jai Singh Kanheya, Sardar Baghel Singh and Jassa Singh Ramgarhia. Ranjha, his brother Nikka along with his three sons Harkhu, Gokal and



Chhajju, Damodar, son of Gokal, and Saudagar son of Chhajju collaborated individually and mutually dividing their work and techniques in atelier for Maharaja Ranjit Singh in Guler- Chamba and Basohli styles till mid- nineteenth century consuming different types of grants and resources. The researcher establishes that Saudagar was one of the court artist of Lahore.

The artists were allowed to sit at the Sikh court on different occasions to portray royals. Other Sikh and Muslim artists and craftsmen were also active in Lahore. Several Kashmiri scribes and Punjabi artists collaborated to render the manuscript with enchanting miniatures, while Pahari painters prepared illustrated leaves and single page portraits in formal settings, pasted in albums. Muslim painters were good scribes, illustrators and *naqqash*. They prepared portraits as well manuscript illustrations.

Mughal and Rajput paintings advanced majorly based on mythological and political themes. While Sikh miniature paintings grew with nonexistence of mythological and political themes. The paintings practiced during Maharaja Ranjit Singh were chiefly isolated and group portraiture with familiar intimates, political assemblies, expeditions, hunting scenes, imaginary and ideal love scenes, Janamsakhi & mythical illustrations and copying of legendary portraits. Some portraits were prepared for albums. Some Hindu and Persian manuscripts also inspired themes of paintings.

Artistic activities were progressed among Rajput community due to political stabilities. Rajput School was prospered by folk psychology and culture. The Hindu epics enriched the themes of paintings. Painting was promoted by Rajput aristocracy to satisfy socio- religious purposes. Mughal and Rajput races ruled India from centuries and populaces of Punjab plains and hills were influenced by Mughal fashion trends and lifestyle simultaneously till the last of seventeenth century, which also reflected in the paintings of plains and hills.

Conversely Sikhs emerged as struggling race against socio- political and religious restrictions. The distinct social identity of Sikhs granted by Guru Gobind Singh was not new, but bestowing an identity, Guru Gobind Singh separated the Sikhs from Mughal influences, challenging Mughal orthodoxies. From then Sikh paintings always represent Sikh identity, which culminated as Sikh School under Sikh patronage. Pahari painters recognized this identity and harmonized in the Sikh paintings.

Mughal Emperors forced to identify Sikhs through their identity, but their commands also challenged Rajput rulers' simultaneously. Hill rulers compelled to obey their orders, which reflected precisely in hill paintings of late seventeenth century.

With the decline of Mughal rule, Rajput rulers of Punjab hills became free from socio-political restrictions. They started to copy Sikh identity from the mid- eighteenth century onwards, either under political pressure or impressed by Sikhs. Finally, the identity discarded by their ancestors, reflected in the paintings of whole Punjab hills, which was really accepted by them externally. Hill painters adjusted the Rajput paintings moreover.

People of Punjab plain attracted towards Pahari refine and naturalistic style from the eighteenth century onwards. Punjabi natives were also the medium of transferring and expanding local samples into hilly areas. Pahari painters were free and habitual of working with their imaginations to create *dhyanas*. With the naturalistic style, painters copied, altered and modified Punjabi native style, but this development bounded the growth and expansion of native style. Sikh miniatures of Pahari style illustrate actual likeness of Sikh heroes and commoners, but reveal alterations and adjustments in legendary portraits and Janamsakhi illustrations.

Although, likenesses of Gurus were influenced by Pahari rulers, while socio- cultural identity of Sikhs also touched Pahari rulers and their paintings conversely from mid- eighteenth century onwards. Sikhs adopted the artistic trends, whichever in circulation. Sikhs preferred the naturalistic and fine style of Punjab hills, but their gorgeous lifestyle and identity impressed their subordinates, which were just external social adaptations.

Absorbing varied styles, Sikh paintings reflect Sikh identity and culture, which force to call them Sikh paintings. Thus, the Sikh paintings are not only an enchanting synthesis of Mughal, Punjabi, Kashmiri and Pahari styles, but also had imbibed the real life depiction of the Sikhs. Assimilation of Punjabi folk and Mughal styles with Pahari style in eighteenth century onwards altered the final Sikh School, which dissolved again in its Punjabi style in the last of nineteenth century for commoners, in the absence or migration of Pahari painters into other areas due to turmoil of Punjab.

The Sikh School of painting was vital and receptive enough to absorb a number of elements of contemporary Mughal, Punjabi, Rajput and Kashmir paintings. Even Mughal miniatures were developed under royal patronage, but taste of rulers and type of patronage controlled and determined the stylistic variations. Thus the growth of the Sikh miniatures cannot be measured by

the same parameters as those used for the elevation of Mughal and Rajput pictorial arts. Nevertheless, Sikh art became highly identifiable under Maharaja Ranjit Singh. It was never a court art but the art of sponsors of varied psychology and status.

Sikh School acknowledged a relation with common as well as royals, which reflect the culture of the Sikhs. Sikhs promoted and utilized the arts in every era what was in circulation, fashion and easily attainable. Even struggling, they provided a climate of creativity and experimentation. Thus, it can be concluded that art is an extremely important source of the cultural history of the people in every era and all the related features & elements of their day-to-day lines. The researcher hereby accomplishes that representation mirrored in the paintings of Kangra and Guler under Sikh sways cannot be disregarded.

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## APPENDIX- I

### Interview Schedule For Sikh Historians / Philosophers / Scholars

1. Did Sikh Gurus patronize artists and illustrators at their darbars?
2. Which types of robes were in fashion during Sikh Gurus?
3. Which styles of turban were in fashion during Sikh Gurus?
4. During Babur's period, a Hindu buttoned his coat to the right, a Muslim to the left. In which side, Sikhs buttoned their robes?
5. Were there any sociological concepts involved in the designing of outfits? If so, then elaborate on these.
6. Did *dumala* turban originate by Guru Gobind Singh?
7. Is any specific colour mentioned in Sikh scripture? If yes, what is its symbolic importance?
8. Did Rajput hill rulers ever follow or copy tenth Guru's lifestyle?
9. What was the attitude of Rajput rulers towards Khalsa and Sikh philosophy?
10. Any special gesture-posture (sitting, standing, riding) of tenth Sikh Guru?
11. Did Rajput rulers grow their hair?
12. Mughals used to wear shield in a belt over shoulder, which was followed by Rajput. Sikhs strapped shield on their back. What was the style of tenth Guru of wearing shield?

## APPENDIX- II

### Interview Schedule For Art Historians/ Curators/ Scholars/ Librarians

1. Do you perceive Sikh influences on Guler and Kangra paintings during eighteenth century?
2. Mughals used to wear sword in a waist-belt, which was followed by Rajput. But Sikhs wear *gatra* over their shoulder. Suddenly some changes can be seen in this fashion in later Rajput and Mughal paintings. Is it a Sikh influence?
3. Mughals used to wear shield in a belt over shoulder, which was followed by Rajput. Sikhs strapped shield on their back. Guler rulers also started to strapped shield on their back in the court. Is it a Sikh influence?
4. Which types of robes were in fashion among rulers of Guler and Kangra?
5. Rajput rulers appear in Mughal band turban. A sudden change came in the style of turbans and attires of Rajput rulers of Guler and Kangra from mid- eighteenth century onwards. Are these Sikh influences?
6. Was sudden change in beards of Guler and Kangra rulers during mid-eighteenth century a Sikh influence?
7. What changes came in the style of Sikh paintings after annexation of Punjab hills?
8. In Guler and Kangra paintings, floral carpet of square shaped was common, but in later Sikh paintings, square shaped carpet was replaced by oval rug. Was this a production of Punjab plains?
9. Do you perceive the development of Sikh artistic activities in Punjab plains during early development of Sikhism?
10. The kneeling posture was common during Mughals, which was followed by Rajput paintings. But during Maharaja Ranjit Singh, cross-legged posture became popular. Was cross-legged posture in practice during Mughals?
11. Did ever the iconography of Sikh Maharaja influence portraiture of Guler and Kangra rulers?
12. Did artists of Punjab hills influence and experiment with the established iconographies of Sikh Gurus?

## **APPENDIX- III**

### **Interview Schedule For Traditional Artists**

1. Which paper is used for miniatures?
2. What is the traditional technique of miniature paintings?
3. Do you follow traditional technique of painting?
4. What is the local terminology of colours?
5. What is the colour- formulae of Pahari artists?
6. What were the styles of turban in Pahari paintings?
7. What were the female attires in Pahari paintings?
8. What were the patterns in Pahari paintings?



## APPENDIX- IV

### List Of Interviewed Scholars

Sl. No.	Name of the Scholar	Designation	Area of Proficiency
1.	Dr. B. N. Goswamy, Chandigarh.	Academician, Art Historian, Critic, Author	Expertise of Indian and Pahari miniature paintings, artists, philosophy and traditional costumes.
2.	Dr. Anurag Singh, Ludhiana.	Director (former) ‘Sikh Itihas Research Board’ Historian, Critic, Author	Expertise of Sikh history, philosophy, <i>ragas</i> in Guru Granth Sahib, Hindu philosophy, Mughals and Rajput history.
3.	Bhai Nirmal Singh Noorpuri, Ludhiana	Preacher at Gurdwara Kalgidhar, Ludhiana	Sikh philosophy and history
4.	Dr. Daljeet, New Delhi.	Historian, Philosopher, Author, Former HOD, Painting Department, NM.	Indian arts, Rajasthani miniatures, Sikh paintings and philosophy.
5.	Dr. Kamalroop Singh Nihang, Birmingham	Academician, Historian, Philosopher, Author	Philosophy, theology and religions. Expertise of Sri Dasam Granth
6.	Dr. Jasbir Singh Sarna, Jammu.	Academician, Historian, Philosopher, Author	Sikh History of Jammu and Kashmir, philosophy, flora and fauna in Sikh philosophy.

<b>7.</b>	Mr. Satnam Singh, Copenhagen.	Researcher, Critic	Expertise in Sikh manuscripts of Guru Gobind Singh period
<b>8.</b>	S. Ranjodh Singh, Ludhiana.	Sikh Philosopher, Author	Sikh philosophy and history
<b>9.</b>	Seema Gera, Chandigarh.	Curator, Chandigarh Museum	Expertise in Pahari miniature paintings
<b>10.</b>	Mr. Anil Kumar Raina, Dharamshala.	Curator, Kangra Museum, Dharamshala	Expertise in Pahari miniature paintings
<b>11.</b>	Mr. Dhani Ram, Vill. Dhugiari, Dharamshala.	Traditional Artist	Skilled artist and copyist of Pahari miniature paintings
<b>12.</b>	Mr. Kamaljeet, Vill. Dhugiari, Dharamshala.	Traditional Artist, Teacher	Skilled artist and copyist of Pahari miniature paintings
<b>13.</b>	Mr. Monu Kumar, Dharamshala.	Traditional Artist	Skilled artist and copyist of Pahari miniature paintings
<b>14.</b>	Mr. Gurpreet Mankoo, Jagraon	Traditional Wall- Artist, conservator.	Skilled artist and copyist of Sikh wall paintings
<b>15.</b>	Mr. Gurinder Singh Mann, UK	Curator at Sikh Museum, UK	Expertise of Sikh objects and warfare

## APPENDIX- V

### Museums

#### 1. Aga Khan Museum, Toronto, Ontario, Canada

- Mughal paintings- 2

#### 2. Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology-University of Oxford

- Mughal paintings - 5
- Pahari paintings - 45
- Kashmiri paintings - 1
- Pahari- Sikh- Lahore paintings - 13
- Rajasthani paintings - 16

#### 3. Asian Art Museum of San Francisco

- Sikh coloured lithographs- 10
- Sikh monochrome lithographs- 16
- Janamsakhi paintings - 42
- Sikh court paintings - 10
- Portraits of Sikh Gurus- 3
- Mughal paintings- 12
- Mughal-northern Indian objects- 26
- Rajasthan paintings - 13
- Pahari paintings - 10
- Pahari-Sikh paintings - 8

#### 4. British Museum, England

- Mughal paintings - 74
- Pahari paintings - 113
- Mughal objects- 1
- Rajasthani paintings - 1
- Sikh portraits- 25

#### 5. Cleveland Museum of Art

- Pahari paintings -39
- Mughal paintings - 54
- Pahari- Sikh paintings - 1
- Mughal object- 2
- Rajasthan paintings - 1
- India (objects)- 24

#### **6. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge**

- Pahari paintings- 7
- Mughal paintings - 2

#### **7. Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge Mass**

- Pahari paintings-59
- Local Sikh paintings- 3
- Mughal paintings- 2

#### **8. Freer Gallery of Art, Washington D.C.**

- Pahari paintings-16
- Mughal paintings– 3

#### **9. Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh**

- Mughal paintings- 8
- Sikh paintings- 35
- Janamsakhi paintings- 6
- Sikh- Guler- Janamsakhi sketches- 58
- Sikh- Guler- Janamsakhi paintings- 12
- Sikh local water coloured- 16
- Sikh- Company- 4
- Kashmiri- Sikh- 1
- Pahari paintings- 148
- Kashmiri paintings- 2

- Rajasthani paintings- 9

#### **10. Guimet Museum, (Louvre)**

- Mughal paintings- 2

#### **11. Los Angeles County Museum of Art**

- Pahari paintings- 11
- Mughal paintings- 2
- Rajasthani paintings- 2

#### **12. Metropolitan Museum, New York**

- Mughal paintings- 5
- Pahari paintings- 52
- Sikh paintings- 1

#### **13. Museum Fur Indische Kunst, Berlin**

- Pahari paintings- 1

#### **14. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston**

- Pahari paintings – 187
- Pahari- Sikh paintings – 4
- Sikh portrait- 8
- Mughal paintings - 2
- Punjabi paintings – 2

#### **15. Rietberg Museum, Zurich**

- Pahari paintings- 142
- Portraits of Sikh Gurus – 8

#### **16. Philadelphia Museum**

- Pahari- 42

- Rajasthani- 2
- Mughal paintings-10
- Mughal object- 2
- Northern Indian objects- 13
- Sikh paintings- 2

**17. Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto**

- Pahari paintings- 8
- Rajasthani paintings- 4
- Mughal paintings- 4

**18. Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh (National Museum of Scotland)**

- Pahari paintings- 2

**19. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC**

- Pahari paintings- 4
- Rajasthani paintings- 2
- Mughal paintings- 11
- Sikh paintings- 2

**20. The Museum of Islamic Art, Doha**

- Objects- 8

**21. The San Diego Museum of Art**

- Pahari paintings- 44
- Sikh paintings- 11
- Mughal paintings- 1
- Rajasthani paintings- 1

**22. The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, Maryland**

- Pahari paintings- 12

- Mughal paintings- 27

### **23. UC Berkeley, Berkeley Art Museum Pacific Film Archive**

- Rajasthani paintings- 2
- Pahari paintings- 7
- Sikh paintings- 2
- Mughal paintings- 1

### **24. Victoria and Albert Museum, England**

- Pahari paintings- 150
- Sikh paintings- 60
- Sikh- Pahari paintings- 2
- Sikh- European paintings- 4
- Sikh woodcut- 1
- Kashmiri manuscript leaves - 8
- Sikh- Lahore- Mughal- Kashmir- Punjab- objects- 17

### **25. Worcester Art Museum, Worcester, Massachusetts**

- Mughal paintings- 1
- Pahari paintings- 5
- Sikh paintings- 1
- Objects- 4

### **26. Sikh Museum**

- Sikh objects- 5

## **APPENDIX- VI**

### **Libraries**

#### **1. British Library, England**

- Sikh lithographs and water coloured paintings- 13

#### **2. Raza Library, Rampur, U.P., India**

- Sikh paintings- 4
- Mughal paintings- 32

#### **3. Wellcome Library, London**

- Sikh paintings (Company collection)- 8



## **APPENDIX- VII**

### **Auction Houses**

#### **1. Chiswick Auction**

- Sikh paintings- 2
- Sikh object- 1

#### **2. Christies Auction**

- Sikh paintings- 25
- Sikh objects- 2
- Pahari paintings- 8

#### **3. Francesca Galloway**

- Pahari paintings- 3

#### **4. Sotheby Auction, London**

- Objects- 2
- Pahari paintings- 52
- Sikh paintings- 11

## **APPENDIX- VIII**

### **Private Collections**

#### **1. Collection of Hashem Khosrovani , Geneva**

- Pahari painting-1

#### **2. Manley collection, Guildford**

- Pahari paintings-2

#### **3. Harry Mann Collection**

- Sikh painting- 1

#### **4. Gurmit Singh & Satnam Singh Collection**

- Sikh paintings- 2

#### **5. Kulwant Singh Bahra Collection, UK**

- Sikh painting- 1

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