GUJARĀTI PAINTING OF THE 16TH-17TH CENTURY — A REAPPRAISAL

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In the style of the traditional Gujārāti Jaina painting of the 16th century, certain definite changes were taking place. Of these, turning of the face in strict profile with the removal of the farther eye is the most perceptible feature¹. Different kinds of costumes were also then introduced. The style, in its new look, may be designated as Neo-Gujarāti Jaina Painting². Several scholars believe that Mughal influence brought about these changes³. It had been argued that there was no painting style other than the Mughal which could have brought about the changes in the hidebound heretic tradition of the Gujārāti painting⁴. It is also said that, when Akbar was to start his impressive project of illustrating the Hamsa Nāmā, he recruited artists from all over the country. Some of them were from Gujarat, Rajasthan, North India, Malwa and the Deccan. Later they were trained under the two great Persian masters. Those artists who could not make grades had to leave the royal atelier in search of fresh job. But during this period of their apprenticeship they were exposed to a style which had changed their entire outlook. Thus they carried with them a set of new traits such as the faces in strict profile without the farther projecting eye and brought in new costumes.

Scholars have pointed out Mughal influence in the famous Laghu Saṅgrahānīsūtra painted by Govinda in A.D. 1583 at Matar (Dist. Kheda), in L. D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad, in the matter of costume, certain composition, and in the representation of animals and trees⁵. The four-pointed jāmā is the most striking feature of these paintings (Plate 1). It is certainly a Mughal costume which was introduced by Akbar in his court. Very soon it had become a popular male sartorial type of North India. This is why it is also seen in the Caurapañcāśikā-Candāyana group of paintings of the latter half of the 16th century. However, the presence of the four-pointed jāmā in the Caurapañcāśikā-Candāyana group of painting cannot be the result of the influence of the Mughal painting. If the four-pointed jāmā is to be taken as an important indicator of the Mughal influence on the traditional Gujārāti Jaina painting style, then the possibility of the influence of the concurrent style of the Caurapañcāśikā-Candāyana painting cannot be ruled out. It is all the more important to investigate the influence of the latter because of the presence of some features which the earlier scholars had overlooked; for instance the cross-hatched (trellised) turban with a short kulāh (plate 2), which is not in conformity with the theory of the Mughal influence. Such turbans of the Lodi period are never seen in the Mughal painting. The same holds true about the indiscriminate use of arabesque decoration on costume, bandhanvāra/vandanamālikā (door hangings), pond-walls, and in the background of some paintings⁶. The arabesque decoration appears to be derived from the Candāyana of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay⁷. A transparent oṭhanī, short bodice (coli), and skirt (ghāghrā) among the females are the new costumes.
A short bodice is a feature of the later Caurapañcāśikā-Candāyana style. It may be noted that the waist length bodice was in vogue in the preceding period. Therefore, the alleged Mughal influence on the Matar Saṅgrahaṇīśūtra of A. D. 1583 does not seem tenable and, by the same token, on the traditional Gujarāṭī Jaina painting style.

The theory of Mughal influence is also not acceptable on two further counts. First, there is no gleaning of the Mughal technique, nor of the style in these paintings. Second, there is also no evidence to establish the migration of such apprentice artists from the royal studio. It may be noted that, when the artist of the Laghu Saṅgrahaṇīśūtra of A.D. 1583 could deviate from the hierarchic injunction of the style, he could have also incorporated more features of the Mughal paintings. Even the four-pointed jāmā does not seem to have been derived from the typical jāmā of the Akbari paintings. In all probability, the Caurapañcāśikā-Candāyana tradition of north India had a greater influence on the traditional Gujarāṭī Jaina painting style.

The Matar Saṅgrahaṇīśūtra of A. D. 1583 is not the first document to shed off the farther projecting eye. It was first attempted by the artist of the Uttarādhyayanasūtra as early as A. D. 1537-38. He painted it at Śīṅganpura, a suburb of Surat. The manuscript has two introductory illustrations in, which the figures’ faces are shown in strict profile without the farther projecting eye. It is difficult to ascertain whether it was an independent innovation of the artist or an isolated experiment under the influence of the Lodi tradition of north India. It may be recalled that the Lodi tradition had emerged either at the end of the 15th or the beginning of the 16th century; therefore, it would be wrong to believe that the Gujarāṭī artists were not aware of the new developments which were taking place in other parts of the country. Whatever the case may be, this had a little influence on the future painting style of Gujarāṭī.

Curiously enough, Gujarāṭī Jaina painting style in the contiguous region of Malwa had little to do with the illustrated works like the Shāh Nāmā of c. A. D. 1450 in Reitberg Museum, Zurich, the Miftāḥ al Fīsūlā of c. A. D. 1490-1500 in British Library, the Nimat Nāmā of c. A. D. 1495-1505 in India Office Library, the Bustān of c. A. D. 1500-1503 in National Museum, and the Aja’ ib-as-Sanā’i of c. A. D. 1500-1510 in British Library, all painted at Mandu. This shows to what extent conservatism had restrained the progress of the Gujarāṭī Jaina painting style in western India.

The real emergence of the Neo-Gujarāṭī Jaina painting style is seen from the third quarter of the 16th century in the Malwa region. The Abhidhānacintāmanī-nāmamālā, a Sanskrit lexicon composed by Hemacandrācārya, is the earliest dated document to provide a definite evidence for the impact of the Caurapañcāśikā-Candāyana group of paintings. Its colophon reads, “The Ms. was copied (and also painted) on the 5th of the bright half of the month Mārgaśīrṣa in Saṅvat 1629 (A. D. 1573) at Nulahi Nagar (not identified) in Malwa, for the study for Pandit Devavijaya Gaṇi, the disciple of the
revered Hirvijaya Sūri, the chief pontiff of the Tapāgaccha. This Ms. was got written (and illumined) through Vasta by Shāh [Sāha] Bhojraj, the son of Shāh [Sāha] Rupacanda and his wife Rūpādevī of the Kākarya gotra hailing from the senior branch of the "Usavāla Jñāti." The figures in these painting are in the traditional style but there are some figures in strict profile without the farther-projecting eye. Thus, these paintings belonged to a phase of transition. The males wear a crown, pyjāma, paṭkā, and a scarf; whereas the females wear a short colī, ghāghra and dupattā which is invariably placed on the turban with its two ends standing out like wings on either side. A paṭkā tied in the centre with its characteristic loops on either side had its influence from the Caurapaṅcāśikā-Candāyana group of paintings. The costume of a standing female figure deserves greater attention. She has worn a short colī and a scarf on her head. But the ghāghra and sash projecting forward at an angle is an influence of the Caurapaṅcāśikā-Candāyana tradition. It is further attested by another folio which depicts a combat (dvandayuddha) scene. The two male contestants are sporting a kulahdār turban on their head. All figures have their noses marked by a tiny dot which somewhat looks like a nose stud. It seems to be a regional character.

An unpublished illustrated Ms. of the Dhanaṅjaya Nāmamāla is the second important document in the L. D. Institute of Indology, which casts more light on the impact of the Caurapaṅcāśikā-Candāyana style on the Gujarāti Jaina painting style. The colophon of the manuscript reads: "Samvat 1631 vaře Vaisākha māse sveta pakṣe paṅcamya-tīthu Ravi-vāsare. Śrīmat Tapāgacche Śrī Hirāvijaya Śrī vijaya-rājye. Pan. Devasvijaya Gaṅibhihi likhitam. svayaṁ vacanayamiti-śreyah." In translation: "In Samvat 1631 (A. D. 1575) on the fifth day of the bright half of the month of Vaisākha, on Sunday, during the pontificate of Śrī Hirāvijaya Śrī of the Tapāgaccha, Pāṇḍita Devasvijaya Gaṅi copied it for his study." The Ms. has 26 boxes demarcated for illustrations, either on one or both sides of the folios, but only 11 boxes contain sketches in yellow lines drawn by a professional artist. Unfortunately, the task of illustrating the Ms. had been abandoned for some reasons. Later, an unskilled person had tried to accentuate the lines of some sketches with black ink. The first sketch is a standing figure of a Jaina nun in strict profile. In the second sketch, a king is sitting on a couch decorated with toranā hangings. Fortunately, it remained untempered in its original yellow lines. A copy of the sketch is reproduced here as Plate 3. The royal figure has worn a turban with a tall kulah sticking on the top. It is the most important feature which apparently shows the influence of the Caurapaṅcāśikā-Candāyana group of paintings. Other costume of the male includes a jāmā, paṭkā and a scarf. In yet another folio, a god sporting a helmet like cap with a finial on top is seated on a couch which is much like the couch seen in the Abhidhāna-cintāmanī-nāmamāla of A. D. 1573 discussed earlier. The colophon is silent about its place of execution. However, it can be attributed to Malwa for two reasons. First, it shares certain features with the ACN of A. D. 1573 and second, its association with Pāṇḍita Devasvijaya Gaṅi who seems to be the same friar as of the ACN of A. D. 1573.
The Pārśvanātha-vivāha dated A. D. 1576, in Boston Museum, is yet another document on which scholars have already pointed out the influence of the Caurapaṇcāśikā style, especially with regard to the turban tied around a short kulah and the transparent odhani. It follows the conventional Gujarāti Jaina painting style and therefore, it would be wrong to attribute this document to the kulahdār group of paintings. The cosmological diagram painted on cloth from the Khajanchi collection in National Museum, New Delhi, is another document which amply demonstrates the influence of the Caurapaṇcāśikā-Candāyana style on the traditional Gujarāti Jaina painting. The male wears jāmā with its characteristic tie-knots, pyjāmā, paṭkā and kulahdār turban; whereas the female wears conventional costumes and a transparent dupaṭṭā. The farther eye is absent but the female type follows the conventional style. It has been dated c. A. D. 1570-80. With regard to its provenance, one is inclined to attribute it to Malwa. Its kulahdār turbans are sufficiently close in appearance to the one seen in the Abhidhāna of A. D. 1573. It also shows two important regional features, namely nose-stud like dot marked on the nose of the figure and the horse caparisoned in the Malwa fashion. The latter is undoubtedly derived from the Persian paintings and is consistently found in the documents painted in Malwa. (See Appendix A).

All these documents show that the Caurapaṇcāśikā-Candāyana style had been exercising its influence on the conventional Gujarāti Jaina painting style of the Malwa region which actually gave birth to the new style. Subsequently, it had spread in Gujarat where the famous Matar Laghu-Sanigrhaṇaṇisūtra was painted in A. D. 1583. It has also hastened the growth of the new style.

The style as seen in the Matar Sanigrhaṇaṇisūtra of A. D. 1583, had a gradual development. The typical facial type, for instance, had emerged some time in the eighth decade of the 16th century. The squarish face is characterised by a prominent forehead, sharper nose, fish-shaped eye, recurved eye brows, a thin mouth, and rounded chin. Sometimes the males sport moustaches. The facial type is first encountered in the Paṅcākhyāna of the M. S. University, Baroda and the Bhāgavata daśam skandha of the Kankroli collection. Both show figures in conventional costumes but for the paṭkā which is a new attire and is tied over the dhoti at the waist. Costumes are relieved with the kind of arabesque decoration as seen later in the Matar Sanigrhaṇaṇisūtra of A. D. 1583. The turban without kulah of the type of the Matar Sanigrhaṇaṇisūtra of A. D. 1583 made its first appearance in the Paṅcākhyāna. U. P. Shah has attributed the Paṅcākhyāna to c. A. D. 1550-70. This is relatively a more convincing date than his revised one in which he has pushed its date back to c. A. D. 1530. As suggested by style, both Paṅcākhyāna and the Bhāgavata daśam skandha cannot be removed far apart in time. Both represent the growth of the style prior to the Matar Laghu-sanigrhaṇaṇisūtra and therefore, both can be attributed to c. A. D. 1575-80. The real importance of the Bhāgavata of the Kankroli collection was very well understood by M. R. Majmudar. He observed: "This miniature is a landmark in the history of Indian book-illustrations; it
records the transition from three-fourth profile to strict profile\textsuperscript{38}. But he attributed the \textit{Bhāgavata} to late 15th century, rather too early a date for these paintings.

The Neo-Gujarāṭi Jaina painting style also had two distinct expressions. The Mātar \textit{Sanigranaśīṣṭra} of A. D. 1583 is the finest expression of the new style. It may be termed the 'superior idiom' which is characterised by the presence of the typical facial type and improved draughtsmanship. The lines are assured, colour scheme rich, and gold colour sparingly used. The second expression of the Neo-Gujarāṭi painting style reflects the 'inferior idiom.' The paintings of this idiom follow the conventional angular draughtsmanship but the figures are seen in the new costumes. The facial type of the superior idiom is never seen in these paintings.

The \textit{Sanigranaśīṣṭra} painted at Cambay in A. D. 1587, in the L. D. Institute, illustrates the inferior idiom at its best\textsuperscript{39}. Cambay is not far from Matar. In one of the miniatures, a lady is seen in the conventional costume but in another new costumes like the ghāghrā, short colī and oḍhāni are seen. The jāmā and the turban can be seen in the attire of the males. A similar style is being followed by the \textit{Sanigranaśīṣṭra} earlier published by Anand Krishna\textsuperscript{40}. Four-pointed jāmā embellished with arabesque decoration, paṭkā and turbans without kulah constitute the male attires. The artist of this manuscript seems to have been delighted as much with the use of arabesque decoration as was the artist of the \textit{Candāyana} of the Prince of Wales Museum. This \textit{Sanigranaśī} can be attributed to c. A. D. 1585-90.

Some more examples of the inferior idiom can illustrate the further development of the style. The \textit{Sanigranaśīṣṭra} dated A. D. 1600, in Birla Academy, Calcutta, follows the inferior idiom at a slightly higher level\textsuperscript{41}. The angularity in draughtsmanship is now mellowed down. And the pinkish countenance and floral motifs strewn in the background are the new features. Of the same date and style is the \textit{Sanigranaśīṣṭra} (plate 4) in L. D. Institute. The \textit{Sanigranaśīṣṭra} dated A. D. 1604\textsuperscript{35}, in the Spencer collection in the New York Public Library, was also painted at Matar\textsuperscript{32}. It shows that the inferior idiom was also in vogue, side by side with the superior idiom in the same region.

The continuity and growth of the superior idiom is seen later in the \textit{Laghu kṣetra samāsa} of Dehlā-no Upāśraya, Ahmedabad. It was also painted in A. D. 1583 and follows the same style as noticed in the Matar \textit{Sanigranaśīṣṭra} painted by Govinda\textsuperscript{44}.

Legacy of the superior idiom is next seen in the famous \textit{Gītā Govinda} of the N. C. Mehta collection\textsuperscript{35}, now at the L. D. Institute of Indology campus. The quality of draughtsmanship, however, is not uniform in this extensively illustrated manuscript. The paintings show a curious mixture of costumes. Some figures are attired in traditional costumes and some in new costumes. The latter include, among the females, a ghāghrā, short colī, sash, and oḍhāni. The oḍhāni and the sash are worn in the manner of the
Caurapañcaksikā females. The males wear the four or six pointed jāmā, pyjama, paṭkā and turban. Besides, the turban of the Matar Sanigrahaṇī of A.D. 1583, there are some other types of turbans of local origin. The spray trees with their overspreading foliage hovering over the horizon is a new development. The method appears very effective for the representation of woods as required by the text. Occasionally, the horizon is treated in semi-circular form (plate 5). Lingering of old conventions in the treatment of the dramatis personae with the exception of the use of the new facial type, the Gita Govinda can be dated c. A.D. 1585. It appears rather justified in comparison with the text dated document, the Uttarādhyāyanasūtra dated A.D. 1591, discussed below.

The famous painted Uttarādhyāyanasūtra of A.D. 1591 is another controversial document where scholars have allegedly pointed out the Mughal influence in the gherdār jāmā. In fact, there is no Mughal influence on these paintings of the superior idiom of the Neo-Gujarāti Jain painting style. According to its colophon, the Ms. was copied by the earlier noted Pandita Devavijaya Gañī. Incidentally, this is the third illustrated Ms. discussed here which finds the name of this bibliophile Jain friar. The Ms. has 46 paintings. Out of these four show a mixture of conventional Gujarāti painting style and the inferior idiom of the Neo-Gujarāti paintings. It appears that the project was assisted by an artist who had not been able to give up his traditional style. Architecture as background is a major element of composition in these paintings. Sometimes compositions are divided into two or more registers. The squat and stripped domes, eaves, merlons, and architraves supported by duck or elephant trunk-shaped struts attached to the pillars are some of the architectural features. The arabesque and lotus chevron are the two major ornamental devices used in the architecture. The clouds are shown in streaks. Curiously enough, the male and female figures are seen in the conventional costumes with the only exception of a gherdār jāmā. It can be compared with the Candayāna of Prince of Wales Museum. The four pointed jāmā and the turban type of the Matar Sanigrahaṇisūtra of A.D. 1583, are conspicuous by their absence. However, a new turban type without a kulāh, a ubiquitous feature of later miniatures, makes its first appearance in this Ms. Similarly, thick moustaches also become a regular feature of the later paintings. The presence of the Mandu-type horse and the nose-stud dot marked on the nose of every figure including the monks suggest Malwa origin of the Uttarādhyāyanasūtra. But for the facial type of the Matar Sanigrahaṇī of A.D. 1583, it seems to have been painted in Gujarat, because the superior idiom had already been in vogue in the Matar-Cambay region. It is further corroborated by another unpublished Sanigrahaṇisūtra of L. D. Institute which shows the Mandu type of horse (Plate 6). The Ms. has no colophon but the short-space-filler inscription reads: "Tarakura-madhya likhitam". This makes it amply clear that it was copied (and illustrated) at Tarapur, a town which lies between Matar and Cambay. The style of this Sanigrahaṇī is not far from the style of the Uttarādhyāyanasūtra of A.D. 1591 and, therefore, it may also be assigned to the same date.
The Bālagōpalastuti of the Kankroli collection also shows the kuladhār turban, transparent odhani, jāmā, and yogapati⁴⁸. Spray trees follow the style of the Gītā Govinda of N. C. Mehta collection; while the architecture is in the style of the Uttarādhayayana of A. D. 1591. Therefore, it can be dated to c. A. D. 1590-95. To the same period can be attributed the Bhāgavata daśam skandha of the National Museum, New Delhi⁴⁹.

In the subsequent period, the new style spread to the north Gujarat. The Bhagavatiśūtra painted at Patan in A. D. 1595, now in L. D. Institute, shows the miniature as painted in the Neo-Gujarāṭī painting style (Plate 7). But the artist sticks to the old convention of gold colour in patches against the red and blue background.

The tradition of the superior idiom is further continued in the Gītā Govinda of the Sawai Mansingh Museum, Jaipur⁴⁶, the Gītā Govinda of the Kankroli collection⁴⁶, and the Rati-Rahasya of the L. D. Institute⁴⁷. All the three sets are similar in style and show tufts of flowering grass in the monochromatic background. It could be that all the three sets were painted in one region. Stylistically, these paintings can be attributed to c. A. D. 1590-95.

The important stylistic features developed in the Matar Sanīgraṇhaṇīśūtra dated A. D. 1583, the Gītā Govinda of N. C. Mehta dated c. A. D. 1585, and the Uttarādhayayanasūtra dated A. D. 1591, are seen, however, with slight variation in the degree of individual skills, for example, the Bhāgavata daśam skandha painted at Ahmedabad in A. D. 1598⁴⁸, and the Bhāgavata daśam skandha painted by Govinda in A. D. 1610⁴⁹. One of the folios from this Bhāgavata no doubt shows a remarkable dynamism. The artist has also made a rare but naïve attempt in delineation of faces in three-quarter profile⁵⁰.

From the first decade of the 17th century, the migration of the artists from the royal Mughal studio began. Such artists who began to work for lesser clientele, gave birth to a new style generally referred to as the 'Popular Mughal style'. Agra was the major centre of this style where munificent Jaina community extended its patronage for the illustration of the Jaina works. The Viṭṭhapipatra (a request letter) painted by Ustād Sālavāhana in A. D. 1610 at Agra is a famous document of the Popular Mughal style which was sent to Patan⁵⁰. The same artist had also painted the Śālivadra-caupaī Ms. in A. D. 1624⁵¹. The Sanīgraṇhaṇīśūtra dated 1613 in Bharat Kala Bhavan, Varanasi, is also painted in the same style⁵¹. It is the first Sanīgraṇhaṇī in this style, which had set a new trend for the subsequent production of the Sanīgraṇhaṇī manuscripts' illustrations.

The Nala-Damayanti-rāsa of the L. D. Institute and that of Prince of Wales Museum, were painted in the Popular Mughal style by the artists migrated to Gujarat⁵⁵. In this way Gujarāṭī artists were gradually exposed to the works of the Popular Mughal style either through artists or their works coming from Agra. For example, the Sanīgraṇhaṇīśūtra of
Jaisalmer Bhanḍāra apparently follows the style of the dated Sanṅgraḥani of A.D. 1613\textsuperscript{54}. These may be termed as the documents of the Gujarātī Popular Mughal style. This is how the Popular Mughal style began to influence the local tradition. However, the Mughal influence on Neo-Gujarātī Jaina painting style seems very gradual and slow.

The Samrat Samprati Samgrahalaya of Sri Mahavira Jaina Aradhana Kendra at Koba in Gandhinagar (Gujarat), has an important Adhidiṭa cloth painting done at Kherālu (Dist. Mehsana) in A.D. 1624. It is a significant example in the history of Gujarātī painting for two reasons. First, it is the only dated Adhidiṭa pata of the new scheme that began with the Khajanchi Adhidiṭa pata dated c. A.D. 1570-80, in the National Museum. The latter has unmistakable Caurapaṅcaśikā influence as shown earlier and the continuity of this tradition from the 16\textsuperscript{th} to the 17\textsuperscript{th} century in Gujarat establishes beyond doubt the role of the Caurapaṅcaśikā style played in the development of the Neo-Gujarātī Jaina painting style\textsuperscript{55}. Second, it is one of the earliest dated document on which the impact of the Popular Mughal style is apparent. The workmanship of the painting is perfunctory but it clearly shows the transformation of the faces which now look rather naturalistic (Plate 9). It is an important departure, and henceforth facial type of the superior idiom ceases to continue but in the matter of other details it maintains its regional character.

A pronounced impact of the Popular Mughal style is experienced in the second quarter of the 17th century. The faces now look not only naturalistic but in the right perspective with the shifting of the pupil of the eye focused at a far off distance. Now the contemporary Mughal costumes, turbans, architecture, birds, animals, and trees are all treated under the new inspiration. But the background remained monochromatic. Some of the important dated documents of this period are:

1. The Sanṅgraḥaniṣūtra painted in Patan in A.D. 1630, in L.D. Institute of Indology\textsuperscript{56}.
2. The Sanṅgraḥaniṣūtra painted in Cambay in A.D. 1637, in L.D. Institute of Indology\textsuperscript{57}.
3. The Sanṅgraḥaniṣūtra dated A.D. 1637, in Prince of Wales Museum\textsuperscript{58}.
4. The Sanṅgraḥaniṣūtra painted in Wadhwan in A.D. 1638, in National Museum\textsuperscript{59}; and
5. The Sanṅgraḥaniṣūtra painted in Cambay in A.D. 1642-43, in British Library\textsuperscript{60}.

In the light of stylistic changes under the influence of the popular Mughal style, the Petlad Bālagopala Stūṭī of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, earlier published for the first time by M. R. Majmudar, should be studied\textsuperscript{61}. These paintings are among the finest examples which show the nature of realism which Gujarātī artists could bring about in their style. The elegantly delineated faces of this series are the hallmark of the painting style of the second quarter of the 17th century. Jahāngir turbans and also broad pataḳā now began to appear\textsuperscript{62}. But the artists could not give away their allegiance to older motifs, for instance, the arabesque decoration on the jānā worn by Krṣṇa in one
of the paintings of this series. It is painted in continuation of the style of the various dated Samgrahaṇis listed above. However, trees in the archaic style depicted in silhouette against a monochromatic background is in contradiction to the realism of the faces. This shows the artist's full enjoyment of the newly acquired skill which he concentrates only on the faces. He could not show the same degree of skill when he made Kṛṣṇa sit in cross-legged posture. This Bālagopāla Stuti should be dated c. A.D. 1630-40. The dispersed Bāhagavata paintings were painted around the same period which were earlier published by Herman Goetz, Stuart Cary Welch and Milo C. Beach, R.K. Tandon, and Stella Kramarisch. It is apparent from the series that there were many hands at work.

The Popular Mughal style in the 17th century had also influenced the Gujarātī paintings at different levels and in different areas. One of these examples is the Gita Govinda of B. J. Institute, Ahmedabad. It has been put in a class apart. But the paintings follow the general style of the 17th century which is fairly obvious in the case of the male figures (Plate 10). The stunted females, with their faces having round and sloping forehead and narrow waist, show an interpretation of the new experience at a different level. The dupattā worn by the females provide the background in silhouette to the figure. It is a hallmark of the style of these paintings. Though there is a little folkish element in the style, these paintings can be easily attributed to c A.D. 1630. The Rāgamālā dated A.D. 1608 is the only document which has no antecedent from Gujarat. However, one can see there a distant echo of the Caurapaṅcāṣikā Style. In fact, the Caurapaṅcāṣikā influence had been working at different levels in some parts of Rajasthan too. The Yasodhara Caritra dated A.D. 1596, a second set of the same text painted at Amer in A.D. 1590 and the Adipurāṇa painted at Mozamabād in A.D. 1606, are three very important examples published by Saryu Doshi which further corroborates the fact that the Caurapaṅcāṣikā style was spreading far away from its home in Uttar Pradesh to the region of Malwa, Gujarat, and Rajasthan. Therefore, it is quite obvious that the first expression of Malwa, Mewar, Amer, and later Gujarātī painting styles are rooted in the Caurapaṅcāṣikā-Candayana style, a very vital and viable painting tradition. The Cawand Rāgamālā dated A.D. 1605, considered to be the earliest document of Mewari painting, should be studied in this milieu. It seems the product of the New Gujarātī Jaina painting style in Rajasthan. There is very little which can be definitely attributed to Mughal in this Rāgamālā set.

Appendix A

Persian horses and the provenance of certain highly controversial documents of paintings:

These horses based on Persian model have their characteristic style of strapping, the most apparent feature being the loops with a tasselled pendant seen on the thighs of their hind legs. The horses caprisoned in this fashion are found in the Mandu Kalpasūtra dated A. D. 1439 in National Museum, another Kalpasūtra dated c. A. D. 1430 in the L. D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad, and the Shāh Nāma of c. A. D. 1450 in Reitberg.
Museum, Zurich. Such horses are generally not met with in the paintings from Gujarat and Uttar Pradesh. With this point in view, I am inclined to attribute the Kalakācārya Kathā of A. D. 1414, in the P. C. Jain Collection, Bombay, to Maudū. The Kalakācārya Kathā dated A. D. 1414 and the Zurich Shāh Nāmā of c. A. D. 1450, also have two more features of considerable importance, namely floral decoration on the back of Shāh's throne and braid or chain motifs. Both are Persian elements and should have been adopted from a common source. Thus, if we reckon the chain or braid motif and horse type as the regional character of the works executed in Malwa region, then it would be easy to suggest the provenance of a highly controversial but a small group of the 15th century paintings, namely the Berlin Candāyana and the Candāyana of Bharat kala Bhavan, the lost Sikandar Nāmā and the Berlin Hanṣā Nāmā, to Malwa. Anand Krishna has already suggested the provenance of the Berlin Candāyana as Malwa. But there are some scholars who attribute the Berlin Candāyana to Delhi region. However, Karl Khandalavala rules out all such possibilities. He maintains that the Berlin Candāyana along with other documents of this group, should hail from Eastern India and in all probability from Jaipur, especially the Candāyana because in his opinion this ballad was not known in any other region. But mention may be made that the Maudū type of horses are not seen in any of the documents attributed to north India such as the Aryāyaka parva dated A. D. 1516, the Mahāpurāṇa of A. D. 1540, the Mrgāvata dated to c. A. D. 1570, and all other documents of the Cauppaṇḍaśīkā group of paintings. Therefore, the Berlin Candāyana and the Bharat Kala Bhavan Candāyana, the lost Sikandar Nāmā, and the Berlin Hanṣā Nāmā should be attributed to the Malwa region.

Notes and References:

1. Anand Krishna considers the turning of the face in strict profile as the beginning of the Rājasthāni painting. “Some pre-Akbari Examples of Rājasthāni Illustrations,” Marg, XI/2, 18.
2. Almost all the documents showing the early developments of the new style are Jaina and therefore the parental nomenclature of the style has been adhered to with a prefix “Neo” to differentiate the new style from the older one.
4. Ibid., 8.
6. Chandra and shah, NDJP, Figs. 44-46.
17. *Ibid.*, pl. XI, fig. 3
18. *Ibid.*, pl. XII, fig. 1
33. *Ibid.*, fig. 11 on p. 73 depicts Mr. Meru, The last line of the explanatory notes at the bottom ends with "Māṭārgrāma". It apparently refers to the place name i. e. Matar village where this *Saṅgrahaṇī* was copied and illustrated. Place name has been found included in the explanatory notes in many other *Saṅgrahaṇī* too. It appears to be an ethical code of conduct practised by scribes at such occasions whenever they had fallen short of the text; the place name was included to complete the line. The Matar *Saṅgrahaṇī* dated A. D. 1588 also shows a similar practice being followed. Whatever may have been the true reasons behind this idiosyncrasy of the scribe, it turns out to be of immense value; for it definitely provides information on the provenance of the manuscript especially when the colophon of the manuscript, is either lost or is silent about this.
34. *Ibid.*, 66, fig. 1 on the same page.
40. Karl Khandalaval considers these as the Akbari turbans : (“Leaves from Rājasthān,” Marg, 17.)

41. It seems probable, as gleaned from various colophons of the manuscripts associated with this friar, that he had been either in Malwa or Mewar region:
   Nulahināgarā (Malwa) in V.S. 1629/A.D. 1572.
   Sāraṅgāpurā (Malwa) in V.S. 1630/A.D.1673.
   Śrīmālapurā (Mewar) in V.S. 1652/A.D.1595.
   Pimpādagrāma (Mewar) in V.S. 1653/A.D.1596.
42. Incidentally, the manuscript was recovered from a bhāndāra (repository) in Surat.
46. For the illustrations, see Kapila Vatsyayana, *Jaura Gita Govinda*, New Delhi 1979, figs. 16-17.
48. *Ibid.*, fig. 49
49. M. R. Majmudar, *"Two illustrated MSS. of the Bhāgavata Dasamaskandha","Lalit kala, No. 8, 50-52.*
53. *Ibid.* : (All these works have been generally dated to A. D. 1620).
54. *Jaina Citrakalpadruma,* (Gujarāṭi), (Ed.) Sarabhai Nawab, Ahmedabad 1936, figs. 270-71.
57. *Ibid.*, fig. 64.
59. Khandalaval *et. al., Miniature Painting*, figs. 87-88.
63. *Ibid.*, pl. VI, fig. 2.
64. H. Goetz, “A New Key to Early Rajput and Indo-Muslim Painting: A Unique Bhagavat Purana Album from Southwest Marwar,” *Roop-Lekha*, XXII, 1-2, 1953; also, Stuart Cary


66. Doshi, *JNP*, 69 (fig. 8, pp. 142-144, Fig. 19, 21).

67. *Ibid.*, 70, fig. 13 on, 138-139.

68. *Ibid.*, 70, fig. 9 on 71 and fig. 2 on 87.


72. Goswami, *JSSN*, fig. 1, 8, 10, 12, and 17.

73. Doshi, *NJP*, 126, fig. 5.

74. Goswami, *JSSN*, fig. 5.

75. *Ibid.*, fig. 3.


**Details of Illustrations**


2. Details same as in Plate 1.

3. A copy of the sketch from the Dhananjaya Nāmamāla MS. Dated A. D. 1575.
   Courtesy : L. D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad.

   Courtesy : L. D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad.

5. An illustration from the *Gita Govinda MS.*, c. A. D. 1585.

6. An illustration from the *Sangrahañi Sutra MS.*, painted at Tarapur, c. A. D. 1595.

7. An illustration from the *Bhagavati Sutra MS.*, painted at Pātan in A. D. 1595.
   Courtesy : L. D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad.


10. An illustration from the *Gita Govinda MS.*, c. A. D. 1630.
    Courtesy : B. J. Institute, Ahmedabad.
1. The Sangrahaṇi Sutra MS., painted by Govinda at Matar in A.D. 1583.

2. The Sangrahaṇi Sutra MS., painted by Govinda at Matar in A.D. 1583.
3. The sketch from the Dhanañjaya Nāmasāla 
MS. Dated A. D. 1575.

5. The *Gita Govinda* MS., c. A. D. 1585.

6. The *Sangrahani Sutra* MS., painted at Tarapur, c. A. D. 1595.
7. The *Bhagavati Sutra* MS., painted at Pātañ in A. D. 1595.

8. The *Bhagavata Dasam Skandha* MS., painted by Govinda in A. D. 1610.