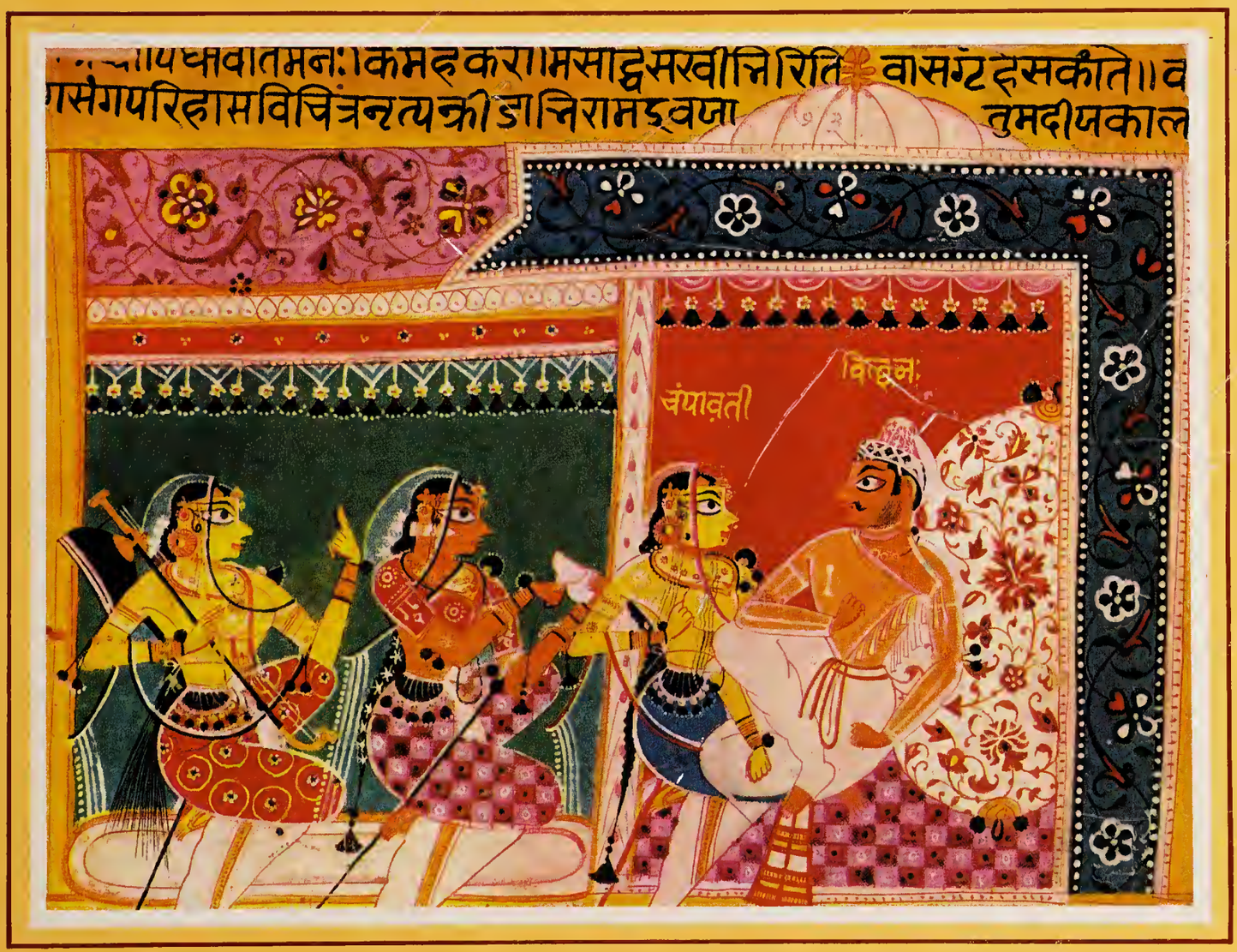
CHAURAPAÑCHĀŚIKĀ
A SANSKRIT LOVE LYRIC

LEELA SHIVESHWARKAR



For the first time all the 18 miniatures, illustrating the well-known Sanskrit love lyric of 12 century A. D., known as *Chaurapañchāśikā*, are reproduced in this album in actual colour. They belonged to the late N. C. Mehta, who was a distinguished scholar of Indian Art; the text has been provided by his daughter Leela Shiveshwarkar. These paintings along with the entire collection of Indian miniatures of the late N. C. Mehta can now be seen in the N. C. Mehta Gallery of Miniature Paintings in the Gujarat Museum Society at Ahmedabad.

These are, perhaps, the only known illustrations of the *Chaurapañchāśikā*. These early 16th century miniatures are of exceptional importance in the history of Indian paintings.

PRICE Rs. 200/-

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LEELA SHIVESHWARKAR

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FOREWORD

The *Chaurapañchāśikā* has an important place among poems in Sanskrit portraying the reminiscences of a lover. Its lyrical charm makes it appropriate for delineating the ideas with colour and brush. It is indeed a great service to Sanskrit literature that patrons of painters, fascinated by the poems, have encouraged them to illustrate texts, like the *Amaruśataka*, the *Chaurapañchāśikā*, the *Meghadūta* and the *Gītagovinda*. The usual representation of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Bhāgavata* and other texts composing religious literature in miniatures, is more an expression of piety than appreciation of literary beauty.

That one of the finest short lyrics in Sanskrit has excellent illustrations for many of its individual verses, which are by themselves examples for special study of the development of the style and technique of Indian miniature painting, is a great good fortune. This is the set of paintings known illustrating the *Chaurapañchāśikā*.

That this important group of paintings came into the collection of the late Mr Nanalal Chamanlal Mehta is a rare piece of good luck that cannot be exaggerated. Mr Mehta belongs to that great class of scholars from the Indian Civil Service who have contributed vastly to the understanding of India's achievements in the field of art. His passion for enjoyment of aesthetic quality of Indian art is matched only by his clear exposition of it in his 'Studies in Indian Painting', 'Gujarati Painting in the Fifteenth Century' and other writings. He was a true *rasika*, and was preparing to give an excellent exposition on the quality and importance of these miniatures when he was suddenly cut off prematurely, leaving a great void in the field of scholarship in Indian art.

To Know Mr Mehta personally meant knowing first hand, not only his great scholarship and taste, but also a more important aspect of him, his human qualities and his unbounded affection for younger scholars.

It was given to Mr Mehta's art-minded daughter Mrs Leela Shiveshwarkar, to prepare this delightful monograph with the aid of her father's notes. The world of scholars is beholden to her for it. Herself an artist, with a fine aesthetic eye, and brought up from childhood in an atmosphere of connoisseurship under the tender care of an art-loving father, she is eminently suited for this task.

The National Museum has already published four books on the Kangra School of painting by Dr M.S. Randhawa. This book on the *Chaurapañchāśikā* by Mrs Shiveshwarkar, illustrating a delightful Medieval Sanskrit lyric, throws considerable light on an important school of painting. The National Museum is indeed very happy in presenting it to the world in its series of publications.

If with a full awareness of my limitations, I write these few introductory lines to this lovely book, it is because I consider it a divinely ordained mode of thanksgiving to one of the greatest scholars in Indian painting, who bestowed on me, as on Dr V. S. Agrawala and Dr Moti Chandra, affection and appreciation in abundance from our earliest days of literary activity.

C. SIVARAMAMURTI

February 1967 *Director, National Museum, New Delhi*

|| PREFACE ||

This monograph contains part of the unfinished notes made by my father, Nanalal Chamanlal Mehta, on the *Chaurapañchāśikā* paintings in his collection. He was working on them during a holiday in Kashmir, when he suddenly died of a heart attack, on 18 May 1958, at the age of 64. The text is based on the notes he left behind and also on new material that has subsequently come to light in the attempt to make a memorial worthy of him. In this effort I am greatly indebted to Shri Karl Khandalavala and Mr Basil Gray whose books and articles on this group of paintings I have closely followed.

Nanalal Chamanlal Mehta took his Tripos at Cambridge and joined the Indian Civil Service in 1915. The greater part of his service career was spent in the United Provinces, now known as Uttar Pradesh. He retired in 1950 as Lieutenant Governor of Himachal Pradesh. His interest in Indian art began with his first posting as a junior officer in Mathura, where he had the opportunity of seeing some of the best examples of Indian sculpture. It was, however, in 1917, when he met Shri Rai Krishnadasa—the present Honorary Director of the Bharat Kal Bhavan at Banaras Hindu University—that he was introduced to the world of Indian miniature painting. His friendship with Rai Krishnadasaji led him to the study and love of this branch of art. Sanskrit and Hindi literature, and miniature painting claimed his life long interest, and his unerring judgment of aesthetic values enabled him to collect, over a period of forty years, one of the most important private collections of Indian miniature paintings.

In 1926 he published *Studies in Indian Painting,* which remains a major contribution to the subject. Apart from the sensitive analysis and keen critical acumen displayed in the text, the book was of special value on account of the lavish scale of illustration—61 large plates, of which 17 are in colour—many of which were published for the first time and were a revelation of the variety and charm of Indian miniature painting. *Studies in Indian Painting* was followed by *Gujarati Painting in the Fifteenth Century* (India Society, 1931) and by a paper entitled 'A New Document of Gujarati Paintings—A Gujarati version of the Gita Govinda' published in 1945 in the Journal of the Gujarat Research Society. He also wrote a book in Hindi, (*Bharatiya Chitrakala*, Hindustani Academy, Allahabad, 1933). But though he published so little, his writings awakened people to beauty which lay outside the scope of casual appreciation and enlarged the range of one's understanding. His independence and alertness of mind were beyond question and there can seldom have been a critic with a more universal aesthetic sensibility—a true *rasika*. No form of artistic expression was too remote or too humble for him to give it his enthusiastic attention. Throughout his life he was at pains to give an impetus to the younger generation in their understanding and love of the culture of their country. He was instrumental in founding the Government School of Arts and Crafts at Lucknow. It was his belief that art-criticism in India must be freed from too much theorizing and use of abstruse language and his constant appeal was to the actual experience of art. N. C. Mehta along with Rai Krishnadasa, O. C. Ganguly and Ananda Coomaraswamy were among the pioneers in the study of Indian art and today the tremendous interest in the art of this country owes a debt to them.

At a time when little was known of Indian mural painting beyond that of Ajanta and Bagh my

father drew attention to the then newly discovered paintings from Sittannavasal in South India, an early Pallava phase of art with which the world was still almost unacquainted. He also contributed greatly to the understanding of medieval Western Indian art, particularly that of Gujarat, laying stress on the broad vision and knowledge of Painters and sculptors who were at home with Brahmanical, Buddhist and Jain religious lore and iconography and managed with equal skill to present every variety and theme, proving that there was no special class of artisans for any particular sect or religious creed.

Radiant enthusiasm and a sonorous voice combined to make my father a most persuasive lecturer and most of his later work was in lecture form. It has been my great privilege to have looked at many works of art with him. His wonderful skill in pointing out the greatness of conception, its symbolism or some tiny detail has again and again revealed beauties that I should never have noticed myself. These were the moments when I seemed to have gained a new insight and learnt a new language—these moments remain in my mind like glimpses into a room full of beautiful pictures, which I shall not see again.

My mother, Shrimati Shanta Mehta, thought that there could be no better memorial to the memory of my father than to give his priceless collection to the nation. The N. C. Mehta gallery of Miniature Paintings, Ahmedabad, was opened by the late Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on the 9th of May, 1963.

I am indebted to the National Museum, New Delhi and to Dr Grace Morley for making this memorial volume possible; to Shri C. Sivaramamurti, a very dear friend of my father, for his help with the Sanskrit text (in the paintings); to my husband, Shri Sadanand Shiveshwarkar, who helped me in collecting different recensions of the *Chaurapañchāśikā*; to Shri Karl J. Khandalavala for supervising colour reproduction of the paintings; and to Dr P. Banerjee, Dr Anand Krishna, Mr R. E. Hawkins and Mr Joseph Campbell for their help in reading the proofs.

For any inadequacies that remain, I am alone responsible.

The Sanskrit text of the *Chaurapañchāśikā,* printed in Appendix A here and also the English translation of the verses occurring on the paintings are based on S. N. Tadpatrikar's edition, Poona Oriental Series, No. 86.

New Delhi
December 1966. LEELA SHIVESHWARKAR

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|| THE PAINTINGS OF THE CHAURAPAÑCHĀŚIKĀ- A STUDY ||

The *Chaurapañchāśikā* is a short but beautiful Sanskrit lyric written in the eleventh century A. D. by a poet named Bilhaṇa. It was translated into English in 1896 by Sir Edwin Arnold, along with some sketches by himself, unconnected with the text. The translation is free and in verse, but conveys the spirit and movement of the original Sanskrit. It should be mentioned at once that the translation, though it reads well and is full of the pathos that the original has, is yet far remote from the text.

This is how Sir Edwin Arnold himself introduces his translation:

'In 1798, the very learned *LASSEN*, rummaging in the Library of the Hon'ble East India Company at White-hall, found a Ms. in Sanskrit of this old poem—the *Chaurapañchāśikā*, or "Fifty Distichs of Chauras". He gave his copy and comments to the scarcely less erudite Peter of Bohlen of Berlin, who published in that city the text (and the commentaries of one Ganapas upon it) in very excellent and perspicuous Devanagari type, affixing a preface and appending a Latin translation. Going lately for a month's holiday to the Canary Islands, I took a transcription of the two hundred Sanskrit shlokes with me, and made this English version of them, sitting before breakfast, at each lovely day break, in the garden at Orotava.

'India still greatly admires the poem; which, if it be, as has been thought, contemporary with *Bhartrihari*, would date from the commencement of the Christian era. Its legend runs that a young and accomplished Brahman, *Chauras*, at the court of King Sundava of Kānchinpur, fell in love with the beautiful daughter of the Maharajah, named *Vidyā*. The flame was mutual; and when the secret of the pair became revealed, the incensed Monarch pronounced sentence of death upon *Chauras*, who passed his last hours in prison, composing these verses, in praise and recollection of his lost mistress.

'Each quatrain of the half-hundred constituting the poem begins with the same Sanskrit word of reminiscence, *adyāpi*, and their characteristic is a melodious and ingenious monotony of fanciful passion. The story lives that the Maharajah forgave the offence of the lover on account of the skill of the poet. But Peter of Bohlen very justly observes: "*nulla facile lingua talia exprimere potest verba Sanscrita*" and, if I reproduce my little book just as I wrote (and grotesquely illuminated) it in that Hesperidean palm-grove, this shall only be to amuse scholars, lovers and ladies, not from any notion of its literary merit.'[1]

In volume 13 of the *Kāvyamālā* we find the text of a work named *Bilhaṇa-Pañchāśikā*, and it may be observed that the fifty verses of Arnold's text come after the first seventy-four of that given in the *Kāvyamālā*. His text of the fifty is fairly complete. They render the love-lament of the poet, whereas the preceding seventy-four supply the *pūrvapīṭhikā* or background story of the poet. As Arnold relates, the poet was engaged by the king to teach his daughter, and the discovery by the king of their secret love led to the poet being sentenced to death. His Love-Lament, however, ultimately earned him his reprieve.

The term *pañchāśikā* means a set of fifty verses. In the *pūrvapīṭhikā* of the *Kāvyamālā*,

the poet of the story is the author Bilhaṇa himself, who was engaged at the court of king Vīrasiṁha as preceptor to the young and beautiful princess Champāvatī, also named Śaśikalā or Vidyā. In Arnold's version, however, the protagonist is *Chaura*, not Bilhaṇa himself, which inconsistency may be explained by the fact that there are many texts and recensions of the composition.

According to Tadpatrikar, Aufrecht has the following entry in his *Catalogus Catalogorum*:

Chaurīsuratapañchāśikā, usually called *Chaurapañchāśikā*, also *Bilhaṇa-Pañchāśikā* and *Śaśikalāpañchāśikā*, *Kāvya* by Bilhaṇa; and under Bilhaṇa we have: son of Jyeshṭhakalaśa, son of Rājakalaśa, son of Muktikalaśa, brother of Ishṭarāma and Ānanda, lived in the middle of the eleventh century. He is mentioned in *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, VII.938. He is stated to be the author of *Karṇasundarī Nāṭaka, Chaurīsuratapañchāśikā, Bilhaṇacharita, Vikramāṅkacharita*, and *Bilhaṇīya Kāvya*, this last being mentioned by Oppert. Some of his verses are quoted in *Śārṅgadharapaddhati*.

'Of these works of Bilhaṇa, the drama *Karṇasundarī* was published in *Kāvyamālā*, while the poem *Vikramāṅkacharita* was edited by Dr Bühler and published in the Bombay Sanskrit Series... *Bilhaṇacharita* and *Bilhaṇīya-Kāvya* seem to be identical and appear...under the title *Pūrvapīṭhikā* which gives the northern version and *Bilhaṇacharitapūrvapañchāśat* which gives the Southern version of the life of the poet.'[2] This poem is found in three recensions. But it is strange that the poem of Bilhaṇa, who was a favourite all over and whose physical presence was in the South for a long time, could not secure more than five verses in common to all the recensions.

Manuscript No. 436/1884-87 of the Government Library at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute has a curious mixture of the three recensions.

Chaurapañchāśikā is certainly in part the work of Bilhaṇa, the author of the pretentious *Mahākāvya Vikramāṅkadevacharitam*. The story, perhaps a legend, was that the talented Kashmiri Pandit Bilhaṇa himself was appointed a tutor to instruct the princess. But, according to the southern recension, the father, in order to safeguard against the possible developments of the young persons of a poetic and romantic bent of mind, resorted to a naive subterfuge. He told the princess that her tutor was but a terrible leper, and the Pandit was told that his talented disciple was blind and could not see. But the ruse was soon discovered by the Pandit and the princess, and the inevitable happened. Their illicit love was discovered and the Pandit was sentenced to death. When the latter was taken to the gallows amidst thronging crowds of popular sympathizers, and when he was asked to repent of his misdeeds, Bilhaṇa had nothing but the fifty verses to recite, detailing his amours with his beloved, each verse beginning with the refrain, 'I still remember her'.

It is said that this poetic outburst had a happy result. The Pandit was reprieved, and he and the princess were united in happy wedlock.

Sanskrit literature is full of love poems, but what is remarkable about this particular lyric is that only five verses are found to be common to the three recensions. The northern and the southern recensions, however, give basically the same story. The collective evidence of all manuscripts appears to indicate that there existed an original theme by the author which gave rise to a substantial literature with three distinct recensions. The theme of the poem is perhaps more remarkable than the treatment thereof; for its music and felicity of composition are but the usual characteristics of Sanskrit poetry even at a pedestrian level. The romantic theme as well as the erotic treatment appear to have made the poem popular, for it was translated into Gujarati under the title '*Śaśikalā-Virahapratāpa*' towards the end of the 16th century, and a rendering in Marathi was composed in 1671 in the time of the great Shivaji. Dr Bühler says in his criticism of the poet, 'his composition deserves to be rescued from oblivion... he possesses a spark of poetical fire.

Really beautiful passages occur in every canto. Bilhaṇa's verse is flowing and musical, and his language, simple.'[3]

Eighteen illustrated folios of the *Chaurapañchāśikā* came into Shri N.C. Mehta's collection through Padmshri Muni Jinavijayaji. The pictures reproduced here are perhaps the only illustrations of *Bilhaṇa-Pañchāśikā* hitherto known. There is a numbered verse written at the top of each picture, and it is interesting to remark that the numbering of a god many of the verses in the pictures is identical with the numbering in Arnold's text, e.g. verses Nos. 18, 19, 27, 32, 33, 36, 38, 40, 42 and 43 follow the same numerical order, although the text is not always identical. The paintings, which on the whole are well preserved, are here reproduced in actual colour. They are painted on thin yellow paper. The writing is not highly professional and also, not by the same hand throughout.

The Sanskrit is often inaccurate and though it is difficult to establish whether it was always contemporary with the picture itself, there is nothing which can be said against its contemporaneity with the picture, and it is very likely, as in the case of so many pictures of its kind, that the text usually accompanied the picture. It was almost a habit with painters of miniatures and of later day murals to give explanatory notes and legends, often verses, pertaining to the picture. Explanatory labels appear in sculptures at Bharhut in the second century B.C. and the tradition of painting the names of panels or individual figures can be seen even at Ajanta where the name of Śibi is painted in Brāhmī letters of the Vākāṭaka type against the picture of the generous king offering his eyes to a beggar — Indra himself in disguise. This tradition gained greater popularity as paintings became book illustrations, or miniatures became almost collectively the book itself with the verses and the pictures composing the text and illustrations. The verses are in black ink against a yellow background, while the pictures are in a lateral format and appear to have been separate and loose, not bound in the form of a book or portfolio. The two principal characters, the princess and the poet, are labelled in yellow ink as Champāvatī and Bilhaṇa in pictures. From the general appearance of both the pictures and the mounting, it would seem that they were executed for the private library of some rich client. These eighteen illustrations of the *Chaurapañchāśikā* are of exceptional importance for the history of Indian painting. Many believe them to be the best of the sixteenth century-Indian miniatures of the Gujarat School.

Some of these pictures were first exhibited at the Royal Academy Exhibition of the Art of India and Pakistan in Burlington House, London, in 1947-48 and noticed at that time in an article by Mr Basil Gray in the *Burlington Magazine*, February, 1948, as well as in his volume on *Rajput Painting*. Mr Basil Gray published in these notices a remarkable *Rāgiṇī* picture from the collection of J. C. French, which appears to be stylistically related to our *Chaurapañchāśikā* illustrations. The details of architecture, costume and furniture are the same. Though the *Rāgiṇi* is of upright format the *Chaurapañchāśikā* illustrations are horizontal. Both the *Rāgiṇī* and the present illustrations carry Sanskrit inscriptions, and the writing is similar, though not identical. The *Rāgiṇī* picture identifies its feminine figure as Nada-Bhairavī.

Besides this *Rāgiṇī* picture, Mr Basil Gray reproduces in his *Rajput Painting* a *Laur-Chanda* painting from the Lahore Museum which undoubtedly belongs to the same school as French's *Rāgiṇī* and our illustrations. The poet's dress in this painting is similar to that of Bilhaṇa in the *Chaurapañchāśikā* illustrations. These were the only miniatures of this style then known and Mr Basil Gray felt that these paintings were pre-Mughal and, therefore, dated them around 1570 or a little earlier.[4]

However, since then, a few more sets of the same school have come to light, and these have given rise to the theory that the whole constellation may be post-Mughal — in which case any real innovations in the Gujarati or Western India

painting of the sixteenth century would have been due to the advent of the Mughals in 1526 and the founding of the Mughal School of miniature painting by Akbar.

The paintings of this rare group, now known, are the following:

1. The eighteen *Chaurapañchāśikā* illustrations of our text; Ashton, *Art of India & Pakistan*, pl. 81; Basil Gray, 'Western Indian Paintings', *Burlington Magazine*, Vol. XC, No. 539 (1948), fig. 18.

2. The single *Rāgamālā* miniature of the Nada-Bhairavi *Rāgiṇī* in the collection of J.C. French and now in the Victoria & Albert Museum, London.

3. A *Rāgamālā* series belonging to Muni Vijayaendra Suri, reproduced in the *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Vol. 16, Plates 1-3, p.10.

4. The *Laur-Chanda* series, which is divided between the Lahore Museum and the Punjab Government Museum, Ashton, *Art of India & Pakistan*, p. 109, pl.82 and Gray, loc. cit, p.42, figs. 19-20.

5. A long series of miniatures, illustrating the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, now dispersed in several collections.

6. A single miniature in the National Museum, depicting an assembly of writers, including Jayadeva, author of the *Gīta Govinda*; and Kalhaṇa, author of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*.

7. The *Gīta Govinda* series in the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay.

8. Two miniatures (unpublished) in the possession of Mr Haridas of Bombay.

9. One miniature illustrating the Kṛishṇa legend, in the possession of Shrimati Madhuri Desai of Bombay (Barrett and Gray, *Painting of India*, p. 67).

A review of the whole range of these paintings leads inevitably to the conclusion that they are all, indeed, either of, or related to the Gujarati or the Western India style, and that this style evolved during the latter part of the sixteenth century. With slight local peculiarities, it may have flourished simultaneously in several centres of North, Central, and Western India as a national and popular style of Northern India; hence, in the present state of our knowledge, both the provenance and the exact dates of the paintings are matters of conjecture. It would be imprudent to draw hard and fast conclusions.

Before describing the general characteristics of the style, it will be helpful to give a definition of the Gujarati or Western India School of Painting, as well as some account of its historical setting in North India, down to the beginning of the seventeenth century.

Pictures of this type have been usually classified as Jaina paintings, principally because most of the known specimens have appeared in illustrated manuscripts of Jain theology and legend, as for instance, the *Kalpasūtra* and *Kālakāchārya-kathā*, both of which are very popular texts. It now appears, however, that this peculiar style of illustration had nothing to do with Jainism as a creed, but was indigenous to and characteristic of Gujarat as a whole, having persisted, albeit with some variations, from the commencement of the palm-leaf period, *circa* A.D. 1060, right down to the beginning of the seventeenth century, when the provincial courts came to be greatly influenced by the current idiom of the Mughal *ateliers*. The geographical limits of medieval Gujarat were much wider than those of Gujarat today, and included much of what is now known as Rajasthan and Central India. Moreover, the themes of Gujarati paintings, though primarily religious, were not only of the Jain religion. Many, no doubt, deal with the life-stories of the Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras, but there are also a Śaiva-Śākta series, the *Devī-Māhātmya*, and various Vaishṇava subjects (such as the *Gīta Govinda*, and the *Bālagopālastuti*), as well as secular works of love, history and romance.

Also to be noted is the fact that there is still a considerable amount of material, both religious and secular, resting in the possession of the Jaina *Bhandara* or libraries. This material consists primarily of illustrated manuscripts on palm-leaf, paper and cloth, and painted wood-covers for such manuscripts, besides a few examples of portraiture and letters of apology (*vijñaptipatras*), prepared with much care by the Jaina laity and clergy, to be sent on the *Saṁvatsarika*, the last and holiest day of their eight-day festival of fasts, to their ecclesiastical head. A systematic search of these old Jaina *Bhandars*, scattered over Western India, will, no doubt, throw additional light on the pictorial art of India in the pre-Mughal period. The most important of them are in Patan, the old capital of Gujarat, Cambay, the desert town of Jaisalmer in Rajasthan, Ahmedabad and Sonagir in Datia (Madhya Pradesh).

The last ruler of Gujarat Karṇadeva Vāghelā (1295-1304) lost his kingdom to Alā-ud-dīn Khilji (1295-1315). In 1404, the province was made into a separate principality by Muzaffar Khan, and though it remained under Muslim domination for several centuries thereafter, its arts and crafts did not lose their individuality. The illustrations of the *Vasantavilāsa*, which are among the earliest of the secular paintings, though executed A.D. 1451, after a century and a half of Muslim rule in Gujarat, are absolutely unaffected by foreign influence.[5] The manuscript is of cloth, in the shape of a long roll, 436 inches long and 9.2 inches wide, such as is still used for horoscopes in the orthodox style.

The introduction of paper for writing and painting allowed more room for painting and more elaborate composition than the palm-leaf. During the latter half of the fifteenth century, a number of Gujarati manuscripts were sumptuously illustrated, the text being written in gold and silver ink on a red or black background. Such works were ordered by wealthy bankers and merchants, and in some of the most gorgeous manuscripts of this opulent style a marked Persian influence is apparent. The most famous manuscript of its kind is the *Kalpasūtra* in the Davasano Pada Bhandar at Ahmedabad, dated 1475. The text is written in gold ink and the borders are decorated with dancing figures. Four borders framing the panels have tiny copies of Persian miniatures, showing the richly-clad Persian warriors, fighting and hunting on horseback; in another panel are depicted five Iranians on horseback in a battle scene. The borders, floral decorations, arabesques and panels of birds and foliage of this manuscript are influenced by Persian miniatures. So also is the lavish use of gold and ultramarine, colours unknown in the palm-leaf period. A foreign type of king often appears in the manuscripts of the *Kālakāchāryakathā* in three-quarter profile, with the farther eye projecting beyond the cheek. Clearly, therefore, we have to recognize that the artists working in Gujarat in the fifteenth century were acquainted with Persian traditions in painting, possibly through the Sultanate Court painting in India. The recent discoveries leave no room for doubt that the Sultanate painting was popularly used in the Indian Muslim courts in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The important point to be noted, on the other hand, is that though the painter of these manuscripts was influenced by Persian miniatures in his borders' panels and decorations, in his central painting he held strictly to the conventions of the Gujarati style. And for another century and a half this Gujarati style was to dominate the Jaina, Vaishṇava and secular manuscripts painted in Gujarat and Rajasthan.

Gujarat has always been prosperous. Her sea coast provides excellent ports for trade with the West, and in the fifteenth century these ports of Gujarat and Cambay were centres for trade emporia with Persia. The natural wealth of the area as well as the ports have through the ages been favourable to the existence of a well-to-do class, which even under Muslim dominance continued to control trade and banking. Its wealth remained undiminished, and this enabled the native artistic tradition to develop under the patronage of Indian merchant princes and *mahajanas*.

Following the advent of the Muslims, and with the overthrow of the Hindu Kingdoms, the

resurgence of Hindu art on the grand scale of the classical periods was seldom possible. The long-existing differences between the court and folk manners came to an end. It is the middle class which chiefly patronized the art traditions that became more and more popular. The days of the Mahākāvyas were over, and in the eleventh and twelfth centuries new literatures emerged in popular languages—such modern Indo-Aryan tongues as Old Hindi, Rajasthani, Bengali, etc. A country-wide popular movement in poetry, art, music and dance came into being as a force in the life of the masses and this produced a rich literature charged with religious feelings. And, if Gujarati miniatures illustrating secular and religious texts then increased in number during this period, it was but the result of this movement.

The change was caused by the rising cult of Rādhā and Kṛishṇa. The *Gīta Govinda* of Jayadeva, written about 1170, is one of the great poetical expressions of that devotional wave of Vaishṇavism, which swept through India and revolutionized the religious life of the people in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It was a time of great religious, social and literary upheaval. It witnessed the careers of Chaitanya (1485-1534), of Chaṇḍidāsa, of Vallabha—the founder of the popular cult of Vaishṇavism, the Pushṭimārga, and of Tukārāma, the spiritual guru of the great Shivaji, and also of Nānak, the first of the Sikh gurus.

These movements were almost a revolt against the cold intellectualism of Brahmanic philosophy and rituals. The cult of loving devotion, with Rādhā and Kṛishṇa as the central figures, touched the innermost depths of the popular imagination and an age of beautiful lyrical poetry dawned with the songs of Sūrdās, Vidyāpati and Mīrā Bāī, and the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Tulsīdās. Sanskrit treatises on religion and lovelore were made available in simplified recensions. The love of Rādhā and Kṛishṇa threw a mystic sanction over the love of human beings — from which Hindi poetry derives its peculiar flavour. The verses were composed in various *apabhraṁśa* languages of everyday use. Descended from old *prākṛit* folk dialects, the language has a simplicity and sprightliness of form which lends itself to rhythmic verses. The verse narratives were composed usually in *dohās* and *chaupāis*–couplets and quatrains. It is in this form of verse that the genius of Hindi lyrical poetry reached its full perfection, each couplet or quatrain a complete little picture. It was a way of salvation open to all, irrespective of birth, rank or sex, in contrast to the way of knowledge which had been accessible only to the elite.[6]

In the early Gujarati School, the paintings in the *Kalpasūtras* and the *Kālakāchārya-kathā*, as well as those in the *Śākta* manuscripts of the *Durgāpāṭha* and the *Devī-Māhātamya*, the Vaishṇava texts of the *Bālagopālastūti* and the secular love poem of the *Vasantavilāsa*, all share certain characteristics of stylization. This school handed down certain archaic peculiarities in its treatment of the human figure, the most conspicuous being those of the three-quarter profile, where the farther eye protrudes and the long pointed nose is seen beyond the outline of the cheek. Also characteristic is the stylized treatment of natural elements, clouds, water, trees and animals. The line is strong, the angular. Energy and movement are conveyed by the stance of the figures and the arrangement of the draperies.

This rejection of such classical naturalism as that of Ajanta and Bagh is evident as early as the eighth century in Western Indian sculptures with its tight modelling and angular outlines. Nothing has survived in the form of manuscripts from this period, but in a painted wooden cover of a palm-leaf manuscript of the *Saṅgrahaṇī Sūtra* (in the collection of Padmashri Muni Jinavijayaji) the original vigour is apparent in the dancing scene.[7]

By the end of the thirteenth century the general mannerism and stylistic conventions that were to last for the next two hundred and fifty years were firmly established in the Gujarati School. All attempts at shading had disappeared. The drawing takes a pure linear form

and is carefully executed. The human figure in this style, in spite of distortion and angularities, preserves the ideal of Indian classical beauty. The man is idealized, with a large chest and narrow waist like those of a lion, and the women have well rounded breasts, small waists and well curved hips. The figures are seen either in full face or profile, the farther eye projecting beyond the cheek, with pointed noses and small chins. Architecture is very much simplified and landscape finds little place. These miniatures show an accomplished and assured art. Within the formula which was accepted the artists are able to express the sacred legends with astonishing ease and confidence.[8]

The art reveals no interest in anatomy but a deep understanding of emotion, and especially the language of gesture—movements of the hand, the fingers, and stances of the body. There is an extensive use of foliage decoration. Plants are generally treated in a conventional manner, especially the mango and the palm. Also, a great number of animals and birds are represented. The men wear a waist cloth or *dhoti* reaching down to the ankles, with a short scarf thrown across the shoulders, leaving the upper half of the body uncovered; and their headgear is either a kind of a *topee* or *mukuṭa*. The women wear long gaily coloured printed scarfs over skirts consisting of a wrapped piece of cloth of a different colour. Full bosomed and narrow waisted, they wear closely fitting *cholis*, reaching to just above the navel, and their sleeves cover the arms to the elbow. They are profusely bejewelled, with earrings, necklaces, and bangles, and their long hair is braided, and tied with black tassels adorned with jewellery and flowers. Water is indicated in this art by wavy lines, bluish in tinge, with or without fish. Clouds are represented by bold curves, rocks as jagged peaks. The medieval gentry of Gujarat appear to have been fond of richly coloured textiles. Furniture consists of swings, stools and bedsteads with ornate lathe-turned legs. Other accessories are musical instruments, fly-whisks, mirrors, fans, water jugs, and vessels of different kinds; The colouring of these miniatures is very simple;brick-red backgrounds, with yellow, blue, green and black.

The outstanding feature of the art is not its spirituality and lyricism, but its adherence to the facts and pleasures of this world, emphasizing the ordinary joys of life. Sometimes there is lavish use of gold illumination, and the dazzling pages then testify to the patronage of a business community of considerable wealth. Characterized by vigour of movement and sincerity of expression, these paintings of the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries were inspired by a clientele desirous not only of religious merit, but also of earthly prestige, as patrons of art and learning. These miniatures represent the Gujarati school before its revival during the Mughal period.

As an aid to the dating of the *Chaurapañchāśikā* paintings, it will be helpful to concentrate on two most important details of dress, characteristic of the style. The first is the transparent *aṅgarkha* or the *Jāmā* with four sharply cut ends (*chakdar*) that is worn by Bilhaṇa in our illustrations. Fastened in front or at the sides with tightly fitting sleeves, it is reminiscent of some of the portraits of the time of Akbar. Moreover, the same type of *jāmā* is seen in the *Laur-Chanda* and the *Gīta Govinda* (Prince of Wales Museum series), whereas in the *Rāgamālā* set, belonging to Vijayaendra Suri, only two points of the *jāmā* are seen.[9]

The second notable detail is the small *atpati* turban, like that of the Akbar period, the difference being that the turban in these paintings appears occasionally with a *kulah* or conical cap in the centre. The length of this *kulah* varies in the different sets: that in our present series is a tall type, while in the other sets the *kulah* is shorter. This is a very significant feature of the style and perhaps even its hallmark. In fact, it is with reference to this feature that the paintings we are here considering are often referred to as the *Kulahdar* Group. In some, and even in our illustrations, the turban without *kulah* also is found.[10]

Now the appearance in these miniatures of the *chakdar jāmā* along with the *atpati* turban has been regarded by some authorities as proof that the paintings are post-Mughal. This style of dress was popular at the court of Akbar, and it is not found in any dated example of paintings earlier than the *Hamza-Nāma*, 1567-1582. The *chakdar jāmā* is seen in the Bijapur *Rāgiṇīs* of the Deccani School about A.D. 1590.[11] In the Bukhara miniatures of Sādi's *Gulistan* in the British Museum, dated A.D. 1552, a *chakdar jāmā* with six and four points appear. Also in the *Hamza-Nāma*, dated 1567-1582 in Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras, the king seated on the throne wears the characteristic small turban and a *chakdar jāmā* with a narrow *patka* or sash—a fashion popular in Akbar's reign.

The *chakdar jāmā* is not found in Gujarati miniatures until the latter part of the sixteenth century.[12]

Indeed, it is probable that Akbar introduced this style of *jāmā* in his court. It is certain that it was not a Mughal court dress before Akbar as it is conspicuous by its absence in the portraits of Babur and Humayun of the Akbar period. And it is during the time of Akbar that in some of the Mughal paintings we see for the first time the use of the *chakdar jāmā*. The question now is whether the pointed *jāmā* was taken by Akbar from the prevailing local fashion or copied from Persia. As Dr Moti Chandra has pointed out, in the early fourteenth century a Jyotisvara Ṭhākkur of Mithilā (North Bihar) refers to the *jhagala kayiyadar*—loose cornered *jāmā* in his *Varṇaratnākara* as the costume of an archer. It may be that the fashion of the *chakdar* jāmā was prevalent in India before Akbar, though under the different name of *takauchiya jāmā*. The descriptions of the two *jāmās* correspond to each other. Besides, Abu'l Fazl in his *Ain-i Akbari* reveals that the *takauchiya jāmā* was an Indian dress which the Emperor adopted in the same way as he adopted the flat Indian turban unknown to his ancestors. The *kulahdar* (peaked) turban seen in our illustrations may be of Indian origin too as it is rarely found in Akbari or later paintings of the Mughal School: there is not a single instance known in which Akbar or his successors appear in this style of turban. However, it does appear in the *Mahāpurāṇa* illustrations of A.D. 1540 and in the *Mṛigāvatī* miniatures. Fashions die hard in India and it is significant that even at present the Pathans wear a turban with a *kulah*. At least it is still true in India that the headgear often proclaims the distinctive profession, caste and locale of the person wearing it. It was very marked in princely India where each state had its own distinctive style of headgear or turban. Bilhaṇa in our illustrations is often seen wearing a *kulahdar* turban which may be indicative of his particular profession, caste and region.

Until A.D. 1583 we find Gujarati art unaffected by the changes in taste stemming from Mughal art. However, in the Jaina manuscript of the *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra* dated A.D. 1591, first published by Dr Norman Brown, certain changes are evident. Here an occasional *jāmā* or coat is to be seen worn by an attendent, and the small flat *atpati* turban occurs throughout the manuscript. Thus in the last decade of the sixteenth century we have evidence of the initial impact of Mughal miniature painting on the traditional Gujarati style, which had persisted without change in its essential conventions from 1060 to 1583.

From this date onward a rapidly increasing change in style can be traced through three Jaina and Vaishṇava manuscripts, one of which, fortunately, is dated. These carry us to A.D. 1610, and are as follows:

1. The *Bālagopālastuti* of the Narayanbhai Pathasala, at Petlad, Gujarat.

2. The *Bhāgavata Daśamaskandha* of the Jodhpur library.

3. A *Gīta Govinda*, dated 1610, in the possession of the Gujarat Vernacular Society, Ahmedabad.

The illustrations in these three manuscripts betray a greater loosening of style than the

Uttarādhyayana Sūtra of 1591. The convention of the farther protruding eye never appears; the *oḍhṇī*, instead of being draped softly over the head and around the body, is painted to stand out stiffly behind the figure. In the *Gīta Govinda* manuscript of 1610, one finds female dancers in tight *pyjāmās* and wearing a coat with pointed ends showing the Gujarati style gradually breaking away from its old conventions and absorbing new methods and ideas; and in the *Bālagopālastuti* of the Petlad Pathasala, which must date from about the middle of the seventeenth century, still further progress in this freedom can be seen.

The next stage of development appears in another *Gīta Govinda* manuscript, in the N.C. Mehta Gallery of Miniature Paintings, Ahmedabad. This has traits of similarity with the *Bhāgavata Daśamaskandha,* which is dated 1610, but is stylistically more advanced. One notable feature of both is the manner in which the texts are written, not in a continuous straight line, but forming an angle with the illustration. This peculiarity is absent from Gujarati manuscripts of the sixteenth century; it appears only in the seventeenth century manuscripts showing Mughal influence.[13]

Returning to the miniatures of our *Chaurapañchāśikā* series, we find that, though fundamentally related to the Gujarati School, they exhibit a loosening of style and greater freedom of expression. In this they depart from the older school. The most characteristic Gujarati motif, the three-quarter or farther eye, has been discarded; but the large staring eyes, the jutting veils, and the gesture languages have been retained. Some of the outstanding characteristics of this style are the following:

A transparent *chakdar jāmā*, four-pointed with tightly fitting sleeves, is worn by the men over *pyjāmās*. Several distinct types of such coats appear, made of fine muslin. Also, the men wear the *atpati* turban with or without the *kulah* in the centre.

The women have large oval eyes, sharp projecting noses, and pointed chins. They are narrow-waisted and wear a skirt, usually with a check or geometrical pattern. Tucked in front of the skirt is a long *patka* which stands out in a point. The transparent *oḍhṇī*, again of fine muslin, starched, stands out behind the head; its tasselled ends are stiff and form an angle to the body. The women wear necklaces and solid *haslis*, large round *kuṇḍalas* for earrings, and sometimes a horizontal piece of ivory in the ears. The long hair is braided, tied with tassels and pompons, and decorated with white flowers. Sometimes the hair is so braided as to leave a small tuft of hair undone. The *choli* or the bodice fits just below the breasts and is patterned. Black pompons adorn the wrists, the arms, and the neck.

Trees are highly stylized. Spraylike plants with or without blossoms are to be seen.

The architecture includes the semi-circular dome. The interiors of the rooms are draped with *toraṇas* (curtains), pompons, and tassels. The bedspreads are often of chequer-patterned cloth with bolsters of the same material.

A strip of cloud cutting one corner is characteristic: also, a pool of water with fish and lotuses, surrounded by a brick wall.

The background colours are rich red, yellow, green, and black. Sometimes the floral designs framing the miniatures enhance their beauty. At the bottom of the pictures are signs like V, reversed or upright, with dots and dashes – a feature commonly found in this school of painting.

As stated earlier, the style of this type of painting may have existed with slight modifications simultaneously in various cultural centres of North, Central, and Western India. In our illustrations, the text is in Sanskrit, written in *Devanāgarī* script, which may indicate Uttar Pradesh or Rajasthan, while the text of the Vijayaendra Suri *Rāgamālā* sets is in Braja Bhasha, which may denote Uttar Pradesh; and finally in the *Laur-Chanda* set of the Lahore Museum, the text is in Avadhi, in Persian script,

which indicates that its place of origin was either Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, or Mewar. On the basis of such evidence, all of the these regions have about equal claims.[14]

Dr Moti Chandra is of the opinion that by this period the Gujarati style had penetrated to Uttar Pradesh and that, moreover, the *Laur-Chanda* must have come from some such northern area as that where the Avadhi language is spoken to this day. The *Laur-Chanda* is a love romance, composed in Avadhi by Mulla Daud, a Muslim poet of the fourteenth century. Dr Moti Chandra feels that not only the *Laur-Chanda* set, but also our present illustrations, may have been painted in Uttar Pradesh.

With regard to the historical probabilities of such an origin, we note that the Sharqi Sultans of Jaunpur played an important role in the political history of North India in the fifteenth century. Under Ibrahim Shah, who ruled from 1402 to 1440, Jaunpur gained a reputation as the Shiraz of India for its remarkable buildings, and as a centre of learning as well. The famous *Kalpasūtra* of Narasimha Pole Bhandar, Baroda, was painted in Jaunpur in 1465, during the reign of Husain Shah. And finally, the Hindu-Muslim architecture of Jaunpur shares with the monuments of Ahmedabad the unique distinction of having arrived at a synthesis of the two cultures.[15]

There is another manuscript illustrating the loosening of the Gujarati style which should perhaps be considered in this connection. That is the manuscript, acquired by the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras, of the *Mṛigāvatī*, a romance composed in 1501 by Kutban in Avadhi. The illustrations of this manuscript have been dated *circa* 1540 by DrAnand Krishna. The *Mṛigāvatī* illustrations show no doubt the *chakdar jāmā*; in other respects there is little or no relation to the *Chaurapañchāśikā* style. However, there is a manuscript of the *Mahāpurāṇa* that was illuminated in 1540 in Palam, a suburb of Delhi, which resembles the *Mṛigāvatī* in style and yet shows certain characteristics of the *Chaurapañchāśikā* group as well.[16]

Mr Archer holds the view that Malwa, in Central India, was the source of the group of paintings we are considering. He points to two manuscripts that were illustrated there in the fifteenth century: one at Mandu in Central India in 1439; the other, the famous Jaunpur manuscript, in 1465. Both were copies of the Jain *Kalpasūtras* and departed from the traditional Gujarati style. However, in Gujarat itself, as we have seen, the study of Persian miniatures had already resulted in greatly enriched borders. Moreover, the contact with Persia was also affecting the Gujarati style. Mr Archer feels that the Malwa *Nimat-Nāma*, a book of recipes, was the immediate forerunner of the *Chaurapañchāśikā* group.[17] The style there is basically Persian, yet certain very definite Indian elements also are present. Indian trees, like the mango, appear, and the women attendants in the illustrations are based on observation of the inhabitants of the place. The jutting veils, rounded contours, and large eyes, all spring, in fact, from the same idiom as the Jaunpur manuscript of 1465. Cross-fertilization was taking place; and Mr Archer finds in the figure of Baz Bahadur — a Pathan ruler of Malwa, 1535-1561, the proper patron for just such a blending of Muslim and Hindu cultures. He feels that both the Bilhaṇa of our illustrations and the Muslim love-poet of the *Laur-Chanda* are disguised representations of Baz Bahadur himself.[18] However, until more evidence is available, it seems hazardous to introduce a Mandu school on the basis of two manuscripts, though it is indeed possible that there was such a school and that, along with certain other centres, it fostered such a style.

Although, as stated above, the provenance of the *Chaurapañchāśikā* group is not yet established, certain circumstantial evidence points to Mewar as the probable area from which it was derived. Our illustrations of the *Chaurapañchāśikā* were acquired in Pratapgaḍh, a small town on the southern border of Mewar. (Strange, however, that a town named Pratapgaḍh should be in Uttar Pradesh as well, just 35 miles from Jaunpur). The *Gīta Govinda* of the Prince of Wales Museum was also ac-

quired in Mewar. There is, furthermore, a set of *Rāgamālā* paintings dated 1605 which was painted at Chawand, which was the capital of Mewar until about 1615. (Most of this set, including the picture bearing the date, are in the Kanoria collection, Calcutta; one is in the Khazanchi collection of Bikaner, and one, a *Rāgiṇī* Toḍi, is in Shri Khandalavala's collection). All of these paintings are closely related to our group. Where the *Laur-Chanda* of the Lahore Museum was acquired is, however, unknown.[19]

In the portrayal of the female figure also, certain stylistic traits of our group are important. The facial type resembles that of the Mewar School towards the middle of the seventeenth century. The male figures, furthermore, wear a small *atpati* turban with a *kulah* and the only other miniature with this feature is in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* painted in 1648 at Udaipur in Mewar. "Moreover, when one analyses the manner in which the *Laur-Chanda* paintings are usually composed, with the three sets of figures in three panels against contrasting monochrome backgrounds, one realises that there is a familiar resemblance between the *Laur-Chanda* set and a set like the *Rasikapriyā* paintings of the Bikaner Durbar, which without question belongs to the Mewar School of the 17th century A.D".[20]

Although Mr Basil Gray would assign the present illustrations and the group belonging to them to the first thirty years of the sixteenth century and Shri Khandalavala sets them at 1620 or a little later, both authorities seem to find that Mewar must have been the location of the *Chaurapañchāśikā* group. Mr Basil Gray elegantly brings out this point in the *Painting of India.* He rules out a Muslim court in a Muslim province for he feels that in location we must find a region where the Gujarati style was still alive, full of meaning and potential for its artists, in a society that was itself alive and developing. The Hindi poets of Oudh and Mathura and other places found patronage also in the courts of the Hindu rulers of Rajasthan, Maharashtra and Gujarat. They settled in these regions and composed some popular books which provided themes for illustration. Only in such an atmosphere could the *Chaurapañchāśikā* set, the finest paintings of the sixteenth century, Northern India, have their origin. Moreover, the very texts chosen for illustration suggest a Hindu court: a Sanskrit love-lyric by Bilhaṇa, the *Gīta Govinda* by Jayadeva, the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, and the *Laur-Chanda*, or *Chandayan*, composed in Avadhi. Mr Gray feels that Mewar is the only possible source, and Mewar in the days of its greatness, before it was occupied by Akbar, in 1568.[21]

It has rarely occurred in the history of India to have possessed successively so many energetic princes as ruled Mewar right up to the eighteenth century. They maintained their religion and culture and the customs of their forefathers against overwhelming odds. The Rajputs of Mewar had the stamina to fight the Muslims to the last and though they lost many a battle, they still held to their religion and customs. These Rajputs were great patrons of literature and music and above all, they showed their talents for building. This is best seen today in the wealth of monuments still standing in Rajasthan. In fact, it may be said that Rajasthan was the repository of the Hindu culture of Northern India during the onslaught of the invaders. In this, Mewar was the foremost, which earned her a unique place even in the glorious annals of Rajasthan.

Though some details of border decoration, choice of colours, and fashions in clothes indicate Mughal influence, our miniatures and the other sets belonging to this school are totally Hindu in feeling and spirit. With limited resources the artists achieved wonderful results, for they were working in a medium and a tradition which they fully understood. In the *Chaurapañchāśikā* pictures, the artist has caught the spirit of the little romance and has painted scene after scene in the form of a narrative with absolute confidence. He has tried to present the pictures in an expressive way by introducing certain attitudes and figures and background immediately to convey the sense of the verse through something like a gesture, a symbol or a

mood. These miniatures are to be scanned and read as books. Each picture is as complete in itself as a verse or quatrain of Hindi poetry.

But it is the quality of the line which is the most striking, and in Champāvatī the artist has created a woman of ineffable grace and charm. (In the turn of the face and in the gestures the pictures are almost audible. They seem to speak). The transparent *oḍhṇī* is handled in such a way as to emphasize the gestures. And in the figure of Bilhaṇa, furthermore, we have a fine picture of a Hindu noble of the sixteenth century, wearing a tight-fitting coat of the finest muslin over *pyjāmā* which sometimes cover half the feet, with a long narrow, *patka* stylized turban and decorative shoes. He wears long whiskers and moustaches and on his forehead a perpendicular Vaishṇava mark.

Finally, it is in the total impression of these miniatures that their most startling aspect is found. The style is perfectly suited to express an elegant and sophisticated passion for its own culture and traditions more vital and effective than many of the more accomplished arts of the centuries that followed. In fact, such a moment, seized from life with a clear sense of its significance, was not to appear again in Indian art until the eighteenth century—and then, for but a short time.

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12. Karl J. Khandalavala, 'Leaves from Rajasthan', *Marg*, Vol. IV, No.3, p.23.

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17. Douglas Barrett and Basil Gray, *Painting of India* (Switzerland, 1963), p.65.

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|| COLOUR PLATES AND NOTES ||

PLATE I : Painting No.15

अद्यापि तत्कनकरेणुघनोरुदेशे न्यस्तं स्मरामि नखक्षतलक्ष्म तस्याः।
आकृष्टहेमरुचिरांबरमुत्थिताया लज्जावशात्करधृतं च ततो व्रजंत्याः* ।।

I still remember that mark of deep nailprints on her thigh anointed with gold-dust and sandal paste; I saw the mark as she got up and I snatched her shining garment; she shyly covered the mark with her hand, as she walked away.**

The turned face of Champāvatī, as the *nāyaka* pulls her garment, is very significant and recalls a situation described in the *Kumārasambhavam* of Kālidāsa. Here she is bashful and not willing to reveal the nail marks on her thighs, however much the lover may wish, though her *chinmudrā* (the thumb touching the forefinger) is indicative of her consent. The bare portion of her *jaghana* (thigh) is suggestive of the idea that she was rendered bereft of her garment, though she is for all purposes well dressed. This is medieval prudery as compared with a more practical and natural presentation of *vivṛitajaghana* as Kālidāsa would put it and as is shown in early sculpture in the beginning of the first century A.D. The *makara* (crocodile) and the *ketana* (flag) seen in the painting (these two words that make up the *Makaraketana* appellation of Manmatha or Cupid) suggests the intensity of love play. The flame of love is here suggested by the *Chāmara* (fly-whisk) as in another picture where *Madanānala*, the fire of love, is suggested by a similar mode (compare No. 25). The artist has not forgotten to show Bilhaṇa's *jāmā* hanging in the corner. Around his wrists are the sweet-smelling jasmine flowers and he wears thin anklets on his feet. Three distinct patches of cloud are painted at the top of the picture against a black night, studded with stars.

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* On some of the paintings the verses are not correctly written, resulting in certain inaccuracies. But in the text supplied by us correct readings have been given.

** The English translation of the verses occurring on the paintings is based mainly on the translation given by Shri Tadpatrikar in his book already mentioned.

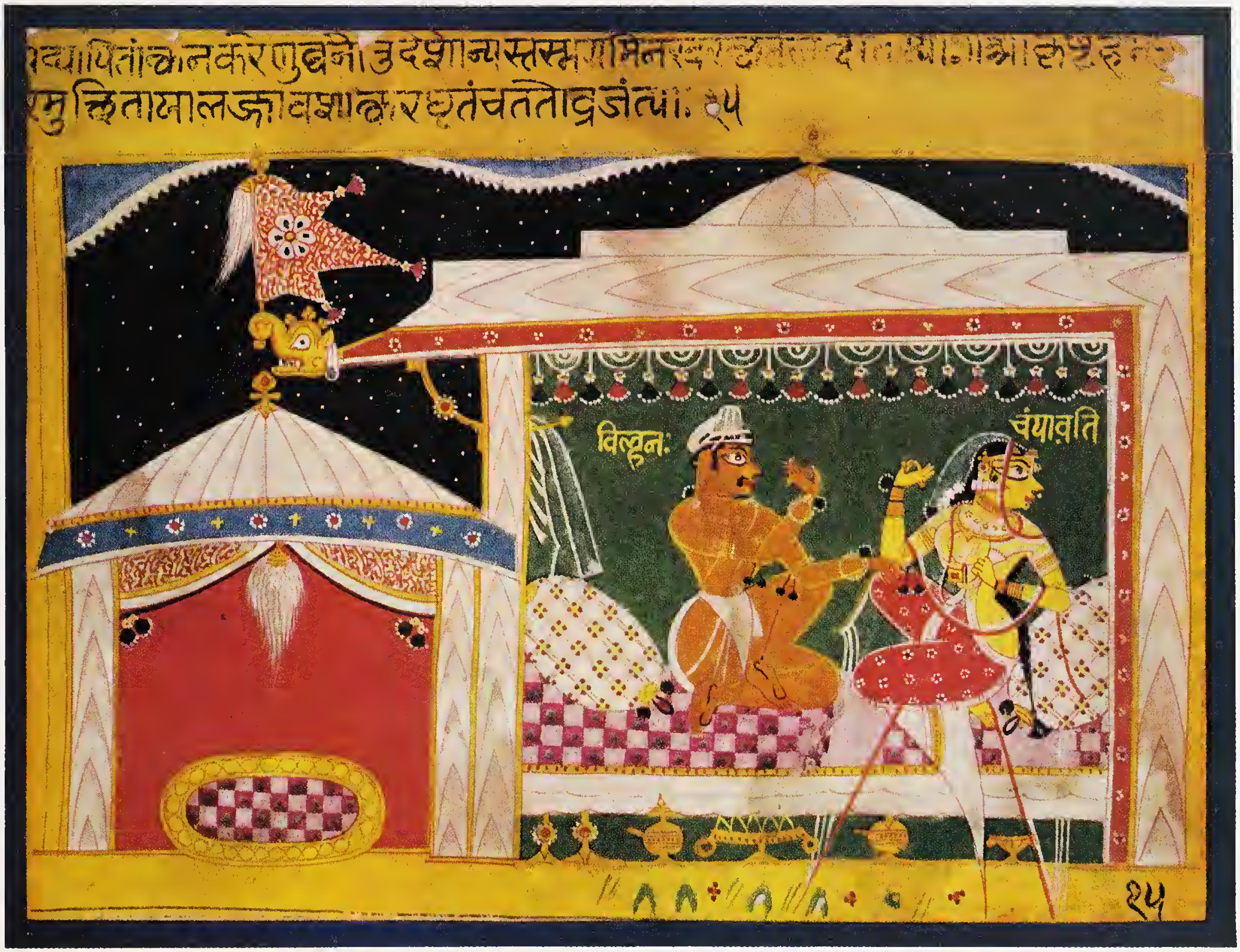
विल्हन:
चंपावति
२५

PLATE II : Painting No.18

अद्यापि तां धवलवेश्मनि रत्नदीपमालामयूखपटलैर्दलितांधकारे।
प्राप्तोद्यमे रहसि संमुखदर्शनार्थं लज्जाभयार्त्तनयनामनुचिन्तयामी।।

And then I still think of her (sad plight), when, in the white house, the darkness was dispelled by a flood of light from rows of diamond lamps when I was eager to see her face to face, while she turned away her eyes in bashfulness and fear.

The darkness of the night is removed by four bright lamps and Champāvatī is shy, because her lover is so close to her. The attitude of Champāvatī is similar to that of Pārvatī who exhibited exactly the same kind of coy behaviour at the first approach of Śiva (see *Kumarāsambhavam* of Kālidāsa). The turn of the face is very significant. Similar shyness of the beloved is presented also in painting no. 22.

The hero and heroine are richly dressed. The dark background conveys the effect of night. Two lamps are burning on either side of the open pavilion. Champāvatī wears a deep-red skirt with floral pattern in white. The skirt has a narrow white border. The starched transparent white *oḍhṇī* (scarf) covering her head is edged with red to match the colour of the skirt, and the end of the scarf sticks out at a sharp angle to her body. Her hair is plaited and decorated with white flowers and it forms a sinuous curve in contrast to the sharp angle of the *oḍhṇī*. Bilhaṇa is dressed like a Rajput noble. He wears the *atpati* turban with a long *kulah*. His starched muslin *chakdar jāmā* tied in front with tassels, is worn over a closefitting yellow *pyjāmā*; the long narrow *patka* is falling well below the knees. Note the elegant sandals with upturned toes ending in large pompons.


विल्हनः
चंपावती

PLATE III : Painting No.19

अद्यापि तां विरहवह्निनिपीडितांगीं तन्वीं कुरंगनयनां सुरतैकपात्रीं।
नानाविचित्रकृतमण्डनमावहन्तीं तां राजहंसगमनां सुदतीं स्मरामि।।

Even now I remember her, of a slender build, with her limbs afflicted by fire of separation (from me) and as one having eyes like those of a deer, and as the sole resort of love-sports, with her ornaments of many kinds, her beautiful face, and with the (graceful) movements of a swan.

In this painting Champāvatī is portrayed aflame with love. The lotus pond to the right suggests what is required to extinguish the flame—a bath in its cool waters; her swan-like gait is suggested by her motion; that her face is as beautiful as a lotus is suggested by the bees attracted towards her as towards the lotuses in the pond. The fact that she is the one receptacle of love is indicated by the *makara-ketana* and the blaze of fire, i.e *Madanānala* (fire caused by love). She is consumed by the fire of Cupid and this, as in another picture, is suggested by the *chāmara* and *makara* and *ketana.*

An open pavilion is on the left with two low cupolas. In this picture the artist has used all the motifs and symbols to illustrate and emphasize the beauty of the heroine; the dark sky studded with stars, the spraying tree loaded with blossoms, a full-blown lotus and a bud, and honey-bees hovering around her face. All these are painted to symbolize her beauty, youth and sweetness.


॥ अद्यापितीव्रविरहव्यक्ति
कृतमंडनमावहंती॥
निपीडितांगीतनवीकुरंगनयनासुरतैकपात्री॥नाना॥
तोराजहंसगमनीसुद
तीम्यरामि॥१९
चेया

PLATE IV : Painting No.20

अद्यापि तां विहसितां कुचभारनम्रां मुक्ताकलापधवलीकृतकण्ठदेशां।
तत्केलिमन्दरगिरौ कुसुमायुधस्य कांतां स्मरामि रुचिरोज्ज्वलपुष्पकेतुं।।

I still remember that my beloved, smiling, bowed with the weight of her breasts, her pearls making a white collar around her neck, she, the bright, shining flowery flag on Mandara, the sport-hill of the god of love.

Champāvatī is described as the most beautiful flag of love, made of flowers, blazing forth, as it were. The blaze is suggested by the *chāmara* as usual; her unique beauty is conveyed by the single pointed finger, while the *ketana* or the banner is a flowering plant that raises itself beyond the *Kelimaṇḍapa* or the play-house of Cupid. The play-house itself is marvellously suggested by the sportive pond full of lotuses, swans and leaping fish, as also by the garden of flowers and bananas and the gay building which is Kāmadeva's abode of sport.

Champāvatī and her maid Śashī are set against a red background. They stand by the side of a lotus pool with birds, flowers and fish. The maid is holding a *chāmara* (fly-whisk) over the head of Champāvatī and a bag dangles from her hand. She wears a horizontal piece of ivory in her ear. The doors of the cupola are of richly embroidered textiles, as seen even today in the brightly coloured textile or appliqued *shamiyanas*, used for ceremonial functions.


चंपावती
सखी
20

PLATE V : Painting No.22

अद्यापि तां सुरतघूर्णनिमीलिताक्षीं स्रस्तांगयष्टिगलितांशुककेशभारां।
श्रृंगारवारिरुहकाननराजहंसीं जन्मांतरेऽपि निधनेऽप्यनुचिन्तयामि।।

At this moment of my death, nay, even in my next birth, I shall ever remember that swan in the cluster of lotuses of love, with her eyes closed in the ecstasy of love, all her limbs relaxed, while her garments and the tresses of her hair were strewn in disorder.

A similar shy attitude of the beloved one, her face turned aside and covered by her scarf, is depicted in painting no. 18.

The picture shows Bilhaṇa, naked except for his loincloth and a turban, seated on a bed with Champāvatī. Champāvatī symbolizes passion and desire, as she is with her head averted and eyes closed as Bilhaṇa undresses her.

Plate VI : Painting No.24

अद्यापि तां क्षितितले वरकामिनीनां सर्वांगसुंदरतया प्रथमैकरेखाम्।
श्रृंगारनाटकरसोत्तमरत्नपात्रीं कांतां स्मरामि कुसुमायुधभित्तिखिन्नां।।

I still remember her tormented by Cupid's arrows, she, my beloved, supreme in the beauty of every limb; she, the source of the finest flavour of the drama of love.

That Champāvatī is the most beautiful of all women is indicated here again by the single finger held up by Bilhaṇa, while the gesture of her hand suggests that she is equally sure of her pre-eminence. The flame of love consuming her is symbolized by the *Chāmara* hanging between curtains in the bedchamber.


चंपावती
विष्णुः

Plate VII : Painting No.25

अद्यापि तां स्तिमितवस्त्रमिवांगलग्नां प्रौढप्रतापमदनानलतप्तदेहां।
संध्यास्वनाथशरणामनुकंपनीयां प्राणाधिकां क्षणमहं नहि विस्मरामि।।

Even now, I cannot, even for a moment, forget that girl dearer to me than life, her body burning with the fire of intense passion, pitiable on account of her separation from her lover in the evening and clinging to me like a wet garment.

The flame of love, *madanānala*, is here suggested by the *chāmara* (fly-whisk) as in painting no. 15.

The painting is damaged in the left hand corner at the bottom.


अद्यापितांस्मितवस्त्रमिवांगलग्नप्रौढप्रतापमदनानलतप्तदेहां।संध्यास्वनाथ
मनुकंपनीयंप्राणाधि कंक्षणमहंनहिविस्मरामि २५।
विल्हूनः
चंपावती
२५

PLATE VIII: Painting No. 26

अद्यापि तां प्रथमतो वरसुंदरीणां स्नेहैकपात्रघटितामवनीशपुत्रीं।
हंहो जना मम वियोगहुताशनोयं सोढुं न शक्यत इति प्रतिचिंतयामि।।

Alas! Oh people, because I cannot bear this fire of separation, I still think of the princess, fashioned solely for love, the most beautiful of all famous beauties.

That Champāvatī is unique among the beautiful women is indicated by her holding up a single finger. This symbolic gesture has been used by the painter in several other pictures as noted above. That both the lovers are like flowers is suggested by the lotus and the lily—Bilhaṇa as the lotus and Champāvatī as the golden lily, both the flowers held by Champāvatī; that the fire of separation is unbearable is suggested by two delicate flowers. The fire itself is perhaps suggested by the bracket above the bed, in which five red spots suggest the five fires, chosen by sages for the highest penance.


विल्हनः
चंपावती
२६

PLATE IX: Painting No. 27

अद्यापि विस्मयकरी त्रिदशान्विहाय बुद्धिर्बलाच्चलति मे किमहं करोमि।
जानन्नपि प्रतिमुहूर्तमिहांतकाले कांतेति वल्लभतरेति ममेति धीरा।।

And even now, knowing that death is drawing nearer every moment, my steady thought leaves the gods, and with surprising force turns towards her, my beautiful and dearest beloved, what can I do?

Champāvatī's extraordinary beauty, turning Bilhaṇa's thought away from the celestials, draws him towards his beloved one. Champāvatī's hand cupping her chin, and her looking straight at her lover, expresses her wonder as he affirms this thought. This affirmation is indicated by the *chinmudrā*, a gesture occurring wherever a firm statement is expressed (see also painting no.33).

Bilhaṇa is seated with the *yogapaṭṭa* tied around his legs, indicating his undivided attention. The bed, with a checked bedspread and bolster, is set against the flaming red background which implies the ardours of passion. A floral canopy with tasselled ends hangs across the bedchamber.


चंपावती
विल्हनः

PLATE X: Painting No. 29

अद्यापि तां सुनिपुणं यतता मयापि दृष्टं न यत्सदृशतो वदनं कदाचित्।
सौंदर्यनिर्जितरति द्विजराजकांति कांतामिहातिविमलत्वमहागुणेन।।

Though I have sought diligently, I have never yet seen the like of her face, pure, lustrous and radiant, combining the grace and beauty of Rati and the splendour of the moon.

Here is Bilhaṇa affirming that he has never seen a face as charming as Champāvatī's — a face indicated by the single raised finger. The lustre of her face, which is incomparable, is perhaps suggested by the single burning lamp.

In this picture Bilhaṇa is wearing the *atpati* turban without the *kulah*. The transparent muslin *jāmā* in this series of paintings is of two types — one tied in front with tassels, the other tied on either side near the armpits. Here he wears the latter style, which is the more usual.

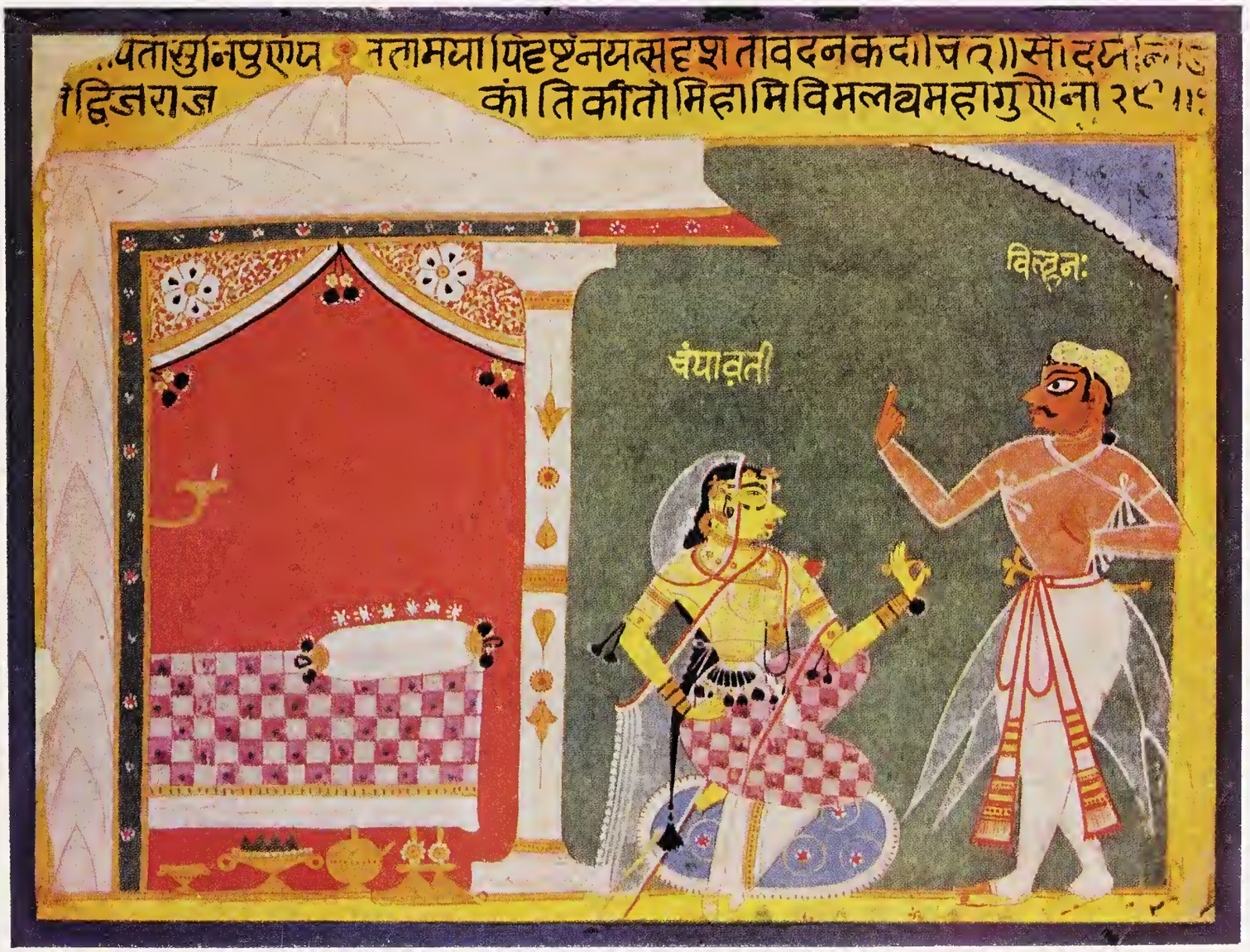
विल्वनः
चंपावती

PLATE XI: Painting No. 32

अद्यापि मे निशि दिवा हृदयं दुनोति पूर्णेंदुसुंदरमुखं मम वल्लभायाः।
लावण्य.....मयकुंदकांति* भूयः पुनः प्रतिमुहुः प्रविलोक्यते यत्।।

By night as by day, I suffer continually, knowing that I shall never again see my beloved's face, charming as the full moon, that face which, by its iridescence has the glow of fresh jasmines.

In the face of Champāvatī, which is turned, there is a pathetic suggestion that her face is away from him which he would fain love to see again and again, the sweet face of his beloved, lovely like the moon.

Typical of this style of painting is the patch of blue edged by a thick white line to indicate clouds. Bilhaṇa and Champāvatī are seated on oval mats. A graceful bracket supports the dome of the bedchamber.

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* Some recensions read लावण्यनिर्जितरतिक्षतिकामदर्प.


विल्हनः
चंपावती
३२

PLATE XII: Painting No. 33

अद्यापि तामवहितां मनसाचलेन संचितयामि युवतीं मम जीविताशाम्।
नान्योपभुक्तनव* यौवनभारहारां जन्मान्तरेऽपि मम सैव गतिर्यथा स्यात्।।

Even in these last moments, I think, with a steady mind, of that young girl deeply attached to me, the sole hope of my life, she the essence of whose fresh youth was tasted by me alone. I think of her in order that even in the next birth she may be my beloved.

Bilhaṇa and Champāvatī are seated on the same long cushion in an open pavilion decorated with looped curtains. The background is as usual broken into two well-defined patches of contrasting colour. The purple checked design of the bedspread is worn by Champāvatī for her skirt. This art reveals a deep understanding of the language of gesture—the movement of the hands, the fingers, the turn of the head, all express emotions and feelings.

* The original omits नवं.


विल्हन:
चंपावती
२२

PLATE XIII: Painting No. 36

अद्यापि रोषितमुखी कृतगंतुकामा नोक्तं वचः प्रतिददाति यदैव वक्त्रं।
चुंबामि रोदिति भृशं पतितोऽस्मि पादे दासस्तव प्रियतमे भज मां स्मरामि*।।

And then I remember when she, turning her face aside in anger and wishing to go away, neither responded to my words nor offered her cheek for a kiss. I drew her to me and kissed her, but when she began to cry in earnest, I (afraid of her real anger and pain) fell at her feet and said, 'Dearest, I am your slave. Love me.'

Here Nature's sympathy is vividly suggested by the tree bent down in harmony with Bilhaṇa's humble obeisance at the feet of Champāvatī. Just as all the forest wept for Sītā by shedding flowers and leaves, as described in the *Raghuvaṁśam*, here we have the tree bowing in sympathy with Bilhaṇa, as requesting Champāvatī to pardon him.

In the figure of Champāvatī the artist conveys the dramatic situation in a masterly way. She is seen standing taut and tense, with large staring eyes, and a slightly disdainful turn of the head. The conventional flat planes of glowing red and olive green heighten the passionate nature of the scene. A single oil lamp is burning in the bedchamber, again perhaps suggesting Champāvatī's unique beauty.

* The original reads स्मरिष्ये.


चंपावती
विल्हण:

PLATE XIV: Painting No. 37

अद्यापि धावति मनः किमहं करोमि सार्धं सखीभिरिति वासगृहे सकान्ते।
कांतागसंगपरिहासविचित्रनृत्यक्रीडाभिराम इव यातु मदीयकालः।।

Even now my thoughts returned to that splendid dwelling place of my beloved. Would that I could pass my days there in a round of games, pleasures and dancing, chatting gaily with friends as my beloved sat close beside me.

Kāntāsaṅga (the union of the lover and the beloved) is shown in this picture, where the lovers are closer together than in any other picture, with Champāvatī's hand resting on Bilhana's left knee. The cymbals struck by a companion and the *vīṇā* held by the other suggest dance and music. The single outstretched finger is indicative of the desire of Bilhaṇa that his whole life should be an eternal joy, night and day, all through the years.

In this picture, the most colourful and elaborate of all the illustrations reproduced, Bilhaṇa is in a transparent *jāmā* tied with many tassels, leaning against a big bolster with floral design. The women are gorgeously dressed and bejewelled. The transparent *odhṇīs* form a sharp angular pattern at the bottom of the picture. The overall feeling of this painting is its bold rhythmical line, its powerful colour and intensity. The floral design framing the miniature enhance its beauty.


चंपावती
विष्णु

PLATE XV: Painting No. 38

अद्यापि तां न खलु वेद्मि किमीशपत्नी शापं गता* सुरपतेरथ कृष्णलक्ष्मीः।
धात्रैव किं नु जगतः परिमोहनाय सा निर्मिता युवतिरत्नदिदृक्षया वा।।

I have still to decide whether she is Pārvatī, the consort of Śiva, or Urvaśī (who had become the victim of a curse from the Lord of gods) or Kṛishṇa's Lakshmī, or was she created by the Creator to make the world mad, or was it that the Lord Himself wanted to see this jewel among women?

The query whether Champāvatī was created by Brahmā just to see for himself how exactly would look the most beautiful damsel on earth, that maddens the whole world, is suggested by the mirror in the hand of Champāvatī to indicate that a reflection in the mirror is essential for understanding the face, as the creation of a perfect figure is essential to enable the Creator to understand the best of his creation. The assertion that she is the most beautiful is indicated by the *chinmudrā*.

The miniature is in two parts, the pillar of the bed-chamber being the dividing line. Champāvatī is holding a round mirror in her right hand, with her left hand raised in a gesture. Her transparent *oḍhṇī* falls at a sharp angle across her body, while her white girdle (*patka*) hangs in a narrow triangle. Her hair is plaited, ending in a tassel decorated with white flowers. On her chin is a tiny red beauty mark. At the bottom of the picture is the inverted 'V' with dots and lines characteristic of this style of painting.

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* The original reads शापागता.


चंपावती
विल्हन:

PLATE XVI: Painting No. 40

अद्यापि तन्नयनकज्जलमुज्ज्वलास्यं विश्रान्तकर्णयुगलं परिहारहेतोः*।
पश्येव.....पीनपयोधराभ्यां स्त्रीणां** वपुर्यदि विनश्यति नौ (नो) न दोषः।।

I still see, reflected on my heart, that bright face of yours,with its eyes beautiful with *kajjala*, and diamond-studded earrings, if now, just to deride me, your body, weakened by the burden of large blooming breasts, were to die, it is no fault of mine.

The *chāmara* suggests the flame of love that could put an end to life. Champāvatī, here shown walking, is to suggest that her breasts and hips are heavy which accounts for her slow but graceful motion.

A semi-circular dome over an open pavilion is decorated with an ornate parapet. Champāvatī is painted against an olive green background. Her *oḍhṇī* falls on either side, making a bold composition. From her arm black pompons are dangling and her hair is only half-braided, with the lower part loose. Her large staring eyes, the emphatic gestures of her hands, and the sharply jutting skirt show characteristics of early Rajasthan paintings.

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* Read परिहासहेतोः.

** Read पश्ये तवात्मनि नवीनपयोधराभ्यां.

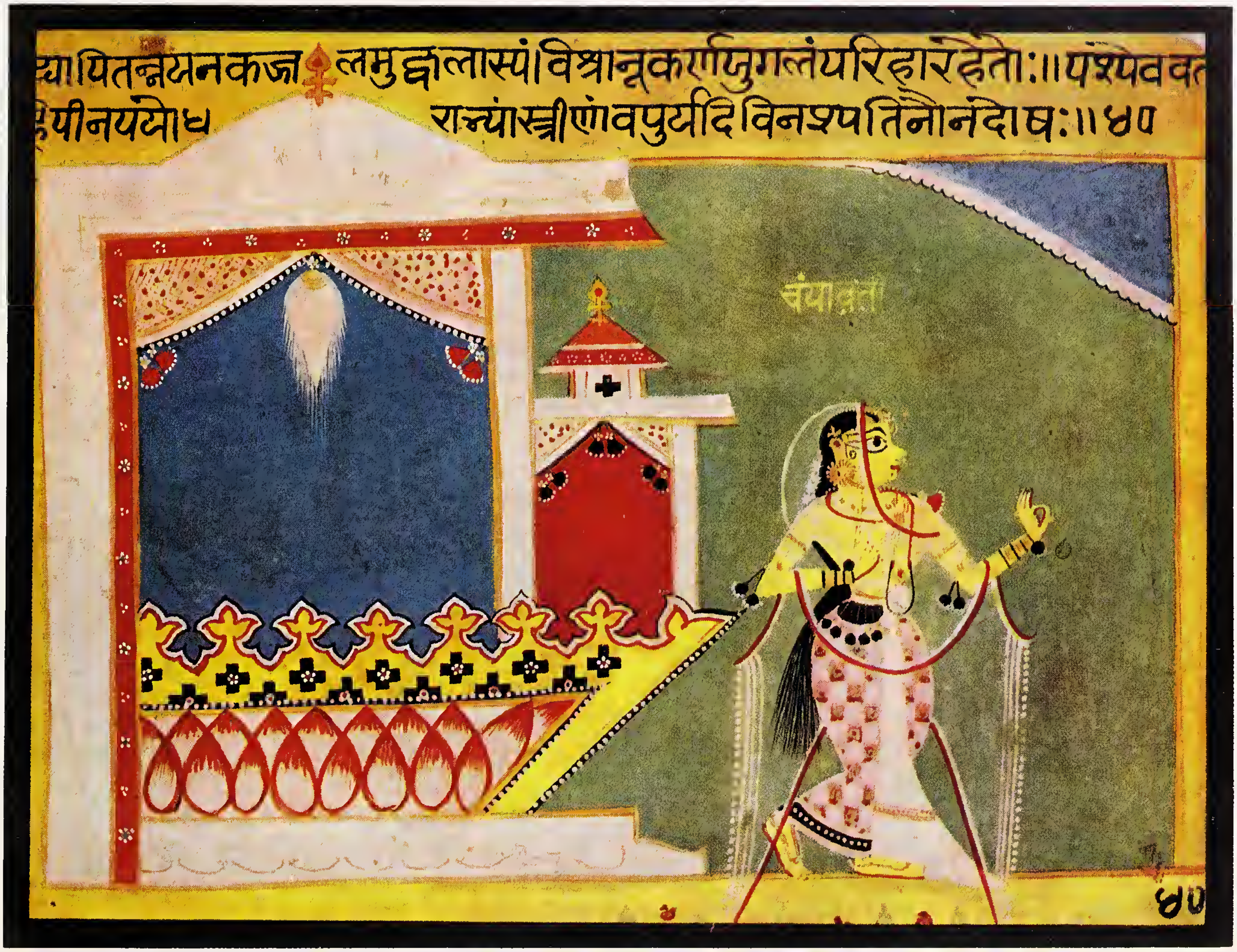

PLATE XVII: Painting No. 42

अद्याप्यहो कमलरेणुसुगंधगंधि तत्प्रेमवारि मकरध्वजपातकारि।
...म्यहं* यदि तदा सुरतैकतीर्थं प्राणांस्त्यजामि नियतं तदवाप्तिहेतोः।।

If I could possess again that sole sacred bathing -place of *surata* (water of love), sweetly fragrant like the aroma of lotus-pollen, destroying all the sins of Cupid, I should surely give up this life to gain that spot.

All the charm of Champāvatī described in the first line is suggested by representing her at her toilet. The mirror in hand, suggests that she is the most beautiful and the very mirror of beauty to feminity itself. The raised finger of Bilhaṇa seems to affirm this.

The verses are written in black against a yellow background. But the writing in this series is uneven—and it is probable that it was not written by the same hand.

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* Read प्राप्नोम्यहं.

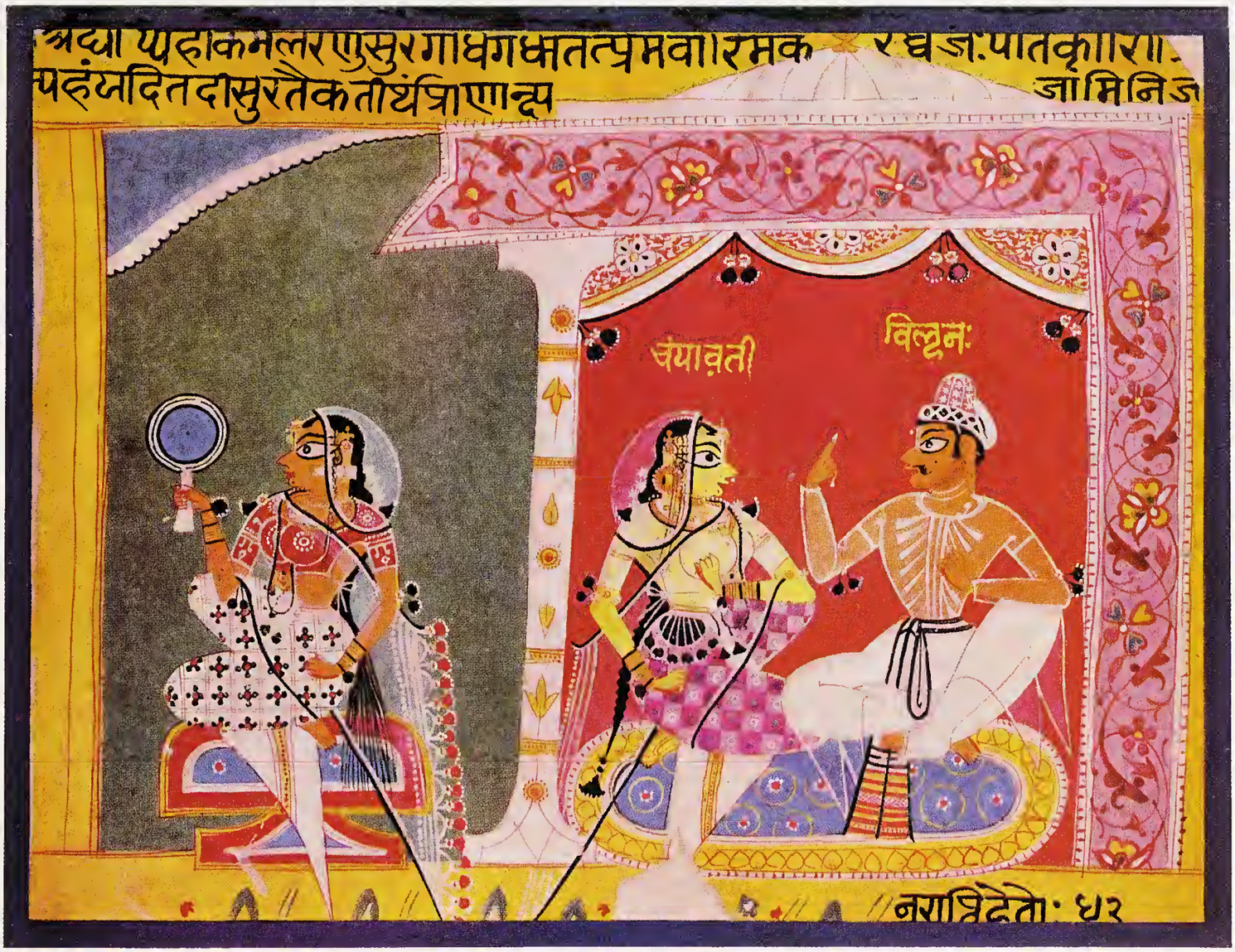
चंपावती
विल्वनः

PLATE XVIII: Painting No. 43

अद्याप्यहो जगति सुंदरलक्षपूर्णे अन्योन्यमुत्तम* गुणाधिकसंप्रपन्ने।
(अन्याभिरप्युपमितुं न मया च) शक्यं रुपं तदीयमिति मे द्वितयं** वितर्कः।।

And oh! in this world full of beautiful things in hundreds of thousands, excelling each other in their best qualities, her (charming) form, it is impossible for me to compare with any other — this is my own heart's conviction.

That Champāvatī is incomparable amongst the most beautiful in the world is here suggested by the one finger held out by her, while Bilhaṇa's assertion of the fact is contained in the gesture of the *chinmudrā*.

It is interesting to note the exuberance of colour and design in the fine quality of textiles which feature so prominently in these paintings. The light and dark purple check is often used as a bedspread; the same design bordered with yellow is on the oval mat on which Champāvatī is seated. The gaily coloured *toraṇa* is hung with white and yellow tassels and black pompons. Champāvatī is leaning against an upright bolster, printed with bold black crosses and a red centre against a white ground. In Bilhaṇa, we see the vanity of the man in the careful touches in his clothes and person. The usual *pandan* and water vessel are lying below the bed in the bedchamber. To be noted are the ornate lathe-turned red lacquered legs of the bed.

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* Read अन्यान्यमुत्तम.

** Read हृदये.


चंपावती
विल्हन:
४३

APPENDIX A

॥ श्रीबिल्हणकविकृता चौरपञ्चाशिका ॥

अद्यापि तां कनकचम्पकदामगौरीं फुल्लारविन्दवदनां तनुरोमराजिम्।
सुप्तोत्थितां मदनविह्वललालसाङ्गीं विद्यां प्रमादगुणितामिव चिन्तयामि।।

अद्यापि तां शशिमुखीं नवयौवनाढ्यां पीनस्तनीं पुनरहं यदि गौरकान्तिम्।
पश्यामि मन्मथशरानलपीडिताङ्गीं गात्राणि संप्रति करोमि सुशीतलानि।।

अद्यापि तां यदि पुनः कमलायताक्षीं पश्यामि पीवरपयोधरभारखिन्नाम्।
संपीड्य बाहुयुगलेन पिबामि वक्त्रमुन्मत्तवन्मधुकरः कमलं यथेष्टम्।।

अद्यापि तां निधुवनक्लमनिःसहाङ्गीमापाण्डुगण्डपतितालककुन्तलालिम्।
प्रच्छन्नपापकृतमन्थरमावहन्तीं कण्ठावसक्तमृदुबाहुलतां स्मरामि।।

अद्यापि तां सुरतजागरघुर्णमानतिर्यग्वलत्तरलतारकमायताक्षीम्।
शृङ्गारसारकमलाकरराजहंसीं व्रीडाविनम्रवदनामुषसि स्मरामि।।

अद्यापि तां यदि पुनः श्रवणायताक्षीं पश्यामि दीर्घविरहज्वरिताङ्गयष्टिम्।
अङ्कैरहं समुपगुह्य ततोऽतिगाढं नोन्मीलयामि नयने न च तां त्यजामि।।

अद्यापि तां सुरतताण्डवसूत्रधारीं पूर्णेन्दुसुन्दरमुखीं मदविह्वलाङ्गीम्।
तन्वीं विशालजघनस्तनभारनम्रां व्यालोलकुन्तलकलापवतीं स्मरामि।।

अद्यापि तां मसृणचन्दनपङ्कमिश्रकस्तूरिकापरिमलोत्थविसर्पिगन्धाम्।
अन्योन्यचञ्चुपुटचुम्बनलग्नपक्ष्मयुग्माभिरामनयनां शयने स्मरामि।।

अद्यापि तां निधुवने मधुपानरक्तां लीलाधरां कृशतनुं चपलायताक्षीम्।
काश्मीरपङ्कमृगनाभिकृताङ्गरागां कर्पूरपुगपरिपूर्णमुखीं स्मरामि।।

अद्यापि तत्कनकगौरकृताङ्गरागं प्रस्वेदबिन्दुवितते वदनं प्रियायाः।
अन्ते स्मरामि रतिखेदविलोलनेत्रं राहूपरागपरिमुक्तमिवेन्दुबिम्बम्।।

अद्यापि तन्मनसि संपरिवर्तते मे रात्रौ मयि क्षुतवति क्षितिपालपुत्र्या।
जीवेति मङ्गलवचः परिहृत्य कोपात्कर्णे कृतं कनकपत्रमनालपन्त्या।।

अद्यापि तत्कनककुण्डलघृष्टगण्डमास्यं स्मरामि विपरीतरताभियोगे।
आन्दोलनश्रमजलस्फुटसान्द्रबिन्दु मुक्ताफलप्रकरविच्छुरितं प्रियायाः।।

अद्यापि तत्प्रणयभङ्गुरदृष्टिपातं तस्याः स्मरामि रतिविभ्रमगात्रभङ्गम्।
वस्त्राञ्चलस्खलनचारुपयोधरान्तं दन्तच्छदं दशनखण्डनमण्डनं च।।

अद्याप्यशोकनवपल्लवरक्तहस्तां मुक्ताफलप्रचयचुम्बितचूचुकाग्राम्।
अन्तः स्मितोच्छसितपाण्डुरगण्डभित्तिं तां वल्लभामलसहंसगतिं स्मरामि।।

अद्यापि तत्कनकरेणुघनोरुदेशे न्यस्तं स्मरामि नखरक्षतलक्ष्म तस्याः।
आकृष्टहेमरुचिराम्बरमुत्थिताया लज्जावशात्करघृतं च ततो व्रजन्त्याः।।

अद्यापि तां विधृतकज्जललोलनेत्रां पृथ्वीं प्रभूतकुसुमाकुलकेशपाशाम्।
सिन्दूरसंलुलितमौक्तिकदन्तकान्तिमाबद्धहेमकटकां रहसि स्मरामि।।

अद्यापि तां गलितबन्धनकेशपाशां स्रस्तस्रजं स्मितसुधामधुराधरौष्ठीम्।
पीनोन्नतस्तनयुगोपरिचारुचुम्बन्मुक्तावलीं रहसि लोलदृशं स्मरामि।।

अद्यापि तां धवलवेश्मनि रत्नदीपमालामयूखपटलैर्दलितान्धकारे।
प्राप्तोद्यमे रहसि संमुखदर्शनार्थं लज्जाभयार्तनयनामनुचिन्तयामि।।

अद्यापि तां विरहवह्निनिपीडिताङ्गीं तन्वीं कुरङ्गनयनां सुरतैकपात्रीम्।
नानाविचित्रकृतमण्डनमावहन्तीं तां राजहंसगमनां सुदतीं स्मरामि।।

अद्यापि तां विहसितां कुचभारनम्रां मुक्ताकलापधवलीकृतकण्ठदेशाम्।
तत्केलिमन्दरगिरौ कुसुमायुधस्य कान्तां स्मरामि रुचिरोज्ज्वलपुष्पकेतुम्।।

अद्यापि चादुशतदुर्ललितोचितार्थं तस्याः स्मरामि सुरतक्लमविह्वलायाः।
अव्यक्तनिः स्वनितकातरकथ्यमानसंकीर्णवर्णरुचिरं वचनं प्रियायाः।।

अद्यापि तां सुरतघूर्णनिमीलिताक्षीं स्रस्ताङ्गयष्टिगलितांशुककेशपाशाम्।
शृङ्गारवारिरुहकाननराजहंसीं जन्मान्तरेऽपि निधनेऽप्यनुचिन्तयामि।।

अद्यापि तां प्रणयिनीं मृगशावकाक्षीं पीयूषपूर्णकुचकुम्भयुगं वहन्तीम्।
पश्याम्यहं यदि पुनर्दिवसावसाने स्वर्गापवर्गनरराजसुखं त्यजामि।।

अद्यापि धावति मनः किमहं करोमि सार्धं सखीभिरपि वासगृहं सुकान्ते।
कान्ताङ्गसंगपरिहासविचित्रनृत्ये क्रीडाभिराम इति यातु मदीयकालः।।

अद्यापि तां क्षितितले वरकामिनीनां सर्वाङ्गसुन्दरतया प्रथमैकरेखाम्।
शृङ्गारनाटकरसोत्तमपानपात्रीं कान्तां स्मरामि कुसुमायुधबाणखिन्नाम्।।

अद्यापि तां जगति वर्णयितुं न कश्चिच्छक्नोत्यदृष्टसदृशीं च परिग्रहं मे।
दृष्टं तयोः सदृशयोः खलु येन रुपं शक्तो भवेद्यदि स एव नरो न चान्यः।।

अद्यापि तां स्तिमितवस्त्रमिवाङ्कलग्नां प्रौढप्रतापमदनानलतप्तदेहाम्।
बालामनाथशरणामनुकम्पनीयां प्राणाधिकां क्षणमहं न हि विस्मरामि।।

अद्यापि तां न खलु वेद्मि किमीशपत्नी शापं गता सुरपतेरथ कृष्णलक्ष्मीः।
धात्रैव किं नु जगतः परिमोहनाय सा निर्मिता युवतिरत्नदिदृक्षया वा।।

अद्यापि तां प्रथमतो वरसुन्दरीणां स्नेहैकपात्रघटितामवनीशपुत्रीम्।
हंहो जना मम वियोगहुताशनोऽयं सोढुं न शक्यत इति प्रतिचिन्तयामि।।

अद्यापि तन्नयनकज्जलमुज्ज्वलास्यं विश्रान्तकर्णयुगलं परिहासहेतोः।
पश्ये तवात्मनि नवीनपयोधराभ्यां क्षीणं वपुर्यदि विनश्यति नो न दोषः।।

अद्यापि विस्मयकरी त्रिदशान्विहाय बुद्धिर्बलाच्चलति मे किमहं करोमि।
जानन्नपि प्रतिमुहूर्तमिहान्तकाले कान्तेति वल्लभतरेति ममेति धीरा।।

अद्यापि निर्मलशरच्छशिगौरकान्ति चेतो मुनेरपि हरेत्किमुतास्मदीयम्।
वक्त्रं सुधामयमहं यदि तत्प्रपद्ये चुम्बन्पिबाम्यविरतं व्यथते मनो मे।।

अद्यापि तां गमनमित्युदितं मदीयं श्रुत्वैव भीरुहरिणीमिव चञ्चलाक्षीम्।
वाचः स्खलद्विगलदश्रुजलाकुलाक्षीं संचिन्तयामि गुरुशोकविनम्रवक्त्राम्।।

अद्यापि तत्कमलरेणुसुगन्धगन्धि तत्प्रेमवारि मकरध्वजपातकारि।
प्राप्नोम्यहं यदि पुनः सुरतैकतीर्थं प्राणांस्त्यजामि नियतं तदवाप्तिहेतोः।।

अद्यापि तां सुनिपुणं यतता मयापि दृष्टं न यत्सदृशतो वदनं कदाचित्।
सौन्दर्यनिर्जितरति द्विजराजकान्ति कान्तामिहातितविमलत्वमहागुणेन।।

अद्याप्यहो जगति सुंदरलक्षपूर्णे अन्यान्यमुत्तमगुणाधिकसंप्रपन्ने।
अन्याभिरप्युपमितुं न मया च शक्यं रुपं तदीयमिति मे हृदये वितर्कः।।

अद्यापि तां क्षणवियोगविषोपमेयां सङ्के पुनर्बहुतराममृताभिषेकाम्।
तां जीवधारणकरीं मदनातपत्रामुद्वृत्तकेशनिवहां सुदतीं स्मरामि।।

अद्यापि सा मम मनस्तटिनी सदास्ते रोमाञ्चवीचिविलसद्विपुलस्वभावा।
कादम्बकेशररुचिः क्षतवीक्षणं मां गात्रक्लमं कथयती प्रियराजहंसी।।

अद्यापि वासगृहतो मयि नीयमाने दुर्वारभीषणकरैर्यमदूतकल्पैः।
किं किं तया बहुविधं न कृतं मदर्थे वक्तुं न पार्यत इति व्यथते मनो मे।।

अद्यापि तां नृपतिशेखरराजपुत्रीं संपूर्णयौवनमदालसघूर्णनेत्रीम्।
गंधर्वयक्षसुरकिंनरनागकन्यां स्वर्गादहो निपतितामिव चिन्तयामि।।

अद्यापि मे निशि दिवा हृदयं दुनोति पूर्णेन्दुसुन्दरमुखं मम वल्लभायाः।
लावण्यनिर्जितरतिक्षतिकामदर्पं भूयः पुनः प्रतिपदं न विलोक्यते यत्।।

अद्यापि तां निजवपुःकृशवेदिमध्यामुत्तुंगसंभृतसुधास्तनकुंभयुग्माम्।
नानाविचित्रकृतमंडनमंडितांगीं सुप्तोत्थितां निशि दिवा न हि विस्मरामि।।

अद्यापि तामवहितां मनसाचलेन संचिन्तयामि युवतीं मम जीविताशाम्।
नान्योपभुक्तनवयौवनभारसारां जन्मान्तरेऽपि मम सैव गतिर्यथा स्यात्।।

अद्यापि तां कनककान्तिमदालसांगीं व्रीडोत्सुकां निपतितामिव चेष्टमानाम्।
अंगांगसंगपरिचुंबनजातमोहां तां जीवनौषधिमिव प्रमदां स्मरामि।।

अद्यापि तद्वदनपङ्कजगन्धलुब्धभ्राम्यद्द्विरेफचयचुम्बितगण्डदेशाम्।
लीलावधूतकरपल्लवकङ्कणानां क्वाणो विमूर्च्छति मनः सुतरां मदीयम्।।

अद्यापि तत्सुरतकेलिनिरस्त्रयुद्धं बन्धोपबन्धपतनोत्थितशून्यहस्तम्।
दन्तौष्ठपीडननखक्षतरक्तसिक्तं तस्याः स्मरामि रतिबन्धुरनिष्ठूरत्वम्।।

अद्यापि तां नखपदं स्तनमण्डले यद्दत्तं मयास्यमधुपानविमोहितेन।
उद्भिन्नरोमपुलकैर्बहुभिः समन्ताज्जागर्ति रक्षति विलोकयति स्मरामि।।

अद्याप्यहं वरवधूसुरतोपभोगं जीवामि नान्यविधिना क्षणमन्तरेण।
तद्घातरो मरणमेव हि दुःखशान्त्यै विज्ञापयामि भवतस्त्वरितं लुनीध्वम्।।

अद्यापि कोपविमुखीकृतगन्तुकामा नोक्तं वचः प्रतिददाति यदैव वक्त्रम्।
चुम्बामि रोदिति भृशं पतितोऽस्मि पादे दासस्तव प्रियतमे भज मां स्मरामि।।

अद्यापि नोज्झति हरः किल कालकूटं कूर्मो बिभर्ति धरणीं खलु पृष्ठभागे।
अम्भोनिधिर्वहति दुःसहवाडवाग्निमंगीकृतं सुकृतिनः परिपालयन्ति।।

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