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The Rise and Fall of the Tradition of Woodcarving in the Subcontinent

Abstract

The tradition of woodcarving in the Subcontinent has traversed a long history with a magnificent stylistic diversity. We observe two major transitions in content, style and emphasis in woodcarving. The initial period was characterized by a religious backdrop, the middle period produced a synthesis of Muslim and Hindu tradition and then the last period witnessed a foreign intervention that could not assimilate to local aesthetics. This paper highlights this trajectory of rise and fall in the tradition of woodcarving in the Subcontinent. The study focuses on the factor that were responsible for the major transitions and the rise and fall pattern. The research establishes that the rise of the tradition was a product of indigenous sensibility while the fall was a consequence when the indigenous sensibility was systematically devalued by the British.

Introduction

The tradition of woodcarving has its roots in the ancient past and therefore its origin is rooted in mystery. Given the nature of needs that human society confronted in its initial stages, we can however speculate that being abundant, wood was an easily accessible commodity. A diverse use of wood can be traced back to almost all civilizations with varying degrees of application. In most cases, we find wood as a raw material for developing tools and weapons, and in less frequent instances, we find wood as a material for creating sculptures. The use of wood in creating shelters is largely a common feature in all the civilizations along with, as we observe in later stages, formation of intricate patterns used in architecture. The latter evolved into the tradition of woodcarving particularly in Egypt, China and India.

The Egyptians had an evolved woodcarving tradition back in the 3rd millennium BCE. We find drawings of beds and chairs, of stools and chests exemplifying the tradition. Amongst the surviving repertoire, we find coffins that were certainly carved by skilled workers. These skilled workers also developed woodcarving techniques including varnishing and veneering. The tasks were performed using tools such as axes, pull saws, chisels and bow drills with a variety of wood mostly local sycamore but also acacias and tamarisk. The craftsmanship of the Egyptians is exemplified in a sculpture that was discovered in the Great Pyramid of Giza.

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The sculpture dates back to the 3rd millennium BCE. It is made from sycamore and is a realistic rendering enabling us to appreciate the skill involved.[1]

The Chinese also had a developed woodcarving tradition as expressed in different examples of furniture and pottery from the 1st millennium BCE. Around this time China also had a developed wooden architecture. Using mortise and tenon joinery, the Chinese were able to erect wooden frame houses. They introduced timber frame to be used for bearing load and introduced interlocking system in the wooden frame of main architecture. They had bearing timber frame to architecture and developed a framework of interlocking supports that formed the main wooden skeleton of a building. They also had a pronounced sensibility towards decoration and is clearly noticeable in the decoration of ceilings.[2]

The tradition of woodcarving in the Subcontinent is both rich and diverse. In various regions, woodcarving developed both as a craft and a form of art. The former owes its character to the oral knowledge repertoire of woodcarvers while the latter is rooted initially to religious symbolism and then expressive of design aesthetics. The diversity in approach, content and style has been an evidence of the fact that the Subcontinent hosted a number of sub-cultures, and each of them had its own design vocabulary and emphasis.

In northern parts of India, intricate patterns adorn wooden widows and door, beautifully carved display trellis and brass inlay work. In the Himalayas, medieval temples have exquisite woodcarvings used for decorative purposes. These carvings appear in various styles depending upon slight shifts in the region. These range from simple designs on the capitals complex patterns with iconography, particularly on doorframes. In Punjab, woodcarving takes a different route, the design patterns are bold and pronounced unlike those of Gujrat where intricacy and delicacy is at its best. The window frames, brackets and balconies are meticulously carved expressing the aesthetic taste of the patrons. There is a variation of material as well. The Karnataka carvings are carried out on sandalwood. Kashmir followed an entirely different approach to woodcarving; wood exists as a lining in houses, whereas, the ceilings depict intricate carvings which are mostly geometric in design. The windows also display a remarkable woodcarving in a lattice-based setting. The wooden pillars of Bengal are famous for their carving and complement the mud architecture. Going towards Assam adds more religious fervor to woodcarvings where various mythical figures have been depicted.

Given the richness and diversity of tradition, in the past two thousand years, we observe a gradual rise of the woodcarving in the Subcontinent and then a somewhat abrupt fall. The following study analyzes the pattern of rise and fall and elaborates upon the factors that contributed to the dynamic.

The Rise

The tradition of woodcarving in the Indian Subcontinent has ancient origins and a consistent historical continuity principally due to cultural and economic reasons. Incidentally, wood has been an abundant commodity in the region as a greater

rainfall ensured the expansion and sustenance of forests. The land had a great diversity of wood including deodar, pine, walnut, *shishum, and tun*, which even today are considered the best of wood for furniture and architecture. Due to abundance, there was a greater likelihood of using wood in architecture. The cultural aspect that mainly drew its substance from religion also valued wood as a sacred resource. The *Sutradhara* (carpenter) was one of the most noble of craftsmen. The carpenters belonged to the same cast and their innovations in building wooden structures provided a framework for later architecture using rocks and stone.

The ancient Indian literature records a developed level of expertise in wooden architecture as well as woodcarving. For instance, the *Rig-Veda*, which was conceived in the 3rd millennium BCE and composed in the 2nd millennium BCE, provides a detailed account on woodcarving. With Hinduism, the caste system also got established and as a result, the skills in relation to a caste were also specified.[3] The Hindu doctrine suggested that for spiritual elevation a craftsman must perform his duties in line with the expectation from the caste.[4] The economic incentive initially was given if a craftsman worked in embellishing the temples run by the Brahmins. The craftsman had a higher social status than ordinary individual for the simple reason that his craft was certified by religion, "the hand of a craftsman engaged in his art is always ceremoniously pure," says the Code of *Manu*.[5]

The existence of such an account in the sacred texts of the region imparts a significant value to woodcarving at the outset and this significance is exemplified wherever wood and its structures are associated to spiritual matters. For example, the *Matsya Purana*, mentions that a home should have a doorframe with carvings to welcome the guests.[6] Given this instruction, it is not surprising that woodcarvings are to be found on the doorways of temples and homes with human and animal figures adoring the brackets. The Indians also developed the craft through inclusion of floral patterns that often surrounded the human and animal forms. These patterns have been documented in the *Shilpashastra*.[7]

Since wood was a perishable commodity as compared to stones, it demanded repair, maintenance and replacement, which was probably one of the reasons why carpenters remained thriving professionals. This also meant that the skill set had to be transferred to the new generations and in order to do so they must have codified their knowledge and documented it. The codification of knowledge would have contributed to both its subsistence and development and would have fostered a greater integration amongst carpenters. In ancient India, there was a whole village of carpenters near Benares.[8] The traditional method of teaching crafts in the Subcontinent was therefore a guild system in which an oral repertoire of knowledge was seamlessly transferred to the younger generation not only through practical learning of craft but also through a general learning of how to live a life.

From the ancient origins rooted in spirituality and religion, the tradition of woodcarving continued in the Subcontinent. An elaborated evidence of woodcarving as one of the earliest examples comes with Gandhara art in the regions of Punjab as well as in the Northern areas of Pakistan. We find

woodcarving in friezes, doors, balconies, and windows as part of architecture and then in various specimens of furniture that testify the tradition. The woodcarving during this time was highly symbolic and served religious purposes. We also find wooden sculptures of deities and rulers that involved a developed craftsmanship for their making. The tradition of architectural ornamentation is clearly visible in Swat Valley, where windows, doors and balconies display remarkable craftsmanship.[9] Wooden craved friezes and *Pinjra* work can be observed in Gilgit and Skardu.[10]

The most distinct of the decorative usage is found in the woodcarvings of Gujrat, which were largely used as architectural embellishments. In the medieval Gujrat, we find a qualitative shift in patronage. It shifted from merely religious sentiments and value to the aesthetic realm. The rulers of Gujrat had an eye for aesthetic uplifting which encompassed cultural and social sensitivities in addition to religious beliefs and mythological fables. It was the aesthetic preferences of the rulers that the carpenters had to trade in a much wider and refined territory, they were compelled to inculcate a greater design sensitivity for decorating palaces. Jay Thakkar links the aesthetic development of the woodcarving tradition to the wider territory of culture and ornamental vocabulary:

These were the master builders and skilled craftsmen having the grace and the magic to create, express and depict the essence of nature, society or religion into awe inspiring forms. Therein lies the birth and the formation of the wide and spectacular ornamentation brought about by the wood carvers of Gujarat. Defying the phenomenon of individuality, though created by the individuals and driven by the intangible forces of culture, this visually enchanting art is a projection of society, which was made possible through the repertory of vast ornamental forms.[11]

The character of woodcarving in this period was therefore shaped by two distinct streams. One was coming from the religious background and the other flourished through the aesthetic taste of the patrons. Both of these streams had their own momentum and continued to develop. The aesthetic stream superseded on the account that the palaces were considered as symbols of wealth and beauty and the carpenters had to produce finer and finer work in order to compete.

For both the patron and carpenter, the woodcarving locations had a parameter for selection. The practical convenience was a foremost category from architectural standpoint. The beams were not carved to avoid damage but carved wooden strips were used to decorate them. The decorative expertise of the carpenter was used on the most visible parts of the structures, i.e. the façade, doorways and courtyards. These parts display the most exquisite examples of woodcarving mostly expressing design motifs along with religious symbols. The patterns express the great virtuosity of the craftsmen and the refined aesthetic taste of the carpenter. The religious symbolism expresses the historical continuity of ancient value system.

A closer analysis of the woodcarvings of this period and this region validates two currents. One is that the woodcarver evolved the tradition through a fundamental

consideration of architectural references. The woodcarvings were made in a way that they supported the architectural conventions and added more aesthetic value to them. The other is that a greater interface developed between the woodcarver and architect to the extent that the architectural plan had to consider the ornamentations. The traditions of woodcarving and architecture complemented each other. The accuracy of form in the woodcarvings and their aesthetic merits were such that Thakkar noted:

Every ornament worked towards developing a general form, which upon being divided by the lines, formed interstices that were enriched with secondary ornamentation. The details never interfered with the general form and there was no excrescence or superfluous decoration. One finds that nothing was added without purpose, nor could anything be removed without disadvantage. All lines grew out of each other in gradual sinuosity and everything was connected to the common root. When the carving is viewed from a distance, the main lines strike the eye; as one approaches nearer, the details come into composition; on a closer inspection, one further observes the marvelous details on the carved surface of the decorative form.[12]

The above description points out the fundamental principles of both design and aesthetics as practiced by the woodcarvers. There was a relationship between the general and specific and this relationship formed the basis of how the complete design will appear before the viewer. Maintaining such a relationship cannot be a product of improvisation but shows a great command a composure of the craftsmen, who must have planned their work in detail before its execution.

Unfortunately, we do not find a specimen of woodcarving in Punjab before the late medieval period. There are examples of the pre-Mughal era in Multan and Uch where woodcarvings can be witnessed. We find various Islamic influences in these woodcarvings. These influences came from the likes of elaborated woodcarvings in Al-Aqsa Mosque constructed in the twelfth century CE. The tombs of Shah Rukne Alam, Shams Tabrez and Baha-ud-Din Zakariya constructed in Multan display intricate *Pinjra* work that bears similarities with lattice work of Western Islamic regions. In Uch, similar quality of woodcarving can be noticed particularly in the mausoleums of Jalal-ud- din Bukhari, Rajan Qattal and Makhdoom Jehanian Jahan Gasht. The tomb of Sakhi Sarwar in District Dera Ghazi Khan is also expresses a similar level of virtuosity. The inlay work is an expertise that is abundantly visible in the tomb architecture of Muslim world, particularly in shrines of mystics. The philosophy underlying Muslim architecture emphasized beauty, symmetry and visual elegance, and these objectives were successfully achieved by woodcarving tradition.

Like the development of woodcarving tradition in Gujrat, the Mughals also patronized architecture and its decorations. The historical accounts of the period mention this patronage. The *Ain-e Akbari* describes how Akbar had monitored craftsmen's creative inputs in woodcarving. Qazwini, who was a court historian of Shahjehan recorded the interest of emperor in decorative renderings of the woodcarvers. He wrote, "part of the time His Majesty spends in seeing gems

(*jwahir*) and precious objects (*nafa'is*) and part of the time he examines with care and in detail the masterpieces of artists (*karnamaha-yi arbab-I sana'I*), such as painters (*mussawir wa naqqash*) carvers and engravers *(naqqar*) goldsmith (*zargar*) enamelers (*minakar*).[13] The royal patronage that had its basic orientation in Persian aesthetic traditions, enriched by the works of Islamic scholars in optics and geometry, introduced a new paradigm of creativity and décor in the Subcontinent.

With Mughals, marble and stone became the most preferred materials for architecture. Since the beginning of the Mughal era, the emperors confronted a problem of aesthetic transition. Their basic orientation was rooted in Persian and Central Asian Muslim traditions but in Indian Subcontinent they had to embrace the local symbolism deeply rooted in the Indian mindset. Back in the Muslim world, woodcarving had a distinct historical progression. The woodcarvers of the Muslim world who worked in Persia, Arab, Spain and Syria were known for their meticulousness and accuracy particularly in wall linings, ceilings and windows. The mosque, which was a symbol of Muslim identity and had a sacred value was one of the most decorated example of architectural renderings. The woodcarvings that we observe in the Mosque architecture are probably the most elegant examples of Muslim taste. The woodcarver of the Muslim world was most profound when it came to surface decoration. The art of surface decoration consisted of the most intricate design patterns, carrying a layered complexity that we do not find elsewhere. The Muslims developed surface decoration to its climax, interlacing patterns formed by finely molded ribs, geometrical spaces filled with small pieces of wood, which were carved with foliage in slight relief became characteristic features of woodcarving in this period.

Architecture became a forte of Mughal emperors to establish their identity and to declare their glory. In the growing tradition of Mughal architecture although stone and marble left little room for wood but nevertheless, the woodcarvings of the period have a qualitative brilliance if not quantitative. The doors and windows that were often made out of wood are adorned with geometrical and floral patterns that combine the Vedic and Persian traditions in an unprecedented way.

Following the Mughal period, there was a brief period of the Sikh rule. The Sikhs patronized arts in a way that we observe various attempts of modifying Islamic motifs according to Hindu taste. However, this attempt did not bear much fruit. In fact, historians are of the view that the character of woodcarving in this period remained principally Islamic.[14] We must keep in mind that one of the factors that sustained the stylistic features of woodcarving was the training and design repertoire of the craftsman and since many belonged to the generations of artists that served the Muslim emperors, their inheritance could not easily be modified.

The Mughal and Sikh period can be seen as the most productive in terms of sustaining and developing the woodcarving tradition. As a result, there emerged major centers of this tradition in the cities of Lahore, Jhang, Chiniot and Bhera on the Western side of the Punjab and then in Jullandhar, Amritsar and Hoshiarpur on the Eastern side. A few decades earlier, Chiniot in the Punjab was known as a

"veritable museum of wood carving", with the well to-do inhabitants proudly flaunting "excellently sculptured friezes, furniture or door frames".[15] Bhera became another center and is today known for its carved doors.

The momentum of productivity and innovation that was gained in the Muslim world could not be held back when the Muslims came to the Subcontinent. In Islam, it was not allowed to depict figures of animals or humans, therefore, a greater emphasis on geometric and then arabesque patterns became the most remarkable expertise of Muslim artisans. The aesthetic sensibility of the rulers modified the preferences of the Hindu craftsmen as well. The situation dramatically changed with the strategic intervention of the British.

The Fall

In ancient Indian society, the woodcarver was held in high esteem due to the religious perspective that was evident at the time. In fact, the craftsmen according to Hindu religion were under the protection of a deity, *Vishvakarma,* who is the god of arts and crafts. The craftsmen, who belonged to a guild or members of a caste boasted in claiming that they were decedents of the sons of the deity. The five sons were known for their occupation. Each of them had his own distinct area of expertise; one of them was a carpenter.[16] Such background beliefs uplifted the carpenter from mere craftsman to a sacred entity. This is evinced in the words of Megasthenes, who wrote in 300 BCE that whereas an individual would be mutilated by the justice authorities in case of injuring the body organ of another, the punishment would amount to death if the victim is an artist.[17] The social status of the woodcarver remained noteworthy right through the medieval time period. With the arrival of Muslims, the demand of skilled workers increased and the social status was sustained.

In the nineteenth and twentieth century, the woodcarver was regarded as a skilled worker with an intricate knowledge base. In local dialect, *badhai* was the title of woodcarver. The title was common in the North West, while it became *khati* in Eastern Punjab, which, is derived from wood and is an umbrella term for *Badhai, Karigar, Suthar and Binaik*.[18] It was recognized as a caste and had its subdivisions. Since woodcarving served as a symbol to the wealth of the elite therefore the craftsmen would find a permanent employment by the nobility. According to J. L. Maffey's account of 1903:

The nobility and well to do citizens took delight in embellishing their houses with carved verandas and balconies. All the chief entrances were filled with massive carvings. In this class of work, the Indian woodcarver is seen at his best." The genuine enthusiasm of the craftsman for his art led him to work in such a manner that his artwork would earn him respect and credit during his lifetime and "a monument after his death.[19]

Carved doors had become a status symbol in Punjab in the Mughal period.[20] Wooded balconies and *jharukas* peppered the old fortified cities of Punjab, while the doorways in particular, proclaimed the residents' social and financial status.[21]

This was not acceptable to the British, who came here with a reason far removed from continuing the local culture and tradition.

The monographs and other writings which were produced during the British rule equivocally describe a decline in the tradition of woodcarving. The social status of the woodcarver was not affected as such but their number got significantly reduced over time. The British did not value the woodcarving tradition of India and held their own tradition in high esteem. The local woodcarvers could not make an urgent transition to British taste and therefore many of them left the profession. This was not a logical outcome of Indian history, it was a strategic intervention of the British, who labelled the local heritage inferior in order to accomplish their political interests.[22] Although the above mentioned Maffey's account portrays otherwise, the fact was that a significant number of the elite, in order to get closer to their British rulers, started preferring the foreign aesthetic sensibilities. It was not unsurprising that given the colonial mentality and in lust for power, the local elite started emulating Europeans in terms of décor of their houses. They discarded the local woodcarving tradition as obsolete and inferior. We may conclude that the British style in architecture as well as decoration, powered by local elite, found its way forward and hence the local woodcarving tradition gradually declined.

The above was a gradual and deeper transition. On the surface, the British did promote the local tradition of woodcarving. There were notable attempts that would seek the revival of the indigenous craft. The British arranged for exhibitions and also sent the most exquisite of work to Britain. The exhibitions were a source of encouragement for the traditional craftsmen as they were also awarded prizes for their work but such instances were quite few in number. These events were a part of British strategy that they deployed for sustaining their rule. However, these exhibitions contributed to the continuity of tradition as the notable and well-trained craftsmen presented their work and transferred their skills to next generation. The towns of Bhera, Amritsar, Batala, Chiniot, Hoshiarpur and Hissar were the most dynamic centers of the tradition.[23] The woodcarvers of Lahore, Delhi and Agra, who had a historical legacy of Mughal period remained the most exceptional.[24]

Another equally important factor that contributed to the decline of woodcarving was the discontinuity of the guild tradition. Traditionally, a student was recruited for learning the craft of woodcarving at a tender age. The student was recruited in a ceremonial way. The family of the students would bring betel leaves and presents to the home of the master craftsman. The training involved a transformation of oral repertoire of knowledge in a step by step manner. Initially the student was given a set of exercises, which furnished a basic foundation.[25] The student was supposed to live in the workshop and was given a training in almost all walks of life. This tradition had its roots in Guru-Shishya Parampara, in which the student would develop an intellectual, emotional and temperamental orientation suitable for the craft at hand. The master would teach him the love for detail and accuracy and he was allowed to independently work after the master was satisfied with his grooming. It is believed that this kind of relationship between the master and student produces a much finer craftsman. The passion and

rigor involved in making an artifact demands a calm and well trained mind. Along with divine guidance and inspiration.[26] With various masters of traditional woodcarving turning away from practice under the British rule this process of teaching was severed.

An organized effort was put forth with the establishing of art and craft academies in the middle of the nineteenth century. In 1850, the first institution commenced in Madras followed by another tow in Bombay and Calcutta. The Mayo School of Arts, established in 1875, was a great step forward in Lahore. Under the tutelage of great men of learning such as John Lockwood Kipling the local craftsmen were not only introduced to the European aesthetics and techniques but were also encouraged to produce using the traditional style. Mayo School of Arts became a hub of art and craft where local and foreign styles synthesized into unique forms. The products of the traditional craftsmen were featured in exhibitions held in London. 1864, a local exhibition was arranged in the Tollington Market, Lahore, where various artifacts from Punjab were displayed. However, these efforts to promote woodcarving were outnumbered by the instances that devalued the traditional crafts.

Conclusion

The stylistic variation in the tradition of woodcarving across the Subcontinent has been determined by four factors. The first determining factor was the nature of the required buildings. The second was the availability of a certain variety of wood in a particular region. The grains of the timber informed the carpenter about the nature of patterns that could be carved. The third was the knowledge and skill repertoire of the artist. The fourth factor was the kind of influence that shaped the sensibility of the artists, this factor found its way through the aesthetic considerations of the patrons.

The tradition of woodcarving, broadly speaking, has been the art of subtle transformations that added aesthetic or symbolic value to the original form. A comparison of the ancient design patterns and that of the Muslim period suggest a transition from the symbolic and pictorial to the intricate dynamic of design itself in which patterns alone carried a decorative value. The contribution of Persian aesthetics to the local taste indeed furnished a way for newer forms within the tradition. The primary reason was that both the Indian and Persian aesthetic traditions valued divine inspiration and spiritual meaning. The assimilation of these traditions therefore did not devalue either. In the case of British intervention, the local craftsmen had to deal with a taste which was way different and therefore its assimilation was not easier. Instead of a historical continuity, the tradition of woodcarving went through a discontinuity. This break in the tradition was in many ways detrimental to the growth of local art tradition. The craftsmen who left the profession did not transfer their knowledge to the younger generation. Gradually, the level of expertise and finesse declined due to successive reproductions, inclusion of less trained craftsmen, changing tastes of patrons and clients, and scarcity of available materials. However, even today, the traces of a much glorious past are found in the towns such as Bhera and Chiniot in Pakistan and Delhi, Agra

and Gujrat in India. The lineage of design patterns in woodcarvings of these cities can be traced back to their sources.

In retrospect, it is not difficult to understand that the colonial period was devastating to many traditions and values of the Subcontinent. It was a gradual assault on the culture, which was a logical requirement for the British in order to rule. It was a clever move to inculcate a perspective in the local mindset that everything British is superior. The consequence was a confused identity of ordinary man, who had the vision to become like British but could not modify his cultural reality in order to be so. The woodcarver, in terms of his profession, also went through the dilemma of identity. In ancient times, he understood the religion, practiced it and lived it, his craft was contextualized and he participated as a dynamic individual. In the Mughal era, the cultural amalgamation was gradual and was a synthesis of similar categories. The woodcarver lived a life that belonged to the aesthetic tradition of both cultures. The British were foreign in culture and taste and they targeted the cultural traits and values, therefore, many of the woodcarvers felt their work to be less rewarding. As a result, the tradition of woodcarving did not develop in comparison to the evolution that we observe in the Vedic, medieval and Mughal India.

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[2] Ronald G. Knapp, *China's Vernacular Architecture: House Form and Culture* (University of Hawaii Press, 1989), 74.

[3] Ananda Kentish Coomaraswamy, *The Indian Craftsman* (University of Michigan Library, 1909), 66.

[4] "For the Priest, learning; for the king, excellence in kingcraft; for the craftsman, skill and faithfulness; for the servant, service" (Ibid.,67)

[5] An ancient Sanskrit Hindu collection of Law of all social classes, providing the ancient Indian society with rules of conduct in private and social life according to the system of views and the religious dogmas of Brahmanism. Compiled between the second century BCE and the first century CE.

[6] Jay Thakkar, *Naqsh: The Art of Wood Carving in Traditional Houses of Gujarat, a Focus on Ornamentation* (Research Cell, 2004), 130.

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[9] Talib Hussain, *Traditional Architectural Crafts of Pakistan: History and Techniques* (Lok Virsa, 2011), 179.

[10] See Ahmad Hasan Dani, *Islamic Architecture: The Wooden Style of Northern Pakistan* (National Hijra Council, 1989).

[11] Thakkar, *Naqsh*, 1.

[12] Ibid., 50.

[13] Meenakshi Khanna, *Cultural History of Medieval India* (Berghahn Books, 2007), 205.

[14] J. L. Kipling, "Punjab Wood-carving," The Journal of Indian Art 4 (1886): 1.

[15] Akhtar Riazuddin, *History of Handicrafts: Pakistan-India*, 359.

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[17] Syed Mohammad Latif, *History of the Punjab* (Lahore: Non Basic Stock Line, 1997), 37.

[18] Jagadish Singh Gahlot, *Rajasthan: A Socio-Economic Study* (Rajasthan Sahitya Mandir, 1981), 39.

[19] Sir John Loader Maffey, *A Monograph on Wood Carving in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh* (F. Luker at the Government Press, 1903), 4.

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