Problems and Theories in the Study of Indian Ragamala Painting

Casey Gardonio

“To the Indian mind the unity of all forms of art is indivisible.”

VisnuDharmottara Purana

Ragamala series made up one of the most popular forms of painting during the medieval period in India. These paintings are often puzzling to scholars, who have sought to find the common elements in ragamala series from throughout northern India. The purpose of this paper will be to give an overview of some of the work that has been done on ragamala paintings in the past and identify the main strengths and weaknesses of these works. In addition, we will examine some of the questions that have yet to be answered about ragamala paintings, and suggest some possible methods for doing so. Although many works have been written which catalog and identify ragamala paintings, most of these fall short of explaining how ragamalas were understood and how they functioned in an artistic and social context. In order to address these topics properly, it is necessary to investigate the other artistic disciplines of India.

Raga has been defined by the Waldschmidt as “an elementary stock of musical notes or a framework of sounds to which the Indian musician feels himself omitted for the full length of a composition.” Pratapadiya Pal goes on to state that a raga consists of a “progression of five, six, or seven notes distributed over the octave scale in a particular arrangement, each raga having its fixed prominent note or sonant,” adding that musicians are free to improvise within this structure. The word raga is derived from ranja, which means “to color” or “tinge,” and can also refer to passion. The ninth and tenth century writer Mantanga first refers to ragas in the technical sense, and his statement that a raga “has the effect of coloring the hearts of men.” Gives us some insight into the relation of musical ragas to the word from which their name comes. References linking color and emotion to ragas have been found in other ancient Indian texts as well. Ragas appear often in Indian literary and musical works, which became popular with Rishi Narada’s treatise on music, the Naradasiṣṭha. Specific references to ragas first appeared in Mantanga’s Brhaddeśi, written between the sixth and eighth centuries, AD. A list of twenty ragas is found in the Sangitadarpana, or “Mirror of Modes,” written by Damodar Misra in 1625. The system of ragas actually replaced an older “classical” Indian musical system known as the Naradiya Sangitar, because of this, ragas can be thought of as arising out of folk.

Image Credits


Figure 3: Madame Sans-culottes, in Jonas Verlag, Sklavin oder Börgerin? Französische Revolution und Neue Weiblichkeit 1760-1830 (Frankfurt: Historisches Museum Frankfurt, 1989) 34. Frankfurt.


Figure 5: Françoises devenues Libres, Bibliothèque nationale, Cabinet des estampes, B.

Figure 6: Republican Mother, Bibliothèque nationale.
music traditions. The mention in the Brhaddeśi of ragas named after geographical regions seems to support this. M.S. Randhawa notes the importance of folk music as a main source for ragas, including poetry, musical deviations, and professional compositions as well.

The unique aspect of the raga system is its organization into families. This grouping is founded in six main ragas, although which particular ragas made up these six seems to have varied from time to time and place to place, as evidenced by the differing lists gleaned from different ragamala series. Randhawa cites three variations made up of six of the following ragas: Bhairava, Malava, Mallara, Sri, Hindola, Dipaka, Megha, Panchama, Nata, Desakh, and Vasant.

Possibly beginning in the seventh century, AD, musical modes were differentiated according to masculine or feminine traits; those regarded as feminine called ragnis. We see the first literary mention of this in the musical writings of Narada from the eleventh century. These ragnis were classified as the wives of each of the six main ragas and each raga had five or six wives, depending on the tradition; the feminine musical modes were presumably grouped thus because they were derivatives or variations of the masculine modes that were their “husbands.” In M.S. Mate’s and Usha Ranade’s work on the Nasik Ragamala, they state that “By about the end of the fifteenth century, the framework of six principle ragas and five or six ragnis for each of them, thus making the total either thirty-six or forty-two, had become well recognized [and] . . . any difference . . . was in the names of the ragas and ragnis involved;” this difference in naming seems to have been prominent. (In addition, each main raga has eight putras (sons), which, being masculine, are also ragas; when we add the eight sons of each raga, we end up with a total of eighty-four modes that could comprise a Hindusthani musical system.) As mentioned above, some raga names came from geographical regions; other possible sources of names were composers, names of tribes, names of seasons, festivals, and rites, and names of Hindu deities. The origin of the names of ragas may be of importance to us in studying how the iconography of these ragas developed and how contemporaries understood them.

We might offer a few words here on the purpose of Indian music. It has already been noted that ragas and ragnis were significant for their ability to evoke an emotion. Randhawa has further explained that “the main characteristic of musical sounds [as opposed to random noise] is that they convey ideas, they are expressions. This is why the sound of music is called nada, intelligible sound, and is said to result from the union of physical breath with the fire of intellect.” He draws from the work of Alain Danielou in quoting: “Indian music… always centers in one articulate emotion which it develops, explains and cultivates.”

This focus on a particular emotion in Indian music is directly related to the ability of artists to portray music visually in ragamalas. Mate has state quite eloquently that “certain reactions and certain feelings were expected to be evoked by certain tunes and certain melodies… [and] Painting in its turn aspired to do the same…. It would be quite natural therefore that melodies and paintings capable of evoking similar or same emotional reactions should come to be associated with each other.” The emotion or mood a raga brings out in a listener is called a rasa; picture could evoke rasas as well, and so it was an easy step to correlate the two in terms of the particular rasas they evoked.

Literary works known as raga-citras explained the proper iconography to correspond to certain ragas; in addition, verses known as dhyanas evolved. Dhyanas could be called “begetters of musical visions,” because they visually described the personified raga or ragni. It has further been suggested that these verses functioned as a form of graphic advertising, promoting the popularity of music. Coomaraswamy has pointed out that “as literature, the ragamala poems are in fact related to such poetry as the Rasikapriya of Kesava Das and the Satsaya of Bihare: and like these works, they are far more than descriptions. Paintings and verses alike are traditionally and profoundly imagined pictures of human passion.” This again brings us back to the importance of the emotional experience drawn out by both musical miniatures and the modes they were inspired by. In the same way that the classification of ragas and ragnis differed according to region, the iconographical conventions that artists followed, which were based on the types of literary works described above, differed. These conventions can be divided into two broad main groups, those of the Pahari region and those of the Rajputs, as exemplified by the ragamala paintings produced in those areas.

We will now turn to an examination of how the tradition of showing ragas visually may have begun. There is a long-standing artistic tradition in India of personifying all things. One of the reasons given for this is that these figures would then be mediated on, and this may have been one of the reasons that ragas came to be depicted visually. Musical modes elicited certain moods, and these moods may have been translated into particular gestures and actions. Randhawa has suggested that artists were simply inspired to depict the modes based on the visualized forms written about by contemporary authors. It seems more likely, however, that the artistic depiction evolved simultaneously with the literary works so that the authors would have some examples to base their verses off of. The earliest ragamala paintings we have come from the Deccan and date from the late fifteenth century. These ragamalas are true personifications, identified by their inscriptions and attributes, but otherwise iconic. Figure I shows one such miniature, Raga Bhairava; note his eight arms and the various
attributes he is shown with, including the Bull. According to the Waldo Schmidts, these attributes correspond to those described in the text of Sarabhai M. Nawab.  

Ragamala painting soon progressed from showing simple iconic figures to visualizing musical modes as situations in the late 1500's. It should be noted that dhyams continued to describe the ragas and raginis as individuals with attributes, even though the characters shown in such "situational" miniatures seem in many cases to be rather anonymous, directing the viewer's attention to the actions they perform rather than their physical features. Even after the shift to situational depictions, some attributes remain, such as the bull that is often shown in Ragini Bhairavi, linking her to Raga Bhairava, from which she is derived (see fig. 2). The basis for these situations seems to have arisen as much from daily experience as from the literary works of musicologists. Mate states that "There is little doubt that subconsciously at least [Indian religious artists] were voicing their experiences and their or their patrons' feelings through the life stories of one of the divinities; it is further explained that the common experience of the people could be expressed through parallel mythological stories and scenes, which makes Mate's statement relevant to the artists of the ragamalas as well. Just as some ragas were named after deities, seasons, and festivals, these correspondences also made their graphic representation possible and recognizable.  

Still, there exist many discrepancies between literary works linking certain ragas and raginis to seasons, etc. and the paintings that we would expect to be drawn from these works. Indeed, one puzzling problem for art historians has been the reconciliation of paintings showing one scene with their captions, which describe a totally unrelated situation. It is noted by various authors that eventually the iconic situations provided by ancient literature and everyday experience were insufficient for meeting the desires of ragamala artists and patrons; this led to the composition of new verses not directly connected with music, verses composed especially for the use of painters, and even verses that may have been composed after the painted miniatures themselves.  

We find inspiration for the translation of music into painting in India's six seasons, the times of the day at which ragas were to be performed (both of which could be shown pictorially), life and agricultural events, and poetry such as Kalidas's Meghaduta ("Cloud Messenger"), which mentions several activities appropriate for a woman separated from her lover that we also see represented in ragamala paintings. These actions identify the woman as one who is separated from her lover, and thus are shown when the dhyana of the raga or ragini associates it with a woman in such a situation. The translation has several stages in this last example- the musical mode elicits an emotion symbolized visually as a woman separated from her lover, the poem gives the artist a set of activities that can be used to identify this state, and the artist draws from both sources in order
to make his work understood by his audience.

In the above background, we have sought also to illustrate the types of issues that have been addressed in the field of art history as regarding the *ragamala* miniatures. In addition to tracing the musicological history of *ragas* and the literary traditions from which *ragamala* visualization emerged, scholars such as the Waldschmidts and Randhawa have attempted to identify and classify the paintings in various *ragamala* series. In the first volume of their book *Miniatures of

![Raga Hindola (reproduced from Waldschmidt, Lucknow Miniatures of Musical Inspiration, c. 1780 vol. II, 41).](image)

*Musical Inspiration*, the Waldschmidts seek similarities between the seventy-two miniatures in the Berlin Collection and the iconographical writings of Ksemakarna from c. 1570. The Waldschmidts state explicitly their process of looking for links between the *dhyana* verses of Ksemakarna and the miniatures in their possession; an example of one such *dhyana* and its corresponding painting are given in fig. 3. The Waldschmidts focus on such stylistic elements as the color of the background in their miniatures, which is specific to each raga family. Such details are interesting, and may be valuable in discerning how the paintings were understood, but the Waldschmidts do not seem to address this broader topic. In their second volume, the Waldschmidts look at several differ-

ent *ragamalas*, classifying the miniatures not by family but rather by similarities in the subject matter shown. This work is a great tool for scholars seeking to get an overview of *ragamala* iconography and perhaps draw conclusions from the similarities between paintings, but again the Waldschmidts fail to address such questions as relating to the wider, social context of the paintings. Randhawa (as well as all other writers studied by this author) organizes his work like the Waldschmidts first volume, by families, and again sticks to describing the paintings and some of the possible correspondences between the subject matter and the actual modes. As before, this is a helpful work to have at one’s disposal, for it enumerates the seasonal and temporal correspondences between the *ragas* and the paintings. It does not, however, attempt an interpretive analysis of the paintings in their societal context.

Our work has thus far given an overview of what has been said about *ragamala* miniatures and what aspects have been neglected. We will now suggest some possible avenues of inquiry that might lead to a better understanding of how the *ragamala* miniatures functioned in the society that produced them. Although answering the questions of how *ragamalas* were understood is beyond the scope of this paper, we will attempt to identify some links that indicate where the answers may lie. It will be seen that, in all cases, the means to understanding the *ragamala* paintings lies in understanding the interrelations of different artistic disciplines in India, and how the arts were regarded in relation to each other.

The first major question that must be addressed is “How exactly were the *ragamalas* understood as depictions of music?” Although much of what has been said above relates to how certain pictorial conventions were developed, and thus seems to answer this question, we are really hinting at something deeper than this. We have discussed how artists translated situations into pictures, but exactly why were certain situations associated with the musical modes? How did society understand that, when they were given a painting showing a certain situation, it was meant to evoke that musical mode? Given these differences in perspective, the details under discussion do give us insight that could help us to answer these questions. In listing the many correspondences seen in *ragamala* paintings and the literature they were drawn from, authors like the Waldschmidts give us a head start in the analysis that may eventually provide us with answers.

One way the situations in *ragamala* paintings may have been recognized was simply through artistic and rhetorical conventions. "The eighteenth century [in India]... inherited a very rich tradition wherein certain symbolisms and norms were recognised and accepted." There may have been correspondence, not only between certain *ragas* and the seasons, for example, but between the activities that took place during those seasons, the songs that were sung during
these activities, and the situations that were represented in the *ragamala* paintings. For example, the *Raga Hindola* is associated with the springtime and is usually shown by a male figure seated on a swing and rocked by female attendants (see fig. 3). *Hindola* literally means "swing," and festivals that involved swinging (and possible the singing of *Raga Hindola*) took place in the spring.\(^45\) It is possible, therefore, that the painting of *Raga Hindola* was recognized as the

![Image](image_url)

Figure 4. Ragini Todi (reproduced from Pral, Bundi *Ragamala Paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, c. 1742, cover*).

musical mode *Hindola* simply through associations with the activities it depicted. As explained by Mate, "music of some sort was part and parcel of the everyday of the common people. Certain tunes, certain melodies were current... and must have formed the foundation of the *ragas* of the future. These tunes and melodies... came to be associated... with certain incidents or events [and]... the sings f a melody would evoke the mental picture of that incident or situation and conversely, the sight of the situation (through a picture) would evoke (again mentally) the tunes and melodies associated with it."\(^46\) Another example of this may be seen in the *Ragini Todi*, which is usually shown as a woman playing the vina and attracting antelope or deer (fig. 5). Ebeling has suggested that *Todi* may have developed from a melody sung by girls to prevent the deer from eating the

fields.\(^47\)

According to Mate, the *ragamala* traditions were produced by the convergence of text on music, painting traditions, and Sanskrit and Hindi literature.\(^48\) The *Sangitadarpana*, written by Damodara, is a compilation of teachings from the Hanumat School of music theory; in it, *ragas* are classified, and *dhyanas* are given for thirty-six *ragas* and *raginis*, forming the basis of and sometimes inscribed upon *ragamala* paintings.\(^49\) The *Sangitopanishad-Saroddhara* of 1350, in addition to identifying the *ragas* and *raginis*, gives physical descriptions of the forms and complexions to be used in painting them.\(^50\) As mentioned above, much support is lent to the theory of *ragamala* paintings arising out of literary works by the differences between the Rajput and Pahari miniatures, which correspond to the iconographical differences in the literary works of those regions.\(^51\) In looking at the relations between literary and artistic works, we must ask also for whom the *ragamalas* were produced; if they indeed were understood by their audience in terms of the literature from which their artists drew, then the audience would have also had to be familiar with this literature.

The Waldschmidt's find an interesting correlation between the writing of Ksemakarna and the Pahari miniatures they studied. Ksemakarna mentions that certain musical modes are "sung" by certain animals, and these same animals turn up in the Berlin miniatures of the proper modes. In addition, Ksemakarna relates other natural and domestic sounds to certain musical modes, and the natural phenomena or domestic activities that produce these sounds are often shown in the miniatures as well.\(^52\) Mate also provides support for this interesting link between literature and painting, citing that certain *raga-citras* mention animals or machines, which are shown in the corresponding *ragamala* paintings.\(^53\)

Randhawa notices that "it seems the imagery which characterizes the *ragas* and *raginis* is in some cases based on the metrical patterns given in Bharata's *Natayasasatra*."\(^54\) This brings us to perhaps the most plausible theory on how the *ragamala* paintings were to be understood as musical modes. Professor Vajracharya, of the University of Wisconsin, has suggested that the conventions for portraying *ragas* and *raginis* were adopted from specific scenes of the theater during which those musical modes were played. Randhawa's comment above seems to support this, as the *Natayasastra* was an Indian treatise on the theater and the music to be used therein. It states that "Natya [theater] is the representation of all the emotive states... Each and every emotion produces a physical change in the subject, and dance is but the imitation of these changes; it is further explained that "natya primarily denotes the representation of any emotion or incident through gestures and postures, i.e. dance with the accompaniment of music, both vocal and instrumental."\(^55\) It should be remembered here that gesture and posture are also the main ways of depicting emotion in *ragamala* paintings.
The music referred to consisted of songs called *dhruvas*, which were played in the background of ancient dramas.56 *Dhruvas* consisted within the structures of *ragas* and *raginis*.57 The unity of music and painting in Indian thought has been noted above; we must also note the unity of dance and painting, as cited in the *Natyaśāstra*.58 The purpose of *nātya* was to educate while entertaining, and it is possible that the *ragamalas* could have served this purpose as well.59 The

![Illustration](image)

Figure 5. Ragini Madhumadhavi Golconda/Hyderabad, c. 1750 (reproduced from Waldschmidt, *Miniatures of Musical Inspiration*, vol. II, 149).

The description given by Pierre Loti of a concert in which the musician sang and acted the "laments of a young girl deserted by her lover,"60 seems to give us further support for the close links between drama and music, setting us up to make similar links between drama and painting.

The emotions that were represented in ancient Indian folk theater61 were expressed through the conventions of *nayaka-bhedā*. The tradition of classifying dramatic characters into *nayakas* (heroes) and *nayikas* (heroines) dates back to the first century, BC, and we first see this topic treated in literature in the *Natyaśāstra*; in the fifteenth century, AD, the author Bhamudatta wrote the first treatise entirely concerned with the problems and logistics of classifying and portraying *nayakas* and *nayikas*. The *nayika-bhedā* conventions were concerned with the manners in which actors and, especially, actresses should behave when their characters encountered specific situations.62 According to the *Natyaśāstra*, there are eight types of *nayika*, who are defined most specifically by the situations they appear in;63 we see these same situations in *ragamala* paintings.64 An example of this is the *Ragini Madhumadhavi*, which is conventionally portrayed

![Illustration](image)

Figure 6. Ragini Ramakali Mughal, early eighteenth century (reproduced from Chandra, *Indian Miniature Painting*, 31).

as a woman who, in the middle of the night and the midst of a storm, is trekking through the jungle on the way to meet her lover (see fig. 5). This scene could also be a depiction of the *Abhisārika Nayika* described by Bharata.65 It is probable that, if the *ragamala* paintings were indeed derived from the theater, that such conventional ways of showing certain moods through actions would have been recognized by the majority of viewers. This idea is similar to the one concerning an audience's understanding through their familiarity with literature. It would be interesting to examine which groups of people would have been knowledgeable of either of these mediums, for one might postulate that the theater would have been more accessible to a more universal audience, thus providing a
better foundation on which to build the rāgamala iconographic traditions.

In the hypothesis of Professor Vajracharya, the main article of proof that must be provided to establish a connection between rāgamala painting and the theater is the presence of a particular musical mode that would have been played during certain types of scenes; these scenes would then be represented pictorially in paintings of those musical modes. Pande mentions that, according to the

Figure 7. Ragini Dhanasri Golconda/Hyderabad, c. 1750. Dhanasri is a charming young woman, with a body dark like the blade of durva-grass, who- holding a picture-panel in one of her hands- is about to paint the (far-off) lover, while her breasts are being washed by drops of tears falling down (from her eyes). (reproduced from Waldschmidt, Miniatures of Musical Inspiration, vol. II, 264-265)

Natyasastra, “The music of the theater... was moulded to suit the structure and atmosphere of the dramatic plots.... The dhruvas suggested acts and moods of different characters in a play; and this was suggested by the contents of the songs as well as their metre, language, tempo, and tala.”66 This seems to be evidence that certain themes were indeed associated with certain themes, although Pande has not identified any specific ragas or rāginis that went along with specific situations. In the Natyasastra itself, however, we find mention of how a woman should treat her guilty lover: “She should harass him till he falls at her feet, and when he falls prostrate she should look at the female messenger... This should be done to the accompaniment of tender music.”67 The scene of the hero lying

prostrate at his angry lover’s feet is the convention for showing Rāgini Ramakari, (fig. 6.), and other authors have noted its popularity in drama.68 Bharata seems to suggest that a specific type of music was indeed played during this scene, and although he does not specify a particular mode (i.e. rāgini Ramakali), this con-

Figure 8. Ragini Asavari Bundi, early seventeenth century. (Asavari) is a Sabara woman of blazing, dark blue beauty, who (abides) on the peak of the sandalwood mountain, having on her an apron of peacock’s tail feathers, wearing a most (wonderful) necklace of pearls from (the temples of) elephants, who twines a serpent which she has dragged from a sandalwood tree (round her wrist) as a bracelet. (reproduced Miniatures of Musical Inspiration, vol. II, 289)

nection seems to warrant additional investigation.

We have come across two additional details in rāgamala painting that may suggest a connection with the theater. The first concerns certain rāginis, namely Rāgini Dhanasri and Rāgini Asavari, which are described in their dhyanas as being dark blue or dark green colored; this is also shown in some painted representations (figs. 7 and 8).69 It has commonly been thought that this coloration may be the interpretation of Indian artists of darker skin colors (as it was in
depictions of the god Krishna); the use of these colors for human characters, however, and the literary allusions to the actual colors green and blue do not seem adequately explained by this theory. Bharata, in the Natyasastra, mentions the specific colors of makeup that are to be used for certain characters; these colors include blue, yellow, red, white, and green.\textsuperscript{70} We speculate that the colors used in the descriptions and paintings of these raginis could have been derived from the colors of makeup worn by the stage characters they were drawn from. Bharata seems to suggest the use of makeup as an aid for the audience in assessing the character and situation of the actor or actress; if this was indeed the purpose of makeup in the Indian theater, that the same purpose could be applied to ragamala painting in order to help the audience identify the mood of the musical mode being portrayed.

The Nasik ragamala, studied by M.S. Mate and Usha Ranade, exhibits the curious characteristic of showing multiple musical modes within the same painting (fig. 9); the ragas and raginis are not always separated by frames, and this sometimes causes the problem of one becoming dominant over the other(s).\textsuperscript{71} A clue to why the artist chose to portray the modes in this manner might be found in the plays of Kalisasa and the conventions of Indian theater. It seems that some of the dramas of Kalidasa may have shown more than one scene at the same time and on the same stage. Prescriptions and criticisms were concerning the lack of action in some of these scenes, because only one scene could contain actors that were speaking at a given time; while the actors in one scene were speaking, it was still required that the action in the other scenes continue so that none of the scene would become stagnant.\textsuperscript{72} It does not seem implausible that the Nasik artist was drawing directly from this dramatic tradition when displaying more than one musical mode in the same painting.

One additional note concerning the influence of the theater on ragamala painting has to do with times the paintings were produced. It has been noted that all of the ragamalas we have found so far have come to us in a mature style. This seems to often be the case with Indian art, leaving scholars to speculate about the development and origins of many works. Chattopadhyay, in writing about ancient Indian theater, notes a common thread between the theater and the cave paintings of Ajanta and Elora, asserting that “It is now an accepted fact that these paintings depict the stories of Jatakas in dramatic sequences... each and every individual figure and group there appears in dramatic action.”\textsuperscript{73} It does not seem unreasonable that the style of ragamala paintings could have, in some schools, developed from the cave paintings, and that it too could have drawn off of these dramatic traditions.

We must also address for whom the ragamala series’ were made for. An understanding of the patrons of art is always essential for understanding the art itself, especially in medieval traditions. Related to this is an examination of what purpose the ragamalas served. We have not yet encountered much on this topic, and so much of the following will be speculation; it remains to be said that these avenues of inquiry are still important for the further understanding of the ragamala tradition.

Mate has noted that “music in general is supposed to and in fact does touch some deeper chords in the human mind. The selection of certain ragas for being sung during a particular season or at a particular hour or in a given geographical setup, we undoubtedly intended to assist in this process.”\textsuperscript{74} Mate goes on to explain the concept of rasanispati, the process of evoking emotions, and how the components of the human mind were thought to be activated by certain rrasas, which could be taken in through any of the senses.\textsuperscript{75} This manner of thinking
concerning the cause and effect of listening to music may be exemplified by the ragas Dipaka and Megha, the singing of which were thought capable of producing fire and rain, respectively.76

Perhaps the ragamala paintings performed a function rather like the images used in puja worship. A legend has been told of personified ragas and ragnis whose limbs had been broken due to their improper singing by inexperienced musicians.77 Clearly, a great deal of importance was placed on the correct performance of the musical modes; this was attained through a state of "psychic concentration" known as avadhana.78 Perhaps, like in puja worship, the ragamala paintings provided a focus on which musicians could focus while attaining this meditative state; this has also been suggested by Mate and Ranade,79 and could be likely given that ragamalas seem to have often consisted of paintings of the entire set of ragas and ragnis, the repertoire of the Indian musician. The presence of Bhramam in many paintings (which was noted as a curious inclusion by Ebeling),80 and the appearance of Siva Linga as a source of creative power81 also seem to suggest that the miniatures may have served a purpose for musicians. This theory relies largely on the assumption that musicians would have had ready access to the ragamalas; by studying for whom the ragamalas were produced, we could further investigate this hypothesis about their function.

Willard, in his treatise on Indian music, noted that "The Hindus are unanimous in their praise of music and extol it as one of the sweetest enjoyments of life."82 Given this love of music, which can also be seen through the popular scenes showing musical performances, we must remember that having music performed specially for one's enjoyment was not always readily possible before the advent of recording devices. During the times that ragamalas were produced, the only way for one to listen to performed music, short of producing it oneself, was to hire a professional musician; this may not always have met the desires of the people for music to listen to. Much has already been said in this paper about the unity of Indian art forms, for example, the ability of a visual work to evoke a mental song. It is the hypothesis of this author that the ragamalas may have functioned as "mental recordings," providing a means of evoking and "listening" to a song in one's head through looking at a particular picture. This would also provide an explanation for why ragamalas contained a complete set of ragas and ragnis (at the time of their creation)-they may have been used as a catalog to which the music lover could turn to bring to mind the thought of any type of music desired. Again, this theory would rest a great deal on the actual patrons of the ragamalas; if they were commissioned only by nobility who could also afford to hire full-time professional musicians, the probability that ragamalas served the purpose described above would decrease. A note in the Waldschmidt's second volume suggests, however, that these paintings were also produced for a bourgeois audience, which may strengthen this theory.83

We will conclude with a series of questions that it would be helpful to pursue, and the answers to which might give us further insight into ragamala painting. As mentioned above, it is vital to know for whom the ragamalas were produced. In addition, the discrepancy between the gender of the inscription given on a particular painting does not always correspond to the gender of the figures shown in the painting. This has produced problems for many researchers, and it would be helpful to know just how important gender was in the portrayal and understanding of ragamala paintings. Pal has remarked that the classification of ragas and ragnis may depend upon the ascending or descending patterns the mode usually employs;84 this leads us to question if the gender given for a particular mode really had much to do with its visualization, especially given the many possible traditions that could have led up to the visual conventions. In addition, Pal has suggested that "It would be a worthwhile pursuit to inquire from a psychological point of view why a particular raga or ragni was assigned to a particular time of day or night."85

We should also mention the work that has been done on tala paintings by Usha Ranade and Kamal Chawand. Just as raga in Indian music corresponds loosely to a concept such as melody or mode, tala refers to rhythm. Ranade and Chawand have found a series of paintings that utilize the same methods of portrayal as do many ragamala paintings; they have labeled this find a talamala. Each painting in the series has an inscription giving the name, definition, and sometimes a verse about the tala depicted below.86 No other examples of this kind of work have been found, and a possible reason for this is that talas are not thought capable of evoking a rasa or emotion by themselves.87 Bharata mentions in the Natyasasthra that "a producer of drama should study tala with great care,"88 which suggests that a closer examination of talamala painting could provide another link between ragamala painting and the theater. In addition, if tala paintings were not attempted because talas could produce no rasas, it seems the only way any audience had of identifying a tala in a painting would have been through its inscription. For this reason, an examination of how talas were seen by their patrons could suggest the ways in which ragamala paintings were understood as well.

Most of the above mentioned questions require the knowledge of other Indian art forms to be studied extensively. Indeed, it is because of the unity that surrounds the arts in India that one cannot be studied without knowledge of the others. In the past, much work in identifying ragamala painting has been done, and this work is of great aid to a student of the paintings for purposes such as identification. We must now move, however, to examining the social and artistic context of these works. The questions we are presented with in this pursuit.
require us to look beyond the artistic conventions of painting and the activity of stylistic analysis, and turn towards a broader investigation of the integration of all Indian arts. Only with this knowledge of the conventions of all Indian arts can we expect to understand the ragamala paintings in the ways that their creators did.

Notes
4 Ananda Krishna *Ragamala Paintings: Lalit Kala Series Portfolio No. 5* (New Delhi: Lalit kala Academy, 1968), 1.
5 Randhawa, 2.
6 M.S. Mate and Usha Ranade, *Nasik Ragamala* (Yeravada: Deccan College Post Graduate and Research College, 1982), 7.
7 Randhawa, 6.
9 Randhawa, 6.
10 Ibid., 4, 11-12.
11 Krishna, 1.
12 Randhawa, 4, 12.
13 Mate, 7. Randhawa gives a list of a typical set of ragas and raginis from the northern Hindusthani musical system on pages 13-14: Raga Bhairava and Raganis Bhairavi, Nata, Malava, Fatamrajari, Lalita; Raga Malakas and Raganis Gauji, Khambhavati, Malrari, Ramakali, Gunahali; Raga Hindola and Raganis Vlavali, Todi, Desakya, Devagandhari, Madho-Madhai; Raga Dipaka and Raganis Dhansari, Vasanta, Kanra, Vahari, Purvi; Raga Megha-Mallara and Raganis Bangali, Gujari, Guadamallara, Kakahba, Bibhasa; Raga Sri and Raginis Panchama, Asavari, Seva-mallara, Kedara, Kamodini. It will be noted that several of these names seem to be listed variously as ragas and raginis by other authors; this seems to be because of the regional and temporal variations in the raga musical system, as certain modes fell into and out of favor.
14 Pral, 8. Pral remarks that “in the Hindusthani system there are as many as seven different forms of Vasanta and in the Karnatak system many more.”
15 Randhawa, 13.
16 Krishna, 1.
17 Randhawa, 7.
18 Ibid., 7. Quoted from *Northern Indian Music* by Alain Danielou.
19 Mate, 10.
21 Mate, 8.
23 Pral, 10.
25 Pral, 8.
26 Ranade, 4.
27 Waldschmidt, *Miniatures of Musical Inspiration*, vol. II, 28-29. While making a valid point, the Waldschmids do not address how certain actions and gestures came to correspond to certain musical modes.
28 Randhawa, 14.
29 Ibid., 17.
30 Waldschmidt, *Miniatures of Musical Inspiration in the collection of the Berlin Museum of Indian Art*, 16.
31 Ibid., 16-17.
32 Krishna, 2.
33 Mate, 10.
34 Randhawa, 44.
36 Mate, 9.
37 Randhawa, 16.
38 Waldschmidt, *Miniatures of Musical Inspiration in the Collection of the Berlin Museum of Indian Art*, 227. The Waldschmids note the findings of Gangoly, in comparing Sanskrit musicological works and Hindi poetry, that the poetry seems to be much more emotional and the details in more accordance with the paintings.
39 Randhawa, 12.
40 Pande, 138-140.
44 Ranade, 10.
46 Mate, 9-10.
48 Mate, 9.
50 Krishna, 1.
52 Ibid., 43-46.
53 Mate, 16.
54 Randhawa, 14.
56 Pande, 130-131.
57 Ibid., 133.
58 Chattopadhyay, 83.
59 Pande, 7.
60 Randhawa, 9.
61 Chattopadhyay, 83.
62 Randhawa, 14-15.
The Klondike Gold Rush: Trends and the Influence of Early Media Coverage

Andrew Krueger

In July 1897, two ordinary ships left Alaska and made their way down the Pacific coast of British Columbia carrying an extraordinary cargo. On July 14, the *Excelsior* docked at a San Francisco wharf, followed three days later by the arrival of the *Portland* in Seattle. The two vessels carried an estimated $1.1 million in gold between them, and their appearance sparked what some sources say can only be described as a “stampede” to the gold fields of Alaska and Canada’s Yukon. The vast expanse of Alaska had been saddled with the nicknames “Seward’s Icebox” and “Seward’s Folly” since Secretary of State William H. Seward arranged its purchase from Russia in 1867. Thirty years later the discoveries in the Klondike gave it the chance to prove its worth, and Americans were eager to listen to the tales of its riches. In the weeks after the story of the Klondike gold rush broke, American media evolved from a source of skepticism to a pillar of support, and found a receptive audience in an American public that was looking not only for wealth, but also for adventure and romanticized images to replace the vanished frontier of the continental United States.

American newspapers followed a fairly predictable pattern of coverage for the Klondike gold rush. Edwin Tappan Adney, a *Harper’s Weekly* correspondent who traveled to the Klondike in 1897, wrote about gold rush news coverage in *The Klondike Stampede of 1897-1898*. Adney described how many large newspapers first dismissed the reports of the gold discovery, and then after accepting the stories advised people not to travel north into the harsh conditions of the rapidly approaching winter. However, many readers had caught “gold fever” and sought more detailed travel information. “The tide was too great to turn,” Adney wrote. “One by one the conservative papers of the country, that had treated the first reports as sensational, fell into line.” Articles from the newspapers of the time back up Adney’s statements, as newspapers stopped emphasizing warnings of danger and started giving the public the Klondike maps, drawings and stories it wanted.

One of the first newspapers to break the story of the gold rush was the *San Francisco Chronicle*. The *Chronicle* had the advantage of being located in the city where the first gold arrived, and it turned out a significant story on July 15, 1897, the day after the *Excelsior* docked. Early *Chronicle* editorials urged restraint and careful consideration by citizens who were contemplating a trip to Alaska. They also tried to promote California’s still-active gold mines to prospectors as a suitable alternative to the harsh conditions of the Klondike.