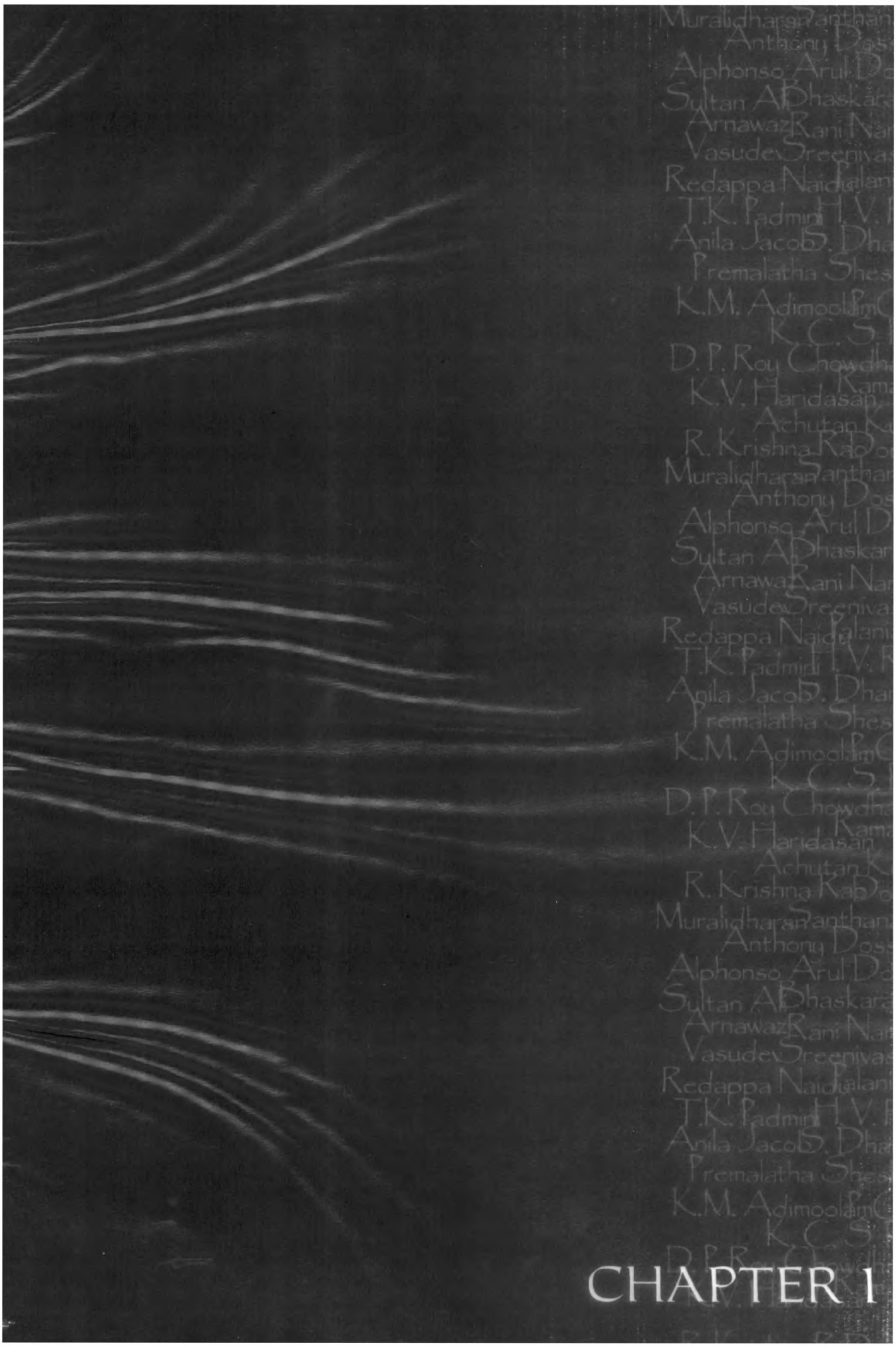

CHAPTER 1

CHAPTER I

CULTURAL POLITICS AND COLONIAL PEDAGOGY[1] IN THE MAKING OF THE ART SCHOOL

Education is a powerful discourse within the complex structure of colonialism. Becoming a tool of social control the colonizers prioritized education in an 'attempt to educate the body of the people...who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern' (Macaulay's speech 1835). Within the context of colonialism the Madras School of Arts and Crafts emerged as a site for the development of a colonial art establishment around the middle of the nineteenth century. This school in the 1960's became a pivotal institution in the emergence of the regional modern namely the Madras Art Movement. Since this was the only prestigious art institution and a recognized government body, artists from Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, Kerala and Andhra Pradesh gravitated here during the 1950's and early 60's. The school has to be historicized to afford an analysis for taking on a different trajectory compared to Bombay and Calcutta. It becomes imperative therefore to analyze the premises and the inherent objectives of the school and to contextualize it as a body that initiated the modern art movement.

Ideological Thrust in Art Education

Art education in India was an imperialist institution. It emerged at a time when Britain was developing from a mercantile body into a capitalist society with the ushering in of the industrial revolution. To critically examine its discursive framework it is incumbent to analyze the relationship between 'capitalism and 'imperialism'. Dennis Judd argues that 'no one can doubt that the desire for profitable trade, plunder and enrichment was the primary force that led to the establishment of the imperial structure'[2]. Colonialism consciously remained a commercial venture, a lucrative operation bringing wealth and riches to western nations through the economic exploitation of others. Colonialism and capitalism on the Indian soil therefore shared a mutually supportive relationship. This endeavor gets implicated in the prime motive of initiating art education where the schools (especially Madras) became the sites for manufacturing craft objects for market consumption overseas.

Colonial conquest was not only the result of the power of superior arms and military organization, but sustained and strengthened as much by the cultural technologies of the rule. Under the

colonizers, culture became its handmaiden, suppressing a vast wealth of indigenous artistic traditions beneath the weight of imperial control. An aura of paternalist attitude manifested itself in the heuristic that the Indian natives "lacked values and needed rescuing". This attitude gets imbricated in the ideological contours of the colonial discourse projecting the colonizers as valuable, knowledgeable and superior. They gained the complicity of the colonized by deriving mileage out of a new sense of self-worth through their participation in furthering the 'progress of civilization' represented in western terms. And education including art education became one of the tools for civilizing mission put forth by the imperialists. The 'self' of the colonizer became the alter ego of the 'other' the colonized, intellectualizing the tools that politicized colonizers in establishing the hegemony in ways of seeing the colonized[3]. Homi K. Bhabha, sets forth an argument of ambivalence of 'Self' and 'Other' since especially the 'other' is a constructed knowledge unknowable to the 'self'. According to him "the objective of colonial discourse is to construe the colonized as a population of degenerate type on the basis of racial origin, in order to justify conquest and to establish systems of administration and instruction"[4]. In an inspired departure from Said's concept of Orientalism, Bhabha argues that these aims were never met because there are pulls in contrary directions. That is the 'colonized subject' [other] is a radically strange creature, of the colonizing subject attempting to domesticate it and, bring them inside western understanding through the Orientalist project of constructing knowledge about them. In Bhabha's terms 'colonized as a social reality that is at once an 'other' and yet entirely knowable and visible' is always in motion sliding ambivalently between the polarities of similarity and difference[5]. In this context what becomes operational is also the concepts of 'fixity' and 'stereotyping', the key signifiers for Bhabha of historical, racial and cultural difference. These key signifiers conflate with the ambivalence of similarity and difference embodying the colonizers attempted categorization of the 'fine' and 'decorative' arts with the natives superior skills in design and craftsmanship and the difference with the colonized lacking 'fine art' in the mainstream tradition of Indian art; the whole subsumed under 'Decorative Art'. This ambivalence gets rooted in the categorization of Fine Art and Applied/ornamental art and the privileging of one over the other in academic pursuits.

The colonizers' dominant ideologies of cultural hegemonies is akin to Michael Foucault's discourse of power relations in a society where knowledge is articulated by the various institutional forms which transmit and maintain power. The education including art education was situated within the relationships of domination and subordination between the colonizers and

the colonized effectively realizing this power relationship. The British Empire did not rule by military and physical force alone. For colonialism operated within the parameters of hegemony which Antonio Gramsci postulates as operating culturally and ideologically through the institutions of civil society characterized by maturity and liberal democratic capitalism[6]. So it was a 'rule by consent', rule by moral and intellectual authority or leadership, in effect, domination by consent. On the Indian soil, the British Empire endured by getting both colonizing and colonized people to see their world and themselves in a particular way internalizing the language of empire as representing the natural true order of life. Hence cultural representations (Art institutions) and modes of perceptions (Dissemination of western artistic apparatus) became fundamental strategies for colonial power.

Encapsulating an attitude where the colonized subject 'lacked values and needed rescuing', the idea of art education underwritten by colonizers civilizing mission came to be mobilized in the mid 19th century. Based on avowed educational objective with its complicity with commercial viability, the art school in Madras was founded by resident surgeon Dr. Alexander Hunter in 1850.

The Art Schools were grounded in notions of 'art' in the Euro-centric sense in a country that already had a variegated visual culture was an imposition from above. With a Eurocentric gaze and on the strength of Enlightenment beliefs the colonizers alien to native indigenous traditions, introduced concepts into art education like 'taste' and 'beauty' in understanding visual arts in the 19th century. These terminologies that were constituted around the 18th century in the west had no direct counterpart in Indian aesthetics and poetics. Besides the colonial intervention also imposed radically new paradigms of 'art' and 'artists' on indigenous society, reinforcing these with an elaborate structure of patronage and education.

The impact of colonialism hence, in the civil society was felt specifically through the setting up and organization of art schools all over the country. Indirectly controlled by the Departments of Public Instructions these art schools emerged as uniquely powerful institutions becoming a massive cannon in the artillery of the empire. According to an Education Dispatch of East India Company 19th July 1854, it read:

"None can have a stronger claim on our attention than ...education. It is one of our sacral duties to be the means ... of conferring upon the natives of India those vast moral and material blessings which flow from the general diffusion of useful knowledge, and which may under providence, derive her connection from England... We must emphatically declare that the education which we desire to see extended in India is that which has for its object the diffusion of the improved arts, science, philosophy and literature of Europe, in short of European knowledge."[7].

This dispatch is an important marker where education was given priority in the modernization process in colonial India. Industrial education was central to plans to modernize the Indian economy. The institutionalized structure of art education privileged practical concerns in mainly providing useful and employable skills to the natives. The schools offered a standardized curriculum but free from family or caste control, thereby encouraging a vision of industry as rational, progressive and modern, peopled by disciplined, precise workers unencumbered by caste or tradition. And yet, the modernity offered by industrial schools in India was conflictual, as the promised transformative powers of education had to be reconciled with the structures and requirements of a colonial society. Rather than transform the existing social order, industrial education aimed to preserve it. Thus, industrial schools targeted boys from artisan castes as a way to keep such boys in traditional occupations and prevent them from aspiring to clerical employment. Similarly, for all of the official talk about the role of industrial education in modernizing Indian industry, such education actually promoted a very limited vision of Indian industrial capability, in which Indian industry relied on hand not mechanical processes, and was located in small workshops, not centralized factories.

However as the economic position of the artisans was on the slide, a scheme of this nature was in the larger interest of employment within the Raj bureaucracy. Hence the art institution served the purpose of training artisans through western academic curriculum. An intervention of this nature eventually allowed for the absorption of skilled draftsmen, surveyors, drawing masters, engravers and lithographers who began to fill the expanding public services of colonial administration.

Establishment of Art Schools

The period that saw the setting up of the first art schools coincided with the organization of the Great Exhibition of 1851 (The Industry of all Nations) at Crystal Palace in London. The Indian handicrafts displayed, found an appreciative audience, for the products were fashioned with the

aesthetics directed towards intricate design, dexterity and skill juxtaposed with 'correctly applied flat abstract decoration'. This decorative approach became counter productive in Victorian art teaching with its insistence on 'illusionist' designs that was going through a crisis because of industrial revolution.. Nevertheless in the Great London Exhibition of 1851, European Connoisseurs had agreed with British artists, like Owen Jones[8] that Indian designs were far more superior to those in the West. William Morris who sought an alternative to the materialist Europe also looked upon Indian craft as a source of inspiration. By 1867, the British Government had set up twenty- two schools of art including three major schools in the presidencies of Madras (1850), Calcutta (1854), Bombay (1856) and Lahore opened late in 1878.

The scheme of art education in India was by and large in the direction of the revival of its traditional crafts and skills. This underwrote a technology of social control where teaching reinforced the pedagogy of artesian practices privileging it over the 'fine arts' to underscore their hegemony in scientific progress and control over capitalistic economy. The imperial power gave no dominant status to Indian Fine arts considering this domain as the prerogative of the western art. It was only the crafts with its essential commodity status that remained visible for the Imperialists as having economic potential. This dominant ideology of the colonizers for a fixed motivation and commercial gain led to vigorous campaigning by Henry Cole, William Morris, George Birdwood, and other influential individuals to save the Indian decorative arts from an economic decline. For the survival of Indian crafts was considered an economic necessity. The problem was modernization brought on by the process of industrialization, subsumed in the larger context of divining progress in the colonies. The government acknowledged responsibility and decided to offer the blessing of practical art to the 'backward artisans of India'. Towards this direction an attempt was made by the British officials to impart to Indian artisans, the principles of scientific training in art. Not only to train but also educate the Indians to 'see' what is beautiful in terms of form and color of all objects.

One of the most perplexing problems in nineteenth-century art education in colonial India was the coexistence of training in traditional Indian decorative arts and in Western modes of naturalistic depiction associated with the fine arts of painting and sculpture. Described as a "schizophrenic" program of colonial education, fine art and decorative art studies were sometimes separate, sometimes indistinguishable, and often contradictory. The intersection or collision of fine and decorative art training in colonial art education nevertheless sought to establish the foundations of

"modern" visual production. The results of these configurations was the production of a certain discourse about the state of Indian art and its necessary revival; knowledge about the visual past; and a new kind of visual culture.

Art education, therefore, on the native soil had its repercussion of changing the entire concept of art teaching. There was a wide chasm in the approach of the west to teaching this discipline and the traditional Indian apprenticeship. This difference is best described in Orientalist terminology as 'perceptual' and 'conceptual' respectively. One was academic realism and the other was decorative. The art schools set up were based on the Royal Academy and South Kensington School of Art and Design that imparted art education in England. The former was instructive especially for 'fine arts' and the latter for teaching design. Such a set up indicated a clear- cut distinction being made between 'Academies of Fine Arts' and 'Schools of Design' with the priority placed on the development of the latter. "The aim was not to cultivate 'art for its own sake' but to cultivate superior skills of ornamental design' and to bring this skill to bear on the commercial viable manufactory of the country."[9]. After a particular successful showing of decorative Indian arts at the Crystal Palace in London, it was felt that both preservation and reform should be acknowledged as the intent of the art schools in India - that is, to preserve and promote the Indian artisanal/technical base while, at the same time, teaching Indian artists to draw and paint nature in the fashion of the European art academy. This ideology with its conceptual 'schizophrenia' was to profoundly affect the direction of the pedagogic vision of the Madras Art School.

Madras School of Arts and Crafts

The Madras School of Arts and Crafts **[Figs. 1&2]** that became a pivotal institution in the emergence of Madras Art Movement was established on 1st May 1850, by the resident surgeon Dr. Alexander Hunter as a private enterprise **[Fig. 3]**. This was a School of Arts in Popham's Broadway. His objective was to improve native taste through the 'humanizing culture of fine arts'. The success of this art school led him in the following year [1851] to establish a School of Industry for imparting instructions in various useful arts in order "to afford to the rising generation of the country, the opportunity and means of acquiring useful handicrafts; to improve the manufacture of various articles of domestic and daily use, now largely made in the country but rudely and uncouthly[10]. These two schools were originally started in the district of Black Town where he was the surgeon. A Grant-in-aid was offered in 1852 for purchasing casts, models and 'studies', for such was the optimism of the government about its commercial

prospects. It was merged eventually and (the art and industrial) constituted as a government institution in 1855[11] after the setting up of the Department of Public Instructions in the three presidencies **[Figs. 4 & 5]**.

It is ironical that the "the humanizing culture of 'fine art' "that was a calculated imposition for motivational gains, was not deemed fit in the larger perspective of its benevolent design to impart this (fine arts) instruction to raise the artisan's position on the intellectual plane of creativity. The prospectus of the school has a historic introduction which admits the original intentions to 'teach the Fine Arts of drawing, painting and sculpture and also certain 'artistic crafts wherein the knowledge of the Fine Arts may be applied to advantage'. But as a matter of fact the valency was on 'artistic crafts' and the original intentions of fine arts teaching largely became redundant when the engagement with crafts prioritized the whole process of so called art education. This dominant vested interest gave the Madras School of Art and Craft a different trajectory for it had been developed as far as financial exigencies would allow as an industrial institute for practical instructions in drawing and various regional crafts. This aim was in conformity with the technical education policy where the native capital could be invested and eventually the school became a prime driving force in the encouragement of Indian craft and art industries[12]. Due to a consistent demand from the British public in the 1850's for Indian luxury crafts the early art educationists tried through western academic training to meet the needs of the overseas market of the colonizers. And the Madras School established by Hunter served this vested interest for promotion of Indian industrial arts as a 'semi commercial' enterprise. These motivated economic factors were crucial in the school developing a different curriculum i.e. mainly craft based. Part of the character is hence explanatory here.

The Curriculum

Hunter administered the art school in Madras (from 1850-1873) which remained craft oriented as late as the 1920's, closely linked as it was to local industries. Arguably its curriculum did not provide space especially for creative opportunities or personal development in individual expressions in its teaching program. These were the causal factors that prevented negotiations of artistic statements by the students within its pedagogy and in practice remained an institution for the manufacture of crafts items until the 1920's. The reasons for this are not far to seek. Hunter's organization of the curriculum into the 'Artistic branch' and 'Industrial section' became

major categories, which made the operation of the institution a commercial venture. Though stress was laid on the two departments – artistic and industrial, which should emphasize instructions rather than manufacture, it simultaneously considered mandatory to undertake orders for the industrial section. This objective manifested a shrewd business acumen on the part of the medical practitioner who combined 'profit and beauty' especially in the manufacture of domestic articles. The discreetness of Hunter's aesthetic sensibility in the final analysis was to project the domestic articles as not in keeping with the elevated taste and sensibilities of the colonizers and hence indirectly a device to make operational the curricula that would serve vested interest. This premeditated fixity or the art market nexus prevented the students' chances of art pedagogy towards the direction of individual creativity and freedom in expression and instead stereotyped him in the mould of a craftsman rather than an artist. Hence this kind of program blocked Southern artists chances of acquiring finer aspect of art education. Consequently through a greater period of colonial rule it was not considered fruitful to introduce 'fine art' into the curriculum until 1930.

The Artistic branch laid emphasis on drawing, modeling and painting. Drawing (a science and a Victorian favourite) consisted of free hand, geometric, perspective and memory related exercises. In the design class, (part of drawing) students copied south Indian motifs, for which the teachers studied local temples and derived their repertoire This approach led to a practice, whereby the decorative motifs sourced from historical architectural monuments were rendered in line drawing. **[Fig. 6]** The end motive was to extend their use with their application to any surface or material as the demand arose. This inevitably created a situation leading to the isolation of these ornamental designs from their original context to be arbitrated at will. Eventually these ornamental motifs and designs were collated as a series of 'pattern books' to be used as manuals for referencing the 'Indian' designs. This served as a storehouse of information and became the templates that manufactured public taste. **[Fig. 7]**

Several sketches of Hunter's pen and ink landscapes that still survive in the art school's museum were perhaps used as models from which students would learn drawing. The whole process of composing a picture was mechanized with prescriptive colours and figures providing guidelines for their applicability and location. Yet modeling in the round, an essential feature of European convention of naturalism was encouraged as 'essential' for the successful working out of design in applied work, especially valuable to those who will be skilled workmen and designers.

Because naturalist drawing was deemed essential for decoration [a Victorian predilection] the art department offered courses for artisans as well as for draftsmen.

In the Industrial Section emphasis was laid on various regional crafts, with instructions in lithography, woodwork, jewellery, cabinet making, metalworking, engraving, enameling, lacquering and pottery[13]. **[Fig. 8]** Sons of artisans enrolled in numbers, since no qualification was required beyond the ability to follow instructions. The pottery department taught English manufactory methods and two books written and illustrated by Hunter at this time on Indian Pottery and customs marks his predilection in this venture.

Workshops produced tiles, bricks, terracotta ornaments, making them the chief suppliers to local industries and government. It was Madras school that entertained commissions for the supply of design to indigenous craftsmen for orders of craft artifacts to the industrial art exhibitions of the empire. The Madras School with its inherent craft oriented design curriculum became a target for craft production when compared to the schools in the presidencies of Bombay and Calcutta. Imperial art education policies therefore determined the separate patterns of development of the four main schools. Madras and Lahore[14] came to consolidate their identity as forums for the revival and improvement of indigenous art industries with special emphasis on training in the applied and decorative arts. Colonel Hendley of the Jaipur Art School reinforced this idea by expressing assertively that the schools not only served its useful purpose but what was crucial was they shielded artisans from modern ideas. Hence in the benevolent guise of imparting art education to the natives, the imperialists with their hegemonic agenda were rapidly pushing towards strengthening the capitalist society. Also by keeping them at the level of artisans and not enlightening them on the scientific developments in the art arena was perhaps one crucial factor here in the South where the educated middleclass remained out of the art development. This middle class was a force to reckon with forming the so-called 'educated tribe' that appropriated meaty position in the colonial administration especially in law and civil services.

Craft over Art

While surveying the potential of the art schools all over the country, Hunter eulogized 'Indian aptitude for acquiring art, [was] quiet equal to that of students in Europe'. For all intent and purpose the training that was imparted was purely technical, craft based and employment oriented. What became increasingly important was less the revival of the hereditary craftsmen

(original intent) and more the training of a new stratum of skilled, semi clerical professionals, who could be easily absorbed in the expanding British services[15]. Hunter in talking of the inherent Indian 'aptitude for acquiring art' was concerned mainly with the Indians skill as copyist: the most lucrative capital for training and employment. The synonymity of art with the 'industrial' or 'applied art' became firmly established in the realm of British policies in India. And the prime motive of the school of art in Madras was to provide vocational training to those who lacked the opportunity or scientific education.

After Hunter's retirement in 1873, the next superintendent Robert Chisholm did not deem fit to continue the school and advised that it be converted into a drawing academy. The turning point came with E.B. Havell, the British art teacher appointed from England and who arrived in India in 1884 to take charge as the Superintendent of the Madras school of arts. On joining he saw through the inconsistencies of the art school from a logical but unfortunate official policy. Indian art was treated as inferior while Indian design was widely used in workshops. This created an ambiguity and confusion for the teachers. The student would learn to appreciate Indian design and apply this insight in his work. But when he needed instructions in the 'true' principles of drawing he would turn to the west. For, drawing classes relied exclusively on antique plaster casts and copies of European art. It is this 'schizophrenia' that Partha Mitter postulates in the art education program mobilized by the colonizers. Although individual teachers were prepared to use Indian art in teaching, the basic problem was that its appreciation remained in limbo.

As Havell prepared to take over the reigns, his predecessors at the school cautioned him that he would find Madras an artistic desert. But this proved otherwise. However after the great famine of 1877 in the South, Madras Presidency lost its strategic commercial position. Hence from this early period of British connection, Madras was considered to be an administrative and cultural backwater far removed from the headquarters of East India Company in Bengal and later from the Government of India at Calcutta (and afterwards at Delhi). This marginalisation did not immunize Madras to the effects of British or educational enterprises. But the cultural 'renaissance' in Madras occurred late and in many ways, different from that which occurred in Bengal[16]. These effects had its bearing on the economic climate and Madras appeared extremely rural in appearance.

At this juncture in the 1880's when Havell took charge the students entering the portals of the school were from rural background and of artisan class. The distribution of pupils according to

economic/social condition placed a third of them under the poorer classes having an income less than Rs. 200/- per year. This was a significant marker that the school was patronized by economically backward classes with a view of securing a living by practicing the arts now taught[17]. In the same report lamenting on the situation was the non- presence of Brahmins and Vaisyas on the rolls. "The absence of Brahmins who are pressing into other professional and technical institutions is worthy of note. As soon as the Brahmins are assured, from experience that 'decorative art' promises a good modus vivendi, they too will claim admittance – a consummation much to be wished"[18]. The Brahmins and the rich had no predilection for art as they coveted beefy post in the administration that required quality education in English and certain competence for the job. Those who failed to enter such services joined the school as a last resort or those who had no means of acquiring English education came to the school. Consequently the standard of general education was very low.

As most of the students came to the school seeking instructions in various crafts of the Industrial section the attendance in the Artistic section was never large. Havell thus concluded that 'there is no demand in Madras for a serious study of 'fine arts'. It is to be hoped, however that this may in course of time be created'[19]. He decided therefore to reorganize the course of instruction, placing emphasis on handicrafts. The reason for change he gave as follows:

"I have endeavored to recognize the necessity that the work of students should tend towards a means of livelihood for them in the future. If pictorial art needs encouragement...the aid given should at least stimulate a higher development...It would moreover be a calamity to art and to the country that the...handicraftsmen should be taught to look upon their several occupations with contempt. A sound and true development of art can only proceed by teaching the handicraftsmen of the country to look to their own occupations for exercise of their skill or genius, and by convincing them that canvas, brushes and pigments are not absolutely essential for the expression of their higher aspirations[20].

One of the striking features hence of Havell's scheme of reform was its lack of interest in the development of 'fine arts'. This outlines the distinctly separate layer of his ideas as an art teacher in India. Even though in theory Havell wanted to remove all false distinctions between 'decorative' and 'fine arts' in his teaching, his scheme of reform was constantly torn between these existing polarities. To Havell in the 1880s, the importance of the artist lay primarily in the sphere of design and craftsmanship essentialising the identity of the Indian artist as a craftsman,

and privileged crafts over art wherein also rested the main responsibilities of the British government in India.

Havell's taking over the charge in Madras resulted therefore in strengthening the craft section. As he said 'I had no difficulty in finding within a short time exceedingly fine Madras craftsmen to place them in three departments of craft teaching. One was a skilled woodcarver from Ramnad, another a temple metal worker – sthapathi from Kumbhakonam, and the third a goldsmith from the Vizagapatnam district. All three were not only fine craftsmen and designers...but they were excellent teachers knowing their shilpa shastras, and artists who were perfectly well able to adapt their designs to any new idea I suggested to them'[21]. Havell was equally responsible for espousing the cause of handloom weaving. The revival of Indian Handicrafts, particularly the championship of handloom weaving against the mechanical textile industry, became for him, a crucial ideological issue that set him at variance with the general thrust of the official policy. With handloom weaving what Havell had in mind was not merely the diffusion of the mechanical innovation of the fly shuttle, but also setting up of independent weavers cooperatives that would provide interest free credit to weavers to establish their economic independence, as an essential prerequisite to the mechanization and maximization of production[22]. This move generated greater production viability for the weavers settled in the George Town (Black Town) area by the British outside the Fort St. George built in 1640. Since the textiles of the Coromondal was most sought by European traders, this area became the stronghold of the weavers, dyers, bleachers and other artisans who were brought in from Southern districts of to-day's Andhra Pradesh.

Havell when he resigned in 1894 to take over the administrative headship of the Calcutta School of Art indicated with some regret that it was thought desirable to convert the Madras School 'into a manufactory for aluminum cooking pots' and Indian art again became invisible to colonial official eyes. The school however continued on much the same lines under E. Holder the successor of Havell who was a member of the staff.

Moribund State of the School: Repercussions of Colonial Tutelage

A silent revolution was taking place in art education during the colonial period at the end of the Nineteenth century. The new elite artists in Bombay and Calcutta had been quickly replacing artisan painters for sometime. This was the resultant effect of the wider process of westernization, where English language had become a tool of power, domination and elitist

identity. Because of its inherently structured curriculum Madras was not in a position to produce 'artists' as it happened in other presidencies. It attracted artisans only on the basis of their ability to follow instructions. Moreover the school was patronized by Sudras (78 in number); native Christians and Mohammedans representation was minimal (4 in number). Europeans and East Indians were in a larger strength (55) while the Brahmin and Vaisyas were not represented at all.[23]. In 1887 there were four Brahmins on the rolls.

Ironically caste was significant because of the colonial role and rule. Caste became a single term capable of expressing, organizing and above all systematizing India's diverse forms of social identity. It became a core feature of colonial power/knowledge. Caste was understood as the quintessential form of civil society, to have resisted the basic premises of individualism. In Madras the relation of knowledge and power, and the ways in which cultural hegemony was produced is best illustrated in the Aryan-Dravidian racial theory. Robert Caldwell developed a complex sociology of religion in Southern India and contributed to the establishment of a distinctive Tamil culture by challenging the cultural hegemony of the Brahmans. This was the first 'valorization' of the Dravidian race against the Aryans[24]. This imperial redefinition and construction of caste systems partly explains the small numbers of Brahmins within the art institution and the lament on the part of the administrators.

In Calcutta on the other hand the secularized education resulted in breaking the caste regulation of artisans and the Brahmin elite were in the artistic profession and fruitfully catering to the imperialists demands in churning out works that suited their interests at home and in India; while in Madras it was only hoped 'that with the growing demand for technically qualified men for art and industrial schools, a large number of Brahmin youths will adopt an art or industrial career... a career ere long should prove as remunerative as the ordinary run of literary callings, and much more conducive to independence of character and happiness'[25]. Whether be it a lament or a political move creating this lacuna, the grounding notion of the school from its establishment had one dominating motive and that was to be a craft manufactory. This attitude in the long run became a noose for its administrators as it failed to attract students from the so-called 'brahman class'. Ethnography hence became the primary colonial modality of representation linking politics and epistemology. Very little could be done to raise the school out of its morass. But was it a morass is a crucial question? It had essentialised the identity of the school as a crafts producer, reinforcing this further were the variegated social and economic factors and strongest of it all its geographical distance from the seat of administration.

The limiting social and economic factors were proved by a tour undertaken by Havell at the instance of the Director of Revenue and Agriculture to study the economic conditions of the various indigenous industries. The report of this survey clearly indicated a decline and industries dying out. The reasons cited were the cheap foreign textiles flooding the market, and other industrially manufactured goods of doubtful standards that were imported into the country and pushing out the native crafts[26]. Hence the artisans out of pecuniary contingency began to flock at the school attracted as they were by the stipend that it also provided.

Identity Crisis - Artisans VS Artist

The parameters to judge the success of art schools would be the graduates churned out by them and entering the mainstream artistic profession. The capacity to secure lucrative commissions made many of the Bombay and Calcutta School graduates to identify themselves as respectable elite artists. Adjunct to this, in the two presidencies the priority of English education among the intelligentsia opened up avenues for further gains. Madras hardly produced any 'artists' on account of the industrial bias of the school and remained relegated to their artisan status. This was self-explanatory when in 1905 a committee recommended the name of the school be changed to the Madras School of Arts and Crafts [27] from Madras School of Arts. To further reinforce its different trajectory the reorganization of the School was ordered. And in 1907 a retrogressive decision turned the school into one of 'applied art' with the Artistic Section coming under the axe in 1910. This idea was confirmed by the government decision to bring it under the purview of the Industries department. "Though many of ability had a hand in the conduct of the school at different times, the idea of an 'art' school as opposed to an industrial school was never very strong"[28]. This engendered in a premier presidency a lack of 'fine art' education that eventually became a crucial and a debatable issue.

The Englishmen who headed art schools were efficient administrators but not always artists and teachers with a clear vision. The formulation of curricula and method of instructions were entirely left to the mercy of their idiosyncrasies There is no attempt to learn from experience, to evolve methods with a defined end in view as it happened in Europe. There was no constant reviewing of the situation and introducing inevitable changes and modifications after periodical assessment in terms of pedagogical and aesthetic principles.[29]

The authoritarian mindset of the last Englishman W.S. Hadaway [1910 -1929] is implicit in a reply to the director of the Revenue Department where he stated that; "in the matter of school for teaching artistic work, no good can come of a school of 'design' or drawing merely. Unless art is directly applicable to some definite craft, teaching 'art for its own sake' is much on the same level as teaching the making of wheels without any regard for their use afterwards"[30]. Underwritten here is the commercial exploitation of the natives for the market viability at the domestic front. And this became the paradigm to evaluate the quality of the graduates as they emerged from this art institution. There were no artists only craftsmen. The perception and modes of representation essentialised the identity of craftsmen who will henceforth find no opportunities in the mainstream art. And till the beginning of the twentieth century the city of Madras never figured on the artistic map of the nation. Ironically at this time when the Swaraj movement was gaining momentum in North India and the initiative of Bengal is laudable in this direction where art was in the service of visualizing the nation; Madras was sinking into a commercial morass in its art education with a loss of identity that was neither of an 'artist' or an 'artisan' but of a commercial employee.

D.P. Roy Chowdhary and the Curriculum Reform - From Craft to Art

The last Englishman to administer the college as mentioned earlier was W.S. Hadaway. Under his jurisdiction/tenure the artistic section was done away with. Inscribed within this restructuring of school's curriculum lay the seeds of its furthur decline and development. Since only the 'artistic craft section' remained, the position of fine art education in the Madras Presidency remained in limbo. This is reinforced by the report of the Reorganizing committee of 1923 admitting that the Madras School of arts is concerned mainly with the education of artisans. Apparantly what was suggested by the committee was the teaching of such crafts that requires an artistic knowledge and which are better known as art-crafts or artistic industries, such as engraving, Jewellery etc. The axing of the Artistic Section reflects according to an observation by an Acting Superintendent "to suit his [Hadaway's] own way of development of this School, his intentions had been from the beginning 'to convert the School into a mere workshop to suit his own qualifications"[31]. Not surprising then that the members of the Budget Council of 1928 had condemned the institution as an "industrial workshop" "manufacturing articles for "sale" to government servants.

The glaring lacunae in fine arts teaching was noticed by the educationists and administrators who pleaded for its reintroduction with subjects of drawing, painting, design, modeling and sculpture.

A Reorganizing Committee was instituted in 1922 to look into the pedagogical issues. Although the School had only the 'artistic craft section' its claim was that it nevertheless was fulfilling the object of teaching the application of art to industries that are capable of artistic treatment. The teaching of the subjects that included composing landscapes, perspective, statue making, human anatomy and geometry continued in so far as it gave the students a general exposure to enhance their skills and designs in artistic craft industries.

The strong plea for the [re] introduction of the fine arts section was debated on the grounds that a premier city like Madras had successfully run the artistic section for the past 75 years "to acquaint Indian artists with European art in the hope that by so doing their own art might be improved and developed to a greater extent than it would by keeping on in the old traditional lines"[32]. The prospectus of the school laments that ' it suffered much from having no artists permanently at the head and it was in charge of doctors, architects or engineers from time to time'. This was an important pointer for future appointments. Hadaway's retirement was imminent and the search for a new head was on. D.P. Roy Chowdhary **[Fig. 9]** the Bengali artist and student of Abanindranath Tagore who applied for this post stated his case explicitly in his application for the appointment of the Superintendent. He described himself as having obtained training in sculpture, painting, commercial art, architectural design and designs for ornaments, furniture and pottery. He had also served for three years as teacher in the life class at the Indian Society of Oriental Art [a group launched by Abanindranath Tagore for his movement in art].

The first Indian Superintendent after Hadaway's retirement in November 1929 was Rao Bahadur N.R. Balakrishan Mudaliar. His retirement in May 1930 brought Chowdhary on the scene and he was made the first Indian artist principal. His application had the support and encouragement of important people like Stella Kramrisch, O.C. Ganguly, Percy Brown and S. Ramaswamy

Mudaliar [an important art collector]. Further viscount Goshen was the governor of Madras and the viscountess was interested in increasing the emphasis on the fine art section of the school. Chowdhary faced stiff competition from local artists and elaborate lobbying seems to have taken place. In June 1930 D.P. Roy Chowdhary was appointed as the principal of the Madras School of Arts and Crafts[33].

His headship negotiated the position of the school with healthy implication towards Fine Arts Section, the reintroduction of which was ordered on 21st December 1927. His far sightedness in

reorganizing the fine arts curriculum positively affected the early training of number of artists who studied there. D.P. Roy Chowdhary had proposed teaching of western and Oriental art in two separate sections. This proposal however was not considered. In the redesigned curriculum he did away with the conventional methods of learning perspective from the prism and the copying of antique sculptures and old paintings. His insistence on encountering direct experiences lead to empirical studies with firm and studied applications of the renaissance apparatuses of life drawing, chiaroscuro, foreshortening, anatomy and perspectives. A sound knowledge of their applications was crucial and considered as prerequisite for potential artists. The curriculum also invested in varied methods and media like water- color, oil, pastel, gouache etc. He espoused the water- color technique of the Bengal School with its lyrical themes and poetic rendering of figures. He combined this with the monochrome wash techniques of the Orientalist Chinese and Japanese art that eventually became the hallmark of his tenure.**[Fig. 10, 11, 12]** The exposure of students to these diverse techniques engendered for them a possibility of channalizing their creative expressions. Hence according to their interest and predilection, they could indulge in rendering diverse and varied themes ranging from landscapes to seascapes, portraits, historical and mythological representations, city life etc. While productively privileging his innovative ideas he sought also to raise the stature of the School by improvements in every sphere.

On the side of administration, Fine Arts course was regularized. It consisted of two classes one in painting and the other in modeling [sculpture] with a three- year course in each subject. What was admirable was the popularity gained by the Fine Art section that attracted students from other provinces and other parts of India. System of examination and promotion was introduced in 1932. In the following year [1933] the government accepted the proposal for the issue of diplomas to the students who completed their training and passed the examination. Thus 1934

became a landmark year in the career of the School when Diplomas were awarded to candidates who successfully completed their course[34]. By 1935 the School had vested sufficient confidence in the social life of its natives to feel a sense of security about fine arts education with enhanced 'cultural and social values'[35]. An increased strength reflected the popularity of art education and by 1940 students from outside the state were charged a higher fee. Chowdhary opened up the institution both in terms of its curriculum and structure that made a powerful impact on the administrators, to the extent that any constructive suggestion from him was always considered favourably.

An inherent aspect of fine arts education is exhibitions[36] that showcases artistic talents and in a capitalistic society to enhance the market value of the producer and its product. And Chowdhary initiated this process with far reaching implications as evidenced from a leading daily The Hindu. In December 1931, this newspaper opined that the exhibition was an eloquent testimony to the influence of the new principal (as quoted in the Modern Review). D.P. Roy Chowdhary made his impress and was lauded for 'marking a new departure in the aesthetic activities of the Presidency'

Chowdhary during his tenure had worked untiringly to upgrade the School to a College, a proposition that did not materialize until after his retirement. In 1946 there was a proposal that sanctioned the reorganization of the courses and to employ qualified teachers on the staff[37]. Subsequently further recommendations on the restructuring of the courses led to an introduction of the three year Integrated Certificate Course in Fine and Applied arts that was approved by the government for implementation[38]. The restructuring necessitated an upgradation and a higher status for the institution and hence the change of name to Government College of Arts and Crafts that became effective from the academic year 1963-64. By then D.P. Roy Chowdhary had retired [1957] remaining the head of an art institution for almost thirty years – the longest tenure for any principal in India. An abstract of the letter details the necessary shift. It reads as follows:

"Considerable changes have taken place since the inception of the school both within India and outside in the nature and content of education in arts and crafts. With an increasing awareness of the place of arts and crafts in the cultural life of the country and consequent measures taken under the five year plans for the revival and promotion of Indian arts and crafts, the schools of Arts and Crafts are called upon to play an increasing role in providing the leadership and guidance in this movement. The question of suitably reorganizing the school of arts and crafts Madras was therefore under the consideration of Director of Industries and Commerce. The Directorate accordingly submitted to government in September 1960 a scheme for suitably expanding and upgrading it to a college. The object of the scheme...to provide advanced training in the arts and crafts suited to the genius of the people of this part of the country. New courses like carving and sculpture in wood, metal and stone, which were the basic art crafts of south India and an advanced course in designing and handicrafts were proposed to be introduced."[39]

The pedagogical implication of the up-gradation brought the teaching of art history into the academic curriculum and a demand for qualified teachers. These were the immediate

contingencies. Moreover it was suggested by many authorities in Delhi especially the Central Lalit Kala that it would be in the interest of the institution to be upgraded to College manifesting a status equivalent in higher education. The move was also prompted by a change of identity of the art schools in Delhi, Bombay and Calcutta to 'College'. These changes were predicted in the larger interest of the students defining their role at the regional and consequently at the national level. **[Fig. 13, 14, 15]**

D.P. Roy Chowdhary – The Persona

In the Madras artistic arena D.P. Roy howdhary is a household name. Revered by his students many of whom joined the faculty and some who came from afar as Bihar and Bengal drawn as they were by his charismatic personality. His student list boasts eminent painters and today who's who in the topography of the Indian art world. These were S.Dhanapal, Kalasagaram, K.C.S. Paniker, Kothandaraman, Sreenivasulu, Ram Gopal, Sultan Ali, Janakiraman, Dasarath Patel, Gopal Ghose, Pradosh Das Gupta, Paritosh Sen and Sushil Mukherjee.

Although D.P. Roy Chowdhary was a student of Abanindranath Tagore, the leader of the Bengal revivalist school, his peers considered him a rebel. His bold experimentations in water- color, oil and mixed media attracted the attention of many western art critics of the 1930s. His proficiency in oil medium made him one of the finest portrait painters as well. Roy Chowdhary shifted his medium from painting to sculpture, which according to him afforded not only great power of expression but also in negotiating different materials like stone, clay and bronze to suit his sensibilities. His students and art critics have given differing perceptions of his works. Says Sushil Mukherjee, "His best portrait sculptures...can be compared favorably with the works of August Rodin and Jacob Epstein to both of whom he owed a lot of his sculptural inspiration"[40].

According to R. Nandakumar, "Despite him adopting a Rodinesque style reduced to textural mannerisms, his sculptural idiom had affinities more with neoclassicism in its heroic affectations and rhetorical grossness. For the artist that he was his art was not the expression of deeply sustained convictions or well thought out concepts"[41].

As a teacher D.P. Roy Chowdhary effectively guided the hands of his students and inspired their minds. He described his mode of teaching "I can perhaps teach the skill needed to draw and paint but no one can be taught to be an artist. The perception and sensibility needed to be an artist are inherent in a person. I do not think they can be taught or acquired". This was a mode of thinking

and perception based largely on the Nineteenth century romantic notion of a 'genius', but within the modern paradigm his approach and conceptualization in art expression was that of a modern romantic.

With an erudite mindset, a magnetic personality and a penetrating aesthetic sensibility, D.P. Roy Chowdhary reformed the school that stopped being an institution for future drawing teachers and a manufactory of exotic craft products and turned it into a school for creative artists. His vision was nurtured in fine arts projected through his background of the Calcutta School of Art. This school had consolidated its position towards engendering a new notion of art as a 'respectable' vocation and career – a notion, which encompassed both an elevated sense of 'high art' and practical considerations of livelihood. This duality had conditioned the aspirations in art of the Bengali middleclass, who were the main draw of the school. His nonconformist attitude nurtured the creativity of the students, as he allowed immense freedom in their artistic exploration.

Despite the fact that D.P. Roy Chowdhary contributed substantially to bring the school out from a quagmire of craft to a respectable status of fine arts he remains under criticism for looking only towards the west for his aesthetic repertoire. His Bengali background may explain this where the revivalism was rife in Indian art in the wake of the Swadeshi movement. He brought with him the spirit of reaction formulated by the artists' community of Bengal to which he had belonged. This spirit was romantic in its notion of art as truth of mystical realization, an idea perhaps arising out of an idealized understanding of Indian art. This ideology served to construct the key notion that art is a means of expression and it has to be true to that expressiveness. By privileging this romantic notion he was subscribing to the Romantic myth of a solitary genius and hence not very congenial for institutional growth.

This Nineteenth century Romantic modernist idea had bearing on the sensibility of the artists who were influenced by his works. His robust temperament had rejected the sentimental lyricism, poetic romanticism and elegance of Aabanindranath Tagore for a western idiom that was predominantly English in its outlook influenced as he was by the works of Constable and Turner the eminent Romantic landscapist. He carried forth the baggage of revolution and rebellion against the colonial art form lightening that burden unfortunately on a fallow field. Eschewing any creative exploration in his adopted field of sculpture [having changed from painting to sculpture] his style had become mannered and stereotyped to a Rodinesque parody that initially had inspired him and remained with him till the end. **[Fig. 16]**

As a sculptor, D.P. Roy Chowdhary had settled into a definite mould with steady commissions coming his way. Consequently experimentation within his field of study had become negligible and this was reflected in the students who were neither encouraged nor inspired to project innovative nor provocative artistic formulations. And with an aristocratic bearing and life style Roy Chowdhary consciously alienated himself from the milieu of the institution. This attitude inspired and evoked reverence and awe of his artistic persona resulting in the students who only 'looked up' to him but never questioned him. The ambience of the school thus disallowed projecting new vision or charting trajectories that could be described as radical or experimental. The majority of the students belonged to the artesian families or came from rural areas where the facility of education at the primary and secondary school levels were minimal and they had joined the school as a last resort. This trend to a limited extent manifested in the post-independent era too. Studiousness, reverence and awe from the students were a hallmark of his regime. And these qualities of emotions could have never dared any student to raise a voice in protest. Faculty and students remained subservient to D.P. Roy Chowdhary for he had wrought an obvious change of making the school a recognized creative institution. Deflecting a mindset from servitude to individuation in personal creativity had in itself become a radical departure. An environment of congeniality accompanied by a hero worship, the soil was not rich yet to sow the seeds for any dramatic upheavals although the tract was laid for future art movement.

Having brought the spirit of rebellion down South, evolved particularly in his sculptures, D.P. Roy Chowdhary's art can be categorized as elitist and not rustic as was the trend at Shantiniketan where the art movement came to draw sustenance from the earthy lineage of folk art and indigenous cultural traditions. His elitism in art was to reinvent portraiture in its realism and valorize subject matter as labor. In his persona it was his aristocratic lineage of landed gentry reinforcing his subjectivity of aloofness and a consciousness of authorial power and influence. Despite all this he nevertheless seemed to have sown the seeds for a future development of the individualistic Madras Art Movement on the sprawling campus on Poonamalee, with his modern romantic/westernizing agenda.

In the persona of K.C.S. Paniker **[Fig. 17]** who became the principal after Roy Chowdhary's retirement, the School of Art entered into its 'modern' phase. It was Paniker's pedagogical approach towards the study of nineteenth and twentieth century European stylistic movement that engendered for the students' exploratory and innovative methods. As a student he was highly

individualistic, original in his thinking, bold in his approach to artistic creation and very verbose, (who dared to question and argue with Chowdhary). Paniker was to traverse a different path concerning modern European movements in art distinct from Western Romantic art trends prevalent in Nineteenth century Britain. In moving away from the Westernizing agenda dictated by D.P. Roy Chowdhary he initiated a new trend within the creative circuit of the metro's art scene. His travels abroad and the consequences of his exposure led to an introspection of turning to indigenous and regional resources as a point of reference in his art. What is manifestly important is that Paniker when he took over the mantle from D.P. Roy Chowdhary chartered a trajectory that was to have implications in the growth and development of the art movement in Madras.

The Madras Art Movement and Crucial Role of the Government College of Arts and Crafts

The Madras School was contained and represented by the colonially dominated pedagogy implicit in its cultural and political framework from its inception. The civilizing mission and modernizing imperatives were inscribed in the educational policy of hegemonic imperialism. In analyzing the historical and storied growth of the school, what I wish to point out is that for various social, political, economic and cultural reasons the presidency from its colonial inception to a metropolis in the post independent era was not at the forefront to take advantage of developments within the country. A prime reason pointed out by colonial administrators in the civil service was its language that was very different from the Hindustani family of languages spoken in North India. In the South the Dravidian languages spoken were mainly Tamil and Telegu that proved difficult

for those coming from beyond the Vindyas. Reinforcing this linguistic problem was the vested interest of the colonial regime wherein the artisans having lost their livelihood of earning through their indigenous crafts were primarily dependent upon the colonizers for their patronage. This afforded a situation in which the local natives could be exploited in the guise of offering lucrative monetary prospects through production of premeditated craft objects and articles for commercial venture. This as analyzed earlier resulted in the artisans mainly joining the school with prospects of absorption into non-administrative machinery of the empire as drawing masters, draftsmen or as producers of craft artifacts dictated to them by their employers. This latter factor was dominant in the school taking shape in the presidency and consequently acquiring a different character. It hardly saw any impact of the 'humanizing culture of fine arts" as proclaimed by its founding father Hunter. The avowed intentions to 'acquaint Indian artists with European art so

that they may go beyond their old traditional ones' was an imposition to improve the skills and craftsmanship of the artisans who came purely for employment opportunities to the presidency.

Inscribed within the apparatus of colonial art education in the Madras Presidency were the vested motives as mentioned above. The institutions in the presidencies of Bombay and Calcutta had as their objectives the teaching of fine arts, the decorative arts, and instruction in drawing as well as training drawing teachers. A clearly marked agenda sent out signals for its [art schools] patronization, that is, enrollment in the institution by elite and the middle class. The agenda for the Madras art School, nevertheless was designed along different lines and hence could not function productively because of the vested commercial interests of its administrators on the one hand and on the other it never rose beyond its artistic craft level predominantly because of the curriculum that proffered no opportunities in fine arts or the decorative arts as it was in other presidencies. Moreover the Brahmins who were the elite in this presidency with their academic intellectualization and their sanskritic pedigree condescendingly looked to the institution and rarely patronized it. And this was the lament that no concrete steps were initiated to bring them [Brahmins] within its fold. But the critical factor of craft orientated pedagogy categorized the art institution in Madras including the crucial role played by the administrative heads of the school that had vested interest in it. The administrators were either doctors or civil servants or engineers or from Indian Educational Service cadre like W.S. Hadaway who ruled with impetuosity and scripted its moribund state when he axed the artistic section that gave a general exposure to the students in fine arts.

It was D.P. Roy Chowdhary who after taking over the official administrative reigns in 1930 not only revived the school in the definition of its fine arts curriculum but with his pragmatic vision wrought radical changes concerning the social and intellectual status of the artists and enhanced the sensitivity to people and environment in the changed curriculum. By this process he had laid the foundation for the growth of the contemporary art movement. His magnetic persona and erudite mindset made a deep impress upon his students, who later, joining the institution as teachers carried forth, his Westernizing agenda. By this I specifically stress Romantic Modernism and not 'modern' because D.P. Roy Chowdhary did not attach much value to the modernistic formulas of Europe preferring as he did works of English landscapists like Turner, Constable and others. It was imperative then that Euro-American centric modernist formulae made a late entry into Madras.

After D.P. Roy Chowdhary's retirement [1957], K.C.S. Paniker held forth the center stage with a charisma that was to have far reaching implications. Unlike him, Paniker was an artist with an integral outlook and coherence of artistic ideas who kept himself abreast of the movements not only on the national but also the international scene. He expressed his views through his writings on different aspects of contemporary Indian art. Paniker's role in describing himself as an initiator of the Madras Art Movement was made from the portals of the institution because he was the principal and had the necessary infrastructure and power as the head of an art institution vested in him to bring about dramatic and radical changes if need be.

He was aided in this process by his colleagues especially the sculptor S. Dhanapal and others within the institution, which in conjunction with his artistic ideologies and a regional perspective engendered an agenda to facilitate and allow for a development of a new regional modern art movement from the locus of the institution. Paniker hence vested with power and authority aided and supported by the infrastructure could empower his students with a vision that would chart new trajectory leading to exploration in the artistic arena by pushing his notions, perceptions, concepts, and philosophy foregrounded within the regional culture. Moreover it is the institutional matrix of the art school that enabled Paniker and Dhanapal to offer challenges and make changes since the ambit and the ambience allowed nurturing, growth and the essential development.

Comparatively neither in Bombay nor in Calcutta did the institutional matrix serve this notion of enabling a contemporary art movement to take shape though both the presidencies had the colonially established art schools. But the modern movements were not nurtured or developed there. It was Shantiniketan that realized the growth and development of the modern art movement in Calcutta. While in Bombay a group of radical artists with support from émigré artists, media and collectors were on a mission to break from the literary, sentimental, narrative and nationalistic mode of development in art. They wanted to move towards modernity that would inscribe their persona. They consciously adopted the stylistic trends of Post-Impressionism, German Expressionism and Cubism to deliberately serve them and it became their defining manifesto. It is these ideologues that precipitated the establishment of the Progressive Artists Association And these factors clearly imply that the art institution did not and need not serve as a locus for development. But in the South the conservative and orthodox mindset of the people would have disallowed such matters in art to precipitate rather it would have compounded the difficulties in the establishment of a modern art movement. In this respect

the hallowed aura and the arena of the art institution was the only locus that crucially made acceptable its development. Many senior artists are in agreement with this idea and have reinforced it vehementaly. Another dominant factor that crucially allowed for such a development was manifest in the psyche of the South Indian enabling a following wherein Paniker with his charismatic and authoritative persona had a large group within the institution that made possible the realization and setting into momentum of the regional modern art development[42]. However it should be reiterated that this move of Paniker did engender polemics and tensions for there were many artists who were not in favour of his persuasive move towards regionalism and indiginesm.

Paniker's productive performance was augmented by the formation of the Central Lalit Kala Akademi in 1954 and the Akademies at the state level that had become operational by late 1950's. These state and central academies became important conduits for showcasing talents with their features of regular exhibitions and by 1968 the first triennale was on. Cultural contacts with the west was made possible by way of travels and studies abroad, either sponsored by the state or through the promotional schemes of other cultural agencies. The national scene in other words was alive with art activities. According to K.K. Hebbar, "As a friend Paniker was selective and egoistic and as a colleague I often found him parochial. But this very parochial attitude helped to cross the narrow boundaries and resulted in the emergence of a band of South Indian

painters with a definite outlook towards contemporary Indian art."[43]. In this context Paniker whose individual status and the vicissitudes of career were closely linked to the ongoing changes and movements on the national art scene made it possible to highlight the Madras School in the mainstream of the national art.

Notes on the Chapter

[1] Partha Chaterjee [ed.] Texts of Power: Emerging Discipline in Colonial Bengal, [Calcutta. Samya Press, 1996]

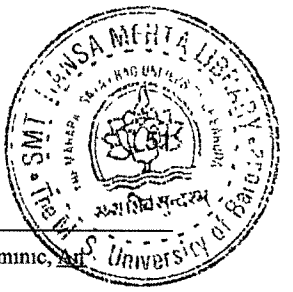
[2] John Mcleod, Beginning Postcolonialism, [Manchester Manchester University Press, 2000] 7

[3] The 'Self' of the colonizer was superiority, strength, knowledge and learning while the 'other' in a subservient position [subaltern] was ignorant and naive from Edward Said, Orientalism, [1977], 3

[4] Homi K.Bhabha, Location of Culture, [London Routledge, 1994] 70

[5] Ibid 70.

[6] These institutions include education, the mass media, popular culture etc The two major super structural levels categorized as 'civil' and 'political' societies corresponded to the function of hegemony that subordinated group, accept the ideas, values and leadership of the dominant group not because they are physically or mentally induced to do so,



nor because they are ideologically indoctrinated but because of their own reasons, from Srinata, Dominic, An Introduction to the Theory of Popular Culture, [1995], 166

[7]S Satthianadhan, History of Education in the Madras Presidency, [1894]

[8]The authors of the Grammar of Ornament, Dyce and Cole were well known as art educationists.

[9] Tapati Guha Thakurta, The Making of New Indian Art. Artists, Aesthetics and Nationalism in Bengal, [New York Cambridge University Press, 1992] 58

[10] S. Satthianadhan, History of Education in the Madras Presidency, [1894] 54.

[11] Report on Industrial Education, Part II, Proceedings of Conference, p 171, 1903

[12] C Balakrishnan, 'Progress of Technical Education in India', Unpublished P hd Thesis, [1993] 58.

[13] S. Baliga, Studies in Madras Administration, [1960], 38.

[14] Mayo School of Lahore objectified its instructions in the art of design with special reference to the artistic industries indigenous to Punjab and other areas in vicinity, as given in Madras School of Arts – Future of its development, part of Reforms, G O. No. 157 Development dtd. 28/1/1928, 5

[15] Tapati Guha Thakurta, The Making of New Indian Art: Artists, Aesthetics and Nationalism in Bengal, [New York Cambridge University Press, 1992] 58-59

[16] Eugene Irschick, F Politics and Social Conflict in South India: The Non-Brahmin Movement and Tamil Separatism, 1916-1929 [Bombay. Oxford University Press, 1969] ii

[17] R.P I. 1883-84, p.115

[18] Ibid 115.

[19] R P I., 1885-86, p 86

[20] Preminda Jacob, 'Contemporary Art in the South', Unpublished M A Dissertation, [1981] 30

[21] Anjali Sircar, Catalogue, Contemporary Museum of Madras School of Art, 1997

[22] Havell, 'The Revival of Indian Handicrafts', lecture 1901, published in Essays on Indian Art, Industry and Education,[Madras], 1910.

[23]R.P I. 1883-84, pg 115

[24] R. Champakalakshmi,, Cultural Technologies of Colonial Rule, Literary Review, The Hindu, November 3rd, 2002

[25] R P I 1886-87, pg 85

[26] Selections from the Records of the Madras Government, New Revenue Series, No VI, p. 9-19, 1888.

[27] Educational G O No 524, dtd 3/8/1905.

[28] Development Dept , G O No. 157, dtd 28/1/1928

[29] Ratan Parimoo, The Paintings of the Three Tagores: Abanindranath Tagore, Gaganendranath Tagore, Rabindranath Tagore,: Chronology and Comparative Study, [Baroda M S University Baroda, 1973] 36

[30] Revenue Dept , G O No 1421 dtd 20/5/1908.

[31] Development Dept , G O No 157, dtd 28/6/1928.

[32] Ibid.

[33] Development Dept , G O No 1143, 2/6/1930.

[34] Administration Report of the Department of Industries, pg. 61-63, 31/3/ 1932-33

[35] Administration Report of the Department of Industries pg 61-62, March, 1935

[36] An Art Exhibition in Madras, The Modern Review, pg 62, January 1932

[37] Industry, Labor and Corporation, G O , No , 3121, dtd 11/8/1958

[38] Industry, Labor and Corporation, G O , 3911, dtd 7/8/1963

[39] Industry, Labor and Corporation, G O , No., 5400, 16/11/63

[40] Sushil Mukherjee, 'Devi Prosad and his disciples at Madras School of Art', in India and World Arts and Crafts, [New Delhi April 1985]

[41] R Nandakumar, 'Painting and Sculpture in Modern Kerala A Historical overview' in Essays on the Cultural Formation of Kerala Literature, Art, Architecture, Music, Theatre and Cinema, ed P J Cherian, Kerala State Gazetteer, Vol IV, Part II, [Thiruvananthapuram Year not given] 198

[42] This following according to my reading of the cultural situation privileges a myth of creating 'icons' of popular persons be it a film star, a politician a singer or even an artists for that matter, in this case K C S Paniker

[43] K K Hebbar, 'Significant Contemporary Artist with unique contribution', Chithram Ezhutu 1977