

New Visual Technologies in the Bazaar Reterritorialisation of the Sacred in Popular Print Culture

KAJRI JAIN

...If one wants to create something which gives the eyes heavenly pleasure, then students must understand that for them there is no better teacher than nature... Nature is the supreme God...

(S.M. Pandit, mythological artist, inaugural speech for the 22nd Maharashtra State Arts Exhibition, 7 November 1981)¹



Naturalism, the 'Popular' and the Bazaar

In 1912, Bhavanishankar Atmaram Oza moved to Bombay from a village in Saurashtra and opened a chemist's shop on Princess Street. In 1922 he was joined in this venture by Vamanbhai Kapadia, who opened a branch of their dispensing chemists' firm in Calcutta; they later extended their operations to Dacca and Rangoon. Oza was one of the many Gujarati businessmen in Bombay who responded to Gandhi's call for Swadeshi, and was imprisoned several times. On one such occasion, in 1928, the Gandhian activist and doctor Jivraj Mehta (who went on to become Gujarat's first Chief Minister) suggested to Oza that he start manufacturing a product that would compete with a foreign brand. Oza rose to the challenge, pitting his own Babuline (pronounced Babu-leen) Gripe Water against Woodward's, the popular British brand of infant digestive.

This tale of entrepreneurship, nationalism and modern medicine is recounted at the beginning of the 'History' section of the Babuline Pharma web site (<http://babuline.com>). Its home page currently provides a choice of three links: one to B.A. & Bros. (Bombay) Pvt. Ltd., distributors of pharmaceutical and diagnostic products; the second to Indo-German Laboratories, producers of coloured tablet coatings (now a wholly owned subsidiary of Colorcon USA); and the third to Shri Nathalia Uneval Sevak Mandal, an educational trust located in Una, Junagadh, a philanthropic project funded by families from the region including the Ozas. The profile of the Oza family business that emerges from these links is consistent with that of others from the Lohana community to which Oza belonged: migrating from Saurashtra to Bombay, starting out in trade and then venturing into manufacture and

even multinational partnerships after the First World War, but without relinquishing their bazaar-style trading base, all the while actively participating in a community ethos and maintaining links with an ancestral place of 'origin'. These features, of keeping one foot in bazaar-style trade or speculation while venturing into modern manufacturing and of maintaining close ties with the community and 'giving back' to one's place of origin while also expanding geographically and forging new associations, also characterise family businesses emerging from other bazaar communities; a particularly well documented instance is that of the Marwaris.

The Swadeshi gesture of B.A. Oza and others like him constituted the nation as both market and locus of production, adding the mediating category of the nation-space to the bazaar's networks of commerce and community. If Raja Ravi Varma's prints actualised the spiritual-civilisational imaginary of late nineteenth-century nationalist thought, early twentieth-century Swadeshi deployed domestically produced commodities in general to posit economic autonomy as a basis for the claim to nationhood. Taking issue with Benedict Anderson's emphasis on the literary manifestations of 'print capitalism' in forging a sense of national identity, Satish Deshpande points out that in the Indian instance commodities as much as written texts came to be imbued with a nationalist charge, serving as 'mnemonics' of nationalist philosophy and the nation-space, and delineating the nation as an 'imagined economy' (Deshpande 1993). In positioning calendar art within the context of commercial culture in twentieth-century India, I build on the characterisation of mass produced commodities as vehicles for imagining and performing community and identity – not only national but also regional, linguistic, sectarian and caste or class based. In part I examine printed images themselves as commodities in the culture industry, but I also look at them in their capacity as part of the shiny skin, the *schein* (Adorno 1991, p. 53), of other commodities: as labels, packaging and advertisements, including calendars.

My attempt here is to work at the switching point between the 'textual' or representational register of the visual idioms deployed by commodity culture and the performative efficacy of mass-produced images in their animated and animating capacities as sacred and economic objects produced, circulated and used in the marketplace. I reexamine the role of naturalism in the discourse about Indian popular images, in the light of the bazaar as a context for image production and circulation positioned at the interface between a largely vernacular arena of trade, finance and entrepreneurship and colonial or Euro-American-style corporate cultures. I show how visual print capitalism worked through heterogeneous modes of signification, variously ranged (*contra* Anderson, as well as some of his critics) between the religious and the secular, to shore up a range of identity formations both supplementary to nationalism and forged in its image.

Scholars seeking to distinguish between 'Indian' and colonial or 'Western' image traditions have had an ongoing investment in the issue of naturalism. If Havell and Coomaraswamy condemned Ravi Varma's adoption of naturalism as inauthentic, more recent analyses have read the obdurate iconic frontality, temporal recursivity and indexicality of Indian images in terms of a 'popular' negotiation with colonial ideologies of space, time and signification. Particularly emblematic of the colonial episteme is perspectivalism's stilled or frozen frame, with its implied linear temporal continuum and unitary viewing position. As the

sign of a limit to colonial power the 'popular' resistance to naturalism shores up a subalternist postcolonial politics or, as a repository of 'tradition', is appropriated by the marketplace, but also holds out the hope of providing the aesthetic resources for a national cultural avant-garde. While these accounts differ significantly, particularly over the question of subaltern subversion, they are also marked by some shared terms, notably the category of the popular – though, again, with varying use. And they all – I think rightly – link the forms taken by the negotiation with naturalism to the ritual and devotional components of image traditions in India.²

How does this framework of the popular square with the characterisation of the bazaar as a vernacular network of production, consumption and circulation of images, mediating between elite and popular, colonial and native, urban and rural, formal and informal, bourgeois and feudal – a network whose presence and valency persist well after Independence? The bazaar can be seen as a realm of both subordination and semi-autonomy vis-à-vis the colonial state and then the post-Independence, English educated technocracy. But we also need to recognise that with the growth of the domestic market for locally produced consumer goods, including the products of the culture industries, it also developed as a realm of relative cultural hegemony vis-à-vis other vernacular constituencies. In this intermediate role, vernacular and non-bourgeois yet dominant, the bazaar problematises bipolar accounts which counterpose the Indian 'popular' to the 'colonial'/'Western' or 'capitalist', thereby causing these domains to coagulate into singular, fixed entities. The European post-Enlightenment ideologies informing colonialism, capitalism, nationalism – and indeed naturalism – are not necessarily consistent with the high degrees of fluidity that these phenomena have demonstrated in practice, both 'internally' and at their interface with heterogeneous moral, political and aesthetic systems.

Calendar art and other forms of commercial imagery circulating in the bazaar outline a dialectic between the expansive, deterritorialising aspect of capitalist mass production, with its implications of social linkage and mobility, and that aspect which feeds – and is fed by – the reterritorialising, stratifying logic of social power. The deployment of new image-making techniques, including technological mass reproduction and elements of 'Western' naturalism, was in fact integral to the success of mass manufactured images in bringing expanded sets of social constituencies into arenas of common address – that is, in 'naturalising' an expanded, heterogeneous category of the popular. These 'cultural' linkages had a certain strategic efficacy in providing shared or hegemonic ideological resources, notably for anticolonial nationalism and then for the resurgent Hindu nationalism of the late twentieth century. Here I want to delineate two sites where this performative work of reconfiguration has been particularly in evidence: the iconic body in and of the image, and the figure of territory in and around images.

Trading in Images (or, Consumption and its Consequences)

The Swadeshi culture of domestic manufactures emanating from the bazaar, such as Babuline Gripe Water, did not do away with the concurrent formulation of consumer identity by Euro-American companies such as Woodward's. In 1932, around the time B.A. Oza started producing Babuline, Woodward's published a calendar advertising its gripe water, prin-



Fig: 1

ted in England but illustrated by an Indian artist, Mahadev Vishwanath Dhurandhar (1867-1944). Dhurandhar, like Raja Ravi Varma, used illusionist techniques in oil and watercolour to illustrate Indian mythological, historical and literary themes, similarly negotiating the 'representational dilemmas' inherent in depicting timeless divinities and moments from epic narratives within a historicising, naturalist still frame. Located squarely within the mainstream of 'fine art' activity, Dhurandhar was trained at Bombay's J.J. School of Art and went on to enjoy the highest level of success that a 'native' artist at the time might hope to achieve, regularly winning awards at exhibitions and eventually becoming J.J.'s first Indian Headmaster. His work testifies to the fact that the criticisms of the neo-traditionalists in Bengal did not arrest Indian fine art's involvement with European-style naturalism. As Calcutta celebrated its 'Bengal Renaissance', the J.J. School remained a bastion of naturalism, with W.E. Gladstone Solomon, its Principal from 1919 onwards, centring his own "Bombay Revival" of Indian art on the idea that "Indian Art is permeated with Realism" (Solomon 1946, p. 117; emphasis in the original).

Dhurandhar's illustration for the Woodward's calendar (Fig. 2) depicts a smiling infant Krishna, standing in the centre of the frame resplendent in his peacock feather crown and ornaments, one hand full of butter and the other on his stomach, subtly signalling the threat of indigestion. Immediately behind Krishna, unusually, are two naked male babies (the conventional depiction is only of Krishna and his brother Balaram), notably fairer and

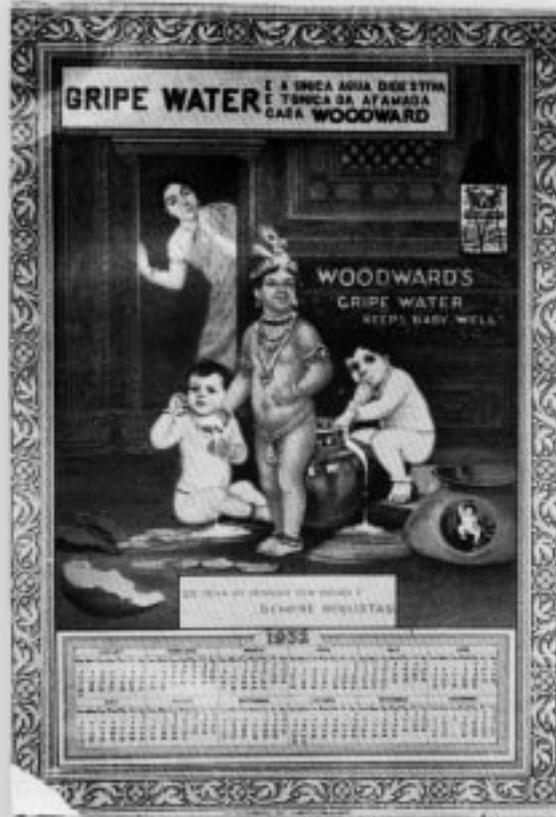


Fig: 2

relatively unadorned, also tucking into the butter pot. Their faces, like Krishna's, are directed at the viewer, although only the baby on the right engages the viewer's gaze. Central to textual descriptions of the famous *makhan-chori* or butter-stealing episode is the discovery of this mischief by Krishna's dotting foster-mother Yashoda. Yashoda is a rural cattle-herder's wife; here, however, a modern, middle-class, *sari*-clad mother is peeking out pensively at this scene from an elaborately carved doorway, her eyes lowered towards the children, combining a 'frozen moment' narrativity with the frontal tableau of the oblivious butter-eaters. It is almost as though the Krishna figure has a doubled presence: once in realist, narrative mode as an ordinary, everyday (albeit fair and middle-class) infant about to suffer indigestion, with an ordinary sibling and concerned mother, and then again in an iconic, frontal, explicitly godly (and explicitly racialised) form, as a materialisation from another dimension, or from a happy future, free – thanks to Woodward's – from gripes.

(tyres and rubber goods), Bata (shoes), General Electric and Philips (light bulbs) set up manufacturing operations in India during this period. At the same time, commodity manufacturers based overseas also sought to 'Indianise' their products through advertising or, as British textile mills and managing agencies had done, through labelling. In what is by now a familiar operation, a set of signifiers developed in the context of resistance, in this case anticolonial nationalism, were seized by what we might think of as the re-personalising logic of commodity marketing. If *Puranic* imagery was used to forge an Indian cultural identity that formed a basis for the Independence movement, it was also quickly adopted as an instant cipher of Indianness, particularly by foreign firms seeking to tap into the 'native' market.

Indeed, it was most often *Puranic* images from the Ravi Varma press that were directly reproduced as labels and advertisements, primarily (if not exclusively) by foreign owned firms. While small coloured labels featuring popular imagery were directly affixed to commodities intended solely for the 'native' market, such as mill cloth and matches (the latter produced by Japanese as well as European firms), products with a more global corporate identity used advertising posters and calendars to target Indian consumers. Surviving examples include a 1914 calendar advertising hair dye and tonics from the London drug and chemical firm of Burgoyne, Burbidges and Co., with a *Gangavatarana* image featuring a Shiva with thick and lustrous locks, captioned 'After the picture painted by the late Raja Ravi Varma'; a 1930 advertisement for Sunlight Soap whose baleful Krishna was probably derived from a Nathdwara or Calcutta print; and a poster for Mellin's Food for Infants and Invalids (produced in Boston, Massachusetts) featuring a version of Ravi Varma's *Birth of Shakuntala*. Another poster for Woodward's Gripe Water similarly has their product and logo tacked on to the corners of the picture, which features a gentrified, *sari*-clad mother and naked infant son with a cow (or bull?) and calf, again reminiscent of Krishna and Yashoda, like their 1932 calendar discussed above.

It is hard to tell whether this Woodward's poster used a specially commissioned painting or adapted an existing print, as in the Mellin's Food and Burgoyne Burbidges posters. Like Dhurandhar's 1932 calendar, however, it uses the mother-child relationship as the common contour in mapping the everyday concerns of a modernising Indian middle class (including European residents) on to mythic narratives. To this extent the Mellin's, Woodward's and Burgoyne Burbidges posters all trade on naturalism to establish a thematic relationship between the product and the image used to promote it, creating an allegorical, if not playfully ironic, correspondence between gods and mortals. The schema of signification here, as in neoclassical painting, is one in which gods and heroes from a 'classical' past are deployed as figures with lessons for present human conduct. This is consistent, for instance, with Woodward's adoption of *The Infant Hercules Strangling the Serpents* (1786-1788) by Joshua Reynolds as the trademark for their gripe water (this appears on one of the butter pots in Dhurandhar's calendar, and in the top left corner of the poster). But this schema of allegorical correspondences with a mythic past belongs to an Enlightenment working hard to achieve and maintain a secular, 'post-sacred' universe, as opposed to a system that seeks to maintain the sacred as ever-present, integrally inhabiting everyday life. If Dhurandhar's butter-stealing calendar – which was expressly commissioned as an adver-

tisement – is particularly strange and compelling, it is because of the doubled Krishna figure's simultaneous submission and resistance to this kind of allegorisation, its struggle against consignment to a mythic past. It oscillates uncannily between an allegorical mode aligned to a bourgeois historical consciousness, which seeks through *representation* to ennoble a mortal act of consumption, and an indexical mode which seeks to imbue the body of the *image itself* with the eternal, timeless cosmic presence depicted therein. To cite an instance of how this indexical register pertains to the image as an object (but with the important caveat that this is a retrospective formulation): according to the current Babuline management, they decided from the outset to use an image of the infant Krishna only in their calendars and other publicity, but not on their packaging because a package is meant to be thrown away – a disrespectful and inauspicious act.⁵

The use of 'motivated' thematic or representational links establishing an allegorical correspondence between the actions of mythic and human figures was readily adapted to political ends during the colonial period by vernacular cartoons, chromolithographs, theatre and film. However, my sense is that this mode of signification was relatively unusual in the context of commodity aesthetics in the bazaar where the use of mythic imagery has tended to invoke ethically and sacrally invested objecthood rather than allegorical resemblance. Images of deities (or indeed secular images) featured on woodblock labels for early twentieth-century domestic manufactures, as well as subsequent lithographic labels and advertisements, did not necessarily draw attention to the specific qualities of the product or the benefits of its use. In such instances of labels, trademarks and calendars with apparently arbitrary connections to their products, the association with a divinity would have worked in an indexical register to seek the deity's blessings and impart auspiciousness not only to the



Fig. 4



Fig: 5

calendar or image itself, but also to the product, its use, manufacture, and the transactions in which it is involved. Similarly, associating products with maps of India, as in the Amrut-anjan and Ashokarishta advertisements (Fig. 4) served to imbue products, their manufacture and use with an ethical aura via the nationalist ideology of Swadeshi, which in turn took on ibidinal-sacral registers through the divine and/or feminine bodies inhabiting these maps.

Crucially, however, the distinctions I am making here between modes of signification do not necessarily correspond to images produced by overseas/colonial as opposed to Indian firms. While it is possible to think of Woodward's and Mellin's as expressing a post-sacred, 'Western' sensibility in their posters (Woodward's is a British firm, and Mellin's American), the same does not go for the British managing agencies who were among the first to use iconic Hindu imagery on brand labels.⁶ Early textile labels occasionally featured depictions of cloth merchants' shops, but by and large the imagery on textile and match-box labels seldom had a representational association with the product or its use. The choice of mythic themes for many of these labels, particularly by European firms, may have derived from an orientalist characterisation of Indians as 'superstitious', or simply from the ready availability of printed images with proven commercial success, or both. Either way,

far from enforcing a post-sacred or secular ideology, or maintaining the material/spiritual divide organising the 'Protestant ethic' (Weber 1976), at this particular interface with Indian consumers colonial expansionism served to inscribe a space where the workings of commerce and the sacred were indissociable. If Ravi Varma-esque *Puranic* imagery had a history of mimicking Western naturalism, in replaying this imagery back to Indian consumers as part of the *schein* of the commodity it was now the colonisers who mimicked, and replayed back, their version of the colonised. The bazaar was a phenomenon of the colonial economy and the colonial state: a buffer zone whose mediation, and indeed maintenance, of arenas of difference from the avowedly liberal, post-Enlightenment ideology of the colonial state was crucial to the exercise of colonial power.⁷ The managing agencies' use of *Puranic* images to penetrate the domestic market demonstrates the extent to which they, too, were creatures of the bazaar, co-opting 'cultural' difference to their own ends and thereby furthering its institutionalisation.

By the same token, though, if the bazaar adopted naturalism to 'humanise' the gods and locate them within a quotidian *mise-en-scène* (A. Kapur 1993), this did not necessarily entail the triumph of the historicising allegorical universe implied by images like Mellin's and Woodward's posters, which were relatively short-lived. As Geeta Kapur has observed, the term 'realism' was construed in nineteenth-century Indian discourse "to mean an *enabling technique* rather than a philosophically accredited style of representation within a specific historical context" (G. Kapur 1989, p. 60: emphasis in the original). Right from the outset, there was a distinction to be made between naturalist techniques – perspective, anatomy, modelling, the rendering of light and shadow – and the institutionally sanctioned post-sacred schemata of signification through which they entered the colonial context: romanticism and the picturesque, neoclassicism, bourgeois realism, ethnographic documentation. The divergence between the two has been a source of tension, particularly for artists who have had to negotiate between the pragmatically 'enabling' and 'philosophically accredited' versions. But here I want to explore what it was that the selective adoption of naturalist techniques enabled, through their relative (but not complete) disentanglement from the specific ideological baggage that accompanied them into the colonial realm. One of these things, I would suggest, at least in the context of commercial image-making in the bazaar, has been the management of the relationship between community and territory with the growth of domestic markets and the formation of the nation-state.

Naturalism, Nationalism, Territoriality: The Case of Nathdwara

The chromolithographs produced by the picture publishers S.S. Brijbasi from 1927 onwards represented a new phase of Nathdwara art, initially associated with Ghasiram Hardev Sharma (1868-1930: Dhurandhar's contemporary) and his illustrious apprentice Narottam Narayan and his associate Hiralal Udayaram. Ghasiram was both chief painter and head of photography for the Shrinathji temple under Tilkayat Govardhanlalji, doing his own developing and printing.⁸ It is clear that by this time photography was not only setting the standard for naturalism in portraiture, but had also become an acceptable part of the image-making process: Narottam Narayan is known to have adopted the process of combining painting and photography. The work of Ghasiram, Udayaram, Narottam Narayan and later Nath-

dwarā painters such as Kamladevi is characterised by a photographic treatment of figures, and in particular of faces: photographic not in the sense of hyperrealism, but a literal replication of the monochrome tonalities of black and white photography, as in the greyish tinge that Narottam Narayan gives his *Murli Manohar*, *Umapati Shankar* or *Satyanarayan* (Fig. 5), or that Ghasiram imparts to the Shrinathji figure. There is, of course, an iconographic appropriateness in such a rendering of the dark (*shyam*) Krishna (though later copies of *Murli Manohar* revert to the more familiar blue), but the technique must also owe a great deal to Nathdwara's (quite literal) brush with photography. So this was an appropriation of naturalism, not in its techno-rationalist aspect, but in its personalising, affective, libidinal aspect, making the divine accessible to devotees as an empathetic presence: as the contemporary Nathdwara calendar artist Indra Sharma put it, the aim of images is to make the viewer *mohit* or *mugdh* (enchanted, seduced).

Even those techno-rationalist devices intimately associated with a 'realist chronotope' have been subject to similar selective reappropriations in calendar art. If the Nathdwara icons, addressed predominantly to a Hindu devotional context, rejected the perspectival grid and the time of clock and calendar, the later Sivakasi calendars do not reject perspective but deploy it to mesmerising decorative effect in their depictions of floor and wall tiles at Muslim shrines. Here clocks also figure prominently, but to 'messianic' ends, recalling the five daily prayer times. What is more, the signs of bureaucratic modernity and Westernisation themselves take on a utopian aura, as in the occasional framing pictures and calendars featuring painted city views. In an early instance from Nathdwara, a soaring perspectival view over a modern city (possibly modelled on Bombay's Marine Drive) swoops in a baffling curve past two Gujarati women buying cloth at "The India Fine Cloth House", such that stacked bales of cloth echo the proportions of high-rise buildings; a telephone features prominently in the shop, while one of the women holds a book. Here naturalist technique and an iconography of modernity speak to the Nehruvian interpretation of Swadeshi as a home-grown version of modern development, while the figures of *sari*-clad women serve to anchor that vision in a national culture. Signifiers of Western-style modernity are also incorporated in later prints as part of the regalia of modern forms of transcendental power, as with the watches that are *de rigueur* even in sacralised depictions of 'leaders' in the Independence struggle.

The social context of the bazaar communities is particularly pertinent to the embrace of landscapes, and to the specific form of objecthood of framing pictures and posters (as opposed, say, to books, magazines or films). It is no coincidence that the intense elaboration of landscapes as portable figures of territory in iconic prints should emanate from the image-culture of Pushtimarg, with its increasingly mobile, largely mercantile followers. Indeed, this artistic source was tapped by S.S. Brijbasi through their own combination of mercantile mobility and religious affiliations with Pushtimarg.⁸ Brijbasi's prints, like the Nathdwara pilgrim souvenirs, were geared towards the personalised worship made possible by portable images, providing a self-sufficient embodiment or housing for a divine presence. This worship was personalised both in the sense of catering to the individual devotee (as opposed to a large congregation in a temple) and in the sense of imagining a humanised divinity. If individualised worship was enabled by the mass reproducibility of

icons, the humanisation of the divine was aided by the naturalist depiction of benevolent affect, echoed in the fecundity of the landscape. Abstracted from the spatial specificity of particular temples, the control of priests, or pictorial association with particular patron devotees, these mobile, mass reproduced icons begged the question of their location. Ravi Varma provided his frontal, iconic Lakshmi and Saraswati, and Narottam Narayan his bucolic Krishna, with their own auratic loci to accompany them on their travels, situating them within imaginative landscapes that were limitless, replicable and portable even as they evoked specific quasi-mythic territories: Braj and Vrindavan from the *Krishnailila* narratives, Mount Kailash and the Himalayas in the Shaivite images, the forests of Panchvati, Ayodhya, Lanka and other sites from the Ramayana, Vishnu's cosmic ocean and so on.

The miniature traditions of Nathdwara, Bundi, Kota and Mewar were already characterised by their use of lush, overwelling landscapes to intensify devotional desire and affect in narrative contexts, for instance when illustrating devotional poetry. However these narratively bound landscapes did not accompany liturgical figures: the gaze they engendered was too mobile to evoke the frontal convergence said to characterise the engagement with the devotional icon. I would suggest that what the Nathdwara artists took from the naturalist landscapes of indifferently painted European picture postcards was precisely their perspectivalist spatio-temporal *stilling* of the viewer and the viewed, which worked to counteract both the mobile gaze of the miniature tradition and the mobility of the image itself as an object. Perhaps the migration of naturalistic backgrounds into iconic imagery was also facilitated by the replaceable and portable painted backdrops (*pichhwa*) of Pushtimarg rituals, which instituted a certain flexibility in 'locating' the liturgical icon. In a sense, then, the Brijbasi prints reterritorialised 'landscape' itself, appropriating it from the narrative contexts of both miniature painting and Western academicism to instate it as the backdrop for mobile icons to be worshipped in domestic shrines. In a reversal of Walter Benjamin's account of the artistic aura (Benjamin 1969, p. 211-244), this appropriative move worked to harness exhibition value (landscapes from contexts of aesthetic contemplation) back to the service of cult value (devotional ritual).

If the Nathdwara landscapes demonstrate the persistence of the 'messianic' in the face of secular-modernist nationalism, they also register the ways in which the sacred or messianic took on its own forms of modernity, deploying colonial modes of signification to manage the new conditions of viewing and use accompanying the mobility or deterritorialisation of people and images. In their capacity as mass-produced, mobile objects in a commodity economy – as commodities in themselves, as visual heralds for commodities, or as emblems of locality that accompanied dealers in commodities on their travels – printed icons in the first decades of the twentieth century came to be twinned with highly charged figures of territoriality. Traversing the intra- and inter-national circuits of the bazaar in the form of printed images, and thereby establishing a material presence unassimilable to the boundaries of the state, the naturalistic yet mythic landscapes of the Nathdwara style icons made it possible to delink communal belonging from both 'feudal' and national territory or locality. While this delinking was particularly pertinent to the mobile communities of the bazaar, the personalised worship these icons fostered came to have an appeal well beyond the bazaar communities. At the same time, other kinds of printed images were also work-

ing to (literally) map nationally, or linguistically defined community identities on to a cartographic imaginary. Although here too, as Sumathi Ramaswamy has described (2001), "disenchanted" techno-rational maps of India were supplemented by and enmeshed with somatised, sacralised and libidinalised 'bodyscapes' such as those of Bharat Mata (Mother India) and Tamilttay (Mother Tamil). In these double movements of de- and re-territorialisation, vernacular commodity aesthetics worked both to inscribe a new space of mobility and to re-anchor its meaning and efficacy in reconfigured, re-sacralised notions of community.

This is an edited extract from Jain's forthcoming book, *Gods in the Bazaar: the Economies of Indian Calendar Art*.

FIGURES

1. Press advertisement for Shimla Hair Oil, M. V. Dhurandhar (circa 1920-1944, courtesy Ambika Dhurandhar).
2. Calendar for Woodward's Gripe Water, M.V. Dhurandhar (1932).
3. "Putana ticket", textile label for Gilanders Arbuthnot and Co., a Calcutta based managing agency (first-half of the 20th century, courtesy Priya Paul).
4. Label for Ashokarishta tonic for women, manufactured by the Bharatiya Aushadhalaya, Mathura (circa 1940s or 50s, courtesy S. Courtallam).
5. "Satyanarayan" by Narottam Narayan, Nathdwara, published post-Independence by S.S. Brijbasi and Sons (courtesy Shafi Hakim).

NOTES

1. I thank Baburao Sadwelkar for providing me with a copy of this speech, and Namrata Sahdev for her assistance in translating it from Marathi.
2. Inadequately historicised formulations of the popular, however, tend to foster an essentialised account of religiosity. My own argument (in the chapter from which this extract is taken) is that the formation implied by the 'popular' is often retrospective; in the context of bazaar prints it primarily emanates from a specifically post-Independence configuration of the pan-national market, centred on Sivakasi.
3. Given the use of Portuguese it is conceivable that the calendar was aimed at European residents in other colonial contexts as well as that of India.
4. Describing the press in Punjab after the First World War, Prakash Ananda notes that "...in none of the Indian-owned papers did advertisements occupy an important place. The major advertisers were British commercial firms which, understandably, patronised their own Press. It was rarely that a foreign advertisement appeared in the *Tribune*" (Ananda 1986, p. 77). Ananda then goes on to describe an advertisement in the *Tribune* for "Mr Bose's Kuntaline and Dekhosh" comprising a written testimonial from Lala Lajpat Rai that "They are in no way inferior to similar articles prepared by European manufacturers" (p. 78-9).
5. Bharat Oza (grandson of Babubhai and currently part of Babuline's management), personal communication; I thank Shri Oza for his assistance. As I said, however, it must be remembered that this is a retroactive explanation, and I would suggest that it belongs to a later discourse on the efficacy of images, associated in part with the resurgence of Hindu nationalism.
6. Nor is it necessarily the case that the use of mythic figures for advertising and branding in the Euro-American context, in the few instances where this does occur (as in the case of the St. George Bank, or

Woolworth's brand name of St. Michael's), adopts this kind of allegorical mode. Indeed I would suggest that this kind of allegorical deployment was a particular feature of the 'intercultural' articulation of consumers attempted by the Woodward's and Mellin's firms, deploying allegory's openness to multiple interpretations to make several different kinds of representational sense to different constituencies of consumers.

7. Partha Chatterjee puts it succinctly: colonial power in its "true form" was "a modern regime of power destined never to fulfil its normalising mission because the premise of its power was the preservation of the alienness of the ruling group" (Chatterjee 1997, p. 18).

8. In keeping with the primacy accorded to visuality and the image in Pushtimarg, and particularly the emphasis on portraits of the *gosains* or high priests, Vallabha priests enthusiastically embraced photography, patronising it in the manner of rulers and merchants. Thus among the photographic portraits taken around 1863 by the early Bombay photographer Narain Dajee is a group of "Vallabhacharya Maharajas" (Falconer 1995, p. 47, plate 4.4). By the turn of the century the *gosains* of Nathdwara and Kankroli (another Pushtimarg centre nearby) had employed their own photographers to document functions, fairs and festivities, and make portraits of the priests, their patrons and associates. One of these was Parasram Paliwal (1889?-1977), who was sent by Balkrishnalalji of Kankroli to be trained in Madras; after many years of working for the temple he eventually set up the Geeta Studio in Nathdwara around 1960. Interview with Ramchandra Paliwal (Parasram's grandson) and his father Kanhaiyalalji, Geeta Studio, Nathdwara (13 November 1995).

REFERENCES:

1. Adorno, Theodor (in Bernstein J.M. (ed) *Schema of Mass Culture*, in *The Culture Industry: Selected Essays on Mass Culture* Routledge, 1991, London) p. 53-84.
2. Benjamin, Walter "Central Park" (in *New German Critique* No. 34, Winter, 1985) p. 32-58; and Arendt, Hannah (ed.), trans. Harry Zohn *Illuminations* (Schoken Books, 1969, New York).
3. Chatterjee, Partha "Beyond the Nation? Or Within?" (in *Economic and Political Weekly* January 4-11 1997) p. 30-34.
4. Coomaraswamy, Ananda K. *Introduction to Indian Art* (Teosophical Publishing House, 1923, Madras); and "The Present State of Indian Art" (in *The Modern Review* August 1907; reprinted in Sharma, R.C. and Rupika Chawla (eds) *Raja Ravi Varma: New Perspectives* National Museum, 1993, New Delhi); and "The Transformation of Nature in Art" (Dover Publications, 1956, New York).
5. Deshpande, Satish "Imagined Economies: Styles of Nation-Building in Twentieth Century India" (in *Journal of Arts and Ideas* No. 25-26 December 1993) p. 5-35.
6. Falconer, John "A Shifting Focus: Photography in India 1850-1900" (exhibition catalogue for *A Shifting Focus: Photography in India 1850-1900* The British Council, 1995) p. 9-22.
7. Havell, E.B. *Indian Sculpture and Painting* (John Murray, 1908, London).
8. Kapur, Geeta "Ravi Varma: Representational Dilemmas of a Nineteenth Century Indian Painter" (in *Journal of Arts and Ideas* No. 17-18, 1989) p. 59-80; and "Ravi Varma's Unframed Allegory" (in Sharma, R.C. and Rupika Chawla (eds) *Raja Ravi Varma: New Perspectives* National Museum, 1993, New Delhi) p. 96-103; and "Revelation and Doubt: Sant Tukaram and Devii" (in Niranjana, Tejaswini, P Sudhir and Vivek Dhreshwar (eds) *Interrogating Modernity: Culture and Colonialism in India* Seagull Books, 1993, Calcutta).
9. Weber, Max, trans. Talcott Parsons *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (George Allen and Unwin, 1976, London).