

**PEDAGOGY OF PRACTICE: A HISTORY OF ART EDUCATION AND  
ART INSTITUTIONS IN NINETEENTH AND TWENTIETH CENTURY  
BENGAL (1850 – 1951)**

SYNOPSIS OF THE THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF  
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN ARTS

AT

JADAVPUR UNIVERSITY

BY

**SAMPURNA CHAKRABORTY**

CENTRE FOR STUDIES IN SOCIAL SCIENCES, CALCUTTA

R-1 BAISHNABGHATA PATULI TOWNSHIP

KOLKATA, WEST BENGAL 700094

**2022**

**Pedagogy of Practice: A History of Art Education and Art Institutions in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Bengal (1850 - 1951)**

Sampurna Chakraborty

Centre for Studies in Social Sciences, Calcutta

**Supervisor:** Prof. Tapati Guha-Thakurta

Research Theme and Questions

My thesis is a study of the formative history of art pedagogy and art institutions in Bengal from 1850 to 1951. Accounts of the advent of modernity in Indian art is a narrative of eclectic points of view, with different regional beginnings, varying definitions of what qualified as truly ‘modern’ and ‘Indian’, and contending positions on method, material, style and ideology. At the crux of these accounts is a continuing endeavour to unravel the overlapping strands of colonial and nationalist modernity and mark the passage from the colonial to the national in the making of modern Indian art. Nineteenth and twentieth century art institutions in India became a crucial site of manifesting artistic trends and directions in the country, significantly impacting cultural shifts. As the region that is known to have produced the earliest manifestations of intellectual and cultural modernity in colonial India, and the earliest modern art movements, Bengal provides a distinctive scope for a comparative study between the colonial institutions of art pedagogy and the nationalist departures and alternatives in art

practice. Therefore, I am locating the research arguments and questions through the formative history of Government School of Art, Calcutta and Kala Bhavan, Visva-Bharati.

Tapati Guha-Thakurta observed, “The transition from the phase of sterile westernization to that of creative nationalism in Indian art remains in a need of a more critical enquiry. Such linear models of history leave very little room for studying either the complexities and diversities of the changes generated by Western contacts, or the specific nature and weight of nationalist preoccupations in art.”<sup>1</sup> The thesis emerges out of this critical and complex juncture of ideological overlaps and artistic departures at the turn of the twentieth century in Bengal, which, to a large extent were shaped and nurtured through pedagogic reorientations in art practice. It argues that twentieth century modernisms in Indian art cannot be exclusively determined by tropes of artistic individualism or stylistic genealogy, but also needs critical engagement with the emerging institutional configurations of the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century, which defined ‘art’ as a new field of study and practice, and radically redefined the identity of the artist and the nature of artistic professions. This new domain of ‘art’ was born largely through the displacement of the varied complexes of indigenous artistic traditions across all regions of the subcontinent, some of which were marked out as ‘decorative arts and crafts’ (in sharp contra-distinction from ‘fine arts’) and targeted for revival and promotion under colonial tutelage in the new art schools that came to be set up in British Indian presidencies and princely states since the mid nineteenth century. The application of a set of South Kensington modules of art and design training as the foundation for Indian art pedagogy paved the way for the formation of new canonical identities for Indian art and craft, alongside for the modern Indian artist and craftsman, over the period covered by this thesis. The genres instilled in the subcontinent’s modern art history and practice through the colonial art schools – like still life, life study,

---

<sup>1</sup>Tapati Guha Thakurta, *The Making of a New 'Indian' Art: Artists, Aesthetics and Nationalism in Bengal, c.1850-1920*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992, p. 5

free-hand drawing, geometrical drawing, technical and ornamental design, lithography, engraving and modelling – permanently formed a standardized and routine foundation of art education in India. The European nomenclatures for the categories of ‘fine’, ‘industrial’ and ‘decorative’ arts, introduced through the phenomenon of the ‘world exhibitions’, expanded the field of collection, circulation and classification of regional artistic cultures and their objects of production, segregating ‘art’ from ‘craft’ traditions, and differentiating the many variations in each of these categories on the basis of materials and methods, heredities and skills. What these trends involved were not just the creation of new epistemic entities and systems that regulated these skills and practices through the institution of the schools of art. These also gave birth to the parallel institution of the museum in colonial India, as an essential appendage of the art schools and their craft workshop units, and laid the grounds for the new discipline of art history, where the main battles would be fought between the colonial and nationalist interpretations of Indian art.

This research started with the initial intention of mapping a pan-India account of art institutional orientations and avenues of art historical knowledge that grew under colonial directive, to come to a more specific argument on the academic modules of art teaching that came to be firmly entrenched in the Government School of Art, Calcutta, vis-à-vis the alternative pedagogic devices adopted in Kala Bhavan, Santiniketan. The aim was to locate the institutional polarities of these two key art schools of nineteenth and twentieth century Bengal through which the discipline of art history and the eclectic forms of modernism in Indian art percolated. Surveying the field in the first two years of this research however proved that even a background all-India survey of nineteenth century art schools in India would be too cumbersome, and that these two art schools in Bengal alone provides a rich gamut of data through which the research questions can be addressed. Therefore, to grasp the critical history and the impact of art institutions on the evolving practices of modern art, the

thesis concentrated essentially on Bengal. It has also partly done away with the initial ideas of tracking the emergence of art history as a teaching subject and the making of museums within the art schools. This is largely because art and architectural history as a subject, while it first began to emerge as a part of the postgraduate department of Ancient Indian History and Culture at Calcutta University soon after the department came into being in 1912, remained outside the curricular scope of the art schools of the region at that time. None of the art schools, until mid-twentieth century, considered art history as a module in their taught curriculum. And finally, my intention of scrutinizing the analogous purview of art schools and art museums in Bengal was contextually tweaked to consider the ways museum collections came to reflect and enhance the teaching thrusts of the art schools. Museums that are aligned to the Government School of Art, Calcutta and Kala Bhavan, reveal binary histories and methodologies of collection and knowledge development. The range of the art collection in the Indian Museum that existed in close conjunction with the Government School of Art, Calcutta, and in the Nandan Museum at Kala Bhavan reflect the pedagogic trajectories adopted by the institution to influence the direction more of art practice than of art history. As the thesis intends to analyse the binaries of art educational tropes, regulated skill sets and professional aspirations of the two institutions, the research closely followed the art education policies and the curriculum, through which foundational and changing pedagogic tendencies of these two art schools can be surveyed. The art pedagogic system that came into place in the colonial era has not been entirely undone in government-supported art institutions, even after seventy five years of Independence. The history of art education in Bengal of the period under survey – from the high noon of empire in the mid nineteenth century to the cusp of Independence in the mid twentieth - provides a fertile ground for exploring this anomaly. It allows us an understanding, on the one hand, of the persistence and prestige of Academic curricular training in the modern art profession outside the framework

of colonization and decolonization; and, on the other hand, of the different pulls and pushes outside this curricular framework that enabled the shaping of new nationalist and modernist dispensations in modern art practice during the first decades of the twentieth century. Two main art educational institutions - in Calcutta and Santiniketan – become the obvious choices of study here. The research, as already stated, delves into the histories of the Government School of Art, Calcutta and Kala Bhavan, Visva-Bharati – analyzing their individual pedagogic ambit, their interconnection with the art collection in the museums with which they were linked, the distinct cultural and intellectual preconditions that impacted the education policies and aims of the two institutions, the evolving configuration of the curriculum, and artistic binaries and crossroads which emerged between the two art institutions. Following the life of these two key art institutions and its allied stakeholders, this research intends to put together a connected history of art pedagogy in Bengal until 1951, after which both the institutions embarked on a different phase of their absorption within the college and university education systems of post-Independence India.

To locate the complex overlaps of artistic tendencies, maturing aesthetic inclinations, the intellectual hierarchies and the pedagogic binaries between these two art institutions, the research asks certain fundamental questions. How has the formative phase of art schools nurtured new artistic trends and shifts in art practice? How did colonial art education policy establish the fundamental devices of art instruction for India? How was the colonial scheme of ‘fine arts’ introduced in Indian art pedagogy and how far has Indian art systems subscribed to British classifications? To what capacity did the art schools and art collection in museums become a site for the inculcation of art historical knowledge? In what ways did the curriculum of colonial art schools in India make a lasting impact on the method and material driven training in Indian art institutions? Through these questions, the research intends to explore the genealogies and shifting thrusts of modern art training in the context of the larger

political and socio-cultural changes that were taking place in Bengal during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. As the research emerges from the current urgencies of re-contextualizing the direction of art pedagogy in the twenty-first century, the thesis also questions – with a purpose of pushing conventional artistic boundaries for art students – the ways in which museums and art colleges negotiate their authoritative relevance in cross disciplinary artistic practices?

Irit Rogoff sum up this dichotomy, as she observes –

“Our initial question concerned whether an idea of an ‘academy’ (as a moment of learning within the safe space of an academic institution) was a metaphor for a moment of speculation, expansion, and reflexivity without the constant demand of proven results. If this was a space of experimentation and exploration, then how might we extract these vital principles and apply them to the rest of our lives? How might we also perhaps apply them to our institutions? Born of a belief that the institutions we inhabit can potentially be so much more than they are, these questions ask how the museum, the university, the art school can surpass their current functions?”<sup>2</sup>

Drawing a cue from Rogoff’s argument of institutional capacities negotiating with artistic ambitions of the present time, the underlying objective of this thesis is to locate the scope of art pedagogic directions adapted in Bengal, and to see how these may provide a critical point of reference towards the expanding field of engagement in ‘pedagogy as a method’ and ‘pedagogy as a site’ for modern and contemporary art histories.<sup>3</sup>

## Literature Review

The thesis navigates through a broad range of scholarship in South Asian art history, cultural history, colonial and postcolonial theories, pedagogic history of undivided India, its art

---

<sup>2</sup>Irit Rogoff, “Turning”, *E-Flux Journal*, November 2008, p. 2

<sup>3</sup>The Asia Art Archive has been extensively engaging with mapping and developing a methodology and theory of art pedagogy in South and South East Asia. See ‘Art Schools of Asia’ (closed door online seminar series) October 2021 to June 2022, Asia Art Archive. They also had a longstanding collaboration with the Paul Mellon Centre through ‘London, Asia’ project, which tested the pedagogic possibilities in Asia, which were challenged by the existing constructs of British Art. Other noteworthy initiations expanding the field of critical scholarship on art pedagogy are A.C.A.D.E.M.Y (2005-6, Hamburg Kunstverein, MuHka Antwerp VanAbbe, Eindhoven); ‘unitednationsplaza’ (2006-07, Berlin); Bauhaus Imaginista (2016- Ongoing). These interventions have been discussed in the next Literature and Field Review section.

institutions and art collection history. One of the key books which forms the foundation for this thesis, is Tapati Guha-Thakurta's *The Making of a New Indian Art: Artists, Aesthetics and Nationalism in Bengal, c 1850-1920* (1992), which locates the lineage of art history and art practice in India within a larger, more complex context of the socio-cultural history of Bengal in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. Guha-Thakurta identifies and positions the various stakeholders -like artists, artisans, art students, art administrators, patrons, critics, etc. - within the evolving social structure of the region, recasting them beyond the scope of existing art history writing of the time when the book appeared. The book categorically demonstrates the modes through which artistic practices, skills, commercial prospects as well as artistic classifications were westernised in India during the period; and then establishes the complex overlapping agencies of the nationalist turn, with the emerging new languages of modern Indian art during the early twentieth century. The genealogy of modern Indian art history cannot be corroborated without locating the colonial institutional and artistic trajectories set by the British Raj in India, and this book is one of the earliest examples which critically engaged with that complex field of study.

The second chapter in Guha-Thakurta's book, "The Art-School artists in Calcutta" provides a compact perspective on the working of Government Art School, Calcutta which lends itself to multiple social, cultural, scholarly and professional interventions, beyond defining the artistic pedigree of a new social group and generations of artists. Although its incursion into the history of the Government School of Art, Calcutta, is not its central theme, this seminal work became the foundation and the nucleus for this research. It directly influenced my thesis in its range of archival research, contributed to the rationale of my research theme, and most importantly shapes some of the thesis' core arguments.

The other seminal work, which has substantially informed this thesis, is Partha Mitter's *Art and Nationalism in Colonial India 1850 – 1922* (1994), which also kick off from the 1850



mark and is set more centrally in the backdrop of colonial art education in India. Mitter broadens the frame of his study as he engages with diverse regional histories of art institutional, cultural, ideological and public sphere developments, beyond Bengal. Like Guha-Thakurta's book, Mitter too dedicates an entire chapter to art education in the country, but does more as he opens out an all-India perspective through the progression of art schools in Madras, Calcutta, Bombay and Lahore, connecting all the four regions, which became the main centres of colonial art and industrial education in nineteenth century India. Both of these works tracked the broader social history of art, analysing colonial interventions in the subcontinent's diverse cultural identity through a homogenised network of art institutions. Both these books have brought forward a diverse range of primary data and analytical observations which have positioned art schools and their histories as a critical site of negotiation in India's artistic direction and cultural regeneration. While drawing on their methods and arguments, this thesis makes its main departure from Guha-Thakurta and Mitter's work, in its focus entirely on the pedagogic trajectories that art schools in Bengal had facilitated. It argues that pedagogic genealogy and art institutional classifications have equally contributed to the making of modernism in Indian art, as has the predominant narrative of artists, artistic styles and movements.

Surveying the field of art pedagogy in India demands a recurrent definition of the cultural disciplines which were taking shape during the second half of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century. The position of craft as a practice that is clearly distinct from art, or the aptitude of an artisan as separate from that of an artist, has been at the centre of a large new area of scholarship. This inter-disciplinary relationship between art and craft is traced through the length of this thesis, through the differing structures of teaching, training, commissions and collective practices of the Government Art School, Calcutta and Kala Bhavan, Santiniketan, using their changing curriculum as a key platform of analysis. What

strongly came to my aid in charting this history was Abigail McGowan's *Crafting the Nation in Colonial India* (2009), which significantly broadens the field of study on the colonial project of propagating craft industry in India. Beginning with the Great Exhibition of 1851, McGowan weaves a comprehensive history of craft and the scope of the practice as a colonial classification. She shows how "scholarship on crafts in the colonial period has focused either on the colonial art policies or on the changing styles within particular industries. From the policy side, many historians emphasise the role of the state in promoting traditional styles, depicting efforts in the government art schools, publications and displays as a traditional coating that masked the transformative goals of the modernising Indian state. Crafts here often appear as a side issue to other, more central topics."<sup>4</sup> McGowan argues that propagation of craft however was of central primacy to the British administration as it was to the Indian stakeholders, as it apparently offered industrial prospects along with restoration of traditional forms as well as economic stability. The entire art education policy of the British India government was consequently formulated around the revival and regeneration of local craft forms. By closely investigating this process, McGowan's study categorically establishes 'craft' not just as a discipline in negotiation with colonial art pedagogy in India, but as a larger industrial and social cause.

Another key trajectory which leveraged colonial art pedagogy in India, and aligned its purpose with that of art institutional growth, was the institution of the 'World Exhibitions', with the founding event of the Great Exhibition of 1851 becoming an artistic and material crossroad between India and Britain. With this exhibition as its critical backdrop, Arindam Dutta in his book *The Bureaucracy of Beauty: Design in the Age of its Global Reproducibility* (2007) locates the primary project of the colonisers as "aesthetic education for the masses"<sup>5</sup> through multiple institutional agencies. He turns his attention centrally to the formation of an

---

<sup>4</sup>Abigail McGowan, *Crafting the Nation in Colonial India*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009, p. 9

<sup>5</sup>Arindam Dutta, *The Bureaucracy of Beauty*. New York :Routledge, , 2007 pp. 4-5

art educational institutions like the Department of Science and Arts and the South Kensington (later, the Victoria and Albert Museum) in London that would be driven by a specific industrial art and design-oriented pedagogy, aimed at aiding both the economic as well as aesthetic revival of art industries in Britain. This pedagogic archetype which found its place in India through the agencies of art institution, and their British superintendents and teachers, created an interconnected passage for the circulation and collection of art and artefacts from India. More than artistic influences, these exchanges are shown to have been largely propagated through policy driven mandates of the British administration.

Arindan Datta's work has its precursor in an early (unpublished) Ph.D. thesis of Mahrukh Keki Tarapor, titled *Art and Empire: The Discovery of India in Art and Literature* (1977), which is one of the earliest studies of the interconnected art institutional history between India and England. Her research too marks the establishment of South Kensington Museum and the Department of Science and Arts as the key metropolitan institutions, which offered a preamble for colonial art pedagogy in India. Following in its trail, Dutta's more complex interdisciplinary account of this aspect of cultural colonialism in the remaking of the Indian craft economy and industry fortifies the position of art institutions in India as a key player in modern south Asian art history.

Outside these theoretical frameworks and their focus on the colonial craft establishment in India, my thesis has another main point of reference in BenodeBehari Mukherjee's pioneering incursion into the history of art education in India, in *Adhunik Shilpashikhha* ("Modern Art Pedagogy", 1984). It was one of the small booklet which first introduced me to the field of art pedagogic history in Bengal, when I was an art student myself at Kala Bhavan. It steered the questions which I started asking about institutional purpose and the 'method and material' specialisation format of art education across most institutions. *Adhunik Shilpashikhha* covers largely the same time-frame and institutions of my study, as it moves

through the nineteenth century art education programme in colonial India, the distinct pedagogic phases of the Government School of Art, Calcutta, the interventions of E. B. Havell and Abanindranath Tagore, the formation of the Indian Society of Oriental Art (ISOA), the interconnection of Kala Bhavan with the new frameworks of teaching at ISOA, finally laying out an episodic narration of the teaching structures in Kala Bhavan as he experienced and observed these first-hand. While this book serves more as a memoir for the history of art education in Bengal, my thesis uses the flow of its narrative to more critically question the institutional legacies and pedagogic rituals of the formative years of Government School of Art and Kala Bhavan, which has not been written about to this day.

A similar ambit of a pedagogic institutional history in India has been assimilated by Sovon Som through his book *ShilpaShiksha O Aupaniveshik Bharat* (“Art Education in Colonial India”, 1998). The book offers a larger view into the evolving institutional systems and purpose in India, beginning with the function and prospect of artist guilds in India and Europe as the first section of the book. The following section elaborates the initiation and evolution of various art schools in India from 1839 to 1947. And the final section accounts for the different artistic trajectories charted in Bengal through the formations of institutions such as the Bichitra Sabha and Kala Bhavan. Though the timeline and the anecdotes of the book extensively covers the field of study, the lack of research references and analytical scrutiny restricts its value as a point of reference for this research.

An emerging vital area of scholarship that has formed the conceptual backbone of my research, is one that has been devoted to the detailed study of individual art institutions in South Asia. . There have been several dissertations which have expansively studied the history of regional art institutions of pre-Independence India and their roles in establishing a definite direction of art pedagogy within the cultural diversity of the subcontinent. Deepali Dewan’s Ph.D dissertation, *Crafting Knowledge and Knowledge of Crafts: Art Education,*

*Colonialism and the Madras School of Arts in Nineteenth Century South Asia* (2001), is a decisive work in the field of the inceptionary art institutional history of the subcontinent. Her dissertation has categorically located the formative tendencies and objectives of colonial art institutional structures, through a case study on the first art school in India – the Madras School of Arts and its craft revival project, within the purview of an emerging metropolis like Madras.

Another eminent centre of the colonial art educational network of the subcontinent was the Mayo School of Art in Lahore which was established in 1875, replicating the South Kensington archetype of design and industrial art education. Nadeem Omar Tarar has long been invested in consolidating the history of this institution, which has been consolidated through his recently published book, *The Colonial and National Formations of the National College of Arts, Lahore, c. 1870 – 1960* (2022). Tarar's work lays out similar colonial tropes of exhibition history, object circulation, museum arrangement and pedagogical regulations, which would advance the art and industrial project of the British government in the subcontinent. Though the implementation of colonial art education in different regions of the Indian subcontinent were driven through similar education policies, each of these art schools in Madras, Bombay, Lahore and Calcutta offered diverse pedagogic interventions. Hence, a comprehensive and critical study on the history and pedagogy of each of these regional institutions provide a broader perspective into the complex lineages of modernity of Indian art and craft.

Art historical narratives of the maturing of modern Indian art have been largely based on the network of institutions that emerged in the Presidencies and Provinces of the expanding colonial state in India of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. But there is work that now highlights the way princely states in India occupied a vital share in the history of art collection, circulation and patronage in south Asian art history. Priya Maholay-Jaradi, in her

book *Fashioning a National Art: Baroda's Royal Collection and Art Institutions 1875-1924* (2016) collate a valuable history through the illustrious collections of Sayajirao Gaekwad III of Baroda and his institutional projects of promoting craft industries and commissioning modern artists. Maholay-Jaradi, argues that the aspiration of an “inclusive national art”<sup>6</sup> was well underway before the artistic revival established by the Bengal School, through Maharaja Gaekwad's experiments with “European, vernacular and transnational aesthetics”<sup>7</sup>. To tap into sources of European painting genres, the J.J. School of Art in Bombay produced a pool of art students mastering the western academic portraiture standards, whose art works were circulated and integrated into the royal collection. Art school trained artists enjoyed an elite social status and could assert authority over other indigenous artisans in the provinces. Maholay-Jaradi turns to artist-figures such as Samuel Fyzee Rahman, in his move from the J.J. School of Arts to his position as an art advisor to Maharaja Gaekwad and his engagement with the Baroda Museum. The royal museum became an authoritative site in Baroda for the training of ‘native artists’ as a part of the Baroda state's systematic strategy towards regional modernisation.

Similar interconnections and pedagogic exchanges with the J.J. School of Art have also been traced by Shukla Vinayak Sawant in her PhD thesis, *Imaging Land, Imagining Landscape: Painting in Colonial India 1793-1947* (2015). She studied the genre of landscape painting in India and the various impacts that colonial art education and policies had on the shifting concept of land and landscapes in the country. The focus of the work is on the princely states of Kolhapur and Aundh in Western India, and extended to the provinces of Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh. She accurately argues that, though landscape painting was a much revered and recurrent genre across the timeline of ancient Indian art traditions, the colonial pedagogic

---

<sup>6</sup>Priya Maholay- Jaradi, *Fashioning a National Art – Baroda's Royal Collection and Art Institutions (1875 – 1924)* Oxford University Press, 2016, p. 62

<sup>7</sup>Ibid

strategies in India positioned the genres of portrait and figurative painting to be of greater eminence. One of the key intentions in her dissertation was to counter this pre-eminence by ferreting out the forgotten histories of many landscape painters in Western India and pursuing the development of this genre through the central institution of the J.J. School of Art of Bombay, and its flow of students and teachers into the networks of courts, commissions and art careers of these peripheral regions of the Bombay Presidency. A work like that of Shukla Sawant opens up a new focus on the region - it interrupts the presumptions of a homogenised and standardised history of colonial art education in India, by looking at the way a metropolitan institution like the J.J. School of Art could feed into a wide region, set off varying patterns of subjects and styles, enable livelihoods and professions in art outside the known circuit, and create distinct regional formations of modern art.

Locating art schools as the key sites of disseminating regional modernity has also been a key proposition of Santosh Kumar Sakhinala in his recently submitted Ph.D. thesis, *Teaching Patterns: Art Institutions and Pedagogy in 20<sup>th</sup> Century Hyderabad*. Choosing his key institution as the Central School of Art and Craft in Hyderabad, which was established in 1940 and was outside the colonial government's directive, Sakhinala traces the genealogy of art education and the careers of artists which was shaped through art institutional mandates of this region. His line of enquiry specifically questions the institutional process through which an art student transform into an 'artist' and mediates the negotiation between these two agents. He locates the disparate political and cultural position of the princely state of Hyderabad in contrast to other emerging urban centres and art institutions in twentieth century India, and analyses its complex genealogy of art pedagogy and modernity.

Another very recent M.Phil. thesis submitted at the Centre for Studies in Social Sciences, Calcutta also makes a strong case for the dominant role of art institutions in shaping the modern art profession and modernist art endeavours in Calcutta. Brishti Modak through her

dissertation *Art at a Time of Crisis and Transition: the Pedagogy and Practice of Modern Art in Calcutta, 1930s-1960s* (2021), looks at the place of pedagogy, practice and professions in the emerging idiom of modernisms in the art of the city during this turbulent decades of the War, Famine and Partition. Working against the existing historiography of modern Indian Art with its attention on a specific line-up of artists in the region and period, Modak shifts the focus of her study from the political responses of the artists in Calcutta to the socio-political impact on art pedagogy, practice and art institutional spaces in the city. While Calcutta was gradually emerging from the cocoon of the Bengal School, Delhi and Bombay were emerging as the new sites of modernist vocabulary in Indian art since the 1940s. Modak studies the “aspirations” and “struggles” of artists in Calcutta and institutional conflicts from 1930s to 1960s, through the central institutional site of the Government School of Art, Calcutta and two of its alumni – Gobardhan Ash and Nikhil Biswas. Her detail account of the inner workings of the institution and its changing interrelations with the student community and associated stakeholders, provide an anomalous perspective into the crisis of modernity in the art practices and the allied networks in Calcutta.

### Research Methodology

The timeline of the thesis spans the first hundred years of art pedagogic history in Bengal. However, the research traces the preconditions of these pedagogic interventions of the East India Company and eventually the British Raj in India, by beginning with a discussion on English Education Act of 1835 and the Education Despatch of 1854. Though the formations of art schools in India were through private initiatives in the mid nineteenth century, all these art schools were taken in under the government’s education programme over the second half of the nineteenth century. Therefore, following the lineage of education policies of the



government has been central, in mapping of colonial art education in the country, in this thesis. As the research tracks the maturation of art pedagogy and art institutional history in Bengal, it has adopted a simple chronological structure for laying out the narrative.

As the thesis charts the histories of the two art schools – the Government School of Art, Calcutta, from the time it first came up as the School of Industrial Arts in 1854; and Kala Bhavan, from its pre-history in the Santiniketan Ashram phase into its new institutional foundation in 1919 – the research structure too maintains the distinctions between their unfolding histories and the different timeframes over which they evolve. The nature of the data that has been sourced or archival material that has been surveyed for these institutions also reflect this distinctness. The thesis takes shape through seven chapters. The first sixty odd years of the Government School of Art’s evolution till the 1920s, has been arranged in the first three chapters of the dissertation. The following three chapters adapt a similar framework of establishing the turn in art education philosophy in Bengal through the aegis of Rabindranath Tagore and the formation of Kala Bhavan in Santiniketan. The final concluding chapter brings together the interconnected histories between these two art institutions and the allied agencies in the region, from the 1930s to the 1950s.

The portion of the research on the colonial art education project, which ties together British art institutional histories, museum and exhibition histories, the art school in Calcutta and the Indian Museum, was dependent on primary data accessed through National Library and the West Bengal State Archives, the CSSSC archive as well as Rasa Gallery archive in Kolkata along with the British Library, National Art Library and Victoria & Albert Museum and Archive in London. Some of the central sources of information have been the Annual and Quinquennial Reports of the Department of Public Instruction, under which came all the schemes of technical, craft and art education, the Annual Reports of the Indian Museum, the Department of Science and Arts (DSA) annual reports and collection catalogues, Judicial &

Public department meeting minutes, House of Commons session minutes, special papers and lectures, government notices and correspondence, private correspondences, image archives and draft manuscripts. Together, these enabled a wide-ranging study of this complex institutional configuration within which the Government School of Art in Calcutta functioned.

However, as evident through the scope of literature survey, official sources and bureaucratic reports on the institutional formation of Kala Bhavan are meagre. The pedagogic life and activities of this institution has been largely addressed through individual artistic and intellectual figures of eminence, which the institution produced during its first four decades. That historiography has established people as the main markers of its history, and have prioritised individual artists above a larger inclusive ideology of a community that was formed through Kala Bhavan. R Siva Kumar's essay in the exhibition catalogue *Santiniketan: The Making of Contextual Modernism*, is a crucial text in the study on Kala Bhavan's artistic movement. It situates the artistic and pedagogic scope of the institution through individual artistic careers of Rabindranath Tagore, Nandalal Bose, Benodebehari Mukherjee and Ramkinkar Baij. This thesis argues, that over and above these remarkable individuals, the pedagogy, aesthetics and artistic ideology that came to be known as 'Santiniketan movement',<sup>8</sup> was largely a consequence of interdisciplinary collective practices, unconventional artistic tools, and interpersonal relationships among the faculty, peers and students adopted through its curriculum – and that the history of Kala Bhavan should be comprehended through the lens of this participatory pedagogy.<sup>9</sup> The investigation for this segment of the thesis, have been dependent largely on personal memoirs, private

---

<sup>8</sup>R. Siva Kumar, *Santiniketan: The Making of a Contextual Modernism*. New Delhi: National Gallery of Modern Art, 1997.

<sup>9</sup>Paulo Freire argued the importance of 'active participation' between peers, where sharing of knowledge is a collaborative process, rather than the 'banking' model that deposits education. See Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. 30th anniversary (ed.) New York: Continuum, 2000, p. 72.

correspondences, interviews substantiated through official records and reports, newspaper reports and articles, and some archival documents. This range of sources have been accessed from Rabindra Bhavan Archives, the Kala Bhavan and the Nandan Museum archives, private papers, and private collection of some of the former faculties of the institution, with some stray material on Rabindranath and Kala Bhavan also found in the British Library.

The premise of my research also evolved out of a form of auto-ethnography – out of my own experience as a student of fine arts at Kala Bhavan and my constant questioning of the relationship between pedagogy and practice, and of the gap between artistic aspirations/ambitions and their realizations. At a time when all of Santiniketan’s cultural, intellectual and institutional paradigms are being drastically monitored and regulated, it becomes crucial to revisit the formative phase of institution-making and trace the kinds of freedoms and liberties that it made room for, outside the sphere of institutional rules and regulations. In bringing the more regulated and controlled structures of Academic training and class room exercises in the Government School of Art in the same period (1920s, 30s and 40s) face to face with the alternative experimental structures of training and learning that Kala Bhavan developed, the thesis wishes to complicate what these tropes of discipline and, regulation, on the one hand, and freedom and flexibility, on the other, meant on the ground. Through the central theme of pedagogic methods and institutional activities, it wishes to bring together the working of these two art schools in a framework of comparison and contrasts and look at the ways in which each of these institutions determined the scope and directions of modern art practice in early twentieth century Bengal.

## Chapter Summary

Tracking through a chronological trail of education policies, curriculum formation and institutional development in India, **Chapter One** lay out the institutional pre-conditions of art pedagogy in Bengal. The chapter begins at the juncture of 1850, a decade which marked the consequential commencement of the direct rule of the Crown and its seizure of complete power from the East India Company, as a consequence of the Sepoy Mutiny. As one of the objectives of this thesis is to analyse the decisive intentions and methodology of the colonial project of art education, it has been vital to lay out the groundwork of the foundational ideas of the colonial education structure in India. Section I of this chapter analyses two key educational policy mandates in the Empire's history, which set the context for colonial art education to take shape in India – the Education Act of 1835 and the Education Despatch of 1854. It argues that there is a critical analogy between the imposition of the authority of English as a medium of education in India and the colonial discourse on the improvement of artistic taste and traditions of craftsmanship that propelled the foundations of the art schools in India, displacing the indigenous artistic heredities of the country.<sup>10</sup> Section II engages with Alexander Hunter's lecture on the eve of establishing the first formal art teaching initiative in India, in the Madras presidency in 1850; and Section III foregrounds the pedagogic trajectory of the 1851 Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations in giving shape to the curriculum of the Department of Science and Arts in South Kensington, London in the following year. These sequential episodes demonstrate that art education didactically became a distinct discipline of instruction in the country along with general education structure,

---

<sup>10</sup>Discussions in this section refers to Partha Mitter's *Much Maligned Monsters*; and Gauri Visvanathan's *Masks of Conquest*.

strategically facilitating the British objective of “the intellectual improvement of the people of India.”<sup>11</sup>

**Chapter Two** then begins to map the formative history of the Calcutta School of Art, from its inception in 1854, through Principal H. H. Locke’s engagement with the institution which concluded with his death in 1884. The chapter is divided in five sections, which categorically study the formation of the School of Industrial Art and the resolutions taken by the Society for the Promotion of Industrial Arts in Calcutta; the transfer of the school to the British Crown and H.H. Locke’s extensive curriculum planning, through the first two sections. The chapter then narrows its focus in Section III, on the commission works secured by the school, which included projects like decoration of the Chancel of St. Peter’s Church in Fort William; drawing and illustrations of Rajendralal Mitra’s seminal work *Antiquities of Orissa*, Annada Prasad Bagchi’s illustrations for Dr. J. Fayerer’s book *The Thanatophidia of India*, to highlight a few. Section IV studies the inaugural moments of the establishment of the first Government Art Gallery in affiliation with the art school, with Viceroy Lord Richard Northbrook’s commissioned collection of copies of European paintings to enhance the artistic tastes of the students and their professional training in the ‘fine arts’. Parallel to the attention dedicated to industrial and applied art in his curriculum, H.H. Locke gradually made more space for western notion of ‘fine arts’ in the art school. This chapter then wraps up with the schemes of integrating this art collection of the Government Art Gallery with the Indian Museum, establishing a direct pedagogic contact between the two institutions, with the Calcutta International Exhibition held in the winter of 1883-84 forming a main bridge in bringing together the new departments in the Indian Museum and the art collections in the School of Art.

---

<sup>11</sup>Charles Grant, *Observation on the state of Society among the Asiatic subjects of Great Britain with respect to morals; and on the means of improving it*. Written chiefly in the year 1792; dated August 12, 1797. Selection from Educational Records 1781-1839. H Sharp, CSI., C.I.E. Bureau of Education in India, Calcutta 1920.

**Chapter Three** begins at a point of multiple shifts in the Government School of Art, Calcutta's institutional history and pedagogic direction, which were prompted by reorganisation of education policies in the 1880s and 90s. The 1894 Lahore Art Conference questioned the relevance of art school in India as state-funded institutions. This gave rise to multiple reformatory measures, which could justify the funding of the schools and enhance their economic and professional viability. The resolution of the conference recommended a much-needed boost to the Indian industrial quotient of the pedagogic scheme. During this reorganisation, W.H. Jobbins took over the reins of the Government School of Art in Calcutta, from 1886 to 1895, during which time the school of art shifted from its Garanhata premises in Chitpur in north Calcutta to its current location in Chowringhee.<sup>12</sup> Section III, IV and V of this chapter then studies, in depth, the curricular and teaching strategies of E.B. Havell, Abanindranath Tagore and Percy Brown in reorganising the pedagogic orientation of the art school between 1890s, to 1920s. E.B. Havell rearranged the curriculum and the art collection in the Indian Museum with a focus on oriental aesthetics in design and Indian art traditions and helped fuel national sentiments among teachers and a certain section of students. This fervour was further fuelled by Abanindranath Tagore's entry into the school as a teacher and Vice-Principal, and the changes that he brought about in the ambit of art practice, in the status of artists and in the opportunity for Indian art teachers, in the region. The chapter follows the trajectory of the Government School of Art under Percy Brown until the 1920s, when the scope of art institutional activities expanded well outside the margins of the institution, with the establishment of other art schools in the city like the Indian College of Art and Draughtsmanship, Indian Society of Oriental Art, The Jubilee Art Academy and Indian Academy of Art.

---

<sup>12</sup> Department of Public Instruction, Annual Report, 1894

At this point, the thesis reaches the timeline which marked the rise of a counter pedagogic scheme at Kala Bhavan.

**Chapter Four** shifts sites from Calcutta to Santiniketan, which witnessed the momentous foundation of a new art educational system in Bengal during the 1920s. This chapter outlines the ideological trajectories through which Rabindranath Tagore arrived at his alternative vision of an open international university to establish Visva-Bharati. The nationalist uprising in Bengal, which seeped through the walls of a colonial establishments like the Government School of Art, Calcutta, left its mark on a larger transformation of the field of art pedagogy outside its folds. The foundation of nationalist identity were marked through the cultural milestones which Abanindranath Tagore and Rabindranath Tagore spearheaded through their own medium and method. While Abanindranath's Bharatmata and its visual, philosophical and intellectual legacy directly stimulated a reform of artistic perceptions in Bengal, Rabindranath Tagore's Swadeshi songs, singularly gave voice to the movement. However, through the lineage of these institutional histories, the thesis scrutinizes the shift in ideologies which Rabindranath Tagore configured through his vision of Visva-Bharati. The chapter is divided in two broad sections. Section I discuss the nuances of Rabindranath's doing and undoing of nationalism, alongside his philosophical standing on orientalism, channelized through the idea of universal brotherhood which eventually took a tangible form through Visva-Bharati. Section II then lay out the formative history of Visva-Bharati, which is crucial in understanding the journey of art education in Santiniketan from an ashram to a residential pedagogic institution. To arrive at the foundation of Kala Bhavan and to understand the methodologies through which the institution countered colonialism, it is imperative to bring into context the foundational goals and trajectories of Visva-Bharati which was established parallel to Kala Bhavan.

**Chapter Five** then lays out a chronological, curricular and infrastructural development of Kala Bhavan from its inception in 1901 as ‘Kala Bibhag’ of the Santiniketan ashram to its formal inauguration as Kala Bhavan in 1919. This schematic account of the institution continues till 1951, when Nandalal Bose retires from the Principal position of the institution. A key objective of this thesis has been to write a more nuanced and complete history of Kala Bhavan through the first three decades of its functioning. This chapter provide a chronological outline of the shaping of its forms of training and its pedagogic principles, the forming of its community of artists and students, and the evolving campus and the locale, which became a site of cultural regeneration in Bengal. The pedagogic contributions of Surendranath Kar, Asit Kumar Haldar, Stella Kramrisch, Dhirendrakrishna Dev Burman, Pratima Devi, Andre Karpelles, Gauri Bhanja, Lisa Von Pott, Benode Behari Mukherjee, Ramkinkar Baij, and their likes, have been studied in this chapters to put in place the early history of Kala Bhavan, than what exists so far.

**Chapter Six** is a close analytical study of the projects which Nandalal and his lineage of students devised, with the active support of Rabindranath. The artistic, cultural and pedagogical pursuits of Kala Bhavan have been largely studied through individual artistic accomplishments. The positioning of artists and their styles have been the core design of art history and modern art movements. However, this thesis argues that the ambit of modernism which Kala Bhavan propelled cannot be written only through a line-up of artists and art works. Kala Bhavan’s history and its modernity has to be pieced together through a larger account of community participation, collective art projects and experimental pedagogic methodologies, which developed a sustainable and forward-looking model of modern artistic practice in India. The model of art pedagogy which developed in Kala Bhavan was based on a constantly evolving and fluid curriculum. The formative phase of Kala Bhavan started without a structured curriculum and developed over time, pedagogical projects which



responded to the immediate surrounding and shaped a distinct language of visual and cultural aesthetics in Bengal. This chapter arranges and analyses the various methodologies, class work, community work, cross disciplinary work, and art collection methods which challenged the preeminent institutional canons.

**Chapter Seven** ties together the pedagogic binaries of the Government School of Art, Calcutta and Kala Bhavan, Visva-Bharati, through the history of institutional interconnections between them which can be observed since the 1930s. The dissertation until now has studied the contrasting pedagogic and ideological positions of the two institutions. However, with a gradual maturing and expansion of the artistic milieu in Calcutta, the fraternity here like its counterpart in Santiniketan, was came to be increasingly marking its own artistic and national identity. Abanindranath Tagore's resignation from the art school in 1915 steered a debate within the British parliament on whether European principals should be withdrawn from art schools in India which would help economise the government's expenditure, and reorganise the institutions "as a genuine school of native Indian Art and thus discontinue the effort to inculcate Western methods of art into Oriental art students."<sup>13</sup> During this administrative reconsideration, Percy Brown was already officiating as the principal of the art school in Calcutta. However, after Brown's retirement from the school in 1927, the Government sanctioned Mukul Chandra Dey as the first Indian Principal of the Government School of Art, Calcutta. This moment can be marked as a major turn in the gradual decolonization of the institution, as members of the Indian art fraternity began to take charge of its field of training and practice. Concurrently, since the early twentieth century, several other institutional initiatives by artists in Bengal had been underway, which were expanding the space for independent artistic interventions in Calcutta. The exhibition of Bauhaus artists along with artists in Bengal, organised by the Society of Oriental Arts in

---

<sup>13</sup>Parliamentary Notice Session 1915. Form No. 7 Judicial & Public Department. December 1, 1915. This episode has been discussed at length in Chapter Three of the dissertation.

1922, the establishment of the Academy of Fine Arts in 1933, the opening of the Ashutosh Museum of Indian Art in Calcutta University in 1938 as the first public art museum within an university in India and also a singular initiative to establish art historical scholarship within that institution that came with Mukul Dey's proposal of a National Art Museum in Bengal in 1936 – all these developments affirm that art in Bengal was functioning beyond the ambit of the 'Bengal School' identity. In analysing the arrival of 'modernism' in Bengal art, it is therefore critical to position its artistic "triumphs" within the context of institutional interventions, which then provide a socio-cultural perspective of 'art' as a process vis-à-vis 'art' as a field of study with its *a priori* canon of artists and artworks.

### Select Bibliography

Burns, Cecil, 'The Functions of Art Schools in India', *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, May 1909

Bagal, Jogesh Chandra. *History of Government College of Art and Craft*. Calcutta, 1966.

Barringer, Tim and Tom Flynn (ed.) *Colonialism and the Object: Empire, Material Culture and the Museum*. London: Routledge, 1998.

Bhabha, Homi K. 1990. *Nation and Narration*. London: Routledge.

Bharucha, Rustom. *Reclaiming the National -Against Nationalism*. Bauhaus Imaginista. <http://www.bauhaus-imaginista.org/articles/5054/reclaiming-the-national>

Bose, Nandalal. "The Discipline of Art". *Nandan – Nandalal Number*, Kala Bhavana 1982.

Chakrabarti, Jayanta, R. Siva Kumar, and Arun K. Nag. *The Santiniketan Murals*. Calcutta: Seagull Books published in association with Visva-Bharati, 1995.

Chakraborty, Shubhash Ranjan and Shyam Shundar Bhattacharya. *An Encounter between Two Asian Civilisations – Rabindranath Tagore and the Early Twentieth Century Indo-Japanese Cultural Confluence*. Asiatic Society, Calcutta 2018.

Chatterjee, Partha. *The Nation and its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories*. Princeton University Press; 1st Edition 1993.

Chatterjee, Prashanto K. "Authorship of the Education Despatch of 1854". *Australian Journal of Politics and History* Vol 19, Issue 2. Aug 1973.

Dadi, Iftikhar. *Modernism and the Art of Muslim South Asia*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2010.

Das Gupta, Anshuman & Grant Watson. "Bauhaus Calcutta". *Take on Art*, Issue 19 (Writing), July-December 2016.

Das Gupta, Anshuman. "Santiniketan: Rules of Metaphor and Other Pedagogic Tools". *Bauhaus Imaginista*. <https://www.bauhaus-imaginista.org/articles/4343/santiniketan>

Das Gupta, Uma. *Santiniketan and Sriniketan*. Visva-Bharati Publication, 1983.

----- *The Oxford India Tagore: Selected Writings on Education and Nationalism, Rabindranath Tagore, 1861-1941*. Oxford University Press: Delhi, 2009.

Das, Samit. *Architecture of Santiniketan: Tagore's Concept of Space*. New Delhi: Niyogi Books: 2012.

Dutta, Arindam. *The Bureaucracy of Beauty: Design in the Age of its Global Reproducibility*. New York: Routledge, 2007.

Ganesh, Kamala, and Usha Thakkar. *Culture and the Making of Identity in Contemporary India*. New Delhi: Sage Publications. 2005.

Ghosh, Swati. *Design Movement in Tagore's Santiniketan*. Niyogi Books, 2019.

Goodwyn, Henry, *A lecture on the union of science, industry and art, with a view to the formation of a School of Industrial-Art and Design*, delivered to the Bethune Society, 2nd March 1854 / By H. Goodwyn, Calcutta: Thacker Spink and Co, 1854.

Guha-Thakurta, Tapati. *The Making of a New 'Indian' Art: Artists, Aesthetics and Nationalism in Bengal, c.1850-1920*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

----- *Monuments, Objects, Histories: Institutions of Art in Colonial and Postcolonial India*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2004.

----- "The Designed Object and its Imperial Histories: On T.N. Mukherjee and the Art Manufactures of India." Forthcoming, RIHA (*Journal of the International Association of Research Institutes in the History of Art*), Special issue on "Revisioning World Fairs"

Gupta, Akhil, and James Ferguson. "Beyond 'Culture': Space, Identity, and the Politics of Difference." *Cultural Anthropology*, vol. 7, no. 1, 1992, pp. 6–23. *JSTOR*, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/656518>.

Havell, E. B. *The Philosophic Basis of Indian Art and the Relation and the relation of Indian Fine Art to University Education*. School of Art Calcutta, 1906

Hutchins, Francis G. *The Illusion of Permanence: British imperialism in India*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1967.

Kakuzō, Okakura, and Kevin Singleton. *Concerning the Institutions of Art Education (1897)*. *Review of Japanese Culture and Society* 2012. [www.jstor.org/stable/42801049](http://www.jstor.org/stable/42801049).

*Kala Bhavan – Then and Now* (A Special Issue) Department of History of Art, Kala Bhavan 1979.

Kapur, Geeta. *When Was Modernism: Essays on Contemporary Cultural Practice in India*. New Delhi: Tulika Books, 2000.

Kumar, R. Siva. *Santiniketan: The Making of a Contextual Modernism*. New Delhi: National Gallery of Modern Art, 1997.

Maholay-Jaradi, Priya. *Fashioning a National Art. Baroda's Royal Collection and Art Institutions (1875-1924)*. Corby: Oxford University Press, 2016.

Mandal, Dr.Panchanan. *BharatShilpi Nandalal*. Pallisree Granthagarh, 2nd Edition. 2018.

Mathur, Saloni and Kavita Singh (Ed.) *No Touching, No Spitting, No Praying: The Museum in South Asia*. Routledge India, 2015.

Mathur, Saloni. *India by Design: Colonial History and Cultural Display*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007.

Mayhew, Arthur. C.I.E., *The Education Of India – A Study of British Educational Policy In India, 1835- 1920 and its bearing on National Life and problems in India Today*. Faber &Gwyer, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition. London, 1928.

McGowan, Abigail. *Crafting the Nation in Colonial India*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.

Metcalf, Thomas R. *An Imperial Vision: Indian Architecture and Britain's Raj*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2002.

----- *Ideologies of the Raj*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.1994.

Mitter, Partha. *Art and Nationalism in Colonial India 1850 – 1992 – Occidental Orientations*. Cambridge University Press 1994

-----*Much Maligned Monsters – History of European Reactions to Indian Art*. Clarendon Press, Oxford. 1977

----- "Rabindranath Tagore and Okakura Tenshin in Calcutta: The Creation of a Regional Asian Avant-garde Art." in *Arrival Cities: Migrating Artists and New Metropolitan Topographies in the 20th Century*, (ed.) Dogramaci Burcu, Hetschold Mareike, Lugo Laura Karp, Lee Rachel, and Roth Helene. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2020.

Modak, Brishti. *Art at a Time of Crisis and Transition: The Pedagogy and Practice of Modern Art in Calcutta, 1930s - 1960s*. M.Phil. Dissertation. Centre for Studies in Social Sciences, Calcutta. Jadavpur University, 2021

Mukharji, T.N. *The Art Manufactures of India* (Specially compiled for the Glasgow International Exhibition, 1888). Calcutta, 1888

Mukherjee, Benodebehari. "Adhunik Shilpa Shiksha" in *Chittrakatha*, (Ed.) Kanchan Chakraborty. Kolkata: Aruna Prokashani, 1984.

Mukherjee, Binodebehari. "The Santiniketan School of Art". *Nandan – Nandalal Number* Kala Bhavan, 1982.

Panikkar, Shivaji, Parul Dave Mukherji, Deeptha Achar, and Ratan Parimoo. *Towards a New Art History: Studies in Indian art: Essays presented in honour of Prof. Ratan Parimoo*. New Delhi: D.K. Printworld, 2003.

Rhomberg, Kathrin, Regina Bittner (ed.) *The Bauhaus in Calcutta: An Encounter of Cosmopolitan Avant-Garde*. Hatje Cantz Verlag: Ostfildern, Germany, 2013

Rogoff, Irit. "Turning", in: *e-flux Journal 0* (11/2008); [www.e-flux.com/journal/turning](http://www.e-flux.com/journal/turning)

Sakhinala, Santosh Kumar. *Teaching Patterns: Art Institutions and Pedagogy in 20<sup>th</sup> Century Hyderabad*. PhD Dissertation. Centre for Studies in Social Sciences, Calcutta. Jadavpur University, 2020.

*Santiniketan 1901-1951*. Santiniketan Golden Jubilee 1951(7 Poush 1358). Reprinted 70th Anniversary of the Institution and Visva-Bharati Golden Jubilee. VisvaBharati Publishing Dept.

Santosh S. "Towards an Anti- History of Indian Art, Nationalism and Modernity". *Nandan* Vol XXIV. Kala Bhavan, 2004.

Sawant, Shukla Vinayak. *Imaging Land, Imagining Landscape: Painting in Colonial India (1793- 1947)* PhD Dissertation. School of Art and Aesthetics, Jawaharlal Nehru University, 2015.

Sharp, H. CSI., C.I.E. *Selection from Educational Records 1781-1839*. Bureau of Education in India, Calcutta 1920.

Sheikh, Gulam M, and Belinder Dhanoa. *Contemporary Art in Baroda*. New Delhi: Tulika, 1997.

Som, Sovon and Anil Acharya (Ed). *Banglar Shilpasamalochanar Dhara: Shyamacharan Srimani, Balendranath Tagore and Sukumar Ray*. Calcutta: Anusthup, 1968.

Som, Sovon. *Shilpashiksha O Ouponibeshik Bharat*. Department of Information and Broadcasting Ministry, Govt. of India, 1998.

Spear, Jeffrey L. "A South Kensington Gateway from Gwalior to Nowhere." *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 48, no. 4, 2008.

Sri Aurobindo. *The Renaissance in India and Other Essays on Indian Culture*. Sri Aurobindo Ashram, Pondichery, 2004.

Stoler, A.L. "Colonial Archives and the Arts of Governance: On the Content in the Form" Hamilton C., V. Harris, J. Taylor, M. Pickover, G. Reid, R. Saleh (eds.) *Refiguring the Archive*. Springer, Dordrecht, 2002.

Subramanyam, K.G. "The Aesthetics of a Campus", *Nandan*, Vol. XII, Kala Bhavan, Visva-Bharati, 1992.

Tagore, Abanindranath. *Some Notes on Indian Artistic Anatomy* (Translated by Sukumar Ray). Indian Society of Oriental Art, 1914.

Tagore, Rabindranath. *The Centre of Indian Culture*. Visva-Bharati Publication, 1919.

----- *Nationalism*. London: Macmillan & Co. 1917.

Tarapor, Mahrukh K. *Art and Empire: The Discovery of India in Art and Literature, 1851-1947*. PhD Dissertation, Harvard University 1977.

----- "John Lockwood Kipling and British Art Education in India." in *Victorian Studies* 24, no. 1 (1980): 53-81. [www.jstor.org/stable/3826879](http://www.jstor.org/stable/3826879).

Tarar, Nadeem Omar. *The Colonial and National Formations of the National College of Arts, Lahore, circa 1870s to 1960s: De-Scripting the Archive*. London: Anthem Press, 2022.

*The Crystal Palace and Its Contents – An Illustrated Encyclopedia of the Great Exhibition of the Industry of all Nations*. W.M. Clark, London, 1852.

*The Lives of Objects: Stories from the Indian Museum*. Indian Museum, Kolkata and the Centre for Public History, Srishti School of Art, Design & Technology. 2017.

Viswanathan, Gauri. *Masks of Conquest: Literary Study and British Rule in India*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1989.

Supervisor:

Candidate:

Dated:

Dated: