



A. The month of Phagun. Garhwal, c.1780-1790. Garhwal, 5(iii).

INDIAN PAINTINGS FROM THE PUNJAB HILLS

A Survey and History of Pahari Miniature Painting

by

W. G. ARCHER

Keeper Emeritus, Indian Section, Victoria and Albert Museum

Foreword by

Sherman E. Lee, Director, The Cleveland Museum of Art

VOLUME I

Text

SOTHEBY PARKE BERNET
LONDON AND NEW YORK
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
DELHI

1973

BY W. G. ARCHER

POEMS

The Plains of the Sun

INDIAN TRIBAL POETRY

The Blue Grove

The Dove and the Leopard

SCULPTURE AND PAINTING

The Vertical Man

Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills

Bazaar Paintings of Calcutta

Kangra Painting

Garhwal Painting

Indian Painting

The Loves of Krishna

Central Indian Painting

India and Modern Art

Indian Painting in Bundi and Kotah

Indian Miniatures

Paintings of the Sikhs

Kalighat Paintings

WITH MILDRED ARCHER

Indian Painting for the British

WITH ROBERT MELVILLE

Forty Thousand Years of Modern Art

WITH S. PARANAVITANA

Ceylon: Paintings from Temple, Shrine and Rock

© W. G. Archer 1973

Produced and published by Sotheby Parke Bernet Publications Limited,
34 New Bond Street, London W1A 2AA

Edition for India, Bangladesh, Burma and Sri Lanka
by arrangement with Oxford University Press, Delhi

Edition for the United States of America distributed by
Sotheby Parke Bernet Publications, 980 Madison Avenue, New York 10021

Printed and bound in Belgium by Imprimerie Orientaliste S.P.R.L., Leuven

Typesetting of text volume by R. Milward and Sons Limited, Nottingham

ISBN 0 85667 002 2

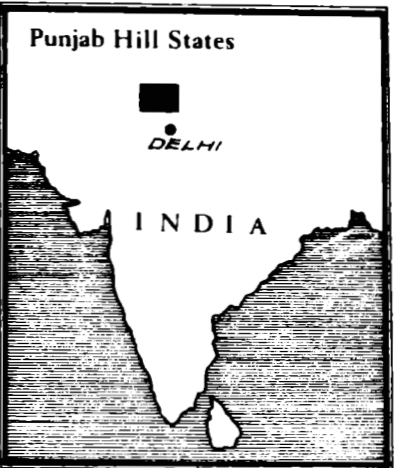
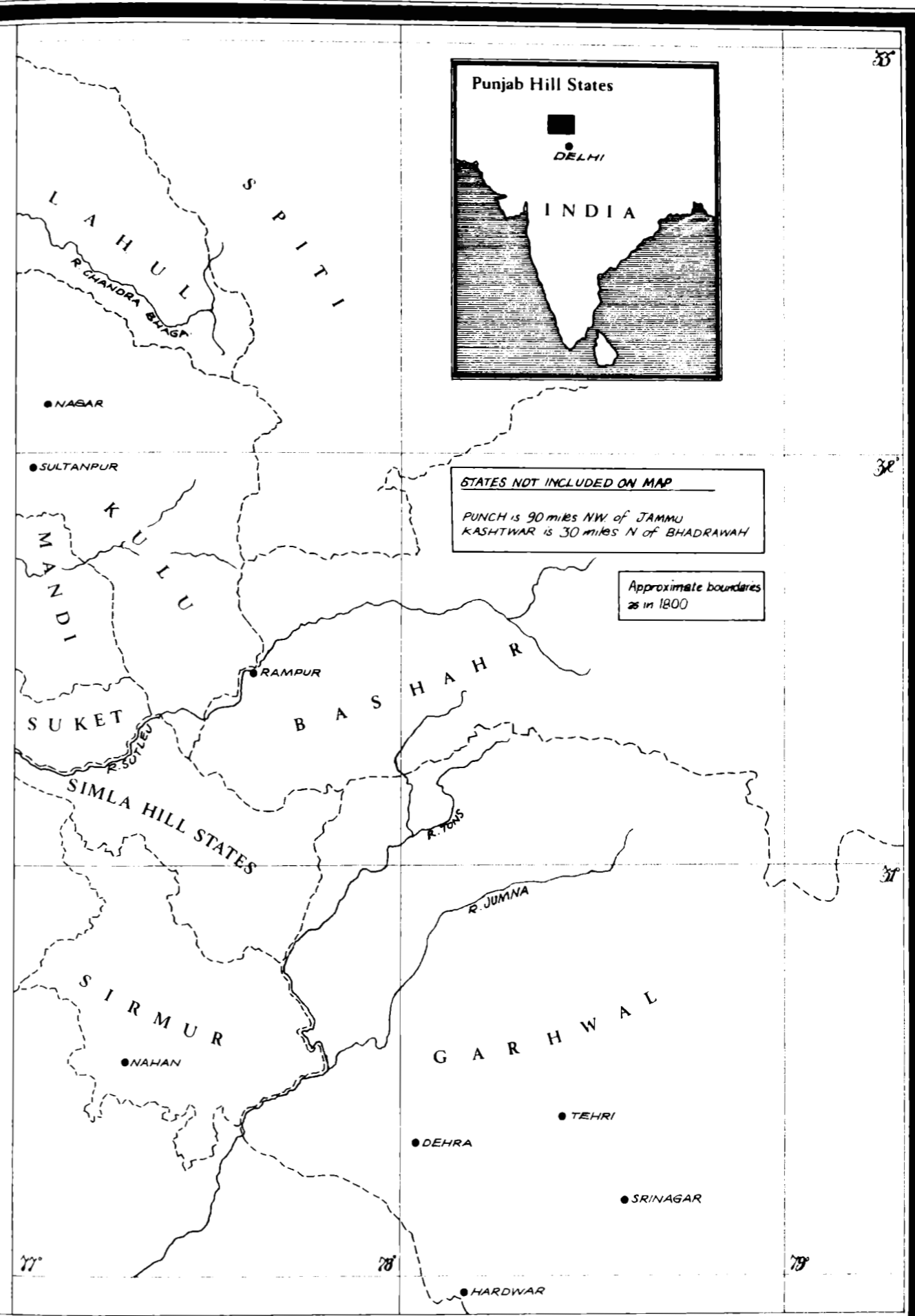
To
MOHINDER SINGH RANDHAWA
and
KARL KHANDALAVALA



B. Raja Ajmat Dev of Mankot smoking. Mankot, c.1720-1730. Mankot, 33.

CONTENTS

	Page
Map	viii
Foreword	xi
Acknowledgements	xiii
Introduction	xvii
Prefatory Note	xxxiv
Painting in:	
Baghal (Arki)	1
Bandralta (Ramnagar)	8
Bangahal	13
Bashahr	14
Basohli	16
Bhadrawah	54
Bhadu	57
Bhau	58
Bhoti	59
Chamba	63
Chanehni	92
Dalpatpur	94
Datarpur	95
Garhwal	97
Guler	124
Hindur (Nalagarh)	170
Jammu	175
Jasrota	213
Jaswan	221
Kahlur (Bilaspur)	223
Kangra	244
Kashtwar	311
Kotla	315
Kulu	317
Kulehr	342
Lakhanpur	343
Mandi	344
Mankot	368
Nurpur	382
Punch	405
Samba	408
Siba	409
Sirmur (Nahan)	413
Suket	420
Tirikot	425
	427
Bibliography	432
Glossary	437
Concordance	439
Index	



STATES NOT INCLUDED ON MAP
 PUNJ is 90 miles NW of JAMMU
 KASHTWAR is 30 miles N of BHADRAWAH

Approximate boundaries
 as in 1800

THE PUNJAB HILL STATES

Circa 1800

Scale 0 10 20 30 40 50 Miles

FOREWORD

Ignorance may well be bliss; but knowledge is almost certainly hell. It remains the burden of the gods and man to face the problem of good and evil; but few men can distinguish Indian miniatures of Baghal from those of Mankot. It was once all so much simpler. My first exhibition was one of Rajput painting at the branch museum of the Detroit Institute of Arts in 1941. It was a small display but mounted with loving care under the inspiration of my first professor of Oriental Art, James Marshall Plumer, and the patient co-operation of Ananda Coomaraswamy. It was a pleasure to do, for (unknown to me) the apple of knowledge was only then being eaten, and that in India by Ghose, Mehta, Khandalavala and Sastri among others. The bliss of making one's first exhibition was embodied in the bliss revealed in the paintings, rudely racked into three major sub-divisions, Kangra, Rajasthan and Jammu. What bliss! But what ignorance!

W. G. Archer has achieved knowledge, led others to it and, amazingly enough, retained bliss. I have been privileged to know him for some fifteen years and his precarious balance between knowledge and bliss has, by example, maintained my interest in Rajput painting when all else, especially the morass of new information and conflicting opinion, would have defeated it. This balance is epitomized in the text I am privileged to introduce — an exhaustive reference catalog of the paintings produced in the various centers of the Hill States of North India, preceded by the most succinct, convincing and deeply-felt introduction to this most complex tessera in the mosaic of art history. The completion of this act of balance is the culmination of Archer's decades of study, a monument we can openly admire and secretly envy.

It is not a coincidence that the core of this publication is, in effect, a catalog of the Victoria and Albert Museum's large and splendid collection of paintings from the Punjab Hills. This is not art history written from photographs, but generated from the collecting and study of the original works, certainly comprising the finest single holding of these miniatures in the Western world, and perhaps anywhere. The achievement represented by this harvest is a life's work alone; and the catalog is not frosting upon the cake, but an integral ingredient. In this, the following work joins its post World War II peers as a demonstration of the creative possibilities of the catalog, whether of an exhibition or a collection, as a contribution to knowledge equally as valuable as the customary texts and monographs. The sense of personal involvement in a cohesive, 'in-hand' body of work is characteristic of such publications and is seldom found in others.

Since the objects must be worthy of the method — why then this comprehensive approach to a comparatively late and 'up-country' manifestation of the ancient tradition of Indian painting? I would confess to occasional periods of uncertainty about the significance of Rajput Paintings. They are not, or rather were not, particularly rare. They are the products of provincial, often isolated, petty principalities. Their subject matter is limited and repetitive. Their format is modest in size. When compared with miniatures from the Imperial Mughal court they often appear to be a form of folk art. But such comments assume a tradition of Western art prior to 1907. The Archers' home has contained works by Reg Butler and Paul Delvaux in counterpoint to their Rajput miniatures. The steady growth of the appreciation of Rajput painting parallels the development of the modern movement. Thanks to this we can understand the sophistication of color symbolism, the radical dislocations of space and

placement, the tension of facial impassivity opposed to silhouette, and the unspoken resonance of image to text implicit in almost all of the great works of the school. The very provinciality of the patron city-states insured the continuity of the old imaginative Indian tradition through and beyond the knowing experience of Mughal art. The lingering feudalism of the city-states preserved that intimacy of the family court essential to the production of miniature painting. Like peanuts in a bowl, Indian miniatures fortify each other and the desire to consume them is insatiable.

All this but rationalizes the past of our understanding of Rajput paintings. I suggest there is something in them for the future. While the current rise in appreciation for Victorian painting may be in large part a pardonable, and even a charming, exercise in nostalgia, it may well be the result of a conscious or unconscious desire for an attempted union between images and words. Obsessed with color field, minimal or conceptual, the avant garde seems to have obliterated even the remains of literary painting. But one suspects that surrealism, the last effective form of 'literary' art, is not dead but sleeping. And Rajput painting is one of the most subtle and meaningful unions of image, word and music produced in the history of art. If the flavor of the Month of Rains, with its associated poetry, music, and visual imagery, could be so wonderfully projected by the artists of Guler and Kangra, then it can still be possible in other ways. The study and enjoyment of Rajput painting may not directly generate a new art; but knowledge of this art can provide paradigms. We owe much to W. G. Archer for his contributions to this knowledge now culminating in *Indian Paintings from the Punjab Hills*.

Sherman E. Lee

Cleveland, Ohio, 1973

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Since 1941, when I began work in India on the problems examined in this book, I have become increasingly indebted to a number of friends, collectors, connoisseurs, curators and scholars. Among the first to guide me was Rai Krishnadasa, doyen of Indian collectors and Founder-Director of Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras. To the stimulus of his connoisseurship, his aesthetic discrimination and indeed the whole impact of his personality I cannot do justice. Our first meeting was in Patna in March 1942 when as a young member of the Indian Civil Service and local District Magistrate, I presided at a Hindi lecture on Pahari painting which he gave in Patna University. We became friends and I stayed with him at Banaras on four occasions between then and 1948, feeling only too happy to escape from the officialdom of Bihar. In the five visits I have paid to India since 1948, I have never failed to see him and to profit from our talks. What students of Italian painting may have gained from visits to I Tatti, I gained from visits to Sita Nivas.

With Gopi Krishna Kanoria - in 1941 a young merchant of Patna and Calcutta - I have shared a lively enjoyment of poetry and painting. His zest for Hindi and Sanskrit literature, his flair for expounding its ambiguities and symbolism and his awareness of its influence on painting have greatly helped me to appreciate Pahari pictures. During the thirty years of our friendship we have spent considerable periods together both in India and in London and it was on an early tour of Rajasthan in 1954 that we discovered part of the Kahlur ancestral collection in the possession of a member of the family living in Udaipur.

With Karl Khandalavala, lawyer and art-historian, I have had an equally long and stimulating friendship. Following our first meeting in Patna in 1941 when he appeared in the somewhat improbable guise of a Recruiting Officer for the Royal Indian Air Force, he became my mentor in Pahari painting and discussions began which have continued until the present day. In our first talks he described to me the main features of Indian painting and later sent me long notes on how to distinguish one school from another. The notes are still with me and they record how keen an eye he already had for detail and also how embryonic was the state of knowledge in those early days. Since then he has discussed a great variety of points with me and has generously supplied me with many photographs. His great work, *Pahari Miniature Painting*, completed in 1956 though not finally published until 1958, summed up all that was then known of the subject and as a reference book it has been indispensable to scholars ever since. It will be evident how much the present study owes to this masterly contribution.

From my meeting with Mohinder Singh Randhawa in 1954, the detailed researches embodied in this book may be said to have begun. Retiring from the Indian Civil Service in 1948, I had been appointed Keeper of the Indian Section, Victoria and Albert Museum in June 1949 and had published in 1952 a small monograph discussing Pahari painting in Guler, Kangra, Jammu and PUNCH. Randhawa was also a member of the Indian Civil Service and being posted to the Punjab was in a strong position to make local enquiries. Chancing to see my monograph, he had realised that like many other scholars before me I had been handicapped by only glimpsing Garhwal from the hill-station of Mussoorie and that I had otherwise never been to the Punjab Hills. It was obvious, therefore, that he could give me great help and with exceptional kindness he resolved to show me as many as possible of the States in which painting had

flourished. He had already explored the Kangra Valley and examined local collections in Guler, Lambagraon and Bhawarna. When he heard that I was visiting India in 1954 he invited me to go with him to Kangra and to share his discoveries. This visit took us to Nurpur, poised on a great bluff; to the Kangra Fort with its dizzy precipices; to the Beas Valley with its ruined palaces at Alampur, Sujampur Tira and Nadaun; to Siba and Datarpur and finally to Guler. The month was March and I experienced the idyllic charm of the Kangra scene and saw for the first time the flowering pear, plum and peach trees, the wooded meadows, hills and rivers which were such a familiar feature of the paintings. This was the first of four extensive tours.

On the second tour, in 1960, we visited Garhwal, Nurpur, Kotla, Mandi, Suket and Chamba and then, returning to the plains, made for Jammu, exploring en route Basohli, Lakhanpur, Samba and the long-abandoned Jasrota. On a third tour, in 1966, we went to Bilaspur and Mandi and thence to Kulu where a snow-storm caught us at Manali. While in Kulu we saw Sultanpur and the haunted palace at Naggar and then returned to Kangra and Guler. Finally, in 1970, although unable to accompany me personally, Randhawa arranged a fourth tour which took me to Jammu, Bahu, Bandalta, Mankot and Saruinsar, ruined seat of that famous patron of Jammu painting, Raja Balwant Singh. During these tours I examined local collections, met owners and investigated the different circumstances which had affected schools and styles. After these visits Randhawa continued his enquiries and placed his materials at my disposal. He also sent his photographer, Hari Kishen Gorkha, to take whatever photographs I needed. My partnership with Randhawa has extended over seventeen years and it is largely due to his energy, enthusiasm and friendship that the present survey has proved possible.

Besides the four friends whose generous help in India I have so far acknowledged, I am deeply indebted to the following for crucial assistance: Sir John Pope-Hennessy, C.B.E., F.B.A., Director of the Victoria and Albert Museum and Dr. Sherman E. Lee, Director of the Cleveland Museum of Art, for whole-hearted encouragement and support; the British Academy for a major research award; Dr. Richard Ettinghausen of the Metropolitan Museum and Institute of Fine Arts, New York, for advice on presentation; Dr. Ivan Stchoukine for his early remark, 'Inscriptions may lie, pictures cannot lie'; Mr. S. C. Sutton, C.B.E., Director of the India Office Library and Records, London, for much practical help and advice; Mr. Edwin Binney 3rd, of Brookline and San Diego, for lively discussions and for the opportunity of cataloguing one of the most comprehensive private collections of Pahari miniatures outside India; Professor B. N. Goswamy of the Department of Fine Arts, Punjab University, Chandigarh, for patiently deciphering *takri* inscriptions and sharing with me much valuable information; Dr. Mulk Raj Anand, Editor of *Marg*, Dr. Moti Chandra, Director, Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay, Sri O. P. Sharma of the National Museum, New Delhi, and Sri V. C. Ohri, Curator of the Bhuri Singh Museum, Chamba, for helpful opinions; Mr. Robert Skelton of the Indian Section, Victoria and Albert Museum, Mr. Toby Falk and Mr. H. Clifford Maggs for scholarly discussions; Mr. John Wiltshire of the Victoria and Albert Museum for devoted assistance at all times over many years, and Mr. Ronald Lightbown and my son, Michael Archer, both of the same Museum, for their eager concern and encouragement. I must also record my indebtedness to the late Mr. P. C. Manuk and Miss G. M. Coles, Diwan Bahadur Radha Krishna Jalan, Dr. Alma Latifi, Mr. N. C. Mehta, Mr. J. C. French, Mr. S. N. Gupta and Colonel T. G. Gayer-Anderson who during their lifetimes delighted to show me their collections and to whose passion for Pahari miniatures and sensitive connoisseurship I owe much of my own enthusiasm. Above all I must thank my wife, Mildred Archer, for years of patient collaboration, constructive criticism and devoted support.

To the many museums, art galleries and institutions on whose collections I have worked in the last thirty years and who have generously allowed me to reproduce pictures, I am deeply grateful: in India, the National Museum of India, New Delhi,

Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras, the Chandigarh Museum, the Indian Museum, Calcutta, the Dogra Art Gallery, Jammu, the Bhuri Singh Museum, Chamba, the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay, the Municipal Museum, Allahabad; in Pakistan, the Central Museum, Lahore; in America, the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, the Cleveland Museum of Art, the Detroit Institute of Art, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, the Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Mass., the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, the Seattle Art Museum, the Portland Art Museum and the Los Angeles County Museum of Art; and in Europe, the Guimet Museum, Paris, the Berlin Museum of Indian Art, the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, the British Museum, London, the India Office Library and Records, London, the Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh, and the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. From the staffs of all these institutions I have received unfailing courtesy and help.

Of the numerous private collectors who have allowed me to study or reproduce their pictures, I particularly wish to thank: in India, Dr. Karan Singh of Jammu and Kashmir, Maharaja Manvindra Shah of Narendranagar, Garhwal, Maharaja Dhruv Dev Chand of Lambagraon, Kangra, Raja Baldev Singh of Guler, Mian Ram Singh of Bhawarna, Kangra, Raja Anand Chand of Bilaspur, Kahlur, Raja Rajinder Singh of Arki, Thakur Ishwari Singh Chandela of Udaipur, Lady Cowasji Jehangir and Srimati Madhuri Desai of Bombay, Sri Kasturbhai Lalbai of Ahmedabad, Karl Khandalavala, Gopi Krishna Kanoria, Hiralal Jalan, Jagat and Rama Mehta, Basant Kumar Birla, Atma Ram Kanoria, Jagdish Prasad Goenka, Svetoslav Roerich and Jagdish Mittal; in America, Edwin Binney 3rd, Stuart Cary Welch, Professor J. LeRoy Davidson, Professor John Kenneth Galbraith, George P. Bickford, Earnest and Jane Watson and John MacDonald; and in England, Dr. W. B. Manley, Howard Hodgkin, Sven Gahlin and Ram Gopal.

W. G. ARCHER

September, 1971.

INTRODUCTION

i

The Indian miniatures analysed and discussed in this book come from an area in northern India, now known as Jammu and Himachal Pradesh, but until the late 1940's commonly termed 'the Punjab Hills'. Until the early nineteenth century, this area comprised thirty-five feudal states, each possessing a court, each with a Rajput ruler, each with varying degrees of aristocratic culture.¹ Although not every state possessed a local school of painting, it has been found that in approximately two-thirds of them painting was practised — if not throughout the whole of the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, at any rate for portions of this period. It has been my purpose to collect and assess all the available evidence for identifying these local schools, to present in detail the relevant materials necessary for their study and in the light of previous and current researches to reconstruct the various stages through which each local school passed. Such a reconstruction includes a consideration of the geography, scenery and religion of each state, its history — with special emphasis on rulers, their marriage alliances, wars and political relationships — a list of royal portraits, and finally a discussion of the possible implications for local painting of all these varied factors and circumstances. There follows in each case a chronological account of previous contributions to the subject, with critical comments, and in this way an attempt is made to show by what exact stages knowledge of a particular school of painting has developed. The final part of each section presents in the form of a catalogue the main examples by means of which the history of a local school can be reconstructed. In each case, the grounds on which attributions have been proposed are stated; detailed references are given to the literature; inscriptions are transcribed and translated and the subject matter is identified and discussed. Although in certain states no local schools of painting have so far been traced, materials throwing light on the local situation have nevertheless been included.

It will be seen that in the course of these various reconstructions all Pahari (or Hill) pictures in the Indian Section of the Victoria and Albert Museum have been listed and described and their place in the development of each school has been made clear. In a not inconsiderable number of cases, pictures from this collection have provided key materials. Where this is not the case, they have been incorporated not only in order to catalogue in its entirety a great public collection but to provide additional evidence for the understanding of styles. The order in which each state is reviewed is alphabetical.

ii

The Punjab Hills, a great region lying north-east of the Punjab Plains, is three hundred miles long and one hundred miles wide. A low range of rough and stony hills, the Sewaliks, abuts on the Plains and behind it rises a series of foot-hills. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a first area, comprising one-fifth of the total region, was loosely named 'Jammu'. It lay at the north-west end of the Hills and included sixteen states in three parallel rows. Six — Lakhanpur, Jasrota, Samba, Tirkot, Dalpatpur and Jammu itself — either adjoined or were near the plains. Five — Basohli, Bhadu, Mankot, Bandralta (Ramnagar) and Bhoti — lay twenty or more miles further in, their territories bounded by majestic ranges. Four others — Bhau, Chanehni, Bhadrawah and Kashtwar — lay even deeper into the mountains. Punch, though strictly speaking not in the area, lay west of Jammu beyond the river Tawi.

1. Except Kashtwar and Punch whose Rajput rulers adopted Islam in the seventeenth century.

The territory in general was bounded on the north by the Tawi and on the south by the Ravi.

A second and central area, stretching south-east of the first, was dominated by the huge state of Chamba and by its neighbour, the equally impressive Kangra. It included ten states — Nurpur, Guler, Kotla, Chamba, Siba, Datarpur, Kangra, Kulehr, Jaswan and Bangahal. Two of the five great Punjab rivers — the Ravi and the Beas — flowed through it.

The third and last portion, south-east of the second, involved nine states (excluding the Simla Hills) and accounted for almost half the total area. It comprised Kulu, Mandi, Suket, Kahlur (Bilaspur), Baghal (Arki), Hindur (Nalagarh), Sirmur (Nahan), Bashahr and Garhwal. Of these, Kulu and Bashahr lay furthest from the Plains, their huge hills making a formidable frontier. Behind lay the snow-covered ranges of the Himalayas — gaunt, cold and glittering, the abode of Shiva and the end of the world.

iii

Within this region, the states were ruled by Rajputs, a caste and people identified by Hindu tradition with war and fighting. From early times they had maintained a vigorous life of their own and had preserved to the full their Rajput culture. From the early seventeenth century to the middle of the eighteenth, Mughal 'foreigners' had imposed a loose imperial sway. Tribute was levied, state rulers were required to present themselves from time to time at Delhi, offer their sons as hostages and assist in imperial campaigns. The incidence of these levies varied from state to state, fluctuating both with the character of the emperor concerned and with that of particular rulers. By the early eighteenth century, imperial service had slackened but until Mughal authority in the Punjab was finally liquidated by Persian and Afghan invasions and by the growing influence of the turbulent Sikhs, a Mughal 'presence' in or near the Hills reminded Rajput rulers that their freedom was limited. Subject to this proviso, each ruler lived as he chose, cementing friendships with other states by inter-marriages or territorial alliances, at times going to war with neighbours and rivals, exacting tribute from the lesser and weaker, or himself paying tribute to the stronger. As between states, wealth varied but taxes were normally levied on merchants and cultivators; members of the Rajput caste and others gave military service, and Brahmins supplied the courts with priests and scholars, clerks and secretaries. In time of need or if a particular ruler had over-weening ambitions, local forces were supplemented by mercenaries: Rohillas, Afghans, Marathas and even Sikhs were employed from time to time to further feudal aims. In certain cases, particular states were linked by family ties — Basohli, Bhadrawah and Bhadu were junior offshoots of Kulu; Jaswan, Siba and Datarpur of Kangra; Hindur and Chanehni of Kahlur; and Jasrota, Samba, Mankot, Lakhanpur, Tirikot, Dalpatpur, Bhau and Bhoti of Jammu. Due to a peculiar accident, Guler, though in fact an offshoot of Kangra, was its technical senior, being founded by a reigning Kangra ruler who had been given up for dead. Royal houses which were linked in this way could not as a rule inter-marry but in most cases the tie served as a natural alliance and promoted social and cultural intercourse.

Throughout this loose congerie of courts, strict codes of feudal conduct prevailed. The daughter of a reigning prince could only be married to a ruler or his heir-apparent. Rulers, their sons, nephews, cousins and uncles, on the other hand, could marry as they chose, irrespective of their brides' social standing. There was no limit to the number of wives or consorts a Rajput could take. Many members of the royal or courtly houses maintained plural households and, in addition to their formally wedded wives, supported concubines. When a Rajput died, it was not unusual for at least some of his wives and concubines to commit *sati*. In so tight a society, romantic love-affairs, except with courtesans or dancing-girls, were unknown. Marriages were usually arranged by the heads of the two families and it was at the wedding itself that bride and bridegroom met each other for the first time. Only in the most exceptional circumstances did a ruler obtain a formal queen in any other way. Sansar Chand of

Kangra abducted a Gaddi shepherd-girl, Nokhu, married her 'by capture' and made her one of his ranis by public declaration. This action was so unusual that it aroused general comment, inspired folk-songs and became a legend. In other respects, ladies of royal or noble houses were kept in seclusion — confined to the palace rooms, courtyards and gardens, and if allowed outside, prudently shielded by trusted retainers. Within the palace, they interviewed the major-domos, cooks and servants, were served by their maids, and attended by the family chaplain; but furtive affairs, indeed the whole notion of passionate romance, were things of the imagination, the stuff of poetry and song. It was in the villages that girls and women went about as freely as men; the classic Indian encounter — 'the meeting of eyes' — could occur in actual life and liaisons could at times develop on the basis of romantic love. Courts, however, in no way resembled villages. By courtly standards, propriety confined love to marriage and women achieved fulfilment by identifying themselves with their husbands, devoting thought and care to the children, actively indulging in religious festivals and worship, and participating in marriage negotiations.

The same acceptance of a Rajput code showed itself in religion. Every Rajput court in the Punjab Hills firmly adhered to Vishnu, Shiva and the Devi. Worship was usually conducted at home but sometimes in public temples. Every day would begin with private prayers and *pūja* and the three main deities would be asked to grant protection and promote welfare. Vishnu represented the kindly and benign, Shiva and the Devi the fierce, unpredictable and violent. For this reason the Devi as goddess of war was especially placated. In this role, she was known as Chamunda and when a new fort was built or a major war started, a small shrine would often be erected in her honour. Its construction would take absolute priority over other building operations and was a crucial precaution for success in battle. When, for example, the fortress of Sujampur Tira was enlarged by Raja Ghamand Chand of Kangra, a shrine to Chamunda Devi was put up, and in Chamba, when Raja Raj Singh embarked on a policy of grandiose expansion, he did special worship and made solemn vows at a local shrine to the same fierce diety. Worship of this kind whether to Vishnu, Shiva or the Devi, was never congregational but was conducted either in strict privacy or with the aid of a family priest.

Early in the seventeenth century, a marked breach with established usage occurred. The placid observance of ancient custom was disrupted and, for a time, state after state was involved in religious tension and upheavals. During the sixteenth century in Rajasthan, the cult of *bhakti* or salvation by personal adoration of Vishnu had gradually spread to many courts, supplementing the older forms of worship and in some cases ousting them. Vishnu was no longer worshipped merely as Vishnu but in the form of two special incarnations, Rama and Krishna. Rama was, in essence, a protagonist of righteous conduct, a moral example. Krishna, on the other hand, was the embodiment of romantic love and passion. Salvation, it was urged, could now be attained not only by conventional ritual, prayers and offerings, but by devotion to the godhead expressed by means of songs, dancing and ecstatic celebrations. In the case of Rama, Vaishnavism, as it came to be called, was decorous, controlled and proper. In the case of Krishna, it involved invoking his name, praising his deeds, celebrating his birthday at the Janmashtami festival, and above all, adoring him and his principal love, the married cow-girl, Radha. The cult did not involve the intervention of priests and for a time excited orthodox opposition. In course of time, however, a *modus vivendi* was reached and while Vaishnavism became in many states a vital, even the chief, ingredient in Rajput court religion, conventional worship of the old type was maintained. It is significant that Sansar Chand of Kangra, whose ardent adherence to Vaishnavism can hardly be questioned, never abandoned the worship of Shiva and the Devi and besides building a special Krishna temple at Sujampur, took care to build another to Shiva and to install an image of Shiva supposedly modelled on himself. In this general process, a significant phenomenon was the borrowing from Rajasthan of yet another devotional practice. In Mewar, the local Ranas made over the state to their national god, Eklingji, and ruled as the god's regent. In Mandi and Kulu, the local rajas installed special Vaishnava images as ruler-gods. In Mandi, a

stone represented Madho Rai (Krishna as flute-player) and in Kulu a special image brought from Oudh was worshipped as Raghunath, a representation of Rama. Both rajas 'abdicated' in favour of the god and administered the state as his *diwan* or chief minister. In Mandi the raja was even known as 'sri diwan'. A similar identification with Rama had occurred in Chamba where a stone emblem was given to Raja Prithvi Singh by the Mughal Emperor, Shah Jahan, was named Raghubir (a pseudonym of Rama) and was adopted as family idol by the royal house. No surrender of the state was made on this occasion but, as in Kulu and Mandi, a representation of one of Vishnu's incarnations became the focus of family devotion. The appearance of this new type of religious expression was bound to have important repercussions on Rajput courtly life, for not only did it modify religion, it affected Rajput culture as a whole.

In the first half of the seventeenth century, Rajput courts in the Punjab Hills possessed a number of cultural pastimes. Music was a principal interest and almost every court had singing-girls and musicians. Naturally the extent to which music was played varied from state to state but groups of male and female musicians, with or without dancers, were common throughout the Hills. In certain cases they were the servants of the ruler, in others they were free-lances who moved from place to place accepting commissions. Alongside their performances went a sophisticated interest in the theory and practice of music, an awareness of the conventional divisions into which the main melody modes (*ragas*) and sub-modes (*raginis* and *putras*) were grouped and a knowledge of the associations in poetry of the various modes. In contrast to other areas, the Hills had their own form of classification — large, complex and erudite. Six *ragas* or princes, each with five *raginis* or queens, were common to both systems, but in the Hills each *raga* had eight further sub-modes (his *putras* or sons).² The sounds of birds, rabbits, deer, bulls and thundering clouds were often cited in the accompanying verses as parallels to the principal notes employed. Such verses acted as an index to the music, treating each mode and sub-mode as if it were a human personage. The verse was not intended to be sung to the music but rather to identify its special properties. Provided the mood of the song was appropriate, any poem could be sung to any *raga*. The singers would either accompany themselves on stringed instruments such as *tamburas* or be accompanied by players of *sitars*, *vinas*, *tablas* and cymbals. To such performances dancing was a natural appendage. In many cases dancing-girls and boys were also singers and as they pranced, swayed and pirouetted, they would gesture with their arms and hands, mime or sing songs.

Less common, but existing in certain courts at various times, was a lively interest in literature. If the ruler was piously inclined, he would commission copies of standard religious texts — the Vishnu or Shiva *Puranas*, portions of the *Mahabharata* epic, the *Ramayana* of Valmiki, the *Kirata Arjuniya* (or 'Feats of Arjuna'), the *Maha Lakshmi* and *Markandeya Purana* (celebrations of the Devi), or even treatises on philosophy or medicine. Raja Kirpal Pal of Basohli, for example, was noted as a scholar and commissioned copies of two Sanskrit treatises on medicine, the *Charaka* and the *Sushruta*. Moreover, as Vaishnavism developed, the story of Krishna's life among the cowherds and milkmaids of Brindaban, as recounted in the tenth and eleventh books of the *Bhagavata Purana*, also became essential reading. On the secular side, love poetry was enjoyed and especially in Basohli and Nurpur, the *Rasamanjari* of Bhanudatta, a long poem containing one hundred and sixty-three stanzas, each describing the conduct of lovers, was popular. In courts affected by Vaishnavism, love-poetry casting Radha and Krishna in the role of lovers gained an added importance. Poems such as the *Sat Sai* (or '700 verses') of Bihari illustrating the moods of lovers, the *Rasika Priya* (or 'Lover's Breviary') of Keshav Das, analysing their conduct, and *Baramasas* (poems on love in the twelve months of the year) were sung or recited. The *Gita Govinda* (the 'Song of the Herdsman'), a Sanskrit poem by Jayadeva, celebrating the vicissitudes of Krishna's romance with Radha, was espe-

2. For expositions of Indian musical theory with special reference to painting, see P. S. Rawson, *Indian Painting* (Paris, London, 1962), 128-131 and E. and R. L. Waldschmidt, *Miniatures of Musical Inspiration* (Wiesbaden, 1967).

cially admired in Kangra and Basohli. In all these cases, the response of the ruler, his ladies and his court, would vary greatly. Some would regard such literature as an amiable pastime, a leisure activity, or as an exercise in religion. A few, however, might bring to poetry a genuine aesthetic response and to these there was positive relevance in the words of Jayadeva:

'If in recalling Krishna to mind there is flavour
And if there is interest in love's art
Then to this necklace of words — sweetness, brightness, tenderness —
The words of Jayadeva listen.'

'This glowing song, auspicious blessing, causing pleasure and gladness
Was made by the poet Shri Jayadeva.'

'Where people delight in song may joy
Be spread by this poem of Shri Jayadeva.'

'O people, place Krishna for ever in your hearts, Krishna the source of all merit,
By whom, in the wealth of Jayadeva's poem, all beauty of art has been doubled.'

'Among all tasteful people may this song of Jayadeva create a state of passionate
delight
The poem which in every verse proclaims the satisfaction in the pleasure of the love
of Krishna.'

'Whatever is of the condition of love's discernment shown with beauty in poetic
form, and all skill in the art of heaven's musicians, all reflection of Vishnu,
All such you may joyfully see, wise people, in this song of the Lord of Herds, made
by the poet devoted to him, the wise Jayadeva.'³

They would also have understood Bhanudatta's declaration of intent: 'Bhanudatta is
composing this *Rasamanjari* to provide aesthetic joy to the minds of the multitude of
scholars as if it were honey to the bees.'

'May the poets in their kindness make my *Rasamanjari*, which has been beautified as
if by an excessive flow of honey, the ornament of their ears.'⁴

It is no surprise that to cultured members of Rajput society, painting should ultimately have seemed as necessary as music and poetry.

iv

Until the first half of the seventeenth century, no painting seems to have existed in any of the Rajput states of the Punjab Hills. Various circumstances, however, were combining to favour its emergence. Although rulers and their courtiers lived the greater part of their lives within the boundaries of their own states, movement both within and beyond the Punjab Hills was by no means uncommon. Pilgrimages might take them to holy places such as Bhawan, Baijnath and Jwalamukhi in Kangra, to Kurukshetra and Pehowa in the Punjab Plains, to Banaras in Oudh and even as far east as the temple of Jagannath in Puri, Orissa. When a Rajput died, it was also usual to take his ashes to Hardwar on the borders of Garhwal and there immerse them in the Ganges. Journeys such as these brought the Rajputs of the Punjab Hills into contact with areas in some of which miniature painting was practised. They may also have profited from visits to other regions while campaigning with the Mughal forces or to Delhi itself while paying homage to the Mughal emperors. The Mughal court was a place where miniature paintings were regarded as normal elements in courtly life and in this respect the Emperor and his associates were the virtual arbiters of

3. George Keyt, *Shri Jayadeva's Gita Govinda* (Bombay, 1947), 13, 16, 58, 93, 98, 102.

4. M. S. Randhawa and S. D. Bhambri, 'Basohli Paintings of Bhanudatta's *Rasamanjari*', *Roopa Lekha* (1967), XXXVI, nos. 1 and 2, 6, 123.

taste in northern India. The Mughal court also acted as a club in which princes from all over the Mughal Empire might meet each other. Rajputs of the Punjab Hills did not normally visit Rajputs of Rajasthan or Central India, but, in certain cases, there were family connections which rendered visits not unlikely. The Chandelas of Kahlur and Baghal in the Hills, for example, were related to the Chandelas of Bundelkhand in Central India and on the strength of this relationship a descendant of the royal house was even living at Udaipur in Mewar in the middle of the twentieth century. Religion also occasionally prompted a visit to Rajasthan, as when Raja Jagat Singh of Nurpur travelled to Chitor in Mewar in order to obtain a special image for his state. Even if excursions to Rajasthan were infrequent or unusual, Rajput rulers from the Hills may at times have mixed with Rajputs from Rajasthan at Delhi and thus have come to know of the great vogue for painting which by 1650 had developed in the states of Mewar and Bundi.

All these circumstances, taken singly or together, may account for the eventual spread of painting to Rajput courts in the Punjab Hills. Certain types of painting such as portraiture may well have developed as a result of the arrival of outside artists trained in Mughal methods. But the great majority of pictures would seem to have been done by local artists. There is no evidence that painting was practised at village level or that primitive or 'folk' art provided lively models. Indeed it is as if the great schools of Punjab Hill painting developed in the seventeenth century almost out of nowhere. It is true that in the eighteenth century a common name for a Pahari painter was *tarkhan* (carpenter) and that in South India 'moochies' or leather-workers were also painters of pictures. It is possible, therefore, that when a demand for pictures arose in the Punjab Hills, the local *tarkhans* grafted the technique of miniature painting on to their skills in working or carving wood. Yet how this was done remains a mystery. A possible but unlikely theory is that Hill carpenters accompanied their rulers on visits to the imperial court at Delhi, fraternised with artists from Rajasthan and Central India and thus acquired a knowledge of the medium. It is also possible that examples of pictures from Rajasthan and Central India reached the Hills, thus providing local craftsmen with models. But for this hypothesis also there is no evidence. No Rajasthani models have survived in local collections in the Hills and no Pahari copies of Rajasthani work are known. Acquaintanceship with pictures from other parts of India clearly underlies early and later painting in the Hills but how it was acquired can only be surmised.

v

The pictures, which from the middle years of the seventeenth century onwards enriched culture in the Hills, were of two kinds — murals and miniatures. Murals were often only enlarged miniatures and were almost invariably painted on the walls of shrines and temples or of palaces. Miniatures were on stiff sheets of hand-made paper often less than eighteen inches long and were executed in gouache on a prepared ground. They were kept in portfolios or in bundles wrapped in cloth, but were sometimes pinned to walls as objects of worship. Their functions varied from ruler to ruler and from court to court. If, as seems clear, the adoption of Vaishnavism, first in one court and then in others, was a major factor in promoting painting, pictures of Radha and Krishna or of Rama and Sita had almost certainly a devotional purpose. Illustrations of the *Bhagavata Purana*, Krishna's wooing of Rukmini, the visit to him by the Brahmin Sudama, the romance of Aniruddha (Krishna's grandson) and his bride Usha, the *Sat Sai* of Bihari, the *Rasika Priya* and the *Ramayana* were forms of praise. As such they not only contributed to the patron's salvation but were auspicious adjuncts to important occasions. It was customary to associate them with weddings and to exhort the bride and bridegroom 'to love like Radha and Krishna'. In many cases, they had the further function of ennobling love and sex by portraying Krishna as an ardent but god-like lover. In isolation they might serve as icons — the worshipper focussing his attention on them as prayers were said and *puja* done. In Krishna worship, Brindaban, the scene of Krishna's ecstatic adventures with the cow-girls and cow-herds, was less an actual place than 'a country of the heart'. By portraying Krishna in settings which resembled the local scenery Hill artists gave a

fresh and lively immediacy to his story and thus enhanced the devotee's sense of identity with him. Besides portraying Rama and Krishna, paintings were also produced in honour of Shiva and the Devi. Illustrated versions of the *Chandipath* and the *Shiva Purana* were commissioned — the Rajput worshipper deeming it prudent to accord these rival cults part, at least, of the special treatment lavished on Rama and Krishna.

So determined a use of painting for religious purposes could easily affect other subjects and one of the commonest to engage the artists was the poetry of love. Although a separate topic in its own right, the investment of physical charm with nobility and the vindication of romantic love, implied by the story of Radha and Krishna, made its choice for illustration inevitable. As a consequence, many pictures in the Hills supplemented the romance of Radha and Krishna by portraying other lovers of legend — Sohni, the potter's daughter, drowned while swimming to her lover, Mahinwal; Rupmati, the Hindu courtesan, riding at night with her Pathan lover, Baz Bahadur, only to die when his fort at Mandu was stormed by the Mughals. To these were added illustrations of different kinds of lover. The *nayaka* or gallant would be shown awaiting the *nayika* or woman in love. The woman herself would be portrayed completing her toilet, languidly smoking a hookah, toying with a yo-yo, letting off fireworks, watching a storm, dressing her hair, riding with her maids, hurrying through the night to meet her lover, standing disconsolate at dawn, or waiting distractedly for him on a bed of leaves in a secluded glade. The setting would often contain sexual symbols indicating by their presence the nature of the lady's thoughts. In many cases, the picture was a simple evocation of feminine charm and was unconnected with any particular verse or text. In others, extended poems such as Bhanudatta's *Rasamanjari* took the reader and viewer through a whole sequence of imaginary situations, the woman, whether married or unmarried, enacting scenes of happy or unhappy love with her husband or lover. Since music was at times regarded as 'the food of love', princesses were also often shown listening to musicians, beguiling the hours with romantic reveries and thus creating, in effect, a world of Rajput fantasy. As a supplement to these, the melody modes of *ragas* and their sub-modes, *raginis* and *putras*, were also illustrated. In many cases, lovers and their ladies exemplified musical characters and the pictures were thus a further contribution to the Rajput cult of wishful passion.

In addition to these two major purposes — the adoration and worship of God and the analysis of romantic love — miniature painting in the Hills had yet a third important function, the celebration of the local ruler. In certain cases the treatment would be factual and realistic as if the artist was making a record for the future, a reminder of what his patron looked like, or a gift for presentation to visitors or relations. A prince would be shown smoking, holding a flower, a sword or a hawk, alone or with attendants, receiving visitors or granting audiences. At other times he would be treated with greater intimacy. He would then appear riding, hunting, listening to male or female musicians, playing chess or *chappar*, watching dancing-girls or dallying with his ladies. In certain states, the camera would come even closer and a ruler would be portrayed *en famille*, seated or strolling with his ranis, maid-servants and his children, celebrating family occasions such as weddings or disposing of court business with officials. He might also be shown at worship, praying or making offerings to Rama and Sita, Radha and Krishna, Vishnu and Lakshmi, Shiva and Parvati or standing in reverential humility before 'visions' of these deities. He would also be depicted actively celebrating religious occasions — the Spring festivals of Basant and Holi or the Janmashtami or Birthday of Krishna. All these portraits, whether individual or group, had one common aim — the recreation in art of the ruler's day-to-day activities. To these might be added records of courtly or popular life and in this way pictures would sometimes be produced showing villagers dancing, Gaddis (mountain shepherds) trudging to market, an old bridegroom cynically wedding a baby girl or even drug-addicts rolling about in tipsy confusion.

Such portraits reflected the ruler and his surroundings. But they were far from exhausting the artist's role. On occasion realism would be abandoned and in its place

the ruler would be shown at one or more removes from ordinary life, as if enacting in his person some poetic or visionary role. When this was done, he might appear as the *nayaka*, or gallant in pictures illustrating Keshav Das's *Rasika Priya*, Bihari's *Sat Sai* or Bhanudatta's *Rasamanjari*. He would be used as a model in a series of *Baramasa* paintings, acting out with an ideal mistress the varying roles which might confront a lover in each of the twelve months. He could re-appear as the *raga* or *putra* in a *raga-mala* series. Finally, he might even be the oblique or 'understood' subject of a series of pictures illustrating figures of history or romance. Paintings, for example, which seemingly illustrated the romance of Nala and Damayanti might in fact be a celebration of Raja Sansar Chand's romance with Nokhu. In a similar way, various sets which interpreted the *Hamir Hath* (the story of Hamir whose 'obstinacy' or 'pride' occasioned his downfall) may well have been commissioned by enemies of the over-proud Sansar Chand as allegories of the fate which ultimately overtook him. Whether commissioned by the ruler or his rivals, such pictures had a heightened, more symbolic purpose, and by their very sophistication testified yet again to a Rajput ruler's majesty and grandeur.

vi

For about two centuries, pictures of this kind were produced in the Punjab Hills. Some were versions of early Mughal portraiture. Others seemed parallel to painting in Rajasthan and Central India but with a marked difference of idiom and spirit. Yet others were influenced by later Mughal painting, as if the first generations of Pahari painters had gradually outgrown an early primitive phase and had graduated to fluent, rhythmical naturalism. Three phases can be distinguished — an early phase roughly coinciding with much of the seventeenth century, a middle or transitional phase lasting from about 1720 to about 1750, and a late and final phase covering the century 1750 to 1850 or beyond. During these years, each area developed painting on its own lines. For a time, one state would seem to be the prime centre, only for another to supercede it a little later. Court artists might be recruited from other states but in most cases they were drawn from local families. The norm for a master-artist, if he was *persona grata* to his prince and possessed adequate talent, was to remain attached to one court for most of his life. Court intrigues, falls from favour, excessive expansion in the painter community might cause him to leave but despite famous instances to the contrary, a Pahari master-painter tended to remain faithful to his original source. At times he might employ or train sons, nephews or assistants and these in turn might supply a wider or different clientele. So far as he himself was concerned he would be attached to the court and would be expected to be available when required. He would accordingly be given quarters in the palace out-houses or be provided with a dwelling in the adjoining township. At times, his patron would grant him land in a more remote village. There might then be a conflict of loyalties or interests — his occupation as court painter requiring his presence in or near the state capital, his status as a land-holder demanding occasional residence in his village. If he was closely attached to his princely patron he would also accompany him on tours and thus fulfil his function away from home and from the court. He would be part of his master's entourage and would be forced to draw and paint as and when commanded. What is clear is that for most of the *tarkhans* and other craftsmen who took to painting, their reliance on patronage precluded true independence. The privacy which a modern painter demands of right, his reliance on inspiration and his cultivation of artistic moods were foreign to the Pahari artist's mind. As a palace employee or retainer he was not unlike an expert cook, a skilled trainer of horses, a quiet astrologer or even an affluent clerk. Of the thousands of pictures produced in the Punjab Hills, it is significant that only the merest handful records the artist's name.

In such circumstances every Pahari artist strove to please and in most cases would quickly adapt himself to whatever situation he was confronted with. His family training would doubtless explain many of his basic mannerisms yet the need to flatter and delight his patron, whether that patron was the ruler himself, his ladies, kinsmen or courtiers, explains why almost every artist on leaving his home with its in-built conservatism of style would almost immediately develop a local accent. No Pahari

prince wished to be painted in exactly the same way as a rival. No Pahari patron, whether male or female, commissioning an important illustrated text, wished it to appear a mere replica. There was an inherent pride in local tradition, local sentiment and local attitudes which made a change of place no trivial matter. Guler painters, migrating to Garhwal, Chamba or Jammu, did not provide their new masters with a wholly Guler form of painting. The very fact of migration and their introduction to a new court and countryside caused them to modify, in some degree, their styles. In a similar way, Basohli painters, arriving in Kulu, quickly responded to their new and strange environment and while availing of their current idioms, unconsciously gave them a fresh and local twist. Fashions might spread across the Hills — the *nouvelle vague* represented by the lyrical sensitivity and naturalism of the seventeen-fifties might render obsolete or obsolescent the magnificent ferocities of a previous manner. Taste might alter, yet beyond taste and fashion remained the ruler, his family and courtiers, proud of their individuality, character and traditions. The painter, however trained in alien manners, could challenge these sentiments at his peril. Most painters knew their place. They did what they were asked to do and valued their position too much to argue with or defy their powerful superiors. It is no surprise that when, very occasionally, the curtain lifts and we see a painter at work, the person revealed is only very rarely a friend and confidant of his patron. More normally he is a humble palace servant toiling like an interior decorator and, in the process, producing as if by accident, works of consummate elegance and charm.

vii

For two centuries paintings were an intimate part of Rajput culture. By 1850, however, much of the traditional order had crumbled. Until the early nineteenth century the majority of feudal states in the Punjab Hills had enjoyed a measure of internal independence. Subjected to one or other paramount power — Mughals, the Afghans, the Sikhs, and from 1805 to 1809 exposed to an invasion by the Gurkhas of Nepal — they had in great part preserved their identity and had continued to run their courts on vigorous, feudal lines. Sinister changes, however, now occurred. Under Ranjit Singh the Sikhs became ever more powerful and in 1809 Sansar Chand of Kangra was forced to accept Sikh sovereignty in return for the expulsion of his Gurkha enemies. A Sikh Governor was installed in the Kangra Fort and from then onwards one Rajput state after another in the Kangra region was annexed. The first to succumb was Kotla (1811), the next were Guler and Siba (1813), the next Jaswan, Nurpur and Lakhanpur (1815), after that came Datarpur (1818), then Kutlehr (1826), then Kangra itself (1828), and finally Kulu (1841).

At the same time states at the other end of the Hills in the vicinity of Jammu came under Sikh domination. In 1820, Gulab Singh, a member of the junior branch of the Jammu royal family, was inducted as Sikh Governor and from then on until his recognition as an independent Maharaja by the British in 1846, almost every state was brought under Sikh control. The first to yield were Bhadu, Bhau and Kashtwar (1820), the next were Samba and Bandralta (1822), after that came Bhoti, Basohli, Jasrota and Mankot (1834) and finally most of Chanehni (1835). By 1846, at the end of the first Anglo-Sikh war, the seventeen states which had earlier comprised the first most westerly group had all lost their separate identities, their territories had been merged in Jammu or Kashmir and of their previous courtly regimes, nothing remained. In the process their rulers were given small estates far removed from their previous 'kingdoms' and only in one case, Chanehni, was a ruler permitted to stay as a landlord in his former state.

Similar severe changes took place in the rest of the Hills. Following the final defeat of the Sikhs in 1849, the British annexed the Punjab Plains and with them the former Sikh state of Kangra and the states already attached to it. The group was converted into the British district of Kangra, the former rulers or their descendants became landed gentry, their courts were abolished and a great area extending deep into the mountains was brought under British rule. Earlier operations had affected Garhwal. Besides threatening Kahlur and Kangra, the Gurkhas of Nepal had

menaced British security, and in 1816 a British expedition had ousted the Gurkhas from Garwhal, reinstated Raja Sudarshan Shah but reduced his kingdom to a northerly portion known as Tehri. The remainder shared the fate of Kangra and was made into a British district. By 1850, in addition to Jammu, only nine of the former thirty-five feudal states retained a semblance of independence. They were Chamba, Bashahr, Mandi, Suket, Kahlur, Baghal, Hindur, Sirmur and Tehri Garwhal. Even here, however, their rulers were no longer wholly free and by 1870 British Residents or Superintendents had been installed to advise them on local government and to control their affairs. The feudal order was seemingly preserved, the rajas received royal respect but in most cases their resources were reduced. Above all the British were now the controllers of taste. British and western products became more and more part of the Indian scene. Western education began to undermine traditional values. Except in rare cases, descendants of former rulers began to regard miniatures as curios, as sentimental mementos of an old-fashioned way of life of which they were now half-ashamed. Active enjoyment of pictures weakened and the cloth bundles in which the family paintings had been kept were hardly ever brought out. By then artist families had dispersed or had taken to other occupations, patronage had dwindled, and of the old styles there was little trace.

viii

Against this background of a culture in eclipse, Rajput paintings from the Punjab Hills began to be marketed by Indian dealers in the early years of the twentieth century and to gain sudden popularity. With improved transport and settled administration, more and more tourists were visiting India and, along with government servants and their families, were spending the hot weathers in Himalayan hill-stations such as Simla, Mussoorie and Dalhousie, as well as at Srinagar in the Kashmir Valley. Dealers in Delhi, Lahore and Amritsar ran flourishing 'curio' shops which sold the visitors small objects such as jewellery, ivories, bronzes and pictures. By the twentieth century, Mughal paintings were becoming scarce and sources of supply had almost ceased. It was only natural that the dealers in Delhi and the Punjab should look towards the Hills for fresh commodities. Although the dealers knew little of 'Pahari' painting, there were strong rumours that painting had existed there. Writing in 1887, Lockwood Kipling, then Principal of the Mayo School of Art at Lahore, declared in the *Journal of Indian Art and Industry* that 'among native limners, *Kangra ki qalm* (the Kangra pencil) is a phrase constantly heard and meant to distinguish the style or touch of a school of illumination and mythological painting that is supposed to have flourished there'.

At the same time, officials began to encourage collecting. During the nineties, the Northern Circle of the Archaeological Survey had been resuscitated and the Central Museum, Lahore, had been opened in 1894, with the Principal of the Mayo School of Art as its curator. The museum was anxious to acquire a collection of 'antiquities' such as sculpture, coins, copper-plates and paintings. J. P. Vogel, the Superintendent of the Northern Circle, had a deep interest in ancient and medieval history and he found a sympathetic ally in Percy Brown, the museum's curator. The Punjab Government, with its publications, was aiding historical research and it was for historical, rather than artistic reasons, that the dealers were encouraged to submit portraits of local rulers. As a further step, Vogel persuaded Raja Bhuri Singh of Chamba to establish a local museum to display his own ancestral collection.

In the process of obtaining portraits from local collections, the dealers acquired Hill paintings of other subjects. With their loss of nerve, sagging morale and general impoverishment, descendants of the old Hill rulers were often ready to sell part of their family collections. And even when they were unco-operative, servants were at times willing to be bribed to extract pictures from their masters' collections. For these paintings the dealers soon found a market, not only among visitors to the Punjab, but further afield with collectors of Mughal art such as P. C. Manuk in Patna. With his eye for style, Manuk quickly assessed the quality of this new type of painting and through the Amritsar dealer, Radha Krishna Bharany, became one of the

first connoisseurs to collect 'Pahari' pictures. He was soon joined by other collectors in Bengal such as Gogonendranath and Abanindranath Tagore, and later by Ajit Ghose and O. C. Gangoly.

Most of these early collectors were content to buy paintings without enquiring deeply into their history or subject-matter. And the dealers, for obvious reasons, were none too ready to reveal the people or places from which they were extracting pictures. As a result, much early information about provenance was lost for ever. It was on to this frail and rickety stage that the pioneer investigator, A. K. Coomaraswamy, was to make his entrance in 1910.

ix

Ananda Kentish Coomaraswamy, the son of an Indian father and an Irish mother, was born in Ceylon in 1877 but at the age of two was taken to England where he received his education. In 1906 he obtained a D.Sc. in geology from London University having worked in Ceylon for three years from 1903 as Director of the Mineralogical Survey. His interests, however, lay in art and philosophy rather than in science and it was after his return to England that he mixed with artists such as William Rothenstein and Eric Gill and in 1910 published two books — *Medieval Sinhalese Art* and *Indian Drawings* (chiefly Mughal). He had in fact become an Indian savant proud of Indian culture and devoted to its propagation. Apart, however, from a brief stay in Calcutta in 1906 when he had met the Tagores, he had never been to India. In June 1910 he returned in order to organise an exhibition of arts and crafts at Allahabad, and during this much longer visit he discovered Rajput paintings, especially those from the Hills. His enthusiasm for their subject-matter and styles was immediate and he at once began to collect as many examples as he could. His sources were the dealers of Lahore and Amritsar who, believing that the works were far 'inferior' to Mughal pictures, charged prices that by later standards were ludicrously low. Before Coomaraswamy had gone to India, P. C. Manuk had been offered by Radha Krishna Bharany the Garhwal *Kaliya Damana*, now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, but despite its price of only five rupees, he had rejected it since it had reached him folded into four! The picture was still with Bharany when Coomaraswamy arrived in 1910 and it was among the first Pahari miniatures which he bought.

Early the next year Coomaraswamy was joined in India by William Rothenstein with whom he shared his purchases. He had written to Rothenstein in September 1910, communicating something of his enthusiasm: 'It has been a hot time but very interesting travelling about the last three months. I have collected many good pictures and stayed with many dear and beautiful Indians. . . . I wonder if you will go so far as Lahore. I expect not. You too ought to be here for years. I have never felt the land so much before. I feel the intense thinness of English life in contrast. There is such a deep emotional and philosophical religious background to this.'

Three weeks later he wrote: 'The whole country is full of beauty and romance. I find the indigenous element in this art even larger than I surmised, and the Persian element very much smaller. . . . I have got hold of a magnificent lot of old Rajput cartoons and tracings of miniatures — I can't tell you how beautiful some of them are. Most are 18th century, and the best must have been earlier than that, even so, one can only think of Botticelli as giving an idea of one or two. . . . I have been spending more than all my possessions on pictures.'

Finally, in January 1911, he wrote from Allahabad: 'Dear Rothenstein, As per your wire, expect you here 24th at midday. . . . I am very sorry when I wrote the two big books I did not quite realise the relative importance of the Rajput school. Now I see it is really *the* great thing and the other in spite of its wonderful and beautiful qualities, lesser. I did not want to say this then either because it might seem (and

unfortunately even now may seem) Hindu prejudice. However I am quite sure of it and the conviction has grown quite slowly and surely in me.⁵

The result was a determination to present Rajput painting to the West as one of the most significant forms of Indian art. He had already acquired materials far in excess of those needed for the Allahabad exhibition; he had met and talked to dealers; he had visited the towns of Kangra and Mandi. He had also learnt much from Mukandi Lal, a barrister of Garhwal, through whom he met Balak Ram Sah, a descendant of the Garhwal artist, Mola Ram. Balak Ram Sah owned a large collection of pictures, associated with Garhwal by family tradition and provenance, and these were to provide Coomaraswamy with one of his chief bearings. Returning to England late in 1911, he put together a series of books and articles in which he championed his new cause. An article on Rajput painting in *The Burlington Magazine* (1911) was followed by a second volume, *Indian Drawings* (1912), mainly devoted to pictures from the Hills, and finally by *Rajput Painting* (1916), in which he laid the greatest stress on Pahari work. In these writings, felicities of expression, combined with passionate appreciation of aesthetic and emotional qualities, resulted in a wholly new awareness in the West of Indian paintings from the Punjab Hills.

x

Such a book, scholarly in its intentions, cool and limpid in its English and lavishly illustrated, was to prove the starting-point for all studies of Pahari painting. To appreciate its significance, however, we must understand its scope. It was intended more as a vindication of a type of art than as a history of schools and styles — a point which Coomaraswamy himself was at pains to emphasise:

‘No separate work on Rajput painting has yet been published, and no contributions to its study have been made by other investigators; this is, therefore, a pioneer work, and as such may fairly claim the indulgence of later students, who will discover many errors of commission and omission.

‘The justification of the historian of art is to be found in his ability to bring the reader into contact with his theme, and I have attempted no more than this. The student of European and Antique art is accustomed to an elaborate apparatus of names and dates, while he takes the subject-matter for granted. Here, for many reasons, I have followed an opposite course. It would not be possible with the information at present available to write a detailed history after the catalogue manner, and in any case the connection of the art with the sources of its inspiration is far more important. On the other hand, the subject-matter of Rajput painting is unfamiliar to most European, and to many English-speaking Indian students of the present-day; and while it is true that aesthetic beauty does not depend directly on the subject of a work — and expert critics may be content to look for aesthetic qualities alone, without asking what these works are about — nevertheless such beauty as they have has only arisen from the necessity which has been felt to express their subject-matter.’⁶

And in a passage of great eloquence, inspired mainly by Kangra pictures, he declared: ‘Many will be drawn to Rajput art as much by sympathetic and ethical, as by aesthetic considerations. Such paintings must always intimately appeal to those who are already attracted by Indian life and thought, and above all to those who realise that they form the last visual records of an order that is rapidly passing away never to return. In any case their ethos is unique: what Chinese art achieved for landscape is here accomplished for human love. Here if never and nowhere else in the world, the Western Gates are opened wide. The arms of lovers are about each other’s necks, eye meets eye, the whispering *sakhis* speak of nothing else but the course of Krishna’s courtship, the very animals are spell-bound by the sound of Krishna’s flute and the elements stand still to hear the *ragas* and *raginis*. This art is

5. K. R. Towndrow, ‘Sir William Rothenstein and his Indian correspondence’, *Art and Letters* (1951), XXV, no. 1, 17-18.

6. A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Rajput Painting* (Oxford, 1916), 6-7.

only concerned with the realities of life; above all, with passionate love-service, conceived as the means and symbol of all Union. If Rajput art at first sight appears to lack the material charm of Persian pastorals, or the historic significance of Mughal portraiture, it more than compensates in tenderness and depth of feeling, in gravity and reverence. Rajput art creates a magic world where all men are heroic, all women are beautiful, passionate and shy, beasts both wild and tame are the friends of man and trees and flowers are conscious of the footsteps of the Bridegroom as he passes by. This magic world is not unreal or fanciful but a world of imagination and eternity, visible to all who do not refuse to see with the transfiguring eyes of love.⁷

Passages such as these splendidly evoked the spirit of certain types of Pahari picture and it was only when Coomaraswamy attempted to connect the many different styles of painting with specific areas that his handicaps became apparent. In 1910 and 1911, the years when he was actively collecting his materials in India and even in 1912 to 1915 when he was writing his book in England, the actual history of the thirty-five feudal states which comprised the Punjab Hills was virtually unknown. Apart from the seven states which had preserved their separate identities, he was faced with two broad divisions — northern and southern — represented by the 'districts' of Jammu and Kangra. Within these 'districts', states had existed but there was no list of their names, no list of their rulers, no account of reigns and no idea of their history. In about 1910, J. P. Vogel, Superintendent of the Northern Circle, Archaeological Survey, began a long collaboration with J. Hutchison, a Scottish missionary in Chamba, but it was not until 1915 that the first of their detailed historical accounts appeared, and not until 1933 that a complete series of papers, published over the years in the *Journal of the Panjab Historical Society*, was collected in book form. In 1917, a year after *Rajput Painting* appeared, they had published a history of Basohli state, but in 1926, when Coomaraswamy incorporated some of their historical reconstructions in his Boston Catalogue, the project was far from finished. Many states had still to be studied, and the evidence of copper-plate inscriptions, family histories, genealogies (*vansavalis*) and vernacular histories had yet to be digested and presented in logical form. It is little wonder that faced with so complete a blank Coomaraswamy opted for what was later to prove too simple an arrangement.

Assured by the Amritsar and Lahore dealers that Hill paintings of lyrical delicacy came from 'Kangra', and by Mukandi Lal and Balak Ram Sah that paintings of a similar grace were also connected with Garhwal, he associated this branch of Pahari painting with the southernmost of his two 'districts'. He thought it improbable that any local collections still existed and, barring a single exception, that any artists still practised. Realising in fact that apart from dealers' reports he had virtually no evidence to go on, he was forced to make only the broadest of attributions, and express by means of hints, suggestions and intuitions what he believed to be the historical position:

'It is by examples of the Kangra school that the Pahari schools of painting were first made known [i.e. in *The Burlington Magazine* article of 1912]. It is certain that Kot Kangra [i.e. the Kangra fort] has been a great centre of production but the term Kangra must be understood in this work in a wide sense as covering the work of a whole district; and though the Kot Kangra type is fairly well defined, as in the *Nala Damayanti* series [examples of which had been published in *Indian Drawings*, volume 2] still I do not know how to place the many dialects of this style, nor how to distinguish the work of other Pahari states, such as Mandi, Suket, Rampur (Bashahr), and Patiala, extending eastwards to Garhwal. Practically nothing is now produced, and of Kot Kangra art nothing remains *in situ*. I have seen the ruins of houses formerly occupied by painters, but it is generally agreed that their last traces were wiped out by the earthquake of 1907 [1905]; and probably all the pictures formerly extant in this fairly accessible district have now been removed and sold. I am informed, however, by Babu Samarendranath Gupta, that painters still practise at Guler.'⁸

7. *Ibid.*, 7.

8. *Ibid.*, 21.

The same lack of evidence bedevilled his attempts to connect paintings with the second and northernmost of the two 'districts', Jammu. Observing that pictures in a style the very opposite of 'Kangra-Garhwal' often had inscriptions in *takri* and believing, though erroneously, that this script was confined to the Jammu part of the Hills, he attributed these different types of picture to the Jammu 'district'. He stressed that they often possessed a 'savage' vitality and that many were weird, bizarre and strangely 'wild'. They were, therefore, almost certainly from a different part of the Hills than were those which were called 'Kangra'. Some of them, he noted, were even called 'Tibeti' by the Amritsar dealers — a term which further confused the issue since no one seemed able to explain it. As to where they had actually come from, Coomaraswamy had no real idea; and since his acquaintanceship with the dealers was brief, none of them felt justified in telling him. Great as his book must seem in retrospect, therefore, it was on account of its rhetorical brilliance, persuasive charm and sensitivity to Indian attitudes that it came to be valued. As a permanent contribution to the accurate identification of styles and their firm attribution to states, it was at best a tentative first step.

xi

In the fifty-five years which have elapsed since *Rajput Painting* appeared, much has happened. Coomaraswamy's belief that few local collections still existed in the Hills has been disproved by the enquiries of Ajit Ghose, J. C. French and Jagdish Mittal, and above all by those of M. S. Randhawa. Not only have two ancestral collections been discovered in Kangra, two in Nurpur and one each from Guler, Kotla, Basohli, Mankot and Jammu, but a further eight have come to light in the southernmost part of the region. Two are from Kulu, two from Kahlur and one each from Mandi, Baghal, Hindur and Tehri Garhwal. Eighteen groups of pictures, in fact, can now be connected with particular states on grounds of provenance and, although not every painting is necessarily a local product, the presence among them of many pictures in distinctive styles has provided new and stronger grounds for attribution.

Side by side with these discoveries has gone a spate of public and private collecting. In certain instances, pictures have been acquired directly from their original owners. In others, they have reached the outside world through dealers. Public institutions in India and Pakistan — the National Museum, New Delhi, the Central Museum, Lahore, Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras, the Chandigarh Museum, the Dogra Art Gallery, Jammu, and the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay — have made important acquisitions; and museums outside India have also obtained significant examples. In 1917 the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, acquired in great part Coomaraswamy's private collection. In 1948, the British Museum, the Victoria and Albert Museum and the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, shared the Pahari pictures owned by P. C. Manuk and his companion, Miss G. M. Coles; and in 1955 the British Museum and the Victoria and Albert Museum jointly purchased the private collection of J. C. French. Between 1949 and 1959, the latter museum acquired the private collections of Sir William Rothenstein and Colonel T. G. Gayer-Anderson and also made a number of independent purchases. From possessing only thirty-three Pahari pictures in 1948, the Victoria and Albert Museum owned in 1960 three hundred and twenty-nine Pahari miniatures. Other museums, chiefly in America, were also active, notably the Cleveland Museum of Art, the Metropolitan Museum, New York, the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, the Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Mass., and the Los Angeles County Museum of Art. At the same time many private individuals were forming collections.

The results of these activities have been two-fold. Since 1916, so carefully has every state been explored that hardly a single ancestral collection now remains. A few pictures may still be in private hands but the process, begun with the collapse of the old Rajput order and with the incursion of dealers, is virtually complete. It is outside the Punjab Hills, not inside, that Pahari pictures chiefly exist. The second result has followed from the first. Due to greater accessibility, and wider appreciation of their qualities as art, Pahari pictures have been increasingly studied. Subjects and

styles have been analysed in exhibitions, articles and monographs, and in his monumental survey, *Pahari Miniature Painting*, Karl Khandalavala was able in 1958 to propose a number of new groupings.⁹ What would have been impossible if the pictures had lain hidden with their original owners was actually assisted by their dispersal. The magnitude of the Pahari achievement in painting was demonstrated and the variety of different schools requiring identification became clear.

Alongside these developments, other advances were made. In 1933 Hutchison and Vogel's great history of the Punjab Hill States supplied many facts concerning the reigns and dates of rulers in the thirty-five states. To these were added accounts of inter-state wars, political alliances, and religious and cultural developments. References to poetry and painting did not bulk large and for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, data was often inadequate. Realising that other sources must be used, Khandalavala availed of Man Mohan's *History of the Mandi State*, Randhawa closely examined Kahan Singh Balauria's Urdu history and B. N. Goswamy consulted the Urdu works of Sarabdayal, Hardayal Singh, and Muhi-ud Din (Bute Shah). Manuscript histories, such as the *Diliparanjani* of 1703 (an account in verse of the Guler raja, Dalip Singh) and a note on Guler reigns and rulers by Raja Baldev Singh of Guler were also discovered. The result was to reveal in many cases the interests and personalities of rulers at whose courts painting had flourished. At a late stage a significant event was the realisation that the manuscript account by William Moorcroft of painting at the court of Sansar Chand of Kangra differed materially from the version published by his editor, H. H. Wilson. Through research of this type, much historical evidence necessary for reconstructing schools of painting was brought to light.

At the same time the need for accurately reading the *takri* notes with which many pictures were inscribed became apparent. These were especially relevant in the case of portraits. Although the circumstances in which these inscriptions were written varied greatly — some being contemporary, others the work of dealers — a number proved reliable means for identifying their subjects. Not every portrait was contemporary but for reconstructing local schools they were important on two grounds. They offered in many cases a crucial *terminus ante quem* since by its very nature no portrait of a ruler can be painted before he is born; but, more important, they provided at times significant clues to local styles. This was notably true of portraits depicting the ruler in a familiar, intimate and personal manner, in a particular setting, on a local or special occasion or while worshipping his favourite deities. In such cases the ladies, courtiers, dependents and other persons present would often be depicted in the current style local to the state and the intimacy of presentation raised a strong presumption that the portrait had been painted in that state. For connecting pictures of this kind with particular states knowledge of the *takri* script was desirable; but for almost forty years following Coomaraswamy's attempts scholars were handicapped by its general illegibility and by the fact that although widely current in the Punjab Hills in the nineteenth century, it had later gone out of use. The considerable success of Robert Skelton, B. N. Goswamy and V. C. Ohri in deciphering it has led to many early misconceptions being rectified and has thus enabled a vital form of evidence to be properly assessed.

Equally important has been the progress made in interpreting the meaning of inscriptions and in realising the implications of certain words and phrases. No ruler, for example, would be described within his own state and during his own life-time as 'of that state'. The form used would be 'Raja Bahadur Singh', not 'Raja Bahadur Singh of Bhoti', 'Raja Balwant Singh', not 'Raja Balwant Singh of Jammu', and so on. Similarly, if a picture was executed in a ruler's own state, it would be most unlikely for an inscription to mention the state itself since to all concerned — the writer, the patron and the artist — such information would be obvious. Only if a picture had strayed from its original place of execution, had entered a different collection or was being annotated at some later stage would names of clans and places be

9. See Acknowledgements.

included. Even in the case of suffixes such as 'Chambial', 'Guleria', 'Pathania', 'Katoch', it was soon realised that no strict rules could be applied and that far from being restricted to the ruler, his family or his clan, the terms could be used of any persons coming from or belonging to the area. The term, *sri diwan*, was also highly ambiguous since it could mean firstly a raja who ruled his state as *diwan* or minister for the state-god, secondly a raja who had been granted the title of *diwan* by a Mughal emperor, and thirdly, a member of either the local royal house or of another state who happened to be a minister. For determining which particular usage was implied, only a knowledge of local history and conditions would do, since otherwise wrong conclusions might be reached. The recognition that crucial terms could often be ambiguous, that inscriptions were sometimes inaccurate or mistaken, and that an element of carelessness must also be allowed for were only some of the advances made by scholars in the period.

Besides inscriptions which identify the subject, six formal colophons to illustrated series and approximately twenty inscriptions on individual pictures naming an artist and in some cases giving a date were also found. These varied in importance. In certain instances they were of crucial significance since they corroborated conclusions based on provenance and also established when and where a style of painting had flourished. Not every colophon or inscription, however, was easy to decipher and, as a result, evidence which might otherwise have been conclusive served at times to create fresh problems. The very rarity of inscriptions and the general uncertainty concerning the motives for recording them were further complicating factors. Unhappily also, despite much patient work, notably by Goswamy, on artists' genealogies (including the conscientious collection of entries in priests' registers at pilgrimage centres) it has proved impossible to connect more than a very few of these artists with actual pictures. Artists whose names appeared in colophons or in inscriptions on pictures were often untraceable. Pictures of great significance were usually uninscribed. While, therefore, the presence in a state of a particular artist may at times have been influential, the collective style of the state as expressed in a local school of painting has of necessity remained the prime basis for classification.

In addition to scholarly researches so far discussed, exploration of the Hills and visits to the actual sites of local courts have been of major importance. Apart from Moorcroft and Ujfalvy, no previous travellers had referred to miniatures. Coomaraswamy himself had made only the briefest of visits and his knowledge bore little relation to local conditions. Since then scholars such as French, Goetz, Mittal, Goswamy and above all Randhawa, have been to the area with revolutionary consequences. Not only have local collections been examined in detail, but oral traditions concerning patrons and artists have been recorded. In certain states, buildings with wall paintings have been studied and although in most cases the murals are too late to be of use in identifying earlier styles, those in Siba, Nurpur, Kulu and Chamba have proved of genuine relevance. Ruins of local shrines and temples have also disclosed the form of worship especially prevalent and the extent to which rajas favoured the cult of Krishna. Above all, the influence of local scenery on painting has come to be realised. In the Punjab Hills, especially in the early period, painting was normally too symbolic and unrealistic to incorporate local features. In its middle and later phases, details of local scenery, architecture, dress and even peculiarities of human physique were at times included. The more naturalistic the style, the more immediately recognisable are these local ingredients, but even in pictures of the middle period the choice of details, the treatment of a landscape-setting in a special way or the unusual distortion of the human face or figure can provide telling evidence of the area in which the picture was painted. At Kulu, the swirling mists, the pine-trees and goitre-swollen necks for which the people were well known, can be paralleled in paintings. At Guler, the prolific plantains, rocky hillsides with curved rims, the Ban Ganga river with its distinctive horse-shoe bend, and the fashion of wearing skirts with parti-coloured bands are outstanding features. At Srinagar in Garhwal, the twin hills Nar and Narain jutting into the Alaknanda river, and at Datarpur two castles facing each other on adjoining hilltops are clues to local painting. Finally, the gently sloping

woods and meadows on the Sujapur side of the Beas River, the little hills with isolated trees at Alampur, and the boulder-strewn banks of the Beas at Nadaun, all in sharp contrast to the neighbouring Guler, provide significant evidence for Kangra painting.

Such developments have given a new dimension to studies of Indian painting in the Punjab Hills and as a result the problem of identifying local schools, although still arduous, is no longer as intractable as it appeared in 1916. With advances in research has come the realisation that many different kinds of evidence are relevant, that no single type is conclusive and that all types must be taken into account. Provenance must remain a first consideration but since not every picture was painted in the place where it was found, corroboration is necessary. Inscriptions while providing clues are not infallible since their writers can no longer be interrogated. Portraiture is not necessarily the best yard-stick since the subject might have been depicted outside his own area. To objections of this kind there is no end. If, however, the pictures concerned are in a distinctive style, not readily connected with any other state, if as portraits they involve special knowledge of local personages, if their inscriptions do not conflict with other facts, if their settings have local features, if their subject-matter tallies with developments in local religion, events in local history or with known interests of local rulers, if oral traditions connect them with a certain place, conditions for demonstrating a local school of painting begin to be present. Instead of only one kind of evidence, a whole medley of complex factors will then connect particular pictures with particular states. To the frameworks thus established, further pictures may then be added, either on grounds of style or on account of similarities of detail, and in this way local schools of painting can be firmly reconstructed.

These are the convictions on which the present survey has been based and in the following pages, the evidence is presented.

PREFATORY NOTE

Throughout the text, names of States are used to indicate the former feudal areas in which individual pictures are considered to have been executed. 'Garhwal, c.1780' accordingly means 'executed in the former State of Garhwal in about the year 1780'.

Books and articles are referred to by the surname of the author and the year of their publication, e.g. Coomaraswamy (1914); Khandalavala (1957). When an author has published more than one book or article in the same year, the first is distinguished by the letter 'a' after the year, the second by the letter 'b', and so on; e.g. Randhawa (1956a); Goswamy (1966b). Unless otherwise indicated, Goswamy refers to B. N. Goswamy.

In Historical Notes the following abbreviations are employed:

HV Hutchison, J., and Vogel, J. P. *History of the Panjab Hill States* (Lahore, 1933).

KS Kahan Singh Balauria. *Tawarikh-i-Rajputan-i-Mulk-i-Panjab* (Jammu, 1912).

MM Man Mohan. *The History of the Mandi State* (Lahore, 1930).

KK Khandalavala, K. *Pahari Miniature Painting* (Bombay, 1958).

In Reviews of Literature, D. Barrett is cited as the author of *Painting of India* (London, 1963), instead of D. Barrett and B. Gray, Mr. Barrett being the author of the chapter on Pahari Painting.

Numbers in bold type refer either to pictures expressly catalogued in the text e.g. **5** or **no. 5**, **7(iii)** or **no. 7(iii)**, **series 8** or **series no. 8**; or to pictures included in catalogue entries either for comparison, as examples from the same or a similar series, or on account of similarities of style, e.g. **5(6)** or **no. 5(6)**, **series 7(4)** or **series no. 7(4)**.

Except when otherwise specified, all pictures included in the Catalogue sections of Volume I are illustrated in Volume II with identical numbers. All numbering is by States.

PAINTING IN BAGHAL (ARKI)

I. INTRODUCTION

GEOGRAPHY

A small state, 124 square miles in size, bounded on the south by the Punjab Plains, on the west by Hindur (Nalagarh), on the north-west by Kahlur (Bilaspur), on the north by 'the towering highlands of the small state of Mangal' and on the east by the petty states of Dhami and Kunhiar (Simla Hills).

SCENERY

Arki, the capital, is 'a picturesque town twenty-one miles from Simla. Its buildings are clustered below the fort, an imposing structure on the southern slope of a precipitous hill. The town includes a small stretch of level ground, of which its inhabitants are proud, a number of temples and tanks and a garden noted for its almond trees. The larger part of the state is in the basin of one of the tributaries of the Gambhar. This latter is an exceptionally fertile tract, sloping from the wilder mountains on the north, which guard the Sutlej south-wards into the rich valleys below Sairi and Sabathu' (*Gazetteer*, 3).

French (1931), who visited Baghal in 1929, noted: 'Arki town is like Chamba. It is dominated by a fortress-palace and below there is an open space in the centre of the town. The walls defending the palace are in some places carved out of the living rock and precipices continue them. The vista up the narrow streets of Arki town to the palace is old Italian, and even finer is the view from the west, of fortress, palace and houses overhanging a mountain torrent in sombre steepness . . . The ride from Arki to Bilaspur is beautiful with the beauty of these hills, now rising to the high pine-forests and now dipping steeply into the little valleys. The houses in the villages are still covered with the old thatch. Over the mountain torrents are the little water-mills with sloping roofs. Nothing more ancient or primitive could be imagined. They seem part of a fairy-tale scene. At the top of every rise the line of snowy mountains which separate Kangra from Chamba comes into view. Just before Bilaspur the hills widen out and leave a great amphitheatre of open space. I came to it in the late afternoon. Under the setting sun the great valley was clothed in a rich blue haze, a scene of mellow loveliness' (84-85, 89-99).

RELIGION

Among six temples listed, the *Gazetteer* notes two to local forms of Shiva. The main temple in Arki itself is to Lakshmi Narain (Vishnu) of which the image is supposed to have been brought by the founder of the line, Aje De. 'A peculiar custom is that there is no official observance of the Holi, owing, it is said, to a Chief having once died during this festival' (*Gazetteer*, 6, 7).

II. HISTORICAL NOTES

SOURCES

Anon. *Punjab States Gazetteers, VIIA: Simla Hill States, 1910, Baghal State Gazetteer* (Lahore, 1911).
French, J. C. *Himalayan Art* (Oxford, 1931), 85-87.
Randhawa, M. S. 'Paintings from Arki', *Roopa Lekha* (1961), XXXI, no. 1, 5-24. Recording information supplied by Raja Rajinder Singh of Arki.

REIGNS AND PORTRAITS

'The ruling family traces its descent from Aje De (Aje Dev), a Panwar Rajput, who came from Ujain. His descendants have kept their blood singularly pure and have had considerable difficulty at times in finding wives of equally untainted descent. They have married much with the Bilaspur family' (*Gazetteer*, 3). Clan-name, Baghalia. Suffix, Chand. Prefix, Rana.

1640-1670 SABHA CHAND (i)

Made Arki capital, 1643. Built present palace.

Portrait: (1) **Fig. 1 (Baghal)**. Rana Sabha Chand smoking attended by seven ladies. Raja Rajinder Singh collection, Arki. Baghal (Arki), c.1670.

1670-1727 PRITHI CHAND (ii)

Portrait: (1) **Fig. 3 (Baghal)**. Rana Prithi Chand smoking. Raja Rajinder Singh collection, Arki. Baghal (Arki), c.1700.

1727-1743 MEHR CHAND (iii)

Born 1702. Added to Arki palace. Randhawa (1961) notes: 'There are a number of portraits of Rana Mehr Chand (1727-1743). . . . The characteristic feature of these portraits is the aquiline nose which is a genetic feature in the Arki family. Even the present Raja of Arki has a similar type of nose' (9).

Portraits: (1) **Fig. 12 (Baghal)**. Rana Mehr Chand smoking. Raja Rajinder Singh collection, Baghal (Arki), c.1730.

(2) Randhawa (1961), fig. 10. Rana Mehr Chand on horse-back attended by a servant with fan. Uninscribed but captioned on the basis of family tradition. Raja Rajinder Singh collection, Arki. Baghal (Arki), c.1730.

(3) **Fig. 8 (Baghal)**. Rana Mehr Chand seated with Raja Ajmer Chand (1712-1741) of Bilaspur and his family. Raja Anand Chand collection, Bilaspur. Baghal (Arki), c.1720.

(4) **Fig. 9 (Baghal)**. Rana Mehr Chand conversing with Raja Jai Singh (1731-1742) of Kulu. Binney collection, Brookline, Mass. Baghal (Arki), c.1720.

1743-1778 BHUP CHAND (iv)

Wars: 'Is remembered for the battles which he fought with the neighbouring states of Bilaspur and Nalagarh' (Randhawa (1961), 10; unrecorded HV, *Gazetteers* Bilaspur, Nalagarh).

Portrait: (1) **Fig. 14 (Baghal)**. Rana Bhup Chand smoking. Raja Rajinder Singh collection, Arki. Baghal (Arki), c.1750.

1778-1828 JAGAT SINGH (v)

Wars: Gurkha occupation of Baghal state, 1805-1815. Jagat Singh in exile at Nalagarh for seven years. Restored by British, 1815. On the nature of the Gurkha occupation, French (1931) observes: 'Arki is full of interest. It was the head-quarters of the Gurkhas when they invaded the Western Himalayas from Nepal and fought with Sansar Chand and Ranjit Singh. After Ranjit Singh had driven them from the Kangra Valley they still remained in Arki. The memory of the Gurkhas is vivid in these hills, especially their behaviour in the villages.' French then lists a number of traditions illustrating their oppression. He concludes: 'The Gurkhas' reputation for revenge was such that it was said that if a Gurkha on the road cut his foot on a stone, he would not go until he had smashed it to powder. Under the Gurkhas, the Western Himalayas, from Nepal to the Sutlej, became a desert. When they left, it is said that only one man in ten thousand could read and write. The memory of the Gurkhas is summed up in the proverb, 'Jo gurkhan se bache, so bache,' 'Living are they who lived when the Gurkhas left.' A war with the British drove the Gurkhas back to Nepal and freed Arki. This account of the Gurkhas is not irrelevant, for it explains why Kangra art is represented in the Himalayas west of the Sutlej mainly by later

examples. It is not surprising that the great art of earlier days perished in these fearful convulsions' (86-88).

1828-1840 SHIVA SARAN SINGH (vi)

Kangra: Sheltered Raja Anirudh Chand (1823-1829) of Kangra on his flight from Kangra, 1828. Gave asylum to Mians Ranbir and Pramod Chand (sons of Anirudh Chand). **Character:** A deeply religious man who built a number of temples and gave a large number of grants to Brahmins. Built the Diwankhana, Arki.

1840-1876 KISHAN SINGH (vii)

Had the Diwankhana decorated with murals c.1850. Extended the Arki palace and built temples. Reconstructed Arki bazaar.

1876-1877 MOTI SINGH (viii)

1877-1904 DHIAN SINGH (ix)

Son of Mian Jai Singh. Succeeded after a family dispute. One of five brothers. Local revolts, 1897. British intervention, 1902.

1904-? BIKRAM SINGH (x)

Son of Dhian Singh. Born 1893. Regency of Mian Man Singh, brother of Dhian Singh and for some time his wazir. Local rebellion, 1905.

? RAJINDER SINGH (xi)

Son of Bikram Singh.

Owner of the Baghal family collection of pictures, shown to M. S. Randhawa at Arki in June, 1958. The collection then included a number of portraits of Baghal rajas in distinctive style (see nos. 1, 3, 12 and 14) some incarnations of Vishnu, a series of *Nayaka Nayika* subjects (see nos. 4, 5, 13, 17) and a number of Krishna themes (see nos. 19, 22). Discussed Randhawa (1961, 1962).

IMPLICATIONS FOR PAINTING

Due to scantiness of materials, few inferences for painting can be drawn from Baghal history. The *Gazetteer's* remark, however, that the Baghal house attached great importance to purity of blood and that it married chiefly in Bilaspur could explain a style of painting influenced by and perhaps largely deriving from Kahlur (Bilaspur).

The severity of the Gurkha occupation (1805-1815) would account for a general disruption in painting at the beginning of the nineteenth century and might explain the smallness of the ancestral collection of pictures.

III. PAINTING: REVIEW OF LITERATURE

1931

French, J. C. *Himalayan Art* (Oxford, 1931).

Describes murals (c.1850) at Arki: 'Seen from a distance the buildings of Arki are magnificent, but on closer view the vision fades. Old and new are mingled together and the result tends to be drab and commonplace. The best piece of architecture is the Haveli, built fifty years ago. It is in the style of Rajputana architecture, perfectly proportioned and with a certain lightness and grace. Other parts of the palace, said to be over two hundred years old, are nothing like so effective. The Diwankhana, built and decorated seventy-five years ago (i.e. c.1850) has frescoes on the walls and pillars. Those on the walls are in coarse and decadent Kangra Valley style. There is some curious work on the pillars, exact copies of some European pictures of the eighteenth century, including a sea-port scene with full-rigged ships. It is curious to see the two styles of art,

European and Kangra, side by side and the work of the same artists and neither showing the slightest sign of being influenced by the other'.

Describes a meeting with Mian Basant Singh, amateur painter and cousin of the Raja of Arki. Did not see any collection of Arki paintings or record any Baghal (Arki) style. Attributes the absence of pictures to havoc caused by the Gurkha occupation of the state (1805-1815).

1946

Khandalavala, K. 'Some paintings from the collection of the late Burjor N. Treasurywala', *Marg* (1946), I, no. 1, 46-57.

Page 52. 'Shiva seducing the wives of the Brahmins'. Here assigned to Baghal (Arki). See no. 7.

1950

Mehta, N. C. 'Notes on some Rajasthani and Pahari Paintings', *Roopa Lekha* (1950), XXI, no. 2, 10.

Alludes to the mid-nineteenth century murals at Arki (French, 1931) and ascribes their execution to painters from Jaipur. The first reference to work by Jaipur artists in the Punjab Hills. See no. 21.

1956

Banerji, A. 'Romanticism in Indian Painting', *Roopa Lekha* (1956), XXVII, no. 1, 36-43.

Fig. 2. '*Vipralabdha nayika*'. See no. 17(1).

1958

Khandalavala, K. *Pahari Miniature Painting* (Bombay, 1958).

No. 27. 'Lady tending a shrine'. See no. 2(1).

Col. pl. XII. 'Shiva seducing the wives of the Brahmins'. See no. 7.

Col. pl. XV. 'The taking of toll'. See no. 15.

1960

Lee, S. E. *Rajput Painting* (New York, 1960).

Pl. 69. 'Rama, Sita and Lakshmana'. See no. 7(1).

1961

Randhawa, M. S. 'Paintings from Arki', *Roopa Lekha* (1961), XXXI, no. 1, 5-24, figs. 1-50.

The first identification of Baghal (Arki) painting based on portraits and other pictures in distinctive styles in the family collection of Raja Rajinder Singh of Arki. See nos. 1, 3-5, 12-14, 17, 19, 22. Also illustrates and discusses murals from the Diwankhana, Arki (Mehta, 1950). See no. 21.

Skelton, R. *Indian Miniatures from the 15th to 19th centuries* (Venice, 1961).

Pl. 61. 'Rajas conversing'. See no. 10.

Pl. 84. '*Abhisarika nayika*'. See no. 19(1).

1962

Randhawa, M. S. 'Eight *Nayikas* from Arki', *Times of India Annual* (Bombay, 1962), 28-39.

Publishes eight *nayika* subjects from the family collection of Raja Rajinder Singh, Arki. See no. 17.

1964

Randhawa, M. S. 'Arki Murals', *Marg* (1964), XVII, no. 3, 18-22.

A reprint of Randhawa (1961) — 'Frescoes in the Diwankhana'.

1965

Archer, Mildred and Archer W. G. *Romance and Poetry in Indian Painting* (Wildenstein exhibition, London, 1965).

Pl. 40. '*Vipralabdha nayika*'. See no. 17(2).

1968

Archer, W. G. and Binney, E. *Rajput Miniatures from the collection of Edwin Binney 3rd* (Portland, Oregon, 1968).

Pl. 75. 'Rana Mehr Chand conversing with Raja Jai Singh'. See no. 9.

1969

Goswamy, Karuna. 'Frescoes in the Shish Mahal at Patiala', *Roopa Lekha* (1969), XXXVIII, nos. 1 and 2, 120-127. Publishes examples of murals at Patiala executed by a painter from Jaipur. Compare no. 21.

1970

Archer, Mildred. *Indian Paintings from Court, Town and Village* (Arts Council, London, 1970). Pl. 21. 'Gaur Malhara Ragini'. See no 2(ii).

IV. PAINTING: CATALOGUE AND RECONSTRUCTION

PHASE ONE: 1650-1750

1 Rana Sabha Chand (1640-1670) of Baghal smoking.

Baghal (Arki), c.1670.
165 x 240 mm; with border 185 x 270 mm. Brick-red margins, dresses protruding.
Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay (formerly Raja Rajinder Singh collection, Arki).
Identified as Rana Sabha Chand on the basis of family tradition.

Published: Randhawa (1961), fig. 7.

Description: Rana Sabha Chand of Baghal in striped *jama* and plum red turban sits smoking a hookah attended by seven ladies in blue, green, mauve and brown. White wall with cups and bottles.

Discussion: The earliest known Arki portrait, availing, though in cruder form, of idioms and details employed in the Kahlur (Bilaspur) portrait of Raja Dip Chand (v, 1650-1667) of Bilaspur with ladies. Compare, in particular, the long crinkly side-locks on the cheeks of the ladies and their somewhat staid, banal features. Connected with Baghal (Arki) by provenance and family tradition.

2(i-iii) Three paintings from a *Pahari Ragamala* series.

Baghal (Arki), c.1700.
Approximate sizes: 190 x 170 mm; with border 210 x 185 mm. Yellow borders with black rules. Details projecting.

2(i) *Kedara Raga* (son of *Megha Raga*).

Khandalavala collection, Bombay.
Description: A bearded prince, holding a bow and arrow sits with a lady on a rug beside a small pavilion. To the right, a wall with door. On the roof, a turret.

2(ii) *Gaur Malhara Ragini* (wife of *Megha Raga*).

Archer collection, London.
Published: Archer (1970), pl. 21.
Description: A lady in dark yellow bodice, green and red skirt, sits holding a flower, facing two maids in green and dark blue bodices and red, mauve, orange and yellow skirts. They play on cymbals and a small drum. Green carpet. Grey pavilion wall. Red background.

2(iii) *Vilavali Ragini* (wife of *Bhairava Raga*).

Archer collection, London.
Description: A lady in brownish red and dark blue skirt sits holding out a lotus flower to a child in brownish red clothes who tries to take it. A second, somewhat older child, in orange-red *jama* looks on. White pavilion with dark blue roof-top, brown floor and mauve carpet. Red background.
Discussion: Faces of the ladies broadly similar to those in 1, the face of the prince slightly resembling that of Rana Prithi Chand (no. 3). Similar in broad construction and, to some extent, in palette to three Bilaspur *ragamala* series (Kahlur, nos. 17-19). Like 1 and 3, reminiscent in style of Kahlur (Bilaspur) painting but in a much plainer, simpler and less assured manner.

Example from the same series: (1) Khandalavala (1958), pl. no. 27. Lady tending a shrine (?) perhaps *Bhairavi Ragini*. Pavilion with projecting monster's head and pennant. Plain background. Khandalavala collection, Bombay. Baghal (Arki), c.1700.

3 Rana Prithi Chand (1670-1727) of Baghal smoking.

Baghal (Arki), c.1700.
Inscribed: *rana*
Raja Rajinder Singh collection, Arki.
Identified as Prithi Chand on the basis of family tradition. Connected with Arki on grounds of provenance and family tradition.

Published: Randhawa (1961), fig. 8.

Description: Rana Prithi Chand sits smoking a hookah, facing right. A long heavy sword lies beside him. An attendant in three-quarter length *jama* waves a peacock-feather fan above him. Flimsily patterned rug.

Discussion: In features, not unlike his father (no. 1). The attendant's features broadly similar to those of the women in 4 and 5 — compare especially their noses and foreheads.

4 Two ladies by a willow-tree. Baghal (Arki), c.1700.

Raja Rajinder Singh collection, Arki.
Connected with Arki on grounds of provenance and family tradition.

Published: Randhawa (1961), fig. 14.

Description: A lady stands below a willow-tree grasping one of its branches in her right hand and holding a letter in her left. A companion stands opposite to her, holding a *tambura*.

Discussion: Features similar to those of the ladies in 1 and the attendant in 3. Long crinkly side-curls.

5 Princess carousing with her maid. Baghal (Arki), c.1700.

Raja Rajinder Singh collection, Arki.
Connected with Arki on grounds of provenance and family tradition.

Published: Randhawa (1961), fig. 11.

Description: A princess leaning heavily on her maid supports herself with a crutch beneath a willow-tree. Long crinkly side-curls.

Discussion: Of the same general type as Bilaspur pictures of the period, but with greater slackness in composition and execution. Notice in particular the loose profusion of the willow-tree's branches, the long untidy veils with three-dot pattern and the awkward stances of the two women — the whole suggesting an uneasy blending of Kahlur (Bilaspur), Mandi and Kulu influences.

6 Prince and lady. Baghal (Arki), c.1700-1710.

Binney collection, Brookline, Mass. (formerly Raja Anand Chand collection, Bilaspur).

Description: A prince in white *jama*, his right hand resting on a large sword, stands beneath a willow-tree gazing at a lady who offers him a flower. With his left hand, he tugs at a long strand of side-lock. Dull green background. Brick-red borders.

Discussion: Similar in general style to 3-5. The prince's unusually broad waist-bands with dark edges and horizontal lines can be matched in the portrait of Rana Prithi Chand (3) and perhaps reflects a local Baghal fashion.

7 Shiva seducing the wives of the Brahmins. Baghal (Arki), c.1720.

National Museum, New Delhi.
Published: Khandalavala (1946), 51; also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), pl. XIII (col.).

Description: Shiva in dark brown tiger skin and grey elephant hide fingers the wrist of a woman in dark red skirt and mauve bodice. She stands beside him on the verandah of a pavilion. To the left two women debate whether to join them. One in pale orange brown skirt and mauve bodice strokes the other's breast. The other in white ribbed skirt with dark green sash pinches her companion's left breast. Dark brown background with swirling trees. White band with dark blue sky at the top. Six hawks flying in the sky.

Discussion: This vivid and arresting picture, while incorporating certain Mandi and Kahlur (Bilaspur) idioms, is in a style markedly distinct from either. Mandi idioms are apparent in the dark brown background on the left and in the row of birds flighting in the dark blue sky; Kahlur (Bilaspur) affinities in the brackets to the pavilion columns and in the long crinkly side-curls. These details, however, are comparatively unimportant beside the ways in which it recalls other pictures from Baghal (Arki): nos. 4-6 (trees with the same very distinctive kind of swirling exuberance), 3 and 8 (rugs with finicky, floral patterning), 4-6 and 13 (long skirt sashes), 4, 5 and 13 (striped trousers showing through ribbed transparent skirts), above all, 8-10 with their similar, slightly meandering structures and 13 where the lover tugging at the lady's veil exactly parallels the arms of the two women on the left and where identical emphasis is placed on fingers that clutch, pinch, caress or squeeze.

Related example: (1) Lee (1960), pl. 69. Rama, Sita and Lakshmana. Seattle Art Museum. Baghal (Arki), c.1730. Tree with similar profuse exuberance.

8 Raja Ajmer Chand (1712-1741) of Kahlur (Bilaspur) seated with his children, his son Devi Chand and Rana Mehr Chand (1727-1743) of Baghal. Baghal (Arki), c.1720. Red-brick border with black rules.

Inscribed on reverse in Persian characters: *sabih ali janab mulk rakab huzur parnur sri maharaja ajmer chand sahib bahadur vali farman dari mulk kahlur reasat bilaspur meh ali janab sriman raja tika devi chand sahib bahadur vali ehad bilaspur mulk kahlur ba kalm nakash krishan chand* 'Portrait of his exalted highness Sri Maharaja Ajmer Chand, lord of Kahlur, resident in Bilaspur along with Raja Tika Devi Chand of Bilaspur in Kahlur. Penned by Krishan Chand'.

Raja Anand Chand collection, Bilaspur. Acquired by Raja Anand Chand of Bilaspur while collecting portraits of his ancestors (original source unknown).

Description: Raja Ajmer Chand of Kahlur (Bilaspur) in a white *jama* with green stripes sits smoking a hookah, with three small boys, presumably his sons, sitting beside him. His eldest son, Devi Chand in a white *jama* with floral sprigs, sits facing him. Beside Devi Chand is Rana Mehr Chand of Baghal, wearing a distinctive turban with chequered pattern and thick, almost shoulder-length, side-locks. Rug with the same type of flimsy, loosely flowing pattern as in 1, 3 and 7. Dull green background.

Discussion: A group portrait executed perhaps by a Baghal painter either during a visit of Raja Ajmer Chand and his family to Arki or during a visit by Rana Mehr Chand to Bilaspur. As noted by the *Gazetteer*, the Baghal and Bilaspur families were closely related by marriage. Inter-visiting would therefore be a common phenomenon.

The Persian inscription is in a hand similar to that on other portraits of Bilaspur rulers (compare Kahlur (Bilaspur), no. 1) and may be a late addition. It is perhaps significant that although Rana Mehr Chand occupies a prominent position in the group, his name is not included. This would suggest that although the picture could well have been painted at his instance, the names of his non-Baghal associates were of greater interest to the picture's subsequent owners.

Although like previous pictures this portrait group is dependent on Kahlur (Bilaspur) models, it is in the same somewhat clumsy and irresolute tradition as the portraits of Ranas Sabha and Prithi Chand (nos. 1 and 3), both of which are securely connected with Baghal (Arki) on grounds of provenance, family tradition and distinctive style.

9 Rana Mehr Chand (1727-1741) of Baghal conversing with Raja Jai Singh (1731-1742) of Kulu. Baghal (Arki), c.1720.

182 x 275 mm. Reddish-brown border with black rules.

Binney collection, Brookline, Mass.

Published: Archer and Binney (1968), pl. 75.

Description: Rana Mehr Chand in dark brown *jama* sits smoking a hookah on the left attended by a standing courtier who holds a large sword. He is faced by Raja Jai Singh (1731-1742) of Kulu in a dark green *jama* with a red scarf

who sits with a falcon perched on his right hand. Behind him stands an attendant in an ankle-length white *jama*, with reddish brown coat-ties, holding a cloth in his right hand and a bow in his left. Slate blue carpet with red and white floral design.

Discussion: Similar in style to 1, 3, 7 and 8, and with the same flimsy, hesitant structure, tiny floral patterning, plain background, and slightly stupid air of mesmerised stillness.

As in 8, Rana Mehr Chand is readily identifiable by the Vaishnava marks on his forehead, his strongly acquiline nose and by his thick, almost shoulder-length, side-locks. The fact that he himself is shown smoking whereas Jai Singh of Kulu merely sits in front of him shows that he was either senior to Jai Singh in age and hence, despite their common youthfulness, commanded more respect or, perhaps more probably, that the portrait was painted during a visit by Jai Singh to Arki on which occasion the local Baghal prince would naturally be shown in the dominant position.

Although little has been recorded of Jai Singh's life and career, he seems to have been a great visitor, nos. 10 and 11 (also in Baghal style) suggesting that he, Rana Mehr Chand and Raja Devi Chand of Bilaspur were close intimates. Jai Singh's thick, braided locks of hair are perhaps a reflection of local taste at the time.

10 Raja Jai Singh (1731-1742) of Kulu conversing with Rana Devi Chand of Kahlur. Baghal (Arki), c.1720-1730.

167 x 285 mm; with border 203 x 285 mm.

Inscribed on front in *nagari* characters: (1) *sri raja jai singh* (2) *rana devi chand*.

Private collection.

Published: Skelton (1961), pl. 61.

Description: 'Raja Jai Singh of Kulu, in a flowered white *jama* sits facing Devi Chand . . . They sit on a pink rug against a blue and silver cushion with crimson and gold ends. Standing on the red carpet behind Jai Singh at the left of the picture are two attendants wearing white *jamās*. The man nearest the raja has a peacock-feather fan and cloth and the other has a sword and shield wrapped in a crimson and gold cloth. Behind Devi Chand sits a junior member of his family. Another seated figure and a standing attendant have been cut from the picture. The white garments of the figures at the extreme right are stained with patches of saffron, implying that they have just taken part in celebrating the Holi festival. The background is green.' (Skelton, 77).

Discussion: A companion picture to 9, perhaps commemorating a joint visit to Arki by Jai Singh of Kulu and Devi Chand of Bilaspur. The fact that both princes have no moustaches suggests that they are still quite young and that the picture was probably painted before Jai Singh had actually ascended the Kulu throne. The fact that each is accorded an exactly equal status supports the conclusion that on this occasion neither was deemed to be socially superior. The use of the Baghal term *rana* in the inscription to describe Devi Chand — in contrast to the term *mian* or *raja* more usually employed in Bilaspur — suggests that the inscriptions were written in Arki.

In style, the picture bears no resemblance to paintings connected with Kulu, but shares the following details with those here assigned to Baghal: a loose wandering composition, swirling waist-sashes and minute floral pattern, heavy turbans marked with parallel lines or markings and an air of finicky hesitation. See 1, 4, 5, 7-9.

11 Raja Jai Singh (1731-1742) of Kulu with ladies. Baghal (Arki), c.1730.

168 x 154 mm; with border 206 x 204 mm. Red border with two white rules.

G. K. Kanoria collection, Calcutta.

Description: Jai Singh of Kulu is seated on a bed smoking a hookah, attended by two maids who stand with white kerchiefs and fly-whisk. A third lady is seated on the bed in front of him. Chocolate brown carpet with red and blue floral pattern. Behind the bed a three-tiered balustrade. Grey walls with little bottles as in 1. The maid standing behind Jai Singh wears an orange-red skirt. The crinkly

side-curls and unduly diminutive figure of the seated lady are perhaps by-products of Bilaspur influence.

Discussion: In profile clearly the same person as in 9 and 10 but, judging from the small moustache, now slightly older. For the left wall-panel, compare the doors in 2(i-iii). Same style as 8-10.

12 Rana Mehr Chand (1727-1743) of Baghal smoking. Baghal (Arki), c.1730.

Inscribed in *nagari* characters: *rana mehr chand*.

Raja Rajinder Singh collection, Arki. Connected with Arki on grounds of provenance and family tradition.

Published: Randhawa (1961), fig. 9.

Description: Mehr Chand with markedly aquiline nose leans against a cushion smoking a hookah. A hookah-tender sits before him. An attendant with ankle-length *jama* stands behind him waving a peacock-feather fan. Striped rug with floral carpet. Balustrade as in 11.

Discussion: Yet a third portrait of Rana Mehr Chand, wearing the same style of chequered turban as in 8 but in view of the slight beard and moustache and the absence of thick side-locks, some five to ten years older. Identified as Mehr Chand by inscription and family tradition. For a similar portrait on horse-back, see Randhawa (1961), fig. 10.

13 Lover toying with his mistress's veil. Baghal (Arki), c.1740.

Raja Rajinder Singh collection, Arki. Connected with Arki by provenance and family tradition.

Published: Randhawa (1961), fig. 18.

Description: A lover, perhaps Rana Mehr Chand (1727-1743) of Baghal, stands beneath a row of flowering trees clutching at one of the branches and tugging at his mistress's veil. The two eye each other with stern determination. Tormented sky with rolling clouds.

Discussion: Similar in type of posture to 5, 6 and 7 and with its own kind of clumsy swagger. Chequered turban as in 8 and 12. The casting of a ruler or his son in the role of lover was a not uncommon convention in Rajasthan (see Archer, W. G. *Indian Painting in Bundi and Kotah* (London, 1959), figs. 27 and 28 where Raja Bishan Singh of Bundi is shown sustaining this same role).

14 Rana Bhup Chand (1743-1778) of Baghal smoking. Baghal (Arki), c.1740.

Inscribed on front in *nagari* characters: *sri rana bhup chand*.

Raja Rajinder Singh collection, Arki. Connected with Arki by provenance and family tradition.

Published: Randhawa (1961), fig. 12.

Description: Rana Bhup Chand, a beardless youth, sits smoking a hookah and facing to the right. An attendant in ankle-length *jama* holds a cloth and waves a white fly-whisk. Plain background with draped white curtain. Cushion with stripes curling in opposite directions. Much of the attendant projecting into the border.

Discussion: A heavy, slightly cumbersome portrait with the same kind of over-large turban with thick protruding top and parallel markings as in 8, 9, 12 and 13. Style similar to 12.

Related example: (1) Randhawa (1961), figs. 24, 25 and 26. Rows of loving couples painted over a doorway in the Diwankhana, Arki. Although the Diwankhana is stated by Randhawa to have been built by Rana Shiv Saran Singh (1828-1840), the male lovers are in the above style.

PHASE II: 1750-1800

15 The taking of toll. Baghal (Arki), c.1760.

235 x 160 mm.

Khandalavala collection, Bombay.

Published: Khandalavala (1958), pl. XV (col.).

Description: Krishna with purple skin and long, ankle-length, yellow *jama* stands with clasped hands before Radha who pushes him back with her left arm and raises her right hand as if to smack him. She wears a purple dress with gold sash. Behind her stand four milkmaids, three with

a single brass pot on their heads, the fourth with two brass pots. Behind Krishna are four cows, two white, one grey, one brown. Brownish green background with dull green verge. Fang-shaped outcrops of rock in the middle distance and on the horizon. Shaggy clumps of trees. At the top a white castle with billowing clouds.

Discussion: In facial features, a development of the female types illustrated by 1, 5 and 13. Dull background colours as in 17 and 18. The idiom for clouds which are shown in different gradations of colour — dark black succeeded by grey which in turn is succeeded by blackish grey — is re-employed in 17(i) where four clouds in close proximity are coloured pinkish brown, blackish grey, pale grey and white.

16 Krishna toying with Radha's veil. Baghal (Arki), c.1760.

B. K. Birla collection, Calcutta.

Description: Krishna with lotus crown and long, ankle-length *jama* stands outside a plain pavilion tugging at Radha's veil. Radha who wears a brief bodice, midriff exposed and a skirt with long waist-sash, turns to face him. Plain background. Clouds in long streaks.

Discussion: Identical to 15 in style, facial features and costume. The theme of the lover tugging at his mistress's veil or at a strand of her hair appears to have been a recurring motif in Baghal (Arki) painting (compare 6, 13, 15 and 18).

17(i, ii) Two paintings from a Nayaka Nayika series. Baghal (Arki), c.1760-1775.

Raja Rajinder Singh collection, Arki. Connected with Arki on grounds of provenance and family tradition.

Published: Randhawa (1961), figs. 41, 40; also reproduced Randhawa (1962) pp. 34, 35 (col. pls.).

17(i) Abhisandita nayika (Krishna dismissed).

Description: Krishna in dark green *jama* retires from Radha's presence with the grave dignity of a gallant upbraided by his mistress and ordered out. Radha in crimson skirt and green bodice is left to sit glumly on the terrace. Brown terrace floor with pale yellow rug marked with red on the left. Dark grey background. Rolling clouds at the top.

Discussion: An Arki variant of a common standard composition current in the Punjab hills where the eight *nayikas* (ladies in different states of love) were illustrated in conventional poses. Although the faces bear some resemblance to Bilaspur types, the unusual clouds (compare 15), the combination of dark brown with dark grey and the enlivening presence of bright green (as in the *jama* and a tree) give the picture an un-Bilaspur flavour.

17(ii) Khandita nayika (Krishna reproached).

Description: Krishna in brilliant yellow *jama* confronts Radha who stands in a mauve and gold skirt and green bodice on a bright green rug. Plain greyish brown background merging to livid orange at the top as a slice of yellow sun peers above the horizon. The time is dawn and Radha's gesture of clapping her hands suggests the anger which is about to explode over the cool, collected Krishna who, after a night out has come to face her. As in (i) white balustrades on top and bottom sides of the terrace. At the top dark blue sky. Behind Radha a large bolster rolled aside.

Discussion: Like 17(i) a variant of a standard *nayika* picture and from the same Baghal (Arki) series. Similar subdued tones lit up by brilliant yellow (Krishna's *jama*). The bolster with its fat stripes (curving in opposite directions) resembles in its colour effects (bright blue on reddish brown) the skirt of the milkmaid, third from the left, in 15.

Examples from the same series and family collection: (1) Randhawa (1962), p.33 (col.pl.). *Vipralabdha nayika*. Similar face, same mixture of sombre tones and sudden intrusion of brilliant greenish yellow (top of hillside).

(2) Randhawa (1962), p.36 (col.pl.) *Utka nayika*. Similar clouds. Brownish green hillside. Grey water. Bright green bed of leaves.

(3) Randhawa (1962), p.38 (col.pl.) *Prositapatika nayika*. Similar clouds. Bright yellowish green hillside. Greyish

brown terrace with similar rug. Faces as in nos. 17(i) and 17(ii).

Related examples: (4) Banerji (1956), fig. 2. *Vipralabdha nayika*. National Museum, New Delhi. Baghal (Arki), c.1775. Similar features.

(5) Archer (1965), pl. 40. *Vipralabdha nayika*. Archer collection, London. Baghal (Arki), c.1775-c.1800. Olive green hillside, Arki tree and facial type.

18 The taking of toll. Baghal (Arki), c.1760-1775.

210 x 137 mm. Border trimmed away.

Inscribed on reverse with Hindi verses in *nagari* characters and with a dealer's jottings.

Victoria and Albert Museum. French collection, I.S.159-1955.

Description: Krishna in a deep yellow *dhoti* and yellow cloak, lined with brilliant red, faces a milkmaid who wears a red skirt, blue veil and yellow bodice. He tugs at the end of her veil with his right hand. The milkmaid has a brass pot on her head. She catches at Krishna's arm in an effort to free herself. Behind them to the left are two trees with grey trunks. A second milkmaid in mauve skirt, red veil and green bodice and with a brass pot on her head turns to see what is happening. In the foreground black-grey water with grassy fringe. Background a dull olive brown merging into blue sky.

Discussion: In theme, a variant of 15 ('The taking of toll') and of 6 and 13 ('Lover toying with his mistress's veil'). In style and palette, closely similar to 17(i) and 17(ii) but showing Krishna in a *dhoti* instead of in a *jama*. The nervous play of hands and fingers appears to have been a minor obsession with Baghal (Arki) painters (see nos. 6, 7, 13, 15, 16).

PHASE III: 1800-1825

19 The butter thief. Baghal (Arki), c.1800-1825.

Raja Rajinder Singh collection, Arki. Connected with Arki by provenance and family tradition.

Published: Randhawa (1961), fig. 44.

Description: Jasoda seated on a cot churning milk while the child Krishna, with halo, inserts a hand. In the courtyard two women. More women in the upper storey at four windows. Beyond the courtyard thick trees and stormy sky. In the foreground, below the tiny Krishna, a toy bullock cart and horse.

Discussion: Somewhat stunted figures and perhaps slightly later in date than 1800. The treatment of trees and branches is similar to that in 18.

Related example: (1) Skelton (1961), pl. 84. *Abhisarika nayika*. Private collection. Baghal (Arki), c.1800-1825. Similar stunted figures and facial features. Similar trees. Prominently billowing clouds reminiscent of 15 and 17(i). Predominant colours: dark brown, grey, white and green.

20 The music party. Baghal (Arki), c.1800-1825.

Raja Rajinder Singh collection, Arki. Connected with Arki by provenance and family tradition.

Description: Radha and Krishna are seated on a palace roof at night, attended by two maid-servants and two girl-musicians. Below is a verandah with alcoves containing bottles. Two ladies sit discussing. In the left-hand bottom corner is a room with a bed and unbroken garland. In the sky a full moon and streaks of cloud.

Discussion: Similar in style to 19 and 19(1). For the treatment of the moon with its prominent outline, compare 17(i), where a similar device is applied to clouds.

PHASE IV: 1825-1875

A phase of painting in Baghal (Arki) influenced by artists from Jaipur, Rajasthan.

21 Mural paintings in the Diwankhana, Arki. Baghal (Arki), c.1830-1860. Not illustrated.

Published: Randhawa (1961), figs. 21-36; also reproduced in part Randhawa (1964), figs. 3-10.

Description: A series of murals depicting a battle between Sikhs and Mughals, British troops, Gaddis, Chinese, scenes from the *Bhagavata Purana* and *Ramayana*, Kamadeva inciting the whole creation to make love, views of Hindu holy cities, copies of British pictures showing an English garden with a woman in Victorian dress, ports of Goa, Calcutta and Tellicherry.

Discussion: Although attributed by Randhawa to the reign of Raja Kishan Singh (1840-1876) and dated by him to about 1850, the fact that the pictures seem to be in two different styles — one deriving from eighteenth century Baghal (Arki) painting, the other from early nineteenth century painting at Jaipur — suggests that some may have been executed under Raja Shiva Saran Singh (1828-1840) in whose reign the Diwankhana is said to have been built.

On the Jaipur element, Mehta has noted: 'An entire pavilion has been painted by the Jaipur artists and luckily most of the pictures are still in good condition and in some cases the names of the painters are inscribed on the walls. One of the smaller rooms in the Raja's palace is also painted and the date is given when the Jaipur artists finished the building in the middle of the nineteenth century. Some of the scenes depicted on the walls are peculiar, for they represent the ports of London and Goa, some scenes from China and quite a good number of panels are given to the representation of European life as known to or imagined by these artists' (1950). For a similar intrusion of Jaipur painters into the Punjab, compare murals in the Shish Mahal palace, Moti Bagh, Patiala (K. Goswamy, 1969).

Paintings of cities, based on European engravings, became a fashion in Jaipur in about 1760 — local painters producing townscapes with almost Canaletto-like perspective. The vogue may have been caused by Raja Jai Singh's interest in city-planning and his creation of the new city of Jaipur — a town as meticulously geometric in design as present-day Chandigarh.

22 Magic of Krishna's flute. Baghal (Arki), c.1850.

Raja Rajindar Singh collection, Arki.

Published: Randhawa (1961), fig. 45.

Description: Krishna stands cross-legged beneath a tree, gazing to the left and playing on a flute. Before him stands Radha with her hands folded. Below them is a herd of cows straining eagerly to catch the sounds. In the background a lake and pavilion.

Discussion: A picture with strong Jaipur influence, especially in the treatment of the cattle — their necks and front legs rising in a single vertical line — and in the provision of Radha and Krishna with haloes. Arki by provenance and family traditions.

23 Magic of Krishna's flute. Baghal (Arki), c.1850. Not illustrated.

160 x 114 mm: with border 236 x 181 mm.

Red border with white rules and yellow edging; crimson margin with floral Kangra-type scroll pattern.

Inscribed on reverse in pencil in English (handwriting of P. C. Manuk): (1) no. 11 (2) 5/- (3) 18.

Victoria and Albert Museum (Manuk and Coles collection discard, through Maggs Bros), I.S. 203-1949.

Description: Krishna in yellow *dhoti* and red halo stands cross-legged on a crimson rosette playing on the flute to a white cow which turns to gaze at him. Behind them is a tree with chalky pink trunk and fan-shaped branches. On either side stands a milkmaid in red skirt dotted with gold. Royal blue background. Orange red archway.

Discussion: Closely similar in type of tree, stance of Krishna and posture of the milkmaids to 22 and revealing similar traces of Jaipur influence. The faces, however, are more strongly Pahari and the spotted veil of the milkmaid on the left, looped downwards from her shoulder and then brought up under the breasts, follows the convention favoured at Kulu and Mandi. Compare nos. 19(1) and 20.

24 Radha and Krishna adored by the cows. Baghal (Arki) c.1850.

218 x 118 mm: with border and mount 262 x 197 mm. Red

border with white rules; mount reddish yellow on the left, red on the right.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 230-1950.

Description: Krishna in pale yellow coat and *dhoti* and with golden halo stands in a field with Radha who wears a gold skirt and red veil and has a silver halo. Radha has her arm on Krishna's shoulder. Around them are grouped a herd of white and grey cattle whose heads strain up towards them. A pair of hares join in the general adoration. Behind them and in front are lakes with lotuses. To the rear a great cloud with crinkly edges. Dark blue sky.

Discussion: Different facial types from 22 and 23 and perhaps comparable to idioms in Bilaspur painting of about the 1820 period. Treatment of the cattle strongly Jaipur.

Related example: (1) Randhawa (1961), fig.46. Krishna lifting Mount Govardhan. Raja Rajinder Singh collection, Arki. Baghal (Arki), c.1850. Arki by provenance and family tradition. Similar to 24 especially in the treatment of the cattle, Krishna's halo and the standing embrace. Similar type of mount and border.

25 The meeting of eyes. Baghal (Arki), c.1830. Not illustrated.

204 x 168 mm. with border 265 x 197 mm.

Red border with white and yellow rules.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 231-1950.

Description: Krishna in orange red *jama*, gold crown and green halo stands on a terrace in front of Radha's house. He clasps the trunk of a plantain. Radha in crimson skirt edged with gold and in a red bodice stands before him, her eyes resting on his face as she holds a bamboo fan. To the right a maid in orange red skirt and bodice holds a cup and dish. In the front a bed of poppies. Behind them is a lush garden with flowering trees and in the distance the white walls and turrets of a palace. Blue sky with two small red banners, a crescent moon and a golden sun with human face.

Discussion: Similar in features to 24. Mount and border similar to 22-24.

PAINTING IN BANDRALTA

I. INTRODUCTION

GEOGRAPHY

A small state, fifteen miles long by ten miles wide, bounded on the south-west by Jammu, on the west by Bhoti, on the north by Chanehni, on the north-east by Bhandrawah, on the east by Basohli and on the south by Mankot. Capital originally called Nagar, as being the only town in the principality (HV, 585), later named Ramnagar.

SCENERY

Vigne (1842): 'The eastern division of the sand-stone range that bounds the plain on the south, is cut through by the Tauí on its way towards Jamu, and then circles through the country to the northward and eastward, until it joins the snowy mountains of Budrawar. It is crossed by two passes; one over the snow (in winter), which is the more direct way from Ramnagar to Bisuli; the summit of the other occurs about six miles on the south-west of Ramnagar. The latter path is paved for the whole distance, which much facilitates the traverse of the difficult ravines by which it is intersected.

'Ramnagar is about fourteen miles from the Tauí and is built amongst numerous and regular sandstone ranges, whose formation appears to have been the necessary consequence of the uprising of the higher mountains, rather than the result of force acting directly upon themselves. Between the Tauí and Ramnagar, in particular, they dip usually at an angle of about forty-five degrees, with a steep abutment on the north; at regular intervals, and with so uniform a direction, that, from one point of view, I was again reminded of the retiring crests of a heavy ocean-swell.

'The mydan, or open space, on which Ramnagar is situated, is washed by a stream which flows from the north-east and joins the Tauí on the rice plains of Bulu-Altur. The square-built and turreted castle stands on one side of the flat and opposite to it a few hundred yards distant, is the new palace of the Rajah Suchyt Singh. It is a picturesque and baronial-looking edifice, its appearance being by no means heavy, although it is chiefly composed of blank walls and square towers, of unequal height and size. At either end of the facade is an open saloon, fitted up with mirrors, in the true Oriental style and one of these opened into the Rajah's sleeping apartment, which was also splendidly ornamented with looking-glasses and a few of the latest and most passionate productions of the French print-shops, that had, somehow or other, found their way into the Rajah's possession' (I, 187-188).

Drew (1875): 'Ramnagar, some miles north of Ramkot, is where the Outer Hills join the Middle Mountains. It is built at a height of 2,700 feet above the sea, on a small triangular plateau, which is cut off on two sides by ravines and connected along the third with the slopes of the hills that surround and shut it in.

'This town has signs of having at one time been among the most flourishing in these parts. It was the capital of the country called Bandralta, which used to be governed by the Bandral caste of Mians. Their rule was displaced by that of the Sikhs under Ranjit Singh, who took the place and held it for a time, until, partly for the sake of rewarding a favourite, partly because of the trouble of holding it against the hill people, the Thakars, Ranjit Singh made Suchet Singh, the youngest of the Jummo brothers, Raja of the place. Raja Suchet Singh held the place till his death. But I heard of a great effort made by the Thakars against him too, when some thousands came to assault it. The Dogras, however, held out in the fort, which is a well-planned work, until help came from the Sikh army.

'There are some remains of the house of the rulers of the time of the Bandral Mians; but their descendants do not live here; they found a home and a pension in British territory.

'The town of Ramnagar bears marks of the presence of Raja Suchet Singh. He took a pride in the place and improved it and encouraged the growth of it. The two long masonry-built bazaars were in his time full and busy; merchants from Amritsar and from Kabul were attracted to the place. Vigne, in 1839, remarked the great variety of races of people who were to be seen there; the bazaars were then being constructed. A large palace adorned with gardens, and the well-built barracks, show that Suchet Singh knew how to make himself and his people comfortable. On his death, which occurred about 1843, Ramnagar came under the rule of Jummo and there was no longer the presence of a Raja to keep up its prosperity, which was indeed short-lived; and now the palace is deserted and the bazaars are but half inhabited. There are a good many Kashmiris settled in Ramnagar: some of them are occupied with shawl work, executing orders from Nurpur and Amritsar and some in making coarse woollen cloth' (85-86).

Visited by W.G.A. in January 1970. Besides the buildings noted by Vigne and Drew, there is a large *samadhi* (memorial) to Suchet Singh, surrounded by a garden of cypresses and above Suchet Singh's 'new' palace, the ruins of the earlier or 'old' palace, with portions of towers, inner walls, courtyards and massive outer walls still standing. On the west of the main courtyard is a long verandah with five cusped arches and six sets of twin pillars, the base and top of each pillar being decorated with lotus petals. Each arch is surmounted by large rectangular slabs in lime plaster with borders of two horizontal lines as in the palace of Balwant Singh at Saruinsar. Other features: a great *maidan* of short-clipped grass, surrounded on the north by walls of rock descending sharply to the bed of the Ramnagar nullah, a low, square fortress guarding the approaches and along the sky, huge mountains, streaked with snow and firs. For a note on the murals and mirror-rooms in Suchet Singh's 'new' palace, now used as a court-room by the local Munsiff (judge of civil suits), see Review of Literature, Khajuria (1964).

RELIGION

No details are recorded but on the evidence of Khandalavala (1958), no. 76 (Raja Indra Dev, iii, worshipping Vishnu as Lakshmi Narain) presumably Vaishnava in bias.

II. HISTORICAL NOTES

SOURCES

- Drew, F. *The Jummo and Kashmir Territories* (London, 1875).
- Ghulam Muhi-ud Din alias Bute Shah, *Tarikh-i-Panjab*. (Compiled Hijri 1264, A.D. 1848. British Museum. MSS. Or. 1623. Communicated B. N. Goswamy). Provides a list of rulers.
- Hutchison, J. and Vogel, J. P. *History of the Panjab Hill States* (Lahore, 1933), II, 585-586.
- Kahan Singh Balauria. *Tawarikh-i-Rajputan-i-Mulk-i-Panjab* (Jammu, 1912). Provides a chronological list of rulers.
- Vigne, G. T. *Travels in Kashmir, Ladak, Iskardo* (London, 1842).

REIGNS AND PORTRAITS

Founded in the eleventh century as an offshoot from Chamba. Family suffix, Dev (in case of younger sons, Singh). Clan-name, Bandral. Kahan Singh (KS) and Muhiud Din followed for names of rulers. Historical details until the nineteenth century wanting. All dates (until the nineteenth century) conjectural.

c.1700-c.1715 CHATTAR SAL (i)

c.1715-c.1730 KAILASHPAT DEV (ii)

Son of Chatter Sal. Presumed by HV to have been more or less subordinate to Jammu, a status continued by his successors throughout the eighteenth century.

Portrait: (1) Fig. 19 (Jammu). Kailashpat Dev on a terrace. Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 187-1951. Jammu, c.1745.

c.1730-c.1760 INDRA DEV (iii)

Son of Kailashpat Dev.

A contemporary of Raja Ranjit Dev (1735-1781) of Jammu (KS).

Marriages: unrecorded.

Sons: Rajpat Dev, Bhagvant Singh, Jagat Singh.

Portraits: (1) Fig. 1 (Bandralta). Indra Dev smoking with two attendants. Chandigarh Museum, Nurpur Raj collection. Bandralta, c.1750.

(2) Khandalavala (1958), no. 76. Indra Dev worshipping Vishnu as Lakshmi Narain. National Museum, New Delhi. Bandralta, c.1750. See no. 1(1).

(3) Fig. 2 (Bandralta). Indra Dev, in richly patterned dress, smoking with two attendants. Chandigarh Museum, Nurpur Raj collection. Bandralta, c.1750.

(4) Fig. 5 (Bandralta). Indra Dev, in richly flowered dress, smoking, with one attendant. Binney collection, Brookline, Mass., (formerly Coomaraswamy collection). Bandralta, c.1750.

(5) Fig. 3 (Bandralta). Indra Dev on horseback killing a black buck. Chandigarh Museum, Nurpur Raj collection. Bandralta, c.1750.

(6) Fig. 4 (Bandralta). Indra Dev smoking with three attendants. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. Bandralta, c.1750.

(7) Ohri (1969), figs. 1 and 2. Indra Dev smoking with one attendant. Sri Dharmapala collection, Chamba. Bandralta, dated 1732. See no 4(i).

(8) Ohri (1969), fig. 3. Indra Dev smoking with two attendants. Collection unrecorded. Bandralta, c.1750.

(9) Ohri (1969), fig. 4. Indra Dev smoking with one attendant. Collection unrecorded. Bandralta, c.1740. See no. 4(2).

c.1760-c.1765 RAJPAT DEV (iv)

No details recorded but possibly died childless soon after accession, being then succeeded first by one brother, Bhagvant Singh, later by a second brother, Jagat Singh.

c.1765-c.1770 BHAGWANT SINGH (v)

Brother of Rajpat Dev

c.1770-c.1775 JAGAT SINGH (vi)

Brother of Bhagvant Singh.

c.1775-c.1780 BHUP DEV (vii)

Son of Jagat Singh.

c.1780-1790 CHANDANDHAR DEV (viii)

c.1790-c.1800 KRISHNA DEV (ix)

c.1800-(1822) 1827 BHUPDAR DEV (x)

The last Raja of Bandralta to exercise ruling powers. Bandralta annexed by the Sikhs, 1822 and given as a *fief* to Suchet Singh, brother of Gulab Singh of Jammu. Bhupdar Dev deposed but allowed to remain in the state. 'This, however, was soon found to be awkward as an attempt was made to recover the territory and they were finally exiled from the state' (HV). Asylum with Sansar Chand of Kan-

gra, 1822-1823, later at Tehri Garhwal, later still at Shahzadpur, Ambala district. Died, c.1827.

Character: Vigne, on his visit to Ramnagar in 1839, noted: 'Ramnagar fell into the hands of the Sikhs about the same time that Gulab Singh become master of Jammu. The old Rajah fled to Subathu, near Simla and died there about eight years ago, much regretted by his subjects' (I, 188).

1822-1844 SUCHET SINGH (xi)

Brother of Gulab Singh of Jammu. Courtier and general to the Sikh Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Received Bandralta as a *fief*, 1822. Adopted Ranbir Singh, third son of Gulab Singh as his son and brought him up at Ramnagar. Built a new palace at Ramnagar and greatly developed the town. Vigne noted of his visit in 1839: 'Suchyt Singh was made Rajah of Ramnagar by Runjit. He is much better disposed towards the English than either of his brothers, against whose overbearing disposition he is said to kick a little. I wrote to him, for he was absent at the time, to thank him for the kind reception I experienced at Ramnagar. I shall never forget the turnout to meet me. I came upon the mydan by torchlight and should think that at least 500 or 600 (a large proportion of the population) were assembled then. But the crowd was a curiosity, in consequence of the variety of costume which composed it; and the lights gleamed upon the dark features of the Hindus, the turbaned Patan, the ferocious Khyberi and the Kuzzilbash wearing the lamb-skin caps of Persia, who were all armed to the teeth: and amongst these foreigners were the native mountain Sepahis in the Rajah's pay, conspicuous by their high caps and belts of leopard skin. Wild hogs in search of food, and enjoying, by command of the Rajah, who preserved them for his own sport, an immunity from molestation, were moving about in the crowd, or retreating before the cortege that accompanied me into the town to the quarters assigned to me, where I found provisions for myself and servants.

'A large bazaar and several streets were being then built at Ramnagar. When Suchyt Singh first became Rajah, he found its prosperity to be somewhat on the wane, and had wisely continued the work of its re-establishment, by the formation of new and comfortable places of abode; and hoping, moreover, to render them attractive and to increase the population as much as possible, he had made Ramnagar a city of refuge for runaways, who had been guilty of no greater crimes than murder or slight political offences.

'Jaghan is a village, with a castle near the bank of the Tau and on the western frontier of the province of Ramnagar, which extends as far as Chinini on the north and on the eastward to Bisuli (I believe), inclusive and the frontiers of Chumba. I do not know its exact limits to the southward. As to revenue, it is almost idle to talk about it in these countries; its amount depends upon the will of the ruler, and a traveller rarely hears the right story' (I, 188-190).

Portraits: (1) Coomaraswamy (1926), pl. 123 (491). Suchet Singh with courtier and attendant. Inscribed with name and dated *samvat 1896* (A.D. 1839). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Sikh, Punjab Plains, 1839.

(2) Archer (1966), fig. 15. Suchet Singh in a darbar of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, Lahore. Chester Beatty Library, Dublin. Sikh, Punjab Plains. c.1830-1835.

(3) Archer (1966), fig. 23. Suchet Singh seated with his elder brother, Dhian Singh. Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 264-1953. Sikh, Punjab Plains, c.1840.

(4) Archer (1966), fig. 62. Suchet Singh seated in a darbar of Maharaja Dalip Singh, Lahore. Anson collection, Chiswick. Style of Hasan-al Din. Sikh, Punjab Plains, c.1843.

(5) Archer (1966), fig. 111. Suchet Singh in a darbar of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, Lahore. Woodcut. Victoria and Albert Museum, I.M. 2/16-1917. Popular Sikh, Lahore or Amritsar, c.1870.

1844-1857 GULAB SINGH (Jammu) (xii)

On Suchet Singh's death Bandralta was merged in Jammu.

Portraits: Archer (1966), figs. 34, 37, 50-53, 55, 62, 107-111.

1857-1885 RANBIR SINGH (Jammu) (xiii)

Granted as a jagir to Raja Ram Singh, second son of Ran-

bir Singh; but on his death, without issue, again merged with Jammu.

Character of Ranbir Singh: A devout worshipper of Vishnu. Founded the Raghunath temple to Vishnu in Jammu town. An almost obsessive collector of *shaligrams*, black oval stones sacred to Vishnu (Goswamy, 1968).

Marriage: a Bandralta princess.

Portraits: Figs. 73, 75 (Jammu); Archer (1966), figs. 54, 57, 58, 60, 95.

IMPLICATIONS FOR PAINTING

Personality of rulers

As with other small states in the Jammu area, details of Bandralta rulers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are unfortunately lacking. It is impossible, therefore, to draw any inferences for painting from their characters.

Following the state's seizure by the Sikhs, 1822, two Dogra Rajputs, Suchet Singh and his elder brother, Gulab Singh — both members of the junior branch of the Jammu royal line and both members of the Sikh court but not themselves Sikhs — held the State on behalf of Maharaja Ranjit Singh (Sikh Maharaja of the Punjab, 1780-1839). Of their personalities, much is known (Archer (1966) q.v.) — Suchet Singh, in particular, having an especial liking for Bandralta, building a new palace at its capital, Ramnagar and rearing at it his adopted son, Ranbir Singh (third son and successor of his elder brother, Gulab Singh of Jammu). No employment of artists, however, is attributed to him and there is nothing in his character to suggest active patronage.

For the palace murals noted by Khajuria (1964), Ranbir Singh, with his devotion to Vishnu and attachment to Ramnagar, the scene of his boyhood, is more likely to have been responsible. No Bandralta miniatures, parallel to these mid-nineteenth century murals, however, have so far come to light.

Relations with other states

Apart from a general subservience to Jammu throughout the eighteenth century and its absorption by the Sikhs into their Jammu territories in 1822, nothing is known of Bandralta's relations with other States during the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries. The fact, however, that Bandralta was tributary to Jammu, the paramount power in the Jammu Hills in the eighteenth century and itself a centre of painting, that Mankot was its immediate neighbour on the south and also possessed a school of painting and that extensive trading relations existed with Nurpur may partially explain developments in Bandralta.

III. PAINTING: REVIEW OF LITERATURE

1846

McGregor, W. L. *The History of the Sikhs* (London, 1846), II, 26.

Publishes a portrait of Raja Suchet Singh (xi, 1822-1844). Sikh, Punjab Plains, c.1840.

1852

Honigberger, J. M. *Thirty-five Years in the East* (London, 1852), 114.

Reproduces a portrait of Raja Suchet Singh (xi, 1822-1844). Sikh, Punjab Plains, c.1850.

1916

Coomaraswamy, A. K. *Rajput Painting* (Oxford, 1916). Pl. 34A. Captioned, on the basis of a Persian inscription, 'Raja Hataf Bandral'. No Bandralta ruler of this name, however, is recorded.

Pl. 34B (detail). Captioned 'Portrait of a Dogra Rajput prince. Pahari (Jammu), 18th century'. Here identified as Raja Indra Dev (iii, c.1730-1760) of Bandralta. See no. 5.

1926

Coomaraswamy, A. K. *Catalogue of the Indian Collections in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: Part V, Rajput Painting* (Boston, 1926).

Pl. 121 re-publishing Coomaraswamy (1916), pl. 34A. Same caption.

1946

Khandalavala, K. 'Some Paintings from the collection of the late Burjor N. Treasuryvala', *Marg* (1946), I, no. 1, 56.

Assigns to 'Suket or Ramnagar' a picture of cow-girls with pitchers. Same style as Khandalavala (1958), no. 75.

1952

Archer, W. G. *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills* (London, 1952).

Fig. 46. Raja Kailashpat Dev (ii, c.1715-c.1730) of Bandralta. See Jammu, no. 19.

1958

Khandalavala, K. *Pahari Miniature Painting* (Bombay, 1958).

Fig. 63. Captioned 'Court Scene' and on the basis of a *takri* inscription, regarded as 'idiom of Basohli Kalam at Bandralta'. In the light of a later reading by Goswamy (1966), this picture must now be taken to be a portrait of Raja Chhattar Singh (iii, 1664-1690) of Chamba. See Chamba, no. 1.

Fig. 70, reproducing Coomaraswamy (1916), pl. 34A ('Raja Hataf Bandral') and on grounds of subject attributes it to Bandralta.

No. 74. Reproduces Coomaraswamy (1916), pl. 34B and tentatively captions it 'Brajraj Dev of Jammu, Basohli kalam, idiom Jammu, last quarter 18th century'. See no. 5.

No. 75. 'Todi Ragini'. Alluded to as a 'late Ragamala painting from Bandralta' in his private collection, showing 'the influence of the Mughal school of the second half of the eighteenth century' (91). See Khandalavala (1946).

No. 76. 'Raja worshipping deities'. See no. 1(1).

1959

Randhawa, M. S. *Basohli Painting* (New Delhi, 1959), 21.

Lists Bandralta with Chamba, Kulu, Mandi, Arki, Nurpur, Mankot and Jammu as States 'where styles, akin to Basohli, with local variations, developed'. No examples illustrated.

1961

Skelton, R. *Indian Miniatures from the 15th to 19th Centuries* (Venice, 1961).

Pl. 86. 'The winter season'. Here attributed to Bandralta. See no. 6(1).

1964

Khajuria. 'Jammu Murals', *Marg* (1964), XVII, no. 3, 40.

Has the following note on Ramnagar (Bandralta): 'A Tehsil town, about 60 miles north-east of Jammu. The murals in the Ramnagar palace are the best preserved and most attractive of all. The whole surface of the walls has been divided into panels with floral and geometric borders. These panels contain hunting scenes, showing royal hunters on horseback with attendants and dogs, religious scenes like Radha Krishna, Kaliya Mardana, Brahma and Sarasvati, etc. taken from the *Bhagavata Purana*. These paintings belong to the time of Raja Suchet Singh (2nd quarter of the 19th century).' Not illustrated.

During my own visit to Ramnagar in January 1970, murals and glazed pictures were visible in three rooms of Suchet Singh's 'new' palace, then in use as a court by the local Munsiff. In the court-room itself, the majority were in poor condition, dirt having dribbled down from the ceiling. Many Radha Krishna subjects, however, were discernible. Of the two remaining and much smaller rooms at the northern end, the first, a *shishmahal*, was filled with mirrors, glittering pieces of white, green, blue and ruby glass and with glazed European prints of plump European ladies with large

white breasts. In the third and inner room were more prints of fashionable European women, many of them two feet by three feet in size and with lushly prim busts, pertly demure hats and early Victorian ringlets. Around them were small murals celebrating Suchet Singh in person, riding, holding court, hunting and performing the Holi festival. There were also portraits of Rajas Gulab and Dhian Singh, court scenes with soldiers in red and blue uniforms, *nayaka* subjects and mythological scenes chiefly from the *Bhagavata Purana*.

General style: Kangra-Guler, as adjusted to Sikh requirements in the Punjab Plains (Archer, 1966 q.v.). Details: pale yellow backgrounds, rugs with vertical stripes, single flat planes. Approximate date: 1840-1860.

1966

Goswamy, B. N. 'Re-reading of some 'Takri' inscriptions in Khandalavala's *Pahari Miniature Painting*', *Roopa Lekha* (1966), XXXV, nos. 1 and 2, 72-74.

Demonstrates that Khandalavala (1958), fig. 63, noted as inscribed in *takri* characters: *bandral raja chand singh* and captioned 'Court scene, Idiom of Basohli Kalam at Bandralta' is, in fact, inscribed: *chambyal raja chattar singh* and thus has no connection with Bandralta.

Points out that Khandalavala (1958), no. 76, captioned 'Raja worshipping dieties. Late Basohli type, Nalagarh(?)'. Last quarter of 18th century' is inscribed at the top in *takri* characters: *sri . . . indra deo bahndral*. Since re-read by Goswamy as: *sri divan indra deo bahndral*. See no. 1(1).

Archer, W. G. *Paintings of the Sikhs* (London, 1966).

Illustrates (figs. 23, 62, 106 and 111) four portraits of Raja Suchet Singh (xi, 1822-1844) of Bandralta.

Illustrates (figs. 34, 37, 50-53, 55-57, 62, 107-111) fourteen portraits of Raja Gulab Singh (xii, 1844-1857) of Bandralta and Jammu.

Illustrates (figs. 54, 57, 58, 60 and 95) five portraits of Raja Ranbir Singh (xiii, 1857-1885) of Bandralta and Jammu.

Includes copious notes on their characters.

1967

Goswamy, B. N. 'Review of *Paintings of the Sikhs* by W. G. Archer', *Roopa Lekha* (1967), XXXVI, nos. 1 and 2, 187-191.

Includes further information on the character and religion of Raja Ranbir Singh (xiii).

1969

Ohri, V. C. 'Four Pahari Portraits', *Lalit Kala* (published 1969), no. 14, 21-23.

Identifies and discusses the following three portraits of Raja Indra Dev (c.1730-c.1760) of Bandralta:

Fig. 1. Indra Dev smoking, a vase of flowers before him and sprays of flowers in his turban. See no. 4(1).

Fig. 2. Inscriptions in Dogri characters on the reverse of Fig. 1 indicating that the portrait is of Diwan Indra Dev and stating that it was painted in *sastra* (*kaccha*) *samvat* 8 (A.D. 1732) at Khurkhal. See no. 4(1).

Fig. 3. Indra Dev in a flowered *jama* smoking and attended by a fly-whisk bearer and by a court official with pen and paper. See no. 2(2).

Fig. 4. Indra Dev smoking, interviewing a clerk or treasurer(?) who holds a purse(?). See no. 4(2).

IV. PAINTING: CATALOGUE AND RECONSTRUCTION

PHASE ONE: 1650-1730

No paintings of this period, securely connected with Bandralta by provenance or distinctiveness of style, have so far come to light.

PHASE TWO: 1730-1800

1 Raja Indra Dev (c.1730-c.1760) of Bandralta smoking. Bandralta, c.1750.

218 x 313 mm; with border (torn) 244 x 336 mm.

Inscribed on the front in *takri* characters: *divan* and on the reverse: *sri indra dev ji*.

Chandigarh Museum, Nurpur Raj collection.

Description: Raja Indra Dev, in white *jama*, sits smoking a hookah on a pale rug laid upon a mauve carpet with dark blue vertical stripes. Two servants in ankle-length *jamas* wait upon him. The one behind him carrying a *pan* box and waving a large fly-whisk, the other holding a small white cloth and a pair of tongs. Two cushions in red and crimson. Uncoloured background.

Discussion: Despite a remarkable likeness to Raja Ajmat Dev (ruled c.1750-c.1765) of Mankot (q.v.), the present figure is clearly Raja Indra Dev of Bandralta as can be seen by comparing him with 1(1) which exactly tallies with him in features and is inscribed not only with his name, Indra Dev, but with the clan-name, Bandral. Detailed comparisons with portraits of Raja Ajmat Dev of Mankot (Mankot, nos. 33, 34) also reveal that while possessing superficially similar features, the latter tends to be shown with a less receding forehead and less prominent nose, there is occasionally a marked gap between beard and moustaches, his moustaches are longer and less up-turned at the tips and his beard less thick. Since Mankot and Bandralta were immediate neighbours, the two rajas could well have been related by marriage and may have been cousins in which case strong resemblances of visage could well have been possible. The term, *davan* or *divan* (minister, administrator) may imply that, as eldest son, Indra Dev administered the State, for a time, on behalf of his father.

The present portrait is in a style which closely depends from that of Mankot — compare, in particular, the pose of the Raja, the carpet treated as a long rectangle with vertical stripes and the two attendants balancing each other at either end. The execution, however, lacks the suave smartness which characterises Mankot painting proper. The fly-whisk is exaggeratedly large and the pair of tongs is also un-Mankot-like in emphasis. The uncoloured background which reappears in 2 and 3 is also alien to Mankot practice though it is frequently employed at Jammu by Nainsukh of Guler, retained artist (1746-1763) of Raja Balwant Singh.

A further distinctive feature of the present portrait is the freshly-sewn garland of flowers — a detail which reappears in 1(1). Flowers would seem to have had a special charm and attraction for Raja Indra Dev of Bandralta for he is not only shown in two portraits (nos. 4 and 5) with narcissi in his turban but he is also flamboyantly portrayed in three others (nos. 2, 2(1) and 5) wearing a richly flowered dress. It is in 4 however that his obsession with flowers reaches its greatest height. In this portrait, a great vase, loaded with flowers is set before him, completely dwarfing his hookah while a servant hovers in the wings, ready to offer him not only a fresh garland but a nose-gay. The concept of the Raja as a 'flower-lover' in quite this degree has no exact parallel in any other centre of painting in the Punjab Hills and may well be a distinctive ingredient in Bandralta painting.

Related example: (1) Khandalavala (1958), no. 76; also discussed Goswamy (1966), 74. Raja Indra Dev of Bandralta worshipping Vishnu as Lakshmi Narain. Inscribed at the top in *takri* characters: *sri divan indra deo bahndral*. National Museum, New Delhi. Bandralta, c.1750. Scarlet background. Bright yellow borders. Same person as in 1 and with similar loosely-strung garland of flowers. Portions of the figures projecting into the borders.

2 Raja Indra Dev (c.1730-c.1760) of Bandralta smoking. Bandralta, c.1750.

185 x 305 mm; with border (torn) 210 x 305 mm. Red border with black rules.

Inscribed on the front in *takri* characters: *davan*. Chandigarh Museum, Nurpur Raj collection.

Description: Raja Indra Dev of Bandralta in pale yellow

jama richly patterned with sprays of flowers sits smoking a hookah on a white rug with two side cushions patterned with green sprigs. The rug is laid on a pink carpet with vertical dark blue stripes. Servants as in 1 — the servant with vast fly-whisk wearing a green *jama* with red sash. To the rear a low yellow balustrade. Uncoloured background.

Discussion: Similar in style, composition and figures to 1 but with a more sumptuous air of greater richness. Like 1, closely modelled on portraiture in Mankot though more faltering in execution. The low balustrade and uncoloured background can be paralleled in painting in Jammu — a circumstance which suggests that Jammu portraits of Indra Dev's father, Kailashpat Dev (Jammu, no. 19) may have been known in Bandralta. The simple inscription *davan* (minister, administrator) suggests that it was written in the home state of the subject and at a time near to when the picture was painted — the subject's identity being clearly so obvious to the writer that any further details were unnecessary.

Related example: (1) Ohri (1969), fig. 3. Raja Indra Dev of Bandralta smoking, behind him an attendant in white *jama* waving a large white fly-whisk, in front of him a servant with small white cloth and pair of tongs. Collection unrecorded. Bandralta, c.1750. Plain background. Rug with broad parallel stripes. Otherwise virtually identical with no. 2.

3 Raja Indra Dev (c.1730-c.1760) of Bandralta killing a black buck. Bandralta, c.1750.

209 x 286 mm; with border 234 x 312 mm. Red border. Inscribed on the front in *takri* characters: *sa davan idar de 'Sri Divan Indra Dev'*. Chandigarh Museum, Nurpur Raj collection.

Description: Raja Indra Dev of Bandralta in long white ankle-length *jama* reaches down from a galloping horse to cut down with his sword a black buck. Harness and saddle-cloth red and yellow. A yellow doe bounds over a small hillock. Uncoloured background.

Discussion: Same person as in 1, 2 and 4. The presence of nos. 2 and 3 in the Nurpur Raj collection suggests that Bandralta and Nurpur may have been either allied by marriage in Indra Dev's reign or were on sufficiently intimate terms to warrant the giving of portraits. The fact that 2 is virtually the same as no. 2(1) indicates that both are standard studies, perhaps intended for presentation.

4 Raja Indra Dev (c.1730-c.1760) of Bandralta smoking. Bandralta, c.1750.

Size unrecorded. Red border, parts of two *jamās* projecting.

Inscribed in the upper border in *takri* characters: (1) *mania rasal* (2) *sri maharaja sri indra dev ji* (3) *ramu* . . . (4) *joda rasal*.

Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

Description: Raja Indra Dev in white *jama* smoking a hookah sits on a pale patterned rug laid on a pink carpet with vertical blue stripes. An attendant stands behind him with drawn sword waving a vast fly-whisk. Before him stand two attendants — one with *pan* box and betel leaves, the other with a nose-gay of flowers and a white garland. Between the hookah bowl and the Raja is a large vase filled with flowers, including roses and narcissi. Yellow background.

Discussion: A further study of the 'flower-loving' Raja but in an even broader rectangular format. The inclusion of the names of the attendants in the upper border is reminiscent of Mankot painting where courtiers and palace servants seem to have been portrayed almost as often as the Mankot Rajas themselves. Although the yellow background is typical of painting in Mankot, the picture is more faltering in style, suggesting that although Mankot may have provided Bandralta with significant parallels, Bandralta pictures, such as 1-5, were almost certainly executed not at Mankot but at Bandralta itself.

Related examples: (1) Ohri (1969), figs. 1 and 2. Raja Indra Dev of Bandralta smoking, a servant with peacock feather fan standing behind him (fig. 1). Inscribed in *Dogri* characters: *samvat . . . 8 maghar pr (avishte) 30 likha sri devan indra de ji da chitra khu(r)khal rehande the tan* 'On the 30th day of Maghar (January-February), *samvat* (*sastra* or *kachha*) year 8 (A.D. 1732), this picture of Sri Diwan Indra Dev was painted. (He) was then living (staying?) at Khu(r)khal'. Further inscription on the reverse (fig. 2). Collection Sri Dharmapala, Chamba. Bandralta, dated 1732. Servant with box of *pan*. Rug with broad floral patterns as in Mankot portraits of c.1730-1740. Two large heads of narcissus flowers in Indra Dev's turban. As in 4, a vase with narcissi between the hookah-bowl and the raja.

(2) Ohri (1969), fig. 4. Raja Indra Dev of Bandralta smoking, a long sword and *pan*-box beside him, a servant with purse (?) standing before him. Collection unrecorded. Bandralta, c.1740. Two small vases filled with roses (?) on either side of the hookah-bowl.

5 Raja Indra Dev (c.1730-c.1760) of Bandralta smoking. Bandralta, c.1750.

Fragment. Red borders.

Binney collection, Brookline, Mass (formerly Coomaraswamy collection, Boston).

Published: Coomaraswamy (1916), pl. 34B (detail); also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), no. 74.

Description: Raja Indra Dev of Bandralta in a dark *jama* richly patterned with narcissus flowers sits smoking a hookah on a white rug with floral patterns. A long sword lies beside him. He wears a spray of three narcissi in his turban. Behind him stands an attendant with peacock-feather fan holding a box containing betel leaves. Yellow background.

Discussion: Similar features as in 1-4 and with the same air of luxury and magnificence. In the original, the pose of the attendant with a peacock-feather fan holding a box of betel leaves is identical to that of the attendant in 2.

6 The lady and the duenna. Bandralta, c.1770-c.1780.

178 x 132 mm; with border 221 x 186 mm. Red border with white and black rules.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 142-1955.

Description: A lady in crimson trousers and green and golden yellow dress squats on a stool, smoking a hookah. She is wrapped in a red cloak and leans against a green cushion. On the stool is a white cloth with red stripes. White floor with brazier beside her. A duenna in mauve dress and green veil sits to the left. Grey wall with bunches of narcissi in Chinese 'blue and white' vases. At the top a pink blind with chocolate brown stripes and bright green margins, tied with a white cord.

Discussion: A continuation into a slightly later period of the 'flowers in vase' motif exploited with such flamboyant effect in the portraits of the 'flower-loving' Raja (nos. 4 and 5) — the row of seven vases, top-heavy with bunches of narcissi and the brilliantly flowering margins of the blind being too distinctively assertive to be merely accidental. Unlike other Bandralta pictures, where Jammu influence is on the whole subservient to Mankot example, Jammu is now the main source — the grey wall and the pink blind with chocolate brown stripes being characteristic Jammu devices and the face of the girl conforming to Jammu facial types of the c.1770-c.1790 period (Jammu, nos. 68, 69).

Related example: (1) Skelton (1961), pl. 86. The winter season. Private collection. Bandralta, c.1770-c.1790. Similar brazier, blind tied up with a white cord, heavily flowered rug and blind. Same type of face.

PHASE THREE: 1800-1900

Apart from murals in the Suchet Singh Palace, Ramnagar (c.1840-c.1860), in Sikh style, no paintings securely connected with Bandralta during this period have so far come to light.

PAINTING IN BANGAHAL

I. INTRODUCTION

GEOGRAPHY

A moderately sized state, bounded, until its extinction at the end of the eighteenth century, on the south by Mandi, on the west by Kangra, on the north-west by Chamba, on the north by Lahul and on the east and south-east by Kulu. Capital: Bir.

SCENERY AND RELIGION

Unrecorded.

II. HISTORICAL NOTES

SOURCES

- Barnes, G. B. and Lyall, J. B. *Report of the Land Revenue Settlement of the Kangra District, Punjab* (Lahore, 1889), 16.
- Griffin, L. H. and Massy, C. F. *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab* (Lahore, 1940), I, 116-118.
- Hutchison, J. and Vogel, J. P. *History of the Panjab Hill States* (Lahore, 1933), II, 491-493.

REIGNS AND PORTRAITS

Unconnected with other ruling families in the Punjab Hills. Clan-name, Bangahalia. Family suffix, Pal.

c.1710-c.1725 **PRITHI PAL** (i)
The date of death, 1728, given by Griffin and Massy seems to be wrong since Prithi Pal was murdered by his father-in-law Sidh Sen of Mandi who himself died in 1727.
Relations with Mandi and Kulu: Despite marriage alliances with both states, Bangahal was threatened by both, Prithi Pal's murder by his father-in-law at Mandi being followed by war between Mandi and Kulu, in the course of which Kulu took in much of Bangahal.
Son: Raghunath Pal.

c.1725-c.1735 **RAGHUNATH PAL** (ii)
Son of Prithi Pal.
With Kulu aid, warded off attacks by Mandi on the remaining part of Bangahal still left to the family. Lost a little land to Mandi.
Sons: Dalel (Dalip) Pal, Bhim Pal.

c.1735-1749 **DALEL (DALIP) PAL** (iii)
Son of Raghunath Pal.
Further encroachments on Bangahal by Kulu and Mandi, leaving at the end only three small estates still with the Bangahal family.
Son: Man Pal.

1749-c.1770 **MAN PAL** (iv)
Son of Dalel Pal.
Died on the way to Delhi while appealing to the Mughal emperor. In his absence, Kangra annexed two and Guler one of the three remaining estates, thus extinguishing Bangahal.
Sons: Uchal Pal, Nihal Pal.

c.1770-c.1800 **UCHAL PAL** (v)
Son of Man Pal.
A dependant at the court of Sansar Chand (xii, 1775-1823) of Kangra who married one of his sisters in 1785. With Kangra help, attempted to recover Bangahal land in Mandi. Failed. His mother, with Nihal Pal, a refugee in Chamba under Raja Raj Singh (viii, 1764-1794).
Sons: Ram Pal, Bahadur Pal, Jit Pal.

c.1800-1843 **RAM PAL** (vi)
Died childless.
His sister married to the Raja of Siba. The family granted a tiny estate in Bir, by then part of Kangra.

1843-1854 **BAHADUR PAL** (vii)
Brother of Ram Pal.
Died childless.

III AND IV. PAINTING

Due to its steady decline throughout the eighteenth century and ultimate extinction in c.1770, Bangahal does not seem to have had any painting in the eighteenth century — the absorption of its territory first by Kulu and later by Mandi, Chamba, Kangra and Guler effectively precluding the development of any local school. No paintings connected with Bangahal or portraits of Bangahal rulers are so far known. No literature.

PAINTING IN BASHAHR

I. INTRODUCTION

GEOGRAPHY

A large state, eighty-four miles long, sixty-two miles wide on the eastern side, twelve miles wide on the western. Bounded on the south by Tehri Garhwal and part of Keonthal, on the west by Kulu and four statelets, on the north by Spiti and on the east by Chinese Tibet. Capital: Sarahan, later Rampur.

SCENERY

Fraser (1820): describes Bashahr shortly after the Gurkha occupation and stresses the desolation caused by it (219). Notes that at the time of his visit (1815), the capital, Rampur, rose in tiers above the Sutlej. Rows of houses were in ruins, there was a Gurkha fort, some Brahmin houses were in good repair and finally 'the Dewan Khaneh or Hall of Audience was on the highest terrace. It bore the marks of some degree of neatness and costliness, if not of splendour: the wood work of the interior is well carved and all around on three sides there are panels which contain the remains of pictures in the Chinese taste and evidently the work of a Chinese artist' (254).

Gazetteer (1911): 'The greater part of Bashahr lies within the drainage area of the Sutlej, which runs from north-west to south-west and has a total length within the State of about 98 miles. Two immense mountain chains bound the Sutlej drainage area on the north and south, both rising to snow-clad peaks. The country is formed of a great mass of mountainous spurs with very precipitous sides jutting out in every direction from the main ranges, between which there are narrow ravines or small rivers with sheer banks' (1).

RELIGION

Apart from village godlings, the chief object of worship is Kali — the official State worship being centred round the temple of Bhima Kali at Sarahan. 'Nothing was done by the Raja or Wazirs without first consulting the oracle of the goddess and, whenever a compact was entered into, it was sworn to at the feet of Bhima Kali.' Special features of Bashahr religion are lavish sacrifices to Kali (*Gazetteer*, 25-32).

II. HISTORICAL NOTES

SOURCES

Anon. *Punjab States Gazetteers, VIII A: Simla Hill States, 1910, Bashahr State Gazetteer* (Lahore, 1911).

Fraser, J. B. *Journal of a Tour through part of the Himala Mountains* (London, 1820). Has the following notes on Bashahr history:

'It is to be regretted that the archives and records of the state, as well as of the rajah's family, were entirely destroyed by the Goorkhas. Thus nothing certain relative to the origin of either came under our observation, or resulted from our enquiries; but there is no doubt that the rajah is descended from an ancient and noble Raajepoot family; it is said from Chittore.

'There always was an enmity between the houses of Bischur and Cooloo which state frequently sent parties

across the Sutlej to the left bank and seized on different tracts and states tributary to Bischur, building forts for the purpose of maintaining them; and even now, though they coalesced against their common enemy the Ghoorkhas, their natural jealousy could not be suppressed, the soldiers of Cooloo unwillingly yielding to Bischur the forts taken by the combined troops from the Ghoorkhas and garrisoned by them. It is also said that none of the families of rank on the south side of the Sutlej will inter-marry with those of Cooloo. With Sirmore, likewise, there were continual feuds and disputes, till the late rajah married a daughter of that house, when a friendly understanding took place. Before the Ghoorkha invasion, a similar vexatious warfare subsisted between Gurwhal and Bischur, which was only terminated by the issue of that invasion and the destruction the former state' (269).

REIGNS AND PORTRAITS

Clan-name, Bashahria. Suffix, Singh. Historical information is scanty and the *Gazetteer* gives no systematic account of rulers or reigns.

Of the seventeenth century, Raja Kehri Singh is said to have been the boldest and most successful — reducing to tribute the Rajas of Sirmur, Garhwal, Mandi and Suket, as also many Thakurs.

In the eighteenth century, Raja Ram Singh made Rampur the capital and began a series of disastrous contests with the Raja of Kulu. These were continued under his two successors. At the close of the eighteenth century there was a slight revival of prosperity under Raja Ugar Singh.

The Gurkha occupation of Bashahr from 1811 to 1815 led, as elsewhere in the Hills, to general havoc and destruction. During this time, Rampur and Sarahan were sacked and the state papers and archives destroyed.

The remaining Rajas have been Mahindar Singh (1815-1850), Shamsheer Singh (1850-1887, delegated his ruling powers, alive in 1910), and Raghunath Singh (1887-1898).

Portrait: (1) Fig. 8(ix) (Kangra). Raja Ugar Singh (c.1770-c.1800) standing. Archer collection, London (formerly Lambagraon collection. Kangra). Kangra, c.1780.

IMPLICATIONS FOR PAINTING

Due to paucity of materials, few inferences can be drawn. It would seem, however, that in the eighteenth century, relations with Kulu were particularly bad and that towards the end of the century relations with Sirmur and Garhwal were also very strained. If painting was practised in Bashahr in the eighteenth century, therefore, it is unlikely to have been influenced by styles of painting from any of these States.

Although the destruction of the state records by the Gurkhas does not necessarily mean that the State collection of pictures, if any existed, was also destroyed, the fact that no eighteenth century pictures have so far been forthcoming from Bashahr may be due to Gurkha ravages. For painting in the nineteenth century, see French (1931).

III. PAINTING: REVIEW OF LITERATURE

1931

French, J. C. *Himalayan Art* (London, 1931), 95-97.

'I also photographed some frescoes in the palace at Rampur-Bashahr, the capital of Bashahr State. . . . The

frescoes are in the Shish Mahal ('Glass House') built forty years ago. At that time they covered the whole of the walls. Now they have been obliterated with whitewash except for a few fragments in the upper storey. Some of these are interesting. They are half-life-size figures of Rama and Sita and Krishna in a late Kangra Valley style, coarse but with a certain vitality. Above them are painted some curious little vignettes of sporting scenes and birds — a hawk striking down a partridge, a heron catching a frog and a hunting-dog retrieving a bird. These are all done with realism and a certain savage vigour, particularly the dog, which is instinct with movement. . . . The contrast of subject in these paintings illustrates the character of the Rajputs of the Hills. Below is the cult of Hinduism — Krishna, Rama, and Sita; above are blood sports.

'Near the Shish Mahal is a Hindu temple with a fresco painted in Tibetan style. The subject is a treaty between Bashahr State and Tibet in the days of the Mogul Emperor. It is interesting to find it side by side with the Shish Mahal frescoes. Neither show the slightest sign of any influence from the other. In Rampur Bashahr the art of the Himalayas and the art of the land beyond the Himalayas, of Tibet and the Far East, meet with a crash.

'Two marches beyond Rampur is Sarahan, the ancient capital of the Bashahr State. There is an old palace there, with sloping roofs and over-hanging eaves. To any one unacquainted with Hill architecture it would seem to show Chinese influence. But of course there is nothing of the sort there. It is in the style found in the Kangra Valley and in the Chamba palace, except that it is in wood instead of brick or plastered mud.

'I met the Raja of Bashahr at Sarahan. He showed me his collection of pictures, which were in the usual Kangra Valley style. There were no old pictures. Their absence is due to the fact that Sarahan was thoroughly looted by the Gurkhas.'

1951

Lal, Mukandi. 'The Garhwal School of Painting', *Roopa Lekha* (1951) XXII, no. 1, 33-34, pl. 26.

'One such Nayika picture *Manini* (Plate 26) was discovered in Rampur-Bushahr State. In style, mid-nineteenth century, under Garhwal or Kangra influence.

1959

Randhawa, M. S. *Basohli Painting* (Delhi, 1959), 70, pl. 17.

Discusses a *Ramayana* series (Kulu, nos. 1-5) from the collection of Raja Raghbir Singh, Shangri and notes of one example:

'This painting and a number of others illustrating the events from *Aranya kanda* and *Kishkindha kanda* are in a different style from others in Raja Raghbir Singh's collection. Paintings in this style have also been collected from Rampur-Bushahr, on the left bank of the Sutlej in Himachal Pradesh.'

The Kulu style in question is derivative from Kahlur (Bilaspur) and if indigenous to Bashahr may have reached it from Bilaspur direct. No further information given.

IV. PAINTING: CATALOGUE AND RECONSTRUCTION

No paintings securely connected with Bashahr by provenance or distinctiveness of style have so far come to light.

PAINTING IN BASOHLI

I. INTRODUCTION

GEOGRAPHY

An important state, twenty miles long by fifteen miles wide, bounded on the south by Lakhanpur, on the west by Jasrota, Bhadu and Mankot, on the north-west by Bandalta, on the north by Bhadrawah, on the east by Chamba and on the south-east by Nurpur. Founded as an offshoot from Kulu in the eighth century. Capital, Vallapura (Balawar, Balor) until c.1630; after that, Basohli. Original home of the family, Mayapuri (Hardwar).

SCENERY

Vigne (1842): 'Bissuli contains a large but slovenly-looking bazaar; and the place would hardly, as far as I could judge, be worth the traveller's notice, were it not for the baronial appearance of the palace of the old Rajahs, which I thought the very finest building of the kind that I had seen in the East. Its square turrets, open and embattled parapets, projecting windows, Chinese-roofed balconies and moat-like tank in front, presented a general appearance which, without entering into specific detail was sufficient to remind me of some of the most ancient red brick structures of my own country. When viewed at the distance of a few miles from the path to Jamu, it rises in relief from the dark masses of the lower range, with a grandeur that I thought not inferior to that of Heidelberg; whilst, with reference to more general effect, the line of snowy peaks which are seen peering over the mountains immediately around it, are sufficient to render its relative position incomparably superior' (I, 171-172).

Drew (1875): 'Basoli was the seat of one of the Rajaships between which the low hills were divided before Jummo swallowed up so many. A large building still remains that was the palace; it is now unkept and almost deserted. The town had already decayed but for the settlement in it of some busy Kashmiris, who by their trade of weaving bring some prosperity.

'Basoli is one of several places in the low hills, being at the edge of a wood that is seldom disturbed, where the red monkey abounds; the monkey, being respected by the Hindus and protected by the laws, has here come to be most bold, so he invades the town in great numbers, clambering over the palace walls and scampering across the chief open space of the town and often enough doing mischief.

'A day's march to the northward is Balawar, which is the oldest seat of the rulers who afterwards went to Basoli. It is at the foot of a brushwood-covered spur of hill and has beneath it a bouldery river-bed a mile or more wide. There are remains of towers and walls that protected the place, some towards the jungle, some at the edge of the cliff that overhangs the stream-bed and there is an old gateway at the top of the slope that gave access from below. These, as well as the Mahal, that is to say palace or mansion, the remains of which show it to have been substantially built though not large, were the work of the Balawar Rajas. One other building there is that still has repute; this is an old Shividwara, or Hindu temple, much ornamented with carvings, in the sandstone that is the material for all the buildings. Of this temple one side has fallen and the rest seems ready to follow, while the remnants scattered about of columns and other pieces of masonry show that the buildings were formerly more extensive; the space around the temple is now all shaded by large banyan trees. Balawar, as at present inhabited, is no more than a village' (84-85).

French (1931): 'Basohli is magnificently situated on a steep hill on the right bank of the Ravi, the river which runs

beside Chamba town. Boldly though the town stands out across the river, it is dominated by the great fortress-palace, which in turn is overhung by the citadel, like an eagle's nest. The scene is framed by the high mountains just at the back and above them in the sky are the snows of Kashmir. At Basohli the Ravi is not quite the boiling torrent which it is at Chamba but still it is dark with snow-water and as fast and rough as the hardest traveller can wish for. . . . Basohli is a beautiful old place, perched on a small plateau on a hill-top. At the end of the town is the usual open space nowadays a park and football ground and formerly a parade and polo ground. The other side of it is the palace of the old rajas, with a magnificent old watertank with carved stone sides to the left and the citadel towering over it on the hill to the right.

'The position of Basohli on a steep hill, girt with rocky precipices overlooking a broad and swiftly flowing river, crowned by one of the loveliest palaces in the Hills (for such was Basohli a hundred years ago) and the whole scene framed in the Himalayan snows, justified its claim to be one of the Seven Wonders of the Hills. But while the work of nature is unchanged, the work of man has altered' (39-43).

Visited by W.G.A., M. S. Randhawa and Mulk Raj Anand, March 1960. During this visit, we also met Pahda Kunj Lal, descendant of the Basohli royal physicians, then aged about ninety. For an account of a previous visit by Randhawa in October, 1957, including two views of Basohli as it now looks, see Randhawa (1958). A further view is given in Randhawa and Galbraith (1968), 121.

RELIGION

Until the mid-seventeenth century, the cult of Shiva and the Devi seems to have been the dominant religion in Basohli state. Bhupat Pal (i, 1598-1635) constructed at Basohli a new Shaiva temple, the Nilkanth Mahadev and Sangram Pal (ii, 1635-1673) is believed to have favoured another Shaiva temple. Under Sangram Pal, ardent Vaishnavism reached the state, leading to the adoption of Vaishnava *tilak* marks by this ruler and his half-brother and successor, Hindal Pal. No new temples to Vishnu, Rama or Krishna, however, appear to have been erected or endowed and under Kirpal Pal (iv, 1678-1693) and his immediate successors, Dhiraj Pal and Medini Pal, the practice of wearing Vaishnava *tilak* marks was discontinued in favour of the former custom of Shaiva ones. Ardent Vaishnavism, none the less, persisted and it is possible that marriage alliances with Vaishnava-minded families, such as those of Mankot and Guler, may have strengthened allegiance to the cult. Apart from conventional worship, pilgrimages to holy places by members of the royal family seem to have been normal. Hardwar, a former seat of the family, was favoured and in accordance with practice elsewhere, it was there that the ashes of various Basohli rulers were immersed.

II. HISTORICAL NOTES

SOURCES

Drew, F. *The Jummo and Kashmir Territories* (London, 1875).

Forster, G. *A Journey from Bengal to England* (London, 1808).

French, J. C. *Himalayan Art* (Oxford, 1931).

Goswamy B. N. 'Pahari Painting: the family as the basis of style', *Marg* (1968), XXI, no. 4, 17-62.

- Goswamy, Karuna. 'Vaishnavism in the Punjab Hills and Pahari Painting' (Doctoral thesis, Punjab University, Chandigarh, 1968).
- Hutchison, J. and Vogel, J. P. 'History of Basohli State', *Journal of the Panjab Historical Society* (1916), IV, no. 2, 77-97.
- Hutchison, J. and Vogel, J. P. *History of the Panjab Hill States* (Lahore, 1933), II, 587-613. Dates in many cases conjectural; certain dates inaccurate.
- Kahan Singh Balauria, *Tawarikh-i-Rajputan-i-Mulk-i-Panjab* (Jammu, 1912).
- Khandalavala, K. *Pahari Miniature Painting* (Bombay, 1958).
- Randhawa, M. S. *Basohli Painting* (New Delhi, 1959), 17-21. Avails of manuscript sources in possession of Pahda Kunj Lal, Basohli.
- Vigne, G. T. *Travels in Kashmir, Ladak, Iskardo* (London, 1842).

REIGNS AND PORTRAITS

With Kulu, Bhadu and Bhadrawah, an offshoot from a family originally settled at Hardwar (Mayapuri), Kulu founded first; later a younger branch (cadet) of the Kulu house founded Basohli. Descendants of all four families still claim association with Hardwar (HV). Clan-name, Balauria. Suffix, Pal.

1598-1635 BHUPAT PAL (i)

Born 1573. Age at death 62. Contemporary of Raja Jagat Singh (1619-1646) of Nurpur. Imprisoned (1613-1627) by Mughal emperor Jahangir as a result of intrigues by Jagat Singh who occupied Basohli and garrisoned it with a Nurpur army.

External affairs: On death of Jahangir, Bhupat Pal released from prison, 1627. Expelled Nurpur garrison, invaded and conquered Bhadu and Bhadrawah and exacted tribute. Conquered Kashtwar, 1628. Invaded Chamba and annexed some territory. Plundered Nurpur.

Relations with Mughals: Was apparently on unusually close terms of friendship with Shah Jahan, KS stressing that he 'received a robe of honour' from him. The 'robe of honour' may explain the wearing by Basohli rulers from Sangram Pal (ii) to Dhiraj Pal (v) of *jamias* which were tied, Muslim fashion, on the right-hand side. It is also possible that the large pendant worn on the chest by certain Basohli rulers, including Medini Pal (vi) may have been a gift to Bhupat Pal from Shah Jahan. Shah Jahan is said to have never forgiven Jagat Singh of Nurpur for murdering Bhupat Pal in Delhi in 1635 (KS).

Internal affairs: Founded Basohli town and made it the state capital.

Marriages: Kashtwar, Chanehni.

Sons: Sangram Pal (by Kashtwar Rani); Hindal Pal (by Chanehni rani).

Appearance: 'An exceedingly powerful man, of great stature, credited with the ability to rub out the letters on a rupee with his fingers. Daily consumption of food 16 seers of rice and one goat' (HV).

Religion: Brought the Nilakantha Mahadev idol from Kashtwar and installed it in a new Shiva temple at Basohli. Portrayed with *shakta tilak* marks.

Portraits: (1) Fig. 12 (Mankot). Bhupat Pal standing. Mankot Raj collection, Chandigarh Museum. Mankot, c.1690.

(2) Unpublished. Bhupat Pal holding a sword and lotus flower. Inscribed in *takri* characters: *raja biluria bhupat pal*. National Museum, New Delhi. Mankot, c.1690.

(3) Randhawa (1965), fig. 1. Bhupat Pal smoking. Karan Singh collection, Jammu. Basohli, c.1780.

(4) Randhawa (1958), fig. 3. Bhupat Pal tendering homage to Shah Jahan. Basohli Raj collection, Pahda Kunj Lal, Basohli. Basohli, c.1800.

1635-c.1673 SANGRAM PAL (ii)

Son of Bhupat Pal by his Kashtwar rani. Born 1628. Seven years old at accession. Summoned to imperial court at Delhi, 1640, when 12 years old. Shown to the royal ladies

who praised his handsome looks. Remained at Delhi one year. Friend of Dara Shikoh (son of Shah Jahan).

External affairs: Basohli a strong and powerful state. 'The Vansavali states that Sangram Pal waged war with Kashtwar, Guler, Kahlur (Bilaspur) and Nurpur; and "plucked their realm from the Chambials". He fought twenty-two battles in all of which he was victorious and he married twenty-two times but left no issue' (HV). The Nurpur menace finally ended by an alliance of Hill states and subsequent defeat of Nurpur, 1641. Feud with Chamba on account of border claims, c.1660-c.1670. Loss of Bhadrawah and some border territory to Chamba.

Marriages: Much married but details unrecorded; left seven ranis all of whom became sati.

Sons: No male issue. (But perhaps female, since the *Chamba Gazetteer* records the marriage of a daughter to Raja Chattar Singh of Chamba, q.v.).

Religion: Associated with the Shaiva temple of Trilochan Nath Mahadev, Basohli (K. Goswamy, 1968). Portrayed with Vaishnava *tilak* marks. Introduced ardent Vaishnavism to Basohli.

Portraits: (1) 11(ii) (Basohli). Sangram Pal seated. Hodgkin collection, London. Basohli, c.1685-1690.

(2) Randhawa (1965), fig. 2. Sangram Pal seated. Karan Singh collection, Jammu (formerly Basohli Raj collection, Pahda Kunj Lal, Basohli). Basohli, c.1780.

c.1673-c.1678 HINDAL (HINDOL) PAL (iii)

Half-brother of Sangram Pal. Son of Bhupat Pal by his Hiuntal (Chanehni) rani and, on account of this, named Hintal, which in popular use, became Hindal (KS).

Born 1633. Was only one year old when his mother died. Was treated harshly by his step-mother and spent the early years of his life under enforced detention in the palace. Was reared by a wet-nurse. Aged about 40 years at his accession. Reigned for five years (KS).

Marriage: Kangra.

Religion: Portrayed with Vaishnava *tilak* marks.

Portraits: (1) Fig. 23 (Mankot). Hindal Pal standing holding a flower. Chandigarh Museum, Mankot Raj collection. Mankot, c.1700 or later.

(2) Hutchison and Vogel (1916), pl. 2. Hindal Pal seated. Central Museum, Lahore, D.105. Basohli, c.1780.

c.1678-1693 KIRPAL PAL (iv)

Son of Hindal Pal.

Born 1650. Reigned for fifteen years. Died aged forty-three (KS).

External affairs: None recorded but see Chamba and Kulu and note on character.

Marriages: Two ranis; the first from Bandralta, the second (his favourite), from Mankot (KS).

Sons: Dhiraj Pal, Ratan Pal.

Character: Religious (devoted both to Shiva and to Vishnu), a scholar and patron of art and learning — a manuscript of the *Sushruta* (a treatise on medicine) completed for him in 1688, stating: 'Raja Sri Kirpal Pal, as his name shows, is kind-hearted. He is a scholar of the *Dharma Shastras* and is a devotee of Vishnu. He is a great warrior and does not spare his enemies on the battle-field' (Randhawa (1959), 38). A second treatise on medicine, the *Charaka*, illustrated with paintings, was completed for him in the same year, 1688 (KS). Portrayed with Shaiva *tilak* marks.

Artists: Devidasa of Nurpur (see Basohli, no. 15), from whom he commissioned a 'third' *Rasamanjari*, completed in 1695, one to two years after his death.

Portraits: (1) Khandalavala (1958), fig. 58. Kirpal Pal smoking attended by a fan-bearer and hookah-tender. Inscribed in *takri* characters: *biluria kirpal*. Khandalavala collection, Bombay. Mankot, c.1680.

(2) Fig. 16 (Mankot). Kirpal Pal seated smoking attended by two maid-servants. Chandigarh Museum, Mankot Raj collection. Mankot, c.1690-1700.

(3) Fig. 10 (Mankot). Kirpal Pal seated. Dogra Art Gallery, Jammu. Mankot, c.1690.

(4) Randhawa (1959), pl. 3. Kirpal Pal smoking, attended

by a fan-bearer and hookah-tender. Dogra Art Gallery, Jammu (formerly Basohli Raj collection, Pahda Kunj Lal, Basohli). Basohli, c.1685-1690. Captioned 'Medini Pal' but same person as (1)-(3).

(5) Hutchison and Vogel (1916) pl. 2. Kirpal Pal seated. Central Museum, Lahore. Basohli, c.1780.

(6) Fig. 11 (i) (Basohli). Kirpal Pal smoking with two attendants. LeRoy Davidson collection, Los Angeles. Basohli, c.1685-1690.

1693-c.1722 DHIRAJ PAL (v)

Son of Kirpal Pal. Born 1670 (KS).

External affairs: Treaty of friendship with Udai Singh (c.1690-1720) of Chamba, quickly followed by friction and a minor war involving the succession to Guler. In the last of a series of wars with Chamba, Dhiraj Pal was killed in battle by Ugar Singh, 'soon after Udai Singh's death' (HV). [HV interpret 'soon after' as 1725 but it could equally well be 1722 or even 1721, a date which would more accord with his own and his son's appearances in portraits. They admit that 'the exact date of his death is not known'. KS's rival claim that he was killed by Ugar Singh of Chamba in 1703 seems contrary to Chamba history and if accepted, would make him only 33 years old when he died. This is belied by his comparatively old appearance in portraits. It is significant that, contrary to his usual practice, KS refrains from noting Dhiraj Pal's age at death.]

Character: Like his father, Kirpal Pal, a learned man who is supposed to have 'collected the eighteen Puranas' and arranged for their frequent recitation (KS).

Religion: Portrayed with Shaiva *tilak* marks.

Son: Medini Pal.

Portraits: (1) Fig. 7 (Kahlur). Dhiraj Pal seated, attended by a page. Archer collection, London. Kahlur (Bilaspur), c.1700-1710.

(2) Randhawa (1959), pl. 2. Dhiraj Pal smoking. Chandigarh Museum. Mankot, c.1700-1710.

(3) Randhawa (1965), fig. 3. Dhiraj Pal seated. Karan Singh collection, Jammu (formerly Basohli Raj collection, Pahda Kunj Lal, Basohli). Basohli, c.1780.

1722-1736 MEDINI PAL (vi)

Son of Dhiraj Pal.

Eight years old at his father's death (HV, KS). Taking this to be in 1722, he was born, therefore, in 1714. During his minority, his affairs were managed by his uncle, Mian Ratan Pal and the wazir, Harkha (KS).

Marriage: to a daughter of Dalip Singh of Guler, sister of Govardham Chand of Guler.

[Assuming he was sixteen years old at the time, this wedding could have taken place in 1730. Since Govardham Chand was married to a sister of Medini Pal ('Balauria rani'), it is possible that these two weddings may have occurred in the same year. If so, they might well have bearing on the 'Basohli' *Gita Govinda* series, dated 1730 (see no. 18)].

External affairs: Invaded Chamba, 1735 and regained some border land.

Date of death: HV and KS agree that this was in 1736 by which time he would have been twenty-two — an age supported by portrait (3) where he is shown with a slight beard. There seems no ground for accepting KS's claim that he revenged his father's death by killing Ugar Singh.

Sons: Jit Pal, Vikram Pal.

Religion: Portrayed with Shaiva *tilak* marks.

Artists: Manaku of Guler (see no. 18).

Portraits: (1) Fig. 17 (Basohli). Medini Pal smoking, a dog beside him. National Museum, New Delhi. Basohli, c.1730.

(2) Fig. 11 (Jammu). Medini Pal seated with a lady. Mehta collection, Ahmedabad. Jammu, c.1730.

(3) Fig. 19 (Basohli). Medini Pal standing with a hawk. Private collection. Basohli, c.1735.

(4) Hutchison and Vogel (1916), pl. 2. Medini Pal smoking. Central Museum, Lahore. D.107. Basohli, c.1780.

(5) Randhawa (1965), fig. 4. Medini Pal smoking. Karan Singh collection, Jammu (formerly Basohli Raj collection, Pahda Kunj Lal, Basohli). Basohli, c.1780.

1736-1757 JIT (AJIT) PAL (vii)

Son of Medini Pal.

Assuming Medini Pal to have been married in 1730 and for Jit Pal to have been born later the same year, his age at succession must therefore have been six.

Sons: Two sons by different rani — Amrit Pal, Bikram Pal, born in same year, 1745. Since Amrit Pal was born in 1745 and he was twelve years old at Jit Pal's death, Jit Pal may be presumed to have married at the age of fifteen in 1745. Age at death twenty-seven.

Religion: Portrayed with Vaishnava *tilak* marks.

Character: 'A very brave ruler.' Re-annexed Bhadu which had become separated from Basohli, but himself came increasingly under the influence of Jammu.

Portraits: (1) Randhawa (1965), fig. 5. Jit Pal seated with a falcon. Karan Singh collection, Jammu (formerly Basohli Raj collection, Pahda Kunj Lal, Basohli). Basohli, c.1780.

(2) Fig. 23 (Jammu). Jit Pal seated with his rani and ladies inspecting falcons. Archer collection, London. Jammu, c.1750.

1757-1776 (1778) AMRIT PAL (viii)

Son of Jit Pal.

Born 1745. Succeeded at age of twelve. Reigned for nineteen years (KS).

Accepted an astrologer's prediction that he would die at Banaras: accordingly abdicated in favour of his son, Vijay Pal, lived there for a year as a *sannyasi* (ascetic), visited Kurukshetra, 1778 (Goswamy, private communication, 1969), died at Banaras aged thirty-three (32, KS), ashes immersed at Hardwar, 1778.

Marriages: (1) at age of fourteen, in 1759, 'in the house' of Ranjit Dev of Jammu (KS), (2) a daughter of Abhaya Chand of Kangra (KS). Of these two rani, the first committed sati at his death, the second predeceased him.

External affairs: Dominated by Ranjit Dev (1735-1781) of Jammu. Resided much at the Jammu court, 'often going and staying with his father-in-law, Ranjit Dev' (KS). With Jammu support, expanded Basohli state by acquiring parts of Chamba, Bhadrawah and Jasrota. Permitted by Jammu to absorb Lakhampur and Bhadu. At Jammu direction, invaded Chamba in 1774. Furthered Jammu supremacy by assisting wars against Kashtwar and Bhadrawah.

Internal affairs: Built or extended the great Basohli palace. Due to diversion of trade from the Punjab Plains following the Persian and Afghan invasions and collapse of Mughals, Basohli prospered. Tolls levied on merchants passing through.

Sons: Vijay (Bijai) Pal, born 1763 by the Kangra rani; a second son, born 1765, died as a child, by the Kangra rani; Jaswant Pal, born 1769, by the Jammu rani.

Character: Like Kirpal and Dhiraj Pal, reputedly learned and scholarly. Lauded in the *vansavali* as an ideal ruler, devoutly religious, who maintained firm order. His reign 'the golden age of Basohli', but perhaps in the sense that tolls on merchants increased the State revenues while Jammu protection ensured its safety (HV).

Artists: Nainsukh, Ranjha (Goswamy, 1968).

Religion: On accession, granted land to a Brahmin, 1758. Accompanied by the artist, Nainsukh, made a pilgrimage to Jagannath (Puri) via Hardwar, 1763 (Goswamy, 1968). Further pilgrimages, 1776-1778. Portrayed without *tilak* marks.

Portraits: (1) Randhawa (1965), fig. 8. Amrit Pal on a terrace leaning on a sword. Karan Singh collection, Jammu. Basohli, c.1780.

(2) Randhawa (1965), fig. 6. Amrit Pal standing in a garden and leaning on a sword. Dogra Art Gallery, Jammu. Basohli, c.1770.

(3) Randhawa (1965), fig. 7. Amrit Pal standing on a terrace and leaning on a sword. Goenka collection, Calcutta (formerly Lambagraon collection, Kangra). Basohli, c.1770.

(4) Fig. 26 (Basohli). Amrit Pal seated with Dalel Singh of Jammu. Formerly K. N. Kalia collection, London. Basohli, c.1775.

(5) Listed Vogel (1909), D.11. Amrit Pal. Inscribed in nagari characters: *sri raja ambrat pal balauria da. Bhuri*

Singh Museum, Chamba (by exchange with Central Museum, Lahore). Basohli, c.1780.

(6) **Fig. 8(xiv) (Kangra).** Amrit Pal seated with a pandit or court official. Lambagraon collection, Kangra. Kangra, c.1760-1770.

(7) **Fig. 57 (Jammu).** Amrit Pal seated with Ranjit Dev and Dalel Singh of Jammu. Lambagraon collection, Kangra. Jammu, c.1760.

(8) **Fig. 63 (Jammu).** Amrit Pal seated. Chandigarh Museum. Jammu, c.1765.

1776-1806 VIJAY (BIJAI) PAL (ix)

Son of Amrit Pal by his Kangra rani.

Born 1763. Succeeded at age of thirteen (twelve KS). Reigned for thirty years.

External affairs: Basohli still nominally subordinate to Jammu but due to Sikh inroads, Jammu control weakening. Continuing friction with Chamba due to border disputes, leading to the invasion of Basohli by Raj Singh of Chamba, capture and sack of Basohli town, resumption by Chamba of border areas and levy of a war indemnity of one lakh of rupees, 1782. Following the Chamba conquest, Vijay Pal called in the Sikhs as 'Protectors'. Forster remarks (10 April 1783): 'In the ferry boat with two Sicques going to the fort, of which a detachment they belonged to had taken possession in consequence of being called in to the assistance of the Bissouly Chief. Though this be the result of every connection made with the Sicques, the infatuated mountaineers never fail to seek their aid when engaged in war. A bordering Chief (Raj Singh of Chamba) had invaded the Bissouly districts, plundered the inhabitants and burned their villages before any opposition was made. The Sicques were called in to repel the enemy and defend the fort of Bissouly, but after performing the required service they became pleased with their new situation and refused to relinquish it' (I, 270-271). On the death of Raj Singh of Chamba in 1794, Vijay Pal again tried to get back the border areas. Repulsed by Jit Singh of Chamba and forced to pay a further indemnity.

Marriages: (1) 1783, at the age of twenty, to a daughter (born 1769) of Dalel Singh, second son of Ranjit Dev of Jammu; (2) 1788, to a princess (born 1771) from Mangalpur, Punjab Plains; (3) 1792, to the daughter (*choti jamuwal rani*) of Ram Singh of Jammu, perhaps the third son of Balwant Singh, fourth brother of Ranjit Dev (Jammu q.v.). The last two marriages took place after the death of the first Jammu rani, 1787.

Sons: Mahendra Pal (by the first Jammu rani); Tegh Singh (by a concubine).

Daughters: Three, of whom one was married in Bandralta.

Death: Aged forty-three (forty-two, KS).

Character and religion: 'Like his father, a follower of the old faith (i.e. Shiva and Vishnu) and also of the Devi. Gave to many charities. Very generous. Settled two Gujarati scholars in Basohli. Induced many Kashmiri pandits to settle there. Used to visit Delhi and Lahore' (KS).

Artists: Ranjha (Goswamy, 1968).

Portraits: (1) Randhawa (1965), fig. 9. Vijay Pal standing on a terrace. Karan Singh collection, Jammu. Basohli, c.1780.

(2) **Fig. 29 (Basohli).** Vijay Pal with ladies. Basohli, c.1800. Same person as in (1).

1806-1813 MAHENDRA PAL (x)

Son of Vijay Pal by his first Jammu rani. Born 1784 (KS).

External affairs: Peace treaty with Jit Singh of Chamba, 1806. Maharaja Ranjit Singh (Sikh) replaces Jammu as sovereign of the western hills. Basohli becomes tributary to Lahore. Mahendra Pal is required to visit Lahore regularly.

Death: Died at Amritsar, 1813, while returning from a visit to the Sikh court. Age at death, about thirty.

Internal affairs: Extended the Basohli palace, adding the Rang and Shish Mahals. Embellished the Rang Mahal with murals, KS noting that 'though the palaces are now ruined, pictures of every kind of *nayaka* executed according to the *Koka Shastra* and *Sundar Singar* are still present'.

Marriage: In the house of Raja Ajib (Ajab) Singh (Dev) of Jasrota (KS).

Son: Bhupendra Pal, born 1806 (KS); a second son, born 1810, died as a child.

Character: 'Very handsome and fond of good living' (KS).

Artists: Ranjha (Goswamy, 1968).

Portraits: (1) Randhawa (1965), fig. 10. Mahendra Pal smoking under a canopy. Karan Singh collection, Jammu. Basohli, c.1800.

(2) Listed Gupta (1922), D.109. Mahendra Pal smoking. Central Museum, Lahore. Basohli, c.1800.

(3) and (4) Noted by Kahan Singh: 'One portrait (of Mahendra Pal) is in the house of Baru Brahmin of Basohli; the second is in the house of Kunj Lal where there are portraits from Raja Bhupat Pal to Raja Kalyan Pal in an unbroken series. It is entered about this second portrait that "this picture was prepared on the occasion of the durbar in connection with the festivities of Basant Panchami, 1803" (i.e. before his accession (KS)).

1813-1834 BHUPENDRA PAL (xi)

Son of Mahendra Pal. Born 1806. Succeeded at age of seven. Regency of his mother, the Jasrota rani, aided by four wazirs, one of whom, Zalim Singh, was grandfather of Thakur Kahan Singh Balaria (historian). Required like his father to attend the Sikh court at Lahore or Adinanagar. Collaborated with Sikh forces. Died 1834 also at Amritsar while returning from the Sikh court. Age at death, twenty-eight.

Marriage: A daughter of the Raja of Bhoti.

Son: Kalyan Pal (posthumous).

Artists: Ranjha (Goswamy, 1968, 1969; also no. 30).

Portraits: (1) Listed Gupta (1922), D.110. Bhupendra Pal seated on a stool. Central Museum, Lahore. Basohli, c.1815.

1834-1836 (1857) KALYAN PAL (xii)

Son of Bhupendra Pal. Born 1834 (two months after his father's death).

Phase I: 1834-1836: Regency of his grandmother, the Jasrota rani. Believing that Ranjit Singh (Sikh) would annex the state, endeavoured to secrete the Raj jewels and other valuables through her Brahmin advisers. In this way, the latter obtained much property, including the royal collection of pictures. On Mian Lajan Singh (grand-uncle of Kalyan Pal) reporting this to Ranjit Singh, he was made Regent but was murdered, 1836. Ranjit Singh then intervened, annexed Basohli and gave it as an additional *jagir* to Hira Singh (son of Dhian Singh and favourite of Ranjit Singh and already *jagirdar* of Jasrota).

Phase II: 1836-1844: Basohli an estate first of Hira Singh and later of his uncle, Suchet Singh. Administration through former Basohli officials under supervision of Gulab Singh (Ranjit Singh's governor in Jammu). Kalyan Pal continues to reside with his mother in the Basohli palace.

Phase III: 1844-1846: Hira Singh and Suchet Singh killed, 1844. First Anglo-Sikh war, 1845-1846. The state officials expelled the Sikh garrison from Basohli and installed Kalyan Pal, then 11 years old. Under the Treaty of Amritsar (March, 1846), Basohli along with other Hill states between the Ravi and the Indus was transferred to Gulab Singh of Jammu (from then on, independent Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir). Kalyan Pal deposed but granted a pension of Rs 3,000 a year. Allowed to continue living at Basohli.

Phase IV: 1846-1857: Declined to marry Gulab Singh's daughter. Married daughter of the Raja of Sirmur (Nahan), 1850; later, the daughter of Raja Apurab Singh Mankotia (living as a refugee at Salangri in British territory, Kangra district). Died, without issue, 1857. End of the Basohli line.

Phase V: 1857 onwards: After Kalyan Pal's death, his widow, the Mankot rani, continued to live in the Basohli palace on a pension from Jammu. After her death, the palace was abandoned.

Note: The appropriation of royal possessions by the Brahmins of Basohli in the years 1834-1836 is of crucial importance for the identification of Basohli painting. As ascertained by Randhawa, the ancestors of Pahda Kunj Lal were

physicians to the Basohli royal family and it was these who secured the royal collection of pictures during the general dispersal. The family collection of Pahda Kunj Lal was, therefore, to a great extent the Basohli royal collection. For pictures from this collection, see catalogue and reconstruction. Substantial parts of the collection reached (1) the Dogra Art Gallery, Jammu, through the agency of Bakshi Ghulam Muhammad (Chief Minister of Jammu and Kashmir) to whom they were presented by Pahda Kunj Lal, and (2) the Karan Singh collection, Jammu, also as a gift from Pahda Kunj Lal. Dr. Karan Singh, formerly Yuvraj of Jammu, was State Governor at the time this gift was made. Both parts of the collection were examined in Jammu by W.G.A., M. S. Randhawa and Mulk Raj Anand, 1960, and again by W.G.A. in 1970.

IMPLICATIONS FOR PAINTING

Personality of rulers

Despite the existence of a history in Urdu by Kahan Singh Balauria, details of Basohli rulers are, in general, as sketchy as those of other Rajas. Two early rulers, however, emerge as possible patrons of painting. The first is Sangram Pal (ii, 1635-1673), much married, successful in war and with intimate experience of the Mughal court of Shah Jahan. His adoption of Vaishnavism, perhaps in the middle years of his reign, may have been encouraged by contacts with Rajasthani rulers during visits to the imperial court at Delhi. The example of Rajasthani Vaishnava painting, especially in Mewar, may thus have contributed to the first appearance of painting in Basohli. The second important early ruler is his next-but-one successor, Kirpal Pal (iv, c.1678-1693). Although reacting against Sangram Pal's strong Vaishnava bias, Kirpal Pal was scholarly and religious and may thus have strengthened the Basohli court as a cultural centre. A dated series of pictures, executed at the end of his reign, proves him to have been an actual patron.

From 1722 onwards until the end of the house in 1836, all seven Basohli rulers were minors when they succeeded, and only one lived beyond the age of thirty-one. As a consequence, strong feminine influences must have been operative for at least five to ten years in every reign. Since the Vaishnava cult often appealed more to the palace ladies than to the men, this circumstance might explain the increasing production of paintings on Vaishnava themes.

Relations with other states

Nurpur. Although suffering from the expansionism of Jagat Singh of Nurpur in the early seventeenth century, Basohli freed itself of Nurpur influence in 1641 and from then on, the two states remained on consistently friendly terms. Apart from a minor incident in c.1700, no further wars are recorded. This existence of cordial relations in the second half of the seventeenth and throughout the eighteenth centuries may explain the presence of the Nurpur artist Dev-dasa at the Basohli court in the sixteen-nineties (no. 15 q.v.) and later, of further artistic influences and exchanges.

Kulu. As an offshoot of Kulu, Basohli stood in a special relation to its parent state. Inter-marriages were impossible but since the two courts were not adjoining, territorial rivalries did not exist and cordial and close relations were the rule. The adoption of Raghunath (an image of Rama) in c.1650 as the ruling god of Kulu state coincided with the rise of ardent Vaishnavism under Sangram Pal of Basohli. Traditional ties between Kulu and Basohli may explain the emergence in Kulu of Basohli-like painting and the deputation of one or more Basohli painters there.

Jammu. Until the early eighteenth century, Jammu was split between its rival halves — Jammu (Bahu) and Jammu proper. It was, therefore, inferior to Basohli in influence and prestige. Its union under Dhrub Dev and its rise to prosperity under Ranjit Dev, however, coincided with a run of boy rulers in Basohli and from 1750 onwards Basohli became increasingly a Jammu appendage. As a result, it fre-

quently aided Jammu in war but also profited from Jammu support. Basohli's role as junior ally of Jammu was cemented by the marriages of Amrit Pal and his son Vijay Pal to Jammu princesses. This close relationship between the two states may explain the employment at Basohli of the Guler-Jammu painter Nainsukh after the death of his Jammu patron, Balwant Singh. The fact that members of the Basohli court were constant visitors to Jammu would have made this transfer easy.

Mankot. This state was an immediate neighbour of Basohli and was all along on close and friendly terms. A significant event was the marriage to Kirpal Pal of a daughter of Mahipal Pal (c.1660-1690) of Mankot. This princess became Kirpal Pal's favourite rani and since the Mankot court was strongly Vaishnava in outlook, she may have strengthened this cult in Basohli. Her influence with Kirpal Pal may also have led to the deputation of Basohli artists to Mankot and the inoculation of the local Mankot style with Basohli-like idioms. The existence of this tie and the fact that Mankot seems to have specialised in portrait painting may account for the comparative under-development of portraiture in Basohli — local needs being possibly met from Mankot. The persistence of close Mankot-Basohli relations is illustrated by the marriage in c.1850 of the last representative of the Basohli royal family to a Mankot princess, living at Salangri in Kulehr, Kangra district.

Guler. Apart from a small war in c.1650 and a minor incident in c.1700 relations between the two states were uniformly close, intimate and friendly. In c.1730, this friendship was cemented by a double marriage — Dhiraj Pal's son, Medini Pal, marrying the daughter of Dalip Singh of Guler and Govardhan Chand of Guler, son of Dalip Singh, marrying the daughter of Dhiraj Pal. The induction of a Guler princess as rani at Basohli may have had important repercussions on painting. Under Dalip Singh, Guler had become strongly Vaishnava in outlook and it is possible that Medini Pal's marriage may thus have introduced a stronger Vaishnava element into Basohli court life. It is significant that in contrast to his father, Medini Pal, Jit Pal adopted Vaishnava *tilak* marks. Although no further inter-marriages are recorded, relations remained close and this may account for the persistent presence of Guler painters at the Basohli court, first under Medini Pal and Jit Pal and later under Amrit, Vijay and Mahendra Pal. For proof of the presence of artists under the last three rulers, see Goswamy (1968). In view of the strong family connection on the female side, the subsequent adoption by Basohli of a Guler-like style of painting need not occasion surprise.

Kangra. Apart from the marriage of Hindal Pal (c.1673-1678) to a Kangra princess, no specially close relations with Kangra are recorded until the mid-eighteenth century. The marriage of Amrit Pal to a Kangra princess, daughter of Raja Abhaya Chand in c.1762, may, however, have brought the two courts into closer contact. Since the Kangra rani was the mother of Vijay Pal (1776-1806), this might explain Kangra influence in painting at Basohli in the years 1790 to 1805, and the presence of Kangra pictures in the Basohli royal collection in the nineteenth century.

Chamba. With Chamba, Basohli was on consistently bad terms, each state invading the other with sinister regularity throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. With only one early exception, there were no marriage alliances. No influence on each other's painting is likely, except at second-hand or from loot.

Jasrota. No significant relations are recorded until the end of the eighteenth century, though as states which were adjacent to each other and were within the Jammu orbit, some degree of contact must be presumed. Amrit Pal expanded Basohli at the expense of Jasrota but with the marriage of Mahendra Pal (x) to a Jasrota princess and his premature death in 1813, Jasrota came to influence Basohli affairs much more. The Jasrota rani acted as Regent, first

for her son Bhupendra Pal and later for her grand-son, Kalyan Pal. The appropriation of the Basohli Raj collection of paintings by the royal physicians was possibly done at her instance.

Kahlur (Bilaspur). Apart from minor wars in c.1650 and c.1700, Basohli and Bilaspur do not seem to have had any important political or cultural contacts.

The Mughals. With the exception of Bhupat and Sangram Pal, both of whom were regular attendants at the Mughal court, the Mughals had little influence on Basohli life and after 1650 no Basohli forces were involved in imperial campaigns. The absence of strong Mughal influence may partly explain the un-Mughal character of early Basohli painting.

The Sikhs. As in Jammu and its adjoining states, the Sikhs interfered in Basohli politics from the seventeenth century onwards, certain misls aiding Basohli against Chamba. Their demands for tribute, however, do not seem to have been excessive since Mahendra Pal (x) while accepting Ranjit Singh's sovereignty was none the less able to expand the Basohli palace. From about 1810, Basohli rulers were required to attend on Ranjit Singh at Lahore. In 1836, Basohli was annexed and given as a *ajgir* to various Sikh ministers. Following the Anglo-Sikh war of 1845-1846, Basohli was absorbed into Jammu. There is no evidence that Sikh influence appreciably affected painting at Basohli in the nineteenth century but Deviditta, grandson of Ranjha (a Guler painter, who settled permanently in Basohli under Vijay Pal) seems to have profited from the connection and to have migrated first to Lahore and then to Patiala, both of which were Sikh centres (Goswamy, 1968).

Bengal. Although certain book-covers of the seventeenth to eighteenth centuries from Bengal have slight affinities with early Basohli painting, there is no evidence of any close cultural contacts between the two states. It is also far from certain that Basohli royalty, when going on pilgrimage to the Jagannath temple, Puri, Orissa, necessarily passed through Bengal.

Tibet and Nepal. No cultural, political, social or religious contacts are recorded.

Rajasthan and Central India. There is no evidence that Basohli rulers or members of the Basohli court visited or inter-married in these areas. Some contact with Rajput royalty may, however, have been made during visits to the Mughal capital, especially in the second and third quarters of the seventeenth century and these, as well as a common interest in Vaishnavism, may have introduced Basohli rulers to Rajasthani and Central Indian painting.

III. PAINTING: REVIEW OF LITERATURE

PERIOD ONE: 1909-1929

A period of great confusion — Coomaraswamy (1914, 1916, 1926) applying the terms 'Jammu', 'Jammu district', and 'School of Jammu' to pictures which Ghose (1929a) maintained had come from Basohli. Coomaraswamy adduced no evidence of provenance; Ghose affirmed provenance but did not prove it. The only writer providing actual evidence of provenance was Gupta (1922). When the period closed, Coomaraswamy's 'Jammu' term had been generally discarded; Ghose's term 'Basohli' had been generally accepted. Apart, however, from nine pictures cited by Gupta, it was still unclear which pictures had come from Basohli and which had not.

1909

Vogel, J. P. *Catalogue of the Bhuri Singh Museum at Chamba* (Calcutta, 1909), 13.

'I have seen collections of Indian pictures both at Nurpur and Basohli which were once the seats of the Pathania and Balauria Rajas respectively.' It is unfortunate that Vogel did not state where, when, and with whom he saw these pictures or what they were. Lists a portrait of Amrit Pal (viii) of Basohli in the Chamba Museum.

1914

Coomaraswamy, A. K. 'The Eight Nayikas', *Journal of Indian Art and Industry* (October, 1914), XVI, no. 128, 111-112.

A first attempt at grouping.

'The Pahari paintings fall into two main groups: those of the Jammu district and those of the Kangra district. It must be understood that these terms include many local styles (e.g. Mandi and Guler belonging to the Kangra group) of which the exact source cannot, as yet, be ascertained.' Cites fig. 16 (*Abhisarika Nayika*) as an 'example of the Jammu district primitives. These are called 'Tibati' pictures by Amritsar dealers but have nothing to do with Tibet'. Republished Coomaraswamy (1916), pl. 27B; Coomaraswamy (1926) pl. 96 (309). See no. 16(1).

1916

Hutchison, J. and Vogel, J. P. 'History of Basohli State', *Journal Punjab Historical Society* (1916), IV, no. 2, 77-97.

Publishes four portrait sketches of Basohli rulers in the Central Museum, Lahore; Bhupat Pal, Hindal Pal, Kirpal Pal, Medini Pal (reigns, i, iii, iv, vi). Here regarded as from Basohli and dated to the late eighteenth century.

Coomaraswamy, A. K. *Rajput Painting* (Oxford, 1916).

Following on 1914, distinguishes two styles of painting in the Punjab Hills, a northern and a southern; the northern, based on the modern district of Jammu ('the school of Jammu'), 'which may also be called the Dogra'; the southern on the modern district of Kangra ('the school of Kangra').

Classifies as 'school of Jammu' (1) all paintings not in obvious 'Kangra-Garhwal' style; (2) all paintings containing inscriptions in *takri* characters — a script which Coomaraswamy believed to be confined to the Jammu district.

Explains that the presence of *takri* inscriptions made it possible to connect certain pictures with Jammu which would otherwise have been 'very difficult', 'chiefly because they were originally described to me by certain dealers as 'Tibati' pictures, a term which even now I do not understand; perhaps Tibet is regarded as extending westward up to the Punjab plains'.

On the basis of this grouping, cites the following points as characteristic of 'Jammu' painting: very high horizons, hot colouring, use of gold and silver, use of fragments of beetles' wings to represent jewellery, bold and massive architecture, 'extraordinary formulae' for trees, transparent floating drapery, red borders, parts of the picture not infrequently projecting across them; above all, a curious wildness and savage vitality comparable to Rajasthani painting but 'with more exaggeration and with a stranger physical type involving large eyes and receding foreheads'. These points were later claimed by Ghose (1929a) to be characteristic of Basohli rather than of Jammu painting.

Reproduces twenty-one pictures as of the 'Jammu' school assigning many of them to the early part of the seventeenth century, but adding that 'some may belong to the 18th, when, however, it seems that Kangra had become a more important centre of production'.

Note: Although of pioneer significance, this treatment of the subject by Coomaraswamy was, in fact, to bedevil many later studies — the following criticisms being only some of the more fundamental:

(1) The 'modern' districts of Jammu and Kangra are misleading terms since they obscure the real stylistic units which are the local Hill states as they existed in the 17th

and 18th centuries. The Hill states did not form any stable northern or southern groups, but had distinctive local schools and cultures.

(2) The *takri* script is not confined to Jammu 'district' but is used all over the Hills. Attributions merely on grounds of *takri* inscriptions cannot therefore be sustained.

(3) Although evidence of provenance was cited in the case of three pictures from Garhwal, (q.v.) no such evidence was given for any of the 21 plates labelled 'Jammu'.

(4) These 21 plates reveal such marked differences of style that they are clearly products of several different states. There is no ground for assuming that all of the states fall within 'modern' Jammu.

(5) Although the whole 'Jammu district' is throughout treated as the source of the 'Jammu school', it is implied that the court at Jammu itself was the main centre and only in the case of some of 'the more peculiar works' — 'stranger' and 'more bizarre' than any reproduced — is the possibility conceded that they may derive from 'the most provincial of Dogra Rajput courts'. What these works are, however, is not explained neither is the identity of the particular provincial courts hinted at.

(6) The *Imperial Gazetteer* is quoted as referring to the states of Basohli and Kashtwar — east of Jammu with independent Rajput chiefs — but no pictures are expressly associated with them.

(7) No attempt is made to sub-divide the 21 pictures labelled 'Jammu' into different styles and it is not clear which of them share all or most of the 'Jammu' characteristics listed.

(8) Although the dealers' term 'Tibeti' is quoted, no attempt is made to define the particular kinds of picture to which this term was commonly applied nor to ascertain from what exact areas or places 'Tibeti' pictures were obtained.

(9) Basohli as a major source of painting is totally ignored.

(10) Of the 21 pictures illustrated, only pls. 33, 35A and 48A are here accepted as Jammu and only the following two — pls. 27B and 32B — as Basohli. For pl. 27B, see no. 16(1). For pl. 32B, compare 10.

1917

Brown, P. *Indian Painting* (Calcutta, 1917), 52.

Brief and general; but firmly naming Basohli, along with Nurpur, Chamba and Jammu, as a place other than Kangra, where painting was practised in the Punjab Hills. No illustrations.

1919

Marshall, Sir J. *Annual Report of the Director-General of Archaeology in India, 1918-1919, Part I* (Calcutta, 1921), 32.

A first clarification of the term 'Tibeti' and a reference to Basohli, taking it for granted, that it comprised a separate and distinctive school.

'The additions to the Archaeological sections of the Central Museum, Lahore, consisted of . . . a series of old paintings of the Basohli school, from his study of which the Curator (S. N. Gupta) comes to the conclusion that (1) the Basohli school is possibly of pre-Moghul origin and that (2) the so-called 'Tibeti' pictures are nothing but late productions of the Basohli school.'

The notion that 'Tibeti' pictures were late, rather than early, was to confuse much subsequent thinking. For the term 'Tibeti,' see Coomaraswamy (1916, 1926, 1927), Gupta (1921, 1922), Ghose (1929a), Khandalavala (1958).

1921

Gupta, S. N. 'The Making of the Moghul school of Painting', *The Modern Review* (Calcutta, October, 1921), 478.

'Another type of paintings, both esoteric and secular, which clearly demonstrates a pre-Moghul existence, may be found chiefly in Basohli in the Punjab. The peculiar interest attached to these paintings is that they relate closely to the Nepalese school and indirectly suggests its descent from the art of Ajanta. The Basohli paintings are very curiously called Tibeti by the curio dealers in the Punjab and elsewhere but they have no direct connection with Tibetan or

Nepalese paintings beyond the fact that the peculiar colour scheme in both the types is very much the same.'

1922

Gupta, S. N. *Catalogue of Paintings in the Central Museum, Lahore* (Calcutta, 1922).

A first and major step towards clarification.

Lists as from Basohli a series of six Tantric paintings (K.39-44), in the Central Museum, Lahore, reproducing K.41 (pl. X). 'These represent different tantric manifestations of the goddess Durga. It is interesting to note that the colour scheme of these paintings resembles to a certain extent the colouring of Nepalese paintings. It is difficult to ascertain with accuracy the date of these pictures. They are of post-Moghul date but do not show any traces of Moghul influence either in drawing or in colouring. The use of well cut pieces of green beetle's wings for jewels in ornaments is a peculiar feature in these paintings. c. 18th century' (133). See no. 1.

Attributes three illustrations of Bhanu Datta's *Rasamanjari* (K. 31-33) in the Museum's collection to 'Basohli' and dates them 'late 17th century'. (The grounds for these attributions were subsequently explained by Gupta to Khandalavala (1958), 64: 'the find-spot was Basohli according to the dealer who brought them'). K.31 is reproduced by Gray (1949), pl. 97 (508). All three are here regarded as part of the 'third' *Rasamanjari* series, by the painter Devidasa, dated Basohli 1695 (Sastri, 1936). See no. 15.

Assigns to Basohli seven other pictures (I.21, 22 and K. 34-38) but gives no reasons.

Lists seven later portraits of Basohli rulers (reigns i, iii, iv, vi, vii, x, xi). Here accepted as Basohli and dated to the late eighteenth century.

1924

Gangoly, O. C. (editorial note). 'Collection of Professor William Rothenstein', *Rupam* (1924), nos. 19 and 20, 134-138.

Publishes an illustration from the 'first' *Rasamanjari* (here assigned to Basohli) but terms it 'Pahari, perhaps a late copy of early Kangra'. See no. 4(xii).

The Rothenstein collection of Indian miniatures, including this picture, was acquired by the Victoria and Albert Museum, in the course of 1951, 1953 and 1958.

1926

Gangoly, O. C. *Masterpieces of Rajput Painting* (Calcutta, 1926).

With Basu (1926), a further sign of gathering dissatisfaction with Coomaraswamy's initial grouping and his odd neglect of Basohli.

Explains that when *Rajput Painting* (1916) was published, 'sufficient materials were not available to distinguish the many sub-groupings of the Pahari or Hill schools' but 'in the light of many new materials it has now been possible to recognise the school of Basohli as a well-marked and clearly differentiated branch of the Hill schools'. Regrets, however, that 'the nature of his letter-press' prevents him from enlarging on these new classifications.

Attributes to Basohli four pictures (pls. 19-22), distinguishing them by 'the types of their figures' and 'a vigorous masculine style'. Does not state, however, why these somewhat general characteristics should connect the pictures with Basohli and the fact that three are in quite different styles serves further to befog the issue.

[Pl. 13 (assigned by Gangoly to Jammu) is here accepted as Basohli (compare no 9). Pl. 19 is here assigned to Kulu, pls. 20 and 21 to Mankot, pl. 22 to Jammu.]

Mehta, N. C. *Studies in Indian Painting* (Bombay, 1926), 49-50.

Publishes a *Gita Govinda* series in Kangra style, with dated

colophon from the Tehri Garhwal Raj collection. Reads the date as 1830 and interprets the colophon as meaning that a pious lady, 'devoted to Vishnu', commissioned the series from a male painter named Manaku.

[The discovery of this series was of no immediate significance for Basohli painting but was later to prove relevant when an extensive group of pictures from the 'Basohli' *Gita Govinda* (Ghose, 1929a) was acquired by the Central Museum, Lahore, after the publication of Gupta's catalogue (1922), and was found to include a page with the same dated colophon (Mehta, 1938, q.v.). See no. 18.]

Basu, R. 'Mr. Ajit Ghose's collection of old Indian paintings', *The Modern Review* (Calcutta, January, 1926), 43-48. 'After carefully going through the Rajput section of the collection, we do feel with Mr. Ghose that the old classification of Indian schools of painting requires revision. There are styles of painting belonging to distinct schools which merit separate recognition but have hitherto been grouped together under the generic term of Pahari. One such school which produced a great many fine works in quite a distinctive style and is of great importance in the history of the Pahari schools may be called the Basohli school from the centre where it flourished.'

Coomaraswamy, A. K. *Catalogue of the Indian collections in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: Part V, Rajput Painting* (Boston, 1926).

A cautious advance on the classification proposed in 1916 but obstinately unconvinced about Basohli.

States that 'the paintings of the Punjab Himalayas fall into two groups which up to now have been designated as Jammu and Kangra. These designations, accurate as far as they go, are retained in the present volume, but it may be possible with more exact knowledge to classify some at least of the Pahari paintings' in more local terms.

Concedes that of the states east of the Ravi (the Jalandhar or Kangra group), paintings from Nurpur, Guler, Kangra (the majority), Mandi and Suket are represented in the Boston Museum's collection and of the states in the Dogra or Jammu group (west of the Ravi), Jammu (the majority) and Bandralta are included. Declines to attribute any paintings to Basohli.

On the Basohli issue, notes that 'it has been stated that the so-called 'Tibeti' pictures (the Amritsar dealers' name for the pictures here classified as Jamwal, on which inscriptions in *takri* characters are commonly found) should be described as Balauria (Basohli) rather than Jammuali (Jammu)'. Agrees that these 'represent the oldest and most peculiar type of Pahari art and the continuation of some older tradition'; but, none the less, holds that 'it is more likely that Jammu (not Basohli) is the main source'. Adds that 'Jammu and Kangra in the eighteenth century were by far the most powerful and wealthiest of all the Hill States'.

Of the four portraits of Basohli rulers published by Hutchinson and Vogel (1916), remarks that 'as these are all a late eighteenth — or early nineteenth-century — style, they cannot be regarded as anything but copies of older portraits'. Flinches from stating where they might have been done.

Note: Although this work describes and discusses Pahari materials in greater detail than in *Rajput Painting* (1916), it is still open to the same serious objections:

- (1) Few, if any, grounds for dates and attributions are given.
- (2) Attributions to states other than Kangra or Jammu appear to be based merely on portraits of state rulers.
- (3) No attempt is made to define the term 'Tibeti' or to distinguish 'Tibeti' style pictures from others loosely assigned to 'Jammu'.
- (4) As in *Rajput Painting*, pictures attributed to Jammu disclose a great variety of different styles, thus making a common provenance unlikely.

(5) No evidence is adduced to prove what style of painting was in fact possessed by Jammu or what pictures are in fact connected with it.

(6) Of ten illustrations designated 'Jammu', the following are here ascribed to Basohli:

- Pl. 17 (162). Vishnu on a lotus. See no. 6(1).
 Pl. 92 (300). From the 'third' *Rasamanjari*. See no. 15(B).
 Pls. 92 (301, 93 (302, 303), 94 (304, 305), and 95 (306), 307). From the 'first' *Rasamanjari*. See no. 4 (33-39).
 Pl. 97 (310). 'The lady and the buck'. See no. 5(I).
 Pl. 96 (309). From a *Nayaka Nayika* series. See no. 16(1).

1927

Coomaraswamy, A. K. *A History of Indian and Indonesian Art* (London, 1927).

Stoutly maintains his original grouping of Pahari paintings into only two schools — Jammu and Kangra (with Garhwal, as a Kangra offshoot). Repeats that Jammu was the wealthiest and most powerful of the Dogra Hill States (implying that on this account it was therefore the prime source of painting).

Makes the following additional points:

- (1) Many 'Jammu' pictures date from the earlier part of the seventeenth century (no reasons cited).
- (2) Apart from their style, many generally known to Amritsar dealers as 'Tibati' pictures are recognisable by their inscriptions in *takri* characters, 'the peculiar illegibility of which often baffles the most ardent student'.
- (3) Cites as characteristic examples of 'the Jammu school' a *Ramayana* picture, 'The Siege of Lanka' (here assigned to Guler), and a *Bhagavata Purana* picture, 'Krishna receiving Sudama' (here assigned to Kahlur (Bilaspur)).
- (4) 'Portraits of the Jammu school are mostly of the late seventeenth and eighteenth century; rather splendidly composed they present a strongly marked local physical type with a retreating forehead; almost always we find fresh flowers worn in the turbans, which is a practice confined to the hills.' The portraits which Coomaraswamy may have had in mind are here regarded as from Mankot and Bandralta.

Continues to ignore Basohli as a possible source of any local or distinctive style.

1929

Ghose, A. 'The Basohli School of Rajput Painting'. *Rupam* (January 1929), no. 37, 6-17, figs. 1-10, col. pls. 1, 2.

A first determined attempt to replace 'Jammu' by 'Basohli' as the prime centre of painting in the western Hill States in the 17th and early 18th centuries.

Boldly states: 'Most of the paintings which Coomaraswamy and others following him, have ascribed to Jammu, I would identify as Basohli work.'

In support of this claim, advances the following arguments:

- (1) In his own 'experience', a large number of pictures designated by him 'Basohli' have come not from Jammu but from either Basohli or Nurpur (adjoining Basohli on the south-east). Those from Nurpur owe their inspiration to Basohli.
- (2) 'My personal investigations showed that a school of painting did exist in Jammu but only in the nineteenth century.'
- (3) 'I have also ascertained that there is no tradition of any earlier school of Hindu painting having flourished in Jammu. On the other hand, an unbroken and almost universal tradition exists in the Hill States, including Jammu itself, of there having been three great centres of art, namely, Basohli, Kangra and Garhwal.'
- (4) 'There is no reason why this classification of the main schools of Pahari painting should not be accepted or at any rate why the claim of Basohli as against Jammu should not be accepted.'
- (5) The *Ramayana* series said by Coomaraswamy to be due to the court artists of Jammu is known to have been obtained in Guler and Ghose himself secured similar drawings in Guler.

(6) *Takri* inscriptions raise no presumption of a Jammu origin since not only Dogri (the dialect current in Jammu) but Western Pahari employs *takri* characters.

(7) Reproduces 12 pictures — two in colour — which he implies are Basohli in style and origin.

(8) Claims that special facial types, costumes, ornaments and stylised trees — similar to the earliest Rajasthani *Ragamala* paintings — are peculiar to Basohli and Basohli alone.

(9) Claims that 'the subject most favoured by Basohli painters was the representation of *Ragamalas*', a subject 'almost unknown in the Pahari schools of the Kangra group'. *Ramayana* and *Krishna Lila* subjects were also 'beloved of the Basohli painters'.

(10) Confirms that the dealers' term 'Tibeti' applies solely to pictures from Basohli and means pictures having pieces of beetle-wing cases applied as ornaments.

(11) Alleges that such 'Tibeti' pictures — among them the Boston *nayikas* (Coomaraswamy, 1926) and the Lahore Tantric Devis (Gupta, 1922) — are late derivations, 'richochetting off' from the true Basohli style. Maintains that 'the only purely Basohli type of paintings of importance in which beetle wings are used are the *Gita Govinda* illustrations'.

(12) Queries the attribution to Basohli by Gupta (1922) and Gangoly (1926) of the Lahore Museum 'Flower-gathering' (K.38) stressing that 'while it shows strongly the influence of the Basohli school', it differs in important details.

(13) Cites col. pl. 2 ('Prince embracing two girls') as 'typical of the best qualities and the defects' of Basohli painting.

(14) Claims that in the *Gita Govinda* series (col. pl. 1) 'the Basohli painter has produced aesthetic effects unknown to all other Pahari artists'.

(15) Asserts that while 'it is not possible to differentiate the individual details of such purely local schools as Nurpur, Kangra and Guler, it is impossible to confound Kangra painting with Basohli painting'.

(16) Refers in a postscript to a picture from a *Rasamanjari* series said to have a colophon dated Basohli 1675. 'Needless to say that the picture is in the typical Basohli style and is probably another leaf of the *Rasamanjari* pictures in the Lahore Museum and in my own collection'.

Note: While the general effect of these arguments is to demolish 'Jammu' as the chief centre of the 'non-Kangra' style, they can hardly be said to establish Basohli securely in its place.

(1) Ghose cites his own 'experience' but does not say when, where or what it was. If it consisted of local enquiries in Basohli and Nurpur, when and from whom were these made? Which particular pictures does he know to have come from these places? How does 'a Basohli picture found in Nurpur' differ from 'a Nurpur picture inspired by Basohli'? No details cited.

(2) 'Personal investigations' in Jammu are referred to, but again no details are given. Since certain eighteenth century pictures can now be securely connected with Jammu (q.v.), Ghose's investigations there can hardly have been very thorough. No names of informants are given.

(3) If a tradition existed of there having been three great centres of art, namely Basohli, Kangra and Garhwal, where and among whom did this tradition exist? Local princes, courtiers, landlords, merchants, painters, villagers — who? No details given.

(4) Even if 'Jammu' is replaced by 'Basohli', the term is still vague and general and we are no nearer a precise identification of local styles.

(5) The case of the Guler *Ramayana* pictures weakens Coomaraswamy's 'Jammu' position but does not help us to substitute Basohli in its place.

(6) The same applies to the argument from *takri*.

(7) Twelve pictures are reproduced but none are unequivocally stated to have come from Basohli or to have been painted there.

(8) Details given of facial types, costumes, ornaments and stylised trees, comparable to the early Rajasthani *ragamalas*, are not necessarily confined to Basohli.

(9) *Ragamala*, *Ramayana* and *Krishna Lila* subjects occur

in many Hill States besides Basohli and *Ragamala* and *Ramayana* subjects are not, in fact, the chief Basohli subjects.

(10 and 11) The term 'Tibeti' is of crucial help in determining true Basohli pictures and Ghose's definition greatly clarifies it. To label 'Tibeti' pictures as (1) late and (2) untypical of Basohli, however, is to miss the main point. Later research (Sastri, 1936) shows that the dated Basohli *Rasamanjari* is in 'Tibeti' style and of the late seventeenth century; and the *Gita Govinda*, cited by Ghose as earlier, is in fact, eighteenth-century.

(12) If the Lahore 'Flower-gathering' is influenced by Basohli but is not Basohli, of how many other pictures may not the same point be made?

(13) Col. pl. 2, referred to as a *Rasamanjari* is in fact a *Ragamala* picture. No proof is offered that it is, in fact, a Basohli picture.

(14) The *Gita Govinda* is admittedly in a distinctive style but it is by no means unrelated to other Basohli pictures.

(15) While it may be impossible to confound Kangra painting with Basohli painting, Basohli itself had a Guler phase in the second half of the eighteenth century and Guler painting itself was influenced by Basohli. Discussion of styles must be linked to periods and the basic need, as much for Basohli painting as for Kangra, is 'to differentiate the individual details which separate purely local styles'.

(16) The date of the Basohli *Rasamanjari* series referred to is mis-reported — the correct date being Samvat 1752, A.D. 1695 (Sastri, 1936). What is more, it is not in Ghose's 'typical Basohli style' but in the 'Tibeti' style which he regards as 'untypical'.

To sum up: Although Ghose's article succeeds in stressing Basohli's importance as a vital centre of painting, it provides few firm grounds for identification.

It over-hastily attributes to Basohli many pictures in patently different styles and thus merely perpetuates, though in a different form, the basic confusion created by Coomaraswamy's first grouping. Since only two of Coomaraswamy's 21 'Jammu' plates are truly Basohli, it is no more helpful to call them 'Basohli', as Ghose does, than it had been to label them 'Jammu'.

Of twelve pictures published by Ghose, only three are here accepted as Basohli:

Col. pl. (p.6). From the 1730 *Gita Govinda* series. See no. 18.

Fig. 7. 'The Devi rides in state'. See no. 2.

Fig. 9. 'Jasoda with the baby Krishna'. Compare 10.

For the remaining nine illustrations, see Chamba, Manikot, Kulu and Nurpur.

As a result, the problem of deciding exactly what pictures were painted in Basohli and what, in fact, Basohli painting was, remains as confused as before.

PERIOD TWO: 1929-1958

A period of considerable advance marked by two important events. The first was the publication by Sastri (1936) of the final illustration from the 'third' *Rasamanjari* and of its colophon mentioning Basohli as the place of execution and A.D. 1695 as the date. This provided firm proof of Ghose's thesis (1929a) that Basohli had been an important centre of painting. It was, however, unfortunate that the remaining examples of this series in Sastri's possession were not published until twenty-two years later, i.e. in 1958. The second important event was the discovery by Mehta (1938) that the 'Basohli' *Gita Govinda*, first published by Ghose, possessed a colophon which gave the name Manaku and the date A.D. 1730. Much of this colophon, involving the identities of the patron and artist, was to prove a source of great controversy (see Archer (1963) where its various stages are summarised and discussed). The date - 1730 - however, provided a seemingly fixed point for later discussions. No place of execution was recorded but it was later learnt from Gupta (Khandalavala, 1958, 1966 q.v.) that the many examples of the series in the Lahore Museum had been obtained by a dealer in Basohli. All these were clear

gains. Due, however, to continuing ignorance of developments in other centres of painting in the Hills, much of the confusion of Period One was perpetuated. Many non-Basohli pictures continued to be ascribed to Basohli and the name 'Basohli' remained a blanket term for almost all Hill painting in a non-'Kangra-Garhwal' manner.

1929

Ghose, A. 'The Schools of Rajput Painting', *Roopa Lekha* (April, 1929) no. 2, 8-9.

'Pahari painting flourished in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and possibly in the sixteenth century in Kashmir; but the centre of the art was at Basohli and not at Jammu. The paintings assigned by Coomaraswamy to Jammu in reality belong to either Kangra or to Basohli; the majority to Basohli.'

Illustrates a page from the 'Basohli' *Gita Govinda* series and terms it 'a very fine example of the Basohli work of the seventeenth century'. For the correct date of this series (1730), see Mehta (1938), Archer (1963).

1930

Smith, V. A. *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon* (Oxford; 2nd edition, revised by K. de B. Codrington, 1930). No references to painting in Basohli. Pl. 159 from the 'Basohli' *Gita Govinda* series (Ghose, 1929a) but captioned 'Pahari School, 18th century'. See no. 18.

1931

French, J. C. *Himalayan Art* (Oxford, 1931).

A general account of Hill painting based on tours in the nineteen-twenties.

States that 'all the paintings which have hitherto come from Basohli have been in the ancient primitive style' but does not say which they are. Adds that 'there used to be painters at Basohli who continued to work in the primitive style long after the chief Kangra artists had acquired the Mogul technique'. Evidence?

Describes a brief visit to Basohli in April 1930 where he hoped 'to find traces of the work of these artists'. Found a stock of pictures at a 'skin-merchant's shop'. 'He had no drawings of the primitive type which is nowadays associated with the name of Basohli but only examples of the Kangra Valley School of the early nineteenth century and later'.

Describes the Basohli palace, then in ruins, and the only remaining murals, 'some floral designs'. For the Kangra Valley phase of Basohli painting, see nos. 24-30.

1933

Hutchison, J. and Vogel, J. P. *History of the Panjab Hill States* (Lahore, 1933), I, 613.

Notes that 'in the collection of miniatures in the Lahore Museum, the Balaurias are well-represented, as it contains portraits of seven Basohli rulers' (names listed). Gupta (1922) q.v.

1936

Sastri, H. *Indian Pictorial Art as developed in Book-illustration* (Baroda, 1936), 8, pl. 6.

Publishes, with colophon and final illustration, the first dated Basohli series to come to light; an illustrated copy of the *Rasamanjari* of Bhanu Datta executed by the painter Devidasa for Raja Kirpal Pal at Basohli in Samvat 1752 (A.D. 1695). See no. 15(1).

Entitles the series a *Chittarasamanjari* ('a *Rasamanjari* of the heart') since 'this name is clearly written on one of the leaves which is now with me'. Goswamy has pointed out, however, that this is actually a mis-reading, since the words *Chittarasamanjari* ('an illustrated *Rasamanjari*') appear on the top of one of the leaves, formerly in Sastri's possession, see 15(v) (Goswamy, private communication, 1969). Notes that there were originally 130 paintings in the series but that

'they are now unfortunately scattered on account of their having been sold to different persons. Dealers gave them the funny name of 'Tibati' paintings'. Adds that 'a few are exhibited in the Government Museum at Lahore and also in the State Museum at Srinagar, Kashmir'. For a picture in the Lahore Museum (K.31), generally accepted as being a part of this series, see Gray (1950), pl. 97 (508). For other examples, see Khandalavala and Chandra (1958). See also no. 15.

1938

Khandalavala, K. *Indian Sculpture and Painting* (Bombay, 1938), 60-61, col. pl. X.

'The most important of the Pahari *kalam*s are, on the one hand, Basohli and, on the other, Kangra, with its off-shoot Tehri Garhwal. The Basohli *kalam* is in striking contrast to that of Kangra and most other Pahari work. It stands in the same relation to the great output of Pahari work as the early *Ragamalas* stand to Rajasthani painting.'

'There seems to be an inter-relation between Guzerati manuscript illustration, the early *Ragamalas* and Basohli painting, the last of which, though later in point of time, seems to have remained uninfluenced by the Moghul School.'

Col. pl. X 'The forest fire'. See no. 8.

Fig. 107 here assigned to Kulu.

In view of Khandalavala's later insistence (1958) on the dominant part played by Aurangzeb-period Mughal painting in precipitating Basohli painting, this early denial of Mughal influence is of special interest.

Mehta, N. C. Contribution to a number of *The Illustrated Weekly of India* (1938): summarised Khandalavala, *Pahari Miniature Painting* (1958), 83-84.

A first announcement that the 'Basohli' *Gita Govinda* series (Ghose, 1929a) possessed the same colophon as a *Gita Govinda* series in Kangra style in the Tehri Garhwal Raj collection (Mehta, 1926). Corrects his reading of the date in the colophon from 1830 to 1730 and interprets the artist Manaku as a woman. For a review of this and subsequent discussions of the colophon and its meaning, see Archer (1963).

1945

Mehta, N. C. 'A New Document of Gujerati Painting', *Journal Indian Society of Oriental Art* (1945), XI, 39.

'There is a magnificent version of the *Gita Govinda* with the Tehri darbar, examples of which were reproduced in my book, *Studies in Indian Painting*. Another very remarkable version is the one painted by Manaku in the Basohli style and exhibited in the Lahore Museum. This particular version has raised several intriguing questions. The authorship of the paintings is claimed by Manaku, a woman painter, who claims to have produced the illustrated edition in the year 1787 samvat or 1730 A.D.' Discussed Archer (1963).

1946

Khandalavala, K. 'Some paintings from the collection of the late Burjor N. Treasurywala', *Marg* (1946), I, no. 1, 51, 54.

'The Basohli school is characterized for its archaic vigour, schematic treatment of trees, bold hot colouring, a marked intensity of facial expression (which is partly effected by the unusual rendering of the eyes) and narrow horizons on the top of the picture. Many Basohli miniatures have real beetles' wings (shining green particles) employed in the jewellery worn by the figures. The finest Basohli school miniatures reach a high level of aesthetic merit and are imbued with a primitive vitality which is rarely to be found in other schools of Indian miniature painting. Today Basohli is little more than a neglected village but once it appears to have been the centre of a style of painting which has influenced many other local Pahari styles.'

1948

Goetz, H. 'The Coming of Muslim cultural influence in the Panjab Himalaya', *India Antiqua* (Leyden, 1948), 161.

Proposes a Rajasthani origin for Basohli painting in the early seventeenth century. 'Likewise was "Basohli" painting first introduced from Rajputana (Amber and Bikaner?) and preserved its original character through most of the seventeenth century until with the decline of Mughal supremacy (about 1700) the local taste gained the upper hand.' If Mewar and Malwa are substituted for Amber and Bikaner, Goetz's intuition accords with Coomaraswamy's early recognition of Rajasthani and Central Indian affinities.

Gray, B. *Rajput Painting* (London, 1948).

Stresses the similarity of the Basohli style to that of early Rajasthani *ragamalas*.

Cites as examples of Basohli painting:

- (1) The *Rasamanjari* series dated Basohli, 1695 (Sastri, 1936).
- (2) Some undated Basohli miniatures in the William Rothenstein collection, in the Lahore Museum, the Tagore collection and elsewhere — 'in a strikingly individual style, rich and pompous in spite of monotony of composition and lack of suppleness'.
- (3) The *Gita Govinda* series dated 1730 (Ghose, 1929a, b), 'embellished for a Basohli ruler, Medini Pal, by a painter who gives his name as Marnaku'.
Note: There is no reference to Medini Pal or to Basohli in the colophon, the patroness being a lady, Malini, of unspecified court (see Archer, 1963).
- (4) Col. pl. 1. 'A situation'. Prince on a bed embracing two girls. Illustration to *Raga Vinoda* (not, as stated, to a *Rasamanjari*). Here regarded as Mankot.

1949

Khandalavala, K. 'Review of Basil Gray, *Rajput Painting*', *Marg* (1949), III, no. 2, 54.

Discusses the colophon of the Basohli *Gita Govinda* series, 1730, holding that the artist was a male painter unnamed and that Manaku was the name of his patroness. Discussed Archer (1963).

Mehta, N. C. 'Some Notes on Pahari Paintings', *Roopa Lekha* (1948-1949), XX, no. 2, 75-80.

Condonates the use by Coomaraswamy of the term 'school of Jammu' on the ground that he 'did not have the advantage of knowing at first hand the somewhat inaccessible places in the Hills' and was 'not conversant with the phase of painting which had flourished in Basohli and in Chamba'. Illustrates two 'Basohli' pictures, here assigned to Mankot (q.v.).

1950

Gray, B. 'Painting', *The Art of India and Pakistan* (London, 1949), 99-100, 126-129, pls 97-102, 104-107.

Reviews the evidence for Basohli painting, as then available but with some mistakes of detail.

On the origins of Basohli painting, has the following remarks: 'It is difficult to resist Dr. Goetz's conclusion (1947) that Basohli painting was first introduced from Rajputana and preserved its original character through most of the seventeenth century in both the hill states and those of the plain of the Rajputs, wherever Mughal influence was not overwhelmingly strong. There would thus have been a continual movement between these different states, which may yet have supported a local school with its own modifications of the general style. This would not imply that the style of the hills was not to some extent different. The Basohli style, as we know it, may have been current over a much wider area of the hills and it possesses a vigour which cannot be matched in the plains in the later seventeenth century. Although the drawing is lacking in delicacy, this is not a folk art but a tradition handed on by professional painters working at the same courts of the Rajas.'

Of pictures illustrated the following are here accepted as Basohli:

Pl. 97 (508). From the 'third' *Rasamanjari*, dated Basohli 1695. See no. 15(2).

Pl. 99 (509). From the 'second' *Rasamanjari*. See no. 10(ii).

Pl. 100 (506). 'Radha reaching up for curds'. See no. 13.

Pl. 101 (521) 'Radha and Krishna on a hillside'. See no. 20

Pl. 102 (522, upper, lower). From the 'Basohli' *Gita Govinda* of 1730, styles I and II. See no. 18.

Mehta, N. C. 'Manaku, the Pahari painter', *Roopa Lekha* (1950), XXI, no. 1, 34-36.

Re-interprets the colophon of the Basohli *Gita Govinda* series, 1730 — inclining to the view that Manaku was a male artist and his patroness a lady of the 'princely house of Basohli'. Discussed Archer (1963).

Werner, A. *Indian Miniatures* (New York, 1950).

Col. pl. 18. From the 'Basohli' *Gita Govinda* series (style II). See no. 18.

Mehta, N. C. 'Notes on some Rajasthani and Pahari Paintings', *Roopa Lekha* (1950), XXI, no. 2, 9.

Reproduces a picture (here regarded as Mankot, c.1720) with the following comment, indicative of how 'Basohli' painting was, by now, being regarded: 'Plate no. 5 shows the great Shiva, the lord of the mountains, wearing the necklace of skulls and bearing a hooded cobra coiled round his arm. Gauri seems to be smearing the forehead of her Lord with some paste and an attendant is carrying a chaplet of lotus blooms. The scene is laid in some mountain cavern and the whole treatment is elemental, direct and even grim. This is a picture perhaps of Basohli — one of the most vital and original of all the schools of the Western Himalayas. What peculiar cultural conditions were responsible for the strikingly original modes and manners of Basohli pictures, it is difficult to say. For the time being it is necessary to classify the material available of all these numerous schools in Rajasthan and in the Western Himalayas and study them as the vital expression of an epoch, related not so much to the patronage of the local princes as to the deep cultural urge of the artists and the people themselves.'

1951

Goetz, H. 'The Background of Pahari-Rajput Painting', *Roopa Lekha* (1951), XXII, no. 1, 1-16.

'The reigns of Sangram Pal (1636-73), Dhiraj Pal (1693-1725) and Medini Pal (1725-1736) formed the Golden Age of Basohli and also of the Basohli style of painting. Early in the eighteenth century they became subject to Jammu, but with a fair measure of autonomy and under Amrit Pal (1757-76) even controlled Chamba and Bhadrawah. During the reign of Bijai Pal (1776-1806), the state was systematically looted by Sikh free-booters and in 1836 ultimately became a fief of Suchet Singh, brother of Gulab Singh, the founder of Jammu and Kashmir State.' Pl. 5. View of the Basohli palace.

A perceptive summary, marred, however, by wrong dates and by the curious omission of Kirpal Pal (c.1678-1693) as an important patron.

Chakravarti, N. P. 'Was Manaku a Pahari Painter?', *Roopa Lekha* (1951), XXII, no. 1, 17-21.

Interprets the colophon of the Basohli *Gita Govinda* series, 1730, maintaining that Manaku is the name, not of the artist, but of his lady patron. Discussed Archer (1963).

Pl. (opp. p. 17). Page from the series, 'The union of Krishna and Radha,' bearing the colophon inscribed on the picture's surface. See no. 18.

Mehta, N. C. Editorial Note to Chakravarti, *Roopa Lekha* (1951).

Stresses that Manak (or Manaku) was well-known in Tehri as a male artist's name and that Chakravarti's interpretation could certainly not be said to have put an end to the controversy regarding Manaku. Discussed Archer (1963).

1952

Archer, W. G. *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills* (London, 1952), 5-15.

Considers that, despite the contributions of Marshall (1919), Gupta (1922), Ghose (1929a), Sastri (1936) and Mehta (1938), painting in Basohli still raises difficult issues and that 'while a bold Basohli style remarkable for its savage intensity' can be isolated, the exact connection of particular pictures with Basohli can still only be surmised.

Mis-assigns to Basohli two illustrations (figs. 8, 9) from a *Nayaka Nayika* series, here regarded as Kahlur (Bilaspur), and a portrait of Mian Mukand Dev (fig. 42), now regarded as Jasrota.

The following are here accepted as Basohli:

- Fig. 5. 'The Devi enthroned'. See no. 3.
 Fig. 6. The final illustration (colophon page) from the 'third' *Rasamanjari*, dated 1695. See no. 15(1).
 Fig. 7. From the 'first' *Rasamanjari*. See no. 4(xii).
 Fig. 10. From the 'Basohli' *Gita Govinda* of 1730. See no. 18.
 Fig. 15. 'The arrival of the chariot'. See no. 22(xiv).
 Fig. 23. 'Krishna rescuing the sleeping Nanda'. See no. 22(1).

1953

Khandalavala, K. 'Balwant Singh of Jammu — a patron of Pahari painting', *Bulletin Prince of Wales Museum Bombay* (published 1953), no. 2, 71-73.

Stresses that Basohli painting at its very inception was 'a complete and well-developed synthesis' and connects its emergence in Basohli in about 1680 with the migration there of 'an artist of high sensibilities, trained in the Mughal school of Aurangzeb but conversant with the art renaissance in Rajputana'. Denies any folk-style influences but concedes that influences from Nepal may possibly have played a part.

1954

Goetz, H. 'The "Basohli" Reliefs of the Brahmor Kothi, c. A.D. 1670', *Roopa Lekha* (1954), XXV, no. 1, 1-12, figs. 1-7.

Argues that Basohli painting began in the early to mid-seventeenth century as a result of two strong rulers (Bhupat and Sangram Pal) and strong influences from Rajasthan. Assumes that the 1695 *Rasamanjari* series must have been preceded by other work for at least several decades. Connects a panel of wooden reliefs at the Brahmor Kothi, Chamba state, with this early phase of Basohli painting (Chamba, q.v.).

Kramrisch, Stella. *The Art of India* (London, 1954). Col. pl. VI. 'The lady and the buck'. See no. 5(i).

1955

Zimmer, H. *The Art of Indian Asia* (New York, 1955; ed. J. Campbell), II. Pls. C.14 and C.15 attributed by Campbell to Basohli but here regarded as Mewar and Chamba respectively.

1956

Randhawa, M. S. *The Krishna Legend in Pahari Painting* (New Delhi, 1956).

Col. pl. 11. 'The dance of Krishna and the gopis'. Captioned Basohli but here regarded as Mankot (q.v.).

Randhawa, M. S. 'Kangra Artists', *Roopa Lekha* (1956), XXVII, no. 1, 4-10.

Includes a genealogy (corrected) of the artist Nainsukh of Guler and of his elder brother Manaku. Since this is the only Manaku known to have practised as an artist in the Punjab Hills and later investigations by Goswamy (1968) have shown that Nainsukh himself worked, at one time, at Basohli, this particular Manaku is here accepted as the 'Manaku' of the 'Basohli' *Gita Govinda* series of 1730 (Krishnadasa, 1961; Archer, 1963). For further discussion, see no. 18.

Archer, W. G. *Indian Painting* (London, 1956), 14.

Expresses the view that 'until the second half of the seventeenth century, the Punjab Hills in Northern India had possessed more than thirty Rajput princedoms but not a single school of painting. In 1680, however, a style of primitive sophistication suddenly developed in the tiny hill state of Basohli (plate 13). Its vivid burning colours and wild distortions had close affinities with painting in Udaipur and it is possible that Udaipur artists were in fact responsible for bringing it to the Hills. At Basohli, the inspiration was again the cult of Krishna and as a result there was yet again an upsurge of poetic romance.' For a revised statement of this position, see no. 1 below.

Col. pl. 13. 'The lady and the buck' (Kramrisch, 1954). See no 5(i).

1957

Archer, W. G. *The Loves of Krishna* (London, 1957), 104-107.

Re-discusses the origins of Basohli painting, simplifying and re-stating the Udaipur theory (Archer, 1956). Stresses that 'Udaipur painting cannot, however, have been the only source for even in its earliest examples Basohli painting had a smooth polish, a savage sophistication and a command of shading which suggests the Mughal style of Delhi'. Proposes that 'a series of influences determined to a great extent by Raja Kirpal Pal's political contacts, his private journeys and individual taste and, above all, by an urge to express his feelings for Krishna in a novel and personal manner may account not only for a new style but a special choice of subject-matter'.

Stresses that in the two *Rasamanjari* series then known — the 'first' in the Boston and Victoria and Albert Museums, dateable to c.1680 and the 'third' dated 1695 (Sastri, 1936) — a secular poetic text was given a strongly Vaishnava bias by portraying the *nayaka* (lover) in the form of Krishna.

Note: This point is, in fact, true only of the 'first' of these series and not of the 'third'. For revised views on the origins of Basohli painting and on the roles of Sangram, Hindal and Kirpal Pal, see below.

The following plates are here accepted as Basohli:

- Pl. 10. 'The forest fire'. See no. 8.
 Pls. 26, 27. From the 1730 *Gita Govinda* series. See no. 18.
 Pl. 30. From the 'first' *Rasamanjari*. See no. 4(xii).
 Pl. 31. 'Radha reaching up for curds'. Mis-captioned 'Radha extinguishing the lamp'. See no. 13.

Archer, W. G. 'Romance and Poetry in Indian Painting', Birdwood Memorial Lecture, *Journal Royal Society of Arts* (1957), CV, no. 5014, 909-919.

Traces the development of Basohli, Guler, Kangra and Garhwal painting in the eighteenth century. Most of the views expressed, however, must now be revised.

Fig. 1. 'Lady at her toilet'. See no. 9(1).

1958

Khandalavala, K. and Chandra, M. 'The *Rasamanjari* in Basohli Painting', *Lalit Kala* (dated 1956-1957 but published 1958), nos. 3 and 4, 26-38.

Supplements Sastri (1936) by publishing in facsimile the colophon of the 'third' *Rasamanjari* (no. 15) dated Basohli *samvat* 1752 (A.D. 1695) by Devidasa, together with the following illustrations from the series, formerly in Sastri's possession:

- Fig. 1. 'Krishna approaching Radha's chamber', bearing the dated colophon on the reverse (Sastri, 1936; Archer, 1951). See no. 15(1).
 Fig. 2. 'Rama leaving Sita for the forest'. See no. 15(iv).
 Fig. 3. 'A bearded gallant approaching his mistress's chamber'. See no. 15(v).
 Col. pl. A. 'A lady welcoming her lover on a hot afternoon'. See no. 15(ii).

Records that other leaves from this series are in the Lahore Museum (Gupta, 1922; Gray, 1949) and illustrates a

further example in the National Museum, New Delhi, fig. 4. 'A gallant meeting his mistress outside her chamber'. See no. 15(6).

Illustrates the following examples from the 'first' *Rasamanjari*, Boston Museum (see no. 4).

Fig. 5. 'Krishna departing from Radha's chamber' (Coomaraswamy, 1926, pl. 94 (104)).

Fig. 6. 'Krishna arriving at Radha's chamber with an apple in his hand' (Coomaraswamy, 1926, pl. 95 (306)).

Considers this latter series to be the work of a painter 'more or less contemporary' with Devidasa, both artists being 'familiar with early Rajasthani painting but trained in the late Aurangzeb tradition' and both having migrated to Basohli from the Mughal court 'when patronage at Delhi was on the wane following Aurangzeb's departure from his capital for the Deccan'. Lists various stylistic differences between the two series.

Illustrates (p. 30 and Figs. 7-10) five examples from a further *Rasamanjari* series captioned 'Basohli, c.1720' but here regarded as Nurpur (q.v.).

Ghose, A. 'Pahari Schools of Indian Painting', *Roopa Lekha* (1958), XXVIII, nos. 1 and 2, 34-44.

Suggests that Coomaraswamy (1916, 1926) may have ultimately abandoned his anti-Basohli position. 'Coomaraswamy with that large-hearted generosity which was so characteristic of him on reading my paper on Basohli art (1929) immediately wrote to me, although I had not ventured to even send him a copy of my paper, 'Your paper is the most important contribution to the subject of Rajput Painting since my book "Rajput Painting" appeared'.

Of three illustrations ascribed to Basohli, the following two are here accepted as Basohli:

Fig. 1 (p.36). From the 'first' *Rasamanjari*. See no. 4.

Fig. 5 (p.41). From the 1730 *Gita Govinda*. See no. 18.

Khandalavala, K. *Pahari Miniature Painting* (Bombay, 1958).

A first attempt to review the mass of speculation, oral evidence and dated materials relating to painting in Basohli but, at times, complicates the discussion by applying the same term to similar or related styles, current in other centres. Due to the then state of research, frequently attributes to Basohli proper, paintings which must now be connected with different states.

Places the origins of painting at Basohli in the reign of Kirpal Pal (c.1678-1693) and associates it with a painter who was (1) an experimentalist (2) trained in Mughal painting of the Aurangzeb period (3) aware of Rajasthani painting of the seventeenth century and (4) was 'well-versed in Vaishnava literature and suffused by its spirit'. Analyses a number of details which can be matched in Aurangzeb-period Mughal painting or in Rajasthani painting. Regards the early Basohli style as a creative amalgam of these largely pre-existing idioms.

Discusses the 'Basohli' *Gita Govinda* series of 1730 and its colophon, holding that Manaku is the name of the lady who commissioned the series and that the painter's name is not given. Concedes that 'it has not been possible to trace the identity of the lady Manaku', adding that although 'the find-spot of the series is not known, it appears fairly safe to attribute these miniatures to Basohli and to regard Manaku as a queen or princess of the ruling Balauria house' (85). For a detailed discussion of the colophon and the conclusion that Manaku was the artist, see Archer (1963).

On the find-spot of the Lahore Museum's examples, a subsequent statement to Khandalavala by Gupta makes it clear that this was, in fact, Basohli (Khandalavala, private communication, 1966).

Regards the reign of Kirpal Pal (c.1678-1693) as the greatest period of Basohli painting and the half century succeeding it as a period of decline. Connects Amrit Pal (1757-1776) with the adoption at Basohli of a new 'Kangra Valley' style (here regarded as originating from Guler). Views the portrait of a lady, inscribed *sri rani balauri di surati* (Khandalavala collection), as a Basohli portrait in the new style of a Basohli princess, possibly Amrit Pal's queen. Discussed Guler no. 26.

Stresses the embellishment of the Basohli palace by Mahendra Pal (1806-1813) with 'frescoes painted in the Kangra manner' and notes the production at Basohli in 1816 of a large series of somewhat slovenly *Ramayana* drawings by the painter Ranjha, also in the Kangra manner. For the identity of Ranjha and a discussion of the series, see Goswamy (1968, 1971) and no. 30.

Of 55 illustrations ascribed by Khandalavala to 'the Basohli *kalam*,' the following 28 are here accepted as Basohli proper, though, in some cases, with different dates:

Col. pl. C. 'Radha and the curd pot, c.1720'. See no. 13.

Col. pl. D. 'Princess in a garden (The lady and the buck), 1700-1720'. See no. 5.

Col. pl. M. 'The forest fire, c.1690-1700'. See no. 8.

Col. pls. XVII, XVIII. 'From the *Gita Govinda*, ex-Ajit Ghose collection, 1730'. See no. 18.

Col. pl. XIX. 'A love scene, c.1700-1720'. See no. 10(1).

Fig. 33. 'From the *Gita Govinda* series, dated 1730, bearing the Manaku inscription'. Chakravarti (1951). See no. 18.

Fig. 36. 'Portrait of a Hill prince, c.1700'. See no. 17.

Fig. 51. '*Madhyadhira nayika* (Lalbai collection), 1700-1725'. See no. 10.

No. 1. '*Rasamanjari*, 1694'. See no. 15.

No. 2. 'Colophon on reverse of no. 1'. See no. 15.

No. 3. 'Lady with bird. End of 17th century'. See no. 19(1).

Nos. 4, 5. 'From a *Rasamanjari*, artist Devidasa, 1694'. See no. 15.

No. 6. '*Nayika*. End of 17th century'. See no. 4.

Nos. 8, 9. 'Same series as no. 6'. See no. 4.

No. 10. 'Krishna and gopa. End of 17th century'.

No. 11. '*Venugopala*. Early 18th century'.

No. 13. '*Vidyadhi*. Early 18th century'. See no. 13(1).

No. 14. Captioned 'End of 17th century'. See no. 15(8).

No. 15. 'Princess in a garden, c.1700-1710'. See no. 5(i).

No. 19. 'A lady's toilet, 1720-1730'.

No. 31. 'Shiva and Parvati, c.1720'. See no. 7(1).

No. 32. 'Krishna and Radha, c.1730'. See no. 20.

No. 33. 'From the *Gita Govinda*'. See no. 18.

No. 34. 'Krishna outside Radha's house, 1730-1740.' Compare no. 18.

No. 68. 'Girl with attendant, 1750-1770'.

PERIOD THREE: 1958-1970

A period during which much of the previous confusion disappeared: pictures which had formerly been loosely termed 'Basohli' began to be associated with other centres of painting and as a result it became more possible to identify and distinguish Basohli painting proper and to reconstruct its chronological development. Significant advances were (1) the discovery of the Basohli Raj collection of pictures (Randhawa, 1958, 1959), (2) the elucidation of the 1730 *Gita Govinda* colophon (Archer 1963) and (3) the discovery of pictures in a mixed Guler-Basohli style (Archer, 1963, 1965; Beach, 1965) thus helping to bridge the gap between 1730 and 1765.

1958

Randhawa, M. S. 'A Journey to Basohli', *Roopa Lekha* (1958), XXVIII, nos. 1 and 2, 14-24, figs. 1-6.

An account of a visit to Basohli in October, 1957. Gives the following first account of a local Basohli collection of pictures — 'the most authentic' so far known.

'We had learnt that an album of Basohli paintings had been presented by a Brahmin of Basohli to Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed, Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir on his visit to this place in 1956. On making enquiries we found

that his name was Pahda Kunj Lal, a descendant of the royal physicians of Basohli Rajas . . . Kunj Lal, a wrinkled old man, fair of complexion is reported to be 85 years of age. He is a suspicious old man, over-cautious by nature like most Jammu people. He told us that he is a descendant of Maluk Ram, who had been royal physician to Rajas Bhupat and Sangram Pal and had accompanied them on their trips to the Moghul court at Delhi. Kunj Lal's dispensary, otherwise disorderly and untidy, was decorated with a number of quality Kangra paintings which he had framed. He stated that these were the work of Bhagmal, an artist from Kangra who had lived at Basohli and worked for the Rajas. Last year a theft took place in his house and it is said he lost property worth about Rs 30,000. That is why he agreed to make a gift of the album of paintings, which are now in the Dogra Art Gallery, Jammu. Apart from Basohli paintings illustrating the Nayika theme from Bhanu Datta's *Rasamanjari*, it also contains portraits of Rajas Bhupat Pal and Medini Pal. There is also a Kangra painting in which Bhupat Pal is shown performing *adab* to Emperor Shah Jahan at Delhi. This must have been painted in the reign of Raja Amrit Pal. The presence of these paintings in Kangra style in the collection of the Royal Physician of Basohli, who is also the custodian of the most authentic collection of Basohli paintings is interesting. It indicated that even the Rajas of Basohli appreciated the Kangra *kalam*, and extended their patronage to the artists in the new style of painting.'

Stresses the close connection between Guler and Basohli in the second half of the eighteenth century and suggests that while the four sons of the Guler artist, Nainsukh, used Guler as the main centre of their work, they also paid visits to the courts of the Rajas of Basohli and Chamba.

On the evidence of Pahda Kunj Lal, records the following Muslim painters as also having worked at Basohli: Khandoo (Khandu) under Medini Pal (c.1722-1735); Ahmadoo (Ahmadu) under Bhupendra Pal (1813-1834); Naboo (Nabu), son of Ahmadu, migrated to Chamba from Basohli (c.1835).

Reproduces the following pictures in 'Guler-Kangra' style from the Pahda Kunj Lal collection, Basohli and attributes them on the basis of family tradition to the second half of the eighteenth century at Basohli:

Fig. 3 (p.19). 'Bhupat Pal paying homage to the Emperor Shah Jahan.' See no. 29(1).

Fig. 4 (p.21). Amrit Pal of Basohli (captioned by error 'Prakash Chand of Guler'). Compare no. 25.

Fig. 5 (p.21). 'Prince and princess watching a fountain'. Captioned 'Amrit Pal with his rani' but perhaps Vijay Pal of Basohli. See no. 29.

Fig. 6. (p.24). *Virahini nayika*. Compare no. 24.

[The reference to the painter Bhagmal from Kangra as the artist of the 'Kangra' style paintings framed in Pahda Kunj Lal's dispensary may explain the presence in the Karan Singh collection, Jammu, of Basohli paintings in 'Kangra' style, as also the discovery by French (1931) of pictures of the 'Kangra Valley school of the early nineteenth century' in the skin-merchant's shop at Basohli.]

Besides recording this ancestral Basohli collection, includes the following details of the previous visit to Basohli of Ajit Ghose in 1928 (corrected to 1925, Randhawa, *Basohli Painting*, 1959): 'Ajit Ghose paid a visit to the capitals of the erstwhile hill states of Punjab and Jammu in September-October 1928. After visiting Kangra and Guler, he reached Nurpur where he saw some pictures which the people there told him had come from Basohli. From Nurpur he went to Basohli where he stayed for three or four days. However, he could not collect any paintings of merit. This was quite natural as the Dogras of Jammu are shy and suspicious of strangers. Ghose purchased one painting of the *Gita Govinda* series and a sketch of Basohli Devi, which were reproduced in his article published in *Rupam* in 1929. One of these paintings he sold to J. C. French, a Bengal civilian. The importance of Ghose's visit to Basohli lies in the fact that it led to a more precise definition of the Basohli school of painting' (14).

[The picture, acquired by Ghose in Nurpur and sold to

French is pl. 3, *Himalayan Art* (1931). 'Woman feeding cranes'. Randhawa's account should therefore perhaps read 'Among other paintings, Ghose acquired . . . Ghose has subsequently confirmed (private communication, 1964) that the *Gita Govinda* picture reproduced in his *Rupam* article was obtained in Nurpur and was one of eight *Gita Govinda* pictures obtained by him there. He was informed that all eight had originated in Basohli.]

Sinha, R. P. N. *Geeta Govind in Basohli School of Indian Painting* (New Delhi, 1958).

Reproduces in colour eight of the 22 illustrations to the *Gita Govinda* series dated 1730, now in the Chandigarh Museum (received on division from Central Museum, Lahore). See no. 18.

Summarises the colophon as saying that the painter Manaku did the pictorial version of Geeta Govind at the instance of Malini 'who prized her character as her principal wealth' and was a devotee of the Immortal One (Lord Vishnu). From this it can be safely said that the paintings were done by a painter called Manaku at the behest of a princess of the Royal House of Basohli, named Malini.

1959

Randhawa, M. S. *Basohli Painting* (New Delhi, 1959).

The first large-scale survey of 'Basohli' painting reproducing 38 examples in colour and four in black and white, and distinguishing Basohli painting proper from related or parallel schools in Kulu, Nurpur, Jammu, Mankot and Chamba. Of 29 examples attributed by Randhawa to Basohli proper, 24 are here accepted as Basohli and the following five assigned to Chamba (fig. 4), Mankot (pls. 1, 2 and 35) and Jammu (pl. 12).

Of the factors influencing the history of painting in Basohli, stresses the contacts of Sangram Pal (1635-1673) with the Mughal court and the pious and learned character of Kirpal Pal (1675-1693). Quotes a verse from a *Sushruta* manuscript with Pahda Kunj Lal (Randhawa, 1958) dated 1688 stating 'Raja Shri Kirpal, as his name indicates, is kind-hearted. He is a scholar of the Dharma *shastras* and is a devotee of Vishnu. He is a great warrior too and does not spare his enemies in the battle-field'.

On the origins of painting in Basohli, argues that Nepal must be ruled out, owing to its remoteness from Basohli and lack of social, religious, political and cultural ties. Udaipur (Mewar) is also unlikely to have been a primary influence since no Basohli Rajas are known to have gone there and the ruling families were unrelated. Prefers to envisage pre-existing folk-art styles which under the stimulus of painters from the Mughal capital developed parallel but unrelated styles of courtly painting in both areas.

Discusses the colophon of the 'Basohli' *Gita Govinda* series of 1730, emphasising that Manaku must refer to the painter of the series, not to the patroness, since 'Manaku or Manak is a male name common in the Jammu Punjab Hills, while the female name is Manako. Manaku is definitely described as *chitrakarta* or the painter, in the verse. Hence the assumption made by Chakravati (1951) that Manaku was some Basohli princess is fanciful and wrong' (34). Discussed Archer (1963).

Publishes for the first time the following examples of Basohli painting from the Basohli Raj collection, formerly with Pahda Kunj Lal, Basohli (Randhawa, 1958, q.v.) and now in the Dogra Art Gallery, Jammu.

Pl. 3. Portrait of Raja Kirpal Pal. See no. 11(1).

Pl. 26. From a 'second' *Rasamanjari* series. See no. 10(i).

Pl. 28. From the 'first' *Rasamanjari* series. See no. 4.

Pls. 29, 30, 31. From the 'third' *Rasamanjari* series, dated 1695. See nos. 15(iii), 15(6) and 15(i).

Pl. 32. From a *Nayaka Nayika* series.

Pl. 34. 'Sawan is the month of lovers'. See no. 21.

Reproduces the following further paintings from other collections, here accepted as Basohli:

Fig. 1. 'Princess in a garden.' See no. 5(ii).

Pl. 4. From a 'Guler-Basohli' *Bhagavata Purana* series. See no. 23(7).

- Pl. 5. From the 'Basohli' *Gita Govinda* series, 1730 (but unrecognised as part of this set). See no. 18.
 Pl. 6. From a *Bhagavata Purana* series. See no. 6.
 Pl. 13. From the 'Basohli' *Gita Govinda* series of 1730 (but captioned *Bhagavata Purana*). See no. 18.
 Pl. 14. 'The magic of Krishna's flute' (captioned '*Bhagavata Purana*').
 Pls. 19-25. Seven leaves from the 'Basohli' *Gita Govinda* series of 1730. See no. 18.
 Pl. 33. From the 'second' *Rasamanjari* series. See no. 10(1).
 Pl. 36. 'The love-lorn lady'. See no. 19(1).
 Pl. 37. 'Radha reaching up for curds'. See no. 13.

1960

Archer, W. G. *Indian Miniatures* (London, New York, 1960).

In the press prior to Randhawa (1959) and hence perpetuating certain earlier mistakes.

Pl. 64 is here assigned to Kulu; pl. 67 to Mankot and the following to Basohli:

Pls. 65, 66. From the 'first' *Rasamanjari* series. See nos. 4(v) and 4(xii).

Pls. 68, 69. From the 'Basohli' *Gita Govinda* series of 1730. See no. 18.

Roerich, S. 'Review of *Basohli Painting* by M. S. Randhawa', *Marg* (1960), XIII, no. 2, supplement.

Stresses the existence of mural paintings in western Tibet and Spiti (perhaps executed by artists originally from Kashmir) and suggests that in the case of Basohli painting, 'powerful and virile Rajput influences came into contact with an already existing tradition, even if weakened by then, and brought new life and vigour into the remnants of local ateliers or perchance assimilated the local tradition themselves'.

Randhawa, M. S. 'A Note on *Rasamanjari* Paintings from Basohli', *Roopa Lekha* (1960), XXXI, no. 1, 16-26, figs. 1-10.

Publishes 10 illustrations from the 'first' *Rasamanjari* series formerly in the Basohli Raj collection, Pahda Kunj Lal, Basohli and now in the Dogra Art Gallery, Jammu. See no. 4.

Lee, S. E. *Rajput Painting* (New York, 1960).

'The Basohli is the earliest school in the hills and makes the transition from the Rajasthani style to the developed Hill styles. Basohli miniatures have something of the rich colour and daring juxtapositions found in Rajasthani painting but with something that is peculiar to the early Basohli school and its derivatives, Kulu and Nurpur and does not appear in other later paintings of the Hill States. This unique quality is a use of extremely warm colour. With those of Soutine, they are among the hottest paintings that have ever been created. These mustard yellows, burnt oranges, deep reds and torrid greens, are culled together in a unity as hot as Indian curry. The rigidity of the poses of figures recalls Rajasthani miniatures.'

Pl. 56b. From the 'first' *Rasamanjari* series. See no. 4(v).

Col. pl. 58. 'Shiva and Parvati after the death of the elephant demon'. See no. 7.

Col. pl. 66. 'Durga killing Mahishasura'. Compare no. 2.

1961

Agravala, V. S. *Indian Miniatures* (New Delhi, 1961).

Col. pl. 7. 'Princess with attendant in a grove of trees, coaxing a herd of four pet deer' (Khandalavala, 1958; Randhawa, 1959). See no. 5(ii).

Col. pl. 8 'Radha reaching up for curds' (Gray, 1949; Archer, 1957; Khandalavala, 1958; Randhawa, 1959). See no. 13.

Skelton, R. *Indian Miniatures from the 15th to 19th Centuries* (Venice, 1961).

Pls. 31, 34, 35, attributed to Basohli, are here assigned to Kulu; pls. 32, 33 to Chamba; pl. 38 to Kahlur (Bilaspur).

The following plates are here accepted as Basohli:

Pl. 30 (col., p.60). *Sanehi Ragini*.

Pl. 37. 'Raja Medini Pal of Basohli.' See no. 19.

Krishnadasa, Rai. 'Manak, painter of *Gita Govinda* paintings', *Roopa Lekha* (1961), XXXII, no. 1, 73.

Contends that Manaku, painter of the 'Basohli' *Gita Govinda* series of 1730 is the same artist as Manaku, painter of the Kangra *Gita Govinda* series — this latter series being closer in date to 1730 than had generally been supposed. Discussed Archer (1963).

Kala, S. C. *Indian Miniatures in the Allahabad Museum* (Allahabad 1961).

Pl. 15. 'Jasoda with the baby Krishna'. From the 'third' *Bhagavata Purana* series. See no. 12(1).

1962

Mehta, N. C. and Chandra, M. *The Golden Flute* (New Delhi, 1962).

Pl. 8 (col). From the 'Basohli' *Gita Govinda* of 1730. See no. 18.

Randhawa, M. S. *Kangra Paintings on Love* (New Delhi, 1962).

Figs. 60, 65, 66. From the Karan Singh collection, Jammu (formerly Basohli Raj collection, Pahda Kunj Lal, Basohli). Here assigned to Basohli in its late Guler-influenced phase, c.1770 onwards. See nos. 25-30.

Rawson, P. S. *Indian Painting* (London, Paris, 1962).

P.145 (col. pl.). From the 'first' *Rasamanjari* series (Archer, 1960). See no. 4(v).

1963

Archer, W. G. and Bhattacharya, D. *Love Songs of Vidyapati* (London, 1963).

Pls. 11 and 18. Details from the 'Basohli' *Gita Govinda* series of 1730. See no. 18.

Archer, W. G. Introduction to M. S. Randhawa, *Kangra Paintings of the Gita Govinda* (New Delhi, 1963).

Reviews previous discussions of the colophon to the Basohli *Gita Govinda* series, dated 1730 and with the help of the Sanskrit authorities, Professor A. L. Basham, Professor J. C. Wright and Mr. Michael Coulson, explains it as meaning that Manaku, a male artist, painted it for a patroness, the lady Malini. Accepts Krishnadasa's view (1961) that this Manaku is the same artist who painted the Kangra *Gita Govinda*; holding, however, that the latter series must be dated about 1780 and regarded as the work of his old age. Suggests that he is identical with Manaku, elder brother of the painter, Nainsukh of Guler and Jammu (Archer, 1952; Randhawa, 1956b). For further discussion and revision of this thesis, see no. 18.

Archer, Mildred, Archer, W. G. and Lee, S. E. *Indian Miniatures from the collection of Mildred and W. G. Archer* (Washington, 1963).

Fig. 26. From a *Ragamala* series. See no. 14(i).

Figs 69 and 73. From a large 'Guler-Basohli' *Bhagavata Purana* series, so called because of its union of Guler and Basohli idioms. Here regarded as Basohli, c.1760-1765. See Basohli no. 22.

Maggs Bros. *Oriental Miniatures and Illumination: Bulletin no. 5* (London, 1963).

No. 99. From the large 'Guler-Basohli' *Bhagavata Purana* series. See no. 22.

Barrett, D. *Painting of India* (London, 1963).

Employs the now obsolete blanket term 'Basohli style' to cover various styles of painting practised outside Basohli.

Pl. 163. Here accepted as Basohli. See no. 4(vi).

Lawrence, G. *Indian Art: Paintings of the Himalayan States* (London, 1963).

Col. pls. 9, 10. From the large 'Guler-Basohli' *Bhagavata Purana* series. See no. 22.

1964

Lee, S. E. *A History of Far Eastern Art* (London, 1964).
Col. pl. 19. 'Shiva and Parvati after the death of the elephant demon' (Lee, 1960). See no. 7.

Goswamy, B. N. 'Golu, the Nurpur artist', *Marg* (1964), XVII, no. 3, 62.

Records local Nurpur traditions concerning this artist and his murals in the Nurpur Fort.

Note: According to an entry in a priest's register (Goswamy, private communication, 1965), Golu's father was Devidasa. For Devidasa and the 'third' *Rasamanjari*, see no. 15.

Maggs Bros. *Oriental Miniatures and Illumination: Bulletin no. 6* (London, 1964).

No. 154. A further page from the large 'Guler-Basohli' *Bhagavata Purana* series. See no. 22.

1965

Archer, Mildred and Archer, W. G. *Romance and Poetry in Indian Painting* (Wildenstein exhibition, London, 1965).
Figs. 69, 71, 72. From the large 'Guler-Basohli' *Bhagavata Purana* series. See no. 22.

Beach, M. C. 'A *Bhagavata Purana* from the Punjab Hills', *Bulletin Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (1965), LXIII, no. 333, 168-177.

Publishes a second 'Guler-Basohli' series illustrating Book Four of the *Bhagavata Purana* and of smaller size than the previous series (Archer and Lee, 1963; Maggs, 1963, 1964; Archer, 1965). Relates it on grounds of style to the larger 'Guler-Basohli' *Bhagavata Purana* series, the 'Basohli' *Gita Govinda* series of 1730 and the *Guler Siege of Lanka* series. Assigns it to 'the Basohli area' and dates it c.1740.

Figs. 1, 2, 3. Three examples from this small-size *Bhagavata Purana*. See no. 23.

Fig. 4. From the *Siege of Lanka* series. See *Guler*, no. 9.

Fig. 5. From the large 'Guler-Basohli' *Bhagavata Purana*. See no. 22.

Fig. 6. From the 'Basohli' *Gita Govinda* series of 1730. See no. 18.

Fig. 7. From a *Bhagavata Purana* series, sold at Sotheby's, 1960, along with the large 'Guler-Basohli' *Bhagavata Purana* series (Fig. 5, q.v.). Assigned by Beach to 'the Basohli area, c.1790' but here regarded as Jammu, see *Jammu* no. 69(1). See also Archer and Binney (1968) pls. 95a,b.

Khandalavala, K. and Chandra, M. *Miniatures and Sculptures from the collection of the late Sir Cowasji Jehangir, Bart.* (Bombay, 1965).

Pl. N. (col.). 'Priest performing a ritual'. From a small-scale Guler-Basohli *Bhagavata Purana* series. Here assigned to Basohli. See no. 23(6).

Welch, S. C. and Beach, M. C. *Gods, Thrones and Peacocks* (New York, 1965).

Col. pl. 21. From the 'first' *Rasamanjari* series (Galbraith collection, Cambridge, Mass.). See no. 4(32).

Pl. 53. *Chitrini nayika*. See no. 26.

Randhawa, M. S. 'Some Portraits of Rajas of Basohli in Kangra style', *Roopa Lekha* (1965), XXXIV, nos. 1 and 2, 5-9.

Publishes ten portraits of Basohli Rajas (i-iii, v-x), nine of which were in the family collection of Pahda Kunj Lal, Basohli and the tenth (Fig. 7) in the Lambagraon collection, Kangra. Of the Pahda Kunj Lal portraits, all except fig. 8, now in the Dogra Art Gallery, Jammu, are in the Karan Singh collection, Jammu. Discussed, see no. 26.

Has the following comment: 'From the three excellent portraits of Amrit Pal (1757-1776) which we publish here

(Figs. 6-8), the conclusion is obvious that the Kangra style which had developed at Guler was also actively practised at Basohli. During Amrit Pal's rule, Basohli was a prosperous place. Amrit Pal made additions to the palace and also patronised painting. The new style of painting had already developed earlier at Guler during the reign of Dalip Singh . . . Govardhan Chand (1744-1773) of Guler was an enthusiastic patron of the new style. In the same collection (i.e. Pahda Kunj Lal's) are portraits of the young Prakash Chand of Guler (ruled 1773-1790). One of Prakash Chand's wives was from Basohli. It seems that during the latter part of Govardhan Chand's rule, some of the artists practising in the new style also migrated to Basohli.'

1966

Craven, R.C. *Miniatures and small sculptures from India* (Gainesville, Florida, 1966).

Pl. 55. 'Shiva and Parvati playing a board game with dice'. From the 'third' *Rasamanjari* series. See no. 15(9).

Goswamy, B. N. 'A painter's letter to his royal patron', *Journal American Oriental Society* (1966), LXXXVI, no. 2, 209-216.

Discusses a letter in the possession of Jagannath Upadhaya, close relative of Pahda Kunj Lal, Basohli, referring to a painter's troubles at the court of Raja Sansar Chand of Kangra. Notes that one of his ancestors a priest-physician of Basohli, attended Sansar Chand (c.1810-1820) and, according to family tradition, was rewarded with a set of Kangra paintings on his departure.

[It is possible that the set in question is the *Nala Damayanti* series of paintings, now in the Karan Singh collection (Goswamy, 1969) and here regarded as Kangra (see *Kangra*, no. 53).]

Goswamy, B. N. 'Review of *Kangra Paintings of the Gita Govinda* by M. S. Randhawa (introduction W. G. Archer)', *Roopa Lekha* (1966), XXXV, nos. 1 and 2, 86-89.

Accepts as correct the detailed translation of the colophon to the 'Basohli' *Gita Govinda* series of 1730 (Archer, introduction), holding that the "lady Manaku" must now be banished as the artist and that "Manaku" does emerge as the name of the male artist'. See no. 18.

Proposes Guler as the place of origin of the 'Basohli' *Gita Govinda*.

[See, however, Gupta's communication (cited under Khandalavala, 1958) concerning the Basohli provenance of the Lahore Museum examples as also the lavish use in the series of beetle-wing cases (unknown in paintings from Guler).]

1967

Archer, Mildred. *Indian Miniatures and Folk Paintings* (Arts Council, London, 1967).

Figs. 23-26. From the large 'Guler-Basohli' *Bhagavata Purana* series. See no. 22.

Randhawa, M. S. and Bhambri, S. D. 'Basohli Paintings of Bhanudatta's *Rasamanjari*', *Roopa Lekha* (1967), XXXVI, nos. 1 and 2, 1-124.

Provides a literal translation of 135 out of 138 verses of the *Rasamanjari* and reproduces 82 illustrations culled from four distinct series, three of them here regarded as executed at Basohli (see nos. 4, 10 and 15), and one as executed at Nurpur (see *Nurpur* no. 14). Of the pictures illustrated, those from the Dogra Art Gallery, Jammu, are of special significance because of their original provenance (the Basohli Raj collection, formerly with Pahda Kunj Lal, Basohli).

Rowland, B. *The Art and Architecture of India* (3rd and revised edition, London, 1967).

Reproduces (pl. 134) a leaf from the 'first' Basohli *Rasamanjari* (see no. 4) and notes that 'Basohli artists retained something of the primitive simplicity and rather rigid angular quality of Mewar and Malwa painting, combined

with a fondness for warm colours of burning intensity. Except for the use of a suggestion of abstract shading, the Basohli miniatures are completely different from any Mogul manner in their smouldering brilliance of colour and savage distortion' (209).

1968

Randhawa, M. S. and Galbraith, J. K. *Indian Paintings: the Scene, Themes and Legends* (London and Boston, 1968).

Stresses the small size of Basohli as a state (a mere seventy-four villages) and the fact that, despite some affinities with painting in Udaipur, the early Basohli style is unique.

Col. pl. 28. 'A lady in a grove attended by two maids and two pet rabbits'. Kanoria collection, Calcutta. See no. 5(iii).

Archer, W. G. and Binney, E. *Rajput Miniatures from the collection of Edwin Binney 3rd* (Portland, Oregon, 1968).

Presents a tentative view of Basohli painting, emphasising, in particular, the break in style which seems to have occurred in the early years of Amrit Pal (1757-1776). In the light of research by Goswamy (1968, privately communicated 1967) connects this second (Guler type) phase with the sojourn at the Basohli court of Nainsukh of Guler (1763-1778) and his nephew, Fattu (son of Manaku) to whom the large 'Guler-Basohli' *Bhagavata Purana* series is partly attributed (see no. 22). Sharply distinguishes Basohli painting proper from 'Basohli-like' painting in Mankot, Kulu, Nurpur, Mandi and Bilaspur.

Figs. 35a, b. Two leaves from the large 'Guler-Basohli' *Bhagavata Purana* series. See no. 22.

Randhawa, M. S. 'A Portrait of Raja Amrit Pal', *Roopa Lekha* (1968), XXXVII, nos. 1 and 2, 29, fig. 1.

Publishes a portrait of a Basohli ruler, inscribed on the reverse as Amrit Pal but here regarded as his son, Vijay Pal. See no. 29.

Goswamy, Karuna. 'Vaishnavism in the Punjab Hills and Pahari Painting' (doctoral thesis, Punjab University, Chandigarh, 1968).

Emphasises the priority of Shiva and Devi worship in Basohli, the coming of ardent Vaishnavism under Sangram Pal (1635-1673), and the continuing employment by Basohli Rajas of Shaiva *tilak* marks as against or in conjunction with Vaishnava ones.

Anand, M. R. 'The Pictorial Situation in Pahari Painting', *Marg* (1968), XXI, no. 4, 1-16.

Figs. 10 and col. pl. (opp. p.11). From the large 'Guler-Basohli' *Bhagavata Purana* series. See no. 22.

Goswamy, B. N. 'Pahari Painting: the family as the basis of style', *Marg* (1968), XXI, no. 4, 17-62.

Reconstructs the family history of the painters Manaku and Nainsukh, 'natives of Guler', and adduces the following evidence connecting either them or members of their families with Basohli:

(1) Nainsukh, younger brother of Manaku and formerly attached to the household of Raja Balwant Singh (1724-1763) of Jammu (q.v.). Entries in a *panda's* register (*bahi*) at Hardwar state that Nainsukh, a native of Guler, came to Hardwar in 1763 with Amrit Pal of Basohli (then aged sixteen) on pilgrimage to Jagannath (Puri) and was accompanied by the ashes of his former patron, Balwant Singh. A further entry states that his own ashes were brought to Hardwar in 1778, in association with Amrit Pal and that Manaku's elder son, Fattu, accompanied by Nainsukh's second son, Gaudhu, bathed in the Ganges at the time of their immersion. These groups of entries justify the inference that, while the family house was still at Guler, Nainsukh was associated with the Basohli court from 1763 until the time of his death (1778).

(2) Fattu, eldest son of Manaku, also entered as a 'native

of Guler' (see *panda's* entry dated 1778). His presence at Hardwar along with Amrit Pal and the ashes of his uncle, Nainsukh, suggests that he may have worked or was working at the Basohli court (W.G.A.)

(3) Ranjha, fourth and youngest son of Nainsukh. A *panda's* entry dated 1785 records a visit to Hardwar by Ranjha and his eldest brother, Kama. A second entry, dated 1827, records him as a 'native of Guler' but settled in Basohli on lands given by Amrit Pal, the occasion of the entry being a pilgrimage to Gaya when he was accompanied by his sons, Gursahai and Sukhdayal.

(4) Gursahai, eldest son of Ranjha. A *panda's* entry dated 1807 records a visit by him to Hardwar with the ashes of a Raja [perhaps Vijay Pal of Basohli, died 1806. W.G.A.]. Another entry, dated 1827, shows that he and his brother, Sukhdayal, accompanied his father, Ranjha, on a pilgrimage to Gaya calling at Pehowa and Hardwar on the way.

(5) Deviditta, eldest son of Gursahai. *Pandas'* entries show that by 1856 he had shifted from Basohli to Lahore and by 1866 to Patiala.

In addition to publishing details about these particular artists, reproduces a 'magic diagram', possessed by a descendant of Nainsukh, showing a semi-nude female figure, entitled 'Shri Guler', with 15 out-stretched arms pointing to the names of 16 courts where members of the family may have been employed. These 16 courts include Basohli'. Suggests that the central figure in the diagram is the *siddhi* or personal deity of the family under whose auspices the members of the family worked.

For paintings at Basohli here attributed in whole or in part to these artists, see nos. 18 (Manaku), 21, 22 (Fattu and Nainsukh), no. 30 (Ranjha).

Figs. 19-22. From the 'Basohli' *Gita Govinda* series of 1730. See no. 18.

Col. pl. (opp. p.40) and Figs. 23 and 24. From the small 'Guler-Basohli' *Bhagavata Purana* series. See no. 23.

Figs. 26-28. From the large 'Guler-Basohli' *Bhagavata Purana* series. See no. 22.

Fig. 42. From a *Ramayana* series by Ranjha dated 1816. See no. 30.

Davidson, J. LeRoy. *Art of the Indian sub-continent from Los Angeles collections* (U.C.L.A., Los Angeles, 1968).

Pl. 129. 'Portrait of Kirpal Pal'. See no 11(i).

1969

Ohri, V. C. 'The origins of Pahari Paintings', *Roopa Lekha* (1969), XXXVIII, nos. 1 and 2, 109-119.

Connects the origins of painting in the Punjab Hills with sculpture at Nurpur and at Brahmor Kothi (Chamba). Considers that these pre-date paintings at Basohli and it was from these precursors, themselves influenced by the art of Rajasthan, that Basohli painting, especially under Kirpal Pal, originated.

Khandalavala, K. 'Review of Kangra Paintings of the *Gita Govinda* by M. S. Randhawa (introduction W. G. Archer)', *Lalit Kala* (New Delhi, dated and published 1969), no. 14, 60-61.

Disputes the Basham-Wright-Coulson interpretation of the Sanskrit colophon (Archer, 1963, q.v.), maintaining that Manaku is not necessarily a male name and that 'u' is a common ending for female names. Overlooks the fact, however, that, in the context of the Sanskrit verse as written, questions of grammar compel 'Manaku' to be male and that the compound phrase '*Manaku chitrakartra*' (the painter Manaku) is instrumental and indivisible.

Suggests 'between 1760 and 1780' as the date of the 'Kangra' series, 'the Guler court, the artist's village home or the Kangra court' as its place of execution and 'Manak (Manaku), son of Seu, "or some other member of the Seu family" as the artist of the "Kangra" *Gita Govinda* (Kangra, no. 33 q.v.).

Goswamy, B. N. 'The Nala Damayanti Drawings: discussion in a new light', *Roopa Lekha* (1969), XXXVIII, nos. 1 and 2, 85-108.

Attributes a *Nala Damayanti* series of paintings (collection Karan Singh, Jammu, formerly Pahda Kunj Lal collection, Basohli) to Basohli and ascribes them to the painter Ranjha, c.1800. See *Kangra*, no. 53 and *Basohli*, no. 30.

Dwivedi, V. P. 'A *Rasamanjari* painting from Basohli', *Bulletin Cleveland Museum of Art* (September, 1969), 262-269.

Fig. 1. 'The vision of Krishna'. From the 'first' *Rasamanjari* series, final page, inscribed in *takri* characters with the numeral 134. Cleveland Museum. See no. 4(41).

Fig. 2. 'Shiva Vishvamisra'. Here regarded as Chamba.

Fig. 3. From the *Nurpur Rasamanjari*. *Nurpur*, no. 14.

Fig. 4. 'Shiva and Parvati on the elephant skin'. See no. 7.

Fig. 5. 'The vision of Krishna'. From the 'third' *Rasamanjari* series. See no. 15(1).

Fig. 6 and 7. From the 'first' *Rasamanjari* series. Boston Museum. See no. 4.

Fig. 8. 'Blind Raja', not, however, Sital Dev of Mankot.

1970

Ohri, V. C. 'The painter Manaku of Basohli', *Oriental Art* (Summer, 1970), XVI, no. 2, 160-161.

Reproduces a painting 'in Basohli style,' depicting a man with a pen in one hand and a piece of paper in the other and wearing a rosary, facing a second man in striped *jama* with upraised hand; inscribed at the top in *takri* characters: *dhari chatrehra* 'The painter Dhari' and below it in *nagari* characters: (1) *natha pandit* and (2) *manaku chatera*. Argues that the *nagari* inscriptions, although not recent, are later than the *takri* one and that while the figure on the right is probably not the Basohli painter Manaku, memories of him may have been sufficiently fresh in Basohli to account for a wrong identification. Suggests that either the figure on the right is Dhari, the painter, or that the painting is by Dhari and the figure on the right is rightly or wrongly intended to be Manaku. Records that the painting was acquired from an old Brahmin family of Ballawar (former capital of Basohli) and on grounds of style and provenance attributes it to Basohli. Emphasises that since the name Manaku is plainly applied to a male painter in the inscription, this should settle the controversy concerning the sex of the artist Manaku who executed the 1730 *Gita Govinda* series in Basohli style.

[In view of the 'lateness' of the *nagari* inscription, it is possible that the figure on the right-hand side is not, in fact, an artist, but a nobleman as suggested by the picture's caption.]

Archer, Mildred. *Indian Paintings from Court, Town and Village* (Arts Council, London, 1970).

Figs. 25-27. From the large 'Guler-Basohli' *Bhagavata Purana* series. See no. 22.

1971

Goswamy, B. N. 'The artist Ranjha and a dated set of *Ramayana* drawings' (*Kala Bhavan, Banaras, Jubilee volume*, 1971), 224-231.

Publishes a series of 702 *Ramayana* drawings with dated colophon giving Basohli as their place of execution, Ranjha (youngest son of Nainsukh of Guler) as the artist, a certain Kashmiri Brahmin, Sudharshan, as scribe of the text, Raja Bhupendra Pal (xi, 1813-1834) of Basohli as the ruler in whose reign the drawings were done and *samvat* 1873 (A.D. 1816) as the year of completion. No illustrations. See no. 30.

Supports the identification of Ranjha as fourth son of Nainsukh of Guler by references to entries in pilgrims' registers kept at Kurukshetra and Hardwar. Compares the drawings in style with the *Nala Damayanti* drawings (Eastman, 1959, *Kangra*, q.v.) and *Nala Damayanti* paintings (Karan Singh collection, Jammu), here regarded as executed at the court of Sansar Chand of Kangra (*Kangra nos. 50-53 q.v.*).

IV. PAINTING: CATALOGUE AND RECONSTRUCTION

PHASE ONE: 1660-1680

A phase of painting illustrated by a group of pictures (nos. 1-9) which on account of their subject matter and style must be regarded as marking the beginnings of painting in Basohli. The dates proposed — 1660-1680 — cover the last thirteen years of Raja Sangram Pal (reigned 1635-c.1673), the brief reign of his half-brother, Hindal Pal (c.1673-c.1678), and the early part of the reign of the latter's son, Kirpal Pal (c.1678-1693). Under Sangram Pal ardent Vaishnavism first affected the Basohli court and led to the adoption of Vaishnava *tilak* marks by the first two of these Basohli rulers. No painting in Basohli is known prior to Sangram Pal, but since ardent Vaishnavism involved the praise of Vishnu either by singing hymns to Rama or Krishna or by portraying them in painting, it is reasonable to connect the beginnings of Basohli painting with the arrival of this new cult. At the same time, respect for the older and more established cults of Shiva and the Devi may have exerted an important influence, resulting in the celebration of Vaishnava subjects in an oblique rather than a direct manner. Courtly interests in poetry and music may also have determined subject matter. It is the unresolved conflicts of this transitional period which appear to be reflected in the present group of pictures: 1-3 firmly adhering to the cult of the Devi, 7 linking her with Shiva, 5 interpreting love poetry but in a form which blends it with the poetry of music, 4 interpolating Krishna into what is otherwise a secular love poem, and only 6 directly illustrating a Vaishnava subject — the opening scene of the Tenth Book of the *Bhagavata Purana*.

1(i-iii) Three paintings from a *Tantric Devi* series. Basohli. c.1660-1670.

1(i) *The Devi receives homage.*

204 x 187 mm; with border 223 x 211 mm.

Yellow border with narrow silver-grey margins, the tip of a royal umbrella projecting into it.

Inscribed in *takri* characters on the left border:

(1) *50* (2) *tara shakti* and on the right border (3) *bhadra kali* (4) *chhinna* and (5) *ragi devi*.

Chandigarh Museum (on transfer from Central Museum, Lahore).

Published: Gupta (1922), K41, 133, pl. X.

Description: The Devi with ashen blue skin, richly crowned and heavily bedecked with emeralds stands in a golden dress holding a lotus flower in her left hand and drinking from a cup in her right. A blue-skirted attendant, perhaps Manasa, her head and arms wreathed with snakes, pours a stream of flowers at her feet. Behind the Goddess stand two attendants in purple, white and grey skirts, one supporting a royal umbrella with bent pole, the other wielding a white fly-whisk in one hand and brandishing a severed head in the other. At the top a narrow bank of dull blue sky. Background flaming scarlet. Pieces of beetle-wing cases for jewels.

1(ii) *The Devi drinks liquor.*

181 x 175 mm; with border 217 x 216 mm.

Red border with narrow silver-grey margins.

Inscribed in *takri* characters: *shyama* (the dark blue one).

Chandigarh Museum (on transfer from Central Museum, Lahore).

Catalogued: Gupta (1922), K.42, 133.

Description: The Devi wearing as in 1(i), a heavy crown with emeralds and lotus flowers, glances to the right as she walks alone, holding in her left hand a pair of lotus stalks and a necklace of skulls and in her right a cup from which she drinks liquor. Deep blue skirt and bodice. Prolific ornaments. At the top a narrow band of dull white and blue sky. Background yellow ochre. Pieces of beetle-wing cases for jewels.

1(iii) The Devi dances on the dead giant.

182 x 182 mm; with border 221 x 221 mm. Red border, the toes of the giant's left foot projecting into it.

Inscribed on the right border in *takri* characters: *bhadra kali* and numbered 60.

National Museum, New Delhi. Acquired 1963.

Description: The Devi with blue skin, six-armed and wearing a dark red skirt and tiger-skin wrap, dances on the pinkish-brown corpse of a nude giant. The giant's long top-knot and cropped hair suggest he is a Brahmin. He also wears a Vaishnava *tilak* mark. The Devi celebrates her triumph by holding a conch shell and a pair of clappers, playing a *vina* and beating on a hand-drum. As in nos. 1(i, ii), she wears a heavy crown with emeralds and lotus flowers. On either side of her is a tree with drooping branches — on the right a weeping willow, on the left an alder (?) with rich red flowers. At the top a rim of sky. Yellow background. Pieces of beetle-wing cases for jewels.

Discussion: These pictures are of prime importance for the identification of painting in Basohli because of their early publication (Gupta, 1922), their known Basohli provenance and their sharp distinctive style which, although of subsequent influence on certain other schools of painting in the Punjab Hills, is, in basic respects, unique.

The first two examples were originally in the Central Museum, Lahore, where they formed part of a group of six Tantric pictures, acquired by the Museum in 1918 (Marshall, 1919) and later catalogued by Gupta (1922) as 'from Basohli', the place where the dealer obtained them. Although the dealer's name and his exact source were not discussed, the essential correctness of his claim was accepted by Ghose (1929) whose local enquiries led him to connect similar paintings with Basohli. Much later, Randhawa (1958, 1959 and 1967) discovered thirty-five pictures in identical style (*series no. 4*) with a similar Basohli provenance. These latter paintings had not only come from Basohli but were known by family tradition to have been in the Basohli royal collection. Since no other paintings in this exact style have been found elsewhere, it is reasonable to conclude that, along with the present pictures, Basohli was their place of origin.

In style, the present series is characterised by plain backgrounds in glowing red and yellow, sharply pointed noses, small heads and piquant faces with large, keen eyes, conveying an air of savage intensity, an underlying geometrical arrangement of forms and details, at times over-flowing into the borders, poetic modulations of rich and varied colour, smoothly burnished surfaces and a lavish use of pieces of beetle-wing cases, flashing like emeralds. Although limbs and faces are slightly modelled, the prevailing convention is of a single flat plane with little depth.

The exact sources of this style with its barbaric magnificence and air of wild sophisticated luxury can still only be conjectured. Contacts with Mughal painting at the courts of the emperors Shah Jahan (1626-1656) and Aurangzeb (1656-1707) may, at first sight, account for certain qualities — technical finesse, delicate refinements of detail and representational power. Various characteristics, on the other hand — the use of bold poetic colour, schematic trees, symbolic landscapes and fierce distortions — are quite un-Mughal in character. Tibet and Nepal, despite their cults of Tantric Buddhism, which may have suggested to dealers the term 'Tibeti', had no cultural, religious or political contacts with Basohli and it is, in fact, only with three groups of pictures, all from Rajasthan or Central India, that stylistic parallels can be found. The three groups are as follows:

(1) A *Chaurapanchasika* series (Mehta collection, Ahmedabad), Mandu, Central India, c.1550. This employs the same flat convention, plain backgrounds of glowing colour and makes a similar use of angularly distorted faces. It achieves a similar air of passionate intensity but lacks the smooth Basohli polish, dispenses with modelling and beetle-wing cases and employs far bolder simplifications of form. In contrast to the present series' attitude of almost frigid anti-

sex and cruel sangfroid, it relishes curved contours, emphasises breasts and haunches and magnifies erotic charm. An unusual feature is the use of 'monster-head' projections on roof-tops. This idiom is absent from **Basohli series no. 1** but is a striking feature of **series 5** where it occurs not on roof-tops but at the end of plinths.

Bibliography: Gray (1949), pl. 81; Archer, W. G. *Central Indian Painting* (London, 1958); Archer (1960), pl. 32; Agravala (1961), pls. 2 and 3; Archer and Binney (1968), 52; Shiveshwarkar, Leela, *The Pictures of the Chaurapanchasika* (New Delhi, 1967), pls. 1-18.

(2) A *Bhagavata Purana* series, Mewar, Rajasthan, c. 1560-1565. This is a development in Mewar out of the *Chaurapanchasika* series of Mandu, Central India. It resembles **Basohli series no. 1** in its intricate complexity, masterly command of details and rhythmical assurance but is more tightly compartmental in composition and more restlessly energetic. Although employing different turban-styles and costumes, it is close to Basohli painting in its use of angular facial idioms and emphatic eyes. The latter are noticeably less exaggerated than in the *Chaurapanchasika* and, to that extent, nearer to Basohli practice.

Bibliography: Lee (1960), pls. 3a, 3d; Welch and Beach (1965), pls. 3a, 3b; Archer and Binney (1968), pls. 1a-c.

(3) A group of paintings, including several *Ragamala* series, *Ramayanas* and *Bhagavata Puranas*, a *Rasamanjari* (compare **Basohli nos. 5, 10 and 15**), *Kavi Priya*, *Rasika Priya*, *Sat Sai* and *Sursagar*, executed in Mewar under Ranas Amar Singh I, Karan Singh, Jagat Singh I and Raj Singh, 1597-1680. These are, in various degrees, developments out of the *Bhagavata Purana* series (2) but while availing of similar basic conventions, are more realistic in their treatment of trees, persons and animals. Their facial idioms have marked affinities with certain Basohli types and this has even led to their confusion with Basohli by Zimmer and Campbell (1955) and to an early suggestion (Archer, 1957) that it was Mewar artists who migrated to Basohli and there developed the Basohli style. There is no evidence, however, that any such migration actually occurred or that close cultural ties existed between the two states. Moreover, Mewar pictures differ from early Basohli paintings in their lack of sophisticated richness and in their over-rough slickness and slight bucolic coarseness. If the first Basohli painters derived their style in whole or in part from Rajasthan or Central India, it is clear that yet other factors must have supplied an electrifying stimulus. What those factors were can still only be surmised.

Bibliography: Archer (1956), pl. 6; Archer (1957), pl. 29; Archer (1960), pls. 38-40; Lee (1960), pls. 13, 14, 16; Archer and Binney (1968), pls. 3-5; Chandra, M. *Mewar Painting* (New Delhi, 1957), pls. 1-5.

2 The Devi rides in state. Basohli, c.1660-1670.

185 x 275 mm (trimmed). Narrow silver-grey margins.

Private collection, London. Formerly Ghose collection, Calcutta.

Published: Ghose (1929), fig. 9.

Description: The Devi, four-armed, holding a bow, an upright sword, a hand-drum and an arrow and wearing a gold skirt and bodice, sits in a massive chariot drawn by two tigers. Behind her is an attendant in blue bodice and green skirt, also four-armed and holding an upright sword, a calabash, the bent pole of a royal umbrella and a white fly-whisk. She faces half-left but gazes ahead. Before them strides a second attendant with purplish-black skin in blue skirt and red bodice, four-armed, carrying a calabash, sword, hand-drum and bearing a long pole topped by a trident and red banner. The chariot, shown with two wheels, has a pink under-carriage, pale gold edges and sumptuous crimson and gold furnishings. The two tigers, with tawny brown and white skin, move gravely together. Golden yellow background with lower rim of grassy foreground and strip of white and blue sky. Green beetle-wing cases.

Discussion: An expanded version of 1(i), stressing the Devi's regal might and incorporating details such as the lotus crown, the umbrella with bent handle, the keenly watchful attendants and a profuse display of beetle-wing cases as jewels. In style and features, identical with 1. A special feature is the emphasis placed on drawn swords, the Devi and her seated attendant holding them vertically upwards like heraldic symbols and the figure, who strides ahead, brandishing both sword and lance with orderly ferocity. The great tigers drawing the huge and lumbering chariot have their own majestic poise, suggesting a dignified progress towards a ruthless execution. Aspects of the picture, which are repeated constantly in 3, are the delicate richness of the textile patterning, sensitivity to line and the all-pervading air of sternly disciplined composure.

On the use of beetle-wing cases as ornaments, J. W. Bennett in his *Ceylon and its Capabilities* (London, 1843, 252) has the following remarks: 'The beautiful green beetle (*Buprestis chrysis*) so much esteemed at home and upon the continent of India, is very common here. The most splendid ladies' dresses are ornamented with the elytra of this insect; which are also mounted in gold and formed into necklaces, tiaras and armlets: for the colours they display, arising from unrivalled richness of tints, brilliance of metallic lustre and the iridescence of their ever-varying hues, according to the change of light in which they are viewed, may be considered the most splendid in nature.'

Apart from their sporadic use in Deccani painting of the seventeenth century, and with isolated exceptions (four from Kulu, one from Jasrota and one from Nurpur), green beetle-wing cases appear to have been employed in Indian painting only at Basohli.

3 The Devi is adored by the gods. Basohli, c.1660-1670.

175 x 285 mm. Red border, with details projecting into it.

Lalbhai collection, Ahmedabad.

Catalogued: Gray (1949), no. 511, 126.

Published: Archer (1952), fig. 5.

Description: The Devi, four-armed, holding a calabash, an upright sword, a hand-drum and a trident, sits on a throne inside a domed pavilion. Beneath the throne crouch two tigers. A maid on the right holds a royal umbrella on a long and slender pole. Before the Goddess stand Vishnu, four-armed, and Shiva as Bhardava with third eye, boar's tusks and leopard skin, fanning the Goddess with a fly-whisk. To the left, behind Vishnu, is Brahma, four-headed, four-armed, blowing on a conch shell and playing a stringed instrument. Slightly to his front, immediately behind Shiva, is Durga, four-armed and holding an erect sword and pair of cymbals. Behind the four deities is a party of three male musicians, playing on trumpets and beating a drum. Plain greenish yellow background with rim of sky. Behind the assembly is a row of slimly tapering trees with richly stylised foliage. Green beetle-wing cases as ornaments.

Discussion: Identical in style to nos. 1 and 2, sharing in particular the complicated richness of 2. As in that picture, the Devi sits with upright sword, surrounded by all the panoply of a brilliant and luxurious court. Special features are the great variety of highly formalised symbolic trees, the grave and orderly grouping of the figures, and the long succession of vertical uprights which give the scene an air of sternly controlled dignity. In Hindu mythology, the Devi in her form of Chandi created herself out of the anger of the three great gods who then had no option but to worship her. The fact that the Devi should be shown holding court and that Vishnu should appear in the front rank worshipping her may illustrate the lengths to which ardent Vaishnavism at Basohli may have been obliged to go in order to win partial acceptance at court.

4(i-xvi) Sixteen paintings from a 'first' *Rasamanjari* series. Basohli, c.1660-1670.

4, i-iv: Dogra Art Gallery, Jammu (formerly Basohli Raj collection, Pahda Kunj Lal, Basohli).

Approximate sizes: 180 x 270 mm; with border 240 x 330 mm. Red borders with details projecting into them.

4, v-xvi: Victoria and Albert Museum, Rothenstein collec-

tion (perhaps obtained by Rothenstein from Coomaraswamy), I.S. 120 to 122 - 1951, I.S. 46 to 53 - 1953, and I.S. 20 - 1958.

Sizes as given. In each case a profuse use of green beetle-wing cases. For the fullest publications of this series, see Coomaraswamy (1926), Randhawa (1960), Randhawa and Bhambri (1967).

4(i) Radha and Krishna make love.

Inscribed at the top in *takri* characters: *rati priya pragalbha* 'the mature mistress who delights in love'; on the reverse a Sanskrit verse from the *Rasamanjari*, 'The fugitive night flees as the lover busily consummates one love-rite after another — now sucking the nether lip, red like the *bimba* fruit, touching the bosom, hugging the neck, loosening the braid and removing the last veiling garments. Drowsily he asks if the sun has risen. The *nayika*, lest the morning should bring the love-play to a close, hastily covers the lotuses in her ears with the hem of her garment so that their opening may not announce the day' (trans. Randhawa and Bhambri (1967), 15).

Dogra Art Gallery, Jammu (formerly Basohli Raj collection, Pahda Kunj Lal, Basohli).

Published: Randhawa (1960), fig. 24; also reproduced Randhawa and Bhambri (1967), fig. 7.

Description: Krishna with dark blue skin, clad only in trunks, a crown and long white garland, lies on a white bed with green borders embracing Radha. Dark green and orange bolsters. An old door-keeper sits drowsing in an ante-room beside them. Behind the bed is a scarlet wall with lights flaring from a golden bracket. To the right is a small grove of trees, hung with creepers and alive with birds, below it is a small pond with two pairs of ducks swimming and a pair of egrets standing beside it. Plain dark background with narrow rim of sky.

4(ii) Radha arrives at the bower after Krishna has left it.

Inscribed at the top in *takri* characters: *samanya vipralabdha* 'the neglected courtesan', and on the left border the *takri* numeral 58; on the reverse a Sanskrit verse from the *Rasamanjari*. 'Though adept in beguiling the entire lot of her lovers, the courtesan has herself been deceived (this time) by some one with the trickery of false words (of a promise to meet at the appointed place). The bower, as if looking around with restless bees as its eyes, seems to be laughing at the *nayika* through its full-blown flowers' (trans. Randhawa and Bhambri (1960), 58).

Dogra Art Gallery, Jammu (formerly Basohli Raj collection, Pahda Kunj Lal, Basohli).

Published: Randhawa and Bhambri (1967), fig. 37.

Description: A tall lady with swirling scarves and skirt and bejewelled with emeralds stands on an empty hillside gazing at a bed of large leaves enclosed on three sides by a ring of tiny trees. Beyond them, on the far right, is Krishna, who is shown leaving, having apparently waited at the bower and then a moment earlier abandoned it. Pieces of beetle-wing cases.

4(iii) Krishna awaits Radha's bidding.

Inscribed at the top in *takri* characters: *parakiya svadhina patika* 'the married mistress who is devotedly loved by her gallant', and on the left border the *takri* numeral 73; on the reverse a Sanskrit verse from the *Rasamanjari*, 'O *sakhi*, how is it that my lover's gaze — wandering in all directions and seeking me in the forest, on the street, in the house and in the company of *sakhis* (girl companions) — chases me unceasingly, although there are beautiful deer-eyed damsels in every house, whose girdles, ear-rings and golden bracelets constantly make rhythmic sound by their movements' (trans. Randhawa and Bhambri (1967), 73).

Dogra Art Gallery, Jammu (formerly Basohli Raj collection, Pahda Kunj Lal, Basohli).

Published: Randhawa and Bhambri (1967), fig. 50.

Description: Radha sits facing a companion on a richly scrolled carpet in a turreted garden house, a ring of lush trees surrounding it. Krishna with long white garland and holding a lotus stalk stands before her. To the left is another house in whose upper room four ladies sit talking.

4(iv) Radha debates whether to go out on a night of storm and rain.

Inscribed at the top in *takri* characters: *praudha abhisarika* 'the experienced keeper of trysts' and on the left border the *takri* numeral 77; on the reverse a Sanskrit verse from the *Rasamanjari*, 'How could the *nayika* who is burdened with the weight of her swelling bosom, whose tender feet have the soft lustre of new leaves, bear to go out in the night to meet her sweetheart, unless it were with the help of the chariot of her longings?' (trans. Randhawa and Bhambri (1967), 77).

Dogra Art Gallery, Jammu (formerly Basohli Raj collection, Pahda Kunj Lal, Basohli).

Published: Randhawa and Bhambri (1967), fig. 53.

Description: Radha, a tall mature figure on the right, stands on a turreted verandah watching her two companions discuss whether she should go out into the night. To the left a half-open door gives on to a flight of stairs. The wall has a scroll-like 'monster' base. Beyond the house rain falls in lines of vertical drops. At the top three rows of overlapping 'Chinese' clouds.

4(v) The cat and mouse.

180 x 272 mm; with border 237 x 332 mm. Dull orange border with thin silver margin, white rules and shaded surround, a turret projecting into the upper border and the edge of a tree overlapping the right margin.

Inscribed at the top in *takri* characters: *gupata parakia* 'she who is secretly another's'; and on the left border the *takri* numeral 21; on the reverse a Sanskrit verse from the *Rasamanjari*. 'O *Sakhi!* My mother-in-law may get angry, my friends may become hostile to me and sisters-in-law may slander me; but I shall not sleep again in that house where the cat, suddenly pouncing in her attempt to attack a mouse coming out of a hole in the corner, scratched my body with her sharp claws' (trans. Randhawa and Bhambri (1967), 26).

Note: The mouse is perhaps the lover and the cat an over-vigilant mother-in-law.

Victoria and Albert Museum, Rothenstein collection, I.S. 20-1958.

Published: Archer (1960), col. pl. 66; also reproduced Lee (1960), pl. 56b; Rawson (1962), col. pl. page 145; Randhawa and Bhambri (1967), fig. 14; Rowland (1967), pl. 134.

Description: A lady in a blue and mauve skirt sits on a grey carpet with dull yellow edges, leaning against a green cushion. She complains of life in her husband's house to a companion who sits listening beside her. The companion wears a dark red bodice, mauve skirt and dark green veil. Behind them is a greenish yellow wall. On either side chocolate-brown pillars. At the base a pale blue plinth with a 'monster's head' shape projecting from it. Above a blackish brown portico and yellow roof-top is a tiny bed-chamber, containing a white wall, a red bed with green edges and two pillows, green curtains draped on either side and a cat standing on its hind-legs as if to pounce. Outside the room between three turrets strolls a large rat. To the right is an oval lake with lotuses, cranes and ducks. Around it is a grove of trees with yellow, green and black foliage and white, pink and brown trunks. Parrots and other birds perch in the branches. Red background with, at the top, a rim of sky. A blue dome above the roof echoes the blue of the plinth.

4(vi) The resourceful Radha.

180 x 275 mm; with border 235 x 330 mm. Red border with thin grey margin, white rules and shaded surround, the portico projecting into the border on the right.

Inscribed at the top in *takri* characters: *kria vidagdha* 'the act (*kria*) of the resourceful mistress (*vidagdha*)'; and on the left border the *takri* numeral 23; on the reverse a Sanskrit verse from the *Rasamanjari*, 'In the winter season, her husband having told the servant to cut the *ber* tree, the doe-eyed *nayika* dropped the axe in the water' (trans. Randhawa and Bhambri (1967), 28).

Victoria and Albert Museum, Rothenstein collection, I.S. 48-1953.

Published: Barrett (1963), col. pl. 163; also reproduced Randhawa and Bhambri (1967), fig. 16.

Description: Krishna in yellow *dhoti* sits on a yellow carpet with green borders — the whole luxuriantly decorated with thick scrolls in silver and red — leaning against a red cushion and gazing at a dramatic scene which is occurring on the left. Here a lady in green and white skirt and red bodice has angrily snatched an axe from the hands of a youth and thrown it into a pond. The boy stands in consternation before her. Behind him is a *ber* tree with bluish grey trunk and six globes of foliage studded with red fruits. Chocolate brown background with, at the top, a streak of sky. Pavilion with grey pillars and pale blue inner wall with three alcoves containing golden vessels, the centre one with two apples. At the bottom a dark green plinth, with projecting shape, perhaps a simplified version of a monster's head.

The *nayika* who is here interpreted as Radha is enraged with the boy and has thrown his axe into the water, because her husband has instructed him to cut down the *ber* tree under which she used to meet Krishna. In the husband's absence, Krishna is shown seated in the house.

4(vii) Radha exposed.

190 x 275 mm; with border 240 x 330 mm. Red border with silver margins, white rules and shaded surround, a turret projecting into the upper border.

Inscribed at the top in *takri* characters: *lakhyita* 'one who has been found out or whose secret has been exposed'; and on the left border with the *takri* numeral 24; on the reverse a Sanskrit verse from the *Rasamanjari*, 'A *sakhi* who knows the *nayika*'s secret speaks to her in jest "What was to happen has happened; what is to happen will happen; and what is happening is also happening. Any effort on your part at concealment is therefore useless"' (trans. Randhawa and Bhambri (1967) 29).

Victoria and Albert Museum, Rothenstein collection, I.S. 50-1953.

Published: Randhawa and Bhambri (1967), fig. 17.

Description: Radha, in brief dark green bodice and white and mauve skirt, sits on a brilliant yellow carpet with light red borders decorated with pale yellow flowers leaning against a dark red cushion and raising her hands in vehement protest. Opposite her, to the left, sits a companion. Behind them is a greenish yellow wall with green curtains draped on either side. Grey pillars surmounted by a pale crimson portico and roof-top in dark green with wriggling pattern. In the centre a solitary turret. Hut-like structures in pale yellow on either side. At the base a pale blue plinth with 'monster-head' shapes projecting. To the left is a slender tree with brownish pink trunk and three clumps of foliage. Background chocolate-brown; foreground dark green, striated with small tufted plants. At the top a narrow band of tangled white sky.

4(viii) The tearful Radha.

179 x 268 mm; with border 231 x 329 mm. Red border with thin silver margin, white rules and shaded surround, a cluster of turrets projecting into the upper border.

Inscribed at the top in *takri* characters: *anashyana* (*anushyana*?) (literally, 'one who grieves at the loss of her lover'); and on the left border the *takri* numeral 28; on the reverse a Sanskrit verse from the *Rasamanjari*, 'Radha's eyes were filled with tears when she saw Krishna coming wearing mango blossoms in his ears and his cheeks yellow with pollen' (trans. Randhawa and Bhambri (1967), 33).

The implication is not that Radha herself has failed to keep the tryst, but that Krishna is returning from another assignation in the wood, thus reducing Radha to tears.

Victoria and Albert Museum, Rothenstein collection, I.S. 47-1953.

Description: Radha sits on a dark green carpet with red borders leaning against a green cushion. She gazes at Krishna who is returning at dawn, a tear trickling from her eye. Krishna wears an orange-red *dhoti*, a flamboyant gold scarf and comes strutting in on gold clogs, a lotus flower with long stalk in his right hand and a crook in the left. Red Vaishnava markings on his arms and face. Behind him is a

dense, dark green tree, sprinkled with tiny white flowers and enmeshed with dangling strands of creeper. Brilliant yellow background with a strip of foreground with tufted clumps. At the top a rim of tangled sky. Radha's pavilion square-shaped with black pillars lined with grey, a chocolate brown plinth with projecting shape (perhaps dimly reminiscent of a monster's head but without eyes or snout), pale blue inner wall with three alcoves containing red apples and vessels, pale yellow portico with crimson roof-top and above it a cluster of grey turrets.

4(ix) **Pride of love.**

178 x 264 mm; with border 235 x 324 mm. Red border with thin silver margin, white rules and shaded surround, a series of turrets projecting into the border.

Inscribed at the top in *takri* characters: *prem garivata* 'love proud'; and on the left border with the *takri* numeral 33; on the reverse a Sanskrit verse from the *Rasamanjari*, 'O *sakhi!* I am unable to say how lucky you are, for your lover adorns your body with jewel-studded ornaments. But my beloved, afraid even of a slight interruption in his gazing at me, does not decorate me' (trans. Randhawa and Bhambri (1967), 38).

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 49-1953.

Published: Randhawa and Bhambri (1967), fig. 22.

Description: Radha, fully clothed in red striped trousers, golden veil and skirt sits on an olive green carpet with dark green border leaning against a crimson cushion and conversing with a companion. The companion, seated on the left, has an orange-red skirt, blue veil and brief yellow bodice. She is richly decorated and lifts her left hand in a gesture of indifference. Both women have long straggling tresses. Behind them is a pale blue wall with three silver alcoves, one containing red apples. On either side of the room rise slim chocolate-brown pillars surmounted by a portico and roof-top, the latter a bright yellow. A red curtain is draped from the ceiling. At the base is a chocolate brown plinth, with projections at either end. To the left is a white annexe, patterned in silver with a small flight of steps leading to a narrow crimson door. At the top groups of silver turrets in silver and gold. Dark green background with, at the top, a thin band of sky. In the foreground, a patch of sward.

4(x) **The proud beauty.**

182 x 272 mm; with border 237 x 332 mm. Red border with thin silver margin, white rules and thin darkened surround, four turrets projecting into the border.

Inscribed at the top in *takri* characters: *rup garivata* 'She who is proud of her beauty'; and on the left border the *takri* numeral 34; on the reverse a Sanskrit verse from the *Rasamanjari*, 'O *sakhi!* how should I treat my lord who compares the beauty of my eyes only with that of lotus flowers and the sweetness of my speech only with that of nectar? Forbearance is my only fault!' (trans. Randhawa and Bahambri (1967), 39).

Victoria and Albert Museum, Rothenstein collection, I.S. 46-1953.

Published: Randhawa and Bhambri (1967), fig. 23.

Description: Radha, with brief dark green bodice, and mauve and white skirt sits on a yellow carpet with black borders and blue flowers. She leans against a dark red bolster and converses with a companion in orange red skirt and brief green bodice. Each has long strands of straggling hair. Behind them is a pale blue wall with three grey alcoves containing red apples and eating vessels. In the centre a small black doorway. Below them is a white plinth edged with grey and ending in a projecting monster's head. Greenish-yellow pillars and portico surmounted by a red roof-top with four grey turrets. Chocolate-brown background with narrow strip of green foreground and, at the top, a narrow band of streaky sky.

4(xi) **The lonely Krishna.**

178 x 259 mm; with border 233 x 321 mm. Red border with thin silver margin and white rules.

Inscribed at the top in *takri* characters: *parokhat pati naek*

'he whose *pati* (literally husband, but here by implication, mistress) is away'; an inversion of *prositapatika nayika*, 'she whose husband is away'; and on the left border the *takri* numeral 110; on the reverse a Sanskrit verse from the *Rasamanjari*, 'My sweet-heart, whose thighs are like plantains, eyes like lotus, locks of hair like *saivala*, face like the moon, speech like nectar, waist like a lotus-stalk, navel like a pit, fold in the belly like a stream and hands like leaves — swells in my heart. Alas! there is still no abatement of the fever in my heart' (trans. Randhawa and Bhambri (1967), 105).

Victoria and Albert Museum, Rothenstein collection, I.S. 120-1951.

Published: Randhawa and Bhambri (1967), fig. 73.

Description: Krishna in deep yellow *dhoti* is seated on a verandah floor, leaning against an empty bed with dark green frill. Two cylindrical cushions, one orange-brown, the other mauve, lie on the sheet. To the left is a companion with conical red cap, creamy pink skin and striped green trousers, who listens as Krishna expounds his plight. Red carpet with heavy floral pattern and green borders with blue flowers. Plain fawn wall behind them. Orange-red portico topped by a yellow roof with jagged pattern. At the bottom a chocolate-brown plinth with silver sprigs.

4(xii) **Krishna and the jester.**

180 x 270 mm; with border 230 x 325 mm. Red border with thin silver margin and white rules, two turrets and two lotus-shaped capitals projecting into the upper border.

Inscribed at the top in *takri* characters: *vaidudhak sakha* 'the jester friend'; and on the left border the *takri* numeral 117; on the reverse a Sanskrit verse from the *Rasamanjari*, 'Having coaxed my lotus-faced girl to come near the couch, I eagerly prepared to loosen her bodice. Meanwhile, the clown, my friend, repeatedly crowed like a young rooster, as if heralding the dawn' (trans. Randhawa and Bhambri (1967), 109).

Victoria and Albert Museum, Rothenstein collection, I.S. 121-1951.

Published: Gangoly (1924), p. 134; also reproduced Archer (1952), fig. 7; Archer (1960), pl. 66; Randhawa and Bhambri (1967), fig. 74.

Description: Krishna in deep yellow *dhoti* stands on the left conversing with a messenger in red conical cap. Krishna holds a lotus flower and has red Vaishnava markings on his arms and face. Behind them is a grey tower with centre turret, flanked by two columns with lotus-shaped capitals. In the centre is a black doorway. To the right is an open bedroom with light green wall and dark green carpet, a yellow column on either side and red curtains draped from the ceiling. The bed is white with red frills streaked with yellow. On the white sheet are two cylindrical pillows, one red, the other mauve. Behind the bed stands Radha in blue veil and red skirt, richly bejewelled. She gazes at Krishna's back, motioning as if she wanted him to stop. On the extreme right, his hand resting on the outside column is the jester, a figure with pale conical cap, red striped trousers and yellow scarf, his left hand covering his mouth as if to conceal his amusement.

4(xiii) **The deranged toilet.**

175 x 255 mm; with border 232 x 322 mm. Yellow border with silver margins, white rules and shaded surround, three turrets projecting into the upper border and the portico into the right border.

Inscribed at the top in *takri* characters: *sangara vipralabdha* 'annoyance because of her toilet', and on the left border the *takri* numeral 121; on the reverse a Sanskrit verse from the *Rasamanjari*, 'The lotus-eyed maiden is desirous of watching your foot-path. With the appearance of new clouds, her heart goes to her throat as if to choke it. Wishing to fly away to see your moon-like face, her heart grows wings in the form of lotus-leaves. What else shall I say?' (trans. Randhawa and Bhambri (1967), 111).

Victoria and Albert Museum, Rothenstein collection, I.S. 52-1953.

Published: Archer (1957), pl. 30; also reproduced Randhawa and Bhambri (1967), fig. 75.

Description: Radha, surprised at her toilet, sits on a green carpet with brilliant yellow borders patterned with red flowers, wearing a dark red and blue skirt and shielding her bare torso with two large lotus-leaves folded in the middle. She looks fixedly out on Krishna, who has been waylaid by a maid and rebuked for coming too early and unannounced. Krishna is in a deep yellow *dhoti* and carries a lotus flower with long stalk. The maid has a brief green bodice and white and mauve skirt. Inner wall a pale lemon yellow with three alcoves, each with red apples, bottles and cups. Chocolate-brown pillars lined with silver, crimson portico with yellow roof-top, three turrets — one green, one red, one silver — two plinths — the upper blue, the lower white with grey floral scrolls. Flaming orange background. Narrow strip of sky.

4(xiv) The love-lorn Krishna.

172 x 263 mm; with border 229 x 324 mm. Yellow border with silver margin, white rules and shaded surround.

Inscribed at the top in *takri* characters: *abhalakha avasatha* 'the need for love' and on the left border the *takri* numeral 122; on the reverse a Sanskrit verse from the *Rasamanjari*, 'The beauty of that slender girl is like a pool in which my heart and eyes have dropped. The heart, being heavy, has been completely submerged; the eyes being light, are floating all around' (trans. Randhawa and Bhambri (1967), 112). Victoria and Albert Museum, Rothenstein collection, I.S. 53-1953.

Description: Krishna in yellow *dhoti* stands in an empty landscape, despairingly raising his right hand in a gesture of lonely suffering. A male companion in striped green trousers, yellow scarf, naked torso and red cap strives to console him. On either side two trees — the left-hand one a mango with brown trunk and white blossom, the right-hand one with white trunk and swirling branches. In the foreground a narrow band of tufted grass. Hot orange background. At the top a narrow strip of white sky streaked with blue.

4(xv) Rama pining for Sita.

170 x 255 mm; with border 225 x 320 mm. Red border with thin silver margin, white rules and shaded surround, a tree slightly projecting into the left border.

Inscribed at the top in *takri* characters: *simaran dasa* 'the state of remembering'; and on the left border the *takri* numeral 124; on the reverse a Sanskrit verse from the *Rasamanjari*, 'Fearing lest the agony of Lakshmana should increase, Rama neither expresses his own pain, nor heaves hot sighs, nor lets his eyes fill with tears. Pining away in the fever of love, which burns like a fierce fire fanned by a strong wind, he remembers Sita constantly' (trans. Randhawa and Bhambri (1967), 113).

Victoria and Albert Museum, Rothenstein collection, I.S. 51-1953.

Published: Randhawa and Bhambri (1967), fig. 76.

Description: Rama with deep yellow *dhoti*, his skin dark blue, stands in a forest clearing piteously recalling to his companion, the white-skinned Lakshmana, his abducted consort, the lady Sita. Lakshmana in orange-red *dhoti* and yellow scarf listens with clasped hands. Each has his hair piled high in a top-knot. Green background with eleven trees ranged about it in different positions — two of them with red flowers, two others possibly palm trees. Trunks white, grey and brown. In the foreground two tiny trees with red flowers. Foreground dark green, striated, with tufts of grass. At the top a broad band of white sky streaked with blue and grey.

4(xvi) Radha stupefied.

175 x 260 mm; with border 235 x 330 mm. Red border with thin silver margin and white rules, four turrets and one lotus-shaped capital projecting into the border.

Inscribed at the top in *takri* characters: *jaditadata* 'she who lies dazed or stupefied'; and on the left border the *takri* numeral 131; on the reverse a Sanskrit verse from the *Rasa-*

manjari, 'The bracelet on her hand is making no sound; the garment on her bosom does not stir; the gaze of her pupils is fixed; and her ear-rings dance no more. There is no difference between her and a painting on canvas, unless the ripple of a thrill is awakened in her on her hearing your name' (trans. Randhawa and Bhambri (1967), 119).

Victoria and Albert Museum, Rothenstein collection, I.S. 122-1951.

Description: Krishna with saffron Vaishnava markings on his arms and face and in a brilliant orange-red *dhoti* sits on a yellow rug with green borders, anxiously conversing with a maid in green bodice and red skirt. To the right lies Radha in green and white skirt and dark red bodice, her arms outstretched, her head resting on a mauve pillow, and the pupil of her eye barely visible. Red rug with yellow border. Behind them is a greenish yellow wall with six alcoves each containing red apples and eating vessels. Two chocolate-brown doorways. Orange portico surmounted by bands of dark green and yellow.

Discussion: A series of great importance because of (1) its style which, while identical in basic respects with that of nos. 1-3, considerably enlarges it in range and scope, (2) its known Basohli provenance, definite in the case of 4(i-iv), and of thirty-one further examples from the same source, noted below, and (3) its special treatment of the subject, the *Rasamanjari* ('Posy of delights') of Bhanu Datta, a Sanskrit poem of the fourteenth century describing the conventional conduct of lovers and their mistresses.

The series, of which 4(v-xvi) were probably obtained by Rothenstein from his friend Coomaraswamy at the same time as the latter acquired the seven examples now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (see below), was at first thought to illustrate an unidentified text on *nayaka nayika bhed* (Coomaraswamy, 1926). The publication by Sastri (1936) of the 'third' *Rasamanjari* (no. 15) made it clear, however, that the present series must be a version of the same text (see Archer (1957), Khandalavala and Chandra (1958), Khandalavala (1958) and this has been further demonstrated by Randhawa and Bhambri in their detailed study (1967)).

Although on grounds of style — by comparison with Sastri's series and with no. 1 — Basohli had been generally assumed to be its place of origin, it was not until 1957 that Randhawa proved that this was actually the case. He ascertained from Pahda Kunj Lal, a resident of Basohli, descendant of the Basohli royal physicians and an informant of Thakur Kahan Singh Balaoria, the Urdu historian, that a group of paintings presented by Pahda Kunj Lal to Bakshi Ghulam Muhammad, Chief Minister of Jammu and Kashmir, in 1956, was, in fact, part of the Basohli Raj collection of paintings. This collection had been appropriated by Pahda Kunj Lal's ancestors during the troubled times connected with the minority of Raja Kalyan Pal (1834-1836). During this period, the palace had been deprived of many of its possessions by various courtiers. Bakshi Ghulam Muhammad presented the whole group to the Dogra Art Gallery, Jammu, and these were found on examination to include thirty-five examples from the present *Rasamanjari* (see 4, i-iv), one from a second *Rasamanjari* (no. 10), two from the 'third' *Rasamanjari* (no. 15) as well as portraits. On grounds of style, none of these pictures could readily be connected with any other centre of painting and thus the strong family tradition, along with this circumstance, confirmed that Basohli was their source.

For further examples of paintings from the Basohli Raj collection, retained in 1956 by Pahda Kunj Lal but subsequently presented by him to Dr. Karan Singh of Jammu and Kashmir (and in one case disposed of to Professor J. K. Galbraith), see below. It is likely that other paintings, earlier obtained 'from Basohli,' may have come from this same family.

Although Bhanu Datta's *Rasamanjari* had been previously illustrated in Rajasthan (Chandra, M. *Mewar Painting*

(New Delhi (1957, pl. 1)) and was later to be illustrated at Nurpur (from Basohli models) it is only at Basohli that as many as three versions appear to have been produced. This sudden concentration on a minor Sanskrit classic is, to say the least, surprising; and it is possible that its initial choice for illustration may have been partly dictated by its clear amenability to Vaishnava interpretation. In his opening and concluding verses (1, 137 and 138), the author, Bhanu Datta, presents it as a piece of love-poetry, designed to enchant scholars and poets. Its remaining 135 verses describe the behaviour, emotions, moods and sentiments of lovers, loosely classifying them according to accepted literary codes and including courtly gallants, courtesans, married mistresses, husbands and wives. In fourteen verses, the love-god, Kamadeva, appears but in the pretty and frivolous role which European readers would connect with Cupid. In twenty verses, Shiva and Parvati, Rama and Sita and Radha and Krishna are used to illustrate particular types of love — Shiva and Parvati on six occasions, Rama and Sita on three and Radha and Krishna on eleven. Apart from these allusions, the poem is frankly secular, the *nayaka* being neither more nor less than a courtly gallant.

The present series totally abandons this assumption and although adhering to the subject-matter of the verses, throughout identifies the gallant with Krishna. Apart from supplying him with a cowherd's stick, a flute, peacock's feathers and lotus blossoms, it ignores the 'historical' Krishna of the *Bhagavata Purana*. His loves for Radha and the cow-girls are over-shadowed by other adventures and he is even shown dignifying the rake's behaviour by frequenting courtesans (4ii). This dramatic substitution is the more remarkable since in none of the other illustrated versions of the *Rasamanjari* from Mewar and Nurpur is this done and in the case of the 'second' and 'third' Basohli *Rasamanjaris*, the *nayaka* is firmly portrayed as secular. So unusual a first treatment at Basohli can only have been prompted by special circumstances and there are two explanations which can be hazarded.

The last type of love described in the poem (verse 136) is *sakshat darshana* (seeing the lover face to face). This is rendered by Randhawa and Bhambri: 'O mind, give up your playfulness. O friend-like bashfulness, do not inhibit me. O brotherly eye-lids, let my eyes open wide. O Lord Kamadeva, forgive me for a moment. The comely Krishna, wearing a peacock feather on his forehead and blue lotuses in his ears and carrying a flute in his hand, is appearing before my eyes.' Although ostensibly only an illustration of one of the many facets of love, this verse is, in fact, a vision of Krishna; and one is left wondering whether so telling and effective a conclusion to the poem can possibly have been accidental. In much Indian poetry on the loves of Radha and Krishna, it is difficult to divide the devotional and religious from the romantic and courtly. It is possible, therefore, that after ennobling by his poetry so many kinds of courtly love, the poet himself was led to merge his gallants with Krishna and thus heighten their significance. In this view, it might be argued, the patron and artist of the present series were merely applying to the entire *Rasamanjari* the 'vision of Krishna' with which the poem ends.

But why should they have done this? The answer may perhaps be found in the uncertain and equivocal status of ardent Vaishnavism under Rajas Sangram and Hindal Pal. Although adopted by these two rulers and later supported by Kirpal Pal's second rani from Mankot, early Vaishnavism at Basohli must almost certainly have met with opposition from firm adherents of Shiva and the Devi. As a consequence, the immediate illustration of the *Bhagavata Purana*, its prime text, may well have seemed unwise; and a more oblique, less obvious celebration of Krishna more prudent. The present series, by surreptitiously interpolating Krishna into the poem, could thus have provided an acceptable solution. The cult of Krishna was not ignored but neither was it flagrantly proclaimed. When, some years later, the crisis had passed and the *Bhagavata Purana* had

itself been illustrated, the need for obliquely interpreting the *Rasamanjari* in this manner no longer remained. It could then be presented as what, in essence, it was — a secular work of art — and in the 'second' and 'third' Basohli versions (nos. 10, 15), that, in fact, is how it was treated.

That the present series is far from satisfactory either as an adequate view of Krishna or as an interpretation of the poem is illustrated by the lengths to which the artist is forced to go in order to cast Krishna in the role of gallant. In 4(vi), for example, the *nayika* is shown throwing an axe in a pond but there is no mention in the verse of either Radha or Krishna. It is the husband rather than Krishna whose remarks have prompted her to take this step and the figure in the house can only be portrayed as Krishna on an assumption which is foreign to the original. This assumption is that the husband has gone away and Krishna the lover has arrived in his place. Having made himself at home, he is then instigating Radha to throw away the axe which, if used on the tree, would have destroyed their trysting place. In point of fact, Krishna in the original verse is not credited with any such intervention and the assumption which alone can explain his presence in the picture could hardly be more far-fetched!

In terms of style, the following points may be noted:

A glowing use of strong and varied background colours, ranging from scarlet, crimson, deep yellow, orange, ivory, dark and pale green to chocolate-brown and greenish black. These vivid alternations (in marked contrast to the somewhat monotonous use of yellow at Chamba and Mankot or of red in early Guler) contribute to the sparkling vitality which is so arresting a feature of the series.

The facial formula for ladies is the same as that used for the Devi (nos. 1-3), but the absence of warlike accoutrements and the use of gentler settings enable the same idioms to suggest passionate intensity rather than fierce cruelty. On the other hand, the continual insertion of pieces of beetle-wing cases maintains the previous air of barbarous luxury.

In contrast to nos. 1-3, a bold use is made of massive rectangles, the composition often tending to focus on the open room of a house, sited either to one side or in the centre and surrounded or flanked by empty hillsides or by groves of trees.

A schematic and symbolic approach to nature, architecture and the human form enables shapes and sizes to be freely distorted in the interests of rhythmical variety, human drama or visual poetry. Trees, in particular, are often reduced to tiny swirling shapes, leaves are shown separately and rooms and figures are often enormously enlarged.

In contrast to paintings of a decade or more later, each form is sharply defined, possessing at times an almost over-hard neatness and precision.

Examples from the same series: (1-31) Randhawa and Bhambri (1967). Illustrations noted as now in the Dogra Art Gallery, Jammu (formerly Basohli Raj collection, Pahda Kunj Lal, Basohli) with the exception of fig. 3 (from the 'second' *Rasamanjari*, no. 10) and fig. 6 (from the 'third' *Rasamanjari*, no. 15).

(32) Welch and Beach (1965) col. pl. 21. Galbraith collection, Cambridge, Mass. (formerly Basohli Raj collection, Pahda Kunj Lal, Basohli).

(33-39) Coomaraswamy (1926), pls. 92 (301), 93 (302, 303), 94 (304, 305) and 95 (306, 307). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Ross-Coomaraswamy collection.

Original provenance unrecorded but identical in style and text with 5(i-xvi).

(40) Randhawa and Bhambri (1967), fig. 18. Pratap Museum, Srinagar. Provenance unrecorded but identical in style and text with (1-39).

(41) Dwivedi (1969), fig. 1. 'The vision of Krishna'. Cleveland Museum of Art. Final page of the series and inscribed in *takri* characters with the numeral 134. Compare no. 15(1).

For further reproductions of certain of these examples, see Review of Literature.

5(i-iii) Three paintings from an unidentified Nayaka Nayika series. Basohli, c.1670-1675.

5(i) The lady and the buck.

178 x 270 mm (trimmed).

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Published: Coomaraswamy (1926), pl. 97 (310); also reproduced Kramrisch (1954), col. pl. VI; Archer (1956), col. pl. 13; Khandalavala (1958), no. 15.

Description: A lady in a long gold-coloured dress stands in a grove at night, picking pink flowers from a slender tree and holding out one of them in her right hand. Before her stands a maid in blue dress and red striped trousers playing a *vina*. A young buck advances on them through a cypress and a second tree on the left. 'The time is night, white mist swirling in smoky wraiths against the darkening blue while banks of clouds, vivid with lightning, presage a wild and passionate night.' Besides mist, drops of rain are shown falling in vertical lines. Two pairs of birds fly above the maid, a fifth bird wings in from the right. Behind the flowering tree a sombre cypress with pink trunk. Jewellery represented by pieces of beetle-wing cases.

In part a rendering of the *prositapatika nayika* theme, i.e. a lonely lady frantically waiting with her maid or companion for her absent husband or lover, but at the same time suggestive of the following two Plains *Ragamala* subjects — (1) *Gujari Ragini* (playing a *vina* and attracting a deer) and (2) *Gauri Ragini* (picking flowers from a tree).

5(ii) The lady and the herd of deer.

187 x 262 mm (without red border but with narrow silver-grey margin).

Mehta collection, Ahmedabad.

Published: Khandalavala (1958), col. pl. D; also reproduced Randhawa (1959), fig. 1; Agravala (1961), col. pl. 7.

Description: A lady in pale transparent dress and red and blue striped trousers stands in a grove of three trees, holding up a white handkerchief in her right hand and clutching a bunch of grass in her left. A maid stands behind her with a peacock-feather fan and a round bottle with a long neck. A herd of deer, comprising a black and white buck, two does and a tiny fawn, come towards the lady, their heads straining forwards to take the grass. All three trees are slender with drooping rows of flowering branches. In the foreground is a pond or stream with ten pink lotuses, two de open and eight closed suggesting that it is early morning. Nine ducks swim in the water. Six small egrets strut on the bank. Background yellowish-green with upper rim of white and blue sky.

Like 5(i), in part a rendering of the *prositapatika nayika* theme but again with elements suggestive of *Ragamala* subjects: (1) *Gunakali Ragini* (standing near a tree holding a garland — the handkerchief resembling a garland) (2) *Kakubha Ragini* (holding garlands and surrounded by peacocks — the bunch of grass serving as a substitute for the garland and providing a source of attraction) (3) *Todi Ragini* (surrounded by deer) and (4) *Pancham Raga* (a prince seated on a hillside, attended by deer which he caresses — the lady here sustaining the prince's role). The first three subjects follow a Plains *Ragamala*, the fourth a Hills *Ragamala* system.

5(iii) The lady and the pet rabbits.

157 x 266 mm; with border 196 x 304 mm.

Private collection (ex-P. C. Mitter collection), Calcutta.

Published: Randhawa and Galbraith (1968), col. pl. 28.

Description: A lady in pale green dress and brownish yellow trousers stands in a grove, holding up a lotus bud in her right hand and toying with the branches of a flowering tree. Before her stand two girl companions, one of them with a *tambura*. They wear green, gold and red skirts. On either side are dense groves of gaily flowering trees. A pale-coloured rabbit stands behind the lady, a second rabbit

behind the two companions. In the foreground, a black strip of empty water. Plain dark green background with three yellow birds flying. Other birds in the trees. At the top a rim of streaky blue sky.

Like 5(i) and (ii), in part a rendering of the lonely *nayika*, desperately waiting for her husband or lover with elements suggestive of (1) the Plains *Ragamala* subject, *Gauri Ragini* (a lady picking flowers from a tree) and (2) the Hills *Ragamala* subject, *Suhi (Suhavi) Ragini* (a lady feeding a rabbit).

Discussion: Provenance unrecorded but so close in general treatment to 4 that the series, has, at times, been mistaken for it. None of the three paintings, however, are inscribed with verses or titles and although they share the *Rasamanjari*'s subject — women in love — no individual *Rasamanjari* verses can be connected with them. It is possible, therefore, that they are a novel experiment, perhaps unconnected with any particular poem and, like the 'first' *Rasamanjari* itself, the product of an age of transition. This view is supported by the fact that their iconography is a blend of standard *nayaka nayika bheda* and of elements drawn from *Pahari* and Plains *Ragamalas*. The iconography of *Ragamala* poetry, whether Plains or *Pahari*, was established before the seventeenth century. No *Pahari Ragamala* sets, however, are known to ante-date the present series and this could explain the adventurous combination in it of two kinds of imagery.

In style, the series is closely linked to no. 4, especially in its use of overlapping 'Chinese' clouds, 'savage' types of face, swirling dresses, upright stances, drooping parallel branches, tiny trees with geometric foliage, predominantly vertical arrangements and an over-all air of orderly luxuriance and lush restraint. At the same time, physical forms are treated more gently, over-harsh distortions are avoided, slender details are included and in place of architecture, natural settings are preferred. These enable trees, flowers, birds, animals, clouds and rain to play a stronger poetic and symbolic role. It is significant that in contrast to the summary indications of no. 4, an attempt is also made to render atmospheric conditions — the swirling night mists of 5(i) being, in this connection, possible precursors of the boiling clouds of 7 and the racing flames of 8. Yet a further novelty is the introduction in the foreground of a stream with lotuses. This not only makes possible a further inclusion of poetic imagery, but enables inferences to be drawn as to time of day — the pink lotus opening at sunrise but closing at night. It is of interest that the present three pictures, while illustrating the same subject — the lonely lady frantically awaiting her husband or lover — show her at different times of day or night — 5(i) at night (from the blackness and rising mists), 5(ii) at dawn (from the lotuses still in process of opening) and 5(iii) late afternoon (from the deepening green of the background and continued presence of rabbits).

6. Earth appeals to Vishnu. From a 'first' *Bhagavata Purana* series. Basohli, c.1675-1680.

215 x 305 mm. Red border with narrow black margin and double white rules.

Chandigarh Museum.

Published: Randhawa (1959), col. pl. 6.

Description: Earth, in the shape of a white cow, attended by a cow-herd in red loin-cloth and black mantle, stands before Vishnu and Lakshmi who sit on a bed of lotus petals supported by a giant lotus. Vishnu, four-armed, his skin dark blue, holds a conch shell, mace, quoit and lotus flower. Lakshmi sits with clasped hands, wearing a red dress with black border and black three-dot pattern. To the right is a maid waving a fly-whisk above them and a cow-herd with Shaiva *tilak* marks and herdsman's crook wearing a black mantle. A grey cow stands beside them. To the left, supporting Earth, are ranged Brahma, four-headed, four-armed and in yellow *dhoti*, Vishnu, two-armed, Shiva, white skinned, two-armed and with a leopard-skin for loin-cloth and finally, Indra, a dusky figure in pale yellow *dhoti*. In the foreground is a dark grey stream with five closed lotus blossoms rising to a summit at the point where the giant

lotus, bearing Vishnu and Lakshmi rises from the water. Dark green background with upper rim of grey, almost cloudless sky. Five trees — three with drooping branches, one with pink flowers.

Discussion: This picture which illustrates the opening scene of the tenth book of the *Bhagavata Purana* is the first painting in a possibly never completed series. No other examples from this series are known and the lack of them is perhaps symptomatic of the uncertainty attending the early stages of Vaishnavism at Basohli. In style, the picture employs a new facial idiom and avails of the convention of a stream with lotuses, seen in 5. For the pose of Lakshmi, compare the Devi in 7.

Related example: (1) Coomaraswamy (1926), pl. 17 (162). Vishnu on a lotus. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Basohli, c.1675-1680. An enlarged detail of 6, omitting Lakshmi but including a stream with lotuses and drooping willow-type branches.

7 Shiva and the Devi on the elephant demon's hide. Basohli, c.1675-1680.

230 x 160 mm.

Cleveland Museum of Art, Edward L. Whittemore collection.

Published: Lee (1960), col. pl. 58; also reproduced Lee (1964), col. pl. 19.

Description: Shiva with white skin and four arms holding a skull-cup, an upright sword and small hand-drum is seated with the Devi on the hide of the elephant demon, Gajasura, slain by Shiva on account of its harassment of the Brahmans of Banaras. The couple are surrounded by blue and white swirling clouds and snake-like lightning as the hide bears them aloft. The Devi, clad in a red dress with black border and black three-dot pattern, sits gazing at Shiva, her hands clasped in homage at his prowess. Below them is a field with gaily coloured trees and egrets flying. At the bottom a black stream with nine ducks.

Discussion: An unusual treatment of the elephant demon incident, the elephant's hide being, more normally, worn by Shiva as his upper garment instead of being used by him as a rug. The Devi also is usually an accessory after the act and, according to Gopinath Rao (*Elements of Hindu Iconography*), is normally shown as 'seated on his left, trembling with fear at the ferocity of her lord'. In the present picture, the hide has become a carpet, transporting the divine couple skywards.

In style the picture retains much of the aboriginal ferocity of the Devi as shown in nos. 1-3, as also the forbidding convention of the sternly raised sword. The savage facial idiom is also preserved. The Devi's eye, however, is advanced, as in 6, so as almost to join the nose and her brow has now become more rounded. The boiling clouds, the stream filled with ducks and the slightly more naturalistic treatment of the two figures foreshadow the somewhat gentler developments of 1680-1700. For other features connecting the picture with Basohli, compare the tiny trees writhing in little groves and the general air of commanding majesty, re-inforced by the coiling rhythms of the swirling clouds.

Related example: (1) Khandalavala (1958), no. 31. Shiva and Parvati on the elephant hide. Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras. Basohli, c.1690. Same subject but with Shiva five-headed and eight-armed, the elephant hide much broader, the bull Nandi in attendance and the couple less obviously floating in the air.

PHASE TWO: 1680-1700

8 The forest fire. From a 'second' *Bhagavata Purana* series. Basohli, c.1680-1685.

200 x 290 mm. Red border with narrow silver-grey margin.

Khandalavala collection, Bombay.

Published: Khandalavala (1938), col. pl. X; also reproduced Archer (1957), pl. 10; Khandalavala (1958), col. pl. M.

Description: Krishna, with blackish blue skin wearing an ankle-length white garland and red *dhoti* stands against a pale yellow hill-side drawing into his mouth the swirling red

and brown flames which surround him and a group of seven cow-herd boys and nine cows. The cattle are white, black, grey, dark brown and pinkish brown. The cow-herd boys have pinkish brown skins and wear green and red caps and trousers. Edging the flames is a circle of small trees from which dart a pair of wild pigs, a buck and doe and three further deer. At the top a rim of white and blue sky.

Discussion: Like 6, this picture is the only surviving example of an early Basohli *Bhagavata Purana* series. The fact, however, that the incident occurs well into the tenth book of the *Bhagavata Purana*, instead of at the beginning of it, makes it less likely that the series was abruptly abandoned after a premature start. Unless 'The Forest Fire' had a special significance for certain courts, arising out of earlier destructions by fire or sackings by an enemy, it is likely that the series originally contained many more incidents.

In terms of style, the picture, with its swirling, sultry magnificence, includes early features such as small, highly formalised trees, hot colours, a high horizon and a tightly organised conglomeration of richly detailed forms. The faces, however, lack the early savage intensity and the treatment of the flames, reminiscent of the naturalistic clouds of 7 and the night mists of 5(i) suggests a more sophisticated treatment of atmosphere.

9 Bhupali Ragini. From a 'first' *Pahari Ragamala* series. Basohli, c.1680-1685.

139 x 160 mm: with border 184 x 211 mm. Red border with black and white rules.

Inscribed at the top in *takri* characters: (*Bhu*)*pali sri rage bharaja* 5 'Bhupali wife of Sri Raga. Number 5.'

Victoria and Albert Museum, Rothenstein collection. I.S. 28-1954.

Description: A princess in red striped trousers and creamy pink bodice sits smoking a hookah on a green stool with red and silver legs. She wears a yellow scarf with silver borders. A maid with similar scarf and transparent grey skirt holds the hookah bowl before her. Behind her to the right stands a second maid in green trousers and transparent grey skirt, holding a sword in an orange-red wrapper and a dish with cup and bottle. Background blackish-brown with, at the top, a thin strip of tousled sky.

Discussion: The first example of a *Ragamala* subject, securely assignable to Basohli on grounds of style. Compare 6 and 7 with which it shares the same type of female face, the same vertical stances and the same gravely controlled and rhythmical arrangement. Kirpal Pal, to whose reign it can reasonably be assigned, may have shared with other feudal rulers in the Punjab Hills a taste for music and dancing to which sets of *Ragamala* paintings would have ministered.

Example from the same series: (1) Archer (1957b), fig. 1. Lady at her toilet, three maids standing before her, waist-deep, in a swimming pool. Perhaps an illustration of *Sinduri Ragini*. Municipal Museum, Allahabad.

10(i, ii) Two paintings from a 'second' *Rasamanjari* series. Basohli, c.1680-1685.

10(i) On the threshold of youth.

240 x 335 mm (with border). Red border with silver grey margin and white rules, a turret projecting into it.

Inscribed at the top in *takri* characters: *ajnata yauvana mugdha* 'she who is unaware of her youthful charms', and on the left border the *takri* numeral 4; on the reverse a Sanskrit verse from the *Rasamanjari*: 'Youth has come unknown. The *nayika* with moon-like face stands drying herself beside the pool. Her full-blown eyes look like lotuses in the reflection, and thinking that perhaps the flowers have stuck to her ears, she moves her hands to brush them away. Next her eyes drift to the downy hair on her person which she mistakes for algae and tries to wipe off. Her hips feel heavy and in virginal innocence she asks her companion again and again, "Can it be that I am tired?"' (trans. Randhawa and Bhabri (1967), 10).

Dogra Art Gallery, Jammu (formerly Basohli Raj collection, Pahda Kunj Lal, Basohli).

Published: Randhawa (1959), col. pl. 26; also reproduced Randhawa and Bhambri (1967), fig. 3.

Description: A girl with undeveloped breasts and nude to the waist stands beside a dark grey stream with two lotus flowers fully open and five others half open. A maid in blue skirt with white spotted pattern and pink bodice hands her a toilet cup. A white *sari* with gold stripes swathes her legs. To the left is a tree with white trunk and red flowers and to the right a cypress and three other trees, one a mango, the other a drooping willow. A small room with single turret has a floral carpet and single bolster on the floor. A small doorway, draped with curtains, is in the wall. Pale yellow background with upper rim of white and blue sky.

10(ii) The sarcastic mistress.

165 x 275 mm (without border). Red border with silver grey margin and white rules.

Inscribed at the top in *takri* characters: *madhya dhira* 'the young mistress who expresses her annoyance and irritation sarcastically but yet remains firmly in love' and on the left border with the *takri* numeral 11; on the reverse a Sanskrit verse from the *Rasamanjari*: 'My darling, you appear to be coming from a bower full of a swarm of agitated bees, for your hot streaming perspiration afflicts you. I wish to comfort your limbs with this fan of lotus leaves (said in sarcasm since the bees are other women with whom the lover has been consorting)' (trans. Randhawa and Bhambri (1967), 17).

Formerly Latifi collection, Bombay.

Published: Gray (1950), pl. 99 (509); also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), fig. 51; Randhawa and Bhambri (1967), fig. 8.

Description: A lady with swirling scarves and striped trousers stands outside an empty room, gripping a folded lotus leaf and holding it up in the face of her lover, a bearded gallant, who arrives, dagger in hand. The room is sparsely furnished with a floral carpet on the floor and a single bolster. In the wall a small doorway with curtains draped on either side. Pale yellow hillside with a curve of distant trees merging in white sky. Beetle-wing cases sparingly used for jewellery. At the end of the plinth, a vestigial 'monster head'.

Discussion: Like the 'first' and 'third' *Rasamanjaris*, this series is crucially important because of the proved Basohli origin of 10(i) (the Basohli Raj collection), the fact that in style it is approximately midway between the other two series (nos. 4, 15) and because the *nayaka* is no longer identified with Krishna. This reversion to a more normal treatment of the poem suggests that ardent Vaishnavism had by now achieved a *modus vivendi* with the more conservative and orthodox forms of religion at Basohli and that more frankly Vaishnava texts could now be freely illustrated. The fact that this was now possible is evidenced by nos. 8 and 12.

Although Raja Kirpal Pal seems to have reacted against his father, Hindal Pal's over-fervent adoption of Vaishnavism, he had clearly no personal hostility to the new movement since a *Sushruta* manuscript especially executed for him in 1688 (Randhawa, 1959) specifically refers to him as 'a devotee of Vishnu'. His second and favourite rani, the Mankot princess, came from a devoutly Vaishnava court and this also may have led to more tolerant attitudes. His own preference for Shaiva *tilak* marks may reflect his involvement in wars and dependence on Shiva for success in battles. The same *Sushruta* manuscript describes him as 'a great warrior' who 'does not spare his enemies on the battle-field'. It is significant that Rama himself before embarking on his march to Lanka (Ceylon) founded a new temple to Shiva at Rameshwaram and installed in it a new lingam.

The following points of style may be noted: the use of a stream with lotuses as a foreground, a softer treatment of the eyes, the inclusion of architecture in a less aggressive manner, the presence of 'monster-heads' at the end of plinths but in a more vestigial form and a greater opening-up of the picture-space in contrast to the richly detailed fill-

ing of it favoured in 4. A point of some significance is the appearance for the first time of a bearded gallant wearing a short *jama*, and holding a dagger. Although far from being a faithful likeness, this bearded gallant bears some resemblance to Hindal Pal (compare Mankot no. 23) and it is possible that the series was intended as a memorial to him by his son, Kirpal Pal. In contrast to Kirpal Pal who had a long moustache, but no beard, Hindal Pal had a well-developed beard but small moustache. It is of interest that the same bearded gallant dominates the 'third' *Rasamanjari* (15) and the 'second' *Ragamala* (14).

Example from the same series: (1) Khandalavala (1958), col. pl. XIX; also reproduced Randhawa (1959), col. pl. 33. Love in union, a prince and lady embracing. National Museum, New Delhi. Perhaps an illustration to verse 122 of the *Rasamanjari* (Randhawa and Bhambri (1967), 110). As in 10(ii), the *nayaka* is not Krishna but a courtly gallant. Pieces of beetle-wing cases for emeralds. The lover's down-like side-whiskers are similar to the frayed out ends of the lady's two strands of hair (10(i)). In the original (omitted from the two reproductions), the picture includes a broad red border, two turrets, one at either end and a green band for roof.

11(i, ii) Two portraits of Basohli rulers. Basohli, c.1685-1690.

11(i) **Raja Kirpal Pal (c.1678-1693) of Basohli smoking with two attendants.** Basohli, c.1685-1690.

195 x 257 mm. Red border, the left attendant's *jama* slightly projecting into it.

LeRoy Davidson collection, Los Angeles.

Published: LeRoy Davidson (1968), pl. 129.

Description: Raja Kirpal Pal of Basohli in white *jama*, tied Muslim fashion on the right side, sits on a dull red rug smoking a hookah tended for him by a youth in mauve *jama* and red turban holding a pair of tongs. Behind him stands a second attendant in red *jama* holding a peacock-father fan in one hand and a blue sword-bag in the other. Beneath the rug is a green carpet with fleshy floral scrolls. Kirpal Pal wears a rosary, a chain necklace with large pendant (perhaps inherited by him from his ancestor, Bhupat Pal). A waist-band with dagger, pearl earrings and prominent Shaiva *tilak* marks. His right hand rests on the up-turned sole of his left foot which has been brought across and placed on his right thigh. Yellow background. Pieces of green beetle-wing cases in the large pendant on his chest and at the base of his turban plume.

Discussion: A rare example of Basohli portraiture possibly serving as a model for slightly later portraits of rulers executed at the neighbouring state of Mankot with which Basohli was connected by Kirpal Pal's marriage to a Mankot princess, sister of Raja Dhota Dev. In contrast to Mankot versions of the same subject, the portrait has an intricate richness and statuesque grandeur typical of Basohli painting proper. The inclusion of beetle-wing cases also differentiates it from Mankot portraiture which in general possesses vigorous plainness rather than barbaric luxuriance.

Related example: (1) Randhawa (1959), col. pl. 3 (mis-captioned Medini Pal). Kirpal Pal smoking with two attendants. Dogra Art Gallery, Jammu (formerly Basohli Raj collection. Pahda Kunj Lal, Basohli). Basohli, c.1685-1690. Same person as in 11(i). Similar stance and composition but with variations in colour — green background, white sword-bag, attendant in yellow *jama* with blue stripes. Accepted as Basohli on grounds of style and provenance.

11(ii) **Raja Sangram Pal (1635-c.1673) of Basohli seated holding a flower.** Basohli, c.1685-1690.

175 x 175 mm; with red border 210 x 200 mm.

Hodgkin collection, London.

Description: Raja Sangram Pal of Basohli in white *jama*, tied Muslim fashion on the right-hand side, sits on a rug with floral borders, leaning against a dark red cushion. His left foot with up-turned sole rests on his right leg. He holds a rose in his right hand. Like Kirpal Pal he wears a rosary.

a chain necklace with large pendant, a waistband with dagger and pearl ear-rings. In contrast to Kirpal Pal, on the other hand, he has prominent Vaishnava *tilak* marks on his forehead. Both rulers have patches of arm-pit 'shadow'. Yellow background with, at the top, a narrow band of tangled white sky.

Discussion: In style similar to 11(i) and perhaps executed as part of a portrait series commemorating Kirpal Pal's immediate ancestors. Sangram Pal was Kirpal Pal's uncle and did not die until the latter was twenty-three years old. Although Kirpal Pal appears to have reverted to the more orthodox types of Hinduism represented by the worship of Vishnu, Shiva and the Devi, it is significant that Sangram Pal's key role in introducing ardent Vaishnavism to Basohli is boldly emphasised in the portrait by the display on his forehead of Vaishnava *tilak* marks. The rose in his right hand is perhaps symbolic of his prowess as a 'lady-killer' (see *Reigns and Portraits*, ii).

Example for comparison: (1) Randhawa (1965), fig. 2. Sangram Pal seated on a terrace. Karan Singh collection, Jammu. Basohli, c.1780. Same person as in 11(ii).

12 Krishna lifting Mount Govardhan. From a 'third' *Bhagavata Purana* series. Basohli, c.1685-1690.

185 x 210 mm; with border 220 x 250 mm. Yellow border. Central Museum, Lahore. Acquired subsequent to Gupta (1922).

Description: Krishna, with dark blue skin and peacock feather crown adorned with pieces of beetle-wing cases, lifts Mount Govardhan on the little finger of his right hand. The mountain is shown as a shallow dish with scalloped rocks. He is aided on the left side by Nanda and on the right side by a cowherd, each of whom supports the mountain with a stick. Cows and cowherd boys are grouped around him. Plain background. Foreground with four curves. At the top a curved band of sky with faint lines of rain and four snake-like streaks of wriggling lightning.

Discussion: Similar in style and details to no. 10, the bearded Nanda with short *jama* resembling the bearded gallant of 10.

Example from the same series: (1) Kala (1961), pl. 15. Jasoda seated with the baby Krishna on her lap, attended by four maids and musicians. A bearded door-keeper on the left. Municipal Museum, Allahabad. Similar in style and faces. In composition a harking-back to the 'first' *Rasamanjari* series (no. 4).

Related examples: (2) Ghose (1929), fig. 9. Jasoda seated churning butter, the baby Krishna and Balarama beside her. Vertical format. From a 'fourth' *Bhagavata Purana* series. Formerly Ghose collection, Calcutta. Basohli, c.1690.

(3) Coomaraswamy (1916), pl. 32B; also reproduced Coomaraswamy (1926), pl. 107 (401); Khandalavala (1958), no. 19. Lady at her toilet. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Basohli, c.1690.

13 Radha reaching up for curds. From a *Bihari Sat Sai* series. Basohli, c.1685-1690.

285 x 195 mm. Red border and grey margin with portions projecting into it. Beetle-wing cases for jewellery.

Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras.

Published: Gray (1950), pl. 100 (506); also reproduced Archer (1957), pl. 31; Khandalavala (1958), col. pl. C; Randhawa (1959), col. pl. 37; Agravala (1961), col. pl. 8.

Illustration of the following verse from the *Sat Sai* of Bihari: 'O damsel, do not put the pot of curd in the bag hanging from the ceiling, nor take it down. Remain standing as you are, you look so lovely' (trans. Randhawa (1959), 110). Randhawa comments: 'Fermented butter-milk is a most welcome drink in the heat of summer. It was a hot summer day and Krishna asked Radha for a drink of it. When she stretched her arms to reach the pot hanging from the roof of the pavilion, her wide-flung legs, projecting bust and lovely face fascinated him and he asked her to remain standing in that posture.' For earlier misinterpretations of the incident, see Gray (1949), 126 and Archer (1957), comment to pl. 31.

Description: Krishna with cowherd's crook and yellow *dhoti*

sits on a red carpet with green borders and lushly floral pattern, addressing Radha who reaches up to touch a pot of curds hanging from the ceiling. She wears red trousers with a transparent skirt. Grey wall with bluish-mauve portico. A broad band of blue sky at the top. Two turrets and trees.

Discussion: The *Sat Sai* ('Seven Hundred Verses') of the poet Bihari (fl. 1650) was a standard subject for Vaishnava illustration. One version was completed in Mewar, Rajasthan in 1719 (Archer and Binney, 1968), and several other series were painted in the early nineteenth century in Kangra and Nahan (Sirmur) in the Punjab Hills. The poem differs from the *Rasamanjari* of Bhanu Datta in expressly adopting Krishna as the lover in the great majority of its verses. In style, the present picture is close to 10 in facial idioms and in novelties of gesture. An early feature is the richly patterned floral rug with fleshy scrolls (one of several textile patterns exploited in the 'first' *Rasamanjari*).

Example from the same or a related series: (1) Khandalavala (1958), no. 13. The love-sick Radha lying on a bed fanned by a maid. National Museum, New Delhi. Basohli, c. 1685-1690.

14(i, ii) Two paintings from a 'second' Pahari Ragamala series. Basohli, c.1690-1695.

Average size: 175 x 175 mm; with border 210 x 200 mm.

Red border with black and white rules and shaded surround; in the case of 14(ii), details projecting into the border. No beetle-wing cases.

Archer collection, London.

14(i) Dipaka Raga.

Inscribed at the top in *takri* characters: *raga dipak 4* 'Dipaka Raga no. 4.'

Published: Archer and Lee (1963), fig. 26.

Description: The god Brahma, three-headed, four-armed and with Vaishnava *tilak* marks, sits in an orange-brown *dhoti* on an oval bed of lotus petals, lotus buds with long stalks in two of his hands, and a rosary in the others. He wears three lotus-topped crowns. Flames spring from his three heads and two shoulders. A maid in a red and white skirt with four-dot pattern and green bodice with bare midriff stands beside him, holding a white cloth in one hand and waving a fly-whisk with the other. Black carpet with pinkish mauve border, ornamented with silver-grey floral scrolls. Ochre yellow background with rim of sky at the top.

14(ii) Pancham Raga.

Inscribed at the top in *takri* characters: *pancham raga bhairave de putra* 'Pancham Raga, son of Bhairava Raga'.

Description: A young bearded prince, with Shaiva *tilak* marks, and a dagger at his waist, sits in a bower on a bed of leaves surrounded on three sides by a ring of small trees. Three deer — a buck and two does — stand before him. He caresses the buck's chin with his forefinger. Ochre yellow hillside with upper rim of white and blue sky.

Discussion: This series blends early idioms — the beds of over-large leaves and lotus-petals, the rug with fleshy scrolls, and the row of over-tiny trees, two of them overlapped by the prince's *jama* (see no. 4) — with slightly later features — the group of advancing deer (5(i) and (ii)), the more naturalistic figures (12) and the quieter and more serene faces (11-13). The seated prince with early traces of beard is obviously of the same company as the bearded gallants of the 'second' and 'third' *Rasamanjaris*. Both pictures are noticeably more sparing in the use of detail than are Basohli paintings of Phase One. They are also more summary in composition — a trait which links them closely to no. 15.

15(i-v) Five paintings from a 'third' Rasamanjari series. By the painter Devidasa. Dated Basohli, *Magh* (January-February), *vikram samvat* year 1752 (A.D. 1695).

Inscribed on the final painting of the series in *takri* characters with the numeral: 130 and with the following lines of Sanskrit verse (colophon) in *nagari* characters:

(1) *isvarasya rachanam khalu drashtum tuchchhatam cha jagatah parichetum*

chitta-vitta-bahu-chitra-yut eyam karita hi kirapala-nripena
(2) *vatsare nripati-vikram-abhide netra-bana-muni-chandra, magha-masi sita-saptami-tithau deva-pujya-divase hi manjari*

(3) *airavati-tira-bhave-suramye visvasthali-nama-dhare pure cha chitreshv-abhijnena hi devidasen-apari nanavidha-chitra-yukta*

For translation and discussion of this colophon see below.

15(i) The mistress's dilemma.

200 x 320 mm (with border). Red border with black margin and shaded surround. No projections.

Inscribed on the reverse with a Sanskrit verse from the *Rasamanjari*: 'The modest *nayika* is in a dilemma. To fall asleep is to lose sight of the adored one; to remain awake is to risk physical possession. Faced with this dilemma, she tosses restlessly on the bed' (trans. Randhawa and Bhambri (1967), 14).

Dogra Art Gallery, Jammu (from the Basohli Raj collection, Pahda Kunj Lal, Basohli).

Published: Randhawa (1959), col. pl. 31; also reproduced Randhawa and Bhambri (1967), 14.

Description: A young bearded gallant, with Vaishnava *tilak* marks, clad only in red and white trunks and a loose cloth lies asleep on a green bed with red frills and bolsters. His mistress, nude save for a loose striped shift, her breasts bare, rests on her elbow, gazing at him. Brilliant yellow wall with niches and draped curtain. Crimson and brown architecture. To the right a pale brown doorway with pale green wall. Sage green background with rim of sky. No beetle-wing cases.

15(ii) The heated traveller.

Approximate size: 200 x 305 mm (with border). Red border with black margin and red rules, details projecting into it.

Inscribed at the top in *takri* characters: *vag vidagdha* 'the talk (*vag*) of the resourceful mistress (*vidagdha*)' and on the reverse with a Sanskrit verse from the *Rasamanjari*: 'O traveller, the sun being piercingly hot today, it is proper for you to rest on the bank of the river, adorned with rows of jasmine creepers entwining *tamala* trees' (trans. Randhawa and Bhambri (1967), 27). Randhawa and Bhambri point out that this is clearly an oblique invitation to stay and make love.

Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras (formerly collection of Hiranda Sastri from whom the final illustration to the series, with dated colophon (Sastri (1936), fig 1.), was also obtained).

Published: Khandalavala and Chandra (1958), col. pl. A.

Description: A bearded gallant, with Vaishnava *tilak* marks and small moustache, his head protected from the rays of the sun by a long white cloth is met outside a turreted house by a lady who wears a transparent dress, pale yellow trousers and a gold and red veil. The traveller's orange-red *jama* is tucked up to facilitate his walking. He carries a fan, dagger and long sword. Behind him is a tree with large leaves, entwined with a flowering creeper. A tree with dark green foliage and pale grey trunk adjoins the house and bends towards him as if in welcome. A small white staircase leads to a half-open door topped by four turrets in yellow, red, brown, green and pale blue. The entrance is decorated with pale blue and white scallops. In the foreground a dark grey piece of water. At the top a broad band of sky; the sun, emitting rays.

15(iii) 'Why this hesitation, my love?'

205 x 310 mm (with border). Red border with black and white rules, portions projecting into it.

Inscribed at the top in *takri* characters: *madhya abhisarika* 'she who goes out to seek her lover' and on the reverse with a Sanskrit verse from the *Rasamanjari*: 'O my slender beauty, you, whom even the snakes could not frighten on the way, now tremble at the mere touch of my arm. The thundering clouds could not shake you and yet you turn your face away at a mere word of love. What am I to do?' (trans. Randhawa and Bhambri (1967), 76).

Dogra Art Gallery, Jammu (from the Basohli Raj collection, Pahda Kunj Lal, Basohli).

Published: Randhawa (1959) col. pl. 29.

Description: A bearded gallant, with Shaiva *tilak* marks, wearing a white *jama* with brown top, sits against a blue bolster facing his mistress in a solitary house in the country. The girl wears a mauve-blue dress and leans against an orange bolster. Green carpet with red surround. The gallant holds her hand while she strives to avoid his eyes. Bright yellow wall with chocolate brown columns, green roof and red plinth with parrot-faced 'monster heads' at either end. Brilliant blue band of sky with horizontal streaks of lightning. Sage green background with rows of rain drops, covering the house like a mantle but avoiding the space protected by the two eaves. Foreground with tufted clumps.

15(iv) The devoted husband.

173 x 285 mm; with border 210 x 322 mm. Red border with black and red rules, portions projecting into it.

Inscribed at the top in *takri* characters: *anakula nayaka* 'the lover devoted only to his wife', and on the reverse with a Sanskrit verse from the *Rasamanjari*: 'O earth, grow soft. O sun, be cool. O path, grow shorter. O breeze, soothe her. O Dandak forest, come nearer. O mountains, get yourself out of the way; for Sita aches to come with me to the forest' (trans. based on Randhawa and Bhambri (1967), 96). Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras, formerly Sastri collection (Sastri 1936; Khandalavala and Chandra 1958).

Published: Khandalavala and Chandra (1958), fig. 2; also reproduced Randhawa and Bhambri (1967), fig. 66.

Description: Rama with Vaishnava *tilak* marks, crown with three lotus flowers and armed with bow and arrows is setting out for the forest, indicated by a group of rocks and by a curving row of little trees. He is followed by Sita who gestures with her hands. Behind them is an empty house with turrets. Yellow background of extreme pallor. At the top a broad rim of blue sky with yellow sun, emitting rays.

15(v) The rake.

166 x 275 mm; with border 208 x 320 mm. Red border. No projections.

Inscribed at the top in *takri* characters: *veshyarata nayaka adhama* 'the gallant well-versed in the ways of courtesans' and in *nagari* characters in a different hand:

(1) *chitra rasamanjari* 'an illustrated *Rasamanjari*' (2) 27
(3) *dikhane waste mangai suj pravishte 10 lei he* 'Sent for it for examination. Received it on the tenth day of Asuj (September-October).' Further inscribed with the *takri* numeral 103 and on the reverse with a Sanskrit verse from the *Rasamanjari*: 'O sakhi, I am tender like a bud of *maulsri*. Pray do not leave me to suffer in the hands of that rake, in whose heart there is no shame, nor pity, nor a trace of fear' (trans. Randhawa and Bhambri (1967), 101).

Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras, formerly Sastri collection (Sastri (1936); Khandalavala and Chandra (1958)).

Published: Khandalavala and Chandra (1958), fig. 3.

Description: A lady in white and blue dress reclines against a blue bolster on a bright yellow bed, set against a blackish brown wall. A maid stands before her, her hands suggesting that she is powerless to help. Grey carpet with orange border. Outside the room a bearded gallant with Vaishnava *tilak* marks and wearing an orange-red *jama* and blue sash waits for admission. Bright yellow background.

Discussion: With nos. 4 and 10, a series of great importance for the study of Basohli painting because of (1) its style, which, while in general a continuation of previous Basohli painting, firmly indicates a later stage of development, (2) its known Basohli origin confirmed by a colophon stating that it was commissioned by Raja Kirpal Pal and completed at Basohli in the *samvat* year 1752 (A.D. 1695), (3) the express mention in this colophon of the painter's name, Devidasa — the only painter to be mentioned in a Basohli colophon in the seventeenth century and the first of only three painters to be mentioned in any colophon at Basohli over a period of 150 years, (4) its maintenance of the literal

interpretation of the *Rasamanjari* adopted in the 'second' version and (5) the possible light which it throws on Kirpal Pal's role as patron and his attitude to art and poetry.

Although the existence of a painting numbered 130 (see (1) below) suggests that the series may have totalled at least this number, only fifteen examples from it are at present known. Of these, four are now in Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras, three were formerly in the Central Museum, Lahore, two are in the Dogra Art Gallery, Jammu, one in the Chandigarh Museum, two in the National Museum, New Delhi, one in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, one in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and one, formerly in the Coomaraswamy collection, Boston, and now in the Binney collection, Brookline. The three Lahore examples (K. 31-33) were ascertained by Gupta (1922) to have been obtained by the dealer at Basohli. The Dogra Art Gallery's two examples are from the Basohli Raj collection formerly with Pahda Kunj Lal (Randhawa, 1959); while the example in the National Museum, New Delhi and the four in Bharat Kala Bhavan were originally acquired from a dealer by the epigraphist, Hirananda Sastri. They included the colophon noted above. The provenance of the remaining three is unrecorded.

The colophon, published in facsimile by Khandalavala and Chandra (1958), but earlier transcribed and translated by Sastri (1936), runs in Sastri's translation as follows: 'In order to see the creation of God and to realise the hollowness of the world this (*Chittarasamanjari*), containing many pictures, (which are) the wealth (i.e. creation) of mind, was caused to be prepared by Raja Kirapala Pala. (It was completed) on the auspicious day, the seventh *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Magha (January-February) in the Vikrama year (which is) counted by the eyes (two), the arrows (five), the sages (seven) and the moon (one) (i.e. 1752, A.D. 1695) in the town called Visvasthali (the modern Basohli) which lies on the beautiful banks of the Airavati (the modern Ravi), by Devidasa, who is well-versed in the art of painting.' Note: This translation is accepted by Rai Krishnadasa, Banaras, and Gopi Krishna Kanoria, Calcutta, as substantially correct with the exception that the name of the day (Thursday) is omitted and the suffix 'Pal' has been added to the patron's name. B. N. Goswamy further suggests that the understood subject, *Chittarasamanjari* ('the *Rasamanjari* of the heart') is probably a mistake for *Chitrarasamanjari* ('the illustrated *Rasamanjari*') which is the word inscribed on the top of 15(v), which Sastri noted as having been in his possession.

Three points are perhaps significant. Although the reason for commissioning the series is couched in religious or quasi-religious terms, the words invoke neither Vishnu nor Shiva and even when referring to the patron are tersely factual, mentioning him only as 'raja Kirpal.' This is in marked contrast to series 19, the *Gita Govinda* of 1730, where the patron presents herself as a devout worshipper of Vishnu, famous for her virtue. It is also significant that in two cases the gallants wear Shaiva *tilak* marks and in three cases Vaishnava ones. This suggests that Kirpal Pal had no pronounced religious bias at the time when the series was projected and while revering both Vishnu and Shiva may have disassociated painting and poetry from worship.

The opening phrases of the colophon — 'to see the creation of God and to realise the hollowness of the world' — may reflect the common view that art and poetry at their best are foretastes of *moksha* or even means of attaining it. *Moksha* (release from living through extinction in God) was the ultimate goal of life and through the 'release' provided by poetry and painting, a comparable experience might be obtained. The subsequent reference to painting as the 'wealth' (creation) of the mind, i.e. the mind functioning at its keenest and best, perhaps clarifies and emphasises this function. It would imply that great art and poetry, when properly experienced, 'take the individual out of the world'. They make normal anxieties, cares and preoccupations

appear 'hollow'. The very intensity of the experience — the art-emotion — is itself a new kind of living and through it the participant does indeed 'see the creation of God'. In this view, the 'third' *Rasamanjari* was intended primarily for cultured, sophisticated enjoyment, a purpose which was all the more proper and ennobling because of these philosophical and religious implications.

Although in style, the series avails of previous conventions, such as monster-heads at the end of plinths, a special type of decorated portico, prominent turrets and the matching of architectural features by wide expanses of open country, it lacks the complicated richness of earlier Basohli painting. Much simpler and bolder compositions are employed and there are fewer radical distortions, less vehement eyes, shorter figures, more roundly-shaped heads and greater depth. In 15(II), the execution is unusually delicate and naturalistic, even including the insertion of a sun with rays. A notable feature of the series is that while the gallants are obviously modelled on the bearded gallant of no. 10, they effect considerably longer *jamās* — a change of fashion which suggests that the 'second' *Rasamanjari* was painted at least ten to fifteen years earlier. For examples from the 'first' *Rasamanjari* illustrating the same verses as pictures in the present series, compare Coomaraswamy (1926), pl. 94 (305) with (2) below and pl. 93 (303) with 15(v).

The changes in style, noted above, may be due either to a natural reaction against the former richness, the dispersal of the early painters or members of their families to courts such as Mankot or Kulu or to the arrival at Basohli of a new painter, the Devidasa of the colophon. The reasons for providing series with colophons in the Punjab Hills are still unclear since, on present evidence, this was far from being standard practice. It is possible that only when the occasion seemed especially to warrant it or in the case of a gifted new-comer was this done.

Although Devidasa's exact antecedents are unknown, he was almost certainly the same Devidasa who was father of the Nurpur artist, Golu (Goswamy, 1964). In the sixteenth-century, Nurpur was no longer on bad terms with Basohli and hence a Nurpur painter might well have been attracted to the Basohli court. The changes of style noted above, might, in that case, be due either to Nurpur influence or to the newcomer's own lack of mastery of the Basohli idiom. It is significant that less than twenty years later, a version of the *Rasamanjari*, casting Raja Daya Datta of Nurpur in the role of the gallant, was painted at Nurpur. This series differs markedly in style from either of the three Basohli versions but avails of the same standard compositions, iconography and placing of the figures. The Nurpur artist who painted them obviously had ready access to the master-drawings or sketches used for the Basohli versions. It would be the strangest of coincidences if the Devidasa who executed the present series and was thus able to supply these models was not Devidasa of Nurpur, the father of Golu.

Examples from the same series: (1) Sastri (1936), fig. 1; also reproduced Archer (1952), fig. 6; Khandalavala and Chandra (1958), fig. 1; Khandalavala (1958), nos. 1 and 2; Randhawa and Bhambrī (1967), fig. 81; Dwivedi (1969), fig. 5. Radha meets Krishna face to face. Inscribed at the top in *takri* characters: *sakata darasana avastha* 'seeing the lover face to face' and on the reverse with a Sanskrit verse from the *Rasamanjari* numbered 130 and the Sanskrit colophon (discussed above). Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras, formerly in the collection of Hirananda Sastri (Sastri 1936; Khandalavala and Chandra 1958).

Krishna in red *dhoti* with a crown and peacock feather on his head, a cowherd's crook and a flute in his hands and with a long white garland, stands against a yellow background, gazing at Radha who comes to greet him. She returns his gaze from a chamber with carpet, bolster, dark green walls and draped curtains. Plinth with vestigial 'monster head'. No beetle-wing cases.

(2) Gray (1950), pl. 97 (508); listed Gupta (1922) K. 31, 131. The lonely lover, a bearded gallant on an empty bed. Central Museum, Lahore.

(3) Listed Gupta (1922), K. 32, 132. 'Drishta nayak. An illustration from Bhanu Datt's *Rasamanjari*. The clever nayak stealthily comes and sleeps by the side of the nayika while she is asleep. She is seen protesting her innocence to the maid. Basohli: late 17th century.' Central Museum, Lahore.

(4) Listed Gupta (1922), K. 33, 132. 'Chitra Darsana. An illustration from Bhanu Datt's *Rasamanjari*. The nayika looks at the portrait of her lover when he is away. Basohli; late 17th century.' Central Museum, Lahore.

For the Basohli provenance of (2)-(4), see comment to Gupta (1922).

(5) Randhawa (1959), col. pl. 30. The married mistress restlessly awaits her lover on a bed, while her mother-in-law sleeps on a separate bed to the right. Chandigarh Museum.

(6) Khandalavala and Chandra (1958), fig. 4; also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), no. 5. Lovers meeting outside a room. National Museum, New Delhi.

(7) Randhawa and Bhamri (1967), fig. 30. The newly-wedded husband, a gallant with beard, covers his wife's eyes with a hand. National Museum, New Delhi.

(8) Coomaraswamy (1926) pl. 92 (300); also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), no. 14. Parvati addressing Shiva. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

(9) Craven (1966), pl. 65. Shiva and Parvati seated on a tiger-skin, playing *pachisi*; Parvati asking Shiva to return the necklace which he has stolen from her and holds in his hand. Metropolitan Museum, New York. Illustration to verse 97.

(10) Shiva and Parvati (first) walking together and (later) lying in each other's arms on a tiger-skin. Binney collection, Brookline (formerly Coomaraswamy collection, Boston). Illustration to verse 1 (an invocation to Shiva). A tiger-skin, in place of the deer-skin mentioned in the verse. Red background.

16(i-ii) Two paintings from an unidentified Nayaka Nayika series. Basohli, c.1695-1700.

Inscribed on the reverse in *nagari* characters with verses by an unidentified Hindi poet. No beetle-wing cases. Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras.

16(i) The lover caresses his mistress's foot. 185 x 283 mm; with border, 200 x 310 mm. Yellow border.

Description: A bearded gallant with golden dress and high tall turban sits on a delicately patterned rug stroking his mistress's left foot. She wears a black skirt with yellow pleats and reclines against a dark blue bolster. Orange red wall with three niches containing bowls and bottles. To the left an orange red tower and to the right a green plantain tree. Beyond is a blackish blue night sky. 'Monster-heads' at the end of the plinth.

16(ii) The lover touches his mistress's toes.

180 x 280 mm; with border 215 x 300 mm. Red border.

Description: The lover, with long side-lock but no beard, wearing a white *jama* with blue trousers and sash, stands outside his mistress's chamber bending forward to touch her toes. She wears a yellow bodice and brown and green skirt and leans against a blue cushion. Orange red carpet. Dull green wall. On the right a green plantain tree. Black roof and background. Vestigial 'monster-heads'.

Discussion: Comparable in general style and idioms to no. 15, though, in contrast to the *Rasamanjari*, a Hindi, not a Sanskrit text. As in 15, there is a greater use of recessions, especially in the roof-tops, although the basic convention is still that of a single flat plane. The illustration of courtly love-poetry may have had a special fascination for Raja Kirpal Pal, on account of his romantic attachment to his second rani, the Mankot princess.

Related example, perhaps from the same series: (1) Coomaraswamy (1914), fig. 16; also reproduced Coomaraswamy

(1916), pl. 27B; Coomaraswamy (1926), pl. 96 (309); Khandalavala (1958), no. 12. The lover greeting his mistress as she arrives at night. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Basohli, c.1695. Similar size and Hindi text. Identical details and gestures.

PHASE THREE: 1700-1765

17 Raja Medini Pal (1722-1736) of Basohli smoking with his dog. Basohli, c.1730.

Inscribed on the reverse in *takri* characters: *bilauria medani pal* 'Medini Pal of Basohli'. National Museum, New Delhi.

Published: Khandalavala (1958), fig. 36 where, however, the inscription is unrecorded and the subject is identified as Medini Pal by comparison with an inscribed portrait of him at one time on the Bombay market.

Description: Medini Pal with Shaiva *tilak* marks, armpit shadows and white *jama* sits on a patterned rug leaning against a bolster on which a small hawk is perched. He holds in his right hand a lotus blossom and a string and rests his hand on a falconer's glove. He holds a long hookah stem in his left hand. A young servant stands with tongs beside the hookah bowl. A black dog with long narrow head sits before him. Plain background. Decorated roof.

Discussion: Medini Pal, born in 1714, is here portrayed as a beardless youth of about sixteen, thus making the picture about 1730 in date. The large expressive eye and sloping forehead, the plain background and the architectural ornamentation derive from the 'first' *Rasamanjari* series (4) and must therefore be regarded as archaic survivals from the earlier style. For a portrait in Jammu style, confirming the identification, see **Jammu, no. 11**. It is of interest that a hawk also appears in a slightly later portrait (**no. 19**) and that his son, Jit Pal, was portrayed at Jammu, also with hawks.

18(i-vii) Seven paintings from a Gita Govinda series.

Inscribed as commissioned from the painter Manaku in *samvat* 1787 (A.D. 1730) but perhaps supplemented and completed by a second painter. Basohli, c.1730-1735.

For detailed colophon, see below. **18(i-v)** are here regarded as the work of the principal artist, Manaku; **18(vi and vii)** as the work of an assistant or successor. Each painting has red borders and is inscribed on the reverse with Sanskrit verses from the *Gita Govinda* of Jayadeva (*fl.* 1175). For the text of this poem and translations, see George Keyt, *Sri Jayadeva's Gita Govinda* (Bombay, 1947), M. S. Randhawa, *Kangra Paintings of the Gita Govinda* (New Delhi, 1963) and Archer (1957). As in nos. 1-5, there is a prolific use of pieces of green beetle-wing cases for jewellery.

18(i) The poet Jayadeva bows before Vishnu.

165 x 257 mm; with red border 215 x 308 mm.

Chandigarh Museum (on transfer from Lahore).

Published: Goswamy (1968), fig. 20.

Description: The poet, Jayadeva, naked save for a *dhoti*, his head shaven except for his top-knot, stands on one leg, his hands clasped in reverence. Vishnu, four-armed and holding a mace, quito, conch shell and lotus stalk sits on a bed of lotus petals gazing at him. He wears an orange *dhoti*. Behind them is a grey wall with murals illustrating the ten incarnations. Red lintel. To the right a yellow door with red blind. Background dull green.

18(ii) The deserted Krishna.

187 x 257 mm; with border 211 x 309 mm.

Chandigarh Museum (on transfer from Lahore).

Description: Krishna, with peacock-feather crown and long white garland lies on a piece of grass casting behind him his flute and cowherd's stick and gazing disconsolately to the left. He leans on his right hand which projects slightly into the margin. To the right is an open room with red lintel and dark grey wall, containing an empty white bed with red frills and two mauve bolsters, one at either end. Beside the right-hand bolster are two round cushions. Background dark yellow. Upper rim of narrow sky.

18(iii) The ecstasy of love.

161 x 254 mm; with border 212 x 304 mm.

Chandigarh Museum (on transfer from Lahore).

Published: Archer (1957), pl. 27; also reproduced Randalhawa (1959) col. pl. 20; Goswamy (1958), fig. 22.

Description: Radha in red dress and Krishna in a golden *dhoti* sit on a pale yellow hillside making love. Beside them is a grey stream with serrated white edge. Around them are five trees with brown, grey and chocolate trunks. Branches of red and crimson flowers sprout from the foliage. To the right is a courtyard with grey inner wall, slate blue blind and red roof, surrounded by dark brown walls with white tops. The walls thrust outwards in a sharply jutting angle. Rim of white and blue sky. Within the courtyard are two girl companions.

18(iv) Radha's messenger describes Krishna sitting with the cowgirls.

160 x 255 mm; with border 215 x 308 mm.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.M. 87-1930.

Acquired from Muhammad Hussain, 1930.

Description: Radha in mauve bodice and red skirt sits under a tree to the left listening as her companion describes Krishna's love-play with the cowgirls. To the right Krishna with orange *dhoti* and dark blue skin sits with a cowgirl on either side, his arms round their necks. Two cowgirls with *tambura* and cymbals sit beside them. A fifth waves a white yak's tail fly-whisk over Krishna's head. A sixth stands leaning on a gold staff. Skirts and bodices dark red, mauve, pale yellow and dark green foliage overshadowing four smaller trees. Background a brilliant deep yellow with, at the top, a narrow band of white and blue. In the foreground a blackish brown stream with dotted white verge.

18(v) Radha's messenger describes Krishna standing with the cowgirls.

147 x 253 mm; with border 202 x 308 mm.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.M. 88-1930.

Acquired from Muhammad Hussain, 1930.

Description: Radha seated as in 18(iv) beneath a tree listens as her companion turns to watch Krishna standing with three cow-girls, his arms around two of them. Skirts and bodices dark red, blue, mauve, pale yellow and dark green. Krishna in an orange *dhoti*. Deep yellow background with mauve rocks. Triangular shaped trees. At the top a narrow rim of white and blue. Two pairs of black bees shaped like dragon-flies. In the foreground a narrow stream with dotted white verge.

18(vi) Vishnu and Lakshmi on the great snake.

159 x 215 mm; with border 211 x 307 mm.

Chandigarh Museum (on transfer from Lahore).

Published: Sinha (1958), pl. 1; also reproduced Goswamy (1968), fig. 19.

Description: Vishnu, in pale yellow *dhoti*, with long white garland, lies on the white, many-headed serpent of eternity. Lakshmi in crimson bodice and pale red skirt massages his left foot. Beside Vishnu are his four emblems — the mace, quoit, conch-shell and lotus. Around them is a vast expanse of dark grey water edged by an empty sage-green field with black verges.

18(vii) Krishna approached by Radha.

158 x 256 mm; with border 210 x 307 mm. Red border with black and white rules.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.M. 89 - 1930.

Acquired from Muhammad Hussain, 1930.

Description: Radha in dark red and blue skirt and brief brown bodice, attended by a companion in mauve and white skirt and orange bodice, approaches a dark green hillock surrounded by dark trees. Within the grove sits Krishna with dark yellow *dhoti* and bluish black skin. He holds a tiny flute in his right hand. A willow-type tree dangles its branches. Pale yellow background with broad band of white and blue at the top, dotted by large stars and a crescent moon. A narrow band of grey stream in the foreground. Triangular shaped trees.

Discussion: Although this series was painted thirty-five years later than the 'third' *Rasamanjari* by Devidasa, it is of almost equal importance for the reconstruction of the history of Basohli painting. This is because of the large number of leaves which have survived (amounting to almost one hundred), the acquisition of over fifty of these leaves by the Central Museum, Lahore, their subsequent exhibition which gave a forceful impression of 'Basohli' painting and for a number of years was tantamount to a definition of it, their known Basohli provenance and the discovery by Mehta (1938) that the series possessed a colophon which mentioned a patroness, a painter and the *samvat* date 1787 (A.D. 1730). At the same time, no other Basohli series has raised so many problems or aroused so much controversy.

Provenance. When first published by Ghose (1929), no exact provenance was stated and the series was termed Basohli because in Ghose's 'experience', a large number of pictures in broadly the same style had come either from Basohli itself or from Nurpur 'adjoining it on the south-east'. 'In the latter case', he said 'the inspiration was derived from Basohli'. Ghose did not state that the example of the series reproduced in his article had been acquired in Basohli and it was only in 1964 on enquiry by the present writer that he clarified the position. He explained that during his visit to the Punjab Hills he had acquired, in all, eight examples at Nurpur (not Basohli), but had been informed that it was from Basohli that they had come.

A similar mystery at first surrounded the Lahore examples and Khandalavala (1958), while considering it 'fairly safe to attribute them to Basohli', stated that 'the find-spot of the series is not known'. Subsequently, however, Gupta, Curator of the Lahore Museum and himself the owner of about twenty examples, divulged that the pictures had in fact been obtained by the dealer at Basohli. As in the case of no. 1, the exact source was not revealed but the place of acquisition, Basohli, was firmly attested. Since the style of the series is a logical continuation of previous painting at Basohli, this evidence, despite its late emergence, is reasonably conclusive.

Colophon. This comprises the following two lines of Sanskrit verse in *nagari* characters on the face of the final picture in the series (reproduced in original form Chakravarti (1951), fig 1; also reproduced Khandalavala (1958) fig. 33):

- (1) *munivasugirisomaih sammite vikramabde guniganitarista (tha) malini-vrttavitta*
- (2) *vyaracayad ajabhakta manakucitrakartra lalitalipivicitram gitagovimdacitram*

Despite the legibility of these lines, their correct interpretation has proved despairingly elusive (see Archer (1963) where the many various attempts to translate them are summarised). The colophon is here interpreted as meaning: 'In the Vikrama year corresponding to the sages (seven), the gems (eight) the mountains (seven) and the moon (one) (i.e. 1787 or A.D. 1730), the Lady Malini who was famed for her good conduct and was skilled in the Malini metre, who was revered by the virtuous and was devoted to the Unborn (i.e. Vishnu) had this picture (book) of the *Gita Govinda*, graced by charming calligraphy, made by the (male) painter, Manaku.' For a detailed exposition of the verses and the reasons for arriving at this interpretation, see Archer (1963).

It is important to note, however, that unlike most colophons in which the exact date of actually completing the manuscript is noted, only the year (A.D. 1730) is given. The causative also is employed. In other words, instead of stating that the painter Manaku completed the series on a certain date, the inscription merely says that the lady Malini 'had it made' by him in that year. Since the colophon is in elegantly turned verse, it is possible that it was composed before the paintings had actually been completed. In that case, the literal meaning would be that the series was *commissioned* in 1730 but might have been completed some years later.

The Patron. Although Basohli is not expressly named as the place of execution, the fact that the text illustrated is ardently Vaishnava in character and that a lady commissioned it, lends some support to the view that Basohli was, in fact, its place of origin. In 1730, Medini Pal was only sixteen years old, having succeeded to the Basohli throne as a minor in 1722. The ladies of the palace, such as his mother, aunts or even grandmother, would therefore still have had considerable influence. It is likely that his marriage to the sister of Govardhan Chand of Guler took place that year and the series may thus have been commissioned as part of the wedding ritual and celebrations. In present-day Mithila (Bihar), Vaishnava poems extolling the loves of Radha and Krishna are sung at weddings, the bride and bridegroom being urged to love 'like Radha and Krishna' (Archer and Bhattacharya, 1963). Ardent Vaishnavism had reached Guler under Govardhan Chand's father, Dalip Singh and although Medini Pal himself is shown in portraits with Shaiva *tilak* marks (thus following the practice of his father and grandfather), it is possible that his grandmother, Kirpal Pal's favourite rani, the Mankot princess, may have influenced the palace ladies in a Vaishnava direction. It is significant that Jit Pal, Medini Pal's son by his Guler rani, is shown in portraits with Vaishnava *tilak* marks (the first Basohli ruler after Hindal Pal (c.1673-1678) to wear them). The choice of a ruling family with Vaishnava leanings for Medini Pal's bride, coupled with the fact that Govardhan Chand of Guler married Medini Pal's sister, also suggests that by now Basohli had become perceptibly more Vaishnava in outlook. Since a Basohli rani or princess was actually in a position to commission this series in 1730, a Basohli origin for it seems not unlikely. It is significant that beetle-wing cases (unknown in Guler but widely prevalent at Basohli) are lavishly present in it.

The Artist. Although the name of the painter commissioned by the lady Malini to execute the series is given, the precedent of the 'third' *Rasamanjari* is followed and no reference to his place of birth is supplied. It cannot, therefore, be assumed that he was from another state. The fact, however, that he was named at all raises some slight presumption that this was so. As already noted, series with colophons are very rare in the Punjab Hills and a Basohli-born artist may be expected to have been too well-known to have warranted one. Only one artist with the name, Manaku, has so far come to light (Goswamy, 1968), and it is significant that his birth-place was Guler, not Basohli. This might therefore explain why he was named. Members of Manaku of Guler's family were later employed at Basohli — his younger brother, Nainsukh, joining Medini Pal's grandson, Amrit Pal and his nephew, Ranjha, actually living on lands settled with his father Nainsukh at Basohli. With such close family connections with the Basohli court at only a slightly later stage, it is reasonable to presume that Manaku of Guler was the Manaku of the present series.

Three further circumstances support this conclusion: (i) A much later version of the *Gita Govinda* was executed in Kangra style, perhaps by Manaku of Guler's younger son, Khushala, and his nephew Gaudhu, and was given an identically similar colophon (Kangra, no. 33). This colophon mentioned once again the date 1730 and named Manaku as the artist. Such a repetition would be distinctly improbable unless one and the same family was involved.

(ii) Members of this artist family are known to have gone on various occasions to the pilgrimage centre of Hardwar and on at least one occasion to have accompanied the ashes of a recently deceased Basohli ruler (Goswamy, 1968). Manaku is recorded in a priest's register as visiting Hardwar only once (Goswamy, 1968), but significantly enough in 1736, the year when Medini Pal died. Since the Basohli Raj family had originally come from Hardwar and that was where their ashes were normally immersed, it would be a strange coincidence if the Manaku of Guler who visited Hardwar that year was not the Manaku of the Basohli *Gita Govinda* or that his visit was totally uncon-

nected with the death of the Basohli ruler in whose reign the series was commissioned.

(iii) Although the dates of birth of Manaku of Guler and his younger brother are not specifically recorded, Nainsukh's year of birth can be put at c.1725 on the evidence of portraits of his first patron, Balwant Singh of Jammu and his own appearance in one of these portraits (Jammu, no. 30). If Manaku was fifteen years older he would have been born in c.1710 and would thus have been twenty in 1730, the year when the present series was commissioned. If he had moved to Basohli as a youth of fifteen, he could well have acquired sufficient skill in the Basohli manner to develop the style of the present series while availing of current Guler idioms to give it new accents. All these circumstances taken together leave little doubt of the painter's identity.

Style. It remains to discuss style. Although only one artist, Manaku, is named in the colophon as executing the series for the lady Malini, two hands are unmistakably present. The principal artist, here regarded as Manaku himself, commands a bold and glowing palette and relies on the early Basohli convention of plain flat backgrounds in strong yellows, reds, greens and browns 18(i-v). Pieces of green beetle-wing cases, one of the most striking characteristics of early Basohli painting continue to be used. The treatment of architecture also closely follows the style of all three *Rasamanjaris*, almost the only difference being the omission of monster heads from the end of plinths. The lintels and roof-tops, in particular, preserve the same kinds of ornamentation and have a similar angularity. Pictures involving bed-chambers exactly duplicate the methods of the 'third' *Rasamanjari*, — no. 18(ii), for example, being exactly parallel to 15(v). Above all, a preference for spacious, open compositions, simple settings and under-ornamented figures, in contrast to the early vogue for fierce magnificence and sparkling detail, closely accords with paintings of the 1690-1700 period. At the same time, a new spirit is apparent. Heads are much larger and rounder. The early piquant sharpness has vanished. Eyes remain big but less intense. Figures are somewhat shorter and there is a general air of bland assurance. Even in the treatment of nature, more complex conventions are employed for trees and creepers. The former robust and simple formulas for foliage are abandoned and trees are no longer rendered leaf by leaf. When trees or human figures are shown in groups, there is a greater blending of contours and a more relaxed naturalism. Although painting in Guler had still to develop its masterly command of natural posture and delicate grace, faint influences from Manaku's native court could well explain these new elements.

The second artist is clearly of weaker calibre (18(vi and vii)). Although adopting much of Manaku's manner, he lacks his general boldness, shrinks from over-ardent colours, prefers much paler backgrounds, and adopts a more summary way of rendering the banks of streams (in contrast to the dotted white verges favoured by Manaku himself). Above all, he affects a taller, thinner type of head with a longer and more angular nose. One can only guess who this artist was. He can hardly have been Manaku's son, Fattu, since even if Manaku was married at the age of fifteen and had a son at once, Fattu would still be only five in 1730. More probably, his assistant or colleague must have come either from a different artist family of Guler, or perhaps have been a native of Basohli itself or even of Nurpur. It is clear that he respected and was dominated by Manaku for the last picture in the series containing the colophon is in his own weak hand. As to why this last picture was not painted by Manaku himself we can only speculate.

Examples from the same series: For detailed references, see Review of Literature.

19 Raja Medini Pal (1722-1736) of Basohli with a hawk. Basohli, c.1735.

179 x 112 mm; with border 212 x 151 mm. Red border with crimson and black rules.

Inscribed in *takri* characters: *biluria medani pal* 'Medini Pal of Basohli'.

Private collection.

Published: Skelton (1961), pl. 37.

Description: Medini Pal, clad in a white ankle-length *jama*, brown turban and pink sash, stands holding a hawk in his left hand and clasping a dagger with his right. He has a beard and slight moustache and wears Shaiva *tilak* marks. Plain yellow background.

Discussion: A portrait of Medini Pal at an age about five years older than in no. 17. He now has a youthful beard and also wears the long *jama* which had become increasingly fashionable in the early part of the eighteenth century. The fact that his feet and turban plume are shown projecting into the border reinforces the Basohli attribution.

Related example: (1) Khandalavala (1958), no. 3; also reproduced Randhawa (1959), col. pl. 36. The love-lorn lady. Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras. Basohli, c.1720-1730. Similar long tall figure holding a hawk. Plain dark background.

20 Radha and Krishna on a hill-side. Basohli, c.1735-1740.

225 x 160 mm.

Central Museum, Lahore.

Published: Gray (1950), pl. 101; also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), no. 32.

Description: Radha, playing a *vina*, is seated close to Krishna who plays his flute. The scene is a hill-side surrounded by a grove of flowering trees. Parakeets, ducks, egrets and peacocks abound. In the foreground is a swirling stream.

Discussion: A later version of a subject brilliantly rendered by a Basohli-trained artist at Kulu (see *Kulu*, no. 6). In general style, close to no. 18, but with a more graceful naturalism, lusher exuberance, and greater sense of depth.

21 Radha and Krishna watching a storm. Basohli, c.1750.

285 x 195 mm. Red border, with white rules. Two turrets projecting into it.

Dogra Art Gallery (formerly Basohli Raj collection, Pahda Kunj Lal, Basohli).

Published: Randhawa (1959), col. pl.34.

Description: Krishna in yellow *jama* sits with Radha who wears a mauve bodice and red skirt in the top storey of a white pavilion. Below them are two girl musicians. Outside is a mango tree in fruit, and a night sky with lightning.

Discussion: A picture of some importance because of its Basohli provenance (the Basohli Raj collection). In style, closely similar to 20 and 22 and with the same acceptance of advancing Guler influences. At the same time, essentially Basohli in its vertical-type structure with robust ascending parallels and its continuing recourse to the early convention of allowing details to over-flow into borders. This primitive Basohli convention, taken over at Kulu and Mankot, was never, so far as is known, practised at Guler.

22(i-xiv) Fourteen paintings from a 'fifth' *Bhagavata Purana* series. Basohli, c.1760-1765.

From a series formerly belonging, in large part, to Mrs. F. C. Smith, sold at Sotheby's, London, December, 1960. Each painting is inscribed on the reverse in *gurmukhi* and *nagari* characters with lines describing the incident.

Note: Referred to in the Review of Literature as the 'large' Guler-Basohli *Bhagavata Purana* series.

22(i) Earth appeals to Vishnu.

Size unrecorded. Red border with narrow black margin and white rules.

Description: Vishnu, his four emblems beside him, lies on the great snake, his consort Lakshmi massaging his left foot. Around them are the grey waters of the primeval ocean. To the left, assembled on a bare field, stand the gods, headed by Brahma and including Shiva, Indra and others. Earth, in the form of a cow, stands beside Brahma.

22(ii) The revel.

233 x 340 mm; with border 298 x 405 mm. Red border with narrow black margin and white rules. Numbered 16.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 3-1960.

Description: Fifteen cowherd boys clad in striped trunks pelt each other with curds obtained from broken pots. Sage green background. At the top a band of white and blue sky, streaks of mauve at either end. Plain expressionless faces. No shading. Orange, blue and crimson trunks.

22(iii) The submission of Kalya.

232 x 337 mm; with border 300 x 400 mm. Red border with narrow black margin and white rules. Numbered 68.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 38-1960.

Description: Krishna in dark mauve skin and dark yellow *dhoti* stands on the bank of the river Jamuna, the snake Kalya wilting on the ground beside him. On the left one of the snake's wives offers him a lotus. To the right a second wife approaches him with clasped hands. Each wears a bodice and veil. Massive trees on either side. Golden sky with, on the left, streaks of orange-red, violet, white and crimson and, at the top, dark blue.

22(iv) The forest fire.

230 x 332 mm; with border 300 x 400 mm.

Red border with narrow black margin and white rules.

Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh.

Description: A picture based on 8 but with a much harsher simplification of forms and details, fewer and less crowded cattle, fewer bees and escaping animals, no trees and thinner smoke. Two of the eleven cowherd boys are shown full face, the rest in profile. Plain bare hillside. On the left a pair of black buck and a civet cat and on the right a tiger (?) dash to safety.

22(v) Krishna answers the cow-girls.

230 x 330 mm; with border 300 x 403 mm. Red border with black margin and white rules.

Archer collection, London.

Published: Archer (1965), pl. 69.

Description: Krishna in yellow *dhoti* and long white garland sits beneath a tree with thick trunk, heavy foliage and branches with lopped ends. Before him stand seven cow-girls dressed in orange, green, crimson, red, blue and green. Six are shown in profile, one full-face. To the left is a group of trees with thin trunks and dense leaves from which spring two creepers, one with red flowers. In the foreground is a grey stream. Background greyish blue sky from which a full moon shines down. Krishna is explaining to the cow-girls the reasons for his sudden abandonment of them.

22(vi) The dispatch of the envoy. Not illustrated.

238 x 328 mm; with border 304 x 396 mm. Red border with narrow black margin and white rules. Numbered (1)46.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 40-1960.

Description: Krishna, seated on a white-walled verandah, briefs his envoy, Udho, who stands before him in a dark green *jama*. On either side brick walls in dark brown. In the door a bamboo curtain with grey and crimson bands and white criss-crossing lines. At the back, pale blue sky with two pairs of tufted cypresses.

22(vii) The restoration of the child.

238 x 343 mm; with border 300 x 410 mm.

Red border with narrow black margin and white rules. Numbered 147.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 39-1960.

Description: Krishna and Balarama stand inside a courtyard restoring the son of their spiritual preceptor to his parents. The child in crimson *jama* advances to greet his father who sits before him in a green *jama*. His mother seated in an orange-red skirt has a brief, pale-coloured bodice, the nipples showing through it. Beyond the courtyard waits a two horsed chariot. Inside walls white and angular, outside walls in brown brick. Background brownish-yellow with upper rim of white and blue.

22(viii) Kaljaman pursues Krishna.

277 x 380 mm; with border 303 x 403 mm. Red border with narrow black margin. Numbered 175.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 41-1960.

Description: Krishna, with four arms, pursued by Kaljaman, the ally of the demon Jarasandha, hurries past a palace with white walls. Kaljaman's army, composed of bearded warriors on elephants, horses and on foot, waits to the right. Dark greyish-brown background. At the top a rim of dark blue.

22(ix) Krishna rides to Kundulpur.

Size unrecorded. Red border with black margin and white rules.

Description: Krishna in long *jama* and mounted on a white horse rides through a bare and open countryside, preceded by six courtiers on foot with spear and swords and followed by three mounted retainers, two of them with hawks. Two dogs accompanied by a dog-boy accompany the troupe. Shrubs with circular leaves in the foreground. Sky with long gashes of bright colour.

22(x) The captured Rukma. Not illustrated.

280 x 380 mm; with border 302 x 404 mm. Red border with black rules. Numbered 207.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 42-1960.

Description: Krishna and Rukmini, in red dresses with gold bands, sit in a chariot drawn by four white horses facing Rukmini's brother, Rukma. He stands before them in yellow *jama* his hands tied together. His empty chariot with two chocolate-coloured steeds waits behind him. Green foreground with tufted clumps. Scarlet background with, at the top, a curving rim of white and blue.

22(xi) Sambara receives the fish.

278 x 378 mm; with border 300 x 430 mm. Dark blue border. Numbered 214.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 4-1960.

Description: The demon, Sambara, with mottled grey skin, a boar's tusks and a long ape's tail, sits on a dark blue throne attended by two demon courtiers, one of them orange-red, the other greenish black. Pale yellow floor. Grey walls. Beyond the verandah stand two fishermen, the foremost holding up the large fish which had swallowed Krishna's son, Pradhyumna. Pale grey-blue sky with, on the right, a towering cypress tree.

22(xii) The return of the jewel.

275 x 380 mm; with border 300 x 450 mm. Narrow red border with black margin and one white rule.

Archer collection, London.

Published: Archer (1965), pl. 71.

Description: A palace with large pale grey walls and dark grey entrance; a doorkeeper in green *jama* standing beside it. To the right a brown horse with orange saddle-cloth, a groom in yellow *jama* holding the reins. To the left Krishna in deep orange *jama* sits on an open terrace with white columns, resting against a crimson cushion. Four courtiers sit behind him. Before him stands Akrura, offering him the stolen jewel. Orange red background with upper rim of blue sky streaked with curling grey clouds. To the right a tall cypress and tree with dense foliage.

22(xiii) The house of the Pandavas is set on fire.

260 x 370 mm; with border 295 x 410 mm. Red border with black margin and faint white rule.

Archer collection, London.

Published: Lawrence (1963), col. pl. 10; also reproduced Archer and Lee (1963), pl. 73; Archer (1965), pl. 72; Anand (1968), fig. 10.

Description: The house of the Pandavas, seen dimly in the background, against a dark blue night sky powdered by stars, is surrounded by a whirling dance of red and yellow flames. Brownish foreground with faint traces of white smoke.

22(xiv) The arrival of the chariot. Not illustrated.

268 x 316 mm (torn and trimmed). Traces of red border. Numbered 235.

Victoria and Albert Museum, French collection, I.S. 119-1955. Obtained by French in Amritsar.

Published: Archer (1952), fig. 15.

Description: Krishna, crowned and in yellow dress, sits with Kalindi in a four-horsed chariot driven by Arjuna. Kalindi, her head veiled, wears a dark blue skirt with narrow gold bands. Krishna and Arjuna carry bows. The chariot is about to pass between two plum-coloured brick walls topped by white embattlements. Inside a white-walled palace on the left wait three crowned figures. Flaming red background with three cypresses.

Discussion: This large series, now dispersed among various public and private collections, illustrates the early Basohli style in process of final eclipse by Mughal-type painting from Guler. Specific scenes and details are frankly based on the *Gita Govinda* of 1730-1735 (no. 18). 22(i) ('Vishnu and Lakshmi on the great snake'), for example, is a virtual replica of 18(vii); 22(vii), its courtyard forming a great thrusting angle, is identical with 18(iii), and the scenes where Krishna appears with the cow-girls are so similar to those in the *Gita Govinda* that they must clearly have been modelled on them. In addition, there are similar kinds of sparse and open compositions, simplified groupings of figures, semi-naturalistic trees and the same type of facial idiom, employed by Manaku's assistant or colleague. At the same time, important differences are now apparent. Pieces of beetle-wing cases no longer impart a flashing brilliance. The early hot colour is sternly replaced by cooler hues, and figures generally are shown in greater detail and in more dramatic and natural stances. Flat backgrounds persist but in place of the former rich variety of colour, the standard Guler idiom of a red or orange background, often pricked by towering cypresses, makes an assertive entry. In two respects, particular influences can be detected. 22(ii) and (iii) have garish skies, strongly reminiscent of Mughal painting of the seventeen-fifties, with violent streaks of red, mauve, yellow and purple and flamboyant gold-edged clouds. And a similar garishness marks the dresses of the cow-girls in 22(v). Above all, there is now a conscious adoption of idioms, connected with the work of Manaku's younger brother, Nainsukh. In 22(ix), the two dogs following Krishna's horse parallel those in Nainsukh's picture of Balwant Singh proceeding through the country (Jammu, no. 46). 'Krishna riding to Kundulpur' (22(ix)), is closely modelled on Nainsukh's picture of Mukand Dev of Jasrota on a riding picnic (Jammu, no. 48). And even the groom in 22(xii) is an exact replica of the attendant holding a screen in Nainsukh's picture of Raja Dhrub Dev of Jasrota examining the points of a horse (Jammu, no. 35). In each of these cases, the treatment lacks Nainsukh's own finesse, but only a painter with access to Nainsukh's work could have availed of these idioms.

Such access need not have taken place at the family home in Guler, but could well have occurred at Basohli itself. As Goswamy has shown (1968), the death in 1763 of Balwant Singh, his Jammu patron, freed Nainsukh for service at Basohli and in 1763, he even went on pilgrimage with Amrit Pal to Puri, visiting Hardwar on the way. Only a degree of prior association with Basohli in the early seventeen-sixties, whether at Basohli proper or at Jammu (to which Basohli was becoming more and more subvenient) can explain so rapid a recruitment. Nainsukh's influence, at one remove, is therefore one of the vital features which, despite close similarities, firmly separates the present series from the *Gita Govinda* of 1730-1735.

One further point must be stressed. Although Nainsukh is clearly not the principal artist of the present series, it is just possible that he himself may have painted the magnificent fire scene (22(xiii)). He was already adept at night scenes (Jammu, nos. 31, 43(1)), and in this particular picture, his feeling for the night sky with stars, the surrounding

darkness and the leaping flames, recalls his picture of a prince sitting in a palace, high above his courtiers, presiding at night at a fireworks' display (Jammu, no. 43).

In this view, 1750 is too early a date for the greater part of the present series and although the Vaishnava training of Jit Pal (1736-1757) and the influence of his mother, the Guler rani, might well explain its original conception, it is rather to the years 1760 to 1765 that the pictures must, more probably, be attributed. For the speculation that the principal artist may have been Nainsukh's nephew, Fattu, see Archer and Binney (1968).

Examples from the same series: (1) Archer (1952), fig. 23. Krishna rescuing the sleeping Nanda. Central Museum, Lahore.

(2) Lawrence (1963), col. pl. 9. Krishna frees the defeated Jarasandha. Archer collection, London.

(3) Archer and Lee (1963), pl. 69. The departure for Brindaban. Archer collection, London.

(4) Beach (1965), fig. 5. Krishna vanishes from Radha. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

(5) Anand (1968), col. pl. opp. p.11. Krishna killing the Bull Demon. Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras.

(6) and (7) Archer and Binney (1968), pls. 55a and 55b. The cow-girls are stunned by Krishna's disappearance; the cow-girls go in search of Krishna. Binney collection, Brookline.

(8)-(10) Archer (1970) figs. 25-27. Krishna reclaims the dead child; Akura meets Krishna; Krishna and the milkmaids. Archer collection, London.

23(i, ii) Two paintings from a 'sixth' *Bhagavata Purana* series. Basohli, c.1765.

Note: Referred to in the Review of Literature as the 'small' Guler-Basohli *Bhagavata Purana* series.

23(i) Vishnu as the Boar incarnation fighting the demon Hiranyaksha. Illustration to the third book of the *Bhagavata Purana*.

183 x 273 mm; with border 218 x 315 mm. Red border with black and white rules.

Chandigarh Museum.

Description: Vishnu, four-armed and with the tusked head of a boar, his body a rich deep blue, grasps the demon Hiranyaksha by the wrist. The demon is green-skinned and wears crimson trunks. Grey and white water swirls and eddies around them. A row of pale pink gods look down on the scene from a narrow strip of sky.

23(ii) Earth is harassed by demons. Illustration to the third book of the *Bhagavata Purana*.

180 x 290 mm; with border 224 x 332 mm.

Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras.

Description: Earth, a female figure in pleated red skirt, faces a horde of demons who gesticulate before her. Behind her, to the right, the four-headed Brahma complains to Vishnu who sits four-armed on a terrace. The demons are brown, grey, blue and green. Background black.

Discussion: Part of an extensive series, now dispersed among various public collections, and in style closely comparable to 22. Compare, in particular, the rendering of demons and of Brahma and Vishnu. The tendency to naturalism, however, is in places considerably more advanced as can be seen in the fully modelled, shaded and rounded forms of the demon horde confronting Earth. The female figures are also softer and more gracious and their hair-styles match those of ladies in Guler paintings of the seventeen-sixties. As in no. 22, more than one painter was almost certainly involved and it is possible that much of the series was executed by Fattu, Manaku's eldest son and directly supervised, though not executed, by Nainsukh after he had joined Amrit Pal in 1763.

Examples from the same series: (1)-(3). Beach (1965), figs. 1-3. Illustrations to scenes from the fourth book of the *Bhagavata Purana*, including the Prachetas levelling a forest by

setting it on fire. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. The fire scene is closely comparable to 21(xiii).

(4) and (5) Goswamy (1968), figs. 23 (Chandigarh Museum) and 24 (Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras), the latter with the same angular treatment of courtyard walls as in 18(iii) and 21(vii).

(6) Khandalavala and Chandra (1965). Col. pl. N. Priests performing a ritual. Scarlet background with upper rim of white and blue. Jahangir collection, Bombay.

(7) Randhawa (1959), col. pl. 4. The birth of a demon horde. State Museum, Lucknow. Demons as in 22(ii).

PHASE FOUR: 1765-1835

24 Lady at her toilet. Basohli, c.1770.

210 x 145 mm.

Central Museum, Lahore.

Description: A princess, nude from the waist after completing her toilet, sits on a terrace, smoking a hookah while seven maid-servants attend her. One rubs her foot with a pumice stone, another holds a mirror, the remainder await her orders. Behind them are three receding arches.

Discussion: Of unknown provenance but here attributed to Basohli on account of its resemblance to other paintings formerly in the Basohli Raj collection with Pahda Kunj Lal, Basohli, its use of shading and recession, seen in the three arches and comparable in treatment to that of the demons (23(i)) and finally, the incorporation of a special idiom for depicting the face, not in profile, but as seen from the front (compare series 22). Further significant features are the elongated figures and a girl, on the right, wearing a Muslim-type hat. The picture marks a decisive break with Basohli painting of the 1660-1765 period and illustrates the abrupt switch to poetic delicacy and graceful naturalism which occurred at Basohli after the arrival of Nainsukh and other Guler painters. For evidence of the eclipse of the early Basohli style by 'Kangra Valley' painting, see French (1931) and Randhawa (1958, 1959 and 1965).

25 Lady at her toilet. Basohli, c.1770-1780.

210 x 160 mm. Dark blue border with gold floral pattern.

Galbraith collection, Cambridge, Mass. (formerly Basohli Raj collection, Pahda Kunj Lal, Basohli).

Published: Welch and Beach (1965), col. pl. 60 (opp. p.44).

Description: A lady in mauve skirt, nude from the waist, stands on a stool, smoothing her hair, while a maid, nude save for a loin-cloth, crouches at her feet. Before her stand two maids in dark blue, green and gold dresses, one of them holding a brilliant red cloth on a tray. Behind her are two further maids in mauve, blue and pale yellow dresses fanning her with a yak's tail fly-whisk and holding a stool and water-vessel. The white terrace is dominated by a low scarlet table. Background gold with streaks of white and red. Above it, pale blue sky with billowing white clouds.

Discussion: Like 24, a toilet scene with the same type of tall, elongated figures and broadly similar faces. The execution, however, is much stiffer. The somewhat garish palette is comparable to that employed in parts of series 22 and may reflect provincial Mughal painting as developed in centres such as Fyzabad and Lucknow (Oudh). Although strongly Guler in character, the general brightness of the picture suggests the hand of a painter working not at Guler itself but at Basohli — a conclusion which is supported by its provenance, the Basohli Raj collection with Pahda Kunj Lal. Welch and Beach (1965) notice 'an earlier painting, similar in composition and colour and directly related to Basohli' which is in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, but unpublished.

26 Raja Amrit Pal (1757-1776) of Basohli seated with Mian Dalel Singh of Jammu. Basohli, c.1775.

Inscribed on the reverse in *takri* characters: (1) *sri mian anbrit pal baloria* (2) *mian dalel singh jamual* 'Sri Mian Amrit Pal of Basohli, Mian Dalel Singh of Jammu'.

Formerly Kalia collection, London.

Description: Amrit Pal, his hand resting on a sword, sits

with Dalel Singh of Jammu on a terrace with floral pattern and low balustrade. Behind them is a gold background with three flowering trees and streaks of red and at the top white and pale blue sky. The scene is framed by an arch with rolled-up blind.

Discussion: A picture of some importance because of its Basohli subject, its use of flowering trees as in another portrait of Amrit Pal noted below and the fact that the second sitter came from Jammu and was to become in 1783 the father-in-law of Amrit Pal's son, Vijay Pal. Under Amrit Pal, Basohli was closely linked to Jammu not only through Amrit Pal's marriage to a daughter of Ranjit Dev of Jammu, but because of mutual support in war and politics. Dalel Singh was the younger and favourite son of Ranjit Dev of Jammu and was killed by his brother, Brijraj Dev after the latter's succession. It is possible that Nainsukh's migration to Basohli in 1763 may have been helped by the fact that his first patron, Balwant Singh, was a member of the Jammu royal family, with which Amrit Pal had such close courtly and family ties. For a series of post-humous portraits of Basohli rulers, perhaps executed in 1780 and in similar style see Randhawa (1965), figs. 1-5.

Related examples: (1) Randhawa (1965), fig. 6. Amrit Pal standing in a garden, his hand resting on a sword. Karan Singh collection, Jammu (formerly Basohli Raj collection, Pahda Kunj Lal, Basohli). Basohli, c.1770. Angular garden plots. Flowering trees as above.

(2) Randhawa (1965), fig. 9. Vijay Pal of Basohli standing on a terrace with flowering trees. Karan Singh collection, Jammu (formerly Basohli Raj collection, Pahda Kunj Lal, Basohli). Basohli, c.1775.

27 The music party. Basohli, c.1770-1780.

Approximate size: 275 x 175 mm; with border and oval surround, 290 x 185 mm.

Galbraith collection, Cambridge Mass. (formerly Basohli Raj collection, Pahda Kunj Lal, Basohli).

Published: Welch and Beach (1965), pl. 53.

Description: A lady, holding a *tambura* and leaning against a cushion, sits on a terrace by a lake, attended by three maids who stand around her and by a fourth maid who crouches before her, pouring wine into a cup. In the foreground, four parterres, bristling with flowers. Beyond, a lake with rows of lotuses and three pairs of ducks. In the distance, a rolling landscape with oval trees and swelling clouds.

Discussion: This picture has the same type of elongated figure as 24 and 25 but in general is stiffer in execution. The bristling parterres have much in common with those in the portrait of Amrit Pal (Randhawa (1965), fig. 6) while the rows of lotuses and the lake itself also derive from various Guler conventions of the 1750-1760 period. Its stiff pallor, however, decisively separates it from Guler painting and the arrow-shaped floral pattern on the cushions — characteristic of painting at Jammu — also connects it with a centre further to the West. Its provenance — the Basohli Raj collection — reinforces the conclusion that this is the work of a painter at Basohli.

Example from the same series: (1) Randhawa (1962), fig. 42. The lady in grief. Karan Singh collection (formerly Basohli Raj collection, Pahda Kunj Lal, Basohli). Similar towering figures and facial idioms. Oval shape. Terrace by a lake. Flowers thrusting from parterres.

28 The lady by a lake. Basohli, c.1770-1780.

275 x 175 mm; with border 290 x 185 mm. Gold border with floral pattern. Mount late.

Victoria and Albert Museum, Manuk and Coles collection, I.S. 12-1949.

Description: A lady in pale gold dress sits in a large low chair, also pale gold, holding a lotus flower with long stalk and having her feet manicured by a crouching maid. White carpet with black floral pattern. Pale green rug. Three girl-musicians in pale pink, pale blue and pale yellow dresses play drum and *tamburas*. Above them loom two towering maids in white and pale yellow dresses, holding a bottle, garland, dish and cloth. A further tall maid in green stands behind her waving a white fly-whisk. To the right are

seated two maids in pale grey and fawn. Above the lady and dominating the picture by its pallid presence is an expanse of pale grey water, sharply marked on the further side by fang-like inlets and by a gold hill with thinly scattered trees. Orange red clouds surmounted by blackish grey.

Discussion: Identical in style, idioms and over-all pallor with 27. The maids, however, revert in costume to the female attendants in 24, and wear transparent skirts over tightly fitting trousers. Their faces also conform to the earlier type seen in that picture. A feature of the painting is the low, large chair in which the lady is seated and the cushion with floral arrow-head patterning, details which re-occur in the two examples noted below. For a similar type of chair, see Nurpur, no. 33.

Examples from the same or a related series: (1) Randhawa (1962), fig. 60. Lady in distress. Karan Singh collection, Jammu (formerly Basohli Raj collection, Pahda Kunj Lal, Basohli). Basohli, c.1770-1780. Similar parterres with thrusting plants as in 26. Crouching maid. Blank hill-side. Full moon.

(2) Randhawa (1962), fig. 65. Lady grieving for her lover. Karan Singh collection, Jammu (formerly Basohli Raj collection, Pahda Kunj Lal, Basohli). Basohli, c.1770-1780. A frail flowering tree as in (1). A peacock, symbolising the lover, approaching the lady. Similar maids. Pale background.

29 Raja Vijay Pal (1776-1806) of Basohli with ladies. Basohli, c.1800.

Mis-inscribed on the reverse in Persian characters: *amrit pal basohliwala*.

Formerly in the Basohli Raj collection, Pahda Kunj Lal, Basohli.

Published: Randhawa (1968), fig. 1.

Description: Vijay Pal and six of his ladies are seated, crowded together on a terrace, which is supported by a stone pedestal in the form of a gigantic lotus flower. A flight of stone steps leads up to it. A male attendant waves a fly-whisk. Below, in the courtyard, are two palace retainers, a fountain with two ducks strutting and a pair of dancing girls performing to the accompaniment of five male musicians.

Discussion: A scene of conjugal intimacy, perhaps inspired by comparable paintings of Raja Bhup Singh (1790-1810) of Guler, dallying with his rani and her ladies (Guler, nos. 59, 62). The subject can be identified as Vijay Pal of Basohli by comparison with Randhawa (1965), fig. 9, where he appears much younger but with similar features. This latter portrait, formerly in the Basohli Raj collection and now in the Karan Singh collection, Jammu, has the same type of flowering trees as 26, and is of possibly the same date, c.1775. Although the strutting ducks, striped rugs and courtyard fountain derive from Guler painting of the last years of the eighteenth century, the huge lotus pedestal is unknown in other schools of painting and may have been prompted by an actual construction at Basohli. The dancing girls and musicians are conventional types, perhaps based, at several removes, on studies by Nainsukh.

Related example: (1) Randhawa (1958), fig. 3, p. 19. Bhupat Pal paying homage to the Emperor Shah Jahan. Basohli Raj collection, Pahda Kunj Lal, Basohli, Basohli c.1800. Similar in style to 29.

30 The demon Kumbhakarna asleep. From a *Ramayana* series of drawings in sanguine. By the painter Ranjha. Basohli, dated 1816.

215 x 325 mm.

Inscribed on the reverse in *nagari* characters with Hindi description of the scene and on the front with the number 533. Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras.

Description: The giant Kumbhakarna lies in an open pavilion with three arches, fanned by two maids. A third maid stands to the left. In the foreground three large water pots.

Discussion: This series, at present comprising 702 drawings, has a Sanskrit colophon summarised by Khandalavala

(1958) and published in full by Goswamy (1971) who translates it as follows: 'In the *vikrama samvat*, calculated by Rama (three), Rishi (seven), Vasu (eight) and Bhu (one) i.e. 1873 (A.D. 1816), in the dark half of the month of Shravan, on Wednesday the 7th, in the town of Basohli, during the reign of Sri Raja Bhupendra Pal, the learned Sudharshan, born in the family of Kashmiri (Brahmins), composed, according to his best understanding, this *bhasha* (collection of pages) of the (Valmiki) *Ramayana* for being visually rendered into paintings. He composed this *bhasha* for the artist Ranjha who gave visual form to the verses. This rendering of the *katha* (story) of the *Ramayana* is blessed by Rama himself; it enables all to cross the world of misery and absolves them of a multitude of sins. May (this *bhasha*) be conducive to the prosperity, happiness, long life and well-being of the whole world.'

'Although the series bears some resemblance in composition and style to the *Nala Damayanti* drawings (Kangra nos. 49, 50), the facial types are, in general, decadent. Indeed, as stressed by Khandalavala, 'the earlier delicacy is on the wane' and there is 'a tendency to be slovenly when the compositions are complicated'. It is difficult therefore to feel that the artist of the Kangra *Nala Damayanti* drawings and paintings — the latter in the Karan Singh collection, Jammu and formerly with Pahda Kunj Lal — could have been the artist of this series (Goswamy, 1969).

Of Ranjha, little is known except that he was the youngest son of Nainsukh and, as such, may have been born about 1750. He was probably reared and trained as an artist in the family home at Guler. He does not seem to have immediately joined his father at Basohli, since it was his elder brother, Gaudhu and his cousin, Fattu, who accompanied Nainsukh's ashes to Hardwar in 1778. If Ranjha had been living at Basohli with his father when the latter died, he would presumably have joined this pilgrimage. In a priest's entry of 1827, which was recorded when he himself was on pilgrimage, he is noted as being a native of Guler

but settled in Basohli on lands given by Amrit Pal. It is likely that his father, Nainsukh, was the original recipient of these lands but that, of his four surviving sons, Ranjha was judged the one best fitted to continue his father's occupancy. Taking this to be the case, Ranjha's residence in Basohli may be assumed to cover the years 1778 to c.1827. The year of his death is unrecorded but, as Goswamy has suggested, the pilgrimage of 1827 must have been made in his very old age and it is unlikely that he long survived it. Since there is no record of his ashes being brought to Hardwar or Khurukshetra, it is possible that he died while on it.

During the half century covered by his life at Basohli, the state was ruled by three rajas — Vijay Pal (1776-1806), Mahendra Pal (1806-1813) and Bhupendra Pal (1813-1834). Of these, only Mahendra Pal is known to have been an active patron of painting since it was under him that the palace was embellished with romantic and erotic murals (Kahan Singh). For reasons given above, however, the Guler tradition of poetic love-painting seems to have established itself in Basohli in the last quarter of the century. How far Ranjha himself contributed to this type of Basohli painting can only be surmised. Of Bhupendra Pal as a patron, nothing is known. He succeeded to the throne when only seven years old and it is significant that the colophon of the present series does not name him as patron but merely says that the text, with Ranjha's illustrations, was prepared in his reign. If the series was undertaken at the instance of the royal house, it is possible that the patron was once again a lady, in this case the Jasrota rani of Mahendra Pal who acted as Regent first for Bhupendra Pal and later for her grand-son, Kalyan Pal. For a further discussion of the series, see Goswamy (1971).

Examples from the same series: (1) Goswamy (1968), fig. 42. The court of Ravana. Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras. (2)-(4) Goswamy (1969), three figures at pages 96 and 97.

PAINTING IN BHADRAWAH

I. INTRODUCTION

GEOGRAPHY

A moderately-sized state, twenty miles long by fifteen miles wide, bounded on the south by Basohli, on the south-west by Bandralta, on the west by Chanehni, on the north by Kashtwar and on the east by Chamba. Capital: Dughanagar; later, c.1710, Bhadrawah, 'also called Nagar, i.e. "the town", being the only town in the state' (HV II, 615).

SCENERY

Vigne (1842): 'Budrawar lies in the midst of the prettiest country I had seen in the mountains, with the exception of Kashmir. It is called Budrikar by the Kashmirians and Budar by the natives of the hills. The path from Dodah is continually on an ascent on the left bank of the Budrawar stream, until it opens upon an amphitheatre whose lower grounds are covered with rice-fields, whilst the flats and easy slopes around it were much cultivated, thickly studded with villages, which were usually overshadowed by noble deodar-trees and seemed to be altogether in a much better state than those I had usually seen in other parts of the mountains. I thought the town was nearly twice as large as Kishtawar and containing between two and three hundred houses. A great proportion of all these mountain towns are Kashmirians who have fled thither to avoid the exactions of the Sikh governors of their native country.

'The direction of the principal bazaar, or street, is south-westerly, and upwards toward the castle, which commands the town. It is a large square fort, chiefly built of large blocks of slate clay, that hardens by long exposure to the sun and air, and is found in the vicinity. It is altogether a stronger-looking place than most of the hill forts, but is commanded from the wooded eminences behind it.

'Surrounded on all sides by mountains and producing but little more than is necessary for seed and their own consumption, the inhabitants of such a place as Budrawar will not take the trouble to transport any surplus they may chance to have to other places, unless they are sure of some extraordinary profit.

'Budrawar Proper extends only from Dodah to the snowy range behind the former town. It does not lie in either of the principal paths through these mountains. Those who travel to Ladak do not pass through it, and it is visited only by itinerant pedlars and merchants, who supply the inhabitants of the hill districts with the produce of the plains. The bazaar seemed to be well supplied. It contained about two hundred and fifty shawl-ooms, but their produce is of inferior quality. It is celebrated for the manufacture of very prettily carved combs, cut from the wood of the byr-apple, or jujube.

'In the summer time Chumba may be reached in four or five days by a lofty pass over the surrounding mountains, and Bisuli is attainable in about the same time by another pass, called Chatru Dhar. Both were closed by snow when I was there in January 1839' (I, 194-197).

Drew (1875): 'When we had descended more than 5,000 feet we reached the valley of Bhadarwah. This is a nearly flat-bottomed valley, a mile in width; in length it extends thus open for about four miles, above and below narrowing so as to leave hardly any space between the hill-slopes. The hills which bound it are the ends of spurs from the forest ridges. Some of these spurs have bits of cultivated ground at different levels and in some places we noticed traces of former cultivation — terraced ground overgrown with young pines, of twenty years' growth or more.

'The town of Bhadarwah is a busy and, for such a country, a comparatively large place. I estimate that there are

600 or 700 houses and about 3,000 inhabitants. It is built almost entirely of deodar wood; the frame-work of the houses is altogether of wood; only between the double plank-walls the spaces are filled in with stones, sometimes laid loose and sometimes cemented with mud; most of the houses have a sloped shingle-roof. There is a curious plan of building up pillars for the corners and sometimes for the middle supports, of the houses and the temples. Square slabs of wood a few inches thick are placed upright in pairs, one pair being surmounted by another at right angles and so on alternately.

'Bhadarwah has an open market-place, a long straight street leading to the Fort, two or three other bazaars, two mosques and a large temple. The waters of one of the streams come through the very middle of the town and branches from it are brought through all the streets. Both in among the buildings and all round the place fruit-trees are growing — apple, pear, mulberry, apricot, and cherry and there are poplars and a few chinor or plane trees.

'These characteristics, combined with the presence of numbers of Kashmiri people who live in the town, have gained for it the name "Chota Kashmir," or Little Kashmir.

'More than half of the inhabitants of Bhadarwah itself are Kashmiri; these quite throw into the shade the original Hindu inhabitants; they have adopted almost all kinds of employment, numbers of them are shopkeepers, and numbers more are occupied in making shawls, on orders from Amritsar and Nurpur. Some Kashmiris have land and cultivate it themselves; some, indeed, do this for half the year and follow shawl-weaving for the other half — during the long snowy winter. Around are several villages of Kashmiris; but here, outside the town, they are much outnumbered by the Bhadarwahis, the older inhabitants. I could not find out at what time so many Kashmiris settled here, but, from the absence of any distinct tradition on the subject, we may conclude that it was at least three or four generations ago.

'An elevation of 5,400 feet above the sea gives the place at this time of the year an agreeable temperature, that makes it a favourite with many. Sometimes Gurkhas from the British regiment at Bakloh, bringing their wives and families, spend their leave at Bhadarwah, where they can get the advantages of fine air and cheap living.

'On a spur, some 300 feet above the town, is the Fort, a square building of combined wood and stone, with bastions of masonry work. Near by are some remains of the former residence of the old Rajas. The Rajas of Bhadarwah were Mian Rajputs; they were allied, as to caste, with the families that ruled over Basoli and Kulu. This old family was dispossessed about the year 1810 by the Chamba family, who thus combined Bhadarwah and Chamba. These others held it for twenty or thirty years only, when, through two or three stages of transfer, it fell into the hands of Gulab Singh, of Jummoo' (103-105).

RELIGION

In contrast to most other states, religion in Bhadarwah centres on a snake-god, Basak Nag, who is believed to have dwelt originally in Kashmir but on the rise of Vishnu worship to have fled to Bhadarwah and found refuge in a lake on the top of Kund Kaplas, the highest peak in Bhadarwah. He is said to have been welcomed as her brother by the goddess Kali, until then the presiding deity of the state, and, under the name of Bas Dev, to have been recognised as patron divinity of Bhadarwah and made its first Raja. HV explain that according to the Bhadarwah family chronicle all charters issued by the rulers are written in the name of Bas Dev. Basak Nag is said to owe his precedence over his elder brother, Mahl Nag and younger brother, Savar Nag, to Kali's manoeuvring the weather so that Basak Nag saw the sun rise before they did. 'The three brothers agreed

that whichever of them should first see the sun in the morning, should be king of the valley. Their sister, Kali, who liked Basak Nag best, managed to conceal the sun from her other two brothers and thus it came about that Basak Nag became the first Raja of Bhadrawah.' They add: 'The explanation of the legend may possibly be that Bhadrakali is a personification of the thunderstorm. Not only would this account for her name, meaning 'the blessed black one', and her attributes — the trident, mace, the tabor and cup — taken as symbols of thunder, lightning and rain; it would also explain her close association with the Nagas, her brothers, who (as snake-gods) are also givers of rain and causers of storms. Moreover, it explains how the Devi could conceal the sun from her other brothers, so that it was visible only to her favourite brother whose abode is believed to be on the highest mountain summit in Bhadrawah' (II, 616 - 617).

The following temples are recorded: (1) in Bhadrawah town, a shrine to Basak Nag with, behind it, a shrine to Kali, 'the oldest shrine in the state', (2) in two villages between the foot of the Padari pass and Bhadrawah town, shrines to Baski (Basak) Nag, (3) in a third village on the same route, a shrine to Santan Nag, (4) in a village near Chintah, 'picturesquely situated in the midst of stately deodar trees', a shrine to Savar Nag, the youngest of the three brothers, 'much dreaded because of his bad temper'. All these temples are in the form of simple square cells built of layers of stone alternating with wooden beams, surrounded by a verandah and covered with a conical wooden roof in contrast to the stone *shikhara* temples to Vishnu and Shiva, found in other states and almost certainly introduced from the Punjab Plains. HV stress that 'in Bhadrawah no such temples are found — the only Vaishnava temple of the valley having been built very recently (nineteenth century?) in Bhadrawah town'.

II. HISTORICAL NOTES

SOURCES

- Anon. *Punjab States Gazetteers, XXIIA, Chamba State, 1904* (Lahore, 1910).
 Drew, F. *The Jummoo and Kashmir Territories* (London, 1875).
 Hutchison, J. and Vogel, J. P. *History of the Punjab Hill States* (Lahore, 1933), II, 614-628.
 An unusually detailed account because of Bhadrawah's close involvement with Chamba and HV's intimate knowledge of the Chamba archives. Supplies, in some cases, facts of a kind unique in Punjab Hill State histories (see reigns, vi, vii).
 Vigne, G. T. *Travels in Kashmir, Ladak, Iskardo* (London 1842).

REIGNS AND PORTRAITS

With Bhadu, an offshoot from Basohli: all three states along with Kulu, being descended from a parent stem at Mayapuri (Hardwar). Clan-name, Bhadrawahia. Family suffix, Pal. Suffix of younger sons, Chand.

c.1580-c.1620 NAG PAL (i)

Son of Bishambhar Pal.
 Tributary to Mughal emperor Akbar. Attended Mughal court. Built the temple of Basak Nag at Bhadrawah. Two images: one of the Nag, one of himself. Both worshipped.

c.1620-c.1660 BHAKT PAL (ii)

Youngest son of Nag Pal, his three elder brothers having died childless.
 Invaded by Bhupat Pal (1598-1635) of Basohli and made tributary, c.1628.
Sons: Dhrub Pal, Rup Chand, Kimat (Man) Chand.

c.1660-c.1690 DHRUB PAL (iii)

Son of Bhakt Pal
Sons: Abhaya Pal, Jai Chand, Kalyan Chand.

c.1690-c.1707 ABHAYA PAL (iv)

Son of Dhrub Pal.
 Dughanagar, the capital, washed away in a great flood.
Sons: Medini Pal, Manik Chand.

c.1707-c.1735 MEDINI PAL (v)

Son of Abhaya Pal.
 Founded the town of Bhadrawah (one mile west of Dughanagar) and made it the capital.

c.1735-c.1770 SAMPAT PAL (vi)

Son of Medini Pal. Born 1710.
 Built a fort at Rantagarh (named it Medinipur).
Wars: Invaded by Basohli and Kashtwar. Possibly also interfered with by Chamba. With other states, became tributary to Jammu c.1750.
Marriages: Jammu, Jasrota.
Sons: Fateh Pal, Jhagar Chand, Bhup (Bhupal) Chand, Sangar Chand, Kundan Singh.
Daughters: Suratu (married Abhaya Chand (1747-1750) of Kangra); Darasanu (married Prithvi Singh (1770-1805) of Nurpur); Naginu (married Raj Singh (1764-1794) of Chamba); Tholu (married in Jasrota).

c.1770-c.1790 FATEH PAL (vii)

Son of Sampat Pal. Born 1732.
Jammu: With death of Ranjit Dev (1735-1781), supremacy of Jammu over Bhadrawah and Kashtwar transferred by Jammu to Chamba.
Chamba: Exacted full subservience from Bhadrawah 1783, the latter being required to maintain a Chamba garrison and not to aid or ally with Basohli, Bandralta or Kashtwar. Assisted Chamba in an invasion of Kashtwar, 1785. Fateh Pal deposed by Raj Singh (1764-1794) of Chamba c.1790 and exiled to Chamba for life. His brother, Bhup Chand, married to Atharbanu, a Chamba princess.
Son: Daya Pal.

Portraits: (1) Fateh Pal seated. Chandigarh Museum, Mankot Raj collection. Jammu, c.1760.
 (2) Fateh Pal seated smoking on a terrace; behind him an attendant with peacock feather fan; in the background a lake and curving hills. Inscribed on the reverse in Persian characters: *sri raja fateh pal bhadrawahia* and in takri characters: *sri raja phate pal bhandaruia*. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. Chamba c.1780.

Portrait of his second brother, Bhup (Bhupal) Chand. Under Fateh Pal, a leading influence in Bhadrawah state affairs. Commanded the Bhadrawah force sent to aid Chamba against Kashtwar, 1785. Married in Chamba. Governor or Regent of Bhadrawah on behalf of Chamba, c.1794. Acted briefly as actual Raja of Bhadrawah, c.1795. Later, following disagreements, arrested, brought to Chamba and confined there for life. One son: Pahar Chand.

(1) **Fig. 41 (Chamba).** Bhup (Bhupal) Chand of Bhadrawah in audience at Chamba. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. Chamba, c.1785.

c.1790-1810 DAYA PAL (viii)

Son of Fateh Pal. Born 1756.
 Succeeded his father, c.1790, temporarily deposed by Chamba, c.1794, succeeded by his uncle, Bhup (Bhupal) Chand (ix), but again restored to power, c.1795, under Chamba over-lordship. Bhadrawah invaded by Kashtwar, c.1805 and despite Chamba aid, defeated, capital burnt and tribute exacted. Due to internal dissensions, Daya Pal driven out of Bhadrawah and retired to Dinanagar (Punjab Plains near Guler), c.1810.

1810-1821 PAHAR CHAND (ix)

Son of Bhup (Bhupal) Chand (see viii, ix).
 Began by accepting Chamba over-lordship. Later, c.1820, recruited Pathan mercenaries and rebelled. Repulsed Chamba forces, sent under the Chamba Wazir Nathu, but

later, 1821, crushed by Chamba forces, aided by a Sikh army sent by Maharaja Ranjit Singh. In exchange for surrendering the Rihlu border area adjoining Kangra to Ranjit Singh (Goswamy (1965) *q.v.*), Chamba allowed by the Sikhs to incorporate Bhadrawah permanently in Chamba territory. Pahar Chand exiled to Amritsar.

1821-1833 Bhadrawah administered as part of Chamba (xi)

1833-1844 ZORAWAR SINGH (xii)

Younger brother of Raja Charat Singh (x, 1808 - 1844) of Chamba. Appointed Governor of Bhadrawah with the designation of Chota Raja. Repulsed an attack by Zorawar Singh Kahluria, Jammu Governor of Kashtwar (xii, *q.v.*). 1836, Bhadrawah thus remaining part of Chamba. Due to intrigues in Chamba, following death of Charat Singh in 1844, Zorawar Singh, a possible claimant to the succession, left Chamba and Bhadrawah and retired to Jammu. Died 1845.

Son: Prakim Singh.

Portraits: (1) Zorawar Singh with servant. Bhuri Singh Museum, Chamba. Chamba, c.1840.

(2) Listed Gupta (1922), D.67, Zorawar Singh. Central Museum, Lahore. Chamba, c.1840.

1844-1846 PRAKIM SINGH (xiii)

Son of Zorawar Singh.

Succeeded his father as Governor of Bhadrawah.

Bhadrawah invaded and annexed by Raja Gulab Singh (1820 - 1857) of Jammu, 1845.

Later, following the first Anglo-Sikh war and Jammu-British negotiations, part of Bhadrawah east of the river Ravi was returned to Chamba, the remainder becoming a permanent part of Jammu, 1846.

IMPLICATIONS FOR PAINTING

Personality of rulers

No Bhadrawah ruler emerges from the records with any very distinctive trait of character but the fact that the royal house adhered with great tenacity to its very local form of primitive religion sets it in sharp contrast to the family of its neighbour, Kashtwar, which adopted Islam and to those of its two other neighbours, Chamba and Basohli, which adopted Vaishnavism. The absence of Vaishnavism at the Bhadrawah court could well explain the lack of any strong tradition of painting there, since, in the case of most Hill states, painting and Vaishnavism were intimately connected.

Relations with other states

Basohli. As an offshoot from Basohli and its immediate neighbour, Bhadrawah was not unnaturally exposed to contacts from it. These do not seem, however, to have led to

any strong development of painting. On the other hand, the worship of Devi in Basohli may have received some slight impetus from Bhadrawah with its cult of Kali and Basak Nag. Although only two invasions of Bhadrawah by Basohli are reported — one in the early seventeenth century, the other about a century later — some awareness by Basohli of the wilder culture rampant in its offshoot may be presumed.

Jammu. As with other states in the 'Jammu' group, Bhadrawah came under Jammu influence in the mid-eighteenth century. Raja Sampat Pal (vi) marrying a Jammu princess and the state being drawn into the Jammu orbit. Visits by Bhadrawah rulers to the Jammu court could explain the inclusion of Bhadrawah rulers in Jammu portrait sets. Granted a predisposition to foster painting, the Bhadrawah court could have profited by Jammu example.

Chamba. From about 1780 until its final eclipse in 1846, Bhadrawah was under the almost total domination of Chamba — Bhup (Bhupal) Chand, brother of Fateh Pal (vii), marrying a Chamba princess and the Bhadrawah court being required to supply Chamba with armed forces as and when demanded and to adjust its policies to Chamba requirements. Members of the Bhadrawah royal house were also detained in Chamba at the whim of the Chamba rulers. From 1821 to 1846, Bhadrawah was wholly administered from Chamba. In these circumstances it is unlikely that any independent school of painting could have developed or flourished at Bhadrawah after 1780 — any portraiture of members of the royal house being far more probably carried out at Chamba (*q.v.*).

Kashtwar, Chanehni, Bandralta. Relations not such as to suggest any strong cultural influences.

III AND IV. PAINTING

No paintings securely connected with Bhadrawah have so far come to light — the five portraits noted above being products of either Jammu or Chamba.

As in the case of Chanehni, Bhadu, Lakhanpur and Kashtwar, Khandalavala (*Pahari Miniature Painting* (1958), 91) surmises that a sub-style of Basohli painting may have developed at Bhadrawah but cites no examples.

PAINING IN BHADU

I. INTRODUCTION

GEOGRAPHY

A small state, ten miles long, bounded on the west by Samba, on the north-west by Mankot, on the north and east by Basohli and on the south by Jasrota. Capital: Bhadu (Padhu, Padova), Padu (Drew), Buddoo (Forster).

SCENERY

Drew (1875): 'The plain at the foot of the hills, being for the most part capable of cultivation is thickly peopled. But when we are once on the hills themselves we meet with villages rarely and these are but small; scattered hamlets and scattered houses denote how scarce is land that can be made fit for tilling; sometimes in little nooks and sometimes on steep hill-sides are terraced patches of ground, whose owners either cultivate them from the nearest village, or have made their solitary home close by.

'A village in these parts is a collection of low huts, with flat tops, mud-walled, mud-floored and mud-roofed. The floor and walls are neatly smeared with a mixture of cow-dung and straw. The roofs are timbered either with wood of one of the acacias or with pine.

'The larger villages and the towns have a double row of shops, what is called a bazaar, each of which consists of such a hut.

'Of the towns in the outer hills there are none besides Jummoo of any great size and there are only one or two others that can be said to be flourishing, for the poverty and thinness of the population of the country around is against them. Since, however, some towns and some other places show features of interest, we will proceed to visit a few and note what appeared worthy of observation' (83-84).

Notes of Padu that it 'is a place a few miles from Balawar, of name because it also was the seat of a separate ruler' (85).

RELIGION

Unrecorded in detail but a temple to Harihar Mahadev is noted (HV, II 632). An early ancestor, Daulat Pal, is said to have renounced the throne in favour of the religious life, become an ascetic and is regarded by the Bhadu Rajas as their family deity.

II. HISTORICAL NOTES

SOURCES

Drew, F. *The Jummoo and Kashmir Territories* (London, 1875).

Forster, G. *A Journey from Bengal to England* (London, 1808).

Gupta, S. N. *Catalogue of Paintings in the Central Museum, Lahore* (Calcutta, 1922), 55.

Hutchison, J. and Vogel, J. P. *History of the Panjab Hill States* (Lahore, 1933), II, 629-637.

REIGNS AND PORTRAITS

With Bhadrawah, an offshoot from Basohli (which, in turn, was an offshoot from Kulu). Clan-name, Bhadwal (Bhadawal). Suffix, Pal.

c.1600-c.1635 ABHIMAN PAL (i)

Contemporary of Raja Bhupat Pal (i, 1598-1635) of Basohli. With Bhadrawah, subjugated by Basohli, forced to pay tribute but a little later freed.

c.1635-c.1660 MAN PAL (ii)

c.1660-c.1690 CHATTAR PAL (iii)
Son of Man Pal.

c.1690-c.1725 UDAYA PAL (iv)
Son Chattar Chatar Pal.

c.1725-c.1745 PURAN PAL (v)
Bhadu made tributary by Raja Jit Pal (1736-1757) of Basohli.

c.1745-c.1750 HAST PAL (vi)

c.1750-c.1790 PRITHVI PAL (vii)
A contemporary of Raja Amrit Pal (1757-1776) of Basohli and of about the same age. Freed of tribute by Amrit Pal but treated by Raja Ranjit Dev (1735-1781) of Jammu as an appendage of Basohli — Basohli itself coming under Jammu over-lordship and Amrit Pal spending much of his time at the Jammu court. Forster (1808), visiting Bhadu on 11 April, 1783, described it as 'the village of Buddoo; the residence of a petty chief, tributary to Jumbo' (I, 272). In the later part of his reign, harried by the Sikhs.

c.1790-c.1830 JAI SINGH (viii)
Son of Prithvi Pal.

Made tributary to Maharaja Ranjit Singh (1780-1839) of Lahore, c.1808. Superseded c.1820 by Raja Suchet Singh (younger brother of Raja Gulab Singh (1820-1857) — at first Governor for the Sikhs, later, after 1846, independent Raja of Jammu). Bhadu was merged with Mankot and Bandalta in Suchet Singh's fief.

c.1830-c.1860 AUTAR SINGH (ix)
Son of Jai Singh.

On Suchet Singh's death, 1844, Bhadu was incorporated in Jammu, Autar Singh having previously settled at Tilokpur near Kotla (Kangra).

Portrait: (1) Listed Gupta (1922) D.56, Central Museum, Lahore.

c.1860-1876 UMED SINGH (x)

Noted by Gupta (1922): 'Umed Singh Bhadawal was one of the rulers of Tilokpur in the Kangra district. He died in 1876' (55).

Portrait: (1) Listed Gupta (1922), D.57, Central Museum, Lahore.

III AND IV. PAINTING

Although a sub-style of Basohli painting is surmised by Khandalavala (*Pahari Miniature Painting* (1958), 91) to have 'probably' existed at Bhadu, no paintings actually connected with Bhadu have so far come to light. The two portraits, listed by Gupta (1922), are of nineteenth-century members of the family after they had left Bhadu, and settled at Tilokpur (Kangra).

PAINTING IN BHAU

A small state, north of Jammu, north-west of Bhoti, west of Chanehni and east of the river Chenab.

Capitals: Saharanpur until possibly the seventeenth century; later Kaleth, near the river Chenab.

Founded by a member of the Jammu family, who retreated there, after a brief period as Raja of Kashmir. Named after one of his descendants, Bhau Dev, from whom the family obtained its clan-name, Bhauwal.

Noted by Kahan Singh as being in frequent conflict with Jammu but stoutly maintaining its independence until the early nineteenth century when it was invaded by the Sikhs and was made tributary to Maharaja Ranjit Singh (1780-

1839) of Lahore. At Ranjit Singh's instance was annexed by Raja Gulab Singh (1820-1857) of Jammu in about 1820 and incorporated in Jammu State, the Bhau Rajas being then exiled to Riasi a state west of the Chenab.

No other historical details recorded.

No paintings or portraits from Bhau or portraits of Bhau rulers have so far come to light.

SOURCE

Hutchison, J. and Vogel, J. P. *History of the Panjab Hill States* (Lahore, 1933), ii, 575-576.

PAINING IN BHOTI

I. INTRODUCTION

GEOGRAPHY

A small state, barely fifteen miles long by ten miles wide, bounded on the south-west by Jammu, on the west by the Chenab river, on the north-west by Bhau, on the north-east by Chanehni and on the south-east by Bandralta. Capital: until 1840, Krimchi (Kiramchi), six miles north of Udhampur, three miles west of Bali; after 1840, Udhampur.

SCENERY

Hutchison and Vogel (1933): 'Bhoti State seems to have been an ancient principality embracing most of the tract now included in the Bhoti *ilaqa*, a part of the Udhampur *tahsil* of Jammu. The capital was at Krimchi. The site of the former town is now waste, but there are ruins which testify to the fact that a town once stood on the spot. This is also in keeping with local tradition, which ascribes the founding of the town to one Kechak. There are also three or four large and ancient temples which are believed to date from the time when the place was inhabited. . . . The present village of Krimchi stands on the other side of the Delok Nala, near the fort, which is on a hillock, but is now in ruins. Inside the fort is a large "green" and the ruins of the ancient palace, which was the residence of the Rajas' (II, 576-577).

Kahan Singh (1912) confirms that the town (*nagar*) of Krimchi, six miles north of Udhampur, was founded by Kechak, an ancestor of the Bhoti family. The present village of Krimchi is on the opposite side of the Devak Nala to that on which Nagar (the first Krimchi) formerly stood. He adds that the site of Nagar is marked by ruins which show that a town once stood there.

RELIGION

Unrecorded.

II. HISTORICAL NOTES

SOURCES

Drew, F. *The Jummoo and Kashmir Territories* (London, 1875).

Gives notes on Bhoti and refers to the village of Balli as a staging post close to Krimchi on the route from Jammu via Bhoti to Chanehni and Kashtwar.

[Bali (Balli) was founded by Balwant Singh, grand-uncle of Bhupal Singh, whose descendants took to cultivation and came to be known as Balials (KS).]

Gulam Muhi-ud Din alias Bute Shah. *Tarikh-i-Panjab* (compiled Hijri 1264 (A.D. 1848) from genealogies supplied in c.1830 by a Kashmiri pandit). British Museum MSS. Or. 1623, pp. 1080-1084.

Gives genealogies of Hill Rajas starting in each case with the present ruler (i.e. in c.1830) and working backwards. States that the present Raja of Bhoti (Bhoti?) is Jai Singh, his father was Bahadur Singh and his grand-father Bhupal Singh.

[Goswamy has suggested that Bhoti is probably a mistake by the Urdu copyist for Bhoti — the two names being distinguishable only by a small sign on the top of the second compound letter which could easily have been inadvertently left out while copying (communication, 1968).]

Hutchison, J. and Vogel, J. P. *History of the Panjab Hill States* (Lahore, 1933), II, 576-577.

No rulers listed 'since the family chronicle was unavailable at the time.' States that Bhoti may always have been dependent on Jammu and that it came under the control of the Sikhs at about the same time as Jammu (i.e. 1820), tribute being paid until 1834 when 'the state was finally annexed and a jagir granted to the family' (II, 577).

Kahan Singh Balauria. *Tawarikh-i-Rajputan-i-Mulki-i-Panjab* (Jammu, 1912). Gives details of Bhoti rulers from Bhupal Singh to Himat Singh.

REIGNS AND PORTRAITS

With Bhau, an offshoot from a Jammu chief who ruled in Kashmir. Clan-name, Bhatial. Suffix, Singh. Muhi-ud Din and Kahan Singh followed, except where otherwise stated.

c.1730-c.1770 **BHUPAL SINGH (i)**

Contemporary with the Persian, Nadir Shah, 1739.

Sons: Bahadur Singh, Labh Singh.

Portrait of second son, Labh Singh

Acted as Wazir to his brother, Bahadur Singh (KS).

(1) **Fig. 2 (Bhoti)**, Wazir Labh seated with Bahadur Singh at Nagar. Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 259-1955. Bhoti, dated 1791.

c.1770-c.1810 **BAHADUR SINGH (ii)**

Son of Bhupal Singh.

Marriage: unrecorded.

Sons: Jai Singh, Tara Singh, Labh Singh.

Portraits: (1) **Fig. 1 (Bhoti)**, Bahadur Singh with musicians and attendants. Jehangir collection, Bombay. Bhoti, dated 1788.

(2) **Fig. 2 (Bhoti)**, Bahadur Singh seated with Wazir Labh. Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 259-1955, Bhoti, dated 1791.

(3) **Fig. 3 (Bhoti)**, Published Archer (1952), fig. 51. Bahadur Singh with his sons, Jai Singh, Tara Singh and Labh Singh. Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 179-1951. Bhoti, c.1791.

(4) **Fig. 5 (Bhoti)**, Bahadur Singh riding with Wazir Samtu and retainers. Chandigarh Museum. Bhoti, c.1793.

(5) **Fig. 4 (Bhoti)**, Bahadur Singh standing with Wazir Samtu. Welch collection, Cambridge, Mass. Bhoti, dated 1793.

c.1810-c.1830 **JAI SINGH (iii)**

Son of Bahadur Singh. Born c.1780.

Tributary of Gulab Singh (1820-1857) of Jammu.

Marriage: His daughter (born c.1815?) to Bhupendra Pal (born 1806, ruled 1813-1834) of Basohli, subsequently mother of Kalyan Pal (born 1834) of Basohli.

Son: Himat Singh.

Portrait: (1) **Fig. 3 (Bhoti)**, Jai Singh with his father, Bahadur Singh and brothers, Tara and Labh Singh. Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 179-1951. Bhoti, c.1791. Aged about ten years.

c.1830-(1834) c.1860 **HIMAT SINGH (iv)**

Son of Jai Singh.

Deposed on annexation of Bhoti state by Gulab Singh of Jammu, c.1834.

Granted a *jagir* at Malbauri, near Jammu town (KS).

Drew states: 'Kiramchi and the tract of country near and round it used to be under a Raja or a Mian of the Pathial (Bhatial) tribe of Rajputs, who was tributary to Jammu, paying it yearly 2,000 rupees and giving the services of some ten horsemen. About the year 1834 Gulab Singh, having made up his mind to possess the place, refused the tribute and sent a force to besiege the fort. What now remains of the fort is a well-built wall of sandstone and a dry tank.'

It is on a rocky mound in a commanding position behind the town' (87).

1834-1857 GULAB SINGH OF JAMMU (v)

A new town, Udhampur, founded by his eldest son, Udham Singh (died 1842). For portraits of Udham Singh, see Archer, *Paintings of the Sikhs* (London, 1966) figs. 55, 56.

1857-1885 RANBIR SINGH OF JAMMU (vi)

Udhampur further developed.

IMPLICATIONS FOR PAINTING

In view of Bhoti's general subservience to Jammu in the eighteenth century, Jammu painting is likely to have been the chief source of stimulus for painting in Bhoti.

III. PAINTING: REVIEW OF LITERATURE

1926

Coomaraswamy, A. K. *Catalogue of the Indian Collections in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: Part V, Rajput Painting* (Boston, 1926).

Pl. 125. 'An unidentified prince, perhaps a Raja of Suket'. Here identified as Bahadur Singh of Bhoti with Wazir Labh. Bhoti, c.1791. See no. 1(1).

1952

Archer, W. G. *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills* (London, 1952).

Fig. 45. Mis-identified as a Bhotial figure of 'Mian Tedhi Mighalau Bhotia'. For a revised interpretation, see Mankot (reign, vi) and *Jammu no. (18)*.

Fig. 51. 'Bahadur Singh with children'. See no. 3.

1958

Khandalavala, K. *Pahari Miniature Painting* (Bombay, 1958).

No. 83. Bahadur Singh of Bhoti with courtiers and musicians. Due to a mis-reading of 'Bahadur Singh' as 'Bahadur Sena' in the *takri* inscription, mis-ascribed to Suket, third quarter of eighteenth century. See no. 1.

On the strength of this mis-reading, proposes a similar Suket attribution for Archer (1952), fig. 51. See no. 3.

1961

Skelton, R. *Indian Miniatures from the 15th to 19th centuries* (Venice, 1961).

Pl. 78. Connected by Skelton with Coomaraswamy (1926), pl. 125; Archer (1952), fig. 51 and Khandalavala (1958), no. 83; but following Khandalavala, ascribed to Suket. See no. 6.

1965

Khandalavala, K. and Chandra, M. *Miniatures and Sculptures from the Collection of the late Sir Cowasji Jehangir, Bart.*

Pl. and no. 90 re-publishing with *takri* inscription, though not facsimile. Khandalavala (1958), no. 83. Discussed, see no. 1.

IV. PAINTING: CATALOGUE AND RECONSTRUCTION

1 **Raja Bahadur Singh (c.1770-c.1810) of Bhoti with musicians and attendants.** Bhoti, dated 1788.

225 x 363 mm. Margin yellowish brown.

Inscribed on the reverse in *takri* characters: *samvat 165, chaitra pra (vishite) 27 sri raje bahadur singh ji da chitra lik-*

hya 'In the year A.D. 1788 on the twenty-ninth day of *chait* (March-April) this picture of Sri Raja Bahadur Singh was painted'.

Jehangir collection, Bombay.

Published: Khandalavala (1958), no. 83; also reproduced Khandalavala and Chandra (1965), pl. and no. 90.

Description: Raja Bahadur Singh (c.1770-c.1810) of Bhoti sits smoking a hookah attended by two servants, one with a peacock-feather fan, the other holding his sword. He faces a group of five courtiers in pale brown, pale yellow and white *jamias*, three of them standing, two seated. On the right are two male musicians, one with *tambura*, the other in deep yellow *jama* with an orange-red drum. Pink rug with deep chocolate brown stripes. In the front a low balustrade; at the back three windows with views of flowering trees and a hillside. Grey walls. Crimson blind.

Discussion: A picture which has led to some confusion because of an unfortunate mis-reading of the inscription. When first publishing the picture in 1958, Khandalavala read the word *singh* as *sena* (a suffix of the Suket royal family) and this mis-interpretation was repeated when the picture was re-published in 1965 (Khandalavala and Chandra, pl. and no. 90). On this occasion, the two authors found it 'difficult to say what the date, 165, was meant to represent' but reading Bahadur Singh as Bahadur Sena, they identified him as Bahadur Sen, younger brother of Raja Bhikam Sen (1748-1762) of Suket and ascribed the picture to Suket, c.1760. As Goswamy has since shown (private communication), this date must obviously refer to the Dogra Shastri samvat, the Hill era, according to which 101 (Dogra Shastri) corresponds to 1781 (Vikram samvat). Dogra Shastri samvat 165 is accordingly 1845 (Vikram samvat) or A.D. 1788. For an exposition of the various Hill eras, including Dogra Shastri samvat, see HV, I, 8. Since Bahadur Singh is designated 'Singh' and not 'Sena' in the inscription (photographed by the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, February, 1966 and personally read and agreed by the present writer with Dr. Moti Chandra) and since the date, 1788, is too late for the subject to be Bahadur Singh of Suket, brother of Bhikam Sen (died 1762), the case for connecting this picture with Suket falls to the ground.

For identifying the subject as Raja Bahadur Singh of Bhoti, the following considerations are relevant: (1) the date of the picture, 1788, which falls within the estimated years of Bahadur Singh of Bhoti's reign, c.1770-c.1810 (KS and Muhi-ud Din), (2) the fact that the same figure as in 1 is shown in 2, not only seated with a figure, named Labh, who is known to have been the younger brother and Wazir of Bahadur Singh of Bhoti (KS) but at a place, Nagar, which is the name of the old capital of Bhoti and (3) the fact that in 3 he is portrayed with three sons, the eldest of whom is named in the inscription as Jai Singh, the known heir and successor of Raja Bahadur Singh (c.1770-c.1810) of Bhoti. In all these circumstances, Bahadur Singh of Bhoti must be accepted as the central figure in this group of portraits (1-5) and since they all concentrate on his personal activities and are also in a distinctive style, Bhoti must be regarded as their place of execution.

This conclusion is strongly supported by the Jammu-like manner in which they are painted. As at Mankot, where subservience to Jammu in the second half of the eighteenth century led to Jammu-like portrait scenes, the present picture resembles, though in coarsened form, the intimate portrait studies (1746-1763) of Raja Balwant Singh of Jammu, executed for him by his retained artist, the painter Nainsukh of Guler. In this connection, compare *Jammu no. 30* 'Balwant Singh with courtiers and musicians', especially the treatment of musicians, rug and blind, and *Jammu no. 34* 'Balwant Singh inspecting a horse', where the same type of striped carpet is introduced. The time-lag of almost forty years between Nainsukh's pictures and the present group may perhaps be explained by the provincial character of the Bhoti court and its comparative unimportance as a state within the Jammu orbit.

Related example: (1) Coomaraswamy (1926), pl. 125 (530). Raja Bahadur Singh of Bhoti seated with Wazir Labh.

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Bhoti, c.1791. Same figures as in 1 and in the same general style. For identification of Wazir Labh, see 2. Pose as in 1.

2 Raja Bahadur Singh (c.1770-c.1810) of Bhoti with Wazir Labh. Bhoti, dated 1791.

255 x 193 mm; with border 304 x 230 mm. Red borders with black rules.

Inscribed on front in top border in *takri* characters: (1) *sri maharaja bahadur singh* (2) *wazir labh*; and on the reverse in *takri* characters: (1) *samat 168 saun pra (vishte) 7 eh chitra likh* (2) *samat 168 saun pra (vishte) ehe chitra nagar labh de dere bathe de likheya*. (1) 'In the (Dogra Shastri) *samvat* year 168 (A.D. 1791) on the seventh day of the start of *sawan* (July-August), this picture was painted'. (2) 'In the (Dogra Shastri) *samvat* year 168 (A.D. 1791), on the seventh day of the start of *sawan* (July-August) this picture was painted while sitting in the house of Labh at Nagar'.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 259-1955.

Description: Raja Bahadur Singh of Bhoti, a plump figure in white turban and *jama* and slate-blue waist-band and sash, sits on a broad bed with pale yellow sides conversing with his younger brother and Wazir. Each has a leather sword band and sling. A pink rug with chocolate-brown stripes is spread beneath them. Plain green foreground. Dull pink wall above which appears a mango tree and view of greyish-blue sky with curly grey and white clouds.

Discussion: Principal figure as in 1 but with a longer and more thinly pointed beard. Similar striped rug. Nagar (town) was the name given to the capital of Bhoti (Krimchi).

3 Raja Bahadur Singh (c.1770-c.1810) of Bhoti sitting with his children. Bhoti, c.1791.

185 x 248 mm; border trimmed.

Inscribed in *takri* characters on the green background above the heads of the three seated children from left to right: (1) *sri miye je singh* (2) *miye tara singh* (3) *miye labh singh* (1) 'Sri Mian Jai Singh' (2) 'Mian Tara Singh' (3) 'Mian Labh Singh'; and on the reverse in Persian characters in red ink: *bahadur singh aur larke* 'Bahadur Singh and his sons'.

Victoria and Albert Museum, Rothenstein collection, I.S. 179-1951, formerly Jammu Raj collection, from which it passed to Mansuram Raina, a family priest, thence to his widow, Durgi Raina of Pacca Danga, Jammu, and thence to a 'German' dealer (Imre Schwaiger?) from whom it came on the Indian or London art-markets. For details, see Jammu: Reigns and Portraits xxi, Pratap Singh (information, Sansar Chand Sharma).

Published: Archer (1952), fig. 51.

Description: Raja Bahadur Singh of Bhoti, a corpulent figure in white turban and *jama* and slate blue waist-band, sits holding a hookah and leaning against a deep golden yellow cushion with bluish-grey sprigs. Beside him on a white rug patterned with pink sprigs are seated three young boys all in white *jamias* — the one nearest to him on the left wearing a pink cap with red stripes, the middle one holding a cup and wearing a dark blue cap with white spots, the one furthest from him on the right having a plain white cap. Below them is a little girl with anklets and curly black hair standing in a dark blue robe. Pink carpet with dark chocolate brown stripes. Pale green background. On either side tall attendants in white *jamias* and turbans — the one to the left waving a peacock-feather fan, the one on the right holding a long pair of white tongs.

Discussion: Similar in composition to no. 1(1), Bahadur Singh exactly as in no. 2. The fact that Jai Singh is seated by his side and is referred to as 'Sri Mian,' in contrast to the other two children who are noted as plain 'Mian,' implies his superior status as eldest son and heir-apparent. Like 1 and 2, the picture is notable for its pale colours and severely geometrical arrangement, suggestive once again of Jammu influence, though of a simple kind (Jammu q.v.).

4 Raja Bahadur Singh (c.1770-c.1810) of Bhoti with Wazir Samtu. Bhoti, dated 1793.

Pink border with red rules.

Inscribed on the front in *takri* characters (1) over Bahadur Singh: *sri raja bahadur singh* and (2) over the standing courtier: *samtu wazir*; and on the reverse in *takri* characters: (1) *ghasitu khatre (?)* (2) *samat 170 saun pra (vishte) 1 ehe chitra likh* 'In the (Dogra Shastri) *samvat* year 170 (A.D. 1793) on the first day of the start of *Sawan* (July-August) this picture was painted'; and in Persian characters: *bahadur singh wazir samtu* and in English: *Bahadur Singh Wazir Shedeer*.

Welch collection, Cambridge, Mass.

Description: Raja Bahadur Singh of Bhoti, a huge figure of enormous girth, stands in an open landscape smoking a hookah, held for him by an attendant with red and white conical cap. He wears a pink *jama* with red stripes. A long sword hangs at his side. He faces on the left Wazir Samtu, a man with dark brown skin, blue trunks, red shoes and a white cloth loosely draped from his left shoulder to his right hip. Open landscape in dull green, streaked with three lines of trees. In the sky curly white and grey clouds as in 2.

Discussion: A picture whose easy informality once again suggests the relaxed intimacy of portraiture under Raja Balwant Singh of Jammu. Bahadur Singh, as large as Falstaff or Orson Welles, is shown with solid amplitude while Wazir Samtu, perhaps a successor of Wazir Labh, appears before him in a state of semi-undress. The fact that Bahadur Singh should be portrayed in one picture informally seated at his younger brother and Wazir's house and in another interviewing a second Wazir who is far from formally attired, raises a strong presumption that these portraits are products of Bhoti, his home state and are the work of an artist on intimate and familiar terms with the patron.

5 Raja Bahadur Singh (c.1770-c.1810) of Bhoti proceeding through the country. Bhoti, c.1793.

225 x 347; with borders 245 x 372 mm. Dark blue border with faint floral scrolls.

Inscribed in *takri* characters on the face of the picture: (1) top mounted figure on the left: *wazir samtu* (2) mounted figure on the left immediately below him: *miye samrath singh* (3) lowest mounted figure on the left: *roch singh*.

Chandigarh Museum.

Description: Bahadur Singh of Bhoti in a white *jama* mounted on a white horse is proceeding through a golden yellow landscape, preceded by a large posse of retainers armed with swords. He carries a hawk and has a quiver full of arrows at his waist. At the head of the party is a tall figure in long white *jama* standing beside a saddled horse and raising his left hand as if in greeting. To the right, below the horse, is a group of four musicians, two of them beating drums, one clashing cymbals and the fourth perhaps playing on a flute. One of the retainers wielding a huge green fan on a long pole turns to face Bahadur Singh, while a footman striding beside him raises a peacock-feather fan. Behind Bahadur Singh come the three figures named in the inscriptions — all of them dressed in white *jamias*. Wazir Samtu and Roch Singh carrying long, thin lances, the central figure (Mian Samrath Singh) riding a black horse. Dominating the foreground is a large white dog with brown patches, perhaps the favourite animal of Bahadur Singh. Further landscape streaked with lines of trees. Grey sky with rising sun.

Discussion: Although the picture is uninscribed with the name of the central rider, he is clearly the same Raja Bahadur Singh of 1-4. It is significant that Wazir Samtu of 4 is included, this time ceremoniously clad. The picture is remarkable for its golden yellow background, bold white dresses, tightly herded retainers and large dog and is clearly a local version of a standard type of processional portrait, best exemplified by 'Balwant Singh hunting partridges' (Jammu, no 46). The decline in sensitivity of drawing, grasp of composition and gradation of colouring is perhaps to be explained by its late date and more provincial origin.

6 A court figure listening to music. Bhoti, c.1793.

211 x 256 mm. Red border trimmed leaving only a black inner line.

Private collection.

Published: Skelton (1961), pl. 78.

Description: An unidentified figure in pink *jama* and turban sits against a bright orange cushion smoking a hookah on a terrace. Behind him is a youth with fly-whisk. Two musicians, in pink and yellow sit before him with drum and *tambura*. White carpet with dark blue stripes. In the background an open landscape streaked with lines of trees as in 5. In the sky curly clouds as in 2 and 4.

Discussion: As observed by Skelton, similar in style to 1, 1(1) and 3 — the chief figure having something of the farouche quality of Wazir Labh in no. 1(1).

7 Horse and groom. Bhoti, c.1790-1795.

171 x 275 mm. Trimmed.

Inscribed on reverse in *takri* characters: (1) *chamani* (meaning unclear) (2) *ghori haraja* 'Haraj horse'.

Victoria and Albert Museum, Gayer-Anderson collection, I.S. 276-1952.

Description: A chestnut stallion with green and orange saddle-cloth and mauve girth-band, three of its legs stained orange-red, stands on a narrow piece of dark green sward. A groom in long white ankle-length *jama* leads it by a white rope. Pale green background. At the top a band of slate-blue sky. The horse is painted on one sheet of paper, the groom on another, the two sheets being joined together.

Discussion: Like other Bhoti pictures, this horse study is derivative from Jammu painting with which it shares the device of joining two sheets of paper together. For examples of this practice, see *Jammu*, nos. 35, 38, 48. The subject, a horse led by a groom, also appears in 'Raja Balwant Singh inspecting a horse' (*Jammu*, no. 34) and in *Bhoti*, no. 5, where the same type of long white figure stands beside a similar riderless horse. The picture's general roughness of execution makes it more likely that it was done at Bhoti, i.e. at some distance from Jammu rather than under the immediate influence of Nainsukh or his descendants.

PAINTING IN CHAMBA

INTRODUCTION

GEOGRAPHY

A large state, sixty-five miles long and fifty miles wide, bounded on the south by Kangra, Guler and Kotla, on the south-west by Nurpur and the Punjab Plains, on the west by Basohli and Bandralta, on the north-west by Bhadrawah and Kashtwar, on the north and north-east by Kashmir, on the east by Lahul and on the south-east by Bangahal and Kulu. Capitals: Brahmor (Brahmapura) until A.D. 930; Chamba itself from then on.

SCENERY

Vigne (1842): 'Chamba may be visited either from Nurpur or Bisuli. On the way from Nurpur, six miles distant, is the noble hill-fortress of Taraghur or Satara Gurh. Thence to Chuwari it is about five miles more, in a straight line, and thence again the natives call it twelve kos to Chumba. In a straight line it may be ten or eleven miles; but a long and lofty pass is to be ascended in the way, whose summit, about 8,000 feet in height, lies equidistant from Chuwari on the one side and the Ravi, which runs beneath Chumba, on the other.

'The path winds amongst the picturesque banks and inequalities on its summit; and the fir-trees with which they are covered intercept the splendid prospect of the plains to the south and the wall of the Himalaya to the northward; different views of which are enjoyed in perfection from the open spaces on either side of the mountain. A coarse gneiss is found on the ridge, which is covered with snow from December to April and the large town of Chumba appears in the valley at its foot, situated at the confluence of the Ravi and the Sal — the latter a small stream which flows from the eastward. Chumba is surrounded on all sides by stupendous mountains.

'I approached Chumba from Bisuli and left it by the route I have just described. The march from Bisuli is performed, with baggage, in three days. There are also two paths from Bisuli: one ascends the right bank of the Ravi and the other, on the second day, rises over the hills. I preferred the latter, as it is somewhat shorter; and the magnificence of the scenery amply repaid me for a little extra fatigue. The first march from Bisuli winds amongst precipices formed in the sandstone strata, from a less to a greater height of 300 feet above the river. The summits of Montserrat itself are not more curiously shaped, or boast a more interesting formation than these strata; although they are but a miniature representation of that wonderful mass of conglomerate: as in many places the shingle and red gravel may have been disturbed, were we to judge merely by the freshness of their appearance, but a few years ago, I found no shells or remains of any kind.

'The village cottages were whitewashed and thatched, with a neatness that would not have disgraced those of England; thick topes, or clumps of mango trees, were plentiful around them; and the whole aspect of the country told favourably of the Rajah's government.

'On the second day's march the halt was at Bari. From the summit of the pass above it, the whole horizon was bounded, on the north, by that part of the snowy range which lines the western bank of the Chunab, as it descends through the Ponga valley and forms a division between the dominions of Ladak and Chumba. Its distance is about fifty miles, and it appears to be elevated several thousand feet above the limit of the forest and is called simply the Pala Dhara — 'the Shepherd's Mountains'. The intervening country is occupied by the long ridges and valleys, that slope from it downwards towards the Ravi and by vast swelling mountains, rising directly, with one unbroken

sweep, from the very beds of the rivers that flow between them; their sides and rounded summits covered with jungle, but interspersed with villages, to be detected only in the distance by the little plateaux of cultivation which are almost invariably extended around them.

'When crossing the summit, I met a marriage procession. The bridegroom was journeying to the house of the bride, attended by a band of music and numerous friends apparelled in the gayest colours and carrying the bridegroom in a kind of open sedan. As they wound down the mountain-path to the village of the bride, which was situated at an immense depth below, their wild notes floated to the opposing bank and, multiplied by surrounding echoes, rose softened into bursts of actual harmony, than which nothing could have been more in unison with the splendid scenery around.

'A very lofty and snowy cone rises with great majesty, at what appears to be the south end of the valley of the Ravi, distant but a very few miles from Chumba. The Ravi sweeps by it from the eastward, then turns and passes the town from north to south and continues in that direction for four or five miles after leaving Chumba, which is situated upon its north bank. The principal source of the Ravi is the little lake of Muni-Mys. Muni usually signifies a ruby, or a jewel and it might be here used in that sense, on account of the brilliancy of the water or as a term of veneration. I was told by the natives that it signified avalanche. Mys may be a corruption of Mahesh, which may signify the god Siva. Muni-Mys is situated on the mountains of Burmawur. It is considered by the Hindus to be a holy place and visited as such.

'The pathway from Bisuli descends upon the valley of the Ravi, about four miles below Chumba. It is very narrow, but all the available places are well cultivated. Chumba is a picturesque place and to me was a particularly interesting one, having never, the Rajah assured me, been visited by any other European traveller. The town is built around a rectangular mydan, or green, about 500 paces in length and about 80 in breadth and stands about 3,000 feet above the sea. The houses, about 1,000 in number, are low and built of wood, the roofs being of the same material. The population, at a guess, may be from 4,000 to 5,000. The palace of the Rajahs rises from an eminence overhanging the green and is of the same construction as the other houses, excepting that its foundations are of stone and that it is far more extensive' (I, 150).

HV (1933): 'At the time of its greatest expansion, the state also included the entire mountain fringe to the south of the Dhaula Dhar, called Rihlu and Palam, as far as Bangahal and also Padar and Bhadrawah in the Chinab Valley and was then about double its present area. In shape the state is more or less of a rough oblong, contracted towards the north. The greatest length, from south-west to north-east, is about 70 miles; and the greatest breadth, from south-east to north-west, about 50 miles. The average length may be put at 65 miles and the average breadth at 50 miles. Within this area are comprised a small portion of the Bias Valley; a section of the Ravi Valley, which is the Chamba Valley Proper; and a similar section of the Chinab Valley, called Pangri and Chamba-Lahul. The territory is wholly mountainous, with altitudes ranging from 2,000 to 21,000 feet above sea-level; the inhabited area reaching to 10,000 feet' (I, 268).

Visited by W.G.A. with M. S. Randhawa and Mulk Raj Anand, March 1960. We were then struck by the fact that the snow-covered Dhaula Dhar mountains effectively sealed off the state from Kangra and that even Basohli, Nurpur, Bhadrawah and Kashtwar could only be reached by crossing high passes. For the rest, it was the vast scale of the scenery which chiefly impressed us — the huge hills

descending in great steep slopes to narrow valleys far below. The polo-ground (*chaugan*) and rest-house (formerly the Superintendent's residence) had changed little since visited by French (*Himalayan Art*, 1931).

RELIGION

Although two temples to Shiva are among the earliest in Chamba town, the largest and most celebrated temple, the Lakshmi Narain, is a temple to Vishnu. Vigne (1842) gives the following popular account of its origin: 'Chumba is entirely inhabited by Hindus and the great glory of the place is its famous idol of Lakshmi Narayan, or Vishnu and his wife; the idol, though clothed in what appear to be female robes, being intended for Narayan or Vishnu. The Rajah informed me that the abode of this idol was originally at Mount Abu, the Guru Sikr, or Saint's Pinnacle, in the Dekkan. The shape of the stone temples, which are numerous in Chumba, are the same as those at Abu in general configuration; they resemble the top of a plantain-fruit, from which, perhaps the idea may have been taken. The carving of the ornaments is better at Chumba than at any other place I saw in the Alpine Panjab. Sixteen brothers of a former Rajah of Chumba (such was the Rajah's story to me) went to bring the Devi alive to Chumba. Fifteen out of the sixteen perished, on account of the resistance that was made. The Devi courted the friendship of the sixteenth and came with him willingly to Chumba. There, however, he soon made himself obnoxious, by obtruding himself into the Chumba zunanas. A Musalman fakir, Shah Mahdar, who was also a traveller and has his shrine upon many a hill in the north of India, chanced to arrive at Chumba. The married men of the town went to him and implored his interference in their behalf, against the newly imported divinity. The latter used to ride as usual through the air upon his *garuda* (a kite) and the fakir commanded the bird to watch and give the alarm when the Devi was coming forth for the next time. Lakshmi Narayan advanced his foot and the *garuda* uttered a cry, for which the enraged Devi transfixed him with an arrow. A pillar, that might pass for an imitation of the Doric, is placed in front of the temple and upon it is the gilt figure of the bird, as large as an eagle, transfixed with the arrow. This part of the fable is no doubt invented in order to prove that the god must now and for ever remain at Chumba, as he cannot move away without the *garuda*. Such is the reverence in which the idol is held, that I have been present when the Rajah and every person in his court ceased their conversation, arose from their seats and muttered a prayer whilst the bell was ringing at the shrine; precisely in the same way as I have heard the 'oration' of the Spaniards walking on the Paseo at Seville, when the convent bells rang the signal for vespers' (I, 158-159). For sharply differing accounts of its origin, see HV I, 285-286.

The *Gazetteer* emphasises that in the pre-Muhammadan period (i.e. pre-14th century), grants to temples by means of copper plate deeds have 'a distinct Shaiva character'. It adds that while 'two of them mention the erection of a temple to Vishnu, in the general formulae of the grants, the first place is given to Shiva. Rama is only quoted as an example of filial piety. Krishna is never spoken of. The prevalence of Shaivism is also borne out by the stone inscriptions, three of which record the founding of a Shiva temple. On the fountain-stones we usually find figures worshipping a *linga* . . . In the later copper-plates, on the contrary, Rama has become the designation of the supreme diety' (*Gazetteer*, 57).

Under Raja Balabhadra Varma (1589-1641), the most profuse grants to a temple were made to the Lakshmi Narain temple, Chamba town. The later emphasis on Rama is further shown by the fact that although Shiva and Devi have the largest number of worshippers in the villages, Chamba Rajputs in general adhere to Rama rather than to Shiva.

Although the worship of Vishnu predominates in Chamba town — Rama, Sita, Lakshmana and Hanuman being especially celebrated — Chamunda Devi (the Devi as goddess of war) also has special temples in Chamba town and in Churah (Chamba-Basohli border). Two temples, in or near Chamba town, are also dedicated to the Devi — one of them the Champavati, containing an image of Durga killing the buffalo-demon Mahishasura. Three further important Devi temples are the Lakshana at Bramaur, the Shakti at Chatrarhi and the Kali at Mirkula. Among other figures, the Shakti temple at Chatrarhi contains a row of cross-legged figures, of which nine represent the *nava grahas* i.e., the sun, moon, the five planets — Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus and Saturn — the eclipse-demon, Rahu and the comet Ketu (*Gazetteer* 47).

II. HISTORICAL NOTES

SOURCES

- Anon. *Punjab States Gazetteers, XXIIA, Chamba State, 1904* (Lahore, 1910).
 French, J. C. *Himalayan Art* (Oxford, 1931).
 Goetz, H. 'History of Chamba State in Mughal and Sikh Times', *Journal of Indian History* (1953), XXXI, 135-156.
 Goetz, H. 'The "Basohli" reliefs of the Brahmor Kothi, c. A.D. 1670', *Roopa Lekha* (1954), XXV, no. 1, 1-12.
 Goetz, H. 'The Art of Chamba in the Islamic Period', *Journal Baroda Oriental Institute* (1962), XI, 217-236.
 Goswamy, B. N. 'Painting in Chamba', *Asian Review* (1965), II, no. 2, 53-58.
 Hutchison, J. and Vogel, J. P. *History of the Panjab Hill States* (Lahore, 1933), I, 268-339.
 Vigne, G. T. *Travels in Kashmir, Ladak, Iskardo* (London, 1842).
 Vogel, J. P. *Catalogue of the Bhuri Singh Museum at Chamba* (Calcutta, 1909).

REIGNS AND PORTRAITS

According to tradition, the ruling family of Chamba is directly descended from Vishnu through Rama and Rama's second son, Kusha. Clan-name, Chamial (Chambial). Family suffix, Varman (until mid-sixteenth century); later Singh. Hutchison and Vogel (HV) are followed, unless otherwise stated.

1559-1641 BALABHADRA VARMAN (SINGH) (i)

Renowned for piety and acts of ruinous charity. Superseded by his son, Janardan, 1613-1623. Much trouble with Nurpur, leading to assassination of Janardan, re-emergence of Balabhadra and occupation of Chamba by Nurpur, 1623-1641. A period of contacts with Mughal imperial court and domination by Nurpur.

1641-1664 PRITHVI SINGH (ii)

Grandson of Balabhadra Varman. Son of Janardan. Born, 1623.

Smuggled out of Chamba at birth and reared in Mandi. Returned 1641 and with aid of Mandi and Suket assisted Mughal armies in suppressing a revolt by Jagat Singh of Nurpur. Recognised by Mughal emperor, Shah Jahan, as Raja of Chamba.

Internal affairs: A period of quiet consolidation. Built the Brahmor Kothi.

External affairs: Allied with Sangram Pal (1635-c.1673) of Basohli and, at Mughal instance, finally defeated Nurpur and regained Chamba state, 1642. Friction with Basohli on account of claims to territory, 1642-1648. Decided by Mughal Governor in Chamba's favour but not implemented.

External contacts: Pilgrimages to Allahabad, Banaras and Gaya. Regular visits to Delhi (court of Shah Jahan). Favoured by the emperor. Supposedly very handsome. Secretly inspected by ladies of the imperial palace.

Religion: Obtained from Shah Jahan in 1645 a stone image used as a weight in the imperial palace, Delhi and installed it as Raghur (Rama), the family deity of the Chamba rajas.

Marriage: A Basohli princess, daughter of Sangram Pal (1635-1673) of Basohli and sister of Kirpal Pal (*Gazetteer*).

Sons: Chattar (Shatru) Singh, Jai Singh, Indar Singh, Mahipat Singh, Raghunath Singh, Ram Singh, Shakat Singh, Raj Singh.

Portraits: (1) **Fig. 2 (Mankot).** Prithvi Singh seated at a window eating betel. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. Mankot, c.1660-1680. Grey cusped archway. Yellow background. Red border.

(2) Goetz (1954b), fig. 5; also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), no. 63; Randhawa (1967), fig. 1. Prithvi Singh seated on a striped rug holding a flower. Bhuri Singh Museum, Chamba. Chamba, c.1760 (perhaps from an earlier original). Identified by local royal tradition as Prithvi Singh.

(3) Goetz (1954a), fig. 11; also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), no. 65; Randhawa (1967), fig. 2. Prithvi Singh seated on a sprigged rug holding a flower and facing left. Bhuri Singh Museum, Chamba. Chamba, c.1760. Captioned 'Umed Singh' but same person as in (1)-(2).

(4) Ohri (1969), fig. 7. The young Prithvi Singh holding a fish. Wooden panel from the Brahmor Kothi. Bhuri Singh Museum, Chamba. Chamba, c.1700.

Portraits of second son, Jai Singh: Acted as Wazir for his elder brother, Chattar Singh.

(1) Khandalavala (1958), no. 46. Jai Singh seated with Shakat Singh (seventh son of Prithvi Singh). Inscribed at the top in *takri* characters: (1) *chambal mian jai singh* (2) *chambal mian shakat singh*. National Museum, New Delhi. Chamba, c.1680.

Portraits of fifth son, Raghunath Singh: (1) **Fig. 3 (Chamba).** Raghunath Singh seated with Sirdar Singh of Kashtwar. Archer collection, London. Chamba, c.1680.

1664-1690 CHATTAR SINGH (iii)

A period of gradually declining Mughal influence and greater Chamba independence.

Internal affairs: Employed his brother, Jai Singh, as Wazir throughout the reign.

Wars: Regained land from Basohli, 1666. Expanded into Kashtwar at the expense of Maha Singh. Leagued with Dhiraj Pal of Basohli, Raj Singh of Guler and Kirpal Dev of Jammu to resist Mughal inroads, 1690.

External contacts: Defied an order of the emperor Aurangzeb to demolish all Hindu temples, 1678. Began to boycott the imperial court. Allied with Kulu to annex part of Lahul.

Marriages: A Chamba princess (Chattar Singh's daughter) married to Bidhi Singh of Kulu, c.1680.

Sons: Udai Singh, Lakshman Singh.

Portraits: (1) **Fig. 1 (Chamba).** Chattar Singh attended by courtiers pouring liquor into a dish. National Museum, New Delhi. Chamba c.1680.

(2) **Fig. 2 (Chamba).** Chattar Singh visiting a shrine to Rama. Private collection. Chamba, c.1680.

(3) Goetz (1954b), fig. 6; also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), no. 64; Randhawa (1968), fig. 1; listed Vogel (1909), D.111. Chattar Singh smoking. Bhuri Singh Museum, Chamba. Chamba, c.1750. Identified to Vogel as Chattar Singh by Raja Bhuri Singh of Chamba. Same person as in (1) and (2).

1690-1720 UDAI SINGH (iv)

Son of Chattar Singh.

Jai Singh continues as Wazir until death in c.1696. After this a period of disintegration. HV comment: 'Udai Singh's reign began auspiciously. The young Raja was well-read and accomplished, the people were happy and contented and the country was prosperous' (I, 309).

Following the Wazir, Jai Singh's death, troubles, however, started. Goetz comments: 'After Jai Singh's death, c.1696, the administration disintegrated. Udai Singh, self-willed, took to evil ways, spent his day in debaucheries and sensual pleasures and at last appointed as his wazir a barber with

whose daughter he had fallen in love. Probably in 1708 he was removed from government and his cousin Ugar Singh (son of Mahipat Singh, fourth brother of Chattar Singh) made regent. But after a month Udai Singh re-asserted himself so that Ugar Singh had to flee to Jammu. At last his rule became so intolerable that a conspiracy of nobles and officials was formed and he was cut down, together with his brother, Lakhshman Singh, in 1720' (Goetz (1953), 141).

External affairs: Udai Singh, with help of Siba, Bilaspur and Mandi, re-instated the young Dalip Singh of Guler (threatened by rajas of Jammu, Bhadu and Basohli) in c.1695 but the war with Jammu and Basohli dragged on until 1708 (Goetz).

Marriages: Four ranis (all, together with eighteen maid-servants, committed *sati* at his death); his daughter married Raja Shamsher Sen (1727-1781) of Mandi (HV, II, 390).

Sons: None.

Portraits: (1) **Fig. 4 (Chamba).** Udai Singh smoking. National Museum, New Delhi. Chamba, c.1690.

(2) Udai Singh smoking. Inscribed at the top in *takri* characters: *chabial raja udai singh*. National Museum, New Delhi. Chamba, c.1750 or later. Plain sage-green background. Same person as in (1).

(3) Udai Singh seated, holding a hawk. Inscribed at the top in Persian characters: *raja udai singh chambavala*. Chandigarh Museum, Lambagraon collection. Chamba, c.1710. Pale yellow background. Green *jama* with white stripes.

1720-1735 UGAR SINGH (v)

Son of Mahipat Singh, fourth brother of Chattar Singh.

From c.1708 had lived in exile in Jammu — at first incognito, later at court. On death of Udai Singh, installed as Raja with aid of Raja Dhruv Dev of Jammu.

Wars: Dhiraj Pal of Basohli attacked Chamba, c.1722 but was killed in battle.

Sons: Umed Singh, Sher Singh.

Character: 'Ugar Singh was popular at first but as years went on the feelings of the officials towards him underwent a change and they decided to depose him and raise Dalel Singh to the throne' (HV, 312).

Note: Dalel Singh, son of Raghunath Singh (fifth brother of Chattar Singh) and his rani, a Jammu princess, had lived in Jammu with his maternal uncle. He had then been banished to Lahore by the Mughal Governor due to his suspected intrigues against Ugar Singh. On feeling in Chamba turning against Ugar Singh, c.1735, a new Mughal Governor supplied Mughal troops to enable Dalel Singh to depose him. In the fighting, Chamba town was burnt by Ugar Singh who escaped but died of wounds in Kangra.

Portraits: (1) **Fig. 10 (Jammu).** Ugar Singh with ladies. Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Jammu, c.1730.

1735-1748 DALEL SINGH (vi)

Son of Raghunath Singh, fifth brother of Chattar Singh.

Superseded Ugar Singh's two sons — Umed and Sher Singh.

As a precautionary measure induced the Mughal governor to confine them for thirteen years at Lahore where he himself had been confined by Ugar Singh. Ruled well but on a change of Mughal governor and under pressure from Basohli and Jasrota accepted Umed Singh as rightful heir and resigned the throne. After abdication remained in Chamba and later became a sadhu. A period of quiet stability and beneficent rule.

Marriage: His daughter to Bajai Dev of Jammu.

Sons: None.

Character: Pious.

Portraits: (1) **Fig. 20 (Jammu).** Dalel Singh seated smoking. Chandigarh Museum. By Fauju. Kangra, c.1760 (after a Jammu original).

1748-1764 UMED SINGH (vii)

Son of Ugar Singh (v). Confined in Lahore by Mughal Governor 1735-1748.

External affairs: Availed of Mughal collapse and anarchy in the Punjab Plains, c.1750, to re-acquire Rihlu, a southern

portion of Chamba bordering Kangra but lost to the Mughals (c.1580). With lapsing of Mughal authority, came increasingly into the orbit of Jammu (under Ranjit Dev, the paramount power in the northern hills). Employed a Jammu official, Aklū, as Wazir. Married a Jammu princess (sister of Ranjit Dev). Although restored to the Chamba throne with the aid of Basohli and Jasrota, was attacked by Basohli and forced to cede two districts, c.1760. Border friction with Kangra. Attacked by Kangra, 1752. Worsening relations, 1760 onwards.

Marriages: Jasrota, Jammu.

Son: Raj Singh.

Character: Just ruler. Able administrator. Dies aged 39.

Religion: The image of Raghbir is installed in the Kanchandi palace, Chamba.

Architecture: Built two palaces: (1) within Chamba town, the Kanchandi (Akhand Chandi), extended by Sri Singh and now known as 'the new palace' (French, Mittal); (2) a garden palace south of Chamba town, the Rang Mahal, extended by Raj, Jit, Charat and Sri Singh, now known as 'the old palace' (French, Mittal). Added a wing to the Kothi at Brahmor, c.1760. Built the Chamunda temple of Deviri-kothi in Churah (Chamba-Basohli border area).

Portraits: (1) **Fig. 20 (Chamba).** Umed Singh seated smoking. Central Museum, Lahore. Chamba, c.1750.

(2) **Fig. 21 (Chamba).** Umed Singh seated holding a rosary. Central Museum, Lahore. Chamba, c.1760.

(3) Mittal (1967), 29, fig. A. Umed Singh seated smoking. Mittal collection, Hyderabad. Chamba, c.1760.

(4) Craven (1966), fig. 62. Umed Singh smoking. Welch collection, Cambridge, Mass. Chamba, c.1755.

1764-1794 **RAJ SINGH** (viii)

Born 1755 (Goetz, HV). Son of Umed Singh. Succeeded at age of nine.

Minority 1764-1773

Regency of the Queen Mother, the Jammu rani (second wife of Umed Singh). Subjected to influence of Raja Ranjit Dev (1735-1773) of Jammu. Continued administration of Chamba by the Jammu Wazir, Aklū.

Majority 1773-1794

External affairs: The 'Jammu rani' dies c.1774. Raj Singh reacts against Jammu, removes and imprisons Aklū, the Jammu Wazir. Ranjit Dev counters by directing Amrit Pal (1757-1776) of Basohli to invade Chamba. Chamba town is captured by Amrit Pal and held for three months. Raj Singh, with aid of Ramgharia Sikh mercenaries, ejects him, 1774. 1782, Raj Singh invades and conquers Basohli and realises one lakh of rupees (the cost of previous Sikh help). Reaches an understanding with Jammu (Brijraj Dev), 1781-1787. 'By posing as a loyal vassal of Jammu and treating the expulsion of Aklū and then the defeat of Basohli as mere internal quarrels within the framework of the Jammu empire, Raj Singh could maintain himself in the favour of Brijraj Dev and take over practically the whole sphere of Jammu influence in the interior Himalaya' (Goetz (1953), 147). Kashtwar invaded and occupied by Chamba forces under Jit Singh (aged ten), 1785. Kashtwar's subordination to Chamba confirmed (see Chattar Singh, iii). With aid from Jammu, Chamba regains the Pathiyar fort captured by Ghamand Chand (1761-1773) of Kangra. Treaty of friendship with Kangra, 1788, but later, 1793, cession of Chamba border area of Rihlu demanded by Sansar Chand (1775-1823) of Kangra. Raj Singh killed in battle at Nerti (Rihlu taluk), but border area retained. Bhadrawah occupied by Chamba, 1783. Bhadrawah's subordination to Chamba confirmed. Fateh Pal (c.1770-c.1790) of Bhadrawah rules as a Chamba vassal; deposed by Raj Singh c.1790 and deported to Chamba. Bhup (Bhupal) Chand, younger brother of Fateh Pal, marries a Chamba princess, Atharbanu (HV, II, 626), has a son in 1789, succeeds as Raja of Bhadrawah, but is deposed by Jit Singh and deported to Chamba. Dies in Chamba. Bangahal (since 1750 part of Kulu) annexed by Chamba, 1778. Abortive alliance with Mandi and Bilaspur to annex Kulu, 1786. Foiled by rise to power of Kangra.

Marriages: Raj Singh to Naginu, daughter of Sampat Pal (c.1735-1770) of Bhadrawah (HV, II, 624); his daughter to

Brijraj Dev of Jammu; his sister Ananta Devi, to Prakash Chand (1773-c.1790) of Guler.

Son: Jit Singh, born 1775.

Architecture: Reconstruction of the Chamunda temple above Chamba town, 'a wooden hill temple with a ceiling completely covered with reliefs in the Kangra style' (Goetz (1953), 150).

Religion: Supplemented the family worship of Rama with a new emphasis on Krishna. Is said to have also paid Chamunda Devi special veneration and to have been promised by her an addition of twelve years to his life and the honour of dying in battle as he desired (*Gazetteer*, 101).

Painters: Settled Nikka, third son of the artist Nainsukh of Guler, on lands in Rajol, a village in the Rihlu area on the Kangra-Chamba border, held by Chamba from c.1760 but absorbed in Kangra at the instance of the Sikh Governor of the Kangra Hills, Desa Singh Majithia, in 1821 (Goswamy, 1965b). The fact that the family was designated in the Land Settlement Report of 1868 as 'painters by caste' suggests that it was in the capacity of artists that Nikka was given this grant of land.

Portraits: (1) **Fig. 37 (Chamba).** The young Raj Singh watching a dancing girl with musicians. Mehta collection, Ahmedabad. Chamba, c.1772.

(2) **Fig. 40 (Chamba).** Raj Singh with his consort, the rani Naginu of Bhadrawah and heir-apparent, Jit Singh. Bhuri Singh Museum, Chamba. Chamba, c.1780. Identified by family tradition.

(3) Mittal (1967), fig. 17; also reproduced Randhawa (1967), col. pl. 1. Raj Singh smoking with the child, Jit Singh, stretching out his hands to clutch a hawk. Mittal collection, Hyderabad (from a private collection, Chamba). Chamba, c.1780. Same person as in (2).

(4) **Fig. 43 (Chamba).** Raj Singh smoking. Bhuri Singh Museum, Chamba. Chamba, c.1785-1790. Identified by family tradition. Beard perceptibly longer. Appearance as in (5), (6), and (7).

(5) Listed Gupta (1922), D.63. Raj Singh smoking. Sketch. Central Museum, Lahore. Chamba, c.1785-1790.

(6) **Fig. 42 (Chamba).** Raj Singh seated smoking under a tree with courtiers and singing-girls. Sketch. Central Museum, Lahore. Chamba, c.1785-1790.

(7) **Fig. 51 (Guler).** Raj Singh visiting Jai Singh Kanheya. Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 128-1955. Guler, c.1775.

(8) Jai Singh Kanheya receiving Raj Singh and other Hill dignitaries. Chandigarh Museum, Guler Raj collection. Guler, c.1774. See **Guler no. 51(1)**.

(9) Gangoly (1961), pl. 33A. Raj Singh (?) with lady on a terrace. Baroda Museum, Chamba, c.1790-1810. Possibly the same person as in (5)-(8) but perhaps executed later.

(10) Listed Mittal (1967), 35, no. 5. Raj Singh in durbar. National Museum, New Delhi. Chamba, c.1790.

(11) Listed Mittal (1967), 35, no. 8. Raj Singh. State Museum, Hyderabad. Chamba, c.1790.

(12) **Fig. 6 (Kangra).** Raj Singh in a durbar of Raja Tegh Chand (1774-1775) of Kangra. National Museum, New Delhi. Kangra, c.1774.

(13) **Fig. 44 (Chamba).** Raj Singh walking with his rani and ladies in a garden. Guimet Museum (Louvre), Paris. Chamba, c.1790-1795.

(14) Ujfalvy (1884), pl. 5; also reproduced Vogel (1947), pl. 4; Khandalavala (1958), no. 169. Raj Singh in durbar. Present whereabouts unknown. Chamba, c.1790.

1794-1808 **JIT SINGH** (ix)

Born 1775. Son of Raj Singh. Succeeded at age of nineteen. Dies 1808 aged thirty-three. Appoints a new Wazir, Nathu, from a local Chamba family, the Baratrus.

External affairs: Despite Raj Singh's death, Kangra forces were repelled with the loss of little territory, 1794. Rihlu remained in Chamba possession. 1806, Chamba joins the general alliance of Hill states with the Gurkhas against Kangra. Kangra Fort besieged, 1806-1809. Chamba forces sent. Ranjit Singh of Lahore intervenes, raises siege but levies tribute from Kangra and all the confederate states, including Chamba, 1809. War reopened with Basohli for border areas, 1796. Basohli conquered. Indemnity exacted.

Bhadrawah continued in subjection to Chamba. Bhup (Bhupal) Chand of Bhadrawah deposed and deported to Chamba. Chamba replaces Jammu as head of the northern hills.

Marriage: Sarada Devi, a princess from Jammu.

Sons: Charat Singh, Zorawar Singh.

Character: Prudent, skilful administration. Maintained a large army. No debt.

Summing-up: (Goetz (1953), 151): 'The last years of Jit Singh's reign had witnessed a complete reversal of the world-political situation which had made the political dreams of the Rajput Hill states possible at all. Afghanistan lost even its precarious control over the Panjab, and the Sikhs were united by Ranjit Singh of Lahore between A.D. 1798 and 1812. Divided into the twelve Misls and quarrelling one with the other, they had already been a danger for the hill states; united and drilled by European officers, they became irresistible. Moreover, the Dogras of Jammu, under a junior line of princes joining the Sikhs, attacked the other states from the west and north, whereas the Gurkhas weakened them by their invasion from the East. At this very juncture Chamba was burdened with a child (Charat Singh, 1808-1844) on the throne, later to grow into an indolent ruler, to be followed by two other nonentities. That the state survived was due to three facts. It had in the queen-regent, Sarada Devi and the wazirs, Nathu and Bhaga, some efficient and devoted administrators. As the second power in the hills, it was neither so prominent to be broken completely, nor so small as to be swallowed without consideration. It could accommodate itself to the new powers and buy off all designs on its existence by sacrificing one conquest after the other, until it was taken over into the British system of protected states, at last to go as a 'relic of the past' with the disappearance of British rule.'

Portraits: (1) Fig. 47 (Chamba), Jit Singh with one of his ranis. Bhuri Singh Museum, Chamba. Chamba, c.1800.

(2) Fig. 48 (Chamba), Jit Singh with his son, Charat Singh. Central Museum, Lahore. Chamba, c.1805.

1808-1844 CHARAT SINGH (x)

Born 1802. Son of Jit Singh. Succeeded at age of six.

Minority 1808-1820

Regency of the Jammu rani, Sarada Devi, aided by Wazir, Nathu. 'A wise and far-seeing woman' (*Gazetteer*). Erected (1) Radha Krishna temple, Chamba town, 1825 and (2) the 'fountain house' at the Suhi-da-Marh aqueduct. Nathu also much respected. Chamba tributary to Ranjit Singh (Sikh Maharaja, Lahore) but not occupied by Sikhs. Bhadrawah annexed to Chamba, 1820.

Majority 1820-1844

Nathu remains Wazir until his death in 1839.

External affairs: Bir Singh (1805-1846) of Nurpur married to a sister of Charat Singh. Expelled from Nurpur by Sikh Ranjit Singh, flees to Chamba, 1815, but leaves at once. Again seeks refuge in Chamba, 1826. Is surrendered to Ranjit Singh and imprisoned, 1826-1834. Ransomed by Charat Singh. Lives mainly in Chamba, 1834-1846. Part of Chamba is annexed by Jammu (Gulab Singh), 1834. An invasion of Bhadrawah by Jammu is repulsed by Chamba, 1836. A *modus vivendi* with the Sikh Maharaja Ranjit Singh is effected by Wazir Nathu. After his death (1839), a steady deterioration. Under the Sikh child Maharaja Dalip Singh (1843-1848), Hira Singh Chief Minister (1843-1844) and Pandit Jalla of Basohli, his chief adviser; more Sikh interference. Jalla appointed a Basohli relative as Sikh agent in Chamba who 'looted the country so shamelessly that he drove the humiliated officials to desperation' (Goetz (JH, 1953) 154).

Marriages: (1) Chanehni (2) ? (3) Kangra; of these three ranis the first two committed *sati*; the third, the Kangra princess, survived as queen regent. Charat Singh's sister married Raja Bir Singh of Nurpur.

Sons: Sri Singh, Gopal Singh, Suchet Singh.

Character: *Gazetteer*: 'Zorawar Singh, the Raja's younger brother, is still remembered in Chamba and the people love to dwell upon the cordiality and affection which existed between the two brothers. Charat Singh never went to

Lahore himself but always sent Zorawar Singh instead and in 1833 he was raised to the dignity of Raja of Bhadrawah and was then spoken of as 'Chota Raja'. Possibly this title had some association with the ancient designation of 'Yuvaraja' and till the birth of Sri Singh in 1839, Zorawar Singh must have been regarded as heir-apparent. . . . Charat Singh was afflicted with a form of melancholia which cast a cloud over the last two or three years of his life. He died in 1844 in the 42nd year of his age. Two ranis and six concubines became *sati*, this being the last occasion of such a rite in Chamba. He left three sons, all of whom were mere children at the time of their father's death.'

Vigne (1842): 'Cherut Singh, the Rajah of Chumba, is now, I should think about forty-six years of age, for thirty of which has been upon the *gaddi* (royal cushion). He is not tall and is inclined to corpulency, with a full face, light complexion, good profile and a large eye, a somewhat heavy expression and a weak and drawling voice. Zurawur Singh ('the powerful lion') is not so corpulent as his brother, with very handsome but inexpressive features and was always splendidly dressed, à la Sikh, with a chelenk of rubies and emeralds worn on the forehead, over the turban. He allowed me to draw his profile, but he pretended that he did not care about having it taken and I could never persuade him to sit quiet. The Rajah was more complaisant; he sat like a statue and was so pleased with his own likeness, that I was obliged to present it to him and make another for myself. After I had succeeded tolerably with poor Bir Singh, I handed the drawing to Cherut Singh for his inspection, who, upon seeing the long, melancholy face of his Quixote-looking brother-in-law portrayed upon paper, was wholly unable to check a disposition to laughter, and burst into a long-continued chuckle, in which all regard for Oriental gravity and decorum was quite forgotten.

'The family of Cherut Singh are Rajputs of the highest caste. He claims a descent from the Rajahs of Jaudpur in Marwar; and though he paid an annual tribute to the Maharajah, Runjit Singh, yet he has never been to make his salaam, or tender him the homage of an inferior, and has always sent his brother, Zurawar Singh, in his stead, to the plains of the Panjab; and his travels have never extended beyond Chinini, whither he went to claim and carry off his bride, a daughter of the Rajah of that place, whom I shall afterwards notice. He passes his time very monotonously, devoting a great part of every morning to his puja, or Hindu worship; then follows the breakfast; and then the long siesta. He then gives a short attention to business and afterwards he and his brother ride up and down the green, upon an elephant, between two others, in the centre of a line of a dozen well-mounted horsemen. The Rajah is said to be a good man; but his subjects, as is generally the case in the East, are much robbed and oppressed by his superior officers. His Vuzir, Nutu, much celebrated through the country for his superior sagacity and wisdom, died about seven years ago and was a great loss to his master.

'The dominions of the Chumba Rajah are much larger than those of any other potentate in the mountains north of the Panjab; their extent from north to south being about fifty miles in a straight line, but somewhat less from east to west. I should say that they were not well peopled, and that, in case of necessity, he could not bring above fifteen hundred armed men into the field. I do not know the amount of his revenue, but should not think it large' (I, 155-157).

Portraits: (1) French (1951), pl. 4; listed Vogel (1909), D.8. Charat Singh with his rani in a pleasure garden at Rajnagar. Bhuri Singh Museum, Chamba. Chamba, c.1840. Identified to Vogel by Raja Bhuri Singh on the basis of family tradition.

(2) Fig. 55 (Chamba), Charat Singh and his rani watching a thunder-storm. Bhuri Singh Museum, Chamba. Chamba, c.1840.

(3) Randhawa (1968), fig. 8. Charat Singh listening to music. Bhuri Singh Museum, Chamba. Chamba, c.1840.

(4) Fig. 56 (Chamba), Charat Singh seated smoking. Sketch, Central Museum, Lahore. Chamba, c.1835-1840.

(5) Ujfalvy (1884), pl. 4. Charat Singh and a rani watching

a thunder-storm. Present whereabouts unknown. Chamba, c.1830-1840 (?).

Portraits of his brother, Zorawar Singh: (1) Listed Gupta (1922), D.67. Zorawar Singh. Chamba, c.1840. Central Museum, Lahore.

1844-1870 SRI SINGH (xi)

Born 1839. Son of Charat Singh by his Kangra rani. Succeeded at the age of five.

Minority 1844-1857

Internal affairs: Regency of the Kangra rani. Wazir: Nathu's son and successor, Wazir Bhaga (1838-1854). Zorawar Singh (brother of Charat) intrigues for the throne but is forced to flee to Jammu. Dies 1845. Gradual deterioration in administration.

Sikhs: Pandit Jalla's Basohli relative, the Sikh agent, murdered 1844. Jalla retaliates by occupying Chamba town with a Sikh force. Evacuated by Sikhs, 1845, on outbreak of first Anglo-Sikh War. Under the first Treaty of Lahore (1846) Chamba ceded to the British, later under Treaty of Amritsar (1846) is amalgamated with Jammu under Gulab Singh. 'Thereupon Wazir Bhaga immediately proceeded to Lahore, explaining that by Ranjit Singh's order of 1821, Chamba had been given a status similar to that of Jammu and that its non-participation in the recent war had placed it also in a similar position vis-a-vis the British. Sir Henry Lawrence thereon took Chamba under direct British protection but indemnified Gulab Singh by transferring Bhadrawah to Jammu' (Goetz (1953), 155).

Majority 1857-1870

Wazir Bhaga dies, 1854. Chamba supports British in Mutiny, 1857.

Marriage: To Suket princess, Dei Sarda (daughter of Raja Ugar Sen (1838-1876) of Suket). 'The men who came with her gradually usurped all authority' (HV). This Chamba-Suket friction was ended by the installation of a British Superintendent, Col. Blair Reid, 1863. Chamba State modernised (HV, I, 329-331).

Children: One son (died in infancy). One daughter married to Ranbir Singh of Jammu and Kashmir.

Character: Dies 1870, aged 31. 'Though not well-educated, wise and sagacious . . . generous and amiable . . . much beloved by the people' (HV).

1870-(1873) 1895 GOPAL SINGH (xii)

Brother of Sri Singh but by a different rani.

British Superintendents: 1870-1872, Col. Blair Reid; 1872-1873, Col. G. A. MacAndrew. Abdicates 1873.

Sons: Sham Singh (born 1866), Bhuri Singh (born 1869). Partap Singh (born post 1873).

1873-(1904) 1905 SHAM (SHYAM) SINGH (xiii)

Born 1866. Son of Gopal Singh. Succeeded at age of seven.

Minority 1873-1884

British Superintendents: 1874-1877, Col. Blair Reid; 1877-1879, R. T. Burney, C.S.; 1879-1885, Capt. C. A. T. Marshall.

Visitors: Ujjvaly visited Chamba, 1881.

Marriages: (1) a grand-daughter of Maharaja Ranbir Singh (1857-1885) of Jammu and Kashmir, 1883, (2) cousin of Raja of Sirmur, 1883.

Sons: None.

Majority 1884-1904

Granted full powers of Ruling Chief by the British, 1884. British Superintendent replaced by a Wazir, 1885. The 'new' palace, Chamba town, rebuilt. Mian Bhuri Singh (his brother) becomes Wazir, 1898. Sham Singh abdicates, due to illness, 1904. Dies, aged 39, 1905.

1904-1919 BHURI SINGH (xiv)

Brother of Sham Singh. 'A golden age'. Cultured, popular, efficient. Finds the Chamba Museum. Deposits in it the Chamba Raj's family collection of paintings (catalogued Vogel, 1909).

Death: Dies suddenly, aged 50, 1919.

Children: Two sons, the elder, Ram Singh; two daughters.

Portraits: (1) Bhuri Singh at his accession. India Office

Library, London. Chamba Album, *Photo no. 264*. Photograph, 1904.

(2) Vogel (1909), frontispiece. Titled: *Raja Sir Bhuri Singh, K.C.S.I., C.I.E. Raja of Chamba*. Photograph, c.1905.

IMPLICATIONS FOR PAINTING

Personality of rulers

As in other states in the Punjab Hills, local archives and records, though surviving in Chamba to a marked degree, give, in the main, little idea of royal character. The following points may, however, be made. Due possibly to the family's mythical descent from Rama, all the Chamba rajas in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (with the exceptions of Udai and Ugar Singh (iv, v) were either exceptionally religious or firmly moral. Prithvi Singh's pilgrimages and acquisition of the family idol, Raghur, Chhattar Singh's defiance of Aurangzeb and Dalel Singh's abdication in favour of the religious life are only some of the more striking instances of what was, by and large, a general trait. The fact that the cult of Rama should have had this crucial effect on character testifies to its role in Chamba court life and could explain an unusual prevalence of *Ramayana* and Rama themes in local painting. It is significant that one of the most religious of eighteenth century Chamba rulers, Dalel Singh, reigned from 1735-1748, a period which, in certain other states, was markedly important for painting.

From the last third of the eighteenth century until the end of the nineteenth, four Chamba rulers — Raj (viii), Charat (x), Sri (xi) and Sham (xiii) — were minors at their accession, the relevant queen-mothers accordingly playing important roles in state life. The fact that Chamba royal ladies could sustain such roles may also partly account for a strong emphasis on religious themes — palace ladies in the Punjab Hills, as elsewhere in India, tending to be even more devotionally minded than their masculine counterparts.

Relations with other states

Although Chamba occupied a central position in the Punjab Hills, lying north of Kangra and deep in the Himalayas, its capital on the Ravi was much closer to Basohli on the west than to Kulu on the east. As a consequence, while friendships and feuds with states to the south-east occasionally developed, it was chiefly with states to the west or south that Chamba was involved.

Basohli. As its closest and most powerful neighbour on the south-west, Basohli had a standing quarrel with Chamba concerning a border area, Churah. Because of this, the two states were usually on bad terms and when not actually at war were somewhat uneasily at peace. In view of this long-standing enmity, little collaboration in the sphere of painting in the eighteenth century is likely, but at the end of the seventeenth, when relations were slightly better and Basohli painting at its most brilliant, Basohli may have had a fertilising effect on Chamba painting.

Mankot. Although no specially friendly ties between Mankot and Chamba are stressed, no instances of war between them are recorded. Since as early as 1670, Mankot (q.v.) had developed its own distinctive style of local portraiture, it is possible that before succumbing to strong Basohli influence, Mankot painters may have gone to Chamba in search of subjects. The adoption in Mankot of a variant of the Basohli manner in about 1700 might also explain the appearance of a sub-Basohli style in Chamba a little later.

Guler. From 1720 until 1770, relations between Guler and Basohli were especially close. Not only were the two states linked by marriage, but Guler painters are known to have worked at the Basohli court while retaining their family homes in Guler. The closeness of this tie does not seem, however, to have prevented Guler from developing parallel relations with Chamba. In 1695, Udai Singh (iv) was chiefly responsible for installing Dalip Singh on the Guler throne

and the existence of friendly relations between the two states is attested by the marriage, possibly in the year 1765, of a Chamba princess, daughter of Umed Singh (vii), to Prakash Chand (1773-1790), heir apparent of Guler. This wedding may well have been of special importance since it could explain Guler influences on Chamba painting in the years 1760-1775, culminating in a migration to the Chamba court of the known Guler artist, Nikka. For proof of this migration, see Goswamy (1965b, 1966).

Nurpur. From 1650 to 1800, no active relations between Chamba and Nurpur are recorded, each state seemingly going its own way and neither cultivating the other's friendship. Early in the nineteenth century, however, a definite *rapprochement* occurred, since Bir Singh (1805-1846) of Nurpur was married, possibly in about 1800, to the sister of Charat Singh (x) of Chamba. His expulsion from Nurpur by the Sikhs in 1815 caused him to flee to Chamba that year, leave it almost immediately but return to Chamba in 1826. From 1834 until his death in 1846, he resided intermittently at the Chamba court. Assuming that he took the Nurpur royal collection of pictures with him to Chamba, this might explain Nurpur ingredients in Chamba painting in the early to mid-nineteenth century.

Kangra. As in the case of Basohli, Kangra was all along on bad terms with Chamba due to a similar kind of border-dispute. In this case the area involved was Rihlu, a fertile district south of the Daula Dhar mountains. Originally part of Chamba, it had been annexed by the Mughals, regained by Chamba in about 1750, fought for by Kangra in 1752, kept by Chamba, again fought for by Kangra in 1794 — Raj Singh (viii) perishing on the field — kept by Chamba despite Raj Singh's death, but finally annexed by the Sikh Governor of the Kangra Hills, Desa Singh Majithia. During the period of Kangra's ascendancy, 1794 to 1805, Jit Singh (ix) was probably obliged to attend the Kangra court from time to time, but in 1806 he joined with other Hill States to contest it. After 1809, Chamba became tributary to the Sikh Governor, who succeeded Sansar Chand as local paramount power. Since no Chamba marriages with Kangra are reported before about 1830 when Charat Singh (x) took his third rani from Kangra, it is unlikely that any cultural exchanges existed before the mid-nineteenth century. It was therefore from further down the 'Kangra Valley', i.e. from Guler, that influences on painting would have been derived. In the light of this circumstance, references by French (1931) to 'Kangra' and 'Kangra Valley' work at Chamba should perhaps be taken to mean 'Guler' rather than 'Kangra' proper.

Kulu. Due to the distance of the Chamba capital from Kulu and Chamba's involvement with states to the west and south, few contacts between Kulu and Chamba seem to have been made. The Chamba town of Brahmor (48 miles south-east of Chamba), however, was near the Kulu border and it is possible that craftsmen-carpenters from Kulu, influenced by the sub-Basohli type of Kulu painting which seems to have developed in Kulu in the years 1690-1710, may have executed some wooden panels on the *kothi* (or governor's residence) there. It is significant that throughout the Punjab Hills, painters were termed carpenters. These panels, now in the Bhuri Singh Museum, Chamba, may have served as models for a type of Chamba painting which seems to have flourished at Chamba in the years 1710 to 1740. Prior to their execution, Bidhi Singh (1672-1688) of Kulu had been actively allied with Chattar Singh (iii) of Chamba, the two rulers joining forces to annex part of Lahul. Bidhi Singh had also married a Chamba princess, Chattar Singh's daughter, at Brahmor Kothi. Following this alliance, no further ties are recorded and, at the end of the eighteenth century in 1778, Kulu's gathering weakness prompted Chamba to annex Bangahal, then part of Kulu. A little later, in 1786, Chamba combined with Mandi and Bilaspur in an abortive alliance against Kulu. While Kulu influences in Chamba painting in the early eighteenth century are quite possible, later influences seem unlikely.

Mandi. Although, like Kulu, Mandi was over-far from Chamba, relations between the two states seem to have been generally cordial. Shamsher Sen (1727-1781), the eccentric ruler of Mandi, married a daughter of Uday Singh (iv), himself an eccentric with a similar *penchant* for 'low companions' (Mandi, q.v.). Uday Singh's action in making his barber the state Wazir must almost certainly have earned him Shamsher Sen's delighted approbation. The fact that in addition to marrying a daughter of Umed Singh (vii) of Chamba, Prakash Chand of Guler also married Shamsher Sen's daughter, suggests that, for a time, there may have been some kind of cultural axis between Chamba and Mandi — Guler providing the common link.

Bhadrawah. Until the late eighteenth century, Bhadrawah seems to have had little to do with Chamba. In 1783, however, it was occupied by Chamba forces and from then onwards became a Chamba dependency. Inter-marriages and the attendance of Bhadrawah princes at the Chamba court could explain Bhadrawah subjects in Chamba portraiture.

Jammu. As the most prosperous and powerful state in the western Hills for much of the eighteenth century, Jammu had prolonged influence in Chamba affairs. Ugar Singh (v) resided at the Jammu court from 1708 to 1720 and was installed in Chamba with Jammu aid. His successors Dalel Singh (vi) and Umed Singh (vii) were both married in Jammu and it was the Jammu queen-mother who acted as regent during the minority of Raj Singh (viii). Jammu officials served as Wazirs. Under Raj Singh, Jammu supremacy weakened and by 1794 Chamba had replaced Jammu as paramount power. Even then, the practice of allying the state with Jammu persisted, Jit Singh (ix) marrying a Jammu princess. These close ties do not seem, however, to have affected Chamba painting. This was because, apart from work produced for Balwant Singh (youngest brother of Ranjit Dev q.v.), Jammu did not itself have any strongly local style of painting in the eighteenth century.

The Mughals. Although Chamba rulers attended the imperial court at Delhi in the seventeenth century and paid tribute to the Mughal Governor at Lahore in the eighteenth, no Chamba rulers appear to have served in the imperial armies. Two rulers (vi, vii), however, were detained in Lahore for periods before ascending the Chamba throne and it is possible that, as a result, provincial Mughal styles slightly affected Chamba painting in the mid-eighteenth century.

The Sikhs. Due to its remoteness from the Plains, Chamba escaped Sikh exploitation under Ranjit Singh, but following his death in 1839, it was interfered with in 1844 by Pandit Jalla, the Basohli adviser of Hira Singh, Chief Minister at the Sikh court. Between 1830 and 1850, little Sikh influence is discernible in painting, though various members of the Chamba court and royal family found it politic to wear Sikh dress. The adoption of Sikh dress as an optional court costume may account for Sikh-like elements in later Chamba painting.

III. PAINTING: REVIEW OF LITERATURE

1884

Ujfalvy, K. E. von, *Aus dem Estlichen Himalaja* (Leipzig, 1884), 87-95, 6 figs.

Hungarian anthropologist. Visited Chamba in the summer of 1881, and obtained from Raja Shyam Singh (1873-1905), then a boy of fifteen, six Chamba pictures which he describes and reproduces. One of them — the third listed — is identical with a portrait of Raja Raj Singh (1764-1794), in the Guimet Museum, Paris (Louvre collection). The six pictures are as follows:

- (1) A Hawking scene.
- (2) Raja Charat Singh (1808-1844) at prayers.
- (3) Raja Raj Singh (1764-1794), with his rani and four maids carrying two hookahs, a peacock fan and a sword (the Guimet picture). See no. 44.
- (4) Raja Charat Singh (1808-1844) and his rani watching a thunderstorm. Compare no. 55.
- (5) Raja Raj Singh (1764-1794) seated in full darbar inside a pavilion in a pleasure garden.
- (6) Ganesh and two lady attendants (invocatory page to a manuscript).

Although Ujfalvy states that the objects collected by him in the course of his travels were partly placed in the Ethnographical Museum, Paris, the only picture of the six so far traced is the portrait of Raj Singh now in the Guimet Museum. See Stchoukine (1929); Archer (1952).

Describes how when he arrived at Chamba, the palace was in process of being restored. There were two large courtyards surrounded by verandahs of which the walls and ceilings were decorated with murals. Some halls and chambers had carved beds but the furniture was mostly European in design and was draped in tasteless yellow silk. In one room, Raja Shyam Singh showed Ujfalvy a local painter engaged in restoring parts of the old murals which had become blurred and damaged by time. Ujfalvy considered that the murals, 'despite their lack of proportion' were none the less 'very attractive in colouring' and were 'of remarkable delicacy of work' whereas the modern Chamba painter's efforts were 'cold and lifeless imitations', which spoiled the earlier effects. He then describes how the Raja showed him a number of miniatures representing 'the history of his ancestors' which 'in freshness of colours and delicacy of execution could have few parallels today'. Many miniatures in the Raja's album represented the feats of his great-great-grandfather, i.e. Raj Singh (1764-1794), mistakenly noted by Ujfalvy as his 'great-grandfather'. They were of great ritual and ethnographic interest. He was greatly moved by a portrait of Raj Singh of Chamba with his ladies (see no. 44) and says it is 'one of the most delicate Indian miniatures he had ever seen'. He remarks that in a Raj Singh darbar scene (Vogel (1947) pl. 4) each figure study was an actual portrait. The miniatures dated from the end of the eighteenth century. Shyam Singh also showed Ujfalvy about a dozen musical boxes of which he was very proud. He then took him to the zenana whose gloomy courtyards and cells reminded the Hungarian of a nunnery. [The Palace visited by Ujfalvy was evidently the Khan-chandi (new) palace. Chamba.]

1909

Vogel, J. P. *Catalogue of the Bhuri Singh Museum at Chamba* (Calcutta, 1909).

Lists the ancestral collection of Raja Bhuri Singh (1904-1919) deposited in the Bhuri Singh Museum, Chamba, in 1909.

The collection, as catalogued by Vogel, comprised the following items:

- 1 6 illustrations from a *Baramasa* series.
- 2 2 illustrations from a *Vishnu Avatara* series.
See no. 8(1).
- 3 Lovers playing ball.
- 4 24 illustrations to a *Bhagavata Purana* series.
See nos. 17, 18.
- 5 8 illustrations to a *Krishna Rukmini* series.
See no. 39(1).
- 6 2 illustrations to a *Krishna Sudama* series.
See no. 39.
- 7 21 illustrations to an *Aniruddha Usha* series.
Since transferred to the National Museum, New Delhi.
See no. 38.
- 8 83 illustrations to a *Ramayana* series: Part I, *Bala kanda*, D.67-88; Part II, *Ayodhya kanda*, D.89-115; Part III, *Aranya kanda*, D.116-137; Part IV, *Sundara kanda*, D.138-146; Part V, *Yuddha kanda*, D.147-150.
See nos. 19 and 58.
- 9 18 illustrations to a *Durga Saptasati* series.

- 10 9 portraits of Chamba rajas. Two reproduced: Raj Singh (pl. 4), Jit Singh (pl. 5).
See nos. 43 and 47.

Vogel comments: 'It will be seen that the portraits are invariably executed in profile and that the favourite pose is that of smoking the *hukka*. A peculiarity of the Chamba portraits is that the Raja is often portrayed in company with his rani and heir apparent, a homely feature which I have not noticed anywhere else' (14). For similar-type, family portraits from other states, see, however, Guler, Kangra and Jammu.

1910

Anon. *Punjab States Gazetteers, XXII A. Chamba State, 1904*, (Lahore, 1910), 132.

'Some of the rooms in the Raja's palace (the Khan-chandi) are wonderfully decorated with oil paintings on the walls. Whole stories are shown in detail and there are some splendid pictures of battles in which each single combat is drawn as carefully and circumstantially as if they were done from the descriptions in the Iliad. It is not known who was the artist, but it is unlikely that he was a native of Chamba. In the Bhuri Singh Museum there is a large collection of pictures, believed to be old, consisting of portraits and mythological subjects. They show that in Chamba, as in other Hill States in former times, the art of painting stood in high favour. For a full description of these paintings, reference may be made to the Museum catalogue.'

1912

Coomaraswamy, A. K. 'Rajput Paintings'. *The Burlington Magazine* (March 1912), XX, no. 108, 315-324.

Includes Chamba with Jammu, Kangra, Rampur, Patiala and Garhwal as 'a Himalayan Valley of the Punjab where Rajput painting was practised'.

Coomaraswamy, A. K. *Indian Drawings: Second Series, chiefly Rajput* (London, 1912), 7.
As above (1912).

1913

Coomaraswamy, A. K. *The Arts and Crafts of India and Ceylon* (London, 1913).

'Rajput' paintings fall into two groups, the Rajasthani, from Rajputana and especially Jaipur; and the Pahari or Mountain School, from the Punjab Hill states — especially Kangra, Chamba and Punch.

1916

Coomaraswamy, A. K. *Rajput Painting* (Oxford, 1916), I, 19-20; II, pl. 47.

'Another isolated district is represented by Chamba, which maintained its independence with a nominal allegiance to Kashmir, until the Mughal conquest; it became tributary to the Mughal Empire but its internal administration was not interfered with, and it escaped Sikh aggression at a later period. "Whereas," says Dr. Vogel, "in other and more exposed parts of India one dynasty was quickly ousted by another, new creeds and customs came to supplant the old ones and successive waves of foreign invasion swept away all remembrance of the past, Chamba, engirdled by her snow-clad mountain barriers, has, century after century, retained ancient traditions and institutions which are only now giving way to the onslaught of Western civilisation."

'I regret, however, that I cannot speak with authority about the painting of Chamba. It may be inferred from various considerations that it is intermediate between the Jammu Dogra styles and the more polished schools of Kangra.' [Since Coomaraswamy had not visited Chamba and was apparently unaware of the Raj collection in the Bhuri Singh Museum and of Vogel's catalogue, what he perhaps meant was that he knew nothing and hence could say nothing.]

Pl. 47 here attributed to Chamba. See no. 27(1).

Sastri, H. 'The Hamir Hath', *Journal of Indian Art and Industry* (1916), XVII, no. 132, 35.

'That (the Kangra) school was prolific is evidenced by several collections of which I know. One of these is in the possession B. Raghunath Singh of Guler (Haripur, district Kangra). The other collection is now deposited in the Bhuri Singh Museum of Chamba which has been catalogued by Dr. J. P. Vogel.'

1917

Brown, P. *Indian Painting* (Calcutta, 1917), 52-53.

Alludes to Chamba as 'one of the most artistic' of the Punjab Hill States. Repeats Vogel's observation that 'the Raja was often depicted in company with his Rani and heir apparent, a domestic scene not noticed elsewhere'.

1920

Sett, M. N. 'A Miniature from Kangra', *Rupam* (1920), I, no. 3, 23-25, col. pl.

'Radha and Krishna eating *pan* at a window (*tamvula seva*)' (Gangoly (1926) pl. 8). Here assigned to Chamba, c.1765. See no. 28.

1922

Gupta, S. N. *Catalogue of Paintings in the Central Museum, Lahore* (Calcutta, 1922), 56.

Lists portraits of Rajas Umed Singh, Raj Singh, Jit Singh and Charat Singh (reigns vii-x) also Zorawar Singh, brother of Charat Singh. See nos. 20, 21, 42, 56.

1926

Gangoly, O. C. *Masterpieces of Rajput Painting* (Calcutta, 1926).

Boldly announces a 'School of Chamba', assigning to it three paintings, pls. 23, 24, 25 (b), which however have no apparent connection with it. As grimly observed by Goetz (1962), 'these old attributions have to be written off as erroneous'. Pl. 8 (attributed to Jaipur) is here assigned to Chamba. See no. 28.

Coomaraswamy, A. K. *Catalogue of the Indian Collections in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Part V, Rajput Painting*, (Boston, 1926), 6-7.

No Chamba paintings in the Boston Museum's collection.

Comments: 'The paintings of the Panjab Himalayas fall into two groups which up to now have been designated as Jammu and Kangra . . . Chamba belongs to both groups in the above scheme because it is divided by the Ravi; and actually, the paintings of Chamba are intermediate between those of Jammu and Kangra.'

1927

Brown, P. *Indian Painting* (second edition; Calcutta, 1927).

Repeats, without additions, the reference to Chamba in the first edition (1917).

1929

Stchoukine, I. *Les Miniatures Indiennes de l'époque des grands Moghols au Musée de Louvre* (Paris, 1929), 75-76, fig. 20 (no. 119).

Reproduces and discusses a portrait of Raj Singh (viii) in a garden with his rani and ladies, now in the Guimet Museum (Ujfalvy, 1884; Archer, 1952). See no. 44.

Ghose, A. 'The Basohli School of Rajput Painting', *Rupam* (1929), no. 37, 6-17.

Fig. 5. Here assigned to Chamba. See no. 5.

Ghose, A. 'The Schools of Rajput Painting', *Roopa Lekha* (1929), no. 2, 14.

Remarks that 'in portraiture the painters of Chamba attained considerable eminence and deserve to be ranked as a school by themselves'. No references.

1931

French, J. C. *Himalayan Art* (Oxford, 1931), 36, 37, 41, 44, 45, 47, 48, pl. 5.

Describes a visit to Chamba in 1929 and gives a vivid impression of the town, the museum and of certain murals in the Khanchandi (new) palace (47).

'On the next step up the hill of Chamba town we come to the temples and the Brahmin priests. Above the temples is the New Palace of the Raja of Chamba' (i.e. the Khanchandi palace, founded by Raja Umed Singh but extended and rebuilt by Raja Sri Singh ruled 1844-1870). 'The most striking feature of the New Palace are the frescoes in the Picture Room. They are painted in the Kangra Valley style (indeed they were done by Kangra men) and they are varnished. Varnishing of frescoes came in with the advent of European influence in the nineteenth century. The most important of these frescoes are as follows:

(1) 'A big scene of two opposing armies from the *Mahabharata*. This occupies the whole of one wall.'

(2)-(6) French then distinguishes five further groups, comprising some hunting scenes, including Englishmen, some pictures of Radha and Krishna and female figures 'in the ordinary Kangra Valley style', an execution by an elephant, a combat between two men wearing spiked gloves and a fight between two rhinoceroses. He adds: 'Nos. 3-6 are about fifty years old (i.e. 1880). Dr. Hutchison of Chamba, the archaeologist and historian, remembers when they were painted. Nos. 1 and 2 are older and their date is probably the same as that of the building of the New Palace, about seventy years ago (i.e. c.1860).'

Reproduces (pl. 5) the centre panel of a *Ramayana* mural on the northern wall of the courtyard to the Lakshmi Narain temple, Chamba town, described as 'the ancient temple below the old palace, Chamba'. Reproduced in detail French (1951). See no. 31.

Recounts a meeting with the owner of 'the Himalayan Store' — in Chamba — an emporium dealing in wild honey, furs of wild animals and Hill pictures. For two pictures bought by French in Chamba at this store (The Chamba Hill Stores), see nos. 29, 35.

Groups pictures in the Chamba Museum (Bhuri Singh collection) into two classes: (1) 'A large series of *Ramayana* pictures done by Kangra Valley artists' (see no. 58), 'some pictures of Radha and Krishna and female figures by the same hands' (see no. 36), and 'the best picture in the Museum', a portrait of Raja Charat Singh (x) surrounded by his women (see no. 55(1)). Considers this group 'the best work' and remarks that it is 'frankly assigned to Kangra artists' by the local people.

(2) A number of portraits of rajas 'not assigned to the Kangra Valley school but to local talent' (see no. 20(2)). States that this work is termed in Chamba 'rough and inferior' and were it not for the fact that it seemed to bear a general resemblance to other pictures seen in Mandi, Suket and the Kangra Valley generally, French would have called it 'a local Chamba style allied to that of Basohli'.

1933

Goetz, H. 'Some Court Portraits of the Pahari schools in Dutch collections', *Journal Indian Society of Oriental Art* (1933), I, no. 2, 120.

Pl. 35 (fig. 2). Interpreted by Khandalavala (1958) p.221, as a portrait of Raj Singh (1764-1794) in *darbar*. See, however, nos. 42-44.

1937

Goetz, H. 'Notes on some schools of Rajput painting', *Journal Indian Society of Oriental Art* (1937), V, 162-164.

An attempted reconstruction, without illustrations, of Chamba painting, based on visits to Chamba and studies of the Raj collection of pictures in the Chamba Museum.

Regards the burning of Chamba town in 1735 by Raja Ugar Singh as a turning-point in Chamba painting, arguing that after it the previous Basohli-like style was discontinued and a later Kangra-like style grew up in its place. [While the role of fires in destroying ancestral collections of pictures must not be minimised — compare, for example the partial

destruction by fire of the collection of Mian Ram Singh of Nurpur (q.v.)—the burning of Chamba town by Raja Ugar Singh does not seem to have had disastrous effects on painting. HV emphasise that of all the Hill States, Chamba still has 'a unique collection of ancient records and historical documents'.]

Recognises Garhwal-style features in certain pictures. 'In some of the paintings features characteristic of the art of Mola Ram are obvious but probably these are only due to a fashion prevalent during some years.' See nos. 58, 59.

Has the following summing-up: 'During the last years of Raj Singh (1764-1794) and during those of Jit Singh (1794-1808), the contemporaries of Sansar Chand, the Kangra style has reached its zenith and is supreme at the Chamba court. A number of first-class religious stories belong to this period. . . . During the minority of Charat Singh (1808-1844), Rani Sarada had painted the walls of a small fountain house at the foot of the stairs to the Chamunda temple; the later paintings of the same ruler on the whole follow the lines of Sikh taste, a rather crude and vulgar echo of the preceding splendid age. Chamba art has lingered on for another number of decades and quite satisfactory wall-paintings have been executed in several religious buildings. Nevertheless we may regard the reign of Charat Singh as the real end of Chamba pictorial art.' Although there is evidence of Guler painters working in Chamba, no evidence of Kangra artists in Chamba has so far come to light. For Sikh influence, see nos. 55, 57.]

1938

Khandalavala, K. *Indian Sculpture and Painting* (Bombay, 1938).

'Pahari painting . . . flourished in various hill states of the North, like Kangra, Jammu, Basholi, Chamba, Tehri Garhwal and several others.'

1947

Vogel, J. P. 'Portrait Painting in Kangra and Chamba', *Artibus Asiae* (1947), X, no. 3, 200-215.

Publishes portraits of Rajas Raj Singh and Jit Singh (pls. 5 and 6) from the Bhuri Singh Museum, Chamba; a portrait of Raja Raj Singh with rani (pl. 3) from the Guimet Museum, Paris, and Raja Raj Singh in darbar, illustrated Ujfalvy (1884). See nos. 43, 44, 47.

Goetz, H. 'Indian Painting in the Muslim Period', *Journal Indian Society of Oriental Art* (1947), XV, 19-41.

Suggests that painting in Chamba in the third quarter of the eighteenth century may have been derived from eighteenth century Mughal painting at Lahore — Mughal painters possibly migrating there due to the Afghan invasions.

1948

Gray, B. *Rajput Painting* (London, 1948), 24.

'It was the patronage extended by Sansar Chand at Kangra which made it the cultural centre of the land. . . . The (Kangra) style soon spread as far as Kashmir and Lahore and to Garhwal and Chamba.'

1949

Mehta, N. C. 'Some Notes on Pahari Painting', *Roopa Lekha* (1948-1949), XX, no. 2, 75-80.

Suggests that Coomaraswamy (1916) was 'not conversant with the phase of painting which had flourished in Basohli and Chamba'. Stresses that 'Chamba, Basohli and Jammu are parts of the same linguistic and cultural area and during the eighteenth century were in the most intimate contact with one another' (75). Publishes a picture from Chamba (pl. 3) and emphasises its local peculiarities. See no. 10 (Discussion).

Agravala, V. S. 'The Romance of Himachal Painting', *Roopa Lekha* (1948-1949), XX, no. 2, 89.

Pl. 3. 'Krishna pursuing Radha'. (Coomaraswamy (1916), pl. 47, Reiff (1959), pl. 6). Here assigned to Chamba. See no. 27(1).

1950

Gray, B. 'Painting'. *The Art of India and Pakistan* (London, 1951).

Pls. 115 (538), 116 (590). Here assigned to Chamba. See nos. 25, 29.

Pls. 105 (540) and 106 (525), noted as formerly in the possession of Major-General G. A. McAndrew, Superintendent of Chamba, 1872-1874 and catalogued by Gray as probably Chamba, are here attributed to Jammu, c.1775 (see **Jammu**, no. 60) and Mankot, c.1730 (see **Mankot**, no. 34(1)).

Before his posting to Chamba in 1872, McAndrew had served in the Indian Police in the Punjab from 1857 to 1871, becoming a Deputy-Inspector General of Police in 1861. His posting to Chamba does not therefore raise any particular presumption that he acquired these two pictures in Chamba or that they had been painted there. For the actual Jammu provenance of pl. 105 (540), see **Jammu**, no. 60.

1951

French, J. C. 'Art in Chamba', *Art and Letters* (1951), XXV, no. 2, 45-48, pls. 1-4.

Excerpts from *Himalayan Art* (1931) but supplementing them by reproducing in detail (pl. 1) the centre panel of the Sita Rama mural on the northern wall of the courtyard of the Lakshmi Narain temple, Chamba town. 'On the next step up the hill of Chamba town we come to the temples and the Brahmin priests. In the northern courtyard of an old temple I photographed an old fresco in three panels — Hanuman, the monkey god, to the left, Rama and Sita in the centre and the demon king Ravana to the right. It is reproduced as plate V in my book *Himalayan Art*. I took a separate photograph of the central panel of Rama and Sita which has not been published until now (plate 1). Rama, crowned and seated beside Sita, holds in his right hand what appears to be two arrows. Above him is the royal umbrella and a princely attendant behind holds the white yak's tail whisk, another emblem of sovereignty. The corners of the arch crowning the fresco are filled with floral decoration typical of the art of the Hills. The line of the figures is sensitive and delicate and there is an air of solemn expectancy in the scene. The date of this fresco is the eighteenth century. Immediately after taking this photograph I had a practical example of the way in which frescoes disappear. Someone offered to show me a similar fresco elsewhere. We went straight to the palace and found that the fresco had been scraped off and the wall white-washed only a week before' (45). See no. 31.

Also reproduces (pl. 3) an illustration in 'Garhwal-style' from the *Ramayana* series and a portrait (pl. 4) of Raja Charat Singh (x) in a garden with his ladies, both from the Chamba Museum. See nos. 58, 55(1).

Goetz, H. 'The background of Pahari-Rajput Painting', *Roopa Lekha* (1951), XXII, no. 1, 8-10.

Sees painting in Chamba as falling into three phases: the first, c.1650-c.1750 an offshoot from Basohli; the second, c.1750-1765 (Umed Singh) an offshoot of late Mughal; the third, c.1765-c.1850, an offshoot of Kangra.

1952

Archer, W. G. *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills* (London, 1952) 6, 85-86.

Fig. 34. Reproduces and discusses the Guimet portrait of Raja Raj Singh (1764-1794). See no. 44.

Stresses Raj Singh's victories over Jammu (1775), Basohli (1782) and Kashtwar (1785) and adds: 'Such triumphs must obviously have deeply impressed the other States and it would not be impossible, if drawn by his expanding power and influence, certain Guler artists migrated to Chamba taking with them the Guler style.'

1953

Mittal, J. 'Mural Paintings in Chamba', *Journal Indian Society of Oriental Art* (1952-1953), XIX, 11-18, 2 pls.

A survey of murals in the Rang Mahal (old) palace, Chamba, c.1840-c.1860; including a general view (pl. VI)

of two walls showing murals from top to bottom and (pl. VII) a mural of a war scene.

'Some similar good murals exist in the Akhand Chandi palace (new or present palace), Obri Dharmsala near the bridge, entrance of Laxmi Narain temple in the city and in the house of the late Ustads Durga and Mangnu who painted them.'

Although Mittal found signs of painting of an earlier date, he felt on stylistic grounds, that most of the surviving murals in the Rang Mahal palace (founded by Umed Singh (vii) but extended, rebuilt and repaired by Raj, Jit, Charat and Sri Singh (viii-xi)) were carried out in the latter years of Charat Singh's reign (i.e. c.1840) while a few were added in Sri Singh's reign (i.e. c.1850-1860)].

According to the family traditions of the Chamba artist, Hiralal (alive in 1949 when Mittal worked in Chamba), the Rang Mahal murals were mainly painted by his grandfather, Durga (flourished 1840-1860) and by his uncle, Mangnu, assisted by 'a few other local painters whose families had originally come from Basohli and Guler'. Hiralal's father was Gopala, brother of Mangnu and younger son of Durga (private communication, 1954). For a detailed genealogy of this artist family, dictated to Mittal by Hiralal, see Khandalavala (1958), 393.

A portrait of the Guler artist Nikka painting Isar (father of Durga) is in the Mittal collection. Nikka was third son of the artist Nainsukh of Guler and migrated to the court of Raja Raj Singh of Chamba in c.1770. See Goswamy (1965b).

Although the general view (pl. VI) of murals on two walls in the Rang Mahal Palace is too indistinct for any close stylistic comparisons, it is significant as showing the prevalence of cusped archways (a characteristic of various miniatures); the presence of Guler-type cypresses; a Raja and his consort, perhaps Raja Charat Singh (1808-1844), worshipping Shiva and a *Ramayana* scene (Lakshmana shading Rama and Sita with a royal umbrella while Hanuman stands humbly before them (see no. 31). For a full list of subjects illustrated in the Rang Mahal murals, see Goetz (1962).

Other murals: Of other murals listed by Mittal, those in the Khanchandi (Akhand Chandi) or 'New' palace are discussed in French (1931, 1951) and Goetz (1954), who also describe and discuss the murals at the entrance to the Lakshmi Narain temple in the city.

Those in the house of the late painters Durga and Mangnu are unpublished.

Those at Obri Dharmsala are unpublished but were examined by M. S. Randhawa, Mulik Raj Anand and W.G.A. in March, 1960. The Dharmsala then consisted of two buildings: the rest-house or dharmsala proper and a separate square-shaped shrine to Shiva Parvati. The shrine was surrounded on three sides by a verandah on whose walls the murals were painted, their subjects including Shiva and Parvati, Krishna and the cow-girls, and a lady at her toilet.

The murals were in a fair state of preservation and it was possible to recognise and distinguish four types of face. Three of these tallied with those in miniatures illustrated by Khandalavala (1958). The fourth was identical in idiom with the 'Garhwal-style' section of the Chamba Museum's *Ramayana* series (connected by local tradition with the painter, Tara Singh).

Detailed notes: (1) Parvati seated on Shiva's left. Similar to Khandalavala (1958), no 173. See no. 25.

(2) A group of cow-girls. Similar to Khandalavala (1958), no. 85. See no. 28.

(3) Krishna with the cow-girls. Similar to Khandalavala (1958), fig. 42. See **Nurpur**, no. 43.

(4) Toilet scene. Attributed to Tara Singh. See nos. 58-60. Traditional date of murals: c.1840-1860. For their subsequent destruction, see Mittal (1964).

1954

Archer, W. G. *Garhwal Painting* (London, 1954). Pl. 3 'The encounter at the pool'. See **Garhwal** no. 5(i). Assigned by Khandalavala (1958, p.224) to Chamba but

here regarded as a type of late 18th century Garhwal painting which may have influenced the Chamba painter, Tara Singh (fl. 1840-1871).

Randhawa, M. S. *Kangra Valley Painting* (New Delhi, 1954).

Pl. 14 'The crow's message'. See no. 46(1).

Goetz, H. 'Rajput Sculpture and Painting under Raja Umed Singh of Chamba', *Marg* (1954), VII, no 4, 23-34. figs. 1-12.

Views Chamba painting under Raja Umed Singh (1748-1764) as an offshoot of provincial Mughal painting. Stresses Jammu influence in the years 1760-1775 and Guler and Kangra influences, 1775 onwards.

Assigns to the period 1755-1760:

(1) the *Bhagavata Purana* and *Ramayana* series, Chamba Museum (figs. 8, 10, 12). See nos. 17-19.

(2) a portrait of Umed Singh (fig. 11). Here regarded as Prithvi Singh (ii). See no. 20(2).

(3) a war scene mural (fig. 1) — 'Battle of the Mahabharata' — in the Khanchandi (new) palace.

'In the Khanchandi palace, decoration consists of murals (summarily described by French (1931) p.47) covering all the walls of the room in which the Chandi (*Durgasaptasati*) was recited "without break" (*a-khand*) during Umed Singh's dangerous visit to Lahore after the battle of Manupur in 1748. Most of these murals have been later on renewed in the Kangra and Sikh style especially under Charat and Sri Singh (19th century). But the two largest, the "great battle of the Mahabharata" and "Janamejaya's sacrifice" go back, wholly or partly to Umed Singh's reign, though they, too, have badly suffered from crude re-touching in the later 19th century. Especially in the great battle scene the Mogul prototype is too evident; whole figure groups might — with slight alterations — have been taken from such well known pictures as Aurangzeb's *Siege of Golconda*.'

[While it is possible that murals of a kind may have existed in the Khanchandi palace prior to the reign of Sri Singh (1844-1870), oral traditions in Chamba town (as recorded by French and Mittal) rule out any date prior to c.1850 for those murals which now exist. The fancied resemblance of the Mahabharata battle scene to seventeenth century Mughal painting under Aurangzeb proves little since battle scenes continued to be painted in late 'Mughal' style in the Punjab Hills till well into the nineteenth century — Mughal idioms being a well-understood part of most mature Hill styles].

Goetz, H. 'The Basohli' Reliefs of the Bramor Kothi, c.A.D. 1670, *Roopa Lekha* (1954), XXV, no. 1, 1-12.

Reproduces and discusses two series of carved wooden panels in 'Basohli' style for a *kothi* (district headquarters) at Brahmor on the Kulu-Chamba frontier. Assigns one series (figs. 1 and 2) to about 1670, connecting it with the wedding of Raja Chhattar Singh of Chamba's daughter to Prince Bidhi Singh of Kulu. Assigns the second series (fig. 3) to about 1750. For a discussion of the dates of these panels and their possible relevance to Chamba styles of painting, see nos. 5, 6, 10.

Fig. 5 Prithvi Singh (ii) with flower. Compare no. 20(2).

Fig. 6 Chhattar Singh (iii) smoking. Compare nos. 1 and 2.

1955

Zimmer, H. *The Art of Indian Asia* (ed. J. Campbell, New York, 1955).

Fig. C15 (p.382). 'Radha and Krishna in the grove'. See no. 27(1).

Randhawa, M. S. 'Kangra Artists', *Art and Letters* (1955), XXIX, no. 1, 1-9.

Lists a painter, Atra, as having worked 'in the court of a Raja of Chamba'. Records him as son of Chhajju, grandson of Ranjha (corrected (1956) to Nikka) and great-grandson of Nainsukh of Guler. [For Chhajju and Atra, see Goswamy (1965b, 1966a), Ohri (1965), Mittal (1967), Randhawa (1967).]

Mittal, J. 'Some Ramayana and Bhagwata Drawings of Chamba', *Marg* (1955), VIII, no. 3, 26-31.

Records the following traditions of Chamba painters, collected during a stay in Chamba from 1949 to 1952: 'It is difficult to tell with certainty as to when and how artists from Basohli and Guler migrated to Chamba, especially when both were at war. But the local artist families whom I met tell that some artists came from Basohli and Guler during Umed Singh's time (i.e. 1748-1764) and probably this was the first migration of artists from these places to Chamba. . . . It is also told by the artist families of Chamba that some artists did come with a Basohli princess who was married to some relation (?) of Raja Umed Singh (1748-1764).

'I am told that the *dada* (grandfather) of Gulam Muhammad (born about 1860) first migrated to Chamba from Lahore via Basohli. But after checking all evidences we find that it should have been not earlier than 1780 and more probably about 1800. Such a migration is obviously far too late to have had any decisive influence on the Chamba style.'

Considers it likely that the family of the artist Biloo Mistri, 'details of whose ancestral names are not known, might have come to Chamba first' and that this family 'should be called the originators of Chamba painting as a Basohli offshoot'.

Publishes one drawing (fig. 1) from a *Bhagavata Purana* series of forty drawings and five drawings (figs. 2-6) from a *Ramayana* series of 120 drawings formerly in the family collection of the artist Biloo Mistri of Chamba. Regards the *Bhagavata Purana* drawing as a preliminary sketch for the *Bhagavata Purana* series, Chamba Museum and regards both as the work of a Basohli artist in Chamba. See no. 13.

Considers the *Ramayana* series, Chamba Museum, as a later version of the present *Ramayana* drawings, and a third *Ramayana* series (National Museum, New Delhi) as a still later version — the latter like the first, also coming from the family collection of Biloo Mistri. See no. 18.

[On grounds of style, it would seem possible that the artist Laharu (Mittal 1967) was an early, though unrecorded member of Biloo Mistri's family.]

Mittal, J. 'The Wall Paintings of Chamba', *Marg* (1955), VIII, no. 3, 38-42, 97.

Describes murals in the Rang Mahal (old) palace, Chamba, 1949-1952 (since removed to the National Museum, New Delhi), and dates them to about the year 1840.

Reproduces actual-size copies made by himself of the following panels:

Fig. 1 'Jasoda chastising Krishna'.

Fig. 2 'Shiva and Parvati'.

Fig. 3 'Two ladies on a swing'. See no. 64.

Fig. 4 'Two ladies playing chaupar'. See *Nurpur*, no. 32(2).

Fig. 5 'The love letter'. See no. 26.

Fig. 6 'Krishna with the Gopis'.

For a further illustration of murals in the Rang Mahal palace, see Khandalavala (1958), fig. 20. Discussed no. 62.

Alludes to other murals in Chamba:

(1) Khanchandi (Akhand Chandi or new) palace. 'Still in a good state of preservation. They are the work of Mian Tara Singh and a few other painters during the reign of Raja Sri Singh (1844-1870). The most important piece is a long frieze of a war scene.' Compare Goetz (1954).

(2) Obri Dharmasala. 'Excellent in some cases, as some pieces are even more powerful than the Rang Mahal murals but they have been so roughly handled that only here and there can one see some remnants of great masterpieces. The subjects generally are Chamunda Durga and Shiva Parvati.'

(3) and (4) Murals in the courtyard of the Lakshmi Narain temple and in the houses of Durga and Mangnu.

It is necessary to bear in mind that in view of their late date (c.1840-1880), Chamba murals are important evidence for late Chamba painting but are of only restricted relevance to Chamba painting in any earlier period e.g. the eighteenth century.]

1956

Archer, W. G. *Indian Painting*, (London, 1956).

Pl. 14 'Lady with a yo-yo'. Chamba, c.1765. See no. 32.

Khandalavala, K. 'An *Aniruddha Usha* series from Chamba and the painter Ram Lal', *Lalit Kala* (1956), nos. 1-2, 37-44.

Discusses an inscribed portrait (fig. 3) of the young Raj Singh (1764-1794) of Chamba, watching a dancing girl and attributes it to Ranjha (Ram Lal), fourth son of the Guler painter Nainsukh. For a discussion of the inscription and this attribution, here regarded as mistaken, see no. 37.

Convincingly attributes the *Aniruddha Usha* series (col. pl. C, figs. 1, 2), formerly in the Chamba Raj collection, to the same artist who painted the young Raj Singh portrait. See no. 38.

Randhawa, M. S. 'Kangra Artists', *Roopa Lekha* (1956), XXVII, no. 1, 4-10.

Revises and corrects the genealogies given in Randhawa (1955). Lists Atra as a grandson of Nikka (not Ranjha). Re-affirms his connection with 'the court of a Raja of Chamba.' Records Harkhu, Chhajju and Gokal as sons of Nikka.

1957

Archer, W. G. *Garhwal Painting* (London: second and revised impression, 1957), 4-5.

Posits a close connection between the Guler and Chamba courts in the late seventeen-sixties and stresses the marriage of the sister of Raj Singh (1764-1794) to Prakash Chand (1773-1790) of Guler. Cites the portrait of the young Raj Singh (1764-1794) watching a dancing-girl (Mehta collection, Ahmedabad) as 'in Guler style'. See no. 37.

Assigns to Chamba certain pictures (Archer (1952), figs. 59, 66, 69, 70) formerly attributed to Punch and advances the view that Garhwal painting (1768-1805) is influenced in style by 'Chamba offshoots of the Guler manner'. For a revision of this view, see Guler and Garhwal.

1958

Khandalavala, K. *Pahari Miniature Painting* (Bombay, 1958).

Ascribes a number of pictures to Chamba but is handicapped by lack of first-hand knowledge of Chamba collections, Chamba itself and Chamba murals.

In some cases gives Chamba attributions to pictures which in fact can be more securely assigned to Nurpur (q.v.).

'The criterion — 'excessive elongation of the figure' — appears in various Pahari schools and is not exclusive to Chamba.'

Relates to Chamba certain portraits of the family of Chattar Singh (1664-1690) — see nos. 3(1) and 4 — but places them in the mid-18th century.

Mis-reads a *takri* inscription and, as a result, mis-identifies a portrait of Chattar Singh himself (see no. 1). Thereupon, despite its similar style to 3(1) and 4, attributes it to Bandralta.

Mis-interprets a *nagari* inscription on 'The young Raj Singh watching a dancing-girl' (Khandalavala, 1956: *Chamba* no. 37), treats the name 'Ram Sahai' as synonymous with 'Ram Lal', and, as a result, surmises that 'Ram Sahai' was son of the Guler painter Nainsukh and that he became a Chamba painter.

Publishes the following names and genealogies of Chamba painters obtained in 1951 by Jagdish Mittal from artists' descendants and others in Chamba:

(1) Malik Gulam Muhammad (died 1930). His grandfather is said to have come from Lahore to Basohli and thence to Chamba with a Basohli princess, c.1820-1830. [Names not supplied, and source of information undisclosed. No examples of his work are so far known.]

(2) Hiralal (living painter, 1951), uncle Mangnu, grandfather Durga (fl. 1820-1860), great-grandfather Isar (fl. 1780-1820?).

(3) Sonu and Jawahar (brothers, died c.1910-1920), sons of Ramadayal, brother of Isar.

[Sources of information for (2) and (3): Hiralal. No examples of work by Hiralal, Isar, Sonu and Jawahar are so far known. Mangnu is credited with murals in the Rang Mahal palace, Chamba and in his own house, also with no. 62. Durga is said to have painted murals in the Rang Mahal palace, Chamba, and in his own house.]

(4) Biloo Mistry (living painter, 1951), father Gangaram, grand-father Lobha, great-grand-father Kunan, great-great-grand-father, Krishen.

[Source of information: Biloo Mistry. No examples of work by these artists as so far known. For drawings by a possibly earlier ancestor, see no. 13.]

(5) Dhyan Singh (died c.1955, aged 100), pupil of Tara Singh (*fl.*1850-1870).

[Sources of information: Biloo Mistry and Hiralal. No examples of work by Dhyan Singh are so far known; Tara Singh is connected by oral tradition with murals in the Khanchandi (new) palace, Chamba and the Obri Dharmsala (Mittal, 1953), and with the 'Garhwal-style' portions of the *Ramayana* series, Bhuri Singh Museum, Chamba. See nos. 58-60.]

(6) Dhani Das of Guler (colleague of Durga). Portrait inscribed *guleria dhani das chatera* (Mittal collection, Hyderabad). Reproduced Khandalavala (1958), 339.

[The inscription, in fact, reads: *guleria nikka chatera* (Goswamy (1966), 18) and purports to show the Guler painter Nikka painting Isar. For work here attributed to Nikka, see nos. 37-39.]

The following pictures reproduced by Khandalavala are here accepted as Chamba: col. pl. Z, figs. 7, 19, 20, 63, 76, 86-89, nos. 46, 47, 51, 61-65, 85, 168-170, 173, 180-182, 183B and C, 245.

Randhawa, M. S. 'A Journey to Basohli', *Roopa Lekha* (1958), XXVIII, nos. 1 and 2, 14-24.

Records the family tradition of Pahda Kunj Lal (descendant of the royal physicians), Basohli, that a certain Nabu, son of Ahmadu, favourite painter of Raja Bhupendra Pal (1813-1834) of Basohli, migrated to Chamba, c.1840. No examples of work by this artist are so far known.

Ghose, A. 'Pahari Schools of Indian Painting', *Roopa Lekha* (1958) XXVIII, nos. 1 and 2, 34-44.

Attributes 'Raja Ugar Singh of Chamba with ladies' (Archer (1952) fig. 54, Jammu c.1730) to Chamba. See *Jammu*, no. 10.

1959

Reiff, R. *Indian Miniatures: the Rajput Painters* (Tokyo, Rutland and Vermont, U.S.A., 1959).

Col. pl. 6 'Krishna pursuing Radha' (Coomaraswamy (1916), pl. 47). See no. 27(1).

Randhawa, M. S. *Basohli Painting* (New Delhi, 1959), 21, pl. 27.

Connects portraits of Rajas Chattar, Udai, Ugar and Umed Singh (Chamba Museum and National Museum, New Delhi) with 'the primitive Basohli style' and suggests that 'the primitive style of painting had got established in Chamba very early and probably as early as in Basohli itself'.

Fig. 5. 'Radha and Krishna in the grove'. See no. 10. Col. pl. 27. See *Nurpur* no. 56(1).

1960

Archer, W. G. *Indian Miniatures* (London, New York, 1960).

Pl. 75. 'Prince awaiting a lady'. See no. 22.

Pl. 76 'Krishna extinguishing the forest fire'. See no. 29.

Lee, S. E. *Rajput Painting* (New York, 1960).

Col. pl. 64. Republishes in colour Coomaraswamy (1916), pl. 47 and Reiff (1959), col. pl. 6. See no. 27(1).

1961

Skelton, R. *Indian Miniatures from the 15th to 19th centuries* (Venice, 1961).

Besides pls. 42-47, convincingly attributed by Skelton to Chamba, mid-eighteenth century (see nos. 16(5) and (6) and 19(4)), pls. 32, 33 and 59 are here regarded as from Chamba. See nos. 9, 8(2), and 2 respectively.

Gangoly, O. C. *Critical Catalogue of Miniature Paintings in the Baroda Museum* (Baroda, 1961).

Pl. 33A. Hill Chief (perhaps Raj Singh (viii) of Chamba) standing with a Garhwal-type lady on a terrace, leaning on his sword.

1962

Goetz, H. 'The Art of Chamba in the Islamic Period: Part II', *Journal Baroda Oriental Institute* (1962), XI, no. 3, 217-236.

An attempt to reconstruct the history of Chamba painting in the light of its political history but without convincing illustrations.

Describes building activities of Chamba town during the regency of Rani Sarada, widow of Jit Singh (1794-1808) and mother of Charat Singh (1808-1844). Apart from repairing many shrines, she added a Radha Krishna temple to the Lakshmi Narain complex and erected new buildings and a long flight of steps to connect the ancient aqueduct (10th century) high up on the hill with a fountain house lower down in the town. This fountain house, Goetz says, is 'a hall opening on Muslim pointed arches, set with 'lantern' ceilings, the walls formerly covered with murals (Rama, Sita and Lakshmana; and fragments of a Shiva group) in the Kangra style'. These murals, he says, were recently destroyed by whitewash in a recent 'town improvement'.

He then refers to the Rama, Sita, Lakshmana and Hanuman murals published by French (1931, 1951): 'Closely related to the murals in the fountain house was a group of large-size paintings in the best Kangra style on the walls of a building near the Lakshmi Narain Temple; they represent (centre) Rama, Sita and Lakshmana (left) Hanuman and (right) the durbar of a mythic King (?).' Goetz adds that these murals were destroyed in 'the recent fire'.

Of murals in yet another temple, the Chamunda temple, built by Umed Singh (1748-1764) at Devi-ri-kothi in Churah (Chamba-Basohli border), he gives the following account: 'The walls of the sanctuary are covered with murals depicting without any plan or system, figures from Hindu mythology and romance, by the side of genre figures from contemporary life, page boys, servant girls, musicians, dancers, Peris, etc., in Mughal costume or whole scenes from Hindu mythology, all in a style in which the older 'Basohli' tradition is struggling with a provincial Mughal manner. To the right of the entrance there is a portrait of Umed Singh with his two sons praying to the goddess.'

Rawson, P. S. *Indian Painting* (London, Paris, 1962), 146. Publishes in colour Archer (1960), pl. 76. See no. 29.

Randhawa, M. S. *Kangra Paintings on Love* (New Delhi, 1962).

Col. pl. 11. 'The meeting of eyes'. See no. 46(2).

1963

Barrett, D. *Painting of India* (London, 1963), 180-187.

Darkly alludes to Chamba pictures but refrains from citing examples.

Col. pl. 181. 'Lady listening to music', captioned 'Guler style, Jammu, about 1750', originally obtained by French at 'The Chamba Hill Stores', Chamba. Here assigned to Chamba, c.1765-1770. See no. 35.

Lawrence, G. *Indian Art: paintings of the Himalayan States* (London, 1963).

Col. pl. 11. 'Krishna extinguishing the forest fire'. See no. 29.

1964

Mittal, J. 'Chamba Murals', *Marg* (1964), XVII, no. 3, 23-27, figs. 1-4.

A reprint, with minor revisions, of Mittal (1955) but recording, amongst others, the distressing fact that the Obri Dharmasala murals are 'now washed off'. Details of artists as in 1955.

Fig. 1 General view of two walls in the Rang Mahal (old) palace (Mittal (1955), pl. 6).

Fig. 2 'Lady at her toilet'. Rang Mahal palace. See no. 60.

Fig. 3 'Two ladies playing *chaupar*' (Mittal (1955), fig. 4). Rang Mahal palace. See *Nurpur*, no. 32(2).

Fig. 4 'Battle scene with British soldiers and cannon'. Rang Mahal palace.

[The latter is in general style closely similar to the *Mahabharata* battle scene in the Khanchandi (new) palace and reinforces the conclusion that this can hardly be earlier than c.1850.]

1965

Goswamy, B. N. 'The Traveller von Ujfalvy and Pahari Painting', *Roopa Lekha* (1965), XXXIV, nos. 1 and 2, 10-18, 2 figs.

The first full translation in English of Ujfalvy's German account (1884) of his visit to Chamba in 1881. Points out that, if interpreted literally, Ujfalvy's phrase — Raja Shyam Singh's 'great-grandfather' must mean Raja Jit Singh.

[Vogel (1947), on the evidence of other portraits of Raj Singh and Jit Singh, has shown that this phrase is obviously based on a misunderstanding and is a clear mistake for 'great-great-grandfather', i.e. Raj Singh. Of Ujfalvy's comments, the following remark is of special interest: 'Their two most favourite colours are blue and red and they know the art of mixing them so artistically that it is scarcely possible for anyone to emulate them in this.']

Goswamy, B. N. 'Painting in Chamba: a study of new documents', *Asian Review* (August, 1965), II, no. 2, 53-58.

Cites and transcribes an entry in a priest's register at the pilgrimage centre of Pehowa, near Kurukshetra (Haryana) disclosing that the painter Lala (son of Kama, grandson of Nainsukh, great-grandson of Seu and great-great-grandson of Hasnu) — at present a resident of Rajol in Chamba state but a native of Haripur (Guler) — visited the family priest at Pehowa.

[Rajol, although later joined to Kangra, was part of the Chamba taluk of Rihlu from c.1760 to 1821 and even after 1821 appears to have been regarded as still in Chamba. Lala, whose permanent place of residence seems to have been Guler, was apparently on a temporary visit to Rajol at the time. Although not cited, the date of his visit to Pehowa may have been about 1860.]

Further cites and transcribes an entry in the Kangra Settlement Record of 1868 relating to the same artist family in Rajol. This records that the founder of the family in Rajol was Nikka, third son of Nainsukh and that having migrated from the Guler territory, in the reign of Raja Rai (Raj) Singh of Chamba, he had settled in Rajol, occupied the lands in question and with the Raja's permission, had brought them under the plough. The entry further states that Nikka had three sons: Harkhu (died childless), Gokal and Chhajju. Gokal had two sons, Ramdayal and Damodar (who died childless) and Chhajju had three sons, Attra (died childless), Saudagar and Jawahar. In 1868, only Ramdayal, Jawahar and Saudagar were alive. All are described as painters (*chitrera*) by caste and Rainas by sept.

This entry, as pointed out by Goswamy proves: (1) that the main genealogical table of Pandit Seu's family (first published Randhawa, 1955, 1956) is basically correct; (2) that Nikka is clearly established as a Guler artist who migrated to Chamba and (3) that Haripur-Guler is the place of origin from which the movement of this branch to Chamba took place. It also 'throws new and emphatic light on Chamba painting, confirming the belief that the family of Pandit Seu definitely contributed to the formation of the Chamba style and that Raj Singh maintained an important atelier'.

Besides publishing this vital new evidence, Goswamy also alludes to and names three other artists who lived in this same *taluka*: Lalman, son of Fauju; Gulabu, son of Darsanu; and Birbal, son of Nikumal.

For examples of work by Nikka and his sons, see nos. 37-39 (here attributed to Nikka), 42-49 (Chhajju), 50-54 (Harkhu). Of the remaining artists, no examples of their work have so far come to light.

Ohri, V. C. 'Four important inscriptions on Pahari paintings', *Lalit Kala* (dated 1962, but published 1965), no. 11, 58-60.

Publishes an inscription in *nagari* characters on the reverse of a painting in the Bhuri Singh Museum, Chamba, stating that it was written by Attra (Goswamy (1965b) q.v.) for a certain Mehta Syama in 1860 and conveying the somewhat cryptic information:

'The old servants of Royal House Raj Singh of Chamba. The Guler painters belonging to jagir Rihlu, pargana Rajoli, village Gaggal.

Ranjha Narena

Nika Godhu

Chhajju

Attra Saudagar

Written by Attra for Mehta Syama (smvat) 36 (A.D. 1860).'

Draws the following inferences: 'It seems that the Guler artists, who had come to work at Raj Singh's court, namely Ramlal (Ranjha) and his brother Nika, must have been granted land and this was held by them and their descendants. Narena is not identified nor is Godhu, unless by that latter name the writer of the inscription intended to refer to Gauha, another brother of Nika and Ramlal. Chhajju is reputed to have been a son of Ranjha and Saudagar and Attra are reputed to be sons of Chhajju (Randhawa (1955), 6). Thus, on the basis of this inscription, it is certain that Ramlal (Ranjha) worked at the Chamba court and must be the painter of the Raj Singh portrait (Khandalavala (1956), fig. 3).'

Concludes that since the painters are described as 'Guleria', it is clear that some, at least, of Pandit Seu's famous family had settled in Guler and that it was from Guler that some of them later migrated. Admits that 'what was the purpose of Attra, giving all this information on the back of the picture painted by him, is not clear'.

The same note is briefly alluded to by Goswamy (1966a). Goswamy (private communication, 1966) makes the following further comments: (1) The phrase in the inscription, *rajsi*, means 'royal house', not 'royal house Raj Singh'. The list of painters given does not, therefore, mean that they all worked for Raja Raj Singh (1764-1794) but merely that they were, in some way, connected with the Chamba court, either then or later.

(2) Even this interpretation needs considerable qualifying since there is no actual evidence — oral or inscriptional — that Ranjha, Narena (Naina? Nainsukh?) and Godhu (Gaudhu?) had lands at Rajol or that they, in fact, worked as painters at the Chamba court. It was Nikka only — not Nikka and Ranjha jointly — who originally came to Rajol and was given lands by Raja Raj Singh. The list cannot therefore be regarded as a record of actual Chamba painters but at most as a hotch-potch of family names, some of them referring to members of the family who did in fact work at Chamba, others to members, including ancestors, who had no working connection with Chamba at all.

(3) As regards Ranjha's supposed connection with Chamba, this is negated by his inheritance of lands in Basohli granted to Nainsukh by Raja Amrit Pal (1757-1776) of Basohli (Goswamy, 1968a) and by the repetition of Randhawa's mistake (1955, corrected 1956) that Chhajju of Rajol was Ranjha's son. Since Chhajju was in fact the son of Nikka, not of Ranjha, Chhajju's presence in the list clearly does not make it 'certain' that Ramlal (Ranjha) worked at Chamba and must 'therefore' be the painter of the Raj Singh portrait (Khandalavala (1956), fig. 3). For a discussion of this portrait and of Khandalavala's mistaken equation of 'Ram Sahai' with 'Ramlal,' see no. 37.

(4) Of the seven painters noted in the list, only four —

the founder of the branch at Rajol, Nikka, his third son, Chhajju, and Chhajju's two sons, Attra and Saudagar can be confidently accepted as 'Guleria' painters, settled in Rajol and actually working at the Chamba court. Of other members of Nikka's family, not noted in the list, two sons, Harkhu and Gokal, are known to have also worked as painters in Chamba.

1966

Goswamy, B. N. 'The artist-family of Rajol: new light on an old problem', *Roopa Lekha* (1966), XXXV, nos. 1 and 2, 15-23.

Elaborates *Asian Review* (1965) and, on the basis of succeeding Settlement records, establishes the family tree of the immigrant Guler artist, Nikka, down to the year 1959. Argues in favour of the date 'c.1780' for Nikka's migration to Rajol in Chamba from Haripur (Guler). Shows that Nikka's grandson, the painter Attra, a resident of Rajol, died in about 1865. Alludes to the inscription, written by Attra in 1860 for Mehta Syama (Ohri, 1965) as 'a little problematic'. (For detailed objections, see private communication above).

Goswamy, B. N. 'Re-reading of some "Takri" inscriptions in Khandalavala's *Pahari Miniature Painting*', *Roopa Lekha* (1966) XXXV, nos. 1 and 2, 72.

Points out that the *takri* inscription on Khandalavala (1958), fig. 63 (captioned: 'Court scene. Idiom of Basohli Kalam at Bandralta. First quarter of 18th century. Indian National Museum, New Delhi') published by Khandalavala as *bandral raja chand singh* in fact reads *chambyal raja chhattar singh*. Adds: 'This identification of the Raja as Chhattar Singh of Chamba is of importance. For, if Mr. Khandalavala is right and it is difficult to suggest that "such an elaborate composition was painted elsewhere than at Chand Singh's own court", then the painting should be taken as contemporaneous and its date put back to the reign of Chhattar Singh, i.e. between A.D. 1664-1690. The painting thus takes on new significance and may be evidence of the presence of the Basohli *kalam* at Chamba even earlier than, or at least coeval with, its rise at Basohli.' See no. 1.

Craven, R. C. *Miniatures and small sculptures from India* (Gainesville, Florida, 1966).

Fig. 62. Portrait of Raja Umed Singh (1748-1764). See no. 20(3).

Beach, M. C. 'Rajput and related paintings', *The Arts of India and Nepal: the Nasli and Alice Heeramanek collection* (Boston, 1967).

Fig. 187. 'Krishna pursuing Radha' (Coomaswamy (1916), pl. 47; Reiff (1959), pl. 6; Lee (1960), pl. 64). See no. 27(1).

1967

Mittal, J. 'New Studies in Pahari Painting', *Lalit Kala* (dated 1962 but published 1967), no. 12, 26-35.

A re-examination of materials in the Bhuri Singh Museum, Chamba and the author's private collection, Hyderabad (obtained from Chamba sources).

Publishes a page (fig. 3) from a horizontal *Bhagavata Purana* series, inscribed as executed for Mian Shamsher Singh by the painter Laharu, 1757 and connected with Chamba. See no. 18.

Attributes to Laharu on grounds of style

(1) A vertical *Bhagavata Purana* series. Figs. 1, 2. See no. 17.

(2) A *Ramayana* series (early parts). Fig. 4. See no. 19.

(3) Parts of a horizontal *Vishnu Avatara* series. Mittal and Birla collections. Figs. 5, 6. See nos. 16(1) and (2).

(4) Parts of a *Ragamala* series. Figs. 7, 8, 9.

(5) Portrait sketch of Raja Umed Singh. Acquired by Mittal from Hiralal, descendant of the Chamba painters, Durga and Mangnu. Fig. A, p.29. See no. 20(1).

Publishes two paintings (figs. 9 and 10), inscribed respectively on the reverse with the names 'Harkhu' and 'Chhajju Chahreare' (figs. a and b, p.30). See nos 45, 50(1). Identifies

them as sons of either Ram Lal (Ranjha) or of Nikka and assumes that both Ram Lal (Ranjha) and Nikka migrated to Chamba from Guler.

[For resolutions of this difficulty, making it clear that Ram Lal (Ranjha) did not, in fact, work in Chamba and that Chhajju and Harkhu were both sons of Nikka, not Ram Lal see Goswamy (1965b, 1966a) and Ohri (1965, private communication, Goswamy).]

Attributes to Chhajju on grounds of style

(1) 'Raja Jit Singh with rani'. Fig. 12. See no. 47.

(2) 'Lady enticing a parrot'. Fig. 13. Mittal collection. See no. 49(2).

(3) 'The Month of Asoj (October)'. Fig. 14. Mittal collection.

(4) 'The Summer season'. Fig. B, p.32. See no. 49(1).

Attributes to Harkhu on grounds of style.

(1) 'Rani with child looking in a mirror'. Fig. 11.

(2) 'Krishna with the cow-girls'. Fig. 15. See no. 52(1).

Following Khandalavala's mistaken equation of 'Ram Sahai' with Ram Lal (Ranjha), attributes to Ram Lal the *Aniruddha Usha* series (Vogel, 1909), the *Rukmini* series (Vogel, 1909) and fig. 16, 'Sudama taking leave of Krishna' (Vogel, 1909). See nos. 38, 39.

Conjectures that Nikka (Goswamy, 1965b, 1966a) may have painted figs. 17 and 19 — each of them a portrait of Raja Raj Singh (1764-1794).

Publishes three further portraits by other (unidentified) Chamba artists: fig. 18 (Raj Singh with ladies), fig. 20 (Jit Singh smoking) and fig. 21, Nikka painting Isar (see note to Khandalavala, 1959).

Lists eight portraits of Raja Raj Singh (1764-1794).

Randhawa, M. S. *Chamba Painting* (New Delhi, 1967).

Reviews the development of painting in Chamba and divides it into the following four phases: (1) 1720-1764 'Basohli' (2) 1770-1808 'Guler-Chamba' (3) 1820-1850 'Sikh' (4) 'mid to second-half 19th century Revivalist'.

Assigns to Chamba the following illustrations:

Black and white

Figs. 1 and 2. Captioned as portraits of Prithvi Singh and Umed Singh of Chamba but more probably portraits of the same person (i.e. Prithvi Singh), and executed c.1760.

Fig. 3. 'Dana Lila'. From a *Bhagavata Purana* series. See no. 18(1).

Fig. 4. 'Salvation of Ahalya by Rama'. From a *Ramayana* series. See no. 19.

Figs 5 and 6. Portraits of Raja Raj Singh (1764-1794). See nos. 40, 44.

Fig. 7. 'Princess with ladies swinging' ('The Joy of Rains'). Here assigned to Harkhu, c.1830. See no. 55(2).

Fig. 8. 'Raja Charat Singh with his rani'. Perhaps by Harkhu, c.1830. See no. 55.

Colour

Pl. 1. Raja Raj Singh with the baby Jit Singh. See no. 41(1).

Pl. 2. Raja Jit Singh with his rani. Perhaps by Chhajju. See no. 47.

Pls. 3 and 4. From a *Krishna Rukmini* series (Vogel, 1909). See no. 39(1).

Pls. 5 and 6. From a *Krishna Sudama* series (Vogel, 1909). See no. 39(2).

Pl. 7. *Vasakasajja nayika*. Style of Harkhu. See no. 50(1).

Pl. 8. From a *Baramasa* series. Style of Chhajju.

Pl. 9. 'The radiant damsel'. Perhaps by Tara Singh in a Chamba style derivative from Garhwal, c.1840. See no. 59 (1).

Pl. 10. From an *Aniruddha Usha* series, c.1805 or later.

Pl. 11. From a different and earlier *Aniruddha Usha* series (Khandalavala, 1956), perhaps c.1775. See no. 38.

Stresses the dulling effect of Sikh influence on Chamba painting under Raja Charat Singh (1808-1844).

Connects the painter, Tara Singh (fl.1840-1871) with a style of Chamba painting derived from Garhwal. Attributes a *Baramasa* series (Vogel, 1909) to him.

1968

Archer, W. G. and Binney, E. *Rajput Miniatures from the collection of Edwin Binney 3rd.* (Portland, Oregon, 1968).

Discusses painting in Chamba in the light of previous researches. Regards the painter Laharu (Mittal, 1967) as a minor associate of a different and more accomplished master. Emphasises the importance of the marriage of Prakash Chand of Guler to the sister of Raj Singh of Chamba and suggests that, perhaps as a by-product of this marriage, the Guler painter Nikka was invited to migrate to Chamba and was granted lands in Chamba state. Connects a strong influx of Guler idioms into Chamba painting and a sharp break with previous traditions with this Guler-Chamba tie.

Fig. 81. Three villagers, mis-identified as Gaddis, one dressed as Krishna, prancing and singing. Here regarded as Chamba, c.1730, though not as Gaddis.

Fig. 82. 'Vishnu killing Sankhasura'. See no. 16(4).

Fig. 83. From a *Ramayana* series. See no. 19(3).

Randhawa, M. S. 'Chamba Painting'. *Roopa Lekha* (1968), XXXVII, nos. 1 and 2, 7-17.

Text as in Randhawa (1967) with the following new illustrations (black and white), but without colour plates and commentaries and with occasional additions and alterations.

Fig. 1. Portrait of Chattar Singh (Goetz, 1954; Khandalavala, 1958). Compare nos. 1 and 2.

Fig. 4. From a vertical *Bhagavata Purana* series. See no. 17(4).

Fig. 5. From a horizontal *Ramayana* series (early part). See no. 19(2).

Fig. 8. Charat Singh listening to music. Compare no. 55 and 56.

Fig. 10. Wazir Bhaga listening to a Gaddi petitioner. See no. 57.

Fig. 11. From a *Ramayana* series (later part) by Tara Singh. See no. 58(1).

Fig. 12. From a *Baramasa* series. Attributed to Tara Singh. Compare nos. 58 and 59.

Goswamy, B. N. 'Pahari Painting: the family as the basis of style', *Marg* (1968), XXI, no. 4, 17-62.

Supplements Goswamy (1965b, 1966a) with further information concerning Nikka (third son of the Guler painter, Nainsukh, and later court painter to Raj Singh of Chamba) and members of his family:

(1) Nikka. Died 1833. i.e. 55 years after the death of Nainsukh, 1778.

(2) Harkhu, son of Nikka. Died 1850.

(3) Gokal, younger brother of Harkhu. Died 1847.

(4) Chhajju, eldest son of Nikka. Died 1850.

(5) Jawarhar and Saudagar, sons of Chhajju. On the evidence of entries in priests' registers at Hardwar, 1866 and 1871, worked in Tehri Garhwal.

[For Garhwal elements in painting at Chamba, see nos. 58 and 59.]

Goswamy, B. N. *Lalit Kala Series Portfolio no. 6: Six Kangra Paintings* (New Delhi, 1968).

Col. pl. 4. 'Sudama takes leave of Krishna' (Randhawa, 1967, pl. 6). See no. 41(1).

Singh, Madanjeet. *Himalayan Art* (London, 1968).

Col. pls. pages 152-155, 159. Murals formerly in the Rang Mahal (old) palace, Chamba, but since removed to the National Museum, New Delhi. See nos. 60 and 61.

1969

Ohri, V. C. 'Laharu and Mahesh: miniature painters at Chamba in the mid-18th century', *Lalit Kala* (dated 1967 but published 1969), no. 13, 50.

Describes an inscription, dated 1747 A.D., carved on the wooden *torana* (railing) of the Lakshmi Narain temple, Chamba, naming two carpenter-artists, Laharu and Mahesh, as having embossed human and mythological figures on gilded silver plates on the railing. Suggests that Mahesh may have collaborated with Laharu in the *Bhagavata Purana* series (Mittal, 1967), see no. 18. Distinguishes their styles and attributes to Mahesh a miniature painting (Bhuri Singh Museum) portraying Vishnu slaying Sankhasura (fig. 3). See no. 16(3).

Ohri, V. C. 'The Origins of Pahari Paintings', *Roopa Lekha* (1969), XXXVIII, nos. 1 and 2, 109-119.

Reproduces (figs. 7-12) wooden panels from the Brahmor Kothi, identifying one of the figures, holding a fish (fig. 7) as the young Prithvi Singh (ruled 1641-1664) and suggesting that the panels are contemporaneous with him.

Reproduces (figs. 13-15) panels from the Chamunda temple at Devi-ri-kothi, pointing out that they differ in style from those at the Brahmor Kothi and that they belong to the reign (1748-1764) of Umed Singh by whom the temple was built.

Argues that painting in Chamba originated in the first half of the seventeenth century and that it may well have pre-dated painting in Basohli.

On the use of the term *chambyal* in inscriptions on portraits, has the following remarks: 'The theories put forward to explain the presence of the clan-name in such inscriptions are not always correct. The suggestion that when such a type of identity is given it should be assumed that the painting was produced outside the state of the Raja depicted and another observation that such clan-names were considered honorific and were unknowingly put, are not correct. Mention of the clan-name in the same state is simply out of the question. In these cases, I believe that the painting had been removed to another state or states, maybe by the daughters of the rajas who were married to princes of other states and the inscriptions were recorded later on in those states.'

Publishes the following portraits of Chamba rulers:

Fig. 16 Dael Singh (1735-1748). See *Jammu*, no. 20.

Fig. 18. Chattar Singh (1664-1690). See no. 1.

Fig. 20. Prithvi Singh (1641-1664). See *Mankot*, no. 2.

Barrett, D. 'Review of *Chamba Painting* by M. S. Randhawa', *Lalit Kala* (published 1969), no. 14, 63-64.

Queries the dates (1780-1790) given by Randhawa (1967) to the Chamba *Rukmini* series (see no. 39(2)) and the Chamba *Sudama* series (see no. 39), preferring to date both sets 1765-1770 and to regard them as either contemporaneous with the *Anurudha Usha* series (see no. 38) or as earlier.

IV. PAINTING: CATALOGUE AND RECONSTRUCTION

PHASE ONE: 1675-1735

1 Raja Chattar Singh (1664-1690) of Chamba with courtiers and musicians. Chamba, c.1680.

176 x 248 mm; with border 208 x 283 mm. Red border.

Inscribed at top in *takri* characters: *chambyal raja chhattar singh* (Raja Chattar Singh of Chamba).

National Museum, New Delhi.

Published: Khandalavala (1958), fig. 63, where, however, the inscription is mis-read as *bandral raja chand singh* and the picture labelled as 'idiom of Basohli kalam at Bandralta. First quarter of the eighteenth century'. For correct reading, see Goswamy (1966b).

Description: Raja Chattar Singh of Chamba, a bearded figure with square-chopped side-whiskers, is seated on a pale yellow terrace leaning across a red balustrade. Behind him to the left stand two attendants, one with peacock feather fan. To the right sit two courtiers. A third stands to address him. Below the Raja, on the nearer side of the balustrade, are six figures. Two, on the extreme right, are musicians with drum and *vina* seated on a striped rug. In the centre is a seated figure holding up a cloth and dish into which the Raja is pouring the contents of a flask. A fourth figure, a young boy, kneels before him straining eagerly forwards. Behind him, to the left, stand two tall figures, one possessing similar square-chopped side-whiskers to those of the Raja. Background green.

Discussion: A court scene of exceptional importance for Chamba painting since, with the correct identification of the central figure, it connects a distinctive style of painting with Chamba in the last quarter of the seventeenth century.

Chattar Singh tallies with his portrait in the Bhuri Singh Museum, Chamba (Khandalavala (1958) no. 64), the kneeling child resembles his son, Udai Singh and the tensely grouped courtiers suggest that a scene of special moment to the royal family is being enacted. Like his father, Prithvi Singh (1641-1664), Chattar Singh was devoted to Vishnu and in 1678 defied Aurangzeb's order to demolish the local temples. In token of this defiance, he is said to have vowed to eschew all wine, the picture perhaps commemorating this dramatic decision.

Although Chamba was to be on bad terms with Basohli in the eighteenth century, Chattar Singh's father had married a Basohli princess and had also been included in a portrait series executed at Mankot, Basohli's neighbour, in about 1660-1680 (Mankot, no. 2 q.v.). Mankot seems to have specialised in a style of local portraiture characterised by plain flat backgrounds and by hieratic simplicity. The present picture which shares some of these traits may have been done in Chamba under Mankot influence.

2 Raja Chattar Singh (1664-1690) of Chamba worshipping at a shrine to Rama. Chamba, c.1680.

182 x 252 mm; with border 212 x 252 mm. Red border with black and white rules.

Private collection.

Published: Skelton (1961), pl. 59.

Description: A heavily bearded figure, identical with Chattar Singh in 1, stands before a shrine to Rama receiving a flower from an attendant Brahmin. Behind the raja stands an attendant in pink *jama* striped with red and green, holding a peacock-feather fan and cloth. Within the shrine, against a red background, are images of Rama and Sita seated on a throne, with Lakshmana and Bharata standing on either side. In a white niche to the left stands Hanuman with a conch and sacrificial vessel at his feet. Other vessels stand in a niche to the right. In front of the shrine is a cow eating from a dish. Background green.

Discussion: Similar in style to 1 and like that picture portraying Raja Chattar Singh in a highly personal and private situation. As in Bilaspur and Kulu, royal worship in Chamba centred on the cult of Rama and this had received an important fillip in 1645 when his father, Prithvi Singh, had returned from Delhi bringing with him a stone image which was then named Raghurib (a name for Rama), and installed as the family idol. In Kulu a similar installation had occurred in about 1650, a comparable pseudonym for Rama, Raghu, being used and the god being named Raghunath. For other depictions of Rama, Sita, Lakshmana and Hanuman, often with the same type of cusped archway, see 31 (mural in the northern courtyard of the Lakshmi Narain temple, Chamba) and nos. 5, 9, 30 and 33, all of which reflect the same cult of Rama in Chamba.

3 Mian Raghunath Singh of Chamba seated with Mian Sirdar Singh of Kashtwar. Chamba, c.1680.

160 x 260 mm; with border 202 x 298 mm.

Border red with black and white rules, part of *jama* and peacock feather fan projecting into it on the left hand side.

Inscribed at the top in *takri* characters: (1) *chambyal mian ragunath singh* (2) *kastwaria mian sirdar singh*

Archer collection, London.

Description: Raghunath Singh (fifth son of Raja Prithvi Singh (1641-1664) of Chamba) in white *jama* with grey stripes sits on the left facing Sirdar Singh (youngest brother of Raja Jaya Singh (1674-81) of Kashtwar) wearing a white *jama* with red stripes. Each is attended by a servant in short-length *jama* holding on his right shoulder a peacock-feather fan. Raghunath Singh smokes a hookah. Sirdar Singh has a plume, perhaps a pheasant's feather, in his turban. Mauve carpet with green stripes, edged with white and red. Deep yellow background.

Discussion: In closely similar style to 1 and with similar Mankot influence, but with a flatter angularity, suggesting a

somewhat less accomplished hand. The fact that a member of the Kashtwar ruling family is shown confronting a member of the Chamba royal house suggests that like 1, the picture records an actual occasion. Sirdar Singh commanded the Kashtwar army but due to discontent retired to Kashmir and later went to Delhi. His probable dates are c.1650-1700. Under Chattar Singh (1664-1690), Chamba expanded at the expense of Kashtwar and the picture may therefore commemorate a meeting between the victorious Raghunath Singh and the defeated Sirdar Singh. It is significant that Raghunath Singh smokes a hookah whereas Sirdar Singh is shown not smoking but extending an open hand as if to sue.

4 Raja Udai Singh (1690-1720) of Chamba smoking. Chamba, c.1690.

Inscribed at the top in *takri* characters: *chambyal raja udai singh*; and on the face of the picture the *takri* numeral: 137 (?)

National Museum, New Delhi.

Published: Khandalavala (1958), no. 47.

Description: Udai Singh of Chamba, a beardless youth with long side-lock, is seated on a rug with floral pattern leaning against a large cushion as he smokes a hookah. A kneeling youth tends the hookah bowl. An attendant stands behind him brandishing a peacock feather fan above his head and clasping a short sword in white sword-case. Carpet striped as in 3. Deep yellow background.

Discussion: Similar in style to nos. 1-3 but with a delicately floral patterned rug replacing the stark white rectangles previously favoured. Comparable to Mankot portraiture of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century (Mankot, nos. 16, 33 q.v.).

5 Rama and Sita worshipped by Hanuman. Chamba, c.1710.

115 x 190 mm; the top portion trimmed to make an arch.

Inscribed on reverse of mount in English by J. C. French: *Basohli (from collection of Ajit Ghose). Reproduced in Rupam.* Victoria and Albert Museum, French collection. I.S. 130-1955.

Published: Ghose (1929), fig. 5.

Description: Rama in long yellow *jama* and Sita in a crimson skirt are seated on a golden throne with silver grey back. Rama has a low crown with a pheasant's feather in it. He holds a bow. To the right stand Lakshmana with a yak's tail fly-whisk and flying a royal umbrella like a kite above Rama's head. Two further brothers in pink and pale yellow *jamias* stand behind him. On the left Hanuman bows low at Rama's feet; the bear king tenders homage. Pink rug with blue-black stripes. Red background topped with curving band of blue and white sky.

Discussion: In style, this picture reveals a sharp break with the portrait series nos. 1-4, since diluted 'Basohli' influence is now clearly present. It is possible that this influence reached Chamba through Kulu and in this connection, the installation of some carved wooden panels in similar style at Brahmor kothi, on the Kulu side of Chamba state, is of some significance.

'In old Chamba', Goetz has explained (1954b, 4-5), 'a *kothi* was a building serving as residence and office of the district officer, police court, store for taxes paid in kind (especially grain, cloth and wool) and rest-house for travelling high persons. It was instituted in the mid-seventeenth century by Raja Prithvi Singh to serve as a base for royal administrators. As far as their dates are known, these *kothis* were all erected between about 1645 and 1735.' Brahmor was apparently chosen as a site for a *kothi* because it lay in the valley of the Budhal, a tributary of the upper Ravi, deep in the south-eastern hills. 'It had been the capital of the early kings of Brahmapura (7th-8th centuries) to whom the Rajas of Chamba traced back their pedigree and was the most religious centre of the state sacred to Siva Manimahese, Lakshman Devi and Nrisimha. It was also the reservoir of the best soldiers, the Gaddis and a strategic centre controlling the passes to Kangra, Kulu, Mandi

(through Bangahal) and Lahul. Whenever troubles threatened Chamba from those sides, the Brahmor kothi became the temporary residence and headquarters of the rajas. The actual *kothi* building at Brahmor seems to have been built by Prithvi Singh (1641-1664) but additions and alterations were made up to and including the reign of Umed Singh (1748-1764).

Although there are two series of wooden panels at Brahmor kothi, only one of them concerns us here. It consists of three panels in a row:

(1) right, showing Brahma in the middle, adored by Vishnu and Lakshmi on the right and by Shiva and Parvati on the left (see **Chamba no. 6**); (2) centre, representing Vishnu, sitting on a lotus, Lakshmi in his lap; (3) left, depicting Rama and Sita attended on one side by Lakshmana, on the other by Hanuman. Each section is framed by a cusped arch — a detail which is a constant feature in Chamba painting. The first and third panels are reproduced by Goetz, (1954b, figs. 1 and 2); the first by Khandalavala (1958), fig. 86.

While all three panels are significant, the third is especially relevant since it not only has substantially the same subject as the present picture, but, apart from the use of *dhotis* instead of *jamās*, it also markedly resembles it in style. In this connection, the stunted figures, sharply receding brows, long sharp eyes and curved noses may be noted. All these idioms can be found in comparable form in one of the variants of the Kulu style used in the Shangri *Ramayana* (Kulu, q.v.) and assuming some degree of co-operation between Chamba and Kulu in about the years 1690-1710 (which is the approximate date of the Kulu series), there would be no reason why these carved panels should not have been constructed at Brahmor under Kulu influence in the decade or so following 1700. Once installed, they might easily have affected the prevailing style of Chamba painting and pictures such as the present could then have resulted. At the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth century, relations between Chamba and Kulu were close — a daughter of Chhattar Singh being married to Bidhi Singh (1672-1688) of Kulu and the two states co-operating with each other against Lahul and the Mughals.

6 Brahma, flanked on the right by Vishnu and Lakshmi, and, on the left, by Shiva and Parvati. Chamba, c.1700-1710.

Wooden panel, originally at the Brahmor kothi, Chamba, but since removed to the Bhuri Singh Museum, Chamba. Published: Goetz (1954b) fig. 1; also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), fig. 86.

A sister panel to the Rama panel discussed in 5 and revealing even closer stylistic parallels to nos. 5 and 7. Of significance for painting because of its proved Chamba origin.

7 Kali triumphant. Chamba, c.1710.

133 x 188 mm. Border trimmed. Victoria and Albert Museum, Rothenstein collection, I.S. 126-1951.

Description: Kali with four arms, her hands red with blood, squats on two recumbent Shivas. She wears a golden crown and wields a great sword. On either side of her crouches a female devotee holding a sword and a cup made from a skull(?). Kali and her devotees have dark mauve skins. To the right stands the four-headed Brahma in a dark red *dhoti* and to the left Vishnu with dark mauve skin and in dark yellow *dhoti*. Strewn around them are eight corpses about to be devoured by six jackals and two vultures. Background greyish-black.

Discussion: Similar in style to 5 and closely related to the carved panels in the Brahmor kothi (no. 6) — the assemblage of deities being almost exactly the same. Although the cult of Rama was pre-eminent among Chamba Rajputs and was the special family religion of the Chamba royal house, the Devi was worshipped in the villages and there were also two important Devi temples in Chamba town. For a powerful state which was often at war with its neighbours, worship of the ferocious Goddess may have seemed a vitally necessary precaution.

8 Parasurama slaying Kartavirya. Chamba, c.1710.

Red border with portions of the picture protruding into it. Mittal collection, Hyderabad. Obtained by Mittal from a private family in Chamba.

Description: 'Kartavirya, the thousand-armed king of the Haihayas, visited the hermitage of Jamadagni while the sage was absent and was entertained by Jamadagni's wife, Renuka. On leaving he carried off Surabhi, the wish-fulfilling 'cow of plenty' which was in his host's possession. Parasurama ('Rama with the axe'), the sixth incarnation of Vishnu, who had been born as the son of Jamadagni, pursued Kartavirya and slew him. In turn the sons of the king murdered Jamadagni which provoked Parasurama to vow vengeance upon the whole Kshatriya caste' (Skelton (1961), 53). In the picture two incidents from the story are depicted. Parasurama with blue skin, orange *dhoti* and yellow scarf attacks the king who wears red trunks and holds a blue shield. The brown 'cow of plenty' escapes in the top right-hand corner. In the lower right-hand corner, Renuka in dark green bodice supports in her arms the dead Jamadagni. Background yellow.

Discussion: Of Chamba provenance and in basically similar style as 7. Compare, in particular, the rhythmical welding together of shapes into a single robust composition, the bold compulsive sweep of Parasurama's *dhoti* as he bounds on Kartavirya and the play of sharply cut forms, especially the weapons, against a stark and plain background. Besides pictures of Rama, Sita, Lakshmana and Hanuman, sets of pictures illustrating the incarnations of Vishnu appear to have been in constant vogue in Chamba, the sixth incarnation, Parasurama, being perhaps as greatly favoured as Rama himself.

Related examples: (1) Listed Vogel (1909), D.7. Parasurama killing Kartavirya. Bhuri Singh Museum, Chamba. Chamba, c.1710-1720. Vertical in composition and omitting Renuka and the dead Jamadagni. Otherwise exactly similar in style to 8, with the *dhoti* of Parasurama possessing an identical curving sweep.

(2) Skelton (1961), pl. 33. Parasurama killing Kartavirya. Private collection. Chamba, c.1710-1720. A variant in reverse of no. 8. Yellow background. The *dhoti* of the dead Jamadagni with the same kind of hump and trailing length as Rama's in no. 5.

9 Rama, Sita, Lakshmana and Hanuman. Chamba, c. 1710-1720.

163 x 238 mm; with border 198 x 270 mm. Red border with black and white rules.

Private collection.

Published: Skelton (1961), pl. 32.

Description: Rama, blue-complexioned, with Sita on his lap, sits on a lotus-petal cushion, supported by a throne. Before him, wearing rows of bells, stands the monkey-chief, Hanuman, with folded hands. Lakshmana attends them with a yak's tail fly-whisk and tray of *pan*. Background yellow.

Discussion: Yet another picture, designed to exalt and venerate Rama and thus intimately bound up with the strong cult of Rama prevalent in the Chamba royal family. For a striking parallel, see the shrine of Rama in 2 where Chhattar Singh is portrayed worshipping a series of figures virtually identical with the present ones. For style, compare the summary clarity and brusque sharpness of 7 and 8.

10 Radha and Krishna in the grove. Chamba, c.1720-1730.

National Museum, New Delhi.

Published: Randhawa (1959), fig. 5.

Description: Krishna in broad yellow *dhoti* stands between two trees pressing Radha down and leaning over her to kiss her up-turned face. To the left, two cowherd boys in trunks. On the right, two milkmaids, one with peacock-feather fan. Plain background with narrow band of tangled sky.

Discussion: In style similar to 8 and with the same compulsive sweep of the *dhoti*. The figure of the maid nearest to Radha on the right bears a strange resemblance to that of a girl playing with a yo-yo — a figure which appears in the second series of carved wooden panels in the Brahmor

kothi (reproduced Khandalavala 1958, fig. 89). In each case, the downward drop of the veil has the effect of carving out a jagged piece from the skirt, as if it had been brought sharply in against the legs and then allowed to thrust itself out at the bottom. These further panels, perhaps carved in about the year 1720, are described in detail by Goetz (1954b), and suggest a second phase of 'Kulu-esque' inspiration — the pleated *jamās* worn by the men being still well above ankle length and the faces in general resembling those in 8 and 9. For other examples of ladies with yo-yos, each attributed on separate grounds to Chamba, see 32 and 46(2). The use of a yo-yo, perhaps as a form of sexual distraction, may have been peculiar to Chamba, few other illustrations of the theme outside Chamba painting having so far come to light.

Two further details which re-inforce the attribution to Chamba of the present picture are the pose of Radha with her sharply up-turned face and the presence of pheasant feathers in the turbans of both the cowherd boys on the left. In a line drawing, obtained by Mittal from the family collection of a Chamba painter (reproduced Khandalavala (1958), no. 180), Shiva is shown pressing Parvati back in exactly the same way as Krishna is pressing back Radha and Parvati's head is similarly up-turned to enable Shiva to kiss her. No other instances of this exact pose have so far come to light in other schools of Hill painting.

For the inclusion of pheasant feathers in turbans as a fashion, perhaps peculiar to Chamba and its immediate neighbours, compare 4 and 5 and a line drawing 'Krishna colouring the toes of Radha' (reproduced Mehta (1949), pl. 3). On this drawing, Mehta comments: 'This is a picture from Chamba, for Krishna's beloved as well as the attendant are both dressed in *peshwaz* — the costume even now of the nobility and upper classes in Chamba and so reminiscent of the spacious days of the Mughals. Underneath the long skirt are the tight trousers which are shown just with a stroke of the line. Young Krishna wears feathers on his crown — feathers perhaps of the *monal* pheasant so beloved to the hillman, for these are scarce, beautiful and can only be had at a high altitude.'

11 Krishna on a hill-side. Chamba, c.1720-1730.

Chandigarh Museum (formerly in the family collection of Dharam Pal Gupta, Chamba, and attributed by him to Chamba by family tradition). Acquired for the Chandigarh Museum during the visit to Chamba of M. S. Randhawa, Mulk Raj Anand and W.G.A. in 1960.

Description: Krishna, with long garland and no crown sits under a straggling tree, embracing a calf and addressing a group of cow-girls and cowherd boys who sit before him. Above him on an orange-scarlet hillside is a small band of cowherd boys and cow-girls with pots on their heads. To the right a herd of cattle strains intently as if gazing away from Krishna. The hillside is rimmed by lush and luxuriant trees. A black river with lotuses makes a swirling bend in the foreground. At the top a black sky.

Discussion: With its flaming red hill-side rimmed by lush trees, this picture bears an obvious resemblance to the famous 'Radha and Krishna on the hillside' (reproduced Khandalavala (1958), col. pl. 20 and here attributed to Kulu (see *Kulu*, no. 6). Despite Krishna's 'Kulu-esque' features, however, the dramatic conjunction of black and red is un-Kulu-like in style and spirit and the picture, as a whole, also lacks the element of frenzy, typical of Kulu painting proper. The squat figures of the cow-girls and their receding brows can be matched in 5-7.

Related example: (1) Khandalavala (1958), fig. 19. Krishna and the cowherd boys playing blindman's buff. Khandalavala collection, Bombay. Chamba, c.1730.

12 Sages in a forest. Chamba, c.1730.

406 x 616 mm (no border).

Inscribed on reverse in *takri* characters: (1) *bhriḡu ashram* (2) *bhriḡu rikhi* (3) *bhagirath*. [The latter was deemed responsible for Ganga's appearance on earth.]

National Museum, New Delhi (from the family collection of Dharam Pal Gupta, Chamba and, with others in the

same style, attributed to Chamba by family tradition).

Description: A large picture with uncoloured background showing a number of ascetics, some on leopard skin rugs debating in the forest and surrounded by a plethora of wild life, including elephants, tigers, leopards, cattle, wild boar, ibex, peacocks, snakes and bees. Landscape rocky with luxuriant trees. Prevailing colours: sombre reds, browns and greens. Three tiny ladies, with brief bodices and mid-riffs exposed, are shown picking flowers or watering trees.

Discussion: Closely similar in style to 11, and, in the case of the human figures, with strong general affinities to nos. 5-7.

PHASE TWO: 1735-1760

13 *Jasoda with the infants Krishna and Balarama*. From a *Bhagavata Purana* series (horizontal). Chamba, c.1735-1740. Line drawing inscribed at the top in *takri* characters describing the scene.

Mittal collection, Hyderabad. Originally in the family collection of the Chamba painter, Biloo Mistry, from whom Mittal obtained in 1952 a series of 40 drawings of the *Bhagavata Purana*, of which the present drawing is one. Attributed by Biloo Mistry on the basis of family tradition to one of his Chamba ancestors.

Published: Mittal (1955a), fig. 1.

Description: *Jasoda*, clasping the infants Krishna and Balarama in her arms, sits in a heavily palisaded courtyard. She is attended by cowherds and cow-girls. Five cows stick their necks out through the fence. To the left is a lion and to the right a leopard. In the background traces of trees and pavilions.

Discussion: Connected by provenance and family tradition with Chamba and in style a clear development from 5, 7, 11 and 12, thus reinforcing a Chamba attribution to this sequence. Significant details are the strikingly similar treatment of cattle and other animals (compare 11, 12) and the sharply receding brows of the men and women with, at the same time, unemphatic eyes — a combination of 'Kulu-esque' features with matter-of-fact anatomy, suggesting the intrusion of 18th century Mughal influences.

The fact that Raja Dalel Singh (ruled 1735-1745) had been detained by the Mughal governor in the Punjab plains during the reign of his uncle Ugar Singh may perhaps explain a Mughal element, while his pious character and moral rectitude (shown in his relinquishment of the throne in 1745 to the rightful heir, Umed Singh, elder son of Ugar Singh and his subsequent adoption of the religious life) could explain the preparation of this and other religious manuscripts. In this connection, it is significant that the horizontal series of 120 *Ramayana* drawings in the Mittal collection (see 14(1)) is in the same style as the present picture. It may well be that on his accession to Chamba in 1735, Dalel Singh consciously identified himself 'with the royal cult of Rama and fortified his morale by requiring artists in Chamba to design and prepare not only an illustrated *Ramayana* but other auspicious texts.

14 The marriage procession of Rama and Sita. From a *Ramayana* series. Chamba, c.1735-1740.

146 x 246 mm; with border 180 x 274 mm. Red border with black margin and white rules.

Stamped on the reverse with the dealer's trade mark: *The Chamba Hill Stores*.

Inscribed on the picture-space in Persian characters: (1) *ram chander* (2) *Sita* Victoria and Albert Museum, Gayer-Anderson collection, I.S. 168-1952.

Description: Rama in dark red *jama* is seated with Sita in a mauve chariot with yellow wheels drawn by a pair of white horses. Three servants carrying bundles on their heads precede them. Below comes a cavalcade of riders on white, roan and chestnut horses. They wear red, mauve, white and dark yellow *jamās*. Three blow trumpets. Two soldiers with long swords go on foot. Pale green background.

Discussion: Similar in facial idioms to 13 and with the same summary scattering of figures against a starkly plain background as in 7-9. For a somewhat more sophisticated

Ramayana series, which none the less includes similar musicians, see 19. 'The Chamba Hill Stores', whose stamp appears on the reverse, is the same as 'The Himalayan Stores', Chamba, referred to by French (1931), as the source of nos. 29 and 35.

Related example: (1) Mittal (Marg (1), 1955), figs. 2-6. Five drawings from a *Ramayana* series of 120 line drawings, formerly in the family collection of the Chamba painter, Biloo Mistry, subsequently Mittal collection, Hyderabad. Attributed to Chamba by provenance and family tradition. Chamba, 1735-1740. Identical to 14 in general style and details.

15 The forest fire. From a *Bhagavata Purana* series. Chamba, c.1740.

Formerly N. C. Mehta collection, Bombay.

Description: Krishna, with Balarama and a group of six cowherd boys, is trapped by a circle of fire. With them are three cows, a cobra, peacock, buck, pig and two birds. Krishna is drawing into his mouth a branch of the fire. On either side are two trees in plantations of bamboos, the stems of which are wreathed in flames.

Discussion: Identical treatment of human figures and animals as in 11-13 and with strong affinities to 16-19. It is noteworthy that the circle of flames has been reduced to an innocuous arabesque, displaying neither the glamorous richness of the early Basohli version (Basohli, no. 8) nor the smoky fierceness of the later Basohli picture (Basohli, no. 22(iv) q.v.). The fact that the present version should differ so radically from both Basohli renderings suggests that whatever may have been the extent or nature of Basohli influence on Chamba painting in the late seventeenth century a definite hiatus or interruption must have occurred in about the years 1710 to 1730. For a further version of the same subject at Chamba, see 29.

16 Balarama diverting the river Jamuna. From a *Vishnu Avatara* series. Perhaps by the painter Mahesh. Chamba, c.1740-1750.

168 x 242 mm.

Formerly N. C. Mehta collection, Bombay.

Description: Krishna with three cows and three cowherds stands beneath a grove of trees while Balarama pulls the river Jamuna towards them by inserting his plough-share. The water descends from a steep hillside on the left and the river goddess, crowned and with a vessel in her hands, emerges from the stream to sue for Balarama's pardon. Plain background with broad band of sky, raddled with crinkly streaks.

Discussion: Attributed to the Chamba painter, Mahesh, on the grounds firstly of style (see Ohri, 1969) where a painting in similar style (fig. 3) is attributed to Mahesh by comparison with an inscribed *torana* dated 1747 on the Lakshmi Narain temple, Chamba — Mahesh being named on it along with a second painter, Laharu (see no. 18); and secondly, provenance (see further examples from the same series below, the first three being from Chamba collections). Besides nos. 13-15 with which it shares stylistic affinities, special additional features are rocks like looping waves (compare Mittal, 1955a, fig. 4), triangular-shaped trees, rows of crinkly streaks in the sky and figures with sharply receding foreheads and tall heads.

Examples from the same series: (1) Mittal (1967), fig. 5. Parasurama slaying Kartavirya. Mittal collection, Hyderabad, from a family collection, Chamba. Chamba, c.1740-1750.

(2) Mittal (1967), fig. 6. Vishnu as Kalki. Birla collection, Calcutta. Originally obtained by Mittal from a family collection, Chamba. Chamba, c.1740-1750.

(3) Ohri (1969), fig. 3. Vishnu slaying Sankhasura. Bhuri Singh Museum, Chamba. Chamba, c.1740-1750.

(4) Archer and Binney (1968), fig. 82. Same subject as (3 above), but with less elaborate sky. Binney collection, Brookline, Chamba, c.1740-1750.

Related examples: (5) Skelton (1961), pls. 42, 43 and 44. Mythological representations of Rahu (the ascending node of the moon), Chandra (the moon) and Sukra (regent of the

planet Venus). Private collection. Chamba, c.1740-1750.

Identical in general style, faces and settings. For representations in Chamba sculpture of the same unusual subjects see the Devi temple, the Shakti, at Chatrarhi, Chamba State (*Gazetteer*, 47). The fact that no other instances of these subjects have so far come to light in other schools of Hill painting re-inforces their Chamba attribution.

(6) Skelton (1961) pl. 47. Youth addressing a white crane beside a tree. Inscribed: *hamsa* (goose or swan). Private collection. Chamba, c.1740-1750. Same style. Similar triangle-shaped tree. Tall head. Green background.

17(i, ii) Two paintings from a *Bhagavata Purana* series (vertical). Chamba, c.1745-1750.

275 x 178 mm.

Bhuri Singh Museum, Chamba, originally in the family collection of Raja Bhuri Singh of Chamba.

Listed: Vogel (1909), D.19, D.22.

17(i) The slaying of Aghasura.

Description: A scene in the forest. The giant snake demon engulfs the cattle and some of the cowherds who can be seen entering its jaws. Krishna prances on its head before himself entering the snake, forcing a way out and releasing the captives through slits in its tail. Above, rows of trees. On the left, three cowherds.

17(ii) The quelling of Kaliya.

Published: Mittal (1967), fig. 1.

Description: Krishna accompanied by eight cowherd boys leaves the party and leaps into the river Jamuna. The snake Kaliya coils itself round him. In the background, trees and domed buildings.

Discussion: A series closely modelled on a vertical series of *Bhagavata Purana* drawings (unpublished) obtained by Mittal from the family collection of the Chamba painter, Biloo Mistry (13 q.v.). Similar facial types and with the same air of rather straggly confusion linked to sparseness of setting. The fact that the drawings, as also the present paintings, are vertical in composition suggests that they belong to a separate *Bhagavata Purana* series from 18.

Examples from the same series: (1) Goetz (1954a), fig. 8; also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), fig. 61. Vasudeva arrives with the baby daughter of Jasoda and hands it to Devaki who receives it with out-stretched arms.

(2) Goetz (1954a), fig. 12; also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), fig. 62. Krishna stealing butter.

(3) Mittal (1967), fig. 2. Krishna killing the ass demon, Dhenuka.

(4) Randhawa (1968), fig. 4. The whirlwind demon upsetting the cart.

18 The installation of Ugrasena as king of Mathura. From a *Bhagavata Purana* series (horizontal). By the painter Laharu. Chamba, dated 1757.

178 x 255 mm.

Inscribed at the top in *takri* characters: (1) *ugrasena ki raj ditia* (The giving of the kingdom to Ugrasena) (2) *sri miye shamsher singhe likhaya tarkhane laharu likhia samvat 33 magh pr(avishte) 25* . . . (sri Mian Shamsher Singh had this painted. The *tarkhan* (carpenter-painter) Laharu painted it on the 25th day of the month of Magh (January-February) in the *samvat* year 33, i.e. A.D. 1757).

Bhuri Singh Museum, Chamba, originally in the family collection of Raja Bhuri Singh of Chamba.

Listed: Vogel (1909), 16, D.30.

Published: Mittal (1967), fig. 3.

Description: Ugrasena, grandfather of Krishna, is seated on a four-legged throne, beneath a royal umbrella. A priest anoints his forehead with sandal-wood paste. In front of him stand Krishna, Balarama and four cowherd boys. Behind him are three courtiers. In the foreground are three further courtiers with folded hands and a party of eight performing musicians. Plain flat background. A long striped rug extends across the picture.

Discussion: A picture closer in general style to 5, 7, 13-15 than to the vertical *Bhagavata Purana* series (17), the *Vishnu Avatara* series (16), and the first two parts of the *Ramayana* series (19) with which it was originally compared (Mittal (1967), 27). In this connection, the basically flat treatment of the forms, the long striped rug and the highly dramatised postures of the musicians and their instruments should be noted.

On the question why this particular picture (and not others) should have been inscribed and dated, it is perhaps sufficient to point out that Raja Ugar Singh (1720-1735), father of Umed Singh (1748-1764) was not only named after Ugrasena but, like Krishna's grandfather, was installed as ruler only after undergoing severe trials. The episode in the *Bhagavata Purana* may, therefore, have seemed especially appropriate to this branch of the Chamba royal family. The fact that the inscription names Sri Mian Shamsher Singh as the person commissioning the picture suggests however that he was not Umed Singh's younger brother, Sher Singh (as Mittal has perhaps over-readily assumed) but rather some more distant member of the family. The fact, too, that only one other page from this particular horizontal series has survived makes its whole execution something of an enigma.

It is unfortunate that no other Chamba pictures are inscribed with the name of the carpenter-painter Laharu — the more so, since his style, as illustrated by the present picture, seems faintly archaic and totally lacking in the masterly assurance of, for example, the *Vishnu Avatara* series (no. 16). It is just possible that far from being the master painter of Umed Singh's court, Laharu was only a humble member of the painter colony and perhaps for that very reason, was singled out for mention. The fact that various drawings (no. 13) in broadly similar style were inherited from his ancestors by the living Chamba painter, Biloo Mistry, suggests that Laharu, though unremembered, may have belonged to this family. For an inscription on a wooden *torana* of the Lakshmi Narain temple, Chamba, referring to Laharu and the greatly superior Mahesh (see no. 16) as craftsmen-artists responsible for embossing some silver plates on the *torana* in 1747, see Ohri (1969).

Examples from the same series: (1) Randhawa (1967), fig. 3. 'Dana Lila' (Krishna teasing the cow-girls). Bhuri Singh Museum, Chamba. Horizontal format. Uninscribed and almost certainly by a different hand.

19 The wedding of Satrugna and Srutakirti. From a *Ramayana* series (Part I: *Bala kanda*). Chamba, c.1760. Bhuri Singh Museum, Chamba, originally in the family collection of Raja Bhuri Singh of Chamba. Listed: Vogel (1909), D.83.

Description: The bride and bridegroom are seated in a pavilion under a wedding canopy decorated with wooden parrots, adjoining a marble palace with turrets and receding roof. They are attended by ladies of the household and by three officials, one of them the presiding priest. To the right is a band of four musicians.

Discussion: From a *Ramayana* series (Bhuri Singh Museum, Chamba), composed in two distinct styles. Parts I and II, illustrating the *Bala kanda* and *Ayodhya kanda*, are related to a series of 120 *Ramayana* sketches, formerly in the family collection of the Chamba painter, Biloo Mistry and acquired from him in 1952 by Jagdish Mittal of Hyderabad (Mittal, 1955a). Parts III, IV and V — the *Aranya*, *Sundara* and *Yuddha kandas* — on the other hand, are in a Garhwal-like style, connected with the nineteenth century Chamba painter, Tara Singh (see 58). The present picture is in the first of these two styles and while availing of certain well-established conventions (the striped rug, the band of dramatised musicians and figures with receding foreheads) has rather more provincial Mughal influence, seen, for example, in its greater use of angular recessions. Like his predecessor, Dalel Singh, Umed Singh had spent some years as a captive at the Mughal court of Lahore.

Examples from the same series: (1) Randhawa (1967), fig. 4. The salvation of Ahalya by Rama.

(2) Randhawa (1968), fig. 5. Rama breaking the bow of Parasurama.

(3) Archer and Binney (1968), fig. 83. Episode from the wedding of Bharatha and Mandhavi. Binney collection, Brookline.

Related examples: (4) and (5) Skelton (1961), pls. 45, 46. Narasimha Avatara and Vamana Avatara. From a *Vishnu Avatara* series. Private collection. Chamba, c.1760.

20 Raja Umed Singh (1748-1764) of Chamba smoking. Chamba, c.1750.

Central Museum, Lahore. Listed: Gupta (1922), D.62.

Description: Umed Singh sits on a terrace with cusped archway, smoking a hookah and leaning against a cushion. His sword lies beside him. On the terrace is a rug with interlacing floral pattern.

Discussion: A portrait of somewhat indeterminate date, but possibly contemporary with the sitter who appears to be aged about thirty years. The sword may be emblematic of his war-like activities — the border area of Rihlu being wrested from the Mughals in about 1750 and an attack from Kangra repulsed in 1752.

Related examples: (1) Mittal (1967) fig. A. Umed Singh smoking, attended by a servant. Line drawing inscribed in *nagari* characters; *raja umed singh*. Mittal collection, Hyderabad, (formerly in the family collection of the Chamba painter, Hiralal (Khandalavala (1958) q.v.). Chamba, c. 1755. Slightly older than in 20 but with the same drawn sword and hookah. In addition, a shield lies beside him.

(2) Goetz (1954a), fig. 11; also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), no. 65; Randhawa (1967), fig. 2. Raja seated on a terrace, leaning against cushions, a flower in his right hand. Captioned Umed Singh but identical with Prithvi Singh (1641-1664) of Chamba, see portraits (1)-(3), reign (ii). Bhuri Singh Museum, Chamba, c.1750 (perhaps from a posthumous raja series).

(3) Craven (1966), fig. 62. Umed Singh smoking, a sword beside him. Welch collection, Cambridge, Mass. Chamba, c.1750.

21 Raja Umed Singh (1748-1764) of Chamba seated with a rosary. Chamba, c.1760.

Unfinished. Inscribed with name of subject on reverse.

Central Museum, Lahore. Listed: Gupta (1922), D.61.

Description: Umed Singh sits on a terrace leaning against a large cushion, his right hand upraised as if to instruct and his left hand holding a rosary. Features as in 20 and 20(1) but now perhaps ten years older.

Discussion: A portrait of Umed Singh made perhaps nearer the end of his reign by which time he had installed in the new Khanchandi palace the image of Raghubir, originally obtained by Prithvi Singh (ii) from Shah Jahan and adopted by the Chamba royal house as its family idol. He had also erected a temple to the goddess Chamunda (Devi as goddess of war) in Churah, the disputed border area adjoining Basohli. Like his predecessor, Dalel Singh (vi), he may have become increasingly religious towards the end of his reign. His religious tendencies, coupled with a fervent loyalty to the family cult of Rama, may explain the finished *Ramayana* series (no. 19) as well as various *Vishnu Avatara* paintings, with their special emphasis on Rama and Parasurama.

PHASE THREE: 1760-1770

22 A coy lady is brought to her lover. Chamba, c.1760. 162 x 248 mm; with border 206 x 298 mm.

Red border with black and white rules. Portions of the picture slightly protruding.

Victoria and Albert Museum, Manuk and Coles collection, I.S. 147-1949.

Description: A night scene. A prince in mauve turban and trousers and transparent white *jama* reclines on a grey bed with deep yellow coverlet beneath a grey canopy edged

with gold. A drowsy maid kneels by the bed. To the right the mistress of the palace acts as an old procuress, placing her left arm round the shoulder of a coy girl and firmly conducting her to the bed. The old woman wears a white dress with deep yellow shawl. The bed is set on a white terrace adjoining a plot of sage green sward. Beside it are two lamps, a hookah, a *pan* box and a dish with three crimson bottles. Blackish grey background with trees and rim of slate-blue sky. As he waits the prince idly puffs at his hookah and watches the girl's slow advance.

Discussion: An unusual picture which is tentatively ascribed to Chamba on the ground of the similarity of the prince's features to those of the ladies in 23 and 24 (*q.v.*), the frail flowering tree, comparable with 33, and the overall air of spacious clarity which seems to characterise painting in Chamba from 1760 until the early seventies. The latter trait may be, in part, a harking-back to the cleanly-cut forms favoured in the period 1710 to 1730, perhaps as a reaction against the over-crowded compositions associated with Laharu and his contemporaries. Although the picture can hardly have been intended for the young Raj Singh (born 1755), it appears to presage no. 37 where, as a prince of about the same age as the present subject, he is shown watching a dancing-girl perform with musicians.

23 Lady with a hookah. Chamba, c.1760.

168 x 140 mm; with border 210 x 183 mm.
Yellow border with silver grey rules. Portions of dress slightly protruding.

Archer collection, London.

Description: A lady in pale greenish-yellow dress with orange veil sits on a dark red stool smoking a hookah. A confidante in dark red dress and deep yellow veil stands before her. Behind her a maid in similar dress waves a peacock feather fan. Stark white terrace with balustrade. Plain chocolate brown background.

Discussion: In style, broadly similar to 22 and with the same air of simple lucidity as 21. The ladies' faces strongly resemble those of the palace ladies in the *Ramayana* subject (19) and suggest that in the closing years of Umed Singh's reign, various experiments in depicting the female face were carried out. It was in the seventeen-sixties that parallel experiments appear to have been made at Guler and Basohli. Although marking a new phase in Chamba painting, the present picture shares the following details with other pictures connected with Chamba: elongated physiques (2, 32, 36), long trailing skirts with raised knee (5, 24), angular throne (5, 9, 33), chocolate brown background (34).

24 The lady and the mirror. Chamba, c.1760.

193 x 131 mm; with border 247 x 194 mm.
Red border with dark blue margin, white rules and silver grey edge.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 103-1954.

Description: A lady in a long olive green dress sits on a dark red stool leaning against a blue cushion and looking at her face in a mirror. She wears yellow trousers and a veil. Behind her stands a tall maid servant in blue bodice and dark red skirt, an orange veil enlivening the lady, her hair and skirt. Before her sits a second maid in long red skirt, blue bodice and orange veil holding up a mirror. Both maids show broad expanses of midriff. In the foreground a white terrace with the curling stem of a hookah and two rudimentary flower beds with blue and orange flowers. To the rear a grove of trees.

Discussion: Similar in style to 22 and 23. Besides sharing with 23, certain details common to other Chamba pictures, it has the lushly flowering trees which are a marked feature of 11 and 12.

25 The lady and the pigeons. Chamba, c.1765.

222 x 150 mm.
Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Manuk and Coles collection.

Published: Gray (1950), pl. 116 (590); also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), no. 173.

Description: A lady sits at a palace window, leaning against a cushion, her left hand toying with the stem of a hookah, a pair of pigeons strutting on the sill. Behind her a plain background with cusped archway.

Discussion: Identical in style to a mural of Parvati at the Obri Dharamsala, Chamba for which it may have served as an early prototype (see note in Review of Literature: Mittal, 1953). Comparable in style of face, though more refined, with 23 and with obvious similarities to 26-28. The theme of the lonely lady stirred to longing by the spectacle of mating pigeons occurs in Guler painting and may have entered Chamba painting from that source.

26 The love letter. Chamba, c.1840-1860.

Copy by Jagdish Mittal of a mural, formerly in the Rang Mahal (old) palace, Chamba, and since removed to the National Museum, New Delhi.

Original mural attributed by family tradition to Mangnu, uncle of the living Chamba artist, Hiralal or to Durga, Hiralal's grandfather.

Published: Mittal (1955b), fig. 5.

Description: A lady sits against a cushion on a terrace penning a letter. A maid stands on the further side of a low balustrade. Shape oval.

Discussion: Similar in face to 25, 27 and 28 and like the mural of Parvati in the Obri Dharamsala (see 25), almost certainly based on an earlier prototype. Prototypes of this kind are in a boldly dignified style which seems to have developed in Chamba in the seventeen-sixties as a result of Guler influence. From 1760 onwards, Chamba was on especially intimate terms with Guler, as can be inferred from the marriage of the young Raj Singh's sister, Ananta Devi, to Raja Prakash Chand of Guler. The existence of such relations may have led one or more Guler artists to settle in Chamba in about 1760 — to be followed ten to fifteen years later by a second group headed by Nikka, third son of the Guler artist, Nainsukh. For the settlement of Nikka and his family in Chamba, see Goswamy (1965b), discussed no. 37. The sitting of the maid on the further side of the balustrade is an interesting survival of a much earlier Chamba idiom, convincingly employed in no. 1.

27 Radha gazing at Krishna in a grove. Chamba, c.1760-1765. Present location unrecorded.

Photographed: Royal Academy of Arts, London (Exhibition: *The Art of India and Pakistan*, 1948); uncatalogued and apparently not included in the exhibition.

Description: Radha, a slim figure on the left, gazes at Krishna who stands to the right, his flute held vertically between his hands. Plain background with upper rim of sky. The grove is suggested by two rows of five trees.

Discussion: From a group of which its sister picture (27(1) below) is already well-known. Of special significance for Chamba painting since the face and figure of Radha continues to employ the type seen in 25, 26 and 28 and at the same time includes a triangle-shaped formula for trees. For the use of this formula, peculiar (so far as is known) to Chamba, see 15-17.

Example from the same series: (1) Coomaraswamy (1916), pl. 47; also reproduced Agravala (1949), pl. 3; Zimmer (1955), fig. C.15; Reiff (1959), col. pl. 6; Lee (1960), col. pl. 64; Beach (1966), fig. 187. Krishna pursuing Radha in a grove. Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Heeramaneck collection (formerly Coomaraswamy collection, Boston).

28 Radha and Krishna exchanging *pan* (*tamvula seva*). Chamba, c.1765.

Formerly Manuk and Coles collection, Patna.
Published: Sett (1920), col. pl.; also reproduced Gangoly (1927), col. pl. 8; Khandalavala (1958), no. 85.

Description: Radha in dark green bodice and brown veil leans on a palace window facing Krishna who appears before her, the window sill obscuring the lower parts of their bodies. Radha has a *pan* (green betel leaf) in either hand, Krishna, a *pan* in his right hand. Pale ivory-coloured background. Cusped archway.

Discussion: Connected with Chamba on grounds of face as

in 25, 26, 27, 30, cusped archway — a favourite Chamba device (2, 25, 30, 31), ivory background (30) and the depiction of Krishna with a square-shaped head and prominently curled lock of hair at the nape of the neck. This latter idiom is foreshadowed in 27 and 27(1) and is strongly evident in 29, 30 and 33. A mural in similar style depicting a group of cow-girls, their faces identical to that of Radha, was a prominent feature of the Obri Dharmasala, Chamba, when inspected by M. S. Randhawa, Mulk Raj Anand and W.G.A. in 1960 (see Review of Literature: note to Mittal, 1953).

29 Krishna swallowing the forest fire. From a *Bhagavata Purana* series. Chamba, c.1760-1765.

173 x 270 mm; with border 190 x 284 mm. Dark blue margin. Stamped on the reverse in English: *The Chamba Hill Stores Chamba via Dalhousie (Punjab)*. Numbered in Hindi 34.

Victoria and Albert Museum, French collection, I.S. 113-1955.

Obtained by French in Chamba.

Published: Gray (1950), pl. 115 (538); also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), no. 245; Archer (1960), pl. 76; Rawson (1962), pl. 146; Lawrence (1963), col. pl. 11.

Description: Krishna in *dhoti* stands facing left. Behind him are three cowherd-boys holding their hands to their eyes and a dark brown cow, gazing to the back. In front of him are five further cowherd-boys, also shielding their eyes from the smoke. A white cow bends its head down to lick Krishna's feet. The party is encircled by swirling red flames and black smoke, the flames emerging in a line from the ground being sucked by Krishna into his mouth. Within the flames are six birds and eleven black bees. Deep yellow background — a wild pig, a pair of quails and a buck on the left and a jackal and buck on the right making for safety. The cowherd-boys wear short trunks and mauve and brown wraps. The jackal projects slightly into the border.

Discussion: Attributed to Chamba on grounds of provenance, distinctiveness of style (unconnected with any other school), the use of a typical head idiom for Krishna — square-shaped and with a roll of curl at the nape of the neck, the boldly simplified, yet firmly realistic postures (compare 22-28) and the palette similar to 35 (also from Chamba and obtained by French at the same time and from the same source).

30 Rama and Sita with Lakshmana and Hanuman. Chamba, c.1765.

232 x 166 mm; with border 280 x 202 mm. Border dark blue. Archer collection, London (formerly Manuk and Coles collection, residuary).

Description: Rama in deep yellow *dhoti* and with slight moustache sits beside Sita in crimson skirt, dark green bodice and black veil on a low throne barely clear of the terrace floor. Before them sits Lakshmana in dark blue *dhoti*. All three are holding betel-leaves (*pan*) in their hands. Behind Rama and Sita stands Hanuman with pale brown skin, red trunks and, like Rama and Lakshmana, wearing a gold crown. He holds a peacock-feather fan above the heads of Rama and Sita. Plain ivory-coloured background and patterned terrace floor. White balustrade and cusped archway.

Discussion: Similar in style, palette and idioms to 28 and perhaps acquired by P. C. Manuk and Miss G. M. Coles at the same time. Significant as yet another version of the Rama-Sita subject, showing the same protagonists grouped together with the same stark formality as in 2, 5, 9, 31 and 33.

31 Rama and Sita attended by Lakshmana. Chamba, c.1840.

Mural on the northern wall of a courtyard adjoining the Lakshmi Narain temple, Chamba town, Chamba.

Published: French (1951), pl. 1; also reproduced (full view) French (1931), pl. 5.

Detail for a scene in three panels depicting (1) Hanuman (2) Rama and Sita enthroned, Lakshmana shading them with a

royal umbrella (3) Ravana (?). According to local tradition (Mittal, 1953), all murals in Chamba still existing in the twentieth century were done in the period, c.1840-1860. The present mural is similar to yet another mural of Rama and Sita enthroned executed at about this time in the Rang Mahal (old) palace, Chamba. Although the three main figures in the present mural differ slightly in features from those in 30, they share the same square shaped heads, crowns and general postures.

32 The lady with the yo-yo. Chamba, c.1765. 190 x 115 mm.

British Museum, Manuk and Coles collection.

Published: Archer (1956), col. pl. 14.

Description: A tall lady in dark red dress and blue veil stands against a black background, toying nervously with a yo-yo (a ball suspended on a string and capable of rising and falling as the string is jerked). Narrow strip of green foreground. At the top a rim of pale blue sky.

Discussion: From the same group as 23-31, sharing, in particular, the type of female face used in 30 and the excessively high-waisted and elongated physiques employed in 23 and 24. The subject of a lady playing with a yo-yo appears in a wooden panel carved at the Brahmor Kothi (Khandalavala (1958), fig. 89). For a note discussing its relevance to Chamba painting, see 10.

33 Rama and Sita worshipped by Hanuman. Chamba, c. 1765-1770.

160 x 170 mm (mount modern).

Victoria and Albert Museum, Manuk and Coles collection, I.S. 33-1949.

Description: Rama in deep yellow *dhoti* and red scarf is seated on a golden throne with Sita who wears a green bodice and a dark red skirt with four-dot pattern. They lean against a large gold-coloured cushion with black sprigs. Supported on the throne is a gold umbrella with bent handle. Behind them stands Lakshmana in dark blue *dhoti*, holding a peacock feather fan. All three have fair skins. To the left is Hanuman in red trunks, squatting on the white terrace and clasping in his hands Rama's right foot. Dark green background with slender flowering tree. At the top a curving rim of dark blue sky.

Discussion: Significant details: square-shaped male heads with curled lock of hair at the nape of the neck (28-30), face of Sita comparable to 34, 35, Sita's oval thigh (30, 34, 35, 50), frail flowering tree (22, 27, 33).

34 Parasurama slaying Kartavirya. Chamba, c.1765-1770.

165 x 230 mm; with border 193 x 258 mm. Red border with black and white rules.

Archer collection, London (formerly Manuk and Coles collection, residuary).

Description: Parasurama with white skin and yellow *dhoti* grips the head of Kartavirya and lifts his axe. Around them are strewn seven of Kartavirya's arms. To the right Renuka in red skirt and gold veil supports the dead Jamadagni. Green foreground. To the right a hut backed by trees. A flowering tree slants upwards across a chocolate brown background. In the upper left, Surabhi, 'the cow of plenty', dashes to safety. Upper rim of dark blue sky.

Discussion: Part of a *Vishnu Avatara* series, similar in general style to 22-33 and re-interpreting the same standard situation treated in nos. 8 and 16(1). Significant details: chocolate brown background (as in 23), tree slanting upwards (35), Parasurama's head and face (compare male types in 28-31), Renuka's oval thigh (compare 30, 33).

35 Lady listening to music. Chamba, c.1765-1770.

215 x 260 mm.

British Museum, French collection. Obtained by French from the Chamba Hill Stores, Chamba, along with 29.

Published: Barrett (1963), col. pl. p.181.

Description: A lady, in red skirt (33) and gold veil, sits on a broad white dais leaning against a crimson cushion. Behind her stand four maids, with green, white and red skirts. The maid nearest to the viewer has a dark blue veil similar to

Lakshmana's *dhoti* in 30. In front of the lady to the left is a group of five girl musicians, the leading two playing a green *tambura* and blue drum. Terrace with dark green carpet ornamented with white and yellow flowers. Chocolate brown balustrade. Above the lady is an orange red canopy mounted on four stout poles. Background deep yellow with rim of white and blue sky at the top. A slim tree with pink flowers slopes upwards to the left.

Discussion: In palette a companion picture to 29, making almost identical use of orange-red, deep yellow, white and chocolate brown. Similar in other respects to 24 but with the slighter and more piquant type of female face seen in 33 and 34. Closely comparable in grace of posture, delicacy of execution and general structure to Guler pictures of the 1755-1760 period, especially those which portray Raja Govardhan Chand of Guler with his family or ladies. The resemblance to these family portraits is indeed so close that were it not for the radically different and hotter palette involving totally un-Guler-like colours as also the inclusion of minor idioms such as the flowering tree slanting upwards, the picture could well be mistaken for a product of Guler itself.

36 Krishna lifting Mount Govardhan. From a *Bhagavata Purana* series. Chamba c.1770-1780.

Bhuri Singh Museum, Chamba, originally in the family collection of Raja Bhuri Singh of Chamba.

Listed: Vogel (1909), 16, D.24.

Description: Krishna, a tall figure surrounded by cowherds and cow-girls, stands in the centre lifting on his little finger Mount Govardhan. In the foreground a group of cows.

Discussion: Listed by Vogel as part of a *Bhagavata Purana* series (see no. 17) of about 1745-1750 but clearly either a later interpolation or from a separate series. In style an obvious continuation of the Guler strand in Chamba painting of the kind illustrated by 35. Although the setting is more naturalistic, there is still a shrinking from depth. The cows have close affinities with the cattle in 29 ('Krishna swallowing the forest fire').

PHASE FOUR: 1770-1800

37 The young Raja Raj Singh (1764-1794) of Chamba watching a dancing-girl with musicians. Attributed to the painter Nikka. Chamba, c.1772.

Inscribed on the front in *nagari* characters: at the top (1) *sri maharaja raj singhji* (2) *kachani* (dancing-girl); and in the left border (3) *pandit* (4) *p(andid) rohat*; and on the reverse (1) *raja raj singh chamiya* (Raja Raj Singh of Chamba) (2) *mandi ram sahai di bejada dama 46 rupiya* 'Ram Sahai of Mandi sent this; price 46 rupees'.

Mehta collection, Ahmedabad.

Published: Khandalavala (1956), 37-44, fig. 3; where, however, the final inscription is translated '(obtained) for Mandi (durbar) from Ram Sahai who sent it at the price of rupees forty-six', Ram Sahai being deemed to be the painter of the picture and a synonym for 'Ram Lal', fourth son of the Guler artist, Nainsukh; also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), fig. 87.

Description: The young Raja Singh, in appearance fifteen years of age, sits on a verandah at night, smoking a hookah and attended by two courtiers and two servants. He watches a dancing-girl performing, her motions lit by a torch-bearer and by two lamps with oval shades. Behind her is a group of six singers and musicians. Beyond the verandah is an empty courtyard with a row of trees and sky with crescent moon. Beneath a rolled-up blind in the foreground are three open arches.

Discussion: A picture which has led to considerable controversy owing to (1) its general style which is so closely linked to the work of the painter Nainsukh of Guler (Jammu, nos. 24-55 *q.v.*) that it must clearly be the work of one of his associates or of a member of his family, (2) the respectful reference to Raj Singh on the front inscription, justifying the inference that the picture was painted for him, perhaps to mark an actual occasion, (3) the reference on the reverse to a certain 'Ram Sahai', equated by Khan-

dalavala with Ranjha (Ram Lal), fourth son of Nainsukh and regarded by him as therefore the painter of the picture, (4) the inference based on (3) that Ranjha (Ram Lal) must have worked at the Chamba court, and (5) the discovery by Goswamy (1965b, 1966a) that Nikka, third son of Nainsukh, did, in fact, work at Chamba and was even granted lands in Rajol, a village in the Rihlu border area adjoining Kangra but, at the time, in Chamba possession.

It is important to realise, however, that according to Goswamy's researches, only Nikka (not Nikka and Ram Lal jointly) was granted these lands. There is thus no evidence, apart from the present inscription, which at all connects Ranjha (Ram Lal) with Chamba, whereas the closeness in style of the picture to work by Nainsukh and the proved migration of his son, Nikka, to Chamba raises the presumption that, if it is indeed the work of one of Nainsukh's sons, that son can only be Nikka.

On Khandalavala's interpretation of the inscription, the following comments must be made. It is not a fact, as he contends (1956, p. 41), that 'Sahai' was the 'family' name of Nainsukh and his sons; and, although the word, 'Ram Lal', certainly appears on an inscribed portrait of Ranjha as if it were his name, it is written in Hindi and is almost certainly a scribe's error. Even if Ram Lal is a permissible version of Ranjha or even a pseudonym, it could still not be equated with 'Ram Sahai' since 'Sahai' and 'Lal' are not synonymous. Whoever Ram Sahai may have been, therefore, he cannot have been Nainsukh's fourth son and thus the case for regarding him as the painter of the picture falls, in great part, to the ground.

Khandalavala's other suggestion (p.42) that, being the painter of the picture, he sold it for forty-six rupees to the Mandi durbar (the picture being, in fact, a copy and not the original) seems, in any event, far-fetched — the more so since the word 'durbar' is nowhere mentioned in the inscription. No other instance of a painter recording a price in this manner is known in the Punjab Hills and it would probably have been the last thing that the painter of one court would have done when sending or submitting a picture to another court. Even if a 'painter', Ram Sahai, did attempt to sell a picture to the Mandi durbar, it is far from clear why the Mandi durbar should have been interested in the ruler of another state watching a dancing-girl.

A plausible interpretation of the inscription is more mundane. At the time when Mehta was collecting pictures, dealers and their agents were scouring the Hills and nothing is more common than to find pictures inscribed with dealers' prices. Since the word 'Mandi' immediately precedes the name 'Ram Sahai' and a 'price' (46 rupees) is then recorded, a commonsense view would be to regard the inscription as a dealer's note. In this view, Ram Sahai would be, not the painter, but a dealer's agent or 'runner', stationed at Mandi and the note would merely mean that he had sent it to his principal with the information that it had either cost him forty-six rupees or that this was the price demanded.

Apart from the fact that his family home was at Guler, that Raja Raj Singh, the subject of the present picture, granted him lands in Chamba State, and that his ashes were immersed at Hardwar in 1833 (Goswamy, 1968), little is known of Nikka's actual career. Assuming his father, Nainsukh, to have been born in about 1725 (Jammu, *q.v.*), Nikka, as third son, could well have been born in about 1745. This would make him twenty-five years old in 1770 and twenty-seven in 1772, which is the date when the present picture was probably painted. As discussed elsewhere, his father seems to have spent most of his working life not at Guler, but at Jammu and Basohli (*q.v.*). He would presumably, however, have kept in touch with his family at Guler and could thus have had Nikka with him from time to time. Under his father's general supervision, therefore, Nikka might have received his first training and thus have acquired a 'Nainsukh-esque' style. The present picture certainly reflects strong Nainsukh influence, particularly in the posturings of the musicians, while the whole composition with its three arches and relaxed, informal disposition of the figures echoes Nainsukh's early study of Raja Balwant Singh listening to musicians at Jasrota

(Jammu, no. 31 q.v.). This vivid dynamic style is in strong contrast to the main style of painting which developed in Guler (q.v.). Nikka's work at Chamba must therefore be seen as quite distinct from the Guler-inspired Chamba painting which had grown up in the previous ten to fifteen years (25-35). After 1794, the year when Raj Singh was killed in battle, it is difficult to connect particular works with Nikka and since he became about fifty-five years of age in 1800, it is possible that on his patron's death, he gave up active painting, retired to Rajol and left it to his sons, Harkhu and Chhajju, to continue the family profession under Rajas Jit and Charat Singh (1794-1808, 1808-1844). For work by these latter painters, see 45-54.

38 Usha awakes from her dream. From an *Aniruddha Usha* series. Chamba. Perhaps by the painter Nikka. Chamba, c.1775-1780.

152 x 217 mm; with border 183 x 265 mm. Dark blue margin with pink-flecked border.

Inscribed on the reverse in *nagari* characters describing the incident.

Bhuri Singh Museum, Chamba (since transferred to the National Museum, New Delhi). Formerly in the family collection of Raja Bhuri Singh of Chamba.

Listed: Vogel (1909), 18, D. 49.

Published: Khandalavala (1956), col. pl. C., p.39, along with two further examples from the series; also reproduced Randhawa (1967), col. pl. 11.

Description: Usha, a slim figure in long mauve dress, sits on her bed, attended by nine maids. Crimson canopy. Dresses green, orange-red, and yellow. In the foreground two lamps with yellow shades. Dark trees in the background. Dark blue sky with stars.

Discussion: As pointed out by Khandalavala (1956), the series at present comprises only twenty-one illustrations, some of which are by inferior hands. A nucleus, including nos. 38, 38(1) and 38(2), however, are clearly by the same artist who painted the young Raj Singh watching a dancing girl (37). Khandalavala emphasises the following points of similarity: Usha in 38 is identical in face, delicacy of hands and tenuous height with the dancer (37), the black-bearded shield-bearer on the extreme left behind Raja Janmejaya (38(1)) is none other than the black-bearded servitor behind Raj Singh, the rich red carpet in 38(1) echoes the carpet beneath Raj Singh, the grey walls and architectural details coincide and, above all, line, composition and general style are the same. For reasons given under 37, the artist of both pictures (nos. 37, 38) is here regarded as Nikka, third son of Nainsukh of Guler.

Examples from the same series: (1) Khandalavala (1956), fig. 1. The sage relates the story of Aniruddha and Usha to Raja Janmejaya.

(2) Khandalavala (1956), fig. 2; also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), no. 183C. The demon-king Bana in his harem drinking wine.

39 Krishna eats rice brought by Sudama. From a *Krishna Sudama* series. Perhaps by the painter Nikka. Chamba, c.1780-1785.

Provenance unrecorded.

Published: Randhawa (1967), col. pl. 5.

Note: Two pictures from the same *Krishna Sudama* series are in the Bhuri Singh Museum, Chamba (listed Vogel (1909), D.43, 44).

Description: Krishna in pale yellow *jama* sits on a white bed fanned by one of his consorts and adored by the Brahmin Sudama who sits before him in pale grey rags. Krishna eats rice from a small bag. Crimson canopy as in 38. Background of tall forest trees with a row of peach and apricot trees in flower before them. In the foreground, converging geometric plots, the central one a pool with a fountain, the side plots with beds of Guler-type poppies.

Discussion: Identical in delicacy and general style to 38 but with a severely angular type of foreground including flower-beds and fountain, shortly to become a standard Chamba convention. Here regarded as by the painter Nikka.

Example from the same series: (1) Published Randhawa (1967), col. pl. 6; also reproduced Goswamy (1968b), col. pl. 4. Listed Vogel (1909), D.43. Sudama takes leave of Krishna.

Related examples: (2) Published Randhawa (1967), col. pls. 3, 4. Rukmini and the messenger; Rukma's humiliation. Two illustrations from a *Krishna Rukmini* series. Bhuri Singh Museum, Chamba (listed Vogel (1909), D.35, D.41). From the family collection of Raja Bhuri Singh of Chamba. Here attributed to the painter Nikka. Chamba, c.1780-1785. A series based on prototypes, perhaps executed under Nainsukh's supervision (Basohli q.v.). Retains the typical Guler device of scarlet backgrounds. In general delicacy and style, in close accord with other work, here assigned to Nikka.

40 Raja Raj Singh (1764-1794) of Chamba with his consort, Rani Naginu of Bhadrawah, and heir-apparent Jit Singh. Chamba, c.1780.

Bhuri Singh Museum, Chamba. From the ancestral collection of Raja Bhuri Singh of Chamba.

Published: Mittal (1967), fig. 18; also reproduced Randhawa (1967), fig. 6. Listed Vogel (1909), 29 D.5.; Goetz (1962), 228. Identified to Vogel as Raj Singh by Raja Bhuri Singh on the basis of family tradition.

Description: Raj Singh with neatly trimmed beard sits on a terrace, holding a hookah stem in his right hand, a shield and sword lying beside him. His rani sits in front of him, the child Jit Singh in her lap. Maids with handkerchieves stand on either side. To the rear a balustrade behind which stand two maids, one of them with a peacock feather fan. Above the royal party is a canopy with four poles. Background pale yellow with, at the top, a rim of blue sky.

Discussion: Comparable in female types to 36 and with the same adherence to a single flat plane, use of canopy on poles and disposition of figures behind the terrace balustrade, characteristic of other pictures from Chamba. The circumstance that not only is Raj Singh portrayed in a relaxed posture but is also shown with his rani and heir-apparent reinforces the inference that the picture was painted at his own court rather than elsewhere. Like 36, the style continues the Guler strand in Chamba painting of the kind illustrated by 35. As regards date, Goetz (1962, p.228) has proposed 1777 in the belief that the child Jit Singh, looks 'about two years old'. To other eyes, the child's age may seem nearer five in which case the date of the picture would be about 1780.

Related example: (1) Randhawa (1967), col. pl. 1; also reproduced Mittal (1967), fig. 17. Raj Singh seated smoking on a terrace, his sword beside him, a hawk in his left hand, the child Jit Singh straining forwards to touch it. Behind the child is a courtier. A servant with peacock-feather fan stands on the further side of the terrace balustrade. Red canopy on stout poles. Deep yellow background with band of white and blue sky. Mittal collection, Hyderabad (formerly in the private collection of a Chamba family). Chamba c.1780. Similar in palette and general style to 35.

41 Raja Bhup Chand (ruled 1795) of Bhadrawah with courtiers. Chamba, c.1785.

253 x 162 mm.

Inscribed on the reverse in English: *Maharaja Bhoopal Chand*.

Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. Manuk and Coles collection.

Listed: Gray (1950), 139, no. 619.

Description: Bhup Chand, here regarded as Bhup Chand of Bhadrawah, sits on a pavilion terrace toying with the stem of a hookah. He holds a nose-gay in his left hand. Before him sit two courtiers one with a hawk and gloved fist. To the left stand two attendants with a fly-whisk and hookah bowl. To the right an elderly attendant leans on a standing sword. Foreground with rectangular flower beds. In the courtyard a fountain and a pair of ducks.

Discussion: Bhup Chand of Bhadrawah, younger brother of Raja Fateh Pal (c.1770-c.1790), was intimately connected with Chamba, having commanded the Bhadrawah forces

sent to aid Chamba against Kashtwar in 1785 and acting as Regent of Bhadrawah on behalf of Chamba in 1794. Married to a Chamba princess, he was later removed from Bhadrawah and confined in Chamba for the rest of his life. In style the portrait has all the appurtenances normal in Chamba portraits of royalty — the prominent sword, as in 40, 42-44, a hawk and a hookah with unusually long looped coils. The courtyard with a pair of ducks anticipates a convention standardised in 44, 46, 47.

42 Raja Raj Singh (1764-1794) of Chamba with courtiers and singing-girls. Perhaps by the painter Chhajju. Chamba, c.1785-1790.

Tinted line-drawing.

Central Museum, Lahore.

Listed: Gupta (1922), 56, D.64.

Description: Raj Singh, in appearance now in his thirties and with a long and tapering beard, sits on a charpoy beneath a tree, smoking a hookah and surrounded by five seated courtiers. Two attendants, one with a yak's tail fly-whisk, the other holding a sword, stand behind him. To the right are two singing-girls, one with a drum, the other with a *tambura*. A large sword rests beside him.

Discussion: Identified as Raj Singh by comparison with 43 and 44. He is now perceptibly older than in 40 and 40(1), the great sword is larger (perhaps betokening his prowess in war) and a second sword is held behind him by a servant. In style, the drawing has the vivid animation associated with the 'house' style of Nainsukh, each person being neatly characterised in the manner of the courtiers and attendants in Nainsukh's pictures of Raja Balwant Singh (Jammu nos. 24-53 q.v.). In this connection, the group of musicians in 37 here attributed to Nikka, illustrates Nainsukh's same paternal characteristics. It is significant that the faces of the two singing-girls are now conforming to the 'Guler-Kangra' standard type, which seems to have come into vogue at both Guler and Kangra in the 1780's. For further examples of work here regarded as by Chhajju, third son of Nikka, see 44-49.

43 Raja Raj Singh (1754-1794) of Chamba smoking. Chamba, c.1790.

Bhuri Singh Museum, Chamba. Formerly in the ancestral family collection of Raja Bhuri Singh of Chamba. Identified to Vogel as Raj Singh by family tradition.

Published: Vogel (1909), D.4, pl. 4; also reproduced Vogel (1947), pl. 5; Khandalavala (1958), no. 170 (detail); Mittal (1967), fig. 19.

Description: Raj Singh, in appearance in his thirties and with the same long and tapering beard as in 42, sits on a terrace, smoking a hookah, a falcon perching on a balustrade beside him. From beyond the balustrade an old attendant waves a fly-whisk over him. A large sword lies beside him. A rolled-up blind partly obscures an archway. Background plain with streaks of cloud.

Discussion: Same person as in 42 and 44 and with the same emphasis on a great sword. A continued use of the Chamba convention of siting attendants on the further side of a balustrade. In general style, comparable to similar portraits from Guler and in its lack of recession, perhaps a continuation of the first and earlier strand of Guler influence in Chamba painting rather than that associated with Nikka.

44 Raja Raj Singh (1764-1794) of Chamba walking with his rani and ladies in a garden. Perhaps by the painter Chhajju. Chamba, c.1790-1795.

270 x 203 mm; with border 296 x 270 mm.

Guimet Museum (Louvre), Paris. Identified to Ujfalvy in 1881 by Raja Sham (Shyam) Singh (xiii) of Chamba 'as his great-grandfather'. This statement, if taken at its face value, would make him Jit Singh. Vogel (1947, p.208) however, is confident, that this is a slip for 'great-great-grandfather', the person being obviously the same Raja identified on other grounds by family tradition as Raj Singh. For the circumstances in which this portrait reached the Guimet Museum, Paris, see Ujfalvy (1884); Stchoukine (1929) and Archer (1952).

Published: Ujfalvy (1884), pl. 5; also reproduced Stchoukine (1929), pl. 20; Vogel (1947), pl. 3; Archer (1952), fig. 34; Khandalavala (1958), no. 168; Randhawa (1967), fig. 5.

Description: Raj Singh a stout and massive figure in ankle-length *jama*, strolls on a palace terrace his left arm around the shoulder of his rani. He gazes tenderly down at her. Each holds a hookah stem in the right hand, a maid to the left holding Raj Singh's hookah bowl. Behind them are three maids, one with a peacock-feather fan, a central maid with the rani's hookah-bowl and the third holding Raj Singh's large sword. Behind them to the right is a pavilion verandah, partly supporting a large canopy which extends across the terrace. Beside the royal couple strut a duck and drake, perhaps conventional emblems of married union. In the foreground are angular flower-beds and a pool with fountain. Beyond the terrace and receding into the distance is a large garden, with flower-beds in parallel lines, cypresses, a pair of peacocks, a garden pavilion, plantains and flowering trees.

Discussion: An ambitious portrait study of Raj Singh, executed either in his last years or perhaps posthumously, immediately after his death in battle in 1794. While the angular foreground, the standard 'Guler-Kangra' type faces of the rani and maids, the cypresses and plantains as well as the geometric recessions of the garden plots reflect standard Guler conventions of the early seventeen-eighties, Raj Singh's own figure has the delicate characterisation which is typical of Chhajju. His pose of looking tenderly downwards echoes an early Chamba device and the surging fountain in the angular pool, the prominence given to the pair of ducks and the special treatment of the canopy seem also characteristic of Chamba.

45 Lady conversing with a confidante. By the painter Chhajju. Chamba, c.1800.

202 x 141 mm.

Inscribed on the reverse in *nagari* characters: *chhajju chat-rahare* (Chhajju the painter).

Mittal collection, Hyderabad. Formerly in the private collection of the Khanjanchi family, Chamba.

Published: Mittal (1967), fig. 10.

Description: A lady seated on an angular terrace backed by a pavilion is engaged in talk with a confidante. To the rear are angular beds of flowers and behind them a row of three flowering trees. Plain background with broad band of sky.

Discussion: Attributed to Chamba on account of provenance (the private collection of a Chamba family) and a note on the reverse recording the name of a known Chamba artist, Chhajju. This artist was the third and youngest son of Nikka (see nos. 37-39) and, along with his two brothers inherited his father's lands at Rajol in the Rihlu border area of Chamba state. For details of his family and its connection with Chamba, see Randhawa (1956) and Goswamy (1965b, 1966a). Of Chhajju, little is known but assuming Nikka to have been born in about 1745 and married in about 1765, his three sons — Harkhu, Gokal and Chhajju — were probably about twenty-five to thirty-five years of age in 1800. Of the three, Chhajju, as youngest would probably have been about twenty-five. Not surprisingly, all three sons were dead by 1868 when the first Land Settlement Record for their village was prepared; the second brother, Gokal, had died in 1847 when his ashes were brought to Hardwar for immersion and the remaining two, Harkhu and Chhajju, had died in the same year, 1850, when their ashes also were immersed at Hardwar (Goswamy, 1968). Since Nikka was almost certainly a very old man when he died in 1833, it is perhaps no surprise that his three sons all lived to be about seventy.

46 The message of the crow. Style of Chhajju. Chamba, c.1800.

245 x 205 mm; with border 300 x 259 mm. Margin dark blue; border with pink roses and twining green scroll. Oval shape with brown edge.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 458-1950.

Description: A lady in crimson trousers, orange-brown veil and gold dress stands in a pavilion doorway gazing at a

crow which has alighted on a slender tree in a bed of poppies. Behind her stands a maid in dark green veil and orange brown skirt. Above them is a canopy supported by a pole. Within the courtyard is a small fountain and a pair of ducks. Beyond the courtyard is a large plantain tree and in the distance, low hills and a river across which two boatloads of soldiers are crossing. More troops, perhaps headed by a prince, have reached the river-bank and are about to follow.

Discussion: Similar in style to nos. 47-49 and with the following Chamba variants of Guler idioms: projecting canopy linked to the pavilion structure, doorway with rolled-up blind, geometrically disposed flower-beds and terrace with fountain. A pair of strutting ducks again prominently present.

Related examples: (1) Randhawa, (1954), col. pl. 14; also reproduced Khandalavala, (1958), no. 181. 'The crow's message'. Chandigarh Museum. Style of Chhajju. Chamba, c.1810. Two crows, presumably the same bird first shown arriving with a message from the lover, and later departing with the lady's answer. Similar treatment of low hills. Courtyard, fountain, pair of ducks prominently re-enacting the lovers' symbolic union.

(2) Randhawa (1962), col. pl. 11. 'The meeting of eyes'. Collection of Raja Dhruv Dev Chand of Lambagraon, Kangra. Chamba, style of Chhajju, c.1810-1820. In the courtyard, a maid with yo-yo; a pair of ducks sipping at a fountain. A pair of pigeons billing on a wall. The lover's face at a window, perhaps modelled on the young Charat Singh. Charat Singh's marriage to a Kangra princess may explain this picture's presence in a Kangra collection.

47 Raja Jit Singh (1794-1808) of Chamba with his rani. Style of Chhajju. Chamba, c.1800. 267 x 216 mm.

Bhuri Singh Museum, Chamba. Formerly in the ancestral collection of the Chamba rajas. Identified to Vogel as Jit Singh by Raja Bhuri Singh of Chamba.

Published: Vogel (1919), pl. 5; also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), no. 182; Randhawa (1967), col. pl. 2.

Description: Jit Singh, smoking a hookah and attended by four maids sits in an open pavilion facing his rani who sits before him. To the right one maid supports his hookah bowl, while a second holds a peacock feather fan. To the left a third maid carries a dish with a box of betel leaves and a fourth fans the rani with a yak's tail fly-whisk. In the foreground, a fountain, angular flower beds and a pair of ducks. In the background, a row of rounded trees sprinkled with blossom. Through the window, a view of a river and low hills.

Discussion: A companion picture to 44 but possibly painted five or more years later. If, as seems possible, Nikka had retired from practice, following the death of Raj Singh, his sons, including Chhajju, may conceivably have succeeded him as leading court painters. The lady Sarada, Jit Singh's rani from Jammu, was a strong personality who successfully acted as regent during her son, Charat's minority. It is perhaps significant that the honorific fly-whisk is waved above her head, whereas nothing is held above the head of Jit Singh.

48 Raja Jit Singh (1794-1808) of Chamba seated with his son Charat Singh (1808-1844). Style of Chhajju. Chamba, c.1805.

Central Museum, Lahore.

Listed: Gupta (1922), D.65.

Description: Jit Singh, smoking a hookah and wearing a long sword, sits on a carpeted terrace, his small son, born in 1802 and now perhaps three years of age, seated before him. A servant waves a yak's tail fly-whisk over him.

Discussion: Similar in general style to 45-47, but with the attendant's face somewhat over-enlarged.

49 The lady and the tambura. Style of Chhajju, Chamba. c.1805-1810.

150 x 98 mm; with border 235 x 187 mm.

Pink border flecked with red. Margins dark blue.

Victoria and Albert Museum, Manuk and Coles collection, I.S. 26-1949.

Description: A lady in pale yellow dress sits on a crimson basket stool playing a green *tambura*. Behind her stands a maid in a violet dress with veil waving a peacock-feather fan. A pair of tame quails strut beside her on the white terrace. In the foreground two angular beds of orange poppies and a small fountain. In the background two trees with slender branches, one of them in flower. To the left a tall dark green cypress. Background greyish blue with touches of cloud.

Discussion: Similar in style to 44 and with the same tendency to enlarge the face. In place of ducks, a pair of quails has now been inserted, the foreground with its phallic fountain and angular beds of flowers again providing a standard setting.

Related examples: (1) Mittal (1967), fig. B. The summer season; a princess leaning against a flowering tree and smoking a hookah which is held out to her by a maid; two girl musicians, one with *tambura*, the other with a drum, strive to amuse her. Beside them strut a pair of quails. Mittal Collection, Hyderabad (formerly in the private collection of a Chamba family). Style of Chhajju. Chamba, c.1810. Closely similar to 49 in size and type of face, treatment of flowering trees and inclusion of quails. Provenance, Chamba.

(2) Mittal (1967), fig. 13. Lady with maid enticing a parrot. Hyderabad (formerly in the private collection of a Chamba family). Style of Chhajju. Chamba, c.1810. Similar heavy dress, face and flowering tree. As in other Chamba paintings, the maid is placed the further side of the balustrade. For the same theme, though considerably later, see 61.

50 The lady at the tryst (*utka nayika*). By the painter Harkhu. Chamba, c.1820-1830.

160 x 100 mm; with border 220 x 175 mm. Fawn border with black rules. Dark blue margin with floral pattern in gold.

Victoria and Albert Museum, French collection, I.S. 192-1955.

Acquired by French in Amritsar, 1919.

Description: A lady in brilliant orange dress with dark blue veil sits on a bed of leaves in a grove of trees, entwined with flowering creepers. Grey background. Dark blue sky with stars.

Discussion: Similar in style and treatment to a version of the same subject, published Mittal (1967), fig. 9 and inscribed with the name of the painter, Harkhu. Despite the posture of the girl being reversed, her dress changed from red to orange, a bed of white flowers inserted above the leaves and the deer drinking at a stream omitted, the pictures are identical. For Harkhu, eldest son of Nikka and brother of Chhajju, see 45.

Related example: (1) Mittal (1967), fig. 9; also reproduced Randhawa (1967), col. pl. 7, but titled *vasakasajja nayika*. Inscribed on the reverse in *nagari* characters: *harkhu*. Mittal collection, Hyderabad. Formerly in the private collection of the Khajanchi family, Chamba. Attributed to Harkhu on grounds of provenance, the painter's name and his connection with Chamba (Goswamy, 1965, 1966, 1968).

51 The impatient mistress (*vasakasajja nayika*).

Style of Harkhu. Chamba, c.1820-1830.

170 x 118 mm; with border 240 x 180 mm. Cream border flecked with red. Dark blue margin with gold scroll. Inscribed on the flap with Hindi verses in *nagari* characters by Keshav Das. Titled *vasakasajja nayika* and numbered 3. Victoria and Albert Museum, Manuk and Coles collection, I.S. 39-1949.

Description: A lady in brief green bodice, midriff exposed, a yellow veil and orange red skirt sits on a bed of leaves gazing distractedly to the right. In the foreground a dark grey stream with pair of ducks. Two pairs of trees entwined with white, pink and yellow flowering creepers. Background greyish black dotted, at the top, with stars.

Discussion: Identical in style to nos. 50 and 50(1).

52 The jilted mistress (*vipralabdha nayika*). Chamba. Style of Harkhu. Chamba, c.1820-1830. 171 x 120 mm; with border 282 x 223 mm. Pink border flecked with red darts. Dark blue margin with floral pattern in gold.

Inscribed on the reverse in Persian with the perspicacious remark: *koi aurat hai 'A woman'*.

Victoria and Albert Museum, French collection, I.S. 208-1955. Obtained by French in Basohli, 1930.

Description: A lady in pale yellow dress and brown veil stands beside a bed of leaves casting down her jewelled armlets. In the background a pair of trees embraced by flowering creepers. Grey sky becoming azure at the top. Full moon and stars.

Discussion: Similar style to 50 and 51, and with the same neat crispness.

Related example: (1) Mittal (1967), fig. 15. Krishna surrounded by the cow-girls. From a *Bhagavata Purana* series. Mittal collection, Hyderabad (formerly in the private collection of a Chamba family). Style of Harkhu. Chamba, c.1820. The composition of this series is perhaps connected with the revival of Krishna worship in Chamba, as illustrated by the construction of a Radha Krishna temple, Chamba town, in 1825 by Rani Sarada Devi, queen regent for the minor, Charat Singh (1808-1820).

53 Rama and Sita in the forest. Style of Harkhu. Chamba, c.1830.

186 x 148 mm; with border 242 x 200 mm. Cream border flecked with red. Dark blue margin with white and gold 'Kangra Valley' floral pattern.

Victoria and Albert Museum, Manuk and Coles collection, I.S. 18-1949.

Description: Rama with dark mauve skin, brilliant yellow scarf and a crown of leaves sits on a leopard skin gazing at Sita who wears a brief crimson bodice, the midriff exposed and an orange skirt and veil. Behind them stands Lakshmana, like Rama bare except for a leaf-skirt and carrying on his shoulder a dead deer. Hut with dark blue inner wall. Trees with red sprays.

Discussion: Identical in style to 50-52 and with a similar reliance on late 'Guler-Kangra' idioms. The continuing drift of Harkhu and his brothers towards these common idioms may be due to the family's connection with Guler and to Charat Singh's third marriage in Kangra.

54 Durga killing Mahishasura. Style of Harkhu. Chamba, c.1830.

305 x 258 mm; with border 327 x 280 mm. Dark blue margin with oval pattern in red and gold.

Victoria and Albert Museum, Rothenstein collection, I.S. 150-1951.

Description: Durga in a gold dress with crimson skirt edged with gold and wearing an orange veil stands on the black hulk of the buffalo demon, Mahishasura. The demon emerges from its neck as Durga's tiger mawls the severed head. Background a rolling hill-side with scattered clumps of trees. In the sky flabby white clouds bristling with gods and goddesses. Oval shape with white margins and orange surrounds flecked with white floral motifs.

Discussion: Similar oval design to 46 (here attributed to Chhajju) but with the summary treatment and slick hardness, more typical of Harkhu. For a representation of the same theme in sculpture in Chamba, see the Devi temple the Champavati, on the north side of the *chaugan* (polo ground), Chamba town (*Gazetteer*, 43).

55 Raja Charat Singh (1808-1844) of Chamba with his Kangra rani watching a thunder-storm. Chamba, c.1840.

Bhuri Singh Museum, Chamba, formerly in the family collection of Raja Bhuri Singh of Chamba.

Listed: Vogel (1909), 29, D.7.

Published: Randhawa (1967), fig. 8.

Description: Charat Singh is seated with his third rani, the Kangra princess, on the upper terrace of a pavilion. As in the portrait of Raja Raj Singh walking with his rani and ladies in a garden (44) Charat Singh has turned his head to

look at her. Below them in a courtyard are two maids with a yak's tail fly-whisk and peacock-feather fan. A peacock perches on the wall. Beyond the pavilion is a river with low hills, black storm-clouds and a line of eight white cranes soaring in the sky.

Discussion: Identified to Vogel as Charat Singh and his Kangra rani by Raja Bhuri Singh on the basis of family tradition. Charat Singh took a Kangra princess as his third rani, possibly because his first two ranis had failed to provide him with an heir. By the Kangra rani, he had three sons, the eldest of whom, Sri Singh, born 1839, succeeded him. The Kangra rani acted as regent during the boy's minority. At the time when the marriage was negotiated (about 1837), Kangra state was Sikh-administered and it is possible that the somewhat degenerate 'standard type' faces owe something to Guler-Kangra painting as it had developed under Sikh influence. Although Charat Singh himself did not attend the Sikh court of Ranjit Singh and his successors, Sher Singh and Dalip Singh, his younger brother, Zorawar Singh, was strongly pro-Sikh and a regular visitor there. He also wore Sikh dress.

Related portrait: (1) French (1951), pl. 4; listed Vogel (1909) 29, D.5. Charat Singh seated with his Kangra rani and girl musicians, smoking in a garden by a stream. Deemed by French (1931) as 'the best picture in the Museum'. Bhuri Singh Museum, Chamba. Chamba, c.1840. Stream with the curling rhythmical lines typical of work by Tara Singh (Randhawa, 1967).

Related example: (2) Randhawa (1967), fig. 7. The joy of Rains; a lady swinging against a background of storm clouds and cranes, attended by three maids and two girl-musicians. State Museum, Lucknow. Chamba, c.1840. Same style as 55.

56 Raja Charat Singh (1808-1844) of Chamba smoking. Chamba, c.1840.

Sketch. Central Museum, Lahore.

Listed: Gupta (1922), D.66.

Description: Charat Singh, in profile, leans against a large cushion, holding a hookah stem in his left hand and wearing a hawking glove on his right.

Discussion: Same person as in 55. For a description of Charat Singh's appearance and character, see reign (x), quoting Vigne (1842) and the *Gazetteer* (1910).

57 Wazir Bhaga listening to a Gaddi petitioner. Chamba, c.1840.

Bhuri Singh Museum, Chamba. Formerly in the family collection of Captain Sri Kanth Baratru, great-grandson of Khilava Magna, elder brother of Wazir Bhaga, Chamba.

Listed: Vogel (1909), 29. Published Randhawa (1968), fig. 10.

Description: Wazir Bhaga, in Sikh dress, leans against a cushion on a carpeted terrace, smoking a hookah and attended by a male servant in short skirt who holds a *pan* box. A Gaddi, with typical pointed hat and short skirt, stands before him with folded hands.

Discussion: Wazir Bhaga, son of Wazir Nathu, succeeded as state Wazir in Chamba on the death of his father in 1838. He remained Wazir until 1854, successfully negotiating Chamba's independence, first with the Sikhs, and later with the British. His practice of wearing Sikh dress may have made him *persona grata* to the Sikhs. As a member of a local Chamba family the Baratrus, he symbolised the break with Jammu inaugurated by his father's appointment after the long succession in Chamba of Wazirs from Jammu. On Gaddis, the local shepherd caste regarded by Chamba Rajputs as somewhat uncouth 'figures of fun', French has the following notes: 'The Gaddis are a queer type of mountain shepherd who graze their herds on the highest pastures. They cross freely from Chamba to Kangra and back, according to the grazing seasons. They are no more troubled about tolls and permits to enter Chamba State than are the wild goats and the wolves; for all three use the same paths for entrance. When I was shooting in the east of Chamba State some years ago I heard much about the enormities of the Gaddis, how they had not the slightest respect

for the Raja's game laws and had no hesitation in taking souvenirs from any place they visited. Here today and gone tomorrow; carrying their blankets and food on their sheep, they were as useless to pursue as marauding animals. The Gaddis are sharp bargainers:

It's always nice to meet a Gaddi.

He offers his cap and asks for your coat.

When the Gaddis want a drink, they are suspected of making it in a hole in the hills, genuine "dew of the mountain," without bothering about the formality of a licence' (1931, 37-38). For a semi-satirical study of Gaddis in Chamba style, c.1730-1750, see Khandalavala (1958), fig. 7.

58 Rama, Sita and Lakshmana at the hermitage of the sage Agastya. From a *Ramayana* series (Part 3: *Aranya kanda*). By the painter Tara Singh. Chamba, c.1840-1850. Red border with black margin.

Bhuri Singh Museum, Chamba, formerly in the family collection of Raja Bhuri Singh of Chamba, and attributed to Tara Singh by local tradition.

Listed: Vogel (1909), 25, D.120.

Description: Rama and Lakshmana are seated outside a hermit's hut in the forest, Lakshmana with bow and arrows, Rama resting his hand on an ascetic's crook. Sita, in loosely draped dress, picks flowers from a tree. Beside them roam two bucks and a huge bird.

Discussion: Typical of a series of illustrations to parts 3-5 of the *Ramayana*, executed in Chamba, according to local tradition, by the painter Tara Singh, perhaps as a continuation of Raja Umed Singh's *Ramayana* series (no. 19). In style, the illustrations show strong Garhwal influence — especially in the use of trees with star-shaped flowers, leaves like fingers, smooth hillsides with blob-like clumps, dark blue sky, water with curling eddies, intense eyes, and a general air of brooding, sultry glamour. Since Garhwal painting was originally an offshoot from Guler, it seems possible that Guler painters, returning from Garhwal with this style, later introduced it in its present slightly coarse and crude form at Chamba. Of the painter, Tara Singh's antecedents, nothing has so far been recorded. The Chamba painters Hiralal and Biloo Mistry are unanimous, however, in connecting him with work on the murals in the Kanhandi (new) palace and the Obri Dharmasala — one of which, a toilet scene, was found in 1960 to be in identically the same style as the present picture. For other Chamba painters with Garhwal connections, see Goswamy (1968) where details of Saudagar and Jawahar, both sons of Chhajju (see 44-49) are given. Priests' registers show that in 1866 and 1871 both artists were working in Tehri Garhwal.

Example from the same series: (1) Randhawa (1968), fig. 11. Rama, Sita and Lakshmana with hermits. Bhuri Singh Museum, Chamba.

59 The toilet of Radha. Attributed to Tara Singh. Chamba, c.1840-1850.

Red border with black margin.

Private collection of a Chamba family, Chamba, 1960.

Description: Radha, nude from her bath, is seated on a dais, arranging her hair and looking in a mirror which is held towards her by a maid on the left. A second maid on the right holds a tray. In the foreground a pot and a brass vessel with spout. In the background mango trees and cypresses. Dark blue sky.

Discussion: Identical in style to 58 and representing the same reproduction in Chamba conditions of a Garhwal-type style. For a mural in the Rang Mahal palace of the same subject attributed by local tradition to the painter Durga, see no. 60. For a Garhwal picture, with the stamp *Chamba Hill Stores*, perhaps brought to Chamba by a Garhwal-trained painter, see *Garhwal*, no. 8.

Related example: (1) Randhawa (1967), col. pl. 9. The radiant damsel; Radha cooking in a courtyard, Krishna and a girl on an upper terrace. Mittal collection, Hyderabad (formerly in the private collection of a Chamba family). Style of Tara Singh. Chamba, c.1840. Figures of Krishna and his companion squat. Radha with identical type of face as in 58.

60 The toilet of Radha. Mural, formerly in the Rang Mahal palace, Chamba, but since removed to the National Museum, New Delhi. Attributed to Durga. Chamba, c.1850.

Published: Mittal (1964), fig. 2.

Description: Similar in subject and pose to no. 59 but with two maids, instead of one, on the right and a third filling a pot with water in the foreground. A pot and vessel with spout similarly present. As in no. 59, Radha is nude from her bath and is gazing round to look at herself in a mirror which is held towards her by a maid.

Discussion: One of the many murals in the Rang Mahal Palace, Chamba (Khandalavala, 1958) in which two local Chamba painters — Mangnu and Durga — are said to have collaborated, the style of the present mural being associated by local tradition with Durga. Its date, as estimated by Mittal, as a result of local inquiries, is about 1850. For other murals from the same palace and now in the National Museum, New Delhi, see Singh (1968).

61 The lady and the parrot. Chamba, c.1850.

230 x 196 mm; with border 253 x 218 mm. Red border.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 102-1954.

Description: A girl in dull red drawers and dark blue veil stands outside an open bed chamber holding up a cup of food to a green parrot perched on a tree. Bed mauve with green pillow. Black inner wall. Background pale yellow with, at the top, a band of dark green and strip of blue sky.

Discussion: Similar in style to 60, the face and costume of the girl exactly resembling those of the maid servant who is shown pouring water on Radha from a lota. Perhaps by the painter Durga.

62 The Fish incarnation of Vishnu. By the painter Mangnu. Chamba, c.1860.

175 x 124 mm; with border 200 x 148 mm.

Red border with dark blue margin and white rules.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 110-1954. Originally obtained by Jagdish Mittal of Hyderabad in Chamba in 1952 from the family collection of Hiralal of Chamba whose father's elder brother was the artist Mangnu. Attributed to Mangnu by family tradition.

Description: Vishnu with blue skin and yellow *dhoti* steps from the jaws of a fish and belabours a conch demon with his mace. The demon has an orange torso. His lower parts are a white conch. Dark grey water studded with curling eddies and the red heads of sea-monsters. Pale yellow background with rim of dark blue sky. High up on the left are four gods in yellow, green, orange and blue *dhotis*.

Discussion: Similar in style to a mural in the Rang Mahal palace, attributed by local tradition to Mangnu (reproduced Khandalavala (1958), fig. 20) and possessing the same type of square-shaped head with curled lock at the nape of the neck (compare nos 28-30 and 33). The spiralling eddies of water and the heads of the monsters are Garhwal idioms, perhaps taken by Mangnu from Tara Singh.

63 Shiva and Parvati. Chamba, c.1860.

190 x 142 mm; with border trimmed 204 x 160 mm.

Dark blue margin with red, white and gold floral pattern.

Victoria and Albert Museum, Rothenstein collection, I.S. 55-1954.

Description: Shiva and Parvati, the latter with orange skirt and leopard skin mantle, stand facing each other with the bull Nandi between them. The bull has a scarlet saddle cloth. Both figures and the bull pale white. Background pale greenish grey with, at the top, a rim of blue and white. Three trees, the centre one with flowering creeper and oval masses of foliage.

Discussion: Connected with Chamba by comparison with a mural in the Rang Mahal palace (copied Mittal, 1955a, fig. 3). Compare, in particular, the treatment of the trees as a series of ovals interspersed with drooping sprays and Parvati's flowing gown. With 61 and 62, examples of Chamba painting at its extreme end.

PAINTING IN CHANEHNI

I. INTRODUCTION

GEOGRAPHY

A small state, twenty miles long and ten miles wide, bounded on the west by Bhau and Bhoti, on the north by Kashtwar, on the east by Bhadrawah and on the south by Bandralta. Capital: a place on the right bank of the Tawi river, at first called Chaka, later Chanderi, later still Chanehni.

SCENERY

Forster (1808): 'On the 20th (April, 1783) at Chinnanee; a neat and populous town, situate on the brow of a hill; at the foot of which on the eastern side, runs a rapid stream, passing to the left. This channel is passed by means of two stout fir beams, one of which reaches from the shore to an insulated rock in the centre of the current, on which it is fastened by wooden stakes; and the other extends from the rock to the opposite bank. The velocity with which the water was precipitated, its roaring noise and the narrow shaking bridge gave full occasion for the use of my eye and the steadiness of my head. At Chinanee, I was taxed in the sum of a rupee for permission to cross the river Chinnaun (Chinab?) which forms the western limit of this chiefship' (I, 344-345).

Vigne (1842): 'Chinini is a large and neat village, overlooked by the old palace — if it deserve such a name — of its legitimate Rajahs. The river Tauhi has its sources in the mountains to the eastward of it and comes rattling down the ravine, which conducts its stream to the foot of the eminence on which the village is built and afterwards it flows, in a straight course, towards the plain, which is about seventeen miles distant.

'I well remember descending upon Chinini, in my way homeward, after my last journey to Little Tibet. I had not seen the plains of the Panjab for the greater part of the year and it was evening when they first suddenly burst upon my sight from the summit of the pass. They were still seven days' march distant beyond the intervening slopes and ridges that were based upon them. So blue, so utterly boundless to the southward, did they appear, that they might have been mistaken for the ocean, had not the silvery windings of the Tauhi shewed them to be of terra firma. Instead of a defined line, a misty indistinctness was blended over the sky and earth at the place of separation and I halted to enjoy a prospect that my fancy presented as something like a substantial emblem of infinity. Meanwhile the horizon became every instant more and more distinct, beneath the unclouded rays of an Asiatic setting sun: he sank slowly as the earth rose to meet him and disappeared after lighting up a scene of extent and gorgeous brilliancy which seemed to be not of this world and of which those who have only beheld him, as "in northern climes, obscurely bright", can form but little idea.

'The mountains of Dodhera may be between eight and nine thousand feet above the sea and are covered with snow in winter; that above Chinini is made picturesque by its fir-forest; the summit of the other is bare. A hollow, where there is a Sikh custom-house, lies between them and slopes down to the great valley of the Chunab, which comes in sight from either. From the top of the northernmost pass there is a fine view of the Pir Panjal mountains surrounding Kashmir. The castle of Dodah appears like a speck up the valley of Chunab; the situation of Harawug Castle, on the way from Banihal to Rihursi, was pointed out to me and the Brihmah mountain is nowhere, I imagine, seen to greater advantage.

'It is now necessary to follow up the left bank of the

Chunab, in order to reach Dodah on the third day and Budrawar on the fourth, from the northern foot of Dodhera. The path was not bad, but the ravines were numerous and some of the ascents and descents were very severe; but the grandeur and beauty of the scenery, and an occasional shot at a red-legged partridge or a jungul-fowl, contributed not a little to decrease the fatigue' (I, 192-194).

RELIGION

Unrecorded in detail but an important Shiva temple is at Sudh Mahadev (ten miles east of Chanehni on the border of the state). There is also a fortress called Shivgarh.

II. HISTORICAL NOTES

SOURCES

Forster, G. *A Journey from Bengal to England* (London, 1808). Describes a visit to Chanehni, 1783.
Hutchison, J. and Vogel, J. P. *History of the Panjab Hill States* (Lahore, 1933), II, 578-584.
Vigne, G. T. *Travels in Kashmir, Ladak, Iskardo* (London, 1842), I, 192-194. Describes a visit to Chanehni, 1839.

REIGNS AND PORTRAITS

With Hindur (Nalagarh), an offshoot from Kahlur (Bilaspur), all three states originally deriving from the Chanderi Rajas of Bundelkhand (Central India). See Kahlur (Bilaspur). Clan-name, Hantal (Hiuntal, Hintal). Suffix, Chand.

c.1760-c.1770 **SHAMSHER CHAND** (i)
Tributary to Raja Ranjit Dev (1735-1781) of Jammu and at the latter's instance, co-operated in a campaign against Kashmir, c.1764. Later (c.1765) joined a confederacy of states to wrest the Pathiyar area, near Palampur, Kangra from Raja Ghamand Chand (1761-1774) of Kangra and return it to Chamba. Is said to have been pursued and killed by the Raja of Nurpur on his way back from this expedition. [For a discussion of this incident, see HV, II, 581-582. Although the Nurpur Raja is claimed by HV to have been Pirthi Singh, he is more likely to have been Fateh Singh (vii, 1735-1770) of Nurpur (q.v.).]

Sons: Kishor Chand, Jahagar Chand, Badan Chand.

c.1770-c.1780 **KISHOR CHAND** (ii)

Son of Shamsheer Chand.

Forster (1808), visiting Chanehni on 20 April, 1783, noted: 'At the vicinity of Nagrotah commence the districts of the Chinnanee chief, a dependent on Jumbo, who possesses revenue of about a lack of rupees. This chief does not remit any tribute to his superior, but assists his government with a quota of troops in the event of exigency; and conformably to this tenure, he now serves in the campaign against the Sicques' (I, 344).

c.1785-c.1800. **TEGH CHAND** (iii)

Son of Kishor Chand.

Died sonless; his rani unsuccessfully endeavouring to have his daughter recognised as his successor.

c.1800-c.1845 **DAYAL CHAND** (iv)

Son of Jahagar Chand, second son of Shamsheer Chand.

Succeeded after resisting the claims of Tegh Chand's daughter and killing another contestant, Basu Chand (son of Shamsheer Chand's third son, Badan Chand).

External affairs: A border fort in Chanehni was besieged by Bhoti but saved by the garrison charging out, leading to the popular saying 'One Himtal is worth seven Bhatials'. Aided Raja Gulab Singh (1820-1857) of Jammu in annexing Kashtwar, 1820 but was later attacked (c.1835?) by Gulab Singh's younger brother, Suchet Singh (Raja of Bandralta, c.1820-1844). As a result, Chanehni was partitioned, Suchet Singh taking a portion, his eldest brother Dhian Singh another portion, and only Chanehni itself with its town, palace and immediate neighbourhood being left to Dayal Chand. Subject to the general over-lordship of Jammu, the family has continued to reside at Chanehni and administer the area ever since.

On Dayal Chand's troubles with the Sikhs, Vigne who passed through Chanehni in 1839, has the following note: 'The territories of the Channi Rajah extended from Doderah on the northward and southward to the village of Bari. He assisted Gulab Singh in his conquest of Kishtawar and was rewarded by the latter taking possession of his country, and treating him so harshly, that, after residing for some time in the mountains he was obliged to throw himself under the protection of Runjit, whose interference procured him permission to reside in his own house at Chinini without further molestation; and Rajah Suchyt Singh, who succeeded to his authority, exchanged turbans with him, in token of confidence and friendship. I expressed a wish to call upon the old Rajah, but was told by Gulab Singh, an officer who here joined me, that he was unwell. This was most likely an untruth: they did not wish him to see me, as he would certainly, in common with all who had the opportunity, have complained to me of the tyranny of Sikhs, and have requested me to be the bearer of overtures to the British Government' (I, 192-193).

c.1845-1947 FURTHER RAJAS UNRECORDED (v)
 HV notes: 'More fortunate than most of the other Hill Chiefs of the Dugar group, the Rajas of Chanehni still have their residence in their ancient capital and own a large part of their former patrimony, where they continue to exercise almost full authority. The Raja holds the powers of a first-class magistrate with his *jagir*; and all the financial and political work is carried out under his orders. He is nearly related by marriage to the Jammu royal family' (II, 584).

III AND IV. PAINTING

Although a sub-style of Basohli painting is surmised by Khandalavala to have 'probably' existed at Chanehni (Khandalavala, *Parhari Miniature Painting* (1958), 91), no paintings securely connected with Chanehni are so far known. For a possible portrait of a Chanehni ruler, in Mankot style, inscribed in *takri* characters *hira hatal*, see Khandalavala (*op. cit.*) no. 50. It is perhaps significant that Bhupat Pal (1598-1635) of Basohli took as his second rani a Chanehni princess and that his son by her, Hindal Pal, succeeded the senior son, Sangram Pal, when the latter died childless (c.1673). The name, Hindal, could be a derivative from the Chanehni clan-name, Hintal.

PAINTING IN DALPATPUR

A small state, adjoining Jammu in the Tavi valley, listed by Hutchison and Vogel ('The Panjab Hill States', *Journal Panjab Historical Society* (1915), III, no. 2, 88) as associated with Jammu as part of the Central or Dugar Group of States but unrecorded in the *Imperial Gazetteer*.

No other historical details forthcoming.

Noted by Khandalavala (*Pahari Miniature Painting*, 1958) as tributary to Jammu.

Clan-name Dalpatia.

No paintings connected with Dalpatpur or portraits of Dalpatpur rulers are so far known.

PAINTING IN DATARPUR

I. INTRODUCTION

GEOGRAPHY

A midget state, bounded on the south by Jaswan, on the west by Siba and the Punjab Plains, on the north by Guler and on the north-east by Kangra. Founded c.1550 as an offshoot from Siba. Capital: Dada.

SCENERY

Barnes (1852): 'About half the size of Jaswan, less fertile, but possessing the same physical characteristics' (7).

Gazetteer (1904): 'The cluster of round undulating hills near Datarpur' (1).

RELIGION

Details unrecorded.

II. HISTORICAL NOTES

SOURCES

Anon. *Punjab District Gazetteers, XIIA, Hoshiarpur District, 1904* (Lahore, 1905).

Barnes, G. C. and Lyall, J. B. *Report of the Land Revenue Settlement of the Kangra District, Panjab* (Lahore, 1889). [Barnes, 1852; Lyall, 1875.]

Hutchison, J. and Vogel, J. P. *History of the Panjab Hill States* (Lahore, 1933), I, 212. Provides a list of rulers but until c.1780, no years of reigns.

REIGNS AND PORTRAITS

A branch of the Siba family and hence from the same family group as Kangra, Guler, Siba and Jaswan. Clan-name, Dadwal (Dahwal). Family suffix, Chand.

c.1550-c.1580 DATAR CHAND (i)

A member of the Siba family who seized a tract of country adjoining Siba state, made it his own and named it Datarpur. No other details recorded.

GANESH CHAND (ii)

CHATAR CHAND (iii)

UDAI CHAND (iv)

PRITHI CHAND (v)

JAI CHAND (vi)

DALEL CHAND (vii)

UGAR CHAND (viii)

NAND CHAND (ix)

c.1770-1818 GOVIND CHAND (x)

Tributary to Sansar Chand of Kangra, 1786. Joined the general revolt of Hill States against Kangra, collaborated with the Gurkhas, 1806. Following the relief of Kangra Fort by Maharaja Ranjit Singh became tributary to the Sikhs, 1809.

Portraits: (1) Listed Gupta (1922), D.55.

(2) **Fig. 8(xi) (Kangra).** Govind Chand smoking. Lambagraon collection, Kangra. Kangra, c.1770-1780.

1818-(1848) 1877 JAGAT CHAND (xi)

Son of Govind Chand.

Datarpur annexed by the Sikhs, 1818. Becomes a *jagir* under Sikh sovereignty. Jagat Chand joins a Kangra revolt against the British, 1848. Deposed and exiled to Almora. Datarpur linked to Siba as Dada Siba and made part of the British district of Kangra, 1849.

1848-1883 DEVI CHAND (xii)

Born 1838. Son of Jagat Chand.

At intervention of Raja of Mandi permitted to reside in Datarpur, but without the *jagir*.

Sons: Surma Chand, Raghbir Chand, Udham Singh. Surma Chand resided in Jammu, Raghbir Chand in Mandi, Udham Singh in Hoshiarpur.

1883-c.1910 RAGHBIR CHAND (xiii)

Son: Baldev Chand.

c.1910-? BALDEV CHAND (xiv)

Son of Raghbir Chand.

Resided in Datarpur, but not in the palace which was then a ruin.

Painting: Owner of a small ancestral collection of paintings of which photographs were obtained from a descendant at Dada, Datarpur, by M. S. Randhawa, 1963. See nos. 2-4.

IMPLICATIONS FOR PAINTING

Due to paucity of materials, no firm conclusions can be drawn but influences from its immediate neighbours, Siba, Kangra, Guler and Nurpur as well as from the Sikhs, are possibilities.

III. PAINTING: REVIEW OF LITERATURE

1922

Gupta, S. N. *Catalogue of the Indian Paintings in the Central Museum, Lahore* (Calcutta, 1922). D.55 (p.55). Portrait of Govind Chand (x) of Datarpur.

1962

Randhawa, M. S. *Kangra Paintings on Love* (New Delhi, 1962). Col. pl. 25. 'The month of Pausa'. Lovers under a quilt. See no. 4(1).

1966

Archer, W. G. *Paintings of the Sikhs* (London, 1966). Figs. 13, 24, 30, 32. Compare nos. 4 and 5.

IV. PAINTING: CATALOGUE AND RECONSTRUCTION

1 **Radha and Krishna walking in the grove.** Datarpur, c.1815.

From the ancestral collection, Datarpur Raj, Dada, Datarpur (photographed M. S. Randhawa, 1963).

Description: Radha and Krishna gazing at each other as they stroll beside a river with bare boulders. Behind them a grove of trees with flowering creepers.

Discussion: In style, derivative from painting in Guler of the 1810-1830 period but with the following minor differences: a long flute carried by Krishna, cumbrous boulders, a river with wriggling ripples.

2(i, ii) Two paintings from a *Ragamala* series. Datarpur, c.1810-1820.

From the ancestral collection, Datarpur Raj, Dada, Datarpur (photographed M. S. Randhawa, 1963).

2(i) *Gambhira Raga*.

Description: A prince and lady standing in a boat poled by a youth who glances back at them. Boat with angular upturned prow. Fishes plunging in the eddies. In the background wooded slopes.

2(ii) *Bhairavi Ragini*.

Description: A princess attended by a maid who holds a fly-whisk reaches down from a pavilion terrace to stroke the head of a bull. To the right a plantain tree with pendulous flower. Plain background with thorn-like clouds.

Discussion: From a *Ragamala* series, in a style sufficiently distinct from that of Guler or Kangra and connected with Datarpur on grounds of provenance (the Datarpur Raj ancestral collection). Significant details: the 'ostrich-feather' treatment of eddies in 2(i), the sharp faces of the men and women, eyes continued in a line above the cheekbones, prong-like clouds as in Siba (no. 3).

3 *Radha and Krishna on a hill-side*. Datarpur, c.1810-1820. From the ancestral collection, Datarpur Raj, Dada, Datarpur (photographed M. S. Randhawa, 1963).

Description: Radha, a tall figure with high waist-line, holds out a betel leaf to Krishna who stands playing the flute beside the river Jamuna. In the background, a bare hillside, river and rolling slopes.

Discussion: Similar in general idioms and style to 2 and connected with Datarpur on similar grounds of provenance. (Datarpur Raj ancestral collection).

4(i, ii) Two paintings from a *Baramasa* series. Datarpur, c.1820-1830.

220 x 153 mm.

Kasturbhai Lalbhai collection, Ahmedabad.

4(i) *The month of Baisakh (April-May)*.

Description: A pair of lovers seated on a terrace facing each other, the lover wearing a Sikh turban with plume and holding a black Sikh shield. Beyond, an open field with trees in flower and river; on the right a castle on a hill-top confronting a second castle across the river to the left.

4(ii) *The month of Asin (September-October)*.

Description: A pair of lovers seated on a terrace facing each other, the lover, as in 4(i), wearing a Sikh turban with plume. Beyond, a river with a boat and an open hillside with a cluster of temples, one of them disclosing a lingam. A throng of ladies is about to enter the largest temple. To the right a pair of elephants with mahouts, suggesting that the party has come from a distance to worship in the temple and to propitiate the spirits of departed ancestors. This custom is noted by Randhawa as characteristic of the month of *Asin* and is stressed in Keshav Das's poem on the same subject (Randhawa (1962), 142).

Discussion: Provenance unknown but attributed by Randhawa (1962, p.133) to Siba on account of the likeness of the two castles in 4(i) to the fortresses of Dada and Siba which, he says, confront each other from across a river; later (1965) to Dada Siba (private communication). In view of the Sikh annexation of Siba in 1813 and of Datarpur in 1818, either state could account for the lover's Sikh turban with plume. The style, however, differs sharply from what is so far known of painting in Siba (*q.v.*) while, at the same time seeming clearly more dependent on Guler models. Of the two states, Datarpur would thus appear the more likely source. A feature of the present series is the reservation of a small triangular space in each corner for a floral design.

Example from the same series: (1) Randhawa (1962) col. pl. 25. *The month of Pus* (December-January). A pair of lovers sitting together under a quilt. Kasturbhai Lalbhai collection, Ahmedabad. Datarpur, c.1820-1830. Lover with same Sikh turban and plume.

5 *The month of Jeth (May-June)*. From a *Baramasa* series Datarpur, c.1820-1830.

183 x 120 mm; with border 252 x 192 mm. Pink border flecked with red, black rules, yellow margins enclosing a dark blue margin with gold floral pattern. As in 4, i, ii an inner yellow margin cuts off each corner to allow for the insertion of a floral design.

Inscribed on the face in *nagari* characters: (1) *parjha jogi* (2) *hirajadi* and on the reverse in English: *Heer and Ranjha*. Victoria and Albert Museum, French collection, I.S. 164-1955.

The inscription identifying the lovers as Hira and Ranjha, the romantic subjects of Northern Indian legend, seems a later and probably mistaken addition.

Description: A prince in Sikh turban with plume, white *jama* and orange-brown trousers, a leopard skin round his waist, sits in a Sikh-style chair on a white terrace gazing at a lady in white dress who sits on an orange-brown stool. Beyond them is a dried-up hillside with a girl offering water to a man outside a hut and an elephant, in peaceful association with a tiger, picking up a snake with its trunk. Other elephants traipse across the bare hills. Azure sky with a noon-day sun.

Discussion: Identical in style with 4(i) (ii) but smaller in size. For chairs in similar Sikh style, see Archer (1966, figs. 10 and 12).

PAINING IN GARHWAL

I. INTRODUCTION

GEOGRAPHY

A large state, 160 miles long by 110 miles wide, bounded on the south by the Punjab Plains and Uttar Pradesh, on the south-west by Bijnor, on the west by Sirmur, on the north-west and north by (Rampur) Bashahr, on the north by Tibet and on the east and south-east by Kumaon. Capital: Srinagar until 1815 when the eastern and south-eastern portion became the British district of Garhwal, the western and north-western portion becoming the state of Tehri Garhwal (capital Tehri). Dehra Dun (the 'Dun') was a southern portion of the State bordering on the Plains.

SCENERY

Imperial Gazetteer (1908): 'It consists for the most part of rugged mountain ranges which appear to be tossed about in the most intricate confusion' (XII, 163).

Daniell (1789): 'The snowy mountains made a grand appearance . . . Ascended a hill from the top of which you command a very fine view of Srinagar, which had very nearly the appearance of a Chinese town' (59).

Hardwicke (1796): 'The valley of Srinagar extends about a mile and a half to the eastward and as much to the westward of the town. The river Alaknundra enters the valley near a village called Seerkot. Its course is nearly from east to west; the breadth of the channel from bank to bank about 250 yards; but in the dry season it does not exceed eighty or 100 yards. The current runs with rapidity and would be dangerous even to a good swimmer. The town of Srinagar occupies nearly the centre of the valley; it is in length about three quarters of a mile; the breadth is much less, its form somewhat elliptic. The houses of stone, rough and irregularly put together, with the common earth; generally raised to a second floor; and all are covered with slate. They are so crowded as to leave little more space for the street than is sufficient for two persons to pass one another. The principal street and indeed, the only one deserving that name runs east and west through the middle of the town; this is pretty broad and is the only bazaar or market of the place.

'The rajah's house is about the middle of the town and is the largest in it; one part of it being raised to a fourth storey. It is built of a coarse granite, has the appearance of being very old, is much out of repair and exceeding shabby.

'In a country possessing such a variety of climate it is natural to ask what advantages induced the primitive settlers to prefer the burning valley of Srinagar for the seat of government to the more temperate and healthy situations in other parts of this mountainous tract. The result of my enquiries was what I expected. No other parts of the mountains in the vicinity of the holy waters of the Ganges possess at the same time an equal extent of plain ground and convenience of a sufficient and constant supply of running water' (335, 337).

Moorcroft (1820): 'The town of Sreenugur . . . on the left bank of the Alaknundra or Doulee River is the capital of the province of Gurhwal but has lost much of its consequence since the visit Col. Hardwick paid to it. In the year (1803) Gurhwal was conquered by the Goorkhas and in (1802) more than half of the houses of Sreenugur were destroyed by an earthquake and by a sudden and most extraordinary rise of the river and there are now considerably more houses in ruins than inhabited. The Raja's residence, a spacious structure four stories high of blue slaty stone begun by Raja Buhadur Singh about 245 years ago and

finished by his successors, was so much injured by the earthquake as to be rendered nearly uninhabitable and soon after was wholly deserted. As exhibiting proof of great patience and some skill in minute sculpture in the ornaments of stone pillars, cornices, supports of balconies, latticed windows and groups of flowers in base relief, its ruins now deserve attention. But the decay of the sculpture in many parts raises regret that the artist had not employed his chisel on stone less subject to be degraded by exposure to weather. The interior arrangements display more attention to the comfort of its inhabitants if not more taste than is usual in Hindoo palaces, and its fountains, baths and cisterns must have been highly grateful in the hot season when the valley of Sreenugur only a little open to the east and west and enclosed in every other direction by high mountains is said to be intolerable from the continued heat and stagnating air.

'The apartments for the females are commodious and well finished. They are particularly remarkable for the pins for curtains to conceal recesses in the walls being in the form of a horse's head and neck bridled with the mane tressed and of much better execution than the sculptured birds applied to the same use; and as no horses were bred in Gurhwal and scarcely any used, and those only ponies, and as birds are in abundance, this fact furnishes a presumption that the building was erected by artists from the plains.

'Two Hindoo temples of unequal execution in their different parts are not devoid of the merit of simplicity and strength. The largest and most frequented building is a hospice for pilgrims or distressed travellers and as funds for this purpose large estates are appropriated. Its garden has lemon trees more thickly hung with fine fruit now ripe than I have seen elsewhere.

'The Bazaar about a quarter of a mile in length of considerable breadth and flagged forms the only street in Sreenugur. Its houses are of stone with slated and sloping roofs. They are two stories high, the lower serving for a shop and the upper for a dwelling.

'Although there are artisans of many descriptions and of which silversmiths and shoemakers are most common, there is but little trade for one half of the year. But the other when pilgrims go to Budree Nath give some little circulation of specie by the cloth and provisions they purchase for the journey . . . The trade of Sreenugur is by all accounts much reduced since the conquest of the province by the Goorkhas, the ravage by the earthquake and the reduction of the wealth and power of the Raja.

'[On 4 February 1820, we] proceeded along the bank of the river to a swinging bridge about a kos distance and crossed it, there entering the country ceded by the British authorities to the heir of the former Raja of Gurhwal. This bridge, called jakree ka jhoola, was said by the fishermen who had charge of it to be three hundred feet in length but I apprehend this to be an exaggeration. It consists of several strong posts set firmly upright in the ground on the opposite banks of the river round which are wrapped the ends of ropes or rather cables of grass that stretch across the stream and are set some higher than others. The lower ropes are stiffened by poles tied along them and connected with the upper ropes by perpendicular and short ties, whilst the two lower ones are likewise connected with each other by sticks tied across . . . This kind of bridge, perhaps best suited to broad and rapid rivers subject to sudden and great rises . . . requires constant watching from its liability to want repair.

'The river at the bridge was confined between high and steep stone checks and the depth of water in the middle of the stream was thirtysix feet, but the water line in the height of the rains was thirtyfive feet higher making then the total depth seventyone feet, and the fishermen say that they raise the bridge even fourteen feet above this line as in

seasons of particularly heavy rain it would be carried away by the current. This vast depth of water is however only to be expected when the bed of the river is greatly contracted, but the general depth at the great height of the rainy season seems sufficient to submerge by far the greater part of the large blocks of stone in the channel and to admit of timber being then floated down the stream' (Moorcroft, *Manuscript Journal*, dated 4-23 February, 1820. MSS. Eur. D. 236, pp. 1-12. India Office Library, London).

Lal (1949) stresses another prominent landmark at Srinagar: two hills, Nar and Narain, each jutting out into the Alaknanda, with the Ranihat palace on top of one of them.

RELIGION

Temples to Shiva greatly outnumber those to Vishnu (*Gazetteer*).

II. HISTORICAL NOTES

SOURCES

- Anon. *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, XII (Garhwal), XXIII (Tehri Garhwal), (Oxford, 1908).
- Atkinson, E. T. *The Himalayan Districts of the North-western Provinces of India* (Allahabad, 1884), II. Including accounts by Raper (1808) and Williams (1824).
- Fraser, J. B. *Journal of a Tour through part of the Himala Mountains* (London, 1820).
- French, J. C. *Himalayan Art* (Oxford, 1931).
- Hardie, M. and Clayton, Muriel. 'Thomas Daniell, R.A. and William Daniell, R.A.', *Walker's Quarterly* (London, 1932), nos. 35-36, 58-63. Incorporating William Daniell's journal of a visit to Garhwal and Srinagar, April 1789, by himself and his uncle, Thomas Daniell.
- Hardwicke, T. 'Narrative of a Journey to Sirinagar', *Asiatic Researches* (Calcutta, 1797), VI, 333-334.
- Lal, Mukandi. Articles in *The Modern Review* (1909); *Rupam* (1921); *Roopa Lekha* (1949-1951, 1955). See Review of Literature.
- Moorcroft, W. *Manuscript Journal*, dated 4-23 February, 1820. MSS. Eur. D.236 India Office Library, London.
- Moorcroft, W. and Trebeck, G. *Travels in the Himalayan Provinces of Hindustan and the Panjab; in Ladakh and Kashmir; in Peshawar, Kabul, Kunduz and Bokhara, from 1819 to 1825* (prepared for the press from original journals and correspondence by H. H. Wilson, London, 1841, 2 vols.). An edited paraphrase by Wilson of Moorcroft's manuscripts.
- Walton, H. G. (ed.) *United Provinces District Gazetteers, XXXVII, Garhwal District* (Allahabad, 1921).

REIGNS AND PORTRAITS

Clan-name unrecorded (Srinagaria?). Family suffix, Shah. Principal sources: Atkinson and the *Imperial Gazetteer*.

c.1600-c.1635 MAHIPAT SHAH (i)
Founded Srinagar. Unified Garhwal as a state.

c.1635-c.1665 PRITHI SHAH (ii)
Son of Mahipat Shah.
Wars with Kumaon. Dehra Dun annexed by the Mughals. Gave asylum to Suleman Shikoh (son of Dara Shikoh), 1658, but surrendered him to Aurangzeb, 1660.
Artists: Sham Das and his son, Har Das (Mughal painters in Suleman Shikoh's suite) retained by Prithi Shah after Suleman Shikoh's departure.

c.1665-1684 MEDINI SHAH (iii)
1660 - 1689 (Lal).
Son of Prithi Shah.
Wars with Kumaon. Frequented Delhi. A great favourite with the Mughal emperor, Aurangzeb.

c.1684-1716 FATEH SHAH (iv)
Son of Medini Shah.
Wars with Kumaon. Some slight expansion into Tibet. A deep raid into the Punjab Plains through Dehra Dun, 1692. Increasing prosperity due to massive Rajput immigrations, reclamation of jungle and establishment of more villages.
Marriage: his daughter to Raja Ajmer Chand (vii, 1712-1741) of Kahlur (*q.v.*).
Sons: Dalip Shah, Upendra Shah.
Portraits: (1) Lal (1951), pl. 39a. Fateh Shah on horseback with attendants. Inscribed in *nagari* characters on picture: *sri maharaja fateh . . .* Tehri Raj collection. Garhwal, c.1700.
(2) Fateh Shah of Garhwal with courtiers. Inscribed in *nagari* characters: *srinagaria rai phate shah*. National Museum, New Delhi. Mankot (?) c.1700.

1716 - 1717 DALIP SHAH (v)
Son of Fateh Shah.
Reigned for a few months.
Son: Pradip Shah.

1717 UPENDRA SHAH (vi)
Brother of Dalip Shah.
Also reigned for only a few months.

1717-1772 PRADIP SHAH (vii)
Son of Dalip Shah.
Garhwal's growing prosperity (forty years of peace with Kumaon) led to intervention by the Rohilla, Najib Khan, who annexed Dehra Dun, 1757. Rapid commercial development in Dehra Dun until Najib Khan's death, 1770, but immediate decline later on. Revival of wars with Kumaon, 1757-1779.
Son: Lalit Shah.
Portrait: (1) Lal (1951), pl. 39b. Pradip Shah seated. Inscribed on picture in Persian and in *nagari* characters: *pardip shah maharaja garh . . .* Tehri Raj collection. Garhwal, c.1760(?).

1772-1780 LALIT SHAH (viii)
Son of Pradip Shah.
Took little notice of Dun affairs 'so that from his inattention or as some say his oppression of the Musulman peasantry, the Dun again became a wilderness' (Atkinson). Ravaged by Rajput, Gujar and Sikh marauders from the Punjab Plains. Sikh raids, 'plundering, murdering and burning', 1775. Large-scale Rajput raids. Weakness and paralysis in Srinagar, resulting in conversion of the Dehra Dun belt of country into a kind of buffer 'waste land'. Intervened in Kumaon intrigues, defeating a usurper and installing his son, Pradhyumna (Pradhuman) as Raja, 1779.
Sons: Jayakrit (Jai Kirit) Shah, Pradhyumna (Pradhuman) Shah, Parakram Shah, Pritam Shah.
Portrait: (1) Lal (1949), pl.4. Lalit Shah seated, faced by a standing courtier. Inscribed in *nagari* characters: *lalit . . .* Collection Rao Birendra Singh, Srinagar. Garhwal, c.1775. See, however, no. 26.

1780-1785 JAYAKRIT (JAI KIRIT) SHAH (ix)
Son of Lalit Shah.
Sikhs raid Dehra Dun, 1783. Bitter rivalry with his brother, Pradhyumna, Raja of Kumaon, leading to a raid by Kumaon forces on Srinagar. Appealed to Raja Jagat Parkash of Sirmur for aid through Mola Ram, courtier and artist (Lal, 1921).
Portrait: (1) Lal (1951), pl. 39c. Jayakrit Shah on an elephant. Inscribed in *nagari* characters: *sri raje jaikirit shah . . .* Tehri Raj collection. Garhwal, c.1780.

1785-1804 PRADHYUMNA (PRADHUMAN) SHAH (x)
Brother of Jayakrit Shah. Second son of Lalit Shah.
After uneasily uniting Garhwal and Kumaon, abandoned Kumaon, 1786, and based himself on Srinagar. Dehra Dun re-annexed by Rohillas from the Punjab Plains, 1786.

reverted to Garhwal 1789-1792, but captured by Sirmur and held until c.1800 when over-run by the Gurkhas of Nepal. Minor war with Sirmur. Running conflicts with Bashahr. Tension between Pradhyumna and his surviving third brother, Parakram, each intriguing with different groups in Kumaon, 'sometimes living in amity together at Srinagar and sometimes in arms against each other' (Atkinson).

Marriages: (1) Two in Garhwali families; a third with a Guler princess, daughter of Ajab Singh of Guler (Lal, 1951, 1955) (2) Pradhyumna's daughter to Hari Singh of Guler, a member of Pradhyumna's court and part of the Garhwal administration.

[Of Hari Singh and conditions in the Dun, Williams notes: 'Whatever slipped through the fingers of the professional spoiler fell into the hands of the official harpy. The *amil*, for the time being was his own master and collected booty with all possible expedition. The original owners retained few villages and almost all records of right perished.' Atkinson adds: 'Amongst the more notorious of these oppressors of the country the names of Hari Singh of Guler, son-in-law of Pradhuman Shah, and that of Ramadaya Singh of Landhaura stand out prominently' (Atkinson, 579).]

Extra-marital attachments: A favourite courtesan, Lakshmi (Lal, 1951).

Son: Sudarshan Shah.

Earthquake: Srinagar severely damaged by an earthquake, 1802.

The Gurkhas: Annual tribute paid to the Gurkhas of Nepal, 1790-1802. Constant border warfare. Gurkha invasion of Garhwal, 1803. Gurkha leaders: Amar Singh Thapa, Hastidal, Bam Shah. Pradhyumna, weak, irresolute, and no general, unnerved by the earthquake and by predictions of his own death, fled to the Punjab Plains: later raised an army, entered Dehra Dun but was routed near Dehra, January, 1804. Himself and most of his Garhwali retainers killed. His brother, Pritam, taken prisoner and sent to Nepal. His son, Sudarshan, escaped to the British. His brother, Parakram, a tiresome and intriguing rival, took refuge with Sansar Chand of Kangra. All Garhwal occupied by the Gurkhas.

Character: Was visited in April 1789 by the artists, Thomas and William Daniell (the first Europeans to have visited Srinagar). William Daniell (*Journal*, 60) described how 'the Rajah mounted a little shabby horse, on which he showed his weakness in a very absurd manner and took leave of us in an ungentlemanlike way,' adding 'Rajah Purdoo Maan Saa . . . is a man of high caste, and much beloved by his people: of whom, nevertheless, he is but a feeble protector: like many of the minor sovereigns of our own hemisphere, whose sceptres of straw, the gracious boon, perhaps, of some colossal power, command no respect and impart no security'.

Thomas Hardwicke, who met him on 29 April, 1796 noted: 'In the evening of this day, the rajah paid me the compliment of a visit, accompanied by his two brothers . . . Pra-Kerem Sah and Pretem Sah. The Rajah appears to be about twenty-seven years of age, in stature something under middle size, of slender make, regular features, but effeminate. He speaks quick and not remarkably distinct. His elder brother (i.e. middle brother) is a stouter and more manly person: about twenty-four years, though he has the looks of riper age than his brother. They bear no resemblance to each other. The younger has a strong likeness of the rajah in make, features and voice: a little under him in size and I believe about nineteen years of age. In their dress no signs of greatness or ostentation appear: they were in plain muslin jamahs with coloured turbans and kumberbunds, without jewels or other decorations, nor was the dress of the rajah in any respect more distinguishing than those of his brothers. I found the heat of this day very distressing, sometimes without a breath of air and when any was evident it came with unpleasant warmth' (333-334).

[In view of Pradhyumna's appointment as Raja and Governor of Kumaon in 1779, c.1765 seems more likely than 1769 as the date of his birth. He would then have been 24 years old when visited by the Daniells and 31 years old when visited by Hardwicke.]

Portrait: (1) **Fig. 18 (Garhwal).** Pradhyumna Shah (right) seated with his brother, Parakram. Tehri Raj collection. Garhwal, c.1785.

1804-1815 THE GURKHA INTERREGNUM (xi)

With the Garhwal royal house either killed or in exile, Srinagar was occupied by a Gurkha administration. Gurkha governor, Hastidal. Described by Raper who met him in 1808 as 'a man of about forty-five years of age of middle stature, pleasing countenance and desirous in every way to aid him'. In the villages, on the other hand, a reign of terror. Wide-spread enslavement, butcheries, looting. Raper (1814): 'The people are most vehement in their complaints against the Gurkhalis, of whom they stand in the utmost dread. . . uncultivated fields, ruined and deserted huts present themselves in every direction.'

Fraser (1820): 'The Ghoorkas have ruled with a rod of iron, and the country has fallen in every way into a lamentable decay. Its villages are deserted, its agriculture is ruined, and its population has decreased beyond computation. It is said that two lacs of people have been sold as slaves while families of consequence remained in the country; but to avoid the severity of the tyranny, they either went into banishment or were cut off or forcibly driven away by their tyrants. Yet some of the individual rulers of these conquerors were mild and not disliked. Bum Sah and Hustee Dhuil, the governors of Garhwal, were disposed to indulgence; and in some situations the country was now again improving and getting reconciled to their new state. The executive officers, however, were severe so that, at some distance from the seat of government, exactions went on, insults and scenes of rapine were continually acted and the hatred of the people to their tyrants was fixed and exasperated' (384-385).

1815-1859 SUDARSHAN SHAH (xii)

Son of Pradhyumna Shah.

After defeat of the Gurkhas by the British, 1815, granted the Tehri portion of Garhwal, west of the Alaknanda river; the remainder being annexed by the British and formed into the British District of Garhwal. Tehri itself a small village occupying a tongue of land between the rivers Bhagirathi and Bheling, a palace constructed by Sudarshan, on the ridge overlooking it. For the appearance of Tehri in 1930, see French (1931), 60.

Marriages: (1) a daughter of Raja Karam Parkash of Sirmur (2) the two daughters of Sansar Chand of Kangra by his Suketan rani (1829).

Sons: None legitimate; Bhawani Shah (eldest illegitimate).

Daughter: Married Jaswant Singh, son of Raja Bir Singh (1805-1846) of Nurpur.

Character: Moorcroft (7-11 February 1820): 'At Teeree, the present Raja Soodersun Saah the son of the last Raja of Gurhwal has taken up his residence at this place and has had assigned to him by the Government a tract of land supposed capable of yielding sixty thousand rupees a year. He came to meet me about a mile from his house and walked with me to my tent pitched on the left bank of the Bilungra. His uncle paid me a formal visit the following day and gave an interesting account of his being taken prisoner by the Goorkhas and his subsequent captivity in Nypal interspersed with anecdotes of the rapacity of certain Nypal chiefs to whom I had been accustomed to attribute some portion of liberality as well as a large share of personal courage. Previously to the conquest of Gurhwal the Chountia Bum Saah, uncle to the then reigning Raja of Nypal, had given to this individual Pirthum Saah his own daughter in marriage, but in his subsequent conduct appears not to have been influenced by the connection. The Raja came to me after his uncle had departed and on being asked some questions as to the former relations between Gurhwal and the Oondes asserted that a tribute was paid by the former to the latter and that an invasion of the Oondes by one of his ancestors was terminated by [certain articles] being annually sent by the Chief of Chonprang to the Raja of Garhwal.

'Teeree, his present residence, is far removed from the

principal lines of roads and though said to be healthy yet from it being a small plain and eminence or table surrounded and shut up by high mountains and destitute of water except that of the river is inconvenient and seems to possess few other advantages except that of being contiguous to deserted lands and ruined villages which the vicinity of the Chief and the wants of his attendants may contribute to till and improve. Teeree has no considerable village upon its lands but the house of the Raja which is of one story and of modish appearance and the camp of his followers spread over the plain give it some appearance. In front of the Raja's residence which is built upon an eminence and at the distance of about half a mile the River Bilungra falls into the Bhagruitee which after a course of about four days' journey joins the Aluknundra . . . The present Raja seems an active intelligent man about 32 extremely desirous to improve his country and his revenue and to increase the comforts of his peasantry' (Moorcroft, *Manuscript Journal*, dated 4-23 February, 1820. MSS. Eur. D.236, pp. 35-46. India Office Library, London).

1859-1872 **BHAWANI SHAH** (xiii)
Eldest (illegitimate) son of Sudarshan Shah.
Son: Pratap Shah.

1872-1887 **PRATAP SHAH** (xiv)
Son of Bhawani Shah.
Marriage: to a princess of Guler (Lal, 1955).

1887-? **KIRTI SHAH** (xv)
Son of Pratap Shah.
Minor at father's death. Installed, 1894. Married a granddaughter of Maharaja Jang Bahadur of Nepal.

?-? **NARENDRA SHAH** (xvi)
Son of Kirti Shah.
Founded a new palace, Narendranagar, in Garhwal district ten miles north of Hardwar.
Son: Manvindra Shah.
Nephew: Vichitra Shah.

Paintings: Narendra Shah's collection of pictures was examined in c.1920 by N. C. Mehta (1926b, 47-61). For Vichitra Shah's separate collection of pictures, some of which were given to Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras, see Mehta (1926b, 119, pl. 55). Rao Birendra Singh, son of Vichitra Shah, gave Mukandi Lal one picture (1950, part III, pl. 21) from his father's 'very large collection' keeping 'over one hundred paintings'. 'A very large number were taken over by Narendra Shah' (Lal (1951), part IV, 41).

?- **MANVINDRA SHAH** (xvii)
Son of Narendra Shah.
Visited at Narendranagar by M. S. Randhawa and W. G. A. March, 1960. He explained that while part of his family collection had been inherited from Sudarshan Shah, various pictures had been added to it by himself, his father and by Raja Bhawani Shah — the sources being partly relatives and the local people but also dealers. The collection, as seen by us, was substantially as described by Mehta (1926b).

IMPLICATIONS FOR PAINTING

General

Although Garhwal was one of the largest states in the Punjab Hills, it was also one of the poorest — its villages often comprising six or fewer houses and its mountainous terrain discouraging cultivation. Because of this poverty, no tribute was levied from it by the Mughals — Akbar being told that it was 'like a lean camel — up and down and very poor'. From about 1700 until 1802, conditions slightly improved and by Garhwal standards, the state was even dimly prosperous. The 'Dun' however, was constantly ravaged, settled by outsiders and then wrested back, with the result that there was little constant wealth. The earthquake of 1802 and the Gurkha occupation of the state from 1804

to 1815 caused utter devastation. It seems clear, then, that while conditions may not have been totally unfavourable to painting in the second half of the eighteenth century, no Garhwal ruler could have afforded a large establishment of artists. The earthquake and the Gurkha invasion must also have dislocated artistic activity and although the state was re-organised as Tehri Garhwal in 1815, following the British expulsion of the Gurkhas, its lack of resources must again have prevented lavish patronage.

The Gurkha occupation of the state may also have had one further effect — the loss, disruption or dispersal of the royal collection of pictures in the capital at Srinagar. This circumstance may explain why the existing Tehri Raj collection of pictures throws little light on Garhwal painting in the eighteenth century whereas the family collection of Balak Ram Sah, the humble descendant of a local artist has been the chief 'medium through which the Garhwal paintings and drawings first reached the outside world' (Coomaraswamy, 1926).

Although its general poverty may have made Garhwal unattractive to outsiders, the situation of Srinagar, six marches into the mountains from the plains, kept it fairly immune from inter-state politics further west. At the same time, it was far from being completely isolated — one mule track linking Srinagar with Bashahr, Mandi, Kangra and Guler and a second crossing the hills and descending to Bilaspur. The important pilgrimage centre of Hardwar, on the confluence of the Jumna and the Ganges, was also near the 'Dun' and this may well have brought rulers, courtiers and artists of other states into the vicinity of Garhwal.

Personality of rulers

As in other states, few Garhwal rulers emerge with clearly defined personalities and few, if any inferences, can be drawn as to their possible influences on painting. It may, however, be significant that Pradhyumna Shah (1785-1804) struck Daniell and Hardwicke as nervously sensitive (if that is how their accounts can be construed) while his attachment to the courtesan Lakshmi (recorded by Mola Ram, see Lal, 1951) may have resembled the passion attaching to the romance of Baz Bahadur and Rupmati. (She is supposed to have fled with him in 1803). If any love-painting was done during his reign, therefore, it would have accorded with his temperament.

Although the Gurkha occupation of Garhwal in 1804 ruined the countryside and could well have caused outside artists to retreat, the Gurkha governors, Hastidal and Bam Shah, ruled with mild indulgence at Srinagar itself. It is possible, therefore, that painting was continued in Garhwal during the occupation, though on a reduced scale.

Of Tehri Garhwal rulers in the nineteenth century, Sudarshan Shah (1815-1859) seems to have had a reputation for intelligence and culture and the fact that two of the finest series of Kangra pictures reached the Tehri Raj collection in 1829 when he married the two daughters of Sansar Chand of Kangra suggests that he took an active interest in painting. A revival of painting at Tehri during his reign would thus be in character.

Although details of religion are scanty, the *Gazetteer* is emphatic that the prevailing bias in Garhwal is towards Shiva rather than Vishnu. No great cult of Krishna themes can, therefore, be expected and such Krishna pictures as occur may perhaps be connected more with the ladies and princesses brought in from other states to marry Garhwal rulers than with Garhwal rulers themselves. In view of this cult of Shiva, it is significant that pictures on very definite Shiva subjects can be connected with Garhwal (see nos. 2, 31 and 34) and that, irrespective of subjects, male and female figures are frequently shown with Shaiva *tilak* marks on their foreheads. These sandal paste lines in the shape of a crescent moon are emblems of Shiva and commonly appear on figures in paintings from Mandi, another state with a strong bias towards Shiva.

Relations with other states

Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries,

Garhwal was concerned more with Tibet, Nepal, Kumaon and the eastern Punjab plains than with states in the Punjab Hills proper. The following relationships, however, may be significant:

Kahlur (Bilaspur). Apart from the marriage of a daughter of Raja Fateh Shah (iv) to Ajmer Chand (vii, 1712-1741) of Bilaspur, the two states had no connections. No Garhwal ruler appears in Bilaspur portraiture.

Sirmur. Until the early nineteenth century, Garhwal and Sirmur were rivals for Dehra Dun. The intervention of the British, however, ended this dispute and ties between them were cemented by the marriage of Sudarshan Shah (xii) to the daughter of Raja Karam Parkash (1793-1826) of Sirmur. If Sirmur is credited with a separate school of painting in the nineteenth century, this could well be an offshoot from Tehri Garhwal painting under Sudarshan Shah and thus be an indirect result of this wedding.

Guler. Until the mid-eighteenth century, no special connections between the two states are recorded but the fact that Hari Singh of Guler was not only employed as a Garhwal administrator but was married to the daughter of Pradhymna Shah (x) suggests that ties between Garhwal and Guler had become close. The fact that such a marriage could even be contemplated would tend to confirm Lal's assertion (1951) that Pradhymna himself had also married in Guler. The marriage of yet another Guler princess to the Garhwal ruler, Pratap Shah (xiv) reveals this Guler-Garhwal connection persisting into the late nineteenth century. In view of the crucial role played by Guler in the development of painting in the Punjab Hills, ties of this nature may well have encouraged Guler painters to work in Garhwal.

Kangra. In contrast to Guler, Kangra does not seem to have had any special connections with Garhwal before 1804 when Parakram, the younger brother and bitter rival of Pradhymna (x), fled for safety to the court of Sansar Chand, after his brother had been killed in battle by the Gurkhas. In view of Pradhymna's friendship with Guler, the choice of Kangra for asylum is significant, the more so because Guler was to side with the Gurkhas against Kangra in the ensuing war. It is possible that during his stay with Sansar Chand, Parakram came to know Anirudh Chand (1823-1828) of Kangra and that this contact influenced Anirudh in negotiating the marriage of his two sisters to Sudarshan Shah of Tehri in 1829. Their wedding is significant for painting since it led to the arrival in the Tehri Raj collection of the two Kangra series of pictures, discussed above. Since Kangra was strongly Vaishnava, it may also have stimulated Radha-Krishna themes in later Tehri Garhwal painting.

Nurpur. Until the nineteenth century, Garhwal and Nurpur had no ties but Raja Bir Singh (1805-1846) of Nurpur appears to have made contact with Sudarshan Shah during his exile from the state — Vigne mentioning that, although based on Chamba, he had also resided for a time at Simla and Sabathu. These last two places are at the Tehri Garhwal end of the Punjab Hills. It is certainly significant that a daughter of Sudarshan Shah was married to Jaswant Singh, son of Bir Singh — a circumstance which would only have been possible if Bir Singh and Sudarshan Shah had known each other well. This wedding could explain the presence of Garhwal pictures in Nurpur collections and of Nurpur influences and paintings at Tehri Garhwal.

III. PAINTING: REVIEW OF LITERATURE

1909

Lal, Mukandi. 'Longing for the Beloved', *The Modern Review* (Calcutta, October 1909), VI, No. 4, 403-404, col. pl. (frontispiece).

The first painting in Garhwal-style to be published, with a note ascribing it to Mola Ram, a poet-painter of Srinagar (Garhwal), born 1760, died 1833: 'The author (artist) of the picture, *Utkantha*, was the fourth in descent of a family of artists that came to Srinagar (Garhwal) from Delhi with Prince Salem. Prince Salem was the nephew of Aurangzib who ran with his life to take shelter with the then ruling chief of Garhwal district named Fateh Shah or Fateh Singh. Raja Fateh Shah of Garhwal was asked by Aurangzib to send back the Prince Salem. The Raja treacherously and dishonourably surrendered him to Aurangzib.

'The ancestors of the artist Mola Ram, Shamdas and Kehardas were detained by the Raja Fateh Singh and made Dewans with a *jagir* (freehold) of 60 villages and Rs.5 a day. These people flourished in the court of the Raja of Garhwal and continued painting. In their fourth generation was born our artist Mola Ram in *sambat* 1817 (1760 AD) who died in *sambat* 1890 at the age of 73. He was a genius, highly gifted. He was not only an artist but also a poet and historian in Hindi and Persian.

'The artist Mola Ram has left a good number of very good old pictures, chief among which are the scenes from Krishna's life, ten incarnations, 10 goddesses and *astanayikas*. These pictures are the property of his great-grandson, Balak Ram Sah of Srinagar, Garhwal.

'Mola Ram was succeeded by his son Jawala Ram, who was again followed by Atma Ram. These two men also continued the artistic traditions and painted some pictures. But Atma Ram was the last artist worth the name of his family — who died in *sambat* 1833 (1933?). Now the descendants of these people having no encouragement or patronage have given up the profession.'

[The writer, Mukandi Lal, born 1884 and himself a native of Srinagar, Garhwal, was educated at Oxford and became a Barrister-at-law, London. A friend and neighbour of Balak Ram Sah in Srinagar, he was well placed to record family traditions, and to study the family's collection of pictures. Local patriotism and enthusiasm for what he believed to be a new and authentic style of Indian painting led him to contact Coomaraswamy while the latter was organising his exhibition of Fine Arts at Allahabad, U.P., in 1911. Coomaraswamy met Balak Ram Sah, borrowed various pictures for this exhibition and also acquired from him a number of pictures for his private collection. Although some of Mukandi Lal's subsequent publications on Mola Ram and Garhwal painting are confused and contradictory, his discovery of a collection of pictures with a known Garhwal provenance, in the possession of an actual descendant of Garhwal painters, and in distinctive local styles was of first-class importance. In his note, Fateh Shah (1684-1716) is a mistake for Prithi Shah (c.1635-c.1665), and Kehardas for Har Das. Mola Ram's date of birth is c.1750. For the painting, 'Longing for the beloved', see no. 28.]

1912

Coomaraswamy, A. K. 'Rajput Paintings', *The Burlington Magazine* (March 1912), XX, no. 108, 315-324.

A sequel by Coomaraswamy to Lal (1909), publishing one of the pictures acquired by him from Balak Ram Sah ('Shiva and Parvati on a hillside', pl. opp. p.318). On the basis of Balak Ram Sah's family tradition, ascribes it to 'Mola Ram of Garhwal (d.1833)'. See no. 2.

A second picture in similar style (col.pl. opp. p.315) is the now famous *Kaliya damana* obtained by Coomaraswamy in Amritsar and now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York. Later described by Coomaraswamy (1916) as 'Kangra-Garhwal' but here captioned '17th or 18th century. Rajput, Pahari (Kangra?)'. See no. 4(I).

Coomaraswamy, A. K. *Indian Drawings: second series, chiefly Rajput* (London, 1912), 8, pls. XX(2) and XXIV.

Refers to pictures acquired by him from Balak Ram Sah of Srinagar, Garhwal: 'Another interesting group of draw-

ings. with a number of finished pictures, was obtained from a descendant of Mola Ram (b.1760 d.1833) of Gahrwal (*sic*) whose ancestors, originally of Rajputana, had worked at Delhi. These drawings included a good number of typical Mughal works, chiefly portraits (of which pl. XX(2) is an example) and a larger number of typical Pahari drawings and pictures of Shaivite and lyrical subjects (*nayikas*, etc.). Alludes to plates XX(2) and XXIV as 'from the Mola Ram series'.

1913

Coomaraswamy, A. K. *The Arts and Crafts of India and Ceylon* (London, 1913).
Pl. 70. *Kaliya damana* 'Kangra, early 18th century'. See no. 4(1).

1914

Coomaraswamy, A. K. 'The Eight Nayikas', *Journal of Indian Art and Industry* (October 1914), XVI, no. 128, iii, 1, 2, 7-10.
Pl. 1 (1, 2), pl. 5 (9). Three pictures from a *Nayika* series (verses by Keshav Das). Coomaraswamy collection. See no. 21(1).
Pl. 4 (7) *Prosita preyasi*. Collection unrecorded. See no. 14(2).
Pl. 4 (8) 'The Message'. Coomaraswamy collection. See no. 14(3).
Pl. 5 (10) *Mahini* ('Radha spurning Krishna'). Coomaraswamy collection (later Brooklyn Museum, New York). Compare no. 4.

1916

Coomaraswamy, A. K. *Rajput Painting* (Oxford, 1916), I, 23; II, pls. 53, 54A, 58, 65, 74B.

Summarises Lal (1909), adding (1) a reference to *Mor priya* (a girl on a terrace addressing a peacock) — see no. 25 — inscribed with verses by Mola Ram and dated *samvat* 1832 (A.D. 1775); (2) a reference to Balak Ram Sah's collection and the fact that, being in poor circumstances, he had disposed of many of the family drawings. 'These include those referred to above and some older, 17th century Mughal examples (Coomaraswamy, 1912). It is said that pictures by Mola Rama and other Garhwal painters are still preserved in the *rosi khana* (treasury) of Tehri Garhwal (still a Native State).'

Gives the following assessment of Garhwal painting as it then appeared: 'Scarcely to be differentiated from late Kangra art and probably that of intermediate states such as Patyala is the local school of Garhwal which happens to be rather well known owing to the fact that there have come into the market a number of paintings by or attributed to Mola Rama, together with a miscellaneous collection of earlier and later drawings. These paintings included more than one set of *nayikas*, a *Rukmini mangala*, the three examples here produced on Plates 54A, 65, and 74B, and other characteristic Pahari works, as well as a number of typical Mughal drawings, several of the middle 17th century. This painter and poet attains a rather fictitious importance owing to the fact that his is almost the only name of a Pahari painter yet known.

'Here, besides the three works which we are obliged to call Garhwali, we may include as Kangra-Garhwal one or two others very nearly related and of uncertain origin (though obtained in Amritsar where it is very rare to find any but Jammu and Kangra). The differences are slight as regards actual formulae but the Garhwal works on the whole are 'late' in all senses of the word and distinctly past the zenith of the Kangra style.'

[It is significant that while stressing the close affinities of Garhwal painting and Kangra painting, Coomaraswamy avoided discussing their exact relationship, which style came first, which state influenced which, etc. His reference to Mola Ram's importance as 'fictitious' and his use of the phrase 'by or attributed to Mola Ram' suggest, however, that even at this early stage, some uneasiness was being felt

at Balak Ram's wholesale attributions to Mola Ram — the obvious disparity in style between Lal (1909, col. pl.) and Coomaraswamy's present plates 54A, 65 and 74B suggesting that whatever artist had painted the former could not possibly have painted the latter.]

Plates attributed by Coomaraswamy to Garhwal:

Pl. 53 (col). *Kaliya damana* (horizontal). Captioned 'Pahari (Kangra-Garhwal), late 18th century'. Coomaraswamy collection (later, Metropolitan Museum, New York). This is evidently the picture noted as obtained in Amritsar. Already reproduced (1912, 1913). See no. 4(1).
Pl. 54A. *Kaliya damana* (vertical). 'Pahari (Garhwal), attributed to Mola Rama., late 18th to early 19th century. In the possession of Balak Ram Sah'. Later, Mukandi Lal collection, Lucknow. See no. 4.
Pl. 65. 'Mahadeva (Shiva) and Parvati'. 'Pahari (Garhwal, attributed to Mola Rama) late 18th-early 19th century'. Coomaraswamy collection, Boston Museum of Fine Arts. See no. 2.
Pl. 74B *Naval bala* ('The timid bride'). 'Pahari (Garhwal, attributed to Mola Rama), early 19th century'. Coomaraswamy collection. See no. 19.

[Since no other collection of Garhwal pictures was known at the time and Balak Ram Sah was the only Garhwal owner attributing pictures to Mola Ram and also disposing of Garhwal pictures to Coomaraswamy, pls. 54A, 65 and 74B must be assumed to be from that collection. For confirmation of this assumption (in the case of plate 65), see Coomaraswamy (1926) where its acquisition from Balak Ram Sah is expressly mentioned.]

Other plates here assigned to Garhwal:

Pl. 58. *Varsa vihara* ('Sheltering from the rain'). Captioned 'Pahari (Kangra), late 18th century, Author's collection' but later (1926, Boston Catalogue) 'Pahari, perhaps from Garhwal, about 1800'. Discussed Gangoly (1950). See no. 16.
Pl. 64A. *Manini* (reproduced Coomaraswamy, 1914). Same style as pl. 54A. Compare no. 4.

Sastri, H. 'The Hamir Hath', *Journal of Indian Art and Industry* (October 1916), XVII, no. 132, 35.

Alludes to paintings from Tehri Garhwal and assumes a general Kangra influence. Adds that 'last June (1915), when I was on tour in Garhwal, I examined a considerable collection of pictures at Srinagar which is in the possession of Balak Ram Sah, the grandson of Maula Ram, the master painter, to whose brush the majority of these are attributed. They evidently belong to the Kangra school'.

1920

Guleri, Chandradhar. 'A signed Molaram', *Rupam* (April, 1920), no. 2, 11-14, col. pl.

Publishes in colour a picture of a girl in a pink dress and with green and yellow veil pestered by a partridge. Inscribed at the top in thick white and red *nagari* characters with a verse by Mola Ram. Dated *samvat* 1852 (A.D. 1795). Collection O. C. Gangoly, Calcutta. See no. 28(3).

1921

Lal, Mukandi. 'Some Notes on Mola Ram', *Rupam* (1921), II, no. 8, 22-30, figs. 1-7.

Provides the following information on the basis of talks with Balak Ram Sah, a study of pictures and documents in Balak Ram Sah's possession and enquiries from other families in Srinagar.

(1) Cites a verse chronicle written by Mola Ram for Hastidal, Gurkha Governor of Srinagar during the Gurkha occupation of Garhwal (1803-1814). This chronicle relates how Shamdas and his son Hardas settled in Srinagar following the surrender of their patron, Suleman Shikoh, to Aurangzeb (1660). Hardas's son was Hiralal, his grandson was Mangat Ram, his great-grandson was Mola Ram. Quotes two passages which show that besides being a poet Mola Ram was also an artist. In one of these Mola Ram relates how Raja Jayakrit Shah (ix) after being virtually

superseded or deposed by his brother Pradhymna appeals to Mola Ram to give up painting in his studio (*chitrasala*) and save himself and the Raja. The other describes an appeal written in verse by Mola Ram to the Raja of Nahar (Sirmur) on Jayakrit's behalf and sent to him, along with a picture. 'I composed this verse and also drew a picture and sent them together by the messenger Dhani Ram to the Raja of Nahar'. [Since Jayakrit died not later than 1785, the incident must relate to about this time or perhaps a little earlier.]

(2) Notes that Balak Ram Sah and his ancestors are known as *musavar* (painters) in Srinagar and that Mola Ram is regarded by Balak Ram Sah as the chief of his painter ancestors.

(3) Cites the following four pictures each bearing in the upper margin verses by Mola Ram:

1. Fig. 4. *Mor priya*. Dated samvat 1832 (A.D. 1775). See no. 25.
2. Fig. 5. *Vasakasajja*. Undated. See no. 30.
3. Fig. 6. *Mayamukhi*. Undated. See no. 28(1).
4. *Rupam* (1920). *Utkantha*. Dated samvat 1852 (A.D. 1795). See no. 28(3).

Also reproduces a picture (fig. 3) said to represent Mola Ram worshipping the goddess Bhuvanewari. See no. 33(3).

[The fact that the first four pictures share the same harsh and crude style and that they ostensibly illustrate verses by Mola Ram himself justifies the inference that Mola Ram was the painter. It is significant that other pictures in the Balak Ram Sah collection, although loosely attributed by Balak Ram to Mola Ram, have no such verses and are in markedly different styles.]

(4) Considers that 'the number of miniature paintings, drawings and designs in the Mola Ram collection must have been over one thousand originally'. Some are now in the possession of the Maharaja of Tehri Garhwal, 'about a dozen families of the courtiers of the old Rajas of Garhwal', several friends of the family, Mukandi Lal himself and Coomaraswamy.

(5) Although 'most' of these pictures are ascribed to Mola Ram by Balak Ram Sah, Mukandi Lal regards Mola Ram as a collector and connoisseur as well as an artist and poet. He suggests that Mola Ram may have inherited some of them and that the family collection, in fact, comprises work by a variety of artists. He sums up the position as follows: 'That Mola Ram had a studio of his own and was a great connoisseur of art and that he himself painted pictures cannot be disputed. He must have had in his *chitrasala* paintings of great masters whether they were by his own ancestors or other artists of Kangra or Delhi. I should not be surprised if his *chitrasala* was a private museum. In the collection of pictures left by Mola Ram there are miniatures which are decidedly by different artists and whose *kalam* and colour scheme and composition are varied. Therefore I can very safely say that Mola Ram had in his possession a considerable number of paintings by great artists. These paintings which one is inclined to ascribe to other pens than that of Mola Ram may have served as models for him or he may have kept them with him as a collector and connoisseur. Some paintings may have come down to him from his ancestors as family heirlooms. While personally ascribing certain pictures to Mola Ram, Lal emphasises that 'some of the best pictures in Mola Ram's collection are by other artists though they may have been his own ancestors or his contemporaries or old masters'. Suggests that pictures with Mola Ram verses should be regarded as by Mola Ram.

(6) Cites two pictures — *Dampati* (Lal, 1929) and *Naval Bala* (Coomaraswamy, 1916, pl. 74B) — as examples of 'family life' pictures in the Balak Ram Sah collection. See nos. 14 and 19.

Comment: (1) The date of Mola Ram's birth, still given as

1760, was later altered by Lal (1949, part I) to 1740 on the assumption that the picture, *Mastani*, inscribed with verses by Mola Ram and dated 1771, must be the work of an artist who was at least thirty years of age. Since the figure thirty seems unnecessarily high — twenty would be equally appropriate — c.1750 is here suggested as his date of birth. The original date (1760) was arrived at on the assumption that a portrait of Mola Ram said to be inscribed 'aged 73', was painted in the year of his death, 1833. Lal has himself conceded that this may not necessarily have been the case.

(2) The frank admission (paragraph 5) that Balak Ram Sah's collection contained many pictures which were neither by Mola Ram nor by members of the family and that even 'some of the best pictures' fall into this category is crucial to any fruitful discussion of Garhwal painting. Once this basic point is conceded, it is possible to accept the family's tradition that the pictures were painted in Garhwal while discarding over-specific attributions to Mola Ram.

1922

Gupta, S. N. *Catalogue of Paintings in the Central Museum, Lahore* (Calcutta, 1922), 111.

Lists a picture of 'The death of Putana' as 'Garhwal; early 19th century'.

1923

Coomaraswamy, A. K. *Portfolio of Indian Art* (New York, 1923).

Captions plate 80, 'Garhwal'.

1925

Binyon, L. *Asiatic Art in the British Museum* (Brussels and Paris, 1925).

Pl. 60 (2). 'The encounter at the pool'. See no. 5(2).

Gangoly, O. C. 'A Kangra Miniature in the South Kensington Museum', *Rupam* (1925), no. 24, 101.

'The two pitchers'. See no. 10.

Binyon, L. 'Indian Paintings at Wembley' *Rupam* (1925), no. 26, 8-11. Pl. 5. Here assigned to Garhwal.

1926

Mehta, N. C. 'Two Pahari Painters of Tehri Garhwal: Manaku and Chaitu'. *Rupam* (1926), no. 26, 49-55.

A first version of Mehta (1926b). For 'The rape of the Yadava women' by Chaitu, reproduced in colour (col. pl. opp. p.53), see no. 35.

Mehta, N. C. *Studies in Indian Painting* (Bombay, 1926), 47-61.

Reviews the 'court art of Tehri Garhwal' under Raja Sudarshan Shah (1815-1859), inferring from the presence in the Tehri Raj collection of two series — a *Gita Govinda* — (pls. 23, 24) by an artist Manaku and a *Bihari Sat Sai* (pls. 22, 25, 26) perhaps by the same artist — that they are examples of Garhwal painting of this period.

[This view is rejected by Khandalavala (1958), Randhawa (1963) and Archer (1952: 1963) who regard both series as products of Kangra and connect their presence in the Garhwal Raj collection with the wedding of the two daughters of Raja Sansar Chand of Kangra to Sudarshan Shah of Tehri Garhwal in 1829. For further discussion of this point, see *Kangra nos. 33, 39.*]

Cites a second artist, Chaitu, as active in Tehri under Sudarshan Shah, and attributes to him the following works: a *Ramayana* series (pl. 19), a *Mahabharata* series (pl. 18 'The Rape of the Yadava women'), a *Rukmini Parinaya* series and a picture *Dana lila* (pl. 20), all in the Tehri Raj collection. Describes pl. 18 as inscribed on the reverse with the name: Chaitu.

Believes that Sudarshan Shah was 'a pious Hindu and a

generous patron of art and literature', as well as 'something of an author'. Cites his memoirs written in the Pahari dialect.

Concedes that Mola Ram may have been patronised by Sudarshan Shah up till his death in 1833 but pending further research regards the identity of his actual work as problematic. Voices for the first time the gathering doubt that many pictures, ascribed to Mola Ram, cannot be by him. 'There cannot be the least doubt that a large number of paintings and drawings of the late 18th and early 19th centuries especially of the Pahari *qalam* has been wrongly ascribed to Mola Ram'. Makes the significant point that 'the great-grandson of Mola Ram, Balak Ram, is still alive and was good enough to send a number of sketches for the All India Exhibition at Lucknow January 1925; practically all of which were absolutely worthless and altogether unworthy of being attributed to his illustrious ancestor' (49).

Coomaraswamy, A. K. *Catalogue of the Indian Collections in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: Part V, Rajput Painting* (Boston, 1926), 10, 17.

States that 'Tehri Garhwal, a small state lying far within the Himalayan boundary and far to the east of Kangra, supported a considerable school of painting in a style related to that of Kangra, before and after the close of the eighteenth century'.

['Tehri Garhwal', constituted in 1815, is here an obvious misnomer for 'Garhwal'.]

Assigns to Mola Ram of Garhwal on the basis of family tradition and provenance (Balak Ram Sah collection) the following examples in the Boston Museum's collection:

1. Page 125, no 170, pl. 59, 'Shiva and Parvati'. Reproduced 1912, 1916. See no. 2.
2. Page 180, no 325, pl. 99. Sketch showing Radha and Krishna facing each other and inscribed with verses by Mola Ram.
3. Page 184, no. 334, pl. 101. *Abhisarika nayika*. See no. 3(3).
4. Page 185, no. 336, not illustrated. Sketch showing Krishna washing Radha's feet.
5. Page 193, no. 350, not illustrated. Sketch illustrating a verse by Keshav Das, dated *samvat* 1832 (A.D. 1775).

Assigns to Garhwal but not to Mola Ram the following four further examples:

6. Page 154, no. 243, not illustrated. *Dana lila*. 'Pahari, Garhwal, about 1800. Obtained from Balak Ram Sah of Garhwal'.
7. Page 154, no. 244, pl. 88. 'Radha disguised as a constable arrests Krishna'. 'Pahari, Garhwal? about 1800'. See no. 3(2).
8. Page 161, no. 266, pl. 81. *Varsa vihara* ('Sheltering from the rain'). Reproduced 1916. Provenance unrecorded but perhaps a dealer of Amritsar. Captioned 'Pahari, perhaps from Garhwal, about 1800'. See no. 16.
9. Pages 250-251, nos. 581-592, pl. 127. A series of floral designs and studies. 'Obtained from Balak Ram Sah of Garhwal'. Perhaps by Mangat Ram, father of Mola Ram.

Assigns to Kangra (10) and Pahari (11) the following pictures here accepted as Garhwal:

10. Pages 168-169, nos. 291-297, pls. 89-91. A *Sudama* series. See no. 7(1).
11. Page 191, no. 247, pl. 103. *Lila hava*.

States that 'Mola Ram's [great]-grandson, Balak Ram Sah, himself a painter but of small significance, has been the medium through which the Garhwal paintings and drawings first reached the outer world (Allahabad Exhibition of 1911)'.

Comments on the wedding of the two sisters of Anirudh Chand of Kangra to Sudarshan Shah of Tehri Garhwal (1829) — 'a fact of interest in connection with the close connections between the Garhwali and Kangra schools in the earlier part of the nineteenth century. Very possibly Kangra painters migrated with the princesses to Garhwal,

escaping the troubled circumstances of Kangra and finding a patronage that could no longer be extended to them at home'. [As commented earlier, this wedding may account for the presence in the Tehri Raj collection of two important series in Kangra style. It can hardly explain, however, the first great phase of Garhwal painting (c.1770-1803). See Archer (1954) and no. 1.]

It is unfortunate that despite his earlier misgivings, Coomaraswamy elected not to query more emphatically Balak Ram Sah's over-loyal attributions to Mola Ram, thus leaving unresolved the main stylistic problem.

Gangoly, O. C. *Masterpieces of Rajput Painting* (Calcutta, 1926).

The following col. plates (variously attributed to Gangoly) are here assigned to Garhwal:

1. Pl. 6. *Guna garvita*. Gangoly collection, Calcutta. See no. 9(1).
2. Pl. 7. 'Vishnu riding on Garuda'. Government Art Gallery, Calcutta. See no. 7(3).
3. Pl. 9. *Agata patika*. Government Art Gallery, Calcutta. See no. 13(2).
4. Pl. 27. *Utka nayika*. Fitzwilliam Museum, Manuk and Coles collection, Cambridge. See no. 3(1).
5. Pl. 28. 'Ladies bathing'. Government Art Gallery, Calcutta. See no. 22(1).
6. Pl. 32. 'Shiva and Parvati'. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. See no. 2.
7. Pl. 43. *Varsa vihara* ('Sheltering from the rain'). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. See no. 16.
8. Pl. 45. *Gai charan lila* ('Tending of cows'). National Museum, S. N. Gupta collection, New Delhi. See no. 8(1).
9. Pl. 46. *Kaliya damana*. Metropolitan Museum, New York. See no. 4(1).

1927

Gangoly, O. C. 'An *Editio Princeps* of *Sundara Sringara*', *Rupam* (1927) no. 30, 47-51.

A-D. Four illustrated pages from a *Nayaka Nayika* manuscript. Ajit Ghose collection, Calcutta. Compare no. 21.

Coomaraswamy, A. K. *A History of Indian and Indonesian Art* (London, 1927), 132, fig. 268.

Views as in Coomaraswamy (1926).

Fig. 268. *Kaliya damana* (horizontal). Captioned 'Kangra; late eighteenth century. Author's collection'. See no. 4(1).

1929

Ghose, A. 'The Schools of Rajput Painting', *Roopa Lekha* (April, 1929), no. 2, 1-14.

Alludes to Mola Ram and points out that Raja Haricharan Das enjoys an equally great reputation in Garhwal as a 19th-century artist.

[No works by this painter have so far been traced.]

Stchoukine, I. *La Peinture Indienne* (Paris, 1929).

Pl. 100. 'Radha bathing.' See no. 6.

Lal, Mukandi. 'The Pahari (Himalayan) School of Indian Painting and Mola Ram's place in it', *Roopa Lekha* (1929), no. 1, 24-35; no. 3, 34-38, col. pl.; no. 4, p.1, col. pl.

Parts of a projected survey of Indian painting, abandoned, however, before Garhwal painting and Mola Ram were reached.

No. 3. Col. pl. *Manini Radha*, Mukandi Lal collection, acquired from Balak Ram Sah.

No. 4. Col. pl. '*Dampati*: a picture by Mola Ram'. Balak Ram Sah collection. See no. 14.

1930

Coomaraswamy, A. K. *Catalogue of the Indian Collections in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: Part VI, Mughal Painting* (Boston, 1930).

Lists twelve pictures (nos. 306-317, p. 95-97) in Mughal style obtained by Coomaraswamy from the Balak Ram Sah collection, Garhwal. Not illustrated.

Gangoly, O. C. 'Giri Govardhana dharana: a Kangra miniature' *Rupam* (1930), no. 41, 16-18, fig. 1 (p.17), col. pl. (p.18).

Fig. 1. Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras, Kangra. Col. pl. Ajit Ghose collection, Calcutta. Garhwal, c. 1780-1800. See no. 11.

1931

French, J. *Himalayan Art* (Oxford, 1931), 56-63, 105-108, pls. 19-21.

Describes a visit to Srinagar and Tehri in 1930 and a meeting with Balak Ram Sah and his cousin, Tulsi Ram Sah in Srinagar village. Alludes to woodcuts (pls. 19, 20) by Mangat Ram (father of Mola Ram), flower studies by Mola Ram and to a floral design and a 'rough' picture by Jwala Ram (son of Mola Ram). Attributes to Jwala Ram, presumably on the basis of family traditions, the portrait of Mola Ram worshipping the goddess Bhuvaneshvari (Lal, 1921, fig. 3). See no. 31(3).

Pl. 21. A sketch from *Varsa vihara* ('Sheltering from the rain'). Obtained by French from Tulsi Ram Sah and now in the Victoria and Albert Museum. See no. 17.

1937

Goetz, H. 'Notes on some schools of Rajput painting', *Journal Indian Society of Oriental Art* (1937), V.157-166.

'The literary family tradition of Mola Ram, his descent from artists come from the Mughal court, does not represent an exceptional case, it represents the rule'.

1948

Gangoly, O. C. 'The Growth of a Masterpiece', *Roopa Lekha* (1948), XX, no. 1, col. pl. (p.42).

Discusses *Varsa vihara* ('Sheltering from the rain'). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. See no. 16.

1949

Agrawala, V. S. 'The Romance of Himachal Painting', *Roopa Lekha* (1948-1949), XX, no. 2, 87-93.

Fig. 1. *Vipralabdhā nayika*. See no. 3(ii).

Fig. 5. 'Radha and Krishna gazing in a mirror'. See no. 14(1).

Fig. 6. *Utka nayika*. See no. 3(i).

1949-1952

Lal, Mukandi, 'Garhwal School of Painting (1658-1858)', Parts I-VI, *Roopa Lekha* (1949-1952), XX, no. 2 - XXIII, nos. 1 and 2.

1949

Part I: *Roopa Lekha* (1948-1949), XX, no. 2, 114-124, pls. 1-6.

Describes his discovery of the Balak Ram Sah collection of Garhwal painting in 1908, the first public exhibition of Garhwal pictures (Allahabad, 1911) and the purchase of examples from Balak Ram Sah by Coomaraswamy and Gogonendra Nath Tagore. [Those purchased by Tagore are now in the Kasturbhai Lalbhai collection, Ahmedabad.]

Pl. 1. *Mastani*. Inscribed with a verse by *kavi maula ram musavar* (Mola Ram, poet and painter) describing how he drew a picture of a girl drinking 'to amuse himself'. Dated *samvat* 1828 (A.D. 1771).

Pl. 2. Drawing of a sword handle. Said to be by Mangat Ram, Mola Ram's father.

Pl. 3. Omitted.

Pl. 4. Portrait of Raja Lalit Shah of Garhwal. See no. 26.

Pl. 5. 'Consoling the queens'. Inscribed on the reverse with four verses by Mola Ram of which one is dated *samvat* 1826 (A.D. 1769). The verse complains bitterly of Mola Ram's treatment at court. See no. 27(1).

Pl. 6. *Mor priya* ('Girl playing with a peacock'). Inscribed at the top with a verse by Mola Ram defiantly preferring the appreciation of his art to monetary rewards. Dated *samvat* 1832 (A.D. 1775). See no. 25.

[Pl. 4 from the collection of Rao Birendra Singh, great grandson of Raja Lalit Shah; pls. 1, 2, 5 and 6 from the Balak Ram Sah collection.]

Provides details of Jwala Ram (1788-1848), son of Mola Ram at p.119.

1950

Part II: *Roopa Lekha* (1949-1950), XXI, no. 1, 17-33, pls. 7-17.

Cites extracts from Mola Ram's verse chronicle testifying to his reputation as a painter and to the Gurkha Governor, Hastidal's high opinion of him as an artist.

Discusses Mehta (1926) and maintains that Manak and Chaitu, the two painters associated by Mehta with Tehri Garhwal, were either contemporaries, relatives or pupils of Mola Ram and that they worked in Srinagar (not Tehri) under Pradhyumna (not Sudarshan) Shah and in the period 1770-1810 (not 1815-1850). Cites references in a Garhwal Raj *vansavali* MS. to a certain 'Manku Lekhwar of Dasoli' and a certain Chatu Sah as paying *Nazars* to Raja Pradhyumna Shah. [Since Manaku and Chaitu are common names, these references do not necessarily refer to painters while the term *lekhwar* (private secretary or personal assistant) seems to preclude this particular Manku from being the painter (*musavar*) of that name.]

Emphasises that five families of painters were still living at Srinagar in 1877, two of them being descendants of Mola Ram. Concedes that pictures may have reached Tehri from other states, especially on the occasion of weddings, but denies that any painters actually lived and painted in Tehri at the court of Sudarshan Shah (1815-1859).

Pl. 7. Line drawing of a camel fight. Mukandi Lal collection from Balak Ram Sah. Mughal style, perhaps by Hiranand, c.1720.

Pl. 8. 'Blindman's Buff'. Tehri Raj collection. Published Mehta (1926b). Inscribed on reverse: *manak ki likhi*. Here regarded as a Kangra painting, perhaps brought to Srinagar, Garhwal, on the occasion of the Kangra princesses' marriage to Sudarshan Shah. See *Kangra*, no. 34.

Pl. 9. 'Rape of the Yadava women'. Tehri Raj collection. Published Mehta (1926b). Inscribed on reverse: *chaitu*. See no. 35.

Pl. 10. Line sketch with colour notes, based on 'Blindman's Buff' (pl. 8). Balak Ram Sah collection.

Pl. 11. Line drawing based on pl. 8 or 10 ('Blindman's Buff'). Kasturbhai Lalbhai collection, Ahmedabad. Originally acquired by G. N. Tagore from Balak Ram Sah.

The presence of pls. 10 and 11 in the Balak Ram Sah collection suggests that either Mola Ram or a member of his family may have had access to the Manaku original (pl. 8), though whether they themselves made these drawings is debatable.

Pl. 12. 'Response to Rukmini's message'. From a *Rukmini* series (13 pictures) acquired by Mukandi Lal from Balak Ram Sah. Attributed by Mukandi Lal to Mola Ram.

Pl. 13. 'Welcoming the Rains'. Kasturbhai Lalbhai collection, Ahmedabad. Originally acquired by G. N. Tagore from Balak Ram Sah.

Pl. 14. *Dampati* ('Lovers by a river'). Balak Ram Sah collection, later acquired by Mukandi Lal. Discussed Lal (1950, part III, 23). See no. 14.

Pl. 15. *Narsingh avatara*. Balak Ram Sah collection. Inscribed with verse by Mola Ram. Compare no. 30.

Pl. 16. Suleiman Shikoh with ladies. Acquired by Mukandi Lal from Balak Ram Sah. Attributed by family tradition to Shiv Ram (1790-1855), second son of Mola Ram (later insane). Garhwal, c.1820-1830.

Pl. 17. Line drawing of the lifting of Mount Govardhan. Acquired by Mukandi Lal from Balak Ram Sah. Attributed by family tradition to Jwala Ram (1788-1848), son of Mola Ram.

1950

Part III: *Roopa Lekha* (1950), XXI, no. 2, 12-28, pls. 18-25.

Points out that 'the Garhwal school and the Kangra School of painting are so much alike' that if he had been

unable to discover Mola Ram's name and his descriptive poems on a large number of pictures, art-historians would have included paintings of the Garhwal school in the Kangra school 'as indeed was done until 1909' when he first showed examples of Garhwal painting to Coomaraswamy.

Pl. 18. 'Lady running to shelter from a storm'. Mis-captioned *Abhisarika nayika*. Mukandi Lal collection (not however attributed by him to Mola Ram). Provenance unrecorded but Garhwal school. *Chandan* (Shaiva) *tilak* marks and unusually long swaying veils. See no. 19(1).

Pl. 19(col). *Utkanthita nayika*. Mukandi Lal collection. Provenance unrecorded. Attributed by him to Mola Ram. *Chandan tilak* marks. See no. 28(5).

Pl. 20. *Vasakasayya nayika*. Tehri Raj collection. Inscribed on the top with verses by Mola Ram. From a *Nayika* series of eight pictures each inscribed with Mola Ram verses. Two of these (unpublished) bear the date *samvat* 1867 (A.D. 1810). See no. 30.

[Part of the Tehri Raj collection was built up by Raja Bhawani Shah (1859-1872) who deliberately acquired pictures from relatives and local people. (Private communication, Maharaja Manvindra Shah, 1960). The present *Nayika* series might, however, have been obtained directly from Mola Ram (died 1833) by Raja Sudarshan Shah (1816-1859).]

Pl. 21. 'Krishna visiting Radha' (also reproduced 1951, part IV, col. pl. B). Mukandi Lal collection, formerly collection of Rao Birendra Singh, son of Kumar Vichitra Shah, donor of some Garhwal and Tehri Garhwal pictures to Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras (Mehta (1926b), 119, pl. 55). Attributed by Mukandi Lal to Mola Ram. See no. 28(6).

Pl. 22. 'Shiva and Parvati'. See no. 2.

Pl. 23. Omitted, but was intended to illustrate 'Lovers in a moon-lit retreat' (see no. 1), attributed by Mukandi Lal to Garhwal although its original provenance, the Balak Ram Sah collection from which it was acquired by G. N. Tagore in 1910, was only realised later (Private communication, Mukandi Lal, February, 1966).

Pl. 24. Raja Pradhymna Shah and his brother, Parakram. See no. 18.

Pl. 25. *Dana lila* ('The taking of toll'). Published Mehta (1926b), pl. 20. Tehri Raj collection. Accepted as by Chaitu (Mukandi Lal). See no. 35(2).

1951

Part IV: *Roopa Lekha* (1951), XXII, no. 1, 32-46, pls. 26-34, col. pls. B and 27.

Reproduces the following plates:

Pl. 26. *Manini Radha*. Provenance Bashahr (q.v.).

Pl. 27 (col.). *Manini Radha*. Acquired by Mukandi Lal from Balak Ram Sah. See no. 21(ii).

Pl. 28. 'The Dream of Usha'. Acquired by Mukandi Lal from Balak Ram Sah.

Pl. 29. 'The raising of Mount Govardhan'. Provenance unrecorded but claimed by Mukandi Lal as belonging 'to the early period when the artist (Mola Ram) had not gone far from his Mughal style'. [Here regarded as a Guler picture.]

Pl. 30. *Kaliya damana*. Balak Ram Sah collection (since acquired by Mukandi Lal). See no. 4.

Pl. 31. 'The fish incarnation'. Acquired by Mukandi Lal from a Garhwal source (unspecified). See no. 38(1).

Pl. 32. *Maya mukhi* (*Mayant mukhi*). See also Mukandi Lal (1921), fig. 6. Mola Ram verses. See no. 28(1).

Pl. 33. 'Girl with a baby'. Mola Ram verses dated (A.D.) 1787. Collection Raja Pratap Vikram Shah, Singhai. See no. 28(2).

Col. pl. B 'Krishna visiting Radha' (part III, pl. 21). See no. 28(6).

Pl. 34. *Varsa vihara* ('Sheltering from the rain'). See no. 16.

Pl. 35. Omitted.

Part V: *Roopa Lekha* (1951), XXII, no. 2, 27-41, pls. 35-48.

Discusses portraits and subjects.

Pl. 35. 'Ladies' music party'. Not discussed. Mukandi Lal collection.

Pl. 36. Jaidev Wazir. Inscribed with verses by Mola Ram. Part VI, col. pl. (p. 40). G. K. Joshi collection.

Pl. 37(a) Aurangzeb enthroned. Mughal, 17th century. Mukandi Lal collection. Provenance unrecorded.

Pl. 37(b) Nawab Najibudaula Rohilla. Balak Ram Sah collection.

Pl. 38(a) Suleiman Shikoh. Mughal. Mukandi Lal collection (from a dealer, Hyderabad, Deccan).

Pl. 38(b) Suleiman Shikoh and ladies. Posthumous portrait from the Balak Ram Sah collection. Attributed to Mola Ram.

Pl. 39(a) Raja Fateh Shah (1684-1716) of Garhwal riding. Tehri Raj collection.

Pl. 39(b) Raja Pradip Shah (1717-1772) of Garhwal seated. Line drawing. Tehri Raj collection.

Pl. 39(c) Raja Jaikirit Shah (1780-1785) of Garhwal on an elephant. Tehri Raj collection.

Pl. 40(a) Pritam Shah, youngest brother of Jaikirit Shah. Tehri Raj collection. Identity doubtful?

Pl. 40(b) A Garhwal courtier. Mukandi Lal collection.

Pl. 41 Head studies. Mukandi Lal collection.

Pl. 42 Omitted.

Pl. 43. *Himalayan Birds*. By Jwala Ram. Dated 17.12.1828.

[Following the annexation of Garhwal by the British in 1814, Jwala Ram was employed as a clerk by the first British Commissioner.]

Pl. 44. Flower studies (perhaps goldsmiths' designs). Balak Ram Sah collection.

Pl. 45. Omitted.

Pl. 46(a) Map of Kangra. Balak Ram Sah collection.

[The attribution of this 'map' — actually a 'view' — to Mola Ram seems pure surmise. If it is attributed to Jwala Ram (with whose landscape views it seems more comparable), any evidence of Mola Ram's acquaintance with Kangra disappears. It is interesting to note that while Mukandi Lal earlier proposed 1765 as the date of Mola Ram's visit to Kangra and his resulting 'map', he here proposes 1803 and treats it as a piece of espionage for the Gurkhas!]

Pl. 46(b) View of Srinagar. One of a series of 19 views of towns and places. By Jwala Ram (1788-1848), son of Mola Ram.

Pls. 47(a) and (b). Views of Pandukesar, Karan and Rudraprayag. From the same series. By Jwala Ram.

Pl. 48(a) Omitted.

Pls. 48(b) and (c). Designs for sword-covers and for images. Balak Ram Sah collection. Perhaps by Mangat Ram (father of Mola Ram).

1952

Part VI: *Roopa Lekha* (1952), XXIII, nos. 1 and 2, 37-50, pls. 60-66, col. pl. (p.40).

Re-asserts Mola Ram's greatness and gives details of his descendants (1850-1950).

Pls. 49-59. Omitted.

Pl. 60. A couple swinging, attended by ladies. Sketch with colour indications. Inscribed with verses by Mola Ram. Mughal style. Not dated. Provenance unrecorded.

Pl. 61. 'Girls swinging'. G. K. Joshi collection. Provenance Srinagar, Garhwal. Illustration to a verse from Bihari's *Sat Sai*. In style (sweeping veils and skirts, sharply pointed spear-shaped flowers), compare no. 29.

Pl. 62. 'Lady (*manini*) with companion'. Tulsi Ram collection, Srinagar.

Pl. 63. 'The Prince at the well'. Balak Ram Sah collection. (Mughal, 18th century).

Pl. 64. 'A lady smoker'. Attributed to Jwala Ram.

Pl. 65. 'Toilet scene'. By Fate Ram (born 1872), brother of Tulsi Ram Sah. See French (1931).

Pl. 66(a) Photograph of Balak Ram

Pl. 66(b) Omitted.

Col. pl. (p.40). Jaidev Wazir. See pl. 36.

1950

Gray, B. 'Painting', *The Art of India and Pakistan* (London, 1950).

Col. pl. D(584). 'Lovers in a moon-lit retreat'. See no. 1.
Pl. 111 (576). 'Sheltering from the rain'. See no. 16(1).

Gangoly, O. C. 'The Problem of Mola Ram.' *Marg* (1950), IV, no. 4, 34-39, col. pl. and pls. A-D.

Points out that 'all the signed works of Mola Ram and those of certain attribution are marked by a slovenly technique, coarse drawing, particularly in the treatment of clouds and by a general lack of refinement and grace'. The finest Garhwal pictures (Coomaraswamy (1916), pls. 65, 58 and 54A) are, on the contrary, 'head and shoulders above them' in quality. Implies that whoever painted the Mola Ram pictures cannot be the same person as the artist who painted these latter pictures.

Discusses Coomaraswamy (1916), pl. 58 (*Varsa vihara*) in the light of a version inscribed with Mola Ram lettering ('a clumsy imitation') and a sketch ('Tulsi Ram Sah collection obtained by J. C. French, 'a working drawing, perhaps derived from pl. 58'). See nos. 16, 17 and 30(1).

Concludes that Mola Ram's authorship of the Garhwal masterpieces is very far from being substantiated.
Col. pl. 'The lady and the partridge'. See no. 28(3).

1951

Archer, W. G. 'Catalogue of the Sir William Rothenstein collection of Indian paintings and drawings', *Art and Letters* (1951), XXV, no. 1, 8-11.
Pl. 1. 'Lovers on a bed'. See no. 15.

1952

Archer, W. G. *Kangra Painting* (London, 1952).

Ascribes to Kangra the *Bihari Sat Sai* series in the Tehri Raj collection, assumed by Mehta (1926) to be the work of Tehri Garhwal artists. Agrees with Coomaraswamy in thinking that Kangra painters may have accompanied Raja Anirudh Chand of Kangra into exile in 1828 — 'a suggestion which is supported by the style of painting associated with the period 1830 to 1860 in Garhwal itself'.

1953

Rowland, B. *The Art and Architecture of India* (London, 1953).

'The quelling of Kaliya', fig. 133. See no. 4(1).

Randhawa, M. S. 'Kangra Paintings illustrating the Life of Shiva and Parvati,' *Roopa Lekha* (1953), XXIV, nos. 1 and 2, 23-39, figs. 1-20, 4, col. pls.

A series of 110 paintings illustrating the *Shiva Purana* from the collection of Ram Singh of Bhawarna, descendant of Anirudh Chand (1823-1828) of Kangra. Here ascribed to Tehri Garhwal. See no. 34.

1954

Randhawa, M. S. *Kangra Valley Painting* (New Delhi, 1954).

Col. pl. 24. 'Elopement'. See no. 23(2).

Col. pl. 25. 'Revelry by night'. See no. 23(1)

Archer, W. G. *Garhwal Painting* (London, 1954), pls. 1-10.

Distinguishes sharply between (1) pictures in a harsh and crude style (Mola Ram) and (2) those in a style of delicate sensitivity. Argues that this second group 'can only be explained on one assumption — that outside artists had reached the Garhwal court'.

Considers Kangra as a possible source but on grounds of style and other circumstances prefers to connect these artists with Guler. In this connection, avails of a statement by Lal (1951, part V) to argue that this movement from Guler may have been facilitated by the wedding of Raja Pradhyumna Shah (ruled 1785-1804) to a Guler princess, daughter of Ajab Singh.

On the evidence of some of Mola Ram's verses expressing bitterness, dates the arrival of these artists in Srinagar to the years 1769 to 1775.

Regards Mola Ram's 'Kangra-esque' painting after 1769 as crudely derivative from the work of these Guler artists.

Suggests that just as Guler painting underwent vital changes on migration to Kangra, contact with the Srinagar environment and the new court caused similar changes at Garhwal. Concedes that Kangra painting and Garhwal painting possess 'marked affinities' but regards them as basically different, if parallel, developments from the same artistic source (Guler).

Connects the end of the first 'Guler' phase of Garhwal painting with the Gurkha invasion (1803).

Proposes a second (Tehri Garhwal) phase (1816 onwards), the painter Chaitu (Mehta, 1926) taking a prominent part and, after 1829, painters from Kangra perhaps assisting.

Connects col. pls. 1-6 with 'the Garhwal master' (an immigrant from Guler), col. pls. 7-10 with lesser associates.

Pl. 1. 'The road to Krishna'. See no. 7(ii).

Pl. 2. 'The lady at the tryst' (*Utka nayika*). See no. 3(1).

Pl. 3. 'The encounter at the pool'. See no. 5(2).

Pl. 4. 'Lovers in a moon-lit retreat'. See no. 1.

Pl. 5. 'Night of storm' (*Abhisarika nayika*). See no. 3(iii).

Pl. 6. 'Sudama's hovel'. See no. 7(i).

Pl. 7. 'Girls swimming' (*Sinduri ragini*). See no. 10(1).

Pl. 8. 'Radha bathing'. See no. 6.

Pl. 9. 'Krishna spurned by Radha'. See no. 21(ii).

Pl. 10. 'Radha and Krishna on the bed'. See no. 23.

Note: (1) Not unnaturally this first attempt to break the Mola Ram impasse brought indignantly rebuffs from Lal (1955, q.v.).

(2) Since the date of Pradhyumna's birth must now be assumed to have been about 1765, his wedding to the Guler princess can hardly have taken place earlier than 1775. The close relationship existing between Guler and Garhwal, as implied by the wedding, rather than the wedding itself, must therefore be regarded as contributing to these artists' migrations.

1955

Lal, Mukandi. 'Garhwal School not founded by Guler artists: a critique of Mr. Archer', *Roopa Lekha* (1955), XXVI, no. 2, 78-81.

Considers the thesis advanced in Archer (1954) and makes the following comments:

(1) The wedding of Raja Pradhyumna Shah of Garhwal to a Guler princess, cited as a possible circumstance facilitating the migration to Garhwal of certain artists from Guler, is pure myth. Archer gives no authority for this supposed incident. The only Garhwal Raja to take a Guler bride was Pratap Shah (1872-1886) but this was at the end of the nineteenth century. Archer has evidently confused Pradhyumna Shah with Pratap Shah.

(2) 'No artists came to Garhwal (Srinagar or Tehri) on invitation or otherwise to lay the foundation of or to revive the art in Garhwal'.

(3) Archer's statement that 'It was only in the portion of Garhwal known as Tehri that painting underwent a creative revival' is a mere repetition of an earlier error by Mehta. Tehri was not even in existence before 1815 and even after a court had been established there, no painters were attached to it.

(4) The inference that Mola Ram was jealous of immigrant artists is unwarranted by his verses. 'Mola Ram was too great man to spite or disparage any fellow artists'.

(5) Chaitu Sah was never connected with Tehri.

(6) Mola Ram's 'Kangra-esque' pictures were due to a visit by him to the court of Sansar Chand of Kangra and were begun in about 1765.

(7) As to the quality of Mola Ram's work and its general stature 'J. C. French was so much impressed with *Mor priya* (a dated, 1775, work by Mola Ram) that he persuaded me to part with it by paying a record price'.

(8) Concedes that Archer's pls. 2, 3, 4, 5, 8 and 9 are Garhwal school, pls. 7 and 10 may be Garhwal, pls. 1 and 6 are not Garhwal.

(9) Claims that on 28 October 1954 he found the original drawings of Archer's pls. 2, 4, and 5 'amongst the remnants of Mola Ram's works at Srinagar Garhwal with 88 years old Balak Ram'.

Comment: Most of these points are either muddled or misconceived.

(1) Pradhyumna Shah was not a mistake for Pratap Shah and although no authority was expressly cited for his wedding to a Guler princess, the source should have been only too familiar to Lal, being, in fact, his own article in *Roopa Lekha* (1951, part VI, 36). He there wrote: 'One of the ranis of Pradhyumna Shah was a princess of the Guler, a daughter of Ajab Singh. Other two were Garhwalis.' If Raja Pradhyumna Shah did not, in fact, marry a Guler princess, why did Lal say that he did?

(2) Since Mola Ram was obviously incapable of producing the Garhwal masterpieces himself and no other native of Garhwal is a candidate, there is seemingly no alternative but to attribute them to outside artists, working in Garhwal.

(3) Mehta was undoubtedly mistaken in connecting all painting in Garhwal with the court of Sudarshan Shah (1815-1859). I myself, however, distinguished two periods: the first, a pre-1804 period in Garhwal itself and the second, 'a creative revival' under Sudarshan Shah at Tehri. In view of the Tehri Raj collection of pictures and a *Rukmini* series expressly made for Raja Bhawani Singh in 1866 (see no. 37), it is surely straining credibility too much to maintain that Tehri had no painting in the nineteenth century.

(4) Although Mola Ram, on Lal's showing, was a courtier and poet, he was also an artist, albeit an indifferent one. The verses cited certainly express bitterness and jealousy. If he was of even small account as an artist, he could hardly fail to resent the intrusion of other and better painters. It is precisely this situation which his verses appear to reflect.

(5) On grounds of style, it is difficult to date Chaitu's work earlier than about 1815 yet it is Chaitu's pictures which form a major part of the existing Tehri Raj collection. Since Sudarshan Shah and his successors had their court at Tehri, the normal inference would be that Chaitu also worked there.

(6) There is no proof that Mola Ram ever visited Kangra — the supposed 'map' being more probably the work of his son, Jwala Ram, (Lal, 1951, part V, pl. 46(a)).

(7) *Mor priya* (no. 25) may have cost French a pretty penny; it is, none the less, a woefully poor picture.

(8) Pls. 1 and 6 are no different in basic style from pls. 2-5 and 7-10. If these others are Garhwal, pls. 1 and 6 must be Garhwal also.

(9) While the discovery of 'the original drawings' for pls. 2, 4 and 5 in the Balak Ram Sah collection as late as October 1954 admittedly re-enforces the attribution of pls. 2, 4 and 5 to Garhwal, it does not bring them any nearer to Mola Ram. It was Lal himself who in 1921 emphasised that some of the finest work in this collection was by other artists.

Zimmer H. *The Art of Indian Asia* (ed. J. Campbell, New York, 1955).

Pl. C. 10. 'The quelling of Kaliya'. See no. 4(1).

Pl. C. 11. 'Shiva and Parvati'. See no. 2.

Randhawa, M. S. 'Some Nurpur Paintings'. *Marg* (1955), VIII, no. 3, 19-25.

Fig. 4. 'A princess eloping with an elephant-driver'. Here regarded as Garhwal. See no. 23(2).

Fig. 5. 'A prince making merry'. See no. 23(1).

Both these pictures are from the collection of Mian Kartar Singh, Nurpur, descendant of Wazir Ram Singh Pathania, minister and kinsman of Raja Bir Singh (1805-1846) of Nurpur and, later, of Raja Jaswant Singh (1846-1898) of Nurpur. Friendship between the royal families of Nurpur and Tehri Garhwal, culminating in the wedding of Jaswant Singh to a Tehri Garhwal princess, might explain the presence of these two Garhwal-style pictures in a Nurpur collection.

Gangoly, O. C. 'A group of Pahari miniatures in the Baroda Museum', *Bulletin Baroda Museum* (1953-1955), X-XI, 9-17, figs. 1-6.

Fig. 3. 'Krishna milking a cow'. Here attributed to Garhwal, c.1800.

1956

Randhawa, M. S. *The Krishna Legend in Pahari Painting* (New Delhi, 1956).

Col. pl. 9. *Gai charan lila*. National Museum, New Delhi. See no. 8(1).

Archer, W. G. *Indian Painting* (London, 1956).

Fig. 1. *Utka nayika* ('Seated lady at the tryst'). Kasturbhai Lalbhai collection, Ahmedabad (formerly Balak Ram Sah collection). See no. 3(1).

1957

Archer, W. G. *The Loves of Krishna* (London, 1957), 107-108.

Pl. 7. 'Krishna milking a cow'. Compare no. 11.

Pl. 12. 'Lifting Mount Govardhan'. See no. 11.

Pl. 19. 'Krishna welcoming Sudama'. See no. 7 (Discussion).

Pl. 20. *Gai charan lila* (but here corrected to 'The beginnings of romance', illustration to the opening verse of the *Gita Govinda*). See no. 8(1).

Pl. 35. 'Radha disguised as a constable'. See no. 3(2).

Archer, W. G. 'Romance and Poetry in Indian Painting', *Journal Royal Society of Arts* (1957), Birdwood Memorial Lecture, CV, no. 5014, 909-919.

Compare Archer (1954).

Randhawa, M. S. 'A Re-assessment of some paintings described in Gangoly's *Masterpieces of Rajput Painting*', *Lalit Kala* (1956-1957), nos. 3-4, 96-101.

Assigns to Garhwal pls. 7, 27, 32, 45, 46.

Archer, W. G. *Garhwal Painting* (London: second revised impression, 1957).

Text as in 1954 but, in some places, substituting 'Chamba' for 'Punch'.

1958

Khandalavala, K. *Pahari Miniature Painting* (Bombay, 1958).

A detailed summary and analysis of Lal (1921, 1949-1952), contesting many attributions to Mola Ram and holding that 'since he was a mediocre painter, he was obviously incapable of producing the Garhwal masterpieces'. Accepts as Mola Ram's authentic work a group of eleven pictures (listed pp.200-201). Exhaustively surveys over fifty pictures attributable to Garhwal. Although critical of Guler as a possible source, agrees that 'the Garhwal masterpieces' must be attributed to painters who reached Garhwal from an outside state. Prefers to adopt the suggestion of Rai Krishnadasa that 'they are the work of one or more of Sansar Chand's artists who, for one reason or another, left Kangra and sojourned for a while in Garhwal'. In support of a Kangra origin for these artists, cites similar idioms found in the *Bhawarna Shiva Purana* series (Randhawa, 1953) — claimed as Kangra but here regarded as Garhwal (see no. 34) and in the *Lambagraon Baramasa* series (Kangra q.v.) — here regarded as a development out of Guler. [The inherent unlikelihood of Kangra master-artists leaving the court of Sansar Chand of Kangra at the height of his patronage (1786-1804) is perhaps insufficiently allowed for while the basic differences in style between the Garhwal masterpieces and those of Kangra appear to be too sharp for Kangra to be a likely common source.]

The following illustrations are here accepted as Garhwal: Col. pls. B, L and VIII (with addition of A, N, O and XXIV), figs. 39 and 40 and nos. 192, 193, 195-204, 206, 208-210, 212, 213, 215, 216, 218-220 (with addition of nos. 157 and 158).

1959

Reiff, R. *Indian Miniatures: the Rajput Painters* (Rutland, Vermont and Tokyo, 1959).

Col. pl. 8. *Varsa vihara*. See no. 16.

1960

- Lee, S. E. *Rajput Painting* (New York, 1960).
Pl. 77. *Kaliya damana* (horizontal). See no. 4(i).
Pl. 80. 'Sudama's hovel'. See no. 7(1).

Randhawa, M. S. 'Manak: painter of the *Gita Govinda* paintings — was he a Garhwal artist?' *Roopa Lekha* (1960), XXI, no. 2, 2-8.

Assigns the *Gita Govinda* (Tehri Raj collection) by Manaku to Kangra.

Archer, W. G. *Indian Miniatures* (London, New York, 1960).

- Pl. 95. 'Sheltering from the rain'. Jalan collection, Patna. See no. 16(1).
Pl. 96. (col.). 'Sages in a landscape'. See no. 13.
Pl. 97. 'Lady longing for her lover'. See no. 22.

Hajek, L. *Miniatures from the East* (Prague, London, 1960).

Col. pl. 41. *Abhisarika nayika*. Boston Museum (Coomaraswamy and Balak Ram Sah collections). See no. 3(3).

1961

Agrawala, V. S. *Indian Miniatures* (New Delhi, 1961), col. pls. 9-11.

- Col. pl. 9. *Vipralabdha nayika*. See no. 3(ii).
Col. Pl. 10. *Utka nayika*. See no. 3(I).
Col. Pl. 11. 'Baz Bahadur and Rupmati'. See no. 1.

Randhawa, M. S. 'Signed Paintings of Jwala Ram of Garhwal', *Roopa Lekha* (1961), XXXII, No. 2, 51. Figs. 1-3. See no. 31.

Gangoly, O. C. *Critical Catalogue of Miniature Paintings in the Baroda Museum*. (Baroda, 1961).
Col. Pl. D.2. See no. 32(1).

Skelton, R. *Indian Miniatures from the 15th to 19th Centuries*. (Venice, 1961).
Pls. 88, 89. See nos. 7(3) and 34(1).

1962

Randhawa, M. S. *Kangra Paintings on Love* (New Delhi, 1962).

- Fig. 6. 'Radha and Krishna looking in a mirror'. See no. 14(1).
Fig. 13. 'In fresh youth'. See no. 32(6).
Fig. 38. *Agata patika*. See no. 13(2).
Fig. 45. *Vipralabdha nayika*. See no. 3(ii).

Rawson, P. S. *Indian Painting* (Paris, London, 1962).
Col. pl. (p. 148). 'Sudama's hovel'. See no. 7(i).

1963

Maggs, Bros. *Oriental Miniatures and Illumination: Bulletin no. 5* (London, 1963), 104-111, pls. 102-105.

Illustrates four examples from a *Bihari Sat Sai* series. See nos. 5(3) and 6(1-3).

Compares pl. 103 to Khandalavala (1958), fig. 56 (similar subject and composition but in Kangra style).

Archer, W. G. and Bhattacharya, D. *Love Songs of Vidyapati* (London, 1963).

- Fig. 1. 'The month of Magh'. See no. 5(1).
Fig. 4. 'Lovers on a bed'. See no. 15.
Fig. 5. 'Radha and Krishna gazing in a mirror'. See no. 14(1).
Fig. 11. 'The month of Phagun'. See no. 5(iii).
Fig. 16. 'Radha bathing'. See no. 6.
Fig. 19. *Utka nayika* (Lady standing at the tryst). See no. 3(1).
Fig. 23. *Abhisarika nayika*. See no. 3(iii).
Fig. 24. 'Radha and Krishna on the bed'. See no. 23.
Fig. 29. 'The two pitchers'. See no. 10.

Archer, Mildred, Archer, W. G. and Lee, S. E. *Indian Miniatures from the Mildred and W. G. Archer collection* (Washington, 1963), pls. 57, 59.

- Pl. 57. 'The month of Phagun'. See no. 5(iii).
Pl. 59. 'The goddess Parvati'. Compare nos. 13 and 14(1).

Lawrence, G. *Indian Art: Paintings of the Himalayan States* (London 1963).

Pls. 1, 2, 8, 12. See nos. 3(iii), 3(1), 10(1), and 7(i).

Randhawa, M. S. *Kangra Paintings of the Gita Govinda* (New Delhi, 1963).

Publishes a series in Kangra style from the Tehri Garhwal Raj collection, believed to have been received by Sudarshan Shah on the occasion of his marriage to the two sisters of Anirudh Chand of Kangra, 1829. See *Kangra* no. 33.

Barrett, D. *Painting of India* (London, 1963).

Col. pl. p.189. 'Radha arrests Krishna'. See no. 3(2).
For text, see Discussion, no. 1.

1964

Lee, S. E. *A History of Far Eastern Art* (London, 1964).
Pl. 281. 'The road to Krishna'. See no. 7(ii).

1965

Archer, W. G. 'Paintings of India', *Roopa Lekha* (1965), XXXIV, nos. 1 and 2, 63-75, fig. 7.

A review of Barrett (1963).
Fig. 7. 'Radha arrests Krishna'. See no. 3(2).

Archer, Mildred, and Archer, W. G. *Romance and Poetry in Indian Painting* (Wildenstein exhibition, London, 1965).

Figs. 51, 57. See nos. 5(1) and 23.

1966

Randhawa, M. S. *Kangra Paintings of the Bihari Sat Sai* (New Delhi, 1966).

Publishes the *Bihari Sat Sai* series in Kangra style received by Raja Sudarshan Shah (xii, 1815-1859) of Tehri Garhwal from Anirudh Chand of Kangra on the occasion of the wedding of the latter's two sisters, 1829. See *Kangra* no. 39.

1967

Archer, Mildred, *Indian Miniatures and Folk Paintings* (Arts Council, London, 1967).

Fig. 38. 'Radha upbraids Krishna'. From the same series as no. 21.
Figs. 39, 40. From a *Krishna Rukmini* series. See no. 20.

Rowland, B. *The Art and Architecture of India* (London, 1967; third and revised edition).

Fig 135B. 'Night of storm'. See no. 3(iii).

1968

Archer, W. G. and Binney, E. *Rajput Miniatures from the collection of Edwin Binney 3rd* (Portland, Oregon, 1968).

Introductions and attributions by Archer; catalogue notes and descriptions by Binney.

- Fig. 87. 'Radha and Krishna on a hill-top'. Compare nos. 10 and 11.
Fig. 88. 'Krishna vanquishes Rukma'. Compare no. 20.
Fig. 89. 'Radha and Krishna beside the cowshed'. See no. 6(2).

Randhawa, M. S. and Galbraith, J. K. *Indian Painting: the Scene, Themes and Legends* (Boston, London, 1968).
Col. pl. 34. 'The thief diverted from duty by a princess'. Garhwal. Compare no. 23.

Goswamy, B. N. 'Pahari Painting: the family as the basis of style'. *Marg* (1968), XXI, no. 4, 17-62.

Cites entries in priests' registers at Hardwar indicating that Jawarhar and Saudagar, grandsons of the Guler-Chamba painter, Nikka, lived and worked in Tehri from where they visited Hardwar in 1866 and 1871.

Cites land revenue records showing that Chetu, a great-grandson of the Guler-Kangra painter, Khushala (Kangra,

q.v.), owned a family home in Guler in 1871 and that his widow died in 1894 heirless. Allowing for the fact that many members of the Khushala-Nainsukh family appear to have been fairly long-lived, it is possible that this artist is the same Chaitu connected with nos. 35 and 36.

Goswamy, B. N. *Lalit Kala Series, Portfolios No. 6, Six Kangra Paintings* (New Delhi, 1968).

Col. pl. 'Rukmini and her maids going for worship'. Here regarded as Garhwal. Compare nos. 5, 6 and 20.

Col. pl. 5. 'The beginnings of romance'. Illustration to the opening verse of the *Gita Govinda*. See no. 8(1).

Davidson, J. LeRoy. *Art of the Indian sub-continent from Los Angeles collections* (U.C.L.A., Los Angeles, 1968).

Fig. 143. 'Marriage of Krishna and Rukmini'. Compare no. 20.

Lal, Mukandi. *Garhwal Painting* (New Delhi, 1968).

A re-issue in book form of material published in great part in 1909, 1921, 1929, 1949-1952, and 1955 (q.v.).

Col. pl. 2. 'The quelling of Kaliya' (vertical). See no. 4.

The majority of the remaining thirty col. pls. are here attributed to schools other than Garhwal. For col. pls. 20-31, see *Nurpur*, no. 33(2-13).

IV. PAINTING: CATALOGUE AND RECONSTRUCTION

PHASE ONE: 1658-1765

A 'dead blank' of the arts except for some nondescript drawings in decadent provincial Mughal style connected with

(a) Hiranand, son of Har Das, a Mughal painter who migrated to Srinagar in 1658 with Suleiman Shikoh and received a grant of lands. No definite examples of his work are known but the following pictures are tentatively ascribed to him:

1. Lal (1951, part V), pl. 39(a). Raja Fateh Shah (1684-1718) riding, Tehri Raj collection. Garhwal, c.1700.

2. Lal (1950, part II), pl. 7. Camel fight. Mukandi Lal collection, obtained from Balak Ram Sah. Garhwal, c.1720.

(b) Mangat Ram (c.1700-c.1770), son of Hiranand and father of Mola Ram (c.1750-1833). Believed to have worked chiefly as a designer of sword-handles, scabbards, images, etc. See Lal (1949, part I), pl. 2; Coomaraswamy (1926), pl. 127 and French (1931), pls. 19 and 20 (woodcuts of floral designs and animals, owned by Balak Ram Sah who attributed them to Mangat Ram).

Examples of work by Mangat Ram in the Victoria and Albert Museum:

1. Leopard pulling down a stag. Woodcut. French collection (obtained by French in Srinagar in 1930 from Balak Ram Sah, who attributed it to Mangat Ram), I.S. 187-1955. By Mangat Ram. Garhwal, c.1750. Published: French (1931), pl. 20.

2. The Devi (four-headed) on a throne supported by four tigers. Design for a copper plaque for pilgrims visiting Badrinath. French collection (obtained by French in Srinagar in 1930 from Balak Ram Sah, who attributed it to Mangat Ram), I.S. 186-1955. By Mangat Ram. Garhwal, c.1750.

For other Mughal drawings at Garhwal, see Coomaraswamy (1912), pls. XX(2) and XXIV, and Coomaraswamy (1930), 95-97.

(c) Mola Ram (c.1750-1833), a poet-painter of Garhwal and son of Mangat Ram (c.1700-c.1770). Initially trained by his father in eighteenth-century Mughal techniques. Examples of his work in this weakly impoverished style:

1. Two studies of floral designs in green and crimson. Victoria and Albert Museum, French collection, I.S. 188-1955. Obtained by French in Srinagar in 1930 from Balak Ram Sah who attributed them to Mola Ram. By Mola Ram. Garhwal, c.1765.

2. Lal (1949, part I), pl. 1. *Mastani* (a lady drinking, attended by her maids). Inscribed with verses by Mola Ram describing the circumstances in which he made the picture. Dated 1771. Balak Ram Sah collection, Srinagar. By Mola Ram. Garhwal, 1771.

It is significant that unlike other states in the Punjab Hills where Mughal painters adjusted their styles to local conditions and thus produced new forms of expression, Garhwal seems to have had a generally depressive effect on its Mughal immigrants, thus making all the more remarkable the marvellous efflorescence of poetic painting which was later to occur in Phases II and III: 1765-1875.

PHASE TWO: 1765-1815

1. *Lovers in a moonlit retreat*. Garhwal, c.1765-c.1775.

267 x 183 mm (without borders).

Kasturbhai Lalbhai collection, Ahmedabad (formerly Gogonendra Nath Tagore collection, Calcutta). Originally in the family collection of Balak Ram Sah, Srinagar, Garhwal and obtained by Tagore from Balak Ram Sah, c.1910. Published: Gray (1950), col. pl. D; also reproduced Archer (1954) col. pl. 4; Khandalavala (1958), col. pl. L, and 39; Agrawala (1961), col. pl. 11. For a drawing of the same picture in the Balak Ram Sah collection, 1954, see Lal (1955).

Description: Two lovers, presumably Baz Bahadur and Rupmati, are resting on a red rug with green margins on a grey hillside under a sky with crescent moon and stars. Rupmati in a brief pale brown bodice, her midriff exposed, wears a long white skirt above her trousers which are decked with floral sprigs. Baz Bahadur with pale yellow turban and sash and similar white costume gazes at her sleeping form. In the bottom left-hand corner, a pair of horses are tethered, one a roan, the other pale yellow, their bridles and saddles echoing the green and red of the lovers' rug. Above the horses is a tree with thin branches and a pair of white birds perching on it. To the rear is a rolling landscape with a lotus pond and a cave with two leopards. A tree with triple trunks rises above Rupmati — its leafless branches paralleling with their sinuous curves her graceful lines.

Discussion: With nos. 2, 3(i), 3(3), 4, 14 and 19, an example of a poetic kind of painting, securely connected with Garhwal by distinctiveness of styles, common Garhwali provenance and family tradition.

All seven pictures were originally in the ancestral collection of Balak Ram Sah of Srinagar, Garhwal — a great-grandson of the Srinagar poet, courtier and painter, Mola Ram (c.1750-1833) and seventh in descent from Sham Das, a Mughal painter who reached Srinagar in 1658. For details of this painter family — Sham Das, Har Das, Hiranand, Mangat Ram, Mola Ram, Jwala Ram, Atma Ram and Bala Ram — see Khandalavala (1958) and Lal (1909, 1921, 1949-1952 and 1955).

Of the seven pictures, five (nos. 2, 3(3), 4, 14, and 19) were expressly attributed to Mola Ram by Balak Ram Sah while the remaining two (nos. 1 and 3(i)) were acquired by Gogonendra Nath Tagore from the same source and with similar traditions of Garhwali origin. (For Tagore as a purchaser from Balak Ram, see Lal, 1950, part II).

The present picture, though not expressly attributed to Mola Ram, has nothing in common with the small group of pictures in a coarse and crude style, in most cases inscribed with individual lettering or with verses by Mola Ram, which are the only pictures which can be safely assigned to him. (For the fullest discussion of this group and of the general problem of Mola Ram, see Khandalavala, 1958).

It seems preferable, therefore, to adopt Lal's early view (1921) that the Balak Ram Sah family pictures were a mixed

collection containing work by various hands and that 'some of the best pictures were by other artists'. The present picture, one of the finest to be associated with Garhwal, would fall into this latter category.

Although Balak Ram mentioned no tradition of artists from other centres of painting reaching Srinagar, the absence of comparable work by painters, native to Garhwal, taken with the obvious affinities of the present picture with paintings from Guler and Kangra suggests that artists from the Guler-Kangra area must have migrated to Srinagar and there evolved this Garhwal style.

[The suggestion that Mola Ram himself might have produced it following a visit to Kangra (Lal, 1955) is hardly consonant with the type of work which bears his verses. Equally, a suggestion by Barrett (1963) that the Garhwal masterpieces were executed in Bilaspur from where they were collected by Mola Ram seems negated by all that is known of Bilaspur painting (Kahlur q.v.), by the absence of any pictures in similar style in either of the Bilaspur royal collections and by the inclusion in certain Garhwal pictures of details from the local Srinagar landscape. It also seems more reasonable to explain their presence in the Balak Ram Sah collection on the ground that they may have been salvaged by Mola Ram from the Garhwal royal collection after the disastrous flight from Srinagar in 1803 and the occupation of Garhwal by the Gurkhas (1803-1814) than to assign to Mola Ram the part of roving collector. While migration by painters from state to state was a common phenomenon in the Punjab Hills, such movements were normally geared to patronage and there is no precedent for a poet-painter visiting another state merely in order to expropriate other artists and then to return to his native court with their total stock.]

Although Kangra has been favoured by Khandalavala (1958) as the place of origin of 'outside' artists in Garhwal, the existence in the present picture of rimmed hill-sides (a Guler rather than a Kangra convention), its large size, comparable to the Guler 'Sohni and Mahinwal' (260 x 193 mm) (Guler no. 19), the bold use of a flat expanse of red (again a marked Guler device) and the subordination of delicate naturalism to a sparsely rhythmical composition appear to bring it closer to Guler than to Kangra.

Other circumstances which tend to support this conclusion are, firstly, the general state of painting in Guler in about 1765 (delicate, poetic, but still uncommitted to any final manner and hence more likely to produce the new Garhwal style under the stimulus of a fresh court and environment than was Kangra which had still to develop a mature style of its own); secondly, the unlikelihood that a master-painter, once settled in Kangra state and supported by an active young patron (Sansar Chand, 1775-1823) would desert it for the small and remote Srinagar; and, thirdly, the general closeness of Garhwal-Guler ties as shown firstly in the employment by Raja Pradhyumna Shah (1785-1804) of Hari Singh of Guler as courtier and administrator and the latter's marriage to a Garhwal princess, Pradhyumna's own daughter (Atkinson, 579) and secondly in Pradhyumna's own wedding to a Guler princess, the daughter of Ajab Singh (Lal, 1951, 1955) — both of them circumstances which presuppose firm, pre-existing connections between the two states which in turn might well have encouraged Guler painters to go to or remain in Garhwal.

While none of the seven pictures under discussion is dated, comparison with pictures bearing verses by Mola Ram suggests that they were probably painted in the period 1770 onwards. Contrast, in particular, *Mastani*, by Mola Ram dated 1771 (Lal, 1949, Part I, pl. 1) which is still in Mughal style with his *Mor priya* (no. 25), dated 1775 which reflects the new manner. Some bitter verses written by Mola Ram in 1769 and 1775 and perhaps occasioned by the arrival and preferment of outside artists also support a date of between 1765 and 1770 for their appearance (Archer, 1954).

As regards the time of their withdrawal, the year of the Gurkha invasion, 1803, seems the most likely since, although painters, native to Garhwal, such as Mola Ram himself, had everything to lose by flight and in fact elected to remain at Srinagar, outside artists would tend to prefer the security of their own states at such a moment of crisis. The death of Pradhyumna Shah in 1804 and the subsequent disintegration of the Garhwal court would also have deprived them of any strong reason for staying.

Of the 'outside' artists responsible for Garhwal painting, one, the painter of the present picture, was clearly a 'master artist' — the others either serving as his assistants, echoing his compositions or applying his devices, though on a less assured level.

2 Shiva and Parvati, Garhwal, c.1780-1790.

295 x 213 mm (without borders). Yellow margin with red and green floral pattern.

'Traces of a short inscription in nagari characters, apparently, i.e., "The roaming or pleasuring of Gauri and Shankar".' (Coomaraswamy (1926), 126).

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (formerly Coomaraswamy collection). Obtained by Coomaraswamy from the Balak Ram Sah collection, Garhwal, 1910. Attributed by Balak Ram Sah to Mola Ram.

Published: Coomaraswamy (1912), pl. opp. p.318; also reproduced Coomaraswamy (1916), pl. 65; Gangoly (1926), col. pl. 32; Lal (1950), pl. 22; Zimmer (1955), pl. C. 1; Khandalavala (1958), no. 195.

Description: Shiva with white skin and tiger-skin waist-cloth sits on a hillside at night gazing at Parvati who lies sleeping on a leopard skin beside him. She wears a brief, yellow bodice, a red veil and white skirt. In the bottom left-hand corner, a white bull, Nandi — a red cloth on its hump — appears from behind a hill-side. Above the bull is a tree with a pair of white birds seated on a branch. A tree with dual trunks spreads its thin and leafless branches over the lovers. To the rear, a rolling landscape with a lotus pond and a cave with two leopards. A trident with red pennant stands on the right. Dark blue sky.

Discussion: Although clearly dependent in general structure on 1 with which it shares smooth branches, sinuous curves, birds in pairs and dark blue sky, the present picture departs from it in the following important ways: the red rug becomes a leopard skin, the lovers face in different directions, their heads are larger and rounder, thus diminishing the piquancy of their expression, a new idiom is used for eyes (the pupil being set in the corner and part of the white of the eye-ball being shown beneath it), a bull replaces the two tethered horses, a tree with leafless branches is moved further to the left, its triple trunks dwindling to two, stars and crescent moon are omitted and the lotuses in the pond are shown as still flowering, thus suggesting that it is afternoon or dusk rather than night.

At the same time, there is an obvious shrinking from the lyrical delicacy of 1, the artist preferring a brusquer treatment of details such as the spots on the leopard skin, the leopards themselves (reduced to clumsy creatures in awkward stances), the trees in the far distance (treated as globular ovals) and the two main hill-sides (deprived of their wavering rims and sharply summarised).

These changes of emphasis may be due to a different hand — the particular painter working in close association with the master-artist of 1 but slightly varying his approach — or, on the other hand, they may correspond to a later phase in the master's own development when an interest in more robust forms and bolder rhythms may have modified his earlier delicacy.

For reasons given under 1, the picture cannot be ascribed to Mola Ram but must rather be viewed as the work of a Guler artist, settled in Garhwal but already deploying a novel and distinctively local style.

3(i)-(iii) Three paintings from a *Nayaka Nayika* series. Garhwal, c.1770-1780.

Average sizes: 215 x 140 mm. 3(i) with yellow margin.

3(i) The lady at the tryst (*utka nayika*).

Kasturbhai Lalbhai collection, Ahmedabad (formerly Gogonendra Nath Tagore collection, Calcutta). Obtained by Tagore c.1910, from Balak Ram Sah, Srinagar, Garhwal. Published: Agrawala (1949), pl. 1; also reproduced Archer (1957), pl. 1; Khandalavala (1958), col. pl. B; Agrawala (1961), col. pl. 10.

Description: A lady in pale brown bodice, dark red skirt and blue veil with five-dot patterns sits on a bed of greenish-yellow leaves, her left hand straying to her hair and her right hand toying with her cheek. A bare tree with dual trunks and leafless branches strains upwards in the centre. Pale greyish-blue sky with stars and crescent moon. In the foreground a stream with ducks and paddy-birds in pairs, a fawn buck sitting by itself. Trees with dense dark foliage, twining creepers and drooping sprays of pink and red flowers.

3(ii) The disappointed mistress (*vipralabdha nayika*).

Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. Published: Agrawala (1949), fig. 1; also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), col. pl. A; Agrawala (1961), col. pl. 9; Randhawa (1962), fig. 45.

Description: A lady in a brief, brown bodice, her midriff exposed stands in a mauve skirt and yellow veil beside a bed of pale green leaves. She throws to the ground her necklaces and bangles. Trees, entwined with creepers, droop above her. To the left is a tree with thin branches ending in rosettes of leaves. In the foreground a stream, as in 3(i), 3(ii) and 3(iii). Pale greyish-blue sky with full moon and stars. Clouds with curling ends.

3(iii) A night of storm (*abhisarika nayika*).

British Museum, Manuk and Coles collection, London. Published: Archer (1954), col. pl. 5; also reproduced Archer and Bhattacharya (1963), fig. 23; Lawrence (1963), col. pl. 1; Rowland (1967), 135B. For a drawing of the same picture in the Balak Ram Sah collection, 1954, see Lal (1955).

Description: A lady, dressed as in 3(ii), with midriff exposed, hurries through a rainy night. Dark trees with thick creepers. Pink and red sprays of flowers in similar spear-shaped clusters. In the foreground, a stream. Black sky with wriggling lightning. A pair of cobras slithering at her feet.

Discussion: A series by the same Garhwal 'Master' as 1, with the same slender wrists and fingers, sinuous grace, piquant faces, delicate rhythm and deft and supple naturalism. 3(i) firmly connected with Garhwal on grounds of provenance, family ownership and style; 3(ii, iii) by similarity to 3(i).

Significant details: tall trees with leafless branches, dark red and dark blue for skirts and veils, a special type of keen alert face (different from any Guler or Kangra types), brief bodices exposing the midriff and sprays of drooping flowers, shaped like spears.

Related examples: (1) Gangoly (1926), col. pl. 27; also reproduced Archer (1954), col. pl. 2; Khandalavala (1958), no. 197; Archer and Bhattacharya (1963), fig. 19; Lawrence (1963), col. pl. 2. Lady standing at a tryst (*utka nayika*). Fitzwilliam Museum, Manuk and Coles collection, Cambridge. Garhwal, c.1770-1780. Similar face, bodice, dress and colours as in 3(i) and 3(iii). To the right of the lady, a hillside sharply cut and formalised as in 2. From the same or a similar series.

(2) Archer (1957), pl. 35; also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), no. 210; Barrett (1963), col. pl. (p.189); Archer (1965), fig. 7. Radha disguised as a constable arrests Krishna. Indian Museum, Calcutta, Garhwal, c.1780. Closely similar in style and idioms to 3(ii). Compare especially the looping creeper. For the same theme but later in treatment, see Coomaraswamy (1926), pl. 88 (no. 244); also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), no. 212. Garhwal, c.1820.

(3) Coomaraswamy (1926), pl. 101; also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), no. 192. *Abhisarika nayika*. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (formerly Coomaraswamy collection).

Obtained by Coomaraswamy from the Balak Ram Sah collection, 1910. Attributed by Balak Ram Sah to Mola Ram. A version of 3(iii), repeating posture, details and composition but without the exquisite verve.

4 The quelling of Kaliya (*Kaliya damana*).

Garhwal, c. 1780.

Vertical format.

Mukandi Lal collection, Lucknow (formerly Balak Ram Sah collection, Srinagar, Garhwal). Obtained from Balak Ram Sah and attributed by him to Mola Ram.

Published: Coomaraswamy (1916), pl. 54A; also reproduced Lal (1951, part 4), pl. 30; Zimmer (1955), pl. C.10; Khandalavala (1958), no. 198; Lal (1968), col. pl. 2.

Illustration to a verse in the first canto of Jayadeva's *Gita Govinda*, invoking Krishna as 'queller of Kaliya'.

Description: Krishna in yellow *dhoti* links his right leg round the body of Kaliya, the great multi-headed snake whose poisonous presence in the river Jamuna has harassed the cowherds of Brindaban. With both hands grasping its tail, he holds it aloft above the water, driving its many heads below him. Five wives of the snake, with human heads and snake-like tails bow before him. To the rear two hillocks, of which the further one has a small palace on the top. Beyond them, hill-slopes with more trees and palaces.

Discussion: Important as evidence because of its Garhwal provenance, the presence in it of topographical details local to Srinagar, and its similarity in style and execution to 2.

The river is identified by Lal (1951, part IV) as the 'Alaknanda with the twin hills, Nar and Narain, on the top of which "the village of the queens" (*rani hat*) still stands and the old palaces on the opposite bank which were washed away by the flood of 1893'. Although, as Khandalavala has pointed out, the inclusion of twin hills in a picture is a practice not confined to Garhwal, there seems no reason why, in the present case, Lal's identification should not stand.

Besides sharing certain details with 2 (round large heads, eyes with pupils in the corner and with white showing underneath, oval trees and leafless branches), it employs a special curling rhythm to depict the linear play of water. This convention is a development out of the quieter treatment preferred in 3(i-iii) and may represent the master-artist's response to the river Alaknanda at Srinagar. For the character of this river, see Hardwicke (1796) and Moorcroft (1837).

Further significant details are the *chandan* (Shaiva) *tilak* marks (sandal-paste marks in the form of a crescent moon sacred to Shiva) which appear on the foreheads of the snakes' five wives. This feature is unremarked in paintings from Guler and Kangra but recurs constantly in pictures associated with Garhwal.

Related example: (1) Coomaraswamy (1912), col. pl. opp. p. 315; also reproduced Coomaraswamy (1913), 70; Coomaraswamy (1916), col. pl. 53; Gangoly (1926), col. pl. 46; Rowland (1953), fig. 133; Khandalavala (1958), no. 196; Lee (1960), pl. 77. The quelling of Kaliya (*Kaliya damana*). Obtained by Coomaraswamy from a dealer in Amritsar and though at first attributed to Kangra, later assigned by him to Garhwal. Metropolitan Museum, New York. Garhwal, c.1780. A horizontal version of 4, introducing on the bank a group of agitated cowherds and cow-girls, led by Nanda. Although justly praised for its assured rhythm and rich colour, inspection of the original reveals a surprising coarseness in the brush-strokes. Like 4 and 8(1), an illustration to the *Gita Govinda*.

5(i-iii) Three paintings from a *Baramasa* series.

Garhwal, c. 1780-1790. Average sizes: 254 x 195 mm; with mount and border, 188 x 134 mm. Oval shape with red margins and deep blue surrounds. Mount speckled with red.

5(i) The month of *Aghan* (November-December).

Inscribed on the flap in *nagari* characters with verses naming the month as *magher*.

The ninth Hindi month is *Aghan* (*Magher* being a pseu-

donym for it; to be distinguished from *Magh*, the eleventh month). The verses are by an unidentified poet, not Keshav Das.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 6-1960.

Description: Radha in orange-red skirt with dark blue veil and bodice, mid-riff exposed, faces Krishna on a dark green terrace with white balustrade. Krishna wears orange-red coat and trousers and a greyish-mauve wrap striped with gold. Behind them, a bare expanse of grey, edged with a crinkly row of small trees, leafless branches and a small house. Deep dark blue sky with two large cranes soaring upwards. Above Krishna, a tree with two birds.

5(ii) The month of *Kartik* (October-November).

Inscribed on the flap in *nagari* characters with Hindi verses naming the month as *kartik*.

Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh.

Description: Radha and Krishna stand facing each other on a terrace; a tumbling stream behind them, clouds curling in the sky. Radha fingers Krishna's waist-sash as he lays his right hand on her shoulder.

5(iii) The month of *Phagun* (February to March). Col. pl. A.

Inscribed on the flap in *nagari* characters with Hindi verses naming the month as *Phalgun*.

Archer collection, London.

Published: Archer and Bhattacharya (1963), fig. 11 (detail); also reproduced Archer and Lee (1963), pl. 57.

Description: Radha dressed in orange, crimson and dark blue stands on a red carpeted terrace facing Krishna who wears a deep yellow *jama*, yellow turban, pink scarf and striped trousers. Krishna extends his left arm towards her. Behind them is a hill-side with tiny houses and trees with leafless branches, and on the far horizon a row of white clouds. On Krishna's forehead, *chandan tilak* marks.

Discussion: A series closely similar in style and idioms to 3(ii) — Radha sharing, in particular, the long wrist and fingers, stance, skirt, bodice and armllet of the *nayika* and the clouds of 5(ii) possessing the same curling up-turned ends. Radha's face closely resembles that of the *nayika* in 3(ii). The convention of reducing water to a twining rhythm of inter-curling lines (see 4) re-appears in 5(ii); and *chandan* (Shaiva) *tilak* marks, also typical of Garhwal pictures, are boldly present on all the foreheads.

Example from the same series: (1) Archer and Bhattacharya (1963), 1; also reproduced Archer (1965), pl. 51. The month of *Magh* (January-February). Inscribed on the flap in *nagari* characters with Hindi verses naming the month as *Magh*. Archer collection, London. Garhwal, c.1780-1790.

Related examples: (2) Binyon (1925), pl. 60(2); also reproduced Archer (1954), col. pl. 3. The encounter at the pool. British Museum, London. Garhwal, c.1776. Same style and idioms as 5(i) and (ii). The faces of the three *apsaras* on the left are even closer to those of the *nayikas* in 3(i) and (iii).

(3) Maggs (1963), pl. 104. Radha, attended by a maid-servant, is seated on a cot and gazed at by Krishna who stands before her. MacDonald collection, Boston. Garhwal, c. 1770-1780. From a *Bihari Sat Sai* series. Oval shape. Red surrounds. In the background little houses and blob-like trees. Radha's face as in 5(i) and (iii).

6 Radha bathing. Illustration to a *Bihari Sat Sai* series. Garhwal, c.1780-1790.

196 x 143 mm; with border 207 x 177 mm.

Yellow margin as in 2 and 3(i). Oval shape with red surrounds.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.M. 158-1914.

Acquired from Coomaraswamy, 1914.

Published: Stchoukine (1931), pl. 100; also reproduced Archer (1954), col. pl. 8; Archer and Bhattacharya (1963), fig. 16.

Description: Radha, naked from her bath, is seated on a brown stool clasping her black hair which shields her like a

mantle. A maid in mauve and orange-brown skirt holds a dish before her. Behind her a second maid screens her with a mauve cloth. In the bottom left-hand corner, Krishna in yellow cloak gazes intently at her. Terrace floor and pavilion walls stark white. Brass pots and a *lota* with spout beside the stool. To the rear, a swirling river with twin hills. **Discussion:** Similar in general treatment to 5 but harsher, brusquer and more angular. Significant details: deep dark blue sky, blob-like trees, leafless branches, curling linear rhythm for water, coarse brush strokes as in 4(1), Krishna's face as in 5(i) and (ii).

Like the red rug in 1, the red background in 13 and the red courtyard in 7(v), the red surrounds may represent an unconscious reversion to or continuation of Guler practice. For a *Bihari Sat Sai* series with similar iconography but in the markedly different style of Kangra, see Randhawa (1966).

Examples for comparison: (1) Maggs (1963), pl. 102. Krishna is waylaid by Radha's maid outside her door. MacDonald collection, Boston. Garhwal, c.1780-1790. Similar style to no. 6. Red surrounds.

(2) Maggs (1963), pl. 103; also reproduced Archer and Binney (1968), fig. 89. Radha and Krishna near the cowshed. Binney collection, Brookline, Mass. Garhwal, c. 1780-1790. From the same *Bihari Sat Sai* series as (1).

(3) Maggs (1963), pl. 105. Krishna gazes at Radha from a window. Binney collection, Brookline, Mass. Garhwal, c. 1780-1790. From the same series as (1) and (2).

(4) Khandalavala (1958), no. 200. Bathing in the Jamuna: Radha and two companions drying their hair on the banks of the river after bathing, Krishna sitting watching. Prince of Wales, Museum, Bombay. Garhwal, c.1780-1800.

Similar oval shape with red surrounds. Landscape reminiscent of Srinagar. Similar intentness of gaze. Perhaps from yet a fourth *Bihari Sat Sai* series.

7(i-v) Five illustrations to a *Krishna Sudama* series. Garhwal, c.1775-1790.

Average sizes: 185 x 265 mm; with borders 215 x 295 mm. Dark blue margins with white rules. Pink borders flecked with red. Each picture inscribed on the reverse with Hindi verses in *nagari* characters.

Victoria and Albert Museum, Dickinson collection, I.S. 545-1952 to 549-1952.

7(i) *Sudama's hovel.*

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 545-1952.

Published: Archer (1954), col. pl. 6; also reproduced Lee (1960), pl. 80; Rawson (1962), col. pl. (p.148); Lawrence (1963), col. pl. 12.

Description: Sudama in olive green rags sits with his wife who wears a dark brown skirt patched with green. As she urges him to seek Krishna's help, he holds his hands to his ears in horror. Behind them is their hovel with grey inner-wall, pale brown plinth and to the left a fence of saplings. Around them are littered the symbols of their poverty — cow-dung cakes drying on the wall, empty pitchers, a broken spinning-wheel and basket, datura weeds springing from the green courtyard, a thatched roof with gaping holes. Trees with sprays of yellow flowers over-look the hovel from the rear. At the back, a pink wall, white and yellow house-tops and deep blue sky.

7(ii) *The road to Krishna.*

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 546-1952.

Published: Archer (1954), col. pl. 1; also reproduced Lee (1964), pl. 281.

Description: Sudama in olive green rags lifts his hands as he glimpses the golden palace of Krishna in Dwarka. Green hills undulate around him and, above him swirls the sea, sheltering a fish, red crocodiles and green and pink monsters. To the left is a slim tree with loosely hanging pink flowers. In the middle, a bare tree with frail red flowers and leafless branches leans towards him. Other small trees with crinkly outlines as in no. 4.

7(iii) *Sudama put to bed.*

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 547-1952.

Description: Sudama, stripped of his rags, is lulled to sleep by Krishna who smooths a pink sheet over him. To the left, Krishna reclines in an upper storey on a maroon bed listening to three girl-musicians with drums and *tambura* below him. They sit on a dark green enclosure within a white courtyard, their dresses dark blue, red, green, orange-red and pink. Golden walls with clearly demarcated bricks. Shadows of turrets on the courtyard floor, dark blue sky with stars and full moon.

7(iv) Sudama's palace.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 548-1952.

Description: Sudama in olive green rags returns to his hovel and is bewildered to find in place of it a golden palace, the gift of Krishna. A gate-keeper in dark green dress urges him to enter while courtiers and others watch the spectacle. Sudama's wife in green and orange dress welcomes him at the entrance. Courtyard floor dark green. Golden walls with prominent bricks as in 7(iii). Above the gate a gallery of musicians. An elephant and a pair of horses, one roan, the other pale yellow, await his orders.

7(v) Sudama enthroned.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 549-1952.

Description: Sudama, now a raja, with a green handled dagger at his waist, is accorded royal honours, a maid fanning him with a regal yak's tail fly-whisk as he sits opposite his wife at the top of a golden tower. Below them in a courtyard with flat red floor, trellised screens and pink rugs with dark blue stripes are three maids and two girl-musicians. In the rear, a courtyard with green floor, horses and elephants at exercise and a gallery of musicians.

Discussion: In this series, originally comprising eleven pictures, six of which were shared with the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin (Archer, 1957, pl. 19), two artists are evidently at work. The first, the master-painter of 1 and 3 is clearly responsible for (i) 'Sudama's hovel' and (ii) 'The road to Krishna'. In this connection, compare the treatment of the thatch, over-shadowing trees, and the flowers in spear-shaped clusters in (i) with *Abhisarika nayika* (3, iii). In facial features, Sudama's wife and the girl-musicians also resemble Rupmati and the three *nayikas* and indeed the whole treatment has the master-painter's consummate delicacy. The reduction of the sea and hills in (ii) to a single curling linear rhythm — involving, of necessity, considerable simplification — suggests that the series is transitional to nos. 4 and 5 where the same obsession with singing line is strongly evident.

In contrast to the first two pictures, the remaining three (iii-v) are clearly by a weaker associate. This artist was devoid of the master-painter's flair for rhythmical composition, was ill at ease with problems of perspective and was still employing Guler-like idioms such as a flat expanse of red in the courtyard floor (v), geometrical rugs with horizontal stripes, horses exercising and a gallery of musicians (for all of which ready parallels can be found at Guler). At the same time, he was aware of the new conventions and idioms which were characterising the Garhwal school as can be seen in the use of deep dark blue for sky, dark green for the courtyard floor (v) and the treatment of the two horses (iv), identical in colour with those in no. 1. The insertion of shadows as in (iii) can be matched in a *Nala Damayanti* series (Kangra, no. 53 q.v.).

Related examples: (1) Coomaraswamy (1926), pls. 89-91 (nos. 291-295). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Garhwal, c. 1790-1800.

A *Sudama* series, perhaps by the humbler associate himself, availing of the same basic compositions as in 7 and departing in only minor instances from the standard requirements. Compare, in particular, pl. 90 (no. 293) — identical with 7(iii) except for the omission of one figure on the right and three figures on the left and for slight variations in architecture — and pl. 91 (no. 295) — identical with 7(v) save for fewer tiny figures in the rear courtyard, the replacement of red by white for the courtyard floor and the omission of striped rugs. The insertion of a carpet with ver-

tical stripes (pl. 90, no. 293) is a Guler convention persisting in no. 20(i).

(2) Skelton (1961), pl. 88. Aniruddha is brought to Usha. Private collection. Garhwal, c.1800. Similar in style to the humble associate's.

(3) Gangoly (1926), pl. 7. Vishnu on Garuda. Government Art Gallery, Calcutta. Garhwal, c.1775-1790. Like nos. 4(1) and 8(1), perhaps an illustration to an early verse in the *Gita Govinda*, invoking Vishnu. Similar 'scroll-like' treatment of water as in 7(i) with similar red-headed monsters appearing from the waves. Trees bending in the wind. In general style, close to the master-painter's.

8 Sudama's departure. Illustration to a *Krishna Sudama* series. Garhwal, c.1800.

182 x 234 mm; with borders 236 x 293 mm. Blue-black margin with white rules. Red border.

Stamped on the reverse: *The Chamba Hill Stores, Chamba, via Dalhousie Punjab*; inscribed by a dealer in ink in English: *Rs 50/-* and in pencil in *nagari* characters; *narayan sinha*.

Victoria and Albert Museum, French collection, I.S. 153-1955.

Obtained by French in Chamba.

Description: Sudama in olive green rags sits with his wife who ties up in his scarf their offering to Krishna. Grey hut with white outer wall, broken-down thatched roof, a fence of saplings and pink plinth. Behind it a clump of trees, a wild plum with large and starry red flowers leaning to the left. In the background a wall, houseposts and a band of deep blue sky. In the foreground, Sudama, grasping the bundle and holding a thin stick, departs for Krishna's city.

Discussion: Modelled on 7, in general structure, colours, idioms and height but distinctly less wide, thus giving a squarer effect. A new detail which is exploited with great aplomb is the wild plum with its large and starry flowers. For a similar use of the same bold idiom, see 8(1) below and nos. 21(i) and (ii).

French's purchase of the picture in Chamba affords some slight confirmation for the view that, after withdrawing from Garhwal, perhaps at the time of the Gurkha invasion, one or more painters may have temporarily worked in Chamba (q.v.), the present picture reaching Chamba with them.

Related example: (1) Gangoly (1926), col. pl. 45; also reproduced Randhawa (1956), col. pl. 9; Archer (1957a), pl. 20; Khandalavala (1958), no. 193; Goswamy (1968b), col. pl. 5. *Gai charan lila* ('The tending of the Cows' (Gangoly) but more correctly, 'The Beginnings of Romance', an illustration of the opening verse of the *Gita Govinda* describing how the love of Radha and Krishna began). Nanda, a tall and stately figure on the right, surrounded by cowherd boys, young cow-girls and tiny cattle, directs Radha to take the youthful Krishna home. To the left, Radha and Krishna stand embracing. National Museum, New Delhi. Garhwal, c.1780.

One of the most famous of Garhwal pictures, notable for its glamorous richness of colour, trees bending in the wind (compare 4(1) and 7(3)) and for its exuberant use of slender clusters of star-shaped flowers. Other typical Garhwal features: *chandan* (Shaiva) *tilak* marks on the foreheads, tiny houses in the distance, trees with leafless branches, birds in pairs. Disparities of size as in the over-large figure of Nanda and the over-tiny cattle are dramatic departures from Guler and Kangra practice.

9 Lovers on a terrace. Garhwal, c.1780-1800.

267 x 186 mm; with border 288 x 227 mm. Dark blue border with white rules. Fawn mount.

Victoria and Albert Museum, Rothenstein collection, I.S. 158-1951.

Description: A lady in red skirt and bodice and yellowish-green trousers and veil stands clasping her lover on a terrace beside a river. To the left are two maids with fan and hookah. Red carpet with green edges. A high red canopy on tall thin poles matches with its stark geometry the wide expanses of white and grey walls. In the bottom right hand

corner two girl-musicians. In the river a boat with horse and attendants is being poled away. Hillsides with globular trees and leafless branches in the background, a party with a palanquin just visible on the right. Black sky with storm clouds, the stark white of the prince's dress echoed in the grave passage of five white cranes.

Discussion: Faces and trees as in 2 and 4. Terrace balustrade as in 6.

Related example: (1) Gangoly (1926), col. pl. 6. *Guna garvita*. A lady standing with a *sitar* on a terrace, a bed of poppies slanting to the left, a huge spear-shaped tree in flower behind her. Gangoly collection, Calcutta. Garhwal, c.1780-1800. Similar face and diagonal movement as in 9. Similar idiom of large and starry flowers as in 8, 8(1), 13, 21 and 22. Poppies as in 13(1). Dark blue margin. Oval shape.

10 The two pitchers. Garhwal, c.1780-1800.

215 x 153 mm; with border 269 x 206 mm. Dark blue margin with white rules. Fawn border.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.M. 81-1912.

Acquired from Coomaraswamy, 1912.

Published: Gangoly (1925), 101; also reproduced Archer and Bhattacharya (1963), fig. 29.

Description: Krishna with pale mauve skin and pale yellow *dhoti* lifts down a pair of pitchers from Radha who stands beside him. To the left a companion in orange brown veil and mauve skirt supports two pitchers on her head. To the right a high white plinth with seated cowherd-boy is shaded by a tree with two birds. To the left and rear are a lotus pond and sloping hillside with blob-like trees, leafless branches and tiny houses. Dark blue sky. Below Krishna is a pair of cows.

Discussion: Similar in style to nos. 2 and 4 and with the same emphasis on rhythmical line. For a similar treatment of cows compare 11 and 16.

Related example: (1) Archer (1954), col. pl. 7; also reproduced Lawrence (1963), pl. 8. *Sinduri Ragini*. Four girls, supported by empty pitchers, swimming in a lotus pond. Dark blue margin. Formerly Ram Gopal collection, London. Garhwal, c.1785. Faces and pots as in 10, the pots again serving as poetic similes for the breasts. Similar facial types, bare hillsides, rounded trees and leafless branches, and pond, in part covered with lotus leaves and flowers. Dark blue sky, oval shape, the surrounds patterned as in 9(1).

11 Krishna lifting Mount Govardhan. Garhwal, c.1780-1800.

Red borders with white rules.

Ajit Ghose collection, Calcutta, perhaps from the Balak Ram Sah collection. For Ajit Ghose as a purchaser from Balak Ram Sah, see Lal (1950, part II).

Published: Gangoly (1930), col. pl. (p.18); also reproduced Archer (1957a), pl. 12.

Description: Krishna surrounded by eight cow-girls, four cowherds, his foster-brother Balarama and foster-father, Nanda raises on his little finger the hill Govardhan. A cow-girl, perhaps Radha, shown full face in a blackish purple dress, supports his wrist. Others are dressed in red, blue, orange red and mauve. Krishna has a deep yellow crown and *dhoti*. Complexions cream or white. In the foreground, two cows, one white, the other pink, bow their heads in reverence. Black sky with lightning. In the background, a dark grey river with little houses and leafless trees.

Discussion: Similar in style to 2, 4 and 10. The bending cows and human figures are notable for their curving linear rhythm. The colours especially the rich deep reds and dark blues have the same air of brooding glamour.

12 Rukmini and the messenger. Illustration to a *Krishna Rukmini* series. Garhwal, c.1775-1785.

160 x 248 mm; with margin 166 x 265 mm. Dark blue margin.

Victoria and Albert Museum, Rothenstein collection, I.S. 129-1951.

Description: Rukmini, in a brief, pale yellow bodice, midriff exposed, her head and shoulders draped in a red veil with

four-dot pattern, stands at a turret window conversing with a Brahmin in pale yellow *dhoti* and white wrap. White turret with grey walls. Orange blinds with green edges. To the left a maidservant in mauve skirt and brief green bodice sits holding a yak's tail fly-whisk. Beyond a pink and white courtyard wall is a row of trees, interspersed with pairs of cypresses. Background entirely red with, at the top, a streak of white and narrow band of blue. Both Rukmini and the Brahmin have *chandan* (Shaiva) *tilak* marks. The fingers of each are also unusually long and tapering.

Discussion: Although availing of such characteristic Guler idioms as a red background with white and blue at the top and a row of trees interspersed with cypresses, the face, fingers, dress and *chandan* (Shaiva) *tilak* marks of Rukmini are so typical of 4, 10 and 11 that the picture must be deemed to be of Garhwal. For a similarly lavish use of red, compare the *Rukmini* series (no. 20) where a picture, not illustrated, sites Krishna's combat with Sisupal against a wholly red hill-side; and 13 where the same flat red background with white and blue at the top is also employed. For a further *Rukmini* series from the Balak Ram Sah collection see Lal (1950, part II), pl. 12.

13 Sages in a landscape. Illustration to a *Markandeya Purana* series. Garhwal, c.1785.

178 x 245 mm; with border 216 x 276 mm.

Yellow margin as in nos. 2 and 3(i). Blue border with white rules. Inscribed on reverse with Sanskrit verses in *nagari* characters i.e. 'Jaimuni questions Markandeya Mahamuni (great sage), disciple of Vyasa, who is possessed of great powers and who is engaged in asceticism'.

Archer collection, London.

Published: Archer (1960), col. pl. 96.

Description: Jaimuni with black beard in deep yellow *dhoti* sits on a white mat to the left listening to Markandeya, a white-bearded figure in mauve *dhoti* who discourses to him on a yellowish-green hillside, shaded by great trees. Behind him is a tree with hollow trunk as in 16. In the centre a pair of white birds and to the right a pair of cranes. The trees are loaded with gorgeous white and yellow blossom shown, as in 8, 8(1), 21(i) and (ii) and 22, in large starry clusters. Background a fierce red with streaks of white and blue at the top.

Discussion: Connected with other examples of Garhwal painting by a common treatment of blossom, trees and birds — the picture also possessing something of the robust sparseness of 2, 9 and 16. The red background with white and blue at the top suggests that even when freely developing new idioms at Garhwal, Guler artists could not entirely abandon some of their ancestral devices. For a similar use of streaks of colour to signify clouds, see 9(1) and 14(1).

Related example: (1) Gangoly (1926), col. pl. 9; also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), no. 215; Randhawa (1962), 38. *Agata patika* (one whose husband (or lover) is returning). Indian Museum, Calcutta. Garhwal, c.1780. Significant details: faces as in 14, *chandan* (Shaiva) *tilak* marks, bold geometric lay-out, cloth with ribbed stripes, small figures in further courtyard (no. 7), bed of poppies in foreground (compare no. 9(1)), trees with starry flowers straining to the left exactly as in 13.

14 Lovers by a river (*dampati*). Garhwal, c.1780-1790.

Mukandi Lal collection, Lucknow, formerly Balak Ram Sah collection, Srinagar, Garhwal.

Attributed by Balak Ram Sah to Mola Ram.

Published: Lal (1929), pl. 1; also reproduced Lal (1950, part II), pl. 14 (discussed Lal (1950), Part III, 23-24).

Description: Two lovers sit opposite each other on a dark red carpet with green cushions in a room beside a river. The lady wears a pale yellow skirt, transparent bodice and red veil, the prince a white dress and turban ribbed with red. He holds a hookah stem in his right hand and with his left hand offers her betel. The lady caresses his right foot which lies on her knee. White archway and grey walls, with, at the top, a mauve blind edged with red. Through the window, topped by a red blind edged with mauve, is a view of the Alaknanda river, Srinagar, with the two hills, Nar and

Narain, on the opposite bank. Oval trees, leafless branches, dark blue sky. *Chandan* (Shaiva) *tilak* marks on the lovers' foreheads.

Discussion: With 4, important because of its Garhwal provenance and the presence in it of topographical details, peculiar to Srinagar. Although the palaces are not included, the two hills, as pointed out by Lal, seem clearly reminiscent of Nar and Narain. In style, notable for its glamorous richness and the inclusion, side by side with more familiar idioms, of a variant on previous facial types (the nose joining the forehead in a straight line) and for the treatment of the breasts (shown as if almost exposed and with a deep cleavage).

Related examples: (1) Agrawala (1949), fig. 5; also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), fig. 40; Randhawa (1962), fig. 6; Archer and Bhattacharya (1963), fig. 5. Radha and Krishna looking at a mirror beside the Alaknanda river; across the river, views of Nar and Narain and to the right a perpendicular cliff said by Lal (1950, part II, 31), to be another prominent land-mark at Srinagar. National Museum, New Delhi. Garhwal, c.1780-1790. Faces as in 14. Other significant details: streaks of colour denoting clouds, tree with star-like blossom.

(2) Coomaraswamy (1914), pl. 4 (7). The lady and the confidante (*prostita preyasi*). A lady in a veil with five-dot pattern seated on a bed smelling a flower while a companion strives to comfort her. Collection unrecorded. Garhwal, c. 1790. Oval shape with geometrical arrangement, slender trees with leafless branches, Garhwal trees and faces.

(3) Coomaraswamy (1914), pl. 4 (8); also reproduced Coomaraswamy (1916), pl. 74A. 'The Message'. A lady in a veil with four-dot pattern looks distractedly ahead, a maid stands behind her. Coomaraswamy collection. Garhwal, c.1790. Similar geometrical disposition as in 14(2) and with a fluid curving rhythm. Beyond the courtyard wall, rounded trees interspersed with tiny cypresses. In the rear bare hillsides with blob-like trees. Faces as in 14.

15 Lovers on a bed. Garhwal, c.1780-1790.

227 x 154 mm; with margin (trimmed) 233 x 162 mm.

Dark blue margin with four-dot pattern.

Victoria and Albert Museum, Rothenstein collection, I.S. 157-1951.

Published: Archer (1951), 8; also reproduced Archer and Bhattacharya (1963), Fig. 4 (detail).

Description: A lady in blackish purple dress lies in the arms of a prince who wraps her from behind in a yellow cloak lined with red. As she raises a *pan* leaf to his lips, he fondles her hand. Verdian green turban and lamp-stand. White terrace and arches. Dark grey wall. Orange curtains. A mauve lamp-cage (for keeping away moths) is in the right-hand corner.

Discussion: Similar in facial types and style to 14., The lady's dress is in the same blackish-purple as the cow-girl supporting Krishna's wrist in 11.

16 Radha and Krishna sheltering from the rain (*varsā vihāra*). Garhwal, c.1780. 297 x 211 mm.

Inscribed on reverse with a line of Hindi verse in *nagari* characters. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (formerly Coomaraswamy collection, perhaps acquired by Coomaraswamy from a dealer in Amritsar along with *Kaliya damana* (horizontal), c.1910. See *Rajput Painting* (1916), p.23).

Published: Coomaraswamy (1916), pl. 58; also reproduced Gangoly (1926), col. pl. 43; Coomaraswamy (1926), pl. 81; Gangoly (1948), col. pl. (p.42); Gangoly (1950), fig. A; Lal (1951), pl. 34; Khandalavala (1958), no. 199; Reiff (1959), col. pl. 8.

Description: Radha in orange-red skirt with five-dot pattern stands in Krishna's arms — a large blanket knotted into a black cloak sheltering their heads and bodies from the rain. Above them are the leaves and branches of two trees, a pair of yellow birds perching to the left, and a peacock to the right. In the foreground to the left, are two cow-girls, each with a pitcher on her head while, to the right, three cowherd-boys shelter from the rain, one crouching in a hollow tree-trunk, another holding a large lotus leaf above his

head, a third standing by a tree. Three cows are grouped beside them — the first disappearing behind Radha and Krishna, the second bowing reverently before them and the third entering from the right. In the background, a grey river, two hills with blob-like trees, black storm clouds, golden lightning, a flight of seven white cranes and pouring rain (shown as in 3(iii) by parallel white lines).

Discussion: A picture, which, like the Mola Ram of Coomaraswamy's phrase, has acquired a somewhat 'fictitious importance' because of its early publication by Coomaraswamy, its bold, arresting composition and glamorous richness of colour. The picture is in broadly the same style as 2 and on account of its coarse brush-strokes, is perhaps by the same hand. It possesses the same affinity with related example (1) below, as does no. 2 ('Shiva and Parvati') with no. 1 ('Lovers in a moon-lit retreat'). For pictures with comparable details see 9, 10, 11 and 14.

Related examples: (1) Gray (1950), pl. 111; also reproduced Archer (1960), pl. 95. *Varsā vihāra* (Radha and Krishna sheltering under a blanket from the rain). Jalan collection, Patna. By the same master-painter as no. 1. Garhwal, c.1770-1780.

A delicate prototype of 16 but with the following significant differences: a squarer format involving a lowering of the river (the cow-girl's pitcher breaking the line of the further, rather than the nearer, bank), the insertion of frail trees with leafless branches in the background and of a pitcher on the grass at Radha and Krishna's feet, the omission of two birds on the left, the provision of three upper branches in the tree on the right (as against the one trunk which leans left, no. 16) and finally, the rendering of the top-knot to the blanket by a dainty rosette instead of by a simple black disc.

(2) Gangoly (1950), col. pl. C. *Varsā vihāra* (Radha and Krishna sheltering under a blanket from the rain). Inscribed on the front with verses in Mola Ram's lettering. Mukandi Lal collection, Lucknow. By Mola Ram. Garhwal, c. 1805-1810.

A composite version of 16 and 16(1) with harshly rendered 'scroll-like' clouds, no pitchers on the grass, the top-knot of the blanket shown clear of the tree, the tree on the right with only one trunk and the river low, as in 16(1), with its nearer bank shown immediately behind the cow-girl's hips. The fact that this crude version appears to be modelled on both these versions of the subject strengthens the inference that they were painted by an artist in Garhwal and perhaps salvaged together by Mola Ram.

17 Radha and Krishna sheltering from the rain (*varsā vihāra*). Garhwal, c.1800-1820.

Fragment of a brush-drawing with colour notes.

155 x 132 mm. No border.

Victoria and Albert Museum, French collection, I.S. 123-1955.

Originally in the family collection of Tulsi Ram Sah (great-grandson of Mola Ram). Srinagar, Garhwal.

Acquired by French from Tulsi Ram during a visit to Srinagar, 1930.

Published: French (1931), pl. 21; also reproduced Gangoly (1950), B.

Discussion: A sketch based on 16(1). Compare, in this connection, the cow-girl's relation to the river, and the tree with three upper trunks on the right. The fact that this sketch was formerly owned by a descendant of Mola Ram and was acquired in Srinagar, affords still further proof of the master-painter's connection with Garhwal.

18 Raja Pradhyumna Shah (1785-1804) of Garhwal seated with his younger brother, Parakram. Garhwal, c.1785.

Inscribed in *nagari* characters: (1) *kanwar parakram shah* (2) *paradhyumna shah ma(h)raja*

Tehri Raj collection, Narendranagar.

Published: Lal (1950, part III), pl. 24.

Description: The two princes sit on a terrace facing right — Pradhyumna supported by a large cushion, his brother lower to the left on a rug with vertical stripes. Each has a long sword lying horizontally beside him. A feature of

Pradhymna's dress is a long waist-sash sweeping to the ground in a flamboyant curve. In the background two trees. **Discussion:** As at Kangra where the major court style was not employed for portraiture, a minor painter commanding a somewhat crude technique seems responsible for this portrait.

19 The timid bride (*naval bala*). Garhwal, c.1785. Dark blue margin.

Coomaraswamy collection (formerly Balak Ram Sah collection, Srinagar). Obtained by Coomaraswamy from Balak Ram Sah, 1910.

Attributed by Balak Ram Sah to Mola Ram.

Published: Coomaraswamy (1916), pl. 74B.

Description: A prince with long sword and swirling waist-sash sits on a terrace catching the veil of a girl who strives to escape from his presence. The veil has four-dot patterns. The girl's braided hair falls in a curve down her back, ending in a long tassel. Behind the prince is an empty room. To the rear a row of trees interspersed with cypresses.

Discussion: Of some significance since the long sword and swirling waist-sash clearly connect the prince with Raja Pradhymna Shah (no. 18) whose curved nose and slight moustache also support this tentative identification. As elsewhere in the Punjab Hills, it was not unusual to cast a reigning prince in romantic or mythological roles. Although hardly by Mola Ram, the picture's provenance as well as the family's tradition connect it with Garhwal.

Related example: (1) Lal (1950), Part III, pl. 18. *Abhisarika nayika*. A girl running into a room to escape a storm. Mukandi Lal collection, Lucknow. Garhwal, c.1800. Two long veils swirling out behind as in the prince's waist-sash. *Chandan* (Shaiva) *tilak* mark.

20(i-iii) Three illustrations to a *Krishna Rukmini* series.

Garhwal, c.1780-1790.

Average size: 162 x 244 mm; with margin 170 x 255 mm. Dark blue margin.

20(i) Rukma conferring with his father.

Archer collection, London.

Description: Rukma in white seated with courtiers on an open verandah urges his father, a crowned figure in pink, to marry his sister, Rukmini, to Sisupala. Pale pink rug with vertical grey stripes. Grey walls with red blind, edged with green. On the horizon trees interspersed with cypresses. Dark blue sky.

20(ii) Rukmini sends a message.

Archer collection, London.

Published: Archer (1967), fig. 39.

Description: Rukmini in orange dress stands at a window delivering a letter to a brahmin in pink *dhoti* who lifts his hand to take it. Behind her in inner rooms with grey walls and red blinds are two maids with brief bodices and midriffs exposed. In the courtyard, a tree with slender branches and starry flowers. Pink wall. Dark blue sky.

20(iii) Krishna confers with Balarama.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 172-1949.

Description: Balarama, a figure with white skin and in blue *jama* on the left, sits against an orange cushion. He is faced by Krishna in deep yellow dress and red sash into which is stuck a long dagger with green handle. Each is attended by courtiers. Terrace carpet pale yellow with green sprigs. White canopy with red poles and red-striped edging. To the rear, pink and grey walls, white turrets, oval trees with cypresses, and deep blue sky. To the right a slender tree with leafless branches.

Discussion: Similar in general style to 12 but avoiding the violent red background and preferring more pallid hues. In general execution similar to the portrait of Raja Pradhymna Shah (no. 18), with which it shares a vertical striped rug.

Example from the same series: (1) Archer (1967), fig. 40.

Rukmini goes to worship. Archer collection, London. Garhwal, c.1780-1790.

21(i, ii) Two illustrations to a *Nayaka Nayika* series. Garhwal, c.1780-1790.

Average size: 208 x 123 mm. No border.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 275-1951 and 276-1951.

21(i) Radha consoled.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 275-1951.

Description: Radha in orange-red and brown dress is seated against a slate-blue cushion on a terrace gazing to the left. Behind stands a companion in pale yellow skirt and slate-blue veil with five-dot pattern. Grey walls, white pavilion and terrace. Red blind with green edges. Striated yellow-green hill-side with two wild plums with slender branches and large white starry flowers. Deep blue sky.

21(ii) Krishna spurned.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 276-1951.

Published: Archer (1954), pl. 9 (col.).

Description: Radha in pale blue dress, supported by dark red cushions, each with five-dot patterns looks to the left, as Krishna in deep yellow *jama*, his back turned towards her, moves away. On both foreheads *chandan* (Shaiva) *tilak* marks. Pale yellow rug on yellow carpet with wide dark blue horizontal stripes. In the background a wild peach with large reddish pink starry flowers, pinkish brown hillside and deep blue sky.

Discussion: Female faces and figures as in 10, 11; trees with large starry flowers as in 8 and 13. Both pictures with an air of brooding glamour.

Related examples: (1) Coomaraswamy (1914), pl. 1 (1 and 2), pl. 5(9). Three illustrations from a *Nayaka Nayika* series with similar starry flowers, *chandan* (Shaiva) *tilak* marks, vertical striped rugs and hatched balustrades. Pl. 1(2) includes a pair of plump birds and, in the distance, adds some plantains to a group of round trees with cypresses. Coomaraswamy collection. Garhwal, c.1780-1800.

22 Awaiting the lover. Garhwal, c.1780-1800.

237 x 170 mm, with border 270 x 215 mm.

Dark blue margin, pink speckled border, red rules.

Victoria and Albert Museum, Manuk and Coles collection, I.S. 41-1949.

Published: Archer (1960), col. pl. 97.

Description: A lady in fawn skirt and brief yellow bodice, midriff exposed, reclines at night on a grey bed with a white and green cover. To the left, a maid in grey and orange-red skirt offers her a cup. To the right, two other maids attend her — one in olive green skirt wielding a fan, the other caressing her foot. In the foreground, two other maids are removing two slim-necked bottles. White terrace floor with pink lamp-cage (for keeping off moths). In the rear, a wild peach with starry pink blossom. Pinkish brown hillsides and blob-like trees. Deep blue sky and stars. Two maids with *chandan* (Shaiva) *tilak* marks.

Discussion: Similar in general style to 2, 4, 9-11.

Related example: (1) Gangoly (1926), col. pl. 28; also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), no. 218. Ladies bathing. Government Art Gallery, Calcutta. Garhwal, c.1780-1800. Similar faces, pinkish brown hillsides, blob-like trees and heavy, starry blossom.

23 Radha and Krishna on the bed. Garhwal, c.1800-1820.

280 x 222 mm; with margin 296 x 238 mm. Dark blue margin.

Archer collection, London.

Published: Archer (1954), col. pl. 10; also reproduced Archer and Bhattacharya (1963), fig. 24 (detail); Archer (1965), pl. 57.

Description: Radha, nude save for a flimsy orange-red cloth and veil lies on a pale yellow bed, her head turned towards Krishna who is lightly draped in a yellow *dhoti*. A long white garland, broken at the end, hangs from his neck. White courtyard with two mauve lamp-shades, a small pool with ducks and pigeons and in the distance a lady reclining

on a bed. In the background beds of orange flowers with two tiny figures making garlands. Behind Radha and Krishna is a house with white and grey walls. Above is an orange-red canopy. Deep blue sky, an orange red sun just rising.

Discussion: Comparable in its frank treatment of the breasts, shown erect and with nipples and deep cleavage, to 14 and 24. The phallic lamp-shades shared with 15 and 22 are obvious sexual symbols. For the bed, dominating the composition, compare 22.

Related examples: (1) Randhawa (1954), col. pl. 25; also reproduced Randhawa (1955), fig. 5; Khandalavala (1958), no. 158. Prince with ladies making merry. Collection Mian Kartar Singh, Nurpur, Garhwal, c.1800-1820. Same style, palette and facial types as in 23. Pale yellow carpet. Mauve lamp-shade. Lightly-draped nudes. It is perhaps significant that the lover closely resembles the prince (no. 19) who, in turn, resembles Raja Pradyumna Shah (1785-1804), of Garhwal. The fact that the picture is signed shows that it was already in the collection of the Nurpur Wazir of Raja Ram Singh Pathania when his house was set on fire by British shelling in 1848 (Nurpur, q.v.). The presence of this picture and of 23(2) in a Nurpur collection is hardly to be wondered at in view of the friendly ties existing between Tehri Garhwal and Nurpur, illustrated by the wedding of Raja Jaswant Singh (1845-1898) of Nurpur to a Tehri Garhwal princess in perhaps the early eighteen-forties.

(2) Randhawa (1954), col. pl. 24; also reproduced Randhawa (1955), 4; Khandalavala (1958), no. 157. Elopement by elephant. Collection Mian Kartar Singh, Nurpur, Garhwal, c.1800-1820. Similar facial types and architecture as in 9. Prince in mauve *jama* and orange-red turban. Deep blue sky. Like 23(1), signed from the fire of 1848.

24(i, ii) Two illustrations to a Mahabharata series. Garhwal, c.1800-1820.

Average size: 360 x 510 mm; with border 370 x 515 mm. Dark blue margins with white rules.

Inscribed on the reverse with Sanskrit verses in *nagari* characters from the Mahabharata.

Victoria and Albert Museum, Rothenstein collection, I.S. 159-1951 and 160-1951.

24(i) Bhishma sleeping.

Inscribed on the picture in *nagari* characters: *bhishma* and above the heads of five sleeping princes: *raj*.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 160-1951.

Description: Bhishma in pale yellow wrap is asleep in his palace. Pink and grey walls. Around him in various rooms are six ranis, in one case two sleeping together. Outside the palace wall are six rajas sleeping behind tent-screens and under canopies — in two cases, soothed by attending manservants. Starlit sky. In the foreground, a horse blindfolded with a red hood.

24(ii) The palace wakes.

Inscribed on the picture in *nagari* characters: *bhishma* and above the head of one of the princes: *raj*.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 159-1951.

Description: Bhishma, clothed as before, sits on his bed, above a white rug with vertical blue stripes. Five ranis are in the act of waking, three of them stretching their arms above their heads. A *bhat* with spear, accompanied by two musicians, sings or recites the morning prayers. In the foreground, some of the rajas are stirring, their private *bhats* and musicians in attendance. Walls pink, grey and white. In the background, pinkish brown slopes and deep blue sky — a fiery sun rising on the horizon.

Discussion: Similar in style to 23, combining the same presentation of the nude and air of glamorous richness with an oddly awkward use of inter-locking geometric forms.

25 The lady and the peacock (*mor priya*). By Mola Ram. Garhwal, dated 1775.

152 x 83 mm; with border 190 x 118 mm. Red border with blue-black margin and white rules.

Inscribed at the top of picture in white *nagari* characters: *doha. kaha hajar kaha lak hain arb kharb dhan gram. samjhai mola ram to sarab sudeh inam. 1. samvat 1832 sal phalgun sudi 5 subha mastu.*

Translations: (1) Lal (1921): 'The purport of this epigram is that to Mola Ram genuine friendship and fellow-feeling was much greater reward than the presents of millions of villages and tons of gold mohurs. The date given corresponds to 1775 A.D.'

(2) Coomaraswamy (1916): 'What are thousands and lakhs, or millions of gold and villages? Mola Rama finds his reward in goodwill and well-being. *Samvat 1832 (A.D. 1775)*, the fifth day of the bright fortnight of Phalgun: well be it.'

(3) Lal (1949, part I): '1. Mola Ram, care more for sincere appreciation (of my paintings and ideas) rather than for reward of thousands of villages and tons of money. *Samvat 1832 (1775 A.D.)*'

(4) Archer (1954): 'What are thousands and lakhs? What are gold and villages? Mola Ram cares only for appreciation.'

Further inscribed on reverse, in the same hand with Hindi verse in black and red *nagari* characters. Trans. Lal (1921): 'On the back of this painting Mola Ram has written a long verse in Hindi. Its first part is a *sloka* in Sanskritised Hindi and the major portion of the later half is a *kavita* in plain (*Brijbhasha*) Hindi. The purport of which is: Mola Ram says that this heroine (*Padmini*) who is tormented by the pangs of separation goes in quest of her beloved just as a hero goes to the battlefield. Her body is beautiful like the moon and glowing like the glass. She is dashing forth like the lightning in the clouds. She rushed on looking all round. She was approached by a peacock. She heard his sound and was further exasperated. She took off her wristlet and showed it to the peacock to ward him off because by its noise she was rather frightened.'

Victoria and Albert Museum, French collection, I.S. 122-1955.

Formerly in the collection of Balak Ram Sah, Srinagar, Garhwal from whom it passed to Mukandi Lal. Later acquired from Mukandi Lal by French. Liberal annotations by French in pencil on reverse of mount.

Published: Lal (1921), fig. 4; also reproduced Lal (1949), pl. 6.

Description: A lady in a pale yellow dress and orange-red veil stands on a white terrace looking down at a peacock which advances towards her. Pale blue background with formal grey clouds and deep dark blue sky.

Discussion: The first of a series of pictures in non-Mughal style inscribed on the front with verses purporting to be by Mola Ram and, on these grounds, accepted as his work.

Although his great-grandson, Balak Ram Sah, implied that Mola Ram c.1750-1833) was the chief master-painter of Garhwal, the only pictures in his family collection which were inscribed in this way, with Mola Ram verses were either weak, hesitant and clumsy or were crudely based on superior models. It is unlikely that if these models were, in fact, by Mola Ram none would bear his verses. It also seems improbable that feeble drawings would bear his verses if he was actually the painter of the superior ones. It has, therefore, been concluded (Archer 1954, Khandalavala 1958) that the only pictures which are Mola Ram's work are (1) those which are inscribed on the front with Mola Ram verses, and (2) those which are in strictly similar style or possess inscriptions on the front in similar lettering. It follows that Mola Ram was not, in actual fact, a master-painter as Lal (following Balak Ram Sah) has claimed but was rather a minor practitioner, who followed, at one remove, the styles and idioms of other painters in Garhwal. The date given in verses by him on the front of a picture is taken to refer to the year in which the verses were inscribed. Since this is likely to have been done soon after the picture was painted, it is accepted as the year of execution of the picture.

The present picture is significant on four counts:

(1) It reveals Mola Ram as a neat, industrious but

mediocre painter, without a vestige of originality, power or vision. As such, any attribution to him of the Garhwal 'masterpieces' is, *prima facie*, absurd.

(2) In style, it marks a decisive break with the decadent Mughal style apparent in *Mastani* (Lal, 1949, part I, pl. 1) — a picture which is expressly stated by Mola Ram to have been painted by him in A.D. 1771. In the light of materials assembled by Lal, Mola Ram's father (Mangat Ram) and a grandfather (Hiranand) appear to have continued drawing and painting in a Mughal manner in the first half of the eighteenth century. Mangat Ram's drawings, in particular, serving as designs for goldsmiths. Mola Ram's first manner is a dull extension of this local Mughal technique and it is no surprise that, confronted by the poetic style of the Kangra Valley, he should have shed the old family method and have striven to come into line with fresh developments.

(3) While lacking the poetic verve of the Garhwal masterpieces, the picture avails of some of their idioms and thus suggests that by 1775, the date of its inscription, some of these works had already been painted. The following details should be noted: formal clouds curling up at both ends (no. 3(ii)), the peacock as in no. 16, a female face based on 3(i-iii), a mass of jet-black hair, deep dark blue sky.

(4) The verse on the front, expressing bitterness and dated 1775, is especially significant. Unlike the verse on the back which expressly describes a lady pestered by a peacock, it has no manifest connection with the picture yet, despite this seeming lack of relevance, it is boldly and firmly inscribed above it. The obvious inference is that it concerns, in some way, Mola Ram's whole status as a painter — an inference which is confirmed by the fact that the picture, with its abrupt adoption of a more up-to-date style, is itself a clue to some private crisis. Taken in conjunction with a further verse dated 1769 written on the back of another picture, 'Consoling the queens', (no. 27(1)), it seems reasonable to connect the presence of such verses on these two pictures with the arrival of outside artists in Garhwal, their brisk supersession of Mola Ram, his pathetic belief in his own indifferent powers and his secret hope that he would one day obtain fresh recognition.

26 A ruler entertained by dancing-girls. Style of Mola Ram. Garhwal, c.1775.

210 x 258 mm.; (trimmed).

Uninscribed.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 310-1951.

Description: A ruler in white dress and turban, a long sword in green scabbard at his waist, sits on a large white terrace beneath a small, pale crimson canopy. A prince, perhaps his son, sits opposite to him. White cushions with floral designs in very pale red. Behind the ruler are two attendants — one with white regal fly-whisk, the other with a bow and orange quiver. Below, to the left, are two courtiers. To the right a pair of dancing girls perform, accompanied by three musicians — the smaller girl in purple dress, the taller in orange-red dress. To the rear is an empty tract of pale yellow countryside, marked with blob-like trees. Immediately beside the terrace are two trees, one with triple trunks. Deep blue sky with stars and crescent moon.

Discussion: Although the ruler bears little resemblance to Raja Lalit Shah as portrayed in Lal (1949, part I, pl. 4), it is possible that the inscription on that portrait is corrupt. If that is so, the chief figure in the present picture might be this Garhwal ruler. The prince, seated before him certainly resembles Jai Kirit Shah as portrayed in Lal (1951, part V, pl. 39 (c)). Jai Kirit Shah was Lalit Shah's eldest son and, according to Mola Ram's verse chronicle, was the painter's friend and patron. It was on behalf of Jai Kirit Shah that Mola Ram claimed to have written to the Raja of Sirmur asking for help and forwarding him a picture. Since Lalit Shah ruled from 1772 to 1780, he could well have been portrayed in the present manner in about 1775.

In style, the picture markedly resembles no. 25 — the taller dancing-girl closely echoing the lady, and the whole picture evincing Mola Ram's own type of thin and hesitant line. Other details such as the tree with triple trunks, the vast terrace, empty countryside, dark blue sky and canopy

can be matched in other instances, suggesting that here, as in *Mor priya*, Mola Ram was applying, painfully and awkwardly, the stock-in-trade of the new arrivals.

27 The lady and the buck. Perhaps by Mola Ram.

Garhwal, c.1780.

152 x 98 mm; with border 204 x 148 mm. Yellow margin with faint floral design. Blue-black border.

Inscribed on the picture in *nagari* characters: *hirana deer*.

Victoria and Albert Museum, French collection, I.S. 166-1955. Obtained by French from a dealer in Amritsar.

Description: A lady in pale verdian green trousers, white dress and red veil plays on a *sitar* beneath a weeping willow-tree. She gazes at a black and white buck. Dark green foreground. Pale grey background with, at the top, a row of white clouds edged with red. Blue sky.

Discussion: Similar in stance to 25 and with the same kind of weak and hesitant execution. The lady however more closely resembles the female figures in 'Consoling the queens' (see 27(1) below), a picture which contains on its back a verse by Mola Ram dated 1769. If, as Khandalavala has suggested, the picture was drawn subsequently to the verses (using the back of the paper on which the verses had been written), its date of composition might be about 1780. The present picture seems clearly connected with 'Consoling the queens' and both could well be by Mola Ram, though in a style slightly different from that of 25 and 26. It is perhaps significant that the same type of dark green foreground appears in 7(iv), and similar yellow margins in 2, 3(i), and 13.

Related example: (1) Lal (1949), pl. 5. 'Consoling the queens'. Inscribed on the back with four verses by Mola Ram, one of them dated 1769. Mukandi Lal collection, Lucknow. Original provenance unrecorded but almost certainly Balak Ram Sah collection, Garhwal. Probably by Mola Ram. Garhwal, c.1780.

28 Longing for the beloved. By Mola Ram. Garhwal, c.1790.

Balak Ram Sah collection, Garhwal.

Published: Lal (1909), col. pl. (frontispiece).

Description: A lady in blue skirt, yellow bodice and red veil with five-dot pattern stands beneath a tree from which descend long sprays of spear-shaped flowers. In the foreground, a stream with lotuses. To the right, a grove of trees some of them with leafless branches. A tiny palace lies below them. In the sky black clouds and lightning.

Discussion: The first picture to be published from the Balak Ram Sah collection and attributed, on grounds of family tradition, to Mola Ram. Although the style is clumsier and heavier than in 25-27, there is the same air of slightly awkward uncertainty, the same employment of standard 'Garhwal' idioms and the same dependence on more sophisticated and delicate originals. Compare, in this connection, 3(ii) and 3(1). The attribution to Mola Ram is supported by the style of related examples (1)-(3) below, all of them inscribed with verses by Mola Ram and, in two cases, dated.

Related examples: (1) Lal (1921), fig. 6; also reproduced Lal (1951, part IV), pl. 32; Khandalavala (1958), no. 204 (mis-captioned *Mor priya*). The lady and the peacock (*Mayant mukhi*). Inscribed on the front with verses by Mola Ram (not dated). Mukandi Lal collection, Lucknow (obtained from Balak Ram Shah). By Mola Ram. Garhwal, c.1785. Similar in pose to 25 but with rudimentary Guler-type background, flowering trees and bed of poppies.

(2) Lal (1951, part IV), pl. 33. The lady and the baby. Inscribed on the front with verses by Mola Ram, dated 1787. Collection Raja Pratap Vikram Shah, Singhai (a relative of the Tehri Garhwal family). By Mola Ram. Garhwal, 1787. Identical posture to 28(1) with the baby, however, replacing the peacock and the three flowering trees dwindling to two. Similar background. No poppies. In execution, thick and heavy.

(3) Guleri (1920), col. pl.; also reproduced Gangoly (1950), col. pl.; Khandalavala (1958), no. 206. The lady and the partridge (*chakora*). Inscribed on the front with verses by

Mola Ram, dated 1795. Gangoly collection, Calcutta. By Mola Ram. Garhwal, 1795. Blue-black border. Similar thick and heavy style. Pose similar to 28(1) and (2) but in reverse. Long sweeping veils as in no. 19.

(4) Lal (1952, part VI), col. pl. (p. 40). Jai Dev Wazir riding with escort. Inscribed with verses in Mola Ram's lettering. G. K. Joshi collection. By Mola Ram. Garhwal, c. 1790. Blue-black margin with double white rules. Plain green background. Style as in 28(1)-(3).

(5) Lal (1950, part III), col. pl. 19. The lady at the tryst (*utkanthita nayika*). Mukandi Lal collection, Lucknow. Style of Mola Ram. Garhwal, c.1795. Similar face and stance as in 28(1)-(3). Comparable idiom of sharp spear-shaped sprays of flowers.

(6) Lal (1951, part IV), col. pl. B. Krishna visiting Radha. Mukandi Lal collection, Lucknow (formerly collection of Rao Birendra Singh of Tehri Garhwal). Style of Mola Ram. Garhwal, c.1800. Stance of lady as in (5) above. Sharp spear-shaped flowers.

29 The lady and the fawn. Garhwal, c.1785-1795.

192 x 115 mm.; with margin 204 x 127 mm.

Blue-black margin with white rules. Oval shape.

Inscribed on reverse in English by a dealer: (14) *Rani Sankhin Loving with her Deer*. Price £1.

Victoria and Albert Museum, Debenham collection, I.S. 148-1953.

Description: A lady in green dress sits against a mauve cushion on a hexagonal white terrace with red floral carpet. She hands a green shoot down to a grey fawn. Below is a small fountain with luxuriant beds of poppies. Flat mauve background with curving red rim and cloudy sky. A tree with spikes of white flowers each side. Oval shape with blue-black edges and pale yellow surrounds.

Discussion: Broadly similar to 28 and 28(1-3) in the face and details but too assured and sensitive in style and rhythm to be safely ascribed to Mola Ram. Perhaps a Guler-style variant at Garhwal which may have served as a stimulant to the Mola Ram series. For a similar bold terrace with lively red carpet and green in conjunction, see 9.

30 The lady at the tryst (*vasakasajja nayika*). By Mola Ram. Garhwal, 1810.

Black-blue margin with double white rules.

Inscribed on the front with verses by Mola Ram.

Tehri Raj collection, Narendranagar, from a series of eight *nayikas* each inscribed with Mola Ram verses, two of them dated *samvat* 1867 (A.D. 1810).

Published: Lal (1921), 5; also reproduced Lal (1950, part III), pl. 20; Khandalavala (1958), no. 208.

Description: A lady in a dark veil sits on a bed of leaves with grotesquely exaggerated flowering sprays of flowers around her. In the foreground, a pair of deer, cranes and lotuses. A row of curling clouds in the sky.

Discussion: A crudely over-simplified version of 3(i), perhaps confirming the theory that due to the Gurkha invasion of 1803 the Garhwal Raj collection of pictures was dispersed, some of the finest pictures reaching Mola Ram. No. 3(i), now in the Kasturbhai Lalbhai collection, Ahmedabad, is known to have been obtained by G. N. Tagore from Mola Ram's descendant, Balak Ram Sah. The picture is significant, as affording proof that painting continued at Garhwal under the Gurkha occupation, although the fact that the series later reached the Maharaja of Tehri Garhwal suggests that it remained, for the time being, in Mola Ram's keeping.

Related example: (I) Gangoly (1950), col. pl. C *Varsa vihara* (sheltering from the rain). Inscribed on the front with verses in Mola Ram's lettering. Mukandi Lal collection, Lucknow. By Mola Ram. Garhwal, c.1805-1810.

PHASE THREE: 1815-1875

31 Shiva and Parvati. By Jwala Ram. Garhwal, dated 1818. Blue-black border with white rules.

Inscribed on the front with verses in *nagari* characters and dated: *samvat* 1875 (A.D. 1818).

Chandigarh Museum, Nurpur Raj collection.

Acquired by the Chandigarh Museum in 1960 with two other paintings in similar style on Shaiva subjects from Raja Devendra Singh of Nurpur whose grand-father, Raja Jaswant Singh (1846-1898), married a princess from Tehri Garhwal. One of these pictures, 31(1), bears the name in *nagari* characters of Maharaja Sudarshan Shah (1815-1859) of Tehri Garhwal to whom, it would appear, all three invocations of Shiva were addressed.

Published: Randhawa (1961), fig. 3.

Description: Shiva and Parvati are riding together on the bull Nandi. Behind them is a tree with leafless branches. Oval shape with elaborate spandrels fanning out over the borders.

Discussion: Jwala Ram (1788-1848), son of Mola Ram, is reported to have worked as a clerk for the first British Commissioner of Garhwal, after its formation into a British district in 1815. He is also credited with producing nineteen views of towns and places. It is possible that the present group of three pictures was painted for Maharaja Sudarshan Shah after his restoration to the Tehri portion of Garhwal state. In style, broadly similar to late work by Mola Ram.

Related examples: (1) Randhawa (1961), fig. 1. Shiva seated on a hillside. Inscribed in *nagari* characters mentioning Maharaja Sudarshan Shah and in Persian characters: *Batarikh-i . . . haftam mah aktobar 1817 sanah ishavi dastkar-i-musavar jawala ram ast* 'dated — the 7th of the month of October, in the year 1817 of the Christian era. Work of Jwala Ram, painter'. Chandigarh Museum, Nurpur Raj collection. By Jwala Ram. Garhwal, dated 1817.

(2) Randhawa (1961), fig. 2. Shiva walking between two flowering trees. Inscribed in *nagari* characters and dated *samvat* 1874 (A.D. 1817). Chandigarh Museum, Nurpur Raj collection. By Jwala Ram. Garhwal, dated 1817.

(3) Lal (1921), fig. 3. Mola Ram worshipping Bhuvaneshwari. Balak Ram Sah collection, Srinagar, Garhwal. By Jwala Ram. Garhwal, c.1820. Attributed by French (1931) to Jwala Ram, revising Balak Ram Sah's attribution of it to Mola Ram. Same style as 31 and 31(1) and (2). Lotus-petal throne as in the lotus-petal spandrels of no. 31. Trees with spiky flowers.

32 Krishna and the cow-girls' clothes. Tehri Garhwal, c. 1820.

Kasturbhai Lalbhai collection, Ahmedabad (formerly owned by G. N. Tagore).

Description: Krishna squats in a tree from which hang down two lines of clothes. Below him is a pool thickly crowded with lotus flowers and leaves. Nine nude cow-girls crouch or stand in the water, three of them raising their hands in supplication.

Discussion: Comparable in facial types, the masses of black hair and treatment of the eyes to nos. 4, 9-11, and 22-24. The brighter mauve of Krishna's skin, however, suggests a somewhat later date and although the picture still maintains some of the early Garhwal richness, it is possible that it was painted at Tehri Garhwal in about 1820 when painting seems to have undergone a revival under Raja Sudarshan Shah (1815-1859).

Related examples in similar style and palette: (I) Gangoly (1955), fig. 3; also reproduced Gangoly (1961), col. pl. D(2). Krishna milking a cow. Baroda Museum. Tehri Garhwal, c. 1820. Cow as in no. 11.

(2) Archer (1956), pl. 7. Krishna milking a cow. G. K. Kanoria collection, Calcutta. Tehri Garhwal, c.1820. Another version of 32(1).

(3) Khandalavala (1958), col. pl. VIII. The hour of cow-dust. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. Tehri Garhwal, c.1820. Dark blue margins with white rules. Starry flowers. Cattle as in nos. 11 and 16.

(4) Khandalavala (1958), col. pl. XXIV. Radha wearing Krishna's crown. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. Tehri Garhwal, c.1820. Garhwal eyes.

(5) Khandalavala (1958), no. 209. *Dana lila*. Kasturbhai Lalbhai collection, Ahmedabad (formerly collection G. N. Tagore). Tehri Garhwal, c.1820.

(6) Randhawa (1962), fig. 13. 'In fresh youth'. Chandigarh Museum, Guler Raj collection. Tehri Garhwal, c.1820.

33 Krishna and the cow-girls' clothes. Tehri Garhwal, c.1820-1830. 247 x 184 mm; with yellow margin 254 x 192 mm. Shape oval.

Inscribed on reverse in English, perhaps by a dealer: *Native Womens (Sakhian) are bathing in the River Jamuna and the Krishna taking their clothes and sitting in the tree.* Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 263-1953.

Description: Krishna in yellow crown and *dhoti* squats in a tree on which a row of mauve, blue, yellow and orange-red clothes is hanging. Behind him is an empty landscape with tiny oval trees, rimmed hills and rising sun. Spiky sprays of red flowers. Seven cow-girls, six of whom are nude, stand or crouch in a pool of water with lotus flowers and leaves. Oval design with yellow edges and red surrounds.

Discussion: Closely modelled on 32 with which it shares the group of nude cow-girls, one of whom is shown rear view with long tapering hair down her back while another hides her private parts behind a lotus leaf. The tree, however, occupies a larger place in the composition and although Krishna and the line of clothes are alike, the pool is no longer stocked so profusely with lotus flowers and leaves. The cow-girls have thick masses of black hair but slightly keener features. For the oval shape with red surrounds, compare 6.

34 Rati entertains Shiva. Illustration from a *Shiva Purana* series. Tehri Garhwal, c.1815-1825.

Chandigarh Museum, Bhawarna (Kangra) collection.

Published: Randhawa (1953), col. pl. (p.37); also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), col. pl. N.

Description: Shiva, garbed as an ascetic, sits on a tiger skin in a landscape of looping hills and peaks. Rati, in dark red skirt and yellow veil, is shown seated in the foreground and, later, approaching Shiva followed by Basant, Lord of Spring, in yellow dress and red scarf. To the rear, trees with leafless branches. Deep dark blue sky.

Discussion: Although attributed by Randhawa and Khandalavala to Kangra, this large series of 110 paintings (profusely published Randhawa, 1953) can now perhaps be assigned to Tehri Garhwal during the first ten years of Raja Sudarshan Shah's cultured reign. Its subject, a celebration of Shiva, is in line with the three pictures of Shiva — nos. 31 and 31(1) and (2) — by Jwala Ram dated 1817 and 1818. These suggest that Sudarshan Shah may have viewed his restoration to the state as a mark of Shiva's favour. Particular details in Randhawa's twenty-four illustrations which relate the series to Garhwal include dark blue sky, trees with leafless branches, a strongly rhythmical treatment of hill-sides, foreheads with *chandan* (Shaiva) *tilak* marks, small blob-like trees, courtyard compositions as in 7(iv) and (v), flowering plants as in 16 and trees with spiky sprays of blossom. These resemblances are too numerous to be disregarded, and, despite traces of Guler or Kangra influence (note especially the male faces), it seems reasonable to regard the series as deriving from previous Garhwal painting, though perhaps carried out by an artist of the Kangra Valley.

A further circumstance which supports this conclusion is the fact that the series was in the possession of the Bhawarna branch of the Kangra family. This branch was directly descended from Raja Anirudh Chand (1823-1828) of Kangra, whose two sisters were married to Raja Sudarshan Shah of Tehri Garhwal in 1829. It is generally accepted that on the occasion of this wedding, the Kangra *Gita Govinda* series and Kangra *Bihari Sat Sai* (both of which are still in the Tehri Raj collection) were included as presents from the Kangra side. If this is so, the present series could well have been a return present from the Tehri Garhwal family to Anirudh Chand — its Shaiva character making it the more acceptable in view of Anirudh's own misfortunes (Kangra *q.v.*). The fact that the series was among the pictures inherited by the Bhawarna branch would thus be readily explicable.

For further examples from the same series, see Randhawa (1953), figs. 1-20, 4 col. pls.; and Khandalavala (1958), col. pl. 10.

Related example: (1) Skelton (1961), pl. 89. Shiva and Parvati with their children. Private collection. Tehri Garhwal, c.1815-1820.

35 The rape of the Yadava women. Illustration to a *Mahabharata* series. By Chaitu. Tehri Garhwal, c.1830-1850. N. C. Mehta collection. Bombay (formerly Tehri Raj collection, Narendranagar).

Published: Mehta (1926a), pl. 18; Mehta (1926b), col. pl. (p. 53); also reproduced Lal (1950, part II), pl. 9; Khandalavala (1958), no. 216.

Stated by Mehta (1926) to be inscribed on the reverse in *nagari* characters: *chaitu*.

Description: Arjuna, a crowned figure in white dress, draws his bow at a group of tribesmen in leaf skirts and hats who are herding away into captivity a group of Yadava women, their dresses chiefly bright red and yellow. Behind him stand seven further women in dark blue, green, mauve and bright red. Landscape an empty green hillside, pinkish brown on the skyline. Small trees, one of them with leafless branches. Sky dark blue with white clouds. Some of the women with banded skirts in red or green. Dark blue margin.

Discussion: Although this is the only picture in the series on which the name, Chaitu, is said to be inscribed, a page from a *Ramayana* series in Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras, presented by Kunwar Bichitra Shah of Tehri Garhwal, bears the inscription: *chettu de ghare de de* ('from the house or family of Chaitu'). A sketch of the present picture has also been discovered by B. N. Goswamy amongst the paintings and drawings inherited by Lakshman Das of Rajol. Ancestors of this artist included Manaku of Guler whose great-great-grandson was named Chaitu. If we allow about twenty years for each generation and take Manaku's own date of birth to be about 1710, this Chaitu could have been born in 1800 or a little later and would thus have been old enough to paint the group of pictures connected with him by Mehta i.e. the present series, a *Ramayana* series, *Dana lila*, and a *Rukmini* series (Mehta 1926b). As observed by Mehta, all these series have various points in common especially the use of 'supple curves in the drawing', and a reliance on 'simple colours, not infrequently white with a judicious distribution of glowing patches'. He also stresses the fact that in a picture from the *Ramayana* series (Mehta 1926b, pl. 10) 'the background is painted with the same simplicity in yellowish-green as in the picture given above' and that 'white, yellow and red are the predominant pigments'. Since this style is a new development at Tehri Garhwal — only a few of the idioms being taken over from previous Garhwal painting and the style in general suggesting Guler antecedents — it seems reasonable to assume that, fortified perhaps by the experience of other Guler painters at Garhwal in the period 1770-1803, Chaitu left Guler or Kangra in about 1817, attached himself to the new court of Raja Sudarshan Shah at Tehri and there produced works connected with his name. It is noteworthy that, when Raja Pradhyumna Shah of Garhwal was killed in 1804, his younger brother, Parakram (uncle of Sudarshan Shah) sought refuge with Raja Sansar Chand of Kangra. This connection between the two courts might explain not only the later wedding of Sansar Chand's two daughters to Sudarshan Shah (1829) but the migration of Chaitu to Tehri (assuming, that is, that he may have worked for a time at Kangra). It is also significant, as Goswamy has discovered, that on one occasion when two members of the artist family of Rajol went on pilgrimage to Hardwar, they travelled via Tehri. They would probably have followed this route only if the Tehri Chaitu was in fact their kinsman.

Related examples: (1) Mehta (1926b, pl. 19). Rama's departure. From a *Ramayana* series. Tehri Raj collection. Style of Chaitu. Tehri Garhwal, c.1825. Colours as noted by Mehta above. The women with striped skirts and the obtrusive plantain are reminiscent of Guler painting; the tree with leafless branches and the large bird recall Garhwal.

(2) Mehta (1926b, pl. 20); reproduced Khandalavala (1958), no. 219. *Dana lila* (Krishna chasing a milkmaid with a pot of curds). Tehri Raj collection, Narendranagar. Style of Chaitu. Tehri Garhwal, c.1825. Sparse hillside and long sweeping veil and scarf. Similar bright colours to nos. 35 and 35(i) — the milkmaid has crimson trousers and orange veil. Krishna a mustard yellow *dhoti*, the sky is a bright azure.

36 Baz Bahadur and Rupmati. Style of Chaitu. Tehri Garhwal, c.1830-1850.

160 x 225 mm; with border 190 x 255 mm.

Dark blue margin with floral design in faint gold. Pink border with red rules (trimmed).

Victoria and Albert Museum, Manuk and Coles collection, I.S. 139-1949.

Description: Baz Bahadur in pale yellow *jama* gallops on a greyish brown charger, holding in his left hand a red bow and in his right an arrow and turning to gaze at Rupmati who careers behind him on a white horse with orange-red tail, legs and belly. Rupmati is dressed in mauve and shoots with a bow at two deer one of whom is already struck with an arrow. Yellowish-green landscape with rolling hills, groves of trees with birds and white and red flowers, rows of blob-like trees or bushes and, here and there, little writhing trees with leafless branches. Pale blue sky with white clouds. In the foreground, a pair of tufted plants and a stream with lotuses.

Discussion: Attributed to Chaitu on account of its predominant colours (white, orange-red and yellowish green), similar faces and figures as in 35 and the highly characteristic insertion of little writhing trees with leafless branches. Connected with Garhwal by its sweeping curves (7(ii) and 34), thrusting sprays of flowers (13) and tufted plants (16).

Related example: (1) Mehta (1926b, pl. 55). The glory of spring. Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras (from the collection of Kunwar Vichitra Shah of Tehri Garhwal). Style of Chaitu. Tehri Garhwal, c.1830. Similar face to Rupmati's. Sparse hillside, the flowering plants a bright and brilliant yellow.

37(i, ii) Two illustrations from a Krishna Rukmini series. Tehri Garhwal, dated 1866.

Average sizes: 190 x 290 mm; with borders 210 x 315 mm.

Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras (formerly in the collection of Kunwar Vichitra Shah of Tehri Garhwal).

The series possesses the following colophon in *nagari* characters: *samvat 1923 phalgun pra (vishte) 20 samapata sri maharaj bhavani singh bahadur ji ki agya se pustak bani mangalam lekhakana(m) cha pathakana(m) cha mangalam mangalam saiv lokanan bhumau bhipati mangalam shubh shubh saun pra (vishte) 28 a phalguna pra (vishte) 20 samapata* 'This book, prepared under the orders of Sri Maharaja Bhavani Singh Bahadurji, was completed on the 20th day of Phalgun, samvat 1923 (A.D. 1866). May prosperity attend the writers, readers, the whole world and the rulers. Started on the 28th day of Savan (July-August) . . . completed on the 20th day of Phalgun (February-March)'.

37(i) Krishna confers with Balarama.

Description: Krishna, to the left, sits facing Balarama under a canopy in a garden laid out with parterres of poppies and fringed by a row of oval trees interspersed with cypresses. Courtiers are ranged around them. To the right, four white horses, an elephant and a camel.

37(ii) Krishna and Balarama follow Rukmini.

Description: Krishna and Balarama, mounted on an elephant, follow Rukmini's palanquin which passes through an arch-way. Retainers with flags and musicians beating drums stand assembled in the courtyard.

Discussion: This series, which is evidently modelled on the *Rukmini* series, obtained 'from the house or family of Chaitu' (see no. 35), is noticeably harsher in line and more garish in colour — the same orange-reds, whites and greens predominating, as in Chaitu's work, but with a gaudier

effect. For the prototype of 37(ii) in the earlier *Ramayana* series, see Khandalavala (1958), no. 258.

Although Bhavani Shah appears to have shown interest in the Tehri Raj collection of paintings, oral traditions (Lal (1952), part VI) date the final collapse of painting in Garhwal to the eighteen-seventies. By this time mineral colours were general, photography was well-established and British administration in Garhwal district was imposing alien standards.

38(i-iii) Three illustrations to a Vishnu Avatara series.

Tehri Garhwal, c.1860-1870.

Average sizes: 220 x 330 mm; with borders 300 x 400 mm.

Dark blue margin with floral designs in grey and gold; pink flecked border with red rules.

Victoria and Albert Museum, Lockwood Kipling collection, I.M. 21-1917, I.M. 22-1917 and I.M. 35-1917.

38(i) The Tortoise (Kurma) incarnation.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.M. 22-1917.

Description: Vishnu sits on the top of Mount Mandara (the churning-stick) whose base rests on a tortoise dimly visible in the water. The churning rope, coiled thrice round the stick, is the white many-headed snake, Vasuki, its head and tail being pulled respectively by demons and gods. The fourteen treasures, thrown up by the churning, are brought out of the water. Brilliant arsenic greens, orange-reds and greys.

38(ii) The Fish (Matsya) incarnation. Not illustrated.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.M. 21-1917.

Description: Vishnu in yellow *dhoti* and scarf stands in the mouth of a great fish. To the left a boat with Manu and the seven rishis. In the water the head-headed demon. Grey swirling flood. Upper left brilliant green and blue.

38(iii) The sixth incarnation (Parasurama). Not illustrated.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.M. 35-1917.

Description: Parasurama with long hair and a tiger-skin loin-cloth beheads Kartavirya whose arms lie all around. Courtyard with pink brick walls and dull green floor. Bodies of men, horses and an elephant lie scattered. Colours grey, pink, white and orange-red.

Discussion: Harsh in execution and garish in colour — the squat figures and the arsenic greens, in particular, indicating general lateness. Male faces as in the *Shiva Purana* series (Randhawa (1953), see no. 34).

Related example: (1) Lal (1951, part IV), pl. 31. The fish incarnation. Mukandi Lal collection from a Garhwal source. Tehri Garhwal, c.1850. Similar to no. 38(ii) but with a more linear treatment of water.

39 Radha and Krishna on the bed. Tehri Garhwal, c. 1860-1870.

198 x 154 mm; with border 280 x 218 mm.

Dark blue margin with floral pattern. Pink border.

Victoria and Albert Museum, Manuk and Coles collection, I.S. 38-1949.

Description: Radha, nude save for a flimsy orange-red cloth and veil, lies on a white bed, her head turned towards Krishna with pale mauve skin, his limbs lightly draped by a pale yellow *dhoti*. White courtyard with pale lamp-shades, a small pool with three ducks strutting by it and a pair of pigeons. In the upper right-hand corner, a tiny chamber with a midget-scale lady lying on a lonely bed. In the background, two girls picking flowers. Above the lovers is a pavilion roof with floral designs and crimson canopy.

Discussion: A late version of 23 with over-harsh outlines.

40(i-iv) Four illustrations from a Krishna Sudama series.

Tehri Garhwal, c.1860-1870.

Average sizes: 195 x 253 mm; with margins 208 x 266 mm.

Dark blue margin with white rules and faint leaf pattern in gold.

Victoria and Albert Museum, Rothenstein collection, I.S. 152-1951 to I.S. 155-1951.

40(i) Sudama's departure.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 154-1951.

Description: Similar to no. 8 but without the wild plum with starry red flowers leaning to the left. Palette as in (ii) below.

40(ii) Sudama's hovel. Not illustrated.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 153-1951.

Description: Closely modelled on 7(i) but with a pair of plantain trees in arsenic green on the right. Sudama in grey rags and his wife in a bright orange skirt and yellow veil. Bright azure sky. Badly painted trees with no sprays of flowers.

40(iii) Sudama meets Krishna. Not illustrated.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 155-1951.

Description: Krishna in golden yellow *jama* seated with Sudama in grey rags on an arsenic green bed-spread. A maid in orange-red skirt and pale blue veil holds out a bowl. Krishna holds Sudama's cloth bundle, containing his offering. Grey wall. Broad red paths. Livid green tree. Azure sky.

40(iv) Sudama put to bed. Not illustrated.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 152-1951.

Description: Similar to 7(iii) but with no moon or shadows. Cream courtyard floor. Girl-musicians in red, blue and mauve. Arsenic green veil and instrument. Dull olive-brown walls.

Discussion: A crude version of series 7, its utter clumsiness of drawing and hideous colouring suggesting a date well into the second half of the nineteenth century.

PAINTING IN GULER

I. INTRODUCTION

GEOGRAPHY

A small state, twenty-five miles long and twenty miles wide, bounded on the south by Siba and the Punjab Plains, on the west, north-west and north by Nurpur, on the north by Kotla, and on the north, north-east, east and south-east by Kangra. Capital: Haripur (three miles from Guler village).

Guler is a corruption of Gwalia (from *Gwala*, cowherd — a cowherd having pointed out to Hari Chand, founder of the state, a place where a tiger and goat were seen drinking water together, an auspicious spot for a capital. The cowherd was then sacrificed and his head buried in the foundation of the fort to ensure its stability).

SCENERY

Hugel (1845): 'Haripoor lies in a mountain defile and is a place of some importance. On a hill, which rises from the valley, stands a fort, but the mountain being much higher behind it, makes it useless as a place of strength, though it might defend the town, except against the assaults of artillery. There is a large bazaar in the town, and the heights around are crowned with watch-towers, probably to give warning to the merchants of the approach of an enemy, that they may take refuge with their treasure and valuables in the fort. On the approach from Jwala Mukhi stands a little temple scarcely ten feet square, dedicated to Mahadeo, which seems very ancient; several decorations on the exterior very much resembling those I had seen on many of the little temples at Salsette, and Ellora, where the three heads significant of the Hindu Triad, are found united over the entrance. Near it are some rocky walls covered with colossal images of the Hindu deities, cut out of sandstone and evidently by hands unacquainted with sculpture.

'An incredible number of audacious monkeys abound in Haripoor. I had scarcely entered my tent, when a young Fakir presented himself, and would have forced his way in, had not my Chaprasi unceremoniously pushed him back. I was vexed to see them thus rudely thrusting him away, but they assured me that these Fakirs were the greatest thieves in the world. My strange visitant went away without uttering a syllable, but had no sooner seated himself in the centre of a square than he commenced a series of noises, more like the cackling of a German duck than anything I can remember. The next moment he was surrounded by monkeys, running from every quarter, in the hope of being fed. Finding themselves deceived in their expectation, three of the largest forthwith attacked the Fakir, who had the greatest difficulty in warding them off with his stick. He was now beset by the people, who began to abuse him for cheating their favourite monkeys and then maltreating them. Besides these creatures, the trees are covered with parrots; peacocks also without number parade about the town.

'The costume in these parts differs little from what I had observed elsewhere; the trousers are perhaps rather fuller, the turban always black, and the men invariably wear a long dark beard; the women a blue petticoat with a deep red border descending to the knee, and the indispensable veil, which, instead of concealing the face, is worn behind the head, and is always pink. Their houses are clean, particularly the substitutes for inns, called *Gaheti*, where the traveller finds the wherewithal to cook his meal and lie down; and before them is usually a little garden stocked with lilies, balsams, roses, jasmine, and other flowers. I saw the beautiful China rose growing in the hedges, with the *Jasminum grandiflorum*, in all its native luxuriance.

'Among the crowd of men and monkeys which pressed

forward to stare at the stranger were some jugglers whom I hired to while away an intensively hot hour or two. In the evening I strolled through the town, which consists of upwards of two hundred houses, and passing through an exceedingly rude gateway, covered over with huge figures of Hari and Hanuman, I found myself at the top of ninety broad steps, which lead down to a broad river, the banks, generally, of rock scarped perpendicularly. The fortress on this side had a very imposing and regular appearance, being in the form of a square. Figures, and even the holes of Fakirs, are hewn out of the rocks. On the opposite bank were similar steps and a gateway, and on the stream were several water-mills with horizontal wheels, but they could only be stationed where I saw them, during the dry season, for as both banks are perpendicular, when the stream is full, the entire channel must be filled up' (48-51, referring to 1835).

French (1931): 'Haripur is a quaint little town, with a semi-circle of hills on one side and a river on the other. The river is a regular mountain torrent, set in a deep ravine. The narrow street of the town finishes in a lofty gateway, carved with figures of Ram and Hanuman, as protecting deities, and overlooking the river, down to which a steep flight of steps leads. In Haripur town in the evening can be seen the local Rajput gentry taking the air, regular *vieux moustaches*, thin as lathes, straight as dies, carrying their canes in a manner subtly suggestive of swords and as often as not with a row of medals. The other side of Haripur town is dominated by the castle, built in the fifteenth century by a Raja of Guler. The Rajas of Guler no longer live in this castle. Twenty-five years ago they built a house at Guler, three miles away from Haripur. This is in a beautiful situation. To the north are the great snow mountains, to the south is the river Beas' (35).

Randhawa (1953): 'Leaving Pathankot early in the morning, we entered the Kangra Valley by the old route through which the Mughal and Sikh armies marched into the valley from the seventeenth to early nineteenth centuries. It was still dark, when the train landed us at the railway station of Guler. The Haripur Fort with its massive battlements on the left side of the Ban Ganga dominates the scene and immediately impresses the visitor. The village of Haripur sheltered by an arc-like mountain ridge, capped by the temple of Durga to the south and the fort to the north, slumbers peacefully and appears like a Sleepy Hollow. Passing by the fields of the farmers which were covered with a green crop of wheat and studded with groves of handsome mango trees, we reached the river Ban Ganga. During the rains, when the Ban Ganga is in high flood, a ferry boat plies between Guler and Haripur. After crossing the river, Haripur is approached by a winding path paved with stones. It looks like a quaint village with the houses of farmers and shop-keepers shaded by giant banyan and peepal trees. At the base of the trees the villagers have built platforms of stones on which way-farers rest and have their afternoon nap. The streets, the supporting walls of the houses, and the platforms by the trees in Haripur are all made of stones and appear like a curious mosaic. We passed by a tank and rode through the bazaar. On the way there are numerous ancient temples now neglected and in ruins. After leaving the bazaar, we reached the maidan, an open space where the Rajas used to play polo. Apart from the Dak Bungalow, there are ruined temples at the three corners of the maidan. Now we had a closer view of the fort which still seems to rule the village of Haripur. Though past its glory, much damaged by the earthquake of 1905 and by the peepal trees which have grown in the cracks in the walls, it still does not fail to impress. It is built on a precipitous ridge overhanging the river Ban Ganga and enjoys a picturesque location. The fort is balanced on the other side

of the ridge by the temple of Durga built on huge boulders; and crouching in front of the image of Durga is a massive tiger. On account of its difficult location, the temple is very rarely visited and, in fact, it is only newly married couples who climb the precipitous rock to pay homage to the goddess.

'After the occupation of Guler by the Sikhs, Raja Shamsher Singh moved to a smaller building, a little higher up, and the fort was occupied by the Sikh garrison. The present Raja, Baldeo Singh, lives in a three-storeyed building. Close to his house is a tank surrounded by temples and shaded by magnificent banyan trees, which, coupled with the plantains growing in the houses of the villagers present a scene of tropical luxuriance' (30-31).

Visited by W.G.A. with M. S. Randhawa and Mulk Raj Anand in March 1954. During this visit I was struck by the unusual prevalence of plantain trees in Haripur and its vicinity, the sharp and steep descent to the Ban Ganga river (in contrast to the gently sloping banks of the Beas river at Alampur and Sujampur in Kangra), and the great views obtainable from the Haripur fort and palace. On a second visit, also with Randhawa, in March 1966, I noted the following additional points:

(1) As Guler is part of the Sewaliks or stony foothills which separate the Kangra Valley from the Punjab Plains, much of the road to Haripur from Kangra town via Ranital passes through very rough and stony country and the skyline is often crinkly and corrugated with ragged little trees and scruffy slopes. This is in complete contrast to the tranquil fields, level meadows and large mango trees of Alampur (Kangra state). The thickly wooded hills between Ranital, Bankadi and Haripur, an area of a few square miles, are perhaps all that now survives of the dense forests for which Guler was renowned in the sixteenth century.

(2) Haripur itself is a little town on the level with rows of neatly-roofed houses, stone-paved streets, numerous pipal trees and a small *chaugan* (polo ground), much smaller than the grounds at Sujampur, Mandi and Bilaspur but of about the same size as the *chaugan* at Sultanpur in Kulu. It is framed by a line of hills, dominated on the west by a great bluff above the Ban Ganga River, with ruins of the fort and palace and, on the east, at the end of a series of ridges, by a shining white temple to Durga. At the base of the fort, the Ban Ganga takes a sharp sweep between almost vertical stone slabs and then broadens out in a series of lazy bends before joining the Beas river, some two to three miles away. The main crossing of the river is reached from the town by a series of stone steps, similar to those at Sujampur. These go down from the polo ground through an archway, flanked by large figures of Hanuman on the left and Bhairo on the right. There is a similar series of stone steps culminating in a similar archway with figures on the other side of the river. Due to drought, plantain trees were no longer in evidence but we were told that in normal years they were abundant everywhere.

(3) The Fort itself, a massive structure now in ruins, has all the vestiges of ancient splendour. It is protected by embattlements and has a tank inside it, flanked by arched verandahs, one of them with nine arches still standing. There are also the remains of various pavilions. Outside, immediately to the east is a level open space of green sward backed by a large pipal tree. From this natural terrace, one obtains great airy views of the snowy Daula Dhar mountains to the north, a view of undulating ridges out to the Durga temple on the east and a view across the Ban Ganga River spreading out to join the Beas on the south. Seen from the Haripur fort, the distant Beas appears as a wide stretch of water, backed on the further side by long low hills. These are broken only by the stony beds of three streams (*khads*) which come steeply down to the river like glacial moraines. For the rest, it is the smooth and even lowness of the hills which chiefly impresses. A further marked feature of the view south from the Fort is a great horse-shoe line of banks which front the Ban Ganga as it makes its last bend before veering west to the Beas. Other

features are the many grassy slopes near the Fort, streaked by curving rims of fang-like stones. The stoppage of the grass, especially near the skyline, results in light contours and, lower down, in pale wavy ridges.

(4) The new palace, built by Raja Baldev Singh (1920-1959), lies a few hundred yards east of the Fort and during my visit in 1966 was occupied by the Rajput widow of his son who had died in 1958. It contained a large oil painting, very like a Rousseau le Douanier, of Raja Raghunath Singh (1884-1920) standing by a table with a vase of flowers and holding a little diamond-shaped leaf with a portrait of the baby Krishna painted on it. I gathered that it was the work of Narotam, a Mandi artist who had also executed a portrait of Raja Narinder Chand of Nadaun, also in Rousseau-like style.

(5) All the temples on the polo ground are now neglected but the Shiva temple by the tank in Haripur town is still in active use and contains a mural over the lintel showing Ganesha attended by four ladies, two of them wearing skirts with gay parti-coloured bands.

RELIGION

Religion in Guler seems to have been fairly evenly divided between respect for Shiva and Durga on the one hand and worship of Rama and Krishna on the other.

In Haripur town, there are two adjoining temples — one to Shiva, the other to Durga. There is another Shiva temple by a tank and at two corners of the *chaugan* (polo ground) are temples to Shiva and Ganesha. High above Haripur town at the eastern end of the ridge is a temple to Durga. Between this Durga temple and the Fort is a small Ambikeshwari temple. A further temple to Durga was built in 1699 by Bilas Devi (rani of Raj Singh, c.1685-1695) at Bilaspur (three miles from Haripur) 'to secure long life to her son, Dalip Singh, well-being to him and his people and perpetuity to her family' (Sastri, 1954). All these temples ante-date the eighteenth century.

So far as Vishnu is concerned, Rama seems to have had priority in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Krishna in the eighteenth and nineteenth. Raja Ram Chand (c.1540-c.1570) bore Rama's own name. Raja Man Singh (1635-1661) was 'heroic and a devout worshipper of Rama' (Sastri, 1914) and in 1688, Shyam Devi (rani of Bikram Singh, 1661-c.1685) built and consecrated in Haripur a temple to Ram Chandra, containing images of Rama, Sita and Lakshmana. This Ramchandra temple adjoins the gateway at the head of the steps leading down to the Ban Ganga river. The gateway is flanked by huge figures of Hanuman and Bhairo (the latter mistaken by Hugel for Hari and by French for Rama). It is significant that in two surviving portraits of Bikram Singh at worship (see no. 5) the little metal images are of Rama, Sita and Hanuman.

During the eighteenth century, bias in Vishnu worship seems to have shifted towards Krishna. Dalip Singh (1695-1741), is said to have brought a Radha Krishna image from Bir Bangahal after a conquest, built the Kalyan Rai temple for it beside the Kalyan tank in Haripur and named the temple after his queen, Kalyan Dai (*Diliparanjani*). He also built the Govardhandhari temple by the *chaugan* and installed in it an image of Krishna. In a portrait of him at worship (see no. 5(3)) the metal image is of Krishna playing on a flute. A Murli Manohar temple to Krishna at Guler (three miles from Haripur) also dates from the early eighteenth century.

A significant development was the founding of a new Vaishnava establishment at Bathu (ten miles from Haripur) in c.1727-1729. This establishment was an offshoot from the parent shrine at Pindori (Gurdaspur), which owed its existence to two Vaishnava saints, Bhagvanji and Narainji. Bishan Singh (first-born son of Dalip Singh and his father's deputy, c.1725-c.1730) endowed it with land, and, later, Govardhan Chand (1741-1773) built for it the Kewal Krishna temple to house an idol of Badrivishala. Subsequent Guler rajas venerated and, at times, visited the Bathu shrine (Karuna Goswamy, 1965).

II. HISTORICAL NOTES

SOURCES

- Archer, W. G. *Paintings of the Sikhs* (London, 1966).
- Baldev Singh, Raja. *Tawarikh-i-Rajgan-i-Guler* (Urdu, c.1940; trans. M. S. Randhawa, 1966). A manuscript account of Guler rulers in the eighteenth century based on family traditions, the Guler *vansavali* and on printed sources.
- Barnes, G. C. and Lyall, J. B. *Report of the Land Revenue Settlement of the Kangra District, Panjab* (Lahore, 1889). Barnes, 1852; Lyall, 1875.
- Forster, G. *A Journey from Bengal to England* (London, 1808), I, 258-259. Describes Guler and the Sikhs, 1783.
- French, J. C. *Himalayan Art* (Oxford, 1931).
- Goswamy, B. N. 'Pahari painting: the family as the basis of style', *Marg* (1968), XXI, no. 4, 17-62.
- Goswamy, Karuna. 'The Bathu Shrine and the Rajas of Guler', *Journal of Indian History* (1965), XLIII, part II, 577-585.
- Goswamy, Karuna. 'Vaishnavism in the Punjab Hills and Pahari Painting' (Doctoral thesis, Punjab University, Chandigarh, 1968).
- Griffin, L. H. and Massy, C. F. *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab* (Lahore, 1940), I, 71-75. Notes on Guler rulers from Govardhan Chand (died 1773) to Baldev Singh.
- Hugel, C. *Travels in Kashmir and the Panjab* (London, 1845).
- Hutchison, J. and Vogel, J. P. *History of the Panjab Hill States* (Lahore, 1933), I, 199-207.
- Kahan Singh Balaria. *Tawarikh-i-Rajputan-i-Mulk-i-Panjab* (Jammu, 1912). An account in Urdu.
- Khandalavala, K. *Pahari Miniature Painting* (Bombay, 1958), 195. Deduces the following approximate dates of birth of Guler rulers from their appearances in portraits: Govardhan Chand c.1713; Prakash Chand c.1745; Bhup Singh c.1765. The dates of birth of Prakash Chand are here regarded as c.1748 and of Bhup Singh c.1775.
- Lal, B. B. 'Paleoliths from the Beas and Banganga Valleys, Punjab', *Ancient India* (1956), no. 12, 58-92. Pl. XVIII A (p.61). View of Haripur Fort and the Ban Ganga river.
- Randhawa, M. S. 'Guler, the birthplace of Kangra art', *Marg* (1953), VI, no. 4, 30-41. Guler rulers as patrons of painting.
- Randhawa, M. S. *Kangra Paintings of the Gita Govinda* (New Delhi, 1960). Quotes from and cites Baldev Singh (q.v.).
- Sastri, H. 'The Guleria Chiefs of Kangra', *Journal Panjab Historical Society* (1914), II, no. 2, 138-151.
- Uttam, Kavi, *Diliparanjani* (Hindi MS in the possession of the Guler Raj family). A chronicle in verse of the reign of Dalip Singh up to its date of composition, 1703.

REIGNS AND PORTRAITS

An offshoot of the Katoch family of Kangra, dating from c.1405. Founded by Hari Chand, Raja of Kangra, following a hunting adventure in which he fell into a well, was given up for dead, mourned by his wives who committed *sati* and succeeded by his younger brother, Karam Chand. He was rescued by a merchant twenty-seven days later but, although offered the Kangra throne, he elected to leave Kangra and found a new state in the dense woods of Guler. Because of this circumstance, Guler is the senior branch of the Katoch family and even now on any occasion when etiquette is observed, the first place is unanimously conceded to it' (Sastri, 138). Clan-name, Guleria. Family suffix, Chand. Since HV is scanty and unreliable, other sources have in the main, been followed.

c.1570-c.1605 JAGDISH CHAND (i)

Abstained from revolting against the Mughal emperor Akbar. Stoutly independent of his neighbours, Nurpur and Kangra. Guler a reputation at the Mughal court for being

'so thickly wooded that it was difficult for even an ant or a snake to creep' (Barnes).

Marriage: Durgna Devi.

Sons: Vijaya Chand, Rup Chand.

Portraits: (1) Jagdish Chand attended by his younger son, Rup Chand, on an elephant. Inscribed. Chandigarh Museum, Guler Raj collection. Guler, c.1690. Discussed no. 2.

(2) Listed Gupta (1922), D.88. Jagdish Chand seated. Central Museum, Lahore. Guler, c.1725-1750 (traditional likeness, perhaps from a Mughal original).

(3) Listed Gupta (1922), D.89. Jagdish Chand standing. Central Museum, Lahore. Guler, c.1725-1750 (traditional likeness, perhaps from a Mughal original).

(4) Randhawa (1953), fig. A; also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), no. 100. Jagdish Chand attended by fan-bearer. Chandigarh Museum, Guler Raj collection. Guler, c.1725-1750.

c.1605-c.1610 VIJAYA CHAND (ii)

Son of Jagdish Chand.

Reigned briefly. Succeeded by his sons for only a few days. No further details recorded (HV).

Portraits: None.

c.1610-1635 RUP CHAND (iii)

Brother of Vijaya Chand.

Loyal adherent to the Mughals and a famous general. Was among the imperial forces which reduced Kangra, 1620. Rewarded by Jahangir with the gift of an elephant and a horse. Helped to quell a rising by Jagat Singh of Nurpur, 1624. Said to have overrun the Hills twenty-two (i.e. many) times at the instance of Jahangir. Officiated as a kind of local Mughal governor or superintendent. Also campaigned for Jahangir in the Deccan. Killed while fighting for Shah Jahan against Garhwal, 1635.

Son: Man Singh.

Character: 'An embodiment of military virtue and renown' (epigraph by his daughter-in-law, Kalyan Devi).

Portraits: (1) Rup Chand seated behind his father, Jagdish Chand, on an elephant. Inscribed. Chandigarh Museum, Guler Raj collection. Guler, c.1690. Discussed no. 2.

(2) Rup Chand attended by his son, Man Singh, on an elephant. Inscribed. Chandigarh Museum, Guler Raj collection. Guler, c.1690. Discussed no. 2.

(3) Khandalavala (1958), fig. 69. Rup Chand riding with retainers. Inscribed at top in *takri* characters: *guleria raje rup chand*. National Museum, New Delhi, Guler, c.1960 (perhaps from a Mughal original).

(4) Listed Gupta (1922), D.90. Rup Chand seated holding a hawk. Central Museum, Lahore. Guler, c.1725-1750 (traditional likeness perhaps from a Mughal original).

(5) Listed Gupta (1922), D.91. Rup Chand standing holding a hawk. Central Museum, Lahore. Guler, c.1725-1750.

1635-1661 MAN SINGH (iv)

Son of Rup Chand.

An active military life, campaigning for Shah Jahan on the northwest frontier, c.1640. Aided by Mughals in suppressing revolt by Jagat Singh of Nurpur, 1642. Conquered Mandi and Suket on Mughal behalf. Active enmity with Nurpur. More than held his own against Nurpur and Kangra. Built the fort of Mangarh. Guler sturdily independent and a strong power in the Hills.

Marriage: Kalyan Devi.

Sons: Bikram Singh, Gopal Singh.

Character: 'A heroic and devout worshipper of Rama' (epigraph by his wife, Kalyan Devi). Abdicated and retired to Banaras, c.1660. Died 1661.

Portraits: (1) Khandalavala (1958), fig. 64. Man Singh standing, leaning on a sword. Khandalavala collection, Bombay. Bilaspur(?), c.1660.

(2) Khandalavala (1958), no. 70. Man Singh seated with a fan-bearer attending. National Museum, New Delhi. Bilaspur(?) c.1670-1680.

(3) Man Singh, seated behind his father, Rup Chand, on an elephant. Inscribed. Chandigarh Museum, Guler Raj

collection. Guler, c.1690. Discussed no. 2.

(4) Man Singh, attended by his son, Bikram Singh, on an elephant. Inscribed. Chandigarh Museum, Guler Raj collection. Guler, c.1690. Discussed no. 2.

(5) Listed Gupta (1922), D.92. Man Singh standing. Central Museum, Lahore. Guler, c.1725-1750 (traditional likeness, perhaps after a Mughal original).

(6) Listed Gupta (1922), D.93. Man Singh seated. Central Museum, Lahore. Guler, c.1725-1750 (traditional likeness, perhaps after a Mughal original).

1661-c.1685 **BIKRAM SINGH** (v)

1661-c.1675 (HV)

Son of Man Singh.

Maintained Guler's reputation as a strong and powerful fighting state, campaigned for Mughals on north-west frontier. Acted, for a time, as Mughal Governor of the Kangra Hills. Famed for his physical strength (he could break a coconut in pieces with his fingers).

Marriage: Shyam Devi.

Son: Raj Singh.

Portraits: (1) **Fig. 1 (Guler).** Bikram Singh with his younger brother, Gopal Singh, on an elephant. Chandigarh Museum, Guler Raj collection. Guler, c.1690.

(2) Bikram Singh, seated behind his father, Man Singh, on an elephant. Inscribed. Chandigarh Museum, Guler Raj collection. Guler, c.1690. Discussed no. 2.

(3) **Fig. 2 (Guler).** Bikram Singh, attended by his son, Raj Singh, on an elephant. Chandigarh Museum, Guler Raj collection. Guler, c.1690-1695.

(4) **Fig. 5 (Guler).** Bikram Singh worshipping an image of Rama and Sita. Chandigarh Museum, Guler Raj collection. Guler, c.1700-1720.

(5) Randhawa (1953), fig. B; also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), no. 111. Bikram Singh seated. Chandigarh Museum, Guler Raj collection. Guler, c.1720.

(6) Mehta (1926), pl. 66. Bikram Singh worshipping an image of Rama and Sita. Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras. Guler, c.1750. Similar to (4).

Portraits of his younger brother, Gopal Singh:

No details recorded, but, on the evidence of the portraits, clearly a personality in his own right. May have acted as Raja during Bikram Singh's absence on war service, and after his death have advised Raj Singh and Dalip Singh.

(1) **Fig. 1 (Guler).** Gopal Singh, seated behind Bikram Singh, on an elephant. Chandigarh Museum, Guler Raj collection. Guler, c.1690.

(2) **Fig. 5 (Jammu).** Gopal Singh smoking. Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 184-1951. Jammu, c.1720.

(3) **Fig. 3 (Guler).** Gopal Singh playing chess. Chandigarh Museum, Guler Raj collection. Guler, c.1700-1720.

(4) Listed Coomaraswamy (1926). Gopal Singh. Inscribed on reverse: *sri mian gopala singh gulerada*. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

c.1685-1695 **RAJ SINGH** (vi)

c.1675-1695 (HV)

Son of Bikram Singh.

Abandoned active campaigning for Mughal emperor (Aurangzeb). Combined with Chattar Singh of Chamba, Dhiraj Pal of Basohli and Kirpal Dev of Jammu to resist inroads by the Mughal Governor of Lahore. Successfully aided Mandi and Bilaspur against the Mughal governor of the Kangra fort.

Marriage: Bilas Devi.

Son: Dalip Singh (born 1688).

Religion: Temples to Ramchandra and Shiva built in Haripur by Raj Singh's mother, Shyam Devi; dedicated 1688.

Portraits: (1) **Fig. 2 (Guler).** Raj Singh seated behind his father, Bikram Singh, on an elephant. Chandigarh Museum, Guler Raj collection. Guler, c.1690-1695.

(2) **Fig. 6 (Guler).** Raj Singh, attended by his son, Dalip Singh, on an elephant. Chandigarh Museum, Guler Raj collection. Guler, c.1705-1710.

(3) **Fig. 6 (Kahlur, Bilaspur).** Khandalavala (1958), pl. XI (col.). Raj Singh smoking with courtiers and attendants.

National Museum, New Delhi. Kahlur (Bilaspur), c.1685-1690.

1695-1741 **DALIP SINGH** (vii)

Son of Raj Singh.

Born 1688. Aged 7-8 years at accession.

Length of reign: 1695-c.1730 (HV); 1695-1744 (Baldev Singh); 1695-1745 (Khandalavala, relying on a statement in Mohan, *A History of Mandi State* (Mandi, q.v.) that Dalip Singh was still alive in 1745 when Adina Beg marched through the Kangra Hills); finally, 1695-1741 (Karuna Goswamy, citing a land grant by Govardhan Chand, dated 1746, 'in his fifth regnal year'; thus making the year of Dalip Singh's death, 1741). This last date is followed.

Minority 1695-1705.

Regency of the queen-mother, Bilas Devi.

Wars: Guler invaded by Jammu and Basohli, 1695, but saved by intervention of Uday Singh (iv, 1690-1720) Basohli, 1695, Chamba, and by Kahlur (Bilaspur), Mandi and Siba. Later, repelled raids from Kangra. Aided the tenth Sikh Guru, Guru Govind Singh, c.1698.

Religion: The queen-mother, Bilas Devi, dedicated a Durga temple at Bilaspur (three miles from Guler) to secure 'long life for Dalip, well-being to him and his people and perpetuity to her family', 1699. Also founded a Durga temple in Haripur.

Majority 1705-1741.

Aged 17, 1705. Aged 53, 1741.

Marriages: At least two, one of them to Kalyan Dai. Details unrecorded.

Sons: Bishan (Vishnu) Singh, by a first rani; Mahipat Singh (Baldev Singh, *Tawarikh-i-Rajgan-i-Guler*), presumably died young; Govardhan Singh (Chand) by his last rani; Basant Singh, a fourth son.

Internal affairs: Delegated the state administration to his first son, Bishan Singh, c.1725; and, on the latter's death, c.1730, to his second son, Govardhan Chand.

External affairs: Friendly with Mian Udhar Singh of Mandi at whose instance he intervened with Adina Beg Khan, Mughal Governor, thus averting the latter's threat to invade Mandi.

Religion: A pious ruler. Dinamani, the Rajguru ('Keeper of the Raja's conscience') is twice referred to in the *Diliparanjani* (folios 39 and 63; communicated, Goswamy). Actively connected with the Vaishnava revival in Krishna form. Founded in Haripur a Radha Krishna temple and named it Kalyan Rai after his rani, Kalyan Dai (*Diliparanjani*). Founded a second Krishna temple, the Govardhandhari, on the *chaugan* Haripur, and a third, the Murli Manohar, at Guler.

Artists: (1) Seu, Manak (Manaku), Nainsukh (Randhawa, 1955, 1956; Goswamy, 1965, 1966a, c, 1968).

(2) *Chiteras* (painters) are noted as among the classes that inhabited the town of Haripur under Dalip Singh (*Diliparanjani*, folio 33; communicated, Goswamy).

Portraits: (1) **Fig. 19 (Mankot).** Dalip Singh seated with his family-priest, Dinath. Archer collection, London. Mankot, c.1700.

(2) **Fig. 7 (Jammu).** Dalip Singh and Daya Dhata of Nurpur interviewed by the Jammu Wazir (?), Bhupal Dev of Jasrota. Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 111-1954. Jammu, c.1705.

(3) **Fig. 6 (Guler).** Dalip Singh, seated behind his father, Raj Singh, on an elephant. Chandigarh Museum, Guler Raj collection. Guler, c.1705-1710.

(4) **Fig. 31 (Mankot).** Dalip Singh seated. Chandigarh Museum, Lambagraon collection. Mankot, c.1720.

(5) **Fig. 10 (Guler).** Dalip Singh playing polo. Guler Raj collection. Guler, c.1730-1740.

(6) Randhawa (1953), fig. C. Dalip Singh worshipping an image of Krishna. Inscribed (see **Guler no. 5(3)**). Chandigarh Museum, Guler Raj collection. Guler, c.1730 or later. Same person as in (1)-(6).

(7) **Fig. 20 (Guler).** Dalip Singh, attended by his son and successor, Govardhan Chand, on an elephant. Chandigarh Museum, Guler Raj collection. Guler, c.1750.

(8) Dalip Singh seated. Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras. Guler, c.1730.

(9) Listed Gupta (1922), D.94, Dalip Singh. Chandigarh Museum (on transfer from Central Museum, Lahore). Guler, c.1730-1740.

(10) Listed Gupta (1922), D.95, Dalip Singh. Chandigarh Museum (on transfer from Central Museum, Lahore). Guler, c.1730-1740.

(11) Fig. 21 (Guler). Dalip Singh seated with his son and successor, Govardhan Chand, on a terrace. Chandigarh Museum, Guler Raj collection. Guler, c.1750.

Portraits of his first son, Bishan Singh:

Born c.1705. Died 'about ten years before the death of his father' (Baldev Singh, *Tawarikh-i-Rajgan-i-Guler*), i.e. in c.1730. Is noted by the same authority as having been very popular as *tika* (heir-apparent to the Guler throne) and as having been entrusted with the entire administration by his father. Is said to have endowed a new Vaishnava establishment at Bathu and to have raised a memorial to a Brahmin widow there in 1727-1729. Raja Baldev Singh adds: 'Bishan Singh was such an able administrator that though he was a *tika*, people started calling him Raja and even historians have been misled and included his name among the Rajas of Guler. Bhup Singh was similarly a *tika* but was called a Raja.' Although the Land Settlement Record of 1868 (Barnes, Lyall) refers to the 'reign of Raja Bishan Singh' and includes some land-grants by him, the fact that he is unrecorded in an epigraph dated 1797, listing the rajas of Guler (Sastri, 144-145), and is also omitted from the series of elephant portraits (see nos. 1, 2, 20) suggests that Raja Baldev Singh's view must undoubtedly be correct.

(1) Khandalavala (1958), no. 110. Bishan Singh standing. Inscribed in *takri* characters: *raje bishan singh guleria*. Jahangir collection, Bombay. Guler, c.1730-1740.

(2) Fig. 7 (Guler). Bishan Singh standing. National Museum, New Delhi. Guler, c.1730-1740.

(3) Listéd Gupta (1922), D.77. Bishan Chand (Singh) seated. Inscribed. Central Museum, Lahore. Guler, c.1730-1750. Identified by Gupta as the nephew of Devi Chand (viii, 1741-1778) of Bilaspur; but clearly the same person as in (1) and (5).

(4) Listed Gupta (1922), D.78. Bishan Chand (Singh) standing. Inscribed on the reverse in *takri* characters: *sri maharaje bishan singh guleria*. Central Museum, Lahore. Guler, c.1730-1750. Version or perhaps a copy of (2). Same person as in (1) and (3).

(5) Mittal (1966), fig. 2. Bishan Singh standing holding a bow and arrow against the background of a lake with curved rim. Inscribed in *takri* characters: *sri raja bishan singh guleria*. Karan Singh collection, Jammu. Guler, c.1740-1750.

1741-1773 GOVARDHAN CHAND (viii)

Third son of Dalip Singh, his eldest brother, Bishan Singh, having predeceased him in c.1730; his next eldest brother Mahipat Singh having probably died young.

Born c.1713 (Khandalavala), died 1773 (Griffin, Baldev Singh).

Wars: A quarrel with Adina Beg, Mughal Governor of the Jalandhar doab, about a favourite horse. Govardhan Chand refused to surrender it, went to war, repulsed the Mughal and kept the animal (HV, corroborated by Baldev Singh).

In c.1763, entertained Tika Brijraj Dev of Jammu on his expedition to regain for Chamba the fort of Pathiar, occupied by Kangra. Sided with Jammu and induced Ghamand Chand (1761-1773) of Kangra to cede the fort and make treaties with Jammu and Chamba (Baldev Singh).

Internal affairs: Acted as ruler for his father, Dalip Singh, c.1730 until his own accession, 1741. Imprisoned (c.1750?) his minister, Acchu, a member of the Bhatelar Rajput community in Guler following the discovery of intrigues against him. Suppressed a revolt of the Bhatelar Rajputs after Acchu's death in prison. 'It is said that when the Raja died in 1773, the Bhatelars did not believe it until they had satisfied themselves by pricking with pins the ears and nose of the corpse. While no one dared to rise against the Guler State in the time of Raja Govardhan Chand, a good deal of

intriguing began immediately after his death' (Baldev Singh).

External affairs: Tributary to Kangra, 1761.

Marriages: to a Basohli princess, 'Balauria rani', sister of Medini Pal (1722-1736) of Basohli (Kahan Singh); his own sister to Medini Pal of Basohli; his son, Prakash Chand to a Chamba princess.

Sons: Prakash Chand, Prakaram Chand.

Religion: Built the Kewal Krishna temple at Bathu, the new Vaishnava shrine which had been established in c.1727-1729.

Artists: Manak (Manaku) and his sons, Khushala and Fattu; Nainsukh and his sons, Kama, Gaudhu, Nikka and Ranjha; Dhumun and his son, Purkhu; Basia and Shiba (ancestors of Lachman Das, a Mahratta Guleria of Ustehar). See Randhawa (1955, 1956); Goswamy (1965, 1966a, c and 1968). No works by any of these artists, inscribed as being painted at Guler, are, however, so far known.

Portraits: (1) Fig. 20 (Guler). Govardhan Chand, seated behind his father, Dalip Singh, on an elephant. Chandigarh Museum, Guler Raj collection. Guler, c.1750. Aged about 17 years.

(2) Randhawa (1953), fig. 2; also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), no. 108. Govardhan Chand on horseback with a lance. Chandigarh Museum, Guler Raj collection. Guler, c.1733. Aged about 20 years.

(3) Govardhan Chand seated with his rani. Inscribed in *nagari* characters at the base: (*niboda raji*) *bilauri rani* 'The newly wedded i.e. Bilauri (the Basohli) rani'. Chandigarh Museum, Guler Raj collection. Guler, c.1750. Aged about 25 years.

(4) Fig. 21 (Guler). Govardhan Chand seated with his father, Dalip Singh, on a terrace. Chandigarh Museum, Guler Raj collection. Guler, c.1750. Aged about 25 years.

(5) Randhawa (1953), fig. 3; also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), no. 107. Govardhan Chand on an elephant. Chandigarh Museum, Guler Raj collection. Guler, c.1741. Aged about 28 years.

(6) Fig. 24 (Guler). Govardhan Chand smoking on a terrace. Chandigarh Museum, Guler Raj collection. Guler, c.1750. Aged about 30.

(7) Govardhan Chand on a war-horse with armour. Chandigarh Museum, Guler Raj collection. Guler, c.1745. Aged about 32 years.

(8) Govardhan Chand on horseback, in the distance a tiny cavalcade. Inscribed. Chandigarh Museum, Guler Raj collection. Guler, c.1750. Aged about 35 years.

(9) Khandalavala (1958), no. 103. Govardhan Chand watching a boy dancer. Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras. Guler, c.1750. Aged about 35 years.

(10) Skelton (1960), pl. 76. Govardhan Chand standing on a terrace. Inscribed in *takri* characters: *sri raja govardhan chand*. Private collection, Jammu, c.1750. Aged about 35 years.

(11) Fig. 15 (Guler). Govardhan Chand listening to musicians on a terrace. Chandigarh Museum, Guler Raj collection. Guler, c.1745. Aged about 30 years.

(12) Fig. 38 (Kahlur, Bilaspur). Govardhan Chand smoking. Archer collection, London. Bilaspur, c.1750. Aged about 35 years.

(13) Fig. 38 (Guler). Govardhan Chand seated with his rani and children. Chandigarh Museum, Guler Raj collection. Guler, c.1760. Aged about 47 years.

(14) Archer (1960), pl. 83 (col.). Govardhan Chand embraced by his little daughter. Inscribed (see no. 38(1)). Chandigarh Museum, Guler Raj collection. Guler, c.1763. Aged about 50 years.

(15) Listed Coomaraswamy (1926), 238. Govardhan Chand standing leaning on a sword. Inscribed in *nagari* characters: *sri raja govardhan chand*. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Guler, c.1765. Aged about 50 years.

(16) Fig. 48 (Guler). Govardhan Chand at a window smoking. Chandigarh Museum, Guler Raj collection. Guler, c.1770. Aged about 55 years.

(17)-(19) Listed Gupta (1922), D.96-98, 61. Govardhan Chand seated. Chandigarh Museum (on transfer from Central Museum, Lahore). Guler, c.1760 or later.

1773-1790 (1820) PRAKASH CHAND (ix)

Son of Govardhan Chand.

Born c.1748. Retired 1790. Died 1820.

Internal affairs: Uninterested in administration. Dhian Singh, member of the Guler royal family served as Wazir until 1785 when he abruptly left Guler, seized Kotla (q.v.) and made himself independent. Dhian Singh was succeeded as administrator by Prakash Chand's son, Bhup Singh — Prakash Chand retiring from government, c.1790 and Bhup Singh becoming *de facto* Raja.

From c.1770, Sikhs were a troublesome factor in Guler affairs, small Sikh bands preying on the countryside. Forster (1798) noted in March, 1783: 'The common road to Jumbo lay through Nadone, the principal town in the Kangra country, and through the district of Huriepour; but these places being then overrun by the Siques, we were obliged to deviate from the usual track, and proceed to the westward. It is to be feared that these turbulent mountaineers, the disturbers of their solitary abode, will stir up such commotions in their land as to wholly shut up this road, the only secure one from India to Kashmir' (I. 258-259).

External affairs: On friendly, if tributary terms, with Tegh Chand (1774) of Kangra and with his son, Sansar Chand (1775-1823).

Marriage: with Ananta Devi, sister of Raja Raj Singh (1764-1794) of Chamba, c.1765; a further marriage with the daughter of Raja Shamsheer Singh (1727-1781) of Mandi.

In 1797, Ananta Devi had a series of steps constructed up the cliff at Haripur 'for the convenience of the public' (Sastri, 145), presumably the steps up from the Ban Ganga noted by Hugel and French (see Scenery).

Sons: Bhup Singh; names of others unrecorded.

Character: Simple, pious and feckless, perhaps a little crazed. Is said to have been very generous and while distributing cloth to the poor, 'cackled at the sound (*jharaka*), produced by tearing it'. Exhausted the state resources by gross over-spending. Incurred heavy debts to money-lenders (Baldev Singh).

Portraits: (1) Fig. 34 (Guler). Prakash Chand smoking with maid-servants. Chandigarh Museum, Guler Raj collection. Guler, c.1753. Aged about 7 years.

(2) Fig. 38 (Guler). Prakash Chand seated with his parents, brother and sisters. Chandigarh Museum, Guler Raj collection. Guler, c.1760. Aged about 12 years.

(3) Randhawa (1953), fig. 6. Prakash Chand seated with his younger brother, Prakaram Chand. Chandigarh Museum, Guler Raj collection. Guler, c.1760. Aged about 12 years.

(4) Fig. 49 (Guler). Prakash Chand smoking. Central Museum, Lahore. Guler, c.1772. Aged about 24 years.

(5) Fig. 50 (Guler). Prakash Chand seated with his rani. Mehta collection, Ahmedabad. Guler, c.1772. Aged about 24 years.

(6) Fig. 51 (Guler). Prakash Chand with Raja Raj Singh of Chamba and others received by the Sikh, Jai Singh Kaneya. Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 128-1955. Guler, c.1774. Aged about 26 years.

(7) Gupta (1922), pl. 12; also reproduced Archer (1952), fig. 24; Khandalavala (1958), no. 124. Prakash Chand smoking by a courtyard, in the background horses exercising. Central Museum, Lahore. Guler, c.1780. Aged about 32 years.

(8) Fig. 52 (Guler). Prakash Chand smoking with Raja Sansar Chand (1775-1823) of Kangra. Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 150-1953. Guler, c.1780. Aged about 32 years.

(9) Coomaraswamy (1926), pl. 123; also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), no. 131. Prakash Chand smoking. Inscribed in *nagari* characters: *sri raja prakash chand gulere*. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Guler, c.1785. Aged about 37 years.

(10) Fig. 54 (Guler). Prakash Chand and his ladies receiving a party. Chandigarh Museum, Guler Raj collection. Guler, c.1795-1800. Aged about 47 years.

(11) Randhawa (1953), fig. 8; also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), fig. 85. Prakash Chand seated with a visitor, perhaps his Brahmin money-lender. Chandigarh Museum, Guler Raj collection. Guler, c.1810. Aged about 60 years.

1790-(1820)1826 BHUP SINGH (x)

Son of Prakash Chand.

Born c.1775. Died 1826 (Griffin).

Phase I: 1790-1813

Internal affairs: Following his father's retirement, assumed charge of state administration, 1790. Attempted assassination by Jagat Chand and Devi Chand (sons of Prakash Chand's brother, Prakaram). Jagat Chand exiled to Chamba, Devi Chand to Siba (Baldev Singh).

External affairs: Tributary to Kangra until 1805. Then joined a conspiracy of Hill states to overthrow Sansar Chand when the latter's supremacy became intolerable. Encouraged Kahlur (Bilaspur) to invite the Gurkhas to invade Kangra, and with Bilaspur and other states joined them in a war against Kangra. On Sikh intervention, the Gurkhas were repulsed — Kangra and all the Hill states aligned against it coming under Sikh supremacy (Ranjit Singh, Lahore), 1809.

Following the Sikh victory, Desa Singh Majithia was installed as Sikh Governor of the Kangra Hills, with headquarters at the Kangra fort. Bhup Singh was required to attend the Sikh court at Lahore. Guler became tributary to Lahore.

Marriages: Sampurana Devi, Patiala (?) and 'eleven others' (Baldev Singh).

Sons: Shamsheer Singh, Jai Singh.

Character: Physically strong, a great gourmand and gourmet, a firm administrator (Baldev Singh).

Artists: Gursahai, son of Ranjha, grandson of Nainsukh (Randhawa, 1955, 1956; Goswamy, 1965, 1966a, c and 1968).

Phase II: 1813-1826

Sikh administration: Due possibly to a default in paying tribute, Bhup Singh was arrested by Ranjit Singh in Lahore and troops under Desa Singh Majithia occupied Guler, 1813. Guler was then annexed by the Sikhs, Desa Singh Majithia becoming the Guler Governor. Bhup Singh was expelled from Haripur but allowed to live at Nandpur, on estates allotted to his ranis. For details of the Sikh annexation, see Barnes (1852); Archer (1966).

Portraits: (1) Fig. 55 (Guler). Bhup Singh with his Chamba mother. Chandigarh Museum, Guler Raj collection. Guler, c.1780-1785. Aged about 5 years.

(2) Randhawa (1953), fig. 9; also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), fig. 80. Bhup Singh on a riding expedition. Chandigarh Museum, Guler Raj collection. Guler, c.1785. Aged about 10 years.

(3) Fig. 57 (Guler). Bhup Singh with his rani lying on a bed above a stream. G. K. Kanoria collection, Calcutta. Guler, c.1795-1800. Aged about 20 years.

(4) Fig. 23 (Kangra). Bhup Singh in a darbar of Raja Sansar Chand (xiv, 1775-1823) of Kangra (the second figure down on the left from Sansar Chand). Welch collection, Cambridge, Mass. Kangra, c.1800. Aged about 25 years.

(5) Randhawa (1953), fig. 10; also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), no. 133. Bhup Singh shooting a leopard. Chandigarh Museum, Guler Raj collection. Guler, c.1800. Aged about 25 years.

(6) Fig. 59 (Guler). Bhup Singh with rani in a pavilion. Chandigarh Museum, Guler Raj collection. By Gursahai. Guler, c.1800. Aged about 25 years.

(7) Fig. 62 (Guler). Bhup Singh seated with his rani, ladies and a baby daughter. Formerly Latifi collection, Bombay. Guler, c.1810. Aged about 35 years.

(8) Fig. 64 (Guler). Bhup Singh seated on a terrace. Chandigarh Museum, Guler Raj collection. Guler, c.1815. Aged about 40 years.

(9) Randhawa (1953), fig. 11; also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), no. 140. Bhup Singh with a rani and a daughter on a terrace. Chandigarh Museum, Guler Raj collection. Guler, c.1815. Aged about 40 years.

(10) Listed Gupta (1922), D. 102, 62. Bhup Singh seated on a terrace. Central Museum, Lahore. Guler, c.1810 (?).

(11) Fig. 58 (Guler). Bhup Singh with a rani under a quilt. Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 202-1949. Guler, c.1795-1800.

Portraits of Desa Singh Majithia:

Sikh administrator, Guler, 1813-1832. In character 'affable, affable and generous. When not residing at the Kangra Fort or visiting other states, he lived in Guler and mingled with the local people. He also expressed his love for the area by marrying a hill woman who bore him a son, Ranjodh Singh. His gentle courtesy may well have mollified the embittered Bhup Singh and perhaps as a result, Guler artists began to shed their reliance on Rajput subjects and experiment with paintings for the Sikhs'. (Archer (1966), 18-20). For examples of paintings with Sikh subjects by Guler painters working at Guler, see Archer (1966), figs. 1-8, 10.

(1) **Fig. 69 (Guler)**, Desa Singh Majithia (?) carousing with a Guler lady. Chandigarh Museum, Guler Raj collection. Guler, c.1915.

(2) Archer (1966), fig. 10. Desa Singh Majithia (?) presiding at a wedding reception. Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 153-1952. Guler, 1815-1820.

1826-1877 SHAMSHER SINGH (xi)

Son of Bhup Singh.

Born c.1820 (Barnes). Reared and educated at the Sikh court, Lahore, c.1830-1839 (Baldev Singh).

Internal affairs: *Jagirdar* under the Sikhs, 1826-1849; under the British, 1849-1877, Guler becoming part of the British district of Kangra, 1849.

Career and character: Barnes (1852): 'Raja Shumsher Singh is the lineal representative of the Haripur family. His principal residence is at Nandpur, in his own *jagir*. The Government gave him the Fort of Haripur where also he occasionally resides. He is thirty-two years of age, has no children but a younger brother called Jai Singh. He is an enthusiastic sportsman, deeply involved in debt, and careless of everything except the chase' (33).

Griffin (1940): 'Shamsher Singh was the last of the old Rajput chiefs of Kangra. He was a rough, uneducated soldier, celebrated for his honesty and straightforwardness. In the first Sikh War (1845-1846), he gathered his retainers together and turned the Sikhs out of Haripur the old stronghold of his state. He shared the disappointed feeling of the Rajput chiefs generally when they learnt that the supremacy of the English was to bring them no relief from the degradation which Maharaja Ranjit Singh's ambitious policy had caused them. Yet Shamsher Singh remained outwardly loyal and refused to give countenance to the rebellious movement set on foot by some of his kinsmen immediately after annexation (1849). He died in 1877, leaving neither widow nor son; and his *jagir* consequently lapsed, as no provision for collateral heirs had been made under the *sanad* given him in 1853. But as an act of grace the estate was continued to his brother, Jai Singh, and his legitimate heirs male' (74).

Artists: Sultanu (son of Gaudhu, grandson of Nainsukh); Chetu (great-grandson of Khushala, son of Manak); Ghathu Ram, Sajnu and Hastu (Randhawa, 1955, 1956; Goswamy, 1965, 1966a, c, 1968).

Portraits: (1) Noted Randhawa (1955). Shamsher Singh returning from shikar on horseback, a dead wild boar being carried behind. By the painter Ghathu Ram. Guler, c.1850 (?).

(2) Khandalavala (1958), fig. 6. Shamsher Singh (?) leopard baiting. Khandalavala collection, Bombay. Guler, c.1840. Perhaps based on Randhawa (1953), fig. 10 (Bhup Singh shooting a leopard).

Portraits of Lehna Singh Majithia:

Son of Desa Singh Majithia. Sikh Governor of the Kangra Hills and Sikh administrator of Guler, 1832-1845 (?). Died 1854. For his 'patient forbearance', 'lenience' and 'friendly and generous intercourse with the deposed Hill chiefs', see Barnes (1852), Archer (1966).

(1) Listed Gupta (1922), D.35. Central Museum, Lahore. Sikh, c.1835-1845 (?).

(2) Archer (1966), fig. 36. Lehna Singh Majithia receiving petitions. Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 43-1960. Sikh, Punjab Plains, c.1840.

1877-1884 JAI SINGH (xii)

Younger brother of Shamsher Singh. Born c.1822.

Career and character: Gazetted Raja, 1878. Inherited a heavily encumbered estate, but saved from 'hopeless insolvency' by receipt of a Government loan of Rs. 80,000 (later repaid in full). On the evidence of inscribed portraits, clearly shared the family's sensitivity to painting. Appears also to have acted, on behalf of his brother, as main administrator.

Sons: Raghunath Singh, Hardit Singh.

Artists: See under xi, Shamsher Singh.

Portraits: (1) **Fig. 73 (Guler)**, Jai Singh in Sikh costume listening to music. E. B. Havell collection, since inherited by his daughter, Lady (Sonia) Wilson, London. Guler, c.1840. Aged about 18 years.

(2) Randhawa (1953), fig. 15. The marriage procession of Jai Singh. Chandigarh Museum, Guler Raj collection. Guler, c.1845. Aged about 20 years.

(3) **Fig. 74 (Guler)**, Jai Singh watching dancing-girls. Chandigarh Museum, Guler Raj collection. Guler, c.1845. Aged about 23 years.

(4) **Fig. 76 (Guler)**, Jai Singh riding with escort. Chandigarh Museum, Guler Raj collection. Guler, c. Aged about 23 years.

(5) **Fig. 77 (Guler)**, Jai Singh in Sikh costume discussing accounts. Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 14-1956. Guler, c.1850. Aged about 25 years.

(6) Jai Singh in Sikh costume conferring with courtiers. Chandigarh Museum, Guler Raj collection. Guler, c.1859. Aged about 37 years. Unpublished.

(7) **Fig. 78 (Guler)**, Jai Singh in Sikh dress watching a male dancer and musicians. Chandigarh Museum, Guler Raj collection. Guler, dated 1861. Aged about 39 years.

(8) Randhawa (1955), fig. 10; also reproduced Randhawa (1959), fig. 5. Jai Singh seated with Mr. Brandreth, Commissioner, Jalandhar Division. Inscribed (see no. 78(2)). Chandigarh Museum, Guler Raj collection. By Ghathu Ram. Guler, 1878. Aged about 55 years.

(9) **Fig. 80 (Guler)**, Jai Singh with his son, Raghunath Singh, on a terrace. Chandigarh Museum, Guler Raj collection. By Muhammad Baksh. Guler, 1882. White-haired. Aged about 60 years.

1884-1920 RAGHUNATH SINGH (xiii)

Son of Jai Singh. Born c.1865.

Career and character: 'A man of fair educational attainments. The value of his *jagir* was Rs. 24,000 according to the regular settlement of 1892. Was the leading Provincial Durbari of the Kangra district. His sister was married to the Raja of Mandi' (Griffin, 1940).

Inherited the family collection of paintings (Sastri, 1916, 1945; Ghose, 1929b).

For his fortune in the face of a series of family misfortunes, see **Guler no. 16** (inscribed in Urdu in his own hand).

Portraits: (1) **Fig. 81 (Guler)**, Raghunath Singh seated with courtiers on a terrace. Chandigarh Museum, Guler Raj collection. By Muhammad Baksh of Mandi. Guler, 1882.

(2) **Fig. 80 (Guler)**, Raghunath Singh seated with his father, Jai Singh, on a terrace. Chandigarh Museum, Guler Raj collection. By Muhammad Baksh of Mandi. Guler, 1882.

1920-1959 BALDEV SINGH (xiv)

Son of Raghunath Singh. Born 1883 (Griffin).

Career: Worked for a time as probationary Extra Assistant Commissioner.

Marriage: to the daughter of the Raja of Tehri Garhwal.

Son: Nardev Chand (born 1922, died 1958).

Character: Visited in 1929 by J. C. French who arrived by train in the morning, crossed the Ban Ganga river by pony, rode up the hill to Haripur, met Raja Baldev Singh, saw his collection of pictures, photographed some of them and departed in the evening (Private communications, French, Baldev Singh; also Archer, 1957d). For his views on Guler and Kangra painting, see French (1931), 37.

Visited in 1953 by M. S. Randhawa: 'The Raja was anxiously waiting my arrival and had misgivings whether I

would come at all. Though incapacitated by a stroke of paralysis, he had been good enough, on a previous occasion, to have called at the railway station with his retinue of servants dressed in ancient Rajput costumes. Unfortunately I could not meet him then. . . . The Raja had tied his paintings into three bundles which were all opened one after the other. He is a keen lover of art and appreciates his collection and readily supplied information about the personalities in the paintings, mostly his own ancestors. On the back of some of the paintings, the year in which they were painted is given in Bikrami year' (Randhawa (1953), 31). For Baldev Singh's own account of his ancestors based in large part on family traditions and records, see his *Tawarikh-i-Rajgan-i-Guler* (Urdu, c.1940).

Communicated to Randhawa particulars about the following Guler artists: Sultanu and Chetu, court artists of Shamsher Singh (1826-1877), Sajnu, Hastu and Ghathu Ram, flourished under Shamsher Singh and Jai Singh (1877-1884), Lakshman Das, son of Ghathu Ram, still alive and resident in Haripur.

Revisited in March 1954 by M. S. Randhawa and W.G.A. We were once again shown the family pictures, each bundle being brought out one after the other and carefully unwrapped. Raja Baldev Singh had personally annotated the fly-leaves of various portraits, noting on them the year of accession of particular rulers, as he had learnt them from a study of the family *vansavali*. He told me that in the case of the Govardhan Chand portrait, noted by French as being painted in 1743, he had not himself given French this date. The date on the fly-leaf — *vikram samvat 1800* (A.D. 1743), later corrected by him to 1801 (A.D. 1744) — had been personally entered by him as the year of Govardhan Chand's accession (Archer, 1957d). He explained the great preponderance of portraits in his collection on the ground that they were intimate and highly prized records of the family and hence could not be lightly parted with. Many other pictures in the collection had been slowly drained away but the portraits of his ancestors had remained as a treasured core. He also showed us, with some reluctance and embarrassment, a small series of erotic pictures. He assured us that all the pictures, remaining in his family collection, were the work of local Guler artists in Guler. Randhawa had earlier broached to him the desirability of the Chandigarh Museum acquiring from him the whole collection on account of its historical importance and as a record of the family's achievements as patrons of painting and during the visit we were able to secure his agreement and to settle terms. Raja Baldev Singh had been much saddened by his son Nardev Chand who had become a rake, an opium addict and was visibly ailing. He had little hope that his son would maintain his own interest in the paintings. Perhaps for this reason he preferred to see the collection lodged in a national museum. On a visit to the Punjab in 1960, I learnt that Tika Nardev Chand had died without heirs in 1958 and Baldev Singh in 1959.

IMPLICATIONS FOR PAINTING

Personality of rulers.

Despite the existence of two vernacular documents — the *Diliparanjani* of 1703, chronicling events in the reign of Dalip Singh (vii, 1695-1741) and the *Tawarikh-i-Rajgan-i-Guler* by Baldev Singh (xiv, 1920-1959) recording various family traditions — no clear-cut impressions of particular Guler rulers are available. In the seventeenth century, the closeness of Guler to the Punjab Plains and the skill of its rulers in warfare gave it an important role in Mughal affairs. Apart from contacts with the Mughal court, however, and the experience of campaigning far beyond the Guler frontiers, there is nothing to suggest that any Guler ruler of the seventeenth century had sufficient culture, sensitivity or knowledge to sponsor painting. An interest in portraiture may, however, have been generated by these contacts.

In the eighteenth century, Guler ceased to be of great account as a military power and it is possible that freedom

from warlike preoccupations and lack of feudal ambition may have prompted Govardhan Chand (viii, 1741-1773) to lead a more cultured existence. The presence of a painter colony in Guler is recorded in the *Diliparanjani*, written a few years before his birth, and, moved perhaps by the example of the Mughal court of the Emperor Muhammad Shah (1719-1748), Govardhan Chand and his family may have encouraged local artists to illustrate religious and poetic themes, and to execute portraits. The fact that musicians constantly appear in these family portraits and that the only war which Govardhan Chand is known to have fought was for a favourite horse suggests that he valued cultivated amusements more than feudal glory. A personality of this type could well have favoured experiments in painting.

It is perhaps significant that although a Vaishnava revival occurred in Guler in the latter part of his father's reign, and the former cult of Rama was to some extent superseded by that of Krishna, Govardhan Chand himself is not connected by family tradition with any great religious activity. So far as his son, Prakash Chand, is concerned, he is chiefly remembered for his wasteful extravagances, though what these exactly were is not recorded. Bhup Singh (x, 1790-1826) appears to have had a numerous zenana, but whether this was, in fact, larger than his father's is again uncertain. Some interest in romanticism can, however, be surmised and this may well have given later painting in Guler a semi-erotic tinge.

Relations with other states.

Basohli. Apart from a small war in c.1690 and a minor incident in c.1695, Guler was all along on friendly terms with Basohli. In about 1730, the two royal houses were linked by a double marriage — Medini Pal (1722-1736) of Basohli marrying the daughter of Dalip Singh (1695-1741) of Guler and Govardhan Chand (1741-1773) of Guler marrying the sister of Medini Pal. Since Basohli had, for long, been a prime and famous centre of painting, the induction of a Basohli princess at the Guler court may have encouraged painting in Guler. The intimate connection between the two states could also explain the loan to Basohli of the Guler painter, Manaku, in about 1727 and the subsequent patronage of this painter's brother, Nainsukh, by a later Basohli ruler, Amrit Pal (1757-1776). Friendship between the two states may also explain Basohli elements in early Guler painting.

Kahlur (Bilaspur). Since Bilaspur lay on the same trade route as did Guler, intercourse between the two states was comparatively easy. In about 1690, Guler aided Mandi and Bilaspur against the Mughal Governor of the Kangra fort and in about 1695, Bilaspur assisted Chamba to ensure the succession of Raj Singh's son, Dalip, to the Guler throne. Throughout the eighteenth century, no inter-marriages are recorded but relations appear to have been uniformly cordial. In the general revolt against Sansar Chand of Kangra's despotism, Guler seems to have had no hesitation in joining Bilaspur and other states in opposing Kangra. As in the case of Chamba, Kangra and Suket, Kahlur (Bilaspur) is recorded in the family diagram of the Seu-Manaku-Nainsukh family of Guler artists indicating where its members may have operated, and it is possible that changes in the Bilaspur style of painting towards the end of the eighteenth century (Bilaspur, q.v.) may be due to the arrival there of a painter from this Guler family.

Chamba. From the late seventeenth century, Chamba had close ties with Guler. Udai Singh (iv, 1690-1720) ensured the succession of Dalip Singh to the Guler throne in c.1695 and the two states were formally linked in the seventeenth century by the marriage of Anant Devi, a daughter of Umed Singh (vii, 1748-1764) to Prakash Chand (born c.1748), son of Govardhan Chand of Guler. The sympathetic relationship, illustrated by these marriages, could well explain Guler influences on Chamba painting from about 1760

onwards and the recruitment somewhat later in c.1770 by Raj Singh (vii, 1764-1794) of the Guler painter, Nikka (Chamba, *q.v.*).

Garhwal. Until the eighteenth century, no intimate connections existed between Guler and Garhwal. The two states were, however, connected by a trade route which passed through the lower hills and members of the Guler family, perhaps stimulated by the state's martial traditions and by dwindling opportunities for external adventuring, appear to have entered Garhwal service. Under Pradhyumna Shah (x, born c.1765, ruled 1785-1804) of Garhwal, a member of the Guler court, Hari Singh, became a prominent Garhwal administrator and even married Pradhyumna's daughter (Garhwal *q.v.*). Pradhyumna himself married a Guler lady, the daughter of Ajab Singh; a later ruler of Tehri Garhwal, Pratap Shah (xiv, 1872-1887) married in Guler and as late as the twentieth century, Baldev Singh himself (xiv, 1920-1959) married a daughter of the Raja of Tehri Garhwal. The deputation to Garhwal of Guler administrators and the marriages noted above presuppose a constant degree of traditional friendship and this could well have induced one or more Guler painters to seek patronage in Garhwal during the closing years of Govardhan Chand's reign. During the Gurkha interregnum in Garhwal (1804-1815), Guler painters in Garhwal may have retreated to their family homes in Guler but following the re-organisation of the state and court in Tehri Garhwal, at least one Guler painter, Chaitu, is known to have worked for Sudarshan Shah (xii, 1815-1859, Garhwal, *q.v.*). Movements of Guler artists between the two states may also explain the appearance of Garhwal idioms in states such as Chamba, Guler having acted as a centre from which Guler stylistic manners were diffused.

Jammu. Although Jammu became the paramount power in the western half of the Punjab Hills in the eighteenth century, its sphere of influence stopped at Basohli and Chamba. Nurpur lay between it and Guler and, following an abortive attempt in c.1695 to prevent the minor Dalip Singh from succeeding to Guler, Jammu took little further interest in Guler affairs. Relations were not, however, entirely severed and in c.1763, Govardhan Chand intervened on behalf of Jammu to induce Ghamand Chand (1761-1773) of Kangra to return to Chamba the border area of Pathiar. No Jammu painters appear to have gone to Guler but at least one Guler painter, Nainsukh, worked for Raja Balwant Singh, fourth son of Dhrub Dev (1703-1735) of Jammu. The circumstances of his recruitment are obscure but the close connection between Guler and Basohli, a similar connection between Basohli and Jammu and the employment at the Basohli court of his brother, Manaku, may have contributed to Nainsukh's migration. His experiences with Balwant Singh at Jammu from 1746 to 1763 may have indirectly influenced painting by members of his family at Guler, thus contributing to the development of the Guler school.

Kangra. As the senior branch of the family, Guler had social priority over Kangra and despite the latter's rapid rise to power under Ghamand Chand (1761-1773) and Sansar Chand (1775-1823), it maintained its cultural superiority throughout the eighteenth century. It would therefore be no surprise if Kangra availed of Guler experiments in painting and recruited from Guler its own cadre of artists. Under Govardhan Chand and Prakash Chand, Guler became technically tributary to Kangra but appears to have remained on cordial terms with the Kangra court. These friendly relations may have facilitated the drift of Guler painters to the Kangra court at Sujjanpur in the Beas valley in the seventeen-seventies. Under Bhup Singh, relations worsened, due, in large part, to Sansar Chand's arrogant assumption of supreme power and his abrogation of feudal niceties. This led Guler to support the general revolt against him in 1805. During the Gurkha invasion (1806-1809), Guler artists may either have continued working at Sujjanpur or may possibly have retreated to Guler. A tem-

porary stay at Guler during the horrors of the Gurkha war might explain a fresh injection of Guler idioms into Kangra painting during the post-Gurkha period, 1809-1823.

Kotla. Founded as a minor state by Wazir Dhian Singh of Guler, Kotla was annexed by the Sikhs in 1811. On the evidence of the Kotla family collection of pictures (Kotla *q.v.*), it is unlikely to have had any separate colony of painters but could well have obtained pictures from Guler.

Kulu. No relations with Guler are recorded.

Mandi. From 1637 to 1664, Guler and Mandi were frequently at war, Guler winning. In the eighteenth century, on the other hand, relations were friendly and peaceful, members of the royal families as well as courtiers being on visiting terms. Mian Udhar Singh of Mandi was a friend of Dalip Singh of Guler and it was the latter who averted a Mughal threat to Mandi. In the seventeen-sixties, the young Prakash Chand (ix, 1773-1790) of Guler married a daughter of Shamsher Sen (1727-1781) of Mandi and her brother, Surma Sen (1781-1788), maintained the friendship. Inter-marriages between Mandi and Guler continued throughout the nineteenth century — Balbir Sen (1839-1851) of Mandi marrying a daughter of Mian Sath of Guler and Bijai Sen (1851-1902) of Mandi (son of his father's Guleria rani) marrying a niece of Shamsher Singh (xi, 1826-1877) of Guler. Similar cooperation existed in military matters — Surma Sen employing Mian Gauhar Singh of Guler as a Mandi general and Zalim Sen (xiv, 1826-1839) appointing Mian Sodha Singh Guleria as a commander. In view of these close relations, Mandi could well have received Guler pictures as presents and have also employed Guler painters. Idioms in Mandi painting such as borders with decorative cartouches could also have been derived from Guler practice.

Hindur (Nalagarh). No relations recorded.

Nurpur. As immediate neighbours, Guler and Nurpur were inevitably involved in each other's affairs. As a consequence, Guler could hardly escape the domineering tendencies of Jagat Singh (1618-1646) of Nurpur, but by the end of the seventeenth century they had become close allies — a fact which is seen in the support rendered by Nurpur to Dalip Singh in about 1695 when his accession to the Guler throne was questioned by Jammu. A Jammu portrait of about this date showing Dalip Singh of Guler and Daya Dhata (c.1700-c.1735) of Nurpur seated together before Raja Bhupal Dev of Jasrota (Chief Minister(?) of Jammu) illustrates this common involvement. Since at least one Nurpur painter, Devidasa, is known to have worked at Basohli in the last decade of the seventeenth century and early painting in Nurpur has strong Basohli elements, friendship between Guler, Basohli and Nurpur could explain Nurpur and Basohli ingredients in early Guler painting. Later in the eighteenth century, Nurpur painting may, in turn, have been influenced by painting in Guler.

Siba. Siba was a small neighbour and junior off-shoot of Guler. No significant relations are recorded but like Bilaspur, Kangra and Suket, Siba is noted in the family diagram of the Seu-Manaku-Nainsukh family of Guler artists (Goswamy, 1968) as a state where one of its members worked.

Sirmur. No relations are recorded until the end of the eighteenth century but Karam Parkash (xiv, 1793-(1815) 1826) of Sirmur married among others a Guler princess who played an active role during the Gurkha interregnum (1803-1815) and acted as Regent for her son, Fateh Parkash, during the latter's minority (1815-1827). Since painting in Sirmur in the early nineteenth century has certain Guler characteristics, perhaps derived from neighbouring Garhwal, the presence of a powerful Guler lady at the head of the court may have contributed to this development.

Suket. Since Suket was on consistently bad terms with Mandi, Guler's friendship with Mandi may have prevented the growth of any close ties with Suket. In the first half of the seventeenth century, Shyam Sen (ii, c.1620-c.1650) of Suket married in Guler but only towards the end of the eighteenth century was another Suket-Guler marriage alliance effected — Ranjit Sen (vii, 1762-1791) of Suket taking his second rani from Guler and celebrating the wedding 'with great pomp' (Suket, q.v.). Since Suket is also noted in the family diagram of the Seu-Manaku-Nainsukh family (Goswamy, 1968) as a place where one of its members worked, it is possible that a Guler artist took employment in Suket at about this time.

The Sikhs. Due to its nearness to the Punjab Plains, Guler early aroused Sikh interest. Dalip Singh (1695-1741), however, wisely sheltered Guru Govind Singh and this may have secured for Guler comparative immunity from Sikh deprivations. Under Govardhan Chand and Prakash Chand, tribute was paid first to Jassa Singh Ramgarhia and later to Jai Singh Kanheya, but unlike Jammu town which was sacked by the Sikhs three times in the course of the eighteenth century, Haripur, Guler, escaped plunder and the Guler court seems to have achieved an amiable *modus vivendi* with the Sikhs. Following a deal with Jai Singh Kanheya, Sansar Chand of Kangra occupied the great Kangra castle in 1786 and from then until 1809 exacted the tribute formerly taken by the Sikhs. His rescue from the Gurkhas by the Sikh Maharaja Ranjit Singh deprived him of his right to take this tribute and from 1809 onwards, the Sikh, Desa Singh Majithia, occupied the Kangra castle on Ranjit Singh's behalf and levied tribute for his Sikh master. Failure by Bhup Singh to pay this tribute prompted Ranjit Singh to take drastic action and in 1813 Desa Singh Majithia forcibly occupied Guler, deposed its ruler and set up a Sikh administration. This remained in power until the second Sikh war of 1849 when Guler became a part of the British district of Kangra. During the Sikh period (1809-1849), the Guler court came under strong Sikh influence. Bhup Singh's two sons, Shamsher Singh and Jai Singh, being both educated at the Sikh capital of Lahore. As a result there was a general adoption of Sikh dress. The Sikh presence in Guler may well have modified painting and it could also account in part for the general deterioration which seems to have set in after Bhup Singh's death in 1826. Painting, however, was far from being extinguished and it was Guler painters who evolved a special Sikh style at Adinanagar, Lahore and Amritsar in the Punjab Plains (Archer, 1966, q.v.).

The Mughals. During the seventeenth century, relations between the Guler royal house and the Mughal emperors were exceptionally close, Rup Chand, Man Singh and Bikram Singh serving as Mughal generals and actively campaigning for Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb. These close contacts might explain the emergence of Mughal-type portraiture in Guler in the latter part of the seventeenth century. Although Mughal contacts lessened in the eighteenth century, the nearness of Guler to the Punjab Plains may have encouraged Guler painters to visit the Mughal capital at Delhi and profit from developments in Mughal painting under the Emperor Muhammad Shah (1719-1748). It may also account in part for the growth of a major interest in painting at the Guler court of Govardhan Chand.

III. PAINTING: REVIEW OF LITERATURE

1908

Havell, E. B. *Indian Sculpture and Painting* (London, 1908), 228-229. Col. pl. 59. 'Prince listening to musicians'. Unascribed but here identified as Mian Jai Singh (later Raja Jai Singh) of Guler (xiii, 1877-1884) and regarded as Guler, c.1840. See no. 73.

1914

Coomaraswamy, A. K. 'The Eight Nayikas', *Journal of Indian Art and Industry* (October 1914), XVI, no. 128, iii.

The first reference to painting at Guler.

'The Pahari paintings fall into two main groups: those of the Jammu district and those of the Kangra district. It must be understood that these terms include many local styles (e.g. Mandi and Guler belonging to the Kangra group), of which the exact source can rarely, as yet, be ascertained. Those which I believe to be from Kangra proper are indicated thus: (Kot Kangra).' Reproduces two pictures (figs. 8, 10, here assigned to Garhwal, q.v.) and captions them 'Kangra (Guler?) about 1800'.

Fig. 5. *Abhisandita nayika* (Radha's quarrel). See no. 40(1).

Fig. 6. *Khandita nayika*. See no. 40(2).

1916

Sastri, H. 'The Hamir Hath', *Journal of Indian Art and Industry* (October, 1916), XVII, no. 132, 35.

The first reference to a Guler Raj collection of paintings.

'That the (Kangra) school was prolific is evidenced by several collections of which I know. One of these is in the possession of R. Raghunath Singh of Guler (Haripur, district Kangra). Besides the representation of different subjects, it contains some well-drawn family portraits of the Raja.' For a more detailed account by Sastri of this Guler collection, see 1945.

Coomaraswamy, A. K. *Rajput Painting* (Oxford, 1916).

Uses the term 'Kangra' in the sense of the then British district (i.e. as including the former states of Kangra, Guler and Nurpur), claiming that 'the term Kangra must be understood as covering the work of a whole district'. Doubts if any work is still produced in Kangra itself but is informed by S. N. Gupta that 'painters still practice in Guler'. Offers no attributions to Guler or indications of a Guler style.

Discusses in detail (17, 59-60) the 'Siege of Lanka' *Ramayana* series (see no. 9) and attributes it to Jammu. For the later realisation that this series was from Guler, see Basu (1926), Ghose (1929).

The following illustrations are here assigned to Guler: Pls. 21 (col.), 22-24, 36, 37A, 43, 44A & B, 50B, 56, 66, 72A, 72B.

It is unfortunate that at this early stage, Coomaraswamy did not visit Haripur (Guler), examine the Guler Raj collection of pictures, or record any paintings of known Guler provenance.

1922

Gupta, S. N. *Catalogue of Paintings in the Central Museum, Lahore* (Calcutta, 1922).

The first publication to connect particular paintings with Guler.

Lists portraits of the following Guler rulers: Jagdish Chand, Rup Chand, Man Singh, Dalip Singh, Govardhan Chand, Prakash Chand and Bhup Singh (D.88-D.102). See *Historical Notes*.

Illustrates a portrait of Prakash Chand (D.100). See no. 52(2)

Lists two portraits of Bishan Singh (elder brother of Govardhan Chand) but confuses him with Bishan Chand of Bilaspur (D.77 and 78).

Lists eight portraits of the artist Pandit Seu (D.115), his son Manak or Manaku (D.116), Manak's son, Khushala (D.117), and the four sons of Nainsukh (second son of Seu but mis-described as second son of Manak), Kama (D.118, D.119), Gaudhu (D.120), Nikka (D.121) and Ram Lal (D.112). Nainsukh himself is not listed. For evidence connecting these artists with Guler, see Randhawa (1956).

Attributes the following pictures to Guler on grounds of provenance (Gupta, private communication, 1950; cited Archer, 1952):

E.8, p.74. 'Chandi Devi', 'Guler, late 18th century'. See no. 33(2).

E.12, p.75. 'The appearance of Kausiki'. 'Guler, late 18th century'. See no. 17(i).

E.13, p.75. 'The Devas worshipping Kausiki Devi'. 'Guler, late 18th century'. See no. 17(ii).

I.9, p.113. 'Krishna and the gopis'. 'Guler, late 18th century'. See no. 43.

The catalogue describes only those pictures in the collection of the Lahore Museum which were on exhibition at the time of its preparation. Other paintings, such as the remainder of the *Markandeya Purana* series (E.8, 12, 13) which were in the Museum's collection but not on exhibition, were, therefore, not included. For a reproduction of E.13, see Archer (1952a), fig. 28. The following further painting (pl. 13, G.6) — 'Maiden playing with a red ball' — is here ascribed to Guler.

1926

Gangoly, O. C. *Masterpieces of Rajput Painting* (Calcutta, 1926).

The following plates (variously attributed by Gangoly) are here assigned to Guler:

Pls. 15, 16AB. From the 'Siege of Lanka' *Ramayana* series. See no. 9.

Pl. 17 (col.) 'Kali'. From a *Markandeya Purana* series. See no. 17(2).

Pl. 23. Raja Prakash Chand (ix, 1773-1790) of Guler smoking. See no. 49.

Pl. 29 (col.). 'Sohni swimming'. See no. 19.

Pl. 35 (col.). 'The birth of Krishna'. See no. 47.

Pl. 36 (col.). 'Jasoda and the baby Krishna'. See no. 47(1).

Pl. 37 (col.). 'Crying for the Moon'. See no. 70(1).

Pl. 38 (col.). 'The toilet of Radha'. See no. 68.

Pl. 41 (col.). 'Radha's quarrel'. See no. 40(1).

Mehta, N. C. *Studies in Indian Painting* (Bombay, 1926).

Pl. 61. 'Morning worship'. Described by Mehta as 'rather a good portrait of the Benares School depicting a Brahman engaged in his morning worship'. Here identified as Raja Bikram Singh (v, 1661-c.1685) of Guler and ascribed to Guler. See no. 5(2).

Col. pl. 21. 'Blindman's Buff'. Inscribed on reverse in nagari characters: *manak ki likhi*. See Kangra no. 34.

Coomaraswamy, A. K. *Catalogue of the Indian Collections in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: Part V, Rajput Painting* (Boston, 1926).

Alludes to Guler as one of several possible centres of painting in the Punjab Hills and lists the following three portraits of Guler rajahs and nobles: Govardhan Chand (599), Prakash Chand (601, pl. 123), and Gopal Singh, brother of Bikram Singh (603). No further evidence cited. Pls. 10-15, 61 (187), 62, 112 (450) and 123 (601) are here assigned to Guler.

Basu, R. 'Mr Ajit Ghose's collection of old Indian paintings.' *The Modern Review* (January 1926), 43-48.

Reproduces a page from the 'Siege of Lanka' *Ramayana* series, later in the French collection, and notes a Guler provenance. See no. 9.

1927

Gangoly, O. C. 'Putana Vadha: a Kangra miniature'. *Rupam* (1927), no. 32, 129-130, col. pl.

Scene dominated by heavy plantains. Here assigned to Guler. Compare no. 71.

Coomaraswamy, A. K. *A History of Indian and Indonesian Art* (London, 1927). Fig. 266. From the 'Siege of Lanka' *Ramayana* series (Coomaraswamy, 1916, 1926). See no. 9.

1928

Havell, E. B. *Indian Sculpture and Painting* (London: second edition, 1928), 232-233.

Col. pl. 68. 'Prince listening to musicians' (Havell, 1908). See no. 73.

1929

Gangoly, O. C. 'Pandit Nainsukh, a 'Kangra artist'. *Rupam* (1929), no. 37, 63.

Reproduces and describes a self-portrait of Nainsukh here regarded as second son of the Guler painter, Pandit Seu. See Jammu, no. 28.

Ghose, A. 'The Basohli School of Rajput Painting'. *Rupam* (January 1929), no. 37, 9.

A confirmation and elaboration of Basu (1926). Remarks that the large *Ramayana* paintings, generally known as 'The Siege of Lanka' series and attributed by Coomaraswamy to Jammu were 'actually obtained from Guler' and that 'a large number of drawings identical in treatment were personally procured by me in Guler'. Adds: 'The provenance in these cases cannot be lightly brushed aside as affording no reliable evidence of the place of origin for the tradition is still strong that Guler or Haripur was a most important centre of Kangra art almost down to the time of the late Raja Raghunath Singh' (i.e. 1884-1920).

For corroboration of this tradition, see paintings in the Guler Raj collection, inherited by Raja Baldev Singh (xiv, 1920-1959) and later acquired by the Chandigarh Museum (Randhawa, 1953).

Stchoukine, I. *La Peinture Indienne à l'époque des grands Moghols* (Paris, 1929).

No references to Guler painting but includes the following plates useful for comparative purposes:

Pl. 61b. 'Women at a shrine to Shiva'. By Fateh Chand. Captioned 'Mughal, last quarter of 18th century' but here regarded as mid-18th century. Significant as possessing an oval format.

Pl. 64. 'Muhammad Shah celebrating the Holi festival with ladies and female musicians'. Captioned 'Mughal, second quarter, 18th century'. Gravely static grouping of forms. European-type recession. Converging lines suggesting perspective. Compare no. 41.

Pl. 82. 'Lady watching pigeons'. Captioned 'School of Bihar, end of 18th century'. Here regarded as 'Mughal Oudh, mid-18th century'. Faces comparable to those of 'The lady with the hawk' and her maid (28). See also 'Pigeons mating' (75).

Pl. 83. *Ragini* subject. Deccan, c.1720. Significant details: receding diagonals, extreme perspective prominently displayed breasts; flower-bed in foreground.

Pl. 88b. 'Shuja-ud-doula, Nawab of Oudh, wearing an Afghan style turban'. Captioned 'School of Oudh, third quarter, 18th century'. For a portrait of Govardhan Chand of Guler with similar type turban, see no. 48.

Pl. 95a. 'Lady with a red shawl'. Captioned 'School of Kangra, end of 18th century'. Broad expanse of red, angular flower-beds in foreground, slender tree to rear. Compare no. 68(1).

Ghose, A. 'The Schools of Rajput Painting'. *Roopa Lekha* (1929), I, no. 2, 5.

'Akin to the primitive Raginis in its employment of pure bright colours is the series of "Siege of Lanka" paintings in Dr. Coomaraswamy's and in my own collection. These paintings are of very large size, being in fact the largest paintings known on paper of the Rajput school. . . . I have discovered that the paintings all belonged to Raja Raghunath Singh, a former ruler of Guler. The Chiefs of Guler were indeed famed as patrons of the fine arts and it is (therefore) not improbable that the series of the "Siege of Lanka" was the work of Guler artists'. See no. 9.

With Ghose (1929a), the first firm realisation of the importance of Guler as an independent centre of painting in the Punjab Hills.

1930

Gangoly, O. C. 'Radha and Krishna against a red background'. *Rupam* (1930), no. 40, col. pl.

Faces similar to those of the princess and her maid in 'The lady with the hawk'. Compare no. 29(4).

1931

French, J. C. *Himalayan Art* (Oxford, 1931), 31-35, 37, 51, 53.

After Ghose (1929 a, b), the first detailed discussion of Guler as an important centre of painting.

Describes a visit to Haripur (Guler) in 1929, his meeting with Raja Baldev Singh (xiv, 1920-1963) and his inspection of a portion of the Guler Raj collection of pictures.

Makes no sharp distinction between 'Kangra painting' and 'Kangra Valley painting', but, on the evidence of the Raja of Guler's family collection (Guler) and the Maharaja of Lambagraon's family collection (Kangra, q.v.) tends to connect 'early Kangra painting' (i.e. pre-1775) with Guler and 'later Kangra painting' (i.e. post-1775) with Kangra. Considers that whether in its early phases (Guler) or its later phases (Kangra) 'Kangra Valley painting' was the supreme style in the Punjab Hills.

Regards painting in Guler as a direct offshoot of seventeenth century Mughal painting and a result of the migration to Guler of Hindu painters, trained in the Mughal technique but denied patronage under the Emperor Aurangzeb.

Cites the following examples of Guler Painting:

- (1) Bikram Singh (v, 1661-c.1685) of Guler on an elephant. Guler Raj collection, Guler. Photographed by French in the Raja's house and reproduced French (1950), pl. 1. See no. 1.
- (2) 'The Unveiling of Draupadi'. Central Museum, Lahore. Note: Although Guler provenance is not expressly claimed by French, Guler origin is implied. See no. 14(1).
- (3) Scene from the 'Siege of Lanka' *Ramayana* series. Demons attacking Rama's army of bears and monkeys. Frontispiece (col.). Acquired by French from Ajit Ghose on whose authority French states: 'This picture comes from Haripur, some three miles from Guler' (35). See no. 9.
- (4) 'The princess and the drummer' (pls. 6 and 7). Guler Raj collection. Seen by French in the Raja of Guler's house. Since acquired by the Chandigarh Museum. See no. 35(1).
- (5) Govardhan Chand (viii, 1741-1773) of Guler on a terrace listening to musicians. Pl. 9 ('slightly reduced', i.e. a partly unfinished portion of the picture is omitted). Photographed by French in the Raja of Guler's house and identified to him by Baldev Singh as his ancestor, Govardhan Chand. 'Plate 9 is dated 1743. The Raja is listening to music and the air of gentle reverie is well expressed. The pose of the individual figures and the balance of the whole is admirable. In this respect it resembles the finest of the Mogul paintings but it has a delicacy and a spirituality of feeling to which the Mogul art never attains'. For a detailed discussion of this 'date', see Archer (1957). Here discussed no. 15.
- (6) Several portraits of Govardhan Chand mounted on his favourite horse. Seen by French in the Raja of Guler's house as part of his ancestral collection. Included in the Guler Raj collection acquired by the Chandigarh Museum. See also Randhawa (1953).
- (7) A papier-maché book-cover showing Krishna on Garuda carrying the *parijat* tree. Photographed by French in the Raja of Guler's house and reproduced French (1959), pl. 2. Records the names of four living painters of Kangra — Nandu, Huzuri, Gulabu Ram and Lachman Dass — but gives their caste as 'Gujeria'. In the light of Randhawa (1955, 1956a) and Goswamy (1965, 1966a), this is clearly a mistake for 'Guleria' — the artists' families coming originally from Guler but later migrating to Kangra or 'Ajodh' (i.e. Rajol, an area on the Kangra-Chamba border).

The theory of a migration of Mughal artists to Guler and Kangra in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries was to dominate discussions in the period, 1930-1965. No proof of such a migration, however, has so far come to light and it has been suggested (Goswamy, 1968) that Mughal influence reached the Kangra Valley by means of Mughal paintings rather than through actual Mughal artists. No such paintings, however, have been found in local 'Kangra' collections and it is possible (see below) that Nainsukh and other artists may have temporarily worked at the imperial Mughal court where they gained technical experience and then have later returned bringing with them the new style. But for this theory also there is no firm evidence.

1933

Hutchison, J. and Vogel, J. P. *A History of the Punjab Hill States* (Lahore, 1933), I, 181.

Includes Guler as a place where 'Many paintings of the time of Sansar Chand (1775-1823) of Kangra are still extant'.

1938

Khandalavala, K. *Indian Sculpture and Painting* (Bombay, 1938). Fig. 108. 'Portrait of a lady' (Khandalavala, 1958). Captioned 'Paharai, eighteenth century'. Here regarded as a portrait of the 'Balauria Rani' of Govardhan Chand (viii, 1741-1773) of Guler and assigned to Guler. See no. 26.

1945

Sastri, H. 'Guleria Paintings'. *B. C. Law Volume. Part I* (ed. Bhandarkar, D. R. and others, Calcutta, 1945), 642-644.

An expanded version of Sastri (1916), containing a much fuller, if somewhat superficial account of the Guler Raj collection of paintings, as it existed in the time of Raghunath Singh (xiii, 1884-1920). Notes that 'besides portraits, it had paintings of *raginis*, *navikas*, flowers, deities and other subjects'.

Illustrates the following two paintings from the collection Pl. 1. 'Lady in a garden'. Compare no. 30. Pl. 2. *Utka nayika*. See no. 30.

Goetz, H. 'Raja Isvari Sen of Mandi and the history of Kangra painting', *Bulletin Baroda Museum* (1944-1945), 11, part i, 35-38.

Stresses the reign of Raja Govardhan Chand of Guler as 'the first preparatory stage of Kangra painting' and, adopting HV's dates for his reign (1730-1760), suggests that 'after 1758 the Guler school was more and more absorbed by Kangra'.

It is unfortunate that, as elsewhere, Goetz refrains from relating his theories to actual pictures, since, in this particular paper, concrete references would have been especially helpful.

1948

French, J. C. 'Kangra Architecture'. *Art and Letters* (1948), XXII, No. 1, 18-20.

'Guler, in the days of its independence in the eighteenth century, was a great centre of Kangra Valley art. When I was there, the Raja of Guler showed me some splendid paintings of the time of his ancestor, Raja Govardhan Singh, who reigned in the first half of the eighteenth century.'

Gray, B. *Rajput Painting* (London, 1948).

Alludes to 'Govardhan Chand listening to musicians' (French 1931) as 'from life', but regards 'Bikram Singh on an elephant' (French, 1931, 1950) as 'of much later date'. See nos. 1, 15.

Pl. 5. 'The Gods in Vishnu's Heaven'. See no. 29.

Pl. 8. 'The holy family'. See no. 39(1).

1950

French, J. C. 'Guler Art'. *Art and Letters* (1950), XXIV, no. 1, 32-35.

Pl. 1. Bikram Singh (v, 1661-c.1685) of Guler on an elephant (French, 1931). See no. 1.

Alludes to French (1931), pl. 9 (portrait of Govardhan Chand) and to other portraits of this raja on horseback in the Guler Raj collection.

Reproduces (pls. 2 and 3) two paintings on *papier maché* book-covers photographed in the Raja's house (French, 1931).

Pl. 2. 'Krishna on Garuda carrying the *parijat* tree'.

Pl. 3. 'Shiva and Parvati on Nandi'.

Stresses Guler's position 'at the entrance to the Kangra Valley where it joins the Punjab Plain' and its easy accessibility to outside cultural influences.

Attributes to Guler nos. 608 and 609, Royal Academy Exhibition, London (1947), listed Gray (1950). See no. 36.

Gray, B. 'Painting', *The Art of India and Pakistan* (ed. L. Ashton, London, 1950).

Apart from listing nos. 608 and 609 (Latifi collection, Bombay) as 'Guler school, early 19th century' (French, 1950, see no. 36), makes no allusions to Guler as a centre of painting.

The following plates are here regarded as Guler:

Pl. 110 (551). 'Krishna swinging with the herd-boys'. See no. 44(1).

Pl. 112 (560). 'Krishna consoling Subadhra'. See no. 45(1).

Pl. 113 (552). 'Shiva and Parvati with Nandi'. See no. 72(1).

Werner, A. *Indian Miniatures* (New York, c.1950). Col. pl. 5. 'Bir Singh of Nurpur'. See no. 71(2).

1951

Goetz, H. 'The background of Pahari-Rajput painting', *Roopa Lekha* (1951), XXII, no. 1, 1-16.

Refers to painting in Nurpur, Chamba, Basohli, Jammu, Garhwal and Kangra but omits all mention of Guler.

Archer, W. G. 'Catalogue of the Sir William Rothenstein collection of Indian paintings and drawings', *Art and Letters* (1951), XXV, no. 1, 8-11.

Lists a portion of the Rothenstein collection of Indian miniatures (later acquired, in whole, by the Victoria and Albert Museum), including the following two paintings there attributed to Guler:

Cat. no. 26. 'Vaikunth, the heaven of Vishnu'. See no. 29.

Cat. no. 27. 'The unveiling of Draupadi'. See no. 14.

Cat. no. 25. 'Lady conversing with a messenger' is here assigned to Garhwal.

1952

Archer, W. G. *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills* (London, 1952), 17-79.

Seeks to solve the problem of a highly developed school of painting in Kangra (1780 onwards) by regarding it as an offshoot and continuation of an earlier school of painting in Guler (1720-1780).

Argues that 'the state of Guler played a decisive part in the development of Pahari painting in the eighteenth century. Not only did it develop a local art of the greatest delicacy and charm but the final version of this Guler style was taken to Kangra in about 1780 — thus becoming the 'Kangra' style itself. Guler is not merely one of thirty-eight small centres of Pahari art. It is the originator and breeder of the greatest style in all the Punjab Hills' (17).

Attempts to justify this thesis by a detailed reconstruction of painting in Guler on the basis of

- (1) its historical seniority to the state of Kangra,
- (2) its geographical nearness to the Punjab Plains and consequent accessibility to Mughal influence,
- (3) existence at Guler of traditions of painting and of a Guler Raj collection of pictures (Ghose 1929; French 1931, 1950),
- (4) the 'Siege of Lanka' *Ramayana* series (Guler provenance, Ghose 1929),
- (5) a portrait of Raja Govardhan Chand (viii, 1741-1773) of Guler 'dated' 1743 (Guler Raj collection, French 1931),
- (6) a portrait of Raja Prakash Chand (ix, 1773-1790) of Guler (Central Museum, Lahore), Guler provenance (Gupta, private communication, 1950),
- (7) four further pictures (Gupta, 1922) in the Central Museum, Lahore, attributed to Guler by Gupta on grounds of provenance,
- (8) further pictures attributable to Guler on grounds of style by comparison with (4) to (7).

Publishes (fig. 35) the portrait of Raja Balwant Singh dated 1748 by the painter Nainsukh 'of Jasrota' (Gray, 1950) and identifies him as Balwant Singh, fourth son of Raja Dhrub Dev (1703-1735) of Jammu. Argues from its close stylistic similarity with the portrait of Govardhan Chand of Guler (French, 1931) that Nainsukh was a Guler

artist who after working for a time as painter to Balwant Singh of Jammu returned to Guler and assisted in the main development of Guler painting (69). For examples of Nainsukh's work under Raja Balwant Singh of Jammu, see **Jammu, nos. 24-55.**

The following plates are here regarded as Guler:

Frontispiece (col.). 'The lady with the hawk'. See no. 28. Figs. 11-13. From the 'Siege of Lanka' *Ramayana* series. See no. 9.

Fig. 14. 'The unveiling of Draupadi'. See no. 14.

Fig. 16. 'Raja Govardhan Chand listening to music'. See no. 15.

Fig. 17. 'The Gods in Vishnu's Heaven'. See no. 29.

Fig. 18. 'Krishna awaiting Radha'. See no. 29(3).

Fig. 19. 'Radha and Krishna in a garden house'. See no. 29(4).

Fig. 21. 'Chandi Devi'. See no. 33(2).

Fig. 22. 'Raja Govardhan Chand with ladies'. See no. 37.

Fig. 24. 'Raja Prakash Chand'. See no. 52(2).

Fig. 25. 'Krishna and the gopis'. See no. 43.

Figs. 26-28. From a *Markandeya Purana* series. See no. 17.

Fig. 29. 'Shiva and Parvati'. See no. 16.

Fig. 30. 'The lady by the lake'. See no. 18.

Fig. 31. 'The lady and the plantain'. See no. 67.

Fig. 32. 'The toilet'. See no. 68.

Fig. 33. 'Raja Bhup Singh of Guler with his rani' (but captioned 'Govardhan Singh'). See no. 57.

Fig. 58. 'Awaiting the lover'. See no. 23(5).

Fig. 60. 'Lady on a terrace'. See no. 23.

Figs. 61, 66, 69, 70. From a *Nayaka Nayika* series. See no. 23(1-4).

Archer, W. G. *Kangra Painting* (London, 1952).

Elaborates the thesis advanced in Archer (1952a), holding that Kangra painting originated as an offshoot from Guler in c.1780.

Regards early painting in Guler as dating from the latter part of the reign of Dalip Singh (1695-c.1730(1741)) and connects it with the arrival of painters from Basohli. 'Flat red planes are used for backgrounds while certain idioms for trees, architecture and people have robust Basohli characters.' Argues that it was under Raja Govardhan Singh (c.1730(1741)-1773) that decisive experiments were made and, adopting the theory which was then current, suggests that 'in about the year 1740, a Mughal artist from the Plains joined the court'. 'His methods were closely similar to those of another artist, Nainsukh, who, a few years later, was painting for a scion of the house of Jammu, Raja Balwant Singh. So close, in fact, are the two styles that it is more than likely that either Nainsukh himself also worked at Guler, producing the pictures in question, or members of his family, skilled in his own technique, were given employment.'

Presents the following view of painting at Guler, maintaining that, 'from 1740-1770, two strands of expression occur, each strand affecting the other yet each remaining perceptibly distinct. The strand illustrated by the Mughal 'outsider' accounts for various pictures of the Raja and his court, as also for certain studies on religious themes. All these show a keen interest in pose and gesture, individuals are portrayed with marked facial character and the line is, in general, so suave and fluid that the whole composition exudes a vivid naturalism. The other strand, deriving from the early contact with Basohli, accounts for pictures in which the backgrounds are still, to a great extent, schematic. Flat red planes are employed, a standard combination of red, blue and white persists while abrupt angular settings provide sharp contrast to the suavely rendered figures. Side by side with such technical developments, there also emerges a 'deliberate research into physical charm'. In both kinds of Guler art, ladies were now portrayed with a conscious delight in their fluid movements and rhythmical grace, sexual symbols were freely exploited and pictures were increasingly produced illustrating with exquisite refinement the poetry of passion. When in 1773, Raja Govardhan Singh at length died, Guler artists were still

experimenting with different physical types, no single authoritative manner had been evolved and there was still a difference between the rival strands of art. Many works of charming nobility, however, had been produced, a new vocabulary of artistic expression had been devised and the stage was set for a new superb flowering.' Connects this 'flowering' with the conditions created by Sansar Chand (1775-1823) at Kangra and accepts a suggestion that Kushan Lal, recorded by French (1931) as Sansar Chand's favourite artist, is 'identical with Khushala, nephew of Nainsukh'.

For modifications of this account, especially as regards the arrival of a 'Mughal outsider' in c.1740, see Catalogue. On the question as to whether Nainsukh himself actually worked at the Guler court, or whether it was members of his family or other Guler artists who played the prime role in creating the Guler styles, see below.

Pl. 3. 'The bending of the bow' is here regarded as Guler: see no. 47(1).

1953

Rowland, B. *The Art and Architecture of India* (London, 1953).

Fig. 132. From the 'Siege of Lanka' *Ramayana* series. See no. 9.

Randhawa, M. S. 'Guler, the birthplace of Kangra Art', *Marg*, (1953), VI, No. 4, 30-42.

Supports Archer (1952a, b), by publishing twenty key portraits (figs. A-C, 1-17) of Guler Rajas from the ancestral collection of Raja Baldev Singh (xiv, 1920-1959) of Guler.

Among other points, stresses the close artistic ties between Guler and Basohli, perhaps resulting from Govardhan Chand's marriage to a Basohli princess ('Balauria rani').

Suggests that Prakash Chand's spendthrift character may have expressed itself in the over-extravagant patronage of singers, shikaris and painters.

Emphasises for the first time, the strong Sikh elements in Guler painting from 1815 onwards.

A pioneer contribution of great importance since it published many inscribed portraits of Guler rulers of known Guler provenance; it provided new evidence (appearances and ages of the subjects) for dating Guler paintings of the 1720-1780 period and it carried the reconstruction of Guler painting into the period 1780-1880.

Of the portraits published, the following are especially significant for corroborating the connection with Guler of certain types of female face, costume and figure (Archer, 1952A):

Fig. 4. Govardhan Chand with his Basohli rani and their children. See no. 38.

Fig. 11. Bhup Singh with rani and child. See no. 64(1).

Fig. 12. Bhup Singh on a terrace. See no. 64.

Fig. 16. Jai Singh watching dancing girls. See no. 74.

1954

Randhawa, M. S. *Kangra Valley Painting* (New Delhi, 1954), 3-4.

'The three main centres of Kangra painting are Guler, Nurpur and Tira Sujanpur (Kangra state). Guler and Nurpur are near the plains and their rajas came into early contact with the Mughal emperors. Of the Hill states Guler has the longest tradition in the art of painting. . . . The largest number of paintings belong to the reign of Govardhan Chand (1744-1773) and it was during this period that the Kangra art of painting was born of the fusion of Rajput and Mughal styles. It reached maturity in the reign of Prakash Chand and Bhup Singh and continued right up to A.D. 1878.'

Of the forty colour plates the following are especially significant for Guler:

Pl. 1. Govardhan Chand listening to music (French, 1931; Archer, 1952a; Randhawa, 1953). Guler Raj collection. See no. 15.

Pls. 12, 13, 14 and 18. From the Chandigarh Museum, originally obtained from the Rani of Garhmanaswal,

Hoshiarpur district, whose grandmother came from Guler and brought these pictures with her (Randhawa, private communication, 1960).

Pl. 23. Bhup Singh with his rani in a pavilion. Guler Raj collection. See no. 59.

Pl. 8. Radha's quarrel (Gangoly, 1926). See no. 40(1).

Randhawa, M. S. 'Kangra Valley School of Painting', *Art and Letters* (1954), XXVIII, No. 1, 6.

An account of interviews with descendants of Kangra painters, eliciting the important fact that Nikka, great-grandfather of the living painter Lachman Das of Rajol, migrated to Rajol, near Kangra, from Guler. Stresses that Kangra art had very little to do with Kangra town and that after taking birth at Guler under Rajas Bikram Singh and Dalip Singh, it reached maturity at Guler under Rajas Govardhan Chand and Prakash Chand. 'From thence onwards it enjoyed the patronage of Maharaja Sansar Chand (of Kangra) at Sujanpore Tira.' See also under Kangra.

Archer, W. G. *Garhwal Painting* (London, 1954).

Regards painting in Garhwal (c.1770-1803) as the work of immigrant painters from Guler: Kangra painting and Garhwal painting being 'parallel developments from the same artistic source'.

Suggests what circumstances may have prompted this migration and in what respects Garhwal painting depended on Guler (Garhwal, *q.v.*). Stresses the relevance of certain marriage ties between Guler on the one hand and with Chamba and Garhwal on the other.

1955

Gangoly, O. C. 'A group of Pahari miniatures in the Baroda Museum', *Bulletin Baroda Museum* 1953-1955), X-XI, 9-17.

Fig. 5. A garden scene. 'Said to have come from Guler'.

Lal, Mukandi. 'Garhwal School not founded by Guler artists', *Roopa Lekha* (1955), XXVI, no. 2, 78-81.

Discussed Garhwal (1955). Garhwal *q.v.*

Randhawa, M. S. 'Kangra Artists', *Art and Letters* (1955), XXIX, No. 1, 1-9, figs. 1-10.

A first attempt to identify the painter Nainsukh and his family (Gupta, 1922; Gangoly 1929; Archer, 1952a, b) and to trace their migrations.

Obtained from the living painter, Lachman Das of Rajol (Randhawa, 1954) a much fuller account of his family, which revealed that Nikka who had migrated from Guler to Rajol was, in fact, a son of Nainsukh and a grandson of Seu. Ascertained that the family home was at Guler, that Seu may have settled there in about 1720-1730 and that his two sons, Manak and Nainsukh were thus natives of Guler. Publishes a detailed genealogy, giving names of Manak's and Nainsukh's sons, grandsons and their later descendants.

Reproduces seven out of eight inscribed portraits of Seu and members of his family (listed Gupta, 1922) as well as the separate portrait of Nainsukh (Gangoly, 1929).

Attributes to Gursahai, son of Ranja (Nainsukh's fourth son), a picture of Bhup Singh with his rani (fig. 9) and discusses his work in detail. See no. 59.

On the basis of the family traditions of a second living painter, Gulabu Ram of Samloti (also near Kangra town), connects with Guler a further family of artists — Dhumun who is said to have migrated from Guler to Samloti, his son, Purkhu who was employed at the court of Sansar Chand of Kangra, and a second son, Fattu, also associated with Kangra.

On the basis of the family traditions of a third living painter, Lachman Das of Ustehar (Samloti), connects with

Guler an ancestor (Basia) who is said to have come to Kangra from Guler 'at the time when Maharaja Sansar Chand was married to a girl from Guler'. [There is no record of this 'marriage' but it is possible that some irregular connection is implied.]

On the evidence of Raja Baldev Singh (xiv, 1920-1959) of Guler connects with Guler three further painters: Sajnu, Hastu and Ghathu Ram all of whom painted under Rajas Shamsher Singh and Jai Singh (c.1825-c.1885). Gives details of Ghathu Ram's work. See no. 79.

Comment: Although marred by errors of detail and by some confusion in names, this second article by Randhawa was also of pioneer importance.

So far as detailed genealogies are concerned, Manaku's line of descent, as given, seems substantially correct. When I went to Kangra in 1966, Lachman Das of Rajol was dead but his son, Chandulal possessed a family tree which coincided with that given by Randhawa except that Khushala was spelt Kusala and his son was given as Sikhana, not Sheenu. Since Chandulal was descended from Nainsukh's branch of the family and his ancestor, Nikka had migrated from Guler to Rajol in about 1770, it was perhaps not surprising that he knew nothing of Manak, his son and grandson other than their names. It is significant that Randhawa also, while ascertaining that Manak was of Guler, was unable to give further details of this branch.

As regards Nainsukh and his sons, the position is more complex. Nainsukh's four sons are listed by Randhawa in the following order: (1) Ranjha (2) Gaudhu (3) Nikka (4) Ram Lal. No mention is made of Kama who is inscribed on the portrait (fig. 4) as his first son, and, for some reason, Ranjha is differentiated from Ram Lal, who is inscribed on his portrait (fig. 7) as the same person. In addition, grandsons who in fact properly belonged to one son are, in the main, allocated to different fathers. Ranjha instead of Nikka is shown as father of Harkhu, Chhajju and Gokal. Gaudhu, instead of Kama, is shown as childless, Ramlal instead of Gaudhu is shown as the father of Sultanu and Sukhia, and Nikka, instead of Ranjha, is shown as father of Sobhli and Sultanu. This confusion was partially rectified in 1956 when Randhawa re-printed the article in *Roopa Lekha* (q.v.). He there credited Nikka and Ranjha with the right sons but listed and named the four brothers in a manner which still seemed unsatisfactory. The names and their order now ran: (1) Nikka (2) Ram Lal (3) Ranjha (Kama) and (4) Johru (Gaudhu). On the evidence of the inscriptions, the names and their order should have run: (1) Kama (2) Gaudhu (3) Nikka (4) Ranjha (Ram Lal). As shown much later by Goswamy (1965, 1966a, 1968), these are the right names and the latter is their right order.

Although demonstrating the need for these particular revisions, Goswamy's enquiries corroborated Randhawa's revised account of Nikka and his descendants and, what is perhaps even more important, fully confirmed his discovery that the home of Seu, Manak and Nainsukh was Guler. Randhawa's conclusions were thus not only substantially correct but were crucially important since they confirmed by the evidence of artists' traditions what had hitherto been surmised solely on grounds of style (Archer, 1952a, b).

The following further points, arising out of his first publication of the Lahore portraits, may be made:

(1) Although the portraits relate to the same family of artists, they were obviously done at different times — Seu and Nainsukh being possibly portrayed at about the same time (c.1740-c.1750?), the remaining six being portrayed much later (c.1775-1800). In the case of the four sons of Nainsukh, the youngest, Ranjha, looks about 30, Nikka perhaps 35, Gaudhu (who is painted on the same sheet as Nikka and alone of the four brothers has a white beard) 50, while Kama looks about the same age as Ranjha, but, as suggested by Goswamy, may possibly have died fairly young. Khushala appears aged about 40.

(2) It is significant that while the name of the family's founder is spelt *seu* in *nagari* characters, it is spelt *shiv* in Persian. *Seu* roughly corresponds to the way 'Shiva' is often pronounced and despite its strangeness, may have been the scribe's somewhat individual way of spelling it. 'Seu' is thus 'Shiva'.

(3) In view of the Basohli *Gita Govinda* series dated 1730 (Basohli q.v.) 'by the painter Manaku', it is significant that Seu's elder son should be named as Manak in the *nagari* inscription but 'Manaku' in the *takri* inscription.

1956

Randhawa, M. S. 'Kangra Artists'. *Roopa Lekha* (1956), XXVII, No. 1, 4-10.

A revised and corrected version of Randhawa (1955).

Archer, W. G. *Kangra Painting* (second impression; London, 1954), 4-5.

Same as Archer (1952b) but stressing the migration of a Guler artist to Chamba in c.1765 and noting Randhawa's evidence (1955) which confirms the supposition that Nainsukh was connected with Guler.

Randhawa, M. S. *The Krishna Legend in Pahari Painting* (New Delhi, 1956).

Col. pl. 4. 'The quelling of Kaliya'. Guler Raj collection, Chandigarh.

Border with cartouches and birds. See no. 71(1).

Archer, W. G. *Indian Painting* (London, 1956), 14-15.

Emphasises Guler as the centre of painting in the Punjab Hills from which the styles of Kangra and Garhwal developed.

Khandalavala, K. 'An *Aniruddha Usha* Series from Chamba and the painter Ram Lal', *Lalit Kala* (1956), nos. 1 and 2, 37-44.

Discusses the identity of Nainsukh and his family and their possible migrations. Argues in the light of the inscription (Archer, 1952a), mis-read as 'Nainsukh of Jasrota', that Randhawa (1955) was clearly wrong in connecting the family with Guler and that Jasrota not Guler was the home of Seu and his two sons Manak and Nainsukh.

[Goswamy's researches (1965, 1966b, and 1968) have since abundantly confirmed Randhawa and shown that the Jasrota theory is baseless. In this connection it is significant that Jasrota was never mentioned during Randhawa's enquiries from the family's descendants — a circumstance which should have alerted scholars much earlier to the possibility that the original readings of the inscription were defective.]

Although denying that the family's home was at Guler, Khandalavala concedes that it is 'not unlikely' that Seu's elder son, Manak first took service under Govardhan Chand of Guler (1745-1773) and later, with his son Khushala (French's 'Kushan Lall'), joined Sansar Chand of Kangra in about 1785-1790 and worked there until 1805. Similarly, although querying Nainsukh's connection with Guler, he records that 'Nainsukh's sons, Gauha (Gaudhu) and Nikka are said to have taken service under Prakash Chand of Guler (1773-1790) and that they are probably the painters of several fine miniatures of the Prakash Chand period in the Guler Darbar collection'. Adds that 'this was the tradition among the living Guler artists in the early years of this century when the Amritsar dealer, the late Radha Krishna Bharany visited Haripur'.

On these assumptions, proceeds to equate 'Seu' with 'Suohae' or 'Sahai' and to hold that 'Suohae' or 'Sahai' was the family name. Cites an inscription on a portrait of Raja Raj Singh (1764-1794) of Chamba alluding to a certain Ram Sahai (Chamba, no. 37 q.v.) and on the 'Sahai' theory concludes that Ram Sahai must be none other than Ram Lal, Nainsukh's fourth son (Randhawa, 1955 q.v.). By the same 'reasoning' provides his second son, Gaudhu with the alter-

native name of 'Gur Sahai'. Having created this dire confusion, has then little difficulty in treating Ram Lal as a Chamba artist and crediting him with the Raj Singh portrait. Finally, on grounds of style, regards him as the artist of the *Aniruddha Usha* series (Chamba Raj collection, National Museum, New Delhi), in aid of which the whole note was written.

Comment: As made clear by the Persian inscription on the Lahore portrait of Manak, 'Seu' is obviously a way of spelling 'Shiva' and cannot, therefore, be converted into 'Sahai'. 'Pandit Seu' makes sense; 'Pandit Sahai' does not. The same inscription also gives the family name as Misra. 'Ramlal' is one word and even if the second half of it, 'Lal', is detached, the name does not and cannot become 'Sahai'. In a similar way, 'Gaudhu' and 'Gur Sahai' are quite distinct.

Lal, B. B. 'Palaeoliths from the Beas and Banganga valleys, Punjab', *Ancient India* (1956), no. 12, 58-92. Pl. XVIII A (p. 61). View of Haripur Fort and the Ban Ganga river. See no. 8.

1957

Archer, W. G. *The Loves of Krishna* (London, 1957). Refers to the comparatively minor part played by Krishna themes in the development of Guler painting. Restresses the formative influence of Guler painting c.1720-c.1770) on painting in Kangra and Garhwal (c.1770-1805).

Archer, W. G. 'Romance and Poetry in Indian Painting', Birdwood Memorial Lecture. *Journal Royal Society of Arts* (1957), CV, no. 5014, 909-919.

Assigns a key role to Guler in the development of painting in the Punjab Hills in the eighteenth century.

Archer, W. G. *Garhwal Painting* (second impression, London, 1957), 3-5.

Re-discusses painting in Guler under Govardhan Chand and its off-shoots in Chamba and Garhwal.

Archer, W. G. 'The Problems of Painting in the Punjab Hills', *Marg* (1957), X, no. 2, 30-36.

Discusses the Guler picture 'Govardhan Chand listening to music' (alleged by French, 1931, to be dated 1743) in the light of a personal discussion with Raja Baldev Singh of Guler in 1954. Points out that French's 'date' is based on a misunderstanding and that the only date on the picture is on its fly-leaf, that this was given after French's visit by Raja Baldev Singh himself and that it referred not to the year in which the picture was painted but to what the Raja believed to be the year of Govardhan Chand's accession. He had told French this date and French had wrongly thought that it was inscribed on the picture and that it referred to the year of the picture's composition. See no. 15.

1958

Randhawa, M. S. 'A re-assessment of some paintings described in Gangoly's *Masterpieces of Rajput Painting*', *Lalit Kala* (dated 1956-1957, but published 1958), nos. 3-4, 96-101.

Attributes to Guler among others:

Pl. 15. 'Siege of Lanka' (obtained by the dealer Radha Krishna Bharany in Haripur, prior to selling to Coomaraswamy). See no. 9.

Pl. 17. Kali. See no. 17(2).

Pl. 23. 'Prakash Chand'. See no. 49.

Pl. 29. 'Sohni and Mahinval' (Guler, c.1760 — the landscape suggesting the Ban Ganga at Haripur, Guler). See no. 19.

Pl. 35. 'Birth of Krishna' (c.1750). No. 47.

Pl. 37. 'Crying for the moon'. (Bhup Singh period, artist perhaps Gursahai). See no. 71.

Randhawa, M. S. 'A Journey to Basohli', *Roopa Lekha* (1958), XXVIII, Nos. 1 and 2, 23-24.

Stresses the development in Basohli of a 'Kangra' style

of painting under Raja Amrit Pal (viii, 1757-1776) of Basohli.

Has the following suggestions on Guler painters: 'Jasrota the birthplace of Nainsukh is not far from Basohli. During the reign of Amrit Pal, Guler was a busy centre of Kangra painting. It is very likely that the sons of Nainsukh — Nikka, Ramlal, Kama and Johru (Gaudhu) — settled at Guler during the reigns of Rajas Govardhan Chand and Prakash Chand. While Guler was the main centre of their work, they also paid visits to the courts of the Rajas of Basohli and Chamba.'

Notes the presence of a portrait of Raja Prakash Chand of Guler and a painting of lady with a *tambura* (in 'Guler' style) in the Kunj Lal (Basohli Raj) collection, Basohli ('Prakash Chand' later corrected to 'Amrit Pal', Randhawa, 1965).

[Randhawa's apparent capitulation to Khandalavala (1956) on the claim of Jasrota to have been the birth-place of Nainsukh was occasioned by the difficulty which he felt in reconciling the reference on the Balwant Singh portrait to 'Nainsukh of Jasrota' with the family's tradition which connected the painters with Guler. The only solution, he thought, lay in distinguishing between place of birth and place of residence (Randhawa, private communication, 1960). Later re-readings of the inscription (Archer, 1963; Goswamy, 1966c) have shown that this distinction was unnecessary and that Nainsukh was not, in fact, 'of Jasrota'.]

Khandalavala, K. *Pahari Miniature Painting* (Bombay, 1958).

Views painting in Guler, c.1740-c.1770, as a local example of the 'pre-Kangra style' of painting (Kangra q.v.) and hence as an adjustment to hill conditions by refugee painters from the Punjab Plains trained in the Muhammad Shah style of Mughal painting. [For the existence of local painters in Guler from c.1700 or earlier, see Goswamy (1966, 1968).]

Dates the origins of painting in Guler to c.1740-1745 and regards Govardhan Chand (viii, 1741-1773) as its prime patron. Considers that no painting in Guler dates from before c.1740. Discusses and reproduces over fifty pictures attributable to Guler.

Dates the appearance in Guler of the 'Kangra standard type' female face to 1773 (a portrait of Prakash Chand, fig. 68, Guler no. 50) and regards it as a Kangra invention subsequently adopted at Guler.

Notes the following idioms as common features in Guler painting and stresses that 'a combination of them may help us frequently to arrive at a reasonably safe conclusion':

- (1) a large expanse of chocolate brown or red in the background,
- (2) a combination of a large expanse of green with a large expanse of red as the dominant colours,
- (3) the presence of delicate flowering shrubs as an ornamental feature in the composition,
- (4) the horizon consisting of a curved flat plane,
- (5) plantain trees in the background sometimes in combination with cypresses,
- (6) a formal garden in squares in the foreground,
- (7) facial types seen in figs. 10 and 38 which do not seem to occur outside Guler [these are here regarded as Kahlur (Bilaspur) (q.v.)],
- (8) the presence of a rounded hillock with its ridge indented at intervals,
- (9) the subtle use of gold for the middle sky of the background,
- (10) female facial types most frequently conforming to 'enlarged face detail' no. 16, its characteristic being the sharp right-angle formed by the hair above the eyebrow [no. 16 is clearly a mistake for 19],
- (11) a fondness for skirts with horizontal stripes,
- (12) tendency to elongate the figure though without undue exaggeration.

The following illustrations are here regarded as Guler: Col. pls. Q, T, 1-III, figs. 16, 65, 68, 72-74, 80, 83, 85, nos.

58-60, 80, 100-114, 116-119, 121-127, 130-133, 135, 136, 139-144, 217, 242, 262, 287, 303 and 304.

1959

Randhawa, M. S. 'Some inscribed Pahari paintings with names of artists', *Roopa Lekha* (1959), XXX, no. 1, 27-30. Fig. 3. Illustration to a *Koka Shastra* series. By Gursahai. Compare nos. 60 and 60(1). Fig. 5. Raja Jai Singh with Mr. Brandreth. Commissioner. By Ghathu Ram, 1878. See no. 78(2). Fig. 6. Raja Jai Singh with Tika Raghunath Singh. 'Said by Raja Baldev Singh to have been painted by Mohammed Baksh, artist of Mandi, near about 1882 A.D.' See no. 80.

1960

Randhawa, M. S. *Kangra Paintings of the Bhagavata Purana* (New Delhi, 1960), 32-35, figs. 1-10, col. pls. 1-20.

Publishes a *Bhagavata Purana* series (at one time mainly in the Mody collection, Bombay, but later, in part, in the National Museum, New Delhi, Museum and Art Gallery, Baroda, and private collections) and attributes it to Purkhu, son of Dhumun (from Guler), Kangra, c.1790-1806.

Cites evidence of artists' descendants and family collections in support of the thesis that Kangra painting originated in Guler.

Refers to Nainsukh and his brother, Manak, as Kashmiri Brahmins who belonged to Jasrota in the Jammu Hills but who, in due course, drifted to the court of Govardhan Chand (34).

Records family traditions of Raja Baldev Singh of Guler concerning Raja Prakash Chand (ix, 1773-1790 q.v.).

For Guler (not Jasrota) as the home of Nainsukh and Manak, see Randhawa (1955, 1956) and Goswamy (1965, 1966a, c, 1968). For the cause of this confusion, see note to Randhawa (1958).

Lee, S. E. *Rajput Painting* (New York, 1960).

Accepts Guler as the place of origin of the later Punjab Hill style.

Col. pl. 73a. From the 'Siege of Lanka' *Ramayana* series. See no. 9

Pl. 75. 'Vanasura and his rakshasas'. From an *Aniruddha Usha* series. Compare no. 45.

Col. pl. 76. 'Krishna awaiting Radha'. See no. 29(4).

Archer, W. G. *Indian Miniatures* (London, New York, 1960).

Col. pl. 83. 'Raja Govardhan Chand of Guler embraced by his little daughter'. See no. 38(1).

Col. pl. 84. 'Princess hawking with her maids'. See no. 27.

Col. pl. 85. 'The lady by the lake'. See no. 18.

Pl. 86. 'Ladies with fireworks'. See no. 41.

Pl. 87. 'The tryst'. See no. 45(3).

Col. pl. 88. 'Lady picking flowers'. See no. 67(1).

1961

Khandalavala, K. 'Comment on 'A Journey to Basohli' by M. S. Randhawa', *Roopa Lekha* (1958), XXVIII, nos. 1-2, *Lalit Kala* (dated 1960, but published 1961), no. 7, 93.

'As far back as 1940 when the reviewer was gathering information about certain Pahari artists, he heard that there was a tradition in Haripur-Guler, which existed till at least 1910, amongst local artist-craftsmen, that Nikka, son of Nainsukh and his brother Gur Souhae, were in the employ of Raja Prakash Chand of Guler. That brother, Gur Souhae, must be Gauha, whom we know from the Lahore Museum inscribed portraits to be the brother of Nikka. With regard to the fourth brother, Kama, we have no information whatsoever, not even a tradition.

'There was another Gur Souhae who also worked at Guler and seems to have been the nephew of Gauha. He was not however a great artist. But with regard to Nainsukh himself, there was no tradition at Guler that he ever worked there. He seems to have spent his life as an artist at the court of Balvant Singh of Jammu, a great patron of Pahari painting.'

[It is unfortunate that Khandalavala did not include this information concerning Guler traditions in *Pahari Miniature Painting* (1958) and that he omitted to name his informants or record the circumstances in which they supplied him with information. For final clarifications of Nainsukh's history and that of his family, see Goswamy (1966a, c, 1968). It is perhaps significant that while confirming the fact that Nainsukh was 'a native of Guler', Goswamy found no evidence that he actually worked there.]

Skelton, R. *Indian Miniatures from the 15th to 19th Centuries* (Venice, 1961).

Pl. 76. Portrait of Govardhan Chand, Jammu, c.1750.

Kala, S. C. *Indian Miniatures in the Allahabad Museum* (Allahabad, 1961).

Col. pl. H. 'Raja Govardhan Chand of Guler with ladies'. (Archer, 1952A, fig. 22). See no. 37 where, however, the identification is queried.

Pl. 19. 'The Mandial Rani of Guler'. Inscribed. See no. 50(1).

Pl. 22. 'Lady with pet deer'. Compare no. 29.

Goswamy, B. N. 'The Pahari Artists', *Roopa Lekha*, (1961), XXXII, no. 2, 31-50.

Refers to an exercise book in the possession of Raja Baldev Singh of Guler illustrating the training of painters. Gives details, obtained from Raja Baldev Singh of Guler, of how painters were employed by Hill rajas, the role of the family priest or *purohit* in determining themes and subjects, the number of pictures produced by an artist in one year and the practice of offering a picture annually as a *nazar* in return for a reward that was left to the Raja's discretion.

1962

Rawson, P. S. *Indian Painting* (London, Paris, 1962).

Col. pl. (p.150). 'The lady by the lake'. See no. 18.

Archer, W. G. 'Letter to the Editors', *Lalit Kala* (dated 1960, but published 1962), no. 8, 75.

Asks what expert advised Khandalavala that the unnamed lady out hunting (*begam shikar*) shown in fig. 59 of his *Pahari Miniature Painting* (1958) was none other than 'a personage of rank named Begam Sakir'. Discussed Ohri (1965); Goswamy (1966a). See no. 27.

Randhawa, M. S. *Kangra Paintings on Love* (New Delhi, 1962).

The following plates, among others, are here regarded as Guler:

Figs. 56, 57, 61; col. pls. 1, 12, 17, 19.

1963

Archer, W. G. Introduction to M. S. Randhawa, *Kangra Paintings of the Gita Govinda* (New Delhi, 1963).

Reviews the connection of the painters Seu, Manak and Nainsukh with Guler, and of Manak and Khushala with Kangra. Publishes a re-reading by B. N. Goswamy of a *takri* inscription on a portrait of Balwant Singh of Jammu (Archer, 1952a, fig. 35; present **Jammu**, no. 31), hitherto supposed to mean 'Nainsukh of Jasrota', but, in fact, meaning 'Nainsukh at Jasrota'. See also Review of Literature: Jammu, Kangra.

Archer, Mildred, Archer W. G. and Lee, S. E. *Indian Miniatures from the Archer collection* (Washington, 1963).

Pl. 52. 'Krishna painting Radha's toe-nails'. See no. 78(1). Pl. 54. 'The battle'. See no. 61(2).

Pl. 69. 'The departure for Brindaban'. From a *Bhagavata Purana* series, executed at Basohli by Guler painters in 'Guler-Basohli' style. See **Basohli** no. 22(3).

Barrett, D. *Painting of India* (London, 1963).

Following Archer (1952, 1960) and Khandalavala (1958), connects an abrupt change in the general style of Hill painting with the sack of Delhi by the Persian Nadir Shah in 1739 and the migration to the Hills of artists 'who had

received their training in some degree in the Mughal painting of the reign of Muhammad Shah (1719-1748). Claims that 'this change of style can be traced with certainty at two centres — Jammu and Guler', and maintains that 'this new departure in Hill painting may most conveniently be given the name of the Guler style, since the whole subsequent development of Hill painting may be understood with reference to that particular state. Jammu, though politically important, seems on our present evidence to have been a slightly less developing centre. The title 'Guler style' will therefore be adopted for the middle period of Hill painting on the same principle as the 'Basohli style' was for the early period. That is to say though we have positive evidence that there was an important school of painting at Guler, it is not suggested that Guler was the only developing centre or even the main one, though our present evidence would rather suggest the latter'. Considers that Khandalavala's term 'pre-Kangra style' for painting executed in the period c.1740-1770 is 'perhaps unhappy' since 'not a single example of pre-Kangra painting can be attributed to Kangra during the middle period'. States that 'one of Govardhan Chand's queens was a Jammu princess' and that a picture (Guler no. 38) shows Govardhan Chand with this Jammu queen and their children. {'Jammu' is here a mistake for 'Basohli'.}

[It is unclear what types of 'positive evidence' Barrett has in mind for connecting paintings with particular courts or states. Unless it is presumed that Guler painters migrated to other states, taking with them a standardised style local to Guler and practising it elsewhere, unmodified by local circumstances, it is difficult to see how the term 'Guler style' can be applied to any states other than to Guler itself.]

Regards the *Bhagavata* group (Kangra, q.v.) as 'an integral part of the Guler style: it is indeed its final expression'. Compare in this connection Archer (1952a): 'The state of Guler played a decisive part in the development of Pahari painting in the eighteenth century. Not only did it develop a local art of the greatest delicacy and charm but the final version of this Guler style was taken to Kangra in about 1780 — thus becoming the 'Kangra' style itself. . . . Guler is the originator and breeder of the greatest style in all the Punjab Hills'.

Denies, however, that it was in Kangra that 'the Guler style achieved its final expression', implying that it was in Guler itself, rather than in Kangra, that the *Bhagavata* group was produced. Dates this group to the years 1760-1770, demotes Kangra as the foremost centre of painting in the Punjab Hills, exalts Guler to the premier position and thus, in Randhawa's words, 'out-Frenchs French, out-Archers Archer and out-Randhawas Randhawa' (all three writers having stressed the importance of Guler as 'the birth-place of Kangra painting' though not as the place where Kangra painting proper was produced).

The following pictures, termed by Barrett 'Guler style', are here regarded as having been painted in Guler:
P.172. 'Krishna on the swing'. 'Guler style, c.1750-1760'.
P.175. 'The approaching storm'. 'Guler style, c.1750-1760'. See no. 43(1).
P.176. 'Govardhan Chand of Guler with ladies'. 'Guler style, Guler, c.1750'. See no. 37.
P.177. 'Lady listening to music'. 'Guler style, c.1750'. See no. 22.

Plates, termed 'Guler style' at pages 174 and 179 by Barrett are here attributed to Jammu, at pages 182 and 183 to Kangra, and at page 181 to Chamba.

1964

Lee, S. E. *A History of Far Eastern Art* (London, 1964).
Col. pl. 20. From the 'Siege of Lanka' *Ramayana* series. See no. 9.
Col. pl. 21. 'Krishna awaiting Radha'. See no. 29(4).

1965

Archer, W. G. 'Paintings of India', *Roopa Lekha* (1965), XXXIV, nos. 1 and 2, 63-75.

Review of Barrett (1963).

Contests the attribution of the Kangra *Bhagavata Purana*, *Gita Govinda* and *Bihari Sat Sai* series (Kangra q.v.) to Guler (Guler style, c.1760-1765), arguing that while produced by painters of Guler origin in Kangra they 'mark a new development in style' at the Kangra court c.1780-1800. Fig. 5. 'Lovers hailing the clouds'. Here accepted as Guler. See no. 43(1).

Attributes to Kangra, col. pls. at p.182 and 183 (Barrett, 1963), captioned 'Guler style, c.1760-1765'.

Randhawa, M. S. 'Some Portraits of Rajas of Basohli in Kangra style', *Roopa Lekha* (1965), XXXIV, nos. 1 and 2, 5-9, figs. 1-10.

States that a rani of Raja Prakash Chand (1773-1790) of Guler came from Basohli. Shows from portraits of Basohli rajas in the Karan Singh collection (formerly in the Padha Kunj Lal collection, Basohli) that Guler artists worked at Basohli c.1760 onwards, there developing a new Guler-influenced Basohli style.

Archer, Mildred and Archer, W. G. *Romance and Poetry in Indian Painting* (Wildenstein exhibition, London), 1965.

Pl. 47. 'Vishnu and Lakshmi on the great snake'. See no. 44(2).

Pls. 69, 71, 72. From a large 'Guler-Basohli' *Bhagavata Purana* series (Archer and Lee, 1963), executed by Guler painters at Basohli, c.1760-1765. See Basohli, no. 22.

Goswamy, B. N. 'Painting in Chamba: a study of new documents', *The Asian Review* (1965), II, no. 2, 53-58.

Cites documentary evidence proving that the family home of Nainsukh, his father, Seu, and grandfather Hasnu was Guler and that Nainsukh's son, Nikka, migrated from Guler to Chamba in the reign of Raj Singh (1764-1794) of Chamba. For detailed summary, see Review of Literature, Chamba.

Ohri, V. C. 'Four important inscriptions on Pahari paintings', *Lalit Kala* (dated 1962, but published 1965), no. 11, 58-60.

Corrects Archer's reading (1952) of the Balwant Singh 'Music Party' inscription confirming Goswamy's earlier reading (Archer, 1963) that the phrase: *nainsukhe jasrote* means 'Nainsukh at Jasrota', not 'Nainsukh of Jasrota'. See Jammu, no. 31.

Re-reads the *takri* inscription on the picture 'Princess out hunting' (already re-read and corrected Archer, 1962). Discusses the lady's identity. See no. 27.

Re-interprets the phrase: *sri rani valauri de surati* on a picture of a princess (Khandalavala, (1958), fig. 65, p.91) as meaning a Basohli princess married into another state and not 'a queen of Basohli' (Khandalavala). Tentatively connects her with the 'Balauri rani' of Govardhan Chand of Guler. See no. 26.

Beach, M. C. 'A *Bhagavata Purana* from the Punjab Hills and Related Paintings', *Bulletin Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (1965), LXIII, no. 333, 169-173, figs. 1-8.

Discusses the 'Siege of Lanka' *Ramayana* series (fig. 4) and relates it to Mughal painting of the Muhammad Shah period (fig. 8). See no. 9.

Welch, S. C. and Beach, M. C. *Gods, Thrones and Peacocks* (New York, 1965).

The following plates are here accepted as Guler:

Pl. 48. 'Lady with a parrot'. See no. 32(1).

Pl. 50. 'Lady alone at the Holi festival', the musical instrument having been mistaken for a bamboo syringe. See no. 45(4).

Pl. 74. 'Girl with pigeons'. Compare nos. 67 and 75.

The following Provincial Mughal painting with converging lines, deep perspective, angular flower beds, cypresses and fountains is a possible prototype for Guler paintings of the 1760-1780 period:

Pl. 42. 'Muhammad Reza Khan, Deputy Nawab of Bengal (1763-1772). Captioned 'Mughal, probably at Murshidabad, c.1770'.

Mittal, J. 'An early Guler painting', *Lalit Kala* (dated 1962 but published 1965), no. 11, 31-34.

Rejects Guler as the home of the Seu-Manak-Nainsukh family of artists, holding that there is no evidence to connect Nainsukh with Guler. Since however Guler is the locale of certain masterpieces and 'we are not aware of any other master artists whose style was so refined and suave as that of Nainsukh and Manak', argues that the only probable painter of them must be Manak and that, in contrast to Nainsukh, he must be presumed to have settled and worked in Guler. On this assumption makes the following attributions:

Col. pl. A. 'Lady listening to girl musicians' (Barrett (1963), col. pl. p.177). 'Pre-Kangra phase at Guler, c.1745-1750. Probably by the artist Manak'. See no. 22.

Fig. 1. 'Govardhan Chand listening to musicians', c.1745. Pre-Kangra. Guler School. Probably by the artist Manak'. See no. 15.

Fig. 2. 'Bishan Singh'. 'Pre-Kangra. Guler School. Probably by the artist Manak, c.1745-1750'. See no. 7(2).

Fig. 3. 'The Mughal Emperor Muhammad Shah attended by ladies'. 'Pre-Kangra. Jammu School. Probably by the artist Nainsukh, c.1745-1750'. See *Jammu* no. 29(1).

Fig. 4. 'Ladies enjoying fire-works'. 'Pre-Kangra. Guler School, c.1745-1750'. See no. 41.

[A development from Khandalavala's speculations (1958), connecting Manak with Guler but, for the first time, attributing particular Guler pictures to him. For the acceptability or otherwise of these attributions, see no. 22.]

Khandalavala, K. 'Review of *Painting of India* by D. Barrett and B. Gray', *Lalit Kala* (dated 1962, but published 1965), no. 11, 62-66.

Discusses difficulties of classification holding that the 'broad nomenclatures' — 'Basohli style', 'pre-Kangra phase' and 'Kangra style' (Khandalavala, 1958 q.v.) — are 'now too well established to be replaced by fresh nomenclatures'. For this reason considers that Barrett's 'new nomenclature 'Guler style' would create more difficulties than it would solve'.

1966

Goswamy, B. N. 'The Artist family of Rajol: new light on an old problem', *Roopa Lekha* (1966), XXXV, nos. 1 and 2, 15-23.

Publishes entries in the Kangra Settlement Record of 1868 (Barnes, Lyall) enumerating sons and grandsons of Nikka and proving that Nikka migrated to Rajol (then in Chamba state), c.1780, from Guler. Identifies Nikka as a son of Nainsukh and argues from the phrasing of the entry that it indicates 'a firmness of connection with Guler which was broken by the fact of the migration. Guler emerges thus not as a place of sojourn or a town which Nikka visited on his way to Chamba from somewhere but as the place ordinarily to be referred to as the residence of the family'. Argues that with the correct reading of the 'Balwant Singh' inscription (Archer, 1963), the need to domicile Nainsukh at Jasrota disappears and Guler then becomes his only likely home. Publishes the rest of the family tree, on the basis of later Settlement Records, listing descendants of Nikka down to 1959.

Points out that the Brahmin sept (or sub-caste) Raina is not exclusively Kashmiri and hence that Nainsukh and his ancestors were not necessarily immigrants to Guler from Kashmir.

Implies that theories of an immigration from Kashmir due to oppression by Aurangzeb or from the Punjab Plains due to the Persian and Afghan invasions of the early eighteenth century are unnecessary since Raina artist families were well-established parts of Guler society from long before.

Goswamy, B. N. 'Re-reading of some 'Takri' inscriptions

in Khandalavala's *Pahari Miniature Painting*', *Roopa Lekha* (1966), XXXV, nos. 1 and 2, 69-75.

Proposes new readings for the following inscribed paintings, relevant to Guler:

Khandalavala, fig. 59. For 'Begum Sakir', 'Lady out hunting'. See no. 27.

Khandalavala, fig. 73. For 'The singer Vasitu', 'Portrait of Aunt Bugan Dei'. See no. 34(1).

Khandalavala, p.340. For 'Kaushala', 'Khusala'; for 'Gauhu', 'Gaudhu'. Adds that the portrait of 'Ram Lal' has the name 'Ranjha' inscribed on the body of it. Suggests that 'Ram Lal' is a scribe's error, 'Ranjha' being read as 'Rama'. Khandalavala, no. 94. For 'Nainsukh of Jasrota', 'Nainsukh at Jasrota' (published and briefly discussed Archer, 1963, citing Goswamy).

Goswamy, B. N. 'The problem of the artist "Nainsukh of Jasrota"', *Artibus Asiae* (1966), XXVIII, 205-210.

Discusses in detail the *takri* inscription (*Jammu*, no. 31), hitherto supposed to mean 'Nainsukh of Jasrota' but in fact meaning that Nainsukh painted the particular picture at Jasrota i.e., when his patron was staying there (summarised Archer, 1963; discussed Goswamy, 1966a).

Notes that Lachman Das of Rajol described the family's caste as Raina or Rajanaka, Nainsukh's full family name therefore being Nainsukh Raina.

Adds that Rajguru Dinamani, family-priest of Raja Dalip Singh (vii, 1695-1741), was also a Raina or Rajanaka. For Dinamani playing chess with Mian Gopal Singh (brother of Raja Bikram Singh, v, 1661-c.1685) see no. 3.

Beach, M. C. 'Rajput and related paintings', *The Arts of India and Nepal: the Nasli and Alice Heeramanek collection* (Boston, 1966).

Col. pl. 183. 'Dervishes dancing'. See no. 13.

Randhawa, M. S. *Kangra Paintings of the Bihari Sat Sai* (New Delhi, 1966).

Describes the role of Guler in the development of painting in the Punjab Hills as follows:

'The Rajas of Guler, from Rup Chand (1610-1635) to Bikram Singh (1635-1661), were loyal supporters of the Mughal emperors and were in close touch with the court of Delhi. As such they must have come in contact with Mughal artists and their works. It seems that artists were definitely practising at Haripur-Guler during the rule of Dalip Singh (1695-1743), for a note in the *Diliparanjani* dated 1703 refers to their presence. Moreover, portraits of Dalip Singh in half-Mughal, half-Guler style exist and these can hardly be later than 1720. Portraits of his eldest son Bishan Singh also exist and these can be dated to about 1730. Bishan Singh died during the lifetime of his father. In 1743, his younger brother Govardhan Chand became the Raja of Guler. He was an ardent patron of art, and figures in a large number of paintings. He married a princess from Basohli which was one of the important centres of painting in the hills, and is regarded as the place of origin of the style of painting which derives its name from it. It seems that there was a free movement of artists between the states of Guler and Basohli during the rule of Govardhan Chand. Govardhan Chand's son and successor, Prakash Chand (1773-1790), continued the patronage of artists and many paintings are attributed to his period.

'The paintings in early Guler style, which have some Mughal features, are usually attributed to a family of artists, Manaku and Nainsukh, sons of Pandit Seu. For some years Nainsukh worked for Mian Balvant Dev of Jammu, but he seems also to have kept in close touch with Guler. His elder brother Manaku probably worked at Guler and also at Basohli. At Basohli, during the rule of Amrit Pal (1757-1776), it was the Guler style which prevailed. Thus the new style of painting, which began at Guler, spread to Jammu and Basohli. A number of Guler paintings of Bishan Singh and Prakash Chand were in the collection of the Rajas of Basohli. Prakash Chand had also a wife from Basohli. This indicates intimate cultural and other contacts, particularly in relation to painting, between these two

states, which figure so prominently in the art history of India. This was the first phase of the evolution and development of the Kangra style of painting.

The second phase began with the dispersal of artists from the court of Prakash Chand to Chamba and to Tira Sujanpur in Kangra State. Marital ties played an important part in the dissemination of art in the Punjab Hills. The ranis, though kept in *purdah*, were also keen admirers of paintings and shared the joy of looking at them along with their husbands. Prakash Chand had a wife from Chamba, and this explains the presence of Guler artists at Chamba, who were working for Raja Raj Singh (1764-1794). It was, however, the migration of artists from Guler to Tira Sujanpur, capital of Sansar Chand, which proved most fruitful. The art reached its climax under the patronage of Sansar Chand, and the best series of Kangra paintings, such as those of the *Bhagavata Purana*, the *Gita Govinda* and the *Sat Sai*, were painted under his patronage. It is thus that a style which first began in Guler came to be known as "Kangra".

Archer, W. G. *Paintings of the Sikhs* (London, 1966).

Discusses Sikh influences on Guler painting following the annexation of Guler in 1813 by Ranjit Singh and the replacement of Raja Bhup Singh (c.1790-1813 (1826)) by the Sikh administrator, Desa Singh Majithia.

Cites the following examples of Guler painting under the Sikhs:

- (1). A series of pictures portraying the ten Sikh Gurus, c.1815-1820 (figs. 1-6). See no. 64.
- (2). A portrait of Guru Govind Singh, c.1830 (fig. 7).
- (3). Mian Amar Singh of Kotla, c.1825 (fig. 8).
- (4). 'Sikh sardar (perhaps Desa Singh Majithia) presiding at a wedding reception', c.1815-1820 (fig. 10).
- (5). 'Sikh sardar (perhaps Desa Singh Majithia) carousing with a Guler lady', c.1815-1825 (fig. 11). See no. 69.

Assigns Sikh painting in the Punjab Plains (Adinanagar, Lahore and Amritsar) in the period c.1830 onwards to Guler painters who had been encouraged to seek patronage at the Sikh courts by their kindly treatment under Desa Singh Majithia.

For Sikh influences in Guler portraiture, c.1820-1880, see no. 73-82.

1967

Archer, Mildred. *Indian Miniatures and Folk Paintings* (Arts Council, London, 1967).

Figs. 32-34 are here regarded as Guler.

1968

Randhawa, M. S. and Galbraith, J. K. *Indian Painting: the scene, themes and legends* (Boston, London, 1968).

Discusses painting in Guler and the role of Govardhan Chand. See also Kangra.

Archer, W. G. and Binney, E. *Rajput Miniatures from the collection of Edwin Binney 3rd* (Portland, Oregon, 1968. Introductions and attributions by Archer, catalogue descriptions by Binney).

A revised view of Guler painting, emphasising the role in it of the Ban Ganga landscape at Haripur-Guler and the stimulus afforded by Vaishnava missionaries from 1725 onwards. Dates the end of its greatest period to 1770 and regards painting in Kangra and Garhwal as offshoots from it.

- Fig. 84. From a *Ragamala* series. See no. 43(2).
 Fig. 85a. 'Krishna accosts a cow-girl'. See no. 70(2).
 Fig. 85b. 'Shiva and Parvati'. Guler c.1820.
 Fig. 86. From a *Markandeya Purana* series. See no. 61(3).

Anand, M. R. 'The pictorial situation in Pahari painting', *Marg* (1968), XXI, no. 4, 1-16.

- Fig. 6. 'Prince sitting with ladies'. See no. 37.
 Fig. 7. 'The holy family'. See no. 16.
 Fig. 8. 'The lady by the lake'. See no. 18.
 Fig. 9. 'The toilet'. See no. 68.

Goswamy, B. N. 'Pahari Painting: the family as the basis of style', *Marg* (1968), XXI, no. 4, 17-62.

Reconstructs the family history of the painters Seu, Manaku and Nainsukh, 'natives of Guler', together with that of their descendants and adduces the following evidence connecting them with Guler:

- (1) Seu, Recorded in a priest's register at Hardwar as son of Hasnu, grandson of Bharathu and great-grandson of Datu. No individual record but consistently referred to as a 'native of Guler' and father of Manaku and Nainsukh.
- (2) Manaku, elder son of Seu. Recorded in a priest's register at Hardwar in 1736 as a 'native of Guler'.
- (3) Nainsukh, younger son of Seu. Recorded in the same register as a 'native of Guler', and as visiting Hardwar in 1763 along with Raja Amrit Pal of Basohli. His ashes also noted in the register as immersed at Hardwar in 1778.
- (4) Khushala, younger son of Manaku. Noted in priests' registers as part of the Guler family of Seu. No dates.
- (5) Fattu, elder son of Manaku. Recorded under Guler in the register as visiting Hardwar in 1778 with Nainsukh's ashes. No other dates.
- (6) Descendants of Khushala and Fattu listed in full and each associated with the family home at Guler.
- (7) Kama, Gaudhu, Nikka, Ranjha — sons of Nainsukh. Shown by entries in priests' registers to be connected with Guler but in the case of Nikka to have migrated to Rajol (Chamba) and in that of Ranjha to have settled in Basohli. Details of their descendants given.
- (8) Of the original family, only descendants of Nikka at Rajol were surviving in the nineteen-sixties.

Emphasises that while a great mass of priests' entries prove the family's Guler origin, the entries do not take account of or necessarily record temporary movements by the members. They also do not prove place of work but only place of origin.

In support of the evidence from priests' registers, publishes a magic diagram of a semi-nude female figure entitled 'Shri Guler', with fifteen outstretched arms pointing to the names of sixteen courts and the households of three Sikhs where members of the family could have worked. Considers that the diagram, preserved by Chandu Lal, descendant of Nainsukh, at Rajol illustrates the *siddhi* or personal deity of the family whose influence followed members of the family even when they worked at courts outside Guler. Among the courts listed are Chamba, Kangra, Nadaun, Sujanpur, Jammu and Basohli (q.v.).

Posits the existence of a family style and suggests that, possibly due to the arrival at Guler of Mughal paintings from the Punjab Plains, this family style underwent a major change in about the year 1740.

Connects the 1730 *Gita Govinda* series, assigned in the colophon to Manaku (Basohli q.v.) with Manaku, son of Seu. Reviews the work of Nainsukh as shown in his portraits of Raja Balwant Singh of Jammu (q.v.) and in a sketch of Shiva and Parvati drawn in a priest's register at Hardwar in 1763 (fig. 9). Considers that the 'Kangra' *Bhagavata Purana*, *Gita Govinda*, *Bihari Sat Sai*, *Ragamala* and *Baranasa* series — i.e. the great sets of 'Kangra' paintings — were executed by the sons of Manaku and Nainsukh, but refrains from connecting them with any particular court or state. Assigns to Nainsukh 'Lady on a terrace listening to girl musicians' (no. 22) and 'Lady out hawking' (no. 27). Further illustrates a married couple inside tent screens by the painter Sultanu and a raja with his rani, inscribed on the reverse with the name of the painter Gur Sahai (see no. 59).

Comment: A *tour de force* of some importance, since it establishes 'on the firm basis of inscriptional evidence' alone, the connection of the Seu-Manaku-Nainsukh family of artists with Guler. Is limited in its significance, however, since it avoids discussing basic questions such as the courts where many of these artists worked, to what extent they painted at Guler, how they responded to or were affected by local traditions, patrons, religious cults and scenery, and how their styles of painting were modified by contact with

the work of other local artists. As a result, apart from proving that at least one group of artists, had in fact, a family home at Guler, throws little light on painting at Guler or at Kangra. As regards the family style, most of its main conclusions are vitiated because no account is taken of the possible work and influence on members of the family of other artists outside the family and because of the paucity of evidence connecting particular pictures with particular artists.

1969

Goswamy, Karuna. 'Two Pahari illustrations of the Bhaktamala', *Roopa Lekha* (1969), XXXVIII, nos. 1 and 2, 73-78.

Publishes two line-drawings illustrating this text and tentatively assigns them to Guler.

Sharma, O. P. 'Two dated and illustrated Pahari Manuscripts in the National Museum, New Delhi', *Roopa Lekha* (1969), XXXVIII, nos. 1 and 2, 79-84.

Publishes a *Bhagavata Purana* manuscript (figs. 1-4) written for a certain Ramadaya in 1776 A.D., attributing its illustrations to the first quarter of the nineteenth century, and suggesting that 'the artist perhaps availed of previous treatments of the subject by Guler painters working at Kangra, Basohli or at Guler itself'.

Discusses a second manuscript, a *Sat Sai* series dated 1779 A.D. and on stylistic grounds suggests that its illustrations were 'executed in Garhwal early in the nineteenth century or at Guler by painters who had returned from Garhwal after the Gurkha invasion of 1803'.

Archer, W. G. 'A Tribute to M. S. Randhawa', *Roopa Lekha* (1969) XXXVIII, nos. 1 and 2, 47-63.

An analysis of the researches and writings of Randhawa, with special emphasis on his discovery of local collections, including the Guler Raj collection, his interrogations of local descendants of eighteenth-century Guler and Kangra artists (resulting in the tentative reconstruction of their lives and careers) and his realisation of the intimate manner in which the local Guler and Kangra landscapes were reflected in painting.

1970

Archer, Mildred. *Indian Paintings from Court, Town and Village* (Arts Council, London, 1970).

Pls. 22-24. From a *Markandeya Purana* series. See nos. 62(4)-(6).

Pls. 25-27. From a large 'Guler-Basohli' *Bhagavata Purana* series (Archer and Lee, 1963; Archer, 1965), executed by Guler painters at Basohli, c.1760-1765. See *Basohli*, no. 22.

IV. PAINTING: CATALOGUE AND RECONSTRUCTION

PHASE ONE: 1675-1740

A phase of early painting in Guler involving delicate portraiture of a Shah Jahan type, lively action scenes as developed at the court of Muhammad Shah (1719-1748), and primitive and symbolic conventions of a kind in vogue at Basohli and Nurpur (*q.v.*). Significant features are a marked preference for single flat planes with little or no depth, the use of bold expanses of colour, such as scarlet or orange-red with, at the top, narrow bands of white and blue, or, in the alternative, green, greyish blue or grey, a recourse to wavy rims with pale edges for hillsides — echoing with astonishing fidelity the local landscape at Haripur, Guler — and a bias towards angular simplification and geometric structure. Subjects include the local ruler and his courtiers, action scenes of local interest and incidents drawn from religious epics. Although an artist colony is known to have

existed in Haripur in 1703, no pictures can as yet be connected with particular painters.

1 Raja Bikram Singh (v, 1661-c.1685) of Guler with his brother, Gopal Singh, on a war elephant. Guler, c.1690.

191 x 243 mm; with border 217 x 270 mm.

Inscribed on reverse in *nagari* characters: *sri bikram singh*; and on the flap by Raja Baldev Singh (xiv, 1920-1959) of Guler: (1) *sri raja bikram singh* (2) *brata sri miyan gopal singhji*. 'Raja Bikram Singh and his brother, Mian Gopal Singh.'

Chandigarh Museum, Guler Raj collection.

Published: French (1950), pl. 1.

Description: Bikram Singh of Guler, a mahout in front of him and his brother Gopal Singh behind, is proceeding on a war elephant. All wear chain-mail, the mahout wielding a shield. The elephant has grey armour with gold bands. In the foreground a green strip. Background bluish-grey.

Discussion: The first and possibly the earliest of a series of portraits connected with Guler on grounds of provenance (the Guler Raj collection), family traditions which attribute these portraits to Guler painters and, finally, Guler subject-matter. In the *Diliparanjani* ('Annals of Dalip') of 1703, a painter colony at Guler is noted and entries in *pandas' bahis* (priests' registers) show that in, at least, one case — that of the Guler artist-family of Seu, Manaku and Nainsukh — their ancestors, Datu, Bharathu and Hasnu, had lived in Guler during much of the seventeenth century (Goswamy, 1968). The present portrait might, therefore, have been one of their works.

Although the picture derives in style from Mughal imperial painting of the second half of the seventeenth century, it is perhaps a posthumous celebration of Bikram Singh's prowess in war, rather than a study from life. In that view, it may have been painted during the reign of his son, Raj Singh (vi, c.1685-1695), perhaps at the partial instance of his surviving brother, Gopal Singh. Bikram Singh was the last of the Guler rajas to campaign actively for the Mughal emperors and also to act as Mughal Governor of the Kangra Hills. While Guler remained sturdily independent through much of the eighteenth century, it was after Bikram Singh that it gradually ceased to be a great power.

2 Raja Bikram Singh (v, 1661-c.1685) of Guler with his son, Raj Singh (vi, c.1685-1695) on an elephant. Guler, c.1690-1695.

313 x 270 mm (without borders).

Inscribed on the face in *nagari* characters by Raja Baldev Singh (xiv, 1920-1959) of Guler: (1) *sri raja vikram singh* (2) *sri tika raj singh*.

Chandigarh Museum, Guler Raj collection.

Description: Bikram Singh, seated as in 1, behind a mahout on an elephant, is proceeding with his son, Raj Singh. The latter holds a peacock-feather fan. The howdah has two canopies. *Jamas* of Bikram Singh and Raj Singh, scarlet with prominent floral sprigs. *Jama* of the mahout, mustard-yellow. Howdah and elephant cloth, scarlet with green borders. Orange-red background. At the top a white rim into which the howdah canopies slightly project.

Discussion: One of a series of four vertical elephant portraits of which the other three, also in the Chandigarh Museum, Guler Raj collection, show Jagdish Chand (ii, c.1570-c.1605) with his second son, Rup Chand (iii, c.1610-1635); Rup Chand with his son, Man Singh (iv, 1635-1661); and Man Singh with his son, Bikram Singh. All three have dark blue borders and red backgrounds and are liberally annotated by Raja Baldev Singh of Guler. The same type of elephant appears in each. The fact that there is no change in the heir-apparent's features on his promotion as Raja shows that conventional likenesses were being used and that the portraits of the rulers must therefore be posthumous. In the present case, Raj Singh appears distinctly younger than in another elephant portrait, no. 6, where he is shown as full Raja with his son, Dalip Singh. The present four elephant portraits may thus be a further celebration of Bikram Singh, perhaps produced at Raj Singh's instance

after his father's death. All are attributed to Guler on grounds of provenance, local traditions, distinctiveness of style and local subject-matter.

3 Mian Gopal Singh (?1650-?1720) of Guler playing chess. Guler, c.1700-1720.

180 x 258 mm; with border 194 x 274 mm. Border pale yellow.

Inscribed on flap in *nagari* characters by Raja Baldev Singh of Guler: (1) *sri miyan gopal singhji guler* (2) *sri raina dinman haripur*; and in English on the reverse: *Gopal Singh*. Chandigarh Museum, Guler Raj collection.

Description: Mian Gopal Singh of Guler, a portly and ageing figure with long white moustaches, is seated on a dark blue carpet with red floral pattern playing chess on an orange-red chess-board with an elderly companion, the Rajguru Dinamani. He wears a cream *jama* with blue and green sprigs. His companion wears a green *jama* with long white scarf. Scarlet background with narrow white band at the top.

Discussion: This further study of Gopal Singh, younger brother of Bikram Singh (v, 1661-c.1685) is notable for its sparse and open style and for its use of the colour red for background. Plain red backgrounds were noted by the dealer, Radha Krishna Bharany, as being 'commonly found in paintings from Guler' (Khandalavala, 1958), and the idiom occurs, with striking frequency, in Guler painting throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Although the convention had been used at times in early painting at Basohli and Nurpur, and has impressive ancestries in Jain, Rajasthani and Central Indian painting, it was mainly in Guler, of all the states in the Punjab Hills, that it became a distinctive and highly characteristic form of local expression.

Since Guler history is very thinly documented, nothing definite is known of Gopal Singh. His continuing presence in Guler portraits suggests, however, that he must have played an influential role in local affairs, perhaps acting for his brother during the latter's long absences on Mughal war service and later advising his nephew, Raj Singh, and great-nephew, Dalip Singh.

Raina (Rajanaka) Dinamani, the figure with whom he is shown playing chess, is twice referred to in the *Diliparanjani* as the Rajguru of Dalip Singh, 1695-1741 (communication, B. N. Goswamy). Sastri (1914) also notes that his name is recorded as Dalip Singh's *purohit* (preceptor) on a stone set up in the antechamber of the Ram Chandra temple at Haripur. Since this latter temple was dedicated by Bikram Singh's widow in 1688 and Raina Dinamani appears in the present portrait to be about the same age as Gopal Singh, we may perhaps infer that he played an active part in its dedication and was also involved in the flourishing cult of Rama under Rajas Man Singh and Bikram Singh (reigns iv, v). It is significant that though subsequently referred to as 'carpenter-painters' (*tarkhan chitreras*), the Guler painter Seu and his son, Nainsukh, were also called 'Pandit' and were claimed by their immediate descendants to be Rainas, the same sept of Brahmins as Dinamani (Goswamy, 1968). For a further picture, in Guler style, of two persons playing chess, see Khandalavala (1958), no. 77.

4 A seated courtier. Guler, c.1700-1720.

163 x 104 mm; with border 209 x 146 mm. Dark blue border with white and black rules.

Inscribed on the reverse in *nagari* characters: *sri osti vejnatha 'Sri Avasthi Vajinath'*.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.M. 76-1912.

Purchased from Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy.

Description: A middle-aged courtier, clean-shaven save for a small moustache, sits on a white terrace, facing left, a dagger tucked in his waist-sash and rosary worn around his neck. He wears a white turban and a pale yellow *jama* ornamented with leaf patterns. Scarlet background with, at the top, a curving band of white.

Discussion: Similar in style and posture to 3 and with the

same red background typical of many Guler pictures of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The tiny trim moustache — in marked contrast to the flamboyant whiskers of Gopal Singh 1 and 3 — as well as the clean-shaven cheeks recall Dalip Singh (vii, 1695-1741) and may reflect court fashions of the early 18th century. The same courtier, in a Guler setting, is included in 10 ('Dalip Singh playing polo') where he appears in the right foreground, facing left, wearing a long dark *jama*.

Example for comparison: (1) Khandalavala (1958), no. 70. Raja Man Singh (1635-1661) of Guler, smoking, holding a nose-gay. National Museum, New Delhi. Guler, c.1700-1720(?). Red background. Richly patterned yellow *jama*. Standing attendant with fly-whisk. Perhaps from a series of Guler Raja portraits of approximately the same date as 4.

5 Raja Bikram Singh (v, 1661-c.1685) of Guler worshipping Rama. Guler, c.1700-1720.

245 x 165 mm; with border 275 x 195 mm. Dark blue border with gold floral scroll.

Chandigarh Museum (original provenance unrecorded). Discussed Karuna Goswamy (1968).

Description: Bikram Singh holding a rosary and naked save for a yellow *dhoti* and narrow scarf sits on a terrace with vessels and instruments of Vishnu worship beside him. An image of Garuda supports a metal tray containing images of Rama and Sita adored by Hanuman and heaped with flowers. Pale blue background with traces of clouds.

Discussion: With 1, a posthumous celebration of Bikram Singh, stressing one of his salient features — devotion to Rama. It was at the instance of his widow, Shyam Devi, that a temple to Ramchandra was built in Haripur in 1688. For the waning of the cult of Rama at Guler in the late seventeenth-twenties and its partial eclipse by that of Krishna, see Reigns and Portraits (vii); Dalip Singh.

Related examples: (1) Randhawa (1953), fig. B; also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), no. 111. Bikram Singh seated on a terrace, a sword beside him. Chandigarh Museum, Guler Raj collection. Guler, c.1720. Scarlet background. Similar style to 3 and 4.

(2) Mehta (1926), pl. 66. Bikram Singh (mis-described as a Brahmin) worshipping an image of Rama, supported on a tray by an image of Garuda. Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras. Guler, c.1750 (perhaps after an original of c.1720).

(3) Randhawa (1953), fig. C.; also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), no. 102. Raja Dalip Singh (1695-1741) of Guler worshipping Krishna. Inscribed on the reverse in *nagari* characters: *sri dalip singh*; and with further liberal annotations in *nagari* characters by Raja Baldev Singh of Guler. Chandigarh Museum, formerly in the family collection of Raja Baldev Singh of Guler and stated by him to be the work of a Guler painter at Guler. Guler, c.1730 or later.

Parallel in style and subject to 5 and testifying to Dalip Singh's keen interest in religion, his deep respect for his ancestor Bikram Singh, and, at the same time, his conversion to the newly introduced cult of Krishna. It is significant that whereas Bikram Singh is shown worshipping Rama, Dalip Singh appears seated before images of Krishna, flute-playing and crawling as a baby, on a tray heaped with flowers. Two further images, one of an attendant with a fan, are also on the tray. The erection of shrines and temples to Krishna was a feature of the latter part of Dalip Singh's reign.

6 Raja Raj Singh (vi, c.1685-1695) of Guler with his son, Dalip Singh on an elephant. Guler, c.1705-1710.

331 x 270 mm (torn and trimmed). Traces of blue border.

Inscribed on the face in *nagari* characters by Raja Baldev Singh of Guler: (1) *sri tika dalip singh* (2) *sri raja raj singh*. Chandigarh Museum, formerly Guler Raj collection.

Description: Raj Singh in a yellowish green *jama* sits behind a mahout in white and in front of Dalip Singh who wears mauve and holds a peacock feather fan. Howdah and cloth red with gold borders. A long white yak's tail hangs from the elephant's head. Green background. Traces of tufted clumps in narrow foreground.

Discussion: A vertical elephant portrait, perhaps executed in

celebration of the coming-of-age of Dalip Singh (c.1705). The fact that Dalip Singh already has a small moustache and looks at least seventeen years of age precludes it from having been painted in Raj Singh's life-time — Dalip Singh being only seven to eight years old at the time of his father's death. A significant detail is the use of a plain green background in contrast to the scarlet and orange-red backgrounds favoured in the previous elephant series (2). This second idiom was also associated by the Amritsar dealer, Radha Krishna Bharany, with painting at Guler (Khandalavala, 1958), and even in the nineteenth century, portraits of Guler personages continued to avail of both types of background (see nos. 69, 74, 75).

A feature of the present picture is the insertion of a long white yak's tail on the elephant's brow, following a Mughal fashion of the late seventeenth century (Stchoukine, 1929, pl. 55). Its effect is comparable to that of the white scarf of the Rajguru, Dinamani (3) and suggests that both pictures may be by the same hand and of about the same date.

For a durbar picture of Raj Singh, availing of the same likeness, in Bilaspur style and perhaps executed in Kahlur (Bilaspur) to commemorate the Guler-Bilaspur alliance, see *Kahlur (Bilaspur)*, no. 6.

7 Raja Bishan Singh (born c.1705, died c.1730) of Guler standing. Guler, c.1730-1740.

232 x 155 mm; with border 270 x 186 mm. Border dark blue. National Museum, New Delhi.

Uninscribed but identified by comparison with inscribed portraits (1) and (2) below.

Description: Bishan Singh, eldest son of Dalip Singh of Guler, and his father's deputy from c.1725 until his premature death in c.1730, stands in a long, pale crimson *jama*, his right hand resting on a sword and his left hand holding a narcissus. Pale flat background with traces of cloud and streaky curves at the top. In the foreground, a bed of poppies.

Discussion: Similar in general conventions to the elephant portraits and significant as maintaining the early Guler idioms of dark blue borders, plain bare backgrounds and statuesque poses. For poppies as favourite ingredients in Guler painting, see 44, 45, 66, 67 and for narcissi, 23, 74.

Portraits for comparison: (1) Khandalavala (1958), no. 110. Bishan Singh standing. Inscribed in *takri* characters: *raje bishan singh guleria*. Jahangir collection, Bombay. Guler, c.1730-1740. Same person as in 7.

(2) Mittal (1966), fig. 2. Bishan Singh standing holding a bow and arrow against the background of a lake with curved rim. Inscribed in *takri* characters: *sri raja bishan singh guleria*. Karan Singh collection, Jammu (formerly Pahda Kunj Lal collection, Basohli). Guler, c.1740-1750. Same person as in 7.

8 View of Haripur Fort, Guler, and the Ban Ganga River.

Photograph, c.1950.

Published: Lal (1956), pl. XVIII A, p. 61.

Description: A view of Haripur from the south-west, showing remains of the fort and palace on the extreme right and the rocky hill-side with its curving ridges below. In the foreground, the Ban Ganga River with little water, due to the season.

Discussion: For hill-sides with similar curving ridges, illustrating the peculiar formation of the local landscape at Haripur, Guler, see 9.

9(i-iii) Three paintings from the 'Siege of Lanka' Ramayana series, part VI, Yuddha kanda. Guler, c.1725-1730.

Average size (with border): 600 x 825 mm.

In some cases inscribed on the reverse in *nagari* characters with verses from the *Ramayana* of Valmiki describing the incident. For translation, see H. P. Shastri, *The Ramayana of Valmiki* (London, 1957).

Alleged by Coomaraswamy (1916, 1926) to have come from 'the Jammu area' but later ascertained by Ghose (1929a, and b, 1958) to have formed part of the ancestral collection of Raja Raghunath Singh (xiii, 1884-1920), father of Raja Baldev Singh, who told me at Haripur in 1954 that he could

remember his father selling these pictures. Although much of the series is unfinished, Coomaraswamy noticed the serial number '39' on one picture and considered that the whole series 'may have extended to fifty or one hundred examples' (Coomaraswamy, 1916).

9(i) The arrest of the first spies.

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (formerly Coomaraswamy collection).

Published: Coomaraswamy (1916) col. pl. 21; also reproduced Coomaraswamy (1926), pl. 11; Coomaraswamy (1927), fig. 266; Archer (1952a), fig. 11; Rowland (1953), fig. 132.

Episode as at Shastri, III, chap. 23, 56.

Description: Ravana's spies, the demons Suka and Sarana, whose disguise as monkeys has been penetrated by Rama's ally, Vibhisana (the younger brother of Ravana who has defected to Rama), stand surrounded by monkeys and bears while Vibhisana denounces them to Rama and Lakshmana. To the left the walls of Ravana's palace. To the right a hill-side shown as a series of wavy rims, trees marking the ridges. Below the fort, further trees with plantains intermixed with cypresses. Hill-side and background orange-red with, at the top, a rim of tangled blue and white sky.

9(ii) The dismissal of a second spy.

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (formerly Coomaraswamy collection).

Published: Coomaraswamy (1916), pl. 22; also reproduced Coomaraswamy (1926), pl. 10; Archer (1952a), fig. 12; Khandalavala (1958), no. 58; Beach (1965), fig. 4.

Episode as at Shastri, III, chap. 29, 71-72.

Description: Ravana's second spies, headed by the demon Sardula, are again captured by Rama's army and their fate discussed with Rama and Lakshmana by Vibhisana. Sardula, a figure on the left of the hill-side, roughly held by a set of four monkeys, is temporarily detained while the rest, symbolised by one of their number hurtling through the sky, are dispatched to Ravana. Hill-side with wavy rim, bears and monkeys seated in rows upon it. To the left, Ravana's golden palace, with towering walls and two stories — Ravana seated in the middle conferring with his demons. At the foot, trees with twisted trunks, three cypresses and a strip of sea.

9(iii) The wooing of Sita.

Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland (formerly Coomaraswamy collection).

Published: Lee (1960), col. pl. 73(a), whole picture; also reproduced Coomaraswamy (1926), pl. 23 (detail, the right half); Archer (1952a), fig. 13 (the right half); Khandalavala (1958), no. 60 (the right half); Lee (1964), col. pl. 20 (whole picture).

Episode as at Shastri, III, chap. 31, 76. Ravana's attempt to win Sita before confronting her with a counterfeit severed head of Rama.

Description: A picture in two parts. On the left, Ravana seated in a white-walled chamber within his golden palace at Lanka (Ceylon), confers with three demon advisers. To the right, escorted by two of his wives in dark red and dark blue skirts, he visits Sita who sits in a grove guarded by three female demons, their heads hornless. Hill-side with wavy rim and with plantain trees intermixed with cypresses. Broad background of blue sky.

Discussion: Although Coomaraswamy's attribution of this series to Jammu must now be discarded, it is none the less significant in view of the Basohli-like idioms in some of the pictures. The draped curtains in Ravana's upper room 9(ii) can be paralleled in the 'first' *Rasamanjari* series (Basohli, no. 4), while the twisted trees, schematic walls, long faces of Sita and Ravana and the rendering of the demons are foreshadowed in a small scale *Ramayana* series here regarded as *Nurpur*, no. 17.

Apart from this limited dependence on Basohli and Nurpur models, the series raises various problems. In terms

of size, it is unique among paintings of the Punjab Hills. Each picture measures approximately two feet by three feet, and this has prompted the suggestion (Ghose, 1958) that far from being portfolio pictures, the paintings are in fact cartoons for murals. This theory is supported by the fact that the majority are either unfinished or uncoloured and by the further fact that murals in the Punjab Hills are, in general, only slightly enlarged miniatures. The present series could therefore have been transferred to walls without any alterations in scale. As against this suggestion, it must be pointed out that if they are in fact cartoons, no others of the kind are known; also that it does not seem to have been standard practice to precede the painting of murals with quite such detailed preparations.

A possible reason for the commissioning of the series and, at the same time, for its apparent abandonment (if that is why so many of the drawings are unfinished or uncoloured) could be the crisis through which Guler court religion seems to have passed during the years 1720 to 1740. Dalip Singh (1695-1741) is known to have been deeply pious and also to have been much influenced by his spiritual preceptor, the Rajguru Dinamani. Dinamani, as is clear from his appearance in 3, belonged to Bikram Singh's generation and this, in turn, was strongly pro-Rama. In keeping with his early sense of devotion, Dalip Singh may have wished to celebrate the worship of Rama on a grand scale and the commissioning of the present series 'in grand style' (Coomaraswamy, 1916) would therefore have been in character. We must recall, however, that during this period missionaries devoted to Krishna were operating in Guler and that in the years 1727-1729 a new shrine was established at Bathu with a strong Krishna bias. Dalip Singh, through his eldest son, Bishan Singh, actively supported its foundation and from 1730 onwards Guler court religion veered away from Rama and moved in the direction of Krishna. If the series was commissioned in about 1725 and executed between 1725 and 1730 (a date which is reasonable on grounds of style), both its size and unfinished state become intelligible. Zeal for Rama might explain its inception and a waning of that zeal its ultimate abandonment.

For the course of later Guler painting, the series is important because of its emphatic reliance on plain backgrounds, whether scarlet or orange-red, its bold use of gold as in the palace walls, its recourse to nimble naturalism, seen especially in the treatment of the monkeys, its flair for abstract composition, and perhaps, above all, its adoption of the actual Guler landscape as a background for mythical scenes. When I went to Haripur with Randhawa in 1954, plantain trees were omnipresent — so much so that they gave the little town a special character — while the local hill-sides with their fanged ridges possessed exactly the same wavy rims as in the pictures. Seen in fact, from the south-west as in the photograph by Lal (8) the Haripur fort with its adjoining hill and the Ban Ganga river flowing at its feet bore an extraordinary resemblance to the fort of Lanka, with its adjoining hill-side and strip of sea. If I had gone to Haripur with Hugel in 1835, I might well have been astounded by yet another parallel — the prevalence of monkeys (Hugel *q.v.*).

Examples from the same series: (1) Coomaraswamy (1926), pl. 13 (22). Rama's army of bears and monkeys, encamped before Lanka, reconnoitre the fort. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Incident: Shastri, III, chap. 23, 56. Wavy, agitated rims of hill-sides, Yellow background.

(2) Coomaraswamy (1926), pl. 12 (no. 19); also reproduced Gangoly (1926), pl. 16(a). Ravana, having failed to win Sita (see 9, iii), attempts to unnerve her by producing a counterfeit severed head of Rama. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Incident: Shastri, III, chap. 31, 76. Row of angular walls, Cypressess, plantains.

(3) Coomaraswamy (1926), pl. 12 (no. 20); also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), no. 59. Sita is consoled by the female demon, Sarama; Ravana confers with his palace. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Incident: Shastri, III, chap. 3. chap. 33 81-83. Similar in general design to (2) above.

(4) Coomaraswamy (1926), pl. 13 (no. 21); also reproduced Gangoly (1926), pl. 16(b). Ravana confers with a demon general, the army parading outside the palace walls. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Incident: Shastri, III, chap. 36, 87-88.

(5) Gangoly (1926), pl. 15; also reproduced French (1931), frontispiece (col.): The demons make a sortie. British Museum, London (formerly Ajit Ghose, later French collection). Incident: Shastri, III, chap. 42, 102-104. Red background. Hill-sides with wavy rim. Plantains.

(6) Coomaraswamy (1916), pl. 24; also reproduced Coomaraswamy (1926), pl. 15 (no. 28). Rama and Lakshmana assailed by snake arrows. Uncoloured. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

(7) Coomaraswamy (1926), pl. 14 (no. 23). Rama's army assaults the fort at Lanka. Uncoloured. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

(8) Coomaraswamy (1926), pl. 14 (no. 26). The two armies engage. Uncoloured. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

(9) Group of further uncoloured drawings from the same series. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. Unpublished.

10 Raja Dalip Singh (vii, 1695-1741) of Guler playing polo. Guler, c.1730-1740.

Formerly in the family collection of Raja Baldev Singh of Guler and stated by him, on the basis of family tradition, to be the work of a Guler painter at Guler. Not included in the Guler Raj collection when acquired by the Chandigarh Museum but photographed by M. S. Randhawa, at Haripur, Guler, in 1954. Since then, untraced.

Published: Randhawa (1953), fig. 1; also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), fig. 72.

Description: Dalip Singh, mounted on a white horse, with reddened legs and leaning low in order to strike the ball is playing polo with seven courtiers. Each player wears an ankle-length *jama*. On each side are four galloping horses. Background green.

Discussion: A picture of some importance since it proves that under Dalip Singh a style of lively naturalism was competing with an earlier and more static method of presenting figures in single flat planes with little depth and movement. Although Dalip Singh is shown in the background, his identity is unmistakable (compare 5(3), 6, 20, 21). He is also the only player who is actually striking the ball and his mount is the only horse whose legs and belly are stained red. Of the courtiers playing with him, one — Avasthi Vajinath — wearing a dark *jama*, facing left and riding a white horse — is already familiar from a portrait study (4). Since the scene involves actual Guler personalities, it must almost certainly be contemporary with the characters and hence about 1730-1740 in date. The brisk movements of the horses and the animated rendering of the riders parallel, though in more subtle form, the treatment of bears, monkeys and demons in the 'Siege of Lanka' *Ramayana* series (9). As at Sujapur in Kangra, a polo ground was an essential part of the Guler capital.

Although the picture is not connected with any specific painter, its brisk, forward-looking manner can be explained on only one of two assumptions. The first is that various 'action' pictures in the early eighteenth century Mughal style of Muhammad Shah (1719-1748) had already reached the Guler court and by confronting local artists with new concepts, had obliged them to enlarge their previous manners. The second is that one or more local painters may have worked, for a time, at the imperial capital of Delhi and thus acquired a new technique. For neither of these assumptions, however, is there, as yet, any evidence. In the case of the Guler painter Seu and his artist sons, Manaku and Nainsukh (all natives of Guler, though in the case of the sons, working either wholly or in part outside Guler), details of their artistic education are wanting. It is also uncertain how many artist families lived and worked in Guler under Dalip Singh, and what exact circumstances determined their contributions to local Guler painting. For an attempt to connect various paintings, here regarded as Guler, with the family of Seu, see Goswamy (1968).

Related example: (1) Randhawa (1954), fig. 2; also repro-

duced Khandalavala (1958), no. 108. Raja Govardhan Chand (1741-1773) of Guler on horseback, holding a lance. Inscribed at the top in *nagari* characters in gold: *sri maharaja govardhan chand* and on the reverse in Persian script: (1) *govardhan chand* (2) *wohi ghora* 'This is the horse' i.e. presumably an allusion to the favourite horse for which Govardhan Chand went to war with the Mughal Governor, Adina Beg Khan (HV, I, q.v.). Chandigarh Museum, Guler Raj collection, formerly in the family collection of Raja Baldev Singh and stated by him to be the work of a Guler painter in Guler. Guler, c.1735.

Raja Govardhan Chand, in appearance about twenty-five years old, wearing a bright yellow *jama* and turban and holding a lance bestrides a prancing white horse with scarlet legs. Green foreground. Background gold with, at the top, red and blue streaks. Comparable in style to 10 but maintaining the sparse schematic conventions of the early portraits. The white horse is similar to Raja Dalip Singh's mount with its red legs and belly and has the same type of scarlet decoration imprinted on its flanks.

11 Battle scene. Guler, c.1730-1740.

276 x 374 mm (trimmed).

Chandigarh Museum.

Formerly in the family collection of Raja Baldev Singh of Guler and stated by him in 1954 on the basis of family tradition, to be the work of a Guler painter at Guler.

Description: A picture in three parts. To the left, in the middle distance, a posse of horsemen is halted behind a row of marksmen who are firing a volley of shots at an invisible target to the lower right. Behind them are two small riders galloping to the left while a third rider with a spear is halted by a hill. The white turban of one rider has become untied and is caught up on the branch of a tree. In the foreground, two horsemen, one in mauve and orange-red and with a white moustache, the other on a white horse with black shield and sword, bow and arrows and a green *jama* are speeding to the left. The second horseman has turned his head and is looking back. Like the small rider in the upper part, his white turban has become untied and is dangling free. To their rear is a scene of carnage: three figures lie dead on the ground, four others march firmly away to the right and one soldier in a white, tucked-up *jama* shoots an arrow to the left. *Jamas* green and soft red. In the background to the upper right, a raja with three armed guards sits on an open slope, receiving two courtiers who stand before him. Green open hill-sides with intersecting ridges, each with wavy rims and pale edges.

Discussion: Similar in style to 10 ('Dalip Singh playing polo') and with the same emphasis on violent movement, dramatic gesture and galloping riders. Compare, in particular, the white horse in the foreground with the white horse on the right in 10. Although the exact incident is unidentified, the participants are closely modelled on Dalip Singh's polo-players and may well be based on members of his own court. Significant details are the untied turbans loosely streaming in the wind (compare 12), the rider with head turned round (a favourite idiom in Guler painting, see 18, 'The lady by the lake', 19, 'Sohni swimming', 23, 'Lady on a terrace'), the insertion of small figures in the background (compare 20, 24), and the broadly schematic treatment of the landscape, based as in 9 on the local landscape at Haripur, Guler and continued in 16, 17, 23. The fallen figure with head shown three-quarter view is paralleled in the row of heads, threaded by Parvati in 16.

12 Dancing devotees. Guler, c.1730-1740.

206 x 288 mm.

Central Museum, Lahore.

Listed: Gray (1950), p. 170, no. 781.

Description: A group of devotees, one with Shaiva *tilak* marks, wearing long robes with loose sleeves, throw themselves about in a vigorous ecstatic dance. On the left three musicians egg them on with music on pipe, *sarangi* and tambourines. On the right three figures, including a *kanphat yogi* and a bearded figure reading a book, gaze at the spectacle. Four of the leading figures dance with turbans untied,

the long lengths of white cloth flapping loosely on their heads. One figure has stumbled and a second is being led exhausted away. Green background.

Discussion: An experimental action-study involving figures in movement, dramatic stances with gestures and musicians playing. Although the subject may derive from Mughal paintings, the inclusion of a Shaiva devotee suggests that it was conceived and executed in a non-Mughal setting. The ecstatic nature of the Krishna cult may have suggested the dance of dervishes as a parallel. In style, similar to 11 with the same sense of turbulent agitation and with the same striking detail, the unwound turban, with ends dangling free.

13 Dancing villagers. Guler, c.1740.

245 x 360 mm.

Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Heeramanek collection.

Published: Beach (1966), col. pl. 183.

Description: A group of seven villagers in white, mauve, pale green, pale yellow and greenish-blue *jamias* and with striped trousers dance with swirling skirts, wildly flung-out arms and brandished scarves to the music of four musicians who are grouped on the right. Two are trumpeters and two beat drums. None of the dancers have beards. In three cases, the swirling skirts have wavy edges. Flat scarlet background with, at the top, a white and blue band.

Discussion: An adjustment to Guler conditions of the subject treated in 12. In place of dervishes, however, the dancers are now all Hindus and the inclusion of a figure with dark blue skin makes a Krishna reference plausible. The dancers are, none the less, quite secular, being either members of a professional troupe, local courtiers mimicking a folk display or Guler villagers celebrating, in Hill fashion, the festival of Besakhi. Of this festival with its characteristic dancing, Prakash Tandon (*Punjabi Century*, Los Angeles, 1968, 57-58) writes as follows:

'Besakhi was a secular festival, the only one of its kind in which Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs all participated alike. Though celebrated both by town and country, it was essentially a farmers' festival, a kind of thanksgiving, but of a bacchanalian kind; an orgiastic feast to relax the tensions of months of hard work at the *rabi*, the main crop of the year. . . . The farmers went about in groups. Some of them were drunk, others pretended to be, or, as they said in Punjabi, had just wetted their whiskers with it. They danced the *bhanga* to the rhythm of a double flute, and a wooden rat fixed to a stick which went up and down the stick as it was pulled by a cord, making a clacking sound. The rat and the double flute were the only instruments beside a drum, but the *jats* made up for that with a great deal of vigour and vitality as they danced in a circle. The tune was a long simple descending recitative melody which was picked up at the end by a shout and then went on again. Their movements were curiously feminine, in fact, hermaphrodite. They would start by holding both arms stretched high above the head, not unlike the graceful movements of women winnowing, and dance backward and forward. The left hand then held the loosely tied *tehmad* round their legs, while the right arm was held above with the hand drooping down gracefully, and first one foot was put forward and then the other. They danced like that to a low melody on the flute, almost softly, with a lithe and sinuous grace; but suddenly the flute lifted up to a high note and with a yell their bodies burst into a masculine, powerful whirling dance. Danced by strong bearded men, Sikhs or Muslims, it was a curious sight, at first ludicrous but soon beautiful. The ludicrous touch was deliberate, and the name *bhanga* has come to mean merriment with a lot of noise and chaos.'

In the picture, the double flute and wooden rat have been replaced by long and short trumpets. The drummers, however, are in strict character and the movements, gestures and poses of the dancers exactly parallel those of *bhanga* performers.

In terms of style, the picture replaces the green background of 12 by typical Guler scarlet and the inclusion of the tiny upper band of white and blue further enhances its Guler character (see, in this connection, 28, 29). Significant details are the four musicians actively playing on the right (comparable in their lively realism to those in 12, 15, 46), the wavy ends of the twirling *jamas* (to be echoed in the pavilion roof in 14, 'The unveiling of Draupadi') and the general sense of lively movement which allies it with 10, 'The polo-players' and 11, 'The battle scene'.

14 The unvelving of Draupadi. Guler, c.1740.

275 x 380 mm (torn and trimmed).

Inscribed in *nagari* characters on the face with names of the chief characters and on the reverse with verses describing the scene (transcribed and translated Coomaraswamy (1916), I, 61-62).

Victoria and Albert Museum, Rothenstein collection, I.S. 131-1951.

Published: Coomaraswamy (1916), pl. 36; also reproduced Archer (1952a), fig. 14.

Description: The blind Dhritarastra, king of the Kauravas, is seated in council with Bhishma, Drona and four others to the right and Karna and five others on the left. In the corners sit rows of descending courtiers, their faces chiefly in profile. In the foreground, the five Pandavas are huddled together, the vast Bhima gripping his mace in anger. In the centre, Duryodhana is egging on Dursasana who is dragging Draupadi's garments from her body. Behind the blind king is a pavilion with a long low portico and a row of trees punctured by cypresses. Unfinished sketch, lightly tinted.

Discussion: With 11-13, a study in the un-tying and loosening of clothes — the dropping veils of Draupadi closely matching the unwound turbans of the riders and dancers. Significant details: the rippling edge of the pavilion roof (similar to the edges of the dancers' *jamas* in 13), the re-appearance of cypresses (a feature of the 'Siege of Lanka' series, 9), the dramatic grouping of the five Pandavas, their heads turned contrastingly away (11-13) and the arrangement of the courtiers' heads in descending rows ('Govardhan Chand listening to musicians', 15). Assigned to Guler on grounds of style and by comparison with 10-13.

Example for comparison: (1) Coomaraswamy (1916), pl. 37A. The unveiling of Draupadi. Central Museum, Lahore. Guler, c.1750-1760. Similar subject, though somewhat later in style.

PHASE TWO: 1740-1770

A phase of Guler painting, centering on the court of Raja Govardhan Chand (1741-1773) of Guler and characterised by a series of stylistic experiments, a preference for poetic and romantic subjects and a 'deliberate research into physical charm' (Coomaraswamy, 1916). Enthusiasm for the cult of Krishna, stimulated by Raja Dalip Singh in the seventeen-thirties, seems to have somewhat waned, but Vaishnava delight in physical love is possibly responsible for a general upsurge of interest in poetic romance and the investment of women with ideal charm. Radha herself is not entirely excluded but among the many female figures depicted with serene grace are Parvati and Durga (consorts of Shiva), *nayikas* (ideal ladies of Indian love-poetry), Sohni (heroine of a Punjabi folk-tale), ladies listening to music, a princess out hunting with her maids, ladies smoking or completing their toilets, *raginis* (feminine consorts of musical princes), ladies with hawks, and the Basohli rani of Govardhan Chand herself. Essential ingredients in many pictures are symbolic images, designed to emphasise the sexual character of particular situations.

During the period, at least three types of female face were devised, each type reigning for about a decade before its supremacy was eroded and its special features modified or replaced. Throughout the reign, no one style appears to have been dominant and there was a constant alternation between two rival tendencies — the first favouring lively

naturalism and a realistic rendering of appearances, the second employing symbolic conventions as a means of reinforcing ideal charms. Common devices for achieving this purpose were the continued use of flat expanses of colour (whether brilliant or subdued) and angular architecture as a sharp foil to feminine grace. An unusual practice was the periodic re-doing of earlier paintings in the light of new fashions. The basic composition would be preserved but the whole mood of the picture would be changed by modifying details or adding fresh components. Significant of the period was the continuing omission to record artists' names on pictures and a consequential uncertainty as to the exact roles which individual painters or their families may or may not have played in the total achievement.

15 Raja Govardhan Chand (1741-1773) of Guler listening to musicians. Guler, c.1745.

264 x 182 mm; with unfinished border 302 x 214 mm.

Inscribed in *nagari* characters on the original flap: *sri govardhan chand*; and on a second and modern flap attached by Raja Baldev Singh of Guler, c.1940: *sri raja govardhan chand. 23. samvat 1800* (later corrected to 1801) 'Sri Raja Govardhan Chand (number) 23. A.D. 1743 (1744)'. The date 1743 (1744) refers to what Raja Baldev Singh believed to be the year of Raja Govardhan Chand's accession, not to the year in which the portrait was painted (private oral communication. Raja Baldev Singh. Haripur, 1954; reported and discussed Archer (1957), 31). For reasons given under reigns and portraits, vii, 1741 is here regarded as his true date of accession.

Chandigarh Museum, Guler Raj collection. Formerly in the family collection of Raja Baldev Singh of Guler and stated by him on the basis of family tradition to be the work of a Guler artist at Guler.

Published: French (1931), pl. 9 (but slightly trimmed and mistakenly claimed to be 'dated' 1743); also reproduced and discussed Archer (1952a), fig. 16; Randhawa (1953), fig. 5; Randhawa (1954a), col. pl. 1 (the left (unfinished) side omitted); Khandalavala (1958), no. 106 (trimmed as in French); Mittal (1966), fig. 1.

Description: Raja Govardhan Chand, in appearance aged about thirty years, is seated on a patterned rug on a white terrace leaning against gold cushions and smoking a hookah. He wears a yellow *jama* with crimson scarf. A long sword lies beside him. Behind him are two standing attendants and a line of six courtiers, apparently seated and shown head and shoulders in profile facing right. A priest, perhaps the Mahanth of Bathu, in pale crimson wrap, is the last in the line. On the right facing Govardhan Chand are five seated musicians, three of them drumming, two playing on short trumpets. Two members of the household stand with them. Costumes of courtiers, attendants and musicians, red, green, blue and yellow. In the foreground, a row of trees, in some cases with leaves shown as rounded blobs. In the background, a grey expanse of water and, above it, a curving band of pale green countryside, bare save for a few scattered trees. A grey parallelogram with gold edges, occupying the left half of the band of countryside, vaguely resembles a tank. Unfinished.

Discussion: A picture which, on account of its supposed date of 1743 (1744), was for long regarded as a 'key' point for the reconstruction of painting in Guler (Archer, 1952a). Although the 'dated' inscription has since been shown to be modern and hence of no evidentiary value, the freshness with which the party is painted and the apparent age of the presiding figure (thirty to thirty-five years) makes a comparable date of c.1745 acceptable.

Despite the fluent skill with which each character is depicted, the picture is an uneasy blend of new and old conventions — the flat grey water, curving rim, bare landscape, angular terrace and regular arrangement of courtiers disclosing a grave preference for sober geometry while the sensitively rendered trees in the foreground and the animated postures of the musicians maintain a lively interest in vivid naturalism. A hint of this unresolved conflict is given, though perhaps fortuitously, by the unfinished state of the

picture. One attendant and one courtier are shown projecting into the left-hand margin, which is itself unpainted and the parallelogram, floating over the band of countryside at the top, is too awkwardly situated to carry conviction. In the light of a companion picture (22), where the same shape has become a canopy, it is possible that a similar composition was at first envisaged but was abandoned after the central figure, Govardhan Chand, had been provided in Jammu fashion with a rug and cushions. The fact that the picture should thus have ended in a *débat* is perhaps an indication that painting in Guler was still in process of reconciling rival styles.

Although resembling at least one work by Nainsukh, a young Guler painter who by 1746 had become the retained artist of Raja Balwant Singh of Jammu (Jammu, no. 34 q.v.), it may be doubted if the present picture is actually by him. What is possible is that a Guler artist from another family painted the present experimental study and that Nainsukh availed himself of some of this artist's idioms to produce his own related, but different, style. For a discussion of the picture emphasising that it is unlikely to be by Nainsukh but suggesting his elder brother Manaku as a possible candidate, see Mittal (1966).

16 The holy family. Guler, c.1745.

270 x 183 mm; with border 307 x 220 mm. Border pale fawn.

Inscribed on the reverse with a long note in Persian *shikasta* characters, dated: 22 *katik*, year 95, *samvat* 1952 'The twenty-second day of Kartik (November), A.D. 1895' and signed: *raghunath singh* i.e. Raja Raghunath Singh (xiii, 1884-1920) of Guler. This note has no direct connection with the painting but is rather a series of personal reflections. It recalls that God may suddenly humble the proud and exalt the meek. What befalls is due to a man's bad deeds. The writer has always had a brave heart but of late Fate has played such tricks with him that he now has no courage left and life is one long misery. A sudden illness has claimed his wife; and then his sister, the sole surviving offspring of his parents, has also died. He beseeches God to give peace to his dead ones and to grant him the only wish he now has which is to die. (Communication, B. N. Goswamy.) The writing of this note appears to have relieved Raja Raghunath Singh's feelings since he survived for another twenty-five years.

Victoria and Albert Museum, Manuk and Coles collection, I.S. 11-1949.

Published: Archer (1952), fig. 29; also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), no. 105.

Description: Shiva, Parvati, Karttikeya, Ganesha and the bull Nandi, accompanied by a rat, a peacock and a sleeping lion are assembled in a grey hollow. Around them are the curving ridges of a hillside, bare save for a sprinkling of small trees, stunted but with large blob-like leaves. At the top is greyish blue sky. Shiva, the bull and rat are white, Parvati and Karttikeya ivory-coloured. Shiva is sewing a pale whitish-pink garment. Parvati in a long dull gold skirt is passing a red thread through a line of heads. The orange-red Ganesha, dark blue peacock, the brown lion and Parvati's black hair are in strong contrast to the subdued pallor of the rest of the picture.

Discussion: Of special importance for the reconstruction of Guler painting on account of its provenance and history (part of the Guler ancestral collection of pictures and actually used, on the reverse, by one of the Guler rajas for writing a prayer), its re-creation of the Guler landscape at Haripur with its bare hill-sides, wavy ridges and pale edges (seen in 8, 9 but now put to further, confident use), its reflection of the Guler cult of Shiva and the Devi (a vital and continuing part of local religion, despite the vogue for Krishna worship under Dalip Singh), its serenely fluent use of elegant naturalism, sinuous delicacy and abstract rhythm (indicating that Mughal painting of the Muhammad Shah period had now been fully adjusted to local attitudes and tastes); above all, its proof that a 'deliberate research into physical charm' (Coomaraswamy, 1916) had now become a prime purpose of Guler painting. For further pictures invol-

ving a similar treatment of feminine face and form, see 17-19.

17(i, ii) Two paintings from a *Markandeya Purana* series. Guler, c.1745.

Central Museum, Lahore (original provenance, Guler). Listed Gupta (1922), E.12, E.13 (where both are attributed to Guler on account of their Guler provenance).

(i) The emergence of Kausiki.

Published: Archer (1952a), fig. 26; also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), no. 114.

Description: Kausiki, standing beside Durga, after emerging from her body, turns to gaze at a crowd of *Devas* (gods) who stand in a hollow behind a grove of trees. To the right a rushing stream with plummy grasses, boulders and a leafless tree with spiky branches. In the foreground, a tree with round blob-like leaves. In the background, a series of hill-tops snow-covered, with rounded slopes and fang-like ridges.

(ii) The *Devas* worshipping the absent Durga.

Published: Archer (1952a), fig. 28.

Description: A group of *Devas* in crowns and *dhotis* stand in a bare, bleak landscape offering praises to the absent Durga. Behind them is a leafless tree with spiky branches and to the right a grove with heavy foliage. Behind them is a series of snow-covered slopes, shown as a succession of four fang-like ridges and with a wavy rim as horizon.

Discussion: These two pictures are similar in style to 16 and are of special art-historical interest since they are among the first published pictures to be ascribed to Guler on grounds of provenance and distinctiveness of style (Gupta, 1922; Archer, 1952a). Significant features are the bare hill-sides with wavy rims and pale edges (again recalling the fanged ridges of the landscape at Haripur, Guler); a special type of female form with sensuous curves, tenderly rounded breasts and dignified stance; a special type of female face with long black strands of hair, a rounded bun at the back, and serene demeanour, and the use of stark bare backgrounds as foils to feminine grace. For a later series, based on the present originals, see 61.

Examples from the same series: (1) Archer (1952a), fig. 27. The *Devas* worshipping Durga. Formerly Central Museum, Lahore. Guler provenance. Durga's lion similar to the lion in 'The holy family' (16). Plain background with, in the foreground, lines of tufted plants.

(2) Gangoly (1926), col. pl. 17. Kali as a black ogress devouring the demon hordes. Durga following on a lion. Gangoly collection, Calcutta. Landscape with fanged rims.

18 The lady by the lake. Guler, c.1745.

173 x 170 mm; with border 210 x 210 mm.

Red borders with gilt margins and black rules.

Victoria and Albert Museum, Manuk and Coles collection, I.S. 32-1949.

Published: Archer (1952a), fig. 30; also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), no. 112; Archer (1960), pl. 85 (col.); Rawson (1962), col. pl. (p. 150); Anand (1968) fig. 8.

Description: A princess, nude save for a white loin-cloth, sits on a gold seat toying with the stem of a hookah while a maid-servant in red skirt flecked with white sits polishing her toe-nails. Behind her stand a group of five maids in yellow, mauve, white, green and red — the one in white holding over her a scarlet cloth fan edged with green, the one in red holding a white cloth. A sixth maid in a red skirt crouches before her as if giving or taking a message. To the right, two women musicians — in red, white and yellow — play a drum and *tambura*. The princess and the group to her left have been bathing. All have hennaed their hands, fingers, feet and toes. The party is assembled on a narrow spit of land sprinkled with white and red flowers and surrounded by water. A sturdy plantain tree with pendulous red flower rises to the right. Two fang-like promontories jut out into the lake, one of them with a tree reaching out over the water. Background bluish-grey.

Discussion: With 16, 17 and 19 a poetic evocation of feminine form — the sparse setting, jagged spits of land and robust plantain leaves serving to enhance by contrast the soft lines and gracious physiques of the assembled girls. As in other pictures of this group, no distinction is made between different social classes — the principal subject, the lady toying with a hookah, is shown with identically the same type of face, hair and physique as those of her maids and attendants. Among other details, the painting includes girl musicians, trees jutting into space, a pale grey background, ladies glancing backwards over their shoulders, and a prominent plantain tree — idioms which appear with constant frequency in Guler pictures of the period. Plantain-trees were as typical of the little township of Haripur, Guler as fanged ridges with pale rims were characteristic of the rocky hill-side leading up to the Haripur fort. For the postures of the girls and their use of *dhotis*, compare the *Devas* in 17(i).

19 Sohni swimming. Guler, c.1750.

260 x 193 mm; with border 370 x 290 mm.

Border fawn with bright yellow margin. Inset in the border (unillustrated), two tiny pictures: (1) on the right, an old man smoking a hookah under a tree (45 x 31 mm), (2) on the left, Mahinwal with buffaloes (68 x 31 mm).

Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras (formerly Manuk and Coles collection, later Jalan collection, Patna).

Published: Gangoly (1926), col. pl. 29; also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), no. 116.

Description: Sohni, naked save for a mauve loin-cloth and green bangle, is swimming across an expanse of grey water, supporting herself on an upturned pitcher and glancing behind her as she goes. Her long hair streams down her back. Above her the river passes between steep banks, some of them a glowing pink, before fanning out into a great horse-shoe, rimmed by projecting bluffs. After describing an arc high up in the picture, it disappears to the right. A large tree overhangs the stream on the right hand side. In the distance, tiny white houses with trees and cypresses, and on the river two boats.

Discussion: An illustration to the Punjabi folk-tale of Sohni, a village girl who swims across a river each night, supported by an earthen pot, in order to meet her lover, Mahinwal. According to a brief summary given by Coomaraswamy (1916), 'the crisis of the story turns on the discovery of these nightly visits by her family; her brothers substitute for the baked earthen pot one of unbaked clay; and when this melts away in the water, Sohni sinks and drowns'.

A fuller version, based on a ballad in *gurmukhi* by the Punjabi poet, Fazl Shah (Lahore, 1824), is summarised by Randhawa (1968) as follows: 'Mahinwal — "herder of buffaloes" — was the name given to Izzat Beg, a Muslim merchant of Bukhara who came to Gujarat, a city of the Punjab on the Chenab river, now in West Pakistan. The citizens of Gujarat gave him a warm welcome and entertained him with a royal feast. He admired the quality of the food and was also impressed with the terra-cotta pottery in which it was served. On enquiry from his hosts, he learned that the pottery was manufactured by a potter by the name of Tulha. Next morning, he visited the potter's shop. There the merchant saw the potter's daughter, Sohni, meaning the "Beautiful", and fell in love with her at once. All metaphors and similes are exhausted in description of this beautiful Punjabi girl. Her face was like the moon, her eyes dark and innocent like those of a deer, her eyebrows like a bow, and her eye-lashes like a hundred arrows and these pierced the heart of the merchant. A soft smile was hovering over her lips, and when she spoke it seemed as if she were scattering flowers. The stricken Izzat Beg purchased all the pottery that was lying in the shop, and thereafter became a frequent visitor. Suspecting something between his daughter and the merchant, the potter promptly married her off to another man of his own caste. Izzat Beg then became the servant of a farmer on the other side of the river, and thus acquired the name of Mahinwal. Sohni used to swim on an

inverted pitcher very night to meet him. Her husband's sister became aware of her nocturnal adventures and suspected their purpose. One evening she replaced the pitcher which Sohni used to hide in a bush near the river with an unbaked one. It was a dark and stormy night with lashing rain. When Sohni got into the water and started swimming, the unbaked pitcher dissolved. She was swept into a whirlpool and drowned.'

Randhawa adds that her love and tragedy touched the hearts of the people of India and stirred Fazl Shah to write his poem. There must, however, have been earlier versions because it had already become a favourite theme in Mughal, Rajasthani and Kangra painting. He points out (private communication, 1970) that in many illustrations of the story, a fakir is shown seated in a hut on the bank of the river opposite the place where Mahinwal is tending his buffaloes. This fakir prays to Khwaja Khizar, the river-god, for Sohni's safety, thus indicating where popular sympathies lay. He adds that although her father forcibly married Sohni to a man of her caste, Sohni refused to consummate the marriage and dared all for Mahinwal, her lover. This conflict between passionate romance and orthodox morals is closely paralleled in the story of Radha and Krishna and it is no accident that in a Bundi painting (Randhawa and Galbraith, 1968, col. pl. 17), the lover to whom Sohni is swimming is not Mahinwal but the blue-skinned Krishna and the animals are not buffaloes but cows. It is symptomatic of the social stresses in Indian society in the period 1000 A.D. onwards that while ever-increasing puritanism forbade extra or pre-marital relationships and insisted on early and arranged marriages, the need for romantic love remained and was expressed, on the popular level, in love stories such as those of Sohni and Mahinwal, Hira and Ranjha, and Sassi and Punnun and, on religious levels, in the story of Radha and Krishna. It is significant that, in these stories, while passionate romance is ardently advocated, all end unhappily and thus obliquely vindicate orthodoxy. Although swimming with the aid of an upturned pitcher is a common way of crossing rivers in the Punjab, it is noteworthy that Sohni herself is a potter's daughter and is thus employing an article made by her own family. An unbaked pitcher is normally quite hard to the touch and does not immediately dissolve in water. There is therefore no improbability in Sohni making this fatal mistake. For a discussion of poetry, religion and morals in medieval India, see W. G. Archer, Preface to Alex Comfort, *The Koka Shastra* (London, 1964).

In the present picture, Sohni is either on her way to Mahinwal and is looking back to see whether her departure has been noticed or after meeting Mahinwal is returning to her village and is looking back so as to keep him in her eyes as long as possible. The fact that Mahinwal is shown with his buffaloes in the left-hand margin, i.e. ahead of her, and an old man smoking under a tree, presumably the fakir, in the right-hand margin, i.e. behind her, suggests that she is probably on her way to the tryst. In general style, the picture is closely similar to 16-18, the central figure of Sohni possessing the same type of face, innocence, charm and sensuousness of physique and the whole setting again evoking aspects of the Guler landscape at Haripur. South of the Haripur fort, the Ban Ganga River takes a great horse-shoe bend, exactly as in this picture, before it moves on to join the Beas somewhat further down. For Sohni's pose of looking back over her shoulder, her bare breasts and scanty loin-cloth, compare 18, 'The lady by the lake'. The pose of glancing backwards is a specially common device in Guler painting (see in particular, 17, 18, 23, 31, 42). For further examples of vignettes inserted in the borders, either as ovals, rectangles or cartouches, see 57, 64, 71. Other significant details: trees over-hanging water (18), lavish use of pale grey (22, 34, 47), and tiny buildings with trees and cypresses in the distance (20, 22, 23).

20 Raja Dalip Singh (1695-1741) of Guler, with his son, Govardhan Chand, on an elephant. Guler, c.1750.

328 x 242 mm (without border). Red border with narrow black margin and white rules.

Inscribed on the face in *nagari* characters by Raja Baldev Singh: (1) *sri tika govardhan chandra rajya sam(vat) 1801* 'Sri Govardhan Chand, heir-apparent, enthroned A.D. 1744' (2) *sri raja dalip singh sam(vat) 1752* 'Sri Raja Dalip Singh A.D. 1695'.

Chandigarh museum. Formerly in the family collection of Raja Baldev Singh of Guler and stated by him on the basis of family tradition to be the work of a Guler painter at Guler. For reasons given under Dalip Singh (reigns and portraits, vii), 1741 is here accepted as the year of his death. **Description:** Raja Dalip Singh in a grey *jama* sits on an elephant behind a young mahout in green *jama* and in front of Govardhan Chand in mauve, holding a peacock-feather fan. Howdah and elephant's cloth red with gold borders. Plain green background with, at the top, a curving band of grey river and beyond it a narrow strip of countryside with trees, a minute palace with cypresses and a long cavalcade of tiny riders and footmen. A long white yak's tail suspended from the elephant's brow.

Discussion: An elephant portrait in continuation of 1, 2 and 6 and perhaps designed originally to celebrate Govardhan Chand's position as heir-apparent, a status he acquired in about 1730 on the death of his brother, Bishan Singh, when he himself was about seventeen years old. The abandonment of a plain background, the addition of a river with curving rims and the insertion, at the top, of a small landscape with lush trees, little figures and tiny palace with cypresses suggest, however, that while the present picture may have been intended to recall or continue the previous series, it is almost certainly in a later and perhaps more fashionable style. In this connection, compare 25, the second and later version of 16 ('The holy family'), 19 'Sohni swimming' (containing the same distant vista of a tiny palace with cypresses) and 22, 'Princess listening to girl-musicians on a terrace' where a composition, similar in basic essentials to 'Govardhan Chand listening to musicians', has been given a similar enhanced lushness.

Portrait for comparison: (1) Randhawa (1953), fig. 3; also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), no. 107. Govardhan Chand (1741-1773) in grey armour on an elephant seated behind a mahout and in front of a courtier with peacock-feather fan. Inscribed on the reverse in *nagari* characters: *sri raja govardhan chand*. Chandigarh Museum, Guler Raj collection. Guler, c.1735-1740. Green background with, at the top, a narrow rim of blue and white sky. Foreground with rows of tufted clumps. Govardhan Chand aged about twenty. The first elephant portrait to show a Guler ruler as heir-apparent without his predecessor or successor.

21 Raja Dalip Singh (1695-1741) of Guler conversing with his son, Govardhan Chand. Guler, c.1750. 227 x 167 mm; with border 275 x 199 mm. Red border.

Inscribed at the top in *nagari* characters: (1) *sri raja govardhan chand sri raje dalip sri ke de putra* 'Sri Raja Govardhan Chand son of Sri Raja Dalip' (2) *sri maharaja dalip singh* 'Sri Maharaja Dalip Singh'.

Chandigarh Museum, Guler Raj collection. Formerly in the family collection of Raja Baldev Singh of Guler and stated by him on the basis of family tradition to be the work of a Guler painter in Guler.

Description: Raja Dalip Singh in white *jama* ornamented with a green leaf pattern sits on a pale yellow carpet with red and purple floral designs facing his son, Govardhan Chand, who sits before him with folded hands. In the foreground a black shield and sword. Behind them a white balustrade and grey lake with, in the upper half, lotuses in flower and a curving band of green countryside with lush trees.

Discussion: A conversation piece, comparable to 20 and showing the same two Guler figures as they may have looked in perhaps 1735. The process of enrichment, however, is now more advanced and while the terrace is still conceived of as a single flat plane, the narrow river has become a large lake with lotus leaves and flowers; the landscape at the top has been broadened and lush trees and

undulating countryside have been neatly inserted. This naturalising tendency is in sharp contrast to the former schematic treatment of landscape and justifies the conclusion that, like 20, the present double portrait may be a later version of an earlier original. For other paintings employing the same kind of lush background with identical details, and hence firmly attributable to Guler, see 22-25 and 27.

22 Princess listening to girl-musicians. Guler, c.1750. 250 x 190 mm.

Mittal collection, Hyderabad (formerly in the possession of a Wazir family, Mandi).

Published: Barrett (1963), col. pl. p.177; also reproduced Mittal (1965), col. pl. A.

The fact that one of Raja Prakash Chand's ranis came from Mandi, and that painting in Mandi, in the early nineteenth century, appears to have been an offshoot from Guler, may explain the presence of this picture in the collection of a Mandi court official.

Description: A lady in golden bodice and trousers with a filmy white over-garment is seated on a low seat on an angular grey terrace holding a hawk on her right wrist and toying with the stem of a hookah. Two maids carrying a white cloth and a tray of betel leaves stand behind her. The mistress of her household, an old duenna, sits on the ground beside her. A fourth maid, in dark brown, appears with her head and shoulders above the balustrade a little lower down. Opposite to the right are three girl musicians, two of them in mauve and bright green salaaming the princess by bowing low before her, the third in dark green is seated on the ground strumming on a bright yellow *tambura*. The palace superintendent, a male figure in pale yellow *jama* and with white hair, stands beside two other ladies of the palace, one in reddish brown dress holding a hawk, the other in dark brown dress extending her left hand. In the foreground a row of leafy trees. Above the princess is a silver canopy with golden edges, supported by poles. In the background is an expanse of grey water, perhaps a lake, studded with rows of lotuses in flower, and, beyond it, a curving band of countryside with little dark green trees, a tiny palace with trees and cypresses, curving ridges and dark blue sky.

Discussion: A companion picture to 15, 'Govardhan Chand listening to musicians', but possibly five years later in date, more assured in style and composition and with a lyrical delicacy which far transcends the former picture's awkward construction. While this change may be due to its finished state — the former problem of the 'floating' parallelogram being successfully solved by converting it into a canopy — the example of other Guler pictures (19, 21) may account for the easy fluency with which foreground, middle distance and background have now been combined. A significant detail is the terrace whose flat expanse of grey brings it into line with other Guler pictures where grey also plays a dominating role. Although the picture is un-inscribed, its obvious relation to 15 suggests that the principal figure is intended to be Govardhan Chand's Basohli rani, a figure who appears in equally idealised form in 26. As rightly argued by Mittal (1966), the present picture can hardly be by Nainsukh (Jammu *q.v.*). There is no proof, however, that it was painted by Manaku, Nainsukh's elder brother who also worked for a time outside the state; and it is perhaps more probably the work of one or other members of several other artist families who lived and worked at Haripur, Guler in the reign of Govardhan Chand.

23 Princess on a terrace. Guler, c.1750.

Red border with narrow black margin.

Chandigarh Museum (received on transfer from Central Museum, Lahore).

Listed Gupta (1922), G.11, and attributed, on grounds of provenance, to Punch.

Published: Archer (1952a), fig. 60, where Gupta's attribution to Punch was followed; also reproduced and discussed Khandalavala (1958), no. 80.

Description: A princess wearing trousers with green leaf pattern sits on a tall chair on a white terrace attended by

five maids who stand behind her and by two girl musicians who sit before her with drum and *tambura*. She turns her head to take a betel leaf from a tray. In her right hand she holds the long stalk of a narcissus flower. Behind her is a pavilion doorway, the wall ornamented with cartouches, a grey lake, the upper third filled with lotuses in bloom, and beyond it countryside with curving rims, a small palace with trees and cypresses, and, at the top, the sky. The ladies' skirts range from red, yellow and dark green to pale green. All wear brief bodices with the nipples of their breasts showing through. Those on the left have long gowns. A young maid, holding a peacock-feather fan, wears a Muslim style hat. At the base of the terrace is a band of brown.

Discussion: As stressed by Khandalavala (1958, p.120-121) this picture is closely related to eighteenth century terrace scenes as evolved at Mughal centres in the reign of the Emperor Muhammad Shah (1719-1748). Certain features, however, sharply differentiate it from Mughal practice. There is not only a tendency towards greater simplification and clarity but the faces of the ladies possess an innocent serenity which is totally at variance with Mughal sentiment. The following details connect it specifically with Guler: the narcissus in the lady's hand (compare 7, 'Raja Bishan Singh of Guler'), the green leaf pattern on her trousers (similar to that on Raja Dalip Singh's *jama*, 21), the horizontal band of lotuses (compare 21, 22), the rounded breasts with prominent nipples and the pose of turning the head backwards over the shoulder (17, 18, 19), the long gowns worn by the maids and the stance and appearance of the *tambura* player (exactly similar to 22, 'Princess listening to girl-musicians') and finally, the distant landscape with tiny houses, cypresses and ridges with pale edges (compare 19, 20, 22). For cartouches similar to those on the pavilion arches but inserted in the borders of pictures, as a form of decoration, see 59, 64.

Related examples: (1) Archer (1952a), fig. 61. Lady seeking solace (*prositapatika nayika*). Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 105-1951. Guler, c.1750-1760. Similar terrace scene to 23, the lady holding a narcissus and a maid, shown full-face, attending her. Pavilion arches with cartouche decorations. In the background, a lake and landscape with Guler-type ridges. An unusual type of fretted balustrade similar to that employed in a portrait of Bishan Singh of Guler, Central Museum, Lahore (Gupta (1922), D.77).

(2) Archer (1952a), fig. 66. The expectant heroine (*vasakasayya nayika*). Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 103-1951. Guler, c.1750-1760. A lady attended by a sleeping maid gazes out on a bare hill-side. In the sky clouds and lightning. Similar leaf pattern on her dress to 23. Hill-side with curving rim. Hair-style of the 1760-1770 period.

(3) Archer (1952a), fig. 69. Lady on her way to the tryst (*abhisarika nayika*). Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 104-1951. Guler, c.1760. A lady on a hill-side with curving upper rim, standing beneath trees close to three snakes. Clouds and lightning. Similar style to (1) and (2) above.

(4) Archer (1952a), fig. 70. The jilted lady (*vipralabdha nayika*). Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 102-1951. Guler, c.1760. A lady on a bare hill-side by a heap of leaves, casting away her pearls. Tree trunk, hill-side with fanged rims, and distant palace with cypresses. In general style similar to (1) to (3).

The above four examples from the Victoria and Albert Museum's collection are here regarded as Guler by comparison with 23, formerly assigned, on grounds of provenance, to Punch.

(5) Archer (1952a), fig. 58. Awaiting the lover (*utka nayika*). Central Museum, Lahore. Guler, c.1760. Provenance Punch (communication, S. N. Gupta) but here regarded as from the same or similar series as (1) to (4) above.

24 Raja Govardhan Chand (1741-1773) of Guler smoking. Guler, c.1750.

237 x 154 mm; with border 291 x 206 mm.

Red border.

Inscribed in *nagari* characters: *sri raja govardhan chandra*.

Chandigarh Museum. Formerly in the family collection of Raja Baldev Singh and stated by him to be the work of a Guler painter in Guler.

Description: Raja Govardhan Chand in purple *jama* with gold sprigs sits on a terrace leaning against gold cushions with red floral designs and smoking a hookah. Carpet cream-coloured with pale blue flowers. A hawk perches in front of him on the balustrade. White archway through which can be seen a bare hill-side with wavy rim, succeeded by further fanged slopes, rows of lush trees, a winding stream with ducks and egrets and in the distance three tiny hawkers, two on horseback, one on foot.

Discussion: In treatment this picture belongs to the same stylistic group as 20-28 and illustrates an even lusher treatment of landscape than in 22 and 23. In addition to the tiny riders in the elephant portrait (20), there are now ducks and egrets and the trees also have a dense softness in contrast to the former sparseness. The portrayal of Govardhan Chand in this lush type of setting is of particular importance since it carries with it, as a necessary corollary, the lyrical masterpiece, 'Princess out hawking' (27).

25 The holy family. Guler, c.1750.

268 x 180 mm; with modern mount and borders.

Archer collection, London (formerly Manuk and Coles collection (residuary), later Ram Gopal collection, London).

Description: From the same *charba* (tracing) as 16 but employing a warmer palette and making major changes in the treatment of the landscape. Not only has the lion become a rich, tawny brown but the rat, formerly white, is now dark grey. Instead of the dry, bleak hill-side of 16, with its four fanged rims and scattered blob-like trees, there is now a grey lake with lotuses, ducks and egrets, ten groups of lush, dark green trees, intersecting ridges with wavy rims, and tiny animals (a snake slithering upwards on the left, a pair of leopards right of centre). The sky is pale grey merging into blue and on the left are streaks of orange cloud.

Discussion: In the same style as 21-24 and 27 and a significant example of the Guler practice of re-doing previous pictures in the light of changing styles and tastes.

26 The Basohli rani of Raja Govardhan Chand (1741-1773) of Guler. Guler, c.1750.

Red border.

Inscribed on the reverse: *sri rani valauri de surati* 'The portrait of the exalted Balauri rani'.

Khandalavala collection, Bombay.

Published: Khandalavala (1958), fig. 65, where the inscription is interpreted as meaning 'queen of the Balaurias', i.e. at Basohli. Ohri (1965) has shown that according to Hill usage, the phrase in fact can only mean a rani 'from Basohli', i.e. married in some other state. Since Govardhan Chand had a rani from Basohli, he connects this portrait with her.

Description: A lady in yellow and purple turban, her hair hanging in long tresses down her back, sits at a window holding a nosegay of roses in her left hand and lifting up a flower with her right hand, as if to smell it. Uncoloured background. At the top, a rolled-up blind. On the window-sill a rug with floral pattern.

Discussion: Identical in features, turban and dress with 27, 'Princess out hawking with her maids' and, like other supposed portraits of ranis and princesses, perhaps intended more as a symbolic or idealised representation than as a recognisable likeness. Although painters sometimes portrayed dancing and singing-girls from the life (Jammu q.v.), it was against court etiquette to portray court ladies with lively realism. In a later picture, 38, where Govardhan Chand is depicted with 'Balauri rani' and their family, the rani is indistinguishable in features from her maids and attendants — her position in the group rather than her actual features revealing her true identity. In the present picture, the fact that the inscription firmly connects the subject with Govardhan Chand's rani from Basohli is of some importance since it re-enforces the conclusion, justified on grounds of style, that the picture was painted in

Guler. Not only do her features tally with those of ladies in previous paintings but the archway, surrounding her, exactly corresponds in detail with the archway in 24, 'Govardhan Chand smoking'.

27 Princess out hawking with her maids. Guler, c.1750. 175 x 260 mm.

Inscribed on the reverse in *takri* characters: *begam sakar lagi hoi kardi ji* 'A Begam (a Mughal lady) engaged in *shikar* (hunting)'.

National Museum, New Dehli.

Published: Khandalavala (1958), fig. 59, where the phrase *begam sakar* is interpreted as the lady's name. For the present reading, see Archer (1962); Ohri (1965) and Goswamy (1966). Also reproduced Archer (1960), col. pl. 84.

Description: A princess mounted on a pale brown horse with white mane and tail and holding a hawk on her right wrist is proceeding through a lush countryside. She is accompanied by a posse of five maids, carrying a matchlock, a falcon and bow and arrows. All are clad in female dress but a sixth advance member of the party, perhaps returning with information, wears a male *jama* and a sword. All seven women wear turbans and are dressed in dark green. Behind the party is a hill-side with wavy rims and to the right, lush trees, a winding stream, ducks and egrets, lotuses and plummy grasses. In the bottom right hand corner, a tree, perhaps a *palash* with large round leaves.

Discussion: Closely related to 24 and 25 with which it shares an identical type of lush landscape, including sloping hill-sides, rows of dense green trees and strutting water-birds. Although the hills at Haripur, Guler are nowadays much eroded, there is still a patch of thickly wooded country to the north. It could therefore have been in this direction that the hawking party was proceeding. The intersecting ridges with wavy rims and pale margins are otherwise typical of the Haripur landscape, as seen or paralleled in 8, 9, 16, 17.

Further details connecting the picture with other paintings, here regarded as Guler in origin, are the long gowns worn by the party (22, 23), their use of turbans (26, 28), the aigrette plume worn by the princess (26), the prominently modelled breasts (16-19, 22, 23), and the emphasis given to hawks. Although hawks were often associated with rajas and princes, their depiction with ladies was much less common. The fact that two other pictures (22, 28) employ this motif, and that they are related to each other in terms of style goes far to strengthen a Guler attribution. It is also significant that the saddle cloth pattern exactly tallies with the rug pattern in 24, 'Govardhan Chand smoking' and that the princess is identical with the lady in 26, identified by the inscription as 'Balauri rani'.

In terms of style, the picture is remarkable for its mature recourse to vivid naturalism, its poetic approach to feminine form, its fluent creation of depth, its air of atmospheric distance, its green lushness and its union of evocative detail with rhythmical organisation. The bare hill-sides conform to the Guler tradition of open composition. It will be noticed that during Govardhan Chand's reign, Guler painters experimented with compositions in depth yet often appeared to shrink from too whole-hearted an adoption of them, preferring to employ the more conservative convention of single flat planes. It was out of the more naturalistic strand of Guler painting represented by the present picture that painting at Kangra was later to develop.

Although the word *begam* in the inscription has led certain scholars to connect the princess with Mughalani Begam — the young widow of Mir Mannu, Mughal Governor of Lahore who sought refuge in Jammu at the age of twenty-seven in 1757 — the picture appears to be too early in style for this to be possible. Ohri (1965) who notes that the *takri* inscription 'does not tally with the Jammu *takri* script of the period but with the Kangra *takri* has suggested that she may be the *begam* of some Mughal Governor of Kangra fort. There seems no special reason however to regard her as a *begam* or Mughal lady and indeed the whole inscription may well be a late speculation.

28 The lady with the hawk. Guler, c.1750.

206 x 110 mm; with border 256 x 160 mm. Pink border with black rule.

Inscribed at the top in *nagari* characters: *ragini vasant*; and on the reverse with a fragment of Hindi verse (meaning obscure); also inscribed in *takri* characters on the reverse in the right-hand margin: *sasi*.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 178-1950.

Published: Archer (1952a), frontispiece (col.); also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), no. 119.

All inscriptions are in clumsy handwriting. If the subject is taken to be a *ragini*, it is obviously not *Vasanti*, since this depicts two ladies picking flowers and putting them in baskets. It could, however, be *Saveri (ragini of Sri Raga)*, which shows 'a young lady seated on a golden *chauki* (low seat) holding a hawk in her hand, attended by two servant-girls' (M. S. Randhawa, 'Kangra Ragamala Painting', *Roopa Lekha* (1958), XXIX, nos. 1 and 2, 24, fig. 3 (p.23), mis-captioned *Gauri*).

Description: A lady in pale brown bodice, her nipples showing, sits brooding on a golden seat with pink coverlet and crimson cushion. She wears grey trousers, sprigged with touches of red, a long white over-garment edged with gold, and red slippers. Her right leg is drawn up over her left thigh. She wears a blue falconer's glove on her left hand and gazes at the hawk which perches on it. With her right hand she toys with the stem of a hookah, held for her by a maid, who is shown partly intruding from the right. White terrace with, in the foreground, three flower-beds with white and yellow daisies and marigolds. In the background, a white pavilion with doorway leading to a golden wall surmounted by a partially lowered pink and green blind. On the left, a flat expanse of scarlet, pricked by two spear-shaped black cypresses. At the top, pale sky in white and blue.

Discussion: Comparable in pose and style with 26, 'Balauri rani' (with the same long strands of black hair, turban and delicately modelled breasts) and to 22, 'Princess listening to girl musicians' (especially in the long pleated over-garment, the bare feet, trousers, crossed legs, dais, hookah and hawk). It is significant, however, that the nose is now slightly more curved and while the princess and her maid are rendered with poetic glamour and a grave appreciation of rounded form, the background with its flat plane of ardent scarlet and highly formalised cypresses is a deliberate reversion to earlier conventions. Precedents for spear-like cypresses, set against scarlet backgrounds, can be found in the Nurpur *Rasamanjari* series (Nurpur, no. 14, q.v.) and it is possible that Nurpur influences, seen in the 'Siege of Lanka' series (9), were still operative at Guler, twenty to thirty years later. Scarlet, red and orange-red occur in early Guler portraits (3, 4) and the present picture, whether intended as a *ragini* or as a simple evocation of feminine loveliness, is therefore in clear line with Guler predilections. The smudge of white and blue sky also accords with Guler practice. For a later figure, reminiscent of the present lady in her sharply pointed nose and general physique, see 65; and for an attendant shown partly in, partly out of the picture, 52.

29 The Gods in Vishnu's Heaven. Guler, c.1750.

300 x 115 mm (trimmed).

Inscribed in *nagari* characters on the face: *vaikunth . . .* (i.e. Vishnu's Heaven).

Victoria and Albert Museum, Rothenstein collection, I.S. 130-1951.

Published: Coomaraswamy (1916), pl. 44B (detail); also reproduced Gray (1948), col. pl. 5; Archer (1952a), fig. 17.

Description: Vishnu, four-armed and with mauve skin and yellow *dhoti* sits enthroned on a heap of lotus petals, his consort Lakshmi in red skirt, blue veil and pale bodice seated beside him. To the right stands a figure, crowned and nimbate, with orange-red skin and yellow *dhoti* wielding a white fly-whisk. Behind him stands Shiva with white skin and leopard-skin skirt, accompanied by Ganesha with orange-red skin and yellow *dhoti*. A group of thirteen gods and male musicians are ranked in four tiers before him. They are headed by the four-headed Brahma and include

Indra, covered with many eyes and Narada with his *vina*. In the foreground is a group of five dancing girls, two dancing, the others making music. The dancers wear orange-red and dark green trousers with white skirts and brief bodices. The musicians have orange-red and gold skirts ribbed with bands. White terrace floor and walls. Dark blue sky with pale yellow plantains and spear-shaped cypresses. Canopy and carpet brilliant red.

Discussion: In general structure similar to 14, 'The unveiling of Draupadi', with the same kind of central rectangle, long portico and assembled audience. Plantains and cypresses (18, 57, 65 and 68) are in intimate conjunction and use is also made of the standard Guler combination of red, white and blue. The new variation on ideal beauty seen in the faces of the princess and her maid in 28, 'The lady with the hawk', re-appears in the faces of the dancing-girls. Further significant details are the leaf-pattern on the trousers of the leading dancer (compare 21, 23), the girls' long, high-waisted gowns with pleated skirts (22, 23), and the banded skirt of the girl drummer on the right (foreshadowing the typical Guler fashion of multi-coloured bands, seen in 34-38, 43).

Related examples: (1) Coomaraswamy (1916), pl. 43. Radha and Krishna in a grove attended by two musicians. Formerly Coomaraswamy collection. Guler, c.1750-1760. Female faces similar to those of the dancing-girls.

(2) Gangoly (1930), col. pl.; also reproduced Gray (1950), pl. 108 (562). Radha and Krishna standing under a flowering tree. Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras. Guler, c.1760. Plain red background. Similar faces.

(3) Coomaraswamy (1916), pl. 44A; also reproduced Archer (1952a), fig. 18. Krishna awaiting Radha. Formerly Coomaraswamy collection. Guler, c.1760. Same faces as in 29.

(4) Archer (1952a), fig. 19. Radha and Krishna in a garden-house, five girl-musicians in a courtyard below. Jalan collection, Patna. Guler, c.1760. Compare (1)-(3) above.

30 (Detail). The lady at the tryst (*utka nayika*). Guler, c.1750.

Formerly in the family collection of Raja Raghunath Singh (1884-1920) of Guler, c.1915.

Published: Sastri (1945), fig. 2.

Description: A girl with brief bodice, her nipples showing through, stands cross-legged beside a heap of rounded leaves, clutching at the trunk of a tree and gazing into the empty night.

Discussion: Similar female type as in 22 and 23. Sastri was among the first scholars to examine the Guler Raj ancestral collection of pictures and to describe its general scope (1915, 1945). The present picture was photographed by him at Haripur, Guler in c.1915 while still in the personal possession of Raja Raghunath Singh.

31 Ladies on a terrace. Guler c.1750.

230 x 160 mm; trimmed, with late mount 305 x 225 mm.

Victoria and Albert Museum, Manuk and Coles collection, I.S. 133-1949.

Description: Two ladies seated together on a single green chair, their feet resting on the same footstool, are engaged in ardent discussion while two girl musicians sit before them on the terrace floor playing on a drum and *tambura*. Behind them stand three maids, one with a white cloth, the middle one with a peacock-feather fan, the nearest with a *pan* box. A duenna sits near them by a balustrade. In the background is an empty river with fang-like promontories and small trees. Blue sky with orange streaks. In the pavilion a bamboo curtain with grey and crimson bands.

Discussion: Closely modelled on 23, 'Princess on a terrace' but replacing the lady with a narcissus by a pair of ladies sitting together and omitting the little girl with the Muslim-style hat. For the faces of the two ladies and their maids, compare 17(1), 18, 22, 25 and 30. The duenna seated below the two ladies immediately to the left is similar to the mistress of the household in 22. Balustrade with intricate cross-hatching as in 22.

32(I-II) Two paintings from a *Nayaka Nayika* series. Guler, c.1750-1755.

250 x 155 mm; with border 315 x 225 mm. Red border with yellow margins and white rules.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.M. 72-1912 and I.M. 75-1912.

Acquired from Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy, 1912.

32(i) The neglected lady (*prositapatika nayika*).

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.M. 75-1912.

Description: A lady in orange-red skirt and dark blue veil sits on a terrace brooding on her absent lover. A confidante in dark blue skirt and red veil and bodice strives to console her. Crimson cushions, pale yellow rug with floral patterns and dark green carpet with floral designs. Walls pale grey and chalky pink. Blinds green. A bamboo-curtain with grey and crimson bands marked with criss-crossing lines strings hangs on the door. Above the courtyard wall, two trees — one with thick foliage, the other with slender branches and pink flowers. In the foreground, a balustrade with inlaid cartouches.

32(ii) The disappointed mistress (*vipralabdha nayika*).

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.M. 72-1912.

Description: A lady in mauve skirt, brief pale brown bodice and yellow veil stands on a grey hill-side throwing down her ornaments in torment because her lover has not come. Behind her are three trees, one of which has a dark trunk entwined with a yellow-flowering creeper. On the ground a heap of leaves. In the foreground to the left, a tree with chocolate trunk and frail branches, covered with pale red flowers. High in a dull white sky merging into azure and sprinkled with dot-like stars hangs a round full moon.

Discussion: In style a reversion to the early convention of a single flat plane, seen in 29, in contrast to varying degrees of depth exploited in 24, 27 and 31. Oscillation between these two rival approaches to pictorial problems was to characterise painting in Guler for over a century. Significant details: yellow margins (compare 19, 'Sohni swimming'), similar faces as in 31, cartouche pattern on the lower balustrade in 32(i) (similar to those in the archways of 23 and in the borders of 64), a marked preference for grey (a colour as typical of certain kinds of Guler painting as scarlet, red and orange-red are of others), and a slender tree with thin stems and branches (seen for the first time in the present instances but soon to become a standard idiom).

Related example: (1) Welch and Beach (1965), pl. 48. Lady with a parrot on a terrace, lush landscape with plantain trees beyond. Private collection, New York. Guler, c.1750-1755. Oval format (compare 40). Faces as in 32.

33 The neglected lady (*prositapatika nayika*). Guler, c.1750-1755.

250 x 200 mm.

Victoria and Albert Museum, Rothenstein collection, I.S. 133-1951.

Description: A lady in mauve dress sits on a white rug with faint floral pattern, leaning against an orange bolster and cushion. Behind her stands a maid in grey dress with mauve veil holding a white fly-whisk and cloth. Before her stands a second maid in blue skirt and orange-brown veil gesturing with her hands. Red carpet with vertical brown stripes. Grey background with three slender flowering trees. A white canopy with red floral pattern is supported high above her on four silver-grey poles. White balustrades.

Discussion: A continuation of the vogue for grey pallor (discussed 32) and of the distinctive female faces of the 1750-1760 period. The long carpet with vertical stripes was probably a Guler idiom from the late seventeen-forties onwards, having been taken to Jammu by the Guler artist, Nainsukh (Jammu q.v.) in about 1750. For a further example of its use at Guler, see (1) below. A significant feature of the present picture is the row of three frail and slender trees (see 32).

Related examples: (1) Khandalavala (1958), no. 101. Ude Singh of Guler listening to musicians and singing-girls.

Inscribed: *ude singh guleria*. Formerly Mehta collection, Bombay. Guler, c.1750-1755.

Similar canopy on four poles, trees with slender branches, red carpet with dark brown vertical stripes. The second singing-girl turning round to look backwards. The subject, Ude Singh Guleria, is possibly Udhari Singh of Mandi, a close friend and confidant of Raja Dalip Singh (1695-1741) of Guler who prevailed on Adina Beg Khan, Mughal Governor, to abstain from invading Mandi. If, as seems likely, Udhari Singh was a resident at the Guler court, he could well have been known as Guleria, and referred to accordingly.

(2) Listed Gupta (1922), E.8; published Archer (1952a), fig. 21. Chandi Devi seated on a throne in a courtyard. Central Museum, Lahore. Guler, c.1750-1755.

Attributed to Guler by Gupta (1922) on grounds of provenance (private communication, 1950; discussed Archer, 1952a). Similar plain background with fragile trees. The worship of the Devi (or Durga) was a stable ingredient in Guler religion (compare 17).

34 Raja Prakash Chand (1773-1790) of Guler as a child. Guler, c.1753.

136 x 215 mm; with border 159 x 232 mm. Red border. Inscribed on reverse in *takri* characters: *sri miye prakash chand 'Sri Mian Prakash Chand'*.

Chandigarh Museum. Formerly in the family collection of Raja Baldev Singh and stated by him on the basis of family tradition to be the work of a Guler painter in Guler.

Description: The child Prakash Chand, in appearance aged about five years, sits in a gold dress on a white mat beneath a white canopy smoking a hookah. In front of him sits a middle-aged lady, in dark blue skirt, distantly resembling 'Aunt Bhugan Dei' (see (1) below). Behind him stand three maids, the first in a Guler-style skirt with red, white, green and blue bands, carrying a tray with betel leaves, the second and third in green and brown skirts carrying a *lota* white cloth and peacock-feather fan. Blue carpet with green border and ornamented with green and pink flowers. Background orange-red.

Discussion: The first of a series of group portraits focussing on Raja Govardhan Chand (1741-1773) of Guler, his family and household and connected with Guler by provenance, family tradition and subject-matter. In view of the child's apparent age (he was born in about 1748), the present picture must be about 1753 in date. Significant details: regular geometric composition with single flat plane, orange-red background (as in 2, 9), a slightly different female face (seen especially in the maid waving the peacock-feather fan) and the appearance, yet again, of a woman in a pleated skirt with broad, parti-coloured bands (compare 35, 37, 38).

Related examples: (1) Khandalavala (1958), fig. 73. A Guler princess listening to two singing-girls. Inscribed on the face in *takri* characters: *bua bhugan dei ki* ('The picture of Aunt Bhugan Dei' (Goswamy, 1966). Khandalavala collection, Bombay. Guler, c.1755-1760.

A terrace scene (perhaps unfinished) with, in the background, a grey river with two boats. Five ladies appear: the first, leaning on a stick, in purple, the second, a singing-girl in yellow with red drum, the third, another singing-girl in dark green dress and orange veil holding a sitar, the fourth, the princess herself smoking a hookah and seated on a red folding chair with red cushion and dressed in orange, the fifth, a standing attendant with peacock-feather fan, in grey with orange veil. Similar faces and sparse composition as in 34.

35 Palace ladies scattering grain. Guler, c.1755.

170 x 264 mm; with border 203 x 299 mm. Red border. Chandigarh Museum. Formerly in the family collection of Raja Baldev Singh and stated by him on the basis of family tradition to be the work of a Guler painter at Guler.

Description: Five ladies, the first wearing a Guler-style pleated skirt with partly-coloured red, white and blue bands and scattering grain from a pitcher, emerge from a doorway into a courtyard. A second lady in red and blue skirt holds a winnowing-fan. Three other women stand behind her in

mauve, green and yellow. Grey walls. Deep blue sky.

Discussion: Similar in style and idioms to 34 and with the same new kind of Guler feminine face.

Related example: (1) French (1931), pl. 7. The princess and the drummer-boy elope. Chandigarh Museum. Formerly in the family collection of Raja Baldev Singh of Guler and stated by him on the basis of family tradition to be the work of a Guler painter at Guler. Similar new female type as in 34 and 35.

36 Kunkuni Ragini. From a Punjab Hills *Ragamala* series. Guler, c.1755.

195 x 137 mm. Border dark blue.

Formerly Latifi collection, Bombay.

Listed Gray (1950), no. 608, where, following Latifi, the picture is attributed to Guler.

Description: A lady with brief bodice, her midriff exposed, sits on a low seat leaning against a cushion. A maid with striped skirt holding a white fly-whisk stands behind her. The lady whiles away the time by feeding a cock and hen. Carpet ornamented with white horizontal flowers facing left. At the back a wooden balustrade with three trees — one with slender flowering branches, the others, perhaps mangoes, with clusters of thick foliage. Pale background with faint streaks of cloud.

Discussion: Similar in style to 37-38 and introducing yet a further variant on Guler idioms for depicting the female face. The seated lady, her hair smoothly brushed back in a long and flowing line from the front of her brow, conforms to previous practice but the maid, standing behind her, has her hair chopped slightly back so as to present a small angular 'step'. For further examples of this new fashion, see 38, 40, 42, 43. Although Latifi's reasons for attributing this picture to Guler are not recorded, French (1950) who had seen the Guler Raj collection of pictures came independently to the same conclusion.

37 Prince, perhaps Mian Basant Singh, younger brother of Govardhan Chand of Guler, sitting with ladies. Guler, c.1760.

197 x 290 mm.

Municipal Museum, Allahabad.

Published: Archer (1952a), fig. 22; also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), no. 109; Kala (1961), col. pl. H; Barrett (1963), col. pl. p.176.

Description: A prince in dark green *jama* with red floral pattern sits on an open verandah facing a group of three ladies in dark blue, yellow and red skirts and green, mauve and ivory bodices. Behind him stands a fourth lady in a Guler-type skirt with yellow, white, red and blue bands. Floor of verandah brick red. Dark grey wall with niches. At the top a rolled-up yellow blind with red edges. White pillars and balustrade. To the left is a pear(?) tree with slender branches and white flowers, a large tree with dense foliage and protruding creeper, and in the foreground a bed of lily-like flowers. Pale grey-blue sky.

Discussion: Closely comparable in grace of posture, delicacy of execution and ideal types of female face to Guler paintings of the 1750-1760 period and with the same kind of slender intrusive tree as in 36. A special feature of the picture, shared with 36 and 37(1) below, is the prominent use of white 'lily-like' flowers either in floral patterns on the carpet or for actual flowers growing in a flower-bed. As noted by Hugel (q.v.) lilies were a common feature of gardens in Haripur, Guler.

Although the prince has hitherto been regarded as Govardhan Chand (1741-1773) of Guler (see Khandalavala, Kala and Barrett, following Archer, 1952a), it is more probable that he is either Govardhan Chand's younger brother, Basant Singh, fourth and youngest son of Dalip Singh or some other member of the Guler court. While his features resemble those of Govardhan Chand sufficiently closely to explain the original mistake, his style of beard, receding brow, and type of turban are different and it may be significant (as Goswamy has pointed out, private communication, 1966), that he does not affect the two-pearled ear-ring

which is a constant feature of Govardhan Chand portraits. He cannot therefore be Govardhan Chand himself.

Related example: (1) Khandalavala (1958), no. 103. Govardhan Chand of Guler watching a boy-dancer and musicians. Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras. Guler, c.1755. Red carpet ornamented with the same type of 'lily-like' flowers and with balustrade as in 36. Background pale yellow.

38 Raja Govardhan Chand (1741-1773) of Guler with his Basohli rani and their family. Guler, c.1760.

169 x 269 mm; with border 205 x 291 mm. Border dark blue. Inscribed on the reverse in *nagari* characters by Raja Baldev Singh of Guler: (1) *sri raja govardhan chand (saparivar)* 'With family' (2) *sri rani billauri (bharual)* 'The Basohli Rani', with the following phrase in green ink added in a different hand: *ya na jana kaun si 'or who knows whom'* (3) *sri tika prakush chandra* 'Prakash Chand, heir-apparent' (4) *sri tikarani chambiali (raja ki god me)* 'The eldest daughter who was married in Chamba (the one in the Raja's lap)' (5) *sri dei rani sukhetwali (rani ke god me)* 'The daughter who became the rani at Suket (the one in the rani's lap)' (6) *miyan kavar prakush chandra tika se choata sodar brata (pas baithe hue)* 'Mian Prince Prakash Chand's own younger brother seated near by' (7) *dasi putri* 'A concubine's daughter'. Signed and dated in *nagari* characters by Raja Baldev Singh: *haridase baldev singh raja guler (3) baisakh sam(vat) 1999 nandpur madhyane* 'The servant of Hari (Krishna), Baldev Singh, Raja of Guler, on the third day of Baisakh (April-May), samvat 1999 (A.D. 1942), at Nandpur (Guler state), at noon'.

Chandigarh Museum. Formerly in the family collection of Raja Baldev Singh and stated by him to be the work of a Guler artist in Guler.

Published: Randhawa (1953), fig. 4; also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), fig. 74.

Description: Raja Govardhan Chand, in appearance aged about forty-seven years and wearing a yellow *jama*, sits on a cream mat on a green carpet, holding his eldest daughter dressed in red on his knees and giving his eldest son, Prakash Chand, a *ladu* (a white sweet like a ball). Prakash Chand is dressed in dark green and is aged about ten years. Behind him sits his mother, the rani from Basohli, in a red and orange dress, holding her second daughter in her lap. Behind her stand two maids, one with a peacock-feather fan, the other in a Guler-style pleated skirt with orange, red, white, mauve and green bands. In the foreground is a little girl eagerly stretching out her hand for a sweet and to the right is Prakaram Chand, Govardhan Chand's second son, also eating a *ladu*. On the right stand three maids, one with a peacock-feather fan, the second with a hookah. White walls. Pale blue sky.

Discussion: From the same series of family portraits as 34 and 35 and especially significant because it enables a date to be inferred for Guler pictures in this style and group. Govardhan Chand was born in about 1713 and is about forty-seven years old in the picture. A date of c.1760 is therefore reasonable for this picture and for others in this style. Since all the ladies conform to the same ideal type, the exasperated note in the inscription querying Raja Baldev Singh's identification of the central rani as 'Basohli Rani' is perhaps understandable, though it is unlikely that any other rani can in fact have been intended. It is significant that although all the figures are rendered with graceful sensitivity and in the case of Govardhan Chand and his two sons, actual likenesses are achieved, the picture is a firm regression to the static postures, geometric arrangement and single flat planes favoured so much in previous Guler painting. The adherence of many Guler painters to this form of structure and expression was later to prove one of the chief differences between painting at the Guler court and painting at the Kangra court of Raja Sansar Chand.

Related examples: (1) Archer (1960), col. pl. 83. Govardhan Chand of Guler embraced by his little daughter. Chandigarh Museum. Formerly in the family collection of Raja Baldev Singh of Guler and stated by him on the basis of family tradition to be the work of a Guler painter at Guler. Guler, c.1763. Inscribed in *nagari* characters by Raja Bal-

dev Singh: *sri govardhan chand (putri sahiti)* 'Sri Raja Govardhan Chand (with his daughter)'. Typical of certain kinds of Guler painting in its combination of pale colours (white terrace, grey background) with bright and brilliant ones (scarlet cushion and blind, dark green dress, plum-coloured shawl). A significant detail is the little girl with the same type of striped cap as that worn by the baby girl in her mother's lap above.

(2) Randhawa (1953), fig. 6; also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), no. 104. The young Prakash Chand, seated on a terrace with his younger brother Prakaram. Chandigarh Museum. Formerly in the family collection of Raja Baldev Singh of Guler and stated by him to be the work of a Guler painter at Guler. Guler, c.1760. Similar figures as in 38. Thick brown balustrade and carpet patterned with 'lily-like' flowers as in 37 and 37(1). Prakash Chand aged about ten years.

39 The holy family. Guler, c.1760.

245 x 200 mm. Border trimmed.

Victoria and Albert Museum, Manuk and Coles collection, I.S. 34-1949.

Description: Shiva, Parvati, Karttikeya, Ganesha and the bull Nandi sit on a plain dark green ground, a fire of grey logs burning beside them and a mango tree with dark grey trunk looming above them. Shiva has a white skin, mauve loin-cloth and yellow waist-cloth. Parvati has a mauve skirt and yellow veil. She plays on a mauve *vina* with yellow resonators. Karttikeya has a mauve *dhoti* and yellow wrap. Ganesha is orange-red with yellow loin-cloth. The bull is white with an orange-red saddle cloth edged with yellow. Pale grey sky with rim of blue at the top.

Discussion: Similar in style to 36 and, by comparison with 25, a regression to the sparse and bare version of 'The holy family' (16), though without its noble structure and commanding rhythm. A significant feature is the choice of grey for background.

Example for comparison: (1) Gray (1948), col. pl. 8. The holy family; Shiva, Parvati and Ganesha seated on a lion skin on a hill-side. British Museum, French collection. Guler, c.1760-1770. Grey sky. Greenish-yellow hill-side. Foliage as in 43.

40 Lady smoking. Guler, c.1760.

176 x 102 mm; with border 195 x 122 mm. Oval shape with white surround. Mauve border (perhaps a later addition).

Inscribed on the reverse in Persian characters: *az manaku musavvar inam yak angushtari-i tila mai nagina . . .* 'Reward from the painter Manaku one gold ring with precious stone. . .'. Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 91-1952.

Description: A lady in mauve skirt, brief transparent bodice and pale veil touched with red sits on a gold seat toying with the stem of a hookah. Around her is a white terrace and beyond it a grey river edged with bare slopes, trees and buildings. White sky. Oval shape with white surrounds.

Discussion: Similar in style to 22 and with the marked emphasis on cool pallor, typical of one strand in Guler painting. The lady's hair-style illustrates the alternative fashion which may have developed in the late seventeenth-fifties and gained currency in the sixties and seventies. The oval surround, perhaps derivative from Mughal painting of the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century does not seem to have been adopted in Guler before about 1760.

The Persian inscription is of unusual interest because of its reference to the painter Manaku. Manaku was a native of Guler and the elder of the two sons of Pandit Seu, a member of a painter-family resident in Guler for at least four generations (Goswamy, 1968). Manaku himself may have been born in about 1710, trained as a painter in the family circle at Guler and then adopted as a court painter at Basohli, perhaps in 1727. He was commissioned in 1730 to execute an illustrated *Gita Govinda* series for a lady named Malini at Basohli (Basohli, no. 18 q.v.) and in 1736 is recorded in a priest's register at Hardwar as having visited the place in 1736 (perhaps with the ashes of Raja Medini Pal (1722-1736) of Basohli). Medini Pal had married Govardhan Chand's sister in about 1730 and the existence

of close cultural and courtly ties between the two houses may have contributed to Manaku's employment by a Basohli princess. His subsequent career in unknown though a series of sketches for a subsequent *Gita Govinda* series (here regarded as having been executed at Kangra in about 1780 in a style deriving from Guler) suggests that he had maintained his connection with the family and may possibly have lived and worked at Guler in the second half of his life (discussed *Kangra*, no. 33). This later series of *Gita Govinda* sketches includes a copy of the colophon inscribed on the series commissioned at Basohli in 1730. His date of death is uncertain but a portrait in the National Museum, New Delhi (see *Kangra*, no. 19(i)), inscribed *sri chatehra manak*, shows a figure aged about sixty, with white beard and black moustache (perhaps re-coloured), sensitive nose and keen face, leaning on a long stick. He may therefore have lived until at least 1770. Whether he produced much work in the seventeen-fifties and sixties, however, is unknown and on present evidence, it is difficult to assign to him any of the pictures, here attributed to Guler. Mittal's proposals (1966), giving 7(2), 15, 22, 27 and 41 to him, though full of interest, do not seem to have any foundation in proved fact. He appears, none the less, to have held a position of eminence and respect among the painter colony at Guler, and in view of his gift of a gold ring, as noted in the inscription, he was evidently a person of means. The circumstances of this gift are not noted but the fact that it is written on the back of a Guler picture and is referred to as a reward, suggests that it was a present to the keeper of Raja Govardhan Chand's pictures. If that is the case, it may have been some form of gratification given in return for favours granted either to himself or to his son, Khushala. Whether however the present picture is, or is not, his work can only be surmised.

Related examples: (1) Coomaraswamy (1914), fig. 5; also reproduced Ganguly (1926), col. pl. 41; Randhawa (1954), col. pl. 8; Khandalavala (1958), no. 242. Radha's quarrel (the lover leaving the disgruntled lady: *abhisandita nayika*). Chandigarh Museum (on transfer from Central Museum, Lahore). Formerly Coomaraswamy collection. Guler, c. 1760. Oval shape. White terrace and pavilion. Pale grey background. Radha in brown veil and orange-red dress. Krishna in pale yellow *dhoti* holding a cowherd's stick and walking away. Radha's face as in 40, Krishna's as in 43 and 43(1). Similar air of cool geometry as in 40.

(2) Coomaraswamy (1914), fig. 6. The lover upbraided by his mistress: *khandita nayika*. Formerly Coomaraswamy collection. Guler, c.1760. From the same series as (1) above. Similar facial types and geometric structure.

(3) Khandalavala (1958), col. pl. T. Lady writing a letter. Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras. Guler, c.1790. Grey terrace and pavilion. Later type faces.

41 Ladies with fireworks. Guler, c.1760-1765. 243 x 320 mm.

British Museum, Manuk and Coles collection, London. Published: Archer (1960), pl. 86.

Description: A princess seated in a chair on a large white terrace is celebrating the Diwali festival (or Feast of Lights). She joins with a standing companion in letting off fireworks, whose sparks cascade downwards in a gushing stream. Around her stand further maids and girl-musicians while beyond them are other maids arranging a series of lights under tall lamp-shades. In the distance is a river with, on its further bank, a row of oval trees sprinkled with blossom. White pavilion roofs and terraces.

Discussion: Like many previous Guler pictures, a study of a lady seated on a terrace with maids and girl musicians attending. The young girl, immediately to her lower right, wears the same Muslim-style type of hat seen in 23. The female faces in general closely conform to those in 18, 19, 22, 37 and 38, but a new development is the bold use of European-type perspective — the converging lines of the balustrades conveying a sense of airy distance. Perspective of this type is found in Deccani painting of about 1740 but was also used in provincial Mughal painting in Oudh in the third quarter of the eighteenth century. Since Raja Govar-

dhan Chand of Guler is shown wearing a Lucknow-style turban in a portrait of about 1770 (see 48), it is possible that Oudh fashions in painting may have temporarily influenced artists in Guler in the 1760-1770 period. The reduction of white terraces to angular geometric shapes was characteristic of painting in Guler throughout Govardhan Chand's reign. The row of oval trees in the far distance, sprinkled with blossom, is a novel idiom which occurs in painting with increasing frequency from 1765 onwards.

42 Ladies by a garden pool. Guler, c.1760-1765.

195 x 148 mm. Trimmed.

Victoria and Albert Museum, French collection, I.S. 115-1955.

Obtained by French in Amritsar, 1919.

Description: A lady, nude save for a mauve cloth which swathes her thighs, sits on a wooden seat beside a garden pool smoking a hookah and conversing with a companion who sits with her left leg dangling in the water. Three other girls, nude save for similar cloths, disport themselves in the water. Behind the white terrace is a garden with green plots backed by plum and peach trees sprinkled with white and pink flowers. Beyond the trees to the left is a bed of orange poppies, and three tiny figures walking in a compound backed by a high wall. Above the wall are white and grey clouds edged with gold and streaks of red. The grey water is sprinkled with flowers.

Discussion: A continuation of earlier swimming and toilet scenes (compare 18, 'The lady by the lake'; 19, 'Sohni swimming') and like these studies availing of semi-nude subjects in order to create ideal images of feminine charm. As in paintings of the 1745-1760 period, there is a strong emphasis on rounded breasts, long black hair falling in wavy strands down the back and on the posture of turning the head round in order to look back over the shoulder (17-19, 23, 31 and 41). As in 41, a row of trees, sprinkled with blossom, is placed against a further row of darker trees, perhaps serving as a symbolic setting for the girls and their frolics.

Related example: (1) Randhawa (1954), col. pl. 18; also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), no. 127. Bathing in summer. Chandigarh Museum. Formerly in the family collection of the Rani of Garhi Manoswal, Hoshiarpur district, who came from Garhwal and whose mother was from Guler (information, M. S. Randhawa). Guler, c.1780-1790. Broadly similar in style and setting. Compare the treatment of the clothes of the girl on the left with that of the seated girl on the right in 42. Water of the pool also sprinkled with flowers.

43 The taking of toll (*dana lila*). Guler, c.1760-1770.

Central Museum, Lahore.

Published: Archer (1952a), fig. 25; also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), fig. 16.

Listed Gupta (1922), I.9. Provenance Guler.

Description: Krishna with two cowherd boys is seated under a great tree discoursing with two cow-girls who stand before him with pitchers of curds on their heads. A third cowherd boy who has relieved them of a pot of curds grasps the leading cow-girl by the hand and leads her to Krishna. Both cow-girls wear brief bodices, and horizontally striped skirts. Flat dark brown background with, at the top, a rim of white and blue. Tree with leaves separately demarcated.

Discussion: From a group of five pictures discussed in Archer (1952a) and attributed to Guler on grounds of provenance (Gupta, 1922). The cow-girls have the same types of face and prominently rounded breasts as in 22, 23, 31 and 36-38. Their skirts also have the narrow stripes seen in 29, 34, 36 and 38. Dark brown is a variation on the scarlet, red, orange-red, green and yellow, familiar as background colours in other Guler paintings. As in 40(1) the choice of Krishna as a subject may be due more to his romantic associations and symbolic role as ideal lover than to reasons of worship — the 'meeting of eyes' being one of the supreme moments in Indian romance.

Related examples: (1) Barrett (1963), col. pl. 175. The

approaching storm, a lady in Guler-style pleated skirt with parti-coloured bands standing with a prince on a white terrace hailing the rain. British Museum, Manuk and Coles collection, London. Guler, c.1760-1770. Balustrade as in 36 and 37. Narrow brown wall at base as in 23. Apart from the lady's brilliantly coloured skirt, the picture is notable for its all-pervading pallor. For the prince's features, compare Krishna above.

(2) Archer and Binney (1968), pl. 84. Two courtiers fighting (*Suramananda Raga*). Binney collection, Brookline, Mass. Guler, c.1760-1770. Similar features to 43. Background with tiny palaces and cypresses.

44 The encounter in a garden. Guler, c.1760-1770. 212 x 151 mm; with border 233 x 173 mm. Border dark blue. British Museum, Manuk and Coles collection, London. **Description:** A lady with a basket on her head stands watching a youth who sits guiding a pair of oxen who are irrigating a flower-garden by working a Persian wheel. The garden is laid out in a series of rectangular beds. A gardener with a mattock stands in the foreground. At the rear is a row of trees sprinkled with blossom. To the left is a thick tree with separately shown leaves.

Discussion: Like 43, a romantic interpretation of the 'meeting of eyes', the girl with a basket being substituted for the two cow-girls, and the youth working the Persian wheel for Krishna. As in 41 and 42, trees with sprinkled blossom are set against a background of other trees. Like earlier Guler paintings the picture is executed with elegant delicacy, supple grace and innocent nobility. Its structure, none the less, involves a total rejection of depth, perspective and recession (contrast 27) and is once again strongly affirmative of the Guler principles of composition in terms of angular geometry and single flat planes. The flower-beds brimful with poppies are reminiscent of 28, 'The lady with the hawk'.

Related examples: (1) Gray (1950), pl. 110 (551). Krishna swinging with the herd-boys. Formerly Jalan collection, Patna. Guler, c.1760-1770. Herd-boys and Krishna similar in face and physique to the youth tending the Persian wheel. Cows in courtyard as above. Girls in the background as in 45(iii). To the rear tapering cypress trees.

(2) Archer (1965), pl. 47. Vishnu and Lakshmi on the serpent of eternity. Archer collection, London. Guler, c.1760-1770. Oval format with scroll pattern surrounds. Vishnu elongated as in 44 and in (1) above. Large expanse of grey water.

45(i-iii) Three paintings from a Maha Lakshmi series. Guler, c. 1760-1770.

Average size: 160 x 240 mm; with border 210 x 290 mm. Red borders flecked with pink. Margins dark blue.

Each inscribed on the reverse in nagari characters: *sri maha lakshmi* and with Sanskrit verses describing the incident.

45(i) The gardeners make ready.

Kasturbhai Lalbhai collection, Ahmedabad.

Description: The gardeners, superintended by a chief gardener, squat on paths between a series of angular flower-beds filled with poppies. In the foreground two further gardeners, flanked by white walls, are arriving with plants. Beyond the flower-beds are mango trees, cypresses, oval-shaped trees sprinkled with blossom and a labourer, with a dark blanket on his head, ploughing with oxen.

45(ii) The prince arrives.

Victoria and Albert Museum, Lory collection, I.S. 117-1960.

Description: A prince in long dark green *jama*, mounted on a light brown horse, arrives at a palace, conducted by a Brahmin. Green courtyard. White walls with orange-red lintels. Women watch him from doors and windows. One of them showers down on him some golden petals.

45(iii). The festival of Lakshmi.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 62-1959.

Description: Inside a palace with white inner walls and

olive-green courtyard, a rani in orange-red skirt touches a mural of the goddess Lakshmi with a tuft of grass. The Brahmin sits beside her, his head covered. Four women in dark green and orange-red sit talking; a fifth stands with a garland on a pillow. To the upper right, a party of seven musicians beat large kettle-drums and play long and short trumpets. Outside the palace a lady with dark blue veil, attended by a maid, seeks admission from a door-keeper in green *jama*.

Discussion: A group closely related in general style to 41-44 with which it shares tiny figures, similar facial types, bold angular compositions, trees sprinkled with blossom, geometric flower-beds and towering cypresses. Although, in certain cases, painters in Guler softened their geometric rhythms by investing a scene with delicate naturalism, their passion for widely-ranging straight lines, and for brusque far-flung angles seems to have provided them with a norm from which they were loath to depart. For the little band of male musicians in 45(iii), compare 15 and 47, and for the angular flower-beds with parallel ridges, 28 and 44.

Examples for comparison: (1) Gray (1950), pl. 112 (560). Krishna consoling Subadhra. Central Museum, Lahore. Guler, c.1765-1770. Facial and physical types as above. Sparse and angular composition as in 47. Slim cypresses in the background.

(2) Randhawa (1952), fig. 52. The obstinacy of love: Krishna and a maid arguing with Radha. Tehri Garhwal Raj collection, U.P. Guler, c.1765-1770. Style as in 45.

(3) Archer (1960), pl. 87. The tryst: prince in a garden pavilion awaiting the return of a maid who has been sent to call his mistress. Worcester Art Museum, Worcester, Mass. Guler, c.1760-1770. Angular flower-beds with poppies. Rows of trees with sprinkled blossom. Both ladies similar in type to those in 45 above.

(4) Welch and Beach (1965), pl. 50. Lady with a *tambura* standing in a garden. Galbraith collection, Cambridge, Mass. Guler, c.1760-1770. Mis-captioned 'Lady alone at a Holi festival', the *tambura* having been mistaken for a bamboo syringe. Receding rows of angular flower-beds with poppies. In the distance small pavilion with tiny figures moving. Row of trees with sprinkled blossom. Compare in particular 45(i).

46 The child marriage. Guler, c.1765-1770.

165 x 262 mm; with border 232 x 327 mm. Dark blue margin.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 15-1956.

Description: A child bride, in orange-red skirt and wrapped in an orange-red veil is tied with a straggling green ribbon to a middle-aged man who wears a bridegroom's crown. She is carried by her mother who wears a yellow veil and blue skirt with white edge. The two are processing round a sacred fire under a yellow marriage-booth on four poles. To the right are middle-aged companions of the bridegroom, and a group of women, one of them in parti-coloured banded skirt. Behind the child bride come two other women. On the left two male dancers perform with three musicians. Courtyard floor a fawnish brown. Two huts with pale grey walls and slatted roofs. Sky deep blue.

Discussion: A reversion to the strand of vivid realism illustrated by 10, 'The polo players', 11, 'The battle', and by 13, 'Villagers dancing'. The picture is evidently satirical, as can be inferred from the huge figure of the bridegroom with bulging paunch and a neck swollen with goitre, the hysterical grimaces of members of the gathering, the puffed cheeks of one of the musicians and the over-energetic gestures of the male dancers. It is significant that the dancer in the bottom left-hand corner is closely modelled on one of the figures in 13, his posture and short *jama* with wavy edge echoing those of the dancer in the top left-hand side of the earlier picture.

47 The birth of Krishna. Guler, c.1765-1770.

176 x 268 mm (without borders). Late borders and mount.

British Museum, Manuk and Coles collection.

Published: Gangoly (1926), col. pl. 35.

Description: A cool, dramatic scene of bustling excitement set against a pale grey background with white angular architecture. Jasoda in orange-red dress, a ribbon tied round her forehead, is seated on cushions holding the baby Krishna. Seven maids and one duenna in dark green attend her, holding up a white sheet. Dark grey walls with pink and green blind. To the right is the bearded figure of Nanda, distributing alms to a crowd of villagers who swarm before him. Behind him are eight members of his household who stand assisting. On the extreme right under a separate canopy are six musicians with drums and wind-instruments. In the foreground, outside the white walls, a small group of late arrivals are clamouring for admittance.

Discussion: Illustration to a scene from the *Bhagavata Purana* but perhaps executed not as part of a whole series but for separate use on the occasion of the Janmasthan festival (Krishna's birthday). Significant as providing a clear model for the same scene in the 'Kangra' *Bhagavata Purana* (Kangra, no. 36(1) q.v.) though, in style, still firmly Guler in its all-pervasive pallor, its passion for broad expanses of white and grey, its empty sparseness and angular construction, minimal depth and ascetic avoidance of decorative detail. It was in qualities such as warmer humanity, more emphatic realism, shaded and more sharply outlined figures, greater crowding of detail and squatter, squarer formats that Kangra painting was shortly to diverge.

Examples for comparison: (1) Gangoly (1926), col. pl. 36. Jasoda suckling Krishna. Formerly Manuk and Coles collection. Guler, c.1770. Jasoda with similar face and ribbon on her forehead.

(2) Archer (1952b), col. pl. 3; also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), col. pl. Q. 'The bending of the bow'. British Museum, Manuk and Coles collection. Guler, c.1770. Similar faces and figures as in 47, skirts with Guler-type thin bands, restrained realism, pale fawn courtyard, white, angular architecture, minimum of detail.

PHASE THREE: 1770-1820

A phase of painting in which the early variety of feminine faces and physiques is replaced by a stiffer, more straightly conceived alternative; and stale conventions, such as scarlet backgrounds, are mechanically repeated. Fluent animation combined with rhythmical organisation of forms dwindles and although some ambitious scenes are produced and figures are often endowed with large, bold faces, the former poetic grace tends to vanish. It is during this period that Guler painters, representing the more lively and poetic strand, appear to have abandoned Guler for Garhwal, Chamba and Kangra, the last providing them with a keen and lively patron in Raja Sansar Chand (ruled 1775-1823). In contrast to Prakash Chand (ruled 1773-1790, died 1820) of Guler, this patron seems to have given the painters fresh stimulus, while his strong attachment to the cult of Krishna and their contact with new surroundings enabled them to achieve fresh forms of brilliant expression. In Guler itself, Prakash Chand seems to have had little interest in painting and while certain emigrant painters may have returned to Guler during the Gurkha occupation of Garhwal (1804-1815) and of Kangra (1806-1809), there is little evidence of a significant revival.

48 Raja Govardhan Chand (1741-1773) of Guler smoking. Guler, c.1770.

166 x 112 mm; with border 256 x 187 mm. Border dark blue. Inscribed on the reverse in *takri* characters: *sri govardhan chand*. Chandigarh Museum. Formerly in the family collection of Raja Baldev Singh and stated by him to be the work of a Guler artist at Guler.

Description: Raja Govardhan Chand, his face old and haggard, sits at a white window, his chin resting on his left hand and the scarlet stem of a hookah in his right. He wears a green striped *jama*, crimson shawl and mauve turban with cream band. Behind him is a scarlet cushion. Plain gold background.

Discussion: A picture which in style and subject — the old Govardhan Chand — provides a fitting end to the most creative phase of painting in Guler. Under Prakash Chand (1773-1790, died 1820), there is an immediate reversion to what, in retrospect, may well have seemed an obsolete and unadventurous strand in painting — the substitution for painting in depth by painting in a flat plane. In the present portrait, Govardhan Chand looks about sixty years old, the age at which he is believed to have died. The turban with its band follows Lucknow court style as can be seen in a portrait of Nawab Shuja-ud-daula (1731-1775) of Oudh (Stchoukine, 1929, pl. 88b). Lucknow painting may have influenced painting in Guler for a short period around the year 1760 (see 41), though its European-type perspective left little permanent mark. It is perhaps significant that in the companion portrait of Govardhan Chand's son and successor, Prakash (49), the Lucknow-style turban has been discarded in favour of the more conventional type worn in the Hills.

49 Raja Prakash Chand (1773-1790) of Guler, smoking. Guler, c.1772.

Central Museum, Lahore.

Listed Gupta (1922), D.101; published Gangoly (1926), pl. 23; also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), no. 117.

Description: Prakash Chand, in appearance aged about twenty-four years, sits at a white window, his right hand resting on the sill and the stem of a hookah held in his left hand. He wears a white *jama*. Plain background. At the top, a rolled-up blind.

Discussion: A companion picture to 48, perhaps executed just prior to his father, Raja Govardhan Chand's death in 1773.

50 Raja Prakash Chand (1773-1790, died 1820) of Guler with rani. Guler, c.1772.

Formerly Mehta collection, Bombay; later Ahmedabad. Said to be inscribed on the reverse to the effect that the picture was presented as a *nazar* (offering) to the Raja of Mandi (one of whose daughters Prakash Chand married), the rest of the inscription being undeciphered (Khandalavala (1958) 321).

Published: Khandalavala (1958), fig. 68.

Description: Prakash Chand, in appearance aged about twenty-four years and with lightly developed beard as in 49, sits smoking a hookah on an ivory carpet with red and blue flowers, facing a lady in an orange dress who holds a flower. He wears a white *jama* and gold turban. Above them is an archway with rolled-up green curtain. A maid in red dress on the left waves a peacock-feather fan above him. A second maid on the right in blue-grey dress waves a white cloth above the rani. Deep yellow background. In the centre, a flowering tree.

Discussion: A picture of some importance since it introduces, perhaps for the first time, a feminine facial type which was later adopted at Guler, Kangra and Chamba as a standard idiom for portraying women. It is significant that, as in other Guler paintings, two types of face are included. The rani herself and the maid holding the cloth conform to this new type; while the face of the maid with a peacock-feather fan is reminiscent of the ladies in 32. The new type differs from its predecessors mainly in the comparative straightness of the forehead and the fact that the line of the nose dips only slightly as it joins the line of the brow. In slightly later pictures this dip is ignored and both nose and forehead are shown in a single straight line. In Kangra the new type appears to have been adopted by immigrant Guler painters somewhat later than in Guler itself and to have been used in the first instance as a variant on or alternative to earlier Guler idioms.

Example for comparison: (1) Kala (1961), pl. 19. The Mandial rani of Guler: a princess smoking and listening to girl musicians. Inscribed on the reverse in *nagari* characters: *maharani mandial riasat guler* 'The Mandi Maharani of Guler', i.e. a rani from Mandi married to a Guler raja. Municipal Museum, Allahabad. Guler, c.1800. Rug with vertical stripes. Balustrades as in 41. Large plantain trees. Facial types as in 50, though somewhat harsher and stiffer.

51 The Sikh, Jai Singh Kanheya, receiving Raja Raj Singh (1764-1794) of Chamba, Raja Prakash Chand (1773-1790) of Guler and other Hill princes. Guler, c.1774.

233 x 167 mm; with border 287 x 212 mm. Red border with 'jigsaw puzzle' pattern (Mandi, q.v.). Black and gold rules. Victoria and Albert Museum, French collection, I.S. 128-1955.

Description: Jai Singh Kanheya, a figure in white dress and with long white beard, sits under a white canopy attended by a servant who holds a sword and waves above him a yak's-tail fly-whisk. Two Akalis (extremist Sikhs) in dark blue turbans and shawls sit beside him. Below them on the right are Sokhla Jodhey Ram in white and Dhian Singh, the Guler Wazir, in light brown. In front of them, seated opposite and looking to the right, are Raj Singh of Chamba flanked by his brother-in-law, Prakash Chand of Guler, and then, in descending order, by Raja Jagrup Singh of Jaswan, the Mahanth of Bathu(?), Kotwal Wazir Khushala and Nathu, the Chamba Wazir. In the centre, midway between the two sides and facing right, is the young Sansar Chand, son of Raja Tegh Chand (1774) of Kangra. The party is seated on a pale blue rug with parallel blue stripes. Green background with, at the top, a band of blue.

Discussion: A group portrait, perhaps designed to commemorate a conference at Guler, attended by several Rajas of the Kangra group and by Prakash Chand's father-in-law, Raj Singh of Chamba, with a view to discussing matters of common interest with Sardar Jai Singh, chief of the Kanheya Sikh *misl* and a rising power in the Kangra Valley. Jai Singh Kanheya was based on the Punjab Plains from which he and his Sikh forces, members of the powerful Kanheya *misl* (clan), harried Jammu under Raja Ranjit Dev (1730-1781) and interfered in Kangra under Raja Ghamand Chand (1761-1773), Mughal Governor of the Kangra Hills. In the early seventeen-seventies, a rival Sikh leader, Jassa Singh Ramgarhia, had invaded the Kangra Hills, wresting supremacy from Ghamand Chand and compelling Kangra, Chamba, Nurpur, Guler and Jaswan to pay tribute to him. Jai Singh Kanheya, however, defeated Jassa Singh Ramgarhia in the Plains in 1775, imposed his own supremacy on the Kangra region and levied tribute from all those states which had formerly paid it to his rival. In 1781 to 1782 he collaborated with Sansar Chand of Kangra (then a youth of sixteen) against Nawab Saif Ali Khan, the Mughal Governor of the Kangra Fort and on the latter's death in 1783, occupied the fort with his own Sikh Kanheya forces. In 1786 he gave up possession of the fort and his supremacy over the Hill states to Sansar Chand in exchange for territories held by Chand in the Plains. In 1793, Jai Singh Kanheya died.

In the present picture, Jai Singh Kanheya clearly occupies the premier position, since he alone is having a ceremonial yak's-tail fly-whisk waved above him. It is possible therefore that the portrait either records his assumption of supremacy in the Kangra Hills in 1775, an occasion at which all the Rajas shown in the picture would almost certainly have been present, or a gathering of interested parties, perhaps held in the previous year, to discuss his impending action. The fact that Sansar Chand (born 1765, ruled 1775-1823) is shown without a wazir and Prakash Chand of Guler is only a few years older than in 50 makes 1774 a probable date for the gathering.

Example for comparison: (1) Jai Singh Kanheya receiving Raj Singh of Chamba, Prakash Chand of Guler and other Hill dignitaries. Inscribed in *nagari* characters on the reverse: *khalsa jai singh chamyal raja raj singh guleria raja pargas chand jasoyal raja jagrup singh sabahiya raja narain singh wazir nathu katoal wazir khushala mian katoch sansar chand wazir dhian singh sokhla jodhey ram khalsa kal bangiya khalsa kal bangiya*. Also annotated by Raja Baldev Singh of Guler to the effect that Wazir Nathu was from Chamba and Wazir Dhian Singh was a member of the Batolar family of Guler. Chandigarh Museum, Guler Raj collection. Guler, 1774. A companion picture to 51, the fact that Sansar Chand of Kangra is clearly referred to as 'Mian' precluding any date later than 1774. The personages in 50 are identified by comparison with this picture.

52 Raja Prakash Chand (1773-1790) of Guler smoking with Raja Sansar Chand (1775-1823) of Kangra. Guler, c.1780. 225 x 166 mm; with border 288 x 215 mm. Pink border with 'jigsaw puzzle' pattern in red. Dark blue margin with gold scroll.

Inscribed on reverse in English (perhaps by a dealer): *Raja of Ponch State and in takri characters: sri sansar chand*. Victoria and Albert Museum, Debenham collection, I.S. 150-1953.

Description: Rajas Prakash Chand (left) and Sansar Chand (right) sit facing each other on a red carpet edged with green on which are laid a pale yellow rug with floral pattern and two grey cushions. They wear white dresses and red sword trappings. Sansar Chand, who is aged about fifteen years, has a bow beside him and a quiver of arrows behind his waist. Each toys with a hookah stem and has a peacock-feather fan waved above him. A crimson blind with yellow edges is rolled up over them. Background green, merging into blue sky. White balustrade and terrace.

Discussion: Comparable to 51 with which it shares a 'jigsaw puzzle' border and significant as illustrating how far Guler painting had travelled since the double portrait of Dalip Singh and Govardhan Chand (21). The fact that Prakash Chand of Guler is shown seated on a parity with Sansar Chand of Kangra, each smoking a hookah and each having a peacock-feather fan waved above the head, testifies to the friendly relations existing between the two courts and to the fact that Sansar Chand has now become a reigning Raja. It is possible that these friendly relations may have facilitated the shift of Guler painters to the Kangra court in the 1770-1775 period.

Related examples: (1) Coomaraswamy (1926), pl. 123; also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), no. 131. Prakash Chand smoking. Inscribed on reverse in *nagari* characters: *sri raja prakash chand gulere*. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Guler, c.1777. Similar posture with attendant fan-bearer and rolled-up blind. Side-whiskers somewhat fuller. Beard slightly less developed.

(2) Gupta (1922), pl. 12; also reproduced Archer (1952a), fig. 24; Khandalavala (1958), no. 124. Prakash Chand smoking; in the background, palace out-houses and a courtyard with horses being exercised. Central Museum, Lahore. Guler, c.1780. Similar in style and date to 52, the attending fan-bearer on the left conforming to an earlier convention according to which outer figures were shown partly deleted by the border.

53 Prince with lady and courtiers (unfinished). Guler, c.1780-1785.

212 x 170 mm; with border 302 x 237 mm.

Pink border. Dark blue margin.

Victoria and Albert Museum, Manuk and Coles collection (residuary), I.S. 21-1952.

Description: A prince in white *jama* and orange turban sits at a window, his right hand touching the left hand of an old lady who sits before him in a green dress (faces in both cases unfinished). She holds in her right hand a pale-leaf fan. Behind him stands a servant in bright yellow *jama* waving a white fly-whisk. In the foreground a pale blue rug with dark blue stripes. On it are seated four courtiers dressed in white but with faces unfinished except for one on the right who wears a purple turban. Cusped archway with pink floral decoration. Beyond the window a courtyard with male and female servants weighing grain and in the upper storey a group of five musicians.

Discussion: In general style comparable to 51 with which it shares a similar rug with vertical stripes and to 52(2) which was attributed by Gupta (1922) to Guler on grounds of provenance (private communication, 1950). The empty cartouches in the wall can be matched in 23 as well as in 59 and 63 where they appear as border decorations. The tiny figures busying themselves in the back of the courtyard are reminiscent of the tiny cavalcade in 20 and the small shopkeepers in 60. The old lady with aquiline nose suggests an older version of 'The lady with the hawk' (28) — one of the several facial types which seem to have competed for priority at Guler in the 1745-1765 period. Due partly to its unfi-

nished state, the identity of the central figure and the nature of the occasion are obscure.

54 Raja Prakash Chand of Guler and family receiving a party. Guler, c.1795-1800.

237 x 319 mm; with borders 254 x 338 mm.

Annotated by Raja Baldev Singh of Guler in *nagari* characters, identifying the central lady as the Chamba rani of Prakash Chand with four of her children, and, on the right, the figure smoking a hookah as Prakash Chand.

Chandigarh Museum. Formerly in the family collection of Raja Baldev Singh of Guler and stated by him to be the work of a Guler painter at Guler.

Description: The Chamba rani of Prakash Chand in mauve dress sits on a low seat smoking a hookah, surrounded by ten maids and two female musicians, her four sons who range in age from two to ten years grouped around her. Below her is a red rug with brown stripes. A scarlet tent screen with lozenge pattern at the top protects the party from view. To the right in the foreground is an enclosed litter of the kind used by princesses, a party of eighteen courtiers and male attendants who have just arrived, and above them, seated on a small striped rug, Prakash Chand in dark blue *jama*, smoking a hookah and conversing with a bearded visitor. Beyond them is a garden with angular beds of poppies, a pool with fountain and in the distance a row of oval trees sprinkled with white and pink blossom, set against darker trees and small cypresses. Behind Prakash Chand are three attendants. A visitor holds up a bird cage.

Discussion: A family portrait of uncertain significance, perhaps recording a visit to Prakash Chand's garden house of the Chamba rani's sister, mother or some other female relative. The fact that the bearded visitor is not smoking suggests that he is not on a parity with Prakash Chand. The feminine faces are as standardised as those in 50 and offer no clue to the identity of the sitters. Since, however, four young sons seem to be involved, the central figure may be presumed to be Prakash Chand's senior rani. Significant details: scarlet tent screens (compare 68, 69), flower-beds with poppies, pool with angular margins and fountains, oval trees with sprinkled blossom.

55 The young Bhup Singh (born c.1775) of Guler with his mother, the Chambial Rani, in a summer pavilion.

Guler, c.1780-1785.

Annotated on the reverse in *nagari* characters by Raja Baldev Singh identifying the child as Tika Bhup Singh in a garden at Haripur, Guler, with his mother, Rani Ananta Devi Chambial.

Chandigarh Museum. Formerly in the collection of Raja Baldev Singh and stated by him on the basis of family tradition to be the work of a Guler artist in Guler.

Published (in reverse): Randhawa (1953), fig. 7; also reproduced (in reverse) Khandalavala (1958), fig. 83.

Description: The Chamba Rani of Prakash Chand (1773-1790) dressed in orange-red is seated on the upper floor of a summer pavilion with her son, the child Bhup Singh, a sword strapped on his left and further side, standing to embrace her. He is aged about five years. Behind them stand two maids, one in a Guler-type banded skirt. Four other ladies sit facing them on the left. Below in the courtyard are rows of flowering bushes, a pool with fountain from which a monkey is drinking, three maids bearing trays and dishes and, on the left, three seated girl-musicians. Four tall cypresses parallel the four vertical posts which support the pavilion floor. A slatted wooden roof with strutting peacock culminates in an ornamental top. Gold background. In the distance rolling clouds edged with gold.

Discussion: A continuation under Prakash Chand of his father's interest in family portraits. Although the rani shares with other ladies and maids the same type of ideal face, the fact that she is seated alone and that a young prince is with her sufficiently confirms the family tradition recorded by Raja Baldev Singh that this is the Chambial Rani with her son, the heir-apparent. It is significant that the new straight-browed facial type is predominant. Other significant details: the customary girl-musicians on the left,

soaring cypresses, pool with fountain, a maid with Guler-type banded skirt. The insertion of a monkey drinking from the pool may have been suggested by the prevalence of monkeys in Guler and their good-natured toleration by the local inhabitants (Hugel *q.v.*). For further celebrations of the monkey life of Haripur, Guler, compare the 'Siege of Lanka' *Ramayana* series (9).

Related examples: (1) Randhawa (1954a), col. pl. 19; also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), no. 125. The summer pavilion; lady with girl musicians smoking by a pool with fountain. Chandigarh Museum. Formerly in the family collection of Captain Sunder Singh, a descendant of the Kotla family, itself an offshoot of Guler. Guler, c.1790. Similar idioms and details. At the base a low wall with niches.

(2) Randhawa (1953), fig. 9. Bhup Singh riding with retainers. Chandigarh Museum. Identified as Bhup Singh by Raja Baldev Singh and stated by him to have been painted by a Guler artist in Guler. Guler, c.1785. Same young prince as in no. 55 but now aged about nine years. The bearded figure riding behind is identified by Raja Baldev Singh as Wazir Dhian Singh who in 1785 absconded from Guler and founded his own state at Kotla.

56 Ala-ud-din with ladies. Illustration of a *Hamir Hath* series. Guler, c.1800-1810.

210 x 310 mm; with border 280 x 380 mm. Pink border flecked with red. Dark blue margin with gold floral design. Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 453-1950.

Description: The Khilji Sultan, Ala-ud-din, nimbate with crimson turban and yellow *jama* sits on a broad gold throne attended by nine ladies of the court, a mistress of the household and a eunuch. Dresses yellow, blue, orange, mauve and green. Red carpet surmounted by a grey canopy edged with gold. Beyond them is a courtyard with three girl musicians, a fountain and a pair of cranes. To the right the same sultan confers with his queen Murhathi in a white pavilion — Murhathi in green dress being shown approaching at the base. On the extreme right the queen, now dressed in orange-red, is penning a letter to her lover, Mahima, a Mongol soldier with whom she had made love while out hunting, urging him to flee before the Sultan's wrath reaches him. Below her in the courtyard a pied goat is drinking water from a pond. A messenger awaits the letter.

Discussion: In style closely similar to Prakash Chand with his Chambi rani and ladies (54) and reflecting the same type of standard feminine face. For a discussion of the *Hamir Hath* and its relevance to Guler as a possible allegory of Sansar Chand of Kangra — a tyrant who dominated the Kangra Hills until the Gurkha invasion of 1805 when he was besieged in the great castle at Kangra, see *Mandi*, no. 42. It is significant that the figure of the Khilji Sultan Ala-ud-din in the present picture bears a distinct likeness to Prakash Chand of Guler.

Related examples: (1) Sastri (1915, *Mandi*, *q.v.*) pl. 1 (fig. 2). Ala-ud-din with ladies. From a *Hamir Hath* series. Formerly *Mandi* Raj collection, *Mandi*. By Sajnu, dated *Mandi*, 1810. Similar scene as in 56 but including on the left the episode of the Sultan shooting the rat — the incident which arouses Murhathi's sarcastic mirth as she recalls the cool assurance with which Mahima had shot a lion during their love-making.

(2) Khandalavala (1958), no. 143. Ala-ud-din encamped. From a *Hamir Hath* series. Formerly Latifi collection, Bombay. Guler, c.1800-1810. Similar style to 56.

57. Raja Bhup Singh (1790-1826) of Guler with rani on a bed over a stream. Guler, c.1795-1800.

220 x 165 mm; with border 304 x 250 mm. Border pale green and yellow, including on each side five cartouches or medallions, alternating studies of sarus cranes with tiny genre scenes such as a woman with a pitcher on her head, a woman with a basket, a cowherd with cattle, riders on horseback.

Private collection, Calcutta.

Published: Archer (1952a), fig. 33, but without border and misidentified as Govardhan Chand at the instance of the dealer, Radha Krishna Bharany. Identified to M. S. Ran-

dhawa as Bhup Singh by Raja Baldev Singh of Guler to whom fig. 33 (Archer 1952a) had been shown.

Description: Bhup Singh in shorts and a wrap lies on a bed over an irrigation channel embracing one of his ranis who lies beside him. He toys with a hookah mouthpiece. A maid stands beside the bed wielding a round cloth fan. Two girl musicians sit in the bottom right-hand corner playing on a *tambura* and drum. Above the couple is a crimson canopy and behind them white tent-screens with red-ornamented border. In the background deep green trees, cypresses and plantains. Golden sky with red streaks. Figures dressed in dull gold, pale blue, white and orange.

Discussion: Same heads and poses as in 58 — Bhup Singh also closely resembling this portrait (side-face) in 59. Although an angular, geometric type of composition is still in favour, there is a perceptible interest in recession and the trees, plantains, cypresses and clouds are rendered with delicate softness. The border with its array of cartouches filled with birds and intimate little scenes is a development on more lavish scale of the two scenes inserted in the border of 19 'Sohni swimming'. This employment of border cartouches as decorative adjuncts, foils to the main picture or even in some cases as symbolic commentaries, appears to have been a special Guler invention.

Related example: (1) Discussed Archer (1952a). A crude version of the present picture, mis-inscribed on the reverse in English by, or at the instance of, the Amritsar dealer, Radha Krishna Bharany: *Raja Govardhan Chand enjoying music lying with his queen Rani Goverdhana on a cot placed on the cross of two streams. Maidservant pressed his foot asleep.* Archer collection, London, obtained from Radha Krishna Bharany, Patna, 1941. Guler, c.1830. Although this inscription is incorrect so far as the chief figure is concerned, it is of interest in substantiating a Guler connection.

58 Raja Bhup Singh (1790-1826) of Guler with a rani under a quilt. Guler, c.1795-1800.

154 x 93 mm (trimmed). Extraneous mount. Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 202-1949.

Description: Bhup Singh with moustache and faint beard and a lady with a trailing mauve skirt, are reclining together wrapped in an orange quilt. Behind them is a large sage-green bolster and on either side cushions. Ivory-coloured rug with faint floral patterning. White balustrade. Behind it a grey wall with heavily pleated crimson curtains draped on it.

Discussion: Uninscribed but of the same semi-erotic group as other portraits of Bhup Singh dallying with one of his ranis. Compare, in this connection, 57, where the same two heads appear cheek to cheek and 59 where the rani's pose and wide-spread skirt duplicate the present details.

59 Raja Bhup Singh (1790-1826) of Guler with a rani in a pavilion. By Gursahai. Guler, c.1800.

178 x 242 mm; with border 227 x 290 mm. Border with empty cartouches. Margin dark blue with gold floral pattern.

Inscribed on the reverse in Persian characters: *sakht gursahai* 'Done by Gursahai'.

Chandigarh Museum. Formerly in the family collection of Raja Baldev Singh of Guler and stated by him to be the work of Gursahai, a Guler painter at Guler.

Published: Randhawa (1954a), col. pl. 23; also reproduced Randhawa (1955), fig. 9; Goswamy (1968), figs. 43, 44.

Description: Bhup Singh, in appearance aged about twenty-five years, sits in a wooden-roofed pavilion, holding a hookah stem and embracing one of his ranis. A maid in orange dress waves a peacock-feather fan above them, while another brings a lota and cloth. To the left two girl-musicians in brown and pale blue play on a *vina* and drum. To the right are two further maids, one in blue, the other in yellow. In the foreground a pool with three fountains playing. Beside it, a pair of ducks. Behind the courtyard wall a row of plantains and mango trees. A sun with prickly rays in the sky.

Discussion: One of a series of semi-erotic portraits, center-

ing, according to family tradition, on Bhup Singh and showing him either embracing one of his various ranis (57), reclining with one of them (58), sitting with the rani concerned and their child (64(1)) or relaxing with several of them together (62). Although the name of only one rani, Sampurana Devi from Patiala, has been preserved, a note by Raja Baldev Singh of Guler credits Bhup Singh with having as many as twelve. The present picture by the painter Gursahai is perhaps a clue to Bhup Singh's erotic interests rather than the record of any particular scene. Gursahai, eldest son of Ranjha (fourth son of the Guler painter, Nainsukh) was probably born in about 1775 and would therefore have been of about the same age as Bhup Singh. Although his father lived in Basohli on lands granted to his grandfather by Raja Amrit Pal of Basohli, possibly in the early seventeen-seventies, the family had maintained its original connection with Guler. It is possible, therefore, that after being trained by his father at Basohli, Gursahai reverted to Guler. An intriguing aspect of the Seu-Manaku-Nainsukh family of painters and their descendants is the extent to which they seem to have accepted employment outside their home state of Guler, while at the same time only partially abandoning it. For traditions concerning Gursahai and his work at the Guler court based on information supplied by Raja Baldev Singh, see Randhawa (1955, 1959); and for details of his pilgrimages, see Goswamy (1968).

Significant details: girl musicians to the left (thus continuing one of the commonest subjects in Guler painting); plantains, overlapping the courtyard wall; borders with empty cartouches; strictly angular composition with little, if any, depth; the rani and her maids depicted with the new type of face first noticed in 50. A minor detail, perhaps absorbed into Chamba painting by Nikka (third son of Nainsukh and hence Gursahai's uncle) after his migration from Guler to Chamba in about 1770, is the inclusion of a pair of ducks by a pool, perhaps symbolic of conjugal fidelity.

Other examples by the painter, Gursahai: (1) Randhawa (1955), fig. 3. Prince (perhaps Bhup Singh) and a rani making love in a pavilion. From a *Koka Shastra* series. Inscribed in Persian characters on the reverse with the name: *gursahai*. Formerly in the collection of Dr. Pairamal, Amritsar. Similar in style to 59. Similar background and wall with plantain trees. In the foreground a pool with angular sides and three fountains playing.

(2) Randhawa (1953), fig. 10; also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), no. 133. Bhup Singh shooting a leopard. Chandigarh Museum, Guler Raj collection. Guler, c.1800. Same person and style as in 59 and 59(1). A study on the hunting field of Bhup Singh, the dashing young adventurer of 60 and 60(1).

60 The adventurous lover. Perhaps by Gursahai. Guler, c.1800.

250 x 310 mm. Dark blue margin with gold floral pattern.

Atma Ram Kanoria collection, Calcutta.

Description: Night. To the left, a great house with a husband and wife sleeping on a bed on the first floor, and on the ground floor a nude girl and old lady on one bed and two girls and a child on a third bed beside them. In the centre an open verandah with wide bed adjoining a garden with pool and fountain, angular beds of poppies, cypresses and oval trees sprinkled with blossom. A lady stands by the bed welcoming her lover who is scaling the garden wall. Beyond them is an empty courtyard swept with shadows and on the right-hand side another house with courtyards and empty bed. To the rear is a street with little figures, two of them on horseback passing up and down and row of shops where tiny figures are sitting. Sky with stars and crescent moon.

Discussion: In style and details similar to 59 and 60(1). It is significant that the arriving lover and the waiting lady markedly resemble Raja Bhup Singh and his rani (59) and it is possible that while portraying Bhup Singh in actual situations and real-life settings, Gursahai also indulged his fancies and showed him in dashing romantic roles. Apart from characteristic imagery — a duck aping the lover by sipping

at the fountain, angular beds of poppies, trees sprinkled with blossom, walls with cartouche-like patterns — the picture is typical of Gursahai and of Guler painting of this period in its thrusting angular construction, sharply geometric framework and brusquely ruled lines.

Related example: (1) Randhawa (1954), col. pl. 22; also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), no. 139. Scaling the wall; a princely lover assisting his mistress to scale a garden wall at night. Chandigarh Museum. Formerly in the family collection of Captain Sundar Singh, descendant of the Kotla family and itself an offshoot from Guler (Prakash Chand q.v.). Perhaps by Gursahai. Guler, c.1800.

A companion picture to 60 and with typical Guler features such as borders with white cartouches each containing three quails, a pool with a pair of ducks, and a row of trees with white and pink blossom, set against plantains, further trees and cypresses. As in 60, the lover is modelled on Bhup Singh. Connected with Guler on grounds of style and because of its Kotla provenance.

61(i, ii) Two illustrations from a Markandeya Purana series. Guler, c.1800-1820.

Average size: 175 x 235 mm; with border 265 x 320 mm. Border pink flecked with red. Dark blue margin with a white and gold floral pattern.

Inscribed on the flaps with verses in *nagari* characters descriptive of the scenes.

61(i) The battle opens. Not illustrated.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 53-1962.

Description: The demon horde, a gaily coloured contingent in orange, red, green, blue and yellow advances on the goddess Chandi who rides towards them on her lion. Between the two sides stands Kali, nude save for a strip of leopard skin and wielding a huge sword, bow and breastbone. She displays enormous sagging breasts, four arms, black skin and tousled hair. Background pale green merging with pale blue. In the foreground trees with spikes of white flowers.

61(ii) Kali attacks.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 54-1962.

Description: Kali, a ferocious figure in black rushes on the demon generals, Chand and Munda, and brusquely beheads them. The goddess Chandi's lion springs on other members of the horde. To the left Kali stands before Chandi exhibiting two heads. Pale green background with a mass of white, blue and orange figures littering the ground. Pale blue sky with red streaks. Hills with wavy rims.

Discussion: A late version of the *Markandeya Purana* series (17) perhaps based on tracings from the original pictures. The early rendering of Chandi's face has been replaced by the straight forehead and nose typical of painting in Guler from 1775 onwards, and other figures, though neatly executed, also lack the flexible animation of the original compositions. The fact that throughout the century, 1730-1830, the cult of the Goddess Devi and her warrior manifestations should have been celebrated in pictures testifies to its strong hold on the Guler imagination.

Examples from the same or a similar series: (1) Coomaraswamy (1926), pl. 61 (187). Two sages conversing. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

(2) Archer and Lee (1963), pl. 54. The battle: the demon hordes engaged by Chandi, Kali, Lakshmi and Parvati. Archer collection, London.

(3) Archer and Binney (1968), pl. 86. The goddess Chandi routs the host of the demon chief, Dhurma Lochana. Binney collection, Brookline, Mass.

(4) Archer (1970), pl. 22. Sages conversing. Archer collection, London.

(5) Archer (1970), pl. 23. The demons prepare for battle. Archer collection, London.

(6) Archer (1970), pl. 24. King Suratha conversing with the sage Markandeya. Archer collection, London.

62 Raja Bhup Singh (1790-1826) of Guler with his ranis,

ladies and a baby daughter. Perhaps by Gursahai. Guler, c.1810.

187 x 248 mm. Border with empty cartouches.

Formerly Latifi collection, Bombay.

Description: Bhup Singh, in appearance aged about thirty-five years sits on a pale rug on an open terrace surrounded by seven of his ranis and by seven standing maids. In the foreground a long carpet with plain background and dark vertical stripes. To the left a pavilion with a round basket stool. To the right another pavilion backed by a luxuriant plantain and a flowering creeper. In the centre, sitting on a low stool and helping herself to *ladus* (sweets) from a tray held out by one of the ranis is Bhup Singh's little daughter. In appearance she is aged about five years, her sex being evident from her long hair, anklets, the loosely swathed cloth round her legs, the pendant and by the oval slit in the dress below the neck.

Discussion: With 64(1), part of a series of portraits in which Bhup Singh, the youthful husband or lover is superseded by studies of him as the older husband. Familiar Guler properties are the carpet with vertical stripes, the obtrusive plantains, the flat and angular composition, and a host of ladies all of whose faces follow the standard formula devised in the early seventeen-seventies.

63 Guru Har Kishan (eighth Sikh guru, 1661-1664). Guler, c.1815-1820.

Mohan Singh collection, Punjab.

Published: Archer (1966), fig. 5.

Description: The child, Har Kishan, eighth Sikh guru, is shown standing on a rug with vertical stripes, holding a bow in one hand and an arrow in the other. A devotee in dark blue robe abases himself before him. Behind him stand two attendants, one with yak's tail fly-whisk and a cloth, the other bearded and with a bow and quiver of arrows. Behind a terrace is a row of flowers and in the foreground a pool with angular margins and two beds of poppies. Above them is an archway with rolled-up blind.

Discussion: One of a series of portraits of Sikh gurus (Archer (1966), figs. 1-6), executed in Guler perhaps in response to the Sikh supersession of Sansar Chand of Kangra as suzerain of the Kangra Hills in 1809, the installation in the Kangra fort of Desa Singh Majithia, Sikh Governor and administrator, the annexation of Guler by the Sikhs in 1813 and the consequential replacement of Bhup Singh as reigning Guler raja. Although abruptly deposed by Maharaja Ranjit Singh, Sikh ruler of the Punjab Plains, Bhup Singh was treated in a respectful and kindly manner by the Sikh Governor, Desa Singh Majithia. He was also allowed to keep an annual income of Rs. 20,000 derived from twenty villages and three gardens in Nandpur and Hariapur (Guler state) and previously assigned for the up-keep of his female household (Barnes, 1852).

The present picture illustrates the way in which local painters in Guler adjusted themselves to the Sikh regime by providing pictures of special Sikh interest. For an account of the ten Sikh gurus, the role of Desa Singh Majithia in Guler affairs and the adjustment of the Guler royal family to these changed conditions, see Archer (1966).

64 Raja Bhup Singh (1790-1826) of Guler with courtiers. Guler, c.1815.

266 x 201 mm; with border: 298 x 232 mm. Cream and mauve border with empty cartouches and gold rules. Margin dark blue with floral pattern.

Annotated by Raja Baldev Singh in *nagari* characters identifying the Raja as Bhup Singh and the foremost of the two seated figures as his Wazir, Ghantha Khatri.

Chandigarh Museum. Formerly in the family collection of Raja Baldev Singh and stated by him to be the work of a Guler painter at Guler.

Published: Randhawa (1953), fig. 12; also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), no. 136.

Description: Bhup Singh, in appearance aged about forty years, sits on a crimson basket stool backed by cushions on a white terrace, holding a narcissus in his left hand and conversing with two courtiers who sit before him. A servant

stands behind him with a wrap. In the foreground a low brown wall with niches. Gold background with blue, mauve and white sky. Clouds edged with gold.

Discussion: A portrait of Bhup Singh at a time perhaps five to ten years later than in 58 and 59. Significant details: a narcissus in the hand (7, 23 and 74), a round basket stool (perhaps a local Guler fashion) and border with cartouches.

Related example: (1) Randhawa (1953), fig. 11 (but omitting a low wall with niches at the base); also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), no. 140 (but with the same omission). Bhup Singh and a rani with their daughter and maid servants on a terrace. Annotated on the reverse in *magari* characters by Raja Baldev Singh: (1) *sri raja bhup singh* (2) *sri rani sampuran devi harsavali (gambhir devi) ya barah ranion me koi dusri manogya pradhan rani* 'Sri Rani Sampurana Devi of Harsa, Gambhir Devi or anyone of the chief favourites of the twelve ranis'. (3) *sri tika shamsher singh (sri maharaj ki godi me)* 'Sri Shamsher Singh, heir apparent (in the Maharaja's lap)'. (4) *chitrakal samvat 1882-83 jagabhad nandpur 3 baisakh 1999* 'Time of painting A.D. 1825-26. Noted at Nandpur (near Guler) on the third day of Baisakh (April-May) A.D. 1942'. Chandigarh Museum. Formerly in the family collection of Raja Baldev Singh of Guler and stated by him to be the work of a Guler painter at Guler. Guler, c.1815. Bhup Singh, a rani and a child seated on basket stools as in 64. Two maids attend them. Two large plantain trees intermixed with flowering branches loom behind them. At the base, a low wall with line of niches as in 64, 65 and 67.

[Although on firm ground in identifying the subject as Bhup Singh, Raja Baldev Singh was clearly at a loss to say which particular rani was seated with him (hence his two guesses, followed by the frank admission that she might, in fact, be any of his twelve ranis). The time of painting (A.D. 1825-1826) and the identification of the child as Shamsher Singh, the heir-apparent, are also guesswork. They are presumably based on a statement in Barnes (1852) that at this time Shamsher Singh, was aged thirty years. This would make his year of birth about 1820 and assuming him to be the child (aged five or six years) it would follow that the picture must have been painted in 1825-1826. The child, however, is clearly a little girl, not a boy, having the same kind of features, hat, long hair, and anklets as in 62. The date of the painting need not therefore be as late as 1825-1826, which was the time of Bhup Singh's death and judging by his appearance it is far more probably c.1815. In the course of writing his *Tawarikh-i-Rajgan-i-Guler* Raja Baldev Singh is known to have consulted, amongst other sources, Barnes's Report (written 1850, published 1852). In style and details, the painting is part of the same group of Guler pictures executed under Bhup Singh in the period 1800-1820.]

65 Princess listening to music on a terrace. Guler, c.1810-1820.

240 x 163 mm; with border 258 x 181 mm. Border dark blue. Inscribed on reverse in English, perhaps by a dealer: *Rani Chattarni*.

Victoria and Albert Museum, Debenham collection, I.S. 146-1953.

Description: A princess in a long white dress with high waist and brief, pale brown bodice sits on a terrace smoking a hookah and listening to two girl-musicians, one in dark green and orange beating a drum, the other in yellow playing on a *tambura*. A maid in orange skirt, mauve veil and yellow bodice wields a circular white cloth fan. Cushions grey with red sprigs. Mat pale yellow. Carpet pink with vertical blue stripes. In the background a wooden pavilion set in a grove of plantains, cypresses, and other trees. In the foreground a bottom row of pale brown niches, surmounted by a white balustrade and archway topped by a white blind. **Discussion:** A picture comparable in style and softness of execution to 58-60, 63 and 64 and like many other Guler pictures uneasily blending the convention of a single flat vertical plane in the lower half with a frank attempt at recession in the upper. The lady with the hookah has a great skirt fanning out around her in exactly the same way

as in 58 and 59, while in features and physique she bears a marked family resemblance to 28 'The lady with the hawk'. The waist-line of her dress, however, is far higher than in this latter picture and the cypresses on the skyline no longer possess the agonised directness of poetic symbols. While the name on the reverse, 'Rani Chattarni', seems at first sight a corrupt rendering of some other name — as fanciful in its way as the now famous 'Begum Sakar' of 27 — the practice of supplying studies or portraits of Guler court ladies with proper names, designations or titles, for example, 'Rani Balauri' (26), 'Rani Ananta Devi Chambial' (55), 'Aunt Bhugan Dei' (34) appears to have been a special Guler forte.

66 The toilet. Guler, c.1810-1820.

170 x 105 mm (without border).

Formerly Coomaraswamy collection, Boston.

Published: Coomaraswamy (1916), pl. 72a; also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), no. 217.

Description: A princess, with white skin and nude, sits on a low chair, stroking her black hair which falls in sinuous lines down her back and chest. A bowl and tray lie beside her. To the left are three vessels for use in bathing. On either side is a slender flowering tree, designed to parallel her young form. In the foreground is a bed of poppies. Plain background with curving rim.

Discussion: Comparable with other studies of feminine nudity in its frank acceptance of physical charm (compare 18, 19, and 42). Other significant details: flowering trees, a bed of poppies and long strands of black hair.

67 The lady and the plantain. Guler, c.1810-1820.

195 x 142 mm; with border 234 x 184 mm. Pink border flecked with red. Margin dark blue.

Victoria and Albert Museum, Manuk and Coles collection, I.S. 27-1949.

Published: Archer (1952a), fig. 31.

Description: A girl in dull gold trousers, brief bodice and white veil, edged with yellow, stands clasping a plantain tree, a young plantain sprouting at the foot. She wears light red slippers and nuzzles her head against the trunk. Beside her are two beds of white and red poppies with grey stone borders. In the background is a low, pale brown wall with niches, topped by a white balustrade and beyond it white buildings with oval trees and the tips of cypresses. Grey-white sky with mauve streaks at the base and at the top deep azure.

Discussion: From the same group as 65 and 68 and with the same kind of low brown wall with niches and large plantain tree. For the diagonal flower beds in the foreground and a girl with slippers, see 28.

Example for comparison: (1) Archer (1960), col. pl. 88. Lady picking flowers. Chandigarh Museum. Guler, c.1770. Oval format. Diagonal flower-beds with poppies.

68 The toilet. Guler, c.1810-1820.

192 x 120 mm.

Indian Museum, Calcutta.

Published: Gangoly (1926), col. pl. 38; also reproduced Archer (1952a), fig. 32; Khandalavala (1958), no. 118.

Description: A princess with white skin and nude save for a pink cloth which swathes her loins, sits on a gold seat on a piece of green sward dressing her long black hair and gazing in a mirror which is held before her by a maid in blue dress. A second maid in pale yellow skirt and veil holds her clothes on an arm and brings a tray with toilet bottles. In the foreground two golden pitchers and two *lotas*, one with a spout. Behind her is a scarlet tent-screen with red and white border. Above it are two plantains, a mango tree and a cypress, pale white and blue sky and pair of birds.

Discussion: Similar in style and treatment to 65, 66 and 67 and perhaps especially significant because it employs the standard Guler device of a plain scarlet background in the more realistic guise of a tent-screen. Significant details which can be matched in other and earlier examples: sem-nude physique, long tresses of black hair, streaming downwards from head to waist, a backward turning glance, an

up-raised leg, and sexual symbols in the form of pitchers with yoni-like mouths; a *lota* with phallic spout, emphatic plantains and a soaring cypress.

Related examples: (1) Stchoukine (1930), pl. 95a; also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), no. 126. The lady with the red shawl. British Museum, London. Guler, c.1810. A comparable instance of the Guler device of scarlet background used in a realistic manner, in this case a shawl.

(2) Khandalavala (1958), col. pl. II. The toilet. Khandalavala collection, Bombay. Guler, c.1800-1820. Similar sparse treatment but with the lady wearing trousers, standing on the seat and smoking a hookah as she gazes in a mirror. The flat green background (an alternative device to scarlet) is used with conventional flatness.

69 Desa Singh Majithia (Sikh Governor of Guler, 1813-1832) carousing with a Guler lady. Guler, c.1815.

211 x 151 mm; with border 321 x 263 mm.

Chandigarh Museum. Formerly in the family collection of Raja Baldev Singh of Guler and stated by him to be the work of a Guler painter at Guler.

Published: Archer (1966), fig. 11.

Description: The Sikh Governor, Desa Singh Majithia, sits with a lady on two chairs put side by side, holding a cup of wine in one hand and her hand in the other. The lady wears crimson trousers and is attended by a maid who wears orange trousers and holds a bamboo fan. Behind the Governor stand two male servants holding a cloth, a vessel and a bottle. Pink carpet with dark blue vertical stripes. Above them is a crimson canopy. In the background two scarlet tent-screens with red and white borders and pale white and blue sky.

Discussion: Similar scarlet tent-screens with identical decoration as in 54 and 68, rug with vertical stripes, faces as in 66-68, trousers as in 67. For a detailed discussion of the sitter's identity and his general character, see Archer (1966), quoted, in part, *Reigns and Portraits* (x) Bhup Singh (Desa Singh Majithia). For Guler paintings with increasing Sikh influence in costume, see 72 onwards. Desa Singh Majithia was especially attached to the Kangra Valley and married a local Guler lady, by whom he had a son, Ranjodh Singh.

70 Jasroda with the infants Krishna and Balarama. Guler, c.1820.

190 x 133 mm; with border 267 x 205 mm. Dark blue margins.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 29-1949.

Description: Jasoda in orange dress with a frilly green band at the bottom lies on a white bed upbraiding the baby Krishna and his foster-brother Balarama who roll beside her. Red carpet with blue floral pattern. Behind her are grey walls and a stand on which Krishna's crown surmounted with peacock feathers has been placed. To the rear a dark tree backed by plantain leaves.

Discussion: With 71-73, a belated recourse to Krishna themes, treated elsewhere by members of the Seu-Manaku-Nainsukh family, but, on present evidence, with comparative infrequency at Guler itself. In style, a continuation of 63-69 with details such as the ever-present plantain trees, a skirt with frilly band at the bottom and female face of the type standardised by painters under Prakash Chand and Bhup Singh.

Related examples: (1) Gangoly (1926), col. pl. 37. Crying for the moon. MacDonal collection, Boston, formerly Gangoly collection, Calcutta. Guler, c.1810-1820. Radha in a red skirt with blue band at the bottom holds Krishna on her knee. A maid in orange shawl and dark blue skirt with red band pours some water into a large metal basin in which a crescent moon is reflected. A maid in a skirt with yellow, white, red and blue bands and a yellow shawl distracts Krishna with a pair of red balls on strings. Krishna points to the crescent moon in the sky. Beyond the courtyard wall, a large plantain tree. In the foreground a pair of bull calves and a *tulsi* plant in an urn as in 72. Identical in style to 70.

(2) Archer and Binney (1968), pl. 85a. Krishna accosts a cow-girl. Binney collection. Brookline, Mass. Guler, c.1820. Similar skirt with frilly band.

71 The death of Putana. Guler, c.1810-1820.

Dark blue margins with scroll pattern. Border pale pink with rows of dashes. Cartouches on all four sides, the centre cartouche in each containing a painting of a sarus crane. Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras.

Description: The ogress Putana, a huge figure with dark skin, sprawls on her back in a courtyard as the child Krishna sucks at her left breast. Nanda, Jasoda and three cow-girls watch with wondering amazement as the ogress collapses. White courtyard with, at the back, plantain trees and a house in which a pot of milk is boiling over, perhaps a parallel to Putana's life spilling itself away.

Discussion: With 70 and 72, a further exploration of the Krishna theme, concentrating on incidents in his childhood. The long black hair of Putana, her widely spread skirt, the presence of plantain trees and the standardised treatment of the female faces support a Guler attribution. A further significant and distinctive feature is the series of cartouches in the borders, each of them containing a sarus crane. The inclusion of this kind of cartouche and of their decoration with paintings of birds became a common device in Guler paintings of the early nineteenth century. Compare, in particular, 57, 'Bhup Singh with a rani over a stream' (cartouches with cattle egrets), 61(1) 'Scaling the wall' (cartouches each with quails), 71(2) 'Bir Singh of Nurpur' (cartouches with peacocks, pied crested cuckoos and a duck attacked by a hawk) and 71(1) 'The quelling of Kaliya' (cartouches with Brahminy ducks (ruddy sheldrakes), peacocks, cattle egrets and sarus cranes). Incompleted cartouches are also a feature of certain portraits of Bhup Singh (59, 64).

Related examples: (1) Randhawa (1956), col. pl. 4; also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), no. 141. The quelling of Kaliya. Chandigarh Museum. Formerly in the family collection of Raja Baldev Singh of Guler and stated by him to be the work of a Guler painter at Guler. Chandigarh Museum. Guler, c.1820. Lush landscape, perhaps deriving from the 1760 style. Standard female faces. Similar style to 71. Border with cartouches, containing birds (peacocks, sarus cranes, Brahminy ducks (ruddy sheldrakes), and cattle egrets).

(2) Werner (1950), col. pl. 5 (but without border); reproduced in colour. *The Modern Review* (Calcutta), including border and cartouches. Raja Bir Singh of Nurpur smoking. Collection untraced. Guler, c.1820. Lush landscape as in 71(1). Similar in composition to portraits of Prakash Chand (52) but with a straight-poled umbrella held stiffly above him in Sikh style. In the borders, cartouches containing a duck (perhaps a female pintail) attacked by a hawk (possibly a marsh harrier), a pair of peacocks and at the sides slender mango trees, each with a pied crested cuckoo.

72 The butter thief. Guler, c.1820.

258 x 308 mm; with border 282 x 328 mm.

Dark blue margin with 'Kangra Valley' floral design in gold.

Victoria and Albert Museum, Lory collection, I.S. 119-1960.

Description: Krishna, a child with bright blue skin, stands holding Jasoda's gold and crimson skirts and gazing bashfully away. Behind him to the right are two milkmaids, one in orange-red skirt with frilled edge and dark green veil, the other with white skirt edged with yellow and orange veil. Advancing on Krishna is the bulky figure of Nanda clad in a pale yellow *jama* and pale crimson trousers and holding in his right hand a small switch. A milkmaid in a frilly Guler-type skirt with red, white, blue, crimson and yellow bands stands behind him, gesturing towards a broken pitcher from which milk is gushing out. Another milkmaid in orange skirt holds out a piece of broken pot. To the right and left groups of small cowherd children hurry off. In the foreground a peacock, a vase with a *tulsi* plant and two bull calves. Courtyard floor pale fawn. Grey wall backed with plantain trees, a single drooping plantain flower hanging downwards from them.

Discussion: Similar in style to 70, 70(1) and 71, same type of frilly, banded skirts, female faces, a pot with milk boiling

over (71), an urn with *tulsi* plant and a pair of bull calves, shown head to tail (70(1)), intrusive plantain trees and a majestic, bearded Nanda (71).

Related example: (1) Gray (1950), pl. 113 (552). Shiva and Parvati with Nandi beneath a tree. Central Museum, Lahore. Guler, c.1820. Same broad style as 72.

PHASE FOUR: 1820-1880

The final phase of painting at Guler is marked by Sikh domination in politics and society and the adoption of Sikh costume by the sons of Bhup Singh — Shamsheer Singh (born c.1820, *jagirdar* of Guler and head of the Guler family, 1826-1877) and Jai Singh (born c.1822 and for much of his brother's lifetime, administrator of the family *jagir*). Although portraiture continued to be a prime form of painting and the Guler flair for music and musicians was also maintained, pictures consisted, in the main, of stale exercises in obsolete idioms and conventions. Painters, such as Sultanu, son of Gaudhu (third son of Nainsukh) and Ghathu Ram, another native of Guler, employed styles of harsh mechanical stiffness and glib and garish colour. Neither possessed an alert or lively sensibility and it is as if the supersession of the old feudal order and the loss of freedom by the royal family as well as the rise to power, first of the Sikhs and later of the British, discouraged inventiveness and originality. The appearance on the market of factory-made colours led as elsewhere to a rapid coarsening of taste. For a painting pasted on cloth inscribed on the reverse with the name, Sultanu, and showing a married couple inside scarlet tent-screens, with Guler-style musicians playing above them, see Goswamy (1968), col. pl. opposite p.55. For paintings here regarded as the work of Ghathu Ram, see 78 and 79. It is ironical that, in this final and least significant phase of Guler painting, and in marked contrast to its greatest period, pictures should at times have been endorsed with the artist's name.

73 Mian Jai Singh (b.1822 d.1884) of Guler listening to music. Guler, c.1840.

Dark blue margin with gold floral pattern.

Lady (Sonia) Wilson collection, London (formerly E. B. Havell collection).

Published: Havell (1908), col. pl. 59; also reproduced Havell (second edition, 1928), col. pl. 68.

Description: Jai Singh of Guler, aged about 18, dressed in Sikh style in dark green trousers, pale transparent coat, yellow scarf and dull brown turban sits on a terrace holding a bow and arrow and listening to four male musicians — the youngest a singer, the other three slightly older, playing on *tamburas* and a drum. An attendant waves a white cloth over his head. Two courtiers, one with a long sword, sit beside him. White mat above a pink carpet with vertical dark blue stripes. Predominant colours white, dark green and orange red. Above the terrace are white archways with, at the top, an orange-red blind edged with green. In the background a row of thickly flowering plants and two flowering trees with frail branches. Pale blue sky with rolling white clouds.

Discussion: A picture which has never ceased to arouse interest since its publication by Havell in 1908 and his vigorous defence of its somewhat late style. Although Havell was unaware of the prince's identity or the origin of the picture in Guler, his contention that it expressed 'the beauty and gladness of the radiant Indian sunlight' awoke historians to this late phase of Indian painting. That the portrait is of Mian Jai Singh of Guler can be seen by comparing it with the somewhat later portrait (74) where the same prince, older by about five years, is shown watching some of the identical musicians. This latter picture was in the family collection of Raja Baldev Singh and like other portraits of Jai Singh from the same collection, carries an identifying inscription. It is significant that although these pictures show strong Sikh influence in costume, the subject-matter still conforms to the traditional Guler pattern — music parties with dancing and singing-girls, male dancers and musicians, riding scenes with bodies of retainers and

group portraits in which the Raja appears holding court or granting audience. The fact that Jai Singh is shown holding a bow and arrow, the conventional symbol of royalty, although he is still only about eighteen years of age suggests that from his youth onwards, he may have been accepted as the more capable of the two brothers, and hence entrusted with the family affairs. For his brother, Shamsheer Singh's passion for hunting and indifference to state matters, see Barnes (1852 *Reigns and Portraits*: xi). Although painting under Jai Singh lacks the lively verve of the art as practised under his great-grandfather, Govardhan Chand, the two patrons appear to have been strangely similar in their tastes.

74 Mian Jai Singh (b.1822 d.1884) of Guler watching dancing-girls. Guler, c.1845.

157 x 220 mm; with border 227 x 286 mm. Pale pink border with dark blue floral margin.

Inscribed in *nagari* characters: *sri miya sahab guleriya kuni kapur gadotiya masadi. ghirat kajana chand. ho sajanı janat nahi piya bicharan ki sar piya bicharan kathan hai piya bicharan ki bar* Annotated by Raja Baldev Singh to the effect that this love-message was written by his grandmother when his grandfather Jai Singh was still a Mian and was living at Haripur while his elder brother, Shamsheer Singh, lived at Nandpur.

Chandigarh Museum. Formerly in the family collection of Raja Baldev Singh of Guler, and stated by him to be the work of a Guler painter in Guler.

Published: Randhawa (1953), fig. 16.

Description: Mian Jai Singh of Guler in orange, pink and crimson, sits in a Sikh-style chair holding a narcissus-type flower in his hand and watching two dancing girls — the first in cream, the second in orange — pirouette before him. Behind him stand four attendants, one with peacock feather fan, the rest in Sikh dress. Accompanying the dancers are three musicians of whom two (those with stringed instrument and cymbals) are the same as two of the four musicians in 73, though now somewhat older. Flat green background with, at the top, a curving rim of white and blue sky. **Discussion:** Like 73, a continuation of Guler conventions, long since obsolete but perhaps revived for Jai Singh out of a sense of his intimate identity with his great-grandfather, Govardhan Chand. Although no dancing or singing-girls feature in surviving portraits of this ancestor, they appear in 22 which shows his Basohli rani on a terrace with girlsingers and musicians. The practice of toying with a narcissus goes back to Bishan Singh, elder brother of Govardhan Chand, and is also found in 23. In fact, the two dancers correspond with standard Guler types as boldly rendered in 68 and 69.

75 The lady and the plantain. Guler, c.1840-1850.

225 x 165 mm (trimmed).

Archer collection, London.

Description: A lady in yellow trousers with black dots and a flowing bright blue gown stands with her right leg crooked round a plantain tree and her arms clasping the trunk. Two large blue flowers dangle from the tree. A slender tree with white flowers mingles with the plantain and strains upwards towards the left. White terrace, scarlet background with broad upper band of blue sky streaked with white. In the foreground a pair of pigeons mating.

Discussion: A further example of the Guler colour combinations of white, blue and scarlet. The bold and somewhat harsh execution coupled with the over-formalised standard type of face suggests a falling-off in taste, perhaps a symptom of declining interest at the Guler court after the Sikh annexation of 1813. For a Mughal use of mating pigeons, as a poetic clue to a lady's thoughts, compare Stchoukine (1929), pl. 82.

Related examples: (1) Kala (1961), pl. 19. Rani smoking with girl musicians. Inscribed in *nagari* characters: *maharani mandial riasat guler* 'The Mandi Maharani, resident Guler'. Municipal Museum, Allahabad. Guler, c.1840. Similar face and plantain and with the typical Guler details of girl musicians and rug with vertical stripes. The inscription, if

accepted, presumably refers to the Mandi Rani of Prakash Chand.

(2) Coomaraswamy (1916), pl. 66. Lady cooking, overlooked by her princely lover. Central Museum, Lahore. Guler, c.1820. Connected by Coomaraswamy with Radha, though the 'peeping Tom' can hardly be Krishna. Faces and plantain trees as in Bhup Singh portraits. Above the window a pair of pigeons.

76 Mian Jai Singh (b.1882 d.1884) of Guler riding with escort. Guler, c.1845.

185 x 253 mm; with border 248 x 316 mm. Scarlet border. Inscribed on the reverse in *nagari* characters: *sri miyan jai singh chand kajan saparia khunia gulerideji 'Sri Mian Jai Singh . . . of Guler'*, followed by a couplet expressing a lady's longing.

Chandigarh Museum. Formerly in the family collection of Raja Baldev Singh and stated by him to be the work of a Guler painter in Guler.

For a similar verse recorded by Jai Singh's rani on the back of another picture, perhaps sent by her to him during his absence from home, see 74.

Description: Mian Jai Singh of Guler, dressed in Sikh style with a shield strapped on his back and an honorific umbrella held above him, rides on a pale blue horse. He is preceded by a posse of foot-soldiers dressed in blue trousers with red, yellow and green tunics and armed with guns. Behind him come three further riders with guns, mounted on brown and fawn horses. Green background blending, at the top, with a rim of pale blue sky.

Discussion: In this picture, the Guler preference for plain backgrounds (green or scarlet) and for shallow structure is still persisting. Sikh influences, however, have become far stronger. Not only are beards, turbans, trousers and shields worn Sikh-fashion but the honorific umbrella held on a long pole above the central figure has been boldly adopted from Sikh painting in the Punjab Plains. For a detailed discussion of the Sikh style, see Archer (1966).

Related example: (1) Randhawa (1953), fig. 15. The marriage procession of Jai Singh. Chandigarh Museum. Formerly in the family collection of Raja Baldev Singh of Guler and stated by him to be the work of a Guler painter at Guler. Guler, c.1840-1845. Similar marching escort. Sikh costumes. Flat background.

77 Mian Jai Singh (b.1822 d.1884) of Guler conferring. Guler, c.1845-1850.

224 x 192 mm; with border 300 x 240 mm. Fawn border flecked with red and with red rules. White inner surround. Margin dark blue with floral design in gold. Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 14-1956.

Description: Jai Singh in yellow turban, white coat and dark green waist-sash sits on a black terrace edged with yellow holding a dagger pointing downwards. Behind him is an attendant in white costume and dark yellow wrap, holding a grass fly-whisk. Facing him on the right is a bearded figure expounding some account papers. A fourth figure in dark green turban, orange wrap and with black shield strapped on his back sits holding a sword beside him. White balustrade with wall below. Two beds of poppy-like flowers and a pool with tall fountain. Above the party is an orange blind edged with green and through the window a view of oval trees sprinkled with white flowers.

Discussion: Similar in composition to 59 and with the typical Guler interest in angular design. Jai Singh, identified by comparison with 73 and 78, is again portrayed in Sikh dress. The accountant, seated before him, is not unlike Dina Nath, the Finance Minister of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and a leading personality at the Sikh court (see Archer (1966), pls. 61, 62). Dina Nath continued to influence policy throughout the troubled decade following Ranjit Singh's death in 1839 and when the Sikh state foundered in 1849, he collaborated on the same basis with the British. If the present accountant is indeed Dina Nath, the picture may record a visit by him to Guler and the delivery of a stern warning concerning the family failure to meet its debts. It was personal extravagance that ruined Prakash Chand and finally led to the Sikh

annexation of Guler in 1813. Significant details: flowering trees set against a background of oval trees thus giving the effect of sprinkled blossom, poppies in angular flower-beds and the familiar line of a wall below the terrace with regular niches.

78 Mian Jai Singh (b.1822 d.1884) of Guler watching a male dancer. Perhaps by Ghathu Ram. Guler, dated 1861.

209 x 305 mm; with border 276 x 371 mm. Pale pink border with dark blue floral margin.

Inscribed in *nagari* characters: *sri sri sri mian jai singh* followed by a lengthy annotation and dated: *samvat 1918 'A.D. 1861'*.

Chandigarh Museum. Formerly in the family collection of Raja Baldev Singh and stated by him to be the work of a Guler artist in Guler.

Description: Jai Singh, dressed in plum and white, sits on a terrace under a red canopy, attended by a group of courtiers and servants in Sikh dress, smoking a hookah and watching a middle-aged male dancer in pink dress perform to the accompaniment of four elderly male musicians. To the right a dark blue rug with white stripes forked at the ends. Terrace with archways. In the background a row of oval trees sprinkled with blossom. Blue sky.

Discussion: Inscribed and dated 1861. Similar in style to 79, and almost certainly by the Guler painter, Ghathu Ram, whose portrait of Jai Singh seated with Mr. Brandreth, Commissioner, Jalandhar Division, it distantly resembles 78(2) (q.v.).

Related examples: (1) Randhawa (1953), fig. 13. Children in Sikh dress playing inside a courtyard with a teacher. Chandigarh Museum, Guler Raj collection. Guler, c.1850-1860. Similar style of carpet with forked ends.

(2) Randhawa (1955), fig. 10. Jai Singh seated with Mr. Brandreth, Commissioner, Jalandhar Division. Inscribed in green ink in Persian characters: (1) *mussavir ghathu ram guler ka 'Painter Ghathu Ram of Guler'* (2) *bahadur janab raja jai singh sahib jis wakt gaddi nashin hue aur huzur ba janab brandreth sahib bahadur kamishaner jalandhar 'Raja Jai Singh on the occasion when he assumed the throne and Brandreth Sahib, Commissioner, Jalandhar'* (3) 1878 (i.e. A.D. 1878, the year of formal accession) and in *nagari* characters: *samvat 1935 marg shisht pr'aviste* 4 (A.D. 1878, the month of January). Chandigarh Museum. Formerly in the family collection of Raja Baldev Singh and stated by him to be the work of Ghathu Ram of Guler. Painted by Ghathu Ram. Guler, dated 1878. Oval format. Jai Singh in orange-red and gold. Brandreth in shades of grey. English-style chairs. Very pale blue sky. Black border with floral scrolls. No attendants.

(3) Jai Singh conferring with courtiers. Inscribed in *nagari* characters: *raja sahabji* and in English: *Jaya Singh*. Chandigarh Museum. Formerly in the family collection of Raja Baldev Singh of Guler and stated by him to be the work of a Guler painter at Guler. Attributed to Ghathu Ram. Guler, c.1860-1865. Jai Singh, dressed in Sikh style, smoking a hookah and conferring with four courtiers who sit facing him. Four others, also in Sikh dress, behind him. Grey wall with red blind. In style, a remarkable harking-back to Guler idioms of the 1750-1765 period — the pose of Jai Singh recalling the style of *darbar* portraiture practised under Govardhan Chand and the carpet's floral shoots (lilies) based on the textile patterns used in 36 and 37. This obstinate conservatism of manner may reflect the Guler family's pride in its former feudal status — a pride which Raja Baldev Singh himself evinced when Randhawa and I met him in 1954.

79 A mythical ruler watching a dancing-girl with musicians. From an unidentified series. By Ghathu Ram. Guler, c.1870.

254 x 348 mm (without borders).

Inscribed in the lower border in Persian characters: *ghathu ram musawwir 'Painter Ghathu Ram'*.

Binney collection, Brookline, Mass.

Description: A king, nimbate, sits on a low throne below a canopy on a terrace above which is a long striped blind. A

group of courtiers are ranged around him. Before him on a chequered carpet a girl balances a flask of wine on her head, while dancing and juggling with three balls. Behind her is a frenzied line of four male musicians. Beyond the terrace is an open courtyard with angular pool and fountain and four soldiers, three of them with spears.

Discussion: Bright and garish in colour but reminiscent of earlier painting, especially in its treatment of musicians (compare 74, 78).

80 Raja Jai Singh (ruled 1878-1884) of Guler with his son, Raghunath Singh. By Muhammad Baksh. Guler, 1882.

216 x 295 mm; with border 235 x 314 mm. Pink border with dark blue margin dotted with white.

Annotated by Raja Baldev Singh of Guler and attributed by him to Muhammad Baksh of Mandi, *samvat* 1939 (A.D. 1882).

Chandigarh Museum. Formerly in the family collection of Raja Baldev Singh and attributed by him as above.

Published: Randhawa (1953), fig. 17; also reproduced Randhawa (1959), fig. 6; Archer (1960), col. pl. 99.

Description: Jai Singh, his brother Shamsher Singh's successor since 1878, sits on a densely patterned orange-red carpet, dressed in Sikh-style turban and in a plum-coloured coat. His son, Raghunath Singh, dressed in Sikh style in blue, sits facing him under an honorific umbrella. Behind him is his younger brother, Hardit Singh. Ten other courtiers all in Sikh dress stand or sit in various postures, one of them in dark green turban, white dress and blue coat dominating the right hand side of the picture. In the background daisy-like white flowers, a length of green sward shown as three parallelograms and in the distance a row of trees with flowering creepers amongst their branches. Four cypresses.

Discussion: Comparable in style and idioms to previous portraits of Jai Singh but with severe adulteration by British conventions. The camera had arrived in India as early as the eighteen-fifties and while it was mainly in Delhi that its glossy prints affected miniatures on ivory, the air of artifi-

cial naturalness, each face turned calmly in a different direction, slowly infected pictures' (Archer (1960), pl. 99). For a portrait of Maharaja Ranbir Singh of Jammu based on a photograph but comparable in general attitude to the present picture, see **Jammu, no. 75.**

81 Raja Raghunath Singh (1884-1920) of Guler seated with his brother, Hardit Singh, on a terrace. By Muhammad Baksh. Guler, 1882.

198 x 278 mm; with border 260 x 332 mm. Bright blue border with floral scroll.

Inscribed in Persian characters: *muhammad baksh and in nagari characters: sri ray raghunath singh va sri kaur hardat singhji va shesht singh panjab singh virva samvat 1939 pau pra(vishte) 16 su.* 'Sri Rai Raghunath Singh, Sri Kumar Hardit Singhji, Shesht Singh, Panjab Singh, dated *samvat* 1939 (A.D. 1882) on the sixteenth day of *pau* (December-January)'.
Chandigarh Museum. Formerly in the family collection of Raja Baldev Singh and stated by him to have been painted in Guler.

Description: Raghunath Singh in gold and green sits in a Sikh-style chair flanked on the left by his brother Hardit Singh and a retainer with sword and gun and on the right by two courtiers also with guns and swords. All wear Sikh turbans and trousers. Cream carpet with green, blue and crimson flowers. Orange-red canopy. White balcony with, behind it, a row of trees and six shaggy cypresses. Sky a purplish blue. Predominant colours: plum, green and gold.

Discussion: By the same artist Muhammad Baksh, as 80. Although a native of Mandi, his work is, none the less, closely related to traditional Guler style. It is symptomatic of the rejuvenating effects of Sikh example that long after the Sikh state had been extinguished by the British, Sikh turbans, beards, dress and chairs, remained a court fashion in Guler. For a further discussion of this phenomenon, see Archer (1966).

PAINTING IN HINDUR (NALAGARH)

I. INTRODUCTION

GEOGRAPHY

A small state, twenty-five miles long by ten miles wide, bounded on the south and west by the Punjab Plains (Rupar), on the north-west by the Punjab Plains (Anandpur), on the north by Kahlur (Bilaspur), on the north-east by Baghal (Arki) and on the south-east by minor statelets (Simla Hills). Capital: Nalagarh (15th century onwards).

SCENERY

Moorcroft (1820): 'Nala Gurh is a brick fort belonging to the Palasee Raja which was taken from him by the Goorkhas, retaken by the British, and given up to the Raja who is now beginning to repair it. The Raja has been invited by Gen. Ochterlony to remove the population from Palasee to the town of Nala Gurh situated at the foot of the hill on which stands the fort. It formerly was a considerable place but was nearly ruined by the Goorkhas. It is unfortunate that all the wells of the town contain water hard and brackish save one near a neat religious building' (Moorcroft, *Manuscript Journal*, dated 23 February-29 March, 1820. *MSS. Eur. D.237, f.37*. India Office Library, London).

French (1931): 'I left Bilaspur in the cold light of dawn and Nalagarh, when I saw it, was glistening in the rays of the setting sun. The town is at the very edge of the mountains, and the fortress-palace of the Raja is on a steep hill above it. The view from a distance if beautiful but like Arki the glamour fades at close approach. It was an attack on Nalagarh which brought the Gurkhas into conflict with the British and led to the expulsion of the Gurkhas from the Rajput Himalayas. The very sight of Nalagarh explains how this happened. Only half of Nalagarh is a Hill state. The rest is ordinary plains country of northern India. As long as the Gurkhas confined their wars to the mountains the British dominions were unaffected, but as soon as they came down into the plains the clash came' (99-100).

Randhawa (1956): 'The Nalagarh Valley is a long strip bounded by the heavily eroded range of the Siwaliks towards the south-west and the spurs of the outer Himalayas to the north-east' (81).

Rupar, Anandpur and the Punjab Plains adjoining Hindur (Nalagarh) visited by W.G.A. with M. S. Randhawa, March, 1966.

RELIGION

Temples to Kali and Devi (*Gazetteer*, 10).

II. HISTORICAL NOTES

SOURCES

Anon. *Punjab States Gazetteers, VIII A: Simla Hill States; 1910:3. Nalagarh State Gazetteer* (Lahore, 1911).

French, J. C. *Himalayan Art* (Oxford, 1931), 99-100.

Hutchison, J. and Vogel, J. P. *History of the Panjab Hill States* (Lahore, 1933), II, 504-506.

Moorcroft, W. *Manuscript Journal*, dated 23 February-29 March 1820. *MSS. Eur. D.237*. India Office Library, London.

Moorcroft, W. and Trebeck, G. *Travels in the Himalayan Provinces of Hindustan and the Panjab, in Ladakh and Kashmir, in Peshawar, Kabul, Kunduz and Bokhara from 1819 to 1825* (prepared for the press from the original journals and correspondence by H. H. Wilson, London, 1841, 2 vols.). An edited paraphrase by Wilson of Moorcroft's manuscripts.

Randhawa, M. S. 'Paintings from Nalagarh', *Lalit Kala* (1955-1956), nos. 1 and 2, 81-86.

REIGNS AND PORTRAITS

The Hindur royal house comes from the same family as its neighbour Kahlur (Bilaspur) and Chanehni (Jammu Hills). Clan-name, Hindurea. Suffix, Chand (later, Singh).

1618-1701 DHARM CHAND (i)

1701-1705 HIMMAT CHAND (ii)

Sons: Bhup Chand, Padam Chand.

1705-1761 BHUP CHAND (iii)

Son of Himmat Chand.

Marriage: a Hindur princess to Raja Bhikam Sen (1748-1762) of Suket.

Son: Man Chand.

1761-1762 MAN CHAND (iv)

Son of Bhup Chand.

Murders and dissensions. 'The state was now divided by factions, the Mattiana Kanets siding with Man Chand and the Thuana Kanets with Padam Chand, younger brother of the late Raja Bhup Chand. Padam Chand assassinated his nephew, Man Chand and obtained the throne but was in turn killed by the Mattianas' (*Gazetteer*, 6). HV allege that Man Chand's son was also killed by Padam Chand's faction.

1762-1788 GAJE SINGH (v)

A compromise successor.

According to HV, Raja Devi Chand (c.1741-1778) of Bilaspur was invited by the people of Hindur to take over the State. He declined and, instead, installed Gaje Singh Hindurea, 'a member of the Hindur ruling family', as Raja. The *Gazetteer* (6), on the other hand, states that a Sikh, Bhai Kharak Singh, from the adjoining statelet of Mahlog, 'effected a reconciliation between the factions and induced Gaje Singh, a distant collateral and refugee to accept the gaddi'. It adds: 'He is the founder of the present dynasty and, though a just ruler, was not on good terms with his son, Ram Saran. The latter with a band of retainers occupied the fort at Palasi and lived as a free-booter.'

Sons: Ram Saran Singh, Gopal Singh, Chapal Singh.

Portraits: (1) Fig. 3 (Kangra). Gaje Singh and family receiving Indar Singh of Nurpur-Kangra and retainers. Lambagraon collection, Kangra. Kangra, c.1770.

(2) Fig. 4 (Kangra). Gaje Singh and family receiving Indar Singh of Nurpur-Kangra. Chandigarh Museum. Kangra, c.1770.

1788-1848 RAM SARAN SINGH (vi)

Son of Gaje Singh.

In alliance with Sansar Chand (1775-1823) of Kangra, annexed part of Bilaspur state and burnt Bilaspur town. On the invasion of Kangra by the Gurkhas, 1805, sided with Kangra and resisted Gurkha forces. Besieged by Gurkhas for three years. Then moved to Palasi (in the Plains portion of Hindur). Resided there for ten years. Restored to Hindur state by the British, 1815.

Marriages: Gave a daughter to Pramod Chand, son of Raja

Anirudh Chand (1823-1828) of Kangra, later a resident of Baghal (Arki).

Sons: Bije Singh, Fateh Singh, Ugar Singh, Bir Singh.

Religion: Is noted by Moorcroft (ed. Wilson, 1841) as having recently had the Jwalamukhi (Kangra) shrine painted and embellished at his expense, c.1820 (71).

Character: Moorcroft (1820): 'The river Balh coming from the north and east forms the boundary between the district to the east belonging to the Puteala Raj and that to the west belonging to the Hindoor Raja . . . My guide is a Brahmin who has lost his left thumb and has had the left shoulder and arm most deeply gashed by the swords of Goorkhas in aiding his master to defend his country when they invaded it. He received ten rupees in consideration of the accident and speaks in terms of respect of his master whose name is Ramsurn and from his residence being principally at Palasee below the mountains is as often called the Palasee as the Hundoor Raja . . . (In Nalagarh) the people here speak in terms of affection of their Raja' (Moorcroft, *Manuscript Journal*, dated 23 February-29 March 1920. *MSS. Eur. D.237*, ff. 35, 36. India Office Library, London).

Death: 1848. Aged 86.

Portraits: (1) Fig. 3 (Kangra). Ram Saran Singh with his father, Gaje Singh, receiving a deputation from Indar Singh of Nurpur-Kangra. Lambagraon collection, Kangra. Kangra, c.1770.

(2) Fig. 4 (Kangra). Ram Saran Singh with his father, Gaje Singh, receiving Indar Singh of Nurpur-Kangra and a party. Chandigarh Museum, Kangra, c.1770.

(3) Vogel (1947), fig. 1; also reproduced Khandalavala (1956), 86. Line drawing of Raja Ram Saran Singh smoking. Inscribed. Hindur (Nalagarh), c.1820.

(4) Fig. 8(xliii) (Kangra). Ram Saran Singh seated smoking with Maharaja Sansar Chand (1775-1823) of Kangra. Lambagraon collection, Kangra. Kangra, c.1800.

1848-1857 BIJE (BIJAI) SINGH (vii)

Son of Ram Saran Singh.

Died childless.

Marriage: to a daughter of Raja Karam Parkash (1793 - (1815) 1826) of Sirmur (q.v.).

Portraits: (1) Fig. 9 (Hindur). Randhawa (1956), fig. 4. Raja Bije(?) Singh smoking. Chandigarh Museum, Nalagarh collection. Hindur (Nalagarh), c.1850. Captioned Ram Saran Singh but clearly a different person from vi (Portraits (1) - (4)). Since the white fly-whisk denotes royalty and the attendant is in Sikh dress, Bije Singh seems the most probable subject.

1857-1860 BRITISH INTERREGNUM (viii)

On Bije Singh's death, Hindur lapsed to the British, the remaining three sons of Ram Saran Singh by his Brahmin wife being deemed illegitimate. 1860, Hindur is granted to the third son, Ugar Singh (the second son, Fateh Singh, being of unsound mind).

1860-1876 UGAR SINGH (ix)

Third son of Ram Saran Singh.

Marriages: (1) with a daughter of a Mian of Jaswal, Hoshiarpur district (a son, Isri Singh); (2) with a daughter of a Chandel Mian from Bilaspur, settled in Nalagarh (a son, Jaginder Singh).

Character: 'The most intelligent of Raja Ram Saran's sons, having acted as Wazir during his father's later years. In the earlier part of his reign, administered the state on sound lines but, when his eldest son, Isri Singh, attained his majority, dissensions arose, due to Ugar Singh's wish to supersede Isri by Jaginder' (*Gazetteer*, 8).

Portraits: (1) Fig. 10 (Hindur). Ugar Singh with two courtiers attended by a servant in Sikh dress with fly-whisk. Chandigarh Museum, Nalagarh collection. Hindur (Nalagarh), c.1860. Identified as Ugar Singh by family tradition.

1877-c.1915 ISRI SINGH (x)

Son of Ugar Singh.

Marriages: Guler, Kangra, Kuthar.

3. IMPLICATIONS FOR PAINTING

Personality of rulers.

Little information is available but it is perhaps significant that both Gaje Singh (v) and his grandson Ugar Singh (ix) quarrelled with their heirs and successors. It is also noteworthy that due partly to family differences and partly to the Gurkha invasion, the fortress of Palasi was sometimes used as an alternative court to Nalagarh. This might explain the presence at Palasi of mural paintings as noted by French (1931). Ram Saran Singh (vi, 1788-1848) who died aged 86 years and ruled for sixty years treated Palasi as a favourite base and was possibly responsible for these murals. The embellishment by him of the shrine of Jwalamukhi in Kangra state in 1820 supports the inference that he may have been interested in painting.

Relations with other states

Kahlur (Bilaspur). Although Hindur rajas were of the same family as those of Bilaspur, the two states seem to have been rivals and on generally bad terms — Ram Saran Singh not hesitating to side with Kangra against Bilaspur in 1795, burn Bilaspur town and annex some Bilaspur territory. HV's statement (which is contradicted by the *Gazetteer*) that Raja Devi Chand (c.1741-1788) of Bilaspur was responsible for installing Ram Saran's father, Gaje Singh, as Raja of Hindur should perhaps be seen in the light of this circumstance. Although Bilaspur influence on Nalagarh painting cannot be entirely ruled out, it seems unlikely that it was important.

Kangra. In contrast to Bilaspur, Kangra was an active ally and supporter of Nalagarh especially in the first half of the reign of Raja Sansar Chand (1775-1823). Their cordial relations were also expressed through the wedding of a daughter of Ram Saran Singh of Nalagarh to Sansar Chand's grandson, Pramod Chand. Late in the nineteenth century there was another Kangra marriage, in view of Sansar Chand's keen interest in painting and maintenance of a group of artists even after his eclipse by the Sikh Ranjit Singh (1809-1823), the Kangra court may well have had a prime influence on later painting in Nalagarh.

The Sikhs. As neighbours of Hindur on the south and west, the Sikhs were well placed for influencing Nalagarh. Their towns of Rupar and Anandpur were connected with the struggles of the tenth Sikh Guru, Govind Singh (1675-1708) and the stony Sewalik hills had served as useful hide-outs in the Sikh wars against the Mughals. With the development of Sikh painting in the Punjab Plains in the eighteenth-thirties and the presence of Sikhs in Kangra from 1830 to 1846, Sikh fashions affected the Punjab Hills. Traces of Sikh influence in painting at Nalagarh would not, in such circumstances, be surprising.

III. PAINTING: REVIEW OF LITERATURE

1931

French, J. C. *Himalayan Art* (Oxford, 1931).

Alludes to murals at Palasi (Hindur state) but dismisses them as unimportant.

1947

Vogel, J. P. 'Portrait Painting in Kangra and Chamba', *Artibus Asiae* (1947), X, 207, fig. 1.

Reproduces an inscribed portrait of Raja Ram Saran Singh (vi, 1788-1848) of Hindur.

1956

Randhawa, M. X. 'Paintings from Nalagarh', *Lalit Kala* (1955-1956), nos. 1 and 2, 81-85, figs. 1-7.

A first attempt at identification.

Describes a Hindur (Nalagarh) family collection of pictures inherited by Brij Mohan Singh, direct descendant of Ram Saran Singh (vi), through his second son, Fateh Singh and now in the Chandigarh Museum. Connects with Nalagarh two artists, Hari Singh and Narsingh Das, both of the Ram Saran Singh-Bije Singh period (1788-1857). Reproduces seven paintings. See nos. 1 and 3.

Khandalavala, K. Note to M. S. Randhawa, 'Paintings from Nalagarh', *Lalit Kala* (1955-1956), nos. 1 and 2, 86. Reproduces Vogel (1947), fig. 1.

1958

Khandalavala, K. *Pahari Miniature Painting* (Bombay, 1958), 239, 394.

Comments on Randhawa (1956). Considers that Nalagarh artists adopted the same idiom as that of Bilaspur-Sirmoor (239, fig. 45 but here regarded as Nalagarh itself). See no. 11.

Reproduces (no. 167) Randhawa (1956), fig. 3.

Publishes (no. 165) a *Ramayana* scene, Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras. 'Probably Nalagarh, late 18th-early 19th century'.

1961

Skelton, R. *Indian Miniatures from the 15th to 19th Centuries* (Venice, 1961).

Pl. 85. 'The butter thief'. See no. 8(1).

1964

Maggs Bros. *Oriental Miniatures and Illumination: Bulletin no. 7* (London, 1964).

No. 167 (p.174). See no. 4.

1965

Welch, S. C. and Beach, M. C. *Gods, Thrones and Peacocks* (New York, 1965).

Fig. 68. 'Radha visiting Krishna by night'. See no. 6(1).

1966

Archer, W. G. *Paintings of the Sikhs* (London, 1966).

Fig. 36. Portrait of Sardar Lehna Singh Majithia. Compare nos. 9 and 11.

1967

Archer, Mildred. *Indian Miniatures and Folk Paintings* (Arts Council, London, 1967).

Fig. 36 'Krishna and Balarama receive the sacred thread'. See no. 11(1).

Fig. 37. 'Prelude to a wedding'. See no. 11(2).

1968

Archer, W. G. and Binney, E. *Rajput Miniatures from the collection of Edwin Binney 3rd* (Portland, Oregon, 1968).

Fig. 96. 'Krishna waiting for the cow-girls'. See no. 4. Fig. 97. 'Krishna and Balarama embrace after the defeat of Kaliya'. See no. 11(3).

1970

Archer, Mildred. *Indian Paintings from Court, Town and Village* (Arts Council, London, 1970).

Fig. 29. 'The birth of Krishna'. See no. 8.

IV. PAINTING: CATALOGUE AND RECONSTRUCTION

PHASE ONE: 1700-1800

No materials have, so far, come to light.

PHASE II: 1800-1875

1 Rama, Sita and Lakshmana in the forest. Hindur (Nalagarh), c.1820.

Oval shape with Kangra-esque surrounds. Chandigarh Museum, Nalagarh collection.

Published: Randhawa (1956), fig. 3; also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), no. 167.

Description: Rama and Sita, clad in leaf skirts, are seated on a deer skin outside a hut. Below them, to the left, sits Lakshmana turning a spit on a wood fire. To the right is a row of oval boulders rising upwards beside a stream. In the distance two *sadhus* sit beside a hut. Behind Rama and Sita looms a grove of trees.

Discussion: Of some importance for the identification of Nalagarh painting because of its provenance (the family collection of Brij Mohan Singh, a direct descendant of Raja Ram Saran Singh (vi, 1788-1848) of Hindur through his second son, Fateh Singh) and the presence in it of some distinctive idioms and details, uncharacteristic of other schools of painting. These include a special type of face (long head, keen nose and slightly curving forehead) and the unusual treatment of trees, their slim trunks shown in a clustering group. For this latter idiom in more developed form, see 3-5.

Hindur was very closely associated with Kangra during the reign of Raja Ram Saran Singh and it is possible that, following the marriage of one of his daughters to Mian Pramod Chand, grandson of Sansar Chand of Kangra in about 1820, one or more Kangra painters may have joined the Hindur court. This might account for the picture's obvious dependence on Kangra painting of the 1810-1825 period, seen especially in its oval shape with Kangra-esque floral surrounds and in the spear-shaped treatment of sprays and flowers.

Related examples: (1) Randhawa (1956), fig. 1. Monkeys in a landscape. From a *Ramayana* series (horizontal). Chandigarh Museum, Nalagarh collection. Hindur (Nalagarh), c.1820. Similar provenance as no. 1. Sweeping crags. Clumps of flowering plants to the left.

(2) Randhawa (1956), fig. 2. Rama and Lakshmana in a cave beside a lotus pool. From the same *Ramayana* series (horizontal) as (1). Chandigarh Museum, Nalagarh collection. Hindur (Nalagarh), c.1820. Same provenance as no. 1. Similar emphasis on smooth tree-trunks. The lotus pool shown with angular projecting banks as in no. 3.

(3) Randhawa (1956), fig. 7. Lady chasing a cat with a parrot. Chandigarh Museum, Nalagarh collection. Hindur (Nalagarh), c.1820. Same Nalagarh provenance. Nalagarh facial types.

2 Rama, Sita and Lakshmana in the forest. Hindur (Nalagarh), c.1820.

Size: 180 x 138 mm; with border 210 x 170 mm.

Red border with black rules.

Inscribed on reverse in English (perhaps by a dealer): *Raja Ram Chandra and Lachman in a jungle.* £2/-.

Victoria and Albert Museum, Rothenstein collection, I.S. 142-1951.

Description: Rama and Sita, clad in leaf-skirts, sit gazing at each other on a dark grey skin. In the foreground, Lakshmana with white skin, green leaf-skirt and yellow tiger skin is turning two balls of meat on a spit over a wood fire. Behind him is a red quiver and sword. Beside the fire are two leaf-plates. Dark green trees with blackish grey trunks.

Discussion: A variation on no. 1, eliminating the stream with boulders, the *sadhus* in the distance and the hut beside Rama and Sita, enlarging the deer skin on which Rama and Sita are sitting but retaining the general composition, Lakshmana's identical hand gesture, the fire with two leaf-plates and 'Nalagarh-type' faces. It is noteworthy that while the grove of trees is considerably denser, smooth tree-trunks are also prominent.

3 Krishna fluting to the cows. Hindur (Nalagarh), c.1820.

Chandigarh Museum, Nalagarh collection.

Published: Randhawa (1956), fig. 6.

Description: Krishna with blue skin, wearing striped trunks, a crown with peacock feathers and a black cloak hanging from his shoulders stands beside a tree summoning the cattle by playing to them on his flute. A herd of sixteen cows are shown converging on him — eight are about to emerge from the river Jamuna, the remainder are either close at

hand or are hurrying towards him from the right. A tiny cowherd-boy stands behind him. Around them are ranks of trees evenly dispersed across the landscape. Slight traces of lightning.

Discussion: A picture clearly modelled on **Kahlur (Bilaspur)**, no. 47 but departing from it in the following radical respects. Not only is the herd of cattle reduced to half its number but the black storm clouds are obscured by trees and the lightning flashes are changed into limp ribbons hanging from branches. The element of storm is also masked by replacing the top-knot of Krishna's black cloak by a large crown of peacock feathers. A further major difference is the prominence given to vertical rows of smooth tree-trunks and the invasion of the earlier, much starker landscape with thrusting sprays of flowers. Details which connect the picture with its Bilaspur model are the river with serrated inlets, the general composition, the placing of the cattle and Krishna's stance.

The presence of such a picture in the Nalagarh collection raises various problems, since, in general, Bilaspur painting seems to have had little influence on painting in Nalagarh. We must conjecture that in some way, hitherto unexplained, a tracing or sketch of the Bilaspur picture reached painters in Nalagarh and was there given a new Nalagarh treatment.

4 Krishna waiting for the cow-girls. Hindur (Nalagarh), c.1820.

220 x 270 mm.

Binney collection, Brookline, Mass.

Published: Maggs (1964), pl. 167; also reproduced Archer and Binney (1968), fig. 96.

Description: Krishna, with blue skin wearing orange trunks and clogs, a crown with peacock feathers and a black cloak hanging from his shoulders stands to the left holding a long wand of flowers. He is faced on the right by a group of ten cow-girls in orange, white and blue-black dresses. A meadow, cut into by a jagged inlet of the river Jamuna filled with lotuses, lies between them. To the rear a dense grove of trees relieved by occasional spires of white and orange-red blossom. At the top a skyline broken by three pairs of cypresses.

Discussion: Identical in style to 3 (compare, in particular, Krishna's costume, features and stance, the serrated inlet of the river, and the sparse insertion in the landscape of trees with spear-shaped sprays of blossom). As in 1-3, special stress is laid on crowded ranks of smooth tree-trunks — the leafy portion of the tree, in this case, exceeding by perhaps four times the height of the trunk.

5 Indra's five rishis worship the lingam on Mount Kailasa. From a *Shiva Purana* series. Hindur (Nalagarh), c.1820.

285 x 435 mm; with border 310 x 455 mm. Red borders and blue margins.

National Museum, New Delhi.

Description: A picture in two parts: to the right the five *rishis* dispatched by Indra to please Shiva are shown doing *puja* by the banks of a stream filled with lotuses. To the left they stand beside a huge *lingam* in a landscape of flowering trees and lotus ponds. In the distance a row of snow-covered peaks with cloud-racked sky.

Discussion: From a series notable for its combination of airy, open spaces, groups of densely packed trees and cascading sprays of flowers. Many of the trees also have unusually thick creepers twined about them. The emphasis on groups of short tree-trunks, huddled closely together as in 4, and the drenching of trees with frothy flowers are salient features of the series. For types of Kangra painting out of which this local style may have developed, see the Lamba-raon *Gita Govinda* series (**Kangra**, no. 67) and the Kangra *Rasika Priya* series (**Kangra**, no. 66).

6 Lady with maids in a garden. Hindur (Nalagarh), c.1820-1830.

Kangra-esque floral margins. Borders with cartouches.

British Museum, London.

Description: A lady reclines in an open pavilion in a garden

with angular *parterres* and a pool with three fountains playing. She is attended by five maids. A peacock struts on the pavilion roof. Rows of densely-packed flowering trees at top and bottom.

Discussion: Similar in style and broad effects to 4 and 5, the huge *lingam*-like fountain playing the same role as the *lingam* and the central tree in 5. The upper row of trees with cypresses, spear-shaped clusters of flowers and thickly grouped trunks can be matched in 4.

Related example: (1) Welch and Beach (1965), fig. 68. Radha visiting Krishna by night. Galbraith collection, Cambridge, Mass. Hindur (Nalagarh), c.1820-1830. Similar faces to 6, flowering trees as in 5 and 6, roof of pavilion similar to that of the pavilion, lower right (6).

7 Usha dispatches her confidante. From an *Aniruddha Usha* series. Hindur (Nalagarh), c.1820-1830.

British Museum, London.

Description: Usha, seated on a throne and attended by three maids, discusses her dream of Aniruddha with a confidante. In the upper left-hand corner, the confidante, bearing a *vina*, flies through the sky to fetch Aniruddha.

Discussion: Similar to 6 in facial types, airy spaciousness, angular terrace and fragile flower-besprinkled trees.

8 Rejoicings at the birth of Krishna. From a *Bhagavata Purana* series. Hindur (Nalagarh), c.1830.

230 x 335 mm; with border 300 x 400 mm. Uncoloured border.

Inscribed on the reverse with lines in *nagari* and *takri* characters describing the scene. Numbered 17.

Archer collection, London.

Published: Archer (1970), fig. 29.

Description: Jasoda, attended by a maid, sits in an upper room nursing the infant Krishna. Below in the courtyard a crowd of cow-girls arrive with presents. To the right, musicians make music from a turret. In the background hills with cowherds grazing cattle. Predominant colours green, mauve, white, brown, orange-red and yellow.

Discussion: Of uncertain provenance but connected with Nalagarh on account of its resemblance to 6 and 7 (treatment of faces, costume, architecture).

Related example: (1). Skelton (1961), pl. 85. The butter thief. From a *Bhagavata Purana* series of smaller size. Private collection. Hindur (Nalagarh), c.1830. Similar style to 8.

9 Raja Bije (?) Singh (vii, 1848-1857) of Hindur smoking. Hindur (Nalagarh), c.1840-1850.

Chandigarh Museum, Nalagarh collection.

Published: Randhawa (1956), fig. 4.

Description: A Raja of uncertain identity sits facing left, a stout hookah stem in his right hand. An attendant waves a white fly-whisk above him.

Discussion: Although the subject can hardly be Raja Ram Saran Singh (see Portraits, reign vi), the presence of the picture in Brij Mohan Singh's family collection and the family tradition connecting it with this Nalagarh raja suggests that it may well be one of his recent Nalagarh ancestors. The attendant in Sikh costume and the florally patterned carpet suggest Sikh influences from the Punjab Plains. For a portrait of the Sikh Governor of the Kangra Hills, Sardar Lehna Singh Majithia (Sikh, c.1840) with similar carpet and with tree foliage treated as in 11(i, ii) in a very distinctive idiom, a little like a prickly hand, see Archer (1966), fig. 36.

Although abutting on Kahlur (Bilaspur) and Baghal (Arki) on the north and east, Hindur was surrounded on the south and west by Sikh territory. The rise of Sikh painting in the Punjab Plains in the late eighteen-thirties and the generally high prestige of the Sikhs may have led to a partial adoption of Sikh idioms at Nalagarh.

10 Raja Ugar Singh (1860-1876) of Hindur in audience. Hindur (Nalagarh), c.1850-1860.

Chandigarh Museum, Nalagarh collection.

Published: Randhawa (1956), fig. 5.

Description: Raja Ugar Singh, identified by family tradition,

is shown in Sikh trousers, coat and turban, sitting with two advisers. An attendant in Sikh costume waves a white fly-whisk over him.

Discussion: Comparable in facial types to 11(ii) and like that picture, evincing strong Sikh influence. Although annexed by the British in 1848, the Punjab Plains remained centres of Sikh culture throughout the nineteenth century.

11(i-iii) Three paintings from a *Bhagavata Purana* series.

Hindur (Nalagarh), c.1850-1860.

Average size: 230 x 320 mm; with border 295 x 385 mm. Red borders with white rules and black and gold margin.

11(i) The encounter with the demon.

Private collection.

Description: A picture in three parts: on the right, Krishna and Balarama, enjoying music with the cow-girls at night, are disturbed by the demon, Sankasura, who strives to abduct the girls; in the centre, Krishna and Balarama give chase; on the left, Krishna places his right foot on the slain demon.

11(ii) Ugrasena holds court.

Inscribed on reverse with lines in *takri* characters describing the scene.

Archer collection, London.

Description: Ugrasena, a crowned figure on the right, sits in an open pavilion, receiving crowned visitors. Carpet as in 9.

11(iii) The building of Dwarka.

Archer collection, London.

Description: An armed figure in chain mail, perhaps Visvakarma, stands beside an inlet of the sea, directing a gang of builders. In the foreground, three labourers approach, carrying slabs of stone. Acid green landscape with ornately flowering trees.

Discussion: Connected with Hindur (Nalagarh) on account of the plethora of flowering trees (a development from nos. 3-5), facial types (11(iii)) resembling those in 10, a loosely meandering verge (11(i)) comparable with 5 and the 'prickly hand' idiom for tree foliage, perhaps derived from Sikh painting in the Punjab Plains (see 9).

Examples from the same series: (1) Archer (1967), fig. 36. Krishna and Balarama receive the sacred thread. Archer collection, London.

(2) Archer (1967), fig. 37. Prelude to a wedding. Archer collection, London.

(3) Archer and Binney (1968), fig. 97. Krishna and Balarama embrace after the defeat of Kaliya. Binney collection, Cambridge, Mass.

Related examples: (4) Khandalavala (1958), fig. 45. Krishna playing blindman's buff. Roerich collection, Bangalore. Hindur (Nalagarh), c.1850. Ornate and over-flowery. Similar facial types to 11. Trees with 'prickly hand' idiom. Captioned by Khandalavala 'Sikh Hill kalam. Probably Sirmoor idiom.' If Sikh influence is conceded, Hindur (Nalagarh) which adjoins the heart of the Sikh country seems a somewhat more probable provenance than Sirmur which was remote from Sikh centres.

PAINING IN JAMMU

I. INTRODUCTION

GEOGRAPHY

In the seventeenth to early eighteenth centuries (c.1600-c.1720), Jammu was about thirty miles wide and forty miles long and was bounded on the south by the Punjab Plains, on the west by Aknur and the river Chenab, on the north by Kashtwar, on the north-east by Chanehni, and on the east by Bandralta, Mankot and Jasrota. It included Riasi, Bhoti and Samba which were ruled by branches of the Jammu family.

From c.1720-1750, it became the chief state in the Jammu Hills, controlling Bhoti, Bhadu, Basohli, Mankot and Bandralta. From c.1750-c.1770, it extended its control to include Bhadrawah and Kashtwar.

Between c.1770 and 1815, Jammu lost its tributary states but from 1820 to 1857, under Gulab Singh, gradually regained them.

Present-day Jammu, formed in 1846, incorporates Jasrota, Basohli, Bhadu, Bhoti, Mankot, Bandralta, Chanehni, Bhadrawah and Kashtwar.

Except during the period c.1560-c.1715, when rival capitals, occupied by parallel branches of the ruling family existed simultaneously at Bahu (left side of the river Tawi) and at Jammu (right side of the Tawi), Jammu was the state capital.

SCENERY

Vigne (1842): 'The next morning I ascended to the palace, by a long paved way that led up the hill. The town of Jammu is built upon the summit of the first wooded sloping ridge that rises from the plains of the Punjab, and at the place where it is divided by a narrow ravine, which allows an exit to the river Tawi, in its way to its junction with the Chunab.

The town is upon the right bank of the ravine, and the white buildings of the palace, and of the fort, which is on the opposite side, are seen glistening in the sun, from a great distance in the plains.

'I do not know exactly the population of Jammu: it contains a good bazaar, numerous streets, and, perhaps, 7000 or 8000 people' (I. 183).

Drew (1875): 'The city or town of Jammu is built at the very first rise of the hills out of the plain, on a slightly-sloping plateau 200 to 300 feet above the flat country, and some 1200 feet above the sea. This is part of the outermost ridge of hills; the ridge is here cut through by the valley of the Tawi River, which flows out to the plains at a level more than two hundred feet below the plateau the town is built on, between steep but wooded banks.

'Coming to it from the Panjab, one passes, while still on the plain, through two or three miles of the close forest of acacia trees with bushy underwood; then one comes to the river-bed, an expanse of rounded pebbles, with the stream flowing in the middle — a stream usually shallow and gentle, but which is sometimes so swollen with floods as to rush with violence over the whole wide bed. As one fords this Tawi River, one sees how, in coming from the upper country, it breaks through, so to say, the outermost range; on its right bank the hill on which Jammu is built, and on its left a corresponding one, crowned by Bao Fort, form, as it were, a gateway to the inner country. To reach the town after crossing the stream, we have again to pass through the wood, along a narrow lane, at a turn of which we find ourselves in front of the principal gate, placed at the top of a short but steep ascent. At this spot travelling on wheels comes to an end; from here onwards carriage is performed by camels, pack-horses, elephants, or coolies. The bullock-carts that up to this point have been the great means of

goods traffic are left here, and their contents are brought into the city mostly on men's backs. At the gate are stationed a guard, writers whose business it is to report arrivals, and custom-house messengers. After passing this entrance, in doing which we come on to the plateau, we advance on more level ground, along a wide street or bazaar, which gives the promise of a comfortably-built town; but a little farther, and one suddenly becomes lost in a maze of narrow streets and lanes of low single-storied houses and little narrow shops. The way is crowded, and business is brisk, and most of the people have a well-to-do look. A mile or so of this, on a gradual rise, brings us to the centre of interest of the place — an open, irregular square, called the Mandi, or Public Place.

'The Mandi is the spot where all the business of the Government is done; it is entirely surrounded by Government buildings. On three sides are public offices, built with considerable taste; their lower stories have a line of arches that suit the native practice of doing business half out of doors. The farther side of the square has a nearly similar building, where the Maharaja holds his ordinary daily Darbar of Court; behind this is seen the more lofty pile of the inner palace.

'The area of Jammu is about a square mile; its population has never been counted; by guess. I should say that it is between 15,000 and 20,000. The town is bounded on two sides by the cliff of steep slope that overhangs the river-bed. Some of the buildings of the Maharaja's Palace are placed at the very edge of the most precipitous part, and they command a view over the flat valley of the river, where it widens above the gorge, over alluvial islands covered with gardens and groves, on to inner lines of hill with a surface of broken cliff and scattered forest, and to higher mountains beyond, which are often snow-covered. The steep slopes close at hand, and those of the opposite hill, are clothed with the same forest that covers the plain through which the town was approached; it gives shelter to a good deal of game, chiefly pig, spotted deer, and nilgae, which, from the strictness of the game laws, are found up to the skirts of the city.

'Jammu is not a walled town, though partial defences have at different times been erected. Towards the river the steep bank has been trusted to, though it is by no means inaccessible. On the south a wall runs along the edge of the high land, pierced by the gateway through which the road from the Panjab enters. On the west and north-west the place is bounded by nothing but the jungle, which, indeed, would be a greater help to the besiegers than to the defenders, as it is thick enough to hide from view, but not to prevent an advance through it.

'With the exception of the Palace and the public buildings surrounding the square, there is not much that is architecturally attractive. Nearly all the city, as before said, is of single-storied houses, which one quite overtops in going through the streets on an elephant. But there rise up among them a few large houses, what may be called mansions, which have been built by some of the Court people, or of the richer merchants of the place; the house of the family of the chief ministers, Diwan Jawala Sahai, and his son Diwan Kirpa Ram, especially, is a large pile of buildings. Then at one edge of the town, in a picturesque position overlooking the river valley, are a few houses built after the fashion of those that Englishmen live in in India; these the Maharaja has erected for the accommodation of European travellers, whether stray visitors or guests of his own, who now and then reach Jammu.

'The convex-curved spires of the Hindu temples are conspicuous objects; the principal one, in the lower part of the town, is a plain but fine, well-proportioned building; and in the same quadrangle with it is a smaller, gilt-domed temple, built in memory of Maharaja Gulab Singh. New temples arise; of late years several have been built: one of these has

been erected by the chief minister. As one approaches Jummo through the plain, its tall spire and gilt pinnacles catch the eye from afar.

Jummo, though it is a good deal resorted to for trade and other business, is not usually liked by natives as a place to live in. The comfort of a native of India depends very much on the accessibility of good water, and here one is obliged either to use the water of the tanks, not really fit for drinking, or to fetch the river water from below. Fuel, too, is dear, from the strict preservation of the forest. For anyone at all used to active habits, the confinement attendant on the situation of Jummo prevents it from being considered at all a pleasant place: the paths and roads are of the round stones of all sizes that make up the mass of the hill, and for two or three miles one cannot get clear of them, nor of the thick forest. The only redeeming point is the beauty of the prospect. We have seen how, from the edge of the cliff, a wide view opens of the nearer ridges of the Himalayas, with peeps of the more lofty mountains behind. From other points we can look south and west over the plain of the Panjab, and from our elevation can command a great and beautiful expanse of it. Near at hand are rounded masses of the green foliage of the forest; beyond is more open ground, with villages scattered, and the waters of the Tawi, in its various channels, shining between: in the distance the hues change to grey and purple, but the land ends off with the sharp line made by the earth's curvature, distinct as the horizon at sea' (62-65).

HV (1933): The town of Jammu stands on the right bank of the Tawi river at the point where it leaves the low hills. It is built on three terraces rising one behind the other, the highest, on which the palace stands, being towards the north. Viewed on the approach from the plains, the place presents a picturesque appearance, with the low hills of the Savalaks in the background, rising tier upon tier, till the horizon is closed in by the snowy range of the Pir Panjal. From the palace the vista to the north-east along the upper windings of the Tawi, is very fascinating. Jammu contains a large cluster of temples on the lower terrace, but all of them seem to be of recent date. The town was originally fortified towards the south, fronting the Tawi, but the walls are now in a crumbling condition' (II, 528).

Visited by W.G.A. with M. S. Randhawa and Mulk Raj Anand in March 1960. Re-visited by W.G.A. in January 1970. During this second visit, I went by jeep to Saruin, twelve miles east of Jammu as the crow flies, but twenty-seven miles by road owing to the many hills and river-beds which involved detours. During this journey which was undertaken with Pandit Sansar Chand Sharma and Professor D. N. Sharma, I made the following notes on scenery.

'Starting from the new palace, the route took us down through Jammu town, then across the Tawi, a gigantic river-bed, half a mile wide, with huge sandy flats, boulders, and a tiny main stream and then up into shaggy wooded hills beyond. After two miles, we passed the fort of Bahu, two miles below the Jammu fort on the opposite bank. Five miles further and we were out of the thick woods and into a region of low hills, bare and rounded, with pale brown grass, isolated shrubs and little trees. Looking back, we could see small trees leading out over steep drops. Everywhere there were bare tawny hills with shrubs and scrubby *palash* trees exactly as in the picture of Balwant Singh setting out from Kushvakhatapur to hunt partridges 'in the lower hills' (see no. 46 below). After an hour's drive, we were away from the enormous Tawi, and were at a broad river-bed, a quarter of the size of the Tawi, but capable of becoming a vast, majestic torrent. Four miles out of Saruin, we came to a group of rocky hills, with great chasms and little precipices, naked black rock glistening in the rain. We passed through them and went on through a belt of pine trees. All the time, the rain poured down. At last, some two and a half hours after leaving Jammu, we saw some houses and then a lake — Saruinsar, about the same size as the lake in Regent's Park in London. In the middle was a tree-covered island, said to have been connected at one time

with the shore and to have had a pavilion on it. North of the lake was a rocky ridge and on it we were able to see the remains of Raja Balwant Singh's palace — a tall white facade on the west, a row of little apartments behind it, all in ruins, a connecting wing on the northern side with three rounded arches and four thick pillars, and finally the remains of a large terrace. From this terrace we looked south across the lake and eastwards to a great hill with hanging woods looming high above it. To the north, a rocky hill-side sloped steeply downwards to a narrow valley far below.

'Because of dilapidation and the abandonment of the palace, probably in the last century, it was difficult to reconstruct any accurate ground-plan. I paced out the length of the terrace and judged it to be about fifty yards. The main facade was approximately thirty yards long and appeared to have had two storeys. I noticed a white rectangular corner slab in lime plaster above the western-most arch in the connecting wing on the northern side. This resembled the slab visible in no. 49 below and vividly reinforced the impression that this had indeed been part of Balwant Singh's own residence. I was also greatly struck by the rocky nature of the site. The palace had been built at the top of a rocky hill on a rocky ridge which slanted upwards to the west. As I stood there in the rain holding an umbrella over my head, I fancied I could well have been Balwant Singh himself, supervising the building of the palace and himself holding an umbrella (no. 41). It struck me as significant that in certain drawings (nos. 38, 41) the same sort of rocky ridge had been shown adjoining a palace building, and that in certain pictures (46(I), 50) a lake comparable to Saruinsar had also been included.'

RELIGION

No detailed account of Jammu religion is available but the fact that the Bandral rani of Maharaja Ranbir Singh (1857-1885) built a new temple to Raghunathji (Rama), and that this is the most conspicuous temple in Jammu suggests that the cult of Rama was, at one time, favoured by the Jammu court.

Of religious festivals, celebrated at the court and involving the giving of *nazars* to the Maharaja by his servants and retinue, Drew mentions four: Basant Panchmi (spring), Naurez (a Persian festival naturalised in Jammu), Sair (autumn) and the Dasehra (commemorating Rama's victory over Ravana). Other festivals include Holi (the spring fertility festival) and Diwali (the feast of lights). Elaborate performances at the palace by dancing-girls were customary on these occasions (Drew, 68-73).

On the evidence of portraits (Rajas Anand Dev and Dhruv Dev, vii and xiii), Vaishnava bias in the early eighteenth century can be inferred from the presence of vertical *tilak* marks on their foreheads. Ranjit Dev and his youngest brother, Balwant Singh, on the other hand, were normally portrayed without any such marks. In a portrait of Balwant Singh, formerly in the Latifi collection, Bombay, but now untraced, he is shown doing Vishnu puja, and it is significant that a territorial agreement, executed in favour of Umed Singh of Chamba by Ranjit Dev and Balwant Singh, commences with the invocation 'May the holy lord of Lakshmi help us', i.e. Vishnu (Ohri, 1969).

II. HISTORICAL NOTES

SOURCES

- Archer, W. G. *Paintings of the Sikhs* (London, 1966).
 Drew, F. *The Jummo and Kashmir Territories* (London, 1875).
 Forster, G. *A Journey from Bengal to England* (London, 1808).

- Griffin, L. H. and Massy, C. F. *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab* (Lahore, 1940).
- Hutchison, J. and Vogel, J. P. *History of the Panjab Hill States* (Lahore, 1933). II.
- Kahan Singh Balaria, *Tawarikh-i-Rajputan-i-Mulk-i-Panjab* (Jammu, 1912).
- Latif, S. M. *History of the Punjab* (Calcutta, 1891).
- Lawrence, W. *Imperial Gazetteer of India: Provincial Series: Kashmir and Jammu* (Calcutta, 1909).
- Panikkar, K. M. *The Making of the Kashmir State* (London, 2nd edition, 1953).
- Vigne, G. T. *Travels in Kasmir, Ladak, Iskardo* (London, 1842).

REIGNS AND PORTRAITS

Origins of ruling house obscure. Offshoots in Jasrota, Samba, Mankot, Lakhanpur, Tirikot, Dalpatpur, Riasi, Aknur, Bhau and Bhoti. Clan-name, Jamwal (Jamual). Suffix, Dev.

c.1540-c.1560 KAPUR DEV (i)

Sons: Jag Dev, Samil Dev (by different ranis).
No other facts recorded.

Note: The last ruler of an undivided Jammu state until its reunification in the early eighteenth century. Following Kapur Dev's death, a bitter succession dispute between the two sons caused the state's division into two parts: the first based on the fort of Jammu on the right bank of the Tawi river, the second on Bahu (Bao), a fort two miles lower down the river on its left bank. Jag Dev ruled from Bahu, Samil Dev from Jammu.

BAHU BRANCH

c.1560-c.1585 JAG DEV (ii)

Son of Kapur Dev.

c.1585-c.1610 PARASURAM DEV (iii)

Intermittent warfare with Jammu branch. Joined general revolt against the Mughal emperor Akbar but was forced into submission. From then on until the early eighteenth century, both branches, along with other Hill states, supplied royal hostages who lived at the Mughal court.

c.1610-c.1635 KRISHEN (KRISHNA) DEV (iv)

Son of Parasuram Dev.

c.1635-c.1660 AJMAT DEV (v)

Son of Krishen Dev.

c.1660-1690 KIRPAL DEV (vi)

Son of Ajmat Dev.

A note in the Chamba annals records that the Mughal Viceroy of the Punjab was in the habit of making inroads into the Hills. 'Kirpal Dev of Jammu, Chattar Singh (1664-1690) of Chamba, Dhiraj (Kirpal?) Pal of Basohli and Raj Singh (c.1675-1695) of Guler combined against him' (HV, II, 538). On Jammu sending Pathan mercenaries against him, he was defeated and expelled from the Hills, c.1680.

HV date this incident c.1670-1680, at the same time dating the supersession of the Bahu branch by the Jammu branch c.1650-c.1675. It is significant, however, that Kirpal Dev is referred to as 'of Jammu' (rather than 'of Bahu'), and it would seem that Bahu, comprising the eastern part of Jammu state (i.e. the portion adjoining Basohli and Chamba) was known, for all practical purposes, as 'Jammu' itself. Nothing is recorded of the western portion (i.e. the part on the right bank of the Tawi river) and we can only conclude that for much of the seventeenth century, it was less influential.

In view of the portraits listed below, the date c.1650-c.1675, seems too early for the supersession of the Bahu line — c.1715, when Dhrub Dev of the Jammu branch may at last have succeeded Anand Dev of the Bahu branch, seeming the earliest date possible. The fact that the Bahu branch continued to live in Jammu state even after its re-

unification suggests that the rise to power of the Jammu line was effected by diplomacy rather than by force. The portrait c.1715 (no. 6 below) showing Anand Dev (Bahu) sitting with Dhrub Dev (Jammu), Anand Dev being still titled 'raja of Jammu' while Dhrub Dev is termed 'his own or rightful brother', powerfully supports this conclusion.

In the light of the inscription on portrait (1) below, it is of interest that in the *jogis' kharaks* (registers?) at Jammu, Kirpal Dev is referred to as 'Karan Kirpal' (communication, B. N. Goswamy).

Portraits: (1) Fig. 7 (Kulu). Kirpal Dev smoking with attendants. Inscribed in *takri* characters: *sri maharaja karan kirpal de*. Seattle Art Museum, Seattle, Washington. Kulu, c.1690.

(2) Fig. 4 (Mankot). Kirpal Dev seated. Inscribed in *takri* characters: *sri raja kirpal dev jamual*. Formerly Latifi collection, Bombay. Mankot, c.1660-c.1680.

(3) Kirpal Dev seated with fan-bearer. Inscribed on the flap in *takri* characters: *sri raja kirpal de jamual* and in Persian: *raja kirpal dev jamwal*; and on the face in Persian: *raja kirpal dev jamwal*. Lambagraon collection, Kangra. Kangra, 1760-1770 (perhaps after a Jammu original). Same person as in (1) and (2).

c.1690-c.1715 (1730) ANAND (ANANT) DEV (vii)

Son of Kirpal Dev.

In alliance with Basohli, invaded Guler (c.1695) but was repulsed by Kahlur (Bilaspur), Mandi and Siba, headed by Udai Singh of Chamba. Fused the Bahu branch with the Jammu branch under Dhrub Dev (1703-1735) of Jammu, c.1715. HV's date for this fusion, c.1650-1675, is clearly too early.

Portraits: (1) Fig. 4(ii) (Jammu). Anand Dev seated smoking with Bhupal Dev of Jasrota. Archer collection, London. Jammu, c.1700.

(2) Fig. 1 (Jammu). Anand Dev seated with standing attendants. Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 111-1954. Jammu, c.1690.

(3) Fig. 2 (Jammu). Anand Dev seated smoking. Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 19-1952. Jammu, c.1705.

(4) Fig. 6 (Jammu). Anand Dev seated smoking with Dhrub Dev of Jammu. India Office Library, London. By Tegh Chand. Mughal, Delhi (perhaps after a Jammu original). c.1710.

(5) Fig. 4(i) (Jammu). Anand Dev seated with Bhupal Dev of Jasrota. Lambagraon collection, Kangra. Kangra, c.1760-1770 (perhaps after a Jammu original).

JAMMU BRANCH

c.1560-c.1585 SAMIL DEV (viii)

No facts recorded.

c.1585-c.1625 SANGRAM DEV (ix)

Son of Samil Dev.

Campaigned in Kashtwar and Kangra for the Mughal emperor Jahangir. Date of death conjectural.

c.1625-c.1660 BHUPAT DEV (x)

Son of Sangram Dev.

As 'Rai Bhupat Jamwal', figures in a boundary settlement between Prithvi Singh (1641-1664) of Chamba and Sangram Pal (1635-1673) of Basohli, 1648. Dates conjectural.

c.1660-c.1690 HARI DEV (xi)

Son of Bhupat Dev.

HV's statement (II, 589) that it was during his reign that the Bahuwal rajas either retired or were expelled from the portion of Jammu state over which they ruled is negated by the portrait of Anand Dev and Dhrub Dev (see Anand Dev (vii) and Dhrub Dev (xiii) no 6).

Portraits: (1) Fig. 5 (Mankot). Hari Dev with attendants. Chandigarh Museum, Mankot Raj collection. Mankot, c. 1670.

(2) Fig. 6 (Mankot). Hari Dev standing. Chandigarh Museum, Mankot Raj collection. Mankot, c.1670.

c.1690-1703 **GAJAI DEV** (xii)

Son of Hari Dev.

Sons: Indar Dev, Dhruv Dev, Abhirai Dev, Gopal Singh, Nimrat Singh (Information, B. N. Goswamy).

1703-1735 (HV) **DHRUB (DHRUV) DEV** (xiii)

1703-1725 (KS)

Second son of Gajai Dev, Indar Dev having predeceased him.

External affairs: Granted Ugar Singh asylum (1708-1720) during reign of the latter's cousin and rival, Udai Singh of Chamba. Assisted him to gain the Chamba throne, 1720. Absorbed into Jammu the Bahu branch under Anand Dev c.1715. Brought Jasrota, Basohli, Mankot and Bandralta under firm Jammu control.

Sons: Ranjit Dev, Ghansar Dev, Surat Singh, Balwant Singh.

Portraits: (1) **Fig. 6 (Jammu)**, Dhruv Dev (left) seated smoking with Anand Dev (right). India Office Library, London. By Tegh Chand. Mughal, Delhi (perhaps after a Jammu original), c.1710.

(2) **Fig. 8 (Jammu)**, Dhruv Dev seated with drawn sword. Lambagraon collection, Kangra. Kangra, c.1760-1770 (perhaps after a Jammu original).

Portraits of second son, Ghansar Dev:

Ghansar Dev, born c.1715, acted as Regent in Jammu during his brother, Ranjit Dev's captivity in Lahore, 1735-1747. Temporarily withdrew to Jasrota without meeting Ranjit Dev when the latter returned from exile (Goswamy, 1966).

Sons: Hamir Dev, Kartar Dev (Drew, 552).
Portrait: (1) Randhawa (1960), fig. 10. Ghansar Dev smoking. Inscribed in *nagari* characters: *ghansar dev*. Chandigarh Museum, Mankot Raj collection. Jammu, c.1750.

Portraits of third son, Surat Singh:

Born c.1720. Perhaps associated with Ghansar Dev in the administration of Jammu state during Ranjit Dev's imprisonment, 1735-1747. May later have lived in semi-retirement on his private estate (*jagir*), following Ranjit Dev's return from exile. Son: Zorawar Singh. Grandson: Kishor Singh. Great-grandson: Gulab Singh (xix). No portraits so far known.

Portraits of fourth son, Balwant Singh:

A much portrayed member of the family, with, at least one retained artist, Nainsukh of Guler. The following details of his career and life are either known or can be reasonably conjectured:

1724 Born Jammu.

For year of birth, see inscribed portraits (**Jammu, nos. 25, 26(1), 31**). For his membership of the Jammu family as against that of Jasrota (the latter suggested by B. N. Goswamy, communication, 1969), compare his strong facial resemblance to his eldest brother, Ranjit Dev of Jammu (see **Jammu, no 59**) and the latter's eldest son, Brijraj Dev (**Jammu, no. 58**). The air of affluence and luxury, which surrounds him in all except the very latest of his portraits, also accords with a birth and upbringing at Jammu — the strongest and wealthiest state in the western hills.

1724-1740 Reared in Jammu but provided with a small establishment at Jasrota, a minor state thirty-five miles south-east of Jammu town connected with Jammu by common ancestry, and with a large *jagir* at Saruin, twelve miles east of Jammu town, carrying an annual income of 40,000 rupees (KS). It is significant that this income was equal to the entire revenues of Kahlur (Bilaspur) in 1820 under Raja Mahan Chand (1778-1824) and was double those of Raja Bhup Singh of Guler c.1770-1826) in 1813.

Note: The fact that Balwant Singh may have owned some kind of residence at Jasrota is suggested by the following considerations:

(1) A portrait of him painted at Jasrota in 1748 (**Jammu, no. 31**) shows him seated alone at night on a verandah, attended by servants and presiding over a party of musicians. The absence from the picture of any member of the Jasrota royal family as host raises a presumption that he was stay-

ing in his own house rather than at the Jasrota court (Ohri, 1969).

(2) The fact that the verandah in this portrait is sparsely furnished and that the seat is plain and simple (in sharp contrast to seats or thrones in other portraits, compare **Jammu, nos. 30, 34**) suggests that this house can hardly have been his chief place of residence but was more probably a country house, used for temporary visits.

(3) Occasional visits to Jasrota can be inferred from a scroll-painting (**Jammu, no. 47**) in which he is shown riding out to a sacred grove accompanied by two of his sons and preceded by a pandit named Hari Saran. This pandit is almost certainly the Jasrota family priest (see **Jasrota, no. 13**) and the incident itself must probably have taken place at or near Jasrota. The fact that Balwant Singh is unaccompanied by any member of the Jasrota royal house, yet on this occasion has two sons with him, again suggests that he had his own establishment there.

(4) The fact that the son of his Jasrota contemporary, Zorawar Singh (Jasrota *q.v.*) was also named Balwant Singh, suggests that he was a familiar figure at Jasrota and may have impressed his character and personality on the local court. This would almost certainly presuppose a private place of residence there.

(5) Finally, some kind of association with Jasrota on Balwant Singh's part seems to be implied by the presence on several inscribed portraits of the suffix *jasrotia* ('of Jasrota') after his name (see **Jammu, no. 61** and Goswamy, 1968). Because of the generation gap, the subject of these portraits can hardly be the second Balwant Singh but the term is unlikely to have been used of Balwant Singh of Jammu unless he was in some way — however tenuously or intermittently — connected with Jasrota by residence.

As regards his *jagir* in Jammu state, this could well have been granted to him either by his father Dhruv Dev just prior to the latter's death in 1735 (when Balwant Singh was 11 years old) or as part of a family settlement made by his brother, Ghansar Dev, during his eldest brother, Ranjit Dev's enforced confinement in Lahore (1735-1747).

The possession of this *jagir* — a large area covering hills and valleys on the left bank of the Tawi, and with an annual income of 40,000 rupees — enabled him not only to live in luxury, but also in comparative independence.

c.1742 Marriage (family of bride unrecorded).

1743 Personally inscribes a portrait of himself, aged about 19 (see **Jammu, no. 24**).

c.1744 Birth of first son, Sham Singh. The painter Nainsukh of Guler enters his service and remains in it for 19 years.

1746 Portrayed aged 22 by Nainsukh.

1747 Eldest brother, Ranjit Dev, re-instated as ruler of Jammu. Second brother (regent) Ghansar Dev retires temporarily to Jasrota. Third brother, Surat Singh, settles in the interior.

c.1747 Birth of second son, Tara Singh (?).

1748 May-June. Portrayed aged 24 by Nainsukh at Jasrota.

July-August. Portrayed aged 25, perhaps at Jammu.

c.1747-c.1753 Associated with Raja Ranjit Dev, perhaps as his chief minister or *diwan* (Ohri, 1969).

1749 January-February. Portrayed, perhaps at Jammu, by Nainsukh.

c.1750 Birth of Balwant Singh II, son of Zorawar Singh of Jasrota.

c.1751 Builds a new palace at Saruin, the headquarters of his *jagir*. Although this palace is now in ruins (1970), sufficient of it remains to identify it as the building or parts of a building depicted in certain of his portraits (see **Jammu, nos. 40, 49**) while the hard rocky ridge, sloping steeply upwards, on which the palace stood can be recognised in a portrait of Balwant Singh supervising building operations (**Jammu, no. 41**), a picture of a completed building with the same kind of rocky slope beside it (**Jammu, no. 38**) and in an allegorical picture (**Jammu, no. 53**) in which a palace and a piece of rocky hillside are shown in a boat along with Balwant Singh and others of his possessions.

Ancestral collection of Raja Dhub Dev Chand of Lambagraon, Kangra.

1752 Portrayed aged 28 on an elephant killing a lion.

c.1752 Birth of third son, Ram Singh.

c.1753 Ratifies with his eldest brother Ranjit Dev and Amrit Pal of Basohli a territorial agreement involving Umed Singh of Chamba. Endorses this in his own hand (Ohri, 1969).

c.1754 Visits a sacred grove at or near Jasrota with his sons, Sham and Tara Singh. Also portrayed, sitting with all three sons, the youngest Ram Singh, as a baby.

1756 Jammu town sacked by the Sikhs and the surrounding country-side ravaged.

1758 Portrayed writing a letter to Amrit Pal (1757-1776) of Basohli. See no. 51 below.

1761 Second sack of Jammu town by the Sikhs and occupation by them of neighbouring territory.

Sack of Saruin(?) and destruction of palace(?). Balwant Singh a temporary refugee(?). Ruined(?).

1761-1763 Settles in Jasrota(?).

1763 Death of Balwant Singh. Nainsukh attends the immersion of his ashes at Hardwar, a *panda* recording the occasion in his register (Goswamy, 1968). In this entry he refers to Balwant Singh as 'Raja Balwant Singh', the suffix *jasrotia* 'of Jasrota' being added outside the sentence, apparently as an afterthought.

c.1770 Death of Mian Mukand Dev of Jasrota.

c.1775 Balwant Singh II quarrels with his father and is exiled from Jasrota, settling at Lanj Manai eight miles north of Haripur, Guler. His son is named Tara Singh perhaps after Balwant Singh of Jammu's second son. Two great-grandsons are named Sham Singh and Ram Singh perhaps after Balwant Singh's other sons.

1778 Death of the artist, Nainsukh, of Guler, after service with Amrit Pal of Basohli from 1763.

Portraits: (Finished paintings).

1743-1747 Aged 19-23.

- 1 Seated. Indian Museum, Calcutta.
- 2 Standing with attendant. Chandigarh Museum.
- 3 Standing with a hawk. National Museum, New Delhi.
- 4 Receiving a picture from Nainsukh. Jalan collection, Patna.

1748-1760 Aged 24-36.

Side-face:

- 1 Listening to music at Jasrota. Central Museum, Lahore.
- 2 Listening to music at Jammu(?). Mehta collection, Bombay.
- 3 Seated on a terrace. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.
- 4 Inspecting a horse. Manley collection, Guildford.
- 5 At his toilet. Jalan collection, Patna.
- 6 His head shaved, doing puja. Latifi collection, Bombay.
- 7 Wearing a 'Chinese mandarin's' robes. Cowasji Jehangir collection, Bombay.
- 8 Hunting partridges with a retinue. Victoria and Albert Museum, London.
- 9 Defending his elephant from a lion. Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Mass.
- 10 Riding with a hawk by a lake. Werner collection, Switzerland.
- 11 Standing with a hawk. Central Museum, Lahore.
- 12 Standing holding a sword. Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras.

Front-face:

- 13 Writing in camp. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.
- 14 Sitting with companions round a fire at night. Indian Museum, Calcutta.

1761-1763 Aged 37-39

None so far known.

Portraits: (Unfinished paintings, drawings and sketches).

1743-1747 Aged 19-23.

None so far known.

1748-1760 Aged 24-36.

Side-face:

- 1 Listening to male musicians in a palace. Chandigarh Museum.
- 2 Watching a boy-dancer and musicians. Manley collection, Guildford.
- 3 Listening to his personal singers and musicians. British Museum.
- 4 Inspecting the construction of a building. Khandalavala collection, Bombay.
- 5 Standing with an attendant. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.
- 6 Stalking a duck. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.
- 7 On horseback, the horse kicking a pig. Birla Institute, Calcutta.
- 8 Seated with a child in red. Indian Museum, Calcutta.
- 9 Alone in a palace. Indian Museum, Calcutta.
- 10 Killing a tiger. Private collection, Switzerland.
- 11 Releasing a hawk from a palace. Chandigarh Museum.
- 12 Riding after duck. Indian Museum, Calcutta.
- 13 Receiving a petitioner. Chandigarh Museum.
- 14 With his three children. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.
- 15 Instructing his staff. Khandalavala collection, Bombay.
- 16 Drinking wine. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.
- 17 Picnicking after a hawking expedition. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
- 18 Going to view the goddess at Jasrota with two of his sons. Chandigarh Museum.
- 19 Writing a letter to Amrit Pal. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.
- 20 Seated smoking (oval). Archer collection, London.
- 21 Seated on a low chair with a sword. Central Museum, Lahore.

Front-face:

- 22 Standing at a window, holding the shutters. Archer collection, London.

1761-1763 Aged 37-39.

Side-face:

- 1 In a boat with his possessions. Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras.
- 2 Seated with courtiers or attendants. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.
- 3 Having his beard trimmed. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.
- 4 Watching the dancing-girl, Zafar. Chandigarh Museum.

Full-face:

- 5 Under a shed in camp. Khandalavala collection, Bombay.

Notes on descendants:

(1) Sham Singh. Eldest son of Balwant Singh. Born c.1744. Inherits Saruin, 1763. Visits Kurukshetra (communication, Goswamy, 1969). Son: Lehna Singh.

(2) Lehna Singh. Son of Sham Singh. Sons: Bir Singh, Nihal Singh.

1735-1781 (HV) RANJIT DEV (xiv)

1725-1781 (KS)

Son of Dhrub Dev.

PHASE I: 1735-1747

Imprisoned for twelve years in Lahore due to suspicion of his loyalty on part of the Mughal governor. Ransomed 1747. Ghansar Dev (second son of Dhrub Dev) regent.

PHASE II: 1747-1774

Jammu becomes the chief power in the Jammu Hills. 'Among the twenty-two, Jammu is head' (popular saying).

Causes: (1) Collapse of Mughal authority in the Punjab Plains due to invasions by the Persian Nadir Shah (1739) and by Afghans, leading to the cession of the Punjab to the Afghan Ahmed Shah Durani, 1752.

(2) Growth of Jammu town as a wealthy trade centre due to migration to it of merchants and artisans from the Punjab Plains and diversion of the main trade route from the

Plains to the lower Hills (new route: Nahan, Bilaspur, Nadaun, Haripur-Guler, Nurpur, Basohli, Jammu).

(3) Reception of Mughal political refugees (including Mughalani Begum, widow of Mir Mannu, the last Mughal Viceroy, Lahore, and various of Mir Mannu's ministers), 1758.

(4) Ranjit Dev's own exceptional skill as administrator and feudal politician.

Results: (1) Tribute exacted from Basohli, Bhadu, Mankot, Bandralta, Chanehni, Bhadrawah, Kashtwar — Basohli, in particular, being treated (c.1720-1770) as an appendage of the Jammu state.

(2) Compulsory attendance of their rulers at the Jammu court. Drew (1875): 'The feudatory chiefs governed their own subjects but to the ruler of Jammu they paid tribute and did military service. During a portion of the year they would be present at Jammu itself, attending the court of the ruler and having separate ones themselves. At this day, various spots in that town are remembered where each of these tributaries held his court on a minor scale. Doubtless there was some petty warfare, resulting sometimes in an extension and sometimes in a contraction of the power of the central rulers, but usually the chiefs were more occupied in sport than in serious fighting, and the various families continued in nearly the same relative positions for great lengths of time' (9).

(3) Domination by Jammu of Chamba through the marriage of Ranjit Dev's sister to Umed Singh (1748-1764) of Chamba, her regency in Chamba (1764-1773), and acceptance by Chamba of a Jammu Wazir.

PHASE III: 1774-1781

Slight decline of Jammu as the leading power.

Causes: (1) Revolt of Chamba under Raj Singh (1774-1794) leading to capture of Chamba town by Basohli forces acting for Ranjit Dev, 1774, but their subsequent expulsion with Sikh aid, 1775.

(2) Incursions of the Sikhs, linked to revolts by Brijraj Dev against his father, Ranjit Dev.

[From 1750 onwards the Sikhs had become a rising power in the Punjab Plains and a potential menace to the Hills. Jammu town was raided and plundered by the Bhangi *misl* 1756. Again plundered 1761, when tribute was also exacted. Sikhs pacified by being granted a base in Jammu state and by being accepted as Ranjit Dev's ally. Intervened actively for Ranjit Dev in a civil war with his son, Brijraj Dev, 1774. Other Sikh *misls* (Sukerchakia, Kanheya) intervened on the side of Brijraj Dev. Heavy fighting occurred leading to the eventual defeat of Brijraj Dev, restoration of Ranjit Dev with Bhangi support and creation of a permanent Sikh interest in Jammu affairs. Brijraj Dev, with Kanheya support, separated from Ranjit Dev. Despite this turmoil, the British traveller, Forster considered that Jammu 'continued to increase its power and commerce' until Ranjit Dev's death. During the war against Brijraj Dev, Ranjit Dev availed of auxiliaries from Chamba, Nurpur, Bashahr and Kangra as well as of Bhangi *misl* Sikhs.]

Marriages: A sister to Umed Singh (1748-1764) of Chamba.

Sons: Brijraj Dev, Dalel Singh. Friction with Brijraj Dev (1760 onwards) due to the latter's 'dissipated character'. The younger brother, Dalel Singh, was preferred by Ranjit Dev as his successor.

Character: Forster (1783): 'Runzeid Deve, the father of the present chief of Jumbo, who deservedly acquired the character of a just and wise ruler, largely contributed to the wealth and importance of Jumbo. Perceiving the benefits which would arise from the residence of Mahometan merchants, he held out to them many encouragements, and observed towards them a disinterested and an honourable conduct. Negative virtues only are expected from an Asiatic despot and under such a sanction his subjects might deem themselves fortunate; but the chief of Jumbo went farther than the forbearance of injuries; he avowedly protected and indulged his people particularly the Mahometans, to whom he allotted a certain quarter of the town, which was thence denominated Moghulpore; and that no reserve might appear in his treatment of them, a mosque

was erected in the new colony; a liberality of disposition the more conspicuous, and conferring the greater honour on his memory, as it is the only instance of the like toleration in this part of India. . . . An administration so munificent and judicious, at the same time that it enforced the respect of his own subjects, made Jumbo a place of extensive commercial resort, where all descriptions of men experienced, in their persons and property, a full security' (282-285).

Portraits: (1) Fig. 57 (Jammu). Ranjit Dev seated with Brijraj Dev interviewing Amrit Pal (born 1745) of Basohli and Dalel Singh, his second son. Lambagraon collection, Kangra. Jammu, c.1760.

(2) Fig. 59 (Jammu). Ranjit Dev seated smoking with courtier and fan-bearer. Chandigarh Museum, Mankot Raj collection. Jammu, c.1760.

(3) Fig. 64 (Jammu). Ranjit Dev playing with his grandsons, Bhagwant and Jit Singh; his second son, Dalel Singh, seated beside him. Indian Museum, Calcutta. Jammu, c.1775.

(4) and (5) Listed Gupta (1922). D.58, D.59. Formerly Central Museum, Lahore.

Portraits of second son, Dalel Singh:

In contrast to Ranjit Dev's first son, Brijraj Dev, who was probably born prior to his father's imprisonment at Lahore in 1735, Dalel Singh appears to have been conceived and born in 1747 after his father's release and return to Jammu. There was thus a gap of about twelve years between him and his elder brother. Dalel Singh's date of birth, c.1747, can be inferred from no. 57 where he is shown with Amrit Pal (born 1745) of Basohli, both of them youths of about the same age. Ranjit Dev's preference for Dalel Singh exacerbated Brijraj's enmity with his father and led to Dalel Singh's murder by Brijraj, c.1782. Dalel Singh's sons were Bhagwant Singh and Jit Singh.

(1) Fig. 57 (Jammu). Dalel Singh with Amrit Pal of Basohli interviewed by Ranjit Dev and Brijraj Dev. Lambagraon collection, Kangra. Jammu, c.1760.

(2) Fig. 64 (Jammu). Dalel Singh seated with Ranjit Dev, the latter playing with Bhagwant Singh and Jit Singh. Indian Museum, Calcutta. Jammu, c.1775.

1781-1787 BRIJRAJ DEV (xv)

Son of Ranjit Dev. Born c.1735.

Murders his brother, Dalel Singh, and the latter's eldest son, Bhagwant, 1782.

Character: 'Debauched and dissolute'.

External affairs: A time of growing anarchy; state and court life disrupted; Jammu collapsing as premier state. Ruinous wars with the Sikhs, the Kanheyas first aiding him against the Bhangis and then defecting to them. In 1783, Kanheyas and Sukerchakias jointly attacked, pressing Brijraj Dev back into the mountains and savagely plundering Jammu town. Booty worth two crores of rupees taken and the countryside ravaged. In 1786, a further attack by the Bhangis, leading this time to Brijraj Dev's death in battle, 1787.

Son: Sampuran Dev.

Sikh characters: (1) Jai Singh Kanheya. Ally of Brijraj Dev in 1774. Later (1774) operates in Kangra, perhaps in this way associating the two states.

(2) Maha Singh Sukerchakia. Temporary ward of Jai Singh Kanheya following his father's death, 1774. At Jai Singh Kanheya's instance, 'exchanges turbans' with Brijraj Dev. Despite this brotherly relation, attacks and mulcts him. Father of Maharaja Ranjit Singh.

Portraits: (1) Fig. 56 (Jammu). Brijraj Dev smoking on a terrace. Chandigarh Museum, Mankot Raj collection. Jammu, c.1750.

(2) Fig. 57 (Jammu). Brijraj Dev seated with Ranjit Dev interviewing Amrit Pal of Basohli and Dalel Singh, his younger brother. Lambagraon collection, Kangra. Jammu, c.1760.

(3) Fig. 58 (Jammu). Brijraj Dev seated holding a hawk. Cleveland Museum of Art. Jammu, c.1760.

(4) Fig. 60 (Jammu). Brijraj Dev with courtier and fan-bearer. Manley collection, Guildford. Jammu, c.1770.

(5) **Fig. 65 (Jammu).** Brijraj Dev and another Hill raja seated together smoking, each with fan-bearer. Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras. Jammu, c.1785.

(6) **Fig. 67 (Jammu).** Brijraj Dev seated with his baby son, attended by a seated lady and a female fan-bearer. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. Jammu, c.1787.

(7) Brijraj Dev seated smoking. Inscribed on reverse in *takri* characters: *sri raja brij raj de ji*. Chandigarh Museum, Mankot Raj collection. Jammu, c.1787.

1787-1797 SAMPURAN DEV (xvi)

Son of Brijraj Dev. Born 1786 (one year old at accession). Regent: Moti Singh, eldest son of Surat Singh (third son of Dhruv Dev). Jammu now wholly subordinated to the Sikhs. Heavy annual tribute paid. Dies aged eleven years, 1797.

Portraits: (1) **Fig. 67 (Jammu).** The child Sampuran Dev, aged about one year, playing with his father, Brijraj Dev. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. Jammu, c.1787.

1797-1812 JIT DEV (SINGH) (xvii)

Son of Dalel Singh, younger son of Ranjit Dev. Born c.1770. On murder of his father, 1782, takes refuge with Sikhs. Installed by Sikhs as Sampuran Dev's successor. Acknowledges Maharaja Ranjit Singh's sovereignty, 1801. Annual tribute and visits to Sikh court, Lahore. Dies or is deposed, c.1812. Jammu is then annexed to the Sikh kingdom.

Sons: Raghar (Ragbhir) Singh, Devi Singh (sent to British Punjab).

Portraits: (1) **Fig. 64 (Jammu).** Jit Singh, as a child aged about five years, seated before his grandfather Ranjit Dev, his elder brother Bhagwant Singh standing before him. Indian Museum, Calcutta. Jammu, c.1775.

(2) **Fig. 23 (Kangra).** Jit Singh in the darbar of Sansar Chand (1775-1823) of Kangra (the third figure with hookah from the left). Welch collection, Cambridge, Mass. Kangra, c.1800.

(3) Listed Gupta (1922), D.60. Formerly Central Museum, Lahore.

1812-1820 KHARAK SINGH (SIKH) (xviii)

Son of Sikh Maharaja Ranjit Singh.

Holds Jammu as a *jagir*.

Portraits: (1) Archer (1966), fig. 22. Kharak Singh seated on a chair on a terrace. Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 338-1951. Sikh, Punjab Plains, c.1835.

(2) Archer (1966), fig. 21. Kharak Singh on horseback. Inscribed in English: *Rajah Khurruck Singh*. Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 113-1953. Sikh, Punjab Plains, c.1840.

(3) Archer (1966), fig. 31. Kharak Singh seated on a rug. Inscribed in English: *Maharaja Kharak Singh son of Ranjeet Singh and nominal ruler of the Punjab*. Victoria and Albert Museum, I.M. 57-1963. Sikh, Punjab Plains, c.1840.

1820-1857 GULAB SINGH (xix)

Son of Kishor Singh (son of Zorawar Singh), grandson of Zorawar Singh, great-grandson of Surat Singh (son of Dhruv Dev, xiii).

PHASE I: 1820-1846

Born 1792. Left Jammu and joined Ranjit Singh's Sikh army, Lahore, 1809. Rose rapidly and with his brothers, Dhian and Suchet Singh, held a key role in Ranjit Singh's government. Operated in the Jammu Hills, commanding Sikh forces and suppressing local revolts, 1815-1820. Annexed Kashtwar, 1820. Designated Raja by Ranjit Singh, appointed Governor of the Jammu Hills and granted Jammu town as a fief, 1820. Administered the Jammu Hills as their semi-independent Governor, 1820-1846. On the death of Suchet Singh (1844) who held them as fiefs, Mankot (annexed by the Sikhs, 1820) and Bandralta (annexed, 1822) were merged in Jammu state under Gulab Singh. On the death of Hira Singh (son of Dhian Singh and nephew of Gulab Singh), who held them as fiefs, Jasrota (annexed, 1834) and Basohli (annexed, 1836) were also merged in Jammu state.

PHASE II: 1846-1857

Following the first Anglo-Sikh war (1845-1846), Gulab Singh was recognised by the British (Treaty of Amritsar, March, 1846) as independent Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir — Jasrota, Mankot, Bandralta, Basohli, Bhadu and Kashtwar being included in the new Jammu state and their rulers pensioned off outside them.

Character: Vigne (1842): 'The courtyard of the palace was alive with the crowds of officers and attendants, gorgeously apparelled in red and yellow shawls and silks, and armed with spears, swords, shields and matchlocks . . . Gulab Singh has made himself feared by his cruelty and tyrannical exactions, but affects to be tolerant and liberal in his religious opinions. Jammu is, accordingly, the only place in the Panjab where the Mulahs may call the Musulmans to prayers. Runjit had forbidden them to do so, but Gulab Singh, his powerful vassal, allowed them to ascend the minars of Jammu, in the exercise of their vocation' (183-184). For further notes on his character and personality, see Archer (1966), 52-56. While wearing Sikh dress, Gulab Singh remained a Rajput by religion.

Sons: (1) Udham Singh (died 1840), (2) Sohan (Randhir) Singh (died 1844), (3) Ranbir Singh (see xx). For portraits of Udham and Sohan Singh, see Archer (1966).

Select portraits: (1) Archer (1966), fig. 37. Gulab Singh bathing. Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 37-1949. Sikh, Punjab Plains, c.1835-40.

(2) Archer (1966), fig. 34. Gulab Singh on horseback. Inscribed in Persian characters: *sri raja maharaja bahadur gulab singh*; in English: *Maharaja Golab Sing*. India Office Library, Add. Or. 707. Sikh, Punjab Plains, c.1840-45.

(3) Archer (1966), fig. 55. Gulab Singh with his sons, Udham Singh and Sohan Singh. British Museum, London. Sikh, Lahore, c.1840-1846.

(4) Archer (1966), fig. 50. Gulab Singh seated. Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 194-1951. Sikh, Lahore, c.1846.

(5) Archer (1966), fig. 52. Gulab Singh seated. Entitled: *Gulab Singh*. Lithograph after original drawing by C. S. Hardinge, Lahore, February, 1846. *Recollections of India* (London, 1847), Part II, pl. 14.

1857-1885 RANBIR SINGH (XX)

Son of Gulab Singh.

Date of birth uncertain. 'Adopted' by his uncle, Suchet Singh, and reared at Bandralta.

Marriages: (1) Bandralta (2) a daughter of Raja Bijai Singh of Siba, 1843.

Son: Pratap Singh.

Character: 'A model Hindu: devoted to his religion and to Sanskrit learning, but tolerant of other creeds. He was in many ways an enlightened man but he lacked his father's strong will and determination and his control over the state's officials was weak' (Gazetteer 96). A great patron of Dogra writers and a builder of temples. A new temple to Raghunath (Rama) built in Jammu by his Bandralta rani.

Artists: Simpson (ed. Eyre-Todd, 1903) records the employment by Ranbir Singh of several artists, 1860. For their names, see Randhawa (1956, 1959) and private communication, Sansar Chand Sharma (Jammu, 1960).

Portraits: (1) Stchoukine (1929), pl. 91; also reproduced Archer (1966), fig. 58. Ranbir Singh conversing with a secretary. British Museum, London. Sikh, Lahore, c. 1846.

(2) Archer (1966), figs. 59, 60. The second Lahore Durbar of 26 December, 1846; Ranbir Singh (proxy for his father, Gulab Singh) facing Lord Hardinge (Governor-General). British Museum, London. Sikh, Lahore, c.1846-1847.

(3) Archer (1966), fig. 54. Ranbir Singh with attendants. Lettered on mount: *Rumbir Singh, Maharaja of Kashmir, and Shere Surun, son of the Wazeer*. Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 154-1882. Water-colour by William Carpenter. Kashmir, c.1855.

(4) Archer (1966), fig. 95. Ranbir Singh seated on a chair. Inscribed in English: *Maharaja Rumbir Singh King Kashmir*. India Office Library, London. Sikh, Lahore, c.1860.

(5) **Fig. 73 (Jammu).** Ranbir Singh seated. Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 202-1955. Jammu, c.1860.

(6) **Fig. 75 (Jammu).** Ranbir Singh seated on a chair. India Office Library, London. Jammu, c.1880, after a photograph inscribed in English: *Maharaj of Kashmir, January 1877* (India Office Library photos: 99; no 32).

1885-1925 PRATAP SINGH (xxi)

Son of Ranbir Singh.

Details of reign unrecorded. Is known, however, to have inherited a family collection of paintings consisting chiefly of work by Jammu artists.

Note: The incursion of dealers in the first two decades of the twentieth century may have led to a dispersal of these pictures among the palace servants, a group of forty-three pictures (among them eight paintings illustrated Archer, 1952a) being in the possession of Durgi Raina, widow of Mansuram Raina in about 1920. Mansuram and his brother, Taramani, along with their father, were family priests to the Jammu rajas, had worked at the palace, and had been rewarded by Pratap Singh with a grant of land at Srinagar, Kashmir (communications, Sansar Chand Sharma, Jammu, 1956, 1960, 1970).

The forty-three pictures came to Sansar Chand Sharma's notice in about 1920 when Durgi Raina, a resident of his own *mahalla* of Pacca Danga, a suburb of Jammu, heard that a 'German' dealer (Imre Schwaiger?) was enquiring in the locality for Indian miniatures. She recalled that a batch of pictures 'had been lying in her house' and asked her neighbour, Sansar Chand Sharma, then aged about eighteen, and himself a practising artist, to advise her on their possible value. Sharma (subsequently Curator, Dogra Art Gallery, Jammu) borrowed the group of pictures from her, took them to his house to study, copied details of costume and turbans, and then returned the group to her. He learnt that, on a later visit to Jammu by the 'German' dealer, Durgi had sold all forty-three pictures to him. He was reminded of this transaction on seeing a copy of my *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills* (1952a) and recognising eight of the illustrations as pictures from Durgi Raina's hoard which he had personally examined more than thirty years earlier. He informed me of this fact by a letter in November 1956, discussed it with me in March 1960 and further investigated the circumstances during my second visit to Jammu in January 1970. On this second visit we met Durgi Raina in person, then an old lady of about ninety years, and also looked at the Pacca Danga *mahalla*.

The eight illustrations in *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills* (1952a) identified by Sansar Chand Sharma as having been among the forty-three pictures in Durgi Raina's possession in about 1920 were as follows:

Fig. 35. Raja Balwant Singh of Jammu with a party of musicians. See *Jammu*, no. 31.

Fig. 36. Raja Balwant Singh receiving a picture. See *Jammu*, no. 30.

fig. 37. Raja Balwant Singh being entertained by a boy dancer and musicians. See *Jammu*, no. 36(1).

Fig. 38. Raja Balwant Singh inspecting a horse. See *Jammu*, no. 34.

Fig. 39. Raja Balwant Singh at his prayers (toilet). See *Jammu*, no. 49.

Fig. 40. Mian Mukand Dev of Jasrota on a riding expedition. See *Jammu*, no. 48.

Fig. 44. Mian Brij Raj Dev of Jammu with courtier and attendant. See *Jammu*, no. 60.

Fig. 51. Bahadur Singh (of Bhoti) with children. See *Bhoti*, no. 3.

Although the original provenance of these paintings was not known to Durgi Raina, all the circumstances point to the Jammu royal collection as having been their source. The Balwant Singh group, including the portrait of Mukand Dev, could have remained with Balwant Singh's own descendants for several generations and then, at some time, have been amalgamated with the royal collection. To Sharma's knowledge, a descendant of Balwant Singh had formerly resided close to the main Jammu palace. The portrait of Bahadur Singh of Bhoti could have reached the Jammu royal collection on the merging of Bhoti with Jammu. Durgi

Raina and her husband came from families which had lived in Jammu 'from long before the time of Raja Gulab Singh' and had no connection with any states further to the east. The pictures could therefore have only reached them from a source in Jammu itself. As priests, the male members had no special interest in pictures, but, being royal employees, had access to the palace and its contents. Under pressure from dealers they could therefore have either pilfered these pictures or in the alternative could have received them as presents from Pratap Singh. The fact that all eight pictures are connected by subject with the Jammu court supports the conclusion that they were, at one time, in the Jammu royal collection.

1925-1947 HARI SINGH (xxii)

Son of Pratap Singh.

Acceded to India on grant of Independence, 1947.

Abdicated, 1948.

Son: Karan Singh.

1948- KARAN SINGH (xxiii)

1951, elected constitutional Head of State, Jammu and Kashmir.

Later appointed Union Minister.

Acquired from Pahda Kunj Lal (Basohli) a series of pictures in (1) Guler-influenced Basohli style (2) Kangra style, perhaps obtained by Kunj Lal's physician ancestor from Sansar Chand of Kangra and (3) Guler style. Basohli, Kangra and Guler q.v.

Collection examined by W.G.A. March 1960 and January 1970. None of the original Jammu royal collection (Pratap Singh q.v.) was intact when he succeeded.

IMPLICATIONS FOR PAINTING

Personality of rulers

During the eighteenth century, two members of the Jammu royal house — Ranjit Dev (xiv, 1735-1781) and his youngest brother, Balwant Singh (born 1724, died 1763) stand out as potential influences on the development of Jammu painting. Ranjit Dev came under heavy Mughal influence during his years of exile (1735-1747) but later made Jammu the most powerful state in the western part of the Punjab Hills. Jammu town prospered and he himself was renowned for religious toleration, especially of Muslims. The Jammu family was Vaishnava in sympathy and this could account for occasional treatments in painting of Krishna themes. In other respects, Ranjit Dev's political successes and wide contacts with other states might explain a Jammu bias towards portraiture.

His youngest brother, Balwant Singh, shared this taste for portraiture but is remarkable for harnessing it to a cult of his own personality. The portraits executed under his aegis form a separate category which is unique in the Punjab Hills. His relationship with a particular artist, Nainsukh of Guler and the type of pictures which resulted are discussed under Painting: Phase 11.

Relations with other states

Basohli. Until the rise to power of Dhrub Dev (xiii, 1703-1735) of Jammu, Basohli was a powerful and important state which maintained a lively independence from its western neighbours. It neither dominated Jammu nor was subordinate to it. As a consequence, although it had developed a flourishing school of local painting in the years 1670-1725, there is no special reason why it should have influenced Jammu or inspired a parallel development there. Under its rulers Ajit Pal (1736-1757), Amrit Pal (1757-1776) and Vijay Pal (1776-1806), Basohli was tied to Jammu by marriage alliances and came completely under its control. Its loss of practical independence, however, coincided with a sharp decline in its own painting, thus rendering it even less influential in this sphere.

Mankot. During the last two thirds of the eighteenth century, Mankot was subordinate to Jammu. Mankot rulers

attended the Jammu court and it is therefore possible that Jammu portraiture affected Mankot painting during this time. Prior to 1725, relations between the two states do not seem to have been sufficiently intimate to affect painting.

Jasrota. As a junior offshoot of Jammu, Jasrota seems to have borrowed its culture from the parent stem. Relations between the two states were all along very close, members of the Jammu royal family sometimes having their own residences at Jasrota and Jasrota notables attending the Jammu court or serving the administration. Since Jasrota itself does not seem to have had any significant school of painting, whatever painting that developed there was almost certainly more a reflection of painting at Jammu than an original local creation.

Chamba. Throughout the greater part of the eighteenth century, Jammu dominated Chamba, providing some of its rulers with brides and influencing internal affairs by the appointment of Jammu-born *wazirs*. The fact that Chamba rulers visited and sometimes lived at the Jammu court could explain their presence in Jammu portraiture.

Guler. Apart from a minor war at the end of the seventeenth century, no relations existed between Jammu and Guler. Balwant Singh of Jammu's employment of a Guler painter, Nainsukh, seems to have been due to Guler relations with Basohli (where Nainsukh's elder brother had worked as a painter) rather than to any direct intercourse by Jammu with Guler. Any Guler elements in Jammu painting would similarly be due to Nainsukh's chance recruitment by a junior member of the Jammu royal house, rather than to exchanges between the two ruling families. Influence by Nainsukh on painting in Guler would equally have been through his family contacts rather than at court or patron level.

Kangra. Kangra was all along outside the orbit of Jammu and while a school of portraiture under its ruler Ghamand Chand (1761-1773) may have been influenced by Jammu portraiture brought to Kangra by the Sikhs, it was not until the nineteenth century that Kangra painters migrated to Jammu and affected Jammu painting.

Nurpur. No significant relations recorded.

The Sikhs. As elsewhere in the Punjab Hills, the Sikhs were a constant disruptive element, intervening in local Jammu politics, sacking Jammu town in 1756 and 1761 and possibly contributing to the early death of Balwant Singh, the one uniquely significant patron of Jammu painting. The supersession in the nineteenth century of the senior branch of the Jammu royal house by a junior branch was at Sikh instance.

III. PAINTING: REVIEW OF LITERATURE

1903

Simpson, W. *The Autobiography of William Simpson* (ed. G. Eyre-Todd, London, 1903), 109.

Alludes to painters at the court of Raja Ranbir Singh (xx) of Jammu and Kashmir and describes a meeting between Lord Canning and Ranbir Singh in 1860: 'While I sketched, the Maharajah explained that he had his own artist in the Durbar tent endeavouring to get the Lord Sahib's portrait. The artist was in a curious position; he was in fact concealed. The Raja asked if the man might be allowed to appear, so as to make his sketch under better circumstances. The request, was, of course, granted and the artist made his appearance by crawling out from under a kind of sofa.' Adds that the next year (1861), he collected from

Ranbir Singh, portraits of himself and his son, 'done by native artists' to be made over to Canning (157).

For the possible identity of these artists, see Randhawa (1959).

1908

Havell, E. B. *Indian Sculpture and Painting* (London, 1908). Col. pl. 66; monochrome, enlarged detail, pl. 67. 'Travellers round a camp fire'. Here regarded as a group portrait of Raja Balwant Singh (1724-1763) of Jammu (youngest son of Dhrub Dev (xii) of Jammu) and attributed to the artist Nainsukh of Guler. Jammu, c. 1754. See no. 43(1).

1914

Coomaraswamy, A. K. *The Eight Nayikas*, *Journal Indian Art and Industry* (October 1914), XVI, no. 128, 111-112.

A first use of the term 'Jammu district' to describe pictures not in 'Kangra-Garhwal' style.

'The Pahari paintings fall into two main groups: those of the Jammu district and those of the Kangra district. It must be understood that these terms include many local styles (e.g. Mandi and Guler belonging to the Kangra group), of which the exact source cannot, as yet, be ascertained.'

Cites fig. 16 as 'Jammu district'; 17th century. An example of the Jammu district primitives'. See *Basohli*, no. 16(1).

Refrains from connecting any paintings with Jammu proper.

1916

Coomaraswamy, A. K. *Rajput Painting* (Oxford, 1916).

Classifies as 'school of Jammu' (1) all paintings not in obvious 'Kangra-Garhwal' style (2) all paintings containing inscriptions in *takri* characters — a script which Coomaraswamy mistakenly believed to be confined to Jammu district.

Reproduces twenty-one pictures as 'of the Jammu school'. Of these only the following three are here accepted as Jammu:

Pl. 33. 'Raja examining the points of a horse'. Here identified as Raja Dhrub Dev (c.1710-c.1730) of Jasrota. See no. 35.

Pl. 35A. 'Durbar of a Dogra Rajput prince'. Here identified as Raja Anand Dev (c.1696-1715) of Bahu (Jammu). See no. 1.

Pl. 48A. 'The pet deer'. See no. 15(1).

For a detailed discussion of Coomaraswamy's position, see *Review of Literature: Basohli*.

1917

Brown, P. *Indian Painting* (Calcutta, 1917), 52.

Cites Jammu as possessing a school of painting distinct from that of Nurpur, Basohli, Kangra and Chamba but adduces no evidence.

Reproduces (pl. 16) part of 'A portrait group in the Kangra kalm, eighteenth century', *Indian Museum, Calcutta*. Here identified as a group portrait of Raja Ranjit Dev (1735-1781) of Jammu with his son, Dalel Singh and grandsons, Bhagwant and Jit Singh. See no. 64.

1922

Gupta, S. N. *Catalogue of Paintings in the Central Museum, Lahore* (Calcutta, 1922).

Lists portraits of the Jammu rulers: Ranjit Dev (D.58, 59), and Jit Singh (D.60) and of the artist family: Seu (D.115), Manak (D.116), Khushala (D.117) and of the four sons of Nainsukh (Kama, Gaudhu, Nikka and Ram Lal (Ranjha), D.118-122). For Nainsukh's associations with a Jammu patron, Raja Balwant Singh (1724-1763), see Archer (1952a) and present nos. 24-55.

Catalogues G.34 as 'A hill chief being entertained by musicians at night'. Identified by Gray (1950) as Raja Balwant Singh but of a then unspecified state, and by Archer (1952) as Balwant Singh of Jammu.

[The fact that this picture is the last of its section (G) suggests that it was probably among the latest items acquired

by the Museum before the catalogue went to press (1921). For the significance of this date of possible acquisition, see *Reigns and Portraits* (xxi): Pratap Singh (communications, Sansar Chand Sharma, Jammu, 1956, 1960, 1970.)

1925

Heath, L. *Examples of Indian Art at the British Empire Exhibition, 1924* (London, 1925).

A prophetic description of Jammu painting as it was later to be regarded. 'Of the Hill Schools the Jammu artists may be considered to be the descendants of the Moghuls. They show a very definite Mogul influence and the method of their painting approaches that of their predecessors; they have a character of portraiture in their heads and figures, and they display a greater freedom of execution and pose than do the works of their contemporaries of Kangra. The many points of similarity in the two Schools, however, make it difficult to draw a hard dividing line between them — except, perhaps, in their subject-matter. The subjects selected by the Moghuls show them to have been cultured artists of the Court; those chosen by the Jammu painters are clear evidence that they were artists of the countryside. Both reflect the lives of their patrons, and both appeal to the student of their time, and to the artist.'

1926

Gangoly, O. C. *Masterpieces of Rajput Painting* (Calcutta, 1926).

Distinguishes the 'school of Jammu' from that of Basohli and Chamba and cites examples. Pls. 13-18 cited by Gangoly as 'Jammu' are here ascribed to Kulu and Guler. Pl. 22, termed by Gangoly 'Basohli', is here regarded as Jammu. See no. 9(1).

Coomaraswamy, A. K. *Catalogue of the Indian Collections in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; Part V Rajput Painting*, (Boston, 1926).

States that 'The paintings of the Panjab Himalayas fall into two groups which up to now have been designated as Jammu and Kangra. These designations, as far as they go, are retained in the present volume, but it may be possible, with more exact knowledge to classify some at least of the Pahari paintings' in more local terms. Claims that paintings from states in the Jammu or Dogra group — Jammu (the majority) and Bandralta — are represented in the Museum's collection. [None of the paintings illustrated by Coomaraswamy are here regarded as Jammu.]

No. 455 (p. 214), listed as 'Hunting scene; the sportsman's lunch, after hawking. Landscape', is here attributed to Nainsukh and the subject identified as Raja Balwant Singh of Jammu. See no. 46(2).

1927

Coomaraswamy, A. K. *A History of Indian and Indonesian Art* (London, 1927).

Continues his previous classification (1914, 1916, 1926).

1928

Havell, E. B. *Indian Sculpture and Painting* (London; second edition, 1928).

Pl. 66 (monochrome). 'Travellers round a camp fire'. See no. 43(1).

1929

Ghose, A. 'The Basohli School of Rajput Painting', *Rupam* (January, 1929), no. 37, 6-17.

Contests Coomaraswamy's general classification, maintaining that most of the paintings ascribed by him to Jammu should be identified as Basohli work. Points out that in his own 'experience', many pictures labelled 'Jammu' have come from Basohli or Nurpur and that his 'personal investigations' showed that a school of painting did exist in Jammu but only in the nineteenth century.

'From my investigations on the spot, I have come to the conclusion that there never was any Jammu school, if we leave out the nineteenth century when Kangra artists were imported into Jammu and a new art came to flourish there

— to die out for lack of patronage in the time of the late Maharaja of Kashmir' (8).

[Despite the salutary effects of this article (Basohli, q.v.), Ghose's 'personal investigations on the spot' were, in fact, very perfunctory, and later research has had little difficulty in showing that painting existed at Jammu from the end of the seventeenth century onwards.]

Gangoly, O. C. 'Pandit Nainsukh, a "Kangra" artist', *Rupam* (January 1929), no. 37, 63.

Reproduces and describes a portrait of the artist Nainsukh (Tagore collection, Calcutta), later identified (Ran-dhawa, 1955) as Nainsukh of Guler, retained artist (c.1744-1763) of Raja Balwant Singh of Jammu (Archer, 1952a). See no. 28. For a group portrait by Nainsukh, showing Balwant Singh receiving a picture from his hands, see no. 30.

Ghose, A. 'The Schools of Rajput Painting', *Roopa Lekha* (April 1929), no. 2, 8-9.

Again refers to his 'investigations on the spot' which led him to conclude that there was no painting at Jammu until the nineteenth century. 'Pahari painting flourished in the seventeenth and eighteenth and possibly in the sixteenth century in Kashmir but the centre of the art was at Basohli and not at Jammu'. 'The descendants of the old Pahari painters do not speak of Jammu artists but of Kangra artists, Garhwal artists and of Basohli artists'. 'The paintings assigned by Dr. Coomaraswamy to Jammu in reality belong either to Kangra or to Basohli — the majority belong to Basohli'.

[As with most of Ghose's assertions, unsupported by concrete evidence or by names of informants.]

Stchoukine, I. *La Peinture Indienne* (Paris, 1929), 63.

States that the schools of Kangra and Jammu were closely linked and that painting in Jammu is known from the second half of the seventeenth century. No examples or illustrations.

1931

French, J. C. *Himalayan Art* (Oxford, 1931).

No references to Jammu or to Jammu painting.

1938

Khandalavala, K. *Indian Sculpture and Painting* (Bombay, 1938), 60.

'Pahari painting is the generic term applied to the schools of miniature painting which flourished between the seventeenth and the late nineteenth centuries in various hill states of the North, like Kangra, Jammu, Basohli, Chamba, Tehri Garhwal and several others.' No Jammu examples cited.

1948

Gray, B. *Rajput Painting* (London, 1948), 24.

'Writing in 1912, Dr. Vogel pointed out that the political decay of the Mughal empire and the anarchy which followed the sack of Delhi by Nadir Shah in 1739 brought economic prosperity to the hill states through which the trade route was diverted. It passed through Haripur, Nurpur and Basohli to Jammu. Much work remains to be done on those local schools; but it is evident that in the second half of the eighteenth century, the most powerful Hill states were Jammu and Kangra. Ranjit Dev of Jammu (1750-1781) controlled a wide territory which included Basohli whose ruler, Amrit Pal, was practically his client. It is, however, Kangra which seems to have taken the lead in the formation of a new painting style to which the Mughal painters contributed an academic tradition and standard of technical skill.' Refrains from connecting any particular style with Jammu.

1950

Gray, B. 'Painting', *The Art of India and Pakistan* (ed. L. Ashton, London, 1950).

No references or allusions to painting in Jammu. Pl. 105(540). 'Raja with minister. Chamba, about 1800'. Identified (Archer, 1952a) as Raja Brijraj Dev (1781-1787)

of Jammu and assigned to Jammu. See no. 60. [In the light of Sansar Chand Sharma's communications (see Reigns and Portraits (xxi): Pratap Singh), the remark that this picture was formerly in the possession of Major-General G. MacAndrew, Superintendent of Chamba, 1872-1874 is possibly mistaken.]

Pl. 117(621). 'Trumpeters. Kangra, mid-nineteenth century'. Here attributed to Nainsukh (retained artist of Balwant Singh of Jammu). See no. 36(2).

Contains (page 130) the following first description of a dated and inscribed portrait of Raja Balwant Singh 'by Nainsukh of Jasrota' (Central Museum, Lahore, G34), later to prove a cardinal fixed point in the reconstruction of painting in Jammu: 'Raja Balwant Singh entertained by musicians at night. He is seated on a throne, smoking, facing an orchestra of nine men and women behind whom stands a torch bearer. Above the roof of the pavilion in which they are seated the moon can be seen. An inscription at the top states that it was drawn by Nensukh of Jasrota on the 30th of the month Jeth of the Vikramjit 1805 (1748 A.D.) on the day that Mir Mannu came to Lahore having won victory over the Pathans in battle. Pahari school: 1748.' [For a first reproduction of this picture and the identification of the subject as Raja Balwant Singh of Jammu (youngest brother of Ranjit Dev), see Archer (1952a). For revised readings of the inscription and the correction of 'Nainsukh of Jasrota' to 'Nainsukh at Jasrota', see Archer (1963), Ohri (1965), Goswamy (1966) and no. 31].

Werner, A. *Indian Miniatures* (New York, 1950). Col. pl. 15. 'Portrait of Prince Balabant Singh. Pahari school, 18th century'. Here identified as Balwant Singh of Jammu, riding on a roan charger beside a lake — the lake being possibly the lake of Saruinsar at the headquarters of his *agrir* in Jammu state. See no. 46(1).

1952

Archer, W. G. *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills* (London, 1952), 45-70.

A first attempt at reconstructing painting in Jammu on the basis of: (1) a group of five inscribed portraits in similar style of Raja Balwant Singh, identified as the youngest brother of Ranjit Dev (ruled 1735-1781), of Jammu and patron of the artist Nainsukh (Gangoly, 1929),

(2) an inscribed portrait (fig. 40) of Mian Mukand Dev (third son of Raja Dhrub Dev (c.1710-c.1730)) of Jasrota, an offshoot of Jammu, similar in style to (1) and by the same artist,

(3) an inscribed portrait (fig. 44) of the Jammu ruler, Brijraj Dev, 'subtly reminiscent' of Nainsukh's work in its 'sinuous line, grave arrangement of forms and sense of airy clarity', but, in other respects — 'the statuesque treatment of the figures, the reduction of the background to three austere rectangles and the replacement of warm colouring by anaemic pallor' — markedly different from his style,

(4) a portrait in two sections (figs. 41, 43) of a Raja examining the points of a horse (Coomaraswamy (1916), pl. 33) — the right-hand section in the style of Nainsukh, the left-hand section in the style of (3) — the combination of both styles in one picture justifying the inference that both are from a common source,

(5) a group of three portraits of noblemen or rulers from states in close proximity to Jammu, their style being in general line with (3),

(6) a portrait of Raja Ugar Singh (1720-1735) of Chamba (for a time resident at the Jammu court), broadly similar in style, idioms and palette to (3) and introducing female types of a kind unconnected with other centres of painting,

(7) a group of three pictures employing the same female types as in (6) and in the same kind of style as (3) and (5),

(8) a group of portraits connected by subject with Kangra and regarded as offshoots of Jammu painting naturalised in Kangra through the agency of the Sikhs.

Stresses the close connection in style of the portrait by Nainsukh of Balwant Singh inspecting a horse (fig. 38) and a portrait of Raja Govardhan Chand (1741-1773) of Guler

listening to music. Argues on the basis of French's date of 1743 for the Guler portrait (French, 1931), the apparently abrupt cessation of Nainsukh's style in Jammu and its lively development in Guler that Nainsukh had first settled in Guler, subsequently moved to Jammu and had then finally returned to Guler. [For a radical revision of this view of Nainsukh's career, see Guler, Basohli and Jammu, no. 34.]

Of seventeen pictures reproduced, the following sixteen are here attributed to Jammu:

Fig. 35. Balwant Singh with a party of musicians (listed Gupta, 1922; Gray, 1950). See no. 31.

Fig. 36. Balwant Singh receiving a picture from a painter. See no. 30.

Fig. 37. Balwant Singh entertained by a boy-dancer and musicians. See no. 36(1).

Fig. 38. Balwant Singh inspecting a horse. See no. 34.

Fig. 39. Balwant Singh at his prayers. See no. 49 where 'at his toilet' replaces 'at his prayers'.

Fig. 40. Mian Mukand Dev of Jasrota on a riding expedition. See no. 48.

Figs. 41, 43. Raja examining the points of a horse (Coomaraswamy, 1916, pl. 33). See no. 35.

Fig. 44. Brijraj Dev (ruled 1781-1787) of Jammu with courtier and attendant. See no. 60, where the kneeling courtier is identified as Bhao Singh of Jasrota.

Fig. 45. 'Mian Tedhi Mighalau Bhotia'. See no. 18 where the name of the subject is corrected to 'Mian Tedhi Singh Mankotia'.

Fig. 46. Mian Kailashvat Bandral. See no. 19.

Fig. 48. Mian Mukand Dev of Jasrota. See no. 27.

Fig. 54. Raja Ugar Singh of Chamba with ladies. See no. 10.

Fig. 55. Lady seeking solace. See no. 12.

Fig. 56. Lady with a buck (Coomaraswamy, 1916, pl. 48A). See no. 15(1).

Fig. 57. Radha and Krishna. See no. 14.

Note: For fig. 49, see Bhoti.

Archer, W. G. *Kangra Painting* (London, 1952).

Discusses painting in Guler under Raja Govardhan Chand (1741-1773), connecting its 'decisive experiments' from 1740 onwards with the arrival of 'a Mughal artist from the Plains', and suggesting that 'his methods were closely similar to those of another artist Nainsukh, who, a few years later, was painting for a scion of the house of Jammu, Raja Balwant Singh. So close, in fact, are the two styles that it is more than likely that either Nainsukh himself worked at Guler, producing the pictures in question, or members of his family, skilled in his own technique were given employment'.

1953

Khandalavala, K. 'Balvant Singh of Jammu — a Patron of Pahari Painting', *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum* (1951-2, published 1953), no. 2, 71-81.

Following the identification of Balwant Singh as youngest son of Raja Dhrub Dev of Jammu (Archer, 1952a), discusses two groups of finished and partly finished drawings and paintings, formerly in the collection of Sir Dorab Tata, 'a millionaire industrialist of Bombay' and originally owned by 'Balvant Singh of Jammu'.

The first of these groups was acquired by the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, in 1921, the second by Khandalavala personally when the remainder of the Tata collection of Indian miniatures was sold 'many years later'.

Reconstructs their history as follows: Both groups 'came into the hands of an Englishman in India and were taken to England where they ultimately found their way into the hands of an English dealer who marked his prices thereon in English currency. This purchase was affected in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century' (corrected Khandalavala (1958), 131, to 'some time during the last century or in the early years of the present century'). 'The Englishman

who first acquired these paintings, most probably in the last century, may have known that the principal personage in many of these paintings was Balwant Singh himself, because the name of this prince is written in English on the reverse of several of these paintings'. Believes that the late Sir Dorab Tata purchased in England a number of these paintings from an English dealer.

[The possession by Sir Dorab Tata of certain pictures connected with Balwant Singh is confirmed by the presence on the back of some of them of a rubber stamp in violet ink 'sd: J. D. Tata' (see nos. 34, 48). The 'English' inscriptions, however, are too ungrammatical to have been written by an Englishman and it appears more likely that the pictures were, in fact, acquired at Jammu in about 1920 or a little earlier either by an Indian dealer or by the 'German' dealer, referred to by Sansar Chand Sharma of Jammu (see *Reigns and Portraits* (xxi): Pratap Singh). If the 'German' dealer was Imre Schwaiger of Delhi, the fact that he also owned a shop in London might explain the appearance on the London market of 'the Balwant Singh pictures said to have been purchased by Sir Dorab Tata in England'. It must be emphasised however that the mere fact that some of the inscriptions are in broken English and the prices noted are in English currency does not in itself raise a presumption of an English or London origin. Both types of inscription could have been put on by Indian dealers in Lahore, Amritsar or Delhi or by Schwaiger himself in Delhi. The further fact that other 'Balwant Singh' pictures without any 'J. D. Tata' stamp are in private and public collections in India suggests that in the first instance the group came on the Indian rather than on the London market.]

On the Balwant Singh pictures in general (i.e., those illustrated in Archer (1952a), those in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, and those in his own private collection), Khandalavala has the following observations: (1) Following Gray and Archer's original mis-reading of the Music-party inscription (Gray 1950; Archer 1952a; present no. 31) regards Nainsukh as an artist of Jasrota whose father, Seu, and other members of the family were artists trained in the Muhammad Shah style of Mughal paintings who had migrated to Jasrota from the Punjab Plains.

(2) On the assumption that the family was settled in Jasrota, regards Mian Mukand Dev of Jasrota as one of their patrons and credits him with an atelier of artists.

(3) Following Archer (1952a), misinterprets the Music-party picture as having been commissioned by Balwant Singh for presentation to a visiting grantee, arguing that 'though Balwant Singh was not a ruling prince yet he was the brother of the reigning chief of Jammu and accordingly must have maintained an establishment similar to a court and held a high military command or a provincial governorship'.

(4) Alludes to a standing portrait of Balwant Singh (National Museum, New Delhi) also inscribed with the name of the artist Nainsukh.

(5) Confirms Archer's speculation (1952a) that the artist presenting Balwant Singh with a picture (present no. 30) is Nainsukh.

(6) Refers to a second version of the Music-party (formerly Mehta collection, Bombay) and on the strength of a *takri* inscription, ascribes it to a second artist, Vajan Sah. See no. 32 where the relevant phrase is tentatively read as *bajan sahe* and is provisionally translated 'along with the musicians (who were present)'.
(7) Interprets the phrase *didi likhi*, on a third portrait of Balwant Singh with a young child, as a reference to a third artist 'Didi'. (Goswamy has since shown (1968) that the correct meaning of the phrase is not 'painted by Didi' but 'painted from life'). See no. 47(2).

Publishes with comments the following 'Balwant Singh' pictures:
Group I: Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay

Fig. 1. Balwant Singh fondling a child. See no. 47(2).

Fig. 2. Balwant Singh having his beard trimmed. Discussed no. 55.

Fig. 4. Balwant Singh with a cup of wine.

Fig. 5. Balwant Singh with courtiers or attendants.

Fig. 6. Balwant Singh duck-shooting. See no. 39(1).

Fig. 10. The Emperor Aurangzeb. See no. 29(2).

Fig. 11. Worship of Krishna by a cowherd.

Fig. 12. *Madhya kalahantarita*. Discussed no. 16.

Group II: Khandalavala collection, Bombay

Fig. 3. Balwant Singh inspecting a building under construction. See no. 41.

Fig. 7. Balwant Singh in camp after a march. See no. 54.

Fig. 8. Balwant Singh's musicians. See no. 36.

Fig. 9. Young princes and attendants. See no. 47(1).

1955

Randhawa, M. S. 'Kangra Artists', *Art and Letters* (1955), XXIX, no. 1, 1-9, figs. 1-10.

Publishes details of the artists Nainsukh, his father Seu, elder brother Manak (Manaku), nephew Khushala and other relatives, based on family traditions collected from their descendants in Kangra district. Locates the family home not at Jasrota but at Guler, supporting in general the thesis that Nainsukh worked first at Guler, later at Jammu, and later still at Guler.

1956

Randhawa, M. S. 'Kangra Artists', *Roopa Lekha* (1956), XXVII, no. 1, 4-10.

Maintains the original connection of Nainsukh and his family with Guler but revises the genealogy given in 1955.

Connects with Jammu the artists Ganda and Gurditta, sons of Ram Kishan (son of Purkhu, a master painter at the court of Sansar Chand of Kangra) and Kirpa, son of Ram Dayal (eldest son of Purkhu and himself a painter at Sansar Chand's court). See Randhawa (1959b).

Archer, W. G. *Kangra Painting* (second and revised impression, London, 1956).

A re-issue of Archer (1952b), incorporating evidence of Nainsukh's connection with Guler (Randhawa, 1955, 1956).

1958

Khandalavala, K. *Pahari Miniature Painting* (Bombay, 1958).

Supplements his earlier account of Balwant Singh (1953) with the following additional Balwant Singh pictures:

Col. pl. H. Balwant Singh writing a letter. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. See no. 52.

Fig. 61. Balwant Singh with courtiers. See no. 33(1).

Fig. 67. Balwant Singh's lady singer on horseback. Khandalavala collection, Bombay (formerly Sir Dorab Tata collection). Discussed no. 36.

No. 88. Balwant Singh in a 'Chinese Mandarin's' robe. Discussed no. 34.

No. 91. The young Balwant Singh standing. National Museum, New Delhi. By Nainsukh. See no. 26.

On other aspects of painting in Jammu has the following comments: (1) Rejects 'Mukand Dev on a riding Expedition' (Archer (1952a), fig. 40) as the work of Nainsukh and part of the Balwant Singh group, preferring to assign it to a retained artist of Mukand Dev himself and to attribute it to Jasrota. On the basis of the mis-read inscription on Balwant Singh's Music Party (Gray, 1950; Archer, 1952a), continues to regard Nainsukh and his family as domiciled in Jasrota. See no. 48.

(2) Accepts 'Raja examining the points of a horse' (Coomaraswamy (1916), pl. 33; Archer (1952a), fig. 43) as Jammu but identifies the subject as Dalel Singh of Jammu, son of Ranjit Dev. See no. 35 where the subject (left side) is identified as Dhrub Dev (c.1710-c.1730) of Jasrota, and the horse (right side) is attributed to Nainsukh.

(3) Accepts as Jammu 'The Trumpeters' (Gray (1950), pl. 117). See no. 36(2).

For a re-reading of an inscription on Fig. 48, dated Jammu, 1777, see Goswamy (1966a) and present no. 67(1).

1959

Randhawa, M. S. *Basohli Painting* (New Delhi, 1959), 24-25.

Summarises Archer (1952a), but adds the further points that painting in Jammu in the years 1730-1750 may have been an offshoot from Basohli and that 'Nainsukh of Jasrota' might possibly have left Balwant Singh's employment and gone to Guler due to the latter's lack of means.

Randhawa, M. S. 'Some inscribed Pahari paintings with names of artists', *Roopa Lekha* (1959), XXX, Nos. 1 and 2, 27-30.

Publishes (fig. 7) portraits of three artists — Arjan, Ruldu and Kanchanu — the latter described as a servant of the Mahajara of Jammu — the style of turbans suggesting that the Maharaja in question is Ranbir Singh (1857-1885).

[For Ruldu and his three brothers, Chandu, Ram Kishan and Ram Dayal, sons of Purkhu, renowned painter at the court of Sansar Chand of Kangra, see Randhawa (1956). If 'Kanchanu' is taken as a variant or pseudonym for 'Chandu', Ruldu and Chandu, both sons of Purkhu, may be presumed to have migrated from Kangra and to have worked in Jammu.

Partial confirmation of the above family traditions is provided by Sansar Chand Sharma of Jammu (private communication, 1960). According to Sharma, Ruldu, his brother Channanu (Chandu, Kanchanu?) and the latter's son, Harichand (Hiralal? see Randhawa, 1956) migrated to Jammu in about 1848.

Another artist, Nandlal, is believed to have preceded them to Jammu from Kangra, possibly in 1830. Harichand, Chandu's son, also worked for Maharaja Ranbir Singh and was a pupil of yet another 'Kangra' artist, Jagat Ram.]

1960

Hajek, L. *Miniatures from the East* (Prague, London, 1960).

Col. pls. 37, 38. Balwant Singh duck-shooting (Khandalavala, 1953, 1958) See no. 39(1).

Randhawa, M. S. 'Paintings from Mankot', *Lalit Kala* (dated 1959 but published 1960), no. 6, 72-77.

Fig. 10. Portrait of Raja Ghansar Dev (Regent of Jammu, 1735-1747) second son of Dhrub Dev.

Fig. 11. Raja Hari Dev (c.1660-c.1690) of Jammu (mis-captioned 'Ranjit Singh Jamual').

Archer, W. G. *Indian Miniatures* (London, New York, 1960).

Distinguishes two strands of painting in Jammu — the first (pls. 79, 80) marked by pale colours, simplifying geometry and flowing rhythmical line, the second (pls. 81, 82) associated with the painter Nainsukh 'of Jasrota', retained artist of Raja Balwant Singh of Jammu. Regards Nainsukh as a refugee Mughal artist who, following the sack of Delhi in 1739 by the Persian Nadir Shah, sought employment in the Punjab Hills, settling first at the minor court of Jasrota but by 1748 established as Balwant Singh of Jammu's retained artist. 'His style evinced the flexible animation of Akbar-period Mughal painting but must, in fact, have been determined by experience at Delhi'. [For a radical revision of this view of Nainsukh's style and career, see Guler, Basohli and present nos. 24-55.]

The following plates are here regarded as Jammu:

Pl. 79. Radha and Krishna on the serpent of eternity. See no. 13.

Col. pl. 80. Brijraj Dev of Jammu with courtier and attendant (Archer, 1952). See no. 60.

Pl. 81. The Emperor Muhammad Shah (1720-1748) with ladies. Attributed to Nainsukh. See no. 29(1).

Col. pl. 82. Balwant Singh writing in camp (Khandalavala, 1958). By Nainsukh. See no. 52.

1961

Skelton, R. *Indian Miniatures from the 15th to 19th centuries* (Venice, 1961).

Pl. 75. 'A Hunting Mishap'. Balwant Singh preparing to

strike a tiger which has seized a follower by the head. See no. 44(1).

1963

Archer, W. G. Introduction to M. S. Randhawa, *Kangra Paintings of the Gita Govinda* (New Delhi, 1963).

Publishes a new reading by B. N. Goswamy of the *takri* inscription on the portrait of Balwant Singh listening to musicians (Gray, 1950; Archer, 1952a; Khandalavala, 1958) indicating that the picture was painted not by 'Nainsukh of Jasrota' but by 'Nainsukh at Jasrota'. Points out that this enables Guler (Randhawa, 1955, 1956) to be finally accepted as the original home of Nainsukh and his father and that it also disposes of the theory, always a little improbable, that Jasrota was the place where the family had first settled.

Publishes a further reading by Goswamy of the *takri* inscription on 'Balwant Singh as a young man' (Khandalavala, 1958, no. 91). See no. 26.

On the career of Nainsukh, suggests that he may have been born about 1720 and have died about 1790 and that although only two portraits of Balwant Singh are inscribed as by him, the evidence of other portraits in the same style suggests that he must have been with this patron for ten to fifteen years. Concedes that the date when their association ended is not known but believes that 'by 1760 Nainsukh and his sons were almost certainly developing the great Guler style at Guler under their patron, Raja Govardhan Chand'. [For the actual dates of Balwant Singh's and Nainsukh's deaths (1763 and 1778 respectively), see Goswamy (1968).]

Archer, Mildred, Archer, W. G. and Lee, S. E. *Indian Miniatures from the Mildred and W. G. Archer collection* (Washington, 1963).

Pl. 49. Balwant Singh standing at a window holding the shutters. See no. 52(1).

Barrett, D. *Painting of India* (London, 1963).

Discusses painting in Jammu with special relevance to Nainsukh and his patron, Balwant Singh.

Col. pl. at p.174. 'Hill chief with children, Guler style, about 1760'. See no. 64 where the subject is identified as Ranjit Dev of Jammu with his son, Dalel Singh and grandsons, Bhagwant and Jit Singh.

Col. pl. at p.179. 'Balwant Singh of Jammu in camp doing his books. Guler style, Jammu, c.1765' (Khandalavala, 1958; Archer, 1960). See no. 52.

[For Barrett's use of the term 'Guler style' for paintings not executed in Guler, see his p.172.]

1964

Khajuria. 'Murals in Jammu', *Marg* (1964), XVII, No. 3, 40-43.

Describes and discusses wall paintings in the old palace, Jammu.

Fig. 1. View from the outside of the Shish Mahal showing an arched verandah with Jammu-type columns.

Fig. 2. Lady by an almond tree. Mural in the Shish Mahal. See no. 15.

Figs. 3-6 Murals of the Ranbir Singh period, Shish Mahal, Jammu.

1965

Goswamy, B. N. 'Painting in Chamba: a study of new documents', *The Asian Review* (1965), II, No. 2, 53-58.

Cites documentary evidence proving that the family home of Nainsukh was at Guler. For detailed summary, see Review of Literature; Chamba.

Ohri, V. C. 'Four important inscriptions on Pahari paintings', *Lalit Kala* (dated 1963 but published 1965), no. 11, 58-60.

Corrects Archer's reading (1952a) of the Balwant Singh Music Party inscription, confirming Goswamy's earlier reading (Archer, 1963) that the crucial phrase: *nainsukhe jasrote likhi* means 'Nainsukh painted (it) at Jasrota', not that Nainsukh was of Jasrota. See no. 31.

Explains that if the inscription meant that Nainsukh belonged to Jasrota, this would have been expressed by the words: Nainsukh *Jasrote da* or *Jasrotia*. For the significance of the second word 'Jasrotia' as meaning a place of residence, see no. 61.

Beach, M. C. 'A *Bhagavata Purana* from the Punjab Hills', *Bulletin Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (1965), LXIII, no. 333, 169-173.

Publishes (fig. 7) a page from a large-sized *Bhagavata Purana* series, here regarded as Jammu, c.1785. See no. 69(1).

Khandalavala, K. and Chandra, M. *Miniatures and sculptures from the collection of the late Sir Cowasji Jehangir, Bart.* (Bombay, 1965).

Pl. 86. Balwant Singh of Jammu in a 'Chinese mandarin's robe (Khandalavala (1958), no. 88). Discussed no. 34.

Pl. 87. Hawk attacking a wild duck. See no. 50.

Pl. 88. An angry elephant uprooting a tree. See no. 45(1).

[Pls. 87 and 88 are here regarded as by Nainsukh.]

Welch, S. C. and Beach, M. C. *Gods, Thrones and Peacocks* (New York, 1965).

Pl. 36. Balwant Singh's elephant clawed by a lion. See no. 44.

Pl. 54. Jhambavat presents his daughter to Krishna. From a *Bhagavata Purana* series (Beach (1965), fig. 7). See no. 69(1).

Pl. 65 (mis-printed 70). Jit Singh (1797-1812) of Jammu in the durbar of Sansar Chand (1775-1823) of Kangra. See Kangra no. 23.

1966

Goswamy, B. N. 'Re-readings of some 'Takri' inscriptions in Khandalavala's *Pahari Miniature Painting*', *Roopa Lekha* (1966), XXV, nos. 1 and 2, 69-75.

Proposes new readings for the following inscribed paintings relevant to Jammu:

Fig. 48. Instead of 'Portrait of Gariban', 'Season: Summer'. Lower title 'Samvat 1834 (i.e. A.D. 1777), the 15th day of the bright half of the month of Magha. This sheet prepared at Jammu'.

[A picture, perhaps from a *Baramasa* series, showing a lady smoking a hookah on a terrace. See no. 67(1).]

No. 94. Re-reads the *takri* inscription on Balwant Singh's Music Party (Gray, 1950; Archer, 1952a) and translates it as follows: 'It was the *Vikramajiti samvat* eighteen hundred and five. It was the month of Jeth on which day this picture (was) painted. On that day the age of Sri Maharaja Balwant Singh was twenty-four years. Then this picture Nainsukh had painted at Jasrota. On that day Mir Mannu had come to Lahore after his victory over the Pathans in battle. (Song) You have lost, my lady friend, now do not admit it' (first published Archer (1963) citing Goswamy). Claims that the words relating to Nainsukh are capable of only one interpretation 'that he painted the picture at Jasrota and not that he was "Nainsukh of Jasrota"'. Adds: 'By this reading, I believe that the charmed connection between Nainsukh and Jasrota, his supposed place of domicile, is dissolved'. For the words of the song, see no. 31.

Goswamy, B. N. 'The problem of the artist "Nainsukh of Jasrota"', *Artibus Asiae* (1966), 205-210.

Publishes in detail the new reading of the vital Nainsukh inscription (Goswamy, 1966a; reported Archer, 1963). Makes, among others, the following significant points:

(1) Stresses the strikingly beautiful hand in which the inscription is written [For a discussion of this hand and its implications, see no. 31.]

(2) Comments on the inclusion of the line of a song, pointing out that this inscription is not a freak instance but can be paralleled in another inscription on a picture of Balwant Singh with his singers. Suggests that 'if his musicians appear to have been partial to gently amusing songs of

amorous content, Balwant Singh appears to have favoured the idea of leaving a detailed record of this activity behind'. Discussed nos. 36, 44, 51.

(3) Argues that the word *Jasrotia* 'does not indicate place of origin' but is a Rajput clan-name. Even if the inscription had employed this word (though in fact it does not), it could not have applied to Nainsukh since he was a Brahmin, not a Rajput. [This position is contested by Ohri (1965) and seems further negated by French (*Himalayan Art*, 1931) who refers to certain painters as *Guleria Mahrattas* — *Guleria* meaning 'of or from Guler' and not merely 'a member of the Guler Rajput clan'.]

(4) On Balwant Singh, has the following suggestive remarks: 'Apart from the pictorial records he has left himself, we know lamentably little about Balwant Singh beyond the fact that he was the youngest of the four sons of Raja Dhruv Dev of Jammu and was born in 1724 A.D. We do not know whether he ever ruled or where, and yet the inscriptions consistently refer to him as 'Raja' or 'Sri Maharaja'. Princes of blood royal in the hills were normally styled as 'Mian' or 'Kunwar', and this assertion of sovereign status comes as a surprise, unless it can be interpreted to mean that he laid claim to sovereignty parallel to that of Ranjit Dev. Such a thing would not be unusual at Jammu but this can remain at best a wild speculation. Balwant Singh certainly did not rule at Jasrota which had its own dynastic line of rulers.'

[The use of the titles 'Raja' and 'Maharaja' by sons during the lifetime of their fathers or by younger brothers during the reigns of elder brothers is not, in fact, unusual or impossible, especially when the junior relative was entrusted with part of the administration. Compare, in this connection, 'Raja' Bishan Singh of Guler, eldest son of Govardhan Chand of Guler, an administrator under his father, but never a reigning 'Raja'. A junior member of a royal family, especially, if living separately, might also be called Raja 'by way of courtesy' by members of his household and entourage.]

(5) Adds: 'A manuscript history of Jammu and Kashmir in the British Museum, the *Rajadarshani* (Br. Mus. MS. OR. 1634) by Ganesh Das Bhadra (written c.1834 in Persian) contains much useful information about Ranjit Dev of Jammu though it adds little to our knowledge of Balwant Singh. From this authority all that we specifically learn is that Balwant Singh was also called Balwant Dev, and that he had two sons Ram Singh and Sham Singh. But the historian also tells us that the famed Ranjit Dev was a generous and mild man who even forgave his brother, Mian Ghansar Dev, when the latter left for Jasrota out of dismay at the loss of his regency, without so much as meeting the Raja returning from his long imprisonment of eleven years. Could it be that Ranjit Dev also allowed the youngest of his brothers to indulge in his slightly pampered fancy of claiming royal status and conspiring with his artists to create a mildly intoxicated world wherein, for his benefit, musicians sang by day and night, painters plied their brushes, and horses kicked wild boars to death?'

Note: For further details of Balwant Singh including his large *jagir* at Saruinsar about twelve miles from Jammu and the fact that the eldest of his sons was Sham Singh, see Kahan Singh Balaria. The picture of Balwant Singh's horse kicking at a wild boar is in the Birla Institute, Calcutta.

Archer, W. G. *Paintings of the Sikhs* (London, 1966).

Describes the careers and characters of Raja Kharak Singh (xviii, 1812-1820, son of the Sikh Maharaja Ranjit Singh and *jagirdar* of Jammu), Raja Gulab Singh (xix, 1820-1846), Sikh Governor of Jammu; 1846-1857, independent Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir and Raja Ranbir Singh (xx, 1857-1885, son of Gulab Singh and Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir).

For portraits of these Jammu rulers in Sikh style, Punjab Plains, see figs. 21, 22, 21 (Kharak Singh) figs. 34, 37, 50, 55, 57 (Gulab Singh) and figs. 57, 58, 59 (Ranbir Singh).

1968

Archer, W. G. and Binney, E. *Rajput Miniatures from the collection of Edwin Binney 3rd* (Portland, Oregon, 1968). Figs. 95a and b. From a *Bhagavata Purana* series, here attributed to Jammu, c.1785. See no. 69(2) and (3).

Goswamy, B. N. 'Pahari Painting: the family as the basis of style', *Marg* (1968), XXI, no. 4, 17-62.

Reconstructs the family history of Nainsukh and his relatives, 'natives of Guler' and adduces evidence connecting them with sixteen states including Guler, Chamba, Basohli and Kangra (q.v. Reviews of literature).

Publishes the following materials relevant to painting in Jammu:

(1) A magic diagram of a semi-nude female figure with fifteen outstretched arms pointing to the names of sixteen states or courts and of three patrons whom members of the family served. The diagram, preserved by surviving descendants of the Nainsukh family at Rajol, Kangra, bears the title '*Shri Guler*' and is interpreted by Goswamy as being a picture of the *siddhi* or personal deity of the family. [It is significant that Jammu (but not Jasrota) is included among the states and courts served by members of the family and also that the only patrons specifically named are Sikh.]

(2) An entry in a priest's register at Hardwar in the hand of Nainsukh in May-June 1763, providing evidence of his handwriting and accompanying a sketch showing Bhagirath praying to Shiva and Parvati. [The hand-writing is significant since it differs from that on any inscriptions on Balwant Singh pictures and must therefore rule out Nainsukh as having been the scribe.]

(3) An entry in the same register and on the same page but lower down by the priest himself noting that Nainsukh had come to Hardwar in 1763 along with the remains of Raja Balwant Singh. Reproduces the whole entry, fig. 9. [The relevant part of this entry runs: *sri gangaji hardwar aya. raja balwant singh di chhaiya kan aye* ('came to Hardwar on the holy Ganges. came with the remains (ashes) of Raja Balwant Singh'), followed after a full stop by the word *jasrotiya*, apparently added as a conjecture or afterthought.]

(4) An entry on the same page, further down still, noting that Fattu, nephew of Nainsukh, had gone to Hardwar in 1778 and had bathed in the Ganges along with the ashes of Nain Singh (Sukh?). Raja Amrit Pal (Basohli, q.v.) had also been present. [Significant as providing evidence of Nainsukh's year of death, 1778, and of priestly carelessness in making entries.]

(5) References in priests' registers showing that Nainsukh entered Amrit Pal's service after Balwant Singh's death and was apparently given lands in Basohli. [Important as implying that while maintaining his family connection with Guler, Nainsukh's chief places of residence had been either Jammu with Raja Balwant Singh or Basohli with Raja Amrit Pal. Why he joined Amrit Pal after Balwant Singh's death, instead of remaining with his sons, can only be surmised.]

(6) Assigns 'most, if not all' of the Balwant Singh pictures to Nainsukh, pointing out that of the two other artists connected with him by Khandalavala (1958), 'Didi' is not a name but a term meaning 'from life', as distinct from 'memory' or from a 'standard model' and 'Vajan Sah' is not a name which can be easily connected with the Pahari region. Adds that 'stylistically the Balwant Singh pictures seem to be in the same hand, and one could only with difficulty credit artists from several different families with the same distinctive manner'.

(7) On the problem of the various inscriptions on Balwant Singh pictures, distinguishes two hands — the first, 'a very neat script', the second, 'a rather sprawling hand, very difficult to read'. Points out that this does not affect the identity of Nainsukh 'for the inscriptions are not necessarily in his

own hand and some of them are likely to have been added by somebody else, either at that time or a little later'. [For a discussion of these two hands, see no. 24(I, II).]

(8) Reproduces the following Balwant Singh pictures and ascribes them to Nainsukh:

Figs. 1-5 (Archer, 1952a, figs. 35-39).

Fig. 29. 'Illustration to a folk-legend', Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras. Inscribed with *takri* inscriptions 'not clearly decipherable'. See no. 53 where the figure at the stern of the boat is identified as Balwant Singh and the subject is interpreted as 'an allegory of disaster'.

Fig. 31. Balwant Singh in a garden. Dated 1743. Chandigarh Museum. See no. 25.

Fig. 32. Balwant Singh seeing a dance performance by the dancing-girl, Zafar. Dated c.1760 (mis-printed 1710). Chandigarh Museum. See no. 55.

Col. pl. p.54. Balwant Singh in camp writing a letter (Khandalavala, 1958; Archer, 1960; Barrett, 1963). See no. 52.

1969

Ohri, V. C. 'An Agreement signed by Balwant Singh', *Lalit Kala* (1969), no. 14, 38-40.

Publishes in English and *nagari* characters an agreement by 'Sri Raja Ranjit Dev, Sri Balwant Singh and Sri Ajit Pal (of Basohli, 1736-1757)' guaranteeing the possession by Sri Raja Umed Singh (of Chamba, 1748-1764) of the border area, Pathyar, claimed by Kangra as its own territory. Signed in their own hands in *takri* script by Ranjit Dev, Balwant Singh and Ajit Pal and dated 21st. Chet Samvat 28 (i.e. 3 April 1753). [For a reproduction of the *takri* attestations and signatures on this document including two lines of handwriting by Balwant Singh, see no. 24(II), where the 'rather sprawling script' used in various inscriptions on Balwant Singh pictures (Goswamy, 1968) is identified as Balwant Singh's own handwriting.]

Makes the following significant comments:

(1) Stresses the practice at Hill courts of associating relatives, mostly sons or brothers, of the ruling raja with administration, often as Wazirs or Chief ministers, and getting them to endorse or counter-sign important documents, grants, etc.

(2) Suggests that during the imprisonment of Ranjit Dev at Lahore (1735-1747), the Jammu state was administered by his second brother, Ghansar Dev (as Regent) and his third brother, Surat Singh (perhaps as Minister) but that on Ranjit Dev's return from captivity and resumption of the throne, the two brothers 'could not reconcile themselves to a subordinate position and later on withdrew to their own *jagirs*'. Suggests that their place was taken by his fourth brother, Balwant Singh, 'if not immediately, at least a few years after' and that, in counter-signing the Chamba agreement, Balwant Singh was acting as Ranjit Dev's Wazir or Chief Minister. [For Ghansar Dev's boycott of Ranjit Dev on his return in 1747, see Goswamy (1966b), quoting Bhadra.]

(3) In the light of inscribed portraits of Balwant Singh, considers it probable that Balwant Singh lived at Jasrota for a few years in his youth, later at Jammu for several years during which he acted as Chief Minister and *inter alia* endorsed the present agreement, and finally shifted to Sarinsar where he lived in the last years of his life.

(4) Considers that he must have had his own private establishment at Jasrota since in the picture of the Music Party at Jasrota, painted by Nainsukh in 1748, a Jasrota host would otherwise have been included, whereas, in fact, only Balwant Singh is present.

[While the fact that Balwant Singh is comparatively young in this picture partially supports Ohri's case, the Chandigarh scroll-painting showing Balwant Singh visiting a sacred grove at Jasrota with two of his sons (present no. 47) suggests that he had a private establishment there not merely in his youth but probably for most, if not all, of his life.]

(5) Argues that while independent residence of a kind at Jasrota can safely be inferred, the Jasrota building shown in the Music Party of 1748, is 'less imposing' than those in other paintings where he is shown middle-aged, and was probably living in Jammu as Chief Minister.

(6) Refers to paintings 'of the last phase' showing Balwant Singh sitting under a temporary shed and cites two of them as having the same shed in them. 'On one of these two paintings (present no. 54) the name of the place appears in the inscription as Jaunta'. Argues that since Balwant Singh had been given a *jagir* 'of the (annual) value of rupees 40,000' at Saruinsar and that it was vast in size, Jaunta, which is only 10 miles from Saruinsar, must have been within it. Suggests that he may not have liked Jaunta and hence chose Saruinsar itself for his permanent residence. Believes that he did not live at Saruinsar before the last years of his life and that the picture which depicts him inspecting a work under construction (see no. 41) was probably painted at Saruinsar. Suggests that since Jammu town was frequently attacked and plundered by Sikh *sardars* and that Ranjit Dev's son, Brijraj Dev, was ambitious and quarrelled with his father, Balwant Singh quitted Jammu and shifted to Saruinsar.

[The 'Jaunta' sketch is here regarded as later than the 'construction' sketch and hence as perhaps indicative of a flight from Saruinsar rather than of one from Jammu. In addition to sacking Jammu, the Sikhs may have attacked and plundered Saruinsar as well. Ohri (private communication, 1970) now reads for 'Jaunta', 'Jouta', a place which is so far untraced.]

(7) Contends that Nainsukh remained with Balwant Singh throughout but because of these migrations and the fact that Saruinsar was a very small place, 'the impact of Nainsukh's style on Jammu painting was not as prominent as that of other members of his family on Guler painting'. Jammu painting, he concludes, 'for long could not disassociate itself from certain idioms of Basohli painting'.

IV. PAINTING: CATALOGUE AND RECONSTRUCTION

PHASE ONE: 1700-1750

1 Raja Anand Dev (c.1690-c.1715) of Bahu with courtiers and attendants. Bahu (Jammu), c.1690.

181 x 283 mm. (trimmed).

Victoria and Albert Museum, Rothenstein collection, I.S. 181-1951.

Published: Coomaraswamy (1916), pl. 35A.

Description: Anand Dev, a youth in white *jama* and with Vaishnava *tilak* marks, sits on a yellow rug with pink stripes, holding a nosegay in his left hand, a long sword lying beside him. An attendant in ankle-length *jama* stands behind him, a golden-yellow cushion with red and green floral sprigs projecting across him. Two seated courtiers and four standing guards with swords in dark red and green scabbards are ranged before him. The feet of five attendants project into the lower red border. Turbans white, dark red and golden-yellow. Background pale grey.

Discussion: A state portrait, perhaps designed to celebrate Anand Dev's accession to the Bahu throne, and notable for its use of primitive conventions, such as over-large heads, and single over-lapping planes, and in palette for its combination of dark red and yellow with pallid white and grey. Grey backgrounds and geometric compositions were to prove standard idioms in painting at Jammu. See, in particular, a portrait of Brijraj Dev of Jammu no. 60, which although much later is securely connected with Jammu by subject-matter (a local Jammu ruler), distinctiveness of style, and provenance (the Jammu royal collection).

2 Raja Anand Dev (c.1690-c.1715) of Bahu smoking. Bahu (Jammu), c.1700.

160 x 105 mm; with border (trimmed), 180 x 120 mm. Red border with black and white rules.

Inscribed on the reverse in roman script: *Bhim bhup rao sri kirpal* and in *takri* characters: *jayarad(?)*

Victoria and Albert Museum, Manuk and Coles collection residuary, I.S. 19-1952.

Description: Anand Dev in white *jama* and with Vaishnava *tilak* marks sits against a large pale crimson pillow with floral sprigs, his arm resting on two crimson pillows. He holds a hookah stem in his right hand and a nosegay in his left. Rug white with faint floral patterns in red and greenish-yellow. Turban white with thin gold band. Background pale grey.

Discussion: Identical in style, subject, colour combinations and palette (grey, white and pale crimson) to 1. Although the subject now has a beard and is thus perhaps five years older, he retains his former serene gravity and as in 1, holds a nosegay. For cushions with a special type of floral sprig, a constantly recurring idiom in painting at Jammu, see nos. 1, 2, 4, 6, 10, 12, 20, 21 and 24.

3 Raja Dhruv Dev (c.1710-1730) of Jasrota seated holding a rosary. Bahu (Jammu), c.1700-1710.

185 x 147 mm. (trimmed).

Tinted drawing on the front in *takri* and *nagari* characters: *dhrub de jasrotiya*; mis-inscribed by P. C. Manuk in English in pencil: *Jaswant Singh of Jodpur*.

British Museum, Manuk and Coles collection.

Description: Dhruv Dev of Jasrota in white *jama* and with Vaishnava *tilak* marks sits against two pillows, his left hand out-stretched and his right hand holding a rosary. Plain background. Rug with faint floral patterns in red and greenish-yellow.

Discussion: Similar in style and details to 1 and 2. As the heir-apparent to the Jasrota throne, and thus connected by ancestry with the Jammu family, Dhruv Dev may well have been a frequent visitor to the Bahu (Jammu) court. The present portrait which shows him with a black beard is in strong contrast to the later portraits in which the beard has been shaved off (see 35 and Jasrota, no. 1).

4(i-ii) Two double portraits of Raja Anand Dev (c.1690-c.1715) of Bahu and Raja Bhupal Dev (b. c.1670?, d. c.1730?) of Jasrota.

4(i) Bhupal Dev of Jasrota seated with Anand Dev of Bahu (Jammu). Kangra (after a Jammu original), c.1760-1770.

Size unrecorded.

Inscribed on front in Persian characters from left to right:

(1) *raja bhoupal dev jasrotia* (2) *raja nand dev jamwal bahuwala*; and on the reverse in *nagari* characters: (1) *sri raja bhupal de* (2) *anand de jamwal* and in Persian characters: (3) *raja bhupal dev jasrotia*. Formerly collection of Maharaja Dhruv Dev Chand of Lambagraon, Kangra.

Description: Bhupal Dev, on the left, sits facing Anand Dev on the right, each leaning against cushions patterned with floral sprigs and smoking a hookah. Beneath them is a balustrade with geometrical compartments. Grey background with curving rim of sky.

Discussion: One of a large series of standard portraits of local rajas and their ancestors, perhaps assembled by Raja Ghamand Chand (1761-1774) of Kangra and executed for him from earlier originals, perhaps done at the subjects' home states. As in 1 and 2, Anand Dev has Vaishnava *tilak* marks but is now considerably older and wears a substantial beard and moustache. It is significant that, as in 4(ii), the same two rajas should be shown in intimate conjunction. Significant details: grey background, cushions with floral sprigs, washed-in rim of sky.

4(ii) Anand Dev of Bahu seated with Bhupal Dev of Jasrota. Bahu (Jammu), c.1690-1695.

195 x 138 mm. (trimmed).

Tinted drawing on uncoloured ground.

Archer collection, London.

Description: Anand Dev of Bahu, on the left, sits at a window facing Bhupal Dev of Jasrota whose hand and arm rest on the sill. Above them is a cusped turret. Red hookah stems. Anand Dev's turban pale red, Bhupal Dev's turban pale crimson. A rug with faint floral decoration in pale gold hangs from the window sill.

Discussion: An earlier version of 4(i), where the same two rajas face each other. Anand Dev, notable for his long nose and Vaishnava *tilak* marks is clearly the same person as in 1, 2 and 4(i), Bhupal Dev of Jasrota (unrecorded by Kahan Singh and HV). Was possibly a younger brother of Sikh (Sukh) Dev (c.1685-c.1710) of Jasrota, and may have acted as *Wazir* or Chief Minister to Anand Dev.

For evidence supporting this inference, see 34, where his great-nephew (?), Dhruv (c.1710-c.1730) of Jasrota is referred to as 'Diwan' and 7, where he himself is portrayed in a position of seniority vis-a-vis Raja Daya Dhata (c.1700-c.1735) of Nurpur and Raja Dalip Singh (1695-1741) of Guler. Since Jasrota was originally an off-shoot of Jammu, it may well have supplied the senior state with *diwans*, especially in the period 1690-1735, when Jammu was rapidly becoming the dominant state in the western hills.

For other examples of uncoloured backgrounds, illustrating the Jammu predilection for grave pallor, see 33, 36-41, 45, 51, 53-55 (portraits by Nainsukh of Raja Balwant Singh of Jammu).

5 Mian Gopal Singh (?1650-?1720) of Guler smoking. Bahu (Jammu) c.1700 or later.
193 x 153 mm. (trimmed).

Inscribed on the picture surface in *takri* characters: *gopal singh goleria*; and on the reverse: (number) 94. Victoria and Albert Museum, Rothenstein collection, I.S. 184-1951.

Description: Gopal Singh, younger brother of Raja Bikram Singh (1661-c.1685) of Guler, a portly figure in white *jama* sits on a white terrace, leaning against a pale crimson cushion and smoking a hookah with brown stem, black bowl and green stand. Pale green background merging into white at the top.

Discussion: Similar in style to 2 and 3 and portraying Gopal Singh with the same kind of large hookah base as in 6. The prominent horizontal line demarcating the terrace from the pale background was to prove a constant feature of Jammu portraiture.

Gopal Singh may have acted as his brother, Bikram Singh's deputy during the latter's absences on Mughal war service. He may also have served as adviser to Raja Raj Singh (c.1685-1695) of Guler and to the latter's son, Raja Dalip Singh (1695-1741). As a prominent figure at the Guler court, he may have taken part in negotiations between Jammu, on the one hand, and Guler and Nurpur, on the other, c.1705, (see 7). An ensuing interest at Jammu in Guler notabilities might explain his inclusion in a Jammu portrait series. For other portraits of Gopal Singh, in Guler settings, see Guler, nos. 1 and 3.

6 Raja Anand Dev (c.1690-c.1715) of Bahu (Jammu), right, seated facing Raja Dhruv Dev (1703-1735) of Jammu proper, left. Mughal, Delhi (perhaps after Jammu originals). By Tegh Chand, c.1715.
218 x 315 mm; with border, 373 x 498 mm. Blue border and brownish pink album mount flecked with gold.

Inscribed on mount in Persian characters: (1) top right, *taswir-i-raja anant dev raja-yi jambu* 'Picture of Anand Dev, Raja of Jammu' (2) top left, *taswir-i-raja dhruv dev baradar-i-haqiqi-yi raja-yi jambu* 'Picture of Dhruv Dev, own (or rightful) brother of the Raja of Jammu' (3) at bottom, *amali tek chand* 'The work of (the artist) Tegh Chand'. India Office Library, London.

Description: Anand Dev to the right in white *jama* sprigged with red sits facing Dhruv Dev, to the left. Anand Dev holds a hookah stem and leans against a gold cushion with red and green floral sprigs. Dhruv Dev sits opposite, a hookah stem projecting stiffly before him. He leans against a crimson cushion with gold floral pattern. White terrace

with pale yellow carpet edged with green. Behind each raja stands an attendant with peacock-feather fan and white cloth, wearing a long ankle-length *jama* (yellow stripes on the left, crimson stripes on the right). Beyond the terrace is a line of trees with pink flowering shrubs. Sky pale blue topped with mauve and dark grey. Long sweeping clouds. Balustrade with geometrical compartments and cross-hatching.

Discussion: A picture of some historical importance since it may possibly reflect the relative status of the two branches of the Jammu family on the eve of their fusion under Dhruv Dev in c.1715. It is significant that Anand Dev, although technically of Bahu, is referred to as Raja of Jammu, Dhruv Dev being termed his 'own (or rightful) brother'. It is clear that in this context, the word 'brother' is being used in a loosely general, rather than a strictly literal way.

Although executed by a Mughal artist, the picture is clearly modelled on a Jammu original since it embodies the primitive device of depicting attendants standing behind large cushions which seem to float against them from the terrace floor. This convention which is put to striking use in 1 is wholly un-Mughal in character. Other Jammu features are the extreme paleness of the sky, the special kind of balustrade with compartments and rounded knobs at regular intervals and the patterned cushions with floral sprigs. For a portrait of Anand Dev at a slightly later age, see 4.

7 Raja Bhupal Dev of Jasrota receiving Raja Dalip Singh (ruled 1695-1741) of Guler and Raja Daya Dhata (c.1700-c.1735) of Nurpur. Bahu (Jammu), c.1705.
150 x 245 mm; with border, 205 x 300 mm. Red border with black rules.

Inscribed on the reverse in *takri* characters: (1) *raja bhupal dev* (2) *raja dilip singh* (3) *raja daya dhata*. Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 111-1954.

Description: Bhupal Dev of Jasrota in dark green *jama* leans against a crimson cushion smoking a hookah. To the left, facing him, sit Dalip Singh of Guler in a deep orange *jama* with leaf pattern and a golden turban, and Daya Dhata of Nurpur in a white turban with yellow bands and a crimson *jama*. White terrace and balustrade with criss-cross patterning. Background dull grey.

Discussion: Comparable in general style and palette to 1, 2 and 4, and with characteristic use of grey as background. The fact that alone of the three rajas, Bhupal Dev is smoking suggests that the incident depicted is a sequel to the little war waged by Jammu in an attempt to oust the young Dalip Singh from the Guler throne in c.1695. Although Jammu was thwarted by a combination of Chamba, Bilaspur and Siba, it may, none the less, have succeeded in asserting its supremacy as the potentially stronger power. Since Jasrota itself did not take part in this war, Bhupal Dev must have interviewed the two young Rajas in his capacity as a *wazir* or minister of Anand Dev.

8 Raja Dhruv Dev (c.1703-1735) of Jammu on a terrace with attendant. Kangra (after a Jammu original), c.1750-1760.
198 x 111 mm; with border, 230 x 142 mm. Red border with black and white rules.

Inscribed on the reverse in *nagari* characters: *sri raja dhruv de jamual* and in *takri* characters: *sri raja dharub de jama-wal* 'Sri Raja Dhruv Dev Jamual'. Chandigarh Museum (formerly Lambagraon collection, Kangra).

Description: Dhruv Dev of Jammu in white *jama*, with Vaishnava *tilak* marks and with a crimson sash sits on a white terrace leaning against a white cushion holding a sword in a red scabbard. An attendant in a white *jama* stands behind him, holding a long peacock-feather fan above his head. Grey background.

Discussion: Like 4, part of a large series of copies made for Raja Ghamand Chand (1761-1773) of Kangra and comprising perhaps the largest gallery of portraits of local rajas and their ancestors, owned by any Pahari ruler. Although somewhat harshly executed, the portrait is clearly based on

a Jammu prototype of the kind illustrated by 1-3. Other features connecting it with Jammu are its flowing simplicity of line, grey background, use of white for *jamas*, red borders and long up-slanting fan. These features are to re-appear in varying degrees in Jammu portraiture throughout the eighteenth century.

9 The devoted husband. From a *Rasamanjari* series. Jammu, c.1720.

182 x 275 mm; with border, 218 x 333 mm. Red border with black and white rules.

Numbered in *nagari* characters: 111 and inscribed on the reverse with a word (illegible) in *takri* characters.

Victoria and Albert Museum, Lory collection, I.S. 116-1960.

Description: Rama in dark blue skin, mauve *jama* and lotus crown advances across an empty background with a red bow and arrows in his left hand. He holds back Sita who stands behind him in a dark red skirt edged with blue, a blue bodice and a veil edged with gold. Behind them is a single tree with white trunk and three geometrical rosettes of leaves. Background golden-yellow.

Discussion: An illustration to verse 101 of the *Rasamanjari* of Bhanu Datta citing Rama as an example of the lover who is devoted only to his wife and who is loathe to leave her because of her aching desire to be with him (Basohli, 15(iv), q.v.). Three illustrated versions of the *Rasamanjari* are known from Basohli and one from Nurpur. It is possible that the prestige of these four sets led to the production of a fifth version of the poem at Jammu.

For details and idioms connecting the picture with Jammu, compare the starkly plain background (a constant feature in most of the preceding examples), the obsession with geometrical composition (here seen in the treatment of the foliage), the marked use of white and the appearance in Sita of the same type of female face and gold-edged veil employed in 10-13.

Related example: (1) Gangoly (1926), col. pl. 22. Lady accompanied by a maid gazing at a grove of trees behind which Kamadeva kneels, aiming a lotus arrow from his bow of flowers. Central Museum, Lahore. Jammu, c.1720. Similar type of geometrical trees and female faces as in 9.

10 Raja Ugar Singh (1720-1735) of Chamba with ladies. Jammu, c.1730.

174 x 253 mm; with border, 205 x 295 mm.

Red border with black rules.

Inscribed in the top border in *takri* characters: *sri raja ugar segh chabeal harama mahi* 'Sri Raja Ugar Singh of Chamba in the harem' and on the reverse in English: *Raja Augar Singh Chumbiwal* £2/-.

Victoria and Albert Museum, Rothenstein collection, I.S. 182-1951.

Published: Archer (1952a), fig. 54; also reproduced Khan-dalavala (1958), no. 49.

Description: Ugar Singh of Chamba, in a greenish-yellow *jama* and a white turban with golden-yellow band, sits on a white terrace against a grey cushion, patterned with blue floral sprigs. He smokes a hookah and holds a betel leaf in his left hand. Before him sits a lady, perhaps his rani, in a dark red skirt, mauve bodice and blue veil edged with gold. Behind her stands a maid in a mauve bodice and a dark blue skirt edged with red. She holds a tray of betel leaves and hands one to her mistress. To the right is a pale greenish-yellow rug with brown stripes. Grey background with, at the top, a band of white and slate blue sky.

Discussion: Connected with Jammu on account of its severely geometric structure, grey background, rectangular white terrace, rectangular striped rug, distinctive female types (11-15) and typically Jammu use of floral sprigs on the *jama* and cushion. As in 2, the subject has a white turban with yellow band.

Ugar Singh, son of Mahipat Singh, fourth brother of Raja Chattar Singh (1664-1690) of Chamba had lived in exile in Jammu, serving, for a time, incognito in the Jammu army. A chance act of bravery led to his discovery and when Udai Singh of Chamba died in 1720, Dhruv Dev of Jammu came

actively to his help and provided the necessary forces to enable him to seize the Chamba throne. His intimate association with Jammu may explain the respectful *takri* inscription as also his portrayal in a style which bears no resemblance to Chamba painting of the period (q.v.), but is clearly in line with that of Jammu.

11 Raja Medini Pal (1722-1736) of Basohli smoking with a lady. Jammu, c.1730.

Red border with white rules.

Formerly N. C. Mehta collection, Bombay.

Description: Medini Pal in dark *jama* and with Shaiva *tilak* marks, a long sword lying beside him, sits smoking a hookah before a lady who sits facing him holding two nose-gays in her hands. Pale rug with parallel stripes. Plain background.

Discussion: Like Ugar Singh of Chamba (10), Medini Pal — identified by comparison with two inscribed portraits (Basohli, q.v.) — came from a state outside Jammu but within the Jammu orbit. The present picture is connected with Jammu on account of its similarity to 10, its un-Basohli style, its plain background, the posture of the Raja (modelled on that of Anand Dev of Jammu in 1), the inclusion of nose-gays (1, 2), the presence of a rectangular striped rug (1, 10, 67) and its recourse to a distinctive type of female face with yellow-border and veil (9, 10, 12) and (13). This type of face cannot be readily associated with any other centre of painting in the Punjab Hills.

12 The disconsolate lady (vasakasajja nayika). Jammu, c.1740.

210 x 150 mm. Pink border, trimmed except for a portion at the top (23 x 47 mm).

Inscribed on the border in *takri* characters: *hanse ki moti chog din ek* 'A day for picking up a swan's pearls'.

Published: Archer (1952a), Fig. 55.

Victoria and Albert Museum, Rothenstein collection, I.S. 183-1951.

Description: A lady in dark yellow dress and veil edged with gold leans against a dark grey cushion, patterned with dark blue floral sprigs. She gazes at an empty landscape and holds out in her right hand a necklace of pearls. Behind her stands a maid in red bodice and pale gold skirt, holding a white cloth and waving a long mauve peacock-feather fan above her. Before her on a white terrace, backed with a balustrade with rectangular compartments, sits a girl musician in mauve skirt and green bodice, playing on a *vina* with brown and dark red resonators. Behind the lady is a house with grey wall and mauve and white roof. To the left is a pale yellow hillside with greenish-yellow rims, a curving band of grey water with lotuses and five cranes, and beyond it, a pale yellow band, topped by a white and slate blue sky.

Discussion: Identical in general style with 10 and 11 and with the following significant idioms: distinctive facial types (10, 11, 13, 14), grey cushions with blue floral sprigs (10, 12, 21), severely geometrical composition and an overall air of chilly pallor, the colours white, grey, mauve and pale yellow predominating.

13 Radha and Krishna on the serpent of eternity. Jammu, c.1740.

217 x 115 mm.

British Museum, London.

Published: Archer (1960), pl. 79.

Description: Radha in dark red dress and veil with gold edges sits holding a box of betel leaves in her right hand and a single betel leaf in her left. Opposite her sits Krishna on a bed of lotus petals, a scarf draped across his chest and holding in his left hand a flute. He extends his right hand in order to touch Radha's left shoulder. Both are seated on the spotted coils of the serpent of eternity, its fourteen heads reared above them like a protective canopy. The serpent floats on a pond with lotus leaves and flowers. Blackish-grey background with, at the top, long and sweeping clouds. **Discussion:** An unusual treatment of the familiar subject of Vishnu and Lakshmi, seated on the serpent of eternity. In

contrast to the normal renderings in which the four-armed Vishnu reclines on his back and Lakshmi sits massaging his limbs, the two-armed Krishna sits upright, touching Radha's shoulder with his hand while Radha, in the role of princess and lover, offers him betel-leaf. The introduction of the great snake imbues the encounter with overtones of sombre gravity.

In style, the picture avails of the same facial type used for ladies in 10-12 and 14, and shows Radha in a role identical with that of the women in the picture of Ugar Singh of Chamba in his harem (10). In this picture betel-leaves are also being offered both separately and in a box. The Jammu pre-occupation with austere geometry and cool pallor is again evident in the highly simplified clouds, the coiling heads and tail of the snake, the customary division of the picture into two flat portions and the lavish use of white and blackish-grey.

The substitution of Radha and Krishna for Vishnu and Lakshmi suggests that by at any rate the end of the seventeenth century ardent Vaishnavism had become the court religion at Jammu and Bahu, a circumstance reflected in the portrayal of Rajas Anand Dev of Bahu and Dhruv Dev of Jammu with Vaishnava *tilak* marks (see 1, 2, 4).

14 Radha and Krishna standing together. Jammu, c.1740. 198 x 145 mm; with border: 245 x 188 mm. Dark blue margin. Red border with white rules.

Victoria and Albert Museum, Manuk and Coles collection, I.S. 145-1949.

Published: Archer (1952), fig. 57; also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), no. 54.

Discussion: Radha in dark red skirt, white veil with gold edges and mauve bodice, stands on a golden yellow stool, gazing at Krishna who stands opposite her, in a golden yellow *dhoti* and long white garland patterned with floral sprigs. He strokes her chin with his left hand and places his right arm round her shoulders. Radha raises her right hand as if to stroke his breast and places her left arm round his shoulders. Behind them is a tree with pink trunk, three large rosettes of leaves and a delicate dangling creeper. Green foreground, pale yellow background with orange rim and, at the top, a rim of white and slate blue sky.

Discussion: Comparable in style, facial types, postures and situation to 13 and evincing the same kind of poetic colouring of tree trunk and geometric stylisation of foliage as in 9. The dark blue margin is characteristic of Jammu portraiture in the mid-eighteenth century. An unusual feature of Krishna's garland is the inclusion in it for decorative purposes of tiny floral sprigs. For the idiom of a washed-in rim in contrasting colour separating the background from the sky, see 12, 22, 48 and 69.

15 The lady and the tambura. Jammu, c.1740.

185 x 115 mm; with border 238 x 160 mm. Pink border with slate blue margins and black rules.

Inscribed on the reverse in *takri* characters: *sri surat kanchana daiji di sri* 'The gracious appearance of Kanchan Dai (Devi) ji' (or, in the alternative, 'the lady courtesan or singing-girl').

Archer collection, London (formerly Manuk and Coles residuary).

Description: A lady in striped trousers, pink scarf, and transparent blue dress and bodice, edged with gold, stands on a patch of green sward, playing a *tambura*. Pale yellow background with at the top, a rim of jagged clouds and slate-blue sky.

Discussion: Identical in style, idioms and palette to 13 and 14 and closely comparable in style with a mural in the Sish Mahal palace, Jammu, illustrated Khajuria (1964), fig. 2. The existence of this mural in a similar style supports the attribution to Jammu of the present group of pictures (9-15). For the novel idiom of jagged, shadowy clouds, compare 18-20 (portraits of Jammu courtiers).

Related example: (1) Coomaraswamy (1916), pl. 48A; also reproduced Archer (1952), fig. 56; Khandalavala (1958), no. 57. The lady and the buck. Freer Gallery of Art, Washington. Jammu, c.1740. Similar pale yellow background. The

fact that the buck projects into the border favours a date of not later than 1740, since this early Basohli practice was one of the first conventions to be replaced by Mughal-inspired naturalism in the second third of the eighteenth century.

16 Lady smoking. Jammu, c.1745.

Jagat Mehta collection, Bombay.

Description: A lady in loosely draped skirt and gold-edged veil sits on a low stool, smoking a hookah and gazing at the ground. Green sward. Pale grey background.

Discussion: Similar in posture and facial type to a picture, formerly in the Sir Dorab Tata collection, Bombay, and now in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay (Khandalavala (1953), fig. 12; Khandalavala (1958), fig. 60). This picture titled by Khandalavala *Madya kalahantarita* ('the remorseful heroine who has rebuked her lover') shows a lady sitting on a similar low stool with one foot on the ground and the other drawn up beside her on the stool and with the hookah stem passing between her legs. She wears a similar gold-edged veil and has the same type of female face, familiar from 10-15. The picture which was acquired by Sir Dorab Tata along with various studies of Raja Balwant Singh (q.v.) is perhaps by the latter's retained artist, Nainsukh, and thus supports the present picture's attribution to Jammu.

17 Yogini seated at a shrine to Shiva. Jammu, c.1745.

187 x 102 mm (trimmed).

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 211-1955.

Description: A woman ascetic in pink dress and orange cloak sits in a green field beside a tree with pale brown trunk, gazing at a white lingam. Background dark grey with, at the top, blue sky with whitish-grey clouds.

Discussion: Significant details: clouds as in 15, 18 and 20, grey background, face comparable to faces in 9 and 10.

18 Raja Tedhi Singh (c.1710-c.1730) of Mankot seated. Jammu, c.1745.

211 x 121 mm. Uncoloured mount.

Inscribed on the reverse in *takri* characters: (1) at the top, number 54 (2) at the base, *mia tedi singh mankotia*.

Victoria and Albert Museum, Rothenstein collection, I.S. 186-1951.

Published: Archer (1952), fig. 45.

Description: Tedhi Singh of Mankot in a dark green turban and *jama* sits on a white terrace beside a white balustrade with rectangular compartments. Black background with, at the top, three ragged gold-rimmed clouds.

Discussion: From a series of raja portraits, connected with Jammu on account of subject — the ruler of a state subordinate to Jammu and hence a likely subject for Jammu portraiture — treatment of clouds, similar to that in 15 and 20, use of black for background (compare 13), and a geometrical treatment of terrace and balustrade in line with Jammu conventions. For other portraits of Tedhi Singh modelled on the present study, see Mankot, nos. 39, 40, 41.

19 Raja Kailashpat Dev (c.1715-c.1730) of Bandralta seated. Jammu, c.1745.

200 x 120 mm. Uncoloured mount as in 17.

Inscribed on the reverse in *takri* characters: *miyan kailash-pata behdral 72*; and in *nagari* numerals; 2.

Victoria and Albert Museum, Rothenstein collection, I.S. 187-1951.

Published: Archer (1952a), fig. 46.

Description: Kailashpat Dev of Bandralta in a white turban and *jama* with green leaf patterning sits on a white terrace beside a balustrade with rectangular compartments. Dark grey background, merging, at the top, with a band of dark blue sky.

Discussion: From the same portrait series of neighbouring families as 18. Like its neighbour Mankot, Bandralta was also subordinate to Jammu.

20 Raja Dalel Singh (1735-1748) of Chamba smoking. By Fauju, Kangra, c.1760 (after a Jammu original of c.1745).

243 x 150 mm; with mount 243 x 188 mm. Dull green mount with black and white rules.

Inscribed in *takri* characters at the top: *sri raja dalela singh chibeyal 'Sri Raja Dalel Singh of Chamba'* and on the reverse: *likhtam foju 'Painted by Fauju'*.

Chandigarh Museum.

Published: Ohri (1969), fig. 16.

Description: Dalel Singh of Chamba in white *jama* and a banded turban sits smoking against a mauve cushion patterned with floral sprigs. Prominent hookah base. Ivory-coloured rug with faint floral pattern. Crinkly clouds edged with white or gold.

Discussion: Part of a series of copies executed for Raja Ghamand Chand (1761-1773) of Kangra by the painter Fauju. Dalel Singh was son of Raghunath Singh (fifth brother of Raja Chatter Singh (1664-1690) of Chamba). During Ugar Singh's reign (no. 10 q.v.), he had lived in Jammu with his mother's brother. He had subsequently taken a Jammu bride, daughter of Bajai Dev of Jammu. Due to general discontent in Chamba at Ugar Singh's oppression, Dalel Singh superceded Ugar Singh in 1735 but in 1747 abdicated in favour of Ugar Singh's elder son, Umed Singh. As a former resident of Jammu and a ruler who was intimately connected with it by marriage, he is likely to have visited the Jammu court and thus have been an obvious subject for a Jammu portrait. The present picture includes the following Jammu details and idioms: pale rug with faint floral pattern (2, 3, 5), prominent hookah base (6), cushion with distinctive floral-sprig pattern (1, 2, 6, 10, 12, 22) and crinkly clouds with light edges (17-19).

21 Raja Devi Chand (1741-1778) of Kahlur (Bilaspur) smoking on terrace. Jammu, c.1750.

200 x 132 mm. (trimmed).

Inscribed on the reverse in *takri* characters: *sri maraj devi chand kahluria*

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 262-1953.

Description: Devi Chand of Kahlur (Bilaspur) in a rich orange-brown *jama* and richly tasselled turban sits smoking on a hexagonal white terrace leaning against a grey cushion patterned with dark blue floral sprigs, perhaps irises. A large falcon perches on a crimson cushion. Dark green carpet with pale yellow rug. An attendant in an ankle-length orange-red *jama*, and with a sword in a green scabbard at his side, holds a long peacock-feather fan above him. Putty-coloured grey background with, at the top, a band of streaky sky.

Discussion: Significant details: grey background, cushion with dark blue floral sprigs (10, 12), partial concealment of the attendant by the cushion, assertive placing of the peacock-feather fan.

22 Three ladies on a terrace. Jammu, c.1750.

198 x 118 mm; with border 230 x 153 mm. Red border with black and white rules.

Victoria and Albert Museum, Rothenstein collection, I.S. 52-1954.

Description: Two ladies, perhaps singers, dressed in dark red, blue and green, sit together on a pale yellow rug. Each wears a heavy grey veil and heavy jewellery. To the right is seated a third woman in dark green skirt, mauve veil and red bodice, less richly bejewelled. Grey background with, at the top, a pinkish-orange curving rim, white sky and ragged blue clouds.

Discussion: Similar in general style to 12-15 but with sharper faces and rougher clouds. A continuing feature is the grey background. For the idiom of a washed-in rim in contrasting colour, perhaps peculiar to Jammu painting, see 12, 14, 48 and 69.

23 Raja Jit Pal (1736-1757) of Basohli with ladies on a terrace. Jammu, c.1750.

160 x 265 mm. (trimmed). Traces of red border with black margin as in no. 60.

Archer collection, London.

Description: Jit Pal of Basohli in pale crimson trousers with white *jama* sits on a low dais leaning against a red cushion,

his rani in pale green dress kneeling beside him. Both have hookahs. Behind him are four maids in mauve, slate blue and dark green. Jit Pal holds a hawk on his right wrist and prepares to make it over to a maid wearing a green hawking glove and dressed in mauve, blue and white. Behind her are two singing girls, in blue, maroon and green clapping their hands, a girl musician with a *tambura* and another attendant in dark green. Two further women, one holding a second hawk and with a similar green glove, stand behind the chief falconess. Pale green terrace with carpet and balustrade, with, at the base, a thin band of pink. Pale yellow background with curving rim of white and blue sky.

Discussion: A continuation of an earlier form of Jammu painting, showing a ruler with his ladies (compare 10, Ugar Singh of Chamba and 11, Medini Pal of Basohli). Jit Pal, who was born in 1730 and married twice, was brought up in a Vaishnava household, his mother, the sister of Raja Govardhan Chand (1741-1773) of Guler, having strong Vaishnava leanings. These may explain the Vaishnava *tilak* marks on his forehead in contrast to the Shaiva *tilak* marks which characterise his rani, falconess and singing-girls. For a late Basohli portrait of about 1780, showing him with the same trim beard, keen nose and holding a hawk, see Randhawa (*Roopa Lekha* (1964), fig. 5).

Although indifferently executed, the picture is in clear descent from 10-16 as can be seen from the facial types used for the ladies, a palette dominated by white, mauve and green, and a repetition of the familiar pale yellow background with rim of white and blue at the top. A significant feature is the red border with thick black margin. This idiom appears in the Manley portrait of Brij Raj Dev of Jammu (60), one of the greatest and most typical of Jammu paintings.

PHASE TWO: 1740-1765

A phase of painting outside the main stream of painting in Jammu and focussing in large part on the work of a 'mysterious intruder', the painter Nainsukh (Archer, 1952a). Although this 'intruder' was at one time believed to be a native of Jasrota it has since been shown by Randhawa (1955, 1956) and Goswamy (1965, 1966a, b, 1968) that his family home was in fact at Guler. His date of birth is unrecorded but it is likely to have been about 1725.

The exact year in which he reached Jammu is uncertain but on the evidence of a portrait by him, inscribed and dated 1746 (no. 26) and of earlier portraits in similar style (24, 25), it could well be 1744, the year when he and his Jammu patron were both aged about twenty years.

Of his life and career as an artist prior to 1744, nothing definite is known. The following inferences however can be drawn from his earliest paintings (c.1744-c.1747). These show him as, on the one hand, aware of contemporary developments in painting at Delhi and at Guler (q.v.) and, on the other, possessed of an exceptional native talent. This talent is shown in a positive flair for portraiture and there is already a mastery of fluent naturalism and an effortless skill in capturing likenesses. His technique is in marked contrast to the somewhat stiff, flat and formal styles previously current at Guler and Jammu and suggests that he had either spent his formative years at the Mughal imperial court or had benefited from the example of Guler artists who may have worked at Delhi in the period 1730-1740.

As with other events in his life, the actual circumstances in which he moved to Jammu are obscure, but a curious aspect of the family's history is that while retaining their family connection with Guler, not only Nainsukh's generation, but the next appear to have sought employment in states outside it. Manaku, his elder brother, left Guler for Basohli in about 1725, perhaps a year or so after Nainsukh's birth. Manaku's sons, Fattu and Khushala, worked in Basohli and Kangra respectively. Nainsukh's own sons, Gaudhu, Nikka and Ranjha, worked at Kangra, Chamba and Basohli respectively. Even in Nainsukh's own case it is

significant that he did not return to Guler on a permanent basis after the death in 1763 of his Jammu patron but lived at Basohli until his own death in 1778 (Goswamy, 1968a, b). While excessive competition on the part of other Guler artists or intrigues against the family may have occasioned these migrations, perhaps only a restless need to work outside the family environment or an odd rebelliousness of spirit can explain quite so persistent an urge to move.

If the cause and occasion of Nainsukh's migration to Jammu can only be surmised, the decisive factor in keeping him there must almost certainly have been the personality and character of his patron, Balwant Singh. Balwant Singh (born 1724, died 1763) seems to have had little interest in art, as such, but an almost obsessive preoccupation with portraiture, partly as a projection of his own personality, partly as a record of his interests, occupations and adventures, and partly as an expression of his private ambitions and ideals. Contact with Mughal imperial portraiture may have alerted him to these lively possibilities but perhaps only a chance encounter with a talented artist of about his own age can have led to Nainsukh's own recruitment. Mutual respect, regard and understanding seem to have followed and the result was a relationship in which, like Raphael and Castiglione, the two 'came together as equals'.

The fifty or more paintings and drawings in which this relationship is expressed can be divided into five groups. The first shows Balwant Singh as he actually was, the junior-most of four brothers, a wealthy member of a rich family, independent, but except for a short period, not of great feudal consequence, and modestly living in his own way in his own houses or on his own estate. In pictures of this kind, Nainsukh follows him round as if with a camera, snapping him as he finishes his toilet, is shaved by a barber, inspects horses, picnics in the country, releases his hawks, or camps beneath a shed. He shows him as nothing if not dignified but, at the same time, off-guard or in undress, the presiding genius, not of a feudal state, but of a rural household in which the humblest servant is allowed his little quirks.

The second group casts him in a role which is directly opposite. Nainsukh now portrays him with almost regal magnificence wearing the smartest of clothes, seated on richly decorated thrones (sometime adorned with tiger-heads), presiding at audiences of courtiers where he blandly issues commands, progressing through the country as if he were the head of a great pageant, indulging in the royal sport of lion-hunting or demonstrating super-normal bravery by killing a tiger face to face. In place of the quiet landowner surrounded by familiar servants, he now has all the airs of an emperor. As a corollary, not only his favourite servants but the appendages of royalty, his favourite hawks, stallion and elephant are separately portrayed. In these pictures the subject is hardly Balwant Singh as he actually was but Balwant Singh as he would have liked to have been, the youngest son turned eldest son, compensating for his junior status in Jammu court life by assuming the grandest and greatest of visionary roles.

The third group shows yet another facet of his character. In these pictures, he appears as a connoisseur and patron of music, a *rasika* for whom music was no mere idle entertainment but a vital part of his being. He is now portrayed presiding at a series of music-parties — at Jammu in his town house, at Jasrota in his country retreat, at Saruin in the new mansion which he built on his estate. At most of these parties, the performers are his own employees; and his leading singer, the buxom Ladvai, makes a recurring appearance. At others, the singers and players are either strangers on a visit, potential recruits to his household or guest entertainers. It is significant that at these parties, only Balwant Singh himself is present as if the occasion is his and his alone. In most cases, the women singers sit on the floor either accompanying themselves with *tamburas* and drums or aided by male musicians who sit behind them. In one

case, a boy dressed as a girl sings and dances before him to the eager accompaniment of a male troupe. Formal parties, however, are not the only times when music is played; even when he is interviewing agents or officials, completing his toilet or brooding in camp in the early morning, one or more musicians are present.

So intense a preoccupation with music may have had one further corollary — the composition of songs by Balwant Singh himself. It is significant that two pictures show him in the act of writing, and five pictures have inscriptions recording either the line of a song which was actually being sung at the time or which was in his mind when the picture was made. It does not seem too far-fetched to suggest that these songs were of his own composition and for this very reason were not only 'on his mind' but were also carefully referred to in the notes written on the pictures. If this theory is true, it would suggest that not only in fantasies of grandeur but also in music and song-writing, Balwant Singh achieved fulfilment.

A fourth group of pictures concentrates on a building project in which Nainsukh may once again have played a sensitive role. In 1750, Balwant Singh was probably toying with the idea of constructing a new palace at Saruin, the headquarters of his *jagir* and Nainsukh may have been consulted concerning its size and appearance. The new building was completed in 1751 since a fully finished painting by Nainsukh dated that year shows Balwant Singh sitting alone on a palace roof-top watching a storm approaching. The building with its huge facade bears an obvious resemblance to the western side of the Saruin palace of which the ruins still exist and in this picture Nainsukh may well be portraying Balwant Singh as 'king' of his 'new castle'. Before painting this picture, he made a number of imaginary plans, showing an enormous building, consonant in size with his patron's conceptions. The building varies from drawing to drawing but by showing Balwant Singh actually sitting in it, losing his hawks from a window or arriving at it with a posse of retainers, these drawings may have helped him to visualise the kind of life he would lead there when it was finished, and, thus, by implication, identify himself imaginatively with the project.

The fifth and last group of pictures shows Balwant Singh after some mysterious disaster has struck him. These drawings lack Nainsukh's former verve and it is possible that he also was unnerved by the experience. None the less he continues with his patron's pictorial biography. In one picture he shows him with a musician after the rigours of a forced march and in another slumping heavily as he listens to a party of musicians. In a third picture, unique in the whole of Pahari painting, he constructs an allegory of disaster, showing Balwant Singh seated at the stern of a great boat in which the remains of his past life are being swept away down a raging river. In 1763 Nainsukh attended the immersion of Balwant Singh's ashes at Hardwar and the collaboration between artist and patron was over.

24(i) Raja Balwant Singh (born 1724, died 1763) of Jammu smoking on a terrace. Jammu, c.1743.

255 x 185 mm. (without border).

Inscribed at the top by writer B in *takri* characters (undeciphered).

Indian Museum, Calcutta.

Note: A feature of Nainsukh's portraits of Balwant Singh is the extent to which they are annotated in two completely different hands (writers A and B). Inscriptions by writer A are neat and elegant, beautifully set out on the page and in their tasteful delicacy are almost an extension of Nainsukh's own paintings. Special features are their invariable reference to Balwant Singh as 'Raja' or 'Maharaja' — a term greatly in excess of 'Mian' but in line with his grander fantasies, the omission of any clan or place name after it, the occasional inclusion of the year and month (sometimes even Balwant Singh's own age) when the picture was

painted, in certain cases the name of the place where he was staying (though not of his normal place of residence), in two cases allusions to Mir Mannu, the Mughal Governor who was a friend of his brother, Raja Ranjit Dev, in one case the names of his Jasrota contemporary, Mian Mukand Dev and of the singing-girl, Amal, riding with him, in two cases the names of the particular singing-girls who were entertaining him, and finally the lines from songs which were either being sung to him at the time or which were haunting him on particular occasions. In one case (31), the line even contains an elaborate pun on Mir Mannu and his victory over the Pathans.

Such well-turned inscriptions raise a strong presumption that whoever wrote them was in close touch with Balwant Singh, perhaps as his private secretary, and that at times they may even have been written to Balwant Singh's dictation. Although they blend with Nainsukh's pictures, they are not in Nainsukh's own hand as can be seen from entries made by Nainsukh in a priest's register at Hardwar (Goswamy, 1968, fig. 9). Their respectful (at times, over-respectful) phrasing and the care taken not to disfigure the artist's work further suggest that a member of the household, on friendly terms with the painter, was responsible.

The identity of the second hand (writer B) was, until 1970, a baffling and unresolved mystery. Inscriptions in this hand are clumsily sprawling and extremely difficult to read, and the writer appears totally indifferent to any possible disfigurement that they may cause to the pictures. In six cases they are the only inscriptions on the pictures; in two cases they are continuations of inscriptions by writer A; and in one case, the inscription is written on top of one by writer A, apparently correcting or erasing it. Of the six cases in which writer B's hand is the only one used, one concerns Balwant Singh as a youth, one his sons, one his servants, one the 'allegory of disaster' in which Balwant Singh appears seated in a boat which is being swept away (53), one his friend Mukand Dev of Jasrota and one the latter's father Dhrub Dev. Of the two cases in which his comment continues a note by writer A, one concerns Mukand Dev of Jasrota and the other some singers and musicians who are entertaining him in his premature old age. In the solitary instance in which his note corrects a comment by writer A, the picture shows him seated alone on top of a great palace (42). Whoever wrote these inscriptions, therefore, seems to have been as much concerned with other people as with Balwant Singh himself, and although in five cases Balwant Singh is shown in the picture, the writer does not refer to him by name. Finally, writer B obviously felt himself free to do as he liked with the pictures and to maim, maul or modify whatever writer A had written.

It is now clear, thanks to the discovery of a document by Ohri (1969) that writer B is none other than Balwant Singh himself. The document in question guarantees the territorial integrity of a border area in Chamba and contains agreements and signatures in the hands of Ranjit Dev of Jammu, Ajit Pal of Basohli and Balwant Singh himself. In Balwant Singh's case, it amounts to two long lines of *takri* handwriting (see 24(ii)) and this hand-writing tallies exactly with the hand of writer B in the nine cases noted. Although it has so far proved impossible to decipher all of these nine inscriptions, the fact that they are so carelessly written and involve so cavalier a treatment both of the pictures and of writer A's neat respectful comments, confirms their attribution to Balwant Singh — presumed owner of the pictures and thus the only person likely to treat them in this manner.

Description: The young Balwant Singh of Jammu in an orange red *jama* sits on a rug leaning against a cushion patterned with floral sprigs, two pillows shaped like parallelograms, a box of betel leaves and a sword lying beside him. He holds the stem of a hookah in his right hand. Behind him stands an attendant, holding a long peacock-feather fan over him. White terrace demarcated from the uncoloured

background by a horizontal line. On either side an archway, partly hidden by an orange-red and green blind.

Discussion: An early portrait of Balwant Singh, perhaps the first surviving, showing him aged about twenty (possibly a little less), beardless but already with an assured air of calm confidence, wearing a striking dress and displaying unobtrusive signs of wealth (a pearl ear-ring, a pendant with ruby and a jewelled armlet). The acquisition of a large estate at Saruin, twelve miles east of Jammu town, may perhaps explain this early air of resolute independence. Balwant Singh was only eleven when his father, Raja Dhrub Dev of Jammu, died in 1735 and the fact that his eldest brother, Ranjit Dev, was detained for twelve years by the Mughals may have encouraged him to maintain one or more establishments, amounting almost to a separate court.

In style, the picture closely follows Jammu practice, including such standard conventions as a plain background, demarcating horizontal line, a cushion, two pillows, sword and hookah, the typical Jammu decoration of floral sprigs, a tall attendant with long and thin fan and the use of sinuous rhythmic outlines.

24(ii) Extract from an agreement personally attested by Balwant Singh of Jammu, 1752.

Discussed Ohri (1969), where the document is transliterated into *nagari* characters and translated into English. For the present photograph showing the hand-writing itself, I am deeply indebted to V. C. Ohri (June 1970).

Description: The following seven lines in *takri* characters attest an agreement reached by Raja Ranjit Dev of Jammu, Balwant Singh of Jammu and Ajit Pal of Basohli guaranteeing the territorial integrity of the Pathyar estate to Raja Umed Singh of Chamba: Lines 1 and 2 in the hand of Ranjit Dev of Jammu:

(1) *likhat ranjit de pathyare de kame*
 (2) *bich raje kane rahna upar likha se parman*
 'Signed by Ranjit Dev, to stand by Raja (Umed Singh) on the issue of Pathyar. Above written (agreement) is accepted'.

Lines 3 and 4 in the hand of Balwant Singh of Jammu:

(3) *likhat balwant singh pathyare de kame bich*
 (4) *raje kane rahna upar likhe se parman*
 'Signed by Balwant Singh, to stand by Raja (Umed Singh) on the issue of Pathyar. Above written (agreement) is accepted'.

Lines 5, 6 and 7 in the hand of Ajit Pal of Basohli:

(5) *likhat ajit pal pathyare de k*
 (6) *am bich sri raje kane rahna uparla li*
 (7) *kha parman*
 'Signed by Ajit Pal, to stand by Sri Raja (Umed Singh) on the issue of Pathiyar. Above written (agreement) is accepted'.

Discussion: Of exceptional importance for the identification of Balwant Singh as youngest brother of Raja Ranjit Dev (1735-1781) of Jammu and as writer B, and for the association with him of the nine paintings and drawings noted above (see 24(i), 27, 33, 35, 42, 47(i), 48, 53 and 55). As pointed out by Ohri (1969), it was customary for a younger brother to be associated with the administration of a state and in the capacity of minister to endorse documents executed by the ruler. The Balwant Singh of the document can, therefore, only have been Balwant Singh of Jammu.

25 Raja Balwant Singh of Jammu standing smoking in a garden. Jammu, dated February-March 1744.
 231 x 158 mm; with border 294 x 213 mm.

Inscribed by writer A in *takri* characters on the reverse: *sri maharaje sri balwant singhji di jihne dine eh tasvir likhi thi ta umar vahra vihi thi mahina phagun tha samvat athara sau tha*. '(The portrait) of Sri Maharaja Sri Balwant Singhji. On the day this picture was painted his age was twenty, the month *phagun* (February-March). The *samvat* year was 1800 (A.D. 1743-1744)'. Chandigarh Museum (on transfer from Central Museum, Lahore).

Published: Goswamy (1968), fig. 31, where the date is given as 1743.

Description: The young Balwant Singh of Jammu in a yellow *jama*, richly besprinkled with fine dots, stands in a bare garden, his left hand resting on an upright sword, his right hand holding the stem of a hookah to his mouth. As in 24(i), he has no beard or moustache. Behind him stands a tall servant in dark green *jama* and orange-red turban holding the hookah bowl. In the foreground is a bed of poppies. In front of Balwant Singh are two tall cypress trees. Behind him are pink flowering trees, with bees flying around them, a pale background and at the top, billowing clouds.

Discussion: In date close to 24(i) but in style evincing much greater naturalism, more sensitivity to detail and subtler characterisation. In place of austere geometry, the structure and composition are now more relaxed. Idioms, typical of painting at Guler, have also been introduced. Compare, in particular, the tall cypresses, flowering trees and beds of poppies. Although the artist's name is not mentioned, the picture may have been painted by Nainsukh soon after he joined Balwant Singh in Jammu and was still on probation.

Example for comparison: (1) Unpublished. Balwant Singh standing smoking with an attendant. Sketch. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. By Nainsukh. Jammu, c.1750. Comparable posture and composition, though without background details. Balwant Singh six years older.

26 Raja Balwant Singh of Jammu standing holding a hawk. By Nainsukh. Jammu, dated April-May 1746.

Inscribed by writer A on the front in *takri* characters: *sri maharaje balwant singhji tinhe dine ehe tasvir likhi hai tan sammat 3 varaha da tha mahina basakh tha likhat nensukh*. 'Sri Maharaja Balwant Singhji. On the day this picture was painted the *samvat* had (gone) three years, i.e., it was *samvat* year 1803 (A.D. 1746-1747). The month was Baisakh (April-May). Painted by Nainsukh'. National Museum, New Delhi.

Reproduced: Khandalavala (1958), no. 91.

Description: The young Balwant Singh of Jammu, with trim beard and small moustache, stands in a garden against a plain background, his left hand resting on a sword, his gloved right hand supporting a hawk. He wears a pearl earring, a garland and a white ankle-length *jama*.

Discussion: This portrait is of special importance since it is the first of only two pictures of Balwant Singh to be expressly inscribed with the name of the artist Nainsukh. Painted two years later than 25, it shows Balwant Singh in broadly the same stance but visibly older, since he has now a beard and also a small moustache. The explicit mention of Nainsukh suggests that he was now a definite member of Balwant Singh's entourage, though possibly still sufficiently of a new-comer for his name to be noted. It is significant that neither his caste nor place of origin are included in the inscription. This would suggest that like other members of the household his identity could now be taken for granted.

Example for comparison: (1) Unpublished. Balwant Singh seated smoking on a terrace. Inscribed on the reverse in *takri* characters by writer A: *tasvir raje balwant deve ji di jihne dine ehe tasvir likhi he ta umar bahra panji thi sammat panj tha mahina saun tha*. 'The portrait of Raja Balwant Dev. The day on which this portrait was painted his age was twenty-five years. The *samvat* year was five (i.e. (180)5, A.D. 1748). The month was Sawan (July-August)'. Fitzwilliam Museum, Manuk and Coles collection, Cambridge. Jammu, dated July-August 1748.

Similar in posture and in the treatment of cushion, pillows, rug, sword and hookah-stem to 24 but with richly patterned yellow *jama*, billowing clouds and flower beds as in 25, pale grey background, and with no attending servant. Executed in the same year as 31, though possibly by a second artist, not Nainsukh. Although the inscription is in the neat hand of writer A and is fully completed, the fact that the hookah-stem disappears out of the picture and is unattached to any bowl suggests that the portrait is either a study for a larger picture or a fragment.

27 Mian Mukand Dev (born c.1720, died c.1770) of Jasrota

standing with a hawk at night. By Nainsukh, Jammu, c.1746. 205 x 155 mm. Uncoloured mount as in 23 and 24.

Inscribed by writer B (Balwant Singh) at the top in *takri* characters: *mia mukand de jasrota*; and on the reverse with the number 90.

Victoria and Albert Museum, Rothenstein collection, I.S. 185-1951.

Published: Archer (1952a), fig. 48.

Description: Mukand Dev of Jasrota in long ankle-length white *jama* and white turban stands on a patch of sage green sward against a pale greenish-grey background under a pale night sky with crescent moon and stars. Red trousers are dimly visible. He wears a yellow hawking glove on which a white hawk is perched.

Discussion: A companion picture to 26 and significant because of its similarity in style and the fact that the inscription is by writer B (Balwant Singh). It is no coincidence that the two inscriptions on the *plein air* study of Mukand Dev on a riding picnic (47) are in the neat hand of writer A (the only other writer whose handwriting appears on Nainsukh's portraits), as well as in Balwant Singh's own hand (writer B's). The clear inference is that both portraits (27 and 26), must, at some time, have been in Balwant Singh's possession and that both were probably produced at his instance.

Mukand Dev, third son of Dhruv Dev (ruled c.1710-c.1730) of Jasrota was an almost exact contemporary of Balwant Singh of Jammu and on the evidence of portraits seems to have shared Balwant Singh's taste for music and hawking. Since he came from Jasrota where Balwant Singh appears to have had a subordinate establishment, he was probably his friend and associate.

28 Self-portrait, aged about 20 years. By the artist Nainsukh. Jammu, c.1746.

Inscribed at the top in *nagari* characters: *pandit nainsukh mosavar 5*. 'Pandit Nainsukh painter, (no. 5)'. Formerly G. N. Tagore collection, Calcutta.

Published: Gangoly (1929), 63; also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), 339; Goswamy (1968b), fig. 3.

Description: 'A portrait in profile in an oval shape, of a young artist, actually sketching on his board, with a fine brush in hand. He is dressed in a white, double-breasted coat and a head-gear frequently met with in Kangra miniatures. He wears a vermilion spot, probably of saffron between his eye-brows and a double crescent caste-mark, usually worn by Shivaites. He has a fine pair of eye-brows and an almost faultless nose and his thin moustache adds piquancy to a very delicately modelled and sensitive but youthful head, almost boyish in its charm and freshness. His small eyes have a sadness and suggestion of great meditateness which adds a peculiar charm to the personality of this young artist. As the name indicates, he was a Brahmin' (Gangoly (1929), 63).

Discussion: Of uncertain provenance — the clumsily written *nagari* inscription being almost certainly much later than the picture itself. In style, a vivid example of Nainsukh's flair for sensitive characterisation, command of delicate line and deft skill in capturing likenesses. On the evidence of his keen, alert face, it is no surprise that on leaving his birthplace of Guler, he should have quickly won the confidence and esteem of a young patron in Jammu.

29 The Mughal Emperor Bahadur Shah (1707-1712) receiving a courtier. Attributed to Nainsukh, Jammu, c.1746.

Fitzwilliam Museum, Manuk and Coles collection, Cambridge.

Description: Bahadur Shah with royal halo, white *jama* and long necklace, sits on a green throne with crimson cushions, his legs tucked beneath him, his right hand holding a nose-gay. Behind him stand two attendants in ankle-length *jamans*, one of them deep yellow, holding peacock-feather fans. Before the throne are three steps. Above the group is an orange canopy on four poles. A courtier in long white *jama* stands in front, receiving instructions. White terrace with balustrades in Jammu style. Greyish blue background with rolling clouds.

Discussion: From a series of portraits of Mughal emperors perhaps executed by Nainsukh either at the Mughal imperial capital of Delhi, at Guler or after his migration to Jammu. Although there is no proof that he underwent training at the Mughal capital, no other assumption so readily explains his mastery of nimble line, fluent naturalism, recession and perspective. The present picture and its related examples suggest the prototypes or models on which Nainsukh may have drawn for his group portraits of Balwant Singh with members of his household.

Related examples from the same or similar series: (1) Archer (1960), pl. 81; also reproduced Mittal (1965), fig. 3. The Emperor Muhammad Shah (1720-1748) attended at night by ladies. British Museum, Manuk and Coles collection, London. Attributed to Nainsukh. Jammu, c.1746. Similar to 29 in its sparse and open composition, relaxed disposition of the figures, use of diagonals for suggesting depth and inclusion of a canopy. As in 31, a full moon is present.

(2) Khandalavala (1953), fig. 10; also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), no. 99. The Emperor Aurangzeb (1658-1707) reading. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. Attributed to Nainsukh. Jammu, c.1746. Formerly in the collection of Sir Dorab Tata and acquired from him by the Museum along with portraits of Balwant Singh by Nainsukh.

30 Raja Balwant Singh of Jammu examining a picture presented by the artist, Nainsukh. By Nainsukh, Jammu, c.1747.

Size: approximately 210 x 300 mm. Dark blue margin with gold floral pattern.

Inscribed on the reverse in English with the patron's name, Raja Balwant Dev. Radha Krishna Jalan collection, Patna, until 1950 (formerly in the possession of Durgi Raina, Pacca Danga, Jammu, from whom it came on the art-market in about 1920). For its suggested previous provenance, the Jammu Raj collection, see *Reigns and Portraits* (xxi): Pratap Singh.

Studied and photographed by W.G.A., Patna, 1948.

Published: Archer (1952a), fig. 36; Anand (1968), fig. 2.

In 1950, the picture again came on the Indian art-market and is now untraced.

Description: Balwant Singh of Jammu in a plain *jama* with long necklace sits in a richly decorated gold chair holding the stem of a hookah in his left hand and a painting, perhaps a portrait, in his right. Behind him stands an artist in a long white *jama* bowing before him with folded hands, having made the offering. Before the Raja is seated a courtier or minister and behind him a group of three male musicians, one of them singing, the second with a *tambura*, and the third with a red drum. An attendant in a white *jama* stands behind the seated courtier. Long white terrace with, at the back, a long verandah with pale yellow floor and low red railings. The verandah has five arches on each side, each are supported by twin pillars. A plain rolled-up blind is at the top of the nearer arches. Beyond the red railings is a row of dense trees. On either side of the verandah is a doorway with rolled-up screen.

Discussion: This picture, one of a series of group portraits, shows Balwant Singh holding separate court — the wide and spacious terrace, the long verandah, the deep vista of trees and the richly decorated throne (comparable to that of the Mughal Emperor in 29) — all suggesting that this is no mere country establishment but a lavish residence in Jammu town. In terms of building, the arches and their twin supports are typical of other royal mansions in Jammu, as also of the palace at Ramnagar (Bandralta). It is characteristic of Balwant Singh that even in this early picture, he is shown presiding alone as if already jealous of his independence and determined to maintain his privacy vis-a-vis other members of the Jammu royal family.

The picture is of special interest since it is clearly modelled on the portrait of the Emperor receiving a courtier (29). By showing Balwant Singh wearing the same kind of necklace and sitting in the same posture on the same kind of throne, it casts him in a quasi-imperial role. At the same time it stresses his involvement in music, since the three musicians are not merely in attendance but are

actively performing (though other business is going on). Finally, it demonstrates his acceptance of Nainsukh as his personal artist. Nainsukh, identified by comparison with the self-portrait (28), is shown in an attitude of eager respect, inviting his patron to approve a sample of his work and by implication to ratify his position in the household. That this was done is shown by the series of portraits which he executed for Balwant Singh up to 1763, the year of his patron's death. As with 31, 33, 48 and 49, the picture's provenance is Jammu.

31 Raja Balwant Singh of Jammu listening to his singing-girls and musicians at Jasrota. By Nainsukh. May-June, 1748.

210 x 302 mm.

Inscribed at the top by writer A in *takri* characters: *sammāt vikramajīti athara sau pañj thā jeth mahina thā. tihne dīne ehe tasvir likhī tihne dīne umar varaha chauvī thī sri maharaje sri balwant singh jī dī. tan eh tasvir nensukhe jasrote likhī thī. tihne dīne mir mannu lahaur aya thā pathanan par larai phate pai ke. tori manū har alī rī ab na mano.* 'It was vikrama samvat eighteen hundred and five (A.D. 1748). It was the month of Jeth (May-June). On that day this picture was painted. On that day the age of Sri Maharaja Sri Balwant Singhji was twenty-four years. It was then that this picture was painted by Nainsukh at Jasrota. On that day Mir Mannu had come to Lahore after his victory over the Pathans in battle. (Song) To your entreaties, O my lady friend, I shall not listen any more' (see, however, note below). Central Museum, Lahore (formerly in the possession of Durgi Raina, Pacca Danga, Jammu, from whom it came on the art-market in about 1920. For its suggested previous provenance, the Jammu Raj collection, see *Reigns and Portraits* (xxi): Pratap Singh.

Published: Archer (1952a), fig. 35; also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), no. 194; Anand (1968), fig. 1; listed Gupta (1922), G.34; catalogued Gray (1950), 130.

Note: For a first correct reading of the main inscription (less the line of the song), see Archer (1963), reporting Goswamy (private communication, 1961), later elaborated Goswamy (1966a, b), and independently confirmed Ohri (1965). For earlier mis-readings (mistaking *nensukhe jasrote* 'Nainsukh at Jasrota' for *nensukhe jasrotie* 'Nainsukh of Jasrota', see Gray (1950), 130 (catalogue entry no. 543); Archer (1952a), 46, 90, 91; Khandalavala (1953), 73-78 and Khandalavala (1958), 118-120. For other mistakes in reading (Archer, 1952a), see Ohri (1965).

On the meaning of the line of the song and the reference to Mir Mannu, Gopi Krishna Kanoria makes the following comments: 'The Pathans (Afghans), under Ahmad Shah, were defeated at Sirhind in March to April 1748, the Mughal Viceroy, Mir Mannu's father, being accidentally killed by a cannon-ball in battle. Mir Mannu, termed by Cunningham 'a man of vigour and ability', succeeded him in the post. About a month later a date was fixed for Mir Mannu's triumphal entry into Lahore and his formal assumption of the Viceroy's office. This is presumably the date referred to in the inscription. Mir Mannu was a friend of Balwant Singh's eldest brother, Raja Ranjit Dev, but this circumstance would hardly warrant a reference to his victory unless it made some extra contribution to the occasion. The 'extra contribution', in Kanoria's view, is the series of puns or conceits which it enables the song to include. In English poetry conceits of this kind are comparable to Donne's line to his mistress, 'O my America, my new found land'.

From this point of view the phrase *tori manū har* means, firstly 'Mir Mannu gained victory over the Pathans but your Mannu (*tori manū*), i.e. Balwant Singh or the lover, is defeated by you'. In the alternative, or simultaneously, the two words *manū har* can be read as only one word, *manūhar* and in that case, they can mean 'your charms' or 'your wiles'. Bearing in mind the element of defeat, they can also have the extra nuance, 'your *captivating* charms or wiles'. Finally they can also mean 'your entreaties'.

The next phrase *ali ri* means 'O my lady friend' or more simply 'O my darling'. The last phrase, *ab na mano* can be taken literally as 'No, I am not going to listen', but, on the other hand it may merely be a verbal refrain like 'fol da ridle da ri do'.

The upshot then is a choice between the following interpretations: (1) 'O your captivating wiles, my darling! (refrain, *ab na mano*)' (2) 'Your lover (i.e. Balwant Singh, or any lover) is defeated, O my darling (refrain, *ab na mano*)' (3) He: 'O my darling, your captivating wiles are such that I am defeated'. She: 'Whatever your entreaties, I am not listening'. Kanoria adds that, in his own view, the explicit meaning is 'O my darling, your captivating wiles!' and that the other meanings are hints or nuances implicit in the context (communication, G. K. Kanoria, 1966).

Description: Raja Balwant Singh of Jammu in white *jama* and with a tall black plume in his turban sits with legs under him on a low, plain seat, a sword resting by his right side, his right hand holding a hookah stem and his left hand a nose-gay. Beside him on the floor sits a figure in a white *jama* also holding a flower. Opposite them on the carpeted floor of the verandah is seated a party of nine musicians, four of them women, the remainder male. Two of the female musicians hold *tamburas*. In front of them is a candle, protected from insects by a lamp shade. Behind them stands a link-boy, holding a lighted torch and oil-can. The verandah has a white balustrade, four slender white columns, a rolled-up blind and a low white roof. A dark doorway opens out of the further wall in which there are two rows of niches. The time is night and a full moon, partly hidden by black clouds, rises over the roof-top, immediately over the prince's head. The inscription in two neat and elegant lines is incorporated in the picture above a band of black clouds.

Discussion: This picture is of special importance for painting in Jammu on account of its Jammu provenance (see *Reigns and Portraits* (xxi): Pratap Singh); its reference to Nainsukh as the painter — the second of only two such references on inscribed portraits of Balwant Singh; the long inscription in the neat hand of writer A, noting not only Balwant Singh's age (twenty-four) but the place, month, and year of execution and the precise occasion when the picture was painted; the inclusion, for the first time in an inscription, of a line from a song, indicating Balwant Singh's quite exceptional interest in singing; the subject-matter, a music-party, held in what appears to be a rest-house; and, lastly, the clear advance in Nainsukh's style which provides firm grounds for attributing many further pictures to him.

On the inscription, the following comment may be made. The fact that it goes out of its way to note Jasrota as the place of execution raises the presumption that this was not Balwant Singh's permanent place of residence and that he was only there on a visit. In the case of other pictures in which the place of execution is noted (46, 54), Balwant Singh is also clearly shown away from home. On the other hand, inscriptions on pictures which can reasonably be connected with his residences at Jammu or at Saruin do not give the name of any place. The presumption is that place-names were only noted when there was something special about them and usually only when Balwant Singh was on a visit or out on tour. It was otherwise assumed that he was at one of his principal places of residence and hence it was otiose to record it. As explained earlier, Balwant Singh seems to have been a not infrequent visitor to Jasrota, and, like his brother Ghansar Dev, may well have had some sort of establishment there. It is unlikely, however, to have been a substantial building but was more probably a *piéd á terre* or rest-house — a conclusion supported by the present picture which shows a comparatively small house, with narrow verandah, one storey, and low roof and sparsely furnished with a rug and low, plain chair. The latter is in decided contrast to the richly decorated thrones of 30 and 34.

Although the scene is at Jasrota, the singers and musicians are more probably members of Balwant Singh's staff rather than local entertainers brought in for the evening. The leading singing-girl with a *tambura* re-appears in another study of his personal musicians (36) and also in a portrait which shows her seated on a horse (Khandalavala, 1958, fig. 67). Like Mian Mukand Dev, who rode with his singing-girl, Amal, and two male musicians beside him, Balwant Singh may also have let his singing-girls ride with him when he went to Jasrota. The inference that the leading singer is a well-established member of his household and perhaps even a favourite, is supported by the clever and witty song with which she is credited in the inscription. A newcomer or outsider would be unlikely to have improvised or to have known a song of this intimacy or brilliance.

In terms of style, the picture illustrates Nainsukh's flair for capturing movement, his insight into musicians and their gestures and his skill in organising differently posed individuals into neatly integrated groups. In this respect, the picture is a marked advance on 'Muhammad Shah attended by ladies' (Archer, 1960, pl. 81) where the figures are still somewhat stiffly arranged and only two out of a party of eleven are shown looking in different directions. It was in his effortless rendering of persons in action that Nainsukh's greatness was to lie.

32 Raja Balwant Singh of Jammu listening to his singing-girls and musicians. By Nainsukh. Jammu, January-February, 1749.

Inscribed at the top by writer A in *takri* characters: *sri maharje sri balwant singhji di surat he. tihne dine samvat athara sau panj tha mahine magh tha. tan eh tasvir likhi thi bajan sahe (?)*. 'This is a likeness of Sri Maharaja Sri Balwant Singhji. On that day the *samvat* year was eighteen hundred and five (A.D. 1749), the month was Magh (January-February). It was then that this picture was painted along with the musicians (who were present)'. Since the month referred to (*magh*) is the eleventh in the Indian year, *samvat* 1805 (1748-1749) must here be interpreted as 1749, in contrast to 31, where the month (*jeth*), being third in the Indian year, must make it 1748. Formerly Mehta collection, Bombay.

Description: Raja Balwant Singh of Jammu in red *jama* sits on a low seat beneath a canopy on a terrace, a sword resting by his side and a hawk perched on the seat beside him. His right hand holds the stem of a hookah and his left hand the hawk's tethering cord. Beside him on the floor, with blue carpet, sits the same figure as in 31. Opposite him to the right are five seated musicians, two of them girls with *tamburas*, three of them male musicians, two of whom are singing and the third playing drums. Behind them stand two palace officials or attendants. Of the seven, three are dressed in red; the remainder are dressed in orange, perhaps in celebration of a festival. The time is once again night, as can be seen from a lighted candle protected from insects by a lampshade.

Discussion: A sequel to 'The Music-party at Jasrota' (31) but painted seven months later and of special interest since it employs a spacious setting more consonant with a town house at Jammu. Standing members of Balwant Singh's household are also included and the two female musicians holding *tamburas* are the same as those with *tamburas* in 31. In both cases the older and larger woman sits in front of the younger and the latter has in each case a dark complexion. In basic composition the picture is similar to 31 but in reverse. Although attributed by Khandalavala (1953 and private communication, 1970) to a different artist 'Vajan Sah' (on the assumption that the words here tentatively read as *bajan sahe* refer to a painter of that name), the present painting is so identical in style with 30 and 31 that all three must be presumed to be by the same hand. Since 30 and 31 are by Nainsukh, it would seemingly follow that the present picture is by him also. Of the final two words of

the inscription, here interpreted as 'along with the musicians', no wholly satisfactory reading has as yet been made.

33 Raja Balwant Singh of Jammu receiving a petitioner. By Nainsukh. Jammu, c.1750.

Uncoloured background.

Inscribed by writer B (Balwant Singh) in *takri* characters (illegible).

Chandigarh Museum.

Description: Balwant Singh in a plain *jama* and wrap, his hands resting on an upright sword, stands on an open terrace, listening to a petitioner who bows before him with folded hands. Behind him is an attendant holding a cloth and waving a peacock-feather fan above him. Behind the petitioner is a figure similar to one in 33(1) holding a bag of money.

Discussion: Similar in its slanting treatment of the terrace and balustrade to 34 and 35. The scene is possibly set at Saruin before the palace had been built and Balwant Singh was on a visit to hear complaints and supervise rent-collection. The two words in *takri* characters are in Balwant Singh's own hand and may possibly record the names of the two persons standing before him.

Related example: (1) Khandalavala (1958), fig. 61. Raja Balwant Singh instructing his staff. Inscribed by writer A at the top in *takri* characters: *tasvir raje balwant singh*. 'Picture of Raja Balwant Singh'. Khandalavala collection, Bombay (formerly Sir Dorab Tata (D. J. Tata) collection, Bombay). By Nainsukh. Jammu, c.1750. Balwant Singh seated on a low chair, a long plantain leaf in front of him and the familiar hookah-stem at his mouth. Before him stand six members of his staff, one of them with a Persian petition, another holding a bag of money(?) as in 33. Partly finished and on two sheets of plain ivory-coloured paper pasted together. The informal setting suggests that like 31 the scene is not at Jammu itself but is more probably on Balwant Singh's estate of Saruin where he may have gone to hear petitions and to supervise rent collection.

34 Raja Balwant Singh of Jammu looking at the points of a horse. By Nainsukh. Jammu, c.1750.

246 x 342 mm; with border 291 x 390 mm.

Brownish-yellow border, speckled with red. Dark blue margin.

Inscribed on the reverse (1) in English by writer C: A3. *Raja Balwant Dev sitting at his palace and smoking. Please see smoking knot minutely. £15/-*. (2) in English by rubber-stamp (*sd*) D. J. Tata and (3) in *nagari* numerals: 31.

Manley collection, Guildford (formerly in the possession of Durgi Raina, Pacca Danga, Jammu). For its suggested previous provenance, the Jammu Raj collection, see Reigns and Portraits (xxi): Pratap Singh. The English inscription (writer C) may be in the hand of the 'German' dealer (Imre Schwaiger?) to whom Durgi Raina sold this and forty-two other Jammu pictures in about 1920. For other examples of inscriptions in English by writer C, see nos. 36(1), 42 and 48.

Published: Archer (1952a), fig. 38; also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), no. 92.

Description: Balwant Singh of Jammu in a dark green *jama* and green and crimson conical turban sits on a gold throne with purple cushions, holding a hookah. Behind him stand four attendants in dark yellow, dark green, mauve and slate-blue *jamias* holding respectively a peacock feather fan, a sword and a black shield. Two courtiers in pale yellow and white *jamias* sit on a red rug with brown stripes. White terrace with balustrade containing rectangular compartments. Behind the party is a white wall with gold-coloured door. Below the terrace, a groom in white, ankle-length *jama* parades a chocolate-coloured stallion with black mane, tail and legs and orange saddle edged with green. Behind the horse stretches a large brownish-mauve courtyard, with streaks of green. In the distance is a long wall from which a small house projects, containing a verandah covered with a red rug, a grey wall, white cushions and a white blind, striped with crimson. On either side, two shut-

tered windows. To the right are two grooms conducting two horses, one grey the other brown.

Discussion: In this portrait, the atmosphere of courtly luxury evident in 30 is once again evoked — Balwant Singh being shown with calm dignity seated on a richly decorated throne, the whole surroundings bespeaking the spacious comfort of a large and flourishing establishment. The throne with its two tiger heads is especially significant since not only is it the very antithesis of the plain low chair of the Jasrota portrait but vividly expresses his own sense of private grandeur. It is no accident that the same throne should re-appear in a portrait of him in 'Chinese mandarin's' robes (Khandalavala, 1958, no. 88), a type of garb which also accords with fantasies of royal living. Despite the remains of a courtyard in the palace ruins at Saruin, the present building is more probably the large mansion which he may have owned in Jammu and where he would probably have lived while assisting his eldest brother, Raja Ranjit Dev, in the early years of the latter's return from exile (Ohri, 1969).

Although the picture is comparable to the Guler portrait of Raja Govardhan Chand of Guler listening to musicians. (Guler, no 15 q.v.) the similarity hardly extends beyond the treatment of the courtiers grouped in the same descending circle, their heads turned in one direction (Archer, 1952a, 52), the neat portrayal of individual characters and the use of a stark parallelogram whose airy geometry lends perspective to the terrace. These features characterise Guler painting of the 1740-1760 period but are insufficiently distinctive to warrant attributing both pictures to Nainsukh himself or to his brother, Manaku. The brown rug with red stripes is also a widely used convention at Guler. The importance of the comparison lies less in demonstrating the influence which Nainsukh may or may not have had at Guler after Balwant Singh's death than in showing the type of painting at Guler from which his own art was derived.

35 Raja Dhrub Dev (c.1710-c.1730) of Jasrota looking at the points of a horse by moonlight. Left-hand side: Jammu, c.1740. Right-hand side: By Nainsukh. Jammu, c.1750.

A composite picture, consisting of two paintings by different artists on separate sheets of paper joined together, a narrow strip of the left-hand side pasted on top of the right-hand side and the left side linked to it by adjustments to the terrace painted in by the artist of the second part.

Size (overall): 233 x 380 mm; with borders: 271 x 409 mm.

Red borders separately attached with black and white rules, the upper border (23 mm) being wider than the lower and side borders (11 mm). Left-hand side (without borders): 233 x 192 mm. Right-hand side (without borders): 233 x 192 mm.

Inscribed at the top (1) by writer B (Balwant Singh) in *takri* characters: *davan dhrub de ghora dikhta likheya da rati andarle diwankhana de chabutre bahi*. 'Diwan Dhrub Dev looking at the points of a horse, painted while sitting at night on the terrace of the inner *diwankhana*' and (2) on the reverse with the *takri* numerals: 31 (?).

Victoria and Albert Museum, Rothenstein collection, I.S. 188-1951.

Published: Coomaraswamy (1916), pl. 33; also reproduced and discussed Archer (1952a), fig. 43.

Description: A composite picture in two parts. The left-hand side shows Dhrub Dev of Jasrota, a portly figure, clean-shaven except for a small black moustache, sitting on a white terrace, holding a rosary and leaning against two white pillows. He is dressed in a white turban, white *jama* and transparent coat. Behind him is a pale blue background with, at the top, stars and traces of white cloud. The back, front and sides of the terrace have white balustrades with rectangular compartments. The right-hand side of the back balustrade has been over-painted with blue (leaving traces in white of plaster and of an ornamental knob). The right-hand side of the terrace has had a diagonal balustrade painted in and continued over into the bottom left-hand side of the second part.

The right-hand part of the picture shows a black horse with dark red saddle and girth paraded by a groom in a pale

yellow coat and dark blue trousers. Two servants, the left-hand one in dark green *jama* with orange sash and turban, the right-hand one in light brown *jama* and pink sash and turban and holding a sword, support a white cloth screen. In the foreground two linkmen with torches. Background pale greyish-blue with, at the top, a crescent moon and stars. Between the left torch-bearer and the groom, a continuation of the diagonal terrace and balustrade of part one has been painted in. A chalky pink cloud has also been added in order to link the two skies.

Discussion: This picture is of special significance on account of its composite character — the left-hand side illustrating the 'main stream' of Jammu painting and the right-hand side the 'second or subordinate stream', represented by the work of Nainsukh. Although the reason for joining together two separate paintings is not clear, a possible explanation may be found in the identity of the sitter. Following common practice in inscriptions of Jammu provenance, his clan or place-name is not given but his identity as Raja Dhrub Dev of Jasrota is proved by three inscribed portraits connecting him with Jasrota (q.v.) and by his lack of resemblance to the only other candidate, Raja Dhrub Dev of Jammu (see nos. 6, 8, inscribed portraits). Jasrota, as already emphasised, was an offshoot from Jammu and members of the royal families were not only on close visiting terms but the Jasrota house may at times have provided the Jammu court with *diwans* or chief ministers. For the distinct likelihood of this development, see 4, 5 and 7, where Bhupal Dev of Jasrota is portrayed in circumstances which presuppose this relationship. Since Nainsukh himself painted the right-hand side of the picture and may well have been responsible for the joining together of the two halves, the fact that the inscription is in the hand of writer B (Balwant Singh himself) strongly suggests that the picture was at some time in Balwant Singh's collection, and that it was even put together at his instance. Balwant Singh's hand also appears on a portrait of Mian Mukand Dev of Jasrota (27), here regarded as a companion portrait to that of Balwant Singh (26). Assuming that Mukand Dev and Balwant Singh were close friends, the production for Balwant Singh of the present composite picture portraying Mukand Dev's own father is by no means unlikely.

The portrait part of the picture is attributed to the 'main stream' of painting in Jammu on the grounds of its cold pallor, lack of animation and reliance on a starkly flowing line, its employment of standard Jammu conventions for terraces and balustrading, and the depiction of the sitter in a standard Jammu pose and with a greatly enlarged head (compare especially 1, 3, 5, 8, 60). It is dated earlier than the right-hand portion of the picture by Nainsukh because of the differences in size between the various figures — the Raja's head being almost three times that of those of the attending servants — and also the differences in the state of preservation, the right-hand side being unharmed whereas the left-hand side has been damaged by having been folded before the joining-up was effected.

The right-hand side of the picture is attributed to Nainsukh by comparison with 34 (similar subject, and treatment of horse, terrace and balustrade, similar use of a diagonal for suggesting depth and perspective), 31 (where the torch bearer is the same person as the torch-bearer in the present picture), 48 (where the pose of the drummer in the cavalcade coincides with that of the present groom) and 27 (matching the pale sky, crescent moon and stars). For a drawing of Balwant Singh standing on a terrace, its balustrade slanting downwards and similarly shaded, see 33. The fact that in various instances, pictures by Nainsukh consist of two sheets of paper pasted together — the joining line clearly visible — and that this practice is apparently peculiar to him, strengthens the conclusion that it was he who was responsible for 'marrying' the two sides.

36 Raja Balwant Singh of Jammu listening to his singing-girls and musicians. By Nainsukh, Jammu, c.1750-1755.

190 x 335 mm. No border. Uncoloured background.

Inscribed by writer A in *takri* characters on the picture: (1) *ladvai gae kardi hai chatrai kini balmah re.* 'Ladvai is singing "O my love, how you have betrayed (deceived) me"'. (2) *tasvir raje balwant singh.* 'Portrait (of) Raja Balwant Singh'.

British Museum, London.

Description: Balwant Singh in a white *jama*, wearing an armet and pendant, sits on a rug, leaning against a cushion, his left hand resting on the ruck of his skirt, his right hand holding his hookah. Two pillows are beside him. Seated facing him are five musicians. In the front row is the principal singer, Ladvai, a plump woman with striped wrap and dark skirt, her hands clasped together. A younger woman is seated on her left, playing a *tambura*, and a male musician playing a pair of wind instruments, is on her right. Behind them is a drummer and a fifth musician.

Discussion: In this picture Nainsukh portrays the two women-musicians who played a large part in Balwant Singh's waking hours, adding — perhaps for the sake of completeness — three of the male musicians who accompanied them. Ladvai, the larger and older of the two, is the subject of a single drawing (37). She also appears in 49, where she is shown accompanying herself on a *tambura* while Balwant Singh completes his toilet. The other woman-musician, perhaps Ladvai's younger sister, is the same as the leading singer in the music-party at Jasrota (31) and in its sequel (32) though she is now perhaps a little older. She is also given pride of place in a second drawing which shows her once again playing a *tambura* supported by a party of four male musicians, two woman-singers and two girl trainees (Khandalavala (1953), fig. 8). In yet another picture (Khandalavala, 1958, fig. 67), the same woman-musician is shown seated on a horse. Like Ladvai, her features broadly correspond to those of other women in earlier Jammu paintings and it is possible that, within certain limits, contemporary fashions in female charm dictated the style and manner in which they were portrayed. No other patron in the Punjab Hills encouraged a retained artist to record with such frequency his favourite musicians or to portray himself in their company. It seems clear that Balwant Singh was wholly exceptional in his musical tastes and connoisseurship — a circumstance which gives fair support to the thesis that he may also have personally composed the kind of song noted in the inscription.

As in other portraits of the 1745-1750 period, Balwant Singh is portrayed in profile, smoking a hookah and gazing intently at the persons facing him — his general posture and the articles around him (pillows, rug, cushion) adhering strictly to common Jammu conventions. Since the present drawing avails of two sheets of paper pasted together, it is possible that drawings of Balwant Singh himself may have been done at one time and those of his associates at another, the two drawings being later paired as the occasion required.

Other portraits of musicians: (1) Archer (1952a), fig. 37. Balwant Singh listening to a boy-dancer accompanied by eight musicians. Inscribed in English by writer C: *Rajah Buldev seated under a shamiana smoking, watching a Kathak dancing with a number of musicians behind.* Manley collection. Guildford. Uncoloured background. By Nainsukh. Jammu, c.1750. Formerly in the possession of Durgi Raina, Pacca Danga, Jammu, from whom it came on the art-market in about 1920 or a little earlier. For its suggested provenance, the Jammu Raj collection, see Reigns and Portraits (xxi): Pratap Singh.

(2) Gray (1950), pl. 117 (621). Seven trumpeters. Charles Roberts collection, Brampton, Cumberland. By Nainsukh. Jammu, c.1750.

37 Raja Balwant Singh's singer, Ladvai. Sketch. Attributed to Nainsukh. Jammu, c.1750-1755.

178 x 134 mm. No border. Uncoloured background.

Victoria and Albert Museum. Gayer-Anderson collection. I.S. 147-1952.

Description: A plump woman in an orange-red bodice, dark blue skirt and greenish-yellow veil is seated, her hands in

her lap, keeping time by tapping on two red pieces of wood.
Discussion: Identified as Ladvai by comparison with the elder of the two women-singers in 36.

38 Raja Balwant Singh of Jammu sitting alone in a palace. Sketch. By Nainsukh. Jammu, c.1750.
 285 x 384 mm.
 Indian Museum, Calcutta.

Description: Balwant Singh, a tiny figure in dark *jama* (30 mm in height), is shown seated, smoking at a half-open window on the ground floor of a three-storeyed palace. Above him soars the white front of a great facade, broken on the left by two lines of shuttered windows and by a row of three small rectangles, inset with stones. At the top is a line of low crenellations. At the bottom, below a long horizontal line, is a summary sketch for a garden, surrounded by rocks and enclosing a group of small trees flanked on either side by three cypresses. To the left is a rocky hillside, the left wall of the palace protruding slightly into it.

Discussion: This drawing is one of a series of architectural studies which may have been prepared by Nainsukh in the course of 1750 or 1751. Balwant Singh was aged twenty-six in 1750 and was probably already assisting his eldest brother, Ranjit Dev, in the administration of the Jammu state. The need for a new palace at the head-quarters of his *jagir*, Saruin, was possibly arising and in these drawings, Nainsukh seems to have projected ideas for a building which would fittingly express his patron's personality. The present sketch was clearly made with Saruin in mind since the palace when actually constructed was sited on a rocky ridge which slopes steeply upward as in the drawing. It was also given a similar massive white facade. It is significant that while each study differs in detail, each envisages a flat roof with crenellations, a great facade and an element of grandiose immensity which, while reducing Balwant Singh himself to pygmy size, vividly parallels his fantasies of power.

Example for comparison: (1) Unpublished. Balwant Singh and a party of followers arriving at a palace by night. Chandigarh Museum. Uncoloured drawing. By Nainsukh. Jammu, c.1751. A further variation on the theme of a giant palace. Similar vast facade. Huge doorway. Roof with crenellations. At the top left, a peacock on the roof gazing at the clouds.

39 Raja Balwant Singh of Jammu hawking from a palace window. Sketch. By Nainsukh. Jammu, c.1750.
 210 x 300 mm (trimmed). Uncoloured background.
 Chandigarh Museum.

Description: Balwant Singh in a *jama*, uncoloured save for a purple sash, stands at an archway on the first floor of a palace, urging a hawk to pursue a flight of ducks. Behind him at another archway stand two ladies of the household, one holding his sword, the other glancing back as if conferring with her. Below them in an archway on the ground floor is a stoutly built retainer, his arms outspread as if he has just dispatched the hawk. To the right is the hawk itself, already clutching one duck in the air while four further ducks fly out to the right above the palace roof-top, preparatory to wheeling round behind a fifth duck which speeds along to the left. The palace with its three storeys is five times the height of the human figures and besides two centre rows of three archways on the ground and first floors has a row of shuttered doors on the ground floor and two rows of shuttered windows on the first and second. At the top are squat crenellations.

Discussion: Like 38, here regarded as a sketch for the new palace at Saruin, illustrating how Balwant Singh would be able to enjoy its various floors, and even indulge in one of his favourite pastimes — hunting ducks with a hawk. Adjoining the Saruin palace to the south was the lake of Saruinsar, a sheet of water about the same size as the lake in Regent's Park, London. Ducks, shown fighting in the sketch, would have been available in numbers when the palace was envisaged.

Other examples of Balwant Singh duck-hunting: (1) Khandalavala (1953), fig. 6; also reproduced Khandalavala (1958),

no. 87; Hajek (1960), col. pls. 37, 38. Balwant Singh, armed with a gun, and using a bull as cover, stealing up to shoot a sitting duck. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. By Nainsukh. Jammu, c.1750.

(2) Unpublished. Balwant Singh on his favourite horse, a hawk perched on his right hand, galloping towards a group of four ducks. Indian Museum, Calcutta. By Nainsukh. Jammu, c.1750-1752. Ducks as in 39. In the right-hand foreground a patch of water.

40 Raja Balwant Singh of Jammu entertained by a party of male musicians. Sketch. By Nainsukh. Jammu, c.1750-1751.
 220 x 281 mm. Uncoloured ground.
 Chandigarh Museum.

Description: Balwant Singh, a black plume in his turban, sits on a low throne, smoking a hookah and listening to five male musicians. Two of them, a singer and a *tambura* player, sit before him in the middle of the verandah; the remaining three — a singer, a *tambura* player and a drummer — sit at the further end. Similar architecture as in 49, with four thick pillars, three rolled-up blinds and three cusped openings with cross-hatched lattice-work. In the front, three large steps. At the top a crenellated roof with, in the middle, a small window with closed shutters.

Discussion: This sketch is a study in detail of part of the projected Saruin palace, illustrating how Balwant Singh would be able to sit and enjoy his customary music-parties. Although the north side of the actual Saruin building differs in size and proportions from the building shown in the sketch, ruins of a similar verandah with four squat pillars and identical plaster work with rectangular lines were clearly visible when I went there in January, 1970. For a fully finished painting of the same verandah, resembling even more closely the existing ruins, see 49.

41 Raja Balwant Singh of Jammu inspecting a building under construction. By Nainsukh. Jammu, c.1750-1751.
 Khandalavala collection, Bombay (formerly Sir Dorab Tata collection, Bombay).

Published: Khandalavala (1953), fig. 3; also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), no. 95.

Description: Raja Balwant Singh, his *jama* tucked into his waist-band, stands in the open, holding the stem of his familiar hookah in his right hand and an upright umbrella in his left. A servant with ankle-length white *jama* stands behind him holding the hookah bowl. Before him are two workmen, one of them in a large wide-brimmed hat, perched on a sloping scaffold, busily engaged in laying bricks. A labourer and his daughter each with a basket on the head stand beside them. At the top, a row of thunderous clouds.

Discussion: This picture probably records the actual construction of the Saruin palace, after early proposals had been finally considered and a definitive plan agreed. Rain is expected and the umbrella is obviously intended to keep Balwant Singh dry in the event of a shower. When I visited Saruin in January, 1970, it rained almost incessantly and I had difficulty in measuring distances, making notes and keeping my notebook dry. The time of year envisaged in the drawing may thus have been the cold weather when some winter rain would have been seasonal. In the alternative, the month is June, when the monsoon proper would have been on the point of breaking. As building operations are only beginning, it is perhaps likely that the time in question is winter. Since the ridge on which the Saruin palace is built slopes steeply upwards, it is interesting to note that the two masons are working aslant.

As Khandalavala has pointed out, the fact that 'contrary to the usual Indian custom prevailing among royalty, Balwant Singh holds the umbrella himself, indicates that, despite his royal estate, he could be quite informal on occasion and was not always obsessed with his dignity' (Khandalavala (1953), 78). It was the combination of informal intimacy with extravagant airs of almost lunar grandeur which was to make Balwant Singh one of the most mysterious patrons in the whole of Pahari painting.

42 Raja Balwant Singh smoking alone on a palace roof in

the Rains. By Nainsukh. Jammu, July-August, 1751.
212 x 305 mm.

Inscribed on the reverse (1) by writer B (Balwant Singh) in *takri* characters: *sam(an) barkh(a) d(a) dikhde likhe de hainge janab*. 'His lordship is shown painted while looking at the Rains' (2) in English by writer C: . . . *sitting on the . . . during rainy season* and (3) by writer A in *takri* characters partially erased by writer B: *sri (raje sri balwant singh ji?) . . . athara sau ath tha mahina sawan tha . . . papiya . . . (?)* 'The portrait of Sri Raja Balwant Singhji. (The samvat year) was 1808 (i.e. A.D. 1751). The month was sawan (July-August). The papiya bird. . . .'
Indian Museum, Calcutta.

Description: Balwant Singh, a tiny figure in a mauve *jama* (10 mm in height), is shown seated alone on a palace rooftop watching a storm come up with black clouds, rain and lightning. Below him is the white facade of a vast palace, a great entrance door in the centre with three turrets soaring up on either side and two rows of tiny black windows, criss-crossed with yellow, high up on the face. At either end of the facade is a further group of three turrets giving the building the effect of a long embattled fortress. On the roof are low crenellations. In the foreground is a smooth expanse of pale green sward.

Discussion: Although the original inscription in writer A's neat hand has been partially erased, thus suggesting that Balwant Singh (writer B) considered it to be in some way misleading, the date, 1751, is significant. It shows that either the new palace at Saruin had, in fact, been completed in 1751, or that its construction was still in the forefront of Balwant Singh's mind. The fact that unlike the previous drawings, the picture is fully finished may support the first of these two hypotheses.

In the context of Nainsukh's oeuvre, the painting is important since, with 38, it appears to usher in his 'midget' period. In this period he demonstrated his virtuosity by depicting his subjects on the tiniest of scales while still making exact and recognisable likenesses. In the present instance, he shows Balwant Singh not merely as a solitary figure obsessed with the lonely grandeurs of a private world but as a *rasika*, sensitive to the delights of cloud-watching.

43 The fireworks display. By Nainsukh. Jammu, c.1751
243 x 156 mm; with uncoloured margins (trimmed) 248 x 162 mm.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.M. 5-1912.
Acquired from Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy.

Description: A tiny figure in an orange-brown *jama* tied to the right in Muslim fashion and wearing on his head a white turban with black plume sits smoking at night at a window on the first floor of a long low palace with five turrets. He gazes to the right where two tiny figures in green and mauve attend him. Three tiny figures are at a window on the right and four more are on the left. Below, in a dusky courtyard, are two groups of courtiers or servants, their *jamats* tied to the left Hindu-style. Each group is headed by a senior official, the left-hand one having his *jama* tied to the right in Muslim fashion. Including the leaders, eighteen persons are in the left group and twelve in the right. The occasion is a fireworks display, some of the courtiers and servants letting off crackers, one holding an up-turned bowl, another a bird-cage, and three holding hawks. In the immediate foreground are two servants, somewhat larger in scale, lighting fireworks. The assembly wears yellow, green, mauve, blue and red turbans and *jamats*. Behind each group are dark shadows cast by the fireworks. Above the palace is a dark blue sky, powdered with stars.

Discussion: In this picture, Nainsukh continues his 'midget' style by portraying a number of background figures on the tiniest of scales while rendering crowd scenes in the courtyard with the deft animation of an Akbar-period artist. The subject is obscure. Although a tiny figure in the palace on the extreme left may just possibly be Balwant Singh himself, shown full-face, gazing out on the spectacle below, the presiding figure is either a Mughal prince or a Hill ruler privileged to tie his *jama* to the right, Muslim fashion. Basohli rulers had been granted this favour under Raja San-

gram Pal (1635-c.1673) but the custom had probably lapsed by the reign of Raja Jit Pal (1736-1757) with whom the central figure bears a tenuous resemblance. It is possible that the picture records a visit by Balwant Singh to the Mughal Governor's court, and in that case the central figure could just conceivably be Mir Mannu. Since Balwant Singh was associated with Raja Ranjitt Dev in the government of Jammu state, a visit by him to Mir Mannu would be a possibility. The fact that Mir Mannu is referred to in two inscriptions in the neat hand of writer A certainly suggests that he had imprinted himself on Balwant Singh's mind. An alternative theory is that the central figure is neither Mir Mannu nor a Basohli ruler and the painting yet another essay in wishful grandeur. From this point of view the subject might then be interpreted as Balwant Singh himself, regaled with fireworks 'like an Emperor'.

Related example for comparison: (1) Havell (1908), col. pl. 66. Travellers round a camp fire. Indian Museum, Calcutta. By Nainsukh. Jammu, c.1754. Balwant Singh with a party of followers around a fire seated under the night sky. Size of picture: 150 x 110 mm. Figures rendered on a tiny scale. A continuation of Nainsukh's 'midget' period.

44 Raja Balwant Singh of Jammu defending his elephant from a lion. By Nainsukh, Jammu, February-March, 1752.
260 x 365 mm.

Inscribed by writer A in *takri* characters: *tasvir raje balwant singh ji tihne dine ehe tasvir likhi he tihne dine sammat athara sau ath tha mahina phagan tha tihne dine mir mannu larai hari thi pathane ka chhya lahor tihne dine ehe khiral basea da tha tenu kin sakhlain nena dia chorian dilbar merea*. 'Picture of Raja Balwant Singhji. On the day this picture was painted, the samvat year was 1808 (A.D. 1751-1752). The month was *phagun* (February-March). In those days, Mir Mannu had been defeated by the Pathans at Lahore. In those days the refrain of the song was "Who taught you those captivating wiles of the eyes, my darling?"'

Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Mass.

Published: Welch and Beach (1965), fig. 36.

Note: Like the inscription on 'The Music Party at Jasrota' (31), this inscription not only includes the line of a song but once again avails of an event involving Mir Mannu, this time in defeat, possibly for the same purpose of including a poetic conceit. Mir Mannu, Mughal Viceroy at Lahore, had broken with the Mughal Emperor at Delhi in 1751 by declining to accept his own supercession as Governor of Multan. He had followed this up by repudiating the obligation to pay tribute to the Afghan, Ahmed Shah. Ahmed Shah retaliated by marching on Lahore, besieging Mir Mannu in his capital for four months (December, 1751 to March, 1752) and finally exacting his submission. 'The Shah was satisfied with the surrender of a considerable treasure and with the annexation of Lahore and Mooltan to his dominions. He expressed his admiration of Munnoo's spirit as a leader, and efficiency as a manager, and he continued him as his delegate in the new acquisitions, appointing him as his own Governor of the Punjab, April 1752' (Cunningham, 94-95).

When the incident of the lion hunt took place and the picture was painted, Mir Mannu had been defeated but had not, as yet, been re-instated. It was his defeat, therefore, which was uppermost in people's minds, just as in 1748, it was his victory which had caused a general sensation. As 'instant' news, it gave Balwant Singh, his principal singer or his special song-writer, the raw material for a new song and the result was a second play on words, comparable to those of the song employed at Jasrota. Different words are used but the basic idea, defeat or capture is the same. 'Mir Mannu has been defeated — by the Pathans — but I (the lover or Balwant Singh) have been defeated — by the wiles of your eyes'. The fact that before, during or after the tussle depicted in the picture, a new love-song was brewing in Balwant Singh's mind illustrates yet again his total involvement in music, singing and song-writing. (That this suggestion is not wholly absurd is perhaps supported by the

fact that in my own early days in India, I once wrote a poem during a dreary period of waiting at a tiger-shoot!)

Description: Balwant Singh in dark green *jama* leans forward from the richly decorated howdah of an elephant with orange housings to strike with his sword at a lion which is standing up and clawing his elephant. The mahout is on the point of plunging his goad into the lion's head. Around them are retainers on horse-back and foot, armed with bows and arrows, lances, swords and guns. The open countryside is bare except for some stunted *palash* trees and clumps of rushes. In the distance is a river and low hills. The sun is low in the sky, suggesting that the time is late afternoon. A hawk, flying low across the river, illustrates the general agitation.

Discussion: In this picture, various familiar members of Balwant Singh's household are introduced — the peacock feather fan bearer of 34 being shown seated behind him in the howdah and the servant holding the white screen on the extreme right in 35 re-appearing as one of the horsemen aiming an arrow at the lion. Although the whole scene could be a figment of Nainsukh's imagination designed to show his patron in a royal heroic role, it is none the less conceivable that the incident did, in fact, occur perhaps in the bare and open country adjoining the Punjab Plains or on the southern fringes of Balwant Singh's estate. In terms of style, the picture is notable for its effortless portrayal of tiny 'midget' figures and of horses and riders both large and small in a great variety of dramatic stances, and for the employment of Mughal conventions of the Muhammad Shah period, for trees and landscapes. In contrast to 'The Music-party at Jasrota' where the furnishings are meagre, the whole scene reflects affluent display.

Related example: (1) Skelton (1961), pl. 71. Balwant Singh, his sword raised above his head, stands ready to kill a tiger which has seized one of his followers. Drawing. By Nainsukh. Jammu, c.1750-1755. Balwant Singh has a regal halo. As in 44, a vivid study of group action.

45 Raja Balwant Singh's favourite elephant. Attributed to Nainsukh. Jammu, c.1750-1755.

190 x 260 mm. No border. Uncoloured ground. Inscribed at the top in *takri* characters by writer A: *gutha gaja*. 'The *gutha* elephant' or 'The elephant *Gutha*'. Victoria and Albert Museum, Gayer-Anderson collection, I.S. 184-1953.

Description: A large elephant, with dark grey skin and pale brown trunk and ear, streaked with red markings, is proceeding through a level piece of country. A mahout in white *jama*, his seated figure one fifth of the elephant's height, sits on the elephant's neck, the goad resting horizontally on its head. A large red howdah-cloth with green edges covers its back and sides. Two footmen in mauve and red *jamias* carrying spears, their size one third of the elephant's height, follow. Foreground lightly indicated with green smears.

Discussion: Similar in style to the elephant painting in 44 and of unusual interest since it could well have served as model for an elephant painting on one of the covers of the portfolio in which the Balwant Singh paintings, now in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, were originally received. The over-all measurements of this lacquered cover are 270 x 345 mm, and those of the inner panel containing the elephant portrait 175 x 252 mm; i.e. approximately the same as those of the present picture. Sir Dorab Tata, from whose collection the Museum's Balwant Singh drawings were acquired is believed to have obtained them complete with this portfolio. As in the present picture, the elephant on the portfolio's cover faces left. It has dark grey skin and a pale brown trunk. The howdah-cloth is also red with green margins, but the mahout, instead of resting the goad on the elephant's head, has raised it up. Apart from this minor difference, the paintings are identical. It is significant that the second portfolio cover in the Prince of Wales Museum is also adorned with a picture of one of Balwant Singh's favourite animals — in this case, a roan charger with red saddle-cloth edged with green led by a

groom. This horse reappears in a portrait of Balwant Singh riding by a lake (Werner (1950), pl. xv) and in a study of one of his favourite singing-girls riding on it near a garden with plantains (Khandalavala (1958), fig. 67).

Related example: (1) Khandalavala and Chandra (1965), pl. 88. An angry elephant uprooting a tree. Cowasji Jehangir collection, Bombay. By Nainsukh. Jammu, c.1750-1755. Similar in style to 44 and with a similar elephant to that in 45.

46 Raja Balwant Singh of Jammu hunting partridges. By Nainsukh. Jammu, c.1753.

249 x 397 mm; with border 286 x 438 mm. Speckled pink border with black rules.

Inscribed by writer A at the top in *takri* characters: *tasvir raje balwant singh khushvakhatapure de uti titara da sikara khelde pusteain vicha*. 'Picture of Raja Balwant Singh setting out from Khushvakhatapur for hunting partridges in the (lower) hills'.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 7-1960.

Description: Balwant Singh of Jammu in a dark green *jama* sits in a pale turquoise blue palanquin with crimson cushion and orange-red poles. He is carried by four bearers and is accompanied by two groups of retainers, who carry a tall circular fan, a peacock-feather fan, a cushion, a hookah and a brazier. In his right hand he holds a falcon. To the lower right is a group of six falconers, each holding a hawk. In the foreground is a steep greenish-yellow hill, with bare pinkish-brown rims, sharply rising. A long procession of retainers, eight of them armed with guns, is passing round it, part of the line being hidden by its bare slopes. Beyond the hill is open undulating country, sparsely broken with *palash* trees. Two dogs can be seen searching for a scent. At the top of four ridges are groups of tiny beaters. To the upper right is a lake, with a procession of elephants approaching it through a narrow defile.

Discussion: In style, similar to the preceding two pictures and again illustrating Nainsukh's flair for individual portraiture, his skill in depicting movement and action, his power to transcribe the tiniest of figures and his ability to invest his patron with god-like dignity and magnificence. Although its portrayal is influenced by Guler conventions for scenery, the countryside can be matched in parts of Balwant Singh's estate of Saruin, especially in the portion between Saruin and Jammu. Although Khushvakhatapur itself has not been located, the presence of a lake in the top right-hand side of the picture suggests that it may well be a tract of country in the vicinity of Saruinsar. Besides music, Balwant Singh was clearly devoted to hawking as can be seen in 39 and in related examples (1) and (2) below.

Related examples: (1) Werner (1950), pl. 15. Balwant Singh riding alone by a lake, a hawk on his wrist. Private collection. By Nainsukh. Jammu, c.1753. Dark green *jama*. Roan charger with red saddle-cloth. Lake as in 46 above. Hawk greyish-brown.

(2) Coomaraswamy (1926), 214, listing no. 455. 'Hunting scene; the sportsman's lunch, after hawking. Landscape'. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Sketch. By Nainsukh. Jammu, c.1750. Balwant Singh seated on a large boulder is eating his midday meal. A party of servants, midget-size, attend him. A groom, familiar from no. 35, holds a horse. On the left, a hawk perches on a falconer's wrist. Beside Balwant Singh are laid out the morning's bag — four partridges(?) and three ducks(?).

47 Raja Balwant Singh of Jammu riding in procession to view the Devi at Jasrota. Scroll with uncoloured backgrounds, made up of several sheets of paper pasted together. By Nainsukh. c.1754. Two details illustrated.

Inscribed in *takri* characters by writer A above each figure from left to right: (1) *mian tara singh* (2) *mian soum singh* (Sham? Singh) (3) *tasvir raje balwant deve di aprajata de darshane ki aundi*. 'Portrait of Raja Balwant Singh coming to view (have a *darshan* of) the Devi (goddess) Aprajata' (4) *pandit harisaran age ai kharota*. 'Pandit Hari Saran is standing, having come ahead'. Chandigarh Museum.

Description: In this picture, Nainsukh's practice of drawing or painting portions of a picture on separate sheets of paper and then pasting them together to form a larger whole is carried to the unusual length of making them into a long scroll. The central figure is Raja Balwant Singh wearing a richly decorated *jama*, a ceremonial necklace (as in 30 and 31), and his customary tall black turban plume, and holding in his right hand the stem of a hookah. He rides a brown horse and is attended by a footman who carries the hookah bowl. A fan-bearer holds aloft a large circular fan. Behind him in separate sections of the scroll ride two youthful figures (not illustrated) — the first aged about ten years with a short black turban plume and the second aged about seven with a small ornament (*sarpesh*) and no plume. In front of Balwant Singh, on the right-hand side of the scroll, is a grove of trees with two servants beside it and in the foreground a pandit in a white *jama*, a rosary round his neck and his face uplifted as if receiving an ineffable vision. He is accompanied by two acolytes who carry utensils and ingredients of worship.

Discussion: This scroll is of unusual interest since, although the name of the place is not expressly mentioned, the presence of Pandit Hari Saran leading the family procession raises a strong presumption that the goddess and her grove are at Jasrota. In a later picture, perhaps executed at Jasrota in c.1770, the same Hari Saran is shown seated in a shrine to Vishnu, described on the picture as the *Jasrota thakurdwara* (Jasrota, no. 13 q.v.). In contrast to the present picture, however, where he has a black moustache and only partly greying beard, he is shown in this later picture as considerably older, his moustache has become grey and his beard is thin and scanty. The fact that Balwant Singh is conducting two boys, here regarded as his sons, to 'see the goddess Aprajata' and that the occasion is specially recorded by Nainsukh suggests the strong hold which Jasrota may have had on his affections over the years. Although it was not his family home, he appears to have maintained a country seat there (31, q.v.) and like his brother, Ghansar Dev who retired there on his supercession as Regent of Jammu, to have visited it from time to time. Jasrota was only twenty-five miles from Saruín and could therefore be easily reached in a day. Of the minor figures in the scroll, two are already familiar from another picture by Nainsukh (34 q.v.). The bearded figure to the left of the tree is similar to the attendant with a sword supporting the white screen, while the footman holding the great ceremonial fan resembles the groom who holds the horse's bridle. It is likely that on these trips to Jasrota, Balwant Singh took with him various members of his household.

Although Kahan Singh credits Balwant Singh with only two sons — Sham Singh the eldest and Ram Singh the youngest — it is possible that he had a middle son, Tara, who died prematurely and hence is not recorded. It is significant that in one picture, a drawing in the Prince of Wales Museum (Khandalavala (1953), fig. 1), Balwant Singh is shown with three children — the same two sons as in the present scroll and a third child, aged about three beside him. This third child also appears in the famous 'Travellers round a camp fire' (Havell (1908), col. pl. 66) where Balwant Singh and his entourage are shown seated under the stars around a fire with a maid looking on and the child nestling under a wrap.

Examples for comparison: (1) Khandalavala (1953), fig. 9. Young princes and attendants. Khandalavala collection, Bombay. Style of Nainsukh, Jammu, c.1754. Two princes similar to those in the scroll are seated on a striped rug (34 q.v.). Their pet-names — Bodalu on the left, Lihru on the right — are noted in *takri* characters in the hand of writer B (Balwant Singh). Two attendants — the first named Kirpa, the second called 'Lihru's' (*lihrue da*) — stand behind them. (2) Khandalavala (1953), fig. 1. Balwant Singh fondling a child, his two elder sons seated before him. Inscribed in *takri* characters at the top by writer A: *sri raje balavant singhji ehe tasvir didi likhi hai*. 'Sri Raja Balwant Singhji. This portrait has been taken from life (*didi*)'. Prince of

Wales Museum, Bombay. School of Nainsukh, Jammu, c.1755.

48 Mian Mukand Dev (born c.1720 died c.1770) of Jasrota on a riding picnic. By Nainsukh, Jammu, c.1754. 275 x 425 mm; with border (partly damaged), 305 x 455 mm. Pink border with black rule.

Inscribed in the top border in *takri* characters (1) by writer A: *miyan mukund de sher shikar karan phirde likh de amal kachni he*. 'Mian Mukand Dev portrayed on a riding picnic. Amal is the singing-girl' (2) by writer B (Balwant Singh) illegible (3) on the reverse in English by writer C: *Raja Sahib going and hearing the singing of Rug Basant*, i.e. 'The spring music or songs of the festival of Basant (spring)': £10/-; and in English by rubber-stamp: (*sd*) D. J. Tata. Manley collection, Guildford, formerly in the possession of Durgi Raina, Pacca Danga, Jammu. For its suggested previous provenance, the Jammu Raj collection, see Reigns and Portraits (xxi): Pratap Singh. The English inscription (writer C) may be in the hand of the 'German dealer' (Imre Schwaiger?) to whom Durgi Raina sold this and 42 other Jammu pictures in about 1920. For other examples of inscriptions in English by writer C, see 34, 36(1) and 42. Published: Archer (1952a), fig. 40; also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), no. 82.

Description: Mukand Dev of Jasrota in bright yellow *jama*, mounted on a brown charger with orange saddlery, is riding through a mustard field in open undulating country, an attendant in dark green coat and yellow trousers, walking beside him, holding his hookah. Behind him come three courtiers — the first in dark green *jama* holding a flower, mounted on a brown horse, the second in white, holding a hawk, mounted on a grey horse, and the third in mauve *jama* and white turban riding a white horse. Before him rides the singing-girl, Amal, in crimson dress on a black horse, her head turned round in order to gaze at him. She is preceded by two musicians also on horseback. The nearest in a green *jama* on a white horse, holding a *tambura*, is in the act of singing; the second in mauve *jama* and yellow turban on a brown horse is playing on a *tabla* (drum). In the background is a series of undulating slopes in pallid green, marked by *palash* trees through which two groups of tiny figures can be faintly discerned. The first comprises five attendants each carrying a hawk, the second two servants accompanied by two dogs. The contours of the hills are marked with pink. In the sky, orange streaks.

Discussion: In style and idioms identical with the three preceding pictures all of which are highly characteristic of Nainsukh's mature style. Significant points are the bare and open landscape, scattered *palash* trees, groups of small figures, the exquisite rendering of the mustard flowers (appearing like a mist around the horses' legs), and the expressive gestures of the singing-girl and the two musicians. The central figure, Mian Mukand Dev, is closely modelled on Balwant Singh himself, his grave posture, rich dress, hookah, horse and footman being virtually identical with those of Balwant Singh in the scroll painting (47). Since the picture is inscribed in the same hands as other pictures of Balwant Singh and has a similar Jammu provenance, it is likely that it was made by Nainsukh for inclusion in Balwant Singh's own collection. In this connection it is noteworthy that writer A expressly underlines Mukand Dev's inferior status by applying to him the term 'Mian', in contrast to the terms 'Raja' and 'Maharaja' invariably used for Balwant Singh. The fact that the name of the singing-girl is carefully noted and that Mukand Dev's musicians are singing as they ride suggests that Mukand Dev relished music as keenly as did Balwant Singh — a taste which could well explain their friendship. Although the picture is in general outside the main stream of painting at Jammu, it none the less includes an idiom peculiar to Jammu painting — the outlining of contours with a softly washed-in rim — greenish-yellow in 12, orange in 14, red and yellow in 69, and pink in the present example. For a description of the spring festival of Basant and the wearing of yellow dresses to resemble mustard flowers, see Archer (1966), 126-127.

49 Raja Balwant Singh of Jammu at his toilet. By Nainsukh. Jammu, c.1754.

Radha Krishna Jalan collection, Patna, until 1950, formerly in the possession of Durgi Raina. Pacca Danga, Jammu, from whom it came on the art-market in about 1920. For its suggested previous provenance, the Jammu Raj collection, see *Reigns and Portraits* (xxi): Pratap Singh.

Studied and photographed by W.G.A., Patna, 1948.

Published: Archer (1952a), fig. 39.

In 1950 the picture again came on the Indian art-market and is now untraced.

Description: Balwant Singh wearing a cap and long cloak, sits on a low chair beside a brazier attended by a servant who holds a white cloth. He holds a cup in one hand. Beside him is a large basin and behind him on a rug, besprinkled with a star-like pattern, are two *lotas*, a pot and a basket containing white clothes. An attendant in dark *jama* stands beside them. To the right is a structure like a tent. The scene is set in an outer verandah room with three arches and four thick pillars, each arch having a partly rolled-up blind with parallel stripes. Above each arch is a cusped opening with cross-hatched lattice-work. In the foreground are members of Balwant Singh's household — a tall cloaked figure giving instructions to an old man with white beard and a short stick, and a female musician, seated on a rug, in a white dress, a pale skirt and a flowing dark wrap, playing on a *tambura*.

Discussion: In this picture, Balwant Singh is shown firmly installed in his country palace at Saruin — the verandah room of the picture exactly corresponding to a verandah room on the northern side of the inner courtyard of which impressive remains still exist. Besides the four thick pillars and low archways, a significant detail, still adhering to the structure at the western end, is a white rectangular corner slab with lime plaster, outlined with double rules precisely as in the slab on the left-hand side of the picture. Although the verandah differs in detail from the one shown in Nainsukh's tentative sketch (40), it retains the three steps leading up from the courtyard as also the general design. The low chair on which Balwant Singh is seated is the same as in 33(1). A significant feature is the inclusion in the picture of Balwant Singh's principal singer, Ladvai (identified by comparison with the larger of the two female musicians in 36 and with the portrait sketch, 37). While following a standard Jammu formula for seated figures, Nainsukh has none the less contrived to make her instantly recognisable.

50 Balwant Singh's hawk attacking a wild duck. By Nainsukh. Jammu, c.1752-1755.

195 x 128 mm.

Cowasji Jehangir collection, Bombay.

Published: Khandalavala and Chandra (1965), pl. 87.

Description: A large-scale study of a falcon with banded tail and dark legs standing on a wild duck and about to bite its neck. The two birds are shown as if falling on to a lake whose sedgy margins stretch around them. In the background is a row of trees with four minute deer grazing on an open patch of grass.

Discussion: One of Balwant Singh's favourite pastimes was hawking (39) for which the lake of Saruinsar, perhaps appearing in this picture, could well have provided him with sufficient quarry. The fact that sensitive portraits of individual horses, an elephant and falcons were executed for him illustrates how closely he identified himself with the private world of his possessions.

Example for comparison: (1) Unpublished portrait of a hawk. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. Style of Nainsukh. Jammu, c.1755. A large hawk standing on a perch, poised against a courtyard; tiny figures walking in the background. Perhaps a portrait from life of another of Balwant Singh's favourite falcons.

51 Raja Balwant Singh of Jammu writing a letter to Raja Amrit Pal (1757-1776) of Basohli. By Nainsukh. Jammu, June-July, 1758.

260 x 179 mm. No border. Uncoloured ground.

Inscribed in *takri* characters by writer A on the face of the

picture: *tasvir raje balwant dev jihne dine ehe tasvir likhi he ta sammat pandraha tha mahina had tha nimapheta lage de the se sama likheya da he tihne dine ehe tapa basea da tha peara menu disda nahi papia medi gal sun jai.* 'Portrait of Raja Balwant Dev. The days when this picture was painted, the samvat year was 15 (i.e. samvat 1815, A.D. 1758). The month was Had (Asarh) i.e. June-July. He was engaged in . . . That is the scene painted. At that time, the song was: "The loved one I cannot see. O darling sinner, hear me". Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay (formerly Sir Dorab Tata collection, Bombay).

Description: Balwant Singh in a green coat and red dress sits on a rug leaning against two pillows and a brownish-red cushion, a hookah, dagger, writing materials and betel leaves beside him. A striped cloth covers his thighs. He holds a long sheet of paper in his left hand and a pen in his right. The following letter to Raja Amrit Pal of Basohli, written in tiny *takri* characters is drawn on the paper: *sri ram ji sri maha sri bhanje sri ambrat pale de vas dise balwante je dea samhali jist(?) ke sri ram ji salanti rakhe tih man sukh lage kade (?) kakal tusada puja hakikat malum hoi tuse gai dakh vakh likheya th . . .* 'In the name of Rama. To my respected nephew (on the sister's side), Sri Amrit Pal, from Balwant. May our best wishes and greetings reach you. May Sri Rama protect you. That would indeed make us happy. Your letter has duly reached us and we have understood the situation. You wrote that. . . .'

Discussion: In this portrait sketch Balwant Singh has discarded his customary black turban plume and in its place is wearing a jewelled *sarpesh*. He is busily engaged in writing a letter in his own hand — a circumstance which marks him out still further from the normal run of princes for whom dictation to a scribe was usual practice. The recipient of the letter, Amrit Pal, was the almost exact contemporary of Dalel Singh, younger son of Balwant Singh's eldest brother, Ranjit Dev. The letter designates him Balwant Singh's *bhanja*, a term which would suggest that Amrit Pal's father, Jit Pal, had married Balwant Singh's sister. Although this might be expected in certain castes to disqualify him from marrying a daughter or close relation of Balwant Singh's brother, Ranjit Dev (Kahan Singh, q.v.), cross-cousin marriages would seem to have been permitted by the Jammu and Basohli royal families — a circumstance which is borne out by the fact that Amrit Pal's son married the daughter of Dalel Singh, his own wife's brother. It is possible that both marriages were prompted by political reasons since throughout Amrit Pal's reign, as well as that of his son, Basohli was closely linked to Jammu in a subordinate capacity.

In 1758, the year noted in the inscription, Amrit Pal was thirteen years old and Balwant Singh, thirty-four. Amrit Pal had succeeded to the Basohli throne one year previously, and being still a boy may possibly have needed advice from his uncle. It was a year later, when he was fourteen, that the tie with Jammu was further cemented by his marriage to Ranjit Dev's daughter. His son, Bijai Pal, was born in 1763, the year when Balwant Singh died.

Although Balwant Singh is portrayed in this sketch without his usual sprightly elegance, there is nothing in the letter to indicate that his own affairs have gone wrong. The letter he is writing is in reply to one from Amrit Pal and if anything untoward has happened, it is clearly on the latter's side. It can only be speculated whether Amrit Pal's letter was about his impending marriage to his cousin. The fact that an intimate relationship existed between him and Balwant Singh may explain why Nainsukh joined Amrit Pal after Balwant Singh's death.

52 Raja Balwant Singh of Jammu writing in camp. By Nainsukh. Jammu, c.1760.

185 x 255 mm; with border 210 x 285 mm.

Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

Published: Khandalavala (1958), col. pl. H; also reproduced Archer (1960), col. pl. 82; Barrett (1963), col. pl. at p.179; Goswamy (1968), col. pl. at p.54.

Description: Balwant Singh, stripped to the waist, is seated on a camp bed, a pen-case and hookah beside him, com-

mencing to write on a long piece of paper. Beside him are cushions and pillows in shades of brown, yellow and crimson. Above the bed is a drawn-up tent, making a loose canopy over him. A drowsy boy waves a peacock-feather fan above him. In the background are canvas screens and the dark branches of a spreading tree. Uncoloured background.

Discussion: One of a series of pictures portraying Balwant Singh front-view and in style and idioms comparable to a portrait of Raja Ranjit Dev receiving a courtier (59). Although devoting himself almost exclusively to his special patron, Nainsukh may have been occasionally permitted to portray other dignitaries of whom Balwant Singh's Jasrota intimate, Mukand Dev, was certainly one. In view of Balwant Singh's association with Ranjit Dev, perhaps as his acting *diwan* or chief minister (Ohri, 1969), Ranjit Dev may have been included in this charmed circle.

In the present portrait, Balwant Singh has the air of reverie or concentration which could well go with the composition of a song. He is plump and in good condition and there is no suggestion that any dire catastrophe is impending. Indeed, the mood of the portrait with its amused depiction of the drowsy fan-bearer, is humorously intimate, implying that not only Nainsukh's relationship with Balwant Singh is as close as ever but that Balwant Singh himself is still happily engaged with his musical thoughts.

Example for comparison: (1) Archer and Lee (1963), pl. 49. Balwant Singh shown full-face standing at a window, holding the shutters. Archer collection, London. By Nainsukh. Jammu, c.1755-1760. Similar frontal view as above.

53 An allegory of disaster. By Nainsukh. Jammu, c.1761-1763.

Sketch. Uncoloured background. Several sheets of paper joined together.

Inscribed in three places on the face in *takri* characters by writer B (Balwant Singh) (illegible).

Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras.

Published: Goswamy (1968), fig. 29, where, however, it is captioned 'illustration to a folk legend'.

Description: A scene of hurried cataclysmic evacuation. In the centre, dominating the composition, is a great rushing river carrying down a huge boat shaped like a crescent. At the stern is Raja Balwant Singh sitting with one leg drawn up, his sword resting on his lap as he gazes out across the boiling stream. Beneath him in the bottom of the boat is a crowd of tiny retainers gazing up at him, part of a palace with a turret, a huge elephant, shown in midget form and a great oar tied to the boat's side. In the middle, standing, is a towering figure in long *jama* holding a tall pole and conversing with a *sadhu* in a leopard skin. Behind him in the bottom of the boat, is another group of tiny retainers, three horses and a young girl. At the prow is an older slacker and more portly figure seated gazing at a rocky hillside, a second and smaller elephant, two horses, and an even larger crowd of tiny retainers, the majority of them Gaddis (shepherds). In the background, on the further side of the river and left behind as the boat is carried downstream, is a huge conflagration of burning trees, the flames and smoke carried madly upwards as if fanned by a tornado.

Discussion: This unique picture, unparalleled in the whole of Pahari painting, is still, to a great extent, an enigma. Its secret is perhaps contained in the sprawling annotations of Balwant Singh himself (writer B), but so long as these inscriptions are unread — and they have so far defied all attempts at interpretation — the exact meaning of the picture can only be surmised. The following lines of argument, however, may be hazarded.

It is known from an entry in a priest's register at Hardwar that Balwant Singh died in 1763, and at least four other drawings exist showing him either hollow-eyed, plainly clad or in a state of flabby collapse. The portrait of him dated 1758 writing to Amrit Pal of Basohli, on the other hand, reveals no special malaise. It would seem then that between 1758 and 1763 some disaster struck him and, as a

result, the life in him went out. It is reasonable to suppose that the present picture echoes this disaster and, taking the slack and drooping figure at the prow to be Balwant Singh himself, it might then be construed as a study of him before and after this ruinous event. It is significant that the boat and its contents are divided into two halves by a towering figure engaged in colloquy with a *sadhu* and that this sharp division is emphasised by the great pole which is held aloft. In this view, the left-hand side of the boat could symbolise his former way of life — his palace, elephant, horses and retainers, the right-hand side the hard, harsh state to which he has been reduced. It is significant that the enfeebled figure who is shown seated at the prow, as it were taking with him his past life, is attended by mountain shepherds (Gaddis) rather than by a Rajput entourage and in place of a palace, there is now only a bare and rocky hillside.

This abrupt change could be due to one of two causes. The first is suggested by the presence of the *sadhu* and from this point of view could be interpreted as a spiritual revulsion from his former life of luxury and ease. Such a revulsion, however, does not seem very likely since no pictures portray him actually repudiating his former existence. On the contrary, even when depicted as prematurely old and haggard (55), he is still shown enjoying music and dancing. It is more likely, therefore, that the *sadhu* has been introduced into the boat in order to emphasise the loss of Balwant Singh's possessions, to symbolise, in other words, his reduction to a *sadhu's* property-less condition. The second cause could be more material and factual. In 1756 and again in 1761 Jammu town was sacked by the Sikhs. Their depredations may not have been confined to the capital and while Balwant Singh certainly survived the first sack, he could well have been caught up in the second. In this view, the great fire on the bank could represent the burning and sack of his palace at Saruin, the loss of his possessions, a hurried retreat and, above all, a shock to his system from which he never recovered. In this sudden catastrophe, his former way of life was swept away as if by a raging torrent and of his palace built at Saruin on a rocky ridge, only memories, ruins and rocks remained.

In this view, the present picture may have been painted by Nainsukh perhaps a year or two after the event and almost certainly at Balwant Singh's request or instigation. It is significant, however, that the neat hand of writer A is conspicuously lacking and that it has been left to writer B (Balwant Singh himself) to comment. Although the picture is clearly by Nainsukh, it lacks his normal verve and it is only too possible that he also was unnerved by the disaster and for the time being forfeited his mastery.

54 Raja Balwant Singh of Jammu in camp. By Nainsukh, Jammu, c.1761.

Uncoloured background.

Inscribed in *takri* characters by writer A on the top left-hand corner: *jouta de nagrote de dere da prabhat sama sarai chapre bich kaklansar (?) ki jada kuch dar kuch to besamani*. 'Encamped at Jouta township in the early morning under a thatched roof. On the way to Kaklansar (?). March upon march. No belongings' (Communication, V. C. Ohri, 1970).

Khandalavala collection, Bombay.

Published: Khandalavala (1953), fig. 7; also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), no. 89.

For *kaklansar* ('the lake of Kaklan'), B. N. Goswamy reads *kakal* (paper) *nasare* (proper name?). Jouta, previously read by Ohri (1969) as Jaunta, ten miles from Saruin in Balwant Singh's *jagir*, is untraced.

Description: Balwant Singh, tightly wrapped in a striped shawl, sits on a curtained bed, smoking a hookah, a lighted brazier before him. To the right is a servant in long dark *jama*. To the left is a male musician playing a stringed instrument. Above the bed is a thatched roof for keeping off the rain or dew.

Discussion: This picture is in stark contrast to 52 where Balwant Singh is shown happily writing on a long sheet of

paper and relaxing in camp on a warm evening in the hot weather. He has now a careworn face, is huddled up from the cold and despite the music being played to him by one of his musicians, he has now a wan air of unspeakable sadness. The inscription by writer A reads more like the jottings in a diary and the omission of any reference to a song suggests that while still requiring music, even in the early morning, Balwant Singh was, on this occasion, too depressed to mind which particular song was being sung. If his palace at Saruin had, in fact, been burnt and sacked, the picture might record part of his flight to safety.

Nagrotā, 'little town' or 'township' is almost as common a place-name as Nagar, 'town' or 'city'. Five Nagrotas are known in the Jammu Hills of which one is 14 miles east of Jasrotā and another 18 miles south-east of it. The remaining three are in easy reach of Saruin. One is 9 miles to the north-west (6 miles north-east of Jammu), another 10 miles to the south (14 miles south-east of Jammu) and the third 6 miles to the east (18 miles east of Jammu).

55 Raja Balwant Singh of Jammu watching the dancing-girl Zafar. Sketch. By Nainsukh, c.1762.

210 x 285 mm (trimmed). Uncoloured ground.

Inscribed at the top in *takri* characters first line by writer A: *kona khadota dila jana mia pharea damedī nahi leda* 'Who is standing in the heart and not taking (accepting) even a pice?'; and by writer B (Balwant Singh) second line: *ehe khial ehe gaye kardi zafar kacheni* 'Zafar the dancer is singing thus' (third and fourth lines illegible).

Chandigarh Museum.

Published: Goswamy (1968), fig. 32.

Description: Balwant Singh, listless, aged and haggard, is seated on a rug, leaning against two pillows and smoking the familiar hookah. Close to him, indeed almost bearing down on the hookah, is a dancing-girl, her right hand upraised, her long black hair flowing down her back and a dark necklace caressing her well-defined breasts. Behind her are three eager male musicians, the furthest clapping his hands, the middle one clashing cymbals, and the nearest beating two *tablas*.

Discussion: In this study, the effects of the shock referred to in 53 are only too plain. Balwant Singh is now slack and portly and is changed almost out of recognition. His favourite singer, Ladvai, is no longer with him and her place is being taken by a Muslim singer, Zafar. The intentness with which the musicians are concentrating on Balwant Singh suggests that they and the girl may be rehearsing a song to his dictation. Balwant Singh's plain coat and turban are in striking contrast to the rich and sumptuous attire affected by him previously. For similar portraits of him towards the end of his life, see Khandalavala (1953), fig. 2 'Balwant Singh having his beard trimmed' and Khandalavala, *ibid.*, fig. 5 'Balwant Singh with courtiers or attendants', where the basket-work stool on which he sits provides a poignant contrast to the gilded thrones of 30 and 34.

PHASE THREE: 1750-1880

56 Raja Brijraj Dev (1781-1787) of Jammu smoking. Jammu, c.1750.

236 x 208 mm; with border 275 x 246 mm.

Inscribed on the reverse in *takri* characters: *sri miyan brijraj de jamual*

Chandigarh Museum, Mankot Raj collection.

Description: Brijraj Dev of Jammu, elder son of Ranjit Dev (1735-1781), sits on a white terrace, leaning against dark crimson cushions and smoking a hookah with large round base. He wears a pale yellow *jama*. Behind him is a servant, his left hand holding a long peacock feather fan and his right hand resting on a sword. Beyond is a pale green landscape with sharply curving rims. At the top, dark blue sky with orange-red clouds.

Discussion: Connected with Jammu on account of its subject, chilly pallor and geometric stylisation, seen especially in the long horizontal lines of the terrace and the curving rims of the hills. For similar combinations of white and pale yellow with geometrical structure, see 10 and 12.

57 Raja Ranjit Dev (1735-1781) of Jammu receiving Raja Amrit Pal (1757-1776) of Basohli. Jammu, c.1760.

Inscribed on the face from left to right in Persian characters: (1) *mian dalel singh pīsr raja ranjit dev jamuwal*. 'Mian Dalel Singh, son of Raja Ranjit Dev of Jammu' (2) *raja amrit pal balauria*. 'Raja Amrit Pal of Basohli' (3) *raja ranjit singh jamuwal*. 'Raja Ranjit Dev (Singh) of Jammu'; and on the reverse in *takri* characters: (1) *sri maharaj ranjit de* (2) *sri mia amrat pal*.

Formerly Lambagraon collection, Kangra.

Description: Ranjit Dev of Jammu in dark *jama* with light scarf sits smoking leaning against a pale coloured cushion, his sword resting on a second pillow. Beside him, slightly to the rear, sits the same figure as in 56, a hawk perching on his gloved wrist. Behind them stands an attendant in striped *jama*, holding above them a long peacock-feather fan. Facing Ranjit Dev sits Amrit Pal of Basohli, a youth of about fifteen years, in a white turban and light-coloured *jama* and behind him Dalel Singh, second son of Ranjit Dev, in a spotted *jama* and dark cloak. White rectangular terrace, on to which a balustrade, shaped like a parallelogram, has been imposed. Other additions are four dark cypresses, two trees with minute foliage, a garden with flowering trees and a series of seven flower beds, slanting sideways.

Discussion: A group portrait of special importance since it brings together in one picture Ranjit Dev of Jammu (also portrayed in 59 and 64), his elder son, Brijraj Dev (identified by comparison with 56 and shown like his father sharing an honorific fan), his nephew and son-in-law the young Amrit Pal of Basohli (born 1745 and here aged about fifteen) and finally, Dalel Singh (younger son of Ranjit Dev born in about 1747 and here aged about thirteen). The care with which each figure is portrayed suggests that the picture commemorates some local occasion, perhaps the anniversary of Amrit Pal's wedding to Ranjit Dev's daughter, Dalel Singh's sister. Although the picture retains much of the stiff geometry, characteristic of earlier Jammu painting, other features — the sensitive portraiture, the inclusion of cypresses and the delicate treatment of trees and flowerbeds — suggest Guler influence, if not from Nainsukh direct, at least from Guler painting of the same period. It is significant that the standing attendant, shown beyond the terrace, is identical in posture and appearance with the attendant in 56 and 58 and that both pictures portray the Jammu heir-apparent, Brijraj Dev.

58 Raja Brijraj Dev (1781-1787) of Jammu smoking. Jammu, c.1760.

Red border with white rules.

Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland, Ohio.

Description: Brijraj Dev of Jammu in densely striped *jama* sits on a carpeted terrace, leaning against a cushion, with two pillows, a box of betel leaves and a sword beside him. He holds a hawk in his right hand. Behind him is a low white balustrade and beyond it a standing attendant, his hand resting on a sword, holding a long peacock-feather fan. Plain background with, at the top, a curving rim of cloudy sky.

Discussion: A somewhat later version of 56 where the same figure appears but with a less developed beard and against a hill-side marked by curving rims. Similar in composition to 56 and with the same accessories — cushion, pillows, sword, terrace and balustrade. The attendant in 57 wears the same form of striped *jama* as does Brijraj Dev in the present picture.

59 Raja Ranjit Dev (1735-1781) of Jammu conferring with a minister. Jammu, c.1760.

226 x 252 mm; with border 252 x 279 mm.

Inscribed at the top in *takri* characters: *sri raja ranjit de jamual*. 'Sri Raja Ranjit Dev of Jammu'.

Chandigarh Museum.

Description: Ranjit Dev of Jammu in a white turban and *jama* sits on a white bed smoking, leaning against a white cushion and two pillows. Behind him, partly concealed by the bed, stands an attendant, holding a long peacock-feather

fan on his left shoulder, part of the fan projecting into the right-hand corner and resting his hand on an upright sword. Facing Ranjit Dev sits a minister, also in white turban and *jama*, a long sword lying aslant on his thighs. White terrace sharply demarcated from a pale background by a horizontal line as in 10, 56 and 60.

Discussion: Comparable in its deft characterisation and neatness of drawing to the work of Nainsukh (see especially 52 where the treatment of the bed and tent and ease of placing are strongly reminiscent of this picture). Although Nainsukh appears to have worked almost exclusively for Balwant Singh, it is possible that he was occasionally allowed to paint other figures at the Jammu court. Alternatively, his example may have influenced other artists, to one of whom the present picture may be ascribed. Significant details: a servant holding both a sword and fan (56, 58) and an article of furniture projecting into or across an attendant (1, 6, 21).

60 Raja Brijraj Dev (1781-1787) of Jammu with courtier and attendant. Jammu, c.1765.

216 x 295 mm; with border.

Red border with narrow black margin.

Inscribed on the reverse in *takri* characters: *sri mia bij raj de* 'Sri Mian Brij Raj Dev'.

Manley collection, Guildford, formerly in the possession of Durgi Raina, Pacca Danga, Jammu, from whom it came on the art-market in about 1920. For its suggested previous provenance, the Jammu Raj collection, see *Reigns and Portraits* (xxi): Pratap Singh.

Published: Gray (1950), pl. 105 (540); also reproduced Archer (1952a), fig. 44; Khandalavala (1958), no. 273; Archer (1960), col. pl. 80.

Description: Brijraj Dev of Jammu in pale yellow turban and *jama* and black aigret plume sits on a white stool leaning against a white cushion and resting his arms on a white pillow. Before him kneels a courtier in a white *jama* and banded turban, a sword suspended from his right shoulder. He gazes with folded hands at Brijraj Dev. Behind the latter stands an attendant in long white *jama* and turban, his hand resting on an upright sword and holding a long peacock-feather fan above his head. Flat white terrace, demarcated by a horizontal line. Background of two rectangles, the left and larger one pale grey, the right and smaller one dull pink.

Discussion: A picture attributed to Jammu, firstly, on account of its subject — the Jammu heir-apparent, shown in an attitude and pose of royal command — and, secondly, distinctiveness of style — its cool pallor, use of sinuous rhythmical outline, starkly geometrical arrangement and details such as the posture of the standing attendant, the long fan, the disposition of cushion and pillow and the red border with black margins (all of which are found in other paintings assigned, for other reasons, to Jammu).

The main subject, Brijraj Dev, is now slightly older than in 58 and has also modified the cut of his beard. The standing attendant however, closely resembles the attendants in 56-59 and may even be a member of their family. Although not named in the *takri* inscription, the kneeling courtier is clearly Mian Bhao Singh of Jasrota, heir-apparent of Raja Ratan Dev of Jasrota (1766-c.1780). Compare in this connection an inscribed portrait (*Jasrota*, no. 12), where he appears with identical features and beard, and a similar sword and hanging. A minor detail confirming his Jasrota connection is the highly distinctive pair of straggling turban ornaments — a form of personal decoration also favoured by his uncle Mian Mukand Dev of Jasrota (see *Jasrota*, 2 and 4). As emphasised above, Jasrota enjoyed a specially close relationship with Jammu and this may easily have involved, at times, the deputation of the ruler or his relatives to serve as Jammu ministers. The respectful attitude of the kneeling courtier, vis-a-vis the Jammu heir-apparent, is in obvious line with this general practice.

61 Raja Balwant Singh (born 1724, died 1763) of Jammu standing on a terrace. Jammu, c.1765.

145 x 105 mm; with border 188 x 150 mm.

Blue margins with speckled pink border.

Inscribed on the reverse in *nagari* characters: *sri raja jasrotia balwant dev*; and in English: *Raja Balwant Dev of Jasrota*.

Central Museum, Lahore.

Description: Balwant Singh stands on a white terrace, his left hand resting on a sword in a brown scabbard, his right hand gloved, supporting a hawk. He wears a crimson turban and a green embroidered *jama* with lime-green sash. Background pale blue.

Discussion: With 62, part of a standard series portraying notables connected with the Jammu court in the middle years of the eighteenth century — the rectangular treatment of the background with its firm demarcating line, use of white and pale blue and stark positioning of the figure being in clear line with Jammu practice. Although the subject is recognisably Balwant Singh of Jammu, the portrait exaggerates the up-turned tips of the moustache (barely visible in portraits of Balwant Singh by Nainsukh) as well as other over-obvious attributes such as his love of hawking and richly-patterned clothes.

Unlike 62, which records the name of the subject on the top border, the present picture omits any prominent reference to him by name and merely notes on the reverse, perhaps in dealers' language, his traditional connection with Jasrota. As explained above, Jasrota was intimately connected with Jammu, serving at times as an out-station and even containing minor residences of the Jammu family. The subject who is described on portraits of him by Nainsukh as either 'Raja' or 'Maharaja' 'Balwant Singh' or 'Balwant Dev' — clan or place suffixes being invariably omitted — had especially close connections with Jasrota (31, 47), perhaps leading to the popular title 'Jasrotia Raja'. It is also possible that following the 'disaster' of 1761, the conjectured loss of his palaces and his subsequent breakdown (nos. 53-55), he may have spent the last two years of his life at Jasrota, in this way imprinting his Jasrota associations even more firmly on the popular mind.

Related examples with similar 'Jasrotia' inscriptions: (1) Unpublished. Balwant Dev seated smoking. Sketch. Central Museum, Lahore, A.535. Jammu (after an earlier original), c.1770 or later. Inscribed in dealers' language, on the reverse in English: *Balwant Dev, Raja of Jasrota*; and in *nagari* characters: *sri raja jasrotia balwant dey*. The inaccurate use of the terms 'Jasrotia' for 'Jasrota' and 'Dey' for 'Dev' is noteworthy.

(2) Unpublished. Balwant Dev at a window smoking. Drawing. National Museum, New Delhi. Jammu, c.1770 or later (after earlier originals). Inscribed at the top (1) in *takri* characters: *sri raja sri balwant dev*; (2) in Persian characters: *sri raja balwant dev jasrotia*; (3) in *nagari* characters by writer X: *sri raja balwant de*, (4) by writer Y, apparently as an addition or after-thought, *jasrotiya* i.e. 'Sri Raja Balwant Dev of Jasrota'.

In style a composite portrait, perhaps from a standard series, in which Mukand Dev (27, 48, 62) of Jasrota appears to have been as much the model as Balwant Singh. The latter's normal attribute — a tall black turban plume — is missing, his moustache-ends, normally only very slightly turned up, are given an exaggerated twist, the moustache itself which normally droops down is shown parallel to the beard, the head is squarer and the nose is shorter and snub-shaped. Confusion with Mukand Dev may partly explain the 'Jasrotia' suffix, though other circumstances may also have contributed. For a similar insertion of the word 'Jasrotia' apparently as an after-thought, see the entry in a priest's register at Hardwar (Goswamy (1968), fig. 9).

62 Mian Mukand Dev of Jasrota seated on a terrace. Jammu, c.1765.

215 x 145 mm.

Blue margins with pink border.

Inscribed on the upper margin in *nagari* characters: *sri mian mukand de*.

Karan Singh collection, Jammu, formerly Pahda Kunj Lal collection, Basohli.

Description: Mukand Dev of Jasrota in a white *jama* pat-

terned with floral sprigs sits on a white terrace with faintly patterned rug, leaning against a grey cushion with floral sprigs. Two small pillows lie beside him. On one of them rests a long sword. His pet hawk perches on his right hand. At the back a white balustrade with knobs and rectangular compartments as in 35. Pale blue background.

Discussion: From the same or a similar portrait series as 61 depicting the subject in a standard Jammu posture and setting. Significant details: rectangular balustrade with white knobs, grey cushion with floral sprigs, subject with a hawk, prominent tie-ends of the *jama* as in 61. Unlike portraits of him executed at Jasrota, where he is normally shown wearing a plain white or green *jama*, Mukand Dev is here shown with something of Balwant Singh's love of finery, his richly patterned *jama* vying with that of Balwant Singh (61) in its intricate richness. The fact that he was almost certainly a close intimate of Balwant Singh of Jammu may explain his inclusion in the present series and also the dealer's association of Balwant Singh with Jasrota.

63 Raja Amrit Pal (1757-1776) of Basohli sitting. Jammu, c.1765.

Inscribed on reverse in *takri* characters: *sri miyan amrit pal balauria*

Chandigarh Museum.

Description: Amrit Pal of Basohli in a pale grey dress and mauve cloak sits on a decorated rug, leaning against a white cushion and white balustrade. His long sword rests on a pillow beside him. Above him is a cusped archway. Background pale pinkish-brown.

Discussion: Comparable to 62 and perhaps from a similar series of standard Jammu portraits. For the unusual colour of the background, pale pinkish brown and the use of grey in combination with it, compare the major portrait of Brijraj Dev (60).

64 Raja Ranjit Dev (1735-1781) of Jammu playing with his grand-sons, Bhagwant Singh and Jit Singh. Jammu, c.1775.

187 x 267 mm.

Indian Museum, Calcutta.

Published: Brown (1927), pl. 16 (detail); also reproduced Barrett (1963), col. pl. p.174.

Description: Ranjit Dev of Jammu in a white *jama* and a turban with a golden-yellow band, a long sword below him, sits on a dull pink rug, leaning against a pale crimson cushion and pillow, holding the stem of a hookah and the hand of his grand-son Bhagwant Singh. The latter, aged about seven years, stands in front of him in a pale yellow turban and *jama* which comes to his feet. Behind him is his younger brother Jit Singh, aged about five years, in a conical cap, grey striped coat and black shorts, sitting on the edge of the rug holding a red bow and arrow. Behind Ranjit Dev, whose beard is now greying, is seated the children's father, Dalel Singh, dressed in an ivory-coloured *jama* and turban with a brown buckler and long black sword. He holds a bluish-grey falcon on a dark blue hawking glove. Behind Ranjit Dev and Dalel Singh stands an attendant in long white *jama* holding above them a long peacock-feather fan. The white terrace is demarcated by a horizontal line from the pale greyish-blue background, itself a rectangle except for two small arches cutting into it at the top on either side, partly hidden by a blind.

Discussion: The present picture is of special importance for the identification of Jammu painting since, like the famous portrait of Govardhan Chand of Guler with his rani, children and maid-servants (Guler, no. 38) it shows a Jammu ruler, relaxing in the intimacy of his family. In the latter part of his reign, Ranjit Dev became estranged from his elder son, Brijraj Dev, and lavished his love and affection on his younger son, Dalel Singh, and the latter's children. Dalel Singh who was born in c.1747 (see 57) was possibly twelve years younger than his brother, Brijraj Dev, whose enmity he may have incurred on account of his father's favouritism. One of Brijraj Dev's first acts on succeeding to the Jammu throne in 1781 was to have Dalel Singh and Bhagwant Singh murdered in 1782. Assuming Bhagwant Singh to have been born when his father was aged about

twenty, he would have been about seven years old in 1775. Jit Singh who may have been born two years later would have been five years old. Although possessing a family likeness to his brother, Brijraj Dev (see 60), Dalel Singh had a sharper, neater beard, a slightly upturned moustache and a trimmer figure.

A picture of this type with its simple informality must be presumed to have been made either for Ranjit Dev himself or for his son, Dalel Singh, at Jammu itself. It must also have been painted by an artist attached to the Jammu court, since only a painter, at ease with the personages involved, could have achieved such vivid spontaneity combined with dignified austerity and geometrical grace.

Significant details and idioms: the tall servant with long out-stretched fan, the use of pale blue, pale crimson, dull pink and white, conveying an over-all air of calm and cool pallor, the characteristic conjunction of cushion, pillow and sword, the turban with a yellow band, and the sharply rectangular treatment of the picture space.

65 Raja Brijraj Dev (1781-1787) of Jammu conferring. Jammu, c.1780.

Inscribed on the reverse in *takri* characters: *sri raj brij raj dev jamual* (remainder illegible).

Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras.

Description: Brijraj Dev of Jammu in a white *jama* and turban with yellow band sits on a white terrace facing another ruler in similar dress. Each smokes a hookah and rests his hand on a large pillow with floral pattern. A sword lies beside each. On either side is an attendant in long, white *jama* holding a peacock-feather fan. At each end of the terrace is a pale rug with parallel stripes. At the back is a balustrade with knobs and rectangular compartments as in 35 and 62. Background pale green with three flowering trees, and, at the top, a rim of white and pale blue.

Discussion: A portrait of Brijraj Dev of Jammu at a perceptibly older age than in 60, possibly after he had successfully challenged his father, Ranjit Dev, and when the effects of his dissolute living were becoming more apparent. A novel feature is the large and flowing beard, in marked contrast to his previously small and neatly trimmed one. His companion, who is unidentified, is evidently another Hill ruler visiting him on terms of equality, since each is shown smoking in identical poses. In style and idioms, an obvious continuation of previous Jammu paintings incorporating familiar conventions such as rugs with vertical stripes, white rectangular terrace and balustrade, attendants with peacock-feather fans and an anaemic background.

66 Raja Brijraj Dev (1781-1787) of Jammu smoking. Jammu, c.1785.

Red border with white rules.

Inscribed on front and on the reverse in *takri* characters: *sri raja brij raj de ji*

Chandigarh Museum, Mankot Raj collection.

Description: Brijraj Dev of Jammu in white *jama* and banded turban sits on a white terrace smoking a hookah. Cushion and pillows crimson. Background pale blue.

Discussion: Brijraj Dev, his beard similar to that in 65, is shown perhaps only two years previous to the fatal battle which ended his career in 1787. He has now an air of slack debility, perhaps indicative, as in 65, of his general debauchery. In style, typical of Jammu portraiture of the 1750-1790 period.

67 Raja Brijraj Dev (1781-1787) of Jammu with his rani and baby son, Sampuran Dev. Jammu, c.1787.

160 x 200 mm; with border 190 x 230 mm.

Inscribed on the reverse in *takri* characters: . . . *sri raja brij raj de . . .*

Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

Description: Brijraj Dev of Jammu in a white turban and *jama* sits on a pale yellow rug with faint floral pattern, leaning against two grey pillows and a grey cushion, all with Jammu-type floral sprigs. His baby son, Sampuran Dev, crawls at his feet. In front of him sits his rani. Behind him stands a maid-servant holding a yak's tail fly-whisk above

his head. Both women have dark red and green skirts. At either end of the terrace is a mauve rug with dark blue vertical stripes. At the back is a white balustrade with knobs and rectangular compartments. Yellow background with pale blue sky.

Discussion: Closely comparable in design to 10 ('Ugar Singh of Chamba with ladies') and suggesting that for almost fifty years, group portraiture in Jammu conformed to a more or less standard type. The yellow background with blue rim at the top repeats an idiom, familiar from 14 and 15 and the rectangular treatment of the terrace and rugs, the balustrade with knobs and geometrical compartments and the over-all air of statuesque unconcern are equally typical of previous portraits.

In appearance, Brijraj Dev is identical with the figure shown conferring with a visitor in 65. The child Sampuran Dev, shown aged about one year, was born in 1786. An important aspect of the picture is the presence in it of two ladies, whose faces and veils (notably lacking in gold edges) represent a novel departure from the standard feminine types of the years 1730-1760. These new types, securely connected with Jammu on account of the present picture, with its Jammu subject and domestic setting, provide a significant clue to painting in Jammu at the end of the eighteenth century (see 68-70).

Examples for comparison: (1) Khandalavala (1958), no. 48; discussed Goswamy (1966a). Lady smoking a hookah on a terrace. Sketch. Inscribed in *nagari* characters: (1) *ritu garisham* 'Season, summer'; (2) *sammat 1834 mahina magh sudi pravista 15 ehe kakal tiar jammu*. 'Samvat 1834 (i.e. 1777 A.D.), the 15th day of the bright half of the month of Magh (January-february). This sheet prepared at Jammu'. Khandalavala collection, Bombay, Jammu, 1777. Significant as an early forerunner of the female types in 67 above.

68 Celebrations after the Holi festival. Jammu, c.1790. 240 x 340 mm. Borders trimmed.

Victoria and Albert Museum, Rothenstein collection, I.S. 180-1951.

Published: Archer (1952a), fig. 49.

Description: A prince, seated and smoking a hookah, is surrounded by a group of courtiers and retainers, whose clothes are stained with yellow and crimson from the Holi festival. Below him is a huge dish. In the foreground to the right are two servants with lighted torches and vessels for re-fuelling them. Four dancing-girls in mauve, red, yellow and green dresses, assisted by two male musicians, perform to the right. In the centre stand two palace officials, with red staffs. Rug pale pink with narrow dark blue stripes. Pale grey wall. Pillars light brown.

Discussion: Similar to 60 in its predominant use of pink and grey. Dancing-girls with red dresses and faces as in 67.

69 Krishna and the cow-girls. From a *Bhagavata Purana* series. Jammu, c.1785.

270 x 368 mm; with border 302 x 405 mm. Red border with black rules.

Inscribed on the reverse with lines in *gurmukhi* and *nagari* characters, describing the scene and numbering it 82. Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 5-1960.

Description: Krishna, the central figure in deep yellow *dhoti*, sits on a piece of sage-green ground in a grove of trees, surrounded by six cow-girls, three on either side, and wearing white, mauve and yellow skirts and blue, yellow, mauve and red veils. Three cowherd-boys are with them. In the foreground is a segment of grey water with lotuses. The trees, arranged with airy spaciousness, have dark and pale grey trunks and geometrical foliage. Pale yellow background with, at the top, a red and yellow curving rim. Pale blue sky with golden disc.

Discussion: A reversion to Krishna themes of the 1730-1750 period (see 13 and 14) and incorporating early conventions such as geometrical rosettes for leaves, pale yellow, grey and white colours and plain backgrounds with curving rims. A significant detail is the washed-in rim which demarcates the trees from the sky. This detail, unknown in other schools of painting, is a striking feature of other Jammu

pictures (see especially 12, 14, 22 and 48). The new female types, already noticed in 67 are an adaptation to Jammu conditions of styles of painting already established in Guler and Kangra.

Examples from the same series: (1) Beach (1965), fig. 7; also reproduced Welch and Beach (1965), pl. 54. Jambhavat presenting his daughter to Krishna. Fogg Art Museum, Harvard.

(2) Archer and Binney (1968), fig. 95a. Krishna and Balarama ride forth to attend the proclamation of Yudisthira as a world-ruler. Binney collection, Brookline.

(3) Archer and Binney (1968), fig. 95b. The unveiling of Draupadi. Binney collection, Brookline.

70 The blind Dhritarashtra with Kauravas and Pandavas. From a *Bhagavata Purana* series. Jammu, c.1790.

Dark blue border.

From the same series as 69, sold at Sotheby's, London, December 1959.

Description: The blind Dhritarashtra, his hand holding a large dagger, sits on the floor of a long verandah, attended on the left by twelve princely courtiers and on the right by the five Pandava brothers shown playing the disastrous game of dice with their Kaurava rival, which is to result in their ruin and exile. The verandah has four white columns and is backed by a white wall with three doors and cusped alcoves. A rolled-up blind with floral sprigs runs along the top of the columns.

Discussion: Based in general composition on Nainsukh's group portraits of Raja Balwant Singh of Jammu (compare especially 31, 40 and 49). Significant details: rolled-up blinds with floral sprigs, three steps leading up to the verandah.

71 The lady and the parrot. Jammu, c.1790.

184 x 140 mm; with borders 237 x 184 mm.

Red borders with black and double white rules.

Victoria and Albert Museum, Lory collection, I.S. 120-1960.

Description: A lady in pale green dress sits toying with a hookah while a green parrot perches on her left hand. The hookah bowl is borne by a girl in pale mauve dress who stands on a white terrace. Yellow bed with crimson cushions. Girl attendant in red bodice and green skirt waving a cloth. Grey pavilion with white roof and side-wall, a crimson blind with green edge held up by a cord. To the right two thick cypresses and pairs of white and pink flowering trees. Greyish blue sky turning darker at the top.

Discussion: Similar faces and palette as in 67-69.

72 Radha and Krishna making love. By Nandlal. Jammu, c.1830.

252 x 172 mm; with borders 287 x 220 mm.

Yellow margin with black rules, red border with black and yellow rules. Inscribed on the reverse in Persian characters: *tasvir pesh karda bhai basant singh sakan jammu amadah az deodhi mu'alla 35 muarrakha 1.2.87*. 'This picture presented by Bhai Basant Singh, resident of Jammu, who procured it from the palace. (Number) 35. Dated 1.2.1887'. Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 7-1956.

Description: Krishna with dark blue face and triangular red cap holds Radha on his knee, her legs entwined about him. He wears a yellow *jama*. Radha's dull orange dress is drawn up about her knees, exposing her deep blue trousers. Krishna fondles her right breast. Radha embraces his shoulders. A maid in mauve stands beside the white bed. A second maid, dressed in light blue skirt and mauve veil, waits in the courtyard. A third maid in dull orange brown dress is in a further chamber. On the yellow roof is a peacock. In the courtyard covered by a dull red carpet with dull green floral pattern, are two white geese.

Discussion: In style a continuation of 67-71 and with the same types of female face. Of some importance because of its provenance — the Jammu royal collection. Despite the harshness of line and stiffness of structure, it also bears a limited resemblance to earlier Jammu pictures. Compare, in particular, 14 'Radha and Krishna standing together'

where the lovers' arms are stretched out in the same manner. The picture is attributed to the Jammu artist Nandlal (Randhawa, 1959b q.v.) whose work is liberally represented in the Dogra Art Gallery, Jammu.

73 Raja Ranbir Singh (1857-1885) of Jammu and Kashmir seated. Jammu, c.1850.

185 x 145 mm; with border 190 x 155 mm (trimmed). Dark blue margin.

Inscribed on the reverse in English: *18/- Old Maharaja of Kashmir.*

Victoria and Albert Museum, French collection, I.S. 202-1955.

Description: Ranbir Singh of Jammu in deep yellow dress and pale bejewelled coat, his turban heavily encrusted with pearls leans against red and green cushions. Pale blue background.

Discussion: Identified as Ranbir Singh by comparison with portraits (Archer (1966), figs. 54, 57, 58, 59). In style, symptomatic of the general deterioration of standards which attended the supersession of the senior branch of the Jammu royal family by Gulab Singh (great-grandson of Surat Singh, third brother of Ranjit Dev), at first, Sikh Governor of Jammu, 1820, later, after the Treaty of Amritsar 1846, independent Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir. Ranbir Singh, who was born in the eighteen-twenties, acted as his father's deputy at the second Lahore durbar of 26 December, 1846 (Archer (1962) q.v.).

74 Prince dallying with a lady. Jammu, c.1850.

209 x 176 mm; with margin 233 x 200 mm.

Blue margins with white Kangra-type floral scrolls.

Inscribed on the reverse in English: *Old Maharaja of Kashmir and his Rani.*

Victoria and Albert Museum, Rothenstein collection, I.S. 191-1951.

Description: A prince in Sikh dress, perhaps modelled on Ranbir Singh (1857-1885) of Jammu, sits on a white bed with blue and red cloth beneath an orange and green canopy. He wears striped orange trousers and turban and a pale brown coat. Opposite him sits a lady in orange-red veil and brown trousers, holding a fan. Red carpet patterned with floral sprigs. To the rear, plantain trees and slender stems with dot-like flowers. In the sky grey and black clouds with lightning flashes.

Discussion: In style broadly comparable with 73, the lady's face deriving from debased versions of standard Kangra types, perhaps brought to Jammu by Kangra Valley painters in the eighteen-forties (Randhawa, 1959). The background of flowering trees has a Jammu precursor in the portrait of Raja Brijraj Dev (65).

75 Raja Ranbir Singh (1857-1885) of Jammu and Kashmir seated. Jammu, c.1880.

210 x 158 mm; with border 250 x 195 mm. Mauve border with yellow edge and crimson and blue rules. Dark blue margin with Kangra-type floral pattern.

Inscribed on the reverse in English: *His Highness the Maharaja Jummoo and Kashmir G.C.S.I., C.I.E.*

India Office Library, London.

Description: Ranbir Singh of Jammu and Kashmir, in a deep yellow dress and heavily bejewelled pink coat sits on a throne, holding a sword in crimson scabbard, one foot resting on a foot-stool. He wears the order of a Knight Commander of the Star of India round his neck. Behind him stands an attendant also in dark yellow dress, holding a peacock-feather fan. On the floor a gold and crimson rug. Background pale blue.

Discussion: Copy of a photograph of Ranbir Singh taken at Lord Lytton's Delhi durbar, January 1877 (India Office Library, Photo 99/32).

PAINING IN JASROTA

I. INTRODUCTION

GEOGRAPHY

A small state in the western hills, bounded on the west by Samba, on the north-west by Mankot, on the north by the Sewalik Hills and by Bhadu, on the east by Basohli, on the south-east by Lakhampur and on the south and south-west by the Punjab Plains. Approximate size: fifteen miles long by ten miles wide. Distance from Jammu town, thirty-five miles. Capital: Jasrota.

SCENERY

Drew (1875): 'On leaving the British territory of the Panjab and entering on the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir's dominions, no immediate physical change is seen; for the last portion of the great plain, a strip which varies in width from three or four miles up to twenty, makes part of the Maharaja's territories. We are still then on the wonderful wide plain of India, where the eye tires in contemplating the unvaried level. As in the Panjab the trees here also are small and scant of foliage, either scattered singly or grouped round wells; here also the villages are clumps of low, flat-roofed, mud huts, not inviting in look, yet commodious for the people with their kind of life. Dull enough is the aspect of this plain when the crops are off and the ground is a bare caked surface of dried mud, when the hot-weather haze, hiding the distant view, makes the dusty ground shade off into a dusty air. But at other times of the year — as in March when spring is well-advanced, when the trees are in bloom and the wheat over large undivided spaces is coming into ear — the prospect is bright and agreeable. At such a season the air is clear and one sights the snow mountains from far off. As we approach, the unwhitened ranges of the Outer Hills come more strongly into view; getting nearer still, we see that a succession of low ridges, some rugged and broken by ravines, some regular and forest-covered, intervene between the plain and high mountains. It is these which constitute the region of the Outer Hills.

'As one traverses this plain in a direction parallel to the run of the hills one crosses numerous gullies or ravines. These ravines are from a few hundred yards to a mile wide; they are bounded by a sudden bank. Their flat bottom is mostly sandy; it is sometimes covered with long tufty jungle-grass. The tracts where jungle-grass abounds are frequented by the black buck or antelope.

'The seventy-mile strip of plain extending from the Ravi (Lakhampur state) to the Chinab (west of Jammu) is crossed by two large streams that deserve special mention. These are the Ujh which debouches by Jasrota and the Tavi that comes out of the hills by Jummoo. Both rivers are very liable to floods that carry stones of considerable size down the bed for several miles beyond the outskirts of the hills; the Ujh especially, which has a steeper bed and is liable to quicker floods, brings down boulders of large size' (26-30).

Explored by W.G.A. with M. S. Randhawa and Mulk Raj Anand, March 1960. Jasrota was, by then a 'ghost town', the entire village having been abandoned in the mid-nineteenth century and the former site engulfed by jungle. Apart from a few ruined arches, no traces of previous habitations, palaces or shrines could be found.

RELIGION

No details recorded but from the reign of Dhruv Dev (c. 1710-c.1730), portraits of members of the Jasrota family tend to show them either with no *tilak* marks or with Vaishnava ones. In a picture of 'the shrine at Jasrota' (see below no. 13), the presiding deity is Vishnu.

II. HISTORICAL NOTES

SOURCES

- Archer, W. G. *Paintings of the Sikhs* (London, 1966).
Drew, F. *The Jummoo and Kashmir Territories* (London, 1875).
Hutchison, J. and Vogel, J. P. *History of the Panjab Hill States* (Lahore, 1933), II, 566-574.
Kahan Singh Balauria. *Tawarikh-i-Rajputan-Mulk-i-Panjab* (Jammu, 1912).

REIGNS AND PORTRAITS

An offshoot of Jammu. Clan-name Jasrotia. Suffix Dev. Note: 'The Jammu royal family gave off many offshoots which in past times ruled over separate and more or less independent principalities and of these Jasrota seems to have been the oldest. Till the beginning of the thirteenth century the parent state remained undivided, though we may assume that its rule was of a loose character in tracts distant from the centre of power. About that time Raja Bhuj Dev ruled in Jammu. He had four sons of whom the eldest was the ancestor of the Mankotia family, the second son became Raja of Jammu and the third, named Karan Dev, retired to the outer hills where Jasrota now stands. There he settled and became head of a new state of which one of his successors made Jasrota the capital. . . . After the final subjection of the Hill states by Akbar (c.1590), the states of the Jammu area between the Ravi and the Chenab seem to have settled down into quiet submission and we read of no more revolts. When revolts in the Kangra area occurred, as in the case of Kangra and Nurpur in the time of Jahangir and Shahjahan, the chiefs of the Jammu hills were summoned to help in restoring order. The Rajas who came after Bhabu Dev (c.1580-c.1600) were Bhuj Dev, Fateh Dev, Taj Dev, Shiv Dev, Sikh Dev and Dhruv Dev but of the events of their time we possess no records' (HV, II, 567, 571).

Kahan Singh followed, except where stated. Dates, in general, conjectural.

c.1650-c.1670 SHIV DEV (i)

c.1670-c.1685 JAG DEV (ii)

Sons: Sikh Dev, Bhupal Dev (?)

Portraits of Bhupal Dev:

On the evidence of portraits, a close associate of Anand Dev (c.1690-c.1715) of Bahu (Jammu) for whom he may have acted as Wazir or Chief Minister (see portraits 1, 3, 4 below). Born c.1670(?) died c.1730(?). Presumably a son of Jag Dev or a close relative (nephew, cousin?). For his association with Jasrota, see inscriptions on portraits (1) and (2) below.

(1) Fig. 4(i) (Jammu). Bhupal Dev smoking with Raja Anand Dev of Bahu (Jammu). Lambagraon collection, Kangra. Kangra, c.1760-1770 (after a Jammu original).

(2) Fig. 3 (Jasrota). Bhupal Dev seated with a hawk, a fan-bearer standing. Mis-inscribed on reverse in *takri* characters: *mukand de jasrotia*. Chandigarh Museum. Jasrota, c. 1750.

(3) Fig. 4(ii) (Jammu). Bhupal Dev seated smoking with Raja Anand Dev of Bahu (Jammu). Archer collection. London. Jammu, c.1700.

(4) Fig. 7 (Jammu). Bhupal Dev seated smoking receiving Raja Daya Dhata (c.1700-c.1735) of Nurpur and Raja Dalip Singh (1695-1741) of Guler as young men. Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 111-1954. Jammu, c.1705-1710.

(5) Bhupal Dev smoking, a fan-bearer attending. Inscribed

at the top in *nagari* characters: *sri raj bhupal dev*. Binney collection, Brookline, Mass. (formerly Manley collection, Guildford). Jasrota, c.1720.

c.1685-c.1710 SIKH (SUKH) DEV (iii)

Son of Jag Dev.

Son: Dhruv Dev.

Portraits: (1) **Fig. 30 (Mankot)**. Sikh Dev seated at a window. Chandigarh Museum, Mankot Raj collection. Mankot, c.1720.

c.1710-c.1730 DHRUB DEV (iv)

Son of Sikh Dev. Born c.1680(?)

On the evidence of portraits (1)-(4) may have abandoned administration at an early stage in favour of the religious life. Shown in portraits with Vaishnava *tilak* marks and wearing or holding rosaries.

Sons: Kiral (Kirat) Dev, Kishan Singh, Mukand Dev, Zorawar Singh.

Portraits: (1) **Fig. 3 (Jammu)**. Dhruv Dev seated holding a rosary. British Museum, London. Jammu, c.1700-1710. Aged about 25 and with full dark beard.

(2) **Fig. 35 (Jammu)**. Dhruv Dev seated holding a rosary and looking at the points of a horse. Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 188-1951. Jammu, c.1740-1750. Aged about 35 with black moustache, otherwise clean-shaven and with no beard.

(3) **Fig. 32 (Mankot)**. Dhruv Dev at a window wearing a rosary and holding a betel leaf. National Museum, New Delhi. Mankot, c.1720-1730. Aged about 45 with white moustache, otherwise clean shaven.

(4) **Fig. 1 (Jasrota)**. Dhruv Dev by a balustrade wearing a rosary and holding a betel leaf. Chandigarh Museum, Lambagraon collection, Kangra. Kangra, c.1760-1770 (perhaps after a Jasrota original). Similar to (3) above but with pale crimson cushion, golden yellow background and no archway or window. Aged about 50 with white moustache, otherwise clean shaven.

Portraits of second son, Kishan Singh:

None so far known, but see no. 10.

Portraits of third son, Mukand Dev:

On the evidence of portraits, a contemporary and perhaps a close associate of Balwant Singh (born 1724, died 1763) of Jammu whose retained artist Nainsukh painted him setting out with a singing-girl and musicians on a riding expedition (see portrait (6) below). For similar-style portraits of Balwant Singh either riding or listening to singing-girls and musicians, see **Jammu nos. 24-55**. Born c.1720(?), died c.1770(?). No sons.

(1) **Fig. 27 (Jammu)**. Mukand Dev standing holding a hawk. Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 185-1951. Jammu, c.1746. Aged about 20.

(2) **Fig. 5 (Jasrota)**. Mukand Dev smoking. Manley collection. Guildford. Jasrota, c.1750. Aged about 30.

(3) **Fig. 2 (Jasrota)**. Mukand Dev holding a page of writing. Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 89-1959. Jasrota, c.1750. Aged about 30.

(4) **Fig. 6 (Jasrota)**. Mukand Dev riding with footman and fan-bearer. Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 213-1953. Jasrota, c.1750-1760. Aged about 35.

(5) **Fig. 63 (Jammu)**. Mukand Dev seated holding a hawk. Karan Singh collection, Jammu. Jammu, c.1750. Aged about 30.

(6) **Fig. 48 (Jammu)**. Mukand Dev on a riding expedition with singing-girl and musicians. Manley collection, Guildford. By Nainsukh. Jammu, c.1754. Aged about 35.

Portraits of fourth son, Zorawar Singh:

Born c.1725(?), died c.1780(?). Like his father and brothers presumably a regular attendant at the Jammu court. Quarrelled with his son, Balwant Singh, the latter being sent into exile at Guler, c.1775(?).

(1) **Fig. 11 (Jasrota)**. Zorawar Singh standing leaning on a sword. Chandigarh Museum, Mankot Raj collection. Jasrota, c.1760.

(2) Zorawar Singh holding a flower in the right hand and leaning on a sword with the other. Inscribed on reverse in *takri* characters: *sri raja jasrota jaravaru singh*. Chandigarh Museum, Jasrota, c.1760. Similar to (1) above but with white *jama* and crimson sash. Dark green background.

(3) **Fig. 9 (Jasrota)**. Zorawar Singh standing leaning on a sword, a fan-bearer behind him. Chandigarh Museum, Lambagraon collection. Kangra, c.1770 (perhaps after a Jasrota original of c.1750).

c.1735-1766 KIRAL (KIRAT) DEV (v)

Son of Dhruv Dev. Born c.1710.

Notable events: Ghansar Dev (regent) of Jammu temporarily lives in Jasrota (1747) on the return to Jammu of his elder brother, Ranjit Dev, from confinement in Lahore. Balwant Singh of Jammu is portrayed by his artist, Nainsukh, watching musicians at Jasrota, 1748. Balwant Singh of Jammu and his sons visit a sacred grove at Jasrota, c.1754.

Sons: Ratan Dev, Jawahar Dev.

1766-c.1780 RATAN DEV (vi)

Son of Kiral Dev. Born c.1735.

Contemporary of Ranjit Dev (1735(47)-1781) of Jammu. Tributary of Jammu. Aided Jammu against Kangra. Beginnings of Sikh influence and infiltration.

Son: Bhao Singh.

Portraits: (1) **Fig. 12 (Jasrota)**. Ratan Dev conversing with his son, Bhao Singh. Chandigarh Museum, Lambagraon collection, Kangra. Kangra, c.1770 (after a Jammu or Jasrota original).

Portraits of his near contemporary, Balwant Singh (son of his youngest uncle, Zorawar Singh):

Born c.1750(?), died c.1800(?). Said by family tradition to have been exiled from Jasrota owing to a quarrel with his father concerning his step-mother and an incident involving violence, perhaps murder. Is claimed by family tradition to have settled at Lanj Manai, a village eight miles north of Haripur in Guler state where he was granted a small *agrir* by Raja Prakash Chand (1773-c.1790) of Guler. Had three sons — Tara Singh, Pahar Singh and Hoshiar Singh — all of whom are mentioned in priests' registers at Kurukshetra and Pehowa. Of these sons, nothing is known of Pahar Singh (perhaps the son of a concubine) but Tara and Hoshiar Singh are both referred to in the Settlement Record of Rights for the years 1865-1868. According to these records, it was Tara (not Balwant) Singh who settled first in Lanj Manai in the reign of Prakash Chand and had two sons Badan and Madan Singh. Badan Singh's sons, Shyam and Devi Singh, died childless but Madan Singh's sons — Ram Singh and Narain Singh — were alive at the time of the Settlement and were recorded as owning 477 *kanals* (about 100 *bighas* or 60 acres) of land in Manai, a hamlet of Lanj. The third son of Balwant Singh — Hoshiar Singh — had seven or eight sons all of whom had left Lanj Manai by 1865 and were settled south of Guler. By the time of the Settlement (1865), the family *agrir* had been abolished but family tradition, preserved by a pandit of Lanj, is definite that it must have been quite small since 'at Lanj the family has always lived very poorly' (Local enquiries at Lanj Manai, B. N. Goswamy, 1969).

Although the Settlement Record is in seeming conflict with family tradition, Balwant Singh can perhaps be safely assumed to have been the founder of the Lanj Manai branch. If the usual figure of twenty years to a generation is adopted, 1865 (when Ram Singh was alive) gives 1845 for his father Madan Singh, 1825 for his grand-father, Tara Singh and 1805 for his great-grandfather, Balwant Singh. If twenty is stretched to thirty (an unusual but not wholly impossible estimate) Ram Singh's 1865 gives 1835 for his father, Madan Singh, 1805 for his grandfather, Tara Singh, and 1775 for his great-grandfather, Balwant Singh. 1775 falls within the reign of Prakash Chand of Guler and it is in his reign that the family is recorded as having first settled in Lanj Manai. Assuming Balwant Singh to have been at least twenty years younger than his father Zorawar Singh and

probably about twenty-five years younger than his uncle, Mukand Dev, he could well have been born in about 1750 and hence would have been about twenty-five at the time of his banishment.

In view of the close relations existing between Jasrota and Jammu and the practice of employing the same names for members of the two families (Jammu *q.v.*), it is hardly surprising that Balwant Singh has, at times, been confused with his predecessor, Balwant Singh of Jammu. Dhruv Dev was the name of Balwant Singh of Jammu's father and the name of Balwant Singh of Jasrota's grandfather. Tara Singh was the name of Balwant Singh of Jasrota's first son and almost certainly the name of Balwant Singh of Jammu's second son. Sham Singh and Ram Singh were the names of Balwant Singh of Jammu's two other sons and the names of two of Balwant Singh of Jasrota's great-grandsons. Since Balwant Singh of Jammu was partially resident at Jasrota and was also an intimate of Mukand Dev, elder uncle of Balwant Singh of Jasrota, Balwant Singh the younger could well have been named after Balwant Singh the elder and this practice could have been continued in the family for several generations. Since Mukand Dev of Jasrota was childless, it is further possible that he may have taken a special interest in his younger brother's son and may himself have suggested the name of Balwant Singh for him.

Although an entry in a priest's register at Hardwar (Goswamy, 1968) employs the suffix '*jasrotia*' in a way which might mean either clan-name or place of residence, the only portraits of Balwant Singh of Jammu on which the word appears are either late copies or parts of standard sets (Jammu, no. 61). The vast majority of portraits inscribed 'Balwant Singh' or 'Balwant Dev' omit all suffixes and refer to him simply as 'Raja' or 'Maharaja'. This term is appropriate for a member of the Jammu family, a brother of the reigning ruler and perhaps, for a time, his Chief Minister (Ohri, 1969) but hardly commensurate with the comparatively humble Balwant Singh of Jasrota. The majority of portraits focussing on 'Raja Balwant Singh' also show him as affluent and independent — a position which accords well with that of Balwant Singh of Jammu, the owner of a *jagir* worth 40,000 rupees annually and fatherless from the age of eleven, but scarcely with that of the junior Balwant Singh, living jointly with his father, Zorawar Singh, and in a small and far less prosperous condition.

Above all, it is significant that in the magic diagram of a family goddess (Goswamy (1968), 18), showing a figure with fifteen arms, pointing to the names of sixteen states and three patrons, served by members of the artist Nainsukh's family, Jammu is included but Jasrota is not. 'Balwant Singh of Jammu' may be assumed to have been covered by the term 'Jammu' since two portraits of him are inscribed 'by Nainsukh'. If on the other hand, Nainsukh or a member of his family had worked for the junior Balwant Singh, either the name of the state 'Jasrota' or the name of the patron, the junior Balwant Singh, must necessarily have been included. Since both these names are absent, and the junior Balwant Singh quickly became impoverished, only the most meagre patronage of a painter by him is conceivable and, on the assumption that the diagram is correct, any such painter must have come from a family other than Nainsukh's. The alternative hypothesis — that the diagram is unreliable — is, of course, possible but, if accepted, would weaken much of Goswamy's thesis (1968).

Portraits: (1) **Fig. 13 (Jasrota).** The junior Balwant Singh of Jasrota seated with his back to the viewer before an image of Vishnu in a shrine at Jasrota, a priest, Hari Saran, seated beside him. Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras. Jasrota, c.1775. Aged about 25 and perhaps recording his farewell visit to the shrine at Jasrota prior to leaving for exile.

c.1780-c.1790 **BHAO SINGH (vii)**

Son of Ratan Dev. Born c.1740.

Sikh influence and inroads increasing. Jammu control weakening.

Sons: Ajab Dev, Rup Singh, Bakhtawar Singh.

Portraits: (1) **Fig. 12 (Jasrota).** Bhao Singh seated with his father, Ratan Dev. Chandigarh Museum, Lambagraon collection. Kangra, c.1760-1770 (perhaps after a Jasrota original). Aged about 25.

(2) **Fig. 60 (Jammu).** Bhao Singh kneeling before Brijraj Dev (1781-1787) of Jammu. Manley collection, Guildford. Jammu, c.1770. Aged about 30.

c.1790-c.1800 **AJAB DEV (viii)**

Son of Bhao Singh.

Marriage: his daughter to Mahendra Pal (1806-1813) of Basohli.

Sons: Lal Dev, Shamsher Singh, Bishan Singh.

c.1800-c.1805 **LAL DEV (ix)**

Son of Ajab Dev.

Sikh power rapidly increasing. Ranjit Singh, Maharaja of Punjab, 1801.

Sons: Randhir Singh, Bhuri Singh.

c.1805-c.1820 **RANDHIR SINGH (x)**

Son of Lal Dev.

Jasrota is made tributary to Ranjit Singh (1808) and along with Basohli, Mankot and Bhadu (Jammu Hills) is supervised (1809-1832) by Desa Singh Majithia, Sikh Governor, Kangra Hills.

c.1820-c.1834 **BHURI SINGH (xi)**

Brother of Randhir Singh.

Jasrota is annexed by Ranjit Singh (1834) and is bestowed as a fief on Hira Singh (son of Dhian Singh and boy-favourite of Ranjit Singh). Bhuri Singh deposed and settled at Khanpur in Jammu. His uncles, Shamsher Singh and Bishan Singh, exiled to Nurpur.

1834-1844 **HIRA SINGH (xii)**

Adds a palace but is largely non-resident. Killed in Punjab Plains, 1844. Jasrota state is then merged in Jammu.

Portraits: (1)-(4). See Archer (1966), figs. 19, 20, 29, 35.

1844-1857 **GULAB SINGH (xiii)**

Maharaja of Jammu. Administers Jasrota as part of Jammu state. Due to a curse (KS), Jasrota town is abandoned, c. 1850(?) and its ruins swallowed up in jungle.

Portraits: Jammu *q.v.*

IMPLICATIONS FOR PAINTING

Personality of rulers and relations with other states

Due to paucity of records, little is known of Jasrota rulers but none are remembered as having had any special influence on painting, poetry, architecture or religion. The fact that Jasrota town was abandoned in the mid-nineteenth century due to a curse makes the reconstruction of their possible roles even more difficult.

Of states with which Jasrota was involved, Jammu and Basohli were clearly the most important. As its parent state, Jammu had a special relationship with Jasrota and this was enhanced in much of the eighteenth century when Jammu became the paramount power in the western hills. Jammu princes can be assumed, therefore, to have been frequent visitors to Jasrota and at least two, Ghansar Dev and Balwant Singh (senior) appear to have maintained separate establishments there. Jasrota nobles, for their part, were regular attendants at the Jammu court and may also, at times, have held office in the Jammu administration. As a powerful neighbour with its own school of painting in the eighteenth century, Jammu could thus have been a major influence on local painting at Jasrota.

After Jammu, Jasrota's eastern neighbour, Basohli, was well placed for exerting influence. No important marriage alliances however are recorded until the extreme end of the eighteenth century and it is possible that in the earlier part

of the century, surplus Basohli artists were adequately absorbed by Mankot, Kulu, Nurpur or even Jammu. Since Basohli had been a major centre of painting in the seveneenth century, the presence of Basohli-esque idioms in painting at Jasrota must be accounted as a possibility.

III. PAINTING: REVIEW OF LITERATURE

1916

Coomaraswamy, A. K. *Rajput Painting* (Oxford, 1916). Pl. 33. 'Raja examining the points of a horse'. Here identified as Dhruv Dev of Jasrota (iv, c.1710-c.1730) and the horse attributed to Nainsukh, retained artist of Balwant Singh of Jammu. See *Jammu* no. 35.

1926

Coomaraswamy, A. K. *Catalogue of the Indian Collections in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: Part V. Rajput Painting* (Boston, 1926).

Page 204 (no. 404). A lady with two maids. Here regarded as Jasrota. See no. 8.

Page 204 (no. 405). Lady smoking. See no. 8(1).

1950

Gray, B. 'Painting', *The Art of India and Pakistan* (London, 1950).

Catalogues (no. 543, p. 130) a portrait of an unidentified prince, Raja Balwant Singh, entertained by musicians at night, said to include an inscription stating that 'it was drawn by Nainsukh of Jasrota' in 1748 A.D. See *Jammu*, no. 31.

Catalogues (no. 595, p. 137) an unidentified raja examining the points of a horse (Coomaraswamy, 1916). See *Jammu*, no. 35.

1952

Archer, W. G. *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills* (London, 1952).

Reproduces (fig. 35) the inscribed portrait of Raja Balwant Singh entertained by musicians at night (Gray, 1950) and identifies the subject as Balwant Singh, fourth son of Dhruv Dev (1703-1735) of Jammu. Reads the artist's name as 'Nainsukh of Jasrota', but regards him not as a Jasrota painter but as a retained artist of Balwant Singh of Jammu and as having worked first at Guler, then at Jammu and finally at Guler.

Reproduces (fig. 40) a portrait of Mian Mukand Dev, third son of Dhruv Dev (iv, c.1710-c.1730) of Jasrota, on a riding expedition and assigns it, on grounds of style, to Nainsukh. Infers from the wording of the inscription that it was painted 'not for Mukand Dev but for another patron', here regarded as Balwant Singh of Jammu. See *Jammu*, no. 48.

Reproduces (figs. 42, 48) two further portraits of Mian Mukand Dev, assigning them on grounds of style to Basohli (fig. 42) and to Jammu (fig. 48).

Fig. 42 is here attributed to Jasrota. See no. 5.

Suggests that Nainsukh may have been a member of the artist family whose portraits are in the Central Museum, Lahore (listed Gupta (1922), Guler q.v.), and which include Seu, Manak, Khushala, Kama, Gaudhu, Nikka and Ranjha (Ram Lal) — the last four being sons of Nainsukh.

1953

Khandalavala, K. 'Balwant Singh of Waleu — a patron of Pahari painting', *Bulletin Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay* (1951-2, published 1953), no. 2, 71-81.

Adopts Archer's suggestion (1952) that the Nainsukh of the Balwant Singh portrait (Gray, 1950) was a member of the Seu-Manak family of artists and concludes from the inscription — 'Nainsukh of Jasrota' — that the head of the

family, Seu, had settled at Jasrota after migration from the Mughal court or the Punjab Plains.

Infers from the 'fact' that the family was domiciled at Jasrota that Mian Mukand Dev of Jasrota must have employed one or more of them as his own retained artists and hence prefers to attribute Archer (1952), fig. 40 not to Nainsukh but to one or other of his relations still in Jasrota. Infers from these circumstances a Jasrota school of painting. In this connection, see Goswamy (1966a, b).

1956

Randhawa, M. S. 'Kangra Artists', *Roopa Lekha* (1956), XXVII, no. 1, 4-10.

Reconstructs the history of the Seu-Manak family of artists from the family traditions of their descendants living at Rajol, Kangra district and records that Seu, the head of the family, originally settled not in Jasrota but in Guler. No traces of family connections with Jasrota recorded.

1958

Khandalavala, K. *Pahari Miniature Painting* (Bombay, 1958).

Dismisses Randhawa (1956) as 'unreliable' and, on the strength of the Balwant Singh inscription continues to hold that the Seu-Manak family was domiciled in Jasrota and that 'the *plein air* study of Mian Mukand Dev on a hunting expedition' (Archer, 1952, fig. 40) must have been painted by one of his own Jasrota artists.

Considers that Archer (1952), fig. 42 'illustrates the Basohli kalam as practised at Jasrota in the third quarter of the eighteenth century'. Adds that 'the Mian (Mukand Dev), though not one of the Rajas of Jasrota, was no doubt a member of the ruling house. Like Balwant Singh of Jammu, he also appears to have maintained his own atelier. He was apparently eclectic in his tastes and artists nurtured in the old Basohli kalam worked side by side with the more fashionable refugee artists from the Plains, trained in the Moghul school of the Mahomed Shah period (Archer, 1952, fig. 40). There is no reason to ascribe the last mentioned study to Jammu as Archer has done. It must be ascribed to one of Mukand Dev's own artists at Jasrota' (96).

Assigns to Jasrota Archer (1952), fig. 48, holding that although this portrait of Mukand Dev is in the same style as that of other portraits of other rajas of other states, the fact that its subject is Mukand Dev must make it a Jasrota picture.

1960

Archer, W. G. *Indian Miniatures* (London, New York, 1960).

States, on the strength of the Balwant Singh inscription, that after leaving the Mughal court Nainsukh 'settled for a time at the minor court of Jasrota' before joining Balwant Singh at Jammu.

Adds that 'the full career of Nainsukh has still to be traced for, while he was undoubtedly connected with Balwant Singh, he does not seem to have influenced Jammu painting proper and it is rather at Guler that his style had vital repercussions. Local enquiries have proved that Nainsukh and his sons did live at Guler but his brother Manak may have gone there before him'. For revised discussions of this thesis, see Guler and Jammu.

1961

Skelton, R. *Indian Miniatures from the 15th to 17th centuries* (Venice, 1961).

Pl. 82. 'Krishna rebuffed by Radha'. See no. 4.

Randhawa, M. S. 'Review of *Lalit Kala* (1960), no. 8', *Roopa Lekha* (1961), XXXII, no. 1, 78.

Argues from the presence of a number of portraits of Jasrota chiefs in the Lambagraon collection, Kangra, that Jasrota was a centre in the Jammu area 'where a good deal of painting was done'.

States, on the authority of Sarab Dayal's *Tawarikh-i-Rajgan-Kangra* (Urdu, 1883) that Anirudh Chand (1823-1828) of Kangra was married at Jasrota and suggest that a

Bhagavata Purana series in the the Lambagraon collection (here ascribed to Mankot, q.v.) may have been painted at Jasrota.

Only two portraits of Jasrota chiefs in Kangra style (perhaps after Jammu or Jasrota originals) have been traced to the Lambagraon collection. See nos. 1 and 12.

1963

Archer, W. G. Introduction to M. S. Randhawa, *Kangra Paintings of the Gita Govinda* (New Delhi, 1963).

Publishes a new reading by B. N. Goswamy of the Balwant Singh inscription pointing out that the phrase hitherto read as *nensukhe jasrotie* 'Nainsukh of Jasrota,' in fact, reads *nensukhe jasrote* 'Nainsukh at Jasrota', thus telling us where the picture happened to be painted, not where the artist's home was. Summarises the implications of this reading as follows: 'There can be no doubt that this new reading is right and hence the theory that Jasrota was where Pandit Seu first settled must be abandoned. Jasrota, it must be admitted, had always seemed a somewhat odd choice. No actual pictures are known to have come from it and while a certain Jasrota nobleman, Mian Mukand Dev, is featured in several Pahari pictures, all these can be connected in style with other centres of painting such as Basohli, Jammu and even Guler. It is significant, moreover, that while questioning a living descendant of Pandit Seu about the family history, Dr. Randhawa heard no mention of Jasrota but was assured that Seu had originally settled in Guler about 1720-1730. The result of Dr. Goswamy's new reading then is that this long-standing mystery has, at last, been cleared up and we can now regard Guler as the first home of this artist family' (32-33). For pictures now tentatively attributed to Jasrota, see below.

1965

Ohri, V. C. 'Four important inscriptions on Pahari paintings', *Lalit Kala* (dated 1962 but published 1965), no. 11, 58-60.

Corrects Archer's reading (1952) of the Balwant Singh Music Party inscription, confirming Goswamy's earlier reading (Archer, 1963) that the crucial phrase *nainsukhe jasrote likhi* means 'Nainsukh painted it at Jasrota', not that Nainsukh was of Jasrota. See **Jammu no. 31**.

Speculates on Nainsukh's possible connections with Jasrota and with Mian Mukand Dev and suggests that before joining Balwant Singh of Jammu he may have served the Jasrota family. Following Khandalavala (1953, 1958) continues to regard Jasrota as the family home of Nainsukh and his parents. See *Review of Literature: Jammu*.

1966

Goswamy, B. N. 'Re-reading of some 'Takri' inscriptions in Khandalavala's *Pahari Miniature Painting*', *Roopa Lekha* (1966), xxxv, nos. 1 and 2, 69-75.

Publishes his own re-reading of the Jasrota inscription on 'The Balwant Singh Music Party at Jasrota' (cited Archer, 1963) and claims 'By this reading, I believe that the charmed connection between Nainsukh and Jasrota, his supposed place of domicile is dissolved' (see also *Review of Literature: Jammu*).

Goswamy, B. N. 'The problem of the artist "Nainsukh of Jasrota"', *Artibus Asiae* (1966), 205-210.

Publishes in detail his re-reading of the Music Party inscription. Summarised in detail, *Review of Literature: Jammu* (q.v.).

1968

Goswamy, B. N. 'Pahari Painting: the family as the basis of style'. *Marg* (1968), XXI, no. 4, 17-62.

Publishes a magic diagram concerning the affiliations of Nainsukh and his family. Among the sixteen states where members of the family worked, Jammu is included but Jasrota is not.

Reproduces (fig. 9) an entry in a priest's register at Hardwar noting that Nainsukh, a native of Guler, had come to Hardwar in 1763 along with the remains of Raja Balwant

Singh. The relevant part of the entry runs: *raja balwant singh di chhaiya kan aye* ('came with the remains of Raja Balwant Singh'), followed after a full stop by the word *jasrotiya* (apparently as a conjecture or an afterthought). For a detailed note on Balwant Singh of Jasrota, son of Zorawar Singh of Jasrota and the circumstances in which Balwant Singh of Jammu may have been confused with him, see *Reigns and Portraits: Ratan Dev* (vi).

1969

Ohri V. C. 'An Agreement signed by Balwant Singh', *Lalit Kala* (published 1969), no. 14, 38-40.

Discusses in detail the probability that Balwant Singh of Jammu lived at Jasrota for a few years in his youth and that he had, for a time, his own independent establishment there. Summarised in detail: *Review of Literature: Jammu* (q.v.).

IV. PAINTING: CATALOGUE AND RECONSTRUCTION

1 Raja Dhrub Dev (ruled c.1710-c.1730) of Jasrota at a window. Kangra, c.1760-1770 (perhaps after a Jasrota original of c.1750).

247 x 167 mm; with border 288 x 208 mm. Red border with black and white rules.

Inscribed on the reverse in *takri* characters: *sri miyan dhrub de jasrotia*.

Chandigarh Museum, Lambagraon collection.

Description: Dhrub Dev of Jasrota in a white *jama* with Vaishnava *tilak* marks on his forehead and neck and with a rosary round his shoulders sits with his right hand on a balustrade and his left hand holding a green betel-leaf. He leans against a pale crimson cushion. Background golden yellow. Balustrade white.

Discussion: A portrait reminiscent of early painting in Jammu and with the same tendency to dramatise the head and features. In other respects vaguely derivative from painting in Mankot and Basohli, especially in its use of strong yellow for background and in its resolute enlargement of the eye. Although Jasrota was separated from Mankot and Basohli by the first of several ranges of large hills, it was all along in close social and political contact with them. Like Mankot and Basohli, it remained firmly in the Jammu orbit during much of the eighteenth century.

Dhrub Dev who is referred to as *diwan* in a composite picture, here attributed to Jammu (see **Jammu no. 35**) may have acted, for a time, as *Diwan* or Chief Minister to his name-sake, the Jammu ruler, Dhrub Dev (1703-1735). The subject's white moustache suggests that the picture is based on a study of him in comparative old age.

2 Mian Mukand Dev of Jasrota holding a page of writing. Jasrota, c.1750.

180 x 120 mm; with border 220 x 165 mm. Red border with narrow black margin and silver rules.

Inscribed at the top in *takri* characters: *sri miye mukand de*. Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 37-1960.

Description: Mukand Dev of Jasrota in white *jama* edged with gold and with a large dagger tucked in his waist-sash sits on a white rug with yellow scroll pattern, leaning against three mauve and crimson cushions. He wears Vaishnava *tilak* marks and a rosary and holds a page of writing in his right hand. Yellow background with, at the top, a strip of dull blue sky.

Discussion: In style, broadly similar to 1 and with the same recourse to strong yellow and crimson and the same tendency towards caricature. A turban feature, perhaps peculiar to Mukand Dev, is the long black plume, terminating in a pair of straggling pearl ornaments (see 5). Although the grossly enlarged head suggests early painting in Jammu, the flabby scroll pattern on the rug derives from Basohli painting of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century.

Mukand Dev, the subject of the portrait, was the third son of Raja Dhrub Dev of Jasrota (no. 1) and an intimate associate of his Jammu contemporary, Balwant Singh (b. 1724, d. 1763), fourth son of Dhrub Dev (ruled 1703-1735) of Jammu. He is estimated to have been born in c.1720 and to have died in c.1770. On the evidence of the portraits, he shared with Balwant Singh a love of music, riding, hawking and fashionable attire. They may also have had a common interest in painting. Being childless, it is possible that Mukand Dev interested himself in the son of his younger brother, Zorawar Singh (nos. 9, 11) and may even have been partly responsible for the latter being named Balwant Singh (see no. 13), perhaps after his Jammu friend and companion. Since all inscriptions refer to him as Mian, it is unlikely that he took part in administration.

3 Raja Bhupal Dev (active c.1690-c.1730) of Jasrota on a terrace with attendant. Jasrota, c.1750.

198 x 138 mm; with border 264 x 199 mm.

Mis-inscribed on reverse in *takri* characters: *mukand de jasrotia* 'Mukand Dev of Jasrota'.

Chandigarh Museum.

Description: Bhupal Dev of Jasrota in dull green *jama* sits on a white terrace against a dull crimson cushion, a hawk perched on his knee. An attendant in dull crimson *jama* stands behind him, holding a long peacock-feather fan above his head. Background golden-yellow. Balustrades with geometrical compartments.

Discussion: A person of some importance for Jasrota painting on account of his intimate association with Raja Anand Dev (ruled c.1690-c.1715) of Bahu, Jammu (see *Jammu nos.* 4(i), ii) where the two are shown sitting together and *Jammu no.* 7 where Bhupal Dev appears interviewing Raja Dalip Singh of Guler and Raja Dayadhata of Nurpur. The latter picture suggests that he held high office at Jammu, a circumstance which may explain the fact that he is normally referred to in inscriptions as 'Raja'. As a junior branch of the Jammu royal family, Jasrota may have supplied the senior branch with *wazirs* and *diwans*. Although not mentioned by Kahan Singh or HV, Bhupal Dev was probably a son or close relative of Raja Jag Dev (ruled c.1670-c.1685) of Jasrota.

The picture shares with 1 and 2 the same distinctive range of colours — green, white and crimson — and has the same yellow background. For a fan-bearer with somewhat similar features, see 6.

The careless inscription, rightly connecting him with Jasrota but wrongly labelling him 'Mukand Dev' (see 2 and 5) illustrates the cautious scepticism with which inscriptions on portraits of Jammu and Jasrota notabilities must be approached.

4 Krishna rebuffed. Jasrota, c.1750.

148 x 203 mm.

Private collection, Switzerland.

Published: Skelton (1961), pl. 82.

Description: Radha in a red dress reclines on a mauve and blue carpet against a silver cushion while Krishna in long ankle-length yellow *jama* and holding a lotus flower in his hand prepares to leave. Behind Radha is a fawn-coloured wall. The wall behind Krishna is pale lemon-yellow, surmounted by a cusped pink dome.

Discussion: Connected with Jasrota on account of distinctiveness of style, the resemblance of Krishna to Mian Mukand Dev whose features he appears to share, the same treatment of the carpet and skirt as in 5 and the use of broadly similar colours. The modelling of Krishna on Mukand Dev may be compared with the similar practice in Nurpur where the *nayaka* at times was modelled on Raja Daya Dhata (c.1700-c.1735).

5 Mian Mukand Dev of Jasrota smoking. Jasrota, c.1750.

170 x 165 mm; with borders 205 x 215 mm. Red borders with details projecting into it. Black and white rules. Inscribed at the top in *takri* characters: *sri miyan mukand de*.

Manley collection, Guildford.

Published: Archer (1952), fig. 42.

Description: Mukand Dev in deep yellow *jama* and mauve sash sits on a lightly patterned carpet smoking a hookah and leaning on two small cushions. Beside him is a sword in red scabbard. A servant in red turban with a pleated mauve *jama* stands holding a peacock-feather fan behind him. Pale brown background with, at the top, a narrow rim of blue sky.

Discussion: With 2 and 4, a portrait preserving in diluted form certain Basohli idioms but otherwise in a style sufficiently distinct to be local to Jasrota. It is significant that Mukand Dev wears the same turban with narrow jagged stripes and the same long black plume, ending in two straggling pearl ornaments, as in 2. The presence of these two identical details suggests that both portraits were done by artists in close contact with him. For a portrait of him by Nainsukh showing him with a different head-dress but with the same two turban ornaments, see *Jammu, no. 48*.

6 Mian Mukand Dev of Jasrota riding. Jasrota, c.1750-1760.

240 x 340 mm (trimmed with faint traces of red border on the left side).

Victoria and Albert Museum, Rothenstein collection, I.S. 213-1951.

Description: A picture in two parts — the right-hand part executed on a separate sheet of paper and pasted on to the right-hand side of the first part. In the first part, Mian Mukand Dev in flowing green *jama* is seated on a roan stallion with yellow bridle and red saddle. He holds a hawk on his right wrist. A footman in tawny trousers, his coat tucked into his waist holds the horse's girth in his left hand and carries a peacock-feather fan in his right. A second attendant follows the rider and holds aloft a large peacock-feather emblem. Uncoloured background. The second part, perhaps a later addition, shows a grove of trees with a black water-bird. Similar uncoloured background.

Discussion: Like 2, a portrait which combines archaic Basohli conventions, such as the face, dress and posture of the groom, with the lively naturalism which characterised much of Pahari painting in the middle and later years of the eighteenth century. Although the picture is clearly not by Nainsukh (*Jammu, q.v.*), it avails of Nainsukh's practice of pasting separate sheets of paper together and of occasionally leaving the backgrounds uncoloured. The right-hand side of the picture which is almost certainly by a different artist is comparable in its treatment of trees and foliage to a scroll-painting of Balwant Singh of Jammu, following Pandit Hari Saran of Jasrota 'to see the goddess' in a sacred grove (*Jammu, no. 47*). In this picture, the principal figures are by Nainsukh while the grove is possibly by the same artist who executed the trees in the present study. For a portrait of Bhupal Dev of Jasrota wearing the same dark green *jama* as Mukand Dev, holding a similar hawk and confused in the inscription with him, see 3.

Example for comparison: (1) *Fig. 48 (Jammu)*. Published Archer (1952), fig. 40; also reproduced Khandalavala (1958). Mian Mukand Dev of Jasrota on a riding picnic. Manley collection, Guildford. By Nainsukh. *Jammu, c. 1754*. Discussed in detail *Jammu, no. 48, q.v.*

Nainsukh may well have painted this picture at or near Jasrota, not, however, during any prolonged residence there but while on a visit with his patron, Raja Balwant Singh of Jammu (whose portrait with singers and musicians in similar style was painted by him 'at Jasrota'). There is no evidence that Nainsukh had been in Mukand Dev's employment or that his father, Seu, his brother Manaku, or any of his sons or nephews worked at any time at Jasrota. Balwant Singh, as is clear from other inscribed portraits, was much given to touring around and while on visits to Jasrota could well have taken his favourite artist with him. The fact that no other large-scale study of Mukand Dev exists, that the present picture has the same provenance as that of others of Balwant Singh, that the two *takri* inscriptions are in the same two hands as those on other Balwant Singh pictures, that they refer to Mukand Dev as a mere 'Mian' and that the present study corresponds in style and dimensions to other Balwant Singh pictures by Nainsukh,

suggests that it was done not for Mukand Dev but for Balwant Singh himself.

7 The vision of Krishna. From a *Rasamanjari* series, Jasrota, c.1750.

National Museum, New Delhi, Treasurywala collection. Published: Khandalavala (1958), fig. 31.

Description: Krishna in yellow *dhoti* is seated on a pedestal-shaped throne, a cowherd standing behind him and holding his flute and a yak's tail fly-whisk. Beyond him is a tree with pale purple trunk. In the background are birds and animals including an elephant and tiger. To the right is a verandah with red wall, blue pillars and a white, purple and blue carpet. A maid in red skirt and blue veil stands at the entrance. Behind her to the right is Radha in a green skirt leaning against a blue and purple striped cushion. In the sky a crescent moon.

Discussion: Perhaps an isolated page, based on the last verse of the *Rasamanjari* of Bhanu Datta, describing a vision of Krishna (Basohli, q.v.). Significant details: the pedestal-shaped throne (compare no. 14), carpet with same designs as in 4 and 5, maid with same type of face as that of Radha in 4 and the princess in 8. In style a blend of archaic Basohli idioms and mid-eighteenth century conventions.

8 Princess with two maids. Jasrota, c.1750.

204 x 212 mm. Red border with details projecting into it. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Listed: Coomaraswamy (1926), 204.

Description: A lady with pleated skirt decorated with floral sprigs stands holding a betel-leaf. Behind her is a maid holding a thick garland of flowers and a white fly-whisk. In front of her is a second maid holding out a box of betel-leaves. Plain background, part of the fly-whisk and the maid's skirt projecting into the margin.

Discussion: Similar in style and idioms to 4 and 5. For the hand holding the betel-leaf, see 1.

Related example: (1) Listed Coomaraswamy (1926), 204. Lady smoking, attended by a maid. Part of picture overlapping the border; portions of jewellery represented by inset beetle-wing cases. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Jasrota, c.1750. Style and idioms as in 8 above, the broad white hookah stem corresponding with the stem of Mukand Dev's hookah in 5.

9 Mian Zorawar Singh of Jasrota with attendant. Kangra, c.1770 (perhaps after a Jasrota original).

199 x 112 mm; with borders 139 x 290 mm.

Inscribed on the reverse in *nagari* characters: *sri raja jarawar jasrotiya* and in *takri* characters: *sri raja jaravar singh jasrotiya*.

Chandigarh Museum, Lambagraon collection.

Description: Zorawar Singh in a pale creamy-yellow *jama* stands on a white terrace, his left hand resting on a sword and his right hand holding a rose. Behind him is a servant holding an upright peacock-feather fan. Grey background.

Discussion: Similar in style to 1-3 and with the same mild tendency to caricature. Zorawar Singh was fourth son of Dhrub Dev of Jasrota (see no. 1) and seems to have inherited from his father the long projecting nose which is one of his distinguishing features. At the same time, the unusually large and choppy beard, sloping downwards before abruptly swerving upwards, is all his own. As in the case of certain other members of the Jasrota family, his name is shared with a member of the Jammu house — Zorawar Singh, son of Surat Singh of Jammu and nephew of the latter's younger brother, Balwant Singh of Jammu. Although he himself was the youngest brother of the reigning raja of Jasrota, Kiral Dev, it is noteworthy that the two inscriptions on the present portrait refer to him as 'Raja' in marked contrast to his elder brother, Mukand Dev, who is invariably referred to as 'Mian'. It is possible, that like certain other members of the Jasrota family, he was connected, in one form or another, with administration either in Jasrota itself or in Jammu. For the servant holding the peacock-feather fan upright, compare 6.

10 Jasrota prince riding. Jasrota, c.1750-1760.

205 x 162 mm (trimmed and much damaged).

Victoria and Albert Museum, French collection, I.S. 141-1955.

Description: A princely figure in white, his *jama* tucked into his waist and wearing chocolate-brown riding boots, is seated on a black stallion. He wears a blue turban and yellow hawking gloves, and holds a short stick in his left hand. A grey hawk perches on his right wrist. Uncoloured background.

Discussion: Unidentified by any inscription but in view of his prominent nose, shared with Zorawar Singh (9) and his father, Dhrub Dev of Jasrota (1), perhaps a portrait of the latter's eldest son, Kiral Dev (ruled c.1735-1766) or of his second son, Kishan Singh. In contrast to Zorawar Singh whose abruptly cut and massive beard makes him readily distinguishable, the present subject has a modestly trimmed beard of conventional proportions. This detail effectively prevents him from being Zorawar Singh. For a similar study of a rider holding a hawk against an uncoloured background, see 6.

11 Mian Zorawar Singh of Jasrota standing. Jasrota, c.1760.

215 x 139 mm; with border: 277 x 196 mm. Pink border with dark blue margin.

Inscribed in *takri* characters: *sri miyan jaraur jasrotia*.

Chandigarh Museum.

Description: Zorawar Singh of Jasrota (born c.1725(?), died c.1780(?) in white *jama* stands facing right, his left hand resting on a sword. Grey background.

Discussion: Comparable in style to similar portraiture at Jammu and perhaps executed at Jasrota from a Jammu original. In contrast to 1-3, the element of caricature is now quite absent. The beard is again a prominent feature, its angular cut firmly distinguishing its owner from other members of the Jammu or Jasrota families.

12 Raja Ratan Dev (1766-c.1780) of Jasrota smoking with his son Bhao Singh. Kangra, c.1780 (after a Jasrota original, c.1770).

201 x 131 mm; with border 244 x 167 mm. Pale pink border with black and red rules.

Inscribed on the front in Persian characters (1) *rai bhao singh pisr raja ratan dev* 'Rai Bhao Singh, son of Raja Ratan Dev' (2) *raja ratan dev jasrotia*; and on the reverse in *nagari* characters: (1) *bhao singh* (2) *ratan de jasrotia* Formerly collection of Maharaja Dhrub Dev of Lambagraon, Kangra.

Description: Ratan Dev, a figure with massive beard on the right, wearing a white *jama* and crimson cloak, sits smoking before his son, Bhao Singh who sits opposite him in a white *jama* and brown shawl. Beside Ratan Dev are a long sword in its scabbard and two cushions. Pale yellow rug. White balustrades. Pale blue background. Both father and son have Vaishnava *tilak* marks.

Discussion: Ratan Dev was the eldest son of Kiral Dev (ruled c.1735-1766) of Jasrota and is shown with a massive beard, comparable in size, though not in shape, to that of his uncle, Zorawar Singh (9, 11). Like his father, he appears to have been generally subservient to Jammu. His son, Bhao Singh, may have sided with Ranjit Dev of Jammu's contumacious son, Brijraj Dev, since a portrait of the latter (Jammu no. 60) shows Bhao Singh seated humbly before him, his manner closely resembling his posture in the present picture.

13 Mian Balwant Singh of Jasrota worshipping Vishnu. Jasrota, c.1775.

Inscribed in *takri* characters: (1) *jasrote da thakurdwara* 'The Jasrota temple or shrine' (2) *hari saran pandit* 'Pandit Hari Saran' (3) *sri mian balwant singh jasrotia* 'Sri Mian Balwant Singh Jasrotia'.

Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras.

Description: The young Balwant Singh, a figure in striped *jama*, his head and torso shrouded in a white cloth, is shown seated before an image of Vishnu which wears a

peacock-feather crown and has four arms, carrying the usual four attributes of Vishnu — a mace, quoit, conch-shell and lotus. The image is shown full-face, seated beneath a cusped dome. Balwant Singh has his back to the viewer, the tip of a short black plume appearing from the front of his head. To the right, in profile, is Pandit Hari Saran, a figure in white wearing a rosary and holding a paper on which is written a Sanskrit *sloka*.

Discussion: A picture of some importance since it depicts what may well have been the leave-taking ceremony of the junior Balwant Singh (born c.1750), son of Zorawar Singh and nephew of Mukand Dev, after the disastrous quarrel with his father and the decision to send him into exile. The figure is clearly that of a comparatively young man and the short black turban plume is of the kind worn by Balwant Singh of Jammu's son (see **Jammu, no. 48**). By contrast, Balwant Singh of Jammu affected an exceptionally long black plume on his turban and this, if seen from the rear, with the head inclined, would have towered above the simple white cloth in a manner quite different from that of the insignificant tip in the present picture. It is noteworthy that Pandit Hari Saran who appears in the scroll-painting (**Jammu, no. 47**), majestically leading Balwant Singh of Jammu and his two sons in quiet procession, is now noticeably older. His black moustache has become grey and his beard is thin and scanty. The scene is evidently at least ten to fifteen years later, a time when Balwant Singh of Jammu was long since dead and his young name-sake had become restive at Jasrota.

Although resembling in part the work of Nainsukh, especially in its sensitive characterisation, the drawing lacks his deft neatness and subtle control of perspective. It is therefore more probably by a follower or associate, who, on

account of Nainsukh's periodic visits to Jasrota with his patron, the senior Balwant Singh, may have benefited from his example. Another sketch in Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras, showing a prince sitting on a string-bed under a large tree, his horses tethered and blind-folded behind him, is also in the manner of Nainsukh, but like the present drawing, is too weakly conceived to be actually by him.

14 Vishnu and Lakshmi enthroned. Jasrota, c.1775. 199 x 115 mm; with border 250 x 166 mm. Dark blue margin.

Chandigarh Museum, Mankot Raj collection.

Description: Vishnu with peacock-feather crown, four-armed and bearing the same attributes as in 13, sits on a golden throne with lotus petals, a diminutive Lakshmi sitting on his thigh. Two crowned attendants, one in a red, the other in a golden yellow *dhoti*, hold large white fly-whisks above them. Below the golden throne is a large white pedestal. Pale grey background.

Discussion: Comparable in part to 7 and 13 and availing of Jammu characteristics such as a grey background, dark blue margins and sparsely geometric composition. Although adjoining Mankot and Basohli, both of which had flourishing schools of painting during much of the eighteenth century, Jasrota seems all along to have been a 'poor relation' of Jammu and despite Mian Mukand Dev's qualified interest in the subject, appears in the main to have lacked any thriving school of painting or any strongly independent local style. In these respects, it is similar to its other neighbours, Lakhanpur, Bhadu and Samba, none of which appear, on present evidence, to have had any painting of significance.

PAINTING IN JASWAN

I. INTRODUCTION

GEOGRAPHY

A long and narrow state, forty miles long and five miles wide, bounded on the south and west by the Siwalik Hills and the Punjab Plains, on the north by Siba and Datarpur and on the east by Kangra, Kutlehr and Kahlur (Bilaspur). Founded at the end of the 12th century by a junior branch of Kangra. Capital: Rajpura.

SCENERY

Barnes (1852): 'A rich and fertile vale, drained by the river Swan and flanked on either side by sloping hills' (7).

RELIGION

Details unrecorded. It is perhaps significant, however, that all rulers from Ajit Singh (viii) to Umed Singh (xiii) are portrayed with Vaishnava *tilak* marks.

II. HISTORICAL NOTES

SOURCES

Barnes, G. C. and Lyall, J. B. *Report of the Land Revenue Settlement of the Kangra District, Punjab* (Lahore, 1889), 7. Barnes 1852; Lyall 1875.

Griffin, L. H. and Massy, C. F. *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab* (Lahore 1940), I, 139-141. Supplies names and dates of death of rulers for the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries commencing with Narpatt (Prit) Singh (died 1782).

Hutchison, J. and Vogel, J. P. *History of the Panjab Hill States* (Lahore, 1933), I, 207-210. Provides a list of rulers but until c.1780 no dates of reigns. For the relationship of rulers, viii-xii, see inscribed portraits (**Kangra nos. 8, i-iv**).

REIGNS AND PORTRAITS

From the same family as Kangra, Guler, Siba and Datarpur. Clan-name Jaswal. Family suffix Chand, later Singh. Until the end of the eighteenth century, dates largely conjectural. HV followed for names, Griffin and Massy for subsequent dates.

c.1550-1575 GOVIND CHAND (i)

Acted as guardian to the minor Bidhi Chand of Kangra. Successfully defended the great Kangra fort against the Mughals, 1572.

c.1575-c.1580 BIKRAM CHAND (ii)

Son of Govind Chand.

c.1580-c.1600 ANIRUDH CHAND (iii)

Son of Bikram Chand.

Joined a general rebellion in the Hills against Akbar, 1588. Quelled and submitted. Joined a second rebellion, 1594. Again reduced. Sufficiently distinct as a state to be mentioned by name in the *Akbarnama*.

c.1600-c.1630 SAMIR CHAND (iv)

c.1630-c.1660 MAN SINGH (v)

c.1660-c.1690 AJAB SINGH (vi)

c.1690-c.1720 RAM SINGH (vii)

Sons: Ajit Singh, Jhagar Singh.

c.1720-c.1750 AJIT SINGH (viii)

Submitted to the Mughal governor, Adina Beg Khan, 1745. No sons.

Portraits: (1) **Fig. 8(ii) (Kangra)**, Ajit Singh (right) smoking; his brother Jhagar Singh (left) with hawk.

Lambagraon collection, Kangra. Kangra, c.1760.

c.1750-c.1765 JAGHAR SINGH (ix)

Brother of Ajit Singh.

Sons: Abhiraj (Abhirai) Singh, Jagrup Singh.

Portraits: (1) **Fig. 8(ii) (Kangra)**, Jaghar Singh with hawk facing Ajit Singh.

Lambagraon collection, Kangra. Kangra, c.1760.

c.1765-c.1770 ABHIRAJ (ABHIRAI) SINGH (x)

Son of Jaghar Singh.

No sons.

Portraits: (1) **Fig. 8(iii) (Kangra)**, Abhiraj Singh seated. Lambagraon collection, Kangra. Kangra, c.1760.

(2) **Fig. 8(iv) (Kangra)** Abhiraj Singh (right) smoking; his nephew Prit Singh (left) seated before him.

Lambagraon collection, Kangra. Kangra, c.1765-c.1770.

c.1770-1774 JAGRUP SINGH (HV) (xi)

Omitted (GM). Son of Jhagar Singh. Brother of Abhiraj Singh.

Son: Prit Singh.

Portraits: (1) **Fig. 51 (Guler)**, Jagrup Singh with Prakash Chand of Guler, Raj Singh of Chamba and other Hill princes visiting the Sikh Jai Singh Kanheya. Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 128-1955. Guler, 1774.

(2) Jagrup Singh of Jaswan with Prakash Chand of Guler, Raj Singh of Chamba with other Hill rulers and Wazirs visiting the Sikh Jai Singh Kanheya. Inscribed (See Guler no. 51(1)). Chandigarh Museum. Guler, 1774.

1774-1782 PRIT SINGH (HV) (xii)

Alias for Narpatt Singh, died 1782 (GM).

Son: Umed Singh.

Portraits: (1) **Fig. 8(iv) (Kangra)**, Prit Singh (left) seated before his uncle, Abhiraj Singh (right). Lambagraon collection, Kangra. Kangra, c.1765-1770.

(2) **Fig. 8(i) (Kangra)**, Prit Singh (left) smoking with Tegh Chand (1774) of Kangra (right). Lambagraon collection, Kangra. Kangra, 1774.

(3) **Fig. 6 (Kangra)**, Prit Singh of Jaswan, Tegh Chand of Kangra, and Pirthi Singh of Nurpur smoking with Prakash Chand of Guler and Raj Singh of Chamba. National Museum, New Delhi. Kangra, 1774. Prit Singh is third down on the left.

1782-(1815) 1854 UMED SINGH (xiii)

Son of Prit Singh. Born c.1770.

Tributary to Sansar Chand of Kangra, 1786. Joined the general revolt of the Hill States against Kangra, 1805.

Tributary to the Sikhs, 1809. Annexed by Ranjit Singh, 1815. Umed Singh granted a *jagir*.

Revolted against the British during the Second Sikh war, 1848. Captured and deported to Almora. Died 1854. Jaswan incorporated in the British District of Kangra, 1849.

Son: Jai Singh (deported with his father; also died in exile).

Portraits: (1) **Fig. 23 (Kangra)**, Umed Singh in a darbar of Raja Sansar Chand (1775-1823) of Kangra (the fifth figure down on the right, between Bikram Sen of Suket, above, and Kishan Singh of Suket, below). Inscribed in Persian characters: *raja umed singh jaswal*.

Welch collection, Cambridge, Mass. Kangra, c.1800.

1854-1856 JAI SINGH (xiv)
Son of Umed Singh.

1856-1892 RAN SINGH (xv)
Son of Jai Singh.

Granted a *jagir* in Mankot (Jammu) by Maharaja Ranbir Singh of Jammu and Kashmir. Ran Singh's son married to Ranbir Singh's grand-daughter. Restored by the British to the Jaswan family *jagir* and to the palace at Rajpura, 1877.
Son: Raghunath Singh.

1892-1918 RAGHUNATH SINGH (xvi)

Son of Ran Singh.
Son: Lakshman Singh.

III. PAINTING: REVIEW OF LITERATURE

1968

Goswamy, B. N. 'Pahari Painting: the family as the basis of style', *Marg* (1968), XXI, no. 4, 18-19.

Publishes a magic diagram of a semi-nude female figure pointing to the names of sixteen states or courts among which is Jaswan. Interprets the diagram which bears the title 'Shri Guler' as a picture of the family *siddhi* or personal deity of the Seu-Manaku-Nainsukh family of Guler painters and the list of states or courts as places where members of the family worked at some time. No particular members of the family, however, are cited as having worked at Jaswan. No other references to painting in Jaswan have been published.

IV. PAINTING: CATALOGUE AND RECONSTRUCTION

No paintings securely connected with Jaswan have so far come to light but four portraits of Jaswan rulers (Kangra q.v.) from the ancestral collection of Raja Dhruv Dev Chand of Lambagraon, Kangra, descendant of Rajas Ghamand Chand (xii, 1761-1773) and Sansar Chand (xiv, 1775-1823) of Kangra, may afford some clue to Jaswan portraiture in the second half of the eighteenth century.

PAINTING IN KAHLUR (BILASPUR)

I. INTRODUCTION

GEOGRAPHY

A moderate-sized state, thirty-five miles long and twenty miles wide, bounded on the south by Hindur (Nalagarh), on the west by Jaswan and the Punjab Plains, on the north-west by Kutlehr and Kangra, on the north by Mandi and Suket and on the east by Baghal (Arki). Capital: Kot Kahlur until 1600; Sunhani, 1600-1654; Bilaspur (Byaspur), 1654 onwards.

SCENERY

Moorcroft (1820): 'Bilaspur is rather prettily situated at the extremity of a plain about a mile in length. The Raja's house whited and decorated with flowers in fresco is neat but not large. His garden is laid out in alleys of peach and apricot trees and squares of rose-bushes with here and there beds of the narcissus. The servants apologised for its neglected state by stating that a large wild boar which had been partly reared by the Raja's orders had remained almost undisputed master of it for some months past, attacking everyone who appeared in it and the Raja was unwilling to have him destroyed. He had wounded several persons dangerously and several times been close to our encampment but was easily driven off by being pelted with stones. My servants were desirous of using other weapons but I forbade them. . . . The bazar is in a ruinous state, more than half the shops being deserted. This was said to be owing to the town having been twice plundered within a short time' (Moorcroft. *Manuscript Journal*, dated 23 February-29 March 1820. *MSS. Eur. D.237*, pp. 48, 49. India Office Library, London).

Vigne (1842): 'Bilaspur stands about 2,000 feet above the level of the sea. The situation is very picturesque; open, cultivated and comparatively level ground is extended on both sides of the river. The verdure is of the richest description; the mountains, bold and elevated, surround the outskirts of the landscape and the noble river, three hundred yards in width, sweeps round the angle of the bank on which the town is built, with a rapidity which would evince its eagerness for the notoriety it has so long deserved' (62).

Gazetteer (1911): 'Bilaspur is situated on both banks of the Sutlej, in a tract where the river, breaking away from the middle ranges of the Himalayas, threads its way through the valleys of the lower hills. The country to the north and west of the Sutlej resembles that of the north-east of Kangra. A large portion of it is undulating or slightly hilly, but there are four well defined ridges which rise to an elevation of from 3,000 to 4,000 feet and have a general direction from north-west to south-east. To the south-east of the Sutlej the country is altogether mountainous and is an offshoot from the higher hills. The Sutlej passes through the middle of the State from east to west with a large bend in the centre and divides it into two approximately equal parts.

'There are no towns. Bilaspur, the capital, is beautifully situated above the Sutlej and around a stretch of level sward nearly a mile in length. There is a small bazaar. The palace and other State buildings stand above the river; while the slopes of the opposite hill are dotted with the thatched but substantially built residences of Mians and well-to-do zamindars' (8).

French (1931): 'Bilaspur is a small town on the Sutlej. No ancient buildings survive. Perhaps this may be due to the Gurkhas. But what could not be destroyed is the great open space in the middle of the town, called the Sandhu. Every hill-town has such an open space in the middle as a park or

parade-ground but nowhere is there one of the size of the Sandhu. A ride across the Sandhu, in the clear evening air, with moonrise over the eastern mountains and sunset over the western, lingers in the memory as a picture of the Hills' (99).

[The Sandhu has since been submerged by the Sutlej river due to the completion of the Bhakra dam in 1962. Present-day Bilaspur is thus a new township especially erected by the Government of India on high ground one to two miles north of the former site. When visited by M. S. Randhawa and W.G.A. in March, 1966, the Sandhu had come out of the water (due to poor rainfall in 1965) and the foundations of the old town as well as some walls of the palace could be seen still standing. Before Raja Hira Chand (xii, 1850-1883) and Raja Amar Chand (xiii, 1883-1889) built a new palace on the Sandhu in the mid-to-late nineteenth century, the palace of the Bilaspur rajas was at Dholra, a site slightly north of old Bilaspur (its ruins plainly visible from the road above the Sandhu).]

RELIGION

The *Gazetteer* (10-14) gives a summary account stressing the following special points:

- (1) Shiva, Kali and Vishnu are worshipped.
- (2) Popular godlings include Guga Pir, common to the lower part of Kangra and the east Punjab Plains (but not to Kulu and the upper hills).
- (3) Another godling common to Kangra and Bilaspur is Balak Nath or Dewat Siddh. His commonest symbols are stones marked with the impress of human feet. A favourite type of offering is a pair of wooden sandals.
- (4) The Shivaratri festival is not observed in the lower hills of Bilaspur (in contrast to Mandi where it is *de rigueur*).
- (5) At religious fairs the images of the gods are carried about in palanquins but there is no dancing by the worshippers and little or no drinking.
- (6) The ruling family of Bilaspur has a special goddess of its own, the deification of a pious rani who survived her husband in order to bear him a son and then committed sati. A handsome temple at Bilaspur contains her image. On the occasion of harvests, festivals, births and marriages, members of the Chandel family make special offerings to her of cash and clothes.
- (7) An important religious fair is that of Rangnath Shiva held in Bilaspur town in May.

Note: Due to submergence by the Sutlej, the old temples at Bilaspur, many of them no larger than tiny shrines, eight feet square, with little towers, twenty feet high, have now been abandoned, the images being removed to a newly built temple in present-day Bilaspur. This temple is to Vishnu and contains a central image of Lakshmi Narain, flanked by images of Shiva and Durga. On the side walls are plaques of Rama, Sita and Lakshmana and of Krishna fluting to Radha. Among various images salvaged from the river are a pair of stone foot-prints (Balak Nath) and a long row of raja rani stones. When a raja or a rani died, the local practice was to erect an image and worship it for a year. Some of the rajas and ranis are shown smoking hookahs and in one case there is a royal umbrella with bent handle (see no. 9). Of the river-side temples now abandoned, one was to Murl Manohar (Krishna) and several were to Shiva. About one hundred yards from the old palace at Dholra and adjoining the river is what remains of the Rangnath Shiva temple. Whenever there was a drought, the raja and the local people would go barefoot to the river, collect pots of water, repair to the temple, and pour water on the lingam until it flowed in a stream back to the Sutlej. When it joined the river, the ritual was completed and rain was assured. The temple sacred to the Chandel family is known as the Sati temple and was situated close to the old palace.

II. HISTORICAL NOTES

SOURCES

- Anon. *Punjab States Gazetteers, VIII A: Simla Hill States, 1910: I. Bilaspur State Gazetteer* (Lahore, 1911).
- Forster, G. *A Journey from Bengal to England* (London, 1808).
- Hugel, C. *Travels in Kashmir and the Punjab* (London, 1845).
- Hutchison, J. and Vogel, J. P. *History of the Panjab Hill States* (Lahore, 1933), II, 494-513.
- Kahan Singh Balauria. *Tawarikh-i-Rajputan-Mulk-i-Panjab* (Jammu, 1912).
- Moorcroft, W. *Manuscript Journal*, dated 23 February-29 March, 1820. MSS. Eur. D.237. India Office Library, London.
- Moorcroft, W. and Trebeck, G. *Travels in the Himalayan Provinces of Hindustan and the Panjab; in Ladakh and Kashmir; in Peshawar, Kabul, Kunduz and Bokhara, from 1819 to 1825* (prepared for the press from original journals and correspondence by H. H. Wilson, London, 1841, 2 vols.). A paraphrase and, at times, an inaccurate summary of Moorcroft's manuscripts.
- Rose, H. A. *A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Panjab and the North-West Frontier Province* (Lahore, 1919).
- Vigne, G. T. *Travels in Kashmir, Ladak, Iskardo* (London, 1842).

REIGNS AND PORTRAITS

The Bilaspur royal house bears the clan-name Kahluria, after Kahlur, their ancient capital from which the State received its original name. It claims descent from a hero of the *Mahabharata* who reigned in Chanderi in Bundelkhand to the south-east of Rajasthan. Members of the house are therefore called Chandel Rajputs. Hindur (Nalagarh) and Chanehni (Jammu Hills) share this origin with Bilaspur. Family suffix, Chand.

HV note that most of the Rajputs in Kahlur (Bilaspur) State are Chandlas, that is, they belong to different branches of the ruling family. They are called 'Mian families'. The chief names are Ajmerchandia, Kaliyanchandia, Tarachandia, Sultanachandia (HV, II, 513).

The *Gazetteer* stresses that in Bilaspur 'the Rajputs are a strong and relatively numerous section. They are nearly all of the Chandel tribe and offshoots from the ruling family. They are usually classified as Kahluria Mians and Chandlas. The former are those who are descended from Rajas belonging to more or less historical times and are called Ajmerchandas, Tarachandias, Kalyanchandias and Sultanchandas after the Rajas from whom they are sprung. The Chandlas are other Rajputs whose connection with the ruling family is more remote, though as a rule clearly traceable' (8).

Until 1667, all dates are approximate. Hutchison and Vogel (HV) are followed unless otherwise stated.

1600-1620 BIK (BIKRAM) CHAND (i)

Marriages: Kangra, Baghal.

Sons: Sultan Chand (by Kangra rani), Kesav Chand (by Baghal rani).

Abdicated in favour of Sultan Chand.

1620-1630 SULTAN CHAND (ii)

Son of Bik (Bikram) Chand by Kangra rani.

Dispute with Kesav Chand in which both were killed.

1630-1645 KALIAN CHAND (iii)

Son of Sultan Chand.

Wars: Hindur (Nalagarh), resulting in Bilaspur establishing a protectorate over it; Suket (Kalian Chand killed in battle).

Marriages: Suket (daughter of Shyam Sen of Suket, 1620-1650).

Sons: eight.

1645-1650 TARA CHAND (iv)

Son of Kalian Chand.

Character: 'Of weak and timid disposition and paid little attention to state affairs. As a result inroads were made into the country and much territory was lost to neighbouring states. The tributary states also ceased to give attendance and present their nazars' (HV, II, 501). Temporary collapse of Bilaspur as a power.

Sons: Dip Chand, Manak Chand.

1650-1667 DIP CHAND (v)

Son of Tara Chand.

Restored Bilaspur as a power. Regained lost land. Founded a new town on the left bank of the Sutlej river and made it the capital, 1654. Called it Byaspur, later corrupted to Bilaspur.

Wars: Raided by Sikhs and forced to submit, 1656. Campaigned for Mughal emperor, Aurangzeb, on North-west Frontier, India.

Marriages: Kulu (one daughter), Mandi (two sons: Bhim Chand, Dan Chand).

Death: Poisoned at Nadaun by Raja of Kangra (Vijairam Chand), 1667.

Portraits: (1) **Fig. 1 (Kahlur).** Dip Chand listening to girl-singers. Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 120-1954. Bilaspur, c.1660.

1667-1712 BHIM CHAND (vi)

Son of Dip Chand.

A child at succession. Replacement of officials by his uncle, Manak Chand (Wazir). Palace intrigues by his mother (rani from Mandi) led to overthrow of Manak.

Wars: Manak, with help of Kangra, invaded Bilaspur but was repulsed by Bhim Chand, aided by Nalagarh. Bhim Chand assisted Kulu against Bashahr. Sikhs, a meddlesome and disruptive factor in Bilaspur affairs, intervened and defeated Bhim Chand in 1682, 1685, 1700. Treaty with the Sikh, Guru Govind Singh, 1701. In alliance with Raj Singh (c.1685-1695) of Guler, Bhim Chand aided Mandi against the Mughal Governor of Kangra fort (see no. 6).

Relations with Kulu and Mandi: Due to his father's marriages, Bhim Chand was linked to both. Kulu-Mandi friction, however, was evident in rivalries of Dip Chand's two ranis. An intrigue by the Mandi rani to marry the Kulu rani's daughter to her brother (Raja Sidh Sen of Mandi) led to the Kulu rani burning herself and her daughter to death. Bhim Chand expiated the incident by erecting a temple containing an image of Kunkam Devi (the Kulu rani concerned).

Character: Is said to have spent the closing years of his life as a *sadhu* after abdicating in favour of his son, Ajmer Chand, who succeeded in 1692 (*Gazetteer*).

Note: Bhim Chand's brother, Dan Chand, may have played a prominent part in administration. Thakur Ishwari Singh (see reconstruction) identified Dip Chand as 'Dan Chand'. HV notes of Kulu (Jagat Singh) that he co-operated with Dan Chand Kahluria in denying Suleiman Shikoh access to the Hills (II, 481).

Portrait: (1) Skelton (1961), pl. 38. Inscribed in *takri* characters: *raja kehaluria bhim chand*. Private collection. Bilaspur, c.1680.

1712-1741 AJMER CHAND (vii)

1692-1738 (*Gazetteer*)

Son of Bhim Chand.

'Ajmer Chand reigned for over forty years and was at war for most of that time' (*Gazetteer*). 'Ajmer Chand had a peaceful reign of long duration' (HV). Although in charge of state administration from 1692 onwards, it is unlikely that Ajmer Chand actually ascended the throne until his father's death in 1712.

Character: Devoted to religion, worship and temple ritual. Expiated the accidental dropping of an image by whipping himself and giving Rs 50,000 to the poor (HV).

Marriages: Garhwal, Sirmur and in Bilaspur families.

Seven sons: Devi Chand, Sakat Chand, Chiman Chand (Chinna), Bhagat Chand (Bhagtu), Jagat Chand (Jagtu),

Izat Singh (Izzatu), Zorawar Singh (KS).

Death: 1738 (*Gazetteer*), 1741 (HV).

Portraits: (1) **Fig. 8 (Baghal).** Ajmer Chand seated with his son, Devi Chand and Rana Mehr Chand (1727-1743) of Baghal (Arki). Raja Anand Chand collection, Bilaspur. Arki, c.1720.

(2) **Fig. 20 (Kahlur).** Ajmer Chand standing. Raja Anand Chand collection, Bilaspur. Bilaspur, c.1700.

(3) **Fig. 14 (Kahlur).** Ajmer Chand worshipping Rama and Sita. Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 124-1954. Bilaspur, c.1700.

1741-1778 DEVI CHAND (viii)

1738-1778 (*Gazetteer*)

Son of Ajmer Chand.

Successful ruler and general. State and court prospered.

Wars: Said by HV to have intervened in Nalagarh, installing Gaje Singh Hindurea, a member of the ruling family, as Raja. See, however, Hindur (reign v). Successfully aided Kangra (Ghamand Chand) against Jaswan and Jaswan (Abhai Chand) against a usurper. Regained land in Plains lost to Mughals. Introduced the system of cash tribute from Bilaspur feudatories (thirteen minor Simla Hill states including Baghal (Arki) and Keonthal).

Marriage: Kangra (one son, Mahan, born late in life, 1772).

Portraits: (1) **Fig. 8 (Baghal).** Devi Chand seated with his father, Ajmer Chand. Raja Anand Chand collection, Bilaspur. Baghal (Arki), c.1720.

(2) **Fig. 10 (Baghal).** Devi Chand seated with Jai Singh (1731-1742) of Kulu. Private collection. Baghal (Arki), c.1720-1730.

(3) **Fig. 39 (Kahlur).** Devi Chand seated smoking. Chandigarh Museum, Lambagraon collection. By Fauju (after a Bilaspur original). Kangra, c.1760-1770.

(4) **Fig. 21 (Jammu).** Devi Chand seated on a terrace with attendant. Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 262-1953. Jammu, c.1750.

(5) Listed Gupta (1922), D.74. Devi Chand seated. Line drawing. Central Museum, Lahore. Kangra, c.1760.

(6) Listed Gupta (1922), D.75. Devi Chand seated smoking. Line drawing. Inscribed in *takri* characters: *sri raja devi chand* and in *magari* characters: *kehaluria debi chand*. Central Museum, Lahore. Kangra, c.1770.

(7) **Fig. 1 (Kangra).** Devi Chand seated with Raja Ghamand Chand (1761-1773) of Kangra. Raja Anand Chand collection, Bilaspur. Kangra, c.1770.

1778-1824 MAHAN CHAND (ix)

Son of Devi Chand by his Kangra rani. Six years old at succession.

Minority 1778-c.1793.

Under Regency of his Kangra mother.

Wars with Kangra: Despite the family relationship with Kangra (Raja Sansar Chand was her nephew), border friction led to an alliance with the Mughal Governor of Kangra Fort against Sansar Chand and the Sikh, Jai Singh Kanheya, 1781-1783. Much Kangra land ravaged. Kangra repulsed Bilaspur, 1786.

Internal affairs: A succession of Wazirs: Raman, former Wazir to Devi Chand, died 1785; Bairagi Ram, former Wazir to Surma Sen of Mandi (left Mandi with Isvari Sen, c.1792), killed due to his imprisonment of old officials and mass oppression; Zorawar Singh, youngest brother of Devi Chand, uncle of Mahan Chand. Wazir until Mahan Chand's majority, c.1793.

Character of the Kangra rani: A forceful personality. See Forster (250-251). Died c.1797-c.1800.

Majority c.1793-1824.

Wars: 1793-1806. Renewed war with Kangra, 1793, but defeated. Loss of land to Kangra. Hindur (Nalagarh) sides with Kangra, burns Bilaspur town and takes part of Bilaspur state.

1806-1814. The Gurkha interlude. Gurkhas, assisted by Bilaspur, besiege Kangra fort, 1806-1809. Ranjit Singh raises the siege, 1809. Gurkhas occupy Bilaspur, 1809-1814. 1814-1824. Gurkhas ejected from Bilaspur by the British who confirm Mahan Chand in lands on left bank of the Sut-

lej. Lands on the right bank, invaded by Desa Singh Majithia (Sikh Governor, Kangra Hills), aided by Kangra forces, are made tributary to the Sikh Maharaja Ranjit Singh.

Character: Moorcroft (1820): 'The revenues (of Kahlur) are said to be about Rs. 40,000 clear. The supposed produce of the country where the rent is taken in kind is divided between the Raja and his peasantry in five shares — one for the Raja, one for payment of the peasantry when he wants their services and the rest to the cultivators. The Raja is popular. It is said that the full amount of his subjects exceeds not 20,000 and of the working members there is certainly a large proportion employed on his forts and he only pays them a seer and a quarter of flour and (?) for his daily allowance. With so large an abstraction from the works of agriculture as I have witnessed, this Chief must have much merit to be so well spoken of. The roads through his country are broad and good and they have been made at very light cost . . .

'It was conceived that the Raja, supposing me a kind of merchant not much superior to a peddler, would not pay me a visit. But sick persons crowded for advice and during my stay I operated on 18 eyes for cataract and the Raja being ill came also for assistance and medicines . . .

'It was said that the Raja only shewed himself in a morning in his kuchcheree to receive the obeisances of his servants and shut himself up in his zunana for the rest of the day whilst his native officers managed the country in the way they thought best suited to their respective interests' (*Manuscript Journal*, dated 23 February-29 March, 1820. MSS. Eur. D.237, pp. 43, 47, 49. India Office Library, London).

HV: 'On obtaining full power the Raja showed no interest in state affairs and spent his time in sensual pleasures and low company. This alienated from him the loyalty of his subjects and brought disaster upon the State' (II, 505-506).

Portraits: (1) Listed Gupta (1922), D.76. Mahan Chand seated. Inscribed in *takri* characters: *man chand kaluria*. Central Museum, Lahore. Kangra, c.1800.

(2) **Fig. 23 (Kangra).** Mahan Chand in a darbar of Raja Sansar Chand (1775-1823) of Kangra (third figure on right from top). Welch collection. Cambridge, Mass. Kangra, c.1800.

1824-1839 KHARAK CHAND (x)

Son of Mahan Chand. Born 1813. Succeeds aged 11.

Internal affairs: Like his father indifferent to state affairs. A reputation for riding on fighting elephants, draining the State treasury, seizing lands of his officials and taking estates of his kinsmen. A revolt by his uncle (Jagat Chand, xi) was suppressed, 1838. Died of small-pox, March 1839, aged 26.

Marriages: Sirmur (two princesses, twin sisters of Raja Fateh Parkash).

Character: HV: 'Kharak Chand's reign marks the darkest page in the history of Bilaspur. From early youth, he seems to have fallen under the baneful influence of evil companions and acquired vicious habits that remained with him during his short life. He took no interest in State affairs, spending his time in pursuit of sensual pleasures' (II, 508).

Vigne who met him in 1835 and 1839 found him 'a good-looking young man, with a fair complexion and of middling stature' but otherwise 'uncouth, unlettered', rude and savagely cruel (62-65). Hugel who met him in 1839 termed him 'of all the ignorant and unmannered native chiefs on this side of the river, he is, perhaps, the most rude and unpolished. His excesses in wine and spirit-drinking have well-nigh robbed him, though still in the prime of life, of the miserable intellect he might once have had' (21-25).

1839-1850 (1857) JAGAT CHAND (xi)

Cousin of Kharak Chand. Son of Basant Singh, grandson of Sakat Chand (second son of Ajmer Chand, vii).

Succession problem: On Kharak Chand's death, he was survived by two ranis, both from Sirmur (twin sisters of Raja Fateh Parkash). Neither had a son but the younger was later claimed to have been pregnant — her son, Tika

Garabh Chand, being born posthumously in November 1839. Due to fear of Jagat Chand, this pregnancy was not divulged.

In default of an heir, the throne was conferred by the British on Jagat Chand, who performed Kharak Chand's funeral rites — the British Political Agent from Ambala reporting in his favour, April 1839. HV explain that one of the Mians or royal kinsmen, Mian Changhnan, descended also from Sakat Chand, second son of Raja Ajmer Chand, was next in the succession but Jagat Chand had taken the leading part in their defence against the oppressive rule of Kharak Chand and the people all acclaimed him raja (HV, II, 510). Mian Changhnan was therefore superseded.

The succession problem, however, was far from being finally settled; for, although the two ranis withdrew to Sirmur on Garabh Chand's birth, they returned with armies from Sirmur and Suket. The main Bilaspur army and the state officials defected and Jagat Chand was forced to escape to Nalagarh. He was restored to Bilaspur with British aid. Kharak Chand's widowed ranis then found fresh asylum in Sirmur where they were granted a small estate.

Internal affairs: Firm and peaceful government. Paid off a loan contracted with Nalagarh while in temporary exile.

Character: 'Of a devotional spirit and spent much time daily in the performance of the rites of his religion... Had only one son, named Narpat Chand, who died in 1844, leaving a son, named Hira Chand, nine years of age. When he came of age in 1850, Jagat Chand, with the consent of the (British) Government abdicated in his favour and retired from the state to spend the rest of his life in Brindaban and other holy places. He died in 1857' (HV, II, 510-511).

Note: The succession dispute has important bearings on the identification of Bilaspur painting. When leaving for Sirmur, the Bilaspur ranis took with them the main Bilaspur Raj collection of pictures (private communication, Ishwari Singh Chandela, 1954). At Sirmur it became the property first of the posthumous son, Garabh Chand, and then of the latter's son, Krishna Chand. Finally part of it came to Garabh Chand's grandson, Thakur Ishwari Singh Chandela, later a resident of Udaipur, Rajasthan. When I visited Ishwari Singh at Udaipur with G. K. Kanoria in January 1954, his share of the collection had already been partly dispersed — some pictures having reached the National Museum, New Delhi, the Allahabad Museum and Kanoria's own collection through the Jaipur dealer, Vijayavargiya; others having been recently acquired by the Russian collector, Svetoslav Roerich; some being still with the Udaipur dealers, Abdullah and Sons.

Of the pictures remaining with him, a large *Pahari Ragamala* set (see no. 32), a number of portraits of Bilaspur rulers and of neighbouring notables (see nos. 1, 3, 4, 14, 21, 22 and 38), some pictures of deities and religious subjects (see nos. 25 and 26), some pages from a *Madhavanala Kamakandala* series (see no. 13), a much damaged leaf from a *Bhagavata Purana* series (see no. 46) and some individual *Ragamala* pictures (nos. 17, 18(i)) were stated by him on the basis of family tradition to be the work of Bilaspur painters at Bilaspur.

1850-1883 HIRA CHAND (xii)

Grandson of Jagat Chand.

'The golden age of Bilaspur'. Aided by an able Wazir, Mian Bhangi Purgnia, reformed the revenue system. Planted trees. Excavated tanks. Efficient administration. General prosperity. Built the first part of the new palace, Bilaspur, on the level ground (the Sandhu) by the Suttlej. Murals of Radha and Krishna on the upper storey 'in a rough Kangra Style' (French, 99).

1883-1889 AMAR CHAND (xiii)

Son of Hira Chand. Born 1857.

An artist by temperament. The first ruler in the Punjab Hills to be a practising amateur painter. A picture by him was seen by French in 1929 in the collection of Mian Basant Singh, cousin of the Raja, at Arki (French, 85). Completed the second part of the new palace, Bilaspur. Unpopular in the state. Much discontent due to misman-

agement by officials (*Gazetteer*). Died aged 32.

Portrait: (1) Listed Gupta (1922), 58, D.79. Amar Chand. Central Museum, Lahore.

1889-1927 BAJAI (BIJAI) CHAND (xiv)

Son of Amar Chand.

Minor at succession. Full powers 1893. Lived mainly at Banaras. Abdicated 1927. Died 1930.

1927 (1933)- ANAND CHAND (xv)

Son of Bijai Chand.

Owner of a small collection of pictures, including

(1) four paintings in distinctive styles, published Randhawa (1954), pls. 32, 34, 36, 37; discussed Archer (1957); Khandalavala (1958); Barrett (1963); Archer (1965). See nos. 49(1), 50, 47, 49.

(2) an illustration, much damaged, of a scene from the *Ramayana* (see no. 41).

(3) a group of nine portraits of Bilaspur rulers and courtiers — one in Kangra style showing Devi Chand (viii, 1741-1778) with Ghamand Chand of Kangra, a second in Baghal (Arki) style showing Ajmer Chand (vii, 1712-1741) and his son, Devi Chand with Rana Mehr Chand of Arki, the remainder in a distinctive style, here accepted as Bilaspur. This group of portraits was procured from various local sources by Raja Anand Chand while he was preparing a small book on Bilaspur history.

Collection examined by M. S. Randhawa in 1953 and again with W.G.A. at Bilaspur, March, 1966.

IMPLICATIONS FOR PAINTING

Personality of rulers

Although Kahlur (Bilaspur) was feudal overlord of various tiny states in the Simla Hills, it approximated in general status to Kulu, Mandi and Garhwal. Its rulers had therefore a fairly strong inheritance to support them but not such vast resources as to over-awe their neighbours. It is noteworthy that three rulers (Dip Chand, v, Ajmer Chand, vii, and Devi Chand, viii) were renowned for success in war and for bringing general prosperity; two rulers (Bhim Chand, vi, and Jagat Chand, xi) for abdicating in favour of the religious life, and two others (Mahan Chand, ix and Kharak Chand, x) for being wasters and over-addicted to sensual pleasures. Ajmer Chand (vii) appears to have been exceptionally pious, though not, so far as is known, a great scholar or patron of learning.

The four reigns which may have had most influence on painting are those of Dip Chand (v, 1650-1667) — successful in war and founder of Bilaspur town; Bhim Chand (vi, 1667-1692) — continuer of his father's policy and ably supported by his brother Dan Chand; Ajmer Chand (vii, 1692-1738) and Devi Chand (viii, 1738-1778). Under all these rulers, Bilaspur flourished and it is likely that as part of this prosperity, musicians, singers and dancing-girls were patronised. Such patronage could explain a spate of *Ragamala* painting between 1650 and 1780 — the pictures serving as accompaniments to music. Prosperity and success in war might also explain a vogue for portraiture.

On the side of religion, the state does not seem to have been either strongly Shaiva or strongly Vaishnava. The rani of Devi Chand (viii, 1738-1778), however, came from Kangra where the royal family were worshippers of Krishna and since she exerted a powerful influence in Bilaspur affairs until her death in c.1800, this could explain a new emphasis on Krishna paintings at the end of the eighteenth century.

Relations with other states

Kulu. In the second half of the seventeenth century, Kulu and Bilaspur were particularly friendly: Dip Chand (v, 1650-1667) married a Kulu rani, and his son, Bhim Chand (vi, 1667-1692 (1712)) aided Kulu against Bashahr. Bhim Chand's brother, Dan, played an active role in Bilaspur affairs and is mentioned by HV (II, 461) as co-operating with Kulu, Nurpur and Sirmur in denying Suleiman Shikoh

(Aurangzeb's nephew) access to the Hills. These close ties are relevant to painting since Kulu may then have been availing of its family ties with Basohli to found a local school of painting (c.1660 onwards, see *Kulu nos. 1-5*). At the same time, Bilaspur could have profited from its links with the Mughal imperial court and with its family connections in Bundelkhand (Rajasthan, Central India) to found its own new school. The closeness of these ties may accordingly explain traces of Kulu influence in Bilaspur painting and vice versa. It may also account for the presence of Bilaspur pictures in Kulu collections (see no. 19).

Mandi. Bilaspur seems to have been on equally friendly terms with Mandi, Dip Chand (v, 1650-1667) symbolising the parity of the two states by marrying a Mandi as well as a Kulu rani. The existence of this marriage connection in the second half of the seventeenth century may have favoured a development at Mandi and Bilaspur of parallel styles of painting, both deriving in some measure from seventeenth century Mughal painting.

Baghal (Arki). This state was a close neighbour of Bilaspur and according to the *Arki Gazetteer* was linked to it by many marriages. Apart from the wedding of Bikram Chand (i, 1600-1620), however, none of these marriages are noted in HV or in the *Bilaspur Gazetteer*. The state would seem to have lain within the Bilaspur orbit and throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to have been a tributary to it. Its position as a minor appendix of Bilaspur would explain why Arki painting (q.v.) appears to be a derivative from Bilaspur painting.

Sirmur. As its virtual neighbour on the east, Sirmur had all along friendly relations with Bilaspur. Ajmer Chand (vii, 1692-1738) married a Sirmur rani and Mahan Chand (ix, 1778-1824) availed of Sirmur for help against Kangra. The tie was strengthened by the marriage of Mahan Chand's son, Kharak (x, 1824-1839) to twin princesses from Sirmur. For the significance of this marriage, see Kharak Chand.(x).

Garhwal. Apart from one marriage alliance (Ajmer Chand, vii, 1692-1738), Bilaspur and Garhwal appear to have had few, if any, relations with each other in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Kangra. Bilaspur relations with Kangra fluctuated sharply from reign to reign and period to period — personalities determining in large part whether the two states were at peace or war. Bikram Chand (i, 1600-1620) established an alliance through his marriage to a Kangra princess, but by the end of the seventeenth century relations were bad. Dip Chand (v, 1650-1667) was poisoned while in Kangra territory and his son Bhim Chand (vi, 1667-1692) had to repel a Kangra invasion. By the middle of the eighteenth century, friendship had been restored and Devi Chand (viii, 1741-1778) successfully aided Kangra against Jaswan in 1751, cementing his alliance by taking as his sole rani, a Kangra princess. This 'Kangra rani' survived him but proved a troublesome element in Bilaspur affairs — harrying Kangra in 1781 and again going to war in 1795. The defeat of Bilaspur led to its paying tribute to Sansar Chand of Kangra but the arrival of Gurkha forces from Garhwal enabled Bilaspur to attack Kangra again. The imposition on Kangra of Sikh supremacy by the Sikh Maharaja Ranjit Singh in 1809 ended warlike relations but hardly promoted close friendship.

Since Devi Chand's marriage to the 'Kangra rani' occurred before the rise of Kangra painting under Sansar Chand (1775-1823) and the rani's relations with Sansar Chand were consistently bad, Bilaspur can hardly have attracted Kangra court painters in the years 1775 to 1800. On the other hand, despite her antipathy to Sansar Chand, the Kangra rani may have maintained connections with her family. In that case, Kangra painting of the late eighteenth century could well have affected Bilaspur.

Guler. In contrast to Kangra, Guler was on uniformly friendly terms with Bilaspur. At the end of the seventeenth century, Raj Singh of Guler aided Bilaspur and Mandi against the Mughal Governor of the Kangra fort and in 1806 when Kangra was attacked by the Gurkhas, Guler and Bilaspur headed a confederacy of states against Kangra. Since the capitals of the two states lay on the same highway between Hardwar and Nahan (Sirmur) on the east and Jammu on the north-west, intercourse between them was easy. In such circumstances, Bilaspur might well have been influenced by Guler painting in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Basohli. Unlike Kulu, Bilaspur had no family ties with Basohli, and, so far as is recorded, had no relations with it.

Mughals. Dip Chand (v, 1650-1667) campaigned for the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb and this circumstance, along with Dip Chand's experience of Delhi, would be sufficient to explain the arrival of one or more Mughal painters at Bilaspur in the seventeenth century.

Sikhs. As elsewhere in the Punjab Hills, the Sikhs were a disruptive force from the end of the seventeenth and throughout the eighteenth centuries. On the Gurkha retirement in 1815, the Sikh Governor, Desa Singh Majithia, occupied Bilaspur territory on the right bank of the Sutlej and this part of the state remained under Sikh control until 1846. This circumstance could have assisted the spread of Bilaspur-style painting to other areas under Sikh control or even to Amritsar.

Rajasthan. Although relations with the parent stem in Bundelkhand, the seat of the Chandela dynasty, are nowhere discussed by HV or the *Gazetteer*, the fact that the Bilaspur royal family was consistently known as Chandela and that other Rajput families in the state were termed Chandlas strongly suggests that links with Rajasthan and Central India were still a living reality in the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries. It is also significant that Thakur Ishwari Singh Chandela, a descendant of the Bilaspur ruling family, chose to settle in Udaipur (Mewar), a part of Rajasthan which adjoins the Chandela country. This family connection with Rajasthan and Central India could account for the occasional use at Bilaspur of models, prototypes and idioms drawn from Rajasthani and Central Indian pictures (see nos. 2, 16, 43, 44, 46).

III. PAINTING: REVIEW OF LITERATURE

1916

Coomaraswamy, A. K. *Rajput Painting* (Oxford, 1916), II. Pl. 29. 'Krishna welcoming Sudama'. Here regarded as Bilaspur. See no. 16.

1922

Gupta, S. N. *Catalogue of Paintings in the Central Museum, Lahore* (Calcutta, 1922), 58.

Lists four portraits of Bilaspur rajas: Devi Chand, viii (D.74, D.75), Maha (Mahan) Chand, ix (D.76) and Amar Chand, xiii (D.79).

Bishen Chand (D.77, D.78), noted as a son of Devi Chand's brother, is a mistake for Bishan Singh (Chand), elder brother of Raja Govardhan Chand (1741-1773) of Guler (Guler q.v.).

1924

Gangoly, O. C. (editorial note). 'Collection of Professor William Rothenstein', *Rupam* (1924), nos. 19 and 20, 137-138.

Fig. 3. Illustrates a painting from a *Nayaka Nayika* series

('Pahari, perhaps a late copy of an early Kangra'). Here ascribed to Bilaspur. See no. 10.

1925

Gill, E. 'Art and Love', *Rupam* (1925), no. 26, 6. Fig. p.6. *Abhisarika nayika*. See no. 29(ii).

Goetz, H. 'Die Indischen Miniaturen der Sammlung Wilhelm Rothenstein. London'. *Jahrbuch der Asiatischen Kunst* (Leipzig, 1925), 47-59. Pl. 56. *Abhisarika nayika* (Gill, 1925). See no. 29(ii).

1926

Coomaraswamy, A. K. *Catalogue of the Indian Collections in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: Part V, Rajput Painting* (Boston, 1926). Pl. 65 (212). 'Raja Kansa'. Here assigned to Bilaspur. See no. 16(1). Pl. 69 (283). 'Balarama'. See no. 35(1).

1927

Coomaraswamy, A. K. *A History of Indian and Indonesian Art* (London, 1927). Fig. 267. 'Krishna welcoming Sudama', (Coomaraswamy, 1916). See no. 16.

1929

Stchoukine, I. *La Peinture Indienne* (Paris, 1929). Pl. 92. 'The rape of Rukmini'. See no. 27(1).

1931

French, J. C. *Himalayan Art* (Oxford, 1931), 23, 24, 98-100.

Describes a visit to Bilaspur in the nineteen-twenties. Notes some palace murals (late 19th century).

Describes as 'early Kulu' two *ragini* pictures in the family collection of the Rai of Rupi, Kulu. Here reproduced and assigned to Bilaspur, see nos. 19(i) and (ii).

1950

Mehta, N. C. 'Notes on some Rajasthani and Pahari Paintings'. *Roopa Lekha* (1950), XXI, no. 2, 10.

Alludes to the palace murals at Bilaspur (late nineteenth century).

Gray, B. 'Painting', *The Art of India and Pakistan* (London, 1950; ed. L. Ashton).

Pl. 104 (528). *Sandhuri Ragini* (but captioned 'Kedarika Ragini, Basohli, 1750-1760'). Here regarded as Bilaspur. See no. 31(i).

Pl. 107 (518). 'Madhavanala in bed, attended by maids' (captioned 'Sankavararan Ragini, Basohli, about 1700'). See no. 13(1).

Pl. 109 (578). 'Radha visiting Krishna on a moonlit night'. Here assigned to Bilaspur. See no. 48.

Prasad, R. and others. *Nehru: a Birthday Book* (Calcutta, 1950).

Pl. 16. 'Shiva and Parvati'. See no. 1(2).

1951

Archer, W. G. 'Catalogue of the Sir William Rothenstein Collection of Indian Paintings and Drawings', *Art and Letters* (1951), XXV, no. 1, 8-11.

Pl. 4. *Abhisarika nayika* (Gill, 1925; Goetz, 1925). See no. 29(ii).

Pl. 8. *Prositapatika nayika*. See no. 29(i).

1952

Archer, W. G. *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills* (London, 1952).

Fig. 8. 'The waiting *nayika*' (captioned 'Radha disconsolate'). Here regarded as Bilaspur. See no. 10(2).

Fig. 9. 'The patient mistress' (captioned 'Radha preparing the chamber for Krishna'). See no. 10.

1954

Randhawa, M. S. *Kangra Valley Painting* (New Delhi, 1954).

Reproduces for the first time four pictures from the collection of Raja Anand Chand of Bilaspur, connected with Bilaspur by provenance and distinctiveness of style.

Col. pl. 32. 'Driving the flock'. See no. 49(1).

Col. pl. 34. 'Festival of colour'. See no. 50.

Col. pl. 36. 'Krishna summoning the cows'. See no. 47.

Col. pl. 37. 'In search of Krishna'. Discussed Archer (1957). Here accepted as Bilaspur. See no. 49.

Also reproduces 'The feast in the forest' (col. pl. 33). Chandigarh Museum. See no. 49(2).

1955

Archer, W. G. 'Some Nurpur Paintings', *Marg* (1955), VIII, no. 3, 8-18.

Publishes 10 paintings from the ancestral collection of Mian Kartar Singh of Nurpur, descendant of Wazir Ram Singh, whose house was burnt by British shells during the rebellion of 1849. Of these paintings, the following three are here regarded as Bilaspur, having entered the collection possibly on the occasion of a wedding.

Fig. 3. 'Ladies in a field'. See no. 9(1).

Fig. 4. 'Lady attended by a maid' (*Kamodi Ragini*). See no. 11(1).

Fig. 6. 'Gathering flowers' (*Vasanti Ragini*). See no. 36(1).

Also publishes Fig. 5. *Kusuma Raga*. Formerly Ram Gopal collection, London. See no. 9.

1957

Archer, W. G. 'The Problems of Painting in the Punjab Hills', *Marg* (1957), X, no. 2, 30-36.

Review of Randhawa (1954), reproducing three of the four examples from the collection of Raja Anand Chand of Bilaspur and citing present nos. 47, 49, 49(1), 49(2) and 50 as instances of a distinctive style, here regarded as connected with Bilaspur.

Alludes to the family collection and traditions of Thakur Ishwari Singh Chandel of Bilaspur (investigated with G. K. Kanoria, 1954). See separate note (Jagat Chand, reign xi).

Archer, W. G. *The Loves of Krishna* (London, 1957).

Pl. 18. 'The Rape of Rukmini' (Stchoukine, 1929). See no. 27(1).

1958

Khandalavala, K. *Pahari Miniature Painting* (Bombay, 1958).

Publishes for the first time a *Bhagavata Purana* series (figs. 43, 44 and col. pl. F) and, relying on provenance, family tradition and distinctiveness of style, attributes it to Bilaspur. See no. 46(i, ii) and 46(1).

Publishes (fig. 11) a *Madhavanala Kamakandala* series as 'Bilaspur idiom of Basohli *kalam*'. See no. 13(2).

Connects no. 160 (Gray (1950) pl. 109) with Bilaspur. See no. 48.

Accepts as Bilaspur four pictures from the collection of Raja Anand Chand of Bilaspur (published Randhawa (1954) q.v.).

The following other illustrations, variously attributed, are here assigned to Bilaspur:

Col. pl. XI. 'Raja Raj Singh of Guler smoking' (captioned 'Portrait of a Hill ruler smoking. Unidentified *kalam*, early 18th century'). See no. 6.

Fig. 10. 'Lakshmana removing a thorn from Rama's foot'. Compare no. 26.

Fig. 38. 'Krishna playing at Holi'. See no. 23(2). For red background, compare no. 16.

No. 44. 'Balarama'. See no. 35(1).

No. 53. 'Krishna welcoming Sudama' (Coomaraswamy, 1916, 1926). See no. 16.

No. 67. *Saveri Ragini*. Compare Waldschmidt (1967), fig. 48 and present no. 34(1).

1959

Reiff, R. *Indian Miniatures: the Rajput Painters* (Tokyo, Rutland and Vermont, U.S.A., 1959).

Col. pl. 11. 'Krishna welcoming Sudama' (Coomaraswamy, 1916, 1926; Khandalavala, 1958). See no. 16.

1960

Archer, W. G. *Indian Miniatures* (London, New York, 1960).

Pl. 63. 'Raja Dip Chand of Bilaspur listening to musicians'. See no. 1.

Pl. 74. 'Krishna summoning the cows' (Randhawa, 1954; Archer, 1957). See no. 47.

1961

Skelton, R. *Indian Miniatures from the 15th to 19th Centuries* (Venice, 1961).

Pl. 38. Raja Bhim Chand of Bilaspur (reign, vi). See no. 1(1).

Pl. 49. 'Kalki avatara'. Compare no. 37.

Pl. 71. 'Raja Pritam Singh of Kulu on horseback'. See no. 23(1).

Pl. 72. 'Radha and Krishna celebrating Holi'. See no. 23.

Pl. 73. 'Krishna awaiting Radha'. See no. 40(1).

Pl. 87. 'Krishna dejected'. Compare no. 43.

Gangoly, O. C. *Critical Catalogue of Miniature Paintings in the Baroda Museum* (Baroda, 1961).

Col. pl. D.1. 'Sita in the Asoka grove'. From a *Ramayana* series. Here regarded as Bilaspur. See no. 2(1).

Pl. 44A. 'Suhī Ragini, unidentified Pahari school, 17th-18th centuries'. Here assigned to Bilaspur. See no. 18(1).

Pl. 44B. 'Harsha Raga'. From the same series as pl. 44A. See no. 18(2).

Kala, S. C. *Indian Miniatures in the Allahabad Museum* (Allahabad, 1961).

Pl. 16. 'Jahangir ordering the poisoning of the *gosains*'. Compare nos. 5-8.

Pl. 18. 'Madhava playing on the *vina*'. See no. 13(3).

1962

Randhawa, M. S. *Kangra Paintings on Love* (New Delhi, 1962).

Col. pl. 7. *Gunakali Ragini* (captioned 'Lady waiting for her lover'). From a Plains *Ragamala* series, here regarded as Bilaspur. See no. 42(1).

Mehta, N. C. and Chandra, M. *The Golden Flute* (New Delhi, 1962).

Pl. 7. 'Hanuman in golden Lanka'. From the same *Ramayana* series as Gangoly (1961). See no. 2.

1963

Barrett, D. *Painting of India* (London, 1963).

On the basis of Khandalavala (1958) — present no. 46 — credits Bilaspur with 'a great school of painting' in the mid-eighteenth century. Confuses the style of Bilaspur with that of Kulu and Garhwal, electing to label Kulu and Garhwal pictures 'style of Bilaspur'.

Archer, Mildred, Archer, W. G. and Lee, S. E. *Indian Miniatures from the Mildred and W. G. Archer Collection* (Washington, 1963).

Gives a summary account of the family collection of Ishwari Singh of Chandela of Bilaspur as it existed in 1954, when examined by G. K. Kanoria and W. G. Archer in Udaipur, Rajasthan.

1965

Archer, W. G. 'Paintings of India'. *Roopa Lekha* (1965), XXXIV, nos. 1 and 2, 63-75.

Review of Barrett (1963). See also Garhwal no. 1.

Welch, S. C. and Beach, M. C. *Gods, Thrones and Peacocks* (New York, 1965).

Pl. 70. A group portrait of Raja Sansar Chand of Kangra (1775-1823) in *durbār*, including a portrait of Raja Mahan Chand of Bilaspur (reign, ix). See Kangra no. 23.

Archer, Mildred, and Archer, W. G. *Romance and Poetry in Indian Painting* (Wildenstein exhibition, London, 1965).

Pl. 33. 'The casting of Krishna's horoscope'. See no. 17(1).

Pl. 34. 'Radha and Krishna'. See no. 44.

1967

Waldschmidt, E. and Waldschmidt, R. L. *Miniatures of Musical Inspiration in the collection of the Berlin Museum of Indian Art: Ragamala pictures from the Western Himalaya promontory* (Wiesbaden (English edition), 1967).

A discussion of *Pahari Ragamala* painting, based chiefly on the *Ragamala* series, formerly in the ancestral collection of Thakur Ishwari Singh Chandela of Bilaspur and Sirmur, later Udaipur, Rajasthan (see Archer, 1957), later acquired by the Berlin Museum of Indian Art, Berlin.

Reproduces from this Bilaspur *Ragamala* series 72 paintings (col. pls. B.C.D.: figs. 1-69). See no. 32.

Archer, Mildred. *Indian Miniatures and Folk Paintings* (Arts Council, London, 1967).

Fig. 27. 'Raja Dhiraj Pal of Basohli'. See no. 7.

Fig. 28. 'Krishna fluting to the cowherds and milkmaids'. Compare Coomaraswamy (1926).

Fig. 29. 'Awaiting his return'. Compare no. 44.

1968

Archer, W. G. and Binney, E. *Rajput Miniatures from the collection of Edwin Binney 3rd.* (Portland, Oregon, 1968).

Fig. and col. pl. 70a. *Punyaki Ragini*. See no. 8(ii).

Fig. 70b. *Vigada Raga*. See no. 8(i).

Fig. 72. *Kalinga Raga* (Krishna emerging from the Jamuna riding on Kaliya). Compare no. 18.

Fig. 73. 'Shiva and Parvati on Mount Kailasa'. Compare no. 14.

Fig. 74. 'Balarama'. See no. 35(2).

Davidson, J. LeRoy. *Art of the Indian sub-continent from Los Angeles collections* (U.C.L.A., Los Angeles, 1968).

Fig. 141. 'Krishna and Balarama visiting their preceptor'. From a *Bhagavata Purana* series. Here regarded as Bilaspur. See no. 17(2).

1970

Archer, Mildred. *Indian Paintings from Court, Town and Village* (Arts Council, London, 1970).

Fig. 18. *Kamala Raga* (Krishna on a lotus). Compare no. 18.

Fig. 19. 'Lovers meeting' (*Sandehi Ragini*). See no. 34(2).

Fig. 20. 'Raja Govardhan Chand of Guler'. See no. 38.

IV. PAINTING: CATALOGUE AND RECONSTRUCTION

PHASE ONE: 1650-1710

1 Raja Dip Chand (1650-1667) of Kahlur (Bilaspur) listening to musicians. Bilaspur. c.1660.

197 x 268 mm; with border 250 x 311 mm. Brownish red border with black and white rules.

Inscribed on front on top of border (crossed through) in Persian characters: *shri maharaja dip chand vali-e-mulk kahlur bilaspur* 'Sri Maharaja Dip Chand, ruler of the country of Kahlur Bilaspur'. On the reverse, a second inscription (perhaps a later speculation) also in Persian characters: *yeh tasvir kisi raja chamba ki malum hoti hai* 'This picture seems to be of some Chamba ruler'.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 120-1954. Originally in the family collection of Thakur Ishwari Singh Chandela of Bilaspur, later resident of Udaipur, Mewar and stated by him to be a portrait by a Bilaspur painter of Dan Chand Kahlurea, 'brother of Raja Ajmer Chand'.

Published: Archer (1960), pl. 63.

Description: Raja Dip Chand in white *jama* with a brown upper portion kneels on a white rug, decked with floral

sprays. He holds the crimson stem of a hookah the bowl of which is also ornamented with flowers. Below him are two small crimson cushions and a sword in orange red scabbard. Behind him sit two courtiers — the first a young man in white *jama* with broad grey stripes, short waist-sash and orange turban, his features resembling those of Raja Dip Chand; the second a more elderly figure. Carpet red with narrow white borders and elaborate white and green interlocking floral patterns. Before the Raja sit four girl-singers, ranged in a single vertical row, each with striped trousers and veils. Behind them stands an elderly attendant in white *jama* leaning on a long grey staff. Red rug striped with black. Background dull green.

Discussion: The first of a series of portraits showing Rajas of Bilaspur and others in a distinctive palette and style, connected with Bilaspur by evidence of provenance (a Bilaspur ancestral collection), Bilaspur subject-matter and the family tradition that painting in this style was the work of local Bilaspur artists.

Although the main inscription has been lightly crossed through and a reference to Chamba inserted on the reverse, there seems no reason to doubt that the chief figure is Raja Dip Chand (1650-1667) of Bilaspur. Not only does he bear a strong family likeness to his first son, Bhim Chand (see inscribed portrait, Skelton (1961) pl. 38) but his turban and waist-sash, both in late Shah Jahan fashion and the dress of the attendant on the right (early Aurangzeb *jama*) fit a 1660 date. None of the figures resemble any known Chamba rulers. Thakur Ishwari Singh's claim that the picture portrays Dan Chand — 'brother of Ajmer Chand' (though in fact, Dip Chand's second son) — may be explained as a reference to the youth seated below Dip Chand, a little to the left.

Although markedly distinct in style from portraiture at the neighbouring state of Mandi, the picture represents a similar adjustment of early Aurangzeb-style Mughal painting to Hill conditions — the sensitive rendering of faces, turban fashions, side-curls and features of the girl-singers all deriving from mid-seventeenth century Mughal practice. Unlike Mandi, however, where the Mughal school of the Deccan seems to have inspired such characteristic idioms as flying birds, it is the imperial Mughal style of northern India which here seems to have been the main influence. Raja Dip Chand campaigned for the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb on the north-west frontier and must therefore have been acquainted with the imperial capital at Delhi. It is possible that a Mughal artist from Delhi settled at Bilaspur and thus contributed to establishing this local style.

Besides Mughal painting, Rajasthani painting from Mewar and Central India seems also to have been influential — the reduction of the figures to a single flat plane, the bold presentation of forms and the strongly geometric ordering of rugs, carpet and background all suggesting an influence from these areas.

Points of detail which re-appear in other pictures and contribute to the effect of an over-all Bilaspur style include the presence of a long spiral side-lock or curl, a deliberate dwindling or shortening of the lower limbs, and a marked conjunction of the colours red, brownish-red, orange, white, brown and green.

Related examples: (1) Skelton (1961), pl. 38. Raja Bhim Chand (vi, 1667-1692) of Bilaspur standing against a brown background. Inscribed in *takri* characters: *raja kehaluria bhim chand*. Private collection. Bilaspur, c.1680. Features closely resembling those of his father Dip Chand as above, but with different beard style and one small side-curl. Waist-sash, turban and *jama* in the fashion of about 1670-1680. Similar in style to no. 1.

(2) Prasad (1950), pl. 16 (col.) Shiva and Parvati. Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras. Bilaspur, c.1680. Faces of Shiva and Parvati similar to those of the girl-singers and rendered with comparable sensitivity. Dominant colours brown, white and green.

2 Hanuman in golden Lanka. From a *Ramayana* series. Bilaspur, c.1670. 212 x 305 mm.

Mehta collection, Ahmedabad.

Published: Mehta and Chandra (1962), col. pl. 7.

Description: Hanuman half concealed in a tree watches a bevy of ten girl-dancers and girl musicians disporting themselves in a grove of trees outside Ravana's palace in Lanka. Top upper right, the palace with its golden walls. To the left, a grey band of water symbolising the sea. At the top a band of white and dark blue.

Discussion: Closely comparable to 1 in its treatment of the dancers' faces, striped trousers, over-large heads and dwindled legs. Similar palette employing brownish red, dull green, brown and white. Similar build-up of forms into a single flat vertical plane. The upper band of white and blue — a Mewar idiom of the seventeenth century — is already well-established.

Example from the same series: (1) Gangoly (1961), col. pl. D.1 (no. 5, p.131). Sita in the Asoka grove. Baroda Museum.

3 Raja Karam Parkash (1616-1630) of Sirmur with his son, Mandhata Parkash (1630-1654). Bilaspur, c.1660.

155 x 262 mm; with borders 215 x 312 mm. Orange-red border with black rules.

Inscribed in *takri* characters (1) above the left-hand figure: *mahatam(a) nobhar* (?); (2) above the central figure: *raja karam pragas. munde mahi pragas* 'Raja Karam Parkash. In his lap Mahi Parkash'; (3) above the right-hand figure: *mandhata pragas* 'Mandhata Parkash'.

Binney collection, Brookline, Mass. Formerly in the family collection of Thakur Ishwari Singh Chandela of Bilaspur, later resident of Udaipur, Mewar and stated by him to be the work of a Bilaspur painter at Bilaspur.

Description: A family group — Raja Karam Parkash of Sirmur with his grandson (?) in the centre, his son, Mandhata, to the right and a spiritual adviser in orange *jama* to the left. Carpet chocolate brown with white pattern. Flat green background, a cypress tree at either end.

Discussion: Like no. 1, linked with Bilaspur by provenance and family tradition, and although somewhat rougher in technique, basically of the same style and period. Compare, in particular, the green background, the carpet with interlocking cartouches and the sensitive Mughal-like rendering of faces. The over-tiny youth in the royal lap — incongruously out of scale and proportion — employs a distortion favoured in nos. 1, 2 and 31(ii). In view of the close friendship which existed between Sirmur and Bilaspur from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries, a portrait group of this type featuring the Sirmur royal family, is not improbable.

4 Portrait of a Hill ruler. Bilaspur, c.1660.

G. K. Kanoria collection, Calcutta.

Formerly in the family collection of Thakur Ishwari Singh Chandela of Bilaspur and stated by him to be the work of a Bilaspur painter at Bilaspur.

Description: A Hill prince with two side-curls and Shah Jahan style turban sits at a window facing right, holding in his left hand a spray of flowers. His right hand rests on the sill which is covered with a rug ornamented with delicate filigree patterning. Above him is a cusped arch. Flat green background, a cypress tree at either end.

Discussion: Uninscribed but in features resembling a rana of Baghal (Arki), the state adjoining Bilaspur on the east and connected with it by frequent marriages. According to Randhawa, a strongly aquiline nose characterised the Arki ranas. The following idioms can be matched in other pictures: cusped archway, flanking cypresses, delicately ornamented rug and flat green background.

5(i, ii) **Two paintings from an unidentified series.** Bilaspur, c.1670-1680.

5(i) **The Raja receives visitors.**

221 x 290 mm (trimmed).

Binney collection, Brookline, Mass.

Description: A raja in Shah Jahan style turban sits under a canopy surrounded by screens, attended by two courtiers.

A royal visitor with companion sits before him. To the right are two horses held by grooms. Behind is a rolling hill-side with a party of three men seated talking. In the upper right is a palace with two maids. Plain green background with, at the top, bands of white and blue. At the back a jagged ridge with trees.

5(ii) The Raja consults his priests.

230 x 300 mm (trimmed).

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 1-1970.

Description: A raja with green *jama*, orange trousers and brown shield stands on the right, facing a group of five Brahmins (?), seated in pale yellow, mauve and orange *dhotis* before a sacrificial fire. Behind them stand two courtiers in mauve and orange *jamās*. Above them is an orange turret with red portico. Pale green background with, at the top, bands of white and blue.

Discussion: Similar in general style to 2 and 3 and with Shah Jahan-type costume, suggesting the work of a Mughal painter acclimatising himself to Bilaspur conditions. For the architecture and female types, compare 18(i).

6 Raja Raj Singh (c.1685-1695) of Guler smoking. Bilaspur, c.1685-1690.

National Museum, New Delhi.

Published: Khandalavala (1958), pl. XI (col.).

Description: Raja Raj Singh of Guler in white *jama* with heavy floral sprigs sits smoking a hookah, facing two attendants in red and purple *jamās*. Behind him sits a courtier in a golden *jama* with floral sprigs. A servant in yellow *jama* and purple waist-sash stands holding a fly-whisk. The raja has an orange turban and leans against a purple bolster banded with blue and white stripes curving in opposite directions. Red rug with delicate floral patterns in white, green and blue. Pale yellow carpet with blue and red carouches. Background olive brown with crinkly white rim and blue sky. Two trees with pink stems, straggling branches, lush foliage and red, mauve and white flowers. Black cypresses. Red border.

Discussion: Comparable in palette and idioms to nos. 1 and 3, the richly flowering trees appearing to foreshadow nos. 29 and 35. The following other details can be matched: bolster with curving stripes (nos. 8(i), 18(ii) and 25), pale carpet with similar cartouches and cypresses (no. 3), turbans (no. 1), crinkly white rim and blue sky (nos. 15, 29(i)), trees with similar branches and flowers (no. 7).

Raja Raj Singh of Guler aided Mandi and Bilaspur against the Mughal Governor of the Kangra fort — his participation in a common campaign perhaps accounting for his portrayal by a Bilaspur painter. For his portrait by a Guler painter, see Guler, no. 6.

7 Raja Dhiraj Pal (c.1695-c.1722) of Basohli seated. Bilaspur, c.1700-1710.

175 x 128 mm; with border 204 x 155 mm. Reddish brown border with red and black rules.

Inscribed at top in *takri* characters: *mian dhiraj pal* and numbered in English: 23.

Archer collection, London.

Published: Archer (1967), fig. 27.

Description: Raja Dhiraj Pal of Basohli in a white turban and a green *jama* with heavy red sprigs sits on a white bed facing a youth who stands before him in a white *jama*. The raja wears a garland of yellow flowers and holds a white coconut in his left hand. The youth holds out a yellow cucumber and a red apple. Olive brown background. At the top curving white rim and blue sky. On either side a tree with pink stems, lush foliage and red and yellow flowers.

Discussion: As suggested by the number '23' and by its general character, part of a standard portrait set of local rulers — the identification being confirmed by another inscribed portrait (Randhawa, *Basohli Painting* (New Delhi, 1959), pl. 2). Although portraying a Basohli ruler, the picture has little in common with Basohli painting proper, except for the eye and profile of the standing youth. In other respects it resembles nos. 6, 18(ii), 20 and 21 (*jama* with heavy floral sprigs), 37 (olive brown background), 6

(trees with identical foliage and flowers) and 1 and 16 (reddish brown border).

8(i-iii) Three paintings from a Pahari Ragamala series. Bilaspur, c.1680-1690.

Average size (without border): 255 x 220 mm.

Binney collection, Brookline, Mass.

8(i) Vigada Raga, son of Sri Raga.

Published: Archer and Binney (1968), fig. 70b.

Description: A prince in dark yellow *jama* and mauve trousers reclines against a pale green cushion opposite a lady in an orange-red dress and mauve bodice. She leans against a cushion with curving stripes. Pale yellow rug with floral pattern. Each gazes upwards, their hands clasped above their heads. On either side stands a maid-servant in pleated skirt. Above them is a crimson canopy with yellow edges. Deep brown background with, at the top, white and blue bands.

8(ii) Punyaki Ragini, consort of Bhairava Raga.

Published: Archer and Binney (1968), fig. and col. pl. 70a.

Description: A lady with white and pale green skirt and brief orange red bodice sits on a sage green seat, handing a jewelled ornament to a bearded Brahmin and his young disciple who stands before her. Behind her stand two maids, the nearer in a dark yellow pleated skirt, holding a flask and cup, the further in a pleated mauve skirt, holding a tall bottle. Inner wall dark red. Outside wall mauve. Pavilion with dark blue edges and brown bricks. Roof pale yellow with geometric patterning. Three turrets in white and red. Background sage-green with, at the top, narrow bands of white and blue.

8(iii) Vasanta Raga, son of Hindola Raga.

Description: A prince with lavish crown stands holding a bird on his right hand and conversing with a young page who stands before him. Plain red background with, at the top, bands of white and blue.

Discussion: The first and possibly the earliest of various *Ragamala* series, here assigned to Bilaspur on grounds of style and by comparison with other paintings of known Bilaspur provenance. The following details are especially significant: red backgrounds, male and female faces as in 1, pleated skirts (9), pavilion roof and turrets (10, 12, 15), upper bands of white and blue, heavily striped dresses, cushions and bolsters (1, 6) and the use of a special type of crown (14).

9 Kusama Raga, son of Dipaka Raga. From a Pahari Ragamala series. Bilaspur, c.1690-1700.

245 x 165 mm; with border 285 x 200 mm. Red border with black rules.

Formerly Ram Gopal collection, London.

Published: Archer (1955), fig. 5.

Description: A prince in red *jama* with tasselled headdress sits beside a cushion aiming a lotus arrow at a lady in red dress who crouches before him. A maid in mauve pleated skirt and brief red bodice stands behind her. Grey rug with tessellated pattern as on the roof-top in 12. Deep yellow background. A red, white and grey canopy with large centre tassel is suspended by strings from the upper corners.

Discussion: Similar in style to 8, 10, 11 and 12 and with a typical recourse to red, mauve, white and yellow. For a similar treatment of the same *Raga*, also attributed to Bilaspur, though at a somewhat later date, see 34.

Example for comparison: (1) Archer (1955), fig. 3. Ladies in a field. Mian Kartar Singh collection, Nurpur, Bilaspur, c.1700. Similar types of face and dress. Cypress as in 13.

10 The patient mistress. From a Nayaka Nayika series. Bilaspur, c.1690-1700.

160 x 215 mm; with border 205 x 260 mm. Red border with black and white rules.

Inscribed on the reverse in *takri* characters: *nayika vasak-sayya*. 4 (the numeral '4' written upside down).

Victoria and Albert Museum, Rothenstein collection, I.S. 118-1951.

Published: Gangoly (1924), fig. 3 at p.137-138; also reproduced Archer (1952), fig. 9, where, however, the picture is mistakenly said to be inscribed 'by the artist Devayani'.

Description: A lady in dark purple skirt and orange bodice turns towards her maid who stands in a dark red skirt holding a cloth and dish. Behind them is a pale yellow wall. To the right, a second maid prepares the bed. White coverlet with floral patterns and dark yellow edges. On the bed pillows with red stripes. Dark red background wall. Pavilion roof-top blue with floral patterns. At the top, a band of dark green.

Discussion: Similar in facial types to 9, 11 and 12 and with the following significant details: red background, heavily striped pillows, delicate textile patterning, roof-tops seen as if from above.

Examples from the same series: (1) Hajek (1960), col. pl. 17 (detail, pl. 16). The jilted mistress. Inscribed in *takri* characters: *nayika vipralabdha*. National Museum, Dickinson collection, New Delhi. Dark green background. Striped trousers. Cushions with red stripes. Pale yellow wall with red pillars. Roof and turrets as in 8(ii).

(2) Archer (1952), fig. 8. The waiting *nayika*. National Museum, Dickinson collection, New Delhi. Similar striped bolster and architecture as in 10(1). Similar faces.

11 *Kasta Raga, son of Malkaus Raga.* From a *Pahari Ragamala* series, Bilaspur, c.1690-1700.

210 x 160 mm (trimmed). Traces of red border and black rules.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 17-1956. Given by Stuart C. Welch.

Description: A prince in mauve *jama* sits on a bed with dark red coverlet and yellow edges. He gazes at a lady in brownish-purple skirt and orange-red bodice, who sits beside him. Each has a pet bulbul perching on the right wrist. White wall with bottles in niches. Sage green curtains with dark red edges draped on either side. Blue rug with black vertical stripes. Plinth with distinctive paw-like pattern. At the top castellations and a pair of turrets. Between them two scaly cypresses and a slender tree with wispy branches. Background chocolate-brown.

Discussion: Similar in style to 8-10 and 12 with the same type of male and female faces, architecture and balancing trees. Mauve, red, purple, sage-green and brown again in prominent use. A significant detail, apparently confined to Bilaspur painting, is the paw-like pattern on the plinth, repeated in 13(ii) (upside down and with minor variation), 11(1), 32(ii) (the Bilaspur *Ragamala* series formerly in the collection of Thakur Ishwari Singh Chandela of Bilaspur and attributed by him to a Bilaspur artist painting in Bilaspur) and 33(ii) (another *Ragamala* series closely comparable in style to 32).

Related examples: (1) Archer (1955), fig. 4. *Kamodi Ragini*, consort of *Dipaka Raga*. A lady racked with longing is consoled by a maid. Mian Kartar Singh collection, Nurlpur. Partially burnt when the house of his ancestor Mian Ram Singh was shelled by the British, 1849. Bilaspur, c.1690-1700.

From the same or a similar series as 11 — the faces of the two women, the castellations and portico with paw-like pattern exactly corresponding to those in 11. Attributed (1955) to Nurlpur on grounds of provenance and hitherto unidentified style, but, in the light of present evidence, here assigned to Bilaspur.

12 *Mangala Raga, son of Hindola Raga.* From a *Pahari Ragamala* series. Bilaspur, c.1690-1700.

208 x 175 mm; with border 223 x 206 mm.

Brick red border with black and white rules.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 113-1954.

Description: *Mangala Raga* shown as a prince with crown and dark red *jama*, sits on a gold throne leaning against a purple cushion and bestowing a flower on a musician, who kneels before him with folded hands. An attendant in orange-red *jama* waves a brown cloth above the prince's

head. To the left a second attendant in dark green *jama* stands on guard. Green rug with flimsily vertical stripes. Inner wall white, outer wall mauve. On the roof-top, orange-red tessellated designs. Background deep yellow with rim of white and tangled blue sky at the top. Inscribed in *nagari* characters in two of the three grey niches (1) *narada* (2) *raja*.

Discussion: Same style as nos. 8-11, with particular resemblances in the faces of the male attendants and of the prince to 11. The unusual tessellated designs on the roof are similar to those on the rug in 9. For the prince's crown, compare 8(ii) and 14. Male costume as in 5 and 6, rug with hesitantly-drawn stripes (13(i)).

13(i-iii) Three paintings from a *Madhavanala Kamakandala* series. Bilaspur, c.1700.

Average size 175 x 280 mm; with border 200 x 305 mm.

13(i, ii) National Museum, New Delhi; 13(iii) G. K. Kanoria collection, Calcutta.

Formerly in the family collection of Thakur Ishwari Singh Chandela of Bilaspur, later resident of Udaipur, Mewar and stated by him to be the work of a Bilaspur painter at Bilaspur. When Kanoria and I interviewed him in 1954, Ishwari Singh still possessed a few, much-damaged leaves from the series. He recalled that others from this series had been sold by him to the Jaipur dealer, Vijayavargiya from whom Kanoria had earlier acquired 13(iii).

For a summary account of Madhava, the handsome singer and Kamakandala the beautiful courtesan, see K. Khandalavala, M. Chandra and P. Chandra, *Miniature Paintings from the Sri Motichand Khajanchi Collection* (New Delhi, 1960), 28-29 and M. R. Mazumdar, *Madhavanala Kamakandala* (Baroda, 1945).

13(i) Madhava rises from his bed.

Description: Madhava with mauve skin is standing by his bed, tying his *dhoti* while a maid stands before him with a tray. In an outer room to the right three other maids prepare perfumes. Red bed with yellow quilt. On the floor a pale blue rug with brown stripes. Pale yellow wall with bottles in alcoves. The outer room chocolate brown. Skirts of the four ladies green and blue. Roof with four turrets backed by a strip of cloud-racked sky.

13(ii) The love-sick Kamakandala.

Description: The courtesan Kamakandala lies naked in bed, covered by a quilt and attended by three maids. To the right are a willow-tree, a cypress and a further tree with flowering creeper. Among them is a standing lady followed by a maid holding a coconut. Pale yellow bed with red quilt. Sage green background. A narrow strip of foreground with four rows of plants. At the top a thin band of white edged by dark blue sky torn with wriggling cloud.

13(iii) The Raja of Ujjain visits Kamakandala.

Description: A picture in two parts. On the left, Kamakandala lies dying in bed, a maid kneeling at her foot. Pale yellow wall. Floor dark brown. On the right the raja, nimbate, in red *jama*, sits talking to a lady. A footman stands outside holding a white horse. Roof-top grey blue. At the top a narrow band of white, above it a starry blue sky with crescent moon.

Discussion: For a first discussion of this series, see Khandalavala (1958), 94-95, where, however, pictures acquired by the Russian collector, Svetoslav Roerich, from Ishwari Singh are mistakenly noted as having been acquired 'in Bilaspur' 'from the possession of a family for one of whose ancestors it had been painted in the middle of the eighteenth century'. When telling Kanoria and myself of the sale of these pictures to Roerich, Ishwari Singh did not mention the middle of the eighteenth century but merely affirmed that the series had been done by Bilaspur painters for his ancestors at Bilaspur.

Although omitting the series from his discussion of 'the Bilaspur school', Khandalavala was inclined to accept the tradition of a Bilaspur origin since he states that 'if the trad-

itional origin of the series is accepted, it is possible to reason that the series is the work of a Basohli artist who migrated to Bilaspur in the mid-18th century' (95).

Apart, however, from a superficial resemblance to the various Basohli *Rasamanjari* series (Basohli *q.v.*) — compare the disposition of the buildings and their general layout — not very obvious Basohli influence is apparent. The colours are mild and temperate, the facial types are grave and calm and there is no trace at all of mannered ferocity. On the analogy of nos. 1, 3 and 6, the date of the series can hardly be the mid-eighteenth century and is more probably c.1700.

Details which connect the series with Bilaspur are the use of plain backgrounds with a sentinel cypress tree (13(ii)) — compare 3, 6 — the unusual faces of the crouching maids (13(i)) — slightly different from standard Bilaspur types in the early period but fore-shadowing faces in nos. 23-28, a coconut held in the hand (13(ii) see 7), dark green foliage with red flowers (13(ii) — compare 6 and 7), band of sky with crinkly clouds (6, 15), bed with quilt in wavy folds and with lines of crosses (13(i, ii)) — compare 6 and 43(ii).

Other examples from the same series: (1) Gray (1950), pl. 107 (518). Madhavanala in bed, attended by maids. Mis-described as *Sankavararan Ragini*. Municipal Museum, Allahabad, through the dealer, Vijayavargiya. Bed and quilt as in 13(i).

(2) Khandalavala (1958), fig. 11. The banished Madhava. Madhava setting out alone with his *vina*. National Museum, New Delhi. Mauve skin. Pale yellow background. Foliage, dark green with red flowers.

(3) Kala (1961), pl. 18. Madhava playing on the *vina*. Municipal Museum, Allahabad, through the dealer, Vijayavargiya.

14 Raja Ajmer Chand (1692(1712)-1741) of Kahlur (Bilaspur) worshipping Rama and Sita. Bilaspur, c.1700.

160 x 250 mm; with border 191 x 283. Reddish brown border with black rules.

Faintly inscribed in illegible characters on front left border and on centre of the picture space. On the reverse, a line sketch of a youth in ankle-length *jama* and plaited side lock. Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 124-1954.

Originally in the family collection of Thakur Ishwari Singh Chandela of Bilaspur, later a resident of Udaipur, Rajasthan, and stated by him on the basis of family tradition to be the work of a Bilaspur artist and to portray a Bilaspur raja.

Description: Rama with blue complexion, elaborate crown, dark yellow *dhoti* and orange-red scarf is seated on a dark grey stool with orange-red coverlet and crimson cushion. He embraces Sita who wears a red bodice, orange skirt and black veil. Above him is a dark grey umbrella held by Lakshmana who stands beside them in a red *dhoti*. To the right stands Raja Ajmer Chand in red turban, *jama* and trousers, lifting in his folded hands a pair of lotus buds and a rosary. In the foreground a row of tufted plants. Sage-green background. Feet and ankles of the raja project into the lower border.

Discussion: Although not expressly identified by Thakur Ishwari Singh as Raja Ajmer Chand, the posture of a Bilaspur raja worshipping Rama and Sita is consistent with this Bilaspur raja's reputation. Ajmer Chand took over the Bilaspur administration in 1692 when his father Bhim Chand became a *sadhu*. He was renowned for his piety and religious observances, HV stating: 'He was of a religious temperament and frequented the temples, engaging much in *puja*. One day while thus engaged he dropped the image to the ground by accident and in expiation for this act and dread of the consequences, he subjected himself to corporal punishment and a fine of Rs. 50,000 which was given to the poor.' It is perhaps significant that the temple in new Bilaspur should be to Vishnu and should also contain a plaque depicting Rama, Sita and Lakshmana.

For pictures confirming the identification, see inscribed portrait (Baghal, no. 8) and present no. 20. In terms of style, Sita with her long crinkly side-lock and diminutive figure sets the picture in the same tradition as nos. 1, 2, 18, 19. For

the umbrella and bent handle, compare *raja rani* images at Bilaspur.

15 Radha upbraids Krishna who strives to placate her. From a *Nayaka Nayika* series, perhaps the *Rasamanjari* of Bhanu Datta. Bilaspur, c.1680-1700.

167 x 241 mm; with border 209 x 287 mm. Red border with black rules.

Inscribed on back with verses in *takri* characters, one of them numbered 2, and with the heading *nayika khandita*; on the front the number 25.

Victoria and Albert Museum, Rothenstein collection, I.S. 119-1951.

Description: Radha, a diminutive figure in red skirt, green bodice and blue veil sits against a pale pink cushion above a rug with white border, green base and large floral sprays. Behind her is a red wall with looped green curtains. Her left hand droops beside her as she raises her right hand with a mirror ring on her finger. Krishna with blue skin, white trousers, yellow *jama* and white sash towers above her, his right hand out-stretched as if to warn, bless or assuage her. The pavilion has two white turrets, a pediment in red and white and a flat roof, shown as a quadrangle with much reduced further side, brownish purple edges and a sage-green centre, dotted with red and dark green. Outer pillar grey rimmed with pink. On the right three rows of tufted clumps, a tree with pinkish grey trunk and rows of feathery leaves. Behind them a sage-green background topped by a broad band of agitated white clouds and slate blue sky. Turrets and pavilion roof project into the upper border.

Discussion: Provenance unrecorded but linked with pictures of Bilaspur ownership and tradition in the following respects: inclusion of an over-large figure beside an over-small one (nos. 3, 31(ii)), seated figure on a similar scrolled rug (31(ii)), dramatic use of red and white (nos. 14, 16), employment of pale grey for wall surfaces and background (nos. 25, 40), use of a distinctive facial type for Krishna with wriggling side-lock (no. 14), crinkly agitated sky-line with rows of tufted plants in foreground (*Madhavanala Kamakandala* series, no. 13).

16 Krishna welcoming Sudama. Bilaspur, c.1700-1710.

172 x 294 mm.

Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

Published: Coomaraswamy (1916), pl. 29; also reproduced Coomaraswamy (1927), fig. 267; Khandalavala (1958), no. 53; Reiff (1959), pl. 11 (col.).

Description: Krishna in orange red *jama* and green trousers is seated on a red bed with his consort Rukmini. A group of eight other women, dressed in dark red, brownish yellow, sage-green and pale blue surround him. The colour red predominates. Sudama in white cloth and turban and brownish yellow *dhoti* craves admission. Stark white wall with brownish yellow carpet. To the right a narrow band of sage-green.

Discussion: Identical with 14 in facial types, bare setting and dramatic and lavish use of dark red in conjunction with white and sage-green. Single strands of wriggling hair markedly present. Krishna's face as in 15.

Related example: (1) Coomaraswamy (1926) pl. 65 (212). Raja Kansa (?). An old raja sits enthroned with a prostrate girl across his knees. To the right three courtiers; to the left seven ladies. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Bilaspur, c. 1700-1725. In style, a blend of nos. 16 and 35 — the congested grouping of the ladies and the three-quarter view face of one of them resembling 16, the facial types being close to 35. Other points of significance: dresses with prominent floral patterning, disparities in size of figures, umbrella with bent handle. In view of other Mewar and Central Indian parallels to Bilaspur painting, it is interesting to note that Coomaraswamy termed this picture 'Rajasthani, perhaps by a Jaipur painter at the Marathi court. Early eighteenth century'.

17 Dhanasri Ragini. From a *Ragamala* series. Bilaspur, c.1700.

216 x 162 mm; with border 269 x 208.

Red border with margin of interlacing floral scrolls and black rules. Inscribed on the reverse in *nagari* characters: *ragani dhanasri din prathama yame gan samayah 'Ragini Dhanasri; singing time the first watch of the day'*; and in *takri* characters: 171. 140. *dhanasri ragini*. At the foot in *nagari* characters: *dhanasri*. Stamped on the reverse in purple with the dealer's trade-mark: *Abdullah and Sons. Arms and Pictures Merchants, Hathipole, Udaipur (Mewar)*.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 121-1954.

From the stock of Abudullah and Sons of Hathipole, Udaipur, Mewar. Originally in the family collection of Thakur Ishwari Singh Chandela of Bilaspur, later a resident of Udaipur and stated by him on the basis of family tradition to be the work of a Bilaspur painter at Bilaspur.

Description: A lady with green skin, yellow bodice and orange skirt sits on a golden throne against a crimson cushion, resting a portrait of her lover on her left thigh and dipping with her right hand a brush or pen into a blue and white vase. The portrait is in white outlines on a black ground. Behind her are inner walls in grey and pale yellow, four green pillars and an orange-red blind edged with green. Before her sits a confidante with blue bodice and orange-red skirt, kneeling on a green cushion with golden coverlet ornamented with floral sprays. Below them is an orange-red rug with black stripes. Both ladies and the cushions have black ornamental pom-poms. Around them is a small pavilion topped by a brown pediment, red balustrades, three turrets and green roof-top. Brick walls in dull pink. On either side of the turrets is a cypress and a thick tree. Seven bees, large as dragon-flies, hover between them. Yellowish green background merging in a band of white and blue sky streaked with clouds.

Discussion: An illustration to a standard *Ragamala* series of thirty-six *Ragas* and *Raginis*, as current in the Punjab Plains. The floral scroll which is so notable a feature of the border appears as a decoration to the pavilion itself in 18(ii) and 19(ii). For similar faces, compare 1, 2, 16 and 19(i, ii).

Examples for comparison: (1) Archer (1965b), pl. 33. The casting of Krishna's horoscope. From a *Bhagavata Purana* series. Archer collection, London. Bilaspur, c.1700. Similar faces, brick wall and foliage.

(2) LeRoy Davidson (1968), fig. 141. Krishna and Balarama visit their preceptor. Private collection. Bilaspur, c. 1700. Same style as (1) above and from the same series.

18(i, ii) Two paintings from a Pahari Ragamala series. Bilaspur, c.1680-1700.

18(i) Sorathi Ragini.

243 x 167 mm; with border 268 x 192 mm.

Red border with black rules.

Inscribed on reverse in *takri* characters: *ragani sorath megh ragedi bharuj 'Sorath Ragini wife of Megh Raga'*. Stamped on the reverse in purple with the dealer's trade-mark: *Abdullah and Sons. Arms and Pictures Merchants, Hathipole, Udaipur (Mewar)*.

Archer collection, London.

From the stock of Abdullah and Sons, Udaipur. Formerly in the family collection of Thakur Ishwari Singh Chandela of Bilaspur, later resident of Udaipur, Rajasthan and stated by him to be the work of a Bilaspur painter at Bilaspur.

Description: A lady holding a crane sits on a throne inside a pavilion with orange walls. To the left a companion in green skirt and mauve bodice kneels before her. To the right a maid stands with lifted fly-whisk. Above are three white turrets each with mauve and orange bands. Flat green background with four cypresses. At the top bands of white and blue.

Discussion: In style, notable for the following details: side-locks with crinkly zig-zag curls, kneeling maid with short, squat legs, angular throne, formal cypresses, bands of white and blue at the top and bolster with stripes curving in opposite directions.

18(ii) Prabal (Varvala) Raga, son of Dipaka Raga.

Portland Art Museum, Portland, Oregon, U.S.A.

Description: A prince in a *jama* with long waist-sashes leans against a bolster talking to a youth who kneels before him with folded hands. Striped carpet and white rug. Pavilion with white inner walls, columns with floral scrolls and two white turrets. Between the turrets a pair of cypresses and a willow tree. Flat green background. Bands of white and blue at top.

Discussion: Similar in style to 18(i) and with the following details: bolster with stripes curving in opposite directions, floral sprig pattern on *jamias*, long zig-zag side-curl, brick-work at the base.

Other examples from the same series: (1) Gangoly (1961), pl. 44A. *Suhavi (Suhi) Ragini*, wife of *Megha mallar Raga*. Lady on a throne stroking a hare. Inscribed on reverse in *takri* characters: *ragini suhi megh malare di bharya*. Baroda Museum, 174. Traces of the purple trade-mark of Abdullah and Sons, Udaipur, visible through the paint from the back. Throne and female features as in no. 18(i). Cypresses and trees as in nos. 18(ii), 19(i, ii). Long spiral side-lock.

(2) Gangoly (1961), pl. 44B. *Harsha Raga*, son of *Bhairava Raga*. Prince seated with a lady in a pavilion eating betel-leaf. Inscribed on reverse in *takri* characters: *raja harsha bhairo da putra*. Baroda Museum, 175. Traces of the purple trade-mark of Abdullah and Sons, Udaipur, visible through the paint from the back. Similar female features and striped rug as in no. 1. Prince's turban, *jama* and waist-sash as in no. 18(ii). Spiral side-lock on prince's cheek. Long flowing floral scroll on pavilion, plinth, pediment and pillars, as in border of no. 17 and pavilion in no. 18(ii).

(3) Gangoly (1961), 156 (no. 173). *Gauri Ragini*. From the same group but not illustrated.

(4) Gangoly (1961), 156 (no. 176). *Vinoda Raga*. From the same group but not illustrated.

The size, with border, of all four pictures is 245 x 192 mm.

19(i, ii) Two paintings from a Pahari Ragamala series. Bilaspur, c.1700.

Photographed c.1930 by J. C. French in Sultanpur, Kulu, where they were part of the Rai of Rupi's ancestral collection. Hitherto unpublished; prints from French's original negatives.

19(i) Chammal Raga, son of Malkaus Raga.

Description: A prince with crinkly side-curl sits playing *chauptar* with a lady on a striped rug in a pavilion. Above them is a roof with crenellations and floral scroll, two turrets, and two pairs of cypresses.

19(ii) Ahiri Ragini, wife of Hindola Raga.

Description: A lady sits on a stool above a striped rug holding out a cup of milk to a cobra, which is coiled around a pitcher. Above is a roof with crenellations and floral scroll as in (i), a single centre turret and on either side of it a pair of trees and a cypress. At the top bands of white and blue.

Discussion: When describing the Rai of Rupi's collection in *Himalayan Art* (15), French cited these two pictures as early examples of Kulu painting: 'I (also) photographed two others (pictures), one of a prince and princess playing chess and the other of a lady feeding a serpent with milk. They are of the eighteenth century and are evidently derived from Plate II (Kulu, no. 26 q.v.). The same archaic style is to be found in them but softened and weakened. Though these pictures have a certain grace and charm and are by no means entirely devoid of merit, they show a distinct decline from the strength and solemnity of the true primitive. There are two more pictures in the same style, but of inferior artistic quality. One shows a lady watching a fight between two rams, a favourite sport not only in the hills but all over northern India. The lady is well-drawn but the rams are feeble. These pictures constitute a distinct Kulu school, which has never yet been mentioned. The complexions of the faces are fair and ruddy like those seen in the Kulu valley nowadays. The architecture is of the hills and pine trees are to be found in these pictures'.

Although French had visited Bilaspur and noticed the palace murals, he was unaware that the Raja of Bilaspur

had a collection of pictures. He had also not seen the other Bilaspur collection with the Sirmur branch of the Bilaspur family. His assertion that these two pictures were of the Kulu school was therefore made only on grounds of provenance and on what appeared to be their distinctive style. No other Kulu pictures, however, are known to be in this style whereas nos. 8, 13, 14, 17 and 18 which are connected with Bilaspur by provenance and family tradition and are in the same style as other pictures from Bilaspur are obviously parallel. Since Raja Dip Chand (1650-1667) of Bilaspur had married a Kulu princess, it is hardly surprising that early Bilaspur pictures should have entered the Kulu royal collection. For certain Bilaspur influences in Kulu painting, see *Kulu*, no. 5.

20 Raja Ajmer Chand (1692(1712)-1741) of Kahlur (Bilaspur) standing. Bilaspur, c.1700.

167 x 124 mm (trimmed). At the base, feet protruding into the remains of a brick-red border.

Raja Anand Chand collection, Bilaspur.

Description: Raja Ajmer Chand, identical in features with the Raja worshipping Rama and Sita (no. 14) and with a group-portrait (*Baghal*, no. 8, inscribed Ajmer Chand), stands facing right holding a large sword in brick-red scabbard. *Jama* with large floral sprigs as in 7. Brick-red turban with plume. White background.

Discussion: From a series of portraits of Bilaspur rulers, collected by Raja Anand Chand of Bilaspur when he was preparing his history of Bilaspur. Uninscribed but in the same style as other portraits with Bilaspur associations.

21 Mian Dalbir Chand seated. Bilaspur, c.1710.

160 x 114 mm; with border 183 x 138 mm.

Brownish red border with black and white rules. Numbered on the front (bottom right-hand corner) in *nagari* characters: 12. Inscribed on reverse in English by W.G.A. to the dictation of Thakur Ishwari Singh Chandela, January 1954: *Dalbir Chand*.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 127-1954.

Originally in the family collection of Thakur Ishwari Singh Chandela of Bilaspur, later a resident of Udaipur, Rajasthan, and stated by him on the basis of family tradition to be the work of a Bilaspur painter and to portray Dalbir Chand, a scion of the Bilaspur royal house.

Description: Dalbir Chand in dark green *jama* ornamented with large floral sprigs in red, an orange red coat-tie, white turban and white waist-sash, sits on a white terrace facing right. The thumb of his left hand is tucked inside his sash. Below him is a curving sword in brick-red scabbard. Brown background.

Discussion: A Bilaspur 'Mian' or perhaps, on account of his aquiline nose, a member of the Arki royal house connected with Bilaspur by marriage. In style and posture, similar to nos. 1, 4 and 7. Significant details: palette (reddish brown border, white, green, brown and orange), large sprig pattern on *jama* (7, 20), sword as in 1.

PHASE TWO: 1710-1770

22 Raja Jai Singh (1731-1742) of Kulu with boy attendant. Bilaspur, c.1730.

220 x 164 mm; with border 273 x 214 mm. Brownish red border with black rules; part of the attendant's *jama* projecting into it.

Inscribed at the top in Hindi in very faint *nagari* characters: *raja jai singh kola*.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 122-1954.

Originally in the family collection of Thakur Ishwari Singh Chandela of Bilaspur, later a resident of Udaipur, Rajasthan and stated by him to be the work of a Bilaspur artist at Bilaspur.

Description: Raja Jai Singh in yellow *jama* and a garlanded turban stands beneath a cusped archway holding a sprig of flowers. Behind him stands a page wielding a peacock feather fan and holding a sword in brick-red scabbard. Dark green background.

Discussion: Compare the following details: spray of flowers similar to the flowering branches in 6 and 7, features of the standing attendant (7), brick-red scabbard (21), cusped archway (4).

23 Radha and Krishna celebrating the Holi festival. Bilaspur, c.1720.

240 x 179 mm. Red border with black and white rules.

Private collection.

Published: Skelton (1961), pl. 72.

Description: Radha and Krishna are seated against a dark greyish-brown interior spraying each other with saffron-coloured water, their garments stained with red and yellow powder. A maid standing to the left joins in the sport and another to the right holds a peacock feather fan and white cloth. Above them a draped curtain, horizontal bands of roofing, three turrets and formal cypresses.

Discussion: Although attributed to Kulu by Skelton — mainly on the grounds of likeness to an equestrian portrait of Raja Pritam Singh (1767-1808) of Kulu (Skelton (1961), pl. 71) — the picture seems too closely dependent on Bilaspur *Ragamala* pictures (nos. 18, 19) to be the product of any other state. Although the facial types differ slightly from those in preceding pictures, they can be matched in the *Madhavanala Kamakandala* series (13), formerly in the Thakur Ishwari Singh collection and attributed to Bilaspur by family tradition. They also characterise two other pictures (nos. 25 and 26), from the same collection, connected with Bilaspur on similar grounds. So far as is known, no pictures, connected with Kulu by provenance, family tradition or inscriptions employ these facial types. If the present picture, with nos. 25-30 and others, therefore, are given to Kulu, it would be necessary to disregard these Bilaspur associations. They would also constitute, as Skelton concedes, 'yet a third element in Kulu painting, contemporary with the styles of Bhagwan and the 'folk' painters yet having virtually no features in common with either'. Since other features in the present picture also connect it with still further Bilaspur pictures — the sole of Krishna's foot is upturned as in nos. 33(ii) and 34, the curtains are draped as in no. 15 — Bilaspur would seem to be its most likely source.

Related examples: (1) Skelton (1961), pl. 71. Raja Pritam Singh (1767-1808) of Kulu on horseback. Inscribed in *takri* characters *raja pritam singhji*. Bilaspur, c.1760. Similar facial types to 23. The red *jama* of the raja and the brown background, however, are not incompatible with Bilaspur while the fact that Kulu was all along on friendly terms with Bilaspur might explain why Pritam Singh was portrayed in Bilaspur style by a Bilaspur painter.

(2) Khandalavala (1958), fig. 38. Krishna celebrating the Holi festival. Khandalavala collection. Bombay. Bilaspur, c.1720. A large picture (340 x 530 mm) employing similar facial types to no. 23 as well as formal cypresses and severely geometric architecture. Khandalavala notes that the figures are dressed in a variety of colours — red, green and yellow — a combination of colours closely connected with Bilaspur pictures (nos. 14 and 16). Although this picture was connected by the Amritsar dealer, Radha Krishna Bharany, with Guler, no other pictures in this style are known to have come from Guler. It is possible that it reached Guler at a time when Guler-Bilaspur relations were especially close (e.g. in 1805).

24 Dhanasri Ragini. From a *Pahari Ragamala* series. Bilaspur, c.1720.

170 x 133 mm. Margin trimmed away.

On the reverse, line sketch of *Devagandhari Ragini* (a lady approaching a shrine to Shiva).

Inscribed on the front in *takri* characters: *malakose di ragani dhansri 5.5.5*. 'Dhanasri, Ragini of Malkaus. No. 5'. Victoria and Albert Museum, Rothenstein collection, I.S. 171-1951.

Published: Coomaraswamy (1916), I, 20, fig. 2.

Description: A lady kneels to the left facing a second lady who leans against a cushion and clasps a pet fawn. To the rear a narrow door with blind. [The *Pahari* version of *Dha-*

nasri Ragini must be sharply distinguished from the Plains version (see 17) where the subject is a lady drawing a picture of her lover.]

Discussion: Sparse bare setting as in Sorathi *Ragini* (no. 18(i)) from the Ishwari Singh collection, Bilaspur. Facial types as in no. 23, re-appearing in nos. 25, 26 and 28 also from the Ishwari Singh family collection. The summary door and blind are repeated in 29(i).

25 The Horse incarnation of Vishnu (Kalki avatara). Bilaspur, c.1720.

166 x 256 mm; with border 183 x 270 mm. Red border with black and white rules.

Inscribed on front in lower border with owner's selling price: Rs 20.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 125-1954.

Originally in the family collection of Thakur Ishwari Singh Chandela of Bilaspur and stated on the basis of family tradition to be the work of a Bilaspur painter at Bilaspur.

Description: Vishnu, with deep blue skin, dark yellow *jama* and white coat and turban sits on an orange-red stool with green coverlet brandishing a long white sword. He leans against an orange-red cushion with green tassels. Before him a groom in dark blue *jama* and deep red turban, waist-sash and trousers parades the white horse Kalki. The horse has an orange-red saddle and saddle-cloth, edged with green, dull purple tassels and sage green wings. Its ankles and the end of its tail are dyed a pale red, in the foreground three rows of tufted plants. Background grey. At the top a narrow band of white clouds and blue sky.

Discussion: A first treatment of a subject which seems to have engrossed painters at Bilaspur — Vishnu in various *avatas* or incarnations being one of the principal objects of worship. Compare in this connection, 37 below and Skelton (1961) pl. 49. In style, the present picture avails of the customary sparse setting and flat background and introduces the facial type shown in 24. The shortish *jama* worn by the groom may suggest a date of about 1720.

26 Sudama returns. Bilaspur, c.1730-1740.

183 x 286 mm. Border trimmed away.

Mis-inscribed on the reverse in English characters: *Rukmini Haran* 'The Rape of Rukmini', and in red chalk, the owner's selling price: Rs 100.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 126-1954.

Originally in the family collection of Thakur Ishwari Singh Chandela of Bilaspur, later resident of Udaipur, Rajasthan, and stated on the basis of family tradition to be the work of a Bilaspur painter at Bilaspur.

Description: A scene in four parts. Part one, bottom left-hand corner: Sudama in pale grey turban and ankle-length *jama*, orange red waist-sash and yellow scarf approaches the entrance of his new-found palace. The outer walls are pale grey, the inner walls dark grey. A doorkeeper in mauve *jama* and orange red turban and waist-sash admits him. Part two, lower right-hand half: he is admitted to his wife's presence. Four maids in green, yellow, red, blue and orange skirts and bodices advance to greet him, bearing betel-leaves. Two maids in green, mauve, blue and red pull him on to a terrace. He sits beside his wife who wears an orange red skirt and mauve bodice. They greet each other by raising betel-leaves. Red and orange blinds with dark blue edges. Part three, top centre: the two sit together on an upper terrace, gazing steadfastly into each other's eyes and, once more raising betel-leaves. Part four, upper left-hand side: an escort wearing orange-red, green, mauve and pale grey *jam*as and mauve, red and yellow turbans and riding white, dark blue and chestnut horses with orange-red saddle-cloths prepare to depart. To the left a creeper with sharp white flowers issues from a tree. Background pinkish grey. At the top a narrow rim of straggly white clouds and dark-blue sky.

Discussion: Similar in style to 23-25.

27 The rape of Rukmini. Bilaspur, c.1730-1740. Not illustrated.

166 x 258 mm; with border 177 x 266 mm. Dark blue border, slightly trimmed, with white rules.

Uninscribed.

Victoria and Albert Museum, Rothenstein collection, I.S. 201-1951.

Description: A scene in three parts. Top left: Rukmini reaches down from a palace window to receive from the Brahmin the message from Krishna. Bottom left: she goes in procession accompanied by her maids to worship at the shrine of Devi. Red, green and mauve skirts and bodices; white building with red window-frames; the shrine dark grey with chocolate brown interior and orange red banner on the tower. On the right two guards in white and orange-red drowse beside their black shields. A third guard in orange-red *jama* is pinioned to Krishna's chariot and belaboured by Balarama with plough and pounder. Top right: Krishna in white and yellow *jama* assists Rukmini in an orange-red skirt to clamber up beside him on the waiting chariot. Chocolate brown chariot with white ornament. Brown horses with orange-red saddle-cloths. Balarama in slate blue *jama*. In the foreground four rows of tufted plants. Background pale blue. Behind the shrine a tree with brown trunk and branches slants upwards.

Discussion: Yet another version of a subject which seems to have inspired recurring treatment by Bilaspur painters. Although the theme of Krishna and the cowherds is amply celebrated later in the eighteenth century, it is the more feudal aspects of Krishna's character which appear to have been stressed in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The present emphasis on his marriage to Rukmini may accord with the veneration of other respected forms of Vishnu such as Rama, Vamana and Kalki. The present version, though securely linked by facial types to 24, may be somewhat later in the eighteenth century.

Related example: (1) Stchoukine (1929) pl. 92. The rape of Rukmini. British Museum, London. Bilaspur, c.1730. Substantially similar facial types. Trees exuberantly flowering.

28 Vishnu and Lakshmi on the serpent of eternity. Bilaspur, c.1730-1740. Not illustrated.

220 x 138 mm. Border trimmed away.

Uninscribed.

Victoria and Albert Museum, Rothenstein collection, I.S. 172-1951.

Description: Vishnu, four-armed, with blue skin and yellow *dhoti* reclines on Sesh Nag, the white, multi-headed snake. A large lotus, supporting the four-headed Brahma, springs from his navel. His consort, Lakshmi, in green skirt and mauve bodice, sits caressing his feet. Behind the snake is a grey expanse of water. Standing at the top on a piece of green sward are Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva accompanied by a large white cow. A discus, lotus and conch shell (emblems of Vishnu) lie scattered beside them.

Discussion: Lakshmi's face similar in type to that of the maids in 18(i); Vishnu's, with its sharply pointed nose, perhaps closer to that of Rama in 14.

29(i, ii) Two paintings from a Nayaka Nayika series. Bilaspur, c.1740.

29(i) The love-sick lady consoled by a friend (*prositapatika nayika*).

238 x 151 mm. Border trimmed away.

Uninscribed. On the reverse a page of accounts in *takri* characters.

Victoria and Albert Museum, Rothenstein collection, I.S. 174-1951.

Published: Archer (1951), pl. 8.

Description: A lady in dark red veil, mauve bodice and orange-red skirt edged with blue sits on a white terrace listening to a confidante who wears the same coloured skirt and bodice and a dark blue veil. Behind the lady is a narrow yellow door edged with dark brown and topped by an orange blind with blue edge. Dark grey wall with large blind in orange-red and blue. White pavilion outer walls with fish-scale pattern. To the right a yellow rug and white balustrade; above them a sage green hillside with flowering tree

and creeper. At the top a straggly rim of white and blue sky streaked with red.

Discussion: In style and pose similar to no. 24. Compare also door and blind.

29(ii) The lady keeping a tryst on a night of storm (*abhisarika nayika*). Not illustrated.

227 x 152 mm. Border trimmed away.

Inscribed on reverse in *gurmukhi* characters: *abhisarika*.

Victoria and Albert Museum, Rothenstein collection, I.S. 173-1951.

Published: Gill (1925) fig. p. 6; also reproduced Goetz (1925), pl. 56; Archer (1951), pl. 4; Khandalavala (1958), no. 307.

Description: A lady in orange red bodice and a similar coloured skirt topped with a dark blue band and edged at the bottom with red and green floral scrolls on a white ground goes bare-foot through the forest. Slender brown trees with pink and yellow flowers rise above her on either side. A white cobra coils around her left foot. Another white cobra rears itself up to the left. A *churail* (apparition) with dark grey skin and dark blue skirt approaches her from the right. Grey background. Above it a dark green hillside with tangled white clouds, dark blue sky and a wriggling band of lightning. White strokes of falling rain.

Discussion: More slackly executed but, like 29(i), similar in general style to 25-27.

30 Devagandhari Ragini. From a *Pahari Ragamala* series. Bilaspur, c.1730.

164 x 110 mm; with border 222 x 149 mm. Red border with black rules.

Inscribed on front in *takri* characters: *dev gandhar bhairodi bharaj 7*. 'Devagandhari (Ragini) wife of Bhairava Raga. (number) 7'.

Victoria and Albert Museum, Rothenstein collection, I.S. 27-1954.

Description: A lady, nude save for a red skirt, stands on a grey stool with red mat, dressing her hair after finishing her bath. A grey water-pot, cup, lota and vase are ranged at her feet. On either arm are bands with large tassels. Plain sage-green background.

Discussion: Identical in colours (red, sage-green, grey) with 14 and like that picture notable for its stark and sparse setting. Face and posture comparable to 31(i).

31(i, ii) Two paintings from a *Pahari Ragamala* series. Bilaspur, c.1730-1740.

Average size with border: 220 x 130 mm. Red border with black and white rules.

Formerly Latifi collection, Bombay.

31(i) Sandhuri Ragini, consort of Hindola Raga.

Published: Gray (1950), pl. 104 (528); also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), no. 41.

Description: Three ladies bathing. Three are swimming supported by empty pitchers. The fourth stands on the bank wringing her hair. On either side a tree with circular groups of foliage intermixed with a slender-branching tree in flower. Plain background. At the top a rim of ragged sky.

31(ii) Vinoda Raga, son of Hindola Raga.

Description: A prince with two girls squirming on his lap reclines against a cushion. Bare pavilion walls culminating in a centre tower flanked by slim turrets. Carpet with floral design beneath them. Plain background with upper rim of sky.

Discussion: Of some significance for Bilaspur painting since it serves as a bridge between the early *Ragamalas* (nos. 17-19) and the later styles represented by 32-34 and 36 (*Ragamalas*), 39 (portrait of Raja Devi Chand), 35 and 37 (*avatasas of Vishnu*), 41 (page from a *Ramayana* series) and 43 (*Nala Damayanti* series). This style is notable for the use of cleanly modelled forms, suave precise design and sharply phrased faces. 31(i) (*Sandhuri Ragini*) is clearly a development from 30; 31(ii) is equally clearly a development from 18(ii). Note, in particular, the same basic struc-

ture and design. Other points deserving notice are the conjunction in 31(ii) of over-small girls with over-large prince (see 1, 14 and 15) and the same setting of figures on a rug with floral design (15).

Although the provenance of the present pictures is unrecorded, they are exactly similar in style to the *Ragamala* series, comprising 77 pictures, which was still possessed by Thakur Ishwari Singh Chandela when Kanoria and I visited him in 1954. This latter series was connected with Bilaspur by his family tradition and like other examples noted above was claimed to be the work of Bilaspur painters at Bilaspur. Discussed 32.

32(i-iii) Three paintings from a *Pahari Ragamala* series. Bilaspur, c.1740-1750.

Average size: 185 x 137 mm.

Berlin Museum of Indian Art, formerly in the family collection of Thakur Ishwari Singh Chandela of Bilaspur, later a resident of Udaipur, Rajasthan, and stated by him in 1954 on the basis of family tradition to be the work of a Bilaspur painter at Bilaspur.

32(i) Vinoda Raga, son of Hindola Raga.

Published: Waldschmidt (1967), fig. 20.

Description: A prince with small moustache in yellow *jama* and violet trousers sits on a rug with floral patterns against a white wall with rows of niches. He holds two girls, dressed in red and violet, on his knees. On either side is a yellowish red wall. At the top a roof with small castellations, surmounted by a pair of trees. Pale yellow background with, at the top, a band of dark blue sky with ridge of clouds.

32(ii) Vivacha Raga, son of Hindola Raga.

Published: Waldschmidt (1967), col. pl. B.

Description: A prince with small moustache and crimson *jama* sits on an olive green rug with floral pattern watching a musician in white *jama* and red turban and sash beating two kettle-drums. Behind the prince is a servant in a red ankle-length *jama* with white sash and fly-whisk. To the rear is a white wall with niches, two red wine-flasks and two vases with flowers. At the top is a pinkish crimson lintel with paw-like pattern. Pale yellow background with branching tree. At the top, a band of dark sky with crinkly clouds.

32(iii) Karnati Ragini, consort of Sri Raga.

Published: Waldschmidt (1967), fig. 50.

Description: A lady in red skirt and mauve bodice sits playing a *sitar* opposite to a companion in mauve skirt and red bodice who accompanies her on a hand-drum. They sit on a blackish-grey rug against a white wall with a flower-vase and four wine bottles in niches. Above is a lintel and roof with two turrets and a pair of trees. To the left against a green background is a tree with slender branches. At the top a rim of grey-blue sky with crinkly clouds.

Discussion: The present pictures are from a series of seventy-seven paintings, formerly in the family collection of Thakur Ishwari Singh Chandela of Bilaspur (no. 31 q.v.), from whom seventy-two were later acquired for the Berlin Museum of Indian Art (Waldschmidt, 1967). In 1954 when Ishwari Singh was interviewed by G. K. Kanoria and myself, he stated that they were the work of a Bilaspur painter at Bilaspur and were part of the Bilaspur Raj family collection. He later confirmed this information in a Hindi note supplied to the dealer through whom the seventy-two pictures were acquired. According to this note, 'the paintings were for generations in the possession of his ancestors, the Rajas of Bilaspur and were left to him by his highly venerable father, Krishna Chandra Sahib'. 'The name of this father', the Waldschmidts add, 'is written in Roman characters and with red ink in a shortened form "Krishna Chandar" and it is found again in a shortened form "K.Ch." on the reverse of many of the pictures. What is more, besides the signature K.Ch., the name "Kr. Serendar Chandela" is written on the reverse of the two miniatures reproduced as fig. 2 (*Devagandhari Ragini*) and fig. 64

(*Vasanti Ragini*). This name (they argue) might give a hint, for in the catalogue of the M. and W. G. Archer collection (1963), there are two miniatures of Bilaspur provenance (nos. 33 and 37), formerly in the "family collection of Thakur Ishwari Singh Chandela, a member of the Bilaspur Raj family and resident in Udaipur (Mewar)". The Archers, they add, also cite a '*Ragamala* set among the miniatures of the former collection of the Thakur and since the relation to Bilaspur is evident in both cases, it can be presumed that Kr. (Krishna Chandra?) Serendra Singh Chandela is the name of the father or grandfather of Thakur Ishwari Singh Chandela and that the Berlin series originates from the family heirloom of the Thakur.' They emphasise that the name Kishen Chand, noted on a *Bhagavata Purana* series (present no. 46) and interpreted by Khandalavala (1958) as the name of the painter of the series 'may well be the name of the previous possessor of the paintings, "Krishna Chandra Sahib," as in the Berlin *Ragamala*, and not that of the painter'. They also doubt whether Khandalavala was correctly informed when saying: 'The family which possessed these *Bhagavata* miniatures gives the traditional date of Kishen Chand as circa 1750 A.D. He was a member of one of the artist families which it is said were working at Bilaspur in the reign of Devi Chand, 1741-1778'. They conclude that 'whatever be the case with the name Kishenchand, the relations of our series to Bilaspur are so well-founded that this ancient principality must be qualified as its provenance' (Waldschmidt, 98, 99).

For assigning other paintings to Bilaspur, the following details in the present examples are especially significant: the paw-like pattern on the lintel in 32(ii), re-appearing in 11, 11(i), 13(ii), and 32, the highly characteristic types of male and female faces, the disposition of figures in architectural settings (obviously modelled on other Bilaspur *Ragamala* pictures and clearly serving as copies for later sets) and the very distinctive palette which combines plain severity with occasional touches of bold starkness (red, mauve, olive-green).

33(i, ii) Two paintings from a *Pahari Ragamala* series. Bilaspur, c.1740-1750.

Average size: 144 x 118 mm; with border 208 x 152 mm. Red border. Black margin with white rules.

33(i) *Vinoda Raga*, son of *Hindola Raga*.

Inscribed on the top in *takri* characters (undeciphered).

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 100-1965.

Description: A prince in mauve *jama* and red waist-sash embraces two girls who sit on his thighs. They are dressed in red, blue and green. Dark grey doorway with red surround. Pavilion walls in white and pale brown tipped by ribbed pediments in mauve and brownish yellow. Dark green rug with tiny pattern and yellow border. At the top sage-green background with centre tower, flanking turrets with cypresses and centre trees. Minarets projecting into the upper border.

33(ii) *Patamanjari Ragini*, consort of *Dipaka Raga*.

Inscribed on top border in *takri* characters: *ragani patamanjari*.

Bickford collection, Cleveland, Ohio.

Description: A lady with bare upturned foot sits on a rug feeding a spotted cat. Behind her stands a maid-servant. White pavilion wall with ribbed pediment surmounted by a white tower and slender corner turret. To the right a willow-type tree strains upwards. Plain background. Tops of minarets projecting into the top border.

Discussion: Despite a much smaller format, the larger figures and female faces are in line with those in 16 and 19. General style, palette, details and design similar to 32.

34 *Kusuma Raga*, son of *Dipaka Raga*. From a *Pahari Ragamala* series. Bilaspur, c.1750.

208 x 155 mm. Border trimmed away.

Uninscribed.

Victoria and Albert Museum, Rothenstein collection, I.S. 203-1951.

Description: A prince in pale green *jama* with crimson turban and waist-sash sits on an open terrace rimmed by white balustrades. He leans against an orange red cushion and aims a lotus-arrow at a lady from a bow composed of lotus petals. The lady has an orange-red skirt and bodice and white veil and leans against a dull gold cushion with red and green floral sprays. She raises her right hand to ward away the arrow. The terrace carpet has a pinkish crimson centre and pale yellow edges, the whole thickly decorated with floral patterns. Above the lovers is an orange-red canopy fringed with crimson, slung on ropes from either side. Background pale veridian green. At the top a curving rim of white streaked with red, white and blue clouds and dark blue sky.

Discussion: Similar in general style to 33 but with taller and wider format and slightly less emphatic eyes and heads. The lady has the same type of foot with up-turned sole noticeable in 19(ii), 24 and 33(ii).

Related examples for comparison: (1) Khandalavala (1958), no. 67. *Saveri Ragini*. Lady attended by a companion feeding a dog. Khandalavala collection, Bombay. Bilaspur, c. 1750.

(2) Archer (1970), fig. 19. *Sandehi Ragini*. Lady bidding farewell to a prince armed with shield and sword. Archer collection, London. Bilaspur, c.1750. From the same series as (1). For iconography, see Waldschmidt (1967), figs. 48 and 33.

35 The Dwarf incarnation of Vishnu (*Vamana avatara*). Bilaspur, c.1750.

National Museum, New Delhi.

Description: The demon king, Bali, attended by a horned demon with black shield and white fly-whisk, pours water on the hands of the dwarf Vamana who stands before him. Bali's priest, nude save for a *dhoti*, touches his shoulder by way of warning. Pavilion with outer wall and lushly flowering tree as in 29(i). Sky with wrinkled clouds. Floral carpet as in 31(ii).

Discussion: A picture with marked similarities to 25, 26 and 29 especially in the row of wrinkled crenellated clouds and thickly flowering trees. At the same time, strongly similar in turban style, keenness of facial type and suavely modelled clarity to 31-34. For this reason it is a crucial bridge between two strands of Bilaspur painting which, at first sight, might seem to have less in common than is actually the case.

Related examples from the same or a similar series: (1) Coomaraswamy (1926) pl. 69 (283); also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), no. 44. Balarama. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Bilaspur, c.1750.

(2) Archer and Binney (1968), fig. 74. Balarama diverting the Jamuna. Binney collection, Brookline, Mass. Bilaspur, c.1750.

36 *Madhmadyavi Ragini*. From a Plains *Ragamala* series. Bilaspur, c.1750.

177 x 117 mm; with border 230 x 180 mm. Red border with black and white rules.

Uninscribed.

Victoria and Albert Museum, Manuk and Coles collection, I.S. 134-1949.

Description: A prince in red turban and crimson *jama* embraces a lady in orange red skirt, ivory bodice and dark blue veil. They sit together on a white terrace supported by a large cushion in dull gold with red floral sprigs. Two smaller cushions at their feet. To the right a hookah bowl with floral decoration and coiled stem. White net-work balustrade. Background olive brown. At the top a broad rim of large crinkly clouds and dark blue sky.

Discussion: Closely similar in facial types to 31 and 35 and with the same type of sparse severe design typical of pictures such as 14 and 25 (Bilaspur by provenance and family tradition). The wrinkled crenellated clouds and dark plain background have an obvious parallel in 35.

Related example: (1) Archer (1955), fig. 6. 'Gathering flowers' (*Vasanti Ragini*). Mian Kartar Singh collection, Nurgur. Bilaspur, c.1750. Similar facial types and treatment of clouds.

37 The Horse incarnation of Vishnu (Kalki avatara). Bilaspur, c.1750.

142 x 240 mm. Border trimmed away, leaving traces of reddish brown.

Inscribed on front in *nagari* characters: *ghora* 'horse'.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 9-1963.

Description: Vishnu, with bluish grey skin, dark yellow *jama*, dark grey jacket, crimson sash and grey helmet sits on an orange-red dais with crimson coverlet brandishing a long white sword. Before him a groom in pale green trousers, crimson coat and orange red turban parades the white horse Kalki. The horse has a crimson saddle, striped belly-cloth and orange-red saddle-cloth, a pair of rudimentary wings and spotted head markings. Sage green foreground with four rows of tufted clumps. Olive brown background topped with streaks of orange red and a narrow rim of dark blue sky.

Discussion: Another version of the subject already treated in 25 but in style and facial types, identical to 36 and 37. For a parallel to the spotted head markings, compare 43(iii) (from the Bilaspur *Bhagavata Purana* series) where cows are shown in exactly similar ways. For the sombre and distinctive palette, compare 6, 22, 36, 40, 41 and 43.

38 Raja Govardhan Chand (1741-1773) of Guler smoking. Bilaspur, c.1760.

208 x 168 mm; with border 232 x 205 mm. Red border with black rules.

Archer collection, London.

Originally in the family collection of Thakur Ishwari Singh Chandela of Bilaspur and stated by him on the basis of family tradition to be the work of a Bilaspur painter at Bilaspur.

Published: Archer (1970), fig. 20.

Description: Raja Govardhan Chand of Guler in a white *jama* and white turban with brown bands sits on a white rug laid across a mauve rug with red stripes. He leans against red cushions and smokes a hookah. An attendant in white *jama* and turban with silver stick stands before him. Another in green *jama* stands behind him holding a cloth and peacock feather fan. Grey background. At the top a curving rim of cloudy sky.

Discussion: Portrait of a Guler ruler perhaps from a Bilaspur series of standard portraits. For identification, see inscribed portraits (Guler, reign, viii). In contrast to Guler portraits, which tend to minimise the smallpox scars disfiguring this ruler's face, the present study shows them clearly, thus confirming the assumption that the portrait was probably painted outside Guler.

The present picture is important because in style it is in close continuation of other pictures (e.g. no. 25) which are connected with Bilaspur by provenance and family tradition and because it appears to provide a link in facial features and suavity of execution between nos. 35-37 and the *Nala Damayanti* series (43, i-xi). Although Bilaspur and Guler were not connected by marriage, relations between the two states were uniformly friendly, resulting in their joint revolt against Kangra during the Gurkha invasion of Kanra in 1805.

39 Raja Devi Chand (1741-1778) of Kahlur (Bilaspur) smoking. By Fauju, Kangra, c.1760-1770 (after a Bilaspur original).

202 x 192 mm; with border 242 x 208 mm.

Inscribed on the front in *takri* characters: *sri raja kehluria divi chand* and on the reverse: *likhatam faju* 'Painted by Fauju'.

Punjab Museum, Lambagraon collection, Chandigarh.

Description: Raja Devi Chand in white *jama* sits smoking a hookah on a white rug with patterns similar to nos. 38 and 43(vii). Blue carpet with red stripes. A lady sits on the carpet before him, clapping her hands as if singing. Green background with canopy on four poles.

Discussion: For a discussion of the artist Fauju and his work, as a copyist at the Kangra court, see *Kangra*, no. 8. Unlike certain other Kangra painters who appear to have drawn portraits from the life, Fauju seems to have special-

ised in copying portraits of neighbouring rulers in the styles peculiar to their own states.

The present picture is similar in style and idioms to nos. 38 and 40. It is of special interest since it shows Devi Chand with a lady whose facial features closely resemble those in 41-43, thus affording further evidence that these latter pictures are from Bilaspur.

40 Prince with courtier. Bilaspur, c.1760.

186 x 137 mm; with border 198 x 156 mm.

Brownish red border with black rules.

Inscribed in *takri* characters on top border: 22.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 128-1954.

Description: A young prince in white *jama* with dark red turban and green waist-sash leans against a dark green cushion smoking a hookah and facing a young courtier in white *jama* and red waist-sash and turban who sits before him holding a silver dish. Swords in red scabbards lie beside them. Carpet with stripes in pale red and slate blue. In the foreground a pair of pigeons. Narrow bands of brownish yellow and green. Background brownish yellow broken by a straggling tree. At the top, blue sky with crinkly white clouds.

Discussion: Similar in style and composition to nos. 38 and 39 and with the same pale colours and striped rug. The execution, however, is much coarser and resembles in this respect the summary treatment of the carpet in no. 10(ii). We must assume that, as in other states, painting at Bilaspur was often on several levels of competence, the more polished productions serving the Raja and his court, the rougher and hastier pictures perhaps reaching a more lowly clientele.

Related example: (1) Skelton (1961), pl. 73. Krishna awaiting Radha. Private collection. Bilaspur, c.1760. The attendant behind Krishna closely resembles the prince in no. 40, perhaps indicating princely devotion and a private involvement in the Vaishnava cult. In style and design, close to the *Nala Damayanti* series (nos. 43, i-ix).

41 The slaughtered demons. From a *Ramayana* series. Bilaspur, c.1760-1770.

255 x 320 mm. Torn and with damaged borders.

Raja Anand Chand collection, Bilaspur.

Description: Rama and Lakshmana, two figures with bows and leaf skirts, are greeted as they approach a walled pavilion with shady trees. Beneath the trees sits Sita with two female companions. Outside is a heap of slaughtered demons. Plain background. Curling clouds.

Discussion: Closely similar in style to 39, 42 and 43, the female faces exactly resembling that of the singing-girl in 39. Although its origin in Bilaspur is not formally attested by any family tradition — much of Raja Anand Chand's collection having been acquired in recent times — the fact that it is so badly damaged suggests that it may have formerly belonged to the family and hence be of Bilaspur provenance, since there would otherwise have been little point in Raja Anand Chand acquiring it.

42 Vilavali Ragini. From a Plains *Ragamala* series. Bilaspur, c.1760-1770.

216 x 117 mm (without borders).

Kasturbhai Lalbhai collection, Ahmedabad.

Description: A lady sits on a stool looking in a hand-mirror and gazing at her confidante who stands before her with a tray of betel leaves. Behind them is a pavilion with striped rug on either side, a high wall of bricks, a turret and beyond it a pair of trees. Three bees, large as dragon-flies, soar upwards.

Discussion: Similar in structure and composition to Bilaspur *Ragamala* paintings of the early period, availing of exactly the same idioms for bricks, bees, rug, pavilion and border as does no. 18. The execution, however, is more suavely sensitive and the faces with their refined features and air of gentle nobility are now in closer line with 39, 41 and 43. The emergence of this more refined style may reflect influences from Guler where painting was already developing a more naturalistic treatment of romantic form.

Related example: (1) Randhawa (1962), col. pl. VI. *Gunakali Ragini*. A lady stands in a grove at night hanging twelve garlands of jasmine flowers on the branches of trees. Kasturbhai Lalbhai collection, Ahmedabad, Bilaspur, c.1760. Same sensitive style and facial type as 42.

43 Eleven paintings from a *Nala Damayanti* series. Bilaspur, c.1760-1770.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 265-1953 and I.S. 30-1954 to 39-1954; I.S. 265-1953 given by Robert Skelton, the remainder from the Rothenstein collection.

In contrast to the Kangra *Nala Damayanti* series (Kangra no. 53 q.v.) which is based on the *mahakavya* ('great poem'), the *Naisadhiyacharita* of Sriharsha, the present series appears to be based on the original version in the *Mahabharata* epic.

43(i) Damayanti with three of her maidens chasing the swan that tells her of Nala's beauty.

161 x 253 mm. Blue border with white rules trimmed away.

Inscribed on back with Hindi verses in *nagari* characters.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 32-1954.

Description: Damayanti in crimson trousers, yellow dress and orange scarf hastens after a swan that rises in the air before her. Two companions follow after. In the foreground a third companion. To the right trees with white and pink flowers. In the centre a grey pond. In the foreground flowering sedges and trees with gnarled and twisted trunks. On the left a pavilion with pink floral carpet, blue-grey inner wall, green and red blind and white outer walls, roof and turret. Crimson herring-bone pattern. Dark green hillside with white rim and cloud-besmirched sky.

43(ii) Damayanti, sick with love, lies sleeping on a bed, attended by her maids.

162 x 251 mm. Blue border with white rules trimmed away.

Inscribed on back with Hindi verses in *nagari* characters.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 30-1954.

Description: Damayanti, wrapped in a red cloth, lies sleeping on a white bed. Pavilion with grey inner wall and red and green blind. A maid in dark blue skirt and pale yellow veil clasps her feet. Another maid in crimson skirt and green veil waves a peacock feather-fan above her. Her father, in yellow *jama* and green sash, kneels by her head. In the foreground, two maids consult together while a third holds a cloth. Mauve, yellow and orange dresses. To the right two trees, one slender with orange flowers and the other gnarled with dense green foliage. Yellow hillside, topped by a band of blue sky with crinkly clouds.

43(iii) The wedding of Nala and Damayanti.

180 x 262 mm; with border 203 x 286 mm. Blue border with white rules.

Inscribed on the back with Hindi verses in *nagari* characters; on the flap an inscription in *gurmukhi*, numbered 52, describing the wedding bower and preparations for the marriage.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 34-1954.

Description: Nala in orange red turban and ankle-length *jama* is shown at four different points circumambulating the sacred fire with his bride, Damayanti, who wears a bold dress and orange red veil. The courtyard is olive green and is surrounded by dull pink embattlements. The fire is burning on a white stone square. Above it a yellow framework supports six wooden parrots. Assisting at the wedding is a throng of 22 ladies clad in red, green, mauve and orange red. Beyond the courtyard walls are four musicians. In the rear are trees, a yellow-green hillside and rim of dark blue sky.

43(iv) The bridal night.

170 x 254 mm; with border 175 x 261 mm. Blue border with white rules mostly trimmed away.

Inscribed on the reverse with Hindi verses in *nagari* characters.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 38-1954.

Description: Damayanti in red skirt and veil, bearing a

pyramid of lights, advances to the bridal chamber accompanied by four maids, one of whom carries a lighted torch. To the left Nala awaits her in orange red dress on a white bed in a room with grey inner walls, pale yellow carpet and pale green blind. Damayanti reaches him and stands shyly before him. In the foreground pink embattlements. Bluish-white background. Rim of dark blue sky with crinkly clouds.

43(v) The first encounter.

167 x 256 mm; with border 197 x 284 mm. Blue border with white rules.

Inscribed on reverse with Hindi verses in *nagari* characters; numbered on the front 58, and on the reverse 55.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 35-1954.

Description: Nala, in orange red dress, is seated on a white bed above a dark blue carpet in a small room with grey inner walls. He receives the shy Damayanti who wears a dull gold skirt and bodice and orange veil and stands with a dish before him. A maid in dark green veil and yellow skirt escorts her. To the left four maids in green, red, mauve and blue leave the building. Angular battlements in dull pink. Background brilliant yellow. At the top a rim of dark blue sky with crinkly clouds.

43(vi) Nala greets his father-in-law.

170 x 255 mm; with border 195 x 281 mm. Dark blue border with white rules.

Inscribed on the reverse with Hindi verses in *nagari* characters; and on the flap with *gurmukhi*. Numbered 60 on front, as also on flap.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 36-1954.

Description: Damayanti in gold skirt and bodice and orange red veil is visited by six companions after the bridal night. She sits on a white bed, on a scarlet carpet with floral sprays. The blind is a dull blue. Nala in a rich orange yellow dress and orange red turban is escorted to a neighbouring room where Damayanti's father in mauve dress sits on a red carpet supported by a cushion. Around him sit eight of his courtiers dressed variously in pink, green, yellow and orange red. Nala stands demurely before him with folded hands. Other attendants in ankle-length *jamās* stand to the side. The upper carpet is dark green with bands of greenish-yellow, the lower one pink with bands of slate-blue. In the centre a grey-brown courtyard. Background dull yellow topped by a rim of dark blue sky with suggestions of cloud.

43(vii) Nala gambling.

165 x 250 mm; with border 198 x 284 mm. Blue border with white rules.

Inscribed on reverse with Hindi verses in *nagari* characters. Numbered 77 on front, 76 on the reverse.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 37-1954.

Description: Nala, a figure in white *jama* and dull gold turban, sits casting dice. He is faced by a figure in mauve *jama*. Below them sit two others, the left hand figure in dark green *jama* and orange red turban, the right-hand figure in orange red *jama* and mauve turban. Nala has one pile of money only, the others have two piles each. White floor with brownish pink wall, white roof and grey plinth. To the left Damayanti in mauve skirt and green bodice sits on a pale yellow carpet in a room with grey inner wall. A maid in orange red skirt and mauve bodice leans forward to tell her that Nala is constantly losing. Between the two rooms a gnarled tree with thick foliage. In the branches a pair of birds face in opposite directions. Background apple green with band of slate blue sky and streaks of cloud.

43(viii) Nala losing all, Damayanti sends the children to her father.

175 x 267 mm. Border trimmed away.

Inscribed on reverse with Hindi verses in *nagari* characters describing how the rani and raja were left with only one garment each, the raja having nothing more to bet with.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 31-1954.

Description: Nala in white with dull gold turban is confronted by five players, four of whom have piles of money

beside them. He himself has none. Dresses pale yellow, mauve, pale green and orange red. White floor with brownish pink wall and grey plinth. To the left, a pair of maids carry in their arms Nala's son and daughter. Grey outer walls. Pavilion, blind and chariot canopy and cross-piece green and scarlet. Background apple green with band of whitish blue sky.

43(ix) Damayanti, half-clad, alone in the forest.

158 x 244 mm. Border trimmed away.

Inscribed on back with Hindi verses in *nagari* characters, perhaps numbered 111.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 265-1953.

Description: Damayanti, naked except for a brief loin-cloth at her waist, approaches a large forest tree from across a piece of waste. To the left a pair of antelopes, the female bounding away, the male turning in Damayanti's direction. Background a dull chalky pink. Upper rim of whitish blue sky.

43(x) The half-clad Damayanti arrives at the palace of the King of the Chedis.

171 x 254 mm. Faint traces of a red border.

Inscribed on back with mutilated Hindi verses in *nagari* characters.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 33-1954.

Description: Damayanti, naked except for her brief loin-cloth and shielding her breasts with her hands, stands outside a palace. A crowd of three men, five women and two children dressed in green, pale crimson, white, yellow, orange red and brown, stand behind her. A pair of maids confront her at the door. Inside an older lady in black skirt and bodice and white veil sits with a companion in slate blue skirt and pale yellow veil. A child in green *jama* chats to a maid in blue bodice and orange red skirt. Grey inner walls. Pale crimson herring-bone pattern on roof and pediments. Above the roof the tips of two cypresses and one tree. Background pale bluish green. Above, a streak of white cloud and dark blue sky.

43(xi) Damayanti is welcomed by her aunt.

155 x 254 mm; with border 188 x 287 mm. Red border with white rules.

Inscribed on back with Hindi verses in *nagari* characters.

Numbered on front and flap 161 and on reverse 150.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 39-1954.

Description: Damayanti in orange red skirt and mauve veil sits on the right facing another lady in green skirt and olive-grey bodice. Two maids on the left and one on the right stand beside them. Dresses crimson, orange red, blue and green. The pink pavilion with grey inner wall is bounded by outer walls in dull yellowish brown. Red blinds. A pink rug with blue stripes. Beyond the courtyard a greenish-yellow field bounded by straggling trees. Background whitish grey topped by dark grey clouds and rim of deep blue sky.

Discussion: In style similar to nos. 39-42 and with the same sensitively rendered male and female figures. In turban style, *jama* fashion and mode of depiction, these are a logical continuation of the figures seen in nos. 35-38 which are connected with Bilaspur by comparison with the Ishwari Singh *Ragamala* (32). Other significant points of detail are the treatment of Damayanti's bed (similar to Kamakandala's in no. 13(ii)), a persistent use of cypresses, a reliance on geometric compositions which treat the picture as a single flat plane and trees with hints of gnarled and knotted trunks. Although the fish-scale pattern employed in the architecture may, at first sight, suggest Guler or Kangra influence, it was a common convention in Central India and may therefore have reached Bilaspur from that source.

The series is undated but by analogy with the portraits of Govardhan Chand and Devi Chand (38, 39), a date of c. 1760-1770 would seem reasonable. This would place it in the second half of the reign of Devi Chand (1741-1778), when Bilaspur was set for its most successful and prosperous period in the eighteenth century. Since Devi Chand had no misfortunes, the series can hardly be construed as symbolising his own personal career. It might, however,

have been made at the instance of the queen-mother as a moral or warning to his successor. Gambling, whether as game, a part of politics or in war threatened state stability and though the story of Nala and Damayanti ends on a note of happy success, the underlying lesson is one of sobriety and prudence. It is significant that under Devi Chand's son, Raja Kharak Chand (1778-1824) the type of ruin and disasters described in the story actually occurred.

PHASE THREE: 1770-1880

44 Radha listening to Krishna's flute-playing. Bilaspur, c.1780.

200 x 260 mm; with border 225 x 290 mm. Red border with black rules.

Archer collection, London.

Published: Archer (1965), pl. 34.

Description: Radha in blue and gold dress stands on a terrace outside her bed-chamber listening to Krishna playing on the flute on the opposite side of a river. She turns her head away as if to seek the advice of her two companions who are dressed in green and mauve. Krishna has five cowherd boys with him, two of them clapping their hands, one playing a *tambura*, one wielding clappers and the fifth beating a shallow drum. Behind them is a grove of trees and beyond it, to the left, a house with turrets. In the foreground, a herd of cows.

Discussion: A picture which reveals the new influences which were affecting Bilaspur painting in the last third of the eighteenth century. The following points of style connect it with earlier traditions: a characteristic Bilaspur palette (brown, green and white predominating), an angular composition as in 43, and sharp disparities in size between the various figures (contrast, in particular, the tiny cows and cowherd in the right-hand bottom corner with the much larger Radha on the terrace and robust Krishna in the forest). On the other hand, Guler influence, already noticeable in the sensitive treatment of female faces and sky in 42, seems responsible for the 'Kangra Valley' stance of Radha and the two maids. It was painters from Guler who were developing at this time the distinctive school of Garhwal (q.v.) and it is possible that painters passing between the two states may have introduced this standard type of posture to artists in Bilaspur. Although the squarish-shaped heads of Radha and her companions are not unlike a certain Garhwal type, the treatment of the eyes (with the pupil set in the extreme corner but with no white showing underneath) sufficiently distinguishes them. The rushing river, its waves flecked with gold lines — a device current in mid-eighteenth century Mewar painting — suggests that contacts between Bilaspur and Rajasthan were still continuing.

45 Krishna fluting to the cow-girls. Bilaspur, c.1780.

175 x 242 mm; with border 215 x 263 mm. Blue margin. Red border.

Chandigarh Museum.

Description: Krishna in yellow *dhoti* stands in front of a line of trees, playing on the flute to three cow-girls two of whom have turned their faces away. The cow-girls wear mauve and orange dresses. Trees with grey trunks intertwined with drooping sprays of flowers. Foreground sage-green, background pale blue.

Discussion: Similar in style to 44, the cow-girl on the right displaying the same type of stance adopted at Garhwal from Guler models. For trees with loosely drooping sprays of flowers, see 46.

46(i, ii) Two paintings from a Bhagavata Purana series. Bilaspur, c.1770-1780.

Approximate average size: 275 x 350 mm. Dark blue borders.

Roerich collection, India.

From a series originally in the possession of Thakur Ishwari Singh Chandela of Bilaspur later a resident of Udaipur, Mewar and stated by him on the basis of family tradition to be the work of Bilaspur painters at Bilaspur.

46(i) Krishna and the cowherd boys graze the cattle in the forest.

Published: Khandalavala (1958), fig. 43.

Description: A forest scene. Large trees, some with knotted trunks and great twisted holes, others with flowering branches, form a ring enclosing eight cows and two calves. Krishna and Balarama, heading a group of cowherd boys, enter from the left. In the foreground, a river by which the crane demon, Bakasura, stands waiting. At the top a wavy white band verging on sky.

46(ii) Krishna slays the crane demon, Bakasura.

Published: Khandalavala (1958), pl. F (col.), pl. 50.

Description: Krishna with blue skin and long white garland tears open the beak of the crane demon, Bakasura, now shown as a great white bird larger than a cow. Blood streams from the beak. Cowherd boys clad in red, green and blue trunks and with skins — in some cases, pale brown, in others pale blue — assail the demon with long red sticks. At the top and on either side of the foreground are trees with yellow, white and red flowers. To the left centre, a massive tree with scarred and twisted trunks. In the foreground a grey stream with jagged white verges. Cattle in various colours — white, pale brown, yellow and pinkish mauve — provide a living frieze. One of them is marked with grey irregular blotches, another is bespattered with tiny dots. Pale blue rim of sky. Hillside greenish brown.

Discussion: The pictures cited above are said by Khandalavala to have been acquired by the Russian collector, Svetoslav Roerich, from a Bilaspur family for whose ancestors they were painted by a Bilaspur painter, Kisen Chand. Although not divulging the exact source, Roerich appears to have obtained them from Ishwari Singh Chandela since one example for the series, much rubbed, was still in his family collection when Kanoria and I saw it in 1954 and the Thakur told us he had sold a number of other examples to 'the Russian'.

The statement that the series was painted by the artist, Kisen Chand, appears, however, to be due to a misconception. Khandalavala states that 'on one of the miniatures of this set in Roerich's collection, the name of the artist is inscribed as Kisen Chand' and adds that 'the family which possessed these Bhagavata miniatures gives the date of Kisen Chand as c.1750 A.D.'. But he does not transcribe or publish the inscription and the fact that one of the pages contains the name 'Kisen Chand' is no proof that this was the painter of the series. It is significant that Ishwari Singh's own father or grandfather was named Krishna Chand. The inscription might therefore merely indicate that this and other pictures from the series were his property. For a fuller discussion of this point, see 32.

That Kisen Chand is possibly not the name of the painter is suggested by other circumstances. 'Chand' is the suffix of all the Rajput royal families in Bilaspur and if Kisen Chand was in fact the name of the painter we would have to conclude that he was a member of this caste. It is true that by the very end of the nineteenth century British example had turned painting and sketching into an aristocratic hobby. French noted that Mian Basant Singh, a cousin of the Rana of Arki, had taken to painting and that he owned a picture by Raja Amar Chand (xiii, 1883-1889) of Bilaspur who had died 'thirty-five years previously' (*Himalayan Art*, 85). But he was assured that such painting by royal amateurs was quite exceptional. Indeed the Arki nobleman insisted that 'for the Raja of Bilaspur and himself to have taken up painting was as great an innovation as if they had taken to motoring when it first started or flying nowadays'. It is significant that although Ishwari Singh confirmed their Bilaspur origin, he did not tell Kanoria and myself that the pictures were painted by Kisen Chand in the middle of the eighteenth century — a fact which I do not think he would have suppressed if the painter had borne that name and had therefore been a Rajput.

In terms of style, the pictures have obvious affinities with 44 and 45, sharing with them the deliberate inclusion of brindled cows, figures with square-shaped heads, large

pupils set in the corner of the eyes, the device of water, flecked with golden lines, a similar type of flowering spray and pale blue sky. Other details — the use of olive brown colour, the presence of white and blue bands at the top, the portrayal of trees with fantastically gouged-out holes (compare nos. 43 and 48), the employment of details such as the bespattering of one of the cows with little dots (compare the head of Kalki in no. 37) as well as a strong liking for hard brusque forms, and suave clear statement — further link the series to Bilaspur tradition.

At the same time, influences from Mewar painting of the mid-eighteenth century are strongly present — perhaps more strongly so than in any other Bilaspur pictures — and it is possible that in order to please the Kangra rani of Raja Devi Chand at a time when relations with Kangra were becoming strained, a *Bhagavata Purana* series was borrowed from Mewar and used as a model. It is true that Krishna subjects are not entirely absent from early Bilaspur painting but it is mainly *Ramayana* themes which were previously illustrated. The rani's arrival at Bilaspur and the fact that in her home state the cult of Krishna was deeply rooted may have led to a fresh celebration of Krishna.

That Mewar painting of the mid-eighteenth century is a prime influence in the series can be judged by comparing the pictures with a page from a *Bhagavata Purana* series published by Moti Chandra (*Mewar Painting* (New Delhi, 1957), pl. 10). This page discloses the same awkward transitions between individual figures, the same kind of sombre flat backgrounds, the same treatment of water as in 44, the same use of angular margins for banks of rivers, the same stiffly rendered cows and the same jerky rhythm. Another page from the same or a similar series is in the Binney collection, Brookline and this discloses still further likenesses: long spear-shaped sprays of flowers and, in the case of mango trees, clusters of leaves like the clawing fingers of a hand (Archer and Binney (1968), fig. 9).

Example from the same series: (I) Khandalavala (1958), fig. 44. Krishna and the cowherd boys taking the cattle into the forest. Roerich collection, India.

47 Krishna summoning the cows. Bilaspur, c.1780-1790.

Brownish yellow border.

Raja Anand Chand collection, Bilaspur.

Published: Randhawa (1954), col. pl. 36; also reproduced Archer (1957), 30 (col. pl.); Archer (1960), pl. 74.

Description: Krishna with blue skin, wearing trunks and a black cloak, stands beside three trees summoning the cattle by playing to them on a golden flute. A herd of thirty-two cows and one calf are shown converging on him — fourteen are about to emerge from a river, others are arriving from the valleys between three hillocks. In colour they range between white, pale brown, dark brown, pale grey, dark grey and pink. Two cowherd boys in black cloaks escort them. To the left is a glade of trees with delicate flowering creepers. To the right are heavy clouds shot with lightning. Pale green slopes. Grey water with serrated inlets.

Discussion: Although in facial features similar to 46, this picture is far more delicate, fluent and assured, its style suggesting that Guler models have by now exerted a more potent sway. The subtly receding landscape is rendered with gentle sensitivity. There are no brusque or hard conventions and although the composition has angular stamina, it is subordinated to the picture's chief concern which is to express the magnetic power of Krishna's playing.

Despite this lyrical recourse to delicate naturalism, the picture is none the less a clear product of Bilaspur, including not only a typically Bilaspur combination of colours (grey, green, white and shades of brown) but an uninhibited elongation of the central figure and characteristic disparities of size. It is noteworthy that although the largest tree possesses holes, these lack the mannered contortions so noticeable in nos. 46 and 48.

48 Radha visiting Krishna on a moonlit night. Bilaspur, c. 1780-1790.

258 x 108 mm.

Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras.

Published: Gray (1950), pl. 109 (578); also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), no. 160.

Description: Radha, a tall slim figure in the foreground, is about to enter a grove of over-small trees behind which towers a huge pavilion. Krishna, seated on a bed, awaits her in an upper storey. In the background, a second grove of trees and rising landscape. In the sky, stars and a full moon.
Discussion: Connected with 46 by trees with fantastically gouged-out holes and with little rows of dots speckling the foliage and rimming its fringes and with 44 by typical Bilaspur disparities in size between objects and figures. As in 47, effects of recession effortlessly achieved.

49 In search of Krishna. From a *Bhagavata Purana* series. Bilaspur, c.1800.

Raja Anand Chand collection, Bilaspur.

Published: Randhawa (1954), pl. 37 (col.); also reproduced Archer (1957), p. 35; Khandalavala (1958), no. 164.

Description: A landscape of rolling hills; on the left, a cluster of huts surrounded by wooden fences made of branches; in the centre clumps of trees; on the far right a river. In the village an old lady clasps a child while villagers attend to cattle. In the centre a group of cow-girls wander amongst the trees, looking vainly for Krishna. Above them, to the right, Krishna chats to cowherd boys and watches them at their play.

Discussion: Substantially similar in style to 47 but with faces approximating more closely to Kangra or Guler models. Depth and recession are far greater than in 41 and there is also a strong sense of fluent twining rhythm. This is conveyed by blending the lines of the unusually tall trees with the firmly emphasised curves of the river and the hillside. Distortion of tree forms in one direction or another would seem to have characterised Bilaspur painting throughout the eighteenth century. Other points of significance are fences made of branches (a Guler idiom), deliberate disparities in the size of figures — the old lady in the village being over-large, the cowherds and the cattle over-small, Krishna in the forest towering over the cowherd boys and dwarfing the cow-girls — and a typically Bilaspur combination of colours — green, brown, white, grey and orange red. As in 44 and 47, the presence of obvious Kangra Valley influences may be due to the Bilaspur 'Kangra' rani's close connections with Kangra — close, despite her wars with Sansar Chand — or, on the other hand, to the Bilaspur alliances with Guler.

Related examples: (1) Randhawa (1954), col. pl. 32; also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), no. 163. Driving the flock. Raja Anand Chand collection, Bilaspur. Bilaspur, c.1800. Typical disparities in size between cowherd and calf. A distinctive bracket supporting the lintel on the right (compare no. 50). Female faces with Guler influence (c.1790-1800).

(2) Randhawa (1954), col. pl. 33; also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), no. 161. The feast in the forest. From a *Bhagavata Purana* series. Chandigarh Museum. Similar receding landscape as in no. 49. Two over-large male figures on the right. Cattle as in no. 49. Guler influence.

50 Radha and Krishna celebrating the Holi festival. Bilaspur, c.1800-1810.

Raja Anand Chand collection, Bilaspur.

Kangra Valley-type floral border in gold on dark blue.

Published: Randhawa (1954), col. pl. 34; also reproduced Archer (1957), cover (col.); Khandalavala (1958), no. 162.

Description: Radha and her maids on an upper terrace are engaged in the battle of Holi with Krishna and the cowherd boys in the courtyard below. Dominant colours green, brown, white and pink. Sky pale blue. To the right a lintel with bracket as in no. 49(1).

Discussion: Faces not unlike those in nos. 46 and 47 (though perhaps with slightly more obvious 'Kangra Valley' influence). Palette still perceptibly Bilaspur.

51 Radha and Krishna celebrating the Holi festival. Bilaspur, c.1820-1830.

Kasturbhai Lalbhai collection, Ahmedabad.

Border with prominent star-like floral pattern in brilliant white.

Description: A version of 50 but with the cow-girls massed on the right-hand side of the upper storey, the window moved from right to left and a group of cow-girls emptying a pitcher on Krishna who stands beneath.

Discussion: More fluent than 50, the figures appearing with shaded outlines and greater volume. As in earlier Bilaspur painting (compare nos. 17 and 42), the walls are made of brick — each brick being demarcated by three straight lines.

Related example: (1) Khandalavala (1958), fig. 45. Blindman's buff. Roerich collection, Bilaspur, c.1820-1830. Similar in style to 51. Trees and sprays of flowers as in 46.

52 A night of storm (*abhisarika nayika*). By the painter Haricharan. Bilaspur, c.1850 or later.

Inscribed on the reverse: *Haricharan*

Raja Anand Chand collection, Bilaspur.

Description: A lady in swirling drapery, her ruffled *sari* swathing her legs, is going through the country by moonlight. To the left is an ant-hill with two cobras, one of which is entwined around her right ankle. To the right is a tree sheltering a ghost. In the sky storm clouds with streaks of lightning, the moon partly obscured behind them. Kangra Valley-type face.

Discussion: A picture with strong Western influence perhaps illustrating a phase of Bilaspur painting in the second half of the nineteenth century. In view of its presence in Raja Anand Chand's collection, it is possibly the type of painting which may have influenced the royal amateur, Raja Amar Chand (b.1857 d.1889).

Of the painter Haricharan, the exact identity is unknown but a certain Haricharan, son of Ramdayal and grandson of Sajnu, is noted in the Record of Rights as a 'Maratha Galeria', settled in Ustehar, a village in Kangra district. An entry in a priest's register at Hardwar in 1792 reveals that Sajnu was a painter (Goswamy, communication, 1968). It is possible, therefore, that the Haricharan mentioned on the present picture may be of this family.

PAINTING IN KANGRA

I. INTRODUCTION

GEOGRAPHY

A large state, eighty miles long and thirty-five miles wide, bounded on the south by Jaswan and Kutlehr, on the south-west by Jaswan, Datarpur and Siba, on the west by Guler, on the north by Chamba, on the north-east by Bangahal, on the east by Mandi and on the south-east by Kahlur (Bilaspur). Capitals: Kangra (Kot Kangra, Nagarkot), eleventh century until 1620; Bijapur (Vijaipur), c.1660-1697; Alampur, 1697-1748; Sujampur Tira, 1748-1761; Sujampur Tira, Sujampur and Alampur (joint capitals) 1761 onwards; Dharamsala, headquarters, British district of Kangra, 1846 onwards.

SCENERY

Vigne (1842): '(Sujanpur) Tira may be reached in four days from Mundi, by the route I travelled through Kruhin. It is the capital of a country larger than Mundi, but not, as I was informed, so rich. When viewed from the ghat or pass on the way to Nadaun, or from any other eminence on the south side of it, it appears in the middle of a landscape in which extent and sublimity are united in great perfection. It presents a succession of long swelling hills, sloping gradually on to the plain, or abruptly terminating in precipices, whose height is sometimes tufted with a clump of trees, sometimes made holy by the presence of an old Hindu temple and often rendered conspicuous by the watch-tower on its summit. On the right is the serrated ridge of Kumla Gurh; in front are the forts, known as the Chumiani Durwasu, or gates, commanding a pass into the Mundi country and seen like two white specks in the distance; a little to the left of them, but not distinguishable, is Bij Nath, at or near the source of the Kangri river; and on the left, again, is extended the open country of Palum. But the whole appears, comparatively speaking, as one flat, from which the gigantic walls of the Dola Dhara, or white mountains, some twenty or thirty miles distant in direct lines, rise directly upward, to an elevation of sixteen or seventeen thousand feet, with a grandeur, perhaps nowhere so little diminished by intervening ranges. But such scenes must be visited to be conceived, as the world, the old world, at least can boast but one Himalaya: "A sight", says Mr. Elphinstone, "which the soberest traveller has never described without kindling into enthusiasm and which, if once seen, leaves an impression that can never be equalled or effaced" (105-106).

Barnes (1852): 'The colossal range of mountains which bounds Kangra to the north deserves more than passing description. Although the direction of this range is in general conformity to that of the lower hills, yet the altitude is so vastly superior and the structure so distinct, as to require a separate notice. In other parts of the Himalaya the effect of the snowy mountains is softened, if not injured, by intermediate ranges and the mind is gradually prepared by a rising succession of hills for the stupendous heights which terminate the scene. But in Kangra there is nothing to intercept the view. The lower hills appear by comparison like ripples on the surface of the sea and the eye rests uninterrupted on a chain of mountains which attain an absolute elevation of 13,000 feet above the valleys spread out at their base.

'I know no spot in the Himalaya which, for beauty or grandeur, can compete with the Kangra Valley and these overshadowing hills. No scenery, in my opinion, presents such sublime and delightful contrasts. Below lies the plain, a picture of rural loveliness and repose; the surface is covered with the richest cultivation, irrigated by streams

which descend from perennial snows and interspersed with homesteads buried in the midst of groves and fruit trees. Turning from this scene of peaceful beauty, the stern and majestic hills confront us; their sides are furrowed with precipitous water-courses; forests of oak clothe their flanks and higher up give place to gloomy and funereal pines; above all are wastes of snow, pyramidal masses of granite too perpendicular for the snow to rest on' (1-2).

Note: Visited by W.G.A. with M. S. Randhawa March 1954, April 1960 and March 1966. During these visits, we travelled over much of Kangra state, viewing, in particular, Palampur on the extreme north; the great Kangra Fort with its grim precipices, flanked by the Ban Ganga river; Sujampur, Alampur and Sujampur Tira twenty-five miles south-east of Kangra; Bhawan, Jwalamukhi and Baijnath, famed places of Hindu pilgrimage; and finally Nadaun, fifteen miles from Sujampur and lower down the Beas where it has already reached the stony Sewaliks. The following points struck us as significant:

Although the Dhaula Dhar mountains stand like a great wall along the skyline so that wherever one goes one always seems to be near them, they are actually a mere back-cloth to Kangra life. Only the wandering shepherd caste of Gaddis go into them and for Kangra people in general it is as if they do not exist. This is a point of some importance since it could well explain why snow-covered mountains appear so rarely in Kangra paintings. What to western travellers is a source of exhilaration and delight, to Kangra people is a tiresome irrelevance.

The state itself falls into two distinct parts. The north-western portion includes the Kangra Fort with the tiny hamlet of old Kangra immediately adjoining it and Bhawan (new Kangra), the place of Hindu pilgrimage, two miles distant from it. The Fort itself is a vast castle built on a tongue of land and surrounded by dizzy precipices. The surrounding country is steep and rugged and the drive of twenty-five miles to Alampur on the river Beas takes one through Bhawarna and on through a desolate tract of 'stony rubbish'. It is only when one is past this that the gentle countryside of the Beas valley unfolds in all its mellow charm. As we strode round the great Fort, gazed at the narrow gorges of the Ban Ganga River below it and felt the ever-present menace of the snows, we found it bleak, uncomfortable, cheerless and forbidding. It is no surprise that when deprived of it firstly by the Mughals and subsequently by the Sikhs, the Rajas of Kangra aspired to regain it as a spot indispensable for their prestige but, once successful, preferred to live elsewhere. Kangra painting, as Randhawa was the first to point out, was a product not of Kangra the Fort but of Kangra the State.

The south-eastern portion could hardly be more different. It is dominated by the river Beas which enters the state on the east from Mandi, flows west in a line parallel to the mountains and then takes a sharp turn to the south at Lambagraon, a point twenty miles south-east of Kangra Fort. From there it moves south-west in a series of leisurely bends, passing Alampur and Sujampur five miles lower down and then, after a further fifteen miles, veering sharply to the north-west at Nadaun. Twenty miles beyond Nadaun, still flowing in a north-westerly direction, it meets the Ban Ganga River as it comes down past the Kangra and Haripur forts. From this juncture, the Beas moves west, veers once more to the north and finally debouches southwards into the Punjab Plains.

In this long course, the centres of special relevance for painting are, firstly, Sujampur, Alampur and Sujampur Tira and secondly, Nadaun, since it was here that the Rajas of

Kangra lived and held court from 1760 onwards. Sujanpur Tira is a large fort and palace which was originally built in the mid-eighteenth century when the Kangra Fort was under Mughal occupation. It was severely damaged in the earthquake of 1905 but its ruins have since been shored up and one can still see the little temple to Chamunda Devi on the highest point of the ridge, the palace with its two-storied suites of rooms, pavilions and balconies perched high above the Beas, a great durbar hall with eighteen entrances and similar airy views and finally a large temple to Shiva and Parvati. The whole lies on the top of a steep hill and stretching for four miles on either side is a series of battlements and watch-towers. Until shortage of water and the daily business of toiling up the heights led Sansar Chand (1775-1823) to abandon it, it was the main court and residence of the Kangra Rajas from 1761 until 1815.

The views from Sujanpur Tira are enchanting. As one faces west, the river Beas — a great stream even in the cold weather — comes round from the right in two majestic bends. Immediately below is a tract of rich, fertile, gently rising slopes which swell up to a sharp line of little hills. Across the river at Alampur are broad wheat fields, studied at intervals with large mango trees, clumps of bamboos and little rectangular houses with pointed roofs. For a distance of perhaps two miles from the river the ground is either level or only slightly undulating, open spaces blend with houses and with spaced-out trees and over everything there broods an air of bland contentment. Beyond are occasional small hills, each crowned at the top by an isolated pipal or banyan tree.

Below Sujanpur Tira is Sujanpur itself, a large village with an extensive polo ground though much altered since 1905. Until then, the village streets and houses lay between the polo ground and the river and there were also two royal gardens with little palaces fronting the stream. These collapsed in the earthquake of that year and afterwards the village houses were rebuilt on new land, the sites between the polo ground and the river being abandoned. As at Haripur, a long flight of stone steps winds up from the river to the higher ground on which the village is built. From river level, the country around Alampur is even flatter, the hills are less apparent and the impression of a gently rolling countryside becomes even stronger. There is nothing harsh, bleak, bare, severe or angular and for the moment even the tough climb to Sujanpur Tira can be forgotten.

When one has crossed the river to Alampur, whether by a country boat with tall peaked prow and square stern or by inflated buffalo hides or pig skins, some of which were beached on the strand when I crossed by boat in 1966, two things impress one. The first is the plethora of fruit trees — wild plums, peach and pear — sprinkling the edges of the fields. One also notices from time to time a crimson creeper entwined about a mango. The second are the ruins of Sansar Chand's palace, a mile or more from the straggling village of Alampur and superbly situated on the river bank. Like Sujanpur, Alampur was destroyed by the earthquake of 1905 and great chunks of palace walls still lie about in jangled heaps. One first sees a 'guest house', roofless but with various walls still standing. Then, as one nears the river, one comes on a big stone terrace, open to the sky and with a great view up the river to the east. From this point, the full sweep of the river can be seen — the opposite bank broken by little streams that come down to join it and by an array of small bluffs projecting into the water in sequence. In the far distance, the River Beas takes a turn to the east and disappears from sight behind yet another of these curving slopes. Beyond the terrace is what remains of the palace proper — a residence, an earthen courtyard, a little bathing pool shaped like a hexagon two feet deep with stone sides and finally a two-storied pavilion with balconies and windows on either side. There is little doubt that whether residing in the two garden houses on the Sujanpur side of the Beas or in the riverside palace at Alampur with its open terrace, balconies and fruit trees, Raja Sansar Chand could

well have imagined himself in the realm of Krishna in Brindaban on the Jamuna.

There remains Nadaun, fifteen miles down stream from Sujanpur and on the three occasions that I visited it occupied by Raja Rajendra Chand, a descendant of Sansar Chand on the Nokhu or Gaddi side (see reigns, xxvi). Nadaun is in the stony Sewalik range and the River Beas, in contrast to its noble spaciousness higher up, is now much narrower as it flows between cramping banks and large stone boulders. Even in March and April when Sujanpur was still refreshingly cool, Nadaun was hot and we could readily understand why Sansar Chand should have stayed there only during the Rains or cold weather. The raja's present residence, built since 1905, has an avenue of cypresses, the only place in Kangra State where such trees could be seen. Of Sansar Chand's court at Nadaun, nothing remains save a few heaps of rubble. We were shown, however, the sites of his palace, the separate palace of his Gaddan rani, Nokhu, the pavilion where he used to celebrate the Holi festival, the polo ground used for exercising his troops, a spot by the Beas where *pūja* was done and a small square-shaped house occupied by one of his last loves, the dancing-girl Jamalo.

RELIGION

As in the case of Guler no detailed account of religion in Kangra is forthcoming but the existence of the following important temples shows a very clear bias towards Shiva and the Devi, except in the reign of Sansar Chand (1775-1823) when worship of Krishna suddenly becomes prominent. It is significant that the Kangra royal line traces its descent from the Devi and that the Katoches even to this day consider themselves as 'the children of the Devi': when a Rajput of Kangra is believed to be specially lucky, it is said of him that 'the Goddess always walks by his side' (Karuna Goswamy, 1968). For Sansar Chand's devotion to Krishna, see Moorcroft (1820). It should be stressed that even in the case of Sansar Chand, ardent Vaishnavism did not exclude adherence to Shiva and the Devi and that while making gifts of land 'out of devotion to Krishna', celebrating the Janmashtami festival, listening to Brij bhasha songs and endowing the Murlimanohar temple, Sansar Chand worshipped in the Devi temple, got the Gauri Shankar temple built inside the Sujanpur Tira fortress and took his oaths by the Devi who was the family deity of the Katoches and whose domain the hills were believed to be (Karuna Goswamy, 1968). It is noteworthy that despite a whole plethora of portraits none show Sansar Chand with a *tilak* mark (either Vaishnava or Shaiva) and although there are isolated portraits which show Rajas Hamir Chand (ix, 1700-1747) and Ghamand Chand (xii, 1761-1774) with Vaishnava *tilak* marks, these are hardly sufficient to prove exclusive Vaishnava attachment.

Temples to the Devi:

(1) Bhawan (new Kangra, two miles from Kangra proper). Temple of Vajeshvari or Mata Devi (adjunct to Jwalamukhi q.v.). On practices at the temple Abu Fazal (c.1590) has the following note: 'Nagarkot is a city situated upon a mountain with a fort called Kangra. In the vicinity of this city upon a lofty mountain is a place, *Maha Maiy*, which they consider as one of the works of the divinity and come in pilgrimage to it from great distances, thereby obtaining the accomplishment of their wishes. It is most wonderful that in order to effect this they cut out their tongues which grow again in the course of two or three days and sometimes in a few hours. According to the Hindu mythology, *Maha Maiy* was the wife, but the learned of this religion understand by this word the power of Mahadeva and say that she, upon beholding vice, killed herself and that different parts of her body fell on four places' (HV, I, 110). (The headless corpse is believed to have remained at Bhawan. Thrice pillaged and the idol desecrated by Muslim armies: (1) Mahmud of Ghazni, 1009 (2) Feroz Tughlak, 1360 (3) Sher Shah Suri, 1540. Descriptions by European

travellers Finch (1611), Terry (1615) and Thevenot (1666); quoted HV, I, 108-110.]

(2) Kangra Fort.

Temple of Ambika Devi

(3) Sujampur Tira.

Temple of Chamunda ('Devi as goddess of war'). A little shrine on the topmost peak of the ridge overlooking Sujampur on the river Beas, erected in 1761 by Ghamand Chand (xii, 1761-1774). On three sides of the tower are plaques of the three-headed Shiva, the plaque from the fourth side having fallen to the ground (1966). The image of Chamunda is in marble and is revered by four bamboo sticks with red flags. The centre of the shrine has a slab containing a breast-like *lingam* in a *yon*i flanked by another breast-like shape. There are also ancillary images of Shiva and Parvati and of Vishnu and Lakshmi on Garuda. Ghamand Chand is said to have dreamed of Shiva while making the shrine and as a precaution to have installed the *lingam*. He is also said to have sacrificed each month four different kinds of animal — a buffalo, goat, ram and pig — as also a cock.

(4) Jwalamukhi, about 20 miles south of Kangra.

Temple to Devi Jwalamukhi ('She of the flaming mouth').

Gazetteer (1926): 'The temple is built over some natural jets of combustible gas, believed to be a manifestation of the goddess, Devi. The interior consists of a square pit about three feet deep with a pathway all round. In the middle the rock is slightly hollowed out about the principal fissure, and on applying a light the gas bursts into a flame. The gas escapes at several other points from the crevices of the walls of the pit. It collects very slowly and the attendant Brahmins, when pilgrims are numerous, keep up the flames with *ghi*. There is no idol of any kind, the flaming fissure being considered as the fiery mouth of the goddess, whose headless body is said to be in the temple of Bhawan' (492).

Vigne (1842): 'On the opposite side of the river and on the north side of the open space which lies on the western side of the river opposite to Nadaun, is the sandstone range running north-west and south-east; and in the southern side of which, about six miles from Nadaun, is the temple and village of Jewala Muki, or the flame's or spirit's mouth — a place which, on account of its sanctity, is full of fakirs and numerous holy men, subsisting on the donations of those who visit it from religious motives. There is nothing remarkable in the appearance of the hills around it. They are about three or four hundred feet in height above the plain and nearly barren of every thing excepting the cactus.

'The temple is built against the projecting corner of the rocks on the northern side of a ravine which opens into the range. Its appearance is unlike any thing else in the country, it being a square building for whose fourth side the sandstone from which it projects is a substitute. The area of its base may, perhaps, contain twenty square yards; and both the building and the portico, which is large in proportion, are surmounted by a richly gilded roof, in the Chinese fashion. A large bell, presented by the Rajah of Nipal, hangs before the entrance and the court-yard around is filled with wild-looking fakirs; the attendants of great men, who have travelled from afar to perform their devotions at the shrine; peasants from the neighbouring villages, who have come in procession for the same purpose; and idlers, civil and military, who have come for no purpose at all, but to sleep, beg, ring the bell and gossip. Perhaps two or three Brahmini bulls (such as are turned out to go where they will, in performance of a vow, or usually by children after the death of a parent) are to be seen there also; and I observed a huge goat, who was amusing himself by rearing up against the wall and licking off the ghee, or butter, with which each devotee thought it meritorious to anoint the little Hindu idols carved on the wall. A stream of hydrogen gas, which oozes through the sandstone, issues from ten or a dozen fissures in the rock; to this they apply a light and the flame that plays around the fissure is considered to come from the Muki, or mouth of the Jewala, or spirit (of whom the headless idol at Malekra is considered as the body) and is honoured and worshipped accordingly. Below

some of the crevices are little reservoirs of water, which has oozed from the rock; and from the water, upon its being disturbed by the hand, a small quantity of the gas is evolved and takes fire if a torch be held near it' (133-135).

For a further account, see Hugel (1845), 42-43.

Temples to Shiva:

(1) Baijnath, twenty-three miles east of Nagarkot (Kangra).

Temple of Shiva Vaidyanatha ('Shiva as Lord of Physicians'). An all-India place of pilgrimage.

(2) Sujampur Tira

Gauri Shankar (temple to Shiva and Parvati, also called the Sansarchandreshvar, after Sansar Chand who built it in 1793).

Notable for the almost life-size statues of Shiva and Parvati, that of Shiva being said to have been modelled on Sansar Chand himself. The gleaming silver-plated image is said to be made of seven different metals. It stands nude, save for a dhoti tied round the waist, the right arm raised, the left arm out-stretched. Parvati, also in metal, gold-faced, stands fully clothed in a yellow dress with floral pattern.

(3) Sujampur.

Temple of Narbadeshvar (Shiva).

A temple built by Sansar Chand's rani from Suket, just prior to Sansar Chand's death, 1823. On a magnificent site overlooking the River Beas. Has a single *lingam* only.

(4) Nagarkot (old Kangra).

Indreshvara (temple to Shiva), so called because Indra is supposed to have come there.

At present (1966), a little shrine with a *lingam* and *yon*i six feet down in a cellar beside the intermingled roots of a *bar* tree and a *pipal*. Only the *pipal* tree is now standing. No *shikhara* (tower) but in the *mandap* (porch), a sculpture of the bull Nandi and around him images including one of Chamunda (goddess of war).

Temples to Vishnu:

(1) Sujampur.

Murlimanohar (Krishna) temple.

Built by Sansar Chand, 1790. A large temple with extensive courtyard, adjoining the *chaugan* (polo ground). Has a tower with a plaque of the three-headed Shiva. There is also a large assembly hall, perhaps intended for Vaishnava *kirtan* singing. No murals. Life-size images of Radha, fully clothed and of Krishna wearing a long *jama*, playing on a flute.

(2) Alampur.

Vishnu temple.

Built by Alam Chand (viii, 1697-1700). A small shrine with tower and porch, surrounded by a courtyard. On the tower a plaque of the three-headed Shiva. In the courtyard a large image of Garuda. Inside the shrine an image of Vishnu.

II. HISTORICAL NOTES

SOURCES

- Archer, W. G. *Paintings of the Sikhs* (London, 1966).
 Barnes, G. C. and Lyall, J. B. *Report of the Land Revenue Settlement of the Kangra District, Panjab* (Lahore, 1889).
 Barnes 1852; Lyall 1875.
 Cunningham, A. *Archaeological Survey of India, V: Report of the year 1872-73* (Calcutta, 1875), 152.
 Accession dates 'based on a family roll of the Kangra rajas':

1670	Vijaya Rama
1687	Bhima
1697	Alam
1700	Hamir
1747	Abhaya
1761	Ghamand
1773	Tega

- 1776 Sansar
1823 Anirudh
1829 Ranbir
- Cunningham, J. D. *A History of the Sikhs* (London, 1849).
- Eastman, A. C. *The Nala Damayanti Drawings* (Boston, 1959).
- Forster, G. *A Journey from Bengal to England* (London, 1808).
- French, J. C. *Himalayan Art* (Oxford, 1931).
- Goswamy, Karuna. 'Vaishnavism in the Punjab Hills and Pahari Painting' (Doctoral dissertation, Punjab University, Chandigarh, 1968).
- Grey, C. (ed. Garrett, H.L.O.) *European Adventurers of Northern India, 1785 to 1849* (Lahore, 1929).
- Griffin, L. H. and Massy, C. F. *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab* (Lahore, 1940).
- Hugel, C. *Travels in Kashmir and the Panjab* (London, 1845).
- Hutchison, J. and Vogel, J. P. *History of the Panjab Hill States* (Lahore, 1933), I.
- Jack, A. *Six Views of Kot Kangra* (London, 1847).
- Jacquemont, V. *Letters from India, 1829-1832* (London, 1834; re-issued 1936, ed. Catharine A. Phillips).
- Latif, M. *History of the Panjab* (Calcutta, 1891).
- Moorcroft, W. *Manuscript Journal*, dated 23 February-29 March, 1820. MSS. Eur. D. 237. India Office Library, London.
- Moorcroft, W. *Manuscript Journal*, dated 1-20 June, 1820. MSS. Eur. D. 240. India Office Library, London.
- Moorcroft, W. *Manuscript Journal*, dated 22 June-28 July 1820. MSS. Eur. D. 241. India Office Library, London.
- Moorcroft, W. *Manuscript letter to R (?) Kyd*, dated 14 July, 1820. MSS. Eur. D. 257. India Office Library, London.
- Moorcroft, W. *Manuscript letter to George Saunders*, dated 20 March, 1822. MSS. Eur. D. 262. India Office Library, London.
- Moorcroft, W. and Trebeck, G. *Travels in the Himalayan Provinces of Hindustan and the Panjab; in Ladakh and Kashmir; in Peshawar, Kabul, Kunduz and Bokhara, from 1819 to 1825* (prepared for the press from original journals and correspondence by H. H. Wilson, London, 1841, 2 vols). A censored paraphrase by Wilson of Moorcroft's manuscripts.
- Prinsep, H. T. *Sikh Power in the Punjab* (Lahore, 1897).
- Randhawa, M. S. 'Maharaja Sansar Chand — the patron of Kangra painting', *Roopa Lekha* (1961), XXXII, no. 2, 1-30, figs. 1-46; col. pls. 2.
- Rose, H. A. *A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province* (Lahore, 1919).
- Sud, L. M. R. 'Raja Sansar Chand of Kangra', *Journal Punjab University Historical Society* (1934), III, Part I, no. 5, 31-41.
- Sud, L. M. R. 'The Rise of Sansar Chand', *Journal Punjab University Historical Society* (1935), IV, Part I, no. 7, 63-70.
- Vasudev, A. D. (ed.) *Punjab District Gazetteers, VIIA: Kangra District, 1924-1925* (Lahore, 1926).
- Vigne, G. T. *Travels in Kashmir, Ladak, Iskardo* (London, 1842).
- Watson, J. F. and Kaye, J. W. *The People of India* (London, 1869), IV.

REIGNS AND PORTRAITS

A dynasty of immense antiquity, pre-dating the *Mahabharata* epic (c. 6th century B.C.). Offshoots: Guler, Jaswan, Siba and Datarpur. For the circumstances in which Hari Chand (Raja of Kangra) exchanged Kangra for Guler, c.1405 thus ensuring Guler priority, see Guler, Reigns and Portraits. Clan-name, Katoch. Suffix, Chand. Hutchison and Vogel (HV) followed, unless otherwise stated.

1585-c.1605 BIDHI CHAND (i)

Son of Jai Chand.

Acted for his father during the latter's confinement by the

Mughal emperor Akbar at Delhi. Aided by Raja Govind Chand of Jaswan, withstood a Mughal attempt to capture Kangra fort. After accession, joined in the general revolt of the Hills against Akbar, 1588. Was reduced and, along with other Hill Chiefs, tendered presents and tribute. His son, Trilok Chand, at the Mughal court as hostage.

Marriage: Chamba.

Son: Trilok Chand.

c.1605-c.1612 TRILOK CHAND (ii)

Son of Bidhi Chand.

While at Mughal court as a hostage, grew up with the young Jahangir. Incurred Jahangir's enmity due to his refusal to part with a pet parrot. Jahangir is believed to have invaded Kangra some years later and to have killed him.

Marriage: Unrecorded. A Kangra princess to Bikram Chand (1600-1620) of Bilaspur.

Son: Hari Chand.

Character: Finch (1611): 'Bordering to him is another great Rajaw, called Tullock Chand, whose chiefe city is Negarcoat . . . in which is a famous Pagood, called Je or Durga unto which worlds of people resort out of all parts of India. It is a small short idol of stone, cut in forme of a man; much is consumed in offerings to him, in which some also are reported to cut off a piece of their tongue and throwing it at the Idol's feet, have found it whole the next day (able to lye I am afraid, to serve the father of lyes and lyers, however); yea, some out of impious piety here sacrifice themselves, cutting throats and presently recovering; the holier the man, the sooner forsooth he is healed, some (more grievous sinners) remaining half a day in pains before the Divell will attend their cure. Hither they resort to crave children, to enquire of money hidden by their parents or lost by themselves, which, having made their offerings, by dreams in the night receive answers, not separating discontented. They report this Pagan Diety to have been a woman, (if a holy Virgin may have that name), yea, that she still lives, (the Divell shee doth); but will not shew her selfe. Divers Moores also resort to this Peer. This Rajaw is powerful, by his Mountains situation secure, not once vouchsafing to visit She Selim' (HV, I, 108-109).

c.1612-c.1625 HARI CHAND (iii)

Born 1608. Son of Trilok Chand.

1615-1620, Kangra Fort besieged three times, at last falling in 1620 to Jahangir's forces, the garrison having been starved out. Kangra state was then annexed by Jahangir, Hari Chand being granted as a *jagir* the district of Rajgir (a small part of the state adjoining the River Beas, and including Lambagraon, Jaisinghpur and Bijapur). Kangra Fort was then permanently occupied by a Mughal Governor and garrison. Hari Chand is believed to have resorted to guerilla warfare in Kangra against Jahangir and to have been caught and flayed alive, perhaps in c.1625, i.e. before Jahangir's own death, 1627.

Marriage: Unrecorded.

Sons: Died childless.

c.1625-c.1660 CHANDARBHAN CHAND (iv)

Continued guerilla warfare against the Mughals, he himself being a Mian (descendant of a junior branch) and never recognised as Raja. A legendary figure in Kangra traditions due to his long, spirited and proud defiance of the Emperor Shah Jahan. After about thirty-five years of 'underground resistance' was finally caught and killed.

Marriage: Unrecorded.

Sons: Vijairam Chand, Udairam Chand.

Other marriages: A Kangra princess to Suraj Sen (vi) of Mandi.

c.1660-1687 VIJAIRAM CHAND (v)

Son of Chandarbhan Chand.

Invested with the Rajgir *jagir* by the Emperor Aurangzeb. Made Bijapur (Vijaipur) his capital. Peaceful acquiescence in Mughal domination. Poisoned Dip Chand (v) of Kahlur (Bilaspur) at Nadaun, 1667. Sided unsuccessfully with Dip Chand's brother, Manak Chand in an attempt to depose Bhim Chand (vi) of Bilaspur.

Marriage: Unrecorded.

Sons: Died childless.

Other marriages: Hindal Pal (iii) of Basohli married in Kangra.

1687-1690 UDAIRAM CHAND (vi)

Brother of Vijairam Chand (v)

Marriage: Unrecorded.

Sons: Bhim Chand, Kirpal Chand.

1690-1697 BHIM CHAND (vii)

Son of Udairam Chand.

Attended Mughal court at Delhi. Favoured by Emperor Aurangzeb. His younger brother, Kirpal Chand, renowned in Kangra traditions for making a long water-channel from the Daula Dhar range. Mughal governors in Kangra Fort bigotedly anti-Hindu.

Marriage: Unrecorded.

Son: Alam Chand.

1697-1700 ALAM CHAND (viii)

Son of Bhim Chand.

Founded Alampur, near Sujanpur, where he chiefly resided. Built a small Vishnu temple. Sided unsuccessfully with Kahlur (Bilaspur) against the Sikhs, c.1700.

Marriage: Unrecorded.

Sons: Hamir Chand, Ghamir (Gambhir) Chand.

Portraits: (1) Alam Chand doing Vaishnava puja. Inscribed in *takri* characters: *sri raja alam chand*. Chandigarh Museum, Mankot collection. Nurpur, c.1680-1700. See Nurpur 1(1).

1700-1747 HAMIR CHAND (ix)

Son of Alam Chand.

A long reign but with virtually no records. Kangra Fort and most of Kangra state still firmly held by the Mughal Governor, though Mughal rule disintegrating in northern India. Built a small fort at Hamirpur. Unsuccessfully attacked Guler. Raided by Sidh Sen (ix) of Mandi.

Marriage: Unrecorded.

Sons: (1) Abhaya Chand (2) a second son, name unrecorded, father of Ghamand Chand (xii).

Other marriages: Indar Singh, second son of Fateh Singh (vii) of Nurpur, married a Kangra princess and settled with her in Kangra state.

Portraits: (1) Listed Gupta (1922), 48, D.80. Hamir Chand with Vaishnava *tilak* mark seated at a window. Line-drawing. Inscribed in *nagari* characters: *sri maharaja sri hambir chand katoch*. Chandigarh Museum (on transfer from Central Museum, Lahore). Kangra (?), c.1775.

(2) **Fig. 18 (Mankot)** The young Hamir Chand seated; on reverse, a line drawing of the same figure, a servant attending. Archer collection, London. Mankot, c.1700.

1747-1760 ABHAYA CHAND (x)

1747-1750 (HV). Sud whose dates are here adopted follows Cunningham (1875) in dating Ghamand's accession to 1761. Son of Hamir Chand.

Built the fortress-palace of Sujanpur Tira, 1748. Intermittent wars with Kulu. A war with Chamba over Bangahal.

Marriage: Unrecorded.

Sons: None.

Other marriages: His daughter to Amrit Pal (viii) of Basohli; the daughter of Mian Alam Katoch of Jaisinghpur to Shamsher Sen (xi) of Mandi.

1760-1761 GHAMIR (GAMBHIR) CHAND (xi)

1750-1751 (HV). As with Abhaya Chand, Sud's dates are preferred.

Son of Alam Chand (viii). Brother of Hamir Chand (ix). Reigned for about one year only and died leaving eleven sons (eldest, Singar Chand), 'eleven' as elsewhere in the Hills, probably being a pseudonym for 'many'.

Portraits: (1) Listed Gupta (1922), 58, D.79. Ghamir Chand seated, a sword beside him. Inscribed in *nagari* characters: *katoch mian gambhir chand*. Chandigarh Museum (on transfer from Central Museum, Lahore). Kangra (?), c.1760 or later.

1761-1774 GHAMAND CHAND (xii)

1751-1774 (HV); 1761-1773 (Cunningham). Sud whose dates are here adopted follows Cunningham (1875) and Latif (1891) in dating Ghamand Chand's appointment as 'Afghan' Governor of the Jalandhar Hills to 1768 during Ahmad Shah Durrani's last invasion of India, instead of to 1758 as stated by HV. HV follows Barnes and Lyall (1889) and the Kangra Gazetteer. Sud argues that a date as early as 1758 for Ghamand Chand's appointment is improbable since Ahmad Shah Durrani 'appointed native chiefs as his deputies only when he could not rule the Punjab by force and was therefore compelled to adopt conciliatory methods' (Sud (1934), 37). If HV's date for this vital appointment is discarded, there are no good reasons for preferring the early date for Ghamand Chand's accession.

Accession: Son of a second brother (name unrecorded) of Hamir Chand (ix). Supersedes the 'eleven' sons of Ghamir Chand (xi). Sud notes the following local tradition: 'Gambhir Chand left behind him eleven sons who were extremely unpopular on account of their capricious temper and cruel ways. Even as boys they had lost the sympathy and confidence of their people and not a single officer of state wished them success. Ghamand Chand, an experienced soldier, enjoying great popularity in the country, now took advantage of the opportunity thus offered him. He won over the military officers to his side and entered into a conspiracy against the young princes. While those little boys were performing the last ceremony of their deceased father on the bank of the Beas, Ghamand Chand appeared with a band of soldiers, ordered their arrest and had their eyes put out. They were thrown into a dark subterranean cell where they were starved to death. Even now the place is pointed to with great horror; it is on the way from Nadaun to Sujanpur near Churu' (Sud (1934), 37).

Celebrated his seizure of power by founding Sujanpur on the Beas below Tira and erecting at Tira a temple to Chamunda Devi ('goddess of war'), 1761.

External affairs: Availed of a strong army of mercenaries to exploit Afghan invasions in the Punjab Plains and to pursue his own policy of expansion. Aided by Devi Chand (viii) of Bilaspur against Jaswan. Made Guler, Jaswan, Siba and Datarpur tributary, c.1762. Annexed northern half of Kuttlehr. Invaded Kulu and took some territory, 1765. Regained all of Kangra state lost to the Mughals in 1620 (with sole exception of the Kangra Fort, which remained under a Mughal governor, Saif Ali Khan). Unsuccessfully attacked Kangra Fort. Appointed Afghan Deputy or Governor of the Jalandhar (Kangra) Hills, 1768, but compelled to pay tribute or 'protection money' to the Sikh Jassa Singh Ramgarhia, 1770-1773. Death, 1774.

Marriage: Unrecorded.

Son: Tegh Chand.

Other marriages: A Kangra princess became the sole rani of Devi Chand (viii) of Bilaspur.

Comment: The first strong Kangra ruler for almost two centuries, suddenly restoring the state to its former size and abruptly coming to the fore as the supreme power in the southern Hills. Achieved this mainly through his personality, skill in war and administration and by the employment of mercenaries. Without the latter, no successes would have been possible.

Artists: None recorded; but part of the large collection of portraits of neighbouring rulers noted by Moorcroft (1820) may date from his time.

Portraits: (1) **Fig. 23 (Nurpur)** Ghamand Chand smoking. Chandigarh Museum, Lambagraon collection. Nurpur, c.1745-1750.

(2) **Fig. 1 (Kangra)** Ghamand Chand seated with Devi Chand (viii) of Bilaspur. Raja Anand Chand collection, Bilaspur. Kangra, c.1765.

(3) **Fig. 2 (Kangra)** Ghamand Chand seated with Tegh Chand. Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 6-1956. Kangra, c.1770.

(4) Archer (1952a), fig. 53. From a photograph by J. C. French, Lambagraon, Kangra. Ghamand Chand seated with Tegh Chand. Inscribed in *nagari* characters: (1) *raja*

ghamand chand (2) *teg chand*. Lambagraon collection, Kangra. Kangra, c.1765.

(5) Listed Gupta (1922), 59, D.82. Ghamand Chand. Chandigarh Museum (on transfer from Central Museum, Lahore). Guler, c.1765.

(6) Listed Vogel (1909), 29-30. D.XII. Ghamand Chand. Inscribed in *nagari* characters: *katoch raja ghumand chand*. Bhuri Singh Museum, Chamba (by exchange with Central Museum, Lahore).

(7) Catalogued Coomaraswamy (1926), 238, no. 498. 'Sri Rae Teg Chand and Sri Raja Ghamand Chand seated conversing, the latter smoking, a hawk between them. Pale colours. The names as above inscribed in *nagari* characters'. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Kangra, c.1770.

1774 TEGH CHAND (xiii)

Son of Ghamand Chand. Born c.1725.

Like Ghamand Chand, employed a large army of mercenaries. Maintained Kangra's position as premier state in the Southern Hills.

Relations with Mandi: Granted asylum to Surma Sen (son of Shamsher Sen (xi) of Mandi by his Kangra rani), expelled from Mandi due to intrigues against him by his uncle, Dhurchatia. Re-instated him in Mandi and expelled Dhurchatia, 1774-1775 (Mandi, xii, q.v.).

Marriage: Unrecorded.

Sons: Sansar Chand, Fateh Chand, Man Chand.

Portraits: (1) Fig. 19 (Nurpur). The young Tegn Chand out hawking. Chandigarh Museum, Lambagraon collection. Nurpur, c.1740-1745.

(2) Fig. 20 (Nurpur). The young Tegn Chand smoking. Chandigarh Museum, Lambagraon collection. Nurpur, c.1740-1745.

(3) Archer (1952a), fig. 53. Tegn Chand seated with Ghamand Chand. Lambagraon collection, Kangra. Kangra, c.1765.

(4) Fig. 2 (Kangra). Tegn Chand seated with Ghamand Chand. Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 6-1956. Kangra, c.1770.

(5) Listed Gupta (1922), 59, D.83. Tegn Chand seated. Chandigarh Museum (on transfer from Central Museum, Lahore). Kangra, c.1770.

(6) Catalogued Coomaraswamy (1926), 238, no. 498. Tegn Chand seated with Ghamand Chand. Boston Museum. Kangra, c.1770.

(7) Fig. 5 (Kangra). Tegn Chand seated with Pirthi Singh (viii) of Nurpur. Lambagraon collection. Kangra, c.1774.

(8) Fig. 6 (Kangra). Tegn Chand seated with Pirthi Singh of Nurpur and Prit Singh of Jaswan, facing Prakash Chand of Guler and Raj Sing of Chamba. National Museum, New Delhi. Kangra, c.1774.

(9) Fig. 7 (Kangra). Tegn Chand smoking. Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 5-1956. Kangra, c.1770-1775.

(10) Fig. 8(i) (Kangra). Tegn Chand seated with Prit Singh of Jaswan. Lambagraon collection, Kangra. Kangra, c.1774.

1775-1823 SANSAR CHAND (xiv)

Son of Tegn Chand

Born January, 1765 at Bijapur, six miles from Lambagraon (part of Rajgir estate, Kangra valley).

I 1765-1775. **Childhood.** Aged 1-10 years.

II 1775-1786. **The Rise to Power.** Aged 10-21 years.

1775 Succeeds at age of ten as Maharaja of Kangra. Maintains his father and grand-father's courts at Sujampur Tira, Sujampur and Alampur on the Beas river. Makes his supreme objective the seizure of Kangra Fort.

1775-1780 Minor operations in the Punjab Plains, resulting in small accessions of territory. Continues to pay tribute or 'protection money' to the Sikh Jai Singh Kanheya. Assists his father-in-law, Kishan Singh of Suket, to attack Suket and burn its capital. Allies with Mandi in order to take Bangahal from Kulu but abandons the project.

1781-1783 In alliance with Jai Singh Kanheya, besieges Kangra Fort and repulses a diversionary invasion of Kan-

gra by the Rani of Bilaspur (q.v.). Conquers 'the country and town of Kangra', November 1781.

1783 Death of Saif Ali Khan, Mughal Governor of Kangra Fort and surrender of Kangra Fort to the Sikhs.

1783-1786 Allies with the Sikh Misls, the Sukerchakias and Ramgarhias, to defeat Jai Singh Kanheya at Batala.

1786 Obtains possession of Kangra Fort from Jai Singh Kanheya in return for territorial concessions in the Plains. Succeeds to Jai Singh Kanheya's position of paramountcy vis-a-vis other Hill Rajas in the Kangra (Jallandhar) Hills. Exacts from them the tribute formerly realised by the Sikhs. Greatly enlarges and strengthens his army of mercenaries (Afghans, Rohillas and Rajputs), making it the strongest fighting force in the Hills. Repulses an attack by Bilaspur.

III 1786-1806. **The Time of Grandeur.** Aged 21-41 years.

'For many years he passed his days in great felicity. He was generous in conduct, kind to his subjects, just as Nushirvan and a second Akbar in his recognition of men's good qualities. Crowds of people of skill and talent, professional soldiers and others, resorted to Kangra and gained happiness from his gifts and favours. Those addicted to pleasure, who live for the gratification of others, flocked from all quarters and profited exceedingly by his liberality. Performers and story-tellers collected in such numbers and received such gifts and favours at his hands that he was regarded as the Hatim of that age and in generosity, the Rustam of the time' (HV, I, 181, quoting Muhai-ud Din, *Tarikh-i-Panjab*).

1786-1787 Completes annexation of Kutlehr (the northern half having been previously annexed by Ghamand Chand). Annexes Ramgarh Fort (Guler) and requires the attendance of Prakash Chand of Guler at the Kangra court as vassal. Annexes part of Baghal (Arki).

1788 Treaty of friendship with Chamba.

1790 Embarks on lavish building programmes at Sujampur and Sujampur Tira.

1792 Allies with Kulu, invades Mandi and removes Isvari Sen to his court as hostage.

1793 Aided by Hindur, invades Kahlur (Bilaspur) and Sirmur, killing Dharm Parkash of Sirmur. Makes Kahlur tributary.

1794 Defeats Chamba, killing Raj Singh of Chamba in battle. Annexes a small border area. Chamba and Nurpur acknowledge Kangra supremacy.

1798 Is joined by the Irish deserter, O'Brien.

1803-1804 Invades Hoshiarpur (Punjab Plains) but is repulsed by the Sikh Maharaja Ranjit Singh.

1804 Grants asylum at the Kangra court to Parakram Shah (brother of Pradhyumna Shah) of Garhwal, following a Gurkha victory over Garhwal.

1805 Invades Kahlur (Bilaspur) and annexes the part of it lying on the right bank of the Sutlej adjacent to Mahal Mori (Kangra). Disbands his army of Afghan and Rajput mercenaries preparatory to replacing them with a cheaper force of Rohillas. Bilaspur and Chamba ally with the Gurkhas of Nepal (occupying Garhwal) and invite them to invade Kangra.

IV 1806-1809 **The Gurkha Interregnum.** Aged 41-44 years.

1806 Gurkhas invade and defeat Sansar Chand before his

Rohilla replacements can arrive (battle of Mahal Mori, May 1806). Isvari Sen of Mandi is released from Nadaun. Sansar Chand retreats to Sujampur Tira. Nurpur and Guler join the revolt. Hindur aids Kangra.

1806-1808 Kangra State endures the horrors of a Gurkha occupation. Kangra Fort besieged, its garrison being commanded by Anirudh Chand. Amply provisioned but by 1809 in danger of being starved out due to Anirudh's improvidence (Anirudh (xv), q.v.). Barnes (1852): 'Then commenced that eventful epoch remembered by the people as the "Gurkha Invasion". The memory of these disastrous years stands out as a landmark in the annals of the hills. Time is computed with reference to that period and every misfortune, justly or unjustly, is ascribed to that prolific source of misery and distress. The Gurkhas prepared to establish their success. Certain portions of the country were subdued and held by them; other portions, including the Fort of Kangra and the principal strongholds, remained in the hands of the Katoches. Each party plundered the districts held by the other to weaken his adversary's resources. The people harassed and bewildered, fled to the neighbouring kingdoms — some to Chamba, some to the Plains of the Jullundur Doab. Other Hill chieftains, incited by Sansar Chand's former oppressions, made inroads with impunity and aggravated the general disorder. For three years this state of anarchy continued. In the fertile valleys of Kangra not a blade of cultivation was to be seen, grass grew up in the towns and tigresses whelped in the streets of Nadaun' (10).

1809 January Sansar Chand's brother, Fateh Chand, is sent to the Sikh Maharaja Ranjit Singh to sue for aid. Ranjit Singh meets Sansar Chand at Jwalamukhi. A conference is held, including Wazir Nathu from Chamba and Raja Bhup Singh of Guler.

1809 July Sansar Chand is compelled to agree to a treaty ceding Ranjit Singh Kangra Fort, its neighbouring 'supply' villages and the Rihlu border area, acknowledging his supremacy, losing his tribute from other Hill States, giving military service and agreeing to visit Lahore once a year to pay homage to Ranjit Singh's court. In return is guaranteed the rest of Kangra State.

1809 August Sikh forces approach Kangra Fort. The siege is lifted. The Gurkhas withdraw to Bilaspur. The Sikhs garrison the Fort. Desa Singh Majithia is appointed Sikh Governor of Kangra Fort and supervisor, Kangra Hills (Archer, 1966).

V 1809-1823 The Years of Eclipse. Aged 44-58 years.

1809 Sansar Chand retires to Sujampur, Sujampur Tira, Alampur and Nadaun.

1810 Deputes O'Brien to reorganise his army and a second adventurer James, to improve his artillery. Recruits a further force of mercenaries. Commences his annual humiliating visits to the Sikh court at Lahore. Grants asylum to Zalim Sen (xiv) of Mandi.

1814 At Ranjit Singh's instance, sends forces under O'Brien and James to aid the Sikh Governor of the Hills (Desa Singh Majithia) to conquer Bilaspur. Bilaspur areas on the right bank of the Sutlej are annexed by the Sikhs.

c.1815 Abandons Sujampur Tira, confining his residencies to Sujampur, Alampur and Nadaun. Moorcroft (*Journal*, 16 June 1820): 'Since the Raja has lost Kangra he lives principally in gardens at Shoojanpoor having deserted Teera as this latter is situated upon a lofty eminence on the left bank of the Beas and consists of a large pile of buildings erected at great expense by the father of the present Raja, but quitted by Sunsar Chund on account of its being distant from water.

'I have heard the following reasons assigned as the true

one although the former is generally reported. Raja Runjeet Singh one day at Lahore observed to Raja Sunsar Chund that he had heard much commendation passed on his residence at Teera which was said to surpass any other and that he was desirous of seeing it. To this Raja Sunsar Chund replied that he should esteem himself honoured by the visit, but that the persons who had given him the flattering account of Teera had deceived him for that he had found a residence there so inconvenient as to have induced him to quit it and that it was now deserted and if he would send a confidential person, he would be satisfied that he had been imposed upon. Sunsar Chund despatched a messenger with directions to his son to move all his effects from Teera to Shoojanpoor and to continue his exertions night and day until this should be effect(ed) and Teera have the appearance of being deserted. This was accordingly done with such expedition that Runjeet's messenger travelling in his usual manner on his arrival found the mansion really deserted and it is probable that it will not be inhabited by the Raja's family until after the death of the Singh.

'The buildings contain apartments more spacious and more convenient than are usually seen in the palaces of Hindoo chiefs. Here the Raja keeps his arms, he possesses some very valuable swords, one of which has its scabbard and hilt with precious stones and cost him twenty thousand rupees. He also has a small carpet manufactory which makes carpets for his own use.' (Moorcroft, *Manuscript Journal*, MSS. Eur. D.240, ff. 47v-50v. India Office Library, London).

1820 June, July Visited at Alampur and Sujampur by the English traveller, William Moorcroft. Fateh Chand gravely ill but successfully treated by Moorcroft. Moorcroft 'exchanged turbans' with Fateh Chand and was made an honorary member of Sansar Chand's family. Moorcroft gives the following account of Sansar Chand's general condition (*Journal*, 16 June, 1820): 'Raja Sunsar Chund was formerly the most powerful Raja from the west of the Sutlej to the Attock and all the Hills from the former rivers to Kashmeer were his feudatories and he was extremely wealthy. He is now poor and in danger of being conquered by Runjeet Singh. His misfortunes have been principally owing to himself. Influenced by the advice of the Nawab Gholam Moohumud of Rampoor which coincided with his own desire of accumulating money, he committed the enormous mistake of dismissing an army which had been formed by his ancestors and who by their long residence had become incorporated with the inhabitants of the country although originally from the northern provinces of Persia. These men took service with the neighbouring Rajas and when the Goorkhas returned to attack Sunsar Chund on finding he had disbanded his old troops and had not replaced them, they assisted their new masters in relieving themselves from their allegiance. His worst error consisted in giving the command of the new and hastily raised troops to Gholam Muhmood instead of confiding that trust to his brother Mea Futteh Chund, an excellent soldier and great favourite with his subjects. Had he given to Muhmood the management of the Rampoor levies under Futteh Chund, the attachment of the peasantry to the latter would have turned the fate of the day in his favour. But his jealousy of his brother should he have given him the command, though from the acknowledged frank and open conduct of Futteh Chund wholly undeserved, prevented his pursuing the most expedient policy. The Katoch peasantry, gallant and attached as they had shewn themselves, were disgusted at the preference shewn to a stranger and were the first to fly in the engagement and the Rohillas were overpowered. The Rajas joined the Goorkhas and the Raja Sunsar Chund after having defended the fortress of Koth Kangra for upwards of four years against their combined efforts was in the course of the fifth year compelled to cede it to Runjeet Singh for his assistance in expelling the invaders from his country. . . .

'By the Goorkha War he lost several lakhs of rupees of revenue from the tributary Rajas and the flat country at the foot of the Hills and is now so much reduced in his circum-

stances as according to his own statement to me not to possess more than 70,000 rupees a year clear for the maintenance of his family and friends after the payment of his troops. Runjeet Singh sends for him every year and he expects at every visit to be detained as a prisoner. Latterly Runjeet Singh has made use of him as a servant though he has yet refrained from exacting tribute from him. He put him forward in his attack on the Kahloor Raja and the three forts taken from the latter were taken by Sansar Chund's artillery directed by one James, an Englishman commanded by O'Brien. But Runjeet manned the forts when taken by his own troops. The Raja is well aware of his danger and Runjeet acts like one secure of his game whenever he thinks proper to put out his hand to seize it. As he has had other plans in hand he has probably deferred the seizure of Katoch until all of them are completed . . . and thus long may Sansar Chund and Futteh Singh also would be spared.

'But diminished as are Sansar Chund's revenues, his resources are yet considerable. His country is strong and his peasantry attached. His jewels are valuable and would raise him a large sum but his pride prevents him making the sacrifices necessary to put his country into a respectable state of defence. He maintains a zenana of three hundred of the most beautiful women of his country and supports or furnishes an asylum to Gholam Muhmood and to two or three Rajas dispossessed of their territory by the Singh Chief. And whilst he indulges in the gratification of shew in the seclusion of many fine women, he does not afford powder and ball sufficient to perfect his troops in the most essential part of their exercise. His conduct towards those of his tenantry who are in easy circumstances is said in latter times to have become oppressive and wholly contrary to his former practice. He is also accused of want of good faith though still a better character than most of the Hill Rajas.' (Moorcroft, *Manuscript Journal*. MSS. Eur. D.240, ff. 47v-50v. India Office Library, London).

1823 Narbedeshwar temple, Sujampur, erected by Sansar Chand's Suketan rani.

Death: December 1823.

Marriages: (1) Suket (daughter of Kishan Singh, brother of Ranjit Sen (vii), of Suket); (2) Sirmur (a double wedding, Dharm Parkash of Sirmur marrying a sister of Sansar Chand); (3) Bara Bangahal; (4) by *gandharva* form a Gaddan beauty Nokhu. Originally married to Dhanna, a Gaddi (shepherd) of Kandi, near Palampur. Abducted or 'captured' by Sansar Chand who saw her in the fields and fell in love. The Gaddi marriage was later dissolved, the husband and her brother, Tota, being compensated (a permissible arrangement under Gaddi customary law). Nokhu was then married by Sansar Chand and renamed Gulab Dasi (Randhawa (1961), 22-23).

Extra-marital attachments: (1) Ramzano, a dancing-girl (Randhawa (1961), fig. 30); (2) Jamalo, a dancing-girl at Nadaun (Randhawa (1961), 23).

Sons: Anirudh Chand (by the Suket rani); Jodhbir Chand (by the Gaddan rani, Nokhu).

Daughters: Two by the Suket rani (sisters of Anirudh Chand, q.v.); three by the Gaddan rani, Nokhu.

Other marriages: Isvari Sen (xiii) of Mandi to a daughter of Fateh Chand; Charat Singh (x) of Chamba to a Kangra princess, c.1816.

Character, appearance and interests: Moorcroft (*Letter to Kyd, 14 July 1820*): 'Raja Sansar Chund is near sixty, has been one of the noblest featured Asiatics, is remarkably well formed, muscular and athletic, but now a little corpulent. He possesses an acuteness of discernment and straightforwardness of view and judgment much superior to Runjeet Singh and that are extraordinary considering the defectiveness of his education. But he was compelled to contend at once with a host of enemies superior to himself in force, whereas Runjeet Singh has always chosen to grapple singly and successively with enemies that were inferior to him.'

'Had Sansar Chund been educated in a manner suitable to his original rank and consequence, he would have been a character probably superior to any Asiatic that has

appeared since the days of Shah Jahan, but brought up in a country in which deception is more common than frankness it is not surprising that his words are said to be sometimes at variance with his acts, although in justice I must observe that his conduct towards me has been uniformly frank, kind and consistent.

'In regard to the present scheme I believe him truly sincere, anxious and determined and in my opinion you might rely on being treated with a respect equal to that paid to his son. He is sincere in his regard and friendship for the British Government and whenever he has not acted up to expectations, his slackness has been owing to an influence which, insulated as he is, he could not resist.

'Sansar Chund has a taste for the arts, [which] would have been magnificent had he possessed the means and is now more generous than suits his finances although his liberality is occasionally shaded by efforts of parsimony.

'He passes more of his time at chess and music than consists either with his age or circumstances and were it not that these have been his addictions from early life I could find an apology for this conduct in his conviction that by his own means alone he cannot relieve himself from a feeling of thralldom that sits heavily on him and that he attempts to drown reflections and ill time by amusements.

'After all these pursuits are less injurious to health, morals and business than the intemperance to which Europeans too often resort under the pressure of misfortune when they stiffen not their minds to resistance. One of the most extraordinary branches of the domestic economy of Raja Sansar Chund are the appointments of the kitchen. In the male department Moosulman Cooks instruct and superintend Brahmins in dressing Moohammedun dishes but in that of the Zenana are prepared the most delicate viands, the recipes of which have been handed down from Mother to Daughter for a long series of ages undefiled by the touch of the lower castes. . . .' (Moorcroft, *Manuscript letter to R(?) Kyd*, MSS. Eur. D.257, ff. 115, 116. India Office Library, London).

Moorcroft (*Journal 15 July 1820*): 'The present residence of the Raja is at Soojanpoor Teera or rather Alumpoor on the right bank in gardens containing a large building for his Zenana and smaller ones intended for the performance of his devotions and for his small court. In the same garden is the residence of his son Rau Unrood Chund. The Raja passes the early part of the morning at his devotion and, from ten to twelve in conversation which for many days previous to my departure he came to spend this time at a small Bungla the Rau gave up for my accommodation on the outside of the garden. At twelve he retires for two or three hours, then converses, plays at chess and in the evening hears music and frequently has Naches in which the performers generally sing Brij Bhakha songs generally reciting the adventures of Krishna and those of the Gopees. He is fond of drawing, keeps several artists who execute the minute parts with great fidelity but are almost wholly ignorant of perspective. His collection of drawings is very great' (Moorcroft, *Manuscript Journal*, dated 15 July 1820. MSS. Eur. D.241, f. 67. India Office Library, London).

Note: For an expanded description by Moorcroft of Sansar Chand's interest in art and of his 'immense collection of drawings', see Review of Literature.

Artists: Purkhu (Baden-Powell, 1872; Randhawa, 1956a), Khushala (French, 1931; Randhawa, 1955, 1956a), Fattu (French, 1931, 1947; Randhawa, 1955); Gaudhu (Goswamy, 1966e); Bassia (Randhawa, 1955).

Portraits:

I 1765-1775 Childhood. Aged 1-10 years.

(1) Randhawa (1961), fig. 2. The child Sansar Chand seated with a courtier, eating a pomegranate. Inscribed in *takri* characters: *sri miye sansar chand ji*. Lambagraon collection. Kangra, c.1770. Aged 5 years.

(2) Fig. 2 (Kangra). The child Sansar Chand seated with his brothers before his grandfather Ghamand Chand. Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 6-1956. Kangra, c.1770. Aged 5 years.

- (3) Randhawa (1961), fig. 1; also reproduced Randhawa (1966), fig. 9. The young Sansar Chand seated on a terrace, an attendant with peacock-feather fan standing behind him. Inscribed in *takri* characters: *sri miye sri sansar chand ji*. Lambagraon collection. Kangra, c.1774. Aged 9 years.
- (4) Fig. 51 (Guler). Sansar Chand with other Hill Rajas received by Jai Singh Kanheya. Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 128-1955. Guler, c.1774. Aged about 9 years.

II 1775-1786. The Rise to Power. Aged 10-21 years.

- (1) Fig. 9 (Kangra). Sansar Chand and courtiers celebrating the spring festival of the 'Rain of Roses'. Chandigarh Museum. Kangra, dated 1778. Aged 13 years.
- (2) Randhawa, (1961), fig. 3. Sansar Chand wearing a quilted *choga* receiving tribute. Lambagraon collection. Kangra, c.1779. Aged about 14 years.
- (3) Fig. 52 (Guler). Sansar Chand smoking with Raja Prakash Chand (1773-1790) of Guler. Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 150-1953. Guler, c.1780. Aged about 15 years.
- (4) Randhawa (1961), fig. 5; also reproduced French (1947), pl. 1. Sansar Chand riding on a horse in his wedding procession. Lambagraon collection. Kangra, c.1781. Aged about 16 years.
- (5) Khandalavala (1958), fig. 77. Sansar Chand riding in procession at the Basant festival. Khandalavala collection, Bombay. Kangra, c.1783. Aged 18 years.
- (6) Lee (1960), pl. 71. Sansar Chand with courtiers. Bickford collection, Cleveland. Kangra, c.1783. Aged about 18 years.
- (7) Fig. 10 (Kangra). Sansar Chand and courtiers looking at pictures. Lambagraon collection. Kangra, c.1783. Aged about 18 years.
- (8) Randhawa (1961), fig. 8. Sansar Chand on horseback watching an exercise by his cavalry; Fateh Chand immediately below him. Lambagraon collection. Kangra, c.1783. Aged about 18 years.
- (9) Randhawa (1961), fig. 4. Sansar Chand with kinsmen and courtiers. Lambagraon collection. Kangra, c.1783. Aged about 18 years.
- (10) Randhawa (1961), fig. 12. Sansar Chand celebrating the Holi festival with his courtiers. Lambagraon collection. Kangra, c.1784. Aged about 19 years.
- (11) Archer (1952a), fig. 50. Sansar Chand and courtiers. Lambagraon collection (photograph J. C. French, Lambagraon, 1930). Kangra, c.1784. Aged about 19 years.
- (12) Fig. 12 (Kangra). Sansar Chand with singing-girls. Indian Museum, Calcutta. Kangra, c.1785. Aged about 20 years.
- (13) Fig. 11 (Kangra). Sansar Chand smoking. Galbraith collection, Cambridge, Mass., formerly Lambagraon collection. Kangra, c.1785. Aged about 20 years.

III 1786-1806. The Time of Grandeur. Aged 21-44 years.

- (1) Fig. 13 (Kangra). Sansar Chand seated with Fateh Chand at Nadaun. Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 137-1949. Kangra, c.1786. Aged about 21 years.
- (2) Fig. 15 (Kangra). Sansar Chand seated with courtiers and singing girls. Lambagraon collection. Kangra, c.1788.
- Slight beard. Aged about 23 years. The baby, in the foreground, is perhaps his son, Anirudh (born 1786).
- (3) Fig. 14 (Kangra). Sansar Chand smoking with courtiers and singing-girls; Fateh Chand opposite. Lambagraon collection, Kangra, c.1788.

Slight beard as in (2). Aged about 23 years.

- (4) Fig. 16 (Kangra). Sansar Chand and courtiers looking at pictures; opposite him, on the left, Fateh Chand. Lambagraon collection. Kangra, c.1788. Aged about 23 years.
- (5) Randhawa (1961), fig. 16. Sansar Chand smoking with his Wazir; in the foreground, the baby Anirudh. Lambagraon collection. Kangra, c.1789.

Sansar Chand aged about 24 years.

- (6) Fig. 17 (Kangra). Sansar Chand celebrating the Janmashtami festival with courtiers. National Museum, New Delhi. Kangra, c.1790. Aged about 25 years.
- (7) Khandalavala (1958), fig. 81. Sansar Chand celebrating the Janmashtami festival with courtiers. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. Kangra, c.1794. Aged about 29 years.

- (8) Fig. 18 (Kangra). Sansar Chand walking with Anirudh. Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 172-1950. Kangra, dated 1796.

Sansar Chand aged 31 years. Anirudh aged 10 years.

- (9) Fig. 8, xiii (Kangra). Sansar Chand smoking with Raja Ram Saran Singh (1788-1848) of Hindur. Lambagraon collection. Kangra, c.1796.

Sansar Chand aged about 31 years.

- (10) Randhawa (1961), fig. 23. Sansar Chand smoking by the Beas, Anirudh standing before him. Lambagraon collection. Kangra, c.1796.

In the distance, the jagged hills of Mahal Mori. Sansar Chand aged 31 years. Anirudh aged 10 years.

- (11) Fig. 20 (Kangra). Sansar Chand relaxing at Nadaun. Chandigarh Museum, Bhawarna collection. Kangra, c.1797.

Sansar Chand aged about 32 years.

- (12) Fig. 21 (Kangra). Sansar Chand celebrating the Holi festival with Anirudh, his courtiers and the Irish adventurer, O'Brien. Chandigarh Museum, Bhawarna collection. Kangra, c.1798.

Sansar Chand aged about 33 years. Anirudh about 12 years.

- (13) Randhawa (1961), fig. 18. Man Chand with tasselled turban, seated at his wedding; before him Anirudh and Fateh Chand; behind him Sansar Chand. Bhawarna collection. Kangra, c.1798.

Sansar Chand aged about 33 years. Anirudh aged about 12 years.

- (14) Fig. 22 (Kangra). Sansar Chand and Anirudh celebrating the Janmashtami festival with courtiers. Bhawarna collection. Kangra, c.1800.

Sansar Chand aged about 35 years. Anirudh aged about 14 years.

- (15) Fig. 23 (Kangra). Sansar Chand smoking with Anirudh and Hill Rajas. Welch collection, Cambridge, Mass. Kangra, c.1800.

Sansar Chand aged about 35 years. Anirudh aged about 14 years.

- (16) Randhawa (1961), fig. 22. Anirudh in a wedding litter, accompanied by Sansar Chand and other Hill Rajas. Inscribed in Persian characters. Bhawarna collection. Kangra, c.1804.

Sansar Chand aged about 39 years. Anirudh aged about 18 years.

- (17) Randhawa (1961), fig. 30 (enlarged detail of fig. 29). Sansar Chand and courtiers watching Baghi and other dancing-girls; below him to the left, Sansar Chand's favourite dancing-girl, Ramzano; behind Ramzano, the artist Purkhu. Most figures inscribed with their names in *nagari* characters. Lambagraon collection. Kangra, c.1805.

Sansar Chand aged about 40 years.

- (18) Coomaraswamy (1926), pl. 123. Sansar Chand smoking. Inscribed in *nagari* characters. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Kangra, c.1805. Aged about 40 years.

IV 1806-1809 The Gurkha Interregnum. Aged 41-44 years.

No portraits so far known.

V 1809-1823 The Years of Eclipse. Aged 44-58 years.

- (1) Fig. 24 (Kangra). Sansar Chand smoking. Chandigarh Museum. Kangra, c.1810-1815. Aged about 45-50 years.
- (2) Archer (1952a), fig. 47. Sansar Chand smoking at a window. National Museum, New Delhi. Kangra, c.1810-1815. Aged about 45-50 years.
- (3) Fig. 25 (Kangra). Sansar Chand attending the sacred thread ceremony of his grandson, Ranbir Chand. Chandigarh Museum, Bhawarna collection. Kangra, dated 1820. Aged about 55 years.

Portraits of middle brother, Fateh Chand:

Described in June 1820 by Moorcroft as 'a stout man about fifty-four', in comparison with Sansar Chand whose age he put at 'near sixty'. During his visit, Fateh Chand was taken ill and but for Moorcroft's treatment, might have died. Moorcroft describes the family's gratitude as follows: 'The Raja and his son have both been very thankful: the

latter desired me to accept a grant of land and leave someone to receive the profits on my account. The latter forced upon me a dress much more valuable than that given me by Runjeet except that it was not accompanied by necklace or bead ornament. And the grandson gave a hill pony. The whole country seems rejoiced at the restoration of Futteh Chund who appears to be a favourite on account of his gallantry in war and his frank and open manners. He pressed me so strongly to exchange my hat for his turban and to become his brother by adoption that I acceded' (Moorcroft, *Manuscript Journal*, dated 5 July, 1820, MSS. Eur. D.239 ff. 64v-65. India Office Library, London).

Besides enjoying general esteem, Fateh Chand appears to have been *persona grata* with Ranjit Singh and the Sikhs and for this reason was Sansar Chand's personal envoy during the delicate negotiations which resulted in Ranjit Singh's intervention in the Gurkha-Kangra war, repulse of the Gurkhas and the lifting of the Kangra siege, 1809. For his part in 'the wedding crisis' under Anirudh Chand, 1828, see Archer (1966), and Anirudh Chand (xv).

Although he himself died in 1828, immediately after settling 'the wedding crisis', the *jagir* of Lambagraon, which had been awarded to him by Ranjit Singh for his services in this connection, was regranted to his son, Ludar Chand and has remained with his descendants ever since. The fact that a large collection of pictures has been inherited by his descendants, including many group portraits showing him with his brother, Sansar Chand, suggests that he himself may have patronised artists or shared in their activities. It is perhaps significant that he is present in each of the two portraits showing Sansar Chand looking at pictures.

Although younger than Sansar Chand, Fateh Chand appears, at times, to be older due to the late growth of Sansar Chand's beard. Sansar Chand does not seem to have grown a beard before about 1788 when he was aged twenty-three years, by which time Fateh Chand's beard was well developed.

Details of Fateh Chand's marriages unrecorded.

Select Portraits: (1) **Fig. 10 (Kangra).** Fateh Chand seated with Sansar Chand looking at pictures. Lambagraon collection. Kangra, c.1783. The central figure in dark red is Sansar Chand. Fateh Chand is immediately below him to the right.

(2) Archer (1952a), fig. 50. Fateh Chand and courtiers seated facing Sansar Chand. Lambagraon collection (photograph J. C. French, Lambagraon, 1930). Kangra, c.1784. Fateh Chand sits facing left, immediately behind an older heavily bearded figure (Wazir Labha) and beside a young boy (perhaps his own son, Ludar Chand); they face Sansar Chand who faces right. Fateh Chand with slight beard and features as in (1) above.

(3) **Fig. 13 (Kangra).** Fateh Chand seated with Sansar Chand at Nadaun. Victoria and Albert Museum, 137-1949. Kangra, c.1786. Fateh Chand is the figure on the right.

(4) Randhawa (1961), fig. 17. Fateh Chand riding with Sansar Chand and retainers. Lambagraon collection, Kangra, c.1785. Fateh Chand is the mounted figure preceding Sansar Chand slightly higher in the picture; a large ceremonial fan immediately beside him. Faint beard as in (1)-(3) above.

(5) **Fig. 15 (Kangra).** Fateh Chand with courtiers and singing-girls sitting with Sansar Chand. Lambagraon collection. Kangra, c.1790. Sansar Chand with slight beard. Fateh Chand with similar beard and features as in (1)-(4) above. Both wear orange-yellow *jamas* .

(6) **Fig. 16 (Kangra).** Fateh Chand seated with Sansar Chand and courtiers looking at pictures. Lambagraon collection. Kangra, c.1788. Fateh Chand is seated opposite Sansar Chand, directly facing him.

(7) **Fig. 21 (Kangra).** Fateh Chand with courtiers and the Irish adventurer, O'Brien, celebrating the Holi festival with Sansar Chand. Lambagraon collection. Kangra, c.1798. Fateh Chand is the top figure opposite Sansar Chand.

Select Portraits of youngest brother, Man Chand: Date of birth unrecorded but in view of inscribed portrait (2) hardly earlier than c.1770.

(1) Archer (1952a), fig. 50. Man Chand, Fateh Chand and courtiers seated with Sansar Chand. Lambagraon collection (photographed J. C. French, Lambagraon, 1930). Kangra, c.1784. Man Chand is the figure seated immediately below Sansar Chand on the left.

(2) **Fig. 23 (Kangra).** Man Chand and an assembly of Hill Rajas sitting smoking with Sansar Chand. Welch collection, Cambridge, Mass. Kangra, c.1800. Man Chand is the third figure from the left in the foreground. Features as in (1) above but now with beard and side whiskers.

(3) Randhawa (1961), fig. 20. Man Chand, Fateh Chand, Anirudh Chand and courtiers seated with Sansar Chand at the Janmashtami festival. Bhawarna collection. Kangra, c.1804. Man Chand is immediately behind Sansar Chand and Anirudh Chand and below Fateh Chand.

Portraits of the Irish adventurer, William O'Brien.

O'Brien is of special significance for painting in Kangra on account of his presence in a group portrait of Sansar Chand and Anirudh Chand celebrating the Holi festival (see no. 21), the inclusion in a series of *Nala Damayanti* drawings of a figure in 'Georgian costume' (Coomaraswamy, 1926), clearly modelled on his person and uniform (Eastman, 1959), his intimate association with Sansar Chand as reorganiser of the Kangra forces, probably after 1809, his long residence in Sujapur and finally his death and burial there in 1827 (Grey, 1929). In June 1820, when the British traveller, Moorcroft, met him at Sujapur, he was 'about thirty-eight years' of age and had a son aged seven years. During his journey to Kangra, Moorcroft was met on 27 March by two sepahis sent by 'J. O'Brien, calling himself capt. commanding Sujapur', both of whom 'were dressed in the British Infantry and Cavalry uniforms' (Moorcroft, *Manuscript Journal*, MSS. Eur. D.237, f. 78). This circumstance and the presence in two group portraits from Kangra of Indian troops dressed in 'British uniforms' sufficiently supports the inference that O'Brien was responsible for them (Randhawa, 1954, 1961). On the designing of these uniforms and also on the actual date of O'Brien's arrival at Sansar Chand's court, Moorcroft is silent. Judging, however, by the ages of Sansar Chand and Anirudh in no. 21 and O'Brien's own fairly young appearance, it seems probable that he arrived there in c.1798 rather than in c.1810 as argued by Eastman (1959) and Archer (1960b). On the circumstances which led O'Brien to desert from the 8th or Royal Irish Dragoons, as also the impressions made on Moorcroft by him during the latter's stay at Sujapur, see the following account:

Moorcroft (*Journal*, 16 June 1820): 'On the road I was met by O'Brien from whom I had received several letters offering whatever assistance was in his power. He is a stout athletic tall man about 38. I have heard that on guard he was observed not to have his horse sac on and on being questioned by the Officer who was going his rounds why he did not wear it, answered roughly that he had not been accustomed to carry a head basket. The Officer struck him or pushed him with his cane, when O'Brien clubbed his carbine, struck him on the face and knocked him off his horse. O'Brien put spurs to his own horse, escaped his pursuers and after wandering as far as Attock returned and entered into the service of Raja Sansar Chund, the Raja of Kotoch for whom he has drilled a battalion of infantry of 1400 men. He formerly belonged to the 8th or Royal Irish Dragoons and spoke of his Regt., officers and Country with much affection.

'Observing a little boy, his son of 7 years old by a native woman, I asked if he had given him any education. He answered in the negative but that there was nothing he more desired and that he would spare no expense within his power to effect it but that he could not send him from Shoojanpur without the Raja's consent which he had not yet been able to obtain. He showed me several guns and pistols made up at this place by his direction and which are creditably executed. He had two guns with four short barrels which worked with four locks round one long barrel. The construction was simple and he said it was safe. This piece might be useful to surprise an enemy that had been

accustomed to see firearms that required to be recharged after having once been fired' (Moorcroft, *Manuscript Journal. MSS. Eur. D.239*, ff. 46v-47. India Office Library, London).

On the role in Kangra affairs of O'Brien and that of his assistant, a second British adventurer, James, Moorcroft (*Journal*, 15 July 1820) has the following further observations: 'The Europeans he has with him might do much but he starves them both in pay. Both have a propensity for drinking, O'Brien by fits of a month together in which he is in constant intoxication. James drinks every day but not to intoxication and the Raja drives them to indulge in this vile habit by not keeping his word in improving his troops and their comforts. James has had but an imperfect school education but has made great progress in practical gunnery and possesses a degree of knowledge in this respect very superior to what might be expected from his limited school learning. He says that he has not served his Majesty or the Company in this country but acknowledges that has been in the service of the former in Europe. He is in some respects an extraordinary character. He is obviously disposed to improve himself in the mechanical parts of the art of war and has mastered plain trigonometry. He regrets the loss of his books of which he was plundered but will not incur an obligation to procure others from Calcutta. He has refused to take service with Runjeet Singh and was put in irons and confined for two months by the Munshi in Chief for refusing to serve him' (Moorcroft, *Manuscript Journal. MSS. Eur. D.239*, ff. 52-52v. India Office Library, London).

For further references to O'Brien, known in Kangra as 'Gul Brien' (Randhawa, 1954) and also as 'Gibbern Sahib' (Khandalavala, 1958), see Grey (1929); French (1931); Eastman (1959); Archer (1960b), and Randhawa (1961).

Portraits: (1) **Fig. 21 (Kangra).** O'Brien with Fateh Chand and courtiers celebrating the Holi festival with Sansar Chand. Chandigarh Museum, Bhawarna collection. Kangra, c.1798. O'Brien is the figure in a European hat, known by family tradition as 'Gibbern Sahib'.

(2) **Fig. 51 (Kangra).** Nala in council, a European officer in western-style uniform in attendance. Illustration to a *Nala Damayanti* series. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Kangra, c.1800-1805. Referred to by Coomaraswamy (1926), as 'a figure in a Georgian costume' and identified by Eastman (1959) as O'Brien, wearing the 'Company'-style uniform devised by him for the use of Sansar Chand's troops.

(3) **Fig. 25 (Kangra).** Kangra troops in 'Company'-style uniforms parading at the sacred thread ceremony of Ranbir Chand. Chandigarh Museum, Bhawarna collection. Kangra, dated 1820.

1823-(1828)1832 ANIRUDH CHAND (xv)

Born 1786 (Moorcroft). Son of Sansar Chand by his Suket rani.

Marriage: (1) Jasrota, 1804 (Randhawa, 1961); (2) Suket (Moorcroft, 1820).

Sons : Ranbir Chand (born 1808), Pramod Chand (born 1815).

Internal affairs: Succeeds December 1823. Sikh sardars attend his installation as Raja, presenting him with a horse and bow (symbols of royalty), shawls, turban and pearl necklace. Ranjit Singh, however, summons him to the Sikh summer capital of Adinanagar (south-west of Guler and Nurpur) and exacts from him 120,000 rupees as a *nazarana* or investiture fee, May 1824. Is required to pay annual visits to Lahore 1825, 1826, 1827. Inherits his father's condition of total eclipse. Maintains a modest court and establishments at Nadaun and Alampur.

The wedding crisis: Attends with his two sisters the wedding of the son of Fateh Singh Ahluwalia at Lahore, 1827, their presence exciting the interest of Raja Dhian Singh (member of the junior branch of the Jammu royal house and Chief Minister of Ranjit Singh) whose son, Hira Singh (boy-favourite of Ranjit Singh and then aged about eleven) is ripe for marriage. In order further to ennoble his family, enhance its prestige and demonstrate total Sikh supremacy, Dhian Singh induces Ranjit Singh to demand one of Ani-

rudh's sisters as bride for Hira Singh. This demand goes counter to Rajput custom since only sons of ruling or senior branches of royal families can marry daughters of ruling branches. Hira Singh, being the son of a member of a junior branch, was therefore disqualified and for Anirudh Chand to acquiesce in the demand would be to violate Rajput pride and breeding and incur disgrace. Faced with this crisis, Anirudh Chand agrees but secretly resolves to evade the marriage. Excuses its immediate performance on the ground that his mother ('Rani Suketan') had died (1827) but acquiesces in a date for the following year (1828). Meanwhile, arranges for the flight of himself and his family. Dispatches the two sisters, his two sons and 'all his valuables' (Vigne (1842), 108) to Hardwar, a pilgrimage centre on the Ganges in British territory below Garhwal. Finally, when required by Ranjit Singh to delay the marriage no longer, flees from Kangra and joins his sisters and sons at Hardwar, 1828. In the confusion of the flight, is separated from his Jasrota rani and their daughter, leading eventually to the further ignominy of the latter's marriage in Kangra town to Lawrence, a British adventurer in Sikh service (Randhawa (1961), 28). For a detailed discussion of 'the wedding crisis', see Archer (1966), 22-23.

Consequences: Anirudh's flouting of Sikh authority causes Ranjit Singh to descend in person on Nadaun, annex Kangra state and forfeit to the Sikhs Anirudh's private estates, 1828. Installs a Sikh administrator, Lehna Singh Sandhanwalia, 1829, succeeded as administrator, 1830 and 1831, by Ranjit Singh's accepted son, Sher Singh and from 1832 onwards by Lehna Singh Majithia, son of the Sikh Governor of the Kangra Hills (Desa Singh Majithia). Is mollified by the grant of the daughter of Ludar Chand as bride for Hira Singh (Ludar Chand being the eldest son of Fateh Chand, middle brother of Sansar Chand) and by the offer in marriage to himself of the two daughters of Sansar Chand by his Gaddan rani, Nokhu.

These two marriages (both of them celebrated, 1829) are negotiated by Fateh Chand who is rewarded by the grant to himself of the Lambagraon (Rajgir) estate. On Fateh Chand's (almost immediate) death, 1828, this estate is granted to his son, Ludar Chand.

Main upshot: Liquidation of Kangra as an independent state; supersession of the senior ruling branch (Anirudh); continuation in Kangra of the two junior branches (Fateh Chand's son, Ludar Chand and the Gaddan rani, Nokhu's son, Jodhbir Chand); inauguration of a phase of Sikh administration, 1829-1846.

Anirudh Chand in exile: Granted asylum in Arki (Baghal). Negotiates and effects the marriage of both sisters to Raja Sudarshan Shah (1816-1859) of Tehri Garhwal, 1829, thus rendering impossible any compliance with Sikh demands.

Death: 1829 (Barnes): 'Shortly after reaching Hardwar, his chosen retreat, Raja Unrud Chand married his two sisters to Sudarsein Sah, the Raja of Garhwal and, at the close of the year, died of paralysis. His son, Raja Runbir Chand, came with the rest of the family to Urki, so long a refuge of Bir Singh, the Chief of Nurpur' (Barnes (1852), 13).

1832 (HV): 'Soon after arriving in British territory, Anirudh Chand married his two sisters to the Raja of Tehri Garhwal and died four years later, leaving two sons' (HV, I, 195).

Character and appearance: Moorcroft (*Journal*, 16 June 1820): 'In the evening at the desire of the Raja I paid him a visit and found him with his son and grandson in an open building in a garden (at Alampur). Raja Sunsar Chund is a tall well-formed man of near Sixty years of age. His complexion is dark but his features are fine and his countenance has a good and commanding expression though the lower part is injured by the loss of the front teeth. His son called Rau Sahib has a very handsome face with a fair ruddy complexion but his teeth are thinly set and discoloured with eating betel. He is remarkably corpulent, takes little exercise and devotes himself almost entirely to religious worship. He has two sons, one of twelve, the other of five years of age less fair than himself.' (Moorcroft, *Manuscript Journal. D.240*, ff. 47v-50v).

Moorcroft (*Letter to Kyd*, 14 July 1820): 'Raee Unrud

Chund, the Son and Heir of the Raja 34 years of age is perhaps less acute than his Father and is remarkable for his strict adherence to truth and the uprightness of his conduct. His respect for the British Govt. and character borders on enthusiasm and he most ardently desires your arrival in the hope of profiting by your conversation, knowledge and friendship. You would find him speedily almost as much attached as a Brother to your interests and I verily believe him to be a sincere and honest Man' (Moorcroft, *Manuscript letter to R (?) Kyd. MSS. Eur. D.257, f. 123*. India Office Library, London).

On Anirudh's weakness as an administrator, and undue respect for Brahmins, and for orthodoxy, see Moorcroft's further remarks (*Journal, 15 July 1820*): 'Koth Kangra had been provisioned for twelve years and the Raja felt confident in its resistance against his enemies but neglected attentively to look into the expenditure of grain. His son charged with its defence whilst the Raja remained at Teera committed some errors which counteracted the plans of his father though intended to support them. Impelled by his respect for the Brahmins he fed daily a large body of them and in order to conciliate the affections of his garrison he most imprudently allowed their wives to visit them every night. These were fed furtively from the stores and the grain was so loosely managed that corn was sold from them by many persons to the townspeople and the consumption was not examined till the stores were nearly exhausted when the Raja learning the state of the case threw himself into the Fort and sent his son to Shoojanpoor. By collecting grain from every part of his country and stationing troops for the protection of the convoys he procured corn enough to support the garrison but the Goorkhas having corrupted the Hureepoor Gooler Raja who was on terms of friendship with Sansar Chund, the former cut off the convoys and the Raja and his garrison were left without food. In this dilemma they subsisted for four months on the leaves of vegetables such as plantains, mulberries, etc., when the Raja gave up his Fort to Runjeet Singh' (Moorcroft, *Manuscript Journal. MSS. Eur. D.240, ff. 47v-50v*. India Office Library, London).

Moorcroft (*Journal, 28 July, 1820*): '[Since 22 July 1820], I have lived almost entirely on the remains of a dinner furnished by the Rau Unrood Chund and on sweetmeats prepared by the females of the zenana of the Raja, the Rau confining himself as it is said to his own wives of whom he has two but only cohabits with one, the daughter of the Sooket Raja' (*Manuscript Journal, 22 June to 28 July 1820. MSS. Eur. D.241, f. 82*, India Office Library, London).

Artists: None are specifically recorded but it is possible that some of Sansar Chand's painters may have followed him into exile. On the evidence of Baden-Powell (1872), Ramadaya, son of Purkhu, appears to have continued to work for the family.

Art collection: Of the fate of Sansar Chand's 'large collection of pictures' (Moorcroft, 1820), nothing definite is known. If pictures are taken to be included in Vigne's term 'all his valuables', part, at least, of the collection may be assumed to have gone with him into exile. It is significant, in this connection, that the Tehri Garhwal Raj collection includes two large series in Kangra style — a *Gita Govinda* series (no. 33) and a *Bihari Sat Sai* series (no. 39) — both of them connected with Kangra by family tradition (Randhawa, 1960). Since both series have a strong Radha-Krishna bias, they could well have reached Tehri Garhwal on the occasion of the wedding of Anirudh's sisters to Sudarshan Shah — a suggestion first made by Krishnadasa and Khandalavala and later supported by Randhawa and Archer. Whether other pictures accompanied Anirudh or whether only these two sets were especially taken by him on account of the impending weddings, however, remains uncertain. The collection owned by Anirudh's descendants (the Bhawarna branch) included many group portraits of Sansar Chand as well as two large sets of non-Kangra origin (see Ram Singh, xxi). In view of Sansar Chand's love-match with Nokhu, it is possible that part — perhaps even the major part — of Sansar Chand's collection remained at Nadaun with Nokhu and her son, Jodhbir Chand (xxii). In

the alternative, it may have been appropriated by Fateh Chand's son and successor, Ludar Chand (the Lambagraon branch, q.v.).

Select Portraits: (1) **Fig. 15 (Kangra).** Sansar Chand with courtiers; the baby Anirudh in the foreground, Lambagraon collection. Kangra, c.1788. The first of a series in which a child or baby is introduced as part of Sansar Chand's intimate entourage. Taking the baby to be Anirudh, aged about two years and his year of birth 1786, the date of the picture would therefore be about 1788.

(2) Randhawa (1961), fig. 16. Sansar Chand seated smoking with his Wazir; the child Anirudh playing in the foreground. Lambagraon collection. Kangra, c.1789. Anirudh as a child aged about 3 years.

(3) **Fig. 18 (Kangra).** Anirudh walking with his father, Sansar Chand. Victoria and Albert Museum, Moorcroft collection I.S. 173-1950. Kangra, dated 1796. Anirudh aged 10 years.

(4) Randhawa (1961), fig. 23; also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), no. 268. Sansar Chand smoking on the banks of the Beas; Anirudh standing before him. Lambagraon collection. Kangra, c.1796. Anirudh similar in physique and features to (3) above.

(5) **Fig. 21 (Kangra).** Anirudh seated behind his father, assisting at the Holi festival; O'Brien and others present. Lambagraon collection. Kangra, c.1798. Anirudh aged about 12 years.

(6) **Fig. 23 (Kangra).** Anirudh smoking with other Hill Rajas in an assembly before his father, Sansar Chand. Welch collection, Cambridge, Mass. Kangra, c.1800. Anirudh is the second figure from the left on the right hand side. His head bears the inscription: *Maharaj kuar anirudh chand jiv*. Aged about 14 years. Same person as in (3)-(6) above.

(7) Randhawa (1961), fig. 22. Anirudh in his wedding procession; in the background, fireworks. Bhawarna collection. Kangra, 1804. Aged about 18 years.

(8) **Fig. 25 (Kangra).** Anirudh Chand with Sansar Chand and courtiers at the sacred thread ceremony of his elder son, Ranbir Chand. Chandigarh Museum, Bhawarna collection. Kangra, dated 1820. Anirudh is the corpulent figure surmounted by a large fan immediately behind his father who is honoured by an umbrella.

ALAMPUR (BHAWARNA) BRANCH

1833-1847 RANBIR CHAND (xvi)

Born 1808. Son of Anirudh Chand. Accompanied his father into exile at Hardwar, 1828. A refugee at Arki (Baghal), 1829-1833. At instance of Wade (British resident at Ludhiana), Ranjit Singh granted him a *agrir* in Kangra at Mahal Mori (Morian), adjoining Bilaspur, 1833 and allowed him and his brother to reside there.

Marriage: Unrecorded.

Sons: None legitimate but one son, Pardhan Chand, by a concubine.

Death: 1847 (i.e. one year after British annexation of Kangra, following the first Anglo-Sikh war, 1845, 1846).

Character: Vigne (1842): 'At a place called Kruhin (in Mahal Mori), situated in the midst of low and treeless hills, covered with rank herbage, I found the residence of the ex-rajah of Tira and his brother, the grandsons of the once powerful Sansar Chund. The residence consisted of two or three low thatched houses, and they were in the receipt of 30,000 rupees a year, which was collected from the surrounding country by permission of the Maharajah. The elder of the two brothers and the rightful Rajah of Tira, was very civil and gave me a breakfast on the morning of my departure. Being Hindus, they did not eat with me themselves, but a table was placed for me beside them and they talked to me during the repast, which was served up in dishes, made of dock leaves, sewn together and my drinking cup was also of the same material. The young ex-Rajah shewed me a friendly letter which his grand-father had received from Lord Lake, by the hands of an envoy whom he had despatched to wait upon his lordship, after he had followed Holkar into the Punjab, and also a *chit*, or writing,

by Mr. Moorcroft, given to, and in favour of, Rajah Sansar Chand, in which that open-hearted, intelligent, but unfortunate traveller, had spoken in the warmest terms of the kindness and attentions he had received from him' (107-109).

Portraits: (1) **Fig. 25 (Kangra).** Ranbir Chand with his brother Pramod Chand in a litter proceeding to his sacred thread ceremony accompanied by Sansar Chand, Anirudh Chand, courtiers and soldiers. Chandigarh Museum, Bhawarna collection. Kangra, dated 1820. Aged 12 and 5 respectively.

(2) Randhawa (1961), fig. 19, mis-captioned 'Sansar Chand worshipping Shiva and Parvati'. Ranbir Chand worshipping Vishnu and Lakshmi. Tehri Garhwal Raj collection. Kangra, c.1835.

Since Ranbir Chand's two sisters had been married to Raja Sudarshan Shah of Tehri Garhwal, 1829, a portrait of their elder brother, Ranbir Chand, could well have reached the Tehri Raj collection. Same person as in (4) below.

(3) Ranbir Chand seated with his brother Pramod Chand. Mis-inscribed in English: *Sons of Raja Sansar Chand with the Goitres of their mountains*; and in Persian characters: *aulad-i-rajah sansar chand* (descendants of Raja Sansar Chand). Water-colour drawing from an album entitled: *Punjabi Characters*. India Office Library, Add. Or. 1348. Punjab Plains, c.1838.

(4) **Fig. 26 (Kangra).** Ranbir Chand smoking, his brother Pramod seated behind him; to the left Ludar Chand (xxviii) and, in the foreground, the latter's son, Pratap Chand (xxix). Formerly Mehta collection, Bombay. Kangra, c.1840.

1847-1851 PRAMOD (PARMODH) CHAND (xvii)

Born 1815. Younger son of Anirudh Chand. Brother of Ranbir Chand. Accompanied them into exile, 1828-1832. Returned to Kangra, 1833. Succeeded to his brother's *jagir* in Mahal Mori (Kangra), 1847. Resentful of British annexation of Kangra district and non-recognition of his rights in the Rajgir (Sujanpur) estate. December 1848, joined the Katoch insurrection (triggered off by the second Anglo-Sikh war, 1848-1849 and involving Rajas of Jaswan and Datarpur). Advanced from Mahal Mori to Sujanpur Tira and proclaimed his independence. Routed and captured, early 1849. Detained by the British in Almora as a political prisoner, 1849-1851. Died childless, 1851.

Marriage: Hindur (Nalagarh).

Portraits: (1) **Fig. 39 (Mandi).** Pramod Chand seated holding a bow. Chandigarh Museum. Mandi, c.1830.

(2) Pramod Chand seated with his brother Ranbir Chand. Water-colour drawing from an album entitled *Punjabi Characters*, India Office Library, Add. Or. 1348. Punjab Plains, c.1838. For inscription, see xvi, Ranbir Chand (1).

(3) **Fig. 26 (Kangra).** Pramod Chand seated behind his elder brother, Ranbir Chand; Ludar Chand (xxviii) and his son, Pratap Chand (xxix) seated before them. Formerly Mehta collection, Bombay. Kangra, c.1840.

(4) Archer (1966), fig. 48. Pramod Chand seated holding a bow. Victoria and Albert Museum, Rothenstein collection, I.S. 189-1951. Inscribed in English: (13) *Raja Sansar Chand of Kangra Valley. Three. £1/2/-*; and in Persian characters: *raja sansar chand*. Sikh, Punjab Plains, c.1840. Tentatively identified (Archer (1966), 145-146) as Ranbir Chand but in view of (3) above, clearly his brother, Pramod, whose portrait it exactly resembles.

1851-c.1880 (?) PARDHAN CHAND (xviii)

Son of Ranbir Chand by a servant-girl. Granted a *jagir*, including Alampur, in Kangra district, by the British Settlement Officer, Barnes. 'It is said that when the settlement of the *jagir* was made by Mr. Barnes, Pardhan Chand asked for the paintings, the huqqa and the utensils of worship of Sansar Chand in preference to the *jagir*' (Randhawa (1961), 30).

Note: This point is of some importance since it suggests that at least part of Sansar Chand's collection of pictures remained with Anirudh Chand after his exile in 1828. That Barnes granted Pardhan Chand's request, besides giving him a *jagir*, is confirmed by the continued ownership in

1954 of pictures by his great-grandson, Ram Singh (xxi), q.v.

Son: Name unrecorded.

c.1880-c.1900 SON OF PARDHAN CHAND (xix)

Son: Bhawani Singh.

c.1900-c.1920 BHAWANI SINGH (xx)

Grandson of Pardhan Chand. Resided in Sansar Chand's palace, Alampur.

Sons: Ram Singh, Devi Singh.

Paintings: French (1931) noted during a visit in 1930: 'In the house of a descendant of Sansar Chand at Alampur, on the right bank of the Beas opposite Tira Sujanpur, there are some elaborate portraits of Sansar Chand and his court; Sansar Chand is shown as a young man. They are solemn and dignified, but heavy and baroque and there is a slight suggestion of the pompous. Pomposity is not a plant that thrives in the wild mountain air of Himalayan art.' He also published (1947, pl. 2) a group portrait of Sansar Chand celebrating the Holi festival with Fateh Chand and O'Brien. 'Plate 2 shows Sansar Chand in middle age, after he had lost Kangra Fort. I photographed it in the house of Mian Bhawani Singh, a descendant of Sansar Chand at Alampur.' See no. 21 where, however, an earlier date is suggested.

c.1920-c.1970 RAM SINGH (xxi)

Born c.1900. Son of Bhawani Singh. Due to poverty, abandoned living in the Alampur palace. Moved to Bhawarna, Kangra district. Inherited from his father a collection of pictures (Randhawa, 1954) including:

(1) 110 illustrations to a *Kumar Sambhava (Shiva Purana)* series (Randhawa, 1953). Chandigarh Museum. See **Garhwal, no. 34**.

(2) 174 illustrations to a *Durgapath* series. Chandigarh Museum. Compare **Nurpur, no. 33**.

(3) 26 portraits and illustrations of Sansar Chand, his court and neighbouring rulers (Randhawa, 1954, 1961). For examples, see present nos. 4, 20, 21, 25.

NADAUN BRANCH

1823-1873 JODHBIR CHAND (xxii)

Born c.1815. Son of Sansar Chand (1775-1823) by his Gad-dan rani, Nokhu. On the flight of his half-brother, Anirudh Chand, to Hardwar, 1828, remained in Nadaun to meet the Sikh Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Mollified Ranjit Singh by giving him in marriage his two sisters, Mehtab Devi and Raj-banso. Rewarded by Ranjit Singh with the grant of a *jagir* at Nadaun yielding an income of one lakh of rupees and with the title of Raja. At first, a regular attendant at the Lahore court and a favourite of Ranjit Singh. By degrees the friendship lessened and by 1839 (death of Ranjit Singh) the *jagir* had been reduced by Ranjit Singh to about a quarter of its previous size.

Relations with Sikhs and British: First Anglo-Sikh war, 1845-1846. As a Sikh tributary, moved against the British but was persuaded to keep neutral. On the annexation of Kangra by the British, 1846, was confirmed in his *jagir*. Recognised as head of his branch of the family.

Katoch Insurrection, December, 1848. Jodhbir Chand aided the British in quelling the rebellion.

Mutiny, 1857. Again pro-British.

Marriage: Unrecorded.

Sons: Amar Chand, Pirthi Singh, Hari Singh, Sher Singh, Suchet Singh, Chet Singh, Isri Singh.

Character: Hugel (1845): 'Nadaun is four kos, about seven miles from Ril and is a place of some importance, with two hundred or two hundred and fifty houses and a resident Raja. . . . In former times, Nadaun was the residence of a Raja called Gangra, whose yearly revenue was no less than ten lacks of rupees; but Ranjit Singh very unceremoniously robbed him of the whole of his territory on the right bank of the Beas and at his death his two sons divided the remainder, acknowledging the superemacy of Ranjit Singh, so that the present Raja Judibeer, a young man not more

than twenty years of age, is not supposed to be worth more than forty thousand rupees a year' (40; referring to the year 1835).

Vigne (1842): 'Nadaun is now an inconsiderable place on the banks of the Beyas, which flows by it, when it is not swollen by floods or rains, in a stream of 150 yards in width and twelve feet in depth, and running about three and a half miles an hour. I shall never forget the delicious coldness of its waters, in which I bathed at a very early hour in the morning, in the month of June, when I was marching for the first time towards the vale of Kashmir.

'The ex-Rajah of Nadaun, named Jadd Bir Chund, is a son of Sindar Chund of Tira. Instead of running off at the same time as his brother's family, he came to Ranjit, who gave him Nadaun and a revenue of 80,000 rupees, but took it from him after a lapse of seven years' (132-133; referring to 1839).

Barnes (1852): '*Jodhbir Chand of Nadaun*. Raja Jodhbir Chand is an illegitimate son of Sansar Chand. He resides at Umtur, on the left bank of the Beas, and close to the town of Nadaun. He is about thirty-five years of age, well-grown, soldier-like, and intelligent. His mother was a Gudun, or native of the highest range of hills and famous for her beauty. Jodhbir Chand had two sisters, also illegitimate, whom he gave in marriage to Ranjit Singh. They were the foundation of his fortunes: Ranjit Singh created him a Raja, and conferred upon him his present jagir. These two ladies immolated themselves on the occasion of Ranjit Singh's decease' (*Settlement Report*, referring to 1850).

Watson and Kaye (1869): 'Rajah Sunsor Chund had another son, Raja Jodbeer Chund, whose mother was a gudun, or native of the highest range of hills and famous for her beauty, but not entirely by her position or birth to be recognized as the wedded wife of the Rajah of Kangra, the members of whose family prided themselves specially upon the purity of their descent. Maharajah Runjeet Singh, however, looked with favour upon Jodbeer Chund, created him Rajah of Nadown and conferred upon him the present jagheer yielding an income of between three and four thousand pounds sterling per annum. Two of Raja Jodbeer Chund's sisters, who had been given in marriage to Maharajah Runjeet Singh, immolated themselves on the occasion of that monarch's decease — being burnt alive as Suttees, on the funeral pyre, with the dead body of their husband.

'The Kangra District was ceded by the Sikhs to the British under the treaty concluded at Lahore on the 9th of March 1846 and since that time, Rajah Jodbeer Chund has displayed unshaken loyalty towards the British Government' (IV, 32).

[Only one of the two sisters committed sati in 1839, the other having died earlier from tuberculosis. Discussed Archer (1966).]

1873-1890 AMAR CHAND (xxiii)

Son of Jodhbir Chand.

Marriage: A niece of the Raja of Jasrota.

Son: Narendra Chand.

1890-1934 NARENDRA CHAND (xxiv)

Son of Amar Chand.

Marriages: Jubal (Simla) and Mankot (resident in Kangra district).

Sons: Mahendra Chand, Devi Chand, Nawal Kishore Chand, Khargendra Chand.

1934-1935 MAHENDRA CHAND (xxv)

Son of Narendra Chand.

Marriages: To the two daughters of the Raja of Hindur (Nalagarh); later to the two daughters of Rana Durga Singh of Bhajji.

Sons: Aja Rajendra Chand, Jogendra Chand, Upendra Chand.

1935- RAJENDRA CHAND (xxvi)

Born 1908. Son of Mahendra Chand.

Marriage: A family of Muradabad district, Punjab.

Paintings: Visited by M. S. Randhawa and W.G.A., 1960, 1966. Possessed a small collection of Kangra-style pictures, obtained, however, not by inheritance but by purchase from dealers.

LAMBAGRAON BRANCH

1828-1850 LUDAR CHAND (xxvii)

Son of Fateh Chand (middle brother of Sansar Chand).

Inherited the *jagir* of Raggiir (Lambagraon) from his father who had died, 1828, immediately after receiving it as a reward from the Sikh Maharaja Ranjit Singh for resolving 'the wedding crisis' (see xv, Anirudh Chand). Further mollified Ranjit Singh by supplying his own daughter as bride for Hira Singh (boy-favourite of Ranjit Singh and son of the Dogra Chief Minister, Dhian Singh of Jammu), 1829.

Barnes (1852): 'When Raja Unrud Chand threw up his kingdom and fled to Hardwar rather than consent to an alliance with Dhian Singh, Mian Ludar Chand stayed and received the Sikh army and surrendered the territory into their hands. He further soothed the wounded pride of the Minister by giving his daughter to Hira Singh, the son of Dhian Singh. In consideration of these services he received a *jagir*, originally much larger, but on the return of the elder branch of the house reduced to its present limits of Rs. 35,000' (*Settlement Report*, para, 234, p.33).

For a while a close friend and associate of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. After this friendship had cooled, lived quietly on his Kangra estate. Sided with the British in the Katoch insurrection, 1848-1849.

Sons: Partab (Pratap) Chand, Kirat Chand, Udai Chand.

Daughter: Married to Hira Singh (see above).

Portraits: (1) Fig. 26 (Kangra). Ludar Chand seated facing his cousins, Ranbir Chand (xvi) and Pramod Chand (xvii). Formerly Mehta collection, Bombay. Kangra, c.1840. The presence in the foreground beside him of his son, Pratap Chand, shown as a youth of about 13 years, would support this identification.

(2) Archer (1966), fig. 46. Ludar Chand smoking attended by courtiers in Sikh dress. Inscribed in *nagari* characters: *durathaian phate chand katocha* (The audience of Fateh Chand Katoch). Victoria and Albert Museum, Rothenstein collection, I.S. 193-1951. Sikh, Punjab Plains, c.1840.

Tentatively identified (Archer (1966), 144) as Ludar Chand, the subject being clearly not Fateh Chand (see portraits of Fateh Chand (1)-(8)), but, in view of the inscription, possibly connected in some way with him. Since he is similar in general features to the figure in (1), facing Ranbir Chand (who would be his cousin, if he was Ludar Chand) and since he is also seated beside Pratap Chand (who in that case would be his son), it is reasonable to identify him as Ludar Chand, Fateh Chand's son. The presence with him of courtiers in Sikh dress accords with his known Sikh sympathies (Archer (1966), 26-27).

(3) Archer (1966), fig. 47. Ludar Chand smoking, a standing attendant waving an honorific cloth above him. Victoria and Albert Museum, Rothenstein collection, I.S. 190-1951. Sikh, Punjab Plains, c.1840. Same person as in (2) above though with beard considerably fuller.

1850-1864 PRATAP (PARTAB) CHAND (xxviii)

Born c.1827. Son of Ludar Chand. On death of Pramod (Parmodh) Chand, son of Anirudh Chand, 1851, constituted a Raja and acknowledged as the head of the Katoch Rajputs. Family seat, Lambagraon.

Marriage: Sirmur (daughter of Fateh Parkash, xv).

Son: Jai Chand.

Character: Barnes (1852): 'Raja Partab Chand resides at Lambagraon, a picturesque locality on the right bank of the Beas. He is a youth of about twenty-four years of age' (*Settlement Report*, 33; referring to 1851).

Griffin (1940): 'Extravagant in his tastes and careless in money matters' (80).

Portraits: (1) Pratap Chand driving a pony-cart. Inscribed in *nagari* characters: *raja pratap chand katoch (lambagraon ke)*. Lambagraon collection, Kangra. Kangra, c.1839. Aged about 12 years.

(2) **Fig. 26 (Kangra).** Pratap Chand seated with his father, Ludar Chand, facing Ranbir Chand (xvi) and Pramod Chand (xvii). Formerly Mehta collection, Bombay. Kangra, c.1840. Aged about 13 years. Same person as in (3) and (4) below.

(3) **Fig. 27 (Kangra).** Pratap Chand on horseback hawking. Lambagraon collection. Kangra, c.1843. Aged about 16 years.

(4) **Fig. 28 (Kangra).** Pratap Chand smoking and writing. Lambagraon collection. Kangra, c.1845-1850. Aged between 17 and 23 years.

(5) **Fig. 29 (Kangra).** Pratap Chand swinging with his mistress. Victoria and Albert Museum, Rothenstein collection, I.S. 50-1954. Kangra, c.1845-1850. Aged between 17 and 23 years. Same person as in (2)-(4) above.

(6) **Fig. 10 (Sirmur).** Pratap Chand with lady. Sirmur, c.1850.

(7) **Fig. 12 (Sirmur).** Pratap Chand worshipping the goddess Kali. Sirmur, c.1850.

1864-1935 JAI CHAND (xxix)

Born 1862. Son of Pratap Chand. Succeeded aged two years. Estate managed by the Court of Wards. For full career, see Griffin and Massy (1940), 80-81.

Marriages: (1) daughter of raja of Bilaspur; (2, 3) Mankot; (4, 5, 6, 7) the Rana family of Manaswal; (8) Jammu; (9) Suket.

Sons: Eighteen children, but all died. 'He was then advised to build a house at the foot of the Ashapuri temple in Nag Ban, a huge forest, five miles from Lambagraon' (Randhawa, 1954b, 33). Began to reside there. Named it Maharajagar. Following the change of site, had three sons: Dhruv Dev Chand, Dewan Chand, Baldev Chand.

Painting: Visited in 1929 by French who recorded family traditions and photographed pictures from his ancestral collection (French (1931), pl. 22; French (1947), pls. 1 and 4).

Artists: The following painters worked in or near Kangra town during his life-time: Huzuri (Villiers-Stuart, 1926; French, 1931; Randhawa, 1954c), Nandu (French, 1931), Lachman Das of Rajol (French, 1931; Randhawa, 1954c), Gulabu Ram (French, 1931).

The Kangra Earthquake: The great 'Dharmasala' earthquake of 5 April, 1905 destroyed all the principal buildings at Sujjanpur, Sujjanpur Tira, Nadaun, Alampur and Kangra.

1935- DHRUB DEV CHAND (xxx)

Son of Jai Chand. Born 1922.

Inherited from his father the family's ancestral collection of pictures, since partly dispersed but originally including:

(1) A 'second' *Gita Govinda* series (French, 1931; Khandalavala, 1958; Goswamy 1968a and b; Archer and Binney, 1968). See no. 67.

(2) A *Baramasa* series (Randhawa, 1954a, 1962; Khandalavala, 1958). See no. 41.

(3) Pictures of Radha and Krishna (Randhawa, 1954a, 1962; Khandalavala, 1958). See nos. 65(1), 66(1), 68.

(4) Pictures of Rama and Sita (Randhawa, 1954a). See no. 69(1).

(5) A Sikh guru series.

(6) A group of *Nayaka Nayika* subjects (Randhawa, 1954a; Khandalavala, 1958).

(7) A series of portraits of Rajas Ghamand, Sansar and Pratap Chand of Kangra (French, 1931, 1947; Randhawa, 1954a and b, 1961, 1966; Khandalavala, 1958). See nos. 9, 10, 11, 14, 15, 16, 22, 27, 28.

(8) A series of portraits of neighbouring rajas in the Punjab Hills (Moorcroft, 1820). See nos. 3, 8 (i-xv).

In addition to the above paintings, connected with Kangra by family tradition and in Kangra style, the collection included a *Bhagavata Purana* series (vertical), a *Vishnu avatara* series and a group of illustrations of Hindu dieties, in Mankot style. These may have reached the collection when Jai Chand (xxx) married two Mankot princesses from the main branch of the Mankot family, settled at Kutlehr, Kangra district (Mankot q.v.). For examples, see Randhawa (1959) and Archer and Binney (1968).

SIKHS

1770-1774 JASSA SINGH RAMGARHIA (xxxix)

Chief of the Sikh Ramgarhia misl.

Attacked Ghamand Chand, 1770 and levied tribute or 'protection money' from him. No occupation of Kangra territory.

1774-1786 JAI SINGH KANHEYA (xxxix)

Leader of a rival Sikh misl, the Kanheyas, based on Batala, Punjab Plains.

After intervening in Jammu affairs, shifted his sphere of interest to Kangra, 1774, replacing the Ramgarhias as the Sikh misl levying 'protection money' or 'Dane geld' from Kangra.

Collaborated with Sansar Chand of Kangra in harrying border areas in the Plains and taking tribute. Joined with Sansar Chand in an assault on the Mughal-held Kangra Fort, 1781. On the death of its Mughal governor, Saif Ali Khan, 1783, the Fort surrendered and to Sansar Chand's chagrin was occupied by Kanheya forces answerable to Jai Singh Kanheya only. Kangra Fort held for Jai Singh Kanheya until 1786 when it was made over to Sansar Chand by private treaty.

1786-1809. Kangra independent of the Sikhs.

Portraits: (1) Jai Singh Kanheya receiving Raja Raj Singh of Chamba, Raja Prakash Chand of Guler and other Hill princes. Inscribed (see Guler no. 51(1)). Chandigarh Museum. Guler, 1774.

(2) **Fig. 51 (Guler).** Jai Singh Kanheya receiving Raja Raj Singh and other Hill princes and their wazirs. Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 128-1955. Guler, 1774.

1809-1832 DESA SINGH MAJITHIA (xxxix)

Gurkha siege of Kangra Fort (1806-1809) lifted by Maharaja Ranjit Singh but Sansar Chand made tributary to him at Lahore, dispossessed of Kangra Fort and placed under the supervision of a new Sikh Governor, Desa Singh Majithia, 1809. This Governor comparable in status and powers to a former Mughal Governor. Kangra Fort garrisoned by Sikhs answerable to Desa Singh Majithia.

Kotla annexed, 1811.

Guler annexed, 1813.

Rihlu (Chamba-Kangra) border area annexed, 1821.

Kangra annexed, 1828.

Up to Sansar Chand's death (1823), concerned mainly with the Kotla and Guler portions of the Kangra Valley (direct administration), Sansar Chand being left to manage the rest of Kangra state (except for 66 villages detached from it and brought directly under the Sikh Governor's charge for maintenance of the Sikh garrison in Kangra Fort).

Character: For detailed discussion, see Archer (1966).

Marriages: (1) Sikh, Punjab Plains, (2) a Kangra Valley (Guler) lady.

Sons: Ranjodh Singh Majithia (by the Guler wife), Lehna Singh Majithia (by his Sikh wife).

Portraits: (1) Archer (1966), fig. 10. Sikh Sardar, perhaps Desa Singh Majithia, presiding at a wedding reception. Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 153-1952. Guler, c.1815-1820.

(2) **Fig. 69 (Guler).** Sikh Sardar, perhaps Desa Singh Majithia, carousing with a Guler lady (perhaps his wife). Punjab Museum, Guler Raj collection, Chandigarh. Guler, c.1815-1825.

1829 LEHNA SINGH SANDHANWALIA (xxxix)

Following the flight of Anirudh Chand to Hardwar and annexation of Kangra by Maharaja Ranjit Singh, 1828, appointed for one year Sikh administrator of Kangra state (Desa Singh Majithia remaining as Sikh Governor of the Kangra Hills and Governor of the Kangra Fort).

Marriage: To the third daughter of Sansar Chand by his Gaddan rani, Nokhu (the remaining two daughters being married by Maharaja Ranjit Singh), 1829 (Randhawa (1961), 27).

1830-1831 SHER SINGH (xxxv)

Accepted son of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, later (1841-1843) Sikh Maharaja, Lahore.

Sikh administrator of Kangra state (headquarters Sujanpur Tira), 1830, 1831.

Character: Fond of Kangra scenery and women. Discussed in detail (Archer, 1966).

Select portraits: (1) Archer (1966), fig. 38. Sher Singh seated on a bed after bathing. Raja Rajinder Singh collection, Arki (Baghal), Kangra, c.1830.

(2) Archer (1966), fig. 40. Sher Singh seated. Scott collection, London. Sikh, Punjab Plains, c.1840.

(3) Archer (1966), fig. 41. Sher Singh seated. British Museum, London, 1956-10-13-03. Sikh, Punjab Plains, c.1840-45.

For additional portraits, see Archer (1966).

1832-1846 LEHNA SINGH MAJITHIA (xxvi)

Son of Desa Singh Majithia.

Following his father's death (1832), appointed administrator of Kangra state and Sikh Governor of the Kangra Hills. Held his father's *jagirs* at Tiloknath, near Kotla and at Busai Bucheirtu, extreme eastern side of Kangra (Barnes (1889), 34). Held the posts until annexation of Kangra by the British, 1846.

Character: A just and popular administrator. Detailed discussion, Archer (1966).

Portraits: (1) Archer (1966), fig. 36. Sikh sardar, perhaps Lehna Singh Majithia, receiving petitions. Victoria and Albert Museum I.S. 43-1960. Sikh, Punjab Plains, c.1840.

(2) Listed Gupta (1922), 49, D. 35. Lehna Singh Majithia. Central Museum, Lahore. Sikh, Punjab Plains, c.1840.

IMPLICATIONS FOR PAINTING**Personality of rulers**

Throughout the seventeenth and until the middle of the eighteenth century, Kangra state was crippled by the capture of the great Kangra castle by the Mughals (1620), the continued presence in it of a Mughal Governor and the loss to the Mughals of the state's western half. As a consequence, despite its former position as the greatest and oldest state in the Punjab Hills and the possession of three famous centres of pilgrimage — Bhawan (Kangra), Baijnath and Jwalamukhi — its rulers lived in 'the dusk of a dimmed existence', either meekly attending the imperial court or resorting to fierce but ineffective 'underground' warfare. In place of the castle of Kot Kangra, forts and palaces in the eastern half of the state were of permanent importance. Among these were Sujanpur Tira, Sujanpur, Alampur, Nadaun, Lambagraon and Bijapur, all of them situated either on or close to the river Beas. Not in fact until the appearance of Ghamand Chand (ruled 1761-1774, but strongly influential from 1750 onwards) did the former undivided Kangra state begin to re-emerge. Almost all the western part (except the castle) was then won back, fresh territory was acquired, tribute was exacted from minor neighbours and in general influence, the state began to rival Jammu, Chamba and Kahlur (Bilaspur). None the less, the experiences of the last century and a half could not be easily expunged and it was the Beas valley rather than the castle at Kangra which remained the centre of Kangra courtly life and the core of its culture.

The return to power of Kangra was rendered possible by Afghan interventions in the Punjab Plains, leading to the collapse of Mughal authority and by Ghamand Chand's own skill as a politician, military commander and organiser of mercenaries. His son Tegh Chand survived him for only a year, but under his grandson Sansar Chand (born 1765, ruled 1775-1823) Kangra steadily increased its authority for thirty years. During this period, the Kangra castle was regained and tribute was widely exacted. With the invasion of Kangra by the Gurkhas in 1806, Kangra paramountcy lapsed, the castle was taken by the Sikhs and Sansar Chand suffered eclipse. His son Anirudh Chand (born 1786) ruled from 1823 to 1828 but was then replaced by the Sikhs, who

a little later were in turn replaced by the British. During the Sikh and British periods, Sansar Chand's descendants became mere landlords.

Until the reign of Ghamand Chand, there is no evidence that Kangra had any local painting and even under Ghamand Chand himself it is unlikely that conditions strongly favourable to art existed. It is true that in his reign a new township, including a garden palace, was built at Sujanpur and also a shrine to Chamunda Devi (goddess of war) was added to the Sujanpur fortress of Tira. Apart from these limited building activities, however, Ghamand Chand seems to have been too much involved in military matters and in expanding the state as a feudal power to concern himself actively with art or culture. Vaishnavism had entered the state at the end of the seventeenth century but the general weakness of Kangra in 1750 and the need for stern measures makes it probable that the cults of Shiva and the Devi (patrons of war) over-shadowed the milder cults of Krishna and Vishnu. There is certainly no sign of strong Vaishnava developments in Ghamand Chand's reign and without unusual devotion to Krishna on the part of the family or a pre-existing tradition of painting, artists are unlikely to have been in great demand. Like the Emperor Akbar, Ghamand Chand may have realised the value of portraiture as a guide to the characters of his neighbours and rivals and also as a means of boosting his own emerging image. It is therefore possible that during his reign, part of the collection of portraits of neighbouring families seen at Alampur by Moorcroft in 1820 was built up. Moreover, the fact that his grandson, Sansar Chand, had become possessed of a portrait of Alexander the Great 'by descent' (Moorcroft, 1820), suggests that at least some pictures were in his possession. Apart from these, however, there is nothing to connect Ghamand Chand or his court with active patronage, nor is there any local or family tradition associating him with painting.

By contrast Sansar Chand seems to have been not only a masterful and ambitious ruler, but from his boyhood onwards a person with an exceptional interest in painting. Two pictures exist showing him actually looking at pictures, and with the exception of a portrait of Balwant Singh of Jammu, these are the only known examples of portraits showing a Pahari ruler engaged in this activity. As early as 1864 (i.e. only forty years after his death) he was recorded by Baden Powell as having been a great patron of painting and a similar reputation was still existing when French visited the Kangra Valley in 1929 and met his descendant, the Maharaja of Lambagraon. This reputation has continued until the present day. In addition to the oral tradition, there is the first-hand account of the traveller Moorcroft who 'visited his court in 1820, three years before Sansar Chand's death. In his account, 'fondness for drawings' is singled out as one of his outstanding characteristics. It also refers to his 'immense collection' of pictures comprising not only portraits but paintings of religious and mythological subjects and to the fact that even after his eclipse he still had several artists in his service. The names of three of his artists (Khushala, Fattu and Purkhu) are preserved by tradition, while a fourth artist (Gaudhu) occupied a prominent position. In view of his success in making Kangra not only the greatest but richest state in the Punjab Hills, his personal interest in and devotion to Krishna, his attachment to music, dancing and singing, it is obvious that all the conditions necessary for creating a great school of painting were present.

The personality of his son, Anirudh, was at complete variance to his own. He was deeply religious in an orthodox manner, over-attached to Brahmins, corpulent and inactive and with little capacity for administration. He is not remembered for showing any interest in dancing, music or painting.

Relations with other states

Basohli. Apart from the marriage of a Kangra princess to

Hindal Pal (c.1673-1678) of Basohli, no especially close relations with Basohli are recorded until the second half of the eighteenth century when the daughter of Abhaya Chand (x, 1747-1760) of Kangra became the second rani of Amrit Pal (1757-1776) of Basohli and later, the mother of Vijay Pal, Amrit Pal's successor. Vijay Pal reigned from 1776 to 1806. These family ties might explain Kangra influence on painting at Basohli from the late eighteenth century onwards and the presence of Kangra pictures in the Basohli royal collection in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The family tie could also explain the deputation to Kangra of a Basohli physician to treat Sansar Chand who is said to have made a present of pictures to him (communication, Goswamy, 1967). Basohli painting of the early period (c.1670-1750) does not appear to have had any influence in Kangra.

Kahlur (Bilaspur). Kangra relations with Bilaspur fluctuated sharply from reign to reign and from period to period — personalities determining whether the two states were at peace or war. Despite the marriage of a Kangra princess to Bikram Chand (1600-1620) of Bilaspur, no effective help was given to Kangra by Bilaspur in its struggle against Jahangir. Throughout the seventeenth century, relations between the two states were bad (Bilaspur *q.v.*) and it was only under Abhaya Chand (1747-1761) and Ghamand Chand (1761-1773) that they improved. Devi Chand (viii, 1741-1778) successfully aided Kangra against Jaswan, and cemented the friendship by taking as his sole rani a Kangra princess. This 'Kangra rani' proved a troublesome element in Kangra affairs — harrying Kangra in 1781 and again going unsuccessfully to war with Kangra in 1795. There is no evidence that Bilaspur painting contributed to the rise of painting in Kangra but due to the marriage connection on the female side, Kangra painting may possibly have influenced painting at Bilaspur at a later stage.

Chamba. Until the mid-eighteenth century, Kangra had no special relations with Chamba but disagreements over the border area of Rihlu which included the village of Rajol led to minor fighting, culminating in a major battle in 1794 when Raj Singh (viii, 1764-1794) of Chamba was killed by Sansar Chand's forces. Despite this defeat, Chamba kept Rihlu and it was not until 1821 that it was taken by Desa Singh Majithia, Sikh Governor of the Kangra Hills and was re-incorporated in Kangra. Since Nikka, third son of Nainsukh of Guler, was employed as an artist at the Chamba court of Raj Singh and Gaudhu, Nikka's elder brother, worked for Sansar Chand at Sujanpur, some inter-change of artistic influences can probably be assumed — Kangra possibly influencing Chamba rather than Chamba Kangra. This might explain similarities between Chamba painting of the early nineteenth century and certain kinds of painting at Kangra under Sansar Chand. It is of interest that Charat Singh (x, born 1802, reigned 1808-1844) took his third rani from Kangra.

Garhwal. Until the end of the eighteenth century, Kangra had no special relations with Garhwal. It is likely, however, that the two states were on friendly terms since in January 1804, Parakram Shah, brother of Pradhymna Shah (x) of Garhwal, took refuge with Sansar Chand after the Gurkha defeat of Garhwal. If, as is possible, he remained with Sansar Chand during the Gurkha occupation of Kangra state and only returned to Garhwal in 1816 when the Gurkhas were finally evicted by the British, it might explain why Anirudh Chand himself sought refuge at or near Garhwal when compelled under Sikh pressure to leave Kangra in 1828. Friendly ties, based on common harassment by the Gurkhas and mutual assistance, could also explain the marriage of Anirudh's two sisters to Sudarshan Shah (xi) of Tehri Garhwal in 1829. This latter event is of some significance for painting since it occasioned the deposit in the Tehri Garhwal royal collection of two major sets of Kangra pictures, originally mistaken by Mehta (1926) for Garhwal paintings but subsequently recognised by other scholars as products of Kangra under Sansar Chand. Although the Kangra court granted asylum to Parakram Shah, it is

unlikely that painters from Kangra developed early painting in Garhwal — Guler in the declining years of Govardhan Chand (1741-1773) being the more probable source.

Guler. As the senior branch of the family and itself a powerful state, Guler dominated Kangra until the early eighteenth century. Following its general decline under Dalip Singh, Govardhan Chand (1741-1773) was obliged in 1762 to pay tribute to Kangra but despite Kangra's rapid rise to power under Ghamand Chand (1761-1773) and Sansar Chand (1775-1823), Guler maintained its cultural and social priority. Since Kangra looked to Guler rather than Guler to Kangra, this relationship was of some importance. Moreover, the position of Guler, lower down the Beas valley and nearer to the Punjab Plains, made it more accessible to outside influences and hence better able to stimulate the Kangra court and family. This situation may possibly explain why painting developed later at Kangra than at Guler and why it was mainly painters from Guler who developed painting in Kangra under Sansar Chand. Although Prakash Chand of Guler appears to have been on good personal terms with Sansar Chand, the latter's arrogance alienated the loyalties of Bhup Singh (1790-1816) of Guler and led to his joining the general revolt against Kangra in 1806-1809. The basically close ties between the two states may, however, have led Guler painters at Kangra to return to Guler during the Gurkha invasions and subsequently to rejoin Sansar Chand after the Gurkha defeat. In view of Sansar Chand's exceptional interest in painting, his feudal superiority and great affluence, it is no surprise that painters from adjoining Guler should have been attracted to the Kangra court and that Kangra painting should have developed out of Guler antecedents.

Hindur (Nalagarh). During the second half of the eighteenth century, Kangra and Hindur were on friendly terms, Hindur siding with Kangra during its war with Bilaspur. A tradition of friendship persisted into the nineteenth century when a daughter of Ram Saran Singh of Hindur was married to Sansar Chand's grandson. These relations might explain the prominent appearance of Hindur figures in Kangra portraiture.

Jammu. No significant relations recorded but in the nineteenth century during the Sikh period, Kangra painters may have migrated to Jammu.

Jaswan. No significant relations recorded.

Kulu. During the second half of the eighteenth century, Kulu suffered from Kangra's expansionist policy, Pritam Singh (xii) of Kulu paying tribute to Sansar Chand but also receiving aid from him against Mandi. No Kulu influences are discernible in Kangra painting or vice versa.

Kutlehr. As the immediate neighbour of Kangra to the south, Kutlehr was all along in the Kangra orbit. No traditions of independent painting in Kutlehr exist. As host to the Mankot family which settled at Salangri, however, it achieved an adventitious importance at the end of the nineteenth century when its proximity to Kangra may possibly have led to the marriage of two Mankot princesses to Maharaja Sir Jai Chand of Lambagraon, Kangra. Arising out of this marriage, two sets of Mankot pictures reached the Lambagraon collection (Mankot *q.v.*), where they were mistaken, for a time, for early examples of painting in Kangra (Mankot *q.v.*).

Mandi. Until the mid-eighteenth century, Mandi tended to dominate Kangra. With the emergence of Ghamand Chand, however, this tendency was reversed, Shamsher Sen (xi) of Mandi taking as one of his ranis a princess from Kangra and having by her his son and successor, Surma Sen. Tegh Chand of Kangra sheltered Surma Sen during the latter's quarrel with his uncle, Durchatia and later, helped to reinstate him in Mandi. Under Sansar Chand, Mandi became a dependency of Kangra, its ruler, Isvari Sen, being kept

captive at the Kangra court and ultimately being married to Sansar Chand's niece. His enforced stay at Sujampur may have given him a taste for painting. No Mandi influences on painting in Kangra are noticeable.

Mankot. Apart from the temporary grant by the Emperor Aurangzeb in the late seventeenth century of a *jagir* in Mahal Mori, Kangra (subsequently rejoined to the eastern portion of Kangra state), Kangra and Mankot had no relations until the end of the nineteenth century. In 1834, the Mankot family was dispossessed of its own state in the Jammu region and settled at Salangri in Kulehr, a minor state adjoining Kangra to the south. Maharaja Sir Jai Chand (1864-1935) of Lambagraon married two Mankot princesses in the late nineteenth century and this event could explain the presence in the Lambagraon collection of two series of pictures, at one time believed to be 'early Kangra' (Randhawa, 1959) but, in view of Ghose (1958), as also the general character of paintings in the Mankot royal collection, here regarded as 'Mankot'. There are no circumstances to suggest that Kangra painting was influenced at any time by Mankot painting proper or vice versa.

Nurpur. As a neighbouring state with a long and highly developed tradition of painting, dating from at least the end of the seventeenth century, Nurpur could well have contributed to the rise of painting in Kangra during the second half of the eighteenth century. In this connection, the fact that Indar Singh, second son of Fateh Singh (vii) of Nurpur, was married in Kangra, lived on his wife's Kangra estate and became a permanent member of the Kangra court could well have been a vital factor. His two younger brothers were also granted estates in Kangra. His eldest brother, Pirthi Singh, became a close associate of Tegh Chand of Kangra and even after 1786 when Nurpur like other states became tributary to Sansar Chand, Pirthi Singh remained an honoured member of the Kangra court. The intimate relations existing between the Nurpur and Kangra families could explain the employment of Nurpur artists at Kangra and later Kangra influences on painting in Nurpur.

Siba. No significant relations recorded but in view of its close proximity to Kangra, painting in Siba may have been stimulated by the Kangra example.

Sirmur. Despite inter-marriages, relations between the two states were strained at the end of the eighteenth century. It is possible, however, that as in other cases, the Sirmur family was impressed by Sansar Chand's interest in painting and this may have contributed to the rise of painting in Sirmur during the early nineteenth century. No Sirmur influences on painting in Kangra are evident.

Suket. Sansar Chand's marriage to a daughter of Kishan Singh, younger brother of Ranjit Sen (vii) of Suket may have contributed to the blend of Vaishnavism with Shiva worship which seems to have characterised Sansar Chand's reign, Suket religion being apparently of this kind. It is significant that in the last year of Sansar Chand's life, his Suket rani built a Shiva temple in Sujampur and that her son, Anirudh, was renowned for his orthodoxy and domination by Brahmins. It is possible that his preference for over-orthodox religion was inculcated in him by his mother, the Suket rani and that this may have contributed to his lack of interest in painting.

The Mughals. Despite the Mughal capture of the Kangra castle in 1620 and occupation of the western half of the state, no direct Mughal influence is apparent on painting in Kangra. None of the Mughal Governors is known to have patronised artists. Similarly, contacts by Kangra rulers with the imperial court do not seem to have played any part in the development of painting in Kangra.

The Sikhs. In the second half of the eighteenth century, alliances with leaders of various Sikh *misls* brought Kangra and the Sikhs into intimate contact. The purpose of such

alliances, however, was mainly military and territorial and neither the Kangra court nor the Sikhs were envious of each other's culture. Sansar Chand's contempt for Ranjit Singh undoubtedly contributed to his humiliation by the Sikhs after the Gurkha war and to the loss of the Kangra castle. The action of Anirudh Chand in declining to marry his sisters to Ranjit Singh's nominee also precipitated the Sikh occupation of Kangra in 1828. Until this debacle, painting in Kangra was comparatively unaffected by Sikh influence. Later, the Sikh presence may have resulted in Kangra painters adjusting their styles to Sikh taste.

III. PAINTING: REVIEW OF LITERATURE

1841

Moorcroft, W. and Trebeck, G. *Travels in the Himalayan Provinces of Hindustan and the Panjab; in Ladakh and Kashmir; in Peshawar, Kabul, Kunduz and Bokhara, from 1819 to 1825* (prepared for the press from original journals and correspondence by H. H. Wilson, London, 1841).

The first published reference to painting in Kangra in the form of a paraphrase by the Sanskrit scholar, H. H. Wilson, of journals and letters written mainly by William Moorcroft.

Moorcroft was a veterinary surgeon in the Bengal Army of the East India Company and a visitor at the court of Raja Sansar Chand of Kangra (ruled 1775-1823) from 16 June to 22 July 1820. With George Trebeck, he made a journey of exploration in the Punjab Hills (Kangra, Mandi, Kulu, Tehri Garhwal and Sirmur), Ladakh, Kashmir, Kabul and Bukhara. Both travellers were murdered in Bukhara in 1825. Their papers, however, were recovered and deposited in the Library of East India House. For Moorcroft's original manuscripts preserved in the India Office Library, London, see *Reigns and Portraits* (xiv Sansar Chand, xv Anirudh Chand), selected excerpts given below and G. R. Kaye, *India Office Library: Catalogue of Manuscripts in European Languages* (London, 1937), vol. II, part II, section I, 881-962. For Moorcroft himself, see F. Watson 'A Pioneer in the Himalayas: William Moorcroft', *The Geographical Magazine*, August 1959. The editor, Horace Hayman Wilson (1786-1860), had served in India in the East India Company's medical service from 1808-1832 during which period he became the foremost Sanskrit scholar of his time. After his retirement, he was appointed Librarian, East India House (1836-1860).

Among other descriptions, Wilson's edition contains the following version of an eye-witness account by Moorcroft of Sansar Chand's way of life, his fondness for painting, his patronage of artists and his large collection of pictures:

'Raja Sansar Chand spends the early part of the day in the ceremonies of his religion; and from ten till noon in communication with his officers and courtiers. For several days prior to my departure, he passed this period at a small bangala, which he had given up for my accommodation, on the outside of the garden. At noon the Raja retires for two or three hours; after which he ordinarily plays at chess for some time and the evening is devoted to singing and naching, in which the performers recite most commonly Brij Bhakha songs relating to Krishna. Sansar Chand is fond of drawing and has many artists in his employ; he has a large collection of pictures, but the greater part represent the feats of Krishna and Balaram, the adventures of Arjuna and subjects from the Mahabharata: it also includes portraits of many of the neighbouring Rajas and of their predecessors. Amongst these latter were two profiles of Alexander the Great, of which Rai Anirudha gave me one. It represents him with prominent features and auburn hair

flowing over his shoulders; he wears a helmet on his head begirt with a string of pearls, but the rest of his costume is Asiatic. The Raja could not tell me whence this portrait came: he had become possessed of it by inheritance' (142-145).

This passage, ever since its use by Vogel (1909) and Coomaraswamy (1926), has been treated by all scholars of Indian painting as a crucial piece of evidence for the reconstruction of painting in Kangra. It was not, however, sufficiently realised that the actual words were Wilson's and that they differed materially from those of Moorcroft. Not in fact until 1968, when the present writer was led to compare an inscription by Moorcroft dated 18 July 1820 on the back of a portrait of Sansar Chand (see no. 18) with his hand-writing for the same period in the original manuscript of his journal did the drastic nature of Wilson's 'editing' become clear. It was then apparent that Wilson had not only altered Moorcroft's style and phrasing but in various instances had changed his sense, omitted important points and bowdlerized facts. Moorcroft's phrase, 'has Nachs in which the performers generally sing Brij Bhakha songs generally reciting the adventures of Krishna and those of the Gopees' is reduced in Wilson to 'singing and naching, in which the performers recite most commonly Brij Bhakha songs relating to Krishna'. Moorcroft's 'he maintains a zenana of three hundred of the most beautiful women of his country' becomes in Wilson 'a numerous zenana'. Moorcroft's estimate of O'Brien's age 'about thirty-eight' becomes in Wilson 'about forty'. Moorcroft's 'he is fond of drawing (and) keeps several artists who execute the minute parts with great fidelity but are almost wholly ignorant of perspective' is changed by Wilson to 'Sansar Chand is fond of drawing and has many artists in his employ'. Moorcroft's 'his collection of drawings is very great' becomes in Wilson 'he has a large collection of pictures'. Moorcroft's detailed description of the collection — 'The principal portion consists of representations of the performances and prowess of Arjoon, the Hindoo Hercules (and) the adventures of Krishna. . . . Many subjects from the Mahabharat are given in details, some of which for decency's sake might have been spared, yet there were few of the latter description. . . . The collection includes many hundred drawings and the Raja has portraits of all the neighbouring families . . . the collection of coloured drawings in the possession of the Raja relating principally to Hindoo Mythology is immense' — is reduced by Wilson to 'the greater part (of the collection) represents the feats of Krishna and Balaram, the adventures of Arjuna and subjects from the Mahabharata: it also includes portraits of many of the neighbouring rajas and their predecessors'. Of a portrait of Alexander the Great given to him by Anirudh Chand, Moorcroft's 'The Raja could not tell whence it came but it descended to him' becomes in Wilson 'The Raja could not tell me whence this portrait came: he had become possessed of it by inheritance'. Finally Moorcroft's remark that Sansar Chand 'gave me the choice of them (i.e. of his immense collection of pictures relating principally to Hindoo mythology) but I selected representations of his own court out of compliment' is altogether omitted.

Wilson's reasons for tampering so ruthlessly with Moorcroft's manuscript are forcefully stated in his Preface. When Moorcroft's papers were salvaged after his murder in 1825, they were 'found to be so voluminous, so unmethodical and discursive' that the chance of finding anyone 'willing to undergo the labour of examining them and reducing them to a moderate compass and methodized order' appeared remote. Wilson, who had previously digested some of Moorcroft's 'rambling epistles for the public press of Calcutta and the use of the Asiatic Society' agreed to edit them for publication but on the understanding that he would be free to omit, summarise and re-cast. He described his role as follows: 'The specification I have given and the peculiarities of style to which I have alluded, may convey some notion of the trouble I have taken. I have, in fact, been obliged to re-write almost the whole, and must there-

fore be held responsible for the greater part of the composition. I have been compelled to compress unmercifully, but I have endeavoured to leave out nothing that appeared useful or interesting and have attempted to narrate with fidelity the views entertained, or the incidents recorded by my originals. It is possible, however, that some details which are of value may have escaped me, scattered as they are through so many sheets of paper; and it may be satisfactory, therefore, to know that the manuscripts are available, as they are deposited in the library at the India House' (Preface, liii, liv).

The following four excerpts give in Moorcroft's own words his impressions of Sansar Chand's character, way of life, 'fondness for drawing' and immense collection of pictures.

(1) *Manuscript Journal*, dated Sujapur Tira, 16 June, 1820. MSS. Eur. D.240, ff. 47v-50v. India Office Library, London.

'Raja Sansar Chund was formerly the most powerful Raja from the west of the Sutlej to the Attock and all the Hills from the former rivers to Kashmir were his feudatories and he was extremely wealthy. He is now poor and in danger of being conquered by Runjeet Singh . . . But diminished as are Sansar Chund's revenues, his resources are yet considerable . . . He maintains a zenana of three hundred of the most beautiful women of his country and supports or furnishes an asylum to . . . two or three rajas. [But] whilst he indulges in the gratification of show in the seclusion of many fine women, he does not afford powder and ball to perfect his troops . . . He is also accused of want of good faith though still a better character than most of the Hill Rajas.'

(2) *Manuscript letter to R. (?) Kyd*, dated Sujapur Tira, 14 July 1820. MSS. Eur. D.257, ff. 115, 116. India Office Library, London.

'Sansar Chund has a taste for the arts, [which] would have been magnificent had he possessed the means and is now more generous than suits his finances although his liberality is occasionally shaded by efforts of parsimony.

'He passes more of his time at chess and music than consists either with his age or circumstances and were it not that these have been his addictions from early life I could find an apology for this conduct in his conviction that by his own means alone he cannot relieve himself from a feeling of thralldom that sits heavily on him and that he attempts to drown reflections and kill time by amusements.'

(3) *Manuscript Journal*, dated Sujapur Tira, 15 July, 1820. MSS. Eur. D.241, f. 67. India Office Library, London.

'The present residence of the Raja [Sansar Chand] is at Soojanpoor Teera or rather Alampoor on the right bank in gardens containing a large building for his zenana and smaller ones intended for the performance of his devotions and for his small court. In the same garden is the residence of his son Rau Unrood Chund. The Raja passes the earlier part of the morning at his devotion and from ten to twelve in conversation which for many days previous to my departure he came to spend this time at a small Bungla the Rau gave up for my accommodation on the outside of the Garden. At twelve he retires for two or three hours, then converses, plays at chess and in the evening hears music and frequently has Nachs in which the performers generally sing Brij Bhakha songs generally reciting the adventures of Krishna and those of the Gopees.'

'He is fond of drawing, keeps several artists who execute the minute parts with great fidelity but are almost wholly ignorant of perspective.'

'His collection of drawings is very great but the principal portion consists of representations of the performances and prowess of Arjoon, the Hindoo Hercules [and] the adventures of Krishna so similar to those of the Grecian Apollo, especially in birth and education that no doubt can reason-

ably be entertained of their relating to the same person. In the latter part of their lives there is some difference in their story but the general features shew that either the Hindoos or the Grecians have been borrowers.'

'Though many of the drawings have great merit independently of want of perspective there is much defectiveness of the principle of the design, there being sometimes three or four representations of the same act in the same picture.'

'Many subjects from the Mahabharat are given in details, some of which for decency's sake might have been spared, yet there were few of the latter description.'

'The collection includes many hundred drawings and the Raja has portraits of all the neighbouring families. I found two side portraits of Alexander the Great, one of which Rau Unrood Chund gave me. It represents him as having large features with auburn hair flowing loose over his shoulders. His head covered with a helmet begirt with a string of pearls but the rest of his dress Asiatic. The Raja could not tell whence it came but it descended to him.'

(4) *Letter to George Saunders*, dated 20 March, 1822, MSS. Eur. D.262, ff. 46, 47. India Office Library, London.

'By the kindness of the Raja I now possess a portrait of Alexander in a Persian dress but with a Grecian Helmet from under which a profusion of chestnut coloured hair flows loosely over the shoulders. The drawing is not good, the head being disproportionately large and the figure generally stiff and inelegant is a curiosity.'

'The collection of coloured drawings in the possession of the Raja relating principally to Hindoo Mythology is immense. He gave me the choice of them but I selected representations of his own court out of compliment.'

1872

Baden Powell, B. H. *Handbook of the Manufactures and Arts of the Punjab* (Lahore, 1872), 355.

Gives the following Jury's Report on Fine Art specimens exhibited at the Lahore exhibition of 1864:

'Collection by Pundit Manphul. The collection commences with an interesting series of the Emperors of Delhi. Most of these were painted by Purkhu, an artist in the service of Raja Sansar Chand of Katoch, who was a great patron of art and prepared a fine collection of paintings. There is a remarkable clearness of tone and delicacy of handling in most of Purkhu's works but he was not so great a master of colour as many other artists inferior to him in other respects. His son, Ramdyal, who is still living inherits much of his father's talents. Number 76 is a clever portrait of Maharaja Gulab Singh, said to be one of the best likenesses ever taken of that prince. The next painting to it, 77, is an interesting portrait of Raja Sansar Chand by Purkhu.'

Important as providing confirmation of Sansar Chand's reputation as a patron and collector only forty-one years after his death (1823).

For family traditions of Purkhu and Ramdyal, preserved by Purkhu's great-grandson, Gulabu of Samloti, Kangra district, see Randhawa (1956a).

For the broader context of Baden Powell's comments and for Purkhu's possible part in the first Kangra *Bhagavata Purana* (no. 36), see Randhawa (1960b); Archer (1957 and 1969b).

1881

Ujfalvy, E. K. von. *Aus dem Westlichen Himalaja* (Leipzig, 1884), 87-95.

Describes a visit to the court of Raja Sham Singh (1873-1904) of Chamba, 1881 and the purchase by him in Kangra of some local pictures: 'I bought in Kangra a number of pictures some of them of great interest; the four portraits of Timurlane, Babur, Humayun and Akbar are particularly characteristic in regard to dress and expression of the features; a fifth represents the noble Nawab Saif Ali Khan, commandant of the fortress of Kangra, sitting with one of his guests on a tiger skin and smoking a finely made

hookah. Moreover I possess a unique piece — a sketch which is meant to represent Ram and Sita on a swing in a close embrace. However quickly this sketch was done, the sureness of the strokes and the delicate grace of the composition proved that the artist was no mere 'penny-a-liner'. On the back of the same sketch we find an expressive and characteristic portrait of Sansar Chand former Raja of Kangra.'

['Ram and Sita' is probably a mistake for 'Radha and Krishna.']

1886

Kipling, J. L. 'Art Industries of the Punjab'. *Journal of Indian Art* (1886), I, no. 10, 77.

'Fine arts: painting and drawing. At Jhang and Nawashahr in the district of Jullundur, ethnological pictures are produced by Pir Buksh and Sani, painters; and at Lahore, Kangra and Kapurthala, Hindu mythological pictures.'

[J. Lockwood Kipling, father of Rudyard Kipling, was Principal, Mayo School of Art, Lahore (1875-1893).]

1887

Kipling, J. L. 'The Industries of the Punjab', *Journal of Indian Art* (1887), II, no. 20, 40-41.

'The artistic industries of Kangra are now few and insignificant. Among native limners, *Kangra ki qalm* (the Kangra pencil) is a phrase occasionally heard and meant to distinguish the style or touch of a school of illumination and mythological picture that is supposed to have flourished there.'

1903

Watt, G. *Indian Art at Delhi 1903* (Calcutta, 1903), 487.

Catalogue of the Delhi Exhibition of arts and crafts, 1902-1903. Contains the following laconic reference to Kangra painting: 'Raja Kirti Singh of Shekhupura exhibits 250 old pictures drawn by Kangra painters'.

1908

Havell, E. B. *Indian Sculpture and Painting* (London, 1908).

No references to Kangra painting.

1909

Vogel, J. P. *Catalogue of the Bhuri Singh Museum at Chamba* (Calcutta, 1909).

Lists portraits of Rajas Ghamand, Sansar and Anirudh Chand of Kangra (29-30, D.12-14). States that 'Most of the numerous pictures which Mr. Percy Brown has acquired for the Lahore Museum originate from Kangra and perhaps once formed part of Sansar Chand's collection. Among them is the portrait of the traveller Moorcroft himself, probably painted at the time when he enjoyed the hospitality of the Katoch Raja' (13). Quotes Wilson's version of Moorcroft (1841).

1910

Coomaraswamy, A. K. *Indian Drawings* (London, 1910).

The first vindication of the 'Kangra Valley' as an important centre of Indian painting.

'The best characterised styles of Rajput painting are those of the Himalayan and Rajputana schools which are, nevertheless, closely allied and pass into each other imperceptibly. The Kangra Valley paintings and drawings are the best defined and most characterised of the Himalayan schools as well as the most abundantly represented. Allied work comes from Chamba and other Himalayan States.'

Illustrates and describes *Damayanti's Swayamvara* (pl. 26) from a *Nala Damayanti* series of line-drawings (Coomaraswamy collection). Assigns it to the Kangra Valley. See no. 50.

Adds: 'Most of the works of this school are brilliantly and exquisitely coloured but there are other examples of drawing in the Lahore Museum collection, particularly a beautiful and clever drawing of goldsmiths which unfortunately could not be reproduced on the present occasion' (26-27).

[The drawing of a group of goldsmiths is presumably the picture listed by Gupta (1922), 123, J.25. 'A group of jewelers at work drawn by Ramadiya'. Reproduced Smith (1911); Coomaraswamy (1916). For Ramadiya (Ramdayal), son of Purkhu, see Baden Powell (1872); Randhawa (1956a).]

1911

Smith, V. A. *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon* (Oxford, 1911), 325.

'In the secluded and beautiful valley of Kangra a distinct school of painting has survived to this day, representing ancient Hindu tradition grafted on the technique of the Mughal or Indo-Persian school. The works of the local artists are so numerous that two hundred and fifty examples were shown at the Delhi exhibition of 1902-3.'

Illustrates a drawing of five goldsmiths of Kangra at work by Ramdayal (Coomaraswamy, 1910). For the Delhi Exhibition, see Watt (1903).

1912

Coomaraswamy, A. K. 'Rajput Paintings', *The Burlington Magazine* (March 1912), XX, no. 108, 315-324.

A more confident statement of views to be developed more fully in *Rajput Painting* (1916).

'Rajput painting falls geographically into two main divisions, the first including the work done in Rajputana, hitherto usually classed as of the Jaipur school, from the city of that name representing the chief centre of activity; I now propose to speak of these as of the school of Rajasthan (Rajputana), as the name of a district and not merely of a single city.

'The second group of Rajput paintings includes those from the Himalayan valleys of the Panjab (Jammu, Kangra, Chamba, Rampur, Patiala, Garhwal, etc.). These have been generally assigned to the Kangra Valley school, from the place where the most important and purest examples appear to have been painted. This valley is 'the most exclusively Hindu portion of the Panjab. I now propose to speak of all the hill-paintings collectively as of the Pahari school.

'Thus one may classify the Rajput paintings as Rajasthan, or Pahari; mentioning Jaipur or the Kangra Valley or other local name when more detailed information is available. I do not think that any greater sub-division of styles is possible at present, and perhaps it will never be necessary.'

Assigns to Kangra a gambling scene from the *Mahabharata*, Central Museum, Lahore (listed Gupta (1922), E.16) and to the Kangra Valley, *The Divine Cowherd* (later entitled *The Hour of Cowdust*), Coomaraswamy collection.

Coomaraswamy, A. D. *Indian Drawings: Second Series, chiefly Rajput* (London, 1912).

Re-defines the term 'Rajput Painting' as covering 'the traditional Indian (Hindu) styles of (1) Rajputana or Rajasthan (especially Jaipur) and (2) the Panjab Himalayas (Jammu, Chamba, Punch, Garhwal, etc., but especially Kangra). These two groups represent two distinct phases of one style'.

Refrains from clearly stating the exact provenance of individual pictures or giving the precise grounds for attributions but provides the following significant information: 'Indian drawings now sometimes appear for sale in India; the reason for this is that the descendants of hereditary artists, now no longer receiving state or private patronage, have been driven to adopt other means of livelihood and have parted, though unwillingly, with their collections of old sketches'. Distinguishes two groups of drawings obtained by him from artists' families of Jaipur and Garhwal and adds: 'The remaining Pahari drawings in my collection, and here reproduced, form another group (including *Indian Drawings*, first series, pls. 12, 13, 26 and here pls. 6-17) obtained at various times from two or three sources in Amritsar and Lahore' (i.e. presumably dealers).

Pls. 6-10. Line-drawings for a *Nala Damayanti* series. See no. 50.

Pl. 12. 'Krishna being dressed as Radha at the Holi festival'. Line-drawing for Khandalavala (1958), col. pl. 9. See no. 46(1).

1913

Coomaraswamy, A. K. *The Arts and Crafts of India and Ceylon* (London, 1913).

'(Rajput) paintings fall into two groups, the *Rajasthani*, from Rajputana and especially Jaipur; and the *Pahari*, or Mountain school, from the Panjab Hill-states, especially Kangra, Chamba and Punch.'

Makes the following attributions:

Fig. 70. *Kaliya damana*. 'Kangra, early 18th century'. Here assigned to Garhwal (q.v.).

Fig. 76. *Shiva and Parvati*. Here accepted as Kangra.

1914

Coomaraswamy, A. K. 'The Eight Nayikas', *Journal Indian Art and Industry* (October 1914), XVI, no. 128, 111.

Enunciates the following general thesis: 'The Pahari paintings fall into two main groups; those of the Jammu district and those of the Kangra district. It must be understood that these terms include many local styles (e.g. Mandi and Guler belonging to the Kangra group), of which the exact source can rarely, as yet, be ascertained. Those which I believe to be from Kangra proper are indicated thus: (Kot Kangra). The whole area from which the paintings come is included between Kashmir and Nepal and Amritsar.'

For Kot Kangra (the fort and town of Kangra) as only an insignificant source of painting in Kangra state, see Goetz (1951) and Randhawa (1954c). Of 15 illustrations, figs. 5, 6, 11-15 are here assigned to Kangra.

1916

Coomaraswamy, A. K. *Rajput Painting* (Oxford, 1916).

The first large-scale treatment of Kangra painting, concentrating, however, more on its subject-matter, technique and expressiveness than on the question of how to identify it as a local school of painting and reconstruct its history.

Makes the following assertions and admissions: 'It is by examples of the Kangra school that the Pahari schools of painting were first made known (Coomaraswamy, *Burlington Magazine*, 1912). It is certain that Kot Kangra has been a great centre of production, but the term Kangra must be understood in this work as covering the work of a whole district; and though the Kot Kangra type is fairly well defined (e.g. in the *Nala Damayanti* series from which a specimen is reproduced on plate 62), still I do not know how to place the many dialects of this style nor how to distinguish the work of other Pahari states, such as Mandi, Suket, Rampur and Patyala, extending eastwards to Garhwal. Practically nothing is now produced, and of Kot Kangra art nothing remains *in situ*. I have seen the ruins of houses formerly occupied by painters, but it is generally agreed that their last traces were wiped out by the earthquake of 1907 [1905]; and probably all the pictures formerly extant in this fairly accessible district have now been removed and sold. I am informed, however, by Babu Samarendranath Gupta, that painters still practise at Guler' (21).

On this basis, publishes 48 pictures as 'Kangra,' describing them variously as 'Early Kangra' (17th-18th century, late 17th century, early 18th century, pre-1750) and 'Kangra' (late 18th century, second half of 18th century, early 19th century). Apart, however, from deeming certain traits of style to be 'early' and others 'late' or 'later', gives no reasons in support of any such dates or even of their attribution to Kangra.

Of these illustrations, the following are here regarded as having been executed in Kangra state though not earlier than 1770: pls. 38, 39, 51 (col.), 52, 55, 59 A & B, 60-64, 70 A & B, 71 A & B, 73 A & B.

Reproduces (pl. 75A) the study of goldsmiths at work, referred to in Coomaraswamy (1910) and published by Smith (1911). Gives its inscription: *ramadeya likhe sunayar* (Goldsmiths, drawn by Ramadeya). Lahore Museum.

Note: In view of subsequent discoveries, Coomaraswamy's reluctance or inability to obtain well-documented facts or well-attested statements on origins, history, artists, patronage, provenance and local collections must seem, in retrospect, an odd quirk in one who was trained as a scientist and obtained a D.Sc. in geology. Apart from visiting Kangra town (Nagarkot, Kot Kangra), he seems to have made no attempt to visit other centres of Kangra painting in the Beas Valley (Sujanpur, Nadaun, Alampur) yet, despite an almost total lack of 'on-the-spot' knowledge, at no time shrank from making confident attributions. It is possible that his preference for mystical intuitions (a recurring feature in all his writings) prevented him from seeking out and investigating facts. As a collector in a still fairly virgin field, he may also have shrank from disclosing his sources. Traits of this sort are understandable in mystics and connoisseurs but are a fatal blemish in art-historians. It now seems clear that his sole 'authorities' for provenance were the dealers of Lahore and Amritsar but, instead of cross-examining them, he appears to have been content with whatever general replies they gave him.

In the upshot, it might be claimed, Coomaraswamy 'discovered' Kangra painting, gave its name to a certain type of Pahari painting and revolutionised Western and Indian ideas of Indian miniature painting. By omitting to record and marshal evidence, however, he left questions of provenance unanswered, mis-grouped styles, hazarded too many guesses, provided no foundations for dating and, at a vitally formative period, left basic problems of identification unsolved. 'Kangra' painting, in a general sense, had been 'discovered' but what was truly Kangra, what was Guler, what was Nurpur, what was Kulu (formerly independent states but by 1916 long since parts of 'Kangra District') remained totally obscure.

Petrucchi, R. 'Rajput Painting', *The Burlington Magazine* (1916), V, no. 29, 74-79.

A review of Coomaraswamy (1916).

Sastri, H. 'The Hamir Hath', *Journal Indian Art and Industry* (1916), XVII, no. 132, 35-40.

Publishes a *Hamir Hath* series by the 'Kangra' painter, Sajnu, said to have been presented to Raja Isvari Sen of Mandi, 1810 (Mandi *q.v.*). Notes the existence of a collection of Kangra pictures 'with a relation of the Raja of Lambagraon, in the Kangra district'.

1917

Brown, P. *Indian Painting* (Calcutta, 1917), 11, 52-54, 89, 94, 95.

Describes and assesses 'Kangra' painting as it had come to be recognised in the years, 1900-1915.

'The most virile offshoot of the Rajput school manifested itself in a group of small states in the Punjab Himalayas, where a distinct style of painting is observable. This work is alluded to by experts as of the "Kangra *kalm*", as the leading state was that of Kangra. A broader and more modern view of Indian painting has designated this development as Pahari, or "belonging to the mountains". . . . Pictures are forth-coming, specially portraits, which date from the middle of the seventeenth century and it is doubtful whether there are any examples of the Kangra *kalm* earlier than these. It may be only a coincidence, but this date corresponds to the breaking up of the Mogul school in Hindustan and it is quite possible that certain families of Rajput painters found shelter and patronage in the retreat these valleys afforded when the Mogul court ceased to give these artists further support. The ripest period of this Kangra painting was under the Katoch Rajas, particularly Sansar Chand, who reigned during the latter part of the eighteenth century, at which time this style was at its best.

'The Kangra *kalm*, or Pahari school, is one of the most interesting facts in connexion with the history of painting in India. In a remote and isolated group of valleys, far removed from any of the great cities of the plains, there lived and flourished for some centuries a community of

artists, whose work became known only after the art had almost died out and when the construction of roads and railways had opened it up to communication. Pahari painting does not denote great inspiration or display any decided expression of thought or feeling. It is an art of patient labour and naive devotion. Its chief features are delicacy of line, brilliancy of colour and minuteness of decorative detail.

'At the close of the nineteenth century the Pahari art shows signs of decline, a harder and less sympathetic treatment taking the place of the soft refined quality which characterised the earlier work. These valleys were also losing their sense of isolation. Intercourse with the outer world became easier as good roads came into existence and its independent nature began to disappear. The younger generation of these artistic families started to seek their fortunes in other fields, and their hereditary manual skill soon found them remunerative work in the drawing offices of Government departments. The real end of the Kangra *kalm*, as it still continued to struggle on in its pleasant little valleys, came with a tragic suddenness in the early morning of April 4th, 1905, when the great "Dharmasala" earthquake struck most of this district out of existence, leaving nothing of the prosperous town of Kangra but a mound of ruins. This catastrophe, which killed not only the art but most of the artists, marked the termination of a most interesting development. With it the long-continued course of Rajput painting came to a close and the passing of this art may be regarded as the last phase of the true indigenous school of painting in India.'

Pls. 6, 14 and 15 here accepted as Kangra.

Pl. 16 'Kangra *kalm*, 18th century' here identified as Raja Ranjit Dev (1735-1781) of Jammu and attributed to Jammu, c.1760. See Jammu, no. 64.

1920

Sett, M. N. 'A Miniature from Kangra', *Rupam* (1920), I. 'Radha and Krishna eating *pan* at a window.' Also reproduced Gangoly (1926), pl. 8. Here assigned to Chamba, c.1760.

1921

Gangoly, O. C. 'Dole Leela', *Rupam* (1921), II, no. 6, 14-17.

Discusses and illustrates three paintings of the 'Dole Leela' or Holi festival, here assigned to Kangra.

Col. pl. (p.15). Manuk and Coles (later Archer) collection. See no. 42.

Fig A. Victoria and Albert Museum, Manuk and Coles collection. See no. 32.

Fig. B. Calcutta Art School collection. Compare no. 46.

1922

Gupta, S. N. *Catalogue of Paintings in the Central Museum, Lahore* (Calcutta, 1922).

Lists portraits of Rajas Ghamand, Tegh, Sansar, and Anirudh Chand (D.82-D.85, D.87); also of Fateh Chand, second brother of Sansar Chand (D.86).

Attributes a number of pictures to Kangra but leaves it unclear whether on grounds of provenance, style or dealers' statements.

Gupta, S. N. 'The Sikh School of Painting', *Rupam* (1922), III, no. 12, 125-128.

Confirms the tradition that Kangra was the main school of Pahari painting.

Pl. 1, fig. 7. Portrait of Sansar Chand as a young man. Central Museum, Lahore (D.85).

1925

Heath, L. *Examples of Indian Art at the British Empire Exhibition 1924* (London, 1925), 21, 22.

'It is very doubtful if the "Hill" paintings would not be more properly described and grouped together as "Delhi" paintings. It is possible that there was a certain vogue for painting in Kashmir and Jammu, but I can discover no really indigenous school of painting in Kangra. There is, it

is true, a considerable amount of Kangra painting still being done somewhere; but these are chiefly replicas of older works and, being mere mechanical imitations with all the faults and none of the spirit of the true school, are lacking in any artistic value.'

Symptomatic of the utter confusion concerning Kangra painting still prevailing as late as 1924. Heath was Curator, Central Museum, Lahore, 1922.

1926

Villiers-Stuart, Constance M. 'The last of the Rajput Court Painters', *Burlington Magazine* (January 1926), XLVIII, no. 274, 3-4.

Describes the work of the living Kangra painter, Huzuri of Oster (Ustehar?) and regards him as the last and sole representative of the former Kangra tradition of miniature painting.

Pl. A. 'Radha and the Gopis shelter under Krishna's umbrella'. By Huzuri.

Pl. B. 'Alexander the Great'. By Huzuri. For other references to portraits of Alexander the Great by Kangra painters, see Moorcroft (1820); French (1931).

Pl. D. 'Shah Jehan'. By Huzuri.

Pl. E. 'Gaddis'. By 'a living peasant artist of Kangra', unnamed but distinguished from Huzuri on grounds of style'. For a painting of 'Lahauras' in similar style to Pl. E and attributed to Huzuri by his son, Lachman Das of Ustehar, see Randhawa (1954c), fig. 4. and present no. 76(1).

Coomaraswamy, A. K. *Catalogue of the Indian Collections in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; Part V, Rajput Painting* (Boston, 1926).

Lists and illustrates, among others, the following series of paintings, labelled 'Kangra':

1 A *Ramayana* series of line-drawings (pls. 36, 37).

2 A *Nala Damayanti* series of line drawings (pls. 38-53). See nos. 50, 51.

3 Some *Bhagavata Purana* drawings (pls. 68, 76, 77).

4 A *Gita Govinda* series (pls. 84, 85). See no. 67 (1 and 2).

Lists two portraits of Raja Sansar Chand (496, 497) and one of Ghamand Chand and Tegh Chand (498).

States that 'the paintings of the Panjab Himalayas fall into two main groups which up to now have been designated as Jammu and Kangra. These designations, as far as they go, are retained in the present volume, but it may be possible with more exact knowledge to classify some at least of the Pahari paintings' in more local terms. Quotes the lists of twenty-two states and rulers given by Hutchison and Vogel (*Journal Punjab Historical Society* (1915), III, no. 2). Also quotes Wilson's paraphrase (1841) of Moorcroft's account of Sansar Chand in 1820 and the latter's interest in drawing and his collection of pictures. Concedes for the first time that 'the extensive development of the Kangra school of Pahari painting in the latter part of the eighteenth century and earlier part of the nineteenth century was undoubtedly due to Sansar Chand's personal patronage'. Leaves unexplained, however, 'early Kangra' paintings (i.e. those pre-1775 and hence pre-Sansar Chand).

Significantly abandons 'Kot Kangra' (Nagarkot, Kangra town) as the main source of Kangra painting and states instead that 'the Kangra paintings and drawings so well represented in the Museum collections evidently depict the scenery of Nadaun, Shujanpur and Alampur, representing the palaces, gardens, hills and waters of an idyllic retreat, the beauty of which must have fully justified the saying still current in the Hills, *aega Nadaun, jaega kaun?* 'Who that has reached Nadaun would ever leave it?' (10). [Randhawa (1961) has explained that the origin of this saying lay in the two hundred dancing-girls who resided at Nadaun in Sansar Chand's time.]

Stresses the significance of Raja Anirudh's flight to British territory and the marriage of his two sisters to the Raja of Tehri Garhwal; 'a fact of interest in connection with the close connections between the Garhwali and Kan-

gra schools in the earlier part of the nineteenth century. Very possibly Kangra painters migrated with the princesses to Garhwal, escaping the troubled circumstances of Kangra and finding a patronage that could no longer be extended to them at home' (10).

Mehta, N. C. 'Two Pahari Painters of Tehri Garhwal: Manaku and Chaitu', *Rupam* (1926), no. 26, 49-55.

A first and uncorrected version of Mehta (1926b). Fig. 2 (*Bihari Sat Sai*) and figs. 3 and 5 (*Gita Govinda*) are fresh subjects not included in the book.

Mehta, N. C. *Studies in Indian Painting* (Bombay, 1926).

Reviews 'the court art of Tehri Garhwal' under Raja Sudarshan Shah (1816-1859) of Tehri, inferring from the presence in the Raj collection of two series — a *Gita Govinda* (pls. 23, 24) by an artist Manaku and a *Bihari Sat Sai* (pls. 22, 25, 26) perhaps by the same artist — that they are examples of Garhwal painting of this period. Publishes a further example of work by Manaku (pl. 21, 'Blindman's Buff'). Inscribed: *manak ki likhi*. Is led on the evidence of these pictures to claim that the finest work in the Punjab Hills was done not at Kangra but at Tehri Garhwal and that various pictures 'indiscriminately classed as belonging to the Kangra school, though a good many of them are found in well-known collections outside the Punjab, are probably the productions of Garhwali artists and their pupils' (60, 118).

In reaching this conclusion, Mehta avoided any comparison with Garhwal painting of the Mola Ram period (i.e. pre-Sudarshan Shah) and may have been influenced in his dating by a mis-reading of the date in the colophon to the *Gita Govinda* series as 1830. This date, is, in fact, 1730. For a full discussion of Mehta's reading and the whole problem of the artist, Manaku, see Archer (1963c).

Later scholars (Archer (1952b, citing Krishnadasa and Khandalavala), Khandalavala (1958); Randhawa (1963); Archer (1963)) while agreeing on the very high quality of these pictures regard both series as products of Kangra and connect their presence in the Tehri Garhwal Raj collection with the wedding of the two Kangra princesses to Raja Sudarshan Shah in 1829. See reigns and portraits: xv, Anirudh Chand. For further discussions of this crucial issue, see nos. 33 and 39.

[It is perhaps significant that when Mehta wrote his book, he was posted in the United Provinces (now Uttar Pradesh) as a member of the Indian Civil Service and had had no first-hand experience of the Punjab, Lahore, Amritsar or the Kangra Valley. He had studied, however, the collection of the Tehri Garhwal Raj (Narendranagar, U.P.) and that of Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras (also U.P.). Both of these collections contained Kangra pictures, though none had as yet been securely identified. This may possibly explain his apparent bias against Kangra and over-insistence on the importance of Tehri Garhwal.]

Gangoly, O. C. *Masterpieces of Rajput Painting* (Calcutta, 1926).

The largest survey in colour of Rajput paintings, chiefly Pahari, hitherto to be made. The following plates are here regarded as Kangra.

Col. pl. 5. 'The lady and the parrot'. Compare no. 73.

Pl. 25B. 'The hour of cowdust'. Kangra, c.1800.

Col. pl. 26. 'The shy girl'. See no. 63(2).

Pls. 30, 31 and 33. 'Shiva and Parvati'. Compare no. 57.

Col. pl. 39. 'The swing'. See no. 40(1).

Col. pl. 40. 'Radha and Krishna'. Kangra, c.1825.

Col. pl. 42. 'Krishna adorning Radha's forehead'. Kangra, c.1850 (?).

Col. pl. 44. 'Radha taking Krishna home'. Opening illustration to the 'first' Kangra *Gita Govinda* series. See no. 33.

Pl. 47. 'Krishna celebrating the Holi festival'. See no. 32.

1927

Brown, P. *Indian Painting* (Calcutta, second edition, 1927).

Incorporates, unaltered, the discussion of Kangra painting as given in the first edition (1917).

Coomaraswamy, A. K. *History of Indian and Indonesian Art* (London, 1927), 131-132.

Gives an account of Kangra painting, ignoring the problems of its origins and antecedents and while limiting its effective development to the reign of Raja Sansar Chand (1775-1823) again providing no evidence for the identification of particular pictures or for their connection with Kangra.

Figs. 268-271 are here regarded as Garhwal.

1928

Havell, E. B. *Indian Sculpture and Painting* (London, second edition, 1928), 178.

'The Ajanta tradition was also brought down to modern times in the numerous paintings and drawings, mostly by Rajput and Kangra artists, illustrating in miniature Vaishnava and Saiva myths and legends.'

Illustrates a line-drawing, 'The Birth Ceremony of the infant Krishna', from a *Bhagavata Purana* series 'Kangra School, 18th or 19th century, author's collection'. Compare no. 36.

1929

Gangoly, O. C. 'Pandit Nainsukh, a 'Kangra' artist', *Rupam* (1929), no. 37, 63.

Reproduces a self-portrait by the painter Nainsukh. See *Jammu*, no. 28.

Ghose, A. 'The Schools of Rajput Painting', *Roopa Lekha* (1929), no. 2, 1-14.

Alludes to an illustrated manuscript of Sundar Das found by him in Kangra district and recently described by Gangoly in *Rupam*. Claims it to belong to the seventeenth century but refrains from stating its exact provenance. [This manuscript was not, in fact, ever published.]

Ghose, A. 'The Basohli School of Rajput Painting', *Rupam* (1929), no. 37, 6-17.

Alleges 'on-the-spot' investigations and claims that 'an unbroken and almost universal tradition exists in the Hill States, including Jammu itself, of there having been three great centres of art, namely, Basohli, Kangra and Garhwal'. Adds: 'There is no reason why this classification of the main schools of Pahari painting should not be accepted'. For comments on Ghose's views, see Basohli (1929).

Wilkinson, J. V. S. 'The British Indian Union Exhibition of Indian Paintings', *Rupam* (1929), no. 40, 129-130.

Fig. 7. 'A Gaddi family on trek' (Villiers-Stuart (1926), pl. E). 'By a living painter of Kangra town'. See no. 76(1).

Stchoukine, I. *La Peinture Indienne* (Paris, 1929).

Follows Coomaraswamy (1926, 1927) in quoting Wilson's version (1841) of Moorcroft's account of Sansar Chand's court and in stressing the supreme role of Sansar Chand in Kangra painting.

Pl. 94. 'The burning ground'. See no. 57.

Pl. 97b. 'Radha and Krishna walking'. See no. 66(i).

Pl. 99. 'The night tryst'. See no. 66(ii).

1930

Smith, V. A. *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon* (Oxford, second (revised) edition by K. de B. Codrington, 1930), 225-226.

Sharply critical of Coomaraswamy but itself somewhat perfunctory.

Pl. 160. 'Lady at her toilet'. See no. 45.

Pl. 161. 'Radha and Krishna walking'. From a *Rasika Priya* series. See no. 66(i).

1931

French, J. C. *Himalayan Art* (Oxford, 1931).

A discursive account of travels in the Punjab Hills

embodying much information drawn from the Punjab Gazetteers and from Hutchison and Vogel (*Journal Panjab Historical Society*) but also including many materials collected at first hand. With Ghose (1929), the first serious attempt at identifying styles of painting by 'on the spot' investigations.

Affirms the supremacy of Kangra as a centre of painting in the Punjab Hills. 'Round the Kangra Valley are the great mountains, the home of ancient Rajput states. They all look to the Kangra Valley as the source of their art and pictures by Kangra artists and the influence of their style are to be found everywhere throughout this region' (1).

'The artistic supremacy of Kangra is asserted in the Kangra Valley itself. Both Colonel the Maharaja Sir Jai Chand and the Raja of Guler, who are the acknowledged leaders of the Rajputs, not only of the Western Himalayas, but also of the whole of the Punjab, impressed on the writer that the Kangra Valley was the cultural centre of the Western Himalayas and that Kangra artists went far and wide, not only among the Hill states but to Lahore and even to Delhi. The writer found all this conceded in the state of Chamba to the north of Kangra, and in the states of Mandi and Suket to the east. All these states had local schools of their own but frankly admitted that they never had anything to compare with the great masterpieces of Kangra' (37).

[Throughout his book, French uses the terms 'Kangra' and 'Kangra Valley' as almost synonymous and accordingly views the painting of Guler 'in the Kangra Valley' as 'Kangra or Kangra Valley painting'. He expressly connects with Guler only four pictures and while implying that Guler was responsible for 'early Kangra' painting and may have played an important part in developing the 'Kangra or Kangra Valley' school, he avoids attributing to it any 'Kangra' masterpieces. If the Guler court had, in fact, been renowned as a more important centre than the court of Sansar Chand of Kangra, and a prolific, if not more prolific, source of masterpieces, it seems unlikely that French would not have noted this.]

In contrast to Coomaraswamy (1916), points out that 'the pictures which are the art of the Kangra Valley are (still) to be found in the hands of rajas, either ruling princes or territorial magnates and are their most cherished possessions' (10). If certain pictures are not always accessible that may be because 'the ladies of the family' are worshipping them. 'It is (also) unfortunately a fact that many owners have parted with their best'. None the less, ancestral collections do exist.

Of local Kangra collections seen by French, the following two are specially noted:

(1) Collection of Colonel the Maharaja Sir Jai Chand of Lambagraon, Kangra district, great grandson of Raja Fateh Chand (Reigns and Portraits, xxx), and father of Raja Dhrub Dev Chand (xxxii), including among others:

1 A portrait of Ghamand Chand.

2 The marriage procession of Sansar Chand (French (1947), pl. 1; Randhawa 1961), fig. 5).

3 'Sansar Chand examining pictures' (Randhawa (1954b, 1961)). See no. 16.

4 Pl. 22. 'Krishna and the cow-girls in the forest' from the 'second' *Gita Govinda* series. See no. 67.

5 Pictures 'containing figures dressed in a quaint "John Company" style uniform, devised for Sansar Chand's troops by the Irish deserter, O'Brien'.

(2) Collection of Mian Bhawani Singh of Alampur, Kangra district, great-great-great grandson of Sansar Chand (Reigns and Portraits, xx) and father of Mian Ram Singh of Alampur-Bhawarna, Kangra District (xxi). Details unrecorded.

Describes murals in the Narbadeswar temple, Sujampur Tira, dated 1823 and reproduces one of them, a *Ramayana* scene (pl. 23). Alludes to recent murals in Kangra town, including some 'by an old painter called Nandu in the temple of Lachminarayan'.

Records the following Kangra artists:

Kushan Lal. 'Sansar Chand's favourite painter is said to have been one Kushan Lal' (69). Has not however seen any picture which was a work of art attributed to him (105). Source of information, Maharaja of Lambagraon (French, private communication, 1952). Since French was somewhat hard of hearing, 'Kushan Lal' is almost certainly a mistake for Khushala, son of the Guler artist, Manaku. See no. 30.

Fattu. Reported in Arki to have been one of Sansar Chand's painters and to have painted two pictures, both photographed by French. One of them, 'Ladies playing chess' reproduced French (1947), pl. 3; Randhawa (1954a), col. pl. 17. See no. 38. [Fattu was elder brother of Khushala and first son of Manaku (Goswamy, 1968).]

Nandu. 'The usual date given as the end of the Kangra Valley School is the great earthquake of 1905, which completed the destruction of the fortress-palace of Tira Sujanpur and made it the horrible ruin it now is. There is no doubt that a number of artists were killed by it but when the writer visited Kangra in 1929, Nandu, Huzuri, Gulabu Ram and Lachman Das were still working. They are all of the Gujeria caste.' 'Nandu's frescoes in the Lachminarayn temple (Kangra town) have already been mentioned' (100). He showed the writer some of his smaller pictures. They are not so good as his frescoes. Nandu has a genealogical roll which shows that his ancestor Suraj came to Kangra in 1563. They have been working as artists there ever since' (101).

[In the light of Randhawa (1955, 1956) and Goswamy (1965, 1966, 1968), 'Gujeria caste' is obviously a mistake for 'Guleria'.]

Huzuri. Showed French a picture by him of Alexander the Great (Villiers-Stuart (1926), pl. B.).

[Father of Lachman Das of Ustehar (Samloti). Also discussed Randhawa (1954c), figs. 2, 3, 4. For another picture of Alexander the Great, see Moorcroft (1820, 1822).]

Gulabu Ram. Discussed pictures with French and attributed one to Lachman Das 'of Ajodh'.

[Son of Ramdayal, grandson of Purkhu of Samloti (Baden-Powell, 1872; Randhawa, 1955, 1956).]

Lachman Das. Village and ancestry not noted. May therefore have been Lachman Das of Ustehar (Samloti), son of Huzuri or Lachman Das of Rajol.

Lachman Das 'of Ajodh.'

'I had an amusing experience with the artist Gulabu Ram. I was looking at a collection of pictures in Kangra town and was shown one said to be two hundred years old. Gulabu Ram happened to be there. I showed the two hundred years old picture to Gulabu Ram and asked if he knew the name of the artist. "Oh yes," said Gulabu Ram "It's by Lachman Dass of Ajodh." "When did he die?" I asked. Gulabu replied, "Lachman Dass isn't dead, he's a man about the same age as myself (about thirty-five)"' (101).

[In the light of Randhawa (1954c, 1955, 1956) 'Ajodh' is obviously a mistake for 'Rajol'. In 1955 when Randhawa collected his information, Lachman Das of Rajol was aged seventy-two years and apart from Lachman Das of Ustehar was the only other Lachman Das still working as a painter in Kangra district. Accepting French's estimate of his age as correct, he would have been 'about sixty' when Randhawa interviewed him. 'About sixty' is sufficiently near to seventy-two to make no odds. It is clear therefore that they must be the same person. In view of 'Ajodh' for 'Rajol' and 'Gujeria' for 'Guleria', 'Kushan Lal' for 'Khushala' becomes even more probable. See also under Chamba, Guler.]

1933

Goetz, H. 'Some court portraits of the Pahari school in Dutch collections', *Journal Indian Society of Oriental Art* (1933), 1, no. 2, 120-123. See Vogel (1947) where the origins of these portraits is disclosed.

Hutchison, J. and Vogel, J. P. *A History of the Panjab Hill States* (Lahore, 1933), 1.

Quotes the Muslim historian, Ghulam Muhai-ud Din, on Sansar Chand's patronage of 'people of skill and talent'

(reigns, xiv q.v.) and comments: 'Many paintings of that time are extant at Kangra, Lambagraon, Guler, Nadaun and other places; also in the Lahore Museum'.

Quotes Moorcroft's account of Sansar Chand in Wilson's paraphrase (1841).

1935

Sud, L. M. R. 'The Rise of Sansar Chand', *Panjab University Historical Society* (1935), IV, part 1, no. 7, 69.

Records a painting, seen at Alampur, of Sansar Chand leading his forces to the siege of Kangra, inscribed on the reverse in *takri* characters (transl.): 'On the 23rd of Katak Sambat 1837 (November 1781 A.D.) Sansar Chand conquered the country and town of Kangra'.

Presumably from the collection of the Bhawarna (Alampur) branch of the Kangra family (q.v.).

1938

Khandalavala, K. *Indian Sculpture and Painting* (Bombay, 1938), 60-61.

Fig. 106. 'Girl on swing'. See no. 40(2).

1945

Goetz, H. 'Raja Isvari Sen of Mandi and the history of Kangra painting', *Bulletin Baroda Museum* (1944-1945), II, 35-38.

A tentative reconstruction of the history of Kangra painting but without citing any definite evidence.

1946

Khandalavala, K. 'Some paintings from the collection of the late Burjor N. Treasuryvala', *Marg* (1946), I, no. 1, 52.

Reproduces 'A Girl feeding a deer' ('Pahari, Kangra school. Late 18th or early 19th century').

Summarises the distinctive qualities by which Kangra painting was now being recognised: 'Kangra art is delicate, excessively refined both in treatment and in the physical types rendered, and softly coloured as a rule. The long empire-like gown is a characteristic female garment and the construction of the face is unmistakable with the straight nose in line with the forehead; the long line from the point of the chin to the upper part of the throat; and the delicately curved eyes.'

1947

Goetz, H. 'Indian Painting in the Muslim period', *Journal Indian Society of Oriental Art* (1947), XV, 19-41.

Ideas, theories and conjectures but again, no supporting evidence.

French, J. C. 'Sansar Chand of Kangra', *Indian Art and Letters* (1947), XXI, no. 2, 89-91.

Describes the career of Sansar Chand and publishes the following four pictures:

Pl. 1. 'Sansar Chand's marriage procession'. Photographed by French in the collection of Colonel Maharaja Sir Jai Singh of Lambagraon. See Randhawa (1961), fig. 5.

Pl. 2. 'Sansar Chand and Gibbern Sahib (O'Brien) celebrating the Holi festival with courtiers'. Photographed by French in the house of Mian Bhawani Singh at Alampur. See no. 21.

Pl. 3. 'Ladies playing chess'. Photographed by French in the house of Mian Basant Singh of Arki, cousin of the Raja of Arki. Attributed by the family to Fattu, a painter of Sansar Chand. See no. 38.

Pl. 4. 'Sansar Chand and courtiers examining pictures'. Photographed by French in the house of the Maharaja of Lambagraon. See no. 10.

Vogel, J. P. 'Portrait Painting in Kangra and Chamba', *Artibus Asiae* (1947), X, no. 3, 200-215.

Summarises the career of Raja Sansar Chand (1775-1823) of Kangra, concluding with Wilson's version (1841) of Moorcroft's account of his artists and 'large collection of pictures'.

Comments: 'It is not known what became of Sansar Chand's collection of pictures, when his son and successor

had abandoned his state to the Sikhs. But part of it is probably preserved as a precious heirloom by the jagirdar of Lambagraon, the present head of the Katoch clan. In 1905, when I was making a tour in the Kangra district after the earthquake of the 4th April, Pandit Hirananda Sastri, who was then my assistant, had the good fortune to fall in with a man who proved to be a descendant of one of Sansar Chand's court-painters. The poor man, whom his native hills offered no scope for the exercise of his ancestral art, hoped to find employment at the court of one of the petty Rajas in Jammu-Kashmir. He was still in possession of a number of drawings which were damaged by insects and bore the evident marks of prolonged neglect. He was quite ready to part with them and I am sure that by purchasing them we have saved the collection from destruction.

The collection included a number of miniature portraits of hill rajahs of the 18th century, not only Kangra but also Basohli, Jammu and Mandi being represented. These on account of their historical interest, I presented to the Lahore Museum. It was not a little curious to recognise a sketch showing a European seated in a chair which an inscription in *nagari* enabled me to identify with the traveller Moorcroft. In all probability this portrait was made by one of Sansar Chand's artists' (206). [On grounds of style, this identification must be doubted.]

Of a further group of Kangra portraits, Vogel notes: 'A few pictures of the Kangra school were published by Dr. Hermann Goetz (*Journal Indian Society of Oriental Art* (1933), I, no. 2). They had been acquired by me from a dealer at Amritsar whom I imprudently gave to understand my preference for portraits of hill-chiefs. The result was that I promptly received a good number of pictures marked on the back with the name of some well-known raja in the shop-keeper's handwriting! Dr. Goetz, when publishing them, rightly remarked that "these attributions are rather problematic". In fact, they may be considered to be absolutely valueless, as they are nothing but the dealer's invention' (206-207).

Considers, on the evidence of the Chamba portraits of Raja Raj Singh (1764-1794) of Chamba, published by Ujfalvy (1884), that 'Raj Singh, the martial ruler of Chamba, was as great a patron of pictorial art, as his rival, Sansar Chand of Kangra' (212). [This claim seems hardly warranted.]

Vogel's account of the origin of the Pahari portrait collection in the Central Museum, Lahore, is of special importance since the majority of Rajas, whether from Kangra or elsewhere are portrayed in markedly similar style. In the light of Welch and Beach (1965), pl. 70, it is evident that certain artists at the Kangra court quite clearly specialised in sketching visiting rulers and nobility.

1948

French, J. C. 'Kangra Architecture', *Art and Letters* (1948), XXII, no. 1, 18-20.

Stresses the connection between the Kangra scenery of the upper Beas valley and Kangra painting itself.

Reproduces photographs of the palace, Sujanpur Tira and its outer gate (figs. 2 and 3) and of the Narbadeshwar Temple, Sujanpur (fig. 4), erected in 1823 by Sansar Chand's rani from Suket.

Goetz, H. 'The Coming of Muslim cultural influence in the Punjab Himalay', *India Antiqua* (Leyden, 1948), 164.

Suggests Lucknow (Oudh) influences in Kangra dress, architecture and painting in the late 18th century.

French, J. C. 'Kangra Frescoes', *Art and Letters* (1948), XXII, no. 2, 57-59.

Reproduces a mural from the Narbadeshwar temple, Sujanpur, showing 'Hanuman, the monkey-god, worshipping Krishna'. Notes that 'rough recent frescoes occur in the Kangra Valley' but that 'work of age and quality' is hard to find. ['Krishna' is clearly a mistake for 'Rama'.]

Gray, B. *Rajput Painting* (London, 1948).

Pls. 8, 9, 10 attributed to Kangra but here regarded as Guler, Garhwal and Nurpur respectively. Accepts the patronage extended by Sansar Chand as the decisive influence in making Kangra 'the cultural centre of the land'.

1950

Werner, A. *Indian Miniatures* (New York, 1950).

Pls. 11 and 14 here accepted as Kangra.

Gray, B. 'Painting', *The Art of India and Pakistan* (London, 1950, ed. L. Ashton), 102.

Limits the term 'Kangra' to Kangra state, as ruled over by Raja Sansar Chand (1775-1823) and maintains that this raja established such a dominant position in the hills at the end of the (18th) century that the style of painting practised by his court artists was adopted by all the neighbouring states except perhaps Chamba.

'But there seems no justification for attributing to Kangra the paintings of these states at an earlier date or an earlier school than the middle of the eighteenth century, as has been proposed by Coomaraswamy (*Rajput Painting*, 1916, p.21) and Mr. French (*Himalayan Art*, 1931, especially p.45).'

Of various plates attributed to Kangra, pls. 109 (558), 111 (565), and 114 are here accepted as Kangra proper.

It is unfortunate that Gray did not specify which 'neighbouring states' he had in mind or discuss the possible origins of the Kangra style. It is also curious that he should have overlooked the evidence for independent painting at Guler.

1951

Goetz, H. 'The Background of Pahari-Rajput painting', *Roopa Lekha* (1951), XXII, no. 1, 1-16.

Points out that the Beas valley rather than Kangra Fort was the cultural centre of Kangra state and stresses that 'hardly any "Kangra" paintings have ever been executed in Kangra proper'. Suggests that it was for the palace ladies of Sansar Chand that most of the best 'Kangra' miniatures were painted. Provides vivid descriptions of Sujanpur Tira, Kangra Fort, Alampur and Nadaun.

Pls. 17-25. View of the Radha-Krishna temple, Sujanpur; durbar court and palace entrance, Tira; Sansar Chand's *baradari*, Tira; a balcony in Sansar Chand's zenana, Tira palace; Sita Ram temple, Tira; Narbadeshwar temple, Sujanpur; garden pavilion, Amtar, near Nadaun and Siva temple, Nadaun.

1952

Archer, W. G. *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills* (London, 1952).

Points out that 'although almost fifty years have now elapsed since pictures from the Hills were first marketed by dealers, we are still extremely ignorant of almost all local variants'. Stresses that while, in the case of Kangra, 'the general achievement is fairly clear, there is much which even here requires investigation'.

Defines as the main problems still awaiting solution:

(1) the circumstances and factors which led to a sudden great development of painting in Kangra under Sansar Chand (1775-1823) — bearing in mind Moorcroft's account of his keen interest in painting (Wilson, 1841), his age at accession (ten years) and the paucity of material connected with his grand-father Ghamand Chand (1761-1773);

(2) in view of the apparent absence of antecedents in Kangra itself, the alternative source from which the great Kangra style can have originated.

Endeavours to reconstruct painting in Guler (q.v.) and to show that it was Guler artists in the period 1730-1780 whose experiments led to the Kangra style. Contends that 'the state of Guler played a decisive part in the development of Pahari painting in the eighteenth century. Not only did it develop a local art of the greatest delicacy and charm but the final version of this Guler style was taken to Kan-

gra in about 1780 — thus becoming the 'Kangra' style itself'. 'Guler is not merely one of thirty-eight small centres of Pahari art. It is the originator and breeder of the greatest style in all the Kangra Hills' (17). [For the extent to which this thesis is here adopted, see IV Painting: Catalogue and Reconstruction.]

In addition to discussing the origins of 'the Kangra style', a series of five portraits of Kangra rulers (figs. 50, 52 and 53) in a style allied to that of 'Jammu' is discussed and provisionally entitled 'Jammu-Sikh' at Kangra.

Fig. 1. 'Girl running inside a house to escape a storm'. See no. 56(1).

Fig. 2. 'The milkmaids begging back their clothes'. From the 'Kangra' *Bhagavata Purana* series. See no. 36.

Fig. 3. 'The hall of mirrors'. See no. 45.

Fig. 4. 'Krishna rescuing the sleeping Nanda'. From the 'Kangra' *Bhagavata Purana* series. See no. 36.

Archer, W. G. *Kangra Painting* (London, 1952).

An attempted history of painting in Kangra in the 18th and 19th centuries on the basis of the reconstruction of Guler painting made in Archer (1952a).

(1) Maintains that 'the sudden appearance of this art in Kangra has an air of intriguing mystery for, until its emergence in about the year 1780, the state appears to have had no developed school of painting. From 1751 (1761) to 1774, its ruler, Raja Ghamand Chand had achieved fresh heights of feudal glory. He seems, however, to have been entirely indifferent to art. Only four portraits of him are known to exist and these are all in a style which is only a rough version of a more northerly school of painting as propagated by the Sikhs. Between their clumsy crudities and the delicate refinements of Kangra painting proper, there is such a gulf that wherever these particular portraits may have been painted, they provide no clue to later developments. Yet in spite of this dead blank, a great style arose and there are two factors which seem to have played a crucially important role. The first was the accession to the Kangra throne of a quite exceptional patron. The second was the existence in a nearby state of master-artists suitable for employment. Neither of these circumstances, had they occurred in isolation, could have produced a major art. It was their accidental combination which led to the special situation out of which the Kangra style arose.'

(2) Identifies this patron as Sansar Chand (1775-1823) of Kangra and suggests that, attracted by such a patron, painters from neighbouring Guler, itself a source of decisive experiments in a style preparatory to that of Kangra, migrated to Kangra and there, stimulated by Sansar Chand, developed and matured the Guler style.

(3) Names Fattu and Kushan Lal as among the painters who produced 'the Kangra style', accepting Khandalavala's suggestion that 'Kushan Lal', said to have been Sansar Chand's favourite painter (French, 1931) is a mistake for Khushala, nephew of Nainsukh.

(4) Distinguishes two master-artists: the master of the *Bhagavata Purana* (see no. 36) and the master of the *Bihari Sat Sai* (see no. 39) and of other pictures.

(5) Distinguishes Kangra painting proper from Guler painting by its warmer naturalism and greater rhythm and also by a marked preference for the 'Kangra' face.

(6) Stresses Sansar Chand's adhesion to the cult of Krishna as an explanation of the apparent concentration on Krishna themes in Kangra painting (as against less religious and more romantic themes in Guler).

(7) Suggests that the master-artists responsible for the great Kangra style (1780-1805) may have died by the time of the Gurkha invasion or that, if still living, Sansar Chand's

own enthusiasms were affected by political events. Suggests that after 1806 the special Kangra quality of 'fluent animation' seems to disappear.

(8) Records the suggestion of Khandalavala and Rai Krishnadasa that the *Gita Govinda* series and *Bihari Sat Sai* series in the Tehri Garhwal Raj collection are examples of Kangra painting which had reached Tehri on the occasion of the wedding of Sansar Chand's two daughters to Sudarshan Shah of Tehri in 1829.

Note: For subsequent evidence confirming the Guler origins of the Kangra master-painters, Khushala, Fattu and Gaudhu, see Randhawa (1954c, 1956a) and Goswamy (1968).

Pl. 1. 'The festival of spring' (Krishna celebrating the Holi festival with Radha and her friends). See no. 32.

Pl. 2. 'Radha and Krishna in the grove'. See no. 35.

Pl. 3. 'The bending of the bow'. See Guler, no. 47(2).

Pl. 4. 'The worship of Mount Govardhan'. See no. 36 (additional example).

Pl. 5. 'The gathering storm'. See no. 52.

Pl. 6. 'The festival of spring'. See no. 46.

Pl. 7. 'Krishna and the milkmaids'. See no. 43.

Pl. 8. 'The lady and the mirror'. See no. 60.

Pl. 9. 'The gale of love'. See Mandi, no. 57.

Pl. 10. 'The kite'. Compare no. 63.

1953

Khandalavala, K. 'A Review of *Kangra Painting* by W. G. Archer', *Marg* (1953), VI, no. 3, 25-31.

Contests the thesis that Kangra painting originated in Guler and deploys the following arguments in favour of its origin in Kangra itself under Sansar Chand's grandfather, Ghamand Chand (1751-1774):

(1) Ghamand Chand's foundation of Tira Sujampur as a fortress palace — the presence of architects making it likely that painters also were present.

(2) Paintings in 'pre-Kangra' i.e. pre-1775 style are not confined to Guler. Some pictures, hitherto unidentified, may therefore be from Kangra itself.

(3) Moorcroft (Wilson, 1841) relates that Anirudh Chand, son of Sansar Chand, told him that a portrait of Alexander the Great had reached him 'by inheritance'. If Ghamand Chand had one picture, it is reasonable to suppose that he may have had a whole collection.

(4) If Sansar Chand became a great patron, it was because as a boy he became interested in the pictures which were already being produced by painters around him. Since the anarchy in the Punjab plains had led to refugees arriving in the Hills, and since Ghamand Chand's court was the one most obviously up-and-coming, some refugee artists must almost certainly have joined it. It is these who aroused the young Sansar Chand's interest.

(5) Although tradition is not conclusive, 'tradition in the Hill courts connects the Kangra style with Kangra itself and not with Guler or any other state'.

(6) The 'typical' Kangra-style face (straight nose almost in line with the forehead) is not seen at Guler under Govardhan Chand (1741-1773) but makes a sudden appearance early in the reign of Prakash Chand (1773-1790). The most plausible explanation is that it had already been developed at Kangra and from Kangra spread to Guler.

(7) On the basis of Gray and Archer's misreading of the Balwant Singh inscription (Gray, 1950; Archer, 1952a) suggests that Sansar Chand's foremost artist, Kushan Lal is Khushala, 'Nainsukh's brother' and that the family had migrated from the plains and had settled at Jasrota. Adds 'that this family was trained in the Moghul school of the Muhammad Shah period is obvious from Nainsukh's work and it seems that after settling in Jasrota the members of the family took service at various courts. . . . It is quite likely that Kushan Lal as a young man went to Kangra and worked at Ghamand Chand's court and later on due to his skill and long experience at the Kangra court became the master of the great atelier which Sansar Chand maintained'.

[For evidence that Khushala was the nephew, not the brother of Nainsukh, see Randhawa (1956a) and Goswamy (1966b, 1968) and for the family's connection with Guler, not Jasrota, Goswamy (1965, 1966a, c and 1968).]

(8) The absence of portraits (or their existence in an inferior style) is no reason for holding that other painting did not exist.

(9) Even if power-politics prevented Ghamand Chand from actively interesting himself in his artists, the presence of some artists would be necessary for his prestige as the future paramount power.

(10) The probability is that the Kangra school developed from the 'pre-Kangra' phase in Kangra itself (i.e. from a phase of painting sponsored in the Punjab Hills (1740-1775) by refugee artists from the Punjab Plains, originally trained in the Mughal schools of the first half of the eighteenth century but 'much influenced by the Hill landscapes and colours, the Hill types and even by some of the peculiarities of the Basohli school of painting'. 'This "pre-Kangra" phase is not limited to any one Hill State. It was in vogue in Jammu, Guler, Basohli during the reign of Amrit Pal (1757-1776), Suket and doubtless many other Hill States. It is largely from this "pre-Kangra" style that the Kangra school developed. It is difficult to believe that there were no painters of this pre-Kangra phase working in the state of Kangra itself'. Does not, however, propose any specific examples of 'pre-Kangra' pictures painted at Kangra.

(11) Distinguishes two types of 'Kangra' face; a standard type, mentioned above, and a *Bhagavata* type (from the 'Kangra' *Bhagavata Purana* series where it chiefly appears). Concedes the possibility that Guler artists may have carried the 'Bhagavata' type to Kangra and that the date, 1790, 'may well be correct' for that series. Points out that 'the *Bhagavata* style' face is somewhat rounded, modelled, shaded and has an almost porcelain-like delicacy. The nose is small and slightly upturned'. Considers that Archer, pl. 1 (see present no. 3) 'appears to hail from Guler and belongs to that overlapping period 1765-1776 when the "pre-Kangra" phase and the early Kangra *kalam* (school) were merging into one another'.

(12) Proposes 1800 as the date of pl. 5, 'The gathering storm' (see no. 52) and 1825 as the date of pl. 8, 'The lady and the mirror' (no. 60).

Randhawa, M. S. 'Kangra Paintings illustrating the Life of Shiva and Parvati', *Roopa Lekha* (1953), XXIV, nos. 1 and 2, 23-39, figs. 1-20, 4 col. pls.

Publishes a *Kumar Sambhava* (*Shiva Purana*) series of 110 pictures, acquired by the Punjab Government, from Mian Ram Singh of Alampur-Bhawarna (reigns, xxi), descendant of Raja Anirudh Chand (1823-1828) of Kangra. Here regarded as Tehri Garhwal (see *Garhwal*, no. 34).

Gangoly, O. C. 'A set of *Ramayana* illustrations of the Pahari School', *Bulletin Baroda Museum*, (1952-1953), IX, pts. 1-2, 25-29, figs. 1-4.

Publishes a *Ramayana* series (*Rishya Sringar* episode from the *Bala Kanda*) in a decadent Kangra style, 'late 19th century'. Here accepted as Kangra, c.1850 or later.

1954

Randhawa, M. S. *Kangra Valley Painting* (New Delhi, 1954).

After French (1931), the first investigator of Kangra painting to travel widely in the Kangra district, examine ancestral collections of paintings and record scenery, traditions and provenances.

Reproduces in colour the following pictures from ancestral collections, here regarded as Kangra:

(1) Collection of Mian Ram Singh of Bhawarna, Kangra district (Reigns and Portraits: xxi).

1. Pl. 2. 'Sansar Chand with courtiers at Nadaun'. See no. 20.

(2) Collection of Raja Dhruv Dev Chand of Lambagraon, Kangra district (Reigns and Portraits: xxxi).

1. Pls 3-5. From a *Baramasa* series. See no. 41.

2. Pl. 7. 'Beloved's Vigil'. Compare no. 57.

3. Pl. 10. 'To the tryst by night'. Compare no. 64.

4. Pl. 11. 'To the tryst by moonlight'.

5. Pl. 26. 'Rama and Sita entranced'. See no. 69(1).

6. Pl. 27. 'The divine flutist'. See no. 65(1).

7. Pl. 38. 'Enraptured lovers'. Compare no. 57.

8. Pl. 39. 'Krishna braiding Radha's hair'. See no. 68.

(3) Collection of Mian Chattar Singh of Arki (Bhagal), perhaps obtained by the family during the residence at Arki of Ranbir and Pramod Chand, grandsons of Sansar Chand (Reigns and Portraits: xvi, xvii). Attributed by the family to Fattu, painter of Sansar Chand (see also French, 1931, 1947).

1. Pl. 17. 'Ladies at chess'. See no. 38.

[Pl. 27 is correctly captioned Lambagraon collection but in the list of plates is mistakenly assigned to the Guler collection.]

Randhawa, M. S. 'Sujanpur Tira, the cradle of Kangra Art', *Marg* (1954), VII, no. 3, 21-36, Figs. 1-15.

Describes visits made in 1953 and 1954 to Bhawarna and Alampur (seats of the Alampur branch of the Kangra family), Bijapur (birthplace of Sansar Chand), Lambagraon (residence of Maharaja Dhruv Dev Chand, descendant of Sansar Chand's middle brother, Fateh Chand), Nadaun, Amtar and the Beas Valley. Supplements French (1931) with an account of murals in the Narbadeshwar temple, Sujanpur. Analyses the distribution of Sansar Chand's collection of pictures (Moorcroft, 1820) among the Nadaun, Alampur (Bhawarna) and Lambagraon branches of the Kangra family.

[Paintings taken by Jodhbir Chand (Nadaun branch, xxii) are no longer with the family, all of them having been sold to dealers long before.]

Reproduces 15 portraits of Sansar Chand and his courtiers (republished Randhawa (1961) q.v.). Certain identifications of Anirudh Chand later corrected to Sansar Chand (Randhawa, 1961). In the light of local knowledge, identifies fig. 7 as Sansar Chand's palace at Nadaun, with the Beas River in the background.

Attributes to Kangra (Sujanpur Tira) a *Radha Krishna* (*Bhagavata Purana*) series and a *Vishnu Avatara* series 'in Basohli style' (published Randhawa (1959), col. pls. 8-11, 15) in the Lambagraon collection, here regarded as Mankot. See *Mankot* no. 36.

Randhawa, M. S. 'Kangra Valley School of Painting', *Art and Letters* (1954), XXVIII, no. 1, 1-9.

An account of interviews with the following living descendants of Kangra painters: Puran Chand of Kangra, Lachman Das, 'Guleria Maratha' of Ustehar (Samloti), Gulabu Ram of Samloti and Lachman Das of Rajol — Ustehar, Samloti and Rajol all being villages about five miles from Kangra town.

Records family traditions connecting Basia, great-grandfather of Lachman Das of Ustehar (Samloti) with the court of Sansar Chand and notes him as having painted portraits of Sansar Chand 'which are life-like and realistic'. Fig. 1. Lachman Das of Ustehar (Samloti) displaying work by his father, Huzuri (died 1929, aged 80; see Randhawa (1956a)).

Fig. 2. 'Postman delivering a letter'. By Huzuri.

Fig. 3. 'Family of a Tahsil clerk'. By Huzuri.

Fig. 4. 'A family group of Lahaulas'. By Huzuri. See no. 76(1).

Fig. 5. 'Englishman hunting deer'. By Lachman Das of Rajol. See no. 77.

Fig. 6. 'Pathan money-lenders'. By Lachman Das of Rajol.

Fig. 7. 'Group of Bengalis dancing and playing music'. By Lachman Das of Rajol.

Fig. 8. 'Wayfarers deluded by a will-of-the-wisp'. By Lachman Das of Rajol.

Notes Lachman Das of Rajol as being then 'about 75 years old' and a great-grandson of the Guler painter, Nainsukh (Guler and Chamba q.v.). Emphasises that 'Kangra art had very little to do with Kangra town'.

Archer, W. G. *Garhwal Painting* (London, 1954).

Regards Garhwal painting (c.1770-1803) and Kangra painting (1775 onwards) as separate but parallel offshoots from Guler painting of the Govardhan Chand period (1741-1773). Alludes to Kangra painting in the light of these developments. Comments on the flight to the Kangra court of Parakram, brother of Raja Pradyumna Shah of Garhwal, after the latter's death in battle against the Gurkhas, 1804.

[The association of Parakram with Sansar Chand may have contributed to Anirudh Chand's resolve to flee to Hardwar in 1828 and to give his two sisters in marriage to Parakram's nephew, Raja Sudarshan Shah of Tehri Garhwal. The wedding of these two Kangra princesses may have resulted in the migration to Tehri of some Kangra painters, c.1830. For reasons given in the text, migration of Kangra artists to Garhwal in the earlier part of Sansar Chand's own reign is regarded as unlikely.]

1955

Archer, W. G. 'Some Nurpur Paintings', *Marg* (1955), VIII, no. 3, 16.

Discusses the large *Durgapath* series of 174 pictures, formerly in the collection of Mian Ram Singh of Bhawarna, descendant of Sansar Chand (see Reigns: xxi). Queries a Kangra attribution, preferring to connect this series on grounds of style with Nurpur and to suggest that it may have reached Sansar Chand as a present from Raja Prithvi Singh of Nurpur (Nurpur q.v.).

Randhawa, M. S. 'Kangra Artists', *Art and Letters* (1955), XXIX, no. 1, 1-9, figs. 1-10.

A continuation of Randhawa (1954c) recording in much greater detail genealogies of certain Kangra artists, on the basis of family traditions supplied by their descendants in Kangra district, 1953-1954. Supports the thesis (Archer, 1952a, b) that Kangra painting was a development out of painting in Guler by identifying the artists Manak and Nainsukh (sons of the painter Seu) and their descendant Khushala as natives of Guler. For a summary in detail of this pioneer contribution, see Guler: Review of Literature. Reproduces (figs. 1-8) portraits of the artists Seu, Manak, Nainsukh, Khushala, Rama, Gaudhu, Nikka and Ranjha (Ramlal).

1956

Randhawa, M. S. 'Kangra Artists', *Roopa Lekha* (1956), XXVII, no. 1, 4-10.

A revised and corrected version of Randhawa (1955). Adds the information that Purkhu's four sons, Ram Dayal, Ruldu, Chandnu and Ram Kishan all worked at Sujampur. See also Guler: Review of Literature.

Archer, W. G. *Kangra Painting* (London, second and revised impression, 1956).

Cites Randhawa (1955) as confirming the supposition made in the first impression (1952), that the painter Nainsukh had also worked in Guler. Adds Purkhu to the list of painters known to have worked for Sansar Chand of Kangra.

Randhawa, M. S. *The Krishna Legend in Pahari Painting* (New Delhi, 1956), col. pls. 1-12.

Stresses the close resemblances between the scenery of the Beas valley, Kangra and the scenery depicted in paintings from the Kangra court.

Pls. 1, 2, 7 and 11. From the 'Kangra' *Bhagavata Purana*. See no. 36.

Pl. 10 'Radha and Krishna exchanging clothes'. From the Lambagraon collection, Kangra, c.1810-1820. Compare no. 65.

Archer, W. G. *Indian Painting* (London, 1956).

Regards Guler in the period 1740-1765, as the prime source of the poetic and romantic Hill style which spread to Chamba, Kangra and Garhwal. Attributes the achievements of Kangra painting under Sansar Chand to a group of Guler artists working at his court under his active inspiration and encouragement.

Fig. 1. Illustration from the 'first' *Gita Govinda* series. Mehta collection, Bombay (formerly Tehri Garhwal Raj collection). See no. 33.

1957

Archer, W. G. *The Loves of Krishna* (London, 1957).

Stresses the comparative absence of paintings on the Krishna theme at Guler and their importance at Kangra. Connects developments at Kangra with Sansar Chand's own enthusiasm for the Krishna cult — this enthusiasm determining not only a vast expansion of pictures on Krishna themes (including at least three large series) but also engendering developments in style.

Attributes the 'Kangra' *Bhagavata Purana* series (pls. 3, 5, 6, 8, 9, 11, 16) to Purkhu (Baden Powell, 1872; Randhawa, 1956a) and its 'moonlight' portion (pls. 13-15) to a second master-artist, 'the master of the moonlight'. See no. 36.

Attributes to Khushala, son of Manaku, the 'first' Kangra *Gita Govinda* series (pl. 21) and the *Bihari Sat Sai* series (pl. 26). See nos. 33 and 39.

For 'Radha and Krishna in the grove' (col. frontispiece), see no. 35.

Archer, W. G. 'Romance and Poetry in Indian Painting', The Sir George Birdwood Memorial Lecture, *Journal Royal Society of Arts* (1957), CV, no. 5014, 909-1919.

Re-emphasises the role of the patron in stimulating painting and again connects the development of the Kangra style of painting at the Kangra court with the personality of Raja Sansar Chand — the differences in personality between Sansar Chand of Kangra and Govardhan Chand of Guler largely explaining the differences in style between painting at Kangra and at Guler. Traces the development of painting in the Punjab Hills in the eighteenth century with special relevance to Basohli, Guler, Kangra and Garhwal.

Archer, W. G. *Garhwal Painting* (London, second and revised impression, 1957).

Maintains the relationship between Kangra and Garhwal painting as expressed in the first edition.

Archer, W. G. 'The problems of painting in the Punjab Hills', *Marg* (1957), X, no. 2, 30-36.

A review of Randhawa (1954a) stressing the importance of the two Kangra ancestral collections (Lambagraon and Bhawarna) as evidence for identifying painting at the Kangra court. Re-states the circumstances in which provenance should be accepted as provisional proof of origin.

[Mian Chattar Singh of Arki is mistakenly referred to in the review as a descendant of Sansar Chand. The presence of a picture by the Kangra painter, Fattu (son of Manaku), in his collection is explained by the sojourn at Arki of Sansar Chand's two grandsons, 1829-1833.]

1958

Randhawa, M. S. 'A re-assessment of some paintings described in Gangoly's *Masterpieces of Rajput Painting*', *Lalit Kala* (dated 1956-1957, but published 1958), nos. 3-4, 96-101.

Re-assesses Gangoly's plates in the light of the evidence for style and origin newly available through his own discoveries of the Guler, Kotla, Lambagraon and Bhawarna ancestral collections.

Re-emphasises the importance of scenery as a means of identification: 'Apart from (ancestral) paintings, the landscape of Alampur, Sujampur Tira, Haripur-Guler and Nadaun provides a clue to the origin of some of these paintings. The types of building as well as riverside scenes shown in the famous *Baramasa* set of paintings with the Raja of Lambagraon (Randhawa 1954a, pls. 3-5) are strongly reminiscent of the landscape of Sujampur Tira which was the capital of Sansar Chand. The rugged rocks flanking the Ban Ganga at Haripur-Guler are seen in a number of Guler paintings while the ghat on the river with a long flight of steps shown in some paintings reminds us of Nadaun' (96).

An editorial comment by Khandalavala adds his own re-attributions to those by Randhawa.

Ghose, A. 'Pahari Schools of Indian Painting', *Roopa Lekha* (1958), XXVIII, nos. 1 and 2, 33-44.

Stresses that due to subsequent researches (including his own) 'a very much clearer picture of the Pahari schools has emerged than was possible for Coomaraswamy to give in his famous book *Rajput Painting* (1916) or even in his later work, the *Boston Catalogue* (1926)'.

Quotes French (1931) concerning the early pre-eminence of Kangra in the art of the Punjab Hills but appears to agree with Gray in dating this pre-eminence from Sansar Chand's reign only.

Considers that 'the principal schools in order of time were in all probability Basohli, Guler, Kangra and Garhwal'.

Randhawa, M. S. 'Kangra Ragamala Paintings', *Roopa Lekha* (1958), XXIX, nos. 1 and 2, 4-28, figures 1-78, 3 col. pls.

Publishes a series of 80 illustrations to a Pahari *Ragamala* series (National Museum, New Delhi) identifying and labelling each *raga*, *ragini* and *putra* and attributing the series to Kangra, early Sansar Chand period, c.1790. See 37.

Khandalavala, K. *Pahari Miniature Painting* (Bombay, 1958).

Attempts a detailed reconstruction of painting in Kangra, distinguishing (1) its antecedents — a pre-Kangra style (c.1740-c.1770), current in several states other than Kangra and the product of refugee Mughal artists from the Punjab Plains, including the family of Seu, Manaku and Nainsukh — and (2) the Kangra style proper, which is a development in Kangra from 1770 onwards of the 'pre-Kangra style' defined in (1).

Maintains that the 'pre-Kangra style' was a general adjustment to conditions in the Punjab Hills by Mughal artists trained in the Muhammad Shah style of painting and hence 'it is a fundamental error to think of "pre-Kangra" painting as confined to two pockets in the Hills, namely Guler and Jammu, or to regard Guler as the birth-place of Kangra art'.

Regards the Kangra court itself as 'the chief propagator of the Kangra style proper' and also as 'the parent source' in the post-1770 period. Connects the origins of painting in Kangra with the reign of Ghamand Chand, 1761 (51)-1774, but apart from a *Ramayana* series, here regarded as spuriously dated 1769 on each of its leaves, cites no evidence of pictures actually executed in Kangra prior to 1770. At the same time, views the period 1765-1775 as an 'overlapping period' in which it may be difficult to decide which particular pictures were painted in Kangra and which were not'.

Distinguishes two main types of Kangra female face: 'the standard type' in which 'the nose is almost in a straight line with the forehead, the point of the chin is at an unusually long distance from the throat, the face is flat and devoid of modelling, the eyes are long, narrow and curved and the hair is an even mass of black colour', and (2) the 'Bhagavata type', so termed from its employment in the 'Kangra' *Bhagavata Purana* 'painted in Sansar Chand's time', and characterised by faces 'well modelled and shaded so judiciously that they possess an almost porcelain-like delicacy, small and slightly up-turned noses and carefully painted hair'. Adds that 'whenever the "Bhagavata type" is seen, the miniature is of good workmanship'.

Connects the growth of the Kangra style proper with the adjustment of Mughal-trained artists to 'the spirit of Vaishnava literature'. Concedes, however, that Guler artists may have taken service with Sansar Chand of Kangra after Govardhan Chand's death in 1773.

Discusses portraits of Sansar Chand and his court in the Bhawarna collection (reign, xxi) and argues from their indifferent execution that several styles of painting were probably current at the same time under Sansar Chand.

Gives cogent reasons for regarding the 'Kangra' *Bhagavata Purana*, the Tehri *Gita Govinda*, the Tehri *Sat Sai*, the Lambagraon *Baramasa* and the 'Kangra' *Ragamala* series, as the work of painters at Sansar Chand's court. Following Vogel (1912) and Coomaraswamy (1926), quotes Wilson's paraphrase of Moorcroft (1841), emphasising Sansar Chand's large collection of drawings and his employment of many artists. Discusses the work of the artists Manaku, Nainsukh and Khushala and their possible connection with Guler and Kangra.

Of a wide range of illustrations, the following are especially significant:

- 1 Col. pls. J, Y, VII, figs. 1, 3, 12, 13, nos. 221, 225, 226, 235. From the 'Kangra' *Bhagavata Purana* series. See no. 36.
- 2 Col. pl. E, nos. 243, 244. From the 'first' Kangra *Gita Govinda* series. See no. 33.
- 3 Fig. 56, no. 223. From the *Bihari Sat Sai* series. See no. 39.
- 4 Nos. 231-234. From the Lambagraon *Baramasa* series. See no. 41.
- 5 No. 283. From the 'third' Kangra *Gita Govinda* series. See no. 67(1).
- 6 Nos. 227-230. From a series of *Nala Damayanti* line-drawings. See no. 50.
- 7 Col. pl. IV, nos. 247, 264, 266, 267. From the 'Kangra' *Rasika Priya* series. See no. 66.
- 8 Fig. 41, no. 222. From a 'vertical' *Bhagavata Purana* series. See Discussion no. 36.
- 9 Col. pl. IX, nos. 239, 284. 'Radha and Krishna celebrating the Holi festival'. See nos. 42(1) and 46(1).
- 10 Nos. 255-257, 279, 281. Miscellaneous examples from the Lambagraon ancestral collection.
- 11 Figs. 77, 81. Nos. 268, 269, 275, 296, 297. Portraits of Sansar Chand.
- 12 No. 236. 'Ladies playing chess'. By Fattu. See no. 38.
- 13 No. 241. 'Blindman's Buff'. Inscribed as by Manak. See no. 34.
- 14 Col. pl. V. 'Hanuman washing Rama's feet'. See no. 69 (1).
- 15 Col. pl. U. 'Radha chiding Krishna'. See no. 68(1).
- 16 Figs. 78, 79. From a 'Kangra' *Ragamala* series. See no. 37.
- 17 No. 272. 'The lady and the painter'. See no. 48.
- 18 No. 287A. 'Girl running from a storm'. See no. 56(2).

1959

Eastman, A. C. *The Nala Damayanti Drawings* (Boston, 1959).

Publishes the *Nala Damayanti* series of Kangra drawings (Coomaraswamy 1910, 1912, 1916, 1926) comprising 29 drawings in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston and 19 further drawings from other American museums and from a private collection. Attributes them to the Kangra court of Raja Sansar Chand, 1810-1814, Nadaun, Beas Valley, on the following, among other, grounds:

- (1) Their correspondence in subject-matter with a group of pictures seen by Moorcroft in Sansar Chand's collection, 1820 and termed by him 'subjects from the *Mahabharata*' (The *Nala Damayanti* story is part of the *Mahabharata*).
- (2) The close resemblance in personality, habits and career between the young Sansar Chand and the young Nala.
- (3) The parallel between the romance of Sansar Chand and Nokhu the Gaddan beauty and that between Nala and Damayanti (both are romances and cases of love at first sight).
- (4) The presence in no. 1 (present no. 51) 'Nala in council with poets and scholars', of 'a Georgian figure' (Coomaraswamy, 1926) convincingly identified by Eastman as O'Brien, the Irish adventurer, employed by Sansar Chand in c.1809 to reorganise his forces after the loss of Kangra fort. (This identification is supported by the portrait of O'Brien (French, 1947), the presence of a special uniform and from the history of O'Brien's relationship with Sansar Chand. No such figure is known at the Guler, Basohli or

Chamba courts, while the fact that O'Brien fell out with Sansar Chand makes it likely that if he supplied the model for a general in the series, it was at a time when he still stood high in favour.)

(5) The similarity of the scenery in the drawings to that of Alampur and of Sujapur itself, seen from across the Beas at Alampur.

Ascribes the *Nala Damayanti* series to a master Kangra artist aided by two or more assistants. Emphasises a number of Guler idioms which are embodied in the total style. See nos. 50, 51.

Chandra, M. 'Kangra Valley Art in the Aundh Museum,' *The Times of India Annual* (1959), 34-39.

Reproduces 9 examples of late 19th century Kangra painting, chiefly of the *Ramayana*.

Alludes to 95 paintings from a *Kirata Arjuniya* series in the Aundh Museum, North Satara. None reproduced. See no. 61.

Reiff, R. *Indian Miniatures: the Rajput Painters* (Tokyo, Rutland and Vermont, 1959), col. pls. 1-12.

Pl. 7. 'Maidens searching for Krishna'. Illustration to the 'Kangra' *Bhagavata Purana* series. Here attributed to the Kangra 'master of the moonlight'. See no. 36.

Randhawa, M. S. *Basohli Painting* (New Delhi, 1959).

Pls. 8-11, 15. Illustrations from a *Bhagavata Purana* series (vertical format), Lambagraon collection. Attributed by Randhawa to Kangra (Sujanpur Tira) early 18th century (pls. 8-10); c.1730-1750 (pl. 11); c.1780 (pl. 15).

Randhawa has since suggested (1961) that this series may have been executed at Jasrota and that it reached Sansar Chand's collection in 1804 on the occasion of Anirudh Chand's wedding to a Jasrota princess. In style, however, the plates are identical with a *Bhagavata Purana* series (horizontal format), Chandigarh Museum, Mankot collection, here accepted as Mankot; while pl. 9 is exactly similar in style, subject-matter and composition to Ghose (1958), 40 — a page from a *Bhagavata Purana* series, captioned 'Mankot'. There is no evidence that the series ever formed part of Sansar Chand or Anirudh Chand's collection and its presence in the Lambagraon collection could well be attributed to the wedding of Colonel Maharaja Sir Jai Chand of Lambagraon (Reigns, xxxi) to two princesses of the Mankot family (resident at Kutlehr in Kangra district after the incorporation of Mankot in Jammu state, 1846).

1960

Archer, W. G. 'Review of *The Nala Damayanti Drawings*, by A. C. Eastman', *Marg* (1960), XIII, no. 2 (supplement), 2-3.

Accepts Eastman's attribution of this series to Kangra, c. 1810-1814 and amplifies his arguments identifying Nala with Sansar Chand. See, however, nos. 49-52.

Archer, W. G. 'Review of *Pahari Miniature Painting* by K. Khandalavala', *Marg* (1960), XIII, no. 2, supplement, 1.

Summarises the book's intentions, usefulness and scope and concludes: 'It is (Khandalavala's) actual views, however, which are his chief contribution. In one passage he states, "the vast field is in many cases one of conjecture", and in another, modestly insists that "none of the theories put forward in the present volume are regarded by the author as irrefutable. They are meant to be no more than tentative deductions from evidence available. Oft times they are only suggestions". And it is in this spirit that his cogently argued paragraphs should be read. What is important is that, whether correct or incorrect, the author's views repay careful study; while the marshalling of so much relevant material in one huge volume and the reproduction of so many important pictures compel one to express unqualified admiration. In a period when few large books have been produced on Indian art, *Pahari Miniature Painting* deserves to be hailed as a landmark in Indian art-history.'

Randhawa, M. S. 'Manak: painter of the *Gita Govinda*

paintings — was he a Garhwal artist?', *Roopa Lekha* (1960), XXXI, no. 2, 2-8.

Discusses the authorship of the *Gita Govinda* series, Tehri Garhwal Raj collection, citing detailed evidence in support of a Kangra origin.

Interprets the colophon and holds that the word 'Manaku' is the name of the male painter who executed the series. Identifies this painter as Manaku (Manak), brother of the Guler artist, Nainsukh and suggests that, after working in Guler, he joined the court of Sansar Chand at Sujapur in about 1780 'when the affairs of Guler state deteriorated under Raja Prakash Chand (1773-1790)'. For discussion see no. 33.

Fig. 1. Portrait of Manaku, Chandigarh Museum on transfer from Central Museum, Lahore (Khandalavala (1958), p. 119; Goswamy (1968)).

Figs. 2 and 4. From the *Gita Govinda* series. See no. 33.

Fig. 3. Opening page of the *Gita Govinda* series with colophon. See no. 33.

Randhawa, M. S. *Kangra Paintings of the Bhagavata Purana* (New Delhi, 1960).

Discusses, with 20 col. pls. and 3 figs. (1, 6 and 9), the *Bhagavata Purana* series, here accepted as Kangra, c.1780, attributing the major part to Purkhu and the minor part (the moonlight episode) to an unknown master, 'the master of the moonlight'. See no. 36.

Also publishes 7 line-drawings for or after the same *Bhagavata Purana* series: figs. 2-5, 7, 8 and 10.

Lee, S. E. *Rajput Painting* (New York, 1960).

Pl. 71. 'Sansar Chand with courtiers'. Bickford collection, Cleveland. Compare no. 14.

Pl. 83. 'Krishna celebrating the Holi festival'. See no. 42.

Hajek, L. *Miniatures from the East* (Prague, London, 1960).

Col. pl. 39 and detail, p.56. From the 'Kangra' *Bhagavata Purana* series. See no. 36.

Col. pl. 40. From a *Gita Govinda* (?) series comparable to the 'first' *Gita Govinda* series. See no. 33.

Col. pl. 50, including border. 'Ladies playing chess'. By Fattu. See no. 38.

Col. pl. 51. 'Krishna fluting to the cow-girls'. From the Lambagraon collection. Compare no. 65.

Archer, W. G. *Indian Miniatures* (London, New York, 1960).

Col. pl. 89. From the 'first' *Gita Govinda* series. See no. 33.

Col. pl. 90. From the 'Kangra' *Bhagavata Purana* series. See no. 36.

Col. pl. 91. 'Krishna celebrating the Holi festival'. See no. 42.

Pl. 92. 'Girl swinging'. See no. 40.

[Pl. 94 attributed to Kangra, 1842, is here assigned to Mandi (q.v.).]

1961

Gangoly, O. C. *Critical Catalogue of Miniature Paintings in the Baroda Museum* (Baroda, 1961).

Pl. 34B. From a late *Bhagavata Purana* series. Kangra.

Pl. 35. From a late *Aniruddha Usha* series. Kangra.

Pls. 36, 37. Illustration from a *Ramayana* series (the Rishya Sringa episode). Late Kangra, more probably Guler?

Randhawa, M. S. 'Maharaja Sansar Chand — the patron of Kangra painting', *Roopa Lekha* (1961), XXXII, no. 2, 1-30, figs. 1-46, col. pls. 1, 2.

Describes and re-assesses the careers of Rajas Sansar and Anirudh Chand. Reproduces 31 portraits and court scenes from the Lambagraon and Bhawarna ancestral collections. Corrects, in a few instances, previous mis-identifications of Anirudh Chand (Randhawa, 1954a). For a detailed analysis of these portraits, see Reigns: xiv, xv.

Reproduces five murals from the Narbadeshwar temple, Sujapur (built by Sansar Chand's Suket raini, 1823; murals added, 1824).

Goswamy, B. N. 'The Pahari Artists', *Roopa Lekha* (1961), XXXII, no. 2, 31-50.

Records discussions with the painters Lachman Das and Gulabu Ram of Samloti. Describes murals in Sujapur.

Agravala, V. S. *Indian Miniatures* (New Delhi, 1961). Col. pl. 12. 'Indra drowning Gokula'. From the 'Kangra' *Bhagavata Purana* series. See no. 36.

1962

Chandra, M. and Mehta, M. C. *The Golden Flute* (New Delhi, 1962).

Col. pl. 9. From the 'first' *Gita Govinda* series. See no. 33. Col. pl. 10. From the *Bihari Sat Sai* series. See no. 39.

Randhawa, M. S. *Kangra Paintings on Love* (New Delhi, 1962).

Discusses and illustrates the *Rasika Priya* of Keshav Das by means of Pahari (mainly Kangra) paintings.

Reproduces the following pictures, here regarded as Kangra, from the following ancestral collections:

(1) Collection of Raja Dhruv Dev Chand of Lambagraon, Kangra district, great-great-grandson of Fateh Chand (Reigns and Portraits: xxxi).

1 Fig. 22. 'Radha and Krishna exchange clothes'.

2 Fig. 25. 'Krishna *lalita hava*'. Compare 66.

3 Fig. 34. 'Beloved's Vigil'. (Randhawa (1954), pl. 7). Compare 57.

4 Figs. 80-89. From a *Baramasa* series (Randhawa, 1954). See no. 41.

5 Col. pl. 3. *Praudha nayika*. See no. 66(1)

6 Col. pl. 14. 'Augury of the Crow'.

7 Col. pl. 20. 'Love in a garden pavilion'.

8 Col. pls. 21, 22, 24. From a *Baramasa* series. See no. 41.

(2) Collection of Raja Manvindra Shah, Narendranagar, Garhwal district U.P., great-great-grandson of Raja Sudarshan Shah of Tehri Garhwal (Garhwal: Reigns and Portraits (xvii)):

1 Fig. 52. From a *Gita Govinda* (?) series.

2 Col. pl. 9. From the *Bihari Sat Sai* series (later Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras). See no. 39.

Of many other pictures, here regarded as Kangra, the following are of special significance:

Fig. 10. 'The timid girl'. Karan Singh collection, Jammu. Compare no. 63.

Figs. 19, 30. From the Kangra *Rasika Priya* series. See no. 66.

Fig. 24. 'Krishna fluting to Radha'. Central Museum, Lahore. Compare no. 60.

Fig. 28. 'Lady at her toilet surrounded by maids, girl musicians and torch-bearers'. Karan Singh collection, Jammu. Compare no. 55.

Fig. 37. 'Lady in a courtyard'. See no. 72(1).

Figs. 49 and 51 (detail). 'The lady and the portrait'. See no. 71(1).

Fig. 54. 'Lovers on a terrace'. See no. 31.

Fig. 55. 'Lady repulsing her lover'. See no. 72(2).

Fig. 59. 'The lady and the painter'. See no. 48.

Note: A number of plates and figures are of pictures which are post-Sansar Chand and illustrate late phases.

Smith, V. A. *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon* (Bombay, third (revised) edition by K. Khandalavala, 1962). Incorporates recent views.

Rawson, P. S. *Indian Painting* (London, Paris, 1962). Col. pl. (p.149). 'Girl waiting for her lover'. See no. 66(ii).

1963

Archer, W. G. and Bhattacharya, D. *Love Songs of Vidyapati* (London, 1963).

Pls. 2, 3, 8, 9, 13-15, 25-28, here accepted as Kangra.

Lawrence, G. *Indian Art: Paintings of the Himalayan States* (London, 1963).

Col. pls. 3, 4, 5 and 14 here accepted as Kangra.

Archer, Mildred, Archer, W. G. and Lee, S. E. *Indian Miniatures from the Mildred and W. G. Archer collection* (Washington, 1963).

Nos. 63, 64 and 67 (illustrated) here accepted as Kangra.

Archer, W. G. Introduction to M. S. Randhawa, *Kangra Paintings of the Gita Govinda* (New Delhi, 1963).

Translates the colophon to the Kangra *Gita Govinda* series (Tehri Garhwal Raj collection) in the light of explanations provided by A. L. Basham and J. C. Wright, Sanskrit scholars of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London University; Michael Coulson, Sanskrit scholar of Oxford and Edinburgh; B. N. Goswamy, Lecturer in History, Punjab University, Chandigarh; and Harnam Singh Shan, Head of the Department of Punjabi, Punjab University, Chandigarh.

Reviews the history of previous attempts at translating it and holds it to mean that the series was painted by the male artist Manaku, for a patroness, the lady Malini, in 1730.

Explains that the date '1730' is acceptable for a Basohli *Gita Govinda* series (Basohli q.v.) which bears substantially the same colophon and is by an artist also named Manaku and suggests that the present series is by the same artist but executed, with the aid of assistants, in his comparative old age, perhaps in c.1780, for Sansar Chand of Kangra.

Suggests that the present series, though in totally different style, might be regarded by the artist as 'a late version or copy' of the earlier series and hence for this reason it was given an identical colophon.

Stresses the presence of several hands in the series and suggests that while Manak (brother of Nainsukh) might have 'directed' the operation, his son Khushala and others may have executed individual pictures. See no. 33.

Randhawa, M. S. *Kangra Paintings of the Gita Govinda* (New Delhi, 1963).

Publishes the following groups of paintings from the 'first' *Gita Govinda* series, here attributed to Kangra (no. 33):

(1) 19 col. pls. (1, 2, 4-20) and 28 figs. (1-28) from the collection of Raja Manvindra Shah of Tehri Garhwal, Narendranagar, Garhwal district, U.P.

(2) Col. pl. 3 from Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras (originally in the same collection but obtained from it by N. C. Mehta, Bombay and given by his son and daughters to the Banaras Museum).

Connects the series with Kangra on account of similarities between the landscapes of the pictures and the landscape and buildings of Sujapur Tira and the river Beas and the fact that the paintings also have inscriptions in Devanagari in the dialect of Punjabi current in Kangra in which translations of the Sanskrit verses of the poem are provided.

Explains the presence of the series in the Tehri Garhwal Raj collection on the assumption (confirmed by family tradition) that they were presented to Raja Sudarshan Shah of Tehri Garhwal by Anirudh Chand of Kangra after his flight from Kangra in 1828 and on the occasion of the wedding of his two sisters to Sudarshan Shah.

Attributes the series to Manak (Manaku), elder brother of the painter Nainsukh and argues that after working for Rajas Govardhan Chand (1744-1773) and Prakash Chand (1773-c.1790) of Guler he migrated to the Kangra court where he produced the series in c.1790.

Stresses the ardent nature of Sansar Chand's devotion to Krishna and sees this as a prime factor in the commissioning of so large a set of pictures in praise of Krishna.

Notes the significant fact that Sansar Chand named his son Anirudh (after the grandson of Krishna).

Points out that each painting has an inscription in Sanskrit from the text of the poem on the back but that the folio numbers of the pictures do not always follow the sequence of the text of the poem.

Barrett, D. *Painting of India* (London, 1963).

Shrinks from connecting the 'Kangra' *Bhagavata Purana* (no. 36), the 'first' Kangra *Gita Govinda* series (no. 33) and the 'Kangra' *Bihari Sat Sai* series (no. 39) with Kangra, preferring to describe them as 'Guler style, c.1760-1765'. Argues that if 'new evidence compels us to place the *Bhagavata* group in Kangra state', it must be placed in the reign not of Sansar Chand but of Ghamand Chand. Gives no reasons, however, for making this assertion.

Applies the term 'Kangra style' to pictures employing the 'standard' Kangra face (Khandalavala, 1958) in the period 1770 onwards. Contends that 'the only pictures which can be associated with 'the Kangra style' under Sansar Chand, if the same standards of evidence are applied as in the two earlier periods, are the portraits'. Does not clearly state, however, what these standards of evidence are.

Pl. 182. From the 'Kangra' *Bhagavata Purana* series. See no. 36.

Pl. 183. From the 'first' Kangra *Gita Govinda* series. See no. 33.

1964

Goswamy, B. N. 'Nadaun Murals', *Marg* (1964), XVII, no. 3, 58-60.

Reproduces (figs. 2-8) a series of late nineteenth century murals from the small Narbadeshwar Mahadeva temple, Nadaun of 'indifferent execution and rough finish'. [Since the temple is considered earlier, the absence of high-quality murals of the first quarter of the 19th century may or may not suggest that Nadaun itself dwindled as a centre for painters after Sansar Chand's decline and death.]

Alludes to a small mural in a common grain shop in Nadaun and to floral decorations on the outside of the Amtar palace (one mile from Nadaun).

Records local Nadaun painters of the late 19th and early 20th centuries: (1) A Brahmin Bujhru who painted the murals in the grain shop and (2) Sukh Ram (Goswamy, 1961), 'who died only recently and is said to have learnt his craft from a Muslim painter of Mandi, without having inherited any artistic talent from his family. Sukh Ram enjoyed some local fame: there are a few miniatures by him in the possession of the present Raja of Nadaun'.

Anand, M. R. 'Sujanpur Tira Murals', *Marg* (1964) XVII, no. 3, 66-70.

Reproduces (figs. 2-9) murals from the Narbadeshwar temple, Sujanpur (French 1931, 1948; Randhawa, 1954a; Goswamy, 1961).

Alludes to (but does not publish or quote) 'an inscription on one of the walls which bears the date'.

[Of very mixed quality, mostly with rough finish, stunted figures and poor line, supporting Goswamy's suggestion (1961) that many must be late 19th century additions. Fig. 2 with its towering female figures may be the work of a painter from Siba, q.v.]

Lee, S. E. *A History of Far Eastern Art*. (London, 1964). A single allusion (220) to Kangra with detailed treatment of Guler.

Pl. 282. 'Kangra, last quarter of 18th century'. Here assigned to Nahan (Sirmur), c.1830.

Pl. 283. Sansar Chand and courtiers. 'Jammu-Sikh school, c.1780'. Bickford collection, Cleveland. Compare no. 14.

1965

Randhawa, M. S. 'Some portraits of Rajas of Basohli in Kangra style', *Roopa Lekha* (1965), XXXIV, nos. 1 and 2, 5-9, figs. 1-10.

Fig. 7. Portrait of Raja Amrit Pal of Basohli. Lambagraon collection, Kangra. Compare no. 8 (xiv).

Archer, Mildred and Archer W. G. *Romance and Poetry in Indian Painting* (Wildenstein exhibition, London, 1965).

Pl. 60. *Vipralabdha nayika*. Kangra, c.1800-1810.

Khandalavala, K. and Chandra, M. *Miniatures and Sculptures from the collection of the late Sir Cowasji Jehangir, Bart.* (Bombay, 1965).

Fig. 91. From a *Ramayana* series 'dated 1769'. First discussed Khandalavala (1958) where the series was regarded as executed in Kangra under Ghamand Chand (1761-1774) and hence as an early 'fixed point' for Kangra painting. In the present publication a Kangra origin is abandoned and while the date is accepted for the drawing, the colouring is placed in the early nineteenth century. [The fact that each miniature in the series repeats the same date and the same artist's name (Amichand), though for no obvious reason, suggests that the inscriptions may be spurious — a conclusion which is re-inforced by the style and palette of the series. These resemble late nineteenth century painting at Mandi and in date could well be 1869, a century later.]

Archer, W. G. 'Paintings of India', *Roopa Lekha* (1965), XXXIV, nos. 1 and 2, 63-75.

Review of Barrett (1963).

Welch S. C. and Beach, M. C. *Gods, Thrones and Peacocks* (New York, 1965).

The following plates are here regarded as Kangra:

Col. pl. 46. 'Lovers strolling'. See no. 30(1).

Pl. 47. 'Lady enticing a peacock'. See no. 30(2).

Pl. 49. *Chitrini nayika*. See no. 30(3).

Pl. 52. *Vilavali ragini*. See no. 30(4).

Pl. 70. 'Sansar Chand of Kangra', mis-captioned 'Darbar of Sansar Chand' and mis-numbered 65. Galbraith collection, Cambridge, Mass. (formerly Lambagraon collection). See no. 11.

Pl. 65. 'Darbar of Sansar Chand', mis-captioned 'Sansar Chand of Kangra' and mis-numbered 70. A key picture on account of its many Persian inscriptions identifying Pahari rulers in the darbar. See no. 23.

Khandalavala, K. *Lalit Kala Series Portfolio No. 1: The Bhagavata Purana in Kangra Painting* (Lalit Kala Akademi, New Delhi, 1965).

Reprints four illustrations of paintings from the first 'Kangra' *Bhagavata Purana* series (originally published Randhawa, 1960) with the addition of col. pl. 5, 'The brides of the autumn moon searching for their lord' (collection F. D. Wadia, Poona).

Reproduces from a second 'Kangra' *Bhagavata Purana* series, with vertical format (Khandalavala (1958), fig. 41) one illustration (col. pl. 4), 'Radha dancing before Krishna' (Lalbhai collection, Ahmedabad). A further painting from this second series is reproduced Khandalavala (1958), no. 222.

Explains that 'the term, "the Kangra Kalam"', is used to describe most of the work produced in the numerous ateliers of the Hill States from about 1765 to about 1850 and owes its derivation to the most powerful of the Hill States during this period, namely Kangra, under Ghamand Chand (1751 (1761)-1774) and then under his more famous son [grandson] Sansar Chand (1775-1823)'. Adds that 'the Kangra style has been sub-divided into two groups: the Standard style and the *Bhagavata* style. The former derives its name from the stylized female face with curving eyes, flat appearance and straight nose in line with the forehead seen in the vast majority of Kangra style miniatures; while the latter derives its name from the more rounded female face possessing a porcelain-like delicacy and beauty, seen in the famous series of *Bhagavata Purana* paintings, reproduced in this portfolio'.

[For the limitations of terms, based solely on different stylizations of the female face without regard to other factors or aspects, see General Introduction.]

Emphasises that when first acquired by a Bombay dealer in the nineteen-thirties, the find-spot of the first series was said to be Kashmir and the artist a certain Chuniya, but that neither statement is supported by evidence.

Considers that his original attribution (Khandalavala,

1958) of the series to Kangra under Sansar Chand, 1780-1800 'may still prove to be the correct view-point' but in view of subsequent discussions, 'Guler, Chamba and Kangra could all be centres where the *Bhagavata* type of paintings were produced and that any date between 1765 and 1795 cannot be ruled out of consideration'. [It is unclear what considerations and types of evidence Khandalavala would regard as valid for determining this issue.]

On the problem of which artist or artists executed the first 'Kangra' *Bhagavata Purana* series, has the following remarks: 'One thing is becoming more and more evident and that is that much of the finest "pre-Kangra" and "Kangra" style painting which has survived is the work of a famous family of artists whose pedigree is known and whose ancestor Pandit Seu appears to have migrated from one of the capital cities of northern India to the Hills about 1740. . . . There is little doubt that the *Bhagavata Purana* and related sets are creations of the senior members of this family, no matter whether they were produced in any particular court atelier or were commissioned at their village home for their royal patrons. The names of the most famous artists of this family are Manak and Nainsukh, the sons of Pandit Seu; Ram Lal (also called Ranjha), Nika and Gauha, the sons of Nainsukh and Kushan Lal (also called Kaushala), the son of Manak. Kushan Lal became the favourite painter of Sansar Chand of Kangra while Ram Lal and Nika and probably also Guaha were court artists of Raj Singh of Chamba (1764-1790). Manak almost certainly worked for Govardhan Chand of Guler while Nainsukh was in the employ of Balwant Singh of Jammu.'

Considers that the 'first' 'Kangra' *Bhagavata Purana* set must have been 'planned and controlled by a master artist from the family of Pandit Seu', though 'not all the paintings are by his hand'. 'Several other artists' evidently worked on the series and, in the case of the 'moonlight scenes', at least 'two masters of the moonlight' are involved.

[For evidence discrediting the theory of a migration from the Punjab Plains in 1740 and showing that Pandit Seu came from a family of painters settled in Guler from before 1700, see Goswamy (1965, 1966 and 1968). For evidence connecting Nainsukh with Amrit Pal of Basohli as well as with Balwant Singh of Jammu, Ranjha (Ram Lal) with Basohli (not Chamba) and Gaudhu (Gauha) with Kangra (not Chamba), see the same contributions by this writer. For a discussion of these and other problems (including the roles, if any, of Manak and Nainsukh at Guler and Kangra), see nos. 33 and 36.]

Chandra, M. Lalit Kala Series Portfolio No. 2: Gita Govinda (Lalit Kala Akademi, New Delhi, 1965).

Reprints six illustrations of paintings from the 'first' Kangra *Gita Govinda* series (originally published Randhawa, 1963), reproducing in facsimile and partly translating the Sanskrit verses in *nagari* characters on the back of each painting. See no. 33.

Cites Khandalavala (1958) as attributing the series to the Guler painter, Manak 'who latterly appears to have been in the service of Sansar Chand of Kangra'. Considers it debateable whether the series was painted in Guler or in Kangra but is inclined to date it c.1775.

Regards the colophon (Archer, 1963) as having been copied from the 1730 Basohli *Gita Govinda* and hence as irrelevant to the present series. Gives no opinion on its meaning.

Chandra, M. Lalit Kala Series Portfolio No. 3: Gita Govinda (Lalit Kala Akademi, New Delhi, 1965).

Reprints a further six illustrations of paintings from the 'Kangra' *Gita Govinda* series (originally published Randhawa, 1963), reproducing in facsimile and partly translating the Sanskrit verses in *nagari* characters on the back of each painting. See no. 33.

Text as in Chandra (1965a).

Goswamy, B. N. 'Painting in Chamba: a study of new documents', *The Asian Review* (1965), II, no. 2, 53-61.

Cites documentary evidence proving that the family home of Nainsukh, his father, Seu and grandfather Hasnu was Guler and that Nainsukh's son, Nikka, migrated from Guler to Chamba. For detailed summary, see Chamba: Review of Literature.

Khandalavala, K. 'Review of D. Barrett (and B. Gray), *Painting of India*', *Lalit Kala* (dated 1962 but published 1965), no. 11, 62-66.

See under Guler.

1966

Goswamy, B. N. 'The artist family of Rajol: new light on an old problem', *Roopa Lekha* (1966), XXXV, nos. 1 and 2, 15-23.

Publishes further evidence proving the Guler origin of the Seu-Manaku-Nainsukh family of painters.

See also under Guler and Chamba.

Goswamy, B. N. 'Re-reading of some 'Takri' inscriptions in Khandalavala's *Pahari Miniature Painting*', *Roopa Lekha* (1966), XXXV, nos. 1 and 2, 69-75.

See under Guler.

Goswamy, B. N. 'The problem of the artist "Nainsukh of Jasrota"', *Artibus Asiae* (1966), XXVIII, 205-210.

Re-reads a *takri* inscription on a picture of a music party at Jasrota (Jammu q.v.) and shows that the word, previously read as *jasrotia* ('of Jasrota') is, in fact, *jasrote* ('at Jasrota'). Holds that the inscription can only mean that Nainsukh was temporarily at Jasrota when he painted the picture and not that he was permanently domiciled there.

See also under Jammu, Jasrota and Guler.

Goswamy, B. N. 'Review of *Kangra Paintings of the Gita Govinda* by M. S. Randhawa (introduction W. G. Archer)', *Roopa Lekha* (1966), XXXV, nos. 1 and 2, 86-89.

Accepts as correct the detailed translation of the series' colophon (Archer, Introduction), holding that the 'lady Manaku' must now be banished as the artist and that 'Manaku' does emerge as the name of the male artist. Adds that 'If any doubt were still left, it is easily dispelled with a reference to the inscription on the sketch of Manak, the artist, in the Punjab Museum, at Chandigarh, which clearly describes the person, in *takri*, as "Manaku Musavar Misra".'

Queries Basohli as the place of origin of the earlier series (Basohli q.v.) as also the possibility of Manaku, producing the 'Basohli' series early in his career and the 'Kangra' series much later, towards the end of his life. Is inclined to view the inscriptions on the 'Kangra' series as late additions made by a scribe, copying from the previous set, much later after the 'Kangra' series had been painted. Adds 'the authenticity of inscriptions on Pahari paintings has yet to be fully studied but it is clear that several inscriptions mislead only because a scribe or a pandit chose to give descriptive titles, without accurate knowledge, to sets or portraits for patrons who wished to know more about their inherited collections'.

Stresses that in the 'Kangra' series, the 'colophon' is treated not as a true colophon but as the opening verse of the poem — the invocation 'om' being added and the numeral '1' being placed at its end. Considers that the sheet on which it is written together with the medallion containing Radha and Krishna seated together could be by a later, lesser artist and a late addition to the series. For a discussion of this issue, with particular reference to the preparatory drawings for the 'Kangra' series, subsequently discovered in the National Museum, New Delhi in 1970, see no. 33.

Randhawa, M. S. *Kangra Paintings of the Bihari Sat Sai* (New Delhi, 1966).

Publishes the following groups of paintings connected with Raja Sansar Chand of Kangra or with the Hindi

poem, the *Sat Sai* (Seven Hundred verses) of the poet Bihari:

(1) Four portraits of Sansar Chand from the collection of Raja Dhruv Dev Chand of Lambagraon (see *Randhawa, 1961 and Reigns and Portraits*, xiv).

Fig. 9. Sansar Chand as a youth.

Fig. 10. Sansar Chand presiding over a dance performance.

Fig. 11. Sansar Chand and his son at the celebration of Krishna's birthday festival. See no. 22.

Fig. 12. Sansar Chand and courtiers admiring paintings. See no. 10.

(2) An isolated illustration to a verse from the *Sat Sai*. Fig. 4.

(3) A further isolated illustration to another verse from the *Sat Sai*. Col. pl. 18.

(4) A series of line drawings of or from the 'Kangra' *Sat Sai* series: Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras. Figs. 13-20.

(5) Eighteen illustrations in colour and five illustrations in black-and-white of paintings from the 'Kangra' *Sat Sai* series. See no. 39.

Col. pls. 1-17, col. frontispiece and figs. 2, 3, 5-7 from the ancestral collection of Raja Manvindra Shah of Tehri Garhwal, Narendranagar, Garhwal district, U.P.

Figs. 1 and 8 from the collection of N. C. Mehta, Bombay (later Ahmedabad), formerly in the Tehri Garhwal Raj collection and obtained by Mehta from this collection.

Connects the *Sat Sai* series (no. 5 above) with Kangra on the following grounds: 'The landscape with huge boulders, so characteristic of the Beas valley, the glimpses of the town of Sujampur Tira and its palaces, inscriptions in Devanagari on the back of the paintings in the Kangra dialect of Punjabi as also a specific family tradition that the paintings came from Kangra (on the occasion of the wedding of Anirudh Chand's two sisters to Sudarshan Shah of Tehri Garhwal) all suggest that Kangra, not Garhwal was their source.'

Attributes the series to Khushala, son of Manaku (Randhawa, 1956a q.v.) and dates it c.1805.

Summarises the career of Sansar Chand, quoting Moorcroft (Wilson, 1841) and ascribing the development of painting in Kangra to the migration to Sujampur Tira of artists from Guler.

Craven, R. C. *Miniatures and small sculptures from India* (Gainesville, Florida, 1966).

Pl. 66. 'The archer'. From a Book of Dreams. Kangra, c.1790.

Pl. 67b. 'Nala and Damayanti in a palace'. From the *Nala Damayanti* series of line-drawings. See no. 50.

Archer, W. G. *Paintings of the Sikhs* (London, 1966).

Discusses relations between the Sikhs and Kangra, especially those between Jai Singh Kanheya, Maharaja Ranjit Singh, Desa Singh Majithia and Lehna Singh Majithia, on the one hand and Sansar Chand, Fateh Chand (middle brother), Anirudh Chand, Jodhbir Chand and Ludar Chand, on the other.

Analyses the 'wedding crises' of 1827-1828, resulting in Anirudh Chand's flight to Hardwar with his two sisters and two sons, the annexation of Kangra state by Ranjit Singh and the marriage of the two sisters to Raja Sudarshan Shah of Tehri Garhwal, 1829. See *Reign*, xv.

Alludes to the two major series — the *Gita Govinda* 'by Manaku' and the *Bihari Sat Sai* (Tehri Garhwal Raj collection) — and accepts both as having reached the Tehri Garhwal collection on the occasion of this marriage. See nos. 33 and 39.

Discusses painting in Kangra in the period 1828-1846 (i.e. the period when Kangra state was under Sikh administration and different branches of Sansar Chand's family were accommodated with *jagirs*).

Goswamy, B. N. 'A painter's letter to his royal patron', *Journal American Oriental Society* (1966), LXXXVI, no. 2, 209-216.

Publishes a letter in *takri* characters addressed to Sansar Chand, by a Nurpur painter, Shiba, alleging ill-treatment by Sansar Chand's accountant, failure by Sansar Chand to

implement enthusiastic offers of employment and mentioning, with respect and awe, a painter Gaudhu, who evidently stood high in Sansar Chand's esteem and held a key position among the artists at his court. Identifies this Gaudhu with the second son of Nainsukh of Guler, thus providing proof that at least one member of the Nainsukh family worked at the court of Sansar Chand. For other references to Gaudhu, see *Randhawa* (1956a), and *Goswamy* (1968) where his date of death is given as 1820.

1967

Archer, Mildred. *Indian Miniatures and Folk Paintings* (Arts Council London, 1967).

The following plates are here regarded as Kangra:

Fig. 45. Kangra, c.1820-1830.

Fig. 46. Kangra, c.1850 or later.

Fig. 47. 'Gaddi wrestling with a bear'. By Chandu Lal Raina of Rajol, descendant of Nainsukh, Kangra, 1966. See no. 77.

Goswamy, B. N. 'Review of *Kangra Paintings of the Bihari Sat Sai* by M. S. Randhawa', *Roopa Lekha* (1967), XXXVI, nos. 1 and 2, 184-187.

Queries the date of c.1805 suggested for the series on the ground of 'its somewhat artificial and over-decorative oval format', the exact delineation of a shadow seen in pl. 7, the attempt at fore-shortening in the arm of Krishna in fig. 6 and the almost exact reflection of a tree in water in fig. 17 — details 'which had obviously not arrived in the eighteenth century and probably came only as late as the early part of the nineteenth'. See no. 39.

Doubts if Khushala was still alive when the set was painted and is inclined to connect it with the grandsons rather than the sons of Nainsukh and Manak. Argues that on stylistic grounds — the formula for the female face, the compositions, the treatment of architecture, the foliage, the recognizably lyrical quality — the set must be connected with this family. Adds the point that 'even of the incomplete drawings from this set, some *khakas* seem to have been with the descendants of Nikka at Rajol. The artist Chandulal of Rajol executed sometime ago a painting which is evidently based on fig. 16 of this book and for which he had relied on a *khaka* from his own family collection, not having seen the collection of drawings in the Bharat Kala Bhavan from which this drawing comes'.

Concedes however, that a late date makes it difficult to connect its entry into the Tehri Garhwal Raj collection through Anirudh Chand.

1968

Randhawa, M. S. and Galbraith, J. K. *Indian Painting: the Scene, Themes and Legends* (Boston, London, 1968).

States the following view of painting in Guler and Kangra:

'In Tira Sujampur there were two distinct types of paintings. There is first a pictorial record of Sansar Chand and his court. Much of this work is crude; it may be that of inferior artists whose function was that of pictorial diarists. The second and much better type is on the themes of the *Bhagavata Purana*, the *Gita Govinda*, the *Sat Sai*, of Nala and Damayanti in the *Mahabharata*, of the *Ragamala* series and the 'Twelve Months'. This is uniformly of high quality and parallels that of Guler in beauty of line and colour. It could be the work of artists who migrated from Guler to the court of Sansar Chand. To suggest, as Douglas Barrett does, that nearly all the best paintings were done at Guler and few or none at Tira Sujampur, Alampur and Nadaun where Sansar Chand lived, is surely an error. Indeed, some of the paintings show the landscape of Tira Sujampur and Alampur.'

Col. pl. 29. 'Lovers watching the rain-clouds'. Compare no. 30, though of later date.

Col. pl. 30. 'Damayanti receiving her ornaments' (?). Vertical format. Kangra, c.1800.

Col. pl. 31. 'Krishna playing Holi'. Attributed to Guler but here regarded as Kangra. See no. 42(2).

Col. pl. 32. 'The month of Baisakh'. From the Lambagraon *Baramasa* series. See no. 41.

Col. pl. 33. 'Krishna with cow-girls in moonlight'. From the 'Kangra' *Bhagavata Purana* series. See no. 36.

Archer, W. G. and Binney, E. *Rajput Miniatures from the collection of Edwin Binney 3rd.* (Portland, Oregon, 1968).

A revised view of painting in Kangra, incorporating some of the present materials and emphasising the role of Khushala, Gaudhu and Purkhu.

Accepts Eastman's date (1809-1814) for the *Nala Damayanti* series. See however nos. 49-53.

Figs. 90a, b and c. Three illustrations from a Book of Dreams. Kangra, c.1790.

Fig. 91. From a *Rasika Priya* series. Kangra, c.1805.

Figs. 92a, b. From the Lambagraon 'second' *Gita Govinda* series. Kangra, c.1820-1825. See no. 67.

Goswamy, B. N. 'Pahari Painting: the family as the basis of style', *Marg* (1968), XXI, no. 4, 17-62.

Reconstructs the family history of the painters Manaku and Nainsukh, 'natives of Guler', pointing out that while there is no evidence in the form of inscriptions on paintings or entries in priests' registers, to connect either them or their descendants with service at the Kangra court, a magic diagram possessed by a descendant of Nainsukh shows a semi-nude female figure, entitled 'Shri Guler', with fifteen out-stretched arms pointing to the names of sixteen courts where members of the family could have worked. These courts include 'Quila Kangra', 'Kangra Nadaun' and 'Sujanpur'. Suggests that the central figure in the diagram is the *siddhi* or personal deity of the family under whose influence the members remained even when working at courts outside Guler.

Explains that the family's connection with Rajol in Kangra state dates from a time when the village was not in Kangra but in Chamba and that the grant of land was made by Raja Raj Singh of Chamba. No lands in Kangra state were granted to any members of the family by any Kangra ruler.

Shows on the evidence of entries in priests' registers that the years of death of Manaku and his two sons, Fattu and Khushala, are unknown, that Nainsukh died in 1778, and that, of his four sons, Kama's year of death is unknown, Gaudhu died in 1820, Nikka in 1833 and Ranjha in or about 1827.

Connects the 'Kangra' *Bhagavata Purana*, the 'Tehri' *Gita Govinda*, the 'Tehri' *Sat Sai*, and the Lambagraon *Baramasa* with the sons and nephews of Manaku and Nainsukh, refraining however from speculating on the problem as to where these sets of paintings were executed.

Suggests that the 'Tehri' *Gita Govinda* series which bears the same colophon as the 'Basohli' *Gita Govinda* series of 1730 by Manaku was made from family *khakas* or sketches taken of the earlier set. Since the earlier colophon was also embodied in the later version, argues that the same family must almost certainly have been responsible for both sets.

Points out that the 'Kangra' *Bhagavata Purana* series has a precursor in the 'Guler-Basohli' *Bhagavata Purana* series (Basohli q.v.) and suggests that both sets were probably painted by members of this same family. See under Guler.

Figs. 1-8. Portraits of members of the Seu-Manaku-Nainsukh family. See no. 19.

Figs. 33, 34, 36. From the 'Kangra' *Bhagavata Purana* series. See no. 36.

Fig. 35. Drawing for or after the 'Kangra' *Bhagavata Purana* series. Compare no. 36.

Figs. 37, 38. From the 'first' *Gita Govinda* series. See no. 33.

Figs. 39, 40. From the *Nala Damayanti* (fully coloured) series. See no. 53.

Fig. 41. From the *Bihari Sat Sai* series. See no. 39.

Goswamy, B. N. *Lalit Kala Portfolio Series No. 6: Six Kangra Paintings* (Lalit Kala Akademi, New Delhi, 1968).

Pl. 3. 'Krishna lifting Mount Govardhan'. Attributed to the painter Majnu, whose descendants are said to reside in Nerti, Kangra. Compare nos. 34 and 37.

Pl. 6. From the 'second' Kangra *Gita Govinda* series, Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay (formerly Lambagraon collection, Kangra). See no. 67.

1969

Archer, W. G. 'A Tribute to M. S. Randhawa', *Roopa Lekha* (1969), XXXVIII, nos. 1 and 2, 47-63.

Assesses the contribution to studies of Kangra painting made by M. S. Randhawa, emphasising his discovery of local collections, study of artists' genealogies and his realisation of the place of landscape in Kangra painting.

Archer, W. G. 'The Master of the Kangra *Bhagavata Purana*', *Roopa Lekha* (1969), XXXVIII, nos. 1 and 2, 64-72.

Defends the attribution to Purkhu of the main part of the Kangra *Bhagavata Purana* series in the light of newly cited passages from Baden Powell (1872). See no. 36.

Figs. 1 and 2. Line drawings for or after the completed series.

Figs. 3-4. Attributed to Purkhu.

Figs. 5, 6. By the second artist, 'the master of the moonlight'.

Goswamy, Karuna. 'Two Pahari Illustrations of the *Bhakta-mala*', *Roopa Lekha* (1969), XXXVIII, nos. 1 and 2, 73-78.

Reproduces and discusses two illustrations from a sectarian Vaishnava series in the Chandigarh Museum and connects them on grounds of style with the *Nala Damayanti* series of line-drawings (Boston Museum), dating them to the last quarter of the eighteenth century.

Sharma, O. P. 'Two dated and illustrated Pahari Manuscripts in the National Museum, New Delhi', *Roopa Lekha* (1969), XXXVIII, no. 1 and 2, 79-84.

Discusses two manuscripts containing the dates 1776 and 1779 A.D. and shows that the dates refer to the texts rather than to the illustrations which appear to be considerably later.

Goswamy, B. N. 'Pahari Paintings of the Nala Damayanti theme: discussion in new light', *Roopa Lekha* (1969), XXXVIII, nos. 1 and 2, 85-108.

Discusses a series of paintings illustrating the first part of Shriharsha's poem on Nala and Damayanti, the *Naishadha-charitra*, from the Karan Singh collection, Jammu, formerly in the family collection of Pahda Kunj Lal, Basohli (q.v.). Points out that they constitute a finished first part of the project of which the Boston *Nala Damayanti* line drawings are an unfinished second part (Eastman, 1959). See nos. 50 and 53.

Regards the half-finished picture of 'Nala in council with his ministers, including O'Brien as commander of his forces' (Eastman, 1959, frontispiece) as neither portraying O'Brien nor belonging to the series. Is accordingly sceptical of any allegorical connection with Sansar Chand of Kangra and, on the basis of provenance, prefers to connect the series with Basohli and to attribute both paintings and drawings to the Basohli artist, Ranjha, youngest son of Nainsukh and domiciled at Basohli from c.1775. See no. 51.

Figs. 1-14. From the *Nala Damayanti* series of finished paintings. Karan Singh collection. See no. 53.

Figs. 15-17. From a series of drawings in sanguine illustrating the *Ramayana*. By Ranjha, dated Basohli, 1816 (Basohli q.v.).

[For a complete *Nala Damayanti* series of drawings in sanguine, National Museum, New Delhi, of which Goswamy was unaware at the time of publication, see no. 49.]

Khandalavala, K. 'Review of Kangra Paintings of the

Bihari Sat Sai by M. S. Randhawa', *Lalit Kala* (New Delhi, dated and published 1969), no. 14, 60.

Considers the proposed date of c.1805 too late for this series, preferring c.1790-1800 as more likely.

Connects it on grounds of style and by comparison with *Ladies playing pachisi* (present no. 38), with the Kangra artist Fattu, rather than with Khushala. See no. 39.

Notes certain features which could suggest Kangra as its locale — the Moriyan Mahal range as seen from Tira (fig. 16) and the palace architecture of Sujapur Tira and Alampur (pl. 10, figs. 3 and 7).

Khandalavala, K. 'Review of *Kangra Paintings of the Gita Govinda* by M. S. Randhawa (introduction W. G. Archer)', *Lalit Kala* (dated and published 1969), no. 14, 60-61.

Maintains his previous interpretation of the colophon to the 'Basohli' *Gita Govinda* series of 1730, repeated in the 'Kangra' series, maintaining that the patron of the set was 'the lady Manaku' and pointing out that 'u' is a common ending to feminine names in the Punjab Hills. Overlooks, however, the fact that, in terms of Sanskrit grammar, the phrase *manaku chitrakartra* 'by the painter Manaku' is an instrumental and that the compound is indivisible.

Considers that in the absence of further evidence, a date of between 1760 and 1780 for the 'Kangra' series is possible, that the set may have been painted at either Guler or Kangra but if it was painted at Kangra, 'it is fairly evident that it was painted by Guler artists who had migrated to the Kangra court'.

Barrett, D. 'Review of *Lalit Kala Series Portfolio No. 1. The Bhagavata Purana in Kangra Painting* by K. Khandalavala and *Lalit Kala Portfolio Series Nos. 2 and 3. Gita Govinda* by Moti Chandra', *Lalit Kala* (dated and published 1969), no. 14, 64-65.

Differs from Khandalavala (1958) and Chandra (1965) in dating the first 'Kangra' *Gita Govinda* series to about 1760 to 1765 and in considering Guler under Govardhan Chand or Kangra under Ghamand Chand as the strongest candidates for its provenance. Sees no reason to associate the artist Manak with it. Emphasises that 'these differences about a few decades and a name are not art-historians' quibbles but involve entirely different interpretations of the development of Pahari painting in the second half of the 18th century and the role of Sansar Chand as patron'.

Stresses that the inscription on the 'Kangra' *Gita Govinda* (series) is almost (though not quite) identical with that on the Basohli series of 1730 but over-simplifies the issue by asserting that 'either the inscription is wholly valid for both series or the inscription is valid for one series only and was copied in ignorance or error or with intent to deceive on to the other'. For an alternative explanation, see Archer (1963). Ignores, in this connection, the fact that the inscription on the Kangra series is an integral part of the painting and cannot therefore be attributed to a blundering scribe.

Recapitulates and attacks the reconstruction of the careers of Nainsukh and Manak tentatively suggested in Archer (1963) but is apparently unaware of the new evidence discovered and published by Goswamy (1966, 1967 and 1968).

On the circumstances in which the 1730 Basohli series colophon came to be inscribed on the 'Kangra' series at a much later date, considers that a scribe might have mistaken the 'colophon' for the opening verse of the poem, accidentally skipped the actual opening verse and then gone on to copy the second verse on the back of the first real miniature of the series. Points out that only 'the first line of the second verse is given in facsimile' by Chandra but that he also translates the missing first verse, 'his natural anticipation deceiving his eye'. Adds that 'both the verse colophon and the first verse of the *Gita Govinda* series begin with the letter 'm' and that in proffering this suggestion, he is assuming that 'the poem as well as the colophon was copied from the Basohli style series'. Thinks that if the 1730 series in Basohli style was painted at Guler and the

present series in Guler style was also painted at Guler in 1760-1765, 'one can see how the copying of the colophon and text could have taken place'. For comments on this view-point, particularly in the light of the series of *Gita Govinda* drawings, National Museum, New Delhi, see no. 33.

1970

Goswamy, B. N. and Grewal, J. S. 'Some religious land-grants in Kangra', *Essays on History, Literature, Art and Culture* (ed. K. S. Bedi and S. S. Bal, New Delhi and Chandigarh, 1970), 88-97.

Publishes two land-grants made by Raja Sansar Chand to priests in their personal capacity:

(1) 'The *pattas* of *aimma* are given to Jyotishi Chintaman by way of *dharmath*. Land worth rupees twenty-five is given in charity on account of the Lohri festival out of devotion to Lord Krishna . . . 1816 A.D'.

(2) 'Shri Ramji . . . For the sustenance of Pandit Ram Rath Dikshit, a piece of land worth sixty rupees a year has been granted out of devotion to Lord Krishna. A.D. 1791'.

[In view of Sansar Chand's special cult of Krishna, the repetition of the phrase 'out of devotion to Lord Krishna' in a context which is not especially Vaishnava is of unusual importance for the understanding of his character as a patron.]

IV. PAINTING: CATALOGUE AND RECONSTRUCTION

PART ONE (1750-1850): PORTRAITURE

1 Raja Ghamand Chand (1761-1774) of Kangra smoking with Raja Devi Chand (1741-1778) of Kahlur (Bilaspur). Kangra, c.1765.

220 x 198 mm; with borders 235 x 213 mm. Blue borders and black rules.

Raja Anand Chand collection, Bilaspur.

Description: Ghamand Chand of Kangra in a white *jama* sits smoking on the left with Devi Chand of Bilaspur in a green *jama* with floral sprigs on the right. Each is attended by a fan-bearer and a courtier. White terrace with balustrades and faintly patterned rug. Pale brown background with curving rim. Cloudy sky at the top.

Discussion: The first of a series of royal portraits depicting members of the Kangra royal family and of neighbouring rulers. Ghamand Chand and Devi Chand were on specially intimate terms — Devi Chand having married Ghamand Chand's sister. He had also aided him against Jaswan. The present portrait which illustrates this relationship may have been given to Devi Chand after a visit to Ghamand Chand and in this way have entered the Bilaspur royal collection.

In style, the portrait is typical of a somewhat brash type of journalistic reporting which came to be practised in Kangra state during the period, c.1750-c.1815. Owing nothing to Guler precedents or models and without any obvious antecedents in Kangra itself, it is, at first sight, suggestive of portraiture in Jammu — especially in its use of pale colours, sinuous outlines, single flat planes and slightly enlarged heads. No significant connections, however, are known to have existed between Kangra and Jammu and it is possible that painters from an entirely different state, Nurpur, may in fact have been responsible. Under Raja Fateh Singh (c.1735-c.1770) of Nurpur, members of the court were on markedly friendly terms with the Kangra family. Fateh Singh's eldest son, Pirthi Singh, was a boon companion of Tegh Chand, son of Ghamand Chand (Nurpur nos. 19, 22 q.v.) while his second son, Indar Singh, Pirthi Singh's brother by another rani and his junior by a few days, was married to a Kangra princess and went to live with her on her Kangra estate at Reh. Two other sons,

Bijaor Singh and Surat Singh, also settled in Kangra. Since Nurpur possessed a continuous tradition of painting from the late seventeenth century onwards, and also had a large and flourishing painter colony (Goswamy, communication, 1968), it is possible that surplus Nurpur artists went to Kangra and there developed this local type of portraiture. If this is so, they appear to have shed the warm colours and romantic distortions which are typical of Nurpur painting in the seventeen-sixties (Nurpur *q.v.*) while availing, in the case of female faces, of certain standard Nurpur idioms.

Although, on present evidence, Ghamand Chand seems to have had no general interest in painting, his rapid rise to power, feudal ambitions and consuming need to understand and assess his neighbours and rivals may have prompted him to sponsor this novel type of brusque and rapid portraiture.

2 Raja Ghamand Chand (1761-1774) of Kangra with his son and grandsons. Kangra c.1770.

220 x 174 mm; with border (trimmed) 229 x 183 mm. Traces of pink border with narrow black margin.

Inscribed on the reverse in *gurmukhi* characters: (1) *raja ghamanda chanda* (2) *raja tega chanda* (3) *raja sansar chanda* (4) *miha phate singh* (5) *miha man singh* (6) *katoch raje mihe* 'Raja Ghamand Chand, Raja Tegh Chand, Raja Sansar Chand, Mian Fateh Singh (Chand), Mian Man Singh (Chand). The Katoch (Kangra) Rajas and Mians'; and in Persian characters: *mian man singh aur fateh singh* 'Mian Man Singh and Fateh Singh (Chand)'.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 6-1956.

Description: Ghamand Chand in white *jama* and turban is seated on a pale yellow terrace leaning against pale crimson cushions. His son, Tegh Chand, in white *jama* with crimson waist-sash sits beside him. In front of them is a group of three children, a baby in orange-red (Man Singh), a boy in mauve (Sansar Chand) and a slightly smaller boy in white, his middle brother, Fateh Chand. White balustrades. A servant with a peacock feather fan stands beyond the further balustrade. Muddy grey background with curving rim of white and blue sky streaked with red.

Discussion: Similar in style to I and with the same thin outlines, pale and tepid colouring, emphasis on profiles and recourse to a single flat plane. Since Ghamand Chand's eldest grandson, Sansar Chand, was born in 1765 and is aged about five years in the picture, the group may well commemorate the family as it was in about 1770. It is significant that both Ghamand Chand and Tegh Chand have swords and rosaries and that on this occasion Tegh Chand wears a Shaiva *tilak* mark. In 1761, Ghamand Chand had erected a shrine to Chamunda Devi, goddess of war, in the fortress of Sujampur Tira and it is possible that his success in war was believed to be due to regular worship of Shiva and the Devi.

3 Raja Gaje Singh (1762-1788) of Hindur (Nalagarh) receiving Raja Indar Singh of Nurpur-Kangra. Kangra, c.1770.

Inscribed in Persian characters above the principal figures: from left to right (1) *raja indar singh pish raja dayadhata pathania* 'Raja Indar Singh, son of Raja Daya Dhata of Nurpur' (2) *raja gaje singh hinduria nalagarhwala* 'Raja Gaje Singh of Hindur-Nalagarh' (3) *raja ram singh pish raja gaje singh* 'Raja Ram Singh, son of Raja Gaje Singh' (4) *mian gopal Singh* (5) *mian chapal Singh*.

Ancestral collection of Raja Dhruv Dev Chand of Lambagraon, Kangra.

Description: Gaje Singh of Nalagarh in white *jama* and dark wrap sits with his three sons all in dark *jamias*, beside him, a group of five courtiers below them. Above Gaje Singh is a white yak's tail fly-whisk and above Ram Singh, the heir apparent, is a peacock-feather fan. Facing them on the left sits Indar Singh of Nurpur-Kangra also with three sons. Long terrace with pale coloured rugs and cushions and white balustrade. Pale blue background.

Discussion: Attributed to Kangra on grounds of provenance (the Lambagraon ancestral collection), style (identical with portraits of Kangra rulers Ghamand Chand, Tegh Chand and Sansar Chand) and subject (Indar Singh, second son of

Raja Fateh Singh of Nurpur, who was domiciled in Kangra state and thus a permanent member of the Kangra court). The picture, perhaps executed by a Nurpur artist attached to Indar Singh and working in Kangra, appears to record a meeting of two families, possibly with a view to arranging a marriage.

4 Raja Gaje Singh (1762-1788) of Hindur (Nalagarh) receiving Raja Indar Singh of Nurpur-Kangra. Kangra, c.1770.

256 x 357 mm; with borders 305 x 397 mm.

Inscribed in *nagari* characters on or above the principal figures from left to right: (1) kneeling figure in front row with white beard *dalel* (2) next kneeling figure *wazir adh* . . . (3) third kneeling figure *jassa(?) singh* (4) leading member of the party *raja indra singh* (5) leading member of the opposite party *raja hadariya gaje singh* (6) next kneeling figure in dark *jama*, *raja ram singh* (7) third figure down *gopal singh* (8) fourth figure down *chapal singh* (9) fifth figure down *kelariya* . . . *das* . . . of Bilaspur (Kahlur) ?

Chandigarh Museum (formerly in the Kangra ancestral collection of Mian Ram Singh of Bhawarna (Alampur), Kangra). **Description:** Gaje Singh of Nalagarh in white *jama* and dark wrap, a large dagger in his waist-band, sits with his son, the heir-apparent Ram (Saran) Singh, and his two younger sons, Gopal Singh and Chapal Singh, all in orange *jamias*. They are accompanied by five seated courtiers in yellow one of whom may be from the neighbouring state of Bilaspur. Attendants fan Gaje Singh with a regal yak's tail fly-whisk and Ram (Saran) Singh with a peacock-feather fan. Seated opposite to them on the same terrace are Raja Indar Singh of Nurpur-Kangra, four of his sons in white *jamias* and three courtiers, one of them perhaps the *wazir* or manager of his Kangra estate. Two attendants stand behind them. Long terrace with pale coloured rugs and cushions. Above the group a canopy on four poles. Background pale blue with crinkly white clouds.

Discussion: A companion picture to 3 and significant as coming from the second of the two main Kangra ancestral collections. The fact that the names of Indar Singh's sons are not noted whereas those of the Nalagarh family are recorded in detail supports the inference that the picture was painted for Indar Singh rather than *vice versa*. As in 3, the absence of a yak's tail fly-whisk and a peacock-feather fan above the heads of Indar Singh and his sons indicates that they are of lower rank than the reigning Nalagarh family. If, as seems possible, the occasion is a joint family meeting for the purpose of discussing a marriage, the potential bridegroom would have come from the Nalagarh side while the bride would be from the Nurpur-Kangra family. During the reign of Sansar Chand (1775-1823) of Kangra, Ram Saran Singh actively aided Kangra against Bilaspur and also married one of his daughters to Sansar Chand's grandson, Pramod. It is possible that in politics as in portrait-painting Indar Singh may have made a small but notable contribution to Kangra-Nurpur relationships.

5 Raja Tegh Chand (1774) of Kangra seated with Raja Pirthi Singh (c.1770-c.1805) of Nurpur. Kangra, c.1770-1780.

Inscribed in *nagari* characters on the reverse: (1) *maharaja tegh chand* and (2) mis-inscribed: *raja nahar singh nurpurwala*.

Ancestral collection of Raja Dhruv Dev Chand of Lambagraon, Kangra.

Description: Tegh Chand of Kangra and Pirthi Singh of Nurpur sit smoking facing each other on an open verandah. Each wears a Vaishnava mark on his cheek bone. Below them is a small fountain and on either side two tall thin attendants, holding peacock-feather fans. The Beas River at Sujampur can be seen through an upper window.

Discussion: A double portrait, perhaps commemorating a visit by Pirthi Singh shortly after his accession in c.1770 to his close friend (possibly his relative by marriage) Tegh Chand of Kangra. For the identity of Pirthi Singh as the sitter on the right, see 6. The tall thin attendants are reminiscent of similar servants in Nurpur paintings Nurpur nos. 19 and 22. Although executed in substantially the same style

as 1-4, the picture is perhaps slightly later in date than the meeting it commemorates — the river landscape which appears through the window reflecting the more sophisticated tendencies which came to characterise the second and rival strand in painting at Kangra from 1775 onwards.

6 Raja Tegh Chand (1774) of Kangra in durbar with Raja Prakash Chand (1773-c.1790) of Guler, Raja Pirthi Singh (c.1770-c.1805) of Nurpur and others. Fragment of a larger picture. Kangra, c.1774.
275 x 220 mm (trimmed).

Inscribed on the face of the picture in Persian characters from left to right: (1) *raja prit singh jaswal* 'Raja Prit Singh of Jaswan' (2) *raja pirthi singh nurpuria* 'Raja Pirthi Singh of Nurpur' (3) *sri maharaja tek chand bahadur* (4) *raja prakas chand guleria* (5) *raja raj singh chambawala*; and on the reverse in nagari characters: *sri maharaj tegh chand*. National Museum, New Delhi.

Description: Tegh Chand of Kangra flanked by Pirthi Singh of Nurpur and Prit Singh of Jaswan sits facing Prakash Chand of Guler and Raj Singh of Chamba. Each ruler holds the stem of a hookah. Behind them stand attendants with peacock-feather fans. A hawk perches on a large bolster in the centre. In the foreground a cluster of three hookah bowls with looping stems. Plain background. Carpet with floral pattern. Balustrade with cross-hatched patterning.

Discussion: A durbar scene, perhaps connected with the assumption of reigning powers by Prakash Chand of Guler. Govardhan Chand, his father, had died in 1773 and although Prakash Chand may have administered the state on his behalf for some time previously, it was possibly not until 1774 that he paid a formal visit to Tegh Chand. Tegh Chand himself ruled for only one year (1774). The picture is of some importance since, by seating Pirthi Singh on Tegh Chand's immediate right, it illustrates once more the close relationship existing between the Kangra and Nurpur families. Prit Singh ruled Jaswan from 1774 to 1782, Pirthi Singh Nurpur from c.1770-c.1805, Prakash Chand Guler from 1773 to c.1790 and Raj Singh Chamba from 1764 to 1794.

7 Raja Tegh Chand (1774) of Kangra smoking. Kangra, c.1770-1775.

210 x 147 mm; with border 255 x 184 mm. Pink border with red and black rules.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 5-1956.

Description: Tegh Chand, identified by comparison with the figure in 2 and 6, is seated on a white terrace holding the pale crimson handle of a hookah. He wears a pale crimson *jama*. An attendant with peacock-feather fan stands behind him. In front of him kneels a courtier. Pale yellow rug. Pale crimson cushions. Background muddy grey with, at the top, a curving rim of white and blue sky streaked with red.

Discussion: Similar in style to 2.

8(i-xv) Fifteen portraits of neighbouring rulers. Kangra, c.1760-c.1790.

Formerly ancestral collection of Raja Dhruv Dev Chand of Lambagraon, Kangra.

8(i-iv) Four portraits of Jaswan rulers (Jaswan, q.v.).

Jaswan was an offshoot of Kangra and lay immediately to its south and south-west.

8(i) Raja Tegh Chand (1774) of Kangra seated smoking with Raja Prit Singh (1774-1782) of Jaswan. Kangra, 1774.

Inscribed on the face in Persian characters from left to right: (1) *raja prit singh jaswal* (2) *maharaja tek chand bahadur*.

Description: Tegh Chand of Kangra sits facing Prit Singh of Jaswan, each raja holding a hookah stem and being attended by a servant who waves a peacock-feather fan. White balustrade and terrace wall. Pale background.

8(ii) Raja Ajit Singh (c.1720-c.1750) of Jaswan seated with his brother Mian Jaghar Singh (c.1750-c.1765). Kangra, c.1760.

Inscribed on the face in Persian characters: (1) *mian jhakar singh jaswal biradar i khurd raja ajit singh* 'Mian Jaghar Singh of Jaswan, own brother of Raja Ajit Singh' (2) *raja ajit singh jaswal*; and on the reverse in nagari characters: (1) *jhagar singh jasual* 'Jaghar Singh of Jaswan' (2) *sri raja ajit singh jasual* (3) *ambka raja*.

Amb, now in Hoshiarpur district, Punjab Plains, was formerly a part of Jaswan.

Description: Ajit Singh in dark *jama* and wrap sits beyond a balustrade leaning against a white cushion and smoking a hookah. A servant stands behind him with a peacock-feather fan. To the left, his brother and successor, Jaghar Singh, sits facing him, a hookah by his side and a hawk perched on his gloved right wrist. Plain background with, in the sky, white clouds. For a possible portrait of Jaghar Singh riding with the young Tegh Chand of Kangra, see Nurpur no. 19.

8(iii) Raja Abhiraj Singh (c.1765-c.1770) of Jaswan seated. Kangra, c.1760.

Inscribed on the face in Persian characters: *raja abhiraj singh jaswal pirs rai jhagar singh* 'Raja Abhiraj Singh of Jaswan son of Rai Jaghar Singh'.

Description: The young Abhiraj Singh sits on a rug patterned with small 'darts', leaning against a large cushion. He wears a white *jama* and, around his neck, a rosary. He sits with his hands clasped on his lap. White balustrade. Pale background with, at the top, a rim of white and blue sky.

Significant on account of its somewhat unusual posture and because of the Persian inscription which along with a second inscription (8(iv)), makes it clear that two Jaswan Rajas — Ajit Singh, viii and Abhiraj Singh, x — died issueless, the Jaswan line being continued on two occasions by a brother (Jaghar Singh, ix, Jagrup Singh, xi). These somewhat important facts of genealogy appear to have escaped the notice of both Hutchison and Vogel and of Griffin and Massy.

8(iv) Raja Abhiraj Singh (c.1765-c.1770) of Jaswan seated with his nephew, Prit Singh (ruled 1774-1782). Kangra, c.1765-1770.

Inscribed on the face in Persian characters: (1) *rai prit singh pirs jagrup singh biradar zada raja abhiraj singh* 'Rai Prit Singh son of Jagrup Singh, brother of Raja Abhiraj Singh' (2) *raja abhiraj singh jaswal*; and on the reverse: (1) *ra paurayat (prit?) singh* 'Rai Prit Singh' (2) *sri raja abheraya singh jasual* 'Sri Raja Abhiraj Singh of Jaswan' (3) *raja amb* 'Raja of Amb' (see no. 8(ii)).

Description: Abhiraj Singh, now much older, sits smoking a hookah on a rug with floral pattern under a white canopy, a large black shield strapped to his side. A servant stands behind him, waving a white fly-whisk and holding a further symbol of royalty, a bow with quiver full of arrows. Beneath the rug is a carpet with vertical stripes. In the right hand corner, a sleeping dog. Before the Raja sits his nephew and eventual successor, Prit Singh.

8(v-viii) Four portraits of Sirmur rulers (Sirmur, q.v.).

Note: Unlike certain other families whose portraits were also in the Lambagraon ancestral collection, the Sirmur family was, at one time, on friendly terms with Kangra — Dharm Parkash (8(viii)) having married Sansar Chand's sister. This friendship, however, does not seem to have survived the death of his brother, Jagat Parkash, in 1789, since only four years later war broke out between Kangra and Sirmur and Dharm Parkash was killed in battle.

8(v) Raja Kirat Parkash (1754-1770) of Sirmur smoking. Kangra, c.1770.

Inscribed on the reverse in nagari characters: *kirat prakash sarmauria*.

Description: Kirat Parkash in dark *jama* with high waist sits smoking a hookah with large broad stem. Pale background with, to the right, a flowering tree.

8(vi) The young Raja Jagat Parkash (1770-1789) of Sirmur holding a nosegay and a bow. Kangra, c.1770-1780.

Inscribed on the reverse in *takri*, Persian and *nagari* characters: *raja jagat prakash sarmauriya*.

Description: Jagat Parkash in dark *jama* is seated against a large grey bolster with dark blue floral sprigs holding in his left hand a nose-gay and in his right a bow. An attendant with peacock-feather fan stands behind him. Pale background with dim traces of cloud.

Related example: (1) Randhawa (1954), fig. 1; also reproduced Randhawa (1961), fig. 13, where mis-captioned Sansar Chand of Kangra. Jagat Parkash riding with retainers. Inscribed in *nagari* characters: *sarmaur ka raja jagat prakash*. Lambagraon collection, Kangra. Kangra, c.1770-1780.

8(vii) The adult Raja Jagat Parkash (1770-1789) of Sirmur interviewing a courtier. Kangra, c.1780.

Inscribed in *nagari* characters on the rolled-up blind: *sri raja jagat pargas* and on the reverse: *raja jagat prahas sarmauria*.

Description: Jagat Parkash in white *jama* and holding a nose-gay is seated in a white pavilion with curving roof and rolled-up blind, interviewing a courtier who stands before him on the right. An attendant holds a peacock-feather fan above him. Balustrade with criss-cross hatching.

8(viii) Raja Dharm Parkash (1789-1793) of Sirmur seated. Kangra, c.1790.

Inscribed on the reverse in Persian characters: *raja dharm prakash sarmaur baradar-i-khurd raja jagat prakash* 'Raja Dharm Parkash of Sirmur, own brother of Raja Jagat Parkash'.

Description: Dharm Parkash with large black shield, sword and bow beside him, sits facing left, leaning against a bolster and cushion. Behind him stand two attendants with peacock-feather fans. Pale rug and background with slight cloud.

8(ix) Portrait of a Bashahr ruler (Bashahr, q.v.).

Bashahr lay to the south-east of Kangra, the state of Mandi intervening.

Raja Ugar Singh (c.1770-c.1800) of Bashahr standing. Kangra, c.1780.

Inscribed on the reverse in *takri* characters: *sri raja ugar singh basehria*; and in Persian characters: *raja ugar singh basahrwala*.

Archer collection, London (formerly Lambagraon collection, Kangra).

Description: Ugar Singh in long white *jama*, holding a narcissus in his left hand and leaning on a sword, stands facing right. Pale green background.

8(x) Portrait of a Kutlehr ruler (Kutlehr, q.v.).

Kutlehr was a small state which adjoined Kangra on the south.

Raja Dharam Pal (c.1750-c.1780) of Kutlehr seated smoking. Kangra, c.1770.

Inscribed on front in Persian characters: *dharam pal kutlehra*.

Description: Dharam Pal in dark *jama* and turban reclines against a white cushion, a long white scarf on his neck and chest. He holds a hookah stem with his left hand, his right hand crossing his body to rest on his left thigh. Pale background with white clouds. Although following in the main a recognised Kangra formula, the present portrait is remarkable for the excessive thinness of the hookah stem and by the unusual placing of the right hand and arm.

8(xi) Portrait of a Datarpur ruler (Datarpur, q.v.).

Datarpur was an offshoot from Siba and a close neighbour to Kangra.

Raja Govind Chand (c.1770-1818) of Datarpur smoking. Kangra, c.1770-1780.

Inscribed on the reverse in *nagari* characters: *sri raja gobind singh datarpuriya*.

Description: Raja Govind Singh in white *jama* sits smoking a hookah, a bow resting on his thighs, two arrows placed beside it on a cushion. Behind him an attendant waves a white fly-whisk. White balustrade. Flat background with, at the top, a curving rim of sky.

8(xii) Portrait of a Mankot ruler (Mankot, q.v.).

Mankot lay north-west of Basohli, which in turn adjoined Nurpur.

Raja Dalel Singh (c.1760-c.1780) of Mankot smoking. Kangra, c.1770.

Inscribed on the reverse in *nagari* characters: *sri dalel singh mankotia*.

Description: Dalel Singh of Mankot is seated on a terrace leaning against cushions and smoking a hookah. Pale background.

8(xliii) Portrait of a Hindur (Nalagarh) ruler (Hindur, q.v.).

For Hindur's relations with Kangra, see nos. 3 and 4.

Raja Ram Saran Singh (1788-1848) of Hindur (Nalagarh) seated smoking with Raja Sansar Chand (1775-1823) of Kangra. Kangra, c.1800.

Inscribed on front in Persian characters: (1) *sri maharaja sansar chand* (2) *raja ram singh hinduria nalagarhwala*.

Description: Ram Saran Singh of Hindur, a short and slight figure on the right, sits holding a hookah facing Sansar Chand of Kangra who holds his hookah to his mouth. White balustrade. Pale cushions and background. At the top traces of clouds.

8(xiv) Portrait of a Basohli ruler (Basohli, q.v.).

Basohli was on intimate terms with Kangra, Amrit Pal having taken as his second rani a Kangra princess.

Raja Amrit Pal (1757-1776) of Basohli seated with a pandit or court official. Kangra, c.1760-1770.

Inscribed on the flap in *nagari* characters: *sri raja ambrat pal balauriya*; and on the reverse in *nagari* characters: *sri raja ambrat pal balauriya* and in Persian characters: *raja amrit pal balauria basohlivala*.

Description: Amrit Pal in white *jama* sits on a terrace with rug and cushions facing a seated pandit or official who holds a page of writing. To the left is a servant holding a white cloth. Plain background with rims of sky. The page of writing may indicate Amrit Pal's scholarly interests.

8(xv) Portrait of a Suket ruler (Suket, q.v.).

Suket was also on close terms with Kangra, Sansar Chand having taken as his first rani the daughter of Kishan Singh, brother of Ranjit Sen of Suket.

Raja Ranjit Sen (1762-1791) of Suket seated with his brother, Kishan Singh. Kangra, c.1780.

Inscribed on the face in Persian characters from left to right: (1) *mian kishan singh biradari khurd ranjit singh pirs raja bhikam chand* 'Mian Kishan Singh, own brother of Ranjit Singh (Sen), son of Raja Bhikam Chand (Sen)' (2) *raja ranjit singh sukhvala pirs raja bhikam chand* 'Raja Ranjit Singh (Sen) of Suket, son of Raja Bhikam Chand (Sen), and on the reverse in *nagari* characters: (3) *kisan singh* (4) *sri raja ajit singh* and in Persian characters: (5) *mian kishan singh* (6) *raja ranjit singh sukhvala*.

Description: Ranjit Sen, in one place mis-titled 'Chand,' and in another 'Ajit Singh', sits to the right smoking a hookah and attended by a servant with peacock-feather fan. He faces his brother, Kishan Singh a massive figure with a sword strap on his chest and a large black beard. Balustrade and cusped archway. Plain background.

Discussion: A group of fifteen portraits attributed to Kangra on grounds of provenance (the extensive Lambagraon ancestral collection of portraits of which they comprise only a small part), style (similar to 3, 5 and 7) and the applicability to them of William Moorcroft's description of the Kangra royal collection in 1820. Describing Sansar Chand's 'fondness for drawing' and his 'immense collection' of pictures, Moorcroft (1820) states that 'the Raja has portraits of all the neighbouring families'. Although some of these may have been commissioned personally, it is probable that the collection was begun in the life-time of his grandfather, Ghamand Chand, when portraits from life were made in the simple style illustrated by 1 and 2. Portraits originally painted in other states may also have been copied — an artist, Fauju, apparently specialising in this kind of work (Kahlur (Bilaspur), no. 39 q.v.).

9 The young Raja Sansar Chand (1775-1823) of Kangra celebrating the 'Rain of Roses' with his courtiers. Kangra, dated 1778.

356 x 246 mm; with borders 396 x 280 mm.

Inscribed in *takri* characters on the reverse: *sri raja sri sansar chand sa(mvat) 35 charhe de chaitra prav(vishte) 15* 'Sri Raja Sansar Chand (painted on) the 15th day of the month of *Chait* (March-April), the *samvat* year 25 (A.D. 1778) having begun'.

Chandigarh Museum (formerly in the ancestral collection of Raja Dhruv Dev Chand of Lambagraon, Kangra).

Published: Randhawa (1954b), fig. 6; also reproduced Randhawa (1961), fig. 11.

Description: The young Sansar Chand, aged thirteen years, sits on the left surrounded by a ring of courtiers and visitors, watching two dancing-girls perform to the accompaniment of three male musicians. He himself is joining in the 'Rain of Roses,' a festival which follows the Spring festival of Holi. Courtiers on either side of him face a row of seven 'opponents' who include Indar Singh of Nurpur-Kangra (third from the top) and Raja Pirthi Singh of Nurpur (fifth from the top). Each side pelts the other with rose petals which litter the floor or rain through the air. In the foreground, a link-boy holds a torch and at the top is a night sky with stars. The scene is viewed through an archway with rolled-up striped blind topped by a pinkish brown roof. The majority of the company, including Sansar Chand, Indar Singh and Pirthi Singh are dressed in white; a few are in pink, green, orange and brown.

Discussion: A picture of unusual importance on account of its provenance (the Lambagraon ancestral collection), its inscription (firmly connecting it with yet a third generation of the Kangra royal family, Sansar Chand), its date of 1778 (proving that, even as a boy of thirteen, Sansar Chand was actively interested in painting) and its style which shows a marked advance on the over-static and schematised group portraiture of the years 1765-1775. Instead of concentrating on the faces of the subjects with the sole aim of achieving recognisable likenesses, the painter has now the further intention of showing a number of persons in action, catching their movements and conveying the impact of a busy and dramatic scene. Although the early sharp and wiry line is still employed and figures continue to be shown in profile the organisation of forms has become more complex and assured and there is also a wider range of colour. Dancing-girls — a major feature of the festival — are given prominence and it is noteworthy that their sharp faces while suggesting at one remove a certain type of Nurpur idiom are none the less distinctive and that neither of the two types of female face current in Guler painting in the years 1765-1775 is present.

It is reasonable to conclude that this sudden enlargement in style of Kangra portraiture was in great measure due to the impact on the artists of the young Sansar Chand and that the energy and decisiveness which characterised his actions as a young man were already developed when he came to the throne in 1775 at the age of ten. A further reason for his rapid rise to power may have been his shrewd reliance on experienced advisers and courtiers, the association of them with his various activities as seen in the present picture and the practice of constantly appearing not in isolation but as heading a powerful posse of retainers.

Examples for comparison: (1) Randhawa (1961), fig. 3. Sansar Chand receiving tribute. Lambagraon collection, Kangra, c.1779.

(2) Randhawa (1961), fig. 4. Sansar Chand in conference surrounded by twenty-seven courtiers or kinsmen, male musicians attending. Lambagraon collection, Kangra, c.1779.

(3) Randhawa (1961), fig. 5. Sansar Chand in his wedding procession, fifty persons participating. Lambagraon collection, Kangra, c.1781.

(4) Randhawa (1961), fig. 8. Sansar Chand exercising his cavalry, over sixty persons participating. Lambagraon collection, Kangra, c.1783.

(5) Randhawa (1961), fig. 17. Sansar Chand riding, over

fifty retainers attending him. Lambagraon collection, Kangra, c.1785.

(6) Randhawa (1961), fig. 22. Sansar Chand attending the wedding procession of Anirudh Chand, over fifty persons participating. Bhawarna collection, Kangra, c.1804.

10 The young Raja Sansar Chand (1775-1823) of Kangra with courtiers looking at pictures. Kangra, c.1783.

Ancestral collection of Raja Dhruv Dev Chand of Lambagraon, Kangra.

Published: French (1947), pl. 4; also reproduced Randhawa (1961), col. pl. at pp.6-7; Randhawa (1966), fig. 12.

Description: The young Sansar Chand, aged about eighteen years and wearing a dull red *jama* and turban, sits between Wazir Labha (identified Goswamy) on his right and Fateh Chand, his younger brother, on his left. Six courtiers sit before them passing round pictures which are taken from a green portfolio by a child. Fateh Chand is holding out a hand in which he has just received a picture and the Wazir is intently looking at another picture which he also holds in his hand. In the foreground are three link-boys with torches. Behind the sitting courtiers are three attendants, one of them with yet another torch. The scene is viewed through a pale grey archway, topped by a pale crimson blind with green edges. Sansar Chand and the rest are seated on a pink rug with blue stripes. In the background is a dark grey sky with lines of soft black clouds lit by moonlight.

Discussion: Like 9, an action picture involving a variety of incidents and persons and of particular importance since it shows the young Sansar Chand looking at pictures and vividly demonstrating that even at a young age he possessed that 'fondness for drawing' which so impressed Moorcroft when he stayed with him in 1820 (Moorcroft, 1820 q.v.). Moorcroft remarked that it was in the evenings that Sansar Chand listened to singing-girls and watched their dancing and it is significant that as in 9, the present scene is taking place at night and that torches are needed. Although six different pictures are being handed round, it is difficult to identify their subjects. In the case of the picture held by Fateh Chand, the format appears to be horizontal and the subject may be a group of ladies celebrating the Holi festival. The remaining five have vertical formats. One has writing at the top and may illustrate a poetic text. None, however, are very obviously portraits. It would seem, therefore, that by 1780, the first group of portrait painters in Kangra State had been supplemented by other artists and that paintings of the type, discussed in Part Two, were already under active preparation. It is noteworthy that in contrast to the summary indications of sky given in 1-9, the present picture treats black storm clouds with soft sensitivity, suggesting, that, while Kangra portrait painters adhered, in the main, to their own separate conventions, they were, none the less, prepared to make minor changes and to learn from their contemporaries.

11 Raja Sansar Chand (1775-1823) of Kangra smoking. Kangra, c.1785.

243 x 170 mm. Oval with dark blue surrounds and heavy white scrolling.

Galbraith collection, Cambridge, Mass. (formerly in the ancestral collection of Raja Dhruv Dev Chand of Lambagraon, Kangra).

Published: Randhawa (1961), col. pl. p.8-9, also reproduced Welch and Beach (1965), p.99.

Description: Sansar Chand, aged about twenty years, in a white *jama* and wearing a turban streaked with gold, sits smoking on a pale yellow terrace, leaning against large white cushions flecked with gold dashes. Behind him stands an attendant with a peacock-feather fan and to the right, below him, is a courtier in faint pink *jama* with brown scabbard and sword-strap. A pistol and a domed black shield lie beside him. Opposite him is a figure in white *jama* and turban with a squarish-cut beard, the chin left entirely bare. Muddy grey background as in 2. Curving orange rim at the top with dark blue sky and streaks of white cloud.

Discussion: In style closely similar to portraits of Ghamand

Chand and Tegh Chand — the muddy grey background, sharp profiles, abruptly curving rim and over-all pallor carefully following earlier conventions. It is noteworthy that Sansar Chand has the same strongly resolute face as in 10 and that the right arm, outstretched as if to reinforce some firm command, is shown in identically the same position. The figure facing him is either a member of his staff or the permanent representative of another ruler or chief. His unusual beard singles him out from other courtiers and it is possible, as B. N. Goswamy has suggested, that he is 'Frasoo Kootlub', a wakil or lawyer, perhaps of a Maratha chief, stationed at the Kangra court (private communication, 1969). The fact that the portrait was originally in one of the two main ancestral collections and was owned by a direct descendant of Sansar Chand, suggests that it was made for Sansar Chand himself either for presentation to a visitor or for his personal retention. For Kangra paintings of about the year 1780 using an oval form with patterned surrounds, see Part Two, nos. 38, 39.

12 Raja Sansar Chand (1775-1823) of Kangra listening to girl-musicians. Kangra, c.1785.
227 x 155 mm (without borders).
Indian Museum, Calcutta.

Description: Sansar Chand, aged about twenty years, as in 11, sits in a small white pavilion, his right hand holding a hookah stem and his left hand toying with a dagger. He leans against a large white cushion and gazes out on a lowering sky filled with black storm clouds. Behind him sits a courtier. Below them on a white terrace sit two girl-musicians, one with a *tambura*, the other beating time with her fingers. To the left is a plantain tree intermixed with flowering branches and, in the centre, an angular pool with a spurting fountain.

Discussion: Identical in style to 9-11 and with the added interest of incorporating a slightly different variant of a standard Nurpur female face. As in 9, the singers have sharp pinched faces but the forehead of the girl beating time with her hands is more domed. Although depicting Sansar Chand with his customary air of masterful confidence, the picture departs, like 10, from too baldly schematic a treatment and includes black storm-clouds, a spurting fountain and an attendant plantain tree — details which may have been of Guler origin but which by 1785 were acclimatised in Kangra (Part Two q.v.).

13 Raja Sansar Chand (1775-1823) of Kangra with his brother, Fateh Chand at Nadaun. Kangra, c.1786.
244 x 189 mm; with border 303 x 241 mm.
Red border with dark blue margin and white rules.
Victoria and Albert Museum, Manuk and Coles collection, I.S. 137-1949.

Description: Sansar Chand, in appearance aged about twenty-one years, with faint signs of a beard, sits on a pale yellow rug edged with green laid on a stretch of stones by the river Beas at Nadaun. He wears a long white *jama* over a dark green under-garment and holds the stem of a hookah. Turban pale crimson. Behind him sits a courtier in white *jama* and dark green turban. Facing him are two further figures — the first in pale yellow turban is his brother, Fateh Chand, the other a courtier also in white. Beyond a grey expanse of river is a bank with great slabs of rock and boulders and a series of low hills with little rounded trees and dwellings.

Discussion: The same personage as in 11 and 12 and with the same bold air of resolute determination. The courtier immediately behind him is the same as in 12. His brother, Fateh Chand, younger, but with a more developed beard, sits opposite to him and is shown without a hookah. In the background is the right bank of the Beas at Nadaun, some fifteen miles lower down the river from Sujanpur and used by Sansar Chand as a court, especially in the cold weather. The river banks at Nadaun are remarkable for their large boulders.

14 Raja Sansar Chand (1775-1823) of Kangra and courtiers listening to girl-musicians. Kangra, c.1788.

Ancestral collection of Raja Dhrub Dev Chand of Lambagraon, Kangra.

Published: Randhawa (1954b), fig. 4; also reproduced Randhawa (1961), fig. 14.

Description: Sansar Chand, now aged about twenty-three years with more marked signs of a beard, sits on an open terrace, smoking a hookah. Two courtiers sit behind him. Facing him seated are Fateh Chand holding a nosegay, a courtier with an upright weapon and a third figure in a wrap. Below the party to the right is a group of four singing-girls. The terrace is covered by a pink rug with blue stripes. At the back is a house with grey walls and pale brown roof and beyond it a grey sky with rolling black storm-clouds and six white cattle egrets sharply silhouetted against them.

Discussion: A further portrait of Sansar Chand in a pose identical with that in 12 and with the following characteristic details: a striped rug (10), black storm-clouds (10, 12), girl-musicians (9, 12, 15). Unlike his brother, Fateh Chand, Sansar Chand developed a beard at a comparatively late stage, the present portrait, with 13 and 15, being among the first to show his beard commencing. It is noteworthy that the singing-girls with their low foreheads and sharply pointed noses are closer to those in 9 than in 12. For a Kangra painting with black clouds and cattle egrets, see Part Two, no. 30.

15 Raja Sansar Chand (1775-1823) of Kangra with courtiers and musicians in a garden. Kangra, c.1788.

Ancestral collection of Raja Dhrub Dev Chand of Lambagraon, Kangra.

Published: Randhawa (1961), col pl. cover.

Description: Sansar Chand aged about twenty-three years in orange yellow *jama* and turban, a white fly-whisk held above him, sits on a yellow rug, leaning against a yellow cushion, facing Fateh Chand who confronts him in the same kind of orange-yellow dress. Around them, seated on a pale yellow mat, is a circle of courtiers and in the lower right-hand corner a party of six musicians, three of them girls, the others men. Behind Sansar Chand is Wazir Labha (?) in a dark red *jama*, a second official in a pink *jama* and a group of four courtiers in white who include a plump clean-shaven pandit, perhaps the family priest, holding the child Anirudh. Behind Fateh Chand is a group of three courtiers, the first is the figure with Sansar Chand in 12, the second and third are other officials. In the foreground is a small green lawn with trees and cypresses and in the background a spacious garden with level green lawns, towering cypresses, groups of trees, two garden-houses and in the further distance a pavilion with verandah. Groups of tiny figures sit on the verandahs or stroll among the trees.

Discussion: An ambitious portrait group, seemingly combining three distinct activities: (1) a conference between Fateh Chand and Sansar Chand, the former supported by three officials and apparently putting forward or arguing a case, Sansar Chand listening gravely as he toys with his hookah, (2) a group of three courtiers endeavouring to amuse the baby Anirudh who is held up by the priest and (3) a party of musicians, shown reduced in scale and providing background music. Sansar Chand is aged about twenty-three years, his beard is more perceptible, while the inclusion of the baby Anirudh (born 1786 and aged about two) suggests that the year is now 1788. Although the great castle of Kangra had come into Sansar Chand's possession two years earlier in 1786, the scene with its spacious lawns and trees is probably not the Kangra fort but one of his garden-houses at Sujanpur or Alampur. In style, the picture with its suggestions of depth and distance is yet another attempt at modifying the established portraiture style (1-14 q.v.) by injecting it with the softer naturalism, typical of Kangra painting in Part Two.

16 Raja Sansar Chand (1775-1823) of Kangra inspecting pictures. Kangra, c.1788.

Chandigarh Museum (formerly ancestral collection of Raja Dhrub Dev Chand of Lambagraon, Kangra and assigned by him to Kangra on the basis of family tradition).

Published: Randhawa (1954b), fig. 10; also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), no. 269; Randhawa (1961), fig. 15.

Description: Sansar Chand, aged about twenty-three years, sits on a terrace under a canopy looking at pictures in the company of nine courtiers. Five are seated beside or behind him, among them a figure in the lower right-hand corner who is possibly Wazir Labha. An attendant stands behind him waving a large yak's tail fly-whisk. Facing Sansar Chand are Fateh Chand and beside him in descending order, an unidentified courtier holding a picture, a figure with a square-shaped beard (see 11), and finally a personage holding a small portfolio. As in 11-15, Sansar Chand is the only person smoking. Of the persons beside or behind him two are actually holding pictures while Sansar Chand reveals his own keen interest by himself holding a painting which he is about to pass to Fateh Chand.

Discussion: Like 10, a record of a 'picture session' and of unusual importance since (1) its date, c.1788, can be inferred from the appearance of certain of the figures, (2) its attribution to Kangra is supported by its provenance and the inclusion of persons portrayed with Sansar Chand in other portraits, (3) the romantic subjects, which are clearly visible in the three paintings which are being passed round, provide independent evidence that painting, other than portraiture, was in full vogue at Sansar Chand's court by this date and (4) the whole nature of the scene demonstrates Sansar Chand's 'fondness for drawing' (Moorcroft, 1820) and his role as a keen and lively patron.

Of the figures portrayed, Sansar Chand and Fateh Chand are closely comparable to their portraits in 15. The attendant with a yak's tail fly-whisk is the same as the attendant with a peacock-feather fan in 11; the courtier next but one behind Sansar Chand is the same person immediately behind him in 11, while the figure with a square-cut beard, familiar from 11 but now perhaps three years older, can be clearly seen next but one to Fateh Chand.

The figure holding a small portfolio in the bottom left-hand corner is of special interest since he closely resembles the subject of a portrait, formerly in the Central Museum, Lahore, inscribed *khushala kuthali manak da* 'Khushala storekeeper, (son) of Manak' (present no. 19(ii)). Khushala was second son of the Guler artist, Manak (Manaku) and is recorded by family tradition (French, 1931) as having been 'Sansar Chand's favourite painter'. If the person with the portfolio is indeed Khushala, it is no surprise that he is included in the group and it could well be his own paintings which are being handed round.

In the light of this possibility, the three pictures acquire an added significance. In contrast to the six in 10, where the subject-matter is difficult to determine, the subjects of the present three are clearly *nayikas* (ladies in love), shown in postures which resemble a standard position employed in the 'first' Kangra *Gita Govinda* (no. 33 q.v.) and in related studies. Since his uncle Nainsukh commanded a style of fluent naturalism (Jammu q.v.) and his father Manaku is definitely, if mysteriously, connected with the 'first' Kangra *Gita Govinda*, Khushala can hardly have been responsible for journalistic chronicles of the kind illustrated by portraits in Part One. His bent must almost certainly have been towards the romantic and poetic types of picture which are associated with him in the present picture. If this is so and since he was Sansar Chand's 'favourite painter', it must follow that these types of picture must also have been Sansar Chand's favourite kind of painting — a conclusion of some importance for confirming the attribution to Kangra of the major sets (Part Two, nos. 33, 36, 39, 41) which are here regarded as the work of painters at Sansar Chand's court.

17 Raja Sansar Chand (1775-1823) of Kangra with courtiers celebrating the Janmashtami festival of Krishna. Kangra, c.1790.

270 x 383 mm; with borders 292 x 405 mm.

National Museum, New Delhi.

Description: Sansar Chand, aged about twenty-five years and with a slightly more developed beard, sits on a mat smoking, surrounded by ranks of assembled courtiers. Immediately below him is Fateh Chand, holding in his lap the

child Anirudh, who is now about four years of age. The occasion is the 'Birthday of Krishna'. Lights are flaming in different parts of the courtyard and two link-boys are holding up torches. Before Sansar Chand are two dancing-girls posturing and singing and behind them one female and three male musicians. Immediately behind Sansar Chand is the family priest with smooth clean-shaven cheeks and slight moustache. At the rear of the courtyard on a raised platform is a swing containing an image of Krishna with four attendants seated beside it. The scene is viewed through three archways from the sides of which hang kite-like decorations with dangling ribbons.

Discussion: The first of a series of group portraits showing Sansar Chand actively celebrating the 'Birthday of Krishna' with his courtiers. As noted by the English traveller Moorcroft, chess and music were 'addictions' of Sansar Chand 'from early life' and in 1820 when Moorcroft stayed with him, Sansar Chand spent almost every evening watching dancing and listening to songs. 'In the evening (he) hears music and frequently has Nachs (dances) in which the performers generally sing Brij Bhakha (Hindi) songs generally reciting the adventures of Krishna and the Gopees' (Moorcroft, 1820). The present scene depicts what was probably almost a nightly occurrence, but with the difference that, since the occasion is a festival of Krishna, a swing has been installed to the rear of the courtyard and the emphasis on Krishna in the songs has been intensified. It is noticeable that in keeping with the general air of festive gaiety, Sansar Chand is shown smoking his customary hookah — not, as Karuna Goswamy has supposed, out of flagrant 'disrespect for the deity' but in keeping with the air of relaxation normal during a festival after actual worship has been concluded (communications Rai Krishnadasa, O. P. Sharma, 1970). For the special role which devotion to Krishna played in Sansar Chand's life, see Part Two nos. 32, 33, 36, 39 and Goswamy and Grewal (1970), where land grants, made to two priests, expressly 'out of devotion to Lord Krishna', are published. The importance attached by Sansar Chand to the Janmashtami festival of Krishna is further demonstrated by the fact that in at least three different years — 1790 (no. 17), 1794 (no. 17(1)) and 1800 (no. 22) — special records of the scene were made by his painters. It is significant that his sense of personal identification with Krishna led him to name his son and heir after Krishna's grandson, Anirudh.

Related examples: (1) Khandalavala (1958), fig. 81. Sansar Chand with courtiers celebrating the Janmashtami festival of Krishna. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. Kangra, c.1794. Sansar Chand aged about twenty-nine years and with fully developed beard. Anirudh about eight years old. A smooth shaven pandit beside Sansar Chand as in 17. Predominantly white in colour but with orange yellow lights and fireworks and pink and pale yellow *jamās*. Sansar Chand in a dark green *jama* and, as in other pictures, the sole member of the company who is smoking a hookah. Dancing-girls and musicians similar to 17. Tall archway. At the rear, perhaps under a small canopy of its own, decorated with streamers, is a swing containing an image. Two *pujaris* seated by it. Vertical format but in same style as 17.

18 Raja Sansar Chand (1775-1823) of Kangra walking with his son, Anirudh Chand. Kangra, 1796.

219 x 157 mm; with border 288 x 199 mm. Pink border with black and red rules.

Inscribed in *nagari* characters: *sri maharaja sri sansar chand* and on the reverse in English: *The Portraits of Maharaja Sansar Chund and his son Rau Unrood Chund taken 24 years ago. July 18, 1820. William Moorcroft.*

Victoria and Albert Museum, Charles collection, I.S. 173-1950.

Published: Archer (1952a), fig. 52.

Description: Raja Sansar Chand, aged thirty-one years, in white turban and calf-length *jama* is walking, holding the hand of his young son, Anirudh, who is now ten years old. An attendant comes behind carrying a hookah. In front of them strides an older attendant carrying a sword wrapped in an orange-red bundle. All four wear orange-red slippers.

Pale green background. At the top two streaks of orange red and a curving rim of white and pale blue sky.

Discussion: In style similar to 1-4 and 7 and suggesting that the type of brush and somewhat crude portraiture initiated under Ghamand Chand was still being practised in Kangra twenty to thirty years later. On the circumstances in which the present picture came into Moorcroft's possession, Moorcroft has the following note: 'The collection of coloured drawings in the possession of the Raja relating principally to Hindoo Mythology is immense. He gave me the choice of them but I selected representations of his own court out of compliment' (Moorcroft, 1822). Moorcroft elsewhere states that in 1820 Anirudh was thirty-four years old or, in other words, he had been born in 1786. Since the present portrait was 'taken twenty-four years ago', i.e. in 1796, Anirudh was therefore ten years old at the time, an age which is confirmed by his appearance in the portrait. For specimens of Moorcroft's hand-writing in 1820 exactly tallying with that in the inscription, see his manuscript journal and letters, India Office Library (Moorcroft, 1820, 1822).

19(i-iii) Three portrait sketches of the painters Manak (Manaku), Khushala and Gaudhu. Kangra, c.1775-1800.

19(i) The painter Manak. Kangra, c.1780.

Inscribed on the reverse in *nagari* characters: *sri chatehra manak* 'The respected painter Manak'. National Museum, New Delhi.

Description: Manak, a firm figure aged about seventy, with black moustache and grey beard, stands facing right, holding a long thin stick. Features firmly drawn, the rest lightly sketched.

19(ii) The painter Khushala. Kangra, c.1775.

Inscribed on the front in *nagari* characters (1) at the top: *khushala kuthali* 'Khushala store-keeper(?)' and (2) at the foot: *manak da* ('son) of Manak'. Chandigarh Museum.

Listed Gupta (1922), D.117; published Randhawa (1956), p.4; also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), p.340; Goswamy (1968), fig. 4.

Note: Although, as Goswamy (1968) has emphasised, the term 'Kuthali' raises problems, the fact that the portrait is part of a group, that all the other persons portrayed are painters and that the subject is clearly noted as being the son of Manak, himself a painter, suggests that this is not a case of mistaken identity but is more probably a clerical error by the scribe.

Description: Khushala, in white *jama* with black moustache and beard, aged about forty, sits facing right. Features firmly drawn, the remainder lightly sketched.

19(iii) The painter Gaudhu. Kangra, c.1795-1800.

Inscribed on the front in *nagari* characters at the top and side: (1) *gaudhu musavar* 'The painter Gaudhu' and (2) *nainsukh da putra dusra* 'Second son of Nainsukh'. Chandigarh Museum.

Listed Gupta (1922), D.120; published Randhawa (1956) p.4; also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), p.340; Goswamy (1968), fig. 6.

Description: Gaudhu, a somewhat portly figure, with white beard, aged about fifty, sits facing left.

Discussion: A group of three portrait sketches, perhaps made at different intervals, recording members of the same artist family whose role in painting at Guler, Kangra and Basohli was clearly considerable.

No. 19(i), Manak (Manaku), was born at Guler probably in c.1710, migrated to Basohli in c.1725 and was commissioned by the Lady Malini in 1730 to prepare an illustrated *Gita Govinda* series. He is recorded in a priest's register as visiting Hardwar in 1736, the year in which Raja Medini Pal of Basohli died. Further details of his life and work are unrecorded but on the evidence of the present portrait, he was probably still alive in 1780. In that case, he may have

migrated to Kangra with his sons Fattu and Khushala in the seventeen-seventies and died there in the seventeenth-eighties. Although no particular Kangra paintings can be definitely ascribed to him, he may have been responsible, at one remove, for the great *Gita Govinda* series (no. 33), here regarded as painted at the court of Sansar Chand in c.1780. For another portrait, showing him as a younger man (perhaps aged about forty), see Randhawa (1956); Khandalavala (1958) and Goswamy (1968).

No. 19(ii), Khushala, was second son of Manak and was possibly born in about 1735, a date which would make him forty in 1775. He appears to have made only one visit to Hardwar, though in what year is uncertain (Goswamy, 1968). His date of death is unrecorded but since his son, Hazari, came to Hardwar in 1807, apparently without him, it is possible, in Goswamy's opinion, that he himself may have been dead by that year. According to the Lambagraon family tradition (French, 1931), Khushala was Sansar Chand's favourite artist and as such, may well have been deliberately included in two group portraits (nos. 16, and 21), in one of which a person distinctly resembling him is shown holding a painting. As Sansar Chand's favourite artist, he is likely to have been responsible for some of the greatest sets of pictures executed at the Kangra court.

No. 19(iii), Gaudhu, was second son of Manak's younger brother Nainsukh (born c.1725) and was himself probably born at Guler in about 1745. He is referred to in a letter by the painter Shiba of Nurpur (Goswamy, 1966) as holding an influential position at the Kangra court. The date of this letter is uncertain but an entry in a priest's register at Hardwar shows that he had died in 1820, three years before the death of Sansar Chand. In the portrait, he appears to be at least fifty years old, thus confirming the view that the portrait is possibly one of the latest of the group and sketched in possibly the year 1795 or 1800. Although no Kangra paintings are inscribed with Gaudhu's name, it is probable that he played a major part in the development of painting in Kangra, being, in this respect, a brilliant son of a brilliant father. For groups of Kangra pictures in whose production he may have shared, see nos. 33 and 36.

20 Raja Sansar Chand (1775-1823) of Kangra relaxing at Nadaun. Kangra, c.1797.

Ancestral collection of Mian Ram Singh of Bhawarna (Alampur), Kangra. Attributed by family tradition to Kangra.

Published: Randhawa (1954a), col. pl. 2; also reproduced Randhawa (1954b), fig. 7; Randhawa (1961), fig. 24.

Description: Sansar Chand, in age about thirty-two years, sits on a white rug with white cushions toying with a hookah and conferring with nine courtiers or officials. The scene is a long verandah obscured by a pale brownish-yellow cover and framed by brown balustrades, arches and slatted roof. He wears a bright yellow *jama* dotted with dark spots. To the rear is a long grey wall with a centre doorway through which can be seen a grey river and stony beach, littered with large boulders and beyond it bare hills with lines of trees.

Discussion: Like 13, a portrait of Sansar Chand relaxing at his winter palace at Nadaun, fifteen miles down-stream from Sujampur — the landscape in the picture exactly corresponding to the landscape at Nadaun as it still is today. The yellow dress worn by the Raja is probably in honour of the Spring festival of Basant when yellow, suggestive of fields of mustard, was worn. Since the festival falls in February-March, by which time Nadaun would be getting appreciably hotter than Sujampur, it is likely that the picture was made on the eve of Sansar Chand's departure for his garden palaces up-stream. In style the picture employs a single flat plane, a rectangular composition and pale anaemic colours — all of which are characteristic of late eighteenth-century painting at Jammu.

21 Raja Sansar Chand (1775-1823) of Kangra celebrating the Holi festival with courtiers, singing-girls and the Irish adventurer, O'Brien. Kangra, c.1798.

Inscribed on the reverse in *nagari* characters: *sri maharaja sri sansar chand*.

Chandigarh Museum (formerly ancestral collection of Mian Ram Singh of Bhawarna (Alampur) and ascribed by family tradition to Kangra).

Published: French (1947), pl. 2; also reproduced Randhawa (1961), fig. 25.

Description: Sansar Chand, aged about thirty-three, sits smoking a hookah, a group of fourteen courtiers ranged behind or beside him. Among them is a pandit with smooth clean-shaven cheeks, holding a rosary and immediately below him adjoining the hookah bowl, is the young Anirudh, aged about 12 years. Facing Sansar Chand and opposing him in a group are nine other courtiers, led by Fateh Chand and including a youngish European in a black broad-brimmed hat, a small moustache and faint traces of an early beard. In the lower right-hand corner are four dancing-girls, posturing and singing and behind them four male musicians. The occasion is the Holi festival. Everyone is wearing white, their clothes already drenched with orange-yellow stains. Heaps of coloured powder are on the courtyard floor and handfuls of it are being thrown at each other by the rival groups. Fateh Chand and the young European are in process of scooping up some powder. The child Anirudh is glancing backwards as he squirts some orange-yellow liquid at a member of the company.

Discussion: In style and treatment, comparable to the Janmashtami festival scenes and notable for the inclusion of many courtiers, dancing-girls and musicians and the continuation of the established portraiture style of sharply rendered profiles. The young European is almost certainly O'Brien, a deserter from the Eighth or Royal Irish Dragoons who installed himself at Sansar Chand's court and was subsequently entrusted with the reorganisation of Sansar Chand's troops in possibly 1810. In 1820, when Moorcroft met him, he was 'about thirty-eight' years old and 'a stout athletic tall man'. Although it has been generally assumed that he joined Sansar Chand in about 1810 (Eastman, 1959; Archer, 1960a) the inclusion of the young Anirudh Chand in the picture makes this view no longer tenable. By comparison with his appearance in 18 and 22, Anirudh is clearly not more than twelve years old and since he was born in 1786, the latest date for the picture must therefore be c.1798. Assuming Moorcroft's estimate of his age to be reasonably correct, O'Brien would have been about sixteen years in 1798, an age which sufficiently tallies with his appearance in the picture and accords with his character as a young hot-tempered mutineer (Moorcroft, 1820, q.v.). In this view, the picture portrays him shortly after his arrival at Sansar Chand's court (where he must quickly have ingratiated himself) but several years prior to the Gurkha invasion when the Kangra forces were routed. Since Sansar Chand himself rode out the Gurkha invasion from 1806-1809 in his castle at Sujanpur Tira, it is likely that O'Brien was part of his entourage there and was only entrusted with the re-organisation of Sansar Chand's forces when it was clear that previous leaders had failed. For O'Brien as the only likely prototype for the 'Georgian figure' in a Nala Damayanti drawing at Boston (Coomaraswamy, 1926; Eastman, 1959; Archer, 1960a), see Part Two, no. 51.

It is possible that, as in 16, Khushala, Sansar Chand's favourite painter, has been again included in the assembly, the small figure shown head and shoulders at the base of the picture immediately below Sansar Chand himself closely resembling the figure with the portfolio of pictures in 16.

Other examples of Holi scenes for comparison: (1) Randhawa (1961), fig. 12. Sansar Chand celebrating the Holi festival, approximately thirty courtiers and musicians assisting. Lambagraon collection, Kangra. Kangra, c.1784.

(2) Randhawa (1961), figs. 29, 30. Sansar Chand celebrating the Holi festival, with the courtesan Ramzano, the painter Purkhu and upwards of 40 courtiers and dancing-girls assisting. Lambagraon collection, Kangra. Kangra, c.1805. Purkhu, Ramzano and a third dancing-girl are named in Persian characters. With 16 and 21, significant as yet again including an artist in the company.

22 Raja Sansar Chand (1775-1823) of Kangra with Anirudh Chand and courtiers celebrating the Janmashtami (Birthday of Krishna) festival. Kangra, c.1800.

Ancestral collection of Raja Dhruv Dev Chand of Lambagraon, Kangra. Attributed by family tradition to Kangra.

Published: Randhawa (1961), fig. 20; also reproduced Randhawa (1966), fig. 11.

Description: Sansar Chand, a bearded figure with a long sword, sits with a group of twelve family members and courtiers on a small verandah enclosed on the nearer side by a wall and a tall archway and on the further side by a series of rooms. Beside him sits Anirudh Chand, a small figure in dark *jama*, now aged about fourteen years and behind him Fateh Chand. In the upper right hand corner is a group of four courtiers including a pandit with smooth clean-shaven cheeks familiar from 15, 17 and 21. In front of Sansar Chand is a raised platform on which a painted cloth depicting a swing containing an image of the child Krishna has been suspended. Two courtiers sit beside it. In the foreground three dancing-girls, accompanied by three male musicians, dance and sing. The time is night or evening, two link-boys hold torches and various lights are flaming on the verandah.

Discussion: With 17 and 17(1), a record of yet another 'Birthday of Krishna' festival celebrated at the Kangra court. On this occasion, however, Sansar Chand is without his habitual hookah and a painted cloth has replaced an actual image and swing. In other respects the celebrations are the same as those recorded in previous years, the dancing-girls and musicians testifying once again to Sansar Chand's passion for music and dancing. It is noteworthy, as in 18 and 21, that Anirudh Chand is no longer a child but an individual with recognisable features. Although not plump, incipient obesity of the kind noticed by Moorcroft (1820) is already apparent and in contrast to his father's chin which joins the neck in a single horizontal line, Anirudh's chin slopes sharply downwards. His nose is also shorter and more snub than his father's.

23 Raja Sansar Chand (1775-1823) of Kangra in durbar. Kangra, c.1800.

305 x 435 mm.

Inscribed in Persian characters on the turbans or above the heads of the chief participants, from left to right: first group in ascending order (1) . . . *singh* . . . *vala* (2) *raja gomehr chand nazpurvala* (3) *raja ajit singh jamual* (4) *raju-kuar bhup chand guleria* (5) *shabih-i-sri maharaja sansar chand bahadur kot kangraval* 'Portrait of Sri Maharaja Sansar Chand Bahadur of Kot Kangra'; second group, in descending order (6) *raja prithvi singh nurpurvala* (7) *maharaj kuar anirudh chand jiv* (8) *raja mahan chand bilaspurvala* (9) *raja bikram sen suketvala* (10) *umed singh jaswal* (11) . . . *kishan singh suketvala* (12) . . . ? (13) . . . ? (14) immediately below Sansar Chand, *mian man singh biradar-i-khurd sri maharaja sansar chand bahadur* 'Mian Man Singh (Chand), own brother of Sri Maharaja Sansar Chand Bahadur'.

Welch collection, Cambridge, Mass.

Published: Welch and Beach (1965), fig. 65 (misnumbered 70).

Description: Sansar Chand, a massive figure in orange turban, sits at the head of a group of four rajas — the nearest being Bhup Singh of Guler and beyond him, Jit Singh of Jammu, followed by two unidentified persons. Opposite Sansar Chand is a group of six rajas, headed by Pirthi Singh of Nurpur and including in descending order, Anirudh Chand of Kangra, aged about fourteen years, Mahan Chand of Bilaspur, Bikram Sen of Suket, Umed Singh of Jaswan and finally, Sansar Chand's father-in-law Kishan Singh of Suket. Man Chand, youngest brother of Sansar Chand, is in the immediate foreground. With the exception of Kishan Singh and the foreground figures, all present are smoking hookahs, all wear white *jam*as and all have brown sword-straps. Turbans are in general white but in certain cases pale yellow, pink (Anirudh Chand) or green. Large white terrace. Background pale blue.

Discussion: A brilliant and flamboyant exercise in group

portraiture, with the looped stems of the hookahs forming a sinuous and twining rhythm. The occasion is a durbar perhaps designed to commemorate Sansar Chand's paramount position as over-lord of the Punjab Hills. Each ruler is accorded his due place and it is significant that Bhup Singh, *de facto* raja of Guler, the senior branch of the Katoch family (Guler, q.v.), is seated next to Sansar Chand. Pirthi Singh of Nurpur, the senior-most and eldest raja present, is seated opposite. Next to him is Anirudh Chand, his relatively high precedence reflecting his father's feudal superiority. Beyond him are Mahan Chand of Bilaspur, Bikram Sen of Suket and Umed Singh of Jaswan, all rulers of states subordinate to Kangra.

The date of the picture, c.1800, is fixed by the appearance of Anirudh (born 1786 and now looking fourteen years old) and by the apparent ages and dates of accession of the other rajas. Bhup Singh, born c.1767 and here aged about thirty-three, ruled Guler from c.1790 to 1826. Jit Singh, born c.1765 and aged about thirty-five, ruled Jammu from 1797 to 1812. Pirthi Singh, born c.1740 and aged about sixty, ruled Nurpur from c.1770 to c.1805. Mahan Chand, born 1772 and aged about twenty-eight, ruled Bilaspur from 1778-1824. Bikram Sen, born c.1765 and aged about thirty-five, ruled Suket from 1791 to 1838 while Umed Singh, born c.1770 and aged about thirty ruled Jaswan from 1782-1815.

24 Raja Sansar Chand (1775-1823) of Kangra smoking. Kangra, c.1810-1815.

Chandigarh Museum.

Description: Sansar Chand in white *jama* and dark wrap sits on a carpeted terrace, leaning against a bolster and holding the thick stem of a hookah. Behind him is an attendant with yak's tail fly-whisk. White balustrade. Pale background.

Discussion: Significant as showing Sansar Chand after the trials and anxieties of the Gurkha war (1806-1809) and with a much modified beard and moustache. It is possibly in this form that Moorcroft saw him when he went to Sujampur in 1820.

Related examples: (1) Archer (1952a), fig. 47. Sansar Chand smoking at a window. National Museum, New Delhi. Kangra, c.1810-1815. Similar face, beard and moustache as in 25.

(2) Coomaswamy (1926), pl. 123, no. 596; also reproduced Khandalavala (1958) no. 296. Sansar Chand seated on a stool smoking. Inscribed in *nagari* characters: *sri raja sansar chand*. Kangra, c.1810-1815. Same appearance as in 24 and (1) above.

25 The sacred-thread ceremony of Ranbir Chand (1808-1847), son of Anirudh Chand. Kangra, dated 1820.

346 x 570 mm; with border 400 x 612 mm. Pink border with red dashes. Dark blue margin with gold scrolls.

Inscribed in Persian characters (1) above the smaller of two figures in the palanquin: *maharaj kanwar pramodh chandji* and above the larger figure, who is shown smoking a hookah: *sri maharaj kanwar ranbir chandji* (2) on two figures in the foreground the first smoking a hookah and shielded by an umbrella: *sri maharaja sansar chandji*, the second behind him and honoured by a fan: *sri maharaja anirudh chandji* (3) on the reverse: *maphagun pravisthe samvat 1877 sizdan roz panchambar tasvir . . . maharaja kumar ranbir chandji ke hamra sri maharaja sansar chand va maharaja anirudh chand bahadur . . .* and (4) in *nagari* characters on the reverse (1) *maharaja sansar chandji* (2) *tika anirudh chandji* (3) *ranbir chand beta* (4) *miyan pramodh chand bhai ranbir chand* (5) *raja nagvala (?)* (6) *raja himat dev bandralvala* and with the samvat year 1877 (A.D. 1820).

Chandigarh Museum (from the ancestral collection of Mian Ram Singh of Bhawarna (Alampur), Kangra and attributed to Kangra by family tradition).

Description: Ranbir Chand (born 1808), the elder of Anirudh's two sons, is being carried in a litter accompanied by his younger brother, Pramod Chand (born 1815). A great crowd of courtiers, officials and servants follow them. In the front of the picture is Sansar Chand walking with Anirudh and others. Above the litter is a long rank of soldiers, wearing the red and blue 'Company-style' uniforms

designed for them by the adventurer, O'Brien. In front of the litter are dancing-girls and musicians and beyond them, horses, drummers and men with flags. Houses, cypresses and trees are shown in miniature. In the left-hand bottom corner, an elephant with riders is issuing through an archway into a crowd.

Discussion: In style, a blend of the early strand of conventional portraiture, perhaps originating from Nurpur, with a more sophisticated naturalism, developed in Kangra by painters from Guler. It is significant that although the dancing-girls have 'standard' Kangra faces, their figures are already slightly stunted, suggesting that the main Kangra style (Part Two, q.v.) was by now past its peak. In terms of history the picture is of special interest since it shows Sansar Chand's troops after their reorganisation in 1810 and wearing the 'Company-style' uniforms designed for them by O'Brien. Although O'Brien appears to have reached Sansar Chand's court in about 1798, it was after the disasters of the Gurkha war that he was placed in charge of Sansar Chand's new army. Sansar Chand himself is portrayed with the same type of beard and moustache as in 24.

26 Raja Ranbir Chand (1833-1847) of Kangra with his brother, Raja Pramod Chand receiving Mian Ludar Chand (1828-1850) of Lambagraon. Kangra, c.1840.

Formerly N. C. Mehta collection, Bombay.

Description: Ranbir Chand, eldest son of Anirudh Chand (1823-1833), sits on a large stool, holding in his right hand the thick stem of a large hookah. Behind him sits his younger brother, Pramod Chand, his junior by seven years. An attendant waves a yak's tail fly-whisk above his head. Two courtiers are seated to the right. In front of him is a group of five persons, headed by Ludar Chand (1828-1850), son of Fateh Chand of Lambagraon and including his son, Pratap Chand (1850-1864), a diminutive figure to the fore on the left. Long verandah with carpeted floor, white archways, grey walls with niches and three doorways, leading to a garden with flowering trees.

Discussion: For inscribed portraits of Pratap Chand (born c.1827 and in the present picture aged about thirteen years), see 27, 28. The inclusion of Pratap Chand in this group portrait fixes its date as c.1840 and assists in the identification of the other figures. It is significant that the adult Anirudh Chand, son of Sansar Chand and father of Ranbir and Pramod Chand, makes few, if any, appearances in Kangra portraiture. It is possible that in contrast to or even reaction against his father, he took no interest in painting, preferring, in Moorcroft's words (1820), to 'devote himself almost entirely to religious worship'. It was Anirudh's partiality for Brahmins which contributed to the loss of the Kangra castle to the Sikhs (Moorcroft, 1820). In the present picture, his two sons are shown approximately ten years after his death receiving their cousin Ludar Chand, probably on their estate of Mahal Mori in Kangra, which was granted to them by the Sikhs in 1833 at the instance of the British Resident in Ludhiana, Wade.

Portrait for comparison: (1) Randhawa (1961), fig. 19, mis-captioned 'Sansar Chand worshipping Shiva and Parvati'. Ranbir Chand worshipping Vishnu and Lakshmi. Tehri Garhwal Raj collection. Kangra, c.1835.

27 Raja Pratap Chand (1850-1864) of Lambagraon out hawking. Kangra, c.1843.

Inscribed in *nagari* characters: *9. raje pratap chand ji bahadura ghodalha thamulai jiso janma gajaniya da dine vicha panjaha koso janda samvat uniso pelhe leyan subha '9*. The prized horse of Raja Pratap Chandji Bahadur, born at Gajani. It can travel 50 kos (about 100 miles) in one day. This picture was made prior to samvat 1900 (1843). Ancestral collection of Raja Dhruv Dev Chand of Lambagraon, Kangra.

Description: Pratap Chand, aged about sixteen years, dressed in a long dark coat and a Sikh-style turban, is seated on a prancing horse, holding a hawk in his right hand. Two birds in flight in the sky.

Discussion: Significant of the sharp collapse in portraiture at

Kangra following the abdication of Anirudh Chand in 1828 and the annexation of the state by the Sikhs.

28 Raja Pratap Chand (1850-1864) of Lambagraon smoking and writing. Kangra, c.1845-1850.

Inscribed in *nagari* characters: *raja pratap chand lambagraon.*

Ancestral collection of Raja Dhruv Dev Chand of Lambagraon, Kangra.

Description: Pratap Chand, his face slightly fuller than in 27 and now aged between seventeen and twenty-three years. sits on a terrace, covered by a rug with blue stripes. He wears a red coat with floral pattern and a white Sikh-style turban and leans against a white bolster with floral sprigs. He holds a stout hookah stem in his left hand and a pen in his right. A sheet of paper with writing is on a small table beside him. Plain background.

Discussion: Similar in pettiness to 27.

29 Raja Pratap Chand (1850-1864) of Lambagraon swinging with his mistress. Kangra, c.1845-1850.

284 x 189 mm (trimmed).

Victoria and Albert Museum, Rothenstein collection, I.S. 50-1954.

Description: A sombre picture in three parts. In the first, a lady in dark green trousers stands in a turret gazing across a dark grey river flanked by pinkish brown hillocks. Black and grey storm clouds edged with lightning mass in the sky. Cattle egrets and peacocks strain to catch the rain. In the second part, she swings with her lover, Raja Pratap Chand, dressed in Sikh style, in a room beneath the tower. The swing is enlivened with an orange-red cover. Dark grey walls. In the third and final part, Pratap Chand is seen departing. Three snakes rear behind him as he goes and a maid-servant in orange-red trousers and blue veil turns to enter the house.

Discussion: Symptomatic of the style of painting in Kangra in the mid-nineteenth century.

PART TWO (1770-1970): NON-PORTRAITURE

30 Lovers watching a storm. Kangra, c.1775.

230 x 170 mm (without borders).

Karan Singh collection, Jammu (formerly Pahda Kunj Lal collection, Basohli).

Note: The mother of Raja Vijai Pal (1776-1806) of Basohli came from Kangra and the picture may thus have entered the Basohli Raj collection from this source. In the alternative, it may have been received by a physician ancestor of Pahda Kunj Lal who is said to have treated Sansar Chand and received paintings from him as a gift. For Pahda Kunj Lal and the Basohli Raj collection, see-Basohli. Published: Randhawa (1962), col. frontispiece.

Description: A prince in long pale yellow *jama* stands beside a lady in pale pink dress on a white terrace beside the river Beas at Alampur. He holds her by the hand and directs her gaze across the river to a series of low green hills over which a storm is gathering. The landscape includes villagers crossing a stream on buffaloes, village houses, cattle and, on the right, a garden house edged with trees. Dark black clouds fringed with lightning are in the sky and a line of six cattle egrets go soaring up. To the right of the lovers on the terrace is a group of three girl musicians dressed in dull gold, green, white and pink and playing on a *vina*, a *tambura* and a drum. A girl in violet skirt and orange wrap, carrying a sword in a green scabbard and a brass bowl with white cloth, moves towards the lovers, her head turned back over her shoulder to watch the onset of the rain. In the foreground a balustrade with white cross-hatching.

Discussion: With this type of picture, a form of painting different in spirit, attitude and technique from the portraiture of Part One makes an abrupt but firm appearance at Kangra. In facial types, delicacy of treatment and serenity of mood, the style is clearly based on Guler painting of the

1760-1770 period and it is reasonable to conclude that, attracted by the young Sansar Chand's resolute character and early interest in painting, certain artists left Guler, migrated to his Kangra courts at Sujanpur Tira and Alampur, some twenty miles up the Beas River to the north-east and there adjusted their styles to the new environment. Although Sansar Chand was to increase his political power and affluence in the years 1775 to 1805, becoming in the process the greatest and wealthiest ruler in the Punjab Hills, he was already the head of a strong and rich state when he succeeded to the throne in 1775. He also possessed the group of portrait painters discussed in Part One. Faced with dwindling patronage at Guler — Raja Govardhan Chand having died in 1773 and his son, Prakash Chand having little of his father's keen pictorial interests — Guler artists may well have found the young Sansar Chand's ardour and enthusiasm a potent stimulus.

It is significant that out of four leading artists connected by name with Sansar Chand's court, at least three are known to have come to Kangra state direct from Guler. Fattu, eldest son of the Guler artist, Manak, was recorded by French (1931) as the painter of the picture, *Ladies playing chess* (see no. 38) and as having been one of Sansar Chand's artists. On the basis of information supplied by Maharaja Sir Jai Chand of Lambagraon, a lineal descendant of Sansar Chand's brother, Fateh Chand, French noted (1931) that Kushan Lall (Khushala), second son of the same Manak, had been 'Sansar Chand's favourite painter'. Finally, a letter sent by a Nurpur artist, Shiba, to Sansar Chand (Goswamy, 1966) implies that a third painter, Gaudhu, second son of Manak's brother, Nainsukh and a member of the same Guler family had a dominant position among the artists at Sansar Chand's court. The fourth artist, Purkhu, who was also believed at one time to have come direct from Guler (Randhawa, 1956) is now held, on the authority of the Settlement Record of Rights of 1868 to have come with his father Dhumun from Kot Kangra and to have been settled by Sansar Chand on lands in Samloti, Kangra state (Goswamy, communication, 1969). Even in his case, however, there were Guler connections since the same Settlement entry notes his caste as *chitrera* (painter) and his *got* (sept) as *guleria*. Since therefore all four of Sansar Chand's key artists were connected with Guler, it is no surprise that early Kangra painting should reveal strong Guler influences.

Despite these basic affinities, the present picture departs from standard Guler practices in two important ways. In contrast to parent conventions which favoured a more static treatment of the figure, the use of single flat planes and angular compositions, there is now a new interest in the poetry of motion. This is seen especially in the gliding grace of the girl carrying a sword — a posture which is repeated in the 'first' Kangra *Gita Govinda* series (no. 33) and can also be recognised in the pictures which are being studied by Sansar Chand and his courtiers in the 'picture session' of 1788 (no. 16).

The second un-Guler-like element is the frank adoption of a Kangra setting. In place of the rocky hills of Haripur-Guler with their fanged rims and the Ban Ganga River with its sharp bends, the smoothly undulating landscape of the Kangra valley has been included — the terrace in the present picture suggesting Sansar Chand's garden house at Alampur and the view across the river to the hills beyond tallying with the view at Alampur of the broad and placid Beas River and of the low hills on the further, Sujanpur side. It was in the replacement of Guler scenery by that of Kangra that Guler artists partially revealed their new allegiances.

Examples for comparison:

(1) Welch and Beach (1965), col. pl. 46 (p.38). Lovers strolling by a pool. Private collection, New York. Kangra, c.1800-1810. Similar characters but with a new infusion of Guler influence as in the scarlet tent-screens to the rear. The maid in dark green skirt and orange veil, carrying a

sword, has the same gliding grace as the female sword-bearer in 30. For figures reflected in water, compare the *Nala Damayanti* series (fully coloured version, no. 53), here regarded as Kangra and dated c.1800-1810. Like this series and no. 30, the present picture was formerly in the Pahda Kunj Lal collection, Basohli.

(2) Welch and Beach (1965), pl. 47. Lady enticing a peacock on a terrace; river and hills beyond. Private collection, New York. Kangra, c.1780. Similar in style, faces, figures and scenery to 30.

(3) Welch and Beach (1965), pl. 49. Lady with a *tambura* and a maid, seated on a terrace; river and hills beyond. Galbraith collection, Cambridge, Mass. Kangra, c.1800-1810. Similar in style to 30. Shadows and reflections in water as in the *Nala Damayanti* series (fully coloured, no. 53). Oval format with surrounds as in 66.

(4) Welch and Beach (1965), pl. 52. Lady looking at herself in a mirror, attended by maids; courtyard beyond. Galbraith collection, Cambridge, Mass. Kangra, c.1800-1810. Similar to 30. Oval format with surrounds as in 30(3). Captioned 'Vilaval Ragini'.

31 Lovers on a terrace. Kangra, c.1775.

161 x 219 mm; with border 190 x 258 mm. Dark blue border.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 106-1951.

Published: Randhawa (1962), fig. 54.

Description: A prince in white transparent *jama* and orange-red trousers is seated on a pale yellow carpet leaning against crimson cushions. A series of bottles, cups and fruits are laid beside him. A lady in dark green dress is seated opposite him, her head turned away as he plies her with wine. Behind the couple stand two attendants in fawn and pale green *jamias*. To the right is an elderly singer or duenna in white dress and orange veil, accompanied by two singing-girls whose drums are placed beside them. Beyond the pale grey terrace is a dark grey river fringed by pinkish brown hills with small houses. Above the terrace is a white canopy on gold poles. In the sky a full moon.

Discussion: Like 30, a poetic treatment of a romantic encounter and with a similar range of colours and reliance on standard Guler idioms. The setting, however, is once again un-Guler-like in character and is reminiscent of the Kangra valley at Alampur. The broad, calm river recalls the Beas at Sujanpur and the garden house on the further shore, though modelled on Guler prototypes, may be the palace of Sansar Chand at Alampur of which the terrace is probably depicted in 30. But for the fact that the view has been reversed — Alampur being seen from Sujanpur, instead of Sujanpur from Alampur — the locale in both pictures is identical. The following additional details connect the picture with other paintings here regarded as Kangra: the face of the lady rejecting the prince's advances (compare the faces of Radha and her companions in 32) and the face of the duenna (identical with that of the duenna in *Ladies playing chess* (38) by Fattu). For a similar view of Alampur from the Sujanpur side, compare 39(iii) from the Kangra *Sat Sai*.

32 Krishna celebrating the Holi festival. Kangra, c.1775-1780.

170 x 250 mm; with dark blue margins 197 x 276 mm.

Victoria and Albert Museum, Manuk and Coles collection, I.S. 8-1949.

Published: Gangoly (1921), col. pl. A; also reproduced Gangoly (1926), pl. 47; Archer (1952b), col. pl. 1; Khandalavala (1953), pl. 1.

Description: Krishna, with greyish mauve skin, nude save for deep yellow trunks with red stripes and a waist cloth stained with red, gazes at Radha as he turns to fill a syringe with orange coloured water. Behind him stand ten cowherd boys with white skins, each dressed in trunks; three squirting or filling syringes, some holding basins and the rest playing on drums and a *tambura*. In front of them stands Radha with eight girl companions, one holding a basin with two syringes, another playing a drum, others squirting syringes, one holding a *tambura*. The girl closest to Radha

gazes backwards over her shoulder. Radha herself gazes at the ground and folds her hands. Red, green, yellow, blue and white skirts and bodices. In the background, two rolling hill-sides with pink rims, trees and a large house. In the foreground, tufted plants with red and orange flowers, some littered stones and two large vessels filled with orange-coloured water. Jets of orange water play across the scene.

Discussion: With 30 and 31, a blend of Guler idioms with Kangra sentiments, causing Khandalavala (1953) to suggest that while 'appearing to hail from Guler' it 'belongs to that over-lapping period, 1765-1776, when the 'pre-Kangra' phase and the early Kangra *kalam* (school) were merging into one another'. While its heavy dependence on Guler is frankly conceded, the picture is here attributed to Kangra on the following grounds:

(1) Its Krishna subject. Although the cult of Krishna had infiltrated into Guler in about 1730, it appears to have waned during the reign of Govardhan Chand (1741-1773), so that pictures on Krishna themes, although occasionally produced, had no great vogue. In Kangra, on the other hand, Sansar Chand seems to have been associated with Krishna worship from an early age and, as a result, there was a positive bias in Kangra in favour of Krishna subjects. The present picture, by giving the Holi festival a Krishna interpretation, emphasises this local bias.

(2) The Holi festival. Although this festival was doubtless celebrated at Haripur-Guler, no Guler pictures illustrating it are so far known. In Kangra, on the other hand, its air of wild romance, free adventure and suspension of normal codes of behaviour — strikingly parallel in many ways to the cult of Krishna itself — may have given it a special appeal and resulted in its regular portrayal. Not only were Sansar Chand and his courtiers personally shown celebrating the festival (21) — in sharp contrast to Govardhan Chand of Guler who maintained a staid propriety — but paintings showing Radha and her companions either playing at Holi alone (46) or receiving the onslaughts of Krishna and his friends (42) were frequently produced. The subject's popularity at the Kangra court, as against its apparent boycott at Guler, raises some presumption therefore that this is an early Kangra picture rather than a Guler one.

(3) Landscape and style. While availing of Guler idioms such as hillsides with curving rims, the picture shows a gently undulating piece of woodland, luxuriantly bedecked with flowers and with a relaxed air of straggling disorder. In these respects, it appears transitional to the 'first' Kangra *Gita Govinda* (33) and is a definite movement away from the more tightly organised and static compositions usual at Guler.

Examples for comparison: (1) Gangoly (1921), fig. B. Radha and Krishna celebrating the Holi festival. Indian Museum, Calcutta. Kangra, c.1785. A longer, more elaborate version of 32, showing cow-girls and cowherd-boys indulging in individual combats, and with Radha actively repelling Krishna's personal attacks. In place of a rolling hill-side with distant houses and trees, the scene is now a large courtyard with central canopy as in 42 and with trees reduced down to masses on the side-lines. In general style, transitional to 42 with which it shares a strong air of lively movement and vivid animation.

33(i-vii) Seven paintings from the 'first' *Gita Govinda* series. Kangra, c.1780.

Average size: 170 x 265 mm. Dark blue margins.

Inscribed on the reverse of each painting with Sanskrit verses from the *Gita Govinda* of Jayadeva (*fl.* 1175), the verse inscribed referring not to the painting on its reverse but to the painting next in sequence in the series. Also inscribed in some cases in *nagari* characters with translations in the Kangra dialect of Punjabi (Randhawa, 1963). Except where otherwise stated, family collection of Maharaja Manvindra Shah of Tehri Garhwal, Narendranagar, U.P.

Note: In addition to the Sanskrit verses and translations inscribed on individual paintings, one painting (Randhawa (1963), fig. 19) depicting Radha and Krishna inside a circle

has a copy of the colophon inscribed on a *Gita Govinda* series from Basohli (Basohli, no. 18, q.v.). For a discussion of this duplicate colophon, see below.

33(i) Radha sees Krishna with the cow-girls.

Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras (formerly N. C. Mehta collection. Bombay, Ahmedabad, originally obtained from the family collection of Maharaja Manvindra Shah of Tehri Garhwal, Narendranagar, U.P.).

Published: Khandalavala (1958), col. pl. E; also reproduced Archer (1960), col. pl. 89, Randhawa (1963), col. pl. 3.

Description: 'The forest in spring-time'. Radha in dull gold skirt, brief bodice and bare midriff sits in a meadow beside a stream, gazing over her shoulder to the right as her confidante in violet skirt and orange wrap (compare 31) draws her attention to Krishna, standing with a group of cow-girls outside the picture (ii). The green meadow is gay with red, pink, white and yellow flowers. Two large mango trees are entwined by creepers with white flowers. Birds in pairs sit in the branches. On the further side of the river is open undulating country with birds and flowering trees.

33(ii) Krishna frolics with the cow-girls.

Published: Randhawa (1963), col. pl. 2.

Description: Krishna in yellow *dhoti* dances with a cow-girl in brief bodice and orange veil, the girl tugging at Krishna's yellow scarf. Six other cow-girls stand beside him to the right, five of them grouped tightly together, the sixth smoothing her hair. Open undulating country, a stream flowing behind them and trees with pink and white flowers providing a lush setting. Dresses white, yellow, orange, red and pink. In the air, birds and swarms of bees.

33(iii) Krishna fluting to the cow-girls.

Published: Randhawa (1963), col. pl. 11.

Description: Krishna in orange-yellow *dhoti* and wrap stands cross-legged in the centre of a bare expanse of country, a long river with inlets behind him and on the further bank, open undulating fields with low hills. Pairs of cattle egrets stalk by the bank. To his left are six cow-girls and to the right four. Dresses white, yellow, red and blue. Veils with gold edges. Krishna gazes at the group to the left, as he holds a long flute to his lips. In the foreground, tufts of plants. No trees or flowers.

33(iv) Krishna woos Radha.

Description: A picture in four parts: (1) in the distance standing at the edge of the forest Krishna talks to Radha's confidante who advises him to go in search of her (2) in the left foreground, Krishna attempts to detain Radha by holding her veil (3) in the centre, the two are reconciled, Radha lying back in Krishna's arms (4) on the right, the final embrace, Krishna making love to Radha who lies with her legs uplifted, her left arm cradling her head. As in 33(i) densely flowering trees with creepers entwined about them, a river with inlets, flowers and birds.

33(v) Krishna makes love to Radha.

Description: A forest bower with, in the middle, a bed of leaves and on the edges a cluster of trees with thick foliage. In the centre a stout tree entwined with a flowering creeper. Radha leaning back, her legs clasping Krishna's waist. Behind them a broad river with cattle egrets and beyond it an open meadow with a line of dark trees.

33(vi) Radha makes love.

Description: A pictorial version of the following lines: 'Their love play grown great was very delightful, the love play where thrills were a hindrance to firm embraces Where their helpless closing of eyes was a hindrance to longing looks at each other . . . and where the skill of their love was hindered by boundless delight. She performed as never before throughout the course of the conflict of love, to win, lying over his beautiful body, to triumph over her lover; And so through taking the active part her thighs grew lifeless . . . and her heart beat fast and her eyes grew heavy and closed;

For how many women prevail in the male performance!' (Translation: George Keyt. *Sri Jayadeva's Gita Govinda*, Bombay, 1947).

33(vii) The final adornment.

Description: Following a night of love in which Radha and Krishna have repeatedly expressed their passion, morning comes and Krishna again makes love. In the picture, this is illustrated on the right-hand side where trees with clinging creepers rise above a bed of leaves, Radha lies prone and Krishna crouches over her. As a sequel, Radha begs Krishna to adorn her, her final request being that he should place jewelled anklets on her feet. In the picture, Krishna is doing this on the left, while a pair of cow-girls sit talking on a hillock above them. In the background, a river backed by low hills.

Discussion: This great series, comprising over 140 paintings, shows the new Kangra style in full and confident maturity. The subject, the *Gita Govinda* poem of Jayadeva, was an ecstatic celebration of the romance of Radha and Krishna culminating in lyrical descriptions of their love-making. Songs in praise of the divine lovers were customary at weddings and the preparation of a richly illustrated version of the poem in which its magical cadences were matched by pictorial charm would have seemed a vital contribution to a major marriage.

In 1730 the Lady Malini, a member of the Basohli royal house, had commissioned the Guler painter Manaku to prepare a version at Basohli, possibly as a happy augury for the nuptials of Raja Medini Pal (1722-1736) of Basohli and a Guler princess, the sister of Govardhan Chand (Basohli, q.v.). Sketches for this series, complete with their verses and Malini's Sanskrit colophon, may have been retained by Manaku and his family and these sketches or *aides memoires* could thus have provided materials for a fresh set of sketches in the new style on which the present series of pictures was ultimately based.

Proof that this was almost certainly the case is afforded by a set of 151 drawings in the National Museum, New Delhi, each of which has one or more lines from the poem inscribed on its back, each has a serial number, each is the model for a painting in the present series and in the case of the final leaf (no. 151), the original colophon of the Basohli series has been neatly copied on the back. Since two of Sansar Chand's leading artists, Fattu and Khushala, were sons of Manaku, and a third artist, Gaudhu, was their cousin, the family's acquaintance with the poem and with Manaku's earlier version can be confidently presumed. It is significant that when finalising the completed set, the colophon, originally regarded as an end-piece, became a preface — the initial word *om* being added to it and the numeral *1* being placed at the end. The figures of Radha and Krishna set in a circle beneath it were also advanced, forming, in effect, a frontispiece. The reasons for this transposition, as also for the inclusion of the colophon (by this time patently out of date), are far from clear but in view of Khushala's high standing with Sansar Chand an oblique tribute by him to his parent, Manaku, may have been permitted. For discussions of this 'duplicate' colophon and its problems, see Archer (1963), Goswamy (1968), and Barrett (1969).

In view of the circumstances discussed, the series is here regarded as in great part the work of Sansar Chand's favourite artist, Khushala, assisted by his cousin Gaudhu.

Although the series' date of completion is unrecorded, it is likely to have been about the year 1780, by which time preparations for Sansar Chand's own wedding would have been far advanced. A large group-portrait depicting his wedding procession (Randhawa, 1961, fig. 5) shows him as a youth of about sixteen — a circumstance which would make 1781 the probable year of his marriage. His youthful adherence to the cult of Krishna is suggested by his very early addiction to dances in which the performers sang songs 'generally reciting the adventures of Krishna and the

Gopees' (Moorcroft, 1820), the fact that 'the principal portion of his collection of pictures represented the performances and prowess of Arjoon (and) the adventures of Krishna' (Moorcroft, 1820) and the fact that even land-grants were made by him 'out of devotion to Lord Krishna' (Grewal and Goswamy, 1970). How this early enthusiasm was instilled can only be conjectured but it is possible that his mother and the ladies of the palace may have been more strongly Vaishnava in outlook than his father Tegh and grand-father Ghamand Chand and that their combined influences generated in the child a life-long attachment to the lover God. It is also possible that the pandit with smooth-shaven cheeks who appears in various group-portraits, especially those recording the Janmashtami or Birthday of Krishna celebrations, was an inspiring influence. When the relevance of the *Gita Govinda* to weddings is recalled, it is easy to understand how these various factors could have resulted in the commissioning of the present series. It is of interest that in describing Sansar Chand's 'immense' collection of pictures, Moorcroft wrote, 'Many subjects from the Mahabharat are given in details, some of which for decency's sake might have been spared, yet there were few of the latter description'. Erotic scenes are a vital part of the *Gita Govinda* though they in fact form less than one tenth of the total number of illustrations. It may well have been to the present series among others that Moorcroft was referring (see also no. 49).

If the approach of Sansar Chand's own wedding prompted the ordering of this set, another wedding may explain its presence in the Tehri Garhwal Raj collection. In 1829 Sansar Chand's two daughters were married to Raja Sudarshan Shah of Tehri Garhwal. A year previously, their brother, Anirudh, had fled from Kangra rather than marry them to Hira Singh, member of a non-reigning Rajput family, and according to the traveller Vigne (1842), before leaving, he 'despatched all his valuables towards the Sutlej'. Although pictures are not specifically mentioned, part of Sansar Chand's collection, including the present *Gita Govinda* series, could well have gone along with the royal baggage. When the weddings were in fact celebrated, the series would have duly entered the Tehri Garhwal collection. This plausible surmise, first made by Khandalavala and Krishnadasa (private communication, 1950), was later corroborated by Randhawa (1963) who learnt from Maharaja Manvindra Shah of Tehri Garhwal that, according to family tradition, this was precisely what had happened and that the series, far from being painted in Garhwal as its discoverer, N. C. Mehta, had supposed (1926), had all along been regarded by the family as a present from Kangra. In support of this conclusion, Randhawa also cited the fact that some of the pictures bore translations of the original Sanskrit verses in the Kangra dialect of Punjabi. There would be no reason for including such translations in the Kangra dialect if the pictures had not originally been part of the Kangra royal collection.

For the subsequent development of painting at Kangra, the series is of special importance. In Vaishnava belief, Brindaban, the scene of Krishna's adventures with the cow-girls, is less an actual place than a country of the mind. To carry conviction therefore, as also to intensify their appeal, illustrations of Krishna themes, especially of the greatest of all Vaishnava poems, the *Gita Govinda*, would need to reflect the devotee's own environment. It was in this way — perhaps only in this way — that a sense of complete identity with Krishna could be suggested. In the present pictures, the river Jamuna, the rural setting, indeed the whole 'forest in springtime' are modelled on the countryside near the river Beas and its tributary streams in the part of the Kangra valley between Alampur and Sujampur on the one hand and Lambagraon on the other. 'This', as Randhawa has maintained, 'is how this portion of the Kangra valley actually looks'. In placing the romance of Radha and Krishna in a local Kangra setting, Khushala and his colleagues were therefore not only producing pictures likely to

enthral the young Sansar Chand but establishing a convention for future portrayals of Krishna at Kangra.

For published examples from the same series, see Mehta, 1926a and b; Archer, 1952b, 1956, 1957a; Khandalavala, 1958; Randhawa, 1960a; Archer, 1960; Chandra and Mehta, 1962; Randhawa, 1963; Archer, 1963; Barrett, 1963; Chandra, 1965a and b; Goswamy, 1968.

34 Blindman's Buff, Kangra, c.1780.

Inscribed on the reverse in nagari characters: *manak ki likhi* 'Painted by Manak'.

Ancestral collection of Maharaja Manvindra Shah of Tehri Garhwal, Narendranagar, U.P., and probably obtained by the family on the same occasion as 33.

Published: Mehta (1926b), col. pl. 21; also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), no. 241.

Description: Krishna, a figure in yellow wrap and striped shorts, is shown crouching in the centre of a hillock, a cowherd-boy holding his hands across his eyes and a second boy hiding behind him. On the left, three cowherd-boys run off, a fourth rushes to the right, two hide themselves between a pair of trees and a ninth watches from a tree top. In the foreground is a stream with seven cattle. To the rear, partly hidden by the hill, is a white cow. Thick creepers with pink flowers are entwined about the stalwart trunks of two trees. Other trees, some with spikes of white flowers, comprise a loose circle. The time is night, a full moon staring down from a blue sky sprinkled with stars.

Discussion: In style broadly similar to the *Gita Govinda* series (33) with the same emphasis on flowering trees. The treatment of the hillside and the cattle, however, is slightly more restrained, the figures are more boisterous and, in fact, a closer comparison may perhaps lie with *The Holi festival* (32) and the *Bhagavata Purana* series (36).

The inscription — *manak ki likhi* — is probably a late addition, prompted by the picture's similarity to paintings in the *Gita Govinda* series (33) and by a misunderstanding of the 'duplicate' colophon with its allusion to 'Manaku'. Apart from certain pictures firmly inscribed with the names of the Garhwal painters, Mola Ram and Balak Ram and some pictures said to bear the name Chaitu (Mehta, 1926), no other paintings in the Tehri Garhwal royal collection bear artists' names.

35 Radha and Krishna in the grove, Kangra, c.1780.

123 x 172 mm; with border 152 x 193 mm. Pink border flecked with red.

Victoria and Albert Museum, Manuk and Coles collection, I.S. 15-1949.

Published: Archer (1952b), col. pl. 2; also reproduced Archer (1957a), col. frontispiece; Khandalavala (1958), col. pl. R.

Description: Radha in gold-coloured skirt and bodice and with transparent red veil sits embracing Krishna on a bed of plaitain-leaves. Krishna with mauve skin wears a deep yellow *dhoti* edged with red. Around them on a spit of land is a grove of trees, one of them with pink flowers, another entwined by a thick creeper. Beside them are plants with red and yellow flowers. Around the spit of land tosses a grey stream filled with red lotuses and leaves. On the further bank are cattle egrets and beyond them, plaitain trees. Sky deep blue.

Discussion: Identical in style to the 'first' *Gita Govinda* series (33) and with the same air of poetic exaltation, recourse to symbolic imagery and use of Kangra-esque scenery. For a detailed analysis, see Archer, 1952a.

36(i-vii) Seven paintings from the 'Kangra' *Bhagavata Purana* series, Kangra, c.1780.

Average size (without margins): 225 x 305 mm. (i)-(v) with plain dark blue margins; (vi) and (vii) with dark blue margins patterned with floral scrolls in gold.

(i)-(v) attributed to 'the master of the *Bhagavata Purana*', (vi) and (vii) to 'the master of the moonlight'.

36(i) The birth of Krishna.

National Museum, New Delhi.

Published: Khandalavala (1958), no. 235.

Description: A version of the 'Birth of Krishna' painted at Guler in c.1765-1770 (Guler, no. 47, q.v.). Although in basic structure clearly similar, the present picture is considerably larger in size (225 x 305 mm, as against 176 x 227 mm), the format is squarer, more figures have been introduced, Jasoda's plain skirt is now richly patterned, the austere canopy which shelters the musicians has been broken by a slimly soaring turret, the gateway has become more massive and there is a general recourse to subtly stressed outlines. Above all, the sparse pallor of its Guler predecessor has now been replaced by warmer colour, shaded flooring and by a greater degree of dramatised animation.

36(ii) The road to Brindaban.

National Museum, New Delhi.

Published: Randhawa (1960b), col. pl. 5; also reproduced Archer (1957), pl. 6.

Description: Menaced by the demon king Kansa, Krishna's foster-father Nanda decides to migrate with his cowherd followers to Brindaban. He rides in a cart with oval red canopy and green edges behind a pair of white bullocks with dark red cloths. After him comes a second cart drawn by grey bullocks with pale green cloths containing Jasoda and Rohini with the infants Krishna and Balarama. A crowd of cowherds and cow-girls, carrying baskets, bundles, spinning wheels, pots, clothing and babies proceeds slowly beside them. Beyond the procession is a bare and open piece of ground, containing two large boulders with a pair of quails, a row of sturdy trees and beyond them the pale, greyish blue waters of a river.

36(iii) Krishna kills the crane demon, Bakasura.

National Museum, New Delhi.

Published: Randhawa (1960b), col. pl. 6.

Description: The demon, Bakasura, sent to kill Krishna by the tyrant king Kansa, appears in the forest in the form of a giant white crane. Approaching from the left, he presses Krishna between his beaks. Krishna escapes and seizing the two beaks pulls them apart. Five cowherd-boys rush to the scene, belabouring the dying crane with their crooks. Seven cattle also hurry to Krishna's assistance. As in ii, a bare expanse of open ground, a row of trees and beyond them the calmly flowing waters of the river Jamuna.

36(iv) Krishna quells the water-snake, Kaliya.

Dogra Art Gallery, Jammu.

Published: Randhawa (1960b), col. pl. 9.

Description: A painting in three parts: (1) Krishna, a slim figure in orange trunks, dives from the thick branch of a densely bending tree into the tossing waters of the river Jamuna, (2) in the water he is engulfed in the massive coils of the snake Kaliya but attacks in turn each of the snake's many heads, (3) on the bank, Jasoda and five other cow-girls in pink, dark blue, orange, gold and yellow, view the scene in varying degrees of agitation. To the right is a yew tree with massive trunk and beyond it in a gently rising meadow a pear tree laden with soaring flowers.

36(v) The cow-girls beg Krishna to return their clothes.

National Museum, New Delhi.

Published: Archer (1952a), fig. 2; also reproduced Archer (1957), pl. 11; Randhawa (1960b), col. pl. 11.

Description: Determined to test the cow-girls devotion to him, Krishna catches thirteen of them bathing naked in the river Jamuna, collects up their clothes, and, unnoticed, climbs up with them into a large *kadamba* tree. The girls discover their loss and are shown in various postures, covering their nakedness and begging Krishna to return their clothes. In the foreground is the Jamuna and beyond it a stretch of marshy ground with some fully clad women emerging from a village. Behind a meadow is the rising sun, its rays appearing like thin golden spikes.

36(vi) The cow-girls search for Krishna.

Madhuri Desai collection, Bombay.

Published: Randhawa (1960b), col. pl. 13.

Description: Fifteen cow-girls, abruptly parted from Krishna, stand in various postures under a full moon in an open field dominated by four massive trees. The sky is pale blue and the ground a greyish white. Two girls enquire of Krishna from a group of deer. Others examine his footprints. Some ask the trees. Others imitate his actions such as playing the flute. Flowering creepers are again shown entwined about the tree trunks, serving as symbols for their passionate embraces.

36(vii) Krishna bathes with the cow-girls.

Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras.

Published: Khandalavala (1958), no. 225; also reproduced: Randhawa (1960b), col. pl. 16; Archer and Bhattacharya (1963), pls. 13 and 26.

Description: Krishna, a slim figure with pale yellow *dhoti*, stands breast-high in the river Jamuna, his arm on the shoulder of Radha, and a cluster of nineteen other cow-girls, naked save for flimsy loin-cloths standing or swimming around him. To the left is a pair of massive trees, their trunks entwined with white and pink creepers. Across the river is a further tree, its branches stretching out in Krishna's direction. Beside it a piece of undulating ground. High in a pale blue sky is a full moon, its reflection mirrored in the river immediately above Krishna's head.

Discussion: This great series, involving at least two master artists and perhaps comprising over one hundred paintings, has for long been regarded as rivaling the 'first' *Gita Govinda* series (33) as one of the greatest achievements of painting at Kangra. In contrast to the *Gita Govinda* which celebrates the loves and love-making of Radha and Krishna, the *Bhagavata Purana* is concerned with the full career of Krishna among the cowherds and cow-girls of Brindaban. It is therefore more factual and less lyrical than Jayadeva's great poem. At the same time, as the prime source for Krishna's earthly career, a version of it in a Kangra setting was an obvious necessity at the Kangra court and the preparation of the present series must therefore have been among the first assignments at Kangra of painters from Guler. Whether as an early offering to Krishna on the occasion of a Janmashtami festival, a permanent aid to worship or a contribution to the auspiciousness of Sansar Chand's marriage, the completion of the series by about the year 1780 must be presumed.

Although a rumour connecting the series with Kashmir and a certain Chuniya has been rightly dismissed (Khandalavala, 1958) the particular artists responsible for it are still a subject for debate. It is perhaps significant, however, that like the 'first' *Gita Govinda* series, a Guler-Basohli precursor of it is known to exist (Basohli, no. 22 q.v.). This series is considerably stiffer and less fluent than the present one but certain scenes such as *The road to Brindaban* provide strikingly exact models for paintings in the present series. Drawings for the Basohli version, now in the National Museum, New Delhi, were obtained from Chandu Lal of Rajol, a member of the Seu-Manak-Nainsukh family of Guler painters and contained notes in the hand-writing of his father, Lachman Das (Goswamy, communication, 1969). Since Manak's younger brother, Nainsukh, is known to have joined the court of Raja Amrit Pal (1757-1776) of Basohli and also to have received a grant of lands in Basohli from him, some connection of the present series with this painter family may therefore be presumed.

Although the identity of the artists who contributed to it can only be surmised, the following suggestions may be offered:

(1) In contrast to certain other Kangra sets and to many individual Kangra pictures, the series is remarkable for its effortless naturalism and for its deft and vivid rendering of figures in action. In this respect, especially in the portion not involving scenes of moonlight, the principal master seems to have been a clear descendant of Nainsukh, com-

manding much of Nainsukh's skill in capturing unusual poses and neatly portraying scenes of drama. It is possible, therefore, that the artist was one of Nainsukh's sons and, in this connection, his second son, Gaudhu, who is known to have occupied a leading position among Sansar Chand's artists is an obvious candidate. Gaudhu did not die until 1820 and although his date of birth, career and training are not known, he is likely to have acquired part at least of his style from his father. The fact that Nainsukh worked first at Jammu for Raja Balwant Singh and later at Basohli for Raja Amrit Pal does not negative this possibility since Nainsukh may have often visited the family home at Guler and his sons may also have been reared by him.

(2) At the same time and in somewhat sharp contrast to Nainsukh's manner a leading characteristic of the principal master is the use of shaded outlines which 'gives each of his compositions a luminous clarity' (Archer, 1952b). 'Remarkable clearness of tone' was singled out by Baden Powell (1872) as characteristic of the work of Purkhu, one of Sansar Chand's artists whose pictures were shown at the Lahore Exhibition of 1864. These pictures were all portraits but since the reputation of Nainsukh himself is based almost entirely on portraiture, this circumstance by itself does not preclude Purkhu from having been the principal master. Equally, although Purkhu has been shown to hail from a Kot Kangra family, this also would not prevent his acquiring at an early date a fluent command of Guler idioms (the more so as his sept was Guleria). We are perhaps obliged to conclude, therefore, that either of these two painters — Gaudhu or Purkhu — if not a third, as yet unknown artist — is the master of the series.

(3) Whichever artist is assigned the premier role, it is clear, however, that he can hardly have been 'the master of the moonlight', the painter who was responsible for scenes (nos. 36 (vi, vii)) in which Krishna and the cow-girls are shown at night under the white and dazzling radiance of the autumnal full moon. In style this portion of the series is, in general, relaxed and languid, there is an air of slow dignity, dashing movement is wanting, and although the portion does not quite possess the rhythmic exaltation of the 'first' *Gita Govinda*, it is with this series rather than with the rest of the *Bhagavata Purana* that it seems to have the greater affinity. If several painters were involved in the 'first' *Gita Govinda*, it is possible that one of them was deputed to execute these 'moonlight' scenes and to endow them with flowery lushness and eerie pallor.

(4) Although the exact occasion for which the present series was made is unrecorded, its production is in clear accord with Sansar Chand's devotion to Krishna. Like the *Gita Govinda* series, the landscape closely parallels the gentle, undulating countryside near Sujampur, Alampur and Lambagraon, the large boulders in 36(ii) being a further feature of the local scenery (Khandalavala, 1970).

For further published examples from the same series, see Archer, 1952a, 1952b; Randhawa, 1956b; Archer 1957a; Khandalavala, 1958; Reiff, 1959; Randhawa, 1960; Hajeck, 1960; Archer, 1960; Agravala, 1961; Archer and Bhattacharya, 1963; Barrett, 1963; Khandalavala, 1965; Randhawa and Galbraith, 1968; Goswamy, 1968; Archer, 1969b.

For examples from a 'second' *Bhagavata Purana* series in the same style and by the same hand as that of 'the principal master' but employing a vertical format, see Khandalavala, 1958, fig. 41 (also reproduced Khandalavala, 1965, col. pl. 4), *Radha dancing before Krishna* (Lalbhai collection, Ahmedabad); and Khandalavala, 1958, no. 222, *Krishna fluting to the cow-girls* (Central Museum, Lahore).

37(i-iv) Four paintings from a *Ragamala* series. Kangra, c.1785. National Museum, New Delhi.

37(i) *Bhaskar Raga, son of Hindola Raga.*

Published: Randhawa (1958b), 16.

Description: A young prince with Vaishnava *tilak* marks, nude from the waist, stands beside a rushing stream with

lotus leaves and flowers, making an offering to the sun god whose rays appear on the horizon from behind a distant hill. Beside him stands a male attendant, holding his coat and turban. Open countryside with bare ground, low hills and flowering trees.

37(ii) *Sorath Ragini, wife of Megha Raga.*

Published: Randhawa (1958b), 26.

Description: A girl in loosely draped dress sits on a bed of lotus petals beside a stream, stroking a peacock with her right hand and stretching out her left hand towards a second peacock which leans down towards her from the slender branch of a flowering tree. Behind her is an open landscape with flowering trees, a broad river and a line of hill-tops.

37(iii) *Telangi Ragini, wife of Hindola Raga.*

Published: Randhawa (1958b), 14.

Description: A lady nude from the waist sits on a low stool, a maid servant massaging her right arm and a second maid standing on the right carrying a cup of oil on a tray. Above her is a canopy on four poles. Behind her is a white wall and above it a row of oval trees.

37(iv) *Vasant Raga, son of Hindola Raga.*

Published: Randhawa (1954), col. pl. 31; also reproduced Randhawa (1958b), 17.

Description: Spring, in the form of a pale-skinned youth, wearing a crown with lotus flowers and peacock feathers and nude save for a yellow *dhoti* and pink scarf, dances before two girl musicians in orange, yellow, blue and pink dresses. One of them plays a long grey *tambura*, while the other clashes a pair of orange cymbals. Plain pale green meadow backed by a line of trees sprinkled with blossom.

Discussion: This series, comprising 80 of the 84 illustrations needed to make a complete Pahari *Ragamala*, reflects the second of Sansar Chand's interests. Chess and music were noted by Moorcroft (1820) as being from 'very early times' his chief forms of relaxation and as a vital complement to the actual enjoyment of singing and dancing, pictures which identified and indexed the various modes would be a natural requirement. From the late seventeenth century, Pahari *Ragamala* sets had been produced at various hill courts — Kulu and Bilaspur being among the first to develop this type of art. From Guler itself no complete set has survived but a painting of *Surmananda Raga* in the Binney collection (Archer and Binney (1968), pl. 84) suggests that by about 1760 a Guler set had been prepared. At Garhwal also, *Ragamala* pictures were produced, the paintings, as in the present case, being almost certainly based on Guler models.

The present four pictures exemplify yet again the adjustment to Kangra conditions of artists trained in Guler idioms and conventions. Characteristic of Guler painting is the male attendant in 37(i), the frilly edge to the lady's skirt in 37(ii), the courtyard wall with oval trees in 37(iii) and the line of oval trees pricked by spear-like cypresses and fronted by sprinkled rows of blossom in 37(iv). At the same time, certain details are already typical of painting at Kangra. In (i), the rushing stream with lotuses can be matched in *Radha and Krishna in the grove* (35), and the rising sun, radiating spikes, in the *Cow-girls begging back their clothes* (36(v)). In (iii), the lady, nude from the waist, can be matched in 33, while the treatment of the canopy as a parallelogram set on poles, seemingly at variance with perspective, employs the same convention as in 36(i). In (iv), the dancing prince with outstretched arms, the tufted flowers in the foreground and the female musicians can be matched in 32 and 33. Above all, the jagged line of hill-tops in the background of (ii) is reminiscent of the hill-tops on either side of Sujampur Tira, at one time surmounted by guard-posts. As such, the picture incorporates essential features of Kangra scenery. Although the date of the series and the name of the artists responsible are unrecorded, his awareness of idioms and details current at Kangra in the years 1780 to 1785 suggest the work of a Guler artist working there at this period. For other published examples from the same series, see Khandalavala, 1958 and Randhawa, 1958b.

38 Ladies playing chess. By Fattu. Kangra, c.1785. Chandigarh Museum, formerly in the family collection of Mian Chattar Singh, son of Mian Basant Singh of Baghal (Arki), cousin of the Raja of Arki and attributed by family tradition to Fattu, 'one of Sansar Chand's painters' (French, 1931).

Published: French (1947), pl. 3; also reproduced Randhawa (1954a), col. pl. 17; Khandalavala (1958), no. 236; Hajek (1960), col. pl. 50, including border.

Note: Following the death of Raja Anirudh Chand (ruled 1823-1828) of Kangra, his sons, Ranbir and Pramod Chand, settled in Arki, the picture being presumably in the Kangra royal collection, inherited by them, and subsequently given to the Arki royal family.

Description: A lady in pale mauve skirt and gold veil sits on a pallid yellow rug leaning against two gold-coloured cushions and playing chess on an orange-red chess board with a female companion who is about to make the next move. Below them on the left are two girl attendants and on the right an old duenna in green veil. Pale grey pavilion topped by a diagonal white blind. Beyond the terrace is a grove of trees, a pale meadow and a river and beyond it on the further bank a low hill with trees. Oval format with plain white surround. Margins bright blue with red and gold scroll patterns as in the Kangra *Baramasa* series (41).

Discussion: A picture of paramount importance since it is the only individual painting so far known which is firmly connected by an independent family tradition with the Kangra royal collection and with a known Kangra painter. Fattu was the eldest son of Manak and may have worked with his uncle, Nainsukh, on the 'Guler-Basohli' *Bhagavata Purana* series executed at Basohli in c.1760-1765 (Basohli, q.v.). He was closely connected with Nainsukh's sons and in 1778 accompanied Nainsukh's second son, Gaudhu, to Hardwar when Nainsukh's ashes were taken for immersion there. Gaudhu is known to have occupied a prominent position among the artists at Sansar Chand's court and it is likely therefore that Fattu was associated with him. The fact that Fattu's name was so firmly and clearly recalled to French by a member of the Arki royal family in 1930 as one of Sansar Chand's painters and as the artist of the present picture indicates the high esteem in which he must have been held at Kangra in Sansar Chand's time.

Besides providing important evidence for painting at Kangra in the late eighteenth century, the picture pioneers the oval format which was to become a favourite convention at Kangra in the period 1785-1820. In the present case, the surrounds are kept a plain white but the margins contain the blue ground, gold scroll-work pattern and cartouche-like embellishments with red edges which appear in varying forms in the *Bihari Sat Sai* series (39), the *Baramasa* series (41) and in the *Rasika Priya* series (66). The effect of this convention is to focus attention on the primary figures while adding a generally enriching touch to the ensemble.

Significant aspects of the picture are its continued recourse to female faces and physiques seen in the 'first' *Gita Govinda* series and in the *Bhagavata Purana* series and its evocation of the Kangra countryside. The hill which appears in the distance across the river resembles the hill above Alampur as seen from Sujampur, while the architecture, as Khandalavala has noticed in the case of buildings in the *Sat Sai* series (39), is comparable to that of the palaces at Sujampur Tira or at Alampur. A further Kangra feature is the subject of the picture — a game of chess, chess being one of Sansar Chand's two favourite amusements (Moorcroft, 1820).

39(i-iv) Four paintings from a Bihari Sat Sai series. Kangra, c.1785.

Average size: 190 x 130 mm. Oval format with white rims, blue surrounds with gold scrolls, yellow margins.

Inscribed on the reverse of each painting in *nagari* characters with verses from the *Sat Sai* of Bihari (*fl.* 1650).

Ancestral collection of Maharaja Manvindra Shah of Tehri Garhwal, Narendranagar, Garhwal, U.P., but probably acquired like 33 from the Kangra royal collection on the occasion of the wedding of Sansar Chand's two daughters

to Raja Sudarshan Shah of Tehri Garhwal in 1829 (Khandalavala and Krishnadasa, private communications, 1948; Archer, 1951a; Khandalavala, 1958; Randhawa, 1963 and 1966; Archer, 1966).

39(i) The village beauty.

Published: Mehta (1926b), col. pl. 22; also reproduced Randhawa (1966), col. pl. 13.

Description: A village girl in scarlet skirt, mauve veil and brief pale yellow bodice, her midriff exposed, stands beside a field of paddy in flower, holding a long stick for keeping off the cattle and day-dreaming as she looks over her right shoulder. Beyond the paddy field is a pair of trees, a stream with boulders and a piece of open ground. To the rear is a house with a white roof terrace on which Krishna in a deep yellow wrap is seated talking to a duenna in dark green. In the sky white and scarlet clouds. It was possibly in similar circumstances that Sansar Chand encountered the Gaddan beauty, Nokhu.

39(ii) Blindman's buff.

Published: Randhawa (1966), col. pl. 2.

Description: An open meadow with a tall tree trunk beside which a group of cowherd-boys and girls are playing hide-and-seek. In the centre a boy is holding his hands across another boy's eyes while two girls, in mauve and orange-red dresses and three cowherd-boys nude above the waist, scatter in various directions. On the right, Krishna in a dark yellow wrap and hat frantically embraces Radha among some bushes covered with yellow flowers. In the background, open rolling country with cattle, cowherd women, a house with white and pink walls and a grove of trees. In the sky streaks of red cloud.

39(iii) Tossing a flower.

Published: Mehta (1926b), pl. 26; also reproduced Randhawa (1966), col. frontispiece.

Description: Radha in scarlet skirt, pale brown bodice and blue veil stands on a piece of dark green lawn inside a courtyard playing at bat-and-ball by throwing up a rose which Krishna, in orange-yellow *dhoti* and long white garland, prepares to pat back to her. Behind Radha is a girl companion in pale mauve dress. Beyond the wall is a broad expanse of river with, on the further side, a bare hill with trees at the foot and on the right a garden-house.

39(iv) Radha upbraids Krishna.

Published: Randhawa (1966), col. pl. 4.

Description: Krishna in dark yellow turban and ankle-length *jama* stands facing Radha in a red and blue dress and pale brown bodice on a piece of dark green lawn inside a courtyard. In the sky are black storm clouds against which a row of eight cattle egrets are rising. Radha is upbraiding Krishna for choosing the rains (the season when desire is at its height) as the moment for departing from her.

Discussion: From a group of approximately forty paintings illustrating verses from the *Sat Sai* of the poet Bihari. Whether all of the poet's seven hundred verses were included in the series is doubtful since other examples from the group published by Randhawa (1966, figs. 5, 8 and col. pls. 5-10, 12, 15) are distinctly weaker in manner and are perhaps twenty to thirty years later in execution. It is possible, therefore, that at first only certain verses were chosen for illustration and that a group by other artists was added subsequently. Although not every verse refers explicitly to Radha and Krishna, each sentiment can be applied to the two lovers. Accordingly verses and pictures celebrate phases of their romance and the production of the series was therefore an obvious sequel to that of the 'first' *Gita Govinda* (33). It is significant that 39(iv) includes the same type of clouds seen in a group portrait of the young Sansar Chand (10) datable to 1783 and the same row of cattle egrets which occurs in another group portrait (14) datable to 1787. If c.1780 is accepted as the probable date of the 'first' *Gita Govinda* series, c.1785 could well be the date of its sequel.

Although the present pictures preserve in places the zest

for dashing movement seen in the *Bhagavata Purana* — compare in particular the embracing lovers of 39(ii) with the hurrying cowherd-boys of 36(iii) — the general emphasis is on the static dignity and calm which characterise *Ladies playing chess* (38). It is more than possible, in fact, as Khandalavala has suggested (1970), that the same artist, Fattu, is responsible. It is true that scarlet clouds and skirts are introduced as poetic symbols for mounting passion, but other idioms — oval formats, simple compositions, the use of identical types of feminine physique and face and a subtle combination of angular architecture with open pastoral backgrounds — suggest the same sensitive hand. Above all, as Khandalavala has further emphasised, the general atmosphere of the present examples and of *Ladies playing chess* is vividly reminiscent of the Kangra Valley at Alampur, 39(iii) in particular being remarkably true to the hill above Alampur as seen from across the Beas River.

Such details and features raise a clear presumption of the present series' Kangra origin. Their present whereabouts (the Tehri Garhwal collection) in no way, negatives this conclusion since they are not in Garhwal style and a strong oral tradition in the Tehri Garhwal family, connecting the 'first' *Gita Govinda* series with the marriage to Sudarshan Shah of Sansar Chand's two daughters in 1829, carries with it a presumption that other parts of the Kangra royal collection may have reached Garhwal at this time.

It is significant that when describing Sansar Chand's daily routine, Moorcroft (1820) noted: 'At twelve he retires for two or three hours, then converses, plays at chess and in the evening hears music and frequently has Nachs (dances) in which the performers generally sing Brij Bakha songs generally reciting the adventures of Krishna and those of the Gopees.' Bihari's *Sat Sai* (Seven Hundred Verses) were written in the vernacular language known as Brij Bhasha (Brij Bhakha), they relate the adventures of Krishna and those of the cowherd-girls (Gopees) and they could therefore have been among the very songs habitually heard by Sansar Chand when he watched dancing-girls perform on Kangra evenings at Alampur.

For published examples from the same series, see Mehta, 1926a and b; Archer, 1957a; Khandalavala, 1958; Chandra and Mehta, 1962; Randhawa, 1966; Goswamy, 1968.

40 The swing. Kangra, c.1790.

196 x 120 mm; with border 235 x 170 mm. Fawn border. Dark blue margin with white rules and occasional green spots.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.M. 73-1912.

Purchased from Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy.

Published: Archer (1960), pl. 92.

Description: A lady in mauve dress with long golden veil and orange-red trousers sits on a swing suspended by two long white ropes above a white terrace with red carpet. A maid in green dress and orange veil pushes her on the left while a second maid in pale blue dress and yellow veil returns her from the right. A third maid in pale yellow stands holding a long white fan. White archway with, at the top, an orange blind with green borders. Grey background with storm-clouds looming.

Discussion: This picture is unrelated to any famous poetic series and is, instead, a celebration of the feminine physique in a setting calculated to arouse 'memory and desire'. The great storm-clouds rolling up the sky complement the act of swinging which is often resorted to in the rainy season and is a common image in poetry for the act of love. It is noteworthy that the principal figure wears a high-waisted gown with a prominent oval slit between her firmly protruding breasts. In style, comparable to the *Bihari Sat Sai* series (39) though without an oval format. For the maid on the right with long hands and slender fingers poised to push the swing, compare Krishna preparing to pat a flower back to Radha in 39(iii).

Related examples: (1) Gangoly (1926), col. pl. 39, also reproduced Randhawa (1962), col. pl. 15. The swing. National Museum, New Delhi (formerly Gupta collection, Lahore). Kangra, c.1790. Similar to 40 but against a clear sky, the swing strung from the branch of a tree, a girl with similar

dress but looking ahead as she swings, a duenna or mistress of the household watching from the right.

(2) Khandalavala (1938), fig. 106. The swing. Khandalavala collection, Bombay. Kangra, c.1820. A girl with skirt blowing out standing on a swing suspended between two posts with garlands. Two maids assisting. Terrace. Plain background.

(3) Khandalavala (1958), no. 274. The swing. Khandalavala collection, Bombay. Kangra, c.1820-1825. Oval format and almost certainly from the *Rasika Priya* series (66). Swing suspended from a tree as in 40(1). The girl's skirt billowing out as in 40(2). Landscape with gathering storm-clouds as in 40.

41(i, ii) Two paintings from a *Baramasa* series illustrating verses from the *Kavi Priya* of Keshav Das. Kangra, c.1790.

Average size: 205 x 145 mm; yellow margins, oval format, surrounds dark blue with gold scroll-work patterns and with touches of red in each corner.

Ancestral collection of Maharaja Dhruv Dev Chand of Lambagraon, Kangra.

41(i) The month of *Magh* (January-February).

Published: Randhawa (1962), fig. 88.

Description: Krishna with pale mauve skin and long *jama* stands on a white terrace against the background of a grove of trees. In front of him is Radha who presses her hands together and urges him not to leave her since the season of spring is now approaching. In the background is a cluster of houses, a hill rising steeply upwards and on the right in a wide courtyard with low walls a large band of villagers dancing, singing and playing drums.

41(ii) The month of *Phagun* (February-March).

Published: Randhawa (1954), col. pl. 3; also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), no. 231; Randhawa (1962), fig. 89.

Description: Krishna in long ankle-length deep yellow *jama* stands on a white terrace, his left arm on Radha who stands before him in a white and gold dress. Radha reminds him that spring has now come and it is not a time for him to depart. Behind them is a wild pear studded with flowers, a small township and a band of villagers celebrating the Holi festival by throwing red powder and beating drums.

Discussion: This series is of special importance on account of its provenance — the family collection of the Raja of Lambagraon, a lineal descendant of Fateh Chand, Sansar Chand's brother; its oval format with surrounds in blue, gold and red identical to the borders in *Ladies playing chess* (38) and to the surrounds in the *Bihari Sat Sai* (39); the facial types which are the same as in 33-40 and continue a formula firmly established at Kangra by 1780; and the background settings which are strongly reminiscent of Sujapur. Behind Sujapur the hills slope steeply upwards. There is a wide *chaugan* or polo ground adjoining houses as in 41(ii). The Murlī Manohar temple also has a large courtyard and low walls similar to that in 41(i). The purpose of this courtyard was to accommodate groups of villagers who assembled in it for dancing and singing songs in praise of Krishna. For Sansar Chand's own delight in dancing and songs 'generally reciting the adventures of Krishna and those of the Gopees', compare Moorcroft's eye-witness accounts (1820). It is significant that the remaining ten examples from this *Baramasa* series also contain details based on the Sujapur landscape. For the wild pear in 41(ii), itself a feature of Kangra scenery, compare 36(iv). For further examples from the same series, see Randhawa, 1954a and 1962; Khandalavala, 1958 and Randhawa and Galbraith, 1968.

42 Krishna celebrates the Holi festival. Kangra, c.1790.

245 x 172 mm; with borders 270 x 185 mm. Red borders, black margins and white rules.

Archer collection, London.

Published: Gangoly (1921), col. pl. p. 15; also reproduced Archer (1960), col. pl. 91; Lee (1960), pl. 83.

Description: Krishna in long pale yellow *jama* assisted by

eleven cowherd-boys syringes Radha and her ten companions with red water. Radha and two of the cow-girls reply by throwing red powder while one of the cowherd-boys recharges his bamboo syringe from a basin filled with red water. In the foreground a cowherd-boy clutches the veil of a cow-girl in red dress who is kneeling on the ground and dabs her forehead with red powder. Dresses chiefly red, some of them dark blue and brown. Above the two opposing groups is a red canopy on four poles and in the extreme background a group of tiny male figures on the left, a group of four tiny musicians with a red flag in the centre and a group of tiny women on the right. Large white open courtyard with no walls, speckled with red. Brilliant blue sky.

Discussion: Like 32, a celebration of the spring festival of Holi but in a style of greater fluency and smoother rhythm and with more varied postures. Significant details: the cowherd-boy clutching the girl's veil in order to dab her forehead (similar in its dashing movement to Krishna embracing Radha in the *Sat Sai* series, 39(ii)), a definite association of Krishna with the Holi festival (see 32), the use, as in the *Bhagavata Purana* series, of neat trim outlines and the insertion in the background of midget figures (compare the *Baramasa* series, 41). It is noteworthy that the earlier method of depicting a canopy as a slanting parallelogram has been replaced by a more frontal view, the two nearer poles being very considerably taller than the rear ones.

Examples for comparison: (1) Khandalavala (1958), no. 239. Krishna celebrating the Holi festival. Central Museum, Lahore. Kangra, c.1785. Closely similar to 42 with Krishna and his partners ranged on one side and Radha and her companions on the other. Similar canopy. Plain background. Horizontal format.

(2) Randhawa and Galbraith (1968), col. pl. 31. Krishna celebrating the Holi festival. Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras. Kangra, c.1785. Krishna and his partners, the cowherd-boys, standing in a courtyard and assailing Radha and her companions with coloured water and bamboo syringes as they appear before them at three upper windows. Red, blue and yellow dresses as in 42. Comparable in lively animation to 32(i) and 42. Vertical format. No canopy. Dominant courtyard. Certain cowherd-boys reminiscent in their height to figures in 32.

43 Krishna and the milkmaids. Kangra, c.1790.

225 x 150 mm; with border 300 x 200 mm.

Archer collection, London.

Published: Archer (1952), col. pl. 7; also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), no. 134; Archer and Lee (1963), col. cover.

Description: Krishna in dark yellow *dhoti*, nude from the waist, stands with a group of cow-girls beside a grey stream with lotus flowers and leaves. He embraces Radha with his left arm and a second cow-girl with his right. Dark brown, pink, orange and blue dresses. Seven cow-girls surround him. On the right two cowherd-boys and two cows. Open grassy landscape with, on the left, a tall tree entwined by the pink stem of a flowering creeper.

Discussion: A celebration of the mixed loves of Krishna and the cow-girls perhaps designed for use in worship. Identical in style with the *Baramasa* (41) and *Sat Sai* series (39).

44 The shy girl. Kangra, c.1790.

171 x 129 mm; with border 261 x 201 mm. Dark blue margin with gold floral pattern. Later mount.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 217-1949.

Published: Randhawa (1962), fig. 15.

Description: A group of five girls are gathered inside a courtyard with white walls and playing fountain. The youngest, a girl in dark green dress and orange veil is clutching anxiously at a taller girl in pale yellow dress and crimson veil. She looks over her shoulder at a third girl in mauve skirt and yellow veil who strives to catch her. To the right two further girls, one with long grass fan, the other in slate blue skirt. Visible through an archway on the right is Krishna in a long white *jama* talking to a girl in an orange veil.

Discussion: Similar in style to 39 and 40 and, as a further

exploration of Krishna's character, proof of the importance attached at Kangra to his constant celebration. Significant details: tall figures with high waists, slightly archaic faces (compare 31-33), thin long hands with slender fingers as in *The swing* (40) and *Tossing a flower* (39(iii)).

45 The hall of mirrors. Kangra, c.1790.

180 x 280 mm; with border (trimmed) 200 x 300 mm. Dark blue margin with gold floral pattern.

Inscribed on the reverse in English (perhaps by a dealer): *Rani Padmani*.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.M. 4-1912.

Purchased from Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy.

Published: Smith (1930), pl. 160; also reproduced Archer (1952a), fig. 3; Khandalavala (1958), no. 276.

Description: A picture in two parts. In the first, a lady in mauve dress who has just taken her morning meal stands on a footstool in a pavilion attended by a maid in white dress and orange veil and by an elderly duenna in slate blue skirt and yellow veil. Behind her stand two further maids. On the right two other female servants wash up eating vessels, a third empties a pot of cooked rice into a leaf-plate and a fourth in orange dress sits in the courtyard before a leaf-plate heaped with rice. The second part shows the same lady seated on a bed in an open verandah, her face reflected in a series of five wall mirrors. A maid waves a peacock-feather fan. Two girl-musicians sit on a red mat in front of her. A crimson canopy supported by a long silver pole extends far out into the courtyard. In the background, a fawn wall backed by a row of oval trees and pale blue sky.

Discussion: Similar in style and idioms to 38-44.

46 Radha celebrating the Holi festival. Kangra, 1788.

140 x 241 mm; with border 212 x 305 mm. Fawn border with dark blue margin.

Victoria and Albert Museum, Manuk and Coles collection, I.S. 9-1949.

Inscribed on the reverse in *nagari* characters with Hindi verses: *phagun me vanshivara sumeri ali phagun me vanshivara pyara ane milega pha(gun) jo tum more piya hun sar hoge ladne ka karungi saman. samvat 45 ma pra(vishte) 13.* 'In Phagun (February-March) the flute-player, that adorable flute-player (Krishna) will come and meet me. When you, my love, are with me, I shall be ready for battle with you. The *samvat* year 45 (1845, i.e. A.D. 1788) (the month) *Magh* (January to February), the day the thirteenth'.

For the date, compare 9, a portrait of Sansar Chand aged thirteen years where the last two digits of the date are given and the *samvat* century is similarly omitted.

Published: Archer (1952b), col. pl. 6; also reproduced, Khandalavala (1958), no. 284.

Description: Twenty-four ladies, divided into two opposing bands are celebrating the Holi festival by throwing red powder at each other. Two on the left are using bamboo syringes. Two on the right are playing on a *tambura* and a drum. A second *tambura* is just visible on the left. Four sacks containing red powder are on the terrace as well as one brass vessel and a large tray. A white canopy with red floral pattern stands on four poles. The leading ladies wear pale crimson dresses, others are in yellow, orange, green and mauve. Greyish blue sky smeared with clouds of red powder.

Discussion: With 32 and 42, a further portrayal of the spring festival of Holi, the leading figure on the left being Radha. Of special significance for painting at Kangra on account of (1) the continued association of Krishna with this festival, suggesting that, as part of Krishna worship, pictures of the festival may have been an annual requirement, (2) the gliding grace and rhythmical serenity with which the feminine figures are endowed — the whole scene having the character of a dance (compare, in this connection, 33(ii), *Krishna dancing with the cow-girls*), (3) the firm adoption of faces with straight profiles, a formula devised at Guler in the late seventeen-seventies but not adopted at Kangra until the late seventeen-eighties and (4) the dated verse which provides the painting itself with a *terminus ante quem*. The

month of Magh referred to in this verse precedes Phagun, the month in which the Holi festival is celebrated. Although the possibility cannot be excluded that this verse was written on the picture in 1888 — not 1788, as here assumed — the strength of Krishna worship at Sansar Chand's court makes the earlier date more likely. Significant details connecting the painting with other pictures here attributed to Kangra: the girl crouching on the left (42), the girl holding her veil over her head in a great swinging loop (33(ii)), the sacks of red powder and basin of coloured water (42).

Related examples: (1) Khandalavala (1958), col. pl. 9. Radha celebrating the Holi festival, having dressed Krishna up in women's clothes. Damjee collection, Bombay. Kangra, c.1785. Similar in general composition to 46 but with a red canopy, the inclusion of a greater number of cow-girls, greater elongation of figures and the inclusion of Krishna who is clad in a red skirt and bodice. In style a blend of 42 with its lively animation and of 46 with its rhythmical dignity. Significant as providing yet further evidence of the Kangra view of Holi as essentially a Krishna festival.

(2) Coomaraswamy (1912), pl. 12. Radha celebrating the Holi festival, having dressed Krishna up in women's clothes. Formerly Coomaraswamy collection, London. Kangra, c.1785. Line-drawing for 46(i) with colour notes and suggested details.

47 The lady and the pigeons. Kangra, c.1790.

155 x 93 mm; with border 235 x 176 mm. Pink border flecked with red. Dark blue margin with rows of spots and circles.

Victoria and Albert Museum, French collection, I.S. 165-1955.

Description: A lady in orange-yellow dress and crimson trousers stands on a white terrace holding the branch of a flowering tree. She watches two pigeons courting. Pale blue sky.

Discussion: In style, closely similar to *Radha celebrating the Holi festival* (46) and like 40, a poetic illustration of a romantic situation connected with courtly love. The flowering trees are symbolic of the lady's frail and slender beauty while the mating pigeons stress the nature of her thoughts. Although the majority of paintings at Kangra illustrate the loves of Radha and Krishna, others such as 30, 31 and the present picture concern themselves with more general situations drawn from poetry. In contrast to 46, where the horizontal format may have prompted a slight shortening of the female forms, the present picture with its vertical format reverts to the taller conventions prevalent in most previous pictures.

48 The lady and the painter. Kangra, c.1790-1800.

178 x 150 mm.

Inscribed on the reverse with Hindi verses in *nagari* characters published and translated by Coomaraswamy (1926) as:

[Radha complains]:

'From evening to morning and morning to evening, the days are passing and months go by.

What do you wot of the woes of others? None but the wise understands! I gave you freely clean paper, fresh and shining like glass.

Oh, painter! how many days have passed and you have not drawn the picture of my friend!

[The painter answers]:

'I shall so prepare the portrait of yourself and your friend That instantly in the picture the divided lovers shall meet.'

In an earlier translation (1916) Coomaraswamy replaced the phrase 'none but the wise understands' by 'only the sapient Krishna understands'. Although the poem is certainly susceptible of this interpretation, it needs to be stressed that the actual names of Radha and Krishna are not employed in the original. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (formerly Coomaraswamy collection).

Published: Coomaraswamy (1916), pl. 90; also reproduced Coomaraswamy (1926), pl. 99; Khandalavala (1958), no. 272; Randhawa (1962), fig. 59.

Description: An artist, seated on a wooden bed and sur-

rounded by his colour pans and a cup containing his brushes, is engaged in painting a pair of lovers in the alcove of a wall when he is interrupted by a lady who leans against a doorway. Beneath the bed is a brush box, a box of colour pans and a portfolio of sketches tied up in a striped cloth. On either side a slim archway with, at the top, a rolled-up blind.

Discussion: A picture of unusual interest since it shows a Kangra artist at work on a mural (as against the miniature painting apparently contemplated by the poem); it reveals the intimate position occupied by a painter in a royal household and the freedom of access to him enjoyed by palace ladies while the picture which he is executing is similar to those being handed round at Sansar Chand's two 'picture-sessions' (10, 16). The fact that a portfolio is beside him reinforces the supposition that the figure in the left-hand bottom corner of 16, holding a portfolio, is the artist whose pictures are being examined. Although the artist here depicted is clearly different from the painter in 16 and is therefore not Khushala (see 16), it is possible that he is none the less a member of the same family and in that case may just conceivably be Gaudhu. Compare, in this connection, the portrait of Gaudhu, older and with a white moustache and beard (no. 19(iii)) also reproduced Randhawa (1955), Khandalavala (1958) and Goswamy (1968). Gaudhu and his cousin Fattu visited Hardwar in 1778 with the ashes of Gaudhu's father, Nainsukh. Gaudhu himself died in 1820 (Goswamy, 1968). For other pictures of an artist painting a mural in a similar fashion, see 49(i) and 53(i).

49(i-vi) Six sketches in sanguine for a projected *Nala Damayanti* series. Kangra, c.1790-1800.

Average size: 220 x 337 mm; with uncoloured borders 275 x 400 mm.

Inscribed in *nagari* characters at the top of each sheet with a brief description of the scene and its number in the series. National Museum, New Delhi.

49(i) A painter drawing on a wall a pair of ideal lovers.

Numbered: 4.

Description: A painter, bearded and with a pair of eye glasses, sits on a wooden bed painting on the wall of an alcove a pair of lovers sitting together. Behind him is Damayanti with a maid, urging him to 'draw on the wall of the recreation hall a lover and his beloved excelling the three worlds in beauty' and thus create an image of herself and Nala. Behind them on a terrace beneath a canopy stand three maid servants. In the foreground is a courtyard with fountain, a row of ducks entering from the left and a further maid-servant and a male attendant with a portfolio standing on the right. In the upper right is a distant view of Damayanti lying on a bed, a maid striving to cool her love-fever with a fan. On the right is a high courtyard wall with a pavilion and trees beyond.

49(ii) Damayanti consumed with love.

Numbered: 17.

Description: Damayanti, out-stretched on a terrace beneath a canopy, lies in a half-faint as a group of maids strive to ease the pain caused by her separation from Nala. A lotus flower held against her breasts wilts 'as if out of shame before her hands which surpass it in beauty'. In the foreground is a courtyard, one maid on the left preparing food helped by a second maid who holds a torch and a group of maids on the right holding torches and taking away Damayanti's food. At the back a high courtyard wall backed by oval trees and turrets.

49(iii) The gathering storm.

Numbered: 18.

Description: Damayanti, out-stretched on the floor of a tall pavilion, gazes distractedly at a group of clouds which are drifting in from the right above a pair of turrets and a high courtyard wall. She points at them with her left arm, a maid having drawn her attention to them by also pointing with a raised arm. A group of maids surround her. In the courtyard is a pool with a fountain, a maid leaning on a staff and

two further maids, one of them with two lotuses, entering from a doorway on the right. For finished versions of this subject, see 52 and 53(iv).

49(iv) Damayanti carried to the marriage choice.
Numbered: 48.

Description: Damayanti, seated on a litter under a canopy and surrounded by her maids, is carried in procession into a large courtyard filled with visitors, attendants and five princes (one of them the true Nala, the others, the gods Indra, Agni, Yama and Varuna disguised as Nala). In various places are bands of musicians. Gods look down from the clouds. To the left is a palace with turrets and to the right an open extension of the courtyard with no walls.

49(v) The bridal night.
Numbered: 77.

Description: A courtyard with three separate rooms, beds of flowers and a fountain, in each of which Nala and Damayanti are shown engaged in different acts of love. In the upper left, Nala disengages Damayanti's shift; in the centre they lie together under a single sheet; and on the right Nala fondles her breasts. To the rear trees and a courtyard wall.

49(iv) Nala and Damayanti mourning the separation of a pair of Brahminy ducks at sundown.
Numbered: 103.

Description: Nala and Damayanti, seated together on a covered terrace by a river, gaze across the water to hills on the other side. They lift their hands to point out a pair of *chakai* birds (Brahminy ducks, who part at night to go in search of food but because they call to each other throughout the darkness are regarded as emblems of faithful lovers). Behind the married pair is a group of maids preparing the bed and in the foreground a pool with maids washing and drawing water, a pair of ducks strutting and two long rectangular beds of flowers.

Discussion: From a series of 109 sketches in sanguine illustrating the *Naishadhacharita*, a *mahakavya* (or great poem) by the poet, Sriharsha (fl. c.1150). The subject is the romance of Damayanti, a princess who in a dream falls in love with Nala, the young king of Nishadha. Their full career, wedding, bridal night, misfortunes, recovery and ultimate happiness are described in detail in the *Mahabharata* epic; and from this point of view, Moorcroft's remark (1820) that 'many subjects from the Mahabharat are given in details, some of which for decency's sake might have been spared, yet there were few of the latter description' could well relate to the present series of sketches or to the finished paintings (53) which were based upon them. Since only the romance of Nala and Damayanti is celebrated in Sriharsha's poem, it is no surprise that pictures illustrating their love-making comprise a small but essential part of the whole. Moorcroft's carefully qualified remarks gain added relevance when this fact is realised.

In style, the sketches have close affinities with Kangra painting of the 1780-1790 period, combining in particular a flair for neat organisation, command of fluid line, a zest for feminine physique and the ability to endow the most mundane gestures and poses with innocent dignity. Guler characteristics such as receding beds of flowers, angular architecture, and sternly regulated depth are availed of and it is significant that even a minor Guler trait — the introduction of ducks as emblems of lovers — is also incorporated. This detail was well-established at Guler by 1800 where it appears in a study of Raja Bhup Singh with his rani (Guler, q.v.) and it is used at Chamba in portraits of Raj Singh and his son, Jit Singh, with their ladies (Chamba q.v.). The latter portraits belong to the 1795-1800 period and are probably the work of Chhajju, the son of Nainsukh's third son, Nikka, who migrated to Chamba in about 1770. In the case of the present sanguine sketches, the artist responsible may well have been a member of the Manaku-Nainsukh family of Guler artists who had entered Sansar

Chand's service at Kangra or, in the alternative, a member of the Guler painter colony which had profited from Nainsukh's experiments and had gone to Kangra also. It should be emphasised that the sketches are, in no sense, finished productions but indicate in a free and lively manner the artist's ideas of how best to interpret particular subjects. In contrast to the more highly finished line drawings (50) and to the series of finished paintings (53), the sketches adopt a broad, low treatment of hills and architecture in preference to a more vertical and narrow one. Unlike 48, *The painter and the lady*, the artist shown painting a pair of ideal lovers is difficult to equate with any known Kangra or Guler artist and it is perhaps best to assume that in the case of every figure, both male and female, inserted into the series, conventional types rather than individuals are involved.

For Kangra painting, the present series of sketches is important for the following reasons:

(1) It is the first complete interpretation of a text of which only the first part exists in the form of finished paintings and only the second part in the form of line drawings. By including Parts One and Two in one large series, it reviews the whole of Sriharsha's great love poem and provides a basis for its full and considered interpretation in painting. For an English translation of the poem, with commentary, see K. K. Handiqui, *The Naishadhacharita of Sriharsha* (Lahore, 1934; Poona, 1956).

(2) Although the features of Nala do not conspicuously resemble those of Sansar Chand or any member of his family, an association with Kangra is implied by the palace architecture, the terrace and the view across the river to the low hills beyond. These are strongly evocative of Alampur, Sujampur, and Sujampur Tira and suggest that, in making the set, some analogy with Sansar Chand was envisaged.

(3) Such an analogy, first argued by Eastman (1959), though possibly over-strongly, and subsequently pooh-poohed by Goswami (1969), would go far to explain the dramatic change of subject-matter involved in the choice of a secular love-poem for illustration. At Nurpur, the *Rasamanjari* series (Nurpur q.v.) is clearly an oblique tribute to Raja Daya Dhata of Nurpur since the recurring figure of the lover closely follows this Raja's features. At Kangra, every large set previously made had focussed on the loves of Radha and Krishna and had thus reflected Sansar Chand's devotion to the Krishna cult. In the present series, two different lovers of Hindu mythology are substituted and although Sansar Chand's general appreciation of women might provide a possible explanation, more concrete circumstances are perhaps needed to explain its choice. These circumstances can be found in Sansar Chand's own romance with a Gaddan beauty, Nokhu. In contrast to his three other marriages — with princesses from Suket, Sirmur and Bara Bangahal (all of which were arranged on conventional feudal lines) — Nokhu's elevation as Sansar Chand's rani was the result of a chance encounter with her in the fields and of Sansar Chand suddenly falling in love with her.

*The Gaddi was grazing his goats
His daughter was grazing the cows
Seeing her young face*

The Raja loved her (Kangra folk-song, transl. French).

Although Nokhu was already married to a member of her own Gaddi (shepherd) caste, Sansar Chand abducted her, compensated her husband and installed her under the new name of Gulab Dasi. The experience was clearly exceptional since in no other state in the Punjab Hills is a romance of this kind recorded; it was obviously different from the recruitment of an extra concubine and indeed it seems to have had something of the passionate intensity with which Damayanti chose Prince Nala as her husband. In these circumstances, the romance of Nala and Damayanti could well have seemed a parallel to Sansar Chand's own experiences.

(4) If this view is adopted, the years 1790-1800 gain credibility as the period during which the sketches in sanguine and the subsequent line-drawings may have been executed. The year of Sansar Chand's meeting with Nokhu is unrecorded but the fact that he met her near Palampur in the north of Kangra state and was in a position to take decisive steps, suggests that it was after the great Kangra castle had at last come into his hands in 1786 that the incident occurred. By then he would have been twenty-one years old. If we think of him as at least twenty-five at the time he met Nokhu, we reach the period proposed for the present series. For details of Sansar Chand's romance with Nokhu and its implications for Kangra painting, see French (1931); Archer (1952a, 1960); Eastman (1959); Randhawa (1961, 1966) and Goswamy (1969).

50(i, ii) Two line-drawings for a projected *Nala Damayanti* series. Kangra, c.1790-1800.

Average size : 285 x 395 mm.
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

50(i) *Damayanti* carried to the marriage choice.

Numbered: 51.

Published: Coomaraswamy (1910), pl. 26; also reproduced Coomaraswamy (1916), pl. 62; Coomaraswamy (1926), pl. 39; Khandalavala (1958), no. 229; Eastman (1959), pl. 2.

Description: Same subject as in 49(iv) but with a squarer, less narrow format, the elimination of many spectators, the enlargement of *Damayanti* and her palanquin, the inclusion of a pavilion with canopy on the right, a greater concentration on the gliding movements of the female attendants and a more diagonal progression across the picture space. Background buildings on the left more prominent. Slight colouring.

50(ii) *Nala* and *Damayanti* listening to music.

Un-numbered.

Published: Coomaraswamy (1926), pl. 51; also reproduced Eastman (1959), pl. 43.

Description: *Nala* and *Damayanti* seated in a pavilion overlooking a river, being entertained by three girl musicians on the left while a maid fans the couple with a fly-whisk. Crossing the court with a fountain playing in it are five maids, three conversing together, two others carrying cages in which a parrot and a cuckoo (koel?) are clearly seen. To the rear, trees, a river and sloping hills.

Discussion: From a series of line drawings at present numbering about forty-seven (Coomaraswamy, 1910; Eastman, 1959), taking one stage further the illustration of the second of the two parts of Sriharsha's 'great poem', the *Naishadha-charita* ('Romance of *Nala* and *Damayanti*'). In contrast to 49, every figure, detail and object has now been given a firmly drawn outline. A more rhythmical organisation has been imposed and the peculiar gliding grace of women in motion (typical of painting at Kangra from 1780 onwards) is consistently emphasised. The scenery in 50(ii) is again strongly reminiscent of the Beas countryside at Alampur and Sujampur.

As in most Kangra series, a master-artist, possibly the same person as the composer of the sanguine sketches, must be assumed to be responsible but, as pointed out by Eastman (1959), differences of touch suggest that two or three other artists must almost certainly have collaborated in the enterprise. It is significant that the present group of line drawings concerns only the second part of the poem, line drawings of the first part having presumably been lost or destroyed.

Examples from the same series: Coomaraswamy, 1910, 1912, 1916, 1926; Khandalavala, 1958; Eastman, 1959; Craven, 1966.

51 *Nala* in council. Rejected (?) painting, half-finished, for a *Nala Damayanti* series. Kangra, c.1810.

288 x 395 mm.

Numbered in *nagari* numerals: 14.

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Published: Coomaraswamy (1926), pl. 38; also reproduced Eastman (1959), frontispiece colour.

Description: *Nala* in mauve dress sits on the upper terrace of a hexagonal pavilion, conferring with four councillors in green, brown, yellow and orange. Servants stand at the side. Below them on the ground floor are three seated figures— one of them in deep yellow reading from a long roll of paper, a white cloth bundle lying beside him, his companions, one in mauve the other in green seated in front of him. Of the two companions, the one in mauve appears to be either dictating to him, listening attentively or fingering his chin as if to recollect a point. In the foreground is a garden with a row of trees, angular lawns with white edges and a pool. To the rear is a further pavilion on the left, a row of stables with four horses and beyond them a river with a line of low hills. To the right of the ground floor of the main pavilion, standing in the garden, is a European soldier with a sword, wearing white breeches, red coat and a blue hat and waist-band. The three figures in the lower chamber have been variously identified — Coomaraswamy (1926) regarding them as clerks or accountants, Eastman (1959) as poets and scholars.

Discussion: This picture is of some importance for connecting the various *Nala Damayanti* sets with Kangra since not only does the landscape in it resemble that of Alampur, Sujampur and the Beas River but the European figure in military uniform standing slightly to one side immediately calls to mind a famous member of the Kangra court — the Irish deserter, William O'Brien. O'Brien joined Sansar Chand in about 1798 and after the Gurkha War of 1806-1809, reorganised his forces, trained and drilled them in the western fashion and put them into red, white and blue uniforms. The present figure is obviously not a rank and file sepoy since instead of the tight-fitting white trunks which the sepoys are shown wearing in 25 ('The sacred-thread ceremony of Ranbir Chand' dated 1820), he wears long white breeches. Moreover in place of the sepoys' pike or spear, he has an officer's sword. Although he is not actively participating in *Nala's* council, his prominent position in the picture shows that at the very least he is a person of consequence. His appearance suggests that he is in the prime of life and his face certainly bears some resemblance to that of the young O'Brien seen in 21, participating in the Holi Festival with Sansar Chand. Since Moorcroft thought he was about 'thirty-eight years' old in 1820, the present figure might therefore be O'Brien as he was in about 1810. If this is the case, it would go far to support Eastman's view that the whole *Nala Damayanti* corpus of sketches, drawings and paintings is connected with Sansar Chand's private life, that its inspiration was his romance with Nokhu and that by implication *Nala* is Sansar Chand himself. The presence in the forefront of the picture of a commanding military figure in O'Brien-type dress is therefore highly significant since, whether or not it is a direct portrait of O'Brien, its European character at once gives it a strongly Kangra flavour.

As against this conclusion, Goswamy (1969) has argued that the military figure might be any odd European. 'The European' he maintains, 'was not a complete stranger in the Hills and we have definite evidence of several travellers — George Forster, G. T. Vigne, Baron Charles Hugel, V. Jacquemont, Gerard, Lloyd and Prince Soltykoff, to name only a few who came to the Hills in the years that are of interest to us'. 'Of these', he adds, 'George Forster in 1783 did actually visit Basohli (with which Goswamy connects the finished *Nala Damayanti* series) and it is entirely likely', he concludes, 'that the painter was not making a particular portrait but a generalised picture of an outsider'. There is no reason, however, why a European outsider should be introduced into the picture unless he had made a very definite impression on a particular court. Forster himself made no impression on Basohli in 1783 since he passed through it disguised as a Muslim merchant, stayed at Basohli for only one night, did not present himself at court, did not wear British style military uniform and did not reveal

his British nationality. Of the other Europeans listed by Goswamy none visited the Hills prior to 1829 — a year which in the present context is far too late to be 'of interest to us' — and even Moorcroft and Trebeck (travellers who are not mentioned by Goswamy) were not there before 1819. Certainly none lived at a Hill-court for years at a time or held positions of influence or command. The only candidate, therefore, must either be O'Brien himself, or a soldier figure modelled on him and thus his presence in the picture provides strong support to Eastman's thesis.

A teasing problem remains. Since the picture bears the number '14' and was among the *Nala Damayanti* line drawings acquired as a group by Coomaraswamy (1926), it is obvious that at one time it was seriously considered for possible integration in a finished set. No prototype of it, however, is included among the sanguine sketches (49), neither is there any version of it in the finished series (53) in which it might naturally have found a place. The picture itself is unfinished, being neither a line drawing nor fully painted. Why then, having been taken so far, was it apparently abandoned or rejected? The most likely explanation is that, for some reason, the idea of introducing O'Brien into the series, however indirectly, may have offended Sansar Chand. In 1820 when Moorcroft met O'Brien, he was still at Sansar Chand's court, but had developed 'a propensity for drinking' and 'by fits of a month together is in constant intoxication'. Although in 1810 he had proved his usefulness 'by drilling a battalion of infantry of 1,400 men' (Moorcroft, 1820), he may also have annoyed Sansar Chand by spasmodic outbursts of ill-temper and thus have temporarily fallen out of favour. In such circumstances his portrayal as a prominent member of Nala's court would have appeared to inflate his importance unduly and the idea of including him in the series might therefore have been abandoned. Having reached its present stage, however, it is unlikely that the picture would have been completely discarded and it is probable that it was merely put away with the master-artist's other drawings. Since these were not intended for presentation to a patron, it is no surprise that it remained in the family's possession and along with other drawings from the series eventually came on the market.

52 The gathering storm. Finished illustration from a *Nala Damayanti* series. Kangra, c.1800-1805.

225 x 325 mm; with border 240 x 350 mm. Dark blue margin with gold floral pattern.

Victoria and Albert Museum, Rothenstein collection, I.S. 147-1951.

Published: Archer (1952b), col. pl. 5.

Description: Damayanti in mauve high-waisted dress with oval slit below the neck reclines on an open verandah resting her head on her hand and pointing distractedly at the great clouds gathering in the sky. Eight of her ladies are grouped around her. In the courtyard stands an attendant leaning on a staff. A maid stands at an orange curtain holding a *lota* while a further maid in yellow dress brings a basin. On the courtyard floor are two pitchers and two bottles. Pinkish brown walls topped by white. Illustration to canto IV, verse 39 of the *Naishadhacharita* of Sriharsha: 'The beautiful damsel, seeing a new rain-cloudy weapon hurled by Kama, discharged at him a counter-shaft of wind in the guise of her long drawn sighs' (Handique, 1956).

Discussion: A finished version of the scene sketched in sanguine in 49(iii). It is noteworthy that the clouds have now been greatly enlarged, the women are less tall and slender and their faces conform more closely to the standard Kangra type with straight nose and forehead illustrated in *The Holi Festival of 1788* (46). The maid leaning on a staff occupies a more dominant position in the courtyard, the pool and fountain have been replaced by a stool with pitchers while a maid carrying a basin has been substituted for a girl holding two lotuses. Above all, Damayanti and the maid are no longer excitedly pointing at the clouds. Instead, the clouds have seemingly overwhelmed Damayanti by their billowing approach and she has turned her head wearily away. Although no line-drawing of the subject has

survived, it is presumably at this stage that the above basic alterations were made. For a version of the same picture but in a brighter, brisker style, see 53(iv).

53(i-v) Five paintings from the first half of a completed *Nala Damayanti* series. Kangra, c.1800-1810.

Average size as in 50.

Border dark blue with floral decorations in gold.

Karan Singh collection, Jammu (formerly in the ancestral collection of Pahda Kunj Lal, Basohli). For Basohli connections with Kangra, compare 30.

53(i) A painter drawing on a wall a pair of ideal lovers. Published: Goswamy (1969), pl. 1.

Description: Similar to the sanguine sketch of the same scene but with the following differences. The painter, who like his prototype wears spectacles, has a moustache but no beard and is otherwise clean-shaven. He sits like the artist in 48 with both legs hunched up under him, instead of hanging down to the left. The pair of ideal lovers are portrayed standing instead of seated. Damayanti is shorter and stouter and unlike her maid is depicted pointing to the picture. Behind them is a group of four, not three maids, similar in style to the girls in *The Holi Festival of 1788*. The ducks, entering from the left, have been placed on the right and one of them is actually drinking from the pool. The pavilion is squarer and less broad. The two figures on the right in the courtyard have been omitted and, on the right, the former wall has been replaced by an open courtyard in which a duenna, familiar from 31 and 45 stands watching the encounter. Beyond her are three minute, squat figures, two of them women, one a man. The pavilion interior is complete with wall and niches and on the richly decorated roof a peacock is strutting.

53(ii) Damayanti despatching the swan to Nala.

Description: A picture in two parts. In the first, the lower left-hand corner, Damayanti describes to the swan her love for Nala in the privacy of a group of trees with flowering creepers. A row of trees with prominent plantain trees among them stretches behind her to the right. In the second part, the main portion of the picture, Damayanti with long and flowing dress and fluttering veil speeds the swan on its way, at the same time turning round to watch her six maids. The setting is a garden with angular flower beds, filled with poppies and narcissi (?) to the right and grass-covered plots to the left. To the rear is a high courtyard wall with rounded trees, cypresses and oval trees sprinkled with blossoms as in 37(iv). In the extreme left-hand upper corner is a pair of bullocks at work on a Persian wheel. As in (i), a group of minute but squat figures, in this case six women, appear in the distance close to a small pavilion with canopy and cushions.

53(iii) Damayanti consumed with love.

Published: Goswamy (1969), pl. 8.

Description: Similar to the sanguine sketch of the same subject but with the following differences. The pavilion is larger and has a wider canopy with delicately patterned decorations. The two maids, taking away Damayanti's food, on the right, have been omitted and the horizontal rear wall has been set further back so as to allow of a courtyard scene with squat and midget figures on either side. On the left, maids are carrying a large white double-bed through a doorway and on the right the maids who previously had dominated the right foreground are taking Damayanti's food and a lighted torch inside a chamber. A noticeable feature is the deliberate insertion of a shadow behind a figure whenever a lighted torch is held in front of it. In the main pavilion where Damayanti lies half-faint with love, the duenna is cooling her fever not with a lotus flower but with a large dome-shaped lotus leaf.

53(iv) The gathering storm.

Published: Goswamy (1969), pl. 7.

Description: Like 52, a diminished version of the same subject sketched in sanguine in 49(iii) and with the same modif-

ications. The treatment, however, is in general crisper, airier and brighter, there is a much sharper emphasis on outline and colour contrasts are startlingly dramatic. Identical in details to 52, except in trivialities such as the exact placing of two lotus flowers on a lotus leaf and the interchange of light and dark cushions on the terrace. As in 46-48 all female faces with noses and foreheads in single straight or slightly curved lines.

53(v) Damayanti reclining as Nala nears her palace.

Description: Like 53(ii) a picture in two parts. In the first, the upper left-hand corner, Nala, accompanied by four maid-servants and five male attendants, is confronted by the four gods, Indra, Agni, Yama and Varuna who appear as princes sitting before him. They instruct him to plead their suits with Damayanti. In the second part, the main portion of the picture, Damayanti lies in a half-faint, leaning against a bolster, attended by four maids who sit beside her and by a fifth maid who strives to cool her love-fever with a palm-leaf fan. Around the pavilion is a courtyard, empty on its left and right sides but with three maids, each holding torches in the foreground. A light with lamp-shade is burning beside Damayanti's bed. In the background between the tiny figures involved in the first encounter are palace rooms and verandahs, on one of which a tiny maid is sleeping while another carries inside a light with lamp-shade. A feature of the picture are the huge shadows cast by the torches and lights behind Damayanti and three of her maids, though not behind any other of the objects or figures.

Discussion: With 52, the only finished and fully painted illustrations to the *Nala Damayanti* story which have so far come to light. As displayed in Dr. Karan Singh's palace in Jammu, the pictures number in all 47, the presence among them of five extraneous pictures from a non-*Nala Damayanti* series causing Goswamy to note their total number as 52 (Goswamy, 1969). Each of the 47 'true' *Nala Damayanti* subjects is based on verses in the first part of Sriharsha's 'great poem', the *Naishadhacharita*, none of them depicting scenes from the second and final part.

Although the paintings are based on the sanguine sketches (49) and line drawings (50), already discussed, the series presents a number of problems. (1) In general style, it is clearly a brilliant continuation of previous Kangra painting, especially in the gliding grace of the female figures, its fluent linear rhythms and in its constant zest for realistic detail. So keen in fact is the quest for greater and greater realism that occasional failures of logic occur. The introduction of shadows, for example, is arbitrary and artificial, suggesting that, however skilled the artist may have been within his previously well-established conventions, he was here exploiting an untried novelty. Similar devices are the slanting treatment of trees reflected in water and the provision of eye-glasses for the painter and several of the clerks. These ingredients point to a comparatively late date and other aspects such as the general brightness of the colouring, the somewhat slick adoption of the straight-line convention for female faces, and the often squat treatment of figures, support this conclusion.

(2) At the same time, the presence in the series of such typical Guler motifs as diagonal flower beds, oval trees sprinkled with blossom and assertively placed plantain trees suggest that whoever executed the paintings had at some time received a fresh infusion of Guler influence. By Kangra standards these motifs were obsolescent, if not obsolete, by 1800 and while their employment may conceivably be explained as a carry-over into the series of out-of-date family idioms, the very boldness with which they are used suggests that the painter had succumbed to un-Kangra-like pressures. If, as seems possible, the havoc caused in Kangra by the Gurkha occupation of 1806 to 1809 disrupted normal living, some of Sansar Chand's Guler-born painters may have temporarily returned to Haripur, Guler until the worst was over. Guler, as the senior branch

of the Katoch family, was intimately tied to Kangra, but Sansar Chand's harsh exactions had caused even Raja Bhup Singh of Guler to repudiate his feudal obligations and to side with the Gurkhas against him. In such circumstances, their family homes in Haripur may have seemed safer and less troubled places in which to work than Sujampur Tira where Sansar Chand rode out the storm. The conclusion of the Gurkha War in 1809, the coming of the Sikhs, their restoration of Sansar Chand though in greatly reduced circumstances and finally their domination of Guler created a new situation. Some of Sansar Chand's old painters may have returned from Guler and although this assumption would necessitate dating the series to about 1810, it would at least explain its strange mixture of forward-looking novelties with backward-looking Guler mannerisms.

(3) Such theories may partially explain the style of the paintings but there must still remain the problem of why the series should have taken so long a period of time — at the very least ten years and at the most twenty or even more years — to complete. The association of the project with an event in Sansar Chand's own life seems probable and indeed it is mainly on this account that all its strong Kangra-esque qualities become intelligible. Is it possible that during the long drawn-out period of gestation and final execution the first inspiration — Sansar Chand's romantic capture of Nokhu — was superseded by a second inspiration — the realisation that just as Nala had survived a host of misadventures (details narrated not in Sriharsha's poem but in the *Mahabharata*) he himself had none the less regained his kingdom? Belated though the appearance of the pictures may have been, they may none the less have paralleled his own experiences and served as an allegory for his trials and raptures. For further published examples from the same series, see Goswamy, 1968 and 1969.

54 The Holi festival. Kangra, c.1810-1815.

218 x 325 mm; with fawn margin 225 x 335 mm. Trimmed. Victoria and Albert Museum, Rothenstein collection, I.S. 51-1954.

Description: A picture in two parts. To the right, a prince and princess surrounded by nineteen maids are celebrating the Holi festival on a terrace surrounded by courtyard walls. Sacks of red powder stand beside them. Various maids throw powder and squirt syringes. Dresses dark green, orange-brown, mauve, white and pale yellow. To the left, a courtyard thronged with courtiers and with five elephants each with a mahout. Two elephants carry a party of three ladies. In the background is an open pavilion stacked with further sacks and beyond it a view of a river with low hills. Predominant colours on the left dark grey, white and orange.

Discussion: Like 46 (*Radha celebrating the Holi festival*), a view of Holi as primarily a women's festival, though comparable in its inclusion of a prince to how the festival may have been performed at Alampur during the years when Sansar Chand was maintaining 'a zenana of three hundred of the most beautiful women of his country' (Moorcroft, 1820). Since the prince bears little or no resemblance to Sansar Chand or other members of his family, we must assume that the picture either illustrates an episode from an unidentified text or is yet another version of the same 'battle of sexes' which seems to have had a special fascination for the Kangra court. In general style, the picture resembles the finished *Nala Damayanti* series (53) and is likely to be of about the same date. The river and low hills are again reminiscent of the Beas River and of Alampur.

55 The lady and the mirror. Kangra, c.1810.

162 x 115 mm; with border 245 x 200 mm. Fawn border with dark blue margin with gold floral pattern. Victoria and Albert Museum, Lory collection, I.S. 122-1960.

Description: A lady in brownish yellow dress is seated on a green basketwork stool looking at herself in a mirror. A grey cushion is on her lap and another at her back. A maid

in mauve dress is tending her long black hair. A second maid in dark green dress with pale yellow veil stands behind her with toilet bottles. A third maid in mauve skirt and bright yellow veil kneels before her while a fourth in slate blue skirt and pale brown veil holds the mirror. White and grey pavilion walls with, at the rear, rounded trees and cypresses. White terrace.

Discussion: In general style and brightness of colouring similar to the finished *Nala Damayanti* paintings (53). For the maid crouching to the left, compare a female attendant to the lower left of Damayanti in the first version of *The Gathering Storm* (52). See also Randhawa (1962), fig. 28 (*The lady and the picture*).

56 The cat thief. Kangra, c.1810.

160 x 96 mm; with border 223 x 150 mm. Fawn border flecked with red. Dark blue margin. Victoria and Albert Museum, French collection, I.S. 140-1955.

Description: A lady in white dress, gold bodice and orange veil chases a white cat which is making off with a green parrot in its mouth — the parrot symbolising the lady's lover and the cat her rival. She holds a red cane in her right hand. In the foreground an empty cage. Beyond a white archway a view of pale green hills, a river and a flowering tree. Blue and white sky with streaks of orange.

Discussion: With 56(1) and 56(2) another interpretation of the poetry of motion — the action of a hurrying girl, her dress billowing out behind her in rippling waves, one end of her long veil trailing or fluttering, the other end smoothly looped over her head and back, comprising a rhythmical union of curves subtly expressive of gliding grace. Significant idioms and details: a pearl hair-ornament worn on either side of the head (47, 48), tall high-waisted figure with straight nose and forehead (48, 55), flowering tree suggestive of youthful charm (47), scenery reminiscent of the countryside between Alampur and Lambagraon.

Examples for comparison: (1) Archer (1952a), fig. 1. Girl running to shelter from a storm. Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras. Kangra, c.1800-1810. Similar posture and gliding grace. (2) Khandalavala (1958), no. 287a. Girl running to shelter from a storm. Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras. Kangra, c.1800-1810. Same as (1) above but with horizontal, instead of vertical, format.

57 The burning-ground. Kangra, c.1810.

225 x 130 mm; with border (trimmed) 245 x 150 mm. Dark blue margin with floral circles.

Inset in the mount, at the base, in *nagari* characters, a Sanskrit verse describing Shiva at the burning-ground.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.M. 6-1912.

Acquired from Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy.

Published: Stchoukine (1930), pl. 94.

Description: Shiva, Parvati and their four-armed child, Karttikeya, all with white skins, are seated on a leopard skin under a leafy tree. Ganesh, in orange-red, with yellow *dhoti*, stands before them, assisting Shiva to thread a necklace of heads. The bull Nandi stands behind the tree. In the foreground, a corpse burning on a funeral pyre; two jackals gnawing at bones. In the right hand corner, a skeleton and in the left, a second pyre. Background of rounded hills. Pale sky.

Discussion: Although the prime subjects of Kangra painting (other than portraiture) were the loves of Radha and Krishna, Shiva and Parvati were occasionally depicted, the present picture being typical of this genre. Painting, like singing and dancing, was normally considered more appropriate for Krishna worship and it was left to other means to placate Shiva and the Devi. It is significant that having built the Murli Manohar temple to Krishna at Sujampur in 1790, Sansar Chand followed it up by erecting the Gauri Shankar temple to Shiva in the castle of Sujampur Tira in 1793, the life-size image of Shiva being supposedly modelled on himself.

58 The salvation of the elephant (*Gaj moksha*). Kangra, c. 1815.

180 x 217 mm; with border 228 x 277 mm. Pink border with dark blue margin with gold floral pattern and red rules.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 171-1950.

Description: Vishnu with grey-mauve skin and bright yellow *dhoti* stands in a river beside the king of the elephants whose legs have been caught by a water-monster. He carries a conch and lotus flower and gazes through the water at the wound which his discus has inflicted on the monster's neck. A second discus hurtles through the air. In the background green fields and trees. Garuda in orange-red *dhoti*, green wings and red parrot's beak stands on the left; a herd of four elephants pull at branches with their trunks on the right. Bright blue sky. Grey water with swirling eddies.

Discussion: Similar in style to 57 and of about the same date.

59 The lady with a narcissus. Kangra, c.1815.

255 x 145 mm; with border (trimmed) 255 x 167 mm. Floral border with black and red rule.

Inscribed on the reverse in *nagari* characters: *sri deyi ganpataji* (perhaps the name of a young lady in the royal household).

Victoria and Albert Museum, French collection, I.S. 125-1955.

Description: A lady in orange-brown veil and dark green dress, wrapped in a purple cloak, stands gazing at a little child who wears a dark red hat and wrap, holds a bow and arrow in one hand and lifts up a bunch of flowers towards her in the other. In the lady's dress below the neck is an oval slit. The lady toys with a narcissus which she holds to her nose. Cusped archway with gold background.

Discussion: With 60 and 61, typical of one of several developments at Kangra which may have followed the Gurkha invasion and the subsequent reorganisation of Sansar Chand's court at Alampur and Sujampur. The passionate excitement which underlay the first great period of Kangra painting seems to have waned and fewer painters may have been employed. In 1820, Moorcroft, while testifying to Sansar Chand's 'immense' collection of pictures and his 'fondness for drawing', used the word 'several' to describe the number of painters actually kept by him. The device of greatly enlarging the face and physique, in order to intensify the female image, was one of the new experiments made by Kangra painters in this somewhat unstable period.

60 The lady and the mirror. Kangra, c.1815.

200 x 135 mm; with border 245 x 175 mm. Pink border with red darts. Narrow gold margin. Oval shape with white edges and dark blue surrounds with gold floral patterns.

Inscribed on the reverse in English (perhaps by a dealer): *Rani Padmani seeing the looking glass. Price one £ or Rs. 15/-.*

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.M. 7-1912.

Purchased from Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy.

Published: Archer (1952b), col. pl. 8.

Description: A lady in pale crimson dress with gold veil sits in a low gold chair at a window completing her toilet. An oval slit in her dress partially exposes her left breast. A maid in pale yellow dress with orange veil stands behind her combing her long black tresses. Before her sits a second maid in mauve dress holding a mirror into which the lady gazes. At the window a grey cloth with green edges. Behind them a steep yellowish-green hillside with, in the distance, a silver river and three low hills. Pale blue sky with faint gold-edged clouds.

Discussion: Similar in subject to 55 and with the same recourse to a mirror to emphasise the subject's charms. Significant details: greatly enlarged faces, extremely long and narrow eyes, 'standard-type' profiles, a river and low hills reminiscent of the Beas at Alampur, a rising hillside as in 54 and a realistic mica mirror.

61 Arjuna encounters a raja. Illustration from a *Kirata Arjuniya* series. Kangra, c.1820.

345 x 470 mm; with borders 390 x 520 mm. Red borders. Gahlin collection, London.

Description: Arjuna, a large figure in helmet and chain-mail, stands holding a large bow and facing a royal figure within a ring of pink rocks. Various birds and animals gather round to watch, elephants and snakes emerge from a river in the foreground, rain beginning to fall from clouds on the right.

Discussion: From a series of paintings of unusually large size illustrating a poem by Bharavi based on the portion of the *Mahabharata* dealing with the exploits of Arjuna. Eighteen pictures from this series passed through Sotheby's sale-rooms on 17 December 1969 (Lots 187 and 189 illustrated) and 9 December 1970 (Lots 194 and 196 illustrated). The present picture was acquired by Gahlin at the sale of 17 December 1969 (Lot 187).

The series is of some importance since it incorporates the large figures seen in 59 and 60 and may have been completed shortly before or during Moorcroft's visit to Sansar Chand in June and July 1820. On account of its large dimension, it may easily have attracted Moorcroft's special notice at this time. In describing Sansar Chand's 'immense' collection of pictures, Moorcroft states that 'the principal portion consists of representations of the performances and prowess of Arjoon' (and) 'the adventures of Krishna'. Since the vast majority of Kangra paintings in fact deal with Krishna rather than with Arjuna, the seeming parity which Moorcroft accords them may be due to this circumstance. As a figure noted for his skill in arms and as the valiant warrior for whom Krishna acted as charioteer at the final battle of Kurukshetra between the Kauravas and Pandavas, Arjuna may have had a special appeal for Sansar Chand during the years of his eclipse after the Gurkha war. For a *Kirata Arjuniya* series in Kangra style (Aundh Museum, North Satara), not however illustrated, see Chandra (1959).

62 Usha examines the portraits. Illustration from an *Aniruddha Usha* series. Kangra, c.1820.

150 x 230 mm; with borders 195 x 270 mm. Dark blue margins. Pale pink speckled borders.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 11-1968.

Description: A picture in two parts. In the first part, on the left, Usha in orange dress and golden veil sits on a bed looking at three portraits in order to identify the young prince with whom she has fallen in love in a dream. She is attended by a maid who waves a fan over her head and by a confidante in dark blue veil and gold skirt who hands the pictures to her. In the second part, on the right, Usha and her friend, dressed as before, are shown conversing in a courtyard. The girl Chitralekha who painted the portraits appears flying through the air to fetch Aniruddha, following the discovery that he was the subject of Usha's dream.

Discussion: Similar in style to paintings of the 1810-1820 period but without the enlarged faces and physiques of 59-61. The lack of animation, anaemic colouring and stunted figures suggest the hand of a generally inferior painter. It was symptomatic of Sansar Chand's devotion to Krishna that he named his son and heir, Aniruddha, after Krishna's grandson. For other examples of paintings included in pictures as part of their subject-matter, see Sansar Chand's two 'picture-sessions' (10, 16), *The lady and the painter* (48) and the artist painting a mural in the two *Nala Damayanti* series (sanguine 49(i) fully coloured 53(i)).

63 The timid girl. Kangra, c.1820.

200 x 128 mm; with border: 279 x 200 mm. Pink border flecked with red. Dark blue margin with gold floral pattern. Inscribed on the flap in *nagari* characters with Hindi verses by Mati Ram describing the girl as an *abhisarika*.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 478-1950.

Published: Archer and Bhattacharya (1963), fig. 14.

Description: A lady, perhaps Radha, in mauve dress and gold veil, her head bent, is firmly escorted by a maid in dark green dress. They cross a pale grey courtyard. A second woman in gold dress stands at a doorway lifting aside a crimson curtain and guiding them in with a lighted torch. Dark blue sky with crescent moon and stars. In the distance, waiting at a window in the upper room of a turret, is the tiny figure of Krishna.

Discussion: Comparable in style to 62, the somewhat squat figures and the lighted torch being also similar to parts of the finished *Nala Damayanti* series (53). It is perhaps significant that unlike (1) and (2) below, little or no shadow is indicated behind the couple in the courtyard. The lighted torch is perhaps a symbol of the 'fire' to which the untried girl is being led.

Examples for comparison: (1) Coomaraswamy (1916), pl. 70B; also reproduced Gangoly (1926), col. pl. 26. The shy bride. Formerly Gogonendranath Tagore collection, Calcutta. Kangra, c.1800-1810. Identical in composition to 63 but without the small figure of the lover and the crescent moon. Figures of the women much taller. Shadows depicted like a cloud of blown smoke rising behind the arriving pair.

(2) Randhawa (1962), col. pl. 2. The timid girl. Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras. Kangra, c.1810. A variant of 63 and 63(1), the maid's face concealed by the girl's figure, a long shadow cast on the courtyard floor and wall by the torch and in place of Krishna, a princely lover waiting at a distant window.

64 Krishna painting Radha's toes. Kangra, c.1820-1825.

170 x 128 mm; with border 242 x 190 mm. Pink border flecked with red. Dark blue margin with gold scroll.

Victoria and Albert Museum, French collection, I.S. 205-1955.

Description: Krishna with bluish grey skin and yellow *dhoti* kneels on a white terrace painting with a brush the toes of Radha's right foot. She wears an orange-brown dress with gold veil, crimson trousers and sits on a golden seat leaning against a dark grey cushion. A maid in mauve dress waves a yak's tail fly-whisk over her. A second maid in orange-brown dress attends on Krishna. In the background a row of oval trees sprinkled with blossom and interspersed with cypresses and beyond them a summer pavilion. Canopy orange-brown.

Discussion: A late illustration of Krishna's romance with Radha, the figures notable for their shallow, brittle execution.

65 Krishna fluting to Radha. Kangra, c.1820-1825.

170 x 117 mm; with borders 295 x 220 mm. Dark blue margins with gold scrolls.

Victoria and Albert Museum, French collection, I.S. 158-1955.

Published: French (1931), pl. 16.

Description: Krishna in pale yellow *dhoti* stands on a large white boulder in a river beside Radha who wears an orange dress and holds a *pan* box on a plate above her shoulder. Behind them is a light brown cow and above them a tree entwined with a white creeper. In the sky is a full moon.

Discussion: Similar in style to 62 and 64 and despite French's encomium (p.54) — 'a charming idyll of the cowherd god in the evening. Not only the human figures but also the animal and the tree are drawn with a vivid and sensitive appreciation of their beauty. The picture is alive' — somewhat artificial and decadent.

Example for comparison: (1) Randhawa (1954), col. pl. 27. The divine flutist. Lambagraon collection, Kangra. Kangra, c.1810. Krishna fluting to a group of six cow-girls, cowherds and cattle. Broadly similar in style to 57. Important on account of its provenance (Lambagraon ancestral collection).

66(i-xiv) Fourteen paintings from a *Rasika Priya* series. Kangra, c.1820-1825.

Oval shape with yellow margins and floral surrounds. Pink borders.

Inscribed on the reverse in *nagari* characters with Hindi verses from the *Rasika Priya* of Keshav Das (fl. 1580).

Victoria and Albert Museum.

For an exposition of the *Rasika Priya* of Keshav Das, see Randhawa (1962).

66(i) Radha and Krishna walking in the grove.

270 x 185 mm; with border 330 x 240 mm.

Numbered on the reverse in *nagari* numerals: 106.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.M. 156-1914.

Acquired from M. K. Heeramanek, New York.

Published: Stchoukine (1929), pl. 97; also reproduced Smith (1930), pl. 161; Archer (1956), col. pl. 15; Khandalavala (1958) no. 264; Archer and Bhattacharya (1963), pls. 20 and 30.

Description: A picture in two parts. In the lower right, Radha in mauve dress and gold veil crouches before Krishna, bending low to kiss his feet. Behind them a curving row of trees. In the upper part, the two are walking together, Radha shielding her eyes with her left hand and clasping Krishna's hand with her right. Krishna with slate-blue skin and deep yellow *dhoti*. Behind them is a dense grove with spikes and sprays of red, white and pink flowers. In the distance a small palace and curving hillsides. Sky dark blue with white clouds.

66(ii) The night tryst.

252 x 170 mm; with border 310 x 220 mm.

Inscribed on reverse in *nagari* characters: *prachanna vasa-kasajja nayika* 'The lady who keeps a secret tryst' and numbered: 134.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.M. 157-1914.

Acquired from M. K. Heeramanek, New York.

Published: Stchoukine (1929), pl. 99; also reproduced Khandalavala (1958) no. 266; Rawson (1962), col. pl. p. 149.

Description: A lady in mauve dress and dark blue veil sits on a bed of leaves surrounded by thick trees with spear-shaped spikes of white and pink flowers. She raises her right hand to her brow. In the foreground are two pairs of deer. Dark green sward and stream with three ducks and half-closed lotuses. Behind her is a black hillside with a pair of deer looking over the top. Sky black with, at the top, a curving rim of blue dotted with stars and with a thin crescent moon.

66(iii) The dejected Krishna.

246 x 156 mm; with border 305 x 220 mm.

Inscribed at the top in *nagari* characters: *sri krishna viraha bhrama* 'Sri Krishna deprived' and numbered: 231.

Victoria and Albert Museum, Manuk and Coles collection, I.S. 45-1949.

Description: Krishna in dark yellow *dhoti* sits in a pavilion verandah, gazing gloomily downwards, his right hand on his left shoulder. In the foreground is a stark white terrace and to the left a clump of trees with spikes of starry mauve flowers. To the rear is a double-storeyed house where Radha sits at a window conversing with a duenna. Orange-red blind. White sky with at the top a band of pale blue dotted with stars and a crescent moon.

66(iv) The secret viewer.

258 x 173 mm; with border 328 x 230 mm.

Numbered on the reverse in *nagari* numerals: 64.

Victoria and Albert Museum, Manuk and Coles collection, I.S. 46-1949.

Description: Radha in dark dress and green veil sits on a red carpet on a white terrace, a golden cushion underneath her arm. She gazes at herself in a mirror. Behind her stands Krishna. White pavilion with grey inner wall. In the garden a grove of trees with yellow-flowering creepers. Grey sky with, at the top, a white cloud and patch of blue.

66(v) The lonely mistress.

270 x 180 mm; with border 325 x 237 mm.

Numbered on the reverse in *nagari* numerals: 22.

Victoria and Albert Museum, Manuk and Coles collection, I.S. 44-1949.

Description: A lady in dark brown skirt and brief yellow bodice sits on a yellow rug leaning against dark green cushions. Behind her is a white pavilion with yellow floor. In the rear a grove with spikes of white, mauve and yellow flowers. Beyond it hillsides with light-coloured rims, a small palace and billowing white clouds edged with red.

66(vi) The deadlock.

270 x 178 mm; with border 326 x 230 mm.

Unnumbered.

Victoria and Albert Museum, Manuk and Coles collection, I.S. 52-1949.

Description: Krishna in a pale yellow *dhoti* sits on the verandah of a white pavilion gazing at Radha who crouches before him in a pale crimson veil and golden skirt. Sky blackish grey with black storm clouds and a row of five white cranes. In the distance a flowering tree and a white turret with perching peacock.

66(vii) The brooding lady. Not illustrated.

259 x 170 mm; with border 315 x 224 mm.

Numbered on the reverse in *nagari* numerals: 54.

Victoria and Albert Museum, Manuk and Coles collection, I.S. 43-1949.

Description: A lady in dark blue dress with four-dot pattern in gold sits beside a large orange cushion listening to a confidante in mauve skirt and green and orange-red veil. To the left is a brick wall and beyond it a hillside with a thick tree and a wild pear in flower. White pavilion with grey inner wall. Fawn rug with floral pattern.

66(viii) The blatant pesterer. Not illustrated.

274 x 186 mm; with border 320 x 230 mm.

Inscribed on the reverse in *nagari* characters: *prakasa dhrishta nayaka* 'The blatant pesterer of women' and numbered: 27.

Victoria and Albert Museum, Manuk and Coles collection, I.S. 47-1949.

Description: Radha in pale yellowish-brown dress sits on a pale yellow mat on a white terrace, conversing with a duenna in dark green skirt and reddish brown veil. Behind them is a white pavilion with grey inner wall and door curtains with bamboo slats. Beyond the terrace to the right stands Krishna in yellow *dhoti* leaning on a crook. Behind him is a second house. In the distance curving hillsides with dark green rims, blob-like trees and dark blue sky.

66(ix) An encounter. Not illustrated.

277 x 183 mm; with border 326 x 240 mm.

Numbered on the reverse in *nagari* numerals: 86.

Victoria and Albert Museum, Manuk and Coles collection, I.S. 48-1949.

Description: Radha in mauve bodice and brown skirt and veil stands on a pale ivory-coloured verandah enlivened by two dark brown cushions. White pavilion with door curtains of bamboo slats. Pale brown terrace. Krishna, his left hand resting on a thin crook, stands stroking his chin. Behind them is a landscape with white and yellow flowering spikes, green blob-like trees, hillsides with dark green rims, tiny houses and a huge peacock rearing up on the skyline as if to peck at a black storm cloud rolling across the grey sky.

66(x) The deceiver. Not illustrated.

269 x 180 mm; with border 329 x 239 mm.

Inscribed on the reverse in *nagari* characters: *satha nayaka* 'The deceiver' and numbered: 24.

Victoria and Albert Museum, Manuk and Coles collection, I.S. 49-1949.

Description: Radha, in long mauve dress with brown veil sits on a low broad-based turquoise green chair. She listens as Krishna in deep yellow *dhoti* leans on a thin crook and raises his right hand as if to assure her of his sincerity. Red balustrades. Pale yellow terrace. Door curtains with bamboo slats. White pavilions with grey inner walls. To the rear an empty courtyard, green hillsides with pale rims and feathery trees.

66(xi) The indignant mistress. Not illustrated.

228 x 180 mm; with border 330 x 234 mm.

Numbered on the reverse in *nagari* numerals: 89.

Victoria and Albert Museum, Manuk and Coles collection, I.S. 50-1949.

Description: Radha in a reddish skirt and brief olive green bodice sits on a grey terrace leaning against pale brown

cushions and upbraiding Krishna for his faithless indifference to her moral bravery. Krishna in dark yellow *dhoti* gazes solemnly at her, his left arm stretched rigidly downwards. White pavilion with grey inner wall and reddish brown rolled-up blind. Pale brown wall with alcoves at the base. Background pale brown with, at the top, a curving rim of pale blue sky.

66(xii) A conversation. Not illustrated.

275 x 183 mm; with border 330 x 241 mm.

Numbered on the reverse in *nagari* numerals: 18.

Victoria and Albert Museum, Manuk and Coles collection, I.S. 51-1949.

Description: Krishna in deep yellow *dhoti* sits on a golden chair with red coverlet and green cushion talking to Radha who stands before him in a grey skirt, mauve bodice and red veil. On the terrace is a dark blue carpet with red and pink floral pattern. Red balustrade. To the rear an empty house and open courtyard. Pale blue sky with curling clouds.

66(xiii) Krishna in women's clothes embracing Radha. Not illustrated.

231 x 147 mm; with border (trimmed) 253 x 166 mm.

Inscribed on the reverse in English, perhaps by a dealer: *B.11. Two girl friends meet others watch good; also apparently Krishna came in the guise of a gopi to meet Radha.*

Victoria and Albert Museum, Manuk and Coles collection, I.S. 138-1949.

Description: Krishna with dark blue skin dressed as a woman in brown veil and grey skirt stands embracing Radha who wears a white skirt and black spotted veil. To the right a group of seven cow-girls in mauve, red, green and blue stand conversing. Architecture chiefly white and grey. Doorway curtain blackish green with crimson bands.

66(xiv) The lonely lady. Not illustrated.

246 x 152 mm; with border 293 x 197 mm.

Inscribed on front in *nagari* characters.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.M. 74-1912.

Acquired from Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy.

Description: Radha in an ivory-coloured dress sits wilting on a white and grey mat on a white terrace beneath a large white canopy patterned with crimson designs. A maid in green bodice and mauve and red skirt offers her betel leaves. At the base a brown wall with niches. Grey and brown inner walls. In a doorway a bamboo curtain with green and purple bands.

Discussion: The present pictures are from a large series, now dispersed, which could well have originally numbered several hundred items. Their oval format with yellow margins and floral surrounds — clearly based on the Lambagraon *Baramasa* series (41) — raises the presumption that the set is of Kangra origin and this is confirmed by another series, the 'second' *Gita Govinda* (67), also from the Lambagraon collection. Compare, in this connection, the use of lushly flowering trees, spikes of blossom, the occasional insertion of unusually large leaves, flattened faces and physiques and general lack of depth. Although certain pictures (66(i, ii)) achieve the dignified line and rhythmical grace of Kangra paintings of the 1775-1805 period, the majority are harshly mechanical and insensitive, suggesting that, due to the Gurkha invasions, Sansar Chand may have lost part of his early zest. It is also possible that painters from a different state collaborated in the project. As discussed under Part One: Portraiture, painters, originally from Nurpur, may have been responsible for the 'journalistic' style employed at Kangra for the recording of many group occasions and, although they do not seem to have generally participated in other projects, some of them may have been connected with the present enterprise. If this is so, it might explain the presence of idioms hardly typical of Kangra painters proper but found at times in pictures from Nurpur (q.v.) — for example, a turquoise seat (x), bamboo blinds with darkly coloured slats (iv) and ladies with sharp and piquant faces (iii, iv), comparable to those of dancing girls in Kangra por-

traits. In terms of subject the *Rasika Priya* was an obvious choice for illustration at a court still geared to Krishna worship. A precursor of Bihari's *Sat Sai*, it had analysed the various types of lover, with special reference to Radha and Krishna and the present series could thus have been commissioned either as part of a birthday celebration of Krishna — a Janmashtami festival — or even to celebrate a wedding. For examples from the same series, see Stchoukine, 1929; Smith, 1930; Khandalavala, 1958; Rawson, 1962; Archer and Bhattacharya, 1963.

Example for comparison: (1) Randhawa (1962), col. pl. 3. *Praudha nayika*. Krishna sleeping with Radha. Lambagraon collection, Kangra, c. 1820-1825. Similar piquant faces, oval format (though with bolder surrounds) and bamboo blinds with richly coloured slats.

67(i-iii) Three paintings from a 'second' Kangra Gita Govinda series. Kangra, c. 1820-1825.

Average size: 255 x 335 mm; with border 280 x 360 mm. Dark blue margins with white flowers.

Ancestral collection of Maharaja Dhruv Dev Chand of Lambagraon, Kangra, a lineal descendant of Raja Fateh Chand, brother of Sansar Chand.

67(i) Krishna frolics with the cow-girls.

Description: A version of 33(ii) but with lush exuberant forest trees, the inclusion of Radha and her confidante on the right-hand side of the picture, a larger bevy of cow-girls and a greater air of rollicking mischief. Small heads and piquant faces. Open rolling meadows. A river in the foreground.

67(ii) Krishna meets Radha at dawn.

Description: After a night vainly hoping for Radha's return, Krishna seeks her out in a forest glade to which Radha's confidante has brought her. A large sun with human face and hair-like rays is rising above a hilltop on the left. Like the cow-girls in 67(i), Radha is tall and slender with small sharply-cut features. The forest is again thick and dense with a host of flowering trees. In the background a bare expanse of open hillside and, in the foreground, a river.

67(iii) Radha makes love to Krishna.

Description: A version of 33(vi) but with an excess of foliage, cascading flowers, dense undergrowth, the inclusion of Radha's two confidantes on the left-hand side and a suggestion of night by the presence of stars in the sky. Radha is taking the active role. Special features of the picture are the tossing length of Radha's vast dress and a great tree with large leaves in groups of six.

Discussion: A series similar in general style to the *Rasika Priya* series (66) and connected with Kangra on account of its long association with the Lambagraon family, its marked lack of similarity to paintings from other centres in the Punjab Hills and its choice of the *Gita Govinda* as subject (unknown except at Kangra and Basohli). In contrast to the 'first' Kangra series (33), however, the pictures lack effortless grace, the forest scenes are clogged with detail and the principal actors have a brisk artificiality. Symptomatic of declining taste is the insertion of a huge human-faced sun in 67(ii), a convention which previous Kangra painters would have spurned as crudely mannered. It is noteworthy that, in the first series, darkness was either shown as frankly dark or scenes were portrayed as if in day-time. The harsh and glib transitions which are so slick a feature of the present pictures were thus avoided. It is no surprise that instead of evoking in recognisable ways the local landscape at Alampur and Sujapur, the pictures treat the forest and its open spaces as a theatrical back-drop and Krishna and the cow-girls as cardboard cut-outs.

In view of this general hardening of technique, a fairly late date must be allotted to the series and it is even possible that it was executed for Fateh Chand rather than for Sansar Chand himself. Whether it had been completed by 1820 when Moorcroft visited the court and saved Fateh Chand's life by timely medical treatment can only be sur-

mised. If it was still engrossing the small group of painters retained by Sansar Chand, its frankly erotic scenes — far more blatantly depicted than those in the 'first' series — might further explain Moorcroft's remark, 'Many subjects from the Mahabharat are given in details, some of which for decency's sake might have been spared, yet there were few of the latter description' (Moorcroft, 1820). For further examples from the same series, see French (1931); Khandalavala (1958); Archer and Binney (1968); Goswamy (1968b).

Examples for comparison: (1) Coomaraswamy (1916), pl. 38; also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), no. 283. Krishna frolics with the cow-girls. Formerly Coomaraswamy collection, Boston. Kangra, c.1830-1840. From a 'third' *Gita Govinda* series, possibly modelled on 33 but with squatter stiffer figures and clumsier line.

(2) Coomaraswamy (1916), pl. 39; also reproduced Coomaraswamy (1926), pl. 85. Krishna's messenger encounters Radha. Boston Museum (formerly Coomaraswamy collection). Kangra, c.1830-1840. From the same series as (1) above.

68 Krishna braiding Radha's hair. Kangra, c.1820-1825.

Size unrecorded. Mauve margin with floral pattern. Ancestral collection of Raja Dhrub Dev Chand of Lambagraon, Kangra.

Published: Randhawa (1954), col. pl. 39; also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), no. 255.

Description: Krishna in pale yellow *dhoti* is seated with Radha who wears a golden skirt and orange veil. In place of a bed of leaves, they sit on a black cotton rug, spread beneath a large thick tree drenched with flowering creepers. Krishna braids Radha's long black hair as she calmly gazes at him. To the left are two trees, one with spikes of blossom, the other with clusters of large leaves in groups of five or six. Three peacocks have drawn near and other pairs of birds including two quails strut beside them. In the foreground is a stream with lotus flowers and leaves. To the rear, plain open fields with in the sky a gathering storm.

Discussion: Broadly similar in style to the *Rasika Priya* (66) and Lambagraon *Gita Govinda* (67) and important as coming from the same Lambagraon ancestral collection. Significant details: peacocks in close proximity, a tree with exceptionally large individual leaves and the substitution of a cotton rug for the more usual bed of leaves.

Related example: (1) Khandalavala (1958), col. pl. U. Radha chiding Krishna. G. K. Kanoria collection, Patna. Kangra, c.1820-1825. A picture in two parts. In the first part, on the left, a group of cow-girls appear with pitchers on their heads. In the second part, on the right, Radha upbraids Krishna who stands against a tree with large, broadly-spreading leaves. Similar style and details as in 68. Oval and horizontal format, reviving the somewhat bold and harshly scrolled surrounds seen in portrait no. 11.

69 Rama, Sita and Lakshmana at the hermitage. Illustration to a *Ramayana* series. Kangra, c.1830.

210 x 145 mm; with border 292 x 220 mm. Border pink with red and black rules.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.M. 82-1912.

Description: Rama, Sita and Lakshmana, dressed in leaf skirts and hats, sit facing an ascetic and his disciples. In the foreground is a lingam beside a stream filled with large lotus leaves and half-open lotus flowers. Behind them is an open hillside with birds flying. Pale yellow huts, orange-red quiver and ascetic's *dhoti*.

Discussion: Comparable to 68 in its treatment of the tree and in its broadly Kangra style. Like post-1830 paintings, it is unlikely to have been executed at Alampur and Sujapur since these had been occupied by Sikh administrators and Kangra court painting had probably become extinct. It is possible, however, that painting continued to be practised at Nadaun and Lambagraon where junior branches of the Kangra royal family still lived.

Related example for comparison: (1) Randhawa (1954), col. pl. 26; also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), no. 257. Rama and Sita enthroned. Lambagraon collection, Kangra.

Kangra, c.1830-1840. Rama and Sita attended by ladies and courtiers giving audience to monkeys and bears. Scenery Kangra-esque. Gathering storm clouds with cattle egrets as in the *Bihari Sat Sai* (39(iv)). Standard-type Kangra faces. From the Lambagraon Kangra ancestral collection.

70 Rama, Sita and Lakshmana at the hermitage. Illustration to a *Ramayana* series. Kangra, c.1840.

212 x 167 mm; with border 300 x 250 mm. Pink border. Dark blue margin with floral pattern in white and gold.

Inscribed in English: (1) *Faquir or Sadhoo (hermit)* (2) *Subject — Rama and Sita or ? but unknown* (3) *Got I think in Lahore, but not sure. That would be about 1873. It is one of the best, in expression and finish, of its class, I ever saw.* W.S.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.M. 307-1927.

Description: Rama, Sita and Lakshmana dressed in leaf skirts and hats sit facing an ascetic and his disciple outside a hut in the forest. Clusters of trees around them. At the foot a stream.

Discussion: Notable for its extreme pallor. Rama's skin a faint grey. In most cases, leaves separately indicated. The identity of 'W.S.' is unknown but it is possible that he was a British soldier or administrator who had visited the Lahore exhibition of 1864 (Baden Powell, 1872) and had thus become acquainted with Kangra painting. The fact that persons other than members of the Kangra royal house exhibited at this exhibition shows that Kangra paintings had by then become widely dispersed.

71 The neglected lady (prositapatika nayika). Kangra, c.1850 or later.

265 x 180 mm; with margin 282 x 197 mm. Dark blue margin with white and gold floral pattern and white rule. Later mount.

Victoria and Albert Museum, Manuk and Coles collection, I.S. 130-1949.

Published: Archer and Bhattacharya (1963), pl. 9.

Description: A lady, perhaps Radha, in pale yellow dress leans disconsolately against a crimson cushion, her head bowed in despair. She sits on an arsenic-green rug. A maid in white with pale red veil holds a yak's tail fly-whisk which droops listlessly in her hand. An old duenna in livid green skirt and orange bodice makes helpless gestures. White terrace with lamps shielded by covers. Behind is a two-storeyed pavilion with an empty bed at the top. In the distance is a garden with oval trees and cypresses in dark green sprinkled with a frosty pallor. In an upper chamber is the small figure of Krishna gazing downwards from a window. Sky a pale grey with full white moon.

Discussion: Broadly comparable to portraits of Raja Pratap Chand (1850-1864) of Lambagraon (27, 28) and in its use of arsenic-green, a clear product of the mid-nineteenth century. It is possible that even after Kangra had become a British District, descendants of the earlier painters continued to paint for members of the local aristocracy, though in a decadent and tasteless manner.

Example for comparison: (1) Randhawa (1962), figs. 49 and 51 (detail). The lady and the portrait. Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland. Kangra, c.1850. A lady nude from the waist, gazing at her portrait which is held before her by a maid. Krishna looking down from an upper window. Similar in style and colour to 71. The portrait large-scale as in 59.

72 Krishna undressing Radha. Kangra, c.1850-1870.

Ancestral collection of Maharaja Dhrub Dev Chand of Lambagraon, Kangra.

Description: Radha, nude from the waist, lies on a bed gazing at Krishna who kneels before her, striving to untie the strings of her trousers. Terrace with diamond-shaped pattern on the floor covering. At the back a wall with niches and beyond it a garden with crescent moon.

Discussion: Connected with Kangra on account of its Lambagraon provenance and significant as illustrating the condition of Kangra painting in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Related examples: (1) Randhawa (1962), fig. 37. Lady in a

courtyard, a maid preparing the bed. Archaeological Museum, Gwalior. Kangra, c.1850-1870. Similar in style and idioms to 72.

(2) Randhawa (1962), fig. 55. Lady repulsing a lover. Archaeological Museum, Gwalior. Kangra, c.1850-1870. Similar in style and idioms to 72.

73 The pet parrot. Kangra, c.1850-1870.

195 x 135 mm; with borders 250 x 200 mm.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.M. 282-1913.

Description: A girl in orange dress with golden veil stands on a terrace covered with a diamond-patterned green rug and with an empty bird-cage on it. She holds up a cup towards a green parrot which perches on a flowering tree. To the right, a second tree, also with frail flowering branches.

Discussion: In facial type and general awkwardness, similar to the preceding picture.

74 The estranged mistress (*abhisandita nayika*). From a *Nayaka Nayika* series. Kangra, c.1870.

171 x 117 mm; with border 243 x 180 mm. Pink border flecked with red. Dark blue margins with cursive scroll pattern in gold. White rules.

Inscribed on the flap with Hindi verses in *nagari* characters defining the characteristics of this type of mistress.

Numbered: 4.

Victoria and Albert Museum, Manuk and Coles collection, I.S. 40-1949.

Description: A lady, perhaps Radha, in sage green bodice, her midriff exposed and wearing a crimson skirt, leans against a white cushion, turning her head away to the left. On the right Krishna with deep blue skin and wearing a bright yellow *jama* strides firmly away. He holds a blue lotus flower over his shoulder. Pale yellow rug with orange edge. Pavilion with rolled-up green blind edged with bright yellow. Plain brilliant flaring orange background with flowering tree and band of blue sky.

Discussion: Similar to 72 and 73.

75 Vishnu and Lakshmi on the great snake. Kangra, c.1870.

128 x 192 mm; with border 175 x 240 mm. Pink border; dark blue margin.

Victoria and Albert Museum, Manuk and Coles collection, I.S. 19-1949.

Description: Vishnu, four-armed and with purple skin and deep yellow *dhoti* reclines on Sessa Naga, the serpent of eternity. Lakshmi in dark green skirt and orange-red veil caresses his right foot. A lotus flower containing the four-headed Brahma springs from his navel. Gaudy cushions, one crimson, the other orange-red. The snake a great expanse of white with muddy black spots and a mass of writhing heads. In the background swirling grey water and blue sky.

Discussion: Harsh, gaudy and garish.

76 A Gaddi family on the march. Attributed to Huzuri of Ustehar, near Kangra. Kangra, c.1900.

190 x 245 mm; with border 258 x 320 mm. Black and white rules. Black margin with 'Kangra-type' floral pattern.

Archer collection, London.

Description: A Gaddi (shepherd) clad in white trousers, a grey knee-length coat and white hat with typical Gaddi 'horns', is striding across a stretch of mountain pasture carrying a blown-up pig's skin, smoking a hookah and accompanied by three Gaddi women. The first, a small figure in grey costume, precedes him and drags a ram. The other two women, one in dark grey, the other in white, follow the male Gaddi. Each carries a blown-up pig's skin on her back. The second has a sleeping child on her shoulder. The group is preceded by a large black sheep-dog and is accompanied by a flock of thirteen sheep or shawl-goats coloured white, grey, blue and brown. In the background is a row of hilltops and to the right a crescent moon in an azure sky.

Discussion: An early example of a type of painting which may have developed in the neighbourhood of Kangra town

under the influence of British residents or administrators. During the second half of the nineteenth century, the British presence in the Punjab led to the erosion of traditional Indian attitudes and the replacement of miniature paintings by exercises in the British manner. Although Lockwood Kipling could state in 1886 that 'Hindu mythological pictures' were produced at Kangra itself, he qualified this remark by noting in 1887 that 'the artistic industries of Kangra are now few and insignificant. Among native limners, *Kangra ki qalm* (the Kangra pencil) is a phrase occasionally heard and meant to distinguish the style or touch of a school of illumination and mythological picture that is supposed to have flourished there'. This reference makes it only too clear that Kangra miniature painting as a living form of expression was now considered to be defunct.

The present picture is attributed to Huzuri of Ustehar, great-grandson of Basia, a painter who according to family tradition was originally a native of Guler but who migrated to the court of Sansar Chand where he specialised in portrait painting. He is supposed to have been rewarded by a gift of lands in Samloti. Huzuri was met at Kangra by Mrs. Villiers-Stuart (1926) who described him as 'the last of the Rajput court painters' and purchased from him portraits of Alexander the Great and Shah Jahan and a painting in miniature style of Radha and the Gopis with Krishna. He was also met in 1929 by French who described him as a Gujeria (Guleria) Maratha (French, 1931). He was then about eighty years old and died the same year (Randhawa (1956a), 10). Besides painting miniatures of mythological subjects, Huzuri painted portraits of local people, including the postman of Sujanpur Tira and the family of a Tahsil clerk (Randhawa, 1954c, figs. 2 and 3). The present picture, similar in style and subject to another picture by him — 'A family group of Lahaulas' (Randhawa, 1954c, fig. 4) — reflects the British interest in castes, tribes, occupations and costumes, subjects which were outside the normal range of Indian expression but which fascinated the British as examples of local idiosyncracies. For examples of 'Company' painting in the Punjab Plains, see Mildred Archer, *Company Drawings in the India Office Library* (London, 1972).

Related example: (1) Villiers-Stuart (1926), pl. E; also reproduced Wilkinson (1929), fig. 7. A Gaddi family on trek. Villiers-Stuart collection, London. Kangra, c.1900. A version of 76, but with the main male Gaddi leading, followed by a Gaddi woman with a cloth, a second Gaddi woman with a child on her shoulder and finally by a small Gaddi male on the right (replacing the small Gaddi female on the left). White sheep-dog on the left leading a herd of long-haired shawl-goats(?). Attributed by Mrs. Villiers-Stuart to 'a living peasant artist of Kangra' but here regarded as by Huzuri by comparison with 'A Family Group of Lahaulas' shown to Randhawa by Huzuri's son, Lachman Das of Ustehar ('Oster', Villiers-Stuart) and claimed by him to be his father's work (Randhawa, 1954c, fig. 4).

77 An Englishman shooting deer. By Lachman Das of Rajol. Kangra, c.1930.

Private collection of Lachman Das of Rajol and shown by him to M. S. Randhawa who photographed it in 1953 at Rajol.

Published: Randhawa (1954), fig. 5.

Description: An Englishman in white solar *topi* kneels on one leg to aim at five deer at point-blank range, his gun resting in the fork of a tree. An orderly in Sikh-style turban with a second gun is to the rear. A large white dog gambols beside them. A pair of villagers, one with a gun, the other with a sword, stand aloof to the right.

Discussion: Rajol, mistakenly termed by French 'Ajodh' (French, 1931), is another village close to Kangra situated in the taluk of Rihlu. It was in Chamba territory from c. 1760 to 1821 when it was annexed to Kangra by the Sikhs. During its occupation by Chamba, Nikka, third son of the Guler painter, Nainsukh, migrated to the Chamba court of Raja Raj Singh (1764-1794) and was rewarded with a grant of lands at Rajol. These lands remained in the possession of the family even though the tie with the Chamba court

gradually lapsed (Goswamy, 1965). Although French did not personally meet Lachman Das, great-grandson of Nikka, when he visited Kot Kangra in 1930, he was told by another surviving Kangra painter, Gulabu Ram, that Lachman Das was then aged about thirty-five years (French, 1931). In 1953 Lachman Das personally met Randhawa and supplied him with a detailed oral account of his family and its long connections with Guler, Chamba and Kangra. His age was then estimated by Randhawa to be seventy-two (Randhawa, 1956).

Like Huzuri of Ustehar (Samloti), Lachman Das of Rajol appears to have succumbed to the prevailing fashion for genre scenes and, besides supplying the general public in Kangra town with paintings on mythological themes, to have painted 'Company' subjects such as Pathan money-lenders, village musicians and wayfarers eluded by a will-of-the-wisp (Randhawa, 1954, figs. 6-8). The present picture showing an Englishman shooting deer is probably of this type, being less an actual portrait of an individual as part of a series of local occupations. It is significant that as in 75, no attempt is made to render accurately the relative sizes of the figures, the Englishman dominating the picture by his vastly enlarged size.

78 A Gaddi wrestling with a bear. By Chandu Lal of Rajol. Kangra, 18 February 1966.

175 x 220 mm; with border 230 x 270 mm. Black margin with white floral scrolls.

Inscribed on the reverse in Persian characters by the painter: *raina chandu lal musavir rajol mavarkha 18.2.66*. 'Raina Chandu Lal, painter, Rajol, dated 18.2.1966'.

Archer collection, London. Purchased at Kangra from the artist during a visit to Kangra in February 1966 with M. S. Randhawa.

Published: Archer (1967), fig. 47.

Description: A Gaddi in white knee-length coat and plain cap, a thick black band at his waist, is grappling with a black bear which stands on its hind feet and attempts to crush him between its front paws. A second Gaddi hacks at the bear with an axe, opening up a red wound. To the right, in small scale, are three long-haired goats or sheep. The scene is an open pasture with snow-covered peaks and flowery hillsides in the distance.

Discussion: Like 75 and 76, a genre scene of a kind formerly popular with the British. The encounter, though possibly true to life, may be based on conventional 'Company' drawings of a man with a performing bear. When met by Randhawa and myself in 1966, Chandu Lal, a son of Lachman Das of Rajol (76) was still eking out a meagre livelihood by painting pictures in pseudo-miniature style.

PAINING IN KASHTWAR

I. INTRODUCTION

GEOGRAPHY

A large state, in the inner mountains, bounded on the south by Bhadrawah and Chanehni, on the west and north by Kashmir, on the north-east and east by Zaskar and Ladakh and on the south-east by Chamba. Capital: Kashtwar (Kishtwar).

SCENERY

Vigne (1842): 'The path (to Kishtawar) is a very severe one and preserves an average elevation of a thousand or fifteen hundred feet above the river. The scenery is very grand and picturesque. Villages and patches of cultivation are here and there conspicuous, at all imaginable variety of heights, aspects and position; the banks are everywhere precipitous; the streams are torrents; and the mountain-tops, covered with clouds and snow, are often seen to the greatest advantage from some open or more elevated spot in the thick and constant forest, composed of oak and holly-oak that so much and generally abounded.

'The path at length brings the traveller in sight of the plain and town of Kishtawar, called Kartawar by the Kashmirians. The former is about two miles in width and five in length and by thermometer and the opinion I could form by the fall of Chunab, should be a hundred or a hundred and fifty feet higher than that of Budrawar, which is about 5,000 feet above the sea. The mountains which tower on every side are coated with oaks and hollies: whilst their summits are covered with snow and fir-trees.

'Several streams come tumbling down to the river from a very great elevation. I observed one in particular, opposite the town, with a shooting fall of many hundred feet and which, when swelled by the melting of the snows, must be a cascade of no ordinary magnitude. Villages are scattered over the plain and are usually surrounded by hedgeless fields, raised in plateaux and irrigated by the little streams that flow over it from the eastward; and wheat, barley and rice are cultivated upon them. In spite of the above written lines, the saffron of Kashmir is, I was informed, inferior in quality to that of Kishtawar; and apples, pears, peaches, apricots and quinces are fine and tolerably abundant.

'The condition of the city of Kishtawar is not that of the times of its rightful Rajah, who claimed, in common with the maleks of Shahbad in Kashmir, a descent from Nurshivan, king of Persia and whose grandfather was the first Musalman Rajah of the country.

'The town now consists of about a hundred small houses, or rather cottages, not roofed like those of Kashmir, but flat-topped and of one storey generally and composed of wood, loose stones and a plaster of mud. Fruit-trees were planted amongst them. The principal street is occupied by the bazaar and contained fifteen or twenty looms for the manufacture of shawls of inferior quality. Coarse woollen blankets were also made there. The language of Kishtawar is not that of Kashmir, and much resembles, I believe, that of the Simla hills.

'Near the town, on the northern side, is the finest *deodar* (or as it is here called, the *Devidar*, "the tree of the divinities") or hill-cedar, that I have ever seen' (202-206).

Drew (1875): 'I first got sight of Kishtwar from an upper road, away from the valley road. The view pleased the eye by displaying a plain in the midst of the mountains, not perfectly level, but undulating, everywhere cultivated, dotted with villages. This plain, which is about four miles in length from north to south and two miles across, is bounded on the right by mountains and in front beyond it were seen mountains; on the left, that is on the west, it was ended by

a deep ravine where the river flowed, the farther bank of this again being formed by lofty rocky mountains.

'To reach this plain or plateau we had first to descend deep into another ravine that bounds it on the south and from that to rise again. The plateau is 5,300 or 5,400 feet above the sea. Unlike most of the flatter openings among the hills, it is not a mere plain nor a terraced slope, but it has little eminences and undulations; nearly all is under cultivation. The villages are shaded by plane-trees and by fruit-trees; leading from one hamlet to another are hedge-rowed lanes, with white and yellow and red rose and other shrubs, flowering. By the town is a beautiful piece of smooth, nearly level, turf, half a mile long and a furlong broad, called the *Chaugan*, a place in former times kept for Polo playing, for which the carved goal-stones still remain, but now only common hockey is played on it; this place, too, has some fine chinar or plane trees ornamenting it and one massive but broken *deodar*-tree.

'When one has been travelling over rough roads in a mountain tract and has not for many days seen any level ground, the sight of such a plain as this of Kishtwar gives one a peculiar pleasure: the secluded space, so well adorned with verdure and with flowers and enclosed by great mountains, will from every one who sees it gain admiration.

'As a rule the mountains around are rocky below and have wooded slopes above: the wood is oak on the eastern hills and *deodar* and fir on the opposite ridge. The mountain on the south-west of the plain is a remarkable one; it is separated from us as we stand at the western edge of our plateau by the river valley, which has been cut down to some 1,300 feet below us: as we look across, a great cliff of some 3,000 feet of height faces us, from the summit of which the ground slopes back to the wooded ridge. The most conspicuous and beautiful feature is made by the drainage from the upper part coming over the cliff in a waterfall of great height. Of this fall it is impossible to obtain a near and at the same time general view, but by going some way down the slope we get a fair sight of it, though at the distance of a mile or more. The water comes down not within one but many jumps; the aggregate height of the falls within view is about 2,500 feet and above these are a few hundred feet more, which can be seen from other points. The first two falls are each of about 500 feet; these are conspicuous from the town; below them are two or three small ones, making up six or seven hundred feet more, then there are irregular drops and cascades, partly hidden by vegetation and by the irregularities of the channel, these extending for some eight hundred feet to the river; thus the two and a half thousand feet are made up.

'In this waterfall there is every variety of movement. In the greater leaps the water — although in volume not little, for the roar is distinctly heard at a distance of two miles — becomes scattered into spray; again it collects and comes over the next ledge in a thick stream; in parts it divides into various lines, which, at the distance, seem vertical, immovable, white threads. In the morning sun the spray made in the greater leaps shows prismatic colours, visible even at the distance of our chosen point — a phenomenon attributed by the people of the place to fairies who bathe in and display the strange hues of their bodies through the shower. The cascade is in greatest force in the spring, on the melting of the snows above, and it was thus I saw it: from that time it diminishes, but it is again increased when heavy rain falls in the rainy season, that is the late summer; in winter it is least.

'The small town of Kishtwar is dirty and dilapidated. There are about 200 houses, including a bazaar with some shops; but there was a complete absence of life, of the busy cheerfulness one sees in some bazaars. The people seem to have been brought to a low stage of poverty from having in former years been given over to the Wazir family, which

still holds much influence here. Two large houses, built after the fashion of the houses of the richer people in Kashmir, which belong to that family, are exceptions to the general state of decay. There is an old fort, on a little rising ground, oblong, with corner towers and other projecting buildings: it is manned by some thirty men.

The inhabitants are more than half Kashmiri; the rest are Hindus of the Thakar, Krar and other castes. The Kashmiris here, too, carry on their shawl work; there are some twenty workshops for it in the town. In this place, as in Bhadarwah, they seem to have settled for some generations.

The climate of Kishtwar is something like that of Bhadarwah, but it is somewhat warmer and must have a less fall of rain and snow. Snow falls during four months, but it does not continually stay on the ground; it may do so for twenty days at a time. On the slope towards the river, 1,000 or 1,500 feet below, it stays but a day. The fruits produced are apple, quince, three kinds of pear, plum, a few apricots, cherry, peach, grape, mulberry and walnut' (117-118).

RELIGION

Hindu until the third quarter of the seventeenth century, when the royal house adopted Islam. Former temples: the Lakshmi Narain (to Vishnu), the Nilakanth (to Shiva), both destroyed on the state's going Muslim. Vigne (1842) refers to a Shaiva shrine still in existence when he visited Kashtwar in 1839: 'But the glory of the Hindus is a small black image of stone, about a mile and a half from the town and known as the goddess with eight arms, two only being visible, as she was closely muffled up in clothes. In Europe — barring the absence of the cross — she might easily have been taken for a Roman Catholic image. In the number of her arms, the size of her person and extent of her authority, she is less than the idol above the Leopard's Leap, whom in other respects she appeared closely to resemble and, like her, represents the wife of Siva' (206).

For the two *ziarats* (tombs of Muslim saints) in Kashtwar town, one to Sayyid Farid-ud-din, the other to his son, Israr-ud-din, see Jaya Singh, v, and Kirat Singh, vi. The 'Leopard's Leap' is presumably the great waterfall described by Drew.

II. HISTORICAL NOTES

SOURCES

Drew, F. *The Jummoo and Kashmir Territories* (London, 1875).

Hutchison, J. and Vogel, J. P. *History of the Panjab Hill States* (Lahore, 1933), II, 638-664. Availing of a vernacular history in manuscript compiled by Pir Ghulam Muhai-ud-din of the Israr-ud-din *ziarat*, Kashtwar.

Vigne, G. T. *Travels in Kashmir, Ladak, Iskardo* (London, 1842).

REIGNS AND PORTRAITS

With Keonthal (Simla Hill States), Suket and Mandi, an offshoot (c. 900) from the Sen dynasty of Bengal, the latter being an offshoot from the ruling family of Ujjain, Malwa (Central India). Clan-name, Kashtwaria. Suffix Sen (Sena); after 1400, Singh.

1618-1629 GUR SINGH (i)

Invaded by a Mughal army from Muslim Kashmir, 1620. Gur Singh imprisoned in Gwalior (Central India), later released on paying tribute to Jahangir. His sons sent to the imperial court, 1622. Developed Kashtwar town.

Sons: Jagat Singh, Bhagwan Singh.

1629-1642 JAGAT SINGH (ii)

Son of Gur Singh.

Invaded Bhadarwah but was in turn invaded by forces under Bhupat Pal (i, 1598-1635) of Basohli and his commander, Kantak (of the Basohli royal family). Kashtwar temporarily occupied by Basohli, the lingam from the Kashtwar temple of Nilakanth (Shiva) being removed to Basohli. Jagat Singh killed in action.

Marriages: A Kashtwar princess to Bhupat Pal of Basohli.
Sons: None.

1642-1661 BHAGWAN SINGH (iii)

Brother of Jagat Singh.

Campaigned with Shah Jahan in the Deccan. On his brother's death, supplied with Mughal forces from Kashmir, re-invaded Kashtwar and regained it, capturing and beheading Kantak, the Basohli commander — the latter's head being used for football on the *chaugan*. To commemorate the Basohli defeat, instituted a yearly fair, the Kantak Jatra. The Mughal army later returned to Kashmir.

1661-1674 MAHA (MAHAN) SINGH (iv)

Son of Bhagwan Singh.

Character: 'Just, generous, wise, learned and a poet' (HV). A devout Hindu. Appeased the emperor Aurangzeb by building a mosque in Kashmir, by making Muslim appointments in Kashtwar and by deputing his son, Jaya Singh, to court. Abdicated, 1674.

Sons: Jaya Singh, Ram Singh, Sirdar Singh.

1674-1681 JAYA SINGH (v)

Son of Maha Singh.

Appointed his brother Ram Singh Wazir and his youngest brother Sirdar Singh commander of the army. Was invaded and defeated by Chamba. See Chamba (Chattar Singh, iii, 1664-1690). Part of Kashtwar annexed to Chamba.

Religion: Conversion of the Kashtwaria royal house to Islam, following the settlement in Kashtwar of the Muslim saint, Farid-ud-din Qadiri from Baghdad. He occupied a house adjoining the Lakshmi Narain temple, Kashtwar, and performed miracles, the house later becoming his *ziarat* (tomb and shrine) and a centre of pilgrimage. Jaya Singh assumed the Muslim name, Bakhtiyar Khan, on conversion.

Sons: Kirat Singh, Muhammad Khan.

Portraits of Sirdar Singh, second brother of Jaya Singh

Following his failure against Chamba, appears to have gone first to Kashmir and later to Delhi where he joined the court of Aurangzeb. Later career unrecorded.

(1) **Fig. 1 (Kashtwar).** Sirdar Singh riding. Chandigarh Museum. Kashtwar (?), c.1680.

(2) **Fig. 3 (Chamba).** Sirdar Singh seated with Mian Raghunath Singh of Chamba. Archer collection, London. Chamba, c.1675.

1681-1728 KIRAT SINGH (vi)

Son of Jaya Singh

Retained his uncle, Ram Singh, as Wazir. Accepted Islam, 1687. Designated by Aurangzeb Sadat Yhar Khan. Islam accepted as the state religion and an anti-Hindu policy agreed. Following an unsuccessful mass revolt, Kashtwar accepted the new state of affairs. Mass conversions to Islam followed although much of the population stayed Hindu.

Drew (1875) comments: 'The conversion seems to have been followed by that of a certain number, but by no means a majority, of the Kishtwar people. Of Muhammadanised Kishtwaris, as distinguished from Kashmiris, who being Muhammadans, came in and settled, there are some both in the town and in the villages. No doubt many of the servants of the Raja turned Muhammadan with him' (119). HV points out that the ladies of the royal household possibly remained Hindu (see below).

The ministry in Kashtwar of Israr-ud-din, son of the Muslim saint, Sayyid Farid-ud-din, and himself a saint, may have contributed to these conversions. In addition to the *ziarat* (tomb and shrine) of his father, a *ziarat* for Israr-ud-din was also erected in Kashtwar, both places becoming holy for Muslims.

Kirat Singh assassinated, 1728.

Son: Amluk Singh.

Marriages: Kirat Singh's sister, Bhup Dei, to the Mughal emperor Farrukhsiyar (1713-1719); accompanied to Delhi by Kirat's younger brother, Muhammad Khan.

Note: Francois Valentin (*Lives of the Great Mughals*, in Dutch, 1725) refers to the scandal caused in the imperial court by Farrukhsiyar having married or taken as his consort a 'gentile' woman, i.e., not a Muslim, 'the daughter of one of the petty kings of the hills'. HV (II, 655) hold that this must almost certainly refer to the Kashtwar princess and they cite Valentin as stating that the connection was the chief reason why Farrukhsiyar was deposed and murdered. They comment on the strange fact that the princess should have been referred to as a 'heathen' and suggest that, against normal Muslim custom, Farrukhsiyar had not insisted on her conversion to Islam as a pre-requisite of their union.

The strangely ambivalent attitude of the Kashtwar royal house to its Muslim conversion is further illustrated by their retention of the Rajput suffix Singh, their frequent use of Hindu names as well as Muslim aliases and the fact that, down to Tegh Singh (xi, 1789-1820) the royal house maintained a *purohit* (family priest) and even issued a grant of land to him in 1802.

For parallel cases in modern India of families striving to face both ways, the Uraons, Mundas and Santals of the Ranchi and Santal Parganas districts, Bihar State, may be instanced. In these areas a family which becomes Christian, thus abjuring its tribal faith, often encourages at least one member or branch of the family to remain 'pagan' so that the family's continuity with its ancestors is assured, the tribal spirits are not flouted and tribal attitudes and values can still be maintained.

1728-1771 AMLUK SINGH (vii)

Son of Kirat Singh

A long but uneventful reign (43 years), Kashtwar almost certainly becoming tributary to Ranjit Dev (xiv, 1735-1781) of Jammu — Jammu being at this time the paramount power in the Jammu Hills.

Sons: Mihr Singh, Sujan Singh, Dalel Singh, Guman Singh.

1771-1786 MIHR SINGH (viii)

Son of Amluk Singh.

Dissension among the four brothers led to Sujan Singh residing at the Jammu court and Dalel Singh going to Chamba. Mihr Singh himself may have become insane soon after his accession. Kashtwar invaded and occupied by Basohli, 1784. Basohli forces expelled by a Chamba army aided by Bhadrawah forces — Chamba having received suzerainty over Bhadrawah and Kashtwar from Raja Brijraj Dev (xv, 1781-1787) of Jammu. Later the Chamba army withdrew.

Sons: None legitimate.

1786-1788 SUJAN SINGH (ix)

Brother of Mihr Singh.

Reigned for only ten months (1786). Succeeded for six months by a surreptitious son of Mihr Singh, later for about two years by Lal Dev, a nominee from Jammu, finally by Sujan Singh's own son, Inayat-ullah Singh.

1788-1789 INAYAT-ULLAH SINGH (x)

Son of Sujan Singh.

Held in Jammu, 1786-1788, but finally allowed back to Kashtwar. Queried Chamba suzerainty. Invaded and looted part of Bhadrawah (under Chamba). Paid tribute to the Afghan Governor of Kashmir. Assassinated, 1789.

Son: Tegh Singh (aliases Muhammad Tegh Singh, Saif-ullah Khan).

1789-1820 TEGH SINGH (xi)

Son of Inayat-ullah Singh. A minor at accession. Lakhpat Rai appointed Wazir. Bhadrawah again invaded, Bhadrawah town burnt, a Chamba army under Wazir Nathu defeated and compensation from Chamba taken. Later (1801), Kashtwar again accepted Chamba suzerainty, but

was plundered by Kashmir. 1815, Tegh Singh gave asylum to Shah Shuja, of Kabul, Afghanistan, following the latter's surrender of the Koh-i-Nur diamond to Ranjit Singh in Lahore and his subsequent escape from Sikh custody. 1816, aided Shah Shuja in an unsuccessful attempt to conquer Kashmir. Shah Shuja fled to British territory but Ranjit Singh's anger against Tegh Singh aroused. 1820, Tegh Singh lured to Jammu, where he was seized and imprisoned by Raja Gulab Singh, but later allowed to go to Lahore to meet Ranjit Singh. Died 1823. Kashtwar annexed for the Sikhs by Raja Gulab Singh of Jammu, 1820.

Sons: Jaimal Singh, Zorawar Singh, Dilawar Singh.

1820-1841 ZORAWAR SINGH KAHLURIA (xii)

Governor of Kashtwar on behalf of Raja Gulab Singh of Jammu. Illegitimate son of Raja Mahan Chand (ix, 1778-1824) of Kahlur (Bilaspur). Seconded by Gulab Singh from service under him in Jammu to hold charge of Kashtwar. One of Gulab Singh's ablest officers, loyal, brave and efficient. Invaded and annexed much of Ladakh (Western Tibet), 1834. Annexed western part of Chamba, 1836. Annexed Baltistan (Little Tibet), 1841. Died, later the same year, while pressing on in a vain attempt to capture all Tibet.

Of Kashtwar in 1839, Vigne (1842) noted: 'The Rajah's house is surrounded by a fort, used also as a prison. I saw the prisoners outside the walls, but heavily ironed; and observing a fine-looking man amongst them. I directed my munshi to inquire who he was. He turned out to be a Rajah of Kasali, or of some other country between Punch and the Jylum, whose name I forget, but who had been taken prisoner and confined there by Gulab Singh for having resisted his authority. The building in the Shalamar, a favourite garden of the old Rajah's and situated in a cool and well-shaded ravine on the eastward of the town, was razed to the ground by the Sikhs and all pains were taken to remove any objects that were likely to cherish the recollection of the former dynasty' (204-205).

Descendants of the Kashtwar royal house were accommodated in Chamba, Jammu and in Tilokpur, near Kotla (Kangra).

1846 onwards (xiii)

Kashtwar permanently incorporated in Jammu State.

IMPLICATIONS FOR PAINTING

Personality of rulers

Due to its position, far within the inner mountains, Kashtwar was more accessible from Muslim Kashmir than from the Punjab Plains. It is no surprise, therefore, that alone of the Rajput States east of Jammu, it came under strong Muslim influences and in the third quarter of the seventeenth century, the royal house adopted Islam as the state religion. This circumstance would not in itself prevent the development of painting but it might well account for a premium being put on portraiture and on secular Mughal-type subjects. It would almost certainly render difficult the rise of any painting connected with Hindu religious themes or with Hindu love-poetry. The fact that the ladies of the palace may, just possibly, have remained Hindu by religion would be hardly sufficient to counteract this tendency unless the Kashtwar Rajas expressly favoured and encouraged it.

Relations with other states

The Mughals. It is perhaps significant that throughout the seventeenth century, relations between Kashtwar and the Mughal Emperors were unusually close and that under Farrukhsiyar (1713-1719) a Kashtwar princess joined the imperial harem.

Kashmir. Although Kashmir was at times a source of military aid — as also of Muslim missionising — it did not itself possess a sufficiently strong style of local painting to be capable of exerting much influence on Kashtwar art.

Bhadrawah. A close neighbour and rival with whom Kashtwar seems normally to have been on bad terms.

Chamba. A powerful neighbour whose suzerainty Kashtwar was forced to acknowledge from time to time. In view of their political and religious differences, cultural intercourse between them is unlikely to have been particularly close.

Basohli. Of all the states in the Jammu group, Basohli seems to have been most detested in Kashtwar — the memory of its ten-year occupation by Basohli forces in the first half of the seventeenth century and joy at its ultimate relief being annually celebrated by a special fair, the Kantak Jatra. The fact that Basohli had also despoiled the Nilkanth temple of its lingam at this time may also have increased the general dislike. In such circumstances, it is difficult to envisage any artists of Basohli or painters trained in a Basohli manner, venturing to show themselves at the Kashtwar court — the very fact of their being even remotely connected with Basohli being an effective guarantee of an unfavourable reception.

Jammu. Until the middle of the eighteenth century, Kashtwar seems to have kept aloof from Jammu. Under Ranjit Dev, however, Jammu assumed paramountcy in the Jammu hills and like other states of the area, Kashtwar became tributary to it. Ranjit Dev's tolerance of Muslims may also have made for unusually good relations between the two courts. In view of the special interest in portraiture which developed at Jammu under this ruler, painting in Kashtwar could well have undergone some Jammu influence in the second half of the eighteenth century, especially if portraiture was its own speciality. For other states affected in this way by Jammu, see *Bandraita* and *Bhoti*.

III. PAINTING: REVIEW OF LITERATURE

1933

Hutchison, J. and Vogel, J. P. *History of the Panjab Hill States* (Lahore, 1933), II, 639.

States that a large number of miniature portraits of the Rajas of Kashtwar are at Kashtwar town in the Israr-ud-din *ziarat* (the tomb and shrine of the Muslim saint, Israr-ud-din who completed the conversion of the Kashtwar royal house to Islam, c.1650-1675).

1950

Gray, B. 'Painting', *The Art of India and Pakistan* (ed. L. Ashton; London, 1950), 100.

Suggests that Basohli painting in its early form may have continued until the end of the eighteenth century, a surmise which he believes is supported 'by the presence of a wall-painting in the new *Ziarat* (Muslim shrine) of the neighbouring State of Kistwar which was annexed to Jammu in 1820. This represents a sister of the Raja Inayat-ullah Singh in 1788 and a photograph taken by Mr. J. C. French shows a tall, stiff lady, flying a kite in the costume and style of these later "Basohli" paintings. Between 1784 and 1786 Kistwar was occupied by the forces of Basohli'.

[The photograph referred to was unfortunately never published by French and it has since disappeared.]

1958

Khandalavala, K. *Pahari Miniature Painting* (Bombay, 1958), 91, 95-96.

Alleges that the Basohli style 'spread even further afield' than states in the immediate vicinity and cites Bilaspur, Kashtwar and Chamba as instances.

In support of its presence in Kashtwar, reproduces (no. 72) a portrait of a Raja, tentatively published by Gray (1950, pl. 105, no. 516) as Raja Jai Singh of Kulu, but claimed by Khandalavala, on the strength of a *takri* inscription, to be Raja Mihr Singh (viii, 1771-1786) of Kashtwar. The inscription, he says, reads *Sri Mhh(mihr) Singhji Sant Mau Kota Kantak*. The meaning of the phrase *sant mau*, he adds, is not clear but the words *kota kantak* 'no doubt refer to the *chaugan* (village green) of Kashtwar where an annual fair known as the *Kantak Jatra* is held' (see Bhagwan Singh, iii, 1642-1661). 'The portrait of Mihr Singh', Khandalavala continues, 'may have been painted on the anniversary of the Kantak Jatra. It conforms (in style) to the general features of the Basohli *kalam* but local characteristics are seen in the slim body, broad face and noticeably heavy jaw of the *chauri*-bearer'.

[For this portrait, here assigned to Kulu and dated c.1720, see *Kulu*, no. 25. The *takri* inscription, as read by B. N. Goswamy, runs: *sri miye ajmat mankot da tikka* 'Sri Mian Ajmat, heir-apparent of Mankot'. Raja Ajmat Dev, born c.1700, was son of Raja Tedhi Singh (vi, c.1710-c.1730 (1750)) of Mankot and, after earlier acting as state administrator for his father, may have reigned from c.1750-c.1765. In the light of this new reading, no connection of this portrait with Kashtwar can now be assumed.]

IV. PAINTING: CATALOGUE AND RECONSTRUCTION

Although HV allude to a series of portraits of Kashtwar rulers in the Israr-ud-din *ziarat*, Kashtwar town, none of these have so far been published and no other pictures, securely connected with Kashtwar, have so far come to light. The following portrait, in a style perhaps influenced by early Mankot or Chamba painting (q.v.) may indicate what painting at Kashtwar was like in the second half of the seventeenth century.

1 Mian Sirdar Singh (born c.1650 died c.1700) of Kashtwar riding. Kashtwar (?), c.1680.

162 x 261 mm; with border 207 x 293 mm. Red border, with black and white rules.

Inscribed at the top in *nagari* characters: *kastwaria sirdar singh* and with the numeral: 134.

Chandigarh Museum, Guler Raj collection.

Description: Mian Sirdar Singh — for a time commander of the Kashtwar forces, later an exile and adventurer in Kashmir and at the court of the emperor Aurangzeb — appears in a yellow *jama* with large floral sprigs. He rides a lavishly harnessed white charger, and is preceded by three attendants in cream, white and plum. The first carries a substantial sword-bag and looks ahead. The second, resting a sword in scabbard on his shoulder, glances back. The third, perhaps a groom, holds a halter and turns round as if to check the rearing horse immediately behind him. At various places, touches of scarlet. Serrated foreground with dotted tufts. Dull green background with, at the top, a rim of white and blue sky.

PAINING IN KOTLA

I. INTRODUCTION

GEOGRAPHY

A tiny state, ten miles long and five miles wide, bounded on the south by Guler, on the west by Nurpur, on the north by Chamba and on the east by Kangra.

SCENERY

Vigne (1842): 'Koteli lies on the way from Rilu to Nurpur, from which it is about eleven miles distant in a direct line and about twelve from Rilu. It was united with Kangra in the time of the Nawab Syf Ali, although originally in the territories of the Nurpur Raja; but it appears to have been disputed ground, as the Rajah of Huripur often laid claim to it. Upon the death of the Vuzir it fell into the possession of Sinsar Chund. It is merely a large village, with a good bazaar and a castle built by one of the Mogul Emperors of Delhi upon an insulated sandstone rock, which, having mural sides of an elevation that varies from twenty to forty and fifty feet, would be easily defended against anything but artillery. If a few guns, however, were placed on the opposite bank of the stream that washes it and which is only a few hundred yards distant, it would not, I imagine, be able to hold out for any length of time. I am not aware of any thing at Koteli that is particularly worthy of the traveller's notice' (143).

RELIGION

Unrecorded.

II. HISTORICAL NOTES

SOURCES

Archer, W. G. *Paintings of the Sikhs* (London, 1966).
Baldev Singh, Raja. *Tawarikh-i-Rajgan-i-Guler* (Urdu, c. 1940; trans. M. S. Randhawa, 1966). A manuscript account of Guler rulers in the eighteenth century based, amongst other sources, on family traditions and including references to the Guler Wazir, Dhian Singh.
Hutchison, J. and Vogel, J. P. 'The Panjab Hill States'. *Journal Panjab Historical Society* (1915), III, no. 2, 94.
Hutchison, J. and Vogel, J. P. *History of the Panjab Hill States* (Lahore, 1933), I, 206.
Sastri, H. 'The Guleria Chiefs of Kangra', *Journal Panjab Historical Society* (1914), II, no. 2, 141.
Sunder Singh. Oral communications to W.G.A. and M. S. Randhawa, at Mirthal, March 1954.
Vigne, G. T. *Travels in Kashmir, Ladak, Iskardo* (London, 1842).

REIGNS AND PORTRAITS

Originally part of Nurpur, based on a fortress, thirteen miles east of Nurpur and twenty-two miles north-west of Kangra. Wrested from Nurpur by Kangra in the sixteenth century but later occupied by Mughal troops and made a part of the Mughal imperial demesne. From the end of the sixteenth to the first half of the eighteenth century, a Mughal enclave. Absorbed by Guler, c.1750, but seized by Dhian Singh, Wazir of Guler, 1785, and made an independent state. HV state that 'Kotla was usually ruled by a branch of the Nurpur family in subordination to the parent state but seems sometimes to have been held by Guler. It

was in possession of the Wazir of Guler when annexed by Ranjit Singh in 1811'. Under Nurpur cadets, clan-name Pathania, Suffix Singh. Under the Guler Wazir, suffix Singh.

1785-c.1800 DHIAN SINGH (i)

Member of the Guler Batolar family. Able administrator. A close intimate of the Guler ruling family. Due to an estrangement with Raja Prakash Chand (1773-1790), left Guler, seized the fortress of Kotla and set himself up as an independent ruler, 1785. Repulsed an attack by Sansar Chand of Kangra. During the battle, his nephews, Gur Baksh Singh and Pahar Singh, were killed. Succeeded by a brother (?), Kishan Singh.

Portraits: (1) Dhian Singh with Prakash Chand of Guler and other Hill rulers waiting on Jai Singh Kanheya. Inscribed (see Guler, no. 51(1)). Chandigarh Museum, Guler Raj collection. Guler, 1774.

(2) **Fig. 51 (Guler).** Dhian Singh with Prakash Chand of Guler and other Hill rulers waiting on the Sikh Jai Singh Kanheya. Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 128-1955. Guler, 1774. Dhian Singh is fifth down on the right.

(3) Randhawa (1953), fig. 9. Dhian Singh accompanying prince Bhup Singh of Guler on a riding expedition. Chandigarh Museum. Guler Raj collection. Guler, c.1780-1785.

(4) Dhian Singh standing. Captain Sunder Singh collection, Mirthal. Guler or Kotla, c.1790. Gold sky. Mauve flowering trees. Beds of poppies.

Other portraits: (4) Har Baksh Singh and Pahar Singh (nephews of Dhian Singh, killed when fighting Sansar Chand of Kangra). Captain Sunder Singh collection, Mirthal. Guler or Kotla, c.1790. Borders inset with cartouches.

(5) Ram Das (uncle of Dhian Singh). Captain Sunder Singh collection, Mirthal. Guler or Kotla, c.1790. Green background. Red traceried floor.

c.1800-1811 KISHAN SINGH (ii)

Brother (?) of Dhian Singh.

Ejected from Kotla by Desa Singh Majithia on behalf of the Sikh Maharaja Ranjit Singh. 1811. Granted a *jagir* at Mirthal, Punjab Plains. His youngest son, Amar Singh, fraternised with the Sikhs and became a great favourite with Ranjit Singh. Was paid by Ranjit Singh a stipend of eight annas a day for cultivating a magnificent flowing beard. Kotla attached to Guler and administered by the Sikhs, 1813-1849, when, along with Kangra, it came under the British as part of Kangra district.

Portrait of Amar Singh: (1) Archer (1966), fig. 8. Amar Singh on horseback, a baggage mule in the background. Chandigarh Museum, Guler Raj collection. Guler, c.1825.

Unrecorded (iii)

Unrecorded (iv)

JETH SINGH (v).

Grandfather of Captain Sunder Singh.

Portrait: (1) Jeth Singh. Captain Sunder Singh collection, Mirthal. Guler, c.1870.

SON OF JETH SINGH (vi)

SUNDER SINGH (vii)

Grandson of Jeth Singh. Said to have been the first Indian (in the Punjab?) to receive a commission in the army.

When I met him with M. S. Randhawa in 1954, he had long since retired but still preserved a fine military figure. Owner of the Kotla family collection of pictures, including: (1) 35 illustrations to a *Durgapath* series — squat figures, Guler style features.

(2) Pictures from an unidentified series — Kangra Valley faces, yellow backgrounds.

- (3) 'Radha and Krishna'. Randhawa (1954), pl. 35. Guler, c.1810.
 (4) Gallant visiting a lady. Red pavilion floor. Oval. Mango trees with cypresses. Guler, c.1800.
 (5) A series of Vishnu avatars. Plain backgrounds. Guler faces.
 (6) Lady, in green with orange trousers, looking in a mirror. Guler, c.1820.
 (7) 'Lady with a black buck'. Randhawa (1954), pl. 15. Guler, c.1800.
 (8) 'The elopement'. Lady, aided by a gallant, scaling a wall. Trees sprinkled with flowers. Borders inset with car-touches. Randhawa (1954), pl. 22. Guler, c.1810.
 (9) Randhawa (1954), pls. 9 and 19. Guler, c.1810.
 (10) Raja Hira Singh (nephew of Raja Gulab Singh of Jammu and favourite of Maharaja Ranjit Singh). Punjab Plains, c.1840.

III. PAINTING: REVIEW OF LITERATURE

1948

French, J. C. 'Kangra Architecture', *Art and Letters* (1948), XXII, no. 1, 18-20, fig. 1.

Emphasises the strength of the Kotla Fort and its status as an offshoot from Guler.

Fig. 1. A view of Kotla Fort.

1950

French, J. C. 'Guler Art', *Art and Letters* (1950), XXIV, no. 1, 33.

'Besides Haripur there was another great castle in Guler state. This is Kotlah, second only to Haripur in size and importance'.

1953

Randhawa, M. S. 'Guler, the birthplace of Kangra art', *Marg* (1953), VI, no. 4, 34.

Describes Wazir Dhian Singh's part in Guler affairs under Raja Prakash Chand and the founding by him of Kotla state. Refers to 'a collection of early Guler paintings in the possession of Captain Sunder Singh, a descendant of Wazir Dhian Singh'.

Fig. 9. Wazir Dhian Singh accompanying the young Bhup Singh'. Guler, c.1780-1785.

1954

Randhawa, M. S. *Kangra Valley Painting* (New Delhi, 1954).

Reproduces the following paintings from the family collection of Captain Sunder Singh of Kotla (Mirthal), here regarded as Guler (*q.v.*).

Col. pl. 9. 'The coming storm'.

Col. pl. 15. 'Lady with a black buck'.

Col. pl. 19. 'Princess with girl musicians seated by a pool'.

Col. pl. 22. 'Scaling the wall'.

Col. pl. 35. 'Radha and Krishna'.

1957

Archer, W. G. 'The Problems of painting in the Punjab Hills', *Marg* (1957), X, no. 2, 34.

A review of Randhawa (1954).

Argues that 'In view of Kotla's connection with Guler, paintings in Guler style could well be expected to dominate Captain Sunder Singh's collection'.

1958

Khandalavala, K. *Pahari Miniature Painting* (Bombay, 1958).

Reproduces from Randhawa (1954) the following five pictures in the collection of Captain Sunder Singh of Kotla (Mirthal) and attributes them as follows:

No. 125. Randhawa, col. pl. 19. 'Guler, early 19th century'.

No. 132. Randhawa, col. pl. 35. 'Guler, 1780-1790'.

No. 135. Randhawa, col. pl. 15. 'Guler, 1773-1790'.

No. 139. Randhawa, col. pl. 22. 'Guler, c.1800'.

No. 142. Randhawa, col. pl. 9. 'Guler, early 19th century'.

1960

Hajek, L. *Miniatures from the East* (Prague, London, 1960).

Col. pls. 42, 43. 'Lady with a black buck'. (Randhawa (1954)). Chandigarh Museum, Captain Sunder Singh of Kotla (Mirthal) collection. Notes that 'it is very probable that the painting originated in the ateliers in Guler'.

Col. pls. 44, 45. Details from 'Scaling the wall'. (Randhawa (1954)). Same collection. Suggests that the lover sustaining the role of *nayaka* is Govardhan Chand of Guler. For his identification as Bhup Singh of Guler, see *Guler*, no. 60(1).

1961

Goswamy, B. N. 'The Pahari Artists', *Roopa Lekha* (1961), XXXII, no. 2, 41.

'The paintings in the collection of the families other than royal in the hills are not difficult to explain. They may have come as gifts from the royal families or may have been acquired at a date later than the break up of the hill states. Many of the distinguished families like that of the Wazirs of Nurpur and Captain Sunder Singh of Mirthal have collections mixed in character. It is possible that paintings may have been commissioned by these. They would be parallel to the development in the later period of Mughal art when the grandees of the empire also maintained ateliers of their own.'

1966

Archer, W. G. *Paintings of the Sikhs* (London, 1966).

Fig. 8. Amar Singh 'Darhiwala', son of Kishan Singh of Kotla, on horseback. Guler, c.1825.

IV. PAINTING CATALOGUE AND RECONSTRUCTION

No paintings securely connected with Kotla (as distinct from the parent state of Guler) have so far come to light — the paintings in the family collection of Captain Sunder Singh of Kotla (Mirthal) being Guler in style and hence almost certainly of Guler origin.

PAINTING IN KULU

I. INTRODUCTION

GEOGRAPHY

A large state, eighty miles long and twenty to thirty miles wide, bounded on the south by the Simla Hills, on the south-west by Suket, on the west by Mandi and Bangahal (later by Kangra), on the north by Lahul, on the north-east and east by Spiti, and on the south-east by Bashahr. Capitals: Makaraha until 1560; Naggar 1560-1660; Sultanpur (Kulu) 1660 onwards.

SCENERY

Moorcroft (1820): 'The town of Koolloo is built upon a slip of land that projects from the base of the mountains and its pointed angle is placed towards the conflux of the Serburee with the Beas. This strip is about 90 or 100 feet, is formed of alluvial pebbles and sand with steep sides. The table is covered almost entirely with buildings and the town may be considered as composed of two parts. That situated on the lower . . . part consists almost entirely of buildings belonging to the Raja and occupied by his family and attendants and the face which fronts the Beas is in rather neater state than that of any other town I have seen. In the midst of the clustered buildings a white dome forms the most conspicuous portion. The upper part consists of the houses of the merchants, shop-keepers etc. and is separated from the lower by a short and poor bazar. In the Raja's buildings are several square towers intended doubtless as military defences. About 11 years ago the Sikh forces led by the Dewan Mokum Chund aided by all the tributary Rajas attacked Koolloo. . . . The Singh now oppresses the Raja and his people dreadfully and it is reported that a few days ago the Wazeer's hooqqa was taken from him. Sobha Ram sent word that he would wait on me the following morning as he was engaged in settling an account with Munnee Geer, a goshein, who lives at Mundee and is the money agent of Runjeet Singh and what relates to the collection of tribute in these hills. The Raneer had died only a few days before and the Raja, a boy under ten years of age, was too much absorbed by grief to be able to visit me.

'The walnuts, apricots and quinces here yield most abundant crops but the plum has not reached the neighbourhood of Koolloo.

'The people of this neighbourhood are more visited by the bronchocele than any other district I have seen. Many of them are of an enormous size and produce much deformity though little inconvenience. They become more hard and smaller in the latter stages of life. Leprosy is very common.

'Many of the women have pretty features and well-turned limbs but they are often disfigured by swelled necks and are generally below the middle size. However, I have seen a woman on the road rather exceeding the ordinary stature and of fine proportions.

'The villages are surrounded by orchards of peach, apricot and walnut trees. The hedgerows and forests abound with wild pomegranates which are nearly ripe, wild pears and wild figs' (*Manuscript Journal*, ff. 98v, 99, 100v, 102).

Lyall (1875): 'Kulu has an area of 1,926 square miles; but all but a small portion of this large extent of country is and ever will be waste. Look at Kulu from some high point on the ranges to the west in April or May, before the winter snows have disappeared from the top of the lower ranges and it appears like a huge field of snow sloping towards you, with cracks here and there widening towards the lower edge. It is in these cracks only, i.e. the bottom and lower sides of the valleys, that permanent habitation is possible.

'The general appearance of the country from below is

very different from that of Kangra proper: there are no low hills; at every point, before and behind, high mountains rise up at no great distance and shut in the view. The lower slopes are dotted here and there with villages, not the scattered houses so common in Kangra, but groups of houses standing as close together as the ground will admit: some are tower-shaped, four storeys high, with but one room to each storey; the sloping roof of stone or wooden slabs with far projecting eaves and the wooden verandah thrown out round the upper storey and adorned with carved work, have a very picturesque appearance. The lower storey is occupied by the cattle and sheep and goats, and consequently, instead of the fresh plastered walls and clean swept courtyards to be seen in the low hills, there is as much mud and mess round the houses as in a farm-yard in England. Round the villages come terraced fields, planted here and there with walnut and apricot trees and fringed with a belt of evergreen oaks whose leaves are used for winter fodder; mixed up with the fields and separating them from those of the next village, are slopes of steep grass, and strips of kail pine and deodar cedar forest. Above the villages, wherever there is some soil and not too much sun, dark forests of pine, lit up here and there with patches of maple or horse chestnut, spread along the upper slopes and are succeeded again by straggling woods of stunted oak, birch and white rhododendron. Rounded grassy summits or bare ridges of rock crown the whole and here and there up a valley, or through an opening in the mountains, a glimpse is caught of the peaks and perpetual snows of the great ranges of which the mountains described (on which the villages stand) are spurs and offshoots. This is the summer aspect of the country; in the winter the ground is covered with snow for two or three days, or for months together, according to situation. It does not usually lie long at heights of less than 6,000 feet, but the aspect has more to do with the time it lies than the elevation.

'In the valley of the Beas the mountains stand back on either side for a distance of one or two miles and fine plateaux run down with a gentle slope from their bases to the banks of the river. These plateaux are the garden of Kulu. They are closely and carefully cultivated, and watered by canals brought out of the mountain gorges. The river banks are high cliffs hung with bush and creeper; between them the river winds from side to side, now deep and smooth, now foaming down rocky rapids in channels fringed with alder and through meadows and marshes dotted with ash and poplar. Here and there wooded islands break the stream into several branches. This part of the country is no doubt remarkably beautiful and has gained for the Kulu Valley the reputation of being perhaps the prettiest part of the British Himalayas' (73).

French (1931): 'Go to Kulu and become an *ullu*' (an *ullu* is an owl). The last proverb is by no means an unsuitable introduction to the queer country with which it rhymes.

'Kulu lies to the north of Mandi. From the highest point in Mandi town (a temple some 4,000 ft. above sea-level) a magnificent view of Kulu can be had, peak after peak of blue and finally the snows. Kulu is the last outpost of Hinduism. Farther on the spiritual guides of the people are the red-capped magicians of Tibet.

'The road to Kulu runs through Mandi town. Thirteen miles out of Mandi the wind turns cold under the chill breath of snow-peak and glacier. I was interested to see "dust devils" on the road, those strange columns of whirling dust. I had met them many times before, but always in hot places. Somehow it seemed out of place for them to go dancing and twirling in the cold blast of the Himalayas. Seventeen miles farther on the narrow gorge of the river Beas opens out into the Kulu Valley and the snows are close at hand.

'The Rai of Rupi, as the present descendant of the old

rajas of Kulu is called, lives in Sultanpur. Sultanpur is a lovely spot. Between the different quarters of the town flow the brown hill-streams, bordered by green lawns and lines of tall and splendid trees and presenting scenes of English loveliness. But if you lift your eyes it is Switzerland you see, snow-peaks and pines in bright sunshine.

'Leaving Sultanpur, one goes up the Kulu Valley, past the green lawns and glorious avenues of great trees and the boiling torrent of the Beas River, with trout-fishers in the quiet reaches. Every now and then there is an orchard and if it is the spring, the time when I went up there, the trees are a mass of rose and white blossoms, with the yellow flowers of spring as a carpet at their feet. Ten miles up the valley one turns sharply up the hill and exchanges the soft verdure of the valley for the cold and barren mountain side. Soon afterwards comes Naggar, the old capital of Kulu.

'Naggar is a queer old place, with some curious temples. One of them, the temple of Krishna on the hill overlooking the town, is in the pre-Mahomedan style of the *shikhara*, and closely resembles the temples of the Pal dynasty of Bengal. Near the top of this tall and slender *shikhara* a sloping hill-roof has been added to keep off the rain, and the porch or entrance hall has been surmounted with a slanting roof for the same purpose. No better example of the origin of Hill architecture could be imagined. It was the heavy rains of the hills which made the addition of the sloping roofs necessary. Round this temple the air is sweet with the scent of wild mountain thyme and the climb up to it is through beautiful pine-woods.

'But the principal feature of Naggar is the castle, in the old days the fortress-palace of the Rajas of Kulu. It occupies a commanding position on the hill-side, with a magnificent view of the snows to the north and is in the Hill style of architecture. Like many other old buildings in the Hills, the walls are made of a mixture of wood and stone in alternate layers. The lower stories of the castle are used for Government offices and the topmost storey for a rest-house for travellers. The rooms were fine and large, with something noble and spacious about them and after the wretched huts and rough bivouacs which had been my lot for some time I felt that I ought to appreciate such quarters to the full. But it was clear that travellers did not stop much in Naggar Castle, for the table-linen was filthily dirty, the fine furniture was deep in dust and the servants in charge queer decrepit old creatures. Somehow I did not really like Naggar Castle as much as I imagined I should, for when some one came to see me in the afternoon I immediately suggested that we should sit on the grass terrace in front of the castle, instead of inside it and this in spite of the fact that on the top floor there was a magnificent verandah. I did this instinctively and was slightly surprised at my own action, but before the next morning I understood the reason. I slept in the western room of the castle and shortly after midnight I awoke with a sense of uneasiness and oppression. I thought that the night must have turned suddenly warm (it was cold when I went to bed) and I got up to open another window. As I stood up, swift and unmistakable as a gust of cold air or a drive of sleet came the sensation of fear. I went to the west hall of the castle and opened a window and all the time I was moving there and back the fear was with me. Also I noticed another curious thing. Slightly more exertion was required to move from the western wall back again into the middle of the room. It was as if there was some force or power which desired to resist my moving towards the east. It was nothing to trouble about, but I noted it with curiosity as a strange and unusual experience. Soon after I got into bed I fell asleep, but as long as I was awake the sensation of fear remained. There was neither sight nor sound to cause it. The fear was absolutely interior and I instinctively felt without any possibility of mistake that it was useless to search with stick or gun for the Thing which was causing it. My experience in the room was slight, but definite and unmistakable. I had no reason to believe that the room was in any way different from the numerous places I had slept in during my trip and to put my sensations down to nerves or imagination would have been mere self-deception. What gave this experience peculiar

emphasis was that it was unique in all my travels in the Himalayas and indeed through India and occurred at a time when I was physically as hard as nails and with nerves and head for heights about as perfect as I ever get them.

'Next morning I marched to Manali, the village at the head of the Kulu Valley. All the way up to Manali the weather had been beautiful, a bright sun, blue sky, and the snows in view all day long. But soon after I arrived a storm broke. All night and all next day it rained, and as the storm went on the rain turned to sleet and the snow crept down the hill-side. It was useless to go out, as the mist made photography impossible. But in the evening I could stand the confinement no longer, so I climbed up through the dripping pine-woods to a temple on a hill above Manali. I found it deserted, and in the evening mist it looked weird and dismal. It had four roofs, one above the other, the top one being circular and resembling an umbrella. This temple was more like a Chinese pagoda than any other building I have seen in these hills. The door had a wooden frame covered with curious old Hindu carving and the handle was a metal lion's head. Above the door were the horns of a wild sheep with ibex horns on either side. Curious as the outside of the temple was, the interior was even more peculiar. The earthen floor was a mass of deep folds and hollows. This was evidently the result of water action, in spite of the four roofs. The image in the temple was of black stone and showed the Goddess killing the Demon Buffalo. I just got off the hill and out of the pine-woods before dark, but I need not have troubled to hurry, as I was lighted home for the rest of my way by one of the finest displays of lightning which I have ever seen' (23-28).

Mittal (1961): 'Forbidding and eerie in its isolation, the palace at Sultanpur looks like a haunted place' (85).

Note: Sultanpur, Naggar, Manali and the Kulu Valley visited by W.G.A. with M. S. Randhawa, March, 1966.

RELIGION

Gazetteer (1918): 'Hinduism has proceeded in Kulu, as in the rest of the Himalayas, by importing the Hindu deities proper, with the style of temple architecture prevalent in the plains and also by assigning to Hindu deities the local spirits and godlings found among the hill tribes. The early legends speak of one Makar as being an abstainer from cow's flesh: he founded the town of Makarasa or Makrahar which was for a long time the capital of the Kulu State, and it seems that Hinduism must have come into Kulu at a very remote time. Buddhism also made its way here and there are still one or two traces of it. But the prevailing religion now is the aboriginal worship of nature dressed up in Hindu forms.

'The Rajas of Kulu came originally from Hardwar and they imported gods from the plains, whom they installed in Kulu with grants of land. These are very numerous. The tenants of the gods are made to render certain services to their landlords and are thus bound to them by strong material ties, but if the people are questioned as to their private worship, they will say that they render dues to the Thakurs and other big foreign gods but for every day wants and troubles they go to their nature deities. The only god from the plains who is really popular is Narain, an aspect of Vishnu.

'The principal gods of Kulu are Raghunathji, the imported god of the Rajas, Devi Hirma or Hiramba, an aboriginal deity who populated the valley and assisted the Rajas to begin and to extend their rule, Deota Jamlu, who has an independent position rather hostile to Raghunathji and Devi Phungni who rules in the Sarvari valley. Raja Jagat Singh imported the Thakur Raghunathji c.1650 A.D. and gave his kingdom to this god. The godlings of Kulu and Saraj are bidden to assemble at the Dasehra fair annually, when the Thakur goes in procession along the Kulu *maidan*. This procession, however, begins only when Devi Hirma has arrived and her presence determines the course of the subsequent ceremonies. She is a very powerful Devi of

Manali and jealously punishes any trespassers at her pool of Beas Kund. She and Devi Phungni are supposed to grant rain. Deota Jamlu has several temples both in Kulu proper and in Rupi and one or two in Saraj.

'In general it may be said that the belief in their godlings is very real among the Kulu and Saraj people. They are less willing than formerly to attend the Dasehra fair owing to the expense and labour of a long journey especially at harvesting time. But they go to their godlings in all times of trouble and for their daily wants.

'The occasions when the idol is animated by the presence of the god are celebrated by fairs and festivals attended by all the worshippers of the god and also by visitors from outside the village, so that the social life of the country is closely interwoven with its easy-fitting religion. The first appearance of the god for the year is not earlier than the commencement of summer, about the beginning of *Jeth* (or middle of May), when the crop of wheat and barley is ready for the sickle and the young rice is getting big enough to be planted out in the fields. The idol is carried out of his temple by the priests and attendants and his band of musicians accompanies, blaring uncouth music from drums and cymbals and trumpets and is carried to the village green, where perhaps a few guests await him in the shape of idols brought from neighbouring villages with their escorts of attendants and musicians and worshippers. All the people are dressed in their best and profusely decorated with flowers: shopkeepers have set up gay stalls for the sale of sweetmeats, toys, and knick-knacks; and somewhere in the background (if the fair is in upper Kulu) will be found tents where country spirits can be procured. The god dances, oscillated up and down in his chair by his carriers who of course are under his influence and sometimes one of his guest gods or goddesses dances alongside of him and the pair of them exchange grotesque bows and caresses. The contagion extends to the men in the crowd or to such at any rate as are expert dancers: they join hands and form a ring, the god and his musicians in the centre and circle round with a graceful step, shouting the words of the airs which the bandsmen are playing on their uncouth instruments. Faster and faster grows the dance as evening approaches: new dancers are always ready to take the place of those who drop out fatigued; and the merry revel goes on from early afternoon till dusk when the idols return to their temples.

'Once a year there is a great parade of all the godlings of Kulu in honour of the god Raghunath at Sultanpur, the ancient capital. In olden days they were brought in by the express command of the Raja, who seems to have been lord paramount of the gods as well as of the men of his kingdom and this subservience of Church to State still continues in the neighbouring independent state of Mandi. There is generally a fair attendance, the followers of each particular idol do their best to show to advantage and every banner, trumpet and drum that is available is put into requisition. The fair goes on for nearly a week; and for several days before it commences all the roads leading to Sultanpur are thronged with gaily-dressed crowds of men, women and children, bearing in procession the god of their own hamlet. On arrival at the plain near the town encampments are formed and shortly after the various adherents of particular shrines begin marching about and parade all their magnificence as a sort of preliminary spectacle and foretaste of what will be done on the opening and the final days of the entertainment. The devotees attached to the Raghunath shrine have not in the meanwhile been idle and by the morning, when the fair really commences, the *rath*, or wooden car, which lies in the plain all the year round, has been provided with wheels, and liberally ornamented with coloured cloths and flowers. All being ready for its reception the idol is placed on a species of seat inside the framework. All local deities are now brought up, with such addenda of pomp and music as are procurable, and are arranged round the central figure. The high priest then steps out in front and with every appearance of extreme devotion prays to the god and sprinkles water before the shrine; and the leading men of Kulu, headed by the rep-

resentative of the old sovereigns of the country, walk rapidly three times round the chariot amid the incessant bray of the trumpets and beating of cymbals and tom-toms. Stout ropes are next attached to the lower timbers of the car which is borne along for a few hundred yards by an enthusiastic crowd, preceded and surrounded by all the smaller gods, to a place where a canvas tent has been put up for the accommodation of Raghunath during the five days of the fair. During the next three days the gods pay visits to one another and otherwise occupy themselves and the large green plain is covered with circles of men dancing round their idols in the same manner as they do at the local fairs and with groups of brightly dressed women from all parts of the sub-division. Towards dusk, when the worship of all the gods is celebrated simultaneously with the usual noisy accompaniments of drums and trumpets, the din is immense. Nor does night bring repose, for the broad harvest moon diffuses a light almost as brilliant as day, and the Sarajis, who are the best and also the most indefatigable dancers in the sub-division carry on the dance even after their gods have retired for the night. It is not till the small hours that the crowd gradually disperses and the plain becomes dotted with sleeping figures wrapped in their blankets on the bare ground. On the last day of the fair the triumphal car of Raghunath is again brought into requisition to carry the idol escorted as on the first day by the gods down to the top of the high bank overlooking the Beas; a buffalo and a few smaller animals (including a crab) are decapitated below on the margin of the river and a figure representing Lanka is beheaded to celebrate the triumph of Raghunath (Vishnu): then the car is dragged back across the plain as near as possible to the bank of the Sarviri stream, across which the idol is carried in a pretty little wooden palanquin to his temple in the palace of the old Rajas. By an early hour the next morning all the gods with their followers have dispersed to their hamlets. The god Raghunath makes another public appearance once a year when he emerges from his temples to be bathed in the Beas at the Pipal Jatra, which is held in April' (60-67).

Rose (1919): Rose emphasises that in Kulu the worship of Vishnu (whether as Vishnu, Rama or Krishna) far outstrips that of Shiva, to whom only ten small temples or shrines exist and that, although the cult of the Devi is strong in the villages, it is Vishnu either as himself or in the form of Raghunath (Rama), the national god, who excites general devotion (275, 382-386).

HV (1933): Of the induction of the national god, Raghunath, in c.1650 and the circumstances which led to it, HV give the following account: 'In the beginning of Jagat Singh's reign an incident occurred which had important political consequences. A Brahman residing at Tippiari between Chaman and Jhari was said to have a *patha* (i.e., about three pounds) of pearls. The Raja sent to demand the pearls and met with a refusal. He was on his way to Manikarn and at Sarsari he again sent to the Brahman for the pearls. Being angry the latter replied that he would produce them on the Raja's return from Manikarn, but on the approach of the royal party he set fire to his house and perished with all his family. The ruins are still shown. The Raja then went on to Makaraha and on food being set before him it all turned to worms. This caused much alarm and a Brahman of reputed piety was sent for from Suket, who came unwillingly. On the matter being laid before him, he told the Raja that it had been revealed to him in a dream that the sin of Brahman-murder could be expiated only by bringing the image of Raghunathji from Oudh and making a surrender of the kingdom to that deity. On hearing this Jagat Singh ordered the Brahman, named Damodar, to bring the image. Now Damodar had a *gutka-sidh*, or ball used by devotees, which, on being put in the mouth, made the bearer invisible. He went to Oudh — probably the city of Ajudhya — and lived a long time in the temple waiting for an opportunity to carry off the image. Having at last secured it, he put the *gutka-sidh* in his mouth and at once reached Hardwar. On the theft being discovered, one of the temple attendants,

who also had a *gutka-sidh*, started in pursuit and arrived at Hardwar, where he found Damodar worshipping the image. Being challenged with the theft, he replied that he had not stolen the god, as it was at the latter's own request that he was being taken to Raja Jagat Singh of Kulu. 'If I do not speak the truth', said Damodar, 'take the god back if you can'. The Oudh Brahman then tried to lift the image, but in vain while Damodar raised it with one hand. Being satisfied, the Oudh Brahman returned empty-handed and Damodar brought the image to Makaraha. There Jagat Singh formally conveyed his realm to the god, by placing the image on the *gaddi* and henceforth the Rajas of Kulu regarded themselves as only the vice-regents of Raghunath (Rama) and as ruling only in his name. A great feast or *yagya* was also held on the occasion. A similar transfer of the kingdom to a god took place in Mandi about the same time, in the reign of Suraj Sen, A.D. 1637-64. In this way the curse was removed and in gratitude Damodar was granted 84 coolie loads of goods and also a temple at Bhuin village with all its rights. Jagat Sukh Kothi was also made *dharmarth*, that is, made over as a religious gift in the name of the god. Jagat Singh also ordered one rupee and two copper coins to be placed daily before the god and gave orders that this money was to be put aside and sent every year to Ajudhya' (II, 458-459).

II. HISTORICAL NOTES

SOURCES

- Anand, R. L. *Census of India, 1961, XIII, Punjab, Part VIIB, Fairs and Festivals* (New Delhi, 1965).
Includes notes on the Dussehra festival at Kulu 'in which Sita and Hanuman are taken out in procession along with Raghunath (Rama)'.
Frontispiece: 'Dussehra dances at Sultanpur, Kulu'.
Between pp. 84 and 85: (1) 'Devtas of Kulu' (2) 'Chariot of Raghunathji at Kulu'.
- Anon. *Punjab District Gazetteers, XXXA: Kangra District: Part II; Kulu and Saraj, 1917* (Lahore, 1918).
- Barnes, G. C. and Lyall, J. B. *Report of the Land Revenue Settlement of the Kangra District, Panjab* (Lahore, 1889).
Barnes, 1852; Lyall, 1875.
- Bruce, G. C. *Kulu and Lahoul* (London, 1914).
- French, J. C. *Himalayan Art* (Oxford, 1931).
- Goswamy, Karuna. 'Vaishnavism in the Punjab Hills and Pahari Painting' (Doctoral dissertation, Punjab University, Chandigarh, 1968).
- Griffin, L. H. and Massy, C. F. *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab* (Lahore, 1940).
- Harcourt, A. F. P. *The Himalayan Districts of Kooloo, Lahoul and Spiti* (London, 1871).
- Hutchison, J. and Vogel, J. P. *History of the Panjab Hill States* (Lahore, 1933), II.
- Moorcroft, W. *Manuscript Journal*, dated 28 July to 16 August 1820. MSS. Eur. D.242. India Office Library, London.
- Moorcroft, W. and Trebeck, G. *Travels in the Himalayan Provinces of Hindustan and the Panjab; in Ladakh and Kashmir; in Peshawar, Kabul, Kunduz and Bokhara from 1819 to 1825* (prepared for the press from original journals and correspondence by H. H. Wilson, London, 1841, 2 vols.). A censored paraphrase by Wilson of Moorcroft's manuscripts.
- Rose, H. A. *A glossary of the tribes and castes of the Punjab and the North-West Frontier Province* (Lahore, 1919).
- Sastri, Hirananda. 'Historical Documents of Kulu', *Archaeological Survey of India: Annual Report 1907-1908* (Calcutta, 1911), 260-276.

REIGNS AND PORTRAITS

The Kulu royal house bears the clan name Koli, Kola or

Kolua. With Basohli, Bhadu and Bhadrawah, it springs from a Rajput family which originally settled at Mayapuri (Hardwar) in Garhwal. Kulu was founded by a senior branch from which a younger branch split off and founded Basohli. Like rulers of Basohli, Bhadu and Bhadrawah, Kulu princes originally shared the name, Pal, but later, under Raja Sidh Singh, c.1500, changed it to Singh.

Until 1742, all dates are approximate. Hutchison and Vogel (HV) are followed, unless otherwise indicated.

1532-1559 BAHADUR SINGH (i)

Completed subjugation of local barons (Thakurs and Rajas). Annexed the barony of Rupi. Made Makaraha his capital. Gave three Kulu princesses in marriage to Chamba.

1559-1575 PARTAP SINGH (ii)

1575-1608 PARBAT SINGH (iii)

1608-1635 PRITHI SINGH (iv)

1635-1637 KALIAN SINGH (v)

All four resided at Makaraha, but used Naggar as capital. No other facts recorded.

1637-1672 JAGAT SINGH (vi)

'Between 1640 and 1680' (Harcourt).

An era of great prosperity.

Wars: Kulu much enlarged, border areas annexed, power centralised in the Raja.

Alliances: At instance of Mughal emperor Aurangzeb, co-operated with Dan Chand Kahluria of Bilaspur in denying Suleiman Shikoh, son of Dara Shikoh, access to the Hills.

Marriages: (1) Chamba (2) a Kulu princess to Raja Dip Chand (1650-1667) of Bilaspur.

Sons: (1) Hari Singh (perhaps killed in battle) (2) Fakir Singh sent to the Mughal court at Delhi (perhaps as a hostage for the state) (3) Bidhi Singh (succeeded).

Character: Described in a *farman* from Mughal emperor Aurangzeb as 'well-established in his royal ways'. Sent presents of hawks and falcons to the Mughal emperor at Delhi.

Religion: Founded a temple to Rama at Makaraha the capital. Later inducted an image of Raghunath (Rama) from Ayodhya in Oudh. Installed it at Makaraha. Formally made over the Kulu state to the god. Celebrated the occasion with a great feast. From then on, rajas of Kulu have regarded themselves as vice-regents of Raghunath. About 1660 Sultanpur was substituted for Naggar as capital. Sultanpur palace built. Image of Raghunath transferred from Makaraha to Sultanpur (new Temple).

[For similar conventions, compare the god Madho Rai in Mandi and Eklingji in Udaipur, Rajasthan. For further information see Religion, above.]

1672-1688 BIDHI SINGH (vii)

Son of Jagat Singh.

A prosperous reign. Enlarged the state area.

Wars: In conjunction with Chamba took part of Lahul. With aid of Bilaspur regained part of Bashahr. Extended southern frontier to Sutlej river. An inconclusive war with Mandi.

Marriage: Chamba (daughter of Raja Chattar Singh, 1664-1690).

1688-1719 MAN SINGH (viii)

Son of Bidhi Singh.

The great age of Kulu when the state was at the height of its power.

Wars: Mandi, Lahul, Spiti, Bangahal — all successful. Land gained. Tribute taken from Spiti. Crossed Sutlej river and seized Shangri (a fief on the eastern bank). For the significance of Shangri, see below: Shangri Branch.

External affairs: Roughly treated Guru Govind Singh (tenth Sikh guru, died 1708) when the latter visited Kulu, c.1697, to request support against the Mughals. [The Raja involved in this incident is clearly Man Singh, not Raj Singh, as stated by HV.]

Of this incident, HV states: 'The Raja seems to have been unfavourably disposed towards the Guru and treated him inhospitably. On being asked to perform a miracle, the Guru drew out his own beard to a great length, on which the Raja breathed out a flame which consumed the Guru's beard. The Guru was also imprisoned in an iron cage, but he caused himself to be carried through the air, cage and all to Mandi, where he was courteously entertained by Sidh Sen, the ruler of that State' (II, 464-465).

Marriage: Bangahal (sister of Raja Prithi Pal).

1719-1731 **RAJ (RAI) SINGH** (ix)

Son of Man Singh.

With Kangra, installed Garur Sen as Raja of Suket, 1721.

No other facts recorded.

1731-1742 **JAI SINGH** (x)

Son of Raj Singh.

Internal affairs: Due to revolt, c.1740 (?), left Kulu and fled to Lahore in search of Mughal aid. 'Is said to have been a handsome man and when in Lahore the Nawab's daughter saw him and wanted to marry him. On her father approaching the Raja on the subject, he became alarmed and fled at night with fifty of his men, leaving the others to take back his property to Kulu. Jai Singh did not return to Kulu and wrote to his brother, Tedhi Singh, that he had gone on pilgrimage to Ramdarbar (probably a Rama shrine in Ayodhya) devoting himself to the worship of Raghunath until his death' (HV, II, 465). Exact date of death unrecorded.

Wars: During Jai Singh's absence, some Kulu land was lost to Shamsher Sen of Mandi.

Portraits: (1) **Fig. 22 (Kahlur)**, Jai Singh holding a bunch of flowers. Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 122-1954. Bilaspur, c.1730.

(2) **Fig. 10 (Baghal)**, Jai Singh, left, conversing with Raja Devi Chand of Bilaspur, right. Private collection. Baghal (Arki), c.1730.

(3) **Fig. 9 (Baghal)**, Jai Singh, right, conversing with Raja Mehr Chand of Baghal, left. Binney collection, Brookline, Mass. Baghal (Arki), c.1720.

(4) **Fig. 11 (Baghal)**, Jai Singh with ladies. G. K. Kanoria collection, Calcutta. Baghal (Arki), c.1730.

1742-1767 **TEDHI SINGH** (xi)

Brother of Jai Singh

Internal affairs: Recruited a thousand *bairagis* (Hindu ascetics) as a paid body-guard and with their help liquidated a pro-Jai Singh opposition. Faced with a revolt focusing on an imposter — a *sannyasi fakir*, who claimed to be Jai Singh returned. The revolt was finally quelled only at the true Jai Singh's death.

Wars: Completed annexation of Bangahal. Tension and intermittent warfare with Kangra.

Sons: Had three sons by concubines (none legitimate): Pritam Singh, Charan Singh, Prem Singh (HV, II, 466). As against this, Lyall (75) gives him five sons: three legitimate, Pritam Singh, Dhyan Singh and Prem Singh; two illegitimate (by concubines), Charan Singh and Indar Singh. Later (77), he says, 'Thedi Singh had no sons by his Ranis or Rajput wives so he was succeeded by his son, Pritam Singh, who was illegitimate or of impure blood, as his mother was a Kawasi, that is, a Kanet girl married by a sort of left-handed ceremony'.

Portraits: (1) **Fig. 30 (Kulu)**, Tedhi Singh smoking. Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 112-1954. Kulu, c.1760-1765.

(2) **Fig. 31 (Kulu)**, Tedhi Singh with a favourite. Mittal collection, Hyderabad. Kulu, c.1760-1765.

1767-1806 **PRITAM SINGH** (xii)

Son of Tedhi Singh by a non-Rajput woman.

Wars and external affairs: Invaded Mandi and regained some lost Kulu land.

Alliances against Kulu: (1) 1778. By Mandi (Shamsher Sen and Mian Surma Sen), Kangra (Sansar Chand) and Chamba (Raj Singh). Object to annex Bangahal (since 1750 part of Kulu) and then to divide it up amongst themselves. Chamba acted alone. Bangahal seized and then taken by Chamba.

(2) 1786. By Chamba, Mandi and Bilaspur. Object to conquer Kulu and divide the state amongst themselves. Thwarted owing to Sansar Chand of Kangra's rise to power, his acquisition of Kangra Fort and supremacy in the Hills (Kangra had by then, become anti-Mandi and Chamba).

Following a Kangra invasion of Mandi (1792), Kulu regained from Mandi some lost land. Tribute paid to Kangra by Kulu. Tribute paid to the Gurkhas of Nepal for Shangri. Despite Kangra's 'protection', Pritam Singh intrigued with Jit Singh of Chamba in 1801 for a joint attack on Kangra.

Portraits: (1) Skelton (1961), pl. 71. Pritam Singh on horseback. Inscribed: *raja pritam singhji*. Private collection. Bilaspur, c.1770.

(2) Pritam Singh conferring. Inscribed: *raja pritam singh*. Lambagraon collection, Kangra. Kangra, c.1770. Unpublished.

1806-1816 **BIKRAM SINGH** (xiii)

Son of Pritam Singh.

Wars and external affairs: Some Kulu land lost to Mandi. Continuing tribute paid to the Gurkhas but co-operated with them in an attack on Kangra (1806-9). Invaded by Sikhs and forced to give tribute, 1810. On failure to pay more tribute, a second Sikh attack, resulting in the plundering of Sultanpur and Bikram Singh retreating to the mountains, 1813. Further tribute taken by the Sikhs. 1815, released from Gurkha tribute by the British but died 1816.

Portrait: (1) Mittal (1958), fig. 6, reproducing a mural portrait of Bikram Singh on horseback in the Shish Mahal palace, Sultanpur, Kulu. The portrait is identified as that of Bikram Singh because it is similar to a second mural portrait (not illustrated), inscribed *maharajadhiraj vikram jit singh*. Kulu, c.1806-c.1810.

1816-1841 **AJIT SINGH** (xiv)

Son of Bikram Singh by a non-Rajput woman.

'A boy of under ten years of age' (Moorcroft, *Manuscript Journal* f. 99, dated 2 August 1820). In absence of a direct heir was acknowledged as raja and installed by the Raja of Mandi acting by deputy. 'This right had been claimed and exercised for some time by Sansar Chand as lord-paramount; and though his suzerainty had passed away, he was annoyed that the ceremony of investiture should have been performed by another. He therefore stirred up Kishan Singh (brother of Bikram Singh (Lyall, 75), though by a concubine) to dispute the succession. His claim was supported by the ranis but the people disapproved and Kishan Singh then fled to Kangra. With the assistance of Sansar Chand, he collected a force and advanced into Kulu. Ajit Singh was defeated and fled to Mandi. He returned with a force and Kishan Singh was overpowered and made prisoner with all his men by the combined Mandi and Kulu army. The Katoch men were stripped naked and left to find their way home over the mountains in this condition' (HV, II, 469). As a *quid pro quo*, Mandi was granted some Kulu land.

External affairs: 1820-1840 matters fairly quiet in Kulu, the annual tribute being paid. In 1840, a Sikh army was sent to take Mandi, ravaged Kulu but was later annihilated. Kulu was later occupied by the Sikhs. Ajit Singh escaped to Shangri (part of Kulu but on the further (British side) of the Sutlej). Died September, 1841.

RUPI BRANCH

1841-1852 **THAKUR SINGH** (xv)

Son of Prem Singh (brother of Pritam Singh by a non-Rajput) and an uncle, at one remove, of Ajit Singh. Installed by Sikhs in Kulu and given Rupi as a *jagir*.

Internal affairs: Kulu was at first administered by the Sikhs direct. Later, in 1846, it was joined to Kangra as a British district, Thakur Singh retaining Rupi as a *jagir*.

1852-1869 **GYAN SINGH** (xvi)

Son of Thakur Singh by a non-Rajput.

Retained Rupi as a *jagir* but with the title of Rai, not Raja.

1869-1892 DALIP SINGH (xvii)

Son of Gyan Singh. A minor until 1883.

Allied by marriage with rajas of Nadaun, Kangra and of Mandi (Griffin).

Portraits: (1) Mittal (1961) figs. 2, 4 and 8; reproducing a mural of Dalip Singh worshipping Tripura Sundari Devi in the Shish Mahal palace, Sultanpur, Kulu. The figure is identified as that of Dalip Singh by family tradition. Sikh costume and late nineteenth-century style. Kulu, c.1880.

1892-1921 MEGH SINGH (xviii)

Born 1882. Son of Dalip Singh by a non-Rajput.

Married two daughters of Kanwar Bhagvan Chand of Hindur (Griffin). Resided at Sultanpur palace, former Kulu capital.

1921-? BHAGWANT SINGH (xix)

Born 1909. A minor until 1930. Son of Megh Singh. Married two sisters of the Rani of Mandi (herself from Suket). Visited at Sultanpur by J. C. French (*Himalayan Art* (1931), 2, 15). Owner of a Kulu Raj collection of paintings (French, q.v.).

SHANGRI BRANCH

1841-1876 JAGGAR SINGH (xx)

Brother of Bikram Singh (xiii) but 'partly dumb and almost half-witted'. Had accompanied Ajit Singh (xiv) to Shangri. Confirmed by British as Raja of a separate Shangri State.

Sons: Hira Singh (born 1849), Sansar Singh (born 1851).

1876-? HIRA SINGH (xxi)

Succeeded first as Mian, later (1887) as Rai.

Dates unknown RAGHBIR SINGH (xxii)

Inherited the 'Shangri' *Ramayana* series of 270 paintings, said by family tradition to have been painted in Kulu in the seventeenth century (Randhawa (1959), 21-23). See nos. 1-5.

IMPLICATIONS FOR PAINTING

Personality of rulers

The dates of birth of all Kulu rajjas (with the exception of Ajit Singh, xiv), as also their ages at succession, are in each case conjectural. Their characters are also very lightly sketched. Few inferences as to their possible interest in or influences on painting can therefore be drawn.

It is clear, however, that the greatest Kulu rulers were Jagat Singh, Bidhi Singh and Man Singh (vi-viii, 1637-1719) and that an outstanding event in Kulu history was the dedication of the state to Raghunath (Rama) in about 1650. As explained in the section on religion, Raghunath was no mere *roi faineant* but an active factor in Kulu religion, concentrating in himself the popular worship of Vishnu and confirming it as the dominant cult in Kulu. This is in sharp contrast to Mandi where a similar dedication of the state to Vishnu (Madho Rai or Krishna as Murlidhar, flute-player) was largely nominal and left unaffected the rival and much stronger cult of Shiva and the Devi. In view of this strong Vaishnava bias, widespread depictions of Rama and Krishna would be natural in Kulu whereas widespread depictions of Shiva would not.

Relations with other states

Basohli. The fact that Kulu and Basohli were branches of the same family, had originally shared the same suffix, Pal, and were separated from each other by intervening states (thus avoiding the territorial rivalries and border frictions which marred Mandi's relations with Suket) raises some presumption of close cultural and social ties between them. Since Basohli had a vigorous school of painting in the last third of the seventeenth century and was at times also strongly Vaishnava, Basohli influences in early Kulu painting would not be unlikely.

Mandi. Although Kulu expanded mainly at the expense of

states such as Bangahal, Lahul, Spiti and Bashahr, friction and rivalry with Mandi was constant throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and the two states continually invaded each other. In these wars, Kulu was normally the victor. The fact that Mandi and Kulu were on such constantly bad terms until the nineteenth century makes any sharing or exchange of artists by them or the development of a joint style of painting very unlikely. Similarly, Mandi influence on Kulu painting (and vice versa) seems very improbable. [The theory that the dealers' term 'Kulu school' is a 'generic term' for a style which was common to both Kulu and Mandi in the eighteenth century should be seen in the light of this circumstance.]

Chamba. Despite inter-marriages in the seventeenth century, relations with Chamba were normally unfriendly — the border state of Bangahal being a constant source of friction between them. In such circumstances, it does not seem likely that Chamba artists would have been welcome at the Kulu court.

Kahlur (Bilaspur). In contrast to Mandi and Chamba, relations with Bilaspur were consistently close and friendly throughout the seventeenth and until the end of the eighteenth century. Neither state subdued or over-ruled the other and they were often active allies (see reigns vi, vii). The conspiracy by Bilaspur in 1786, to join with Chamba and Mandi to divide Kulu, is against the whole trend of their relations. Bilaspur influences on Kulu painting (and vice-versa) would therefore be a natural development.

The Mughals. Although certain Kulu princes attended or visited the Mughal imperial court (Lahore, Delhi) and tribute to the Mughal Emperor was paid until the late eighteenth century, no actual service by Kulu rajjas with Mughal imperial forces is recorded. Mughal influences on Kulu culture would appear to have been slight.

The Sikhs. Unlike Mandi, where Guru Govind Singh (tenth Sikh guru) established exceptionally warm relations with Raja Sidh Sen in about 1697, Raja Man Singh (viii) of Kulu maltreated Guru Govind Singh. Early in the nineteenth century the Sikhs attacked Raja Bikram Singh (xiii) and plundered his capital. In 1840 they again ravaged the state and took over the administration (1840-1846). The absence of good relations in the eighteenth century would make it very unlikely that Sikh subjects would be treated in Kulu painting. The Sikh occupation of Kulu in the mid-nineteenth century, on the other hand, could explain Sikh influences on court dress in the later nineteenth century. See no. 42.

III. PAINTING: REVIEW OF LITERATURE

1916

Coomaraswamy, A. K. *Rajput Painting* (Oxford, 1916), I, 20.

'Of Kulu I can say less; it is a valley even more remote, its culture even more local. All that I have seen consists of certain photographs, bought in Sultanpur (one with an undeciphered inscription in Dogri or Kului) purporting to be copies of pictures of the late Kulu rajjas: these are in the style of plate 35A'. [Pl. 35A is here regarded as a portrait of Raja Anand Dev of Bahu (Jammu). See *Jammu*, no. 1.]

The following plates are here assigned to Kulu:

Pl. 30. 'Dalliance of Radha and Krishna'. See no. 22(1).

Pl. 31. 'Krishna fluting to the cows'. See no. 18(1).

Pl. 32 A. 'Radha and Krishna gazing at each other'. See no. 16(3).

1922

Gupta, S. N. *Catalogue of Paintings in the Central Museum, Lahore* (Calcutta, 1922). Col. pl. 18, p.115. 'The *phulasajya* of Radha and Krishna'. See no. 12.

1926

Coomaraswamy, A. K. *Catalogue of the Indian Collections in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: Part V; Rajput Painting* (Boston, 1926).

The following are here regarded as Kulu:

Pls. 32, 33 (67-72). Six paintings from a *Ragamala* series. See no. 13 (1-6).
Pl. 65 (225). 'Radha and Krishna gazing at each other'. See no. 16(3).
Pl. 70 (224). 'Krishna fluting to the cows'. See no. 18(1).
Pl. 107 (398). 'Girl on a stool'. See no. 24(2).

Gangoly, O. C. *Masterpieces of Rajput Painting* (Calcutta, 1926).

Pl. 14. 'Krishna fluting to the cows'. See no. 18(1).

1928

Misra, K. P. 'An illustrated manuscript of Madhu Malati', *Rupam* (1928), XI, nos. 33-34, figs. A-C, col. pl. opposite p.9.

Publishes a *Madhu Malati* series, with colophon, by the artist Bhagvan. See no. 39. For the connection of this artist with Kulu, c.1790-1800, see Khandalavala (1958); Mittal (1958).

1929

Ghose, A. 'The Basohli School of Rajput Painting', *Rupam* (1929), no. 37, 6-17.

Figs. 1-4. Illustrations of Hindu dieties. Described by Ghose as 'the Basohli primitives' but here regarded as early Kulu. Compare no. 3.

1931

French, J. C. *Himalayan Art* (Oxford, 1931), 15, 23-27.

A first attempt to identify Kulu painting in the light of a visit to Kulu, 1930, and an inspection of the ancestral collection of the Rai of Rupi, descendant of the Kulu rajas, Sultanpur, Kulu.

Illustrates one picture from this collection (pl. 2. 'Radha and Krishna rising from the pines', see no. 26) and assigns to Kulu two further pictures, photographed but not illustrated, as well as some other pictures 'clearly derived from the earlier primitives, though showing a strong Kangra Valley influence'. For the two pictures photographed, see Kahlur, nos. 14(i, ii).

Attributes to Kulu a 'Kangra Valley' phase of painting in the nineteenth century. 'No paintings are painted in the Kulu Valley nowadays'.

On murals at Sultanpur has the following note: 'The walls of the upper rooms of the palace are decorated with Kangra paintings in gaudy colours. The most attractive are some frescoes of conventionalised trees, including pines, similar to pl. 2'. For Kulu murals at Sultanpur, see Mittal (1958).

Stresses pine-trees as a feature of Kulu painting.

1934

Gangoly, O. C. *Ragas and Raginis* (Calcutta, 1934).

Pl. 17B. 'Lady playing on a *vina* to a pair of deer'. See no. 16(4).

Also illustrates part of the Boston *Ragamala* series (Coomaraswamy, 1926). See no. 13(1-6).

1938

Khandalavala, K. *Indian Sculpture and Painting* (Bombay, 1938).

Fig. 107. 'Radha and Krishna in the forest'. Here regarded as Kulu. See no. 6.

1946

Khandalavala, K. 'Some paintings from the collection of

the late Burjor N. 'Treasuryvala', *Marg* (1946), I, no. 1. Col. pl. p. 57. 'A gallant takes toll'. See no. 9.

1948

Irwin, J. 'The Heritage of Indian Art: the Mughal period', *The Studio* (February, 1948), 45.

Pl. 12. Gangoly (1934, pl. 17B). See no. 16(4).

1949

Mehta, N. C. 'Some Notes on Pahari Paintings', *Roopa Lekha* (1948-1949), XX, no. 2.

Page 79 (fig). Attributed by Mehta to Kulu. Here ascribed to Mandi (Mandi, no. 35(1), q.v.).

1950

Werner, A. *Indian Miniatures* (New York, 1950).

Col. pl. 13. 'Lady approaching a shrine to Shiva'. Compare no. 16.

Prasad, R. and others. *Nehru; a Birthday Book* (Calcutta, 1950).

Pl. 23. From a *Rasa Panchadhyayi* series, here attributed to the artist Bhagvan, Kulu, c.1790-1800. See no. 40(2).

Gray, B. 'Painting', *The Art of India and Pakistan* (London, 1950).

On the basis of information supplied by Dr. A. Latifi (ex-Indian Civil Service, Punjab cadre), attributes to Kulu pl. 100 (535), 'After the bath'. See no. 24(1).

Also attributes to 'Kulu or Mandi' pl. 103 (537). 'Lady smoking'. Here regarded as Mandi (Mandi, no. 30(1) q.v.).

Publishes pl. 105 (516). 'Raja Ajmat Dev of Mankot smoking' (captioned 'Raja smoking', Basohli, c.1750). See no. 25.

On the basis of Latifi's information regards painting in Kulu 'as a derivation from Basohli' (102). Discussed see no. 1.

Mehta, N. C. 'Notes on some Rajasthani and Pahari paintings', *Roopa Lekha* (1950), XXI, no. 2.

Pl. 6. Attributed by Mehta to Kulu. Here ascribed to Mandi (Mandi, no. 13 q.v.).

1951

Archer, W. G. 'Sir William Rothenstein and Indian Art', *Art and Letters* (1951), XXV, no. 1, 1-7.

Pl. 5. 'Lovers feeding a pair of deer'. See no. 22.

1954

Gangoly, O. C. 'Rajput portraits of the indigenous school', *Marg* (1954), VII, no. 4, 16.

Fig. 6. 'Vishnu as a prince inspects the horse Kalki'. See no. 35 (1).

1955

Archer, W. G. 'Some Nurpur Paintings', *Marg* (1955), VIII, no. 3, 17.

Fig. 13. An inscribed portrait of Raja Tedhi Singh (xi, 1747-1767) of Kulu. Following Khandalavala (1958), here attributed to Kulu. See no. 30.

Gangoly, O. C. 'A group of Pahari miniatures in the Baroda Museum', *Bulletin Baroda Museum* (1953-1955), X-XI, 9-17.

Figs. 4 and 4a. Two further examples from a *Rasa Panchadhyayi* series here attributed to the artist Bhagvan, Kulu, c.1790-1800. Compare no. 40.

1957

Bhattacharya, A. K. 'A set of Kulu Folk-Paintings in the National Museum of India', *Artibus Asiae* (1957), XX, nos. 2 and 3, 165-183.

Here ascribed to Mandi (Mandi, nos. 11 and 12, q.v.).

1958

Khandalavala, K. *Pahari Miniature Painting* (Bombay, 1958).

The second determined attempt after French (1931) to identify Kulu painting.

Publishes a *Bhagavata Purana* series in the National Museum, New Delhi, inscribed as painted at Raghunathpura, in the reign of Raja Pritam Singh, by the painter Bhagvan, 1794 (see no. 36). Demonstrates that Raghunathpura is Kulu and that the painter Bhagvan is a Kulu artist.

Isolates a 'Basohli type, local idiom' (pp. 96-97, nos. 35-40), here included in Kulu: Phase I, but avoids a specific attribution. 'There is a group of paintings, all possessing the same characteristics, which have hitherto been classified as belonging to the Basohli *kalam*. But it is fairly certain that they represent the output of some provincial idiom'.

Attributes to Kulu, Archer (1955), fig. 13 (portrait of Raja Tedhi Singh of Kulu). See no. 30.

Records dealers' reports and attributions; describes some pictures designated by dealers 'Kulu School' but here assigned to Mandi (Mandi, no. 9, q.v.).

The following plates and illustrations are here regarded as Kulu:

- P. 109 (fig. a.) 'Krishna dancing in the pines'. From a *Rasa Panchadhyayi* series. See no. 41(1).
 Col. pl. 20. 'Radha and Krishna in the forest'. See no. 6.
 Col. pl. 22. 'A gallant takes toll'. See no. 9.
 Col. pl. 23. *Abhisarika nayika*. See no. 10.
 Fig. 21. 'Krishna upbraided by Jasoda'. From a *Bhagavata Purana* series. By the artist Bhagvan, Kulu, 1794. See no. 36(1).
 Fig. 24. 'Radha and Krishna dressed in lotus flowers'. See no. 27(2).
 Fig. 25. *Vata savitri*. Compare nos. 27-29.
 Fig. 27. 'Two gosains'. See no. 27(1).
 No. 21. *Gujari Ragini*. (Coomaraswamy (1926), pl. 33). See no. 13(4).
 No. 35. 'After the bath'. See no. 24(1).
 No. 36. 'Girl on a stool'. See no. 24(2).
 No. 37. 'Dalliance of Radha and Krishna'. See no. 22(1).
 No. 38. 'Radha and Krishna gazing at each other'. See no. 16(3).
 No. 39. 'Lovers feeding a pair of deer'. See no. 22.
 No. 40. 'Krishna fluting to the cows'. See no. 18(1).
 No. 41. 'Rama, Sita and Lakshmana with sages in the forest'. From the 'Shangri' *Ramayana, Aranya kanda*. See no. 5(1).
 No. 42. 'The pool of the dancing-girls'. From the 'Shangri' *Ramayana, Aranya kanda*. See no. 5(ii).
 No. 72. 'The young Ajmat Dev of Mankot smoking'. See no. 25.
 No. 145A. *Sanwari Ragini*. From a *Ragamala* series. See no. 32(5).
 No. 145B. 'Raja Tedhi Singh of Kulu with favourite'. See no. 31.
 No. 147. 'Raja Tedhi Singh of Kulu smoking'. See no. 30.

Ghose, A. 'Pahari Schools of Indian painting', *Roopa Lekha* (1958), XXVIII, nos. 1 and 2, 43.

'Kulu is, after Kangra, the oldest state in the Punjab Hills. Its art, however, is rich in folk elements and shows considerable influence of Basohli. This is evident chiefly in the Basohli type of large "lotus eyes". The general treatment in technique and style is, however, more akin to folk art than to the altogether superior art we find in Basohli. Incidentally, it may be recalled that a cadet of the ruling family of Basohli had founded Kulu and thus a cultural unity with Basohli can be traced far back in Kulu history.'

[Ghose is here mistaken; a cadet of the Kulu house having founded Basohli, not a cadet of Basohli Kulu.]

Mittal, J. 'An illustrated manuscript of Madhu Malati and other paintings from Kulu', *Lalit Kala* (1956-1957), published 1958, nos. 3-4, 90-95, figs. 1-11, col. pls. D, E, F.

Supplements Khandalavala (1958) by publishing:

- (1) a portrait of Raja Tedhi Singh (xi, 1742-1767) of Kulu with favourite (col. pl. D). See no. 31.
- (2) a *Ragamala* series in similar style (figs. 1-4, col. pl. F.). See no. 32.
- (3) a *Madhu Malati* series inscribed as painted at Raghunathpura,

in the reign of Pritam Singh, by the painter Bhagvan, 1799 (figs. 5, 7-10, col. pl. E). See no. 37.

Although not expressly stated, these pictures are understood to have been in the ancestral collection of the Rai of Rupi, Sultanpur, or of members of his family.

Describes a series of murals in the Shish Mahal palace, Sultanpur:

(1) Murals on a verandah facing the courtyard on the ground floor and portraying the abode of Devi. Discovered by Randhawa, 1953, and copied by Mittal, 1956, on behalf of the Lalit Kala Akademi, New Delhi. Published Mittal (1961). See no. 42.

(2) Murals in an inner room adjoining the verandah on the ground floor and portraying (i) the marriage of Rama and Sita (detail, fig. 11), (ii) Krishna and the cow-girls, (iii) Raja Bikram Singh (xiii, 1806-1816) of Kulu with retinue (identified by comparison with inscribed mural 3 (i), see below). Attributed by Mittal to the artist Bhagvan and the period 1790-1810, by comparison with the dated *Madhu Malati* series noted above. See no. 36(4).

(3) Murals on the verandah of a small shrine to Kali, adjoining the inner room and portraying (i) Raja Bikram Singh (xiii, 1806-1816) on a war expedition, fig. 6, inscribed on the top of the entrance to the verandah: *maharajadhiraj vikram jit singh*; (ii) a royal hunting party. Dated by Mittal 'between 1806-1810' i.e., soon after Bikram Singh came to the throne 'since the inscription refers to him as Maharajadhiraj' and the war expedition seems to be that against Mandi during the early part of the reign. Since Bikram Singh was harried by the Sikhs from 1810 onwards, his palace was plundered by them in 1813 and he died in 1816, patronage of painting by him must probably be previous to 1810. See no. 36(4).

Note: The murals described by Mittal must be distinguished from 'the Kangra paintings in gaudy colours' noted by French (1931) on the walls of the upper rooms of the palace. These latter murals are not referred to by Mittal and are said to have been destroyed in 1964.

Of the murals listed, groups (1) and (2) were inspected by Randhawa and W.G.A. in March, 1966.

Randhawa, M. S. 'A re-assessment of some paintings described in Gangoly, *Masterpieces of Rajput Painting*', *Lalit Kala* (1956-1957, published 1958), nos. 3-4, 97.

Alludes to Gangoly (1926), pl. 14 (see present no. 18(1)) and notes that it 'resembles a number of paintings discovered from Kulu which are now in the collection of Raja Raghbir Singh of Shangri, a descendant of Raja Pritam Singh of Kulu (1767-1806) who was a well-known patron of art. The type of face, slightly stupid looking, is very characteristic of the Kulu school of painting'.

The first implied reference to the 'Shangri' *Ramayana* series (see nos. 1-5), later published more fully by Randhawa (1959).

1959

Goetz, H. *India: five thousand years of Indian art* (London, 1959).

P.230 (col. pl.). 'Radha and Krishna gazing at each other'. See no. 16(3).

Randhawa, M. S. *Basohli Painting* (New Delhi, 1959), 21-23.

Publishes the 'Shangri' *Ramayana*, a series of 270 paintings from the ancestral collection of Raja Raghbir Singh of Shangri (Kulu, xxiv). Records the family tradition of the series' origin in Kulu in the seventeenth century. See nos. 1-5. In the light of this series, identifies as Kulu, Khandalavala (1958), nos. 35-40.

Col. pl. 16. 'The departure for the forest'. From the 'Shangri' *Ramayana, Bala kanda*. See no. 1(ii).

Col. pl. 17. 'The sorrow of Rama'. From the 'Shangri' *Ramayana, Kishkindha kanda*. See no. 5(2).

Col. pl. 18. 'The hermitage of Valmiki'. From the 'Shangri' *Ramayana, Uttara kanda*. See no. 1(1).

1960

Archer, W. G. *Indian Miniatures* (London, New York, 1960).

Pl. 64. 'Krishna lifting Mount Govardhan'. Captioned 'Basohli' but here ascribed to Kulu. See no. 16(1).

Col. pl. 70. 'Baz Bahadur and Rupmati hunting at night'. Captioned 'Basohli sub-style', here ascribed to Kulu. See no. 16(2).

Col. pl. 77. 'Girl making music to four deer'. Captioned 'Kulu' but here ascribed to Mandi (no. 11, q.v.).

Pl. 78. 'Radha and Krishna with cow-girls in a grove'. From a *Rasa Panchadhyayi* series. See no. 40(ii).

Lee, S. E. *Rajput Painting* (New York, 1960).

Pl. 67. 'Portrait of a Raja with ladies', Compare no. 11.

1961

Gangoly, O. C. *Critical Catalogue of Miniature Paintings in the Baroda Museum* (Baroda, 1961), 131, 132.

Pl. 34A 'Radha discusses her reply to Krishna'. From a *Rasa Panchadhyayi* series. See no. 40(1).

Mittal, J. 'The Devi Mural at Kulu by Sajnu', *Roopa Lekha* (1961), XXXII, no. 2, 85-97, figs. 1-17.

Publishes in detail the mural, 'The Abode of Devi', on the wall of the verandah facing the courtyard on the ground-floor of the Shish Mahal palace, Sultanpur, Kulu (briefly discussed Mittal, 1958). See no. 42.

Skelton, R. *Indian Miniatures from the 15th to 19th centuries* (Venice, 1961).

Pl. 31. 'Weaving a garland'. See no. 8(2).

Pl. 35. *Madhava Raga*. Discussed, see no. 13(viii).

Pls. 39, 40. From the 'Shangri' *Ramayana* series. See no. 1 (discussion).

Pls. 69, 70. From a *Bhagavata Purana* series. See nos. 36(2, 3).

1962

Rawson, P. S. *Indian Painting* (London, Paris, 1962).

Col. pl. (p.138). 'Baz Bahadur and Rupmati riding at night'. See no. 20(1).

1963

Lawrence, G. *Indian Art: Paintings of the Himalayan States* (London, 1963).

Pl. 13 (detail). 'Baz Bahadur and Rupmati hunting at night'. See no. 16(2).

Barrett, D. *Painting of India* (London, 1963).

Col. pl. (p.169). 'Krishna fluting to the cows'. See no. 18(1).

Col. pl. (p.192). 'The resourceful lover'. From the 'first' *Madhu Malati* series. See no. 37(1).

Archer, Mildred, Archer, W. G. and Lee, S. E. *Indian Miniatures from the Mildred and W. G. Archer collection* (Washington, 1963).

Pl. 29. 'Baz Bahadur and Rupmati hunting at night'. See no. 16(2).

Pl. 32. 'The Toilet'. See no. 24.

1964

Mittal, J. 'Kulu Murals', *Marg* (1964), XVII, no. 3, 48-54, figs. 1-10.

Re-publishes the murals in the Shish Mahal palace, Sultanpur, Kulu (Mittal, 1958, 1961): (1) on the verandah facing the courtyard and portraying the 'Abode of Devi', figs. 2-4a; (2) in the adjoining inner room and portraying (i) ladies garlanding Rama, fig. 1 and (ii) Krishna with the cow-girls, figs. 5-7; (3) on the verandah of the small shrine to Kali and portraying (i) Raja Bikram Singh on a war expedition, figs. 8 and 10 and (ii) a royal hunting party, fig. 9.

Text substantially the same as in 1958 and 1961 but adding a note referring to (1) murals 'in Sikh style' done under Raja Dalip Singh (1869-1892) on the left-hand portion of the 'Devi' mural verandah; (2) to murals depicting mythological scenes on the walls of a house at Grahani, five miles from Sultanpur, c.1875. See nos. 36(4) and 42.

Lee, S. E. *A History of Far Eastern Art* (London, 1964).

Fig. 280. From a similar *Ragamala* series to no. 13.

1965

Archer, Mildred, and Archer, W. G. *Romance and Poetry in Indian Painting* (Wildenstein, London, 1965).

Pl. 27. 'Baz Bahadur and Rupmati hunting at night'. See no. 16(2).

Pl. 28. 'Lady with hookah'. See no. 8(1).

Welch, S. C. and Beach, M. C. *Gods, Thrones and Peacocks* (New York, 1965).

Pl. 45 (p.102). 'Prince with maid'. See no. 26(1).

1966

Beach, M. C. 'Rajput and related paintings', *The Arts of India and Nepal: the Nasli and Alice Heeramaneck Collection* (Boston, 1966).

Fig. 178. 'Rama, Sita and Lakshmana in the forest with the sages'. From the 'Shangri' *Ramayana*, *Ayodhya kanda*. Compare no. 1.

1968

Archer, W. G. and Binney, E. *Rajput Miniatures from the collection of Edwin Binney 3rd* (Portland, Oregon, 1968).

Col. pl. p.12 (fig. 56a). 'The supercession of Rama'. See no. 1(iii).

Col. pl. 39 (fig. 59). *Kamodi Ragini*. From the same or a similar *Ragamala* series as no. 13.

Fig. 56b. 'Rama bids farewell'. See no. 1(iv).

Fig. 57. 'The wedding guests arrive'. Compare no. 3.

Fig. 58. 'The monkeys confer'. See no. 4(ii).

Fig. 60. 'Seated lady holding a flower'. See no. 19.

Fig. 61. 'Lakshmi and Narayan seated on lotuses'. See no. 29.

Fig. 62. 'The reluctant Radha'. Compare nos. 31, 33, 35.

Note: Figs 56-58 from the 'Shangri' *Ramayana* series, Kulu.

IV. PAINTING: CATALOGUE AND RECONSTRUCTION

PHASE ONE: c.1675-1750

1(i-iv) Four paintings from the 'Shangri' *Ramayana* series: *Style I*. Kulu, c.1690-1700.

Average size: 180 x 280 mm; with border 220 x 320 mm.

Red borders, with details in three cases projecting into them.

Formerly in the ancestral collection of Raja Raghbir Singh (xxiv) of Shangri, descendant of the Kulu rajas and stated by him, on the basis of family tradition, to be the work of painters in Kulu, during the reigns of Rajas Jagat Singh (vi. 1637-1672) and Bidhi Singh (vii. 1672-1688).

Published: Randhawa (1959), 21-23, col. pls. 16-18.

1(i) **The hermitage of Valmiki.** Illustration to the *Ramayana*, part VII. *Uttara kanda*.

Formerly Raja Raghbir Singh collection, Shangri.

Published: Randhawa (1959), col. pl. 18.

Description: Sita, sitting by a pale yellow hut, supervises a lesson given to her sons, Lava and Kusha, by the hermit Valmiki. He is dressed in a red *dhoti* and has dark brown skin. Behind the children are two other boys. On each side a variety of coloured trees and creepers.

1(ii) **The departure for the forest.** Illustration to the *Ramayana*, part 1. *Bala kanda*.

Formerly Raja Raghbir Singh collection, Shangri.

Published: Randhawa (1959), col. pl. 16.

Description: Rama and Lakshmana, driven by a charioteer, depart for the forest, leaving on the right their father, Dasaratha, from whom they have just taken leave. A footman, standing by the chariot, bids them farewell. Another footman addresses Dasaratha. An attendant in long red *jama*

holds above him a royal umbrella. In the centre a violently twisted tree entwined with creepers. Background sage green.

I(iii) The supersession of Rama. Illustration to the *Ramayana*, part II, *Ayodhya kanda*.

Binney collection, Brookline, Mass.

Published: Archer and Binney (1968), col. pl. 56a.

Description: Dasaratha, a long enfeebled figure on the left, reclines in a white *jama* on a blue rug with red borders, while his consort, Kaikeyi, in a red dress, induces him to reverse his decision appointing Rama as co-regent. Rama, in red, followed by Lakshmana, Sita and three maids, stands before him, expressing through his folded hands his loyal compliance. Sage green background.

I(iv) Rama bids farewell. Illustration to the *Ramayana*, part II, *Ayodhya kanda*.

Binney collection, Brookline, Mass.

Published: Archer and Binney (1968), fig. 56b.

Description: Rama, Lakshmana and Sita bow before Dasaratha, preparatory to mounting their chariot and leaving for exile. Dasaratha, a seated figure on the left, places his right hand on Rama's head as he kneels before him. Rama and Lakshmana are nude save for brief trunks. To the right a chariot with rider and two horses.

Discussion: The 'Shangri' *Ramayana* series is of crucial importance in the history of Kulu painting because it provides the earliest series for which firm evidence of Kulu origin exists. When first discovered by Randhawa (1956), it included 270 paintings, illustrating parts of Valmiki's celebrated epic. Although the series was dispersed in 1961, 168 examples can be studied in the National Museum, New Delhi, six examples are in Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras, two are in the G. K. Kanoria collection, Calcutta, nine are in the Binney collection, Brookline, Mass., two are in the Victoria and Albert Museum and a further two pictures are in a private collection (Skelton (1961), pls. 39, 40). Two further examples from the series reached the National Museum, New Delhi in 1947 (see no. 5(iii)). Yet further examples are in public and private collections.

The pictures, according to the family tradition of Raja Raghu Singh, were painted in Kulu in the reigns of Rajas Jagat Singh and Bidhi Singh. Randhawa was told that the painters were a family of Kashmiri Brahmins 'whose descendants still live in Paljhot, a village near Naggur, the summer capital of Raja Jagat Singh'. Although he did not meet this family or cross-examine them (and hence his information is uncorroborated), there is no *prima facie* reason why such a family should not have reached Kulu in the later part of the seventeenth century.

The paintings, as now surviving, are in four distinct styles:

Style I. This occurs with Style II in the first two parts of the series (*Bala* and *Ayodhya kandas*). It also occurs in the seventh and final part (*Uttara kanda*), where, however, it is the only style to be employed. It is significant that, although all three parts contain pictures with fully finished red borders, part II and, to a lesser extent, part I, have pictures in which the borders have been left uncoloured.

Style II. This is employed with Style I for illustrations to the first and second parts (*Bala* and *Ayodhya kandas*) only.

Style III. A style of lush exuberance concerned chiefly with monkey scenes and jungle. It occurs in part IV (*Kishkindha kanda*) and part V (*Lanka* or *Sundara kanda*) and is a variant of Style I.

Style IV. The only style to be used for part III (*Aranya kanda*) and part VI (*Yuddha kanda*). It also overlaps into part IV (*Kishkindha kanda*) and part V (*Lanka* or *Sundara kanda*).

Although vividly supplemented by Styles II-IV, all of which account for significant elements in later Kulu painting, it is Style I which is perhaps the most expressive and

which gives the series the most distinct Kulu flavour. An obvious offshoot of Basohli painting of the 1660-1680 period, it avails of the following Basohli idioms and details: boys in short trunks, shoes with long tongues protruding at the heels, trousers with dark stripes, willow-like creepers intermixed with trees, foliage treated as geometric rosettes, details protruding into borders and, in the case of young men, a hair fashion involving one or more long locks straggling to the shoulder. It is, none the less, quite un-Basohli-like in spirit — a fact which is reflected not only in the development of devices, first found in the series, but also in the way in which Basohli-like idioms are given fresh interpretation. Compositions are wilder and less controlled. There is a somewhat frantic disregard for symmetrical and orderly arrangement. Movement is more agitated and there is, at times, a sense of strange disruption. Above all, the style is farouche, intense and frenzied.

This distinctive character is illustrated in the following details:

Faces. As against the use of a single facial type in one picture, two, three or even four different types are sometimes availed of. They differ from any in Basohli painting proper and can be distinguished as follows:

A: Brutal, square-shaped head, large sharply-jutting nose, thick lips, eye wider near the nose, thick neck.

Examples: I(i), fourth boy on the right; I(ii), the figures of Rama and Lakshmana in the chariot and the footman addressing Dasaratha; I(iii), Rama and Lakshmana; I(iv) Lakshmana, Rama and Sita.

B: Tall long head with domed forehead, long straight nose and pronouncedly curved nostril, the gaze directed downwards with a look of intense, almost mesmerized concentration.

Examples: I(i), boy seated nearest to the hermit gazing at his book; I(iv), Rama kneeling.

C: Short nose and excessively heavy jaw or jowl, giving the impression of brutal clumsiness.

Examples: I(i), Sita and the third boy from left; I(ii), attendant holding the umbrella over Dasaratha; I(iii), Kaikeyi and the four ladies on the right; I(iv), charioteer.

D: Bare receding forehead, the hair commencing far back, large white eyes with small pupils conveying an impression of wondering fascination.

Examples: I(ii), second boy from left and to some extent Sita; I(iii), Kaikeyi and the ladies, specially in the treatment of hair and foreheads.

Hair. Use is made of the Basohli idiom of long locks of hair, especially in the case of youths, but the treatment is wilder and more straggly, the locks ending in dishevelled strands.

Textile patterns. A densely sprinkled three-dot pattern is noticeable on Sita's veil (no. 1, i). This pattern is found in sub-imperial Mughal painting of the early seventeenth century and in Mewar, Bundi and Central Indian painting of the years 1625 to 1675. Normally, however, it is more thinly spread. In Basohli painting, it occurs very rarely, occupies a subordinate role and is quietly unobtrusive. In I(i, ii), it is the chief textile pattern and swamps all others.

Horses. These are shown with narrow heads, manes with minute strands of hair and eyes with large pupils expressing the same air of wild and haunted concentration noticeable in the human figures.

Trees. These are partly based on Basohli models but have separate characteristics. Tree trunks are shown as unusually jagged and twisted with great gouged-out holes. Branches dive in and out of leaves. Trees, when shown together, have a clustering richness as if they were wildly intermingled. 'Willow-like' trees and creepers, often spangled with white flowers, dangle their stems and branches in loose profusion (in marked contrast to the more regular and 'parallel' treatment favoured at Basohli). Leaves are sometimes shown with tinted red edges, in overlapping clumps or in

geometric circles or rosettes, as if radiating from a daisy-like centre. This latter idiom is frequent in Basohli painting but again is treated with a severer sense of strict geometry. As in Basohli painting, tree trunks are coloured pink, grey, white and brown and leaves are often pink, red, blue, green, white, yellow or brown. The treatment, however, is more abandoned, and, in its air of playful poetry, even verges on the fantastic.

Although the factors which may have influenced the emergence of this strangely original style in Kulu are unrecorded, we can perhaps attribute its distinctive character to three circumstances:

(1) Since Basohli was an offshoot from Kulu, cultural intercourse between the two states may be presumed to have been fairly close. Provided, therefore, that a suitable incentive was forthcoming, Basohli painters could have gone to Kulu, taking with them one or more strands of the main Basohli style and adjusting it to local conditions. This would explain why Style I is both an obvious offshoot from Basohli painting and yet substantially divergent from it in spirit.

(2) A possible occasion for the artists' going could have been the dedication of the Kulu state to Raghunath (an image of Rama) in the reign of Jagat Singh (1637-1672). The exact year of this god's installation is unfortunately not recorded but two copper-plate grants from the reign of Jagat Singh are published by Sastri and they are dated 1651 and 1656 respectively. 'They record grants of land and show that the worship of Vishnu in the form of Rama and Krishna became the state religion in Kulu about the middle of the seventeenth century i.e. in the time of Jagat Singh who consigned his state to Rama and acted as the agent of the Lord' (Sastri, 269). We know that the god's inauguration was accompanied by a great feast (HV, I, 458-459) and as royalty intimately connected with Kulu by family ties, Raja Sangram Pal of Basohli, his brother Raja Hindal Pal and the latter's son, Raja Kirpal Pal may have attended. The deputation of Basohli artists to Kulu to prepare an illustrated *Ramayana* would have been an obvious way of associating the Basohli branch of the Kulu family with the great event.

As against this suggestion, however, it must be argued that, mature and powerful as the Basohli style had become by 1670, it was comparatively undeveloped in 1660 which is perhaps the latest date we can give to the dedication of the state to Raghunath. While, therefore, the 'Shangri' *Ramayana* series may well be a logical outcome of the god's installation, it is perhaps preferable to connect it with a subsequent celebration rather than with the prime ceremony. In that view, Raja Man Singh (1688-1719) would be the obvious patron since it was during his reign that Kulu experienced 'a golden age'. This view, first expressed by Randhawa (1958), admittedly involves some slight modification in the dates preserved by family tradition but not to such an extent that it would seriously discredit it.

(3) For the exact turn or twist taken by the Basohli style at Kulu, the local environment — climate, scenery and people — must be deemed to be at least partly responsible. During our visit in 1966, Randhawa and I were both struck by the extent to which Kulu people had thick necks, heavy jaws and jowls and indeed the same kind of 'brutal clumsiness' which is so noticeable a trait in type C. This trait had already been remarked by Moorcroft (1820) who attributed it to 'broncocele' (goitre). Although the facial types and figures in Style I may not have been deliberately modelled on local types, local influence of a sort seems certainly present.

A second point which also impressed us was the fierce, awesome and almost frenzied character of the Kulu scenery and climate. Although the upper Beas Valley near Sultanpur contains gently sloping fields, lush meadows and fertile orchards, as mild and lovely as an alpine valley in Switzerland, this is in utter contrast to the savage harshness

of the mountains which surround it, the grim pine-trees everywhere predominant, the gloomy gorges and raging torrents, and the sudden snow storms which even in March were threatening Naggar. It was hardly surprising to learn that the Naggar castle was believed to be haunted, that ghosts were said to be rampant and that French had described Kulu in 1931 as 'queer'. In contrast to Basohli which is much nearer to the Punjab Plains and is at no time subjected to extremes of cold, Kulu seemed to us a sort of *ultima Thule* in which the vagaries of the weather could well promote strange fantasies and moods of frenzied disquiet. Even if painters from Basohli were not abnormally sensitive to these factors, the sharp change of altitude and scenery could have strengthened or liberated whatever violent and enigmatic tendencies were latent in the parent style. The fact that Style I should have persisted in varying forms until at least 1730 and that, even after that, it should have continued to affect later Kulu painting suggests that it was deeply influenced by the local setting.

2(i, ii) Two paintings from the 'Shangri' *Ramayana* series: Style I. Kulu, c.1690-1700.
Average size: 150 x 260 mm; with border 210 x 315 mm. Uncoloured borders.

2(i) The gods are born as monkeys. Illustration to the *Ramayana*, part I, *Bala kanda*.
Inscribed on reverse in *takri* characters: *bala kand de da patera* 'A page from the Bala kanda'.
Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 11-1966.

Description: A palace scene with four apartments. Three ladies, attended by their maids, nurse three monkeys to whom they have just given birth. A fourth lady is in labour, a maid assisting the delivery. Walls chocolate-brown, orange and dark blue. Tawny background. Veils and cloths with three and four-dot patterns. Brilliant yellow bedspreads. White pinnacles obtruding into the margin.

2(ii) The hunch-back intervenes. Illustration to the *Ramayana*, part II, *Ayodhya kanda*.
National Museum, New Delhi.

Description: Manthara, the hunch-backed maid-servant of Dasaratha's second queen, Kaikeyi, sits on the palace rooftop confronting her mistress. She advises her to intervene with Dasaratha in order to prevent Rama's consecration as co-regent and to secure the succession for her own son, Bharata. Below them are four rooms in the palace, occupied by guards, by two musicians who are celebrating the news of Rama's impending accession and by a servant weighing baskets of grain. A small alcove on the left-hand side of the picture has a wall-painting of a girl dancing.

Discussion: In the same Style I as 1(i-iv) but notable for their plain, uncoloured borders which stand in sharp contrast to the brilliant red favoured in other pages of the series. This element of unobtrusive pallor in general accords with the pale yellow backgrounds employed in Style IV and may have influenced the later recourse in Kulu painting to pale grey backgrounds (see nos. 12, 21, 22). Significant details are the use of facial types C and D for the women, the looping curve in the male figure with a staff (2(ii)), the familiar three and four-dot patterns on the dresses and the over-all air of disjointed rhythm and nervous derangement.

3(i, ii) Two paintings from the 'Shangri' *Ramayana* series: Style II. Kulu, c.1690-1710.
Average size: 190 x 290 mm; with border 220 x 315 mm. Red borders.

3(i) Dasaratha embraces Rama.
Illustration to the *Ramayana*, part I, *Bala kanda*.
Inscribed on reverse in *nagari* characters: *81 bala*.
Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 12-1966.

Description: Dasaratha, anxious for Rama's safety, on account of his confrontation with Parasurama, is re-assured by Rama who ascends into his father's chariot, sits before

him and touches his right shoulder. Dasaratha embraces him. Rama's three brothers, mounted on horses, watch the scene. Behind them is a cavalcade of horsemen and an elephant.

3(ii) The daughters-in-law arrive.

Illustration to the *Ramayana*, part I, *Bala kanda*. National Museum, New Delhi. Acquired 1962.

Description: A palanquin bearing Rama's bride, Sita and her sisters-in-law has been set down outside Dasaratha's palace. Four bearers stand beside it. A group of musicians beat drums and play trumpets above them. On the left, two members of the party enter the palace. Above them, in an upper storey, the ladies of the palace gather.

Discussion: Examples of the second main style employed in the first two parts of the 'Shangri' *Ramayana* series and like Style I, an offshoot from Basohli painting of the 1660-1680 period. The pictures employ golden yellow backgrounds, strong reds, greens, blues and mauves for costumes, short *jamās* in the case of men and pleated skirts for women and the following two additional facial types:

E: Square-shaped head, moderate chin and a strangely beaked nose in the case of the men.

Examples: 3(i), Dasaratha in his chariot, his three sons waiting on their horses; 3(ii), some of the musicians.

F: Tall head, prominent eyes, receding forehead and a slightly upturned nose in the case of women.

Example: 3(ii), the ladies in the palace.

Unlike Style I which has a disturbing ferocity, Style II is milder, more orderly and in general, restrained. Perhaps for this reason, it does not seem to have established itself in Kulu with quite the same vigour as Style I, though certain ingredients, such as the golden yellow background and the use of strong reds, greens and blues can be paralleled in later paintings (compare nos. 20, 27, 28, 40(i)). A significant detail is the combination of short *jamās* with extremely tall turbans — the latter being a fashion which appears in the portrait of Raja Kirpal Dev (c.1660-1690) of Bahu (see no. 7). The presence of this type of turban would tend to confirm a date of c.1690-1700 for this particular portion of the 'Shangri' *Ramayana*.

4(i, ii) Two paintings from the 'Shangri' *Ramayana* series: Style III. Kulu, c.1700-1710.

Average size: 180 x 290 mm; with border 220 x 320 mm. Red borders with black and white rules. Each inscribed on reverse in *nagari* characters: *kishkindha*.

4(i) A demon is surprised. Illustration to the *Ramayana*, part IV, *Kishkindha kanda*. Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras.

Description: The monkey band, deputed by Sugriva to scour the southern region in search of Sita, is headed by Hanuman, Tara and Angada, Sugriva's nephew. Entering a wood, they surprise a great demon (*asura*) whom they take to be Ravana. Each party springs on the other, the demon hurling himself through the trees as the monkeys headed by Angada rush to quell him. Green background with rim of white and blue sky.

4(ii) The monkeys confer. Illustration to the *Ramayana*, part IV, *Kishkindha kanda*.

Binney collection, Brookline, Mass.

Description: Following the slaying of the demon, the monkeys under Hanuman and Angada renew their search for Sita. 'Angada, thinking the demon was Ravana, struck him with the palm of his hand, with such force, that he fell to the earth like a great hill, vomiting blood. When he had ceased to breathe, the triumphant monkeys searched the mountain cavern; and having satisfied themselves that it had been thoroughly explored, those dwellers of the woods entered into another fearful cave. After having searched that place also, they emerged exhausted and, wholly dispirited, sat down at the foot of a solitary tree.' (H. P. Shastri, *The Ramayana of Valmiki* (London, 1957), II, 292).

In the picture, the tree is shown with lush, dark green foliage enlivened by red flowers with buds and prominent

white stamens. Six large birds perch and flutter in it. Beneath it, Hanuman, Angada and Tara are ranged in two parties. Angada, a crowned monkey with blue skin, leading the party on the right, addresses the assembly, urging the monkeys to take courage and renew their efforts. The leader of the bears, also with a blue skin, sits behind him.

Discussion: Examples of Style III, a blend of Styles I and IV, though in somewhat coarsened form and reserved almost exclusively for scenes involving monkeys and jungle. Notable are the impish treatment of the monkeys, the rioting exuberance with which the trees are depicted and the bold gusto which is everywhere apparent.

5(i-iii) Three paintings from the 'Shangri' *Ramayana* series: Style IV. Kulu, c.1700-1710.

5(i) The encounter with the ogre.

Illustration to the *Ramayana*, part III, *Aranya kanda*.

180 x 280 mm; with border 213 x 310 mm. Red border with black rules.

Inscribed on the left, top and right-hand borders with verses in *takri* characters describing the scene.

National Museum, New Delhi. Acquired 1962.

Description: Rama, Sita and Lakshmana, wandering in the Dandaka forest, are attacked by the ogre, Viradha, who attempts to abduct Sita. Rama and Lakshmana rescue her and then engage the ogre in combat. As they assail him with their swords, he stretches out his arms and prepares to carry them off. Background pale yellow.

5(ii) The arrival at the hermitage.

Illustration to the *Ramayana*, part III, *Aranya kanda*.

180 x 280 mm; with border 210 x 310 mm. Red border with black and white rules. Inscribed at the top in *takri* characters with verses describing the scene.

National Museum, New Delhi. Acquired 1962.

Description: Rama, Sita and Lakshmana, followed by four sages approach the hermitage of Sutikshana. He receives them seated on a mat beneath a tree. Behind him is an oval hut with two ascetics, one of whom holds a page of writing. Background pale yellow.

5(iii) The pool of the dancing-girls.

Illustration to the *Ramayana*, part III, *Aranya kanda*.

205 x 305 mm (with borders slightly trimmed). Red border with black and white rules.

Inscribed on the top, right-hand and bottom borders in *takri* characters (same hand as in 5(i, ii)) describing the scene and on the reverse in *nagari* characters in three different hands:

(1) *dhyānam. 1. sukala gabar ghar vishnu sasi banam chatur bhujam prasanyam bahan nityam sarab bidh nai prasantam likha. A prayer to or invocation of Vishnu* (Writer A). (2) *gu(sain) kapur gire sam(vat) 41 ke saun pra(vishte) 1 likha. Gosain Kapur Giri wrote (this) on the first day of Sawan (July-August) in the year samvat 41* (Writer B). (3) *swasti sri nagar mandi madhye sri likhat gu(sain) kapur giri ki sam(vat) 41 saun. 'Swasti (an invocation)! In the auspicious city of Mandi the auspicious writing of Gosain Kapur Giri (was inscribed) in the month of Sawan (July-August) in the year samvat 41* (Writer C).

Note: Although claimed by Khandalavala (1958, no. 42, p. 94) that this picture 'bears an inscription stating that it was painted in Mandi to the order of one Kapur Giri', thus providing 'proof positive that a Basohli idiom was practised in Mandi', also that 'the date in Lokakala era appears to be 1765', it is clear that none of the three *nagari* inscriptions are colophons for the series or in fact relate to any of the paintings.

The first inscription is a simple prayer to Vishnu, written according to the next two instructions, in his own hand by a certain *gosain* (or holy man) Kapur Giri in the town of Mandi. Since this and another page (Khandalavala (1958), no. 41) were obtained by the National Museum in 1947 when much of the 'Shangri' *Ramayana* was still with Raja Raghbir Singh of Shangri, it is obvious that the page in

question must have been detached at some time from the main series and could therefore have been separately inscribed. A simple explanation would be that a member of the Raja of Kulu's household took it with him on a visit to Mandi and while there, got it inscribed with a prayer to Vishnu in Kapur Giri's own hand. In the alternative the Raja of Kulu may have given it to a visitor. The reiteration of Kapur Giri's name in the inscriptions and the emphatic noting of the month and year in which he inscribed the prayer suggests that he was a famous *gosain* whose writing was thought to be particularly auspicious.

That the page is part of the 'Shangri' *Ramayana* series is shown by its similar dimensions, its border inscriptions in the same *takri* hand as 5(i, ii) and its identical style and palette to other illustrations in the same third part of the series, the *Aranya kanda*.

On the question of date, the fact that the century has been omitted suggests that the era is not *Vikram samvat* but is *Dogra Shashtra samvat* (also known as *Lokakala*, *Saptarshikala*, *Pahari samvat* and *Kacha samvat*). To convert a date in this era into Western terms, twenty-four years must be added, the reader himself supplying the century. On this basis, Kapur Giri must be taken to have written his prayer in the sixty-fifth year of either the eighteenth or nineteenth century, i.e. in either 1765 or 1865. Since Mandi and Kulu were on extremely bad terms in the eighteenth century but were inter-marrying in the second half of the nineteenth century, 1865 is perhaps the more likely of these dates.

National Museum, Treasuryvala collection, New Delhi. Acquired 1947.

Published: Khandalavala (1958), no. 42, pl. 94.

Description: Rama, Sita and Lakshmana, after leaving the hermitage of Sutikshana, wander in the forest and reach 'a marvellous lake carpeted with lotus and water-lily blooms. From this enchanting lake of tranquil waters, the sound of singing and musical instruments could be heard yet no one was visible there' (Shastri, *The Ramayana of Valmiki*, II, 22). The sage Dharmabhrita explains to them that it is the abode of five *apsarases* (celestial dancing-girls) who weaned the sage Nandarkini from the path of virtue and asceticism and who now dwell there with him as his wives. Same schematic style as 5(i) and 5(ii).

Discussion: Examples of Style IV. This style is in sharp contrast to Styles I-III and although it possesses some distinctive Kulu features it is so closely related to the *Madhavanala Kamakandala* series (*Bilaspur*, no. 13) that a Bilaspur painter, working in Kulu, must be deemed responsible.

The transfer to Kulu of such a painter would be a natural corollary to the very close connections existing between the two states. Dip Chand (1630-1667) of Bilaspur had married a Kulu rani and his son, Bhim Chand, had expiated the crime of her suicide by erecting a special temple in Bilaspur in her honour. In 1692 he had retired in favour of his son. Ajmer Chand, who reigned officially, after his father's death, from 1712 to 1741. Like his father Bhim, Ajmer Chand was exceptionally pious and a great worshipper of Rama (*Bilaspur*, no. 14). He would therefore have been acting in complete character if he had deputed a Bilaspur painter to assist his relative and neighbour, Raja Man Singh (1688-1721) in honouring Raghunath (the embodiment of Rama).

Although Style IV is dependent on the *Madhavanala Kamakandala* series in basic facial types, sparse compositions, empty backgrounds and contorted trees (compare in particular 5(i) with Khandalavala (1958), fig. 11), it is un-Bilaspur in style in the following respects: pale yellow backgrounds (5(i) and (ii)), faces which share something of the beaked noses of Style II (5(i-iii)) and a weird predilection for disjointed forms, as in the highly schematic pool (5(iii)), and the far-flung arms of the ogre (5(ii)). The second and third of these characteristics can be plausibly ascribed to the impact on the painters of Styles I-III, while the first characteristic, the use of pale backgrounds, at first sight as untypical of Kulu as of Bilaspur, re-appears in Kulu painting in c.1720 (nos. 16, 18) and again in the seven-

teenth in the work of Bhagvan (nos. 36-41).

Further examples of Style IV in the 'Shangri' Ramayana series: (1) Khandalavala (1958), no. 41. Rama, Sita and Lakshmana with sages in the forest. Illustration to the *Ramayana*, part III, *Aranya kanda*. National Museum, Treasuryvala collection, New Delhi. Acquired 1947.

(2) Randhawa (1959), col. pl. 17. The sorrow of Rama. Rama and Lakshmana seated on Mount Pavarsana. Illustration to the *Ramayana*, part IV, *Kishkindha kanda*. Formerly Raja Raghbir Singh collection, Shangri.

6 Radha and Krishna in the forest. Kulu, c.1690.

215 x 152 mm.

Khandalavala collection, Bombay.

Published: Khandalavala (1938), fig. 107; also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), col. pl. 20.

Description: Radha in a white and mauve skirt and pale yellow bodice is seated on a red hillside with Krishna. She holds in her right hand Krishna's flute and with her left hand attempts to pull her veil across her face. Krishna in deep yellow *dhoti* stretches his right arm out behind her back and pleads for the flute's return. Around them is a ring of gaily coloured trees, intermixed with soaring black cypresses. In the foreground a cowherd lies sleeping beside two cows. Below him is a black stream with lotus buds and leaves. At the top a curving rim of tangled white and blue sky. Beetle-wing cases for jewels.

Discussion: Provenance unknown but, in view of its similarities to nos. 1-4 ('Shangri' *Ramayana* series, styles I-III) and the lack of other parallels in Basohli painting proper, Kulu seems its most likely place of origin. Compare, in particular, the faces of Radha and Krishna (no. 1, facial type D, with the same look of bemused wonderment and almost hypnotised abstraction), tree-trunks (jagged, twisted and with the same gouged-out holes, as in 1(ii)), foliage (leaves with red margins as in 4(ii)), cattle as in no. 12 (where faces similar to facial type A also occur). For a later treatment of the same subject (Radha depriving Krishna of his flute), see 23.

Although Raghunath, an image of Rama, was the Kulu national god, Sastri makes it clear that Krishna was also worshipped in Kulu as a form of Vishnu. There are also two temples to Krishna at Naggar (K. Goswamy).

7 Raja Kirpal Dev (c.1660-c.1690) of Bahu (Jammu) smoking. Kulu, c.1690.

Red border, with details obtruding.

Inscribed at the top in white *takri* characters: *ramji sah. sri raja maharaja karan kirpal de. 'May Rama be praised! (The portrait of) Sri Raja Maharaja Karan Kirpal Dev'*. Seattle Art Museum.

Description: Raja Kirpal Dev of Bahu (Jammu) is dressed in a white *jama* ornamented with tiny blue sprigs. He sits on a madder-brown carpet against a red cushion, patterned in white with the three-dot motif. He smokes a hookah with red stem and prominent silver-grey bowl. An attendant in a dark blue dress fans him with peacock feathers. A youth in chocolate brown tends the hookah, while a third attendant in a pale grey-blue dress stands holding a box of betel. The dress of each attendant is patterned with sprays of 'willow-type' creeper. The standing figure holding the betel box wears a red and blue striped turban with a bright yellow turban band. The sword is orange brown, the background sage green.

Discussion: Although in certain details this portrait recalls Basohli painting of the late seventeenth century (compare in particular the raja's turban and the faces of the attendants with their prominent eye-lashes) the over-all spirit is once again un-Basohli. The palette with its gay variety of colours can be paralleled in 1-4 ('Shangri' *Ramayana* series) and in Archer (1960), pl. 70 ('Baz Bahadur and Rupmati hunting at night'). The attendants with their long locks of straggling hair affect the same hair-fashion as do the footmen in 1(ii) and further Kulu resemblances can be seen in the heavy chin of the fan-bearer (no. 1, facial type C), the Raja's moustaches (no. 1(ii, iv)) and in his upper eye-lid (shaded with tiny strokes as in 18 and 20). The raja himself

is depicted with a fresh delicacy at total variance with known Basohli portraiture.

Although Bahu (the senior branch of Jammu until its merger with Jammu proper in c.1715) was unconnected with Kulu by blood, its close relations with Basohli may have led to intercourse with Kulu. It is significant that the Raja is depicted with a Vaishnava *tilak* mark and it is possible that, as devotees of Rama, the Bahu and Jammu rajas may have combined their periodic pilgrimages to Hardwar (southern Garhwal) with occasional visits to Raghunathji in Kulu. The fact that the inscription commences with an invocation of Rama suggests that Raja Kirpal Dev's portrait was painted on such a visit. Goswamy informs me that the prefix 'karan' is habitually applied to Kirpal Dev in the jogis' *karaks* (registers?) in Jammu.

8 A princess smoking, attended by her maids. Kulu, c. 1700.

124 x 236 mm.

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Description: A princess, clothed in a light dress with tiny patterning, sits on an angular stool, smoking a hookah which is held towards her by a maid. She turns, with agitated abruptness, to the right and points with outstretched arm to a maid in striped trousers who holds a falcon on her wrist. On the far left, a third maid pours wine from a bottle into a bowl. Plain background. At the top a streak of cloud-racked sky.

Discussion: A picture which shares with 7 a light dress with tiny patterning for the central figure and a nervous meandering treatment of the remaining forms. The princess's outstretched arm can be matched in 6 ('Radha and Krishna in the forest') as can the upper rim of tangled sky. Although the faces of the three maids provide even further variations on Kulu-type features, the princess's own face conforms to facial types C and D, especially as seen in 2(i) ('The gods are born as monkeys'). Further significant details are the band of cloth falling in a loop across the chest of the maid who holds the falcon (its three-dot pattern bringing it even closer to Kulu practice), the fluttering drapery of the hookah-tender, the boldly striped trousers, the long cushion lightly floating behind the princess as if on air and, finally, the flatly sexless treatment of the various torsos. This unflattering approach, so characteristic of the entire 'Shangri' *Ramayana*, is even more noticeable in 23 and 24 which are slightly later in date but identical in attitude.

Related examples: (1) Archer (1965), pl. 28. Lady with a hookah attended by a maid. Archer collection, London. Kulu, c.1700-1720. Dark brown background. Agitated sky. Similar striped trousers and facial types.

(2) Skelton (1961), pl. 31. Weaving a garland. 'A lady with dishevelled tresses sits near her red-covered bed weaving a garland, while her maid holds a dish of blossoms. At the left, a confidante, also with dishevelled tresses implying that she shares her friend's distress, is plaiting threads into which blossoms may be inserted' (Skelton, 51). Private collection. Kulu, c.1700.

'The loose drawing (notice especially the free rendering of vases of flowers in niches), the tendency to cover all the available picture surface with decorative detail and the subdued colour place this picture a little outside the central tradition of Basohli painting, though a picture of *Abhisarika nayika* in the National Museum of India shares with it certain common features, vide K. Khandalavala, *Pahari Miniature Painting*, pl. XXXIII' (Skelton, 51, 52).

9 A gallant takes toll. Kulu, c.1690-1700.

200 x 263 mm.

National Museum, Treasuryvala collection, New Delhi.

Published: Khandalavala (1946), col. pl. p.54; also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), col. pl. 22.

Description: A bearded gallant in green trousers and short, mauve *jama*, decorated with 'willow-type' sprays, has wrested a veil from the head of a milkmaid and dashed her pitcher to the ground. As he escapes with his trophy, he glances back at the milkmaid and her three companions who continue to balance on their heads their respective

pitchers while gazing at the robber with indignant calm. Golden yellow background. At the top a streak of agitated sky.

Discussion: A picture which combines the frenzied wildness of Style I in the 'Shangri' *Ramayana* series with the golden yellow background and more schematic disposition of figures of Style II. The faces of the milkmaids are a blend of facial types C and D and those deployed in no. 8. Significant details: the gay variety of colours as instanced in the milkmaids' skirts (green, red, back, mauve, white and brown), fluttering draperies, sharp strands of spiky hair (to be re-used in a later toilet scene, no. 24) and outstretched arms as in nos. 6 and 8. For a bearded gallant as lover, compare the Basohli *Rasamanjari* series by Devidasa, dated 1695 (Basohli, no. 15 q.v.).

Although Kulu painting in this early period draws freely on Basohli idioms and details, its general air of violent liberation continues to give it a quite distinctive spirit.

10 A night of storm (*abhisarika nayika*). Kulu, c.1690-1700.

185 x 245 mm. Red border.

National Museum, Treasuryvala collection, New Delhi.

Published: Khandalavala (1958), col. pl. 23.

Description: A bearded gallant in white *jama* flecked with grey sprigs and wearing a rosary sits on a bed awaiting his mistress who comes towards him through a haze of pelting rain. The bed-chamber has a pale yellow wall, the bed a greenish-black coverlet with shoot-like patterning, three-dot motifs and dark red edges. Yellow rug with meandering white stripes. Dull green background suggestive of a bare and lonely hill-side, the rain falling in a series of semi-parallel white strokes. The lady wears a dull brownish yellow skirt with white border, pulled sharply up in a triangular wedge to disclose her legs. Brief red bodice concealing minimal breasts; the midriff and much of the chest exposed. At the top, a bold white band confining an expanse of stormy sky. Beetle wing-cases for jewels.

Discussion: Based on Basohli painting of the late seventeenth century but with an air of liberated fierceness, a certain wilful clumsiness in execution and with the following idioms shared with the 'Shangri' *Ramayana*: facial type A (the lady in the rain) and facial type E (the gallant with a 'beaked' nose typical of Style II, no. 3(ii)). Other significant details: a pale yellow wall (comparable to the pale yellow backgrounds of Style IV, 'Shangri' *Ramayana*), a bolster with stripes curving in opposite directions (perhaps derivative from Bilaspur), a rug with narrow hesitant stripes, a veil with three-dot pattern and beetle wing-cases as jewels (with rare exceptions, unique to Basohli).

11 Raja Anand Dev (c.1690-c.1715) of Bahu (Jammu) with two maids. Kulu, c.1700.

140 x 230 mm; with border 195 x 285 mm.

Red border with white and black rules, details projecting. Inscribed at the top in *takri* characters: *sri ram ji(?) sri raj anand de* 'May Rama be praised! Sri Raja Anand Dev (of Bahu, Jammu)'; and on the reverse: *raja anand de*. Archer collection, London.

On the reverse, line drawings of a lady with arm upraised standing in a room with wall niches as in 10, a maid waving a fly whisk, a youth in trunks and, at the bottom, two male heads.

Description: Raja Anand Dev of Bahu (Jammu) in golden yellow *jama* with shoot-like sprigs sits against a pale blue-grey cushion, toying with the red stem of a hookah which is held before him by a seated maid. She wears a pale slate-blue dress ornamented with little crosses and shoot-like sprigs. Behind him stands a second maid in dull green dress and white veil ornamented with the standard three-dot pattern. She carries a dish of betel leaves. Background sage green. In the foreground, a brownish-red rug with hesitant, dull pink stripes.

Discussion: Raja Anand Dev of Bahu (Jammu) was son and successor of Raja Kirpal Dev (c.1660-c.1690) of Bahu whose portrait in Kulu style (no. 7) it markedly resembles. In both these portraits, the chief figures wear costumes discreetly ornamented with unobtrusive patterns, while their

postures share something of the looping curves exploited in the figure of the resting Dasaratha (I(III)) and the lady with her maids (8). In contrast to 7, the present portrait replaces male attendants by female, their faces modelled on facial type A. As in 10, there is a bias towards triangular distortions, seen especially in the torso of the Raja and in the chests of the two maids (naked save for brief red bodices). The rug with its weak and hesitant stripes is paralleled in 10 and in the *Ragamala* series (no. 13). As against the highly finished and sensitive study of Kirpal Dev, the present portrait treats the central figure with the same summary brusqueness as it does the two maids.

12 The flower-dressing (*phulasajya*) of Radha and Krishna.
Kulu, c.1700-1710.

Central Museum, Lahore.

Published: Gupta (1922) col. pl. 18, p.115.

Description: Radha and Krishna are seated on a bed of lotus flowers, gazing at each other. They are dressed in pink lotus petals. On either side is a drowsy cowherd-boy, with shut eyes, clad in striped trousers. In the foreground rests a herd of cattle, seated or asleep. Silver-grey hillside with jagged contours. Beyond are gaily coloured trees.

Discussion: Provenance unknown but closely similar in style to 1(ii) (Style I: 'Shangri' *Ramayana*, facial type A) and to 6 ('Radha and Krishna in the forest'). Compare, in particular, the solemn intent gaze of the two lovers, the cattle with sleek curves and the trees with gouged-out holes and twisted, gaily-coloured trunks.

13(i-xxxii) Thirty-two paintings from a *Ragamala* series.
Kulu, c.1700-1710.

Average size: 158 x 157 mm; with border 208 x 206 mm.

Victoria and Albert Museum, Rothenstein collection, perhaps obtained by Rothenstein from Coomaraswamy, I.S. 123-1951, I.S. 54-1953 to I.S. 73-1953, I.S. 15-1954 to I.S. 25-1954.

The series credits each of the six *Ragas* with five *Raginis* and eight subordinate *Ragas* or *putras*, making a total in all of eighty-four subjects. The connection of particular *raginis* and *putras* with their respective *ragas* is indicated by the use of common colours for borders and backgrounds.

13(i-viii) Group I: *Bhairava Raga* with related *raginis* and *putras*. Red borders, orange backgrounds. A band of tangled sky at the top.

13(i) *Bhairava Raga*.

Inscribed on the upper border in *takri* characters: *raga bhero nilvarana* 'Raga Bhairava, the blue coloured'; and on the reverse: (1) *raga bhero nilvarana* 'Raga Bhairava, the blue coloured', (2) *pehle bherava raga* 'The first or supreme *Bhairava Raga*', (3) *prithame bherava* 'In the beginning *Bhairava*'.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 58-1953.

Description: Bhairava with dark blue skin rides on a white bull. The saddle-cloth is fringed with arrow-headed patterning (compare the corners of no. 35, 'The *chaupar* players').

13(ii) *Bhairavi Ragini*.

Inscribed on the upper border in *takri* characters: *bheravi ragani bhero di bharaja* 'Bhairavi Ragini, wife of Bhairava'; and on the reverse: *bheravi bhero di ragani pehala patara. 1* 'Bhairavi, Ragini of Bhairava, first sheet (Number) 1'.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 60-1953.

Description: A lady in a dress ornamented with a willow-spray pattern, stands at the door of her house stroking a white bull. A 'willow-tree' waves above her. To the right is a brown tree with rosettes of foliage intermixed with 'willow-tree' creeper.

13(iii) *Punaki Ragini*.

Inscribed on the upper border in *takri* characters: *punaki ragani bhero di bharaja* 'Punaki Ragini, wife of Bhairava'; and on the reverse: *punaki ragani bhero di bharaja dua patara* 'Punaki Ragini, wife of Bhairava, second sheet'.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 54-1953.

Description: A girl in mauve bodice and sage green skirt, ornamented with a three-dot pattern, is seated outside a house pouring coins into a man's hands. A turret projects into the border. The man wears a bright yellow *jama* and a long scarf and sash in crimson and silver grey. Dark brown doorway with brilliant yellow surround and 'willow-spray' patterning.

13(iv) *Vangali Ragini*.

Inscribed in the upper border in *takri* characters: *vangali ragani bhero di bharaja* 'Vangali Ragini, wife of Bhairava'; and on the reverse: *vagali ragani bhero di bharaja chotha patara* 'Vangali Ragini, wife of Bhairava, fourth sheet'.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 67-1953.

Description: A girl in madder brown bodice and blue skirt is seated playing a *vina* to two girl companions — one on the left dressed in grey, green, blue and yellow the other on the right in yellow and brown. Each dress has a three-dot pattern. As in no. 16 ('Lady playing on a *vina* to a pair of deer'), the resonators are in black and yellow.

13(v) *Harsa Raga*.

Inscribed on the upper border in *takri* characters: *harsa raga bhero da putra* 'Harsa Raga, son of Bhairava'; and on the reverse: *harsa raga bhero da putra patara . . .* 'Harsa Raga, son of Bhairava. . . sheet'.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 55-1953.

Description: A prince in chocolate dress studded with 'willow-tree' sprigs stands gesturing to a lady in a dark blue skirt and pink veil patterned with tiny crosses. The lady extends her hands towards him. On either side is a cypress tree entwined with a 'willow-type' creeper. Long dishevelled locks of hair. Fluttering veil.

13(vi) *Vangala Raga*.

Inscribed on the upper border in *takri* characters: *vangala raga bhero da putra* 'Vangala Raga, son of Bhairava'; and on the reverse *vagala raga bhero da putra chotha patara. 4* 'Vangala Raga, son of Bhairava, fourth sheet. (Number) 4'.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 68-1953.

Description: A prince is seated on a blue rug with green surround, gazing at himself in a mirror which he holds before him. He is fanned by a girl in green bodice, pink veil and white and yellow skirt — each garment marked with three-dot patterns. The ends of the prince's handkerchief and the girl's veil have wriggling silver edges.

13(vii) *Vilavala (Valaula) Raga*.

Inscribed on the upper border in *takri* characters: *valaula raga bhero da putra* 'Valaula Raga, son of Bhairava'; and on the reverse: *valaula raga bhero da putra satoye patara. 7* 'Valaula Raga, son of Bhairava, seventh sheet. (Number) 7'.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 57-1953.

Description: A girl in dark green bodice, madder brown skirt and pink veil is offering betel to a young prince in light green *jama*. He sits on a blue rug with white surround and strums on a yellow *sarod*. A long lock of hair with dishevelled ends hangs down his cheek. He wears a turban similar in shape and style to 7 (Raja Kirpal Dev). To the left is a tree with brown trunk, pale green foliage, brown branches that swirl in and out of the leaves and a loosely hanging 'willow-type' creeper.

13(viii) *Lalita Raga*.

Inscribed on the upper border in *takri* characters: *lalata raga bhero da putra* 'Lalata Raga, son of Bhairava'; and on the reverse: *athoen patara lalata raga behero da putra. 8* 'Eighth sheet, Lalata Raga, son of Bhairava. (Number) 8'.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 56-1953.

Description: A youth in yellow *jama*, white turban and crimson sash stands in water fondling two cranes. On either side are trees with pink trunks, clustering leaves and tossing 'willow-type' creepers. In the foreground is a pale green sward with 'willow-type' sprigs.

For a related example in identical style but from a different series, see Skelton (1961), pl. 35 where Madhava

Raga, son of Bhairava, is shown against an orange background but the border of the picture is yellow instead of red, as it would need to have been if the picture had belonged to the Bhairava Raga group of the present series.

13(ix)-(xiv) Group III: Hindola Raga, with related raginis and putras.

Yellow borders, chocolate backgrounds. No skyline. Group II (*Malkaus Raga* with related *raginis* and *putras*) is unrepresented in the Victoria and Albert Museum collection.

13(ix) Hindola Raga.

Inscribed on the upper border in *takri* characters: *sri hadol raga* 'Sri Hindola Raga'; and on the reverse: *tri trie handol*. 3. *tria patara hadole da* 'The three (?), third Hindola. (Number) 3. Third sheet of Hindola'. Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 19-1954.

Description: Krishna with dark blue skin and rich yellow *dhoti* is seated on a swing with two girls attending him. The poles of the swing project into the upper border. The girl on the left has an orange bodice, pink grey veil and green skirt. The girl on the right wears a green bodice and brown and orange skirt. Prominent cross-mark patterning.

13(x) Vasanti Ragini.

Inscribed on the upper border in *takri* characters: *vasanti ragani hidole di bharaja* 'Vasanti Ragini, wife of Hindola'; and on the reverse: *vasanti ragani hadole di bharaja tria* (*patara*). 3 'Vasanti Ragini, wife of Hindola, third (sheet). (Number) 3'. Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 18-1954.

Description: Two girls gather flowers from 'willow-type' trees and place them in baskets. The trees have a swirling luxuriance. The girl on the left wears a yellow bodice and grey and green skirt. The girl on the right has a mauve bodice and orange and yellow skirt, marked with seven-dot patterns. Both have heavy chins and necks comparable to facial type D (no. 1).

13(xi) Mangala Raga.

Inscribed on upper border in *takri* characters: *mangala raga hidole da putra* 'Mangala Raga, son of Hindola'; and on the reverse: *magala raga hadole da putra pehla patara*. 1 'Mangala Raga, son of Hindola, first sheet. (Number) 1'. Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 17-1954.

Description: A prince in white dress and dark yellow turban and sash is seated on a sage green rug leaning against an orange cushion. He instructs two courtiers who stand before him — the first in dull yellow *jama* and blue turban, the second in orange *jama* and white turban. Each courtier has long locks of straggly hair.

13(xii) Vivacha Raga.

Inscribed on upper border in *takri* characters: *vivacha raga hidole da putra* 'Vivacha Raga, son of Hindola'; and on the reverse: *vivacha raga hadole da putra tra patara*. 3 'Vivacha Raga, son of Hindola, third sheet. (Number) 3'. Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 20-1954.

Description: A prince in dark yellow *jama* is beating a pair of orange drums with green bases. Behind him stands an attendant in mauve *jama* and green waist-band wielding a fly-whisk. To the left is a straggling willow-tree. Each figure has long locks of dishevelled hair.

13(xiii) Suramananda (Saramanada) Raga.

Inscribed on upper border in *takri* characters: *saramanada hidole da putra* 'Saramanada Raga, son of Hindola'; and on the reverse: *saramanada hadole da putra chotha patara*. 4 'Saramanada Raga son of Hindola, fourth sheet. (Number) 4'. Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 25-1954.

Description: Two soldiers with silver grey swords and dark blue shields are fighting. Each wears orange trousers and a short coat with fluttering ends. The soldier on the left is in dark yellow with dark green sash. The soldier on the right is in white with olive green sash. The turban flap of the left-

hand soldier is bright yellow and silver grey. Each has straggly locks of dishevelled hair. The face of the left-hand soldier is comparable to that of Radha in no. 16(3), 'Radha and Krishna gazing at each other'.

13(xiv) Varadhana Raga.

Inscribed on the upper border in *takri* characters: *varadhana raga hidole da putra* 'Varadhana Raga, son of Hindola'; and on the reverse: *varadhana raga hadole da putra chetha patara*. 6.3 'Varadhana Raga, son of Hindola, sixth sheet. (Numbers) 6.3'. Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 15-1954.

Description: A lady in brown and orange skirt with grey bodice, the margins rimmed with silver grey, confronts a prince, dressed in orange trousers and sage green tunic with fluttering ends. The prince pats the mane of a horse and places his right foot in the left-hand stirrup. A long lock of straggly hair dangles on his cheek. Orange scabbard. For the treatment of the horse, especially the eye and minutely rendered strands of mane compare no. 1(ii).

13(xv)-(xix) Group IV: Dipaka Raga, with related raginis and putras.

Red borders, dark blue backgrounds and, with one exception (no. 13(xvii)), a band of tangled sky at the top.

13(xv) Todi Ragini.

Inscribed on the upper border in *takri* characters: *todi ragani dipake di bharaja* 'Todi Ragini, wife of Dipaka'; and on the reverse: *todi ragani dipake di bharaja tria patara*. 3 'Todi Ragini, wife of Dipaka, third sheet. (Number) 3'. Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 64-1953.

Description: A lady in orange skirt is walking in a field followed by a black buck. She wears a grey and mauve veil ornamented with prominent three-dot patterns. In either hand she waves a bunch of willow-sprigs and starry shaped red and yellow flowers. The field is covered with plants, conventionally shown as sprigs of willow branch. To the left is a sapling with pink foliage and stem; to the right, a sapling with pink stem and dark yellow leaves.

13(xvi) Patamanjari Ragini.

Inscribed on the upper border in *takri* characters: *patamanjari ragani dipake di bharaja* 'Patamanjari Ragini, wife of Dipaka'; and on the reverse: *patamanjari ragani dipake di bharaja pajoe* (?) *patara*. 5 'Patamanjari Ragini, wife of Dipaka, fifth sheet. (Number) 5'. Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 72-1953.

Description: A seated lady in orange bodice and skirt with white transparent veil, marked with three-dot patterns, stretches out her hand towards a chained tiger-cub. She sits on a chocolate cushion edged with brilliant yellow. A maid in mauve and yellow skirt with brown veil, ornamented with willow-spray patterns, fans her with a fly-whisk. To the left is a tree with pink trunk, entwined with a flowering creeper.

13(xvii) Kuntala Raga.

Inscribed on upper border in *takri* characters: *kuntala raga dipake da putra* 'Kuntala Raga, son of Dipaka'; and on the reverse: *kuntala raga dipake da putra dua patara*. 2 'Kuntala Raga, son of Dipaka, second sheet. (Number) 2'. Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 73-1953.

Description: A youth in white *jama* with reddish brown sash holds up a cup to a row of five birds, perhaps pigeons, in green niches with orange surrounds. He wears a yellow turban with three-dot patterns and has two long locks of straggly hair with thick ends. Mauve and grey pillars. No skyline.

13(xviii) Panchaka Raga.

Inscribed on the upper borders in *takri* characters: *panchaka raga dipake da putra* 'Panchaka Raga, son of Dipaka'; and on the reverse: *panchaka raga dipake da putra chhetha patara*. 6 'Panchaka Raga, son of Dipaka, sixth sheet. (Number) 6'. Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 71-1953.

Description: A prince in orange brown *dhoti*, nude from the waist, is seated on a chocolate stool with silver grey sides and legs. On the left a lady in green skirt and orange brown bodice massages his right arm. She wears a pale transparent veil marked with willow-sprig patterns. On the right a lady in orange brown skirt and mauve bodice holds a cup. Cross-mark patterning on her veil. For the turban style of the prince, compare no. 7 (Raja Kirpal Dev).

13(xix) Lahula Raga.

Inscribed on the upper borders in *takri* characters: *lahul raga dipake da putra* 'Lahul Raga, son of Dipaka'; and on the reverse: *lahul raga dipake da putra satoe patara*. 7 'Lahul Raga, son of Dipaka, seventh sheet. (Number) 7'. Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 66-1953.

Description: Krishna in orange brown *dhoti* and crimson sash plays on a long grey flute beneath a sprawling willow-tree. A lady in orange and green skirt and orange brown bodice waves a fly-whisk over him.

13(xx-xxvii) Group V: Sri Raga, with related raginis and putras.

Red borders, green backgrounds, a band of tangled sky at the top.

13(xx) Verti Ragini.

Inscribed on the upper border in *takri* characters: *verti ragini sri rage di bharaja* 'Verti Ragini, wife of Sri Raga'; and on the reverse: *verti ragini sri rage da bharaja pehala patara*. 1 'Verti Ragini, wife of Sri Raga, first sheet. (Number) 1'. Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 61-1953.

Description: A lady in red and yellow skirt, ornamented with cross-marks and with four-dot patterns, sits on a blue rug facing a small tiger. Behind her a female attendant in brown and orange skirt patterned with cross-marks fans her with a fly-whisk.

13(xxi) Karnati Ragini.

Inscribed on the upper border in *takri* characters: *karnati ragini sri rage di bharaja* 'Karnati Ragini, wife of Sri Raga'; and on the reverse: *karnati ragini sri rage di bharaja dua patara*. 2 'Karnati Ragini, wife of Sri Raga, second sheet. (Number) 2'. Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 63-1953.

Description: A lady in red skirt, mauve bodice and blue veil, patterned with cross-marks, sits on a yellow rug. She plays a white *vina* with orange and dark blue gourds and gazes at a cypress tree entwined with drooping creepers. To the right is a female attendant in maroon skirt, red bodice and dark blue veil, marked with four-dot patterns. Above her are straggly willow-trees in flower.

13(xxii) Gauri Ragini.

Inscribed on the upper border in *takri* characters: *godi ragini sri rage di bharaja* 'Gauri Ragini, wife of Sri Raga'; and on the reverse: *godi ragini sri rage di Bharaja chotha patara*. 4 'Gauri Ragini, wife of Sri Raga, fourth sheet. (Number) 4'. Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 123-1951.

Description: A lady in chocolate bodice, orange skirt and slate blue veil, leans against a dark blue cushion, marked with three-dot patterns. She sits on a mauve rug with blue and white stripes. A pavilion is suggested by a red rectangle with willow-spray patterns and by castellations in silver grey. The lady extends her hand towards a black donkey.

13(xxiii) Malava Raga.

Inscribed on the upper border in *takri* characters: *malava raga sri rage da putra* 'Malava Raga, son of Sri Raga'; and on the reverse: *malava raga sri da putra dujha patara*. 2 'Malava Raga, son of Sri Raga, second sheet. (Number) 2'. Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 65-1953.

Description: Two wrestlers, bare-headed and in striped trunks, stand wrestling together. A third man watches them. All three have locks of straggly hair.

13(xxiv) Salaga Raga.

Inscribed on the upper border in *takri* characters: *salaga raga sri rage da putra* 'Salaga Raga, son of Sri Raga'; and on the reverse: *salaga raga sri rage da putra pasoe patara*. 5 'Salaga Raga, son of Sri Raga, fifth sheet. (Number) 5'. Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 59-1953.

Description: A prince in dark red *jama*, white turban and prominent dark blue sash stands watching a lady in dark blue veil, ornamented with four-dot patterns, a mauve skirt and yellow green bodice. The lady is churning butter by twirling with a cord a tall orange stick set in a great pot.

13(xxv) Achanda Raga.

Inscribed on the upper border in *takri* characters: *achanda raga sri raga da putra* 'Achanda Raga, son of Sri Raga'; and on the reverse: *achanda raga sri rage da chheth patara*. 6 'Achanda Raga, son of Sri Raga, sixth sheet. (Number) 6'. Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 69-1953.

Description: A lady in dark blue skirt, ornamented with three-dot patterns, a maroon bodice and slate blue veil sits leaning against a yellow cushion inside a room. The room has slate blue columns, base and ceiling. Her lover in mauve *jama* and yellow sash stands facing her outside.

13(xxvi) Vihagada (Vihgada) Raga.

Inscribed on the upper border in *takri* characters: *vehgada sri raga da putra* 'Vihgada Raga, son of Sri Raga'; and on the reverse: *vihgada sri rage da putra satoye patara*. 7 'Vihgada Raga, son of Sri Raga, seventh sheet. (Number) 7'. Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 62-1953.

Description: A prince, with two long locks of straggly hair, sits yawning on an orange bed, leaning against two cushions — one pale brown, the other slate blue. He wears a mauve *jama* and clasps his hands above his head. A lady in dark blue veil, ornamented with four-dot patterns, a slate blue skirt and red bodice, stands before him. The bedroom has chocolate columns, a red ceiling and brilliant yellow wall. Two turrets and a roof-eave project into the border. The prince has the heavy chin and jowl which figures prominently in facial type C (no. 1).

13(xxvii) Kumbha Raga.

Inscribed on the upper border in *takri* characters: *kubha raga sri rage da putra* 'Kumbha Raga, son of Sri Raga'; and on the reverse: *kumbha raga sri rage da putra athoe patara*. 8 'Kumbha Raga, son of Sri Raga, eighth sheet. (Number) 8'. Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 70-1953.

Description: A prince with long lock of straggly hair stands watching a lady in a red skirt, ornamented with 'willow-sprig' patterns, a dark blue bodice and in a mauve veil, patterned with cross-marks. He wears a mauve *jama* and orange sash. The lady is drawing water from a well indicated by a heap of yellow coils, patterned with black crosses.

13(xxviii-xxxii) Group VI: Megha Raga, with related raginis and putras.

Yellow borders, chocolate background (in the case of *ragini*, no. xxviii), plum backgrounds (in the case of *putras*, nos. xxix-xxxii), a band of tangled sky at the top (with the exception of no. xxx).

13(xxviii) Asavari Ragini.

Inscribed on the upper border in *takri* characters: *asauri ragini megha rage di bharaja* 'Asavari Ragini, wife of Megha Raga'; and on the reverse: *(asa)uri ragini megha rage di bharaja tria patara*. 3 'Asavari Ragini, wife of Megha Raga, third sheet. (Number) 3'. Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 16-1954.

Description: A lady in blue and green veil, marked with four-dot patterns, and wearing an orange brown skirt and pale green bodice sits on a green stool with a bright yellow top and silver grey sides and legs. She leans against a red cushion. Her left leg is massaged by a maid in a mauve veil and red skirt, both of which have cross-mark patterns. A maid on the right with a grey veil, marked with four-dot

patterns, an orange brown bodice and a mauve skirt fans her with a fly-whisk. On either side are pink trees with red and brown creepers, the tree on the left having blue, green and yellow leaves, the tree on the right green rosettes.

13(xxix) *Kanada Raga*.

Inscribed on the upper border in *takri* characters: *kannada raga megha rage da putra* 'Kanada Raga son of Megha Raga'; and on the reverse: *kannada raga megha rage da putra pahala patara. 1* 'Kanada Raga, son of Megha Raga, first sheet. (Number) 1'.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 23-1954.

Description: A musician, clad in a sage green *jama* and madder turban and with a long lock of dishevelled hair stands holding a silver grey *vina* with yellow and blue gourds. He salutes a prince who wears a dark red *jama* and white turban. The prince is seated on a mauve rug outside a pavilion and holds a blue *vina* with white cross-marks and blue and yellow gourds. A pavilion turret projects into the border.

13(xxx) *Nata Raga*.

Inscribed on the upper border in *takri* characters: *nata raga megha rage da putra* 'Nata Raga, son of Megha Raga'; and on the reverse: *nata raga megha rage da putra dua patara. 2* 'Nata Raga, son of Megha Raga, second sheet. (Number) 2'.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 21-1954.

Description: A prince in chain-mail, steel helmet, mauve *jama* and red riding-boots gallops on a pied stallion. He wields a long silver grey lance. The saddle-cloth is green. At the bottom a meadow with green and red plants is suggested by a series of 'willow-type' sprigs.

13(xxxi) *Gadadhara Raga*.

Inscribed on the upper border in *takri* characters: *gadadhara raga megha rage da putra* 'Gadadhara Raga, son of Megha Raga'; and on the reverse: *(gadadhara raga megha rage da putra pasoe patara. 5* 'Gadadhara Raga, son of Megha Raga, fifth sheet. (Number) 5'.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 24-1954.

Description: A prince in dark red *jama* and sage green sash stands holding a sword sheathed in a green scabbard. He is faced by a companion in a brilliant blue and yellow sash, a mauve *jama* and orange brown turban. The latter leans on a silver grey lance and has a sword in an orange brown scabbard. Flowering 'willow-type' tree and plants in green and red.

13(xxxii) *Goda Raga*.

Inscribed on the upper border in *takri* characters: *god raga megha rage da putra* 'Goda Raga, son of Megha Raga'; and on the reverse: *(god) raga megha rage da putra chheth patara* 'Goda Raga, son of Megha Raga, sixth sheet'.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 22-1954.

Description: A youth, with two side curls, nude from the waist up, his hair tied in a top-knot, sits on an open hillside, holding a brown *vina* with grey and blue gourds and extending his left hand upwards to a tree. He wears an orange-brown *dhoti* marked with four-dot patterns. Around him are trees with pink trunks and richly clustering leaves — the latter ranging in colour from mauve, light green, yellow-green, orange-brown to deep red. A meadow with plants is suggested by a series of 'willow-type' sprigs. Luxuriant creepers.

Discussion: While possessing certain features in common with Basohli painting of the 1660-1680 period (note in particular the sloping foreheads, large eyes and clearly marked eye-lashes), the series is, in general, more crudely vigorous, suggesting a coarse provincial version of a Basohli series rather than an original composition.

The following points may be specially noted. The style is wild and frenzied. 'Willow-type' trees and creepers sprawl loosely around in a relaxed, disordered manner. Trees share the clustering richness of Style III ('Shangri' *Ramayana*) and employ the same colours — blue, red, pink, yellowish-green and green. Common features are long locks of hair ending in dishevelled strands and the frequent use of three

and four-dot textile patterns, swamping all others in emphasis. Several faces strongly resemble facial type C — a type featured by the 'Shangri' *Ramayana* but absent from Basohli painting proper.

Certain details — dresses thickly edged with silver-grey borders, scarves, veils and handkerchiefs ending in fluttering squiggles, a distinctive colour combination (bright yellow and black) and a special treatment of *vinas* — can also be paralleled in pictures, assigned on other grounds to Kulu. One of the most marked characteristics of the series — the almost obstreperous treatment of 'willow-type' trees and creepers — is a prominent feature of Kulu painting in the Tedhi Singh and Pritam Singh periods.

Other examples from the same series: (1) Coomaraswamy (1926), pl. 32 (68). Group II: *Devagandhari Ragini* (wife of *Malkaus Raga*). Yellow border. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

(2) Coomaraswamy (1926), pl. 32 (72). Group III: *Devagiri Ragini* (wife of *Hindola Raga*). Yellow border. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

(3) Coomaraswamy (1926), pl. 32 (67). Group IV: *Dipaka Raga*. Red border. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Same style but with untypical measurements.

(4) Coomaraswamy (1926), pl. 33 (71). Group IV: *Gujari Ragini* (wife of *Dipaka Raga*). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

(5) Coomaraswamy (1926), pl. 32 (70). Group V: *Ramakali Ragini* (wife of *Sri Raga*). Red border. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

(6) Coomaraswamy (1926), pl. 32 (69). Group V: *Gambhira Raga* (son of *Sri Raga*). Red border. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

14 *Pancham Raga*. From a *Ragamala* series. Kulu, c. 1700-1710.

Size (without borders): 156 x 153 mm.

Lalbbhai collection, Ahmedabad.

Inscribed on the upper border in white *takri* characters: *pancham raga bhare da putra* 'Pancham Raga, son of Bhairava Raga'; and a little below in faint black *takri* characters: *pancham raga bhare da putra* 'Pancham Raga, son of Bhairava Raga'.

From the same or a closely similar series as 13(i-xxxii).

Description: A prince in plain *jama* with short waist-sash sits against an orange background with a group of five deer clustered around him. Three of them (two males and one female) stand to the left. The remaining two (a male and a female) sit to the right. The prince strokes the neck of the leading buck on the left. Each deer is black with white markings. A group of luxuriant trees and creepers straggle upwards on either side.

Discussion: In style similar to nos. 13(i-viii) and perhaps from the same Group I (*Bhairava Raga* with related *raginis* and *putras*). Of unusual significance for Kulu painting since it provides an illustration of a *Raga* subject for which a parallel Basohli example exists (*Basohli*, no. 14(ii) q.v.). A comparison of the two pictures reveals the sharp modifications undergone by Basohli prototypes or models when interpreted by Basohli-trained painters in the Kulu environment.

15 *Varadhana Raga*. From a *Ragamala* series. Kulu, c. 1700-1720.

155 x 145 mm; with border 198 x 183 mm. Red border with black and white rules.

Inscribed on the upper border in white *takri* characters: *raga varadhana hadole da putra chhetha patara* 'Varadhana Raga, son of Hindola, sixth sheet'; and a little below in faint black *takri* characters: *raga varadhana hadole da putra chhetha patara* 'Varadhana Raga son of Hindola Raga, sixth sheet'.

Victoria and Albert Museum, French collection, I.S.143-1955.

Description: Another version of no. 13(xiv). A lady in a madder-striped white skirt, madder bodice and dark blue veil confronts a prince in mauve *jama*, yellow riding-boots

and green turban and with a long lock of straggly hair. He is about to mount a brown horse. His body is turned towards it and his left foot is in the left (correct) stirrup. As he mounts, he turns his head to gaze at the lady. Slate blue background, with rim of tangled blue sky.

Discussion: From a series different from no. 13 though perhaps only a little later. Unlike no 13(xiv), where the artist has misunderstood the rider's posture and has shown him with his right foot in the left stirrup the present painter has shown each foot correctly.

16 Lady playing on a vina to a pair of deer. Kulu, c.1720. Size (including narrow black margin): 175 x 120 mm. Victoria and Albert Museum, Manuk and Coles collection, I.S. 24-1949.

Description: A lady in slate-blue transparent dress is holding a vina and gazing at two deer — the nearer one female, the further a male. She sits on a dais set partly in a shallow stream. Her footstool is wholly in the water. The vina is grey, its two resonators enlivened with black and yellow. A straggling willow-tree spreads its branches over her. Uncoloured background.

Discussion: Closely related to I(ii). Compare, in particular, the lady's face (facial type A), her intent downward gaze, the eyes of the two deer (similar to those of the horses), the large flamboyant willow and the jagged treatment of the water (parallel to that of the tree trunks in I(ii) and to the hill-side in 12). For the vina, compare 13(iv), (xxi), (xxix) and (xxxii) (*Ragamala* series). The use of an uncoloured background perhaps derives from the 'Shangri' *Ramayana* (nos. 2(i, ii)).

Related examples: (1) Archer (1960), pl. 64. Krishna lifting Mount Govardhan. Formerly Ram Gopal collection, London. Kulu, c.1720. The figures share facial type A; Krishna has the same intent downward-looking gaze and the cattle strain upwards like the two deer. For skies, wild with swirling cloud, compare 22-24.

(2) Archer (1960), pl. 70; also reproduced Lawrence (1963) col. pl. 13 (detail); Archer (1963) pl. 29. Baz Bahadur and Rupmati hunting at night. Archer collection, London. Kulu, c.1720.

(3) Coomaraswamy (1916), pl. 32A; also reproduced Coomaraswamy (1926), pl. 65 (225); Khandalavala (1958) no. 38; Goetz (1959), 230 (col. pl.). Radha and Krishna gazing at each other. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Kulu, c.1720. Similar faces to 16, wildly straggling willow-trees matched by abruptly swirling scarves, Krishna's vertical stick playing the same role in the composition as the lady's vina (16) and Krishna's upraised arm (Archer (1960) pl. 64).

(4) Gangoly (1934), pl. 17B; also reproduced Irwin (1948), pl. 12. Lady playing on a vina to a pair of deer. Indian Museum, Calcutta. Kulu, c.1720. Similar deer, vina and female face. The willow-tree, however, is closer to no. 20: the lady is standing, not seated and there is no stream.

17 Rama enthroned. Kulu, c.1720-1730. 150 x 156 mm; with border 192 x 194 mm. Red border with black and white rules.

Inscribed at the top in *takri* characters: *sri bhanganji sada sahai* 'May Sri Bhagvan always protect' and on the reverse in *nagari* characters: *sri raghavariji*. Victoria and Albert Museum, Rothenstein collection, I.S. 29-1954.

Description: Rama, in mauve *dhoti* and yellow crown, sits enthroned, attended by Sita in a red *sari* and by Lakshmana in a yellow *jama*. The throne is silver-grey, the background dull blue.

Discussion: Faces of all three persons facial type A (no. 1).

18 Krishna embracing Radha from behind. Kulu, c.1720. 166 x 110 mm; with mount 344 x 256 mm.

Note: The painting has been trimmed and, at some time, supplied with a late eighteenth-century Mughal mount. Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 43-1961.

Description: Radha in white and green-striped trousers stands smoking a hookah, gazing at a mirror which is held out to her by a maid in green trousers with red stripes.

Krishna, in a tall cylindrical hat disguised as a girl, clasps her from behind. A third maid embraces Krishna. A fourth holds the hookah. Uncoloured background with a willow-tree faintly indicated. The upper eye-lid of the maid, holding the mirror, is shaded with tiny vertical lines which are visible under a magnifying glass.

Discussion: The picture is notable for its sober richness of colour, its medley of intertwining lines, unusual posturings and for the great height of all five figures. The faces of Radha and the two maids on the right conform to facial type B (no. 1). For the pose of embracing from behind, compare 22 ('Lovers with deer'). Cylindrical hats of the kind worn by Krishna can be matched in 20 (Laila), 21 (maid on the right); 23 (Krishna) and in related example (1) below (cowherd-boy second from the left).

Related example: (1) Coomaraswamy (1916), pl. 31; also reproduced Coomaraswamy (1926), pl. 70 (224); Gangoly (1926), pl. 14; Khandalavala (1958), no. 40; Barrett (1963), p.169 (col. pl.). Krishna fluting to the cows. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Kulu, c.1720.

19 Seated lady holding a flower. Kulu, c.1720. 200 x 115 mm.

Binney collection, Brookline, Mass. Published: Archer and Binney (1968), fig. 60.

Description: A Kulu lady in slate-blue dress with blackish-purple veil, a red flower lighting up, like a match, her scarlet lips, is seated on a striped rug against a light green background. Veil as in 18. Ear-rings as in 20.

Discussion: Similar in style to 18, 20-24. 'The conjunction of pale setting with poetic costume and flashing colour renders magically sinister her typically receding brow and coolly calculating eyes' (Archer and Binney (1968), p.77).

20 Laila and Majnun. Kulu, c.1720.

160 x 114 mm; with border 163 x 118 mm. The red border has been trimmed leaving only a touch of red with black and white rules.

Victoria and Albert Museum, Manuk and Coles collection, I.S. 22-1949.

Description: Majnun, an emaciated figure naked save for a white loin-cloth, sits beside a drooping willow on a blue carpet ornamented with a red floral pattern. A crow perches on his head and another on his shoulder. Opposite him is Laila in a cylindrical hat and olive green costume and with her upper eye-lids faintly shaded. She leans against a red cushion and hands Majnun a cup. Rich yellow background with white upper rim and band of pale blue sky.

Discussion: For upper eye-lids shaded with tiny lines, a similar willow-tree and similar cylindrical hat, see 18, where the maid on the left also has the same type of face and nostrils. The 'Shangri' *Ramayana*: Style II (3(i, ii)) may account for the rich yellow background.

Related example: (1) Rawson (1962), p.138 (col. pl.). Baz Bahadur and Rupmati riding at night. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Kulu, c.1720. Faces similar to Laila's.

21 Princess with maids. Kulu, c.1720.

223 x 135 mm. Kasturbhai Lalbhai collection, Ahmedabad.

Description: A lady, her arm resting on the shoulders of a companion, stands smoking a hookah which is carried for her by a maid. The companion wears a cylindrical hat. Above the party rises a tree with deep green foliage and 'willow-type' creepers thrusting luxuriantly downwards. At the top a broad patch of frothy, pale blue sky with swirling white and pink clouds. Foreground pale yellow; background dark grey. Each of the women has trousers with green, blue or reddish-brown stripes.

Discussion: A strikingly poetic picture notable for its brilliant modulations of colour. In details, closely related to 1(i) and (ii) (facial type B, twisted and gouged-out tree trunk, branches, foliage and creeper), 22-24 (clouds) and 18, 20 and 23 (cylindrical hat). The extravagantly swirling clouds and frothy sky — a feature common to 21-24 — can be related to the swirling mist and cloud effects which are so common a feature of Kulu scenery.

22 Lovers feeding a pair of deer. Kulu, c.1720-1730.

Size: with narrow black margin 214 x 147 mm.

Victoria and Albert Museum, Rothenstein collection, I.S. 124-1951.

Published: Archer (1951) pl. 5; also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), no. 39.

Description: Two lovers stand feeding a pair of deer — the nearer one a male, the further a female. The lady wears a rich green skirt over trousers with dark-blue stripes. The lover embraces her from behind. In the sky, white, brown and mauve clouds with grey outlines. Silver-grey background. Pale green sward. On the lady's veil the customary three-dot pattern.

Discussion: Comparable in style and idioms to 16 (deer and lady's gaze), 18 (facial types, especially those of Radha and the two maids to the right), and 21 (grey background and swirling clouds). Like 18, 20 and 21, remarkable for its blended richness of varied colours.

Related example: (1) — Coomaraswamy (1916), pl. 30; also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), no. 37; Randhawa (1959), p.22. Dalliance of Radha and Krishna. Formerly Coomaraswamy collection, Boston. Kulu, c.1720-1730. Significant details: faces of Radha and Krishna (no. 1, facial type B), their look of rapt attention and a similar insistent use of three-dot textile patterns.

23 Krishna kissing Radha. Kulu, c.1720-1730.

150 x 115 mm.

British Museum, Manuk and Coles collection.

Description: Radha, who is standing on a circular bed of lotus flowers, is embraced and kissed by Krishna who strives to retrieve the flute which Radha has taken from him. They are attended by five girls — two on the left, three on the right. Krishna wears a cylindrical hat, somewhat squatter than in 18. The dresses of Radha and her companions are thickly sprinkled with one, three and four-dot patterns. Plain background. Sky with curling clouds.

Discussion: Closely related to 22(1) ('Dalliance of Radha and Krishna') where the circular bed of lotus flowers, which is a marked feature of other pictures in this group, also appears.

A significant development is the anatomical distortions evident in Radha where the over-small breasts, set unusually wide apart, the left-hand one placed just above the armpit, can be paralleled in 18, 21 and 22. Other dislocations of physique, expressing an almost wilful aversion from facial or physical charm, can be noticed in 16 and 24 and in Gray (1950), pl. 100 (535).

The subject of the present picture — Krishna striving to regain a flute which Radha has taken from him — appears in 'Radha and Krishna in the forest' (no. 6) — where Radha holds the flute far away from him to the left and Krishna stretches out a long arm in an effort to regain it.

The treatment of clouds, as in 21 and 24, is perhaps again suggested by the eddying mists current in the Kulu valley.

24 Lady at her toilet. Kulu, c.1720-1730.

200 x 95 mm; with border 237 x 140 mm. Dark blue border with white and black rules.

Archer collection, London.

Published: Archer (1963), pl. 32.

Description: A lady in transparent yellow dress with prominent three-dot pattern stands on a pink and red-topped silver-grey stool. In her left hand she holds three strands of hair. She gazes downwards at a mirror held up to her by a maid who gazes up at her. The maid is dressed in a dark green and purple veil, bodice and striped trousers. Silver-grey background. Sky with curling grey clouds. Foreground bluish-green.

Discussion: Similar in style and idioms to 21-23. The grey background may represent the persistence in Kulu painting of the aesthetic effects achieved in parts I and II of the 'Shangri' *Ramayana* by the adoption of uncoloured backgrounds (see no. 2).

Related examples: (1) Gray (1950), pl. 100 (535); also reproduced Khandalavala (1958) no. 35. After the bath. Latifi

collection, Bombay. Kulu, c.1720-1730. Similar distortions of physique.

(2) Coomaraswamy (1926), pl. 107 (398); also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), no. 36. Girl on a stool. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Kulu, c.1720-1730. A variant of (1) above, with the same cascading drapery, three-dot textile pattern, angular stool and tormented sky.

25 Raja Ajmat Dev (c.1730-c.1760) of Mankot smoking. Kulu, c.1730.

210 x 288 mm.

Inscribed at the top in *takri* characters: *sri miye sri ajmat mankote da tikka* 'Sri Mian Ajmat, heir-apparent, Mankot'. Present reading by B. N. Goswamy, correcting previous readings (Gray (1950), 127; Khandalavala (1958), 95-96).

Formerly Latifi collection, Bombay.

Published: Gray (1950), pl. 105 (516); also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), no. 72.

Description: Mian Ajmat Dev of Mankot in white *jama* sits on a rug with floral patterns against a flat plain background. He smokes a hookah which is tended for him by a youth on the right-hand side. Behind him stands an attendant in long ankle-length *jama* who waves above him a long peacock-feather fan. *Jamas* with prominent three and five-dot patterns.

Discussion: This portrait is of present significance because it clearly follows the model of no. 7 ('Portrait of Raja Kirpal Dev of Bahu (Jammu), c.1690-1700'), incorporating details down even to the pose of the fan-bearer with his long lock of straggly hair, the profile of the hookah-tender's knee and shoulder, the arrangement of the hookah, its grandiose stand and the textile pattern on the cushion (echoing Kirpal Dev's *jama*). At the same time, the fan-bearer's face closely conforms to facial type C ('Shangri' *Ramayana*), thus supporting the inference that Kulu is its place of origin.

Although the exact relations between Mankot and Kulu have still to be clarified, a common connection with Basohli might explain the present portrayal of Ajmat Dev. The second and favourite rani of Raja Kirpal Pal (1678-1693) of Basohli was a Mankot princess and it was in the period c.1690 onwards that Mankot painting underwent its own Basohli-like phase. Although Mankot and Kulu painting in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries diverged markedly from Basohli painting proper, the fact that both were influenced by this common source might account for Ajmat Dev's portrayal at Kulu. It is significant that a portrait of Ajmat Dev in Mankot style in the Manley collection (Gray (1950), pl. 106; Khandalavala (1958), no. 73) is mis-inscribed on the reverse in *takri* characters *kulu da raja* 'A Raja of Kulu', the very fact that such a confusion was made itself suggesting that the two courts may have been on intimate terms.

PHASE II: 1750-1900**26 Radha and Krishna rising from the pines.** Kulu, c.1750.

170 x 110 mm; with border 215 x 157 mm. Dark red border with white dotted lines and black line enclosing a pink margin with white and black rules. Each corner splays out into two small white lines. In the middle of each side is a small chevron of three dotted white lines each ending in a blob.

Victoria and Albert Museum, French collection, I.S. 112-1955.

Formerly in the ancestral collection of the Rai of Rupi, Sultampur, Kulu.

Published: French (1931), pl. 2.

Description: A row of five pine-trees, with pink and white trunks and dark green foliage, each tree bearing a three-dot pattern. In two of the pines sit Radha and Krishna facing each other. Radha's dark red veil is looped across her chest in the same manner as in no. 27. Background greenish yellow, rimmed with a dark line. Tangled clouds in white, red and dark blue.

Discussion: This picture — the first to be publicly ascribed to Kulu (French (1931), 15, pl. 2) — is of some importance because it was formerly in the ancestral collection of the

Rai of Rupi, Sultanpur, Kulu and was ascribed by French to Kulu because of its distinctive style and Kulu aura.

Significant details are firstly, the band of tangled sky at the top (comparable to 21-24 and echoing, in particular, 21 in its gay variety of colour) and secondly, the huge formalised pine-trees. These are obvious reflections of the Kulu landscape where pine-trees dominate the scene as nowhere else in the Punjab Hills. Other noteworthy details are Krishna's long swirling scarf (20, 22), the ever-assertive three-dot pattern, present not only in Radha's veil but in the pine-trees themselves, the line of white dots in the margin and the pink and white tree-trunks, perhaps borrowed from the 'Shangri' *Ramayana*. Although slightly resembling in cast of eye the portrait of Raja Sidh Sen (1684-1727) of Mandi (French (1931), pl. 4A), the picture differs radically from Mandi painting in its treatment of the sky, the inclusion of pine-trees and in its use of greenish-yellow for background.

Related example: (1) Welch and Beach (1965), pl. 45. Prince with maid. Galbraith collection, Cambridge, Mass. Kulu, c.1750-1760. Similar female face and line of white dots in margin. Dentated treatment of foliage. Swirling 'willow-type' creepers.

27 Lakshmi and Narayan seated on lotuses. Kulu, c.1750. 175 x 245 mm.

Baroda Museum, India.

Description: Narayan (Vishnu), dressed in dark red, with light blue skin and four-armed, sits with Lakshmi on two large lotuses. Lakshmi wears a light green skirt with dark green veil. Narayan wields in three hands a discus, conch-shell and mace and with his fourth hand caresses Lakshmi's head. To the left is a maid in green veil and dark red skirt and to the right a maid in dark green veil and green skirt. One and three-dot textile patterns. Trees light green.

Discussion: In facial types, textile patterning and use of thickly edged veils, looped across the chest, closely similar to no. 26 ('Radha and Krishna rising from the pines'). The lotus-bed motif, a marked feature of early Kulu painting, occurs in 12, 23 and 28.

Related examples: (1) Khandalvala (1958), fig. 27. Two gossains. National Museum, New Delhi. Kulu, c.1750. Formal pine-trees, band of sky with line, white rules ending at each corner in a chevron.

(2) Khandalvala (1958), fig. 24. Radha and Krishna dressed in lotus flowers. National Museum, New Delhi. Kulu, c.1750. Similar faces and treatment of lotuses as in 26 and 27. The theme, the *phulasajya* of Radha and Krishna, has already been treated in 12.

(3) Khandalvala (1958), fig. 25. *Vata savitri* (Banyan Tree Worship). National Museum, New Delhi. Kulu, c.1750. Similar faces, veils and textile patterns.

28 Rama attended by Hanuman, Sita and Lakshmana. Kulu, c.1750.

158 x 246 mm; with border 222 x 292 mm. Border orange-red.

Chandigarh Museum.

Description: Rama, crowned and with dangling tassels, sits on a circular bed of lotus-petals, wearing a long garland and yellow *dhoti*. He extends a long thin arm to Sita who stands before him in a red skirt with three-dot pattern and a dark blue veil looped across her chest. Hanuman stands behind in green. To the right Lakshmana, a tall thin figure in long mauve *jama* waves a fly-whisk over Rama. Background deep grey, rimmed at the top by a curving dark line. Sky a thin white band with squiggles as clouds.

Discussion: Identical in style and idioms to 26 and 27 and with the common Kulu feature of a circular bed of lotus-petals. For similar squiggly clouds, see 31.

29 Lakshmi and Narayan seated on lotuses. Kulu, c.1750.

190 x 145 mm. Red border with white and black marginal lines.

Inscribed at the top in *nagari* characters: *sri lakshmi narayan*.

Binney collection, Brookline, Mass.

Published: Archer and Binney (1968), fig. 61.

Description: Vishnu (Narayan) and Lakshmi in deep blues and reds sit together on a bed of lotus flowers. Lakshmi raises her hands as if in prayer. Narayan wields in four hands a discus, mace, conch-shell and lotus-flower. Three-dot textile pattern. Background yellow with, at the top, a band of crinkly white clouds.

Discussion: A version of 27 but without the attending maids and trees. Style as in 26-28.

30 Raja Tedhi Singh (1742-1767) of Kulu smoking. Kulu, c. 1760-1765.

223 x 157 mm; with border 244 x 175 mm.

As in no. 31, the border is dark blue with white rules.

Inscribed on front in *takri* characters: *sri raja tadhi singh ji*; and more faintly in Persian: *tedhi singh*; on the reverse in *takri* characters: *sri mi . . . sri raja tedhi singh*.

Original provenance unknown.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 112-1954.

Published: Archer (1955), fig. 13; also reproduced Khandalvala (1958), no. 147.

Description: Raja Tedhi Singh of Kulu sits on a terrace on which are laid a yellow rug, a green carpet and crimson cushion. He toys with a hookah whose looped coils are echoed in the straggling branches of the 'willow-tree' rising behind him. As in 31, he wears a white dress stained with yellow blotches. White balustrade, brownish red background. Blue sky with smears of white cloud.

Discussion: Although, in palette, this picture is comparable to 32, it is closer in general style to 31 with which it may well be contemporary. The straggling freedom, with which the willow is treated, accords with standard Kulu conventions. An earlier suggestion, since discarded, that this was a Nurpur portrait of Tedhi Singh was rightly contested by Khandalvala (1958, p.236) where, however, it was mistakenly assumed to be from the Mian Kartar Singh collection, Nurpur.

31 Raja Tedhi Singh (1742-67) of Kulu with favourite. Kulu, c.1760-1765.

250 x 200 mm. Dark blue border with white rules.

Mittal collection, Hyderabad, from the ancestral collection of the Rai of Rupi, Sultanpur, Kulu.

Published: Mittal (1958), col. pl. D; also reproduced Khandalvala (1958), no. 145B.

Description: Raja Tedhi Singh of Kulu in yellow turban and white dress, stained with yellow blotches (perhaps stains from celebrating the Holi festival) sits on a terrace under a brownish red canopy. He leans against a dark blue cushion. Facing him sits a lady in yellow dress with dark blue veil ornamented with four-dot patterns. Behind her are two maids — one standing in dark blue dress with white veil, the other sitting in brownish red dress with dark red veil. The terrace floor has criss-cross patterning in pale crimson similar in type to that in no. 35. A tree with pale branches and pink flowers stretches upwards behind the canopy. Brownish red balustrade. Brown background topped by a curving rim. White sky with wriggling blue clouds. The skirts of all three women are in one colour up to the top.

Discussion: Although uninscribed, the picture is identified by family tradition as a portrait of Raja Tedhi Singh (1742-1767) of Kulu. This identification is confirmed by the inscribed portrait (no. 30). In view of its general naturalism and relaxed drawing (especially in the case of the favourite and her maids) it can be assumed to be from life. In general features, the faces of the women provide a model for the *Ragamala* series (no. 32). They also parallel the faces of two women in a *Ramayana* mural in the Sultanpur palace (Mittal (1958), fig. 11). For a similar treatment of clouds, compare no. 28. It is noteworthy that a portrait of Raja Prityam Singh (1767-1806) of Kulu (Skelton (1961), pl. 71) has the same brown background.

32 Gujari Ragini. From a *Ragamala* series. Kulu, c. 1765-1770.

245 x 180 mm.

Mittal collection, Hyderabad, from the ancestral collection of the Rai of Rupi, Sultanpur, Kulu.

Published: Mittal (1958), fig. 2.

Description: A lady in a dark blue dress and red veil with four-dot pattern sits beside a tree playing a red *vina*. Dark green sward. Grey river. Brown background.

Discussion: In style, this series appears to be transitional from 30 and 31 (portraits of Raja Tedhi Singh, c.1760-1765) to 36-41 (the work of Bhagvan, 1790-1800). Later features, such as skirts with banded tops and trees with branches protruding from the leaves, are present. The women also affect small high bodices with shallow V-shaped necks. The general treatment, however, is more naturalistic than Bhagvan's. There is no rigid stylisation and no severely geometrical arrangement and although faces, whether male or female, employ standard formulas, the nose is given greater prominence and projects sharply from the forehead. In this respect it differs from the facial idiom affected by Bhagvan in the *Madhu Malati* series of 1799 (no. 37) — 'a squarish forehead with nose and forehead almost in a straight line' (Mittal).

Although *Ragamala* subjects were a feature of early Kulu painting, there would seem on present evidence to have been a gap of at least thirty years between the last example in early style and the present series.

Examples from the same series: (1)-(4) Mittal (1958), figs. 2-4, col. pl. F., where, however, the titling seems open to some question. Mittal collection, Hyderabad, from the ancestral collection of the Rai of Rup, Sultanpur, Kulu. (5) Khandalavala (1958), no. 145A. Lady seated by a tree. Entitled *Sanwari Ragini*. Mittal collection, Hyderabad, from the ancestral collection of the Rai of Rup, Sultanpur, Kulu.

33 Prince with lady smoking a hookah. Kulu, c.1770-1775. The red border has first a black and then two white rules, splaying out at each corner into a small white chevron. Cleveland Museum of Art.

Description: A prince in white *jama* with red turban and waist-band is seated on a terrace smoking a hookah, which is held out to him by a seated lady in dark dress. A white garland rests on his turban. Terrace floor edged with lotus-petal pattern. Red balustrade. Background with curving rim, surmounted by a band of white and dark blue sky.

Discussion: Closely similar in style to 'The *chaupar* players' (no. 35) and the *Ragamala* series (no. 32). Compare, in particular, the elongated treatment of the prince's hands, the stiff diagonal of the hookah pipe and lady's costume and facial features. The use of white chevrons in the border and the treatment of the background and sky connect the picture with 26 and 35. As in 18 and 20, the upper eyelids of both figures are shaded with tiny vertical lines.

34 Baz Bahadur and Rupmati riding. Kulu, c.1775. 160 x 215 mm; with border 193 x 247 mm. Red border. National Museum, New Delhi.

Description: Baz Bahadur in dark green *jama* and mounted on a white horse gallops beside Rupmati who rides a brownish grey horse and turns to gaze at him. She wears a mauve dress. The harness has long tassels which almost sweep the ground. Yellowish-green grass and trees. Kulu-type branches poking into the sky.

Discussion: A version of a subject already treated at Kulu some fifty years earlier. Compare 16(2) and 20(1) where long tassels are also prominent and 26, 'Radha and Krishna rising from the pines', for a similar use of yellowish-green.

35 The *chaupar* players. Kulu, c.1775-1780. 200 x 263 mm; with border 222 x 285 mm. The red border has first a black and then two white rules ending at three of the four corners, in a small white chevron.

Inscribed on the back in *nagari* characters: 75; in English: Kr (Kumar) *Ishwari Singh ji of Sirmoor*.

From the ancestral collection of Thakur Isvari Singh Chandel, whose immediate ancestors, a branch of the Bilaspur family, had settled in Sirmur in the mid-nineteenth century. Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 123-1954.

Description: A royal figure in mauve dress with a garland of white flowers, resting on his turban, leans against a grey cushion. An attendant fans him with peacock feathers. A

figure in white dress stained with yellow crouches at his side. Before them, on the green floor of the terrace, is a red *chaupar* board with pieces. Two other players sit opposite, both in mauve dresses. White balustrade with chevron pattern. Reddish brown background.

Discussion: In style this picture employs the same kind of starkly geometric composition favoured by the Kulu artist Bhagvan (nos. 36-41) — the cross of the *chaupar* board in the lower centre echoing the rectangular shapes used for the terrace balustrade and the background. The figures of the four players also have the same air of hieratic dignity. At the same time, the picture retains some earlier features. The dress of the crouching figure on the left has the yellow blotches (perhaps stains from the Holi festival) which appear in 30 and 31 (portraits of Raja Tedhi Singh) and the criss-crossing pattern of the terrace floor, with its parallel dotted lines and squares, is also closely similar to the floor in 31. A date of c.1775-1780, i.e. a little later than 30 and 31, but somewhat earlier than 36-41, would, therefore, seem reasonable.

Although the likeness is by no means exact, the chief player sufficiently resembles a portrait of Raja Pritam Singh (1767-1806) of Kulu (Skelton (1961), pl. 71) to render possible this identification. The figure is clearly royal as is shown by the peacock-feather fan, reserved for royalty, being waved above the head. The garland on the turban also follows a Kulu royal fashion (compare Kahlur, no. 22, a portrait in Bilaspur style of Raja Jai Singh (1731-1742) of Kulu).

The fact that the present picture was in a Bilaspur family collection does not raise any presumption that the characters are from Bilaspur. Relations between Kulu and Bilaspur were, in any event, close and some movement of pictures between them, whether as gifts or by exchange, was only to be expected.

Verrier Elwin (*Folk-Songs of Chhattisgarh* (Bombay, 1946), 279) supplies the following note on the game of *chaupar*: 'This is played on a cloth board divided in the form of a cross, each arm of which has twenty-four squares in three rows of eight each, twelve red and twelve black. There is a large black square in the centre. Two games can be played on the board: one is played with dice and is called Phansa, the other is played with cowries and is called Pachisi. Both games are popularly known as Chaupar. Temple gives a detailed account of them. Phansa, he says, is played with a dice and sixteen men. The men are distributed four to each arm of the cross and are painted red, green, yellow and black. The game is played by two players who throw the dice and move the men accordingly until all of those on one side are moved into the large square in the centre of the board. This generally takes some time and requires considerable skill in adjusting the moves to the throws. Gambling can be carried on by betting on the various throws and on the result of the game. Pachisi is played on the same principle, but four people are engaged and they use seven cowries: the throw is counted by the number of cowries that fall upside down.' It is clear that the form of *chaupar* being played in the present picture is *pachisi*.

Related examples: (1) Gangoly (1954), fig. 6. Vishnu, as a prince with a sword, inspects the horse, Kalki, who is led before him by a groom. Kulu, c.1780-1785. Same style and faces as 35. The groom wears a knee-length coat over broad pyjamas.

36 The rape of the wishing-tree. From a *Bhagavata Purana* series. By the painter Bhagvan. Kulu, 1794.

117 x 168 mm; with border 140 x 187 mm. Yellow border with red floral pattern and black and red rules.

Inscribed at the top in red *sarada* characters: *idra se parajat dak liya*. 78. 'He took the *parijata* (heavenly wishing-tree) from Indra, (folio no.) 78.' On the reverse are fourteen lines of text in the same script from a *Vraj Bhasha* version of the *Bhagavata Purana*, enclosed within yellow, black and red rules.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 114-1954.

Description: Garuda with green plumage and red *dhoti*, holding a white snake, bears on his back Krishna and Sat-

yabhama, the former holding on his shoulder a branch of the wishing-tree. Satyabhama wears a gold skirt spotted with a four-dot pattern. Her veil crosses her body from the left shoulder to right hip. Before them stands Indra wearing a red *dhoti* and blue scarf, his body covered with eyes. Behind stand two gods in mauve and tan *dhotis*. Green sward. Grey background.

Discussion: According to a colophon in *nagari* characters in the National Museum, New Delhi, the manuscript from which this painting is taken was illustrated at Raghunathpur for Sri Pritam Singh by the painter Bhagvan, in samvat 1851 (A.D. 1794), the colophon (originally in the Gupta collection, Lahore) being partially transcribed for Gupta by Hiranda Sastri as follows (manuscript note, National Museum, New Delhi):

*Raghunathapura nagrame sri pritama
Singha vrata (varta) mana kalasa dharyo
va (ba) nayakem chitra kara bhagwan.*

Sastri's reading has since been corrected by Goswamy who transcribes it as follows:

*raghunathapura nagra me sri pritam singha vrata mana
kalasa dharyo banaike chitrakara bhagavana
soj masa pada dvitiya me tiha dvitiya jana
samvata athara sau I gaya aur ikvanja mana*

'In the city of Raghunathpur, in the reign of Sri Pritam Singh, the painter Bhagvan made this *kalasa* (auspicious object) and presented it. It was on the second day of the second half of the month of Aswin (September-October) when the *samvat* year 1800 had gone one and another 50 (years) were to be taken i.e. samvat 1851 or A.D. 1794'.

As deduced by Khandalavala, when first publishing the series (1958, pp. 108-9, 316), Pritam Singh can only refer to Raja Pritam Singh (1767-1806) of Kulu since no other Hill raja of that name was ruling in 1794. Equally Raghunathpur must refer to Kulu since Raghunath was the name of the god-regent in whom the Kulu state was vested and no other city or state in the Hills bears this name. One small correction to Khandalavala, however, is necessary. *Raghunathapura nagrame* (in the city of Raghunathpur) must mean, not the state of Kulu, but its capital, Sultanpur, where the image of the god, Raghunath, was kept. The existence of murals in the same style in the Sultanpur palace, Kulu (Mittal (1957), figs. 6, 11; Mittal (1964), figs. 1, 5-10) and the presence of a *Madhu Malati* series (no. 37) in the Rai of Rupri's ancestral collection — again in the same style — place this conclusion beyond doubt.

In style, the series blends the early strong colours employed in Styles I-III of the 'Shangri' *Ramayana* (nos. 1-4) with the pale hues of Style IV (no. 5) as developed further in 12, 16-19 and 21-24. Costumes are shown in strong deep reds, blues, greens and browns, allied in some cases to mauve. Backgrounds, on the other hand, are often pale yellow or pale grey — the pale background serving as a foil to the bold foreground. Faces have a blunt square-shaped appearance — the nose being normally in line with the forehead, in sharp contrast to the treatment employed in the *Ragamala* series (no. 32). The style as a whole is characterised by a zest for rigid geometry — straight lines, angles, rectangles — and by the placing of figures in stiffly formal groups.

Examples from the same series: (1) Khandalavala (1958), fig. 21. Krishna upbraided by Jasoda. National Museum, New Delhi. Pink background.

(2) Skelton (1961), pl. 69. The naming of Krishna. Private collection. Green mats. Orange background.

(3) Skelton (1961), pl. 70. Jasoda with her foster-children. Private collection. Dark blue veil with four-dot pattern. Orange background. Grey interior.

Murals for comparison: (4) Mittal (1957), figs. 6 and 11; Mittal (1964), figs. 1, 5-10, reproducing murals in the Shish Mahal palace, Sultanpur, Kulu. The murals include the following subjects:

- (i) Ladies with garlands for Rama (1957, fig. 11; 1964, fig. 1)
- (ii) Krishna and the cow-girls (1964, figs. 5-7)
- (iii) Raja Bikram Singh (xvii, 1806-1816) of Kulu on a war expedition, inscribed: *maharajadhiraj vikram jit singh* (1957, fig. 6; 1964, figs. 8, 10)

(iv) A royal hunting party (1964, fig. 9).

Similar faces, textile patterns and style as nos. 36-41; (i) and (ii), c.1790-1800, (iii) and (iv), perhaps executed c.1806, as a prelude to Raja Bikram Singh's unsuccessful war with Mandi.

37 Madhu sees Malati and her maidens. From a 'first' *Madhu Malati* series. By the painter Bhagvan, Kulu, dated 1799.

140 x 196 mm.

Mittal collection, Hyderabad, formerly ancestral collection of the Rai of Rupri, Sultanpur, Kulu.

Published: Mittal (1957), col. pl. E.

'The *Madhu Malati* romance tells of the love of Malati, a king's daughter, for Madhu, the prime minister's son — a romance of a royal princess and a commoner. Malati falls in love at first sight with the handsome youth Madhu and is helped by her faithful companion Jaitmala to marry him in secret. Malati's father, Raja Chandra Sena, is enraged on hearing the news of this marriage and sends his army to capture Madhu. Due to the heroism of Madhu, who is helped by the gods, the army is routed and the king is finally reconciled to the situation. The marriage of Madhu and Malati is celebrated in the palace with due pomp and show' (Mittal (1957), 90).

Description: The young Madhu in red is seated with his bow beside lake Ramasarovara. He watches Malati with five of her maidens coming to draw water. The women wear red and blue skirts. Malati has a white skirt with the familiar four-dot pattern. Each skirt is topped with a band of green. Mauve pots. Light brown background. Four large white birds in flight.

Discussion: The *Madhu Malati* series, from which this page is taken, has a colophon in *takri* characters, reproduced facsimile (Mittal (1957), fig. 7) and translated by him as follows: 'The story of Madhu Malati has ended with ease. It gives equal pleasure to all the reciters and heroes and removes pain. Thus ends the story of Madhu Malati, distinguished by its auspicious art. In the city of Raghunathpur, in the reign of Pritam Singh, the painter carefully illustrated this work. The work was completed on Wednesday, the fifth of the month of Bhadra. The reciter was Kayastha Sagara and the painter Bhagvandas. Sri Samvat 1856.'

Goswamy transcribes the colophon as follows:

*raghunathapura nagra me sri pritam singha varata mana
kalasa dharyo banaike chitrakara bhagavana
mas bhadra tiha panchami vasur budhapramana
pa . . . ka kayatha sagara lekhaka dasa bhagavana
sri samvat 1856*

'In the city of Raghunathpur, in the reign of Sri Pritam Singh, the painter Bhagvan made this *kalasa* (auspicious object) and presented it. The month was Bhadra (August-September), the date the fifth, the day Wednesday, the scribe Sagara, the painter the servant Bhagvan. In the reversed samvat year 1856 (i.e. A.D. 1799).'

For reasons given in 37, Raghunathpur is interpreted as a pseudonym for Sultanpur, Kulu. In style, identical with 36, 38-41.

Examples from the same series: (1) Mittal (1957), fig. 5: also reproduced Barrett (1963), p.192 (col.). The resourceful lover; Chand disturbed by a tiger while making love to Rupmala turns to discharge an arrow. Mittal collection, Hyderabad.

(2) Mittal (1957), fig. 8. The great birds sent by Garuda to aid Madhu attack the army of Chandra Sena. Mittal collection, Hyderabad.

(3) Mittal (1957), fig. 9. Madhu attacks the horsemen of Malati's father, Chandra Sena. Mittal collection, Hyderabad.

(4) Mittal (1957), fig. 10. Jaitmala allays Malati's fears. Mittal collection, Hyderabad.

38 Malati conversing with Madhu. From a 'second' *Madhu Malati* series. Style of Bhagvan, Kulu, c.1790-1800.

130 x 170 mm.

Formerly Latifi collection, Bombay.

Published but not illustrated: Gray (1950), no. 544 (638).

Description: Malati, with seven companions standing beside her, sits beside a lotus stream conversing with Madhu, who holds a bow and gazes fixedly at her.

Discussion: In style, identical with 37 but with even taller figures. The row of lotus buds and leaves in the foreground may be a harking-back to 6.

39 Madhu seated with Malati. From a 'third' *Madhu Malati* series. By Bhagvan. Kulu, c.1790-1800.

145 x 205 mm.

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Published: Misra (1928), col. pl. (p.9).

Description: Malati in mauve dress sits opposite Madhu who is dressed in brown and holds a bow.

Discussion: This series has 67 pages with 23 illustrations and bears a colophon transcribed by Misra as: *mangsar mas pada chaturthame sukla saptami jan likhyo grantha bhagavan guni vasar aditjan.*

Misra, taking *likhyo* to mean 'wrote', suggests that the writer of the manuscript was Bhagvan. *Likhyo*, however, may, equally well, mean 'painted' and since a painter, Bhagvan, is responsible for the *Bhagavata Purana* series (no. 36, dated 1794), and another *Madhu Malati* series (no. 37, dated 1799), this would seem to be the correct meaning. It would certainly be a strange coincidence if there were two Bhagvans — one a painter, the other a scribe — the more so since no attempt is made to distinguish between them. We may conclude that there was only one Bhagvan, a painter, and that this is yet another example by his hand.

The colophon, imperfectly translated by Misra, is taken by Goswamy to mean: 'In the month of *mangsar* (January-February), in the fourth quarter, on the seventh day of the bright half, the day being a Sunday, the talented Bhagvan painted this book.'

In style identical with 36-38, 40, 41.

Examples from the same series: (1) Misra (1928), fig. A. Garuda is approached for help.

(2) Misra (1928), fig. B. Madhu, shooting birds by lake Ramasarovara, is discovered by Malati and two of her companions.

(3) Misra (1928), fig. C. Malati, with three of her companions, encountering Madhu, stoops to fill her pitcher with water.

40(i-vi) Six paintings from a *Rasa Panchadhyayi* series. Style of Bhagvan. Kulu, c.1790-1800.

Size with minor variations: 163 x 213 mm; with border 196 x 247 mm.

Inscribed on back with Hindi verses in *takri* characters in black and red enclosed in red rules.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 58-1952 to 62-1952.

40(i) Radha and Krishna in the forest.

Mauve border with dark blue rules.

Inscribed on back: (folio no.) 11.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 58-1952.

Description: Krishna in yellow *dhoti* with red and blue scarves meets Radha who wears a red veil and mauve skirt with green top. Behind Krishna stand two cowherd-boys in red and brown trunks. Beyond them are two milkmaids in red and blue skirts with green tops and blue and brown veils. Pale yellow background. Trees with creepers.

40(ii) Radha and Krishna seated in a grove.

Blue border with white and dark blue rules.

Inscribed on back: (folio no.) 19.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 59-1952.

Published: Archer (1960), pl. 78.

Description: Radha and Krishna sit facing each other in a grove of six trees. They are attended by two cowherd-boys and by four milk-maids with musical instruments; from left to right, cymbals, *sarangi*, *tabla* and *tambura*. A stream flows in the foreground. Behind Krishna is a tree entwined by a creeper. Dresses green, orange, red, blue and mauve. Background pale yellow.

40(iii) Radha consoled by her confidante.

Dark green border with white and black rules.

Inscribed on back: (folio no.) 20.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 60-1952.

Description: Radha in blue skirt with mauve top sits with her confidante in a room. She is fanned by a maid with a fly-whisk, while another maid in a pale yellow skirt with mauve top stands outside on a terrace. In the background a plantain tree. Red pillars and balustrade. Grey wall. Brown terrace. Pale yellow background.

40(iv) Radha awaiting news of Krishna.

Dark green border with white and black rules.

Inscribed on back: (folio no.) 22.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 61-1952.

Description: Radha in brown sits in a pavilion talking to a confidante. Behind her is an old woman. Outside on the terrace stands another maid. A moon is in the sky. Pale grey wall with blue blind. Brown courtyard. The maid wears a red skirt with green top. Pale yellow background.

40(v) Radha and Krishna seated in a room.

Speckled yellow border with black rules.

Inscribed on back: (folio no.) 21.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 63-1952.

Description: Radha and Krishna sit against a blue cushion in a room with pale grey walls and red balustrade and pillar. In the same room is a seated confidante. Outside to the right are two cowherds in trunks — the trunks of the furthest having the four-dot pattern. Courtyard pale brown and background pale yellow. At the top is a rim of blue sky with full moon and stars.

40(vi) Radha and Krishna in the forest.

Speckled yellow border with black rules.

Inscribed on back: (folio no.) 35.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 62-1952.

Description: Radha, in red skirt with green top, and blue veil, stands fanning Krishna in a grey *dhoti* and red and brown scarves. Behind them stand two cowherd-boys in trunks. Four cow-girls sit to the right. The first points with a finger. The others hold musical instruments — *sarangi*, *tabla* and *tambura*. Pale yellow background. Trees with creepers.

Discussion: In the same style as nos. 36-39 and, though uninscribed, clearly by the same artist, Bhagvan. Besides evincing the same relish for pale backgrounds, geometric structure and strong foreground figures, additional features are great towering women — often more than usually tall and elongated. In this respect there is a possible harking back to the tall figures favoured in no. 18. It is significant that the three-dot and four-dot pattern which is so marked a detail of Kulu painting throughout the eighteenth century is still firmly present. The intermixture of 'willow-type' creepers with formalised trees, if now somewhat stiffer, also continues as a salient convention. It should be noted that the women's veils which in nos. 18, 22, 26-28 descend from both shoulders to form a loop across the chest, are now drawn from the left or right shoulder and passed round the opposite hip.

Examples from the same series: (1) Gangoly (1961), pl. 34A. Radha discusses her reply to Krishna. Baroda Museum, India.

(2) Prasad (1950), pl. 23. Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras.

41 Krishna dancing in the pines. From the same *Rasa Panchadhyayi* series as no. 39. Style of Bhagvan. Kulu, c. 1790-1800.

163 x 213 mm; with border 196 x 247 mm.

Inscribed on back with Hindi verses in *takri* characters in black and red enclosed in red rules.

Welch collection, Cambridge, Mass.

Description: Krishna, surrounded by four cow-girls, dances beside a stream beneath a night sky with full moon and stars. Behind him is a row of five pine-trees. On each side are two girl-musicians. The sage Narada beats time with a short stick. Background pale yellow.

Discussion: Of some importance because it includes the typical Kulu feature of pine-trees, and reduces them to the same kind of spear-shaped formula as in no. 26, 'Radha and Krishna rising from the pines'. Further significant details are the serrated treatment of the foliage (no. 26), and the diagonal patterning of cow-girls' skirts (comparable to rug patterns in nos. 31 and 35).

Similar example from the same series: (1) Khandalavala (1958), p.109 (fig. a). Krishna dancing with four cow-girls before a row of four pines. Collection undisclosed.

42 The abode of Devi. Mural painting on the wall of the verandah facing a courtyard on the ground floor, Shish Mahal palace, Sultanpur, Kulu. Kulu, c.1880. Not illustrated.

Published: Mittal (1961), figs. 1-17; Mittal (1964), figs. 2-4. **Inspected:** Randhawa, 1953 and, with W.G.A., 1966. The upper third of the mural was, by then, ruined by damp — the rest of it resembling a painted cloth made up of ever-widening rectangles. The prevailing colours were red, blue, green and white, the figures squat. Some of the female figures had a three-dot pattern on their dresses.

Description: Tripura Sundari Devi seated in the lap of the five-headed Shiva and surrounded by attendants and worshippers. The patron, a Raja or Mian, shown in blue turban with folded hands on the left beside the throne. Detailed description (Mittal, 1961).

Discussion: Uninscribed but attributed by Mittal to Sajnu, a painter trained in 'Kangra' style and later (1808 onwards) patronised by Raja Isvari Sen (1788-1826) of Mandi. Mittal emphasises that although there is a shrine to Devi at Bhekli, two miles from Sultanpur, and this is worshipped

'since long by almost everyone including the rajas of Kulu', this is the only mural in Sultanpur to be Shaiva in character and as such to run counter to the prevailing Vaishnava bias in Kulu. He believes that some member of the Kulu royal family (other than the Raja himself) may have commissioned it and because of its unusual subject matter, employed a Kangra painter rather than a local Kulu one. He compares the style of the mural to other work by Sajnu (i.e. Mandi, nos. 42 and 46 q.v.) and concludes that between leaving Kangra and reaching Mandi, Sajnu may have designed the mural and himself painted the centre and the right-hand panels in perhaps 1805 and 1806. He attributes the left-hand panels to 'an associate' and the 'small plants, ponds and houses' to a third assistant, 'probably a young apprentice'.

Although the mural bears a superficial resemblance to Sajnu's picture, 'Raja Isvari Sen of Mandi worshipping Shiva' (Mandi, no. 46), the style is, in fact, quite different. The central figure is shown in Sikh costume and he is identified by family tradition as Raja Dalip Singh, xviii, 1869-1892 (private communication, B. N. Goswamy). This identification, with its corollary, a date of c.1870 — supported by the squatness of the figures, Sikh costume and degenerate style — effectively prevents Sajnu (active c.1800-1825) from being the painter. It is significant that under Dalip Singh, the traditional enmity between Kulu and Mandi appears to have been ended — Dalip Singh taking a Mandi princess as his second rani. The mural with its unusual Shakta bias may have been painted at this rani's instance — devotion to Shiva and the Devi being a marked characteristic of Mandi religion (q.v.).

PAINTING IN KUTLEHR

I. INTRODUCTION

GEOGRAPHY

A tiny state, bounded on the south by Kahlur (Bilaspur), on the west by Jaswan, on the north-west by Datarpur, on the north by Kangra and on the east by Mandi. Capital: Kot Kutlehr.

SCENERY

Griffin and Massy (1940): 'Kutlehr is the smallest of all the Kangra kingdoms. The territory has been formed by a break in the continuity of the second or Jaswan chain of the hills. As this ridge approaches the Sutlej, it suddenly divides into two parallel branches; and the valley between them, with a portion of the enclosing hills, is the petty state of Kutlehr. The first Raja was a native of Sambhal near Moradabad and was originally a Brahmin; but after acquiring temporal power, he and his descendants were considered Rajputs or members of the military class' (89).

Other accounts connect the family with Poona, Western India.

RELIGION

Details unrecorded.

II. HISTORICAL NOTES

SOURCES

Barnes, G. C. and Lyall, J. B. *Report of the Land Revenue Settlement of the Kangra District, Panjab* (Lahore, 1889). Barnes 1852; Lyall 1875.

Griffin, L. H. and Massy, C. F. *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab* (Lahore, 1940).

Hutchison, J. and Vogel, J. P. *History of the Panjab Hill States* (Lahore, 1933), II.

REIGNS AND PORTRAITS

Parent state of two statelets in the Simla Hills — Bhaji and Koti. Clan-name, Kutlehria. Family suffix, Pal.

c.1730-c.1750 YADU PAL (i)

Submitted to Mughal governor, Adina Beg Khan. Harassed by Kangra, Bilaspur and Jaswan.

c.1750-c.1780 DHARAM PAL (ii)

Half of state lost to Ghamand Chand of Kangra.

Portraits: (1) **Fig. 8(x) Kangra.** Dharam Pal seated smoking. Lambagraon collection, Kangra. Kangra, c.1770.

c.1780-c.1790 Unrecorded (iii)

Remaining half of the state seized by Sansar Chand of Kangra, 1786.

c.1790-c.1800 Unrecorded (iv)

Griffin and Massy (89) record two unnamed generations between Dharam Pal (ii) and Narayan Pal (v).

c.1800-1864 NARAYAN PAL (v)

During the Gurkha invasion of Kangra (1806-1809), recovered from Kangra the Kotwal Bah, 'hereditary stronghold on the second range of hills near the Sutlej'. Surrendered it to the Sikhs, 1826, in exchange for a *jagir*. Recaptured it, 1845. Granted a small compact *jagir* in Kangra district under the British, 1849.

Under Narayan Pal, the royal house of Mankot (exiled by Ranjit Singh, 1834) was allowed to settle permanently at Salangri in Kutlehr state (Mankot, xi, q.v.).

Sons: Ram Pal, Gopal Pal.

1864-1928 RAM PAL (vi)

Son: Rajendra Pal (died 1928).

1928-? BRIJ MOHAN PAL (vii)

Son of Rajendra Pal, grand-son of Ram Pal.

Son: Tikka Mohendra Pal.

III AND IV. PAINTING

No paintings securely connected with Kutlehr have so far come to light; and apart from the Mankot Raj collection of pictures formerly preserved at Salangri, Kutlehr (Mankot, q.v.), there are no references in literature to painting in Kutlehr.

PAINTING IN LAKHANPUR

A small state, bounded on the west by Jasrota, on the north by Basohli, on the east by Nurpur and on the south by the Punjab Plains. Originally an offshoot from Jasrota (14th century).

Clan-name, Lakhanpuria.

History obscure but during the eighteenth century, probably absorbed first by Jasrota, next by Basohli under Raja Amrit Pal (1757-1776) and finally by Nurpur. Was a part of Nurpur State when the latter was ceded to the British by the Sikhs at the close of the first Anglo-Sikh war, 1846, but was then detached from Nurpur and made over to Raja Gulab Singh (1820-1857) of Jammu.

Offshoots of Lakhanpur: Samba and Tirikot.

No other historical details forthcoming.

No paintings from Lakhanpur or portraits of Lakhanpur rulers so far known. When visited by the present writer with M. S. Randhawa and Mulk Raj Anand in 1954, no information concerning the previous ruling family or of local painting was obtainable.

SOURCES

Hutchison, J. and Vogel, J. P. *History of the Panjab Hill States* (Lahore, 1933), II, 573-574.

Khandalavala, K. *Pahari Miniature Painting* (Bombay, 1958), 91. Suggests that local sub-styles in the Basohli idiom were developed at Jasrota and probably at other states, including Lakhanpur. Does not, however, give any examples from Lakhanpur.

PAINTING IN MANDI

I. INTRODUCTION

GEOGRAPHY

A large state, about forty miles long and thirty miles broad, bounded on the south by Suket, on the south-west by Kahlur (Bilaspur), on the west and north-west by Kangra, on the north by Bangahal and on the north-east and east by Kulu. Beyond Bangahal and Kangra is Chamba, west of Kangra is Guler. Mountain ranges running from north to south divide it from Kulu and Kangra. Capital: Mandi.

SCENERY

Wilson (1841) paraphrasing Trebeck (1820): 'After a detention of some weeks we quitted Mundi on the 11th of July. The town presents little worthy of notice, although it is of some extent, being fully thrice as large as Kulu. It is situated in the angle between the Byas and Sukheti rivers. The most conspicuous object is the palace of the Raja, which stands in the southern part of the town, and presents a number of tall white buildings, with roofs of blue slate, concave, like those of Chinese pagodas. The general appearance of the houses resembles that of the buildings at Almora. Close to the entrance of the town are several pilasters, and smaller blocks of stone bearing representations, in relief, of the Rajas of Mundi. One of these is set up on the death of each Raja and sometimes on the demise of his relations. Each is sculptured, also, with the figures of his wives who have been burnt with him; a practice carried here to a frightful extent. On several occasions, I am told, the number of these victims of superstition has exceeded thirty. A very good ghat cut in the rock leads to the river, which is crossed by a crazy ferry-boat. Most of our baggage was carried across on skins. The breadth of the river varies as the high rocky banks recede. In one place it was two hundred yards across, and opposite to where we encamped it was above one hundred and fifty yards. In some places where the bank is shelving the river beats up it with a considerable surf. The depth varies: it was two fathoms where we brought to, but in some parts along the bank it was much more shallow. It undergoes, however, a periodical rise and fall every day, owing to the melting of the snow on the mountains, where it rises as the heat of the sun increases. The effect of this is felt at Mundi in the evening. The river then begins to swell, and continues rising through the night. In the morning it declines, and through the day loses considerably, perhaps one-third of its body of water.

'Near Mundi, on the opposite side of the Sukheti river, is a large temple, dedicated to an image which, five generations ago, was purchased by an ancestor of the Raja at Jagannath for seven hundred rupees, and was brought here at a great expense' (172-173).

Gazetteer (1920): 'Although the scenery of Mandi State does not compare in grandeur with the Upper Sutlej valley, nor, according to most judges, equal the varied beauty of Kulu, it has still many charms of its own. The Saraj and Nachan hills are well wooded and the torrents numerous, while magnificent views of the snows are obtainable from many places. In the Chuhar *kardari* the steep precipices and deep valleys are impressive, while the Uhl which flows through it is a beautiful type of Himalayan stream. Except for the deep gorge near Larji the Beas is comparatively dull. But the Suketi valley with the river meandering through an open plain which disappears by easy gradations into the low hills around has attractions which are rarely found in the hills and is strongly reminiscent of Ireland. In the spring when the wild fruit trees are in blossom and the

wheat fields just commencing to turn from green to gold, this valley presents a scene of restful beauty probably unequalled in the Punjab. The western portions of the state are far less attractive; but they too contain isolated spots of great natural beauty among which mention must be made of the Riwsalar lake and the environs of Kamlah' (4-5).

French (1931): 'The approach (from Kangra) to Mandi State is a Jack-and-the-Bean-stalk business. At the head of the Kangra Valley the road goes straight up a mountain and at the top you are in Mandi. A switch-back ride of sixty miles, a bridge with towers and gates at each end over the Beas river, here a boiling torrent, and one is in Mandi town. The river front of Mandi is a miniature Benares, temples, old houses, long flights of steps. The streets are steep and winding and the market place has a medieval picturesqueness. Outside the Raja's palace there is a temple with frescoes and the outer hall of the criminal court inside the palace is decorated with wall paintings. But they are of a late and inferior style. On the top of a hill, high above the town, a temple dominates the scene' (18).

RELIGION

Rose (1919): 'Of forty nine places of worship in Mandi town, twenty-four are Shiva temples, eight Devi temples and two are dedicated to Shaivaistic deities. Only seven temples are Vishnu shrines' (261).

Gazetteer (1920): 'Although an incarnation of Vishnu in the form of Madho Rai is the national god of the state, the worship of Shiva and of Devi, his consort, is predominant, Vaishnavism being clearly an innovation to which only conventional adherence is given. The phallic emblems both of Shiva and Devi are of very common occurrence and are often seen in connection with the Nag or serpent. The following is an account of Shiva worship in Mandi:

(1) Devi is a popular object of veneration all over the state. This goddess goes by several names, viz., Sri Vidya, Bala, Kali, Tara, Bagla and Durga.

(a) Sri Vidya, known also as Rajeshwari, is depicted as having four arms and holding the top of a man's skull, an elephant goad, a bow and an arrow. She wears red garments and has a half moon on her forehead. She is supposed to be a giver of wealth and happiness. Her bedstead is supported by Brahma, Vishnu, Indra and Shiva. There is a temple of this goddess in the Raja's palace, the old Rajas of Mandi being among her worshippers.

(b) Bala Devi has also four arms. In one hand is a sacred book, in another a string of beads. A third hand is stretched forth as if in the act of granting a boon, while the fourth is supposed to be making a sign of having removed all fears.

(c) Kali has many forms. She is usually shown, holding a lotus, shell, discus and club. One of her shrines is on the edge of the large tank in Mandi.

(d) Tara has four arms and holds a pair of scissors, a sword, a skull and a lotus flower. A four-tongued serpent is shown in her matted hair. The great Shyama Kali temple built by Raja Shyam Sen in 1659 A.D. has a statue of this goddess.

(e) Bagla Mukhi Devi is so named because her face resembles that of a heron. She wears yellow garments. In one hand she holds a club, in the other a demon's tongue. The priests of the ruling family are followers of this goddess.

(f) Durga or Bhawani is represented as riding on a tiger.

(2) Shiva, whose emblem is the linga, is worshipped chiefly by Brahmins, Rajputs, Khattris and Bohras. The sacred bull Nandi, the steed of Shiva, has his altar attached to all shrines of the god. Shiva's consort Gaura is often shown as riding on the bull with him. Offerings of flowers and

leaves are made to this deity. Shiva is known in several forms. The commonest of these (whose temple is on the left side of the Beas) is that of Pancha Vaktra or five-faced Shiva. The three-faced Shiva is known as Trilok Nath; his temple is on the right side of the river. Another form of Shiva is that of Ardh Nareswara; with half the body of Shiva and half of his consort Parvati or Gaura. A temple in Samkhetar street in Mandi is dedicated to this form. There is a very old temple in Mandi for Shiva worship known as "Bhut Nath". The pinnacle of its dome is gold plated. The late Raja Bijai Sen had an entrance gate made in Lucknow decorated with gold and silver and presented it to the temple. Balak Nath, the son of Shiva, has his followers. There is a temple dedicated to this deity on the banks of the Beas.

(3) Ganpati, or Ganesh, the elephant-headed Divinity, is worshipped by Hindus of the higher classes. He is the most dutiful son of Shiva and is the first invoked and propitiated in every undertaking. He is four-armed and holds a disc, warshell, club and lotus. His steed is a rat. His image at the door of a house is considered a protection from evil. Raja Sidh Sen built a temple for this deity and added an image of his own size' (110-112).

'As noted in the account of Suraj Sen's reign (vi), the national deity of Mandi is now regarded as Madho Rai, a manifestation of Vishnu to whom the Raja consigned his kingdom. There can, however, be little doubt that the Vaishnava form of religion was neither the ancient nor the popular faith of the Mandi dynasty. The ancestral god or *kulaj* is the Devi; and the worship of Shiva and his consort, except perhaps for a short period during Suraj Sen's lifetime, has always been far more observed than that of the more gentle member of the Hindu Trinity. Vishnuism, both here and in Kulu, appears to have come into temporary favour about the same time, and in both states was adopted as the State religion. But in Mandi the adoption has been very partial, and, for the most part, consists of a formal recognition of Madho Rai as the nominal head of the state. This is now shown in several ways of some interest.

'The *Janmashtami*, or birthday of Krishna, is observed as a state celebration, the ceremonies taking place either in a room adjoining the temple of Madho Rai or in the Dam-dama palace situated in the same building, immediately above the room where the god's image is enshrined. A small swing is hung from the rafters, an image of Krishna placed on the seat and flowers and rich cloth spread over it.

'At midnight, the Raja holds a *darbar* in the presence of the image at which all the leading state officials attend. A salute of eleven guns, the same as for the Raja, is fired in honour of the god. There is music and dancing and the Raja worships the god by throwing flowers on the image. A distribution of turbans, all of which are yellow in colour, then takes place. The image is first decked and then the Raja with his own hand binds one on the head of the officiating priest who in turn twists one around the Raja's head.

'Again in all religious ceremonies of a personal nature relating to the Raja the work of Madho Rai is an important and essential part. Only when this blessing has been invoked can they proceed and this is so, even when, as in the case of the hair-cutting ceremony, the main rites are performed in the presence of the family goddess. The Raja takes a prominent part in the celebration of public worship, particularly on the four great festivals of the year — the *Shivaratri*, the *Holi*, the *Dusehra* and the *Dipmala*. On each of these occasions he goes in procession accompanied by officials of the state, the army and the band, and his personal retainers. On the *Dusehra* and *Holi* the image of Madho Rai is borne in the procession and immediately precedes the Chief. On the other two festivals, Madho Rai does not process if the Raja, his deputy, is himself present in the state to represent him; but if the Raja is absent he himself attends, and since the death of the late Raja has regularly taken part in the celebrations.

'Of these, the most important is the *Shivaratri* when the village gods are carried into Mandi to do homage to Madho Rai and the Raja. The fair lasts for some days; but it is a

general rule that each god on his arrival shall pay his respect to Madho Rai before he proceeds to the palace to salaam the ruler. On the second day of the fair, a parade of gods is held on the Padal, the large open plain in the angle between the Beas and the Suketi; the various deities — which number in all about one hundred — are arranged according to precedence in line, along which the Raja with his officials passes to receive their homage. Madho Rai, as already noted, does not attend except when the Raja cannot act for him; but his absence is attributable to the fact that the fair is held on the great festival in honour of Shiva, a circumstance which supports the conclusion that the adoption of Vishnuism as the state religion is of comparatively recent date' (*Gazetteer*, 62-63).

For illustrations of Mandi temples and their images, see Madanjeet Singh, *Himalayan Art* (London, 1968): Col. pl. p. 10. Panchanana Shiva, Panchavaktra temple, Mandi.

Col. pl. p. 120. Shiva as Mahadeva, private temple, Raja of Mandi, Mandi.

Col. pl. pp. 121-122. View of the river Beas from the Triloknath temple, Mandi.

II. HISTORICAL NOTES

SOURCES

- Emerson, H. W. and Parsons, J. R. S. (ed.) *Punjab States Gazetteers XIII: Mandi State* (Lahore, 1920).
- Griffin, L. H. and Massy, C. F. *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab* (Lahore, revised ed., 1940).
- Hutchison J. and Vogel, J. P. *History of the Panjab Hill States* (Lahore, 1933), II, 373-412.
- Kahan Singh Balaria. *Tawarikh-i-Rajputan-i-Mulk-i-Panjab* (Jammu, 1912).
- Khandalavala, K. *Pahari Miniature Painting* (Bombay, 1958), 364-367.
- Man Mohan, *The History of the Mandi State* (Lahore, 1930).
- Moorcroft, W. *Manuscript Journal*, dated 22 June to 28 July, 1820. MSS. Eur. D.241. India Office Library, London.
- Moorcroft, W. *Manuscript Journal*, dated 28 July to 10 August, 1820. MSS. Eur. D.242. India Office Library, London. Reporting his companion, George Trebeck.
- Moorcroft, W. and Trebeck, G. *Travels in the Himalayan Provinces of Hindustan and the Panjab; in Ladakh and Kashmir; in Peshawar, Kabul, Kunduz and Bokhara from 1819 to 1825* (prepared for the press from original journals and correspondence by H. H. Wilson, London, 1841. Paraphrase by Wilson of a short account by George Trebeck who visited Mandi without Moorcroft, April to July 1820, incorporating comments by Moorcroft).
- Rose, H. A. *A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and the North-West Frontier Province* (Lahore, 1919).
- Singh, Madanjeet, *Himalayan Art* (London, 1968).
- Vigne, G. T. *Travels in Kashmir, Ladak, Iskardo* (London, 1842).

REIGNS AND PORTRAITS

With Suket, Keonthal and Kashtwar, the ruling family of Mandi is descended from the Sen Rajas of Bengal — Mandi state being an off-shoot (tenth to eleventh century) from Suket (founded eighth century). Its relations with the parent state, however, were marked by jealous rivalry rather than by close friendship, though the two states shared the same language (Mandiali) and also many local customs (flowers on the turban, royal memorial pillars). Clan name, Mandial. Family suffix, Sen.

Until 1684 all dates are approximate. Hutchison and Vogel (HV) are followed for 'main outlines', except where indicated. Man Mohan (MM) and Khandalavala (KK) are followed for 'supplementary information'.

1500-1534 AJBAR SEN (i)

Founders present capital, (new) Mandi. Erects temples of Bhut Nath and Trilok Nath. Subdues local ranas.

Son: Chatar Sen (died c.1530).

Portrait: (1) Man Mohan (1930), 16. Chatar Sen seated with a singing-girl. Mandi, c.1780.

1534-1560 (MM) SAHIB SEN (ii)

Son of Chatar Sen; grandson of Ajbar Sen.

Expands at expense of local ranas and of Kulu.

Marriage: Prakash Devi of Bilaspur.

Sons: Narain Sen, Kesava Sen.

1560-1574 (MM) NARAIN SEN (iii)

Son of Sahib Sen.

Annexes part of Suket. Dies of paralysis, c.1574.

1574-1604 (MM) KESAVA SEN (iv)

1595-1623 (HV)

Son of Sahib Sen.

Beginnings of Mughal paramountcy and custom of requiring Hill princes to attend the Mughal court as hostages.

Portrait: (1) Man Mohan (1930), 24. Kesava Sen seated smoking on a cot armed with sword, dagger, bow and three arrows. Two attendants. Mandi, c.1750.

1604-1637 (MM) HARI SEN (v)

1623-1637 (HV)

Son of Kesava Sen.

External affairs: Gave asylum to Prithvi Singh (1641-1664) of Chamba when at the age of four in 1623 he was smuggled out of Chamba on the state's occupation by Jagat Singh (1619-1646) of Nurpur. Prithvi Singh stayed in Mandi for 17 years. Recovered Chamba with aid of Mandi and Kulu in 1640.

Character: A great hawk.

Portraits: (1) Fig. 2 (Mandi). Hari Sen seated with a hawk. National Museum, New Delhi. Mandi, c.1700-1720.

(2) Man Mohan (1930), 28. Hari Sen standing with a hawk. Mandi, uncertain date. Costume and turban Jahangiri.

1637-1664 SURAJ SEN (vi)

Son of Hari Sen.

Main outlines (HV):

Internal affairs: Completed reduction of local barons (ranas and thakurs). Built the Damdama palace at Mandi.

Wars: At frequent war with Kulu and Guler, each time losing. Annexed a piece of Suket.

Religion: 'Suraj Sen had eighteen sons, all of whom died in his own lifetime and despairing of an heir he caused a silver image to be made, which he named Madho Rai, and to which he assigned the kingdom. It bears an inscription in Sanskrit of which the translation is as follows: "Surya Sena, lord of the earth and destroyer of his rivals, had this blameless image of the blessed Discus-bearer and Master (guru) of all the gods (i.e. Vishnu), the illustrious Madho Rai, made by Bhima the goldsmith, in the year Vik. 1705, on the 15th Phagan". This date corresponds to March A.D. 1648. At the Shivaratri festival, Madho Rai, the god, leads the procession, being followed by the Raja. The gods of the ilaqas do homage to Madho Rai first and then to the Raja' (HV, II, 385).

Marriages: (1) Nurpur (daughter of Raja Jagat Singh), (2) Kangra (daughter of Raja), (3) Jammu (Suraj Sen's daughter to Raja Hari Dev of Jammu (Bahu branch), 1658).

Supplementary (MM):

Character: 'A brave and daring soldier'. A very devout Hindu.

Portrait: (1) Suraj Sen with attendants. Inscribed: *sri raja suraj sen mandal*. Lambagraon collection, Kangra. By Fauju. Kangra, c.1770 (from a Mandi original, c.1700).

1664-1679 SHYAM SEN (vii)

Younger brother of Suraj Sen.

Main outlines (HV):

Character: Succeeded in middle age. Named Shyam from his dark features. Tauntingly called Tikkarnath (Black Pan) by Suket Raja. Before accession had made pilgrimages to Banaras and Puri (temple of Jagannath). On return had lived mainly in Chamba, perhaps due to friendship with Prithvi Singh (1641-1664) of Chamba who had lived in Mandi (1623-1641).

Wars: Aided Bilaspur against the Mughals. Attacked Suket and regained more Mandi land (formerly lost to Suket).

Religion: Built the temple of Shyam Kali on the hill adjoining Mandi town.

Supplementary (MM, KK):

Character: 'Shyam Sen was pleasure loving and extremely fond of music and spent much of his time in his harem. War with Kulu (unrecorded by HV) and though successful he was later ambushed and nearly lost his life because he insisted on taking an unsafe route to a place named Kandhi where he had ordered his troupe of musicians and dancing girls to meet him' (KK, 365).

Marriages: Bilaspur (a sister of Shyam Sen married Raja Dip Chand (1650-1667) of Bilaspur, and became mother of Raja Bhim Chand (1667-1712) of Bilaspur).

Sons: Gaur Sen, Dan (Dhan) Chand; Jappu (illegitimate).

Portraits: (1) Man Mohan (1930), 40. Shyam Sen standing with drawn sword. Mandi, c.1750 (?).

1679-1684 GAUR (GUR) SEN (viii)

Son of Shyam Sen.

Main outlines (HV):

Character: An ardent pilgrim. Visited Puri in Orissa (temple of Jagannath). Brought back an image and set it up in a shrine outside Mandi town, 1679. Wounded in his father's war with Suket but recovered.

Wars: With aid from Bilaspur, regained more land from Suket. Inconclusive war with Kulu.

Supplementary (MM):

Character: Was very fond of duck-shooting and soldiering. During his father's rule took a force to Nepal for three years and aided the Raja of Nepal to regain a fortress. Received from Nepal many favours. Strong, energetic, capable.

Marriages: Sirmur (a daughter of Raja Bidhi Parkash (1664-1684) of Sirmur), 1679.

Son: Sidh Sen.

Portraits: Fig. 1 (Mandi). Gaur Sen seated with two attendants. Private collection. Mandi, c.1700-1720.

(2) Fig. 3 (Mandi). Gaur Sen with attendants. National Museum, New Delhi. Mandi, c.1700-c.1720.

(3) Man Mohan (1930), 44. Gaur Sen standing. Mandi, uncertain date.

1684-1727 SIDH SEN (ix)

Son of Gaur (Gur) Sen.

Main outlines (HV):

Character and appearance: A great warrior. Of enormous stature. Credited with supernatural powers. Said to have possessed a book of spells. Deeply religious. Already 50 at accession. Died aged about 100.

Religion: Founded two temples — Sidh Ganesha and Sidh Bhadra — in or near Mandi town. Welcomed Guru Govind Singh, tenth Sikh Guru, when the latter visited Mandi in c.1697 in order to win support against the Mughals. In return for this friendly welcome the Guru granted him the boon that his capital would never be occupied by an enemy. This prediction was respected by the Sikhs until 1840.

Wars: Expanded Mandi at expense of Suket and, to a small extent, Bangahal. Murdered Prithi Pal of Bangahal, his son-in-law. (Most of Bangahal, however, was then taken by Kulu). Ravaged a border district of Kangra (under Raja Hamir Chand). Attacked Kulu, but was repulsed.

Internal affairs: State ably administered by the Wazir, Mian Jappu (c.1660-c.1735), illegitimate brother of his father Gaur Sen.

Marriages: Bangahal (his daughter to Raja Prithi Pal (1710-1720?) of Bangahal).

Son: Shiva Jawala Sen.

Supplementary (MM, KK):

Is said to have built fourteen temples in all. Had many sons by concubines (some named). Amongst his generals was Mian Bir Singh (commander in chief, see no. 6) and Bishit Hari Das (Khandalavala (1958), fig. 23).

Portraits: (1) French (1931), pl. 4A. Sidh Sen with ladies. Formerly ancestral collection, Raja of Mandi. Mandi, c. 1730.

(2) **Fig. 21 (Mandi).** Sidh Sen smoking on the banks of a river. Ancestral collection, Raja of Mandi. Mandi, c. 1730-1740.

(3) **Fig. 32 (Mandi).** Sidh Sen seated. Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 132-1964. Mandi, c.1760-1780.

(4) Skelton (1961), pl. 56. Sidh Sen on a rug with two attendants. Inscribed: *sri damba (davan?) sidh sen*. Private collection. Mandi, c.1770-1780.

(5) Skelton (1961), pl. 55. Sidh Sen going to worship. Inscribed: *sidh sain*. Private collection. Mandi, c.1770-1780.

(6) **Fig. 4 (Mandi).** Sidh Sen seated on a rug. G. K. Kanoria collection, Calcutta. Mandi, c.1700-1720.

(7) Man Mohan (1930), 52. Sidh Sen seated. Mandi, date uncertain.

(8) **Fig. 5 (Mandi).** Sidh Sen with ladies. G. K. Kanoria collection, Calcutta. Mandi, c.1700-1720.

(9) **Fig. 6 (Mandi).** Sidh Sen with his army commanders. National Museum, New Delhi. Mandi, c.1700-1720.

(10) **Fig. 18 (Mandi).** Sidh Sen walking. Chandigarh Museum. Mandi, c.1730-1740.

1719-1722 SHIVA JAWALA SEN (x)

Son of Sidh Sen.

Main outlines (HV):

Co-ruler of Mandi for last three years of life. Predeceased his father.

Sons: Left two sons, each less than one year old, by separate ranis and born at the same time. 'To decide which should succeed, Sidh Sen placed a sword and a pile of dust before them. One touched the sword and the other the dust, hence the names, *Shamsher* 'sword', *Dhurchatia* 'dust-eater', from *dhur*, 'dust' and *chatna*, to taste' (HV, II, 390).

Supplementary (MM):

Marriages: Daughters of Mian Abhai Chand (Rana of Hatli) and of Mian Jai Ram (1687).

Portraits: (1) Skelton (1961), pl. 57. Shiva Jawala Sen standing. Inscribed: *sri raja siv juala sain*. Private collection. Mandi, c.1725.

(2) **Fig. 7 (Mandi).** Shiva Jawala Sen seated. Formerly A. Sen collection, New Delhi. Mandi, c.1800-1820. Same person as in (1).

(3) Man Mohan (1930), 58. Shiva Jawala Sen smoking; two attendants. Mandi, c.1770.

1727-1781 SHAMSHER SEN (xi)

Son of Shiva Jawala Sen by the Hatli rani. Born 1722. Superseded his twin half-brother, Dhurchatia.

Main outlines (HV):

Marriage: Chamba (daughter of Raja Ugar Singh (1720-35) of Chamba) soon after accession.

Son: Surma Sen.

Character: 'Shamsher Sen seems to have been of weak intellect and as he grew up to manhood (c.1740) he fell under the evil influence of people of low social status, who used their power to their own advantage and the injury of the state. . . . After the rani's, his mother's death, he became addicted to low company and a feeling of distrust and alienation arose between him and Jappu' (HV, II, 391).

Internal affairs: Phase I (1727-c.1740).

Regency of the queen-mother (daughter of the Rana of Hatli) and Mian Jappu, his great-uncle (Wazir of Sidh Sen, x). Factional feeling and friction between them. Jappu at length murdered at instance of a certain Har Das and Dharmnath (c.1740?). Death of queen-mother (c.1740?).

Internal affairs: Phase II (c.1740-1781).

'Mian Jappu's death left a gap in the administration which

was partially filled by Dhurchatia, who now came into public affairs (c.1745). The later years of Shamsher Sen's reign were embittered by dissensions at home. Dhurchatia, his younger brother and minister, had gradually acquired so much power that even the Raja was afraid of him. All the Mians or royal kinsmen were entirely at his bidding, and it is even said that he proposed to set aside the heir-apparent Surma Sen — or put him out of the way, so as to open the way to the *gaddi* for himself' (HV, II, 392). The threat to Surma Sen led to his flight to Kangra (c.1774), return with a force, reduction of the Mians and expulsion of Dhurchatia who fled to Suket.

Wars with Kulu. Availed of disorders in Kulu (under Raja Jai Singh, Kulu, vii) to annex some Kulu land. Later, 1778, Shamsher Sen and Surma Sen jointly agreed with Sansar Chand of Kangra, and Raj Singh of Chamba to invade Kulu and seize Bangahal. Chamba acted alone and took Bangahal from Kulu.

Supplementary (MM, KK):

Marriages: Besides Chamba (see above), married daughters of a Mian of Mukhanpur and Mian Alam Katoch of Jaisinghpur, Kangra.

Characters: 'When Shamsher Sen took the government into his own hands (c.1740?) he developed a liking for low companions. His personal servants included one Bhadia, a blacksmith. He did many crazy things and appears to have been of weak intellect with the result that imposters like Purohit Basanta and a gosain named Bhawani Gir could impose upon him and receive favours. He appointed a low caste man named Mangtu as his adviser' (KK, 366).

External affairs: Friendly relations with Guler. Mian Udhar Singh of Mandi was a friend of Raja Dalip Singh (1695-1741) of Guler, on whose advice the Mughal Governor Adina Beg's threat to Mandi was averted. Shamsher Sen's daughter married Raja Prakash Chand (1773-1790) of Guler.

Additional information (Gazetteer):

An indication of Shamsher Sen's superstitious character, as also of his close dependence on his half-brother, Dhurchatia, is illustrated by the following land-grant. 'From the court of Sri Raja Shamsher Sen, King of Kings, of eternal ancestry. The village of Sarwahan was formerly held in sasan by the three Brahmans, Jogi, Nanda and Khuru. But in the days of Manohar Dhani Ram, words having arisen about the service they should render to us the land was taken back. So they killed themselves, Jogi died and his wife died also, and the others fled for refuge to Suket. And after this their enmity fell upon us. So, having called before us the grandsons of Nanda and Jogi we have given in perpetuity the village of Sarwahan as a religious gift. They shall enjoy it without boundary or limit and shall pray for our long life and prosperity. If any man harm them, he shall be a traitor to us, for the ones of the dead lie in the village, and so we have given the land. Given in the presence of Mian Dhur Jatia, 18th day of Asuj, Sambat 37' (*Gazetteer*, 71-72). [Since *Dogra Shastra samvat* is converted into *Vikram samvat* by adding 81 years and supplying the requisite century, samvat 37 equals 1818 (*Vikram samvat*) or 1761 A.D.]

Portraits: (1) **Fig. 23 (Mandi).** Shamsher Sen on a hunting foray. Private collection. Mandi, c.1745-1750.

(2) **Fig. 25 (Mandi).** Shamsher Sen and a companion re-enacting the roles of Shiva and Parvati. Private collection. Mandi, c.1750-1755.

(3) **Fig. 24 (Mandi).** Shamsher Sen as a *sadhu*. Inscribed (see no. 24). National Museum, New Delhi. Mandi, c. 1750-1755.

(4) **Fig. 33 (Mandi).** Shamsher Sen walking. National Museum, New Delhi. Mandi, c.1770-1780.

(5) **Fig. 36 (Mandi).** Shamsher Sen smoking. Archer collection, London. Mandi, c.1770-1780.

(6) Archer (1963), pl. 42. Shamsher Sen walking. Archer collection, London. Mandi, c.1780.

(7) **Fig. 29 (Mandi).** Shamsher Sen receiving his son, Surma Sen. Cleveland Museum of Art. Mandi, c.1775.

(8) Man Mohan (1930), p.68. Shamsher Sen smoking. Mandi, c.1770.

Portraits of relatives: (1) **Fig. 31 (Mandi).** Dhurchatia, walking with his half-brother, Raja Shamsheer Sen. Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 131-1964. Mandi, c.1765-1770.

1781-1788 SURMA SEN (xii)

Son of Shamsheer Sen by his Katoch rani (daughter of Mian Alam Katoch of Jaisinghpur, Kangra).

Main outlines (HV):

Early life: When his life was threatened by his uncle, Dhurchatia (the Wazir) and by the Mian faction, fled (c.1774) with his Brahmin tutor and companion, Bairagi Ram, to Nadaun (in Kangra). At Nadaun, welcomed by Raja Tegh Chand [not by Sansar Chand as stated by HV].

Returned with Kangra aid, c.1774, reduced the Mians and expelled Dhurchatia (asylum in Suket). As a result of Kangra aid agreed in 1778 for self and Shamsheer Sen to ally with Kangra and Chamba to attack Kulu (Chamba, however, alone acted). Succeeded 1781.

External affairs: Acknowledged Kangra supremacy and paid tribute, 1786.

Character: 'The Raja of this country (Isvari Sen) is notorious for his timidity and this seems hereditary as his father used to be so much alarmed at the discharge of a gun that firing was prohibited at Munde on a penalty' (Moorcroft, *Journal. MSS. Eur. D.242, f.81 v*).

Internal affairs: Appointed Bairagi Ram his Wazir. Kept the Mian faction firmly under control.

Supplementary (MM, KK):

Minority: On his flight in c.1774 was refused asylum by Bilaspur and hence went on to Kangra.

Character: A very fine horseman.

Wars: A half-hearted attack on Kulu (Raja Pritam Singh) was repulsed (but see Kulu, not recorded).

External affairs: Friendship with Guler. Mian Gauhar Singh of Guler served as one of his generals. Other generals also named.

Sons: Isvari Sen, Zalim Sen.

Portraits: (1) **Fig. 29 (Mandi).** Surma Sen with his father, Shamsheer Sen. Cleveland Museum of Art. Mandi, c.1775.

(2) **Fig. 37 (Mandi).** Surma Sen seated smoking. Archer collection, London. Mandi, c.1875.

1788-1826 ISVARI SEN (xiii)

Son of Surma Sen. Born 1784.

Main outlines (HV):

Minority and captivity (1788-1806): Four years old at accession, Bairagi Ram remaining minister. Intrigues by the Mandi Mians led Bairagi Ram to invite Sansar Chand of Kangra to intervene. 1791 (1793?) Mandi invaded by Kangra. Town plundered. A Mandi district given to Suket, another district to Kulu, one district taken by Kangra. Heavy tribute exacted. Isvari Sen taken to Kangra court and detained there for twelve years (1791 (1793?)-1805). Mandi administered in his absence by Bairagi Ram.

External affairs (1806-1826): 1805 Isvari Sen freed as a result of invasion of Kangra by Gurkhas (Nepal) in alliance with Bilaspur. In the Gurkha-Kangra war, Isvari Sen was required to be neutral. 1809, Ranjit Singh (Sikh) repelled Gurkhas, seized Kangra Fort, made Sansar Chand (Kangra) a tributary, but exacted tribute from Mandi. 1817, Mandi districts, given to Suket and Kulu by Sansar Chand, returned to Mandi by the Sikh Governor of the Kangra Hills (Sardar Desa Singh Majithia).

Internal affairs (1806-1826): Intrigues with Sikhs by Isvari Sen's younger brother, Zalim Sen (Singh), aimed at deposing Isvari Sen, failed. Exiled to Kangra. Asylum given in Mandi to ex-*raja* of Bashahr.

Character and appearance: 'August 2nd. Started out leaving behind us the Raj of Munde and its almost imbecile Governor. Raja Eesree Sein, 'The Sight(?) of God', was, for which reasons I cannot learn, either a ward or prisoner of Raja Sansar Chund but I am told the latter was installed by the Goorkhas and assisted them in their attack on Kangra. He is a corpulent short personage of about thirty five years of age, of very limited understanding and of great timidity, as I am informed for I have not seen him. He lent himself not only to the plans of the Goorkhas which might

have bespoke his gratitude, but to those of his oppressor Runjeet Singh. He has quarrelled with his brother Zalim Singh who is now a refugee at Shoojanpoor' (Moorcroft *Journal. MSS. Eur. D.242, f.98*).

Supplementary (MM, KK):

Captivity: While a captive at Kangra (1791 (1793?)-1805), his brother Zalim Sen was also at Kangra with him.

Marriages: (1) While at the Kangra court was married by Mian Fateh Chand (brother of Sansar Chand of Kangra) to his own daughter 'to prevent Sansar Chand putting Isvari Sen to death in a fit of caprice' (2) later married a princess of Bashahr. Took a troupe of musicians and dancing girls with him on this occasion.

Character: 'Had many good qualities and was hospitably inclined'.

Internal affairs: Bairagi Ram (Isvari Sen's tutor and later Wazir) murdered by a certain Khannu. Date and details unrecorded, but possibly before 1810.

Portraits: (1) **Fig. 46 (Mandi).** Isvari Sen worshipping Shiva. Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras. By Sajnu. Mandi, 1808.

(2) *Gazetteer*, 43 (pl.) Isvari Sen presiding at the Shivaratri Fair, Mandi. Raja of Mandi collection. Mandi, c.1810.

(3) Goetz (1945), pl. 1; also discussed (inscription) Gangoly (1961), 135. Isvari Sen seated. Inscribed: *mandyala isvari sen* (identity doubtful?). Baroda Museum. Guler, c.1820.

(4) Khandalavala (1958), p.233 (discussed but not illustrated). Isvari Sen with ladies. Mehta collection, Ahmedabad. Mandi, c.1820-1826.

(5) Listed Gupta (1922), D.69, 57. Isvari Sen. Central Museum, Lahore.

(6) Listed Gupta (1922), D.70, 57. Isvari Sen. Central Museum, Lahore.

(7) Man Mohan (1930), 84. Isvari Sen smoking. Mandi, c. 1820.

1826-1839 ZALIM SEN (xiv)

Younger brother of Isvari Sen. Succeeded since Isvari Sen had no legitimate sons.

Main outlines (HV):

Character: Cruel, capricious, extortionate, unpopular (HV, II, 398). 'A man of weighty body and slender capacity' (Moorcroft *Journal. MSS. Eur. D.242, f.98*).

External affairs: Some years before death made over state to Balbir Sen, son of Isvari Sen by a concubine.

Supplementary (MM, KK):

One of his commanders was Sodha Guleria (KK, 367).

Portraits: (1) Man Mohan (1930), 94. Zalim Sen smoking with courtiers. Mandi, c.1830.

1839-1851 BALBIR SEN (xv)

Son of Isvari Sen by a concubine. 22 years old when he succeeded (born 1817).

Main outlines (HV):

Appearance: 'The young Raja is short and stout in person, with a jovial, good-natured and remarkably European-like countenance' (Vigne, I, 77-83, referring to 1839).

External affairs: 1840, Mandi conquered by Sikhs under Ventura. Balbir Sen imprisoned at Amritsar. May 1841, freed by Sher Singh (Sikh Maharaja). Mandi tributary to Lahore. 1846, 1st Sikh War. Mandi came directly under British control.

Supplementary (MM, KK):

Marriages: (1) daughter of the Rana of Chiragh, (2) daughter of Mian Sadh of Guler.

Portraits: (1) Khandalavala (1958), 234 (discussed but not illustrated). Raja Balbir Sen with his ladies. Mehta collection, Ahmedabad. Mandi, c.1840.

(2) Khandalavala (1958), 234 (discussed, but not illustrated). A second portrait from the same collection. Said to be 'by the painter Vaikuntha of Nurpur, dated 1840'.

(3) Balbir and his uncle Zalim Sen. Inscribed in Persian characters: *balbir sin raja-i mandi*. Water colour from an album entitled *Punjabi Characters*. India Office Library, London, Add. Or. 1347. Punjab Plains, c.1839.

(4) Man Mohan (1930), 102. Balbir Sen seated with Mr. Askin. Mandi, c.1850.

1851-1902 **BIJAI (BAJAI) SEN** (xvi)

Son of Balbir Sen by his Guleria rani. Four years old when he succeeded (born 1847).

Main outlines (HV): Unimportant (see HV, II, 404-409).

Supplementary (MM, KK):

Marriages: (1) a grand-daughter of the Raja of Datarpur, (2) a daughter of Raja Shamsher Singh of Guler, (3) six other wives. A sister (?) to Raja Dalip Singh (1869-1892) of Kulu.

IMPLICATIONS FOR PAINTING

Personality of rulers

Unlike certain rulers and nobles in other parts of the Punjab Hills, no Mandi rulers, until the end of the eighteenth century, are credited with having any marked interest in scholarly texts, or any special interest in painting. Their interest in the cult of Shiva and the Devi seems to have precluded any great demand for illustrated texts. Factors, therefore, which in other states favoured painting, were conspicuously lacking in Mandi.

At the end of the eighteenth century, on the other hand, Isvari Sen seems to have been an exception. His exile to Kangra and ties with Guler brought him into close contact with two of the greatest centres of painting in the Punjab Hills. These circumstances could well have given the Mandi court a new idea of painting and may account for the very sharp differences in both style and quantity between the first phase of Mandi painting (c.1700-c.1800) and its second phase (c.1800-c.1850).

In contrast to their lack of interest in literature, Mandi rulers of the eighteenth century were often devoted to the sword — Shyam Sen (vii), Gaur Sen (viii), Sidh Sen (ix) and Shiva Jawala Sen (x) being all noted warriors. Martial prowess and personal bravery seem to have deserted the line in the persons of Shamsher Sen (xi), Surma Sen (xii), and Isvari Sen (xiii), but the earliest rulers stamped their personalities on the state and in the case of Sidh Sen led almost to a legend. Such conditions would tend to favour portraiture rather than poetic or religious painting, and may possibly explain why, on present evidence, Mandi painting in its first phase seems to have learnt more from Mughal portraiture than from other styles of painting more local to the Punjab Hills.

Of all Mandi rulers, two seem to have enjoyed cultivating their own 'personalities' — Sidh Sen (ix) with his great sword and book of spells, and Shamsher Sen (xi) with his liking for indecorous behaviour and 'low companions' (see no. 25 below). Both took a great interest in themselves and this interest may well have encouraged frank and intimate portrayals of some of their activities.

Relations with other states

Suket. Despite a common ancestor and clan, Mandi's relations with Suket were uniformly bad from the sixteenth century to the nineteenth. 'Mandi and Suket', Griffin states (HV, II, 386-387) 'have always been rivals and generally enemies'. Factors which elsewhere (as in Kulu and Basohli, q.v.) might have led to co-operation in painting were therefore nullified by ill-feeling.

Kulu. Mandi's relations with Kulu were as bad as those with Suket. There was constant rivalry and warfare, usually resulting in heavy losses by Mandi. No Mandi marriages with Kulu are recorded until the second half of the nineteenth century. In the face of this bitter animosity, the development of a joint Kulu-Mandi style of painting seems, on the face of it, unlikely.

Kahlur (Bilaspur). In contrast to Kulu and Suket, Bilaspur and Mandi were friendly — the two states actively aiding each other in the seventeenth century. A very significant marriage also took place — the sister of Shyam Sen (vii) marrying Dip Chand (1650-1667) of Bilaspur and becoming mother of Bhim Chand (1667-1712) of Bilaspur. If Bilaspur painting pre-dates painting in Mandi, this Bilaspur connection might well have been influential at Mandi.

Guler. Despite wars in the mid-seventeenth century, Mandi's relations with Guler from then onwards were even closer and friendlier than with Bilaspur. Guler generals served under Mandi rulers (xii, xiv). A Mandi courtier (xi) was a close friend of Dalip Singh of Guler. From about 1760 onwards there were also constant inter-marriages (the daughter of Shamsher Sen (xi) to Raja Prakash Chand (1773-1790) of Guler, Balbir Sen (xv) to the daughter of a Guleria Mian, Bijai Sen (xv) to the daughter of Raja Shamsher Singh of Guler). Since Guler was the most important centre of painting in the Punjab Hills in the period 1750 to 1775, and continued to be influential until 1825, friendship with Guler could well have affected Mandi painting from the late eighteenth century onwards.

Chamba. As with Bilaspur and Guler, Mandi relations with Chamba were consistently friendly. There were unusually close ties in the seventeenth century (v, vi, vii). Shamsher Sen (xi) was married in Chamba. Since Chamba possessed an eighteenth century school of painting and was Vaishnava in sympathy, the appearance of Krishna themes in Mandi painting after 1760 may have been encouraged by this marriage connection.

Kangra. In contrast to Chamba, Mandi's relations with Kangra were ambivalent. In the first half of the seventeenth century, a Mandi ruler had married in Kangra, but early in the eighteenth century war had broken out and part of Kangra had been ravaged. Shamsher Sen (xi) of Mandi had taken one of his several ranis from Kangra in c.1750, and Surma Sen (xii) was an offspring from this match. When his uncle Dhurchatia intrigued against him, Surma Sen took refuge in Kangra with Togh Chand (1774) and was restored to Mandi in 1775. With the rise of Sansar Chand of Kangra, however, relations deteriorated — Kangra exacted tribute from Mandi in 1786 and later, in 1791 (1793?), invaded Mandi, removed to the Kangra court Isvari Sen (xiii) and his brother, Zalim Sen, detained them there until 1805 and exacted more tribute. Isvari Sen's marriage to a niece of Sansar Chand hardly improved relations and although Zalim Sen returned to Sansar Chand's court when exiled from Mandi by his brother, Mandi was on consistently bad terms with Kangra from 1805 until 1826.

Since Kangra was the chief centre of painting in the Punjab Hills from 1780 to 1805 and again from 1810 to 1823, Kangra influence on later Mandi painting would not be impossible. As against this, however, must be set Isvari Sen's enforced absence from 1793 to 1805, his subsequent marriage in Bashahr and Kangra's ruthless exploitation of Mandi until 1805.

Basohli. With Basohli (the chief centre of painting in the Punjab Hills from 1670 to 1700), Mandi appears to have had no political or social ties. It was separated from Basohli by Kangra, Guler and Nurpur and having none of the clan, family or cultural connections which tied Basohli to Kulu, Mandi had no special cause for cultivating its friendship. Indeed the intimate relationship existing between Basohli and Kulu (Mandi's constant rival and enemy) must itself have precluded any rapprochement. Neither wars nor marriages between Mandi and Basohli are recorded. While, therefore, Basohli influence on Mandi painting cannot be automatically excluded, historical factors render it unlikely.

The Sikhs. Like other Hill states, Mandi seems to have had little direct contact with the Mughal court after the mid-seventeenth century. On the other hand, its relations with the Sikhs were altogether exceptional. Sidh Sen (ix) was the only raja in all the Punjab Hills to appreciate the tenth Sikh Guru (Guru Govind Singh) and to warm towards the Sikhs in general. Their relationship is discussed below in connection with a portrait of Guru Govind Singh (no. 9). This Sikh connection may possibly throw light on early Mandi painting. It is known that Guru Govind Singh campaigned in the Deccan and it is therefore possible that some stray Mughal paintings from the Deccan reached Mandi through its Sikh connection. (For a further discussion, see no. 9).

III. PAINTING: REVIEW OF LITERATURE

1842

Vigne, G. T. *Travels in Kashmir, Ladak, Iskardo* (London, 1842), I, 81-82.

Describes a visit to Mandi in 1839 and alludes to the palace murals: 'I derived some amusement from an inspection of the new paintings on the walls, and of these one in particular attracted my attention, as it was a specimen of the not unusual attempts of a Hindu Raphael to embody his ideas of Heaven. In the centre of the celestial city, of mixed Hindu and Saracenic architecture, was a courtyard, surrounded by a plain octagonal wall; its circumference, such was the perspective, could not have exceeded one hundred yards. Within the court was a building, or vestibule, in which Kali, or Parbuti, sat (having nothing better to do in Heaven) smoking a hookah, by way of whiling away eternity; and around her were four female attendants, whose chief occupation seemed to be fanning their mistress. In front of the vestibule was Siva, her husband, the four-armed, performing a *pas seul*. Three of his arms were brandished with the grace of a castanet player, and in the fourth hand he bore aloft a miniature image of his bull Nandi. On either side, as spectators, were arranged all the gods and goddesses of the Hindu Pantheon, and evidently disposed to venerate and applaud the performance of their divine master. On the outside were ranged the buildings of the city, and around them again arose the peaks of Kylas (Heaven), amongst which, and near the narrow gateway of the courtyard, were several fakirs and ascetics, who were patiently waiting until death enabled them to enter it.'

1915

Sastri, H. 'The Hamir Hath', *Journal of Indian Art and Industry* (October 1915), XVII, no. 132, 35-40, figs. 1-20.

Publishes a Mandi *Hamir Hath* series and records a verbal account of its inscription: 'by the painter Sajnu. Presented to Raja Isvari Sen of Mandi, 1810'. See no. 42.

1916

Coomaraswamy, A. K. *Rajput Painting* (Oxford, 1916), I, 21-23, 55; II, pls. 36, 37A.

Implies a personal visit to Mandi. 'The full story of the marriage of Siva and Parvati I have seen serially illustrated in a portfolio in the *tosi-khana* at Mandi.'

'These (pls. 36, 37A) are evidently in one hand and in a style which I am a little inclined to associate with Mandi.' [Here ascribed to Guler.]

1920

Emerson, H. W. and Parsons, J. R. S. (ed.) *Punjab States Gazetteers XIII: Mandi State* (Lahore, 1920).

Reproduces a picture of Raja Isvari Sen (1788-1826) celebrating the Shivaratri festival at Mandi.

1922

Gupta, S. N. *Catalogue of Paintings in the Central Museum, Lahore* (Calcutta, 1922), 57.

Lists three portraits of Mandi rajas; Gaur (Gur) Sen, viii (D. 68) and Isri (Isvari) Sen, xiii (D.69, D.70).

1926

Mehta, N. C. *Studies in Indian Painting* (Bombay, 1926), 60, 120-121, pl. 56.

Discusses a *Durgapath* series 'executed in 1848 for the ruling prince of Mandi — probably Raja Balvir Singh — who gave it to his guru at Benares'. See no. 76.

Includes Mandi as one of six Punjab states 'affording generous patronage to the art of painting'.

Coomaraswamy, A. K. *Catalogue of the Indian Collections in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: Part V, Rajput Painting* (Boston, 1926). Pl. 98 (312). Illustrates a picture with dolls. See no. 52 (discussion).

1929

Stchoukine, I. *La Peinture Indienne* (Paris, 1924). Pl. 98. 'The holy family'. Here assigned to the artist Sajnu, Mandi, c.1810-1820. See no. 60.

1930

Waldschmidt, E. 'Illustrations de la Krishna-lila', *Revue des Arts Asiatiques* (1929-30), VI, no. 4, 197-211.

Publishes a *Bhagavata Purana* series, Berlin Museum, here assigned to Mandi, c.1760-1770. See no. 27(4).

Man Mohan, *The History of Mandi State* (Lahore, 1930). Reproduces portraits of Rajas Chatar Sen, Kesava Sen (iv), Shamsher Sen (xi), Isvari Sen (xiii) and Bijai Sen (xvi) of Mandi.

1931

French, J. C. *Himalayan Art* (Oxford, 1931), 18, 19, 23, 37, 45, pls. 4A, 4B.

Describes a visit to Mandi in the nineteen-twenties. Reproduces two portraits of Sidh Sen (ix) from the ancestral collection of the Raja of Mandi. 'The oldest pictures in Mandi'. See nos. 21, 22.

1943

Treasuryvala, B. N. 'A new variety of Pahari paintings', *Journal Indian Society of Oriental Art* (1943), XI, 133-135. Pl. 6 (figs. 1-3), pl. 7 (col.). Here assigned to Mandi, c. 1700-1720. See nos. 11, 12.

1945

Goetz, H. 'Raja Isvari Sen of Mandi and the history of Kangra painting', *Bulletin Baroda State Museum* (1944-45), II, part I, 35-38, pl. 1.

Publishes a portrait of Raja Isvari Sen (xiii) of Mandi. Here assigned to Guler, c.1820. Catalogued Gangoly (1961).

1946

Khandalavala, K. 'Some paintings from the collection of the late Burjor N. Treasuryvala', *Marg* (1946), I, no. 1, 47. Fig. p.47. 'Girls flying kites'. Here assigned to Mandi. See no. 11(5).

1949

Mehta, N. C. 'Some Notes on Pahari paintings', *Roopa Lekha* (1948-1949), XX, no. 2, p.79.

Pl. 5. 'Krishna and the gopis'. See no. 35(1).

1950

Mehta, N. C. 'Notes on some Rajasthani and Pahari paintings', *Roopa Lekha* (1950), XXI, no. 2, 6-11.

Pl. 6. 'Prince and lady by a willow tree'. See no. 13.

Prasad, R. and others. *Nehru: A Birthday Book* (Calcutta, 1950).

Pl. 24. *Tripura Sundari*. See no. 17.

Gray, B. 'Painting', *The Art of India and Pakistan* (London, 1950).

Pl. 103 (507) 'Lady smoking a hookah attended by two maids'. See no. 30(1).

Pl. 104 (509) 'Lady clasping a plantain and smoking a hookah'. See no. 30(2).

1952

Archer, W. G. *Kangra Painting* (London, 1952).

Pl. 9. 'The gale of love'. Following Khandalavala, here assigned to the artist, Sajnu, Mandi, c.1810-1820. See no. 57.

Mehta, N. C. *Illustrated Weekly of India* (15 June 1952), 32. Col. pl. 'Prince and lady by a willow-tree'. See no. 13.

1953

Khandalavala, K. 'Review of Kangra Painting by W. G. Archer', *Marg* (1953), VI, no. 3, 25-31.

Assigns Archer (1952), pl. 9, to Mandi. See no. 57.

1954

Gangoly, O. C. 'Rajput Portraits of the indigenous School', *Marg* (1954), VII, no. 4, 12-21.
Fig. 11. Reproduces (unidentified) a portrait of Raja Surma Sen (xii). See no. 29(1).

1956

Randhawa, M. S. 'Kangra Artists', *Roopa Lekha* (1956), XXVII, no. 1, 9.

Records a family tradition of the living painter, Lakshman Das of Rajol, that his father, Ram Dayal (grandson of Nikka of Chamba and great-grandson of Nainsukh of Guler) 'worked in the court of Bijey Sen of Mandi' (xvi).

1957

Bhattacharya, A. K. 'A set of Kulu Folk-Paintings in the National Museum of India', *Artibus Asiae* (1957), XX, nos. 2 and 3, 165-183.

Figs. 1-9. Here assigned to Mandi, c.1700-1720. See nos. 11, 12.

1958

Khandalavala, K. *Pahari Miniature Painting* (Bombay, 1958).

Extends the dealers' term 'Kulu School' to include early Mandi pictures (18th century). For a discussion of this point, see no. 9. Isolates and analyses for the first time the style here termed 'Mandi: first phase'.

Publishes inscribed pictures by the painter Sajnu, Mandi, 1808 and 1810 (see nos. 42 and 46.).

The following illustrations are here attributed to Mandi: Col. pl. 14. 'Girls flying kites'. See no. 11.

- Fig. 9. 'The taking of toll'. See no. 27(1).
Fig. 23. 'Portrait of Haridasa'. See no. 13(2).
Fig. 26. 'Portrait of Aurangzeb'. See no. 11(2).
Fig. 28. 'Falconer meeting Gossains'. See no. 9(1).
Fig. 35. *Venugopala*. See nos. 21(2) and 27(2).
Fig. 46. 'The love-sick heroine'. See no. 50(2).
No. 146. 'Lady with deer'. See no. 11(1).
No. 148. 'Lady holding child'. See no. 11(3).
No. 152. 'Lady with attendant'. See no. 13(3).
No. 185, 186. From the *Hamir Hath* series attributed to Sajnu. See no. 42.
No. 187. 'Isvari Sen of Mandi worshipping Shiva'. See no. 46.
No. 188. 'The gale of love'. See no. 57.
No. 189. 'Radha and Krishna'. See no. 45(1).

1959

Goetz, H. *India: five thousand years of Indian art* (London, 1959).
Col. pl. (p.232). 'Lady smoking a hookah attended by two maids'. See no. 30(1).

Randhawa, M. S. 'Some inscribed Pahari paintings with names of artists', *Roopa Lekha* (1959), XXX, no. 1, 27-30.
Fig. 4. Publishes with inscription 'The village fire'. Here regarded as a copy presented to Sajnu, Mandi, 1808.
Fig. 6. Portrait of Raja Jai Singh of Guler with his son, Raghunath Singh, painted 'according to Raja Baldev Singh of Guler' by Muhammad Baksh, artist of Mandi, about 1882.

1960

Archer, W. G. *Indian Miniatures* (London, New York, 1960), 77 and 94.

Col. pl. 77. 'Lady with deer'. Here assigned to Mandi. See no. 11(1).
Col. pl. 94. 'Radha awaiting Krishna'. Here assigned to Sajnu, Mandi, c.1810-1820. See no. 50(1).

Skelton, R. *Indian Miniatures from the 15th to 19th centuries* (Venice, 1961), 14, 17, pls. 51-58, 62-67, 97.

Publishes for the first time a series of inscribed portraits of Mandi rulers: Gaur Sen (viii), Sidh Sen (ix), Shiva Jawala Sen (x), Shamsher Sen (xi).

Establishes the Mandi style: first phase. See nos. 1, 4, 7, 23-26.

1961

Gangoly, O. C. *Critical catalogue of miniature paintings in the Baroda Museum* (Baroda, 1961), 135.

Supplements Goetz (1945) by publishing the inscription on a portrait of Isvari Sen, here assigned to Guler, c.1820.

Goswamy, B. N. 'The Pahari Artists', *Roopa Lekha* (1961), XXXII, no. 2, 31-50.

Gives details of the work and training of two Mandi artists of the late nineteenth century — Muhammadi and Narotam — from information supplied by Narotam's son, Jwala Prasad. Narotam is credited by family tradition with executing the large-scale series of portraits in oils in the palace at Mandi. See no. 1 (communication, B. N. Goswamy).

Mittal, J. 'The Devi Mural at Kulu by Sajnu'. *Roopa Lekha* (1961), XXXII, no. 2, 85-97.

Publishes the large Devi mural in the palace of the Rai of Rupi at Sultanpur, Kulu and attributes it on grounds of style to Sajnu (see no. 46).

[This attribution is unacceptable since (1) although the subject bears some similarity to 46, it is, in fact, in different style and (2) the royal person in the centre wears Sikh costume and is identified by family tradition as Raja Dalip Singh (xvii, 1869-1892) of Kulu. This identification, with its corollary, a date of c.1880, effectively prevents Sajnu (active c.1800-1825) from being its painter.]

1963

Archer, Mildred, Archer, W. G. and Lee, S. E. *Indian Miniatures from the Mildred and W. G. Archer Collection* (Washington, 1963), nos. 40-43.

Supplements with further inscribed portraits Skelton (1961) and reinforces his conclusions on the Mandi style: first phase. See nos. 37, 36, 35, 33(1).

Barrett, D. *Painting of India* (London, 1963), 169.
'A group of *Ramayana* paintings in the National Museum, New Delhi, in an idiom similar to that of the *Shangri Ramayana*, is said to bear an inscription giving Mandi as the place of painting and the date 1765'. Discussed *Kulu* no. 5.

1964

Anand, M. R. 'Mandi Murals', *Marg* (1964), XVII, no. 3, 55-57.

Notes that the palace (Vigne, q.v.) was recently burned down. Publishes three murals from the house of Mian Bagh Singh, Wazir of Raja Bijai Sen (xvi), Mandi.

1965

Maggs Bros. *Oriental Miniatures and Illumination: Bulletin no. 9* (London, 1965), pls. 20, 21.

Pl. 20. Raja Shamsher Sen smoking. See no. 36(1).
Pl. 21. The Devi with Hanuman before her. See no. 35(3).

1966

Beach M. C. 'Rajput and related paintings'. *The Arts of India and Nepal: the Nasli and Alice Heeramanek collection* (Boston, 1966).

Fig. 181. 'The tower of Krishna'. See no. 16(1).

1967

Archer, Mildred. *Indian Miniatures and Folk Paintings* (Arts Council, London, 1967).

Fig. 30. Raja Shamsher Sen smoking. See no. 29(2).
Fig. 31. Raja Shamsher Sen smoking with two attendants. Archer and Lee (1963). See no. 36.

1968

Archer, W. G. and Binney, E. *Rajput Miniatures from the collection of Edwin Binney 3rd* (Portland, Oregon, 1968).

Summarises the history of painting in Mandi in the following terms:

'Like other states further to the north-west, Mandi, Bilaspur and Baghal appear to have had no schools of

painting until the second half of the 17th century. In about 1680 Mandi, a bitter rival of Kulu, developed a cumbersome variant of Shah Jahan-style Mughal portraiture. Local Mandi rajas and princes (nos. 65 and 67) were painted with over-large heads in a simple palette of white, slate-blue, green and brown. Mughal ladies of the 17th century also seem to have provided models for female types — Mandi artists once again painting them with a rough bucolic coarseness far removed from the delicacy of their distant originals. In many portraits, rows of birds in flight, a detail borrowed from Mughal painting in the Deccan, were also introduced. In 1722, Raja Shiva Jawala Sen predeceased his father, the nonogenarian giant, Sidh Sen (1684-1727). He is shown (no. 65) riding a lumbering cart horse with a member of his escort bearing a great flapping banner before him. The gross exaggerations and stumbling crudity of style are in sharp contrast to the wild but brilliantly intricate painting of Kulu. Besides portraying rajas and their companions, painters in Mandi also concentrated on studies of Shiva (by far the most widely worshipped deity in the state) and also, though to a much smaller extent, on scenes from the *Ramayana* (no. 66) and *Bhagavata Purana*. The latter text described the actions of Madho Rai (Krishna the flute-player) to whom the state had been dedicated by Raja Suraj Sen (1637-54). The flute-playing god seems, however, to have been far less successful in safeguarding Mandi interests than his rival, Raghunath, in Kulu, and to judge from the comparative rarity of Mandi pictures dealing with Krishna, popular interest in his cult was correspondingly slight.

'In 1793, the young Raja Isvari Sen (1788-1826) was abducted by his powerful neighbour, Raja Sansar Chand (1775-1823) of Kangra and was compelled to spend twelve inglorious years as captive at his court. His grandfather, Shamsheer Sen (no. 67), had married a Guler princess and it is possible that on Isvari Sen's release in 1805, following the invasion of Kangra by the Gurkhas, he installed a Guler painter, Sajnu, at his court. In 1810, Sajnu completed a *Hamir Hath* series which told the story of an overproud ruler's downfall — perhaps an oblique reference to the hated Sansar Chand. He also presented his royal patron with three pictures dated 1808, one of them showing Raja Isvari Sen worshipping Shiva and his consort Parvati. Sajnu's style (no. 68) is in total contrast to the 'country bumpkin' character of Mandi painting in the 18th century and instead reflects the sensitive elegance of Guler pictures of the 1750 to 1780 period. Apart from its delicate smoothness, a feature of Sajnu's style is his fondness for jagged shapes, pale colour and angular rhythms — characteristics which are also reflected in the work of his assistants and followers (no. 69).'

The following pictures are here attributed to Mandi:

- Fig. 63. Hill ruler (possibly of Mandi), mis-captioned 'Portrait of the Mughal Emperor Jahangir'. Compare no. 3.
 Fig. 64. 'The god Brahma'. Mandi, c.1710.
 Fig. 65. 'A Mandi prince, possibly Shiva Jawala Sen, riding with escort'. Mandi, c.1710.
 Fig. 66. 'Ravana in battle with Rama'. From a *Ramayana* series. Mandi, c.1750. See no. 26(1).
 Fig. 67. 'Shamsheer Sen of Mandi seated smoking'. See no. 36(1).
 Fig. 68. 'A gathering storm'. Style of Sajnu. Mandi, c. 1820. Compare no. 45.
 Fig. 69. 'The holy family'. School of Sajnu. Mandi, c. 1830. Compare no. 60.

Singh, Madanjeet. *Himalayan Art* (London, 1968).

- Col. pl. p.10. Panchanana Shiva, Panchavakta temple, Mandi. Compare no. 15.
 Col. pl. p.120. Shiva as Mahadeva, private temple, Raja of Mandi, Mandi. Compare no. 16.

Goswamy, B. N. 'Pahari Painting: the family as the basis of style', *Marg* (1968), XXI, no. 4, 17-62.

Publishes a magic diagram of a semi-nude figure pointing

to the names of sixteen states or courts among which is Mandi. Interprets the diagram which bears the title 'Shri Guler' as a picture of the *siddhi* or personal deity of the Seu-Manaku-Nainsukh family of painters and the list of states as places where members of the family worked.

Sastri, H. 'The Hamir Hath', *Roopa Lekha* (1968), XXXVII, nos. 1 and 2, 22-28.

A reprint of Sastri (1915). Figs. 1 and 2 are from a *Hamir Hath* series, Archaeological Museum, Gwalior, here assigned to Guler.

III. PAINTING: CATALOGUE AND RECONSTRUCTION

PHASE ONE: 1700-1800

1 Raja Gaur (Gur) Sen (1679-1684) of Mandi seated with attendants. Mandi, c.1700-1720.

280 x 193 mm; with border 288 x 207 mm. Red border with black and white rules.

Inscribed on reverse in *takri* characters: *sri raja gor sain*. Private collection.

Published: Skelton (1961), pl. 51.

Description: Raja Gaur Sen of Mandi is seated on a rug with white centre and floral border, resting against a pink cushion. He wears a white *jama* with the upper portion coloured brown. At his waist is a sword and a falcon perches before him. He wears a rosary. To the rear are two attendants, one supporting a pink canopy and the other holding a fan of peacock feathers and a cloth. 'Following a primitive convention, the legs of the attendants are concealed by the rug although their feet show at the bottom' (Skelton, 68). Background green. At the top bands of white and blue, the white band containing two parrots fighting and three rows of tiny flying birds. In the foreground rows of tufted clumps.

Discussion: One of a series of portraits showing rajas of Mandi in a distinctive attitude and style. The faces with their large eyes and noses are treated in a not unrealistic manner, but the head itself is enlarged, the figures are boldly simplified and a distinctive feature is the introduction of an over-long sword.

These postures and treatment were perhaps regarded as peculiar to portraiture in Mandi for not only are they followed in a Mandi portrait series of the late eighteenth century (see nos. 7 and 32) but they also serve as a model for a series of large portraits of Mandi rajas in oils executed by the late nineteenth century Mandi painter, Narotam (Goswamy, 1961). These portraits are half-length versions, eliminating the attendants, concentrating solely on the Raja but otherwise exactly duplicating the present style.

Although unlike any other local form of painting in the Punjab Hills, the style 'derives directly though in coarsened form from the late seventeenth century Mughal school of the Deccan from which it inherits such clichés as the rows of stylised birds and pairs of flying parrots' (Skelton, 69). The choice for background of two particular colours — green (as in the present picture and nos. 9, 10, 13, 15, 26) and blue (as in nos. 8, 14, 20) is also typical of Deccani painting. Besides parrots, other birds such as long-tailed swifts, pied mainas and drongos are sometimes introduced — the actual numbers varying from one to three, but each bird occupying a prominent place either at the top of the picture or in one of its corners.

Although, as noted by Skelton, 'the flying birds have already hardened into a lifeless convention', the parrots can none the less be identified and even the tiny signs on the horizon are recognisably birds. In later Mandi pictures (c.1750-1800), they are often either reduced to dots and dashes (19 and 38) or are left out (29, 31, 34). Their vivid existence in the present picture as well as 'the comparatively rich colouring and the broadly designed floral scroll support an early date in the series' (Skelton, 69).

2 Raja Hari Sen (1623-1637) of Mandi. Mandi, c.1700-1720. 188 x 122 mm; with border 327 x 159 mm. Border dull brown.

Inscribed in *takri* characters at top: *sri raja hari sain*. National Museum, New Delhi.

Description: Raja Hari Sen of Mandi is seated on a white rug with yellow floral border, a falcon perching on his gloved left hand. A sword lies before him. White *jama* with short waist-sash and frilled coat-ties. Blue background.

Discussion: A posthumous study, perhaps contemporary with no. 1. The falcon has possibly been inserted as an indication of his major passion, hawking.

3 Raja Gaur (Gur) Sen (1679-1684) of Mandi with attendants and courtier. Mandi, c.1700-1750.

220 x 150 mm; with border 265 x 193 mm.

Inscribed in *takri* characters on lower border: *sri raja gaur sain*.

National Museum, New Delhi.

Description: Raja Gaur Sen of Mandi stands in a mauve *jama* facing a courtier who stands before him with folded hands. To the rear are two attendants, one with a peacock-feather fan. Red turbans. Pale green background. Portions of *jama* and the fan project into the borders.

Discussion: Like 1 and 2, a posthumous study but with slightly less exaggerated features. The two attendants, shown in profile — the nearer slightly obscuring the further — is a peculiarity seen in other Mandi examples (1, 5, 31).

4 Raja Sidh Sen (1684-1727) of Mandi. Mandi, c.1700-1720. 178 x 108 mm; with border 217 x 145 mm. Orange-red border with white and blue rules.

G. K. Kanoria collection, Calcutta.

Description: Raja Sidh Sen of Mandi is seated in a white *jama* on a yellow rug with green and crimson floral border, resting against a crimson cushion. He holds a great sword. A yellow dagger with tiger-headed handle is tucked in his waist-band. Green background. At the top, bands of white and blue, the white band containing three parrots flying and a squadron of tiny birds with long tails, also perhaps parrots. In the foreground, rows of little tufted clumps.

Discussion: In style, a companion portrait to 1. It is significant that no attempt is made to portray Sidh Sen as an old man, although, by 1700, he was already over seventy years of age. For identification, see 21 and 22 and related examples below.

Related examples: (1) Skelton (1961), pl. 56. Raja Sidh Sen, seated with a sword. Inscribed in *takri* characters: *sri damba (davan?) . . . sidh sen*. Mandi, c.1770-1780. From a series of Mandi rajas after an earlier original (c.1720?). Birds reduced to tiny dots, cushion slightly protruding into the border. White moustache and beard. Long V-shaped slit in upper portion of *jama*. Of great girth, thus confirming the legend of his 'gigantic stature'. Composition same as in 4. For the designation *davan*, see no. 23.

(2) Skelton (1961), pl. 55. Raja Sidh Sen going to worship. Inscribed in *takri* characters: *sidh sain*. Mandi, c.1770-1780. Like (1) above, from a portrait series, based on earlier originals (c.1720?). Again of great girth. For Sidh Sen's reputation as a religious devotee, see 9 and historical notes (ix). A chaplet of flowers and head with shaved crown also occurs in 21. The nickname 'Black Pan' referred to by Skelton in his note (72) is evidently a mistake for Shyam Sen (Sidh Sen's grandfather). See reigns, vii.

5 Raja Sidh Sen (1684-1727) of Mandi with ladies. Mandi, c.1700-1720.

173 x 164 mm; with border 215 x 200 mm. Brown border with black and white rules.

Inscribed at base in *takri* characters: *sri sidh sain*.

G. K. Kanoria collection, Calcutta.

Description: Raja Sidh Sen of Mandi, wearing a dark green *jama* and a rosary and with his right hand resting on a sword stands on a tufted patch of ground. Four ladies, one with prominent Shaiva marks on her forehead, stand in a row behind him, carrying white cloths and a peacock-feather fan. They wear green, brown, yellow and dark blue

skirts. Sidh Sen has a yellow tiger-headed dagger tucked in his waist-band. Grey background.

Discussion: Like 3, a standing portrait and significant because of the very characteristic female types which are shown in close proximity to the Raja and also because of the employment of the convention of overlapping profiles (nos. 1 and 3). For women with similar faces, see 13 and 16. The dagger with its tiger-headed handle, combined with the inscription, leaves no doubt that the subject is Sidh Sen.

6 Raja Sidh Sen (1684-1727) of Mandi in audience. Mandi, c.1700-1720.

327 x 232 mm; with border 344 x 236 mm, the whole on dark green paper.

Inscribed in *takri* characters on the front: (1) under the upper central figure: *patra sohage (?) utari mahor aai bethes same ri sabih . . . 'came and sat*. The picture is of that occasion'; (2) under the lower standing courtier: *bidhu*; (3) under the central seated figure: *baija*; (4) under the seated figure to the right: *bir singh*.

National Museum, New Delhi.

Description: A picture in two registers. In the upper, Sidh Sen of Mandi in white *jama* with a large black shield at his side sits smoking a hookah, tended by a seated servant. A yellow tiger-headed dagger is tucked in his waist-band. Behind him stands a follower with sword and peacock-feather fan. In the lower register are seated two generals — the central one wearing a sword and holding a bow and arrow, the right-hand one clasping a shield with his sword lying before him. Black helmets(?). Before them stand two courtiers, each with swords at their waists, the foremost holding a slender crook.

Discussion: A remarkable picture partly on account of its size and partly because of the dramatic effects obtained by applying a small range of colours to a uniformly dark green background — white for all the costumes, brown for the stripes on the two rugs, bright yellow for the bow, the *jama* buttons and the tiger-headed dagger. Although the inscription has so far defied complete interpretation, the fact that Sidh Sen (identified by his dagger and by comparison with inscribed portraits) is not referred to by name while the two generals are named with refreshing familiarity shows that the notes were almost certainly made at Sidh Sen's own instance. Mian Bir Singh is noted by Man Mohan as Sidh Sen's commander-in-chief. Baija is unrecorded.

7 Raja Shiva Jawala Sen (1722-1725) of Mandi seated. Mandi, c.1800-1820 (after an earlier original, c.1700-1720?).

Formerly A. Sen collection, New Delhi.

Description: Raja Shiva Jawala Sen, son of Sidh Sen and co-ruler from 1722-1725, is seated on a rug supported by a cushion. He holds a great sword. Plain background. Upper rim of blue sky. No birds.

Discussion: Identified by comparison with (1) below and significant for confirming a Mandi type of royal face. In composition similar to 4 though already much simplified. The striped shawl resembles his father's shawl and *dhoti* in 22.

Related example: (1) Skelton (1951), pl. 57. Raja Shiva Jawala Sen of Mandi standing. Inscribed in *takri* characters: *sri raja siv juala sain*. Mandi, c.1725. In appearance slightly older and with more developed beard than in no. 7; otherwise identical. Similar turban.

8 Prince conversing with a boy. Mandi, c.1710-1720.

246 x 162 mm; with border 270 x 187 mm. Brown border with black and white rules.

Victoria and Albert Museum, Rothenstein collection, I.S. 44-1954.

Description: A prince in reddish brown turban and *jama* holding a manuscript in his right hand and wearing a rosary, stands beside a willow tree conversing with a boy in brown turban and white *jama*. The upper part of each *jama* is marked by a long narrow 'V'. The boy has a bow slung on his shoulder and toys with a flowering creeper which is entwined about the willow tree's stem. Prince and boy have horizontal Shaiva marks on their foreheads. Background

powder-blue. In the top left-hand corner a bird with forked tail. In the foreground, three rows of tufted plants.

Discussion: Although unscribed, the prince's features, especially the face and nose, bear so strong a family likeness to Rajas Gaur Sen, Sidh Sen and Shiva Jawala Sen (nos. 1, 4, 7) that while he is clearly neither of these three Mandi rajas, he must almost certainly be of Mandi royal origin. The plain background, brownish border, prominent bird and the upper portions of both *jamas*, with their deep 'V's from neck to waist, connect the picture with 1, while the features of the boy can be matched in 9 and 10. The moderate length of *jama* (more typical of the seventeenth than the eighteenth century), the turban style (Aurangzeb period) and the freshness with which both bird and willow tree are painted support a date of not later than the early eighteenth century.

9 Guru Govind Singh encounters Guru Nanak. Mandi, c. 1700-1720.

171 x 267 mm. Traces of brown border with black marginal rule.

Victoria and Albert Museum, Rothenstein collection, I.S. 40-1954.

Description: Guru Govind Singh in white *jama*, brown sash and brown turban, stands facing Guru Nanak. As in 1, the upper portion of his *jama* is coloured brown. He carries a falcon and wears bright yellow trousers lined with crimson stripes. Guru Nanak has a thin staff and holds a fan of peacock feathers. He wears a dervish's white cap. Behind him stands a soldierly attendant in white *jama* and brown over-coat, decorated with floral sprigs and with a bright yellow lining. He leans on a dark blue sword and carries a small rosary. On the extreme right is Mardana (Guru Nanak's minstrel companion), dressed like Guru Nanak and holding a musical instrument (*rabab*). The beards of Guru Nanak and Mardana are white, those of Guru Govind Singh and the soldier, black. Dark green background.

Discussion: Guru Govind Singh, the tenth Sikh Guru (1675-1708), was of special interest to Mandi on two counts. As leader of a spiritual community, compelled by events to take to the sword, he appealed to Raja Sidh Sen (1684-1727) who was unusually religious-minded, and also a great warrior. Guru Govind Singh was based on the Punjab plains near Bilaspur and visited Mandi in about 1697. He is said to have arrived by air in the iron cage into which Raja Man Singh of Kulu had unceremoniously consigned him (see Kulu: reign viii). At Mandi Raja Sidh Sen, acting in full character, warmly received him — his own aerial exploits (see no. 21) vying with those of the Guru's. On leaving Mandi, Govind Singh thanked Raja Sidh Sen for his reverence and hospitality and announced, 'When Mandi is plundered, heavenly balls will be fired', thereby guaranteeing the state from sack and capture. This prediction, given with Guru Govind Singh's full authority as a spiritual leader, made a great impression on Mandi. It insured the state against Sikh forays and attacks and until 1840 was scrupulously adhered to. It also put Mandi in a unique position vis-a-vis the Sikhs. Elsewhere in the Punjab Hills they were loathed and resented as ruthless adventurers. In Mandi alone was their spiritual character understood. This sharp contrast of attitude bound the Mandi court and populace to Guru Govind Singh and must be held to account, in large measure, for this picture.

In 1699 Guru Govind Singh declared himself to be the last of the ten Sikh gurus and thus the final embodiment of the first Sikh guru, Nanak. After him the *Granth*, or Sikh bible, was to become paramount. A picture showing an imaginary encounter between Guru Govind Singh and Guru Nanak, the last guru meeting the first, was thus of special significance. It was a vivid tribute to his main achievement and showed how non-Sikhs might be expected to recall him. It is significant that in no other styles of painting in the Punjab Hills does this subject occur until the nineteenth century and then only in Guler.

Although pictures of this kind were at one time assigned by dealers to the 'Kulu school', leading to the view (Khandalavala (1958), 107) that in style they were of Kulu origin, the connection with Mandi history, closeness in style to portraits of Mandi rulers, appeal to Mandi sentiment and lack of relevance to conditions in Kulu make this view hardly tenable. If pictures of Guru Govind Singh had been executed in Kulu, the artists would more probably have treated him with derision, showing him not as the final embodiment of Guru Nanak but as a wretched captive sitting in a cage.

As regards the Kulu provenance claimed by dealers, it may be said that if, in fact, pictures in this style were obtained there, they could well have come from areas in Kulu which had previously been part of Mandi. It is significant that although dealers are said to have repeatedly found such pictures in Kulu, their exact provenance was not divulged and in only one case was any report in the least degree circumstantial (Khandalavala (1958), 107). This alleged that pictures 'so closely resembling fig. 28 (i.e. Khandalavala, fig. 28 (no. 9(1)) below) as to make the theory of a common source inevitable' had been painted at Bashisht Kund, twenty seven miles from Sultanpur, Kulu, by the ancestors of a certain Gyan Chand who sold them to Amritsar dealers. 'Gyan Chand always referred to his forefathers as exponents of the Kulu Kalam.' They had gone to Bashisht Kund 'in the latter half of the eighteenth century'.

On this report, the following comments may be made. If accepted, it makes little sense of either 9(1) or the present picture which in style has much in common with 1 and like 1 and 4, is a clear derivative of late seventeenth century Mughal painting in the Deccan. Both pictures would then be of the first quarter, not the latter half of the eighteenth century, as suggested. Moreover, the report is wanting in crucial particulars. Neither the names of the persons to whom Gyan Chand told his story nor those of his ancestors are given. No particulars of the pictures 'resembling' 9(1) are noted. They have never been published and their present whereabouts are unknown. In addition, when Jagdish Mittal went to Bashisht Kund in 1956 and enquired for Gyan Chand, he was told that no painters had lived there, none were there now and as for Gyan Chand, no one had ever heard of him (private communication, 1960). This report is corroborated by Goswamy. Finally, even if such painters did exist, the report itself does not claim that they reached Kulu before 'the latter half of the eighteenth century'. They might thus have been Mandi artists who, perhaps due to the cessions of territory referred to above, decided to change state. There is no evidence that after their arrival in Kulu they continued their profession.

In such circumstances it seems advisable to discard attributions of such pictures to Kulu and, for the reasons given, assign them now to Mandi. It will be noticed that subsequent pictures in the catalogue, all with the characteristics of 'Kulu' pictures (dealers' term), can also be more readily connected with Mandi than with Kulu.

Related examples: (1) Khandalavala (1958), fig. 28. National Museum, New Delhi. Mandi, c.1710. Same theme but with addition on the left of a fifth figure in dervish's white robe and hat.

(2) Skelton (1961), pl. 64. Private collection. Mandi, c. 1730-1750. Same theme as 9. Four figures. A version executed at popular level (over-enlarged heads, coarse, rough technique) but possibly not greatly later in date.

10 Karttikeya. Mandi, c.1700-1720.

174 x 259 mm. Border trimmed away, traces of a black marginal rule.

Victoria and Albert Museum, Rothenstein collection, I.S. 41-1954.

Description: Karttikeya, six-headed and four-armed, is seated on a bed of lotus-petals beside his vehicle, a peacock. He wears a brown crown with yellow diadems. A

bright yellow *dhoti* swathes his waist and legs. The wrap loosely drawn across his shoulders is edged with brown. The lotus petals have brown veins and edges. He wears two necklaces and six armlets made of beads. The peacock has a slate-blue breast, dark blue tail with blue and pink spots, and a patch of bright yellow on the back. Karttikeya holds a stick, a white rosary and a white book. Background dark green.

Discussion: In style and composition similar to 9. Faces as in 8 (the young boy). Colours as in 'Lady with deer' (Archer, 1960, pl. 77).

11 Lady and her lover pointing to the moon. Mandi, c. 1700-1720.

210 x 150 mm.

National Museum, Treasuryvala collection, New Delhi.

Published: Bhattacharya (1957), 165-183, fig. 6.

Description: The lover in a yellow *jama* reaching to his feet puts his left hand on the lady's shoulder and points to a crescent moon in the sky. The lady wears a green skirt. 'The moonlit sky is symbolised by the white string of pearls that is held in the beak of a peacock which is flying to perch on the adjacent high terrace of a domed structure' (Bhattacharya (1957), 182).

Discussion: From a series of fourteen drawings in the National Museum, New Delhi, executed at popular level and closely related in style to 8, 9 and 10. Compare, in particular, the use of dotted lines on the lover's *jama* with the same convention in the dresses of Guru Nanak and Mardana (9). A great peacock and the same colours (yellow, blue and green) also appear in 10 (Karttikeya).

Examples from the same series (National Museum, New Delhi): (1) Treasuryvala (1943), col. pl. 7; also reproduced Bhattacharya (1957), fig. 1; Khandalavala (1958), no. 146; Archer (1960), col. pl. 77. Lady with deer. For the willow, compare 8 above. Palette as in 9 and 10.

(2) Bhattacharya (1957), fig. 2; also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), fig. 26. The emperor Aurangzeb on horseback with two retainers. Similar use of dotted lines on dresses. Long foot-length *jamās*. Plain blue background. A large parrot flying in the sky (top left corner).

(3) Khandalavala (1958), no. 148. Lady holding a child. Plain blue background. Large bird in the sky.

(4) Bhattacharya (1957), fig. 3 (col.). Prince on horseback hawking. Dotted lines on dress. Uncoloured background. A pair of birds flying.

(5) Treasuryvala (1943), pl. 6(3); also reproduced Khandalavala (1946), p.47; Bhattacharya (1957), fig. 5; Khandalavala (1958), col. pl. 14. Ladies fighting with kites. Dotted lines on the right-hand lady's dress. Blue background. Two big parrots. The strings of the two kites shown as coiled-up circles similar to the two sham breasts of Raja Shamsheer Sen's companion, masquerading as a woman (Skelton (1961), pl. 53; see 25).

(6) Treasuryvala (1943), pl. 6(1). Lady smoking a hookah attended by maids, under a willow tree. Chief colours green, blue and red.

(7) Treasuryvala (1943), pl. 6(2). Lady braiding her hair, assisted by maids; a willow tree above her. Colours as in 10.

(8) Bhattacharya (1957), fig. 8. Designs of bangles and drawings of birds. Comparable to the other large birds in the series.

(9) Bhattacharya (1957), fig. 9. Decorative designs in leaf and flower, shown in the shape of feet. Perhaps prototypes for the foot-marks made on shrines to the household Siddh — whose worship is a common feature of village houses in the lower parts of Mandi. 'The domestic shrine of a Siddh usually stands on a solid base about four feet from the ground. It is open in the front and is roofed with slates. Sometimes the shrine contains an image and sometimes only the *foot-marks* of the Siddh. Such marks have been described as those of Buddha, but the identification is very improbable, and it may be noted that they are not peculiar to the Siddhs. At the main approaches to a village, or at a short distance from a temple, pillars will often be seen sur-

mounted with a flat slab or stone on which are carved *foot-marks*, a tiger and a trident' (Mandi Gazetteer, 118).

12 The snake raja goes riding. Mandi, c.1700-1720.

From the same series as no. 11.

210 x 140 mm.

National Museum, Treasuryvala collection, New Delhi.

Published: Bhattacharya (1957), fig. 4.

Description: A prince with human head and snake's body is shown on horseback. Two snakes attend him, the foremost with a ceremonial fan, the second with a royal umbrella. A third snake rears behind him.

Discussion: Although interpreted by Bhattacharya (1957) as 'the caricature of a local prince, the artist showing him as half man and half reptile being attended on by reptiles carrying the royal parasol alongside the ridiculed person on horseback', there is little doubt that the picture represents one of the snake godlings for which Mandi was renowned. One of these, Manu Naga, migrated from Mandi to Simla where a special temple was erected in his honour (communication, M. S. Randhawa), another is supposed to have gone to Delhi and to have met the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb (K. Goswamy). Since the picture shows a snake raja journeying, the subject could well be either of these two personages. In this connection it is significant that the Emperor Aurangzeb is also included in the series. The fact that the subject, a snake raja, should be intimately associated with Mandi and that a study of foot-marks, 11(9), themselves connected with Mandi observances, should also be present, powerfully reinforces the attribution of the series to Mandi.

13 Prince and lady by a willow tree. Mandi, c.1730-1740.

Formerly Mehta collection, Bombay.

Published: Mehta (1950), pl. 6; also reproduced Mehta (1952), 32 (col.).

Description: A prince in white turban and *jama* with dark red waist-band, shoes and scabbard gazes at a lady who stands in front of him in a richly patterned dress with white veil. Flowers are draped on his turban. His *jama* has a narrow V-slit to the waist. A willow tree stands between them. The prince holds a red pouch in his left hand. The lady offers him a bunch of willow-leaves. Dark green background with upper bands of white and blue sky. In the upper left hand corner a pair of pied *maina* (?) birds; in the upper right hand corner two parrots. Above them two rows of small birds with long tails.

Discussion: Although the prince's features possess a strong family resemblance to those of Rajas Gaur Sen and Sidh Sen (nos. 1 and 4), he is clearly neither of these two rulers and we must therefore regard him as either an unidentified member of the Mandi royal family or a creature of poetry, modelled on the Mandi royal type. The minutely detailed treatment of the lady's dress with its tiny serrations connects the picture in style with 25 and 26. The lady's features resemble those of the women in 19, 26 and 27.

Related examples: (1) Skelton (1961), pl. 57. Raja Shiva Jawaala Sen (x). Private collection. Mandi, c.1725. Similar long and pleated *jama*. The sword also worn on the further side of the person thus becoming only partly visible. Flowers on the turban. Simpler in construction and for that reason, perhaps slightly earlier.

(2) Khandalavala (1958), fig. 23. Portrait of Haridasa. Khandalavala collection, Bombay. Mandi, c.1725. Connected with Khandalavala with Bisht Hari Das, a general of Raja Sidh Sen (ix). Similar long pleated *jama* but slightly off the feet. Upper portion of *jama* dark coloured as in 1 and 9. Willow trees as in 13.

(3) Khandalavala (1958), no. 152. Lady with maid by a willow tree. Khandalavala collection, Bombay. Mandi, c.1730-1740. Similar female faces. Willow as in 8. Uncoloured background. Two prominent parrots. Plain, simple dresses.

14 Lady with a garland. Mandi, c.1730-1740.

257 x 168 mm; with border 287 x 197 m.

Brownish border with white and dark blue rules.

Victoria and Albert Museum, Rothenstein collection, I.S. 43-1954.

Description: A lady in brown trousers, white transparent skirt and white bodice with brown tie-ends and low V-shaped neck stands beneath a willow tree holding a white and brown garland. Across her head, chest and back is draped a dark blue veil. Her brown shoes have black tufts at the toes. In the left bottom corner is a large quail. Background slate-blue. At the top a pair of black and white birds in a line, one seated on a branch, the other flying towards it. **Discussion:** Willow tree closely similar to 13. Face and bodice as in 16, 19, 26.

15 Shiva enthroned. Mandi, c.1730-1740.

266 x 182 mm; with border 270 x 187 mm.

Victoria and Albert Museum, Gayer-Anderson collection, I.S. 239-1952.

Description: Shiva, four-faced and ten-armed, with grey skin is seated on an elephant skin covering a white pedestal. A second elephant skin is draped over his left shoulder. A leopard skin covers his waist and thighs. On his right side, he holds in five hands a cobra, a white sword, a calabash, *dambura* and trident; on his left side he holds a shield, a lotus flower, a white discus, a conch shell and a white mace. The bull, Nandi, sits beyond the throne to the left, a tiger appears to the right. Green background. At the top, bands of white and blue sky. In the band of white, three green parrots fighting in a line, surrounded by four groups of tiny birds; four in each group.

Discussion: Similar to 1 (portrait of Gaur Sen, viii) in its use of green background, bands of white and blue and treatment of birds. Its manner, however, is less stridently simple and the more sensitive rendering of physique closely matches 21 ('Raja Sidh Sen, ix, by the banks of a river'). A detail common to both pictures is the presence of copious hair on the chest and stomach.

The portrayal of Shiva Panchavaktra (the five-faced one) with only four faces accords with the convention followed at the leading Shiva temple in Mandi. 'At the confluence of the Beas and Suketi', notes the *Gazetteer* (18) 'is a stately Sikhara temple evidently of considerable age and dedicated to Shiva under the name of Panchavaktra (the five-faced one). The main image is of some interest, since the five faces are not placed in one row as is usually the case with poly-cephalic statues, but in such a way that the fourth face is on the reverse side of the slab and the fifth on the top of the image slab. Thus, when seen in front, only three faces are visible'.

16 The tower of Shiva. Mandi, c.1730-1740.

285 x 175 mm; with border 305 x 200 mm. Red border.

Jagdish Goenka collection, Calcutta.

Description: Shiva, a giant four-armed figure with grey-blue skin, stands in a group of ten women who ascend his figure like a tower. Two women wield yak's tail fly-whisks, one holds a round vessel, others caress his limbs. All wear red skirts, overlaid with white. Background dark green.

Discussion: An intricate and soaring composition connected with Mandi by its ardent celebration of Shiva, its feminine types, and by intimate particulars such as the huge hands, vast feet and wooden clogs.

Related example: (1) Beach (1966), fig. 181. The tower of Krishna. Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Heermaneck collection. Mandi, c.1750. 'A gigantic Krishna holding a lotus embraces nine gopis; their combined form is that of a mountain peak' (Beach).

17 Tripura Sundari. Mandi, c.1730-1740. Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras.

Published: Prasad (1950), pl. 24.

Description: Tripura Sundari, a winged Tantric Devi 'the mother of all' stands in an orange-red robe in a circle of orange flames emitted from a dragon who prances at her feet. A long lean tiger bounds below her. Three startled birds are in the bottom left-hand corner. Green foreground with tufted plants. Background deep royal blue. In her four hands she carries a sword, a manuscript, a calabash and a rosary. The flames are treated like strands of matted foliage as in 21, 26, 27.

Discussion: The most magnificent rendering of this subject known anywhere.

18 Raja Sidh Sen (1684-1727) of Mandi walking. Mandi, c. 1730-1740.

248 x 148 mm; with borders 304 x 204 mm. Border red. Uninscribed.

Chandigarh Museum, Lambragraon collection.

Description: Raja Sidh Sen of Mandi, naked save for a pair of short trunks and a majestic white robe, is shown walking on wooden clogs and leaning on his sword. Behind him is an attendant in white *jama* wearing a rosary and holding a white cloth and a peacock-feather fan. Skin pale brown. Background greenish-blue. At the top bands of white and blue.

Discussion: Similar in features and hairiness of chest to 21 and perhaps portraying Sidh Sen returning from *puja* after bathing in the river Beas. Employs such typical Mandi idioms as over-large hands and feet and a greenish-blue background. One of a series of Mandi portraits in the Lambragraon collection, characterised by an almost excessive elongation of the figure.

19 Shiva and Parvati. Mandi, c.1740-1770.

Size (with margin of black, white and brown rules): 272 x 170 mm.

Victoria and Albert Museum, Rothenstein collection, I.S. 46-1954.

Description: Shiva, two-armed and wearing a leopard skin and a necklace of human heads, stands in a pair of black wooden clogs. A cobra in white and dark blue is looped across him. His head is bent to allow his hair to cascade downwards. In his right hand he holds a trident and in his left hand a crimson calabash. At his side, her hands receiving the flow of his hair, stands Parvati in a neutral coloured skirt with pale crimson veil. Behind Shiva is the bull, Nandi, with brown, grey and blue harness. In the foreground rows of tufted plants in dull blue. Plain uncoloured background. At the top a whitish blue band merging into dark blue. Across it rows of tiny birds, each shown as three dots and a dash.

Discussion: In style similar to 27(1). Compare especially Parvati's face with those of the milkmaids, the rhythmical composition, the plain uncoloured background and rows of tufted plants.

20 Shiva and Devi. Mandi, c.1740-1770.

258 x 169 mm; with border 275 x 191 mm. Orange brown border with white and black rules; portions of the animals, Devi's sword and *jama* projecting into it.

Victoria and Albert Museum, Rothenstein collection, I.S. 42-1954.

Description: Shiva as the great *yogi*, four-armed and dressed in a brilliant blue *jama* with brown scarf, walks with the goddess Devi, who is dressed as a warrior in a chocolate *jama* and brown scarf. Shiva carries a trident, calabash, horn and rosary. Devi, also four-armed, holds a bow, shield and a long sword. On her head is a brown crown with brilliant yellow spikes. A crescent moon adorns her forehead. Both figures wear brilliant yellow boots with black tufts at the toes. At their feet are their usual animals: a small white bull (Nandi), a small tiger and a pair of jackals. Background bluish grey topped by a band of white and dark blue sky.

Discussion: Worship of the goddess Devi in one or other of her six different forms (Sri Vidya (or Rajeshwari), Bala, Kali, Tara, Bagla and Durga) was one of the most marked aspects of Mandi religion. 'Devi', states the *Mandi Gazetteer* (110) 'is a popular object of veneration all over the State and along with Shiva is the chief deity. A temple to Devi as Sri Vidya, giver of wealth and happiness, is in the Raja's palace at Mandi'. In the present case, her iconography seems to be a blend of Sri Vidya, Kali and Durga.

The present picture with its coarse execution suggests that, apart from Mandi palace circles, there was a strong demand for Devi pictures at popular levels.

Details for comparison: boots or shoes with tufted toe-

caps (14, 31), Devi's crown (10), sombre dresses and background but much brilliant yellow (9, 10, 11), over-large and twisted hands (14, 28).

Related examples: (1) Skelton (1961), pl. 67. The death of Mahishasura. Private collection. Mandi, c.1740-1770. Durga on a tiger rearing the buffalo. Similar crown. Dull blue background.

(2) *Mandi Gazetteer* (1920), 20. Refers to a set of ten pictures representing the ten Mahavidyas or forms of Durga said to have been in the Mandi royal collection in 1919. 'They illustrate faithfully the *dyanas* or descriptions which are given on the back of the pictures and afford a clear idea of the aspects of the goddess as conceived by the Tantrikas or followers of witchcraft and black magic. Artistically they exhibit the merits of the Indian pictorial art of the late Moghal period.'

21 Raja Sidh Sen (1684-1727) of Mandi seated by the banks of a river. Mandi, c.1730-1740.

Mehta collection, Bombay. Formerly ancestral collection, Raja of Mandi.

Published: French (1931), pl. 4B.

Description: Sidh Sen, clad only in a striped loin-cloth, is seated on a white platform by a river. Above him is a tree with straggly foliage, streaked with dashes of light colour. He smokes a hookah, held for him by a boy attendant. On his shaved head is a chaplet of flowers. His left hand rests on a buffalo skin. Three other male attendants also with shaved heads appear beside the river. Green background with upper bands of white and blue, spotted with tiny dot-like birds. Part of the tree projects into the upper border. The river with its swirling water, partly obscuring the three attendants, is perhaps a later addition. Traces of a head and figures are also discernible beneath the main figure.

Discussion: When first discovered by French, in the nineteen-twenties in the ancestral collection of the Raja of Mandi, this picture was identified by family tradition as a portrait of Raja Sidh Sen (ix) of Mandi. French considered it and no. 22 to be 'the oldest pictures in Mandi' and dated both to the seventeenth century. He believed (or may have been told) that the present picture shows Sidh Sen 'sitting on the banks of the Ganges, for by his magic power he could fly to the sacred river every morning for his prayers and bath and be back again in Mandi in time for his mid-day meal' (French, 17). Quoting Vogel, French added that 'Sidh Sen is said to have had a book of charms and spells by which he controlled the demons and made them obey him. When he died, he threw the book into the Beas River'. French also remarked on the 'curious black skin near Sidh Sen'. 'This is an inflated buffalo skin, such as is used nowadays to cross rivers in these hills which are too deep to ford. The writer has crossed the Beas several times on these skins' (20).

Although the three spectral presences (just under the tree) may at first sight suggest the ghostly company which Sidh Sen is supposed to have kept, the picture in its present state is so obviously a blend of two distinct compositions that a definite interpretation is difficult to arrive at.

That the seated figure is certainly Sidh Sen can be seen by comparing it with other inscribed portraits (no. 32 and Skelton (1961) pls. 55 and 56). The picture itself, however, can hardly be contemporary, for the black moustache and far from huge figure suggest a man of only fifty. If Sidh Sen indeed died aged one hundred (see reign, ix), the picture shows him as he was in 1677. It is noteworthy, however, that the birds flying in the sky have already become tiny dots while the straggly design and finicky details recall studies of his grandson, Shamsheer Sen (23 and 25). These can hardly be earlier than 1740. It seems best, therefore, to regard this picture as a posthumous celebration of one of Sidh Sen's more noted feats rather than as the seventeenth century picture which French supposed it to be.

Apart from the use of green background and upper bands

of white and blue as in 13 and 15, the picture is notable for its straggly treatment of foliage (almost as if it were matted hair) and for the branches streaked with gashes of light colour. These latter idioms do not occur in other schools of Pahari painting and may thus be taken as local to Mandi.

Related examples: (1) Skelton (1961), pl. 63. Rama and his allies. Mandi, c.1750. Same idiom for trees.

(2) Khandalavala (1958), fig. 35. *Venugopala*. Mandi, c.1760. Same idiom for trees.

22 Raja Sidh Sen (1684-1727) of Mandi with ladies. Mandi, c.1730. Not illustrated.

Mehta collection, Bombay (formerly ancestral collection, Rajas of Mandi).

Published: French (1931), pl. 4A.

Description: Sidh Sen, seated on a low stool and holding a sword which rests on the ground, faces two female attendants one of whom kneels before him. A third woman stands behind him with a fan of peacock-feathers. Over him is slung a canopy draped with garlands of flowers. Green background. Upper bands of white and blue with tiny dot-like birds.

Discussion: The second of the two portraits first seen by French in the nineteenth twenties during his visit to the Raja of Mandi's palace in Mandi. It was then part of the ancestral collection and was identified by family tradition as a portrait of Raja Sidh Sen. The portrait shows Sidh Sen wearing flowers in his turban (a Mandi fashion) but somewhat bulkier than in 21. In his features, turban and the great sword, resting beside him, he distantly resembles his father, Gaur Sen (viii). In style, however, the picture is less boldly simple; the faces of the three women resemble those of the male attendants in 23 ('The hunting foray'), while the densely curving stripes of Sidh Sen's body-cloth and *dhoti* re-appear in the belly-cloth of the horse in the same picture. The women's dresses with their thick minute patterning are also paralleled in 25. Neither of these pictures (q.v.) can be dated earlier than 1740, and thus 1727, the year of Sidh Sen's death, would seem to be its earliest possible date. Since the portrait bears no resemblance to Sidh Sen when he died, aged one hundred, it is probably a posthumous celebration like 21 and may have been made shortly after his death.

23 The hunting foray. Mandi, c.1745-1750.

244 x 147 mm; with border 295 x 197 mm. Red border with inner line of white between black rules.

Inscribed at bottom of border in *takri* characters. *sri dem (dan?) pal* (perhaps a mis-reading for *sri davan*).

Private collection.

Published: Skelton (1961), pl. 52.

Description: The young Raja Shamsheer Sen (1727-1782) of Mandi rides a grey stallion and is attended by six retainers. He is dressed in a red *jama* draped with tiger and leopard skins and carries a long spear. Green background with bands of white and blue at the top. In the foreground a series of tufted clumps. The retainer, second from the right, wears a coat with dotted lines as in 9 and 11. Flying parrots are no longer present and flocks of birds elsewhere shown as tiny long-tailed crosses or as three dots and a dash are reduced to barely visible specks.

Discussion: An example of the fussier and more elaborate style of painting which seems to have developed in Mandi after the death of Sidh Sen. For related examples, see 13, 21, 22, 25.

In the picture, Shamsheer Sen (born 1722 only a few months before his father Shiva Jwala Sen's death) appears to be about twenty-five years of age. This would suggest a date for it of about 1745-1750, the time when he is said to have begun associating with 'low companions' and adopting 'crazy habits' (reign, xi). The leopard skin and 'rabble in attendance certainly suggest some approximation to 'the lunatic fringe'.

Sri davan (*diwan* or chief minister) was a common appellation of Mandi rulers, arising possibly from their role and status as *diwans* of Madho Rai, the god to whom Mandi state was made over by Raja Suraj Sen in 1648. Compare.

in this connection, nos. 24, 25, 29 and 36 where Shamsher Sen is addressed as *sri davan shamsher sen* or, more simply, as *sri davan*. A parallel for this practice is to be found in the state of Mewar, Rajasthan where the Ranas served as regents or *diwans* of the state god, Eklingji.

24 Raja Shamsher Sen (1727-1781) of Mandi dressed as a *sadhu*. Mandi, c.1750-1755.

148 x 81 mm; with borders 200 x 143 mm. Red border with black and white rules.

Inscribed in *takri* characters on left border: *sri davan shamsher sain* and at bottom in *takri* characters: *sri maharaj*. . . .

National Museum, New Delhi.

Description: Raja Shamsher Sen clad in a check-patterned *dhoti*, a tiger skin at his waist and a leopard skin round his shoulders, carries a *sadhu's* *lota* and a twisted stick. He wears wooden clogs. Brown *dhoti* and turban. White background. At the top, speck-like birds.

Discussion: Similar to nos. 23 and 25, the look in Shamsher Sen's eye again suggesting a touch of neurotic frenzy. It is perhaps significant that the inscriptions refer to him both as '*sri davan*' and as '*maharaja*'.

25 The pilgrims. Mandi, c.1750-1755.

241 x 137 mm; with border 298 x 196 mm. Red border with black and white marginal rules.

Inscribed on the lower border in *takri* characters: *sri devana sri samser saina ri sabi*. . . . 'The portrait of sri divan sri Shamsher Sen . . .'; and on the reverse in a modern *nagari* hand: *sri diban deban samser sin*.

Private collection.

Published: Skelton (1961), pl. 53.

Description: Shamsher Sen in *dhoti* and leopard skin walks with a male companion who is dressed as a woman. They are attended by a maid-servant.

Discussion: Similar in style to 21-24. Shamsher Sen appears, however, to be slightly older than in 23 and since a picture of this type, recording a casual incident, would normally be expected to be contemporary with its subject, its likely date must be about 1750 or 1755. The solemn participation in a piece of transvesticism — re-enacting the roles of Shiva and Parvati as wandering mendicants (Skelton, 71) — is perhaps yet another example of Shamsher Sen's fascination with the crazy.

26 Rama receiving his allies. Mandi, c.1750. Not illustrated.

295 x 131 mm; with border 295 x 174 mm. Light red border with black and white rules.

Private collection.

Published: Skelton (1961), pl. 63.

Description: Rama in reddish-brown *jama* sits with a bow leaning against a striped cushion in a doorway. Lakshmana stands behind him waving a fan of peacock feathers. Before him stand his chief monkey allies and beside them two bears. Sita and a maid look down from a window. Green background. Bands of white and blue sky. Rows of minute birds. Three cypresses and a tree with straggly foliage streaked with pale gashes (as in no. 21).

Discussion: For similar female faces see 13, 14. In general style closely connected with 21-25.

Related example: (1) Archer and Binney (1968), fig. 66. Ravana in battle with Rama. From a *Ramayana* series (horizontal). Binney collection, Brookline, Mass. Mandi, c. 1750.

27 Dana lila (the taking of toll). Mandi, c.1760.

182 x 113 mm; with borders 277 x 154 mm.

National Museum, New Delhi.

Description: Krishna and the cowherd boys waylay Radha and the cow-girls who stand before them with pots of curds on their heads. In the foreground cattle with yearning heads. Three peacocks. At the top, two white birds. Dull green background with rows of tiny birds shown as long-tailed crosses. In the foreground, 'basket-pattern' water.

Discussion: Male faces as in 8, 10; female as in 13, 14, and

19. Trees with the same straggly foliage which is so marked a feature of 21 and 26.

Related examples: (1) Khandalavala (1958), fig. 9. *Dana lila*. National Museum, New Delhi. Mandi, c.1750-1770. Krishna in a pale yellow *dhoti* and wearing wooden clogs embraces Radha who waves a lotus flower. He seizes another cow-girl by the arm. They are surrounded by other cowherds and cow-girls some of whom are struggling with pots of curds. Long arms and hands. In the foreground, rows of tufted clumps. On either side willow trees as in the portrait of Hari Dasa (no. 13(2)). Plain uncoloured background. In the sky, two birds fighting. A picture notable for its dancing rhythm and air of gay abandon.

(2) Khandalavala (1958), fig. 35. *Venugopala* (Krishna playing on the flute to cowherds, cow-girls and cattle). National Museum, New Delhi. Mandi, c.1760. Exactly comparable to no. 27 and with the same types of face, birds, cattle and trees with straggly foliage. The subject, *Venugopala*, faintly suggests Madho Rai, the Mandi national god — Madho Rai being deemed by Rose (1919, I, 388) to be 'Krishna in his avatar of Murlidhar or the flute-player'.

(3) Skelton (1961), pl. 66. The quelling of Kaliya. Private collection. Mandi, c.1760. Faces, background and trees as in 27. Basket-work idiom for water.

(4) Waldschmidt (1930), figs. 1-6. A *Bhagavata Purana* series including, amongst others, Krishna quelling the forest fire and the incident of the wives of the Brahmins of Mathura. Berlin Museum. Mandi, c.1760-1770. Apart from two late additions, comparable in style to 27.

28 Sage in a wilderness. Mandi, c.1770-1780 or later.

222 x 140 mm; with blue border (on both sides and base only), 234 x 164 mm.

Victoria and Albert Museum, Rothenstein collection, I.S. 47-1954.

Description: A sage with white beard and shaved head, wearing a dark red robe and lemon yellow shawl, strides barefoot across a dull green hillside covered with tufted clumps. At the top a rim of dark blue sky.

Discussion: Subject uncertain. For style, note in particular the great head, the over-large distorted hands and rows of tufted clumps.

29 Raja Shamsher Sen (1727-1781) of Mandi receiving his son, Surma Sen (1781-1788). Mandi, c.1775.

Border dark blue.

Inscribed on lower border in *takri* characters: *sri davan shamsher sen*; and *sri surma sen*.

Cleveland Museum of Art.

Description: Shamsher Sen, in dark red *jama*, is seated on a white rug above a striped carpet. An attendant fans him with a white cloth. He smokes a hookah and listens to his son, Surma Sen, who kneels before him with folded hands. Shamsher Sen, as is customary, has no sword. The 'excessively timid' Surma Sen (reign, xii) has a large dagger at his waist while an attendant to the right carries his sword in a scabbard.

Discussion: Surma Sen slightly resembles his grandfather, Shiva Jawala Sen, whose style of *jama* he shares (Skelton (1961), pl. 57). His moustache, however, droops downwards instead of upwards and the two turban styles differ.

Related example: (1) Gangoly (1954), fig. 11. Raja Surma Sen smoking with a lady. Unidentified by Gangoly, but same figure as in 29.

(2) Archer (1967), fig. 30. Raja Shamsher Sen smoking. Archer collection, London. Mandi, c.1760.

30 Lady at her toilet. Mandi, c.1760-1780.

254 x 178 mm; with border 299 x 216 mm. Red border with figures obtruding into it. Inner yellow margin and white rules.

Archer collection, London.

Description: A lady in white dress stands on a stool, braiding her hair and gazing downwards at a mirror which is held up for her by a maid in a dark red dress. Four other maids assist. Two hold trays, one a palm-leaf fan, a fourth dries her with a cloth. They wear red, blue, purple and brown

dresses, densely sprinkled with one and three-dot patterns. The scene is a terrace with pink and blue striped rug and white balustrade. A high pavilion with red blinds is loosely indicated by a shallow rectangular facade, topped by a roof with fish-scale ornament. In the background, a landscape with river and ducks, the water shown in 'basket-work' fashion. Dark blue sky with upper rim of curving white.

Discussion: Although this picture has certain resemblances to Kulu painting (compare, in particular, the toilet theme, the intent downward-looking gaze of the lady, the jagged angular stool and the emphatic use of one and three-dot patterning), other details securely connect it with Mandi. These are the firmly edged veil drawn loosely across the bust and allowed to hang in broad loops (no. 34), the 'basket-work' patterning for water (no. 27), the sharply cut features and long eyes (33, 35) and perhaps, above all, the pink striped rug with wiggly line, between each stripe (32, 36, 37). Long pleated dresses as in 31.

Related examples: (1) Gray (1950), pl. 103 (537); also reproduced Goetz (1959), col. pl. (p.232). Lady smoking a hookah attended by two maids. Baroda Museum. Mandi, c.1760-1780.

(2) Gray (1950), pl. 104 (519). Lady clasping a plantain and smoking a hookah, attended by two maids. Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras. Mandi, c.1760-1780.

31 Raja Shamsher Sen (1727-1781) of Mandi walking with his half-brother, Dhurchatia. Mandi, c.1765-1770.

158 x 110 mm; with border 195 x 150 mm. Brownish red border with thin black margin and white rules.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 131-1964.

Description: Raja Shamsher Sen (the further figure) is walking, assisted by a burly companion whose left hand he clasps. He wears a crimson shawl with dark blue lining and holds a long black stick. His companion wears a bluish grey *jama* flecked with white floral sprigs, a dark brown shawl and waist-band and crimson turban. Behind the couple stands a servant in white *jama* and dark grey complexion, waving above them a peacock feather fan. Sage green background, the fan projecting into the border. Raja Shamsher Sen is dull white in complexion, his companion pale brown. Each has a black moustache and beard, with horizontal Shaiva marks on the forehead.

Discussion: Although the picture is uninscribed, the relative positions of the two figures, their similar heights and not wholly dissimilar features, the obvious priority given to the companion, and the fact that both share the royal peacock feather fan, leave little doubt that the companion is Dhurchatia, the twin half-brother whom Shamsher Sen displaced at birth. For much of the reign, Dhurchatia exercised the greater power. He intrigued against the heir apparent, Surma Sen, and only gave ground when the latter returned from Kangra in 1774 with a Kangra contingent. The present picture, by showing Shamsher Sen leaning on Dhurchatia, expresses metaphorically the true relationship. It is significant that, as in 33 and 36, Shamsher Sen is shown with yet another prop — his long stick or staff.

32 Raja Sidh Sen (1684-1727) of Mandi. Mandi, c.1760-1780.

158 x 110 mm; with border 195 x 150 mm. Brownish red border with black and white rules.

Inscribed on the left-hand border in *takri* characters: *sidh sain*.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 132-1964.

Description: Raja Sidh Sen of Mandi in red dress and turban and with white moustache and beard, sits with his legs crossed on a striped rug. He leans against a yellow cushion, his left hand resting on a black shield. His right hand holds a long green sword with yellow hilt. The rug has pink and brown stripes and yellow ends, the pink stripes having wiggly blue lines down the middle and the brown stripes dotted white lines. Dark green background. At the top a black line with band of white and dark blue sky.

Discussion: Although this portrait closely follows Skelton (1961), pl. 56, it departs from it in features such as the vastly elongated sword, the crossed legs and the absence of

a fan-bearer. A striped rug replaces the rug with floral sprays. Wiggly lines noticeable in the pink stripes of the rug, the green scabbard and the white trouser leg are characteristic features of 30, 36 and 37 where rugs with parallel bands of striping also appear. The picture is presumably from a portrait series of Mandi rajas and is in the same style as 36. For an explanation of the inordinately long sword, see a passage in the *Mandi Gazetteer* (95): 'Raja Sidh Sen was a great warrior and his sword is still powerful to scare away the demons that obstruct child birth. In cases of prolonged labour, the sword is borrowed from the state and is dipped in water which is then given to the woman to drink'.

33 Raja Shamsher Sen (1727-1781) of Mandi goes walking. Mandi, c.1770-1780.

220 x 150 mm; with border 265 x 187 mm.

Inscribed at top in *takri* characters: *sri shamsher sain*.

National Museum, New Delhi.

Description: Raja Shamsher Sen in long red *jama*, red turban and white garland is shown walking and leaning on a black crook. He is followed by a maid-servant in a pleated skirt with bands of red, green, white and yellow. She wears a dark blue veil with three-dot patterning and holds a cloth in one hand and a peacock-feather fan in the other. Pale blue background.

Discussion: Shamsher Sen's daughter married Raja Prakash Chand (1773-c.1790) of Guler. While the marriage may have been due to Mandi's long-existing friendly ties with Guler, the same close connections may explain the presence in the picture of a girl with Guler-style striped skirt and with facial features, reminiscent of Guler painting of about the year 1765 or later. A special detail is the long thin eye with prominent eye-lash projecting into the nose.

Related examples: (1) Archer (1963), pl. 42. Raja Shamsher Sen goes walking. Archer collection, London. Mandi, c.1780. Identical to 33 except for the addition of a band of blue sky at the top and for slightly sharper features.

(2) Skelton (1961), pl. 58. The goddess Devi on a throne. Private collection. Mandi, c.1780. Dark red dress. Dark brown background. Sharp features as in (1) above.

34 Lady with a hookah attended by a maid. Mandi, c.1780. Chandigarh Museum.

Description: A lady with long black hair and veil, marked with tiny sprigs, holds the nozzle of a hookah and gazes at a maid who holds the bowl.

Discussion: Similar in facial types to 30, 33 and 35 and illustrating the same adaptation of Guler-style idioms to Mandi needs. Mandi idioms, such as the foreground with tufted plants, plain background and high band of sky, however, remain. The veil with heavy edges and wriggling outlines suggests late Kulu influence. In style, a continuation of the main line of Mandi painting before its eclipse by Guler-style painting in 1808.

35 Krishna and the cowherds. Mandi, c.1780-1800.

242 x 154 mm; with border 280 x 200 mm. Red border with black rule.

Inscribed on the reverse with Hindi title in *nagari* characters.

Archer collection, London.

Listed: Archer and Lee (1963), no. 43.

Description: Krishna in yellow *dhoti* and wearing black clogs is surrounded by eight cowherd-boys who offer him lotuses, flowers and a garland. In the foreground are cows and buffaloes, with rows of tufted clumps. In the background, a walled pavilion and trees.

Discussion: In style and palette similar to 30 and 34 but with somewhat squatter figures.

Related examples: (1) Mehta (1949), pl. 5. Krishna and the gopis. Mehta collection, Bombay, Mandi, c.1780. 'Basket-work' pattern for water. Similar faces. Survival in modified form of Mandi-type trees (no. 26).

(2) Khandalavala (1958), fig. 32. Shiva puja. National Museum, Treasury collection, New Delhi. Mandi, dated 1791 and 1805. Similar in style to 35. Discussed Khandalavala (1958), 317.

(3) Maggs (1965), pl. 21. The Devi with Hanuman before her. Mandi, c.1780-1800. Similar style.

36 Raja Shamsher Sen (1727-1781) of Mandi smoking. Mandi, c.1770-1780.

223 x 180 mm; with border 275 x 212 mm. Red border.

Inscribed on border in *takri* characters: *sri davan*.

Archer collection, London.

Published: Archer (1967), fig. 31.

Listed: Archer and Lee (1963), no. 41 where, however, the inscription is mis-read as *sri dan pal*.

Description: Shamsher Sen in long red *jama*, red turban and white garland is seated on a pink rug leaning against a striped cushion. He holds a hookah and puffs smoke from his mouth. An attendant holds a peacock-feather fan over him. Another attendant faces him, holding a long thick staff, with a sword in a scabbard slung at his waist. Green background.

Discussion: In features identical with 24, 25, 29 and 33. Other details of note: a rug with stripes (vertical, not diagonal) similar to those in 37, and with the same wriggly line between them, sharply cut features with eye-lashes projecting across the nose (31, 37), flap of coat turned back at the top (29, 33).

Related example: (1) Maggs (1965), pl. 20; also reproduced Archer and Binney (1968); fig. 67 Raja Shamsher Sen smoking. Binney collection, Brookline, Mass. Mandi, c. 1780. Similar composition but facing left, instead of right, and with a young hookah-tender in place of an old courtier with staff.

37 Raja Surma Sen (1781-1788) of Mandi smoking. Mandi, c.1780-1785.

230 x 140 mm; with border 275 x 185 mm.

Inscribed on upper border in *takri* characters: *raja surma sen*; on lower border: *sri raja surma sen*.

Archer collection, London.

Listed: Archer and Lee (1963), no. 40.

Description: Surma Sen sits on a pink striped rug smoking a hookah. He leans against a dull green cushion. Two servants, one with a silver stick, stand in front. Pale yellow background with bands of white and blue sky, sprinkled with tiny dot-like birds.

Discussion: In contrast to other Mandi rulers, with the exception of Shiva Jawala Sen, Surma Sen seems to have discarded the typical Mandi *jama* with its deep V-shaped slit and adopted instead the more normal form which brought the right hand side of the coat across the chest. Although his age is not recorded, it appears in the present picture to be about thirty years and since the inscription respectfully refers to him as 'Sri Raja' it is likely that he had already succeeded his father (died 1781) when this portrait was painted. Its date might thus be about 1785.

It is noteworthy that in the present picture his nose is much longer and head thinner than in his other portrait (no. 29). Change in details of the sitters' features seems to have been a characteristic of Mandi portraiture, perhaps explaining some of the variations in portraits of Shamsher Sen.

In style the picture continues to employ such constant Mandi idioms as a plain background, bands of white and blue sky, and flocks of birds (here lightly indicated by tiny specks). All the figures, and especially the attendant with the peacock feather fan, have sharply drawn faces. A further noteworthy feature is the rug shown with diagonal (not vertical) stripes, and with wriggly lines between. In view of Surma Sen's 'excessive timidity', it is hardly surprising that the sword lying beside him is a trivial blade compared with the tremendous weapon brandished by his grandfather, the 'great warrior', Sidh Sen.

38 Raja Govardhan Chand (1741-1733) of Guler. Mandi, c. 1780.

240 x 160 mm; with border 280 x 195 mm.

Inscribed at base in *takri* characters: *sri raja guardhan chand guleri*.

National Museum, New Delhi.

Description: Raja Govardhan Chand of Guler in a white

jama sits on a pink rug with brown stripes leaning against a red cushion. A servant with peacock-feather fan stands behind him. Green background. At the top bands of white and blue sky sprinkled with dot-like birds.

Discussion: Similar in style and composition to 37 but with vertical rather than diagonal stripes. Similar wriggly lines between the stripes. The inclusion of Raja Govardhan Chand of Guler in a Mandi portrait series is perhaps an indication of the close ties existing between the Guler and Mandi royal families, since it was unusual for rulers of other states to be portrayed at Mandi in Mandi style.

39 Mian Pramod Chand (born 1815, died 1851) of Kangra. Mandi, c.1830.

151 x 103 mm; with borders 178 x 130 mm.

Inscribed on reverse in *takri* characters: *pramod chand katoch*.

Chandigarh Museum.

Description: Pramod Chand, younger son of Raja Anirudh Chand (1823-1828) of Kangra, in white *jama*, sits on a patterned rug with orange-red cushions. He holds a bow and arrow. Beside him lies a sword. A servant stands behind him with a peacock-feather fan. To the right a retainer with silver staff. Pale grey-blue background.

Discussion: Although in style and composition modelled on earlier portraits of Mandi rulers, the somewhat clumsy execution and large, uncut figures suggest that the style is fast approaching obsolescence. Following Raja Isvari Sen's incarceration at Kangra and his marriage to a Kangra princess, interest in the Kangra royal family may have been aroused in Mandi, thus occasioning the present portrait.

40 Bhairava or Bhairon. Mandi, c.1800 or later.

279 x 176 mm; with border 304 x 205 mm. Orange brown border with black rule.

Victoria and Albert Museum, Rothenstein collection, I.S. 45-1954.

Description: Bhairava or Bhairon, four-armed with dark grey skin, stands holding a bowl and brandishing a large white sword. He wears bracelets and a necklace of human heads. A skirt composed of five white human arms dangles from his waist. In the forehead, a third eye. Face three-quarter view. Background dull green.

Discussion: A continuation at popular level of Mandi paintings of Shiva.

Bhairon is a disciple of Shiva, the *Gazetteer* (112) listing 'a few Brahmans and Khatris' as reverencing him. It also records that 'his image is painted on a piece of paper and worshipped. A temple on the edge of the great tank in Mandi belongs to this deity and is known as Sidh Bhairon. Prayers are offered four times a day, viz., at day-break, noon, sunset and midnight'.

41 The affray. Mandi, c.1800 or later.

238 x 155 mm; with border 289 x 202 mm. Orange brown border with thick black rule.

Victoria and Albert Museum, French collection, I.S. 196-1955.

Description: A youth in pale crimson turban and *jama* and dark blue trousers stands holding a squatting man by the beard and brandishing over him a shoe. The man wears a white *jama* and turban mixed with black and brown. Pale yellow background. At the top a curving band of white and grey sky flecked with red.

Discussion: Mandi style at popular level. Subject uncertain.

PHASE TWO: 1800-1900

42(i, ii) Two paintings from a set of twenty-one illustrations to a Hamir Hath series. By Sajnu. Mandi, 1810.

Said to be inscribed as a present to Raja Isvari Sen (1788-1826) of Mandi by the painter, Sajnu, on the 16th day of *Magha* (January to February) *vikrama samvat* 1867 (i.e. A.D. 1810).

Ancestral collection. Raja of Mandi. Mandi.

Published: Sastri (1915), 35-40, figs. 4 and 12.

For other pictures from the series, see Sastri (1915), figs.

1-3, 5-11, 13, 14; figs. 1 and 6 also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), nos. 185 and 186.

42(i) Hamir holding court.

Description: Hamir, over-lord of the fortress of Ranthambhor, Rajasthan, sits in audience surrounded by a group of counsellors, palace attendants, courtiers and soldiers. He sits on a vertical oblong rug placed on a dark carpet besprinkled with floral and leaf designs. Above him is a canopy with pallid ground and leaf ornament. To the rear is an alcove with shaded 'lingam-like' niches. In the left hand half of the picture is a bewildering array of walls, rooms, turrets and roof-tops, comprising a jagged series of zigzagging angles and restless geometrical forms.

The flat roofs of certain turrets are up-tilted and are shown as lop-sided diamonds. On the far horizon are rows of rounded trees and a tower with triangular roof rising to an oval apex. Within the rooms various ladies talk together or view the scene. Before Hamir stands the Muslim refugee, Mahima, his folded hands, solid stature, ample dress and humble attitude markedly resembling that of Raja Isvari Sen worshipping Shiva (no. 46, also by Sajnu and dated 1808).

42(ii) Hamir and the dancing-girl.

Description: Hamir, besieged in the Ranthambhor fortress by the Khilji Sultan, Ala-ud-din, sits smoking a hookah on a dark carpet besprinkled with floral and leaf designs. Behind him is a wall with shaded niches. A girl-dancer, accompanied by musicians, dances before him on a rug with parallel stripes. The fortress walls rise from rocky slopes composed of jagged blocks. Behind the dancer is Mahima, shooting an arrow at the Sultan who sits in audience in his camp below the fortress to the left. Around the Sultan is a series of tents and screens, with a number of artillery-men in western-style hats and uniforms. As in (i) Hamir's palace fortress and the Sultan's encampment are shown as a brusque exercise in angular geometry, the sharp zigzagging lines conveying an air of almost 'mannerist' agitation.

Discussion: This series, first published by Sastri in 1915, has for long been recognised as a landmark in Mandi painting, demonstrating as it does, that under Raja Isvari Sen (xiii, 1788-1826) painting in Mandi made a revolutionary break with the bold, primitive but, at times, crude style of the eighteenth century and adopted in its place a style first evolved in Guler and later expanded and developed at Guler and Kangra. This new phase of painting led to many pictures. In 1960 when I visited the Mandi palace with M. S. Randhawa and Mulk Raj Anand, I was told that two rooms had at one time been filled with pictures — some on the walls, others in bundles and cupboards. If, as seems little doubt, most of these were of nineteenth century origin, the second phase of painting in Mandi was indeed prolific.

Although the series is said to be inscribed, it is unfortunate that the inscription has never been copied. Sastri's article appeared fifty years ago but no scholar has seen the series since. It escaped French's attention when he saw the Mandi royal collection only ten to fifteen years later; and today its whereabouts are still unknown. In 1960, the royal collection was no longer at Mandi, having been partly removed to Bombay, partly to 'the South', and partly sold.

Sastri had apparently no chance of seeing the inscription himself and therefore did not read, transcribe or translate it. All that he says of the twenty-one illustrations is as follows: 'My friend, Sardar Amar Singh (the State Wazir) tells me that they were prepared by Sajnu, a well-known painter of Kangra and presented to Raja Ishri Sen of Mandi (died A.D. 1826) on the 16th day of *Magha* (January-February) during the year 1867 of the *samvat* or *vikrama* era (A.D. 1810)'. He added, 'I am told that the painter spent two years upon the pictures'. Since this report is only a paraphrase of the inscription, we must obviously treat it with some caution. At the same time, Sajnu's portrait of Isvari Sen (no. 46) dated 1808 strongly suggests that Sajnu must

certainly have worked in Mandi and since the *Hamir Hath* pictures are said to have been presented to Isvari two years later, it is reasonable to assume that they too were painted by Sajnu at Mandi. This assumption will now be followed.

As regards Sajnu's antecedents, the Wazir's report is unhelpfully too ambiguous to be conclusive. The phrase 'a well-known painter of Kangra' may mean one of two things: in the narrow sense 'Kangra town, fort or court' but in a wider and perhaps more common sense, the entire 'Kangra Valley' or, as it then was, the 'Kangra District'. In this latter sense, it would include Nurpur, Guler, Kangra and Kulu. There are no grounds for connecting Sajnu with Nurpur or Kulu, but discoveries by Goswamy have shown that (1) a certain Sajnu had a son, Ramdayal, and grandson, Haricharan, who were noted in the 1865 Record of Rights as 'Marathe Gulerie' (Guleria Marathas), settled in village Ustehar (former Kangra State) and that (2) a painter Sajnu, son of Moti, grandson of Himmattu and great-grandson of Chhable, a resident of Kangra Fort, visited Hardwar in 1792 and was entered in a priest's register. Assuming that these two Sajnus are the same, it would follow that while the family had originated in Guler and had possibly retained its Guler connections, by 1792 it was permanently settled in Kangra Fort. That the present Sajnu was connected with this Guler-Kangra family seems proved by a statement of Sastri's that he 'purchased a collection of some two hundred drawings, sketches and pictures from one of (Sajnu's) descendants — Sajnu, his great-grandson at Kangra in 1910' (Sastri (1915), 35, footnote 1). The date 1792, however, is fourteen to sixteen years previous to Sajnu's probable arrival at Mandi and during this time much could have happened. Whether Sajnu remained at Kangra Fort during the period 1792-1806 (1808?), enduring among other vicissitudes the trials of the Gurkha siege (1806-1809) or sought refuge, for a time, at the family's original home at Guler can only be surmised.

On grounds of style and subject-matter, Sajnu seems, on the face of it, more closely connected with Guler than with Kangra. As is clear from 42, 43 and 46, he specialises in jagged angular rhythms and even at times violates realism for the sake of geometric drama. At Kangra, the Guler flair for formal structure was overlaid by gentle naturalism and by flowing feminine line; at Guler itself, compositions remained more angular and geometric. If style is the criterion, then it is with Guler painting under Raja Bhup Singh (c.1790-1822) rather than with Kangra painting under Sansar Chand (1775-1823) that Sajnu has perhaps the greater affinity.

The suggestion of a recent Guler origin is supported by two other circumstances. Although Isvari Sen had been married to Sansar Chand's niece, it was with Guler rather than Kangra that Mandi had all along been linked. Isvari Sen's own aunt was married to Raja Prakash Chand (1773-c.1790) of Guler, and it is significant that two portraits of her husband, both in Guler style, have the same 'jig-saw puzzle' borders which occur in five Mandi pictures all connected on grounds of style with Sajnu (for a description of this intriguing detail, see no. 49). It is true that if these two portraits were brought to Mandi from Guler by Isvari Sen's aunt, Sajnu might have seen them in the royal collection and copied this unusual border patterning. On the other hand, the two portraits need not themselves have come to Mandi and in that event, Sajnu could only have adopted 'jig-saw puzzle' borders by first-hand knowledge of them at Guler. The convention, so far as we know, was not practised in Kangra. Is it likely, then, that anyone but a Guler artist would naturalise it in Mandi? In such circumstances the natural inference is that Sajnu did, in fact, come to Mandi from Guler and himself brought the idiom with him.

A second consideration concerns subject. Although widely known as a ballad, the *Hamir Hath* does not seem to have been illustrated before 1800; Sastri cites two series —

one in the Bhuri Singh Museum, Chamba, and a second at Patiala. A third series is in the Boston Museum (Coomaraswamy (1926) 114-117). A picture from a fourth series was in the Latifi collection, Bombay, and others from a fifth are in the Archaeological Museum, Gwalior (Sastri, 1968). These last pictures and the Boston series are all in Guler style of the early nineteenth century. Our present series, on the other hand, is from Mandi and is of about the same time. Can so sudden a focussing on the *Hamir Hath* in both Guler and Mandi be a coincidence?

It is obvious that as a subject, the *Hamir Hath* could have had no possible vogue or appeal in Kangra, for its story far too strikingly parallels Sansar Chand's own downfall. It involves the siege of a ruler in a vast fortress surrounded by precipices, dizzy like those of Kangra, a king as heroic, arrogant and obdurate as Sansar Chand himself, and finally a catastrophic plunge to ultimate disaster. In 1808 when Sajnu is said to have started the series, the grisly allegory had still to be worked out, but in Mandi as in Guler, it may have seemed that Sansar Chand's chances of recovery were slight and that his days of tyranny were over. Both Mandi and Guler had little cause to love Sansar Chand for each had suffered from him. At both courts, therefore, the *Hamir Hath* had strong appeal. If the sets are viewed first as pieces of prophetic insight, then as prophylactic magic and finally as gloating celebrations of Sansar Chand's end, the present Mandi series becomes intelligible. It is a version made at Mandi by an artist from Guler. A striking detail — the European hats worn by the artillery-men in 42(ii) — significantly reinforces the suggestion that the present series contains an implied allusion to Kangra. The Irish deserter, O'Brien, was associated with Sansar Chand's armed forces and in a picture of c.1798 (*Kangra*, no. 21 q.v.), he is shown with substantially the same sort of European hat as that included in the series. Kangra was the only state in the Punjab Hills which employed a European adventurer at this time.

The following stylistic details characteristic of Sajnu occur in other pictures here assigned to Mandi: carpets besprinkled with floral sprays and leaf designs, alcoves with shaded 'lingam-like' niches, zigzagging geometrical compositions, roofs of turrets uptilted and shown diamond-shaped, rounded trees and 'jigsaw-puzzle' rocks.

43 The prince begs water. By Sajnu. Mandi, 1808.

245 x 173 mm; with border 326 x 254 mm. Oval shape with floral surrounds. In the border, cartouches with birds and floral designs; in each corner, a strolling monkey.

Inscribed on reverse in *nagari* characters: *sri vikrama ditya sam(vat) 1865 desiya sam(vat) 84 re jait pra(vishte) sri maharaja isvari saina ji di pharmanyasi maphak likhi chater sajnue* 'In the year *Vikrama samvat* 1865, *desi samvat* 84 (i.e. A.D. 1808), in the month of Jeth (May-June), this (picture) was painted by the artist Sajnu at the behest of Maharaja Isvari Sen'.

Chandigarh Museum.

Description: A picture in two parts. In the first, a prince in white *jama* stands before a lady in a golden yellow dress seated on a cot on a white terrace. He receives from her in a cup a jet of water from a *lota*. A maid behind her in a green dress fills a pot from a large pitcher. Behind the prince are two retainers, while, in the rear, two youthful courtiers, perhaps fatigued by the heat, rest on a rug. Below the prince and the lady is a flight of stone steps up which a small figure toils carrying a skin-bag filled with water. In the lower right-hand corner (the picture's second part), is a landscape with hills, a village and a palace, a band of tiny figures, including ladies, musicians and a goat, moving to the left as if in procession.

Discussion: A version of the familiar subject, a prince at a well — the request for water and its grant by the lady implying a romantic encounter. The picture is important because it may well be the first work executed by Sajnu at Mandi for his new patron, Raja Isvari Sen — the date, May to June 1808, being just under two years earlier than the

date on which the *Hamir Hath* series is said to have been completed. In style, the picture, with its elaborate margins, seems to have set a new vogue in Mandi — its general design being copied in 44 and 45. The insertion of a monkey in each of the four border-corners may be due to Guler influence. Hosts of monkeys were a feature of Haripur town (Guler q.v.) and were often introduced into Guler painting. It was also a Guler practice to include additional figures or scenes in borders.

44 The month of Pus (Poh, Paushu). From a *Baramasa* series. Style of Sajnu. Mandi, c.1808.

211 x 148 mm; with border 304 x 257 mm. Oval shape with floral surrounds. Dark crimson margins edged with richly elaborate cartouches.

Chandigarh Museum.

The month of *Pus* lasts from mid-December to mid-January.

Description: A prince in green dress is seated with a lady under a single cloak. They gaze into each other's eyes. He guides towards her mouth the nozzle of a hookah. In the background, a river, sloping countryside and the jagged peaks of snow-covered mountains.

Discussion: Closely similar to 43 in facial formulae, general style and employment of flamboyantly decorated cartouches. For the view of snow-covered peaks, compare 54. Lovers as in 50.

45 The month of Asin. From a *Baramasa* series. Style of Sajnu. Mandi, c.1808.

207 x 154 mm; with border 303 x 256 mm. Oval shape with floral surrounds. Black margin with floral pattern, framed by cartouches, and set in a pink border with 'jig-saw puzzle' ornament (see no. 49).

Victoria and Albert Museum, Manuk and Coles collection, I.S. 136-1949.

The month of *Asin* lasts from mid-September to mid-October.

Description: A prince in pinkish mauve *jama* and turban with bow and bright orange quiver stands gazing at a lady in a robe of dull gold. To the left is a maid with palm-leaf fan. In the foreground is a flat expanse of green with three small fountains. To the rear are two pavilions flanking a tiny summer-house, backed by flowering trees and jagged peaks.

Discussion: Perhaps from the same series as 44 and like that picture almost certainly by Sajnu. Although different from Raja Isvari Sen in features, the lover resembles Sajnu's patron in his somewhat portly figure and general posture (see 46). The rocky peaks, though without snow, are reminiscent of 60. For identical 'jig-saw puzzle' patterning in the border see 49, 54 and 57.

Related example: (1) Khandalavala (1958), no. 189. Radha and Krishna. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. Mandi, c. 1810. Same angular structure, female shape and face, and typical cartouche surrounds.

46 Raja Isvari Sen (1788-1826) of Mandi worshipping Shiva. By Sajnu. Mandi, 1808.

272 x 206 mm; with borders 360 x 294 mm.

The border has a series of oval medallions, each containing the figure of an adoring god or worshipper.

Inscribed on the reverse in *nagari* characters: *sri nripati vikramaditya samvate 1865 desiya samvate 84 re saun pra(vishte) sri maharaje sri isvari senaji ri pharmaya si maphak likhi chater sajnue* 'In the month of Sawan (July-August) in the year *vikram samvat* 1865, *desi samvat* 84 (i.e. A.D. 1808), this (picture) was executed at the behest of Maharaja Isvari Sen by the painter, Sajnu'.

Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras.

Published: Khandalavala (1958), no. 187 (but without inscription).

Description: Raja Isvari Sen stands with folded hands on a white terrace before a vision of Shiva and the Devi. Shiva, portrayed as Sadashiva with five heads and ten hands, is seated on a dais in an open pavilion. The Devi sits beside him. Opposite him on the terrace is the bull Nandi. Beyond

is a thickly wooded garden flanked on either side with turrets.

Discussion: This portrait of Isvari Sen emphasises the raja's devotion to Shiva and could well have been painted by Sajnu soon after his arrival in Mandi to commemorate Isvari's earlier deliverance from Kangra. It is perhaps significant that it was executed only two months after 43. Although not as restlessly angular as 42, the dais on which Shiva sits with its played-out lines and angles widening as they recede, illustrates Sajnu's interest in geometric distortion. The portly figure of Isvari, the sharp keen face of the Devi, the shaded niches, patterned carpet and sensitively rendered trees are characteristic of Sajnu's manner.

Related example: (1) Skelton (1961), pl. 97. Sadashiva worshipped by the gods. Private collection. Mandi, c. 1810-1815. Same composition but substituting gods and goddesses for Raja Isvari Sen and Nandi. No oval medallions in border.

47 Shiva and Parvati approached by worshippers. Style of Sajnu. Mandi, c.1810-1820.

Shape oval with scrolled sides. The border consists of a series of rectangular compartments, each containing a representation of the *lingam* in a *yoni*.

Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras.

Description: Shiva, crowned and with a crescent moon on his forehead, sits with Parvati, his bride, on a throne spread with lotus petals. A servitor waves a yak's tail fly-whisk above them. To the left stand a group of ascetics beseeching him with folded hands. The throne rests on a terrace covered with a carpet ornamented with parallel designs. Beyond the bridal pair is a grove of flowering trees and in the background a cluster of turrets and pavilions.

Discussion: Identical in style and composition with Sajnu's portrait of Raja Isvari Sen (46) and, in the person of Parvati, illustrating one of his distinctive idioms for the female face — a long low head with keen sharp features. The background architecture with its zigzag rhythm, uptilted rooftops and diamond-like shapes, resembles the settings in the *Hamir Hath* (no. 42). For the insertion in the border of separate compartments, compare 46 with its oval medallions. The incorporation of *lingams* in the border of the picture indicates how overwhelmingly strong in Mandi was attachment to the cult of Shiva.

48 Lady standing by her sleeping lover. School of Sajnu. Mandi, c.1810-1820.

202 x 162 mm; with borders 305 x 254 mm. Gold margin divided into rectangular compartments; blue border speckled with white containing mauve cartouches with floral sprays in gold.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 16-1949.

Description: A lady in crimson trousers and gold veil, nude above the waist, stands in a courtyard beside an open verandah on which her lover is asleep. He lies in a yellow turban, half undressed, his pink *jama* serving as a pillow. His left hand rests on his shield. Beside him, lying on the bed, are a sword and muzzle-loading gun. A powder-flask with two fuses is hung up on the wall above his head. A horse waits beside him. In the background is the lady's empty bedroom. In the bottom right-hand corner, a maid in brown skirt and dark blue veil, nude from the waist, sleeps on a bed. In the sky, storm and lightning.

Discussion: Although the picture is evidently an interpretation of *vasakasajja nayika* ('she who waits by the bed'), the overall situation is far from clear. Has the lover arrived too tired to approach her? Why is the horse standing by the bed? To whom does the bed belong? In whose house is the lover sleeping? Have they made love? But in that case, why does he sleep alone? Is he afraid of sudden detection? Does the saddled horse portend his abrupt departure? Why is it 'a wet night'? Pondering these questions, one is teased by the whole enigma, as if it recalled, though on a pygmy scale, the mysteries latent in Giorgione's *La Tempesta*.

A tentative answer may be found in the ballad of Rasalu Kuar which is widely current throughout the Punjab and the Punjab Hills — Swynnerton in *Romantic Tales from the Panjab* (London, 1903) and Temple in *Legends of the Panjab* (London, 1870) having both included long versions of it. A third and perhaps the most vivid version, recorded in Middle India, is given by Elwin in *Folk-Songs of Chhatisgarh* (Bombay, 1946). In this ballad the central hero, Rasalu Kuar, is a prince who journeys from country to country mounted on a favourite horse. He weds one bride after another but each time declines to consummate the marriage, declaring that first he must discover whether his close friend is married also. Each wedding night therefore finds the bride lonely and frustrated. On the fourth occasion, the same refusal occurs and it is perhaps this recurring situation which provides the clue to the present picture.

'After the marriage Rasalu Kuar remained for some time in the city. But when they slept at night he placed a sword between him and his bride, though she was lovely as clear well-water and shone like her own ring. The fish did not enter the trap though the waters came down in flood; the hare did not enter its burrow though the rain fell in torrents; the crab stayed outside its hole in spite of thundering clouds above. The royal elephants trumpeted outside their stable and all the cooking-vessels of the palace were empty of rice-water. "I had a friend", said the boy. "He was so close a friend that we agreed that when one of us was married, he would not fulfil it until he knew that the other was married also. Now I must go to see my friend and discover whether he is married or no. Get me food ready for the journey." But the girl sang,

The oyster lives in the sea

But it is crying for thirst

I have married you

But my hope is not fulfilled.

But the boy persuaded her, and she prepared his food and bedding and he mounted his horse and rode away' (Elwin, 268-269).

As explained by Elwin (liv), the 'wet night' is an example of the 'very common erotic image of cloud and storm — the cloud that covers, the rain that falls, the storm that tosses to and fro'; though in this case, 'the cloud and storm are not directly expressive of the intercourse of lovers but provide a suitable setting for it'. It is true that in the picture the lady is not sleeping by her lover, but is standing beside him. In other respects, however, the picture appears to match the ballad. A sword, lying on the bed, divides the sleeping prince from his bride, clouds and storm are in the sky and a horse, devoted, as in the ballad, to its master, waits patiently beside him.

In style, the cool pallid tones and restless geometric composition connect the picture with 49, 57 and 59 while the border medallions have parallels in 46 and 47. The division of the margin into rectangular compartments is a special feature which re-occurs in 49.

The flaunting of trousers by the lady — emphasised not only here but in 51 and 54-57 — may reflect a fashion local to Mandi. Compare, in this connection, a remark in the *Mandi Gazetteer* (92): 'Among the higher classes in the town of Mandi, the women ordinarily wear a petticoat (*ghaghra*) and long trousers (*suthan*) with a *dopatta* or shawl of various gay colours thrown over the head and body'.

49 Radha goes to Krishna by night. Style of Sajnu. Mandi, c.1810-1820.

226 x 151 mm; with border 289 x 214 mm. Pale gold margin with small rectangular panels; dark blue border with white rules and 'jig-saw puzzle' pattern (a series of lines suggesting islands on a map or pieces in a jigsaw puzzle).

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.M. 71-1912.

Description: Night. Radha in pink and gold dress pauses at her door prior to crossing an empty square to go to Krishna. In the foreground, a town in miniature with tiny

figures sleeping, conversing or walking. To the right, in Radha's house, is an open room with white bed and two green and pink pillows. Across the courtyard are four ducks or geese shut in three pens. In a distant room high up in a house is the tiny figure of Krishna in yellow *dhoti*, patiently awaiting Radha on a bed. Grey buildings with red roof-tops and pink blinds. Dark green square. Dark sky with stars. Above a wall, a row of rounded trees.

Discussion: Faces as in 42, 46, and 47, and with the same jerky fragmented treatment of architecture. The ducks have the same role as the geese in 57, their thrusting necks evoking amorous yearning. The margin with its little rectangular panels is similar to the lingam border in 47. 'Jig-saw puzzle' patterning (see 45) is an important feature of the border.

50 Lovers listening to music. Style of Sajnu. Mandi, c. 1810-1820.

235 x 164 mm; with border 300 x 227 mm. Yellow margin with red and white rules; dark blue border with white 'jig-saw puzzle' pattern.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 477-1950.

Description: A prince in mauve *jama* and turban is seated on a white bed listening to two girl musicians. One is playing a *tambura* and the other a drum. Beside him sits a lady in slate blue dress with gold spots. Four other maids wait on them. The scene is a terrace with red floral carpet backed by white pavilion architecture with, in the distance, rounded trees. The cushions are brilliant blue edged with yellow. Shape oval with chocolate brown surrounds.

Discussion: In style similar to 47. Compare in particular the sharp female faces and jagged treatment of architecture (the niches in the large pavilion wall strikingly resembling the *lingams* and *yonis* in the border panels). The prince's face is also similar to Shiva's. 'Jig-saw puzzle' patterning is again markedly present in the border (45, 49, 54, 57).

Related examples: (1) Archer (1960), pl. 94. Radha awaiting Krishna. Archer collection, London. Mandi, c.1810-1820. Same style and with similar symbolic use of geese as in 57. Inscribed, in 1842, with a later Hindi verse (in the same hand as 54).

(2) Khandalavala (1958), fig. 46. *Viyadhi* (the love-sick lady). Roerich collection, Bangalore. Mandi, c.1810-1820.

51 Lovers on a bed. Style of Sajnu. Mandi, c.1810-1820.

223 x 161 mm; with border 243 x 182 mm. Blue margin with floral and leaf scrolling in gold black rules, yellow border trimmed.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 124-1949.

Description: A prince in pale pink dress and flat turban sits on a white bed leaning against a green cushion with yellow end. Beside him sits a lady in slate blue dress and green trousers. On the terrace are white balustrades and a red carpet with blue, green, white and yellow floral sprays. In the background are two converging pavilions, a green lawn, a row of trees and palace buildings. The lady gazes downwards as the prince strives to loosen her pyjama cord.

Discussion: A companion picture to nos. 49, 50, 52, 53 and 56 all of which it closely resembles. Compare, in particular, colour and style of carpet, face and costume of the lady, the row of rounded trees in the background and, where present, the faces of the lover.

52 The dolls. Style of Sajnu. Mandi, c.1810-1820.

201 x 139 mm; with borders 254 x 203 mm. Margin dark blue with gold scrolling; pink border flecked with pale red.

Victoria and Albert Museum, 4648 (E) I.S. Transferred with nos. 60, 67, 69, 70 and 72 from the India Office to the South Kensington Museum, 1879.

Description: A lady in pale pink dress and pale gold veil sits dejected on a terrace surrounded by five maids. One in yellow stands behind her waving a fan. Another in orange sits before her endeavouring to console her, a white dog with brown markings lies on a cream rug with head on paws. In the foreground, a maid in pale gold dress holds a little doll dressed as a prince with sword and turban, his head directed to the left. Beside her a maid in slate blue holds a second doll, dressed as a lady, its head turned sharply in the

opposite direction. A fifth maid in pale green toys with a yo-yo. Beyond the white balustrade are a courtyard with green sward, a small fountain, a sitting antelope and a wall topped with rounded trees. Orange blind. On the terrace is a red carpet with green and yellow floral sprigs.

Discussion: A puppet play re-enacting the lady's plight, the male doll symbolising the lover and the female doll the lady herself. The faces turned in opposite directions imply estrangement and suggest that the lover has departed leaving the quarrel unresolved. The dolls, sleeping dog and resting antelope have perhaps the same symbolic roles as those of the geese in 57. In style identical with nos. 42, 43, 46, 47-51, the features of the lady exactly conforming to Sajnu's personal idiom. Rounded trees at the back as in 42. Grey walls with shaded *lingam*-like niches as in 50.

The fact that the picture was obtained from the India Office at the same time as five other pictures, here regarded as Mandi, perhaps confirms their common Mandi source.

For a picture in different style (perhaps Guler), showing dolls, see Coomaraswamy (1926), no. 312 (p.176), pl. 98. 'Scene in the courtyard of a palace. A princess with her attendants. Before the place where she has been seated are two dolls, male and female, side by side; the princess herself has jumped up and is running into the palace; the duenna still speaking to her. . . . There existed an erotic game known as the imitation of puppets (*panchali*) (referred to by Keith, A. B., *The Sanskrit drama*, 1924, p.53); possibly something of the kind is indicated here, as the princess is evidently overcome by shyness.'

53 The letter. Style of Sajnu. Mandi, c.1810-1820.

207 x 154 mm; with borders 225 x 172 mm. Dark blue margin with gold scrolling as in 38, border trimmed.

Victoria and Albert Museum, French collection, I.S. 204-1955.

Bought by French in Amritsar, 1919.

Description: A lady in white and pale green dress sits on an oval rug on a terrace supported by pale gold cushions edged with orange. She pens a letter to her lover advised by a duenna who sits before her in pink and slate blue wrap and white dress. A maid in yellow and slate blue dress waves a yak's tail fan above her. In the foreground a maid in pale yellow wrap tends a hookah. To the right another maid in pale green skirt and yellow veil gathers up a brazier. Red carpet with floral sprigs. In the background is an open courtyard, with wall, trees and a small pavilion with deserted bed.

Discussion: In style from the same group as nos. 47-52. Besides the features of the lady and her maids, compare especially the use of shaded niches in the wall, red carpet, row of rounded trees and angular composition.

54 The respite. School of Sajnu. Mandi, c.1810-1825.

213 x 156 mm; with border 238 x 181 mm. Margin dark blue with floral scroll in gold; red rules; border cream with pale red 'jig-saw puzzle' pattern.

Inscribed on the upper border with verses in *nagari* characters, to the effect that having made love all night, the girl has at last risen from the bed; day has come; she is sleepy; she yawns and stretches her arms and is overjoyed at seeing the sun. Dated *samvat 1899*, i.e. A.D. 1842.

We must presume that this date refers to the year in which the verse was added to the border, not to the year in which the picture itself was painted. For pictures with similar verses in the same hand and bearing the same date, see 55 and Archer (1960) pl. 94 (here assigned to Mandi, c.1810-1820).

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 11-1956.

Description: Krishna with pale mauve skin and yellow *dhoti* reclines on a bed with white sheet and green cover. He wears a long unbroken garland, perhaps replacing a garland destroyed in the night's love-making. Radha in pale gold dress and green trousers walks on the terrace gazing to the right. Red carpet with flower sprays. Above them a grey wall with niches as in 50-53. Beyond the terrace is a courtyard with green lawn, rounded trees sprinkled with white

flowers and a row of small turrets. In the background is a green hill and snow-capped mountains.

Discussion: In facial type, close to 45, with which it is also connected by Radha's ample physique and majestic tread. As in 51, 56, 57, and 71, a tightly trousered leg emerges from the girl's dress, perhaps confirming its Mandi connection. Like nos. 45, 49, 50, and 57, the border is notable for its very distinctive 'jig-saw puzzle' patterning. For the view of jagged peaks compare 44, 45.

55 The lady and the plantain. School of Sajnu. Mandi, c. 1810-1825.

188 x 133 mm; with borders 248 x 193 mm. Dark blue margin with scroll and floral pattern in gold; pink border flecked with small red dashes; red rules.

Inscribed on upper border with Hindi verses in *nagari* characters dated *samvat 1899* (A.D. 1842). The verses are by the Hindi poet Gval and describe the symptoms of an *utkanthita nayika* ('one who waits impatiently'). 'It is evening and still the lover has not come. Dressed in a gold-edged *sari*, frantic with worry, the girl has descended from her balcony. Says Gval: "I cannot understand such long delay. She stands clasping the plantain tree. Her face is full of care." Date as in no. 54, the year in which the verses were added to the picture.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 12-1956.

Description: A lady in a pale transparent dress edged with blue and yellow, stands clasping a pale green plantain tree, a young plantain springing beside it. On one of the leaves a bird perches. On either side of the plantain are flower-beds filled with poppies. In the background are empty houses, a row of rounded trees and an empty pale grey sky with touches of white and blue.

Discussion: In theme and composition modelled on a Guler prototype (Guler, q.v.). The execution, however, is somewhat harder and the tones paler. The use of blue and yellow follows nos. 50, 56, 62, 65 and 72-75. Like no. 55, which is inscribed in the same hand and with the same date, it avails of Guler idioms, giving them, however, a local twist.

56 Krishna restraining Radha. School of Sajnu. Mandi, c. 1810-1825. Not illustrated.

225 x 175 mm; with margin 247 x 196 mm. Margin dark blue with white floral scrolls, border trimmed.

Victoria and Albert Museum, Rothenstein collection, I.S. 146-1951.

Description: It is night and Radha in green trousers and dark red veil and skirt is rushing away from a terrace on which Krishna in bright yellow *dhoti* is sitting, leaning against royal blue cushions edged with green. Krishna has caught her by the veil and Radha has put a hand to her head to stop the veil from coming off. Above them is a grey night sky with stars. Below is a courtyard with rooms plunged in darkness. In one of them, in the bottom left-hand corner, a lady lies alone on a bed.

Discussion: For trees, architecture, niches, red carpet with floral sprays, and the colours blue and yellow, in striking juxtaposition, see no. 50; for a night sky with a tiny figure sleeping on a bed, see 49; for a girl with legs tightly trousered in green, compare 51, 54 and 72.

57 The gale of love. Style of Sajnu. Mandi, c.1810-1820.

218 x 153 mm; with border 290 x 225 mm. Dark blue margin with floral and leaf scrolls in white and gold and with grey edges; pale mustard yellow border with 'jig-saw puzzle' pattern (as in 49, 50, 54 and 45).

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 70-1912.

Published: Archer (1952), pl. 9; also reproduced Khandalavala (1953), 27, where first attributed to Mandi and dated c.1800-1825; Khandalavala (1958) no. 188.

Description: A lady in orange trousers and pale slate blue dress and veil has been resting on a grey bed with white sheet in a courtyard. The ground is covered with a pale yellow carpet with blue border and green and pink floral patterns. A dust storm, seen rising at the back tosses to and fro the plantains and other trees in the foreground. To the right a maid gathers up an orange pillow as two other maids

remove a palm-leaf fan and box of betel-nuts. The lady runs for shelter as a fourth maid in pink dress and dark blue veil lowers an orange blind edged with green. Beyond the terrace is a green lawn, backed by a low wall containing a pair of geese.

Discussion: A picture marked by Sajnu's characteristic angular rhythm and by his typical sharp keen faces. The situation symbolises a storm of love, the birds, as in 49, contributing to the general air of strain and longing. As in 51, the lady wears a slate blue dress and tightly fitting trousers. The floral spray pattern on the terrace carpet conforms to Sajnu's normal practice but dark red has now been replaced by pale yellow.

58 The lonely Radha. School of Sajnu. Mandi, c.1820-1825. 208 x 138 mm; with border 225 x 157 mm. Pinkish mauve margin with white petal-like blobs; border trimmed away. Victoria and Albert Museum, Blount collection, I.M. 294-1913.

Description: Radha in a sumptuous pale gold dress is seated under a pinkish mauve canopy on an open terrace conversing with an old confidante in dark mauve dress and pink veil. She leans against a pinkish cushion with yellow ends. A white garland droops on a pink pillow. Beneath Radha is a white rug with pink and pale green floral pattern. The terrace has a pale creamy yellow carpet with pale green edges and red, green and pink floral sprays. To the rear is an open pavilion with white walls and pilasters and to the right, a garden with parterres and oval-shaped trees, studded with sprinklings of white, red and yellow flowers. In the top right-hand corner, Krishna with pale mauve skin sits in an upper room, his arms folded on a balcony. Behind him is a bed with coverlet. Pale blue sky studded with stars. A white full moon radiates shafts of light. Design oval within a rectangle.

Discussion: A picture notable for its all-pervading pallor, symbolic of moonlight and of the lonely Radha's wasted state. Significant details: pale creamy yellow carpet, oval trees and sprinkled flowers around the edges, Sajnu-style faces.

59 The lady and the crow. School of Sajnu. Mandi, c. 1810-1820. Not illustrated.

194 x 136 mm; with border 220 x 161 mm.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.M. 295-1913.

Description: A lady in orange-red trousers stands on a terrace, her elbow resting against the pillar of an open verandah. Behind her is a bed with a white coverlet marked by pale floral sprays as in 58. In the courtyard is a tree with a crow perching on a branch. The lady extends her right hand towards it. In the background is a row of rounded trees, cypresses and empty houses. Sky pale grey.

Discussion: A study of lonely longing, mitigated only by the crow, a good omen since it portends the lover's arrival or return. The lady's gesture draws the bird towards her as if she were beckoning her lover. As in other pictures of this group, she wears tightly fitting trousers. Background as in 49, 54 and 58.

60 The holy family. Style of Sajnu. Mandi, c.1810-1820.

248 x 176 mm; with border 300 x 223 mm. Dark blue floral margin in white and gold; pink border with red rules.

Victoria and Albert Museum, 4648 (C).I.S. Transferred with nos. 52, 67, 69, 70 and 72 from the India Office to the South Kensington Museum, 1879.

Published: Stchoukine (1929), pl. 98.

Description: Shiva in leopard skin, two armed and with a cobra round his neck, sits with Parvati in a mauve dress in a cavern made out of blocks of ice on mount Kailasa. Parvati nurses the young Karttikeya. Ganesha, the rat and the bull, Nandi, attend. Below them on a patch of green sward amidst blocks of ice stand gods and worshippers. Ice blocks white, pale blue, pale red and pale green.

Discussion: In style, characteristic of Sajnu in its use of jagged parallelograms and the rendering of the ice blocks in a way reminiscent of the 'jig-saw puzzle' idiom and of the rocks in 42. For the faces of Shiva, Parvati and the worshippers, compare 47.

61 Krishna fluting. Mandi, c.1820-1830. Not illustrated. 208 x 163mm; with mount and margin 286 x 238 mm. Dark blue margin with floral pattern in gold yellow edge with black and red rules. Fawn mount. Victoria and Albert Museum, Manuk and Coles collection, I.S. 127-1949.

Description: Krishna in bright yellow *dhoti* is seated under a tree, toying with a flute as a group of three cows strain to approach him. In the foreground, Radha in orange-red skirt and gold and mauve veil impatiently empties out a pitcher of water. Five other cow-girls stand beside her with pitchers, one of them drawing water from a river.

Discussion: Features as in **60** and **62**. For the dress and posture of the cow-girl bending down to fill her pitcher, compare **68**.

62 Rama and Sita enthroned. School of Sajnu. Mandi, c. 1810-1820.

176 x 230 mm; with border 254 x 307 mm. Dark blue margin with floral and leaf scrolls in white and gold; pink border speckled with red; red rules.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 13-1949.

Description: Rama and Sita, on a large throne of pale gold, face a troop of monkeys headed by Hanuman and Sugriva, and including the bear leader, Jambavat. Behind them stand Rama's three brothers — Bharata with mauve skin in the middle, Lakshmana and Satrugna in yellow dresses. Raja Vibhisana, brother of the defeated Ravana, is at their side. Royal blue terrace with floral patterning in gold. Dark blue background with trees and plantains. In the foreground, a white balustrade.

Discussion: Faces as in **60**, but somewhat harder in execution. As in other pictures by or after Sajnu, a marked play with angular patterns.

63 The snake arrows. Illustration of an incident in the sixth part (*Yuddha kanda*) of the *Ramayana*. School of Sajnu. Mandi, c.1820-1830. Not illustrated.

192 x 285 mm; with margin 211 x 305 mm. Dark blue margin with floral and leaf pattern in white and gold. Border trimmed away.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 242-1951.

Description: Rama with slate blue skin and Lakshmana, white skinned, are seated in leaf skirts on a rocky hill. Their bear and monkey allies are grouped around them. From a low white cloud, Indrajit, son of Ravana, the demon king of Ceylon, shoots at them with snake-arrows. Snake-arrows already discharged are shown entwined about their necks and shoulders. To the left a pair of monkeys hurl boulders at two demon warriors in chain mail. Two monkeys and a bear gaze upwards at a further demon in the cloud. Another monkey carries an uprooted tree. Pale blue sky, a little oxidised.

Discussion: Typical of Sajnu's school in its facial features and sensitive treatment of trees and foliage (compare **56** and **65**). The organisation of the monkeys' tails, boulders and snakes approaches that of the weirdly formed ice-blocks in **60**. For a description of the incident, see M. L. Sen, *The Ramayan* (Calcutta), III, Chaps. 29 and 30, 85-87.

64 The return of Rama. After Sajnu and his school. Mandi, c.1830-1840.

240 x 168 mm; with border 298 x 203 mm. Dark blue margin with white rules; pink border with red rules.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 36-1949.

Description: Rama, with blue skin and in yellow *jama* and pink halo, rides a white stallion preceded by Hanuman in red shorts bearing a club. They are followed by Rama's three brothers — Bharata, Lakshmana and Satrugna — two of them in orange *jamias*, the third in grey blue, supporting a royal umbrella. After them come a prince in pink and Raja Vibhisana, brother of Ravana, a bearded figure in white. All five have white skins. At the foot of the picture proceed the monkey king Sugriva carrying a sword in red scabbard, a second prince in pink dress and the king of the bears, Jambavat, in yellow drawers. Rolling hillside with, on the skyline, an army with elephants on the march. Shape oval with yellow edges and slate-blue filling.

Discussion: In basic style comparable to nos. **60** and **62**, but somewhat slacker in execution. Possible a late version of an original by Sajnu or his school.

Related example (1) Khandalavala (1958), no. 293. The return of Rama. Jehangir collection, Bombay. School of Sajnu, Mandi, c.1810-1820. Identical composition.

65 Radha and the cow-girls swooning at Krishna's flute. School of Sajnu. Mandi, c.1820-1830.

245 x 170 mm; with border 262 x 190 mm. Dark blue margin with leaf scroll in gold; border trimmed.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 30-1949.

Description: Radha in bright yellow dress is swooning on a bed with white sheet. Around her are three swooning girls — one in orange skirt and royal blue veil, a second in pink dress and black veil, a third in royal blue skirt and brilliant yellow veil. Pale cream courtyard sprinkled with floral patterns. Beyond the courtyard wall is a group of trees and hillocks — among them Krishna playing on the flute to two cowherd boys and four cows. Oval composition.

Discussion: Trees with tiny yellow birds as in **55**. Jagged angular forms; see especially the strongly distorted bed. Royal blue and brilliant yellow in close conjunction as in **50** and **71-73**. The pale courtyard flooring with thickly sprinkled flower patterns is characteristic of this whole group.

66 Shiva and Parvati on Kailasa. Mandi, c.1830-1840. Not illustrated.

228 x 174 mm; with border 258 x 200 mm. Red border with black and white rules.

Victoria and Albert Museum, Manuk and Coles collection, I.S. 128-1949.

Description: Shiva holding a red pennant sits with Parvati on a leopard skin at the top of a craggy rock. A tree overshadows them. At the base are a tiger and the bull Nandi. On either side is a group of gods, crowned save for a *rishi* and his disciple. Behind them is a wall of ice.

Discussion: Pale in colour and somewhat perfunctory in execution. Possesses the same 'jig-saw puzzle' treatment of rocks as in **60**. Faces of the gods as in **60**, **62** and **64**.

67 Vasakasajja nayika. Mandi, c.1830. Not illustrated.

216 x 168 mm; with borders 309 x 260 mm. Dark blue margin; pink border flecked with red, red rules.

Victoria and Albert Museum, 4648 I.S.

Transferred with nos. **52**, **60**, **69**, **70** and **72** from the India Office to the South Kensington Museum, 1879.

Description: A lady in dark blue dress ornamented with minute one and three-dot patterning lies on a bed, draped with a red coverlet, on an open terrace. A pale creamy yellow carpet flecked with red floral sprays covers the floor. A maid in mauve stands behind her. Another maid in an orange dress and gold veil tends a hookah. To the left a maid in orange brown wields a circular fan of green and crimson cloth. A maid in green kneels beside the lady and both of them look out beyond the courtyard wall. Behind them to the right is a hilly landscape and in the sky, black and grey clouds threatening storm. A peacock perches on a turret to the left.

Discussion: Significant details: pale creamy yellow carpet, wantonly distorted bed. The view over the surrounding houses includes Sajnu's diamond-shaped idiom for turret tops.

68 Lady at her bath. Mandi, c.1820-1830.

230 x 178 mm; with border 300 x 250 mm. Dark blue margin with scroll and floral pattern in white.

Victoria and Albert Museum, Manuk and Coles collection, I.S. 135-1949.

Description: A lady with loosened dress about to take her bath stands on a low footstool, gazing abstractedly as a maid lightly tweaks her chin. In the foreground a maid fills a ewer with water from a *lota* while another maid struggles with a pitcher. To the left a fourth maid carries a tray with fresh clothes on it. In the empty pale grey courtyard is an earthen hearth with smoke rising from a wood fire. Behind

the lady is an open verandah with *lingam*-like niches. The terrace floor is marked out in squares. The lady's dress has minute three-dot patterning, the maid pouring water into the ewer has a dress with tiny single dots as in 69. In the background, a welter of buildings.

Discussion: Faces as in 54 and 57. Style derivative from Sajnu.

69 The waiting Radha. Mandi, c.1830-1840.

208 x 158 mm; with borders 280 x 230 mm. Dark blue margin with gold flower and leaf scrolling.

Victoria and Albert Museum, 4648(B), I.S.

Transferred with nos. 52, 60, 67, 70 and 72 from the India Office to the South Kensington Museum, 1879.

Description: Radha in a dress ornamented with a minute one-dot pattern sits on a bed under a canopy. The bed is on an open terrace beside a courtyard. There is a pale creamy yellow carpet underneath it. Behind her are two walls each with shaded *lingam*-like niches as in no. 42. Beyond a row of trees is a house with upper room where Krishna sits talking to an old go-between. Night sky with stars. In the courtyard are five metal vessels, each emitting incense smoke for warding off mosquitoes, and purifying the chamber.

Discussion: Received by the Victoria and Albert Museum at the same time and in the same consignment as the five pictures (noted above) with which it is related in style. Compare the similar up-tilted bed with disturbing angles and the diamond-shaped top to one of the turrets. Mandi town is subject to bad malaria which may well explain the inclusion of metal vessels used for emitting pungent smoke (see *Mandi Gazetteer*, 5-6). In my early years in Bihar, it was usual to ward off mosquitoes in this way.

70 The departure of the husband. School of Sajnu. Mandi, c.1820-1830. Not illustrated.

230 x 283 mm; with border 270 x 343 mm. Dark blue margin with floral and scroll patterns in white and gold. Border pink with red rules.

Victoria and Albert Museum, 4648(D) I.S.

Transferred with nos. 52, 60, 67, 69 and 72 from the India Office to the South Kensington Museum, 1879.

Description: His wedding over, a young husband prepares to return to his father's palace. Armed with sword, shield, bow and arrows, he stands in an inner courtyard before his bride's mother who anoints his forehead prior to bidding him farewell. His bride in crimson dress stands beside her. Outside in the courtyard, a band of followers and porters await them, a groom holding a saddled horse, an attendant raising a royal umbrella, porters loading up baggage and a maid making over a hookah. In the background are rows of rounded trees, turrets, a great river and some low hills. In the upper left hand corner is an open verandah with floral patterned carpet and walls with shaded niches.

Discussion: In general style, school of Sajnu.

71 The storm. Mandi, c.1830-1840.

220 x 178 mm; with margin 237 x 185 mm. Dark blue margin with floral and scroll pattern in white, red and yellow. Border trimmed away.

Victoria and Albert Museum, Rothenstein collection, I.S. 145-1951.

Description: Radha in golden trousers and veil and orange dress is arriving with Krishna at a bed-chamber. In the sky are dark storm clouds and lightning. Rain is pouring down. Krishna has wrapped himself and Radha in a dark blue cloak and is sheltering her with a large mauve umbrella lined with red. Behind them a small hill rears smoothly up, surmounted by a phallic shrine to Shiva containing a tiny image of a *lingam* set in a *yoni*. The pair are preceded across the white terrace by a strutting peacock whose brilliant blue neck is echoed in the blue of a rolled-up blind above the bed and in Krishna's cloak. The bed has a yellow coverlet and blue and yellow sides. A maid gravely arranges on it some green and red bed-clothes.

Discussion: In style comparable to 67-69. Yellow and royal blue again in brilliant conjunction. As in 48 and 57, storm

and rain are symbols of love-making — the storm serving both as an excuse for seeking shelter and as a symbol for the lovers' embraces. It is noteworthy that the lovers do not merely make for shelter but that the shelter itself has a bed with a maid already preparing it.

72 Krishna watching Radha with children. Mandi, c.1840.

226 x 183 mm; with borders 294 x 257 mm. Dark blue margin with floral pattern in white and gold. Victoria and Albert Museum, 4648(A) I.S.

Transferred with nos. 52, 60, 67, 69 and 70 from the India Office to the South Kensington Museum, 1879.

Description: Radha in brownish orange dress stands in a courtyard covered with a brilliant blue carpet edged with yellow. A younger woman in green trousers and mauve dress and veil holds in her arms a child dressed in blue. Radha is asking her to lead away another child, who appears to be crying and clutching at her knee. Behind her is the head of Krishna peeping at her from above a wall. A maid in dark green dress strives to draw Radha's attention to him. White architecture. In the courtyard are yellow utensils and a chair with tall orange back and yellow seat. Beyond a gateway, with grey *lingam*-like niches, is a white bullock munching at a creeper. In the distance trees and houses.

Discussion: For Radha's face, compare no. 73. For trees, foliage, angular composition, green trouser legs, and use of blue and yellow in the courtyard, see late school of Sajnu.

73 The expectant lady (vasakasajja nayika). Mandi, c.1840.

220 x 152 mm; with border 298 x 233 mm. Margin dark blue with floral pattern in white and gold; pink border over-painted with broad outer band of gold.

Inscribed in Persian characters on reverse: *musavar khinch vuh tasvir kih mujko rasai ho*. 'O painter, draw me such a picture that he is joined to me'.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 125-1960.

Description: A lady, nude from the waist, stands in a dull orange dress, a veil thrown lightly over her head and shoulders. She stands on a blue balcony beside a pale yellow bed. A grey wall with shaded niches in it is behind her. Below her in the courtyard are two maids conversing beside a huge crimson bolster and small blue pillow. There is a white tower and beyond it peacocks standing on the thatched roofs of houses and on a green hill in the distance. They watch black thunder clouds and lightning. The lady gazes abstractedly across the houses. Oval in shape with brilliant blue surrounds with white.

Discussion: Late derivative from school of Sajnu.

74 Two paintings from a Durgapath series, now containing 54 sheets. Mandi, c.1850. Not illustrated.

Approximate size: 165 x 215 mm; with border 245 x 305 mm.

Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras.

Published: Mehta (1926), 120-121, pls. 56 and 57.

Note: The series is said to have been 'executed in 1848 for the ruling Prince of Mandi — probably Raja Balbir Singh — who gave it to his Guru at Benares'. Partially corroborated by Rai Krishnadasa, Banaras, who informed me (1966) that the series originally possessed a colophon inscribed on a flap stating that it was made for the Rajguru of Mandi on the orders of the Raja of Mandi. The flap, containing this colophon, was removed and lost when the picture was mounted.

Folios 1 and 58 are inscribed in *nagari* characters: *sri shankar vijai sena gadhi shashu pujita* (perhaps a reference to Raja Bijai Sen (born 1847, reigned 1851-1902)).

Pl. 56. Numbered 4. Has pale blue sky, white figures, dull green sward and trees, greyish brown trunks and hut.

Pl. 57. Numbered 17. Has pale yellow sky, grey buffaloes and clouds, white figures, deep yellow lion.

In style the series is a late copy of a *Durgapath series* (Guler, c.1760-1770), repeated in a series, Archer collection, London (Archer (1963), pl. 54).

PAINING IN MANKOT

I. INTRODUCTION

GEOGRAPHY

A small state, fifteen miles long and ten miles wide, bounded on the west by Jammu, on the north-west by Bhoti, on the north by Bandralta, on the east by Bhadu and Basohli and on the south by Samba and Jasrota. Capital: Mankot, later re-named Ramkot.

SCENERY:

Forster (1808): 'Mancote — a village which stands on an eminence partially skirted by a small river' (I, 273).

Drew (1875): 'Ramkot is a place some miles west (of Bhadu), where used to live a family of feudal power, whose lords were the Jammu Rajas. Its original name was Mankot, and the family of Mians who held it are called Mankotia Mians. It is not long since the new name was given to the place. There is a large fort, which has been handed over to the Maharaja's new son-in-law (from Jaswan) for a dwelling place' (85).

Note: Visited by W.G.A., January 1970. During this visit which was made with Pandit Sansar Chand Sharma and Professor N. L. Sharma of Jammu, I made the following notes on scenery: 'Leaving Ramnagar (Bandralta), we drove south to the Udampur (Bhoti) road and then turned east for Ramkot, the modern name of Mankot, some fifteen miles distant. The road passed between two ranges of high hills but presently the valley between them broadened and though the hills remained huge and towering, they were now much further apart. From the road we scrambled up to the old Mankot palace, high on a ridge, reaching it by a long flight of stone steps. The former palace was now in ruins but in its heyday it must have been a vast fortress, straddling the ridge, two to three storeys high and commanding airy views up and down the valley across to the hills the other side. The ruins were riddled with walls and stairs, now overgrown with shrubs and cactuses. Much of the outer wall in dull brownish pink bricks still stood and we could also trace the foundations and remains of a large hall. Below the main palace a little to the north-west was another building, perhaps erected somewhat later and possibly intended to replace it. Both were now in total ruins. Inside the upper palace were vestiges of a small Murli Manohar temple but without its images. These had originally been of Radha and Krishna but when the palace had been abandoned, they were moved down into the village and the idol of Krishna set up in a small shrine beside the village tank. The image of Radha had been broken in the move and a new image in black stone had been made to replace it. At the end of the upper palace and a little below it, was a large new Radha-Krishna temple, erected in the second part of the nineteenth century by a sister of Raja Raghunath Singh of Jammu who had married a Mankot *jagirdar*. It possessed a tall central tower (*shikhara*) with eight subordinate towers sprouting at its base. Above it in the lee of the fortress wall was a tiny shrine to Shiva, small and insignificant by comparison.

From the palace on the hill-top we descended to the village street and examined the shrine beside the village tank — a small Shiva temple with a large image of Nandi outside it, a little shrine to Badri Narain (Vishnu) and under a *pipal* tree an *ekmukha lingam* (emblem of Shiva).

We then went back along the village street. It went straggling on and on, going steadily down hill in a series of stone steps under the main ridge which beetled above it. Great black crags went vertically up. At the top were watch-towers and at their foot another Shiva temple and a shrine

to Mahabir. By the time we were down, it was the length of the township and the way it went up, hugging the ridge, which impressed us most — this and the sheer length and size of the palace-fortress which towered above it. It was every bit as large as that of Basohli and for much of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the state could well have been equally, if not more, powerful.'

RELIGION

No details recorded but on the evidence of the Murli Manohar (Krishna) temple inside the Mankot fortress and the presence of Vaishnava *tilak* marks on portraits of Rajas Mahipat Dev (c.1660-c.1690), Tedhi Singh (c.1710-c.1730), Ajmat Dev (c.1730-c.1760) and Dalel Singh (c.1760-c.1780), strongly Vaishnava in bias from the mid-seventeenth century onwards. For portraits of Tedhi Singh worshipping Vishnu and Krishna, see nos. 40 and 41.

II. HISTORICAL NOTES

SOURCES

Drew, F. *The Jummoo and Kashmir Territories* (London, 1875).

Forster, G. *A Journey from Bengal to England* (London, 1808). Describes a halt at Mankot, 1783.

Griffin, L. H. and Massy, C. F. *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab* (Lahore, 1940), I, 113-114.

Hutchison, J. and Vogel, J. P. *History of the Panjab Hill States* (Lahore, 1933), II, 565-566.

Kahan Singh Balauria. *Tawarikh-i-Rajputan-i-Mulk-i-Panjab* (Jammu, 1912). The fullest historical account of Mankot rajas.

Randhawa, M. S. *Basohli Painting* (New Delhi, 1959). Summarising Kahan Singh.

Randhawa, M. S. 'Paintings from Mankot', *Lalit Kala* (dated 1959, but published 1960), no. 6, 72-75. Publishes some portraits of Mankot Rajas and gives approximate dates for their reigns, 'allowing an average of twenty to thirty years for each raja'.

REIGNS AND PORTRAITS

With Jasrota, Bhoti, Lakhampur, Tirikot, Samba and Bhau, an offshoot from Jammu. Clan-name, Mankotia. Suffix, Dev (in case of younger sons, Singh?).

Historical materials extremely scanty; all dates conjectural and highly approximate. Hutchison and Vogel (HV), Kahan Singh (KS) and Randhawa (1959, 1960) are followed, unless otherwise indicated.

c.1580-c.1600 PRATAP DEV (i)

One of thirteen Hill chiefs who revolted against Akbar (1556-1605) in 1588-1589 and was escorted with them to the Mughal imperial court to make submission and give presents. Beginnings of contact with Delhi, Agra and the Mughal court. Is presumed to have revolted again in 1594-1595 when, led by Jasrota, the same area rebelled. A Mughal army intervened, marching down from Jammu, 'showing the flag' and re-exacting submission.

c.1600-c.1630 ARJAN DEV (ii)

Tributary to Mughal emperor Jahangir (1605-1627)

c.1630-c.1650 (but perhaps 1660?) SITAL DEV (iii)

For much of reign, blind.

Tributary to Mughal emperor Shah Jahan (1628-1658)

Portraits: (1) **Fig. 1 (Mankot).** The blind Sital Dev seated with a rosary. Formerly Latifi collection, Bombay. Mankot, c.1660-1680.

(2) **Fig. 3 (Mankot).** The blind Sital Dev supported by two attendants. Khandalavala collection, Bombay. Mankot, c.1660-1680. In neither case *tilak* marks.

Portrait of his purohit (priest), Gokul: (1) **Fig. 17 (Mankot).** Gokul purohit seated. Chandigarh Museum, Mankot Raj collection. Mankot, c.1680-1690. No *tilak* marks.

c.1650-c.1680 (c.1660-c.1690?) **MAHIPAT DEV (iv)**
Son of Sital Dev.

Marriage: a daughter to Raja Kirpal Pal (iv, 1678-1693) of Basohli, becoming his second and favourite rani (KS).

Sons: Dhota Dev, Tedhi Singh (?).

Religion: The first Mankot ruler to be portrayed with Vaishnava *tilak* marks, and conceivably the chief factor in introducing ardent Vaishnavism into Mankot state.

Portraits: (1) **Fig. 8 (Mankot).** The young Mahipat Dev seated with three attendants. Chandigarh Museum, Mankot Raj collection. Mankot, c.1670.

(2) **Fig. 9 (Mankot).** Mahipat Dev smoking. Archer collection, London. Mankot, c.1680.

(3) **Fig. 14 (Mankot).** Mahipat Dev seated with two attendants. Chandigarh Museum, Mankot Raj collection. Mankot, c.1690-c.1700.

(4) **Fig. 35 (Mankot).** Mahipat Dev smoking. Chandigarh Museum, Mankot Raj collection. Mankot, c.1730.

c.1680-c.1710 (c.1690?-c.1710) **DHOTA DEV (v)**

Son of Mahipat Dev.

Nothing recorded.

Portraits: (1) **Fig. 11 (Mankot).** Dhota Dev seated smoking with two attendants. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. Mankot, c.1690.

c.1710-c.1730 (died 1750?) **TEDHI (TREDHI) SINGH (vi)**
Son(?) of Dhota Dev but, just possibly, second son of Mahipat Dev (Randhawa (1960), 74) — the suffix Singh slightly supporting this latter assumption.

Said by Kahan Singh to have been a contemporary of Raja Dhrub Dev (iv, c.1710-c.1730) of Jasrota and to have been granted Mahal Mori as a *jagir* by the Emperor Aurangzeb for bravery in battle. Held this *jagir* for many years. [As a tract of country on the east side of Kangra, the *jagir* may have been inconveniently situated for administration from Mankot and, for this reason, may have been subsequently surrendered.]

If Man Mohan (*A History of Mandi State*, 67) is followed, Tedhi Singh was still alive in 1745 when he is named with Raja Ajib Singh of Jaswan and 'other chieftains' as tendering submission to the Mughal Viceroy, Adina Beg Khan, during the latter's triumphal march through the Hills. It is possible, however, that Tedhi Singh is here a mistake for his son, Ajmat Dev or, in the alternative, if Tedhi Singh's reign was unusually long, Ajmat Dev may have acted for him after 1730, leaving his father free to pursue the religious life. The possibility that such an arrangement was arrived at might account for the marked emphasis given in several portrait series to Ajmat Dev at what would seem to be a comparatively early age and certainly during his father's life-time (33, 34, 38). It might also explain subsequent portrayals of Tedhi Singh engaged in positive acts of worship (nos. 40, 41).

Sons: Ajmat Dev, Uttam Singh.

Marriages: Uttam Singh's daughter to the Raja of Kulehr, a state adjoining Mahal Mori.

Portraits: (1) **Fig. 13 (Mankot).** Tedhi Singh seated smoking. Chandigarh Museum, Mankot Raj collection. Mankot, c.1700-1710.

(2) **Fig. 40 (Mankot).** Tedhi Singh worshipping Lakshmi Narain. Chandigarh Museum, Mankot Raj collection. Mankot, c.1740-1760.

(3) **Fig. 39 (Mankot).** Tedhi Singh seated with a rosary. Chandigarh Museum, Mankot Raj collection. Mankot, c.1740-1750.

(4) **Fig. 41 (Mankot).** Tedhi Singh worshipping the flute-

playing Krishna adored by ladies. Chandigarh Museum, Mankot Raj collection. Mankot, c.1750-1760.

(5) **Fig. 18 (Jammu).** Tedhi Singh seated on a terrace. Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 186-1951. Jammu, c.1745.

c.1730-c.1760 (c.1765?) **AJMAT DEV (vii)**

Son of Tedhi Singh. Born c.1700?

Administered state, c.1730-c.1750?; ruled as Raja c.1750-c.1765(?).

Contemporary of and tributary to Raja Ranjit Dev (xiv, 1735-1781) of Jammu. At Ranjit Dev's instance made war with other tributary states on Ghamand Chand (xi, 1761-1774) of Kangra. For Ajmat Dev's possible earlier role in Mankot administration, see Tedhi Singh (vi).

Son: Dalel Singh.

Portraits: (1) **Fig. 25 (Kulu).** The young Ajmat Dev seated smoking. Formerly Latifi collection, Bombay. Kulu, c.1730.

(2) **Fig. 33 (Mankot).** Ajmat Dev smoking with hookah-tender. Archer collection, London. Mankot, c.1720-1730.

(3) Gray (1950), pl. 106 (525); also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), no. 73. Ajmat Dev smoking alone. Inscribed (see no. 33 (1)). Manley collection, Guildford. Mankot, c.1730. Same person as in (2) above.

(4) **Fig. 34 (Mankot).** Ajmat Dev smoking. Chandigarh Museum, Mankot Raj collection. Mankot, c.1730.

(5) **Fig. 38 (Mankot).** Ajmat Dev smoking alone. Chandigarh Museum, Mankot Raj collection. Mankot, c.1740-1750.

c.1760-c.1780 (c.1765?-c.1780?) **DALEL SINGH (viii)**

Son of Ajmat Dev.

Portraits: (1) **Fig. 8 (xii), Kangra.** Dalel Singh seated smoking. Vaishnava *tilak* mark. Lambagra collection, Kangra. Kangra, c.1770.

c.1780-1809 **CHATTAR SINGH (ix)**

Son of Dalel Singh.

[Kahan Singh's statement (quoted Randhawa (1959), 24 and (1960), 74) that the daughter of Chattar Singh married Raja Kalyan Pal (born 1834, died 1857) of Basohli is possibly a mistake for Raja Mahendra Pal of that state.]

Sons: Apurab Singh, Sahib Singh, Hakam Singh.

1809-(1834) 1849 **APURAB SINGH (x)**

Son of Chattar Singh.

A minor at accession. Born c.1800? Tributary to the Sikh Maharaja Ranjit Singh (in place of Jammu), 1809. Mankot annexed by Ranjit Singh and given as a fief to Rai Kisi Singh, 1834. Apurab Singh exiled from Mankot and granted a *jagir*, first in Guler, 1838, later in Kahlur (Bilaspur).

Sons: Alakh Dev, Upendra Singh.

Portraits: (1) Randhawa (1960), fig. 8. The child Apurab Singh on horseback with retainers. Inscribed in *nagari* characters: *raj kumar apurab singh sher karne ja rahe hai*. Chandigarh Museum, Mankot Raj collection. Mankot, c.1805.

(2) **Fig. 46 (Mankot).** Apurab Singh holding court. Chandigarh Museum, Mankot Raj collection. Mankot, c.1815.

(3) **Fig. 47 (Mankot).** Apurab Singh entertained by singing-girls and musicians. Chandigarh Museum, Mankot Raj collection. Mankot, c.1820-1825.

(4) **Fig. 48 (Mankot).** Apurab Singh with his two sons riding past the family's Vaishnava deity. Chandigarh Museum, Mankot Raj collection. Mankot, c.1830-1835.

1849-1867 **ALAKH DEV (xi)**

Son of Apurab Singh.

Due to tension with the Raja of Bilaspur, settled at Salangri, Kulehr State, Kangra, 1841. Mankot permanently absorbed into Jammu State on the recognition by the British of Maharaja Gulab Singh as independent Maharaja of Jammu, 1846. Since 1841, the Mankot family has resided at Salangri.

Sons: Jagdish Singh, Balbir Singh, Shiva Dev (Shiva Dayal) Singh.

1867-1877 **JAGDISH SINGH (xii)**

Son of Alakh Dev.

Died son-less.

1877-1909 BALBIR SINGH (xiii)

Second son of Alakh Dev.

Died son-less.

Marriages: Two Mankot princesses (grand-daughters of Alakh Dev?) to Raja Jai Chand of Lambagraon, Kangra (xxx, 1864-1935 q.v.). For the bearings of this marriage on the identification of Mankot painting, see no. 36.

1909-? NAURANG SINGH (xiv)

Born 1903. Son of Shiva Dev Singh, third son of Alakh Dev.

TIKKA INDRA VIJAY SINGH (xv)

Born 1935. Second son of Naurang Singh (his elder brother having predeceased him in 1928). Resident at Salangri, Kulehr, Kangra. Inherited a considerable portion of the Mankot ancestral collection of paintings, later acquired from him, at the instance of M. S. Randhawa, for the Chandigarh Museum.

This collection, on acquisition, contained some 250 paintings and included:

- (1) Pages from a 'first' *Bhagavata Purana* series (horizontal) illustrating Krishna's exploits with the cow-herds. See no. 25.
- (2) Pages from a 'second' *Bhagavata Purana* series (vertical). See no. 26.
- (3) Page from a 'fourth' *Bhagavata Purana* series (horizontal). See no. 42.
- (4) Pages from a *Ramayana* series. See no. 24.
- (5) Two pages from an *Incarnation of Vishnu* series.
- (6) Portraits of Mankot rulers. See nos. 8, 13, 14, 34, 35, 38-41, 44, 46-48.
- (7) Portraits of courtiers and palace attendants (a unique feature). See nos. 7, 15, 17, 21, 22.
- (8) Portraits of Basohli rulers. See nos. 12, 16, 19, 23.
- (9) Portraits of other Pahari rulers. See nos. 2, 4, 5, 6, 9, 18, 19, 30-32.
- (10) A large series illustrating different breeds of horses and their diseases.

Although other parts of the ancestral collection, since dispersed, may have been formerly owned by different members of the Mankot family, the present part of the collection is the only one which has survived in quantity. It is of special significance for the identification of Mankot painting because it contains a large number of Mankot portraits, and because the great majority of the pictures are in a distinctive style.

IMPLICATIONS FOR PAINTING

Personality of rulers

Although details of Mankot rulers are wanting, the portion of the Mankot Raj collection of pictures, inherited by Tikka Indra Vijay Singh (xv), contains a large series of Mankot portraits. The earliest of these appear to date from the reign of Mahipat Dev (iv) which is estimated to have lasted from about 1660 to about 1690. It is likely, therefore, that this particular ruler may have had a special taste for painting and that a Mankot style first developed under his aegis. Of other rulers, sufficient details are lacking for any conclusions to be drawn. It is significant that Mahipat Dev is the first Mankot ruler to be portrayed with Vaishnava *tilak* marks, and it is possible that the rise of painting in Mankot was encouraged by his Vaishnava leanings.

Relations with other states

Mughals. Throughout much of the seventeenth century, Mankot rulers gave tribute to the Mughal emperors and paid periodic visits to the Mughal court. This circumstance could therefore account for the emergence at Mankot of a local style of painting based, in some measure, on Shah Jahan-style portraiture.

Jammu. As an offshoot of Jammu and its immediate neighbour, Mankot was apt to be over-awed by the parent state. This was of small account in the seventeenth century when

the parallel existence of two branches of the Jammu family — one at Jammu, the other at Bahu — effectively prevented either from dominating the western hills. Their fusion and the rise to power of a single united Jammu in the eighteenth century could, however, explain Jammu influence in later Mankot painting. It is significant that Ajmat Dev (vii) campaigned against Kangra at the instance of Raja Ranjit Dev (1735-1781) of Jammu in the second half of the eighteenth century.

Basohli. As its neighbours on the east, Basohli was well positioned for influencing painting in Mankot. Nothing is expressly known of their relations but the fact that a daughter of Mahipat Dev (iv) became the second and favourite rani of Raja Kirpal Pal (c.1678-1693) of Basohli shows that, certainly in the second half of the seventeenth century, relations between the two states were cordial. Since Basohli developed a commanding original style of painting under Rajas Sangram, Hindal and Kirpal Pal, early painting in Mankot could well have been influenced either by contact with Basohli pictures or by the actual arrival in Mankot of Basohli artists. In such circumstances, Basohli-like developments in Mankot painting would not be improbable.

Bandralta. As another close neighbour Bandralta came within the orbit of Mankot. Nothing is known of their relations but if inter-marriages occurred, painting in Bandralta could have been affected.

Jasrota. Although no special relations with Mankot are recorded, Jasrota was also an offshoot of Jammu and one of Mankot's immediate neighbours. Some interest in Jasrota happenings may therefore be expected at Mankot and it would be not surprising if sets of portraits in Mankot style included Jasrota rulers.

Chamba. Although not an immediate neighbour, being separated from Mankot by Basohli, Chamba was constantly involved in Jammu and Basohli affairs. Its exit to the Plains was also through the Jammu Hills. Some interest in Chamba affairs may therefore be expected at Mankot and, as in the case of Jasrota, Chamba personalities could well have appeared in Mankot-style portrait sets.

Kangra. Until the third quarter of the eighteenth century, Kangra was over-shadowed as a power by the presence of a Mughal Governor in the great castle at Kangra. This might therefore explain why the Emperor Aurangzeb was able to grant Tedhi Singh (vi) the *jagir* of Mahal Mori on the eastern side of Kangra state. Although this *jagir* was later acquired by Kangra, it was only in the mid-nineteenth century that the Kangra royal house seems to have been on specially friendly terms with the Mankot family. In these circumstances, it is unlikely that Kangra would have had any early influence on Mankot painting.

Kulehr. Under Ajmat Dev (vii), the daughter of his brother, Uttam Singh, married the Raja of Kulehr and this perhaps facilitated the later settlement of the Mankot family at Salangri in Kulehr state after the loss of Mankot in 1834. The presence of the exiled family in Kulehr, adjoining Kangra, may have led to the marriage of two Mankot princesses to Raja Jai Chand (xxx) of Lambagraon, Kangra, in the latter part of the nineteenth century. For the relevance of this marriage to the identification of Mankot painting, see no. 36.

Sikhs. Following their interventions in the Jammu Hills, the Sikhs appear to have disrupted Mankot court life from the end of the eighteenth century onwards and as a result, a general decline in painting could well be expected to have set in. The replacement of the Jammu Raj by the Sikhs as the local paramount power in 1809, the annexation of Mankot by Maharaja Ranjit Singh in 1834, the exile of the Mankot royal family and the state's amalgamation with Jammu in 1846 would have completed this process.

III. PAINTING: REVIEW OF LITERATURE

1925

Heath, L. *Examples of Indian Art at the British Empire Exhibition 1924*, (London, 1925).
Pl. 8 'Krishna and the maidens'. Here ascribed to Mankot. See no. 27.

Binyon, L. 'Indian Painting at Wembley: the retrospective exhibition', *Rupam* (1925), no. 21, 8-11.
Pl. 3. 'Krishna and the maidens'. See no. 27.

1926

Coomaraswamy, A. K. *Catalogue of the Indian Collections in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: Part V: Rajput Painting* (Boston, 1926).

Pl. 33 (73). *Bhramarananda Raga*. See no. 29(1).

Pl. 33 (74). *Gujari Ragini*. See no. 27(2).

Pl. 34 (76). *Ahiri Ragini*. See no. 28(2).

Here assigned to Mankot.

Gangoly, O. C. *Masterpieces of Rajput Painting* (Calcutta, 1926), 47.

Pl. 20. 'Krishna and the maidens'. See no. 27.

Pl. 21. *Saveri Ragini*. See no. 27(1).

1929

Ghose, A. 'The Basohli School of Rajput Painting', *Rupam* (1929), no. 37, 6-17.

Col. pl. (p.15). *Vinoda Raga*. Here ascribed to Mankot. See no. 28.

1931

French, J. C. *Himalayan Art* (Oxford, 1931).

Pl. 1. 'Krishna and the maidens'. See no. 27.

1947

Gray, B. *Rajput Painting* (London, 1947).

Col. pl. 1. 'A situation (*Vinoda Raga*)'. See no. 28.

1949

Mehta, N. C. 'Some Notes on Pahari Paintings', *Roopa Lekha* (1948-1949), XX, no. 2, 75-80.

Reproduces two 'Basohli' pictures from a *Bhagavata Purana* series, vertical. Here assigned to Mankot.

Opp. p.75. 'Krishna at a picnic'. See no. 36(1).

Opp. p.80. 'Young Krishna's pranks'. See no. 36(2).

1950

Gray, B. 'Painting', *The Art of India and Pakistan* (London, 1950).

Pl. 106 (515). 'The blind Sital Dev'. See no. 1.

Pl. 106 (525). 'Ajmat Dev smoking'. See no. 34(1).

1952

Archer, W. G. *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills* (London, 1952).

Fig. 45. Raja Tedhi Singh (vi. c.1710-c.1750) of Mankot. See *Jammu*, no. 18.

1956

Randhawa, M. S. *The Krishna Legend in Pahari Painting* (New Delhi, 1956).

Col. pl. 11. 'The round dance'. From the same *Bhagavata Purana* series, vertical, as Mehta (1949). See no. 36(3).

1957

Archer, W. G. *The Loves of Krishna* (London, 1957).

Pl. 4. 'Young Krishna's pranks'. See no. 36(2).

1958

Ghose, A. 'Pahari Schools of Indian Painting', *Roopa Lekha* (1958), XXVIII, nos. 1 and 2, 39-40.

The first published attribution of any pictures to Mankot. Fig. 3 (opp. p.39) 'Rejoicings at the birth of Krishna'. Fig. 4 (opp. p.40) 'Krishna stealing the Gopis' clothes'.

[Both these pictures, captioned by Ghose 'Mankot', are from the *Bhagavata Purana* series, horizontal, formerly in the Mankot Raj collection and now in the Chandigarh Museum (see no. 25). Fig. 4 is a horizontal version of *Randhawa* (1959), pl. 9 (*Bhagavata Purana* series, vertical). It is unfortunate that while providing these novel and entirely correct attributions, Ghose refrained from giving any reasons for them.]

Khandalavala, K. Pahari Miniature Painting (Bombay, 1958), 91, 94.

Claims that 'Basohli style painting of the second half of the eighteenth century is more likely a product of states where the Basohli style had penetrated, rather than of Basohli itself. That the State of Mankot adopted the Basohli style is certain. I have a portrait of Sital Dev of Mankot (fig. 70) which appears to be of this period and is in a local Basohli idiom'. For fig. 70, see no. 3.

Figs. 52 and 70; nos. 16, 17, 20, 22, 45, 50 and 73 are here ascribed to Mankot.

1959

Randhawa, M. S. Basohli Painting (New Delhi, 1959), 24, col. pls. 1, 7-11, 15.

A first account of the Mankot Raj ancestral collection of pictures, formerly owned by Tikka Inder Vijay Singh (xv) and later acquired by the Chandigarh Museum. Infers that Mankot must clearly have been 'a busy centre of painting'.

Notes the collection as including the following Mankot-style pictures:

(1) Portraits of Mankot rulers, courtiers, astrologers, pandits, sadhus, soldiers and neighbouring rajas (pls. 1, 2).

(2) A *Bhagavata Purana* series, horizontal (pl. 7).

(3) Illustrations of different breeds of horses.

Further illustrates five paintings from a second *Bhagavata Purana* series, vertical, from the Lambagraon collection, Kangra (pls. 8-11, 15), ascribing them on grounds of provenance to Kangra. These paintings are from the same series as Mehta (1949), *Randhawa* (1956), Archer (1957), and, on grounds of style, must now be assigned to Mankot (see no. 36).

Pls. 1 and 2 are here regarded as Mankot. See nos. 16 and 10(1).

1960

Randhawa, M. S. 'Paintings from Mankot', *Lalit Kala* (dated 1959 but published 1960) no. 6, 72-75, figs. 1-11.

A fuller description of the Mankot Raj collection of pictures (Chandigarh Museum), including a list of Mankot Rajas with approximate dates for their reigns, 'allowing an average of twenty to thirty years for each raja'.

Stresses that 'there are a number of portraits of Mahipat Dev (iv, c.1660-c.1690) in typical Basohli style'. Suggests that 'Mahipat Dev was likely a patron of art and probably this accounts for the large number of portraits of him. His daughter was married to Raja Kirpal Pal of Basohli and it would appear that some artists shifted from Basohli to Mankot where a minor school of painting also developed'.

Fig. 1. Mahipat Dev, (iv, c.1660-c.1690) of Mankot. Inscribed as such but by comparison with fig. 5, identity doubtful.

Fig. 2. Hindal Pal (iii, c.1673-c.1678) of Basohli. See no. 23.

Fig. 3. Kirpal Pal (iv, c.1675-c.1695) of Basohli. See no. 16.
Fig. 4. Mahipat Dev (iv) of Mankot. Inscribed as such. See no. 8.

Fig. 5. Mahipat Dev (iv) of Mankot. See no. 35.

Fig. 6. Ajmat Dev (vii, c.1730-c.1760) of Mankot. See no. 34.

Fig. 7. Tedhi Singh (vi, c.1710-c.1730) of Mankot. Inscribed as such but captioned 'Sri Harjodh Singh Mankotia'. See no. 13.

Fig. 8. The child Apurab Singh riding. Inscribed as such. Captioned 'Purab Singh'.

Fig. 9. A courtier of Mankot (unidentified).

Fig. 10. Ghansar Dev of Jammu (younger brother of Raja Ranjit Dev of Jammu).

Fig. 11. Raja Hari Dev (xi, c.1660-c.1690) of Jammu. Inscribed as such but captioned 'Ranjit Singh Jamual'. See no. 5.

Lee, S. E. *Rajput Painting* (New York, 1960).
Pl. 61. Saveri Ragini. See no. 27(1).

Archer, W. G. *Indian Miniatures* (New York, 1960).
Col. pl. 67. Saveri Ragini. See no. 27(1).

1961

Kala, S. C. *Indian Miniatures in the Allahabad Museum* (Allahabad, 1961).
Pl. 17. A Raga subject. See no. 29(2).

1962

Khandalavala, K. 'Review of *Basohli Painting* by M. S. Randhawa', *Lalit Kala* (dated 1960, but published 1962), no. 8, 81-83.

Accepts pls. 1 and 7 (*Basohli Painting*) as Mankot but proposes later dates. Follows Randhawa in assigning pls. 8-11 and 15 (Lambagraon collection) to Kangra. See no. 36.

Alleges that 'pl. 1, a portrait of Kirpal Pal of Basohli, is not a contemporary work but a copy made by Mankot artists in the second quarter of the eighteenth century' and that 'there are quite a number of Mankot paintings in the Basohli idiom belonging to this period'. Does not cite any dated Mankot material.

1963

Randhawa, M. S. 'Reply to K. Khandalavala, Review of *Basohli Painting*', *Lalit Kala* (dated 1961 but published 1963) no. 9, 60-61.

Discards Kangra as the source of pls. 8-11 and 15 (*Basohli Painting*) and proposes Jasrota. See no. 36.

Claims that 'the only Mankot paintings in the Basohli style are in the collection of the Punjab Museum which Khandalavala has not seen', and enquires 'how Khandalavala can make the observation that there are a number of Mankot paintings in the Basohli style belonging to the second quarter of the 18th century'. States that 'there is no reason why as late a date as the second quarter of the 18th century should be ascribed to pl. 1'.

Khandalavala, K. Comment on M. S. Randhawa, 'Reply to K. Khandalavala, Review of *Basohli Painting*', *Lalit Kala* (dated 1961 but published 1963), no. 9, 61-62.

States that 'a large number of Mankot paintings were on the Amritsar market in 1940-1941 and even thereafter' and that 'scores of them were examined by him'. Alleges that 'what the Punjab Museum has are only what remained with one member of the Mankot family'.

Reveals that he himself 'purchased two of these Mankot paintings and that they were reproduced as fig. 70 and no. 52 in *Pahari Miniature Painting*'. Present nos. 3 and 2(1). [Fig. 70 is captioned 'Idiom of Basohli Kalam at Mankot. Second quarter of the 18th century'. No. 52 is captioned 'Basohli Kalam. Third quarter of the 18th century'.]

Opines that 'the Mankot group as a whole represents an inferior style of the Basohli Kalam' and suggests that 'granted there is no mathematical formula for saying why a particular Basohli type painting belongs to the mid-eighteenth century but experienced connoisseurs will not confuse mid-eighteenth century Basohli portraits with the contemporary work of the Kirpal Pal period and vice versa'. [It is unfortunate that no mention of this mass of Mankot material was made in *Pahari Miniature Painting*, although it was published after this material had come to light.]

Archer, Mildred, Archer, W. G. and Lee, S. E. *Indian Miniatures from the collection of Mildred and W. G. Archer* (Washington, 1963).
Entry no. 28. 'Ajmat Dev smoking'. See no. 33.

Barrett, D. *Painting of India* (London, 1963).
Col. pl. page 164. 'Hill chief and drummer' (*Vivacha Raga*). See no. 29(3).

Col. pl. page 166. 'Krishna enthroned' (*'Krishna and the maidens'*). See no. 27.

Col. pl. page 170. 'The butter thief' (*'Young Krishna's pranks'*). See no. 36(2).

1965

Archer, Mildred, and Archer, W. G. *Romance and Poetry in Indian Painting* (Wildenstein exhibition, London, 1965).
Pl. 26. 'Ajmat Dev smoking'. See no. 33.

1966

Archer, W. G. *Paintings of the Sikhs* (London, 1966), 37.
Alludes to Mankot as a state in which portrait sets of local princes were commonly produced.

1968

Archer, W. G. and Binney, E. *Rajput Miniatures from the Collection of Edwin Binney 3rd* (Portland, Oregon, 1968).

Summarises the history of painting in Mankot in the light of the present materials.

Fig. 53a. 'Shiva as Ardhanarishwara'. Compare no. 36.

Fig. 53b. 'Kalki avatara of Vishnu'. Compare no. 36.

Fig. 54a. 'The exchange of babes'. See no. 36(8).

Fig. 54b. 'Jasoda feeding the young Krishna'. See no. 36(9).

IV. PAINTING: CATALOGUE AND RECONSTRUCTION

PHASE ONE: 1650-1700

1 The blind Raja Sital Dev (c.1630-c.1660) of Mankot seated with a rosary. Mankot, c.1660-1680.
145 x 120 mm. Red border.

Inscribed at top in *takri* characters: *sri raj sital mankotia*.

Formerly Latifi collection, Bombay.

Published: Gray (1950), pl. 106 (515).

Description: Raja Sital Dev, his head in profile with a blind eye, is seated on a rug with a floral pattern, leaning against a large bolster. He holds a rosary in his right hand. His right foot with sole up-turned rests on his left thigh.

Discussion: In style broadly similar to 2 (Raja Prithvi Singh (ii, 1641-1664) of Chamba) and perhaps from the same series of contemporary or near-contemporary rajas in the Punjab Hills. Assigned to Mankot on the grounds that the subject is a Mankot ruler, that no. 2 is closely related to a similar portrait (30(ii) in the Mankot Raj collection, and that both are in a distinctive style which cannot be securely connected with any other centre of painting in the Punjab Hills.

It is significant that although the immediate neighbour of Mankot on the east was Basohli, soon to be associated with a style of vehement distortions, the present painting is comparatively simple and undramatic, suggesting that modified portraits of the Shah Jahan period may have been its original model or source.

2 Raja Prithvi Singh (1641-1664) of Chamba eating betel at a window. Mankot, c.1660-1680.

Red border.

Inscribed at top in *takri* characters: *chabyal raje prithi sikh* 'Raja Prithi Singh of Chamba'.

Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

Description: Raja Prithvi Singh, in white *jama* and with shaded arm-pits, sits at a window holding a betel leaf in his left hand. His right hand rests on the sill. Red and blue window cloth, grey cusped archway. To the right an attendant with *pan* box. Yellow background.

Discussion: Similar in style to 1 and with the same type of floral pattern and cushion. The yellow background is to prove a recurring feature in Mankot portraiture, characterising not only the present early series but continuing well into the eighteenth century (nos. 33, 34).

Related example: (1) Khandalavala (1958), no. 52. The emperor Shah Jahan (1628-1658). Khandalavala collection, Bombay. Mankot, c.1660-1680. From the same or a similar series as nos. 1 and 2. Same cusped archway. Assigned to Mankot by Khandalavala (1962).

3 The blind Raja Sital Dev (c.1630-1660) of Mankot supported by two attendants. Mankot, c.1660-1680 or later. 200 x 195 mm.

Inscribed at the base in *takri* characters; *sital mankotia*; and on the reverse: *mankotia sital*.

Khandalavala collection, Bombay.

Published: Khandalavala (1958), fig. 70.

Description: The blind Raja Sital Dev, in white *jama* and with arm-pit 'shadows', his head up-turned as in 1, walks with arms out-stretched, an attendant on either side holding him by the hand. *Jamas* of the attendants green and yellow. Green background.

Discussion: Typical of early portraiture in the Mankot collection and in features closely conforming to those of Sital Dev as shown in 1. Although preferring a date in the first half of the eighteenth century, Khandalavala (1958) saw no reason for not ascribing this picture to Mankot. He later (1962) instanced it as 'one of a large number of Mankot paintings which were on the Amritsar market in 1940-1941'.

While it was not uncommon for portrait series to include long-dead ancestors, the fact that Sital Dev (nos. 1 and 3), Prithvi Singh of Chamba (no. 2), Kirpal Dev of Bahu (no. 4) and Hari Dev of Jammu (no. 5) were near contemporaries, all of them flourishing in the second and third quarters of the seventeenth century, suggests that their joint portrayal may have reflected a current interest in them as persons and hence that a date of c.1660-1680 would not be improbable.

4 Raja Kirpal Dev (c.1660-1690) of Bahu (Jammu) seated with a rosary. Mankot, c.1660-1680.

Inscribed at the top in *takri* characters in the same hand as no. 1: *sri raja kirpal de jamal*.

Formerly Latifi collection, Bombay.

Description: Raja Kirpal Dev in white *jama* sits on a patterned rug, a black shield by his side and a rosary in his right hand. Plain background.

Discussion: Similar in style and composition to 1 and 2 and with the same type of modestly presented mien. For a portrait study of the same Raja in a far more violent and flamboyant manner, see *Kulu*, no. 7. This latter portrait, perhaps executed by a Basohli painter at Kulu, in c.1690, demonstrates, if only by contrast, the un-Basohli-like character of the present portrait.

5 Raja Hari Dev (c.1660-c.1690) of Jammu seated with attendants. Mankot, c.1670.

153 x 206 mm; with border 190 x 245 mm.

Inscribed at the top in *takri* characters: *raj hari de jamal*.

Chandigarh Museum, Mankot Raj collection.

Published: Randhawa (1960), fig. 11 (but captioned 'Ranjit Singh Jamal').

Description: Raja Hari Dev in white *jama* and with arm-pit 'shadows' sits on a broadly patterned rug, holding a rose in his left hand. An attendant stands behind him holding his sword and waving a fly-whisk. A second attendant faces him with a bowl of betel-leaves. Plain background with narrow upper rim of sky.

Discussion: Similar in general style to 1-4 and significant as forming part of the original Mankot ancestral collection. Since Mankot was an offshoot from Jammu and also its close neighbour, Jammu rulers were doubtless familiar to Mankot artists. Here attributed to Mankot on grounds of provenance and distinctiveness of style.

6 Raja Hari Dev (c.1660-c.1690) of Jammu standing. Mankot, c.1670.

Chandigarh Museum, Mankot Raj collection.

Description: Hari Dev of Jammu in white *jama* and with arm-pit 'shadows' and double sash stands facing left, a long sword pointing downwards from one hand and a nosegay

held lightly in the other. He wears a double rosary and a pendant on his chest. A large dagger is in his waist-band. Plain yellow background.

Discussion: Identified as Hari Dev by comparison with 5 and significant as incorporating similar details such as a floral-patterned double sash, a long black turban plume, shaded arm-pits, a prominent dagger and a rose as nosegay. Identical in style to 5 and from the same Mankot ancestral collection.

7 The Mankot courtier, Gujar Hath Pania, standing. Mankot, c.1670.

Inscribed in *takri* characters on the reverse: *gujar mankotia hath paniya* 'Gujar Hath Paniya of Mankot'.

Chandigarh Museum, Mankot Raj collection.

Description: Gujar Hath Pania in richly patterned *jama* and double sash stands facing right, an upraised sword held in his right hand, his left hand fingering the scabbard. He wears a flamboyantly decorated turban with sprays of flowers. Plain yellow background.

Discussion: Identical in style to 5 and 6 and from the same Mankot ancestral collection. Mankot courtiers and members of the palace staff were to prove recurring subjects for Mankot portraiture.

8 The young Mahipat Dev (c.1680-c.1690) of Mankot. Mankot, c.1670.

190 x 300 mm; with border 210 x 317 mm. Red border with black and white rules.

Inscribed on the reverse in *takri* characters: *sri miye mahipatji mankotia* 'Sri Mian Mahipatji of Mankot'.

Chandigarh Museum, Mankot Raj collection.

Published: Randhawa (1960), fig. 4.

Description: The young Mahipat Dev of Mankot in white *jama* with floral sprigs, a dagger stuck in his waist-band, sits on a white rug leaning against a red cushion and smoking a hookah which is placed on a red mat. He wears a rosary and Vaishnava *tilak* marks. His right hand rests on a long sword and scabbard. Behind him stands an attendant in dark green *jama* holding a peacock-feather fan. In front of him is a courtier in white *jama*, a sword under his left arm, wearing a turban with drooping tassels. A third figure sits beside the hookah. Background golden yellow.

Discussion: Identical in style to 1-7 and from the same Mankot ancestral collection as 5-7. Mahipat Dev is believed to have introduced ardent Vaishnavism to Mankot and may well have been the first active patron of Mankot portraiture. Compare, in this connection, three further portraits (9, 14 and 35) showing him at later periods in his life. Like Brijraj Dev of Jammu, whose features and style of beard appear to have changed as he grew older, Mahipat Dev's face seems to alter, his nose becoming more aquiline, his beard more sharply cut and his figure stouter. There seems no reason, however, for rejecting the present inscription, the superficial differences being perhaps explicable on grounds of differences of artists or of his own age.

9 Raja Mahipat Dev (c.1660-c.1690) of Mankot smoking. Mankot, c.1680.

210 x 210 mm. (trimmed).

Archer collection, London.

Description: Raja Mahipat Dev in white *jama* sits on a dull crimson rug with pale blue pattern laid on a greyish white carpet. He toys with a hookah stem connected with a large grey bowl beside which sits a hookah-tender in orange red *jama*. He leans against an olive green cushion which projects across a servant in dull crimson *jama* who holds a peacock-feather fan. Long sword in crimson scabbard beside him. Background yellow.

Discussion: Uninscribed but identified as Mahipat Dev by comparison with 14 and 35. As in 1-8 there is no exaggeration of the features — the portrait aiming at providing a simple dignified likeness against a flat yellow background. The disposition of the hookah, cushion and servants can be matched in other portraits connected with Mankot by either provenance, subject or style, the present portrait being perhaps one of the earliest examples of this local manner.

The appearance of part of the attendant's *jama* behind the cushion, while the rest of the *jama* as well as the feet, are in front of the rug, is a primitive convention which, on present evidence, does not seem to have long out-lasted the seventeenth century. For the attendants' faces, compare 5 and 8.

10 Raja Kirpal Pal (c.1678-1693) of Basohli seated. Mankot, c.1690.

Dogra Art Gallery, Jammu.

Description: Kirpal Pal of Basohli sits in a white *jama* with leaf-like textile pattern, his right hand on his thigh, a long sword resting on a rug with floral scroll design and the large pendant, characteristic of Basohli rulers, hanging on his chest. Behind him is a large cushion. Plain yellow background. *Jama* tied, Muslim fashion, to the right.

Discussion: Comparable in style to 9 and 14 with similar type of hand, projecting sword and massive thighs. For a *jama* with similar leaf-like textile pattern, compare Dhota Dev in 11 and the servant on the right in 13.

Related example: (1) Randhawa (1959), col. pl. 2. Raja Dhiraj Pal (1693-1722) of Basohli seated. Inscribed in *takri* characters: *dhiraj pal balauria*. Chandigarh Museum, Mankot Raj collection. Mankot, c.1700-1710. White *jama* with leaf-like textile pattern. Chocolate brown background. Foot as in 1 and 16.

11 Raja Dhota Dev (c.1690-c.1710) of Mankot smoking. Mankot, c.1690.

205 x 285 mm. No border.

Inscribed on the reverse in *takri* characters: *sri mia dhota ji mankotia*.

Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

Description: Raja Dhota Dev, in white *jama* and with armpit 'shadows' sits on a mauve rug with silver floral pattern, leaning against a dark red cushion and smoking a hookah. A hookah-tender squats on the right. A servant in long, dark yellow *jama* stands to the left, carrying a sword in a large white sword-case and waving a peacock-feather fan. Dark olive-green background.

Discussion: Similar in general style and formula to 8 and 9 but with greater roundness achieved by slight shading. The faces of the attendants resemble these in 9. Background the same olive-green as the cushion in 9.

12 Raja Bhupat Pal (1598-1635) of Basohli standing. Mankot, c.1690.

272 x 158 mm; with border 293 x 195 mm.

Inscribed on the reverse in *takri* characters: *bhopat pal balauria*.

Chandigarh Museum, Mankot Raj collection.

Description: Raja Bhupat Pal of Basohli in transparent white *jama* and long waist-sash stands facing right, a sword with red scabbard in his right hand and a flower(?) in his left. He wears a red turban. As in Mandi portraits of the late seventeenth to early eighteenth century, the upper part of his *jama* from neck to chest is shaded a different colour from the rest of the garment. Dark green background.

Discussion: An example of Mankot portraiture celebrating an early Basohli ruler. While obviously based on Shah Jahan style models, the picture shares with 11 an air of simple clarity. The dark green background is a variant on the yellow background which is a standard feature of Mankot portraits.

The presence of locally painted portraits of Basohli rulers (10, 12, 16, 23) in the Mankot royal collection need occasion no surprise in view of the close relations existing between the two states. These relations were expressed and symbolised by the wedding of Dhota Dev's sister to Kirpal Pal of Basohli, a wedding which could well have had fertile consequences for Mankot painting. Under Kirpal Pal's father and uncle Basohli developed a daringly new style to which Kirpal Pal's favourite rani, the Mankot princess, can hardly have been unresponsive. The making of portraits of her husband's ancestors for the Mankot Raj collection would be a natural development in a state which seems to have specialised in local portraiture in the second half of the seventeenth century.

13 Raja Tedhi Singh (c.1710-c.1730) of Mankot smoking. Mankot, c.1700.

172 x 263 mm; with border 202 x 302 mm. Red border with black rules.

Inscribed on the reverse in *takri* characters: *sri maharaja tedhi senghji*.

Chandigarh Museum, Mankot Raj collection.

Published: Randhawa (1960), fig. 7, but captioned Harjodh Singh Mankotia.

Description: Raja Tedhi Singh of Mankot in dark green *jama* and with Vaishnava *tilak* marks reclines against a deep red cushion, smoking a hookah tended for him by a youth in white *jama*. Behind him stands an attendant in ankle-length white *jama* with leaf-like textile pattern as in 10 and 11. He wears a black shield and carries a heavily striped cloth sword-case and waves a peacock-feather fan. Rectangular rug, the right-hand part richly flowered, the left-hand part pink with vertical black and silver stripes. Deep yellow background.

Discussion: A continuation of Mankot portraiture of the 1660-1690 period but with a slightly stronger Basohli infusion than in previous examples. The exaggerated moustache and great popping eye provides a sharp contrast to the earlier and much quieter Mankot tradition. It is possible that following the marriage of Dhota Dev's sister (the daughter of Mahipat Dev) to Raja Kirpal Pal of Basohli, one or more Basohli painters moved to Mankot, bringing with them the new Basohli style of vehement expressiveness. The suffix 'Singh' in contrast to the more normal 'Dev', supports the inference that Tedhi Singh (ruled c. 1710-c.1730) may have been the younger brother of Raja Dhota Dev (ruled c.1690-c.1710) rather than his son.

14 Raja Mahipat Dev (c.1660-c.1690) of Mankot seated. Mankot, c.1690-1700.

162 x 256 mm; with border 190 x 300 mm. Brick red border with narrow margin, portions of the Raja's *jama*, the peacock-feather fan and much of the left-hand attendant projecting into the border. Inscribed on the top in *takri* characters: *sri miya mahipat mankoti* and on the reverse: *sri miya mehapatji*. Also inscribed with names of the two attendants, but too faint to be deciphered.

Chandigarh Museum, Mankot Raj collection.

Description: Raja Mahipat Dev of Mankot, by now a huge Falstaffian figure in swelling white *jama* and red turban, sits on a light blue rug with brick red stripes leaning against a purple cushion. A sword lies beside him. On the right an attendant holds a bowl; on the left a second attendant waves a peacock-feather fan. Attendants' *jamās* blue and mauve. Background yellow.

Discussion: Although rougher in execution, this portrait is clearly of the same period and in the same style as 13, the contorted exaggerations seen in the eye, beard and nose of Mahipat, as also the greatness of his bulk again suggesting a fusion of reticent Mankot traditions with the mannerist style, arrestingly adopted at Basohli.

Features of the present portrait are the omission of the customary hookah and the fact that the rug with flimsy stripes occupies only a portion of the base, both attendants standing clear of it and thus being silhouetted sharply against the yellow background. The fact that the names of the attendants are given — although only faintly — reinforces a Mankot attribution, since it was in Mankot and, so far as is known, only in Mankot, that quite so keen an interest was shown in recording minor court figures.

15 The Mankot courtier, Meju, smoking. Mankot, c.1690-1700.

Inscribed at the top in *takri* characters: *sabi meju di* 'Portrait of Meju'; and below in *nagari* characters: *meju ki* 'Of Meju'.

Chandigarh Museum, Mankot Raj collection.

Description: a young man, in white *jama* sparsely sprinkled with a leaf-like pattern, and with a sprig of narcissi in his turban, is seated on a mauve rug with red stripes, smoking a hookah. A long sword beside him. Yellow background.

Discussion: Unidentified, but in the light of the tersely

familiar inscription, possibly a well-known member of the Mankot court. In style and composition closely similar to 9 and 10. For the leaf-like textile pattern, compare 11 (portrait of Raja Dhota Dev).

16 Raja Kirpal Pal (c.1678-1693) of Basohli smoking with two girl attendants. Mankot, c.1690-1700.

220 x 255 mm. Red border with black and shaded rules.

Inscribed at the top in *nagari* characters: *kirpal pal*.

Chandigarh Museum, Mankot Raj collection.

Published: Randhawa (1959), col. pl. 1; also reproduced Randhawa (1960), fig. 3.

Description: Raja Kirpal Pal of Basohli in white *jama* sits on an orange red rug smoking a hookah tended for him by a girl in red and white striped trousers and olive green veil. He rests against an oval crimson cushion. Behind him stands a second maid-servant in pale blue striped trousers holding a sword in white cloth sword-case and waving a fly-whisk. Beneath the rug a mauve carpet with vertical green stripes lined with red. Yellow background with upper rim of white.

Discussion: Comparable in style to 13-15 and with the plain simplicity characteristic of Mankot portraiture. For a Basohli portrait of Kirpal Pal, noticeably richer and more florid, see Basohli, no. 11(i).

17 The Mankot court priest, Gokul, seated. Mankot, c.1690-1700.

178 x 131 mm; with border 205 x 158 mm. Red border with black and white rules.

Inscribed on the reverse in *takri* characters: *gokul . . . prohat sri rai sitale mankotie ji di khijmat kiti* 'Gokul, purohit (family priest), who faithfully served Sri Rai (Raja) Sital of Mankot'.

Chandigarh Museum, Mankot Raj collection.

Description: Gokul, family priest of Raja Sital Dev, (c.1630-c.1660) of Mankot in white *jama*, a rosary round his neck, seated on a mauve rug with dark blue stripes. Background deep yellow.

Discussion: Of special significance on account of its Mankot provenance, the Mankot subject, and the unusually detailed information provided by the inscription. Although nothing is recorded of Gokul purohit, he must clearly have been a person of some attainments to have been included in a portrait series which, on grounds of style, would seem to have been executed after his death. In view of his blindness, Raja Sital Dev may well have relied on him for day-to-day advice as well as for religious consolation.

In terms of style, the picture is significant as illustrating yet again the continued Mankot preference for a plain yellow background and vertically striped rugs. This convention, already seen in 13-16, is to dominate portraiture in the Mankot collection for at least fifty years in striking contrast to painting in Basohli where rugs and carpets were normally far more florid.

18 The young Raja Hamir Chand (1700-1747) of Kangra seated. Mankot, c.1700.

On reverse, a line drawing of the same figure, a servant attending.

175 x 120 mm; with border 212 x 152 mm. Red border with black rules.

Inscribed in *nagari* characters above the line drawing: *ma hamir chand*.

Archer collection, London.

Description: The young Hamir Chand in white *jama* faintly patterned with sprigs, and wearing a rosary and pendant, sits on a pink rug with vertical blue stripes, a red dagger at his waist and a sword with red scabbard resting on his thighs, Vaishnava *tilak* marks on his forehead. Behind him a red cushion. Plain yellow background.

Discussion: Identical in style to 16 and 17.

19 Raja Dalip Singh (1695-1741) of Guler seated with his personal priest, Dinath. Mankot, c.1700.

160 x 155 mm; with border 205 x 202 mm. Red border with black and dark red rules.

Inscribed at the top in *takri* numerals: 17 and on the reverse (1) in *takri* characters: *raja dalip singh purohit dinath* (2) in *nagari* characters two lines of Sanskrit verses: *vanakhandichandakhand satrupaksjasya nasini dilipasimhararajanam sadapatu mahabhujam*

'Such was the prowess of his mighty arms that he could destroy the forests and the haughty ones and all his enemies. Such arms of Raja Dalip Singh should ever protect us'.

Archer collection, London.

Description: The boy Dalip Singh, aged about twelve years, sits smoking a hookah in front of his confessor or family-priest, Dinath. Dalip wears a red turban and olive-green *jama*, Dinath a white turban and *jama*. Each holds the other's left hand. Dinath is perhaps putting grains of rice or a flower into the boy Raja's hand and uttering the Sanskrit prayer or blessing recorded on the reverse. Mauve rug with green and red vertical stripes. Silver hookah-bowl with red stem. Deep yellow background with, at the top, a thin rim of tangled white and blue sky.

Discussion: In style identical to 17 and 18 and of special interest on account of the portrayal of a neighbouring ruler with his family priest. Other portraits of local rajās in the Mankot collection, all in similar style, show that Mankot painters sometimes departed from the normal practice of showing rulers with one or two attendants and instead depicted them in intimate association with a particular confidant or visitor. This would again suggest an unusual interest at Mankot in portraiture.

Raja Dalip Singh of Guler, who was born in 1688 and succeeded to the Guler throne in 1695 at the age of seven, was later renowned for piety, the Rajguru or family preceptor, Dinamani, being noted in the Guler chronicle, the *Diliparanjani*, composed in 1703, as having a major influence in state affairs. Dinamani, however, to judge from a portrait of him playing chess with Dalip's great-uncle, Gopal Singh (Guler, no. 3 q.v.), bears little resemblance to the young priest, Dinath, shown in the present picture. It is possible, therefore, that they are different persons. Dinath being perhaps a younger relative of Dinamani and a nearer contemporary of Dalip. The fact that the portrait bears the *takri* numeral '17' at the top, suggests that it is part of a set of Raja portraits perhaps executed for local Mankot consumption rather than as an individual study made for Dalip Singh himself. For another picture of Dalip Singh at a more advanced age but also forming part of a Mankot portrait series, see 31.

In view of Dalip's youthful face in the present picture — in marked contrast to his more mature appearance in other portraits — it is reasonable to regard the present picture as contemporary and hence to date it about 1700. Since it exactly accords in style with nos. 15 to 20, we may connect this group with the years 1680-1700.

20 Unidentified raja seated. Mankot, c.1700.

172 x 143 mm; with border 202 x 170 mm. Red border with black and red rules.

Uninscribed.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 115-1954.

Description: A prince or raja, in dark green *jama* and red turban with yellow stripes, a sword in red scabbard lying beside him, sits against a rectangular red cushion facing right. Pink rug with vertical blue stripes. Background golden yellow, a narrow band of yellow below the rug at the base. As in 17 and 18, a rosary round his neck.

Discussion: Part of the same or a similar portrait series as 15 and 17-19. A significant detail is the red cushion propped behind him — its rectangular shape fore-shadowing the starkly geometric cushions favoured in Mankot portraiture of the 1740-1760 period (q.v.).

21 The Mankot official, Palu Kotwal, with three musketeers. Mankot, c.1700.

Inscribed at the top in *takri* characters: *palu kotwal*.

Chandigarh Museum, Mankot Raj collection.

Description: Palu Kotwal, perhaps a commandant of the Mankot royal guard, stands in white *jama*, his right hand

resting on his sword and his left touching a powder flask tucked in his waist-sash. Three soldiers stand beside him, each with powder flasks and long muskets. Yellow background.

Discussion: Attributed to Mankot on account of provenance (the Mankot royal collection), the relatively humble status of the subject — acceptable if painted at Mankot but unlikely to have been included in the royal collection if done elsewhere, the brief familiar inscription which would be understood in Mankot if it referred to a local figure but would hardly be sufficient if the subject was an outsider, and lastly, its general style as shown in the yellow background, lack of exaggeration in the features and typical arrangement of the figures.

22 The groom, Pattu Suralia. Mankot, c.1700.

Inscribed on the reverse in *takri* characters: *pattu suralia*. Chandigarh Museum, Mankot Raj collection.

Description: Pattu Suralia, perhaps the royal groom, stands facing right, holding in one hand a sword, and in the other a bridle topped by a tiger. Yellow background.

Discussion: With 17 and 21, an example of Mankot portraiture applied to lesser members of the Mankot court. Unlike other centres of painting in the Punjab Hills, Mankot seems to have specialised in recording likenesses not only of its own rajas and the surrounding nobility, but also of court officials and servants. The style is notable for its somewhat bleak projection of the figure against a bare yellow background.

PHASE TWO: 1700-1740

23 Raja Hindal Pal (c.1673-c.1678) of Basohli standing. Mankot, c.1700 or later.

187 x 123 mm; with border 221 x 158 mm. Red border with black and white rules.

Inscribed at the top in *takri* characters: *sri handal pal*.

Chandigarh Museum, Mankot Raj collection.

Published: Randhawa (1960), fig. 2.

Description: Hindal Pal of Basohli in orange red *jama* with white stripes and a white turban with blue stripes stands facing left, holding a narcissus in his right hand. Background deep yellow.

Discussion: Similar emphatic eye and crudely awkward hands as in 10, 13 and 14; similar *jama* with vertical stripes as in 8, 9 and 24. From a series of Basohli rulers in the Mankot Raj collection, perhaps reflecting in style and subject-matter the close contact between Basohli and Mankot which was exemplified in the wedding of the Mankot princess to Raja Kirpal Pal.

24 The court of Rama. From a *Ramayana* series. Mankot, c.1700-1710.

161 x 263 mm; with border 198 x 300 mm. Red border with black and white rules.

Inscribed at the top and on the face in *takri* characters with names of the attending figures.

Chandigarh Museum, Mankot Raj collection.

Description: Rama in deep orange *dhoti* and dark blue skin is seated on a throne with Sita. A small Hanuman kneels at his right foot. To the left, the king of the bears and Lakshmana in a *jama* with vertical stripes; to the right two further figures with striped *jamās* holding bows and arrows. Grey throne. Yellow background.

Discussion: Comparable in style to 25(i-vii) and 26 and with the same type of vertically striped *jama* as in 23. For a similar treatment of the throne, set somewhat askew and with tall imposing back, see 25(iv) and 27. A feature of the picture is its use of over-lapping forms — the throne cutting into an attendant's *jama* which in turn overlaps the *jama* of the attendant behind. The somewhat straggling composition is in marked contrast to Basohli painting proper and indeed the whole style, though owing much to general Basohli influence, is less rich, angular and mannered.

25(i-vii) Seven paintings from a 'first' Bhagavata Purana series (horizontal). Mankot, c.1700-1710.

Average size: 180 x 285 mm; with border 205 x 310 mm. Red border with black and white rules. Each painting inscribed at the top in *takri* characters descriptive of the incident.

Chandigarh Museum, Mankot Raj collection.

25(i) Krishna, tied to a mortar, uproots two trees.

Description: Jasoda discusses Krishna's mischievous pranks with a cow-girl while Krishna, tied to a mortar as a punishment, drags it between two trees and speedily uproots them.

25(ii) Krishna steals the cow-girls' clothes.

Published: Ghose (1958), fig. 4.

Description: Krishna, an agile figure half-hidden in dark green foliage of a tree with a bluish grey trunk, hands down a dress to a nude cow-girl who approaches him from the left. Eight further cow-girls, all nude, with varied pink and brown skins, stand in the blackish brown water of the river Jamuna, its surface flecked with swirling white waves. Three further nude girls squat to the right. A fourth hides herself behind the tree. Sage green background. Clothes in the tree red, blue and yellow. Leaves in formulated geometrical rosettes.

25(iii) Krishna kills the horse demon, Kesi.

Description: Krishna, raising a cowherd's stick in his right hand, plunges his left hand down the throat of the horse demon. In its death-agony, the horse excretes balls of dung.

25(iv) Krishna kills Kansa.

Description: Krishna wielding a tusk drawn from one of the two elephants which he and Balarama have slain, grips Kansa by the hair and pulls him off his throne. Balarama aids him from the rear. Two attendants stand by the throne. A third faints in fright.

25(v) The killing of the washerman.

Description: Krishna and Balarama, having caught and tied one of Kansa's washermen, deposit his senseless corpse by the River Jamuna. They distribute garments to five cowherd boys. In the foreground, the rushing river.

25(vi) The hunch-back girl, Kubja, caresses Krishna's foot and thigh.

Description: Krishna in yellow *dhoti* sits on a dark red bed against a white wall, his left leg and thigh caressed by Kubja, who squats before him in mauve blouse and red skirt. Rugs with intricate swirling floral patterns. Sage green background, a red and green canopy supported by a single pole and strung on two ropes.

25(vii) Kaljama pursues Krishna.

Description: Krishna in yellow coat and dark red *dhoti* is pursued by Kaljama in yellow coat and red *jama*. Sage green background.

Discussion: This great series — perhaps the finest and most dramatic in the entire Mankot Raj collection — can be confidently ascribed to Mankot not only on account of its Mankot provenance, similarity to other Mankot paintings and use of distinctive idioms, but above all because of its original style. Although at first sight dependent on Basohli painting, as in details such as the treatment of domestic architecture, the use of brilliant colour, large and eloquent eyes, rosettes for foliage and poetic colour for tree-trunks, it differs sharply from Basohli painting proper in its swirling rhythms, the impulsive eruption of its strong and sturdy forms, the insouciance with which shapes are hurled around, the avoidance of all rich or intricate details, its dramatic concentration on basic essentials, and perhaps, above all, its air of swaggering elation.

Typical of its bustling verve and gay anarchic spirit is the arrangement of the two trees in the form of a spindly cross 25(i), the scaling down of the tree in 25(ii) to accord with the squat, large-headed cow-girls and the excretion of dung

by the horse demon Kesi in 25(III) — a spontaneous natural detail repeatedly used by Mankot artists (see 44, 45) and apparently peculiar to Mankot painting.

Other significant details: a special type of female face with long thin strands of hair on the cheek, long sharp nose, receding forehead and unobtrusive chin; plain backgrounds, often yellow or sage green; canopies tied by ropes which go out of the picture; a special type of high-backed throne and the omission from all the pictures in the series of green beetle wing-cases for indicating jewellery. This latter detail is almost a *sine qua non* of Basohli painting proper in the years 1670-1730 but is rarely present in 'Basohli type' pictures executed elsewhere.

Examples from the same series: (1) Randhawa (1959), col. pl. 7. The birth of Krishna. Chandigarh Museum, Mankot Raj collection.

(2) Ghose (1958), fig. 3. Rejoicings at the birth of Krishna. Chandigarh Museum, Mankot Raj collection.

26 Krishna lifts Mount Govardhan. From a 'second' *Bhagavata Purana* series (vertical). Mankot, c.1700-1710. Chandigarh Museum, Mankot Raj collection.

Description: Krishna with yellow *dhoti* lifts Mount Govardhan on the tip of his right little finger. Balarama in white skin supports the hill with a thin stick. Nanda, a massive figure in Shah Jahan-style costume, stands to the right, supporting the hill with another stick. Two cowherds, one cow-girl and two cows present. Dark plain background with, at the top, parallel drops of rain.

Discussion: Similar in facial idioms to 24 and 25 and with the same provenance (the Mankot Raj ancestral collection). In contrast to a later version of the same subject, sensitive and delicate in treatment and without the later air of somewhat harsh over-simplification. Following early treatments of the theme, the picture correctly follows standard iconography by showing Krishna lifting the hill on his little finger, instead of on sticks as occurs in the later example (36(5)).

As in 24, the picture exemplifies a mannerism, peculiar to Mankot painting, by which a vital portion of one form is obscured or cut off by the intrusion of a detail drawn from another form. In the present case, the front part of the head of the kneeling cow is cut off by Krishna's left leg. For an even more arresting example of this mannerism, see 36(2) where Jasoda, turning her back on Krishna and his child companions, is dramatically beheaded by the door-way through which she is passing.

27 Krishna enthroned. Mankot, c.1710-1720. 195 x 180 mm.

British Museum, French collection, London.

Published: Heath (1925) pl. 8; also reproduced Binyon (1925) pl. 3; Gangoly (1926) pl. 20; French (1931) pl. 1; Khandalavala (1958), no. 17; Barrett (1963) col. pl. p.166.

Description: Krishna, crowned, in yellow *dhoti* and dark blue skin, sits against an orange cushion in a golden throne, tall-backed and topped with an honorific gold umbrella. He holds a betel-leaf in one hand and a thin rod in the other. A maid-servant with over-large head and diminutive frame kneels before him offering him a huge lotus flower. To the left a second maid in yellow green and blue dress, the briefest of bodices and a broad midriff, holds a dish of betel leaves and hands one to him. On the right a third maid in red, white and blue dress, brief blue bodice and broad midriff holds a dish containing a papaya fruit and waves a small white fly-whisk. Behind the throne is a tree with dark green leaves and red flowers and on either side, other trees with slim straggling trunks and rosettes of pale green foliage. Sage green background.

Discussion: Identical in basic style and idioms to 25(ii) and 25(vii) and with the following details matchable in other pictures from Mankot: angular throne, high-backed and set askew (24, 25(iv)), Krishna's face (25, 26), the crouching girl with over-large head and diminutive frame (25(vi)), trees with slim trunks and rosettes of foliage (25(i)), sage green background.

Although at times interpreted as Krishna with either the cow-girls or the wives of the Brahmins of Mathura, the picture is more probably a celebration of Krishna as a feudal prince, enthroned and attended by members of his household, after his settlement in Dwarka and abandonment of Brindaban, Radha and the loves of his youth.

Related examples: (1) Gangoly (1926), pl. 21; also reproduced Lee (1960), pl. 61; Archer (1960), col. pl. 67. *Saveri Ragini.* A lady holding out a cup to snakes who strain towards her from the slim trunks of trees. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Mankot, c.1710-1720. Dark brown background. Similar face, dress, trees to 27.

(2) Coomaraswamy (1926), pl. 33 (74); also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), no. 20. *Gujari Ragini.* A lady holding a *vina* stands between trees. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Mankot, c.1710-1720. Rosettes of foliage as in 27 and 27(1). Similar dress and face.

28 Vinoda Raga. From a *Pahari Ragamala* series. Mankot, c.1710-1720.

176 x 174 mm; with border 200 x 190 mm. Red border with black and white rules. Inscribed at the top in *takri* characters *raga vinoda handole da putra* 'Vinoda Raga, son of Hindola Raga'.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 66-1930.

Acquired from Ajit Ghose, 1930.

Published: Ghose (1929), col. pl. (p. 15); also reproduced Gray (1947) col. pl. 1 (where, however, the inscription is misread); Khandalavala (1958), no. 16.

Description: A prince in white *jama* sits on an orange-red bed, with narrow tubular pillow, holding on his knees a pair of girls. The left-hand one has a blue skirt and brief, dark red bodice; the right-hand one a sage-green skirt and mauve bodice. Each dress is overlaid by a transparent white veil. Both have broad exposed midriffs. The prince wears a red turban with gold band and black plume. Two long wisps of hair straggle down the cheek of each girl. Above the party is a canopy in two halves — the left-hand side orange-red with floral design and sage-green edges, the right-hand side dark red with white edges. The whole is supported on two poles, the two sheets tied at the sides by two strings which leave the picture. Golden yellow background, surrounding, at the base, a slate blue rug with vertical dark blue stripes.

Discussion: Comparable in style to 25 and with the same air of virile elation — the arms flung violently apart, the canopy tossing as if in time, the rug with its vertical stripes serving as a foil to the gestures of the three protagonists.

Apart from over-all style, the following details are matchable in other pictures connected with Mankot: faces and figures of the girls (27), especially the girl crouching at Krishna's feet, the slung canopy (25(vi)), yellow background, striped rug, red, blue and sage green palette.

Examples from the same or a similar series: (1) Khandalavala (1958), fig. 52. *Devakari Ragini.* A lady in red skirt sits under a red and white canopy doing Vishnu *puja* attended by a maid in red and white skirt and blue bodice. Green background. Inscribed at the top in *takri* characters: *ragani devakari handole di bharaja* 'Devakari Ragini, wife of Hindola Raga'. Khandalavala collection, Bombay. Mankot, c.1710-1720. Faces, canopy, dresses as in 28.

(2) Coomaraswamy (1926), pl. 34(76). *Ahiri Ragini.* A lady attended by a maid sits by a chamber offering milk to snakes twined round two pitchers. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Mankot, c.1710-1720. Faces and costume as in 28.

29(i, ii) Two paintings from a Pahari Ragamala series. Mankot, c.1710-1720.

29(i) Alhaiya Raga.

180 x 177 mm; with border 215 x 210 mm. Red border with white and black rules.

Inscribed at the top in *takri* characters: *alhaiya valaula bhere da putra.* 9. 'Alhaiya Vilaval (Raga), son of Bhairava Raga' 'Numbered 9'.

Victoria and Albert Museum, Rothenstein collection, I.S. 26-1954.

Description: A prince with shaven head and pale pinkish

brown skin, nude save for a white *dhoti*, is seated on a red stool having his arms massaged by two maids. The maid on the left has a dark red skirt and yellow bodice. Each wears the briefest of bodices with midriffs broadly exposed. The prince's right hand strokes the belly of the maid on the left. His left hand fondles the shoulder of the maid on the right. Bright sage green background with narrow band of white and blue at the top.

29(ii) Saindhava Raga.

185 x 180 mm; with border 215 x 212 mm. Red border with white and black rules.

Inscribed at the top in *takri* characters: *raga saindhava dipake da putra* 'Saindhava Raga, son of Dipak Raga' (*Dipak* is here a mistake for *Sri Raga*).

Binney collection, Brookline, Mass.

Description: A prince in white *jama* and mauve boots, a quiver of arrows at his back, is in the act of mounting a brown horse. His left foot is in a stirrup while his right foot has left the ground. The horse's saddle is red and yellow. A small groom in striped *jama* and trousers stands to the left. Green background.

Discussion: Closely similar in style and feeling to 28, the widely flung arms of 29(i) and out-stretched legs of 29(ii) having the same air of muscular abandon. Male and female faces as in 25-28. The clear-cut setting of the figures against a starkly bare background, unhampered by any intrusive details, also accords with Mankot taste.

Examples from the same or a similar series: (1) Coomaraswamy (1926), pl. 33 (73); also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), no. 22. *Bhramarananda Raga*. A Shiva-like figure wildly dancing before a woman who drums on a tambourine. Inscribed at the top in *takri* characters: *raga bhramarananda malkauseda putra* 'Bhramarananda Raga, son of Malkaus Raga'. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Mankot, c.1710-1720. Background plain save for a narrow strip of tufted foreground. Woman with features and pleated skirt as in 29(i). Similar summary austerity of treatment.

(2) Kala (1961), pl. 17. Uninscribed *Raga* subject. A prince with lady seated in a boat, being poled by a boat-man — the prince shooting with bow and arrow at a pair of black buck on the shore. Allahabad Museum. Mankot, c.1710-1720. Similar style and faces as in 29(i, ii).

(3) Barrett (1963), col. pl. page 164. *Vivacha Raga*. A prince with attendant watching a drummer. Allahabad Museum. Mankot, c.1710-1720. Same style as in 23 and 25(vi).

30 Raja Sukh Dev (c.1685-c.1700) of Jasrota smoking at a window. Mankot, c.1720.

162 x 107 mm; with border 196 x 142 mm. Red border.

Inscribed on the reverse in *takri* characters: *jasrotia sukh de*.

Chandigarh Museum, Mankot Raj collection.

Description: Sukh Dev of Jasrota in dark red dress is seated at a window smoking a hookah under a cusped archway. On the window-sill is a cloth with wide margin and bold floral pattern. Yellow background.

Discussion: From a standard portrait series of neighbouring rulers or their ancestors, testifying by its freshness of style to the constant interest in portraiture which seems to have characterised painting in Mankot. In contrast to 2 where use is also made of a cusped archway, there is now a greater boldness, a marked interest in large forms and a vehement assertiveness which suggests the later date of about 1720.

31 Raja Dalip Singh (1695-1741) of Guler seated holding a rosary. Mankot, c.1720.

164 x 113 mm; with border 206 x 158 mm. Red border with black and white rules.

Chandigarh Museum, Lambagraon collection.

Description: Dalip Singh of Guler, in a white *jama* and looking perceptibly older than in 19, is seated holding a rosary in his right hand on a green rug with pink borders. Bold floral pattern. Deep yellow background.

Discussion: In general style comparable to 32 and 33 and of

special importance because of the age of the subject. Dalip Singh, who was born in 1688, now appears close on thirty years of age or perhaps a little older and this would confirm a date of about 1720 for this type of Mankot painting.

The reduction of the picture to a simple dignified figure set on a rug with bold floral pattern against a brilliant yellow background is in total contrast to painting in Guler at this time but in line with other pictures connected with Mankot. If Mankot was famous in the Punjab Hills for its steady flow of portrait sets, the presence of this picture in the Kangra Raj collection — notable even in the time of the traveller, Moorcroft, for its numerous portraits of neighbouring rulers — would be readily explicable.

32 Raja Dhruv Dev (c.1700-1730) of Jasrota at a window. Mankot, c.1720-1730.

193 x 175 mm; with border 219 x 210 mm.

Inscribed on the reverse in *takri* characters: *sri miyan dhruv de jasrotia*.

National Museum, New Delhi.

Description: Raja Dhruv Dev of Jasrota in white *jama*, a rosary around his neck, sits at a window holding a betel leaf below a cusped archway. On the window-sill is a cloth with bold floral pattern. Archway with red and green floral pattern. Yellow background.

Discussion: Similar in style to 30 but more contemporaneous with the ruler and in greater line with 31 and 33 where the floral pattern is uncongested and the subject is treated with the same kind of stark clarity as in certain of the *Bhagavata Purana* and *Ragamala* pictures (25, 28, 29).

33 Raja Ajmat Dev (c.1730-c.1765) of Mankot smoking. Mankot, c.1720.

180 x 175 mm; with border 210 x 210 mm. Red border with black and white rules. Numbered in lower right-hand corner. 15.

Archer collection, London.

Published: Archer (1965), no. 26.

Description: Raja Ajmat Dev of Mankot (perhaps born in c.1700) sits smoking a hookah on a white carpet with red and green floral pattern. He leans against a red cushion and holds a pink flower in his left hand. The hookah bowl is tended by a boy who clasps a red sword. To the right a pink rug with vertical blue stripes continues the carpet. Deep yellow background. Boy and sword project into the right border.

Discussion: Uninscribed, but identified as Ajmat Dev of Mankot by comparison with inscribed portraits nos. 34 and 38, both of which are in the Mankot Raj collection. In style and idioms similar to 30-32, but with an even more masterly sense of rhythm, extreme clarity and a bold union of brilliant whites, reds and yellows. While the large eye, range of colours, and forms projecting into the borders can be paralleled in Basohli painting, the greater emphasis on rhythmic line, sparse economy of forms and stark simplification give the style a strongly un-Basohli character.

34 Raja Ajmat Dev (c.1750-c.1765) of Mankot smoking. Mankot, c.1730.

177 x 227 mm; with border 218 x 287 mm. Red border with black and white rules, part of the peacock-feather fan and the attendant's figure projecting into it.

Inscribed on the reverse in *takri* characters: *sri raja sri ajmat de ji*.

Chandigarh Museum, Mankot Raj collection.

Published: Randhawa (1960), fig. 6.

Description: Ajmat Dev of Mankot in a white *jama* sits smoking a hookah on a white rug with delicate red floral pattern. He holds a rosary and leans against red and dark green cushions. A sword in a red scabbard lies beside him. An attendant in a long ankle-length white *jama* waves a peacock-feather fan and rests his hand on a sword. Dark green turbans. Deep yellow background.

Discussion: Similar in subject and style to 33 but with the beard and moustache slightly fuller, perhaps implying that the subject is now a few years older. For a portrait of the same ruler with exactly similar beard and moustache, see

34(1) below. For reasons given under reign vi, it seems likely that Ajmat Dev took over the Mankot administration from his father, Tedhi Singh, in c.1730.

Related example: (1) Gray (1950), pl. 106 (525); also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), no. 73. Ajmat Dev seated smoking. Mis-inscribed on the reverse in *takri* characters: *kulu da raja*. Manley collection, Guildford. Mankot, c.1730. Dark green *jama*. Yellow background. White floor. Same person as in 33 and 34. Although the inscription describing the subject as a Raja of Kulu seems to be a mistake, it is significant that a portrait of Ajmat Dev as *tikka* (heir-apparent) of Mankot was in fact executed at Kulu in about 1720 to 1730 (Kulu no. 25 q.v.).

35 Raja Mahipat Dev (c.1660-c.1690) of Mankot smoking. Mankot, c.1730.

181 x 261 mm; with border 225 x 306 mm. Portions of the attendant and peacock-feather fan projecting into it.

Inscribed on the reverse in *takri* characters: *sri mia mahipat manakotia* 'Sri Mian Mahipat of Mankot'.

Chandigarh Museum, Mankot Raj collection.

Published: Randhawa (1960), fig. 5.

Description: Mahipat Dev of Mankot, a huge and portly figure in a white *jama* and red and gold turban, sits on a white rug with floral pattern fingering the scabbard of a long sword and gazing at the stem of a sumptuous hookah. He leans against a red cushion. Behind him stands a servant in dark green *jama* holding a sword in one hand and a peacock-feather fan in the other. Background pale yellow.

Discussion: Similar in style and composition to 34 and copying an earlier portrait, 14, of Ajmat Dev's great ancestor. If, as seems possible, Ajmat Dev began to act for his father, Tedhi Singh, in about 1730, the present portrait, along with others, may have been commissioned in order to celebrate his accession and project him as a fitting successor to his grandfather, the great and powerful Mahipat. For the bold, clear-cut figures and neatly patterned rug, compare 31-33.

36(i-iii) Three paintings from a 'third' Bhagavata Purana series (vertical). Mankot, c.1730.

Average size: 225 x 115 mm; with border 285 x 215 mm. Red border with black and white rules.

Inscribed at the top in white *takri* characters describing the subject of the picture.

Formerly Lambagraon collection, Kangra.

36(i) Krishna steals the cow-girls' clothes.

Published: Randhawa (1959), col. pl. 9.

Description: Krishna, a dark blue figure, half-hidden in the dark green foliage of a tree with a bluish grey trunk, hands down a red dress to a nude cow-girl who approaches him from the left. Seven further cow-girls, all nude with varied pink, brown and yellow skins, stand in the blackish brown water of the river Jamuna. Two further nude girls squat to the right, a third shielding her nakedness behind the tree. Sage green background. Foliage in geometrical rosettes.

36(ii) The killing of the washerman.

Description: Krishna and Balarama, having caught and tied up one of Kansa's washermen, deposit him in the river Jamuna, a great wound gaping on his left side. Krishna distributes garments to three cowherd boys. In the foreground, the rushing river.

36(iii) Kaljaman pursues Krishna.

Description: Krishna in dark blue skin and dark red *dhoti* is pursued by Kaljaman who wears a dark blue coat with black lapels over an orange-red *jama*. Krishna carries a cowherd's stick on his shoulder, Kaljaman a sword in red scabbard. Deep yellow background with, at the top, a narrow rim of deep blue.

Discussion: A vertical *Bhagavata Purana* series identical in basic composition, idioms and details with the *Bhagavata Purana* series, horizontal (no. 25(i-viii)). 36(i) tallies with

25(ii); 36(ii) with 25(v), and 36(iii) with 25(vii). The change in format from the long and horizontal to the short and upright involves, of necessity, the use of fewer figures, their compression into smaller spaces and also some changes of proportion. A tendency to even bolder simplification is also present — the compositions possessing in this respect the stark clarity of the Ajmat and Mahipat Dev portraits (33-35).

The presence of the series in the Lambagraon family collection, Kangra — a circumstance which led Randhawa (1959), Khandalavala (1961) and Barrett (1963) to attribute the series to Kangra itself — can be explained by the marriage of Raja Jai Chand of Lambagraon to two Mankot princesses in the second half of the nineteenth century. The Mankot family was, at this time, living at Salangri in Kutlehr, formerly a small state adjoining Kangra but after 1849 a part of Kangra District. The marriage was arranged in view of Jai Chand's childlessness and it would therefore be natural for every effort to be made to render his fresh nuptials auspicious and hence for a series of pictures celebrating Krishna to accompany the two brides. For an instance of this latter practice, see Kangra and Garhwal where the presence in the Tehri Garhwal collection of a Kangra *Gita Govinda* series (Kangra, no. 33) and a Kangra *Bihari Satsai* series (Kangra, no. 39) has been shown to be due to the marriage of Raja Sudarshan Shah (1815-1859) of Tehri Garhwal to two Kangra princesses, the daughters of Raja Sansar Chand (1775-1823). For a *Vishnu Avatara* series in the Lambagraon collection, also in Mankot style, see Archer and Binney (1968), fig. 53b.

Examples from the same series: (1) Mehta (1949), fig. opposite p. 75. Krishna at a picnic. Lambagraon collection, later Mehta collection, Bombay.

(2) Mehta (1949) fig. opposite p. 80; also reproduced Archer (1957), pl. 4; Barrett (1963), col. pl. p.170. The butter thief. Formerly Lambagraon collection, later Mehta collection, Bombay. Identical in composition to a painting in the horizontal series (25 q.v.) including in particular, the figure of Jasoda cut in two by a doorway.

(3) Randhawa (1956), col. pl. 11; also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), no. 45. The round dance. Lambagraon collection.

(4) Randhawa (1959), col. pl. 8. The forest fire. Lambagraon collection.

(5) Randhawa (1959), col. pl. 10. The lifting of Mount Govardhan. Lambagraon collection.

(6) Randhawa (1959), col. pl. 11. Krishna fluting to a cow-girl. Lambagraon collection.

(7) Randhawa (1959), col. pl. 15. Krishna bringing the *parijata* tree from Vishnu's heaven. Lambagraon collection.

(8) Archer and Binney (1968), fig. 54a. The exchange of babies. Binney collection, Brookline, Mass.

(9) Archer and Binney (1968), fig. 54b. Jasoda about to open the young Krishna's mouth to remove some earth and see 'the three worlds' inside. Binney collection, Brookline, Mass.

37 Lady at her toilet. Mankot, c.1730.

200 x 145 mm; with border 225 x 170 mm. Red border with black and white rules.

Inscribed on the reverse in English, perhaps by a dealer: *Rani is making dry her hair.*

Victoria and Albert Museum, Rothenstein collection, I.S. 125-1951.

Description: A lady, with chalky pink skin, nude save for a mauve *dhoti* which cascades down her, stands on a gold stool arranging her hair and looking at herself in a mirror. A maid stands before her in red-striped trousers and green veil. A second maid crouches behind her, drying her right leg. Grey background. At the top a band of dark blue.

Discussion: Similar in face and general style to 25 and 36. The grey background is perhaps an indication of imminent Jammu influence.

PHASE THREE: 1740-1850

38 Raja Ajmat Dev (c.1730-c.1765) of Mankot smoking. Mankot, c.1740-1750.

170 x 122 mm; with border 154 x 200 mm. Red border with black and white rules.

Inscribed on the reverse in *takri* characters: *mankotia sri maharaj ajmat deo*.

Chandigarh Museum, Mankot Raj collection.

Description: Raja Ajmat Dev of Mankot, his face as in 34, sits in a long white *jama* on a white terrace leaning against grey cushions with sprigged patterning and smoking a hookah. Brownish grey background.

Discussion: With this portrait, painting in Mankot appears to enter a new phase — elements such as hot colouring, yellow backgrounds and sharp distorted faces abruptly disappearing and their place being taken by muted colours and by a graver naturalism. This change is possibly due to influences from Jammu where grey backgrounds had been a characteristic feature from the late seventeenth century onwards. From 1730 Jammu was the paramount power in the western hills, ruling families from Mankot, Bandralta and Basohli joining others to tender homage and visit the Jammu court. Jammu prestige grew steadily and it was in the period 1746 to 1763 that the painter Nainsukh of Guler, working for the Jammu prince, Raja Balwant Singh, gave Jammu portraiture a new direction. It is against this background that developments at Mankot must now be seen. In the present picture, significant details are the rectangular cushions (a feature perhaps anticipated in 20), their grey colour, the banishment of brilliant rugs and carpets and the substitution of brownish grey for the former yellow backgrounds.

39 Raja Tedhi Singh (c.1710-c.1730 (1750)) of Mankot seated with a rosary. Mankot, c.1740-1750.

190 x 125 mm; with border 220 x 156 mm. Red border with black and white rules.

Inscribed on the reverse in *takri* characters: *sri (ma)har(aja) tedhi (singh) mankotia*.

Chandigarh Museum, Mankot Raj collection.

Description: Tedhi Singh of Mankot in flowing white *jama* and striped upper coat, a necklace of pearls around his neck, sits on a white terrace leaning against a grey sprigged cushion and holding a rosary. Muddy grey background.

Discussion: Identical in style to 38 and from the same or a similar portrait series betraying Jammu influence. The replacement of a hookah by a rosary lends some support to the suggestion that Tedhi Singh was by nature deeply religious and despite his military successes for Aurangzeb as a young man, he may later have surrendered his ruling powers to his son, Ajmat Dev, thus becoming free to cultivate the religious life. For a portrait of him in Jammu style, see Jammu, no. 18.

40 Raja Tedhi Singh (c.1710-c.1730 (c.1750)) of Mankot worshipping Vishnu as Lakshmi Narain. Mankot, c.1750-1760.

172 x 250 mm; with border 205 x 285 mm. Red border.

Inscribed on the reverse in *takri* characters: *sri lachmi narainji di surat maharaje taradhi singhe ji di surat* 'The likeness of Sri Lakshmi Narain. The portrait of Maharaja Tedhi (Tredhi) Singh'.

Chandigarh Museum, Mankot Raj collection.

Description: Raja Tedhi Singh of Mankot in dark green *jama* stands with folded hands holding a rosary and a dish of grapes and rice before a vision of Vishnu as Lakshmi Narain. The eight-armed Vishnu is in white and holds pink lotuses. Grey throne and cushion. Before him stand a row of eight female worshippers in green, yellow, red and mauve skirts. Background muddy brownish grey.

Discussion: Similar in style and palette to 39, the female faces, however, differing sharply from those in Phases I and II. Attributed to Mankot on grounds of provenance (the Mankot ancestral collection), subject (a Mankot ruler engaged in the intimacies of worship) and distinctiveness of style — influenced by Jammu but un-Jammu in ultimate effect.

41 Raja Tedhi Singh (c.1710-c.1730 (c.1750)) of Mankot worshipping the flute-playing Krishna. Mankot, c.1750-1760.

180 x 280 mm; with border 204 x 302 mm.

Uninscribed.

Chandigarh Museum, Mankot Raj collection.

Description: Raja Tedhi Singh of Mankot in glowing golden yellow *jama* stands with folded hands clasping a rosary before a vision of Krishna playing on the flute to a bevy of nine cow-girls. Balarama stands behind Krishna waving a fly-whisk above him. Pale yellow background. Cow-girls in mauve, green and red skirts. In the foreground a lotus pool with egrets. In the background three clumps of trees with birds darting amongst them. At the top a line of sky with the heads of eight gods.

Discussion: Similar in style to 40, the figure of Tedhi Singh being an almost exact duplication. It is noteworthy that one of the cow-girls wears a banded skirt, a Guler fashion of the 1750-1820 period which may have reached Mankot via Jammu. The lush gaiety of the vision is in marked contrast to Tedhi Singh's more sober adoration of Lakshmi Narain. Since Tedhi Singh's basic appearance shows little change in all his portraits, it is possible that some of them are posthumous celebrations rather than contemporary.

42 Krishna celebrates the round dance. From a 'fourth' *Bhagavata Purana* series. Mankot, c.1750-1760.

274 x 358 mm (trimmed).

Uninscribed.

Chandigarh Museum, Mankot Raj collection.

Description: Krishna, a small flute-playing figure in the centre, is surrounded by a ring of dancing cow-girls, a version of himself dancing with each. Around the dancers is a half-circle of lush and frothy trees, a variety of animals including black buck and hares rushing to the scene. In the background, gods and musicians. Krishna's dark skin is unusually mauve. He wears an orange *dhoti*. Trees in various shades of green. Background pale brownish grey as in 38-40.

Discussion: Similar in style and details to 41 but without the attending figure of Raja Tedhi Singh.

43 Krishna leaves for Mathura. From a 'fifth' *Bhagavata Purana* series. Mankot, c.1760.

208 x 300 mm; with border 235 x 345 mm.

Faintly inscribed in *takri* characters above the charioteer *krur sarti (sarathi?)* 'Akrura the charioteer'.

Victoria and Albert Museum, Lory collection, I.S. 118-1960.

Description: A picture in four parts. In the top left-hand corner, a group of nine cow-girls prepares to visit Krishna. In the top right-hand corner, Krishna sits in a courtyard explaining to six of them his impending departure. In the bottom right-hand corner, he is borne away in a chariot. In the bottom left-hand corner, a group of seven cow-girls muse on Krishna the flute-player, shown as a small figure in a grove of trees. Some of them watch as he drives away. Pale green background.

Discussion: Similar to 41 and 42 in general style and with the following parallels: Krishna's face, orange *dhoti* and extremely mauve complexion, the faces of the cow-girls similar to Krishna's own, frothy trees, banded skirts as in 41 and pale background. A detail which again suggests Jammu influence is the grey cushion with dark blue floral sprigs in the chariot. This type of cushion was a standard device in Jammu painting in the first half of the 18th century.

44 The elephant of Raja Dalel Singh(?) clawed by a lion. Mankot, c.1760-1770.

Chandigarh Museum, Mankot Raj collection.

Description: A lion and an elephant are locked in combat, the lion clawing the elephant's head, the elephant gripping the lion with its trunk. A rider with raised sword, aided by a servant with long spear, attempts to ward the lion off. The mahout scrambles back. In the foreground, an attendant runs for help. Plain background.

Discussion: A Mankot version of a similar scene, executed

at Jammu by the painter Nainsukh for his patron Raja Balwant Singh (Jammu q.v.). The figure with raised sword dimly resembles Raja Dalel Singh (c.1760-c.1780) of Mankot (see Kangra no. 8, xii) though it is significant that he occupies a far less adventurous position on the howdah than does Balwant Singh and the mahout fails to emulate the latter's driver who puts his goad to bold use. Apart from provenance, a further detail confirming a Mankot attribution is the excretion by both animals of balls of dung. This detail, lacking from the Balwant Singh study, seems to have been used by Mankot painters whenever they portrayed animals in their death agonies or at moments of fright. For an early example of the practice, see 25(iii).

45 Elephants fighting. Mankot, c.1760-1770.

Chandigarh Museum, Mankot Raj collection.

Description: Two elephants goaded on by mahouts and retainers are locked in combat. In the background a white palace with a seated prince and three courtiers.

Discussion: With 44, a Mankot version of a Jammu picture, the tiny figures and their animated gestures recalling, though in gross and coarsened form, the style of Nainsukh. As in 44 the elephants are shown excreting dung.

46 Raja Apurab Singh (1809-1849) of Mankot holding court. Mankot, c.1815.

222 x 266 mm; with border 262 x 307 mm.

Inscribed on the reverse in *takri* characters: *sri raja apurab singhji*.

Chandigarh Museum, Mankot Raj collection.

Description: Raja Apurab Singh of Mankot sits holding a hawk, his younger brother, Sahib Singh, seated slightly behind him. In front of them sit five courtiers and two musicians. Three palace servants stand to the right. Grey floral rug with yellow border. To the rear white walls with five archways, each with a rolled up green and orange-red blind.

Discussion: A durbar scene which, as in 44, owes much to the type of portraiture practised at Jammu for Raja Balwant Singh fifty years earlier by Nainsukh. Compare, in this connection, the row of arches with rolled-up blinds, the seated courtiers with ancillary musicians and the general composition — the ruler on one side, the courtiers facing him on the other.

47 Raja Apurab Singh (1809-1849) of Mankot entertained by singing-girls and musicians. Mankot, c.1820-1825.

200 x 250 mm; with border 252 x 308 mm.

Uninscribed.

Chandigarh Museum, Mankot Raj collection.

Description: Raja Apurab Singh of Mankot, identified by comparison with 46 and with an inscribed portrait (Chandigarh Museum, no. 1328), is seated in a white *jama* on an orange rug and yellow floral carpet. On the right is a pink rug with vertical brown stripes. He smokes a hookah and listens to two singing-girls accompanied by five standing musicians, one of them an old woman. A torch-bearer stands in the foreground. Pale grey wall with thickly decorated green and orange blind.

Discussion: Similar in style to 46 — with the features of the singing-girls degenerate versions of a type of face, first devised in Guler and later popularised at Kangra. For a picture broadly comparable in structure and incorporating a group of musicians seated on the same type of rug with vertical stripes stopping short of the edges, compare Khandalavala (1958), no. 101 'Ude Singh Guleria listening to musicians'.

48 Raja Apurab Singh (1809-1849) of Mankot riding with his sons. Mankot, c.1830-1835.

208 x 226 mm; with border 250 x 308 mm.

Inscribed in *takri* characters at the top above the various riders from left to right, the upper inscription being noted first: (1) *sri miyan sahab singh* (2) *nikh miyan . . . singh* ('close to him Mian . . . Singh i.e. the child rider'). (3) *sri sahab prujji* (i.e. the priest standing in the upper register) (4) *alakh da* 'Alakh Dev' (the child rider in the centre) (5) *sri maha sri raja apurab singh* (the main rider) (6) *sri jog dhyanjji sahae* (an invocation of the Vaishnava image: 'May Sri Jog Dhyanjji come to our aid').

Chandigarh Museum, Mankot Raj collection.

Description: Raja Apurab Singh, accompanied by his two minor sons is riding through a courtyard past an image of the family deity, accompanied by a small group of palace servants. To the left is a large emblem of Shiva, a face on its phallic stem. A priest stands by the Vaishnava image. Grey architecture. Brown and grey blue horses, the two children in dark blue. White dresses. Pink floor.

Discussion: In this picture, Apurab Singh has considerably aged and it is possible that the annexation of the state by the Sikhs under Maharaja Ranjit Singh in 1834 is already in view. The Sikhs had replaced Jammu as exactors of tribute from Mankot in 1809. It is significant that, possibly in a vain attempt at ingratiating himself with the Sikh hierarchy, Apurab Singh is now wearing his beard Sikh style.

PAINTING IN NURPUR

I. INTRODUCTION

GEOGRAPHY

A small state, thirty miles long and twenty miles wide, bounded on the south and south-west by the Punjab Plains, on the west by Lakhapur, on the north-west by Basohli, on the north and north-east by Chamba, and on the east and south-east by Guler. Capitals: Pathankot until c.1590, after that Nurpur.

SCENERY

Vigne (1842): 'Nurpur (the place of light), situated at the entrance of the hills, and the edge of the plains of the Panjab, and being, moreover, a great thoroughfare, through which Kashmir, Chumba, and Ladak are attainable, has always been a town of some importance. There is nothing remarkable in the appearance either of the town or its castle. The latter is built, in the usual style, of stones and mud, with towers at the angles, and along the curtains of a square, and stands on the top of a bank over a low sandstone cliff. Beneath it runs a small river, which comes from the neighbouring mountains, and is united with another from the eastward, at a small distance above the town. It then flows into the plains, where it joins the Ravi, about thirty miles distant from Nurpur' (I,144).

Hugel (1845): 'The distance from Jwali to Narpoor is ten kos, I estimated it fifteen miles. The road leads into a valley, or rather into a part of that vast plain, which stretches away as far as the distant ocean. The country is pleasant, interspersed with villages here and there, while the immense Mori chain refreshes the eye towards the north-east; the plain is hence very far from being that same dead dull flat, unenlivened by verdure, that one travels over between Khanpoo and the Siwalik mountains; here, undulating hills rise gradually, and intersect each other, groups of trees also contributing to its beauty throughout. At the end of a few miles we came to a pond covered with the *nelumbium*, and here I tasted the nut for the first time. From the tank, the fort of Narpoor, on a neighbouring hill, from two to three hundred feet in height, has a very picturesque effect. To the Himalayan traveller, who is accustomed to see every mountain with a peaked summit, it is strange to meet with one like this, crowned with a tabular space one mile and a half in extent, on which the little town, with its bazaars and miserable streets and houses, is situated. I should reckon the population at six thousand souls, of whom two-thirds are Kashmirians, who have been settled here for more than a generation' (54-55).

Note: Visited by W.G.A. with M. S. Randhawa, March 1954, March 1960.

RELIGION

Details unrecorded but from the late sixteenth century onwards emphasis on the cult of Krishna can be inferred from the construction of a Krishna temple inside the Nurpur Fort c.1590 (destroyed, 1618), the presence of a *thakurdvara* (shrine) to Krishna, also in the Nurpur Fort, with Krishna murals (the shrine built c.1630-1640, the murals added c.1740) and the construction of a Krishna temple with murals at Fatehpur, Nurpur State, in the later part of the seventeenth century. A major part in Nurpur religion was also played by the Vaishnava shrine of Damthal (Nurpur State), an offshoot from a parent establishment at Pindori (Gurdaspur). It was at Pindori (not, as is commonly supposed, at Damthal) that Sri Narayanji, supported by his preceptor Sri Bhagvanji, was subjected by the

Emperor Jahangir to a test involving the drinking of liquor — a test which he triumphantly survived. For a discussion of this incident and the probability that it was spirits not poison which were administered, see Karuna Goswamy (1968).

At Damthal itself, the Vaishnava Ramanandi community is still presided over by a mahant and avails of a shrine known as the Ram Gopal Mandir. When I visited it with M. S. Randhawa and Mulk Raj Anand in March 1954, the inner walls contained murals on Krishna subjects and on the Jahangir-Narayanji legend but were all in mid-to late nineteenth century 'Kangra' style. It was from Damthal missionaries that the Nurpur court may have acquired its cult of Krishna in the seventeenth century.

II. HISTORICAL NOTES

SOURCES

- Barnes, G. C. and Lyall, J. B. *Report of the Land Revenue Settlement of the Kangra District, Punjab* (Lahore, 1889). Barnes 1852; Lyall 1875.
- Cunningham, A. 'Report of a Tour in the Punjab in 1878-1879', *Archaeological Survey of India Reports (1878-1879)*, XIV, 117-118.
- 'I could find no authoritative record of this family (Nurpur) as all the old records were said to have been destroyed during the fights with the Muhammadans and the Sikhs. I got, however, a short genealogy of the Rajas, which was written by Sheikh Muhammad Amir, the Kotwal of Nurpur, from the dictation of Devi Shah, a very old Brahmin who knew the family history. In 1846 Devi Shah was ninety-five years old. His list, so far as it can be tested, agrees remarkably well with the few names that can be gathered from the Muhammadan historians. The following is the list of names to which I have added approximate dates down to the time of Akbar, after whom the dates are generally correct . . .
- | | |
|------|----------------|
| 1667 | Man Dhata |
| 1700 | Daya Dhata |
| 1735 | Prithi Singh |
| 1770 | Fateh Singh |
| 1805 | Bir Singh |
| 1846 | Jaswant Singh. |
- Forster, G. *A Journey from Bengal to England* (London 1808).
- Goswamy, Karuna. 'Vaishnavism in the Punjab Hills and Pahari painting' (Doctoral thesis, Punjab University, Chandigarh, 1968).
- Griffin, L. H. and Massy, C. F. *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab* (Lahore 1940).
- Hugel, C. *Travels in Kashmir and the Panjab* (London, 1845).
- Hutchison, J. and Vogel, J. P. *History of the Panjab Hill States* (Lahore, 1933), I, 213-267.
- Vasudev, A. D. (ed.) *Punjab District Gazetteers, VII A: Kangra District, 1924-1925* (Lahore, 1926).
- Vigne, G. T. *Travels in Kashmir, Ladak, Iskardo* (London, 1842).

REIGNS AND PORTRAITS

Clan-name of ruling family, Pathania (after Pathankot, the first capital). Family suffixes: Dev, Mal, Chand, Dhata, Singh.

Hutchison and Vogel (HV) followed, except for the eighteenth century where Cunningham (with modifications) has been preferred.

1580-1613 BAS (BASU) DEV (i)

Son of Pahari Mal.

For greater safety transferred the state capital to Dhamera in the hills (renamed Nurpur by his son, Jagat Singh). Founded Nurpur Fort and built a Krishna temple within it.

Relations with Mughals: Continual rebellions against Mughal emperor Akbar, 1585, 1589, 1594, 1602, 1603, perhaps with connivance from Jahangir, Akbar's son. Pathankot annexed by Akbar. Loyal to Jahangir and often visited Mughal court. Portrayed with Jahangir in a fresco at Lahore Fort seen by Finch in 1611 (HV, 227). Commanded Mughal army against the Rana of Mewar.

Sons: Suraj Mal, Jagat Singh, Madhu Singh.

1613-1618 SURAJ MAL (ii)

Son of Basu Dev.

Relations with Mughals: Disloyal to Jahangir. Ordered to help Murtaza Khan Shaikh Farid in siege of Kangra Fort, but hindered operations. Later pardoned through intervention of Prince Khurram (Shah Jahan). Joined Prince Khurram's army in Deccan campaign, 1616-1617. Rebelled against Jahangir under the pretext of besieging Kangra, 1617. Defeated and fled to Chamba where he died. Joined by his younger brother, Madhu Singh, who had also rebelled at Kotla. The Krishna temple, founded by his father, Basu Dev, was demolished by the Mughals, 1618.

Portraits: (1) **Fig. 37 (Nurpur)**, Suraj Mal holding a cup. Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras. Nurpur, c.1760-1770 (after an earlier original).

(2) Archer (1963), fig. 45. Suraj Mal holding a hawk. Archer collection, London. Nurpur, c.1750 or later (after an earlier original).

1618-1646 JAGAT SINGH (iii)

Brother of Suraj Mal.

Ambitious and capable. During his rule Nurpur reached the zenith of its power. His deeds celebrated in poems and ballads. Changed name of Dhamera to Nurpur in honour of Jahangir.

External affairs: At first allied with Mughals, campaigned for them in Bengal, and helped them against his brother, Madhu Singh. Visited by Jahangir and Nur Jahan in 1622. After he had consolidated his position, he also rebelled against the Mughals. Supported Prince Khurram against his father, Jahangir, 1623 and 1626. His younger brother, Madhu Singh, was sent against him by Jahangir. Campaigned for Shah Jahan in Afghanistan, 1637, was rewarded with the Governorship of Bangash, 1639. Rebellion against Shah Jahan, 1640. Besieged in his three forts of Maukot, Nurpur and Taragarh by Murad Baksh, son of Shah Jahan. Pardoned, 1642. Served under Dara Shikoh (son of Shah Jahan) against Uzbeks in Kandahar, Balkh and Badakhshan. Died at Peshawar on return journey. Conquered Chamba (1623) with murder of its claimant Janardan and ruled it for 20 years. Controlled by Basohli, c.1614-1627. Bhupat Pal (Basohli, i) killed at Mughal court at Jagat Singh's instigation. Rajas of Guler and Suket imprisoned by the Mughals as a result of Jagat Singh's false accusations. Attempted to assassinate the Mandi ruler.

Sons: Rajrup Singh, Bhao Singh.

Religion: Associated in the popular mind with the introduction of ardent Vaishnavism into Nurpur. Is said to have returned from a visit to Mewar (Rajasthan), bringing with him an idol of Krishna, formerly installed in a temple at Chitor and said to have been worshipped by Mirabai. Erected a special double storeyed shrine (*thakurdwara*) in the Nurpur fort and installed this idol, known on account of its black marble as Brijraj Swami. Extolled by his poet, the bard Gambhir Rai, as 'a devotee of Vishnu and the Devi'. Portrayed with Vaishnava *tilak* marks.

Portrait: (1) **Fig. 1 (Nurpur)**, Jagat Singh worshipping Vishnu and Lakshmi. Chandigarh Museum. Nurpur, c.1680-1700.

1646-1661 RAJRUP SINGH (iv)

Son of Jagat Singh.

Absent from Nurpur, 1646-56 and for most of 1657-61.

External affairs: Carried on his father's military service for the Mughals in Afghanistan, Balkh and Badakhshan, 1646-53. Commanded Kahmard Fort, 1653-56. At Nurpur in 1656. During civil war (1657-61) accepted money from Dara Shikoh but eventually supported Aurangzeb. Used by Aurangzeb to coerce Raja of Garhwal to surrender Sulaiman Shikoh, Dara Shikoh's son who had sought shelter in 1660. Thanadar of Ghazni, 1661. Died there.

Bhao Singh, his brother, also served the Mughals, and received as fief a portion of Nurpur State with Shahpur as capital. Became a Muslim, 1686 and received from emperor the name of Murid Khan, which became his family name. The state of Shahpur continued separately until its conquest by the Sikhs in 1781.

Son: Man Dhata.

1661-1700 MAN DHATA (v)

1667-1700 (Cunningham)

Son of Rajrup Singh.

External affairs: Absent from Nurpur for most of his reign while serving the Mughals on the North-west frontier of India or residing at the Mughal court. Held charge of Bamian and Ghorband. Wrote rhapsodies in praise of his grandfather, Jagat Singh. Was the last of the Nurpur rajas to hold office under the Mughal emperors.

Son: Daya Dhata.

Religion: Founded a Krishna shrine (*thakurdwara*) at Fatehpur in Nurpur state and adorned it with murals of Krishna and his own portrait. Portrayed with Vaishnava *tilak* marks (K. Goswamy, 1968).

Portraits: (1) **Fig. 5 (Nurpur)**, Man Dhata at a window. National Museum, New Delhi. Nurpur, c.1690.

(2) Khandalavala (1958), no. 18. Man Dhata standing holding his sword slanting downwards. Inscribed in *takri* characters: *pathania raja man dhata*. Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras. Nurpur, c.1690.

(3) Listed Gupta (1922), D.111. Man Dhata standing holding a sword parallel to the ground. Inscribed in *takri* characters: *sri raja man dhata*. Central Museum, Lahore. Nurpur, c.1690. Chocolate background. Fur lapels.

(4) **Fig. 6 (Nurpur)**, Man Dhata leaning on a sword. National Museum, New Delhi. Nurpur, c.1690. Same person as in (1)-(3) above.

c.1770-c.1735 DAYA DHATA (vi)

Son of Man Dhata. Born c.1680-1685.

No details of reign recorded.

Sons: According to HV, Pirthi (Prithvi) Singh, Indar Singh, Mahan Singh, Sundar Singh (all by different ranis); but see (vii) where Fateh Singh is regarded as the eldest son of Daya Dhata and father of Pirthi and Indar Singh.

Artists: Golu (Goswamy, 1964).

Religion: A portrait with Vaishnava *tilak* marks (K. Goswamy, 1968).

Portraits: (1) **Fig. 7 (Jammu)**, Daya Dhata seated with Dalip Singh of Guler and Bhupal Dev of Jasrota. Victoria and Albert Museum. Jammu, c.1705. Daya Dhata in appearance aged about 20 years.

(2) **Fig. 9 (Nurpur)**, Daya Dhata standing with shield, quiver and sword worn parallel to the ground. Chandigarh Museum, Mankot collection. Nurpur, c.1710. Same person as in (1).

(3) **Fig. 11 (Nurpur)**, Daya Dhata dallying with one of his ranis. Gahlin collection, London. Nurpur, c.1700-1710. Same person as in (1) and (2) above.

c.1735-c.1770 FATEH SINGH (vii)

Note: According to the vernacular history (HV, I, 261) and to Cunningham (118), Fateh Singh was the son of Pirthi (Prithvi) Singh. Here, however, agreement ends — HV claiming that he predeceased Pirthi Singh, leaving a son, Bir Singh, who succeeded in 1789, Cunningham giving him a separate reign from 1770 to 1805. Neither authority appears to be correct and it is possible that in actual fact father and son have been confused, Fateh Singh (not Pirthi Singh) being the eldest son of Daya Dhata, and Pirthi Singh being the son (not the father) of Fateh Singh. This view is sup-

ported by the fact that Pirthi Singh was clearly still alive in 1800 since he was portrayed in a durbar scene of Raja Sansar Chand of Kangra (*Kangra*, no. 23 q.v.) of that date. He there appears as a man of about fifty to sixty years, a fact which would make his year of birth about 1740. Daya Dhata, however, died in c.1735. Irrespective therefore of whether Fateh Singh was Pirthi Singh's father, Daya Dhata certainly was not.

From the evidence of portraiture, one ruler is obviously missing and since Fateh Singh is credited by Cunningham's informant with a fairly long period of rule, it seems reasonable to assign the missing reign to him. In that view, Fateh Singh would have succeeded his father Daya Dhata in c. 1735, Pirthi Singh his father Fateh Singh in c.1770 and Bir Singh his father Pirthi Singh in 1805.

Indar Singh, said by HV to have been brother of Pirthi Singh and second son of Daya Dhata, is here regarded as second son of Fateh Singh. Two further brothers of Indar Singh are recorded by Griffin and Massy: Bijaor Singh and Surat Singh.

Marriages: Indar Singh to a Kangra princess. Since Indar Singh was born at about the same time as the heir apparent, Pirthi Singh, and there was doubt as to which was the elder, it was arranged that he should settle on his bride's estate of Reh in Kangra. Griffin and Massy state that he died in 1824. For the significance of this marriage, see Implications for Painting. Bijaor Singh and Surat Singh were also granted estates in Kangra.

External affairs: Although of crucial importance for painting, no details of this phase in Nurpur history have been recorded. We may assume, however, that the marriage of Indar Singh in Kangra had important side-effects and this may explain the close intimacy and friendship implied by portraits of his brother, Pirthi Singh, with Raja Tegh Chand (ruled 1774) of Kangra (see *Kangra*, nos. 5, 6).

Artists: The local Nurpur artist Golu is credited by local tradition with painting a series of Krishna murals in the *thakurdvara* (shrine) of Nurpur fort in about 1740 (Goswamy, 1964).

Portraits of second son, Indar Singh: (1) **Fig. 3 (Kangra).** Indar Singh visiting Gaje Singh of Hindur. Lambagraon collection, Kangra. Kangra, c.1770.

(2) **Fig. 4 (Kangra).** Indar Singh visiting Gaje Singh of Hindur. Chandigarh Museum, Bhawarna collection. Kangra, c.1770.

c.1770-c.1805 PIRTHI (PRITHVI) SINGH (viii)

Son of Fateh Singh (vii q.v.). Born c.1740.

External affairs: Independent of Mughals but threatened by the Sikhs. During his passage through the Hills in 1783 Forster noted: 'Nurpur enjoys a state of more internal quiet, is less molested by the Sicques and governed more equitably than any of the adjacent territories' (I, 270). In 1785 Nurpur lost part of its territory (Kotla) to Guler but gained Lakhampur from Basohli. In 1786 it became tributary to Sansar Chand of Kangra.

Marriage: to Darsanu, daughter of Raja Sampat Pal of Bhadrawah.

Son: Bir Singh.

Portraits: (1) **Fig. 25 (Nurpur).** The young Pirthi Singh shooting black buck. Chandigarh Museum. Nurpur. c.1755.

(2) **Fig. 36 (Nurpur).** Pirthi Singh standing with sword. Chandigarh Museum (on transfer from Central Museum, Lahore). Nurpur, c.1760.

(3) **Fig. 5 (Kangra).** Pirthi Singh seated with Tegh Chand (1774) of Kangra. Lambagraon collection, Kangra. Kangra, c.1774.

(4) **Fig. 6 (Kangra).** Pirthi Singh seated with Tegh Chand of Kangra and other Hill rulers in durbar. National Museum, New Delhi. Kangra, c.1774.

(5) **Fig. 23 (Kangra).** Pirthi Singh seated with Sansar Chand (1775-1823) of Kangra in durbar. Welch collection, Cambridge, Mass. Kangra, c.1800. Same person as in (2), (3) and (4) above.

c.1805-1846 BIR SINGH (ix)

Son of Pirthi (Prithvi) Singh. Born c.1785.

Wazir: Sham Singh Pathania.

External affairs: Nurpur peaceful until invasion of hills by Gurkhas (1805) and their defeat by Ranjit Singh (Sikhs) in 1809. 1806, Nurpur revolted against Kangra. 1812, Ranjit Singh levied tribute from Nurpur. 1815, the state surrendered to him. Bir Singh fled to Chamba and then to Ludhiana. Exile in Arki, 1816-1826, but in correspondence with his Wazirs. Attempted revolt against the Sikhs, 1826, but captured and imprisoned at Govindgarh, 1826-1833. Ransomed by his brother-in-law, Charat Singh of Chamba and based himself on Chamba, 1833-1846. Spent part of exile at Damthal. Met Vigne, 1835. On defeat of the Sikhs by the British (1846), Bir Singh raised an army, besieged Nurpur but died during the siege. Nurpur was then annexed by the British.

Marriage: to a sister of Charat Singh of Chamba.

Son: Jaswant Singh.

Character: Vigne (1842): 'I afterwards saw the ex-Rajah of Nurpur, Bir Singh, at Chumba. He is now an elderly man, short of stature, with a long face, large aquiline features, a countenance that would be remarkable anywhere, and a good natured, manly, but very melancholy expression. Many years ago, a Sikh general invaded his country, by order of the Maharajah. He defended himself successfully for several days, but Runjit sent to request an interview, and Bir Singh repaired to Lahore. There — such is his own story — he was threatened with annihilation from the mouth of a cannon, if he did not agree to the Maharajah's terms. The Sikhs say that Runjit demanded the evacuation of the castle of Nurpur, in order that it might be garrisoned by his own troops, and that he would allow the Rajah to keep possession of the country upon payment of a certain revenue; and that he was liberated upon these conditions. However, when he had obtained his liberty, he returned to Nurpur, collected a force, and tried to retake his castle; upon which the Sikhs returned with a strong force, and Bir Singh fled towards Chumba. But the Rajah of the latter place, whose sister he had married, fearing the resentment of Ranjit, refused to protect him; and he was again taken prisoner, confined for seven years at Amritsir, and regained his liberty only in a fit of compunction, which seized Runjit when he supposed himself to be on his death-bed. He again came to Chumba, and his brother-in-law the Rajah purchased his freedom for a lak of rupees. He has since passed many years at Simla and Sabathu, in the Company's territories, and his whole prayer, night and day, was for the death of Runjit, after which he expected that we should again reinstate him; and I am of opinion that it will some day be found necessary to do so' (I, 145-146).

'I visited poor Bir Singh of Chumba, and found him in a large building on the south side of the town. His anxiety to regain possession of his dominions was evident in every sentence that he uttered; and he continued to relate the history of his misfortunes, and to request my assistance, although I assured him over and over again that I was not an employee, either of the King or of the East India Company. "Reinstate me again at Nurpur!" he exclaimed; "promise me that you will not interfere in my domestic affairs; and I will do anything to shew my gratitude to the English, and commence by making a wide road for them, throughout my dominions"' (I, 157-158).

Religion: A supporter of the Vaishnava establishment of Damthal.

Portraits: (1) Werner (1950), pl. 5. Bir Singh smoking. Private collection, Switzerland. Guler, c.1810.

(2) Listed Gupta (1922), D.114. Bir Singh smoking. Chandigarh Museum (on transfer from Central Museum, Lahore). Guler, c.1810.

(3) Listed Gupta (1922), D.113. Bir Singh smoking. Inscribed in *nagari* characters: *raj bir singh*. Chandigarh Museum (on transfer from Central Museum, Lahore). Guler, c.1810.

(4) Listed Vogel (1909), D.XV. Bir Singh. Inscribed in *nagari* characters: *raja bir singh nurpuria*. Obtained by

Vogel in Kangra. Bhuri Singh Museum, Chamba. Chamba (?), c.1830.

(5) Khandalavala (1958), no. 190. Bir Singh seated with the Mahant of Damthal. Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras. By the painter Fattu, Mandi, c.1820.

Portrait of Wazir Sham Singh: (1) Randhawa (1955), fig. 2. Wazir Sham Singh smoking. Chandigarh Museum, Kartar Singh collection. Nurpur (?), c.1830.

1846-1898 JASWANT SINGH (x)

Son of Bir Singh.

External affairs: August 1848, rebellion against the British by Wazir Ram Singh, son of Wazir Sham Singh. Occupied Shahpur fort, declared Jaswant Singh raja but was routed by British forces. January 1849, a second revolt, this time aided by two Sikh regiments. Crushed by the British, Ram Singh fled to Kangra, was betrayed to the British and banished to Singapore. Jaswant Singh became a pensioner of the British.

Marriage: to a princess from Tehri Garhwal.

Son: Gagan Singh.

Note: During the second rebellion, Wazir Ram Singh's house was set on fire and his family collection of pictures was burnt. The ladies of the house rescued the fragments and these were still in the possession of his great-grandson, Mian Kartar Singh, at Basla Waziran two miles below Nurpur when I visited him with M. S. Randhawa in 1954. At that time, 'the collection numbered 144 pictures and although a fairly large number were obviously from outside states, others were clearly in a different category. None of these latter pictures was in a style so far connected with other centres of painting. Those that were suggestive of Basohli were none the less distinct. All had points in common. All, taken together, revealed a logical stylistic development and what was equally significant, all were parts of this same local collection. The only reasonable conclusion, therefore, was that these particular pictures were actual products of Nurpur and as such, important evidence for determining the local style' (Archer, 1955). For a reconstruction of Nurpur painting based on this evidence, see Archer and Randhawa (1955).

1898-? GAGAN SINGH (xi)

Son of Jaswant Singh. Born 1882.

Son: Devendra Singh.

DEVENDRA SINGH (xii)

Son of Gagan Singh. Born 1901.

Note: Raja Devendra Singh was in possession of an ancestral collection of pictures when I visited him at Nurpur with M. S. Randhawa in 1960. The pictures, some of them in a leather-bound album, others in a cloth-bound album, numbered 59 in all. They included pictures in Garhwal and Tehri Garhwal style perhaps brought to Nurpur by his grand-mother, a Tehri Garhwal princess; and a nucleus of pictures in styles distinct from those of other centres and here accepted as Nurpur (see present nos. 26, 27, 45, 49, 52 and 53). The whole collection was acquired from Raja Devendra Singh by the Chandigarh Museum in 1960.

IMPLICATIONS FOR PAINTING

Personality of rulers

Although a small state, Nurpur seems to have played a decisive role in Hill affairs in the seventeenth century, due partly to its strategic position at the entrance to the Kangra Valley, its great fort surrounded by precipices, the genius of its Rajas as generals and their special relationship with the Mughal court. From 1600-1620, they were closely connected with the Mughal Emperors — sometimes actively campaigning for them, at other times revolting. Jagat Singh (iii) was especially Mughal-minded, exploiting to the full his friendship with Shah Jahan, constantly campaigning for him and quickly becoming reconciled after rebelling in 1640. The fact that he was accepted at the Mughal court as a quite exceptional general and also as an astute courtier and politician enabled him to make Nurpur the foremost power in the Kangra Hills.

This position was maintained by his son and grandson (iv, v), but since all three rulers spent most of their reigns campaigning for the Mughals outside the state, it is unlikely that any considerable school of painting developed in their life-times. On the other hand, the devotion of all three to Vaishnavism may well have stimulated painting and it is significant that Man Dhata (v) founded a new shrine to Krishna at Fatehpur in Nurpur state and had it adorned with murals of Krishna and with his own portrait. It is possible that painting in Nurpur owes its development to Man Dhata's keenness.

In contrast to the seventeenth century which is dominated by the almost legendary Jagat Singh (iii), Nurpur in the eighteenth century produced no outstanding generals, but perhaps for this very reason, may have stimulated more painting. It is significant that, alone among the Hill States, it possessed in the first half of the eighteenth century a painter, Golu, whose fame was such that it is even now celebrated by a local festival (Goswamy, 1964). Golu is chiefly connected with Raja Daya Dhata (vi), son of Man Dhata, and although nothing positive is recorded of this Raja's character, an interest in love, sex and art can perhaps be inferred from his possession of a minimum of four official ranis and his appearance in the role of *nayaka* in a series of illustrations to the Sanskrit book on love, the *Rasamanjari* of Bhanu Datta (no. 14 q.v.). Of other Nurpur Rajas, little is known until we reach Bir Singh (ix), whose misadventures are recorded by Vigne.

The fact that the Vaishnava establishment at Damthal was in Nurpur State and that the cult of Rama and Krishna was the court religion from the seventeenth century onwards renders likely the production of pictures on Vaishnava themes during much of the eighteenth century.

Relations with other states

Basohli. In the first half of the seventeenth century, Basohli like other states suffered from Jagat Singh's impulse to dominate but from 1650 until 1785 when it ceded Lakhampur to Nurpur, it appears to have remained on cordial terms with Nurpur. The fact that a *Rasamanjari* series was painted at Nurpur in c.1710 and that its iconography was based on a similar series completed at Basohli for Raja Kirpal Pal (c.1678-1693) in 1695 suggests some inter-action between the two states in the sphere of painting.

Guler. No details, other than domination by Jagat Singh (iii), are recorded but a portrait (Jammu, no. 7) showing Daya Dhata seated beside Dalip Singh (1695-1741) of Guler in an attitude of submission to Raja Bhupal Dev of Jasrota (Chief Minister (?) of Jammu) suggests that in about 1705 Nurpur and Guler may have been actively allied. As immediate neighbours also, the two Rajas may have been on close visiting terms. If friendship between them is assumed, Nurpur influences on early Guler painting are possible.

Kangra. As with Guler, far from adequate details are recorded, but the marriage of Indar Singh, second son of Fateh Singh (vii) to a Kangra princess and his settlement with her on her estates of Reh in Kangra may well provide a vital clue to developments in painting. In two portraits (Kangra, nos. 5 and 6), Pirthi Singh (viii), Indar Singh's brother, is shown seated with Raja Tegh Chand (1774) of Kangra, the proximity of the two men suggesting that some particularly close relationship existed between them. In yet another portrait (Kangra, no. 23), Pirthi Singh (viii) has the place of honour immediately opposite to Tegh Chand's son and successor, Raja Sansar Chand (1775-1823) of Kangra. Finally, the presence in the Bhawarna collection, Kangra, of a large *Durgapath* series, in a style here connected with Nurpur, again suggests close relations between the two royal houses. Since there is no evidence of any strongly developed school of painting in Kangra before about 1760, whereas Nurpur had its own school of painting much earlier in the century, Nurpur could well have influenced early Kangra painting. Equally, when the Kangra school had

matured. Kangra influence may have affected painting at Nurpur.

Chamba. Like Basohli and Guler, Chamba also experienced the ignominy of dominance by Nurpur during the reign of Jagat Singh (iii), but seems to have freed itself in 1642. No further relations are recorded but a significant development was the marriage of Bir Singh (ix) of Nurpur to the sister of Charat Singh (1808-1844) of Chamba. On being ousted from Nurpur by the Sikhs in 1815, Bir Singh sought refuge in Chamba, left it almost at once, returned in 1826, was surrendered to the Sikhs but returned to Chamba and remained based on it from 1834 to 1846. If the Nurpur royal collection of pictures accompanied him to Chamba, this might explain Nurpur elements in later Chamba paintings.

Garhwal. There are no records of any close relations between the two states in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In the nineteenth century, on the other hand, Bir Singh (ix) appears to have lived for a time at Simla and Subathu and to have contacted Raja Sudarshan Shah (1815-1859) of Tehri Garhwal. The friendship which developed led to the marriage of Bir Singh's son, Jaswant Singh (xi) to a daughter of Sudarshan Shah. This marriage may explain the presence in the Nurpur Raj collection of pictures by Jwala Ram, son of the Garhwal painter, Mola Ram (Garhwal, no. 31 q.v.) and the presence in the Tehri Garhwal Raj collection of pictures in Nurpur style.

Mankot. No special relations recorded but in view of the Mankot interest in portraiture, portraits of Nurpur rulers could well have found their way into the Mankot royal collection. Moreover, since Mankot adjoined Basohli and was related to it by marriage at the end of the seventeenth century, Basohli's relations with Nurpur may have fostered Mankot-Nurpur contacts.

Bandralta. A neighbour of Mankot and perhaps on visiting terms with Nurpur. On the evidence of portraits, both Indra Dev of Bandralta and Pirthi Singh of Nurpur were keen hunters. A common interest in hunting as well as possibly a marital relationship could explain the presence of Bandralta pictures in the Nurpur Raj collection.

The Mughals. On present evidence, Nurpur contacts with the Mughals were mainly political and military and although Jahangir visited the state and interested himself in early Vaishnavism, there is no proof that Mughal painting of the seventeenth century had any considerable influence on early painting in Nurpur. It is possible, however, that the Mughal interest in sophisticated naturalism fostered a milder style than that current at Basohli and may have helped Nurpur to develop a distinctive un-Basohli type of painting. No Mughal artists are known to have settled there.

The Sikhs. These were a 'presence' in Nurpur during much of Pirthi Singh's reign (viii), though, on the evidence of the traveller Forster, not nearly so disruptive an element as in Jammu. The displacement of Sansar Chand of Kangra by Ranjit Singh as supreme overlord of the Hills in 1809 led however to the state's annexation by the Sikhs in 1815, the exile of Bir Singh (ix) and the collapse of the Nurpur court. The removal of the Sikhs in 1846 by the British freed the Nurpur royal family but robbed it of administrative power. During the period, 1815 to 1845, Sikh influences could well have affected Nurpur painting.

Rajasthan and Central India. No close or intimate relations with these areas are recorded but Jagat Singh (iii) is known to have visited Mewar and obtained from Chitor an idol of Krishna. It is possible that contacts with the Mewar court may have aroused interest at Nurpur in Mewar painting and perhaps have contributed to the rise of the independent Nurpur school.

III. PAINTING REVIEW OF LITERATURE

1905

Sastri, H. 'The ruined temple at Nurpur', *Archaeological Survey of India: Annual Report (1904-1905)*, 110.

Alludes to murals in the *thakurdvara* (shrine) in the Nurpur Fort and attributes them to the reign of Man Dhata (1661-1700).

1909

Vogel, J. P. *Catalogue of the Bhuri Singh Museum at Chamba* (Calcutta, 1909), 13.

'I have seen collections of Indian pictures both at Nurpur and Basohli which were once the seats of the Pathania and Balauria Rajas respectively'.

Lists an inscribed portrait of Bir Singh (ix, 1805-1846) of Nurpur (D. XV).

1916

Sastri, H. 'The Hamir Hath', *Journal Indian Art and Industry* (1916), XVII, no. 132, 35.

Notes the existence of a Nurpur Raj collection of pictures.

Coomaraswamy, A. K. *Rajput Painting* (Oxford, 1916). Pl. 26, 'Durga slaying an asura'. See no. 18.

1917

Brown, P. *Indian Painting* (Calcutta, 1917), 52.

'But the most virile offshoot of the Rajput school manifested itself in a group of small states in the Punjab Himalayas. This work is alluded to by experts as of the 'Kangra *kalm*', as the leading state was that of Kangra. A broader and more modern view of Indian painting has designated this development as Pahari or 'belonging to the mountains'. Nurpur, Basohli, Chamba and Jammu, all in close proximity to Kangra, were the homes of these painters and a considerable amount of work was produced by the artists of these places'.

1924

Gangoly, O. C. 'Collection of Professor William Rothenstein', *Rupam* (1924), nos. 19 and 20, 137-138.

Col. pl. (formerly Kramrish collection, Calcutta). 'The lady by a bed in a grove of trees'. See no. 14(1).

1925

Gill, E. 'Art and Love', *Rupam* (1925), no. 26, 1-8.

Pl. at p.8 (Rothenstein collection). 'The waiting lady' See no. 38.

1926

Coomaraswamy, A. K. *Catalogue of the Indian Collections in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: Part V, Rajput Painting* (Boston, 1926), 7, 238.

Attributes to Nurpur an equestrian portrait (no. 600) inscribed in Persian characters: *raja balbir singh* but identified, probably incorrectly, as Raja Bir Singh (ix, 1805-1846) of Nurpur.

Mehta, N. C. *Studies in Indian Painting* (Bombay, 1926), 60.

Alludes to Nurpur as one of six Punjab States 'affording generous patronage to the art of painting'.

Vasudev, A. D. *Punjab District Gazetteers: VII Part A Kangra District 1924-1925* (Lahore, 1926), 508.

'Among ancient monuments of secondary importance in the Kangra District, we may mention the *thakurdvara* of Fatehpur which is adorned with frescoes relating to the legend of Krishna and ascribed to Raja Man Dhata of Nurpur (A.D. 1667-1700)'.

1929

Ghose, A. 'The Basohli school of Rajput painting', *Rupam* (1929) no. 37, 9.

'My experience is that a large number of pictures which I here designate as Basohli have come from Basohli or from Nurpur which is to the south-east of Basohli. In the latter case, the inspiration was derived from Basohli'.

Reproduces a page (fig. 10) from a *Rasamanjari* series here attributed to Nurpur. See no. 14(vi). For a further painting, obtained by Ghose in Nurpur, see French (1931), present no. 10.

1931

French, J. C. *Himalayan Art* (Oxford, 1931), 15-18.

Reproduces and discusses pl. 3, 'Woman feeding cranes', obtained by Ajit Ghose (1929) 'from Nurpur'. The first published attribution of a painting to Nurpur. See no. 10.

'Plate III comes from Nurpur, in the Kangra Valley. It is of the same period as Plates I and II or may be even earlier, and is another example of the strange archaic art, frozen into rigidity to resist the Mahomedan invasions, which met the Moguls when they first arrived in India. The design is good, the line is strong and the whole scene is permeated with certain mysterious solemnity. Nurpur, the home of this picture, is a great fort frowning down on the plains at the entrance to the Kangra Valley, with a small town nestling under its ramparts half-way up the hill. The streets of this little town are flights of steps and narrow cobbled alleys. The whole effect is medieval to a singular degree. The walls of the castle are enormously thick, but in many places natural precipices make them superfluous. Inside the castle is a ruined temple, with carvings of the exploits of Krishna, including female figures in a costume and style similar to Plates I, II, III and IVa. This temple was built by Raja Basu of Nurpur who commenced to reign in 1580' (15).

1933

Hutchison, J. and Vogel, J. P. *History of the Panjab Hill States* (Lahore, 1933), I, 218-219.

Notes that 'the principal structures in the Nurpur fort are a ruined temple, probably erected by Raja Basu (i, 1580-1613) and a *thakurdvara*, said to have been built by Raja Man Dhata (v, 1661-1700)'.

'The foundations of the temple had become completely covered up with debris and its existence forgotten when in 1886 it was accidentally discovered and excavated. Only the basement portion remains which is profusely decorated with carvings in the mixed Hindu-Mughal style which was in vogue in the reign of Akbar. These carvings do not show any signs of great age and their freshness and freedom from decay prove that the edifice must have had only a short term of existence before its demolition. It was probably destroyed after the rebellion of Suraj Mal (ii, 1613-1618).

'The *thakurdvara* does not merit any special notice. It is in the shape of an audience hall and the main feature is the fresco ornamentation representing scenes in Krishna's life and a Hindu Raja in one of the spandrels, probably Man Dhata, the founder of the shrine. The image of Krishna, which the building contains, is of black marble and good workmanship.'

For further discussions and illustrations of the Krishna murals, see Aryan (1964) and Goswamy (1964).

1948

Gray, B. *Rajput Painting* (London, 1948). Col. pl. 10. 'The expectant heroine'. Here attributed to Nurpur. See no. 38.

French, J. C. 'Kangra Frescoes', *Art and Letters* (1948), XXII, no. 2, 57-59, pls. 1 and 2.

Reproduces a photograph taken by him at Nurpur, c.1925 showing painted doors in the Nurpur Fort (pl. 1).

'Plate I shows painted wooden doors in a temple in Nurpur, probably of the eighteenth century. As in the usual Kangra painting, there is Mogul influence. But the floral designs in the upper panels are more free than is usual in Mogul work of this time, and the birds are more lively and vital. The maidens in the central panels have the Kangra grace and elegance. They have an air of solemn expectancy, for they are worshippers of Krishna' (58).

Also reproduces a mural (pl. 2) in the *ashram* of the Manthant of Damthal (Nurpur state), 'a centre for the devotees of Krishna'. Regards this mural as in 'typical Kangra style' of the nineteenth century.

1950

Gray, B. 'Painting', *The Art of India and Pakistan* (ed. L. Ashton, London, 1950).

Pl. 97a. 'The lady and the cat'.

Pl. 98a. 'The confidantes intervene'.

Pl. 98b. 'The lady and the garlands'.

Pl. 99a. 'The weary traveller'.

All four pictures are here regarded as from a single *Rasamanjari* series executed at Nurpur, c.1710. See no. 14(2-5).

Werner, A. *Indian Miniatures* (New York, 1950). Col. pl. 5. Raja Bir Singh (ix, 1805-1846).

1951

Goetz, H. 'The Background of Pahari-Rajput Painting', *Roopa Lekha* (1951), XXII, no. 1, 3-6.

Emphasises the strong political and social ties between Nurpur and the Mughal court in the 16th and 17th centuries and propounds the thesis that 'it was probably at Nurpur that Rajput painting began its career in the Himalaya'.

1952

Archer, W. G. *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills* (London, 1952).

The following are here regarded as Nurpur.

Fig. 62. 'The lady on the terrace'. See no. 32.

Fig. 64. 'Ruler entertained by dancing-girls'. See no. 28.

Fig. 65. 'The lady escorted to her lover'. See no. 29.

Fig. 67. 'Durga slaying Mahishasura'. See no. 35.

Fig. 68. 'Sultan Ibrahim Adham fed by angels in the wilderness'. See no. 55(1).

1953

Anand, M. R. *Marg* (1953), VI, no. 1. Col. pl. (opposite p.6). 'Lady awaiting her lover'. See no. 28(1).

1954

Randhawa, M. S. *Kangra Valley Painting* (New Delhi, 1954).

'Little has been written about Nurpur, an important centre of Kangra painting. Some paintings ascribed to the reign of Prithvi Singh (1735-1789) are extant. Most of them belong to the reign of Bir Singh (1789-1846), a contemporary of Prakash Chand and Sansar Chand'.

[For revised dates for Prithvi Singh (c.1770-c.1805) and Bir Singh (c.1805-1846), see Historical Notes.]

Reproduces in colour three pictures from the ancestral collection of Mian Kartar Singh of Nurpur (Archer, 1955). Of these, one (col. pl. 6 'Princess smoking', see no. 34(1)) is here accepted as Nurpur; and two (col. pls. 24 and 25) are here ascribed to (Garhwal; nos. 23(1,2) q.v.). See Implications for Painting (Garhwal).

A further picture, pl. 21, 'Love's burning fever', is here attributed to Nurpur. See no. 33(14).

1955

Archer, W. G. 'Some Nurpur Paintings', *Marg* (1955), VIII, no. 3, 8-18.

A first attempt to reconstruct Nurpur painting in the light of the ancestral collection of Mian Kartar Singh of Nurpur, descendant of Wazir Ram Singh, whose house was burnt by British shells during a rebellion in 1849. Of the eighteen pictures reproduced, ten are from this collection, the remaining eight being included for comparative purposes.

The following illustrations from the collection are here accepted as Nurpur:

Fig. 7. 'Lady with a confidante'. See no. 13.

Fig. 8. 'Ladies in a landscape'. See no. 14(vii).

Fig. 10. 'Lady in a storm of rain'. See no. 16(1).

Fig. 11. 'Lady at her toilet assisted by a maid'. See no. 26(1).

Fig. 12. 'Lady smoking against a pink hill-side'. See no. 31(2).

Fig. 14. 'Lady fondling a pigeon'. See no. 32(1).

Fig. 15. 'The disconsolate lady'. See no. 31(1).

Of other paintings included for comparison, the following (figs. 1, 2, 9, 16 and 17) are here accepted as Nurpur. For other illustrations, see Kahlur (Bilaspur), Kangra and Kulu.

Randhawa, M. S. 'Some Nurpur Paintings', *Marg* (1955), VIII, no. 3, 19-25.

A further discussion of Nurpur painting with special reference to the Bir Singh period (c.1805-1846).

Reproduces the following six further examples from the Mian Kartar Singh collection, Nurpur:

Fig. 1. 'Portrait of a Sikh'.

Fig. 2. 'Portrait of Wazir Sham Singh'. Here accepted as Nurpur, c.1830.

Fig. 3. 'Princess smoking' (Randhawa, 1954). Nurpur, see no. 34(1).

Figs. 4, 5. 'Elopement' and 'Prince making merry' (Randhawa, 1954). Here attributed to Garhwal (q.v.).

Fig. 6. 'Radha dancing before Krishna'. Nurpur, see no. 57.

1956

Archer, W. G. *Indian Painting* (London, 1956).

Col. pl. 15. Here regarded as Kangra (but with Nurpur influence).

Randhawa, M. S. 'Kangra Artists', *Roopa Lekha* (1956), XXVII, no. 1, 10.

Records the genealogy of Lakshman Das, a painter, of Ustehar (Kangra district), whose ancestors had 'worked at Nurpur. Sujanpur as well as in Sirmur'.

1958

Khandalavala, K. and Chandra, M. 'The Rasamanjari in Basohli painting', *Lalit Kala* (1956-1957, but published 1958), nos. 3 and 4, 26-38.

Figs. 7-10. From a *Rasamanjari* series here ascribed to Nurpur and dated c.1710. See nos. 14(5), 14(3), 14(8), 14(9).

Fig. page 30. From the same series. See no. 14(7).

Khandalavala, K. *Pahari Miniature Painting* (Bombay, 1958).

Reviews existing materials, contesting, however, attributions to Nurpur by Archer and Randhawa (1955). Mistakes the Fatehpur murals for those in the Nurpur fort. Alludes to a Nurpur artist, Vaikunth, painting at Mandi in 1840 for Raja Balbir Sen.

The following illustrations are here regarded as Nurpur:

Fig. 8. Jahangir and the Gosains. See no. 2.

Fig. 22. 'A love scene'. See no. 30(1).

Fig. 42. 'Radha dancing before Krishna'. See no. 43.

Fig. 62. 'Krishna arriving at Radha's house'. From the Nurpur *Rasamanjari* series. See no. 14(ii).

Fig. 66. Krishna caressing Radha's feet. See no. 38(1).

No. 18. Raja Man Dhata of Nurpur. See no. 6(1).

Nos. 24, 25, 28-30. From the Nurpur *Rasamanjari* series. See no. 14.

No. 56. 'Lady fondling a pigeon'. See no. 32(1).

No. 79. 'Radha dancing before Krishna'. See no. 57.

No. 151. 'Lady in a storm of rain'. See no. 16(1).

No. 153. 'Lady smoking against a pink hillside'. See no. 31(2).

No. 156. 'Lady and confidante on a terrace'. Compare no. 32.

No. 159. Wazir Sham Singh (Randhawa, 1955).

No. 174. 'Delivering the message'. See no. 33(1).

No. 176. 'Lady with a pitcher'. See no. 31.

No. 177. 'The expectant heroine'. See no. 38.

No. 178. 'Lady smoking'. See no. 34(1).

No. 183. 'Lady on a terrace'. See no. 32.

1959

Randhawa, M. S. *Basohli Painting* (New Delhi, 1959).

Stresses the un-Basohli character of certain pictures in the Mian Kartar Singh collection, Nurpur and defends the

reconstruction of Nurpur painting proposed in Archer (1955).

The following illustrations are here ascribed to Nurpur: Col. pl. 27. 'The vigil of the expectant heroine'. See no. 56(1).

Col. pl. 38. 'A damsel I saw supremely fair'. See no. 57.

1960

Archer, W. G. *Indian Miniatures* (London, New York, 1962).

Col. pl. 71. 'Swami Narain of Damthal (Nurpur) drinking poison'. See no. 2.

Pl. 72. 'Welcoming the lover'. From the Nurpur *Rasamanjari* series. See no. 14(10).

Pl. 73. 'Radha seated with Krishna'. See no. 33.

1961

Goswamy, B. N. 'The Pahari Artists', *Roopa Lekha* (1961), XXXII, no. 2, 31-50.

Records Golu Chitera as the artist of the murals in the Brijraj Swami temple, Nurpur fort, and gives anecdotes of his career. Refers to an album of miniatures in the Damthal shrine as signed by a painter, Nathu Rajanaka (Raina) of Nurpur.

1962

Lee, S. E. *Rajput Painting* (New York, 1962).

Col. pl. 60. 'Durga slaying an asura'. See no. 18.

1963

Barrett, D. *Painting of India* (London, 1963), 167, 168.

Discusses the 'Nurpur' *Rasamanjari* series in the context of Basohli painting and concedes that 'though the iconography closely follows that of the earlier sets, the style is quite individual with its sober palette, dull red, grey and sage-green predominating and women with high, rounded foreheads. The attribution of these pictures to Nurpur by M. S. Randhawa and W. G. Archer on the basis of a local collection may be considered premature but they certainly stand apart from the main stream of Basohli painting'.

Reproduces (p.168) an example from this series in the British Museum. See no. 14(11).

For arguments in support of the Nurpur attribution, see no. 14.

Archer, Mildred, Archer, W. G. and Lee, S. E. *Indian Miniatures from the Mildred and W. G. Archer Collection* (Washington, 1963).

Fig. 45. Portrait of Raja Suraj Mal (ii, 1613-1618) of Nurpur. See Historical Notes and no. 37(1).

1964

Aryan, K. C. 'Nurpur Murals', *Marg* (1964), XVII, no. 3, 61.

Publishes with seven illustrations (one in colour) a series of murals on the *Slaying of Kansa by Krishna* in the Brijraj Swami temple, Nurpur Fort and records the local tradition that they are the work of the painter Golu and were executed in the reign of Raja Daya Dhata (1700-1735) or that of his successor.

These murals are here dated c.1740. For their relevance to miniature painting in Nurpur, see no. 18.

Goswamy, B. N. 'Golu, the Nurpur Artist', *Marg* (1964), XVII, no. 3, 62.

Records local Nurpur traditions concerning this artist and his murals in the Brijraj Swami temple, Nurpur fort. Dates the murals a little later than Daya Dhata's reign, but stresses the Nurpur tradition that Golu served this raja.

[Golu's father, as noted in a *panda's bahi* (priest's register) was Devidasa (Goswamy, private communication, 1966). For the identification of Devidasa with the Devidasa who painted the 1695 *Rasamanjari* series for Kirpal Pal at Basohli, see Basohli and present no. 14.]

1965

Goswamy, B. N. 'The Traveller Von Ujfalvy and Pahari Painting', *Roopa Lekha* (1965), XXXIV, nos. 1 and 2, 17-18.

Cites the following excerpt from the French account of Marie de Ujfalvy-Bourdon, *Voyage d'une Parisienne dans L'Himalaya Occidentale* (Paris, 1887): 'Near the town (of Nurpur) lie the ruins of the palace of the last Raja, with four towers still standing; one can see there a superb hall with painted surfaces in Indian style. The town itself is ancient and not more considerable than Kangra'.

Points out that 'these must have been the beautiful frescoes ascribed locally to the painter Golu and referred to as *Kans ka akhara* in the *thakurdwara* of Brijraj Swami inside the ruined fort'.

Archer, Mildred, and Archer, W. G. *Romance and Poetry in Indian Painting* (Wildenstein, London, 1965). Pl. 45. 'The lady on the terrace' (Archer, 1952). See no. 32.

Welch, S. C. and Beach, M. C. *Gods, Thrones and Peacocks* (New York, 1965).

Pl. 65 (p.103). Raja Sansar Chand (1775-1823) in darbar with Raja Pirthi Singh (ix, 1789-1805) of Nurpur. See *Kangra*, no. 23.

For the significance of this darbar scene especially in relation to the disposition of the main figures, the chronology of Pirthi Singh's reign and the nature of Kangra-Nurpur relations, see *Reigns and Portraits*, viii.

1966

Goswamy, B. N. 'Re-reading of some *Takri* Inscriptions in Khandalavala's *Pahari Miniature Painting*', *Roopa Lekha* (1966), XXXV, nos. 1 and 2, 70.

Corrects a mis-reading by Khandalavala (1958) of three inscriptions on a picture of the Emperor Jahangir administering 'poison' to Gosain Narayan of Pindori and identifies the occasion. See no. 2.

Goswamy, B. N. 'A Painter's letter to his royal patron'. *Journal American Oriental Society* (1966), LXXXVI, no. 2, 209-216.

Gives documentary evidence for an early 19th century artists' family from Nurpur comprising at least three brothers — Vaikuntha, Shiba and Moti. Recalls that 'Vaikuntha of Nurpur' painted a picture of Raja Balbir Sen of Mandi in 1840 (Khandalavala (1958), 335).

Suggests that the painter Shiba, the writer of a letter to Raja Sansar Chand of Kangra, complaining of discouragement at the Kangra court, was a member of this Nurpur family.

Beach, M. C. 'Rajput and related paintings', *The Arts of India and Nepal: the Nasli and Alice Heeramanek collection* (Boston, 1966).

Fig. 188. 'Ladies playing a game'. Here ascribed to Nurpur. See no. 32(2).

1967

Waldschmidt, E. and Waldschmidt R. L. *Miniatures of Musical Inspiration in the collection of the Berlin Museum of Indian Art. Part I: Ragamala Pictures from the Western Himalaya Promontory* (English edition, Wiesbaden, 1967).

Col. pl. A. 'Prince and lady seated gazing at each other, each holding a bird'. Illustration of *Kausa (Kasat) Raga, putra* (son) of *Malkaus Raga*. From a Nurpur *Ragamala* series, horizontal format. Nurpur, c.1720-1730. See no. 15(1).

Randhawa, M. S. and Bhambri, S. D. 'Basohli Paintings of Bhanudatta's *Rasamanjari*', *Roopa Lekha* (1967), XXXVI, nos. 1 and 2, 1-124.

Figs. 1, 15, 19, 21, 29, 31, 38-42, 45, 55, 57, 60, 61, 63, 77, 78. From a *Rasamanjari* series in the Lalbhai collection, Ahmedabad. Here ascribed to Nurpur. See no. 14(12-27).

Goswamy, Karuna. 'The Vaishnava Legend of Jahangir-Narayanji in History and Painting', *Roopa Lekha* (1967), XXXVI, nos. 1 and 2, 130-136.

Identifies the picture, reproduced Khandalavala (1958), fig. 8 and Archer (1960), col. pl. 71, as an encounter between the Gosains Bhagvan and Narain of Pindori and

the Emperor Jahangir. Elucidates the incident and proposes a date for the picture 'early in the seventeenth century' (later (1968) corrected to 'the second half of the seventeenth century but no later'). See no. 2.

1968

Archer, W. G. and Binney, E. *Rajput Miniatures from the Collection of Edwin Binney 3rd* (Portland, Oregon, 1968).

Attempts a revised reconstruction of painting at Nurpur in the light of materials available since 1955.

Reproduces the following seven pictures here accepted as Nurpur:

Figs. 76a and b. From the 'Nurpur' *Rasamanjari* series. See no. 14(28-29).

Fig. 77. 'The final battle'. From a *Bhagavata Purana* series. See no. 15.

Fig. 78. *Karnati Ragini*. From a *Ragamala* series. See no. 15(2).

Fig. 79. 'Viewing of the moon'. See no. 38(2).

Figs. 80a and b. From a *Nayaka Nayika* series. See nos. 55(2) and 56(2).

Goswamy, Karuna. 'Vaishnavism in the Punjab Hills and Pahari Painting' (Doctoral thesis, Punjab University, Chandigarh).

Discusses the development of Vaishnavism at Pindori (eight miles from Gurdaspur) and at Damthal, an offshoot of Pindori, near Pathankot, Nurpur State.

Stresses the significance of Jagat Singh (1618-1646) of Nurpur as the first patron of ardent Vaishnavism in the state and discusses in detail five paintings:

1. 'Jagat Singh approaching a Vaishnava image'. See no. 1.
2. 'The ordeal by poison' incident connected with the Emperor Jahangir and Narayanji, chief disciple of Bhagwanji, founder of the Vaishnava establishment at Pindori. See no. 2.
3. 'The snapping of the bow'. See no. 8.
4. 'Gosain Narain of Pindori entwined by a cobra'. See no. 20.
5. 'The two Gosains, by the painter Gur Baksh'. See no. 21.

Lal, Mukandi. *Garhwal Painting* (New Delhi, 1968).

Col. pls. 20-31. From a *Krishna Rukmini* series, formerly in the collection of Balak Ram Sah of Srinagar but here regarded as Nurpur, having possibly reached the Tehri Garhwal royal collection on the occasion of the wedding of Sudarshan Shah's daughter to Jaswant Singh, son of Pirthi Singh (1805-1846). See no. 33(2-13).

1969

Ohri, V. S. 'The Origins of Pahari Painting', *Roopa Lekha* (1969), XXXVIII, nos. 1 and 2, 109-119.

Stresses the part played by Raja Basu Dev (1580-1613) of Nurpur in quelling the revolt of Rana Amar Singh (1597-1621) of Mewar against the Mughal emperor Jahangir and the presence of strong Mewar influence in sculptures on the Krishna temple in the Nurpur Fort. In the light of these circumstances, regards early Nurpur painting of the mid-seventeenth century as a product of Rajasthani influence from Mewar and suggests that these influences may have spread, in turn, to Basohli.

Figs. 1-6. Sculptures in stone on the plinth of the Krishna temple, Nurpur Fort, early 17th century.

1971

Goswamy, B. N. 'A Document of Nurpur Painting', *Roopa Lekha* (1971), no. 1, 38-43.

Publishes (1) a legal indemnity bond executed by Sangatia, a painter of the Basota family of Nurpur, dated 1720 and (2) an entry in a priest's register at Khurukshetra dated 1828 recording the name of his son as Ram Jakhru and that of his grandson as Wasti Ram — both of them also painters of Nurpur. Notes that at the time of the execution of the bond, Sangatia was working outside Nurpur State at the Jogi establishment of Jakhbar, seven miles from Pathankot.

Claims that 'the Jakhbar document points to Nurpur as

being a serious and major centre of art, considering that Sangatia was not only a painter from Nurpur but also because we have evidence about another, and very large, family of artists of Nurpur to which the painter Golu belonged' (Goswamy, 1964, q.v.).

IV. PAINTING: CATALOGUE AND RECONSTRUCTION

PHASE ONE: 1650-1735

1 Raja Jagat Singh (1618-1646) of Nurpur worshipping Vishnu and Lakshmi. Nurpur, c.1680-1700.

175 x 141 mm; with border 199 x 164 mm. Red border with portions of the picture projecting into it.

Inscribed on the reverse in *takri* characters: *sri raj jagat seng pathania*.

Chandigarh Museum, Mankot Raj collection.

Description: Jagat Singh in a crimson *dhoti* and red scarf stands barefoot before a little image of the four-armed Vishnu and his consort Lakshmi. The image is at the apex of a silver hour-glass shaped pedestal and is covered by a royal umbrella with bent handle and the image of a tiny peacock. Below, curled round a lower pedestal are two cobras. A red and crimson canopy rises above the image on thin stick-like poles. Two ropes, attached to its two right-hand corners, are fastened to two nails which enter the background from the upper border. Behind Jagat Singh stands an attendant in red *dhoti* with white fly-whisk. Background deep yellow.

Discussion: A picture of crucial importance for Nurpur painting since it shows one of the greatest rulers of Nurpur poised for worship before an image expressive of the Vaishnavism which he himself had introduced into the state. During a visit to Mewar in Rajasthan, Jagat Singh induced the Rana to part with an idol of Brijraj Swami, formerly installed in a shrine at Chitor and said to have been worshipped by the Vaishnava poetess, Mira Bai. This idol was brought to Nurpur and at Jagat Singh's instance was installed in a newly built shrine in the Nurpur fort. Jagat Singh owed his Vaishnava leanings to Bhagwanji, mahant of Pindori, an establishment eight miles from Gurdaspur, founded in c.1621, and to his chief disciple, Narayanji, who underwent a famous 'ordeal by poison' on the insistence of the Emperor Jahangir (see no. 2). As recorded by the Nurpur bard, Gambhir Rai, Jagat Singh was renowned as 'a devotee of Vishnu and the Devi', his devotion to the latter perhaps accounting for his fabulous successes in war.

The enigmatic presence in the picture of two cobras is explained by Karuna Goswamy, who points out that 'the *kula devta* (family godling) of the Pathania Rajas of Nurpur is the Naga and that, in spite of the introduction of Vaishnavism, the reverence paid by them to the *kula devta* was undiminished. To this day, at the shrine of Nagabari, sacred to snakes, the Pathania families take their children for the *mundan* or tonsure ceremony. Here, then, the artist has brought together two elements in the worship of Raja Jagat Singh: Vishnu and Lakshmi who receive his prayers but also the snakes to whom part of his reverence is due. This whole circumstance is of some significance because this painting could have been executed only by an artist who was thoroughly familiar not only with Nurpur tradition but also with the personal faith of Raja Jagat Singh' (K. Goswamy, 1968). Although, at first sight, the portrait is seemingly contemporary — on account of its wealth of intimate detail and unaffected posture — it is more likely to have been a posthumous study designed to commemorate the Vaishnava cult's first royal patron. It is significant that Jagat Singh's grandson, Man Dhata (1661-1700), shared his grandfather's Vaishnava enthusiasms and himself commissioned murals for a new shrine to Krishna which he

founded at Fatehpur in Nurpur State. These murals included a portrait of Man Dhata himself and the present study may well owe its genesis to his own interest in painting. Man Dhata was devoted to Jagat Singh's memory and even wrote rhapsodies in his praise. It is likely that the ingredients of worship, illustrated in the picture, remained constant at Nurpur for several reigns and hence could have been readily incorporated by a later artist.

Apart from its Nurpur subject-matter and intimate association with Nurpur religion, the picture is ascribable to Nurpur on account of various details shared by it with other pictures, here regarded as of Nurpur origin. In this connection, compare the wriggling treatment of Jagat Singh's scarf (repeated in 7(i)), the features of the attendant (comparable to those of figures in 4 and 8), the thin stick-like poles (2) and the use of deep yellow, red and crimson as in 2.

Example for comparison: (1) Raja Alam Chand (viii, 1697-1700) of Kangra worshipping emblems of Vishnu. Inscribed at the top in *takri* characters: *sri raja alam chand*. Chandigarh Museum, Mankot collection. Nurpur, c.1680-1700. Similar in style to no. 1, and perhaps part of a portrait series of Vaishnava devotees. Yellow background. White dress. Alam Chand holding a manuscript and wearing a rosary. Before him an image of Garuda on a pedestal, a large pipal leaf with sheaf of grass, a lamp with wick and a conch-shell on a stand. Like Jagat Singh in 1, bare-footed. Behind, a servant in white *jama* with red sword and peacock-feather fan.

2 The ordeal by liquor. Nurpur, c.1680-1700.

210 x 315 mm (with border). Red border with narrow black margin and white rules and with portions of the picture projecting into it.

Inscribed in *takri* characters in the top border above the three main figures: (1) *sri patsah jahagir* (2) *sri gusai narainj(i)* and (3) *sri gusai bhagwanj(i)* 'The Emperor Jahangir, Gosain Narain (Narayan), Gosain Bhagwan'. National Museum, New Delhi.

Published: Khandalavala (1958), fig. 8; also reproduced Archer (1960), col. pl. 71; Goswamy, Karuna (1968), fig. 24. For a discussion of the inscriptions, correcting a misreading by Khandalavala (1958), see Goswamy (1966a).

Description: A royal figure, intended to represent the Mughal Emperor Jahangir, sits under an olive-green canopy with red frills supported by four string-like poles, holding in his hands a white cup and a white bottle of liquor. He wears a blackish green coat with fur lapels and a dull gold *jama* and leans against a dark red bolster. Behind him stands an attendant in white *jama* holding a white fly-whisk. In front of him sit two figures each wearing long conical hats surmounted by small umbrella-shaped tops. The first, clad in a white *jama* and holding a rosary, is shown drinking from a cup, administered to him by an attendant in mauve *jama*. The other, wearing a dark orange *jama* and holding a *vina*, sits behind him. An attendant on the right in white *jama* with thin red stripes waves a fly-whisk above him. Dark red carpet. Background deep orange-yellow.

Discussion: A picture of special relevance to Nurpur since it illustrates the famous encounter which occurred in 1621 between Jahangir, when touring in the neighbourhood of Nurpur, and the two gosains, Bhagwan, mahant of Pindori and his chief disciple, Narain. The encounter was popularly believed to have involved the administering of six cups of poison to Narain, all of which he consumed without ill effects, and the subsequent administering of a single cup of the same poison to an elephant which died immediately (Khandalavala, 1958; Archer, 1960). This version has since been shown to be apocryphal. No poison and no elephant were, in fact, involved, neither was the ordeal to test Narain's ascetic powers. It is now clear that the liquid administered was not poison but hard liquor. The purpose was to make the gosain break a self-imposed vow of silence and the upshot was the gosain's collapse without, however, the breaking of the vow. Jahangir noted this incident in his *Memoirs* and was so impressed by it that he endowed the Pindori establishment with a temple. For a discussion of

the incident with detailed references, see Karuna Goswamy (1968).

Such an incident, involving both the Mughal Emperor and a newly founded Vaishnava settlement had important repercussions in Nurpur since it not only strengthened Jagat Singh's Vaishnava leanings but may have indirectly led to the establishment of a subordinate Vaishnava shrine at Damthal in Nurpur state. This was founded by Hari Ram, a disciple of the same Narain who underwent the ordeal. The incident would have special appeal in Nurpur and could thus have been one of the first subjects to be treated in Nurpur painting.

In style the picture has much in common with 1, sharing its rich palette, glowing background, starkly posed figures, thin poles and rickety canopy. The white and mauve *jamas* seen in three of the figures can be paralleled in 7. A significant feature is the wearing by the Emperor Jahangir of a coat with fur lapels. No instance is known of this costume being an actual dress of Jahangir but it tallies exactly with the fur-lapelled coat habitually worn by Man Dhata (see 5, 6). The depiction of Jahangir in Man Dhata's characteristic type of coat strengthens the supposition that like 1, this picture must also certainly have been painted in his reign.

3 Pancham Raga, son of Bhalrava Raga. From a Hills *Ragamala* series. Nurpur, c.1680-1700.

193 x 168 mm; with border 210 x 180 mm. Yellow border with black rule, a small portion of a tree projecting into it. British Museum, French collection.

Description: A prince, wearing a Jahangir-type turban, sits on a rug on an open hill-side stroking the chin of a doe which strains its head towards him. Beside the animal are two other does and beyond it is a black buck turned as if to bound away but glancing abruptly backwards as it goes. Behind the prince is an attendant in white *jama* waving a white fly-whisk. Red background, a tree with writhing white branches and dark foliage. In the foreground, shallow clumps of grass.

Discussion: Broadly similar in style to 1 and 2 and with the same stark arrangement of figures against a bold plain background. As in Guler, flat backgrounds in a brilliant scarlet red were to prove a normal convention in Nurpur painting. The features of the prince resemble those of Raja Jagat Singh (1618-1646) and it is possible that, as in 1, hero-worship by Man Dhata of his much-admired grandfather may account for the latter's impersonation of a *Raga* in the present figure. For a treatment of the same subject, but in a radically different style, see Basohli, no. 14(ii).

4(i, ii) Two fragments of paintings from a Radha Krishna series. Nurpur, c.1690-1700.

Ancestral collection of Mian Kartar Singh, Nurpur. Photographed by W.G.A. during a visit to Nurpur with M. S. Randhawa and Mulk Raj Anand, 1954.

Both paintings were in the family collection of Wazir Ram Singh Pathania, minister of Raja Jaswant Singh (x, 1846-1898) and were badly burnt when his house was shelled by the British in 1849 (Archer, Randhawa, 1955).

4(i) Radha struggling with Krishna.

Right-hand border and half of upper border intact. Left-hand side of painting destroyed by fire.

Description: Krishna with peacock crown sits on a low broad stool, forcibly embracing Radha who looks away. Above them droop the branches of a flowering tree. At the top four crinkly lines of cloud. Plain background.

4(ii) The claiming of toll.

Right-hand border intact, the remaining borders destroyed by fire. The right-hand half of the picture fairly intact.

Description: Radha, bearing on her head a basket with three pots of curd, is waylaid by Krishna, who lifts an arm to deprive her of them. Plain background.

Discussion: The first of a group of paintings of special importance for the identification of painting in Nurpur because of their Nurpur provenance (the ancestral collec-

tion of Mian Kartar Singh of Basla Waziran, two miles from Nurpur, great-grandson of Wazir Ram Singh Pathania, minister of Raja Jaswant Singh of Nurpur and head of a revolt against the British in 1849) and secondly on account of their distinctive style, unconnected with any other centre of painting but comparable in character to other pictures, here accepted as Nurpur. The treatment of feet and facial features, especially those of Radha, can be paralleled in the attendant (no. 1) and the sparse positioning of figures against a stark plain background re-occurs in 1-3. For further examples of burnt paintings from the same Nurpur collection, see Archer (1955), figs. 3, 4, 6-8, 10-12, 14, 15, Randhawa (1955) figs. 3, 5 and 6 and present nos. 13, 14(vii), 16, 40, 41 and 57.

5 Raja Man Dhata (1661-1700) of Nurpur at a window. Nurpur, c.1690.

163 x 100 mm; with border 205 x 145 mm. Red border with white and black rules.

Inscribed at the top in *takri* characters: *sri raja man dhata*. National Museum, New Delhi.

Description: Man Dhata in yellow *jama* with fur lapels is seated at a window, leaning against a cushion and holding in his right hand a lotus bud with long stalk. Behind him is a black background and cusped archway, ornamented with heavy floral pattern. A similar pattern appears on the coverlet which drapes the window-sill. Brick wall beneath the window, the bricks clearly defined.

Discussion: Similar in composition and type of floral pattern to a portrait series from Mankot (*q.v.*) but with a novel use of black as background and a different kind of facial stylisation. As in other portraits, the subject is notable for his fur lapels, keen nose and strong moustache. For a princely lover perhaps modelled on Man Dhata, see 7(i). The lotus flower, held in the hand, may indicate his Vaishnava leanings.

6 Raja Man Dhata (1661-1700) of Nurpur leaning on a sword. Nurpur, c.1690.

194 x 130 mm (trimmed).

National Museum, New Delhi.

Description: Man Dhata in mauve *jama* and coat with fur lapels stands facing to the right, leaning on a long sword. Plain yellow background.

Discussion: Uninscribed but identical in stance and features to two inscribed portraits (Gupta (1922), D. 111, and Khandalavala (1958), no. 18). As in other Pahari portraiture of the second half of the seventeenth century, the stance and costume follow imperial Mughal models of the Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb periods, though the yellow background is in sharp contrast to Mughal practice. The unusually long sword is perhaps an indication of Man Dhata's brilliant career as a Mughal general and governor — a career which took him for long periods to the North-west frontier of India and far beyond. For mauve as a typical Nurpur colour, compare 2, 7.

Related examples: (1) Khandalavala (1958), no. 18. Man Dhata standing with a sword slanting downwards. Inscribed in *takri* characters: *pathania raja man dhata*. Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras. Nurpur, c.1680. Background chocolate brown.

7(i, ii) Two paintings from a Hills Ragamala series. Nurpur, c.1700.

Average size: 180 x 168 mm; with border 210 x 200 mm. Yellow border with black rule.

7(i) Mistang Raga.

Inscribed at the top in *takri* characters: *mestang mal-kauseda putra 22* 'Mistang (Raga), son of Malkaus (Raga). (Number) 22'.

National Museum, New Delhi.

Description: A prince and lady sitting together, the lady dipping her hand in a brass vessel set on a tripod, the prince eating a white sweet-meat given to him by the lady. Behind them a yellow wall with deep blue columns on either side. Surrounding background pale yellow.

7(ii) Achanda Raga.

Inscribed at the top in *takri* characters: *achanda raga sri raga da putra 65* 'Achanda Raga, son of Sri Raga. (Number) 65'.

Archer collection, London.

Description: A pair of lovers sitting together against a mauve bolster, the prince in deep orange *jama*, the lady in dark blue skirt and blue bodice, midriff exposed. Her legs are round his waist, their arms embracing. Yellow rug with blue edges. Pale grey wall with mauve archway. At the top a dark blue portico. To the right a white courtyard wall with mauve and blue coping and a brown doorway. Above it, three spear-shaped cypresses against a plain orange ground.

Discussion: Broadly similar in style to 1-5 and with the following significant points in common: the tripod in 7(i) comparable to the ritual structure in 1, the lady's wriggling veil similar to Jagat Singh's scarf 1, all rugs as in 2 and 3, the features of both ladies similar to those in 4, a prominent use of mauve, orange and dark blue (distinctive Nurpur colours), bare and sparse compositions, above all, a marked resemblance in features between the lover in 7(i) and Man Dhata himself. The deliberate introduction of local princes into illustrations of texts was to prove a standard Nurpur practice (see 3, 14). For similar spear-like cypresses, see 14(1), 44, 47.

8 The snapping of the bow. Nurpur, c.1690-1700.

Chandigarh Museum, Mankot collection.

Discussed: Karuna Goswamy (1968), fig. 40.

Description: Rama, attended by his three brothers, each armed with bows, and by the sage Vasishtha, is in the act of bending and snapping the bow of Shiva and thus obtaining Sita as his bride. Raja Janak, crowned, and with an Aurangzeb-style *jama* and fluttering scarf, stands before him, watching the scene with eager attention. To the left, Sita looks down from a top storey window. Plain background.

Discussion: A painting depicting one of Rama's most famous feats, and perhaps intended as part of a series illustrating the ten incarnations of Vishnu (Karuna Goswamy, 1968). As such, it would accord with Man Dhata's ardent Vaishnavism. In style, the picture is identical with 7(i) and embodies the following characteristic details: a bare wall with niches and vessels, fluttering curtain and drapery, similar female face and architecture, disposition of figures against a stark expanse of bare background and a vivid feeling for unusual postures (compare the third bowman, abruptly turning round, with the black buck glancing backwards in 3). Like the princely lover in 7(i), Raja Janak is perhaps modelled in face and person on Man Dhata, and the whole scene may therefore be an oblique expression of Man Dhata's personal devotion.

9 Raja Daya Dhata (c.1700-1735) of Nurpur with sword and shield. Nurpur, c.1710.

179 x 113 mm; with border 220 x 150 mm. Red border with narrow black margin and white rules, the sword projecting into it.

Inscribed on the reverse in *takri* characters: *sri raja dea data pathania*.

Chandigarh Museum, Mankot Raj collection.

Description: Daya Dhata in red turban, long ankle-length orange *jama* and grey coat, stands facing to the right, a large black shield and quiver of arrows slung on his right side. He holds a jewelled dagger at his waist. Behind him protrudes a long green sword. Dark brown background with, at the top, a streak of white and blue.

Discussion: Similar in stance to the portrait of his father Man Dhata (6) and with the same large eye. Like Jagat Singh and Man Dhata, Daya Dhata was a model for the courtly gallants of poetic texts. Compare in this connection many of the lovers in the Nurpur *Rasamanjari* (14) where the long nose, small moustache and somewhat sorrowful face are unmistakably his. In the present portrait, the quiver bristling with arrows can be paralleled in 'The snapping of the bow' (8), the brown background reveals the

same Nurpur predilection for brown, evident in 6(1) and 10, and the green sword harks back to the blackish green coat of Jahangir in 2.

Although Nurpur was adjacent to Basohli and almost certainly provided it with the artist Devidasa, painter of the Basohli *Rasamanjari* series of 1695 (Basohli q.v.), painting in Nurpur appears from the very beginning to have eschewed all frenzied, violent or over-mannered forms of expression and to have consistently preferred graver and more restrained conventions.

10 Manda Ragini, daughter of Malkaus Raga. From a Hills Ragamala series. Nurpur, c.1700-1710.

203 x 168 mm (trimmed). Rubbed and discoloured.

Victoria and Albert Museum, French collection, I.S. 117-1955.

Purchased by French from Ajit Ghose who obtained the picture in Nurpur.

Published: French (1931), pl. 3.

Description: A lady with brief, dull-red bodice and minimal breasts, a large midriff exposed, and wearing a dull-red pleated skirt, kneels on the edge of a verandah feeding two white cranes with large pale-red beaks, legs and feet. The verandah and pavilion wall behind her are uncoloured, the rectangular niches being faintly indicated by thin lines. At the top is a projecting portico in dull red with thin blue edge. Flat chocolate brown background with curving rim of blue and white sky. Traces of a slender tree with thin branches and scattered fronds.

Discussion: Although much damaged, this picture is of special interest since it was the first painting from Nurpur to be published with a definite Nurpur attribution (French, 1931). The grounds for making this attribution were, firstly, provenance, Ajit Ghose having obtained it at Nurpur during his pioneer visit to the Hills in 1928, and, secondly, its distinctive style which set it apart from other forms of Pahari painting as then known. The attribution, now over forty years old, is confirmed by the following details which are matched in other pictures connected with Nurpur: a special type of face with long eye, curving to a point, long strand of wispy hair, and long nose (4, 11, 12, 14), skirt with ribbed folds rucking out at the base (6, 11), the plain chocolate brown background (6(1), 9), stark positioning of the figure against a blank wall (7, 11-14) and the use of thin lines to indicate niches (12-14).

11 Raja Daya Dhata (c.1700-c.1735) of Nurpur dallying with a lady. Nurpur, c.1700-1710.

160 x 190 mm (trimmed).

Gahlin collection, London.

Description: Daya Dhata in long white *jama* and turban sits on a terrace leaning against an orange-red cushion and caressing a lady who wears an orange-red bodice and skirt and black veil. They gaze ardently into each other's eyes. Behind them is a white wall with dark grey door. To the right is a gold hookah with purple stem. Above them is an orange-red canopy with blue pattern, supported by golden poles, and a balustrade. On either side, a grey background.

Discussion: Identical in style and idioms with 9, 10 and 12 — the lady's face, pose and dress exactly resembling those in 10 and 12 and the introduction of Daya Dhata himself, identified by comparison with 9 (his inscribed portrait), conclusively confirming a Nurpur origin. It is significant that typical Nurpur colours — grey, orange-red and blue — again play decisive roles — orange-red which appeared in the *jama* of Daya Dhata in 9, re-occurring in the canopy, cushion and the lady's bodice. Other details which stamp the picture as Nurpur are the tangled, twisted stem of the hookah and the wriggling ends of the lady's veil. Twisting, fluttering forms, as seen in 1, 7, and in the Nurpur *Rasamanjari* (14) would seem to have been a local Nurpur speciality, abruptly imbuing otherwise grave and earnest settings with hints of neurotic agitation. For further likenesses to 10, compare the shape and patterning of the roof-top.

12(i,ii) Two paintings from a Nayaka Nayika series. Nurpur, c.1700-1710.

Inscribed on the reverse with Sanskrit verses in *takri* or *gurmukhi* characters, describing the situation. Although analogous to the *Rasamanjari* of Bhanu Datta, the text appears to be a different treatment of a broadly similar subject.

12(i) The returning rake.

168 x 272 mm (trimmed).

Victoria and Albert Museum, Rothenstein collection, I.S. 127-1951.

Note: The verses describe how the *nayika* (a wife) is angrily upbraiding her husband (the *nayaka*) for returning to her with the foot-marks of her rival still visible on his forehead. Published: Archer (1955), fig. 1.

Description: A lady in sage green bodice sits kneeling, wearing a white skirt with green edge, a deep red veil covering her back and thighs. Behind her is a pale red cushion with large tassels and a brown rug with bright yellow edges. A pavilion is lightly indicated by a white wall with a tiny door and by alcoves and niches shown with thin lines. At the top is a narrow blue portico with serrated red edge and above it, the lower part of a turret. The husband is shown arriving in a white, ankle-length *jama* and in orange-red trousers and a flamboyant turban. He wears a moustache and muzzy side-lock. Plain dark green background with, at the top, a narrow rim of white and blue sky.

12(ii) The lover, arriving late, is scolded by his mistress.

167 x 266 (trimmed).

Victoria and Albert Museum, Rothenstein collection, I.S. 128-1951.

The first two of eleven lines of Sanskrit, written in mixed *takri* and *gurmukhi* characters, transcribe a verse, while the remaining nine lines comment on it. They define the *pragalabha nayika* as one who is mature and resourceful, subdividing the type into (1) *dhira* (patient and controlled) and (2) *adhira* (impatient and expressing her anger and irritation openly). The particular *nayika* illustrated is *adhira*.

Published: Archer (1955), fig. 2.

Description: A lady with long-sleeved full bodice, dark blue scarf, transparent veil and mauve trousers with red stripes stands against a vertical flat background consisting of a brown rug with brick-red edges, a green cushion with dark circular bands, and a white wall with niches indicated by thin lines and with a tiny grey door. At the top is a thin brick-red portico with serrated blue edges and two parallel bands of roofing with jagged rock-like pattern. Facing the lady who stands stiffly awaiting him with upraised hand is the arriving lover. He wears a mauve *jama*, with dark blue trousers showing at the base, dark green slippers and a dark red turban and sword. He is smooth-shaven but has a muzzy lock of hair down his neck at the back. He lifts his right hand in mild expostulation. To the right is a plain brown wall with a pointed doorway with brick-red door and flight of white steps. At the top is a yellow band with rock-like ornament. Above is a flat green background with rim of white and blue, a white turret intruding.

Discussion: Identical in style to 10 and 11 and with the same type of female face, range of colours and use of thin black lines to indicate niches. For similar types of rug, see 3 and 7. A significant detail is the depiction of the bolster and rug (12(ii)) seen behind and through the lady's transparent dress.

13 Lady with companion. Fragment of a painting from a *Nayaka Nayika* series. Nurpur, c.1700-1710.

Lower portion and left and right-hand sides destroyed by fire. Ancestral collection of Mian Kartar Singh, Nurpur. Photographed by W.G.A. during a visit to Nurpur with M. S. Randhawa and Mulk Raj Anand, 1954.

Originally in the family collection of Wazir Ram Singh Pathania, a minister of Raja Jaswant Singh (x, 1846-1898) and damaged by fire when his house was shelled by the British in 1849 (Archer, Randhawa, 1955).

Published: Archer (1955), fig. 7.

Description: A seated lady gazes at a standing companion who gestures to her as if she is about to depart on some private mission. Behind them is the white wall of a pavilion, topped by a portico, a low curving roof and two turrets. Niches faintly indicated by thin black lines.

Discussion: Identical in style to 10, 11 and 12 and important because of its Nurpur provenance (the ancestral collection of Mian Kartar Singh). As in 12, the subject is not an illustration to the *Rasamanjari* of Bhanu Datta but is probably taken from a similar text on broadly the same subject. The picture is also not surrounded by white rules — a circumstance which further distinguishes it from the Nurpur *Rasamanjari* series (14).

14(i-vii) Seven paintings from a *Rasamanjari* series. Nurpur, c.1710.

Average size (without border): 170 x 270 mm. Borders red or yellow, details in some cases projecting into them.

Inscribed on the reverse in *nagari* and/or *takri* characters with verses from the *Rasamanjari* of Bhanu Datta and, in some cases, on the front in *nagari* characters with captions descriptive of the *nayaka* or *nayika*.

14(i) The sarcastic mistress.

175 x 270 mm: with border 215 x 320 mm. Red border with two black and two white rules, the tips of two turrets projecting into it.

Inscribed in *nagari* characters (1) on the face: *vayakakhari* (*nayaka khari*?) 'the standing *nayaka*' (2) on the front in the upper border: *madhya dhira* (the young mistress who expresses her annoyance and irritation sarcastically but remains affectionate and (3) on the reverse with Sanskrit verse (no. 12) from the *Rasamanjari*: '*Nayika* to unfaithful *nayaka*: 'My darling, you appear to be coming from a bower, full of a swarm of agitated bees, for your hot streaming perspiration afflicts you. I wish to comfort your limbs with this fan of lotus leaves' (trans. Randhawa and Bhambri (1967), 17). Randhawa and Bhambri point out that 'the swarm of agitated bees are other women to whom the unfaithful lover has been making love'.

Archer collection, London.

Description: A lady in deep red trousers, bluish grey bodice, blackish green veil and transparent skirt stands outside a gaily decorated verandah, holding a large lotus leaf in her hand. Before her stands the lover, clad in green trousers, transparent *jama* and pale brown upper vest and holding in his right hand a dagger. The two survey each other calmly. To the right is a pavilion and verandah, the plinth with a vestigial 'monster's head', a rug with blue bolster on the floor and the white wall gaily ornamented with floral patterns in red, blue and green. Behind the couple is a flat hillside in deep yellow topped by a rim of blue sky. To the left is a curving row of trees with green sward.

Note: The lover's face and person are closely similar to Daya Dhata's (compare 9). For a Basohli prototype, identical in details and composition but radically different in basic style, see Basohli, 10(ii).

14(ii) The remorseful mistress.

Yellow border with turret and roof-top projecting into it.

Inscribed on the front in *takri* characters: and on the reverse in *nagari* characters with the title: *anusayana nayika* (the mistress who is filled with remorse at having failed to reach the trysting place) and Sanskrit verse (no. 29) from the *Rasamanjari*: '*Radha*'s eyes were filled with tears (from remorse at not having kept the tryst) when she saw Lord Krishna, wearing mango blossom in his ears and his cheeks yellow with pollen (which was the proof of his having been to the proposed meeting-place)' (trans. Randhawa and Bhambri (1967), 33).

Lalbai collection, Ahmedabad.

Published: Khandalavala and Chandra (1958), fig. 10; also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), fig. 62; Randhawa and Bhambri (1967), fig. 19.

Description: Krishna in an orange *jama* and flowing scarf waits outside a house in which Radha in a red and blue skirt awaits him on an open verandah. She sits on a green rug

and leans against a blue cushion. Yellow and white walls, niches and alcoves faintly indicated by thin black lines. At the top turrets and a smoothly curving roof. Red background with two clumps of formalised trees, their trunks black, grey, blue and pink. White and blue skyline.

Note: For red background, compare 14(i). Krishna's face identical, except for the absence of a moustache, with that of Daya Dhata (9, 11).

14(iii) The cheated courtesan.

Inscribed on the reverse in *nagari* characters with the title: *samanya khandita* (the wronged or jilted courtesan) and with the Sanskrit verse (no. 48) from the *Rasamanjari*: 'O cheat! How can you be excused by me when I see your chest bearing red marks from another woman's bosom. Give me, at once, the riches you promised me.' So saying, the courtesan snatched the jingling gold bangle from the lover's wrist, while his mind wavered' (trans. Randhawa and Bhambri (1967), 50).

Lalbhai collection, Ahmedabad.

Published: Randhawa and Bhambri (1967), fig. 31.

Description: A courtesan, wearing brown trousers and bodice, blue veil and transparent skirt, stands on an open verandah, snatching at a bangle worn by her lover who stands abjectly before her. He wears a flamboyant pink turban and dark green *jama*. Behind them is a rug with mauve edges and brown floral design and a white wall with alcoves faintly indicated by thin straight lines. To the right, pale yellow background with, at the top, a white and blue rim. Vestigial 'monster's head' at the end of the plinth.

Note: As in 14(i) and (ii), the lover is modelled, though more distantly, on Daya Dhata. For transparent skirts, compare 12(ii) and 14(i). The S-shaped line of the courtesan's neck, shoulder and waist can be matched in 7(i) and 14(vii).

14(iv) The slighted mistress.

Inscribed on the front in *takri* characters and on the reverse in *nagari* characters with the title: *madhyama* (she who, though loving, reviles her lover for his lapses) and with the Sanskrit verse (no. 90) from the *Rasamanjari*: 'When the lover gently touched her bodice, the beautiful-eyed *nayika*, turning away her neck, shot on him piercing glances, fierce like the red-hot arrows of angry Kama. But on his pacifying her, she presented him with her love, enriched with soft smiles and sweet words, as if her love were the wish-granting creeper, drooping with the weight of flowers laden with honey' (trans. Randhawa and Bhambri (1967), 87).

Lalbhai collection, Ahmedabad.

Description: A lady, clad in dark green dress and blue veil, turns her head away from her lover who touches her right arm with his hand. He wears a yellow *jama* and red turban. Behind them is a pink rug with crimson stripes and a white wall with niches faintly indicated with thin black lines. Below them is a dark blue plinth with vestigial 'monster-heads' at either end. The lover's hair descends in a muzzy lock behind his head. The pavilion is set against a pale yellow background with, at the top, a rim of pale blue.

Note: For a similar type of lover, see 12(ii). For a Basohli prototype, broadly similar in composition but with greater richness of detail and radically different in style, see Randhawa and Bhambri (1967), fig. 59.

14(v) The go-between advises.

Inscribed on the reverse in *nagari* characters with the title: *sikhya sakhi* (the companion or go-between who instructs or advises) and with the Sanskrit verse (no. 94) from the *Rasamanjari*: '*Sakhi to nayika*: "My friend, you may gladly proceed to the bower to see Krishna, but be careful of the humming bees hovering there during the day-time and the *chakoras* (moon partridges) roaming at night, with their garrulous beaks"' (trans. Randhawa and Bhambri (1967), 91). Randhawa and Bhambri suggest that the implied meaning is that due to the presence of these bees and birds, there is danger of the two being found out. It is more likely however that the bees and birds are disguised symbols for

prying villagers who may surprise the two lovers and gossip about them.

Lalbai collection, Ahmedabad.

Published: Randhawa and Bhambri (1967), fig. 63.

Description: Krishna in yellow *dhoti* kneels on a bed of dark green leaves surrounded by a circle of formalised trees, backed by an orange-red hillside. To the right Radha in a red and blue skirt is seated on an open verandah leaning against a green cushion. The *sakhi* (confidante) in dark green skirt and swirling veil stands before her, her left hand stretched out as if to emphasise her plea. Rug yellow with vertical red stripes. White walls with panels and niches indicated by thin straight lines.

Note: Radha as in 12(i). Krishna's face distantly modelled on Daya Dhata's.

14(vi) The devoted husband.

Inscriptions unrecorded.

Illustration of Sanskrit verse (no. 101) of the *Rasamanjari* entitled *anukula* (the lover solely devoted to his wife): 'O earth, grow soft. O sun, be cool. O path, grow shorter. O breeze, soothe her. O Dandaka forest come nearer. O mountain, get yourself out of our way. For Sita aches to come with me to the forest' (trans. based on Randhawa and Bhambri (1967), 96).

Formerly Ajit Ghose collection, Calcutta.

Published: Ghose (1929), fig. 10.

Description: Rama, crowned and in dark *jama* and holding a bow, gazes at the forest and mountains stretching before him, represented by a group of formalised trees and looped crags. Behind him stands Sita. To their rear is a double-storeyed pavilion, its brick-work clearly indicated as in 5 and 14(ii) and with its front gaily decorated as in 14(i). Plain background with upper rim of blue sky.

Note: Rama, barring the absence of a moustache, is modelled on Daya Dhata. Sita conforms to the standard visage seen in 11-13. For a repetition of the formula for crags or mountains, see 17(ii). The Basohli prototype of the picture, robustly simplified and much more starkly vigorous, is reproduced and discoursed in Basohli, 15(iv).

14(vii) The distraught mistress.

Fragment, its lower half destroyed by fire. Border with two black and two white rules.

Ancestral collection of Mian Kartar Singh, Nurpur.

Photographed by W.G.A. during a visit to Nurpur with M. S. Randhawa and Mulk Raj Anand, 1954.

Note: Originally in the family collection of Wazir Ram Singh Pathania, minister of Raja Jaswant Singh (x, 1846-1898) of Nurpur and damaged by fire when his house was shelled by the British in 1849 (Archer Randhawa, 1955). Here regarded as an illustration of the *Rasamanjari* although the exact verse is unidentified.

Published: Archer (1955), fig. 8.

Description: A lady, her two arms tautly raised, turns to talk to a confidante who stands beside her on an open hillside. To the right is a hillside rimmed by thick trees. On the skyline is a tiny white house and jagged undulating clouds rimmed with white.

Note: For the S-shaped pose of the lady, compare 7(i) and 14(iii), and for a similar jagged line of undulating clouds, Randhawa and Bhambri (1967), fig. 38.

Discussion: A series firmly connected with Nurpur on account of (1) the Nurpur provenance of 14(vii) (family collection of Mian Kartar Singh, Nurpur), (2) details of style (the use of faint lines for niches, dainty filigree patterns on walls and rugs, delicate naturalistic treatment of human figures, use of colours including mauve, dark red and blue, a marked reliance on rectangles, seen especially in the brickwork of 14(ii), the rugs with parallel stripes (14(iv, v)), the starkly simple treatment of buildings, the employment of the same type of standard female face, regularly used in 10-13), and (3) the frank adoption of Raja Daya Dhata (c.1700-c.1735) of Nurpur as principal model for the *nayaka* or lover (compare his portrait, no. 9).

Although no colophon or artist's name has been preserved, it is reasonable to connect the series either with the Nurpur painter Golu or with his father, Devidasa. Golu is known by tradition to have worked for Daya Dhata and his successor, to have executed the murals in the Brijraj Swami shrine in the Nurpur fort (Aryan, 1964), and to have so impressed the Nurpur court and township that an annual fair in his honour is still observed (Goswamy, 1964). In this respect he seems to have been respected as much as a courtier as an artist.

His father, Devidasa, is noted in a priest's register at Kurukshetra, two generations later, as 'of Nurpur' and as being 'father of Golu' (Goswamy, private communication, 1966). He was, almost certainly, the same Devidasa who painted the 'third' *Rasamanjari* series at Basohli for Kirpal Pal in 1695 (q.v.), a series in which the rich and complex Basohli style is maintained but at the same time is invested with greater simplicity.

In view of the long ankle-length *jamas* worn by the gallant and his bold identification with Daya Dhata, the present series, though obviously modelled on this 'third' Basohli *Rasamanjari* in settings, disposition of figures and general composition, must clearly be ten to fifteen years later. At the same time, it is wholly un-Basohli in total style; and in contrast to the sultry magnificence of Basohli painting at its height, is notable for quiet restraint, gentle moderation and a careful avoidance of passionate intensity. It is significant that in only one instance — 14(5) — are beetle-wing cases used for jewellery. Bearing in mind the clear connection between the two series, the ease with which the present pictures can be fitted into a sequence of paintings, connected, on other grounds, with Nurpur, and the fact that Golu's father had the same name as that of the painter of the earlier Basohli series, it is reasonable to conclude that the two Devidasas are one and the same person and that the same family is responsible for both sets. In that case, either Devidasa himself re-did his Basohli *Rasamanjari* in more strongly Nurpur terms, reverting to Nurpur tastes and discreetly identifying the lover with Daya Dhata; or his son, Golu, availed of models supplied by his father, and freshly executed the series.

Examples from the same series: (1) Gangoly (1924), col. pl. Lady by a bed in a grove of trees. Red background with five black cypresses. Formerly Kramrisch collection, Calcutta. Lady as in 12(ii). Red background as in 3 and 14(ii). Cypresses as in 7(ii).

(2) Gray (1950), pl. 97a. The lady conversing with her confidante; to the right, a tiny cat on a pavilion roof-top. Lalbhai collection, Ahmedabad.

(3) Gray (1950), pl. 98a; also reproduced Khandalavala and Chandra (1958), fig. 8; Khandalavala (1958), no. 25. The lady estranged from her lover turns her back on him. Central Museum, Lahore. Separately catalogued by Gray, but same series as (2), (4) and (5), though from different collections.

(4) Gray (1950), pl. 98b. The lady preparing to receive her lover by dressing her hair; beside her an open bed; on the wall, four garlands. Central Museum, Lahore.

(5) Gray (1950), pl. 99a; also reproduced Khandalavala and Chandra (1958), fig. 7; Khandalavala (1958), no. 24. The thirsty lover; the lady standing outside a pavilion as the lover arrives, fanning himself on account of the great heat. Lalbhai collection, Ahmedabad. Significant as the only example in the Lalbhai group which borrows from Basohli the device of using green beetle-wing cases for jewels.

(6) Archer (1955), fig. 9. The lady and her confidante conversing while the lover stands outside, his head turned away, his sword resting on his shoulder. Lalbhai collection, Ahmedabad.

(7) Khandalavala and Chandra (1958), p.30; also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), no. 29. Ladies conversing on an open verandah; to the left a bed of leaves encircled by trees. Lalbhai collection, Ahmedabad. Faces as in 10, 11.

(8) Khandalavala and Chandra (1958), fig. 9; also repro-

duced Khandalavala (1958), no. 30. The lover waiting outside while his mistress instructs her maid whether to admit him. Lalbhai collection, Ahmedabad.

(9) Khandalavala (1958), no. 28. The lover sleeping on a bed, attended by his two mistresses. Lalbhai collection, Ahmedabad. The lover modelled on Daya Dhata.

(10) Archer (1960), pl. 72. Welcoming the lover; two ladies question him as he reaches their house. Bickford collection, Cleveland, Ohio.

(11) Barrett (1963), col. pl. 168. The lady, reclining in a pavilion to the right, sends her confidante to plead with the lover in a separate pavilion on the left. British Museum, London. Orange rug with blue stripes. Sage green background. Brown pillars. Walls with faintly traced niches and alcoves.

(12)-(27) Randhawa and Bhambri (1967), figs. 1, 15, 21, 29, 38-42, 45, 55, 57, 60, 61, 77 and 78, reproducing additional examples of the series from the Lalbhai collection, Ahmedabad.

(28)-(29) Archer and Binney (1968), pls. 76a and b. (a) A neglected lover waits alone. (b) The neglected mistress confides in a friend. Binney collection, Brookline, Mass.

15 The final battle. From a *Bhagavata Purana* series. Nurpur, c.1710-1720.

165 x 255 mm (trimmed).

Binney collection, Brookline, Mass. (formerly Jalan collection, Patna).

Published: Archer and Binney (1968), pl. 77.

Description: A scene of carnage, in which eight members of the Yadava clan are shown slaughtering six further Yadavas in fulfilment of Krishna's prediction that with the ending of the Yadava race he will leave the earth and resume his character as Vishnu. Each wields a thin rapier-like weapon composed of a rush converted into iron. A clump of rushes is shown to the right, a Yadava tugging at one of them in order to procure the needed weapon. In the interests of battle, each combatant wears a moderately short *jama* with stiff pleats and short waist-sash. Predominant colours green, dark red, mauve and white. In the foreground lines of tufted plants. Background golden yellow.

Discussion: A picture which represents a slight abandonment of the former convention of a single flat plane, the rows of meagre plants in the foreground contributing a suggestion of depth. For the rest, it employs the same kind of simple rhythm and construction notable in early Nurpur paintings. Significant details are the yellow background (1, 2, 6, 7, 48), a special type of male face (less obviously modelled on Daya Dhata than in other paintings but reminiscent of faces in 4 and 12), and the use of green and dark red (colours which appear in dramatic conjunction in 2, 12 and 14).

Related examples: (1) Waldschmidt (1967), col. pl. A. *Kausa Raga*: a prince and lady seated together, each holding a tame bird. Berlin Museum of Indian Art. Nurpur, c.1720. Yellow background. Green *jama* and plinth. Red skirt and bolster. Plain white wall. Mauve rug.

(2) Archer and Binney (1968), pl. 78. *Karnati Ragini*: two ladies, one with a *vina*, seated together. Binney collection, Brookline, Mass. Nurpur, c.1730. Same style as 15(1).

16 Lady holding a tree. Fragment of a painting from a *Nayaka Nayika* series. Nurpur, c.1720-1730.

Left half and portions of the base destroyed by fire.

Ancestral collection of Mian Kartar Singh, Nurpur.

Photographed by W.G.A. during a visit to Nurpur with M. S. Randhawa and Mulk Raj Anand, 1954.

Originally in the family collection of Wazir Ram Singh Pathania, a minister of Raja Jaswant Singh (x. 1846-1898) of Nurpur and damaged by fire when his house was shelled by the British in 1849 (Archer, Randhawa, 1955).

Description: A lady in trousers and white skirt, with densely narrow stripes, stands beside a white platform holding a flower in her right hand and clasping the branch of a tree in her left. The tree has stylised foliage and is characterised by three trunks which branch into subsidiary trunks or branches prior to merging with the foliage. The trunks also

have small gouged out oval holes. Plain background with, at the top, a band of white and blue.

Discussion: With 4 and 13, important on account of its Nurpur provenance and distinctive style. Significant details: the densely striped skirt (compare the attendant on the extreme right in (2)), the facial type (reminiscent of 4 and 7) and the remarkable and quite exceptional treatment of the tree trunks (compare 17).

Related example: (1) Archer (1955), fig. 10, also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), no. 151. Lady in a storm of rain. Mian Kartar Singh collection, Nurpur. Nurpur, c.1720-1730. Horizontal format but comparable theme (an *abhisarika nayika*) and similar treatment of foliage, trunks, branches, and type of face.

17(i-iii) Three paintings from a Ramayana series. Nurpur, c.1720-1730.

Red borders, no details projecting into them. No use of beetle-wing cases.

17(i) Shavari turns to smoke.

172 x 270 mm; with border 212 x 310 mm.

Chandigarh Museum (on transfer from Central Museum, Lahore).

Description: Rama and Lakshmana, clad in leaf skirts and hats and holding bows, stand in an open clearing watching the demon Shavari consumed by fire. Three trees with twin trunks which divide into three subsidiary trunks or branches surround the pyre. To the right are four further trees with similar characteristics. Of the trees in the foreground, two have small gouged-out oval holes. Fire and smoke red and grey. Rama a deep royal blue, Lakshmana pale pink. Background deep yellow with, at the top, a rim of white and blue.

Note: Tree trunks, branches, foliage and gouged-out holes as in 16. In the foreground rows of tufted clumps as in 15. Lakshmana with a long straggly side-lock as in 12.

17(ii) The abduction of Sita.

180 x 273 mm (without borders).

Central Museum, Lahore.

Description: The ten-headed Ravana flies through the air carrying Sita in his arms. As she goes, she drops a white cloth which falls near Hanuman who is seated with four of his monkey army on a pile of rocks. Yellow background with rim of white and blue sky. Foreground with tufted clumps.

Note: Rocks as in 14(vi). Faces of Ravana and Sita comparable to those in 14 and 15. Ravana with pleated *jama* as in 14, 15.

17(iii) Ravana consults Marit.

178 x 275 mm; with border 225 x 320 mm.

Chandigarh Museum (on transfer from Central Museum, Lahore).

Description: Ravana, ten-headed and with fifteen arms, consults the blue-black demon ascetic, Marit, who sits on a leopard skin beneath a twisted tree. He wears a dark red *jama* and sits on a piece of ground with tufted clumps. Behind him stand the two white horses of his chariot, a demon driver sitting on the olive-green yoke. In the foreground a silver-grey river with white verge. Yellow background with rim of white and blue. The tree has gouged-out oval holes and divides into three subsidiary trunks or branches.

Note: The use of olive green, dark red and white can be matched in 2, 9 and 15, the stiffly posed white horse in 19 and the tree with special type of trunks and holes in 16 and 17(i).

Discussion: This series further illustrates the close relations which seem to have existed between Nurpur and its neighbours, Guler and Basohli, in the last years of the seventeenth century and the first half of the eighteenth. The facial types and special convention for rocks are the same as those in the Nurpur *Rasamanjari* series (14) — a series which although availing of Basohli models for iconography treats them in a fresh and wholly Nurpur manner. Three

other idioms — the unusual type of tree with divided trunks and gouged-out holes, the river with fluffy white verge and the use of royal blue for Rama — would also seem to be Nurpur inventions (though subsequently adopted by its neighbours). The first re-appears at Guler in the famous *Siege of Lanka* series of about 1725-1730, the latter two at Basohli in the *Gita Govinda* series commissioned in 1730 from the Guler painter, Manaku. It is significant that Manaku's colleague or assistant — the 'second' hand — employs a facial type similar to the one used in the present series. It is possible, that, like the earlier Devidasa, this painter was of Nurpur stock. For a first discussion of the present series, stressing its similarity to the Basohli *Gita Govinda*, see Goswamy, *Marg* (1968), XXI, no. 4, 32-40.

Examples from the same series: (1) Goswamy (1968), fig. 17. The rishis offer fruits to Rama, Lakshmana and Sita in exile. Chandigarh Museum.

(2) Goswamy (1968), fig. 18. Lakshmana cuts off the nose of Surpanakha. Chandigarh Museum.

18 Durga slaying a demon. Nurpur, c.1720-1730.

130 x 180 mm (without borders).

Detroit Institute of Arts.

Published: Coomaraswamy (1916), pl. 26A; also reproduced Lee (1960), col. pl. 60 (enlarged).

Description: Durga, with seventeen arms and holding swords, daggers, an axe, spear and skull-cups, sits on a bed of white lotus petals on a dark grey rocky crag, attacking the demon, Smoke-eye. She wears a dark red pleated skirt and bodice and a greyish blue veil. Before her is the demon, his skin greyish blue, encircled by smoke and flames like the arms of an octopus. In the foreground rows of tufted clumps. Background pale brown with, at the top, a rim of white and blue sky.

Discussion: Identical in style to 17 and with the following significant details: Durga similar in treatment, dress, face and arms to Ravana, rocks with the same vertical loops, similar foreground, similar treatment of fire and smoke. For the common Nurpur convention, of brown backgrounds, compare 9 and 10. A mural in the Brijraj Swami shrine, Nurpur Fort, illustrating a scene from the death of Kansa, includes the same idiom for rocks and is attributed by local tradition to Golu, son of Devidasa (Aryan (1954), fig. 5). According to the court poet, Gambhir Rai, Jagat Singh of Nurpur was a 'devotee of Vishnu and the Devi' and it is possible that the same dual allegiances characterised his successors, including Daya Dhata (c.1700-c.1735), thus explaining the present celebration.

PHASE TWO: 1735-1800

19 The young Raja Tegh Chand (ruled 1774) of Kangra out hawking. Nurpur, c.1740-1745.

148 x 248 mm; with border 209 x 288 mm. Red border with white rules.

Inscribed on the reverse in *takri* characters: *sri miye tegh chand di sabih* 'Portrait of Sri Mian Tegh Chand'. Chandigarh Museum, Lambagraon collection.

Description: The young Tegh Chand of Kangra, aged about fifteen years and dressed in a long yellow *jama*, rides a white horse accompanied by two attendants also on white horses. The nearer wears a dark red *jama*. Saddle cloth orange. A falconer in loose white pyjamas and rolled-up *jama* stands before them. Green hillside rimmed with slanting rocks and trees with scattered branches. Sky with rolling white clouds edged with curly outlines.

Discussion: A picture of some importance on account of its style and choice of subject, a Kangra prince, son and successor of Ghamand Chand (ruled 1761-1774). Under Daya Dhata (c.1700-c.1735), and Fateh Singh (c.1735-c.1770), Nurpur was on especially intimate relations with Kangra, relations which were symbolised by the marriage of Fateh Singh's second son, Indar Singh, to a Kangra princess and his settlement for life on her Kangra estate of Leh. Indar Singh was the offspring of one of Fateh Singh's *ranis* and had been born almost on the same day as Pirthi Singh, a

son by his first rani. In order to avoid rivalry between the two princes, it was arranged that Indar Singh should live outside the state and become, in practice, a member of the Kangra court. This marriage connection may explain the later friendship between Tegh Chand of Kangra and Pirthi Singh (Kangra, nos. 5 and 6 q.v.).

In style, the picture is notable for a tree idiom, first seen in 3, a loop-like treatment of rocks, comparable to 17 and 18 and for the stiff positioning of the leading white horse, strikingly similar to that of the two white horses in 17(iii). The highly individual treatment of the clumps of reed or sedge can be paralleled in 20 and the elongated figure of the young Tegh Chand in 22. For similar elongations of figures at Nurpur, see the various murals illustrating the death of Kansa in the Brijraj Swami shrine, Nurpur Fort, attributed to the Nurpur painter, Golu, and here regarded as about 1740 in date.

The courtier riding immediately behind Tegh Chand is not unlike Jaghar Singh (ruled c.1750-c.1765) of Jaswan (Kangra, no. 8(viii) q.v.). Since Jaswan adjoined Kangra on the west and was also a minor offshoot from it, its ruling family may well have had close connections with the Kangra court.

20 Gosain Narain of Pindori entwined by a cobra. Nurpur, c.1740-1750.

Chandigarh Museum.

Discussed: Karuna Goswamy (1968), fig. 30.

Description: Gosain Narain, hero of the 'ordeal by liquor' imposed upon him by the Emperor Jahangir (see no. 2), is shown wrapped in a spotted shawl and seated on a tiger skin. He holds his head stiffly back, as if in a trance. A large cobra is entwined about him, its tail following the line of Narain's back and its head poised above him, as if mounting guard. Around the gosain is a hillside with large clumps of reed or sedge, a row of small rocks and trees on the horizon and in the foreground a small stream.

Discussion: Like 2 a celebration of a person revered in Nurpur for his saintly qualities and closely connected with the foundation of Damthal, in Nurpur state, the offshoot of the Vaishnava establishment of Pindori near Gurdaspur. As pointed out by Karuna Goswamy, the purport of the painting becomes clear with reference to Indian tradition and to Narayanji in particular. A great personage was deemed to be protected by a serpent spreading its hood over his head to afford shade while he meditated. This was also interpreted as an omen of divine status as in a legend told of Guru Nanak. Possibly, also, a reference here is made to the long periods of meditation spent by Narayanji on river-banks. It is to be remembered that he was a 'mauni' for several years, being under a vow of silence. The suggestion made here is that he possibly sat in so immobile a fashion that he was perhaps mistaken by the serpent for a mere heap of clay'. She adds that another version of the same picture can be seen in a mural at Pindori.

In style, the picture resembles 19, especially in its very distinctive treatment of clumps of reed or sedge. So close a focussing on an unusual aspect of Narainji's 'public image' raises a strong presumption that it was painted either at Nurpur itself or at Damthal, Nurpur state.

21 The two gosains. By Gur Baksh. Nurpur, c.1740-1750.

Inscribed at the foot with a note identifying the two persons and recording that it was painted by the artist Gur-baksh who describes himself as a *chakar* (servant) of Sri Shakat Chand (Karuna Goswamy (1968), 189).

Chandigarh Museum.

Description: Gosain Bhagwanji, head of the Vaishnava establishment at Pindori, sits on a white terrace, beside his chief disciple, Gosain Narainji, hero of the 'ordeal by liquor' imposed by the Emperor Jahangir. Each wears Vaishnava tilak marks and a long conical hat, topped by a tiny umbrella. Bhagwanji is nude to the waist and has a long *dhoti*, a large white garland, a lotus flower and a rosary. Narainji has a smaller garland and wears a long red *jama*. He has a lotus flower and holds up his hands as if in adoration. An attendant behind Bhagwanji waves a fly-whisk,

thus denoting his spiritual superiority. Plain background with, at the top, a line of tassels.

Discussion: Identical in general style to 19 and 22 and with the same type of swirling dress, exaggeratedly long figures, and similar facial features. The over-lapping dresses of the two saints is perhaps intended to symbolise the blending of their spiritual natures — a device which is used in other studies of the pair (see Khandalavala (1958), fig. 27). Although the artist's patron, Sri Shakat Chand, is so far unidentified, it is possible that he was a member of the Kangra royal family, Chand being the normal Kangra suffix. Significantly the same style appears in the two studies of the young Tegh Chand (19, 22) whose probable connection with Nurpur has already been noted, and in a portrait of his father, Ghamand Chand (23). The fact that three studies of Kangra royalty should be in a style similar to that of portraits of the famous leaders of Vaishnavism in Nurpur is a further ground for connecting this type of painting with Nurpur.

22 The young Raja Tegh Chand (1774) of Kangra smoking. Nurpur, c.1740-1745.

141 x 224 mm; with border 186 x 274 mm. Red border with white rules.

Inscribed on the reverse in *takri* characters: *sri miye tag chande di sabihi* 'Portrait of Sri Mian Tegh Chand'.

Chandigarh Museum, Lambagraon collection.

Description: The young Tegh Chand of Kangra, aged about fifteen years and wearing a long red *jama* and long white garland, sits on a rug on a white terrace smoking a hookah. He is addressed by a pair of courtiers. Behind stands an attendant in pinkish-brown *jama* holding a white cloth. Brown background with curving rim of sky.

Discussion: In this picture, Tegh Chand is shown as about fifteen years of age. His date of birth is unrecorded but in later portraits, perhaps executed during his brief reign (1774), he appears as a man in his late forties or early fifties. His date of birth would therefore have been c.1725. Assuming the present portrait to be contemporary, this would provide a date for it of about 1740-1745.

In style the picture is markedly in line with 19 and 23 and is significant because of the continuing elongation of the figure and the use of colours connected with other Nurpur pictures. Note, in particular, the dark red *jama*, the brown background and a special tone of pinkish brown, strikingly present in 28, 31 and 32. The type of patterning on the rug can be paralleled in the *Rasamanjari* series (14), and the downward-spreading *jama* in 11 and 15(1).

23 Raja Ghamand Chand (1761-1774) of Kangra smoking. Nurpur, c.1745-1750.

213 x 124 mm; with border 268 x 179 mm.

Inscribed on the reverse in *takri* characters: *sri raj ghamand chand likh* . . .

Chandigarh Museum, Lambagraon collection.

Description: Ghamand Chand of Kangra sits at a window, his right hand resting on a large white balustrade and his left hand holding the stem of a hookah. Behind him is a tall wall with four rows of niches. On either side enormously long curtains tower above him.

Discussion: Ghamand Chand, here shown as a man in his thirties, was approximately sixty years old when he died in 1774. The present picture, if contemporary, could therefore have been painted in about 1745. It is significant as adding to the group of Kangra portraits, here regarded as painted at Nurpur, and exemplifying the vogue for elongation which was taken to even greater lengths in the years 1745-1760. In style, perhaps by the same Gur Baksh who painted 21.

24 The princess and the sapling. Nurpur, c.1750-1760.

153 x 95 mm (trimmed, with thin black margin).

Gahlin collection, London.

Description: A tall lady in a towering dark red dress and dark blue veil stands beneath a sapling with red flowers. She holds the stem of a hookah and glances backwards over her shoulder at a maid who stands behind her holding a box of betel leaves. The maid wears a towering beige-

yellow dress with dark blue veil. Foreground green, background pale blue.

Discussion: In this picture, comparable to 23, the two ladies possess the same exaggerated height as the curtains draped above the diminutive Ghamand Chand, and their faces something of his piquant sharpness. Similar figures with towering elongations occur in 26, 27, 31, 42 and 46. For the sapling, as also for identical ranges of colour, see 26 from the Nurpur Raj ancestral collection. The fluffy white verge for the river occurs in the *Ramayana* series (17) and in 55 and 56.

25 The young Raja Pirthi Singh (1770-1805) of Nurpur shooting black buck. Nurpur, c.1755. 157 x 246 mm (trimmed).

Inscribed on the reverse in *takri* characters: *sri raja prithi singh pathania*.

Chandigarh Museum, Mankot Raj collection.

Description: The young Pirthi Singh of Nurpur in long ankle-length *jama* gallops on a white horse, his face and body turned sharply round in order to discharge an arrow at a black buck. A doe, already hit by a first arrow, collapses on the left. Bare hillside with a row of dark green trees slanting upwards from right to left. Red background.

Discussion: Assigned to Nurpur on account of its Nurpur subject and the following idioms and details: the pose of turning round and looking over a shoulder (compare 3, 24, 29, 32), the white horse (17(iii), 19), the tallness of the figure with its long *jama* (19, 22), the black buck and doe (3), and the use of strong red for the hillside. For similar red backgrounds, compare 3, 14(ii), 37(1) and 57 and the murals executed by Golu for the Brijraj Swami shrine, Nurpur Fort (Aryan, 1964). The traditional date of these murals, with their elongated figures, is 1750 or a little earlier.

Pirthi Singh, eldest son of Fateh Singh (c.1735-c.1770), was born in about 1740 and appears in the picture as a youth of about fifteen years of age. Later portraits (Kangra, nos. 5, 6) show him on intimate terms with Tegh Chand of Kangra (ruled 1774) and it is even possible that he married the latter's sister. Previous portraits of Tegh Chand in Nurpur style (19, 22) could well have been executed as a result of close ties between the two families.

26 Jasoda bathing the infant Krishna. Nurpur, c.1750-1760.

239 x 161 mm; with border 251 x 173 mm. Red border with thin black margin and two white rules.

Chandigarh Museum, Nurpur Raj collection.

Formerly in the family collection of Raja Devendra Singh of Nurpur and acquired from him in 1960.

Description: Jasoda in dark red skirt, green bodice and dark blue veil holds the child Krishna who squats before her. Two maids — one in dark red and blue dress, the other in green and orange — stand before her. The nearer pours water on Krishna's back from a *lota*. White terrace with, in the foreground, an old lady in dark green and yellow. Pale background with blue and pink flowering trees.

Discussion: This picture is of special importance for Nurpur painting because of its provenance (the ancestral collection of the Nurpur Rajas) and its distinctive style, paralleled in other pictures, here accepted as Nurpur, but unknown in other centres of painting. Its palette includes red, green and blue as also pink. The flowering trees closely resemble the sapling in 24. For identically similar female faces, see 46.

Related example: (1) Archer (1955), fig. 11. Lady at her toilet, assisted by a maid. Mian Kartar Singh family collection, Nurpur. Similar Nurpur provenance as 26 but from a different family collection. As in 24 a backward-turning pose. Similar treatment of trees and *lota* as in 26.

27 Krishna stealing curds. Nurpur, c.1750-1760.

232 x 152 mm; with border 246 x 164 mm. Red border with thin black margin and two white rules.

Chandigarh Museum, Nurpur Raj collection.

Description: Krishna with rich blue skin stands on the back of a cowherd boy, reaching down some curds from a pot attached to the ceiling. Two other boys assist, both in little

striped trunks. A fourth is naked and points at the tall figure of a cow-girl who appears approaching on the right, a pitcher on her head. She wears a red skirt with dark green top and a blue veil. Brown plinth, grey wall, thatched roof and sage-green background. At the top, a curving rim of sky.

Discussion: From the same Nurpur collection as 26 and in the same distinctive style. There is again a firm recourse to dark red, with a typically Nurpur use of brown, blue and sage-green. The features of the cowherd boys have the same sharpness, noticeable in those of Ghamand Chand (23).

28 Ruler entertained by dancing-girls. Nurpur, c.1750-1760. 233 x 265 mm (trimmed).

Victoria and Albert Museum, Rothenstein collection, I.S. 175-1951.

Published: Archer (1952), fig. 64.

Description: A ruler, perhaps Raja Fateh Singh (c.1735-c.1770) of Nurpur, in a white *jama* with madder pink scarf, is seated on a pale yellow rug beneath a white canopy smoking a hookah. A lady, perhaps his rani, wearing a flowing dark yellow dress sits behind him. Below them are two courtiers. To the right, two dancing-girls, wearing long high-waisted dresses, perform before them. The foremost has a grey-blue dress and holds a transparent veil through which can be seen a carpet and balustrade. Behind them is a party of four male musicians, holding drums, a *tambura*, cymbals and *sarangi*. White brown and madder pink costumes. The grey cushions by the ruler have dark blue sprigs. The terrace is covered by a pink carpet with dark blue vertical stripes. In the foreground an attendant holds a torch. White balustrades with cross-hatched lattice-work. Background greyish black with curving rim of red, white and dull blue.

Discussion: Assigned to Nurpur on account of the following idioms and details: the use of the colours greyish black, madder pink and brown (compare 5, 9, 31, 42), the convention of showing objects through and beyond a transparent veil or dress (compare 12, 34), the distinctive female faces (identical with those in 29-35), the low white balustrade with white hatching (29, 32, 44) and the use of greyish black for background (5, 28(1)).

For the shadowy character of Fateh Singh, see Historical Notes. Although nothing certain is recorded of his actual career, it is reasonable to suppose that he ruled from about 1735 to 1770.

Related example: (1) Anand (1953), opp. to p.6. Radha expecting her lover. Inscribed in *nagari* characters: *vasak-sejya* 'She who waits'. National Museum, New Delhi. Nurpur, c.1750-1760. A lady in a brownish-red skirt, her head looking backwards, sits on a sage-green sward. Greyish black hillside and facial type as in 28. Trees with spear-shaped flowering branches.

29 Lady escorted to her lover. Nurpur, c.1750-1760.

240 x 191 mm (trimmed). Later mount with chocolate-brown margin.

Victoria and Albert Museum, Rothenstein collection, I.S. 177-1951.

Published: Archer (1952) fig. 65.

Description: A prince, wrapped in a mauve cloak, lies on a white bed, smoking a hookah as a girl in gold trousers and red dress is escorted to him. A maid in mauve dress brings her through a black door, her left hand resting on the girl's shoulder. A maid in a towering dark brown dress glances back at them and holds a torch to light their path. White pavilion with slender columns, grey walls and red terrace. In the rear a green background with over-lapping circles for hillsides. Above, a dark blue sky.

Discussion: Identical in general style to 28 but with slight recessions. The inordinately slim pillars parallel in architecture the towering ladies of 24, 26 and 27. The maid in typical brown dress looks back and round in a manner already more than familiar from 24-26. Female faces as in 28 and 30-35. Walls with niches and small doors as in the Nurpur *Rasamanjari* (14). Red again used for dramatic background purposes as in 3, 14(ii), 25, 37(1) and 57.

Although damage to the face makes identification impossible, the turban and beard resemble those of Fateh Singh(?) in 28 and it is possible that the royal personage awaiting the lady in the red dress is in fact this same Nurpur ruler.

30 The lady on the terrace. Nurpur, c.1750.

Collection Raja Manvindra Shah of Tehri Garhwal, Narendranagar.

Description: A lady sits in an upright chair glancing backwards to a maid who offers her a dish which she holds in both hands. Four ladies attend her, one of them a girl with Muslim-style hat. Two girl musicians with *tambura* and *tabla* sit in front of her. In the rear, a group of trees with jagged protruding branches, flat plain background and band of sky with swirling clouds.

Discussion: Ascribed to Nurpur on account of the following idioms and details; the backward turning pose of the lady, Nurpur-type faces as in 28, 29 and 31-35, and the very unusual treatment of trees and branches similar to that in 3 and 19.

The picture may owe its presence in the Tehri Garhwal collection to Raja Bir Singh's residence in the state for some years during part of his exile from Nurpur under the Sikh Maharaja Ranjit Singh. For paintings in Garhwal style in the two Nurpur ancestral collections, see Garhwal. It is significant that Jaswant Singh, son of Bir Singh, was married in Tehri Garhwal to the daughter of Sudarshan Shah (ruler of Tehri Garhwal, 1815-1859). For variants of this picture, see 32 and Guler, no. 23.

Related example: (1) Khandalavala (1958), fig. 22. The young Pirthi Singh seated in a chair with a lady on a terrace. Khandalavala collection, Bombay, Nurpur, c.1760. Similar type of chair and setting. Tall, elongated figures and facial types as in 40 and 42. Pirthi Singh's *jama* dull brown, the lady's deep chocolate. Curving rim of sky with white and violet prong-like clouds (38, 39, 42, 43). Pirthi Singh identified by comparison with inscribed portrait, no. 25.

31 The lady and the pitcher. Nurpur, c.1760.

Narrow dark margin with two white rules.

British Museum, London.

Published: Archer (1955), fig. 16; also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), no. 176.

Description: A lady in patterned skirt and plain wrap approaches the jagged margins of a river, a pitcher half-concealed beneath her wrap. Before her is a tall tree, surmounted by flabby plantain leaves. Behind her is a hillside in vivid brownish pink sloping upwards to a small landscape of deep and twisted valleys with tiny rounded trees and white houses. At the top a storm-racked sky.

Discussion: Ascribed to Nurpur on account of its similarity to the following pictures: 24 (similar towering figure, grotesquely shaped wrap, broadly similar face), 28 (similar face, pronounced use of pink), 31(1) (similar type of descending hillside) and 31(2) (pink hillside, with, at the top, small houses). The last two pictures are assigned to Nurpur because of their Nurpur provenance (Archer, 1955).

Related examples: (1) Archer (1955), fig. 15. A disconsolate lady attended by a confidante. Ancestral collection of Mian Kartar Singh, Nurpur, Nurpur, c.1760. Damaged by fire on the left-side and at the top. Background with curving rims. Similar white rules. Hillside with two descending curves. Similar faces to 31.

(2) Archer (1955), fig. 12; also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), no. 153. Lady smoking a hookah, against a pink hillside. Ancestral collection of Mian Kartar Singh of Nurpur, Nurpur, c.1750-1760. Damaged by fire on the left-side. Two white rules. Hillside a vivid orange pink. Trees with flowering spikes as in 28(1).

(3) Mittal (1955), fig. 4. Two ladies playing *chaupar*. Mural in the Rang Mahal palace, Chamba. Chamba (from a Nurpur model), c.1840-1860. Similar treatment of wrap, trees and plantains as in 31. For Nurpur influences in Chamba painting, see 32(2) and 43.

32 The lady on the terrace. By Har Jaimal, Nurpur, c.1760.

245 x 140 mm; with borders 290 x 180 mm. Border pale brown with narrow black margin and white and black rules. Inscribed in white Persian characters on the central clump of trees: *raqim har jaimal musawwir* 'By the painter, Har Jaimal'.

Archer collection, London.

Published: Archer (1952), fig. 62; also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), no. 183; Archer (1965), fig. 45 (where the former mis-reading of the inscription — *rakham jamil musavar* — is corrected).

Description: A lady in mauve dress with gold veil sits in an upright gold chair on a madder-brown rug. She turns to touch a dish held out for her by a maid in a towering sage-green dress. Three other ladies, dressed in mauve and sage-green, pale blue and dark green and dark madder-brown, attend her. To the right are two girl-musicians with *tambura* and drum, the *tambura* mauve, their skirts sage-green and madder-brown, their veils bright blue. White terrace. Behind them is a pale black lake, strewn with lines of lotuses, a sage-green landscape with clumps of trees, palm-trees and plantains, tiny birds and deer, and in the distance a series of scalloped hills, in cold grey and blackish brown, their edges marked with small blackish-green trees, and enlivened with white and dark red buildings. A tiny prince, accompanied by baggage carriers, rides through the countryside. At the top a band of greyish-black rimmed by a strip of crinkly white and blue sky, streaked with madder-brown clouds.

Discussion: Comparable in subject and composition to 30 but with background, figures and landscape as in 31, 33 and 35. The highly distinctive colour combinations can be matched in 24, 28, 28(1) and 31. By the same hand as 33.

A large *Durgapath* series (Archer (1955), 16) comprising almost 200 pictures and now in the Chandigarh Museum, was formerly in the collection of Thakur Ram Singh of Bhawarna, a descendant of Raja Sansar Chand (1775-1823) of Kangra. In style it is based on the present picture and on nos. 33 and 35 and may represent a somewhat later development of the same artist's manner or that of his associates. Its presence in a Kangra collection can be explained by the close ties which existed between Nurpur and Kangra in the last two thirds of the eighteenth century.

Of the artist, Har Jaimal, named in a minute inscription in Persian characters on the face of the picture itself, nothing has as yet been discovered. It is known however, that Nurpur possessed a thriving artists' colony (Goswamy, private communication, 1966) and it is possible that details of this Hindu painter may be forthcoming later.

Related examples: (1) Archer (1955), fig. 14; also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), no. 56. Lady on a terrace smoking a hookah, fondling a pigeon and attended by a maid; to the left a tree. Ancestral collection of Mian Kartar Singh, Nurpur, Nurpur, c.1760. Significant for its choice of colours. 'The lady wears a robe of dark green, her maid is dressed in sage green and reddish brown and the background is a delicate mauve. The very distinctive idiom used for the tree tallies exactly with the idiom employed for trees in the long frieze of gods, goddesses and rajas which crowns the murals in the Nurpur fort' (Archer (1955), 14-15). Damaged by fire on the left-side and at the top.

(2) Beach (1966), fig. 188. Ladies playing a game of *chaupar*. Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Heeramaneck collection. Style of Har Jaimal, Nurpur, c.1760. Identical in style and details to 32 above. The mid-nineteenth century mural in the Rang Mahal palace, Chamba (Mittal (1955), fig. 4), shows a pair of ladies engaged in the same game of *chaupar*, thus strengthening the presumption that certain Chamba murals may have been based on Nurpur models.

33 Radha and Krishna on a terrace. Style of Har Jaimal, Nurpur, c.1760.

240 x 160 mm; with border 280 x 200 mm. Dark blue border with white rules.

Archer collection (formerly Manuk and Coles collection, residuary), London.

Published: Archer (1955), fig. 17; also reproduced Archer (1960), pl. 73.

Description: Radha in a rich madder-brown skirt and gold veil sits with Krishna in a yellow *dhoti* in a broad turquoise-blue chair. Behind them stand three maid-servants, dressed in mauve, green, madder-brown and blue and holding a long peacock-feather fan, a box of betel leaves and a white cloth. White terrace with pale yellow floor. Behind them a white pavilion with blackish grey wall and orange-brown blind, and a bamboo door-curtain with grey and crimson bands and white criss-cross pattern. To the lower right sit two girl musicians in sage-green and madder-brown skirts, playing on a pale brown *tambura* and dull yellow drum. Beyond the terrace is a grey lake with lotuses and a distant landscape gashed with hillsides, little trees and buildings and with three over-size cows. Dark blue sky with swirling wreaths of white cloud.

Discussion: By the same hand as 32, and with familiar facial types and colours. A significant new development is the use of turquoise blue in the chair.

Related examples: (1) Khandalavala (1958), no. 174. Delivering the message. British Museum, London. Nurpur, c.1760. Formerly in the French collection, London. Obtained by French in Chamba from the collection of the twentieth century Chamba painter, Hiralal. Khandalavala's remark 'Said to have been painted by one Hiralal' may be due to a misunderstanding of French's report or, in the alternative, to a confusion of the name 'Hiralal' with 'Har Jaimal' (32). Identical in style to 32 and 35. The presence of Nurpur pictures in Chamba is discussed under no. 43.

(2)-(13) Lal (1968), col. pls. 20-31. Twelve paintings from a Krishna Rukmini series, formerly in the collection of Balak Ram Sah of Srinagar, Garhwal, later Mukandi Lal collection. Nurpur, c.1760. Identical in style to 31-33 and with the following characteristic background colours: red (3, 14(ii), 25), brownish-pink (31), brown (9, 10, 18, 22, 34, 38), and grey (11, 39, 46). Pl. 26 now in the Binney collection, Brookline, Mass. The presence of the series in a Garhwal collection may be due to the close relations existing between Sudarshan Shah of Tehri Garhwal and Bir Singh of Nurpur as also to the marriage of Bir Singh's son to Sudarshan Shah's daughter.

(14) Randhawa (1954), col. pl. 21. 'Love's burning fever'. Chandigarh Museum. Nurpur, 1760-1790. Similar in style to 32 and 33 and with tiny background figures. The faces of the lady and her maids, however, are now much closer to Kangra standard types while the second pavilion poses unresolved problems of space. It is possible, therefore, that this is a late example of a style, first developed in about the year 1760 but persisting, with other styles, until the end of the eighteenth century.

34 Prince watching a dancing-girl perform. Nurpur, c. 1760.

National Museum, New Delhi (formerly collection of Mian Devi Chand, uncle of Raja Rajendra Chand, Nadaun, Kangra).

Published: Randhawa (1959), p.26.

Description: A prince in yellow *jama* is seated in a low broad chair, clapping his hands in time to a dancing-girl who pirouettes before him, holding a pile of five *lotas* in each of her out-stretched hands and balancing a further four vessels on her head. She wears trousers, a white skirt and transparent veil through which the terrace balustrade can be seen. As she dances, she gazes ardently at the prince. Three male musicians in mauve and dark green *jamias* accompany her on a long cylindrical drum and a *tambura* and by clapping their hands. Beside the prince sits a further musician with a *vina*. Behind him stands a young attendant waving a long cloth. Terrace with white balustrades and a red carpet with blue borders. Dark chocolate-brown background with, at the top, a curving rim of white and dark blue sky.

Discussion: Reminiscent of 28 ('A ruler, perhaps Fateh Singh, entertained by dancing-girls') and with the same facial idioms, dark background with curving rim of sky and a balustrade visible through the dancer's transparent veil.

The low broad chair is of the same type as the one used by Radha and Krishna in 33. The pattern of the balustrade is identical to that in 33. Indar Singh, son of Fateh Singh, lived on his wife's estate at Reh in Kangra — a circumstance which might explain the presence of this picture in the family collection of Mian Devi Chand, a descendant of the Kangra royal house.

Related example: (1) Randhawa (1954), col. pl. 6; also reproduced Randhawa (1955), fig. 3; Khandalavala (1958), no. 178. Princess smoking. Mian Kartar Singh collection, Nurpur. Nurpur, c.1760-1770. Chocolate brown background. Mauve bolster. Similar face to 34. Significant as forming part of a Nurpur family collection.

35 Durga killing Mahishasura. Style of Har Jaimal. Nurpur, c.1760.

146 x 228 mm; with border 192 x 279 mm. Red border with black and white rules.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 460-1950.

Published: Archer (1952), fig. 67.

Description: The goddess Durga with brief brownish-yellow bodice, midriff exposed and orange-red skirt bestrides her lion who is part tawny, part white. The lion pounces on a black buffalo whose head is on the ground. As he does so, a demon with turquoise blue skin and swirling orange scarves emerges from the animal, brandishing a black shield and silver sword. The goddess attacks him with all eleven of her arms. White background with sharp curves denoting hillsides. On the right small animals (deer, civet cats?) are intent spectators. In the foreground, silver water with angular verge. At the top, a narrow strip of red, white and blue.

Discussion: By the same hand as 32 and 33 and with close similarities to 28 (compare the curving rim of red, white and blue at the top, the swirling scarves, and use of white, blue and black). For the fanged curves denoting hillsides, see 49, 52 (Nurpur Raj collection). As in 33, turquoise blue.

36 Raja Pirthi Singh (c.1770-c.1805) of Nurpur standing. Nurpur, c.1760.

158 x 114 mm; with border 180 x 137 mm. Dark blue border.

Inscribed on the reverse in *nagari* characters: *sri raja prithi singh*.

Chandigarh Museum (on transfer from Central Museum, Lahore).

Description: Pirthi Singh in brown ankle-length *jama* stands facing left against a pale background. He wears a grey turban and rests his sword tip downwards on the ground. A hawking-glove is tucked into his waist-sash.

Discussion: Important because of its Nurpur subject — Raja Pirthi Singh shown aged about twenty to twenty-five years, or, in other words, as he may have looked in c. 1760-1765, the deliberate association of him with hunting, as seen in the insertion of the hawking-glove in his waist (compare 25) and the choice of brown for *jama* — unusual in other schools of painting but constantly employed in painting at Nurpur.

37 Raja Suraj Mal (1613-1618) of Nurpur holding a cup. Nurpur, c.1760-1770 (after an earlier original).

198 x 163 mm; with border 270 x 224 mm.

Inscribed on the reverse in *takri* characters: *sri maharaj suraj mal*.

Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras.

Description: Suraj Mal, shown half-length, in a light green dress, Jahangir-style Mughal turban and huge yellow halo, leans against a red cushion, holding a wine-cup in his right hand and looking left. Dark green background.

Discussion: A posthumous celebration of the elder brother of Raja Jagat Singh under whom Nurpur reached the height of its power. Although later Nurpur Rajas collaborated with the Mughal emperors, Suraj Mal's defiance of Jahangir and his subsequent exile to Chamba, where he died, may have set an inspiring example to his successors. The great halo, an unusual feature in Pahari portraiture, may have been intended to emphasise this heroic role.

Related example: (1) Archer (1963), fig. 45. Suraj Mal at a window with a hawk. Archer collection, London. Nurpur, c.1750-1760 (after an earlier original). Same person as in 37 and with identical posture except for the substitution of a hawk for the wine-cup, a window for the cushion and the absence of a halo. Red background, orange dress, and pale green coverlet on window-sill.

38 The expectant lady (*vasakasajja nayika*). Nurpur, c. 1760-1770. 205 x 123 mm; with border 245 x 165 mm. Red border with black rules.

Inscribed on the reverse with Hindi verses in *nagari* characters describing the situation.

Victoria and Albert Museum, Rothenstein collection, I.S. 163-1951.

Published: Gill (1925), pl. at p.8; also reproduced Gray (1948), col. pl. 10; Khandalavala (1958), no. 177.

Description: A lady in sage green skirt and dark red veil stands by a grey-walled pavilion gazing out into the night. Behind her in a doorway crouches a drowsy maid. Madder pink terrace with greyish-white balustrade. To the right a dark tree. Dull brown background with curving rim of azure sky streaked with three prong-like clouds, stars and a crescent moon.

Discussion: Attributed to Nurpur on account of colour (sage green, madder pink and brown), facial type (compare the cow-girl in 27, from the Nurpur Raj collection), the rug and tiny doorway (as in the Nurpur *Rasamanjari*, no. 14) and the prong-like treatment of clouds (an idiom seen in 30(1), 39 and 42, and here regarded as local to Nurpur).

Related examples: (1) Khandalavala (1958), fig. 66. Krishna strokes Radha's foot. Khandalavala collection, Bombay. Nurpur, c.1760-1770. Pink terrace floor. The maid standing behind Krishna tall, towering and with the same type of face and same stance as the lady in 38. Mauve skirt and green wrap. Pale green background, with, at the top, a curving rim of sky, gashed with prong-like streaks and curling clouds.

(2) Archer and Binney (1968), pl. 79. Prince with six ladies gazing at the new moon. Binney collection, Brookline, Mass. Nurpur, c.1760-1770. Same facial types as in 27, 38 and 38(1). Two of the ladies with characteristic backward-glancing stances. Dresses mauve. Plain green background with curving band of blue sky, gashed with white, red, mauve and gold prong-like streaks.

39 Prince smoking. Nurpur, c.1760-1770. 185 x 150 mm (trimmed).

Mis-inscribed on reverse in Persian script: *chamba-i rajah*: and in English, perhaps by a dealer: *Old Raja of Chamba State*.

Victoria and Albert Museum, Debenham collection, I.S. 147-1953.

Description: A prince in white *jama* sits on a white mat, smoking a hookah attended by two courtiers who sit before him. He leans against a mauve cushion with floral sprigs. An attendant with white cloth stands behind him. Fawn carpet with vertical stripes in brick-red. At the back a low black balustrade with lattice-work. Background a muddy brownish-grey with, at the top, a curving rim of blue sky gashed with red and white prong-like streaks. All three figures have bunches of flowers in their turbans.

Discussion: Connected with Nurpur on account of the appearance of the chief figure and the inclusion of idioms here regarded as typical of Nurpur (brownish-grey background, a balustrade with criss-cross lattice-work as in 33 and 34, and a sky with streaks of prong-like clouds as in 30(1), 38, 38(1 and 2), 42). The fact that the inscriptions describe the chief figure as an unspecified 'Raja of Chamba', although, in fact, he bears no resemblance to any known Chamba ruler, supports the view that under Raja Bir Singh (1805-1846) pictures from Nurpur entered Chamba collections where they may have served as models for later Chamba paintings and may also have been later misidentified as Chamba products.

40 The standing lady. Fragment of a painting from a *Nayaka Nayika* series. Nurpur, c.1760-1770.

Left side and portions of the base and top destroyed by fire.

Ancestral collection of Mian Kartar Singh of Nurpur.

Photographed by W.G.A. during a visit to Nurpur with M. S. Randhawa and Mulk Raj Anand, 1954.

Originally in the family collection of Wazir Ram Singh Pathania, a minister of Raja Jaswant Singh (x, 1846-1898) of Nurpur and damaged by fire when his house was shelled by the British in 1849 (Archer, Randhawa, 1955).

Description: A tall lady in towering dress stands on a white terrace, her right hand touching her left shoulder. She gazes blankly downwards. Behind her is a plain background with a slender tree, its four branches studded with spear-shaped fronds of flowers. Curving rim of sky.

Discussion: Important because of its Nurpur provenance and its distinctive style which is repeated in other pictures (28, 42) here regarded as Nurpur.

41 Krishna crying for the moon. Fragment of a painting from a Krishna series. Nurpur, c.1760-1770. Left-half and much of the top and base destroyed by fire.

Ancestral collection of Mian Kartar Singh, Nurpur.

Photographed by W.G.A. during a visit to Nurpur with M. S. Randhawa and Mulk Raj Anand, 1954.

Originally in the family collection of Wazir Ram Singh Pathania, a minister of Raja Jaswant Singh (x, 1846-1898) of Nurpur and damaged by fire when his house was shelled by the British in 1849 (Archer, Randhawa, 1955).

Description: Jasoda, a tall and towering figure with brief bodice and long skirt, holds the child Krishna by his left hand as he strives to catch the moon reflected in a basin of water (missing from the picture but implied by the stance). Beyond them is a plain background with, at the top, a broad band of dark blue sky, studded with stars (the moon presumably appearing in the portion destroyed by fire). Behind Jasoda stands another tall and towering woman, the portico of a pavilion projecting like a sharp prong. White terrace.

Discussion: Like 40, important because of its Nurpur provenance and its resemblances in style and idioms to other pictures, here ascribed to Nurpur. Compare 44 (a slightly later version of the same subject), 27 (where the standing cow-girl closely resembles the maid behind Jasoda) and 28 and 42 (where the faces are identical versions of the same type).

42 The lady with the flower. Nurpur, c.1760-1770. British Museum, London.

Description: A tall lady in towering dress and filmy transparent veil stands on a white terrace, holding in her hand a flower and gazing into space. Beyond her is a plain and empty background, with, at the top, a curving band of sky, streaked with sharp, prong-like clouds.

Discussion: Similar in style and idioms to 30(1), 40 and 41.

43 Radha dancing before Krishna. Nurpur, c.1770-1780. 180 x 145 mm (trimmed).

Lalbai collection, Ahmedabad.

Published: Khandalavala (1958), fig. 42.

Description: Radha in pale yellow dress and with jet black hair dances before Krishna who wears a yellow *dhoti* with a brownish red scarf. He holds a flute and looks over his shoulder towards two cowerds one of whom plays a tambourine. Behind Radha are three companions in turquoise blue and slate blue dresses, one of them playing on a brown drum. Behind the party is a yellowish green hillside topped by curving rims and bending trees. At the top, white and blue sky with prong-like clouds.

Discussion: Like 28, 34 and 47, a dancing-subject but remarkable because the chief dancer is Radha. Apart from one instance at Kangra this theme is virtually unknown in other centres of painting, but appears in yet another Nurpur picture (see no. 57) formerly in the Mian Kartar Singh ancestral collection, Nurpur (Randhawa, 1955, 1959). The present picture employs typical Nurpur colours, such as turquoise blue, slate blue, yellowish green and brown, and the unique Nurpur idiom of prong-like clouds. Although a

drawing similar in composition and subject was discovered by Mittal in the collection of the living Chamba painter, Hiralal, and the female type appears in a mural in the Rang Mahal palace, Chamba (Mittal (1955), fig. 4), these circumstances in themselves are hardly sufficient to negative Nurpur as the place of execution of the present picture. The mural in question is c.1840-1860 in date, i.e. sixty to seventy years later, and Nurpur pictures could well have reached Chamba in the early nineteenth century during the enforced sojourn there of Raja Bir Singh (c.1805-1846). The evident elongation of the figures is also no proof of Chamba origin since this kind of stylisation occurs not only in Chamba and Nurpur but in Guler, Kangra, Garhwal and Kulu.

44 Krishna crying for the moon. Nurpur, c.1770-1780.

260 x 160 mm (trimmed).

National Museum, New Delhi.

Description: Jasoda in a dark red and blue skirt holds back the child Krishna as he strives to seize the crescent moon reflected in a basin of water. A maid stands behind her with white cloth and fly-whisk. She raises her right hand to point at the real moon shown as a tiny crescent in the top left-hand corner. To the right, a stout woman, perhaps Rohini, his foster-mother, clasps the pale-skinned Balarama. Against the sky rises a long and slender cypress wreathed with dangling creepers.

Discussion: A version of 41. Significant details: the low balustrade with cross-hatched lattice-work as in 28, 29, 32, 49, the cowherd boy with striped trunks (compare 27 from the Nurpur Raj collection, and 46) and the wriggling line of Jasoda's veil, silhouetted against the white terrace (reminiscent of the agitated and fluttering veils of 14). Jasoda's face as in 46, the maid's face as in 47-56.

45 The salvation of the elephant. Nurpur, c.1770-1780.

132 x 231 mm; with border 147 x 246 mm. Red border with narrow black margin and white rules.

Chandigarh Museum, Nurpur Raj collection. Formerly in the ancestral collection of Raja Narendra Singh, Nurpur.

Description: Vishnu, four-armed and in yellow *dhoti*, stands on a greyish-blue hillside beside a river in which a dark grey elephant is trapped in the coils of a crocodile. The elephant raises in its trunk a lotus flower. Behind Vishnu stands Garuda with turquoise blue skin and clad in a dark red *dhoti*. Along the horizon proceed two pairs of elephants through a line of plantains.

Discussion: Significant on account of its Nurpur provenance, its use of turquoise blue and recourse to a facial idiom employed in 43 and 46. The row of intrusive plantains is reminiscent of the mid-nineteenth century Chamba mural of two ladies playing *chaupar* (Mittal (1955), fig. 4), here regarded as based on a Nurpur model.

46 Krishna celebrating the Holi festival. Nurpur, c.1770-1780.

265 x 205 mm; with border 290 x 220 mm.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 105-1954.

Description: A stately and turbulent scene. Krishna with dark blue skin and deep yellow *dhoti* stands beneath an orange-red canopy squirting yellow water from a bamboo syringe at Radha who stands before him with a pile of red powder collected in her lap. She wears a brief, pale brown bodice, a mauve veil and black skirt. She lifts her right hand to throw some red powder at Krishna. Around them stand sixteen milk-maids, six with musical instruments, the remaining ten squirting coloured water, throwing powder or hiding their faces. Predominant colours of dresses dark red, blue, yellow and turquoise blue. In the foreground is a large grey bowl containing yellow water and below it a sack of red powder. Four young cowherd boys in striped trunks and turbans are joining in the sport. White terrace floor stained with smudges of red and yellow. Grey background merging, at the top, in blue sky.

Discussion: Similar in style, idioms and details to 41-45 and with the following points of special significance: Krishna's face identical to Vishnu's in 45, colour combinations,

including the use of turquoise blue, comparable to those in other Nurpur paintings, figures of the milk-maids inordinately tall, inclusion of a long cylindrical drum as in 43. A novel feature, foreshadowed in 44, is the depiction of the breasts under semi-transparent slightly shaded bodices, and the deliberate showing of the nipples. This last idiom is a feature of Guler painting in the period 1760-1770 and may have reached Nurpur from this source. An unusual archaism is the intrusion of two of the milk-maids' skirts into the right-hand margin.

47 Prince with rani and child entertained by a dancing-girl and musicians. Nurpur, c.1775-1780.

230 x 280 mm (without border).

Mis-inscribed at the top in *nagari* characters: *sri maharaja sri man chandji*.

Atma Ram Kanoria collection, Calcutta.

Description: A prince with clean-cut beard and white *jama* sits with his rani on a terrace covered with an orange-red carpet with floral designs. A child in striped *jama* stands before him. Behind them stand two maid servants. In front of them is a child dancing-girl performing to the accompaniment of two girl-musicians with drum and *tambura*. Two maids, one of whom holds a long staff and is perhaps the mistress of the palace, stand behind them watching. Above the prince is a grey canopy. The ladies wear dark red and deep blue skirts and blue, white and yellow bodices. Pale greyish-blue background with thick trees and two cypresses, one of them caressed by the dangling stems of a willow.

Discussion: This picture is in line with other Nurpur dancing-scenes (28, 34, 43) and because of the young child standing before his parents may well be a family group modelled on a type of picture favoured in Guler under Raja Govardhan Chand (1741-1773). The inscription, however, can hardly be correct. On grounds of style, 1775 to 1780 is the approximate date of the picture, and the only Man Chand known is the third brother of Sansar Chand (1775-1823) of Kangra, who was born as late as 1775. It is possible that, in view of Pirthi Singh's close ties with Tegh Chand of Kangra, the picture may indeed represent a Kangra personage, though not Man Chand. On the other hand, the subject could well be Raja Jit Pal (vii, 1736-1757) of Basohli, father of Amrit Pal and grandfather of Vijay Pal (48). Jit Pal (Jammu, no. 23 and Randhawa (1965) fig. 5) had a clean-cut beard, firm moustache and prominent nose which closely resembles those of the principal figure in the present scene. If this identification is accepted, the picture may be one of a series celebrating Basohli rulers and executed at Nurpur early in the reign of the young Vijay Pal, perhaps as a compliment to him on the part of Pirthi Singh.

Significant details connecting the painting with other pictures here regarded as Nurpur: cypress with willow or creeper (44), balustrade with cross-hatched lattice-work (28, 29, 32, 44), flowering tree (24), tall canopy with greyish-blue background (46), faces of the women (44 and 47-56).

48 Ruler, perhaps Raja Vijay Pal (ix, 1776-1806) of Basohli, listening to singing-girls. Nurpur, c.1780.

168 x 255 mm; with border (trimmed) 180 x 265 mm. Red border with black and white rules.

Victoria and Albert Museum, Gayer-Anderson collection, I.S. 150-1952.

Description: A young prince in red *jama* striped with gold sits smoking a hookah and listening to two singing-girls accompanied by two male musicians. The nearer girl wears a brief olive-brown bodice, white long-sleeved overgarment and red trousers, her companion a red dress. The nearer musician holding a long cylindrical crimson drum wears a dark blue *jama*. The second musician holding a red *tambura* has a sage green *jama*. Behind the prince tower two attendants, one in white, the other in mauve — the foremost holding an honorific white cloth, the second a sword in a red cloth bag. White terrace wall with dark green carpet and orange floral pattern. Background deep yellow rimmed with white and blue.

Discussion: In style, colours and details, similar to 34. Vijay

Pal of Basohli was thirteen years old when he came to the throne in 1776. For a standing portrait of him, see Randhawa (1965), fig. 9.

49 Krishna returning to Radha at dawn. Nurpur, c.1770-1780.

165 x 255 mm; with border 189 x 267 mm. Red border with thin black margin and white rules.

Chandigarh Museum, Nurpur Raj collection. Formerly in the ancestral collection of Raja Narendra Singh, Nurpur.

Description: Krishna in dark red *jama* and with orange scarf stands on a white terrace facing Radha who wears a red skirt and mauve bodice. She stands outside an empty room with crimson bolster. Sage green background, gashed with lines of fanged slopes and small dark trees. By the top of the pavilion a sun with human face and radiating rays appears above the horizon.

Discussion: Important because of its Nurpur provenance and style, which is distinct from that of other centres of painting but embodies idioms and details, seen in other pictures, here accepted as Nurpur.

50 The disconsolate lady (*prositapatika nayika*). From a *Nayaka Nayika* series. Nurpur, c.1770-1780.

233 x 152 mm (trimmed). Later mount with dark brown margin and ivory-coloured border.

Victoria and Albert Museum, Rothenstein collection, I.S. 178-1951.

Description: A lady in white bodice, gold trousers and a white skirt with orange-red veil swirling around her, lies on a grey bed with pale yellow coverlet, her head turned despairingly away. An old duenna in mauve skirt and white wrap, holding a long stick, leans over her. To the right two maids in white and pale yellow stand holding trays. White terrace with, in the front, a dribbling fountain and three beds of poppies. In the rear, gloomy trees, grey-blue sky and white pavilion with grey inner wall and blind.

Discussion: Similar in style and details to 47-49.

51 The disconsolate lady (*prositapatika nayika*). From a *Nayaka Nayika* series. Nurpur, c.1770-1780.

222 x 152 mm with thin black margin (trimmed).

Victoria and Albert Museum, French collection, I.S. 161-1955.

Description: From the same model as 50 but with the following differences of detail. The old duenna wears a pale yellow, instead of a mauve skirt. The fountain and flowerbeds are replaced by an orange-red balustrade with mauve base. The two maids wear blue and red, instead of crimson and grey, trousers beneath transparent over-mantles. A plain sage-green background with curving rim of white and blue sky gashed with red replaces the dark green trees and pale blue sky.

Discussion: Similar in style, palette and facial idioms to 47-56. For the maid on the right, compare Rohini in 44.

52 Krishna dismissed. From a *Nayaka Nayika* series. Nurpur, c.1770-1780.

Chandigarh Museum, Nurpur Raj collection. Formerly in the ancestral collection of Raja Narendra Singh of Nurpur.

Description: Krishna in ankle-length *jama* prepares to leave Radha who sits in a pavilion with a rolled-up blind. White terrace. Behind an empty landscape with sharply curving rims for hills.

Discussion: With 45, 49 and 53 from the same Nurpur Raj collection and affording important evidence for connecting with Nurpur certain distinctive treatments of hillsides and of the male and female face. For the blind with white cord, see 53.

53 Radha and Krishna with girl-musicians. Nurpur, c.1770-1780.

232 x 152 mm; with border 246 x 164 mm. Red border with two white rules.

Chandigarh Museum, Nurpur Raj collection. Formerly in the ancestral collection of Raja Narendra Singh of Nurpur.

Description: Radha in a dark red skirt, brown bodice and

black veil is seated on a low dais with Krishna, who wears a yellow *jama*. Behind them stands a maid with white cloth and fly-whisk. In front of them stand three girl-musicians with drum and *tambura*, a fourth girl hands Krishna a tray of flowers. They wear red, blue and orange skirts. Behind the white terrace is a spreading tree and tall pavilion. A cypress appears above the pavilion roof. Sage-green background with curving rim of white sky gashed with blue.

Discussion: Significant because of its Nurpur provenance and close similarity in idioms and colours to 48, 49 and 51. For other examples involving girl-musicians, see 30, 32, 33, 43, 46 and 47.

54 Vishnu as Man-lion. Nurpur, c.1770-1780.

162 x 235 mm; with border 205 x 255 mm. Red border with black and white rules.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 104-1954.

Description: Vishnu in the form of a lion with white and tawny skin bursts from a chocolate-brown column and rips the belly of Hiranyakasipu who lies prostrate before him. The impious prince wears a blackish green *jama* with bold sprigs and grey trousers. To the left is his young son, clad in a yellow *dhota* and on the right, his rani standing with folded hands and wearing a brief mauve bodice, dark blue veil and dark red and blue skirt. Grey background with niches shown by black lines. Orange carpet. On either side chocolate-brown pillars with hooked capitals.

Discussion: Identical in style to 47, 49, 51, 53 and with the following further similarities to other Nurpur paintings: low broad chair (34), carpet with the same textile pattern as in 47, lion as in 35, pronounced use of chocolate-brown and blackish green, capitals as in the Nurpur *Rasamanjari* (14).

55 The wives of the Brahmins leaving Krishna. Nurpur, c.1770-1780.

National Museum, New Delhi.

Description: Three ladies, two with pitchers on their heads and wearing brief bodices, the third with a short jacket, prepare to leave Krishna who sits with two cowherd-boys beneath a tree. A third cowherd-boy stands behind them. All three boys wear cylindrical hats. Plain background with, in the foreground, the curving white verge of a stream. A large tree slants diagonally upwards.

Discussion: Identical in style to 48-54. The white verge is reminiscent of 17(iii). A new development is the short jacket worn by the leading woman.

Related examples: (1) Archer (1952), fig. 68. Sultan Ibrahim Adham fed by angels in the wilderness. G. K. Kanoria collection, Calcutta. Nurpur, c.1770-1780. Similar cylindrical hats, short jackets, tree and curving rim as in 55.

(2) Archer and Binney (1968), fig. 80a. *Vipralabdha nayika*: a lady throwing away her armlets. Binney collection, Brookline. Nurpur, c.1770. Similar face and stream to 55. White background.

56 The lady at the tryst (*utka nayika*). Nurpur, c.1770-1780.

192 x 122 mm (trimmed with traces of red border and white rules). Late mount.

Inscribed on the reverse in *nagari* characters: *nayika utka*.

Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 21-1953.

Description: A lady in brief mauve bodice, dark blue veil and dark red and blue skirt stands at night below a jagged tree. Below her is a stream with four lotus flowers and at her feet a bed of sage-green leaves. Plain black hillside with curving rim and blackish brown sky. Foliage of the tree a series of round blobs.

Discussion: Identical in style to 48-55. Tree and white verge as in 55.

Related examples: (1) Randhawa (1959), col. pl. 27. *Utka nayika*. Chandigarh Museum. Nurpur, c.1780. Closely similar in style and composition to 56. Similar bare trunks but with the oval gouged-out holes characteristic of the Nurpur *Ramayana* series (17).

(2) Archer and Binney (1968), fig. 80b. *Utka nayika*. Binney collection, Brookline. Nurpur, c.1770-1780. A third version of substantially the same subject. Similar style. Tree with gouged-out holes as in 56(1).

57 Radha dancing before Krishna. Fragment. Nurpur, c.1780-1790.

123 x 218 mm. Bottom half and much of the right and left sides destroyed by fire.

Chandigarh Museum. Formerly in the ancestral collection of Mian Kartar Singh, Nurpur, and originally owned by his ancestor, Wazir Ram Singh Pathania, a minister of Raja Jaswant Singh (1846-1898) of Nurpur. Damaged by fire when his house was shelled by the British in 1849 (Archer, Randhawa, 1955).

Published: Randhawa (1955), fig. 6; also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), no. 79; Randhawa (1959), col. pl. 38 (detail).

Description: Radha in red skirt, mauve bodice and blue veil is dancing before Krishna and Balarama who sit beneath a willow-type sapling. A cowherd-boy with pale skin stands behind them. A second cowherd-boy looks away. Behind Radha are two companions, one of them clapping cymbals and facing the onlooker. Red background with strip of red, white and blue sky at the top.

Discussion: A second example of a theme which seems to have been unusually popular at Nurpur. Compare 43 where Radha is also shown dancing before Krishna. The picture is important because of its Nurpur provenance and similarity in style to other paintings here regarded as Nurpur. Significant details: the red background, shared by Nurpur with Guler and Basohli and put to striking use by Golu in the Brijraj Swami murals, Nurpur Fort, the slightly shaded bodice emphasising the breasts, standard facial types, the straggling sapling and the hats worn by two of the cowherd boys.

PHASE THREE: 1800-1850

A phase of Nurpur painting, so far unidentified, since all surviving portraits of Bir Singh (1805-1846) are either in Guler style or are painted by Guler artists working for the Sikhs. Two Nurpur artist families are known to have existed in the early nineteenth century, but neither can be said with certainty to have worked in Nurpur itself. For details of three brothers — Vaikuntha, Shiba and Moti and of a fourth artist, Wasti Ram, see Goswamy (1966b, 1971). Of these painters Vaikuntha is associated with a portrait of Balbir Sen of Mandi dated 1840 while Shiba seems to have unsuccessfully sought employment at the Kangra court under Sansar Chand. No paintings by any of these artists, actually executed in Nurpur, are so far known. For paintings in Kangra, perhaps influenced by the style of Har Jaimal (32, 33, 35) and here dated to the period 1810-1820, see Kangra.

PAINING IN PUNCH

I. INTRODUCTION

GEOGRAPHY

A state, north-west of Jammu, bounded on the south by Naoshera, on the west by the river Jhelum, on the north by the Pir Panjal range and on the east by Kashmir.

Outside the Punjab Hills but here included owing to the supposed existence in it of a style of Punjab Hill painting (Review of Literature, q.v.).

RELIGION

'Unlike Kangra, Basohli, Guler and Jammu, all of which were Hindu in religion and culture, Punch had been almost entirely Muhammadan from the middle of the fifteenth century. Its ruling house — a branch of the Jodhpur family of Rathor Rajputs — had adopted Islam and until the Sikh conquest of 1819, only Punch, the town, retained a Hindu character through its traders and merchants. . . . A Muslim countryside, a Hindu capital, a Muslim court until 1819, a Hindu court thereafter — these are the contradictions which provide the background to its art' (Archer, 1952).

II. HISTORICAL NOTES

SOURCES

Hutchison, J. and Vogel, J.P. *History of the Panjab Hill States* (Lahore 1933), II.

Khandalavala, K. *Pahari Miniature Painting* (Bombay, 1958). Summarising HV.

REIGNS AND PORTRAITS

Founded in its present form by Sarje Singh, a cadet of the Jodhpur family, who accepted Islam, took the name of Siraj-ud-din Khan and married the daughter of the Chaudhri (head local official). Succeeded his father-in-law with this title and was appointed Raja of Punch by the Mughal Emperor Jahangir (c.1610) for services rendered during the latter's annual visits to Kashmir. From 1586 to 1752, Punch was subject to the Mughals; and from 1752 to 1819, it was under Afghan rule.

SIRAJ-UD-DIN (i)
Founder.

FATEH MUHAMMAD KHAN (ii)
Son of Siraj-ud-din.

ABDUL RIZAK KHAN (iii)

RUSTAM KHAN (iv)
Son of Abdul Rizak Khan.

SHABAZ KHAN (v)
Grandson of Abdul Rizak Khan.

RUHULLAH KHAN (vi)
Expelled by the Sikhs, 1819. Punch was then annexed and granted as a fief to Dhian Singh, Chief Minister of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, Lahore. 1846, 'absorbed' in Kashmir under Raja Gulab Singh (1820-1857), Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir. Jawahir Singh (son of Dhian Singh) strove to maintain its independence. 1857, following Gulab Singh's death, Jawahir Singh abdicated in favour of his younger

brother Moti Singh who was allowed a measure of local autonomy.

IMPLICATIONS FOR PAINTING

Discussed Archer (1952) but see Review of Literature.

III. PAINTING: REVIEW OF LITERATURE

From 1910 to 1952, Punch was assumed to have had a distinctive school of local painting — Coomaraswamy, Gupta, Mehta and Goetz taking its existence for granted, and the present writer endeavouring to reconstruct its history on the basis of certain pictures of known Punch provenance. In the view of Chandra and Khandalavala, the grounds adduced were inadequate since the pictures in question were more readily assignable to other states and their Punch provenance was adventitious. Later research has confirmed this view with the result that, apart from some nineteenth century paintings in broadly 'Kangra Valley style' and certain murals (French, 1954), Punch must now be deemed to have had no indigenous school of painting.

1912

Coomaraswamy, A. K. *Indian Drawings: Second Series, chiefly Rajput* (London, 1912), 7.

Includes Punch, along with Jammu, Chamba, Garhwal and Kangra, as a centre of Rajput painting in the Punjab Himalayas.

1913

Coomaraswamy, A. K. *The Arts and Crafts of India and Ceylon* (London, 1913).

Re-inforces Coomaraswamy (1912) with the statement: '(Rajput) paintings fall into two groups, the Rajasthani, from Rajputana and especially Jaipur; and the Pahari, or Mountain School, from the Panjab Hill-states, especially Kangra, Chamba and Punch' (90).

Gives as an example of the Punch school: 'The picture of Rama, Sita, and Lakshman (fig. 75) — their forest exile — belongs to the local Pahari school of Punch; a naive simplicity and force are here, somewhat exceptionally, united with tenderness and mystery' (93). Refrains from giving any grounds for this attribution (dealer's statement? provenance? style?).

Remarks of a Garhwal picture ('Shiva watching Parvati as she sleeps'): 'It is uncertain how far the representation of night effects is original in Rajput art'; but claims that 'they occur in some of the most provincial types (Punch) but are rarer in Kangra pictures' (94).

[This last remark is evidently based on fig. 75 which is itself a night scene].

1916

Coomaraswamy, A. K. *Rajput Painting* (Oxford, 1961).

Omits any reference to Punch as a centre of painting.

Re-illustrates (pl. 42B) Coomaraswamy (1913, fig. 75) abandoning, however, its attribution to Punch and preferring to caption it 'Pahari (early Kangra), early 18th century'. As before, no reasons given.

1922

Gupta, S. N. *Catalogue of Paintings in the Central Museum, Lahore* (Calcutta, 1922).

Attributes the following pictures to Punch on grounds of dealers' reports on provenance:

E.14, p.76. 'Dhritarashtra, the father of the Kauravas'. 'Poonch, middle 18th century'.

G.11, p.100. 'Musicians entertaining a lady'. 'Poonch, early 19th century'.
 I.15, p.114. *Utka nayika*. 'Poonch, late 18th century'.
 I.25, p.115. *Abhisarika nayika*. 'Poonch, early 19th century'.

1926

Mehta, N. C. *Studies in Indian Painting* (Bombay, 1926), 60.

'Besides the great states of Kashmir, Patiala, Jaipur, Udaipur, Bikaner, the smaller states of Kangra, Chamba, Nurpur, Punch and Mandi in the Punjab . . . afforded generous patronage to the art of painting.'

1947

Goetz, H. 'Indian Painting in the Muslim period'. *Journal Indian Society of Oriental Art* (1947), XV, 39.

'Thus after 1750 small Mughal schools turned up in Punch, Ramnagar, Basohli, Chamba, "Kangra", Mandi and even Garhwal. The style of most of these is very provincial, only Punch and "Kangra" reveal a decent standard. Within a decade or two all of them again disappeared, superseded or assimilated into the new Pahari-Rajput style of "Kangra".'

[Goetz states no reasons but is apparently following Gupta (1922)].

1948

Goetz, H. 'The coming of Muslim cultural influence in the Punjab Himalaya'. *India Antiqua* (Vogel commemoration volume, Leyden, 1948), 163.

On the grounds that a few miniatures were acquired by dealers from Punch (Gupta, 1922), accepts the existence of a Punch school of painting.

1951

Goetz, H. 'The Background of Pahari-Rajput Painting'. *Roopa Lekha* (1951), XXII, no. 1, 3.

'The home of the Rajput art in the Himalaya was the Beas or Kangra Valley, though it spread in the West as far as Jammu, Punch and even Kashmir, in the East into the Simla Hills and Garhwal.'

1952

Archer, W. G. 'Painting in Punch', *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills* (London, 1952), 71-84.

Attempts a reconstruction of Punch painting on the basis of:

(1) a private communication by French describing a visit to Punch in 1922 and testifying to the existence of wall-paintings in 'Kangra' style on the interior walls of the Raja's palace. 'The themes were drawn from the romance of Radha and Krishna and the particular style was "post-1820". Mr. French was unfortunately unable to photograph these murals and it is impossible therefore to state their exact character. The observation is, none the less, significant for it proves that certainly in the nineteenth century, if not earlier, influence from the southern hills had reached this remote territory' (71).

(2) the four pictures in the Central Museum, Lahore, attributed to Punch by Gupta on grounds of provenance — (reproduced E.14 (fig. 63), G.11 (fig. 60), I.15 (fig. 58), I.25 (fig. 59)) — which while partially resembling Guler paintings of about the year 1755, were regarded as the work in Punch of one or more immigrant Guler painters, influenced by a pre-existing Punch style.

(3) pictures related on grounds of style to (2) and apparently unconnected with any other known style or source.

[The pictures then attributed to Punch are here ascribed as follows: Figs. 58, 60, 61, 63, 66, 69, 70, Guler; fig. 59, Garhwal; figs. 62, 64, 65, 67, 68, Nurpur.]

1953

Gangoly, O. C. 'A set of *Ramayana* illustrations of the Pahari school'. *Bulletin Baroda Museum* (1952-1953), IX, pts. 1-2, 25.

'Recent researches have established the fact that a large part of the surviving Pahari miniatures in the Kangra style

were not in fact executed at Kangra but in the neighbouring states of Mandi, Guler, Chamba, Punch and Garhwal.' No reasons cited.

Chandra, M. 'Review of *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills* by W. G. Archer'. *Marg* (1953), VI, no. 1, 22-27.

Queries Archer (1952), arguing that 'the existence of some 19th century fresco paintings in Punch does not prove the existence of a local school of painting, as these painters might have come from Kangra'.

Considers that the presence in one picture (fig. 60) of a girl in a Muslim hat 'does not prove that we are confronted with a Muhammadan tradition'; similarly that 'the appearance of the signature of Jamil, a Muslim painter, cannot be taken to mean that the picture was painted in a Muslim state, as there are many examples of Muslim painters working for Hindu rajas'.

[The signature in question is in Persian script and has subsequently been read as that of a Hindu painter, Har Jaimal (Nurpur, q.v.).]

Holds that 'to establish the school of Punch on a firmer basis, more material is required, specially the portraits of the Punch rulers', and that, 'till then, the school of Punch is bound to remain a controversial issue'.

1954

Archer, W. G. *Garhwal Painting* (London, 1954).

On the basis of Archer (1952), considers it established that a Guler artist had left the Guler court at a vitally experimental stage (c.1760) and had migrated to Punch.

Considers, however, that the dates of figs. 58-61, 66, 69 and 70 (Archer, 1952) should be advanced to c.1765 and that of fig. 65 to c.1760.

French, J. C. 'Frescoes in Punch', *Art and Letters* (1954), XXVIII, no. 1, 20-22.

Gives the following account of a visit to Punch and corrects Archer (1952) on the point that no photographs were taken:

'It was in April that I rode over a snow pass down to the town of Punch, the capital of the area of that name. I first saw the New Palace, a modern building situated on a pleasant alp, with fields of clover and fruit trees in blossom. Then comes the town. Near it is the Old Fort.

'Its front with its entrance is a comparatively modern composite structure of stucco arches and *jhilmils* (wooden sun blinds). But the sides and back are of plain stone and brick in the old Hill style. The photograph which I took of it from the south east is of this aspect of the building (fig. 1). The slope of the roofs and overhanging eaves are required to throw off the heavy Himalayan rains. There is a great expanse of blank wall with only slits and small apertures for archery and gun fire, until windows are reached just under the roof. It has been designed for defence. Like medieval castles in Europe the windows of the lower storeys open only on to the inner courtyard. It has functional simplicity, and the balance and design satisfy the eye. This Old Fort at Punch resembles the Old Palace at Chamba. The Old Palace at Chamba was built in the eighteenth century or earlier. The Old Fort at Punch is of a similar date.

'These mountain strongholds seem part of the Hill scene and blend with it like the rocks and the pines. Inside the Old Fort of Punch, on the upper verandah of the Zenana Mahal (Women's Rooms), there are frescoes which I photographed. They are over three doors, the middle of which is four and a half feet broad and the side ones four feet. Fig. 2 shows the fresco over the middle door. Rama and Sita are seated on a throne on a terrace under an umbrella, with three attendants behind them. In front stands Hanuman, the monkey god. Beyond the terrace are banana trees, and cypresses and bushes in the distance. The effect is bright and light. Fig. 3 is the fresco over the first side door. We see Shiva and Parvati seated on a throne under an umbrella, with a female attendant standing behind them and a figure, whose head has been obliterated, in front. Fig. 4 shows Ganesh, the elephant-headed god,

seated on a throne, attended by two maidens. The scene is on a terrace, with damaged traces of trees in the right background. To the left of the fresco there is a white bird, and to the right one of darker plumage.

'These frescoes were painted after the brother of Raja Gulab Singh of Jammu received Punch from Ranjit Singh. They are similar to those in the Narbadeswar temple, built in 1823, in Tira Sujanpur, the palace of Maharaja Sansar Chand of Kangra. Like the Punch frescoes they are painted over doorways.

'These Punch frescoes are of about the same date as those at Tira Sujanpur, between 1820 and 1830. The figures are graceful and elegant, and the effect light, bright, and airy. The frescoes are in the Kangra style and represent the final phase of the great Kangra Valley school, the last and not least attractive flower of the great traditional art of India.'

[During a visit by the present writer to Jammu in 1970, it was learned that these frescoes had been white-washed over by the Public Works Department in the course of repairs in 1967.]

1955

Archer, W. G. 'Some Nurpur Paintings'. *Marg* (1955), VIII, no. 3, 8-18.

In the light of newly discovered paintings in the ancestral collection of Mian Kartar Singh of Basla Waziran, Nurpur, abandons the attribution to Punch of figs. 62, 64 and 67 (Archer, 1952) and attributes them to Nurpur.

1957

Archer, W. G. *Garhwal Painting* (London: second and revised impression, 1957).

Discards the attribution to Punch of figs. 59, 66, 69 and 70 (Archer, 1952).

1958

Khandalavala, K. *Pahari Miniature Painting* (Bombay, 1958), 240-241.

Argues that the four Lahore paintings, obtained by dealers in Punch, 'do not constitute a stylistic group', and that two of them (Archer, 1952, figs. 58, 59) are in Garhwal style, another (fig. 60) is 'a pre-Kangra miniature stylistically unrelated to the other two' and that the fourth is 'a fragment which could have been painted anywhere and affords no individualistic features'.

Concludes 'that since these four miniatures are not a connected group, no conclusions can be drawn from the fact that their find-spot was Punch'. Suggests that they may have come from 'the collection of a gentleman settled in that state'. In the up-shot regards the existence of a Punch school as 'doubtful in the extreme'.

Ghose, A. 'Pahari Schools of Indian painting'. *Roopa Lekha* (1958), XXVIII, nos. 1 and 2, 44.

'Archer has argued with much ingenuity for Punch being regarded as a separate Pahari school. It is true that isolated Muhammadan artists did paint in the Hills and in the plains, too, in the Pahari style and one such artist was working in Patiala as late as the early 'twenties of this century. It is quite conceivable that Archer's pictures nos. 59-63 have been executed by Muhammadan artists and that nos. 60-62 are by one and the same hand. In the absence of a tradition — and we have never heard of one that Punch was a centre of artistic activity — the mere fact that the pictures were acquired from Punch for the Lahore Museum, may turn out to be proof only of the fact that they were acquired from one or more owners who were residents of Punch.'

1960

Hajek, L. *Miniatures from the East* (Prague, London, 1960).

Credits Archer (1952) with discovering 'Pahari miniatures painted in the middle of the 18th century in the Moslem state of Punch' (83).

Reproduces (col. pl. 41) Archer (1952), fig. 59 and comments: 'According to Archer, the style, developed in Guler, spread not only southward but northwest as far as the Moslem state of Punch. He has identified the present miniature (*abhisarika nayika*) as coming from the Punch workshops.

'Nevertheless two almost identical miniatures exist (one in Boston, one in the British Museum) which were painted by Mola Ram in Garhwal. Further, Mukandi Lal mentions (in *Roopa Lekha*, vol. XXVI, no. 2) a sketch for this picture in Mola Ram's estate. This evidently weakens Archer's assertion that our picture belongs to Punch. The situation here is a frequently illustrated one, the heroine hastening through storm and darkness to meet her lover' (104).

[Since 1960, no scholar, including the present writer, has seriously thought that Punch possessed a local school of painting.]

PAINTING IN SAMBA

A small state, bounded on the north-west by Jammu, on the north by Bandralta, on the north-east by Mankot, on the east by Bhadu, on the south-east by Jasrota and Lakhanpur and on the south by the Siwaliks and the Punjab Plains. Capital: Samba.

Founded in about 1100 A.D. as an offshoot from Lakhanpur. Controlled by and perhaps tributary of Raja Dhrub Dev (xii. 1703-1735) of Bahu (Jammu) and virtually incorporated in Jammu under Raja Ranjit Dev (1735-1781) of Jammu, c.1750. On the rise to power of Raja Gulab Singh (1820-1857) of Jammu — first as Governor for the Sikhs, later as independent Maharaja — Samba was allocated to Gulab Singh's younger brother, Raja Suchet Singh as a fief, c.1822. Re-absorbed by Jammu on Suchet Singh's death, 1844. A palace built at Samba during Suchet Singh's rule.

Clan-name Sambial.

No other historical details forthcoming.

No paintings from Samba or portraits of Samba rulers are so far known.

When visited by the present writer with M. S. Randhawa and Mulk Raj Anand, no traditions of any local painting were available.

SOURCES:

Hutchison, J. and Vogel, J. P. *History of the Panjab Hill States* (Lahore, 1933), II, 574-575.

Archer, W. G. *Paintings of the Sikhs* (London, 1966).
Details of Suchet Singh.

PAINTING IN SIBA

I. INTRODUCTION

GEOGRAPHY

A small state, bounded on the south by Jaswan, on the south-west and west by the Punjab Plains, on the north by Guler and on the east by Datarpur and Kangra. Founded in c.1450 as an offshoot of Guler by Sibarán Chand, younger brother of the Raja of Guler.

SCENERY

Visited by French and briefly described (*Himalayan Art*, 1931). Visited by the present writer with M. S. Randhawa, March, 1960. It then struck us as a patch of somewhat rough country, bounded on the north by the wide stream of the Beas River and to the south by a steep ridge, raddled with dried-up water-courses strewn with boulders.

RELIGION

Hindu with an evident bias towards Vishnu. In Siba itself, one temple, the Radha Krishna.

II. HISTORICAL NOTES

SOURCES

Griffin, L. H. and Massy, C. F. *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab* (Lahore, 1940), I, 83-85. Nineteenth century only.

Hutchison, J. and Vogel, J. P. *History of the Panjab Hill States* (Lahore, 1933), I, 210-211. Lists of rulers but until c.1770 no years of reigns. Some information for the nineteenth century.

REIGNS AND PORTRAITS

Part of the same family group as Kangra, Guler, Jaswan and Datarpur. Clan-name, Sibaia (Sabaia). Family suffix, Chand, later Singh.

Throughout the Mughal period under its own rajas. Until the nineteenth century, dates conjectural.

c.1550 KILAS CHAND (i)

PRAG CHAND (ii)

SANSAR CHAND (iii)

NARAIN CHAND (iv)

TILOK CHAND (v)

KISHAN CHAND (vi)

JAI CHAND (vii)

PRITHI CHAND (viii)

c.1690-1705 AMAR CHAND (ix)

With Chamba, Kahlur (Bilaspur) and Mandi, defended Guler under its minor Raja Dalip Singh (1695-1741) against Jammu (HV, I, 205). Jammu q. v.

c.1705-c.1720 JASWANT SINGH (x)

c.1720-c.1735 BHAO SINGH (xi)

c.1735-c.1750 LAKEL SINGH (xii)

c.1750-1770 MADHO SINGH (xiii)

c.1770-c.1800 SHER SINGH (xiv)

Son of Madho Singh.

Tributary to Raja Sansar Chand (1775-1823) of Kangra, 1786.

c.1800-1845 GOVIND SINGH (xv)

Son of Sher Singh.

During the Gurkha invasion and siege of Kangra (1806-1809), was invaded and annexed by Raja Bhup Singh (1790-1826) of Guler, 1808. Absorbed with Guler as a tributary to the Sikhs, 1809 and in 1813 annexed, with Guler, to the Sikh kingdom. Re-instated as an independent state, 1830 (perhaps as a gesture in return for the grant of Govind Singh's two daughters in marriage to Raja Dhian Singh, Chief Minister of Maharaja Ranjit Singh).

Note: Dhian Singh was elder brother of Raja Gulab Singh of Jammu but since both were descended from a junior branch of the Jammu family, he was technically ineligible to contract marriage with the daughters of a ruling prince. The Sikh favour of restoring Govind Singh to the Siba throne may therefore have been a *quid pro quo* for Govind Singh's action. Under the terms of restoration, the fort of Siba remained in Sikh hands; three quarters of the state being made over to Govind Singh and one quarter to his cousin, Mian Devi Singh. Siba tributary to the Sikhs, 1830-1845.

1845-1874 RAM SINGH (xvi)

Son of Govind Singh.

Ousted the Sikhs from the Siba fort during the second Anglo-Sikh war, 1848 and seized the quarter share of his cousin, Bijai Singh (son of Devi Singh). This share was restored to Bijai Singh by the British, 1858; Datarpur linked to Siba under the joint name of Dada Siba and both incorporated in the British district of Kangra, 1849, Ram Singh retaining the *jagir* and title of Raja. Said to have restored the Radha Krishna temple in Siba and to have built the palace on the hill-top. No sons.

Portraits: Two murals in the Radha Krishna temple, Siba:

- (1) Ram Singh going to eat in a kitchen.
- (2) Ram Singh holding court. Siba, c.1850.

1874-1879 BIJAI (BIJE) SINGH (xvii)

Cousin of Ram Singh.

Marriage: to a princess of Jammu.

Son: Jai Singh.

Due to Ram Singh's childlessness, the Siba palace on the hill-top was abandoned and allowed to fall into ruins.

1879-1920 JAI SINGH (xviii)

Son of Bijai Singh.

Marriage: to the daughter of Raja Hira Chand (xii, 1850-1883) of Bilaspur; his sister to Maharaja Ranbir Singh (xx, 1857-1885) of Jammu and Kashmir.

Sons: Jaginder (Gajendra) Singh, Trilochan Singh, Upendra Singh.

1920-1926 JAGINDER (GAJENDRA) SINGH (xix)

Son of Jai Singh.

No children.

1926-1932 SHAM SINGH (xx)

Son of Trilochan Singh.

Sons: Harmahendra Singh, Rajbindra (Rajbinder) Singh.

1932-? HARMAHENDRA SINGH (xxi)

Son of Sham Singh. Born 1922.

Painting: No surviving ancestral collection of pictures.

IMPLICATIONS FOR PAINTING

Personality of rulers

Due to insufficient materials, no firm inference can be drawn from the character of any Siba ruler. The fact, however, that the cult of Krishna also affected the Siba court is of some importance since it led to the construction of a special Radha Krishna temple at Siba itself, possibly in the last third of the eighteenth century. Certain murals inside this temple show that Raja Ram Singh (xvi, 1845-1875) took an active interest in its embellishment, though in the role of restorer and repairer rather than of founder. Other murals seem clearly earlier and suggest that his grandfather, Raja Sher Singh (xiv, c.1770-c.1800) may also have sponsored painting.

Relations with other states

Guler. Since Siba was an offshoot of Guler, inter-marriage between the two was not possible. No close cultural connections seem to have existed and it is possible that until its absorption by the parent state in 1808, the Siba family preferred to remain proudly aloof. Whatever painting may have developed at Siba, therefore, may be due to the arrival of artists from some other less immediately neighbouring state. On the other hand, it is significant that Siba is noted in the family diagram of the Seu-Manaku-Nainsukh family of Guler (Goswamy, 1968) as a place where one of its artist members worked. It is conceivable therefore that a Guler painter from this family may have worked at some time in Siba.

Kangra. The stimulus to painting at Kangra afforded by the patronage of Raja Sansar Chand (1775-1823) may have encouraged Raja Sher Singh (xiv, c.1770-c.1800) of Siba to employ one or more painters. If so, these are likely to have been of only a second-rate character since master-painters were probably monopolised by the Kangra court itself or by states of comparable importance.

Nurpur. Although not immediately bordering on Siba, Nurpur was no great distance from it, being separated only by Guler and by a strip of the Punjab Plains. Being of different clans, the two families could inter-marry and although no such marriages are recorded, it is a fair assumption that at various times in the eighteenth century alliances of this nature may, in fact, have occurred. Since Nurpur was also committed to the cult of Krishna and had its own tradition of painting, Nurpur influences at Siba are a distinct possibility.

The Sikhs. In 1813, Siba, which had been incorporated in Guler in 1808, was annexed by the Sikhs and remained part of the Sikh kingdom until 1830. Due to a Sikh marriage alliance, it was then granted its freedom but relations between the two courts must have remained close until the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh in 1839. On the analogy of other states in the Punjab Hills which underwent either Sikh occupation or Sikh influence, later painting in Siba could well have been affected by Sikh connections.

III. PAINTING: REVIEW OF LITERATURE

1916

Coomaraswamy, A. K. *Rajput Painting* (Oxford, 1916).

Pl. 41. 'The bonds of love'. Here assigned to Siba, c.1780-1790. See no. 4(1).

1925

Binyon, L. *Asiatic Art in the British Museum* (Paris, Brussels, 1925).

Pl. 52(2). 'Krishna waylating Radha at the river.' Siba, c.1790. Compare no. 5.

1931

French, J. C. *Himalayan Art* (Oxford, 1931), 35-36, 94-95.

'Exactly opposite Guler and on the summit of a hill on the south bank of the Beas is the house of the Raja of Siba. In 1873 the grandfather of the Raja of Siba decided that the wars were over for ever and so he left his castle of Siba, the counterpart of Haripur on the other side of the Beas, and built a house on the present site. This house was decorated with frescoes on the walls which included a picture of the Raja holding a durbar. It fell down in the earthquake of 1905 and the frescoes are in too ruinous a condition to be worth photographing. . . . The present house of the Raja of Siba was built twenty-five years ago. This building was on the edge of a precipice overlooking the Beas. Beyond was the Kangra Valley and the snows.

'I photographed some curious frescoes in a temple of the Raja of Siba's. Their exact date can be fixed, 1874. As already mentioned, the change from castle to country-house was made by the grandfather of the present Raja of Siba in 1873 and the temple was built. One of the frescoes, of the childhood of Krishna, has a fine design, and the pose of the figures is powerful and impressive. But at the same time it is stiff and the line is hard. The dream, the glamour, the magic of the art is gone and we face the hard, dull facts of drab and commonplace life. The mists have come down and the snow-peaks are veiled. Beautiful reality has given place to vulgar illusion. The art is dead.'

[For a revised dating of the Siba temple, see Goswamy (1964) and no. 1.]

Note: The murals in the Radha Krishna temple and in the palace were studied by Mulk Raj Anand, M. S. Randhawa and the present writer in March, 1960. The temple murals then included, amongst others, the following subjects:

Southern wall. The quelling of Kaliya, Krishna fluting to the cow-girls and the cattle, the forest of Brindaban, cow-girls complaining to Jasoda, the marriage of Rukmini; Sugriva's darbar; Laila and Majnun; Kabir the weaver; 'The gale of love' — a girl in trousers running to shelter, her dress blowing boisterously up behind her.

Western wall. Krishna, fluting to the cow-girls and the cattle, Krishna with a cow, Krishna and Rukmini in a palace, Balarama diverting the Jamuna; Vishnu and Lakshmi; Rama breaking the bow, Hanuman carrying Rama and Lakshmana, Rama and Sita on a throne; lady tempting a parrot; Raja Ram Singh (xvi, 1845-1874) of Siba, going to eat in a kitchen, some pandits with folded hands preceding him, Raja Ram Singh of Siba holding court.

Northern wall. The birth of Krishna, Vasudeva carrying the child Krishna across the Jamuna, Krishna stealing butter, Radha and Krishna, Radha and Krishna on a composite elephant composed of cow-girls, Radha and Krishna swinging; Shiva and Parvati, Shiva, Parvati and Ganesh, Shiva and his family preparing *bhāng*.

Eastern wall. The circular dance of Krishna with the cow-girls; Devi on a tiger; *sakta sakti* figures.

In certain murals the figures were short and squat; others were dominated by great tall women with towering skirts, long keen eyes and sharp faces (identical in idiom with present nos. 1-6) and by a marked predilection for brown (present nos. 1-4). The close similarity between these murals and the present group of miniatures was noticed in the late nineteen-forties by N. C. Mehta who had also visited Siba (private communication, 1952). Other murals (notably, 'Radha and Krishna swinging' and 'The gale of love') bore a strong resemblance to Werner, pls. 6 and 7 in their use of swirling dresses with curling corrugated edges, and sprigs of foliage ending in dots.

Raja Ram Singh's palace on the hill-top was a ruin, open to the sky, but although the two main walls had obviously been heavily adorned with murals, these, for the greater part, were now besmirched with grime or otherwise damaged. None of the existing figures had the towering sweep, so characteristic of figures in the Radha Krishna temple though a few had the same long eyes and sharp faces.

Conjectured date of murals; Radha Krishna temple, last third of eighteenth century to mid-nineteenth century; palace, third quarter nineteenth century.

1948

French, J. C. 'Kangra Frescoes', *Art and Letters* (1948), XXII, no. 2, pl. 4.

Illustrates a mural from the Radha Krishna temple, Siba, showing tall figures with sweeping skirts.

1950

Werner, A. *Indian Miniatures* (New York, 1950).

Pls. 6 and 7 similar to certain murals in the Radha Krishna temple, Siba, and perhaps examples of a second Siba style, c.1810-c.1830. See no. 7.

Gray, B. 'Painting', *The Art of India and Pakistan* (London, 1950).

Pl. 108 (563) 'The messenger's arrival'. See no. 4.

1951

Archer, W. G. 'Catalogue of the Sir William Rothenstein collection of Indian paintings and drawings', *Art and Letters* (1951), XXV, no. 1, 8-11.

Pl. 2. 'Girl chasing a cat'. See no. 2.

1958

Khandalavala, K. *Pahari Miniature Painting* (Bombay, 1958), 171.

No. 299. 'Girl chasing a cat'. See no. 2.

No. 301. 'The messenger's arrival'. See no. 4.

1960

Lee, S. E. *Rajput Painting* (New York, 1960).

Pl. 85. 'Baz Bahadur and Rupmati'. 'Punjab Hills, School of Siba (?), early nineteenth century'. See no. 2(2).

1964

Goswamy, B. N. 'Siba Murals', *Marg* (1964), XVII, no. 3, 28-32.

'It is with Raja Ram Singh who succeeded to the throne in 1845 that the temple with "some curious frescoes", as Mr. J. C. French describes them, is associated. Mr. French dates them to 1874 with some certainty, although one of the murals there clearly carries a long Gurmukhi inscription which mentions the date as *samvat* 1891 (i.e. A.D. 1824). There is a possibility that some murals were added at the date to which Mr. French refers.

'The Gurmukhi inscription is entirely in keeping with the history of the place and the subject matter of the paintings. The Sikhs had established themselves in Siba, as in most other Hill States in 1809, and we can discern some themes in which Sikh chiefs appear. Another panel depicting a European gentleman seated on a chair with his hat on the table in front of him, while several persons stand in attendance as if in court, points to the English arrival on the scene. Here as at Dharamsal (Hoshiarpur District), there is little or no relation to the temple in which the murals are found, the only idea was possibly to adorn the structure after its completion.

'There are some wall paintings in the palace, up the hill, probably painted before the advent of the Sikhs, though added to later on.'

Illustrates (figs. 2-6) murals from the Radha Krishna temple, Siba; figs. 7-10, murals from the Siba palace.

Anand, M. R. 'Sujanpur Murals', *Marg* (1964), XVII, no. 3, 67.

Illustrates (fig. 2) a panel in the Narbadeshwar temple, Sujanpur, Kangra, portraying a group of cow-girls 'sighing away in love' — the tall figure with sweeping skirt in the foreground not unlike figures from murals in the Radha Krishna temple, Siba.

[Since the panel in question is in an un-Kangra style, and is different from others in this temple, it is possibly the work of a Siba artist.]

1965

Welch, S. C. and Beach, M. C. *Gods, Thrones and Peacocks* (New York, 1965).

Pl. 76. 'Girl with deer'. Here attributed to Siba. See no. 2(1).

1968

Goswamy, B. N. 'Pahari Painting: the family as the basis of style', *Marg* (1968), XXI, no. 4, 18-19.

Publishes a magic diagram of a semi-nude female figure pointing to the names of sixteen states or courts among which is Siba. Interprets the diagram which bears the title 'Shri Guler' as a picture of the *siddhi* or personal deity of the Seu-Manaku-Nainsukh family of painters and the list of states as places where members of the family worked for a time. No particular members of the family, however, are named as having been connected with Siba and no paintings are cited as having been done by them at Siba.

IV. PAINTING: CATALOGUE AND RECONSTRUCTION

PHASE ONE: c.1770-1800

1 Lady smoking in a field. Siba, c.1770-1780.

205 x 130 mm; with border 255 x 180 mm. White border with grey meandering lines and dots. Red rules.

Victoria and Albert Museum, French collection, I.S. 129-1955.

Description: A lady in towering, brownish-yellow dress stands brooding in a field beside four flowering trees toying with the stem of a hookah. Behind her are two maids, one in orange-brown dress dangling a yak's tail fly-whisk, the other in white holding the hookah. White fruit blossom. Greyish-blue background with white clouds.

Discussion: The first of a series of pictures in distinctive style, unconnected with any other known centre of painting in the Punjab Hills but paralleled in essential idioms by a number of murals in the Radha Krishna temple, Siba. Although believed by French to date from 1874, Goswamy has since shown from the evidence of a *gurmukhi* inscription dated 1824, that the temple cannot be later than this date and, in fact, may be earlier. In the light of the political history of Siba, it would be reasonable to place its construction not later than c.1770 when Siba was still dominated by Guler or Kangra.

Apart from the straggling border pattern, slightly reminiscent of the 'jig-saw puzzle' pattern adopted at Mandi from Guler usage and the Guler-like convention of showing maids half in, half out of the picture, it is with the painting of Nurpur rather than with that of any other centre, that the style appears to have most in common. Compare, in this connection, the sharp, keen features of the women, their vast height and a continuing reliance on the single-plane convention (Nurpur nos. 24, 31, 42). Despite these affinities, the style has, none the less, a marked individuality. This is seen especially in details of physique such as a preference for sharply pointed noses, narrow slit eyes and long flat heads, an almost wiry outline for faces and figures, the presence of inordinately high waist-lines and, above all, in the use of great skirts fanning out in huge triangles.

2 Girl chasing a cat. Siba, c.1770-1780.

230 x 162 mm (trimmed with traces of red border).

Victoria and Albert Museum, Rothenstein collection, I.S. 162-1951.

Published: Archer (1951), pl. 2; also reproduced Khandalavala (1958), no. 299.

Description: A girl in towering, dark green dress and crimson trousers holds a crimson stick in her hand as she dashes across a pale yellow terrace with floral designs in pursuit of a grey cat which is making off with a green parrot in its mouth. Pavilion with grey inner walls and white balustrade.

Muddy brown background with a plantain tree, a slender flowering tree and a tree with dark foliage. Curving rim of blue sky lined with red.

Discussion: Similar to 1 — the hugeness of skirt being further intensified by the unusual length of the leg, arm and stick.

Related examples: (1) Welch and Beach (1965), pl. 76. Girl with deer. Galbraith collection, Cambridge, Mass. Siba, c.1770-1780. Similar treatment of leg, skirt, features, flowering trees and background.

(2) Lee (1960), pl. 85. Baz Bahadur and Rupmati. Private collection. Siba, c.1770-1780. Similar huge skirt, long hair and slit eyes as in nos. 1 and 2. Vast bare background — its bareness and vastness intensified by the watchful row of tiny trees and cypresses on the far horizon.

3 The dejected lady (*prositapatika nayika*). Siba, c.1770-1780.

255 x 190 mm (trimmed).

Victoria and Albert Museum, Rothenstein collection, I.S. 161-1951.

Description: A lady in sage-green skirt and veil, wrapped in a dark red cloak, sits on a low chair leaning against a grey cushion with dark blue sprigs. A maid in pale blue skirt and yellow veil strives to comfort her. To the right a second maid in towering brownish-yellow dress holds a tray of betel leaves in one hand and turns to reach down a betel with the other. Red terrace floor with white floral designs. Grey balustrades and pavilion wall. Courtyard wall chocolate-brown. To the rear a dark green background with white and red clouds shown as thorn-like prongs. At the top, dark blue sky. Five slender flowering trees.

Discussion: Similar in style to 1 and 2 — the treatment of clouds shown as thorn-like prongs once again suggesting Nurpur influence (Nurpur nos. 38, 39, 43).

4 The messenger's arrival. Siba, c.1780-1790.

270 x 170 mm; with border 290 x 190 mm. Mud-brown margin and red rules.

Victoria and Albert Museum, Rothenstein collection, I.S. 164-1951.

Published: Gray (1950), pl. 108 (563); also reproduced Khandalavala (1958) no. 301.

Description: A tall lady in towering orange-brown dress stands in a meadow instructing a maid who stands before her in pale yellow skirt and mauve veil. She lifts her hands as if to emphasise her meaning. Beyond them is a grove of tall trees, a dark grey river with white egrets and a pale green further shore. Sky a blackish-brown with grey storm clouds, streaks of reddish-yellow lightning and two lines of soaring cranes.

Discussion: Similar tall figures in the same style and with exaggeratedly high waist-lines and keen faces as in 1-3. Palette as in certain murals in the Radha Krishna temple, Siba. Although the picture as a whole evinces a somewhat clumsy grace, the foliage of the trees is presented in much greater and more minute detail.

Related example: (1) Coomaraswamy (1916), pl. 41. The bonds of love. Krishna seeking to disentangle the string of a yo-yo or whirligig from Radha's bracelets. Formerly Coomaraswamy collection, Boston. Siba, c.1780-1790. Connected with 1-4 by the fang-like lotus pond jutting out into parallel bands of bare hill-side and by the two figures both with towering dresses.

5 Krishna playing the flute. Siba, c.1790-1800.

212 x 180 mm; with border 250 x 215 mm. Oval shape with white surrounds. Red border with black rules.

Victoria and Albert Museum, Lory collection, I.S. 121-1960.

Description: Krishna with yellow *dhoti* leans against a tree trunk playing on the flute. He gazes at Radha who stands before him in an orange-red skirt, yellow veil and dark blue sash and holds a pink lotus flower out towards him. To the right is a maid in orange-red skirt, holding a white cloth and yak's tail fly-whisk. In the foreground, a tall tree rears up. Behind them is a dark grey river and pale green further shore. On the extreme right is a tall thin tree with dual trunks beside which two tiny cowherd-boys are playing.

Discussion: Similar in basic idioms and style to 1-4 and with the same bare backgrounds. Krishna gazes at Radha in a manner similar to Baz Bahadur and Rupmati in 2(2). As in 4, the trees are now more naturalistic — a change which is perhaps due to increasing Kangra influence. The figures are also slightly shorter.

6 The lovers are parted. From a *Sassi Punun* series. Siba, c.1800.

195 x 260 mm (trimmed).

Inscribed on the reverse in English: *Sasi Punnoon* £2/-/-.

Victoria and Albert Museum, Rothenstein collection, I.S. 165-1951.

Description: Punun, a youth in mauve *jama* is seated with his brother on the red saddle-cloth of a camel, his brother clasping him from behind and holding the camel's reins. An armed retainer with blue turban and white *jama* urges them to depart. To the right in front of a curving cliff stands his love, *Sassi*, in long white dress, a woman in blue clasping her firmly from the rear. *Sassi* stretches out her hands in longing. Behind the two women stands a third woman in red skirt holding a cup and wine-flask. Greenish-yellow background with plantain trees half-visible from behind the cliff. Streaks of red in the sky.

Discussion: Figures shorter as in 5, perhaps indicating a slightly later date than that of 1-4. Otherwise, in the same general style. The fact that Siba was close to the Punjab Plains may explain the choice for illustration of a story more popular in the Plains than in the Hills.

PHASE TWO: 1800-1875

7 The gale of love. Siba, c.1810-1830.

Private collection, Switzerland.

Published: Werner (1950), col. pl. 6.

Description: A girl in brownish-yellow trousers with dark spots, dull red skirt and bodice and an olive-green veil hurries to shelter across a white terrace as great clouds mount threateningly in a black sky. A violent gust of wind attacks her, causing her veil and skirt to billow up behind her.

Discussion: Assigned to Siba by comparison with a mural of the same subject and in the same style on the southern wall of the Radha Krishna temple, Siba. Significant details: the corrugated edges of the girl's skirt and veil, and the sharp piquancy of her head and face.

Related example: (1) Werner (1950), col. pl. 7. Radha swinging before Krishna. Private collection, Switzerland. Siba, c.1810-1830. Similar corrugated edges to skirt as in 7. Same subject and style as in a mural on the northern wall of the Radha Krishna temple, Siba (see note to French, 1931). As in this mural, trees with sprigs of foliage ending in dots.

PAINTING IN SIRMUR

I. INTRODUCTION

GEOGRAPHY

A large state, seventy miles long and thirty miles wide, bounded on the south by the Punjab Plains, on the west by Patiala, on the north-west by Keonthal, on the north by the Simla Hill States, and on the east by Garhwal. Capital: Nahan (from 1621).

SCENERY

Moorcroft (1820): 'The town of Nahn placed on some low eminences on the top of the mountain is straggling; the buildings are of stone and much better constructed than those of any town I have seen in India and the town itself is cleaner and has less of nuisance about it. In the middle of an irregular amphitheatre crowned more or less with houses is a large tank walled with stone. The house of the Raja is the longest and the neatest and best placed. The views of the neighbouring mountains, valleys, villages, and a distant view of the plains, with the river Markunda winding along them are particularly beautiful. Nahn is the residence of the present Raja of Srimor Raja Fateh Purgas, a youth of about fourteen years of age who has had a tract of country given up to him amounting to about Rs. 40,000 per annum' (*Manuscript Journal*, dated 4-23 February, 1820. MSS. Eur. D.236, f. 88, India Office Library, London).

'The attendants of the Raja confirm the report I had formerly heard of there being Lions as well as Royal Tigers on the summits of the highest hills but that the former except when greatly pressed by hunger seldom come down to the lower ranges. . . .

'As the road descends westward and southward by a stony, crooked and narrow path, the Markunda River is seen winding through the plains at a great distance. At various parts of the descent stone reservoirs for bathing and drinking have been built by the opulent and charitable and I think these good works, inestimable to the weary traveller in these countries, have been made by dealers in merchandise of some sort' (*Manuscript Journal*, dated 23 February-29 March 1820. MSS. Eur. D.237, ff. 6-7, India Office Library, London).

Fraser (1820): 'At length we reached Nahn, perched like a bird's nest on the brow of a rock, and widely overlooking the lower hills and the plains till they blended with the sky in the distance. The view indeed, to one accustomed to the sober, though rich monotony of the level plains of Hindostan, is quite bewitching, and almost confounding.

'Facing these lovely plains on the south, from which you are divided by a singular range of low hills, the Kearda Dhoon or valley extends on the left to the south-east, deeply wooded but spotted with cultivation. Beyond it, the Deyhra Dhoon is traced, till it melts into distance; to the northward of these arise the hills that retreat in wild confusion, and form an amphitheatre around to the south-west, where they bound, and are bounded by, the plains.

'Turning to the north, this vast range of hills is seen, with the peak and fort of Jytock rising from and terminating a rugged range; on part of which the tents of our army were seen, speckling the brown hills; and beyond, snowy peaks bounded the landscape.

'Nahn is a small town, but the buildings are of stone, cemented generally with lime; they are remarkably small, and all have flat roofs. The effect of the whole at first is singular, giving a strange idea of diminutiveness, like the abridgement of a town; perhaps this is necessarily produced by an unconscious comparison with the vast proportions of the surrounding objects.

'It is built on the crest of a hill, which is so uneven that

the whole forms a collection of petty ascents and descents. There is one principal street, that, like the others, which are very confined and short, consists of many small flights of steps, into which they have been built and cut, to the great convenience of the men, but by no means so of the cattle, horses particularly, which animal indeed seems never to have been intended for use in these regions.

'There are few buildings worthy of notice in Nahn: the rajah's palace has a tolerably neat but not very remarkable appearance; and there are no temples of much consequence or of any splendour to visit; it has, however, for several years been in a state of decay, since the conquest of the Ghorkhas ruined all the country.

'The hill on which it is situated is part of the north-western boundary of the Kearda valley; and from this circumstance, when seen from the plains, it appears to be on a second range of hills, which indeed is so far the case, as the low hills that form the south-western boundary of the Kearda intervene between it and the plains; but, as will afterwards appear, there is no general division into separate or parallel ridges to be detected in the arrangement of the hills in this country' (59-60).

White (1836): 'Nahun is the capital of Sirmoor, and, although small, is considered one of the handsomest and most compact cities in India. Perched on the brow of a rock, it overlooks, on all sides, deep vallies and ravines covered thickly with the richest forests: in the south and south-east it commands a view of the vallies of Keardah and the Deyrah Dhoon, bounded by low hills, and beyond these the plains of India till they become blended with the distance.

'On approaching Nahun from the north, and viewing it from a considerable distance, it exhibits itself like a bright white spot against the dark verdure of the mountains; and assisted perhaps by the contrast offered in the proportions of surrounding objects, even on entering the place it appears an epitome of a town. It is walled in, and the houses are built of stone cemented with lime: the streets are narrow but clean, and, owing to the unevenness of the rock upon which the place stands, they are cut into a succession of steps, by which various petty ascents and descents are made at every turn. Yet elephants and horses are to be seen pacing these streets; but so much in miniature is the whole, that from horseback the rider may reach the balconies, and from the pad of an elephant may step on to the flat roofs of the houses. Here is a palace for the Rajah, also several small temples and mosques; which, with the whole city, is chiefly remarkable for its neatness, and the exception it forms, in style and appearance, to the generality of habitations to be met with in the mountains' (119).

French (1931): 'Nahan, the capital of the Sirmoor State, is close to a mountain 12,000 feet high. I went through its narrow, picturesque streets, now rising, now falling and every now and then turning into a flight of steps. . . . The town of Nahan makes a beautiful picture. It rises from a great tank of water in tier above tier of red-brown houses, crowned by white palaces—the whole scene set in pine-clad hills. It has something of the beauty of an old Italian town' (11, 12).

RELIGION

The chief deity worshipped in Sirmur is Vishnu with a special bias towards Parasurama (sixth incarnation) whose birthplace at Jambu village is marked by a temple. Other Parasurama temples are at Dogana and Mahasu. The centre of the cult in Sirmur is at Rainkojio, the place where Rainko (mother of Parasurama) became water and fell into a tank. Along with Parasurama and Rainko, Jam Jamadagni (father of Parasurama) is also worshipped. Although temples of Shiva exist, direct worship of Shiva is not very popular. Many local *devis* are important at village level.

II. HISTORICAL NOTES

SOURCES

- Eden, Emily. *Up the Country* (London, 1866, re-issued 1937, ed. E. Thompson).
- Fraser, J. B. *Journal of a Tour through part of the Himalay Mountains* (London, 1820).
- French, J. C. *Himalayan Art* (Oxford, 1931).
- Garrett, H. L. O. *The Punjab a hundred years ago* (Lahore, 1935). Incorporating Prince Alexis Soltykoff, 'Journal of a visit to the Punjab and the Simla Hills, 1842'.
- Kapur, K. C. (ed.) *Punjab States Gazetteers, Part A: Sirmur State, 1934* (Lahore, 1939).
- Jacquemont, V. *Letters from India, 1829-1832* (London, 1834; re-issued 1936, ed. Catherine A. Phillips).
- Moorcroft, W. *Manuscript Journal*, dated 4-23 February, 1820. MSS. Eur. D.236. India Office Library, London.
- Moorcroft, W. *Manuscript Journal*, dated 23 February-29 March, 1820, MSS. Eur. D.237. India Office Library, London.
- Moorcroft, W. and Trebeck, G. *Travels in the Himalayan Provinces of Hindustan and the Panjab; in Ladakh and Kashmir; in Peshawar, Kabul, Kunduz and Bokhara, from 1819 to 1825* (prepared for the press from original journals and correspondence by H. H. Wilson, London, 1841). A paraphrase and, at times, an inaccurate summary of Moorcroft's manuscripts.
- Vigne, G. T. *Travels in Kashmir, Ladak, Iskardo* (London, 1842).
- White, G. F. *Views in India chiefly among the Himalaya Mountains* (London, 1836).

REIGNS AND PORTRAITS

Unconnected by family origin with other Hill states. Clan-name, Sarmauria. Family suffix, Parkash.

The chronology of the Rajas of Sirmur offers a few difficulties. It is drawn from two sources — one a list of the Rajas kept in the state archives, the other a list in the custody of the mahanth of Jagannath at Nahan. The former list shows the dates of each Raja's accession and death; the latter only the length of his reign. . . . There are numerous discrepancies' (*Gazetteer*, 11). The list kept in the State archives is here followed.

1605-1615 BHUPAT PARKASH (i)

1615-1616 UDE CHAND PARKASH (ii)

1616-1630 KARAM PARKASH (iii)

Founded Nahan town, 1621. Became a disciple of Bawa Banwari Das, mahanth of the Jagannath temple, Nahan. Aided Mughal forces in an unsuccessful invasion of Garhwal.

Portrait: (1) **Fig. 3 (Kahlur)**. Karam Parkash seated with Mandhata Parkash. Inscribed: (1) *raja karam pragas* (2) *mandhata pragas*. Binney collection, Brookline, Mass. Bilaspur, c.1660.

1630-1654 MANDHATA PARKASH (iv)

Son of Karam Parkash.

Projected invasion of Garhwal by Mughals still uppermost. Collaborated with Mughal Governor of the Jammu and Kangra Hills in preparations.

Portrait: (1) **Fig. 3 (Kahlur)**. Mandhata Parkash seated with his father, Karam Parkash. Inscribed as above. Binney collection, Brookline, Mass. Bilaspur, c.1660.

1654-1664 SOBHAG PARKASH (v)

Son of Mandhata Parkash.

External affairs: Garhwal invaded and defeated, 1654. Border territory acquired by Sirmur. Instructed by the Emperor Aurangzeb to intercept correspondence between Sulaiman Shikoh (then at Srinagar, Garhwal) and his father, Dara Shikoh; and also to aid Raja Raj Rup of Jodhpur,

commander of the Mughal forces, against the 'Zamindar' (i.e. Raja) of Garhwal (vide imperial dispatches, 1658).

The deputation of a Jodhpur noble (Raja Jag Rup, uncle of Raga Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur) as Mughal commander in the Garhwal campaign illustrates a significant kind of contact between Rajasthan and the Hills.

Sons: Behari Mal (alias Budh, Bidhi Chand) Parkash, Hari Singh.

1664-1684 BUDH (BIDHI) CHAND PARKASH (vi)

Son of Sobhag Parkash.

External affairs: Small-scale operations against Garhwal and areas in the Plains. Supplies the Begam Jahanara at Delhi with musk, wild pomegranates, jungle-fowl, pheasants and ice — the latter being stored at the foot of the Hills in ice-pits and forwarded to her in the hot weather.

Sons: Jog Raj (alias Mat, Medini) Parkash, Hari Parkash.

1684-1704 MAT (MEDINI) PARKASH (vii)

Son of Budh Chand Parkash.

Died childless.

Sikhs: Due to friction with Bilaspur (formerly his base), Guru Govind Singh (tenth Sikh Guru) made Paunta in Sirmur his residence.

1704-1712 HARI PARKASH (viii)

Second son of Budh Chand Parkash.

Constant warfare with Bashahr throughout most of the century.

Son: Bije Parkash.

1712-1736 BIJE PARKASH (ix)

Son of Hari Parkash.

1736-1754 PARTAP PARKASH (x)

Son of Bije Parkash.

His 'weak rule caused his feudatories to rebel'.

1754-1770 KIRAT PARKASH (xi)

Son of Partap Parkash.

External affairs: Effected great reforms. Defeated Raja of Garhwal and various groups of Sikhs. Aided Raja of Patiala to quell a rebellion. Helped Bilaspur to repulse Rohillas. Allied with Garhwal against the Gurkhas and despite defection of Garhwal forces made a favourable treaty with the Gurkhas, defining the Gurkha-Sirmur boundary as the Ganges, 1770.

Sons: Jagat Parkash, Dharm Parkash, Karam Parkash, Ratan Parkash.

Marriages: a daughter to the Raja of Bashahr (thus ending an ancient feud); another daughter to Raja Ranjit Sen (1762-1791) of Suket.

Portrait: (1) **Fig. 8 (v) (Kangra)**. Kirat Parkash smoking. Lambagraon collection, Kangra. Kangra, c.1770.

1770-1789 JAGAT PARKASH (xii)

Son of Kirat Parkash.

Died child-less. Like his father, 'tough and valiant'. Repulsed the Rohillas after they had over-run Garhwal.

Portraits: (1) Randhawa (1954), fig. 1 where mis-captioned Sansar Chand of Kangra; also reproduced Randhawa (1961), fig. 13. Jagat Parkash riding with retainers. Inscribed: *sarmaur ka raja jagat prakash*. Lambagraon collection, Kangra, c.1770-1780.

(2) **Fig. 8(vi) (Kangra)**. Jagat Parkash holding a nose-gay and a bow. Lambagraon collection, Kangra. Kangra, c.1770-1780.

(3) **Fig. 8(vii) (Kangra)**, Jagat Parkash interviewing a courtier. Lambagraon collection, Kangra. Kangra, c.1780.

1789-1793 DHARM PARKASH (xiii)

Second son of Kirat Parkash.

External affairs: Foiled efforts by Garhwal and Hindur (Nalagarh) to expand at Sirmur's expense. Allied himself with Mahan Chand of Kahlur (Bilaspur) to resist an invasion of Kahlur by Sansar Chand (1775-1783) of Kangra. Killed in battle by Sansar Chand, 1793.

Marriage: to a sister of Sansar Chand of Kangra. No issue.
Portrait: (1) Fig. 8(viii) (Kangra). Dharm Parkash seated. Lambagraon collection, Kangra. Kangra, c.1790.

1793-(1815) 1826 KARAM PARKASH (xiv)

Third son of Kirat Parkash.

Marriages: amongst others to a princess from Guler.

Sons: Gopal Singh (by a first or second rani), died c.1795; Fateh Parkash, Man Singh, Jai Singh (by the Guler rani).

Daughters: four — one married to Raja Sudarshan Shah of Tehri Garhwal, one to Raja Bije Chand of Hindur (Nalagarh), two to Raja Kharak Chand of Kahlur (Bilaspur).

[A dual marriage with Nalagarh, mentioned in the *Gazetteer* (18), is obviously a mistake for the dual marriage with Bilaspur, q.v.]

The Gurkhas: Due to his 'indolence and inexperience', Karam Parkash was early ousted from the throne by his younger brother, Ratan Parkash. He unwisely appealed for help to the Gurkhas of Nepal who invaded Sirmur (1803?), displaced Ratan Parkash, occupied Nahau and installed a Gurkha government. Karam Parkash fled to Buria (Punjab Plains) from which his wife, the Guler rani, agitated for his restoration by the British. Following the British-Gurkha war (1814-1815), Sirmur was liberated but Karam Parkash was deposed in favour of his son, Fateh Parkash, a minor, under his mother, the Guler Rani's regency. Karam Parkash died at Buria, 1826.

Character: Goswamy (1966) states that due to his 'lechery and incompetence', Karam Parkash was forced to abdicate by the British and cites a British record, describing him as 'a loathsome and disgusting object, his excesses having covered him with incurable disease, deprived him of his nose and affected his vision'. The *Gazetteer* (25) notes that 'syphilis is unfortunately widespread in the hills and is a potent factor in determining the population. In other respects, the health of the people is good'.

Fraser (1820): 'The name of the ex-rajah is Kurrum Pur-gass. He is a man of violent passions, no judgment and much cruelty. His government was generally odious to the people, and he would in all probability have lost his crown and life had not the Ghoorkha invasion thus rudely put an end to the dynasty. He has a son yet a minor, and many relations, none of whom have proved themselves worthy of being intrusted with authority' (77).

1815 (1826)-1850 FATEH PARKASH (xv)

Son of Karam Parkash. Born c.1806.

Regency of the Guler rani, 1815-1827. Maladministration due to apathy of state officials.

Majority, 1827-1850. Greater efficiency under Fateh Parkash himself. Aided the British Government in 1st Afghan War, 1838. Sided with the British against the Sikhs, 1845.

Son: Raghbir Parkash.

Daughter: married to Raja Pratap Chand of Lambagraon (Kangra, xxix).

Bilaspur: As brother of the twin ranis of Kharak Chand of Bilaspur, gave them asylum in Sirmur after the early death of Kharak Chand in 1839; supported the claim of Tika Garabh Chand to succeed to Bilaspur.

Character: Jacquemont (1830): 'Nahan is the capital of Sirmur, a little hill kingdom at which the Sikhs, Gurkhas and English have been mercilessly nibbling away for forty years past. Yet the Rajah still manages to make two hundred thousand rupees a year. His little town, one of the prettiest in India, stands on a spur of a verdant mountain, which towers on every side above deep, damp valleys, thickly clothed with forest. It was in one of these gorges that I met the Rajah, who had come out three miles from his capital to meet me.

'The Rajah was a handsome young man of twenty-two with the elegant manners of high bred Indians on the plains, but frank, active and communicative like the hill-peoples. I liked him so much that I spent two days in his capital and passed most of my time in his company. From the house he has built for the convenience of English travellers, and in which I lodged at first, I went to call on him at his palace in the morning, sometimes on horseback, sometimes on foot.

He received me surrounded by all the pomp of his court. The morning was spent in conversation, which often developed into an argument to which he admitted those of the courtiers whose rank gave them the right to squat on the royal carpet near the prince's throne, or armchair, and my own. In the afternoon the Rajah would return my call accompanied by his whole cavalcade, when he would examine everything about me, asking what it was and admiring the way Europeans move about. Then we would both mount his elephants again and go for a ride round the town or the surrounding country. When night fell, he set me down at my door. I enjoyed this evening ride, for, being alone on the elephant, we were free to say whatever we liked, and I would give him a little lecture on morality or political economy which would certainly not have been much to the taste of his ministers. Five or six English travellers pass through Nahau each year on the way to the hills in search of health. For all his politeness my young protegee does not manage to see more than a few of them, and then only exchanges a few formal phrases with them. It is true that nothing is rarer among the natives than the slightest taste for society, but the English never try to discover it, or to cultivate it if by chance it exists. This is why they remain so completely foreign to the people whom they govern' (154-155).

White (1836): 'The Rajah, a Hindoo, appeared an intelligent young man, of about three and twenty; his territories have been sadly despoiled and clipped by the Seiks, the Ghoorkas and others during the last half century, yet he still possesses, for a hill-state, a handsome revenue. In the present excursion, the party having a letter to his highness, were destined to receive from him the most marked politeness; and among other attentions, he placed his elephants at the travellers' disposal, and invited them to a review of his troops' (119).

Emily Eden (March, 1838): 'We came up to Nahau yesterday morning by means of elephants and jonpauns. The road was very steep, but nothing like that to Mussoorie. The Rajah of Nahau met us at the last stage, and came up the hill with us to-day. He has his palace at the top, a sort of hill fort, and about 100 soldiers — imitations of our soldiers — and a band of mountaineers, who played 'God save the Queen' with great success. He is one of the best-looking people I have seen, and is a Rajpoot chief, and rides, and hunts, and shoots, and is active. Nothing can be prettier than the scenery, and altogether Nahau is the nicest residence I have seen in India; and if the rajah fancied an English rane, I know somebody who would be very happy to listen to his proposals. At the same time, they do say that the hot winds sometimes blow here, and that his mountains are not quite high enough; and those points must be considered before I settle here.

'This morning we have been to see the palace, which is an odd collection of small rooms, painted and gilded in curious patterns — of course, no tables and chairs; and indeed the only piece of furniture in the house was an English barrel-organ, and in one of the rooms downstairs there was a full-grown tiger, tolerably tame, and a large iron pot full of milk for his dinner' (119-120).

On a second visit (January 1839) Emily Eden found him 'very gentleman-like and civilised, and was particularly attracted by his 'light blue eyes' which she found 'mild and refreshing'.

Prince Alexis Soltykoff, a Russian traveller (1842), was more caustic, finding him in November 1842, almost absurdly deferential to the British, 'trembling in his shoes' at the prospect of a visit by the British Resident, Clerk, and so oppressive of his people that they had recently revolted and taken to the mountains.

'I have seen Nahau; it is a shabby little place with not much of interest. They gave me a house outside the town and the Raja came to see me at once, riding a fine horse and accompanied by quite a crowd. He is not, however, a very impressive person, far less so than many of his followers, although his gold bracelets were bigger and his huge earrings adorned with pearls; his feet, in particular, were hideous.

'This evening I went to his durbar hall and he showed me his palace, which is very nice, his French prints — God knows where he got them from — and a tame tiger which he keeps in the courtyard' (Garrett (1935), 121).

1850-1856 RAGHBIR PARKASH (xvi)
Son of Fateh Parkash

1856-1898 SHAMSHER PARKASH (xvii)
Son of Raghbir Parkash. A minor at accession.

Marriage: to a daughter of the Raja of Keonthal. Like 'the Guler rani' of Karam Parkash, 'a lady of great beauty and ability who used to conduct the judicial and administrative business of the State in his absence' (*Gazetteer*). On her death, Shamsheer Parkash abandoned the palace at Nahan and shifted to the Shamsheer Villa. Laid out the Rani Talab Bagh at Nahan in her memory. Anglicised and modernised the state administration, toured *incognito* over much of India. K.C.S.I., 1876; G.C.S.I., 1886. Sirmur removed from political control of Superintendent, Simla Hill States, and placed under that of the Commissioner of Delhi, 1886.
Son: Sarindar Bikram Parkash (born 1867, married daughter of Raja of Suket).

IMPLICATIONS FOR PAINTING

Personality of rulers

Although various rulers of Sirmur are noted as being capable fighters or generals, it is only Karam Parkash (xiv, 1793-1826) and Fateh Parkash (xv, 1826-1850) who emerge, with any vividness, from the records. Karam Parkash seems to have been too great a wastrel to have had personal influence on painting. Fateh Parkash, on the other hand, was sensitive and intelligent and, under the influence of his Guler mother, could well have patronised artists.

Relations with other states

Garhwal. Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Sirmur and Garhwal were rivals — Sirmur tending to get the better of Garhwal in their frequent wars. A significant improvement occurred in the early nineteenth century when a daughter of Karam Parkash (xiv) was married to Sudarshan Shah of Tehri Garhwal. Contiguity with Garhwal as well as this marriage alliance could have influenced Sirmur painting.

Gurkhas. Like Garhwal and Bilaspur, Sirmur was sorely tried by Gurkha incursions, repulsing them in much of the eighteenth century but succumbing to Gurkha occupation (c.1803-1814). As emphasised by French (1931), Gurkha occupations tended to involve a state in much looting and in general anarchy. It is possible, therefore, that if a royal collection of pictures existed at Nahan in the eighteenth century, it was broken up or lost at this time.

Bilaspur. Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, relations between Bilaspur and Sirmur were, in the main, good — this circumstance perhaps explaining portraits in Bilaspur style of Sirmur rulers (iii, iv). It is significant that Dharm Parkash (xiii) was killed in battle against Kangra while fighting for Bilaspur and that two daughters of Karam Parkash were married to a Bilaspur ruler. (Their return to Sirmur in 1839, after their husband's death, bringing with them the Bilaspur Raj collection of pictures, explains the presence of these pictures with this particular branch of the family (Kahlur (Bilaspur) q.v.).

Kangra. Apart from a disastrous marriage alliance under Dharm Parkash (xiii, 1789-1793), relations with Kangra seem to have been cool throughout the eighteenth century. The wedding of Pratap Chand of Lambagraon (Kangra, xxix), in c.1840 to a daughter of Fateh Parkash may, however, have been significant.

Guler. In contrast to Kangra, Guler seems to have played a major role in Sirmur affairs from c.1800-1827, the Guler

rani of Karam Parkash (xiv) providing much of the government and acting as regent, 1815-1827. The fact that Garhwal also had close ties with Guler may partially explain the character of Sirmur painting from 1820 onwards.

The British. The fact that Nahan lay on the route to Simla from the Plains accounts for constant British interest in Sirmur from the early nineteenth century onwards. The British rescued Sirmur from the Gurkhas in 1815 and replaced Karam Parkash by his son, Fateh Parkash in 1815. Although none of the early travellers comment on Sirmur painting proper, Western prints and drawings (Garrett, 1935) could have influenced Sirmur painting after 1830.

III. PAINTING: REVIEW OF LITERATURE

1916

Coomaraswamy, A. K. *Rajput Painting* (Oxford, 1916). Pl. 68. 'Durga's battle with Mahishasura'. Here assigned to Sirmur. See no. 8(1).

1931

French, J. C. *Himalayan Art* (Oxford, 1931), 11-12.
'Only the other day I had a striking example of the way that old pictures are disappearing from the Hills . . . I was looking round Nahan (the capital of the Sirmoor state) for old pictures and I went into a temple which had some frescoes on the walls. These were in the Kangra Valley style but coarse and modern. Hanging on the walls of the temple I saw a photograph which interested me. It was of a picture in the Hill style. The picture showed the founder of the temple, an ascetic who died two hundred years ago, with the two tigers who always attended him and the Maharaja of Sirmoor of that age, the ancestor of the present Maharaja, in an attitude of worship. Judging by the line as shown in the photograph, the picture was not more than a hundred years old. But old pictures are getting so scarce in the Hills that I wanted to see the original. I asked the priest of the temple to show it to me but he said it was with the man who had photographed it. . . . The photographer was a Brahmin. He took me to his shop and showed me the plate of the photograph, but when I asked him for the original of the picture, he said he had returned it to the priest some months before. He came with me to the temple and reminded the priest of this. The priest made a brief search and told us that the picture was 'lost'. It was pretty clear that the picture had been sold and that this was the reason why the priest was worshipping the photograph. The Brahmin photographer tried to find me some other old pictures in Nahan but failed completely. Of course Nahan was badly knocked about by the Gurkhas at the beginning of the last century, as were many of the other Hill states. But while this would account for a certain scarcity of pictures, it is not a sufficient reason for their total absence.'

1950

Gray, B. 'Painting,' *The Art of India and Pakistan* (London, 1950; ed. L. Ashton). Col. pl. C (547). 'Radha and Krishna in a storm'. Here assigned to Sirmur. See no. 8.

1954

Randhawa, M. S. 'Sujanpur Tira, the cradle of Kangra Art', *Marg* (1954), VII, no. 3. 21, fig. 1.
Fig. 1. Raja Jagat Parkash of Sirmur (xii) riding with retainers (mis-captioned Sansar Chand of Kangra). Inscribed on reverse in nagari characters: *sarmaur ka raja jagat prakash*. Lambagraon collection. Kangra, c.1770-1780.

1957

Archer, W. G. *The Loves of Krishna* (London, 1957). Pl. 38 (Gray (1950), col. pl. C). See no. 8.

1958

Khandalavala, K. *Pahari Miniature Painting* (Bombay, 1958).

Fig. 45. 'Blindman's Buff'. 'Probably Sirmoor idiom, 1800-1825'. Here attributed to Hindur (Nalagarh). No. 285 (Gray (1950), col. pl. C). See no. 8.

1959

Reiff, R. *Indian Miniatures: the Rajput painters* (Tokyo, Rutland and Vermont, 1959). Col. pl. 5. 'Krishna's nocturnal rendez-vous with the Gopis'. See no. 6(1).

1960

Lee, S. E. *Rajput Painting* (New York, 1960). Pl. 78. 'Durga slaying Mahishasura'. See no. 8(1).

1961

Randhawa, M. S. 'Maharaja Sansar Chand — the Patron of Kangra Painting', *Roopa Lekha* (1961), XXXII, no. 2, 7. Fig. 13 (Randhawa (1954), fig. 1). Raja Jagat Parkash of Sirmur but captioned as in 1954.

1962

Randhawa, M. S. 'Mountain Range of the Silver Bangle', *Tribune* (Chandigarh), June, 1962.

Describes a visit to Nahan.

Saw no paintings with the Nahan raja but later examined paintings, including portraits of Pratap Chand of Lambagraon (married to a Sirmur princess) with a different Nahan family, related to the Raja (communication, Randhawa, 1968). See nos. 10-12.

1964

Lee, S. E. *A History of Far Eastern Art* (London, 1964). Pl. 282 (Coomaraswamy (1916), pl. 68; Lee (1960), pl. 78). See no. 8(1).

1965

Archer, Mildred, and Archer, W. G. *Romance and Poetry in Indian Painting* (Wildenstein Exhibition, London, 1965). Pl. 62. Sirmur, c.1820. Compare no. 4. Pls. 63, 64, 66. See nos. 4, 7, 9.

1966

Goswamy, B. N. 'Some nineteenth century frescoes and the painter Angad of Sirmur', *Ars Asiaticus* (1966), XIII, 99-108.

Illustrates a series of murals on the interior and exterior of the Mansa Devi temple, seven miles from Chandigarh, in the now extinct state of Mani Majra, formerly part of Sirmur.

Publishes an inscription recording that a mural of Chandi (goddess of the temple) was painted by Angad in 1813 and states that according to oral tradition, Angad was a painter of Sirmur.

Emphasises the presence of short and squat figures, a plethora of floral motifs and borders and the theme of Durga killing Mahishasura.

Suggests that due to confusion of affairs in Sirmur under Raja Karam Parkash (xiv, 1793-(1815) 1826), Angad may have migrated to Mani Majra for this work.

1967

Archer, Mildred. *Indian Miniatures and Folk Paintings* (Arts Council, London, 1967).

Pl. 42. 'Meeting at night'. See no. 4.

Pl. 43. 'Radha and Krishna by night'. Compare no. 4.

Pl. 44. 'Radha and Krishna on a bed of leaves'. Compare no. 4.

IV. PAINTING: CATALOGUE AND RECONSTRUCTION

PHASE ONE: 1700-1820

No paintings securely connected with Sirmur and dating

from before the Gurkha occupation (c.1803-1814) have so far come to light.

PHASE TWO: 1820-1850

1(i, ii) Two paintings from a *Bihari Sat Sai* series.

Nahan (Sirmur), c.1820.

Oval shape with surrounds in pale yellow. Blue border.

Inscribed on the reverse in English by the Amritsar dealer Radha Krishna Bharany: *Dehra Hill School*.

1(i) The go-between.

G. K. Kanoria collection, Calcutta.

Description: Radha meets Krishna's go-between at the door of her house. In the distance Krishna talks to a cow-girl. In the background, hills with oval trees.

1(ii) Radha peeping at Krishna.

Binney collection, Brookline, Mass.

Description: Radha peeps at Krishna through a hole in a blind or shutter as Krishna stands outside her house. To the rear, a courtyard with two girls sitting. Beyond them, hills with oval trees and houses.

Discussion: From a series based on Garhwal models but distinguished by a preference for extremely pale colours and for simple geometric designs.

The term 'Dehra Hill School' was interpreted to me by N. C. Mehta in 1952 to mean 'Nahan, Sirmur' since Nahan adjoined the Dehra Dun portion of Garhwal district and could thus be regarded as in the 'Dehra Hills'. The term, in Mehta's view, could not apply to Garhwal or Tehri Garhwal since pictures from these states were in markedly different styles. Moreover, his experience of local collections in Nahan led him to associate pictures in this and the following styles with Nahan and with Nahan only. In view of the distinctive palette and the fact that none of them can be securely assigned to other states, Mehta's opinion has here been adopted.

2 The encounter. From a *Bihari Sat Sai* series. Nahan (Sirmur), c.1820.

207 x 138 mm; with mount 290 x 220 mm. Oval shape with surrounds in pale yellow. Dark blue margin. Grey-blue mount.

Victoria and Albert Museum, Debenham collection, I.S. 151-1953.

Description: Krishna with dim grey-blue skin and in a yellow *dhoti* sits on a pale yellow terrace, facing Radha who wears a dark blue veil with five-dot pattern, an orange-brown skirt and a pale cream-coloured bodice. Behind her stand two companions, the further in orange-brown veil, the nearer in a mauve veil and slate-blue skirt. Around them are white balustrades. In the foreground is a flight of white steps with a small doorway in the middle. Background pale green topped by dark blue.

Discussion: From the same or a similar series as 1.

3 The reluctant Radha. Nahan (Sirmur), c.1820-1840.

212 x 144 mm; with border 224 x 154 mm. Oval shape with pale greenish-blue surrounds and floral pattern.

Dark blue margin (trimmed) with faint floral pattern.

Inscribed on reverse with Hindi verses in *nagari* characters. Victoria and Albert Museum, Debenham collection, I.S. 149-1953.

Description: Krishna in a brown *dhoti* kneels on a pale yellow bed, pulling at Radha's right arm in an effort to force her to turn round and face him. Radha who wears crimson trousers and a red veil has her back turned towards him. She gazes firmly ahead and raises her left hand to her cheek. On the left a maid in mauve dress tries to soothe her. Terrace floor a creamy pink with dark green rug. In the background, white balustrades, trees, a river, low hills and sky with crescent moon and stars. In the lower right-hand corner, a Garhwal-type lamp-shade.

Discussion: Facial types as in 1 and 2 and with the same shrinking from strong colour. The awkward placing of Rad-

ha's right arm, which seems almost to violate anatomy, can be compared with Krishna's stances (nos. 4 and 5) which show his body turned in one direction while his head faces in the other.

4 Meeting at night. From a *Bihari Sat Sai* series. Nahan (Sirmur), c.1830.

197 x 140 mm; with borders 300 x 242 mm. Oval shape with pale yellow surrounds. Dark brown margin with floral pattern. Blue-black border with white rules.

Archer collection, London.

Published: Archer (1965), no. 63; also reproduced Archer (1967), pl. 43.

Description: Radha and Krishna stand together on a balcony at night, the night mist rising around them. Krishna has a pale mauve skin and yellow *dhoti*, Radha a white skin and bodice with an orange veil. Severely simple walls in grey and dark mauve surround them. At the top, a pale black sky with stars.

Discussion: Modelled on a Kangra picture of the same subject in the Tehri Garhwal Raj collection, obtained in 1829 by Raja Sudarshan Shah (1815-1859) of Tehri Garhwal when he married the two daughters of Raja Sansar Chand of Kangra. Compare Randhawa, *Kangra Paintings of the Bihari Sat Sai* (New Delhi, 1966), pl. IX.

Sudarshan Shah's earlier marriage to a Sirmur princess implies that the two states were on friendly terms, a circumstance which may explain the development in Nahan of a style of painting derived from Tehri Garhwal. For Krishna's posture—his head abnormally twisted round so as to look over his shoulder—compare no. 5.

5 Krishna and the cow. Nahan (Sirmur), c.1830.

Dark blue margin with floral pattern.

G. K. Kanoria collection, Calcutta.

Description: Krishna, tending a cow at Radha's door, looks round to talk to her. In the background, a village square with cattle, trees and houses. At the top, a flat roof.

Discussion: Similar in style to 1-4 and with the following significant points in common: a backward-looking stance on Krishna's part, his *dhoti* draped in the same unusual fashion as in 4, cattle shown as half-in and half-out of the picture, Krishna patting a cow with his hand (no. 1(i)) and the same all-pervading pallor.

6 Radha returning from the cistern. Nahan (Sirmur), c. 1830.

223 x 146 mm.

Municipal Museum, Allahabad.

Description: A village and palace, seen from above. In the left foreground is a cistern or reservoir, the water falling from a tiger-headed mouth. Above it is a tall tree, its leafy branches cascading downwards like a mantle. Radha, a short figure in the foreground, crosses the square, bearing on her head a pitcher of water. In the background a series of houses rising steeply.

Discussion: Closely similar to 5—the treatment of the rectangular cistern closely resembling the flat rooftop (no. 5). Cisterns or water reservoirs were a special feature of Nahan (Moorcroft q.v.) as also were its steeply rising streets (French).

Related example: (1) Reiff (1959), col. pl. 5. Krishna's nocturnal rendez-vous with the Gopis. New York Public Library. Nahan (Sirmur), c.1830-1840. Similar in construction (especially the village with its sleeping inhabitants) to *Garhwal no. 24(i)* (q.v.) but with the same 'cascading' treatment of foliage which is so marked a feature of nos. 6 and 7.

7 The gathering storm. Nahan (Sirmur), c.1830.

220 x 142 mm; with borders 283 x 200 mm. Dark blue margin. Fawn border with red rules.

Archer collection, London.

Published Archer (1965) no. 64.

Description: Radha with white skin and in orange dress stands beside Krishna with pale mauve skin and in a bright yellow *dhoti*. A tree with clearly defined foliage looms above them. Behind its trunk stand three cowherd boys.

Beside them rushes a stream with flowering lotuses. On the farther bank rise hills and houses. In the sky are black storm clouds. A group of cattle pursued by a tiny cowherd rush for shelter.

Discussion: Yet a third variant on the theme of Radha and Krishna standing and gazing at each other—similarities in facial types as well as in over-all style securely linking these three pictures together. It is perhaps significant that the midget cowherd pursuing the cattle is paralleled by the two tiny figures crossing the square in 6 and that the foliage of the tree above the two lovers has the same very unusual treatment (no. 6). With 4 and 9, expressly connected by N. C. Mehta (1952) with Nahan.

8 Radha and Krishna in a storm. Nahan (Sirmur), c.1830.

170 x 217 mm. Dark blue margin with floral pattern.

Central Museum, Lahore.

Published: Gray (1950), col pl. C; also reproduced Archer (1957), pl. 38; Khandalavala (1958), no. 285.

Description: Radha and Krishna, attended by cowherd boys, their heads sheltered with knotted blankets and large lotus-leaves are struggling homewards against a gale of rain. Krishna in pale yellow *dhoti* strives to protect Radha by holding up a large umbrella made from leaves. Radha wears a pale orange-brown dress and pale yellow bodice. A herd of cattle traipse beside them. In the foreground trees are tossing in the wind. In the distance is a village nestling under a hill-top palace, and in the sky black clouds lit by lightning.

Discussion: Like 7, this picture avails of 'storm and rain' to provide a symbolic and sympathetic setting for Radha's romance with Krishna—the violence of the elements serving as a parallel to the passionate character of their feelings. Significant details: brindled cows as in 5, trees with stone platforms (6), basic postures (7). For the general view, suggestive of Nahan itself, compare Eden (1937).

Related example: (1) Coomaraswamy (1916), pl. 68; also reproduced Lee (1960), no. 78; Lee (1964), pl. 282. Durga slaying Mahishasura. Cleveland Museum of Art. Nahan (Sirmur), c.1830. Similar movement as in 8 and with the same sense of turbulent elements and of gravely advancing figures, comparable trees, clouds and distant landscape. It is significant that the same predominant theme should have been used for murals at Mani Majra by the Sirmur painter, Angad, 1813 (Goswamy, 1966).

9 The lonely lady. Nahan (Sirmur), c.1830.

221 x 158 mm; with border 308 x 242 mm. Dark blue margin with white floral pattern. Fawn border flecked with red. Red rules.

Archer collection, London.

Published: Archer (1965), no. 66.

Description: A lady dressed in dull gold broods on a terrace while her companion in orange veil and green skirt strives to console her. White terrace and pavilion walls. Beyond a compound wall is a view of houses as in no. 6, a river and hills with white buildings. In the sky, black storm clouds and a row of four white cranes.

Discussion: Same style as 4-7.

10 Raja Pratap Chand (born 1827, died 1864) of Lambagraon with a lady. Nahan (Sirmur), c.1850.

Oval shape (vertical) with pale surrounds and floral pattern. Ancestral collection, Sirmur Raj family, Nahan.

Description: Pratap Chand, dressed, as in 12, in Sikh style, sits smoking a hookah, and fondling a pet dog. A lady with veil and trousers sits facing him. Behind him stands an attendant with a white fly-whisk.

Discussion: From the same collection as 12 but introducing a new type of female face.

11 Shiva and Parvati. Nahan (Sirmur), c.1850.

Ancestral collection, Sirmur Raj family, Nahan.

Description: Shiva seated on a tiger skin is offered a bowl by Parvati who sits to his left. Above them is a tree and in the distance mountains.

Discussion: A picture characterised by summary boldness,

perhaps marking the end of the former delicacy. Female face as in 10.

12 Raja Pratap Chand (born 1827, died 1864) of Lambagraon (Kangra) worshipping the goddess Kali. Nahan (Sirmur), c.1850.

Oval shape (horizontal) with pale surrounds and floral pattern.

Ancestral collection, Sirmur Raj family, Nahan.

Description: Pratap Chand of Lambagraon dressed in Sikh style bows with folded hands before a vision of Kali in leopard skin and necklace of heads standing on the prostrate Shiva. Around them are vultures and jackals feeding on bones. In the middle distance a stream with flowering lotuses.

Discussion: Of some importance for identifying Sirmur painting since it contains details found in preceding examples (oval shape, similar type of floral surrounds), thus partially confirming Mehta's general impression. It is connected with Nahan (Sirmur) by provenance (a local ancestral collection); and the central figure, Pratap Chand, has a special Sirmur connection since he was married to a Sirmur princess, the daughter of Fateh Parkash (1815-1850) of Sirmur. It is significant that other portraits of Pratap Chand in the Lambagraon collection are in a different style (Kangra q.v.). The present picture was in the possession of a Nahan family and was photographed by M. S. Randhawa during a visit in 1962.

PAINTING IN SUKET

I. INTRODUCTION

GEOGRAPHY

A moderately-sized state, thirty-four miles long by twelve miles wide, bounded on the south by Bhagal (Arki), on the west by Kahlur (Bilaspur), on the north by Mandi, and on the east by Kulu. Area 420 square miles. Capitals: Lohara, c.1470-c.1530; Kartarpur (Purana Nagar, Suket), c.1530-c.1800; Baned (Sundarnagar), two miles south of Kartarpur, c.1800 onwards.

SCENERY

Vigne (1842): 'Sukyt is situated at the southern end of the valley known by the name of Sukyt-Mundi. The principal stream by which its surface is watered rises above Sukyt and flows northwards towards Mundi, where it joins the Beyas. Sukyt-Mundi is eight or ten miles in length and three or four in breadth, richly cultivated and containing numerous villages; and on each of the picturesque hills around are numerous forts, and perhaps no country of equal extent could boast of so many strongholds, or what appear to be such. In the centre of the valley the Sukyt stream is joined by another from the Rawala Sar, or small lake, at some distance in the mountains. For two or three miles before reaching the town of Mundi, the pathway, which follows up the stream, lies through a quiet, well-wooded glen, such as may be seen in any of the hilly districts of England, and the blue-slated roofs of Mundi appear at the end of it' (I, 78-79).

Gazetteer (1908): 'Suket forms a long oval strip of territory lying east and west, with a tongue of fertile country, in which lies Suket its ancient capital and Baned the present residence of the Raja, jutting out from its north-west corner into Mandi territory. It is divided naturally into a small fertile plain enclosed by low hills lying in the Beas basin and a large mountainous region comprising the greater part of the state in the Sutlej basin. The former is known as Balh. The latter is broken up into a series of valleys by branches of the great Jalori range of the Himalayan chain. The valleys are for the most part steep and narrow but around Karsog town there is a wide stretch of comparatively level land rivalling the Balh in fertility. As the great length of the state lies east and west and the hills lie roughly north and south, the whole area is cut up into a series of disconnected valleys rendering communication difficult and travelling arduous. The paths are steep and tortuous and distances in consequence exaggerated' (1).

French (1929): 'The town of Suket, though only thirteen miles away from Mandi, is a complete contrast to it. The view of Mandi town is a stern and gloomy one, with the boiling river, the ring of high mountains, and the steep and narrow streets. The impression of Suket is of a collection of mountain farmsteads, a Swiss village, and just above the small town are beautiful alpine pastures, with soft springy turf and mountain flowers. A little way from the town is a group of temples with the rich quaint wood-carving of the Hills, and stone-paved streets between.

'There are some sayings about these states: 'Go to Suket and become a *paret* (a long thin ghost)', 'Go to Mandi and become a *randi* (prostitute)', 'Go to Kulu and become an *ullu* (owl)'. The last proverb is by no means an unsuitable introduction to the queer country with which it rhymes' (23).

Visited by W.G.A. with M. S. Randhawa and Mulk Raj Anand, March, 1960; and again with M. S. Randhawa, March 1966.

RELIGION

The *Gazetteer* mentions four separate temples in or near Suket town (Purana Nagar) — (1) at Purana Nagar itself: Narsinghji (with a *saligram*, emblem of Vishnu), Jagannath (containing an idol brought from Orissa, c.1650 and honoured by an annual fair and procession, with the Raja participating) and Mahadeva (containing a *lingam*, emblem of Shiva); (2) at Baned (Sundarnagar): Suraj Kund (built in 1728 by Raja Garur Sen, v, and containing images of Surya, Radha, Krishna, Rama, Balarama and Hanuman).

The Raja's *purohits* (priests) are Gaur Brahmins whose ancestors came from Bengal with the founder of the state. The fact that the office has remained in the same family, with one small break, may explain why their influence on Suket affairs has been uniformly strong (HV, *Gazetteer*, q.v.).

II. HISTORICAL NOTES

SOURCES

- Anon. *Punjab States Gazetteers, XIA: Mandi and Suket States, 1904* (Lahore, 1908).
Griffin, L. H. and Massy, C. F. *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab* (Lahore, 1940).
Hutchison, J. and Vogel, J. P. *History of the Panjab Hill States* (Lahore, 1933), I, 340-372.
Singh, Hardyal (Hardayal), *Majma - i - Tawarikh - i - Riyasatha-i-Kohistan-i-Panjab*. An account in Urdu of Suket Raj History, based on local investigations, c.1880-1890.
Vigne, G. T. *Travels in Kashmir, Ladak, Iskardo* (London, 1842).

REIGNS AND PORTRAITS

With Mandi, Keonthal and Kashtwar, descended from the Sena dynasty of Bengal and hence employing a common suffix, Sen. Mandi an offshoot from Suket. Clan-name, Suketia. Suffix for younger sons, Singh.

c.1590-c.1620 DIP SEN (i)
Sons: Shyam Sen, Naurang Singh.

c.1620-c.1650 SHYAM SEN (ii)
Son of Dip Sen.

Marriages: (1) Guler (two sons: Ram Sen, Prithvi (Pirthi) Singh; one daughter); (2) Bashahr (one son Hari Singh). An attempt by the Bashahri rani to have Ram Sen murdered led to the banishment of herself and her son, Hari Singh, from Suket.

Bilaspur: Despite the marriage of Shyam Sen's daughter to Raja Kalian Chand (1630-1645) of Bilaspur, a border dispute led to war — Mandi (under Suraj Sen) aiding Kalian Chand in an attack on Suket. Suket, with the help of Pathan mercenaries, routed the Mandi-Bilaspur forces, mortally wounding Kalian Chand.

Mughals: At first, campaigned for Shah Jahan and was rewarded with a dress of honour and the right to issue his own coinage. Later, due to intrigues by Jagat Singh (1619-1646) of Nurpur — for some time paramount ruler in the Hills — Shyam Sen and his brother Naurang Singh were imprisoned in Delhi. Released c.1641 when Jagat Singh rebelled. Naurang Singh died in prison.

Bashahr: Due to enmity with Bashahr arising from the compulsory return of his Bashahri rani, Shyam Sen was opposed by the Rana of Bashahr on his way back from

Delhi. He defeated him but after exacting tribute, recognised him as a subordinate Raja.

Mandi and Kulu: During Shyam Sen's imprisonment in Delhi, both states expanded at Suket's expense.

Character: Successful in first part of reign but later, after the Delhi imprisonment, a general weakening.

c.1650-c.1663 **RAM SEN** (iii)

Son of Shyam Sen by his Guleria rani.

Mandi: Increasing friction with Mandi led to a long struggle for the fertile Balh plain. Griffin summarises the bad relations between the two states as follows: 'Mandi and Suket have always been rivals and generally enemies, but for several generations there was little to show on either side as a result of their warfare. When a powerful Raja ruled at Suket, he won back all the territory which his predecessors had lost, and at one time Suket possessions extended to the very walls of Mandi. In the same manner, when a powerful Chief ruled in Mandi, the borders of Suket were much reduced, and its outlying forts and districts fell into the hands of its rival. The plain of Balh lying between the two capitals was common ground of desire and dispute' (HV, 357).

Character: In last years, insane; his son, Jit Sen, regent.

c.1663-1721 **JIT SEN** (iv)

Son of Ram Sen.

'A long and inglorious reign of 58 years' (HV).

Mandi: Consistently victorious over Suket. More Suket land lost.

Character: Weak and unstable. Like predecessors, deeply superstitious. Is said to have had twenty-two (i.e. many) children all of whom died in infancy (perhaps due to some congenital deficiency?). Died childless.

1721-1748 **GARUR SEN** (v)

Grandson of Hari Singh (son of Shyam Sen by his Bashahri rani).

[Since Hari Singh was the first son of a second rani and was born before the second son of Shyam Sen's first rani, he and his descendants had prior claim over Prithvi Singh (second son of the Guleria rani). On Jit Sen's death, the Raja of Bashahr therefore correctly claimed Suket for Garur Sen. This claim was, at first, resisted but with support from Kulu and Kangra, Garur Sen was later installed. It is significant that the Mians (royal kinsmen) who had opposed him fled to Garhwal on his accession.]

Founded Baned (Sundarnagar), 2 miles south of Katarpur.

Marriage: to the daughter of the Rana of Himli.

Sons: Bhikam Sen, Bahadur Singh.

1741-1762 **BHIKAM SEN** (vi)

Son of Garur Sen.

Some minor wars (details unrecorded). Like other states, free of Mughals c.1750 onwards. Sikh incursions, though not on any serious scale.

Marriage: Nalagarh (Hindur).

Sons: Ranjit Sen, Kishan Singh.

Character: subject to epilepsy.

Portraits of Kishan Singh: (1) Listed Gupta (1922), D.71: Kishan Singh seated. Line sketch. Central Museum, Lahore. Kangra, c.1805.

(2) **Fig. 23 (Kangra).** Kishan Singh in a darbar of Raja Sansar Chand (1775-1823) of Kangra (the furthest figure on lower right). Inscribed in Persian characters: *fauzdar(?) kishan singh suketwala*. Welch collection, Cambridge, Mass. Kangra, c.1800. Same person as in (1) above.

(3) **Fig. 8(xv) (Kangra).** Kishan Singh seated with Ranjit Sen. Lambagraon collection. Kangra, c.1780.

1762-1791 **RANJIT SEN** (vii)

Son of Bhikam Sen.

Marriages: Sirmur (one son, Bikram Sen); Guler (two sons, Amar Singh, Mian Singh, both died young). 'The Guler marriage specially was celebrated with great pomp' (HV).

Relations with Kangra: Sansar Chand (1775-1823) of Kangra was married to the daughter of Ranjit Sen's younger

brother, Kishan Singh ('Rani Suketan'; Kangra q.v.). Although aiding Kishan Singh in a revolt against his brother (c.1780) during which the Suket capital was burnt, Sansar Chand otherwise preserved friendly relations with the Suket royal family and later (1786-1805), when supreme in the Hills, dealt leniently with it.

Sikhs: Suket probably tributary first to Jassa Singh Ramgharia (c.1770-1775), later to Jai Singh Kanheya (1775-1786).

Internal affairs: Able administration by 'the powerful and capable' Wazir Narpat. 'The records speak of Narpat's rule as having been a time of peace and prosperity in Suket, when the law was strictly upheld and property was secure' (HV). Friction between Narpat and Bikram Sen, heir-apparent, led to the latter's withdrawal to Bilaspur for his father's life-time.

Portrait: (1) **Fig. 8(xv) (Kangra).** Ranjit Sen seated with Kishan Singh. Lambagraon collection, Kangra. Kangra, 1780.

1791-1838 **BIKRAM SEN** (viii)

Son of Ranjit Sen. Nephew of Kishan Singh.

On his father's death he returned from Bilaspur, was installed as Raja, imprisoned and executed Wazir Narpat.

Kangra: Aided Kangra in an attack on Mandi and with help of his uncle, Kishan Singh regained six Mandi forts. Tributary to Kangra until the Gurkha invasion of 1805. Neutral in the Gurkha war against Kangra.

Mandi: Profited from Sansar Chand's capture of Isvari Sen (1788-1826) of Mandi and the latter's exile to Nadaun (Kangra); but no permanent gains in territory.

Bilaspur: At Mandi's instance, Bilaspur tricked Bikram Sen into visiting Bilaspur (1807) where he was imprisoned until 1808. He then escaped. Mandi had meanwhile regained some forts.

Sikhs: Following Sansar Chand's collapse (1809), Suket paid tribute to the Sikhs (Ranjit Singh at Lahore).

Capital: Baned (Sundarnagar), two miles south of Kartarpur, c. 1800.

Children: Two sons (Ugar Sen, Jagat Singh); one daughter (married in Nurpur).

Character: 'A severe and upright ruler, he always punished robbery and trafficking in women with death. In person, he was tall and handsome but he was severe and strict' (*Gazetteer*, 14). As in previous reigns, Wazir families were a significant factor in Suket affairs. Three Wazirs are noted: Pannu (killed in battle against Mandi and Bilaspur), Gorkan, his brother and successor (shot by Mian Bishan Singh, son of Kishan Singh, because of an insult). Ablu, a third brother and Gorkan's successor (intrigued with Bilaspur and responsible for Bikram Sen's confinement there from 1807-1808).

Portraits: (1) Listed Gupta (1922), D.73. Bikram Sen seated holding a hookah. Line sketch. Central Museum, Lahore. Kangra, c.1810.

(2) Listed Coomaraswamy (1926), 239 (no. 502). Bikram Sen seated holding a hookah. Inscribed in *nagari* characters: *suketau raja vikrama sena*. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. c.1810. Version or copy of (1) above.

(3) Listed Vogel (1909), 31. Bikram Sen of Suket. Inscribed in *nagari* characters: *raja sukhetau vrikam sen*. Chamba Museum.

(4) **Fig. 23 (Kangra).** Bikram Sen in a darbar of Raja Sansar Chand (1775-1823) of Kangra (the fourth figure down on the right, between Mahan Chand of Bilaspur, above, and Umed Singh Jaswal, below). Welch collection, Cambridge, Mass. Kangra, c.1800.

Portraits of relatives (Narendra Singh): Grandson of Kishan Singh, son of Bishan Singh, cousin of Bikram Sen. Due to his Sikh sympathies, was deputed to accompany Ranjit Sen's son, Ugar Sen, on a mission to Lahore as a result of which tribute from Suket to the Sikh court was reduced.

(1) Listed Gupta (1922), D.72. Narendra Singh seated. Line sketch. Central Museum, Lahore. Sikh turban. Sikh way of strapping shield to back.

1838-1876 **UGAR SEN** (ix)

Son of Bikram Sen.

Marriages: (1) Jammu (one son, Rudar Sen); (2) Kutlehr (two sons, Shib Singh, Ram Singh; one daughter, Dei Sarda, married to Raja Sri Singh of Chamba, 1853), (Chamba q.v.) (3) Patiala (one son, Narain Singh).

Other children: Three sons by concubines.

Internal affairs: Difficulties with his heir, Rudar Sen, resulting first in his going to Mandi, and later to Bilaspur, though on both occasions prevailed upon to return. Many complex intrigues involving Narendra Singh (whose daughter had married Sher Singh, Sikh Maharaja of Lahore), the Wazir families and various *purohits*. Frequent changes of Wazir, 1840-1845. Narotam *purohit* made Wazir, 1845-c. 1870. Constant intrigues with Rudar Sen.

Sikhs: Suket invaded by Sikh army, 1840, but unmolested. 1845-1846 joined with Mandi in ousting the Sikhs in the first Anglo-Sikh War. Made a part of British territory, 1846. Retained independence but paid tribute to British.

Character: Severe but respected for his liberality, courtesy and courage. A Sanskrit scholar. Fond of music. Built a temple to Shiva.

1876-1879 (1887) RUDAR SEN (x)

Son of Ugar Sen. Born 1829.

Marriages: (1) Garhwal, 1853 (no son); (2) Bilaspur, 1853 (two sons, Arimardan Sen, born 1863; Dusht Nikandan Sen, born 1866; one daughter, married to Raja of Sirmur); (3) Arki, 1874.

Character: A trouble-maker with his father. More changes in posts of Wazir. Oppressive taxes. Deposed by British, 1879. Died 1887.

1879 ARIMARDAN SEN (xi)

Son of Rudar Sen. Aged 15 years at accession. Died same year.

1879-1908 DUSHT NIKANDAN SEN (xii)

Son of Rudar Sen. Younger brother of Arimardan Sen.

Marriage: to a niece of Raja Dhian Singh of Baghal (Arki), 1881.

Sons: Bhim Sen (born 1885), Lakshman Singh (born 1894), Prithvi Singh, Shamsher Singh (the last two illegitimate).

Internal affairs: 1879-1882, Mian Jagat Singh (younger brother of Ugar Sen) and Mian Shib Singh (younger brother of Rudar Sen) acted as managers. Hardyal (Hardayal) Singh, a Kangra revenue officer, appointed a tahsildar. 1882, Hardyal Singh made manager. 1886, Dusht Nikandan Sen granted full powers. 1884-1891, 'Mr. Donald', State Wazir. 1891-1893, C. J. Halifax, I.C.S., manager.

Note: The appointment of Hardyal Singh as manager in 1882 is of some importance since he was later to compile the book in Urdu, *Majma-i-Tawarikh-i-Riyasathai-Kohistan Panjab*, a history of the Punjab Hill States. In this book he gives histories of other states but, due to his long residence in Suket, he provides far more detailed information concerning the Suket rulers than he does for others. It is on Hardyal Singh that HV and the *Gazetteer* base their accounts.

IMPLICATIONS FOR PAINTING

Personality of rulers

Hardyal Singh's account stresses the dominant role played in Suket affairs by the State Wazirs and by the family *purohits*. Belief in ghosts seems also to have affected conduct — the proverb quoted by French suggesting that the people of Suket were particularly sensitive in this respect. Apart from Raja Ugar Sen (ix) — a Sanskrit scholar with an interest in music — no Suket ruler appears to have had any special artistic tastes.

Relations with other states

Mandi. Despite the fact that Mandi was an offshoot of Suket, the two states were bitter rivals. In the eighteenth century, warfare was the rule and in the nineteenth century, each intrigued against the other. In such circumstances, if there was any painting at Suket, it is unlikely to have been much affected by that of Mandi.

Bilaspur. No significant relations.

Guler. The pomp attending the marriage of Raja Ranjit Sen (1762-1791) to a Guler rani is especially noted by HV (following Hardyal). This Guler connection could conceivably, though not necessarily, have affected painting in Suket.

Kangra. The wedding of Raja Sansar Chand (1775-1823) of Kangra to a Suket princess, daughter of Kishan Singh (younger brother of Ranjit Sen) may have had significant consequences. Sansar Chand intervened in Suket on Kishan Singh's behalf and burnt the Suket capital (Kartarpur). Later in the reign, however, he established friendly relations with Ranjit Sen and his son, Bikram Sen. Kishan Singh, as father of Sansar Chand's senior rani, appears to have had an honoured place at the Kangra court. This connection between Kangra and Suket could have assisted the spread of Kangra-style painting to Suket in the nineteenth century.

The Sikhs. In the late eighteenth century, Suket paid 'Dane-geld' to the Sikhs and although there was an intermission from 1786 to 1809, tribute to the Sikhs was resumed when the Sikh Maharaja Ranjit Singh (1799-1839) of Lahore displaced Sansar Chand of Kangra as paramount power in the Punjab Hills. A Sikh 'lobby' was accordingly a factor in Suket politics and culture from about 1820 onwards and although Suket was not disturbed by the Sikhs until the brief invasion of 1840, visits by the ruler to Lahore may have affected fashions in dress, and, conceivably, in painting.

III. PAINTING: REVIEW OF LITERATURE

1909

Vogel, J. P. *Catalogue of the Bhuri Singh Museum at Chamba* (Calcutta, 1909), 31.

Lists a portrait of Raja Bikram Sen, viii, of Suket.

1922

Gupta, S. N. *Catalogue of Paintings in the Central Museum, Lahore* (Calcutta, 1922), 57-58.

Lists three portraits of Suket Mians and Rajas: Kishan Singh, brother of Ranjit Sen, vii (D.71), Narendra Singh, grandson of Mian Kishan Singh (D.72) and Raja Bikram Sen, viii (D.73).

1926

Coomaraswamy, A. K. *Catalogue of the Indian Collections in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: Part V: Rajput Painting* (Boston, 1926), 239, 243.

Lists a portrait of Raja Bikram Sen, viii, and of an unidentified prince, 'perhaps a Raja of Suket' (no. 529, pl. 125) comparing it with Bikram Sen. Here assigned to Bhoti (q.v.).

1931

French, J. C. *Himalayan Art* (Oxford, 1931), 22, 23, 37, 45.

Describes a visit to Suket. No collections of pictures seen. States that, like Chamba and Mandi, Suket had a school of painting of its own but that the local people admitted that 'they had never had anything to compare with the great master-pieces of Kangra'. Regards a Basohli-like style as the earliest kind of painting in Suket and suggests that this style persisted even after the arrival of the Kangra Valley style. No examples cited.

1946

Khandalavala, K. 'Some Paintings from the Collection of the late Burjor N. Treasuryvala', *Marg* (1946), I, no. 1, 56.

Tentatively attributes a picture to either Suket or Ramnagar (Bandralta).

1958

Khandalavala, K. Pahari Miniature Painting (Bombay, 1958), 133, 266.

Refers to the Russian collector, Roerich, as having seen 'a fine series of "pre-Kangra" paintings in the Mughal manner of the eighteenth century of known Suket provenance'. No details given.

Alludes to examples from a *Ramayana* series in the Roerich collection similar in style to the *Madhava Kamakandala* series (**Kahlur (Bilaspur) no. 13 q.v.**), its find-spot Suket; and suggests that 'they may be the work of the same artist who painted that set or the style may have spread to other states'. Not illustrated.

Pl. no. 83. Bahadur Singh with courtiers and musicians. Jahangir collection, Bombay. Identified on the strength of a mis-read *takri* inscription as Bahadur Singh (younger brother of Raja Bhikam Sen, vi, of Suket) and attributed to Suket, third quarter of eighteenth century. Re-published Khandalavala and Chandra (1965), pl. no. 90 (Bhoti q.v.). Here identified as Raja Bahadur Singh (c.1770-c.1810) of Bhoti and ascribed to Bhoti, 1788. See **Bhoti, no. 1**.

1961

Skelton, R. Indian Miniatures from the 15th to 19th Century (Venice, 1961).

Pl. 78. Ascribed to Suket, 1750-1775, by comparison with Khandalavala (1958), pl. no. 83 and Coomaraswamy (1926), pl. 125. See **Bhoti, no. 6**.

Randhawa, M. S. 'Maharaja Sansar Chand: the Patron of Kangra Painting', *Roopa Lekha* (1961), XXXII, no. 2, 61.

Alludes to 'Rani Suketan', rani of Sansar Chand (1775-1823) of Kangra, as building the Narbadeshwar temple at Sujampur and decorating it with murals, 1824.

1965

Welch, S. C. and Beach, M. C. Gods, Thrones and Peacocks (New York, 1965).

Pl. 70. Darbar of Sansar Chand of Kangra. Welch collection, Cambridge, Mass. Kangra, c.1800. See **Kangra, no. 23**.

The fourth figure down on the right is inscribed in Persian as Raja Bikram Sen, viii, of Suket; the furthest figure down on the right as Kishan Singh (younger brother of Ranjit Sen, vii, of Suket and father-in-law of Raja Sansar Chand of Kangra).

1968

Goswamy, B. N. 'Pahari Painting: the family as the basis of style', *Marg* (1968), XXI, no. 4, 17-62.

Publishes a magic diagram of a semi-nude female figure pointing to the names of sixteen states or courts among which is Suket. Interprets the diagram which bears the title 'Shri Guler' as a picture of the *siddhi* or personal deity of the Seu-Manaku-Nainsukh family of painters and the list of states as places where members of the family worked for a time. No particular members of the family, however, are named as having been connected with Suket and no paintings are cited as having been done by them at Suket.

IV. PAINTING: CATALOGUE AND RECONSTRUCTION

PHASE ONE: 1700-1800

No pictures securely connected with Suket and dating from this period have so far come to light.

PHASE TWO: 1800-1875

1 Shiva worship. Suket, c.1800.

226 x 155 mm; with border 280 x 210 mm.

Red border with white rules.

Formerly ancestral collection, Raja of Suket, Sundarnagar.

Description: Three ladies in dark red, dark green and mauve dresses, the first with deep yellow veil, the others with dark red veils and 3-dot patterns, stand beside a white wall before a shrine to Shiva. The *lingam* is set on a pedestal and is straddled by a tripod which supports a mauve pitcher. To the right is a white pavilion partly obscured by a rush of inky blackness. In the sky grey and white clouds. To the left a tree with prominent leaves. At the base a mauve band.

Discussion: Connected with Suket by distinctiveness of style and provenance (Raja of Suket's ancestral collection). When I saw this collection with M. S. Randhawa in 1960, it comprised scarcely twenty items, and it is possible that, following the burning of Kartarpur (Purana Nagar) by Kangra forces in the late eighteenth century, the main Suket collection was destroyed.

The present picture, though feebly executed, presupposes some slight awareness of Mandi or Kulu painting of the last quarter of the eighteenth century, the looping of the veils over the ladies' breasts and the recourse to the familiar 3-dot pattern conforming to this regional style. A feature of the picture is the use of dark green in close conjunction with dark red.

2 Awaiting the lover. Suket, c.1810-1820.

206 x 136 mm; with border 265 x 191 mm.

Blue-black margin with white 'Kangra type' floral pattern in white and gold. Border pink with red darts.

Formerly ancestral collection, Raja of Suket, Sundarnagar.

Description: A lady in dark green dress and white veil sits beside a *tambura* toying with a hookah. She wears a dark red cloak with 3-dot pattern and leans against a mauve cushion. A brazier warms her from the winter's cold. Red carpet with bright yellow rug. To the left a white lampshade with burning lamp and beyond it a standing lady in mauve skirt and dark green and red veil. Crimson blind secured by a white cord. Grey walls with doorway through which can be seen a pair of lights and a portion of a bed with fluttering coverlet.

Discussion: Connected with 1 by a similar recourse to dark red and dark green and the inclusion of the 3-dot pattern. The figures, however, are no longer quite so squat and the presence of a 'Kangra-type' margin suggests that vaguely diffused 'Kangra Valley' influences are now at work.

3(i-iii). Three paintings from a Baramasa series. Suket, c.1830-1840.

Oval shape with floral surrounds.

Ancestral collection, Raja of Suket, Sundarnagar.

3(i) The month of Jeth (May-June).

Description: Radha and Krishna stand talking to each other on a terrace while travellers rest in the shade of trees, three elephants toil on parched hillsides, a snake enters an ant-hill and two leopards lurk in a cave. To the right a pair of trees.

3(ii) The month of Pus (December-January).

Description: Radha and Krishna sit conversing on a rug, a brazier in the foreground. In the distance, a village with a man being massaged and women cooking, their pots perched high on tripod-like hearths. Behind a row of trees is a white crag backed by low hills.

3(iii) The month of Magh (January-February).

Description: Radha and Krishna stand facing each other on a terrace with a line of trees behind them and a series of hills looming up in the distance. Houses with people and, to the left, two large peacocks.

Discussion: A series, based at some removes on the Lambagraon *Baramasa* (**Kangra, no. 41**) from which it takes its oval shape and special type of ornamental surrounds. The figures, however, are considerably squatter, Krishna wears a shorter *jama*, the faces have an air of rapacious sharpness and the architecture is more angular. In contrast to its Kangra original, **no. 3(ii)** inserts a white crag immediately behind the village instead of on the horizon, omits snow

and thus obscures the theme of the picture, i.e. that it is the height of winter. Despite its obvious clumsiness of execution, the series is in a recognisably distinct style and may have been made for Ugar Sen (ix, 1838-1876) in reaction against his father, Vikram Sen's strictness.

4 The month of Magh (January-February). From a *Bara-masa* series. Suket, c. 1840-1850.

251 x 161 mm. Trimmed. Dark-blue margin with 'Kangra-type' floral pattern in white and gold. Oval shape with delicately painted floral surrounds.

Archer collection, London.

Description: Closely similar in design and details to no. 3(iii) but with the following variations: a crown in place of a turban on Krishna's head, plantains and flowering trees in the further distance, a red and blue rug in one of the courtyards, the peacock on the left much larger. The row of trees and Krishna's skin are notable for their frosty pallor. Radha's dress green with orange-red veil. Krishna's *jama* white, waist-sash and trousers orange red, wrap yellow.

Discussion: From a similar series to 3 but with greater attention paid to the flowers in the floral surrounds and the use of pale brown (in place of yellow) for the oval rim.

PAINTING IN TIRIKOT

A small state in the Siwalik hills, adjoining Jammu and the Punjab Plains, listed by Hutchison and Vogel ('The Panjab Hill States', *Journal Panjab Historical Society* (1915), III, no. 2, 88) as associated with Jammu as part of the Central or Dugar Group of Hill States, but unrecorded in the *Imperial Gazetteer*.

An offshoot of Lakhanpur. Clan-name, Trikotia.
No other historical details forthcoming.
No paintings connected with Tirikot or portraits of Tirikot rulers are so far known.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Agrawala, V. S. 'The Romance of Himachal Painting', *Roopa Lekha* (1948-1949), XX, no. 2, 87-93.
- Agrawala, V. S. *Indian Miniatures* (New Delhi, 1961).
- Anand, M. R. 'Mandi Murals', *Marg* (1964), XVII, no. 3, 55-57.
- Anand M. R. 'Sujanpur Tira Murals', *Marg* (1964), XVII, no. 3, 66-70.
- Anand M. R. 'The Pictorial Situation in Pahari Painting', *Marg* (1968), XXI, no. 4, 1-16.
- Anand, R. L. *Census of India, 1961, XIII, Punjab, Part VII B, Fairs and Festivals* (New Delhi, 1965).
- Archer, Mildred. *Indian Miniatures and Folk Paintings* (Arts Council, London, 1967).
- Archer, Mildred. *Indian Paintings from Court, Town and Village* (Arts Council, London, 1970).
- Archer, Mildred and Archer, W. G. *Romance and Poetry in Indian Painting* (Wildenstein exhibition, London, 1965).
- Archer, Mildred, Archer, W. G. and Lee, S. E. *Indian Miniatures from the collection of Mildred and W. G. Archer, London* (Smithsonian Institution, Washington, 1963).
- Archer, W. G. 'Sir William Rothenstein and Indian Art', *Art and Letters* (1951), XXV, no. 1, 1-7.
- Archer, W. G. 'Catalogue of the Sir William Rothenstein collection of Indian paintings and drawings', *Art and Letters* (1951), XXV, no. 1, 8-11.
- Archer, W. G. *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills* (London, 1952).
- Archer, W. G. *Kangra Painting* (London, 1952; second and revised impression, 1956).
- Archer, W. G. *Garhwal Painting* (London, 1954; second and revised impression, 1957).
- Archer, W. C. 'Some Nurpur Paintings', *Marg* (1955), VIII, no. 3, 8-18.
- Archer, W. G. *Indian Painting* (London, 1956).
- Archer, W. G. *The Loves of Krishna in Indian Painting and Poetry* (London, New York, 1957).
- Archer, W. G. 'Romance and Poetry in Indian Painting', Sir George Birdwood Memorial Lecture, *Journal Royal Society of Arts* (1957), CV, no. 5014, 909-919.
- Archer, W. G. 'The Problems of Painting in the Punjab Hills', *Marg* (1957), X, no. 2, 30-36.
- Archer, W. G. *Indian Miniatures* (London, New York, 1960).
- Archer, W. G. 'Review of *The Nala Damayanti Drawings* by A. C. Eastman', *Marg* (1960), XIII, no. 2 (supplement), 2-3.
- Archer, W. G. 'Review of *Pahari Miniature Painting* by K. Khandalavala', *Marg* (1960), XIII, no. 2 (supplement), 1.
- Archer, W. G. 'Letter to the Editors', *Lalit Kala* (1960, published 1962), no. 8, 75.
- Archer, W. G. Introduction to M. S. Randhawa, *Kangra Paintings of the Gita Govinda* (New Delhi, 1963).
- Archer, W. G. 'Paintings of India', *Roopa Lekha* (1965), XXXIV, nos. 1 and 2, 63-75.
- Archer, W. G. *Paintings of the Sikhs* (London, 1966).
- Archer, W. G. 'A Tribute to M. S. Randhawa', *Roopa Lekha* (1969), XXXVIII, nos. 1 and 2, 47-63.
- Archer, W. G. 'The Master of the Kangra *Bhagavata Purana*', *Roopa Lekha* (1969), XXXVIII, nos. 1 and 2, 64-72.
- Archer, W. G. and Bhattacharya, D. *Love Songs of Vidya-pati* (London, 1963).
- Archer, W. G. and Binney, E. *Rajput Miniatures from the collection of Edwin Binney 3rd* (Portland, Oregon, 1968).
- Aryan, K. C. 'Nurpur Murals', *Marg* (1964), XVII, no. 3, 61.
- Baden Powell, B. H. *Handbook of the Manufactures and Arts of the Punjab* (Lahore, 1872).
- Banerji, A. 'Romanticism in Indian Painting', *Roopa Lekha* (1956), XXVII, no. 1, 36-43.
- Barrett, D. 'Review of *Chamba Painting* by M. S. Randhawa', *Lalit Kala* (1969), no. 14, 63-64.
- Barrett, D. 'Review of *Lalit Kala Series, Portfolio No. 1, The Bhagavata Purana in Kangra Painting* by K. Khandalavala and *Lalit Kala Series, Portfolios Nos. 2 and 3, Gita Govinda* by Moti Chandra', *Lalit Kala* (1969), no. 14, 64-65.
- Barrett, D. and Gray, B. *Painting of India* (London, 1963).
- Basu, R. 'Mr. Ajit Ghose's Collection of Old Indian Paintings', *The Modern Review* (Calcutta, January 1926), 43-48.
- Beach, M. C. 'A *Bhagavata Purana* from the Punjab Hills and related paintings', *Bulletin Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (1965), LXIII, no. 333, 168-177.
- Beach, M. C. 'Rajput and related paintings', *The Arts of India and Nepal: the Alice and Nasli Heeramaneck Collection* (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1966).
- Bhattacharya, A. K. 'A set of Kulu Folk-Paintings in the National Museum of India', *Artibus Asiae* (1957), XX, nos. 2 and 3, 165-183.
- Binyon, L. *Asiatic Art in the British Museum* (Brussels and Paris, 1925).
- Binyon, L. 'Indian Painting at Wembley: the retrospective exhibition', *Rupam* (1925), no. 21, 8-11.
- Brown, P. *Indian Painting* (Calcutta, 1917, second edition 1927).
- Chakravarti, N. P. 'Was Manaku a Pahari Painter?', *Roopa Lekha* (1951), XXII no. 1, 17-21.
- Chandra, M. 'Review of *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills* by W. G. Archer', *Marg* (1953), VI, no. 1, 22-27.
- Chandra, M. 'Kangra Valley Art in the Aundh Museum', *Times of India Annual* (1959), 34-39.
- Chandra, M. *Lalit Kala Series, Portfolio No. 2, Gita Govinda* (New Delhi, 1965).
- Chandra, M. *Lalit Kala Series, Portfolio No. 3, Gita Govinda* (New Delhi, 1965).
- Coomaraswamy, A. K. *Indian Drawings* (London, 1910).
- Coomaraswamy, A. K. *Indian Drawings: Second Series, chiefly Rajput* (London, 1912).
- Coomaraswamy, A. K. 'Rajput Paintings', *The Burlington Magazine* (1912), XX, no. 108, 315-324.
- Coomaraswamy, A. K. *The Arts and Crafts of India and Ceylon* (London, 1913).
- Coomaraswamy, A. K. 'The Eight Nayikas', *Journal of Indian Art and Industry* (October 1914), XVI, no. 128, 99-116.
- Coomaraswamy, A. K. *Rajput Painting* (Oxford, 1916).
- Coomaraswamy, A. K. *Portfolio of Indian Art* (New York, 1923).
- Coomaraswamy, A. K. *Catalogue of the Indian collections in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: Part V, Rajput Painting* (Boston, 1926).
- Coomaraswamy, A. K. *A History of Indian and Indonesian Art* (London, 1927).

- Coomaraswamy, A. K. *Catalogue of the Indian collections in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: Part VI, Mughal Painting* (Boston, 1930).
- Craven, R. C. *Miniatures and Small Sculptures from India* (Gainesville, Florida, 1966).
- Davidson, J. LeRoy. *Art of the Indian sub-continent from Los Angeles collections* (University of California, Los Angeles, 1968).
- Dwivedi, V. P. 'A Rasamanjari painting from Basohli', *Bulletin Cleveland Museum of Art* (September, 1969), 262-269.
- Eastman, A. C. *The Nala Damayanti Drawings* (Boston, 1959).
- French, J. C. *Himalayan Art* (Oxford, 1931).
- French, J. C. 'Sansar Chand of Kangra', *Indian Art and Letters* (1947), XXI, no. 2, 89-91.
- French, J. C. 'Kangra Architecture', *Art and Letters* (1948), XXII, no. 1, 18-20.
- French, J. C. 'Kangra Frescoes', *Art and Letters* (1948), XXII, no. 2, 57-59.
- French, J. C. 'Guler Art', *Art and Letters* (1950), no. 1, 32-35.
- French, J. C. 'Art in Chamba', *Art and Letters* (1951), XXV, no. 2, 45-48.
- French, J. C. 'Frescoes in Punch', *Art and Letters* (1954), XXVIII, no. 2, 20-22.
- Gangoly, A. N. 'Putana Vadha: a Kangra Miniature', *Rupam* (1927), no. 32, 129-130.
- Gangoly, O. C. 'Dole Leela', *Rupam* (1921), II, no. 6, 14-17.
- Gangoly, O. C. 'Collection of Professor William Rothenstein', *Rupam* (1924), nos. 19 and 20, 134-138.
- Gangoly, O. C. 'A Kangra Miniature in the South Kensington Museum', *Rupam* (1925), no. 24, 101.
- Gangoly, O. C. *Masterpieces of Rajput Painting* (Calcutta, 1926).
- Gangoly, O. C. 'The Toilette of Radha: a late Kangra Miniature', *Rupam* (1927), no. 29, 15-16.
- Gangoly, O. C. 'An Editio Princeps of *Sundara Sringara*', *Rupam* (1927), no. 30, 47-51.
- Gangoly, O. C. 'Pandit Nainsukh, a 'Kangra' artist', *Rupam* (1929), no. 37, 63.
- Gangoly, O. C. 'Two early Rajput Miniatures', *Rupam* (1929), no. 40, 132-3.
- Gangoly, O. C. '*Giri Govardhana Dharana*: a Kangra miniature', *Rupam* (1930), no. 41, 16-18.
- Gangoly, O. C. *Ragas and Raginis* (Calcutta, 1934).
- Gangoly, O. C. 'The Growth of a Masterpiece', *Roopa Lekha* (1948) XX, no. 1, 41-48.
- Gangoly, O. C. 'The Problem of Mola Ram', *Marg* (1950), IV, no. 4, 34-39.
- Gangoly, O. C. 'A Set of *Ramayana* illustrations of the Pahari School', *Bulletin Baroda Museum* (1952-1953), IX, parts 1-2, 25-29.
- Gangoly, O. C. 'Rajput Portraits of the indigenous School', *Marg* (1954), VII, no. 4, 12-21.
- Gangoly, O. C. 'A group of Pahari Miniatures in the Baroda Museum', *Bulletin Baroda Museum* (1953-1955), X-XI, 9-17.
- Gangoly, O. C. *Critical Catalogue of Miniature Paintings in the Baroda Museum* (Baroda, 1961).
- Ghose, A. 'The Basohli School of Rajput Painting', *Rupam* (1929), no. 37, 6-17.
- Ghose, A. 'The Schools of Rajput Painting', *Roopa Lekha* (1929), no. 2, 1-14.
- Ghose, A. 'Pahari Schools of Indian Painting', *Roopa Lekha* (1958), XXVIII, nos. 1 and 2, 34-44.
- Gill, E. 'Art and Love', *Rupam* (1925), no. 26, 1-8.
- Goetz, H. 'Die Indischen Miniaturen der sammlung William Rothenstein, London', *Jahrbuch der Asiatischen Kunst* (Leipzig, 1925), 47-59.
- Goetz, H. 'Some Court Portraits of the Pahari Schools in Dutch collections', *Journal Indian Society of Oriental Art* (1933), I, no. 2, 120-123.
- Goetz, H. 'Notes on some schools of Rajput Painting', *Journal Indian Society of Oriental Art* (1937), V, 159-166.
- Goetz, H. 'Raja Isvari Sen of Mandi and the History of Kangra Painting', *Bulletin Baroda Museum* (1944-1945), II, part 1, 35-38.
- Goetz, H. 'Indian Painting in the Muslim Period', *Journal Indian Society of Oriental Art* (1947), XV, 19-41.
- Goetz, H. 'The coming of Muslim cultural influence in the Panjab Himalaya', *India Antiqua* (Leyden, 1948).
- Goetz, H. 'The Background of Pahari-Rajput Painting', *Roopa Lekha* (1951), XXII, no. 1, 1-16.
- Goetz, H. 'History of Chamba State in Mughal and Sikh Times', *Journal of Indian History* (1953), XXXI, 135-156.
- Goetz, H. 'The 'Basohli' Reliefs of the Brahmor Kothi, c. A.D. 1670', *Roopa Lekha* (1954), XXV, no. 1, 1-12.
- Goetz, H. 'Rajput Sculpture and Painting under Raja Umed Singh of Chamba', *Marg*, (1954), VII, no. 4, 23-34.
- Goetz, H. *India: five thousand years of Indian art* (London, 1959).
- Goetz, H. 'The Art of Chamba in the Islamic Period: I', *Journal Baroda Oriental Institute* (1961), X, no. 2, 136-144.
- Goetz, H. 'The Art of Chamba in the Islamic Period: II', *Journal Baroda Oriental Institute* (1962), XI, no. 3, 217-236.
- Goswamy, B. N. 'The Social Background of Kangra Valley Painting' (Doctoral thesis, Punjab University, Chandigarh, 1961).
- Goswamy, B. N. 'The Pahari Artists: a study', *Roopa Lekha* (1961), XXXII, no. 2, 31-50.
- Goswamy, B. N. 'Siba Murals', *Marg* (1964), XVII, no. 3, 28-32.
- Goswamy, B. N. 'Nadaun Murals', *Marg* (1964), XVII, no. 3, 58-60.
- Goswamy, B. N. 'Golu, the Nurpur artist', *Marg* (1964), XVII, no. 3, 62.
- Goswamy, B. N. 'The traveller von Ujfalvy and Pahari Painting', *Roopa Lekha* (1965), XXXIV, nos. 1 and 2, 10-18.
- Goswamy, B. N. 'Painting in Chamba: a study of new documents', *The Asian Review* (1965), II, no. 2, 53-58.
- Goswamy, B. N. 'The artist-family of Rajol: new light on an old problem', *Roopa Lekha* (1966), XXXV, nos. 1 and 2, 15-23.
- Goswamy, B. N. 'Re-reading of some 'Takri' inscriptions in Khandalavala's *Pahari Miniature Painting*', *Roopa Lekha* (1966), XXXV, nos. 1 and 2, 69-75.
- Goswamy, B. N. 'Review of *Kangra Paintings of the Gita Govinda* by M. S. Randhawa (introduction W. G. Archer)', *Roopa Lekha* (1966), XXXV, nos. 1 and 2, 86-89.
- Goswamy, B. N. 'A Painter's letter to his royal patron', *Journal American Oriental Society* (1966), LXXXVI, no. 2, 209-216.
- Goswamy, B. N. 'Some nineteenth century frescoes and the painter Angad of Sirmur', *Ars Asiaticus* (1966), XIII, 99-108.
- Goswamy, B. N. 'The problem of the artist "Nainsukh of Jasrota"', *Artibus Asiae* (1966), XXVIII, 205-210.
- Goswamy, B. N. 'Review of *Kangra Paintings of the Bihari Sat Sai* by M. S. Randhawa', *Roopa Lekha* (1967), XXXVI, nos. 1 and 2, 184-187.
- Goswamy, B. N. 'Review of *Paintings of the Sikhs* by W. G. Archer', *Roopa Lekha* (1967), XXXVI, nos. 1 and 2, 187-191.
- Goswamy, B. N. *Lalit Kala Series, Portfolio No. 6, Six Kangra Paintings* (New Delhi, 1968).
- Goswamy, B. N. 'Pahari Painting: the family as the basis of style', *Marg* (1968), XXI, no. 4, 17-62.
- Goswamy, B. N. 'Pahari Paintings of the Nala-Damayanti Theme: discussion in new light', *Roopa Lekha* (1969), XXXVIII, nos. 1 and 2, 85-108.

- Goswamy, B. N. 'Indian Painters of the Punjab Hills', Sir George Birdwood Memorial Lecture, *Journal Royal Society of Arts* (1969), CXVII, no. 5160, 889-897.
- Goswamy, B. N. 'Sikh Painting', *Oriental Art* (1969), XV, no. 1, 44-50.
- Goswamy, B. N. 'The artist Ranjha and a dated set of Ramayana drawings' (Kala Bhavan, Banaras, Golden Jubilee volume, 1971).
- Goswamy, B. N. 'A Document of Nurpur Painting', *Roopa Lekha* (1971), XXXIX, no. 1, 38-43.
- Goswamy, B. N. and Grewal, J. S. 'Some Religious Landgrants in Kangra', *Essays on History, Literature, Art and Culture* (ed. K. S. Bedi and S. S. Bal, New Delhi and Chandigarh, 1970), 88-97.
- Goswamy, Karuna. 'The Bathu Shrine and the Rajas of Guler', *Journal of Indian History* (1965), XLIII, Part II, 577-585.
- Goswamy, Karuna. 'The Vaishnava Legend of Jahangir-Narayanji in History and Painting', *Roopa Lekha* (1967), XXXVI, nos. 1 and 2, 130-136.
- Goswamy, Karuna. 'Vaishnavism in the Punjab Hills and Pahari Painting' (Doctoral thesis, Punjab University, Chandigarh, 1968).
- Goswamy, Karuna. 'Two Pahari Illustrations of the Bhakta-mala', *Roopa Lekha* (1969), XXXVIII, nos. 1 and 2, 73-78.
- Goswamy, Karuna. 'Frescoes in the Shish Mahal at Patiala', *Roopa Lekha* (1969), XXXVIII, nos. 1 and 2, 120-127.
- Goswamy, Karuna. *Lalit Kala Series, Portfolio No. 8. Wall Paintings from Sujanpur Tira* (New Delhi, 1971).
- Gray, B. *Rajput Painting* (London, New York, 1948).
- Gray, B. 'Painting', *The Art of India and Pakistan* (ed. L. Ashton, London, 1950).
- Guleri, C. 'A signed Molarum', *Rupam* (1920), no. 2, 11-14.
- Gupta, S. N. 'The Making of the Moghul School of Painting', *The Modern Review* (October 1921), 475-480.
- Gupta, S. N. *Catalogue of Paintings in the Central Museum, Lahore* (Calcutta, 1922).
- Gupta, S. N. 'The Sikh School of Painting', *Rupam* (1922), III, no. 12, 125-128.
- Hajek, L. *Miniatures from the East* (Prague, London, 1960).
- Havell, E. B. *Indian Sculpture and Painting* (London 1908; second edition 1928).
- Heath, L. *Examples of Indian Art at the British Empire Exhibition 1924* (London, 1925).
- Hutchison, J. and Vogel, J. P. *History of the Panjab Hill States* (Lahore, 1933).
- Irwin, J. 'The Heritage of Art in India: the Mughal period', *The Studio* (February, 1948), 37-47.
- Kahan Singh Balaria. *Tawarikh - i - Rajputan - i - Mulk - i - Panjab* (Jammu, 1912).
- Kala, S. C. *Indian Miniatures in the Allahabad Museum* (Allahabad, 1961).
- Keyt, G. *Shri Jayadeva's Gita Govinda* (Bombay, 1947).
- Khajuria. 'Jammu Murals', *Marg* (1964), XVII, no. 3, 40-43.
- Khandalavala, K. *Indian Sculpture and Painting* (Bombay, 1938).
- Khandalavala, K. 'Review of Kangra Painting by W. G. Archer', *Marg* (1953), VI, no. 3, 25-31.
- Khandalavala, K. 'An Aniruddha Usha series from Chamba and the painter Ram Lal', *Lalit Kala* (1955-1956), nos. 1-2, 37-44.
- Khandalavala, K. 'Review of Kangra Valley Painting by M. S. Randhawa', *Lalit Kala* (1955-1956), nos. 1 and 2, 152-156.
- Khandalavala, K. *Pahari Miniature Painting* (Bombay, 1958).
- Khandalavala, K. 'Comment on 'A Journey to Basohli' by M. S. Randhawa', *Roopa Lekha* (1958), XXVIII, nos. 1 and 2', *Lalit Kala* (1960, published 1961), no. 7, 93.
- Khandalavala, K. 'Review of Basohli Painting by M. S. Randhawa', *Lalit Kala* (1960, published 1962), no. 8, 81-83.
- Khandalavala, K. *Lalit Kala Series, Portfolio No. 1. The Bhagavata Purana in Kangra Painting* (New Delhi, 1965).
- Khandalavala, K. 'Review of Painting of India by D. Barrett and B. Gray', *Lalit Kala* (1962, published 1965), no. 11, 62-66.
- Khandalavala, K. 'Review of Kangra Paintings of the Bihari Sat Sai by M. S. Randhawa', *Lalit Kala* (1969), no. 14, 60.
- Khandalavala, K. 'Review of Kangra Paintings of the Gita Govinda by M. S. Randhawa', *Lalit Kala* (1969), no. 14, 60-61.
- Khandalavala, K. and Chandra, M. 'The Rasamanjari in Basohli Painting', *Lalit Kala* (1956-1957, published 1958), nos. 3 and 4, 26-38.
- Khandalavala, K. and Chandra, M. *Miniatures and Sculptures from the collection of the late Sir Cowasji Jehangir, Bart.* (Bombay, 1965).
- Kipling, J. L. 'Art Industries of the Punjab', *Journal of Indian Art* (1886), I, no. 10, 77.
- Kipling, J. L. 'The Industries of the Punjab', *Journal of Indian Art* (1887), II, no. 20, 40-41.
- Kramrisch, Stella, *The Art of India* (London, 1954).
- Krishnadasa, Rai. 'Manak, painter of Gita Govinda paintings', *Roopa Lekha* (1961), XXXII, no. 1, 73.
- Lal, B. B. 'Palaeoliths from the Beas and Banganga Valleys, Punjab', *Ancient India* (1956), no. 12, 58-92.
- Lal, M. 'Longing for the Beloved', *The Modern Review* (Calcutta, October, 1909), VI, no. 4, 403-404.
- Lal, M. 'Some Notes on Mola Ram', *Rupam* (1921), II, no. 8, 22-30.
- Lal, M. 'The Pahari (Himalayan) School of India Painting and Mola Ram's place in it', *Roopa Lekha* (1929), no. 1, 24-35; no. 3, 34-38; no. 4, 1.
- Lal, M. 'Garhwal School of Painting (1658-1858): part I', *Roopa Lekha* (1948-1949), XX, no. 2, 114-124.
- Lal, M. 'Garhwal School of Painting (1658-1858): part II', *Roopa Lekha* (1949-1950), XXI, no. 1, 17-33.
- Lal, M. 'Garhwal School of Painting: part III', *Roopa Lekha* (1950), XXI, no. 2, 12-28.
- Lal, M. 'Garhwal School of Painting: part IV', *Roopa Lekha* (1951), XXII, no. 1, 32-46.
- Lal, M. 'Garhwal School of Painting: part V', *Roopa Lekha* (1951), XXII, no. 2, 27-41.
- Lal, M. 'Garhwal School of Painting: part VI', *Roopa Lekha* (1952), XXIII, nos. 1 and 2, 37-50.
- Lal, M. 'Garhwal School not founded by Guler artists', *Roopa Lekha* (1955), XXVI, no. 2, 78-81.
- Lal, M. *Garhwal Painting* (New Delhi, 1968).
- Lawrence, G. *Indian Art: Paintings of the Himalayan States* (London, 1963).
- Lee, S. E. *Rajput Painting* (New York, 1960).
- Lee, S. E. *A History of Far Eastern Art* (London, 1964).
- McGregor, J. R. *Indian Miniature Paintings from West Coast Private Collections* (De Young Museum, San Francisco, 1964).
- Maggs Bros., *Oriental Miniatures and Illumination: Bulletin* (London 1962-1971), nos. 2, 5-7, 9, 11-15, 17, 18.
- Man Mohan, *The History of Mandi State* (Lahore, 1930).
- Marriott, C. 'Exhibition of Indian Paintings at the British Museum', *Rupam* (1922), III, no. 12, 123-125.
- Marshall, Sir John. *Annual Report of the Director-General of Archeology in India, 1918-19, Part I* (Calcutta, 1921), 32.
- Mehta, N. C. *Studies in Indian Painting* (Bombay, 1926).
- Mehta, N. C. 'Two Pahari painters of Tehri Garhwal: Manak and Chaitu', *Rupam* (1926), no. 26, 49-55.
- Mehta, N. C. 'A new document of Gujerati Painting', *Journal of Indian Society of Oriental Art* (1945), XIII, 39.
- Mehta, N. C. 'Some Notes on Pahari Paintings', *Roopa Lekha* (1948-1949), XX, no. 2, 75-80.

- Mehta, N. C. 'Manaku, the Pahari Painter', *Roopa Lekha* (1949-1950), XXI, no. 1, 34-36.
- Mehta, N. C. 'Notes on some Rajasthani and Pahari Paintings', *Roopa Lekha* (1950), XXI, no. 2, 6-11.
- Mehta, N. C. and Chandra, M. *The Golden Flute* (New Delhi, 1962).
- Misra, K. P. 'An illustrated manuscript of Madhu Malati', *Rupam* (1928), XI, nos. 33-34, 9-11.
- Mittal, J. 'Mural Painting in Chamba', *Journal Indian Society of Oriental Art* (1952-1953), XIX, 11-18.
- Mittal, J. 'Some Ramayana and Bhagwata Drawings of Chamba', *Marg* (1955), VIII, no. 3, 26-31.
- Mittal, J. 'The Wall Paintings of Chamba', *Marg* (1955), VIII, no. 3, 38-42, 97.
- Mittal, J. 'An illustrated manuscript of Madhu Malati and other paintings from Kulu', *Lalit Kala* (dated 1956-1957, published 1958), nos. 3 and 4, 90-95.
- Mittal, J. 'The Devi Mural at Kulu by Sajnu', *Roopa Lekha* (1961), XXXII, no. 2, 85-97.
- Mittal, J. 'Chamba Murals', *Marg* (1964), XVII, no. 3 23-27.
- Mittal, J. 'Kulu Murals', *Marg* (1964), XVII, no. 3, 48-54.
- Mittal, J. 'An early Guler painting', *Lalit Kala* (1962, published 1965), no. 11, 31-34.
- Mittal, J. 'New Studies in Pahari Painting', *Lalit Kala* (1962, published 1967), no. 12, 26-35.
- Moorcroft, W. and Trebeck, G. *Travels in the Himalayan Provinces of Hindustan and the Panjab; in Ladakh and Kashmir; in Peshawar, Kabul, Kunduz and Bokhara, from 1819 to 1825* (prepared for the press from the original journals and correspondence by H. H. Wilson, London, 1841).
- Ohri, V. C. 'Four important inscriptions on Pahari paintings', *Lalit Kala* (1962, published 1965), no. 11, 58-60.
- Ohri, V. C. 'Laharu and Mahesh', *Lalit Kala* (1967, published 1969), no. 13, 50.
- Ohri, V. C. 'Four Pahari Portraits', *Lalit Kala* (1969), no. 14, 21-23.
- Ohri, V. C. 'An Agreement signed by Balwant Singh', *Lalit Kala* (1969), no. 14, 38-40.
- Ohri, V. C. 'The origins of Pahari Paintings', *Roopa Lekha* (1969), XXXVIII, nos. 1 and 2, 109-119.
- Ohri, V. C. 'The painter Manaku of Basohli', *Oriental Art* (Summer, 1970), XVI, no. 2, 160-161.
- Petrucci, R. 'Rajput Painting', *Burlington Magazine* (1916), V, no. 29, 74-79.
- Prasad, R. and others. *Nehru: a Birthday Book* (Calcutta, 1950).
- Randhawa, M. S. 'Guler, the birthplace of Kangra Art', *Marg* (1953), VI, no. 4, 30-42.
- Randhawa, M. S. 'Kangra Paintings illustrating the life of Shiva and Parvati', *Roopa Lekha* (1953), XXIV, nos. 1 and 2, 23-39.
- Randhawa, M. S. *Kangra Valley Painting* (New Delhi, 1954).
- Randhawa, M. S. 'Kangra Valley School of Painting', *Art and Letters* (1954), XXVIII, no. 1, 1-9.
- Randhawa, M. S. 'Sujanpur Tira, the cradle of Kangra Art', *Marg* (1954), VII, no. 3, 21-36.
- Randhawa, M. S. 'Kangra Artists', *Art and Letters* (1955), XXIX, no. 1, 1-9.
- Randhawa, M. S. 'Some Nurpur Paintings', *Marg* (1955), VIII, no. 3, 19-25.
- Randhawa, M. S. 'Kangra Artists', *Roopa Lekha* (1956), XXVII, no. 1, 4-10.
- Randhawa, M. S. *The Krishna Legend in Pahari Painting* (New Delhi, 1956).
- Randhawa, M. S. 'Paintings from Nalagarh', *Lalit Kala* (1955-1956), nos. 1 and 2, 81-86.
- Randhawa, M. S. 'A Journey to Basohli', *Roopa Lekha* (1958), XXVIII, nos. 1 and 2, 14-24.
- Randhawa, M. S. 'Kangra Ragamala Painting', *Roopa Lekha* (1958), XXIX, nos. 1 and 2, 4-28.
- Randhawa, M. S. 'A reassessment of some paintings described in Gangoly's *Masterpieces of Rajput Painting*', *Lalit Kala* (1956-1957, published 1958), nos. 3 and 4, 96-101.
- Randhawa, M. S. *Basohli Painting* (New Delhi, 1959).
- Randhawa, M. S. 'Some inscribed Pahari paintings with names of artists', *Roopa Lekha* (1959), XXX, no. 1, 27-30.
- Randhawa, M. S. *Kangra Paintings of the Bhagavata Purana* (New Delhi, 1960).
- Randhawa, M. S. 'A Note on Rasamanjari Paintings from Basohli', *Roopa Lekha* (1960), XXXI, no. 1, 16-26.
- Randhawa, M. S. 'Manak: painter of the *Gita Govinda* paintings — was he a Garhwal artist?', *Roopa Lekha* (1960), XXXI, no. 2, 2-8.
- Randhawa, M. S. 'Paintings from Mankot', *Lalit Kala* (1959, published 1960), no. 6, 72-75.
- Randhawa, M. S. 'Paintings from Arki', *Roopa Lekha* (1961), XXXII, no. 1, 5-24.
- Randhawa, M. S. 'Review of *Lalit Kala* (1960), no. 8', *Roopa Lekha* (1961), XXXII, no. 1, 77-81.
- Randhawa, M. S. 'Maharaja Sansar Chand — the patron of Kangra painting', *Roopa Lekha* (1961), XXXII, no. 2, 1-30.
- Randhawa, M. S. 'Signed paintings of Jwala Ram of Garhwal', *Roopa Lekha* (1961), XXXII, no. 2, 51.
- Randhawa, M. S. 'Eight *Nayikas* from Arki', *Times of India Annual* (Bombay, 1962), 28-39.
- Randhawa, M. S. *Kangra Paintings on Love* (New Delhi, 1962).
- Randhawa, M. S. 'Mountain Range of the Silver Bangle', *Tribune* (Chandigarh, June, 1962).
- Randhawa, M. S. *Kangra Paintings of the Gita Govinda* (New Delhi, 1963).
- Randhawa, M. S. 'Reply to K. Khandalavala, Review of *Basohli Painting*', *Lalit Kala* (1961, published 1963), no. 9, 60-61.
- Randhawa, M. S. 'Arki Murals', *Marg* (1964), XVII, no. 3, 18-22.
- Randhawa, M. S. 'Some Portraits of Rajas of Basohli in Kangra style', *Roopa Lekha* (1965), XXXIV, nos. 1 and 2, 5-9.
- Randhawa, M. S. *Kangra Paintings of the Bihari Sat Sai* (New Delhi, 1966).
- Randhawa, M. S. *Chamba Painting* (New Delhi, 1967).
- Randhawa, M. S. 'Chamba Painting', *Roopa Lekha* (1968), XXXVII, nos. 1 and 2, 7-17.
- Randhawa, M. S. 'A Portrait of Raja Amrit Pal', *Roopa Lekha* (1968), XXXVII, nos. 1 and 2, 29.
- Randhawa, M. S. *Kangra Ragamala Paintings* (New Delhi, 1971).
- Randhawa, M. S. and Bhambri, S. D. 'Basohli Paintings of Bhanudatta's *Rasamanjari*', *Roopa Lekha* (1967), XXXVI, nos. 1 and 2, 1-124.
- Randhawa, M. S. and Galbraith, J. K. *Indian Painting: the Scene, Themes and Legends* (Boston, London, 1968).
- Rawson, P. S. *Indian Painting* (London, Paris, 1962).
- Reiff, R. *Indian Miniatures: the Rajput Painters* (Tokyo, Rutland and Vermont, U.S.A., 1959).
- Roerich, S. 'Review of *Basohli Painting* by M. S. Randhawa', *Marg* (1960), XIII, no. 2, supplement.
- Rowland, B. *The Art and Architecture of India* (London, 1953, second edition 1956, third edition 1967).
- Sastri, H. 'The Hamir Hath, or the Obstinacy of Hamir, the Chauhan prince of Ranthambhor', *Journal of Indian Art and Industry* (October 1916), XVII, no. 132, 35-40.
- Sastri, H. *Indian Pictorial Art as developed in Book Illustration* (Baroda, 1936).
- Sastri, H. 'Guleria Paintings', *B. C. Law Volume, Part I* (ed. D. R. Bhandarkar, and others, Calcutta, 1945), 642-644.
- Sastri, H. 'The Hamir Hath', *Roopa Lekha* (1968), XXXVII, nos. 1 and 2, 22-28.
- Sett, M. N. 'A Miniature from Kangra', *Rupam* (1920), I, no. 3, 23-25.

- Sharma, O. P. 'Two dated and illustrated Pahari Manuscripts in the National Museum, New Delhi', *Roopa Lekha* (1969), XXXVIII, nos. 1 and 2, 79-84.
- Simpson, W. *The Autobiography of William Simpson* (ed. Eyre-Todd G., London, 1903).
- Singh, Hardayal. *Majma - i - Tawarikh - i - Riyasatha - i - Kohistan-i-Panjab* (Moradabad, 1887).
- Singh, M. *Himalayan Art* (London, 1968).
- Sinha, R. P. N. *Geeta Govind in Basohli School of Indian Painting* (New Delhi, 1958).
- Skelton, R. *Indian Miniatures from the 15th to 19th Centuries* (Venice, 1961).
- Smith, V. A. *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon* (Oxford, 1911; second edition revised by K. de B. Codrington, 1930; third edition revised by K. Khandalavala, Bombay, 1962).
- Stchoukine, I. *La Peinture Indienne a l'époque des grands Moghols* (Paris, 1929).
- Stchoukine, I. *Les Miniatures Indiennes de l'époque des grands Moghols au Musée du Louvre* (Paris, 1929).
- Towndrow, K. R. 'Sir William Rothenstein and his Indian correspondence', *Art and Letters* (1951), XXV, no. 1, 12-32.
- Treasurywala, B. N. 'A new variety of Pahari paintings', *Journal Indian Society of Oriental Art* (1943), XI, 133-135.
- Ujfalvy, K. E. von. *Aus dem Westlichen Himalaja* (Leipzig, 1884).
- Ujfalvy-Bourdon, Marie de. *Voyage d'une Parisienne dans l'Himalaya Occidental* (Paris, 1887).
- Vigne, G. T. *Travels in Kashmir, Ladak, Iskardo, the countries adjoining the mountain-course of the Indus and the Himalaya, North of the Panjab* (London, 1842).
- Villiers-Stuart, Constance M. 'The last of the Rajput Court Painters', *Burlington Magazine* (1926), XLVIII, no. 274, 3-4.
- Vogel, J. P. *Catalogue of the Bhuri Singh Museum at Chamba* (Calcutta, 1909).
- Vogel, J. P. 'Portrait Painting in Kangra and Chamba', *Artibus Asiae*, (1947), X, no. 3, 200-215.
- Waldschmidt, E. 'Illustrations de la Krishna-lila', *Revue des Arts Asiatiques* (1929-1930), VI, no. 4, 197-211.
- Waldschmidt, E. and Waldschmidt R. L. *Miniatures of Musical Inspiration in the collection of the Berlin Museum of Indian Art: Ragamala pictures from the Western Himalaya promontory* (Wiesbaden (English edition), 1967).
- Watt, G. *Indian Art at Delhi 1903* (Calcutta, 1903).
- Welch, S. C. and Beach, M. C. *Gods, Thrones and Peacocks* (New York, 1965).
- Werner, A. *Indian Miniatures* (New York, 1950).
- Wilkinson, J. V. S. 'The British Indian Union Exhibition of Indian Paintings', *Rupam* (1929), no. 40, 129-130.
- Wilkinson, J. V. S. 'Indian Painting', *Indian Art* (ed. R. Winstedt, London, 1947), 105-150.
- Zimmer, H. *The Art of Indian Asia* (ed. J. Campbell, New York, 1955).

GLOSSARY

Abhisandita nayika: 'She who having reproved or repulsed her lover regrets their estrangement'

Abhisarika nayika: 'She who goes out alone to a tryst' often in rain and darkness

Agata patika nayaka: 'The returning lover'

Aghan: The ninth month of the Hindu calendar equivalent to November-December

Aghasura: A snake demon who swallowed Krishna and the cowherds

Akhand: Unbroken, continuous

Akrura: A Yadava diplomat, employed by Kansa as an envoy to Krishna; and by Krishna as an envoy to Kunti, Krishna's aunt. Recoverer of a stolen jewel

Angada: Son of Bali, monkey king of Kishkindha, and ally of Rama

Aniruddha Usha: Term for illustrations to the romance of Krishna's grandson, Aniruddha, with Usha, daughter of the demon Bana

Anna: A small copper coin, one sixteenth of a rupee, roughly equivalent to a penny

Arjuna: Third of the five Pandava brothers and with them joint husband of Draupadi. A leading figure in the *Mahabharata* epic

Asadh: The fourth month of the Hindu calendar equivalent to June-July

Asin: The seventh month of the Hindu calendar equivalent to September-October

Astanayika: The eight *nayikas* (types of women in love)

Asura: Demon

Avatara: Incarnation of a deity, especially Vishnu

Ayana: Husband of Radha, brother of Jasoda

Bahi: Register

Bairagi: A type of Vaishnava devotee

Baisakh: The second month of the Hindu calendar equivalent to April-May

Bakasura: Crane demon slain by Krishna

Balarama: Seventh son of Vasudeva and Devaki and elder brother of Krishna. Also regarded as an incarnation of Vishnu. In Pahari painting he is normally shown with a white skin and carrying a plough

Bali: A monkey king who usurped the throne of his brother, Sugriva and was killed by Rama

Baradari: An open-arched summer house, for use in the hot weather

Baramasa: 'The Twelve Months'. A cycle of poems describing the feelings and behaviour of lovers during each of the twelve months

Basant Panchami: Festival of Spring involving the wearing of yellow clothes

Baz Bahadur and Rupmati: Lovers of poetic legend often shown riding together at night. The romance of Baz Bahadur, a 16th century Pathan ruler of Mandu, with Rupmati, a Hindu courtesan, ended with the sack of Mandu and the suicide of Rupmati

Bhadon: The sixth month of the Hindu calendar equivalent to August-September

Bhagavata Purana: 'The Ancient Story of God'. A chronicle of Vishnu and of his *avatars* or incarnations. Books Ten and Eleven describe the career on earth of his eighth incarnation, Krishna

Bhakti: Personal attachment and fervent devotion to Vishnu

Bhang: Indian hemp, cannabis

Bhangra: A village dance in the Punjab

Bhat: Bard or minstrel

Bhisma: Commander-in-chief of the Kauravas and their army; killed by Arjuna at the battle of Kurukshetra

Bihari Lal: 17th century Hindi love-poet; author of the *Sat Sai*

Brahma: The supreme spirit manifested as the active creator of the universe; first member of the Hindu trinity

Brahmin: A member of the priestly caste

Brijbhasha: The language of Braj, a district in northern India containing Mathura and Brindaban

Chait: The first month of the Hindu calendar equivalent to March-April

Chakora: Partridge (*Alectoris Graeca*)

Chandi: An aspect of Durga and the Devi

Charba: Deerskin used for tracing paintings

Chaugan: Polo ground

Chaupar: A game played with dice or cowries on a cross-shaped board

Chaurapanchasika: 'Fifty stanzas of Secret Love'. A poem in Sanskrit by Bilhana (Kashmir, fl. 1100), celebrating a poet's intrigue with a king's daughter

Chitrakarta (Chitrera): Painter

Chitrasala: Picture-room

Damaru: Small hand-drum shaped like an hour-glass

Dampati: A pair of lovers, a couple

Dana lila: A frolic involving the snatching and upsetting of pots of curds

Darbar: A court, an audience or levee; also the executive government of a state

Dasaratha: King of Ayodhya, father of Rama

Dasehra: Autumn festival commemorating Rama's victory over Ravana

Deva: A god

Devaki: Cousin of Kansa, mother of Krishna and Balarama

Devi: 'The goddess', wife of the god Shiva. She is known by a variety of names which refer to her various manifestations, or attributes

Dharamsala: A resthouse for pilgrims or travellers

Dharma Shastra: An ancient and authoritative treatise on Hindu law, ethics and institutions

Dhoti: A cloth worn round the waist and passing between the legs; loincloth

Diliparanjani: Annals of Dalip (Singh) of Guler

Diwan (Divan, Davan): A minister or chief officer of state, often with revenue or financial responsibilities

Diwankhana: Office or court room of a *diwan*

Dogri: A dialect current chiefly in the western half of the Punjab Hills

Draupadi: Common wife of the five Pandavas

Durga: 'The inaccessible one' — a stern form of the goddess, Devi, wife of Shiva

Durgapath: Annals of the Devi in her form of Durga; an episode in the *Markandeya Purana*

Durgasaptasati: Seven hundred verses in praise of Durga

Farman: Mandate, order

Gaddan: Feminine of *Gaddi*

Gaddi: Shepherd

Gadi (Gaddi): Throne; a cushion on which a person sits

Gaicharan lila: Sportive grazing of the cows

Gajasura: Elephant demon, slain by Shiva for harassing the Brahmins of Banaras

Gaj moksha: Vishnu's salvation of an elephant when attacked by a crocodile

Gandharva: 'A Scotch marriage'; marriage by abduction or elopement ratified by public declaration

Ganesha: Elephant-headed god, son of Shiva and Parvati; god of wisdom and remover of obstacles

Garuda: Mythical king of the birds and Vishnu's mount, with head, wings, talons and beak of an eagle and body and limbs of a man

Ghat: Any approach, steps or path to a pond, tank, stream or river, used for bathing, washing clothes or fetching water

Giri Govardhana dharana: Lifting the Mountain Govardhan

Gita Govinda: 'The Song of the Herdsman'. Poem in Sanskrit by Jayadeva (Bengal, fl. 1180-1200), recounting the loves of Radha and Krishna, their temporary estrangement and ultimate reconciliation

Gopi: A cow-girl or milkmaid

Gosain: A type of religious mendicant or devotee

Govardhan: Name of the mountain lifted by Krishna when Indra poured down rain on the cowherds of Brindaban

Guna garvita: 'She who is proud of her ability to retain a lover'

Gurmukhi: Script in which the Punjabi language is normally written

Guru: Teacher or spiritual guide

Hamir Hath: 'The Pride of Hamir'. A ballad in Hindi describing the siege of Raja Hamir Dev in the fort of Ranthambhor by Ala-ud-din Khilji and his death from an arrow

Hanuman: A monkey chief with supernatural powers who assisted Rama in quelling the demon Ravana

Haveli: House, mansion

Hira Ranjha: Lovers of Punjabi legend

Hiranyaksha: A demon destroyed by Vishnu in his boar incarnation; twin brother of Hiranyakasipu

Holi: Spring festival involving the squirting of red-coloured water and the throwing of red powder

Huqqa: Hookah, a type of pipe in which the tobacco is smoked through water

Ilaqa (elaka): A subsidiary unit of land administration, part of a *tahsil*

Indra: Lord of the clouds and chief of the gods, but inferior to Vishnu and Shiva

Jagir: A form of land tenure carrying with it the right to collect revenue

Jagirdar: Holder of a *jagir*

Jama: A coat of varying length, tied in the case of Hindus on the left hand side and in the case of Muslims on the right

Jamadagni: Father of Parasurama

Jamuna: A river of north India sacred to the Hindus and associated with the youth of Krishna

Janmashtami: Festival celebrating the birthday of Krishna normally held in the Rains at the end of August

Jarasandha: Demon king of Magadha and enemy of Krishna

Jasoda: Wife of the cowherd Nanda and foster-mother of Krishna

Jat: Cultivator caste of the Punjab

Jeth: The third month of the Hindu calendar equivalent to May-June

Kachheri: 'Kutcherry'; a court or office where public business is transacted

Kaikkeyi: Second queen of Raja Dasaratha

Kalam (qalm): Pen, brush; hence by usage a style or school of painting

Kali: Wife of Shiva and an aspect of the Devi in her terrifying form

Kalindi: Daughter of the sun and one of Krishna's eight queens

Kaliya: A multi-headed serpent who dwelt with his serpent wives in the Jamuna river, harrying the cowherds. Subdued by Krishna

Kaliya damana: The quelling of Kaliya

Kaljaman: A demon king who was induced by Krishna to pursue him and thereby lured to his destruction in a cave

Kalki: Tenth and final incarnation of Vishnu who will appear in the form of a warrior with a white horse for the destruction of the wicked at the end of the present age

Kamarband: A waistband

Kanphata yogi: A 'split-eared' Shaiva ascetic, distinguished by the wearing of large black ear-rings

Kansa: Tyrannical demon king of Mathura and cousin of Devaki, mother of Krishna. Eventually killed by Krishna

Kartavirya: A many-armed tyrant, who after receiving hospitality from the sage Jamadagni, stole the Cow of Plenty and was later killed by Vishnu in his sixth incarnation of Parasurama

Katha: Story

Kartik: The eighth month of the Hindu calendar equivalent to October-November

Karttikeya: God of war and son of Shiva and Parvati

Kaurava: The name of the sons of the blind King Dhritarashtra whose rivalry with their cousins, the Pandavas, led to the great war described in the *Mahabharata*

Kavi Priya: 'The Poet's Breviary', from *kavi*, 'poet', and *priya*, 'dear to' or 'beloved by'. A poem in Hindi by Keshav Das (Orchha, Bundelkhand, Central India, fl. 1580-1600), analysing different kinds of poetical effects and illustrating them with examples

Kavita: Poem

Kesi: Horse demon slain by Krishna

Khad: Dried-up bed of a torrent; a steep hill-side

Khaka: An outline, sketch or note

Khandita nayika: 'She who upbraids an unfaithful lover'

Kharak: Register

Kirata Arjuniya: 'The Feats of Arjuna', third Pandava prince and brother-in-law of Krishna

Koka Shastra: An erotic treatise compiled by the medieval poet Kikkoka

Kot: Fort

Kothi: House

Krishna: Eighth incarnation of the god Vishnu and at times regarded as his direct manifestation. Born in prison, the eighth son of Vasudeva and Devaki, he was smuggled out at birth in order to avoid slaughter by his cousin Kansa, tyrant king of Mathura. He was brought up in the forests of Brindaban in northern India, by cowherd foster-parents, Nanda and Jasoda, spending his youth amongst the cowherds and milkmaids. His romantic love for a married milkmaid, Radha, became a popular subject of poetry and an elaborate allegory for the soul's relationship with God. During his sojourn with the cowherds he killed many demons. In Pahari painting he is usually shown with a blue (occasionally green or brown) complexion, often playing on a flute and wearing a crown of peacock feathers. For poems celebrating his romance with Radha (profusely illustrated in Pahari painting), see Bihari's *Sat Sai* and Jayadeva's *Gita Govinda*. In many Pahari paintings he is shown enacting the part of the *nayaka* or lover hero. *The Bhagavata Purana* is the main text which chronicles his deeds as cowherd and prince. Later, he abandoned Brindaban, slaughtered Kansa and lived as a feudal prince

Krishna lila: The sports or dalliances of Krishna, particularly his amorous behaviour with Radha and the cow-girls

Kubja: A hunch-backed girl of Mathura whose back is straightened by Krishna as a reward for her devotion

Kumbhakarna: Giant brother of Ravana; under a curse of Brahma he slept for six months at a time and remained awake for only a single day. In Ravana's war with Rama he captured the monkey chief, Sugriva, but was later beheaded by Rama

Laila and Majnun: Famous lovers of Persian legend

Lakshmana: Half-brother of Rama, whom he accompanied into exile and assisted in the war against the demon king, Ravana

Lakshmi: Goddess of fortune and giver of wealth. Consort of Vishnu

Lila hava: The enjoyment of caresses

Lingam: A stone phallus; the symbolic form in which Shiva is normally worshipped

Lingam ek mukha: A lingam with one human head

Lota: Brass vessel

Madhavanala Kamakandala: A poetic romance featuring Madhava, a handsome Brahmin youth who arouses the love of Kamakandala, a courtesan, is exiled by the King of Ujjain but is re-called and reunited with her on demonstrating his powers as a poet

Madhu Malati: A poetic romance (c. 16th century), dealing with the love of Malati, a princess, for Madhu, the chief minister's son and a commoner. Due to Madhu's heroism, the two are ultimately wedded

Magh: The eleventh month of the Hindu calendar equivalent to January-February

Magher: The ninth month of the Hindu calendar equivalent to November-December

Mahabharata: 'The Great War of the Bharatas'. An epic poem describing the rivalry and conflicts between the sons of two brothers for the kingdom of Hastinapura. These cousins, the Pandavas and the Kauravas, finally fought in a great war in which the Kauravas were defeated

Mahal: Palace

Mahalla: Suburb or neighbourhood in a town or village

Mahant: Head of a temple or a religious community

Maharaja: 'Great raja'

Mahishasura: A demon in buffalo form killed by Durga

Maidan: An open piece of level ground

Mandap: An open porch or hall

Mangsar: The eleventh month of the Hindu calendar equivalent to January-February

Manini: Proud, haughty

Manthara: Hunch-backed maid-servant of Kaikeyi, a consort of Raja Dasaratha

Manu Naga: A snake godling

Markandeya Purana: A recital by the sage, Markandeya, of moral actions commencing with the story of birds that were acquainted with right and wrong

Marit: A demon ascetic, associate of Ravana

Mastani: Drunk

Maya mukhi: Moon-faced

Mian: Title of a non-ruling member of a royal or noble family

Misl: A Sikh confederacy

Moksha: Release from living through extinction in God

Mor priya: 'The peacock's beloved'

Murlidhar: Flute player; a name applied to Krishna

Musavar (musavir): Painter

Naga: A mythical semi-divine being with a human face, the tail of a serpent and the expanded neck of a cobra

Nagar: Town

Nagari: 'Of the city', the name of the script used in writing the Sanskrit and Hindi languages

Nala Damayanti: (1) An episode in the epic poem, the *Mahabharata*, describing the nuptials of Prince Nala and the lady Damayanti, the loss of Nala's kingdom from gambling and its eventual restoration; (2) Sanskrit poem, the *Naishadha Charita*, by Sriharsha (12th century) describing the romance and wedding of Nala and Damayanti

Nanda: Leading cowherd, husband of Jasoda and foster-father of Krishna

Nandi: A white bull; the mount of Shiva and Parvati

Narada: The name of a sage who dwells among the gods, patronises music and acts from time to time as a 'confidential agent', employed to report on Krishna's conduct

Narasimha: Fourth incarnation of Vishnu who appeared as half lion and half man, and destroyed the impious king, Hiranyakasipu

Narayan (Narain): A synonym for Vishnu

Naval bala: Newly-wedded

Nayaka: Lover or gallant classified according to his conduct and relationship with women

Nayika: A woman in love classified according to her conduct and relationship to a *nayaka*

Nazar: A fee or present offered to a social or political superior

Pachisi: A form of *chappar*; a game played with cowries on a cross-shaped board

Pahari: 'Of the hills', a generic term applied in Indian painting to pictures executed in the Punjab Hills

Palash: The Flame of the Forest, a tree (*Butea frondosa*) which bears scarlet-orange blossoms in April-May

Pan: The leaf of the betel plant which is chewed with pieces of areca nut and lime enclosed within it

Panda: A priest stationed at places of pilgrimage and employed for family ritual and worship

Pandava: The five Pandava brothers were one of the two factions involved in the great war recorded in the *Mahabharata* epic

Pandit: (1) A scholar learned in Sanskrit; (2) a respected Hindu with scholarly or artistic attainments; (3) a Brahmin

Parasurama: Rama with the axe, sixth incarnation of Vishnu

Parijata: Heavenly wishing-tree snatched from Indra's heaven by Krishna and bestowed by him on his consort Satyabhama

Parvati: Consort of Shiva, mother of Ganesha

Patta: Land grant

Phagun: The twelfth month of the Hindu calendar, equivalent to February-March

Phulasajya: Dressed in flowers; flower-dressing

Pipal: The fig tree, *Ficus religiosa*, sacred to the Hindus

Prositapatika (prositapreyasi): 'She who frantically awaits the over-due return of her husband or lover'

Puja: Worship

Purana: A type of ancient Hindu sacred text embodying early myths, legends and history

Purohit: Family priest or preceptor

Pus: The tenth month of the Hindu calendar equivalent to December-January

Rabab: A stringed musical instrument played with a plectrum

Radha: Krishna's principal milkmaid love; wife of Jasoda's brother, Ayana

Ragamala: 'A Garland of Musical Modes'. A cycle of poems apostrophising the princes (*ragas*) and ladies (*raginis*) who personify the moods or characters of the various melodies on which Indian music is improvised

Raghubir: Pseudonym for Rama

Raghunath: Pseudonym for Rama

Rai: An honorific derived from *raja*; title of an heir-apparent especially at Kangra

Raj: Principality or kingdom

Raja: (1) A ruling prince; (2) an honorific

Rakshasa: A female demon

Rama: Seventh incarnation of Vishnu and the personification of righteousness and virtue. Rama was the heir to the King of Ayodhya, Raja Dasaratha but, due to the jealousy of his step-mother, Kaikeyi, he was sent into exile accompanied by his faithful wife, Sita, and his half-brother, Lakshmana. In the course of their sojourn in the forests, Sita was abducted by the demon king, Ravana, to his city of Lanka in Ceylon. With the aid of monkey and bear allies Rama killed Ravana, recovered Sita and eventually succeeded his father

Ramayana: 'The Adventures of Rama'. An epic poem describing the exploits of Rama, seventh incarnation of Vishnu, in quest of his wife Sita, abducted by Ravana, demon King of Ceylon

Rana: A title similar to 'Raja' held by certain Rajput princes in Central India and in Baghal and Kahlur (Punjab Hills)

Rang Mahal: A palace room painted with murals

Rani: A queen, the wife of a *Raja*; a princess

Rasa Panchadhyayi: 'Five chapters of delight', a part of the *Bhagavata Purana*

Rasamanjari: 'A Posy of Delights', a poem in Sanskrit by Bhanu Datta (14th century) analysing varieties of lover

Rasika: A connoisseur of love or art

Rasika Priya: 'The Lover's Breviary', a poem in Hindi by Keshav Das (Orchha, Bundelkhand, Central India, fl. 1580-1600), analysing lovers in terms of incidents involving Radha and Krishna
Rath: Chariot; at times applied to a four-wheeled carriage drawn by a pony or oxen. Also applied to the car on which images are carried on festival days
Ravana: Demon king of Lanka in Ceylon, abductor of Sita and foe of Rama
Rishi: Sage
Rukma: Brother of Rukmini, Krishna's first consort
Rukmini: A princess affianced to Sisupala but abducted on her wedding day by Krishna whose principal wife she then became
Rukmini haran: 'The rape of Rukmini' i.e. her abduction by Krishna
Rukmini mangala: 'The betrothal of Rukmini'
Rukmini parinaya: The 'happy ending' of Rukmini's ordeal
Rupee: A silver coin worth about five new pence

Sadhu: A Hindu ascetic
Sagar: Ocean
Sakhi: Girl companion, confidante
Salaam: Respectful greeting
Samadhi: Memorial
Sambara: A demon who abducts Pradyumna, baby son of Krishna by Rukmini, and throws him into the ocean where he is swallowed by a fish. When the fish is captured and brought to Sambara the child is discovered and reared in Sambara's household. Sambara is later killed by Pradyumna
Sanad: A grant, a charter
Sannyasi: A Hindu who has renounced all worldly ties and possessions in order to devote himself to the spiritual life
Sarada: A polished variety of the *takri* script used mainly in Kashmir
Sarangi: An Indian fiddle played with a bow
Sardar: Chief, commonly applied to Sikhs as a term of respect
Sarpesh: Turban ornament
Sari: A long piece of cloth used as a female garment either over a skirt or bodice or as a substitute for them
Sarod: A stringed instrument
Sassi Punun: Lovers of Punjabi legend
Sat Sai: 'The Seven Centuries', a collection of seven hundred verses in Hindi by Bihari Lal (fl. 1650) celebrating the romance of Radha and Krishna
Sati: The rite of widow-burning; a Hindu wife who has burnt herself on her husband's pyre
Satrugna: Twin-brother of Lakshmana and half-brother of Rama
Satyabhama: Krishna's third queen for whom the *parijata* (heavenly wishing-tree) is stolen from Indra's heaven
Sawan: The fifth month of the Hindu calendar equivalent to July-August
Seer: A measure of weight roughly equivalent to two pounds
Shaiva: Adjective of Shiva
Shaligram: A black stone containing an ammonite; mystic emblem of Vishnu
Shikar: Hunting
Shikhara: The steeple-like tower of a Hindu temple
Shish (Sish) Mahal: A mirror room
Shiva: Procreator and Destroyer; third member of the Hindu trinity; consort of Parvati
Shivaratri: 'Shiva's night', a festival held in the dark half of the month of Magh (January-February)
Siddhi: Personal deity of a family
Sita: Wife of Rama. She was abducted by Ravana, demon king of Ceylon, but later rescued by Rama with the help of Hanuman. The feminine ideal of purity and devotion to a husband
Sitar: A stringed instrument, with a bowl like a *tambura* but played with a plectrum
Sloka: A Sanskrit verse
Sohni Mahinwal: Legendary lovers

Sudama: A poor but pious Brahmin and school friend of Krishna. His unassuming devotion to Krishna resulted in the conversion of his hovel into a golden palace
Sugriva: The monkey king of Kishkindha who was dethroned by his brother, Bali and re-instated by Rama. A principal ally of Rama in the war against Ravana
Sursagar: A Hindi poem by Sur Das (16th century) analysing Krishna's conduct as ideal lover
Svadhinapatika nayika: 'She who is loyally loved'

Tabla: Small hand drums, stood on end and played in pairs
Tahsil: A land unit for the collection of revenue
Takri: A cursive alphabet used for writing dialects in the Punjab Hills
Tambura: A musical instrument, with a wooden bowl, usually having four strings, and providing a drone accompaniment to the voice or to other instruments. Played with the finger-tips
Tamvula seva: Exchange of betel leaves (*pan*) as a token of mutually affectionate regard
Tara: Monkey general, associate of Hanuman and Angada
Tarikh: History or chronicle
Tarkhan: Carpenter, carpenter-painter
Tawarikh: History or chronicle
Thakurdwara: Hindu shrine
Tika (tikka): Heir-apparent
Tilak: Sectarian mark mainly applied to the forehead
Tilak chandan: Sandal-paste marks, in the form of a crescent moon sacred to Shiva, applied to the forehead
Topi: A hat
Torana: Railing
Tosikhana: Treasury
Tripura Sundari Devi: A winged Tantric goddess

Udho: Friend and envoy of Krishna
Ugrasena: King of Mathura deposed by Kansa and re-instated by Krishna
Ullu: Owl; a stupid fellow
Usha: See **Aniruddha**
Utka (utkanthita) nayika: 'She who waits patiently at a tryst'

Vaishnava: 'Adherent of Vishnu'; a devotee of ardent Vaishnavism especially in its *bhakti* form
Valmiki: Author of the *Ramayana*
Vamana: Brahmin dwarf, fifth incarnation of Vishnu
Vansavali: Genealogy
Varsa vihara: Sheltering from rain
Vasakasajja nayika: 'She who awaits her lover with bed prepared'
Vasant (Basant): Spring
Vasudeva: Husband of Devaki
Venugopala: The flute-playing cowherd (synonym for Krishna).
Vidagdha: Resourceful
Vina: The classical stringed instrument of Indian music often with two gourd resonators. The strings are plucked with the fingers
Vipralabdha nayika: 'She who vainly awaits her lover'
Viradha: An ogre who attempted to abduct Sita
Vishnu: Loving Preserver and Restorer; second member of the Hindu trinity; consort of Lakshmi. In one or other of his ten incarnations, he takes human or animal form in order to restore the balance between good and evil by intervening on behalf of mankind and the gods. In painting, depicted with a blue skin and four arms. His attributes are a mace, conch-shell, quoit (or discus) and lotus

Wazir: Minister in charge of general administration

Yadavas: A pastoral caste; Krishna's caste-men
Yaksha: A class of supernatural being attendant on Kuvera, the god of wealth; normally inoffensive or beneficent but occasionally appearing as imps of evil
Yogi: A person who undertakes a spiritual discipline, often of an ascetic nature
Yogini: A female yogi

Yoni: The female sex-organ, normally combined with a *lingam* in Shiva worship

Yuvraj: The eldest son of a Raja; also applied to a young prince associated with his father in the government before his death

Zanana (zenana): The female apartments; the women of a family

Ziarat: Tomb of a Muslim saint

CONCORDANCE

Victoria and Albert Museum (Indian Section) numbers and Catalogue numbers

4648 I.S.	Mandi, 67	I.S.44-1949	Kangra 66(v)	I.S.152-1951	Tehri Garhwal 40(iv)
4648(A) I.S.	Mandi, 72	I.S.45-1949	Kangra 66(iii)	I.S.153-1951	Tehri Garhwal 40(ii)
4648(B) I.S.	Mandi, 69	I.S.46-1949	Kangra 66(iv)	I.S.154-1951	Tehri Garhwal 40(i)
4648(C) I.S.	Mandi, 60	I.S.47-1949	Kangra 66(viii)	I.S.155-1951	Tehri Garhwal 40(iii)
4648(D) I.S.	Mandi, 70	I.S.48-1949	Kangra 66(ix)	I.S.157-1951	Garhwal 15
4648(E) I.S.	Mandi, 52	I.S.49-1949	Kangra 66(x)	I.S.158-1951	Garhwal 9
		I.S.50-1949	Kangra 66(xi)	I.S.159-1951	Garhwal 24(ii)
I.M.4-1912	Kangra 45	I.S.51-1949	Kangra 66(xii)	I.S.160-1951	Garhwal 24(i)
I.M.5-1912	Jammu 43	I.S.52-1949	Kangra 66(vi)	I.S.161-1951	Siba 3
I.M.6-1912	Kangra 57	I.S.124-1949	Mandi 51	I.S.162-1951	Siba 2
I.M.7-1912	Kangra 60	I.S.127-1949	Mandi 61	I.S.163-1951	Nurpur 38
I.M.70-1912	Mandi 57	I.S.128-1949	Mandi 66	I.S.164-1951	Siba 4
I.M.71-1912	Mandi 49	I.S.130-1949	Kangra 71	I.S.165-1951	Siba 6
I.M.72-1912	Guler 32(ii)	I.S.133-1949	Guler 31	I.S.171-1951	Kahlur 24
I.M.73-1912	Kangra 40	I.S.134-1949	Kahlur 36	I.S.172-1951	Kahlur 28
I.M.74-1912	Kangra 66(xiv)	I.S.135-1949	Mandi 68	I.S.173-1951	Kahlur 29(ii)
I.M.75-1912	Guler 32(i)	I.S.136-1949	Mandi 45	I.S.174-1951	Kahlur 29(i)
I.M.76-1912	Guler 4	I.S.137-1949	Kangra 13	I.S.175-1951	Nurpur 28
I.M.81-1912	Garhwal 10	I.S.138-1949	Kangra 66(xiii)	I.S.177-1951	Nurpur 29
I.M.82-1912	Kangra 69	I.S.139-1949	Tehri Garhwal 36	I.S.178-1951	Nurpur 50
		I.S.145-1949	Jammu 14	I.S.179-1951	Bhoti 3
I.M.282-1913	Kangra 73	I.S.147-1949	Chamba 22	I.S.180-1951	Jammu 68
I.M.294-1913	Mandi 58	I.S.172-1949	Garhwal 20(iii)	I.S.181-1951	Jammu 1
I.M.295-1913	Mandi 59	I.S.202-1949	Guler 58	I.S.182-1951	Jammu 10
		I.S.203-1949	Baghal 23	I.S.183-1951	Jammu 12
		I.S.217-1949	Kangra 44	I.S.184-1951	Jammu 5
I.M.156-1914	Kangra 66(i)			I.S.185-1951	Jammu 27
I.M.157-1914	Kangra 66(ii)			I.S.186-1951	Jammu 18
I.M.158-1914	Garhwal 6	I.S.171-1950	Kangra 58	I.S.187-1951	Jammu 19
		I.S.173-1950	Kangra 18	I.S.188-1951	Jammu 35
I.M.21-1917	Tehri Garhwal 38(ii)	I.S.178-1950	Guler 28	I.S.191-1951	Jammu 74
I.M.22-1917	Tehri Garhwal 38(i)	I.S.230-1950	Baghal 24	I.S.201-1951	Kahlur 27
I.M.35-1917	Tehri Garhwal 38(iii)	I.S.231-1950	Baghal 25	I.S.203-1951	Kahlur 34
		I.S.453-1950	Guler 56	I.S.213-1951	Jasrota 6
I.S.307-1927	Kangra 70	I.S.458-1950	Chamba 46	I.S.242-1951	Mandi 63
		I.S.460-1950	Nurpur 35	I.S.275-1951	Garhwal 21(i)
I.M.66-1930	Mankot 28	I.S.477-1950	Mandi 50	I.S.276-1951	Garhwal 21(ii)
I.M.87-1930	Basohli 18(iv)	I.S.478-1950	Kangra 63	I.S.310-1951	Garhwal 26
I.M.88-1930	Basohli 18(v)				
I.M.89-1930	Basohli 18(vii)	I.S.102-1951	Guler 23(4)	I.S.19-1952	Jammu 2
		I.S.103-1951	Guler 23(2)	I.S.21-1952	Guler 53
I.S.8-1949	Kangra 32	I.S.104-1951	Guler 23(3)	I.S.58-1952	Kulu 40(i)
I.S.9-1949	Kangra 46	I.S.105-1951	Guler 23(1)	I.S.59-1952	Kulu 40(ii)
I.S.11-1949	Guler 16	I.S.106-1951	Kangra 31	I.S.60-1952	Kulu 40(iii)
I.S.12-1949	Basohli 28	I.S.118-1951	Kahlur 10	I.S.61-1952	Kulu 40(iv)
I.S.13-1949	Mandi 62	I.S.119-1951	Kahlur 15	I.S.62-1952	Kulu 40(vi)
I.S.15-1949	Kangra 35	I.S.120-1951	Basohli 4(xi)	I.S.63-1952	Kulu 40(v)
I.S.16-1949	Mandi 48	I.S.121-1951	Basohli 4(xii)	I.S.91-1952	Guler 40
I.S.18-1949	Chamba 53	I.S.122-1951	Basohli 4(xvi)	I.S.147-1952	Jammu 37
I.S.19-1949	Kangra 75	I.S.123-1951	Kulu 13(xxii)	I.S.150-1952	Nurpur 48
I.S.22-1949	Kulu 20	I.S.124-1951	Kulu 22	I.S.168-1952	Chamba 14
I.S.24-1949	Kulu 16	I.S.125-1951	Mankot 37	I.S.239-1952	Mandi 15
I.S.26-1949	Chamba 49	I.S.126-1951	Chamba 7	I.S.276-1952	Bhoti 7
I.S.27-1949	Guler 67	I.S.127-1951	Nurpur 12(i)	I.S.545-1952	Garhwal 7(i)
I.S.29-1949	Guler 70	I.S.128-1951	Nurpur 12(ii)	I.S.546-1952	Garhwal 7(ii)
I.S.30-1949	Mandi 65	I.S.129-1951	Garhwal 12	I.S.547-1952	Garhwal 7(iii)
I.S.32-1949	Guler 18	I.S.130-1951	Guler 29	I.S.548-1952	Garhwal 7(iv)
I.S.33-1949	Chamba 33	I.S.131-1951	Guler 14	I.S.549-1952	Garhwal 7(v)
I.S.34-1949	Guler 39	I.S.133-1951	Guler 33		
I.S.36-1949	Mandi 64	I.S.142-1951	Hindur 2		
I.S.38-1949	Tehri Garhwal 39	I.S.145-1951	Mandi 71	I.S.21-1953	Nurpur 56
I.S.39-1949	Chamba 51	I.S.146-1951	Mandi 56	I.S.46-1953	Basohli 4(x)
I.S.40-1949	Kangra 74	I.S.147-1951	Kangra 52	I.S.47-1953	Basohli 4(viii)
I.S.41-1949	Garhwal 22	I.S.150-1951	Chamba 54	I.S.48-1953	Basohli 4(vi)
I.S.43-1949	Kangra 66(vii)	I.S.150-1951	Chamba 54	I.S.49-1953	Basohli 4(ix)

I.S.50-1953	Basohli 4(vii)	I.S.37-1954	Kahlur 43(vii)	I.S.196-1955	Mandi 41
I.S.51-1953	Basohli 4(xv)	I.S.38-1954	Kahlur 43(iv)	I.S.202-1955	Jammu 73
I.S.52-1953	Basohli 4(xiii)	I.S.39-1954	Kahlur 43(xi)	I.S.204-1955	Mandi 53
I.S.53-1953	Basohli 4(xiv)	I.S.40-1954	Mandi 9	I.S.205-1955	Kangra 64
I.S.54-1953	Kulu 13(iii)	I.S.41-1954	Mandi 10	I.S.208-1955	Chamba 52
I.S.55-1953	Kulu 13(v)	I.S.42-1954	Mandi 20	I.S.211-1955	Jammu 17
I.S.56-1953	Kulu 13(viii)	I.S.43-1954	Mandi 14	I.S.259-1955	Bhoti 2
I.S.57-1953	Kulu 13(vii)	I.S.44-1954	Mandi 8		
I.S.58-1953	Kulu 13(i)	I.S.45-1954	Mandi 40	I.S.5-1956	Kangra 7
I.S.59-1953	Kulu 13(xxiv)	I.S.46-1954	Mandi 19	I.S.6-1956	Kangra 2
I.S.60-1953	Kulu 13(ii)	I.S.47-1954	Mandi 28	I.S.7-1956	Jammu 72
I.S.61-1953	Kulu 13(xx)	I.S.50-1954	Kangra 29	I.S.11-1956	Mandi 54
I.S.62-1953	Kulu 13(xxvi)	I.S.51-1954	Kangra 54	I.S.12-1956	Mandi 55
I.S.63-1953	Kulu 13(xxi)	I.S.52-1954	Jammu 22	I.S.14-1956	Guler 77
I.S.64-1953	Kulu 13(xv)	I.S.55-1954	Chamba 63	I.S.15-1956	Guler 46
I.S.65-1953	Kulu 13(xxiii)	I.S.102-1954	Chamba 61	I.S.17-1956	Kahlur 11
I.S.66-1953	Kulu 13(xix)	I.S.103-1954	Chamba 24	I.S.20-1956	Basohli 4(v)
I.S.67-1953	Kulu 13(iv)	I.S.110-1954	Chamba 62		
I.S.68-1953	Kulu 13(vi)	I.S.104-1954	Nurpur 54	I.S.62-1959	Guler 45(iii)
I.S.69-1953	Kulu 13(xxv)	I.S.105-1954	Nurpur 46		
I.S.70-1953	Kulu 13(xxvii)	I.S.111-1954	Jammu 7	I.S.3-1960	Basohli 22(ii)
I.S.71-1953	Kulu 13(xviii)	I.S.112-1954	Kulu 30	I.S.4-1960	Basohli 22(xi)
I.S.72-1953	Kulu 13(xvi)	I.S.113-1954	Kahlur 12	I.S.5-1960	Jammu 69
I.S.73-1953	Kulu 13(xvii)	I.S.114-1954	Kulu 36	I.S.6-1960	Garhwal 5(i)
I.S.146-1953	Guler 65	I.S.115-1954	Mankot 20	I.S.7-1960	Jammu 46
I.S.147-1953	Nurpur 39	I.S.120-1954	Kahlur 1	I.S.37-1960	Jasrota 2
I.S.148-1953	Garhwal 29	I.S.121-1954	Kahlur 17	I.S.38-1960	Basohli 22(iii)
I.S.149-1953	Sirmur 3	I.S.122-1954	Kahlur 22	I.S.39-1960	Basohli 22(vii)
I.S.150-1953	Guler 52	I.S.127-1954	Kahlur 21	I.S.40-1960	Basohli 22(vi)
I.S.151-1953	Sirmur 2	I.S.123-1954	Kulu 35	I.S.41-1960	Basohli 22(viii)
I.S.184-1953	Jammu 45	I.S.124-1954	Kahlur 14	I.S.42-1960	Basohli 22(x)
I.S.262-1953	Jammu 21	I.S.125-1954	Kahlur 25	I.S.116-1960	Jammu 9
I.S.263-1953	Tehri Garhwal 33	I.S.126-1954	Kahlur 26	I.S.117-1960	Guler 45(ii)
I.S.265-1953	Kahlur 43(ix)	I.S.128-1954	Kahlur 40	I.S.118-1960	Mankot 43
				I.S.119-1960	Guler 72
I.S.15-1954	Kulu 13(xiv)	I.S.112-1955	Kulu 26	I.S.120-1960	Jammu 71
I.S.16-1954	Kulu 13(xxviii)	I.S.113-1955	Chamba 29	I.S.121-1960	Siba 5
I.S.17-1954	Kulu 13(xi)	I.S.115-1955	Guler 42	I.S.122-1960	Kangra 55
I.S.18-1954	Kulu 13(x)	I.S.117-1955	Nurpur 10	I.S.125-1960	Mandi 73
I.S.19-1954	Kulu 13(ix)	I.S.119-1955	Basohli 22(xiv)		
I.S.20-1954	Kulu 13(xii)	I.S.122-1955	Garhwal 25	I.S.43-1961	Kulu 18
I.S.21-1954	Kulu 13(xxx)	I.S.123-1955	Garhwal 17		
I.S.22-1954	Kulu 13(xxxii)	I.S.125-1955	Kangra 59	I.S.53-1962	Guler 61(i)
I.S.23-1954	Kulu 13(xxix)	I.S.128-1955	Guler 51	I.S.54-1962	Guler 61(ii)
I.S.24-1954	Kulu 13(xxx)	I.S.129-1955	Siba 1		
I.S.25-1954	Kulu 13(xiii)	I.S.130-1955	Chamba 5	I.S.9-1963	Kahlur 37
I.S.26-1954	Mankot 29(i)	I.S.140-1955	Kangra 56		
I.S.27-1954	Kahlur 30	I.S.141-1955	Jasrota 10	I.S.131-1964	Mandi 31
I.S.28-1954	Basohli 9	I.S.142-1955	Bandraita 5	I.S.132-1964	Mandi 32
I.S.29-1954	Kulu 17	I.S.143-1955	Kulu 15		
I.S.30-1954	Kahlur 43(ii)	I.S.153-1955	Garhwal 8	I.S.100-1965	Kahlur 33(i)
I.S.31-1954	Kahlur 43(viii)	I.S.159-1955	Baghal 18		
I.S.32-1954	Kahlur 43(i)	I.S.161-1955	Nurpur 51	I.S.11-1966	Kulu 2(i)
I.S.33-1954	Kahlur 43(x)	I.S.164-1955	Datarpur 5	I.S.12-1966	Kulu 3(i)
I.S.34-1954	Kahlur 43(iii)	I.S.165-1955	Kangra 47		
I.S.35-1954	Kahlur 43(v)	I.S.166-1955	Garhwal 27	I.S.11-1968	Kangra 62
I.S.36-1954	Kahlur 43(vi)	I.S.192-1955	Chamba 50	I.S.1-1970	Kahlur 5(ii)

INDEX

I RULERS AND PERSONAGES

- Abhaya Chand, Kangra, 248
 Abhaya Pal, Bhadrawah, 55
 Abhiman Pal, Bhadu, 57
 Abhirai Dev, Jammu, 178
 Abhiraj (Abhirai) Singh, Jaswan, 221
 Ablu, wazir, Suket, 421
 Acchu, minister, Guler, 128
 Adina Beg Khan, Mughal governor, Jalandhar, 127, 128, 221
 Ajab Dev, Jasrota, 215
 Ajab Singh, Guler, 99, 132
 - - - Jaswan, 221
 Ajbar Sen, Mandi, 346
 Ajit Singh, Jaswan, 221
 - - - Shangri, Kulu, 321
 Ajmat Dev, Bahu (Jammu), 177
 - - - Mankot, 11, 369
 Ajmer Chand, Kahlur, 224
 Alakh Dev, Mankot, 369
 Alam Chand, Kangra, 248
 Amal, singing-girl, Jasrota, 206
 Amar Chand, Kahlur, 226
 - - - Nadaun, Kangra, 257
 - - - Siba, 409
 Amar Singh, Kotla, 315
 Amar Singh Thapa, Gurkha, Garhwal, 99
 Amluk Singh, Kashtwar, 313
 Amrit Pal, Basohli, 18
 Anand (Anant) Dev, Bahu (Jammu), 177
 Anand Chand, Kahlur, 226
 Ananta Devi, Chamba rani of Prakash Chand, Guler, 66
 Anirudh Chand, Kangra, 254-255
 - - - Jaswan, 221
 Apurab Singh, Mankot, 369
 Arimardan Sen, Suket, 422
 Arjan Dev, Mankot, 368
 Atharbanu, Chamba rani of Bhup (Bhupal) Chand, Bhadrawah, 66
 Autar Singh, Bhadu, 57
 Avasthi Vajjnath, Guler, 145, 147

 Badan Chand, Chanehni, 92
 Badan Singh, Jasrota, 214
 Bhagvan, gosain, Pindori (Gurdaspur), 125, 390
 Bahadur Pal, Bangahal, 13
 Bahadur Singh, Bhoti, 59
 - - - Kulu, 320
 - - - Suket, 421
 Bairagi Ram, Brahmin administrator, Mandi and Kahlur, 225, 348
 Bajai Dev, Jammu, 65
 Bakhtawar Singh, Jasrota, 215
 Bakhtiyar Khan (Jaya Singh), Kashtwar, 312
 Balabhadra Varman (Singh), Chamba, 64
 Balak Ram Sah, Garhwal, 101-108
 Balbir Sen, Mandi, 348
 Balbir Singh, Mankot, 370
 Baldev Chand, Lambagraon, Kangra, 258
 - - - Datarpur, 95
 Baldev Singh, Guler, 130
 Balwant Singh, Jammu, 178, 179, 189, 190, 194-209
 - - - Jasrota, 214, 215, 219, 220

 Bam Shah, Gurkha, Garhwal, 99
 Bas (Basu) Dev, Nurpur, 383
 Basanta, priest, Mandi, 347
 Basant Singh, Baghal, 2
 - - - Guler, 127, 156
 - - - Kahlur, 225
 Basohli (Balauria) rani of Govardhan Chand, Guler, 128
 Basu Chand, Chanehni, 92
 Behari Mal (Budh Chand) Parkash, Sirmur, 414
 Bhaga, wazir, Chamba, 67, 68
 Bhagat Chand, Kahlur, 224
 Bhagvanji, Vaishnava teacher, Pindori (Gurdaspur), 125, 390
 Bhagwan Singh, Kashtwar, 312
 Bhagwant Singh, Bandralta, 9
 - - - Jammu, 180, 181
 - - - Rupri, Kulu, 322
 Bhangi Purnia, wazir, Kahlur, 226
 Bhakt Pal, Bhadrawah, 55
 Bhao Singh, Jasrota, 215
 - - - Nurpur, 383
 - - - Siba, 409
 Bhawani Gir, gosain, Mandi, 347
 Bhawani Shah, Tehri Garhwal, 100
 Bhawani Singh, Alampur (Bhawarna), Kangra, 256
 Bhikram Sen, Suket, 421
 Bhim Chand, Kahlur, 224
 - - - Kangra, 248
 Bhim Pal, Bangahal, 13
 Bhup Chand, Baghal, 1
 Bhup (Bhupal) Chand, Bhadrawah, 55, 87
 Bhup Chand, Hindur, 170
 Bhup Dei, Kashtwar, wife of Mughal Emperor Farrukhsiyar, Delhi, 313
 Bhup Dev, Bandralta, 9
 Bhup Singh, Guler, 129
 Bhupal Dev, Jammu and Jasrota, 177, 191, 213
 Bhupal Singh, Bhoti, 59
 Bhupat Dev, Jammu, 177
 Bhupat Pal, Basohli, 17
 Bhupat Parkash, Sirmur, 414
 Bhupdar Dev, Bandralta, 9
 Bhupendra Pal, Basohli, 19
 Bhuri Singh, Chamba, 68
 - - - Jasrota, 215
 Bidhi Chand, Kangra, 247
 Bidhi Singh, Kulu, 320
 Bijai (Bajai) Chand, Kahlur, 226
 Bijai (Bajai) Sen, Mandi, 349
 Bije (Bijai) Parkash, Sirmur, 414
 Bije (Bijai) Singh, Hindur, 171
 - - - Siba, 410
 Bik (Bikram) Chand, Kahlur, 224
 Bikram Chand, Jaswan, 221
 Bikram Pal, Basohli, 18
 Bikram Sen, Suket, 421
 Bikram Singh, Baghal, 2
 - - - Guler, 127
 - - - Kulu, 321
 Bilas Devi, rani of Raj Singh, Guler, 127
 Bir Singh, Hindur, 171

- Bir Singh, Mandi, 347**
 - - Nurpur, 384
Birendra Singh, Tehri Garhwal, 100, 105
Bishan (Vishnu) Singh, Guler, 127
Bishan Singh, Jasrota, 215
 - - Suket, 421
Brandreth, Mr., Commissioner, Punjab, 130
Brij Mohan Pal, Kutlehr, 242
Brij Mohan Singh, Hindur, 172
Brijraj Dev, Jammu, 180
Budh (Bidhi) Chand Parkash, Sirmur, 414
Bugan Dei, lady of the court, Guler, 156
- Chandandhar Dev, Bandralta, 9**
Chandarbhan Chand, Kangra, 247
Changhnian, Kahlur, 226
Charan Singh, Kulu, 321
Charat Singh, Chamba, 67
Chatar Chand, Datarpur, 95
Chattar Pal, Bhadu, 57
Chattar Sal, Bandralta, 9
Chattar Singh, Chamba, 65
 - - Mankot, 369
Chet Singh, Nadaun, Kangra, 256
Chimna Chand, Kahlur, 224
- Dalbir Chand, courtier, Kahlur, 235**
Dalel Chand, Datarpur, 95
Dalel (Dalip) Pal, Bangahal, 13
Dalel Singh, Chamba, 65
 - - Jammu, 180
 - - Kashtwar, 313
 - - Mankot, 369
Dalip Shah, Garhwal, 98
Dalip Singh, Guler, 127
 - - Rupi, Kulu, 322
Dan Chand, Kahlur, 224
Dan Chand Sen, Mandi, 346
Darasanu, Bhadrawah rani of Prithvi Singh, Nurpur, 384
Datar Chand, Datarpur, 95
Daya Dhata, Nurpur, 383, 394
Daya Pal, Bhadrawah, 55
Dayal Chand, Chanehni, 92
Dei Sarda, Suket rani of Sri Singh, Chamba, 68
Desa Singh Majithia, Sikh governor, Kangra Hills, 130, 166, 258
Devendra Singh, Nurpur, 385
Devi Chand, Datarpur, 95
 - - Guler, 129
 - - Kahlur, 225
 - - Nadaun, Kangra, 257
Devi Singh, Jammu, 181
 - - Jasrota, 214
 - - Bhawarna, Kangra, 256
Dewan Chand, Lambagraon, Kangra, 258
Dharam Pal, Kutlehr, 342
Dharm Chand, Hindur, 170
Dharm Parkash, Sirmur, 414
Dhian Singh, Baghal, 2
 - - Guler and Kotla, 129, 315
Dhiraj Pal, Basohli, 18
Dhota Dev, Mankot, 369
Dhrub (Dhruv) Dev, Jammu, 178
Dhrub Dev, Jasrota, 200, 214
Dhrub Dev Chand, Lambagraon, Kangra, 258
Dhrub Pal, Bhadrawah, 55
Dhurchatia, Mandi, 347
Dhyan Singh, Kulu, 321
Dilawar Singh, Kashtwar, 313
Dinamani, priest, Guler, 127, 145
Dinath, priest, Guler, 127, 375
Dip Chand, Kahlur, 224
Dip Sen, Suket, 420
Durgna Devi, rani of Jagdish Chand, Guler, 126
Dusht Nikandan Sen, Suket, 422
- Farid-ud-din Qadiri, Muslim Saint, Kashtwar, 312**
Fateh Chand, Kangra, 249
Fateh Pal, Bhadrawah, 55
Fateh Parkash, Sirmur, 415
Fateh Shah, Garhwal, 98
Fateh Singh, Hindur, 171
 - - Nurpur, 383
- Gagan Singh, Nurpur, 385**
Ganesh Chand, Datarpur, 95
Gaj (Gaje) Singh, Hindur, 170
Gajai Dev, Jammu, 178
Garabh Chand, Kahlur, 226
Garur Sen, Suket, 421
Gauhar Singh, Guler and Mandi, 348
Gaur (Gur) Sen, Mandi, 346
Ghamand Chand, Kangra, 248
Ghamir (Gambhir) Chand, Kangra, 248
Ghansar Dev, Jammu, 178
Ghanta Khatri, wazir, Guler, 164
Ghorkan, wazir, Suket, 421
Gokul, priest, Mankot, 369, 375
Gopal Pal, Kutlehr, 342
Gopal Singh, Chamba, 68
 - - Guler, 127
 - - Jammu, 178
 - - Sirmur, 415
Govind Chand, Datarpur, 95
 - - Jaswan, 221
Govind Singh, Siba, 410
 - - tenth Sikh guru, 127, 320, 346, 354, 414
Govardhan Chand (Singh), Guler, 128
Gulab Singh, Jammu and Bandralta, 9-11, 60, 181
Gujar Hath Pannia, courtier, Mankot, 373
Guman Singh, Kashtwar, 313
Gur Singh, Kashtwar, 312
Gyan Singh, Rupi, Kulu, 321
- Hakam Singh, Mankot, 369**
Hamir Chand, Kangra, 248
Hamir Dev, Jammu, 178
Har Kishan, eighth Sikh guru, 164
Hardit Singh, Guler, 130
Hardyal (Hardayal) Singh, state manager, Suket, 422
Hari Chand, Guler, 126
 - - Kangra, 247
Hari Dev, Jammu, 177
Hari Parkash, Sirmur, 414
Hari Sen, Mandi, 346
Hari Singh, Guler administrator, Garhwal, 99, 132
 - - Nadaun, Kangra, 256
 - - Jammu, 182
 - - Kulu, 320
 - - Suket, 420-421
Haricharan Das, Garhwal, 104
Haridasa, courtier, Mandi, 355
Hari Saran, priest, Jasrota, 215
Harmahendra Singh, Siba, 409
Hast Pal, Bhadu, 57
Hastidal, Gurkha, Garhwal, 99
Himat Singh, Bhoti, 59
Himmat Chand, Hindur, 170
Hindal (Hindol) Pal, Basohli, 17
Hira Chand, Kahlur, 226
Hira Singh, jagirdar, Basohli and Jasrota, 215
 - - Shangri, Kulu, 322
Hoshiar Singh, Jasrota, 214
- Inayat-ullah Singh, Kashtwar, 313**
Indar Dev, Jammu, 178
Indar Singh, Kulu, 321
 - - Nurpur and Kangra, 248, 383-384
Indra Dev, Bandralta, 9
Indra Vijay Singh, Mankot, 370
Ishvari Singh Chandela, Udaipur (Mewar), Kahlur, 226, 237, 238
Israr-ud-din, Muslim saint, Kashtwar, 312
- Fakir Singh, Kulu, 320**

- Isri Singh, Hindur, 171**
 - - Nadaun, Kangra, 256
Isvari Sen, Mandi, 348
Izat Singh, Kahlur, 225
- Jag Dev, Bahu (Jammu), 177**
 - - Jasrota, 213
Jagat Chand, Datarpur, 95
 - - Guler, 129
 - - Kahlur, 225
Jagat Parkash, Sirmur, 414
Jagat Singh, Baghal, 1
 - - Bandralta, 9
 - - Kashtwar, 312
 - - Kulu, 320
 - - Nurpur, 383
 - - Suket, 421
Jagdish Chand, Guler, 126
Jagdish Singh, Mankot, 369
Jaggar Singh, Shangri, Kulu, 322
Jaghar Singh, Jaswan, 221
Jaginder (Gajendra) Singh, Siba, 409
Jaginder Singh, Hindur, 171
Jagrup Singh, Jaswan, 221
Jahagar Chand, Chanehni, 92
Jai Chand, Bhadrawah, 55
 - - Datarpur, 95
 - - Lambagraon, Kangra, 258
 - - Siba, 409
Jai Singh, Bhadu, 57
 - - Bhoti, 59
 - - wazir, Chamba, 65
 - - Guler, 130
 - - Jaswan, 222
 - - Kulu, 321
 - - Siba, 410
 - - Sirmur, 415
Jai Singh Kanheya, Sikh, 258
Jaidev, wazir, Garhwal, 106
Jaimal Singh, Kashtwar, 313
Jalla, pandit, Chamba, 68
Jamalo, dancing-girl, Kangra, 251
James, British adventurer, Kangra, 250, 251
Jappu, Mandi, 346, 347
Jasrota rani of Mahendra Pal, Basohli, 19
Jassa Singh Ramgarhia, Sikh, 258
Jaswant Pal, Basohli, 18
Jaswant Singh, Nurpur, 385
 - - Siba, 409
Jawahar Dev, Jasrota, 214
Jaya Singh, Kashtwar, 312
Jayakrit (Jai Kirit) Shah, Garhwal, 98
Jeth Singh, Kotla, 315
Jhagar Chand, Bhadrawah, 55
Jit Dev (Singh), Jammu, 181
Jit Pal, Bangahal, 13
Jit (Ajit) Pal, Basohli, 18
Jit Sen, Suket, 421
Jit Singh, Chamba, 66
Jit (Dev) Singh, Jammu, 180, 181
Jodhbir Chand, Kangra, 256-257
Jog Raj (Mat, Medini) Parkash, Sirmur, 414
- Kailashpat Dev, Bandralta, 9**
Kalian (Kalyan) Chand, Kahlur, 224
Kalian Singh, Kulu, 320
Kalyan Chand, Bhadrawah, 55
Kalyan Dai, rani of Dalip Singh, Guler, 127
Kalyan Devi, rani of Man Singh, Guler, 126
Kalyan Pal, Basohli, 19
Kantak, Kashtwar, 312
Kapur Dev, Jammu, 177
Karam Chand, Kangra, 126
Karam Parkash, Sirmur, 414, 415
Karan Singh, Jammu, 182
Kartar Dev, Jammu, 178
Kartar Singh, Nurpur, 385
- Kehri Singh, Bashahr, 14**
Kesav Chand, Kahlur, 224
Kesava Sen, Mandi, 346
Kharak Chand, Kahlur, 225
Kharak Singh, Sikh jagirdar, Jammu; later Maharaja, Punjab, 181
Kilas Chand, Siba, 409
Kimat (Man) Chand, Bhadrawah, 55
Kiral (Kirat) Dev, Jasrota, 214
Kirat Chand, Lambagraon, Kangra, 257
Kirat Parkash, Sirmur, 414
Kirat Singh, Kashtwar, 312
Kirpal Dev, Bahu (Jammu), 177
Kirpal Pal, Basohli, 17
Kirti Shah, Tehri Garhwal, 100
Kishan Chand, Siba, 409
Kishan Singh, Baghal, 2
 - - Jasrota, 214
 - - Kotla, 315
 - - Suket, 421
Kishor Chand, Chanehni, 92
Kishor Singh, Jammu, 178
Krishen (Krishna) Dev, Bahu (Jammu), 177
Krishna Chand, Kahlur, 226
Krishna Dev, Bandralta, 9
Kundan Singh, Bhadrawah, 55
- Labh Singh, wazir, Bhoti, 59**
Labh Singh II, Bhoti, 59, 61
Labha, wazir, Kangra, 284
Ladvai, singing-girl, Jammu, 201
Lajan Singh, Basohli, 19
Lakel Singh, Siba, 409
Lakshman Singh, Chamba, 65
 - - Jaswan, 222
Lakshmi, courtesan, Garhwal, 99
Lal Dev, Jasrota, 215
 - - Kashtwar, 313
Lalit Shah, Garhwal, 98
Lawrence, British adventurer, Punjab Plains, 68, 254
Lehna Singh, Jammu, 179
Lehna Singh Majithia, Sikh governor, Guler, Kangra, 254, 259
Lehna Singh Sandhanwalia, Sikh, 254, 258
Ludar Chand, Lambagraon, Kangra, 257
- Madan Singh, Jasrota, 214**
Madho Singh, Siba, 409
Madhu Singh, Nurpur, 383
Maha (Mahan) Singh, Kashtwar, 312
Maha Singh Sukerchakia, Sikh, 180
Mahan Chand, Kahlur, 225
 • **Mahan Singh, Nurpur and Kangra, 383**
Mahendra Chand, Nadaun, Kangra, 257
Mahendra Pal, Basohli, 19
Mahindar Singh, Bashahr, 14
Mahipat Dev, Mankot, 369
Mahipat Shah, Garhwal, 98
Mahipat Singh, Chamba, 65
 - - Guler, 127
Malini, the Lady, Basohli, 47, 48
Man Chand, Hindur, 170
 - - Kangra, 249
Man Dhata, Nurpur, 383
Man Pal, Bangahal, 13
 - - Bhadu, 57
Man Singh, wazir, Baghal, 2
 - - Guler, 126
 - - Jaswan, 221
 - - Kulu, 320
 - - Sirmur, 415
Manak Chand, Kahlur, 224
Mandhata Parkash, Sirmur, 414
Manik Chand, Bhadrawah, 55
Mankot, rani of Kirpal Pal, Basohli, 17
Manvindra Shah, Tehri Garhwal, 100
Mat (Medini) Parkash, Sirmur, 414

- Medini Pal, Basohli, 18
 - - Bhadrawah, 55
 Medini Shah, Garhwal, 98
 Megh Singh, Rupi, Kulu, 322
 Mehr Chand, Baghal, 1
 Meju, courtier, Mankot, 374
 Mihr Singh, Kashtwar, 313
 Mir Mannu, Mughal viceroy, Lahore, 198, 203
 Moorcroft, William, British traveller, Kangra, 250-251,
 261-263, 286
 Moti Singh, Baghal, 2
 - - Jammu, 181
 Mughalani Begum, widow of Mir Mannu, Mughal viceroy,
 Lahore, 154
 Muhammad Khan, Kashtwar, 312
 Muhammad Tegh Singh, Kashtwar, 313
 Mukand Dev, Jasrota, 214
- Nag Pal, Bhadrawah, 55
 Naginu, Bhadrawah rani of Raj Singh II, Chamba, 66
 Nanak, first Sikh guru, 354
 Nand Chand, Datarpur, 95
 Narain Chand, Siba, 409
 Narain, gosain, Pindori, 125, 390
 Narain Sen, Mandi, 346
 Narain Singh, Jasrota, 214
 Narayan Pal, Kutlehr, 242
 Nardev Chand, Guler, 130
 Narendra Chand, Nadaun, Kangra, 257
 Narendra Shah, Tehri Garhwal, 100
 Narendra Singh, Suket, 421-422
 Narotam, priest and wazir, Suket, 422
 Narpat Chand, Kahlur, 226
 Narpat, wazir, Suket, 421
 Nathu, wazir, Chamba, 67
 Naurang Singh, Mankot, 370
 - - Suket, 420
- Nihal Pal, Bangahal, 13
 Nihal Singh, Jammu, 179
 Nimrat Singh, Jammu, 178
 Nokhu, Gaddan rani of Sansar Chand, Kangra, 251, 300,
 301
- O'Brien, William, Irish adventurer, Kangra, 249, 253, 254,
 283, 301, 302
- Padam Chand, Hindur (Nalagarh), 170
 Pahar Chand, Bhadrawah, 55
 Pahar Singh, Jasrota, 214
 Pahda Kunj Lal, physician, Basohli, 19, 20
 Palu Kotwal, court official, Mankot, 375
 Pannu, wazir, Suket, 421
 Parakram Shah, Garhwal, 98
 Parasuram Dev, Bahu (Jammu), 177
 Parbat Singh, Kulu, 320
 Pardhan Chand, Alampur (Bhawarna), Kangra, 256
 Partab (Pratap) Chand, Lambagraon, Kangra, 257
 Partap Parkash, Sirmur, 414
 Partap Singh, Chamba, 68
 - - Kulu, 320
- Pattu Suralia, groom, Mankot, 376
 Pirthi Singh, Nadaun, Kangra, 256
 Pirthi (Prithvi) Singh, Nurpur, 384
 Pradhyumna (Pradhuman) Shah, Garhwal, 98
 Pradip Shah, Garhwal, 98
 Prag Chand, Siba, 409
 Prakaram Chand, Guler, 128
 Prakash Chand, Guler, 128, 129
 Prakash Devi, Kahlur rani of Sahib Sen, Mandi, 346
 Prakim Singh, Bhadrawah, 56
 Pramod (Parmodh) Chand, Bhawarna, Kangra, 256
 Pratap Dev, Mankot, 368
 Pratap Shah, Tehri Garhwal, 100
 Pratap Singh, Jammu, 182
 Prem Singh, Kulu, 321
 Prit (Narpat) Singh, Jaswan, 221
 Pritam Shah, Garhwal, 98
- Pritam Singh, Kulu, 321
 Prithi Chand, Baghal, 1
 - - Datarpur, 95
 - - Siba, 409
 Prithi Pal, Bangahal, 13
 Prithi Shah, Garhwal, 98
 Prithi Singh, Kulu, 320
 Prithvi Pal, Bhadu, 57
 Prithvi Singh, Chamba, 64
 Prithvi (Pirthi) Singh, Suket, 420
 Puran Pal, Bhadu, 57
- Raghar (Ragbir) Dev (Singh), Jammu, 181
 Ragbir Chand, Datarpur, 95
 Ragbir Parkash, Sirmur, 416
 Ragbir Singh, Shangri, Kulu, 322
 Raghunath Pal, Bangahal, 13
 Raghunath Singh, Bashahr, 14
 - - Chamba, 65
 - - Guler, 130
 - - Jaswan, 222
- Raj (Rai) Singh, Kulu, 321
 Raj Singh I, Chamba, 65
 Raj Singh II, Chamba, 66
 Raj Singh, Guler, 127
 Rajendra Chand, Nadaun, Kangra, 257
 Rajinder Singh, Baghal, 2
 Rajpat Dev, Bandralta, 9
 Rajrup Singh, Nurpur, 383
 Ram Pal, Bangahal, 13
 - - Kutlehr, 342
 Ram Saran Singh, Hindur, 170
 Ram Sen, Suket, 421
 Ram Singh, Bashahr, 14
 - - Bhawarna, Kangra, 256
 - - Chamba, 68
 - - Jammu, 179
 - - Jasrota, 214
 - - Jaswan, 221
 - - Kashtwar, 312
 - - wazir, Nurpur, 385
 - - Siba, 409
 - - Suket, 422
- Ramadaya Singh, Garhwal, 99
 Raman, wazir, Kahlur, 225
 Ramzano, dancing-girl, Kangra, 251
 Ran Singh, Jaswan, 222
 Ranbir Chand, Bhawarna, Kangra, 255
 Ranbir Singh, Bandralta and Jammu, 9, 60, 181
 Randhir Singh, Jasrota, 215
 Ranjit Dev, Jammu, 179, 180
 Ranjit Sen, Suket, 421
 Ratan Dev, Jasrota, 214
 Ratan Parkash, Sirmur, 414
 Roch Singh, Bhoti, 61
 Rudar Sen, Suket, 422
 Rup Chand, Bhadrawah, 55
 - - Guler, 126
 Rup Singh, Jasrota, 215
- Sabha Chand, Baghal, 1
 Sadat Yhar Khan (Kirat Singh), Kashtwar, 312
 Sahib Sen, Mandi, 346
 Sahib Singh, Mankot, 369
 Saif Ali Khan, Mughal governor, Kangra fort, 248, 249, 258
 Saif-ullah Khan (Tegh Singh), Kashtwar, 313
 Sakat (Suchet) Chand, Kahlur, 224, 226
 Samil Dev, Jammu, 177
 Samir Chand, Jaswan, 221
 Sampat Pal, Bhadrawah, 55
 Sampuran Dev, Jammu, 180
 Sampurana Devi, Patiala rani of Bhup Singh, Guler, 129
 Samtu, wazir, Bhoti, 61
 Sangar Chand, Bhadrawah, 55
 Sangram Dev, Jammu, 177
 Sangram Pal, Basohli, 17
 Sansar Chand, Kangra, 249-253

Sansar Chand, Siba, 409
 Sarada Devi, Jammu rani of Jit Singh, Chamba, 67
 Shakat Singh, Chamba, 65
 Sham (Shyam) Singh, Chamba, 68
 - - Jammu, 178
 Sham Singh, wazir, Nurpur, 385
 - - Siba, 409
 Shamsher Chand, Chanehni, 92
 Shamsher Parkash, Sirmur, 416
 Shamsher Sen, Mandi, 347
 Shamsher Singh, Bashahr, 14
 - - Chamba, 82
 - - Guler, 130
 - - Jasrota, 215
 Sher Singh, Chamba, 65
 - - Nadaun, Kangra. Later Sikh Maharaja,
 Punjab, 259
 - - Siba, 409
 Shib Singh, Suket, 422
 Shiv Dev, Jasrota, 213
 Shiva Dev (Shiva Dayal) Singh, Mankot, 369
 Shiva Jwala Sen, Mandi, 347
 Shiva Saran Singh, Baghal, 2
 Shyam Devi, rani of Bikram Singh, Guler, 127
 Shyam Sen, Mandi, 346
 - - Suket, 420
 Shyam Singh, Jasrota, 214
 Sidh Sen, Mandi, 346
 Sikh (Sukh) Dev, Jasrota, 214
 Sirdar Singh, Kashtwar, 312
 Sital Dev, Mankot, 368
 Sobhag Parkash, Sirmur, 414
 Sri Singh, Chamba, 68
 Suchet Singh, jagirdar, Basohli, 19
 - - Bandralta, 9-11
 - - Chamba, 67
 - - Nadaun, Kangra, 256
 Sudarshan Shah, Tehri Garhwal, 99
 Sujana Singh, Kashtwar, 313
 Suket, rani of Sansar Chand, Kangra, 251
 Sultan Chand, Kahlur, 224
 Sunder Singh, Kotla (Mirthal), 315
 Suraj Mal, Nurpur, 383
 Suraj Sen, Mandi, 346
 Surat Singh, Jammu, 178
 Surat, Bhadrawah rani of Abhaya Chand, Kangra, 55
 Surma Chand, Datarpur, 95
 Surma Sen, Mandi, 348
 Tara Chand, Kahlur, 224
 Tara Singh, Bhoti, 61
 - - Jammu, 178, 179
 - - Jasrota, 214

Tedhi Singh, Kulu, 321
 - - Mankot, 369
 Tegh Chand, Chanehni, 92
 - - Kangra, 249
 Tegh Singh, Basohli, 19
 - - Kashtwar, 313
 Thakur Singh, Rupi, Kulu, 321
 Tholu, Bhadrawah rani, Jasrota, 55
 Tilok Chand, Siba, 409
 Trilok Chand, Kangra, 247
 Tulsi Ram Sah, Garhwal, 105

Uchal Pal, Bangahal, 13
 Udai Chand, Datarpur, 95
 - - Lambagraon, Kangra, 257
 Udai Singh, Chamba, 65
 Udairam Chand, Kangra, 248
 Udaya Pal, Bhadu, 57
 Ude Singh, Guler, 156
 Ude (Udai) Chand Parkash, Sirmur, 414
 Udham Singh, Bhoti and Jammu, 181
 - - Datarpur, 95
 Udhar Singh, Mandi, 156, 347
 Ugar Chand, Datarpur, 95
 Ugar Sen, Suket, 421
 Ugar Singh, Bashahr, 14
 - - Chamba, 65
 - - Hindur, 171
 Umed Singh, Bhadu, 57
 - - Chamba, 65
 - - Jaswan, 221
 Upendra Shah, Garhwal, 98
 Upendra Singh, Mankot, 369
 Uttam Singh, Mankot, 369

Vichitra Shah, Tehri Garhwal, 100
 Vijairam Chand, Kangra, 247
 Vijaya Chand, Guler, 126
 Vijay (Bijai) Pal, Basohli, 19

Yadu Pal, Kutlehr, 342

Zafar, dancing-girl, Jammu, 179
 Zalim Sen, Mandi, 348
 Zorawar Singh, Bhadrawah, 56
 - - Chamba, 67
 - - Jammu, 178
 - - Jasrota, 214
 - - Kahlur, 225
 - - Kashtwar, 313

II ARTISTS

Ahmadu, 29, 75
 Amichand, 276
 Angad, 417
 Arjan, 187
 Atma Ram, 101
 Atra (Attr), 73-77

Basant Singh, 2
 Basia, 128, 138, 271, 309
 Bhagvan, 323, 324, 339, 340
 Bilu (Biloo) Mistri, 74, 75, 81
 Birbal, 76
 Bujhru, 276

Chaitu (Chetu), 103, 105-109, 121, 122, 130, 131, 266
 Chhajju, 73-78, 87-89, 138, 300
 Chandu Lal, 138, 187, 272, 278, 294, 310
 Chuniya, 276

Damodar, 76

Devidasa, 17, 27, 28, 31, 43-47, 388, 395, 396
 Deviditta, 32
 Dhani Das, 75
 Dhumun, 128, 137, 290
 Dhyani Singh, 75
 Durga, 73-75, 84, 91

Fateh Ram, 106
 Fattu, 32, 51, 143, 189, 268, 270-272, 279, 280, 296, 297
 Fauju, 65, 76, 239, 283

Gaudhu (Gauha), 133, 138, 278, 287, 290, 292, 295, 299
 Ghathu Ram, 130, 131, 138, 140, 167, 168
 Ghulam Muhammad, 74
 Gokal, 74, 76, 78, 138
 Golu, 31, 45, 384, 388, 389, 395-397, 404
 Gopala, 73
 Gulabu, 76, 135, 137, 268, 275, 310
 Gur Baksh, 389, 397
 Gurditta, 186

Gur Sahai, 32, 129, 137, 140, 143, 163, 164

Har (Kehar) Das, 98, 101, 110

Har Jaimal, 399, 400, 406

Harichand, 187, 243

Haricharan, 243, 361

Haricharan Das, 104

Hari Singh, 172

Harkhu, 74-78, 87, 89, 90, 138

Hasnu, 76, 138, 141, 143, 278

Hastu, 130, 131

Hiralal, 73-75, 84, 102, 187, 400

Hiranand, 105, 110, 119

Huzuri, 135, 258, 266, 268, 271, 309, 310

Isar (Issar), 73-75

Jagat Ram, 187

Jawahar, 75, 76, 78, 109

Jwala Ram, 101, 105-109, 120

Kama, 76, 128, 133, 138-140, 143, 279

Kanchanu (Chanannu, Chandu), 187

Khandu, 29

Khushala, 137, 138, 143, 268, 270, 275, 286-288, 290, 292, 299

Kirpa, 186

Lachman Das, 121, 135, 137, 138, 258, 266, 268, 271, 294, 310

Laharu, 77, 78, 82

Lala, 76

Lalman, 76

Mahesh, 78, 82

Majnu, 279

Manaku (Manak), 25-33, 46-48, 50, 121, 133, 137-143, 157, 158, 194, 266, 275, 277-280

Mangat Ram, 102, 104-106, 110, 119

Mangnu, 73-75, 84, 91

Moti, 389, 404

Mola Ram, 101-108, 110-112, 115-120, 266, 407

Muhammad Baksh, 140, 169, 351

Muhammadi, 351

Nabu, 29, 75

Nainsukh, 27, 32, 48, 50, 51, 86, 134-143, 178, 183-190, 194-208, 214-217, 294-296

Nandlal, 187, 211

Nandu, 135, 258, 267, 268

Narotam, 125, 351, 352

Narsingh Das, 172

Nathu, 388

Nikka, 75-78, 86, 87, 133, 137, 138, 142, 309

Purkhu, 137, 187, 252, 263, 264, 272, 274, 279, 288, 290, 295

Rama, 272

Ramdayal, 75, 76, 186, 187, 263, 264, 272, 351, 361

Ram Jakhru, 389

Ram Kishan, 186, 187, 272

Ranjha (Ram Lal), 32, 33, 52, 53, 76, 133, 138, 142, 143

Ruldu, 187, 272

Sajnu, 138, 265, 341, 351, 352, 360-367

Sangatia, 389, 390

Saudagar, 76-78, 109

Seu, 76, 133, 137-143, 277

Sham Das, 98, 101, 102

Shiba, 128, 278, 287, 290, 389, 404

Shiv Ram, 105

Sonu, 75

Sukh Ram, 276

Sultanu, 130, 131, 138, 143, 167

Tara Singh, 73, 75, 77, 90, 91

Tegh Chand, 191

Vaikunth, 348, 388, 389, 404

Vajan Sah, 186, 189

Wasti Ram, 389, 404

III RAGAS AND RAGINIS

RAGAS:

Achanda, 333, 392

Alhaiya, 377

Bhairava, 331

Bhaskar, 295

Chammal, 234

Dipaka, 43

Gadadhara, 334

Gambhira, 96

Goda, 334

Harsa, 331

Hindola, 332

Kanada, 334

Kasta, 232

Kedara, 3

Kumbha, 333

Kuntala, 332

Kusama, 231, 238

Lahula, 333

Lalita, 331

Malava, 333

Mangala, 232, 332

Mistang, 391

Nata, 334

Panchaku, 332

Pancham, 40, 43, 334, 391

Prabal, 234

Saindhava, 378

Salaga, 333

Suramananda, 332

Vangala, 331

Varadhana, 332, 334

Vasanta (Vasant), 231, 295

Vigada (Vihagada), 231, 333

Vilavala, 331

Vinoda, 237, 238, 377

Vivacha, 237, 332

RAGINIS:

Ahiri, 234

Asavari, 333

Bhairavi, 3, 96, 331

Bhupali, 41

Devagandhari, 237

Dhanasri, 233, 235

Gaur Malhara, 3

Gauri, 40, 333

Gujari, 40

Karnati, 237, 333

Kunkuni, 156

Madhmadhyavi, 238

Manda, 392

Patamanjari, 238, 332

Punyaki (Punaki), 231, 331

Sandhuri, 237

Sorathi, 234, 295

Telang, 295

Todi, 40, 332

Vangali, 331

Vasanti, 332

Verti, 333

Vilavali, 3, 239

IV GENERAL

- Aghasura, 82
 Ala-ud-din, 162
Aniruddha Usha, illustrations to:
 - - at Chamba, 87
 - - - Hindur, 173
 - - - Kangra, 305
 Arjuna, 50, 261, 262, 304, 305
 Bakasura, 242, 294
 Balarama, 49, 82, 117, 122, 166
 Ban Ganga river, 146, 151
Baramasa ('The Twelve Months'), illustrations to:
 - **Aghan**, 112
 - **Asin**, 96, 362
 - **Baisakh**, 96
 - **Jeth**, 96, 423
 - **Kartik**, 113
 - **Magh**, 297, 423, 424
 - **Phagun**, 113, 297
 - **Pus**, 362, 423
 Battle scenes, 6, 148, 395
 Baz Bahadur and Rupmati, 110, 122, 338
 Bears, 79, 146, 310, 376
Bhagavata Purana, illustrations to:
 - - at Basohli, 40, 41, 43, 49-51
 - - - Chamba, 82, 83, 86
 - - - Guler, 159
 - - - Hindur, 174
 - - - Jammu, 211
 - - - Kahlur, 241, 242, 243
 - - - Kangra, 293-295
 - - - Kulu, 338
 - - - Mankot, 376, 377, 379, 380
 - - - Nurpur, 395
 Bhisma, 118
Bihari Sat Sai, illustrations to:
 - - - at Basohli, 43
 - - - - Garhwal, 113
 - - - - Kangra, 296
 - - - - Sirmur, 417, 418
 Brahma, 35, 40, 49, 51, 80, 154
 Camel, 412
 Cat, 36, 238, 304, 411
 Chandi, 164
Chaupar, 234, 338
Chaurapanchasika, 34
 Chess, 145, 296
 Child-marriage, 159
 Cowherds, playing blind man's buff, 293, 296
 - with curds, 49; *see also* Krishna
 Crane, 234, 331, 392
 Crocodile, 304, 402
 Dancing, by dancing girls, 86, 154, 167, 168, 208, 211, 398,
 400, 402
 - - devotees, 148
 - - male dancers, 168
 - - villagers, 148
 Dasaratha, 325, 326, 327
 Devi, adored by the gods, 35
 - as Tripura Sundari, 341, 356
 - dancing on the dead giant, 34
 - drinking liquor, 33
 - receiving homage, 33
 - riding in state, 34
 - Tantric, 33-35, 80
 - with Shiva on the elephant demon's hide, 41
 Dhritarashtra, 211
 Dog, 46, 50, 61, 204, 309, 364
 Dolls, 364
 Draupadi, unveiling of, 149
 Ducks, 87-89, 112, 202, 206
 Durga, adoring the Devi, 35
 - slaying a demon, 396
 Durga, slaying Mahishasura, 90, 400
 - with Kausiki, 150
Durgapath, *see* **Markandeya Purana**
 Dwarka, building of, 174
 Earth, appealing to Vishnu, 40, 49, 51
 - as a cow, 49
 - harassed by demons, 51
 Elephants, 81, 144, 145, 203, 204, 304, 381, 402
 European celebrating Holi, 288
 - shooting deer, 309
 Festivals: **Basant**, 205
 - **Besakhi**, 148
 - **Diwali**, 158
 - **Holi**, 211, 235, 243, 287, 288, 291, 297, 303, 402
 - **Janmashtami**, 286, 288
 - **Rain of Roses**, 284
 Fireworks, 158, 203
 Gaddis, 90, 309, 310
 Ganesha, 150, 153, 157, 304, 365
 Gardens, 88, 159, 173, 302
 Garuda, 145, 304, 338
Gita Govinda, illustrations to:
 - - at Basohli, 46-48
 - - - Kangra, 291-293, 307, 308
 Goitre, 159, 317, 327
Hamir Hath, illustrations to:
 - - at Guler, 162
 - - - Mandi, 360-362
 Hanuman, revering Rama and Sita, 79, 80, 85, 337, 366, 376
 - watching girl dancers in Lanka, 230
 - Sita's abduction, 396
 Haripur fort, 146
 Hawk pursuing ducks, 202, 206
 Hiranyaksha, 51
 Indra, 40, 173
 Jamadagni, 80, 85
 Jayadeva, 46, *see also* **Gita Govinda**
 Kaikeyi, 326
 Kali, 80, 164, 419
 Kalindi, 50
 Kaliya, 49, 82, 112, 294
 Kaljaman, 50, 376, 379
 Kansa, 376, 379
 Kartavirya, 80, 85
 Karttikeya, 150, 153, 157, 304, 354, 365
 Kauravas, dicing, 211
 Kausiki, 150
 Kesi, 376
Kirata Arjuniya, illustrations to, 304
 Krishna, addressing the cowherds, 81
 - adored by the cows, 6, 173, 242
 - awaiting the cow-girls, 173
 - - Radha's bidding, 35
 - bathed by Jasoda, 398
 - bathing with the cow-girls, 294
 - birth of, 159, 173, 294
 - braiding Radha's hair, 308
 - caressed by Kubja, 376
 - celebrating the Holi festival, 235, 243, 291, 297, 402
 - - the round dance, 380
 - crying for the moon, 401, 402
 - dancing in the pines, 340
 - deserted, 37, 46, 306
 - despatching the envoy, Udho, 49
 - embracing the cow-girls, 47, 298
 - - Radha from behind, 335
 - enthroned, 377
 - extinguishing the forest fire, 41, 49, 82, 85

- Krishna, flower-dressing of**, 331
 - in a chariot driven by Arjuna, 50
 - interrogating Rukma, 50
 - killing Aghasura, 82
 - - Bakasura, 242, 294
 - - Kansa, 376
 - - Kesi, 376
 - - Putana, 166
 - - Sankasura, 174
 - - the washerman, 376, 379
 - leaving for Mathura, 380
 - lifting Mount Govardhan, 43, 86, 115, 377
 - - pitchers, 115
 - making love with Radha, 35, 47, 211, 292
 - migrating to Brindaban, 294
 - mourning the absent Radha, 38
 - painting Radha's toes, 305
 - playing blind man's buff, 293, 296
 - - the flute, 6, 172, 241, 292, 305, 412
 - pursued by Kaljama, 50, 376, 379
 - quelling Kaliya, 49, 82, 112, 294
 - receiving the stolen jewel, 50
 - replying to the cowherds, 49
 - riding to Kundulpur, 50
 - searched for by the cow-girls, 243, 294
 - seated with Radha on Sesha, 192
 - stealing butter or curds, 6, 166, 398
 - - the cow-girls' clothes, 120, 121, 294, 376, 379
 - - the wishing-tree, 338
 - swinging, 332
 - taking toll of the cow-girls' curds, 5, 6, 158, 358, 391
 - tending cattle, 242, 418
 - toying with Radha's veil, 5
 - undressing Radha, 308
 - uprooting two trees, 376
 - vision of, 219
 - watching Radha bathing, 113
 - - with children, 367
 - with confidant, 38
 - - cow-girls, 211, 292, 307
 - - Jasoda, 81, 166
 - - jester, 37
 - - Nanda, 43, 115, 294, 377
 - - Rukmini, 50
 - - Sudama, 87, 113, 114, 233
 - - the wives of the Brahmins, 403; **see also** Radha
- Kumbhakarna**, 52
Kusha, 325
- Lady, and confidante**, 88, 155, 236, 394, 418
 - and duenna, 12, 83, 398
 - at a tryst, 89, 112, 120, 155
 - - her toilet, 42, 51, 52, 150, 158, 165, 298, 336, 358, 366, 379
 - awaiting her lover, 117, 119, 423
 - carousing, 3
 - clasping a plantain tree, 165, 167, 365
 - discarding her jewels, 90, 112, 155
 - enjoying fireworks, 158
 - escorted to her lover, 83, 305, 398
 - fleeing from a lover, 117, 298
 - - a storm, 365, 412
 - frightened by a lover, 44
 - greeting a traveller, 44
 - hawking, 154
 - holding a narcissus, 153, 304
 - in a garden, 173
 - in the rain, 112
 - listening to music, 52, 85, 152, 164, 399
 - making music, 52, 193, 331, 333
 - playing **chaupar**, 234
 - - chess, 296
 - - music to a pair of deer, 335
 - riding, 154, 205
 - scattering grain, 156
 - standing by a sleeping lover, 363
 - swimming, 151, 158, 237, 294
- Lady swinging**, 290, 297
 - taunting her lover with a lotus leaf, 42, 393
 - tending a shrine, 193
 - wandering at night, 112
 - watching a painter, 299, 302
 - - a storm, 114, 290
 - worshipping Shiva, 423
 - with black buck, 40, 119
 - - bull, 96, 331
 - - crane, 234, 392
 - - crow messenger, 88
 - - deer, 40, 120, 336
 - - donkey, 333
 - - hawk, 154
 - - mirror, 84, 165, 303, 304
 - - parrot, 91, 211, 304, 309, 411
 - - peacock, 118
 - - pigeon, 84, 299
 - - pitcher, 399
 - - quail, 89, 356
 - - rabbit, 40
 - - snake, 234
 - - tiger, 332, 333
 - - yo-yo, 85
 - writing a letter, 84, 364; **see also** **Nayikas**
- Laila Majnun**, 335
Lakshmana, 80, 326, 335, 337, 396; **see also** **Rama**
Lakshmi, festival of, 159, **see also** **Vishnu**
Lava, 325
Leopards, 81, 110, 111, 153
Lion, 81, 150, 153, 203, 380, 400
- Madhavanala Kamakandala**, illustrations to, 232, 233
Madhu Malati, illustrations to, 339, 340
Mahabharata, illustrations to:
 - at Garhwal, 118
 - - Kangra, 261, 262
 - - Tehri Garhwal, 121
- Maha Lakshmi**, illustrations to, 159
Mahishasura, 90
Manthara, 327
Marit, 396
Markandeya Purana, illustrations to:
 - at Garhwal, 115
 - - Guler, 150, 164
- Monkeys**, 146, 162, 362
 - as allies of Rama, 146, 328, 366, 396
 - gods born as, 327
- Mouse**, 36
Murhathi, 162
- Nala Damayanti**, (episode in **Mahabharata**), illustrations to
 - - (poem by Sriharsha), 299-303
 - - 240, 241
- Narayan**, **see** **Vishnu**
Narcissus, 12, 146, 153, 165, 304
Nayikas, Abhisandita, 5, 309
 - **Abhisarikha**, 112, 237, 243, 330
 - **Khandita**, 5, 233
 - **Prositapatika**, 155, 236, 308, 403, 412
 - **Utka**, 89, 112, 155, 306, 403
 - **Vasakasajja**, 89, 120, 192, 231, 401
 - **Vipralabdha**, 90, 112, 155
- Night scenes**, 49, 50, 83, 119, 198-200, 203
- Ordeal by liquor**, 390
- Pandavas, dicing**, 211
 - house of, set on fire, 50
Peacock, 49, 81, 82, 118, 367
Persian wheel, 159
Pigs, 41, 81, 82
Pine-trees, 336, 340
Polo, 147
Putana, 166
- Radha, at her toilet**, 91

- Radha**, celebrating the Holi festival, 235, 243, 291, 297, 298, 402
- dancing before Krishna, 401, 404
 - dismissing Krishna, 5, 117, 218, 403
 - exchanging **pan** with Krishna, 84
 - fainting, 380
 - fetching water, 418
 - flower-dressing of, 331
 - gazing at Krishna, 7, 193, 417
 - in a grove with Krishna, 80, 84, 95, 293, 305
 - kissed by Krishna, 80, 336
 - listening to Krishna's flute, 6
 - listening to music with Krishna, 6, 400, 403
 - lying on a bed with Krishna, 117, 122
 - making love to Krishna, 292, 307
 - meeting Krishna at dawn, 307
 - meeting Krishna at night, 242, 363, 418
 - playing a **vina**, 49
 - reaching up for curds, 43
 - reproaching Krishna, 5, 233, 296, 403
 - rising from the pines with Krishna, 336
 - seizing Krishna's flute, 329, 336
 - sheltering from the rain with Krishna, 116, 367, 418
 - shielding herself with a lotus leaf, 38
 - struggling with Krishna, 391, 417
 - throwing an axe in a pond, 36
 - tossing a flower, 296
 - watching a storm with Krishna, 49, 418
 - weeping, 36, 393
 - with confidante, 36, 37, 117, 292, 365, 417
 - with Krishna on a hillside, 49, 96, 329
- Rama**, assailing the ogre, Viradha, 328
- at the pool of the dancing girls, 328
 - besieging Lanka, 146
 - bidding farewell to Dasaratha, 326
 - confronting spies, 146
 - embraced by Dasaratha, 327
 - enthroned, 335, 337
 - enthroned with Sita, 79, 80, 85, 233, 366, 376
 - in marriage procession with Sita, 81
 - leaving Dasaratha, 325
 - leaving for the forest with Sita, 44, 192, 394
 - pining for Sita, 38
 - rescuing Sita, 239
 - returning, 366
 - snapping the bow of Shiva, 392
 - watching Shavari turn to smoke, 396
 - with Sita in the forest, 90, 91, 172, 308, 328
- Ramayana**, illustrations to:
- at Basohli, 52
 - - Chamba, 83
 - - Guler, 146, 147
 - - Kahlur, 230, 239
 - - Kangra, 308
 - - Kulu, 325-329
 - - Mankot, 376
 - - Nurpur, 396
- Rasamanjari**, illustrations to:
- at Basohli, 35-39, 41-45
 - - Jammu, 192
 - - Jasrota, 219
 - - Mewar, 34
 - - Nurpur, 393-395
- Rasa Panchadhyayi**, illustrations to, 340
- Rasika Priya**, illustrations to, 305-308
- Rat, 36, 150, 153, 304, 365
- Rati, 121
- Ravana, 146, 396
- Renuka, 80, 85
- Rukma, 50, 117
- Rukmini, 50, 117, 122
- Ruler or prince**, as a child, 156
- - - as a **sadhu**, 358
 - - - at his toilet, 206
 - - - begging for water, 362
 - - - carousing, 166
 - - - carried in a litter, 204
- Ruler or prince**, conferring with courtiers or officials, 61, 87, 164, 168, 173, 190, 208-210, 285
- - - dallying with a lady, 5, 44, 46, 116, 162, 163, 212, 237, 238, 291, 364, 392
 - - - enjoying fireworks, 203
 - - - hawking, 202, 204, 218, 219, 289, 396
 - - - holding a hawk, 48, 194, 197, 208, 209, 218, 352, 353, 381
 - - - - a lotus, 391
 - - - - a narcissus, 146, 165
 - - - - a peacock, 295
 - - - hunting partridges, 204
 - - - in a boat, 207
 - - - - a garden, 88
 - - - - camp, 207
 - - - - durbar, 282, 288
 - - - inspecting a building, 202
 - - - - a horse, 200
 - - - killing a lion, 203, 380
 - - - - black buck, 12, 398
 - - - listening to music, 60, 61, 149, 167, 198, 199, 202, 229, 285, 364, 381, 403
 - - - looking at pictures, 198, 284, 285
 - - - playing **chaupar**, 234, 338
 - - - - chess, 145
 - - - - polo, 147
 - - - pointing at the moon, 355
 - - - processing through the country, 61, 204
 - - - receiving visitors, 4, 51, 79, 161, 162, 191, 208, 230, 280, 281
 - - - scaling a wall, 163
 - - - swinging, 290
 - - - visiting a shrine, 204
 - - - watching dancing, 86, 119, 167, 168, 208, 211, 398, 400, 402
 - - - - a storm, 90, 114, 202, 290
 - - - with children, 4, 61, 89, 210, 230, 281, 286
 - - - - dog, 46, 61, 204
 - - - - family, 87, 157, 162, 164, 210
 - - - - ladies, 3, 4, 52, 156, 192, 194, 337, 353
 - - - - rani, 88-90, 160, 162, 163
 - - - - tame deer, 43, 334, 336, 391
 - - - worshipping Krishna, 380
 - - - - Rama and Sita, 79, 145, 233
 - - - - Shiva, 362
 - - - - Vishnu, 219, 380
 - - - - Vishnu and Lakshmi, 390
 - - - writing, 206, 290
- Sacred-thread ceremony**, 289
- Sages, 81, 115, 358
- Sambara, 50
- Sankasura, 174
- Sarana, 146
- Sassi Punun, 412
- Satrughna, 83
- Sesha, the great snake, 47, 49, 192, 309
- Shavari, 396
- Shiva, 40, 154
- and family, 150, 153, 157, 304, 365
 - as Bhardava adoring the Devi, 35
 - as Panchavakra, 356
 - prone beneath Kali, 80, 419
 - seducing the wives of the Brahmins, 3
 - tower of, 356
 - with Devi as warrior, 356
 - with Devi on the elephant demon's hide, 41
 - with Parvati, 80, 91, 111, 120, 356, 363, 366, 418
 - with Rati, 121
- Shiva Purana**, illustrations to:
- - at Tehri Garwhal, 121
 - - - Hindur, 173
- Sisupala, 117
- Sita, abducted by Ravana, 396
- arriving for her marriage, 328
 - at the hermitage of Valmiki, 325
 - wooed by Ravana, 146; **see also** Rama

Snake, 81, 82, 112, 243, 397

Snake raja, 355

Sohni Mahinwal, 151

Srutakirti, 83

Sudama, 87, 113, 114, 123, 233, 236

Suka, 146

Tigers, 34, 49, 81, 332, 333, 356

Ugrasena, 82, 174

Usha, *see* **Aniruddha Usha**

Valmiki, 325

Vibhisana, 146

Viradha, 328

Vishnu, adored by the poet Jayadeva, 46

- adoring the Devi, 35

- approached by Earth, 40, 49, 51

- on Sesha, 47, 49, 309

Vishnu, saving the elephant, 304, 402

- shrine of, 219

- with Lakshmi, 40, 47, 49, 80, 154, 220, 309, 337

Vishnu, incarnations of:

- as Kalki (Horse, tenth), 236, 239

- - Kurma (Tortoise, second), 122

- - Matsya (Fish, first), 91, 122

- - Narasimha (Man-lion, fourth), 403

- - Parasurama (Rama with the axe, sixth), 80, 85, 122

- - Vamana (Dwarf, fifth), 238

- - Varaha (Boar, third), 51; *see also* Balarama, Krishna, Rama

Wishing-tree (*parijata*), 338

Yadava women, rape of, 121

Yadavas, slaughter of, 395

Yogini, 193

Yo-yo, 85

