

PAHARI PAINTINGS
FROM THE
EVA AND KONRAD SEITZ
COLLECTION

PART TWO

FRANCESCA GALLOWAY
www.francescagalloway.com



The mountainous regions of northern India, historically divided into many small Rajput kingdoms, produced some of the most lyrical expressions of devotional and earthly love in Indian painting. This has always been Eva and Konrad Seitz's passion.

In this exhibition we primarily focus on Kangra, along with its major patrons and their religious and secular pursuits. Highlights include paintings from the 'Tehri Garhwal' and the 'Lambagraon' Gita Govinda, as well as rare portraits of Sansar Chand and his family.

Vijay Sharma has identified a date equivalent to AD 1688 on the reverse of our Ragamala painting attributed to the circle of Devidasa at Nurpur or Basholi. This is an exciting discovery given the paucity of securely dated Basholi paintings.

The collection of Eva and Konrad Seitz contains important examples from the different phases of Pahari painting, and is especially rich in Guler and Kangra paintings from the second half of the 18th century.

This second and last selection from their collection (the first having been offered in London in autumn 2016) offers another opportunity to see an outstanding private collection of paintings. These two exhibitions will be followed by a book of the complete Eva and Konrad Seitz Pahari collection, written by the eminent authority on Indian painting J.P. Losty. The publication will be designed by Misha Anikst and published in London in June 2017 by Francesca Galloway.

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1

Ragini Suhavi, wife of Megha raga
Page from a *Ragamala* series

Circle of Devidasa, Nurpur or Basohli, c. 1685–88
Opaque pigments and gold and silver on paper
Painting 17.5 × 17 cm within thin black and white rules and
an orange-red surround

Folio 21 × 21 cm

Inscribed above in *takri* script: *Ragini Suhavi Megha raga
ka bharaj* and on the verso in *takri* script: *Batrue Brah-
manand. Bisa pra. 24 sam. 64.*

(‘[messenger] Batrue Brahmananda. Dated 24 of Bisa[kh
month] sam[vat] 64 [i.e. 1688 AD]’) (transcribed by Vijay
Sharma)

For full description see pages 35, 36



2

Vamana, the dwarf avatar of Vishnu
Page from a *Dashavatara* series

Bilaspur, c. 1680–1700
Opaque pigments and gold on paper
Painting 17.8 × 13.2 cm, within a red rule and wide yellow
border
Folio 21 × 16 cm

For full description see pages 37, 38





3

Madhu raga, son of Bhairav raga Page from a *Ragamala* series

Bilaspur, 1690–1700

Opaque pigments and gold on paper

Painting 18.5 including parasol × 12 cm, within black and white rules and a red surround

Folio 21.5 × 15.4 cm

Inscribed on the verso in *nagari* and *Takri* scripts: *raga madhu bhairo da putra* ('raga Madhu son of Bhairava') and above in *Takri*: *pratham/ raga madhu/ pu / bhai/* ('first – raga Madhu – with abbreviations for 'son' and 'Bhairava') and foliation 86 and a Mandi inventory stamp and number 2512

For full description see pages 39, 40



4

The demons plan their revenge
Page from the 'Small' Guler *Bhagavata*
Purana series

Attributed to Manaku's workshop, Guler, c. 1740

Brush drawing with ink on paper

Folio 20.4 × 30.3 cm

Inscribed above in *Takri*: *Haranakashapu. Rachhasam ki agya karda. Tuse jayi lokam ki dukh dea. 4* ('Hiranyakashipu gives orders to the demons to torture the people. [numeral] 4') (read by Vijay Sharma)

For full description see pages 41, 42



5

Radha upbraids Krishna for going with other women
The *Khandhita nayika* from a *Rasikapriya* or *Astanayika* series

Guler, c. 1750–60
Opaque pigments with gold on paper
Painting 20.8 × 15 cm, within a wide plain blue surround
Folio 27.9 × 20.2 cm

For full description see pages 43, 44





6

The timid Radha is led towards her first tryst with Krishna Page from the Tehri-Garhwal *Gita Govinda*

Guler or Kangra, c. 1775–80

Opaque pigments with gold on paper

Painting 15.5 × 25.5 cm, within a white rule and a dark blue surround

Folio 16.8 × 26.8cm (slightly trimmed)

Inscribed on the reverse in *nagari* script with the Sanskrit text of Canto V, 18:

‘Two lovers meeting in darkness embrace and kiss
And claw as desire rises to dizzying heights of love.
When familiar voices reveal that they ventured into the dark

To betray each other, the mood is mixed with shame.’

(translation by Barbara Stoler Miller)

Also with a translation into the Kangra dialect of Punjabi and the identification 5 *sarga* 4

For full description see pages 45, 46



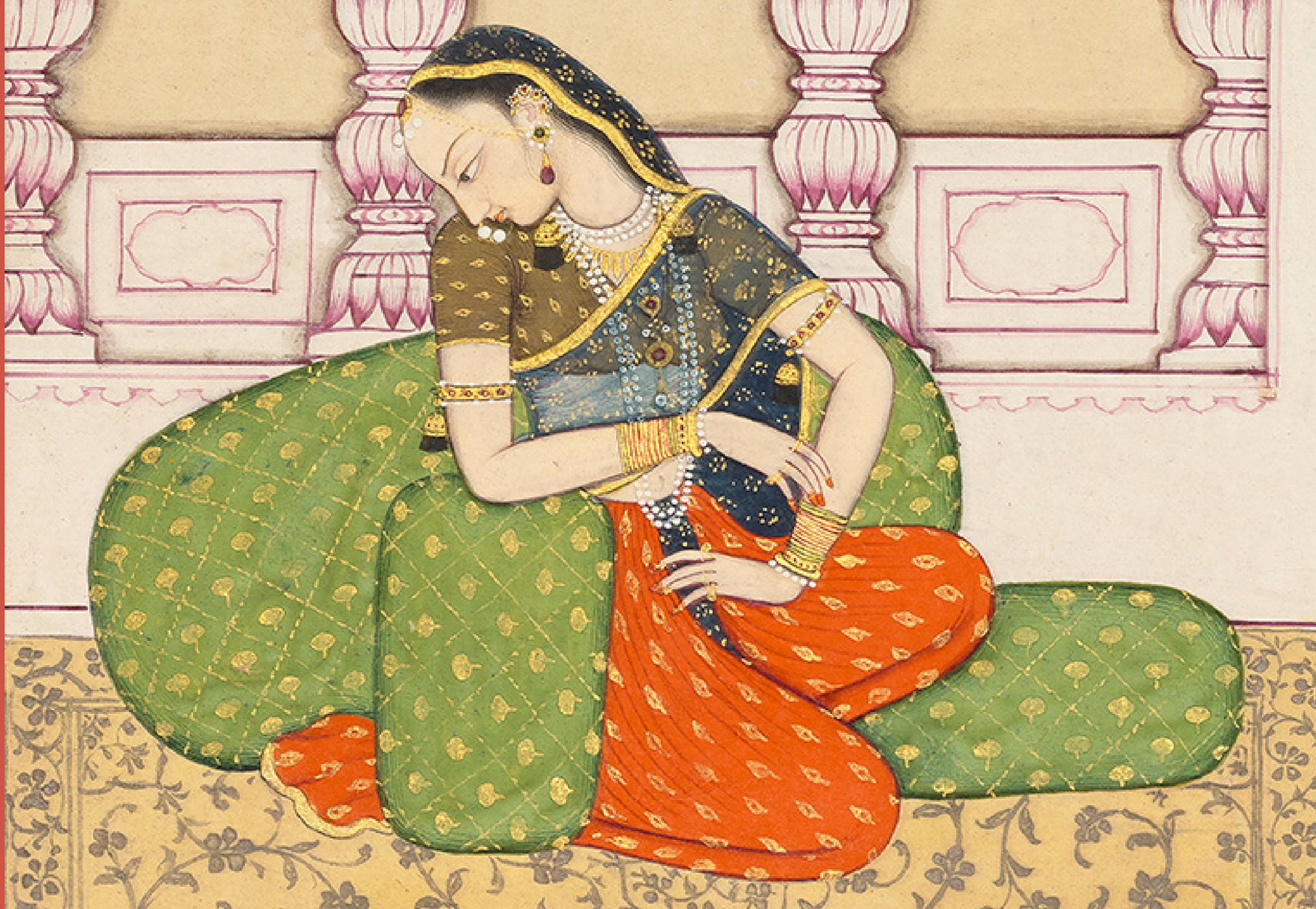
7

Radha is distraught as Krishna walks off dejectedly
The *Abhisandhita nayika* from a *Rasikapriya*
or *Astanayika* series

Guler, 1780–90
Opaque pigments with gold and silver on paper
Painting 23.8 × 19.6 cm, within a red border with two blue
rules and an outer blue surround with two silver rules
decorated with leaf designs
Folio 31 × 25.2 cm

For full description see page 47





Young Sansar Chand out riding with companions

Kangra, 1775–80

Opaque pigments with gold on paper

Painting 25 × 28.3 cm

Folio 27 × 31.2 cm

Inscribed on the reverse in *takri*: *Sri Raja Sansar Chand.*

Sam. 35 Maghar Pra. 28 ('Sri Raja Sansar Chand. Sam[
vat] 35 Magha 28 (read by Vijay Sharma, who writes that
the date equals AD1777))

For full description see pages 48, 49



9

Raja Sansar Chand and his son Anirudh Chand worship images of Shiva and Parvati

Style of Purkhu, Kangra, 1792–95

Opaque pigments with gold and silver on paper

Painting 35.5 × 28.5 cm, within two red rules and a pink surround

Folio 37.8 × 30 cm

For full description see pages 50, 51



10

Fateh Chand of Kangra watching a dance performance with his nephew Anirudh Chand

Attributed to the circle of Purkhu, Kangra, c. 1795
Opaque pigments on paper
Painting: 23.8 × 34.5 cm, within a black rule and pink surround
Folio: 26 × 36.4 cm

For full description see pages 52, 53



11

Rajkunwar Anirudh Chand of Kangra looking at pictures

Attributed to Purkhu of Kangra, c. 1800–05
Opaque pigments with gold on paper
Painting 32.8 × 25 cm, within a black rule and pink sur-
round
Folio 36.3 × 28.5 cm

For full description see pages 54, 55



12

Rajkunwar Anirudh Chand and his sons playing Holi

Kangra, c. 1804–06
Opaque pigments with gold and silver on paper
Painting 26.3 × 24 cm within a black rule and red surround
Folio 28 × 26 cm

For full description see pages 56, 57



13

**Hanuman jumps back across the ocean
from Lanka to Mount Mahendra**
Page from the later part of the 'Second'
Guler *Ramayana*

Guler or Kangra, c. 1800–10
Opaque pigments and gold on paper
Painting 20 × 30.2 cm, within a blue margin with gold
scrolling foliage and a wide pink outer border
Folio 25 × 35.5 cm

For full description see pages 58, 59



14

Shiva killing Daksha in revenge for Sati's suicide

Guler, 1800–10
Opaque pigments with gold and silver on paper
Painting 12.5 × 20 cm, in a horizontal oval with decorated
silver spandrels, blue border with arabesque and pink
surround

Folio 16.2 × 23.2 cm

Inscribed on the reverse in old writing: *Shiva killing a devil.*
3 Bhadar [i.e. Virabhadra] killing Dhaksh. (Collection of
Sodhi Huravlar Singh of Anandpur)

For full description see pages 60, 61



15

The guilty lover
Page from a *Bihari Satsai* series

Garhwal, 1790–1800
Opaque pigments with gold on paper
Painting 18.2 × 12.8 cm, oval, within red spandrels with
yellow arabesques, a dark blue border and a red sur-
round with two white rules
Folio 24.4 × 17 cm
Inscribed with the number 50 above and on the verso
with 34 verses from Bihari's *Satsai* in Hindi in *nagari*
script

For full description see pages 62, 63



Krishna paints Radha's toenails red
The *Svadhinapatika* nayika from a
***Rasikapriya* series**

Kangra, c. 1800

Opaque pigments with gold and silver on paper

Painting 23 × 14.3 cm within a dark blue margin with a
 white rule and a wide red surround

Folio 30 × 21.3 cm

Inscribed on the recto in *nagari* script with the names of
 the participants *Radha* and *sakhi* and on the verso with a
 Hindi title: *nayaka svadhinapatika* ('a woman whose hus-
 band acts according to her wishes'), with the number
 842 from the Mandi royal collection, and the verse VII, 5
 from the *Rasikapriya* of Keshav Das:

Keshavadas now describes the romantic deeds of this
 nayika. 7.4

The [hidden] *svadhinapatika* nayika. A *sakhi* speaks to
 the *nayika*: "Krishna is more precious to the residents
 of Braj than their own breath and also very dear to his
 father, whose mother will ensure that celestial and
 human daughters will sacrifice themselves. It is foolish
 of you, who are a daughter of ordinary parents, to get
 your feet rubbed by pumice stone and then have henna
 applied. I dismiss it lightly but how would you respond
 to someone else's comment?" 7, 5' (translation by Harsha
 Dehejia)

For full description see page 64





17

The *nayika* and the black buck Page from a *Bihari Satsai* series

Style of the Guler artist Chajju at Chamba, c. 1810–20

Opaque pigments with gold on paper

Painting 16 × 11 cm, within a dark blue margin with floral scroll and a wide pink surround

Folio 24.3 × 18.3 cm

Inscribed on an attached cover sheet in Hindi in *nagari* script with a verse from the *Satsai* of Bihari Das and 23 *tasvir* ('picture 23'):

'Who's not caught in the meshes of wordly existence?
The more he tries to free himself from them, the more he's
entangled

Like a deer struggling in a net' (translation, K.P. Bahadur,
verse 651, p. 287)

For full description see pages 65, 66





Vishnu's feet as objects of worship

Kangra, c. 1810–20

Opaque pigments with gold on paper

Painting 16.7 × 11 cm, in oval format, within green spandrels with floral decoration, and a pink surround flecked with red

Folio 19.8 × 14.1 cm

Inscribed on a cover sheet with a Sanskrit verse in *nagari* script in praise of Vishnu and of the various symbols on the soles of his feet and the number 5

For full description see page 67



19

Radha in her jealousy imagines Krishna coupling with other women Page from the 'Lambagraon' *Gita Govinda*

Attributed to Purkhu, Kangra, c. 1820

Opaque pigments on paper

Painting: 24.5 × 32 cm, within a blue border with gold scroll design and a pink surround

Folio 28.4 × 36 cm

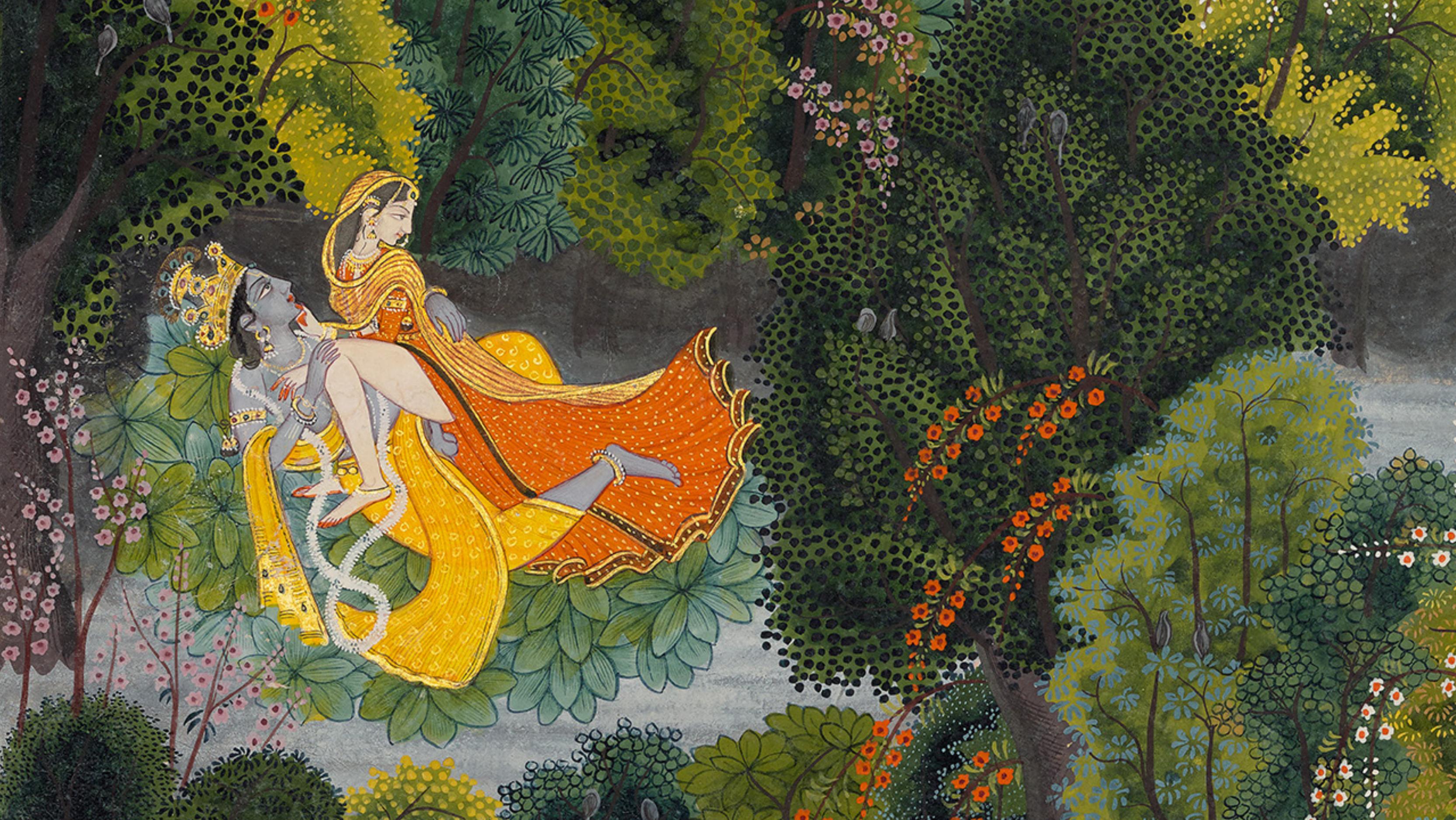
Inscribed on the recto in *nagari* with the name *Radhaka* above her head and on the verso with the number 27 and the Sanskrit text of Jayadeva's *Gita Govinda*, canto 7, vv. 12–20

For full description see pages 68, 69





राधिका





Mian Pratap Chand of Lambagraon hunting with the minister Shiva

Sirmur, under Sikh influence, dated 1843

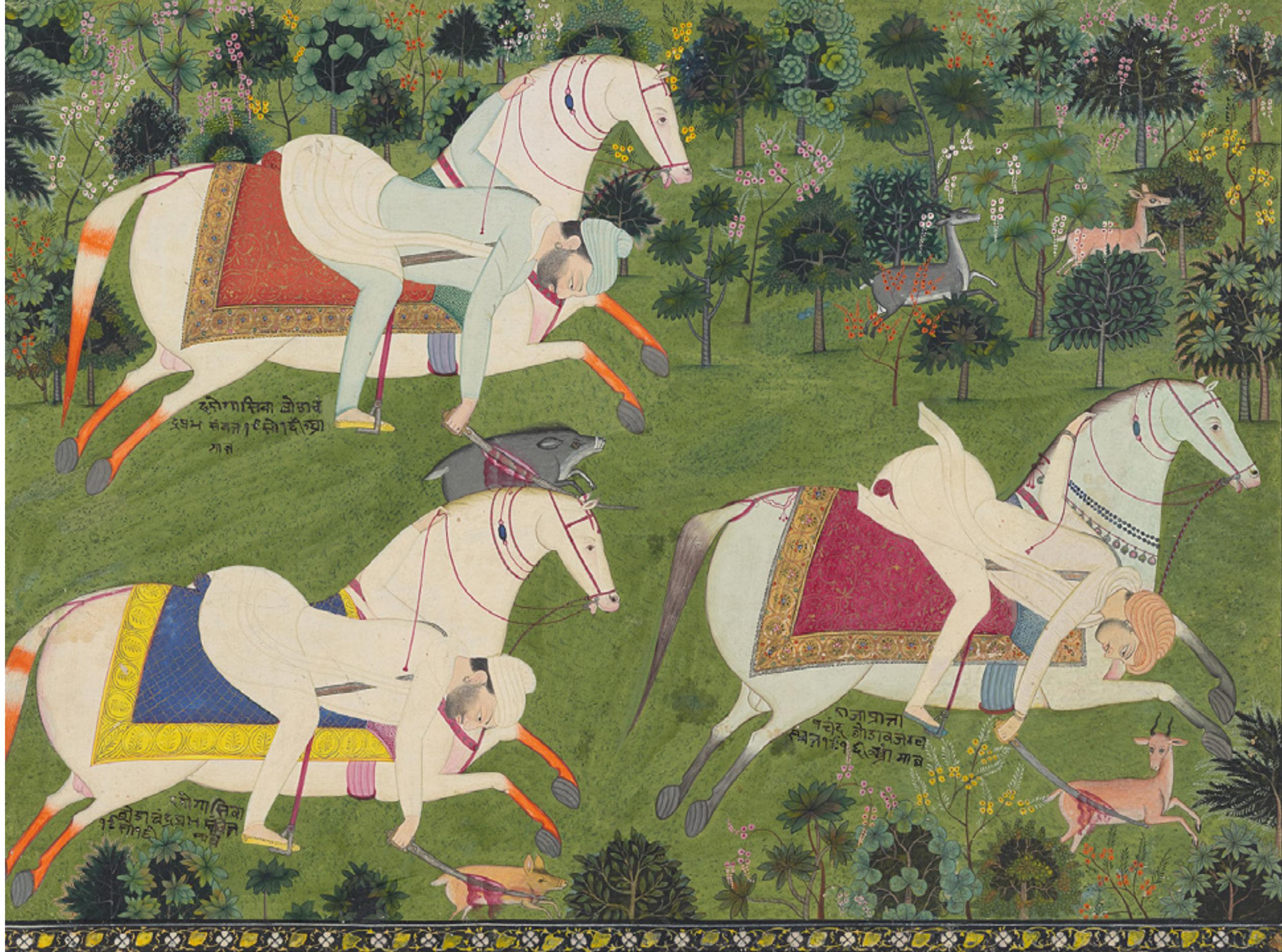
Opaque pigments with gold on paper

Painting 24.5 × 35.5 cm, within a dark blue and white rules, a dark blue margin with gold and white floral arabesque, and a buff surround with four red rules

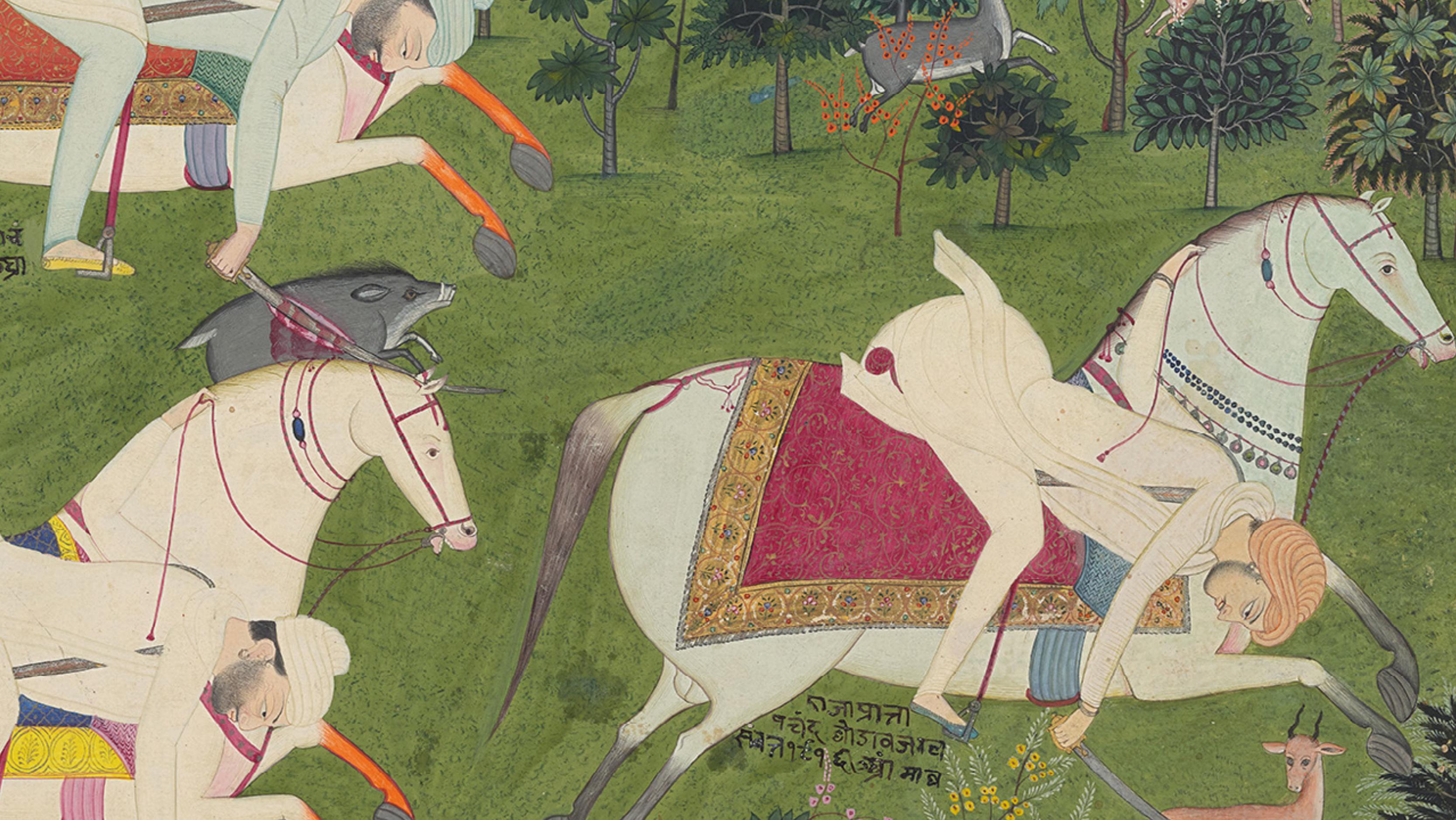
Folio 29.4 × 37.5 cm

Inscribed beneath the huntsmen in *nagari*: *Raja Prattap Chand ghoda Vajasva* ('the horse Vajasva') *Samvat 19 1 di am magh* ('on the first day of the month Magh in the year 19' [AD 1843]) and beneath the other two: *Daroga Shiva ghoda Chandraprabha samvat 19 so 1 di a magh* ('the minister Shiva, the horse Chandraprabha, on the first day of the bright half of Magh in the year 19')

For full description see pages 70, 71







खं
या

राजा प्रान्त
पंचेद गौडानजय
संवत् १८१९ दि १५ माघ

Ragini Suhavi, wife of Megha raga
Page from a *Ragamala* series

Circle of Devidasa, Nurpur or Basohli, c. 1685–88

Opaque pigments and gold and silver on paper

Painting 17.5 × 17 cm within thin black and white rules and an orange-red surround

Folio 21 × 21 cm

Inscribed above in *takri* script: *Ragani Suhavi Megha raga ka bharaj* and on the verso in *takri* script: *Batru Brahmanand. Bisa pra. 24 sam. 64.*

(‘[messenger] Batru Brahmananda. Dated 24 of Bisa[kh month] sam[vat] 64 [i.e. 1688 AD]’) (transcribed by Vijay Sharma)

Published

Galloway, F., *Indian Miniatures and Works of Art*, London, Autumn 2003, no. 10

Literature

Archer, W.G., *Indian Painting from the Punjab Hills*, Sotheby Parke Bernet, London, 1973

Ebeling, K., *Ragamala Painting*, Ravi Kumar, Basel, 1973

Gahlin, S., *Couleurs de l’Inde: nouvelles acquisitions de la Collection Frits Lugt*, Fondation Custodia, Paris, 2002

Galloway, F., *Indian Miniatures, Asian Textiles*, Francesca Galloway sale catalogue, London, 1998

Galloway, F., *Pahari Paintings from the Eva and Konrad Seitz Collection Part I*, London, 2016

Glynn, C., Skelton, R., and Dallapiccola, A., *Ragamala Paintings from India from the Claudio Moscatelli Collection*, Philip Wilson, London, 2011

Goswamy, B.N., and Fischer, E., *Pahari Masters: Court Painters of Northern India*, Museum Rietberg, Zurich, 1992, *Artibus Asiae Supplementum* 38, reprint Niyogi Books, Delhi, 2009

Goswamy, B.N., ‘Kripal, Devidasa and Golu of Nurpur’ in Beach, M.C., Fischer, E., and Goswamy, B.N., *Masters of Indian Painting*, *Artibus Asiae*, Zurich, 2011, pp. 439–58

Topsfield, A., *Visions of Mughal India: The Collection of Howard Hodgkin*, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, 2012



The *ragini* sits on a lilac mat in the open air between two trees, while fondling what seems to be a rabbit. Mat, bolster and *ragini* stand out vividly against a saffron yellow ground and are framed between two stylised trees of startling originality. The trees rise from an olive green ground sprinkled with tufts at the base of the painting, while a blue sky streaked with white clouds closes the ground at the top.

Suhavi ragini is here dressed and bejewelled in a manner typical for late seventeenth century *nayikas* from Basohli, Nurpur and Mankot.

This series which only became known in the last thirty years includes some of the most appealing late seventeenth century Pahari paintings on account of their wonderful imagery, the intensity and combination of their colours and the portrayal of the emotions of the characters. Some pages from this new series are in published catalogues: in the Fondation Custodia, Paris, see Gahlin 2002 no. 36, who calls the series Basohli 1690–95; in the Moscatelli collection, London, see Glynn et al. 2011, nos. 4–5, and pp. 33–34, who calls it Nurpur c. 1690; and in the Howard Hodgkin collection presently in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, see Topsfield 2012, nos. 53–57, who calls it Basohli or Nurpur c. 1680. A wonderful page now in the Freer Gallery, Washington DC, shows the *ragaputra Vihagra*, who leans backwards with his hands linked above his head and letting out a tremendous yawn (published Galloway 1998, no. 8). Other pages from this series are in the Cleveland Museum, the Rietberg Museum, and in other Francesca Galloway catalogues: 2000, nos. 34–35 and 2004, nos. 21–22. For further pages from the series previously on the art market, see Glynn et al., p. 46. The important inscription on the reverse of this painting gives a *terminus ante quem* for this *ragamala* of AD 1688.

There are several *ragamalas* from the end of the seventeenth century which are closely related to ours and share a number of stylistic traits. These include the ‘first’ and ‘second’ *ragamala* attributed to Devidasa of Nurpur by Goswamy and Fischer

(‘Kripal’ 2011, p. 441, nos. 7 and 8), while Archer too writes of a ‘first’ and ‘second’ Basohli *ragamala* (Archer 1973, Basohli 9 and 14). The first three of these *ragamala* are represented by only a few surviving examples, but Archer’s Basohli 14 is part of a series that is widely dispersed. It differs in size and inscriptions to ones attributed to Devidasa and has inscriptions in *Takri* in the middle of the top margin (for the example in the Hodgkin collection, see Topsfield 2012, no. 58, who dates it c. 1695, with references to other examples; and for that formerly in the Archer, now in the Moscatelli collection, see Glynn et al., who dates it c. 1680).

All these series including ours have been the subject of scholarly disagreement as to whether they were done in Basohli or Nurpur and of dating between 1680 and 1700. Some of the paintings have been attributed to the artist Devidasa, whose name is known of course from the colophon of the ‘second’ *Rasamanjari* series from Basohli dated 1695 and whom Goswamy and Fischer have suggested (1992, pp. 60–63) is the father of the Nurpur artist Golu, hence Devidasa’s soubriquet. Hence also the different scholarly attributions to Nurpur or Basohli, depending on whether the influence of Devidasa is more or less apparent.

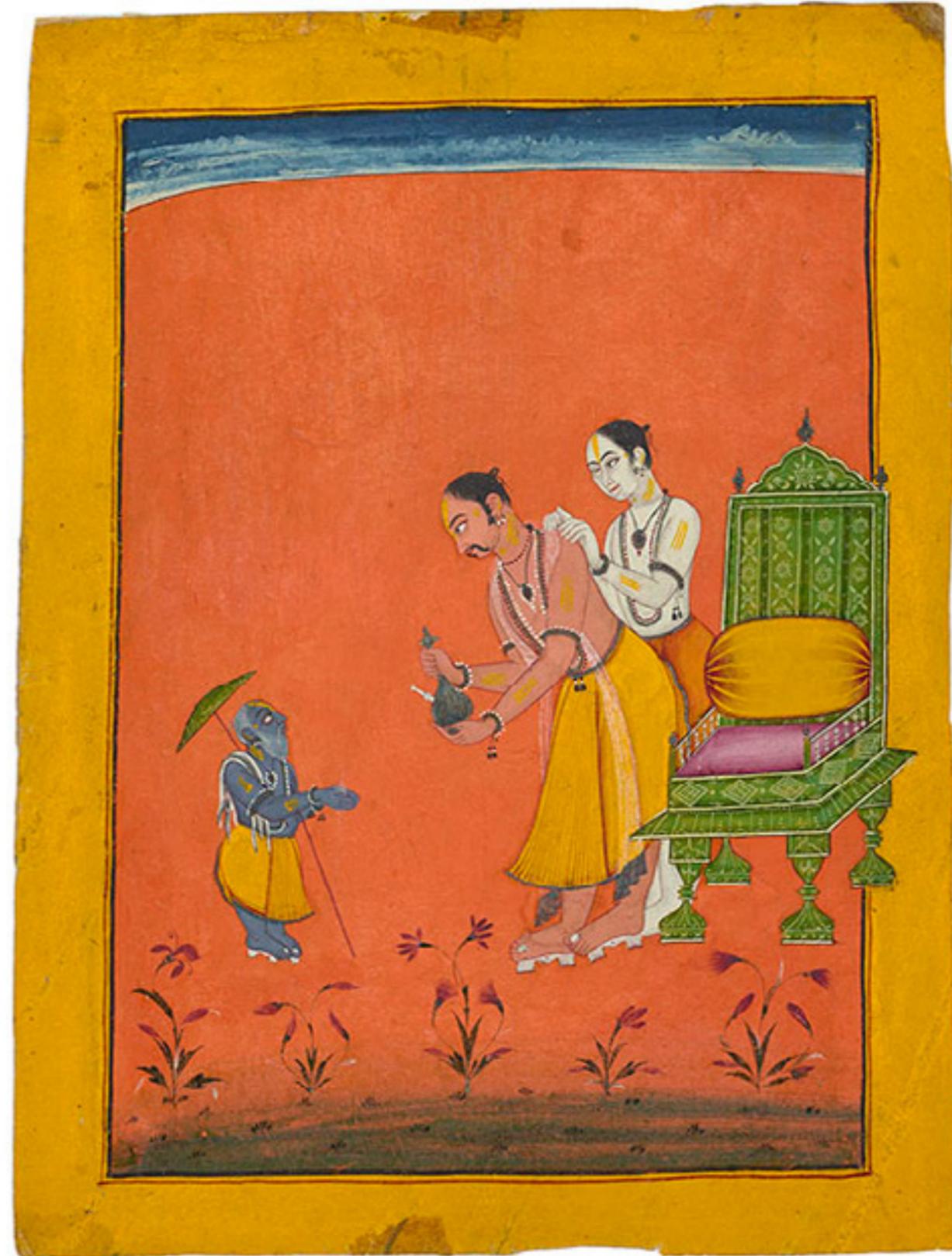
The two examples from this series in the Seitz collection (see also Galloway 2016, no. 6) are clearly by different artists. Our *ragini*’s closest comparison seems to be to the *nayika* in the 1695 *Rasamanjari* series by Devidasa of Nurpur (Archer 1973, Basohli 15i-v; Goswamy and Fischer 1992, nos. 22–26), whose profile with its gentle S-curve, treatment of the eye (leaf-shaped, straighter top line, top of the eyelid gently marked, and severe eyebrow), hair with loose tresses flowing down, and jewellery match exactly. There are however significant differences in the treatment of trees and architecture which prevent a direct attribution to Devidasa himself, so that the series may be attributed to either Basohli or Nurpur in the penultimate decade of the seventeenth century.

Vamana, the dwarf avatar of Vishnu
Page from a *Dashavatara* series

Bilaspur, c. 1680–1700
 Opaque pigments and gold on paper
 Painting 17.8 × 13.2 cm, within a red rule and wide yellow border
 Folio 21 × 16 cm

Literature

- Ahluwalia, R., *Rajput Painting – Romantic, Divine and Courtly Art from India*, Mapin Publishing, 2008
- Boner, G., Fischer, E., Goswamy, B. N., *Illustriertes Gesamtverzeichnis indischer Bilder: Sammlung Alice Boner Geschenk an das Rietberg Museum Zürich*, Museum Rietberg, Zürich, 1994
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- Heeramaneck, A., *Masterpieces of Indian Painting formerly in the Nasli M. Heeramaneck Collection*, Alice M. Heeramaneck, Verona printed, 1984
- Mason, D., *Intimate Worlds: Indian Paintings from the Alvin O. Bellak Collection*, Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia, 2001
- Ohri, V.C., ed., *Arts of Himachal*, State Museum, Simla, 1975
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- Seyller, John, and Mittal, Jagdish, *Pahari Paintings in the Jagdish and Kamla Mittal Museum of Indian Art*, Hyderabad, 2014
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The dwarf avatar of Vishnu, Vamana, is being received by King Bali, the asura king, through whose piety and asceticism the gods had been driven from heaven. King Bali is dressed for a ritual, dressed only in a yellow dhoti and jewels, and is shown having risen from his green chair-throne to greet his guest. The dwarf Brahmin, blue of course as befits any avatar of Vishnu, is depicted as an elderly grey-bearded man dressed only in a yellow dhoti and carrying a parasol. Behind the king is his Brahmin preceptor Shukracharya, who is touching the king's shoulder to warn him to beware of his guest. The ground is a red monochrome with scattered plants seen in profile growing below the scene and a blue sky with white streaky clouds above. The throne extends into the margin.

Despite his piety, Bali's triumph over the gods required Vishnu as preserver of the world order to overcome him and return the gods to their rightful place in heaven, as he had triumphed over the king's demon ancestor Hiranyakashipu. According to the *Bhagavata Purana*, Vishnu appeared as a young dwarf student or *brahmacharya* in front of the king, who as convention demanded honoured the Brahmin student and asked what he could do for him. The dwarf humbly requested only as much land as he could cover in three paces. Shukracharya, the king's priest, recognised the danger and tried to warn him to be careful. As the king poured water over the Brahmin's hands to confirm his promise of the gift, Shukracharya shrunk in size and attempted to stop the transaction by stopping up the spout of the water pot, but Vamana poked a leaf of the sacred *kusha* grass into the spout and managed to put out his eye. The transaction was sealed and the dwarf grew to a gigantic size, with his first two steps covering the earth and the heavens. Bali finally recognising Vishnu offered his head for the third step, which Vishnu Trivikrama as he was now called used to push the king down to the underworld, which henceforth he was to rule as a pious and just king.

This same or similar composition exists in various of the Pahari styles. Vamana is shown not as a student but as a bearded man, sometimes with black beard and sometimes even older as here with a grey beard. Bali is a ruler in the prime of life. His preceptor Shukracharya, the name meaning the 'white teacher', is shown as white of colour and in three-quarter profile so that his right eye can be seen to have been put out by Vamana's spear of *kusha* grass. The same group, but with the addition of some landscape, trees and cows (representing the royal traditional gift to a Brahmin), is found in the Vamana avatar (Seitz collection) in the 'Mandi Album' from Bilaspur 1690–1700 (for the album, see cat. 3 in this catalogue). In a page from the 'horizontal' *Bhagavata Purana* from Mankot c. 1700–10 now in the Rietberg Museum, Zurich (Boner et al. 1994, no. 266), the group occupies the left side of the composition, balanced by Bali's palace on the right, and in a stark composition similar to ours with just a yellow ground in the Mankot 'vertical' *Bhagavata Purana* of a decade or two later now in the Bellak collection in Philadelphia (Mason 2001, no. 33), both with a black-bearded dwarf.

The similarity in composition between the Vamana avatar in the Mandi Album (Seitz collection) and our version indicates that they come from the same Pahari school (note particularly the similarity between the jewels on Bali's chest in both versions and the care with which they have been depicted), which is unlikely to be Chamba (where various authorities have placed the Mandi Album) on account of the very different representations of the avatars in the first *dashavatara* set from Chamba c. 1700, of which four magnificently vigorous paintings are in the Mittal Museum in Hyderabad (Seyller and Mittal 2014, nos. 13–17), in a partial series in the Bhuri Singh Museum, Chamba (Ohri ed. 1975, figs. 60–61), and in the later Chamba *dashavatara* series by Mahesh (Goswamy and Fischer 1992, nos. 65–67. 72–74). Indeed our painting bears a considerable resem-

blance to the extensive *ragamala* series from Bilaspur c. 1680–90 which has in some instances striking yellow borders such as can be seen on our painting (McNerney 2016, no. 43; Heerama-neck 1984, pls. 106–07 and Ahluwalia 2008, no. 89). The similarities include the flat monochrome ground leading to a horizon of a white strip and then the blue sky, and the faces of Bali or the *nayakas* faces with their little moustaches and similar Mughal influenced treatment of decoration, such as the throne.

Another avatar, Matsya, in the same style is published as Chamba c. 1725 (Tandan 1982, fig. 94), with in particular the same large jewel on his chest and the same type of flowers; but there seem to be no other examples of such flowers in Chamba painting of this period, whereas it could be argued that such flowers relate to the multiplicity of flowers found in the Mandi Album from Bilaspur, 1690–1700 (cat. 3). Both Matsya and our Vamana avatars are in the same static style which we associate with Bilaspur rather than the much more vigorous style of avatar paintings from Chamba – even the Kalki avatar in the Bhuri Singh Museum referred to above is depicted leaping vigorously onto his horse.

Madhu raga, son of Bhairav raga
Page from a Ragamala series

Bilaspur, 1690–1700

Opaque pigments and gold on paper

Painting 18.5 including parasol × 12 cm, within black and white rules and a red surround
 Folio 21.5 × 15.4 cm

Inscribed on the verso in *nagari* and *Takri* scripts: *raga madhu bhairo da putra* ('raga Madhu son of Bhairava') and above in *Takri*: *pratham/ raga madhu/ pu / bhai/* ('first – raga Madhu – with abbreviations for 'son' and 'Bhairava') and foliation 86 and a Mandi inventory stamp and number 2512

Literature

Archer, W.G., *Indian Paintings from the Punjab Hills*, Sotheby Parke Bernet, London, 1973

Binney, E., 3rd and Archer, W.G., *Rajput Miniatures from the Collection of Edwin Binney*, 3rd, Portland, 1968

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Heeramaneck, A., *Masterpieces of Indian Painting formerly in the Nasli M. Heeramaneck Collection*, Alice M. Heeramaneck, United States, 1984

McInerney, T., *Divine Pleasures: Painting from India's Rajput Courts – the Kronos Collections*, Terence McInerney with Steven A. Kossak and Navina Najat Haidar, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 2016

Seyller, J., 'Deccani Elements in Early Pahari Painting' in Haidar, N., and Sardar, M., eds., *Sultans of the South: Arts of India's Deccan Courts, 1323–1687*, Metropolitan Museum, New York, 2011, pp. 64–81

Seyller, John, and Mittal, Jagdish, *Pahari Drawings in the Jagdish and Kamla Mittal Museum of Indian Art*, Hyderabad, 2013

Seyller, John, and Mittal, Jagdish, *Pahari Paintings in the Jagdish and Kamla Mittal Museum of Indian Art*, Hyderabad, 2014

Waldschmidt, E. and R.L., *Miniatures of Musical Inspiration in the Collection of the Berlin Museum of Indian Art*, Wiesbaden, 1967



A prince dressed in a long grey *jama* is examining a pomegranate no doubt just given him by his female companion who is dressed in an orange skirt and bodice and a mauve *orhni*. She is perched in a doorway and examining betel which she holds in one hand while she holds a gold dish in the other. The colour combinations of lilac, sage green, grey and orange-red with hints of yellow against a white ground and within the red surround are striking. The naturalistic forms of the pair, the careful modelling of faces, eyes and hands, contrast with the odd spatial rendering as well as with the flatness of the architecture behind them. Here we have a Pahari artist who has seen some examples of Mughal naturalism and three-dimensional rendering of buildings and is experimenting with incorporating such alien ideas into his more conceptual world

The painting is folio 86 from a dispersed album of paintings once in the Mandi royal collection, which included a *dashavatara* set as well as a large Pahari *Ragamala*. *Ragamalas* are sets of paintings that illustrate the descriptive verses that have become attached to the main musical modes of Indian music, conceived normally in Rajasthan as consisting of six main *ragas* each with five *raginis* or wives. In the *Ragamala* sets in the Pahari tradition from the Punjab Hills, we find instead a small number of 86 piece sets based on the system of Mesakarna, that in addition to the six main *ragas* and their five wives gives each main *raga* eight sons. This makes 84 but Mesakarna gives Sri raga two additional sons making 86 in all. Mesakarna first gives each *raga* a personality and then describes the music in terms of the sounds of nature or of everyday household activities. Pahari artists established their own iconographies for Mesakarna's verses normally based on both of his interpretations as well as word play on the names of the *ragas* themselves (Ebeling 1973, p. 64). Their iconography has as yet been little studied other than in the set in Berlin published by the Waldschmidts in 1967.

According to Mesakarna, Madhu is the third son of Bhairava raga and should be represented by an extremely handsome man with fair skin and a red garment, knowledgeable and artful, while its sound is like that of a swarm of bees (Ebeling 1973, p. 72). A drawing in one of the Berlin Pahari *ragamalas* shows it represented by a couple drinking attended by a maid-servant (*ibid.*, no. 364), while this same iconography is followed in a Madhu ragaputra painting in a set from Jammu in the Rietberg Museum (Boner et al. 1994, no. 416). Our artist as usual in this series has felt free to invent his own iconography.

For further folios from this album see Galloway 2005, nos. 21–28; Glynn et al. 2011, nos. 7–9; and McInerney 2016, nos. 45–48. Glynn argued followed by McInerney that the series comes from Chamba 1690–1700 rather than from Bilaspur as had been previously thought, on the evidence of a resemblance of a turban with a dangling piece of cloth worn by two men in the album with the turban on a carved figure c. 1650 in the Brahmor Kothi, now in the Bhuri Singh Museum at Chamba (*ibid.*, fig. 12; see also Khandalavala 1958, figs. 87–89). There are however other turban types represented in the album and the turban with a dangling piece of cloth is not worn by any of the subjects of Chamba portraits from the second half of the seventeenth century (for example Archer 1973, Chamba 1–5; or especially the portrait drawings from Chamba in the Mittal Museum, see Seyller and Mittal 2013, nos. 45–55). Besides, the carved face and Chamba portraits from this period have a rather square head with a Shahjahani type of turban whereas the men in our series have a rather long head accentuated by a tall turban.

Chamba painting of this period is comparatively flat, and it is obvious from the study of the Mandi album that the series is heavily influenced by Mughal and/or Deccani painting with its concentration of modelled, naturalistic forms. There is in our painting the discreet modelling of faces, hands and draperies (especially the *nayika's dupatta*). Especially notable is the way

that eyes are drawn not as traditional Rajput leaf- or almond-shapes but three-dimensionally with pupils to the front looking at whatever the subject was supposed to be looking at. Both Mandi and Bilaspur were strongly influenced by Mughal painting in the seventeenth century (see Glynn 2004). This treatment of the eyes is obvious in all her examples (figs. 1–7), while some of the men portrayed there are wearing *jamās* of some solid colour covered with small individual flowers as in the case of the *nayaka* in our painting. Seyller suggests Shah Jahan influence in Mandi but the drier style of Aurangzeb influence on Bilaspur (see Seyller and Mittal 2014, pp. 106–09). It is true that the long faces of the women in our series are akin to a certain strain of Chamba painting, but this is not until the 1740s. On the other hand, this type of female face as well as the prevalence of vertical format *ragamalas* from Bilaspur featuring this type of architecture from the late seventeenth century on (Archer 1973, Kahlur 8–36 *passim*) does reinforce Bilaspur as a provenance for this new series.

The nearest parallel to our *raga* is *Punyaki ragini* from a dispersed Bilaspur *ragamala* from 1680–90 (Archer 1973, Kahlur 8; see also Binney and Archer 1968, nos. 70a-b; Heeramanek 1984, pls. 105–08; McInerney 2016, no. 43), where the *ragini* has the same long face, clothes and jewellery as our *nayika* and is sitting in the same kind of pavilion rendered in three dimensions with trees growing up behind. A niche in the wall with flasks is also present.

The artists of the series are obviously aware of Mughal painting, but they are trying to distance themselves from it and are reverting to more traditional Rajput ways of defining architecture and landscape. These trends had taken hold in Bilaspur after 1700, so that it seems best to date these paintings transitional between the two styles as coming from the period 1690–1700. There is also in the diversity of the palette and in a strong sense of fantasy clear influence from the Deccan, perhaps through Deccani artists fleeing north after

1686/87 (Seyller discussed this phenomenon in 2011). It seems that the best place for this series is contemporary with the 1690–1700 *ragamala* from Bilaspur previously referred to but from a different studio of artists.

The demons plan their revenge
Page from the 'Small' Guler *Bhagavata Purana* series

Attributed to Manaku's workshop, Guler, c. 1740

Brush drawing with ink on paper

Folio 20.4 × 30.3 cm

Inscribed above in *Takri*: *Haranakashapu. Rachhasam ki agya karda. Tuse jayi lokam ki dukh dea. 4* ('Hiranyakashipu gives orders to the demons to torture the people. [numeral] 4') (read by Vijay Sharma)

Literature

Aijazuddin, F. S., *Pahari Paintings and Sikh Portraits in the Lahore Museum*, Sotheby Parke Bernet, London, 1977

Archer, W.G., *Indian Paintings from the Punjab Hills*, Sotheby Parke Bernet, London and New York, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1973

Craven, Roy, 'Manaku: a Guler Painter', in Ohri, V.C., and Craven, R., ed., *Painters of the Pahari Schools*, Marg Publications, Bombay, 1998, pp. 46–67

Goswamy, B.N., and Fischer, E., *Pahari Masters: Court Painters of Northern India*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1992

Goswamy, B.N., and Fischer, E., 'Manaku' in Beach, M.C., Fischer, E., and Goswamy, B.N., *Masters of Indian Painting*, Artibus Asiae, Zurich, 2011, pp. 641–58

McInerney, T., *Divine Pleasures: Painting from India's Rajput Courts – the Kronos Collections*, Terence McInerney with Steven A. Kossak and Navina Najat Haidar, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 2016

Seyller, John, and Mittal, Jagdish, *Pahari Drawings in the Jagdish and Kamla Mittal Museum of Indian Art*, Hyderabad, 2013



The drawing illustrates Book 7, canto 2, of the *Bhagavata Purana*. In the previous book Vishnu in his Boar avatar had slain Hiranyaksha, and now his brother Hiranyakashipu plots his revenge: he and his cohorts will wreak terror on the world. The demon king sits on a small octagonal throne facing four of his advisers, while two demons leave through the door. Their disconsolate expressions and eloquent hand gestures vividly show their present helplessness, but emboldened by the bereaved brother's resolve on revenge, two leave with axe and sword in their hand to execute their plan.

The page comes from the large series known as the 'Small' Guler *Bhagavata Purana* series. Archer (1973, vol. 1, p. 51, Basohli 23i-ii) thought the series came from Basohli and was later than the 'Large' *Bhagavata Purana* series of 1760–65, followed by Aijazuddin (1977, Basohli 7i-xi). Goswamy and Fischer believe the series to be from Guler and attributable to Manaku about 1740 (1992, pp. 244–45, nos. 105–10; and 2011, p. 643, figs. 9–11 and 11a). Craven in his study of Manaku's work (1998, figs. 10–16), Seyller and Mittal (2013, nos. 11–14) and McInerney (2016, nos. 67–70) are of the same opinion. It is a very extensive series widely dispersed, with the later parts existing only as drawings such as this one. These drawings have the lines of the frame drawn around the subject and normally a brief indication above of the subject written in *Takri* script.

Although not all of the drawings from this extensive series can be attributed to Manaku himself, this one seems sufficiently assured to be attributed at least to the workshop of the master. Boldly drawn brush lines of varying thickness are applied with great assurance to define the strange outlines of the demons and to depict their expressions. However, stereotyped tapering fingers and a few weaker passages prevent attribution to Manaku himself, who was perhaps responsible for the original rough sketch of the composition visible beneath the main drawing.

Our drawing is numbered 4 while a drawing in the Mittal Museum of the climax of the story, when Vishnu as Narasimha the Man-Lion emerges from the pillar to slay the demon king, is numbered 57 (Seyller and Mittal 2013, no. 11)..

5

Radha upbraids Krishna for going with other women The *Khandhita nayika* from a *Rasikapriya* or *Astanayika* series

Guler, c. 1750–60

Opaque pigments with gold on paper

Painting 20.8 × 15 cm, within a wide plain blue surround

Folio 27.9 × 20.2 cm

Literature

Archer, W.G., *Visions of Courtly India*, International Exhibitions Foundation, New York/London, 1976

Dehejia, Harsha V., *Rasikapriya: Ritikavya of Keshavdas in Ateliers of Love*, DK Printworld, New Delhi, 2013

Goswamy, B.N., and Fischer, E., 'The First Generation after Manaku and Nainsukh of Guler' in Beach, M.C., Fischer, E., and Goswamy, B.N., *Masters of Indian Painting*, Artibus Asiae, Zurich, 2011, pp. 687–718

Randhawa, M.S., *Kangra Paintings on Love*, National Museum, New Delhi, 1962

Seyller, John, and Mittal, Jagdish, *Pahari Paintings in the Jagdish and Kamla Mittal Museum of Indian Art*, Hyderabad, 2014



'A *nayika* whose beloved stays out all night and comes only in the morning and then gives false excuses is a *khandita*. 7, 16.

"You say that I am not able to see the reality of the world, but I do hear people slandering me. You have given up all shame and like a crow you have become a hardened scavenger eating left over food. I push you away yet you return and touch my feet. I am convinced that you have no self-respect. Where did you spend the night and whose honour did you steal? Now that it is dawn you have come into my home." 7, 17' (translation Harsha Dehejia).

The wronged woman, the *khandita nayika*, has two verses of complaint. The next one (7, 18) says she can see his eyes are red from lack of sleep or from the other woman's red paint fallen from her feet as he fell before her. Krishna has the merest tinge of red to the corner of his eye suggesting lack of sleep, but his extremely red lips suggest he has been kissing the other woman's hennaed feet. In our painting an enraged Radha is seriously giving Krishna a dressing down as she stares boldly at him, her hennaed hands eloquently adding to the rebuke. Krishna, unlike in some versions of this composition, is not in the least abashed or hanging his head (Randhawa 1962, fig. 41 for instance); on the contrary his whole attitude and expression suggests sulky defiance.

Radha is dressed simply in a brocade skirt with a green leaf design and an orange *orhni* over a beige blouse, he in his usual saffron *jama* and peacock crown holding his cowherd's stick jauntily over his shoulder. The scene is set beside a river on a terrace in front of a pavilion, with unused rugs and cushions on a light coloured summer rug, on which no doubt the *nayika* spent the night waiting for her lover. The bedroom behind the verandah of the pavilion has its rattan screen down, suggesting that particular room is now barred. The plantain behind Krishna with its drooping solitary flower is perhaps a rather obvious comment on Krishna's state.

Krishna here is mature, not the boy depicted by later Guler artists, and despite his sulky demeanour is distinctly related to Nainsukh's vision of the god being worshipped along with his consort by Balwant Singh in the Metropolitan Museum (Goswamy and Fischer 2011 'Nainsukh', fig. 14). That influence is similarly felt on Krishna in the 'Large' Guler-Basohli *Bhagavata Purana*, such as in Krishna lecturing the cowgirls formerly in the Archer collection (1976, no. 8; also Goswamy and Fischer 2011 'First generation', fig. 2). Similarly our Radha here has not yet assumed her tender and sweet demeanour of later decades from Guler artists and bears a distinct resemblance to the cowgirls in the *Bhagavata Purana* page. Other pages from this series are also in the Seitz collection. A *Vipradlabdha nayika* in the Mittal Museum in Hyderabad of the same dimensions and with a similar wide blue border (Seyller and Mittal 2014, no. 74) is also most probably from the same series.

The timid Radha is led towards her first tryst with Krishna
Page from the Tehri-Garhwal *Gita Govinda*

Guler or Kangra, c. 1775–80

Opaque pigments with gold on paper

Painting 15.5 × 25.5 cm, within a white rule and a dark blue surround

Folio 16.8 × 26.8cm (slightly trimmed)

Inscribed on the reverse in *nagari* script with the Sanskrit text of Canto V, 18:

‘Two lovers meeting in darkness embrace and kiss

And claw as desire rises to dizzying heights of love.

When familiar voices reveal that they ventured into the dark

To betray each other, the mood is mixed with shame.’

(translation by Barbara Stoler Miller)

Also with a translation into the Kangra dialect of Punjabi and the identification

5 sarga 4

Provenance

Kangra royal family

Maharajas of Tehri-Garhwal, from 1829

Published

Randhawa, M.S., *Kangra Paintings of the Gita Govinda*, National Museum, New Delhi, 1963, fig. 6, p. 42

Literature

Archer, W.G., *Indian Painting from the Punjab Hills*, Sotheby Parke Bernet, London, 1973, Kangra 33i

Miller, B.S., *Love Song of the Dark Lord*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1977

Goswamy, B.N., and Fischer, E., *Pahari Masters: Court Painters of Northern India*, Museum Rietberg, Zurich, 1992, *Artibus Asiae Supplementum* 38, reprint Niyogi Books, Delhi, 2009

Goswamy, B.N., and Fischer, E., ‘The First Generation after Manaku and Nainsukh of Guler’ in Beach, M.C., Fischer, E., and Goswamy, B.N., *Masters of Indian Painting*, *Artibus Asiae*, Zurich, 2011, pp. 687–718

Ehnbom, D., *Indian Miniatures: the Ehrenfeld Collection*, American Federation of Arts, New York, 1985

Mason, Darielle, *Intimate Worlds: Indian Paintings from the Alvin O. Bellak Collection*, Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia, 2001

McInerney, T., et al., *Divine Pleasures: Paintings from India's Rajput Courts, the Kronos Collection*, The Metropolitan Museum, New York., 2016

Topsfield, A., ed., *In the Realm of Gods and Kings: Arts of India*, Philip Wilson Publishers, London, 2004



The *sakhi* leads the gold veiled Radha through the dark forest to her meeting with her beloved Krishna. The two women are bathed in a brilliant light while behind them the forest is dark and mysterious with a horizontal light playing on the trunks of the trees. The artists of these magnificent paintings vary the mood between brilliant flower-bedecked springtime imagery and dark and sombre paintings corresponding to Radha's hesitations and timidity. Here the artist paints a wonderful contrast between the coaxing openness of the *sakhi* caught in three-quarter view and the timidity of Radha, lost in her own world of longing as she pulls her veil closer round her exquisitely rendered face.

Canto 5 is all about Krishna's desolation apart from Radha and he has sent the confidante to fetch her and to describe his state and his longing, which is what the verse on the other side describes. The folio has been slightly trimmed and the foliation has disappeared, but the side with the verse would seem to be the recto, so the painting is on the verso. The next verse, which would have been on the recto of the following folio, seems much more relevant to the painting:

*'As you cast your frightened glance on the dark path,
As you stop at every tree, measuring your steps slowly,
As you secretly move with love surging through your limbs,
Krishna is watching you, Radha! Let him celebrate your coming.'*

In fact, of course, Radha changes her mind and does not actually meet Krishna until canto XI of the poem. The painting in the Bellak collection in Philadelphia illustrating vv. 13–14 of that canto, in which Radha finally goes to Krishna, shows another dark night with Radha similarly timid being comforted by her confidante. Ours is one of the few paintings in this series depicting a night scene.

This *Gita Govinda* series has been widely praised as one of the most important and beautiful of all the Pahari sets. Over

140 paintings are known. When first published it was in the family collection of the Maharajas of Tehri-Garhwal who probably acquired it with the marriage of two Kangra princesses to Raja Sudarshan Shah in 1829. A set of 151 drawings in the National Museum, New Delhi, represents the drawings for the complete set, which was possibly originally prepared for the marriage of Raja Sansar Chand of Kangra in 1781. Further much sketchier and no doubt earlier drawings have since emerged.

The series from which this page comes is often referred to as the 'Early Kangra' *Gita Govinda*, in deference to the views of W.G. Archer, who considered it along with the *Bhagavata Purana* in the same or similar style being the first fruits of the newly emerging school of Kangra artists under Guler influence and very probably prepared for the celebration of the marriage of Raja Sansar Chand of Kangra, which took place in 1781 (Archer 1973, vol. 1, pp. 292–93). In view of the colophon of Manaku's *Gita Govinda* of 1730 being repeated as a cover folio for this new set, it would seem that this was prepared in some sense as a homage to Manaku by one or more of his sons or of his nephews, the sons of Nainsukh, and Archer thought Khushala was the artist assisted by his cousin Gaudhu. Goswamy and Fischer in 1992 and again in 2011 can find no evidence linking Kangra with the place of production of this series and think of it as the work of Guler artists, whom they call the First Generation after Manaku and Nainsukh, which at some stage found its way into the Kangra royal collections.

The set is now widely dispersed in India, the USA and Europe, in both public and private collections. For other paintings from this series see Randhawa, *passim*; Archer 1973, Kangra 331–vii; Ehnbohm 1985, no. 119; Goswamy and Fischer 1992, nos. 130–37; Mason et al. 2001, nos. 82–83; Topsfield 2004, nos. 69, 176; McInerney 2016, nos. 77–85.

Radha is distraught as Krishna walks off dejectedly
The *Abhisandhita nayika* from a *Rasikapriya* or *Astanayika*
series

Guler, 1780–90
 Opaque pigments with gold and silver on paper
 Painting 23.8 × 19.6 cm, within a red border with two blue rules and an outer blue surround with two silver rules decorated with leaf designs
 Folio 31 × 25.2 cm

Provenance
 Sotheby's, London, 22 November 1976, lot 245 (as Garhwal, c. 1800)

Literature
 Archer, W.G., *Indian Paintings from the Punjab Hills*, Sotheby Parke Bernet, London and New York, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1973
 Dehejia, Harsha V., *Rasikapriya: Ritikavya of Keshavdas in Ateliers of Love*, DK Printworld, New Delhi, 2013
 Okada, A., *Pouvoir et Desir – Miniatures Indiennes du San Diego Museum of Art*, Paris Musees, 2002
 Pal, P., ed., *American Collectors of Asian Art*, Marg Publications, Bombay, 1986
 Randhawa, M.S., *Kangra Paintings on Love*, National Museum, New Delhi, 1962



This highly refined painting illustrates one of the eight *nayikas* from the *Rasikapriya* of Keshavdas: 'A *nayika* who insults her beloved in spite of his many apologies but who repents after the *nayaka* has left is an *Abhisandhita*. 7.13.'

"How foolish of me not to have responded to him when he spoke to me repeatedly! I was adamant and would not yield to him when he came and fell at my feet. And now my limbs seem to be dissolving like butter with excitement. Woe to me, my helplessness defies all cures! Shutting out all feeling of love, I was obstinate to him without whom I have not the power to live. How unlucky that when he tried to propitiate me, I didn't acquiesce; and this gives to my soul the bitterest mortification and repentance" (translation M.S. Randhawa 1962, p. 73).

Radha is in despair as she turns her face away from what she has done. She sits propped up by sage green cushions on a summer rug over a carpet. Krishna dressed in his customary saffron yellow *jama* and with his peacock crown, has his head cast down in dejection as he leaves through a door in the wall. The scene is set in front of the veranda of a pavilion with tall Mughal baluster columns, with rolled up blinds beneath the eaves, while behind the wall is a garden with trees, one with bare branches, and a pair of birds sure of their relationship, pointing up the contrast with the human lovers.

Although no other paintings from this set are yet known to us, we believe this painting to be by an artist from Nainsukh's family, either first or second generation. We refer to two earlier Guler paintings from c. 1760 also from a *Rasikapriya* or *Astanayika* series formerly in the Binney collection and the Paul Walter collection (Okada 2002, cat. 56 and Pal 1986, p. 209, cat. 3). Furthermore, there is a painting in the Victoria & Albert Museum (Archer 1973, cat. 32 (i)) which Archer dates to 1750–55 and which features a strikingly similar carpet to ours. What all these three paintings have in common with ours is the same spacial aesthetic, the same Mughal naturalism and elegance that Nainsukh brought to Guler painting.

Young Sansar Chand out riding with companions

Kangra, 1775–80

Opaque pigments with gold on paper

Painting 25 × 28.3 cm

Folio 27 × 31.2 cm

Inscribed on the reverse in *takri*: *Sri Raja Sansar Chand. Sam. 35 Maghar Pra. 28*

(‘Sri Raja Sansar Chand. Sam[vat] 35 Magha 28 (read by Vijay Sharma, who writes that the date equals AD1777)

Literature

Archer, W.G., *Indian Painting from the Punjab Hills*, Sotheby Parke Bernet, London, 1973

Desai, V., *Life at Court*, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1985

Randhawa, M.S., ‘Maharaja Sansar Chand – the Patron of Kangra Painting’ in *Roopa Lekha*, vol. XXXII, no. 2, 1961, pp. 1–30



This charming equestrian portrait of the young Sansar Chand of Kangra (b. 1765, reg. 1775–1823) shows him out riding accompanied by a group of courtiers. He seems to be in his early teens, with no sign as yet of facial hair. He is talking to an elderly courtier riding on his left, on whose shoulder the raja has placed his hand. A boy, perhaps his younger brother Fateh Chand, rides ahead of them; he has turned his horse round to find out what his brother is talking about, or perhaps has come from elsewhere to meet him. Three bearded attendants follow the group.

The raja is dressed relatively simply wearing a white *jama* over lilac striped *paijama*, but with a rich brocaded shawl in green and gold wrapped round his upper body and a matching turban. He has not yet adopted his characteristic hooped gold earrings with two pearls and a small spinel or ruby, a detail in which he corresponds to two portraits of him in his youth published by Randhawa (1961, figs. 2 and 3). The latter painting has possibly some of the same attendants behind him as in our portrait. Desai in 1985 (p. 73) distinguished between very similar portraits of the young Sansar Chand and his son Anirudh Chand (b. 1785) by the differences in their earrings, profile and the presence or absence of regal insignia (cat. 11). Despite the lack of such insignia in this painting, the inscription seems sufficient authority to give this painting an early date and to be of Sansar Chand, especially since the boy has the long nose and firm chin associated with later portraits of Sansar Chand, but not at all with his son Anirudh Chand. If it were the latter prince, then a date of c. 1803 seems too late for this style.

The inscription on the reverse of this painting involving both subject and date is one of the very few to be recorded from the large group of portraits of Sansar Chand and his court. The simple style of the painting, with its figures silhouetted against a monochrome beige ground ending in the hills fringed by red outlines, is characteristic of the early Kangra style for painting portraits. Many portraits were made in this simple, almost

journalistic, style for Ghamand Chand (reg. 1761–74), his short-reigned son Tegh Chand (reg. 1774–75) and then his grandson Sansar Chand (Archer 1973, Kangra 1–7, 8i–xv). A comparable but slightly later group portrait of riders surrounding Sansar Chand is published in Randhawa 1961 (fig. 13), although there he has the full regal panoply of fan and *morchha* and is wearing his characteristic earrings.

Raja Sansar Chand and his son Anirudh Chand worshipping images of Shiva and Parvati

Style of Purkhu, Kangra, 1792–95

Opaque pigments with gold and silver on paper

Painting 35.5 × 28.5 cm, within two red rules and a pink surround

Folio 37.8 × 30 cm

Literature

Archer, W.G., *Indian Painting from the Punjab Hills*, Sotheby Parke Bernet, London, 1973

Desai, V., *Life at Court*, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1985

Gahlin, S., *The Courts of India: Indian Miniatures from the Collection of the Foundation Custodia*, Paris, Foundation Custodia, Waanders Publishers, Zwolle, 1991

Khandalavala, K., *Pahari Miniature Painting*, New Book Co., Bombay, 1958

Pal, P., 'Ramayana Pictures from the Hills in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art' in Craven, Roy C., Jr., ed., *Ramayana Pahari Paintings*. Marg Publications, Bombay, 1990, pp. 87–106

Randhawa, M.S., 'Maharaja Sansar Chand – the Patron of Kangra Painting' in *Roopa-Lekha*, vol. 32, no. 2 (1961), pp. 1–30

Seyller, John, and Mittal, Jagdish, *Pahari Paintings in the Jagdish and Kamla Mittal Museum of Indian Art*, Hyderabad, 2014

Topsfield, A., ed., *In the Realm of Gods and Kings: Arts of India*, Philip Wilson Publishers, London, 2004



Images of a male and female divinity, he clad in a saffron yellow *jama* and turban and carrying a bow and arrow, she in a red and gold sari and carrying a lotus flower, but much smaller in comparison with her companion, are placed on a silver plinth supported by a carved lotus. Our male image has a silver face, hands and feet while the equivalent female ones are in gold. These seem to be images for private devotion, since the setting is definitely not a temple but rather an alcove in a palace interior or else a niche viewed through an arch. The images are placed within a *pandal* that stands upon a rich red carpet, while a gold brocade hanging is placed behind them. Garlands of flowers hang from the *pandal* and from the ropes that secure in place its red and gold textile canopy.

Raja Sansar Chand and his young son Anirudh Chand stand venerating the images with three male companions standing behind them, while two men stand behind the images waving chowries over them. All of these men and the boy wear the white *jama* and turban (except for the boy's red cap) usual in Kangra court circles, with differently coloured shawls wrapped round their upper bodies. All the shawls have their *pallus* decorated with sprays of flowers (not *butas*). A priest dressed in purple sits on the floor beside the images, while burning candles in two branched candelabras placed upon the carpet suggest that this is a night ceremony. Compared with other Kangra group portraits from this period, this is one of the most finished and highly coloured.

While at first sight the images seem to be of Rama and Sita, the god depicted holding a bow and arrow as usual, this easy identification is belied by the images of the divinities at Sujampur Tira in the Gauri Shankar temple built by Sansar Chand in 1793 (Archer 1973, vol. 1, p. 246). Sansar Chand installed therein almost life-size metal images of Shiva and Parvati, he almost nude save for a dhoti and covered with silver plates, and she wearing a yellow sari but with a gold face. Such is Archer's

description, but a photograph published by Randhawa (1961, fig. 36) shows the god draped in a *jama* over the dhoti and significantly for our painting holding one end of a bow in his left hand, the other end resting on the ground, and what seems to be an arrow in his uplifted right hand. Shiva holding a bow indicates that this is Shiva Tripurantaka, the destroyer of the demons' stronghold of Tripura. It is this pair of divinities that Sansar Chand is worshipping in our painting, their silver and gold faces and the god's attributes corresponding to those on the images installed in his temple at Sujampur Tira.

An intriguing painting of Shiva and Parvati now in the Polsky collection in New York, attributed to Sajnu at Mandi, c. 1810 (Topsfield 2004, no. 38), shows the divinities represented in a heavenly palace being worshipped by the other gods. Another version of this painting, also from Mandi, larger and on cloth, is in the Los Angeles County Museum (Pal 1990, figs. 10 and 11). The white-faced but two-eyed Shiva holds a bow and arrow and Parvati holds a lotus, as in our painting, and their identity is fixed by the presence of a blue Vishnu being shown holding a conch and worshipping with the other gods.

Kangra was traditionally a stronghold of Devi worship with numerous temples to her, including the famous Jwalamukhi temple twenty miles south of Kangra, so it was something of an aberration for Sansar Chand to be strongly Vaishnava and devoted to Krishna, as can be seen in a painting of him relaxing after worshipping Krishna (Desai 1985, no. 92). He never wears a Vaishnava tilak and indeed continued to worship his ancestral gods.

When our raja is compared with the many durbar portraits of Raja Sansar Chand of Kangra and his court, his appearance seems closest to those datable to the mid- to late-1790s. These include in particular Sansar Chand walking with his son Anirudh Chand aged about ten years old from William Moorcroft's collection now in the V&A Museum, which as Archer has shown (1973, Kangra

18) can be dated precisely to 1796; and Sansar Chand playing Holi, now in the Chandigarh Museum (Randhawa 1961, fig. 25; Desai 1985, no. 93), which Archer has dated close to 1798 through the presence of the Irish deserter William O'Brian (1973, vol. 1, p. 288). Anirudh Chand was born in 1786 and seems here as in the V&A painting to be about ten years old. He seems also to be the same age in a painting in the Chhatrapati Shivaji Museum, Mumbai, of a Krishna *janmashtami* celebration (Khandalavala 1958, fig. 81), seated in the lap of his uncle Fateh Chand and facing his fully bearded father.

It must be observed however that dating Kangra portraits from the perceived age of the participants within them is not always absolutely reliable. Two paintings showing Sansar Chand with Raja Ishvari Sen of Mandi, kept a prisoner at the Kangra court from the age of nine in 1793, show Sansar Chand either just growing his beard or keeping it closely cropped. In Sansar Chand with Ishvari Sen in the Mittal Museum in Hyderabad (Seyller and Mittal 2014, no. 96), Ishvari Sen's age appears from the state of his facial hair to be about sixteen, i.e. around 1800, while Sansar Chand's beard is closely cropped. It has been allowed to grow a little more in a triple portrait in the Fondation Custodia in Paris (Gahlin 1991, no. 91, pl. 94), where the two are joined by Anirudh Chand showing just slight indications of moustache and sideburns, while Ishvari Sen's facial hair is slightly more advanced than in the Hyderabad portrait, suggesting a date of c. 1802. Either the state of Sansar Chand's beard and apparent age is not so reliable an indicator of the date of the painting, or he changed his mind several times about what to do with his beard.

10

Fateh Chand of Kangra watching a dance performance with his nephew Anirudh Chand

Attributed to the circle of Purkhu, Kangra, c. 1795

Opaque pigments on paper

Painting: 23.8 × 34.5 cm, within a black rule and pink surround

Folio: 26 × 36.4 cm

Literature

Archer, W.G., *Indian Paintings from the Punjab Hills*, Sotheby Parke Bernet, London and New York, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1973

Desai, V., *Life at Court*, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1985

Goswamy, B.N., and Fischer, E., 'Purkhu of Kangra' in Beach, M.C., Fischer, E., and Goswamy, B.N., *Masters of Indian Painting*, Artibus Asiae, Zurich, 2011, pp. 719–32

Randhawa, M.S., 'Maharaja Sansar Chand – the Patron of Kangra Painting' in *Roopa Lekha*, vol. XXXII, no. 2, 1961, pp. 1–30



This painting exemplifies some of the issues involved in identifying and disentangling portraits of Raja Sansar Chand and his son Anirudh Chand. The focus of the painting is on the heavily bearded man dressed in an orange *jama* and turban, who turns round to address the two boys behind him and rests his right arm familiarly on the *chauki* on which they are sitting. The two boys sit close together in comfortable companionship. Two attendants with silver staffs stand behind them. These are possibly *chobdar*, or mace bearers, but another boy seated beside the main figure also has one. This is clearly an intimate family gathering with everyone wearing simple comfortable clothes without jewellery, other than beads and a shell necklace for the principle man. Other men, some young and beardless and others with beards, sit in line with the commanding figure. Two women swathed in blue and orange dance with histrionic hand-gestures, while a group of musicians behind accompany them. One woman plays the *tambura* and another holds the clappers, while the men play two *sarangis* and a *tabla*, the latter held up by the man's waist cloth. Two other women gesturing with their fingers towards their mouths are perhaps singers. The group of musicians and dancers would seem to be under the control of the two women seated behind them. Two men act as *masalchis* (torch-bearers) indicating the performance is at night, although the artist gives no other indication of this. The ground is blank as is the background, which terminates above with two small spandrels and a red and white striped cloth covering the rest of the arch.

It would be a natural assumption that this commanding figure in a Kangra painting represents Sansar Chand himself, but it does not resemble his appearance in other portraits. The boy prince then could be either Sansar Chand or his son Anirudh Chand. Both Sansar Chand and Anirudh Chand appear in paintings in their young days wearing a similar costume of a pointed cap and a brocade shawl – for Sansar

Chand see Randhawa 1951, figs. 2–3, for Anirudh Chand, see Randhawa 1951, figs. 4a, 11, 16, 23; Archer 1973, Kangra 18, 21. If the boy prince is thought to be Sansar Chand himself aged about ten in 1775, then the bearded figure would presumably have to be his father Tegh Chand. Although portraits of the latter are not common (but see Archer 1973, Kangra 5–8) and there is a definite perhaps familial resemblance, the raja's beard does not curl in quite the same way as does our man's. This identification would also imply a long continued life for this particular genre of Kangra portrait painting, beginning considerably earlier than other paintings of this kind from the 1790s and early 1800s. If the boy prince is instead taken to be Anirudh Chand, then our difficulty is perhaps resolved, since we can then identify the bearded figure not as Sansar Chand but as his younger brother Fateh Chand, of whom there are several portraits in durbar and family scenes.

Fateh Chand, the younger middle brother of Raja Sansar Chand, was aged about fifty-four when seen by Moorcroft in 1820, so must have been born c. 1766, a year or two after Sansar Chand. He and his younger brother Man Chand (born c. 1770) are often depicted in the durbar and other group portraits with their eldest brother in the period 1790–1806. Man Chand's portrait around 1805 is firmly fixed by the group portrait of hill rajas formerly in the Welch collection (Archer 1973, Kangra 23; Goswamy and Fischer 2011 'Purkhu', fig. 2), where he appears seated at the base of the picture and inscribed. Fateh Chand was absent from that gathering, but is present in several paintings including the Krishna Janmastami festival of c. 1790, where he is shown holding the infant Anirudh Chand in his lap (National Museum, New Delhi: Archer 1973, Kangra 17; Desai 1985, no. 92); and also in the Holi celebrations of c. 1798 when the Irish adventurer William O'Brien had arrived at court (Chandigarh Museum, *ibid.* no. 93). In these portraits Fateh Chand is seen to have a straight pointed nose and a heavy

beard curling out slightly into a point that yet left the area under his lip uncovered save for a central strip. In these particulars he closely resembles the appearance of our man.

The layout of the picture perhaps strengthens this identification with Fateh Chand, who was a favourite uncle of Anirudh Chand. The chowries, hookah etc which would normally accompany a ruling prince in his durbar paintings are absent, while his easy familiarity with the prince, shown by his resting his arm on the prince's *chauki*, suggests a favoured family member. We may surmise that this is a private nautch given by Fateh Chand in his house with Anirudh Chand as a honoured guest, and that the boy with whom Anirudh Chand is sitting so comfortably is his cousin, Fateh Chand's son Ludar Chand. The two boys appear again in the painting of Sansar Chand's celebrating Holi from around 1798 referred to above, with Anirudh Chand appearing slightly older.

There is little colour in this painting, but this is in accord with many of the Kangra portraits. What colour there is is concentrated on the young Anirudh Chand and his cousin, his bearded interlocutor and the two dancers. The style seems typical of Kangra durbar scenes and festivals in the 1790s and early 1800s, lightly coloured and viewed under an archway, as in Anirudh Chand celebrating the festival of flowers in the Bharat Kala Bhavan of c. 1805 (Desai 1985, no. 57); Sansar Chand celebrating Holi in c. 1798 (*ibid.*, no. 93); and in Sansar Chand watching a dance performance c. 1790 (Randhawa 1951, fig. 11). The dancing girls and their gestures and the long tapering fingers of the participants are in Purkhu's characteristic style.

Rajkunwar Anirudh Chand of Kangra looking at pictures

Attributed to Purkhu of Kangra, c. 1800–05
 Opaque pigments with gold on paper
 Painting 32.8 × 25 cm, within a black rule and pink surround
 Folio 36.3 × 28.5 cm

Provenance
 Kangra ancestral collection at Lambargraon

Published (as of the young Sansar Chand):

French 1947, pl. 4

Randhawa 1961, col. pl. at pp. 6–7

Archer 1973, Kangra 10

(as Anirudh Chand):

Mentioned Desai 1985, p. 73

Goswamy and Fischer 2011, fig. 11

Literature

Archer, W.G., *Indian Painting from the Punjab Hills*, Sotheby Parke Bernet, London, 1973

Desai, V., *Life at Court*, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1985

French, J.C., 'Sansar Chand of Kangra' in *Indian Art and Letters*, vol. XXI, no. 2, (1947), pp. 89–91,

Goswamy, B.N., and Fischer, E., *Pahari Masters: Court Painters of Northern India*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1992

Goswamy, B.N., and Fischer, E., 'Purkhu of Kangra' in Beach, M.C., Fischer, E., and Goswamy, B.N., *Masters of Indian Painting*, Artibus Asiae, Zurich, 2011, pp. 719–32

Randhawa, M.S., 'Maharaja Sansar Chand – the Patron of Kangra Painting' in *Roopa-Lekha*, vol. 32, no. 2 (1961), pp. 1–30



The prince dressed in red *jama* and turban and still beardless is seated between two bearded courtiers, both of whom hold paintings, facing a number of other courtiers some of whom are also holding paintings. These paintings seem mostly to be vertical format pictures of the *Rasikapriya* type. A young boy seated between the two groups holds a green portfolio from which the pictures must have come. The men are seated on a blue and pink striped durrie placed in the open on a terrace or balcony and viewed through a wide open arch. A further arch supported by columns and with pink blinds attached is visible beyond the terrace, as is part of the palace building. The scene is set at night with three *masalchis* in the foreground holding torches for enabling the viewing of the paintings. Beyond the arches is the grey sky of night, above which black clouds hide the moon.

This painting was long thought of and published as depicting the young Raja Sansar Chand of Kangra (b. 1765, reg. 1775–1823) looking at pictures and according to Archer in 1973 (Kangra 10, vol. 1, p. 284) he is seated between Wazir Labha on his right (identified by Goswamy) and his younger brother Fateh Chand on his left. Dated to c. 1783 on account of his apparent age of eighteen or so, he was slow to grow facial hair. It was thought of as one of the large series of pictures (see Randhawa 1961; Archer 1973, Kangra 9–25) depicting Sansar Chand's activities over the years of his adolescence and then maturity as he increased his power and influence over all the hill rajas, until the attacks by the Gurkhas and his eclipse by the Sikhs in the period 1806–09.

It was Desai in 1985 (p. 73), following personal communications from B.N. Goswamy, who pointed out that many of Randhawa's and Archer's portraits of Sansar Chand, including this one, were in fact of his son Anirudh Chand (b. 1786, reg. 1823–28), by comparing their facial features, the presence or absence of royal insignia such as chowries, hookahs and the

royal cushion, and the age of other participants. Anirudh has softer features, a snub nose, a broader head and a more rounded chin, whereas Sansar Chand has a large straight nose. While Sansar Chand is definitely bulky later in life, Anirudh is decidedly corpulent from quite early on. Sansar Chand normally wears a large gold hoop earring with two big pearls and a small red stone between as an earring, whereas Anirudh preferred a closer arrangement of two pearls with a large teardrop green stone between them, as in our painting.

Goswamy and Fischer (2011, fig. 11) agree with Desai's re-dating and re-identification of our picture of a prince looking at pictures as of Sansar Chand's son Anirudh Chand. They propose that it was painted by Purkhu c. 1810–20. They believe Purkhu to be the principal artist of the major portrait series and not involved in the illustration of the mythological series until the *Harivamsha*, *Shivapurana* and 'Lambagraon' *Gitagovinda* series from later in the nineteenth century (1992, pp. 368–87; and refined in 2011).

In 1810 Anirudh Chand would have been twenty-four years old, and in our opinion too old to be represented not just beardless but without any adolescent facial hair. We would prefer to place the painting before Sansar Chand's eclipse, i.e. before 1806 and the Gurkha interregnum, a year or two before Anirudh Chand's marriage to the Jasrota princess in 1804, the marriage procession on this occasion being the subject of one of Purkhu's grandest pictures (Goswamy and Fischer 1992, no. 163).

This is one of the key paintings for establishing the development of the Kangra style of group portraiture. Anirudh Chand is flanked probably by his two uncles, Fateh Chand on his right and Man Chand on his left, both of whom have more fully developed beards than in earlier paintings. (The identification by Archer on Goswamy's authority as the Wazir Labha seems no longer tenable with the re-dating of the picture.) The

adolescent boy sitting opposite Anirudh Chand would presumably be his cousin Ludhar Chand, Fateh Chand's son, who had appeared in earlier group paintings with him (cat. 10). Disparity in size as here was not of great concern to the artists of these group portraits, making use as they did of whatever *charbas* came to hand of the relevant people to be included.

They also, especially Purkhu, impose a spatial logic on their paintings that invests the most important figures with the largest size while the lesser ones such as attendants or dancing girls diminish in scale towards the bottom and sides of the painting (see Goswamy and Fischer 1992, p. 371). We must also infer from the subject of the painting that Anirudh Chand, like his father, was a connoisseur and commissioner of paintings and commissioned this painting to demonstrate it. See Goswamy and Fischer 2011 'Purkhu' for a picture of Sansar Chand and his courtiers admiring paintings, which seems to include a portrait of the artist Purkhu.

12

Rajkunwar Anirudh Chand and his sons playing Holi

Kangra, c. 1804–06
Opaque pigments with gold and silver on paper
Painting 26.3 × 24 cm within a black rule and red surround
Folio 28 × 26 cm

Published:
Randhawa 1961, fig. 12 (as Sansar Chand, c. 1784)

Literature
Archer, W.G., *Indian Painting from the Punjab Hills*, Sotheby Parke Bernet, London, 1973
Desai, V., *Life at Court*, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1985
Goswamy, B.N., and Fischer, E., 'Purkhu of Kangra' in Beach, M.C., Fischer, E., and Goswamy, B.N., *Masters of Indian Painting*, Artibus Asiae, Zurich, 2011, pp. 719–32
Randhawa, M.S., 'Maharaja Sansar Chand – the Patron of Kangra Painting' in *Roopa-Lekha*, vol. 32, no. 2 (1961), pp. 1–30



There are several paintings of Sansar Chand playing Holi with his court officials and nobles, for instance Randhawa 1961, figs. 12, 29 and 30; Archer 1973, Kangra no. 21; and Desai 1985, no. 93. Desai points out that some of those published by both Randhawa and Archer must be of Anirudh Chand and not his father (1985, p. 73). The slightly snubbed nose and rounded chin would indicate that this is Anirudh Chand, despite the lack of his earrings.

Anirudh Chand has some dozen or so noblemen on his side as well as four boys and it is noticeable that only the prince, the boys and one nobleman are actually squirting coloured water at their opponents on the other side, none of whom is engaged in the same activity. Those opposite are divided into two groups, with a group of musicians in the bottom right corner with a *bakhshi* with a staff standing behind them. Anirudh Chand was born in 1786 but the first datable painting that shows him wearing a beard is as late as 1820. Here he looks beardless rather than clean shaven, so no later than aged twenty or so around 1806.

It is possible that the two men in the front row behind Anirudh Chand could be his uncles Man Chand who is holding a plunger and Fateh Chand who is not, but has hold of the *katar* stuck through his cummerbund. Man Chand's portrait is firmly fixed by the group portrait of Hill rajas c. 1805 formerly in the Welch collection (Goswamy and Fischer 2011, fig. 2), where he appears seated at the base of the picture and inscribed. Fateh Chand was absent from that gathering, but is present in several paintings including the Krishna Janmastami festival of c. 1790 where he is holding the infant Anirudh Chand in his lap (National Museum, New Delhi, Desai 1985, no. 92); and also in the Holi celebrations of c.1798 when the Irish adventurer William O'Brien had arrived at court (Chandigarh Museum, *ibid.* no. 93) and see also cat. 9.

The style is typical more of the early Kangra portrait style than the later more elaborate ceremonial paintings when Sansar Chand was based at Sujapur. It is distinguished by long clean lines, carefully drawn so that all the profiles are different, yet at the same time not very revealing of character or emotion.

Hanuman jumps back across the ocean from Lanka to Mount Mahendra
Page from the later part of the 'Second' Guler *Ramayana*

Guler or Kangra, c. 1800–10
 Opaque pigments and gold on paper
 Painting 20 × 30.2 cm, within a blue margin with gold scrolling foliage
 and a wide pink outer border
 Folio 25 × 35.5 cm

Published
 Valmiki, *Ramayana illustre par les miniatures indiennes du XVIe au XIXe siecle*,
 Editions Diane de Selliers, Paris, 2011, vol. V, p. 141

Literature
 Britschgi, J., and Fischer, E., *Rama und Sita: das Ramayana in der Malerei Indiens*,
 Museum Rietberg, Zurich, 2008
 Goswamy, B.N., and Fischer, E., *Pahari Masters: Court Painters of Northern India*,
 Museum Rietberg, Zurich, 1992, *Artibus Asiae Supplementum* 38, reprint
 Niyogi Books, Delhi, 2009
 Goswamy, B.N., and Fischer, E., "The First Generation after Manaku and
 Nainsukh of Guler" in Beach, M.C., Fischer, E., and Goswamy, B.N., *Masters of
 Indian Painting*, *Artibus Asiae*, Zurich, 2011, pp. 687–718
 Seyller, John, and Mittal, Jagdish, *Pahari Paintings in the Jagdish and Kamla
 Mittal Museum of Indian Art*, Hyderabad, 2014
 Valmiki, *Ramayana illustre par les miniatures indiennes du XVIe au XIXe siecle*,
 Editions Diane de Selliers, Paris, 2011



In the *Sundarakanda* or Book 5 of the *Ramayana*, Hanuman makes his mighty leap across the ocean. He has found Sita, wreaked havoc on Lanka and now jumps back across the ocean to re-join Jambavan, Angada and the other monkey leaders who were anxiously awaiting his return on Mount Mahendra. The ocean here is treated rather like a mighty river hurtling down between the two land masses and teeming with fish and strange sea creatures. Lanka is depicted as a series of conical hills dotted with trees, even casting shadows, from the top of one of which the relatively diminutive figure of Hanuman has leapt and he now approaches the gentler hills of the Indian coast, which recede diminishing in size into the distance. Hanuman is depicted again as he is welcomed back by Jambavan, Angada and the other monkey leaders, who pat him approvingly while he basks in their attention. The five figures are then depicted once more and much smaller as they depart to bring the good tidings of Sita's discovery back to Rama.

The painting comes from the second part of the 'second' Guler *Ramayana* which covers books 4–6 of the *Ramayana*, in continuation, although with some overlapping, of the series of the earlier books attributed to various of the sons of Manaku and Nainsukh c. 1775–80. For the earlier part see Goswamy and Fischer 1992, nos. 143–45; and 2011 'First Generation', no. 6, figs. 12–13 and 25a; also Valmiki 2011, *passim*. The later part is of the same size but instead of the plain inner blue border it is decorated as here with gold and sometimes polychrome arabesques. See Goswamy and Fischer 2011, no. 7, figs. 14–15, who date it to c. 1790, also Britschgi and Fischer 2008, nos. 54, 56, 58 and 78. A page in the Mittal collection in Hyderabad as well as several others in other collections by the artist of that page suggests that work continued for some time after 1800, as demonstrated in the rather loose manner in which Rama and Lakshmana's faces are depicted (Seyller and Mittal 2014, no. 99).

The whole series is remarkable for its imaginative reconstruction of the world of the *Ramayana*. Unlike the contemporary *Gita Govinda* and *Bhagavata Purana* series, the artists of the *Ramayana* take a less involved and more detached view, preferring to draw their relatively small figures from a very high viewpoint. This gives the series an epic sweep that is absent from the more detailed and involved erotic imagery needed for the other two series. The earlier master of the *Aranyakanda*, whose depiction of the mighty Ganges as the exiles are ferried across it in a diminutive boat between land masses bottom right and top left (Britschgi and Fischer 2008, no. 13), has clearly influenced our artist in his depiction of the ocean.

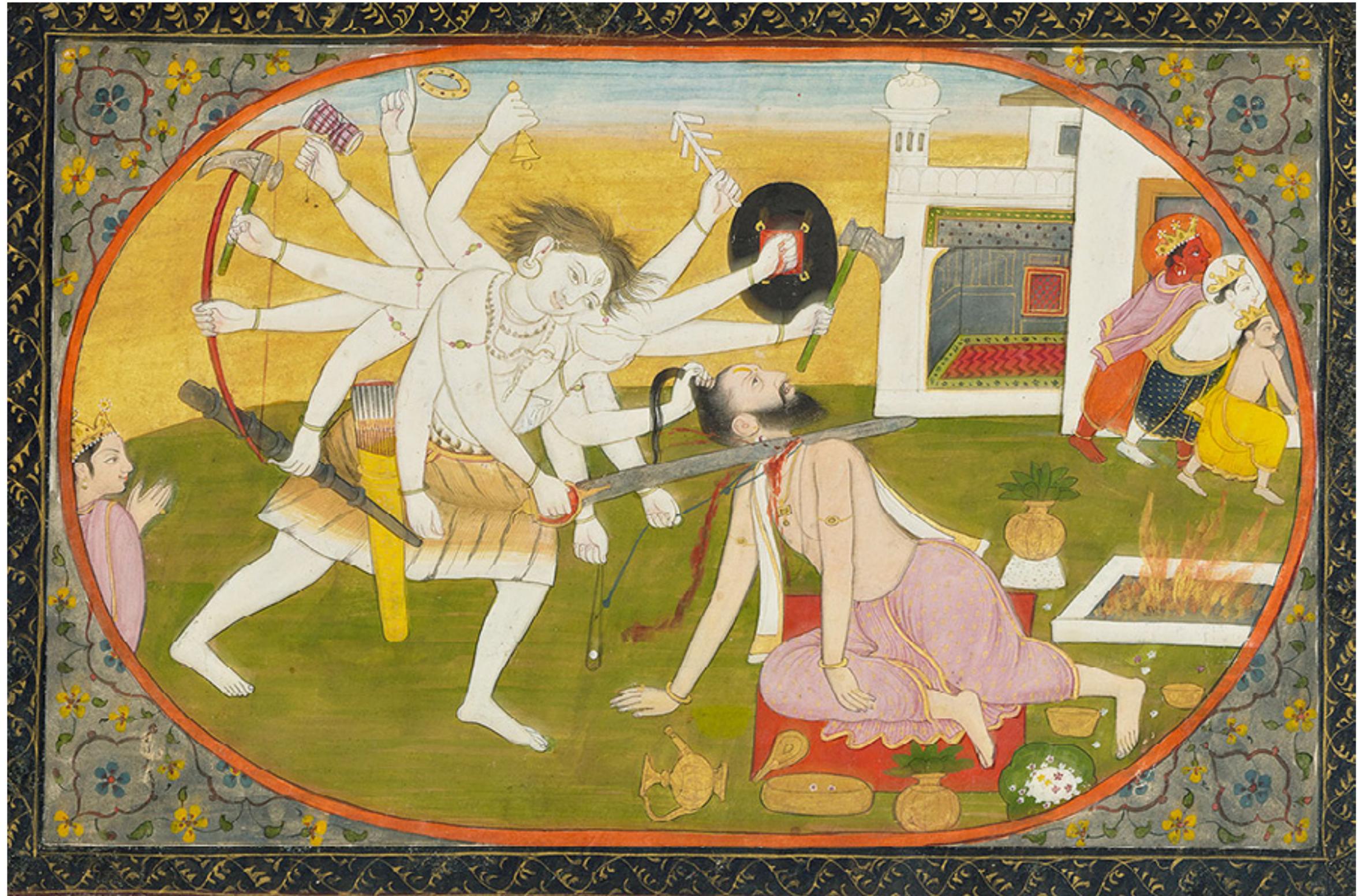
Over one hundred leaves are known to have survived from this series. For other leaves from this second part of the series, for which some drawings are also known, see Galloway Seitz 2016, no. 17, Britschgi and Fischer 2008, nos. 54, 56, 58, 78, Goswamy and Fischer 2011, figs. 14–15, and Valmiki 2011, vols. IV–VI, *passim*.

Shiva killing Daksha in revenge for Sati's suicide

Guler, 1800–10
 Opaque pigments with gold and silver on paper
 Painting 12.5 × 20 cm, in a horizontal oval with decorated silver spandrels, blue border with arabesque and pink surround
 Folio 16.2 × 23.2 cm
 Inscribed on the reverse in old writing: *Shiva killing a devil. 3 Bhadar [i.e. Virabhadra] killing Dhaksh. (Collection of Sodhi Huravlar Singh of Anandpur)*

Literature

Binney, E., 3rd and Archer, W.G., *Rajput Miniatures from the Collection of Edwin Binney, 3rd*, Portland, 1968
 Boner, G., Fischer, E., Goswamy, B. N., *Illustriertes Gesamtverzeichnis indischer Bilder: Sammlung Alice Boner Geschenk an das Rietberg Museum Zürich*, Museum Rietberg, Zürich, 1994
 Goswamy, B.N., and Fischer, E., *Pahari Masters: Court Painters of Northern India*, Museum Rietberg, Zurich, 1992, *Artibus Asiae Supplementum* 38, reprint Niyogi Books, Delhi, 2009



The painting depicts the emergence of Virabhadra, one of the terrifying forms of Shiva, here depicted with fourteen arms, unevenly arranged. His hands bear many weapons and with the noose in one he has lassoed Daksha's neck, with another he pulls his Brahminical topknot and with the sword in a third he cuts off his head. Daksha was the father of many daughters including the youngest Sati, who was devoted to the terrible ascetic god Shiva and eventually won him in marriage. Her father Daksha, however, was very unhappy at their union. He organised a great sacrifice to which all the gods were invited except for Shiva and Sati. Sati was determined to go to the sacrifice despite the insult, but when she appeared her father insulted both her and her absent husband. Sati in desperation threw herself into the sacrificial fire and was killed. Terrifying in his rage at his loss, Shiva set out to destroy the sacrifice and all the gods who had attended, through the creation of his terrifying form Virabhadra. Shiva threw Daksha's decapitated head into the fire but later relented and gave him back his life with a new head, that of a goat. The sacrificial vessels are here disarranged as the other gods flee in panic. The scene is set on a plain green sward in front of a palace building, while beyond is a golden sky.

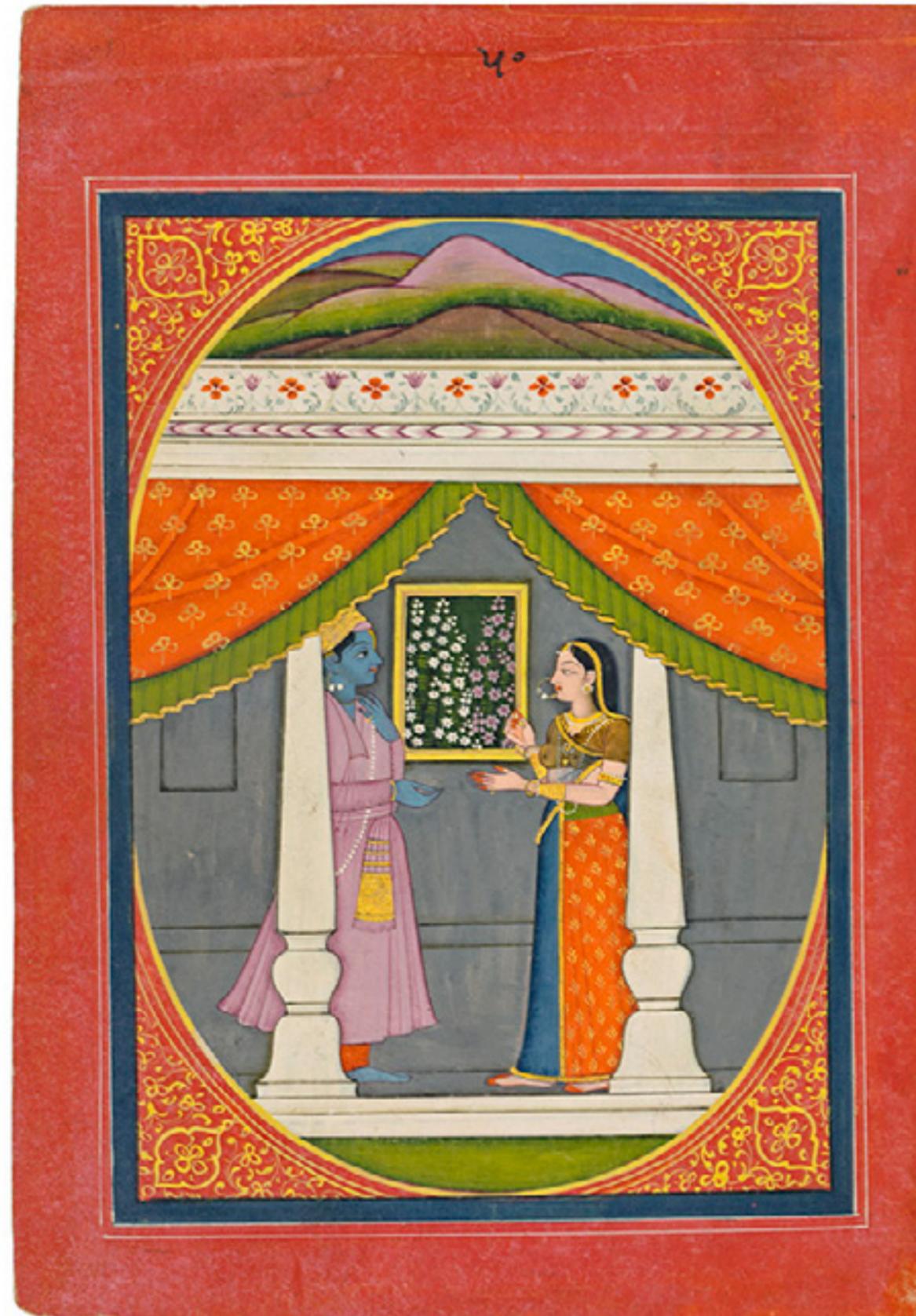
A possibly related devotional picture although of a slightly smaller size is another horizontal oval picture from Guler showing a five-headed Shiva with Parvati and Nandi in the Binney collection (Binney and Archer 1968, no. 85b). The elongated oval format was used sometimes for devotional pictures such as this one: cf. also cat. 18 and Boner 1994, nos. 480 and 485 for another two Shaiva examples from this period. A wonderful Shiva and his family on Kailasa c. 1800–10 in Chandigarh (Goswamy and Fischer 1992, no. 153) is in a similar oval although vertical without decorated spandrels. Shiva's face has the same calm authority as ours. One of the most distinguished features of our painting is the terror on Daksha's face as he looks up at the weapons signalling his impending doom, even as Shiva's sword out of sight slashes deeply into his neck.

The guilty lover
Page from a *Bihari Satsai* series

Garhwal, 1790–1800
 Opaque pigments with gold on paper
 Painting 18.2 × 12.8 cm, oval, within red spandrels with yellow arabesques, a dark blue border and a red surround with two white rules
 Folio 24.4 × 17 cm
 Inscribed with the number 50 above and on the verso with 34 verses from *Bihari's Satsai* in Hindi in *nagari* script

Provenance
 Sotheby's, 10.12.1974 (lot 335)

Literature
 Ahluwalia, R., *Rajut Paintings – Romantic, Divine and Courtly Art from India*, Mapin Publishing, 2008
 Archer, W.G., *Visions of Courtly India*, International Exhibitions Foundation, New York/London, 1976
 Bahadur, K.P., trans., *Bihari: the Satsai*, Penguin Books/Unesco, London, 1990
 Binney, E., 3rd and Archer, W.G., *Rajput Miniatures from the Collection of Edwin Binney, 3rd*, Portland, 1968
 Khandalavala, K., *Pahari Miniature Painting*, New Book Co., Bombay, 1958
 Lal, M., *Garhwal Painting*, New Delhi, 1968
 Leach, L.Y., *Indian Miniature Paintings and Drawings: the Cleveland Museum of Art Catalogue of Oriental Art, Part One*, The Cleveland Museum of Art., Cleveland, 1986
 Sale Catalogue, *Painting for the Royal Courts of India*, Spink & Son Ltd, London, 1976



The page comes from a set of paintings illustrating Bihari Das's *Satsai*. The *Satsai* ('700 [verses]') of the seventeenth century poet Bihari Lal, court poet of Raja Jai Singh of Amber, consists of over 700 fairly brief verses in the *Riti* or literary style of Hindi poetry, dealing principally with the erotic mood, *shringara rasa*, in all its aspects. The verses are spoken by the *nayaka* and *nayika* (hero and heroine) and their confidants, who are interpreted in the artistic tradition as Krishna and his beloved Radha.

Our scene is set rather as within a stage, Radha and Krishna stand facing each other in a pavilion, he dressed in a lilac *jama* and a gold brocade turban, she in an orangey-red skirt and a blue *orhni* with a gold border. She obviously is expostulating with him about his conduct in his carrying on with other women, while he stands looking all youthful innocence with one hand gesturing to himself as if asserting that quality. The two stand behind columns as in a verandah with the back wall pierced by a window through which blossoming plants can be seen. Heavy curtain swags hang within the *chajja* of the pavilion, while above the cornice we can see green hills tinged with pink.

Verse 3 on the reverse of our page gives a flavour of the text, which Bahadur in his translation puts into a section dealing with 'the other woman':

'Well have you done indeed! In meeting me today with eyebrows reddened with betel-juice, lips stained with lamp black, and your forehead streaked with lacquer dye. Lover, what a sight you look!'

Radha's scornful words imply that the 'other woman's' betel-stained lips have caressed his eyebrows, while his own mouth has kissed her blackened eyebrows and his head has bent down to kiss her red-stained feet. The artist has responded only to the reddened lips of Krishna.

Garhwal was a large but poor and barren hill state which became more prosperous in the 18th century, before the earthquake of 1802 and the Gurkha occupation of 1804–15 caused utter devastation. Guler was thought to be the source of Garhwal painting established in the mid 18th century through marital ties between the two states. Mola Ram (1760–1833) was an artist of note from Garhwal whose descent, the London barrister, Mukandi Lal (1884–1982) discovered and published the family collection of pictures with a known Garhwal provenance in 1968.

Like other Hill States, Garhwal painting revolves around the vicissitudes of Krishna and Radha's love. The earliest and finest of these oval format romantic paintings are a 1780–1790 Baramasa series dispersed between a number of institutions (Archer 1973, Garhwal 5(i–iii); Archer 1976, cats. 15 & 16; Ahluwalia 2008, no. 111 and Khandalavala 1958, nos. 200 & 201).

Our painting comes from a *Bihari Satsai* 1790–1800 series recognisable by the sketchy arabesque spandrels and a more stylized treatment of the figures. Other pages from this set were sold at Sotheby's 9.7.1974, lot 233; Spink & Son 1976, cat. 157; Sotheby's 19.10.1978, lot 328; 9.7.1979, lot 265; 11.10.1982, lot 98; Christie's 26.5.2016, lots 55–56.

A slightly larger set of *Bihari Satsai* also of oval format but more square in shape and with plain spandrels, originally came from the MacDonald collection, now dispersed between a number of institutions (Leach 1986, n. 109; Binney and Archer 1968, no. 89; Archer 1976, n o 20 and possibly Maggs bulletin no 5 (April 1963), nos. 102–105).

Krishna paints Radha's toenails red
The *Svadhinapatika nayika* from a *Rasikapriya* series

Kangra, c. 1800

Opaque pigments with gold and silver on paper

Painting 23 × 14.3 cm within a dark blue margin with a white rule and a wide red surround

Folio 30 × 21.3 cm

Inscribed on the recto in *nagari* script with the names of the participants *Radha* and *sakhi* and on the verso with a Hindi title: *nayaka svadhinapatika* ('a woman whose husband acts according to her wishes'), with the number 842 from the Mandi royal collection, and the verse VII, 5 from the *Rasikapriya* of Keshav Das:

'Keshavadas now describes the romantic deeds of this nayika. 7.4

The [hidden] *svadhinapatika nayika*. A *sakhi* speaks to the *nayika*: "Krishna is more precious to the residents of Braj than their own breath and also very dear to his father, whose mother will ensure that celestial and human daughters will sacrifice themselves. It is foolish of you, who are a daughter of ordinary parents, to get your feet rubbed by pumice stone and then have henna applied. I dismiss it lightly but how would you respond to someone else's comment?" 7, 5' (translation by Harsha Dehejia)

Provenance

Mandi royal collection

Literature

Archer, W.G., *Indian Paintings from the Punjab Hills*, Sotheby Parke Bernet, London and New York, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1973

Dehejia, Harsha V., *Rasikapriya: Ritikavya of Keshavdas in Ateliers of Love*, DK Printworld, New Delhi, 2013

Goswamy, B.N., and Smith, Caron, *Domains of Wonder: Selected Masterworks of Indian Painting*, San Diego Museum of Art, 2005



The *svadhinapatika nayika* is the heroine who has her lover completely under her thumb. Here the heroine Radha is sitting on her little throne dressed in lilac with an orange *orhni*. She is smiling down at Krishna who dressed all in saffron including his turban is kneeling at her feet intent on his task, holding one of her feet with one hand while painting her toenails red. Behind him stands the *sakhi* dressed in blue and orange who holds out her hand in an admonitory gesture as she speaks those words to Radha. The scene is set on a terrace covered with a yellow summer carpet outside a pavilion with a green parakeet in a cage hanging within. A blue *shamiana* hanging from the *chajja* of the pavilion covers the participants and shelters them from the sun. Beyond a wall is a garden and another palace building with a tower crowned by a loggia with a pyramidal roof.

The subject is a very popular one in Pahari painting. Dehejia 2013 has four Pahari versions very similar to ours (pp. 218–19), one of which is a Guler version from c. 1760 from which the others are derived, while another is a later Kangra version very similar to ours in the architectural setting as well as the figural configuration. Another beautiful Guler version is in the Binney collection in San Diego (Goswamy and Smith 2005, no. 95). See also Archer 1973, Kangra 64, which has the same composition but with the addition of a chowrie waver behind Radha.

The *nayika* and the black buck
Page from a *Bihari Satsai* series

Style of the Guler artist Chajju at Chamba, c. 1810–20

Opaque pigments with gold on paper

Painting 16 × 11 cm, within a dark blue margin with floral scroll and a wide pink surround

Folio 24.3 × 18.3 cm

Inscribed on an attached cover sheet in Hindi in *nagari* script with a verse from the *Satsai* of Bihari Das and 23 *tasvir* ('picture 23'):

'Who's not caught in the meshes of wordly existence?

The more he tries to free himself from them, the more he's entangled

Like a deer struggling in a net' (translation, K.P. Bahadur, verse 651, p. 287)

Literature

Bahadur, K.P., trans., *Bihari: the Satsai*, Penguin Books/Unesco, London, 1990

Boner, G., Fischer, E., Goswamy, B. N., *Illustriertes Gesamtverzeichnis indischer Bilder: Sammlung Alice Boner Geschenk an das Rietberg Museum Zürich*, Museum Rietberg, Zürich, 1994

Mittal, J., 'Harkhu and Chajju: Two Guler Artists at Chamba' in Ohri, V.C., and Craven, R., ed., *Painters of the Pahari Schools*, Marg Publications, Bombay, 1998, pp. 115–30

Ohri, V.C., 'Nikka and Ranjha at the court of Raja Raj Singh of Chamba', in Ohri, V.C., and Craven, R., ed., *Painters of the Pahari Schools*, Marg Publications, Bombay, 1998, pp. 98–114

Seyller, John, and Mittal, Jagdish, *Pahari Paintings in the Jagdish and Kamla Mittal Museum of Indian Art*, Hyderabad, 2014



A lady dressed all in yellow turns to look at a following pet black buck with a circlet of gold beads round his neck. The painting is meant to illustrate the verse from the *Satsai* on the cover sheet. The verse is one of worldly wisdom but it is interpreted here in a more erotic way, as a lady struggling with separation from her beloved perhaps, or simply one 'who loves unwisely but too well'. Two plantains, one with a pendulous flower, and a blossoming prunus rise behind the terrace against a plain blue sky, while bees move in to extract the pollen, in obvious erotic imagery.

This iconography of course is the same as Todi ragini in plains *ragamala* series, as in Ebeling 1973, pl. 18, reinforced by the musical instrument that the ragini is carrying. Todi ragini in Pahari *ragamalas* based on Mesakarna's system shows a lady spinning (e.g. *ibid.*, fig. 349). The motif however of a lady or ladies with deer made an appearance early in Pahari painting as in the Lady with deer from Basohli 1670–75 (Archer 1973, Basohli 5ii) and is found also as late as c. 1850, e.g. Boner et al. 1994, no. 556. A Guler artist's version in the Chandigarh Museum from around 1820 is published by Goswamy and Fischer (1992, no. 157) as Todi ragini, but their description makes clear that it in fact has the same verse on the reverse as does our example from the *Satsai* of Bihari.

The sparse style of this painting and the manner in which the *nayika* has been portrayed recalls the work of the Guler artist Chajju at Chamba. Chajju and his brother Harkhu were the sons of Nikka and grandsons of Nainsukh, and along with their father and uncle Ranjha practised their art at the Chamba court under Raja Raj Singh (reg. 1764–94) and his successors. For the first full identifications of their work there, see Ohri 1998 and Mittal 1998, and also Seyller and Mittal 2014, nos. 76–89. Chajju's figures are generally small with large heads. His female profile is one almost continuous line from the top of the forehead to the end of the nose with only a slight angle at the

bridge. His female eyes are elongated with a marked slant down towards the top of the ear, even more so than in the case of his relatives. His figures are generally flat without much modelling and he has a fondness for draping his women in a striped *orhni* (e.g. Seyller and Mittal 2014, no. 87). A very similar composition to ours but with the *nayika* and the black buck reversed and with upright willow and prunus behind the terrace in a private collection is attributed to Chajju by Mittal in 1998 (fig. 11).

Vishnu's feet as objects of worship

Kangra, c. 1810–20

Opaque pigments with gold on paper

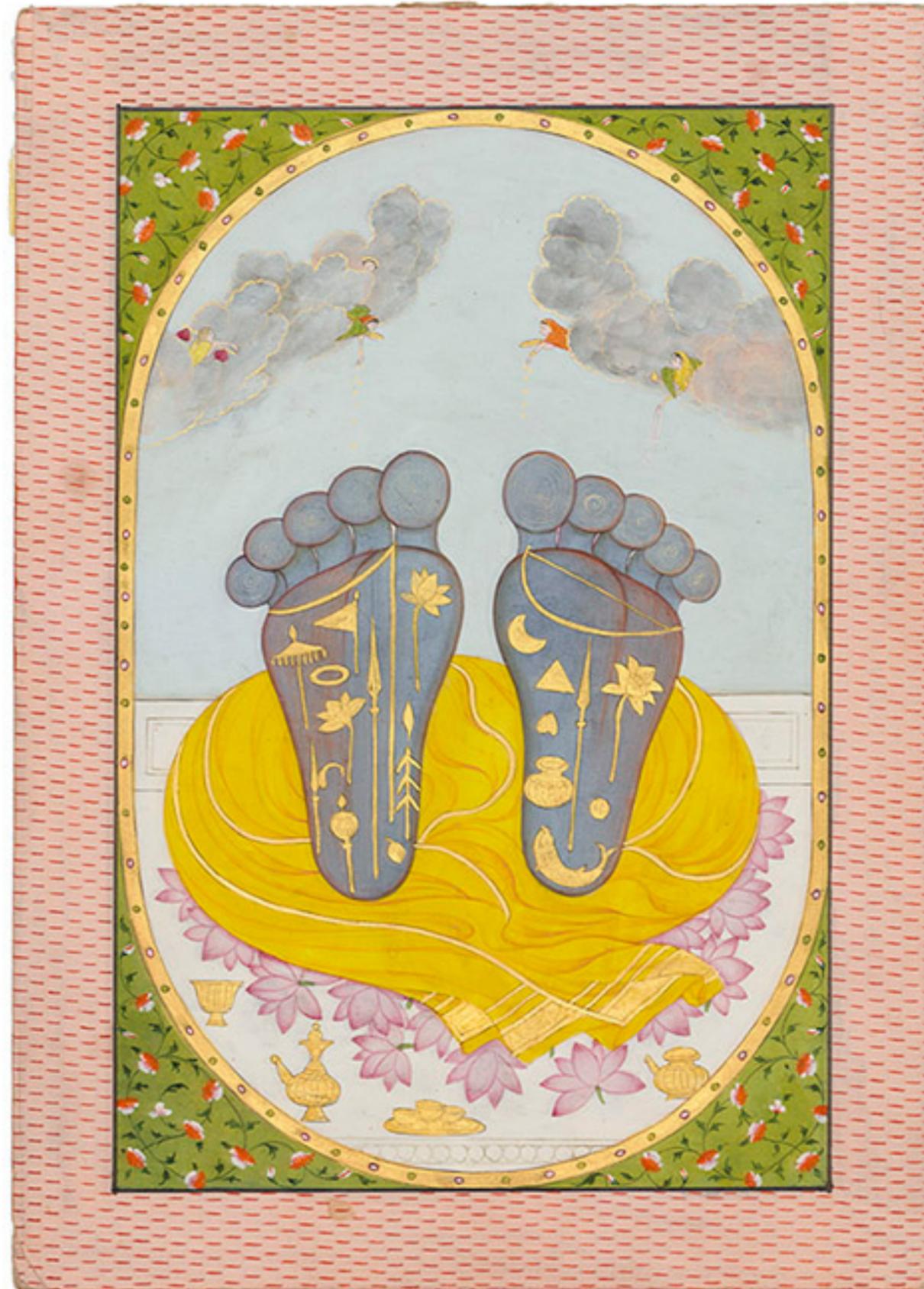
Painting 16.7 × 11 cm, in oval format, within green spandrels with floral decoration, and a pink surround flecked with red

Folio 19.8 × 14.1 cm

Inscribed on a cover sheet with a Sanskrit verse in *nagari* script in praise of Vishnu and of the various symbols on the soles of his feet and the number 5

Literature

Cummins, J., *Vishnu: Hinduism's Blue-Skinned Savior*, Grantha Corporation, Middletown, N.J., 2011



Vishnu's feet or his footprints (*Vishnupada*) are important symbols in Vaishnavism and are depicted as objects of worship in their own right. Places where Vishnu's foot came down to earth as in his avatar as Trivikrama or when he was pushing the demon Gaya into the earth at the eponymous place in Bihar are especially sacred.

The soles of Vishnu's feet are depicted resting vertically on a Krishna's habitual yellow garment that is arranged above lotuses lying on a terrace. Gold vessels are all around, while above in the blue sky divine beings half hidden in the clouds rain down flowers. The soles of his feet are decorated with gold images of his weapons and other symbols associated with the god: lotuses, spears, *ankush* (elephant-goad), club, discus, parasol (Vishnu as the dwarf avatar), flag, bow, sun, moon, waterpot (as the dwarf), and a fish (as Matsya). The subject is exceptionally well painted for the period. Apart from the beautifully depicted objects in gold on the soles themselves, other attractive features are the swirling gold circles on the underneath of each toe forming the divine toe prints as well as the exquisite small figures leaning out of the clouds sprinkling flowers and nectar on the feet.

A Vishnupada composed the same way as ours as a pair of vertical feet, seated on a throne and enshrined in a temple, is depicted in a painting thought to be from Lahore in the early 19th century and now in the Museum fur Asiatische Kunst in Berlin (Cummins 2011, fig. 152)

**Radha in her jealousy imagines Krishna coupling
with other women**

Page from the 'Lambagraon' *Gita Govinda*

Attributed to Purkhu, Kangra, c. 1820

Opaque pigments on paper

Painting: 24.5 × 32 cm, within a blue border with gold scroll design and a pink surround

Folio 28.4 × 36 cm

Inscribed on the recto in *nagari* with the name *Radhaka* above her head and on the verso with the number 27 and the Sanskrit text of Jayadeva's *Gita Govinda*, canto 7, vv. 12–20

Provenance

Royal family of Kangra at Lambagraon

Literature

Archer, W.G., *Indian Painting from the Punjab Hills*, Sotheby Parke Bernet, London, 1973

Goswamy, B.N., and Bhatia, U., *Painted Visions: the Goenka Collection of Indian Paintings*, New Delhi, 1999

Goswamy, B.N., and Fischer, E., *Pahari Masters: Court Painters of Northern India*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1992

Goswamy, B.N., and Fischer, E., 'Purkhu of Kangra' in Beach, M.C., Fischer, E., and Goswamy, B.N., *Masters of Indian Painting*, Artibus Asiae, Zurich, 2011, pp. 719–32

Mason, D., *Intimate Worlds: Indian Paintings from the Alvin O. Bellak Collection*, Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia, 2001

Miller, B.S., *Love Song of the Dark Lord*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1977



When Radha's friend or *sakhi* returns from Krishna saying he will not come to her tonight, Radha gives way to jealous imaginings of Krishna dallying with another *gopi*:

12. When Radha saw her friend come back without
Madhava, downcast and tongue-tied,
Suspicious raised a vision of some girl delighting
Krishna, and she told her friend:
13. She is richly arrayed in ornaments for the battle of love;
Tangles of flowers lie wilted in her loosened hair.
Some young voluptuous beauty
Revels with the enemy of Madhu.
14. She is visibly excited by embracing Hari;
Her necklaces tremble on full hard breasts.
Some young ...
15. Curling locks caress her moon face;
She is weary from ardently drinking his lips.
Some young ...
16. Quivering earrings graze her cheeks;
Her belt sounds with her hips' rolling motion.
Some young ...
17. She laughs bashfully when her lover looks at her;
The taste of passion echoes from her murmuring.
Some young ...
18. Her body writhes with tingling flesh and trembling.
The ghost of Love expands inside with her sighing.
Some young ...
19. Drops of sweat wet the graceful body
Fallen limp on his chest in passionate battle.
Some young ...
20. May Hari's delight in Jayadeva's song
Bring an end to this dark time.
Some young voluptuous beauty

Revels with the enemy of Madhu.

(translation Barbara Stoler Miller)

Radha and her friend sit in a grove in the bottom corner of the painting. Radha looks bashfully down but gesticulates with her hands as she tells her eager and more experienced confidante of her jealous imaginings of what Krishna has been up to. Two of the images conjured up in her verses of jealous lamentation are portrayed in the picture above in the dark groves of her imagination as Krishna ardently presses against the girl and she turns bashfully away (vv. 14–17) and then as she rides him, again with her face turned away (vv. 18–19). The dark trees envisioned in various shades of green enlivened by orange and pink blossoms give way to open clearings in which Radha imagines this betrayal is taking place, clearings lit in ghostly light by the crescent moon and the starry sky. The artist depicts shadows cast by the moon under the trees. Below at the bottom of the page the River Jumna flows serenely on. The orange and yellow of the participants' clothes contrast as always in this series with the darkness of the woods of Brindaban.

This is a shorter series than the 'second' Guler *Gita Govinda* with about fifty paintings and larger numbers of verses on the verso. Archer first described the series (1973, vol. 1, pp. 308–08) with marked distaste for the 'brisk artificiality' of its principal actors who were 'cardboard cut-outs' and the 'theatrical backdrops' of its landscapes. Later authorities have been kinder. Although the series was not considered to be by Purkhu by Goswamy and Fischer in 1992, they changed their mind and attribute the 'elegantly coloured and richly conceived' series to him in 2011 ('Purkhu' p. 728), a suggestion first aired by Goswamy in 1999 for a page in the Goenka collection (no. 213) to be by the 'family workshop of Purkhu', taken up by Darielle Mason in 2001 with a page in the Bellak collection (no. 87). The

series is now widely dispersed.

The whole series is clearly planned as a unit, with Purkhu imposing a uniform type of figural representation and a unified colour scheme. While the figural drawing is not as convincing or compelling as the Tehri-Garhwal series of nearly fifty years earlier, the lovingly detailed studies of trees and blossoms provide a different kind of interest, whether seen as here under the ghostly light provided by the moon and stars or in the clearer light of day (e.g. Goswamy and Fischer 'Purkhu', figs, 6–7). Meant perhaps not to be examined too closely, the paintings are more suitable for viewing at a certain distance, perhaps during public or semi-public recitation of the poem on Krishna Janmastami or similar festivals, where the brightly coloured figures interweaving with the dark screens of the trees in varied patterns on every page impose their own kind of magic.

Mian Pratap Chand of Lambagraon hunting with the minister Shiva

Sirmur, under Sikh influence, dated 1843

Opaque pigments with gold on paper

Painting 24.5 × 35.5 cm, within a dark blue and white rules, a dark blue margin with gold and white floral arabesque, and a buff surround with four red rules
Folio 29.4 × 37.5 cm

Inscribed beneath the huntsmen in *nagari*: *Raja Prattap Chand ghoda Vajasva* ('the horse Vajasva') *Samvat 19 1 di am magh* ('on the first day of the month Magh in the year 19' [AD 1843]) and beneath the other two: *Daroga Shiva ghoda Chandraprabha samvat 19 so 1 di a magh* ('the minister Shiva, the horse Chandraprabha, on the first day of the bright half of Magh in the year 19')

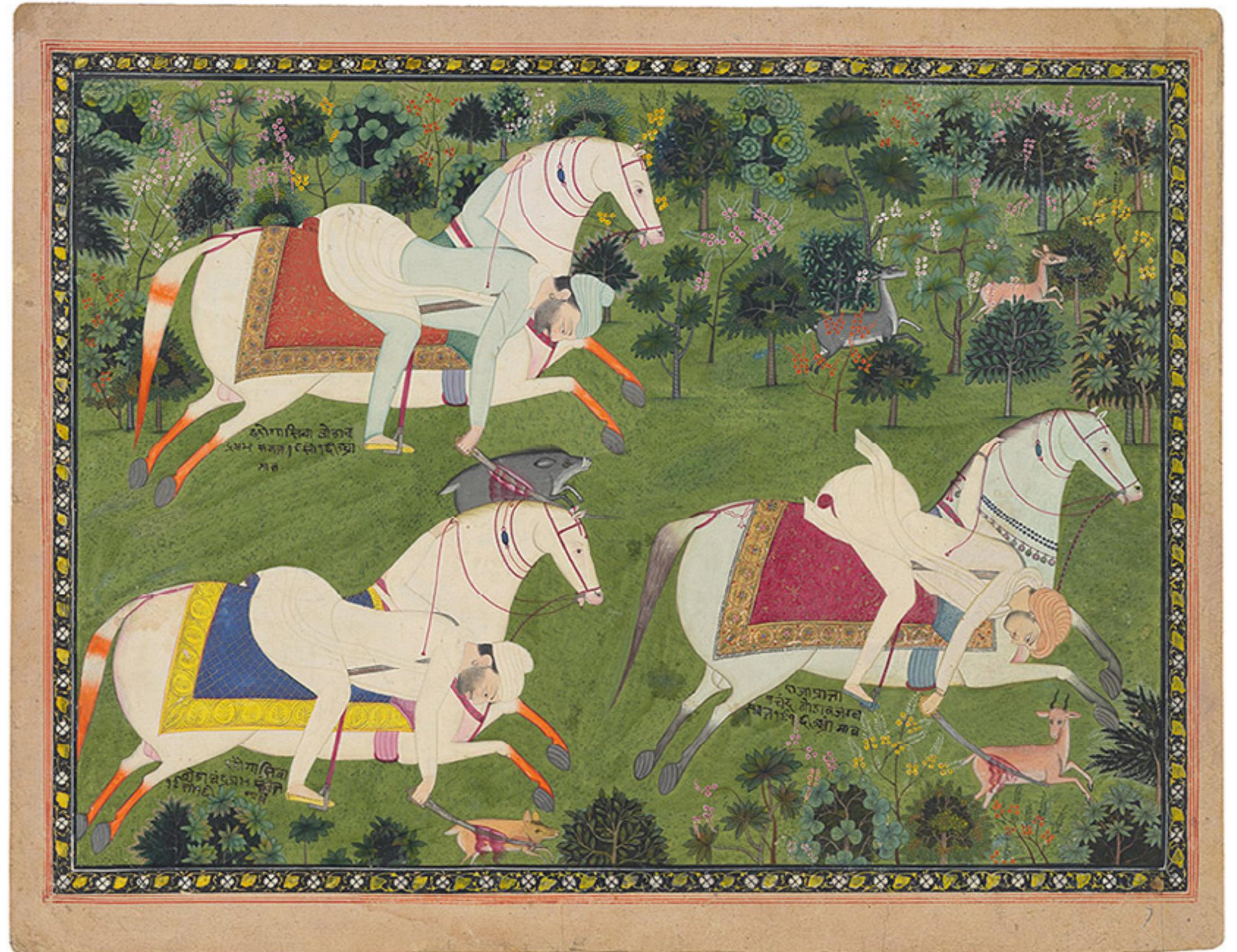
Literature

Archer, W.G., *Painting of the Sikhs*, HMSO, London, 1966

Archer, W.G., *Indian Painting from the Punjab Hills*, Sotheby Parke Bernet, London, 1973

Cunningham, Alexander, *Book of Indian Eras with Tables for Calculating Dates*, Thacker, Spink & Co, Calcutta, 1883

Khandalavala, K., *Pahari Miniature Painting*, New Book Co., Bombay, 1958



Pratap or Partab Chand (b. 1827, reg. 1850–64) was the son of Ludar Chand of Lambagraon (reg. 1828–50) and grandson of Fateh Chand, the middle brother of Raja Sansar Chand of Kangra. When the latter's son Raja Anirudh Chand (reg. 1823–28, d. 1832) refused Ranjit Singh's request to wed his sister to Ranjit's favourite Hira Singh (because the boy was the son of a junior member of the Jammu royal house) and fled with his family to Haridwar, Ranjit Singh seized Kangra and installed Sikh governors. He was to some extent mollified by Fateh Chand, who was rewarded with the *jagir* of Lambagraon in Kangra, inherited almost immediately on his death by his son Ludar Chand in 1828 (or perhaps 1833, accounts differ). Ranjit Singh granted a small *jagir* in Kangra at Mahal Mori to the deposed Anirudh Chand. On the deaths of Anirudh Chand's grandsons Ranbir Chand in 1847 and Parmod Chand in 1851 without issue, the latter's widow adopted Pratap Chand from Lambagraon, and he was thereafter acknowledged as Raja and as the head of the Katoch Rajputs of Kangra (see Archer 1973, vol. 1, pp. 256–58). In 1846 at the end of the First Sikh War, the Sikh part of Kangra was annexed to British India.

In our picture Pratap Chand is out on a hunt with a companion who is shown twice, all dressed in white in Sikh costume, as worn by many of the Hill rajas at this time. His father Ludar Chand had decided Sikh sympathies and in a portrait identified by Archer as Ludar Chand in the V&A, he sits smoking facing courtiers in Sikh dress (Archer 1966, fig. 46, p. 144). All three figures lean down from their horses simultaneously to slash with their swords at their prey, in Pratap Chand's case a *chinkara* or Indian gazelle, while his companion brings down a boar and a young pig. Other deer run off through the trees that punctuate the landscape. The green ground is dotted with small stylised trees in various shades of green and covered with different coloured blossoms in a pleasing ensemble that though different from the landscapes of earlier Kangra painting at least

recalls something of their splendour. The rhythmic convergence of the galloping horsemen as they charge through the landscape makes a pleasing composition. Curiously it is the companion who is rendered twice in continuous narration rather than the prince.

The appearance of Pratap Chand with his light chin beard and incipient moustache suggests he is in his late teens at the most, i.e. around 1845 at the latest. The inscription is dated in the Saptarshi or Lok-Kal calendar which was still in use in the Hills as recorded by Alexander Cunningham in 1846 (1883, pp. 6–17), in which each century begins again 25 years after the beginning of the AD century, whereby the month of Magh in the 19th year yields a date of 1843. This would make Pratap Chand fifteen or sixteen years old in the picture. In a late Kangra painting showing Raja Ranbir Chand with his brother Parmod Chand receiving Ludar Chand (Archer 1973, Kangra 26), the boy sitting beside the latter must be his son Pratap Chand (since both Anirudh's sons were without sons of their own). The boy from his size seems to be in his early teens, dating the picture to c. 1840, but is still shown with a moustache as in our painting.

Archer in 1973 published three portraits of Pratap Chand from the 1840s (Kangra 27–29), including some in the ancestral Lambagraon collection, while he published another two from Sirmur (Sirmur 10 and 12), a state from the other end of the Punjab Hills connected with Pratap Chand through his marriage to the daughter of Raja Fateh Prakash of Sirmur. None of these paintings really resembles our painting with its particular landscape style, which may come from Sikh influence. A painting of cheetah baiting published by Khandalavala from his own collection as Sikh, 1825–50 (1958, fig. 6), has a spirited landscape dotted with trees rather as in our painting. Khandalavala associates with Sirmur another Sikh painting of Krishna playing blindman's buff covered as in our painting with the

same exuberantly rendered trees (fig. 45, pp. 239–40). A preparatory drawing for our painting showing the figure of Pratap Chand hunting was in the S. C. Welch collection (Part Two, Arts of India, Sotheby's 31 London 31 May 2011, lot 74).