

PORTRAITS OF BHAO SINGH HARA

Joachim Bautze

Bhao Singh Hara was born on the 28th of January, 1624¹. He ascended to the throne of Bundi on the 5th, dark half of the month Asadha in V.S. 1715, after his father, Chhattar Sal or Shatru Sal died fighting for Dara Shikoh in the famous battle of Samugarh² on the 29th of May, 1658³. After an eventful life⁴, Bhao Singh died in Aurangabad⁵ on the 1st of April, 1681⁶.

What did Bhao Singh Hara look like?

A few years ago, O.P. SHARMA published a miniature painting from the National Museum collection and labelled it: "Prince Muazzam (later Bahadur Shah I) presenting a sword to Raja Bhao Singh of Bundi, Governor of Aurangabad, Rajasthani School, Bundi, Mughal influence, c. A.D. 1678-1680"⁷.

One year earlier, Linda LEACH labelled the same painting differently as: "Shāh Jahān with Mewar ruler. Rajasthan school, 1640. From Mewar, 27 x 30 cm"⁸. This caption sounds so different that one is inclined to think that she describes a different painting. Milo Cleveland BEACH published the same painting in 1974 and noted below it: "Bhao Singh (?) of Bundi received by a prince, Bundi, ca. 1685 A.D."⁹. Thus it would be a posthumous portrait of the said Bundi ruler. S.C. WELCH suggested to identify the major figures of the painting as Bhao Singh (of Bundi) and Shah 'Alam¹⁰. W.G. ARCHER published the painting when it was still in the possession of H.H. the Maharana of Udaipur. He labelled it: "The Mughal Emperor Shah Jahan, attended by Rao Chhattar Sal (1631-59) of Bundi. Bundi, c. 1635"¹¹.

Basil GRAY published the painting in 1950 writing: "Shāh Jahān seated on a throne on a carpet in a garden terrace, attended by Rājā Karan Singh of Mewar (Udaipur), ruled 1620-28, and his son, probably Jagat Singh (b. 1603). Rajasthani: school of Udaipur; c. 1650"¹².

In the "Catalogue of the Exhibition of Art chiefly from the Dominions of India and Pakistan, 1947-48" we read for the same painting under n° 538, p. 51: "Raja giving audience. Rajasthani-probably Udaipur, early 19th century ...".

With regard to the stylistic provenance, it is right to assume that the painting was painted in the Bundikalam since it shares e.g. the garden architecture with four folios of the "Kota Museum Bhagavat"¹³, viz. Government Museum Kota, Acc. N° 1950/34¹⁴, 1950; 6 (unpublished), 1950; 2 (unpublished) and the painting in the Heeramanek collection¹⁵.

The identification of the person standing in front of the pavilion with Bhao Singh Hara, however, is incorrect. It is strange that none of those authors identifying the standing person in the National Museum painting with Bhao Singh Hara refer to another portrait of the Bundi ruler which W.G. ARCHER and E. BINNEY captioned "Portrait of Rao Bhao Singh of Bundi (ruled 1659-1682) seated before his father Rao Chhattar Sal (ruled 1631-1659). c. 1670." ¹⁶.

It should be mentioned here that this painting, like the previous one, is uninscribed. Andrew TOPSFIELD took the "Bhao Singh portrait" from the Binney collection as a guide line when identifying another uninscribed portrait in the collection of the National Gallery of Victoria, which he labels: "Rao Chhattar Sal of Bundi with his Son Bhao Singh. Mewar, c. 1680." A. Topsfield adds: "Another comparable portrait, inscribed as Rao Chhattar Sal, is in the G.K. Kanoria collection"¹⁷. The painting in the Kanoria collection mentioned by A. Topsfield is indeed very close to the painting in the Binney collection. Its major differences are an awning supported by four poles, 9 small formal flowering bushes in front of the terrace on which the persons are seated or standing, a marble balustrade at the end of the terrace, all of which are objects which the painter introduced in the Kanoria painting but which are missing in the Binney version¹⁸. As we shall see, the kneeling person is in all three versions (Binney, Kanoria and Melbourne) not Bhao Singh.

Another portrait of a ruler, which has been identified as "Bhao Singh of Bundi" appeared at Sotheby's in 1981¹⁹. The short description mentions "a nagari inscription on reverse". The present owner of this painting neither gave a translation of the inscription nor provided us with a photograph of it, so at the moment we do not know whether the inscription really mentions Bhao Singh Hara or refers to him in one way or another²⁰. Even if it does, we have to doubt its authenticity as we shall try to show later.

The perhaps earliest contemporary and duly inscribed portrait of Bhao Singh Hara is in the collection of Kumar Sangram Singh of Nawalgarh (fig. 1)²¹. The inscription on verso (fig. 2a) reads: "savi śādāvāna (or: śādīvāna?) rāva bhā / va sīgha jī kī tulachī cī / terā nau vanāī ...". That this inscription is a contemporary one can be proved with the help of another inscribed painting, where the date 1680 A.D. is given. The inscription on verso of the painting N° 56.35/5 in the National Museum of India²² reads: "sāp 1737 kī(?) kī sabī kaṁṁvara ana (and behind, again: ana) / rada sīgha jī kī caterā tulachirāma no vanāī" (fig. 2b). Both inscriptions are not by the same hand²³, but written in the same ṭīṅṅaḷ-characters as several other inscriptions of Bundikalam paintings from the last quarter of the 17th century²⁴. We do not know whether the painter of the Bhao Singh portrait ("Tulachī") is identical with the artist who painted the Anuradh Singh portrait ("Tulachirāma"). Artistically, the portrait of the latter is much weaker, the treatment of details somewhat coarser when compared to the former.

Another contemporary portrait of Bhao Singh is in the Royal Collection of Kota (fig. 3)²⁵. The inscription above the central figure reads: "rāva śrī bhāva saṁgha jī / rāva satrasāla jī kī". Still another contemporary portrait of Bhao Singh is presently in the Madho Singh Museum, Kota²⁶. The inscription on top of the painting reads: "rāva bhāva sīgha jī" (fig. 4)²⁷.

From these three contemporary inscribed portraits we are able to figure out what Bhao Singh, as seen through the eyes of a painter trained to paint in the Bundi-style, might have looked like: he had 1. a straight pointed nose, 2. a moustache which grew long in course of time and became double-curved²⁸, 3. a round face when seen in profile, 4. a small double chin and 5. triangular cotelettes with one small curl towards the ear. He was slightly corpulent, but not fat, actually (fig. 1). His temples were painted with a yellow rhombic sectorial mark which can be seen frequently in the paintings of the "Kota Bhagavata" referred

to above²⁹. Another mark in the middle of his forehead clearly indicates that he was a worshipper of Vishnu (figs. 1 and 3). His neck was decorated with a rather short pearl necklace (figs. 1, 3, 4) to which at times a pendant was fixed (fig. 3). Apart from this short necklace he wore a slightly longer pearl necklace with an oval shaped pendant, to which a drop-like pearl was added (figs. 1 and 4). A double pearl necklace with large pearls rested on his chest. A narrow but long scarf overlapped on his left shoulder (figs. 1 and 3) in the typical Shah Jahani fashion. The hilt of his katar is incrustated with precious stones and can be found below his right arm, where it was stuck in the belt or sash. His armpits were blackened (figs. 1, 3 and 4). The turban consisted of three layers of regularly striped golden cloth, into which an aigrette was inserted. This "aigrette" consisted of three rose-like smaller and an equal number of larger rose-like buds in a somewhat pyramidal arrangement. This flower arrangement in the turban became, as we shall see, his distinctive mark in all his representations which were painted in the Bundikalam³⁰.

Another contemporary painting shows Bhao Singh watching an antelope fight (fig. 5)³¹. Though it seems to be uninscribed³², it is now quite easy to recognize the ruler when keeping the other three contemporary and inscribed portraits in mind. Apart from the dagger which is missing in this representation, a tiny pendant at the shortest pearl necklace and the missing scarf, his representation shares all the peculiar features which are present in the other three portraits mentioned before.

Rao Bhao Singh is also present in another contemporary painting, in which he is seen worshipping Krishna (fig. 6)³³. This portrait also shows all the distinguishing marks present in the three portraits. With the help of the five paintings showing Bhao Singh Hara, we are able to identify the persons in the group of the previously mentioned paintings in the Binney, Kanoria and Melbourne collections. A. TOPSFIELD mentioned that an inscription on the respective painting in the Kanoria collection identifies the seated person on the throne as "Rao Chhattar Sal"³⁴. But the "Chhattar Sal" shows in all three paintings almost all the features characteristic of his son, Bhao Singh. Especially noteworthy is the flower-like turban ornament and the rhombic mark between the eye and the hair, both signs which cannot be seen with the so called "Bhao Singh", i.e. the person who is shown in a kneeling position³⁵. We therefore suggest to identify the "Chhattar Sal" with Bhao Singh Hara, who is shown in an advanced state of his life indicated by the grey moustache and cotelettes and the frowns on his forehead.³⁶

Before showing that Chhattar Sal did not carry a small bunch of flowers in his turban, we would like to introduce a posthumous portrait of Bhao Singh which is identified by an inscription.

There is another inscribed portrait of Bhao Singh in the Sangram Singh Collection, Jaipur (fig. 7)³⁷. The *nāgarī* inscription on verso reads: "rāva rājā bhāva syamgha jī būṃdī kā". Bhao Singh is shown in old age, white-haired, with a wrinkled neck and profile which appears to be more angular and hard when compared to those paintings which show him in an earlier stage of life. Bhao Singh holds a long straight sword as in all his formal "throne portraits" known to us from the before mentioned paintings in the Binney, Kanoria and Kota collections respectively (fig. 3). In fig. 7 Bhao Singh smells a small bunch of flowers which are of the same type as those he wears in his turban in the same painting. Also, in the Kanoria and Binney versions of what can be called "throne portrait", he holds a tiny pink bud which belongs

to the type of flowers in his turban. Fig. 7 cannot be dated prior to 1681 for stylistic reasons. We also have to remember that Bhao Singh spent the rest of his life in the Deccan, i.e. not in his home state, but the painting shows distinctive traits of a Bundikalam painting mixed with a few characteristics which are not too common in works of the Bundi school. We would suggest that fig. 7 is a late 17th or early 18th century copy from a contemporary original³⁰.

We could show so far that Bhao Singh kept the fashion of wearing a bunch of flowers in place of an aigrette throughout his life, a fact which is well documented by fig. 1 and fig. 7. We have also seen that posthumous portraits of Bhao Singh are quite reliable with regards to the important detail in the turban³⁰. Did Bhao Singh introduce the fashion of wearing a small bunch of flowers in the turban at the Bundi court or did he copy it from his father? The answer to this question is of a certain importance since, in the latter case, the inscription on the Kanoria painting would then be a correct and reliable one.

There are, unfortunately, no published contemporary Bundikalam paintings showing Rao Chhattar Sal along with a contemporary identifying inscription as in the case of Bhao Singh. There is a painting which SOTHEYBY's published and sold in 1977 which according to the catalogue represents "Rao Chhattar Sal of Bundi" ⁴⁰. We could already show that it was painted in the reign of Jagat Singh of Kota (1657-1683)⁴¹, but most probably not during the first two years. We therefore concluded that also the "Chhattar Sal" from Sotheby's is also most probably a contemporary likeness of a Bundi ruler, i.e. Bhao Singh⁴². The "Sotheby-representation" of Bhao Singh shows in fact most of his distinguishing marks, including the tiny bunch of flowers in the turban, but the face looks less roundish when compared to the group of Bhao Singh portraits we were introducing here. Also the turban appears to be more flat. These minor differences can be explained by the different idioms of the Bundikalam. The painter of the equestrian portrait of Bhao Singh sold at Sotheby's was almost certainly not employed by a Bundi ruler or one of the Bundi princes.

Other mid 17th century Bundi paintings which likely represent Chhattar Sal are devoid of any inscription with respect to the identification of the person shown⁴³. Even if any of these represents Chhattar Sal then there would be no contemporary portrait which shows the tiny bunch of flowers in the turban. Also the only published Mughal portrait of, apparently, Chhattar Sal does not show the most important distinguishing mark of Bhao Singh⁴⁴.

We therefore have to take posthumous representations of Chhattar Sal into account. A duly inscribed equestrian portrait of the said ruler is in the V & A. Museum, London⁴⁵. Here, Chhattar Sal has fixed two ends of peacock feathers to his helmet which could indicate some replacement of the flowers. Several paintings from the so called "Kota Bhagavata", however, show that the fashion of adding peacock feathers to the head dress in the same way Rao Chhattar Sal did it was restricted to his reign⁴⁶. Another late 18th century equestrian portrait said to represent Chhattar Sal shows neither peacock feathers nor flowers at the helmet⁴⁷.

A hitherto unpublished Bundikalam drawing from the early 18th or late 17th century in the Sangram Singh collection, Jaipur, shows in this case really "Bhao Singh of Bundi seated before his father Rao Chhattar Sal"⁴⁸ (fig. 8)⁴⁹. The two lined inscription below the awning reads: "rāva satara sāla jī / vudī kā" (we omit

the first part of the second line which is written in another hand). "Vudī" stands, of course, for "bupdi". This inscription identifies the ruler on the throne who is facing left, holding a bud with the forefinger and thumb of his right hand. Another inscription written in a different hand above the head of the kneeling figure reads: "bhāva sīgha / jī", thus identifying the person clearly with Bhao Singh, the son of Chhattar Sal. The third inscription behind Bhao Singh is irrelevant for the identification of the two persons in question. In this painting, Bhao Singh's turban is obviously taller than that of Chhattar Sal. More important than this observation is the fact that Bhao Singh's head dress shows the typical tiny flower arrangement which is clearly not in the turban of his father. In an early 19th century version of fig. 8 in the royal collection of Bundi²⁰ the artist did not follow properly the older copy and hence forgot the flowers in the turban of "kaṁvara bhāva / sīgha jī".

We have shown that the "Chhattar Sal" of the forementioned paintings in the Binney, Kanoria and Melbourne collections shows in fact his son, Rao Bhao Singh. Now, we have to discuss the identification of the person who has been identified with "Bhao Singh" by different scholars in the same group of paintings. We do not know of any contemporary and inscribed painting showing Bhao Singh seated on a throne with a kneeling person in front of him as e.g. in the Binney or Kanoria painting. But we do have later versions showing a similar composition. Two of them are inscribed with the name of the king (Rao) and prince(s) (Kunwar) respectively. The first one is in the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin (fig. 9)²¹. It is inscribed on top: "22 rāva bhāva saṁgha jī chatra sāla jī kā beṭā kaṁvara gopīnātha jī kā potā" (Rao Bhao Singh, son of Chhattar Sal, grandson of prince Gopinath). Bhao Singh can still easily be recognized by a small sprout of flowers in his turban besides a few other characteristic marks mentioned before²². An inscription at the left hand border identifies the young prince in front of Bhao Singh as "kaṁvara bhīma / saṁgha jī". Bhim Singh is the younger brother of Bhao Singh. Bharat Singh, the youngest brother, died with his father in the battle of Samugarh. Bhagvant Singh, the younger brother of Bhim Singh, was poisoned in V.S. 1722²³, a fact which increased Bhao Singh's fear of being poisoned as well²⁴. A coloured drawing in the Central Museum of Archaeology, Jaipur (fig. 10)²⁵ is inscribed on top with the same inscription as fig. 9. Bhao Singh wears the small flower arrangement in his turban. He gives an arrow with a crescent shaped arrow head to a prince who is identified by inscription which reads: "kaṁvara śrī kīśana / saṁgha jī bhīva saṁgha / jī kā beṭā". When we assume that "bhīva" is a clerical error for "bhāva", we can identify "kīśana saṁgha" with Kishan Singh. Kishan Singh was the son of Bhim Singh, the younger brother of Bhao Singh. Bhao Singh's only son, Prithvi Singh, died in childhood. For this reason, Bhao Singh adopted Kishan Singh as his son. When Aurangzeb tried to destroy the temple of Keshoray Patan, which was built by Bhao Singh's father, Chhattar Sal, it was successfully defended by Kishan Singh. Aurangzeb consequently ordered the murder of Kishan Singh who was killed in Ujjain in V.S. 1734²⁶. According to the official history of Aurangzeb's reign, Kishan Singh "stabbed himself to death in the stomach"²⁷. The second prince in the painting is identified as "kaṁvara a / (nūrāda saṁgha)". Bhao Singh adopted Anuradh or Aniruddha Singh as his son²⁸. Aniruddh Singh had a small flower arrangement in his turban when still a prince. This is proved by painting n° 56.35/5 in the National Museum of India, New Delhi²⁹ (fig. 11). In this painting, Aniruddh Singh was 15 years old when he ascended to the throne in V.S. 1723³⁰. He let himself grow a full beard in course of time. We see him riding a horse in an-

other painting from the Sangram Singh collection, of which fig. 12 shows a detail⁶¹. In this painting he still keeps the fashion of wearing a small flower arrangement in his turban. He seems to have dropped this fashion later in life. A portrait which SOTHEBY'S in New York offered for sale in 1980 is inscribed on reverse with "Anirudha Hara"⁶². Aniruddh Singh no longer has a small bunch of flowers in his turban: it is held by another person standing in front of him. HENDLEY's reproduction shows Aniruddh Singh with a full beard, but without flowers in the turban⁶³. There can be no confusion with the second inscribed prince of fig. 10, Aniruddh Singh. But is the "Kisana sangha" really the son of Bhim Singh, as we tried to explain before? We have to discuss now the possibility that "bhīva sangha" is not a slip of the pen, though we suppose that it is. A drawing with colour indications in the Central Museum of Archaeology, Jaipur, shows a kneeling man holding an arrow with a crescent-shaped head. A nāgarī inscription in the upper part of the unfinished painting reads: "rāva bhīvai sīgha jī". The painting is executed in the Bundikalam and may date from the early 19th century⁶⁴. Here, "bhīvai" has obviously not been confused with "bhāva" since the man does not show the flower arrangement in the turban and other distinguishing marks of Bhao Singh. A "kaṁpvara jī śrī bhīva sīgha jī", numbered "4" appears also in a Bundikalam painting to which we already referred⁶⁵. Bhīva Singh, like Kisan Singh, never became the ruler of Bundi. We are still trying to identify the kneeling person in front of Rao Bhao Singh in the respective paintings from the Binney and Kanoria collections respectively. Since Bhao Singh appears in both paintings to be quite old, it would be most probably wrong to identify the person at his feet with his younger brother, Bhim Singh, as has been done in the Chester Beatty painting (fig. 9). Bhim Singh looks too young when compared to the grey haired Bhao Singh. On the other hand, Aniruddh Singh would look too old for being between 10 and 15 years of age. Kisan Singh would therefore appear to be in the proper age (as the son of Bhim Singh and father of Aniruddh Singh)⁶⁶. We know of an equestrian portrait of a man who looks very similar to the kneeling person in the Binney and Kanoria portrait, but the inscription on top does unfortunately not give the name of the rider⁶⁷. We therefore cannot identify this person with certainty but we could sufficiently show that the artist did not intend to represent Bhao Singh of Bundi⁶⁸.

There are still a few other questionable identifications of Bhao Singh which we have to discuss. One of these "Bhao Singh" portraits was formerly in the collection of Stuart Cary Welch and has been published more than once⁶⁹. The representation of the only male figure in the painting does not follow the conventional contemporary depictions of Bhao Singh as represented in our figures 1, 3-6. For this reason we would doubt the identification of the male figure in the painting formerly in the S.C. Welch collection with the said Bundi Rao. M.C. BEACH wants to identify a person with Bhao Singh Hara who has originally been identified as "Rānā Amar Singh" by H. Goetz⁷⁰. The man on the small stool is in fact Shah Jahan, an identification which is supported by an inscription on recto and another on verso⁷¹. The first part of the inscription on verso, written in "Hindi and Persian", reads according to O.C. GANGOLY: "A chhavi Rāva Amara Singha-jīrī". M.C. BEACH rightly points out that "The titles (sic) of the rulers of Mewar was Rana, however, and under no circumstances would Rava (i.e. Rao) have been used. While it is futile to attempt to correct the reading of an inscription one has never seen, it is very possible, given the similarity of the devanagari script letters involved, that the name should be Rao Bhao Singh"⁷². We have also not seen the inscription but we think that

an experienced scholar like O.C. Gangoly must have misread a lot just in one single name. The words "Rāva" and "Amara" (Gangoly's reading) or "bhāva" (Beach's suggestion) must have been written together "rāvāmara" or "rāvābhāva". O.C. Gangoly might have confused "va" with "ra", according to M.C. Beach. But he does not explain why O.C. Gangoly might have also mistaken "a" with "ā", since he transcribes "Amara" and not "Amāra", "bhāva" hardly appears as "bhava". The second "ā" in "bhāvā", which must be read according to M.C. Beach for being able to separate the king's name "bhāva" from the title "rāva", can also not be explained as a clerical error or O.C. Gangoly's misreading. If "rāva" is written, O.C. Gangoly can of course not read "Amara". Has the word "rāpā" after all been written as "rānā" and did O.C. Gangoly confuse "na" with "va", which would mean that at least the inscription but not the identification would be correct? We do not know. We do, however, also not see Bhao Singh's most important distinguishing sign, the small flower arrangement in the turban of "Bhao" or "Amar" Singh, which may be due to the "very inadequate reproductions"⁷³ of this painting. The "Bhao Singh" in this painting is also not as young as in our fig. 174; why should Bhao Singh be shown in submissive posture at the time when Shah Jahan was already imprisoned and the decisive battle of Samugarh was lost? So far only two portraits of rulers from the Hara clan are known which Shah Jahan had in his album⁷⁵: that of, probably, Chhattar Sal⁷⁶ and Indra Sal⁷⁷. Both rulers look quite similar, even bear more or less the same shield although both persons were painted by Mughal artists who made the most faithful portraits of their time in India. Indra Sal had several children from his first queen, Harikumari. The first child was Gaj Singh, who succeeded his father to the throne of Indragarh⁷⁸. The second was, according to the *VAṂŚA BHĀSKARA*, Amar Singh, a contemporary of Bhao Singh⁷⁹. Thus, we could show that even O.C. Gangoly's questioned reading of the inscription must not necessarily be wrong. We therefore have to doubt M.C. Beach's identification of "Bhao Singh" in the Baroda Museum for more than one reason.

The "Bhao Singh" portrait sold at SOTHEY'S in 1981⁸⁰ shares hardly anything with the inscribed portraits we have introduced here. The painting was evidently painted at Kota at the time of Jagat Singh since the morchal-bearer behind "Bhao Singh" reappears in an equestrian portrait of Jagat Singh⁸¹. This "Bhao Singh" is most probably identical with a Bundi ruler who has been included in a genealogical series of paintings to which we already referred⁸². Though the inscription of the comparable painting⁸³ has not been reproduced we can be sure that the portrait does not show Bhao Singh who is present in another painting of the same set and reproduced here as fig. 9. That means that also the portrait of a Hara noble sold at Sotheby's in 1981 is very much unlikely to represent Bhao Singh of Bundi.

The "Bhao Singh" alias "Chattar Sal" alias "Karan Singh of Mewar"⁸⁴ can, for a number of reasons also not be identified with our Bhao Singh of Bundi, which becomes evident when comparing the person with a "real" Bhao Singh in a similar bearing as e.g. in our fig. 6. Chattar Sal of Bundi had 7 brothers. It is unlikely that only Chattar Sal and Indra Sal were portrayed. Most of them accompanied their elder brother to the Deccan. It is possible that a painter from Bundi painted a ruler from Kota etc. Apart from the characteristics of Bhao Singh which we repeatedly mentioned, we have to note that the sash of Bhao Singh always consists, in his contemporary portraits, of two ends falling from the waist, whereas in the National Museum painting only one decorated end is shown. Also the identification of "Muazzam" alias "Shah Jahan" is questionable. Though many bearded persons among

the 17th century portrait paintings painted in the Bundikalam are said to represent Mughals²⁵, there seems to be neither a published Bundikalam portrait of Shah Jahan²⁶, nor one of Muazzam²⁷. Whoever the person might be, he is not Bhao Singh Hara.

So far, we have not considered Deccani representations of Bhao Singh Hara, of which quite a few exist²⁸. They occur mainly in late 17th century Golconda albums of portraits showing the most important Deccani, Mughal and Rajput kings and nobles. Stylistically, they are comparatively homogenous. We reproduce here one example from the Royal Library, Copenhagen (fig. 13)²⁹. Would it not be for the inscription and other, similarly inscribed paintings in the Binney Collection and the B.M.³⁰, we would hardly be able to identify the person with Bhao Singh on a first glance. Especially the profile line on the forehead and the nose differ considerably from the Bundikalam portraits of the same Rao, as represented, for example, in our fig. 1. Also the turban in the Deccani painting has very little in common with the Rao's turban in fig. 1. What would have made the identification of the person in all the Deccani versions of Bhao Singh we could see so far very difficult, is the absence of the buds in the turban³¹. The Golconda painters developed their own "iconographies" of Mughal and Rajput nobles in the last decades of the 17th century³².

Bhao Singh patronized painting and architecture³³, but we do not see him in any mural of his reign we could investigate so far³⁴. The "Bhao Singh Haveli" ³⁵ is used nowadays as a police station, apparently the only one in the town of Bundi. When entering the police station, there is on the left hand side of the first floor a large part of a wall with murals framing two painted niches. These niches contain portraits, apparently of Bundi rulers, but we could not recognize Bhao Singh amongst them when visiting and photographing this place in early 1980. The niches were worshipped with flowers placed on white pillows. The murals in and around the niches cannot be earlier than the late 18th century. An uninscribed early 19th century mural in the so called Chitrashala in the palace of Bundi³⁶, however, shows that Bhao Singh has not been forgotten by his successors and their artists (fig. 14)³⁷.

Bhao Singh sits on a throne as in several other paintings (cf. our fig. 7) and can be recognized, needless to say, by the small flower arrangement emerging from his turban. The composition reflects, though of a comparatively late date, a certain type of "throne portrait" which the painters trained in the Bundikalam copied from a painting showing Shah Jahan on a very similar seat³⁸. The impact of Mughal painting on the paintings of Bundi can thus be felt up to the first decade of the 19th century³⁹.

NOTES

1. GAHALOTA, Jagadīśasiṃha: *rājapūtane kā itihāsa*, dvitīya bhāga, bṃpḍī, koṭā ..., jodhapura, V.S. 2017 (A.D. 1960), p. 72.
2. BHIMSEN: *Tarikh-i-Dilkasha*, transl. by V.G.Khobrekhar, Bombay, 1972 (Sir Jadunath Sarkar Birth Centenary Volume), p. 21; Samsam-ud-Daula SHĀH NAWĀZ KHĀN: *The Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, transl. by H. Beveridge, revised and annotated by B. Prashad, Calcutta, 1952 (Bibliotheca Indica, Work n° 202, Vol. II), p. 724; TOD, J.: *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* ..., ed. by W. Crooke, 3 Vols., London (etc.), 1920, Vol. 3, p. 1491 f.; BERNIER, F.: *Travels in the Mogul Empire A.D. 1656-1668*, translated by A. Constable, 2nd ed. revd. by V.A. Smith, London (etc.), 1916, p. 48 and p. 51; ELLIOT, H.M. and DOWSON, J.: *The History of India as told by its own historians*, The Muhammadan period, 8 Vols., (reprint) Allahabad, n.d., Vol. VII, p. 223, quoting Khafi Khan's "Muntakhabu-l Lubab"; DOW, A.: *The History of Hindoostan* ..., 3 Vols., London, 1792, Vol. III, p. 249.
3. SĀQI MUST'AD KHAN: *Maāsir-i-'Alamgiri*, transl. and annotd. by J. Sarkar, Calcutta, 1947 (Bibliotheca Indica, Work n° 269), p. 3; J. GAHALOTA 1960, *op. cit.*, p. 72; GAHALOTA, Sukhavīrasīṃha: *rājasthāna kā itihāsa (tithikrama se)*, jodhapura, 1980, p. 39.
4. For his biography cf. especially: SŪRYA MALLA MISRAṆA: *Vaṃśa Bhāskara* ed. by Rāmakaṇṭha Āsopā, n.p. n.d., 8 Vols., Vol. 5, pp. 2725-2854; *The Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, 1941, pp. 405-407; GAHALOTA, J. 1960, *op. cit.*, pp. 72-74.
5. BHIMSEN, *op. cit.*, p. 129. According to J. GAHALOTA 1960, *op. cit.*, p. 74, he died near Aurangabad in a place called "Bhāvapurā", a village he once founded when serving in the Deccan under Aurangzeb.
6. According to J. GAHALOTA 1960, *op. cit.*, p. 74, corresponding to "V.S. 1738 vaiśākha badi 8". The inscription at the base of his Chattri in "Keshar Bagh", however, reads: "rāvarājā śrī bhāva / sihaṇi śānta huvā saṃ / vata 1738 caitre śukla / 8 maṃgalavāra" (for "Keshar Bagh" cf. DHOUNDIYAL, B.N.: *Bundi, Rajasthan District Gazetteers*, Jaipur, 1964, p. 269). The VAṂSA BHĀSKARA, *op. cit.*, gives the date which J. GAHALOTA quoted on p. 2850. "1660-1683" are given as regnal years by Sukhvīr Singh GAHLOT in "Rajput Dynastic Rule", in: *Cultural Heritage of Hadoti*, Jodhpur, 1976, p. 20.
7. Mughal influence on the Rajasthani and Pahari Schools of painting, in: *An age of splendour - Islamic Art in India*, ed. by K. KHANDALAVALA and Saryu DOSHI, Bombay, 1983, pp. 140-145, col. Plate 3.
8. *In the Image of Man*, London, 1982, n° 135, p. 135, not illustrated.
9. BEACH, M.C.: *Rajput Painting at Bundi and Kota*, Ascona, 1974, fig. 28. Cf. also the discussion of the painting on p. 15 f.

10. WELCH, S.C. and BEACH, M.C.: *Gods, Thrones and Peacocks*, New York, 1965, n° 19, p. 119.
11. ARCHER, W.G.: *Indian Painting in Bundi and Kotah*, London, 1959, Plate 2.
12. *The Art of India and Pakistan*, ed. by L. ASHTON, London, 1950, p. 114, n° 416, Plate 89.
13. So called after M.C. BEACH, *op. cit.*, p. 10. The set comprises 42 known paintings: 40 in the Government Museum, Kota, listed by M.M. SHASTRI as Cat. n°s. 151 to 190, acc. n°s. 1950;1 to 1950;40 in: *Catalogue to Government Museum*, Kota, Jaipur, 1961, one in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London L.S. 150-1949, published in HUTCHINS, F.G.: *Young Krishna*, West Franklin, New Hampshire, 1980, col. Plate 17, p. 63 and another one in the Heeramanek Collection, cf. *The Arts of India and Nepal: The Nasli and Alice Heeramanek Collection*, Boston, 1966, p. 124, n° 149.
14. BEACH, M.C.: *op. cit.*, fig. 11.
15. Cf. fn. 13.
16. ARCHER, W.G. and BINNEY, E.: *Rajput Miniatures from the Collection of Edwin Binney 3rd*, Portland, Oregon, 1968, p. 27, n° 12.
17. TOPSFIELD, A.: *Paintings from Rajasthan in the National Gallery of Victoria*, Melbourne, 1980, p. 57, n° 51.
18. We are grateful to A. TOPSFIELD for having shown us a colour slide of the painting in the Kanoria collection to which he refers in his catalogue. The miniature is in any case uninscribed on recto, or if it is, the inscription is hidden under the passepartout.
19. SOTHEBY's *Catalogue of Fine Oriental Miniatures* ..., 12/13 October, 1981, p. 24, lot 60.
20. Thanks are due to Margaret ERSKINE for contacting the owner who in due time wrote to us.
21. We are indebted to Kumar SANGRAM SINGH for kindly allowing us to work in his collection on several occasions during the last years. The painting measures 26,5 x 17,2 cm (height precedes width). M.C. Beach has mentioned this painting, but, obviously, has not taken it sufficiently into account, cf. M.C. BEACH, *op. cit.*, p. 15. The painting measures 20,7 x 17,4 cm within white rules (height precedes width).
22. The recto has been published by Beach, vide M.C. Beach 1974, *op. cit.*, Plate XXVIII, fig. 27.
23. As stated by M.C. BEACH 1974, *op. cit.*, p. 15.
24. For similar inscriptions cf. W.G. ARCHER 1959, *op. cit.*, Plate 12. (= KHANDALAVALA, K.: Five Bundi Paintings of the late 17th Century A.D. in: *Prince of Wales Museum Bulletin*, n° 5, 1955-57, pp. 50-56, p. 50, bottom) (= P. CHANDRA: *Bundi Painting*, New Delhi, 1959, text opposite col. Plate 2) and K. KHANDALAVALA 1957, *op. cit.*, p. 51 (=P. CHANDRA 1959, *op. cit.*, text opp. col. Plate 1).

25. Kumar BRIJ RAJ SINGHJI, Saheb of Kota, kindly allowed us to take photographs within the Garh of Kota on several occasions in recent years. We feel very much indebted to him.
26. The painting was previously in the Government Museum, Kota, where it was listed by M.M. SHASTRI 1961, *op. cit.*, n° 200, Accession n° 1954/137.
27. Fig. 4 only shows a detail. For a discussion and reproduction of the entire painting see our "A contemporary and inscribed equestrian portrait of Jagat Singh of Kota", in: *Deyadharm, Studies in Memory of Prof. D.C. Sircar*, ed. by G. BHATTACHARYA, New Delhi, 1986.
28. Fig.1 shows Bhao Singh when still comparatively young, hence his short moustache.
29. Cf. f.n. 13. See Cat. n° 171 of the Kota Museum Catalogue, the painting of which has been published by D. BARRETT and B. GRAY in: *Painting of India*, Genève, 1963, col. Plate p. 141, where the square mark is visible at the temples of Nanda and Balarama who are standing near the river.
30. Jagat Singh, Aniruddh Singh Hara and Ram Singh Hara copied this fashion for some time, but dropped it towards the end of their lives.
31. This painting is also in the Royal Collection of Kota, of which fig. 5 shows a detail. Fully reproduced in: Singh, B.: "The Kingdom that was Kotah", New Delhi, 1985, fig. II, where misidentified with "Rāo Mādhu Singh" after a painting which does not bear a contemporary inscription (fig. 3 in the same book).
32. We could not see the verso of the painting.
33. The painting of which fig. 6 shows a detail is in the British Museum, London. The full painting has been published by J.A.L. MOLITOR in her *Portraits in sechs Fürstentümern Rajasthans vom 17. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert*, Wiesbaden, 1985, Abb. 40, where it has been wrongly identified and dated.
34. See f.n. 17 and 18 respectively.
35. Before seeing a colour slide of the Kanoria version of the subject, we agreed with BINNEY's and ARCHER's identification and we thought (like many others) that the inscription mentioned by A. TOPSFIELD is a contemporary and reliable one. Though we could identify the "Melbourne - Chhattar Sal" properly with Bhao Singh in an article written over two years ago (cf. f.n. 27), we could not see clearly the rhombic mark and the flower arrangement in the turban of the so called "Chhattar Sal" in the black/white reproduction of the BINNEY catalogue (cf. f.n. 16). Then, with the help of the colour slide shown to us by A. Topsfield our attention had been drawn on these important distinguishing marks.
36. Clearly visible in the Kanoria version.
37. The measurements are 18,3 x 14,4 cm within white rules.
38. It should be mentioned here that we detect the same straight sword in a diagonally striped sheath in the hand of a somewhat exotic looking European figure who also sits on some sort of "throne". The painting referred to has been

reproduced in: MAGGS Bros. Ltd., *Oriental Miniatures & Illumination*, Bulletin N° 19, Vol. VI, part 1, June 1971, p. 17, n° 21. The painting shows a certain European influence which has been exercised on Bundikalam paintings from the beginning of the 17th century onwards.

39. We shall introduce more posthumous portraits of Bhao Singh when discussing the identification of the "Bhao Singh" in the Binney, Kanoria and Melbourne collections respectively.
40. SOTHEBY's catalogue of fine Oriental miniatures and manuscripts, Monday, 10th October, 1977, lot 58.
41. For Jagat Singh's biography cf. especially Mathurālāla SARMA: *koṭā rājya kā itihāsa*, prathama bhāga, koṭā, 1939, pp. 172-197.
42. Cf. fn. 27.
43. Amongst these is Plate 3 in W.G. ARCHER 1959, *op. cit.*, and another painting in the Kanoria Collection, of which A. TOPSFIELD has kindly shown us a colour slide.
44. GRUBE, E.J.: *Islamic Paintings from the 11th to the 18th century in the collection of Hans P. Kraus*, New York, 1972, n° 249, illustrated on p. 288 (=SOTHEBY's, 1.12.1969, lot 150). The inclusion of portraits of Bundi rulers not painted in the Bundikalam causes a few other problems as we shall see further below. We have not seen M.C. BEACH 1974, *op. cit.*, fig. 34 which, according to Beach, is inscribed with the name of "Chattar Sal". Since measurements are not given and the painting has been reproduced in black and white we are unable to decide with certainty whether the painting has been painted in the Bundi style or not. The representation of the person does in any case not show the typical turban with the little flowers.
45. W.G. ARCHER 1959, *op. cit.*, Plate 29.
46. M.M. SHASTRI 1961, *op. cit.*, n° 167, Acc. n° 1950/17, n° 170, Acc. n° 1950/20, n° 183, Acc. n° 1950/33, n° 175, Acc. n° 1950/25.
47. CZUMA, S.: *Indian Art from the George P. Bickford Collection*, Cleveland, 1975, n° 84.
48. Cf. fn. 16.
49. Measurements: approx. 20 x 19,7 cm (height precedes width).
50. RANDHAWA, M.S.: *Painting in Bundi*, in: *Roopa Lekha*, Vol. XXXV, Nos 1 & 2, 1966, pp. 6-14, illustration p. 7.
51. Size: 28,3 x 22,3 cm within outer black rules (height precedes width). This painting forms part of a series of Bundi rulers painted in the Bundikalam, which included at least 25 different paintings, each of which is numbered. The Chester Beatty Library in Dublin has 5 paintings from this set, viz. MS 67(10)-(14), giving the following numbers: 2, 7, 11, 12 and 22. N° 24 is in the V.& A. Museum, London, I.S.95-1955 and was described by W.G. ARCHER 1959, *op. cit.*, Bundi Catalogue n° 17. N° 25 formerly in the S.C. WELCH collection and was published by W.G. ARCHER, *ibid.*, Plate 32 and also by M.C. BEACH 1974, *op. cit.*, fig. 39. Another painting of

- apparently the same set was sold at SOTHEBY's, London, 8th April, 1975, lot 82. Paintings from similar genealogical sets are in the Madho Singh Museum, Kota, the Government Central Museum, Jaipur and the Davids Sameling, Copenhagen.
52. This painting may have served as a guide line for Plate 10, n° 6 of T.H. HENDLEY's *Rulers of India and Chiefs of Rajputana, 1550 to 1897*, London, 1897. For a comparison of Hendley's reproductions of Kota rulers with actual Kota paintings cf. our "Zuordnungsfragen bei Kota Malereien" in: ZDMG, Supplement VI, XXII. D.O.T., Stuttgart 1985, pp. 438-444.
 53. VAMSA BHASKARA, *op. cit.*, Vol. 5, p. 2805.
 54. Cf. MANUCCI, N.: *Storia del Mogor or Mogul India 1653-1708*, transl. and ed. by W. Irvine, 4 Vols., London, 1907-8 (reprint: New Delhi, 1981), Vol. 2, pp. 376 f..
 55. Size: 23 x 16 cm (height precedes width) within the passe-partout.
 56. VAMSA BHASKARA, *op. cit.*, p. 2840.
 57. SAQI MUST'AD KHAN: *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri*, transl. by J. Sarkar, Calcutta, 1947 (Bibliotheca Indica n° 269), p. 99.
 58. VAMSA BHASKARA, *op. cit.*, p. 2845.
 59. Cf. f.n. 22.
 60. VAMSA BHASKARA, *op. cit.*, p. 2851. J.GAHALOTA 1960, *op.cit.*, p. 75 gives "V.S. 1723 āsādhā badī 7" corresponding to A.D. 1666, 23. June as birthdate of Aniruddh Singh.
 61. Size of the full painting: 21,8 x 14,8 cm within yellow rules.
 62. SOTHEBY Parke Bernet Inc., New York, Sale of Fine Oriental Miniatures, Manuscripts..., June 30, 1980, lot 71.
 63. T.H. HENDLEY 1897, *op. cit.*, Plate 10, n° 7.
 64. The painting has the Accession N° 88P/17/61.
 65. Cf. f.n. 50. The photographic department of the Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi, has a photograph of a posthumous portrait of "Kanwar Bhagwant Singh ji", n° 35/50M. The inscription on the back of the picture mentions "rāva bhīva sīgha ji" in the ninth line of the inscription which has altogether ten lines. This photograph has the n° 36/50M. The place where the painting is kept has not been mentioned by the Archaeological Survey.
 66. We once suggested to identify the respective person in the Bhao Singh portrait of the Melbourne Collection with Aniruddh Singh, cf. f.n. 27, but with regard to the age of the person we cannot but withdraw this suggestion.
 67. The owner of this painting, R.K. Tandan, suggested to identify him with "Rao Bhao Singh of Bundi", cf. TANDAN, R.K.: *Indian Miniature Painting - 16th through 19th Centuries*, Bangalore, 1982, n° 44 and p. 71.

68. This is of course not an individual case with regards to 17th century portraits painted in the Bundikalam. We know of several other contemporary equestrian portraits of different persons which have in absence of any inscription not been identified yet, cf. e.g. SOTHEBY's *Catalogue of Important Oriental Miniatures* ..., 8th and 9th October, 1979, lot 85 or KHANDALAVALA, K.: *The Origin and Development of Rajasthani Painting*, in: *Marg*, Vol. XI, n° 2, March 1958, pp. 4-17, fig.18
69. WELCH, S.C. and BEACH, M.C.: *Gods, Thrones and Peacocks*, New York, 1965, n° 19, p. 68 and caption p. 119 (= M.C. BEACH 1974, *op. cit.*, fig. 20 = FALK, T.: *Mughal and Rajput Painting*, in: *Indian Painting*, London, 1978, n° 65, illustrated on p. 99). The painting is not inscribed.
70. GOETZ, H.: *The First Golden Age of Udaipur: Rajput Art in Mewār during the Period of Mughal Supremacy*, in: *Ars Orientalis*, Vol. II, 1957, pp. 427-437, illustration 21 (= GANGOLY, O.C.: *Critical Catalogue of Miniature Paintings in the Baroda Museum*, Baroda, 1961, p. 83, n° 1, Plate XIIIIB).
71. GANGOLY, O.C. 1961, *op. cit.*, p. 83.
72. BEACH, M.C. 1974, *op. cit.*, p. 15.
73. *Ibid.* p. 15.
74. The long moustache is recognizable in the reproduction.
75. For this *Late Shāh Jahān Album* see BEACH, M.C.: *The Grand Mogul, Imperial Painting in India 1600-1660*, Williamstown, Massachusetts, 1979, p. 76 sq.
76. See f.n. 44.
77. HEERAMANECK, A.N.: *Masterpieces of Indian Painting from the former Collections of Nasli M. Heeramanek*, n.p., 1984, col. Plate 213. Indra Sal is the younger brother of Chattar Sal. His skin is slightly darker than that of his elder brother. There is a contemporary portrait of Gaj Singh, oldest son of Indra Sal, in a West German private collection. He is of a very dark complexion. The painting has been executed in the Bundikalam.
78. Cf. VAMSA BHĀSKARA, *op. cit.*, p. 2559 et seq.
79. *Ibid.*, n° 195.6
80. See f.n. 19.
81. Cf. f.n. 27
82. Cf. f.n. 51
83. SOTHEBY's 8th April 1975, lot 82.
84. Cf. our f.n.'s 7-12.
85. Cf. e.g. R.K. TANDAN 1982, *op. cit.*, fig. 45 "Prince Dara Shikoh..."; SOTHEBY's New York, 30th June 1980, lot 72 "A Portrait of Prince Murad Baksh..."; PANT, G.N.: *Indian Archery*, Delhi, 1978, Plate LXVI. Pant does not mention where this painting comes from. A caption of the same

- photograph in the Photographic Department of the Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi, informs under n° 43/50M that the painting is kept in the *Saraswati Bhawan Collection* of Kota and that it shows *Nawab Sadat Khan of Shahjahanabar*. Another photograph of a Bundikalam portrait painting in the same department shows *Shah Suja* under n° 32/50M.
86. For an 18th century Bundikalam portrait of Shah Jahan (?) see ARCHER, M.: *Indian paintings from court, town and village*, London, 1970, no. 13.
 87. Cf. however TANDAN, R.K., *op. cit.*, col. Plate XVIII which the author wants to identify with "Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam (?)". We read on p. 71 in Tandan's book with regard to this painting: "Although the prince (fig. 46, ca. 1680) resembles Aurangzeb, he probably represents Muhammad Mu'azzam,..."
 88. SOTHEY & Co., *Catalogue of Western and Oriental Manuscripts and Miniatures*, 3rd April, 1957, lot 49, folio 8 recto "Raja Bhao Singh of Bundi", folio 9 verso: "Raja Bhao Singh of Bundi". TITLEY, N.M.: *Miniatures from Persian Manuscripts. A Catalogue and Subject Index of Paintings from Persia, India and Turkey in the British Library and The British Museum*, London, 1977, 26, 30 (folio 22a) and 29, 13 (folio 13). BINNEY, E.: *Indian Miniature Painting*, Portland, 1973, n° 139b.
 89. Det Kongelige Bibliotek, *Orientalisk Afdeling, Codex Rotulae*. III. The Caption to this painting - in a handlist attached to the album - reads: "Bahār Sing...". The painting, however, is properly inscribed in nashtaliq: "bāu sing", not visible in our reproduction.
 90. J.P. LOSTY has kindly shown us photocopies of them, for their cat. n° refer to f.n. 88 supra.
 91. They do also not occur in the British Museum versions.
 92. In this connection, E. BINNEY (1973, *op. cit.*, p. 163) remarked when describing his Deccani portrait of Bhao Singh (cf. f.n. 88): "...even the Bundi raja is dressed à la Golconda". Rolf Weber observed when comparing both Mughal and Golconda versions of Mir Jumla with each other: "verdeutlicht diese Gegenüberstellung doch den Gegensatz zwischen der psychologisch eindrucksvollen Studie des Mogulmalers und der holzschnittartig verkürzten, die Gesichtszüge überbetonenden Miniatur der späten GolcondaSchule". (WEBER, R.: *Porträts und historische Darstellungen in der Miniaturensammlung des Museums für Indische Kunst Berlin*, Berlin 1962 (Veröffentlichungen des Museums für Indische Kunst, Band 6), p. 264.) For R. Weber's identification of the painting cf. also MILSTEIN, R.: *Islamic Painting in the Israel Museum*, Jerusalem, 1984, n° 255.
 93. For a list of monuments built for Bhao Singh see VAMŠA BHASKARA, *op. cit.*, p. 2852 seq.
 94. We are indebted to the *Stiftung Volkswagenwerk, Hannover* for having financed our research on the murals of Bundi for a period of 30 months.
 95. Cf. PARMAR, B.M.S.: *Murals of Hadoti, in: Cultural Heritage*

of *Haḍoti*, ed. by Mahavir Singh Gahlot et al., Jodhpur, 1976, p. 36.

96. For the only and, unfortunately, not very useful article on the Chitrashala of Bundi cf. SUMAHENDRA: *būṇḍī kī citraśālā*, in: *Ākṛti* 80, *rājasthāna lalita kalā akādamī*, 1982, pp. 41-44.
97. The painting of which fig. 14 shows only a detail is situated in a niche on the north eastern wall of the Chitrashala.
98. Reproduced in STRZYGOWSKI, J. et al.: *Asiatische Miniaturenmalerei im Anschluß an Wesen und Werden der Mogulmalerei*, Klagenfurt, 1933, Tafel 70 = PAL, P.: *Indian Paintings in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art*, New Delhi, 1982, col. Plate 5, = HEERAMANECK, A.N., 1984, *op. cit.*, col. Plate 217, mirror reverse. The companion piece showing Jahangir on a throne is reproduced in: STCHOUKINE, I.: *La Peinture Indienne à l'Époque des Grands Moghols*, Paris, 1929, Planche XXXIV. = BOUVIERS, R. and MAYNIAL, E.: *Le Dernier des Grands Mogols, Vie d'Aurang Zeb*, Paris, 1947, Planche II.
99. We wish to express our thanks to all those individuals and institutions so far not mentioned for kindly allowing us to work with their material; in particular:
 Nana LUND/ Royal Library, Copenhagen,
 David JAMES/ Chester Beatty Library, Dublin,
 P.L. CHAKRAVARTY/ Government Central Museum, Jaipur,
 Daljeet KHARE/ National Museum, New Delhi,
 The Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi and
 The British Museum, London.
 Special thanks are due to Dr. (Mrs.) Krishna BRUHN-SWARUP and Prof. C.B. TRIPATHI for translating relevant passages from genuine Indian sources. Finally, Dr. L.W.J. v.d.KUIJP deserves our warmest thanks for going through the manuscript. All photographs with the exception of fig. 6 are from the author.



fig. 1

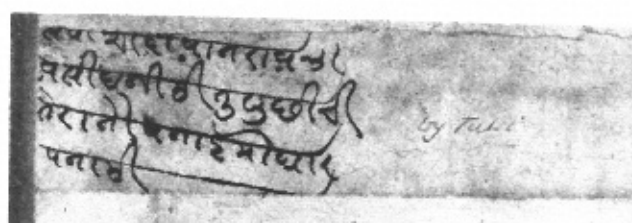


fig. 2a

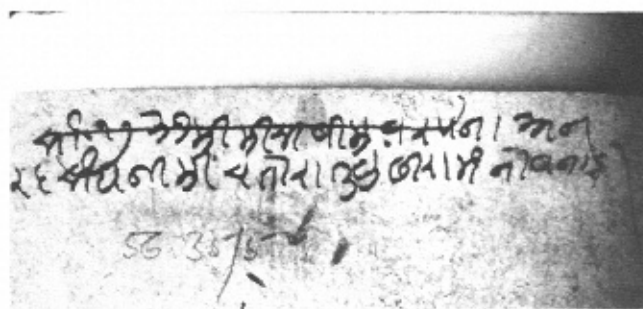


fig. 2b



fig. 3



fig. 4



fig. 5



fig. 6



fig. 7



fig. 8

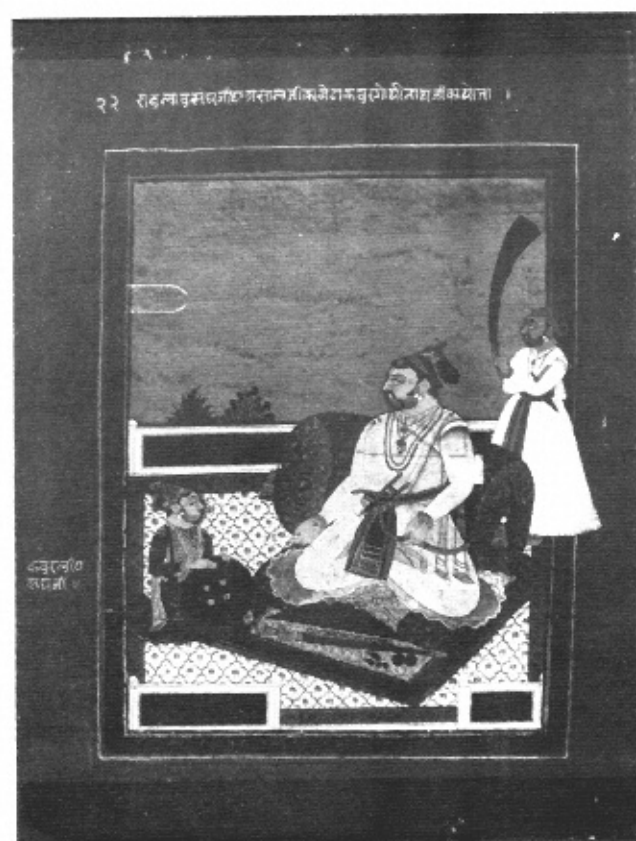


fig. 9



fig.10



fig.11



fig.12



fig.13



fig.14