

Joachim Bautze

## Maharana Sangram Singh of Udaipur entertaining members of the Dutch East India Company led by Johan Josua Ketelaar

A large *chaugan* or so-called 'polo square' forms the setting of this unusually large painting. The spectator is looking down on the scene from above, which means that everything which appears at the bottom of the painting should be seen as the foreground and everything towards the top of the painting as the background. The major event in this painting is the reception of an embassy of the Dutch East India Company headed by J. J. Ketelaar by Maharana Sangram Singh in 1711. This scene, however, has not been placed in the centre of the painting, which gives us sufficient reason for commencing with the description from a visitor's point of view, standing at the outer wall of the arena in the foreground (Fig. 1). In the left half of the painting, but outside the wall of the *chaugan*, a religious mendicant or *sadhu* armed with a shield raises his right fist in order to beat an opponent in a dispute involving at least eleven people. A man behind the *sadhu* holds a long cane in the act of making a strike, another *sadhu* is already lying on the ground, while those around him are busy dealing out blows with either their fists or with sticks. Four people are arriving from the left, one of them on horseback. Another rider watches the scene on the right hand side, while a man with a dishevelled turban on a blueish horse in full gallop is arriving behind him. Another rider is falling from his horse and is attended by three men who run

to his rescue. This rider's horse has most probably panicked at an elephant, which is just sauntering out from the entrance of the *chaugan* in the centre of the bottom part of the painting (Fig. 2).

In the lower right half, and again outside the *chaugan*, two elephant guards are running in front of what appears to be a she-elephant. One of them holds the Mewar standard, an orange flag of triangular shape with a sun in its centre. Several men behind them are trying to scale the wall, the top of which is extremely crowded throughout its entire length. A horseman speeds from left to right and a half-clad man walks in front of him, while two other riders approach from the right near the extreme right hand corner outside the *chaugan*, where a group of people are walking away.

There are people to be seen on both the square towers flanking the entrance to the *chaugan* in the lower centre. A *sadhu* with knotted hair and a tiger skin sits peacefully on the left tower with three adults and a child behind him. On the right tower, a blue complexioned *sadhu* whose body is besmeared with ashes, looks in three quarter view towards the spectator. Five other men are either kneeling or standing on the same tower. Two seem to be armed *sadhus* (Fig. 3). The spectator, who finally decides to enter the large arena, is the witness of a sort of Indian *corrida*: an elephant is being incited by two riders on horseback a short distance

Fig. 1. The reception in 1711 on the *chaugan* or *pologround* by Maharana Sangram Singh, ruler of Udaipur, of the Dutch East India Company embassy led by Johan Ketelaar.

Fig. 2. Detail of lower left side.



in front of it. The elephant is trying to grab hold of the tail of one of these horses with its trunk and would thus be induced to follow the horses around the *chaugan*. A fairly large crowd is running behind this elephant. One man amongst this crowd is carrying something which looks like a cage. Behind the elephant – in the centre of the

painting – is an elevated white platform which can be ascended by stairs on either side. Only one man stands on this spacious platform and his right arm is outstretched, holding a branch of a palm tree. Below the platform a few people are just standing witnessing the above scene (Fig. 4).

Moving to the left, in front of the *corrida* incident of the elephant and two riders, one sees another Mewar standard being carried by a man who has turned his face towards the prancing elephant in order to keep a safe distance. He is in the company of six other men, two of whom carry bows. Between them and the elevated platform, slightly to the left of the centre of the *chaugan*, an elephant fight is taking place. Two elephants are running against each other. Their *mahawats* are trying to control the animals with their elephant goads. Behind the elephant on the left a group of twenty-one Dutch soldiers – of whom the seventeen foot soldiers appear to be Chinese – in Dutch uniform of red coats and blue trousers stand in a semi-circle. The Dutch soldiers do not seem to be very interested in the elephant

Fig. 3. Detail, lower centre, with entrance to the *chaugan*.



fight. Instead they are observing a large fire to their left of which only a huge cloud of smoke is visible.

Two Dutch trumpeters at the top of the semicircle are blowing on their instruments, while a drummer alongside is beating a large drum. The man in front of the trumpeters is no doubt the officer in charge of this group of Dutch soldiers. He is wearing a sword and holding an unidentifiable object in his right hand. Seven of the foot soldiers are firing a salute with their matchlocks, while another seven have their left hands outstretched in the direction of the elephant fight (Fig. 4). In the lower corner of the *chaugan* there are

Fig. 4. Detail, centre, with platform and fighting elephants.

various groups of people who seem to be interested neither in the foreigners nor in the elephant fight. Amongst them is a group of three seated *pandits* dressed in white. Next to them sits a group of six men all of whom are dressed in pink loin-cloths. They are all armed with shields and with either a sword or spear. Two adults and a child run from left to right, with their heads turned to their left towards another group of persons who appear to be fleeing from the elephant chasing the two horses mentioned earlier. These people move in the direction of a naked ascetic with very long hair and a beard and with both arms raised up in the air, the hands emphasized by extremely long and curling fingernails. A naked child behind him carries a stick and a water pot. Another group of persons is to be found in the extreme lower left corner of the *chaugan*, where a man with a small child is in discussion with a man in a yellow robe with a shield on his back. Others are sitting on the ground immersed in conversation (Fig. 2). The right half of the *chaugan* is another vivid record of popular entertainment in early 18th-century Udaipur. Entering the *chaugan* again from the lower central gateway one passes to the left the scene of the elephant chasing the two horses and the long row of people walking behind them. To their right a man with a red conical cap, orange shirt and red trousers carries a long red cane, to the top of which some sort of transparent shawl has been fastened. A white garland hangs down suspended by a string from the red cane. This man, whilst running with this peculiar equipment across the *chaugan*, is followed by three children. A little distance in front of him walk four *sadhus* in a row in pinkish robes, each armed with a dagger. Their leader has a blue complexion and carries a sword and a shield. He has turned round to the *sadhu* behind him, who carries a long stick. Then follows another blue-complexioned *sadhu*, who in turn is followed by a *sadhu* carrying a bow and a quiver full of arrows. A man of noble appearance is about to pass them with a bewildered expression on his face. The lower right hand corner of the *chaugan* is also

Fig. 5. Detail of lower right side.



crowded: men and children are running to and fro, while one man has presumably fallen from the wall and is lying on the ground with dishevelled hair, his loose turban being deposited a small distance in front of his head. Another man dressed in a long white *jama* has turned round towards a horned ram, which is eating out of his right hand (Fig. 5).

Another elephant is running from left to right, across the *chaugan* towards the back of the large walled-in playing field. It is nearing the second gateway of the *chaugan* in the upper right half of the painting and is being followed by eight people running behind it. About the same number of people are running away from the animal. A rider on a blue horse, passing through this rear gate, tries to attract the attention of the elephant in order to make it leave the *chaugan*. A man carrying the orange Mewar standard with a golden sun in the centre and Chinese-looking cloud motifs around it is

disappearing behind the right tower of the same gateway. A long-haired *sadhu* dressed in red seems to be surprised by the approach of the elephant. He has his hands raised whilst in the act of falling down and has already lost his dagger, bow and three arrows. Another *sadhu*, who appears unarmed, tries to help him, whereas the *sadhu* next to him runs away with eyes wide open. Other people seem less excited and are roaming about freely. One man is sitting on the ground drinking from a red bottle, another *sadhu* with a panther's hide across his shoulder is led away by an old man, some children are engaged in fighting and their fathers try to separate them, a man with a long rifle and a powder horn attached to his belt is running away from the wall. Thus, the entire area is filled with many people in different types of movement and activity (Fig. 6).

The top central part of the painting is dominated by a large building which adjoins

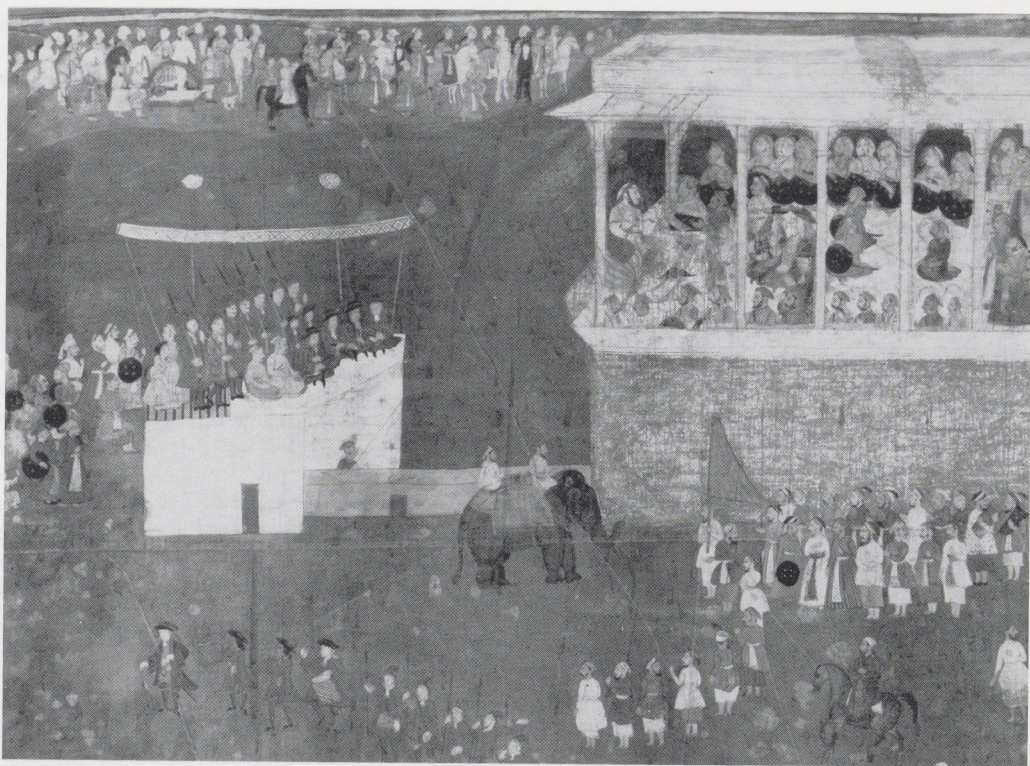
Fig. 6. Detail, upper right, with entrance to the *chaugan*.



the *chaugan*. It is a *darbar* hall made of white marble resting on a high elevation above the ground. It consists of a flat roof with a pronounced *chajja* (eaves) supported by tall pillars with brackets in the Mughal fashion. The floor of the *darbar* hall is surrounded by a low balustrade. The stair leading to the hall is situated on the right hand side of the structure and is – like the walls around the *chaugan* – crowded. The high elevation under the hall is undecorated and is obviously not made of white marble. Maharana Sangram Singh is sitting at the left end of the building facing right and thus overlooking the entire hall. A golden aureole around his head clearly delineates his bearded face and his head is covered by a flat turban. His left hand is raised in the gesture of conversation, while his right hand

rests on some sort of golden club. He is reclining against a large lilac pillow and another with gold embroidery – both of which stress his royal status. His weapons include a long rifle together with a powder horn, a sword and a black shield and all these are deposited in front of him. Two men with their palms placed together are kneeling in front of him on a slightly lower level. A row of ten nobles, all of whom have placed their black shields in front of their knees, are sitting on the king's left, while eleven persons are visible on his right. Johan Ketelaar is seated immediately behind the two nobles with joined palms directly in front of the king, facing left. He wears a black hat, a red coat with gold stripes and green boots or trousers. The Dutchman on his right has his head turned towards Ketelaar and has curly hair as long as that of Ketelaar himself. A Dutch servant standing on Ketelaar's left leans against a pillar and is dressed in a dark blue uniform. Two more nobles are seated behind Ketelaar and a third behind his Dutch companion. Four men stand near the right hand wall of the hall, which is otherwise completely open. They face the king, as does another man who is kneeling a little distance in front of them. A servant at the back is guarding the entrance. He is talking to two other servants whose hands rest on their long sticks. Maharana Sangram Singh is protected from the rays of the sun behind by an awning embroidered in gold with an orange-red border. From the arrangement of the poles and strings placed diagonally, which maintain the awning in its proper place, the eye of the spectator is led to a similar diagonal arrangement of muskets borne by Dutch soldiers standing in one row on a raised platform to the left of the assembly hall. This structure is separated from the larger *darbar* hall by a wall not exceeding the height of a man. This wall was most probably used for elephant fights. An elephant keeper with a long spike is standing in front of the square platform, though behind the wall used for elephant fights. An elephant stands facing right a little distance in front of this wall. It is mounted by two

Fig. 7. Detail, upper centre, with *darbar* hall.



keepers and has its trunk raised. A group of nine people form a semicircle at a safe distance in front of this elephant, even though its right hind leg is chained to a stone ring which is firmly fixed to the ground. The man at the head of the top end of this group, immediately below the *darbar* hall, carries the triangular Mewar standard with a yak's tail waving from it. Behind this standard-bearer awaits another group of nineteen people, closely bunched together immediately below the *darbar* hall in which the Maharana is receiving the embassy of the Dutch East India Company. All the persons in this group are unarmed except for two men who carry weapons wrapped up in green cloth.

A doorway at the front of the square platform, on which the musketeers of the Dutch East India company are standing, probably leads to a stair affording access to the platform. The platform itself consists of two different levels: the higher level facing

the *darbar* hall and a lower level to the left on which a striped carpet has been laid. Four Dutch delegates are sitting cross-legged on the higher level of the platform, along with two *Mewari* chieftains on their right and two Dutch children in blue uniforms immediately behind. The Dutch are dressed in red coats, blue trousers, hose and black shoes. The seven Dutch musketeers stand on the carpet. They have blue feathers in their red hats, their coats are red and their hose and trousers blue. Bayonets are attached to their muskets. A *Mewari* soldier and child stand behind them. A large red awning is spread above the platform, resting on four poles. Several armed men stand at a level immediately below and to the left of the platform and it may be that there is also some sort of stair on the outside here, as in the case with the *darbar* hall (Fig. 7). The wall surrounding the *chaugan* to the left of the platform described above is extremely crowded. People are standing on a lower

Fig. 8. Detail of upper left side.



inner level as well as on the top of the wall itself. Behind this wall in the upper left portion of the painting numerous people are visible. There are riders and men leading one or more horses and a woman balancing a pitcher on her head. Two buildings with a walled garden appear on the horizon. An elephant led by a standard bearer is half hidden behind a hill, in front of which more than forty retainers wait for their king. Amongst the riders one carries an *afiabgir* or sunshade and another has the *naqqaras* or royal kettle drums attached to the saddle of his horse. There are palanquin bearers and many other servants who stand close together in a long row which ceases at some point on the horizon behind the *darbar* hall (Fig. 8).

The top of the wall to the right of the *darbar* hall is similarly crowded, with many people standing or sitting on it. One retainer holds a *kiran*, which is the symbol of royalty. It looks rather like a round black plate with a

gold centre attached to a long pole. The people on the towers flanking the entrance at the back are all looking in the direction of the assembly hall, as is the standard bearer who accompanies a royal elephant as they pass through the gate. Outside this gate three grooms are leading two saddled horses at a certain distance from the *chaugan*. Another elephant is walking in the opposite direction. It looks very similar to the one which is about to leave the arena through the rear gate. Three men with long spears are walking behind this tusker, while a horseman with his head turned towards the beast behind him and four people on foot move in front. This procession, the leader of which bears a standard, is passing a small walled village with several houses which appear to have tiled roofs. A little distance away, in the upper margin of the painting, is a tiny square building – most probably a shrine – to the side of which stands a woman in conversation with a holy man in front of her.

Fig. 9. Detail of upper right side.



Behind this man is a small hut, also with a tiled roof (Fig. 9). This large cloth painting is probably the best existing record of Johan Josua Ketelaar's visit to Udaipur in 1711. The subject of the scene was identified first by Robert Skelton, but it was Andrew Topsfield who devoted an extremely useful article to the *Farangi* theme, not only in Udaipur but in Rajasthan as such.<sup>1</sup> In this context *Farangi*, in earlier times also written *Firinghee*, is an old Asian term for a 'European'.<sup>2</sup> Europeans rarely visited Rajput states in the early 18th century, which is one reason why the *Farangi* theme in 18th-century Udaipur paintings forms a subject on its own. The visit of J. J. Ketelaar, who came from Germany, inspired the Mewari painters for several generations.<sup>3</sup> Another version of the same event is in the Victoria & Albert Museum, London<sup>4</sup>, but the present painting is 'painted by a different and somewhat more skilful artist (or artists)'.<sup>5</sup> There are only a very few

comparable Mewar paintings on cloth of such a large size. One unpublished example is in the collection of the Maharana of Mewar<sup>6</sup> and another unpublished cloth painting shows a procession in open country.<sup>7</sup> A published example from Mewar, which may precede the present one by a few years, is in an American private collection.<sup>8</sup> Paintings on cloth from the beginning of the 19th century are not taken into account here.<sup>9</sup>

The present painting bears no inscription apart from an inventory number and a valuation on the central platform in the *chaugan* (*kīmata* 175). In addition to those mentioned above, there are other cloth paintings of like dimensions, but they show a completely different theme: a portrait of a tiger. A certain number of these large cloth paintings seem to have been executed for Arsi Singh of Mewar.<sup>10</sup> One of them mentions Arsi Singh along with the date *samata 1819 rā jētha suda 2* or 1782.<sup>11</sup> Its



importance for our purpose is to be seen in the fact that in a five-line inscription the painting is numbered 1 and called *parado*, i.e. *pardā*, or screen, shade or curtain.<sup>12</sup> This word might provide a clue for the use and purpose of the earlier large paintings on cloth.

The size of these paintings is not necessarily due to the influence of European paintings as one might be inclined to suggest. It is much more probable that wall paintings of similar dimensions led to the production of large paintings on cloth of comparable size. The 17th-century murals of Udaipur are no longer in existence, but we do have large murals showing palace scenes in the Badal Mahal of Bundi<sup>13</sup> and in the so-called Supari Mahal of Indargarh.<sup>14</sup> Both these palaces have murals dating from the 17th century. A large cloth painting showing an elephant hunt has been for many years on display in the Indian Section of the Victoria & Albert Museum, London.<sup>15</sup> It comes from Kota and is in all probability contemporary with the earliest known Mewari cloth paintings. Be that as it may, *such works were always rare at the Rajasthani courts and peripheral to the mainstream tradition of painting on paper.*<sup>16</sup> The *chaugan* of the present painting re-appears in a number of later paintings on paper. In one of these the stairs to the assembly hall and the platform are clearly visible, since the painter has shown an elephant fight taking place not in the *chaugan* but outside it – behind the buildings shown in our cloth painting. This painting is in a private collection in London.<sup>17</sup> In another painting in a museum in Udaipur the elephant fight also takes place outside the *chaugan*, but here the painter has chosen a different perspective.<sup>18</sup> A painting in the collection of Kumar Sangram Singh, Jaipur, shows the *chaugan* with the central round platform in its middle on the occasion of the *Dussehra* celebrations.<sup>19</sup> A painting, which bears an inscription giving the name of the large elevated assembly hall as the *darikhāna*, also shows Maharana Sangram Singh watching an elephant fight. Here the wall between the '*darikhāna*' (a kind of summer house) and the square

platform to its left is used in the elephant fight.<sup>20</sup> An inscription on the verso of a painting in the National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, like the previous one, confirms the name of the building. The recto shows one or more elephant fights with *sadhus* standing on the towers of one of the gates of the *chaugan*.<sup>21</sup> There also exists a painting which shows a polo game actually taking place in the *chaugan*.<sup>22</sup>

The presence of a standing man who is waving an object with his right hand needs some explanation. In default of a better term, we called that object *a branch of a palm tree* in our short description of the painting. This object is very often to be seen with symbols of royalty such as the *morchal* (fly-whisk made of peacock feathers) or the *chamara* (fly-whisk made of the hair of the tail of the white yak). In one published example it appears twice with a *morchal* and a *chamara*.<sup>23</sup> Whether the object in question is some sort of feather cannot be decided from the numerous paintings in which it appears, but it was certainly a symbol of royalty. The man on the platform might thus be indicating the presence of the king or reserving the place for him. This suggestion is corroborated by another painting of Sangram Singh's reign, in which the central platform is occupied by a man who is seated behind a *gaddi*.<sup>24</sup> The *gaddi*, however, remains unoccupied, although there is an attendant there. In another painting the empty *gaddi* is on the central tower of the *chaugan*, which is otherwise empty.<sup>25</sup> Finally, in one painting Sangram Singh is actually seated on the *gaddi*, which is placed on top of the central tower in the *chaugan*. He is shown conversing with Maharaja Sawai Jai Singh.<sup>26</sup> When the central tower is empty or occupied by other people than the king, the action either takes place outside the *chaugan* or the tradition of reserving the central platform for the king is no longer kept to, as is shown by later paintings.

The triangular shape of the Mewar standards in the present painting resembles that of those in the famous Ramayana series painted for Maharana Jagat Singh in the middle of the 17th century.<sup>27</sup> In the 19th century,

however, the form changed.<sup>28</sup> The older, triangular, type of standard is always seen accompanying a royal elephant in the cloth painting, which is probably not accidental, especially since imperial Mughal elephants were at times accompanied by a standard bearer with a triangular flag.<sup>29</sup>

The theme of an elephant pursuing a horseman was also very common among the Mughals and is still to be seen on the mosaic tiles of the Lahore Fort.<sup>30</sup> In 1876 the Prince of Wales witnessed such a scene, while he was being entertained in Baroda. It is worth quoting: *Just as a third elephant was led out and provoked to a proper state of indignation and temper, a lithe compact sowar, mounted on a cropy little horse, with a jerky action and a jaunty step, came into the arena. The cavalier perked up to the beast, which stood balancing itself, now on one leg, then on another, and flopping its proboscis about angrily. There is a strong antipathy between horse and elephant, but the horseman cantered his steed close up to the brute in a very confidential manner. The elephant appeared to take no notice of the sowar, who had not even a whip, and guided his horse by hand and the stirrup-irons. Suddenly the elephant uttered a short, sharp trumpet-note, and made a furious rush at his tormentor. It seemed as if man and horse must die. The end of the proboscis was all but on the rider's shoulder; a murmur ran round the arena – a cry of horror – which was changed into a burst of applause – as the sowar, with a plunge of the sharp edge of his stirrup-iron, shot away, wheeled round, and, before the elephant could get himself together again, was capering provokingly at his flank.*<sup>31</sup> The organization of elephant fights was once an Imperial privilege.<sup>32</sup> From Akbar's chronicler onwards<sup>33</sup> the elephant fight was described by many 17th-century European travellers, such as Thomas Roe<sup>34</sup>, William Finch<sup>35</sup>, Thomas Coryat<sup>36</sup>, Edward Terry<sup>37</sup>, Peter Mundy<sup>38</sup>, Sebastian Manrique<sup>39</sup>, and François Bernier<sup>40</sup>, to mention a few. Johan Josua Ketelaar witnessed an elephant fight on 8 August 1712, during which one of the riders lost his life.<sup>42</sup> Several elephant fights were observed by the Daniells on 18 July 1789, one of which is recorded in an oil

painting.<sup>43</sup> 19th-century descriptions<sup>44</sup> can be compared to late 19th or early 20th-century photographs, which show that even at such a late date the elephant fight was in vogue at various places in Northern India.<sup>45</sup> It seems, however, that by the beginning of the 20th century elephant fights were no longer used for the entertainment of important European guests. The Prince of Wales could not even shoot a panther, but only *four pigs, one small deer, and three hyenas*.<sup>46</sup> It seems that panther shooting became the major entertainment for European guests, since Count Hans von Königsmarck, who arrived at Udaipur about a year after the visit of the Prince of Wales, also only witnessed fights of partridges, cocks, crows, gazelles and that of a tiger against a boar in the presence of the Maharana of Udaipur. Although the Berliner Count von Königsmarck had the chance to shoot a panther, he did not enjoy the entertainment.<sup>47</sup> At the same time elephants were by no means extinct in Udaipur. We see them frequently near the so called *Tripolia*.<sup>48</sup> European paintings showing Indian elephant fights were reproduced in European books or chapters on India. They were reproduced either as copper engravings<sup>49</sup>, lithographs<sup>50</sup>, wood engravings<sup>51</sup> or steel engravings.<sup>52</sup> Painting of elephants on the walls of the Udaipur palace have survived in a few miniature paintings<sup>53</sup>, showing how fond the Ranas were of them. Apart from these wall-paintings, a fairly large number of portraits of elephants are to be found, which were done for the Mewari rulers throughout the 18th century. An apparently unpublished portrait of an elephant in the collection of the late Gopikrishna Kanoria seems to belong to the oldest group of such portraits, executed towards the end of the 17th century. The elephant in the Kanoria collection is called *Samādanta* in the inscription, meaning that its tusks were of equal length. This miniature was painted under the strong influence of the Bundi-kalam. By the middle of the 18th century portraits of elephants were being commissioned in considerable numbers, mostly in series of illustrations. These

paintings inform us, for example, that Maharana Sangram Singh had an elephant called 'Ganges Water' (*gaṃgājala*)<sup>54</sup>, while another elephant in the same series of portraits once belonged to Maharana Jagat Singh. Its name was 'Large Cloud' or 'Large Army' (*dalabādala*).<sup>55</sup> Maharana Jagat Singh also had an elephant called 'Black Beauty' (*syamasudara*)<sup>56</sup>, but this belongs to a different series of portraits. An elephant from Maharana Jai Singh is also known by name.<sup>57</sup> In earlier portraits we meet the elephant 'Auspicious Victory' (*phatemub-āraka*)<sup>58</sup>, who is just piercing the throat of a fallen camel with his tusks. In another early painting the elephant *bijuyāra* (Lightning?)<sup>59</sup> is difficult to tame and so is the elephant *chanchal* in a later painting of 1760.<sup>60</sup> The elephants *bijuyāra*<sup>61</sup>, *manamurta*<sup>62</sup> and *kavalagaja*<sup>63</sup> were all identified by the same scribe. In the inscriptions above the paintings *hāthī* signifies a male elephant. A female elephant is called *hāthanī*.<sup>64</sup> In the case of several published Mewari portraits of elephants, we do not know the name of the animal, since the relevant inscriptions were either missing, or failed to be reproduced or read.<sup>65</sup>

With all these portraits of elephants in mind, it is no surprise to discover that one of the first and most important Dutch chronicles on Mughal India already mentions the Maharana of Udaipur in connection with costly elephants.<sup>66</sup> It is, however, not clear how far elephant fights were just copied from earlier originals or are based on actual observation. The Mughals copied earlier Mughal works<sup>67</sup> and the Bundikalam painters did the same with earlier Bundikalam painting.<sup>68</sup> But the Bundikalam painters also copied animal fights from paintings which do not originate from Bundi nor from Kota nor from any other territory under the Haras. One example was copied in Bundi from a much earlier Mughal original.<sup>69</sup> We should therefore not be surprised to find the composition of the elephant fight in our cloth painting in an earlier miniature, although this would most likely not be the case in respect of the apparent portraits of many of the persons

present, especially since a large number of those present in the *darbar* can be identified for certain with the help of contemporary paintings with inscriptions. Even some of the *yogis* or *sadhus*, one of whom was portrayed later, seem to be familiar.<sup>70</sup> In relation to a number of depictions of elephant fights<sup>71</sup>, it might be argued that the cloth painting under discussion shows only two elephants in different positions and movements respectively. This seems, however, to be highly improbable, since the king himself is only shown once and the horse whose rider is leading an elephant through the gate in the back which is passing the small village, could not suddenly change its colour from blue to white! A portrait of J. J. Ketelaar, by a European artist, which is dated 1717<sup>72</sup>, affords a good comparison with the portrait of him in the present painting. The prominent nose and double chin are particularly notable features, which reappear in the cloth painting in the Rijksmuseum, another large cloth painting in the Victoria & Albert Museum, London<sup>73</sup>, and a cloth painting in the Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam.<sup>74</sup>

The semi-circle formed by the Dutch riflemen, some of whom might come from East-Asia, although this cannot be proved by the painting alone, needs some explanation. The number of grenadiers, musicians and officers corresponds more or less to the list published by J. P. Vogel<sup>75</sup>, a fact which again enhances the reliability of the painting, when it comes to the reconstruction of the actual event. The interpretation of the fires around which the grenadiers and musicians are standing as firework displays is ruled out by the fact that such displays take place at night. Besides, the fires are giving off nothing but smoke and the flames are clearly visible. A real firework display would most probably have frightened the elephants which, when thoroughly excited, would not have spared the multitudes in the arena, and it would also have produced such an enormous noise that the musicians would have felt embarrassed by being drowned by the sound of it. J. P. Vogel, quoting a contemporary German companion of J. J. Ketelaar,

mentions that the blowing of the two trumpets and the volley fired by the grenadiers formed part of the Dutch burial ritual.<sup>76</sup> In this connection we would like to interpret the fires as cremation fires, especially since a volley is being fired across them as described by J. G. Worms, who witnessed the funeral of J. J. Ketelaar in Persia.<sup>77</sup> Who had to be cremated in the *chaugan* of the Maharana of Udaipur, however, we do not know, but it was probably not a member of the Dutch East India Company.

The different types of *sadhus*, *yogis* etc. offer a vivid kaleidoscope of the holy men the members of the Dutch East India Company must frequently have met on their tour through Rajasthan. In the late 19th century there was still quite a large variety of these holy men in Rajasthan, especially in Marwar, of which we have a fairly good account.<sup>78</sup> Their garb will have changed somewhat since J. J. Ketelaar visited the Court of Maharana Sangram Singh and we have no contemporary account illustrating all the different sects other than the present cloth painting, where their members are unfortunately not identified by inscriptions. Only the Kanphat *Yogis* can be identified with the help of their large earrings.<sup>79</sup> Some of them can be detected sitting on the enclosure wall behind the scuffle in the lower left part of the painting. The naked man with his hand raised behind them seems to be an *Illar*.<sup>80</sup> Bishop Heber, who saw some of these *Yogis* in Amber, described them as *grim and ghastly... with their hair in elf-knots and their faces covered with chalk, sitting naked and hideous....*<sup>81</sup> We should not be surprised to see some of them in the painting equipped with various sorts of weapons. The Mughal emperor Akbar had already had to witness bloodshed caused by two different groups of *Sanyasins*, who were fighting over a seat near a tank at Thanesar<sup>82</sup>, a scene immortalized by painters with great vigour and success.<sup>83</sup> G. Careri, while travelling in India in 1666, confirmed that the *Fakirs* carried weapons.<sup>84</sup> This cloth painting is of substantial importance both for the history of Mewar painting and for what is otherwise a poorly

documented chapter in the history of the Dutch East India Company. It is rather unfortunate that there is no inscription identifying the scene and the persons present more closely, but we should be content with the fact that a painting of such antiquity and on such a fragile material has largely survived the Indian climate. The painting is rubbed in places, especially in the left hand half, which is also water-stained here and there. Small areas are either rubbed or left unfinished. Some small areas are creased, but do not disturb the general impression of the painting.

The elephant fight might possibly be a stock theme of the Mewari painter, but the depictions of the various people in and near the *chaugan* are almost certainly based on actual observation. The present state of research does not allow us to give the name of the painter or painters of the cloth painting, but we can say without exaggeration that the artist or artists who produced it certainly belonged among the best Rajasthani painters of their time.

#### Notes

<sup>1</sup> A. Topsfield, 'Ketelaar's embassy and the Farangi theme in the art of Udaipur', *Oriental Art*, 30 (winter 1984/1985), pp. 350-367.

<sup>2</sup> H. Yule/A. C. Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson. A glossary of colloquial Anglo-Indian Words and Phrases, and of Kindred Terms, etymological, historical and discursive*, New Delhi 1984, (originally published London 1903), pp. 352 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Topsfield, *op.cit.* (Note 1), Figs. 6-16. The painting Fig. 13 is now in the Linden Museum, Stuttgart. Similar scenes can be seen in the murals of the Zenana-Mahal, Udaipur.

<sup>4</sup> Topsfield, *op.cit.* (Note 1), Fig. 3.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 354.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 352 and Note 28.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, Note 29.

<sup>8</sup> V. N. Desai, *Life at Court: Art of India's Rulers, 16th-19th centuries*, Boston 1985, no. 47, reproduced on p. 57 and col. detail p. 58.

<sup>9</sup> For a recently published example in the Ashmolean Museum see J. C. Harle/A. Topsfield, *Indian Art at the Ashmolean Museum*,

- Oxford 1987, no. 90, Col. Plate 17. The companion piece of more or less the same size showing a woman is in a British private collection. The Mahara Bhim Singh of the cloth painting in the Ashmolean Museum is an enlarged detail in reverse from a smaller painting on paper, cf. *Sale Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts and Miniatures*, Sotheby Parke Bernet, New York 9.12.1980, lot no. 85.
- <sup>10</sup> *Sale Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts and Miniatures*, Christie's, London 5.5.1977, lot no. 146, Plate 35, dated 1762 (= Christie's, London 3.7.80., lot no. 42, p. 18). For what seems to be a later portrait of a tiger of similar large dimensions on cloth see *Sale Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts*, Sotheby's New York, 21.5.1981, lot no. 76. Another, better preserved specimen is in the collection of Kumar Sangram Singh, Jaipur. Another one of smaller dimensions is in the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras.
- <sup>11</sup> This cloth painting is in the Linden Museum, Stuttgart. We are indebted to Dr. Gerd Kreisel for kindly showing us the rich Rajput collection.
- <sup>12</sup> The inscription compares the tiger to one killed by Jagat Singh. The measurements of the tiger are given at the end of the inscription. Professor C. B. Tripathi kindly helped with the reading of this inscription.
- <sup>13</sup> J. Bautze, 'Sporting pastimes of the Hara Kings - Murals of Bundi and Kota', *The Indian Magazine, of her people and culture*, 6 (November 1986), pp. 64-71, Fig. p. 71; see also J. Bautze, *Drei 'Bundi' - Rāgamālās. Ein Beitrag der rajputischen Wandmalerei*, Stuttgart 1987, Fig. 2.
- <sup>14</sup> Bautze, *op.cit.* (Note 13, 1987), 105.
- <sup>15</sup> Victoria & Albert Museum, negative number HB 4413.
- <sup>16</sup> Topsfield, *op.cit.* (Note 1), p. 352.
- <sup>17</sup> R. M. Cimino, *Vita di Corte nel Rajasthan. Miniature Indiane dal XVII al XIX Secolo*, Torino 1985, no. 88, p. 89. The painting bears the date 1746.
- <sup>18</sup> R. Vaśiṣṭha, *Mevāda kī citrāṃkana paramparā (rājasthānī citrakalā kī prārambhika prṣṭhabhūmi)*, Jayapura 1984, Fig. 50.
- <sup>19</sup> R. Vaśiṣṭha 1984, *op.cit.* (Note 18), Fig. 55. Cf. the caption of this painting with Topsfield, *op.cit.* (Note 1), Note 38, p. 365.
- <sup>20</sup> A. Topsfield, *Paintings from Rajasthan in the National Gallery of Victoria*, Melbourne 1980, no. 74, pp. 72f.
- <sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 127, pp. 100 ff.
- <sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 158, pp. 112 ff. For mostly unpublished paintings showing the *chaugan* see Topsfield, *op.cit.* (Note 1), Note 38.
- <sup>23</sup> Topsfield 1980, *op.cit.* (Note 20), no. 120, p. 97.
- <sup>24</sup> *Gaddi* (Hindi : *gaddī*) signifies a cushion, in this connection a royal seat. For a good 19th-century description of a *gaddi* see F. Parks, *Wanderings of a Pilgrim in Search of the Picturesque*, 2 vols., Karachi/Oxford 1975 (originally published 1850), Vol. I, pp. 382 ff.
- <sup>25</sup> Vaśiṣṭha, *op.cit.* (Note 18), Fig. 55.
- <sup>26</sup> S. Andhare, *Chronology of Mewar Paintings*, Delhi 1987, Plate 95. For other paintings showing a very similar grouping of the major characters Maharana Sangram Singh and Maharaja Sawai Jai Singh, see Topsfield 1980, *op.cit.* (Note 20), Col. Plate no. 13 and D. Ehnbohm / A. Topsfield, *Indian Miniature Painting. To be exhibited for sale by Spink and Son Ltd., 25th November to 18th December 1987*, London 1987, no. 36, Plate p. 81 and illustration on front cover.
- <sup>27</sup> J. P. Losty, *The Art of the Book in India*, London 1982, nos. 91-97. For reproductions of paintings see, for example, B. Thompson, *The Story of Prince Rama*, Harmondsworth 1980, Col. Plates p. 25, p. 29 and p. 57.
- <sup>28</sup> J. Irwin / M. Hall, *Indian Painted and Printed Fabrics*, Ahmedabad 1971, Plate 86, p. 147 or; *The Chintz Collection: the Calico Museum of Textiles India*, Ahmedabad 1983, Vol. I, no. 50, Vol. II, Col. Plate showing central detail.
- <sup>29</sup> Cf. the col. plate facing p. 176 in M. C. Beach, *The Grand Mogul. Imperial Painting in India 1600-1660*, Williamstown 1978 (= *Sale Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts and Miniatures*, Sotheby & Co London, 1.12. 1969, lot. no 154).
- <sup>30</sup> J. Ph. Vogel, *Tile Mosaics of the Lahore Fort*, Karachi 1920, plate XII, in comparison with 'Picture no. 9' therein (= J. Ph. Vogel, 'Tile Mosaics of the Lahore Fort', *The Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, XIV 113 (Jan. 1911), pp. 1-5, Plate XIV.
- <sup>31</sup> W. H. Russell, *The Prince of Wales' Tour: A Diary in India: with some Account of the Visits of His Royal Highness to the Courts of Greece*,

*Egypt, Spain and Portugal*, London 1877, pp. 196 ff.

<sup>32</sup> *The Tūzik-i-Jahāngīrī or Memoirs of Jahāngīr.*, New Delhi 1978, (originally published in two volumes, 1909–1914), p. 205 in Vol. I. (Transl.: A. Rogers).

<sup>33</sup> *The Akbar Nama of Abu-l-Fazl (History of the Reign of Akbar including an Account of his Predecessors)*, (Translated from the Persian by H. Beveridge), New Delhi 1977–1979, Vol. II, pp. III ff.

<sup>34</sup> T. Roe, *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to India as narrated in his Journal and Correspondence*, London 1926, pp. 85, 91, 270.

<sup>35</sup> W. Foster, *Early Travels in India 1583–1619*, London 1921, pp. 184, 177.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 247.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 305 ff, 326.

<sup>38</sup> P. Mundy, *The Travels of Peter Mundy, in Europe and Asia, 1608–1667*, London 1914, Vol. II, p. 127.

<sup>40</sup> F. Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire A.D. 1656–1668*, (Translated and annotated by A. Constable), London/Edinburgh/New York/Toronto/Melbourne/Bombay 1916, pp. 276 ff.

<sup>41</sup> N. Manucci, *Storia do Mogor or Mogul India 1653–1708*, (Translated with Introduction and Notes by William Irvine), New Delhi 1981, Vol. II, p. 340.

<sup>42</sup> J. J. Ketelaar, *Journal van J. J. Ketelaar's Hofreis naar den Groot Mogol te Lahore 1711–1713*, 's-Gravenhage 1937, pp. 211 ff.

<sup>43</sup> G. Eyre / N. Hobhouse, *Records of a Western Response to India 1785–1855*, (20th July–6th August 1982), London 1982, cat. no. 3.

<sup>44</sup> L. Rousselet, *L'Inde des Rajahs. Voyage dans l'Inde Centrale et dans les Présidences de Bombay et du Bengale*, Paris 1877, pp. 119–123; J. G. Kutzner, *Die Reise seiner Königlichen Hoheit des Prinzen Waldemar von Preußen nach Indien in den Jahren 1844 bis 1846*, Berlin 1857, pp. 210 ff;

W. Knighton, *The Private Life of an Eastern King compiled for a Member of the Household of his late Majesty Nussir-u-Deen, King of Oude*, London 1856, pp. 105 ff, 219 ff.

Fanny Parks describes an elephant fight on 18 January 1831 (Parks, *op.cit.* (Note 24), Vol I, pp. 176 ff) and Leopold von Orlich describes a fight in a letter dated 14 March 1843 (L. von Orlich, *Reise in Ostindien in Briefen an Alexander von Humboldt und Carl Ritter*, Leipzig 1845, Vol. II, pp. 101 ff). For the description of

another elephant fight at Luclnow cf. G. C. Mundy, *Pen and Pencil Sketches in India*, *Journal of a Tour in India*, London 1858, pp. 19–20.

Reginald Heber saw the training of elephants for fighting on the 29 of January 1829 at Amber near Jaipur (R. Heber, *Narrative of a Journey through the Upper Provinces of India, from Calcutta to Bombay, 1824–1825 (with notes upon Ceylon), an Account of a Journey to Madras and the Southern Provinces, 1826, and letters written in India*, London 1828, Vol. II, p. 5.

Noteworthy is a description written in 1886 by the son of John Lockwood Kipling: J. L. Kipling, *Beast and Man in India. A Popular Sketch of Indian Animals in their Relations with the People*, London/New York 1891, pp. 390 ff.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. e.g. H. von Glasenapp, *Indien*, München 1925, Plate 176 or J.–L. Nou/J. Pouchepadass, *Die Paläste der indischen Maharadschas*, Zürich/Freiburg im Breisgau 1980, illus. on p. 63.

<sup>46</sup> G. F. Abott, *Through India with the Prince*, London 1906, p. 51.

<sup>47</sup> H. von Königsmarck, *A German Staff Officer in India: Being the Impressions of an Officer of the German General Staff of his Travelling through the Peninsula*, (Translated by P. H. Oakley Williams), London 1910, pp. 293–302. The elephants were only for hunting.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. A. Schalek, *An den Höfen der Maharadschas*, Zürich/Leipzig 1929, Bild 10; E. von Hesse-Wartegg, *Indien und seine Fürstenthöfe*, Stuttgart/Berlin/Leipzig 1905, p. 361 (this corresponds to O. Reuther, *Indische Paläste und Wohnhäuser*, Berlin 1925, Plate 109); Glasenapp, *op.cit.* (Note 45), Plate 240.

<sup>49</sup> A. Chatelain, *Atlas historique et Nouvelle introduction à la Géographie ancienne et moderne,.... avec des dissertations sur l'histoire de chaque état par M. Gueudeville*, Amsterdam 1719, Tome V, no. 35, p. 110, bottom left.

<sup>50</sup> Knighton, *op.cit.* (Note 44), illustrations facing p. 106 and p. 225 respectively. See also Parks, *op.cit.* (Note 24), Vol. I, illustration facing p. 173, which is lithographed in the first edition.

<sup>51</sup> Rousselet, *op.cit.* (Note 44), illustration on p. 121.

<sup>52</sup> M. Dubois de Jancigny/X. Raymond, *Inde*, Paris 1845, planche, after an Indian miniature which was later reproduced by Martin in F. R. Martin, *The Miniature Painting and Painters of Persia, India and Turkey from the 8th to the 18th*

century, London 1912, 1968<sup>2</sup>. Plate bottom (= A. Richard et al., *A la Cour du Grand Moghol*, Paris 1986, no. 59).

<sup>53</sup> Cf. Roopa Lekha. *A (quarterly) Journal of Indian Arts and Crafts*, 26, 1 (1955), col. plate facing p. 16; Topsfield 1980, *op.cit.* (Note 20), no. 121, no. 126; R. Skelton, *The Indian Heritage. Court Life & Arts Under Mughal Rule*, London 1982, no. 144; Topsfield 1980, *op.cit.* (Note 20), no. 167, Col. Plate no. 14; Cimino 1985, *op.cit.* (Note 17), no. 50, Col. Plate; Sotheby & Co, 11.7.1973, lot no. 221.

<sup>54</sup> Cimino, *op.cit.* (Note 17), no. 84, p. 85.

<sup>55</sup> *Sale Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts and Miniatures*, Christie's London, 16.12.1970, lot no. 157, Plate 13.

<sup>56</sup> *Sale Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts and Miniatures*, Sotheby's New York, 19.5.1982, lot no. 42.

<sup>57</sup> Topsfield 1980, *op.cit.* (Note 20), no. 191, p. 129.

<sup>58</sup> *Catalogues and Bulletins of Oriental Art*, Maggs Brothers Ltd. London, Bulletin No. 24, December 1975, no. 217.

<sup>59</sup> *Sale Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts and Miniatures*, Christie's London, 7.7.1977, lot no. 44, Plate no. 9.

<sup>60</sup> P. Pal, *Elephants and Ivories in South Asia*, Los Angeles 1981, no. 45, Col. Plate p. 55.

<sup>61</sup> See Note 59 above.

<sup>62</sup> *Indian Paintings from the 17th to the 19th Centuries including examples from Rajastan, the Punjab hills, Deccan and other areas* (9 October to 26 October 1979), London 1979, no. 44.

<sup>63</sup> *Sale Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts and Miniatures*, Sotheby & Co London, 23.4.1974, lot no. 67.

<sup>64</sup> There are several portraits of Mewar elephants in a German private collection, where it was possible to study relevant inscriptions.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. Maggs Bros. *op.cit.* (Note 58), Bulletin No. 18, January 1971, no. 191; J. Soustiel, *Miniatures Orientales de l'Inde. Les Ecoles et leurs styles*, Paris 1973, no. 82, planche p. 91. For identified elephants see Topsfield 1980, *op.cit.* (Note 20), no. 192, p. 129, no. 193, p. 130, only considering elephant portraits.

<sup>66</sup> F. Pelsaert, *De Geschriften van Francisco Pelseart over Mughal Indie 1627. Kroniek en Remonstratie*. 's-Gravenhage 1979, p. 142.

<sup>67</sup> Hotel Drouot Paris. Succession K. Essayan, *Miniatures Orientales... Mogholes et Indiennes du*

xvi au xixe Siècle..., 24.6. 1982, no. 65; the col. illustration on cover was identified as a 17th-century painting of Jahangir watching an elephant fight, but it is actually a late 18th or early 19th-century copy of a genuine 17th-century Mughal painting showing Shah Jahan at the *jharokha* window watching an elephant fight; published in F. Galloway / M. Spink, *Islamic Art from India*, London 1980, no. 72, Col. Plate.

<sup>68</sup> *Sale Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts and Miniatures*, Sotheby's London, 8.4. 1975, lot. no. 103 is a copy of an often reproduced elephant fight, recently published again in Cimino, *op.cit.* (Note 17), no. 90. Another version is unpublished. It is the Jagdish and Kamla Mittal Museum, Hyderabad, and has two inscriptions giving the names of the elephants and identifying their owner as Rao Bhoj of Bundi.

<sup>69</sup> *Sale Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts and Miniatures*, Sotheby & Co London, 7.7. 1975, lot no. 114 (= Maggs Bros. *op.cit.* (Note 58), Bulletin No. 26 September 1976, no. 6=P.C.M. Lunsingh-Scheurleer, *Miniaturen uit India. De Verzameling van Dr. P. Formijne*, Amsterdam 1978, no. 80).

<sup>70</sup> *Sale Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts and Miniatures*, Sotheby's London, 22.4.1980, lot. no. 102, See also Topsfield 1980, *op.cit.* (Note 20), no. 81 p. 78, and no. 93 p. 85.

<sup>71</sup> Cf. Vasiṣṭha, *op.cit.* (Note 18), Fig. 50; Andhare, *op.cit.* (Note 26), Plate 95, and Plate 114 (which apparently corresponds to Vasiṣṭha, *op.cit.* (Note 18), Fig. 50).

<sup>72</sup> Ketelaar, *op.cit.* (Note 42), frontispiece and description on p. 128.

<sup>73</sup> Topsfield, *op.cit.* (Note 1), Fig. 2.

<sup>74</sup> M. Wolff/R. Wassing-Visser, *Met Andere Ogen*, Delft 1986 no. 5, Fig. 18, p. 21.

<sup>75</sup> Ketelaar, *op.cit.* (Note 42), p. 34: '16 grenadiers, 2 trompetters en 1 tamboer'.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.* (Note 42), pp. 120 ff.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.* (Note 42), p. 121.

<sup>78</sup> Cf. B. Lohiya, *Rājasthāna kī jātiyām. 19 vīmśatābdi ke rājasthāna-nivāsīyom kā sacitra rocaka vivarana san 1891 kī janagananā riporṭa kī duṣprāpya prati ke ādhārapara saṃkalita*, Kalakatta 1954, pp. 53 ff. Lohiyā reproduces the photographs from the 2nd volume of the Jodphur census report of 1891, entitled 'The Cases of Marwar'. According to G. Thomas, *History of Photography. India 1840-1890*, Bangalore 1981, p. 77, this volume was

published with original photographs by the Marwar Darbar in 1894. Cf. also the account in Comte de Modave (= Louis Laurent de Féderbe), *Voyage en Inde du Comte de Modave 1773-1776*, Paris 1971, pp. 299 ff. L. L. de Féderbe also travelled through Rajasthan in the 18th century.

<sup>79</sup> Cf. G. W. Briggs, *Gorakhnāth and the Kānphata Yogīs*. Delhi/Varanasi/Patna 1982. (first published: Calcutta 1938).

<sup>80</sup> Following Manucci, *op.cit.* (Note 41), Vol. III, p. 19.

<sup>81</sup> Heber, *op. cit.* (Note 44), Vol. II, p. 13.

<sup>82</sup> Akbar Nama 1977-1979, *op. cit.* (Note 33), pp. 422-424.

<sup>83</sup> W. Staude, 'Contribution à l'Etude de Basawan', *Revue des Arts Asiatiques*, 7 (1933), pp. 1-18, Plate IX (= G. Sen, *Paintings from the Akbar Nama. A. Visual Chronicle of Mughal India*, Calcutta/Allahabad/Bombay/Delhi 1984, Plates 42-45; St. C. Welch, 'The Paintings of Basawan', *Lalit Kalā*, 10 (October 1961), pp. 7-17, Fig. 15 reproduces only half of the composition). For another version see *Sale Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts and Miniatures*, Sotheby's London, 3.4.1978, lot no. 79. For a later version of this fight see J. Strykowski / H. Glück, *Die Indischen Miniaturen im Schloss Schönbrunn*, Wien 1923, Col. Plate 7.

<sup>84</sup> S. Sen, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri. Being the third part of the Travels of M. de Thevenot into the Levant and the third Part of a Voyage round the World by Dr. John Francis Gemelli Careri*, New Delhi 1949, p. 258.