

The History of Kotah in an Art-Historical Context

Kotah was a princely state of “Rajpootana,” an area that nowadays corresponds more or less to Rajasthan, a state in northwest India. Before it merged with other states following independence in 1947 to form the India of today, Kotah measured about ninety miles in length from north to south and eighty in breadth. Kota (the spelling “Kotah” is historical) now forms the southeastern district of Rajasthan, which is the third-largest state of India.

Each of the princely states in northwest India was founded and ruled by a Rajput clan. The provenance of the altogether thirty-six Rajput clans is obscured by innumerable myths explaining their origin. No historical source seems to be older than the seventh century, when the Rajputs made their first entrance on the stage of Indian history; very few dates are available before the beginning of the thirteenth century. In the mid seventeenth century, a Rajput was considered equal to a member of the Kshatriya, or second class, of the Indian caste system.¹ Toward the nineteenth century, the term *Rajput* began to denote a caste in Rajasthan, often suggesting the aristocratic origin of its member.² Rajputs were known for their brave conduct on the battlefield. Several impoverished Rajputs became highway robbers and as such figure greatly in seventeenth-century European accounts of India; the Rajputs were too proud to change what they must have considered their primary profession: the art of warfare. In the early seventeenth century, the traveler Peter Mundy, passing through the territory of Raja Gaj Singh of Marwar on his way from Agra to Surat, noted, “Theis Inhabitants are Rashpootes which goe after a more free and Souldier like manner then other Hindooes, rather like Masters then Subjects.”³

The Early History of Kotah and the Haras of Bundi

Kotah history as such starts only in 1631, by imperial — in this case Mughal — decree, which guaranteed Kotah’s quasi independence from the parental state of Bundi. The early history of Kotah is hence closely linked to that of the older Hara state.

Bundi, like Kotah, is a state with a capital of the same name; it is situated to the north of Kotah. This state was also called Haravati (or Hadauti or Haraoti), due to the fact that a subclan of the Chauhans known as the Haras predominantly ruled that part of

the country. Most probably, the name of the subclan derives from Har Raj, the name of an important Chauhan ruler.⁴

The Chauhan dynasty of Bundi is first mentioned in an inscription dated 1247 C.E. (v.s. 1304) and found in the Bundi district.⁵ However, it was only around 1341 that Bundi was wrested from the original population, the Minas, by Rao Deva, who enlarged the territory around Bundi through military campaigns. Kotah became part of Bundi territory when Rao Deva’s grandson Jaitra Singh attacked the Bhils of Kotah and defeated them. From this time on, Kotah belonged to the kingdom of the Haras.

From the mid fourteenth century through the late sixteenth century, the history of Kotah is inextricably linked not only with that of Bundi but also with political and social developments in north and central India, where the major players included the Sisodia rulers (one of the preeminent Rajput clans) of Mewar, the Muslim rulers of Malwa, and, later on, the Mughal rulers, whose capital was in Agra and Fatehpur Sikri and then Delhi. If the connection with Muslim rulers was primarily in the form of attacks and military alliances, the relationship with Mewar was both political and matrimonial: members of the ruling families of Bundi and Mewar (and, later, Kotah and Mewar) often intermarried.

With the arrival of the Mughals — led by Babur, the former ruler of a petty fiefdom in Farghana, in Central Asia — in 1526, the political landscape of northern India changed dramatically. Initially, the Rajputs banded together to fight yet another Muslim invader, but in the end, the Mughals established one of the most powerful dynasties of India since the Muslim conquest.

When Akbar, the third Mughal emperor (r. 1556–1605), ascended the throne, the relationship between various Rajput courts and the seat of empire in Agra and Fatehpur Sikri became more complex. If the rulers of courts such as Mewar refused to surrender, others, such as Raja Bagwan Das of Amer, chose to surrender and negotiate, and became important leaders at the Mughal court.

Rao Surjan, who became the ruler of Bundi in 1554, was one of those who began by fighting the Mughal army, like his erstwhile protector and maternal uncle Rana Udai Singh of Mewar. In 1569, a year after conquering the Mewar city of Chittaurgarh, Akbar besieged the strategic fort Ranthambhor, which was in Mewar

territory but under the protection of the Bundi royal family. This was the last battle between the Hara ruler and the Mughal army. After more than two months of shelling, Rao Surjan surrendered the fortress to Akbar on very favorable terms.⁶ The first condition of surrender was that the Haras were to be exempt from giving any of their princesses to the Mughal harem: unlike many other Rajput clans, the Haras in fact never intermarried with the Mughals.⁷

As a sign of respect, Surjan sent his sons, Duda⁸ and Bhoj, to Akbar as hostages before he himself greeted the emperor on March 22, 1569. This event was painted by the Mughal artists Mukund and Shankar at a later stage of Akbar's life; the painting shows the first near-contemporary portrait of a Hara ruler.⁹ From that day, the Haras were allied to the Mughal imperial cause and continued to be the most faithful ally the Mughals ever had; Rao Surjan became a great military commander in Akbar's army.

Following Akbar's command, Rao Surjan left the administration of Bundi to his eldest son, Duda. Duda was loyal to the Haras' former ally, the rana of Mewar — who had still not yielded to the Mughals' power — and must have thought of his father as a traitor to the Rajput cause. In June 1576, Rana Pratap, the son of Rana Udai Singh, challenged the imperial army in the field of Haldighati — a battle that evokes national Rajput feelings like no other military action to date.¹⁰ The Rajputs lost the battle but not their pride. Rana Pratap continued to offer resistance from Kumbhalgarh and other places, employing guerilla warfare; as for Duda, according to the chronicler Abul Fazl, "that evil-disposed one went off without leave to his native country of Bundi and opened the hand of oppression."¹¹ A punitive expedition sent to Bundi by Akbar probably met a disastrous defeat, since Akbar's chronicler preferred not to report on it in detail.¹² On March 30, 1577, Akbar sent another army, led by Rao Surjan and his second son, Bhoj, along with other Rajputs, against Duda. Bundi was taken by the Rajputs under imperial command; to Akbar, this event was of such importance that he had it painted for his biography.¹³ Duda escaped, but was never again able to present a serious threat to the empire.

Throughout the period of strong Mughal sway over the northern parts of India, the Rajput chieftains, and the Haras in particular, were sent to different areas of the subcontinent in order to lead military campaigns vital to the upkeep of the Mughal empire. They were also used to escort members of the royal family. As a reward for these services, the Mughal emperors granted lands — but only for a certain amount of time, never forever:

The Mughal polity, so long as it functioned with any effectiveness, say, until the early years of the eighteenth century, continued basically with the organizational forms that Akbar instituted. The most striking aspect of the systematization was the *mansab* ("rank"), the result of an attempt to coalesce into a pair of numbers exact indications of rank, payment, military and other obligations of the holder of the

mansab. Every officer serving in the army and every official in the bureaucracy... was given a *mansab* or pair of *mansabs* (*zat* and *sawar*) upon appointment; any promotion in rank and emoluments was indicated by additions to the numbers; conversely, demotions took the form of diminutions of *mansabs*.¹⁴

Basically, the number or numbers indicated how many troopers were commanded by the holder of the rank (*mansab*): the first number indicated infantry, the second cavalry. In later years, these were only nominal figures, but still indicated social rank within Mughal society.

The Haras Enter onto the Stage of Indian Painting

Rao Surjan fought extensively for the Mughal emperor and was responsible for crushing revolts in the far reaches of eastern and northeastern regions. When he died in 1585 in Banaras, where he had been sent by the emperor, his highest *mansab* was two thousand.¹⁵

Bhoj, Surjan's second son, succeeded his father in about 1585, when he was thirty-four years old.¹⁶ He fought bravely in Orissa in 1591 and 1592 and distinguished himself in Akbar's Deccan campaigns in the early seventeenth century. He died in 1607.¹⁷ He had started out with a *mansab* of one thousand in 1593–94, had nine hundred in 1595–96, and kept this rank to the end of his life.¹⁸ He is said to have built the Baddal Mahal and the Phulla Mahal, presumably in Bundi Fort and still existing today.¹⁹



Figure 1
Detail of a portrait of
Rao Bhoj Hara of
Bundi, c. 1680, Bikaner.
Opaque watercolor,
silver, and gold on paper
with inscription,
29.8 x 19.9 cm.
Private collection.

In late 1590 and early 1591, Bhoj must have been posted at Chunar-Banaras, where his father had been. There, disciples of the founders of the Mughal painting atelier (Mir Sayyid Ali and Abd al-Samad) completed a *Ragamala* of thirty-six paintings²⁰ which became the standard painting theme of almost all subsequent Hara chieftains.²¹ This set of paintings, with its Devanagari inscriptions in the text panel, constitutes the oldest dated *Ragamala* and the earliest dated proof of paintings done for a Rajput ruler. That they were commissioned by a Hara is indicated by the fact that numerous copies of them became more and more Rajput and less and less Mughal in style over time.

Figure 1, a portrait of “Hara Rao Bhoj” according to the Devanagari inscription on the back, belongs to a set of Bikaner portraits of the rulers of Bundi. It is a later version of an often-published painting from 1606 by Nur Muhammad, which reportedly represents Rao Bhoj Rathor, an uncle of Raja Rai Singh of Bikaner.²² Historical evidence, however, suggests strongly that the subject is a Hara.²³

Rao Ratan, the eldest son of Rao Bhoj, became the ruler of Bundi in 1608,²⁴ after his father’s death.²⁵ Hriday Narayan, Rao Bhoj’s second son, was to administer Kotah.²⁶ In early 1608, the Mughal emperor Jahangir (r. 1605–27) noted a visit from Rao Ratan, during which the latter presented the former with three elephants, one of which “was much approved.”²⁷ A contemporary Mughal portrait of that elephant has survived;²⁸ this authentic reference to elephants in the possession of one of the Hara rulers shows their predilection for this animal, which is otherwise testified to by numerous paintings.

Rao Ratan, like his predecessors, was sent to diverse places. In 1614, he fought against Rana Amar Singh of Mewar, Bundi’s former suzerain. A year later, his son Hriday Narayan was sent to Kangra in the north, where he fought until 1620. In 1617, Rao Ratan moved to Burhanpur in the Deccan; he was recalled from there to the court in 1623 and received “a special jewelled dagger.”²⁹ From Agra he went to the Deccan again, to pursue the army of the rebellious prince Khurram, the future Shah Jahan (r. 1628–58). In the course of time, Rao Ratan became “chargé d’affaires” of the Deccan³⁰ and was rightly called the “incarnation of loyalty and chivalry.”³¹ He is described as fighting from the back of an elephant called “Light of the World” (Jagajot),³² and so gallantly defended Burhanpur from the attacks of the united armies of Malik Ambar and Prince Khurram that he received the title of Ram Raj, “than which there is no higher title in the Dakhin.”³³ He was also awarded the rank of five thousand, a rank he held from 1624³⁴ until his death in 1631.³⁵

In Agra, Rao Ratan took over his father’s palace and there saw the murals in the Bagh-i Nur Afshan, commonly called Ram Bagh.³⁶ This probably led him to have the Baddal Mahal in Bundi, also



Figure 2
Rao Ratan Hara of
Bundi, c. 1630, India.
Opaque watercolor and
gold on paper with in-
scription, 19.7 × 12.2 cm.
Private collection.

built by his father, decorated with frescoes, which are stylistically still very Mughal but which betray a Rajput influence more than any other paintings done thus far for a Hara ruler.³⁷ In the Deccan, where he spent the greater part of the rest of his life, he founded Ratanpur near Burhanpur.³⁸ In Burhanpur, Rao Ratan apparently met a European merchant, Mr. Willoughby, from whom he purchased “some tapestry,” presumably from Arras.³⁹ Echoes of these tapestries can still be seen in the frescoes of the Baddal Mahal in Bundi.

No other Hara of the seventeenth century was portrayed more often than Rao Ratan, and it is not surprising that he is depicted inspecting a painting of an elephant amid his nobles in a large mural in his own palace in Bundi.⁴⁰ Equally unsurprising are certain Deccani influences, such as the long sword or the Deccani shawl as signs of honor and rank.⁴¹ Figure 2, an inscribed portrait in a subimperial Mughal style, shows him at an advanced age.⁴²

In the absence of Rao Ratan, Bundi was ruled by his eldest son, Gopinath,⁴³ who died during his father’s lifetime under circumstances that are not entirely clear.⁴⁴ Gopinath’s eldest son, Shatru Sal, succeeded to the throne of Bundi with the rank of two thousand/three thousand.⁴⁵

Kotah Becomes Formally Independent under Madho Singh

Madho Singh, the second son of Rao Ratan, was born in Bundi on May 18, 1599.⁴⁶ He was granted the rank of one thousand/six hundred in 1627–28,⁴⁷ and was awarded an increase to twenty-five

hundred/fifteen hundred a few years later when his father died.⁴⁸ Madho Singh was favored by Shah Jahan because he overpowered the rebel Khan Jahan Lodi on February 3, 1631.⁴⁹ Later in 1631, after the death of Rao Ratan, Shah Jahan granted the fiefdoms (*parganas*) of Kotah and Palaittha to Madho Singh.⁵⁰ Kotah was thus separated from Bundi by imperial decree, becoming an independent state. The result of the separation of the Hara state has been summarized as follows:

The action of Shahjahan to bifurcate the Hara state had a far reaching consequence. The Haras who had been serving the Mughals as a single force were divided into two branches known as Haras of Bundi and Haras of Kotah and they were to render service for the Mughals under their respective Chiefs. The Chiefs of these two states —

Figure 3
Detail of a portrait of Madho Singh, the first official ruler of Kotah, c. 1675–1700, Bundi. Opaque watercolor, silver, and gold on paper with inscription, 21.5 × 15.4 cm. Collection of Vinod Krishna Kanoria.



Bundi and Kotah — were sometimes appointed in different campaigns and sometimes in the same campaign. The result was that gradually they became competitors among themselves so as to earn honour and position in rank more than the other. Sometimes the competition converted into a tussle between these two branches. During the later period we find that they became hostile to each other and the enmity between the two developed to the extent that each branch tried to snatch the territory of the other with the consent of the Emperor.⁵¹

This enmity can still be felt today, when the Haras of Bundi claim descent from the sun and the Haras of Kotah claim descent from the fire, even though this distinction is impossible to make.⁵²

In August 1633, Madho Singh was sent to the Deccan, where he was appointed governor of Burhanpur, a post formerly held by his father.⁵³ Madho Singh was a brave warrior, as a description by Shah Jahan's own chronicler of an event during late 1635 in the Deccan illustrates: "Just then Madho Singh, son of Rao Ratan, made a charge from Neknam's right flank, and with the edge of the sword, dispatched a host of the enemy into the flames of hell and routed and chased the remainder."⁵⁴ Starting in 1645, he was in charge of Balkh for two years, during which he had to fight the attacking Uzbeks in the north.⁵⁵ In 1648, Madho Singh received permission to leave for Kotah, where he died.⁵⁶ At the time of his death, his rank was equal to that of the rao of Bundi, Shatru Sal — three thousand/three thousand.⁵⁷

Madho Singh is said to have constructed the lake in front of the Raj Mahal, visible in catalogue numbers 21 and 22; the Nakkarkhana Darwaza (Drumhouse Gate) of the Kotah palace; and several other buildings.⁵⁸ The only known contemporary portrait of Madho Singh is a detail of a mural in the Baddal Mahal of the palace of Bundi,⁵⁹ a later version of which is catalogue number 32. Figure 3 shows the founder of the Kotah state as portrayed posthumously by a Bundi artist in about 1670. The turban is flat, as in the early fashion, and the sword shows the long blade typical of Deccani straight-bladed swords (*khandas*).

Mukund Singh

Madho Singh had seven daughters⁶⁰ and seven sons.⁶¹ Mukund Singh, the eldest son of Madho Singh, succeeded to the throne of Kotah in 1648. His succession was confirmed in May 1648 by Shah Jahan,⁶² who granted him the rank of two thousand/fifteen hundred — lower than his father's.⁶³ He fought Mughal battles in far-flung places such as Qandahar, Lahore,⁶⁴ and Malwa⁶⁵ and was ultimately killed in the battle of Dharmat, where he fought the rebellious Aurangzeb (r. 1658–1707).⁶⁶ Mukund Singh's rank at the time was three thousand/two thousand.⁶⁷ His younger brothers Mohan, Kanhiram, and Jujhar Singh were also killed in the battle



Figure 4
Detail of a portrait
of Mukund Singh,
c. 1650–1700, Kotah.
Ink and watercolor on
paper with inscription,
19.3 x 12.5 cm. Private
collection in the Fogg Art
Museum, Cambridge,
Massachusetts.

of Dharmat;⁶⁸ his youngest brother, Kishor Singh, was severely wounded, but survived.

Only a very few portraits of Mukund Singh have come down to us. Probably the best, and most nearly contemporary, likeness is shown here (fig. 4). The inscriptions say that this is “Ap Mukund Singh [son of] Madho Singh” and “eldest son of Madho Singhji of Kotah.”

Jagat Singh

When Jagat Singh succeeded his father in July 1658,⁶⁹ he was about fourteen years old.⁷⁰ In July/August, he went to Delhi, where Aurangzeb confirmed him, along with Rao Shatru Sal’s son Rao Bhao Singh, as the rulers of Kotah and Bundi, respectively. While Rao Bhao Singh was given the rank of three thousand/two thousand, the title of Rao and other signs of honor,⁷¹ Jagat Singh’s rank was set at fifteen hundred/one thousand. In 1660, he was appointed to Allahabad, and thereafter he was involved in numerous campaigns, especially in the Deccan. Bhimsen Saksena, the author of the *Tarikh-i-Dilkasha*, recalled meeting Jagat Singh in 1680–81: “I happened to meet him in Bahadurgarh.⁷² He became very friendly with me. In fact he is a staunch drunkard and loves wine very much and drinks that heavily.”⁷³ Jagat Singh died in October/November 1683.⁷⁴

A number of contemporary portraits of Jagat Singh are known. Not surprisingly, some of them show drinks being offered to him by women in a luxurious garden⁷⁵ or a palace.⁷⁶ More formal portraits in the Mughal fashion,⁷⁷ or in the Rajput fashion in a some-

what Mughalized style, also exist.⁷⁸ Figure 5 is a detail of a portrait that shows Jagat Singh driving an elephant with an enormous elephant hook (*ankusha*); it is strongly reminiscent of contemporary Mughal painting⁷⁹ as well as of Bundi-Rajput prototypes.⁸⁰ In all these paintings, Jagat Singh appears as a slightly dark-complexioned man in his early to mid thirties. He sports a mustache and has narrow sideburns. With his comparatively slender figure, he has a handsome appearance.



Figure 5
Detail of a portrait of
Jagat Singh driving an
elephant, c. 1670, Kotah.
Opaque watercolor and
gold on paper, 28.7 x
40.4 cm. Collection of
Vinod Krishna Kanoria.

Kishor Singh

Since Jagat Singh left no male issue, a council of chiefs selected Prem Singh, a son of Kanhiram (the fourth son of Madho Singh, who died in the battle of Dharmat), as the successor of Jagat Singh. Prem Singh, however, was apparently not capable of managing the affairs of state properly. His rule was in fact so short that his nomination was not confirmed by the Mughal emperor, and all relevant historical sources mention Kishor Singh as the direct successor to Jagat Singh instead.⁸¹

Kishor Singh was one of the younger sons of Madho Singh, and it was he who received, but recovered from, multiple wounds in the battle of Dharmat.⁸² His coronation ceremony (*rajtilak*) occurred in October/November 1684.⁸³ His date of birth is not mentioned by any of the sources, but by the time of his accession, his age must have been considerable; he had served Shah Jahan since 1654–55.⁸⁴

After his accession, Kishor Singh was sent to the Deccan by Aurangzeb. He took part in the siege of Bijapur, which started on April 1, 1685;⁸⁵ Bijapur was eventually conquered, on September 12, 1686.⁸⁶ Again, Kishor Singh sustained injuries.⁸⁷ At the end of January 1687, he successfully fought the cavalry under Sheikh Nizam Hyderabadī.⁸⁸ Apparently mortally wounded, he fell from his horse,⁸⁹ but once again recovered. In July 1688, Kishor Singh helped rout the army of the rebellious Raja Ram in Malwa. During the fight, he suffered fresh injuries and was allowed to return to Kotah in order to have them treated;⁹⁰ he had hardly regained his health when he was called to the Deccan again. He took part in many campaigns, and in December 1695, near Vellore, served Zulfiqar Khan (the Mughal army commander who held high office under Aurangzeb in the Deccan)⁹¹ so well that he was granted kettledrums.⁹² His rank was then twenty-five hundred/three thousand,⁹³ while that of his contemporary Rao Aniruddh Singh of Bundi was thirty-five hundred/three thousand.⁹⁴ In April 1696, Kishor Singh died.⁹⁵

In all portraits of him, Kishor Singh appears in an advanced stage of life: his mustache and sideburns are white, but his bearing is still full of dignity.⁹⁶ Figure 6, possibly a contemporary likeness, shows him out hawking on horseback; an inscription on the back of this painting (“Ap Shri Kishor Singhji”) confirms its identification. That Kishor Singh must have been fond of hawking is proved by an unpublished portrait from the 1730s, which shows him standing with a hawk.



Figure 6
Detail of a portrait of Kishor Singh on horseback holding a hawk, late seventeenth century, Kotah. Opaque watercolor and gold on paper with inscription, 21.2 x 24.3 cm. Rao Madho Singh Trust Museum, Fort Kotah.

Rao Ram Singh

Kishor Singh had four sons: Bishan Singh, Ram Singh, Arjun Singh, and Harnath Singh. He had excluded his eldest son from the succession, for disobeying orders.⁹⁷ In a letter to Aurangzeb, Zulfiqar Khan pleaded for Ram Singh to be made successor to Kishor Singh;⁹⁸ by that time Ram Singh was at Kotah, and he had to fight his elder brother, who still wanted to become the ruler there. This conflict was solved on the battlefield. Harnath Singh, who sided with Ram Singh, was killed; Bishan Singh was wounded and died three years later.⁹⁹

At the further request of Zulfiqar Khan, Ram Singh was granted his ancestral estate in 1696–97.¹⁰⁰ By that time, he had already joined the army of Zulfiqar Khan in the Deccan. He distinguished himself at the battle of Jinji in November 1697.¹⁰¹ In connection with campaigns against the Maratha leader Dhanaji Jadav, he received “praise, robes, jewels and promotion.”¹⁰² Kettledrums were granted to him on the request of Zulfiqar Khan after the taking of the fort of Panhala in March 1701.¹⁰³ By that time, Ram Singh’s rank amounted to three thousand/fifteen hundred.¹⁰⁴

The following year was again full of military action for Ram Singh. For four successive days, he was severally attacked by the Marathas near Kularasgarh, but was able to repulse each onslaught.¹⁰⁵

Together with Raja Jai Singh of Amer and Rao Dalpat of Bundela, Rao Ram Singh was by this time one of the key figures of the Mughal force in the Deccan.¹⁰⁶ Ram Singh’s activities in the Deccan on the whole are summarized as follows:

Zulfiqar Khan Bahadur in consultation with Rao Dalpat and Ram Singh and his comrades, with his small force, attacked the vast numbers of the enemy, in six months, fought nineteen big battles and severely punished the enemy. He gained remarkable victories. During this time he covered nearly three thousand *kos* in pursuit of the enemy.¹⁰⁷

Ram Singh returned to Aurangabad in 1704 after attacking the enemy near Bijapur.¹⁰⁸ For his bravery at Wagingera, he was rewarded with an increment of five hundred in his rank.¹⁰⁹

In 1706, the confrontation between the houses of Bundi and Kotah became more apparent, after Mau Maidana, then an estate of Bundi, was taken from Rao Budh Singh of Bundi and given to Rao Ram Singh at the urging of Zulfiqar Khan.¹¹⁰

Aurangzeb died at Ahmadnagar in 1707.¹¹¹ A war of succession followed. Rao Budh Singh of Bundi sided with the second of the three surviving sons of Aurangzeb (and the ultimate victor), Prince Muazzam. Ram Singh supported Muhammad Azam, Aurangzeb’s third son. Both rivals crowned themselves emperors; Prince Muazzam assumed the title of Bahadur Shah in Kabul and moved



Figure 7
Detail of a portrait
showing Rao Ram Singh
seated on a terrace,
Gobind Ram, mid-eigh-
teenth century, possibly
Kishangarh. Opaque
watercolor and gold
on paper with inscription,
18.3 x 24.1 cm. From
the collection of Mr. and
Mrs. Clark Blaise.

toward Delhi, while Muhammad Azam hastened from the Deccan in that direction. The armies met on June 18, 1707, at Jajau, near Agra; according to the British historian James Tod, "A more desperate conflict was never recorded in the many bloody pages of the history of India."¹¹² During the battle, of which several detailed descriptions exist,¹¹³ Rao Ram Singh was killed by a cannonball¹¹⁴ — and so was Rao Dalpat of Bundela, behind whom sat the historian Bhimsen.¹¹⁵

The title of Rao must have formed one of the numerous awards that Ram Singh received, according to one historian;¹¹⁶ his title is sometimes given as "Raja."¹¹⁷ A near contemporary equestrian portrait of Ram Singh from Kotah is inscribed with the title "Maharao Sahib," which indicates that the inscription was added later. Another portrait of this important ruler (fig. 7) is by the artist Gobind Ram, who probably worked for a ruler of Kishangarh.¹¹⁸ It is also inscribed with the title of Maharao and the additional information that Ram Singh was the son of Kishor Singh and hailed from Kotah in Rajasthan. Both these portraits show Ram Singh of stout body, comparatively light complexion, narrow sideburns that run out into a pronounced triangle, and a long mustache that frames a round little chin. This physiognomy appears on other inscribed portraits of him as well.¹¹⁹

Bhim Singh I, the only son of Rao Ram Singh, became the ruler of Kotah in June/July 1707.¹²⁰ He was then about twenty-five years of age.¹²¹ Rao Budh Singh of Bundi, who had fought for the victor of the Mughal war of succession, received the title of Maharao Raja¹²² in addition to fifty-four districts¹²³ including Kotah.¹²⁴

Bhim Singh, however, did not wish to give up Kotah so easily. Maharao Raja Budh Singh was busy in the Deccan¹²⁵ and sent his trusted general Jogi Ram¹²⁶ to Kotah to negotiate the surrender of the Kotah fort with Bhim Singh's emissaries.¹²⁷ These negotiations led to nothing but two battles, both of which the army of Bundi lost.¹²⁸

Bahadur Shah died on February 27, 1712,¹²⁹ and another war of succession started; it culminated on January 10, 1713, in the battle of Agra between Jahandar Shah, for some time the successor of Bahadur Shah, and Farrukh Siyar.¹³⁰ This battle was won by Farrukh Siyar, who became the new Mughal emperor; Jahandar Shah died on February 11, 1713.¹³¹

Bhim Singh arrived in Delhi on August 28, 1713,¹³² greeted the newly installed emperor on September 8,¹³³ and on September 12 was granted the title of Maharao, a rank of thirty-five hundred, and the fort of Mau Maidana, formerly granted to the ruler of Bundi¹³⁴ — probably because of Maharao Raja Budh Singh's nonappearance at the Delhi court for the installation formalities. This provoked Maharao Raja Budh Singh, who made preparations to attack Kotah. On November 22, Farrukh Siyar asked Maharao Raja Budh Singh to withdraw his troops from Kotah, an order the Bundi ruler ignored. The Mughal emperor, in return, withdrew Budh Singh's rank and granted Bundi to Maharao Bhim Singh, who by then had already successfully repulsed an attack by Budh Singh.¹³⁵ Maharao Bhim Singh defeated the army of Bundi sometime in early February 1714;¹³⁶ following the defeat of the Bundi army, Maharao Bhim Singh stripped Bundi of its treasures.¹³⁷ A Rajasthani agent (*vakil*) report dated February 17, 1714, notes that Bhim Singh had conquered Bundi and submitted it to the emperor, who changed its name to Farrukhabad.¹³⁸ Maharao Bhim Singh's rank was then raised to five thousand/four thousand.¹³⁹

In September 1715, Farrukh Siyar sent an official order (*farman*) to Maharao Raja Budh Singh's brother-in-law Sawai Jai Singh of Amer, with the request that he come to the court with Budh Singh, to whom the state of Bundi would be returned.¹⁴⁰ After Jai Singh pleaded for his brother-in-law, an official order dated December 20, 1715, was issued by the emperor to the effect that Bundi should be returned to Maharao Raja Budh Singh.¹⁴¹ In May/June 1716, Maharao Raja Budh Singh, by arrangement of Sawai Jai Singh, personally met the emperor, and after this audience all rights to his state were returned to him.¹⁴² On August 6, 1716, orders were given

that Maharao Bhim Singh should be expelled from Bundi.¹⁴³ It seems Maharao Bhim Singh complied with these orders.¹⁴⁴

Maharao Bhim Singh now sided, together with Ajit Singh Rathor, with the “kingmakers” — the Barha Sayyids, who opposed the emperor, Farrukh Siyar.¹⁴⁵ Maharao Raja Budh Singh of Bundi and Raja Sawai Jai Singh of Amer, then also in Delhi, supported the emperor. The Sayyid brothers, who wanted to get rid of the emperor’s supporters, succeeded in arranging matters so that Farrukh Siyar asked Maharao Raja Budh Singh to leave Delhi for Bundi and Sawai Jai Singh to leave Delhi for his home in Amer, which the latter did on February 22, 1719.¹⁴⁶ The tension that prevailed between the two Haras became obvious that day: Maharao Bhim Singh attacked Maharao Raja Budh Singh at Delhi “while exercising his horse.”¹⁴⁷ One of the Bundi ruler’s followers, Jait

Singh Hara, sacrificed his life to save Budh Singh,¹⁴⁸ who “had to cut his way through the troops of Bhim Singh,”¹⁴⁹ but who managed to escape and, with a small following, join the troops of his brother-in-law about sixteen miles southwest of Delhi.¹⁵⁰

Maharao Bhim Singh, together with Maharaja Ajit Singh Rathor and Raja Gaj Singh of Narwar, actively supported the “kingmakers” on February 27, 1719, when Farrukh Siyar was searched for in the palace, spotted in his harem, dragged out from there, blinded, and thrown into a prisonlike chamber.¹⁵¹ He was killed two months later.¹⁵² Rafi-ad-Darjat was made the new Mughal emperor on February 28. At his first audience, Maharao Bhim Singh, Maharaja Ajit Singh, and Raja Ratan Chand appealed to him to abolish the poll tax (*jazyā*) on Hindus, and this appeal was granted.¹⁵³

Meanwhile, Sawai Jai Singh and others proclaimed Nekusiyar, the eldest surviving son of prince Muhammad Akbar, who was the fourth son of Emperor Alamgir, as the new Mughal emperor at Agra.¹⁵⁴ When this news reached Delhi in May 1719, Maharao Bhim Singh and others were sent to Agra to assist the provincial administrator (*nazim*) there.¹⁵⁵

Rafi-ad-Darjat, the Mughal emperor at Delhi, had severe tuberculosis; on June 6, he was replaced by his elder brother, Rafi-ad-Daula.¹⁵⁶ Rafi-ad-Daula did not live much longer than his predecessor: addicted to opium, he died on September 17 or 18, 1719, in a camp near Fatehpur Sikri.¹⁵⁷ On September 28, Roshan Akhtar, a grandson of the emperor Bahadur Shah, was made the new Mughal emperor; he subsequently became known by his title, Muhammad Shah.¹⁵⁸ All these emperors, however, were mere puppets in the hands of the Sayyids, who actually ruled Mughal India.

Maharao Raja Budh Singh of Bundi assisted Girdhar Bahadur, the rebellious governor of Allahabad, and thus infuriated the Sayyids, who asked Maharao Bhim Singh to march against Bundi on November 17, 1719.¹⁵⁹ In this campaign, he was accompanied by a number of Sayyid-Mughal leaders.¹⁶⁰ When he reached Mathura, Maharao Bhim Singh went to Brindaban, where he distributed silver coins in charity equal to his own weight and, following initiation through a religious leader (*gusain*), became a follower of the Vallabha Sampraday, a religious community.¹⁶¹ From this point, he regarded the image of Brijnathji as the tutelary deity of the Kotah state, and Kotah was thus named Nandgaon, after the village near Mathura in which Krishna passed part of his youth. Maharao Bhim Singh henceforth considered himself “minister” to Brijnathji and called himself Krishnadas, “the servant of Krishna.”¹⁶²

Disturbances at Kotah, caused by the army of Bundi following a rumor that Maharao Bhim Singh had died, interrupted the maharao’s stay at Mathura; he rushed to Bundi with contingents of the imperial army amounting to fifteen thousand horsemen,¹⁶³ six

Figure 8

Detail of Maharao Bhim Singh I fighting Nizam-ul-Mulk, c. 1720, Kotah. Opaque watercolor and gold on paper with inscription, 18.3 x 24.1 cm. Private collection.



thousand of whom were “veteran troops and all Seids [Sayyids] of Barha,” which means they were selected by the Barha Sayyids, or “kingmakers,” themselves.¹⁶⁴

Maharao Bhim Singh was promised the rank of seven thousand in addition to the “insignia of the fish,” the “highest military decoration that can be conferred,”¹⁶⁵ if his expedition against Bundi and Nizam-ul-Mulk in Malwa was successful.¹⁶⁶ Salim Singh, a relative of Nizam-ul-Mulk, was defeated at Kotah, and in early February 1720, the defender of Bundi, an uncle of Maharao Raja Budh Singh, died fighting, together with five to six thousand Haras, against the imperial army led by Maharao Bhim Singh.¹⁶⁷ Loot taken by Maharao Bhim Singh from Bundi included the kettledrums and, reportedly, even the elephants that decorated the “Raj Mahal.”¹⁶⁸

After the battle at Bundi, in June 1720, Dilaver Ali Khan (the paymaster [*bakshi*] of the Mughal army), Maharao Bhim Singh, and Raja Gaj Singh of Narwar engaged the armies of Nizam-ul-Mulk in battle near the western border of Malwa, in the vicinity of Ratanpur.¹⁶⁹ The battle began on the afternoon of June 19 and continued the following day. Maharao Bhim Singh, one of the “mail-clad Rajputs,”¹⁷⁰ sat in the howdah of his elephant, where the image of Brijnathji was hidden.¹⁷¹ What happened is described even by Islamic historians in the following words:

Dilaver Ali Khan, mounted on an elephant, fought resolutely, but he was struck by a musket ball and killed. The army of the Barhas [Sayyids] then turned to flee; but the Rajputs, Raja Bhim, and Raja Gaj Singh, disdained to escape, and fought with great valour. They and three or four hundred other Rajputs . . . were killed.¹⁷²

There are a number of descriptions of this battle and the death of the Kotah maharao, which are mostly based on Khafi Khan’s account.¹⁷³ The hidden artillery that annihilated a great part of Dilaver Ali Khan’s army and the maharao’s contingent is mentioned in most of these descriptions; it is also shown in a large painting on cloth now in the Rao Madho Singh Trust Museum.

Maharao Bhim Singh I had arranged for a number of temples to be constructed and renovated.¹⁷⁴ Furthermore, he introduced the emblem of the Kotah state, the Garuda standard (*garudadhvaja*).¹⁷⁵ In all known inscribed portraits of him, he appears to have been of dark complexion and somewhat short-necked.¹⁷⁶ His broad sideburns and long mustache terminating in a curl were probably meant to hide his numerous scars, mentioned by the historian James Tod.¹⁷⁷ Figure 8, a hitherto unpublished version on paper of the central scene of the large cloth painting of Maharao Bhim Singh’s final battle, in which he beheads Nizam-ul-Mulk in the artist’s fantasy, is inscribed on the back “portrait of Bhim Singh Hara” (*Hara Bhim Singhji ri surat*).¹⁷⁸ A number of paintings show Bhim Singh as a servant (*sevaka*) or devotee (*bhakta*) to Brijnathji,¹⁷⁹



Figure 9
Detail of Maharao Arjun Singh during the celebration of Krishna’s birthday at the Kotah palace, c. 1720–23, Kotah. Ink and watercolor on paper, 11.1 × 10.5 cm. Private collection.

and he even arranged for certain areas of the early murals of the Chhattar Mahal within the Kotah palace to be repainted, in order to have his own portrait, together with that of Brijnathji, inserted.¹⁸⁰ Nowadays, a life-size portrait of Maharao Bhim Singh I on cloth¹⁸¹ forms part of the royal Dashahra celebrations in the old palace.

Maharao Arjun Singh

Maharao Bhim Singh had four sons: Arjun Singh, Shyam Singh, Durjan Sal, and Kishan Singh.¹⁸² The eldest, Arjun Singh — whose mother was a daughter of Maharana Amar Singh of Mewar¹⁸³ —

ascended to the throne of Kotah after his father's death.¹⁸⁴ His reign, however, was brief: he died in October 1723.¹⁸⁵

During the short reign of Arjun Singh, the Arjun Mahal and the Moti Mahal of the Kotah fort were built.¹⁸⁶ A few contemporary and near-contemporary portraits are known,¹⁸⁷ in which he is often associated with Brijnathji, the idol that was lost during Maharao Bhim Singh's last battle.¹⁸⁸ In all these paintings, Arjun Singh's characteristic facial features are apparent. His complexion was as dark as that of his younger brother Shyam Singh,¹⁸⁹ and he had the broad sideburns of his father; figure 9, a preparatory drawing for catalogue number 21 or 22, reveals the thin mustache, the pointed, beaklike nose, and the large eyes with heavy lids, in addition to the short neck, that make him the most unmistakable of all Kotah rulers.

Maharao Durjan Sal

Maharao Arjun Singh died without leaving an heir. Maharao Durjan Sal, the third son of Maharao Bhim Singh, became the ruler of Kotah on November 18, 1723.¹⁹⁰ His elder brother, Shyam Singh, contested his succession to the throne, and on December 12, 1723, at the border between the states of Kotah and Bundi (at Udai-puriya), a battle between the two and their supporters was fought, during which Shyam Singh and several other noted Haras were killed.¹⁹¹ Durjan Sal became the ruler of Kotah.

By this time, the power of the Mughals was declining rapidly, while the power of the Marathas was increasing; the Rajput courts were busy fighting among themselves, and their feuds brought the Marathas into the Rajput territories in unexpected ways. For example, in April 1730, Kotah welcomed Maharao Raja Budh Singh, who was trying to reconquer the capital of Bundi, which had been taken from him by his brother-in-law Sawai Jai Singh of Jaipur following a family dispute.¹⁹² The following month, Sawai Jai Singh arrived in Kotah, accompanied by Dalel Singh Hara of Karwar, son of Salim Singh of Karwar (an estate in Bundi). On May 19, 1730, Sawai Jai Singh crowned Dalel Singh, "the Kotah ruler first applying the *tika* [forehead mark] on Dalel Singh's brow, followed by Jai Singh, who, waving the *chamvar* [flywhisk, a symbol of royalty] over the head of the young Hara, proclaimed him as the new Rao Raja of Bundi."¹⁹³

At this point, Amar Kumari, sister of Sawai Jai Singh and wife of Maharao Raja Budh Singh of Bundi, called on the Marathas to interfere; for a sum of six hundred thousand rupees, she hired them to fight against her brother and the ruler of Bundi at that time, Dalel Singh. The Marathas, supported by Dalel Singh's elder brother, conquered Bundi for Amar Kumari on April 22, 1734, and reinstalled Maharao Raja Budh Singh as rightful ruler.¹⁹⁴ Soon after, a large Jaipur army arrived and restored Dalel Singh in Bundi.

The intrusion of the Marathas into Rajput affairs was a serious enough threat for the Rajputs to unite and convene the famous Hurda conference. Meeting at Hurda, a village about thirty-six miles from Ajmer, the more important rulers of Rajasthan officially formed a league against the Marathas, on July 16, 1734.¹⁹⁵ It was probably in connection with this conference that Maharao Durjan Sal married Brajkunwar, a daughter of Maharana Sangram Singh II.¹⁹⁶ Durjan Sal, Sawai Jai Singh, and other participants in the conference supported the Mughal imperial army under Khan-i-Dauran in a campaign against the Marathas, but a battle was not fought. Instead, peace was negotiated.¹⁹⁷

On November 27, 1741, Maharao Durjan Sal organized a special religious function in honor of his father at Nathadvarya, to which he invited various Rajput rulers. It is possible that talks about the organization of resistance against the Marathas were held during that function.¹⁹⁸ In February 1742, it was planned that Maharao Durjan Sal and other major Rajput rulers should reassemble at Hurda and prepare to attack the Marathas to bring parts of Malwa under Rajasthani rule, but nothing came of this.¹⁹⁹

The Armies of Bundi and Kotah Unite against Jaipur, and Hostilities between the Two Hara States Come to an End

Maharao Raja Umed Singh, son and successor of Budh Singh of Bundi, carried on his father's attempts to reconquer Bundi. In this, he was actively assisted by Maharao Durjan Sal of Kotah. Durjan Sal also sided with the maharana of Mewar against Ishvari Singh of Jaipur,²⁰⁰ and Raja Aya Mal Khatri, the agent of Maharaja Ishvari Singh of Jaipur, bombarded and raided Kotah because of this.²⁰¹ Raja Aya Mal also secured Maratha help and successfully attacked another ally of Bundi and Kotah, the maharana of Mewar. Bundi changed hands several times over the next several years before an alliance of the forces of Kotah, Mewar, and the Marathas defeated Ishvari Singh in August 1748, in a battle that raged for six days. Ishvari Singh was required to cede five districts of the Jaipur state to Madho Singh and to restore Bundi to Umed Singh.²⁰²

Before long, however, the Marathas were once more enemies of the Rajputs. In early 1751, Maharao Durjan Sal went to Nathadvarya and there met envoys of Sawai Madho Singh (who had inherited the throne of Jaipur after the suicide of Ishvari Singh, his elder brother)²⁰³ to talk about checking the marauding Marathas in Rajasthan. Durjan Sal also sent a message to Maharana Jagat Singh saying that he would meet him for further talks on the Maratha problem on the occasion of Phuldol (the flower swing festival), the "ritual decoration" (*singar*) of which is illustrated in this catalogue (cat. 55).²⁰⁴

Durjan Sal had two sons, both of whom predeceased him.²⁰⁵ While visiting Anta in 1755, he decided to adopt Ajit Singh,²⁰⁶ a

grandson of Bishan Singh, who was the elder brother of Rao Ram Singh and the eldest son of Kishor Singh.²⁰⁷

Durjan Sal enjoyed hunting in the company of his queens; his preferred game was the lion.²⁰⁸ In 1740, he arranged for the construction of the Jagmandir in the center of the Kishor Sagar (an artificial lake named after Kishor Singh) for Brajkunwar, his queen from the Sisodia clan of Mewar.²⁰⁹ This artificial island caught the attention of James Tod, who published an engraving of it in the second volume of the first edition of his *Annals*.²¹⁰ Durjan Sal was a learned man, well versed in Sanskrit, and a devotee of the Vallabha Sampraday. He undertook yearly pilgrimages to several holy places, saw seven of Shri Nathji's "divine manifestations" (*svarups*) in 1740,²¹¹ distributed thousands of rupees in charity, and generously rewarded the chief priests of Shri Nathji in Nathadvara. In 1744, he

Figure 10

Detail of a portrait of Maharao Durjan Sal on the state elephant, c. 1730–40, Kotah. Opaque watercolor and gold on paper with inscription, 26 × 33.8 cm. National Museum, New Delhi.



brought the image of Mathuradhish or Mathuranath from Bundi to Kotah, where it is still venerated.²¹² Also during his reign, Brijnathji, the idol of the tutelary deity of Kotah that was lost during the last battle of Maharao Bhim Singh, found its way back to Kotah. His last and probably longest pilgrimage took Durjan Sal to Dwarka in 1755.²¹³ He died on August 1, 1756.²¹⁴

A fairly large number of contemporary portraits of Maharao Durjan Sal exists.²¹⁵ Hunting expeditions, including those on which he was accompanied by his three queens and concubines, are shown in several contemporary paintings.²¹⁶ Figure 10, an inscribed painting in the National Museum, New Delhi,²¹⁷ is a detail of a painting showing the ruler in the howdah of his elephant. His light complexion clearly distinguishes him from his father and elder brothers. He sports a comparatively short mustache and has no sideburns. Compared to that of his elder brother Arjun Singh, his nose is inconspicuous, but the dimple on his chin is remarkable. A Vaishnava mark adorns his forehead. Due to his connection with Mewar through Brajkunwar, his Sisodia queen, a number of his portraits were also painted by artists from there.²¹⁸ A posthumous but important portrait, which also includes a portrait of his religious adviser, is dated August/September 1778; this often-reproduced hunting scene is in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.²¹⁹

Maharao Ajit Singh

At the time of Durjan Sal's death, Maharao Ajit Singh was approximately eighty years of age and "very weak and infirm."²²⁰ Durjan Sal's dowager queen was less than fifty and refused to adopt a man who could have been her father.²²¹ She was more in favor of the adoption of Ajit Singh's eldest son, Shatru Sal, who was then over forty. Nevertheless, Himat Singh Jhala, the military commander (*faujdar*) of Kotah, managed to have Ajit Singh installed on the throne of Kotah. His reign, however, as might have been expected, was extremely brief; he died in March 1757.²²²

Not surprisingly, only a few contemporary and near-contemporary portraits of Maharao Ajit Singh have survived. Figure 11, an inscribed sketch, reveals his heavy chin and long, pointed nose — which is, however, not as prominent as that of Maharao Arjun Singh. Other portraits of Maharao Ajit Singh emphasize the heaviness of his body.²²³

Maharao Shatru Sal I and the Rise of Zalim Singh Jhala

Ajit Singh left three sons: Shatru Sal, Guman Singh, and Raj Singh.²²⁴ His eldest son, Shatru Sal, ascended to the throne of Kotah on September 15, 1758.²²⁵

In 1761, eight Hara principalities (*kotris*) — Pipalda, Gainta, Karwar, Pusod, Indargarh, Khatoli, Balban, and Antarda — were



Figure 11
Portrait of Maharao Ajit Singh on a throne, c. 1757, Kotah. Ink and watercolor on paper with inscription, 14.2 x 20.5 cm. Collection of the late Sangram Singh of Nawalgarh, Jaipur.

under the protection of the rule of governance (*sarkar*) of the fortress of Ranthambhor. These principalities always paid some sort of tribute to the commander of Ranthambhor and served him. The fortress was handed over to Sawai Madho Singh of Jaipur in 1753;²²⁶ after this, Himat Singh Jhala, the commander of Kotah, offered political protection to the principalities if they would transfer their allegiance to the maharao of Kotah.²²⁷ The chiefs of the principalities signed an agreement to this effect, but the childless Himat Singh died suddenly in 1758; before he died, however, he adopted Zalim Singh Jhala, a grandson of his elder brother Madan Singh, himself a former commander of Kotah.

Madho Singh of Jaipur learned about the alliance between the chiefs of the eight Hara principalities and the maharao of Kotah and decided to challenge it. Jaipur troops entered Kotah by crossing the Chambal River in the territory of Indargarh. The chieftain (*ja-girdar*) of Sultanpur of the Kotah state gallantly defended this fort against the Jaipur army and was slain; the Jaipur army marched on until it reached the neighborhood of the village of Bhatwara, four miles from the district (*tahsil*) headquarters of Mangrol. Here they came in touch with the Kotah army, commanded by Zalim Singh Jhala, assisted by the chief minister of the state, Akhai Ram Pancholi, and the maharao's foster brother, Jaskaran.

The Maratha army, under the leadership of Malhar Rao Holkar, was also poised to attack the Kotah state at this point.²²⁸ At this time, Malhar Rao Holkar was encamped near Mukundarra. He was visited by Akhai Ram Pancholi, who tried to win over the Maratha army against the troops of Jaipur. Though it is not known on what terms Holkar agreed to support the Kotah army, he and

his troops accompanied it in the direction of Bhatwara, where the Maratha army finally encamped. The mere presence of the Maratha army near Bhatwara must have created the idea in the mind of the leaders of the Jaipur army that Kotah and the Marathas were in a military alliance. The Jaipur army numbered between ten and twenty-five thousand²²⁹ and thus outnumbered the army of Kotah, which, even with the support of all the major chieftains with their contingents, in addition to some chieftains from the eight principalities, numbered only three thousand men.²³⁰

The young Zalim Singh Jhala prepared the battlefield well for this action in order to secure a fast retreat to the fortress of Kotah should this be needed. The battle started on November 29, 1761,²³¹ and raged for three days.²³² Although the Jaipur artillery played havoc among the Kotah troops and instantly killed seven hundred men,²³³ at the end of the battle the army of Jaipur was completely routed.

The Kotah camp is illustrated in this catalogue (cat. 44). The Jaipur camp was plundered by the Marathas under Malhar Rao Holkar, but it is not clear whether they actively supported the Kotah army,²³⁴ which also suffered heavy losses.²³⁵ Seventeen elephants, eighteen hundred horses, seventy-three cannons, and a state flag of Jaipur (*panchranga*) fell into the hands of the victorious Kotah army.²³⁶ From a sentimental point of view, the flag was the richest booty, and from that day on it was exhibited on the head of the effigy of Ravan on the occasion of the Dashahra Festival.²³⁷ The Marathas were amply rewarded,²³⁸ and Zalim Singh, together with Malhar Rao Holkar, was received in darbar by Maharao Shatru Sal.

Figure 12
Detail of Maharao Shatru Sal I and Zalim Singh Jhala, chief minister of the Kotah state, watching an elephant fight, c. 1764, Kotah. Ink and watercolor on paper, 20.8 x 25.6 cm. Private collection.



In 1762–63, the Kotah army was required to join the Marathas against Maharao Raja Umed Singh of Bundi, who was in arrears with the tribute he was supposed to pay to the Marathas. Maharao Shatru Sal accompanied the Marathas for forty days on this campaign. He died on December 17, 1764.²³⁹

Quite a number of portraits of this ruler exist. In four large, partly dated paintings, he rides a prancing horse.²⁴⁰ Often he appears together with Zalim Singh Jhala, owing to the fact that most of these paintings were commissioned and donated by the commander to his overlord.²⁴¹ Figure 12, a fragment of a larger drawing, shows Maharao Shatru Sal watching an elephant fight from the Kotah palace. His arms rest on the balustrade while a servant behind him waves a royal emblem made of peacock feathers (*morchal*). Next to him sits Zalim Singh Jhala, recognizable by his Bundi turban (*kbadgar pagri*), the shape of which somewhat resembles a shark fin. He looks at the maharao, while his hands hold a shield on his knees.²⁴² Similarly, he appears next to Shatru Sal in catalogue number 44, next to the large tent called the “carpet house” (*darikhana*) in the right half of the drawing. Behind the commander sits a Maratha chieftain (*sardar*), recognizable by his turban and large earrings.

Maharao Guman Singh

Maharao Guman Singh was a younger brother of Maharao Shatru Sal I, who died issueless. Guman Singh was about forty years of age²⁴³ when he ascended the throne of Kotah on December 28, 1764.²⁴⁴ On the very same day, Zalim Singh Jhala was appointed prime minister or chief minister (*musabib-i-ala* or *divan*) of the state.²⁴⁵ Soon after, however, he was expelled from Kotah by Maharao Guman Singh.²⁴⁶ In the middle of 1765, Zalim Singh left his estate in Kotah for Mewar, where Maharana Ari Singh welcomed him and where he received the title of Rajrana and a small estate.²⁴⁷

Maharao Guman Singh was unable to find a competent replacement for Zalim Singh. In the end, he had no choice and had to ask Zalim Singh to return to Kotah. After some hesitation, Zalim Singh accepted and returned to Kotah, where he was re-installed as commander, in 1770. In addition, a part of the palace was made over to him for his residence; this palace, a kind of small fortress within Kotah Fort, is the Jhala-ki-Haveli, which today is almost completely in ruins.²⁴⁸

Maharao Guman Singh suffered from ulcers; the historian of Bundi, Suryamalla Mishran, claims that Zalim Singh managed to have poisoned bandages applied to the wounds.²⁴⁹ Be that as it may, Guman Singh, while on his deathbed, entrusted his eldest son, Umed, to Zalim Singh's care before he died, on January 17, 1771.²⁵⁰

The only apparently contemporary portrait of Guman Singh is a drawing dated July/August 1757. This drawing is closely related

to a painting in the Williams College Museum of Art,²⁵¹ but includes additional sketches of both of Maharao Ajit Singh's sons, Shatru Sal (here written as “Chhatra Sal”), and, behind him, Guman Singh, when still a prince. Guman Singh's face is still without the customary mustache. Posthumous portraits of Guman Singh are abundant, but only a very few are published.²⁵² One of the most important artistic documents of Guman Singh's reign is a *Ragamala* of 251 folios, the greatest illustrated *Ragamala* ever produced.²⁵³

Maharao Umed Singh I

Maharao Guman Singh had three sons,²⁵⁴ of whom Umed Singh was the eldest. When Umed Singh succeeded his father as maharao of Kotah on January 28, 1771,²⁵⁵ he was about ten years old.²⁵⁶ By this time, the maharao of Kotah had become a mere titular head of the state, which was completely under the control of Rajrana Zalim Singh, whose strategy is described in the following terms:

There was no one who could share with Zalim Singh the power of administration, or who could be considered even socially his equal. Zalim Singh could not be contented with anything less than an unchallenged supreme position. He had nothing but hostility for those who claimed equality with him. He always found something to denounce in every man. If a man was intellectually superior, he would condemn him as socially inferior, and if a man were socially superior, he would run him down as intellectually inferior.²⁵⁷

Under Zalim Singh, Kotah prospered, whereas the neighboring states fell victim to marauding Marathas, Jats, and Pindaris. Zalim Singh always appeared to be subservient, but it was he who in fact pulled the strings.²⁵⁸ He knew exactly how to entertain friend and foe, and distributed large numbers of gifts, often well-chosen art objects, turban ornaments, precious Kashmir shawls, paintings, and the like.²⁵⁹

According to the historian R. P. Shastri, Maharao Umed Singh I “was by temperament a non-assertive and submissive sort of man. From boyhood till his death he stood in awe of Zalim Singh and, therefore, there never occurred a chance of any conflict with him.”²⁶⁰ Shastri's estimation of Maharao Umed Singh's character is supported by a French eyewitness, the Comte de Modave, who visited Kotah during the monsoon season of 1776 and who wrote what is probably the earliest published non-Indian firsthand report of that city and its maharao. Modave, who noted that “Kotah offers one of the most magnificent courts of India,”²⁶¹ actually met Umed Singh I at Mukundarra and described him as “weak and cowardish to the extreme.”²⁶² The history of Umed Singh is in fact best told by paintings, which were commissioned either by Zalim Singh or by himself, rather than by history books, which, as a rule, focus exclusively on the activities of Zalim Singh Jhala.

The earliest communication that the British had with Kotah took place in July 1803, when, during the British campaigns against the Marathas, Colonel Monson's detachment passed through the territory of that state and was given aid to facilitate its progress toward Gujarat.²⁶³ Brigadier General Monson had to pass through Kotah again the following year, this time greatly harassed by the Marathas under Holkar, on July 12.²⁶⁴ Monson had his retreat cut off by Holkar and tried to take shelter in the fort of Kotah; the official British historian William Thorn remarked that "the Rajah of Kottah was unwilling to admit our troops into the town, on the plea that he could not furnish them with provisions."²⁶⁵ In fact, "the Raj Rana of Kotah, when the British troops arrived as fugitives, would neither admit them into the town nor supply them with food."²⁶⁶ Zalim Singh was very careful. Had he assisted the weak British contingent, he would have provoked an attack by the then-successful Marathas on Kotah. The regent had no choice but to keep the British army out. Indeed, for the help rendered to the British the previous year, Zalim Singh had been fined one million rupees by the Maratha leader Holkar, while the latter camped in the neighborhood of Kotah.²⁶⁷

Thus were British officials made aware of Kotah. But whenever they turned their attention in that direction, it was exclusively with regard to Kotah's regent, never together with the rightful ruler, Maharao Umed Singh I, "who had been all his life a nonentity."²⁶⁸ A letter written by a Western writer, dated January 31, 1809, remarks:

The legitimate Raja of Kota is, with his family, kept in close confinement by a person named Zalim Singh, who has long usurped the entire management of public affairs; and is indeed recognized as ruler by all the states of Hindoostan. He is a man of very considerable talents; and, though not governing a very extensive territory, has yet contrived to render himself feared and respected by all his neighbours.²⁶⁹

A letter addressed to the Marquess of Hastings, dated July 7, 1817, says that

Zalim Singh, Rajah of Kottah, has attained a power, through the influence of his personal character, far exceeding either his military means or the limits of his possessions: wise, consistent, and politic, he manages his own affairs and interferes with those of others with equal prudence: he pays tribute when protection is necessary, but his character causes him to be treated with comparative moderation. His territories are an asylum to distressed princes and offending subjects; he is a general arbitrator of disputes, and all concur in granting him a respect and confidence which they refuse to each other. His country, though situated in the vortex of anarchy and confusion, is usually exempt from the misery of surrounding districts.²⁷⁰



Figure 13
Detail of a portrait of
Maharao Kishor Singh
reading a letter on a
terrace, c. 1820, Kotah.
Opaque watercolor,
silver, and gold on paper,
approx. 21 x 14 cm.
Collection of R. K.
Tandani, Secunderabad.

Beale's *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, even in its new edition, listed Zalim Singh as "the present Raja of Kota."²⁷¹

On December 26, 1817, a treaty between the "Honourable English East India Company" and "Maha Rao Omeid Sing Bahadour, the Rajah of Kotah . . . through Raj Rana Zalim Singh Bahadour" was drawn up at Delhi. Kotah was taken under British protection and now had to pay to the British the tribute that had been due to the Marathas. Kotah was also to furnish troops to the British.²⁷² Of great historical consequence was the "Supplementary Article," according to which "the principality" was guaranteed to Umed Singh and his heirs "in perpetuity." The "principality," however, was separated in that article from the administration of the state, the passage concerning which reads: "The entire administration of the affairs of the principality shall be vested in Rajrana Zalim Sing, and after him in his eldest son, Koowar Madho Singh and his heirs, in regular succession and perpetuity."²⁷³ Maharao Umed Singh I was thus officially without any political power. This article became known as the "secret clause."²⁷⁴ It was signed at Delhi on February 20, 1818, and ratified by the governor general at Lucknow on March 7, 1818.²⁷⁵

Near-contemporary sources claim that Umed Singh was unaware of the "secret clause."²⁷⁶ Zalim Singh continued to rule Kotah in the name of the maharao, and Umed Singh offered but little resistance to the Raj Rana.²⁷⁷ He died on November 19, 1819,²⁷⁸ a few hours after a viewing session (*darshan*) of Shri Brijnathji.

Politically, Maharao Umed Singh's rule is of little importance. Art historically, however, he was either one of the greatest Kotah patrons or one of the greatest connoisseurs of painting, or both.

Numerous hunting scenes showing him next to the regent attest to a high level of artistic activity, which was certainly also enjoyed by Zalim Singh.²⁷⁹ Umed Singh, though a puppet in the hands of the regent, was one of the few Kotah rulers whose life was not endangered by his nearest relatives or rulers of neighboring states; he could enjoy life during a period of comparable prosperity. According to one Western observer, “Kota being in a central position, and the rajah a man of good character, is a place of great trade, and serves as a general deposit for merchandize.”²⁸⁰

Portraits of Maharao Umed Singh are numerous and may be roughly divided into three categories: those showing him as a young lad without any trace of mustache; those in which he appears as a man, with mustache and sideburns; and those that show him in old age, with a white mustache brushed upwards as if to replace the shaved sideburns. The first category is best exemplified by a dated painting showing the young maharao on horseback at pigsticking. The date on the back of this published picture corresponds to May/June 1771,²⁸¹ and confirms the Comte de Modave’s observation of the maharao’s then-favorite sport.²⁸² Umed Singh appears to be of a similar young age in a painting that documents his early worship of Shri Brijnathji.²⁸³ The second category of portraits represents the maharao mostly in hunting scenes, as is demonstrated by catalogue numbers 45, 46, and 48–51, as well as by equestrian portraits.²⁸⁴ A religious scene dated 1803 introduces a portrait of the third category,²⁸⁵ among which hunting scenes can also be found.²⁸⁶

Maharao Kishor Singh

Maharao Umed Singh had three sons: Kishor Singh, Vishnu Singh, and Prithvi Singh.²⁸⁷ The eldest, Kishor Singh, was probably born in 1781,²⁸⁸ but this date is not certain.²⁸⁹ He ascended to the throne of Kotah on November 30, 1819.²⁹⁰

By this time, Zalim Singh Jhala had lost his eyesight. His eldest son, Madho Singh, was either forty or forty-six years of age, and his second son, Gordhan Das — whose mother was Zalim Singh’s unofficial Muslim wife, Mannibai — was about twenty-seven.²⁹¹ The regent, thinking that his end was near, invested his eldest son with the power of commander.²⁹²

Unlike his father, Maharao Kishor Singh could not tolerate having no political power; Madho Singh did not possess the diplomatic virtues of his father. Prithvi Singh was loyal to his elder brother, but Gordhan Das, jealous of his elder half-brother, supported Kishor Singh and hence tried to remove his own father — who was not unaware of these developments. Zalim Singh ordered the siege of the palace in order to capture Prithvi Singh and Gordhan Das; after a few days in the beginning of May, Kishor Singh, with the tutelary deity at his saddlebow and about five hundred

horsemen, broke the siege and moved to Rangbari, some four to six miles south of Kotah.²⁹³

The British political agent, James Tod, rushed to the camp of the regent and then, after some consultation, went to the camp of the maharao. Tod effected a reconciliation of Kishor Singh with Zalim Singh and led the former back to the palace. Kishor Singh was formally reinstated on August 17, 1820; Tod himself took part in the celebrations.²⁹⁴ A robe of honor (*khilat*) was presented to the regent in the name of the governor-general of India. Madho Singh acted as commander and exchanged ceremonial gifts with the maharao. Gordhan Das was expelled from Kotah and chose to stay at Delhi, receiving thirty thousand rupees in cash from the court.²⁹⁵ All seemed fine.

By the end of 1820, Gordhan Das had received permission to travel to Jhabua, a place in central India some 125 miles from Kotah,

Figure 14
Detail of a portrait of Maharao Ram Singh riding with retainers on foot, c. 1833, Kotah. Opaque watercolor, silver, and gold on paper, approx. 30 x 26.5 cm. San Diego Museum of Art.



in order to fulfill a marriage contract. When he arrived there, a secret correspondence between him and Maharao Kishor Singh began. Zalim Singh, being aware of it, closed the city gates of Kotah in order to prevent outside help from entering. To make things worse, he ordered two twenty-four-pounders to shell the palace. Zaif Ali, a Muslim commander of Zalim Singh's army, deserted to Kishor Singh, who left the palace at night and reached Bundi territory by crossing the Chambal by boat. He was accompanied by his brother Prithvi Singh and Prithvi Singh's son, Ram Singh.²⁹⁶

Maharao Raja Bishan Singh of Bundi welcomed Maharao Kishor Singh, receiving him two miles from the city of Bundi.²⁹⁷ The British tried to "capture Gordhandas, dead or alive, if he attempted to join the Maharao,"²⁹⁸ but failed to do so. Gordhan Das escaped British surveillance, but could not achieve his purpose and returned to Delhi. Kishor Singh left Bundi for a pilgrimage to Brindaban near Mathura, where Tod hoped "that the tranquility and repose he would find amidst the fanes of the tutelary deity, Brijnathji, might tempt a mind prone to religious seclusion, to pass his days there."²⁹⁹ By the middle of April, Kishor Singh had reached Mathura on his return from Brindaban to Kotah; crossing the Chambal, he entered Kotah State about forty miles north-northeast of Kotah City, with about three thousand followers. A letter dated September 16 was sent to James Tod; in this letter, Kishor Singh requested from the "English Government" the abolition of the "secret clause."³⁰⁰ The regent, however, did not give in, and Kishor Singh is reported to have exclaimed, "What was life without honour; what was a sovereign without authority? Death, or the full sovereignty of his ancestors!"³⁰¹

An armed conflict was inevitable:

At daybreak on the 1st October 1821 the opposing forces took up their positions near Mangrol. The Regent's army consisted of 8 bataillons with 14 guns and 14 paigas [units] of cavalry . . . The British troops consisting of 2 bataillons of infantry and 6 squadrons of cavalry with a Horse Artillery Battery formed on the right of the Regent's line.³⁰²

Maharao Kishor Singh commanded five hundred horsemen, the elite of the Hara army, as Tod himself, who was not only an eyewitness but also gave the signal for attack, acknowledged.³⁰³ Kishor Singh had no artillery at his disposal, but kept charging the British army and that of the regent: "With all the gallantry that has ever distinguished the Haras, they . . . charged the regent's line, when several were killed at the very muzzle of the guns, and but for the advance of three squadrons of British cavalry, would have turned his left flank, and probably penetrated to the reserve, where the regent was in person."³⁰⁴ Lieutenant and Adjutant John Clerk and Lieutenant Reade of the Fourth Regiment Bengal Light Cavalry died in action.³⁰⁵ Their commander, Major Ridge, was seriously

wounded and only saved by his orderly. Prithvi Singh was found wounded by a trooper of the cavalry regiment Skinner's Horse and died the following day.³⁰⁶ Maharao Kishor Singh had to retreat; he crossed the Parbati River and reached Baroda in western India (Gwalior State), where he took leave of his comrades in order to depart to Nathadvara, accompanied by Ram Singh, son of the gallant Prithvi. (Kishor Singh was married five times, but had only one son, who died at the age of four. After this, he lavished parental affection on Ram Singh, who was to become his successor.³⁰⁷) In the meantime, the regent was asked to grant a complete amnesty to those who participated in the battle against him.

Maharana Bhim Singh of Mewar welcomed Maharao Kishor Singh: strong matrimonial relations existed between these two states.³⁰⁸ Bhim Singh also acted as mediator, and an engagement addressed to Captain James Tod was signed by Kishor Singh on November 22, 1821, at Nathadvara. In this engagement, Kishor Singh ceded all power to the British government and acknowledged the position of "Nanahjee Zalim Sing."³⁰⁹

Maharao Kishor Singh was escorted back to Kotah, which he reached on the last day of 1821.³¹⁰ He was warmly received by the regent, who waited on him four miles from the city. After a hearty welcome was rendered to Kishor Singh by the city of Kotah, he was again formally installed on the ancestral throne. On January 8, 1822, Madho Singh Jhala agreed to an annual allowance of 164,877 rupees for the maintenance of Maharao Kishor Singh and his household and establishments. Out of this amount, forty-eight hundred rupees were spent annually on the temple of Brijrajji, Kishor Singh's personal deity. Another contract was drawn up that secured eighteen thousand rupees annually for "Baapoo Lall" — Madan Singh, the grandson of Zalim Singh.³¹¹ A day earlier, another cluster of articles had been drawn up by Tod "for the observance and provision of the Maha Rao Kishore Sing and successors, and signed by Kunwar Madhoo Sing."³¹² These articles regulated the possession of the maharao's lands and limited the "personal guards" of the maharao to "one hundred horse and 200 foot."

Rajrana Zalim Singh Jhala died on June 15, 1824,³¹³ and Maharao Kishor Singh on July 2, 1827.³¹⁴

Maharao Kishor Singh figures prominently in a number of wall paintings within the Bada Mahal of Kotah Fort. He appears as the major figure in two darbars, facing the regent, Madho Singh, in one, and Prithvi Singh in another. In other murals, he is seen worshiping Shri Mathureshji or other divinities of the Vallabha Sampraday.³¹⁵ Like his father, he is shown shooting at game from tree-blinds, but none of the hunting scenes showing Kishor Singh in action seems to have been published. The great majority of his portraits show him as a pious man; from these, it is difficult to believe that Kishor Singh dared to fight against the regent of the state and the British army with so much vigor. Figure 13 introduces

him as he appears in most of his portraits: light-complexioned, with a yellow turban showing a short cone on top, and a thin but long mustache, the ends of which are gray; his face is otherwise clean-shaven. His nose is slightly curved in sharp outline, and his chin is comparatively round and small. In this illustration, he holds a book the text of which begins: "Reverence to Shri Krishna! Reverence to Gopijanavallabha!"

Maharao Ram Singh

Maharao Ram Singh was the son of Maharao Kishor Singh's youngest brother, Prithvi Singh. When he ascended to the throne of Kotah in 1827,³¹⁶ he was nineteen years old.³¹⁷

Starting on January 17, 1832, Maharao Ram Singh and Madho Singh Jhala attended the great darbar held by Lord William Bentinck, the governor-general of India, near Ajmer. Five other chiefs from Rajasthan were also invited. This darbar was held with great ceremony, recorded by both historians and the court painters of Kotah.³¹⁸ Its main purpose was to suppress the anti-British feelings that prevailed in Rajasthan at the time.³¹⁹

The "Kotah contingent," commanded by British officers and financed by the state of Kotah, was created in 1836.³²⁰ Maharao Ram Singh wanted to exercise political power and hence could not get along with Madan Singh Jhala, who had become regent on the death of his father, Madho Singh Jhala. In order to avoid another battle of Mangrol, a treaty was signed with the officiating British political agent at Kotah on April 10, 1838. This treaty canceled the "secret clause" and ceded a certain portion of Kotah territory to Madan Singh. Maharao Ram Singh agreed to finance the "Kotah contingent" and thus regained full political power over his territory as long as he fulfilled "the pecuniary obligations arising out of the present arrangements of separation and transfer agreeable to the appended Schedule."³²¹

During the Indian Mutiny of 1857, Major Burton, the British resident at Kotah, left his wife and four of his children under the safeguard of the British troops at Nimach, an important military station. Accompanied by two of his sons, he reached Kotah on October 12, 1857. Burton must have told the maharao which soldiers of the "auxiliary force" he did not trust; according to a British account,

Officers and men were, in very truth, alike disaffected, and, being so, the communication made to them by order of the maharao determined them to take the law into their own hands. Accordingly, they assembled the following morning, killed Mr. Salder, the Residency surgeon, and Mr. Saviell, the doctor of the dispensary in the city, who resided in a house in the Residency grounds, and then attacked the Residency itself.³²²



Figure 15
Maharao Ram Singh (center) with his son and the British resident, c. 1863–64, India. Albumen print from a collodion negative on paper with inscription, approx. 13 × 17 cm. Collection Sven Gablin, London.

Burton and both of his sons were killed.³²³ The former residence of the political agent now serves as the residence of the maharao of Kotah.

It was not until March 30, 1858, that Kotah was attacked by a British force, fifty-five hundred strong, under Major General Roberts. Kotah was taken on April 1. "Between 400 and 500 rebels were killed and numbers of prisoners were taken. Of the British force 14 were killed and 46 wounded."³²⁴ Maharao Ram Singh was subsequently punished for his inactivity during the revolt: his salute was reduced by four guns.³²⁵ He died on the evening of March 27, 1866.³²⁶

No other Kotah ruler was portrayed more often than Maharao Ram Singh, who appears prominently in hunting scenes, darbars, and official meetings with various Rajput rulers and British officers. He figures no less prominently in all sorts of festivities, such as the slaughter of the buffalo during the Dashahra celebrations, the procession to the temple of Ashapura Devi in the fort, the procession to the burning of Ravan, and the spring festival of Holi. Routine daily activities like the worship of the tutelary deity or horse exercises were also immortalized by his artists. In addition to such genre scenes, events demonstrating the maharao's wit were also painted. Once, for example, he brought his horse onto the top of the palace roof, and he demonstrated that he could ride an elephant on the fragile roof of a pavilion that still stands. Most of these paintings either contain dates or are datable on the basis of the events shown in them.³²⁷

Figure 14 is a detail of a portrait of the young Maharao Ram Singh on horseback in a painting of about 1833. His sideburns grew



Figure 16
Detail of a portrait of Maharao Shatru Sal II seated on a terrace, c. 1868–70, Kotah.
Opaque watercolor and gold on paper, 25.5 × 17.6 cm. Rao Madho Singh Trust Museum,
Fort Kotah.

longer in the course of time, and he never shaved his mustache. His young face was marked by smallpox, his eyelids were heavy, his lips were pursed, and the tip of his nose was marked by a small round boss. His hair was shaved, except for a small area above the back of the head, mostly concealed by a turban.³²⁸ In figure 14, his halo has a rim of radiant gold and closely resembles that of his predecessor. Figure 15, a “startling discovery,”³²⁹ is the only known photograph of Maharao Ram Singh and shows a new kind of headgear introduced by him: a coneless, flat turban with a peak above the forehead, resembling the cap of a contemporary Britisher. The contemporary caption below the photograph reads *H.H. the Maha Row of Kotah & Son*. The print was found in an album with a number of Eugene Impey’s photographs; Impey was present at the siege of

Kotah in 1858,³³⁰ but it is more likely that he took this photograph while posted at Jodhpur as British political agent for the Marwar State between 1865 and 1868.³³¹

Maharao Shatru Sal II

Maharao Shatru Sal II³³² was the eldest son of Maharao Ram Singh and the latter’s first wife, the daughter of Bairisal Rathor.³³³ His birth name, Bhim Singh,³³⁴ was changed to Shatru Sal after the coronation ceremony, which took place on March 28, 1866.³³⁵ “The Viceroy took the opportunity of [Shatru Sal’s] accession to restore to him the salute of seventeen guns enjoyed by his father prior to 1857.”³³⁶

Art historically, the most important event of Shatru Sal II’s reign was his participation in the darbar of the third viceroy, Sir John Laird Mair Lawrence, later Lord Lawrence, at Agra, on November 19, 1866. A large wall painting near the Kanwarpada ka Mahal depicts the event, in which the young maharao appears three times. The seating order as observed by the Kotah artist is accurate but for the position of the begum of Bhopal, who is apparently only shown in her chariot. The accuracy of the artist’s rendering was confirmed by a French eyewitness, Louis Rousselet, who published a lengthy account of the event.³³⁷

During Shatru Sal II’s reign, a number of reforms, often based on European models, were introduced. They had no art-historical effect, however. Even the steam launch brought from England in March 1879, though “apparently much appreciated by the Darbar,”³³⁸ does not figure in any painting done during the maharao’s reign.

Another major event of Shatru Sal II’s period was the imperial darbar at Delhi on January 1, 1877. During this darbar, any ruler entitled to a gun salute was given a banner, richly blazoned with what the designer, Lord Lytton, believed to be the armorial bearings of the state. The Kotah banner, which still exists,³³⁹ bears the figure of Garuda — the Kotah emblem — in its center, held by dragons.

Shatru Sal II’s health was poor;³⁴⁰ around the time of the imperial darbar he became quite ill, and never really recovered.³⁴¹ He died on June 11, 1889, after having adopted Uday Singh, who was the second son of Maharaja Chagan Singh of Kotra and who succeeded Shatru Sal II under the name Maharao Umed Singh II.³⁴²

Maharao Shatru Sal II was portrayed in virtually the same situations as his father, but only a few good portraits of him have been published. Quite a number of paintings show him as a young prince, without sideburns;³⁴³ after his coronation, he appears with sideburns that almost completely surround his chin.³⁴⁴ Figure 16 shows the young ruler seated in a European chair, wearing a turban which, with its small cone, resembles that of Maharao Kishor

Singh. His hair is shaved, like his father's. His eyelids are less heavy, and his nose is longer, not straight, but slightly pointed.

Quite a few of Shatru Sal 11's drawings and paintings are dated.⁴⁴⁵ He was the last great patron of Kotah painting. Though during the first years of Maharao Umed Singh 11's reign paintings were still commissioned, they show clear marks of decadence. It is hence not surprising that Umed Singh 11 succumbed to the prevailing taste; all of his later portraits are either photographs or painted after photographs.

NOTES

- 1 Fryer, 2:100 and 106.
- 2 Marwar Census 1894.
- 3 Mundy 1914, 2:245.
- 4 For a more recent discussion of this term, see Mathur 1986, 1–5.
- 5 Bapna, 1976, 23.
- 6 Tod 1920 ed., 1482; Mishran c. 1899, 5:2265, verses 27ff; and Shyamaldas 1886, 2:84–85. The siege is reported in detail by all Islamic historians, including Akbar's biographer, Abul Fazl (Abul Fazl 1973 ed., 2:489), and is even mentioned by the Dutch chronicler Joannes De Laet in his Latin history of India from 1631 (De Laet 1928 ed., 152); it is also detailed in the often-published, near-contemporary illustrations of the *Akbar Nama* in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (I.S., nos. 72/117–76/117). A near-contemporary Rajput account, the "great poem on Surjan's life," also describes the armies and the battle in great detail (Surjanachari-tamahakavyam 1952 ed., *sargas* 16–17 and 18 and *shlokas* 1–23).
- 7 Abul Fazl 1977 ed., 1:510, and N. S. Khan and Hayy 1979 ed., 409.
- 8 The Daud or Doda of the Islamic sources.
- 9 Sen 1984, pl. 55, and Patnaik and Welch 1985, frontispiece and fig. 1.
- 10 G. N. Sharma 1962, 73–107.
- 11 Abul Fazl 1973 ed., 3:258.
- 12 See Abul Fazl 1977 ed., 3:284.
- 13 London, Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 2–1896 (103/117), published in *Petals from a Lotus* 1982, pl. 11.
- 14 Athar Ali 1985, xi; see also Moreland 1936.
- 15 Athar Ali 1985, 15.
- 16 Shyamaldas 1886, 2:111; for the birth date of Bhoj, see Mishran c. 1899 ed., 2434, verse 85.
- 17 N. S. Khan and Hayy 1979 ed., 409, and Abul Fazl 1977 ed., 1:510; on the fourth day of the bright half of [the month] Jyeshtha in v.s. 1664, according to the Bundi chronicle *Vansh Bhaskar* (Mishran c. 1899 ed., 2434, verse 87) and the (unpublished) inscription on his cenotaph (*dhatri*) near Bundi. Shyamaldas 1886, 2:111, says it was the fourth of the bright half of Asadha in v.s. 1664 — one month later, corresponding to June 26, 1607.
- 18 Athar Ali 1985, index under "Rai Bhuj."
- 19 Mishran c. 1899 ed., 2433, verse 79.
- 20 Bautze 1987a, 58–61.
- 21 This *Ragamala* "was ready on the day of Wednesday at the time of the mid-day prayer in the place Chunar . . . on the date of the 29th of the month Rabial-Akhir, year 999 [February 25, 1591 C.E.]" (Skelton 1981, 124).
- 22 Gray 1949, frontispiece; Goetz 1950, pl. x; and Gray 1955, pl. iv, just to mention a few.
- 23 Ojha 1939 1:186f. and 188.
- 24 Mishran c. 1899 ed., 1548, verse 59.
- 25 Shyamaldas 1886, 2:111.
- 26 Mishran c. 1899 ed., 2432, verse 71.
- 27 Jahangir 1978 ed., 1:140.
- 28 Ray 1975, pl. x.
- 29 Jahangir 1978 ed., 2:257.
- 30 Prasad 1973, 357, and Elliot and Dowson 1875, 412.
- 31 Prasad 1973, 357.
- 32 See N. S. Khan and Hayy 1952 ed., 604.
- 33 Elliot and Dowson 1875, 396.
- 34 Athar Ali 1985, 87, J1477.
- 35 Following Mishran c. 1899 ed., 2548, verse 60; the inscription on his cenotaph at Banganga near Bundi; and Athar Ali 1985, 115 and S643.
- 36 Koch 1986.
- 37 Bautze 1986b, 1986c, 1986d, 1987b, and 1989b.
- 38 Gahlot 1960, 89.
- 39 Mundy 1914, 24f.
- 40 Bautze 1986e, fig. 5.
- 41 Ibid., figs. 5, 7, 13, and 20.
- 42 Ibid., fig. 9.
- 43 Mishran c. 1899 ed., 2448, verse 204; he was born in 1589.
- 44 N. S. Khan and Hayy 1952 ed., 722, and Lahori's *Badshahnamah* quoted after Shyamaldas 1886, 2:112, n. 2.
- 45 N. S. Khan and Hayy 1952 ed., 722.
- 46 Gahlot 1960, kota, 9, and M. L. Sharma 1939, 1:41.
- 47 Athar Ali 1985, 101, S191.
- 48 Ibid., 115, S645.
- 49 Khan Jahan Lodi was decapitated — a painted event that may include a portrait of Madho Singh ('Inayat Khan 1990 ed., pl. 15; see also Bautze 1993a, 268).
- 50 N. S. Khan and Hayy 1952 ed., 1; Kewal Ram 1985 ed., 302; and *Padshahnamah* of Lahori, quoted after Sarkar 1984, 203, n. 4.
- 51 Mathur 1985, 108.
- 52 See Nath and Singh Jodha 1994, chart, 210.
- 53 N. S. Khan and Hayy 1952 ed., 1.
- 54 'Inayat Khan 1990 ed., 163.
- 55 Syed 1977, 34.
- 56 M. L. Sharma 1939, 1:126f.; according to sources quoted by Athar Ali, he lived ten years longer (Athar Ali 1985, 304, S6718, and 325, S7418).
- 57 Athar Ali 1985, 213, S3846 and S3845.
- 58 For which see M. L. Sharma 1939, 1:138f.
- 59 Bautze 1986e, fig. 12.
- 60 Named and numbered 194/1–194/7 in Mishran c. 1899 ed., 2455, verses 49ff.
- 61 Mishran c. 1899 ed., 2454, verses 48f.
- 62 N. S. Khan and Hayy 1952 ed., 241.
- 63 Athar Ali 1985, 232, S4432.
- 64 N. S. Khan and Hayy 1952 ed., 242.
- 65 Sarkar 1912, 2:12 and 14, and Syed 1977, 86.
- 66 Sarkar 1912, 2:18, and Kewal Ram 1985 ed., 303.
- 67 Athar Ali 1985, 325, S7426.
- 68 Syed 1977, 88; N. S. Khan and Hayy 1952 ed., 242; Mishran c. 1899 ed., 2667, lines 2–23; and M. L. Sharma 1939, 1:168.
- 69 M. L. Sharma 1939, 1:174.
- 70 Ibid., 1:172, following Lakshmandan n.d., 12, 3rd line; and Gahlot 1960, kota, 49.
- 71 N. S. Khan and Hayy 1979 ed., 405.
- 72 Probably Bahadurpura, three miles from Burhanpur; see Sarkar 1919, 4:245.
- 73 Bhimsen 1972 ed., 134.
- 74 According to Gahlot 1960, 49. It seems, however,

- that this is not fully correct, since contemporary and other sources state that Jagat Singh died while defending one of the Mughal camps north of Bijapur against the Marathas in 1682, and that nine hundred other I Jara soldiers died with him (Sarkar 1937, 282, and Bhimsen 1972 ed., 140).
- 75 Patnaik and Welch 1985, 88.
- 76 Beach 1974, fig. 68.
- 77 Ibid., fig. 69.
- 78 Bautze 1986a, fig. 2.
- 79 Kühnel 1937, pl. 8; for a more recent reproduction of this painting as a full-color facsimile, see Enderlein and Hickmann 1995, pl. 2.
- 80 Bautze 1986a, fig. 3.
- 81 N. S. Khan and Hayy 1952 ed., 242 and 593, and Bhimsen 1972 ed., 140.
- 82 M. L. Sharma 1939, 1:198f.
- 83 Ibid., 1:197.
- 84 Athar Ali 1985, 287.
- 85 Sarkar 1919, 311.
- 86 Ibid., 322f.
- 87 Bhimsen 1972 ed., 152.
- 88 Ibid., 160.
- 89 Syed 1977, 346, and Sarkar 1919, 368.
- 90 M. L. Sharma 1939, 1:207f.
- 91 For Zulfiqar Khan's biography, see N. S. Khan and Hayy 1952 ed., 1033–44.
- 92 Bhimsen 1972 ed., 200, and N. S. Khan and Hayy, 1952 ed., 593.
- 93 Athar Ali 1966, 238.
- 94 Ibid., 229.
- 95 Bhimsen 1972 ed., 201; M. L. Sharma 1939, 1:213; and Sarkar 1924, 104.
- 96 Hendley 1897, no. 4, pl. 11; Pal 1976, no. 41; and further posthumous unpublished portraits.
- 97 M. L. Sharma 1939, 1:202.
- 98 Bhimsen 1972 ed., 201, and N. S. Khan and Hayy 1952 ed., 2593.
- 99 Shyamaldas 1886, 2:1412, and M. L. Sharma 1939, 1:222f.
- 100 Bhimsen 1972 ed., 205.
- 101 Ibid., 207–9, and Sarkar 1924, 105–8.
- 102 S. M. Khan 1947 ed., 260.
- 103 Bhimsen 1972 ed., 227.
- 104 Athar Ali 1966, 234.
- 105 Bhimsen 1972 ed., 228.
- 106 Ibid., 232, and S. Chandra 1979, 5.
- 107 Bhimsen 1972 ed., 233.
- 108 Ibid., 243.
- 109 S. M. Khan 1947 ed., 300, and Bhimsen 1972 ed., 250; it is, however, not clear how much Ram Singh's rank totaled around that time. Bhimsen mentions twenty-five hundred.
- 110 S. M. Khan 1947 ed., 305; Kewal Ram 1985 ed., 263; and N. S. Khan and Hayy 1952 ed., 594.
- 111 Sarkar 1924, 257, and Sarkar 1937, 302.
- 112 Tod 1920 ed., 1495.
- 113 Mishran c. 1899 ed., 2967–93; Irvine 1971 ed., 2:22–30.
- 114 M. L. Sharma 1939, 1:248; Irvine 1971 ed., 1:30; N. S. Khan and Hayy 1952 ed., 594; and Hussein-Khan 1832, 14.
- 115 Irvine 1971 ed., 30, and Hussein-Khan 1832, 14.
- 116 Kewal Ram 1985 ed., 263.
- 117 S. M. Khan 1947, 305, and Hussein-Khan 1832, 14.
- 118 See Ehnborn 1985, no. 42; Sotheby's, Inc., 1989, no. 125; and Hotel Drouot 1983, no. 82.
- 119 Falk 1978, pl. on 61, no. 69 (I have not seen the inscription).
- 120 Lakshmandan n.d., 19.
- 121 Ibid., 19, and Shyamaldas 1886, 2:1414.
- 122 Mishran c. 1899 ed., 2999, verse 29, and Shyamaldas 1886, 2:115.
- 123 S. Chandra 1979, 121, and Sarkar 1984, 190.
- 124 For a complete list, see Mishran c. 1899 ed., 2999.
- 125 Shyamaldas 1886, 2:1414.
- 126 Styled "Maharaja" by Lakshmandan n.d., 19.
- 127 Lakshmandan n.d., 19, and Mishran c. 1899 ed., 3008ff.
- 128 Mishran c. 1899 ed., 3022f, and Lakshmandan n.d., 19f.
- 129 Irvine 1971 ed., 1:135.
- 130 Ibid., 1:229ff.
- 131 Ibid., 1:240.
- 132 Bhatnagar 1974, 120.
- 133 S. Chandra 1979, 122, n. 21.
- 134 Bhatnagar 1974, 120, and S. Chandra 1979, 122, n. 21.
- 135 Bhatnagar 1974, 120, and S. Chandra 1979, 121f.
- 136 M. L. Sharma 1939, 1:249.
- 137 For details, see M. L. Sharma 1939, 1:262.
- 138 Descriptive List 1974, 50, serial no. 213.
- 139 S. Chandra 1979, 122, n. 21.
- 140 Ibid., 123.
- 141 Bhatnagar 1974, 121. Other official sources claim that Maharao Raja Budh Singh had already regained Bundi on June 12 or July 30; see Descriptive List 1974, 57, serial no. 279, and 58, serial no. 281.
- 142 Bhatnagar 1974, 121; Bhargava 1979, 161; S. Chandra 1979, 124; and Irvine 1971 ed., 1:333. Mau Maidana had already been returned to Budh Singh earlier (S. Chandra 1979, 124, n. 29).
- 143 S. Chandra 1979, 124.
- 144 M. L. Sharma 1939, 1:264f.
- 145 Irvine 1971 ed., 1:374, and S. Chandra 1979, 139.
- 146 Irvine 1971 ed., 1:376; S. Chandra 1979, 140; and Elliot and Dowson 1877, 475.
- 147 Tod 1920 ed., 1496.
- 148 N. Singh 1939, 83.
- 149 Sarkar 1984, 191.
- 150 Mishran c. 1899 ed. 3065, verses 116ff.; Irvine 1971 ed., 1:376; Bhatnagar 1974, 135; and S. Chandra 1979, 140.
- 151 Irvine 1971 ed., 1:379ff, and Elliot and Dowson 1877, 478.
- 152 Irvine 1971 ed., 1:391–93.
- 153 Ibid., 1:198.
- 154 Ibid., 1:408ff.
- 155 Ibid., 1:413.
- 156 Ibid., 1:418.
- 157 Ibid., 1:431, and 2:1.
- 158 Ibid., 2:1f.
- 159 Ibid., 2:5.
- 160 Ibid., 2:6.
- 161 For which see Barz 1992 and the essay by Norbert Peabody, below.
- 162 Mishran c. 1899 ed., 3071; Lakshmandan n.d., 31; and M. L. Sharma 1939, 1:269f.
- 163 Irvine 1971 ed., 2:5.
- 164 Hussein-Khan 1832, 201.
- 165 Ibid., 277.
- 166 Elliot and Dowson 1877, 489. For a quotation of this passage, see cat. 68; for a biography of Nizam-ul-Mulk or Asaf Jah I, see Husain 1963.
- 167 Bhatnagar 1974, 149, and Irvine 1971 ed., 2:6.
- 168 Tod 1920 ed., 1527; Lakshmandan n.d., 22, and M. L. Sharma 1939, 1:299f.; on the latter issue, see Bautze 1992a, 82.
- 169 Elliot and Dowson 1877, 490 and 492, and Irvine 1971 ed., 2:19, 23, and 27.
- 170 Irvine 1971 ed., 2:28.
- 171 M. L. Sharma 1939, 1:297; for the actual idol, see M. B. Singh 1985, fig. 25.
- 172 Elliot and Dowson 1877, 496. See also Hussein-Khan 1832, 222f., and Hussein [Hossein]-Khan 1986 ed., 1:162f.
- 173 Husain 1963, 101–3; Irvine 1971 ed., 2:29–31; M. L. Sharma 1939, 1:295–98; Shyamaldas 1886, 2:1414–16; Lakshmandan n.d., 2631; Tod 1920 ed., 1525–26; and Gahlot 1960, kota, 58–59.
- 174 For which see Lakshmandan n.d. 31, and M. L. Sharma 1939, 1:309.
- 175 Bautze 1986d; Bautze 1995b, pl. 134, fig. 196; and M. B. Singh 1985, 14.
- 176 Bautze 1989, pl. 71; Bautze 1992, figs. 371–2; and Hendley 1897, no. 6, pl. 11; compare Hatanaka 1994, pl. 99.
- 177 Tod 1920 ed., 1528.
- 178 The red Devanagari numerals "15/282" indicate that the painting once formed part of the royal Mewar collection; portraits of non-Mewar rulers were filed under this inventory number (see Toppsfield 1995, 192).
- 179 Bautze 1989a, pl. 67; Sotheby's, Inc., 1972, no. 112; and an unpublished painting in a private collection.
- 180 Bautze 1989a, pls. 64 and 65.
- 181 For which see M. B. Singh 1985, fig. 4.
- 182 M. L. Sharma 1939, 1:310; a fifth son, Maha Singh, is also mentioned in the Jaipur records (Descriptive List 1974, 72, serial no. 332).
- 183 Lakshmandan n.d., 21.
- 184 M. L. Sharma 1939, 1:310.
- 185 Ibid., 1:316; Bhatnagar 1974, 169.
- 186 M. L. Sharma 1939, 1:319.
- 187 Desai and Leidy 1989, pl. v (inscribed "picture of Maharao Arjun Singhji").
- 188 Sotheby's, Inc., 1973, no. 175; Christie's Inc., 1980, no. 46; and cat. 19 and 20.
- 189 Bautze 1992b, fig. 375; Shyam is "the dark one," Krishna.
- 190 Shyamaldas 1886, 2:1416, and Gahlot 1960, kota, 60.
- 191 Descriptive List 1978, document no. 459, dated December 14, 1723; and Bhatnagar 1974, 169f.
- 192 Bhatnagar 1974, 218; for details, see Bautze 1987a, 313–22.
- 193 Bhatnagar 1974, 219; for Dalel Singh's portraits, see Bautze 1988, 91.
- 194 Bhatnagar 1974, 221; Sarkar 1932, 251f; and Sarkar 1984, 194.
- 195 K. S. Gupta 1971, 39–42; Bhatnagar 1974, 222–25; and M. L. Sharma 1939, 2:375–77.
- 196 See M. L. Sharma 1939, 1:347; Shyamaldas 1886, 2:1416, according to whom she was the daughter (*kan-yu*) of Maharana Jagat Singh; and Gahlot 1960, kota, 63, who calls her the sister (*bahin*) of Jagat Singh.

- 197 Bhattachar 1974, 225–27.
- 198 M. L. Sharma 1939, 237:8f.
- 199 K. S. Gupta 1971, 54.
- 200 *Ibid.*, 55f.
- 201 Sarkar 1932, 323.
- 202 *Ibid.*, 293f.; K. S. Gupta 1971, 63; Sarkar 1984, 236–38; and N. Singh 134–40, based mainly on Mishran's *fanish Bhaskar*.
- 203 H. Singh 1965, sheet no. 2, serial no. 32; and Sarkar 1984, 240.
- 204 K. S. Gupta 1971, 66.
- 205 M. L. Sharma 1939, 23401.
- 206 R. P. Shastri 1971, 29; and M. L. Sharma 1939, 23412.
- 207 Shyamaldas 1886, 21417f.
- 208 M. L. Sharma 1939, 23403f.
- 209 *Ibid.*, 23405f. and 467 and M. B. Singh 1991, 248f.
- 210 See Bautze 1985c, 390, n. 42.
- 211 These were Vithalnathji, Navantrapriviiji, Dvarkanathji, Gokulchandranaji, Mathuranathji, Gokulnath, and Madannoharaji; see Gahlot 1960, kota, 63.
- 212 M. L. Sharma 1939, 23403–5 and 409.
- 213 *Ibid.*, 23409–11.
- 214 Shyamaldas 1886, 21417; and Gahlot 1960, kota, 63.
- 215 Bautze 1995b, 137; Bautze 1985b, 96f, nn. 49–54; figs. 3 and 4; Bautze 1992a, fig. 44; and Sothely's, Inc., 1973, no. 179 (inscribed, now in the San Diego Museum of Art, Binmy' Collection).
- 216 Devar 1957, 21, pl. XIX, and Chaturanya 1982, pl. XI.
- 217 5635/2, inscribed "Maharao Durjan Salji."
- 218 Bautze 1995b, 136, and Sothely's, Inc., 1994, no. 39.
- 219 Recent publications include Cury and Swallow 1990, 142, pl. 122.
- 220 R. P. Shastri 1971, 30.
- 221 *Ibid.*, 31.
- 222 Shyamaldas 1886, 21418. For sources on the contention over the succession, see R. P. Shastri 1971, 32, and Gahlot 1960, kota, 64.
- 223 The first identified portrait of Ajit Singh is in the Linden-Museum, Stuttgart; see Bautze 1985b, pl. on 32; for further portraits see Bautze 1985b, 102f. and Nocy and Temos 1994, frontispiece and no. 31.
- 224 M. L. Sharma 1939, 23416, and Gahlot 1960, kota, 65.
- 225 Shyamaldas 1886, 21418, and Lakshmandan n.d., 51.
- 226 M. L. Sharma 1939, 23424.
- 227 R. P. Shastri 1971, 38, and N. Singh 1930, 195f.
- 228 For details, see M. L. Sharma 1939, 23481f. and R. P. Shastri 1971, 39f.
- 229 R. P. Shastri 1971, 45; Sarkar 1934, 2506f.; Sarkar 1984, 230f. and Bhat 1971, 199; Gahlot 1960, kota, 67; says the Jajpur army was sixty thousand strong.
- 230 Sarkar 1984, 251.
- 231 Sarkar 1934, 306.
- 232 R. P. Shastri 1971, 42.
- 233 M. L. Sharma 1939, 23444.
- 234 Compare Gahlot 1960, kota, 68; Bhat 1971, 199f.; and R. P. Shastri 1971, 46–48.
- 235 For details, see M. L. Sharma 1939, 23445f.
- 236 Shyamaldas 1886, 21418f. and R. P. Shastri 1971, 43.
- 237 R. P. Shastri 1971, 44.
- 238 For details, see R. P. Shastri 1971, 45.
- 239 Shyamaldas 1886, 21419, and Gahlot 1960, kota, 68.
- 240 Bautze 1988, figs. 5–8, and Bautze 1995b, pl. on 153.
- 241 Beach 1974, fig. 89; Bautze 1992a, figs. 45 and 84; and Sothely's Inc., 1992, no. 155.
- 242 See Beach 1974, fig. 89.
- 243 R. P. Shastri 1971, 51.
- 244 Shyamaldas 1886, 21419, and Gahlot 1960, kota, 66.
- 245 R. P. Shastri 1971, 50.
- 246 It is not known exactly why Zalim Singh had to leave Kotah; James Tod wrote that he "dared to cross his master's path in love" (Tod 1920 ed., 1537), whereas R. P. Shastri argued that Zalim Singh left on the advice of Guman Singh's counselors. Shastri estimated that Guman Singh was about fifty years old at the time of his accession and concluded that "a man of fifty is not usually capable of any impetuous or uncontrollable passion for a girl" (R. P. Shastri 1971, 52).
- 247 K. S. Gupta 1971, 85, and Tod 1920 ed., 1538.
- 248 R. P. Shastri 1971, 58–60.
- 249 *Ibid.*, 60.
- 250 Shyamaldas 1886, 1419; Gahlot 1960, kota, 71; Tod 1920 ed., 1539f.; R. P. Shastri 1971, 60f. and M. L. Sharma 1939, 23470.
- 251 Nocy and Temos 1994, frontispiece.
- 252 See Bautze 1983a, 443, pl. 3.
- 253 Folio 249 gives the information that it was completed on Tuesday; the second of the bright half of the month Jyeshtha, vs. 1825 [May/June 1768 C.E.] at Nandgrama in Kotah in the reign of Maharaja-dhiraja Raja Raja Shri Shri Shri Shri Guman Singh for Maharani Ranawati (Ebleing 1973, 219, fig. 11). Ebleing's interpretation of that colophon is incorrect; he identified Nandgrama with Narra, Zalim Singh's estate. I am indebted to Robert Skelton for supplying me with a clear photograph of this important folio.
- 254 R. P. Shastri 1971, 58.
- 255 Shyamaldas 1886, 21420, and Gahlot 1960, kota, 71.
- 256 M. L. Sharma 1939, 23471.
- 257 R. P. Shastri 1971, 61f.
- 258 Bautze 1994, 105f.
- 259 *Ibid.*, 106f.
- 260 R. P. Shastri 1971, 73.
- 261 Modave 1971 ed., 480 (*La Cour du raja de Cota passe pour une des plus magnifiques de l'Indoustan*).
- 262 *Ibid.*, 488 (*C'est un prince faible et lâche et qu'il est possible*).
- 263 Clunes 1833, 154.
- 264 Grant Duff 1863, 3198, and Clunes 1833, 154.
- 265 Horn 1818, 360.
- 266 Grant Duff 1863, 3198f.
- 267 *Ibid.*, 3199; Clunes 1833, 154; and R. P. Shastri 1971, 219–25.
- 268 Mallson 1875, 73.
- 269 Broughton 1892, 28.
- 270 Malcolm 1826, 2ccxviii.
- 271 Beale 1894, 427.
- 272 For the complete text, see Atchison 1909, 368–71; for a shorter version, see Tod 1920 ed., 1833f.
- 273 Atchison 1909, 372.
- 274 R. P. Shastri 1971, 73.
- 275 Atchison 1909, 372.
- 276 Clunes 1833, 155.
- 277 R. P. Shastri 1971, 79 and 80–82.
- 278 Following Shyamaldas 1886, 21421; November 21 of that year, following Gahlot 1960, kota, 82, and M. L. Sharma 1939, 23553.
- 279 Bautze 1994; see cat. 45, 46, and 48–51.
- 280 Francklin 1805, 148f.
- 281 W. G. Archer 1959, pl. 36.
- 282 Modave 1971 ed., 488.
- 283 Bautze 1987b, fig. 13.
- 284 Bautze 1992a, figs. 4, 5, and 9.
- 285 Bautze 1987b, fig. 11.
- 286 Henchy n.d., pl. on 13.
- 287 Shyamaldas 1886, 21421; Tod 1920 ed., 1583; and M. L. Sharma 1939, 23554.
- 288 Gahlot 1960, kota, 83.
- 289 According to R. P. Shastri 1971, 82, Kishor Singh was only thirty-eight years old when his father died, and not forty; as stated by most other historians, such as Gahlot 1960, kota, 83; M. L. Sharma 1939, 23555; or Tod 1920 ed., 1583.
- 290 Shyamaldas 1886, 21421; M. L. Sharma 1939, 23554; and Gahlot 1960, kota, 83.
- 291 M. L. Sharma 1939, 23555 and 563; R. P. Shastri 1971, 84; and Tod 1920 ed., 1583f.
- 292 R. P. Shastri 1971, 84, and Tod 1920 ed., 1584.
- 293 Tod 1920 ed., 1590f.; M. L. Sharma 1939, 23460–62; and R. P. Shastri 1971, 86.
- 294 *Ibid.*, 1592–93.
- 295 *Ibid.*, 1595, and R. P. Shastri 1971, 37.
- 296 R. P. Shastri 1971, 37f., and Tod 1920 ed., 1596.
- 297 M. L. Sharma 1939, 23566.
- 298 Tod 1920 ed., 1597.
- 299 *Ibid.*
- 300 *Ibid.*, 1599.
- 301 *Ibid.*, 1601.
- 302 Crofton 1934, 76.
- 303 Tod 1920 ed., 1602.
- 304 *Ibid.*, 1603.
- 305 For their biographies, see Crofton 1934, 76f.
- 306 Tod 1920 ed., 1604.
- 307 M. L. Sharma 1939, 23576.
- 308 *Ibid.*, 23577.
- 309 Atchison 1909, 373.
- 310 M. L. Sharma 1939, 23579f. and Tod 1920 ed., 1610.
- 311 Atchison 1909, 374.
- 312 *Ibid.*, 375f.
- 313 Mallson 1875, 74; for diverging dates, see R. P. Shastri 1971, 93 and 254.
- 314 Sharma 1939, 23581, following Shyamaldas 1886, 21425; following Gahlot 1960, kota, 89, the date was August 22, 1828, but this date was wrongly converted.
- 315 See Varma 1989, pl. 2.
- 316 M. L. Sharma 1939, 23487.
- 317 Gahlot 1960, kota, 90.
- 318 Bautze 1990.
- 319 Sonani 1985, 183.
- 320 M. L. Sharma 1939, 23593.
- 321 See Atchison 1909, 376–79; for the full text.
- 322 Mallson 1889, 398.
- 323 An account of their murder was found on the tablet that once decorated Major Burton's tomb in the Kotah cemetery; see Crofton 1934, 73.
- 324 Crofton 1934, 75.
- 325 Mallson 1875, 75, and M. L. Sharma 1939, 23629; for a fuller account of these events, see M. L. Sharma 1939, 23604–29.

- 426 Mallison 1875: 75; Shyamaldas 1886, 2:1427; and Gahlot 1960, kota, 93; according to M. L. Sharma, he died almost a year earlier (M. L. Sharma 1939, 2:638), at the age of sixty-four.
- 327 They are enumerated in Bautze 1988–89.
- 328 See Bautze 1987b, fig. 6.
- 329 Brach 1992: 243.
- 330 Topsfield 1990, 257.
- 331 *Ibid.*, 268.
- 332 Also called Chatura Sal in inscriptions, and Chhatar Sal or Chatur Singh in English literature.
- 333 M. L. Sharma 1939, 2:588.
- 334 Gahlot 1960, kota, 94.
- 335 Shyamaldas 1886, 2:1428 and Gahlot 1960, kota, 94 (the “1” given here for the day is a misprint for “12,” since it is unlikely that Shatru Sal II was crowned king prior to his father’s death); according to the historian M. L. Sharma, Maharao Ran Singh died earlier, and his son accordingly succeeded him in April/May 1865 (M. L. Sharma 1939, 2:640).
- 336 Mallison 1875: 76.
- 337 Roussedet 1877: 329, and Roussedet 1878, 277.
- 338 Powlett 1880, 107.
- 339 Bautze 1986d, fig. 11.
- 340 M. L. Sharma 1939, 2:697.
- 341 See Powlett 1880, 85.
- 342 Gahlot 1960, kota, 99; Chiefs and Leading Families 1903, 46; Chiefs and Leading Families 1916, 54; and Jagatnayan 1983, 12ff.
- 343 See Bautze 1995c, 86.
- 344 *Ibid.*
- 345 For a list, see Bautze 1988–89, 343–44; and Bautze 1995c, 90.