



I am a man who can recognize an unnamed town by its skeletal shape on a map So I knew their place before I crashed among them, knew when Alexander had traversed it in an earlier age for this cause or that greed. I knew the customs of nomads besotted by silks or wells When I was lost among them, unsure of where I was, all I needed was the name of a small ridge, a local custom, a cell of this historical animal, and the map of the world would slide into place.

– Michael Ondaatje, *The English Patient* (1992)





Pramod Kumar K.G.

The Photography Archive at the City Palace Museum Udaipur

A small slice of Udaipur's history was uncovered in May 2008 when the City Palace Complex at Udaipur yielded several trunks packed with photographs. Safely maintained over the decades among the various storerooms and inner recesses of the vast City Palace Museum Udaipur (hereafter CPMU), the trunks hold several thousand loose photographs, folios, and framed images, which are currently being catalogued and archived.

Numbering more than 15,000 images, these photographs are part of the Pictorial Archives of The Maharanas of Mewar, Udaipur, and are currently housed at the CPMU. A first exhibition of these photographs has already been mounted at the newly restored Bhagwat Prakash Gallery in the Zenana Mahal of the complex. Titled *Long Exposure, 1857–1957: The Camera at Udaipur*, the exhibition and the study of the collection is gradually revealing an unabashed “native” gaze and perception in what the camera's lens set out to capture.

Though inanimate material objects, these photographs provide a constant documentation over time of the lives of the royal denizens of Udaipur, giving us a route map into the complex world of hierarchy, power, symbolism, and pride (figure 1).

The physical process of archiving and documenting these unexpected riches in contemporary times, apart from the sheer wealth of this visual material from the 19th and early 20th century, allows us to survey the material with added expertise. We are now able to comprehensively identify some of the early photographic techniques prevalent in India, and, secondly, piece together a visual history of Udaipur through a historic court archive. The images are being catalogued not only based on the photographic process used but also according to the subject represented.

1

The Lakes of Udaipur, by N. Parasur,
Photographer Ajmere & Kishengarh,
c. 1910, silver gelatin print,
282 x 354 mm. Acc. no. 2008.07.0060.
Image courtesy the Pictorial Archives of
The Maharanas of Mewar, Udaipur.

The Swarup Sagar Lake leads on to Lake
Pichola. The vast City Palace complex is
seen on the left and the island palace of
Jag Nivas (Lake Palace) is on the right.



The range of photographs in the archive includes portraits commissioned by the maharanas, images of nobles at their courts, records of significant events at Udaipur, and views of the city. In addition, there are photographs which either came as autographed gifts from distinguished visitors or were acquired “in a lot”, possibly from photographic studios across the country. Given that there are very few landscape photographs in the archive, it seems these photographers rarely utilized the picturesque mode of visualizing “Eastern exotica from the Orient”. If any of the photographs do appear exotic, it is purely because the costumes, attire, and stance of the sitter represent a time gone by, and chronicle the courtly culture and aesthetic of our recent past.

In fact, historical study has revealed that as early as 1818, over 20 years before the coming of the camera to India in 1840, its precursor the camera obscura, an optical device used to draw visual exactitudes, is known to have been in Udaipur. Colonel James Tod (1782–1835), the intrepid British Political Agent to the Court of Mewar, writes in his personal account about how he explained the functions of this device to amuse the ailing heir apparent of Udaipur, Prince Amar Singh, the older son of Maharana Bhim Singh (1778–1828).¹

Process and Identification

The collection at the CPMU is a vast and varied resource of photographic materials ranging from *cartes-de-visite*, glass-plate negatives, card photographs, albumen and silver gelatin prints, panoramas, Stevengraphs,² stereographs, platinum prints, painted photographs, photomontages, and collages, dating from the mid-19th to the early 20th century. The collection includes old cameras and other photographic equipment. The photographs depict a variety of images, from formal portraits of rulers to ceremonial occasions like *darbars*, festivities, and religious rites, or the visits of state guests (figure 4). Mewar, being the pre-eminent state of erstwhile Rajputana, attracted British and other foreign heads of state as well as rulers from princely India. These visits were documented photographically from the mid-19th century onwards – in a continuation of an earlier tradition where noteworthy events were recorded in miniature paintings by court painters attached to the royal ateliers.

The historic significance of the Udaipur photographic archives arises from the comprehensive range of material, which not only showcases the different processes that existed in early Indian photography, but includes important examples that led to the popularization of particular forms of visual material culture, through an artistic melding of the new technology with native and indigenous forms. Painted photographs, collages, and photomontages modified and appropriated by local artists both at Udaipur and at the nearby temple town of Nathdvara, contributed to the emergence of a new hybrid visual vocabulary and an innate Indian style in photography. Today, these very images are considered the precursors of mass-produced, popular Indian imagery.

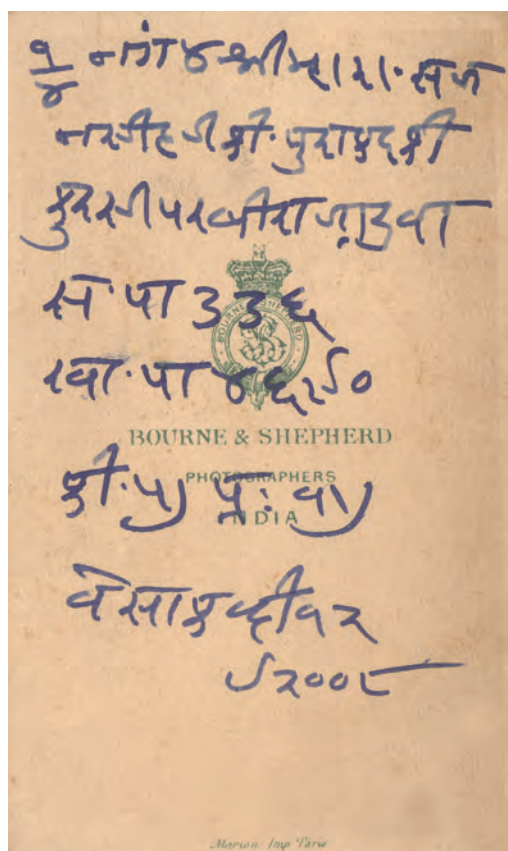
In this context, the unique tradition of hand-tinted photographs seen in great numbers at the CPMU is of significance. The examples in the collection and the technique applied clearly indicate that both photographs and photographic enlargements were painted over to create vibrant images. These photographs were directly embellished with colour, and were used as blueprints for larger oil and watercolour paintings. Painted



2a

Maharana Sajjan Singh, by Bourne & Shepherd, c. 1874, albumen print, *carte-de-visite*, 103 x 62 mm. Acc. no. 2008.01.0269iv. Image courtesy the Pictorial Archives of The Maharanas of Mewar, Udaipur.

Maharana Sajjan Singh is seen seated in full court costume, wearing an *angarkha* and the distinct Udaipur turban.



2b

Inscriptions in Mewari script, reverse of the *carte-de-visite* in figure 2a. Image courtesy the Pictorial Archives of The Maharanas of Mewar, Udaipur.

The inscription reads: “1/4 nag Shri Maharana Sajjan Singhji ki, purakad ki kursi par birajiya, sa. pa. 336, kha. pa. 4690, ki. 4 pra anna, vaishak vid 12 Samvat 2008” (“one of four photos of Maharana Sajjan Singh full length, seated on a chair, register 336, page numbers 46, 90, price 1 rupee and 4 annas, in the month of April as per the Hindu calendar year 2008”).

photographs in the CPMU collection are often in the form of portraits, but scenes of everyday life such as court proceedings, hunting expeditions, and rites of passage were also tinted.

The presence of a distinct Udaipur school of art enabled some of the princely state’s artists to become photographers and photo-artists, specializing in tinting photographs. Some of the photographs are clearly enlargements, but the lack of expert technology meant that the outlines were often smudged or blurred, when derived from a smaller negative. Painters were commissioned to embellish the image on the enlarged photograph in colour, thereby rendering a sharper and clearer result.

On the other hand, there are images that were enlarged in multiple numbers with one set being painted at the time of the enlargement and others being tinted at a much later date. Differences in aesthetics, choice of materials, and painting techniques are clearly apparent in these examples. This process altered the chronology of the rendered image, enabling artists to evolve in keeping with contemporary trends even while sustaining the link with their local painting tradition.

Given the innumerable kinds of photographs, the process of identifying their subjects has been facilitated to a large extent by handwritten inscriptions in the local Mewari language (using a derivative of Devnagari script) on the verso of most photographs. The inscriptions behind photographs often vary in scale and in the consistency of the information imparted. In most circumstances, they indicate the name of a sitter along with a notation of an image number taken from pages possibly across multiple registers. These were presumably detailed lists of images, though the original registers are yet to be located. Many of the inscriptions indicate the total number of copies of an image taken, listed alongside the price paid for the image. The season, as per the Indian calendar, indicates when the photograph was taken and is sometimes listed together with dates in accordance with the waxing and waning of the moon as per the lunar calendar. Some images also have multiple inscriptions scribbled on different portions of the margins on their versos.

The first line of a typical inscription on a photograph, in this case of two boys, reads: “1, 94 Mehta Panna Lalji ko beto Fateh Lal, Lachmi Lal ko beto Jodh Singh”. The second line reads “Fateh Lal” and the third “na. 94, nag. 2”. The literal translation of the three lines would be “1 [piece], [no.] 94, Mehta Panna Lal’s son Fateh Lal and Jodh Singh, the son of Laxmi Lal. No. 94 from, or number of pieces, 2”. The absence of the actual registers indicated here makes it difficult to fully interpret the last line. Another inscription for a portrait of a maharana includes a description of the pose: “Maharana Sajjan Singhji full length seated on a chair” (figures 2a and b). This and other inscriptions detail the Vikram Samvat year in which the entries were made and specify whether the image was taken in the “*vid*” or *Krishna paksha*, the dark half of the lunar month, or during the “*sudhi*” or *Shukla paksha* – the light half (figure 2b).

The People in the Portraits

The photographs in the CPMU archive provide us with a series of images of the maharanas of Mewar, starting from the reign of Maharana Swaroop Singh (r. 1842–61), followed by Maharana Shambu Singh (r. 1861–74), Maharana Sajjan Singh



(r. 1874–84), Maharana Fateh Singh (r. 1884–1930), and Maharana Bhupal Singh (r. 1930–47). Images also exist from the time of Maharana Bhagwat Singh (r. 1955–84), though by this period Mewar was no longer an independent princely state, but a part of independent India.

The photographic process used and the cards on which they are mounted often help identify the age of the photographs in the collection. A large number of them are in the form of *cartes-de-visite* of noblemen and courtiers, dating possibly from the reign of Maharana Swaroop Singh in the 1850s. Textual sources which have aided the cataloguing process of these and others include the *Haqeeqat Bahida* or the daily accounts of the maharanas, together with manuscripts maintained at the Maharana Mewar Research Institute (MMRI) and supplementary books at the Maharana Mewar Special Library (MMSL), both within the City Palace complex at Udaipur.

Interestingly, a large number of *cartes-de-visite* show photographic portraits of the nobles of Mewar in formal court attire. The unusual level of prestige accorded to these noblemen by the maharana explains the vast number of these images. In the *Gazetteer of Mewar*, Colonel Walter writes of the powerful nobles of Mewar:

The Chiefs of Mewar enjoy rights and privileges which do not obtain in any other part of Rajputana. The Court maintained at their own estates is almost an exact counterpart of their prince, and they exhibit few of the marks of vassalage observable at other courts; and only on particular festivals and solemnities do they join the Prince's cavalcade. In Durbar they take rank above the heir-apparent – a custom unprecedented in India and granted in consequence of the heir-apparent having attended the Emperor's court. When a chief enters the presence, the entire court rises and the ceremonial is most intricate.³

In many cases, there are multiple copies of *cartes-de-visite* of noblemen, either in the same pose or in different poses and attires, taken at different times or during the same shoot. The vast array of images also includes photographs of visiting seers and *mahants* (priests) of various sects and temples, and of prominent court artists like Shiv Lal and of his brother Mohan Lal the official court photographer.

In the 18th century, the nobles at court under Maharana Amar Singh II were arranged in three groups. This hierarchy of nobles seems to have continued well into the 19th century in visual format. It is unclear whether these photographic portraits of the nobles were taken on the instructions of the palace or were sent/gifted to the palace by the sitters themselves. The former seems more likely to have been the case, as several of these photographs exist in multiple copies. The group constituting the first 16 nobles were known as the *Solah*; thirty-two (*Battis*) noblemen constituted the second rank of nobles; and the last grouping was known as the *Gol* or mass, to whom no special precedence was assigned. In each case the name of the group to which a noble belonged is recorded on the verso of his individual photograph. By the 19th and 20th centuries, though the numbers in each group varied, they were still referred to as *Solah*, *Battis*, or *Gol*.

The only 19th-century images of women in the archives appear in the form of these early *cartes-de-visite* from the 1850s to the mid-1890s. Most of these women are very possibly dancing girls, performing musicians, or courtesans – as noted in their titles written in the Mewari inscriptions behind each photograph. The absence of images of women from the



3

Maharana Sajjan Singh, by an unknown photographer, c. 1880, albumen print, 42 x 37 mm. Acc. no. 2008.04.0133. Image courtesy the Pictorial Archives of The Maharanas of Mewar, Udaipur.

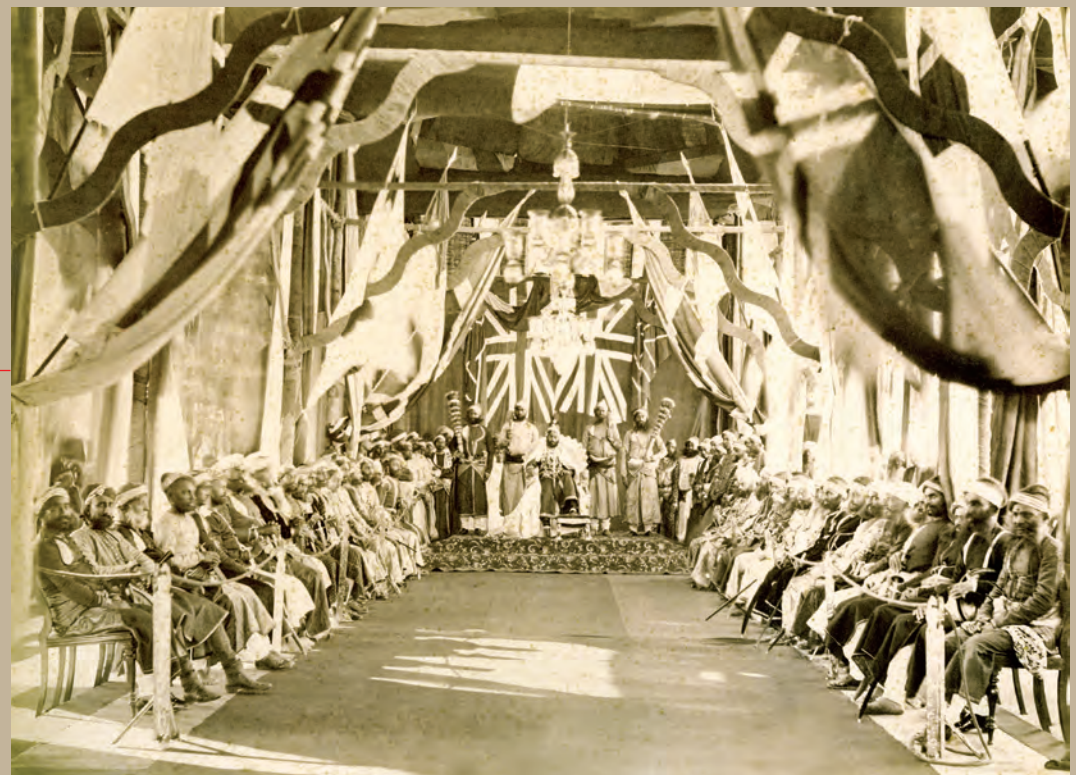
Jewel-size photographs of Maharana Sajjan Singh were reproduced in multiple copies and in a range of formats to be inset on amulets, pendants, and charms.

royal family and/or other women at court also stems from the fact that purdah was still prevalent in Rajput courts. The early demise of the wives of Maharana Fateh Singh (figure 5), and his essentially austere and spartan life, meant that for a period of over 45 years, there were very few royal inhabitants of the zenana. Consequently there does not seem to have been much activity that necessitated photography within the zenana.

The arrival of Princess Sushila Kumari of Bikaner as the bride of the heir apparent Prince Bhagwat Singh in 1940, marks the beginning of photography of ladies from the royal court. This however is not merely an indication of changing times but partly due to the fact that in Bikaner, another prominent princely state of Rajasthan, photography was widespread, and the princess and her siblings had been photographed extensively while growing up. Some of these images are currently in the Alkazi Collection of Photography (ACP) while others are seen in the palace archives at both Udaipur and Bikaner.

Photographic Studios

From the 1860s, we begin to witness examples of photographs taken by prominent photo studios based at Calcutta and Simla, the then summer and winter capitals of British India. An assortment of studios whose works are represented in the CPMU include Bourne & Shepherd, Hurrychund Chintamon, Ritter/Molkenteller & Co., Vernon Studios, Maneck & Co., Herzog & Higgins, Lala Deen Dayal, P. Vuccino & Co., I. Cowell, G.W. Lawrie, K.L. Syed, A.R. Datt, and Devare, amongst a host of others. Local Udaipur-based photographers and studios run by Mohan Lal, Pannalal, Prabhulal Verma, Goverdhan Lal, and Shrimal were also commissioned to cover court events. Autographed photographs presented by Western visitors to the court at Udaipur seem to have been taken by European photo establishments across British India. Prominent amongst these are Gordon Art Studios, London Stereoscopic



4

Maharana Sajjan Singh at the Chittor Durbar, by Johnston & Hoffmann, c. 1881, albumen print, 214 x 271 mm. Acc. no. 2008.06.0231i. Image courtesy the Pictorial Archives of The Maharanas of Mewar, Udaipur.

At the Chittor Durbar (c. 1881–84), Maharana Sajjan Singh was awarded the GCIE by Lord Ripon the then Viceroy (1880–84).

and Photographic Company Ltd, Alexander Bassano, Lafayette Studios, Maull & Polyblank, Caldesi Blanford & Co, Mason & Co. etc.

In the CPMU collection there are three sets of photographs that were either gifted or acquired as lot purchases. Two of these groups may have entered the collection in the late 19th century. The first, the largest group amongst these, consists of formal portraits of rulers from all across India, who were contemporaries of Maharana Fateh Singh. These photographs numbering over 50 have been framed identically, almost as if to sequentially adorn a room or palace corridor. Though studio names are not visible, these were popular images and copies of them still exist in other collections in India and across the world. They include images of maharajas from the larger states of Baroda, Kashmir, Gwalior, and Mysore along with images of rulers of smaller states like Travancore, Cochin, Dholpur, Benares, etc.

The second and more interesting set consists of a group of large-format platinum prints of the British royal family showing Queen Victoria, Edward VII, George V, and Edward VIII. Though Mewar was considered hostile to the British administration in India, the families of the two royal households seem to have got on rather well, with visits to Udaipur part of the travel itinerary of successive princes of Wales and other senior members of the British royal family. The large number of prints in the CPMU collection taken by the London Stereoscopic and Photographic Company Ltd and dating to the late 19th and early 20th centuries are in all probability gifts during these visits.

The photographs in the third set are of members of the Rana family of Nepal and were taken in the 1920s at the Matzene Studio, Simla and Delhi. Matrimonial alliances between India's princely states and the Rana court of Nepal led to the spread of these photographs through several palace archives. Most often they were taken as mementos by the Rana princesses to their new homes in India or were gifted by visiting Rana relatives.

Interestingly, souvenir albums of the Delhi Durbar of 1911 from various studios (Vernon & Co., Herzogg & Higgins, etc.), along with postcards, seem to have reached the collection although the maharanas did not themselves attend the Delhi durbars of 1903 or 1911. Other significant albums include *Views in Mewar*, by Lala Deen Dayal, Indore. The presence of these albums in other collections including the ACP indicates that they were not commissioned albums but seem to have been circulated among the various princely states by the studios or the hosts themselves. However there were subtle variations in the composition of these albums, possibly on the orders of individual rulers. The two copies of a Delhi Durbar album, *Souvenir, the Imperial Visit to Delhi* by Vernon & Co., in the CPMU and in the Alkazi Collection, have some common images; however the album in the ACP (previously from Maharaja Ranjit Singh's collection at Jamnagar) shows images relevant to Navanagar (Jamnagar) and their pavilions at the Durbar while the copy at the CPMU has more generic images along with several sweeping panoramas of the Durbar.

Other interesting photographs in the CPMU collection include card-mounted panoramas of the Chittorgarh Fort taken in the 1860s by Johnston & Hoffman. Multiple copies seem to have been taken of this iconic landscape, though sadly none of them is in very good condition. Other panoramas also include albumen prints showing the general topography of Udaipur.



5

Maharana Fateh Singh, by I. Cowell, Simla, c. 1884, silver gelatin print, 342 x 253 mm. Acc. no. 2008.02.0183iv. Image courtesy the Pictorial Archives of The Maharanas of Mewar, Udaipur.

Maharana Fateh Singh's portrait was vignettted in the negative. Similar images were used to create lithographs.

6

Maharana Bhupal Singh, by Matzene, Delhi, 1934, silver gelatin print, 130 x 100 mm. Acc. no. 2008.09.T. Image courtesy the Pictorial Archives of The Maharanas of Mewar, Udaipur.

Maharana Bhupal Singh was one of the first rulers of a princely state to accede to India after Independence in 1947.





The Last Patrons

Maharana Sajjan Singh seems to have been the most prolific patron of photography in Udaipur. His brief period of rule notwithstanding, a tenth of the photographs in the CPMU include photographs from his reign. Some of the most interesting of these are assortments of jewel photographs, some as small as fingernails, ordered for use as cameo insets, pendants, and other pieces of jewellery and accessories. Usually portraits of the maharanas taken several years earlier were reprinted at a later date to be used as autographed copies handed to favoured guests or members of the court. These images range from multiple copies of *cartes-de-visite* to Cabinet, Boudoir, Imperial, Panel, Promenade, and Victoria cards – all of which are represented in the collection (figure 3).

With the freedom movement gathering momentum, Maharana Bhupal Singh, ever the elder statesman in the assembly of rulers, was one of the first to accede to India. By virtue of Udaipur's seniority and stature, most of the other rulers in Rajputana lost their locus standi to remain independent and signed the instrument of accession. The last phase of photographs in the collection documents the transition to democracy in 1947 and the visit of several leaders of India's freedom movement to Udaipur. Sardar Patel, Nehru, Rajaji, and other leaders of the Independence struggle were followed by the visit of India's first President, Rajendra Prasad, in 1951 and subsequently President S. Radhakrishnan.

The City Palace complex at Udaipur is a living entity and its daily activities include religious events, ceremonies, and other festivities that continue to be photographed in their contemporary form. The tradition is ever evolving and the recording of events continues. A media centre dedicated to maintaining this record of contemporary events exists within the palace complex. Today most visitors leave Udaipur with a souvenir – not always in the form of a printed photograph but more often a byte-sized snapshot in their digital camera. These multiple versions of recorded contemporary history will no doubt similarly enthuse future historians and provide for a larger context of “life in the complex” recorded “for” the insiders and “by” the outsiders. The understanding of this difference in viewpoints is what makes the discovery of photographs from the City Palace collection at Udaipur significant, when compared to the iconic images of Mewar seen elsewhere. The archives consequently await study and interpretation for a map of Mewar to “slide into place”.

Acknowledgements

I thank Shriji Arvind Singh Mewar for granting me permission to use photographs from the Pictorial Archives of The Maharanas of Mewar, Udaipur. This work would not have been possible without the help of Bhupendra Singh Auwa and the staff at the Maharana Mewar Charitable Foundation. I am indebted to Mrinalini Venkateswaran for her meticulous accessioning of the photography archives and to S. Girikumar, photographic materials conservator, for highlighting the technical riches of the collection at Udaipur.



Notes on p. 126





Notes

●●● From page 16

Ephemeral Encounter:

Three Artists in India, 1857–59

Rahaab Allana

- 1 Sten Nilsson and Narayani Gupta, *The Painter's Eye: Egron Lundgren and India*, National Museum Stockholm, 1992, p. 51.
- 2 William Howard Russell (LLD), *My Diary in India in the Year 1858–59*, Routledge, Warne and Routledge, London, Farringdon Street, 1860.
- 3 Nilsson and Gupta, 1992, p. 47. Comment to the Manuscript of his Indian Diary, excerpted in this publication. Though Lundgren spent much of his life in England, he wrote in Swedish. A biography by Karl Asplund was published in Sweden, entitled *With Lundgren in India*. *Apollo* magazine published Lundgren's letters in the August 1970 number, entitled *Egron Lundgren, Reporter of the Indian Mutiny*, by Sten Nilsson.
- 4 Ibid., p. 28.
- 5 Ibid., paraphrase of pp. 17–22.
- 6 Information on Lundgren from Curator of the Royal Collection, Sophie Gordon via correspondence, January 2009: "There are a large number of his works in the Royal Collection, but only 34 from Lundgren's time in India. They are mostly genre scenes or Indian types, and are generally non-specific in subject matter. The exception is *Soorut Singh, formerly a State prisoner* (RL19162) [figure 2]. The Lundgren works are catalogued individually in Delia Millar, *The Victorian Watercolours and Drawings in the Collection of HM The Queen*, 2 vols., London, 1995."
- 7 Ibid., p. 95.
- 8 Three important sketchbooks of Simpson still survive at the V&A that include sketches from a Himalayan tour, of Calcutta, and of central India. There are also collections at the India Office Library, besides a set of chromolithographs whose production was supervised by Simpson, again at the V&A.
- 9 Ibid., p. 26.
- 10 Ibid., p. 42. This is a quote from a letter to his friend, Mr Barlow on the eve of an auction at Christie's of some of his Indian prints.
- 11 Ibid., pp. 94–95.
- 12 *The Lahore Chronicle*, October 5, 1859. A description of figure 1, *The Charge of the 7th Hussars into the Raptee*, is provided in: *Sketches of the Campaign in India* drawn by Lieut. Col. Henry Hope Crealock, Military Secretary to Major Gen. Sir William Mansfield, KCB, Chief

- of Staff, published by J. Hogarth, Haymarket, London, 1861, pp. 11–12. "This picture is taken from the Nepaul side, looking back on the ground traversed by the troops, at the moment when they were in the river. The figures, commencing on the left, are Captain Stisted – his horse rearing over with him in the river, Lieut. Stewart firing his pistol at the sowar, Lieut. Wilkin with his sword raised leading on one troop, and in right corner, with his left hand uplifted, Sir William Russell halting the squadron with his usual 'Steady, men, steady'."
- 13 Ibid., p. 28.
- 14 Ibid., p. 40.
- 15 *The Illustrated London News* of August 29, 1857, had a view of Delhi which showed the Jami Masjid situated in an open suburb and not in the centre of the city. This view was heavily criticized by *The Bengal Hurkaru*, October 20, 1857, quote cited.
- 16 Robert A. Sobieszek, *British Masters of the Albumen Print*, International Museum of Photography at George Eastman House, Rochester, NY, and the University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London, 1976, pp. 10–11. The club described was made up of many professional photographers but also included devoted amateurs as stated.
- 17 Rosie Llewellyn-Jones, ed., *Lucknow: City of Illusion*, ACP and Prestel, Munich, 2006, p. 249. Section titled, "Photographers Biographies" composed by Stephanie Roy Bharath.
- 18 Full Title: *Dedicated by Gracious Permission to Her Majesty The Queen, Sketches & Incidents of the Siege of Lucknow, from Drawings made during the Siege, by Clifford Henry Meham, Lieutenant Madras Army, with descriptive Notices by George Couper, Late Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Oude, London Published October 1st, 1858 by Day and Son, Lithographers to the Queen*. The quote that follows is from the Preface.
- 19 A comprehensive study of the Jhansi siege can be made from: *The Indian Mutiny: Selections from the Letters, Dispatches and Other State Papers, Preserved in the Military Department of the Government of India*, 1857–58, Vol. IV (reprint Asian Education Services, New Delhi, 2001).
- 20 John Seetman, *Crimean War* (Essential Histories), Routledge, Osprey Publishing, UK, 2001, p. 14.
- 21 Russell, *My Diary in India in the Year 1858–59*, p. 254.
- 22 Ibid., p. 329.
- 23 Ibid., p. 324.
- 24 Dedicated Site to William Howard Russell, online encyclopedia: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/William_Howard_Russell. References cited: Michael S. Sweeney, *From the Front: The Story of War*, National Geographic Society, Washington DC, 2002. Brian Cooke, *The Grand Crimean Central Railway*, Cavalier House, Knutsford, 1990, pp.14, 18, 143–49.
- 25 In 1857, an anonymous London critic summarized the position of artistic photography in this manner. "The Photographic Exhibition", *Journal of the Photographic Society* 3, No. 51, February 21, 1857, p. 217.
- 26 Roger Taylor and Larry J. Schaaf, *Impressed by Light: British Photographs from Paper Negatives, 1840–1860*, Metropolitan Museum of Art Publications, New York, 2007. This book presents more than 120 photographs printed from paper negatives, or calotype, most never before published. The entire course of the paper negative's "golden age" is described, from its laborious invention by William Henry Fox Talbot to competition with French photographers and commercial practitioners. Also included is an invaluable biographical dictionary of more than 500 British calotypists.
- 27 These essential characteristics are outlined in Hume Nisbet, "Camera Lucida – Paletta Obscura: A Study in Light and Shadow", *The British Journal of Photography*, no. 1237, January 18, 1884, p. 40. Similar points are made in most general aesthetic manuals of the period, e.g. Lake Price, *A Manual of Photographic Manipulation*, John Churchill, London, 1858.

●●● From page 32

The Camera's Beloved:

H.H. Nawab Mir Mahboob Ali Khan – Patron of Photography Anita M. Jacob

- 1 Preface in *Sketches in India*, ed. Charles Richard Weld (with descriptive text), Lovell Reeve, London, 1862 (ACP 99.23.0002). The book is a series of 100 photographic vignettes illustrative of the scenery and antiquities of Golconda, of English life, and of the native character taken at Hyderabad and Secunderabad, by Captain Allan Newton Scott of the Madras Artillery. Scott was also a member of the Bombay Photographic Society and exhibited his photographs at exhibitions in London.
- 2 *Photographic Treasures of the Chowmahalla Palace Collection*, January 29–April 28, 2005, Council Hall, Chowmahalla Palace, Hyderabad; an exhibition of 20 loaned photographs displayed



as a part of the exhibition *Nizam's Jewellery*, January 1–August 1, 2006, Salar Jung Museum, Hyderabad; *Mahallat: The Royal Ladies of the Asaf Jah Dynasty 1885–2005*, September 2006, Khilwat Mubarak (anteroom), Chowmahalla Palace, Hyderabad.

3 For further reading on the nature of the collection see Deepthi Sasidharan, *Photographic Treasures of the Chowmahalla Palace Collection*, exhibition guide published by Chowmahalla Palace, Hyderabad, 2005. The guidebook accompanied a photographic exhibition that was drawn from the palace collection.

4 Travel account by Val Prinsep, *Glimpses of Imperial India* (published in 1879).

5 The Maharaja had been experimenting with photography since the 1860s, purchasing his first camera with a mahogany framework and brass band in 1862 that cost him Rs 45 annas 8, while its accessories cost him an additional Rs 250. Details of the expenditure are given in Yaduendra Sahai, *Maharaja Sawai Ram Singh II of Jaipur "The Photographer Prince"*, Dr Durga Sahai Foundation, Jaipur, 1996, p. 22.

6 Ibid., p. 19.

7 For further reading see Vidya Dehejia, "Maharajas as Photographers", in Vidya Dehejia, ed., *India through the Lens, Photography 1840–1911*, Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington DC, 2000.

8 His full title was: Lieutenant-General H.H. Rustam-i-Dauran, Arustu-i-Zaman, Wal Mamaluk, Asaf Jah VI, Muzaffar-ul-Mamaluk, Nizam-ul-Mulk, Nizam-ud-Daula, Nawab Mir Mahboob Ali Khan Bahadur, Sipah Salar, Fateh Jung, Nizam of Hyderabad, GCSI (November 17, 1884), GCB (c. December 3, 1902).

9 Handwritten note in gall ink by Salar Jung I reads "Hyderabad, 18th August 1866, My dear Sir George Yule I have the pleasure to inform you of the birth of a son to H.H. the Nizam last night at about 11 O'Clock-Sd Salar Jung (True Copy)" ACP 95.0064-0120.

10 Claude A. Campbell, *Glimpses of the Nizam's Dominions*, C.B. Burrows, Bombay and London, 1898, p. 126. ACP 2001.11.0001.

11 *My Life, The autobiography of Nawab Serwer-ul-Mulk Bahadur*, translated by his son Nawab Jiwan Yar Jung Bahadur, Arthur H. Stockwell, London, p. 121.

12 <http://www.royalark.net/India/hyder8.htm>.

13 *My Life*, p. 122.

14 Ibid., "My Interview with His Highness", p. 129.

15 Mohammad Safiullah, "Photography in Hyderabad 1850–1950", *HUDA INTACH Heritage Annual* 1999, p. 33.

16 See C.K. Polacek's *Album Entourage of the Nizams*, text by Dr Marie-Eve Celio-Scheurer, published by Salar Jung Museum, Hyderabad and Alliance Francaise (2006), in particular "Polacek's Album" by Celio-Scheurer. In this album by Polacek compiled in the 1890s, the earliest image is said to be from 1872.

17 Pestunjee Dosabhoy (PD) was active in Hyderabad, 1868–78. This information is based on a study done on the numerous *cartes-de-visite* (CDVs) taken by "P. Dosabhoy" in the Alkazi Archive, that include portraits of the infant Nizam, Sir Salar Jung I and his son, Sir Asman Jah, Nawab Rashid-ud-din Khan Amir-e-Kabir III, and other noblemen of Hyderabad who reigned around this time. On the verso of most of the CDVs there is a purple wet-ink oval stamp of the studio that reads "Pestunjee Dosabhoy Photographer" encircling a coat of arms. One CDV by PD of a Parsi gentleman is even dated on the verso, "Hyderabad 3rd September 1877". The remaining photographers mentioned were active in Hyderabad at the same time (1870s–80s) as revealed by the *cartes-de-visite* and cabinet cards in both ACP and CPC archives.

18 Val Prinsep, the Victorian painter, had commented on the use of photographs by Indian artists as painting aids. He wrote in his account (1877), after meeting the Indian artist Ismael Khan, "They work from photographs and never by any chance from nature." Pratapaditya Pal and Vidya Dehejia, *Merchants to Emperors: British Artists and India, 1757–1930*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca and London, 1986.

19 Campbell, 1898, p. 22.

20 Albumen print by an unknown photographer, from the scrapbook album, dated to c. 1875, ACP 95.0064-0132.

21 Albumen prints, *Kaisernama-i-Hind*, Vol. 1, London, 1877, ACP D2005.66.0001. This volume was published to celebrate the Imperial Assemblage of 1877 which declared Queen Victoria as the Empress of India. The Nizam had made his first public appearance at this Durbar in Delhi. This portrait appeared also in J. Talboys Wheeler, *History of the Imperial Assemblage of Delhi*, Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, London, 1877, ACP D2004.104.0001.

22 ACP 96.20.0852, albumen print, c. 1877. This album though compiled for the Maharaja of Bhavnagar following the Durbar in Bombay for the Prince of Wales' visit in 1875–76, has most of its portraits of Indian princes taken by the firm of Bourne & Shepherd from c. 1877.

23 Captain Claude Clerk was appointed as the tutor to the infant Nizam by the council and endorsed by the British Resident. Appointed in 1875, he supervised the education of the young ruler till around 1884. The two developed a close relationship of mutual respect and admiration. An enlarged, hand-painted photograph of this same image, meant to resemble a painting, is ornately framed and on display at the Khilwat Mubarak in Chowmahalla Palace even today.

24 The court dress consisted of the *jama* (upper garment with fitted bodice, high waist and flared skirt, knee- to ankle-length), *nima* (half-sleeved kurta worn under the *jama*), the turban, and the belt. *My Life*, p. 129.

25 "Payment to Bourne & Shepherd Messrs for the supply of certain photographs to illustrate the General Report", Foreign Dept., General B, March 1875, Nos. 19–22, National Archives of India, GOI, New Delhi.

26 Studies from the Nizam's own exercise books in the CPC, dating to the early 1880s, reveal the patience of the tutor with his young, restless student. Notations made by his tutor for an entry on Saturday read: "Worked very very little today promises to make up for this on Monday." The entry on Monday then reads: "Today he did not write at all!"

27 Most of these photographs are in the CPC. Ritter, Molkenteller & Co., though based in Bombay and Poona in the 1870s, was also active in Hyderabad.

28 Both friends went on to become important officials in the Nizam's court. Sir (later Major) Afsar-Yar-Jung remained the ADC (Aide de Camp) to the Nizam and later became the Commander-in-Chief of the Nizam's Armed Forces. Mehboob-Yar-Jung was part of the Peshi staff.

29 Albumen print, Johnston & Hoffmann, c. 1880, CPC. It shows the Nizam seated on his tricycle in front while the two friends, seated together on a second tricycle, are behind.

30 The prints by Johnston & Hoffmann studios are on black gilt studio mounts with the firm's blindstamp embossed in red on the lower half of the mount.



31 One such example surfaced in the Pictorial Archives of The Maharanas of Mewar, Udaipur, Acc. no. 2008.08.0163.

32 A few examples of these paintings are seen in the Chowmahalla and Falaknuma Palaces in Hyderabad.

33 Dayal writes, "During my travels, I came to Hyderabad, receiving great patronage from the Nizam I also found that Secunderabad was the largest military station in India. The above facts induced me to build a studio there for my portrait work." From "A Short Account of My Photographic Career", transcript dated July 18, 1889.

34 The L. Steiner studio stamp on the verso of a cabinet card reads "By special appointment to H.H. The Nizam GCSI and the British Resident", c. 1885, ACP 2001.14.0252.

35 "Photographer by app. to H.E. the viceroy of India and under patron of H.H. the Nizam G.C.S.I." See Celio-Scheurer, "Polacek's Album", *C.K. Polacek's Album Entourage of the Nizams* (2006). The studio of C.K. Polacek photographed several Hyderabad noblemen in the 1880s.

36 The subjects of the souvenir albums in the ACP include illustrious foreign guests like the Duke and Duchess of Connaught (1889) ACP 2004.05.0003/1, H.R.H. the Csarevitch of Russia accompanied by Prince George of Greece (1890) ACP 95.0089, Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria (1893) ACP 98.60.0013, Lord and Lady Curzon (1902) ACP 97.19.0002.

37 The themes of oil paintings of the sixth Nizam, still seen today in both Chowmahalla and Falaknuma Palaces, range from his state portraits (in GCSI and GCB regalia – few in the case of the latter), posed with his hunting trophies, with his council of regency, with his close circle of friends and officials, with his son the Prince Heir Apparent and another favourite son Salabath, and with his favourite horse. Each of these is referenced from photographs and produced by various studios (including P. Vuccino) and visiting painters as well. A portrait painting of the Nizam (dressed in the ceremonial regalia of the GCB) painted by Moujdar Khan in 1906, is seen in the Ehrenfeld Collection, now part of the Asian Art Museum, San Francisco.

38 Card photographs are photographs pasted on a larger piece of thick card, often called a mount. The majority of 19th-century photographs were card photographs, with albumen prints mounted on them, and these

were popular into the 20th century. Card photographs come in a variety of formats. The different formats often resemble each other, but differ in size of mount. Some of the more common commercial formats marketed to photographic studios were cabinet cards, measuring about 6 ¼ x 4 ¼ inches (popular 1860s–90s), larger in size and date than the *cartes-de-visite* (4 ½ x 2 ½ inches, popular 1850s–70s). *Boudoir* were card-mounted images with the cards (not the photographic prints) measuring approximately 5 ½ x 8 ½ inches, while the Imperial cabinet card measured 7 x 10 inches, and the Promenade 7 ½ x 4 inches. See *Encyclopedia of Nineteenth century Photography*, ed. John Hannavy, Routledge, New York, 2007, 2 vols., p. 272, and Gordon Baldwin, *Looking at Photographs: A Guide to Technical Terms*, The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, 1991.

39 An opaline is a photograph (usually an albumen print) framed behind a bevelled gilt glass with a stand at the back to prop it up, and supplied in a stiff card sleeve – ready for gifting. The opalines in the CPC which depict the extensive shikars comprise a bulk order. The nature of the order reveals the Nizam's own passion for the pastime but also the Deen Dayal studio's production of such formats. An opalotype is a photograph developed on translucent white glass.

40 The hand-written gall ink caption below a photograph of the Great Dane alone, in the CPC, reads "*Nihayat bara kutta hai, mera baramat hai gharib*" (It is a very big dog, I found this destitute poor one), revealing the Nizam's compassion in adopting the abandoned dog. I am grateful to Shweta Sachdeva Jha for translating the Urdu.

41 The typewritten label pasted on the mount reads "Nawab Mir Mahboob Ali Khan Bahadur (Nizam VI) Lovingly leaning on his pony c. 1880 AD". Albumen print on studio mount, Johnston & Hoffmann, Calcutta, c. 1881, CPC. This mount of the studio is an earlier one with a double red line border around the photograph and "JOHNSTON & HOFFMANN" printed in red on the bottom of the mount.

42 The typewritten label pasted on the mount reads "Nawab Mir Mahboob Ali Khan Bahadur Nizam VI standing by his grey Arab Charger, c. 1881 AD". CPC, as above.

43 The typewritten label pasted on the mount reads "Nawab Mir Mahboob Ali Khan Bahadur Nizam VI fondling the muzzle of his thoroughbred, a Pach Kalian Horse (having white on the four legs and the forehead) – c.

1884 AD. Photo by: Johnston & Hoffmann, Calcutta". Platinum print, CPC.

44 The typewritten label pasted on the opaline reads "Group Photo of Nizam VI – Camp: Pakhal. L. to R. Mumtaz Yar Jung – Osman Yar Jung, Luqman-ud-Dawla, Jamal Saheb – Sir Afsar Jung – Nizam VI – Masha'ik Gentleman – Sarwar Jung – Dawar-ul-Mulk and staff c. 1890 AD." The word "Masha'ik" has its roots in Arabic; it translates as a beloved or favoured one, a clear reference to the closeness that developed between the Nizam and the photographer. Dayal was humble enough to refer to himself with this word without naming himself while supervising the text of the label made in his studio.

45 The couplet reads "In the art of picture-making, surpassing all, a master of masters is Lala Deen Dayal".

46 Conferred on the occasion of HH the Nizam's birthday on 7 Jamad-ul-Awwal 1312 AH (Hijri) [August 17, 1892], the title entitled him to the command of 2,000 soldiers and 1,000 cavalry men to the banner/standard. Details from an entry in the *Kitab-e-Dakhla Sarfarazi Khitabat Ahdat-e-Humarani Hazrat Gufri Imkaan: Nawab Mir Mahboob Ali Khan Bahadur-Man Ibtida-e-1288 AH Ta 1327 AH*, published by Daftar-e-Diwani wa Maal wa Milki wa Istifa-e wa Munasib wa Khitabat wa Mawahir Sarkar-e-Aali.

47 The opaline had a typewritten label by the Deen Dayal studio identifying the Begum and dating the sitting to c. 1890. Her name was also written in Urdu on the verso of the opaline. Sardar Begum Saheba is known to have been a singing girl/courtesan who captivated the Nizam with her beauty and talent.

48 The year and location of this shoot was inferred from the autograph of Mir Osman Ali Khan (later seventh Nizam), signed in gall ink on one of his own portraits taken during this shoot, now in the CPC. He signed "Mir Osman Ali Khan, 1913 ... Taken in Calcutta, 1899".

49 Inferred from the consistent and unmoved props that appear in each image and the sequence of the studio numbers written on the verso of the photos.

50 Platinum prints were not very costly but they were difficult to produce. Though the platinum salt was cheap, the paper upon which it was printed had to be the finest in the world. Platinum produces black-and-white images and, apart from its stability (being a noble metal), a characteristic of platinum salts was that they rendered the most incredible



tonal ranges producing some of the most exceptionally beautiful images with a velvety finish. These black-and-white prints by the studio of Johnston & Hoffmann, Calcutta are mounted on light blue studio mounts with the studio blindstamp embossed on it. The medium was made unavailable for photographers when World War I broke out as the metal was directed to the production of defence material. On platinum prints, see John Stevenson, "When We Go Beyond the Eye, to the Hand", *The Journal of Contemporary Photography*, October 1998.

51 Close to 51 copies of a single portrait of the Nizam (CPC Acc. no. 04.4.2) were ordered by the palace. Each image of the Nizam was ordered in bulk, the average number of copies ordered being three to four dozen.

52 The strain in the relations was mentioned by Raja Raja Varma, Ravi Varma's brother, in the diary he maintained. He wrote in his diary dated 6.2.1902 and 11.2.1902 that Dayal was threatened by their presence as their works challenged photography itself. For further reading see Partha Mitter, *Art and Nationalism in Colonial India 1850–1922: Occidental Orientations*, Cambridge University Press, New York, 1994, pp. 196, 198.

53 Sahebzada Salabath Jah and Sahebzadi Ahmed un-nissa Begum were born to Ujjala Begum Saheba while Sahebzada Basalath Jah was born to Rahat Begum Saheba.

54 The sepia-toned images by the studio of S. Frankel, Trimulgherry are a series of singular shots solely of the Nizam with his three children in varying combinations. These silver gelatin prints are mostly multiple exposures, masked and vignettted in the negative. Each print is mounted on a dark green mount with the studio blindstamp embossed on it. Taken a year before his death, in 1910, the images are of excellent quality and more so in their content, as they capture the Nizam with his children in candid and endearing poses. Like the platinum prints, the Nizam ordered copies of these in bulk as well. However, these are not the first photographs of the Nizam with his children; earlier photographs were taken by the Deen Dayal studio in c. 1885, of the Nizam with his daughters (Nizam un-nissa Begum and others).

55 A domestic quarrel between the Nizam and senior wife Ujjala Begum, mother of the infant prince, nagging him to proclaim her son as the rightful heir instead of the chosen heir apparent, Mir Osman Ali, turned bitter. Distraught over the fight the Nizam retreated and isolated

himself at the Falaknuma Palace. A drinking binge compounded by the bitterness of the quarrel (complicated by his love for the begum, the child, and his unchangeable decision on the heir apparent) resulted in the Nizam fatally slipping into coma. He died a few days later.

56 *Sketches in India*, see note 1.

From page 48

A Different Stage of Existence: The Canning Album, 1855–65 Deepthi Sasidharan

1 The folio number references in this article follow the original folio numbering by Stanley in the album.

2 Letter from Charlotte Canning to Queen Victoria, November 23, 1856. Charles Allen, *A Glimpse of the Burning Plain – Leaves from the Indian Journals of Charlotte Canning*, Michael Joseph, London, 1986, p. 48.

3 Lady Canning maintained meticulous journals and was a frequent letter writer. Her correspondence with Queen Victoria, her family, especially her mother Lady Stuart de Rothsay, and other friends, together with her realistic drawings, have been published variously and provide an excellent narrative to link the images in this album. The documents are preserved today at the Royal Archives and the Harewood Estate in England.

4 Allen, p. 97.

5 Journal entry by Charlotte Canning, January 19, 1858. Augustus J.C. Hare, *The Story of Two Noble Lives*, Vol. II, G. Allen, London, 1893, pp. 411–12.

6 Allen, pp. 97, 108.

7 Journal entry by Charlotte Canning, Barrackpore. February 5, 1858. Hare, p. 416.

8 Journal entry by Charlotte Canning, January 19, 1858. Ibid., p. 412.

9 Allen, p. 104.

10 Ibid., p. 102.

11 Jeremy Maas, *The Victorian Art World in Photographs*, Universe Books, New York, 1984, p. 164.

12 Virginia Surtees, *Charlotte Canning*, John Murray, London, 1975, p. 28; Allen, pp. 138–39 and acknowledgements.

13 Roger Taylor, *Impressed by Light: British Photographs from Paper Negatives, 1840–1860*, Metropolitan Museum of Art Publications, New York, 2007, p. 128.

14 Queen Victoria and Prince Albert became patrons to the Photographic Society in England in 1853. The society had active members like Roger Fenton and Dr Ernst Becker. See Gordon Baldwin, Malcolm Daniel, et al. *All the Mighty World: The Photographs of Roger Fenton, 1852–1860*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 2004, p. 75.

15 *Journal of the Photographic Society of Bombay*, Nos. XIII–XVII, February–June 1856, pp. 18, 33.

16 Letter from Charlotte Canning to The Dowager Countess of Caledon, Calcutta, September 7, 1856. Hare, Vol. II, p. 93.

17 The ultimate fate of her vast collection remains a mystery, although in December 1859 a disastrous campfire in her tent did serious damage to her records, including many photographs.

18 Taylor, p. 128.

19 Journal entry by Charlotte Canning, Calcutta, October 8, 1859. Hare, Vol. III, 1893, p. 59.

20 John Falconer, "A Passion for Documentation: Architecture and Ethnography", in Vidya Dehejia, ed., *India Through the Lens: Photography 1840–1911*, Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C., 2000, p. 81.

21 Ray Desmond, *Victorian India in focus: a selection of early photographs from the collection in the India Office Library and Records*, HMSO, London, 1982, p. 36.

22 The Royal Engineers were taught photography in England, first at Chatham in 1856 and later Woolwich. John Hannavy, *Encyclopedia of Nineteenth-century Photography*, CRC Press, UK, 2008, p. 474.

23 G. Thomas, *History of Photography: India 1840–1980*, Andhra Pradesh State Akademi of Photography, 1981, p. 15.

24 Governor General of India, 1844–48.

25 A souvenir of a victorious battle fought against the Sikh Army in 1845–46 by Sir Hugh Gough and Sir Harry Smith.

26 Charlotte Canning to Viscountess Sydney, Barrackpore, October 22, 1856. Hare, Vol. II, p. 99.

27 Journal letter by Charlotte Canning, Barrackpore, February 5, 1858. Ibid., p. 416.

28 Mrs Minny Stuart was Lady Canning's companion and wife of her first cousin Colonel



Stuart who was posted to India in January 1858.

29 Queen Victoria to Charlotte Canning, Buckingham Palace, July 5, 1857. Surtees, p. 232.

30 Felice Beato (1820s? – 1907?) arrived in Calcutta merely a month after Stanley and shot his iconic images of the Uprising over two years. Frederick Fiebig, a practising lithographer in the 1840s, had turned photographer by the 1850s and in 1856 had successfully sold 500 of his hand-coloured salted paper views of several cities, including Calcutta. Samuel Bourne arrived in India in 1863.

31 This important symbol of British authority, the private riverside residence of Thomas Metcalfe, the Governor General's agent in Delhi, was completely destroyed by the rebels in 1857.

32 At least one more print exists in the British Library. Sir Edward Clive Bayley Collection: *Album of Miscellaneous Indian Views*. Title: "A view from the south-west of Metcalfe House, Delhi". Record Number: 14202, Shelfmark: OIOC Photo 147/1(14) by Oscar Mallitte c. 1860.

33 Allen, p. 72.

34 The word "darbar" has Persian origins and various connotations. In essence, it implies the court of a ruler, associated with elaborate and distinctive rituals.

35 Pioneer Biographies of the British Period to 1947, Appendix A, <http://www.andaman.org/BOOK/app-a/a-mallitte.htm>. 11/12/2008.

36 Despatches by Charlotte Canning from the Camp, August 7–21, 1858. Hare, Vol. II, p. 267.

37 Journal letter, November 23, 1857. Hare, Vol. II, p. 357. The gentleman is Dr John Murray (British, b. 1809, d. 1898), renowned for his architectural photography, including famous views of the Taj Mahal, Agra.

38 Charles Allen, "Imperial Image: The Grand Durbars of 1903 and 1911", in Dehejia, ed., p. 232.

39 Allen, *A Glimpse of the Burning Plain*, p. 125.

40 Hannavy, p. 713.

41 This set of volumes was edited (1868–75) by John Forbes Watson, Director of the India Museum and John William Kaye, Secretary of the Political and Secret Department at the India Office. The publication had the endorsement of Canning, the Home Secretary, and the British Government. The volumes came to typify the

strong British interest in colonial exploratory photography.

42 *Journal of the Photographic Society of Bombay*, No. VI, July 1855, p. 93.

43 Allen, *A Glimpse of the Burning Plain*, p. 148.

44 Angus Trumble, "Gilbert Scott's 'Bold and Beautiful Experiment', Part II: The Tomb of Charlotte, Lady Canning", *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 142, No. 1162 (January 2000), pp. 20–28, fig. 36.

45 He died on June 17, 1862.

46 Allen, *A Glimpse of the Burning Plain*, p. 146.

47 The legible book titles in the photo read "Country Round Dehli" and "Macaulay Vol. III". Note that "Dehli" is an older variation of the current spelling; and Lord Macaulay (1800–59) visited India and was responsible for, among other things, drafting the Indian Penal Code.

48 Emotions ran high in the aftermath of the 1857 Uprising with a general feeling that all Indians must be punished. It was Canning who forbade acts of vengeance and advocated justice to the defeated, earning him the derisive nickname "Clemency Canning".

49 Trumble, pp. 20–28.

50 Capt Stanley to Lady Stanley. Allen, *A Glimpse of the Burning Plain*, p. 154.

51 http://www.metmuseum.org/works_of_art/collection_database. Thereafter search for 2005.100.491.1.

● ● ● From page 62

The Photograph as Field-note: The Visual Trace and Transitions within Early Anthropology in India *Akshaya Tankha*

1 I was part of a museum studies project, "Museology and the Colony: the case of India" in 2006, initiated by Dr Kavita Singh (JNU) and Dr Saloni Mathur (UCLA).

2 Both quotes from Samuel Bourne, *Photographic Journeys in the Himalayas* [1863–70], Introduction by Hugh Ashley Rayner, 1995, pp. 4–5.

3 G.W. Stocking, *Victorian Anthropology*, Collier Macmillan, London, 1987, p. 47.

4 Carl Dammann was a photographer based in Hamburg, who was commissioned by the Berlin Society for Anthropology, Ethnology and

Prehistory to compile an album of photographs sent in from the German expatriate community between 1870 and 1876.

5 H. Harkness, *A Description of a Singular Aboriginal Race Inhabiting the Summit of the Neilgherry Hills or the Blue Mountains of Coimbatore in the Southern Peninsula of India*, Smith, Elder and Co., London, 1832, p. 25.

6 Ibid., pp. 6–7.

7 As outlined by C.S. Peirce, the three types of signs include the symbol, where the relationship between the object and the referent is arbitrary, as in language; the icon, where the relationship is one of resemblance as in an academic realist portrait; and the indexical, where the relationship is one of natural/physical contiguity. An example of an indexical sign would include the ring of water left on a table from a glass that was placed there before (Christopher Pinney, *Camera Indica: The Social Life of Indian Photographs*, Reaktion Books, London, 1997, p. 20).

8 Stocking, 1987, p. 76.

9 An official eight-volume photographic survey of India brought out between 1868 and 1875, it collectively contained more than 450 albumen prints (Pinney, 1997, p. 34).

10 Ibid., p. 35.

11 Although the fieldwork for it was conducted in 1867, it was published posthumously, in 1873.

12 John Forbes Watson was to describe the urgent need for "securing the traces of many tribes now fast disappearing or losing their distinctive characteristics" in his 1874 work *On the measures required for the efficient working of the India Museum and Library* (see John Falconer, "Photography in Nineteenth Century India" in C.A. Bayly, ed., *The Raj: India and the British, 1600–1947*, National Portrait Gallery, London, 1990, pp. 272–73).

13 The detailed study of the shape and size of the cranium as a supposed indication of character and mental abilities.

14 In 1868 J.H. Lamprey, librarian of the Royal Geographic Society, devised his method of taking photographs against a background of two-inch-square grids, in order to facilitate the measuring of people and bodies for anthropometric studies (Pinney, 1997, p. 50). Marshall was one among many who employed the grid background in his study of the Todas.





15 Cited in A. Herle and H. Geismar, *Moving Images: John Layard, Fieldwork and Photography on Malakula since 1914*, Crawford House Press, Australia, 2008, p. 181.

16 Rivers acknowledges Wiele and Klein, a prominent commercial studio firm in Madras between the 1880s and early 20th century, as the photographers for his publication. However, the archival information in the Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology catalogue, as well as the shoddy compositions, suggest the hand of an amateur photographer, i.e. Rivers himself, in the photographs of “the field”. It is due to this lack of certainty that I have left the name of the photographer as unknown.

17 The expedition was a landmark achievement in the development of British anthropology. The large contingent of relatively unknown scientists and other practitioners, which included Rivers, introduced the practice of “fieldwork” as anthropology understands it today.

18 A.C. Haddon, *Notes and Queries*, third edition, 1899, p. 240 (sourced from University Library, Cambridge).

19 A method of fieldwork, now part and parcel of any anthropological research, that acknowledges the subjective nature of findings since the observer is equally a participant in the proceedings under observation.

20 Prints of Rivers’ photographs of the Todas, along with some of Marshall’s formed a part of the teaching collection at the University of Cambridge, as the CUMAA photographic catalogue suggests.

21 Giles Tillotson, *The Artificial Empire: The Indian Landscapes of William Hodges*, Curzon, Surrey, 2000, p. 110.

● ● ● From page 74

Master of Ajanta: A Study of Major Robert Gill – an Artist, Draughtsman, and Photographer Divia Patel

1 James Fergusson, *The Rock-cut Temples of India Illustrated by Seventy-four Photographs Taken on the Spot by Major Gill*, John Murray, London, 1864.

2 The Alkazi Collection of Photography (ACP), New Delhi. Ref: 2001.04.0002. Since this research was undertaken, the Alkazi Collection has acquired another personal album

which this author has not been able to examine. For an explanation of why this album can be attributed to Gill, please see Divia Patel, “Robert Gill and his Circle of Friends in India”, *History of Photography*, Winter 2008, pp. 326–36.

3 Martha Langford, *Suspended Conversations: The Afterlife of Memory in Photographic Albums*, McGill-Queen’s University Press, Toronto, 2001.

4 Having fallen into disuse in the 6th century CE, the caves were rediscovered by an army officer hunting in the area.

5 My thanks to Colman McLaughlin, a descendant of Gill’s, for forwarding this information to me.

6 For an account of the previous reports and for a detailed account of Gill and his painting commission see Divia Patel, “Copying Ajanta: A rediscovery of some 19th century paintings”, *South Asian Studies* 23 (2007), pp. 39–62.

7 Madras Public Consultations (hereafter MPC) in the Asia and Africa Collections of the British Library. Ref: MPC 1845, P/248/24, pp. 3795–866.

8 Now in the collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

9 For a fuller account of his drawings, see Patel, “Copying Ajanta”, pp. 51–52.

10 MPC 1847, P/248/39, p. 3419.

11 MPC 1845, P/248/24, p. 3792. Although his report states that these were prepared in 1845, they were sent to the Government at different stages between 1845 and 1863.

12 A set of 34 plans and drawings are in the British Library, Asia and Africa Collections, ref: WD1092. Another set consisting of 19 drawings (17 of which are duplicates of the British Library group), but no ground plans, is in the collection of the Royal Institute of British Architects, ref: Vol. 77.

13 MPC 1861, P/249/75, p. 595.

14 Ibid.

15 MPC 1868, P/439/1, p. 477.

16 MPC 1866, P/439/1, p. 768.

17 MPC 1866, P/439/1, p. 477.

18 *One Hundred Stereoscopic Illustrations of Architecture and Natural History in Western India Photographed by Major Gill*, Cundall, Downes & Co., London, 1864.

19 MPC 1868, P/439/6, p. 551.

20 MPC 1868, P/439/6, pp. 551–56.

21 See pp. 28–30 in James Fergusson, *The Rock-cut Temples of India...*

22 MPC 1868, P/439/1, p. 1259.

23 Bombay General Proceedings (BGP) in the Asia and Africa Collections at the British Library. Ref: BGP 1868, P/441/51, p. 343.

24 See photograph on p. 7 of James Fergusson, *The Rock-cut Temples of India...*

25 MPC 1868, P/439/1, p. 478.

26 For a detailed discussion of these social and photographic connections see Patel, “Robert Gill and his Circle of Friends in India”.

27 Gill was married to Frances Flowerdew Rickerby, who accompanied him to India. After bearing him three children, she returned to England because of her failing health. Gill is known to have had one, possibly two Indian wives, one of whom had a child by him. His first Indian wife, called Paroo, died in 1856, as noted on a gravestone near Ajanta, but there are also references to another wife in a letter dated 1864, in which Gill mentions that his child is very sick with belly pain. Ref: MPC 1866, P/439/1, p. 477.

● ● ● From page 112

The Photography Archive at the City Palace Museum Udaipur Pramod Kumar K.G.

1 James Tod, *Travels in Western India*, reprint Delhi, 1971, p. 263.

2 Invented by Thomas Stevens in 1862, Stevengraphs were images machine-woven in silk as ribbons (bookmarks), showing figures, portraits, paintings, designs, and mottoes. An example in the CPMU collection is the image “Queen Victoria and her Premiers”.

3 Quoted in C.S. Bayley, *Chiefs and Leading Families in Rajputana* (1894), reprint Delhi, 2004, p. 28.

