

RURAL PAINTINGS IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY PUNJAB

KANWARJIT SINGH KANG



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PREFACE

This study is primarily aimed at documenting the surviving remains of mural paintings from the Punjab of the 19th century, and is born of the sense of frustration at seeing these works decaying and disappearing, year after year. Much has already been claimed by time and the forces of nature; I feel therefore that there is a sense of urgency about this kind of work not only here but elsewhere in the country.

The remains studied and documented here are of an art which was at one time apparently very popular. Mural paintings in 19th century Punjab were indeed very widespread, and gradually developed their own aesthetic and range of themes and styles allied to but also different from the miniatures to which many studies have been devoted. Very little work on this subject, apart from Prof. B.N. Goswamy's pioneering studies, has so far been done for the Punjab plains, even though we come upon several references to these paintings in literary records and travellers' accounts. Even detailed studies of Sikh painting undertaken by scholars, have paid scant attention to this aspect of the art of the plains. An attempt has therefore been made in this study to put the art of wall

painting in 19th century Punjab in its context, while the emphasis stays on documenting the extant remains of murals, the analysis of their themes and a study of their technique and style.

The study is based on extensive field work and as thorough a study of written records as was possible. While it was not possible for me to have access to that part of the Punjab which is now in Pakistan, I travelled extensively in the 'Indian Punjab', including present-day Haryana. My work in the field — and I have travelled from village to village in search of murals —, convinces me that what I was able to record forms a very small proportion of what must have once existed. One wishes so much that work of this kind had been done some fifty years ago, when much else than now survives must have been around.

This dissertation embodies the result of my own research and observation over a period of more than five years but I am keenly aware of its shortcomings and the sole responsibility for whatever lapses there are in it, is my own. More could have been done, but that is perhaps true of all studies. I only hope that a modestly clear picture of the art of mural painting in 19th century Punjab emerges from the following pages.

In the completion of this study I have received generous help which I wish to acknowledge here. The foremost

of my debts is to Prof. B.N. Goswamy under whose supervision this dissertation has been completed. Not only was the subject and the lines of enquiry suggested by him; he has been extremely kind and watchful as a guide, giving generously of his material and affording constant help and encouragement. I have been greatly helped by discussions with Dr. Mulk Raj Anand, Dr. H.S. Randhawa, Dr. Ganda Singh and Dr. Attar Singh. Sardar Hirmal Singh Sandhu gave of himself unstintedly throughout. I have also to gratefully acknowledge the generous help I have received in various forms from S. Jagjit Singh Kang, Smt. Vidwant Kaur, Smt. Diljit Kaur and a large number of other persons whose name appear in a section of the bibliography, and several kind friends.

Patiala

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Kanwarjit Singh Kang
Kanwarjit Singh Kang

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS, SHORT TITLES ETC.

<u>A.S.I.R.</u>	<u>Archaeological Survey of India. Report.</u>
<u>E.W.A.</u>	<u>Encyclopaedia of World Art.</u>
<u>J.I.A.</u>	<u>Journal of Indian Art (& Industry).</u>
<u>J.P.H.S.</u>	<u>Journal of Punjab Historical Society.</u>
<u>J.P.U.H.S.</u>	<u>Journal of Punjab University Historical Society.</u>
<u>Lt. Barr, Journal.</u>	<u>Barr, Lt. William. Journal of a March from Delhi to Peshawar, and from thence to Cabul, including travels in the Punjab, London, 1844.</u>

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Chapter I

SOCIAL CONTEXT

The Punjab, historically so known, not the present-day Punjab, comprises six doabs or intra-fluvial tracts. These are the Sind-Sagar Doab- lying between the Indus and the Jhelum; the Chaj Doab- between the Jhelum and the Chenab; the Rechna Doab- between the Chenab and the Ravi; the Bari Doab- between the Ravi and the Beas; the Bist-Jullundur Doab- between the Beas and the Sutlej; and the Cis-Sutlej Doab- between the Sutlej and the Jamuna. All these rivers have their sources in the Himalayas and the confluence of their water, except those of the Sind and the Jamuna, takes place at Panjnad in the south-west corner of the Multan district, now in West Punjab in Pakistan.

Along the northern borders of the Punjab run the Himalayas which divide it from Kashmir. In its west and the north-west lies Afghanistan from which it is separated by the

Suleiman range of mountains. On its southern borders, it encroaches upon the great plains of the Rajputana desert. The eastern boundary of the Punjab is not distinctly marked, but from a point near Karnal where Jamuna plunges south-eastwards, a jagged line can be drawn upto Panjnad¹ which will demarcate the state from the rest of Hindustan and the Sind desert.

Geographically, the highlands and the plains of the Punjab can be divided into four major tracts. 'The Himalayan Tract' includes most of the region which now falls in the new state of Himachal Pradesh and the people of this tract mostly consist of Hill Rajputs, Brahmans and other castes. Skirting the feet of the hills and including the low outlying range of the Shivaliks, runs the narrow 'sub-montane tract'. It includes the whole of the Hoshiarpur district and the northern parts of the districts of Ambala, Gurdaspur, Sialkot and Gujrat. Before the partition of Punjab in 1947, the Hindu element strong in Ambala and Hoshiarpur, gradually gave way to the Muslim element as we passed westwards through Gurdaspur till it faded into comparative insignificance in Sialkot.

Below this tract, the whole region consists of a wide expanse of plains. A meridian through the city of Lahore divides this wide expanse into two tracts: 'The Eastern Plains' and 'The Western Plains'. The country of the Malwa, the Doaba (Jullundur-² Doab) and the Majha form 'The Eastern Plains' and this region is

1. See Khushwant Singh, A History of the Sikhs, I. P.3.

2. Also spoken of as 'Manjha'.

the stronghold of the Sikhs. Most of that area of the Punjab, which in consequence of partition, has fallen to Pakistan, constitutes 'The Western Plains'. It includes the Sirhind-Sagar Doab, the Rechna Doab and the Lower-Bari Doab; Mohammedan population predominates in this tract.

Being situated between Hindustan and the passes through which alone access to it from the great Asian Continent is possible, the Punjab, due to its geographical position, saw many far-reaching historical developments. These shaped and conditioned whatever activity it had in the field of art, language and culture. During the long course of history, the Punjab saw invasion after invasion thus bringing diverse ethnic groups and heterogeneous masses of people to the land. Local women being taken in marriage by the invaders who settled in the Punjab led to the mingling of the blood of many races.

During the period of Mughal supremacy from the mid-sixteenth to the mid-eighteenth century, comparative peace prevailed in the province but when Mughal rule declined, the Punjab again became the scene of irruptions from the north-west. Between 1748 and 1767, Ahmad Shah invaded India eight times and the desolation which Ahmad Shah's army brought in its train is fully expressed by the proverb still current in the Punjab: "what one eats and drinks is one's own; the rest is Ahmad Shah's".

1. Khada pita lahe da,

Raki Ahmad Shah da.

During this time, the Sikhs had been consistently gathering strength. The last of the ten great Gurus having died in A.D. 1708, and the spiritual organization under a Guru being no more, gradually there grew up a loose political and military confederation, the twelve misals. Though the misals had a unity and a sense of common cause against the enemy of their faith, there were occasional inter-misal wars. The history of Punjab during the terrible fifty years of the second half of the 18th century is a story of continuous war and bloodshed.

At the very end of the 18th century, Ranjit Singh appeared on the scene and found in his land a weakening confederacy which was a prey to the factions of its chiefs. At this hour, the Punjab was merely a geographical expression¹ with no sense of co-operation among its people. With his great ability as a general, he carved out for himself a powerful and well-organized kingdom. After a very long time, he brought relative peace back to the Punjab, gave her an organized administration, gave to the people of the land in general and to the Sikhs in particular, a sense of pride and self-esteem and placed them on the road to prosperity.

The first acquisition of any Punjab territory by the British, resulted from Lord Lake's Maharatta campaign and its end in the treaty of Sarji-Anjangan (Dec. 30, 1803). The territory acquired was the country on the right bank of the Jamuna. The next important occurrence was Maharaja Ranjit

1. See G.L. Chopra, The Punjab as a Sovereign State, p. 139.

Singh's signing the treaty of April, 1809 which left him master of the tract he had originally occupied to the South of the Sutlej but confined his ambition to expand his kingdom to the north and west of that river. With the proclamation of protection to Cis-Sutlej States against the Lahore power, made in May, 1809, the Chiefs of Patiala, Nabha, Jind, Faridkot, Malerkotla, and Kalsia were confirmed as feudal princes by the British. The treaty of 1846, after the First Sikh War, resulted in the surrender of the Cis-Sutlej districts of Ferozepur, Ludhiana, Ambala, as well as the whole of the Jullundur Doab, and the payment of heavy indemnity, in lieu of which the state of Jammu and Kashmir was ceded to the British and granted to Maharaja Goleb Singh. After the Second Sikh War, the proclamation annexing the Punjab to the British territory was made at Lahore on the 30th of March, 1849.

The new administrative set up included two classes of territory: one belonging to the British and the other in the possession of feudal chiefs. The territory belonging to the British was divided into eight Divisions embracing twenty-seven districts. In 1858, the Divisions of Delhi and Hissar were formally incorporated into the province of the Punjab adding six more to the twenty-seven original districts. The Thanesar district, however, was broken up in 1862. This division of the province into ten Divisions and thirty-two districts continued unchanged for twenty-two years. In 1884, however, the ten Commissionerships were reduced to six. The area of the British territory was 106,632 square miles and

corresponding figures for the collective Native States were¹
35,817 square miles.

The Punjab, in the first half of the 19th century,²
was a relatively thinly populated country. The Sikhs, the
Hindus and the Mohammodans were the three major communities.
H.M. Lawrence, at the middle of the century, loosely estimated
the population of the Punjab at about a quarter of a million
of Sikhs, half a million of Mahomedans, and three quarters of
a million of Hindus,³ but this was a wild guess. The successive
censuses taken in 1855, 1866 and 1881 put the total population
of the Punjab at 15,161,321; 17,609,518 and 18,850,437
respectively.⁴ The figures pertaining to the followers of
the three different communities given in these three censuses
show that the Mohammodans always numbered more than the
combined numbers of the Hindus and the Sikhs.⁵

"Region, race and tradition are the collective
determinants of art, and it is not easy to isolate the
influence of each single factor on art product of a particular
country or people."⁶ The history of the Punjab makes it clear
that its people seldom had an opportunity to experience
'peace', and consequently remained devoid of all the blessings
which the 'reign of peace' freely confers on humanity.

1. D.C. Ibbetson, Report on the Census of the Punjab, 1881, I, p.2
2. See P.N. Khara, "Social Life in the Sikh Kingdom", J.P.U.H.S., V, April 1938, p.19.
3. Adventures of an officer, I, p.85.
4. Ibbetson, op.cit., I, p.48.
5. Ibbetson, op.cit., I, p.108
6. Radhakamal Mukerjee, The Social Function of Art, p.176.

Inhabitants of the Punjab were constant sufferers of war and rapine, nevertheless they had a taste for beauty. They indulged in creative activities whenever peace prevailed, even if for a short period. But historical conditions seldom allowed them to create masterpiece in any field of art. The tragedy was that whenever any plant of creative activity sprouted, its root was chopped off by fresh state of anarchy.

Although the Sikhs' unitarian form of belief and the ban against Image-worship left very little scope for the development of visual art for needs of religious worship¹ yet they helped its promotion, primarily because the Sikhs² were as fond of decoration as the Hindus were and spent large sums of money for the beautification of their shrines.³ In Maharaja Ranjit Singh's time Sikhism had royal patronage and the Sikhs started devoting themselves to the magnificence and splendour of their shrines. Now the cult of the Gurus and the Sikhs' passionate adoration of these spiritual leaders were demanding an artistic expression.⁴ The walls of over 700 shrines associated with the Sikh Gurus in the Punjab⁵ were available for embellishment. The endowments and

1. O.C. Gangoli, "The Sikh School of Painting", Indian Art Souvenir, p. 6.

2. Amritsar D.C. 1892-93, p. 113.

3. See Ruchi Ram Sahni, Struggle for Freedom in Sikh Shrines, p. 9.

4. See O.C. Gangoli, op. cit., p. 7.

5. See Harnam Singh, Punjab, the Homeland of the Sikhs, p. 33.

eleemosynary grants¹ worth thousands of rupees provided for these shrines to be built in pacca masonry. Contributions in the form of money, produce and labour by the Sikhs for the construction of these shrines, came in vogue. Many individuals went to the extent of getting certain portions² of the walls painted as an act of dedication.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Sikhs had devoted themselves to their own preservation. The conditions of Sikh life having undergone a considerable change since the emergence of Ranjit Singh, however, an opportunity existed for encouraging the visual arts. But the limitations imposed upon the Sikhs by the absence of any artistic heritage, were considerable. All they could easily achieve was the enrichment of interiors and exteriors of their lodgings and religious edifices and get some excellent portraits of Sikh nobility painted. As has been said: "The idea of beauty that obtains at a given time, and in a given class of society, has its roots... in the historical conditions in which this society or class arose and³ existed."

1. See J.D. Cunningham, A History of the Sikhs, p. 385; Chopra, op. cit., pp. 126-127
2. For instance, the painting of a mural in three niches in the name of Mika (child) Bilasa Singh and Mai (elderly woman) Piari at Akal Takhat, Amritsar, was provided for by Hari Singh, as is evident from the inscription on one of the paintings of these niches; see plate No. 8. This practice is still prevalent at the Gurdwara of Baba Bakala in Amritsar district.
3. G.V. Plekhanov, Art and Social Life, p. 184

The general prosperity of the Sikhs and their sense of self-esteem were not the only causes for the new interest in mural paintings; their intimate relationship with the Hindus was also a factor in this development. The Sikhs had given up their protestant attitude towards Brahmanical Hinduism¹ and the followers of both the orders drew so close to each other that the distinction between Sikh and Hindu became one of mere form; the Khanda wore their hair and beards unshorn,² the Hindu did not. Nearly all the Sikh villagers revered and made use of the Brahman almost as freely as their Hindu neighbours did.³ Their day-to-day religious practices had been affected by Hindu Brahmanical symbols and associations to the extent that at popular agricultural level worship of icons of gods and goddesses had become all but common.⁴ Even in the precincts of the premier Sikh temples, there were idols⁵ of Rama and other Hindu gods and deities.

It was through reciprocal processes that traditions and customs of the two faiths interpenetrated into each

1. Niharanjan Ray, The Sikh Gurus and the Sikh Society, p. 167.
2. Khushwant Singh, A History of the Sikhs, II, p. 95.
3. Tibbetson, op. cit., I, p. 112.
4. Ray, op. cit., p. 167.
5. See Indar Paul Singh, "Caste in a Sikh Village", Sikhism and Indian Society, p. 84; also see Mrs. J.C. Murray Wynsley, Our Visit to Hindostan, Kashmir and Ladakh, p. 243.

other resulting in harmony and profoundly influencing their daily life. Perhaps all this originated from their mutual "emotional identification"¹, for they had suffered together from oppression under the later Mughals. The akharas of the Udis had served as a unifying institution for the Hindus and the Sikhs.² The Hindus frequently worshipped at Sikh shrines; we even have the 'Brahmana Wala Bungd'³ built by Brahmans in the vicinity of the gurdwara at Tarn Taran. Even the Ram Lila used to be performed in the Darbar Sahib at Tarn Taran.⁴

The close and amicable relationship between the Sikhs and the Hindus, right from the lower strata of society, through the middle class up to the very top of the circle, was noticeable. Hindu festivals were celebrated with great pomp and show in the Sikh Court of Maharaja Ranjit Singh.⁵ Dushera and Holi were functions of great rejoicing and no less than one lakh of rupees used to be spent upon the latter occasion.⁶ The attempt made by the Jat Sikh family of the

1. Sant Singh Sekhon, "Is there a Sikh Culture?", The Illustrated Weekly of India, Oct., 1971, p. 25
2. See Mahar Singh Grewal (ed.), Historical Survey of Amritsar, p. 51.
3. See Chai Mohan Singh Vaid, "Shri Tarn Taran de Puratan Samachar", Phulkari (P), No. 6-7, April-May 1933, p. 585.
4. See Dr. Paul Singh, op. cit., p. 84
5. See Punjab Govt. Records, III, pp. 319, 331.
6. Ibid., pp. 41, 43, 44, 46, 49-50; also see Kanwarjit Kang, "Holi in 19th Century Punjab", The Sunday Tribune, March 6, 1977, p. 5.
7. See Punjab Govt. Records, III, p. 457.

Sandhanwalias for admission to the social rites of the
¹
 Kshatriyas, perhaps as a further augmentation to their
 social status, bespeaks of the tendency of the Sikh
 aristocracy to get incorporated into the large Kshatriya
 fold through observing Hindu rituals.

Hindu-Sikh relations, amicable as they were, had
 far reaching effects. The veneration of Hindu gods did
 not at all affect the Sikhs' devotion to their Gurus,
 and the holy Guru Granth Sahib continued to be their
 supreme spiritual guide. On the other hand, it modified
 the earlier orthodox attitudes of the Sikhs which made
 them refrain, among other things, from depicting their
 Gurus in pictorial art with its association of image-
²
 worship. Portraits of the Sikh Gurus began to be painted
³
 on walls as well as on paper. The building of Hindu
⁴
 temples by the Sikhs and installation of idols in the new
⁵
shivales by them, resulted in the appearance of Sikh
 themes in the wall-paintings of temples devoted to Hindu

1. See Cunningham, op.cit., p. 304, Appendix IV.
2. Though the Sikh Gurus condemned image-worship, they were not against representational art.
3. One is reminded here of the modification wrought by social forces in the religious outlook of the disciples of the Buddha which resulted in the appearance of Buddha's image in art; see Radha Krsna Mookerji, Ancient India, p. 236
4. See H.A. Rose (ed.), Tribes and Castes of Punjab, I, p. 294, wherein it is stated that Shivale of Ek Onkar in district Karnal was built at the expense of Maharaja Ranjit Singh; also see Objects of Antiquarian Interest in the Punjab and its Dependencies, pp. 4-5 wherein it is stated that Shivale near Vir Bhan at Amritsar was built by Sardar Desa Singh.
5. See Punjab Govt. Records, III, p. 12.

gods.¹ Similarly the building of gurudwaras by Hindus led to Hindu themes being painted on the walls of Sikh shrines.² The fact that there were Hindus priests at certain Sikh shrines and Sikhs priests at certain Hindu shrines, also caused this exchange of themes which did not extend only to mural painting but also percolated into other areas like Janam Sakhi Paintings³ and wood-carving.⁴

The Muslims in the Punjab who outnumbered the combined Hindu and Sikh population, did not favour painting at least on the walls, due to the general prejudice against 'the image'⁵ in Islam. But even here, they had been influenced by their contacts with the Hindus.

Speaking of the characteristics of race being more deep-rooted and enduring than those of religion,⁶ Cunningham points out that many Mohammedans clung sometimes to the beliefs and faiths of the Hindus from whom they had

1. See Gurdaspur D.C. 1883-84, p. 98, wherein it is stated that Diwan Nanak Bakhsh offered a sum of Rs.50,000 for the building of gurudwara at Dera Baba Nanak.
2. The priests of Mansa Devi Temple near Mani Majra, now in the Union Territory of Chandigarh, were Sikhs. See Ibbetson, op. cit., I, p. 137
3. See Khushwant Singh, "Guru Nanak in Janam Sakhi Paintings", The Times of India Annual 1971, p. 56
4. For example, a beautiful wood-carved lintel of 19th century at the entrance of the house of Shri Som Nath at Bagarian on the Malerkotla-Bahha road, depicts Guru Gobind Singh on horseback in its extreme left panel while the rest of the panels depict Hindu gods. Also see Kanwarjit Kang, "Wood-carving in Punjab and Haryana", The Sunday Tribune, May 1, 1977, p. 5.
5. cf. "Painting, contrary to the popular idea, is not forbidden by any passage of the Kuran, and the hostility to it only took proper theological form towards the end of the 8th century A.D." -- The Encyclopaedia of Islam, I, p. 612.
6. op. cit., p. 12.

1
originally come. "Many tribes of converted Musalmans"
writes Ibbetson, "retain and fee Brahmans as a matter of
course; while some actually employ them to conduct their
marriages after the Hindu ceremonial, only adding the
Mohammedan ritual as a legal precaution." 2 Living thus
side by side with their Hindu brethren in the same or the
next village, sharing property in the same land, and forming
a part of the same family with them, it was impossible that
the Muslim converts should not have largely retained their
old customs and ideas. 3

There were many areas of contact and mutual
influence. Thus, many tombs of Muslim saints were
venerated both by the Hindus and the followers of Islam. 4

1. See W. Crooke, The North-Western Provinces of India, p. 234; cf. Sir Monier Williams, Modern India and Indians, pp. 164-65.
2. op. cit., I, p. 112 "In 'The Eastern Plains' of the Punjab, the change of faith from Hinduism to Mohammedanism was usually confined to one or two members of a brotherhood and it was common to find one branch of a joint village community Musalmans and the other Hindus"; see Ibbetson, op. cit., I, p. 142.
3. Ibid., p. 142.
4. See Jafar Sharif, Islam in India, p. 140; Crooke, The North-Western Provinces of India, p. 232; Ibbetson, op. cit., I, pp. 111, 116.

Muslim dhadis and rababis were the chief musicians at the Sikh shrines in Amritsar and Nankana Sahib.¹ The Sikhs also shared in Muslim festivals like Moharrum and attended fairs at their shrines.² They also paid respect at the tombs of various Muslim saints.³

The queer manner in which religions were intermingled in the 19th century Punjab is demonstrated by the principal shrine of Sakhi Sarwar Sultan at Nigaha in the Dera Gazi Khan district which, besides containing a tomb of the prominent Muslim saint and his wife, also had in its complex, a shrine to Guru Nanak and a temple to Vishnu.⁴ It does not come as a surprise then when we find that Muslim masons worked for the construction of Hindu and Sikh shrines; that Muslim painters painted murals on Hindu, Sikh and even Jain themes, and that Muslim craftsmen carved figures of

1. See Sant Singh Sekhon, loc. cit., p. 25.

2. See Punjab Govt. Records, III, p. 393.

3. Ibid., p. 8; Mohan Lal, Travels in the Punjab, pp. 17-18; also see H.S. Randhawa (ed.), Punjab (P), pp. 204-205.

4. See H.K. Sinha, Ranjit Singh, p. 187.

5. Ibbetson, op.cit., I, p. 115.

6. For example, two Muslim masons, Shera and Mikal worked for the construction of Harni Ka Mandir at Bhadaur, in Sangrur district. The names of these masons are written on one of the walls of the said temple.

7. See Giani Gian Singh, Tawarikh Sri Amritsar (P), pp. 50-51, wherein Mistri Mohammed Yar Khan is stated to have been entrusted with the work of gilding the domes of Golden Temple, Amritsar.

8. See V.P.S. Rao, "A Golden Chapter from Cis-Sutlej History", The Sunday Tribune, Feb. 21, 1971, p. 5; wherein the author states that the murals in Chaudhry Chandersen's Devankhana at Dadri were painted by a Muslim painter Vazeer Khan.

9. Shri Satpal Jain, who was interviewed at Zira told me that the murals in the Jain temple of Zira were painted by Nazar Mohammed.

Hindu gods on wooden lintels of Hindu houses. On the other hand, the Mohammedan tradition of decorating walls of shrines with texts from the holy book was adopted by the ¹ Sikhs, and texts from Guru Granth Sahib began to appear ² on the walls of gurdwaras as one of the forms of mural arts. The painting of exquisite floral designs, in which Mohammedans had excelled since time immemorial were adopted by Hindus and Sikhs and became an integral feature of mural decoration on their edifices.

While Muslim painters painted murals in Hindu and Sikh edifices with human figures, in their own buildings they confined themselves to the painting of floral designs. It is only very rarely that they took the liberty of painting birds, animals or human figures on the walls of Mohammedan shrines. ³ We know of the village of Khangah Dogran in Gujranwala district where tombs of Muslim saints

1. See Khan Abdul Majid Khan, "The Impact of Islam on Sikhism", Sikhism and Indian Society, p. 227.
2. As is evident from the interior walls of the Golden Temple, Amritsar.
3. Kanwarjit Kang, "Figural Paintings on Mohammedan Tombs", The Sunday Tribune, April 10, 1977, p. 5.

were painted with pictures of birds and animals.¹ There is, likewise a painting of camel and a dog on one of the walls² of the mausoleum of Lape Shah at Jagraon.³ Mural paintings with human figures are also extant in the Mohammedan tomb at Aandlu,³ a village in district Ludhiana, and in the Khannash⁴ of Dargahi Shah in village Dhan Dhojewal in district Amritsar. We even hear of a tombstone receiving the attention of a painter. Lt. H.B. Edwards⁵ who saw this in 1847 in the hereditary cemetery of Khyrah and Bhuchur villages, near Multan recorded thus:

Idle figures of flowers are scrawled in whitewash over the upright stones, and on one of the more pretensions than the rest was an attempt at Kulukpol-mout, riding on his ghastly charger, but bearing in his hand a cup of water, a sign that the dead man lived well and died in peace.

But this must be seen really as an altogether uncommon occurrence.

With no taboos of any kind in this regard restricting them, the Hindus had a great deal of painting. On many religious festivals and other social occasions, the Hindus made use of mural art in the form of ceremonial

1. See R.W. Trafford, "Pictures on Musalman Tombs", Indian Antiquary, XXVII, May 1898, p. 140.
2. See Gazetteer of India- Punjab, Ludhiana, p. 658 and see plate facing p. 658.
3. See plate No. 33.
4. See plate No. 78. Architecturally this Khannash appears to have been constructed in the 17th or the early 18th century.
5. Punjab Govt. Records, v. p. 30.

paintings which were different from the murals executed as permanent works of art. Homes were decorated or marked with hands and other designs each of which originally had a symbolic meaning of its own. In Amritsar and Gujrat, thus, figures of deities were drawn on the occasion of chath or house-warming ceremony. This type of ceremonial decoration was popular also in the Eastern Punjab and is still in vogue in many villages. Similarly the painted or carved image of Ganesha, to be seen in countless Hindu shops received worship before they commenced their business in the morning. It was customary to have a figure of Ganesha painted above most of the Hindu doorways. If, as has been observed, it was the chief ambition of the Hindus in the 19th century Punjab to build a brick house of their own, the lime-plastered walls of their houses provided an ideal ground for mural work.

Murals also appeared all over the countryside in the Punjab on samadhs and mazaris of holy men. In India⁸ the process of deification (being) aided by the tendency to develop the tomb raised over a man of eminence into a temple.⁹ Samadhs of common ancestors or traditionally venerated elders

1. See Rose (ed.), op. cit., I, p. 914.

2. Ibid., p. 913.

3. Ibid., pp. 913-915.

4. See Oscar Lewis, Village Life in Northern India, pp. 172, 215-16, 221-22, 224-25; also see Kamwarjit Kang, "Ritualistic Decoration in Haryana", Haryana Review, X, August 1974, No. 8, pp. 26-27.

5. See W.J. Wilkins, Modern Hinduism, p. 52.

6. See Punjab Notes and Queries, I, May 1884, No. 8, p. 87.

7. See Ibbetson, op. cit., I, p. 102.

8. For instance, the temple of Kalu Nath at Nathana in district Bhatinda, Ramana sub-cast of the Jat Sikhs' owe its allegiance to this place. See Bal Mukand Dass, Jat Sahiti Kalu Nath (P), pp. 176-232.

9. Crooke, Religion and Folklore of Northern India, p. 182.

were everywhere. Villagers who migrated from their original places would periodically make long pilgrimages to worship at the shrine of their ancestors, and if the distance was too great, would bring a brick from the original shrine and use it in the foundation of a local new shrine.¹ It was not the Sikhs and Hindus alone who frequented such places; the Muslims had their own places of worship in this category. Pilgrims came to these cenotaphs in order to beg for a boon or to express their gratitude for a wish granted.² The nahants of these samadhs did their best to keep the appearance of these shrines in order to attract and impress the masses on festive occasions. Thus mural paintings and similar embellishments were pressed into service to create an aura of sanctity and glory. In the paintings the virtuous deeds of the departed sant were often depicted.

Besides small shrines of limited influence, there were also in the Punjab large monasteries that belonged to important sects. Each sect, old or new, felt the need for having its own temples. We know of several sizable

1. See Ibbetson, op. cit., p. 115.

2. "Even the Muhammadans", writes Cunningham, "whose imagination must not be assisted by any visible similitude, is prone to invest the dead with the powers of intercessors, and to make pilgrimages to the graves of departed mortals" See op. cit., p. 10.

Vaishnava establishments in the Punjab including those at Pindori, Dasthal and Dhyampur. The monasteries that belonged to the Udasi or Nirmala sects were known as akhara and many of these had more than one branch.¹ In the absence of any centralizing system governing these akhara, the mahants of individual akhara were their own masters, and vied with each other for turning their establishments as sumptuous as their means or taste allowed. In the process murals were extensively commissioned.

An occasion on which murals were always seen by large multitudes was the much-loved mela or fair. Hundreds of religious places, big and small, belonging to the Sikhs, Hindus and Muslims in the 19th century Punjab, had their melas to which people flocked by the thousand, often coming from miles around. They came to pay respect to the shrine around which a mela was often held to enjoy an inexpensive yet delightful day's outing. Under the Sikh regime some fairs were sponsored by the Government itself.² The fairs used to be full of crowds and entertainment.³ There was wrestling, sword-play, tricks of acrobats and tumblers, performances of conjurers and the

1. For instance, the akhara of Bala Band at Amritsar was initially a branch of an akhara at Jhelum. I came to know of it from Sh. Chander Prashad, the present mahant of the said akhara, interviewed at Amritsar.

2. See Punjab Govt. Records, III, p. 344.

3. See plate No. 80.

4. See Roshan Lal Ahuja, The Story of Ranjit Singh, p. 69.

5. See plate No. 83.

music of dhadis singing the tales of Mir Ranjha, Mirza
¹
 Saifan or Laila Majnu. The shrine, being the pivot of the
 fair was the centre of attraction. Anybody who attended
 the fair paid respect at it and was naturally delighted
 to see its walls painted with murals displaying not only
 religious themes but a panoramic view of the fair itself.

The shrine was refurbished from time to time in
 preparation for the great gathering. Portions of the
 paintings that had been peeled off the walls were
²
 renovated and seriously damaged murals were sometimes
³
 painted afresh.

A considerable amount of patronage of painting, in
 the form of commissioning of murals, came from the nobility
⁴
 in 19th century Punjab. Under the Sikh regime it was the
 courtiers and nobles who were also big landlords or

1. See J.C. Oman, Cults, Customs and Superstitions of India, p. 214.
2. These well-intended efforts often led to clumsy restoration of the original work. One sees this in the 'renovation' accorded to the murals of Baba Atal at Amritsar.
3. Even in recent years attempts have been made to paint afresh damaged murals. For instance, in a thakurdwara at Phul in district Bhatinda, enamel paints have been used to daub parts of the structure, with unhappy results. In Ambala City, the new paintings in the Jain Shvetambar temple, are relatively pleasant.
4. See B.N. Goswamy, Painters at the Sikhs Court: A Study Based on Twenty Documents, pp. 6-12.

jagirdars that constituted the uppermost stratum of the society. Many of the Sikhs among them had had their origin in the Sikh misals of the 18th century, but most of the new aristocracy consisted of self-made men who had risen through their ability from 'the proletariat'.¹ They did not have any great aristocratic traditions, but their interest in themselves and in surrounding themselves with style appears to have been keen.² It was their interest in surrounding themselves with style which led Hari Singh Malwa, the Bedis of Una, the Attariwalas, the Sandhanwalas and other sardars and jagirdars to commission frescoes.³ Every sardar of any pretension lived in a feudal state in some sort of stronghold and more often than not they had portals, chambers, private villas and loggia embellished with murals.⁴ Their generally good economic conditions allowed them to employ masons for years together in the construction of their mansions in brick and lime and to commission muralists to adorn the walls.⁵ These murals for them were symbols of social status.

1. The Maharaja Ranjit Singh Centenary Volume, p. 30 (see the Presidential address given by Sir Shafout Ahmad Khan).
2. See B.N. Goswamy, "Sikh Painting : An Analysis of Some Aspects of Patronage", Oriental Art, XV, No. 1, p. 46.
3. See B.N. Goswamy, Painters at the Sikh Court, A Study Based on Twenty Documents, p. 11.
4. See Khushwant Singh, A History of the Sikhs, II, p. 324.
5. The account of Lt. William Barr affords striking proof of this; see his Journal of a March from Delhi to Peshawar and from thence to Cabul, pp. 69-71, 77-80, 82, 100-102, 129-140, 147, 252.

In the hierarchy, next to the courtiers, nobles and jaizidars, came the zamindars or agriculturalists. Except for the main entrance door, that led into the darwazi and its adjacent baithak or 'sitting room' which were mostly built in brick and lime, the rest of their houses consisted generally of mud walls for reasons¹ of economy. But the portions built in brick and lime were often adorned with frescoes, the greatest attention² being given to the embellishments of the gateway — the portions flanking the wooden door and the vaulted structure above it. Embellishment in the form of³ carving in the old tradition was extended to the wooden doors, particularly to the lintels which were often profusely carved with the figures of gods and tutelary deities.

1. There was a sharp contrast in the dwellings of the upper and the lower strata of society in 19th century Punjab. Rising to the highest station, there were the dwelling of the rich and the honoured of the land, large and imposing, built of brick, and with the top terraced to allow the morning and evening promenade and the fine lime plastered walls often painted with frescoes. Coming to the lowest station, there were the dwelling of the poor labourer, small in dimensions, made of mud and thatch and clay plastered walls, occasionally lined with rustic decorative designs and folk-motifs.
2. See Jullundur D.C. 1915, p. 127; also see plate No. 91.
3. Elaborately carved wooden doorways and window frames had been an artistic feature of the architecture of Punjab since long. See R.E.M. Wheeler, Five Thousand Years of Pakistan, p. 77, plate No. XVI-A; Yashrajit Kang, "Wood-carving in Punjab and Haryana", The Sunday Tribune, May 1, 1977, p. 5.

The modest living quarters of the peasants in the Punjab also received their share of adornment.¹ While murals on brick walls in better houses were painted on fine lime-plaster by professional painters and treated of a variety of subjects including the 'portraits' of the curus, heroes of Sikh history and Hindu mythology, the murals on mud walls were painted on plaster² composed of clay and cow-dung and the subjects were confined generally to decorative designs, and animal and bird motifs.³ These decorative designs were painted mostly by women-folk not by professionals. At many⁴ places in the Punjab, this tradition still survives and one can see work done in villages around Tarn Taran, Mukki, Paridkot, Sangrur and Nabha where women paint designs to celebrate occasions like child-birth⁵ and Diwali. Similarly in the areas comprising the present state of Haryana, Sanji figure was drawn by

1. See Malik Raj Anand, "Specimens of Paintings under the Sikhs", Maya, X, No. 2, p. 39.
2. The muralists had achieved perfection in making fine plaster from clay that appeared like lime plaster. The beautiful murals in the old haveli of Sandhawalia Sardars of Raja Sanai were painted on walls plastered with the said medium.
3. The Mazhabia or Ramdasias who belonged to the lowest strata of the society in the 19th century Punjab lived in the simplest possible huts, and yet they endeavoured to bring grace and colour into an otherwise drab life by enlivening rough walls of their huts with some simple decorations.
4. See Kanwarjit Kang, "Wall Decorations of Punjab and Haryana Peasantry", The Sunday Tribune, Feb. 13, 1977, p.5.
5. cf. Ram Dhamija, Image India, np.

Jat women on walls during Navaratri, before the Dusshera festival.¹ One gets some idea of this kind of early work from the following observation of an Englishman who visited around 1920s a house in Mullanpur, a village in Ludhiana district.²

I entered the house through a large double door made of wood. I found myself in a large square room with mud walls, earthen bare floor and a lofty roof... The walls inside were quite smooth, and had the appearance of having been distempered. They were adorned with quaint black and white pictures painted on the wall itself. These represented local animals and birds; I noticed a dog, deer, and two parrots.

It appears that mural painting was seen as a desirable embellishment to their houses also by the class of merchants and traders.³ Many Marwari traders who were invited by Maharaja Ranjit Singh to encourage trade and commerce in the Punjab, got their houses painted with murals.⁴ The followers of the Jain faith, many of whom were traders, had means enough to finance the erection of splendid temples.⁵ It is quite remarkable that several 19th century

1. See Jasleen Dhamija, Indian Folk Arts and Crafts, p. 93.
2. R.E. Parry, The Sikhs of the Punjab, p. 55.
3. See M.C. Aryan, "Some Punjabi Artists", Roopa-Leha, XXXIX, no. 1, p. 34; Jullundur D.C., 1904, p. 50; Perozepur D.C., 1915, p. 127.
4. Aryan, loc. cit., p. 33; also for instance "Haveli Nauhrian" in Gali Seth Baldev Dass in Perozepur City. In local parlance Marwaris were known as Nauhrias.
5. Crooke, North-Western Provinces of India, p. 235.

Jain temples that I came across in the Punjab, bore traces of originally having been embellished with mural paintings.¹ The houses of many well-to-do Hindus, built in brick and lime were likewise decorated with mural paintings. At Ambala Lt. William Barr records seeing houses of the richer 'baboo's' plastered with fine chunam and decorated with paintings of various devices.²

Members of artisan groups like Tarkhans and Sunars (carpenters and goldsmiths), coming from a relatively low class, and rarely living in houses built in brick and lime, retained an interest in embellishing the walls through 'rustic ornamentation', suitably applied³ to the architectural features of their small houses. Bird and animal motifs were most prominent. Many times these were formed on the mud walls also in bas-relief and then coloured in different shades. Grain storage spaces called kothis or kothas,⁴ generally built into a wall, received prominent attention, for their beauty was held as a matter of pride by the family and won them praise from the neighbourhood. Apart from bird and

1. Thus the temples at Sadhaura, Ambala City, Zirra and Ferozpur Cantonment.
2. Journal, p. 28.
3. See Kamwarjit Kang, "Wall decorations of Punjab and Haryana peasantry", The Sunday Tribune, Feb. 13, 1977, p. 5.
4. Ibid.

animal motifs, kothas and kothis were bedecked with geometrical and abstract designs and decorative devices like ¹trefoils.

With their loss of political power and dominance in the 19th century in the Punjab, the Muslims did not build any grand monuments. The few edifices they erected during this period were but shadows of the former grandeur of Mohammedan buildings. The old kashi or glazed tile decoration, being expensive and laborious were generally replaced by a comparatively inexpensive and simple medium like tempera. However the Muslim painter's great hereditary skill in designing ornamentation seems to have remained alive.

Large public monuments and individual houses apart, we have some interesting evidence on murals got painted on 'community' structures in villages. The village community being divided into groups on the basis of kinship, families with a common ancestor usually formed one group or patti.² It was usual for the different pattis to have separate gates built out of common funds, and leading to their dwellings, even as they served for the protection of the wards at night and during emergencies.

1. See Punjab Notes and Queries, II, No. 13, pp. 11-12. Ears of corn were also tied in beautiful designs and hung on the ceiling.
2. In the south-eastern districts of the present state of Haryana, these groups were called as pannas.

It is on these gates that the pictorial interest of the village spent itself. In villages where different pattis did not have separate gates, a single main gate entrance served for the whole village. We have a description of these gates by R.E. Parry:

2

All villages have gates, generally one for each 'hissa', or ward. These gates made of roughly turned timber, are of immense height and breadth, supporting them in a massive rectangular archway of mud and brick, with a cross-beam made from a single tree trunk. Sometimes this is decorated with crude painted figures of animals. All these figures represent scenes from the life of the Gurus, national games, and from the battle-field. Wrestling scenes depicting combats between struggling 'kursti-log' (wrestlers) stripped to the waist, are great favourites, then come lines of warriors dressed in old fashioned uniform, carrying muskets.

The different pattis also built their own dharm-sala, gurudwara or thakurdwara and drinking wells in the larger villages, this being done out of joint funds in small villages. The dharm-sala or the guest-house was generally situated near the main gate of the village and was an important structure. On the occasion of the

1. op. cit., p. 44

2. The towns too had lofty gateways, usually on all the cardinal sides, covered with paintings of all description. See Lt. Barr, Journal, p. 141.

marriage of a girl from the village, it was the place where the bridegroom's party coming from outside stayed for three or four days. The dharm-sala was also used as the common room of the village where people met in the evening and on days like ekadashi or navrasya¹ when village folk were free from their field work. Village panchayats held meetings on its premises. Generally parties itinerant performing held their shows in front of the dharm-sala.² Because of its role in the social life of the villagers, thus, the dharm-sala was usually built in solid masonry, with proper rooms and doors and was frequently embellished with frescoes in bright colours to make it a 'show-piece' of the village. In the districts of the Punjab beyond Malwa, a dharm-sala³ was called chopal or paras and used to be the centre of attraction in the village due to its mural adornments.⁴⁵⁶

The gurudwara, the thekurdwara, the samadhi of the

1. It was a social usage not to yoke cattle for any purpose either on ekadasi or on navrasya. Ekadasi comes twice in a lunar month, each on the eleventh date from the new moon and full moon. Navrasya is the date of new moon; see Lewis, op. cit., pp. 221-222.
2. It comprised of a group of singers, musicians, dancers, bards, conjurers and actors, that moved from village to village to entertain village-folk with their performances. Nakai or ras were what they often performed.
3. See Jullundur D.G. 1904, p. 50.
4. See Parry, op. cit., pp. 50-52.
5. Particularly in the districts of Rohtak, Sonapat and Gurgaon.
6. See Rohtak D.G. 1883-84, p. 47. Lewis, op. cit., p. 22, fig. 8.

four ex-ancestor of the village, instituted by
 the village out of community funds were thus embellished
 with murals with a purpose.¹ Dr. Malik Raj Anand's
 observation in this context is relevant here:²

...there is certain relevance in emphasising the role which wall paintings had always played in the protected though broken tradition of art in our country ...Religion demanded a community life, which in its turn could be sustained with the sharing of inner values projected on the walls by every devotee, whether he could appreciate the aesthetic content (which was seldom) or was impressed by likeness, the glory and the power of the shrine. At any rate a few people could afford to buy pictures for their houses, the walls satisfied a common need.

With regard to the relevance of themes chosen for being depicted in mural painting, many of the edifices bear out the observation that "the intent of the patron of the 19th century Punjab was quite often simply the enrichment of an interior".³ The owner of the building, or the patron, was not actively concerned

1. Not only ghana-salas, guru-dwaras, thasidwaras or sanadhs but also parapets of walls were sometimes decorated. I came across at Thanesar, in the course of my field work, a wall with murals on its parapet. The wall was within the premises of the temple of Kali, situated in the north-west of the city. Also see J.M. Douie, "Guru Guga as a snake-God", Indian Antiquary, XLVI, March 1937, p. 64.
2. "The World of Colour", Maya, XVII, No. 3, p. 3.
3. Karuna Goswami, "Frescoes in the Shish Mahal at Patiala", Prasa-lakha, XXXVII, Nos. 1 & 2, p. 122.

with the selection of the themes. The purpose behind these paintings was decorative as in the case of wall paintings in the Pahari region.¹ But it is also interesting that edifices that displayed the most diverse assortment of themes usually were public buildings like gates, dharm-salas and chopal. It appears that the diversity of themes on these buildings was due primarily to their joint serving the whole village or community. The 'democratic' nature of these buildings might have led influential men of the village or the community to assert themselves on occasions in the matter of selection of the themes. A curious mixture thus of dissimilar themes, religious, secular and genre, was the consequence.

But this surely was not the case with private buildings which also often had murals with heterogenous themes. That the painter was most often allowed to choose themes of his own accord is evident from non-religious themes painted on the walls even of temples and gurudwaras built by individuals. In such cases, the painter seems to have picked subjects that he was most at home with, irrespective of their appropriateness to the edifice. Secular themes in religious edifices clearly served a decorative function. Many raj-mistries who were skilled in the dual art of

1. See Mulk Raj Anand, "Some Notes on the Composition of Pahari Murals", Maya, XVII, No. 3, June 1964, p. 8.

1

masonry and mural painting, and whom we shall treat of later also, executed murals on themes of their own choice, not always relevant to the building they were engaged in constructing.

Occasionally, however, edifices both religious and secular, were painted with themes consistent with the nature and the spirit of the structure. This happened when there was care and concern on the part of the proprietor or the patron. The 19th century murals in the Bhandari Temple at Batala, thus, treat of themes selected exclusively from given Hindu episodes. Similarly, Jain temples at Sadhaura and Zira have no themes other than those related to Jainism on their walls. The majority of pictures that embellished the shooting box of Maharaja Ranjit Singh at Gujrat were, quite appropriately, of sporting feats.² Sometimes portions of walls were purposely marked out for separate themes in order to maintain some order.³

The whole subject of themes is indeed of considerable interest. When it came to private dwellings, even to royal chambers, the individual

1. Most of the artisans in the 19th century Punjab did all the jobs allied to their trade; see Ibbetson, op. cit., I, p. 376.
2. See Lt. Barr, Journal, p. 147.
3. In the murals in 'Gurudwara Pothi-Mala' at Guru Har Sahai, in district Ferozepur, the themes based on the lives of the Sikh Gurus, the Mahabharata, the Ramayana and some romantic tales are thus painted in separate panels.

circumstances received obvious attention. In the mansions of the members of the uppermost strata of society, we hear of subjects concerned with the important events in their lives. The walls of the royal palace at Lahore were thus painted with, among others, pictures portraying important events in the life of the royal house such as the interview of Maharaja Ranjit Singh with Lord William Bentinck at ¹ Ropar. A scene depicting the battle of Jamrud, where Hari Singh Nalwa laid down his life, was painted in the fort of the said Ranjit at ² Gujranwala, apparently to commemorate his great valour. On the walls of General Ventura and Allard's house at Anarkali, Lahore, was portrayed the reception of these two French officers at the court of Ranjit ³ Singh.

Themes also were selected keeping in view the personal interest and disposition of the individuals. A chamber in Hari Singh Nalwa's villa at Gujranwala, 'that belonged exclusively to the fair daughters of the Eve', had thus a number of glazed wall paintings

1. See Lt. Barr, Journal, p. 100.

2. Ibid., pp. 130-33.

3. See Baron Hugel, Travels in Kashmir and the Punjab, pp. 283-84.

of erotic interest.¹ Avitabile, who had a 'gargantuan'² appetite for wine and women,³ decorated the walls of his bedroom with pictures of nudes and dancing girls.⁴ That he was also interested in poetry or at least had nostalgia for it is evident from French and Latin inscriptions that he got inscribed over the doorway⁵ of his residence. There was, also, entirely appropriately,⁶ a portrait of Napoleon among the frescoes in his living quarters.⁷ When we see Raja Sahib Dyal depicted standing before Vishnu with folded hands it is fair indication of his religious disposition. A painted panel showing a lady holding a plate inscribed with a Persian distich of the celebrated Sheikh Saadi, still to be seen on a wall of the house of Shri Kundan Lal Suniara at Dasuya, reflects perhaps quite clearly the taste of the patron. The painter took his direction from the patron in these cases.

1. See Lt. Barr, Journal, pp. 137-38; also see B.N. Goswamy, "Sikh Painting: An Analysis of some Aspects of Patronage", Oriental Art, XV, No. 1, Spring 1969, p. 46.
2. See Khushwant Singh, "Feringhees of the Punjab", The Times of India Annual 1968, p. 59.
3. Ibid.; cf. Khushwant Singh, Ranjit Singh, p. 145.
4. See Joseph Wolff, Travels and Adventures, II, p. 61; Khushwant Singh, Ranjit Singh, p. 145.
5. See J.J. Cotton, "General Avitabile", Calcutta Review, CCXLVI, Oct. 1906, p. 576.
6. Ibid.
7. This painting is extant on one of the walls of a temple at Kishan Kot, near Batala. The temple was got erected by Raja Sahib Dyal himself.
8. See Plate No. 56.

Among the motifs, as distinguished from themes, there was also great variety.¹ But possibly it was the peacock that was the greatest favourite. We see it painted on the walls of all types of buildings from a grand palace to a simple mud hut.² The immense popularity of the peacock as a decorative motif was partly due undoubtedly to the elegance and beauty of its form but also partly to its being held sacred as a bird by many.³

In different regions of the Punjab, the choice of themes was often influenced by social, religious and political factors, for understandable reasons. Thus, themes related to the Sikh Gurus were most popular in Majha, Doaba and Malwa, the region being the stronghold of the Sikhs; beyond Malwa, towards the south-east, murals on themes related to the Sikh Gurus must have been seldom

1. See plates Nos. 87, 88 and 89.

2. James Coley, who happened to visit Amritsar about the middle of the 19th century, observed the houses painted all over in various themes; among which the sacred peacock predominated; see his Journal of the Sutlej Campaign of 1845-46, p. 107.

3. See J. Ph. Vogel, "Historical Notes on the Lahore Fort", J.P.H.S., I, No.1, 1911, p. 47.

4. See Devinder N. Dass, Sketches of Hindu Life, p. 80; Crooke, Religion and Folklore of Northern India, p. 374.

⁵
 painted. Likewise, pictures representing Guga Pir were
⁶ ⁷
 mostly to be seen beyond Ambala in 'Bangar' area where
 this deity is widely held in reverence. Again, it was
 natural for themes related to Maharaja Ranjit Singh
 and his nobles to be most prevalent within the
 territories of Sikh Kingdom; these held lesser appeal
 in the Cis-Sutlej states, which was beyond the direct
 sphere of his control.

While, as we have briefly seen, there was a
 great deal of painting in the Punjab in the 19th
 century, with the annexation of Punjab by the British
 in 1849, the situation began to alter rapidly. By the
 end of the 19th century mural painting which had developed
 such a strong tradition of its own succumbed to the new
 social changes. In Lahore, we find industry of
 'Decorators and Mural Painters' being noticed as practically
⁴
 dead by the end of the century. This development was part
⁵
 of a much larger change which was overtaking India. The
 Punjab experienced its own full measure of this
 'transition' in the second half of the 19th century.

1. I came across no mural on the themes related to Sikh Gurus beyond Ludhiana and Thanesar.
2. See Douie, loc. cit., p. 84.
3. Area around Kaithal.
4. See Lahore D.G., 1916, p. 154.
5. See R.C. Majumdar (General ed.), British Paramountcy and Indian Renaissance, part II, p. 1.

With the fall of Sikh monarchy, the artists who had gathered round the Sikh Court began to find new patrons. What had happened earlier with the fall of the Rajput Chiefs in the hills, was now being repeated with the fall of the Sikhs at the hands of the British. Part¹ of this process has been well described:

The decline not only in the fortunes of royal family but also of the entire nobility of the Lahore Court was so sharp that the environment changed completely, affecting artist and patron alike. In the altered circumstances it must have become impossible for the new patron to continue maintaining either the artist or the interest in art, for we are able clearly to discern a two-directional movements of the artists after about A.D. 1850.² Some of them went back to the hills and sought once more the patronage of the Chiefs who still held some jagirs even if they were shadows of their former selves... The second movement of the artists was in the direction of states or rulers who had till then not been concerned with painting.

With the coming of the British, many traditions that had grown at the Court of Lahore, came to an end. The custom of taking sketches of visitors by the artists attached to the Court² was naturally given up, for there was no court³ at Lahore. No monuments were raised by royal order and embellished with murals. British officers, who superseded the Sikh nobility, coming as they did from a different

1. B.N.Gowamy, "Sikh Painting: An Analysis of Some Aspects of Patronage", Oriental Art, XV, No.1, Spring 1969, p. 47.
2. See Capt. Leopold von Orlich, Travels in India, including Sind and the Punjab, I, p. 206.
3. See Emily Eden, In the Country, II, p. 9.

cultural milieu, had very little liking for things Indian. To them traditional Indian painting, miniature as well as mural, was at best quaint. They could not have¹ seen any reason for encouraging it.

This discouragement or lack of interest apart, the establishment of British influence at all levels — political, social, cultural, — inevitably led to changes in the art wherever it survived. Western influence had already started appearing with the coming of European travellers and adventurers to the Punjab during the period of the Sikh monarchy. While western modes of seeing and western appearances by themselves were an indirect effect, even at that time, there was the direct influence in the form of the work of European artists which began² to appear prominently. To the Punjab came³ amateur as well as professional painters, and their work being generally held in esteem even by the Maharaja, and especially his successor,⁴ Sher Singh, must have had impact upon 'native' painters who

1. It may be recorded here that on the Indian side also, several factors discouraging the survival of mural painting were operating, too. Thus, the tension that developed in the early 20th century between the Sikhs and Hindus, as embodied in the aggressive movements like the Singh Sabha and the Arya Samaj, led at a time, in the effort to save a 'Sikh' identity, to the wilful destruction of murals which had Hindu themes. Whole panels were scrapped off the walls of certain gurdwaras and a general sentiment developed against representational art itself.
2. For instance, Emily Eden.
3. For instance, August Theodor Schoefft; also see Kamwarjit Kang "An Austrian Painter at the Sikh Court", Indian Express (Chandigarh edition), August 8, 1977, p.2.
4. See J.M. Honigberger, Thirty-five years in the East, pp. 171-172.

had had the opportunity of seeing these Europeans making sketches and drawings.

Technique apart,¹ the themes of paintings also began to undergo a change.² We come across paintings depicting the Sikhs and the British at war,¹ the Sikh surrender before the British,² natives attending the judicial courts of the new system³ and the like. The railway train became a popular decorative motif soon after the railway came to the Punjab.⁴ We see panels of paintings with 'sahibs and mems',⁵ people riding in a phaeton,⁶ armies marshalling.⁶

On their part, the kind of art the British wanted to encourage in the Punjab was very different from that practised by the painters of the tradition. When the system of education in the Punjab began to be organized by them, attention eventually came to be paid to "fine" and "industrial" art.⁷ In 1875-76 the Mayo School of Art was founded at Lahore with the clear intention of imparting

1. For instance, in the apartment adjoining the temple at Ram Tatwari in District Hoshiarpur.
2. See plate No. 64.
3. See plate No. 68.
4. See plate No. 65.
5. See plate No. 66.
6. See plate Nos. 62 and 63.
7. See H.R. Mehta, A History of the Growth and Development of Western Education in the Punjab (1846-94), p. 57.

training to Indians in art as the British understood it,¹ and encouraging them to use their native talent in designing for new ends.

The Britishers, but for a few exceptions, could never appreciate the indigenous artistic expression, nor they tried to understand it in the context of the culture integral to it. Prior to Mayo School of Arts' becoming instrumental in imparting instruction to Punjabi artists and artisans, on the lines that bore but scant relation to the indigenous tradition and culture, the Britishers had been thinking in terms of bringing about a great change in the art of the province.² They had considered the native painter "deficient in a knowledge of all those refinements of the art, which" were "to be acquired by taste being rightly directed...."³ The art produced at the school is not our concern in this study, for there was no mural work done under its aegis, but it is interesting to see that the founders of the new school of Art in Lahore, and of similar schools in Bombay, Calcutta and Madras, were pleased with their efforts. When the

1. See D.C. Khosla, Lahore, Guide and Directory, p. 29; A.H. Nash, Progress of Education in India 1837-93 to 1891-92, p. 263.
2. See B.H. Baden-Powell, Handbook of the Manufacturers and Arts of the Punjab, II, p. 355.
3. C.R. Francis, Sketches of native life in India, pp. 26-27.

'Committee representing Local Governments and the Schools of Art' observed: that "a very real danger to Indian Art lies in the facile imitation of European designs and European methods"¹, it was perhaps not expressing a popular view. In general European elements encroached upon Indian talent and the "Indian artist, as he had formerly existed, was superseded"².

With time the outlook of the painters, raj-mistria³ or mason, also underwent a change. Those among them who were now being trained in engineering and building science taught at engineering institutions, had neither knowledge⁴ of nor sympathy with indigenous forms. The traditional raj-mistria still possessed considerable skills. J.L. Kipling, Principal of the Mayo School of Art, however⁵ described them and their changed situation well:⁶

The best men of the class are singularly modest, and only too much inclined to self-depreciation when their work is compared with that of European origin; and true artists capable of really beautiful design, will sometimes humbly apologise for it as a poor 'country' effort and look with admiration on a neatly ruled and coloured mechanical drawing by an engineering apprentice.

1. Quoted from the official paper dated 3rd Jan. 1884, of considerably modified Government scheme for the encouragement of the Industrial Arts of India, attached in the form of a published note in J.L.A. No.1, Jan. 1884.
2. W.G.Archer, India and Modern Art, p. 18.
3. Often a raj-mistri also served as a muralist; see chapter V- "Painters and Patrons".
4. S.L.Kipling, "Indian Architecture of Today", J.L.A., No.3, July 1884, p. 2.
5. From 1875 to 1893 he was principal of Mayo School of Art and Curator of the Central Museum, Lahore. See Mildred Archer, British Drawing in the India Office Library, II, p. 518.
6. "Indian Architecture of Today" J.L.A., No.3, July 1884, p.1.

The change that overcame Indian architecture in the wake of the new European architecture in India in itself changed the very context of mural painting.¹ It appeared as if in the newer buildings the old traditional art had no place.² The well-to-do class of Indians who had earlier got their houses painted with frescoes, now began to copy British buildings,³ and these were ill suited totally for the older type of mural embellishment. In fact, in many old houses murals were obliterated from the walls. New coats of whitewash claimed much that was old. In the changed setting framed paintings whether on paper or cloth fitted much better. The story of new themes and attempted techniques in Indian painting, called for the sake of convenience 'Company Painting', has been told well by Mrs. Mildred Archer and others. These 'Ethnological pictures'⁴ were painted at all kinds of places. To the range of mythological pictures painted at Lahore, Kapurthala and Kangra etc.,⁴ were added new themes of castes,

1. Sten Nilsson, European Architecture in India-1780-1850, p. 164.
2. See R.C. Temple, "A Study of Modern Indian Architecture, as displayed in a British Cantonment", J.I.A., No. 8, Oct., 1895, p. 60.
3. See J.L. Kipling, "The Art Industries of Punjab", J.I.A., No. 10, April 1896 (Supplement); T.N. Madharji, Art Manufacturers of India, p. 19.
4. Ibid.

trades, professions etc. These pictures became so popular¹ that they started being sold in the fairs and festivals.² No such development was possible in mural work.

²
The introduction of the printing press had naturally its own impact. Rule lithographs, and woodcuts of gods and guardian deities produced by the commercial presses and displayed in large sizes began to replace costly mural work. There is not much point discussing the relative merits of these productions and traditional mural work. It is sufficient here to note the fact.

The one source of patronage that might have survived because of its traditional conservative character was the religious houses. But even here changes were drastic. Many of the endowed establishments lost a great deal of property and thus resources. For example, the dharmarth jagir of Akhara Santokh Das at Amritsar was curtailed from Rs 107,700 per annum to Rs 9,800 per annum.³ Some of the managers of these daras became involved in the struggle of survival and had little interest left in keeping their places properly embellished. When we see Muslim dargah,

1. See J.C. Oman, op. cit., pp. 206-207.

2. An American Presbyterian Mission established the first press in the Punjab at Ludhiana before 1360. A lithographic press was set up at Lahore in January 1848; see Punjab Govt. Records, III, pp. 403, 407.

3. See Giani Giani Singh, op. cit., pp. 166-67.

like the one of Baba Jule Shah Pir Purnia at Darvesh in Kapurthala, which made an attempt to retain its sumptuous look, we find that was done through adornment with Delft plates. These plates bore the stamp : "Lewis Stewart & Co., Calcutta".

One can see that much had changed.

* * * *

Chapter II

EXTANT REMAINS

In this chapter are listed, district by district, the various buildings and monuments where mural paintings in the Punjab or their traces still survive. All of these places were visited and photographed by me during my field work and only a very small number of these have been noticed or documented before.

While my interest was focused on work done in the 19th century, I was also looking for anything that might go back further in point of time. In this I had very limited luck.

About wall paintings in ancient Punjab we have no

evidence that has survived, only some speculation. Percy
¹
 Brown spoke of the possibility of their being some kind of
 mural decoration on the Indus Valley edifices. Charles
²
 Fabri thought that mural paintings might originally have
 decorated the walls of houses in ancient Punjab, although
 nothing has survived. "More carefully conducted excavations
³
 in future" he felt, "may well reveal such mural decorations".

In the Muslim period, notwithstanding the fact that
 Muslim Sultans generally discouraged figurative painting is
 known but there are some intriguing references to work done
 at this time. We hear of a large mural portrait of Iltutmish,
⁴
 for instance, done in Delhi. In the Futuh-i-Farus-Shahi,

1. Indian Architecture, I, p. 2.
2. "Ancient Period: Archaeology in the Punjab", MAJL,
 X, No. 2, March 1957, p. 7.
3. "Ancient Period: Archaeology in the Punjab", MAJL,
 X, No. 2, March 1957, p. 7. Excavations at Taxila have
 revealed that plastic ornamentation of the Buddhist
 monasteries of Gandhara were often brilliantly coloured,
 see Percy Brown, Indian Architecture, I, pp. 32-34.
4. See S.H. Ikram and Percival Spear (ed.), The Cultural
 Heritage of Pakistan, p. 63; wherein S. Majid Ali citing
 historian Taj Raza, writes: "That mural painting was much
 patronised even by the earliest Muslim rulers in the
 north is confirmed by a glimpse of Delhi under Iltutmish
 (1210-1236 A.D.), given by the historian Taj Raza, who
 describes mural decorations there, including a large
 portrait of the Sultan which were made to adorn the
 streets of Delhi on the visit of the envoy of Caliph
 Mustansirbillah in 1234".

Feroz Tughlaq writes about his having ordered the effacement of pictures and portraits which were painted¹ on the doors and walls of his palace. These were to be replaced by garden scenery to be painted instead.²

With the coming of the Mughals in power, the art of painting, including mural painting, received decided patronage, and we have literary references to fresco work in the Punjab, although unfortunately no survivals. The Emperor Jahangir took, as we know, personal interest in mural painting also and has a note on them in his memoirs:³ "A picture gallery in the garden had been ordered to be repaired; it was now adorned with pictures by master hands. In the most honoured positions were the likenesses of Humayun and of my father opposite to my own, and that of my brother Shah Abas. After them were the likenesses of Mirza Kamran, Mirza Muhammad Hakim, Shah Mured and Sultan Daniyal. On the second storey (row?) were the likenesses of the Amirs and special servants." We also have the contemporary evidence of William Finch who saw frescoes in the Lahore Fort in the early years of the 17th

1. See H.M. Elliot, History of India as told by its own Historians, III, p. 382.
2. S.H. Ikram and Percival Speer (ed.), op. cit., p. 64
3. See Alexander Rogers (tr.), The Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, II, pp. 161-162.

1
 century A.D.: "On the wall is the King's picture, sitting
 crosslegged on a chair of state; on his right hand
 Sultan Pervese, Sultan Caroon, and Sultan Timoret, his
 sons; next these Sha Morat (Shah Mured) and Son Sha
 (Daniyal Shah), two of his brothers (the three baptized
 before spoken were sons of this later); next them
 Emersee Sheriff (Mirza Sharif), eldest brother to Caun
 Asom (or whom it is reported his estate to be such that,
 of one hundred chieftain women which he kept, he never
 suffered any of their clothing after their first wearing
 to be ever touched by any stranger, but caused them to
 be buried in the ground, there to rot; as also that
 he always had in service five hundred mashaigees
 (torchbearers; mashaichi), in so much that whenever
 he went from court to his house in Agra, which was
 at least a coss, no man removed foot with his torch
 but stood all alongst to his house); next this man,
 Emersee Rostane (Mirza Rustan), late King of Candhar;
 then Can Canna (which signifieth prince of the Cannas);
 then Cuttup Caun (Kutbuddin Khan Koka), Rajaw Manisengo
 (Raja Man Singh), Caun Asom (Khan Azam), Asoph Caun
 (Asaf Khan (Jafar Beg)), Sheek Fereed (Shaikh Farid),

1. See William Finch's account in W. Foster, Early
 Travels in India, pp. 162-164.

Kelish Caun (Kilij Khan), and Rajaw Juggonath (Raja Jagannath) (who at his death had seven of his friends that burned themselves with him, besides one of his sisters, and a brothers childe). On the left hand of the king stands Rajaw Ramdas (Ram Das), who holds his sword, Cleriff Caun, Caun John, Janana Leye or Hawbet Caun, Hecrow Bowcan, Rajaw Bossow, Rajaw Ransing, Hajo Kesso, and Lala Borsing. Note also that in this gallery, as you enter, on the right-hand of the King over the doore is the picture of our Saviour; opposite on this left-hand, of the Virgin Mary. This devoncan is very pleasantly seated, over-looking the Ravee. From hence passing thorow a small entrie to the west, you enter another small court, where is another open chounter of stone to sit in, covered with rich samianes. From hence you enter into a small gallery, at the end of which, next the river, thorow a small window the King looks forth at his dermanee to behold the fights of wilde beasts on the meadow by the river. On the wall of this gallery is drawne the picture of the Acabar sitting in his state, and before him Sha Selim his sonne standing with a hawks on his fist, and by him Sultan Cusseroon, Sultan Pervis, Sultan Corooma, his three sonnes. At the end is a small devoncan where the king useth to sit; behind which is his lodging chamber, and before it all open into a paved court, alongst the right-hand whereof runneth a small scholl of two stories, each containing eight faire lodgings

for several women, with galleries and windowes looking to the river and to the court. All the doors of these chambers are to be fastened on the out-side, and none within. In the gallery where the King useth to sit are drawne overhead many pictures of angels, with pictures of Banian deus, or rather divels, intermixt in most ugly shape with long hornes, staring eyes, shagge haire, great fangs, ugly paws, long tailed, with such horrible difformity and deformity that I wonder the poore women are not frightened therewith. Within this court is a pleasant devoncan and lodgings, and the way to another scholl for the King to passe, but non other."

(referring to another chamber in the Lahore Fort)

"In the midst stands a goodly gallery for the King to sit in, with such ugly pictures over-head as before. At the end are drawne many portraictures of the King in state sitting amongst his women, one holding a flask of wine, another a napkin, a third presenting the peally (piyal, a small cup); behind, one punkwing (fanning; pankha), another holding his sword, another his bow and two or three arrows etc. Before this gallery is a faire paved court, with stone gratings and windowes alongst the waters side; at the end of a faire marble jounter, convexed over-head, looking over the river; beneath it a garden of pleasure; behind, the Kings lodgings, very sumptuous, the walls and seelings all over-laid with pure gold, and round alongst the sides, about a mans height, some three foote distant, are placed faire Venice looking-glasses, three and three, each above other; and below these, alongst the walles, are drawne many pictures of this mans

ancestors, as of Acabar his father, Homowne his grand-
father, Babur his great grand-father, who first set foot
in India with thirtie of his nobles...."

There were faint traces till not too long ago, of
designs and colours in the Rangmahal built in 1630 by Shah
Jahan near Jagadhari. We hear of the little octagonal tomb
of Pirbandi Nakashwala built during the Mughal times at
Sirhind being profusely covered with paintings of Flowers.
Even a Hindu temple erected during the Mughal regime at
Sat Sai in district Gurgaon, about the middle of the 17th
century, apparently had coloured frescoes.

In this period when a form of mural decoration known
as Kashi or glazed tile decoration was introduced from
Persia, frescoes usually accompanied it. It was frequently
used as an adjunct to Kashi decoration, which as a rule was

1. See Objects of Antiquarian Interest in the Punjab and its Dependencies, pp. 2-3; also see List of some Ancient and other Native Architectural Buildings in India, p. 11.
2. Alexander Cunningham, A.S.I.R., for years 1862-65, II, p. 211.
3. See List of some Ancient and other Native Architectural Buildings in India, p. 9.
4. Early examples are to be found on the tombs of Rokin-i-Azam and Bhawal Hak at Multan built during the reign of the Slave and the Khilji rulers respectively, see Alexander Cunningham, A.S.I.R., 1872-73, V, pp. 132-33. The mosque of Wazir Khan, erected in 1634 A.D., is the most beautiful and impressive among the Lahore monuments adorned with glazed tiles, see Fred. H. Andrews, "Wazir Khan's Mosque, Lahore", J.I.A., X, 1903, pp. 29-30.
5. J. Ph. Vogel, "Tile-Mosaics of the Lahore Fort." J.I.A., XIV, Jan, 1911, p. 1.

confined to the exterior¹, the surfaces protected from the weather being usually painted in fresco².

From the 18th century, again, little has survived, although indications are that there might have been considerable work done despite the political confusion and disorder that this century saw in the Punjab on such a vast scale. The Thakurdwara of Raghunath Das at Amritsar, built in 1750 A.D., and now in ruins, apparently had considerable sophisticated work on its walls. At Mari Mustafa in the Paridkot district, a gari constructed in 1788 A.D. (A.H. 1203), some 'rough work' is still to be seen, and we notice work in the 18th century temple of Shri Han Dev at Ghoman in Gurdaspur district.

1. J.L. Kipling, "The Mosque of Nazir Khan, Lahore", J.I.A., No. 19, July 1937, p. 18.
2. For instance, the Mosque of Mariam Zamani, see R.E.M. Wheeler, Five Thousand Years of Pakistan, p. 83.
3. See Objects of Antiquarian Interest in the Punjab and its dependencies, pp. 4-5.
4. A few fragments of murals that still survive in this temple, indicate that these were the work of a master hand.
5. Remazeur D.C. 1915, p. 47.
6. See plate No. 24.
7. See plate No. 16.
8. See Kahn Singh Nabha, op.cit., p. 522.
9. There must have been several other monuments embellished with murals in the 18th century. For instance, Dr. Ganda Singh, interviewed at Patiala, recalled having seen 18th century portraits of Sikh misal chiefs, including Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, among the murals of Bal Leela Gurudwara at Nanakana Sahib, built in 1751 or 1752 A.D. Later on the shrine was demolished for a new structure to be erected over there.

From the very early years of the 19th century,
 we hear of "designs of great elegance painted in
 uncommonly fresh and pleasing colours"¹ in the Jahazi
 Mahal at Shujabad, 25 miles south of Multan, and
 built by Nuzaffar Khan in 1808. Dr. Vogel's comment²
 on these frescoes, is worth quoting:³

It is specially noteworthy how devoid these frescoes are of that gaudiness and harshness which often disfigures mural decoration in India. On their plain white background their delicately-tinged flowers present an air of charming simplicity and resemblance: qualities the more striking in a period of artistic degradation and tasteless ostentation.

4

At Lahore, the Saradh⁵ of Basti Ram built in 1802 was 'neatly painted'. Elphinstone, while on his way to meet the King of Kabul at Peshawar in 1809, found the high walls of the oblong court painted with figures of cypresses.⁶ The temple of Mansa Devi near Manimajra, completed in 1815, was profusely adorned with murals.⁷ And we have that useful description of fresco⁸

1. J.Ph. Vogel, "The Jahazi Mahal at Shujabad", J.I.A., X, No. 85, Jan. 1904, p. 39.
2. The Land of Five Rivers (Pb. Admin. Report, 1921-22), I, p. 247.
3. "The Jahazi Mahal at Shujabad", J.I.A., X, No. 85, Jan. 1904, p. 39.
4. Basti Ram was the teacher of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. His Dharm-sala at Lahore was also painted with frescoes; see Roopa Krishna, "Some Fresco Paintings in the Lahore Fort", Rupa, Nos. 27-28, Oct. 1926, p. 87.
5. Objects of Antiquarian Interest in the Punjab and its Dependences, pp. 6-7.
6. An Account of the Kingdom of Cabul, p. 49.
7. An inscription on the intrados of the main gate to this temple records its construction to have started in V.S. 1868 (=1811 A.D.) and completed in V.S. 1872 (=1815 A.D.); also see plate No. 92.
8. See plate No. 35.

paintings in the Lahore Fort by Roopa Krishna.¹

While it was not possible for me to have access² to that part of the Punjab which is now in Pakistan, I travelled extensively in the 'Indian Punjab' including present day Haryana. The quantity of work that I saw and the process through which work like this is constantly being destroyed convinces me that what I was able to record forms a very small proportion of what must have once existed.

Much has disappeared, some but only some due to natural causes. With the collapse of roofs on buildings using wooden beams, wall paintings at a very large number of places were exposed to sun and rain. Where mural panels decorated the outer walls, the process was even quicker especially when the buildings were deserted or fell in ruins. Dampness, saltpetre, vegetation each did their work.

Human agencies have had their own role in this matter.

1. "Some Fresco Paintings in the Lahore Fort", Rupam, Nos. 27-28, Oct. 1926, pp. 86-88.
2. I regret the attitude of the Govt. of Pakistan for not allowing the University of Punjab, Lahore, to send me the microfilm copies of two theses pertaining to my topic of research. Attempt was made to collect information through correspondence made with (1) Dept. of Archaeology, Govt. of Pakistan; (2) Prof. and Head, Dept. of Fine Art, University of the Punjab, Lahore; (3) National College of Arts, Lahore; (4) Muhammad Wali Ullah Khan, 26- Hearn Road, Krishna Nagar, Lahore.

Thus with the demolition of the old building of the gurdwara built by Maharaja Ranjit Singh in 1815 A.D.¹ at Khadur Sahib, district Amritsar, all the murals that originally adorned this shrine disappeared. The same had happened earlier to the murals in the old building of gurdwara at Panja Sahib built by Hari Singh Mahwa² which was torn down in 1932 to be replaced by a new shrine.³ The old bungas of Sri Darbar Sahib, many of which have now been demolished, once had mural paintings commemorating events from Sikh history.⁴ The newly installed marble or copper slabs, dedicatory in character, covered walls in many a Sikh shrine thus covering frescoes that originally embellished them.⁵ But all this is only illustrative of a great deal more that happened in this manner.⁶

In temples and gurdwaras painted walls of passages and narrow circumambulatories were damaged by devotees

1. Objects of Antiquarian Interest in the Punjab and its Dependencies, pp. 4-5.
2. Dr. Ganda Singh told me in an interview on June 30, 1972, about the murals that the original shrine had on its walls.
3. See Giani Mohar Singh, Panja Sahib da Itihas (P) .p. 65.
4. Ibid.
5. The interior of the new double storeyed building of this gurdwara was also painted with frescoes; see Khan Mohammad Waliullah Khan, Sikh Shrines in West Pakistan, p. 17.
6. Bhan Singh, "Art of the Golden Temple; Advance, XI, No.3, July-Sept, 1964, p. 46.
7. See Amritsar D.G. 1892-93, p.113; Bhan Singh, loc. cit. pp.46-47; J.L.Kipling, "The Industries of the Punjab", J.L.A., No.23, July 1888, p.62; Chatala, Abhinandan Granth (P), p. 111.

¹
 rubbing against them. Again smoke from incense, burnt as
 a part of daily worship in Hindu temples and other
 religious shrines, settled on the walls in a form of a
 film that has grown darker and darker with the passage of
 time. The unsightly appearance of these surfaces were
 often not improved through cleaning this 'patina', but
 through coats of thick whitewash under which many murals
²
 have disappeared for ever. The experience that J.C. French
 had at Chamba where he found the "frescoes of a temple
³
 scraped off and wall whitewashed only a week before" was
 also mine on more than one occasion in the plains of the
⁴
 Punjab. Little or no care has been taken of work on the
⁵
 walls. On the other hand graphite scratched on painted
 surfaces are to be seen every where. At other places
 modifications in the structure, like the installation of
 electric wires or other fixtures, have been carried out
 without regard to the work under them.

1. See Harinder Singh Roop, Sikh To Sikh (P), p. 52.
2. The number of Hindu temples I came across, the murals wherein disappeared in this way, is too large to be listed here.
3. "Art of Chamba", Art and Letters, XXV, No. 2, 1951, p. 46.
4. For instance, the Shivala of Bana Lal at Rawanshahar, visited by me on June 19, 1971, was whitewashed hardly a fortnight ago and the layer of whitewash being thin, the paintings were still visible on the walls.
5. See Swami Dharma Teerthaji, The Heritage of Hindu Imperialism, p. 234.

In the British period, the process of neglect of mural painting is often read about. When the profusely painted house of General Vantura was transferred thus to Sardar Sultan Mohammed Khan¹ and later became the residence of R.M. Lawrence²; the feeling with which the owner had got his walls painted underwent clear changes. We read distinctly of many panels of frescoes in the Lahore Fort which were covered with thick layers of whitewash applied³ by the British when they occupied it.

The British frequently put native religious buildings to military uses and the best of cases was then taken of their original decoration. For instance, a mosque at Panjore which was converted into a military⁴ post was left with only faint traces of graceful floral⁵ paintings.

What we see in the Punjab in the form of mural paintings today, thus, it may be fair to conclude, is only a small part of what must once have been there. The documentation in this study of what is still extant covers a very large number of places and edifices. But it was

1. See Punjab Govt. Records, III, p. 4.

2. Ibid.

3. See J. Ph. Vogel, "Historical Notes on the Lahore Fort", J.P.H.S., I, No. 1, 1911, p. 46.

4. See Punjab Govt. Records, II, p. 208.

5. See C.M. Villiers Stuart, Gardens of the Great Mughals, p. 207

carried out in the face of several difficulties but for which it might have been more complete than it now is.

In describing what follows, the (arbitrary) pattern I have adopted is to first take up areas with the largest number of extant remains of murals and then followed it up with areas with comparatively fewer surviving work. The tract traditionally described as Majha has thus been described first, and followed by the Doaba and Malwa regions and then the areas that fall in the present state of Haryana.

1. For example, the gahants of many religious establishments and shrines usually took me for a disguised informer inquisitive because of ulterior motives. Questions pertaining to the origin of establishment, to the time of the construction of its edifices and to its former gahants etc. were viewed with suspicion and my entry into the inner apartments was sometimes restricted. To cite a specific instance, my request to be allowed to see the inner apartments of the Hirankari Dargah at Patiala was turned down by its gahant on the plea that there were no murals inside; however, when I managed to enter the said Dargah with the help of an influential local person, I found inside a gargah profusely painted with murals. The gahants of many religious establishments that no longer had their ghazwah grants and lands were often prepared neither to allow me to see the interiors of the edifices of their establishments, nor to be interviewed. In the Dargah of Balson at Barnala, I was even manhandled by the gahant's men for entering a gargah adjacent to the said Dargah and saved my photographic equipment from damage with some difficulty. To document extant remains of mural paintings in secular buildings was on occasions an even harder job than was the case with religious buildings. Many people did not cooperate because they thought mine to be a worthless pursuit. Some conservative people only hesitatingly allowed me to see the interiors of their houses. On occasions, even highly placed officials obstructed my approach to painted chambers. For instance, the inner most chambers of Gila Maharak in Patiala, known as Gila Andron, which was with the late Maharaja of Patiala and said to be lavishly painted with murals, I was not allowed to see.

Within these categories edifices with the best work are treated first, followed by those with relatively less refined and fewer murals. A brief account of architectural features of the relevant edifices is included and an attempt has been made, wherever possible, to record, where known, or to suggest where not known, the date of their construction. Because of the fact that wall paintings are constantly disappearing,¹ the date of my visit to various places has also been given in the footnotes. This is to indicate that paintings were still to be seen at these places at least on these dates.

A. THE MAJHA TRACT

I. DISTRICT AMRITSAR

1. Akhara Bala Mand.²

This akhara, one of the many belonging to the Udasī order, is situated in Bazar Mochian in the city of Amritsar, not far from the Golden Temple. It was founded in V.S. 1832 (= 1775 A.D.) by Bala

1. With the fall of a portion of a wall in the old haveli of Sandhanwalla Sardars at Raja Sansi, in December 1971, a number of murals I had seen earlier on June 10, 1971, have disappeared.
2. Visited on June 11, 1971.

¹
 Mand whose name it bears. The oldest structure in this establishment is a double-storeyed gurdwara of Bala Mand. The ground floor is almost entirely whitewashed but for the portion flanking the entrance, however where frescoes in a bleached state are still extant. The murals on the upper storey, though still intact, have lost much of their glow under the damaging effect of smoke produced by the incense burnt inside frequently. The akhara appears very imposing from outside mainly due to its triple-storeyed structure of considerable dimensions built in solid masonry and added by gurbani Shishambar Prashed in V.S. 1945² (= 1888 A.D.). It is in one of the rooms on the³ second storey of this structure that frescoes of the late 19th century are still extant and in a very good state of preservation but for two panels damaged by electric fittings on a portion of a wall to the right of the entrance door. This room is quite large being about 20 feet by 18 feet and every inch of its walls is covered with frescoes based mostly on religious themes. That the room is seldom opened is the reason for the good state of these murals. The inside

1. See Giani Gian Singh, Twarikh Sri Amritsar (P), p. 173.

2. Ibid. p. 174; it is also evident from the inscription above the main gate of the akhara, inscribed both in Punjabi and Hindi.

3. See plate Nos. 2, 25, 40, 43, 58 and 61.

of the wall over the great arch of the doorway is also embellished with a large sized mural panel.

2. The old Haveli¹ of the Sandhanwalla Sardars.

The Haveli², with more than twenty elegant mural panels still intact, was built by the forefathers of Major Harinder Singh Sandhanwalla at Raja Sansi, a town situated a few miles from Amritsar on the Amritsar-Dera Baba Nanak road. The Haveli, however, not been occupied for some decades is now nearly in ruins. The room that bears paintings on its walls is about 18 feet by 14 feet. Since the southern wall was wrecked quite sometime back, the paintings on the other three walls have been exposed to the elements. The beautiful ceiling made of wood, patterned with repetitive motifs, is also likely to disintegrate soon. An adjacent room, used as a small court by this seat of the Sikh nobility in the olden days, has also been adorned with small inset mirror pieces in a variety of designs. The appearance of this room is nowhere near what it must have been once, for it has been used as a chaff-store for years. The court-like function that one

1. Visited on June 10, 1971.

2. See plate Nos. 48 and 88.

3. For the role of Sandhanwalla Sardars as serious patrons of art, see B.N. Goswamy, Painters at the Sikh Court, pp. 11-12.

of the rooms in this haveli served during the pre-annexation time and the repeated depiction of European-style decorative cups with miniature designs of buildings indicate a 19th century date. The murals were very likely painted about the middle of the last century.

3. Gurudwara Baba Bir Singh.

This gurudwara is situated in Naurangabad near Tarn Taran and was built in the memory of Baba Bir Singh, a Sikh saint of the 19th century. Built of flat, narrow bricks, it stands on a base approximately 20 feet square; the walls reach a height of about 15 feet at which point the base of the dome which tops the building, takes over. Every inch of the interior except the vault of the dome has been painted; there are more than one hundred fresco panels that are still extant. The state of preservation of these frescoes is excellent. They appear as fresh today as they probably did on the day they were painted. The themes depicted, barring a few birds, are invariably religious, and relate both to Hindus and Sikhs. The paintings appear to have been executed sometime in the middle of the 19th century. Baba Bir Singh died in V.S. 1901

1. See plate No. 88.

2. Visited on June 13, 1971.

3. See Kahn Singh Nabha, Encyclopedia of Sikh Literature (P), p. 658; J.D. Cunningham, A History of the Sikhs, pp. 234-235.

4. See plate Nos. 4, 5, 6, 10, 31, 57 and 87.

5. See plate No. 87.

6. See Khan Singh Nabha, op.cit., p. 658; Khushwant Singh, A History of the Sikhs, p. 33.

(= 1644 A.D.) and the shrine was built after his death.
The dharmarth land it enjoys was, however, conferred on
it by the Sikh Kingdom, according to local information.

2 4. Shri Paikiana Sahib.

This is a Hindu temple located in the north-west
of village Jaura on the Tarn Taran-Patti road. The
temple stands on a rectangular plan surmounted by
a shikhara. There is a circumambulatory passage
around the sanctum. The front part of the passage is
wider than the other three sides which are too narrow
to allow more than one man to go through it at a time.
The walls, both of the inner shrine and of the circum-
ambulatory, are embellished with more than fifty
beautiful fresco panels executed on glazed lime
plaster. According to local tradition, a holy man
who used to live there in a hut, was respected by
Maharaja Ranjit Singh who was struck by his saintliness
while passing by his hut once and bestowed upon him
dharmarth land to enable him to erect this temple. A

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K 16 M

1. As told by Makhan Singh, the granthi of this
gurudwara. The dharmarth, although considerably
curtailed is still on its name.
2. Visited on June 14, 1971.
3. See plate Nos. 39, 44, 75, 77, 80 and 81.
4. The high glaze of the plaster unfortunately made it
impossible for me to take satisfactory photographs with
a flash-light since the light bounced back so much.



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1

painting here portray Maharaja Ranjit Singh, probably in token of the association of the place with the Maharaja. The themes betray no obvious influence of the post-annexation time. This tends to support the local tradition that the frescoes in this temple were painted while Maharaja Ranjit Singh was still alive.

2

5. Baba Atal.

Situated in the vicinity of the Golden Temple at Amritsar, this octagonal tower, standing 130 feet ³ high, was built from funds raised by subscription ⁴ in honour of the son of Guru Hargobind (1606-1645) whose name it bears. It was erected sometime in the ⁵ last quarter of the 18th century. Its first and ⁶ second storey alone were embellished with murals, although they do not seem to have been executed any earlier than the middle of the 19th century.

1. See plate No. 44.
2. Visited on June 8, 1971.
3. Michal Edwards, Indian Temples and Palaces, p. 147
4. See Amritsar D.G. 1892-93, p. 157; Giani Gian Singh, op. cit., p. 147
5. Different dates for its erection have been suggested: thus 1628 A.D. is given in Objects of Antiquarian Interest in the Punjab and its Dependencies, pp. 2-3; 1798 A.D. in Amritsar D.G. 1892-93, p. 157; according to Giani Gian Singh its first three storeys were built in V.S. 1807 (= 1750 A.D.), op. cit., pp. 147-148; according to Kahn Singh Nabha, its foundation was laid in V.S. 1835 (= 1778 A.D.), op. cit., p. 37.
6. These have been repainted these days without altering the original design.

Michael Edwards¹ who has noticed these murals takes them to be the work of early 19th century but I am inclined to take the later date. For one thing, no reference to Pandit Brij Nath, who appears in one of the paintings depicting Guru Nanak being taught by him, is found in Jagan Sakhi written before the early 19th century.² The calligraphic style of the Gurmukhi script in the inscriptions on these paintings is of the period I am suggesting.³ The murals of the ground floor have now been covered by marble slabs; on the first floor, however, there still survive forty-two panels of paintings. Some paintings on the walls of the deorhi are also extant. Still more paintings can be seen on the front wall of tocha khana⁴ adjacent to the tower.

5 6. Samadh of Mahant Mangni Ram

Mahant Mangni Ram was the founder mahant of akhara Prag Das established in V.S. 1862 (= 1805 A.D.)⁶ and his samadh is located just behind the akhara in Katra Ramgarhia in Amritsar. Though the mahant died

1. op. cit., p. 147.

2. See plate Nos. 3 and 30.

3. See my "Mural Paintings on Guru Nanak's Childhood", Advances, XIX, Jan-March, 1970, No. 1, p. 21.

4. According to an inscription this tocha khana was built by Mangal Singh Ramgarhia in V.S. 1933 (= 1876 A.D.).

5. Visited on June 10, 1971.

6. Also called akhara Chhatte Wala.

7. Giani Gian Singh, op. cit., p. 180.

possibly about the middle of the 19th century, his gurdwara appears to be a later construction. The gurdwara stands on a square plan with a door-opening in each wall and is surmounted by a big dome. A wide stripe along the top of the wall and the base of the dome is painted with twelve handsome frescoes.¹ The upper portion of the dome is embellished with ras-lila scenes. The themes painted are almost all religious. Both the style and the technique of these paintings make them rank among the best surviving murals of 19th century Punjab.

2 7. Shri Raghunath Temple.

Located in the vicinity of the Durgiana Temple in Amritsar, Shri Raghunath temple was built in A.D.³ 1750. It was built on the pattern usually seen of temples in the Punjab, without any great architectural pretensions. The main shrine is surrounded by a number of buildings used by the priest of the temple for his domestic purposes. Faint traces of graceful early paintings are still visible on the walls of the temple property unfortunately, however, they are too blurred for us to form an accurate idea of their style. Fortunately, adjacent to the temple, a very small apartment

1. See plate Nos. 1 and 41.

2. Visited on June 9, 1971.

3. Objects of Antiquarian Interest in the Punjab and its Dependencies, pp. 4-5.

upstairs has some portions of the murals still intact. However, even here, no complete painting survives; what is left is fragmentary. Although the temple was built in 1750 A.D., the date when the murals were painted in it has not been recorded. The distinct and early character, different from those found in the 19th century murals,¹ inclines me to give these an 18th century date.

8. Shri Akal Takhat.²

Opposite the gateway leading to the Golden Temple is a building with a gilded dome and kiosks at the corners. This is Shri Akal Takhat, the Immortal Throne, originally constructed by Guru Hargobind³ (1606-1645). 19th century⁴ murals, consisting of ten painted panels, still survive on one of the walls in its second storey. It appears that these were executed about the middle of the century but the European influence in the dress of the man in control of the two dogs, at the extreme left in one of the paintings, indicates that some paintings might be later than the others.

9. The Golden Temple.⁵

This famous double-storeyed monument, stands on an

1. Shri Ram Saran Das, the present priest of this temple, when interviewed, told me that these murals were painted immediately after the construction of the temple.
2. Visited on June 17, 1971.
3. Kahn Singh Nabha, op. cit., p. 27
4. See plate nos. 8 and 15.
5. Visited on June 17, 1971.

¹
 island some 65 feet square, surrounded by a large tank
 of water, is located in the heart of the city of Amritsar.
 The structure of the present building dates from 1764, but
 the greater part of its decoration was added in the early
²
 years of 19th century. Maharaja Ranjit Singh had the
³
 principal building repaired in 1802 A.D. and had its dome
⁴
 plated with sheets of gilt copper. This being the principal
 shrine of the Sikhs, almost every gardar of any pretension
 contributed to its architectural and decorative additions
⁵
 from time to time. That is why it is not easy, except in
⁶
 the case of a few inscribed works, to establish
 chronological order in the numerous decorative features,
 mural or otherwise, in the Golden Temple. The 'mural
 paintings' as such consist mostly of very elaborate floral
 patterns interspersed with animal motifs. The only
⁷
 surviving mural depicting human figures is to be seen on
 a wall in the narrow northern stairs leading to the top
 of the shrine. This represents 'Guru Gobind Singh and the
⁸
 Five Beloved Ones'. Most of the work here, mural in

1. Parkash Singh, "Golden Temple, Amritsar, History, Art and Architecture", Souvenir, 42th All India Sikh Educational Conference, p. 25.
2. V.N. Datta, Amritsar, Past and Present, p. 175.
3. H.H. Cole, Preservation of National Monuments, India, Golden Temple of Amritsar, pp.
4. Ibid.
5. See Giani Gian Singh, op. cit., p. 65.
6. While some of the works wrought in gilded copper bear the date of its execution, none of the works purely mural in character, however, is date inscribed.
7. It has recently been repainted without altering its original composition.
8. See plate No. 13.

character, is believed to have been executed in V.S. 1893¹
 (= 1836 A.D.). Erotic frescoes and paintings depicting
 mythological scenes painted in the temple and noticed by
 W. Wakefield² and H.H. Cole³ have entirely disappeared.

10. Akhara Sangal Wala.⁴

Founded in V.S. 1843 (= 1786 A.D.) by mahant⁵
 Pritam Das, this akhara is situated in the neighbourhood
 of the Golden Temple, in Katra Ahluwalia, Bazar Mai Sewan,
 Amritsar. One has to go down short flight of steps to reach
 this akhara for it stands lower than general level of the
 surroundings, like the Golden Temple. The most important
 edifice in the complex of buildings in this akhara is a
baradari in which is installed an image of the founder
mahant, 'Kiran Pritam Das'. The interior of the baradari
 is embellished with inset mirrors and neat floral designs;
 there is a frieze consisting of sixteen well preserved panels
 painted with religious Hindu and Sikh themes. Each panel
 in the frieze takes the form of a rectangle. The baradari
 is said to have been built by mahant Pritam Das immediately

1. See Hazara Singh Sodhi, A History and Guide to the Golden Temple, Amritsar, p. 124.
2. Our Life and Travels in India, p. 390.
3. op. cit., np.
4. Visited on June 12, 1971.
5. Kahn Singh Nabha, op. cit., p. 29. According to Giani Gian Singh it was founded in V.S. 1845 (= 1788 A.D.), op. cit., p. 176.

before his death and seems, therefore, to be the work of the second quarter of the 19th century, the mahant having died in V.S. 1808² (= 1831 A.D.).

11. Samadh Baba Khuda Singh³.

This three-storeyed octagonal samadh, surmounted by a dome is located in Naurangabad, four miles south-east of Tarn Taran, not far from the gurudwara of Baba Bir Singh, already described at No. 3 in this chapter. Elegant frescoes⁴ of the 19th century, more than a dozen in number, survive on the ground floor of this samadh. The walls of the upper storey are without frescoes. Except for a few wall-painted⁵ birds, the themes depicted invariably are drawn from the Sikh faith.⁶ Baba Khuda Singh died in Lahore in V.S. 1918⁷ (= 1961 A.D.); however, being very close to Baba Bir Singh of Naurangabad,⁸ his followers are said to have brought his ashes from Lahore to Naurangabad in order to build a samadh over them here. These murals belong to the second half of the century.

1. This was stated by Shri Harbada Nand, the present mahant of this akhara, in an interview that I had with him.

2. Kahn Singh Nabha, op. cit., p. 603.

3. Visited on June 13, 1971.

4. See plate Nos. 9, 11 and 89.

5. See plate No. 88.

6. See plate No. 9 and 11.

7. Kahn Singh Nabha, op. cit., p. 286.

8. Ibid.

1

12. Temple Samarian.

This temple stands in Bazar Bikanerian in Amritsar, not far from the Golden Temple. It is not a public temple and stands on private property. One has to cross a wall adjoining the bazar to reach the temple. Behind the temple are apartments, used partly for domestic purposes and partly for performing katha and kirtan. In the temple itself, no mural is extant; however, about a dozen murals survive on one of the walls of a partly covered courtyard. The paintings, clearly the work of a skilled craftsman are fast decaying. Rainwater dripping from the roof, is causing heavy damage to paintings. All paintings are based on Hindu themes. The attempted affect of light and shade in the work is obviously the result of increasing European influence. The murals belong to the second half of the century.

2

13. The Shivala of Hardhan.

This temple stands in Matewal, a village located on the Amritsar-Mehta road. It was built and dedicated to Shiva by a local merchant of the bania caste named Hardhan. An inscription in Punjabi above the entrance records it as having been erected in V.S. 1920 (= 1863 A.D.). Standing on a

1. Visited on June 11, 1971.

2. Visited on June 7, 1971.

3. This is according to Santa Singh, an elderly person interviewed by me at Matewal.

4. The inscription is obliterated and fragmentary; all of it is not legible, however the year of construction is clear.

square plinth and surmounted by a shikhara, the temple is quite simple in construction.¹ More than twenty panels of murals still survive on the inner walls but are badly damaged. In their original state these must have been works of considerable merit. The paintings illustrate Hindu and Sikh themes and, being small in size, look more like miniatures on the wall instead of murals. The date of the work seems to be close to the date of the construction of the temple.

14. The Thakurdhara of Daryana Mall.¹

Dedicated to Radha and Krishna, this temple stands in Katra Mohar Singh² in the inner city of Amritsar. It was built by one Daryana Mal in V.S. 1932³ (= 1875 A.D.). The temple and the buildings that form the part of the temple complex are well-planned and built. The sanctum itself is on the second storey and the garbha-griha, erected on an octagonal plan, stands in a large, square-based room. Handsome frescoes are still to be seen on the walls of this room and the exterior walls of garbha-griha. However, the frescoes on the lower portions of the walls,

1. Visited on March 18, 1973.

2. See K.C. Aryan, "Amritsar Murals", Sunday World, March 11, 1973, p. 6.

3. The year of its construction is inscribed on the lintel of shrine proper.

being easily accessible to visitors, have suffered considerably. That all the apartments of the temple complex were originally embellished with murals, is evident from faint remains of frescoes visible everywhere. Paintings in one of the rooms are in a relatively good state of preservation. Frescoes on the exterior walls of a small ghivale, built in one of the corners of the courtyard, are also still extant. While most of the paintings are based on Hindu themes, frescoes depicting the Sikh Gurus have also been painted. The paintings appear to have been executed close to the date of the temple, 1875 A.D.

15. Samadh of Sardar Lal Singh.¹

To the west of Guru Nanak Dev University campus in Amritsar, are situated four samadhs belonging to the sardars of Kale Chanpur, a village located north of Chheharta. The samadhs, built on elevated platforms, stand in a row, their doors facing the east. The samadh raised over the remains of Sardar Lal Singh, standing on the extreme south, is an imposing structure. It was built in V.S. 1943

(= 1891 A.D.) by Sardar Gulzar Singh, son of Sardar²

1. Visited on March 18, 1973.

2. This is borne out by an inscription on one of the walls of the samadh.

Lal Singh. The paintings on the exterior of one of the walls, flanking the entrance door, have disappeared. The murals on the inside, however, not less than thirty in number, are extant; their state of preservation is considerably good. Three paintings, each painted in niches in three of the walls are large in size.¹ The rest of the murals are painted in rectangular panels, measuring approximately two and a half feet by four feet. Most of the paintings depict the Sikh Gurus; a few depict Hindu and genre themes. The murals on the borders of the walls, painted in small rectangular panels, are almost gone, except for two places where figures of an elephant and a horse are still discernible. Besides the samadh of Sardar Lal Singh stands a small samadh of his wife,² Ans Kaur. This was originally embellished with murals but none of the paintings is to be seen now. The remaining two samadhs,³ belonging to Sardar Chatter Singh and Attar Singh, are not embellished with any work.

⁴ 16. Temple of Maiya Nath.

The temple of Maiya Nath, devoted to Radha and Krishna,⁵ stands in a narrow lane in Katra Doolo in Amritsar. It was

1. See plate No. 51.
2. This was narrated by Shri Harinderjit Singh, one of the descendants of Sardar Lal Singh, interviewed at Kale Champur.
3. Attar Singh and Chatter Singh were brothers. Attar Singh, the father of Sardar Lal Singh was the elder of the two.
4. Visited on March 18, 1973.
5. See K.C. Aryan, "Amritsar Murals", Sunday World, March 11, 1973, p. 6.

1

built in V.S. 1936 (= 1879 A.D.). After crossing a small deorhi, there comes a dalan or courtyard in the ceiling of which there is a wide opening to let in the natural light. In a part of the dalan stands the garbha-griha, leaving a small circumambulatory passage. The remaining part of the dalan was originally painted with frescoes; the garbha-griha was embellished with inlaid mirror-work, let in intricate patterns. The frescoes on the upper portions of the walls of the dalan are still extant, although, they have become faded, having lost their original glow under the damaging effect of smoke. It is evident that the work must have been of a high order, once. The themes depicted are all from Hindu subjects. While some of the paintings are in large panels, others have the look of miniatures.

3

17. Thakurdwara Bairagian.

Devoted to Rama, thakurdwara Bairagian stands at Attari, near the Wagah border on the Pakistan frontier, district Amritsar. This was built by one

1. The year of its construction is inscribed on a stone above the entrance to the garbha-griha.
2. I saw here the work of scraping off the old lime plaster from the walls of the deorhi of this temple in progress.
3. Visited on June 15, 1871.

of the great-grand disciples of Sant Jagveen Das¹ Bairagi who came to Attari in V.S. 1722 (= 1665 A.D.) to this spot where he performed his meditations. The temple proper is built on the second-storey while the ground floor below is used by a priest for domestic purposes. The garbha-griha stands on a small square with a narrow circumambulatory path around it; on its front is built a dalan for the devotees to sit in. While the murals on the upper half of the walls are still in a good state of preservation, those on the lower half have suffered seriously at the hands of visitors. All the themes painted are religious in content, and derive from the Hindu faith.

18. Akhara Beri Wala.²

Akhara Beri Wala is located in Amritsar just behind the akhara of Bala Mand described at serial No. 1 of this chapter. All the buildings belonging to it are in a state of neglect and ruin. A baradari, built in pucca masonry on a platform, is the only surviving edifice. It is said to have been built in the last quarter of the 19th century during the

1. According to the information kindly supplied by the present priest, Swami Ram Das.
2. Visited on June 11, 1971.

time of mahant Sewa Das and stands on a rectangular plan running, approximately 25 feet by 16 feet in dimensions. A running broad frieze on the interior of all the four walls of this baradari¹ is painted with about thirty rectangular panels; these, however, are in a poor state of preservation. Most of the colours of the paintings have become faded and plaster at several places has peeled off. The practice of getting portions other than the painted frieze, distempered time and again, has spoiled many paintings. Most of the themes dealt with represent the ancestor mahants² of this akhara as well as of other akharas of Amritsar and their names are to be seen in Gurmukhi script next to their figures.

19. Akhara Kashi Wala³

Located near Sultanwind Gate in Amritsar, akhara Kashi Wala was established by mahant Udit Narian in V.S. 1852 (= 1795 A.D.).⁴ 19th century murals are still existent on the walls of a samadh and a dalan called Darbar Sahib. The samadh erected earlier than the dalan stands on a square plan surmounted with a dome. It had originally been built

1. See plate No. 60.

2. For instance, Niranjan Santokh Das, the founder mahant of akhara Santokh Das of Amritsar, is depicted in one of the paintings.

3. Visited on June 14, 1971.

4. Giani Gian Singh, op.cit., p. 178.

over the ashes of the founder mahant Udit Narian
 who died in V.S. 1890 ¹ (= 1833 A.D.). However later
 on, it became a combined samadh of all the succeeding
mahants who died from time to time. The cremation of
mahants used to take place out of the akhara but some
 of their ashes were brought to be deposited in the
samadh ² in order to build a new mar resembling a small-
 shaped kiosk. The murals in the samadh are based
 entirely on beautiful floral designs interspersed
 at regular intervals with elegant birds ³. The murals
 extant on a wall of the dalan called Darbar Sahib pertain
 solely to religious themes. Hardly a few panels are left
 intact, the rest of having become a prey to the destruc-
 tive agencies of time.

⁴ 20. Gurudwara at Cholla Sahib.

This gurudwara, honouring the fifth Sikh
 guru, Shri Arjan Dev (1581-1606), was constructed
 at Cholla Sahib, a town in Tarn Taran sub-division
 of district Amritsar, during the reign of Maharaja

1. Giani Gian Singh, op. cit., p. 179.
2. Shri Nan Dev, the present mahant of this akhara,
 gave this information.
3. See plate No. 90.
4. Visited on June 13, 1971.

1

Ranjit Singh, under the supervision of Sant Sadhu
 2
 Ram, the then granthi of this gurdwara. Narrow
 stairs at the back of the shrine lead to a gallery
 about four feet in width; the portions of the walls
 above this gallery are painted with frescoes which are
 in a fair state of preservation. The paintings are
 executed in horizontal, rectangular panels only some-
 what larger than the usual miniatures. Most of the
 paintings depict routine activities of Akali or Nihang
 Singhs. Adjacent to this gurdwara are two saradhs, all
 built of small brick, in honour of Sant Sadhu Ram and
 Sarwan Das, who were granthis in this gurdwara. On the
 inside of these saradhs also are murals although in a
 dilapidated state.

3

21. The Langarkhana at Cholla Sahib.

This langarkhana or community kitchen house is
 the property of the gurdwara described above. However,
 while the gurdwara is located outside the town, the
langarkhana is built in the heart of Cholla Sahib,
 at some distance from the shrine. According to
 local tradition langarkhana was established after a
jaagir was conferred on the gurdwara by Maharaja

1. A jaagir was granted to this gurdwara by Maharaja Ranjit Singh.
2. This is according to information supplied by the present granthi, Shri Sundar Singh.
3. Visited on June 13, 1971.

Ranjit Singh. All the structures within the premises of langarkhana are simple and there is nothing remarkable about them. However, unexpectedly one comes upon a large rectangular dalan, built of small brick, with murals adorning one of its long walls. Originally a dining hall, it is now used to store farm-produce etc.; all of which has damaged the murals. The entire length of the wall is divided into two horizontal panels which are further divided into rectangular frames. The rectangles in the upper panel are painted with murals with religious themes and those in the lower panel are painted with dehins of various designs in identical compositional set up.

22. The Samadhs of Sardars Peshaura Singh and Bagh¹ Singh.

These two samadhs, built on octagonal plans, stand next to each other in village Manhala Jai² Singh, near Patti in the district of Amritsar. Built on an elevated platform, both the samadhs, being identical in shape, appear to be the works of the same mason. Peshaura Singh is said to have died

1. Visited on June 14, 1971.

2. Prior to partition this village was in the Kasur sub-division of district Lahore.

in the engagement between the army sent by Hira Singh Dogra and the camp of Bhai Bir Singh in A.D. 1844; Bagh Singh is said to have laid his life down in the famous battle of Sabraon in 1846. Both the samadhs thus date back to the middle of the 19th century. The murals in the samadh of Peshaura Singh are better, both in respect of execution and state of preservation, than those in the samadh of Bagh Singh. Niches just below the base of the dome that surmounts the octagonal structure of the samadh are painted with themes that pertain mostly to warfare.

23. Gurudwara Baba Bir Singh.

This gurdwara stands to the south east of Raja Sansi. According to local tradition, it is more than a hundred years old and was built by funds raised through subscription. Standing on a high

1. Shri Harcharn Singh Sarpanch of this village, who is descended from the families of Peshaura Singh and Bagh Singh, was interviewed. He stated that one of the samadhs was of Karwar Peshaura Singh, son of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, who died in the said conflict. However, history does not corroborate this statement. Karwar Peshaura Singh did join Bhai Bir Singh's camp but he was not killed in the conflict that took place in 1844. He was murdered at Attock in 1845. See Cunningham, op. cit., pp. 234, 244; Khushwant Singh, op. cit., pp. 32-33, 38.
2. Sarpanch Harcharn Singh, interviewed.
3. See plate No. 63.
4. Visited on June 9, 1971.
5. There are several gurdwaras built in the memory of

Baba Bir Singh who was held in great respect by the agrarian population of the Majha tract. See Cunningham, op. cit., p. 234.

plinth, it is a well-built edifice. Originally the whole of the interior of the shrine was painted with murals but only some rectangular panels just above the four doors depicting Sikh themes, and floral decoration surrounding them survives; all else has been covered under layers of whitewash. The murals have been executed in horizontal frames of small size.

1

24. A Samadh at Fatehabad.

Just outside the town of Fatehabad, in the Tarn Taran sub-division of District Amritsar, is a sanadh, more than a hundred years old, standing on a square base and surmounted with a huge dome. It is to the left of the road that leads from Fatehabad to Goidwal. The name of the person over whose remains this sanadh was built is not known. It is now used to store chaff and other farm products. Nevertheless, murals in it have survived destruction because of their being quite high close to the base of the dome. The paintings are few in number and deal both with Sikh and Hindu themes.

1. Visited on June 13, 1971.

2. Local tradition regarding sanadh is also of no help.

1

25. Gurudwara Angitha Sahib.

With the demolishing of the old building of Gurudwara Angitha Sahib built by Maharaja Ranjit Singh in 1815 A.D. in honour of Guru Angad at Khadur Sahib, a village in the Tarn Taran sub-division, all the murals that originally embellished this shrine disappeared. The deorhi of the Gurudwara has survived destruction, and remains of a few murals can still be seen on the walls of its second-storey. However, being exposed to sun and rain, the murals are in a dilapidated state. The paintings are executed in frames that are alternately rectangular and squarish, and treat of both the religious and genre themes.

4

26. Khangah Dargahi Shah.

This Mohammedan building stands on the right bank of the river Beas, within the boundary of village Dhan Dhaawal, about four miles east of Cholla Sahib, in the Tarn Taran sub-division. This Khangah is built over the grave of Dargahi Shah, a reputed saint who, according to local tradition, lived during the time of the Mughal Emperor Akbar.

1. Visited on June 13, 1971.
2. Objects of Antiquarian Interest in the Punjab and its Dependencies, pp. 4-5.
3. Granthi Jit Singh and the local people told me that the old building of the Gurudwara was profusely painted with murals.
4. Visited on June 13, 1971.

It is built on a rectangular plan and the walls, after reaching a height of about 9 feet, begin to converge to form a ceiling that is some-what different than a dome. The structure appears to date back to the late 17th century or early 18th. The frescoes on the walls are late and not of any great merit. They appear to have been executed on wet plaster. A variety of themes — romantic tales, games, warring groups, birds, floral designs, — have been treated without being in any visible order.

II. DISTRICT GURDASPUR

27. The Temple of Kishan Chand Bhandari.

Based on a square plan, this imposing temple bearing the name of Kishan Chand Bhandari in the town of Batala was erected in V.S. 1909 (= 1852 A.D.). The strikingly high shikhara of the temple imparts it an impressive air. There is around it a complex of buildings. The shrine proper is built

1. See plate No. 78.
2. Visited on June 16, 1971 and May 14, 1973.
3. Rai Kishan Chand Bhandari belonged to one of the eminent families of the Sikh Raj. See Gurdaspur D.O. 1883-84, pp. 40-41; Lepel H. Griffin, Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab, II, pp. 12-16.
4. The year of construction is mentioned in inscriptions in Persian and Punjabi, above the entrance door of the shrine.
5. Due to the earthquake of 1905, the gilded umbrella topping the shikhara is now tilted.

on the second storey and the apartments on the ground floor are used in part by the priest for his domestic purposes and have been converted in part into shops. The entrance to the shrine faces the east and a small portico in front of it is approached by double stairs flanking the entrance. There is a rather wide circumambulatory around the garbha-griha standing in the centre of the edifice. Every inch of space on the walls of the circumambulatory¹ and the garbha-griha is embellished with frescoes. There are more than a hundred panels depicting themes² from Hindu mythology. Four frescoes of large size decorate the outer portions of the walls flanking the entrance. The frescoes inside the temple, mostly being small in size, appear to be faithful imitations of miniatures, but in a technique suitable to wall painting. The frescoes executed mostly in rectangular³ frames are in a fairly good state of preservation except for some of the panels that have been affected by electrical wiring etc.

28. The Dera of Baba Lal Ji.³

At Dhiarpur, situated to the left of the road

1. See Kamwarjit Kang, "Bhandari Temple and its murals at Batala", Advances, January 1977, pp. 16-18.
2. See plate Nos. 19 and 23.
3. Visited on June 16, 1971 and Oct. 30, 1971.

from Batala to Dera Baba Nanak, there is the well known shrine of Bairagis of the Ramanandi sect. The founder of this shrine was Baba Lal Ji who is¹ said to have lived in the time of Emperor Shah Jahan. The Dera, comprising of a complex of buildings, is located on a mound of considerable height, overlooking the village of Dhanpur. Two important enclosures in the Dera, the 'Shish Mahal' and the 'Qaddi Hala Dahan'² have not less than fifty 19th century paintings extant on their walls. The paintings in the former apartment seem to be of an earlier date than those in the latter. The 'Shish Mahal' towers over the other structures but, despite its name, has no mirrors in it at all. It is a rectangular room, about 20 feet by 12 feet, having on its walls murals depicting diverse themes, both religious and secular. Being damaged by careless visitors to the shrine, the murals on the lower portions of the walls are in a bad state of preservation. However, the murals in the 'Qaddi Hala Dahan', a rectangular chamber having an enclosed verandah adjoining it, are well-preserved. Of competent workmanship and executed in glazed colours with a high finish, these murals,

1. See Guridar P.G. 1914, p. 30.

2. See plate Nos. 20, 22 and 37.

1

depict Hindu themes. The wooden roof painted with beautiful designs adds to the beauty of this chamber. Here there was a painting depicting Baba Lal Ji and Dara Shikoh engaged in conversation, according to the Gurdaspur District Gazetteer of 1914,² but it is no more to be seen.

3

29. Denthai Monastery.

The Vaishnava monastery of Denthai lies four miles to the south-east of Pathankot.⁴ It consists of a large complex of buildings including the thakurwaras, small temples and ganachas, languridhara, the Mahant's residence, rooms for students and disciples; all of these stand within an old 'fortress' approached by an imposing gateway. Tradition dates the construction of the architectural complex of the monastery back to Shah Jahan's time⁵ and associates it with the rulers of Nurpur. Many of the edifices, however, came into being during the time of Mahant Gopal Das.⁶ There are 19th century frescoes here which must have been works of high merit once; now however these are mostly faded. Most of these are on the walls of the temple known as Ram

1. See plate No. 37.

2. See p. 31.

3. Visited on Oct. 31, 1971.

4. Denthai is now in Himachal Pradesh.

5. Punjab State Archives and Archaeology and Museum - Administrative Report, 1964-65, p. 10.

6. As told by Mahant Ram Das, interviewed at Denthai. For more information see B.N. Goswamy, "Denthai", Marg, XVII, No. 3, June 1964, p. 33.

Gopal ji ka Thakurdwara. There is also a chamber here called the gaddi chaur. The painting here consists of eighty five panels, both of vertical and horizontal format, but most of these are rubbed beyond recognition. The themes, such as they can be seen, are, predominantly derived from the lives of Rama and Krishna. There are also here murals of a much later date, executed most probably in the last quarter of the 19th century, in a room above the thakurdwara. Executed in tempera, these paintings are inferior to the work done in the main shrine. Here both religious and secular themes occur though without being in any order.

1

30. Raghunath Temple.

The impressive Raghunath temple stands within the precincts of the famous Vaishnava monastery at Pindori Mahantan,² seven miles from Gurdaspur. The monastery, consisting of a large complex of buildings, is housed in a huge walled enclosure approached by an imposing gateway, and is said to have been established by Bhagwanji in 1574 A.D.³ The Raghunath temple⁴ was built some 150 years ago from offerings made by the rulers of Kashmir and the Kangra Hills, and by

1. Visited on November 2, 1971.

2. For more information see Gurdaspur D.G. 1914, p. 27.

3. D.N. Goswamy, "Danthai". Marg, XVII, No. 3, June 1964, p. 33.

4. Census of India, Punjab - Fairs and Festivals, XIII, Part II-B, p. 60.

¹
 Maharaja Ranjit Singh, in the period of Naubat
 Naubat Dass with whom a great deal of construction
²
 activity in the monastery is associated. 19th century
 frescoes on the walls of the circumambulatory path or
pradakshina path of this square based temple are still
 extant; many of these are, however, decaying. The
³
 paintings predominantly illustrating Hindu themes
 have been executed in both rectangular and squarish
 format and, being small in size, look like miniatures.
 Despite the ravages of time, the sensitivity of the
kalam in which these frescoes were rendered still
 shows through. Traces of late 19th century murals
 can also be seen on the walls of a building known
 as Gaddi adjoining the Raghunath temple where
⁴
 the occupant of the Gaddi appears before his devotees
 on ceremonial occasions. The paintings here mostly
 portray genre themes and are relatively poorly
 executed, the contrast with the work in the
 circumambulatory of Raghunath temple being sharp.

1. Census of India, Punjab - Fairs and Festivals, XIII, Part VII-B, p. 60.
2. See B.N. Goswamy and J.S. Grewal, The Mughal and Sikh Rulers and the Vaishnavas of Pindori, p. 19.
3. For detailed description of the themes see Karuna Goswamy, Vaishnavism in the Punjab Hills and Pahari Painting, pp. 244-247.
4. See B.N. Goswamy and J.S. Grewal, op.cit., pp. 2-3

1

31. The Temple of Raja Sahib Dayal.

The temple of Raja Sahib Dayal, devoted to Radha and Krishna, stands in Kishankot, a village near Sri Hargobindpur in district Gurdaspur. Raja Sahib Dayal, the builder of the temple, was the Chief Collector of Customs of the Jullundur area during the reign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Here, after crossing a deorhi, one enters a courtyard that leads to the door of the temple built on a square plan having a circumambulatory path around the cella. A portion of the courtyard is roofed: here the panjit who performs katha and kirtan on occasions sits. All the walls of the temple including those of the courtyard and the deorhi, were originally embellished with frescoes. Only 25 paintings portraying mostly Hindu themes have survived. While the frescoes on the upper portions of the walls are in a good state of preservation, the frescoes on the lower portions, being easily accessible, have been badly damaged. Some of the panels of paintings in the courtyard and the deorhi depict life-sized figures. In the shrine proper, however, the fresco panels are smaller. The paintings appear to have been painted early in the second half of the 19th century.

1. Visited on Nov. 1, 1971.

2. Gurdaspur D.G. 1863-64, p. 37.

3. This was pointed out to me by Shri Partharan Singh, one of the descendants of Raja Sahib Dayal.

1

32. Gurudwara Darbar Sahib.

Dedicated to Guru Nanak, Gurudwara Darbar Sahib, a place of Sikh pilgrimage, is located at Dera Baba Nanak. Based on a square plan, it is an ostentatious structure with a highly ornamental appearance.² Many important persons including Diwan Nanak Baksh,³ Wazir⁴ to the Nizam of Hyderabad Deccan, Raja Chandu Lal,⁵ Maharaja Ranjit Singh,⁶ and Rani Chand Kaur, are said to have endowed the construction of the shrine. The construction was begun in 1765 A.D. through the agency of the Bedis and its first phase finished in 1787 A.D.⁷ However it was finally completed in V.S. 1834 (= 1827 A.D.)⁸ through funds given by Maharaja Ranjit Singh. The whole of the edifice apparently was originally embellished with murals and sculptures. While the paintings on the outside⁹ of the building have been rubbed beyond recognition, about a dozen murals depicting religious themes have survived in varying conditions of preservation on the inner walls. The

1. Visited on Oct. 30, 1971.

2. See Kahn Singh Nabha, op. cit., plate facing p. 486.

3. Gurdaspur D.C. 1883-84, p. 98

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid.

7. Gurdaspur D.C. 1914, p. 29.

8. The year of completion is recorded in an inscription inside the shrine.

9. A photograph of the shrine reproduced in Kahn Singh Nabha's Encyclopaedia of Sikh Literature, facing p. 486, records the paintings on the exterior of the walls.

sculptural forms representing various Hindu deities, however, are in a distinctly better state of preservation than the murals. Most of the extant mural panels are small in size. This is one of the only two edifices with murals as well as sculptures,¹ that I have come across during my field work in the Punjab.

33. Bhandari Bhola Temple.²

³This temple stands to the west of the town of Batala within the precincts of a walled enclosure known as the gan-shala. A flight of steps leads to the temple built on a platform some 14 feet high. Before the entrance to the shrine is a varandah supported on pillars and a wide circumambulatory passage runs around the garbha-griha.⁴ The temple was constructed in V.S. 1914 (= 1857 A.D.) by the family of Rai Kishan Chand Bhandari of Batala.⁵ Nine frescoes in vertical rectangular panels, all depicting portrait studies, survive on the outer

1. The other one is the Sarai at Zira.
2. Visited on June 16, 1951.
3. It is also known as Mandiana Temple.
4. This is evident from the inscription above the entrance to the shrine.
5. This is the same family that built another temple in the town of Batala, described at serial No. 27 of this chapter.

walls of the garbha-griha but are in a state of advanced decay. Whatever has survived of the work¹ indicates that the work was of high quality.

34. The Temple of Maharani Chand Kaur.²

This temple is located at Fategarh Churian in the Batala sub-division of Gurdaspur district. It was built by Maharani Chand Kaur, whose name it bears,³ following the death of Maharaja Kharak Singh, son of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and the husband of the Maharani. Its construction date can thus be placed about the year 1841. The imposing temple stands in the midst of a large square, with high walls on three sides and two-storeyed apartments and a roofed gateway on the fourth. On all the four corners of the enclosure are small temples devoted to different Hindu deities. The main shrine stands on a circular plan surrounded by a circumambulatory path with its roof supported by pillars. A dozen 19th century murals are to be seen on the inner sides of the walls of the shrine. Almost half the space has been devoted to floral decoration; the rest is taken up by paintings executed in different-sized panels.

1. See plate No. 49.

2. Visited on June 16, 1971.

3. I was given this information by Shri Kishori Lal, interviewed at Fategarh Churian.

portraying Hindu themes, birds and animals. No other part of the temple complex including the four small temples has any murals.

1

35. The Temple of Shri Nam Dev.

Devoted to Shri Nam Dev, a 14th century poet and saint of Maharashtra, this temple stands at Ghoman, a village in the Batala sub-division of district Gurdaspur. It is a round structure of considerable dimensions; the walls are so thick that a staircase runs through the width of the wall itself. Adjoining the main shrine stands a smaller shrine based on a circular plan and surmounted by a dome and with a handsomely carved wooden door. More than ten murals painted on a wide panel along the top of the wall skirting the base of the dome are still extant, both in the large and the smaller shrines. Paintings below the panel have been covered however by a thick coat of whitewash. Some paintings, even though in a bad state of preservation also survive on the other side of the walls of the main shrine. The themes painted are invariably religious² belonging both to Hindu and Sikh subjects. The

1. Visited on June 7, 1971.

2. See plate no. 16.

temple was got built by Jassa Singh Ramgarhia¹ who died in 1802; these murals may thus be examples of work executed in the last quarter of the 18th century.

36. The Gurudwara of Satkartarian.²

Too small to accommodate more than a few devotees at a time, this gurudwara is located in Sri Hargobindpur. Having none of the features of the usual gurudwaras, it appears more to be a secular construction than a religious edifice built about 90 years ago³ by the Satkartaria brotherhood.⁴ Approached by narrow stairs, the shrine proper is built on the 3rd storey of a building, the lower two storeys being used for purposes other than religious. There are extant remains of more than a dozen murals representing Sikh Gurus and a few other themes on the inside of the dome that surmounts the gurudwara. Most of the paintings consist of portraits depicting different persons.

37. A Shiva Temple.⁵

This temple at Achal Batala, a few miles from

1. Kahn Singh Nabha, op. cit., p. 522.
2. Visited on Nov. 1, 1971.
3. As narrated by Shri Gurdev Hall, one of the devotees of this gurudwara, interviewed at Sri Hargobindpur.
4. Sri Hargobindpur is the centre of Satkartarian sect; see Kahn Singh Nabha, op. cit., p. 110.
5. Visited on Oct. 30, 1971.

the town of Batala, stands on a square base in the centre of a sacred tank and is approached by a causeway. It was built by Bhawani Singh Bhandari¹ of Batala, about the middle of the 19th century. Around the garbha-griha is a circumambulatory path, the walls of which were adorned with murals. Some of these still survive although in a state of decay. A coat of whitewash recently applied on the ceiling has left splashes of whitewash on many panels. The murals are also being damaged by the destructive action of saltpetre. Most of the paintings represent themes from Mahabharata.

38. The Shrine of Baba Buddha Ji.²

This is located in Teja, a village near Phiarpur in the Batala sub-division. An old structure with the features of a bandari, it has on its walls a few murals with warfare themes. The paintings appear to be late 19th century work. The interior of another building, with a circular base and topped by a dome, within the complex of this shrine is also painted with murals. This work is however very poor. It was done in V.S. 1977³ (= 1920 A.D.) perhaps by a local painter.

1. This information was given by Shri Pritam Dass of Achal Batala.
2. Visited on June 16, 1971.
3. The date is written on the wall in Gurmukhi script.

1

39. The Shivala of Lala Duni Chand.

This temple stands in Dhepai, a village in the Batala sub-division. Built on the usual pattern of a temple, with a narrow circumambulatory path around the cella, it was got constructed in V.S. 1947² (= 1890 A.D.) by Duni Chand Khatri. Ten frescoes representing Hindu deities and scenes from the Mahabharata painted in rectangular panels are to be seen on its walls. The work is in a reasonable state of preservation.

B. THE DOABA TRACT

III. DISTRICT HOSHIARPUR

3

40. The Gurudwara of Baba Kala Dhari.

4

This GURUDWARA at Una was built in memory of Baba Kala Dhari, one of the descendants of the Bedi family of Guru Nanak. Though Baba Kala Dhari died in 1738 A.D.⁵ the shrine was erected sometime in the second quarter of the 19th century by Baba Bikram Singh Bedi. Built of solid masonry, this single-storeyed edifice stands on an octagonal base with an interior which is more reminiscent of a Hindu temple than

1. Visited on Nov. 1, 1971.
2. There is a detailed inscription in Persian script over the door of the temple giving the date of construction.
3. Visited on July 8, 1973.
4. Una now falls in Himachal Pradesh.
5. Griffin, op. cit., p. 146; Kahn Singh Nabha, op. cit., p. 830.

a Sikh shrine. The holy Granth Sahib is enshrined in a small garbha-griha encircled by a broad circumambulatory path. The building originally had seventy-three horizontal panels of murals, painted to look like miniatures. These panels form a continuous frieze on the inside of the outer wall of the circumambulatory close to the ceiling. All except for a few of the murals are in a good state of preservation. The themes depicted are religious, both Sikh and Hindu.

1

41. The Bairagi Thakurdwara at Ram Tatwali.

Affiliated to the Ramanandi Vaishnava sect, this thakurdwara of Bairagis entirely built of dressed stone stands at Ram Tatwali, a village at the foot of the Shivaliks in district Hoshiarpur. The shrine is three miles from Dholbaha, a site of archaeological importance from where it is approached on foot by a jagged path not usable by vehicular traffic. The shrine is popular for the fair that is held here annually on Jannashtani.² The garbha-griha of the temple is based on an octagonal plan and is surmounted by a dome; around it is built a circumambulatory path which, too, is based on an octagonal plan. There is provision for entering it from all eight sides. Around the temple are single and double-storied

1. Visited on Sept. 26, 1971.

2. See Hoshiarpur D.G. 1904. p. 73

living quarters used by the priests and their attendants who also run a lencarkhana. A large number of murals of competent workmanship are extant here. Their state of preservation is however not very good. However the murals in three rooms on the second storey of the building just above the main entrance gate to the shrine are in a considerably better state. One of the apartment, about 24 feet by 10 feet, has numerous murals painted in systematically divided panels depicting themes alike of religious and secular nature. But for the captions recently scrawled on these paintings, these would have been among the best-preserved of 19th century murals in the Punjab. That the paintings were executed sometime after the annexation of the Punjab by the British is evident from the themes illustrating the Anglo-Sikh wars and the surrender of the Sikh armies. Nearly 200 hundred panels of paintings were still there in the temple when I revisited it in October 1976.

42. The Samadh of Baba Mohar Singh.

In the dara belonging to Misraia gadhis known

1. See coloured plate No. II.
2. See plate No.s 45, 46, 55, 63, 83, 84, 85 and 94; also see coloured plate No. I.
3. See plate Nos. 45, 46, 55, 64, 68, 83, 84 and 85.
4. See Punjab State Archives and Archaeology and Museum-Administrative Report, 1964-65, p. 10.
5. See plate No. 64.
6. Visited on July 10, 1974.

as Mast Garh, located opposite the Govt. Higher secondary School at Tanda, stands the gurdwara of Baba Mohar Singh, the founder of the dara. From an inscription surviving on one of its walls, it appears that the gurdwara was completed in V.S. 1900 (= 1843 A.D.). The edifice stands on a raised platform which measures 15 by 15 feet. The walls rise to a height of about 22 feet and support a bulbous dome with a pinnacle topping the entire structure. While much is whitewashed, the interior is embellished with mural paintings executed in a competent hand. There are thirty-nine panels of paintings divided into three tiers, the lower two containing twelve paintings each and the upper most skirting the ceiling, with fifteen panels. The subjects depicted vary, and include Hindu and Sikh themes, portraits, and Mohamadan themes representing figures like Shams Tabriz and King Sulaiman.

I

43. The house of Shri Kundan Lal Suniara.

Built of small brick, this three-storeyed house stands in the Main Bazar of Dacuya town. The bare walls of its ground floor, consisting of a shop, hardly prepare one for murals that appear on walls

1. Visited on Sept. 27, 1971.

on the second and third storeys. The paintings on the walls of the second storey, but for a few panels, are in a damaged state. Nine paintings on the second floor, however, are comparatively better preserved. Most of these are painted in vertical panels two and a half feet by four feet. The considerable space left bare between the painted panels on the second floor imparts to its walls a different though pleasing look. There is a variety of themes treated of here¹ but secular themes predominate. All the paintings bear, interestingly enough, captions in Persian script.

44. The Semadh of the Rani of Jind.²

Adjoining the Udasī akhara of Baba Charn Shah in the vicinity of Bahadurgarh, a suburb of Hoshiarpur, stands an august double-storeyed cenotaph generally referred to as Rani Di Semadh, the Rani being one of the wives of the Raja of Jind who died near Hoshiarpur³ on her way back from a pilgrimage to Chintpurni. The first storey resembles a baradari. Above it, considerably smaller, is the semadh surmounted by a dome. Around it runs an open circular pradakshina path with its roof

1. See plate Nos. 53, 54 and 56.

2. Visited on Sept. 24, 1971.

3. I owe this information to Mahant Jagdish Das of the adjacent Udasī akhara. However, he could not name the rani to whom this semadh is dedicated.

supported on pillars. In front of the gagadh is a gateway approached by a flight of steps. On the inside of the gagadh, a panel of 19th century murals consisting of seven paintings of Sikh and Hindu themes are to be found in a good state of preservation.

45. The Temple at Jandwal.¹

Based on a square plan, this substantial looking temple with its massive walls is situated at Jandwal, a village about six miles from Mukerian on the road towards Pathankot. It was erected in V.S. 1857² (= 1900 A.D.) by the Chaudharies of the village and is, therefore, known as Chaudharian da Mandir. A score of fresco panels are extant on the front wall and on the walls that constitute the circumambulatory path inside the temple. Many of the paintings are well-preserved; only those on the front wall are much rubbed. The themes of the paintings vary but are mostly secular in character. It appears that the frescoes were painted considerably after the date of the erection of the temple. One of the themes portraying a 'white sahib and his lady' holding umbrellas over

1. Visited on Sept. 27, 1971.

2. The date is inscribed on the front wall of the temple.

their heads gives a clue to the late date of the paintings.

1

46. The Sanadh of the daughter of Mai Hiran.

A small octagonal sanadh stands on the premises of the Government High School at Bhunga, on the Hoshiarpur-Dasuya road. According to local tradition, it was raised over the ashes of Bibi Basant Kaur, one of the daughters of Mai Hiran, the Rani of Kapurthala. The building that now houses the school was originally a Gharu-sala² built in memory of the deceased Basant Kaur by the erstwhile state of Kapurthala, for Bhunga then fell in its territory. More than ten panels on various themes, mostly squarish, are to be seen inside the sanadh. The students of the school would have spoiled the murals long ago but for the fact that broken furniture is now stored in it.

3

47. The Shivala of Buta Ram.

This temple, devoted to Lord Shiva, was built at Gardhiwala in V.S. 1840⁴ (= 1783 A.D.) by Buta

1. Visited on Sept. 28, 1971.
2. Shri Narian Giri, interviewed at Bhunga.
3. Visited on Sept. 27, 1971.
4. An inscription on the temple records the date of its construction. The reading of the year, however, is not beyond doubt.

Ram whose name it bears. The portico as well as the interior of the temple were originally embellished with murals, some of which are still extant. The paintings in the portico are relatively better preserved than the paintings inside which have been obliterated by layers of carbon. The themes of the paintings vary but most of them are derived from Hindu mythology.

1

43. The Samadh of Baba Charn Shah.

Within the imposing akhara of Udasi saints, generally known as Darbar Haba Charn Shah II, at Bahadurgarh, a suburb of Hoshiarpur, stands the ordinary looking samadh of Charn Shah, the founder of the akhara, who is said to have died in V.S. 1733 (= 1676 A.D.). The samadh, however, is not very old for it appears to have been constructed about the end of the last century. A few panels representing religious themes are extant on the upper portion of the outer walls. The panels painted on the lower portions have been considerably damaged by recent repairs to the samadh.

1. Visited on Sept. 24, 1971.
2. Shri Jagdish Das, the present raja of the akhara, interviewed.

IV. DISTRICT JULLOHUR49. The Thakurdwara of Lala Chuhar Mal.¹

An inscription above the entrance door of this sumptuously built temple at Nakodar records its construction to have been begun in V.S. 1943 (= 1886 A.D.) and completed in V.S. 1950 (= 1893 A.D.) by Lala Chuhar Mal son of Lala Bhasani Das. The lintel of the entrance door that leads to the deorhi is carved with delicate figures of goddesses and prepares one for the mural embellishment inside. After crossing the deorhi, which has no adornment, one comes to the shrine proper, with its square-based cella surmounted by a shikhara and a narrow circum-²ambulatory path. While the murals in the cella appear to have been painted at the time that the temple was built, those embellishing the circumambulatory, were painted in the year V.S. 1975 (= 1918³ A.D.). There is a conspicuous difference between the style of the earlier and the later work. The paintings in the circumambulatory are in panels that vary both in size and in format; they are laid out in an orderly and systematized way. Except a few panels, all the work comprising not less than fifty painted panels, invariably of religious character, is in a good state of preservation.

1. Visited on June 6, 1971.

2. See plate No. 98.

3. Shri Daru Mal, the grandson of Lala Chuhar Mal, interviewed at Nakodar.

1

50. The Temple of Baba Hari Har.

Erected about a hundred years ago and financed
 2
 by Lala Basant Rai Khosla, this temple stands in
 the town of Nur Mahal near the splendid sarai
 erected by the Mughals. After crossing a courtyard,
 the temple which is on the second storey is reached
 by a staircase. It is based on a square plan; the
 cella is topped by a shikhara and is enclosed by a
 narrow circumambulatory path. Nearly twenty frescoes,
 representing diverse themes are to be seen on the
 outer walls of the cella. While the colours of some of
 the panels are rubbed off, there are others which have
 been totally claimed by coats of whitewash.

3

51. Dera Udasian.

Dera Udasian, or the monastery of the Udasi
 4
 sect, is located in the heart of Jansher, a large
 village, a few miles south of Jullundur. The major
 building of the Dera, which consists of a number of
 structures, was built by Mahant Gobind Das in V.S.
 5
 1857 (= 1800 A.D.). Structural additions have since

1. Visited on June 5, 1971.
2. This information was furnished by Shri Bihari Das, the present priest of the shrine. Basant Rai Khosla was a Talsildar in the state of Kapurthala.
3. Visited on Sept. 23, 1971.
4. Akhara Beri Mala at Amritsar, described at serial No. 18 of this chapter was originally a branch of this monastery. I was informed of this by Pandit Gur Narain, interviewed at Jansher.
5. This is evident from the inscription above the main gate of the establishment.

been made to provide more covered space. Nearly ten well preserved murals portraying Sikh Gurus and the babants of the establishment have survived in a room on the second storey of the Dara. The paintings, however, appear to have been the work of the last quarter of the 19th century. This date is also suggested by the coloured glass used in the windows of the painted chamber.

52. The Samadh of Tara Singh Gheba.¹

Tara Singh Gheba, a Kang Jat-Sikh, was the head² of the Dalswalla misal and a prominent personage of the late 18th and early 19th century Punjab.³ He died in a battle at Harainagarh in 1807 A.D., but his cenotaph was built by his son Jhanda Singh at⁴ Sahon, five miles south of Nawanshahar, which had⁵ served as the capital of Tara Singh. Devoid of any architectural pretensions, the octagonal structure stands on a raised platform near a tank named Ramsar. All the eight panels formed just below the base of the dome that surmounts the octagonal structure,⁶

1. Visited on June 19, 1971 and Sept. 4, 1971.

2. See Kahn Singh Nabha, op. cit., p. 418.

3. Ibid., p. 440.

4. Ibid.

5. See Panjab Notes and Queries, II, No. 15, Dec. 1884, p. 49.

6. See Kahn Singh Nabha, op. cit., p. 440.

are painted with murals which are much damaged.
Most of the themes are taken from Hindu mythology.

1

53. The Samadh of Bibi Bhani.

Bibi Bhani's samadh, stands near the samadh of Mata Kaulan within the precincts of Fucca Bagh in Rangarhia Mohalla at Kartarpur in district Jullundur. The structure surmounted by a big dome and flanked by a number of samadh, is possibly more than a hundred years old; its inside is painted with murals portraying both religious and secular themes. The colours of some of the panels have been damaged at places by rain water.

3

54. The Temple at Lasara.

A temple devoted to Shiva and erected about the middle of the 19th century, stands at Lasara, a village on the Ludhiana-Mohansahar road. Owing to its lofty shikhara, the structure is impressive to look at especially from a distance. Constant neglect has affected some of its splendour. The base is square; the garbha-graha is enclosed by a narrow parikrama. Murals depicting different themes, survive on the walls of the circumambulatory as well as

1. Visited on June 7, 1971.
2. See plate No. 82.
3. Visited on Sept. 4, 1971.

inside the second storey. In workmanship, the paintings are considerably poorer than the architecture of the temple.

55. The Gurudwara of Shri Baba Mati Shahid.¹

This gurudwara is situated at Daroli Kalan, a village near Adampur in district Jullundur. This in fact is a cenotaph and local tradition associates it to Bhai Mati Das, a zealous devotee of Guru Teg Bahadur who was captured by the Mughals and was put to death at Delhi in V.S. 1732 (= 1675 A.D.).² It is said to have been built in the period of the Sikh Kingdom. Several mural panels are still extant here; many of these, however, are faded. Most of the themes represent scenes from Hindu mythology.

56. The Baradari at Kartarpur.³

A baradari, one of the older buildings at Kartarpur, built probably in the 19th century has more than fifteen quaint murals on its walls and ceiling. They are, however, very seriously damaged, most of them having been scratched by street urchins. The themes of the paintings vary, but most

1. Visited on Sept. 24, 1971.

2. Kahn Singh Nabha, op. cit., p. 707.

3. Visited on June 7, 1971.

of them are taken from Hindu mythology.

1

57. The Temple of Misr Bhup Chand.

Chashma Faiz, also known as Nawar Talab, surrounded by a number of structures, stands just out of the town of Nar Mahal on the Phillaur road. This complex was built by Misr. Bhup Chand, a local person of considerable influence and status. Among the structures is a simply built temple devoted to Shiva. The upper portions of its inside as well as the dome were painted with murals some of which are still extant.

2

58. The Devi Dyera at Nawanshahar.

A temple known as 'Devichala' is located in the Committee Bazar in Nawanshahar Doaba. About a hundred years old, this is a double-storeyed structure so built that the interior of the first storey has a dome on which is based the second storey which is surmounted by a dome in turn. Fifteen panels of paintings still embellish the insides of the domes: those in the upper dome are of comparatively better workmanship and are better preserved.

1. Visited on June 5, 1971.
2. Visited on June 19, 1971.

1

59. Gurudwara Thamb Sahib.

The Gurudwara Thamb Sahib at Kartarpur is associated with Guru Arjan Dev who erected here a sandal-wood post some 50 feet high which is venerated under the name of Thambji. It is a tall structure built with money offered by Maharaja Ranjit Singh on his visit to Kartarpur in 1833.² Although no mural depicting figurative work is seen in this gurudwara its interior is richly embellished with very elegant floral designs of diverse shapes and patterns.

V. DISTRICT KAPURTHALA

3

60. The Shiva Temple at Shekhpur.

The Shiva temple at Shekhpur, a village on the Kapurthala-Sultanpur road, is said to have been constructed by Diwan Sudagar Mal of Kapurthala in fulfilment of his word given to a holy man residing close to the village. By the orders of the Diwan, local tradition says, all the camels transporting brick loads to Kapurthala for the construction of the Jalao Khana there, were made to leave two bricks at this place. The temple, with an octagonal base

1. Visited on June 7, 1971.

2. See Jullundur D.C. 1904, p. 290.

3. Visited on June 6, 1971.

and a small garbha-grha, is encircled by a broad pradakshina path in which are to be seen large sized murals. The work is, however, in a state of neglect. The paintings represent religious themes.

C. THE PALNA TRACT

VI. DISTRICT FERROZEPUR

61. The Haveli of Seth Panna Lal Phul Chand Sharda.¹

The imposing haveli of Seth Panna Lal Phul Chand Sharda² is in Ferozepur City, in Street Seth Baldev Das. This is a complex structure, built more than a hundred years ago by Seth Baldev Das.³ The three-storeyed structure, raised around a square courtyard was originally completely covered with murals. At present, however, only ten paintings are extant in one room on the top floor and on the front wall of the haveli. The room, having murals in an excellent state of preservation, is about 12 feet by 14 feet. Most of the paintings depicting Sikh and Hindu themes have been executed in large niches; the rest of the wall is embellished with tasteful designs⁴ which extend to the wooden ceiling.

1. Visited on April 28, 1971.

2. See plate No. 91.

3. This information was given by Inder Kumar Sharda, great-grandson of Seth Baldev Das.

4. See plate No. 96.

1

62. The Jain Svetambar Temple at Zira.

The Jain temple at Zira is dedicated to Shri
²Parshva Nath. After its completion, all members of
the Jain sect in the area gathered here and offered
homage to Shri Rishabha Dev, one of the 24 Jain
tirthankaras, on the ghudi akadshi of Maghar, V.
³Samvat 1948 (7th April, 1887). The shrine housed on
the second storey, is imposing and its lofty shikhara
makes it conspicuous in the town. Before the square-
based garbha-griha is a dalan of considerable
dimensions for devotees to sit in and listen to
religious discourses. This is said to be a later
⁴addition to the temple. While the interior of garbha-
griha is elaborately ornamented with architectural
devices, the outer surface of the walls is adorned
with murals representing sectarian themes. In an
effort to renovate the murals, portions of these
were painted afresh a few years ago without any
alteration being made in the original composition.
The difference between the original and the retouched
portions, however, is noticeable. At present only
fifteen murals are extant.

1. Visited on July 6, 1969.

2. H.A. Rose (ed.), A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes
of Punjab, I. p. 114.

3. Ibid.

4. Shri Satya Pal Jain, interviewed at Zira.

1

63. The Serai at Zira.

2

The serai at Zira built in V.S. 1950 (= 1893 A.D.) is a structure of considerable local fame primarily due to its huge and imposing gateway with its sculptures and ornamentation. The serai does not serve the purpose for which it was initially built, for it is now virtually a part of the grain market. The rooms flanking the gateway meant originally for travellers have been converted into shops. All the walls in the serai were originally embellished with murals; only a small proportion of these, however, has survived on the upper portions of the inside of the gateway that forms the darwaza. Most of the themes portrayed are religious in character, but there are also interesting genre themes here.

3

64. The Samadhi of Baba Man Singh.

The samadhi of Baba Man Singh, a structure of modest proportions, is located near Sodhiwala, a village in tehsil Zira. Baba Man Singh is said to have been a man of great powers and the peasant folk of the nearby villages hold the samadhi in veneration, making offerings of liquor here. Built more than a hundred years ago, the samadhi, surmounted by a dome,

1. Visited on July 6, 1969.

2. Shri Satya Pal Jain, interviewed at Zira.

3. Visited on Nov. 8, 1970.

stands on a square base with a large porch in front. Saltpetre has affected the plaster on the lower part of the walls, destroying many murals painted on them. Ten panels pertaining mostly to genre themes, however, still survive and are well preserved.

1

65. The Haveli of Badhwaran.

This three-storeyed haveli, raised around a square courtyard, containing a number of rooms, stands in Street Seth Baldev Das in Ferozepur City. The haveli, it is said, was originally built by a Marwari trader of Calcutta in the last quarter of the 19th century and sold later to a Khatri family of the Badhwaran sub-caste. Mural ornamentation on the facade of the main entrance greets the visitor. However, less than a dozen murals that have survived are to be seen in a room on the second storey. An adjacent room is also embellished but with mirror work, not mural paintings.

66. The Digambara Jain Panchavati Mandir at Ferozepur
Cantt.

3

This temple was built in Mahavir Samvat 2423. It is a well-built structure, raised with precision and

1. Visited on April 23, 1971.

2. Visited on Oct. 5, 1969.

3. The date is inscribed above the gateway of the temple.

care. While the interior of the garbha-graha enshrining Jain images has costly ornamentation, the exterior is embellished with mural paintings, depicting Jain themes. The figures are executed in very small sizes. The paintings which are well preserved appear to be the work of competent hands.

1

67. The Samadh of Lala Telu Mall.

The plain looking samadh of Lala Telu Mall is located on the outskirts of Persepur City near the Zira Darwaza. An inscription on the samadh records it to have been built in v.s. 1354 (= 1397 A.D.). Although originally the inside of the samadh was covered with murals now only a few paintings can be seen. The themes are religious in character.

VII. DISTRICT FARIDKOT

2

68. Gurudwara Pothi Mala.

The Gurudwara Pothi Mala at Guru Harasahai, a town in the Muktsar sub-division, is an imposing building built about 1870 A.D. on a mound that overlooks the surrounding desert tract. It is a place of pilgrimage

1. Visited on April 28, 1971.
2. Visited on Oct. 10, 1970.
3. See H.A. Rose, (ed), op. cit., I. p. 714.

¹
 for Anoras of the North. The founder of the town
 was one Jiwan Mal, a Sodhi, seventh in descent from
²
 Guru Ram Das, who named it Guru Harasahai after the
³
 Guru's eldest son. Since Jiwan Mal's time, a Guruship
 is going on and the Guru, as head of the family, is
 the guardian of the sacred book and the rosary
⁴
 which originally belonged to Guru Nanak. This
 sacred book and rosary which unfortunately have now
 been stolen used to be kept in the gurdwara; hence
 the name Pothi Mala, pothi and mala meaning sacred
 book and rosary respectively. The double-storeyed
 building of the gurdwara, having a number of rooms,
 is an imposing building. There is the nishan-sahib
 or the post indicative of a Sikh sacred shrine. The
 wooden lintel of the main entrance to the gurdwara
 is carved and one is led to the second storey
 through a staircase where the holy Granth Sahib is
 housed in a square-based room within a large dalan.
 The entire length of the walls that constitute the
dalan and the square-based room are embellished with
⁵
 frescoes depicting religious as well as genre themes.
⁶
 These well painted panels of both square and rectangular

1. Ferozpur D.G. 1915, p. 47.

2. See Griffin, op. cit., I, p. 234; cf. Kahn Singh
 Babha, op. cit., pp. 315-316

3. Griffin, op. cit., I, p. 234.

4. Ibid., p. 236.

5. See plate Nos. 7, 17 and 50.

6. Ibid.

format, seem to be the work of a gifted artist. Barring a few, all the paintings are well preserved, and are more than two scores in number.

69. The Mari ¹ of Baba Sidh at village Mari.

The building at Mari which gives its name to the village located in tehsil ² Moga was erected by a Lahore banker in A.H. 1203 (= 1788 A.D.). From that time a fair is held here annually on the 14th ³ of Chet. The fair commemorates a Sadhu whose name is variously given as Charsi and Lachman. According to local tradition he was a Malhi Jat whose head was chopped off in a battle and fell at village Charik but who kept on fighting till his headless body fell ⁴ in village Mari. The structure, though devoid of any architectural pretensions, imparts an aura of nobility to the edifice. The Mari consists of two parallel chambers with vaulted roofs with separate vault-shaped entrances and inter-connected by two openings in the middle wall. The chambers are surrounded by a high wall giving the structure an air of fortification. A score of murals portraying religious ⁵ themes embellishing the interior of the chambers are still extant. Because of incense-smoke burnt as a

1. Visited on Oct. 14, 1970.

2. Ferozpur D.G. 1915, p. 47; a Persian inscription in one of the small niches of the building, though partly obliterated, corroborate this date. According to the Punjab District Census Handbook No. 12, Ferozpur District, p. 105, the Mari is 500 years old.

3. See H.A. Rose (ed.), op. cit., I, pp. 282-83.

4. See Census of India 1961, XVII, Punjab, Part-VII-B, Fairs and Festivals, p. 504.

5. See plate No. 24.

part of daily worship, the colours of the surviving paintings have lost their glow. The murals on the surrounding wall are no longer to be seen.

70. ²Gurudwara Lohgash Sahib.

Gurudwara Lohgash, associated with Guru Gobind Singh stands at Dina, a village in tehsil Hoga of district Faridkot. The shrine was raised in V.S. 1914 (= 1957 A.D.) by ³Wazir Singh, Raja of ⁴Faridkot. The gurdwara is built on the pattern of a square baradari having a square-based room in the centre wherein is enshrined the holy Granth Sahib. Above the square-based room is another room of equal dimensions surmounted by a big dome. Frescoes, pertaining mostly to Sikh themes are extant on the walls as well as on the massive pillars in the square circumambulatory. Murals are also to be seen on the walls of the two-storeyed house adjacent to the gurdwara but these are poor in execution.

71. ⁵Gurudwara Gurusar.

Gurudwara Gurusar, also associated with Guru Gobind Singh, stands at Bargarhi, a village on the

1. Shri Anar Singh, interviewed at Nari vividly recalled the murals he had seen on the outer walls some forty years ago.
2. Visited on Sept. 7, 1969.
3. The original inscription that recorded this date was covered in 1934 during repairs. However, the date was rewritten above the main door to the shrine. Also see Kennedy D.C. 1915, p. 48.
4. See Kahn Singh Nabha, op. cit., p. 477.
5. Visited on Sept. 7, 1969.
6. See Kahn Singh Nabha, op. cit., p. 629

Faridkot- Bhatinda road. The shrine is quite small but well-built. Guru Granth Sahib is enshrined in a square-based room with three doors each in front and at the back. The room is encircled by a narrow ¹ parikrama which has some murals on its walls. Above the room is an extension that supports the dome. This is raised on a hexagonal base and three out of its six sides bear ² murals, unfortunately badly damaged. The themes represented are Sikh. While murals on the ground floor were painted on the completion of the edifice some eighty years ago, those embellishing the upper hexagonal structure appear to be of a later date.

72. The Samadh of Bishan Singh Sodhi.³

The octagonal samadhs, one of Bishan Singh Sodhi and the other of his son Jagat Singh stand next to each other at Duttar, a village on the Hoga-Barnala ⁴ road. The samadh of Bishan Singh who died in 1825 A.D., is larger than that of his son. Although the

1. See plate No. 79.

2. See plate No. 14.

3. Visited on Sept. 28, 1969.

4. Griffin, op. cit., I, p. 240.

British granted half of the village Dila Ram to the Buttar family of the Sodhis for the maintenance¹ of the sanadh, it appears that little was done towards its upkeep which is evident from its desolated condition. The insides of all the eight sides of the sanadh were once painted with murals but are now unfortunately in a state of decay. Both religious and secular themes are intermixed. Jagat Singh's sanadh also appear to have had murals on its walls, but these have now nearly completely disappeared.

73. The Shish Mahal in Faridkot Fort.²

The murals that adorn the side walls of the entrance to Faridkot Fort are in subdued colours. Above the entrance, on the top floor, is a chamber of considerable proportions with elegantly inset pieces of mirrors in the walls as well as pillars; hence the name shish mahal: the 'palace of mirrors'. A square room which opens into the shish mahal on the right side is embellished with more than a dozen murals, now in a poor state. The paintings treat of a variety of subjects, religious as well as genre in character and appear to be the work of

1. Griffin, op. cit., I, p. 241.

2. Visited on Dec. 23, 1968 and Nov. 9, 1970.

competent hands, reminiscent of Pahari work. The murals were painted after the completion of the ¹Shish Mahal which was built in 1876 A.D. by Raja Bikram Singh. The paintings on the side walls of ²the entrance to the Fort were renovated in 1924 A.D. when Capt. Brown was the State Engineer and Military adviser.

VIII. DISTRICT LUKHIANA

74. The ³Samedh of Baba Mohar Singh.

Baba Mohar Singh was the founder of the 'Maha Sahi' ⁴branch of the Nirmalas, a monastic order of the Sikhs. He was poet-saint who belonged to the house of Bhai Daya Singh, one of the 'Five Beloveds' ⁵of Guru Gobind Singh. ⁶He died in 1635 A.D. and his samedh was built by his disciple named Bir Singh Rangrez near Lapon. The place is situated near Doraha Mandi in district Lakhiana. The samedh is an imposing structure, built on a raised platform approached by a flight of steps. Some of Baba Mohar

1. The former Maharaja Harinder Singh of Faridkot, interviewed.
2. Mistri Gaura Singh of Faridkot who was one of the persons employed in the renovation work, supplied this information.
3. Visited on Sept. 22, 1971.
4. See Avtar Singh Lakshbir, Jivan Moti (P), p. 35.
5. Ibid.
6. Muziklan State Gazetteer 1904, p. 76.
7. Avtar Singh Lakshbir, op. cit., p. 36.

Singh's garments are respectfully kept on a dias in the centre of the samadh. The interior is painted with frescoes, not only extant but intact and fresh. All the eleven panels with figurative paintings¹ are competent work. Mahima Sahi saints and other² themes form the subject of these frescoes.

3

75. A Mohammedan Tomb at Aandlu.

A Mohammedan tomb known as Lalan Wala Darbar is located at Aandlu, a village in Tehsil Jagrean of district Ludhiana. No one is locally certain about who lies buried here, nor is there any inscription giving any name or date. It appears however to be an old structure, probably at least a hundred years old. This sturdy structure, raised in solid masonry and enclosed by a wall, stands on a square base and converges to form a sail-vault dome above. The grave-stone lies in the centre. Since the partition of the country in 1947 and the emigration of Muslims from this area, no one looks after the tomb and it bears an utterly deserted look. The interior, the dome as well as the walls, is⁴ embellished with murals representing figures bearing

1. See plate No. 59.

2. Ibid.

3. Visited on August 15, 1971.

4. See plate No. 33.

Muslim names, some fairies and even a few Hindu themes. The colours of the paintings are now peeling off at places. This is one of the three Mohammedan monuments I have come across in the Punjab, where murals painted in the 19th century are still extant.

1

76. The Devi Durga Mandir.

This temple dedicated to the goddess Durga stands at Payal a town which used to be once a sub-tehsil of the erstwhile state of Patiala and lies now in district Ludhiana. Built in V.S. 1945² (= 1893 A.D.) for his personal use by Mundan Lal, money lender,³ the temple stands on private property. It is built in a plain, unpretentious style. Murals, looking like miniatures in size and style, are extant on the upper half of the walls of the square based shrine. Originally the paintings were protected by glass set in the plaster of the wall, but most of the glasses are now broken and the paintings now exposed are getting damaged. The themes of the paintings vary but most of them are derived from Hindu mythology.

1. Visited on July 9, 1971.
2. Recorded in an inscription on the temple both in Gurmukhi and Persian scripts.
3. Ibid.

IX DISTRICT SANGRUR77. The Samadh¹ of Baba Dyal Das.

The Dera of Balram, situated near the Police Station of Barnala, was founded by an Udasi saint² of that name. An octagonal based Samadh³ of Baba Dyal Das, one of the disciples of Balram, stands to the left of the gateway that forms the main entrance to the establishment. It is a well-built structure raised on a platform and encircled by a parikrama, enclosed by a low cemented railing. In the centre of the Samadh is a two feet high octagonal structure built over the remains of Baba Dyal Das. The inside of the walls and the dome were originally embellished with paintings that must originally have borne a splendid look. The paintings on the lower portions of the walls, being accessible, are now however rubbed beyond recognition. Only eight paintings, each⁴ on one side of the Samadh, portraying Sikh Gurus and some 9 to 12 feet in height, have survived. At the base of the dome runs another panel of paintings depicting different personalities, both Sikh and Hindu.

1. Visited on August 22, 1970.

2. See Phulkian States Gazetteer 1904, p. 78.

3. Ibid.

4. See plate No. 12.

1

78. The Haveli of Shri Onkar Nath.

Without any architectural pretensions, the haveli of Shri Onkar Nath built in the last quarter of the 19th century stands in Hadiaya, a village, four miles to the west of Barnala. It is a single-storeyed structure, with a number of rooms with doors opening into the courtyard in the centre of the haveli. A frieze running along the top of the four walls of the courtyard, has frescoes, now in a poor state. Being exposed to the elements, the colours of the frescoes have become faded. All the same, some of the paintings still retain interest due to themes representing scenes from ordinary life, and because this workmanship must once have been good.

2

79. The Temple of Mai Rajji.

A small temple known as Mai Rajji da Mandir, built more than a hundred years ago by an old woman of that name, in honour of Satnarayan, stands close to Hadiaya, a village in sub-division Barnala. The square based temple is surmounted by a shikhara. The interior of the shikhara and the upper portions of the walls are adorned with murals in a fair state of preservation. The murals appear however to be

1. Visited on August 15, 1969.

2. Ibid.

the work of a painter who had little formal training, but are not without charm. While most of the paintings are based on Hindu themes, murals depicting ¹ Sikh themes are also to be seen.

80. The Samadhs of Babas Sarb Sukh, Sarb Dyal, ²
Gopal Das and Bhagwan Das.

At Jandali, a village in tehsil Malerkotla, is located an akhara of Udasi saints. Here there are two hexagonal-based samadhs, one raised over the ashes of Baba Sarb Sukh and the other over the remains of Sarb Dyal, Gopal Das and Bhagwan Das. The date of their construction is hard to ascertain but the structures seem to be old, the samadh of Baba Sarb Sukh being earlier than the other one. The interiors of both the samadhs are adorned with murals and it is apparent from the style of the work that different painters were responsible for the work. The themes painted in the samadh of Baba Sarb Sukh vary but are treated in no apparent order. The paintings in the second samadh however, appear to be more coherent in sequence.

³
81. The Thakurdwara at Bagarian.

A thakurdwara, nearly a hundred years old, stands

1. See plate No. 100.
2. Visited on August 15, 1971.
3. Visited on Sept., 11, 1971.

at Bagarian, a village on the Nabha-Malerkotla road. It is built on a high platform in front of the huge haveli of the renowned sardars of that village. The interior is adorned with murals which appear, interestingly enough, like drawings in colours rather than paintings. While many of the murals have become blackened with smoke a few have survived that agent. Most of the themes are taken from Hindu mythology.

X. DISTRICT BHATINDA

82. The Samadh¹ of Bhai Gurdar Singh and Mai Rajji.

The samadh of Bhai Gurdar Singh and Mai Rajji, held in great respect by the peasantry of the nearby villages, is located at Dyalpura, a village on the Barnala-Jaito road. Gurdar Singh, known for his piety and austere living, was one of the early occupants of the gadhi² of Bhai Sahib Bagarian, a priestly line among the Sikhs. He died in V.S. 1923 (= 1766 A.D.)³ but the samadh was built by the Jind State⁴ after the death of Mai Rajji who died in V.S. 1941 (= 1784 A.D.)⁵. This does not take the usual

1. Visited on August 20, 1971.
2. Griffin, op.cit., p. 205.
3. Kahn Singh Nabha, op. cit., p. 783
4. Kapur Singh Chaman (ed.), Dina Kangar Survey Pustak (P), p. 44.
5. Kahn Singh Nabha, op. cit., p. 763. The date of her death is given as V.S. 1848 (= 1791 A.D.) by Teja Singh in his Sarkar Itihās of Bhai Sahib Bagarian (P), p. 20.

octagonal or hexagonal pattern, but is a square-based structure, encircled by a wide circumambulatory path. The chunam plaster applied to the walls, though old, is still intact and bright. The murals that embellish the walls are small in size; no regular pattern or sequence has been adopted in depicting the theme. In the dome an order is better established. Scenes based on the life of the Sikh Gurus, and romantic tales of the Punjab, have been painted. Many panels bear captions in Gurmukhi script.

83. The Temple of Kalu Nath.¹

The temple of Kalu Nath, revered by the Ramana² sub-caste of Jat Sikh, stands at Nathana, a village situated a few miles north-east of Bhatinda. A square structure in two storeys and topped by a somewhat flattened dome, this was erected in V.S. 1941³ (= 1894 A.D.) through public donations collected by Randa⁴, the then gahant of the temple. The dome is covered with metal and glistens in the sun. The square-based, principal chamber is enclosed by a narrow circumambulatory path and houses a massive

1. Visited on August 1, 1971.

2. See Bal Mukand Das, Jagan Sakhi Kalu Nath (P), pp. 176-232.

3. Ibid., p. 229.

4. Ferozepur D.C. 1915, p. 48.

platform raised over the remains of Shri Kalu Nath. The inside walls, both of the room and the circumambulatory, are adorned with murals, executed by raj-mistries, who must have been employed to construct the entire temple. The themes vary, but a majority¹ of them are religious in character.

84. The Samadhi at Talwandi Sabo.²

Talwandi Sabo in district Bhatinda, having a number of important Sikh shrines, is a place of considerable celebrity. Here, near the celebrated gurudwara Dandama Sahib, a deserted samadhi stands over the remains of one of the descendants³ of Datt Singh, a devotee of Guru Gobind Singh. Local evidence on this point was, however, not wholly clear. The square-based structure surmounted by a dome is built in a plain and unpretentious style. The interior is embellished with murals with unusually elongated figures. They are unfortunately in a state of decay, however, the recently sprayed film of D.D.T. having contributed its share to the damage. The themes taken are both Hindu and Sikh.

1. See plate No. 26.

2. Visited on August 1, 1971.

3. See Kahn Singh Nabha, op. cit., pp. 418, 465.

XI. DISTRICT PATIALA85. Shish Mahal¹ Patiala.

The 130-year-old Shish Mahal at Patiala, which houses some very fine mural paintings, was declared to be a protected monument in 1969² under the Punjab Ancient and Historical Monuments and Archaeological Sites and Remains Act 1964.³ Built at a cost of about Rs. 7 lakhs⁴ by Maharaja Narinder Singh of Patiala in V.S. 1904 (= 1847 A.D.), the Shish Mahal is located towards the rear end of Moti Bagh Palace, former residence of the rulers of Patiala. It is a regal structure with a number of chambers and must have been a favourite building of the rajas of Patiala. The frescoes are inside a large chamber, about 45 feet by 20 feet, and cover, together with elegantly inset pieces of mirrors which give the Shish Mahal its name, almost the entire wall space. Although the greater part of the painting is in the form of floral sprays and arabesques, these decorations ultimately form frames for more than a hundred panels of frescoes which constitute the chief embellishment. The picturesque chamber is remarkable

1. Visited on Oct. 3, 1970.

2. See The Tribune, Dec. 25, 1969.

3. Ibid.; cf. Gurcham Singh, "Historical and Cultural Background of Patiala", Advances, XIII, Oct.-Dec., 1966, No. 4, p. 35.

4. Sayyid Muhammad Hassan Khan Bahadur, Tarikh-i-Patiala (U), p. 464; Phulkian States Gazetteer, 1904, p. 202.

for the profusion and excellence of these murals,¹
 which are very well preserved. These have been
 described as being among the best frescoes in the
 north of India.² In their themes the paintings are spread
 over the Bhagavata Purana, isolated scenes from the
 Radha-Krishna story,³ the ten incarnations of Vishnu,
 the navak-navika classification, the bara-gosa
 poetry and the Ragamala. As a result of the Shish
Mahal being in a building attached to the National
 Institute of Sports for some years, the sum of Rs.54,000,⁴
 sanctioned by the Punjab Government for the
 preservation of murals could not unfortunately be
 put to good use. The walls of the painted chambers⁵
 are developing cracks and the floor is damaged.

86. The Rani Mahal.⁶

A portion consisting of a few chambers built
 over the eastern bastion of Nabha Fort, is referred
 to as the Rani Mahal. The apartments, built at the
 top, were obviously secluded rooms meant for the
 exclusive use of the ladies of the royal household;

1. See plate Nos. 28, 32, 36, 70, 71, 73, 74 and 96.
2. See The Tribune, Nov. 25, 1966.
3. See plate No. 36.
4. See The Tribune, Dec. 25, 1969.
5. For more information on Shish Mahal at Patiala see
 Karuna Goswamy, "Frescoes in the Shish Mahal at
 Patiala", Roopa-Lekha, XXXVII, Nos.1 & 2, pp.120-127.
6. Visited on Sept. 11, 1971.

hence the name Rani Mahal, the 'Palace of Queens'. The entrance to it is through a wooden gate carved with figures of deities and there are elegant murals inside on the walls. A great part of the painting takes the form of floral decorations, but there is figurative work also. No clear clue as to the date of the work is available but the paintings very likely belong to the third quarter of the 19th century. Some of the themes depart from the stock repertoire of 19th century painters. Some paintings with exotic scenes are conspicuous.

1

87. Diwan Khana Kadin.

After crossing the gateway of Gila Subarak at Patiala, one sees a building on the left, inside which is the old or Kadin Diwan Khana. Although the Gila Subarak was built by Baba Ala Singh in 1763² A.D., the Diwan Khana is a later construction, said to have been built by Maharaja Harindra Singh who³ ruled from 1846 to 1862 A.D. There is a large alcove in the back wall of the room, where the Maharaja used to sit in state. This recess has a great deal

1. Visited on July 5, 1971.

2. Kahn Singh Nabha, op. cit., p. 550.

3. Gurcharn Singh, op. cit., p. 35.

of very skilled stucco and sgraffitto ornamentation. The alcove was also embellished with some murals, still fairly intact. Miniatures painted on paper and framed in glass have also been so inset here¹ in the walls that they form a part of the wall surface.

88. The Sasadh of Raja Jaswant Singh.²

Maharaja Jaswant Singh, the ruler of Nabha, died on May 22, 1840. His sasadh, beautifully built in marble, stands in Shyam Bagh, behind the present hostels of Nabha Public School. The splendid structure stands inside a square enclosure, entered through an imposing gate and a small degrhi. The sasadh rises on a marble platform with marble balustrades. The centre, where lies buried the remains of the Maharaja, forms a square with columns, thus giving the monument the air of a baradari. An octagonal structure forming the second-storey projects upwards from the centre and is surmounted by a campaniform dome. The ceiling is decorated with tracery and stucco, and is inlaid with fragments of mirrors. A

1. See plate No. 47.

2. Visited on Sept. 11, 1971.

3. Khan Singh Nabha, op. cit., p. 520.

narrow frieze skirting the ceiling, was originally intended to be covered with murals with very small figures. Unfortunately the work was left unfinished¹ leaving only with drawings, left uncoloured but of unusual interest to us.

89. The Nirankari ²Dera.

This dera is located behind the Medical College at Patiala and its structure offers a striking contrast to the modern buildings of the college. Built entirely of small brick, it has a number of chambers, spread over a considerable expanse of land. Both the ends of the lengthy front wall of the dera are topped by umbrella-shaped domes, and contribute to the dignity of its appearance. Inside, on the second storey, stands an imposing samadh over the remains of Sarju Das, the founder of the Nirankari³ branch of bairagi sadhus who died in V.S. 1399⁴ (= 1842 A.D.). In the centre of the octagonal samadh, is an octagonal cella, with a life-sized image of Sarju Das. The interior of the cella as well as the walls that constitute the circumambulatory are decorated with paintings pertaining mostly to

1. See plate No. 21.

2. Visited on July 7, 1971.

3. See Phulkian State Gazetteer 1904, p. 77.

4. Kahn Singh Nabha, op. cit., p. 535.

1

Hindu themes, and in a very good state of preservation. The inside of the chhatris is also adorned with murals.

2

90. The Temple of Bhuri Mai.

The temple commemorating to Bhuri Mai stands within a wide courtyard, just behind the celebrated temple of Kali Mai at Patiala. This imposingly built shrine is devoid of any mural embellishments; however, one of the many rooms built around the courtyard and attached to the temple, bears mural paintings on its walls. The themes represented illustrate the Devi-Mahatmya from the Markandeya-Purana. Owing to the plaster of the walls peeling off the murals are badly damaged. Not one of the painted panels is entirely intact. In the room also are a number of partly broken sculptured figures of the goddess. The room is in the custody of the officials of Cham-arth of Patiala, and stays always locked.

3

91. The Shiv Puri Temple.

Adjacent to Samana Darwaza in Patiala, stands the temple dedicated to Shiva, locally known as Shiv Puri. Based on a square plan with a portico supported on

1. See plate No. 27.
2. Visited on July 7, 1971.
3. Visited on July 5, 1971.

columns, the temple is quite simple in form. It is said to have been built in V.S. 1894¹ (= 1837 A.D.) by Maharaja Karam Singh (1798-1845) of Patiala. All the space on the walls of the temple was originally adorned with murals, but most of these, except those on the upper portions of the interior, could be seen now. The paintings are executed in miniature,² inside individual rectangular frames, with borders to imitate small alcoves. A mixed variety of themes is to be seen,³ but nothing is directly concerned with Shiva.

XII. THE UNION TERRITORY OF CHANDIGARH

4 92. The Temple of Mansa Devi.

Not far from the town of Maninajra near Chandigarh, is the celebrated temple dedicated to Mansa Devi, widely known for the fair that is held here in the⁵ navaratri. The temple built upon a hillock and approached by a long flight of stairs, has more a Mohammedan than a Hindu look due to its onion-shaped domes and several superstructures imitating minarets.

1. I was told this by Pt. Sohan Lal, the present priest of the temple, who vividly recalled the text of the inscription above the entrance door of the temple which now is covered by layers of whitewash.
2. See plate No. 86.
3. Ibid.
4. Visited on June 30, 1971.
5. See Kalyan (II) Tirth Ark, year 31, No.1, p. 67.

The main gate is embellished with decorative patterns¹ and there is an inscription on its intrados recording the date of its construction: this was started in V.S. 1863 (= 1811 A.D.) and completed in V.S. 1872 (= 1815 A.D.) at the expense of Raja Gopal Singh of Manimajra. The shrine proper stands on a square base with a porch in the front and a circumambulatory path encircling it. The entire length of the walls constituting the circumambulatory path and the porch are embellished with murals, many panels being in a fair state.² The ceiling too is decorated with floral designs. The walls of the other structures which are a part of the temple complex were also originally adorned with mural paintings, but all these have unfortunately disappeared under layers of whitewash.³

93. The Manimajra Fort.⁴

In the close by town of Manimajra is a rectangular shaped fort with seven bastions, said to have been built some time in the late 18th century, before the time of Raja Gopal Singh of Manimajra. The fort, now in ruins, is approached through a gate above which

1. See plate No. 92.
2. See plate No. 35.
3. For more information on this temple see B.N. Goswamy, "Temple of Mansa Devi and its Frescoes", Advances, Vol. XII, No.2, April-June 1965, pp. 31-36; "Some early nineteenth century frescoes and the painter Angad of Simur", Arts Asiaticus, XIII, 1966, pp. 99-105.
4. Visited on July 2, 1971.

are a number of apartments once used by the fort officials or possibly even the Raja himself. These structures are now all in ruins but faint traces of murals that once adorned the walls are still to be seen. At one place a few panels of murals are in a state of good preservation.¹ The panels are few, but the themes represented are interesting and cover a variety of subjects.²

D. THE HARYANA

XIII DISTRICT ANBALA

94. The Samadhs of Lala Balak Ram and Lala Jamuna Das.³

Two samadhs, identical in appearance and standing next to each other, are located at Jagadhri, just outside the city on the right side of the road that leads to the nearby town of Yamunanagar. In these are buried the remains of two brothers: Lala Balak Ram and Lala Jamuna Das. The samadh of Lala Jamuna Das, the younger of the two brothers, as is evident from an inscription recording the death of his wife Rani Devi, was built in V.S. 1936 (= 1879 A.D.). The samadh of Lala Balak Ram was erected a little earlier. Both the samadhs built by the same masons stand on square bases

1. See plate Nos. 62, 67 and 72.

2. Ibid.

3. Visited on May 31, 1971.

with bulbous domes surmounting them. Pairs of painted avarapalas flank the entrances of both the samadhis. The interiors are embellished with murals,¹ with themes from Hindu mythology. Painted in a distinctive style, the murals in both the samadhis, done in tempera, seem to the work of the same painter. The murals are nearly all intact.

95. The Rajewala Temple.²

Adjacent to the samadhi at Jagadhâri described above, is a shrine dedicated to Shiva and locally referred to as Nandir Rajewala. Since it ~~was~~ built by Lala Balak Ram and Lala Jamuna Das, it must antedate their samadhis. The temple stands on a square base, has a shikhara of considerable height, and is fronted by a porch which too has a small shikhara-top. The inner walls of the porch as well as the temple have murals of religious themes. The style of the paintings in the temple as well as in the two adjacent samadhis indicates that they are all the work of the same craftsman. The murals in the temple are in a comparatively poorer state than those inside the samadhi.

1. See plate Ibs. 29 and 38.

2. Visited on May 31, 1971.

1

96. The Digambara Jain Mandir.

Built nearly a hundred years ago, a Digambara Jain temple stands in the heart of Sadhaura, a town in tahsil Naraingarh. After crossing a deorhi, one passes through a small courtyard to approach the garbha-griha, which is topped by a pointed shikhara. The walls of the cella as well as of the verandah that serves as a porch to the shrine, are embellished with murals, representing Jaina themes.² A number of rooms built around the cella are bare of murals, only the ceilings being decorated with tastefully laid patterns.

3

97. The Gila Mubarak at Chhachhrauli.

Within the precincts of the Gila Mubarak at Chhachhrauli, there stands a two-storeyed building belonging to the last years of the 19th century. The architecture bears some British influence. The walls of the large courtyard in the centre of the building, have paintings representing birds and flowers, and some other themes.

1. Visited on May 31, 1971.
2. See plate No. 42.
3. Visited on May 31, 1971.

XIV. DISTRICT KURUKSHETRA98. ¹Shadra-Kali Mandir.

This temple, dedicated to the goddess Kali, is one of the fifty-one ²devi-piths of India and is among the more imposing religious structure of Kurukshetra.

It is said to have been built in 1862 A.D. by Ganga Ram ³raibari, whose descendants sold the mandir and its assets in 1919 to Kali Kamli Wala Panchayati ⁴Kahetra, Rikhi Kesh, that now looks after the temple. The general plan of the meticulously built two-storeyed temple is square, recessed twice at the corners. The square garbha-griha in the centre enshrines the image of Kali Devi. The upper portions are embellished with ⁵frescoes with religious themes and geometrical patterns within a wide frieze bordering the lower end. Around the garbha-griha, both on the first and the second storey, runs a pradakshina-path : the lower level has no adornment, however, the upper has murals with very curious themes.

99. ⁶The Temple of Bawa Sharwan Nath.

The temple of Bawa Sharwan Nath, one of the

1. Visited on May 29, 1971.
2. Kalyan (H) Tiratha Ank. year 31, No. 1, p. 80.
3. The manager of the temple, Sh. Babu Ram Sharma, interviewed at Kurukshetra, gave this information.
4. Ibid.
5. See plate No. 99.
6. Visited on May 29, 1971.

most important and old temples at Pehowa, consecrated to Shiva, is also known as 'Chatur-mukha Mahadeva'¹. It stands within the dera of the Pehowa-branch of the 'Dera of Bawa Sharwan Nath Ji', located at Kurukshetra. Built in V.S. 1865 (= 1808 A.D.)², it is one of the more imposing religious shrines in district Kurukshetra. The square-based main shrine, with a lofty shikhara, stands on a high square platform, with four subsidiary temples at its corners. There are two portals with flights of steps, one each on the conjoining sides of the platform. The space between the subsidiary temples on the other sides is closed and is used by the priests. Its walls have some murals³. The interior of the dome above the portico, built in front of the main shrine, is divided into eight panels, each inserted with a mirror in the centre, with the rest of the space bearing a painting.

100. The Temple of Shri Ram Padma.⁴

Kaul, a village of considerable antiquity, is located on the Nilokheri-Pehowa road. The village

1. See Kalyan(H) Tiratha Ank, year 31, No. 1, p. 83.
2. The date is given in an inscription above the main entrance to the shrine.
3. See plate No. 69.
4. Visited on May 29, 1971.

has grown around a large tank having in its centre a sanadh locally said to be of Kapil Muni. On the banks of the tank is a complex of temples, devoted to different Hindu deities, now mostly in ruins. Traces of mural paintings are still to be seen on the walls. Among these temples is a shrine, referred to as Ram Padma Ka Mandir, which appears to be more than a hundred years old. Consecrated to Shiva, the temple also used to house a charitable Sanskrit Pathshala. The ceiling of its porch fronting the temple, is embellished with murals. The themes are Hindu and the state of preservation good.

1

101. The Haveli of Rani Chand Kaur.

2

The haveli of Rani Chand Kaur, wife of Raja Jaswant Singh of Nabha, stands at Pehowa. Rising three storeys high, the haveli, built about the middle of the 19th century around a rectangular courtyard, was originally a grand structure. However, most of its splendour is now gone due to negligence on the part of many families that now occupy it with their cattle. Most of the walls once had murals, but only a few panels on the outside of the wall, above the gateway, and in the inner rooms survive now.

1. Visited on May 29, 1971.

2. See Kahn Singh Nabha, op. cit., p. 360

XV. DISTRICT KARNAL1
102. Shivala Ek Onkar.

Founded by Baba Kirpal at the expense of
 Maharaja Ranjit Singh in V.S. 1873² (= 1816 A.D.),
 the temple referred to Shivala Ek Onkar, stands on
 a mound that overlooks the surrounding country,
 close to Nighda, a village about 10 miles west of
 Nilokheri on the Nilokheri-Pehowa road. Despite
 its plain structure the temple has an air of
 dignity about it, due to the considerable height
 on which it is built. The interior is adorned with
 murals, in an indifferent style, depicting Hindu
 themes and an interesting pair of a 'man'³ and a 'sahib'⁴.

5
103. The Samadh of Baba Mohini.

Adjoining the Gosain mandir at Barota, a village
 located a few miles south-west of Karnal, is the
samadh of Baba Sahib Mohini, who died in V.S. 1893⁶
 (= 1836 A.D.). It is a tiny structure with a porch
 in front and an entrance no bigger than a small
 window. The dome topping it is ribbed. On the inside
 are murals in a curious style showing somewhat stunted
 figures of Hindu deities.

1. Visited on May 28, 1971.
2. H.A. Rose (ed.), op. cit., I. p. 284.
3. See plate No. 66.
4. See plate No. 65.
5. Visited on May 28, 1973.
6. H.A. Rose (ed.), op. cit., I. p. 286.

104. The Shiva Temple in the Akhara of Bawa Sehijgir.¹

Within the precincts of the akhara of Bawa Sehijgir at Karnal, is a Shiva temple standing on a five feet high platform, in the midst of the tombs of many saints.² The structure is based on a square plan and appears to be considerably old. The interior of the walls bear murals, painted within rectangular panels and depicting Hindu themes.

105. The Shiva Temple at Patti Kalyana.³

A Shiva temple, built in V.S. 1957 (= 1900 A.D.),⁴ with funds raised by public subscription, stands at Patti Kalyana, a village near Panipat. The square garbha-griha is small, but the temple itself is quite considerable, with the outer walls rising two storeys high and apartments above for the priest to lodge in. The outer wall of the entrance is profously painted but the original lustre of the colours is vanished. The inside is now all whitewashed, with only traces of murals visible.

1. Visited on May 28, 1971.

2. See H.A. Rose (ed.) op. cit., I. p. 286.

3. Visited on May 27, 1971.

4. Recorded in an inscription above the main entrance to the temple.

XVI. DISTRICT BHIWANI106. The Diwankhana of Chandar Sain.¹

The house of Chaudhri Chandar Sain, known as Chandar Sain ka Diwankhana, is the principal² building at Dedri, a sub-division of the newly formed Bhiwani district. Chaudhri Chandar Sain was a high revenue official of Dedri, which formed a part of the Muslim state of Jhajjar, and built this diwankhana in the middle of the 19th century before Jhajjar was taken over by the British to punish its ruler for disloyalty towards them in the³ mutiny of 1857. The imposing edifice is approached through a huge wooden gate flanked by a high wall that encloses three sides of the courtyard in front of the diwankhana. In form it is a rectangular hall with an open front, supported on columns topped by arches, and with a carved wooden ceiling. There are small chambers forming balconies the walls of which had murals with descriptive captions in Persian script. The themes vary, but a majority of these depict contemporary personages. The paintings are in a fair state.

1. Visited on Oct. 7, 1973.

2. See Phulkian States Gazetteer 1904, p. 333.

3. See Griffin, op. cit., p. 486.

Apart from 106 places noticed above there are numerous other places and monuments in which I saw scattered panels of murals painted during the 19th century and now in varying states of preservation. Here I am only listing them without going into any details.

DISTRICT AMRITSAR.

1. Darbar Sahib, Tarn Taran.
2. Bunga of the Kamboj biradari at Tarn Taran.
3. Bunga of village Sathiala at Tarn Taran.
4. Darbar Baba Buddha Sahib at Randas.
5. Gurudwara Bauli Sahib at Goindwal.
6. Samadhi of Baba Hari Gir at Patti.
7. Gurudwara of Shri Margobind Sahib at Manhala,
a village near Patti.
8. The shrine known as Baba Sher Shah da Darbar
at Chariala, a village near Patti.

DISTRICT GURDASPUR.

9. The temple known as Sheru Shah da Mandir in
Mochi Bazar, at Batala.
10. The temple of Radha Krishna at Bhasbari, a
village in the Batala sub-division.

1. Although the building is old, its dome was cracked by the earthquake of 1905 and was rebuilt again and embellished afresh with murals. See Jagjit Singh, Sankhen Itihes Sri Darbar Sahib, Sri Tarn Taran (P), pp. 30-31.
2. These murals were painted in the early 20th century.
3. According to Punjab District Census Handbook No. 13, Amritsar District (Census of India 1961), p. 124, this gurudwara is only 50 years old.

11. Gurudwara Baba Sri Chand at Jaurian Khurd,
a village in the Batala sub-division.
12. Lingar Sri Chola Sahib at Dera Baba Nanak.
13. The house of Lala Ayodhya Nath at Dhepai, a
village in the Batala sub-division.
14. The temple at Chandu Mangal, a village in the
Batala sub-division.
15. Samadh of Baba Mahesh Das at Pindori Mahantan,¹
near Gurdaspur.

DISTRICT HOSHIARPUR.

16. Gurudwara Shri Rajur Baba Sahib Singh ji Bedi
at Una.
17. The Shiva temple known as Bhallian da Mandir
at Bajwara, a village near Hoshiarpur.
18. A Shiva temple at Bhunga, a village on the
Hoshiarpur-Dasuya Road.
19. The temple of Rajni Devi at Leli Khurd, a
village about twelve miles south-east of
Hoshiarpur.
20. The Shiva temple known as Khatarian da Mandir
at Bajwara, a village near Hoshiarpur.

1. See plate No. 34.

2. Una now lies in Himachal Pradesh.

21. Samadh of sardar Baghel Singh at Haryana.
22. The temple known as Ahluwalian da Mandir at Basi Kalan, a village, a few miles south-east of Hoshiarpur.
23. A temple built in V.S. 1838¹ (= 1831 A.D.) at Dadyana, a village near Haryana.
24. The house of Shri Anant Ram at Tanda.

DISTRICT JULLUNDUR.

25. Deorhi of the gurudwara at Sangh Dhesian, a village in the Phillaur sub-division.
26. Gurudwara Gang Sar at Kartarpur.
27. The temple of Gosains at Alawalpur.
28. The Shiva temple of Lala Bhagat Ram at Alawalpur.
29. The temple known as Seyalian da Mandir at Bilga, a village in the Phillaur sub-division.
30. The temple known as Banna Mal da Shivala at Nawanshahar, built in 1867 A.D.
31. A Shiva temple at Garhi, a village on the Nawanshahar-Ropar road.
32. Dera Baba Dhyani Das at Samrae, a village in the Phillaur sub-division.

1. Recorded in an inscription above the main entrance to the temple.
2. The murals were probably painted in the early 20th century.
3. The date is written on a stone affixed in a well of the temple.

DISTRICT KAPURTHALA.

33. The Jalao Khana at Kapurthala.
34. GURUMARA Sri Guru ka Bach¹ at Sultanpur Lodhi.

DISTRICT PEROZEPUR.

35. The Devi temple near Bansi Mala Gate at
Perozepur City.

DISTRICT FARIDKOT.

36. Samadh of Sardul Singh in Dera Kashi Puri² at
Dambli, a village on the Perozepur-Moga road.
37. GURUMARA associated with Guru Gobind Singh at
Gurusar, a village near Kot Kapura.
38. A Shiva temple at Kot Isa Khan.
39. The Haveli of Maghi Mal at Langiana Hewan,
a village near Baghapurana.
40. Shrine of Sakhi Sarwar Sultan, a few miles
west of Baghapurana.
41. Samadh of Bawa Ram Das in Dera Chappa Tibba
at Seda Singh Mala, a village near Jaito.
42. Dera Mehra Sahi at Panjgiraiian Kalan, near
Kot Kapura.

DISTRICT LUDHIANA.

43. Das Nam Ka Akhara at Pail.

1. The paintings were probably painted in the early
20th century.

2. See coloured plate No. III.

44. A Shiva temple at Khanpur, a village near Khanna.
45. Samadhs of the sardars at Khannan, a village on the Chandigarh-Ludhiana road.
46. The ma of Guga at Bhari, a village near Khanna.
47. Gurukhara Guruser at Lallan, a village near Samrala.

DISTRICT SANGRUR.

48. The monastery known as Dera Udasian at Ladda, a village near Dhuri.
49. Gurukhara Chulha Sahib at Longowal.
50. Samadhs of the sardars of Bagarian, a village on the Malerkotla-Nabha road.
51. The Shiva temple known as Nani ka Mandir at Bhadsar.
52. Samadh of Jai Gopal in the Dera of Atma Ram, near Malerkotla.
53. The temple of Shri Ram Chandra at Barbar, a village on the Sangrur-Barnala road.
54. Samadh of Maharaja Jai Bhag Singh at Sangrur, built in V.S. 1935¹ (= 1873 A.D.).
55. Samadh of Baba Nikka Singh at Barnala.

1. The date is inscribed above the entrance to the samadh.

DISTRICT BILASPUR.

56. Sansadh of Jogi Pir between villages Salla and Bhopalan in the Mansa sub-division.

DISTRICT PATIALA.

57. The temple known as Bara Mandir at Bhadsan, a village in the Nabha sub-division.
58. A Shiva temple in the monastery known as Akhara Giran, at Sirhand.
59. Sansadh of Gulab Prakash at Chintarwali, a village located a few miles west of Nabha.
60. The temple of Shri Badri Narayan at Bahadurgath.

DISTRICT ROHAR.

61. A Shiva temple at Sohana, a village in the Kharar sub-division.
62. Sansadh of the gandhar of Ladwa at Durahi, a village in the Kharar sub-division.

DISTRICT AMBALA.

63. The Shiva temple known as Bara Mandir at Panjore.
64. The Jain Sivatarbora temple¹ at Ambala City.
65. The Shiva temple adjacent to Harenjan Wala Talab at Ambala City.
66. The temple of Mai Amba at Ambala City.

1. These murals have recently been painted without any alternation being made in the original compositions.

- 67. The temple of Shri Gauri Shankar at Jagadhri.
- 68. The Diwankhana at Chhachhrewali.
- 69. The haveli¹ of Lala Krishan Chand, Samadh Gali, Jagadhri.

DISTRICT KURUKSHETRA.

- 70. The temple of Shri Lakshmi Narayan at Kaul, a village in the Pehowa sub-division.
- 71. A Shiva temple adjoining Sukra-kund at Kaithal, built by Raja Uday Singh.
- 72. The temple of Shri Sthaneshwara Mahadeva at Thanesar.
- 73. The Dera of Bawa Sharwan Nath at Kurukshetra.
- 74. A Shiva temple in the area known as Pranchian at Pehowa.
- 75. The Dera of Bawa Darbar Furi at Ramthali, a village near Guhla.
- 76. Gurudwara of Guru Teg Bahadur at Bani Badarpur, near Ladwa, built by Baghel Singh.

DISTRICT KARNAL.

- 77. The temple known as Mandir Nihal Wala at Karnal.
- 78. The Gangaji temple at Panipat.

1. See plate No. 93.

DISTRICT SONIPAT.

- 79. The chopal at Jakholi, a village near Sonipat.
- 80. The temple known as Panchavati Mandir at Murthal, near Sonipat.

DISTRICT HISSAR.

- 81. The paras of panna Khurd at Bas, a village in the Hansi sub-division.
- 82. The haveli of Shri Dhanpat Rai at Bas.
- 83. The house of Shri Baru Mal¹ at Sulchini, a village in the Hansi sub-division.
- 84. The paras of panna Thela at Harnaund, a village in the Hansi sub-division.

DISTRICT BHIWANI.

- 85. The haveli of Banarsi Das Mahajan at Dadri.
- 86. The haveli of Chaudhri Ramrik Singh at Lohari Jatu, a village on the Bhiwani-Hansi road.
- 87. The Ganga Mandir at Bhiwani.
- 88. The house of Sri Kidar Nath Bhagoti Prashed Aggarwal, mohalla Bhutan, at Bhiwani.

Listed below are some buildings and monuments now in Punjab, Pakistan, which have extant

- 1. The murals appear to have been painted in early 20th century.

¹
murals.

1. The Lahore Fort.

- i) ~~Khasabgah~~-Shahjehani.
- ii) The Royal Bathroom in Jahangir's Quadrangle.
- iii) ~~Daulat Khana-e-Khas-o-Aam~~ of Akbar.
- iv) A pavilion in Jahangir's Quadrangle.
- v) Shah ~~haji~~, the long room opposite to Shish Mahal.
- vi) Kala Burj.
- vii) Roohani Gate.

2. ~~Sasadh~~ of Maharaja Ranjit Singh at Lahore.

3. The ~~haveli~~² of Maharaja Nandihal Singh at Lahore.

4. ~~Sasadh~~ of Maharaja Sher Singh and his ~~kanis~~
in Kot Khwaja Saeed, Sheranwala, Lahore.

5. A Baradari at Akalgarh.

6. The haveli of a diwan at Akalgarh.

7. The Sheikhpura Fort.

8. The Sheranwali baradari at Gujranwala.

9. A Jain mandir at Gujranwala.

10. Hari Singh's haveli at Gujranwala.

1. This list is based on information kindly supplied to me by: (i) Dept. of Archaeology, Govt. of Pakistan, vide its letter No. 22/23/68-Arch., dated Nov. 9, 1968; (ii) Prof. Shakir Ali, Principal, National College of Arts, Lahore, vide his letter No. 5076 dated Oct. 15, 1969; and (iii) Mrs. Anna Molka Ahmed, Prof. and Head, Deptt. of Fine Arts, University of the Panjab, Lahore, vide her letter No. 2711-12-2-Art/4 dated Nov. 26, 1969.
2. See H.M. Wheeler, Five Thousand Years of Pakistan, plate No. XVI (b).

11. Gurudwara Panja Sahib at Hasan Abdal.
12. Nankana Sahib and its gurdwaras.
13. Samadh of Baba Phola Singh at Pir Sabak near
Noshera.
14. The Jogun Shah gurdwara at Peshawar.
15. Sansan Bhoomi, a gurdwara about five miles from
Multan near the water tank.
16. Many Sikh havelis at Dhera in district Sargodha.
17. A Sikh haveli at Dhudyal, a village near Chuha
Saidan Shah, in district Jhelum.

* * * *

Chapter III

ANALYSIS OF THEMES

Murals in 19th century Punjab covered a considerable range of themes. As is often the case, the subject matter and the form of art alike were derived by the artists from "selection out of the raw materials of myths and metaphysics as well as the contemporary environment...."¹ The themes on the walls of the Punjab in the 19th century are all 'concrete' and can for the most part be termed as 'narrative'. Since the murals were closer to the masses than, say miniatures, an effort seems to have been made by the painter to paint what was readily intelligible. For, as Ananda Coomaraswamy said, "the plain man has no use for art

1. See Radhakamal Mukerjee, The Social Function of Art, p. 37.

unless he knows what it is about, or what it is for.¹

Most of the themes came somewhat naturally from the stock repertoire of the artists; it is only occasionally that they ventured on subjects which were new and contemporary. But perhaps a fuller idea of the range of subjects treated by mural painters can be gained by considering, in detail, and as examples, murals from one or two representative places.

One such typical building for mural work could be the temple of Bairagis at Ram Tatwali in Nashikpur district. Here there were, originally, no less than about 300 painted panels. Most of the panels in the shrine proper are now in a damaged state, but those on the three upper apartments, comprising a portion of the temple complex, are relatively intact.

The most profusely painted apartment, measuring 24 feet by 10 feet, consists of ninety-four surviving panels. Out of these as many as eighteen paintings depict themes relating to Krishna, from his birth to his assuming of the Virata Rupa as revealed to Arjuna. There are eight panels pertaining to Vishnu. Five of these represent him in the form of Vamana, Parasurama, Narasimha, Varaha and Matsya avatars; a panel depicts the Chakendra moksha scene; in one he is seen in the

1. Christian and Oriental Philosophy of Art, p. 90.

female form of Mohini saving nectar from demons, while another represents him resting on the Shesh Serpent. Fourteen panels portray scenes from the two great epics — ten from the Ramayana and four from the Mahabharata. Four paintings relate to Shiva and Parvati, including their son Ganesha, and the Devi theme occupies two panels. Jagannatha, Balabhadra and Subhadra; the Sabha of Indra and 'Churning of the Ocean' have been shown in three other panels. A painting represents Brahma, Vishnu and Mahesh — the three principal divinities of Hindu pantheon — in a single panel. One panel depicts scene from Yama's court in the nether world.

Eight miniature panels represent eight different grahas or presiding planets in a series, including Rahu and Ketu, a theme not often seen painted elsewhere in the Punjab. Two other panels show heavenly bodies including Surya and Chandrama riding on their respective chariots.

In this very Vaishnava temple, there are twelve paintings which deal with Sikh themes. Out of these two depict Guru Nanak¹, one Guru Gobind Singh and two Maharaja Ranjit Singh². Five panels representing Maharaja Sher Singh³, Dhian Singh⁴, Suchet Singh, Fakir Azis-ud-Din and Rani Jindan constitute a series

1. See coloured plate No. II.
2. See coloured plate No. I.
3. See plate No. 45.
4. See plate No. 46.

of striking portraits. Scenes of the Anglo-Sikh war¹ and surrender of the Sikh armies occupy two more panels.

There is a series of seven portraits depicting, in chronological sequence, the nabants of the gaddi of Ram Tatwari temple. Two paintings relate to the legend of Gopi Chand and Puran Bhagat. At one place, a British official is shown receiving petitions from natives.² Six dyavapalas, really much like sentries on duty, one each on the sides of the three doors forming the entrance to the apartment, have been painted.³ Ragini themes have also been treated twice in small-sized panels.

A mural illustrating a Muslim theme, Shams Tabriz roasting fish in the sun, is of exceptional interest. There are two more panels which seem to represent Muslim themes, although they are hard to identify with accuracy.

To the south of this apartment with the themes just listed there is another chamber, also beautifully embellished. Thirty-four panels survive in it. Thirteen paintings depict themes of religious nature, many of these repetitive of themes painted in the adjacent apartment. However, there are new themes as well. These illustrate, thus, the birth of Sita, Rama killing Bali, Shrivana Kumar carrying his blind parents, Kali Devi and Bhairon. Twelve panels cover miscellaneous genre themes

1. See plate No. 64.
2. See plate No. 68.
3. See plate No. 94.

including a lady feeding a parrot,¹ a British army officer inspecting an infantry unit, a railway train, a lady writing a love letter,² Gaddi people, wrestlers,³ acrobats, a hunting scene, a lady with a buck, an angel playing a musical instrument,⁴ and opium eaters.

Eight panels bear portraits of different personalities including Maharaja Sher Singh, Raja Gulab Singh and four mahants of the temple, the latter being shown on horsebacks. A Gyanapala occupies one more panel.

On the western side is another apartment, smaller compared to both the chambers described in the preceding paragraphs. Although floral motifs mingle with figure paintings all over the temple elsewhere, the walls of this apartment are almost entirely covered with floral designs and creepers. The only exceptions are seven panels depicting the usual religious themes; two of these show past mahants of the temple paying homage to the image of 'Thakur Ji' with great respects.

In the shrine proper at Ram Tatwari, the entire space on the walls constituting the circumambulatory path was originally embellished with murals. Now, however, there is very little to be seen, most of the paintings having become greatly damaged. Most of the

1. See plate No. 55.
2. See plate No. 84.
3. See plate No. 83.
4. See plate No. 85.

subjects found in the circumambulatory path are close to those noticed in the three apartments, but there is also the addition of some new themes, both religious and secular.

Among new additions in themes can be seen Krishna stealing butter, moving a temple, pointing out the moon to Radha, and in Hava-Lila: a form of love-play in which Krishna and Radha exchange their attire. An interesting rendering of Rukimini's elopement with Krishna also appears. Themes illustrating Hanuman's adventures as in the Ramayana, along with other themes from the epic, cover a number of panels. A scene illustrating the 'unveiling of Draupadi' is the only theme here taken from the Mahabharata. The Kalki avatara, Gaja Lakshmi and Durga are other Hindu themes not found in the murals in the apartments. From among the Sikh Gurus, Guru Gobind Singh appears here again, holding a falcon in his hand. A painting representing Akali Phula Singh occupies one more panel.

Genre themes constitute the most interesting part of murals in the circumambulatory path. They bear no relation whatever to the temple and form apparently a part of the general repertoire which the Punjabi artists had by this time developed. Here, thus, are depicted ladies at toilette, writing letters, fondling peacocks, spinning cotton, making skeins. We see a parah of Lucknow, an European lady standing with an umbrella accompanied by her dog, and a Sahib standing with a

stick in his hand. A few panels relate to the romantic legends of Mirza Sahiban as well as of Shah Bahram and Husan Banu. Akali Khula Singh and a number of Sikh chiefs occupy a few more panels. A Muslim theme with the devout Shams Tabriz appears also in this temple; in addition there is another Muslim theme illustrating crucifixion of Mansur-al-Hallaj. A number of divasopalas in different forms appear on all the eight openings into the circumambulatory path of the octagonal based edifice, the intrados invariably bearing quaint figures and winged fairies.

Another building with mural work which can be seen as typical is the gurdwara of Baba Bir Singh at Nautangabad in Amritsar district. Here 120 panels were painted and all of these are still extant in a fairly good state of preservation. Out of these, thirty panels portray themes that are both Sikh and Hindu and all the personalities¹ depicted are identified through Gurmukhi inscriptions.

Among the Sikh themes are seen portraits of the ten² Gurus and a number of personages and granthis³ associated with this gurdwara; Baba Bir Singh, Thakur Khuda Singh, Baba Dhag Singh, Mahant Ram Singh, Baba Maharaj Singh, Baba Suraj Singh, Baba Bikram Singh, Baba Sujan Singh, Baba Khem Singh and Baba Kahn Singh. Other Sikh figures

1. See plate No. 31.⁵

2. See plate Nos. 4, 5, 6, 10 and 11.

3. See plate No. 57.

include those of Baba Budha Ji, Baba Atal Rai, Bhai Salo and two sons of Guru Nanak Dev - Sri Chand and Lakshmi Das.

Among figures from Hindu religion and mythology are to be seen portraits of Krishna, Rama, Lakshmana, Hanumana, Narada, Sukhdeva and Raja Janak. Four panels depict avatares like Matara, Kurma, Varaha and Narasimha. The Bhaktas Kabir and Dhanna occupy two more panels.

There are ten panels depicting pleasantly illustrated birds: thus, parrots, pigeons, sparrows, sandpipers, partridges, wood-peckers, herons (a paddy-bird) and several elegant forms of peacock. In six more panels are painted trees and bushes on which perch playful monkeys and squirrels. The remaining panels are embellished with floral designs of various descriptions.

There is no apparent or necessary connection, one thus sees, between the scenes painted and the two shrines referred to above. The paintings here form a part of decoration, not of religion; something that is true of nearly every edifice in the Punjab with 19th century murals. An exception can be seen in the frescoes

1. See plate No. 31.
2. See plate No. 87.

in Baba Atal at Amritsar. Their function is still decorative but more attention is paid to the nature of the shrine and the work done in it.

The frescoes here clearly stick to themes directly 'relevant' to the faith the shrine belongs to. In the 'deorhi', there are large panels bearing murals illustrating scenes from the life of Baba Atal Rai and Guru Nanak; and various episodes from the battle of Muktsar. There are also two series of paintings, one representing the ten Sikh Gurus and another representing members of the lineage of Baba Budha Ji. Sri Chand and Lakhai Das, sons of Guru Nanak, also appear. On the first floor of the shrine proper, a long sequence of paintings illustrates, step by step, the life story of Guru Nanak. The first painting in this series represents¹ all gods requesting the Almighty to send a holy person to the earth to relieve it of the burden of Kali Yuga, and the last depicts Guru Nanak appointing Angad Dev as his successor to the Guru Gaddi. The sequence moves from left to right, like lines on a written page, in keeping with the physical progress the viewer is supposed to make while moving inside the building. Nowhere else does the life of Guru Nanak find so elaborate a graphic rendering as here. Another series represents Sikh shahids or martyrs, including the four

1. See plate No. 30.

sons of Guru Gobind Singh who laid down their lives for their faith.

This quick survey would give one some idea of the range of themes and the way they are treated by and large in the murals from 19th century Punjab. But a closer look at themes is necessary, not from the point of view of where what is shown, but what is shown at all.

Vaishnava Themes:

Themes relating to Krishna were apparently so popular with the 19th century muralists of Punjab that, on a rough calculation every eighth mural panel was devoted to Krishna. This popularity arises as much from the popularity enjoyed by Vaishnavism as from the fact that Krishna was the subject of a vast amount of work in miniatures. There is hardly a legend connected with him that does not seem to have been depicted. Although a full sequential representation of the Krishna story is rare, collectively taken, the whole of Krishna Lila is covered. Paintings showing Krishna as a child take us to his birth in the prison; Vasudeva carrying the infant to a place of safety across the Yamuna; the child being handed over to Yasoda; Nanda and Yasoda fleeing to Gokula with infant Krishna; Krishna crying for the moon; killing the serpent

1. See plate No. 19.

Kaliya, stealing butter, demanding it from the gopis, playing hide and seek in the forest with them. Krishna's childhood is perhaps best represented in the murals of the temple of Kishan Chand Bhandari at Batala.¹

As a youth we see him, as in the miniatures, portrayed playing with his youthful companions, the gopis, headed by his favourite Radha, ever entranced by the magic of his flute and maddened by his love. The themes commonly known as his lilas, with all their romantic and heroic associations, dominate the panels everywhere.² Most of the paintings stem from the Bhagavata Purana in which the love of the gopis is treated as being symbolic of spiritual devotion. In the themes pertaining to the Krishna lila, the painters often found occasion to illustrate erotic poetry by representing Krishna as nayaka and Radha as nayika; the most representative of this kind of work appears in the Shish Mahal at Patiala in panels that illustrate verses from the Satsai of Bihari and the Rasikanriya of Keshavadas.³ Nowhere in these paintings, however, is there the slightest hint of vulgarity.⁴ Krishna and Radha are seen on a swing, sitting on a couch of love, sheltering themselves from rain.

1. See Kanwarjit Kang, "Bhandari Temple and its Murals at Batala", Advances, Jan. 1977, pp. 16-18.
2. See plate Nos. 22 and 23.
3. See plate Nos. 70 and 71.
4. See Karuna Gossamy, "Frescoes in the Shish Mahal at Patiala", Rococo-Lekha, XXXVIII, Nos. 1-2, p. 123.

standing under an umbrella, even riding a 'phaeton'¹,
 carried by gopis interlocked in the form of an
 elephant, playing blindmen's buff, quarrelling and
 reconciling, exchanging their attire as a symbol of
 love and identity, and merging themselves into each
 other.² A mural panel in the Lahore Fort, now no longer
 accessible, represented Lord Krishna and gopis in a
 merry-go-round or whirligig.³ He was shown dallying⁴
 with one of the gopis while the rest of them were
 beautifully depicted in their forlorn mood expressed
 by the heaviness in their eyes. Although themes like
 this appear frequently, these have not always been
 treated with the same feeling which is to be seen in
 murals of Shri Paikiana Sahib near Jaura, a village
 in district Amritsar, the dargah of Baba Lal Ji at
 Dhyampur in district Gurdaspur, the temple of the
 Bairagis at Ram Tatwali and the Dantahal monastery near
 Pathankot. Lively scenes from the Krishna legend also⁵
 embellished the haveli of Nan Nihal Singh at Lahore.

Among the sportive themes relating to Krishna,
 the most frequently painted are the rasa-lila,⁶ the

1. See plate No. 22.
2. See plate No. 20.
3. See Roopa Krishna, "Some Fresco Paintings in the
 Lahore Fort", Rupam, Nos. 27-28, Oct. 1926, pp. 87-88.
4. See Vogel, J. Ph., "Historical Notes on the Lahore
 Fort", J.P.H.S., I. No. 1, 1911, p. 51.
5. R.E.M. Wheeler, Five Thousand Years of Pakistan, p. 78.
6. See plate No. 24.

¹holi-lila and the ²Chira-harana. In the rasa-lila, gopis bear the call of Krishna on his magic flute and gather around him. Having divinely multiplied himself so as to stand between every two of these damsels, we see him in the circle of gopis dancing his eternal dance. As in their descriptions in the text, we find them here with measured steps, movements of hand, their smiles, their dancing hips, heaving breasts, locks of hair covering their foreheads, knots of hair and garments loosened. A large painting illustrating the rasa-lila, also once³ embellished a wall of the Lahore Fort. Several murals with the theme of holi are to be seen - the⁴ best of these being in the sanadh of Mangal Ram and in the Raghunath temple at Amritsar, in the temple of Bairagis at Ram Tatwari and in the dera of Baba Lal Ji at Dhianpur. The cult of Krishna raised the seasonal festival of holi to a religious festival and it became the sacred dole-lila.⁵ Chira-harana or the 'stealing of the clothes' often excited great curiosity as an episode. Lt. Barr who always pleased with what he saw, was seemingly affected by one of the murals in the Royal Palace at Lahore, where he saw Krishna

1. See plate No. 41.

2. See plate No. 23.

3. See Roopa Krishna, loc. cit., p. 87; also see Kanwarjit Kang, "Holy in 19th Century Punjab", The Sunday Tribune, March 6, 1977, p.5.

4. See plate No. 41.

5. See plate No. 23.

"perched up in a trees, from the branches of which depend various articles of dress he has stolen from some fair damsels who are refreshing themselves in a limpid stream below, and whose heads and hands, clasped in a supplicatory manner, appear above water beseeching him to return their apparel, but to no purpose...."

In addition to themes referred to above several other themes on Krishna remained popular with the muralists. Among these, thus, he is depicted lifting the mount Govardhana and, accompanied by his brother Balarama, in the act of killing Kansa. Several panels in the Danttal monastery, the Raghunath temple at Pindori and in the temple of Manasa Devi near Mantnagra, illustrate the abduction of Rukmini by Krishna. Paintings depicting him with Sudama, and with his later devotees like Dhanna and Sena, appear in the akhara of Bala Mand at Amritsar. His Virata Rupa as revealed to Arjuna is found in the Shish Mahal at Patiala and in the temple of Bairagis at Ram Tatwari, the former being much the superior of the two representations. Among the Krishna themes, it would seem, themes with lyrical or dramatic content, were more popular than those in which his divinity was earnestly hinted at.

Rama's place among the themes relating to Vaishnavism in the murals of 19th century Punjab comes next only to that of Krishna. Rama is always seen as a ¹ god, themes about him, based invariably on the Ramayana, being suggestive always of divinity. A complete cycle of important events of his life appears in murals. He is depicted in the act of killing the ogress Taraka, breaking the bow at Sita's svayamvara, going in pursuit of the golden deer and killing it, shooting arrows at Bali, fighting with Ravana and ² killing him, and assuming his position as king of Ayodhya. A beautiful panel at Ran Tatwari depicts Rama's marriage procession in a way typical of a marriage procession of 19th century royalty. The only panel with the Rama theme among murals in the Shish Mahal at Patiala is worthy of special notice. ³ It elegantly portrays the god seated with Sita on a couch attended by Lakshmana from behind, while Hanuman humbly sits below at his master's feet. Sugriva, the vanara king, with his army of monkeys, stands before the divine couple with his hands joined in supplicatory manner. The theme commemorates Rama's victory over Ravana. In the background is shown the island of Lanka with corpses of Ravana and his associates lying dead here and there, being consumed by vultures. The most

1. See plate Nos. 27 and 28.

2. See plate No. 39.

3. See plate No. 28.

extensively painted theme depicts the divine couple seated together on a couch in different graphic renderings, attended by Lakshmana waving a yak's fly-whisk or peacock-feather fan, with Hanuman standing or sitting respectfully before them.

Apart from Vaishnava themes on Krishna and Rama already described, there are other themes relating to this sect of Hinduism. Vishnu, the Supreme Deity, finds his place in several panels. He invariably appears with four arms, reclining on the serpent Sesha floating on the eternal waters. In his four hands, he is seen holding a club, a shell, a discus and a lotus, his familiar ayudhas. From his navel sprouts a lotus bearing upon its petals Brahma. Lakshmi, his spouse, massages the feet of her lord as a symbol of her devotion to Vishnu. This vision is to be seen in extant murals in akhara Dala Hand and akhara Beri Wala at Amritsar, in the shivala of Hardhan at Matowal near Mehta, and in the sanadh of Lala Jamuna Das at Jagadhri. In one of the frescoes at Denthai, Vishnu is portrayed sitting on a royal couch with attendants around. Murals at several places represent him in his various incarnations or his appearing on earth in several forms, each time as a saviour of mankind or as the destroyer of evil. The usually painted incarnations or ¹avataras are Matsya or fish in which form he appeared

1. See plate No. 31.

in order to save the seventh Manu and the Vedas from the Deluge; Kurma or tortoise, the form assumed by him during the 'Churning of the Ocean'¹ by the gods and demons to obtain the elixir of immortality; Varaha or boar, the guise assumed during his struggle with the demon Hiranyaksha; Vamana or dwarf who deceived the demon king Bali² for the sake of mankind; Parasurama or 'Rama with the Axe'³ who delivered the Brahmins from the tyranny of the Kshatriyas; Rama; Krishna; Buddha and then Kalki, the last incarnation which is yet to come at the end of the present Kali Yuga when Vishnu will appear riding a white horse. The most striking of these avatara⁴ appears in the frescoes of Shish Mahal at Patiala. A mural in the samadh of Mangni Ram at Amritsar depicts Vishnu incarnated as half-horse and half-man, as Haya-griva, in the act of destroying a rakshasa. In murals in the temple of Kishan Chand Bhandari at Batala, the thalukdhara of Bairagian at Attari, Shri Palkiana Sahib near Jaura and the temple of Bairagis at Ram Tatwari, Vishnu appears in the theme representing Gajendra Moksha. A panel at Ram Tatwari represents him in the form of Mohini denying nectar to the demons.

Saiva Themes:

In comparison with Vaishnava subjects, Saiva themes

1. See plate No. 34.
2. See plate No. 36.
3. See plate No. 32.
4. See plate No. 32. It represents Parasurama avatara. See Karuna Goswamy, loc. cit., pt. 1 and 2, p. 125. Also see plate No. 36.

find considerably less coverage in murals of 19th century Punjab. Their fewer numbers are, however, compensated for sometimes by the conspicuous positions they occupy. Siva is often represented living in the Himalayas along with Parvati, sometimes in the act of trampling on or destroying demons, wearing around his neck a serpent and a necklace of skulls, and seen with white bull, Nandi, on which he rides, carrying a trident, a tiger's skin, a rattle, a noose etc. Many a time the divine couple is shown accompanied by their sons, Ganesha and Karttikeya. The theme representing Siva and Parvati in the act of preparing intoxicating potions like bhang appears frequently. His marriage illustrated in a series of panels is to be seen in frescoes of the shrine of Mansa Devi near Nanimajra. Four panels in the shivala of Ek Onkar near Nighdu in district Karnal, represents Siva bestowing a deadly boon on Bhasmasura and then destroying skillfully the demon who turned treacherously upon the bestower to kill him. The theme also occurs in the frescoes of the temple of Mansa Devi near Nanimajra. A fresco in the

1. See B.N. Goswamy, "Some early 19th century frescoes and the painter Angad of Simmur", Acta Asiatica, XIII, 1966, p. 103; "Temple of Mansa Devi and its frescoes", Advance, XII, No. 2, April-June, 1965, p. 36.

Gurudwara of Kala Dhari at Una portrays him as ardhanarisvara, fusing in himself the form of his spouse Parvati and thus appearing half-male, half-female. Shiva in his emanation as Bhairon or the 'terrible one' appears often in murals of Eastern Punjab. Outside the temple of Shiva at Thanesar, thus, there was once a rendering of 'Kal Bhairon', represented as black and holding a decapitated head in one hand.¹

Shakta Themes:

Representations of Shakti, the supreme power taking feminine form and incarnated under many names for the destruction of demons inimical to gods and men, are also seen among 19th century murals. The themes are almost invariably based on the Markandeya Purana,² devoted to the glorification of Shakti as mother-goddess. About a dozen paintings in the temple of Mansa Devi near Manimajra illustrate her in different forms assumed for the destruction of the two giants, Sumbha and Nisumbha.³ A lengthy series in the murals in the temple of Dhuri Mai at Patiala represents the same theme even more elaborately.

1. See J.M. Douie, "Some Modern Forms of Bhairon", Indian Antiquary, XXV, Sept. 1896, p. 260.

2. See plate No. 35.

3. See B.N. Goswamy, "Temple of Mansa Devi and its Frescoes", Advance, XII, No. 2, April-June, 1965, p. 36.

depicting her in as many as sixteen fights against the demons. Her deeds in the form of Kali are to be seen painted in the Bhadra-Kali temple at Kurukshetra. The exploits of the goddess against the buffalo-demon, Mahishasura, find impressive treatment in a fresco in the Shish Mahal at Patiala.

Miscellaneous Hindu Themes:

In addition to the themes referred to earlier, several other themes, mostly derived from Hindu mythology, also appear. Among the Vedic deities¹ depicted are to be seen Surya, Indra and Yama or Dharmaraja. The last being the god of departed spirits, judge and punisher of the dead, is invariably depicted in his court, assisted by Chitragupta. Scenes from Yama's hell, terrible with instruments of torture and fire, were seemingly of considerable interest. In the Shish Mahal at Patiala and in the temple of Bairagi at Ram Tatwali appear the most vivid of such scenes.

Besides themes relating to major deities there are to be seen themes relating to Brahma, Jagannatha, Hanadeva, Ganesha and Kartikeya. Brahma is often portrayed with four bearded faces and four arms, each hand holding a copy of a Veda. Representation of

1. See plate No. 33.

Jagannatha, with Balabhadra and Subhadra, appear at four places in all; in the dera of Baba Lal Ji at ¹ Dhyampur, in the gurudwara of Baba Kala Dhari at Una in the temple of Bairagis at Ram Tatwari and in the shrine of Baba Budha Ji at Teja, a village not far from Fategarh Churian in district Gurdaspur. Ganesha was usually depicted accompanied by Riddhi and Siddhi, flanking the god of good luck. Murals representing Karttikeya appear sporadically. The six-headed god, generalissimo of the armies of the gods, is depicted riding on his yahana or vehicle, the peacock, often holding a bow and an arrow.

Representation of Harada, Sukhdeva, Garuda, Gayatri, Sarvana, Vishvamitra, Janaka, Hanuman, Balarama, Usha and Aniruddha, constitute other Hindu ² themes. An impressive representation of Ravana, in a seated posture, is to be seen among murals of the samadh of Lala Balak Ram at Jagadhri.

Epic Themes:

Themes from the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, the ³ two great Indian epics, occur frequently among murals of 19th century Punjab. A number of themes from the Ramayana have already been referred to while describing

1. See plate No. 37.

2. See plate No. 38.

3. See plate Nos. 28, 29 and 39.

themes related to Rama. Themes representing the Kauravas and the Pandavas playing dice, and the 'unveiling of Draupadi' appear to have been the most popular from among ¹ Mahabharata themes. A great number of mural panels in the thakurdwara of Lala Churn Mall at Nakodar illustrate themes from the Mahabharata. Themes from the Ramayana as well as the Mahabharata, running into several panels, have found place among the murals in the gurudwara Pothi Mala at Guru Harodhai.

Saints and Holy Men:

Many murals representing saintly or religious personages have survived. Among these are to be seen bhaktas like Dharma, Sena, Purana, Kabir and a number of ascetics related to Gorkhnatha, including Bhartri Hari and Gopi Chand. A panel in the temple of Shri Kalu Nath at Nathana, in district Bhatinda, interestingly, represents Mira Bai. All the akharas having murals invariably depict Shri Chand, the founder of the Udasī sect, seen almost nude and besmeared with ashes.

1. See plate No. 80.

Sikh Themes:

Representations of the Sikh Gurus constitute the major portion of themes pertaining to the Sikhs and more than half of the murals portray Guru Nanak and Guru Gobind Singh, the first and the last of the Sikh Gurus. "Their popularity as national saints of the Sikhs" as has been remarked, "called for worship¹ through pictorial effigies, if not in defined images". From among the extant remains in the Punjab plains, the earliest rendering of Guru Nanak in a mural panel² is from the late 18th century, in the temple of Shri Nam Dev at Ghoman in district Gurdaspur. By the end of the first quarter of the 19th century, representations of him became very much more popular, being based on traditional accounts.

Guru Nanak often appears accompanied by Bala and Mardana, the former a chauri bearer and the latter a rebeck player to the Guru. Except in one of his portraits in the gurudwara of Satkartarian at Sri Hargobindpur, where he is seen wearing a head-dress resembling a Mughal crown, he is shown with his head covered with a topi. Under a tree on which birds, mostly parrots are shown perching, he sits in characteristic meditative pose, not very different from how

1. O.C. Gangoli, "The Sikh School of Painting", Indian Art Souvenir, p. 8.
2. See plate No. 16.

he is seen in many modern calendar paintings, his back supported by a round pillow, a rosary in his right hand, the left hand resting on the mat beneath. A typical example of this type of representation is seen at Ram Tatwali.¹ Another important theme is the siddha goshti, Guru Nanak's religious discourse with the siddhas, usually representing Nanak facing the leader of the siddhas backed by a number of siddha ascetics sitting in their hierarchical order. The theme has been best delineated in akhara Bala Mand and in the samadh of Baba Khuda Singh at Naurangabad. Many a time he appears along with his sons, Sri Chand and Lakshmi Das, sitting respectfully before him.

Apart from many similar themes, there are lengthy series of murals illustrating in a detailed fashion his entire life based on tradition as well as on the large corpus of literature called the Janan Sakhi. The most representative extant series are to be seen in the gurudwara of Baba Kala Dhari at Una and in the shrine of Baba Atal at Amritsar, the former consisting of forty-one painted panels. Beginning with the birth of Guru Nanak, the first part of the series illustrates themes from the Guru's childhood consisting of scenes of the Guru attending school, disagreeing with his teacher's lessons on worldly knowledge, grazing his

1. See coloured plate No. II.

father's buffaloes and cows, feeding the poor and holy people and the like. As he grows up, he is seen as a keeper of the government stores at Sultanpury settling accounts with the Faujdar at Sultanpury¹ getting betrothed and married; and renouncing the world. Then he appears as a preacher meeting Malik Shago and demonstrating the difference between the earning of the oppressor and those of an honest man. Further he is seen with the cannibal Kauda, with² Kaliyuga and Wali Kandhari, all of whom are made by him to relinquish their villainess. He is also depicted preaching to a legendary Islamic character named Karun and sleeping, while at Mecca, with his feet pointing towards the Ka'aba. The series in Baba Atal ends with the Guru's appointing Angad as his successor to Guru Gaddi. The series in the gurdwara of Baba Kala Dhari at Una also consists of a number of scenes illustrating Nanak's religious discourses with contemporary theologists. The old building of gurdwara Panja Sahib at Hasan Abdal, too, once had murals relating³ to the Guru's life.

Guru Gobind Singh often appears on horseback

1. See plate No. 3.
2. Guru is said to have come across near Jagannath Puri, a vicious religious broker (panda) named Kaliyuga.
3. Khan Mohammed Waliullah Khan, Sikh Shrines in West Pakistan, p. 17.

holding a falcon and accompanied by a hound and a few attendants. The best extant murals of this motif, which is repeated over and over again, is to be seen in the ¹samadh of Baba Dyal Das at Barnala and in the Golden ²Temple at Amritsar. Guru Gobind Singh baptizing the 'Five Beloved Ones' is another popular theme and one of its representative examples still survives amongst the ³murals of the Akal Takhat. Paintings depicting him in a sitting posture with an attendant behind are also seen painted but not often. In one of the murals of gurudwara Gurusar at Bargarhi in district Faridkot, he ⁴is portrayed playing dice with Rai Jagga, the chief of Kotkapura. A mural in the samadh of Baba Mohar Singh at Tanda represents Guru Gobind Singh along with his four sons.

⁵

Murals depicting other Sikh Gurus are not too many and when they are seen, they show the Guru sitting with an attendant behind, waving a yak's tail fly-whisk or peacock-feather fan. Well-executed murals on these Gurus are extant in the gurudwara of Baba Kala Dhari at Una, the gurudwara of Baba Bir Singh at ⁶Naurangabad and Raja Sansi, the Akal Takhat at Amritsar,

1. See plate No. 12.

2. See plate No. 13; Bhan Singh, "Art of the Golden Temple", Advance, XI, No. 3, July-Sept. 1964, p. 46.

3. See plate No. 15.

4. See plate No. 14.

5. See plate Nos. 4, 5, 6, 9, 10 and 11.

6. See plate Nos. 4, 5, 6 and 10.

Darbar Sahib and bunga of village Sathiala at Tarn Taran, gurudwara Bauli Sahib at Coindwal, gurudwara Pothi Mala at Guru Harsahai, sanadh of Baba Dyal Das at Barnala and sanadh of Baba Khuda Singh at Naurangabad. Scenes from the lives of Gurus were painted on the walls of a dharm-sala at Lehru,¹ a village in district Ludhiana. Paintings illustrating interesting themes related to Guru Har Gobind also appear. One of the panels in the sanadh of Mangni Ram at Amritsar beautifully portrays his religious discourse with Mian Mir. In the Akal Takhat, Bhai Bidhi Chand is shown presenting those horses to the Guru which he² skilfully brought back from the Governor of Lahore³ after he had forcibly made off with them earlier. A panel in gurudwara Pothi Mala depicts Guru Har Gobind⁴ blessing Mai Sulakhani with a son.

Murals representing Guru Nanak flanked by the rest of the Gurus were painted several times, but the theme portraying all the Gurus in a single panel seems to have come into vogue not earlier than the second half of the 19th century. Typical examples are to be seen in the sanadh of mahant Mangni Ram and akhara⁵

1. R.E. Parry, The Sikhs of the Punjab, p. 51.
2. See plate No. 8.
3. See Kahn Singh Nabha, Encyclopaedia of Sikh Literature, p. 723.
4. See plate No. 7.
5. See plate No. 1.

¹
 Dala Nand at Amritsar, in the shivala of Hardhan
 at Matewal and in the saradh of Baba Mohar Singh at
 Tanda. Among the paintings that embellished the walls
 of a palace at Wazirabad built by Maharaja Ranjit
 Singh, were life-size portraits of the Gurus from
 Nanak, the first, to Gobind, the last, according to
²
 Baron Hugel who saw them there personally.

After the Gurus came, in terms of popularity,
³
 themes that depict Sikh martyrs who became victims of
 Muslim bigotry. The most prominent among them are Ajit
 Singh, Joghhar Singh, Fatch Singh and Zorawar Singh, the
 four sons of Guru Gobind Singh. They have usually been
 illustrated in action in the battle field, and are best
⁴
 represented in a panel in gurdwara Pothi Mala at Guru
 Har Sahai. A number of other martyrs — Dip Singh, Nena
 Singh, Gurbaksh Singh, Kharag Singh — to name only a
 few, adorn the walls of the shrine of Baba Atal, Banda
 Bahadur, one of the most prominent leaders and martyrs
 of the Sikhs, has been depicted but once in the Darbar
 Sahib at Tarn Taran.

The themes portraying Baba Buddha Ji are confined
 to murals seen in the edifices in the Majha tract. The
 whole of his lineage consisting of Bhai Sarwan, Jhanda,

1. See plate No. 2.

2. Travels in Kashmir and the Punjab, p. 250.

3. See Kanwarjit Kang and Nirmal Sandhu, Punjab
 Murals, plate entitled 'Martyr Bachitar Singh'.

4. See plate No. 17.

Gurditta, Gurbaksh, Mohar Singh, Shyam Singh, Mahn Singh and Sujan Singh also appear even if rarely. Two such series are extant in the Akal Takhat and Baba Atal. Similarly, in gurdwara Pothi Mala at Guru Harzabai, a series represents the lineage of the Sodhi Gurus.¹ Many other personages related to the Sikh religion also appear in murals, including, for instance, Bhai Gurdas in Baba Atal, Bhai Salo in the gurdwara of Baba Bir Singh at Naurangabad, Bhai Mani Singh in the hanga of village Sathiala at Tarn Taran and Akali Phula Singh in the temple of the Bairagis at Ram Tatwali.

Mihang Singhs form one of the most interesting themes in the murals of 19th century Punjab. Their way of life is elaborately represented in the paintings. They appear as dyampalas or guards with drawn swords,² beating drums, riding horses and elephants, hunting, fencing, grinding leaves of cannabis Indica to make an intoxicating potion,³ and the like. Many murals relating to them are extant in the gurdwara at Bargarhi, in the samadh of Rani Jind at Hoshiarpur and in the samadh of Baba Mohar Singh at Tanda. In gurdwara Lohgarh at Dina are to be seen two most prominent leaders of the Mihangs: Akali Phula Singh mounted on an elephant and

1. See Kanwarjit Kang and Nirmal Sandhu, Punjab Murals, plate entitled 'Sri Maharban, son of Bhai Pirthi Chand'.
2. See Lt. Barr, Journal, p. 101.
3. See plate No. 79.

Nana Singh riding a horse, their names being indicated in Gurmukhi characters above their heads.

Two paintings, one each in the saradh of Baba Khukia Singh at Naurangabad in district Amritsar and the saradh of the daughter of Mai Hiran at Dhunga in district Hoshiarpur, depict Sikh sancats paying reverence to the holy Guru Granth Sahib.

Sikh themes are also to be seen in a considerable number of paintings connected, one way or the other, with 19th century royalty and nobility. In two paintings, one in the saradh of Baba Man Singh at Sodhiwala near Zira and the other in the thakurdwara at Bagarian in district Sangrur, appears Maharaja Ranjit Singh followed by the royal retinue. The demolished bungas of the Golden Temple at Amritsar once had splendid¹ paintings depicting important events of Sikh history. In the Lahore Palace, a mural is recorded as showing the meeting of Maharaja Ranjit Singh with Lord William Bentinck at Ropar.² A mural in the house of Generals Ventura and Allard at Lahore recorded their reception³ at the Sikh Court. There were also pictures of battles⁴ in which the two generals were engaged. The tradition of getting walls painted with themes illustrating

1. Phan Singh, loc. cit., p. 46.

2. See Lt. Barr, Journal, p. 100.

3. Baron Charles Hügel, op. cit., p. 234.

4. Lt. Barr, Journal, p. 78.

battles was apparently quite popular among the Sikhs. Houses of the Sikh nobility in district Lahore were embellished with fighting scenes relating chiefly to¹ conflicts with the Afghans of the north-west frontier. A painting representing the battle of Jamrood is mentioned as among those in the fort of Hari Singh² Halwa at Gujranwala. The ceiling of Allard's bungalow at Lahore was painted with the emblem of Francese Compo or the Pau-i-Khas consisting of the Gallic eagle and the tri-coloured flag writ large with the name of Guru Gobind Singh.³ In a mural in akhara Bala Mand at Amritsar appears Hari Singh Halwa inspecting a long row of soldiers.⁴ Two adjacent panels in akhara Beri Wala at Amritsar represent Ranjit Singh and the 'Jangi-lat'⁵ on horsebacks, facing each other and followed by the Sikh and the British armies respectively. The Sikh and the British armies engaged in fierce battle consisting of many hundred soldiers appear in a mural in the temple of Bairagis at Ram Tatwali. Another painting in this temple depicts⁶ the surrender of the Sikh armies before the British.

1. Lahore D.G. 1916, p. 29.

2. Lt. Barr, Journal, pp. 130-133.

3. J.J. Cotton, "General Avitabile", Calcutta Review, CCXLVI, Oct. 1906, pp. 575-576.

4. See plate No. 61.

5. See plate No. 60.

6. See plate No. 64.

Portraits:

A considerable number of 'portraits', some based on life and others on imagination, mostly depicting 19th century Sikh royalty and aristocracy, are met with among the extant murals all over the Punjab. In addition, there are references to portraits in written records which describe works no longer surviving.

Among the portraits, Maharaja Ranjit Singh's remains the dominating figure. In one of the frescoes in the Royal Palace at Lahore, Ranjit Singh was portrayed in the presence of Baba Nanak with his hands joined in supplicatory manner¹. In the scene that represented Ranjit's interview with the Governor-General at Ropar in one of the murals of the Lahore Palace, the two potentates were portrayed facing each other². The frescoes in the mansion of Avitabile had, among other themes, a portrait of Maharaja Ranjit Singh³, we learn. A painting that at Peshawar portrayed⁴ Maharaja Ranjit Singh seated cross-legged with Raja Dhian Singh on his right hand while the effeminate and youthful, Mira Singh lolled in a careless attitude beside his master. The description also mentions a crew of whiskered, turbaned figures, portraying Hilard.

1. See Lt. Barr, Journal, p. 101.

2. Ibid., p. 100.

3. J.J. Cotton, loc. cit., p. 576.

4. Ibid., pp. 544-46.

Ventura, Court and Avitabile, the four prominent European officers in the employ of the Maharaja, standing behind the arbiter of their destinies. Not very long ago, murals representing life-size portraits of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and the princes were to be seen on the walls of the Ramgarhia bunga, especially on the pillars facing the Dukh Bhanjani shrine in the premises of the Golden Temple at Amritsar.¹

At Ramtatwali, a remarkable painting portrays the Maharaja seated in a chair while Bhan Singh, Gulab Singh and Suchet Singh, the Dogra brothers, stand with folded hands before their master.² A painting with a similar composition survives in the gurdwara of Baba Mohar Singh at Tanda. In another painting in akhara Bala Mand at Amritsar, he is portrayed with his sons: Kharak Singh, Shor Singh and Nau Mihal Singh.³ Other interesting murals delineating the Maharaja in different situations are to be seen at Shri Palkiana Sahib near Jaura, a village in district Amritsar, in the haveli of Seth Panna Lal Phul Chand Sharda at Ferozepur,⁴ in the house of Shri Anant Ram at Tanda, in the Shiv temple at Bhunga in district Hoshiarpur and in the temple of Baba Hari Har at Nur Mahal.

1. See Bhan Singh, loc. cit., p. 46.

2. See coloured plate No. I.

3. See plate No. 43.

4. See plate No. 44.

5. See Kanwarjit Kang and Mimal Sandhu, Punjab Murals, plate entitled 'Maharaja Ranjit Singh'.

Individual portraits of Sher Singh,¹ Dhian Singh,² Gulab Singh, Suchet Singh and Fakir Aziz-ud-Din appear at Ram Tatwali. In the Shiv temple at Lasara, a village in district Jullundur, are two interesting portraits identified through Persian inscriptions over their heads. One of these depicts Maharaja Sher Singh with an attendant, Gulam Muhiudin, while the other depicts, interestingly enough, Maharaja Dalip Singh playing a sitar.

The mural in the house of Ventura and Allard which represented their reception at the court of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, and which we are told consisted of 'many thousand figures',³ must have included many portrait studies, at least of those who were directly involved. A painting in the house of Shri Kundan Lal at Dasuya portrays General Court and his wife standing with umbrellas held^{ed} over their heads. The name 'Court Sahib Bahadur' appears in Persian script close to the top of the panel.⁴

In the cis-Sutlej states, Maharaja Ranjit Singh and his sardars are replaced as themes by the portraits of local Rajas and Chiefs. Murals in the Diwan Khana Kodim at Patiala have life-like portraits of Raja Harindra Singh and other Rajas of the Phulkian states, including Sangat Singh,⁵ the Raja of Jind. In the Qila

1. See plate No. 45.

2. See plate No. 46.

3. Baron Charles Hugel, op. cit., p. 284.

4. See plate No. 54.

5. See plate No. 47.

Mubarak at Chhachhrauli appear murals portraying local Sardars. In the Diwankhana of Chandar Sain at Dadri in district Shiwani, there appear portraits representing Raja Bir Bikramjit and Maharaja Dalip Singh.

Portraits of the other historical personages of the bygone days also appear. In the haveli of Maghi Mal at Langiana Nawan, a village not far from Moga, are curious portraits of Akbar and Birbal facing each other, obviously drawn from imagination. Likewise it is interesting to note that among the frescoes embellishing the mansion of Awitabile at Peshawar, we find¹ mention of Napoleon as being portrayed in one of the panels.

A considerable number of murals show Sikh martyrs,² portrayed from imagination, the best having been painted on the walls of Baba Atal at Amritsar.³ It was also common practice to embellish the walls of monasteries and religious establishments with the portraits of their mahants,⁴ either painted individually or in a single panel, shown in hierarchic or sequential order. Two such panels in akhara Bala Mand portray all the⁵ mahants of the monastery. Eleven panels at Ram Tatwali

1. J.J. Cotton, loc. cit., p. 576.

2. See Kanwarjit Kang, Punjab Murals, plate entitled 'Martyr Bachitar Singh'.

3. See Kanwarjit Kang, "Gurudwara Baba Atal Sahib", Harq, XXX, No. 3, June 1977, p. 39.

4. See J.C. Oman, Mystics, Ascetics and Saints of India, p. 259.

5. See plate No. 58.

portray the mahants of the temple, each panel having a single portrait. Several panels in akhara Beri Wala at Amritsar and akhara Udasian at Jansher in district Jullundur, portray the mahants of their respective establishments. A panel in the gurdwara of Baba Bir Singh at Naurangabad portrays Maharaj Singh, Suraj Singh, Bikram Singh and Kahn Singh, said to have been close associates of Baba Bir Singh. In addition, portraits of Thakur Khuda Singh, Baba Bhag Singh and mahant Ram Singh also appear here.

Not infrequently, the person in whose honour an edifice was erected, was portrayed in a mural panel. In the dera of Baba Lal Ji at Dhianpur, thus, were painted 'portraits' of Baba Lal and Dara Shukoh engaged in religious discourse. A portrait of Baba Bikram Singh Bedi is to be seen in his sanadh at Amritsar. Portraits of Baba Bir Singh appear in the gurdwaras related to him both at Raja Sansi as well as at Naurangabad. There is a fine portrait believed to have been of Mohar Singh and one of his associates in his sanadh at Lapon, a village in district Ludhiana. Portraits of Sardar Lal Singh, Bakshi Mehtab Singh,

1. See plate No. 57.

2. Gurdaspur D.C. 1914, p. 31.

3. This portrait has been reproduced on page 7 of the book entitled The Punjab's Pioneer Freedom Fighters, by M.L. Ahluwalia and Kirpal Singh.

4. See plate No. 59.

5. See plate No. 51.

6. See K.S. Ghuman (ed.), Pina Kengar Survey Pustak (P), p. 67.

Baba Khuda Singh and Baba Mohar Singh are still extant in their respective samadhis located at Kale Chanpur near Amritsar, at Dina in district Faridkot, at Naurangabad near Tam Taran and at Tanda in district Hoshiarpur, respectively. Portraits of persons who had raised temples as works of supererogation or of others who were somehow associated with the construction of the edifices, were also drawn. In the temple of Raja Sahib Dyal at Kishankot in district Gurdaspur, for instance, there are two panels, one portraying the Raja himself and the other his entire family. An interesting fresco in the temple of Mansa Devi near Manimajra portrays Raja Copal Singh, the builder of the shrine.¹ Among the frescoes in the Damthal monastery, there is a portrait of the Pathania Raja Bir Singh² who had spent sometime there. Sometimes, painters too painted self-portraits on the walls of the edifices that they were engaged to painting. Instances of this³ are to be seen in the temple of Mansa Devi near Manimajra and in gurdwara Pothi Mala at Guru Harasahai.⁴

1. See plate No. 35.

2. B.N. Goswamy, "Damthal", Marg, XVII, No. 3, June 1964, p. 33.

3. See B.N. Goswamy, "Temple of Mansa Devi and its Frescoes", Advance, XII, No. 2, April-June 1965, p. 36.

4. The granthi of this gurdwara pointed to a particular spot on a wall where he remembered having seen a portrait of the painter who had been engaged in painting murals in the shrine.

Besides important personages, 'ordinary persons' also sometimes managed to get themselves portrayed, either by virtue of having been in charge of getting murals painted in a particular edifice or being somehow close to the muralists, who possibly drew them as an act of friendship. Instances of such portraits are to be seen in the samadh of Sardar Lal Singh at Kale Chanupur, a village near Amritsar and in the Muhammedan tomb at Aandlu, a village in district Ludhiana.

Female portraiture was not unknown but was certainly rare. Lt. Barr mentions Lady William Bentinck, accoutred in white trousers, boots and gold straps, portrayed a few paces behind her husband¹ in the scene that represented Maharaja Ranjit's interview with the Governor-General at Rojar in one of the murals of the Lahore Palace. In the frescoes of his mansion at Peshawar, Avitabile had a portrait of an European² Lady whose name, however, is not known. European ladies apart — and they form a different category because of their appearing in the public frequently and openly — portraits of Indian women, as in the miniatures were based mostly on 'ideal' types and not³ on observation. At Raja Sansi, a portrait, said to

1. Journal, p. 100.

2. J.J. Cotton, loc. cit., p. 576.

3. See plate No. 48.

have been of Rani Jindan, who was so well known to Sikh miniaturists, is still extant. Another female ¹ portrait in the frescoes of the Bhandari Bhola temple at Batala is also believed to be of Rani Jindan. She appears again in one of the portraits at Ram Tatwali. In the Diwankhana of Chandar Sain at Dadri appear portraits of Rani Bija Bai and, strangely enough, a portrait identified as that of Lady Lake. There is a portrait of a low class woman, perhaps based on life, in the house of Shri Kundan Lal at Dasuya with a caption in Persian script, reading 'Marasan Chandu'.

Apart from the portraits referred to above, several representations of men also belonging to the category of 'type portraits' are met with in 19th century murals. Thus, the representation of a 'Nawab of Lucknow' at Ram Tatwali, a painting of a soldier inscribed in Persian with the words 'Tasvir-² i-Dogra' in the house of Shri Kundan Lal at Dasuya, a chobdar in dera ³ Ulasian at Ladda, a village in district Sangrur, belong to this order. Several murals depicting European 'Sahibs' and Ladies ⁴ standing in different postures have also survived. Many brick houses in district Jullundur are recorded as having

1. See plate No. 49.

2. See plate No. 53.

3. See Kanwarjit Kang and Nirmal Sandhu, Punjab Murals, plate entitled 'Royal attendant'.

4. For instance see plate Nos. 54, 65 and 66.

¹
 "outrageous caricatures" in the form of mural paintings showing members of H.M.'s Civil and Military services.

Genae Themes:

Among the more interesting of the paintings, from the point of view of theme, interesting because innovative, are paintings of genae themes. Among the murals from 19th century Punjab, unexpectedly we find, thus, craftsmen such as goldsmiths, ironsmiths, ² carpenters and cobblers at work. A cotton-printer is to be seen in the sanadh of Bibi Bhani at Kartarpur. Themes depicting scenes from the routine life of women also appear as they do in the works of 19th century miniaturists like Kehar Singh and Kapur Singh. In the murals of Shri Palkiana Sahib, a temple in district Amritsar, we see women engaged in winnowing grain and then pounding it; in the temple of Bairagis at Ram Tatwali, they appear spinning cotton and making skeins. A painting in gurudwara Gurusar at Bargarhi near Kot Kapura, depicts a woman carrying food for her man working in the fields. A Gujjar woman carrying milk on her head appears in the sanadh of Sardar Lal Singh at Kale Champur, a village near Amritsar. The theme representing 'mother and child' which has become

1. Jullundur D.C. 1904, p. 50.

2. See plate No. 82.

popular in Indian painting of the 20th century, was also dealt with in the murals of 19th century Punjab. A fair example of the theme survives in the Rani Mahal at Nabha. An ethnographically interesting picture of ¹ Gaddis or hills shepherds at Ram Tatwalia also falls under this category.

Several murals have themes treating of public entertainments and were obviously painted with the intention of amusing the viewers. In painting these themes, the muralists sometimes wittingly recorded the panorama of recreational and sportive aspects of life in 19th century Punjab. Wrestling was apparently ² the most popular sport and numerous panels of murals on this subject are still extant all over the Punjab. We sometimes even have the names of wrestlers. In the Serai at Zira appear life-size figures of two wrestlers, Bikar Singh and Gulaman, engaged in wrestling. Kite-³ flying was another popular theme. Paintings illustrating ⁴ sports like fencing, chariot race, acrobatics and pigeon-flying occur frequently. Lt. Barr records that Maharaja Ranjit Singh's shooting-box at Gujarat was embellished with sporting feats such as cock-fighting, ⁵ hunting and wrestling. There are also to be seen interesting panels showing monkey-trainers and bear-

1. See plate No. 84.

2. See R.E. Parry, op.cit., p.44, 50. Also see plate No.80.

3. See plate No.86.

4. See plate No.83.

5. Journal, p.147. Also see plate Nos.80 and 81.

masters displaying their skills. A number of miniature panels in the Shiv Puri temple at Patiala records¹ several entertaining feats. Panels illustrating hunting² in progress and Bhima flinging elephants in the sky are frequently met with. The representation of a railway train had become one of the most popular motifs, apparently because the novelty of railway travel excited many imaginations. At Ram Tatwali, a ten feet long panel depicts a complete railway train. The village rest-house or paras in the eastern districts, now forming a part of the Haryana State, frequently included this motif among the themes painted on their³ walls. A painting in Shri Palkiana Sahib depicts a man receiving drinks from his beloved, and one is instantly reminded of modern calendar paintings based on Omar Khayyam's works. Murals in the haveli of Shri Onkar Nath at Hadiaya, a village near Barnala, include interesting pictures of a snake-chamber and a man smoking a hookah.

Ritualistic Themes:

Several motifs, purely ritualistic in nature, were painted in 19th century Punjab. Many of these are still

1. See plate No. 36.
2. See Kamwarjit Kang and Nirmal Sandhu, Punjab Murals, plate entitled 'Bhima flinging elephants in air'.
3. See Bohtak D.G. 1883-84, p. 47.

¹
 in vogue, mostly among the village folk of the eastern districts. Being ceremonial and reverable they were by nature meant to be transitory in character. On the eve of chath or house-warming ceremony in Amritsar, figures of five or seven gods were drawn together with Wasta, the house god.² In district Gurgaon, chariots, pea-fowls and many other objects, including a picture of the god "Binnaik or Bindaik"³ (apparently Ganesha), were drawn on the house walls several days before the wedding of a male member in the family. On a number of other occasions and festivals, too, there appears to have remained in this district a popular tradition of drawing ritualistic representations on walls. On the Solong day, a figure called sopa⁴ was drawn in red on the house wall. On Mag Panchami, Deo-Uthan and Karavans⁵ days, were drawn pictures of different descriptions which originally had meanings of their own.⁶ On Diwali was drawn a figure having three parts:⁷ (a) sain, representing Radhiki, (b) representing the goddess Anavashya, (c) and representing Lakshmi, the goddess of wealth. The tradition of drawing figures on Gura

1. See Oscar Lows, Village Life in Northern India, pp. 212, 215-16, 225.

2. H.A. Rose (ed), Tribes and Castes of the Punjab, I, p. 913.

3. Ibid., p. 915.

4. Ibid., p. 915, pt. I, fig. 2.

5. Ibid., pt. I, fig. I and pt. III.

6. Ibid., p. 914.

7. Ibid., p. 915, pt. II, also see Kanwarjit Kang, "Ritualistic Decoration in Haryana", Haryana Review, vol. X, No. 8, August 1976, pp. 26-27.

Nauni, representing a snake and a man on horseback,
¹
 still survives.

Exotic Themes:

Paintings with obvious erotic content are of unusual interest. In the tradition of embellishing Hindu and Islamic palaces with erotic scenes,² the Sikh royalty and aristocracy got their private apartments adorned with murals around the theme of carnal desires. Hari Singh's villa at Gujranwala had murals, 'questionable' enough in character to make Lt. Barr refrain from giving any detailed description.³ Likewise, General Avitabile's bedroom was covered with pictures of undercloed dancing girls and with the loves of Hindu deities.⁴ A number of frescoes in the Shish Mahal at Patiala are covered with grinacara themes very appropriate for the mahal meant which was primarily for the ladies.⁵ Murals in the Rani Mahal at Nabha illustrate passage from the treatise on sex called the Kok-Shastra, depicting couples in various attitudes of physical congress. Although erotic themes remained

1. Oscar Lewis, op. cit., p. 212.

2. See E.H.A., VIII, p. 209.

3. Journal, p. 137.

4. Joseph Wolff, Travels and Adventures, II, p. 61.
 Khushwant Singh, Ranjit Singh, p. 145.

5. J.J. Cotton, loc. cit., p. 570.

6. See plate No. 70 and 71.

7. See Karuna Goswamy, loc. cit., p. 123.

confined mostly to murals in the edifices of the upper strata of the 19th century society, the themes sometimes crept also into murals that embellished religious establishments. Some paintings in the temple of Dava Sharwan Nath at Pehowa, for instance, depict scenes¹ of dalliance. James Coley refers to very 'obscene figures' he had seen on the walls of houses at Amritsar.³ W. Wakefield refers to erotic frescoes that once covered walls of the Golden Temple at Amritsar, however, in the absence of any corroboration, one tends to doubt this statement.

Raga-Ragini Themes:

Raga-Ragini themes were also painted in fairly large numbers. Here, as in the miniatures, attempt was made to give musical form "a more precise expression"⁴ through paintings. A panel in the fort of Manimajra⁵ depicts beautifully the pictorial versions of Bilawal, Sarang and Purbi raginis. Pictorial renderings of Bairari and Sarang raginis appear among murals in the Shiv temple at Lasara, a village in district Jullundur. The theme also occurs among the murals of an edifice known as Gaddighar, located in the Vaishnava monastery at Pindori near Gurdaspur. A panel in the

1. See plate No. 69.
2. Journal of the Sutlej Campaign of 1845-56, p. 107.
3. Over Life and Travels in India, p. 390.
4. H.J. Stooke and K. Khandalavala, The Land Ragmala Miniatures, p. 8.
5. See plate No. 72. Also see Karwarjit Kang and Nirmal Sandhu, Punjab Murals, plate entitled 'Rag Bilawal'.

Damthal monastery depicts Todi ¹ragini. In the gurudwara of Baba Kala Dhari, likewise, survives a graphic personification of Sri Rag Hindol. Apparently the tradition of painting Raga-malas was still strong.

Navak-Navika Themes:

Navak-Navika themes based on the traditional rhetorical classification of the situations of love were painted, but the theme has been generally poorly treated except in the frescoes of the Shish Mahal at Patiala. Here in a considerable number of panels the subject is rendered with animation, including complete set of the ashtanavika or the eight heroines. Stray examples of the theme are come across at a number of places. The Syachinapatika navika, for instance, appears in the Shiv temple at Lasara, a village in ²district Jullundur and representations of Abhisarika and Virahini³ navikas appear in the frescoes of the Damthal monastery. The themes of the frescoes⁴ illustrating verses from the Sat Sai of Bihari in Shish Mahal at Patiala are similar in nature and spirit.

Baramasa Themes:

Murals representing the Baramasa are rare but an

1. B.N. Goswamy, "Damthal", Marg, XVII, No. 3, June 1964, p. 33.
2. Ibid.
3. M.S. Randhawa, Kanara Valley Paintings, p. 11.
4. See Karuna Goswamy, loc. cit., p. 120, pt. 1,2,3 and p. 121, pt. 1.

unusually elegant rendering of the theme based on the Basikariva of Keshav Dass appears in a number of panels in the Shish Mahal at Patiala. In a panel showing the month of Jyestha, for instance, the painter introduces several suggestions of hot months in the fan held by a lady, the piyoo in the background, a man walking with an umbrella etc.

It is possible to study the themes of murals under several other heads.

The romantic tales of the Punjab, thus, — Heer Ranjha, Mirza Sahiban, Sohni Mahiwal, Sassi Punnu, Laila Majnu and Raja Rasalu — found their way on the walls of many an edifice. A series of frescoes in gurudwara Pothi Mala at Guru Harsahai and in the sanadh of Baba Man Singh at Sodhiwala, a village near Zira, illustrate all the love stories. Murals depicting noted lovers appear on walls of the shrine of Guga Pir at Chhapar, a village near Ahmadgarh. A splendid panel at Shri Palkiana Sahib, a temple near Jaura, a village in district Amritsar, depicts Mirza being killed by Sahiban's brothers. The story of Laila Majnu appears in the shrine of Baba Mahesh Das at Pindori. Many of the murals representing Heer Ranjha illustrate Heer in

1. See Karuna Goswamy, loc. cit., p. 121, pt. 2 and 3, depicting months of Jyestha and Sawan and see plate Nos. 73 and 74.
2. See plate No. 76.
3. Census of India 1961, XIII, Punjab, Part-VII-8, Fairs and Festivals, p. 43.
4. See plate No. 75.
5. Karuna Goswamy, loc. cit., p. 123.

the act of beating Kaidon while Ranjha grazes¹ buffaloes near-by. The scene from the legend of Raja Rasalu often delineates one of its sub-legends² depicting Raja Hodi and Rani Kokilan. In addition to widely known legends, several other amorous tales popular in the 19th century Punjab, including themes based on bardic lore, found place among mural embellishments. At Ram Tatwalia, for instance, several panels relate to the legend of Shah Behram and Lusan Banu and a panel depicts Rani Luna trying to entice Puraun, an episode from the famous ballad of Puraun Bhagat. In the dern of Baba Lal Ji at Dhianpur and in the temple of Raja Sahib Dyal at Kishankot, both in District Gurdaspur, legends of Raja Gopi Chand are to be seen. In the districts further east, the chivalrous legend of Jaimal and Fatta formed a popular theme.

3

There are themes with philosophic turns at places. Over the door-way of Avitabile's gallery of many-coloured frescoes, thus, we read that two angels held scrolls in their hands with French and Latin inscriptions.⁴ One was La Fontaine's⁵ couplet of 'Death and Sage'; the other was an Ovidian distich:⁶

1. See plate No. 78.
2. See plate No. 77; Kanwarjit Kang and Nirmal Sandhu, Punjab Murals, plate entitled 'This panel depicts several themes: including Raja Rasalu, Rani Kokilan and Raja Hodi'. also see R.C. Temple, The Legends of the Punjab, pp. 54-65; Charles Swynnerton, Romantic Tales from the Punjab, pp. 178-203.
3. See Kanwarjit Kang, "Punjab Murals: Two Poetic Themes", The Sunday Tribune, Dec. 12, 1976, p. 5.
4. J.J. Cotton, loc. cit., p. 576.
5. French Poet (1757-1843).
6. Roman Poet Publius Ovidius Naso (43 B.C.-A.D. 17).

"Donec eris felix multos numberabis amicos

Tempora si fuerint nubila solus eris."

¹
Its English rendering would run as under:

"As long as you will be happy you will have many friends but in cloudy times you will be alone."

In the house of Shri Kundal Lal at Dasuya, a painting depicts a lady holding a plate inscribed with a Persian distich of Sheikh Saadi, the celebrated poet of Iran. Its English rendering would run as under:

"O, merciful God, pity our condition, because we are captured in the noose of carnal desires."

Islamic themes depicting Shams Tabriz roasting fish in the sun and Mansur being crucified, both painted in the temple of Bairagis at Ram Tatwali and in the samadh of Baba Mohar Singh at Tanda, come as a surprise, for one does not expect to find these in Hindu and Sikh places of worship and habitations. The figure of "Muluk-cool-mout", riding on his ghastly charger but bearing in his hand a cup of water, which Lt. Edwards⁵ saw drawn on the head stone of a grave in the cemetery of Khyrah and Bhuchur villages, near Multan must have been based on some ritual in vogue among the Muslims of the locality.

1. The translation of the distich into English by Dr. Herbert Ross, Counsellor, Italian Embassy in New Delhi, was kindly conveyed to me vide his letter No. 7139 dated Dec. 17, 1971.
2. See plate No. 56.
3. Late Shri Kirpal Singh Bedar of Punjabi University, Patiala, identified the verse and kindly translated the distich into English, for me.
4. See Kahn Singh, op. cit., p. 119.
5. Punjab Govt. Records, V, p. 30.
6. See Kanwarjit Kang, "Figural Paintings on Mohammedan Tombs", The Sunday Tribune, May 1, 1977, p. 5.

Jain themes representing Tirthankaras or 'ford-makers across the stream of existence', appear in all the four Jain temples located at Sadhaura, Ambala, Zirra and Ferozepur Cantonment.

Several panels in the Bhadra Kali mandir at Kurukshetra depict curious but unintelligible themes which appear, most probably, to have been based on folk-tales confined to that locality.

In district Ambala and further east of it, are seen murals representing Guga Pir. A typical painting depicting the snake god was seen by J.H. Douie on the parapet of a new well in a Jat village in district Ambala. "The saint was seated on a horse and was starting from the Bagar country. His mother, standing in front of the horse, was trying to stop his departure. He held in his hand a long staff (bhala), explained to be a mark of dignity, and over his head the heads of two snakes met, one being coiled round the bhala."

One of the most widely painted themes which almost developed into a decorative motif in murals of the 19th century Punjab, was the representation of soldiers in various forms. Allard's Garden House, beyond Anarkali

1. See plate No. 42.

2. "Guru Guga as a Snake-God", Indian Antiquary, XXVI, March 1937, p. 34.

3. Ibid.

4. For instance, see plate Nos. 52, 60, 61, 62, 63 and 64. Also see Kamwarjit Kang and Hirmal Santhi, Punjab Murals, plate entitled "A Sikh fighter".

at Lahore, was "embellished with paintings of dragoons, lancers and foot-soldiers, nearly as large¹ as life". On the pillars of a dharm-sala at Lahru, a village in district Ludhiana, were painted "files of soldiers with old-fashioned head-gear and ancient muskets at the slope, drilled by a Sahib on horseback, conspicuous of his huge baggy breeches"². A similar painting is still extant in the Fort of Manimajra³ near Chandigarh. In the 19th century dyarapalas, often painted flanking gates, had turned into company soldiers⁴.

Another prevalent decorative motif was fairies or winged figures⁵. In a Muhammedan tomb at Aandlu, in district Ludhiana, appear all the different types of fairies identified through Gurmukhi inscriptions⁶. These included Shah-pari, Jahur-pari, Hur-pari, Thal-pari, Jal-pari and Agas-pari. Intrados of all the eight entrances to the temple of Bairagis at Ram Tatwali are painted with winged figures. Other elegant examples are to be seen in the Golden Temple at

1. Lt. Barr, Journal, p. 82; Baron Charles Hugel, op. cit., p. 311.
2. R.E. Parry, op. cit., p. 51.
3. See plate No. 62.
4. See plate No. 94.
5. See coloured plate No. III.
6. See Kanwarjit Kang, "Figural Paintings on Mohammedan Tombs", The Sunday Tribune, May 1, 1977, p. 5.

Amritsar¹ and in the devi-dwara at Nawanshahar. These² often represented the notion of "western angels".

The advent of Europeans in the Punjab became increasingly reflected in the themes of murals. Reference has already been made to the portraits of European dignitaries and to the representation of railway trains and soldiers in their proper uniforms - things that Europeans brought in their train. Paintings illustrating white sahibs listening to the³ petitions of natives, taking joy-rides with their spouses in phaetons, or strolling with their families outside their bungalows and going on hunting⁴ expeditions on elephants and horses, had become popular with the passage of time.

Not infrequently are to be seen in murals repre-⁵sentations of birds and animals of the land of five rivers, appearing as a part of other themes or as individual motifs. Scenes depicting monkey-masters,⁶ bear-masters,⁷ chariot races, ladies feeding parrot.⁸

1. See Chastrik Abhinandan Granth (P), p. 113.
2. See R.E. Parry, op. cit., p. 51.
3. See plate No. 68.
4. See plate No. 67.
5. Rohtak D.G. 1983-84, p.43.
6. See plate No. 86.
7. See plate No. 86.
8. See plate No. 55.

peacock or buck, show representations of animals and birds. Paintings relating to Guru Gobind Singh depict¹ interesting studies of horses, falcons and dogs in various attitudes. As a motif in itself, the most popular among the local birds was the peacock which appears frequently in all its elegant beauty. The most vivid representations of the bird hail from the gurdwara of Baba Bir Singh² and the samadh of Baba Khuda Singh,³ both located at Naurangabad, a village near Tarn Taran and also from the haveli of Sandhan-⁴ walia Sardars at Raja Sansi. James Coley noticed that figures of peacocks predominated in the murals that⁵ embellished houses in Amritsar. Besides the ubiquitous⁶ peacock, there are to be seen a number of birds, including chakora (alectoris gracca), hansa (phoenicurus ruber), koel (eudynamis scolopaceus), koonia (anthracoceros virgo), mania (acridotheres tristis), and several forms of local⁷ sparrows. The parrot being a pet bird, was often painted. In the gurdwara of Baba Bir Singh at Naurangabad and in the samadh of Sarju Das in the Mirankari Dera at Patiala appear so many birds that it may not be inappropriate to

call
these

1. See plate Nos. 12 and 13.
2. See plate No. 87.
3. See plate No. 89.
4. See plate No. 88.
5. op. cit., p. 107.
6. See plate No. 90.
7. See R.E. Parry, op. cit., pp. 51 and 55.

edifices picture-galleries of local birds.

Among the animals, elephant figures were a favourite motif of decoration. Decorative motifs consisting of figures of dogs and deer were also usual, the latter finding a fine representation in Akhara Sangal Wala at Amritsar. A fifty to sixty feet high square tower at Wazirabad was noticed by Vigne as being painted with themes intermixed with horses and other animals. Tombs of certain Muslim saints at Khanga Dogran, in district Gujranwala, were ornamented with pictures of birds and animals. Figures of a camel and a dog appear on one of the walls of the mausoleum of Lape Shah at Jagrean. Frolicsome monkeys, perched in high bushes, appear in the gurdwara of Baba Bir Singh at Naurangabad. An exceptionally interesting panel in the house of Shri Daru Mal at Sulchini, a village in the Hansi sub-division, illustrates a story of 'two cats and a monkey', wherein a monkey, acting as a mediator in a dispute between two cats over a piece of bread, cunningly manages to cheat the cats

1. See William Crooke, Religion and Folklore of Northern India, p. 367; Bhaktak D.G. 1893-94, p. 47.
2. R.E. Parry, op. cit., pp. 51, 55.
3. Travels in Kashmir, Ladak and Iskardo, I. p. 237.
4. R.W. Trafford, "Pictures in Musalman Tombs", Indian Antiquary, XXVII, May 1898, p. 140; also see Kanwarjit Kang, "Figural Paintings on Mohammedan Tombs", The Sunday Tribune, May 1, 1977, p. 5.
5. Gazetteer of India, Punjab, Ludhiana 1970, p. 658.

and keep the bread for himself. Occasionally aquatic
¹
 creatures also appear.

Last of all comes 'ornamentation' which is almost
 a theme with its own entity in some of the places. The
 most popular form of ornamentation was derived from
 the myriad forms of vegetation such as trees, vines,
 grasses, flowers, leaves, tendrils, branches and fruits;
²
 sometimes stylized, sometimes realistic and true to
³
 nature, sometimes arranged into wreaths, garlands,
 festoons or clusters and sometimes intermixed with the
⁴
 world of birds, with their wings, feathers, talons and
 eggs. Floral sprays and arabesques usually formed frames
 for murals which constituted the chief embellishments
 of an edifice. Typical of this kind of decoration is
⁵
 the work in the Shish Mahal at Patiala. In the Golden
 Temple at Amritsar, there are about three hundred
 different patterns on the walls which look from a
 distance like Kashmir embroidery or Persian carpets
⁶
 hung on walls. The centre of the ceilings or domes,
 in amalgamation with floral designs, were often painted
⁷
 with a decorative motif representing the 'Sun'.

1. See G.S. Sohan Singh, Gian Chittravali, pt. 5.
2. See plate No. 97.
3. See Lt. Barr, Journal, p. 101.
4. See plate No. 96.
5. See plate No. 95.
6. Parkash Singh, "Golden Temple Amritsar -- History, Art and Architecture", Souvenir, 49th All India Sikh Educational Conference, p. 27.
7. See J. M. Vogel, "Historical Notes on the Lahore Fort", J.P.H.S., I. No. 1, 1911, p. 46.

Edifices related to the Sikhs were often painted with a decorative motif known as dehin, executed¹ symmetrically in creeper, floral and bird motifs. It was raised over a base known as gharyanih,² a decorative device involving knotted grapplings between³ animals balanced by a similar style of floral patterns. A decorative design known as pattha was used around⁴ the dehin.

Excepting two edifices at Aandlu and Dhun Dhaswal, two villages located respectively in district Ludhiana and Amritsar, all Muslim edifices were devoid of figural paintings. Nevertheless they possessed a wealth of ornament including geometric and floral motifs, arabesques and guilloche interlace formed with⁵ an intricate network of lines and figures of cypresses. The shrine known as Baba Sher Shah da Darbar at Ghariala, a village near Patti, is ornamented with stars and flowers issuing from jars or basins and reminds one of the elegant embellishments of olden⁶ days wrought in the mosque of Wazir Khan at Lahore. One of the most unique decorations, scarcely with a parallel anywhere else, was found in the Jahazi

1. See G.S. Sohan Singh, op. cit., pt. I and IV.

2. See Dhan Singh, loc. cit., p. 46.

3. See G.S. Sohan Singh, op. cit., pt. XVI

4. Ibid., pt. IX.

5. Mountstuart Elphinstone, An Account of the Kingdom of Cabul, p. 49.

6. cf. Fred. H. Andrews, "Wazir Khan's Mosque, Lahore" J.L.A., X, 1903, p. 29.

¹
 Mahal, Muzaffar Khan's residence at Shujabad, near
 Multan. In addition to the purely decorative paintings
 of scrolls, flowers and foliage which filled the
 spandrels and borders, its walls were decorated with
 curious pictures of cities and palatial buildings
 painted on sunk panels of different sizes and shapes,
 striving to delineate a picture of the Arabian cities
 seen by the Khan on his pious pilgrimage to Mecca.

This rather rapid survey of the principal themes
 is in some way revealing, if somewhat repetitive. For
 through this, one sees the closeness between the themes
 that the miniature painters of the Punjab and the
 Punjab Hills held dear to themselves and the themes
 that the painters of the murals chose for embellishing
 the walls of 19th century Punjab. There is the same
 degree of interest in Vaishnava themes, in illustrat-
 ions of Ramala and Navak-navika texts and the kind.
 And there is, in addition, the strong interest in
 Sikh themes -- both representations of the Sikh Gurus
 and personalities of Sikh history. This interest is
 there in the miniatures of the 19th century but it is
 in a different light that we see it manifested in
 the murals where it intermingles with other traditional
 themes that are carried over from the 18th century
 and earlier.

1. J. Ph. Vogel, "The Jahazi Mahal at Shujabad",
J.I.A., X, No. 85, Ja. 1914, p. 39.

Of special interest are the mural counterparts of what can be called 'Company miniatures' of the 19th century. The awareness that the artist shows of his surroundings, his inclusion of commonplace, everyday themes, are all in a class of their own. This is something that the miniature painter was often slow in doing but the muralist, possibly because he was painting more often for the common man — a pilgrim, a devotee, the owner of a small house — was quick to seize on the 'dramatic' events or developments of his day as themes for his work.

Thirdly, a point which has been made earlier in different contexts, can be made here too. The themes of the murals are chosen almost at random by the artist, without special attention being paid to the nature of the edifice on which painting is being done. Everything is pressed into service because the object principally seems to be to embellish a building rather than use it as an occasion for working around some carefully chosen themes. This gives us some idea of the whole approach to the art of mural painting in 19th century Punjab, some inkling of the way the mind of the painter and the patron alike worked.

* * * *

Chapter IV

TECHNIQUE AND NOTES ON STYLE

1

In matters of the principal techniques employed, mural painting in 19th century Punjab shows strong affinity with contemporary wall-painting in the neighbouring regions, especially the Hill States and Rajasthan. And yet it would not be without interest to examine this matter in some detail.

Broadly, of course, wall-paintings fall in one or the other of the three categories: (1) tempera, (2) fresco or (3) fresco-secco. In tempera, painting is done on dry wall plaster with pigments made in an organic medium. True fresco implies work done on wet wall plaster with pigments ground in water. In fresco-secco, painting is done on a dry wall with

Most of the information on the traditional methods of mural painting, incorporated in this chapter, was collected from S. Atma Singh, who was interviewed by me at Amritsar in June 1971. His forefathers were mural painters and he himself is practising this profession to this date.

pigments ground in water. In each of these, attention has to be paid to (a) the 'carrier', which supports the 'ground', (b) the 'ground' on which paintings are executed, (c) the materials or pigments used in the work and (d) the 'binding medium', or the means by which pigments are attached to the ground so as to make the work firm and lasting.

The question of finding a suitable surface like a wall or ceiling which acts as 'carrier' is of primary importance, for on a permanent foundation for the plaster coats making up the mural ground depends the longevity of the painting. In 19th century Punjab the 'carrier' almost always was a wall or ceiling, made of handmade bricks, baked to a fresh looking red and laid in lime-sand mortar. The breadth of the wall depended on the type of edifice, but there is to be seen a general preference for broad walls, usually not less than two and a half feet in breadth. No serious effort seems to have been made towards waterproofing the walls, but the process of spraying good bricks before setting them into mortar, tended to largely remove the possibility of efflorescence. Negligence to do this has indeed led to a whitish exudation which can be seen on some of the old walls bearing mural panels in the gumadh of Sardar Lal Singh at Kale Chanpur, a village near Amritsar; Shiv temple at Achal Batala; gumadh of Baba Nan Singh near Sodhiwala, a village in Ferozepur

district; to name only a few. All brick joints were raked back about a quarter of an inch and smooth bricks were roughened with a stone-cutter's hammer to enable the surface to hold on firmly to the plaster, the 'ground' on which the paintings were executed.

Mud walls also served as 'carriers' as in some of the Hill States, but only rarely. An example can be seen in the haveli¹ of the Sandhamwalia Sardars at Raja Sansi, where the walls serving as 'carriers' were composite brick and mud material. Brick walls were here covered with a mud plaster six inches thick, the purpose clearly being to keep the inside cool in summer and warm in winter.

Where murals were executed on already standing old walls, whatever plaster was on them, was first removed, and the surface roughened enough to hold the new plaster firmly. In general, partition walls, waterproofed by their very location, constituted the best 'carrier' for mural paintings.

In the sub-montane tract, stone being easily available, was used to erect walls of edifices. That it served as a good 'carrier' is apparent from the extant murals in the temple of the Bairagis at Ram Tatwali and in the gurdwara of Daba Kala Dhari at Una. The rough surface of stone added to the firmness

1. See Jagdish Mittal, "Chamba", Marg, XVII, No. 3, June 1964, p. 24.

of plaster and all chances of salt efflorescence were eliminated.

In respect of 'ground', while the nature of the material composing it was more or less the same, there appears to have been no uniformity in the proportions in which the materials were mixed.

Lime was the pre-eminent material in the formation of 'ground'. Chemical analysis of plaster taken from the haveli of Seth Panna Lal Phul Chand Sharda at Ferozepur, and from the Faridkot Fort, has shown that the proportion of lime or calcium carbonate in them was, respectively, 61% and 68%.¹ Lime was prepared extensively in the Punjab, mostly around good kankar quarries. A circular mud-built structure with a round tank in the centre, known as pajwa² or kiln, was filled with fuel, and above this kankar was stacked in layers interlined with wood and cowdung. A long narrow aperture was left down to the circular tank and lighted fuel was thrown below it to ignite the whole mass. Little or no wood-ash got mixed with the lime, but dung-ash did and the lime had to be cleaned of this.

1. I am grateful to the Post-graduate and Research Institute of the Deccan College, Poona, for analysing the plaster and for sending me the results with their letter No. 701 (3)/7841 dated November 28, 1973.
2. See Hoshiarpur D.C. 1904, p. 149.

1

Else, it fetched a lower price, being of inferior quality. It took four to five days of burning to convert kankar into lime which was then slaked. It may be noted that lime procured from one kankar quarry differed from that from another quarry, both in chemical composition, and in giving final results.

The lime was thoroughly slaked to prevent 'blisters' appearing in the 'ground'. It was kept under water for at least a week, and it improved the longer it was treated like this. Every day the water was changed² so as to leave a very fine sediment.³ Then it was strained through a fine cloth, the substance that remained in the cloth being called 'pora',⁴ the equivalent of the Rajasthani 'bugra'.⁵ The best of all slaked limes, matured for more than a year, turned into viscous lime-putty and was used in the most ambitious mural projects such as that of the Shish Mahal at Patiala. It was stored in a tightly closed box in a cool dark-room or cellar, better still in a lime pit which used to be deep and well covered up.

The other materials used in the preparation of

1. See Moshiarpur D.C. 1904, p. 149.
2. See E.B. Havell, Indian Sculpture and Painting, p. 268.
3. See Major S.S. Jacob, "Fresco Painting", Professional Papers on Indian Engineering, No. 360, 1881, p. 204.
4. Marg, X, No. 2, March 1957, p. 27.
5. Major S.S. Jacob, loc. cit., p. 203.

the 'ground' were called 'kutta' and 'doga'. 'Doga' was the curd-like residue of white plaster prepared from burnt and drenched marble duly cloth-filtered, while 'kutta' was the rough remains of white marble plaster, obtained from the cloth-filtered material. Not infrequently fine clean sand, preferably bank-sand, was also used in addition to or in place of marble meal and marble dust. Sand that contained mica was avoided in painting work. Mica on the 'intonaco' surface and painted over, would sooner or later split, divide and fall off, leaving white spot. It appears that sand was washed and sifted a great deal to get rid of its impurities. Clay was also used in the preparation of the 'ground', corresponding to the 'makaul' plaster applied in the Hills. Chemical analysis of plasters from the haveli of Seth Panna Lal Phul Chand Sharda, at Ferozepur and from the Faridkot Fort has shown the proportion of clay in them to be 39% and 32% respectively.

In addition to lime, sand and clay, the major

1. Marble was imported from Jodhpury see Giani Hira Singh Bard, "Sri Tarn Taran Ji de Puratan Itihas", Phulwari (P) No.6-7, May 1933, p. 499.
2. Mary, X, No.2, March 1957, p. 27.
3. Ibid.
4. E.B.Havell, Indian Sculpture and Painting, p. 268.
5. See Edmund W. Smith, "Decorative Painting from the tomb of Itmad-ud-Daulah at Agra", J.I.A., VI, No.31, July 1895, p.92.
6. Jagdish Mittal, loc. cit., p. 24.
7. Analysis done by Post-Graduate and Research Institute of the Deccan College, Poona.

constituents of 'ground', other materials were also made use of, but since they did not form an essential part of the 'ground' composition, their use depended primarily on the discretion of the muralist. Powder obtained by grinding conch, and paste made of the hesh pulse (*Phaseolus Radiatus*), was used for achieving added whiteness to the surface. The use of these two materials in Pahari murals has already been established,¹ but chemical analysis of plasters from Punjab does not reveal their presence even though many elderly painters, who possess knowledge of the traditional methods of mural painting, speak of their having been applied in the final coat of plaster for better results.

Molasses or sugared water were generally used for to adding to the adhesive properties of the plaster,² as in Rajasthan. These also helped to retain moisture for the plaster to be kept moist and in a workable condition.³ The practice of using molasses in mural paintings continued well into the first quarter of the present century and there is evidence even of

1. See K.C. Aryan, "Technical Notes", Marg, XVII, No.3, June 1964, p. 15.
2. Thomas Holbein Hendley, "Decorative Art in Rajputana", J.I.A., No.21, II, 1888, p. 47.
3. cf., S. Paramasivan, "Indian Wall Paintings", Journal of Madras University, XII, No.1, January 1940, p. 124.

the use of diluted honey along with molasses.¹ When clay was used in the 'ground', adhesive quality was obtained by mixing fibres of jute, hemp etc.,² chaff and cow-dung; sometimes a little rice-starch was added to impart further tenacity. The use of these materials in the Punjab was not by any means an innovation. Early texts like Vishnuvishayottara, Abhilashitartha Chintamani and Silparatna,³ clearly speak of them and their properties. Their use only makes it evident that the knowledge of materials used in ancient Indian wall-paintings did not merely survive as knowledge in the 19th century, but continued to be put to use.

The technique of applying plaster on the 'carrier' that constituted the 'ground' differed according to the painting process to be adopted. However, workers in the profession were apparently aware that whatever the process, success in mural painting depended entirely upon the proper handling of mortar materials, both before and after they were mixed together. They

1. Pandit Baru Mal, interviewed at Nakodar, vividly remembers to having supplied a number of bottles containing honey for use in the murals of the thakurdwara of Lala Chuhan Mal. The murals were painted in V.S. 1975 (= 1918 A.D.).
2. See O.P. Agrawal, "A Study of the Techniques of Indian Wall Paintings", Journal of Indian Museums, XXV-XXVI, 1969-70, p. 103.
3. See S. Paramasivan, loc. cit., pp. 121-124; O.P. Agrawal, loc. cit., pp. 101-103.

know that repeated re-mixing of the mortar before use ensured the successful conclusion of the work and that tight and homogeneous unification of sand and marble dust with lime was essential to coherence in plaster coats.

Through various stages of its execution, the laying of the 'ground' for fresco painting, done on wet plaster with pigments ground in water, demanded considerable skill. Brick or stone walls were wetted well to receive the coat of 'ariccio', the plaster¹ layer covering the masonry. Plaster, made of slaked lime and sand, was driven well into joints and crevices and then beaten all over with a long strip² of wood used edgewise until it became slightly dry. The process was repeated until the 'ariccio' became at least a quarter of an inch thick. It was then carefully levelled to receive the coat of 'intonaco', finely grained plaster layer covering the rougher 'ariccio' surface on which the colours were laid. The 'intonaco' plaster was composed of perfectly slaked lime and finely pulverized marble meal, made into the consistency of a cream and applied to the wet wall plaster with a brush and rubbed over the ground with

1. Eve Borsook, The Mural Painters of Tuscany, glossary.
2. See E.B. Havell, Indian Sculpture and Painting, pp. 238-39.

a flat stone to make it set well into the 'ariccio' surface. This process was repeated to obtain the desired thickness of 'intonaco' which usually remained¹ less than 3 mm. When the plaster grew a little dry and sticky, it was polished with an agate polishing stone² until the surface was quite smooth and glazed. The more carefully it was done, the finer was the polish. Every time the agate was moved backwards and forwards, it was made to pass over a portion of its previous course, so as to prevent any line at the edge. The ground was thus ready for painting. It is interesting to note that 'kansi-de-kaul' or bowls made of bronze, were sometimes used in place of agates for polishing³ purposes. In the preparation of walls intended for fresco painting, great precautions had to be taken, as unevenness in surface was not only unsightly, but⁴ allowed dust to accumulate to the detriment of paintings.

The process, known as 'mohra-kashi' in Punjab,

1. With a micrometer attached to eyepiece of the microscope, the thickness of 'intonaco' layers of frescoes in the temple of Kishan Chand Bhandari at Batala and gurdwara Pothi Wala at Guru Harsahai were measured and found to be 1.3 mm and 2.1 mm respectively.
2. Shri O.P. Agrawal, Chief Chemist and Head, Central Conservation Laboratory, was kind enough to examine the plaster of murals of Ram Tatwali. The polish of lime surface at the places where paint had fallen suggested that the burnishing technique of plastering was used.
3. See Kapur Singh Chuman (ed.), Dina Kangar Survey Pustak, p. 64.
4. See Edmund W. Smith, loc. cit., p. 92.

remained considerably popular till the end of the 19th century.¹ It was also called 'Jodhpuri huna'², probably because the technique was borrowed from Jodhpur, the place where it was originally practised. For better comprehensibility of the technique, it is expedient to describe it briefly, using vernacular terms for materials, already referred to above. According to the late Bhai Gian Singh Nagdash,³ who practised the technique for several years, one square foot of brickwork on even wall was kept wet to requirement by the continuous sprinkling of water. Thereafter the area was plastered with 'pore'. On this plaster was cast a layer of 'doga'. Before casting 'doga', the 'pore' was plastered with 'kutta', which made lime plaster stronger as well as whiter than its original condition. When the 'doga' was still wet, the design was drawn.

A more or less similar process was adopted for preparing 'grounds' for dry wall plaster techniques of tempera and fresco-secco paintings; only the materials used and the application seldom reached the refinement required for fresco work. Relatively

1. J.L. Kipling, "The Art Industries of Punjab" (Supplement), J.L.A., No. 10, April 1886, pp.
2. Chattrik Abhinandan Granth (P), p. 112.
3. See Marg, X, No. 2, March 1957, p. 27.

few murals done in tempera have survived. Some representative examples can be seen in the haveli of the Sandhanwalla Sardars at Raja Sansi. The murals here were executed on a fine coat of white clay or gypsum, 2.1 mm in thickness, applied over mud plaster. It appears to be in no way inferior to the coat of lime in semblance, however, being less tenacious, it has peeled off the walls at several spots thus robbing a number of panels of their beauty.

It may be remarked that the fine white plastering process resulting in the formation of 'ground'¹ had grown into a highly developed art in India. The technique was known as 'gach-kari'² in Punjab. It offered considerable scope for embellishment work in buildings for the ground for fresco painting, gilding, painted gesso work or for plain cut and modelled³ ornament was similar.

The results of the chemical analysis of some specimens of 'ground' plaster of representative places with mural panels, set forth below add to our knowledge of materials used in the formation of the 'ground'.

1. E.B. Havell, Indian Architecture, p. 192.
2. See Khan Singh Nabha, Encyclopaedia of Sikh Literature, p. 293.
3. E.B. Havell, Indian Architecture, pp. 192-93.

Name of the edifice	Analysis	Percentage
1		
1. Temple of Bairagis at Ram Tatwali in district Hoshiarpur.	Carbondioxide and Combined Water	40.1 %
	Silica	10.3 %
	R 2O3	3.5 %
	Calcium Oxide	45.3 %
	Magnesium Oxide	0.5 %
	Total	99.7
2		
II. Haveli of Seth Panna Lal Phul Chand Sharda at Ferozepur City.	Calcium Carbonate (lime)	61 %
	Acid (HCL) insoluble matter (clay)	39 %
	Total	100
3		
III. Faridkot Fort.	Calcium Carbonate (lime)	68 %
	Acid (HCL) insoluble matter (clay)	32 %
	Total	100

1. I am grateful to Shri O.P. Agrawal for analysing the plaster and for sending its report vide his letter No. NW/lab. C-2, dated February 19, 1973.
2. The analysis was done by the Post-Graduate and Research Institute of the Deccan College, Poona, and its report was sent to me vide letter No. 701(3)/7841, dated November 28, 1973.
3. Ibid.

The pigments used in Punjab murals do not seem to have been of a wide range, the palette of the 19th century muralist being rather austere and limited. The colours used were mostly earth or mineral colours, as few others would stand the action of lime. The use of vegetable pigments was generally avoided, apparently because of their inability to resist the chemical action of lime. All the colours needed were made by the painters themselves, their preparation taxing¹ "greatly their skill, patience and labour."

According to late Bhai Gian Singh Naqqash, only six colours: red, green, yellow, blue, black and white were used in fresco painting. Different tones² were obtained of all colours except green, by mixing³ white colour. Green was treated with yellow clay.⁴ Red was prepared from an indigenous clay called 'hurmachi' which was generally imported from hill areas and was available with grocers. It was

1. S.G. Thakur Singh, "Fresco Painting of Golden Temple, Amritsar", Indian Art Souvenir, np.
2. Marg, X, No. 2, March 1957, pp. 27-28.
3. Ibid., p. 28.
4. Ibid.

pulverised on stone slabs while being constantly moistened with water. The intensity of red always¹ depended upon the fineness of the pulverized clay.² For obtaining green, small chips of terra-verte, called 'sang-i-sabz', were pulverised along with water. Yellow was obtained from yellow clay and blue was made from lapis-lazuli. Deep blue obtained from indigo was used in later works. Black was³ prepared from burnt coconut crust or from the⁴ smoke of mustard oil burnt in earthen lamp. 'Doga', the curdlike substance obtained from filtering water-drenched burnt marble chips, served as white colour. The colours were kept wet with water in earthen receptacles while work was in progress.

It might be useful to have here in a tabular form, a list of the colours employed with their local names.

1. Marg, X, No. 2, March 1957, p. 28.
2. S.G. Thakur Singh, loc. cit., np.
3. Marg, X, No. 2, March 1957, p. 27.
4. S.G. Thakur Singh, loc. cit., np.

Sr. No.	Name of colour	Local name	Type of pigment	Source of pigment	Hue (corresponding to the hues of popularly known colours)	Comments
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1.	Red	(a) <u>GERU</u>	Mineral	Prepared from red-ochre, a type ₁ of iron oxide.	Light red	Red has been used ranging from light red to brown. Shades
		(b) <u>Humachi</u>	Mineral	Prepared from a clay called ' <u>humachi</u> ' or ' <u>humizi</u> ', a type ₂ of iron oxide.	Indian red	Like <u>gulabi</u> or pink and <u>badami</u> or almond-coloured were obtained by mixing with other colours.
		(c) <u>Sandhu</u>	Chemical	Made from red lead.	Vermillion	

1. See Percy Brown, Indian Painting, p. 123.
2. Ibid.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
		(a) <u>Singaurfi</u>	Mineral	Made from cinnabar or red sulphide of mercury.	Vermilion	
2.	Yellow	(a) <u>Pila</u> or <u>Kardhi</u>	Mineral	Made from (1) yellow clay popularly known as <u>gachni</u> or <u>Multani mitti</u> , and (2) by pulverising <u>Pila pathar</u> .	Yellow ochre	Yellow has been used in various shades but most of these are the variations of yellow ochre.
		(b) <u>Harital</u>	Mineral	Made from <u>harital</u> or orpiment, a yellow mineral of arsenic group.	Indian yellow	Shades like <u>Khaki</u> or buff, <u>narandi</u> or orange, and <u>falshtai</u> or

1. See Percy Brown, Indian Painting, p. 123.
2. Major S.S. Jacob, loc. cit., p. 265; E.B. Havell, Indian Sculpture and Painting, p. 271.
3. See Kahn Singh Nabha, op. cit., p. 196.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
		(c) <u>Roohi</u> or <u>rau-doli</u>	Chemical	obtained from the urine of a cow fed on 1 mango leaves.	Deep yellow	pigeon grey. were obtained by mixing other colours.
3. Blue		(a) <u>Laiward</u>	Mineral	Obtained from powdered <u>lapis-lazuli</u> .	Ultramarine blue	blue was not a popular colour with mural painters.
		(b) <u>Mila</u>	Organic	Made from indigo	Deep blue/ blue violet	It has been used only sparingly especially in earlier paintings.
4. Green		(a) <u>Sabz</u>	Mineral	Made from terra verte stone known as ' <u>sapo-i-sabz</u> '.	Malachite green	It was darkened by mixing with <u>humachi</u> .
		(b) <u>Jansal</u>	Inorganic	Prepared from	Crack	

1. See Karl Khandavala, Pahari Miniature Painting, p. 273.
2. S.G. Thakur Singh, loc. cit., p.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
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powdered
verdigris.

5. White Suaboda Mineral/ inorganic Made from: (1) Zinc White was mostly used for obtaining different tones of other colours.

burnt marble chips, drenched in water and then filtered; (2) powdered conch shell; (3) white chalk and (4) zinc-white.

6. Black Kajal Inorganic Made from: (1) burnt coconut or almond crust; (2) smoke of mustard oil; (3) black soot obtained from iron griddles (4) pulverised charcoal and by burning ivory. Black had a very deep shining surface. Direct use of black was seldom made and it was mostly used to create darker shades of other colours. Before burning, almond crusts were coated with mustard oil.

As a case study, chemical analysis of the pigments of mural panels in the Bairagi temple at Ram Tatwali in Hoshiarpur district was made and¹ yielded the following results:

Red	:	Red ochre
Green	:	Terra verte
Blue	:	Ultramarine
Black	:	Carbon black
White	:	Line

The source of golden colour to be seen only in the frescoes of the Shish Mahal at Patiala, is not known with certainty. In the presence of some evidence of Bahari painters having been associated with the work on the Shish Mahal frescoes,² it is likely that they followed the same technique for obtaining golden colour which their predecessors had been employing in the Hills i.e., gold was used in the form of leaf for broad work and 'halkari'³ (soluble gold) when finer work was done.

Many of the pigments, if not very finely ground,

1. The analysis was done by Shri O.P. Agrawal, Chief Chemist and Head, Central Conservation Laboratory, New Delhi.
2. See B.N. Goswamy, "Sikh Painting : An Analysis of some Aspects of Patronage", Oriental Art, XV, No. 1, Spring 1969, p. 47.
3. Jagdish Mittal, loc. cit., p. 24.

were well washed in water. The peori or deep yellow, obtained from the urine of a cow fed on mango leaves contained salt, which was eliminated by thorough washing before grinding to ensure that the colour did not fade away with time. The colours became lighter after the plaster dried, and necessary allowance was made for this change. The finished colour applications looked smooth, even and compact.

These traditional colours, despite the artist's clear awareness that they were more lasting and durable, were gradually beginning to be superseded by European-made colours by the 70's of the last century. In fact the 'wave' of European-made colours, poor as they were as substitute for permanent indi-¹genous colours, was beginning to engulf many regions. Brilliant aniline dyes found their way into the muralists' art, as much as in other industries² requiring use of colours.

The thickness of layers of pigment varied slightly from one place to another. Paint layers from two places, measured with a micrometer attached to the eyepiece of microscope, have given following results:

1. See Edmund W. Smith, loc. cit., p. 92.
2. T.N. Mukharji, Art Manufactures of India, p. 13.

<u>Name of the edifice</u>	<u>Thickness of paint layer</u>
1. <u>Haveli of Sandhan-</u> walia Sardars at Raja Sansi.	: 0.5 mm
2. Temple of Kishan Chand Bhandari at Batala.	: 0.1 mm

The 'binding medium', or the means by which pigments were attached to the ground so as to make the work firm and lasting, differed according to the technique adopted. The adhesion of pigments to the 'ground' in fresco painting was due to a chemical process, involving lime as the binding agent. Among the ingredients of ground plaster were sand, lime and calcium hydroxide. When colours mixed in lime-water were introduced to the still wet plaster surface, the pigments were soaked through with the hydrate of lime. In the process of drying, a chemical change took place: the hydroxide was converted first into oxide and then, gradually, as it was in contact with air which contained carbon dioxide, it changed into calcium carbonate: the resulting surface was reasonably resistant to atmospheric action.

Unlike in the Italian process of fresco-buono, colours in the Indian process of fresco painting were united to the plaster, not only chemically, by the

action of lime, but also by the mechanical action of beating colours with a trowel into the surface of the 'ground'¹. The polishing or rubbing-in of colours with a small iron spatula passed over the surface² was peculiar to the Indian practice.

In fresco-secco technique, painting was done on the wall, when the plaster had already dried, with pigments ground in lime-water. Lime-water served as a 'binding agent', but quite often, colours were also tempered with some kind of organic medium. Tempera or distemper painting was a method of painting in which solid pigments were employed, mixed with water as a medium, with some kind of dissolved gum to prevent the colours scaling off. Gum obtained from a tree like acacia was the major 'binding agent'. Because of religious taboo, bone-glue or leather-glue were avoided. It appears that cheese, which could be transformed into a sticky liquid by mixing with different solvents, was also used as one of the 'binding agents'. With all this, however, tempera painting could not stand exposure to weather for long, and was thus ill-suited for external decoration; the

1. E.B. Havell, Indian Sculpture and Painting, p. 267.
2. J.L. Kipling, "The Art Industries of Punjab" (Supplement), J.L.A. No. 10, April 1886, pp.

colours, being surface deep, did not become part of the stucco. Coats of varnish, applied to the surface to preserve the pigments, are seen only quite rarely, possibly because, they gave a brownish tint to the surface and affected the original beauty of the colours. It also appears that varnishing came in only with the advent of European influence.¹ The technique of burnishing left little need for the coat of varnish on painted surface in terms of surface appearance, for if properly done, it gave a distinct glaze to the paintings.² It has unfortunately not been possible for me to confirm the type of 'binding agent' used in murals, alluded to by Lt. Barr as 'paintings in oil',³ because the murals which he was describing are on the Pakistan side of the Punjab and I could not gain any access to them.

In addition to the plastering of the 'ground' and preparation of pigments, the making of a 'cartoon' or a drawing prepared to the size of the mural, was one of the important works preliminary to painting a mural. Cartoons were not invariably used, and the

1. See J.C. French, "Art of Chamba", Art and Letters, XIV, No. 2, 1951, p. 47.
2. See Lt. Barr, Journal, p. 137.
3. Ibid., p. 100.

making of a cartoon depended on two factors: (1) on the quality of work aimed at and (2) on the space and size of the surface available.

For ambitious works aiming at excellence and sumptuousness, greater efforts were put in in the matter of better drawings and designs. The possibility of models, 'modellos'¹ of the Italian masters, being prepared for the entire composition of a painting or set of paintings² is not to be ruled out. On the basis of these models, full-size drawings of whole compositions³ were drawn in pencil or charcoal on a sheet of reasonably thick paper. The entire drawing was then pricked, care being taken to see that the perforation was even and perfect. This perforated drawing, constituting the 'cartoon', was called a khaka.⁴ For works of an ordinary order, the sequence to be painted was drawn directly on paper and then converted into a khaka by perforating the drawing. It is true at the same time that many hand did not make use of khakas, for they had acquired the facility of executing drawings

1. Eve Borsook, op. cit., glossary.

2. The excellently planned frescoes in Shish Mahal at Patiala, for instance, could not have been painted directly. The 'khakas' used for painting mural panels in Rani Mahal at Nabha were recently acquired by the Department of Archaeology, Punjab.

3. Marg, X, No. 2, March 1957, p. 27.

4. Ibid.

direct on the 'intonaco' surface.¹ The khakas and outline sketches of popular themes, drawn by gifted artists,² were also available for sale in big towns³ and must have been a boon for lesser artists who were poor at producing good drawings of their own.

Although most of the drawings for mural panels with 'portraits' were made from imagination, many portraits must have been drawn from life also.⁴ This is indicated by the observation of Capt. Leopold Von Orlich⁵ also. That pains were taken for drawing portraits from life is alluded to in a romantic tale⁶ that has an episode in which a likeness is drawn after seeing reflection in water, and is then transferred onto a wall. Interestingly enough, a set of three extant mural panels in the Shiv temple at Lasara, a village in district Jullundur, depict a lady drawing a portrait from life.

1. See plate No. 21.
2. It is most likely that the 'dealers in pictures' enlisted by Ibbetson in Report on the Census of Punjab 1891, II, Table No. XII B, in addition to their primary dealings in pictures, were also the sellers of khakas. These were available in the market well upto the end of the first quarter of the 20th century. Murals in the shrine of Guga Pir at Chhapar, a village in district Ludhiana, painted in 1923, were, I was told, based on khakas purchased from Jagraon.
3. See O.C. Gangoli, Races and Races, p. 151.
4. See plate Nos. 50 and 51.
5. See Travels in India, including Sindh and the Punjab, I, p. 206.
6. See Charles Swynnerton, Romantic Tales from the Punjab, pp. 228-236.

The dimensions of mural-panels depended on the space available, and varied from the size of a usual miniature to as much as eight times as large,¹ cartoons, in their most developed forms, were exactly of the same size as the mural panels. It could be of great interest if we were to determine the method that was used for achieving large compositions which covered the entire walls like the one, twelve feet long by six feet in height, in the fort of Hari Singh Malwa at Gujranwala.² Did the designer, one wonders, enlarge from a drawing with the help of proportional squares on the wall itself? There exists no direct evidence to say that he did. If a pierced cartoon was pounced or traced on to the wall, it would be obvious that either full-sized outline drawings or an enormous scale were used entire or that small details of individual figures were separately used to make the whole.

3

Native paper made of old 'tat-patti', bleached, washed and reduced to pulp, available in various sized sheets of different qualities, and known by different names, was used for preparing cartoons. The best paper was manufactured at Sialkot and was

1. See E.W.E., VIII, p. 209.
2. Lt. Barr, Journal, p. 130.
3. B.H. Baden-Powell, Handbook of the Manufactures and Arts of the Punjab, II, p. 77.

preferred by the muralists. The drawing was pricked with a fine needle, mounted in a piece of wood for a handle, with greater attention being paid to faces, hands and feet etc.

Pouncing was done by rubbing over perforated lines with a cloth ball filled with charcoal dust. A square of a fairly closely woven cloth was laid out and filled with charcoal dust. By lifting the edges together this ball was formed; a strong cord was tied around the neck making it into a 'potli'. Careful dusting of the lines prevented charcoal from flying over the 'intonaco' and left a fairly good 'spolveri'; the dotted marks left by charcoal dust flicked through the holes. By pressing lines in the soft 'intonaco' with the help of a stylus, unperforated drawings were also sometimes transferred to plaster.

As for brushes, the painter generally made his own according to his needs.² For ordinary work, brushes were made of goat and camel hair and for subjects requiring high finish, squirrel's hair bound in pigeon's quills was pressed into service.³ These brushes

1. Marg, K. No. 2, March 1957, p. 27.

2. Ibid., 28.

3. See Edmund W. Smith, loc. cit., p. 92.

were beautifully made and were in no way inferior¹ to those manufactured in Europe.

After the drawing was transferred on to the 'intonaco', colours were then set into it with the help of a small wooden shovel, with a slight hunch in the middle; this was known as pehla.² This shovel was constantly, gently, 'thumped' on the plaster in such a way that the colour did not get rubbed or mixed with the neighbouring colour. This process was continued³ till the colours had become one with the plaster. The whole operation required very close concentration and artists were known to have often gone without meals to ensure the setting in of colours before the plaster dried up.⁴ Once the original colours were 'established' into the 'intonaco', further colour ~~coatings~~ were applied for bringing in details, giving tones as desired, and for imparting final touches to the painting.

In a number of edifices in the cis-sutlej state of Patiala, miniature paintings executed on paper

1. See Edmund W. Smith, loc. cit., p. 92.
2. Marg, X, No. 2, March 1957, p. 28.
3. The process closely resembled the fresco painting practised in Jaipur. See Major S.S. Jacob, loc. cit., p. 205; cf. Satya Prakash, "A Note on some typical Jaipur Frescoes", Lalit-Kala, Nos. 1-2, April 1955-March 1956, p. 133.
4. Marg, X, No. 2, March 1957, p. 28.

were made to serve as 'murals'.¹ Shallow recesses corresponding to the dimensions of the miniatures were left in the walls, and these paintings done on paper were inserted and covered with glass.² This mode of embellishment was confined only to the interiors. Probably the upper apartment of Hari Singh's villa at Gujranwala referred to by Lt. Barr, was also embellished in this way; many of these paintings, as the Lt. describes, had succumbed to the feminine³ weapon of slippers.

Because of the easy availability of limestone in the Shivalik Hills, the surface of walls was given a relatively good coat of chunam at places that were not far from this range of mountains. The quality of the chunam coat in areas around Bhatinda and Talwandi Sabo however was generally poor, possibly because of the difficulty of getting lime in good quantity.

This brief study of the technique of mural painting would remain incomplete without some mention

1. These are to be seen in Diwan Khana Kadir at Patiala, gurudwara of Sri Guru Teg Bahadur, both at Bahadurgarh and in old Moti Bagh at Patiala, in the Rani-Mahal at Nabha and also in the Devi Durga Mandir at Payal in district Ludhiana.
2. See plate No. 47.
3. Journal, p. 133.

of the native practice of surface decoration on wood. The ground there was first prepared by covering the wood with cloth or with the fibre of gan (¹*Crotolaria Juncea*), mixed with whiting and glue. The decoration, ²usually confined to designs, was done in water colour, and protected by a coating of varnish. Use of linseed oil as a medium in the surface decoration of wood gained popularity in the last quarter of the 19th ³century.

It is time now to turn to style.

Most of the 19th century European travellers through upper India, who are our eye-witnesses for these murals did not much appreciate the 'native' art of embellishing walls. They saw murals as having been fashioned in 'the most grotesque' ⁴style, 'ridiculous' ⁵to look at, executed in 'bad taste'. ⁶Few art critics and historians of Indian art in this century have paid close attention to murals of 19th century Punjab. The few that have done this have regarded these with a

1. J.L.Kipling, "The Art Industries of Punjab" (Supplement), *J.I.A.*, No. 10, April 1886, np; cf., T.N. Mukharji, *op. cit.*, p. 40.
2. See plate No. 96.
3. J.L. Kipling, "The Art Industries of Punjab" (Supplement), *J.I.A.*, No. 10, April 1886, np.
4. Lt. Barr, *Journal*, pp. 99, 141; Charles Masson, *Narrative of Various Journeys in Beluchistan, Afghanistan and the Punjab*, I, p. 414.
5. Lt. Barr, *Journal*, pp. 71, 130.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 130.

superior air and pronounced them to be the result of an indifferent, if not inferior, activity.¹ Had there been any serious attempt at examining this art, the severity of some of the remarks, I believe, would surely have been considerably less.² To quote Roopa Krishna: "If we look at these paintings from the stand point of those masters who painted them, and take a reasonable and sympathetic view of the conventions and traditions by which they were guided in the expression and delineation of these ideas, we will surely find a great deal of art and beauty in these old paintings, which we can not but fail to realize even if we apply to them the standard of realistic representation which is, however, foreign and even inimical to their conceptions."

Murals in 19th century Punjab were obviously painted in a 'traditional style', and may in general character be described as 'decorative', following an ornamental scheme. It is clear that these murals have nothing to do with the great style of the murals from ancient India, because that tradition had already died out in the medieval period. These were a continuation of the somewhat rough style that had for long been common in the 18th century Punjab, with additions made

1. See J. Ph. Vogel, "Historical Notes on the Lahore Fort", J.P.H.S., I, No. 1, 1911, p. 53; A.K. Coomaraswamy, Rajput Painting, I, p. 25; J.C. French, Himalayan Art, p. 89.
2. "Some Fresco Paintings in the Lahore Fort", Rupam, Nos. 27-28, October 1926, p. 88.
3. W.G. Archer, Paintings of the Sikhs, p. 18.

from time to time derived from the mural styles prevalent in the neighbouring Hill States and Rajasthan.

Again, in the work of 19th century Punjab no attempt appears to have been made towards achieving any marked individuality in style. It thus becomes difficult to consider the stylistic traits of these paintings by making as its basis the works of individual painters; only some general observations can be made.

As has been observed, in respect of the division of surface in mural arts, two things can ordinarily happen: either the pictorial representation follows the shape and size of the surface itself, or it introduces the illusion of other spatial dimensions — for example depth. Generally speaking, the subservience of pictorial representation to the shape and size of surface in murals from 19th century Punjab, is more apparent in purely ornamental paintings and less in those that are narrative. The general rule that "construction should be decorated, Decoration should¹ never be purposely constructed" seems to have been faithfully followed, with the painted scheme trying

1. Owen Jones, Grammar of Ornament, pp. 5-6.

to adjust itself to the pre-existing structural articulations.

There is in 19th century a striking 'range and readiness' of approach in the relationship between painting and architecture, something that is usually much more complex. More often than not, the architect or mistri¹, who used to be skilled in several crafts, was himself a wall painter in the Punjab,² as he was in the Punjab Hills.³ Despite this, difficulties of co-ordination between the architecture and the mural, sometimes arose because of the variety of walls and their dimensions, and fixed architectural orders like doors, windows and alcoves, which could not be altered. In fact, barring a few 'grand' structures, architectural planning,⁴ clearly incorporating schemes of embellishments, was seldom done with much care.

The wall forming a vertical plane, was usually divided by horizontal and vertical lines, forming rectangular and square panels, frequently of uniform,

1. J.L.Kipling, "Indian Architecture of Today", J.L.A., No.3, July 1884, pp. 1-2.
2. Most of the artisans in the 19th century Punjab did all jobs allied to their trade; see Ibbetson, op. cit., I, p. 376.
3. Mulk Raj Anand, "Some Notes on the Composition of Pahari Murals", Marg, XVII, No. 3, June 1964, p. 9.
4. For instance, the architectural plan of the aggarh of Maharaja Ranjit Singh was duly laid out before the commencement of its construction. See Shahamat Ali, The Sikhs and Afghans in Connection with India and Persia, p. 546.

occasionally of different dimensions. Effort was made to achieve a sense of unity in all the walls by creating a relationship through similarity of panels,¹ at least in the walls facing each other. Other patterns of divisions were also adopted, but all these were generally based on horizontal and vertical lines drawn across the surface of the wall. Generally the horizontal panels were painted on the space nearer the ceiling and vertical panels lower down on the walls. Sometimes the panels simply constituted a frieze² skirting a ceiling, the rest of the wall being left either bare or embellished with floral designs of various descriptions.³ The division of walls into panels could have been perfectly symmetrical but for interruptions of surface caused by the structure of the building. The rigidity and tenseness of these divisions was sought to be relieved by floral decoration that covered all space of the walls around rectangular and square pictures and brought about a harmony⁴ of feeling. It had become almost a convention with the muralists to give to the upper edge of panels the

1. This is evident, for instance, in the mural panels painted in Shish Mahal at Patiala.
2. For instance, in the temple of Mansa Devi near Manimajra, in the curidwara of Baba Kala Dharī at Una and in the haveli of Sandhawalia Sardars at Raja Sansi.
3. See plate No. 97.
4. See plate No. 95.

arched appearance of an Indian style alcove¹
 (resembling to a certain extent the 'tudor arch' of
 western architectural terminology). Visually, this,
 virtually altered the rigid geometrical shape of
 panels. The rectangular or square features were
 also offset by an almost excessive use of curviforms,
 both inside and outside the panels.

Although the compositions of murals in 19th
 century Punjab were not based on any hard and fast
 rules, certain common traits discernible in many of
 the extant murals, point to the painter's intention
 to compose his works in accordance with certain
 graphic principles. These he applied while preparing
 drawings to the size of murals preparatory to
 painting mural panels. The figures and other pictorial
 elements were so composed as to fit neatly into the
 space available for painting. The effort to utilize
 the available space in the best possible way, often
 led the painters to choose a theme which, in its
 graphic representation, would adapt well to the shape
 and size of the surface to be embellished. The result
 often was the juxtaposition of divergent themes,
 without any integral relationship. This is how, in the
 running chain of narrative themes, there appears, quite
 unexpectedly, sometimes, a representation of a bird or

1. See, thus, plate Nos. 7, 13, 32, 36 and 75.

an animal entirely unrelated to the subjects illustrated. The consideration here is obviously that of space and dimension rather than of unity of theme. An elegant figure of a peacock¹ in the gurudwara of Baba Bir Singh at Naurangabad, thus, may be cited as a representative example of a graphic shape being composed to adjust to a horizontally elongated space. That the surface to be embellished was made the best use of, is also apparent from the representation of rasa-lila which demanded a circular composition, and was therefore usually painted on the inside of a dome, which had the necessary circular space.² It is not unoften that the orderly setting or division of surface imparts³ a certain serenity to the paintings, a sense of rhythmic and spatial order. The severity of compositions created by geometric divisions of the background were offset by the rounded forms and the flowing costumes⁴ of figures, imparting a vigour to them.

The division of space, either static or dynamic, was mostly determined by the theme to be depicted, in the former, movement being deliberately avoided⁵ and in the latter movement being a principal characteristic.⁶

1. See plate No. 87.
2. See plate No. 24.
3. See coloured plates No. I, II, III and plate Nos. 1, 2, 12, 13, 17, 20, 27, 37, 41, 59, 70, 71, 87 and 89.
4. For instance, see plate Nos. 70, 71 and 72.
5. For instance, see plate No. 37.
6. See plate Nos. 17, 22 and 24.

In a panel at gurukhara Pothi Mala at Guru Har Sahai,¹ depicting the four sons of Guru Gobind Singh on horseback, thus, galloping horses and speeding dogs establish the required atmosphere of action. The same is true of another painting in the ganadh of Baba Mahesh Das at Pindori near Gurdaspur, representing 'Churning of the Ocean' and the Matsya avatara in a single panel. Here the turbulent waters of the ocean are shown with sweeping lines and forcefully drawn curvilinear shapes of fishes.²

The importance of major characters in a composition was stressed by taking attention away from the background detail;³ but wherever the background detail too was also elaborated, major characters were sometimes made to predominate by the use of certain colours restricted to them alone. This is seen with striking effect in the frescoes of the Shish Mahal at Patiala. The significance of major characters was also emphasized by carrying the viewer from clearly articulated figures close to the picture plane back to an unexpressed infinity. The device of indicating importance through varying the scale is often used. A mural panel in akhara Beri Wala at Amritsar, thus, represents the 'Japji-lat'.⁴

1. See plate No. 17.

2. See plate No. 34.

3. For instance, see plate Nos. 14, 60 and 64.

4. See plate No. 60.

with a relatively big figure and emerges quite dominating in the army that follows him.

Of the two principles of symmetrical and optical¹ balance, the painters often preferred the former, but did make on occasions successful use of the latter in composing murals. Most of the themes, by the very nature of their character, demanded symmetrical balance. The principal figure was set in the centre, and flanked by lesser characters. This was done, for instance, while depicting Guru Nanak along with Bala² and Mardana or Ranjit Singh with his attendants³. Thus the symmetrical balance was built up round an important central figure or axis, with one or two subordinate motifs or groupings on either side. It is interesting that some of the symmetrically balanced 19th century mural compositions seem to retain their vigour upto this time. The genesis of several modern oleographs, representing the ten Sikh Gurus in a circular or oval composition, thus, can be seen in a panel in akhara Kashi Wala at Amritsar and also in another one in the Oila Mubarak at Chhachhrauli.

With time, many compositions, once fresh, became

1. See coloured plate No. II and plate Nos. 1, 2, 11, 23, 30, 37, 59, 75 and 79.
2. See coloured plate No. II.
3. See coloured plate No. I.

conventionalised into traditional schemes and pictorial patterns. A most typical example is the figure of Guru Gobind Singh on horseback, holding a falcon and accompanied by a hound and a few attendants.¹ This nearly symmetrically-achieved pattern had all the qualities of the best compositions of 19th century Punjab murals. The success of this composition perhaps tempted painters to adapt it to other themes as well.²

Although the compositional device of grouping figures was known to the painters and was done with some competence,³ the general preference was for keeping the figures distinct from each other, as was often done in Pahari murals.⁴ One of the most representative examples of oversecting figures is seen in an extant mural panel in the dera of Baba Lal Ji at Dhianpur.⁵ Here are seen Radha and Krishna almost merging into each other. The figures are so arranged that while their faces are distinct, the remaining parts of the body tend gracefully to fuse.

The size of human figures varied according to the

1. See plate Nos. 12 and 13.
2. cf. plate Nos. 12 and 13 with plate No. 27.
3. See plate Nos. 8, 15, 41 and 58.
4. See Hara Seth, Wall Paintings of the Western Himalayas, p. 96.
5. See plate No. 20.

dimensions of panels, but on the average these remained nearly life-size. Sometimes of course figures¹ were life-size and even larger.² The number of figures in a composition depended naturally on the nature of those depicted, and ran sometimes to as many as a thousand.³ A panel depicting the marriage procession of Guru Nanak in Baba Atal, consisting of more than a hundred figures, may be cited as a typical example of a crowded scene in which the centre of interest remains the major character.⁴

Although well done portraits in frontal view⁵ were not rare, the rule remained portraiture in profile.⁶ In this convention, while the face was shown in profile, shoulders and body were sometimes viewed three quarter. Many of the figures represented were well known characters from history and, although treated ideally, the personality could be identified with ease. Several portraits, with likenesses of exceptional interest,⁷

1. See plate No. 50.
2. The murals depicting members of Sikh royalty on the walls of the Rangaria Bunga at Amritsar, now almost obliterated, were larger than the size of life.
3. Baron Charles Hugel, Travels in Kashmir and the Punjab, p. 284.
4. See plate No. 3.
5. See coloured plate No. I and plate Nos. 50, 51 and 52.
6. See plate Nos. 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 55, 56 and 60.
7. See coloured plate No. I. The three dogra brothers standing before Ranjit Singh are easily identified from their facial characters.

indicate that the painters had a certain competence in portraiture. Most of the portraits were painted¹ against flat white background. Light and shade or cast shadows, as ordinarily understood, were sparingly used in paintings of the earlier period, but in portraits executed in the last quarter of the 19th century, we find the painter influenced in his use of light and shade² by European painting. Details of dress as well as personal³ paraphernalia were often elaborately painted.

Most of the religious personalities, particularly the Sikh Gurus, were portrayed with a nimbus in the⁴ murals. The nimbus often took the shape of a yellow-coloured circle around the head, radiating rays⁵, but in the mural panels of the Akal Takhat at Amritsar, the nimbuses were formed of dark-coloured circles which brought into relief the faces of the Gurus. The figures⁶ of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and of some of the rulers of⁷ the Cis-Sutlej States were also portrayed with nimbuses.

1. See plate Nos. 48, 49 and 50.
2. See plate Nos. 40 and 52.
3. See plate Nos. 50 and 59.
4. See coloured plate No. II and plate Nos. 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9 and 10.
5. See plate Nos. 4, 5, 6 and 9.
6. See coloured plate No. I.
7. See plate No. 47.

human

In the treatment of figures much care was spent
¹
 on the face than on the rest of the body. Thus, while
 facial expressions in several mural panels are
 remarkable, the hands, and particularly the feet, are
²
 carelessly drawn.

Perspective as such was not carefully employed
 and only an incipient attempt in the direction was
³
 made through converging architectural lines and
⁴
 relatively small figures or trees shown in the
⁵
 background. The mural panels representing bara-nasa
⁶
 poetry in the Shish Mahal at Patiala, are, perhaps,
 the most ambitious efforts of this kind.

Elements of folk-work, which was considerably
⁷
 in vogue in the 19th century Punjab, are seen in
 plenty in some of the murals. While 18th century
⁸
 murals in the gari of Baba Sidh at Mari Mustafa, a
 village in district Faridkot and in the temple of

1. See coloured plate No. I and plate Nos. 48, 50 and 51.
2. See plate Nos. 53 and 56.
3. See plate Nos. 30, 36, 43, 70 and 71.
4. See plate No. 60.
5. See plate Nos. 32 and 60.
6. See plate Nos. 73 and 74.
7. See Kanwarjit Kang, "Wall Decoration of Punjab and
 Haryana Peasantry", The Sunday Tribune, Feb. 13, 1977,
 p. 5.
8. See plate No. 24.

¹
 Shri Ram Dev at Chomen in district Gurdaspur, are rough
 in character, 19th century murals at several places,
 including in the temple of Shri Kalu Nath at Nathana,²
 the samadh of Baba Sarb Sukh, Sarb Dyal, Gopal Das and
 Bhagwan Das at Jandali,³ a village in district Sangrur and
 the Mirankari dera at Patiala bristle with elements of⁴
 folk-painting, with their simple, bold and clear forms
 and austere used colours. It appears that most of these
 paintings are not the work of professional mural painters
 but were executed by rai-mistries who were engaged to
 construct these edifices.

Although the colours used in murals were not of as
 wide a range as were used in contemporary miniatures,
 this did not affect the process of embellishing the walls.
 The law that governed the use of colours seemed to have
 been simple: light against dark and vice versa. The entire
 colour-scheme was so planned as to make isolate the various
 forms and make them distinct by the contrast of the
 colours used. This mode also fitted in with the intention
 of the painter to make the viewer focus on a particular
 spot or on the central action that the painting meant to

1. See plate No. 16.

2. See plate No. 26.

3. See Kanwarjit Kang and Nirmal Sandhu, Punjab Murals,
 plate entitled "This panel depicts several themes:
 including Raja Rasalu, Rani Kokilan and Raja Hodi."

4. See plate No. 27.

illustrate. Balance of colour was often accomplished through careful manipulation of hue, value and intensity.

From a consideration of the style and the technique visible in some important murals of 19th century Punjab like those in the ¹Shish Mahal at Patiala, the ²Thakurdwara of the Bairagis at Ram Tatwali, the temple of Kishan ³Chand Bhandari at Batala, the ⁴Dera of Baba Lal Ji at ⁵Baranpur, the Raghunath temple at Pindori, Gurudwara of Baba Kala Dhari at Una, Akhara Bala Nand at ⁶Amritsar, Gurudwara ⁷Baba Bir Singh at Naurangabad, Shri Palkiana Sahib near village Jaura on the Tarn-⁸Taran-Patti road, the Samadh of Baba Lyal Dass at ⁹Barnala, Gurudwara Pothi Mala at Guru Harsahai; it would be clear that 19th century Punjab muralists knew how to deploy their technical knowledge and stylistic potential to advantage, thus creating work that commands respect, even admiration, at times.

1. See plate Nos. 28, 32, 36, 70, 71, 73 and 74.
2. See coloured plate No. I, II and plate Nos. 45, 46, 55, 64 and 68.
3. See plate Nos. 19 and 23.
4. See plate Nos. 20, 22 and 37.
5. See plate Nos. 2, 40, 43, 58 and 61.
6. See plate Nos. 31, 57 and 87.
7. See plate Nos. 44, 75 and 77.
8. See plate Nos. 12.
9. See plate Nos. 7, 17 and 50.

* * * * *

Chapter V

PAINTERS AND PATRONS

The traditional anonymity associated with the craftsmen of India makes it difficult to identify the names of specific painters, for here "creative activity has been regarded as the fulfilment of one's obligation, the redemption of debt to the community of intellectuals¹ of the past." In keeping with this, most of the painters who painted murals in the 19th century Punjab, remain anonymous for us: individual credit was hardly ever claimed.

What we have, on occasions, are names of certain painters who were engaged in embellishing edifices with murals, but material for piecing together any detailed and accurate description of theirs is virtually non-

1. Radhakamal Mukerjee, The Social Function of Art, p. 226.

existent. A further complication is the complex¹ situation that prevailed in the 19th century Punjab.

Professional specialization as is current today was rarely known then. One person often used to perform not only all the allied works of a trade but also engaged, equally often, in vocations requiring dissimilar skills. In villages, thus, smiths and carpenters also worked as² masons. Bhai Partap Singh Mistri of Muktsar, to quote³ an instance, worked both as an artist and a mason. We hear of the elegant portrait of a princess described in the 'Prince and his Vazir', a sub-legend of Raja Rasalu,⁴ as being executed on a wall by a mason who must have been proficient in the trade of the muralist as well. The best⁵ mistries, according to J.L. Kipling, were often skilled in several crafts. Because of this interpenetration of professions, figures for 'occupation' are the least satisfactory among the results of the census of Punjab held in⁶ 1881. More often than not, the architect or mistri was himself a wall painter in Punjab plains as he was in the⁷ Punjab hills. This architect-cum-painter's occupation was

1. See Denzil Ibbetson, Report on the Census of the Punjab, 1881, I, p. 376.
2. See Hoshiarpur D.G., 1904, p. 149; Shahpur D.G., 1917, p. 102.
3. Khalsa Directory (P), p. 183.
4. See Charles Swynnerton, Romantic Tales from the Punjab, pp. 235-236.
5. "Indian Architecture of Today", J.L.A., No. 3, July 1934, pp. 1-2.
6. See Ibbetson, op. cit., I, p. 376.
7. See Milk Raj Anand, "Some Notes on the Composition of Pahari Murals", Marg, XVII, No. 3, June 1964, p. 9. Mistri used to be a wall painter in Bengal too, see T.N. Mukharji, Art Manufactures of India, p. 40.

in keeping with an early Indian tradition when the court architect also used to be the court painter and joined the court poet and chronicler in recording the deeds of the royal house.¹

It is to be noted in this context, therefore, that those engaged in mural painting were not exclusively muralists; they, at the same time, also worked as mason, nagash (designer), chitera or musawar (painter) and did mohra-kashi (fresco), jaratkari (stone-inlay), cach and tukri work, and wood-painting; the varied nature of their work was best indicated in the vernacular word by which they were known: "raj-mistri". In fact the trade of 'raj-mistri' was almost synonymous with the trade of 'architect-cum-painter'. J.L. Spilling, Principal, Mayo School of Art, Lahore, used the vernacular word 'mistri' to denote the occupation of a craftsman engaged in the many aspects of decorative painting as applied to architecture.³ The study of mural painters of the 19th century Punjab, therefore, has to deal with persons engaged in allied trades, including raj-mistries or architect-cum-painters.

Although mural painting in a "somewhat rough

1. See E.B. Havell, A Handbook of Indian Art, p. 196.
2. The word 'mistri' according to R.C. Temple, was of "ominously English origin", see "A Study of Modern Indian Architecture as displayed in a British Cantonment", J.I.A., No. 8, Oct., 1855, p. 59.
3. "The Art Industries of Punjab" (Supplement), J.I.A., No. 10, April 1886; see class V-Decorative Painting as applied to Architecture.

¹ style" was practised in 18th century Punjab, the real impetus to this art, received in the 1st quarter of the 19th century, was primarily due to the virtual exodus of ² painters from the hills to the plains of the Punjab. The recent study of Prof. B.N. Goswamy, Painters at the Sikh Court, A Study Based on Twenty Documents ³ has now confirmed this fact beyond doubt. From this study, which forms a significant source of our information on the patronage of paintings by the Sikhs, we now know that Nikka, Gokal, Chhajju, Harichu, Damodar and Saudagar, all painters belonging to a distinguished family in the hills, were intimately ⁴ associated with the Sikhs of the Punjab, the latter having either employed these painters, or patronized their work.

1. W.G. Archer, Paintings of the Sikhs, p. 18; see plate No. 16.
2. Khushwant Singh, A History of the Sikhs, II, p. 324. Nearly all the historians and critics of Indian art have endorsed this view on the evidence of general style of the paintings of Sikh times. See, e.g., Percy Brown, Indian Painting, pp. 59-60; S.N. Gupta, "The Sikh School of Painting", Rupa, No. 12, Oct., 1922, p. 127; A.K. Coomaraswamy, Catalogue of the Indian Collection in the Museum of Fine Art, Boston, Part V, p. 18; Roopa Krishna, "Some Fresco Paintings in the Lahore Fort", Rupa, Nos. 27-28, Oct., 1926, p. 87; J.C. French, Himalayan Art, p. 89; H. Goetz, "The Coming of Muslim Cultural Influence in the Punjab Himalaya", Indian Antiquary, p. 165; W.G. Archer, Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills, p. 6; Mulk Raj Anand, "Specimen of paintings under the Sikhs", Marg, X, No. 2, March 1957, pp. 42-44; K. Khandalevala, Pahari Miniature Paintings, p. 242; O.C. Gangoli, "The Sikh School of Painting", Indian Art Souvenir, p. 8; D.N. Goswamy, "Sikh Paintings: An Analysis of Some Aspects of Patronage", Oriental Art (New Series), XV, No. 1, Spring 1969, p. 46; K.C. Aryan, Punjab Painting, pp. 13-15; K.C. Aryan, Punjab Murals, pp. 30-31.
3. Published by Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH, Wiesbaden, 1975.
4. Ibid, pp. 32-35.

In fact the relations of some Sikh Misaldar Chiefs with some Pahari painters can now, through Prof. Goswamy's¹ studies, be securely dated back into the 18th century. Jai Singh and Gurbaksh Singh Kanhaiya and Jassa Singh Rangarhia, for instance, begin to appear in Pahari paintings² of the late 18th century; this speaks of the interest taken in painting by these chiefs, or at least of the interest taken in them by the Pahari painters. In this context, there might have existed the possibility of some Pahari painter having been commissioned by Jassa Singh Rangarhia to paint murals in the shrine of Shri Nana Dev at Ghomen in district Gurdaspur. The shrine was raised³ by the Rangarhia Chief sometime towards the close of the 18th century.

Excepting very few instances, however, we do not have precise information on the edifices on which painters migrated from the hills were employed in executing murals. All the same, one can generally conclude that many of them were engaged in embellishing edifices with wall paintings.

The first positive evidence of a Pahari artist having been commissioned to paint murals in the Punjab plains

1. See B.N. Goswamy, Painters at the Sikh Court, A Study Based on Twenty Documents, 1975, p. 7.
2. Ibid., pp. 7-8.
3. Kahn Singh Nabha, Encyclopaedia of Sikh Literature, p. 522.

comes from Damthal where the famous Vaishnava monastery¹ was embellished by the work of Bishandas of Nurpur. The painter Angad of Simmur² who executed frescoes in the temple of Mansa Devi near Manimajra, was another Pahari painter who was employed to adorn an edifice in the plains of the Punjab. There are several other monuments which can be associated with one or the other of Pahari painters. But because the records are so few and evidence so limited, it is difficult to associate a painter with the murals of a particular edifice, beyond any doubt.

There is some stylistic evidence to indicate that some Pahari painters, in collaboration with some Rajasthani painters, worked on the elegant frescoes in the Shish Mahal³ at Patiala. As a result of Professor Goswamy's pioneering efforts in examining the bahis of the pandas of Haridwar,⁴ we now know of at least two Pahari painters who were working at Patiala about the time that the Shish Mahal was erected and frescoes executed in it. One of them was⁵ Devi Ditta, a son of Gursahal of the branch of famous Guler

1. See B.N. Goswamy, "Damthal (Murals)", Marg, XVII, No. 3, June 1964, p. 33.
2. See B.N. Goswamy, "Some Nineteenth Century Frescoes and the painter Angad of Simmur", Arts Asiaticques, XIII, 1966, pp. 99-101, also see figure No. 35.
3. Dr. Karuna Goswamy has speculated about the artists responsible for these frescoes, see "Frescoes in the Shish Mahal at Patiala", Rococo-Lekha, XVIII, Nos. 1 & 2, p. 124. Also see V.P.S. Rao, "A Golden Chapter from Cis-Sutlej History", The Sunday Tribune, Feb. 21, 1971, p. 5.
4. See B.N. Goswamy, "Sikh Painting: An Analysis of Some Aspects of Patronage", Oriental Art (New Series), XV, No. 1, Spring 1969, p. 46.
5. Ibid.

family of artists which had settled at Basohli; from
 Basohli he first went to the Lahore Court and then, in
 S. 1924 (= A.D. 1867), is found serving Maharaja Mahendra
 Singh of Patiala. He lived in Mohalla Suigaran at Patiala
 and seems to have died there in S. 1933 (= A.D. 1874).
 Another Bahari painter who settled at Patiala and worked
 under the patronage of Raja Harinder Singh (1846-1862) and
 Raja Mahendra Singh (1862-1876) was Diba of Guler.

The beautiful frescoes in Raghunath temple within
 the precincts of the famous Vaishnava monastery at
 Pindori Mahantan were, in all probability, painted by
 some gifted Bahari painter. According to Professor Coswamy,
 the frescoes can, on basis of style, be ascribed to a
 member of the gifted Sou-Mainsuth family of artists, who
 must have come especially to Pindori for the execution
 of the work.

1. Karuna Coswamy, loc. cit., p. 124.

2. Ibid.

3. D.N. Coswamy, "Sikh Painting : An Analysis of Some Aspects of Patronage", Oriental Art (New Series), X/7, No. 1, Spring 1969, p. 47.

4. Karuna Coswamy, loc. cit., p. 124.

5. Ibid., see footnote No. 13 on p. 124.

6. Ibid., p. 124.

7. D.N. Coswamy and J.S. Grewal, The Mughal and Sikh Rulers and the Vaishnavas of Pindori, p. 19.

8. Ibid., see footnote No. 49 on p. 68.

The frescoes executed in the Lahore Fort about the
 end of Ranjit Singh's reign¹ were also apparently the work
 of a Pahari painter whose name is not known to us.² Four
 painters,³ Purkhu, Chhajju, Sajnu and Devi Ditta had
 migrated from the hills and were working in Lahore
 at this time. Purkhu, who had been one of Sansar
 Chand's leading painters,⁴ apparently attained a prominent
 position among the painters of the Sikh Court at Lahore.⁵
 Both Chhajju and Sajnu, the former a son of Nikka and
 grandson of the famous Nainsukh, one of the most talented
 of Pahari artists of the Mussavir Raina family,⁶ and the
 latter belonging to a family of Guleri artists,⁷ had been
 serving the Sikhs at Lahore. Devi Ditta, son of Gursahai,⁸
 was living, while at Lahore, in the house of Bulaki Missar,
 in the street of Kanhaiya Kapoor,⁹ in Machhihatta locality.¹⁰
 There were several sections of the Lahore Fort like the
 Khwabgah-i-Shahjehani, the Royal Bathroom in Jahangir's

1. J.C. French, Himalyan Art, p. 89.
2. Ibid., Roopa Krishna, loc. cit., p. 87; Karl Khandalavala, op. cit., p. 244.
3. See B.N. Goswamy, Painters at the Sikh Court, A Study Based on Twenty Documents, p. 9.
4. Karl Khandalavala, op. cit., p. 244.
5. Fakir Syed Waheed-ud-Din, The Real Ranjit Singh, p. 121; also see K.C. Aryan, Punjab Painting, p. 16.
6. B.N. Goswamy, "Sikh Painting: An Analysis of Some Aspects of Patronage", Oriental Art (New Series), IV, No. 1, Spring 1969, p. 46.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid.
9. See B.N. Goswamy, Painters at the Sikh Court, A Study Based on Twenty Documents, pp. 8-9.
10. B.N. Goswamy, "Sikh Painting: An Analysis of Some Aspects of Patronage", Oriental Art (New Series), IV, No. 1, Spring 1969, p. 46.

quadrangle, the pavillion in Jahangir's quadrangle, the Daulat Khana-i-Khas-o Am of Akbar, the Shah Burj, the long room opposite Shish Mahal, the Kala Burj, the Roshani Gate,¹ which were embellished with frescoes during the Sikh regime, but it is difficult to say with any certainty which painters were responsible for the work. We only have the view that the Sikhs must have employed a "distinguished artist"² from their Court atelier³ to paint the frescoes in the Lahore Fort. Perhaps one can speculate that the distinguished artist was one or the other of the four painters referred to above, considering the "qualities of good craftsmanship and sensitive imagination and organised composition"⁴ in the frescoes.

A clear possibility of Pahari painters having worked in embellishing many other significant edifices of the Sikh royalty and nobility, including the samadh of Maharaja Ranjit Singh,⁵ haveli of Maharaja Naunihal Singh, and the samadh of Maharaja Sher Singh and his ranis in Kot Khwaja Saeed, all located in Lahore, can be entertained. The

1. This list is based on the information I have been furnished with by the Dept. of Archaeology, Govt. of Pakistan, vide its letter No. 22/23/68-Arch., dated November 9, 1968.
2. Roopa Krishna, loc. cit., p. 87.
3. See J. Ph. Vogel "Historical Notes on Lahore Fort", J.P.H.S., I, No. 1, 1911, p. 51.
4. Roopa Krishna, loc. cit., p. 87.
5. As per information of the Dept. of Archaeology, Govt. of Pakistan, 19th century murals are still extant in these edifices.

documents brought to light recently by Dr. Goswamy tend¹ to support this view. In one of these, for instance, we find Gokal, the Pahari painter, clearly attached to² Maharaja Sher Singh.

According to the late Bhai Gian Singh Naqqash,³ the only mural depicting human figures in the Golden Temple at Amritsar, was painted by a Kangra artist specially commissioned by Maharaja Ranjit Singh for this purpose. The mural representing 'Guru Gobind Singh and the Five Beloved⁴ Ones', is said to be a true copy of a miniature painting that originally was in the collection of Raja Sansar Chand of Kangra and that Ranjit Singh had wanted to be copied in the form of a mural in the Golden Temple. Since the creator of the miniature had already died, the mural copied from it was executed by the deceased painter's grandson, we learn.

The Punjab hills was not the only region from where painters came to the Punjab plains; there is also evidence of Rajasthani painters who migrated to the Punjab. A family⁵ of Rajasthani painters was apparently working at Patiala

1. Painters at the Sikh Court, A Study Based on Twenty Documents, p. 11.
2. Ibid., pp. 11 and 34.
3. This has been stated at length by Harinder Singh Roop on the basis of the information gathered from Bhai Gian Singh Naqqash. See his Sikh To Sikh (P), p. 59; also see Bhan Singh, loc. cit., p. 46.
4. See plate No. 13.
5. Karuna Goswamy, loc. cit., pp. 125-126.

from about the middle of the 19th century and, according to a descendant of this family, his ancestors were brought to Patiala by Maharaja Karam Singh (1813-1845) from Jaipur. On the basis of certain stylistic characteristics, like the use of ²nisbus behind the heads of Radha and Krishna, ³certain architectural details and facial types in the frescoes of the Shish Mahal at Patiala, all of which are strikingly close to Jaipur work. ⁴Dr. Karuna Goswamy has speculated about a Rajasthani hand collaborating with ⁵Pahari painters, and there is reason to believe that the family of Rajasthani painters which migrated from Jaipur was employed in the execution of the Shish Mahal frescoes.

It is interesting that the fresco process of wall-painting, popularly called 'mohra-kashi' in the Punjab, was also known by the name of 'Jodhpuri humar'. ⁶This is likely to imply that the technique was imported from Jodhpur and hints on the possibility of the migration of painters from Jodhpur. The frescoes in the temple of

1. Karuna Goswamy, loc. cit., pp. 125-126.

2. See plate Nos. 73 and 74.

3. See plate Nos. 28 and 32.

4. The murals in the Shish Mahal at Patiala have some clear stylistic affinities with the 19th century murals still surviving in Jaipur, particularly in Lushadp-ii-ki haveli, Samodh-ii-ki haveli and Partap Narainii Purohit-ii-ki haveli. See Kanwarjit Kang, "Album of Wall Paintings", MARG, XXX, No. 4, Sept. 1977, p. 76.

5. Karuna Goswamy, loc. cit., pp. 125-126.

6. Chatrik Abhinandan Granth (P), p. 112.

¹ Kishan Chand Bhandari at Batala, according to K.C. Aryan,² are jointly the work of Pahari and Jodhpuri painters, the latter, according to him, having settled in the Punjab between C. 1835-1841.³ Unfortunately, we have no names of any Rajasthani painters who executed murals in the 19th century Punjab.

Besides the Punjab hills and Rajasthan, painters from Delhi and U.P. also came apparently to the Punjab. After Maharaja Ranjit Singh's meeting with William Bentinck at Ropar in 1831, Jivan (Jivan) Ram, a painter of Meerut who⁴ was in the entourage of the Governor-General, proceeded to⁵ Lahore. Since he was versatile and could work in a number of styles and techniques,⁶ the possibility of his being involved in mural work at Lahore can not be ruled out. A⁷ Delhi painter, Hasan-al-din, reached Lahore by about 1842. We also have evidence for painters from the then United Provinces having embellished edifices in Punjab. The diwan-khana of Chaudhri Chandar Sain at Dadri was painted⁸ with murals by a Muslim artis, Vazeer Khan, who according

1. See plate Nos. 19 and 23.
2. Punjab Painting, pp. 16-17; Punjab Murals, pp. 38-39.
3. Ibid., p. 16
4. B.H. Baden-Powell, Handbook of the Manufactures and Arts of the Punjab, II, p. 355. The painter has been also referred to as belonging to Delhi; see N.K. Sinha, Ranjit Singh, reverse side of the page bearing contents; also see W.C. Archer, Paintings of the Sikhs, p. 31.
5. Sohan Lal Suri, Uniat-ut-Tawarikh, trans. by V.S. Suri, III, p. 94.
6. Mildred and W.C. Archer, Indian Painting for the British, pp. 67-68.
7. W.C. Archer, Paintings of the Sikhs, p. 65.
8. V.P.S. Rao, loc. cit., p. 5.

to an inscription, hailed from Farrukhabad, a town located in U.P. Banvari, an architect-cum-painter, came from Kandhla, a village in district Muzaffarnagar, to work on constructing and then embellishing with murals a temple devoted to Shiva at Patti Kalliana, a village in district Karnal.

Through evidence of this kind, a fair pattern of painters migrating to the Punjab from the hills, from Rajasthan and U.P. emerges. But, in the present state of our knowledge, we can not say much more about the artists settled from outside in the Punjab. This unfortunately is equally true of the native painters of Punjab proper. Records are scanty and the trade of 'decorators and mural painters' was almost dead by the end of the 19th century. No descendants following parental occupation from where information can be gathered are traceable. Barring very few artists, our knowledge of native Punjab painters, particularly those who worked exclusively as muralists, therefore, is meagre.

In the census of the Punjab held in 1881, the figures

1. Although the inscription in Persian characters is now partially obliterated, it is clear enough to read that the painter belonged to Farrukhabad.
2. This is apparent from an inscription above the main entrance to the temple.
3. Lahore D.G. 1916, p. 154.

under 'occupation' headings are far from satisfactory;¹
 nevertheless, it is not without interest to piece
 together the picture concerning the painters. The number
 of male artists in the Punjab Province, as recorded in
 the census, was 191;² 162 of these hailed from the British
 Territory (including Delhi) and the remaining 29 belonged
 to the 'Native States'. The numbers of artists living
 in various divisions, excluding the eight artists who
 were less than fifteen years in age, we get as under:³

Delhi	55
Hissar	1
Ambala	2
Jullundur	14
Amritsar	1
Lahore	25
Rawalpindi	13
Multan	1
Derajat	12
Peshawar	30

In the seventeen Native States, artists were recorded
 to have been living in five states only, as per detail

1. Ibbetson, op. cit., I, p. 376; also see E.D. MacLagan, Census of India, 1891, XIX, The Punjab and its Dependencies, Part-I, pp. 345-46.
2. Ibbetson, op. cit., II, Table No. XII A.
3. Ibid.

¹
below:

Patiala	18
Kapurthala	6
Jind	2
Mandi	2
Nalagarh	1

²
It is interesting that two female painters, one from Delhi proper and the other from a village in district Ambala, are recorded in the census report. However, the unreliability of this data is apparent from the fact that in the division of Amritsar, which apart from the district of Amritsar included in it the districts of Gurdaspur and Sialkot, only one artist was recorded and that too from Sialkot. No one from Amritsar or Gurdaspur where considerable work in painting, including murals, was executed in the 19th century, seems to have been recorded. In Amritsar proper alone there must have been several painters.

³
The Gali Naqashan ⁴ there is an old alley where traditionally painters used to live: none of them figures in the census report.

In the figures under 'occupation', 'wood-painters'

1. Denzil Ibbetson, op. cit., II, Table No. XII A.
2. Ibid., II, Table XII B.
3. Its present name is Pratap Gali; see K.C. Aryan, Punjab Painting, p. 21.
4. K.C. Aryan, "Some Punjabi Artists", Roopa-Lekha, XXIX, No. 1, p. 34.

were enumerated separately in the Census report. It was common practice during the Sikh times to decorate with paint the wood work of buildings, including doors, windows and ceilings. This work was exceedingly beautiful. In the diwankhana situated within the precincts of Kila Mubarik at Chhachhrauli, thus, a portion of the wooden dado was painted with decorative murals, and is still extant in a fairly good state of preservation. The considerable popularity that this mode of embellishment had gained during the 19th century, is indicated by the total of 731 "wood painters" recorded in the census report, as against the 191 artists. The figures continue to raise doubts, though, one wonders if many of those practising the dual jobs of 'wall-painter' and 'wood-painter' were not entered under the head 'wood painters'.

One of the counts on which the classification adopted in 1891 was inadequate is the failure to list separately persons professing more than one occupation, distinct from each other. The situation is no better in the censuses held in 1891, and 1901 and entries pertaining to

1. Percy Brown, Lahore Museum Punjab (No. 2. A Descriptive Guide to the Dept. of Industrial Art), p. 54.
2. See plate No. 96.
3. J.L. Kipling, "The Art Industries of Punjab" (Supplement), J.L.A., No. 10, April 1886, see class V-Decorative Painting as applied to Architecture.
4. Ibbetson, op. cit., II, Table No. XII A.
5. See E.D. MacLagan, op. cit., p. 346.
6. See E.D. MacLagan, op. cit., p. 51.

¹
 occupation remain of questionable value. In the census
 of 1891, mural painters are again not listed separately.
 A total of 1342 males and 1089 females are listed as
 practising 'pictorial art and sculpture',² out of these
³
 873 were painters and photographers. Evidently, the
 number of painters enumerated in the 1881 and 1891
 censuses is hardly commensurate with the amount of
 mural work executed during these years of the 19th
 century. The extant remains of murals, only a fraction
 of what must once have been done, indicate that a much
 larger number of persons were subsisting on a painter's
 trade.

Among the most prominent families of painters,
 members of which worked also as muralists was that of
 Kehar Singh. He worked at Lahore and Kapurthala and was
 easily one of the most prominent among the court painters
 of Ranjit Singh.⁵ Skilled in several branches of graphic
⁶
 art, he also painted on glass and his series of portraits⁶

1. See Census of India, 1901, I, Part-I (Report), p. 190.
2. S.D. MacLagan, op. cit., see Abstract No. 88.
3. Ibid., see Abstract No. 94, Appendix C.
4. H.S. Randhawa, "Sikh Painting", Rocpa-Lekha, XXXIX, No. 1, p. 29.
5. Fakir Syed Waheed-ud-Din, op. cit., p. 121.
6. See W.C. Archer, Paintings of the Sikhs, p. 164, fig. 69.

gouache represent contemporary life in a vivid manner.¹
 He also appears to have been a proficient muralist as
 well as pietra-dura designer,² and was employed to
 paint frescoes in the Lahore Fort.³ He is also believed
 to have worked in the Golden Temple and the Akal Takhat⁴
 at Amritsar and in Ranjit Singh's mausoleum at Lahore.⁵
 To his credit goes the creation of a school of pannashas,⁶
 craftsmen who continued to work in many capacities in the
 Golden Temple.

⁷
 Kehar Singh had two nephews, Kishan Singh and Bishan
 Singh, both of whom we learn were fresco painters in the
mohra-kashi technique.⁸ Kishan Singh, who was the court
 painter of Maharaja Sher Singh,⁹ shifted to Kapurthala¹⁰
 after the death of the Maharaja. He also participated¹¹
 in the exhibition of arts and crafts held at Lahore in 1864.

As a painter, Bishan Singh appears to have been more
 sifted than his brother Kishan Singh, and his works
 displayed in the Lahore exhibition of 1864 were commended

1. M.S. Randhawa, "Two Punjab Artists of the Nineteenthth Century Kehar Singh and Kapur Singh", Chhavi (Golden Jubilee Volume), Bharat Kala Bhavan, 1971, pp. 68-69.
2. See Khushwant Singh, A History of the Sikhs, II, p. 324.
3. Harinder Singh Roop, Sikh To Sikh (P), p. 131.
4. Ibid., p. 42.
5. Khushwant Singh, op. cit., p. 324.
6. Ibid.
7. Harinder Singh Roop, op. cit., p. 132.
8. M.S. Randhawa, loc. cit., p. 30; Kamwarjit Kang, "Survival of Wall Paintings in Amritsar", Marg, XXX, No. 3, June 1977, p. 56.
9. Harinder Singh Roop, op. cit., 133.
10. Ibid.
11. See H.D. Baden-Powell, Handbook of the Manufactures and Arts of the Punjab, II, p. 356.

as being of great merit. It was in the ¹mohra-kashi technique of fresco painting that he excelled, and was consequently engaged for the adornment of the Golden Temple, Amritsar, for a number of years.² Floral designs were his forte,³ and these, interspersed with birds and animals, were executed by him with great skill. His work can still be seen in the second storey of the Golden Temple where his name as 'Bishan Singh Nagqash' appears twice in two separate inscriptions, bearing the dates: V.S. 1945 (= 1383 A.D.) and V.S. 1946 (= 1389 A.D.). In addition to floral designs he also painted figures of fairies at four⁴ places in the temple.

The descendants of Bishan Singh and Bishan Singh continued their ancestral trade. Nihal Singh and Jawahar Singh, sons of Bishan Singh, were, according to Harinder Singh Roop, expert at the allied arts of decoration applied to architecture, including the mohra-kashi technique of fresco painting, gach and tukri work.⁵ Their work still survives in the Golden Temple on the southern side above the Har-ki-Pauri.⁶

1. H.D. Baden-Powell, op. cit., p. 356.
2. Bhan Singh, loc. cit., p. 45.
3. See Harinder Singh Roop, op. cit., pp. 42-43.
4. Chatrik Abhinandan Granth (P), p. 113; also see Harinder Singh Roop, op. cit., p. 43.
5. See Harinder Singh Roop, op. cit., p. 43.
6. Ibid., p. 132.
7. Bhan Singh, loc. cit., p. 46.

Kapur Singh, son of Kishan Singh, grew to be an
¹ eminent artist in the late 19th century but his work
 was confined to paper and there is no evidence of his
² having been employed to paint murals. However, his
 son, Sardul Singh, did paint murals and his work can
 be seen on the walls of the temple of Daryanamal in
³ Katra Mohar Singh and in many other Hindu temples in
⁴ Amritsar. He also did some work on the walls of the
⁵ Golden Temple, and at one point became the Principal of
 the Amritsar School of Art, which was situated outside
⁶ Ghee Handi.

From amongst the members of the family of ~~naqashes~~
⁷ to which Kehar Singh belonged, Mahant Ishar Singh, also
⁸ a contemporary of the former, adopted the profession of
⁹ a painter. His father Bhai Ram Singh was also a painter.
 Most of Mahant Ishar Singh's work, said to be of high
¹⁰ merit, was on the walls of the main Darshani Deori lead-
¹¹ ing to the Golden Temple, which, unfortunately however,

1. See Percy Brown, Indian Painting, p. 62; Khushwant Singh, The Sikhs Today, p. 34; M.S. Randhawa, "Sikh Painting", Roopa-lekha, XXXIX, No.1, p. 30.
2. According to R.P. Srivastava, Kapur Singh painted frescoes in the Golden Temple, Amritsar, but this claim is not supported by any factual information. See "Kapur Singh-Nineteenth Century Figurative Artist of Punjab", The Sikh Review, XIX, No. 215, Oct. 1971 p. 29.
3. K.C. Aryan, Punjab Painting, p. 22; K.C. Aryan, Punjab Murals, p. 33.
4. K.C. Aryan, Punjab Painting, p. 22.
5. Harinder Singh Roop, op. cit., p. 135.
6. K.C. Aryan, "Punjabi Artists", Roopa-lekha, Vol. XXXIX, No.1, p. 35.
7. Harinder Singh Roop, op. cit., p. 132.
8. Ibid., p. 42.
9. K.C. Aryan, Punjab Painting, p. 107.
10. Harinder Singh Roop, op. cit., p. 42.
11. Bhan Singh, loc. cit., p. 46.

is now covered under the marble slabs fixed over¹
 them. He also painted murals in many of the Hindu²
 temples at Amritsar.

We get evidence about another family of painters
 which engaged itself in architectural decoration in
 Amritsar from a diary of Hari Singh, a painter adept³
 in architectural and ornamental painting, who died in⁴
 1970. At one place in the diary he recorded his
 painterly lineage in the form of a genealogical tree.
 In all it records ten names, starting with the prime
 ancestor, Bidhi Chand, and followed by Jawanda Mal,
 Sohan Lal, Bawa Singh, Sada Singh, Deva Singh, Lal Singh,
 Bishan Singh, Ganda Singh and Hari Singh. Since the
 diary imparts no other relevant information, we get to
 know nothing about the work of these painters and the
 edifices they decorated with murals.

Atma Singh, who worked for some years recently on⁵
 renovating the floral designs in the Golden Temple and
 the murals in the shrine of Baba Atal, belongs to a
 family of painters. His father Mahtab Singh, born in⁶
 1871, is said to have been an adept muralist and painted

1. Bhan Singh, loc. cit., p. 46.
2. K.C. Aryan, Punjab Painting, p. 112; Kanwarjit Kang, "Survival of Wall Paintings in Amritsar", Marg, XXX, No. 3, June 1977, p. 56.
3. The diary is now in the possession of Sardar Studio, Amritsar. Also see Kanwarjit Kang, "Survival of Wall Paintings in Amritsar", Marg, XXX, No. 3, June 1977, p. 56.
4. K.C. Aryan, Punjab Painting, p. 112.
5. Bhan Singh, loc. cit., pp. 45-46.
6. This information was received from S. Atma Singh, interviewed at Amritsar.

murals in the ¹Thakurdwara of Fakir Chand and in Baba ²Atal at Amritsar, in the Darbar Sahib at Tarn Taran, ³in the Gurudwara at Baba Bakala, and in many a Hindu ⁴temple. ⁵Atma Singh's grandfather, Bhai Jawala Singh, was a muralist of talent and his skill in this trade ⁶is evidenced from his work surviving in Akhara Bala ⁷Nand at Amritsar.

Some other mural painters from Amritsar are also ⁸known. Thus, one Jai Singh worked in the Golden Temple. ⁹Jaimal Singh, born in 1860, was a painter-cum-muralist, and was among those employed to adorn the walls of Baba ¹⁰Atal with paintings. ¹¹Hukam Singh was yet another painter who worked with Jaimal Singh and Mehtab Singh in executing murals in Baba Atal. Rudh Singh, Amir Singh, Ganesh Singh, Gien Singh, Kapur Singh, Puran Singh and Anoor Singh are other names of Naqqashas who lived in ¹²Gali Naqqashan or the 'painters alley', in Amritsar. They were all adept at floral decoration.

1. See Kanwarjit Kang, "Survival of Wall Paintings in Amritsar", Marg, XXX, No. 3, June 1977, p. 56.
2. Ibid.
3. This information I owe to S. Atma Singh.
4. K.C. Aryan, Punjab Painting, p. 109.
5. Ibid.
6. See plate nos. 2, 40, 43, 58 and 61.
7. Informed by Atma Singh of Amritsar. Also see Kanwarjit Kang, "Survival of Wall Paintings in Amritsar", Marg, XXX, No. 3, June 1977, p. 56.
8. Harinder Singh Roop, Sikh Te Sikhi (P), p. 53.
9. K.C. Aryan, Punjab Painting, p. 108.
10. Informed by Atma Singh.
11. Ibid.
12. K.C. Aryan, "Some Punjabi Artists", Roopa-Lekha, XXXIX, No. 1, p. 34; K.C. Aryan, Punjab Painting, p. 21.

Very little is known about the native muralists of
¹ Lahore, which, after Amritsar, constituted the next
 major centre of mural painting in 19th century Punjab.
 In the present state of our knowledge, we only know of
 Suraj Ram as a mural painter of Lahore, and that too
² from an inscription on the bagadari at the head of the
 tank in the Vaishnava monastery at Pindori Mahantan, near
 Gurdaspur, where he had come to execute murals.

Our knowledge of painters having painted murals at
³ other places is even scantier. The murals in the temple
 of the Bairagis at Ram Tatwali were painted by Sharf Din,
 a Muslim painter popularly known as Sharfu, who belonged
⁴ to Uzmar, a village in district Hoshiarpur. He might be
 the same person who worked at Batala when he witnessed a
⁵ deed as "Sharfu, son of Ilyasa, the mason", and added to
 his signatures a floral design to indicate his craft.

⁶
 Another Muslim painter, Nazar Mohammad, it is

1. Much information could have been collected had I been allowed to visit Lahore by the Govt. of Pakistan.
2. B.N. Goswamy and J.S. Grewal, The Mughal and Sikh Rulers and the Vaishnavas of Pindori, p. 20.
3. See coloured plate Nos. I and II and plate Nos. 45, 46, 55, 64, 68 and 83.
4. This information, I was able to collect from Sh. C.L. Sharma, Head of the Dept. of Fine Art, Govt. College, Hoshiarpur. Charndas, the present mahant of the temple is an usurper and the village panchayat is fighting a case against him through Thakur Bhani Ram, an advocate of Hoshiarpur. Sh. C.L. Sharma, whose forefather had a say in the affairs of the temple, is helping the advocate with information preserved in his family.
5. J.S. Grewal, In the by-lane of History (typescript), p. 124.
6. Shri Satya Pal Jain gave this information in an interview I had with him at Zira.

interesting to note, was employed to paint murals exclusively on Jain themes, in the Jain Svetambara temple at Zira. His antecedents, however, are not known to us.

In a Shiva temple, known as 'Nanuka mandir' at Bhador in district Sangrur, murals were painted by Shera and Nikal,¹ both of whom were Mohammedan mason-cum-painters. Shera belonged to Barbar, a village near Barnala and Nikal belonged to Barnala proper.² Hara Singh and Hardit Singh, mason-cum-painters of Katu, a village near Dhanola Mandi in district Sangrur, erected the temple of Shri Kalu Nath at Nathana, district Bhatinda, and painted murals in it.³ Mian Jiwan Khan, an architect-cum-painter,⁴ executed murals in the Faridkot Fort. According to an inscription still standing on a wall of the samadh of Baba Mohar Singh at Tanda in district Hoshiarpur, Nihal Singh, a rai-mistri, had been engaged in the construction of the samadh and in all probability it was he who also painted the murals embellishing its walls.

Many more painters from 19th century Punjab are known, but in the absence of definite information about their

1. The names are written in Persian character on one of the walls of the temple, adjacent to a painting.
2. This information was given by Shri Raghubir Singh, interviewed at Bhador.
3. Bal Mukand Das, Jann Sakhi Kalu Nath (P), pp. 129-30.
4. This information was given by Shri Gaura Singh, interviewed at Faridkot.

having worked as muralists or not, it may not serve much purpose to include their names in this study. What is of interest is a brief consideration of the patrons for whom muralists in the 19th century worked.

Since most of our notices of mural work in the Punjab come from European writers, men who stayed in the Punjab or passed through it, it might be appropriate to begin with treating of them first as the patrons of mural painting. Here, however, one is in a somewhat peculiar position, for most of these persons themselves had, for all their interest in documenting the work, very little real regard for the quality or kind of work which the painters of Punjab did in the 19th century Punjab. In fact their opinion of art in these parts was rather low, and their tone distinctly superior, as noticed before. Baden-Powell's solemn pronouncement is somewhat typical of this attitude: "In scarcely any part of India are the fine arts in so low a condition as in the Punjab,"¹ The jury of the 1884 Exhibition which gave this view did, however, concede some basic talent to the Punjab artist:²

The native of the Punjab possesses many of the qualities which ensure success in art. In common with the inhabitants of lower India he has an instinctive appreciation of colour.

1. Baden-Powell, op. cit., p. 354.

2. Ibid., p. 355.

and though without any knowledge of the principles which should regulate its use, is often more happy in his combinations than the educated workman of Europe. His colour is often exaggerated but it is always warm, and rich and fearless. The native artist is also patient: for weeks and months he will work at his design, painfully elaborating the most minute details; no time is considered too long, no labour too intense to secure perfection in imitation or delicacy in execution. The greatest failing in native artists is their ignorance of perspective and drawing, and it is fortunate that this want is the most easy to supply. Nothing is required but schools of design and judicious instruction to effect a great change both in the fine arts themselves, and in art manufactures in the Panjab.

1

"This passage", as W.G. Archer, remarks: "coiently express what good Victorians seriously thought" even if we may "deplore its naive assumption of British superiority, its childish aesthetics, its over-simple standards."

And yet it is true that a decided quantity of work by way of mural painting in the Punjab was done for European patrons who lived at the Sikh Court. There were many European artists who came to the Punjab, many of these highly competent in art even if they were not professionals, but their services were not of course available to other Europeans who wanted their houses decorated. Not any of them was a muralist, and hardly

anyone worked for professional fees. Those who wanted their houses or havelis decorated, therefore, had to fall back upon Indian artists and hope then they had 'imbibed' from European examples some of the features like perspective and modelling which they found so wanting in Indian work and so admired in European art. The attitude of the patrons who commissioned Indian painters was generally superior, and yet they did engage them. Notes written on some drawings made for Augustus Honner¹ by Kapur Singh of Amritsar, are typical of the European sense of indulgent amusement towards the work of Indian² artists. But work continued to be entrusted to them. Many of the European officers in the Sikh army, men like³ Ventura, Allard and Avitabile,⁴ got their residences painted with murals by native painters as we have noticed before. It is quite likely that they made specific demands on their talent, and the painter in turn must have tried to minister to the European taste of the⁵ patron by trying to incorporate exotic elements into his work. It is in this context that we get those large

1. Mildred Archer, Company Drawings in the India Office Library, p. 210.
2. Europeans got these drawings made mostly for publication in their books. See J.M. Honigberger, op.cit. p. 195. The coloured plates in the second volume of Sir Herbert Edwards, A Year on the Punjab Frontier in 1858-59, were the works of native artists; see its p. XII (of preface).
3. See Lt. Barr, op. cit., pp. 78-80.
4. See J.J. Cotton, "General Avitabile", Calcutta Review, CCXLVI, Oct. 1906, pp. 544-46.
5. The inclusion of exotic elements by native painters did puzzle some observers. Lt. Barr's description of the 'painted chamber' in the residence of General Allard and Ventura betray this fact. See Journal, pp. 79-80.

'realistic' battle scenes on walls to which we get references, or come upon themes like the portrait of Napoleon.¹

Real patronage to the art of mural painting, however, came from the members of the Sikh royalty. Maharaja Ranjit Singh "despite his philistine upbringing", was apparently a generous patron of the arts. Most of the frescoes and related architectural decorations in the Golden Temple at Amritsar were the result of his commissions to painters and craftsmen, many of them having been brought from Chiniot, near Lyallpur, and lodged in Haveli Chaniotian,² near the Lahori Gate in Amritsar.³ Harinder Singh Roop describes at length the personal interest the Maharaja had taken in getting a mural representing Guru Gobind Singh,⁴ painted in the Golden Temple. The mural is still extant, it has lately been renovated without the original composition being changed, however.

In addition to work in the Golden Temple, a large number of shrines either got constructed by the Maharaja himself or supported by him, were embellished with murals.⁵ Gurudwara Angitha Sahib at Khadur Sahib in district

1. J.J. Cotton, loc. cit., p. 576.
2. K.C. Aryan, Punjab Painting, p. 17.
3. Sikh Te Sikh (2), p. 59.
4. See plate No. 13.
5. Objects of Antiquarian Interest in the Punjab and its Dependencies, pp. 4-5.

Amritsar, ¹gurudwara Tham Sahib at Kartarpur in district
 Jullundur and ²Shivala Ek Onkar located close to Mighdu,
 in Karnal, were all raised at the expense of the Maharaja
 and were embellished with murals. Gurudwara ³Baba Bir
 Singh at Haurangabad and the temple known as Shri Palkiana
⁴Sahib at Jaura, both located in district Amritsar
⁵gurudwara Darbar Sahib at Dera Baba Nanak and Raghunath
⁶Temple within the precincts of the famous Vaishnava
 monastery at Pindori, both located in district Gurdaspur,
 must again have gained from the financial help given by
 the Maharaja: all these shrines were embellished with
 murals.

Maharaja Ranjit Singh's interest in art has sometimes
 been ignored. During his reign several buildings in the
 Lahore Fort were embellished with murals and one of these
⁷represented the Maharaja supplicating before Guru Nanak.
⁸At Amritsar, the Maharaja had a house built and beautifully
⁹painted for housing certain visiting dignitaries. He also
 got his palace at Wazirabad painted with murals illustra-
¹⁰tive of the religion of the Sikhs.

1. Jullundur D.G. 1904, p. 290.
2. H.A. Rose (ed.), Glossary of Tribes and Castes of the Punjab, I, p. 234.
3. See Chapter II of "Extant Remains", District Amritsar.
4. Ibid.
5. Census of India, Punjab - Fairs and Festivals, XIII, Part VII-B, p. 60.
6. Gurdaspur D.G. 1883-84, p. 98.
7. See J.Ph.Vogel, "Historical Notes on the Lahore Fort", Journal of Punjab Historical Society, I, No. 1, 1911, pp. 52-53. According to the information I have been furnished with by the Dept. of Archaeology, Govt. of Pakistan, vide its letter No.22/23/68-Arch, dated Nov. 9, 1968, frescoes were still extant in the Lahore Fort.
8. See Lt. Barr, Journal, pp. 101-102.
9. See Emily Eden, Up the Country, II, p. 9.
10. Baron Charles Hugel, op. cit., p. 250.

On this was an extension of the Maharaja's keen interest in miniature paintings, perhaps, especially portraits. He had a number of artists in his employ, of whom the most prominent were Muhammad Balhsh,¹ Kehar Singh and Purkhu. Their chief duty seems to have been to portray visiting dignitaries. The custom of taking sketches of visitors to the court by the painter² attached to the court became a tradition, many of these paintings were hung later in the Govt. Record office at Lahore,³ before 1863. Under the orders of the Maharaja his deputies took one artist and an album of pictures to⁴ Captain C.M. Wade at Adinanagar in 1831. Evidently the purpose of sending the artist was to have the visiting Englishman portrayed. During his meeting with the Governor-General at Ropar in October 1831, state painters⁵ formed a part of the Maharaja's retinue. In the Lahore Palace, the mural depicting the meeting of the Maharaja⁶ with Lord William Bentinck at Ropar was, in all probability, based on sketches taken earlier by the state artists. Emily Eden, the sister of Lord Auckland, who accompanied the British Governor-General to Punjab in⁷ 1838, noted Ranjit Singh's artists sketching her brother.

1. Fakir Syed Waheed-ul-din, op. cit., p. 121.
2. See Leopold Von Orlich, op. cit., I, p. 206.
3. See Roshan Lal Ahuja, Vidya Pati Maharaja Ranjit Singh (P), p. 31.
4. Sohan Lal Suri, op. cit., p. 39.
5. Ibid., p. 94.
6. Lt. Barr, Journal, p. 100.
7. Op. cit., II, p. 288.

G.T. Vigne was another visitor who had the honour of¹ having been sketched by the court artist. A painter was sent by Ranjit Singh, again, to copy a piece of the² uniform of Baron Hugel, an Austrian. He also sent his³ favourite horse Leily to be drawn by Vigne. It has even been suggested that painters accompanied the⁴ Maharaja on his hunting expeditions.

Ranjit Singh might have allowed his own person to be portrayed only sparingly, but he seemingly did not dislike painters. A Hindustani painter named Jivan Ram, who accompanied the Governor-General at Repar, was⁶ allowed to draw the Maharaja's portrait. A picture of the Queen of England, sent to Ranjit Singh for inspection by the Governor-General at Ferozepur, greatly pleased⁷ him. Two howitzers presented by Lord Auckland to the Maharaja gave him much satisfaction, specially because⁸ his profile was engraved on them. His own picture, set⁹ in diamonds, presented to Auckland, evince his interest

1. Baron Charles Hugel, op. cit., p. 355.
2. Ibid., p. 355.
3. G.T. Vigne, A Personal Narrative of a Visit to Ghuzani, Kabul and Afghanistan, p. 265.
4. See Roshan Lal Ahuja, The Story of Ranjit Singh, p. 72.
5. See Emily Eden, op. cit., II, p. 23; Baron Charles Hugel, op. cit., pp. 252-53.
6. A print of a portrait drawn by Jivan Ram appeared on the reverse side of the page bearing contents in the book: Narendra Krishna Singha, Ranjit Singh.
7. Sohan Lal Suri, op. cit., p. 567.
8. See D.R. Sood, Ranjit Singh, p. 68.
9. Emily Eden, op. cit., II, p. 32.

in the art of painting. With time, his understanding and appreciation of the pictorial arts apparently grew¹ and we find him making subtle observations on paintings, sometimes.

It is interesting that for the education of his sons, Ranjit Singh got the vernacular alphabet illustrated by the court artists, very much on the pattern of modern² books for children.

Maharaja Ranjit Singh, it appears, was also liberal in the matter of remunerations and rewards to painters. Jivan Ram, for instance, was given a sum of rupees one hundred for the portrait he drew of the Maharaja at Ropar in 1831.³ We now know also of a land grant issued with the Maharaja's personal seal in 1825 A.D. to Nikhail,⁴ a Pahari painter. According to this, land worth Rs.125/- per annum was granted to the painter, free of the imposition of kar and begar etc.⁵

All this is accurately indicative of Ranjit Singh's patronage of the art of painting. This must have naturally extended to patronage of wall painting, for it was

1. See Sohan Lal, op. cit., p. 469.
2. See Sohan Lal Ahuja, Vidya Pati Maharaja Ranjit Singh (P), p. 23.
3. Sohan Lal Suri, op. cit., p. 94.
4. See E.H. Coswamy, Painters at the Sikh Court, A Study Based on Twenty Documents, p. 32.
5. Ibid.

much in vogue in his times. It is difficult otherwise to conceive of him being portrayed without his approval in the murals of the Lahore Fort, either in the act of¹ supplicating before Guru Nanak or meeting with the² Governor-General at Repar.

After the Maharaja's death, whatever might have happened politically or militarily, art continued to receive patronage at the Court. Kharrak Singh and Nau Nihal Singh fell quick preys to the anarchy that ensued, but at an earlier point of time Nau Nihal Singh seems to have had some taste for painting. His patronage is evident from his haveli which was embellished with³ frescoes. But out of the successors of the great Maharaja, it is Sher Singh who emerges to be a serious patron of painting. In fact his interest and appreciation of painting might have aroused in the early years of his life; in 1830, at the age of only 23, he was made the Governor of Kangra where he is likely to have seen the refined work of the Pahari painters. Later, he had several opportu-⁴nities, not only of seeing European visitors to the Sikh court making sketches and drawings, but was also, as a⁵ striking figure, sketched by them several times. We know

1. Lt. Barr, Journal, pp. 101-102.

2. Ibid., p. 100.

3. As per information of the Dept. of Archaeology, Govt. of Pakistan, 19th century murals are still extant in this haveli.

4. For instance W.G. Osborne and Emily Eden.

5. See lithographs in W.G. Osborne, The Court and Camp of Runjeet Singh. Sher Singh sat for picture before Emily Eden, Up the Country, p. 223, and the drawing later published in her book Portraits of the Princes and People of India.

from Emily Eden's sister, Fanny, that in 1838 Sher Singh¹ was already 'fond of drawing'. Late in 1840 or early 1841, the Austrian painter Schoefft reached Lahore and not only impressed Sher Singh with his work but got² commissions to paint large canvases in oils.³ A document evidencing grant of a jagir by Maharaja Sher Singh to painter Gokal has also come to light.⁴ In 1843, we find the court painter of Sher Singh "incessantly occupied"⁵ in sketching those present at the court. All these references speak of his keen interest in painting as well as of the patronage he extended to it. There is no direct evidence of his having commissioned painters to execute murals; all the same it is very likely that he did.

Although Dalip Singh, the last of the line, was more⁶ interested in painting than anyone else in his family, and⁷ was able to paint when still a child, he was exiled before he came of his age and the Punjab was deprived of a serious⁸ patron of art. Even in his brief tenure he managed to have

1. Fanny Eden, Journal, 8 Dec., 1838. India Office Library. MS. Eur. C. 136, quoted in W.G. Archer, Paintings of the Sikhs, p. 42.
2. J.M. Honigberger, op. cit., pp. 173-175.
3. See F.A. Khan, The Princess Bamba Collection.
4. See B.N. Goswamy, Painters at the Sikh Court. A Study Based on Twenty Documents, pp 11 and 34.
5. Capt. Leopold Von Orlich, op. cit., pp. 206-207.
6. See Helen Mackenzie, Life in the Mission, the Camp and the Zimna: or Six Years in India, III, pp. 47-55; also see Lady Login, Sir John Login and Duleep Singh, pp. 155-156.
7. See J.Ph. Vogel, op. cit., p. 53.
8. See Lady Login, op. cit., which refers to Dalip Singh's unabated interest in painting, pp. 155, 156, 158, 159, 160, 209, 336, 467.

the samadh of Maharaja Sher Singh, located at Kot¹
Khawaja Saeed in Lahore, embellished with murals.

Besides the royal house of Lahore, the rulers of
cis-Sutlej states also patronized painting and Patiala,
the foremost among the Phulkian group of states, was
in fact greatly concerned with the patronage of the
arts.² We have a number of references that speak of
considerable art activity at Patiala. Dr. Hirananad
Shastri referred to a 'Manir Nath' set of paintings
painted at Patiala, similar to the one painted by³
Sajna at Mandi. A family of Rajasthani painters was
apparently brought to Patiala by Maharaja Karm Singh⁴
(A.D. 1814-1845) from Jaipur and some paintings belong-
ing to his period are in the collection of Sodhi Harbhajan⁵
Singh of Anandpur. Baden-Powell speaks of the 'State⁶
Artist' of Patiala whose work was "most excellent".⁷
Devi Ditta of the branch of the famous Guler family
of artists was serving Maharaja Mahendra Singh (A.D. 1862-
1876) of Patiala. Biba of Guler was another painter who⁸
served under the Rajas of Patiala. As a result, a number⁹

1. As per information of the Dept. of Archaeology, Govt. of Pakistan, 19th century murals are still extant in this samadh.
2. See Karuna Goswamy, loc. cit., p. 121.
3. "Manir Nath", J.I.A. XVII, No.132, Oct.1915, p. 36.
4. Karuna Goswamy, loc. cit., pp. 125-126.
5. Ibid., p. 122.
6. Co. cit., p. 352.
7. Ibid.
8. B.N. Goswamy, "Sikh Painting: An Analysis of Some Aspects of Patronage", Oriental Art (New Series), XV, No.1, Spring, 1969, p. 47.
9. Karuna Goswamy, loc. cit., p. 124.

of edifices at Patiala and its vicinity were embellished with murals under the direct patronage of the State Chiefs. The temple of Shiv Puri at Patiala was built by Maharaja Karm Singh¹ and was adorned with murals. Frescoes in the Diwankhana Kadin in Kila Mubarak were executed during the time of Maharaja Narendra Singh (1846-1862) and the Shish Mahal was embellished with wall paintings either during his own reign or that of his son, Maharaja Mahendra Singh.

Among the other Ahluwalian states, Nabha, Faridkot and Jind also patronized the art of mural painting. The samadh of Raja Jaswant Singh of Nabha and Rani Mahal,² within the precincts of Nabha Fort, were decorated with murals, evidently under the orders of the ruling Chief. Gurudwara Lohgarh at Dina Nagar³ was built by Raja Wazir Singh of Faridkot and murals were painted in it. Frescoes in the Shish Mahal in Faridkot Fort were painted at the behest of Raja Bikram Singh.⁴ The samadh of Rani Jind at Bahadurgarh,⁵ a suburb of Hoshiarpur, and the samadh of Bhai Gurdar Singh and Mai Rajji at Dyalpura in district Bhatinda⁶

1. See Chapter II of Extant Remains, district Patiala.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., district Faridkot.
5. I was told this by ex-Maharaja Harinder Singh of Faridkot in an interview that I had with him.
6. See Chapter II of Extant Remains, district Hoshiarpur.
7. Kapur Singh Ghuman (ed), Dina Nagar Survey Pustak (P), p. 44.

were raised by the Jind State with murals painted on their walls. The house of the Kalsia Family, with their capital at Chhachhrauli, also had some buildings¹ adorned with murals. The murals in the temple of Mansa Devi near Manimajra were completed at the² expense of Raja Gopal Singh of Manimajra.

Evidence of the 'trans-Sutlej' state of Kapurthala having patronized the art of wall painting is also available. Thus, Jalao Khana, a state edifice at Kapurthala, had its front embellished with frescoes. Murals still survive in the sanadh of the daughter of³ Mai Miran, a Rani of Kapurthala.

There are instances when patronage to painting was also extended by royal ladies. A temple at Fategarh Churian in district Gurdaspur known as Mandir Maharani⁴ Chand Kaur was got built by the wife of Maharaja Kharak Singh. She also contributed to the construction of⁵ Guruwara Darbar Sahib at Dera Baba Nanak, a shrine originally embellished with murals. At Pehowa in district Kurukshetra a haveli with mural work was got built by Rani Chand Kaur of Nabha.

1. See Chapter II of Extant Remains, district Ambala.
2. See plate Nos. 35 and 92.
3. See Chapter II of Extant Remains, district Hoshiarpur.
4. Ibid., district Gurdaspur.
5. Gurdaspur D.G. 1883-84, p. 98.

The royal houses apart, it was also to the new Sikh aristocracy to which artists looked up for patronage. The members of this aristocracy did not inherit any artistic tradition, but their interest in themselves and in surrounding themselves with style¹ appears to have been considerable, and it is this that led them to commissioning murals. Thus, the General Hari Singh Nalwa got his villa at Gujranwala embellished with frescoes;² the Bedis of Una employed artists to paint religious themes in the gurudwara of Baba Kala Dhari;³ the sardars of Attari had the walls of their fort at Attari ornamented with paintings;⁴ and the Sandhanwalia sardars had their haveli at Raja Sansi adorned with murals.⁵ The patronage extended by the Sandhanwalias seems to have been of serious proportions. Striking proof of this has been adduced recently by Dr. Goswamy in his Painters at the Sikh Court;⁶ we now know of Gokal and Chhajju, the Guler painters, who were in the employment of the Sandhanwalia sardars.⁷

The patronage of painting by Sikh Chiefs can in fact

1. See B.N. Goswamy, "Sikh Painting: An Analysis of Some Aspects of Patronage", Oriental Art (New Series), XV, No. 1, Spring 1969, p. 46.
2. Lt. Barr, Journal, p. 137.
3. See Chapter II of 'Extant Remains', district Hoshiarpur.
4. Traces of paintings are still to be seen on a portion of a wall of the fort at Attari.
5. See Chapter II of 'Extant Remains', district Amritsar.
6. See pp. 11, 32-35.
7. Ibid. p. 34, No. 8.

be traced back to the 18th century. Some of the misaldars were interested in getting walls embellished with paintings. Thus, murals in the temple of Shri Nan Dev at Ghoman in district Curdaspur were probably done ¹ under the orders of Sardar Jassa Singh Ramgarhia. Similarly the ganadh of Tara Singh Cheba, decorated with murals, was raised at Rahon, in district Jullundur, ² by his son Jhanda Singh.

But perhaps the most interesting feature of painting in 19th century Punjab is its patronage by people with less than royal or noble means. As the century progressed, and artists in high employ were released, their talents appear to have been used by several persons considerably lower in the social rank. Whatever the reasons for this — genuine interest, the use of art as social status, a view of mural painting as an inevitable part of architecture — the development is certainly of absorbing interest.

We get several monuments and buildings from this period. Thus, the ganadh of Lal Singh, a sardar of Kale Chanpur, near Amritsar, was raised and embellished with murals by ³ his son Gulzar Singh. The temple of Kishan Chand Bhandari,

1. Kahn Singh Nabha, Encyclopaedia of the Sikhs, p. 522.
2. Punjab Notes and Queries, II, No. 15, Dec., 1884, p. 49.
3. It is evident from an inscription surviving on one of the walls of the ganadh.

with very attractive mural work was raised at Batala by Kishan Chand, a member of the prosperous Bhandari family of the town.¹ Bhawani Singh Bhandari, another member of the family, had to his credit murals painted in the Shiv Temple at Achal Batala.² Another shrine known as Bhandari Bhola Mandir³ with murals still extant, was built at Batala also by the Bhandari family. A beautifully painted temple devoted to Radha and Krishna at Kishankot, a village near Sri Hargobindpur, was built by 'Raja' Sahib Dyal who was the Chief of the Customs of Jullundur during the reign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh.⁴ Sudiagar Mal, a deewan of Kapurthala State,⁵ got constructed a temple at Shekhpur, a village on Kapurthala-Sultanpur road, and this was adorned with paintings. The temple of Baba Hari Har, bearing murals, was erected at Nur Mahal at the expense of Lala Basant Rai Khosla who was a Tehsildar in the state of Kapurthala.⁶ Misar Bhup Chand of Nur Mahal, a man of influence and status, got raised a temple with murals, located near Chashma Faiz in the town.⁷ The house of Chaurhari Chander Sain, a revenue official of Dadri which formed a part of the Muslim state of

1. The Bhandari family of Batala was one of the eminent families of the Sikh Raj. See Gurdaspur D.G. 1833-84, pp. 40-41.
2. See Chapter II of Extant Remains, district Gurdaspur.
3. Ibid.
4. Gurdaspur D.G. 1833-84, p. 37.
5. See Chapter II of Extant Remains, district Kapurthala.
6. Ibid., district Jullundur.
7. Ibid., district Jullundur.

Jhajjar, was embellished with murals. Today it is¹
known as Diwan Khana Chander Sain Ka.

Besides this group of patrons, it was the mahants² of religious establishments who continued to be great patrons of mural painting in 19th century Punjab. The akhara of Uiasi saints almost always had the walls of² their edifices painted and some of best surviving murals are to be seen in them. These establishments were scattered all over the Punjab, but the town of Amritsar is where their concentration was. Almost all the akhara at Amritsar, including the akhara Balanand, Prag Das, Sangal Wala, Beri Wala and Kashi Wala had murals painted in them in the 19th century. Although our knowledge about the names of mahants who got the murals executed is meagre, the work was evidently done under their patronage. Murals in akhara Bala Nand,³ akhara Sangal Wala and akhara Beri Wala were painted³ respectively, for mahant Dhishambar Prasad, mahant⁴ Pritam Das and mahant⁵ Sewa Das. Murals in dera Udasian⁶ at Jansher in district Jullundur, akhara Udasian at⁷ Jandali and dera Balram at Barnala, both in district⁸

1. See Chapter II of 'Extant Remains', district Shiwani.
2. See plate Nos. 1, 2, 40, 41, 43 and 59.
3. See Chapter II of 'Extant Remains', district Amritsar. Akhara Bala Nand, Akhara Sangal Wala, Akhara Beri Wala.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. See Chapter II of 'Extant Remains', district Jullundur.
7. Ibid., district Sangrur.
8. Ibid.

Sangrur, and the Nirankari ¹dera at Patiala, were painted under the patronage of the mahants of establishments.

The mahants of a number of religious establishments, other than the akhans, had also taken keen interest in the embellishment of their edifices. The temple of Kalu Nath at Nathana ² was built and painted under the patronage of mahant Ram Das. The gurudwara ³ at Chola Sahib was raised and embellished under the patronage of mahant Sadhu Ram. We have also such better known Vaishnava monasteries of Pandori and ⁴Dhantal, where extensive mural work was carried out for the mahants. We have earlier noted at some length work ⁵at the dera of Baba Lal at Dhianpur and the temple of the Bairagis at Ram Tatwali. ⁶

At another level, traders, bankers and money lenders also extended in their own way patronage to mural painters. The havelis and temples built by them were usually embellished with murals. The haveli of Seth Panna Lal Phul

1. See Chapter II of 'Extant Remains,' district Patiala.

2. Ibid., district Bhatinda.

3. Ibid., district Amritsar.

4. Ibid., district Gurdaspur.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid., district Hoshiarpur.

¹
 Chand Sharda and the ²haveli of Badliwaran, both located
 in Ferozepur City, were painted with murals. Daryana
 Mali, a trader of Amritsar, raised a temple, known as
³Daryana Mal da Thakurdwara with paintings executed on
 its walls. Lala Churn Mal, son of Lala Bhawani Das,
⁴
 raised a thakurdwara with frescoes at Nakodar. The giri
 of Daba Sidh at Mari, in district Faridkot, was erected
⁵
 by a Lahore banker and bears late 18th century murals. A
 temple with murals at Jagadhari, known as Mandir Raje
⁶
Wala was built by Lala Balak Ram and Lala Jamuna Das.

Apparently, with all this activity, painting had
 moved out of the charmed circle of the royalty and the
 nobility, and had come closer to the people. It is
 another matter that this is also the period of time when
 the vitality of the tradition to which it belonged had
 become remarkably low.

1. See Chapter II of 'Extant Remains', district Ferozepur.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., district Amritsar.
4. Ibid., district Jullundur.
5. Ibid., district Faridkot.
6. Ibid., district Ambala.

* * * *

Appendix A

EYE-WITNESS ACCOUNTS OF MURALS IN THE
19th CENTURY PUNJAB

1. Vigne, G.T., A Personal Narrative of a Visit to Ghuzni, Kabul and Afghanistan (London, 1840).

G.T. Vigne stayed with Ventura, the European general of Ranjit Singh's court, at Anarkali, in Lahore, in 1835. He observes:

'...the residence of General Ventura; and the drawing rooms of our kind host, of which the ceilings and wainscots were entirely covered with paintings, and glass mirrors in gilt frames...were no unsuitable theatre for the performance of Ranjit's dancing girls....' (p. 257)

2. Vigne, G.T., Travels in Kashmir, Ladakh, Iskardo &c. (London 1842). 2 Vols.

Describe mural paintings at Wazirabad:

'On the northern side of "the town of Wazirabad" is a garden and three houses; two belonging to the late

Maharaja, and the other to the minister, Rajah Dhian Singh. They are very neat buildings, partly Saracenic, and the rest ad libitum, generally rectangular in shape, and surmounted with a terrace. From one of them there rises a square tower, fifty or sixty feet in height. The greater part is painted with Hindu mythological devices, intermixed with horses and other animals, and wreaths and bouquets of flowers, on a white ground'. (I, pp.236-37)

3. Masson, Charles, Narrative of Various Journeys in Beluchistan, Afghanistan and the Punjab (London, 1842), 3 Vols.

Masson travelled in the Punjab from 1826 to 1836 and describes Avitabile's house at Lahore with murals:

'To the east of the city are the cantonments of the troops, commanded by M. Avitabile and Court, with the residences of these officers. The mansion of the former, a Neapolitan, is painted in a singular and grotesque fashion'. (I, p. 414)

4. Allen, Rev. I.N., Diary of a March through Sind and Afghanistan (London, 1843).

Rev. I.N. Allen, Assistant Chaplain on the East India Company's Bombay Establishment, breakfasted with General Avitabile at Peshawar one morning in 1842. He observes:

'The breakfast was excellent, and laid in a noble dining-room with columns, in length about one hundred and twenty feet and handsomely decorated in native style. I was surprised to find, among the portraits and pictures in the

drawing-room, a very good print of Lord Eldon'. (p.361)

5. Barr, Lt. William, Journal of a March from Delhi to Peshawar and from thence to Cabul, including travels in the Punjab (London, 1844).

Lt. Barr of the Bengal Horse Artillery accompanied Col. C.M. Wade on his mission to Afghanistan, January to December 1839 and gives a most detailed account of murals on several buildings in Punjab:

I. The bazar at Ambala

'The bazar is some miles in extent, and composed of two streets at right angles with one another, most of the houses in it being of late construction, and their uniformity, except where a few of the richer baboos have increased their residences to the height of two stories, is considerable for a native town. These latter are plastered with finest chunam, and decorated with paintings of various devices, in much better taste than is usually displayed on such occasions....'

(p.28)

II. The royal palace, Lahore

'The gateway, which consists of a tolerably lofty archway with a tower at each side, is covered from its summit to its base with paintings, the greater number taken from the history of Crishna as related in the Ram Sagur, though a few describe the habits and peculiarities of a wandering fakir. The figures are almost all about one-third the size of life, but with proportions as ludicrous and absurd as they can well be. In some the eye occupies nearly the whole side of a face, and in others the head appears as massive as the body. Here

fakeers may be seen with their hands clasped above their heads, and with finger-nails two or three inches long; there are others standing on one foot, their bodies besmeared with ashes, and their long lank hair streaming over their shoulders in the most offensive state of filth. Crishna's exploits occasionally partake of the ludicrous and disgusting. In one compartment he is portrayed with a milkmaid shampooing his great toe; in another, he is perched up in a tree, from the branches of which depend various articles of dress he has stolen from some fair damsels who are refreshing themselves in a limpid stream below, and whose head and hands, clasped in a supplicatory manner, appear above water beseeching him to return their apparel, but to no purpose, as he is dashing out the brains of a man with his club; and in a fourth, tearing out the entrails of a prostrate foe with the most brutal ferocity. Having satisfied our curiosity at these wonderful embellishments, we passed beneath the archway and came to the inner gate of the palace; but here we are stopped by a sentry, who forbade our further progress. We remarked, however, that it is enriched with paintings of a similar character to those on the first, and though no doubt considered in good taste by the Punjabees, to Englishmen they have a most ridiculous appearance.' (pp.69-71)

III. Allard's house, Anarkali (a suburb of Lahore)

'Anarcolly, which is in the centre of the Lahore cantonments, was the joint property and built by the Generals Allard and Ventura. On their first entering the Maharajah's service they lived together in a large adjoining mosque or

tomb, where the family of the latter, with about forty or fifty female slaves, have resided without once moving out of doors since the General took his departure for France, now two years ago. He is, however, daily expected here, as he arrived some months ago at Bombay, and the intelligence of his friend's death will no doubt hasten his movements. In the room where we dined there was a portrait of General Allard, which bespeaks him to have been a handsome and benevolent man, possessing much firmness and decision of character, tempered with mildness. He wore, at the time it was taken, a uniform similar to that of our horse-artillery, and was decorated with two orders, one, the "Legion of Honour", the other the "Bright Star of the Punjab", lately instituted by Runjeet Singh. Another picture of the General and his family, taken by a French artist when he returned home some three or four years ago, was pointed out to us, and though not finished, being merely the design from which a large drawing was made, the group is well arranged, and the pretty faces of his Cashmerian wife and his children, who were dressed in the costume of their mother's country, drew forth the admiration of us all. Adjoining the dining-room is another of some dimensions, lined from top to bottom with looking-glass, and which, when illuminated, must have a brilliant effect, as it looked extremely pretty and dazzling even with the two candles that were brought in with us. With the exception of wanting the bath and fountains, it reminded me much of the "Sheeshah Khanah" in the palace at Agra. We were subsequently shown into what may in truth be termed "the Painted Chamber", as it is adorned with pictures of

battles in which the two Generals were engaged, and executed on the chunam walls by native artists. The perspective of these scenes is most ridiculous; and at the siege of Multan the cannons are turned up on end to enable the gunners to load them, the figures overtop the fortification, and the cavalry seem to be manœuvring in the air; and absurdities of a similar nature are perpetrated throughout them all, and no doubt afford much amusement to their gallant owners, whose policy has led them this far to assimilate their dwellings with those of the native population; for it can hardly be supposed their taste is so far vitiated as to regard these embellishments as ornamental.' (pp.77-80)

IV. Allard's garden house, beyond Anarkali

'Crossing the parade ground, we entered on a road that winds through a very pretty grove of date-trees, celebrated for their exquisite fruit; and at the termination of this, on the right-hand side, the late general's retreat is situated. A large garden surrounds it, but is not laid out with any particular taste; and the residence itself, two stories high, is built in a half European and half Native style of architecture; the whole, inside and out, being embellished with paintings of dragons, lancers, and foot-soldiers, nearly half as large as life.' (pp.82-83)

V. The royal palace, Lahore (on another occasion)

'Passing through another gateway decorated with paintings of figures, wild animals, etc., fashioned in the most grotesque style, we were conducted into a large rectangular court, in which the Hall of Audience is situated.... The throne from whence the emperors, in former days, were wont to administer

justice, projected from the centre of one of the longer sides, and is raised several feet above the ground....We were admitted through a low archway beneath the throne to a small court, and close to a building which contains the regal entrance to the hall of justice. The exterior of this is covered with paintings in oil of a very extravagant description, and evidently of late construction, as one subject represents the interview of the Maharajah with Lord William Bentinck at Roopur. The parties are supposed by the artist to be assembled in the audience tent, the Sikhs being arranged on one side and the British on the other. The two great potentates occupy the centre of the scene, and Lady William, accoutred in white trousers, boots, and gold straps, is seated a few paces behind her husband. An uglier set of vagabonds than the man of daubs has made of our countrymen cannot well be conceived; though the people who accompanied us regarded them as likenesses, and were eager to point out "Macnaghten Sahib", the "Bakhshee Sahib", and others, who have only to see their portraits to be grateful. Another picture represents the Maharajah in the presence of Baba Nanuk, the founder of the Sikh sect; the holy father being most splendidly robed in a suit of embroidered gold, and sitting; whilst his disciple, who has done so much to extend the domains of his followers, is dressed in bright green silk, and standing, with his hands joined in a supplicatory manner. Behind the Baba, keeping guard, is an Akali with a drawn sword, and with but very little covering. A third represents a similar scene, with the single

exception of Runjeet Singh being in a still more humiliating position — on his knees. A few drawings of flowers, which separate these compartments one from another, are extremely well done, and true to nature.

On leaving the picture-gallery, as we dubbed this remarkable building, we were conducted to the King's garden, around which is a handsome stone balustrade.' (pp. 99-102)

VI. Fort of Hari Singh Bahra, Gujranwala

'In the evening, we walked to the fort and entered it by a large and new, though not quite finished gateway, called the "Rasbut Khaneh", or place where state drums play. After passing through a second gateway, which brought us to a garden, our attention was immediately arrested by a ridiculous picture representing the battle of Jamrood, in which Hari Singh lost his life. It is painted on the back of an apartment fitted up with receptacles for lamps to illuminate the fountains in its interior, and is about twelve feet long by six feet in height. It is divided into two compartments, the left side being devoted to the exploits of Hari Singh's army, the other to those of Akbar Khan, his antagonist's. The two upper rows tell of the advance of cavalry regiments on either side; the next two, of the formidable array of jinjalls carried on camels' backs, preceded by a few horsemen, who have already come into action; the fifth, which is the centre one, displays the valiant Hari Singh sumptuously clothed, and seated on the elephant, with an attendant behind holding a "chattah" over his head, the renowned Akbar Khan being opposite to him, similarly mounted and similarly attended. Below these are

other squadrons of cavalry and camel sowers, of both nations, facing each other; and the concluding line is occupied by a detachment of Sikh infantry marching in regular order to the sound of martial music, with a gun in front blowing a party of Affghans into eternity. The whole skill of the artist seems concentrated on this spot; for independent of the grape-shot, which appear in multitude as the stars of the firmament, he portrays with dignified ease and simplicity the muscular power of an Affghan, who is lifting his wounded comrade from the ground with one hand, and that too with so little apparent exertion as to be seemingly a matter of ordinary occurrence with him. The same display of strength is exhibited among the cavalry in one of the upper rows, where a Sikh, with one stroke of his scimitar, has severed a horse into two equal portions, which, strange to say, in spite of the dismemberment, are capable of retaining the uprightness of their position; and another, of the same nation, has, by a clean sweep of his sabre, cut off the head of an Affghan, which is being returned with the velocity of a bullet into the ranks of his wondering countrymen, whose heads and arms are flying off in every direction, and are parted with by their owners with all possible indifference and utter disregard of their value, whilst the Sikhs are unscathed. Nor ought the dignified complacency and perfect good humour visible in the countenances of the two chiefs, opposed to each other in deadly conflict, to be overlooked; and it would be well if more civilised generals were to display equal urbanity of manner and coolness of demeanour when brought in such close contact on similar occasions, and take example from their behaviour, as depicted by the artist, whose skill is only equalled by his

impartiality; inasmuch as, though it is a notorious fact that the Sikhs in the end were defeated, it is not so well known that all the wounded and slain were on the side of the victors. Such, however, we found it to be in this panorama; and it need not be added, that we derived much amusement from the representation of the battle of Jamrood, in which the really gallant Harri Singh closed his career some two or three years ago.... (pp.130-133)

Of a visit the following day:

'Morning, however, dawned before the camels returned, and as the carts were not forthcoming for some hours after, our march was postponed till the afternoon, and I took advantage of the delay to pay Harri Singh's villa another visit, in hopes of seeing the upper apartment. Nor was I disappointed; and the harmonious manner in which the gilding and colours are blended, the elegant arrangements of the ornaments on the ceiling, and the richness of the chamber throughout, deserved the encomiums we had heard lavished on it. In recesses formed beneath a series of Saracenic arches, are a number of glazed paintings on a small scale, and, omitting the perspective, by no means badly executed. Some of these related to their gods, others to the harem, and the latter, as may be supposed, were by no means most decorous in their description. As several of them have been entirely removed, and many glasses of others are cracked, we asked our guide for an explanation; and he replied that the apartment belonged exclusively to the fair daughters of Eve, who on one occasion had quarrelled amongst themselves, and to settle

their differences had restored to the feminine weapon of slippers, which they heroically flung at each other's heads, and thus caused the destruction apparent in the late Sirdar's property.' (pp.137-138)

VII. Summer house by the tombs of Ranjit Singh's parents, Gujranwala

'On our return to camp, a respectable and intelligent Sikh offered his services to pilot us to the "Sirkari Bagh", where the remains of Runjeet Singh's father and mother are interred.... A "baraderie", or summer-house, covered with paintings in bad taste, and but indifferently executed, is erected in the centre of the garden, which is large, but very inferior to Harri Singh's, though it can boast of a few good trees.' (pp.138-139)

VIII. Town gateways, Wazirabad

'Before, however, we reached Muzzeerabad, the villages had become numerous, the jungle was cleared away, and fields of young corn threw a cheerful aspect round the neighbourhood. We passed beneath a lately-constructed and lofty gateway, covered, as usual, with grotesque paintings of all descriptions, the figures being nearly as large as life. The street we traversed was broad, clean, and possessed of some good houses, and is, I should say, a mile, or not far short of it, in extent. A similarly decorated gateway brought us out of the town, and another adjacent to it, under which we also passed, is even more highly embellished -- the pictures being stuck as close to one another as they can be put.' (pp.140-141)

IX. Shooting-box of Ranjit Singh, Gujrat

'We walked in the evening to a building a short distance from our camp, and which, though unfinished, is evidently intended for a shooting box, as the majority of the pictures with which it is embellished are representations of sporting feats; such a cock-fighting, hunting, wrestling, etc.; and are the only drawings on such subjects that I have yet met with in the Punjab.' (p.147)

X. Avitabile's mansion, Peshawar

'The General's mansion is raised to the height of three stories, thus completely commanding the city and overlooking the neighbouring ground....An avenue of young trees stretches from the mansion to the gateway, where the Governor has also a few apartments, still in an unfinished state, but, like the former, decorated with paintings in the native style.'

(pp.151-152)

6. Hugel, Baron Charles, Travels in Kashmir and the Punjab, containing a particular account of the Government and character of the Sikhs (London, 1845).

Baron Charles Hugel was an Austrian who visited Punjab a few years before the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. He describes murals on three buildings in Punjab:

1. Country house of Ranjit Singh, Wazirabad

'There (at Wazirabad) the Maha Raja has built a palace in the midst of a lovely garden, which is a singular edifice, both in its exterior form and its internal decorations. It has two stories, and in the centre is a sort of tower which divides the wings, while the outside

walls, as well as the apartments within, are adorned with fresco paintings illustrative of the religion of the Sikhs. Among them are portraits of Gurus from Nanak the first to Govind the last, the size of life; the chief painter of Ranjit's court is certainly not a Raphael.' (p.250)

II. General Ventura's house, Anarkali

'General Ventura's house, built by himself and General Allard, though of no great size, combines the splendour of the East with the comforts of a European residence. On the walls of the entrance hall, before the range of pillars on the first story, was portrayed the reception of two French officers at the court of Ranjit Singh, consisting of many thousand figures.' (pp.233-234)

III. General Allard's house, Anarkali

'In General Allard's garden, built by himself, is a pretty little building. The eagle and Napoleon's flag are displayed on every wall, and here and there are figures representing the soldiers who served under him. In the upper story are a few rooms, adorned with mirrors, and set apart for the female of his family.' (p.311)

7. Mackenzie, Helen (Mrs. Colin). Life in the Mission, the Camp and the Zimna or Six Years in India (London, 1853), 3 vols.

Describes murals at Amritsar:

'I started about half-past eight in my paliki for Amritsar and arrived about sunrise next morning at the Ram Bagh, Ranjit Singh's residence, where Mr. McLeod,

the Assistant Commissioner, now lives....After breakfast our kind host took me into a tower from which I sketched the gateway. The walls of the small room in which we sat were covered with curious paintings of scenes from the Hindu Mythology. After tiffin Mr. McLeod drove me through the town....It is a most picturesque place with narrow streets, beautifully carved houses, the upper stories projecting over the lower ones and many of them adorned with curious paintings. I saw one house with a row of peacocks, the size of life, supporting the balcony. In Lahore a row of geese perform a similar office, so well carved and painted and in such natural attitudes (one of them stretching out its neck as if hissing at passers-by) that we at first took them for live birds.' (III, p. 58-59)

8. Coley, James, Journal of the Sutlej Campaign of 1843-46, and also of Lord Hardinge's Tour in the following Winter (London, 1856).

Observes murals at Amritsar:

'Most of the houses in Amritsar are painted all over with figures of men, women, beasts and birds, among which the sacred peacock predominates. Some of the figures are very obscene.' (p. 107)

9. Wolff, Joseph, Travels and Adventures (London, 1862) 2 vols.

Joseph Wolff resided with Avitabile, the Governor of Nazirebad, in 1832. He observed murals in the bed-room of his host:

'He (Avitabile) told Wolff at once that he would show him his guardian angels and took him upto his bedroom, the walls of which were covered with pictures of dancing-girls....'
(II, p.61)

10. Wakefield, W., Our Life and Travels in India (London, 1878).

Has the following note on murals of the Golden Temple, Amritsar:

'Its roof is plated with gilded metal from which it derives its name, and its walls are covered with exotic frescoes'. (p.390)

11. Ross, David, The Land of the Five Rivers and Sikh Sketches, Historical and Descriptive (London, 1883).

Has the following account of murals:

I. Avitabile's house at Masirabad

'The town is well and regularly laid out. It was rebuilt by General Avitabile....The streets are wide and handsome, and the bazar is very commodious....Avitabile erected a palace and pleasure grounds. The walls of the former are covered with curious full-sized figures of Sikh Gurus, painted in fresco.' (p.140)

II. A Hindu temple at Gujrat

'A handsome Hindu temple, or mandar, much venerated by the Hindus, is an object of great attraction to the inhabitants for hundreds of miles around. The interior is ornamented with paintings of natives riding peacocks; antelopes, griffins and other fabulous animals are also represented.' (p.145)

12. Douie, J.M., "Guru Guga as a Snake-God", Indian Antiquary, XXVI, March 1897.

Referring to a village in district Ambala, it carries the following note on murals:

'I have...seen a picture of Guga Pir on the parapet of a new well in a Jat village....The Saint was seated on a horse, and was starting from the Bager country. His mother, standing in front of the horse, was trying to stop his departure. He held in his hand a long staff (bhala), explained to be a mark of dignity, and over his head the heads of two snakes met, one being coiled round the bhala.' (p.84)

13. Oman, John Campbell, Indian Life, Religious and Social (London, 1893).

Describing the cenotaph of Maharaja Ranjit Singh at Lahore, it includes the following note on its murals:

'The side walls of the arches in the gallery are decorated with fresco paintings representing scenes from Hindu mythology taken chiefly from those inexhaustible sources of Hindu legendary lore, the Mahabharata and Ramayana.' (p.155)

14. Latif, Syad Muhammed, Lahore, Its History of Architecture and Antiquities (Lahore, 1892).

Has following references to murals in edifices located in Lahore:

I. The haveli of Prince Nau Nihal Singh

'The roofs are decorated with paintings and mirrors, and are worked in gold. The walls are richly and tastefully

ornamented with glasses and artificial flowers.' (p.233)

II. The shivala of Raja Dina Nath

'The walls fronting the street are tastefully decorated with paintings of Devatas and Avatars....The inside walls are decorated with paintings of deities and gods.' (pp.234-235)

III. The thakurdwara of Chos-Mar

'It was built fifty years ago, in the time of the Maharaja Ranjit Singh....The mandir is furnished with chambers and side rooms, profusely decorated with paintings and mirrors.' (p.240)

IV. The thakurdwara of Radha Krishan

'...the walls inside the roofs are ornamented with paintings of gold and silver.' (p.242)

15. Vogel, J.Ph., "The Jahazi Mahal at Shujabad", Journal of Indian Art and Industry, X, No.86, Jan. 1904.

Shujabad is situated 25 miles south of Multan. Here Jahazi Mahal was built by Muzaffar Khan in 1808 and was adorned with murals of a peculiar nature. Vogel gives the following account of these paintings:

'Passing on to the opposite western room, one finds its walls decorated with curious pictures of cities and palatial buildings, painted on sunk panels of different sizes and shapes, the raised corners of which are mostly filled with floral ornament. These frescos unhappily have suffered much from the periodical whitewashing, which at places have entirely covered the paintings. The colours,

moreover, have undoubtedly lost much of their original brightness. This mural decoration, certainly the most interesting part of the building, contains also a reminiscence of Muzaffar Khan's pious achievement, they are said to represent the places which the noble pilgrim visited on his journey. Whether they really give a faithful picture of the Arabian cities may very well be doubted: even the Ka'bah will be sought in vain. But with their stately white mosques and palaces, thin graceful pavilions surrounded by trees of various forms and foliage against a background of towering, reddish rocks, they certainly suggested something strange and fascinating, something unknown in the land of five rivers and might vaguely remind the old Nawab of the wonders seen in the holy land.

The total absence of living beings to animate their scenes lends an air of strange desolation and melancholy, suggesting that spell-bound city of the Arabian Nights, the inhabitants of which were all turned to stone. But this feature proves that Nawab Muzaffar Khan was a strict Muhammedan and, unlike many more exalted rulers of India, did not suffer any infringement of the law of Islam, which forbids the representation of living beings.' (p.39)

'Still more attractive to the Western eye are the purely decorative paintings of scrolls, flowers and foliage which fill the spandrels and borders, exhibiting designs of great elegance, painted in uncommonly fresh and pleasing colours. It is specially noteworthy how devoid these frescoes are of that garliness and harshness which

often disfigures mural decoration in India. On their plain white background these delicately-tinged flowers present an air of charming simplicity and resemblance: qualities the more striking in a period of artistic degradation and tasteless ostentation.' (p.39)

16. Cotton, Julian James, "General Avitabile", Calcutta Review, CXXLVI, Oct. 1906.

Writing a very detailed account of General Avitabile, J.J. Cotton gives several references to murals:

I. Avitabile's house, Peshawar

'...his own little sanctum, most curious, most comfortable, decorated from floor to ceiling with loves of Hindu deities.' (p.570)

'Had he (Allard) paid a visit to Avitabile he would have been struck by his gallery of many coloured frescoes, in which the incidents of the East were combined with the souvenirs of the West. Here was Runjeet Singh in all his glory; there Napoleon, and a portrait of a nameless European lady, whose identity we would fain discover. Over the doorway two inellegant angels held scrolls in their hands with French and Latin inscription. One was La Fontaine's couplet of Death and the Sage; the other was an Ovidian distich which has great force in its application to the career of these free-lancers in a foreign land "Donec eris felix multos numerabis amicos Tempora si fuerint nubila solus eris".' (p.576)

II. Residence of Ventura, Lahore

'...a vast domed tomb which the Emperor Jahangir had reared to Akbar's favourite wife, Anarkali, had been converted into a residence by Ventura and Allard. In the grounds of this mausoleum Ventura had built himself a superb habitation. On the walls of the entrance hall between a noble range of pillars was painted the reception of the two generals at the court of Lahore, introducing more than a thousand figures.' (p.576)

III. Paintings on the ceiling of Allard's bungalow, Lahore

'The Francese Compo marched to arms under the Gallic eagle and the tricolour, writ large with the name of Gura Govind Singh, the Sikh Judas Maccabaeus, mighty in prayer as in battle...The very ceiling of his bungalow was painted in native style with his old friends the eagle and the tricolour.' (pp.575-576)

17. Vogel, J. Ph., "Historical Notes on the Lahore Fort", Journal of Punjab Historical Society, I, No. 1, 1911.

Has the following account of murals in the Lahore Fort:

'The Jharoka, which consists of a marble balcony supported on four brackets of red-sandstone, belongs, as we saw to Jahangir's palace. It makes part of a rectangular building, consisting of twelve small rooms, which forms the back of Diwan-i-amn...The walls of the twelve rooms have white marble with stucco ornament in relief and frescoes now covered with a thick layer of military white wash. The painting of the ceilings was probably

done in Sikh times. In one of the rooms we notice in the centre of the ceiling a gaudily painted sun.' (p. 46)

'We now enter a smaller court, in which we notice a gate of white marble which occupies the centre of its southern enclosure. Its general appearance is not ungraceful, but its Sikh origin is clearly indicated by certain details such as the combination of white marble and red sandstone brackets, and that of marble trellis screens with red sandstone posts (Arabic mutakka) in the ornamental railing which is placed on the roof of the building. The curious frescoes on the north wall, relating to the legend of Krishna, are evidently the work of one of Ranjit Singh's court-painters.

These frescoes, though comparatively recent, are the most pleasing specimens of pictorial art found in the Lahore Fort and contrast strongly with the crude work found in the adjoining Shah Burj. In the central panel Krishna, recognizable from his blue complexion and saffron-coloured robe, is celebrating the Holi festival with his frolicsome playmates, the merry cowherd-maidens of Braj. Some are making music and some besprinkle each other with coloured water and powder. Two gopies are shown in the act of filling squirts (pichkara) in a tank, while baskets full of red powder stand behind. Krishna himself meets his beloved Radha under a pavilion on the banks of the Jamma which is gay with crowded boats.

The right hand panel displays another sportive scene. This is occupied by a huge whirligig -- such as still may

be seen in Hindu fairs -- with four swing boxes in one of which Krishna is seated with two female companions. To the left are two girls standing on a swing attached to the branch of huge mango tree. To the right two others are swinging round with panels joined. A town, a herd of cattle, some peacocks and a yogi squatting on a tiger-skin in front of a shrine, supply the accessories. The left hand panel shows Krishna again with a file of gopis playing on various musical instruments.' (pp.51-52)

'The main room a rectangular hall of noble dimensions, has a dado of white marble, while the upper portion of the wall and the ceiling are decorated with a mosaic of glass laid in gypsum which has given the building its name of Shish Mahall or "place of Mirrors"It may be noticed that this decoration belongs to two different epochs. The ceiling with its prevailing aspect of subdued gold made undoubtedly part of the original edifice. It is rich without being gaudy. The wall decoration on the contrary is decidedly vulgar, and the introduction of shards of blue-and-white china bears a testimony to a childish taste. It is typical Sikh work, and if any proof is wanted, I may note that, when a few years ago a part of the glass work was peeled off, the wall beneath was found to be painted. But it appears that this wall painting also dates back only to Sikh times.

The coarse painting on the arched panels was certainly

done in the last days of Sikh ascendancy. In this connection I wish to record an anecdote which my old friend Faqir Qasru-d-din told me on the spot. He said that Dilip (vulgo Dhuleep) Singh, shortly before being taken to England, pointed out to him a particular flower in one of the panels of the back wall each of the central archway, and said with boyish pride: "Hazrat, ever remember that this flower was painted by me".

The central hall is surrounded by a row of nine smaller rooms decorated in the same fashion.' (pp.52-53)

* * * *

Appendix B

DISTRICT - WISE LIST OF EDIFICES WITH EXTANT MURALS

N.B.: For an explanation of the order followed below, please see page 57 of Chapter II-"Extant Remains".

1. DISTRICT AMRITSAR

1. Akhara Bala Hand, Amritsar.
2. The old Haveli of Sandhamalia Sardars at Raja Sansi.
3. Gurudwara Baba Bir Singh at Naurangabad, a village near Tarn Taran.
4. Shri Paikiana Sahib, a temple at Jaura, a village on the Tarn Taran-Patti road.
5. Baba Atal, Amritsar.
6. Sansad of Mahant Manghi Ram, Amritsar.
7. Shri Raghunath temple, Amritsar.
8. Shri Akal Takhat, Amritsar.
9. The Golden Temple, Amritsar.
10. Akhara Sangal Wala, Amritsar.
11. Sansad Baba Khula Singh at Naurangabad, a village near Tarn Taran.

12. Temple Samerian, Amritsar.
13. The Shivala of Hardhan at Matowal, a village on the Amritsar-Mehta road.
14. The Thakurdwara of Daryana Wal, Amritsar.
15. Sasadh of Sardar Lal Singh at Kale Ghanpur, a village near Guru Nanak Dev University campus at Amritsar.
16. Temple of Maiya Nath, Amritsar.
17. Thakurdwara Bairagian at Attari.
18. Akhara Beri Wala, Amritsar.
19. Akhara Kashi Wala, Amritsar.
20. Gurudwara at Cholla Sahib, a village in the Tarn Taran sub-division.
21. The Langarkhana at Cholla Sahib, a village in the Tarn Taran sub-division.
22. The Sasadh of Sardara Peshaura Singh and Bagh Singh at Manhala Jai Singh, a village near Patti.
23. Gurudwara Baba Bir Singh at Raja Sansi.
24. A Sasadh at Fatchabad, a village in the Tarn Taran sub-division.
25. Gurudwara Angitha Sahib at Khadur Sahib, a village in the Tarn Taran sub-division.
26. Khanqah Dargahi Shah at Dhun Dhaawal, a village in the Tarn Taran sub-division.
27. Darbar Sahib at Tarn Taran.
28. Bunga of the Kamboj biradari at Tarn Taran.
29. Bunga of village Sathiala at Tarn Taran.
30. Darbar Baba Buddha Sahib at Ramdas, a town on the Amritsar-Dera Baba Nanak road.

31. Gurudwara Bauli Sahib at Goindwal.
32. Samadh of Baba Hari Gir at Patti.
33. Gurudwara of Shri Hargobind Sahib at Manhala Jai Singh, a village near Patti.
34. The shrine known as Baba Sher Shah da Darbar at Ghariala, a village near Patti.

II. DISTRICT GURDASPUR

35. The temple of Kishan Chand Bhandari at Batala.
36. The Dera of Baba Lal Ji at Dhianpur, a village on the Batala-Dera Baba Nanak road.
37. Danttal Monastery near Pathankot (now in Himachal Pradesh).
38. Raghunath temple at Pindori Mahantan, a village near Gurdaspur.
39. The temple of Raja Sahib Dayal at Kishankot, a village located near Sri Hargobindpur.
40. Gurudwara Darbar Sahib at Dera Baba Nanak.
41. Bhandari Bhola temple at Batala.
42. The temple of Maharani Chand Kaur at Fategarh Churian.
43. The temple of Shri Han Dev at Ghoman, a village located in the Batala sub-division.
44. The Gurudwara of Satkartarian at Sri Hargobindpur.
45. A Shiva temple at Achal Batala, a village near Batala.
46. The Shrine of Baba Buddha Ji at Teja, a village in the Batala sub-division.

47. The Shivala of Lala Duni Chand at Dhepai, a village in the Batala sub-division.
48. The temple known as Uheru Shah da Mandir at Batala.
49. The temple of Radha Krishna at Bhambari, a village in the Batala sub-division.
50. Gurudwara Baba Sri Chand at Jaurian Khurd, a village in the Batala sub-division.
51. Langar Sri Chola Sahib at Dera Baba Nanak.
52. The house of Lala Ayodhya Nath at Dhepai, a village in the Batala sub-division.
53. The temple at Chandu Mangal, a village in the Batala sub-division.
54. Samadh of Baba Mahesh Das at Pindori Mahantan, a village near Gurdaspur.

III. DISTRICT HOSHIARPUR

55. The Gurudwara of Baba Kala Dhari at Una (now in Himachal Pradesh).
56. The Bairagi Thakurdwara at Ram Tatwali, a village near Dholbaha.
57. The Samadh of Baba Mohar Singh at Tanda.
58. The house of Shri Kundan Lal Suniara at Dasuya.
59. The Samadh of the Rani of Jind at Bahadurgarh, a suburb of Hoshiarpur.
60. The temple at Jandwal, a village on the Jullundur-Pathankot road.
61. The Samadh of the daughter of Mai Hiran at Bhunga, a village on the Hoshiarpur-Dasuya road.
62. The Shivala of Buta Ram at Gardhiwala.

63. The Samadh of Baba Charn Shah at Bahadurgarh, a suburb of Hoshiarpur.
64. Gurudwara Shri Hapur Baba Sahib Singh Ji Bedi at Una (now in Himachal Pradesh).
65. The Shiva temple known as Bhalian da Mandir at Bajwara, a village near Hoshiarpur.
66. A Shiva temple at Dhunga, a village on the Hoshiarpur Dasuya road.
67. The temple of Rajni Devi at Leli Khundi, a village about twelve miles south-east of Hoshiarpur.
68. The Shiva temple known as Khatarian da Mandir at Bajwara, a village near Hoshiarpur.
69. Samadh of Sardar Baghel Singh at Maryana.
70. The temple known as Ahiwalian da Mandir at Basi Kalan, a village located few miles south-east of Hoshiarpur.
71. A temple built in V.S. 1888 (=1931 A.D.) at Dadyana, a village near Maryana.
72. The house of Shri Anant Ram at Tanda.

IV. DISTRICT JULLUNDUR

73. The Thakurdwara of Lala Chahr Mal at Nakodar.
74. The temple of Baba Hari Har at Nur Mahal.
75. Dera Udasian at Jansher, a village located few miles south of Jullundur.
76. The Samadh of Tara Singh Gheba at Rahon, near Nawanshahar.
77. The Samadh of Bibi Bhani at Kartarpur.

78. The temple of Shiva at Lasara, a village on the Luchiana-Nawanshahar road.
79. The Gurudwara of Shri Baba Mati Shahid at Daroli Kalan, a village near Adampur.
80. The Batadari at Kartarpur.
81. The temple of Misr Bhup Chand at Sur Mahal.
82. The Devi Dwara at Nawanshahar.
83. Gurudwara Themb Sahib at Kartarpur.
84. Deorhi of the gurdwara at Sangh Dhesian, a village in the Phillaur sub-division.
85. Gurudwara Gang Sar at Kartarpur.
86. The temple of Gosains at Alawalpur.
87. The Shiva temple of Lala Bhagat Ram at Alawalpur.
88. The temple known as Savalian da Mandir at Bilga, a village in the Phillaur sub-division.
89. The temple known as Danna Ptl da Shivala at Nawanshahar.
90. A Shiva temple at Garhi, a village on the Nawanshahar-Dopar road.
91. Dara Baba Dhyani Das at Samrae, a village in the Phillaur sub-division.

V. DISTRICT KAPURTHALA

92. The Shiva temple at Shokhpur, a village on the Kapurthala-Sultanpur road.
93. The Jalao Khana at Kapurthala.
94. Gurudwara Sri Guru Ka Bagh at Sultanpur Lodhi.

VI. DISTRICT FEROZEPUR

95. The Haveli of Seth Panna Lal Phul Chand Sharda, Ferozepur City.
96. The Jain Svetambara Temple at Zira.
97. The Sarai at Zira.
98. The Saradh of Baba Nan Singh at Sodhiwala, a village in the Zira sub-division.
99. The Haveli of Badhwaran, Ferozepur City.
100. The Digambar Jain Panchwati Mandir at Ferozepur Cantt.
101. The Saradh of Lala Telu Mall, Ferozepur City.
102. The Devi Temple near Banshi Wala Gate at Ferozepur City.

VII. DISTRICT FARIDKOT

103. Gurudwara Pothi Mala at Guru Harsahai.
104. The Mari of Baba Sidh at Mari, a village located in the Moga sub-division.
105. Gurudwara Lohgarh Sahib at Dina, a village located in the Moga sub-division.
106. Gurudwara Gurusar at Bargarhi, a village on the Faridkot-Bhatinda road.
107. The Saradh of Bishan Singh Sodhi at Buttar, a village in the Moga sub-division.
108. The Shish Mahal in Faridkot Fort.
109. Saradh of Sardul Singh in Dera Kashi Puri at Daroli, a village on the Ferozepur-Moga road.
110. Gurudwara associated with Guru Gobind Singh at Gurusar, a village near Kot Kapura.

- 111. A Shiva temple at Kot Isa Khan.
- 112. The Haveli of Maghi Mai at Langiana Nawar, a village near Baghapurana.
- 113. Shrine of Sakhi Sarwar Sultan, a few miles west of Baghapurana.
- 114. Samadh of Baba Ram Das in Dera Chappa Tibba at Soda Singh Wala, a village near Jaito.
- 115. Dera Mahma Sahi at Panjgralan Kalan, near Kot Kapura.

VIII. DISTRICT LUDHIANA

- 116. The Samadh of Baba Mohar Singh near Lodon, a village near Doraha Mandi.
- 117. A Mohammedan Tomb at Aandlu, a village located in the Jagraon sub-division.
- 118. The Devi Durga Mandir at Payal.
- 119. Das Nam Ka Akhara at Payal.
- 120. A Shiva temple at Khanpur, a village near Khanna.
- 121. Samadhs of the Sardars of Khemanon at Khemanon, a village on the Chandigarh-Ludhiana road.
- 122. The Mari of Guga at Bhari, a village near Khanna.
- 123. Gurkivara Gurusar at Lailan, a village near Samrala.

IX. DISTRICT SANGRUR

- 124. The Samadh of Baba Dyal Das at Barnala.
- 125. The Haveli of Shri Onkar Nath at Hadiaya, a village near Barnala.
- 126. The temple of Mai Rajji at Hadiaya, a village near Barnala.

127. The Samadhs of Babas Sarb Sukh, Sarb Dyai, Gopal Das and Bhagwan Das at Jandali, a village in the Malerkotla sub-division.
128. The Thakurwara at Bagarian, a village on the Nabha-Malerkotla road.
129. The monastery known as Dera Udasian at Ladda, a village near Dhuri.
130. Gurukwara Chulha Sahib at Longowal.
131. Samadhs of the Sardars of Bagarian at Bagarian, a village on the Nabha-Malerkotla road.
132. The Shiva temple known as Naru Ka Mandir at Bhadaur.
133. Samadh of Jai Gopal in the Dera of Atma Ram, near Malerkotla.
134. The temple of Shri Ram Chandra at Barbar, a village on the Sangrur-Barnala road.
135. Samadh of Maharaja Jai Bhag Singh at Sangrur.
136. Samadh of Baba Nikka Singh at Barnala.

II. DISTRICT BHATINDA

137. The Samadh of Bhai Gukkar Singh and Mai Rajji at Dyalpura, a village on the Barnala-Jaito road.
138. The temple of Kalu Nath at Mathana, a village situated a few miles north-east of Bhatinda.
139. The Samadh at Talwandi Sabo.
140. Samadh of Jogi Pir between villages Ralla and Bhopalan in the Mansa sub-division.

XI. DISTRICT PATIALA

141. Shish Mahal at Patiala.
142. The Rani Mahal at Nabha.
143. Diwan Khana Kadin at Patiala.
144. The Samadh of Raja Jaswant Singh at Nabha.
145. The Mirankari Dera at Patiala.
146. The temple of Bhuri Mai at Patiala.
147. The Shiv Puri temple at Patiala.
148. The temple known as Rara Mandir at Bhadson, a village in the Nabha sub-division.
149. A Shiva temple in the monastery known as Adhara Giran, at Sirhand.
150. Samadh of Sukh Prakash at Chintarwali, a village located a few miles west of Nabha.
151. The temple of Shri Badri Narayan at Bahadurgash.

XII. DISTRICT ROFAR

152. A Shiva temple at Sohana, a village in the Kharar sub-division.
153. Samadh of the Sardar of Lodwa at Durali, a village in the Kharar sub-division.

XIII. DISTRICT AMBALA

154. The Samadhs of Lala Balak Ram and Lala Jamuna Das at Yamunanagar.
155. The Rajwala Temple at Yamunanagar.
156. The Digambar Jain Mandir at Sadhaura.
157. The Gila Mubarak at Chhachhrauli.

- 158. The Shiva temple known as Dhara Mandir at Panjaur.
- 159. The Jain Shvetambara temple at Ambala City.
- 160. The temple of Mai Ambe at Ambala City.
- 161. The temple of Shri Gauri Shankar at Jagadhri.
- 162. The Divan Khana at Chhachhrauli.
- 163. The Haveli of Lala Krishan Chand at Jagadhri.

XIV. DISTRICT KURUKSHETRA

- 164. Dhadra-Kali Mandir at Kurukshetra.
- 165. The temple of Bawa Sharwan Nath at Pehowa.
- 166. The temple of Shri Ram Padma at Kaul, a village on the Nilokheri-Pehowa road.
- 167. The Haveli of Rani Chand Kaur at Pehowa.
- 168. The temple of Shri Lakshmi Narayan at Kaul, a village on the Nilokheri-Pehowa road.
- 169. A Shiva temple adjoining Sukra-kund at Kaithal.
- 170. The temple of Shri Sthaneshwara Mahadeva at Thanesar.
- 171. The Dera of Bawa Sharwan Nath at Kurukshetra.
- 172. A Shiva temple in the area known as Pranchian at Pehowa.
- 173. The Dera of Baba Darbar Furi at Ramthali, a village near Guhla.
- 174. Gurdwara of Guru Teg Bahadur at Bani Badarpur near Ladwa.

XV. DISTRICT KARNAL

- 175. Shivala Ek Onkar near Nighdu, a village on the Nilokheri-Pehowa road.
- 176. The Samadhi of Baba Mohini at Daxota, a village located a few miles south-west of Karnal.
- 177. The Shiva temple in the Akhara of Baba Sehijgir at Karnal.
- 178. The Shiva temple at Patti Kalyana, a village near Panipat.
- 179. The temple known as Mandir Nihal Wala at Karnal.
- 180. The Gangaji temple at Panipat.

XVI. DISTRICT SONIPAT

- 181. The Chopal at Jakholi, a village near Sonipat.
- 182. The temple known as Panchayati Mandir at Murthal, near Sonipat.

XVII. DISTRICT HISSAR

- 183. The paras of panna Khuri at Bas, a village in the Hansi sub-division.
- 184. The Haveli of Shri Dhanpat Rai at Bas, a village in the Hansi sub-division.
- 185. The house of Shri Baru Mal at Gulchini, a village in the Hansi sub-division.
- 186. The paras of panna Thela at Naranauni, a village in the Hansi sub-division.

XVIII. DISTRICT BHIWANI

187. The Diwankhana of Chandar Sain at Dadri.
188. The Haveli of Banarsi Das Mahajan at Dadri.
189. The Haveli of Chaudhri Ramrik Singh at Lohari Jatu, a village on the Bhiwani-Hansi road.
190. The Ganga Mandir at Bhiwani.
191. The house of Shri Kidar Nath Bhagoti Prashed Aggarwal, mohalla Bhutan, at Bhiwani.

XIX. THE UNION TERRITORY OF
CHANDIGARH

192. The Temple of Mansa Devi near Manimajra.
193. The Manimajra Fort.

Appendix C

CHRONOLOGY OF THE MAJOR PRINCELY STATES
OF THE PUNJAB IN THE 19th CENTURY

State	Name of the ruler	Period
1	2	3
Punjab (with its Capital at Lahore)	Maharaja Ranjit Singh	1801-1839
	Maharaja Kharrak Singh	1839-1840
	Maharaja Nau Nihal Singh	1840-1840
	Maharaja Sher Singh	1841-1843
	Maharaja Dalip Singh	1843-1849
Patiala State	Raja Sahib Singh	1779-1813
	Maharaja Karm Singh	1813-1845
	Maharaja Narendera Singh	1846-1862
	Maharaja Mahendra Singh	1862-1876
	Maharaja Rajinder Singh	1877-1900
Mabha State	Raja Jaswant Singh	1783-1840
	Raja Devinder Singh	1840-1846
	Raja Dharpur Singh	1847-1863
	Raja Bhagwan Singh	1864-1871
	Maharaja Hira Singh	1871-1911

1	2	3
Jind State	Raja Bhag Singh	1789-1819
	Raja Pateh Singh	1819-1822
	Raja Sangat Singh	1822-1834
	Raja Sarup Singh	1837-1864
	Raja Raghubir Singh	1864-1887
	Maharaja Ranbir Singh	1887-1948
Kapurthala State	Raja Bhag Singh	1783-1801
	Raja Pateh Singh	1801-1836
	Raja Nihal Singh	1836-1852
	Raja Randhir Singh	1852-1870
	Raja Kharak Singh	1870-1877
	Maharaja Jagtjit Singh	1877-1949
Faridkot State	Raja Pehar Singh	1827-1849
	Raja Vasser Singh	1849-1874
	Raja Bikram Singh	1874-1898
	Raja Balbir Singh	1898-1906

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Section C : List of Persons interviewed

Sh. Amar Singh of village Mari, district Faridkot.

Sh. Atma Singh of Amritsar.

Sh. Babu Ram Sharma of Kurukshetra.

Sh. Bihari Das of Nur Mahal, district Jullundur.

Sh. Chander Prashad, Mahant, of Amritsar.

Dr. Ganda Singh of Patiala.

Sh. Gaura Singh, Mistri, of Faridkot.

Sh. Gurdev Mall of Shri Hargobindpur, district Gurdaspur.

Sh. Gur Narain of village Jansher, district Jullundur.

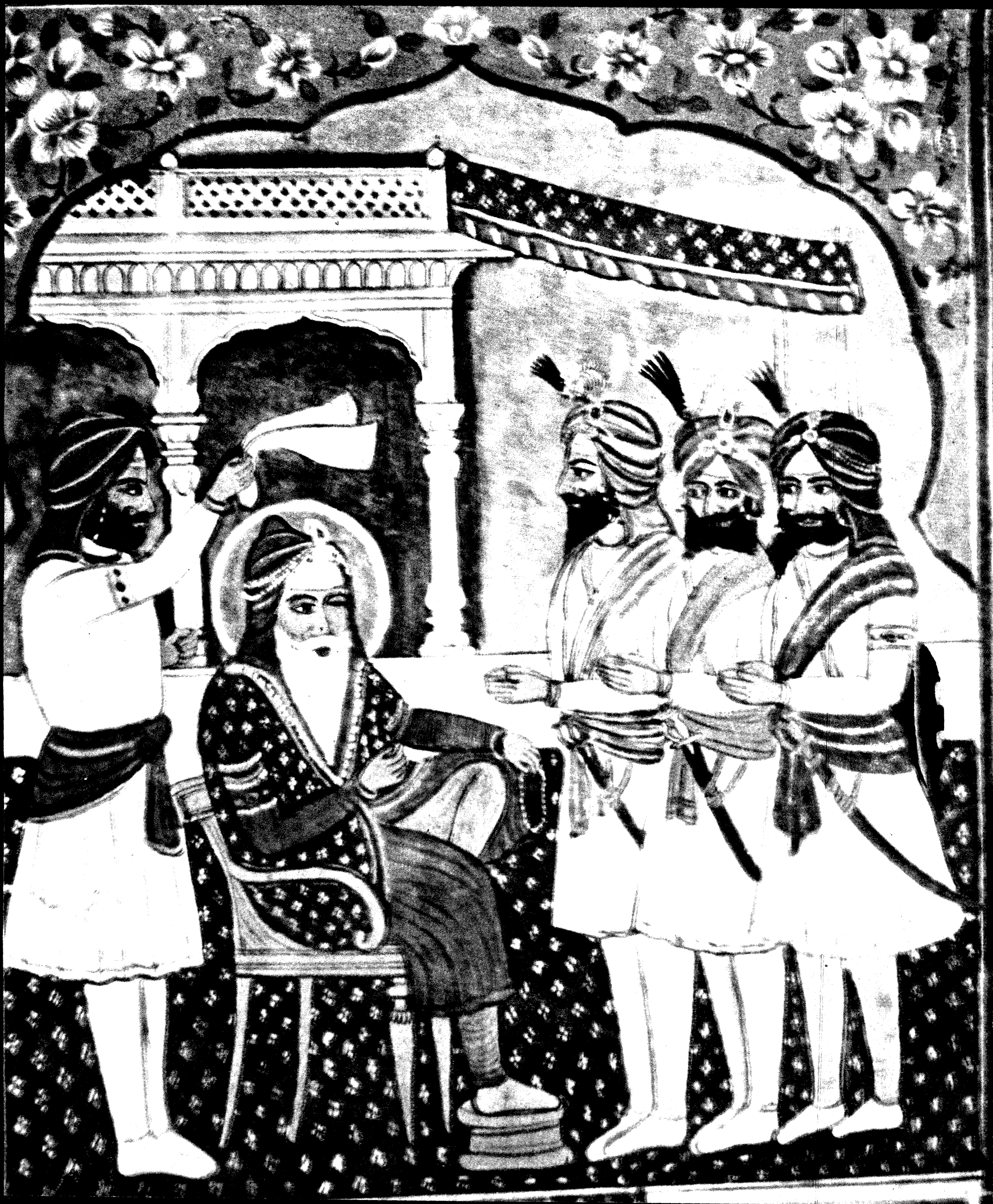
Sh. Harcharan Singh, Sarpanch, of village Manahala Jai Singh, district Amritsar.

Sh. Harinder Singh, Ex-Maharaja of Faridkot.

Sh. Inder Kumar Sharda of Ferozepur City.

- Sh. Jagdish Das, Mahant, of Bahadurgarh, district
Hoshiarpur.
- Sh. Jit Singh, Granthi, of Khadur Sahib, district Amritsar.
- Sh. Kishori Lal of Patogarh Churian, district Gurdaspur.
- Sh. Makhan Singh, Granthi, of Naurangabad, district Amritsar.
- Sh. Nam Dev of Amritsar.
- Sh. Narbada Nand, Mahant, of Amritsar.
- Sh. Narinderjit Singh of village Kale Ghanpur, district
Amritsar.
- Sh. Pariharan Singh of village Kishankot, district Gurdaspur.
- Sh. Pritam Das of Achal Batala, district Gurdaspur.
- Sh. Raghubir Singh of village Bhador, district Sangrur.
- Sh. Ram Das, Mahant, of Damthal, near Pathankot.
- Sh. Ram Das, Swami, of Attari, district Amritsar.
- Sh. Ram Saran Das of Amritsar.
- Sh. Santa Singh of village Matewal, district Amritsar.
- Sh. Satyapal Jain of Zira, district Ferozepur.
- Sh. Sohan Lal of Patiala.
- Sh. Sunder Singh, Granthi, of village Cholla Sahib,
district Amritsar.

* * * *



Coloured plate No. 1

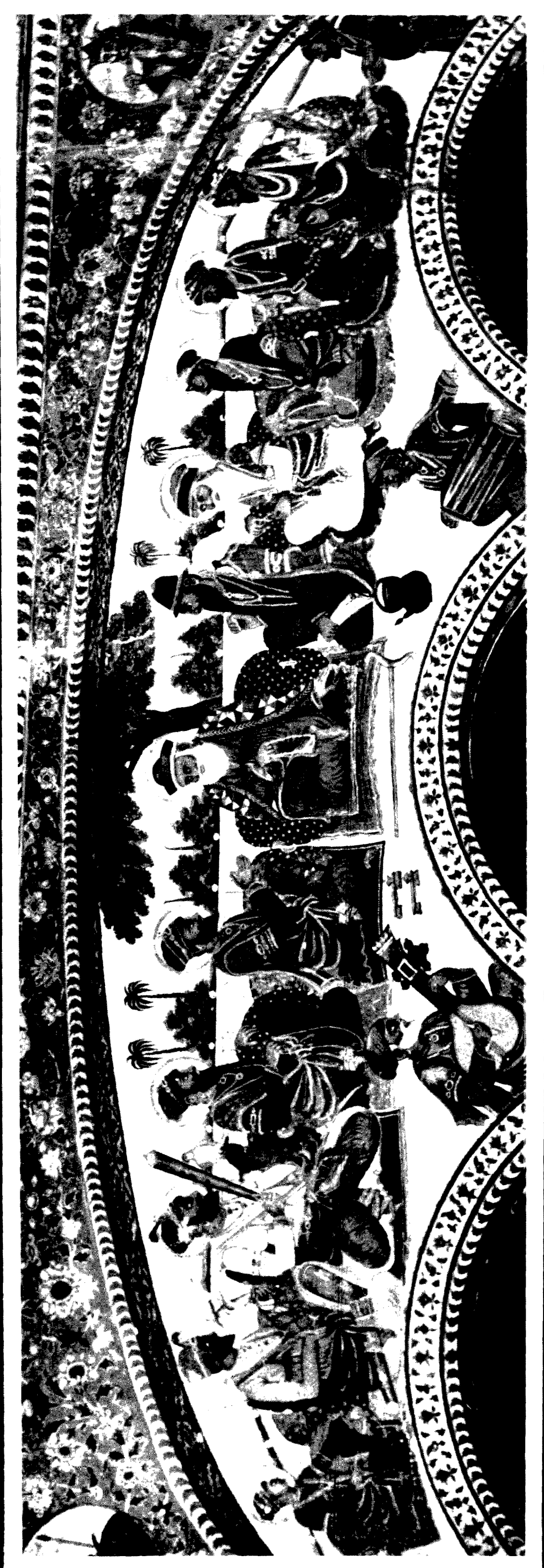


Coloured plate No. II



Coloured plate No. III

2



1





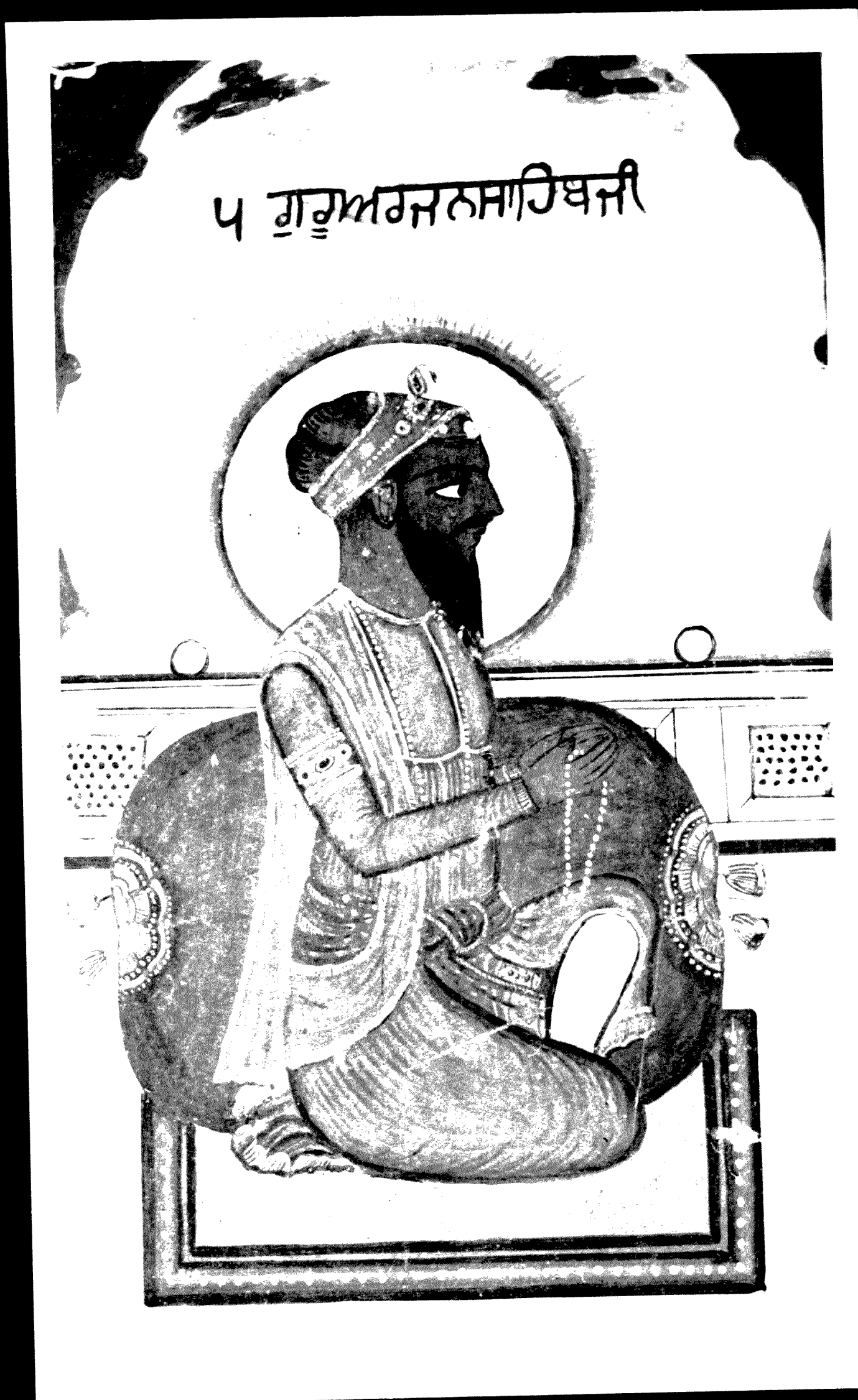
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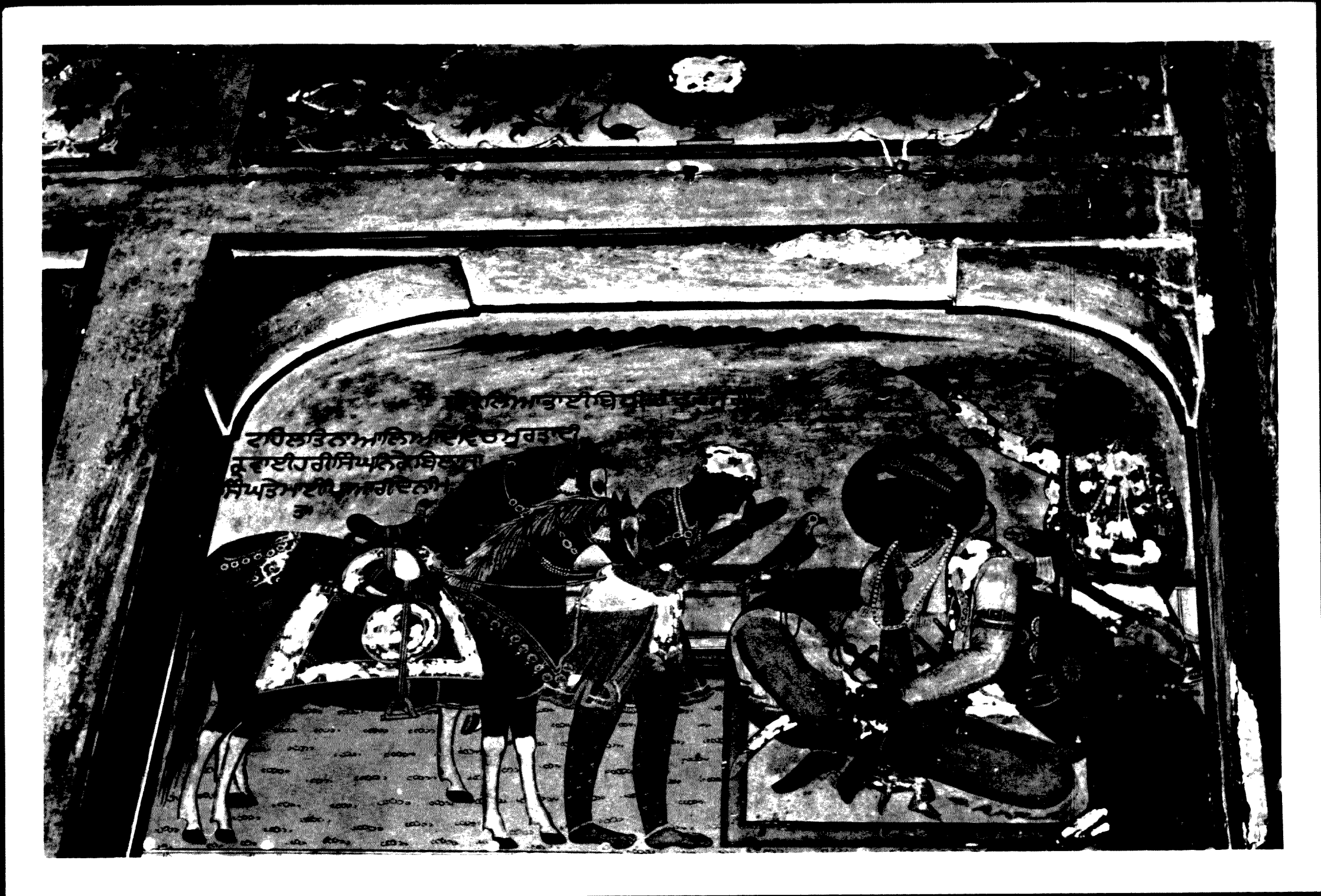


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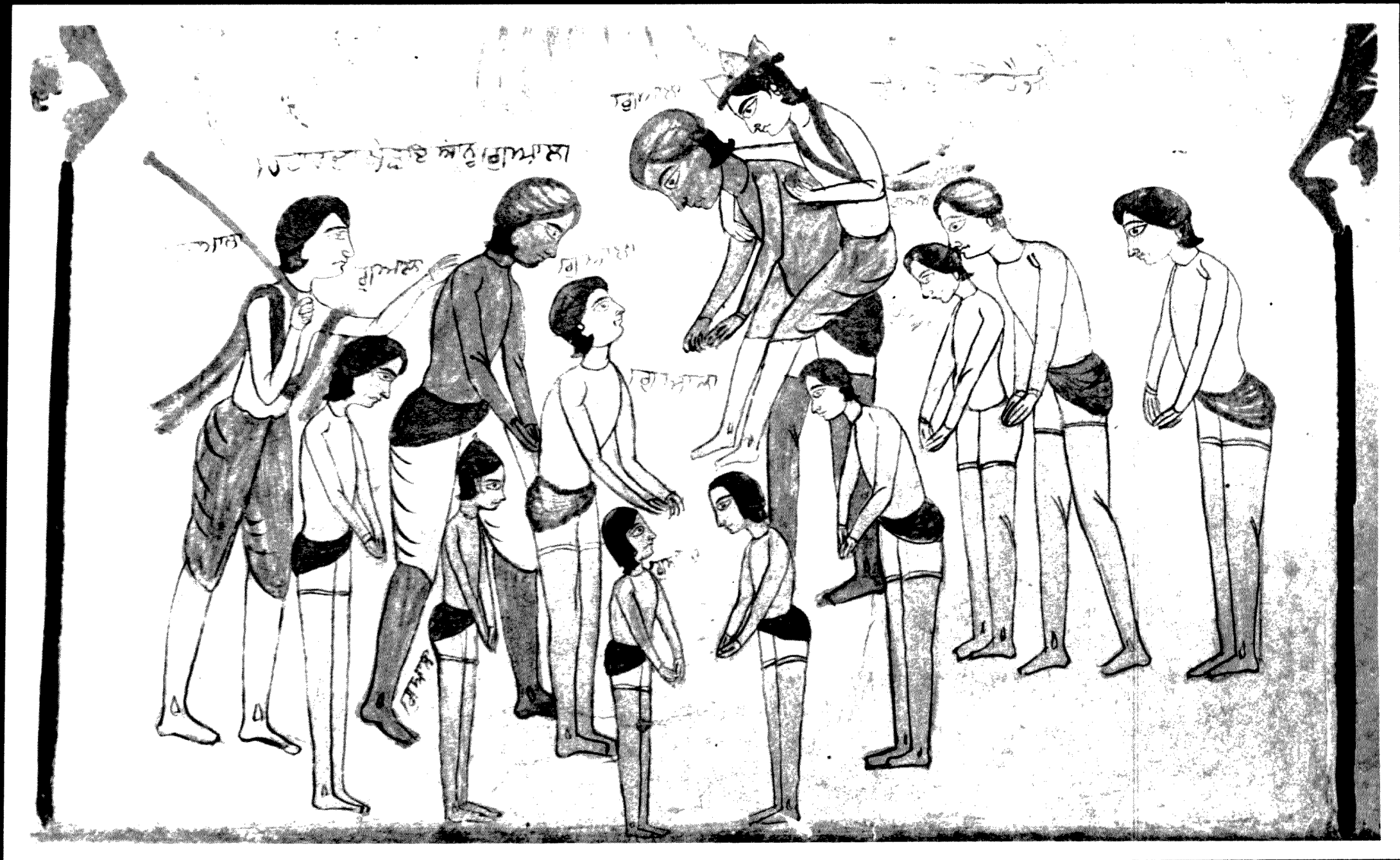






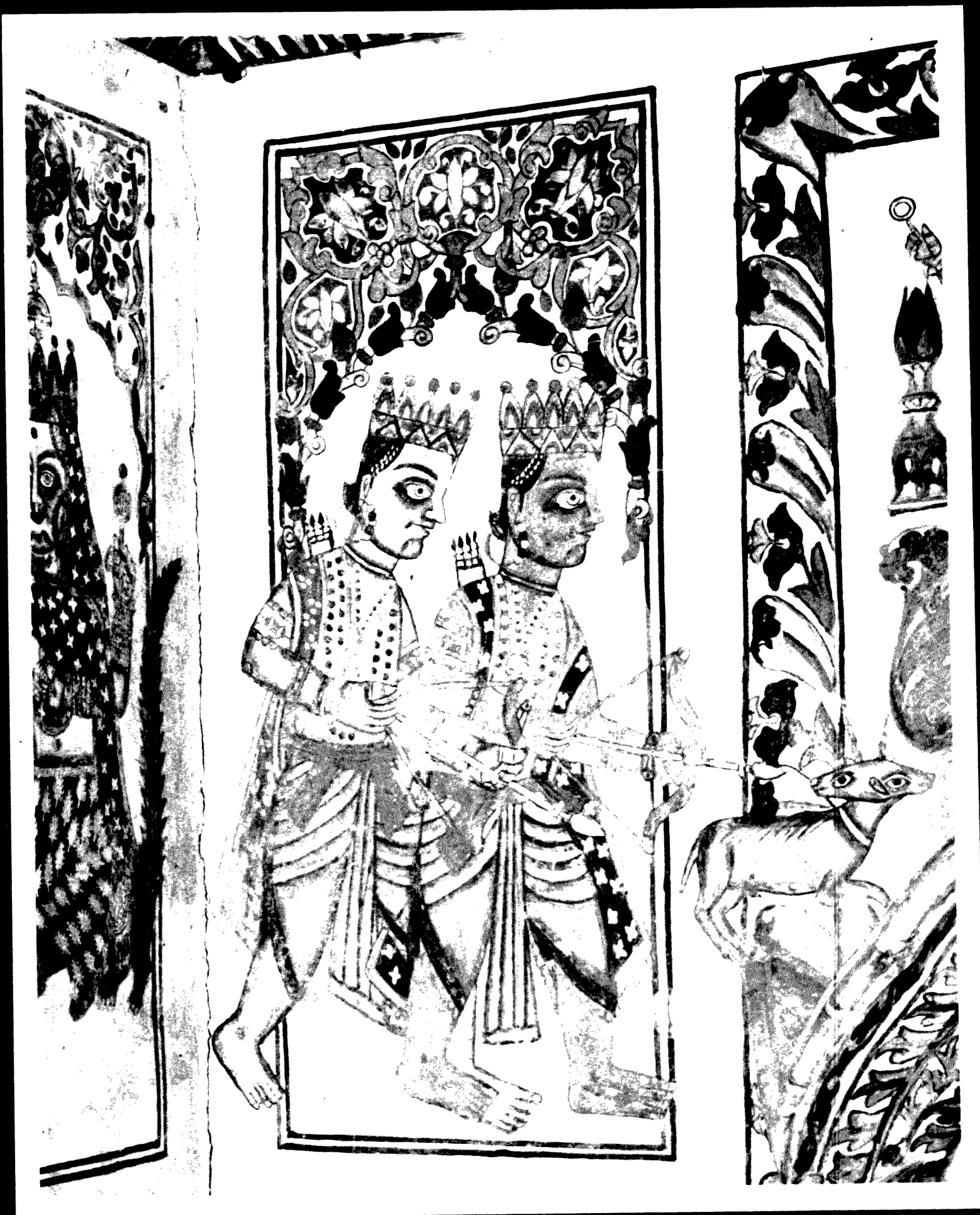
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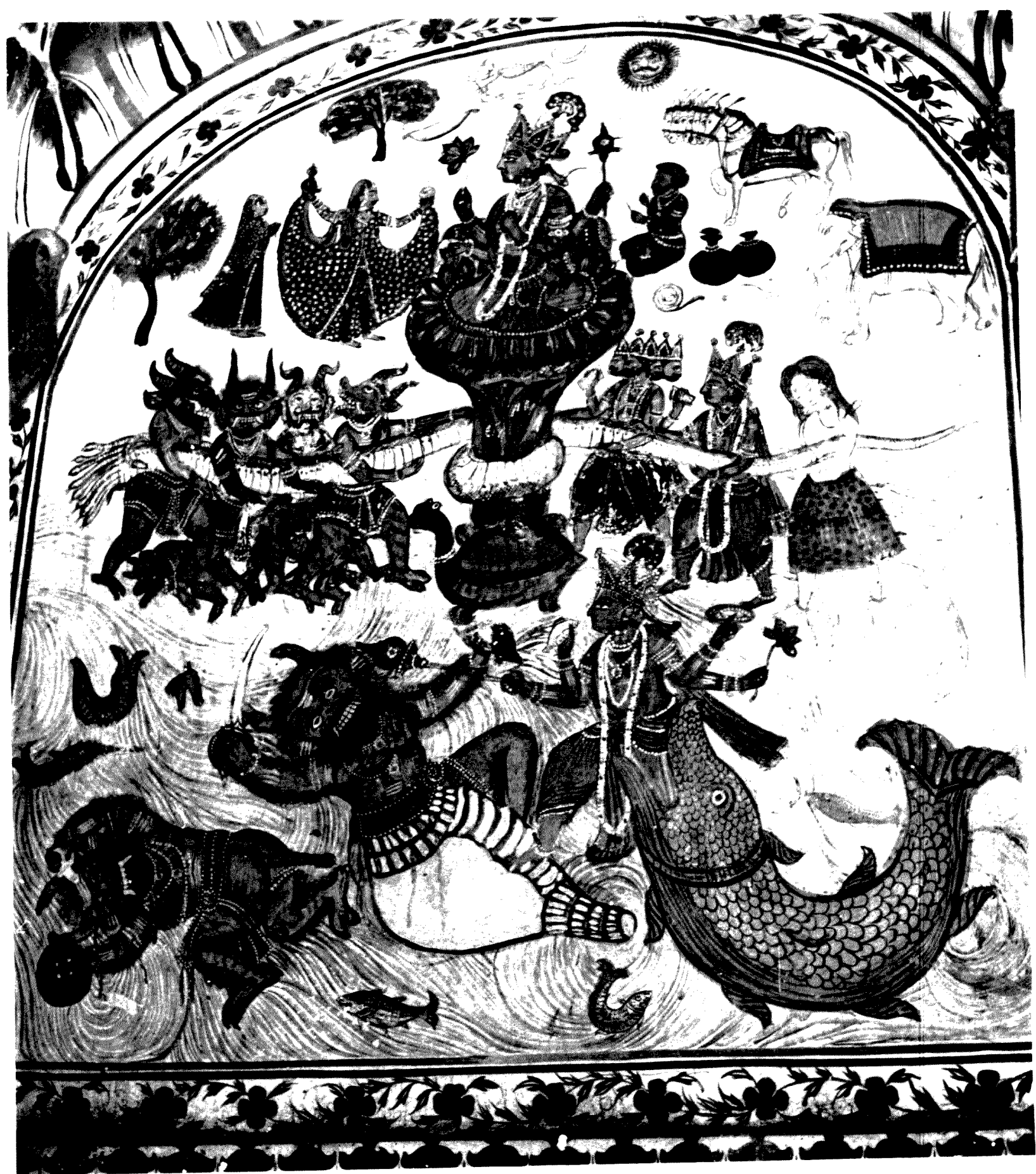


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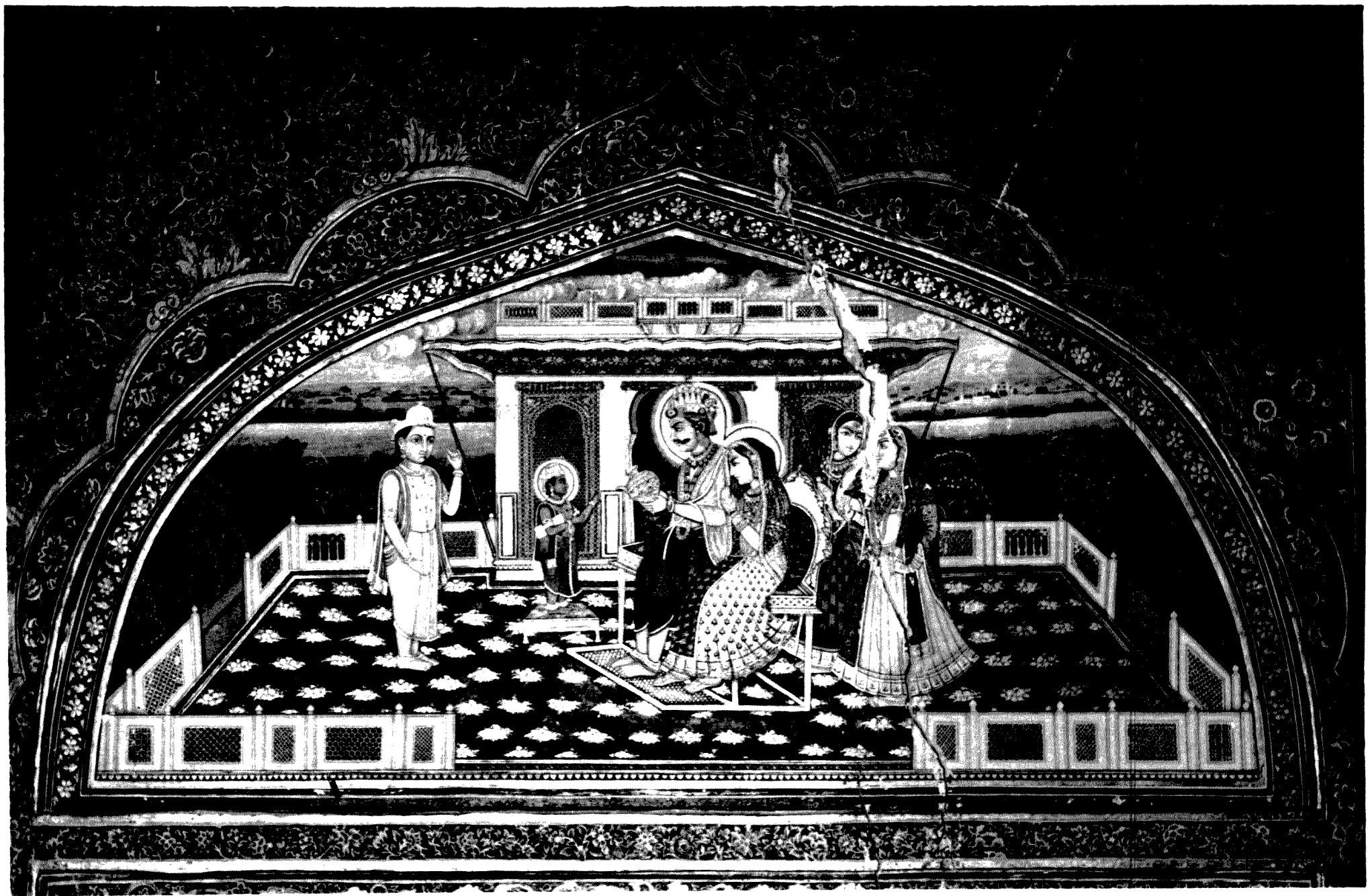
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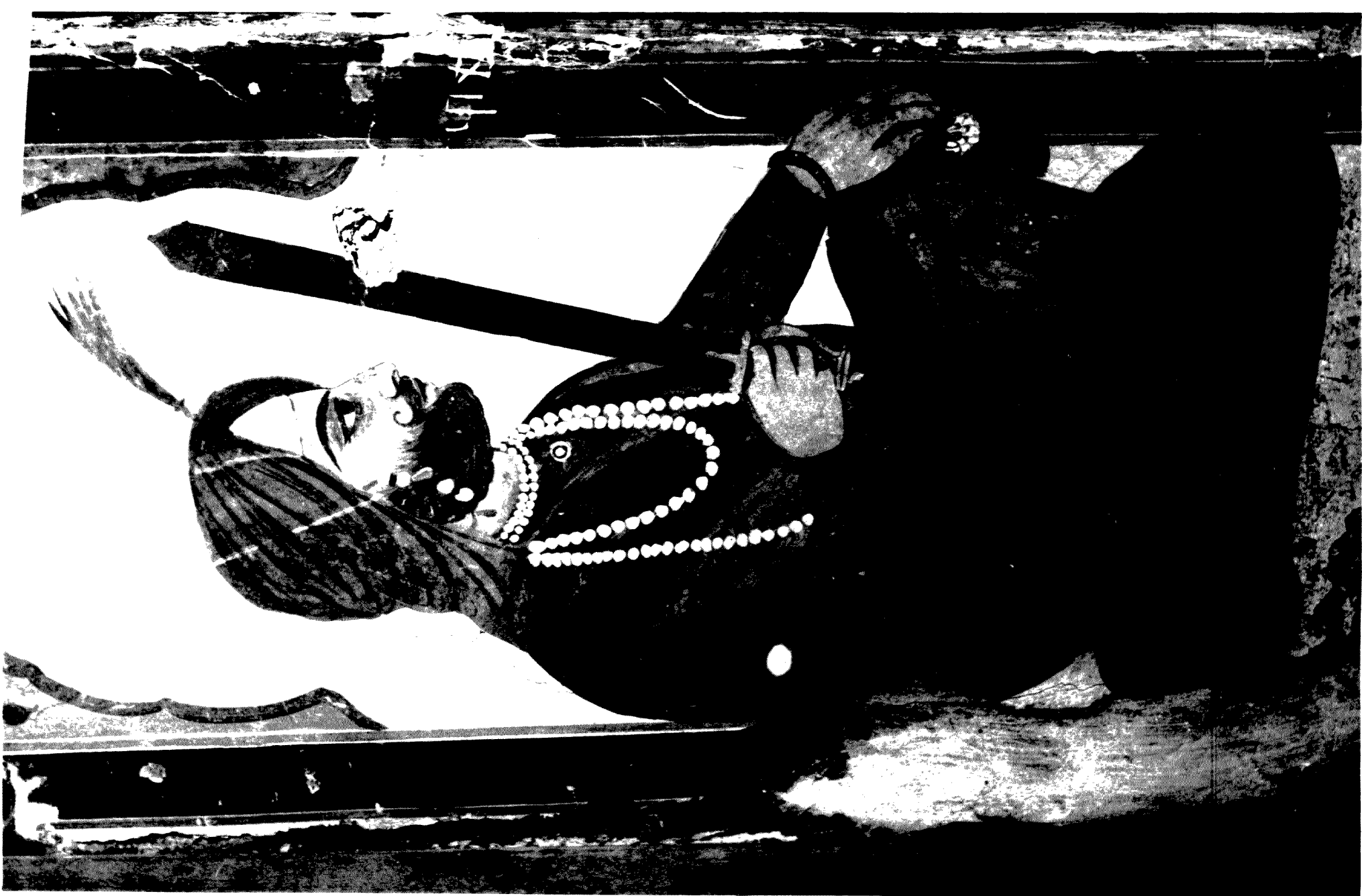


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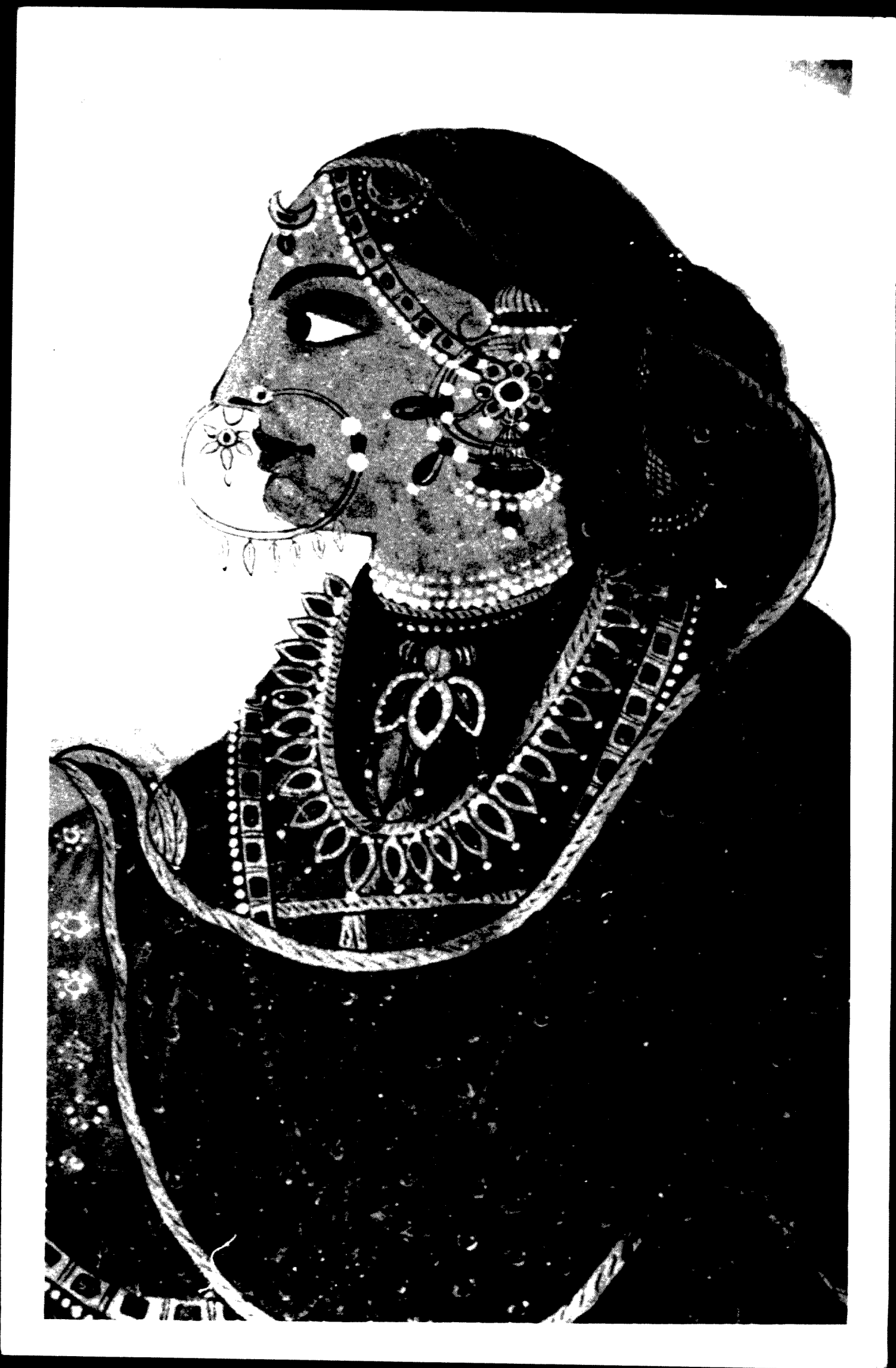


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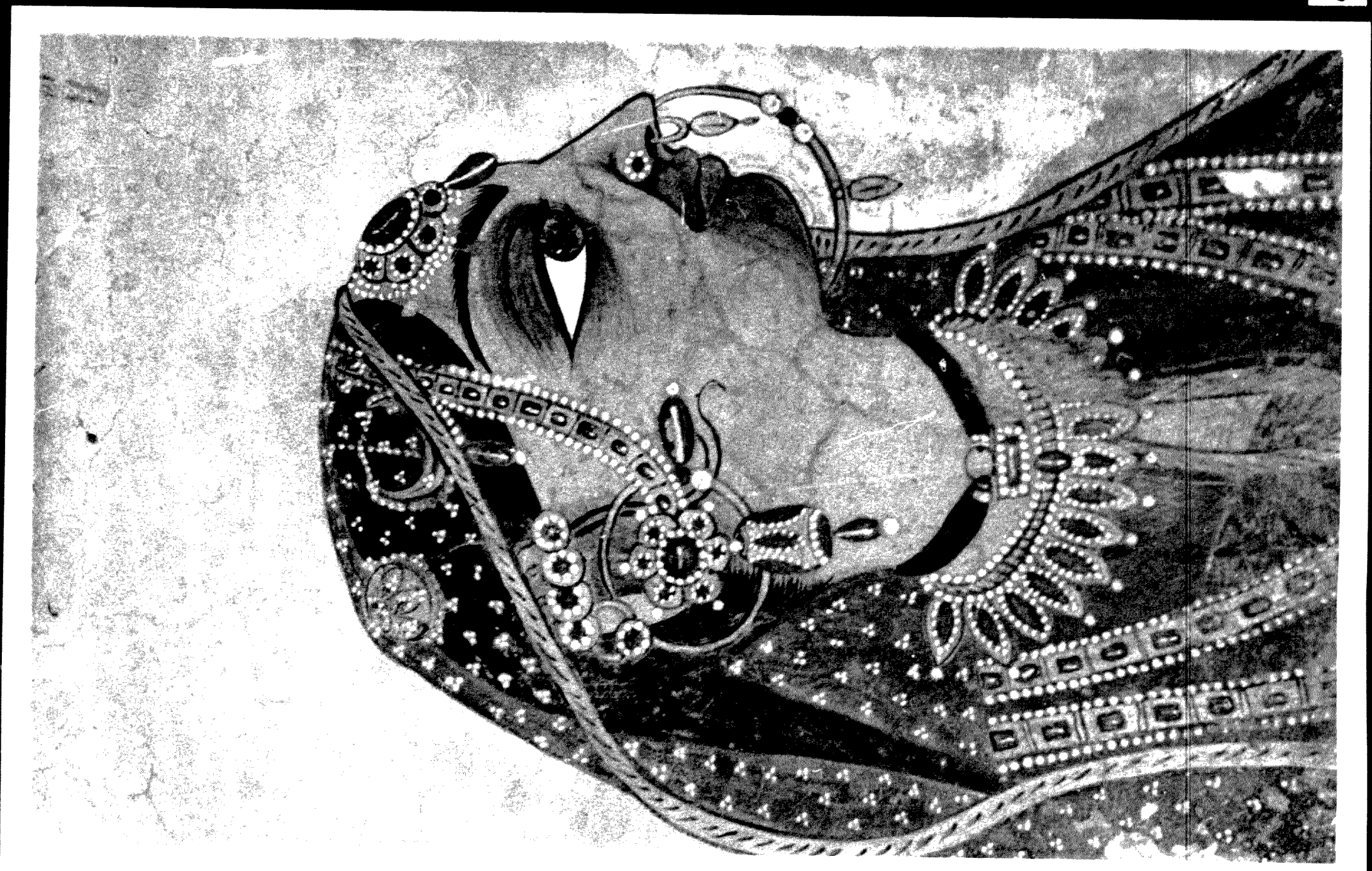




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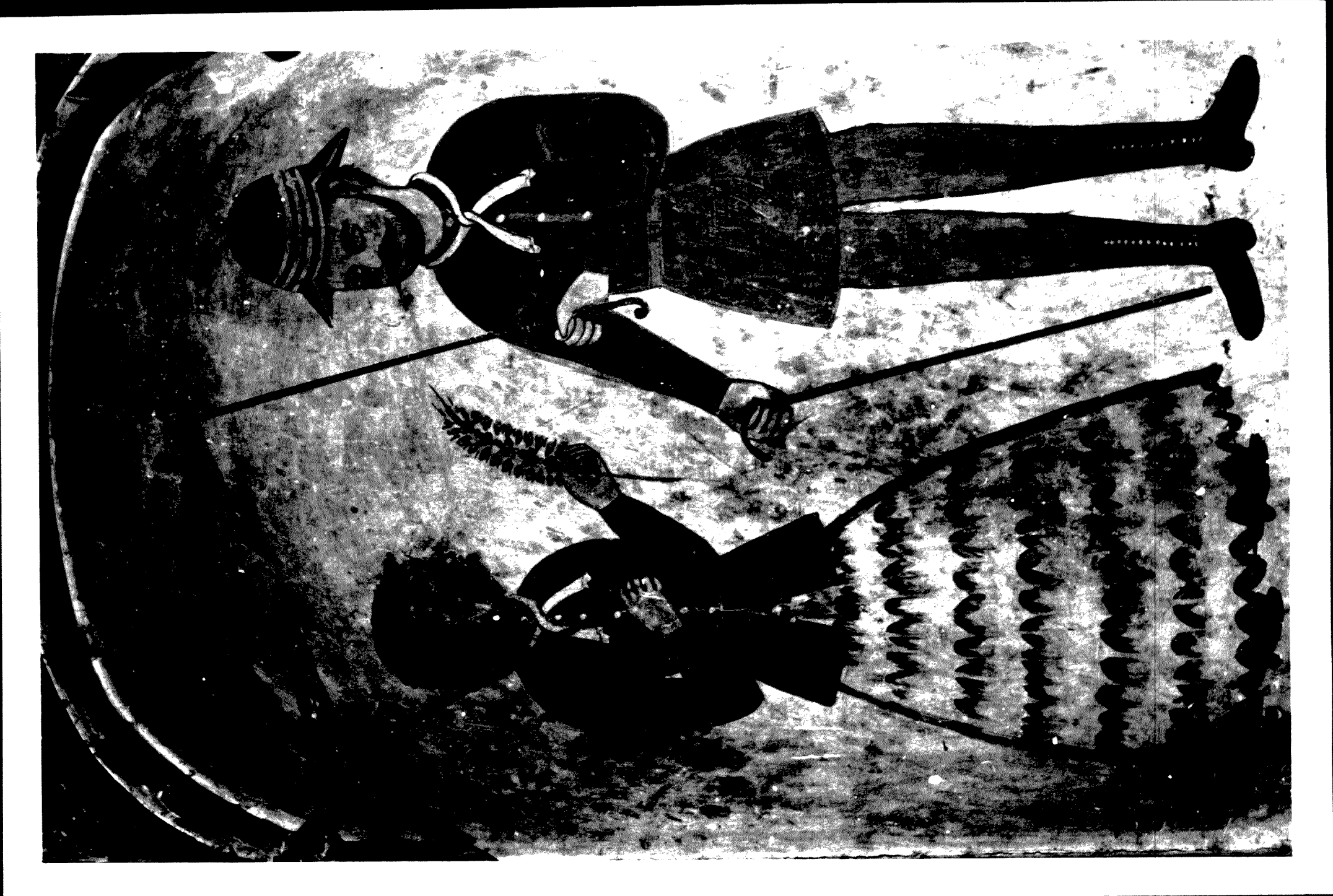


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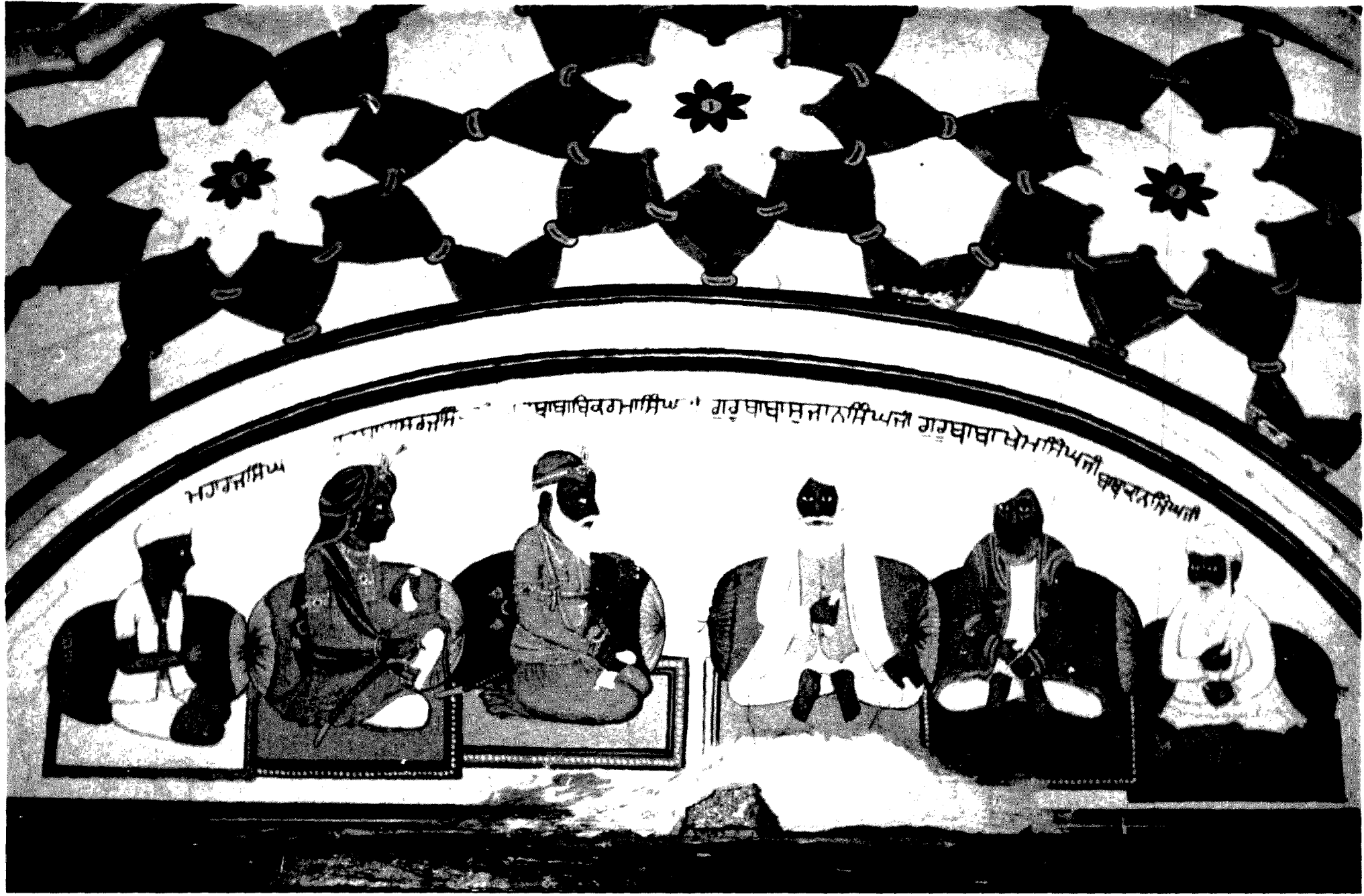




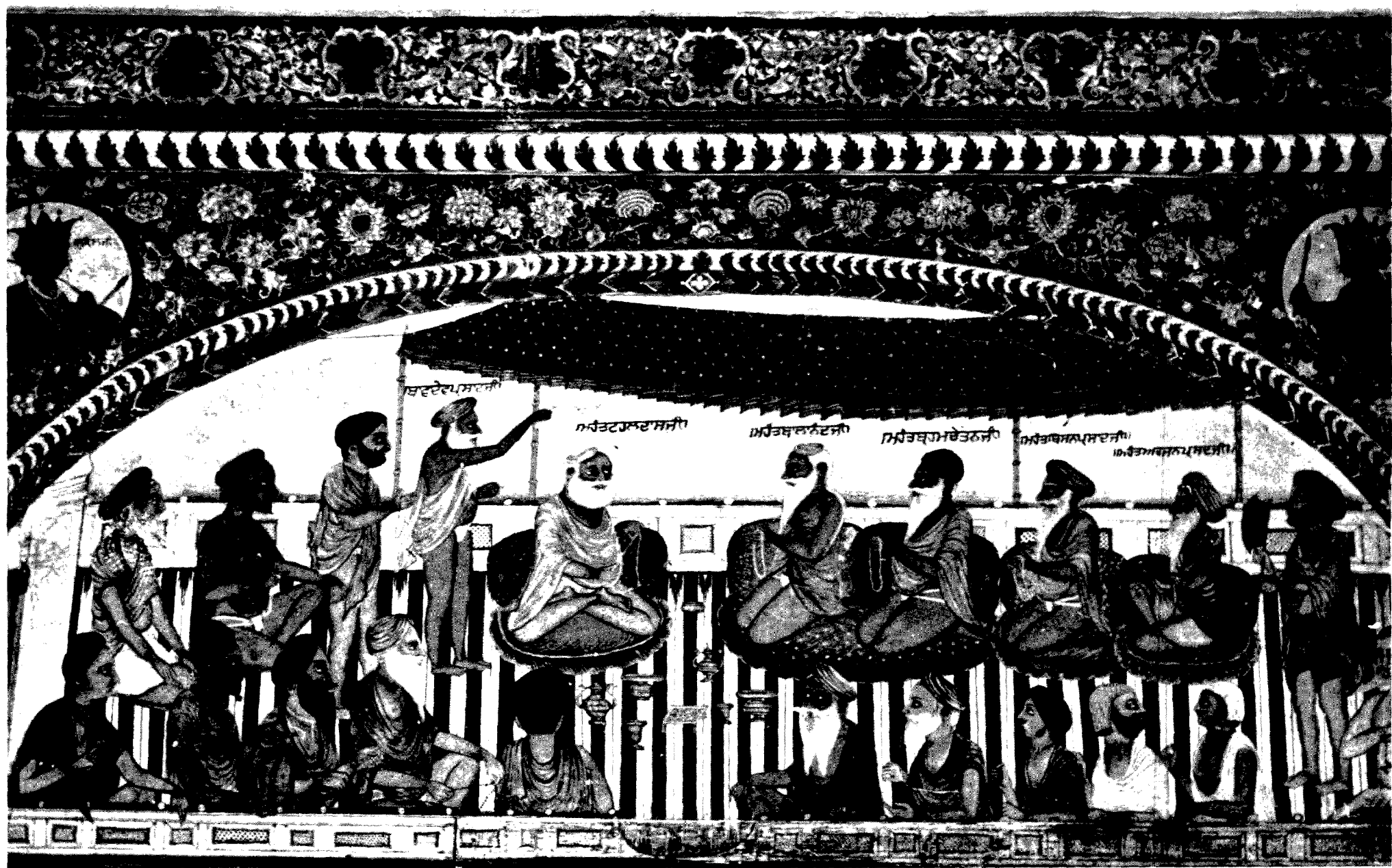








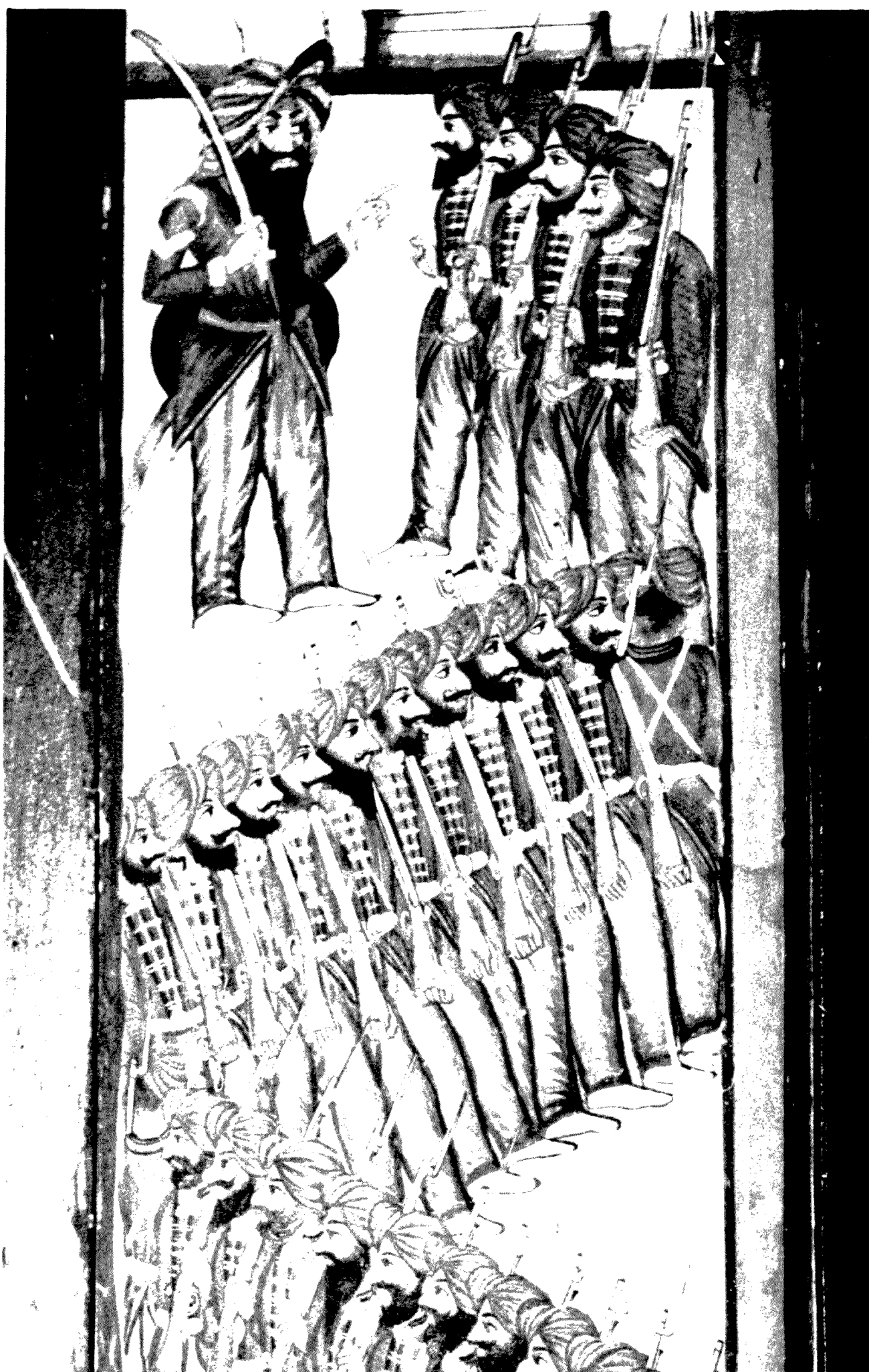
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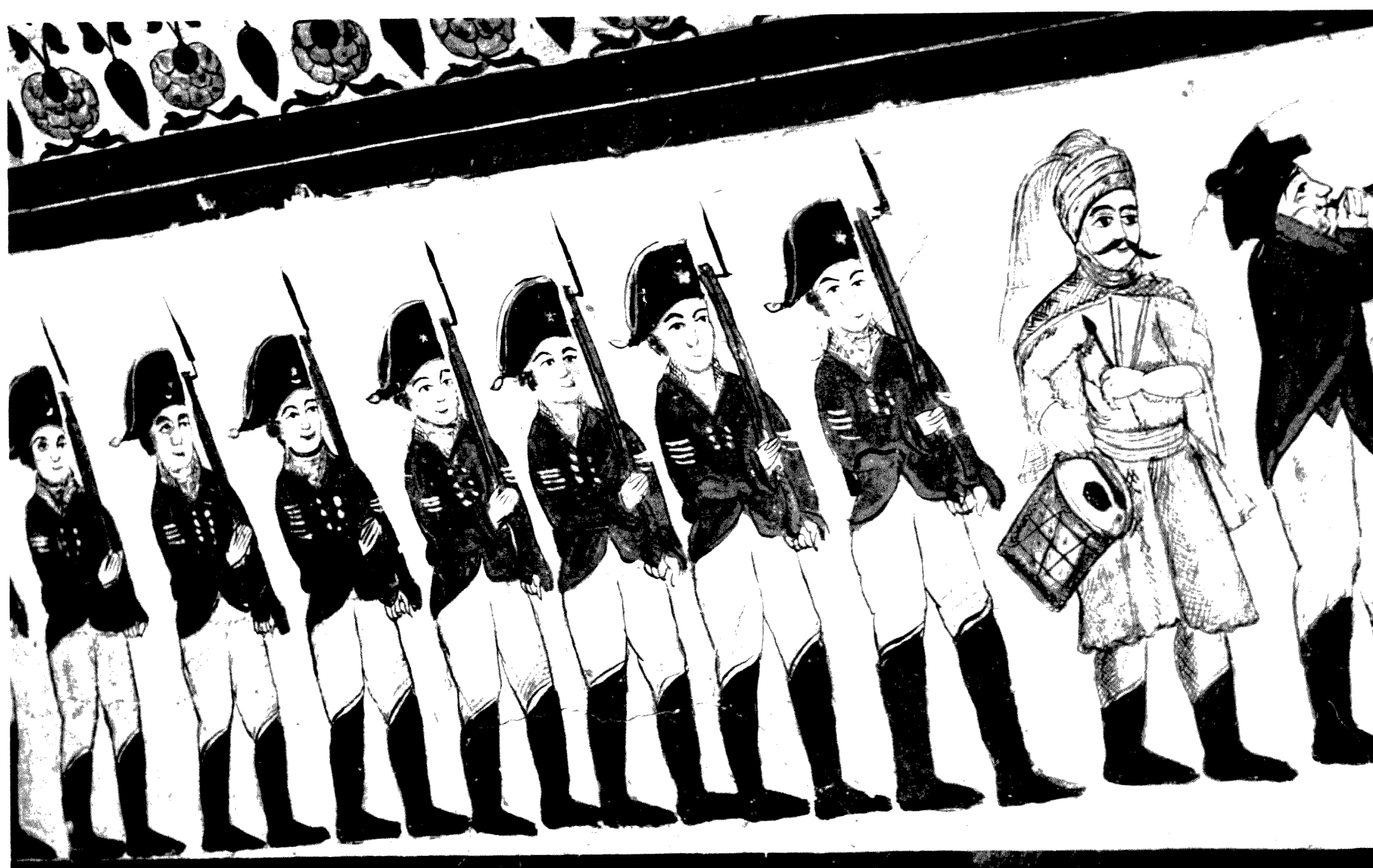
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61



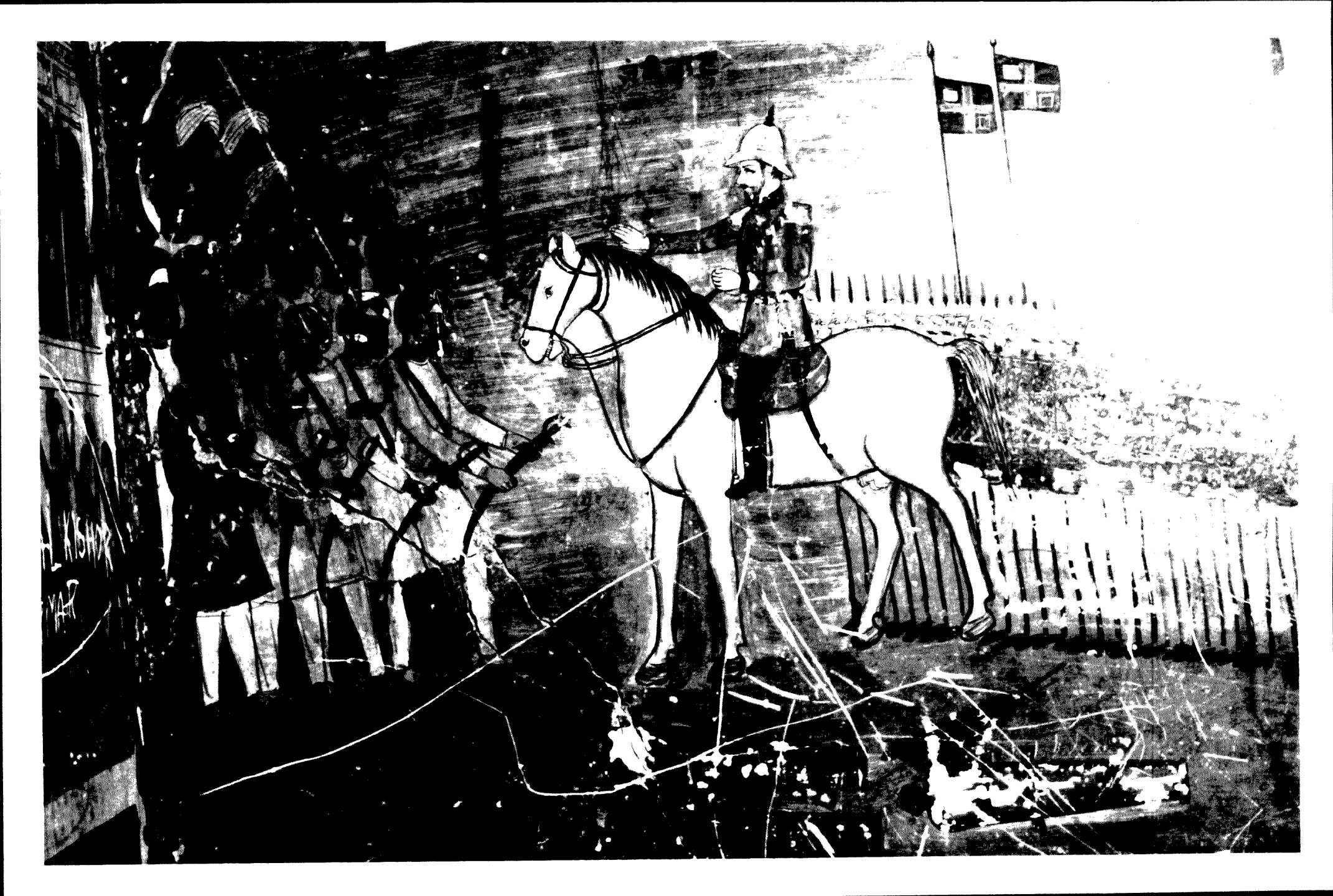
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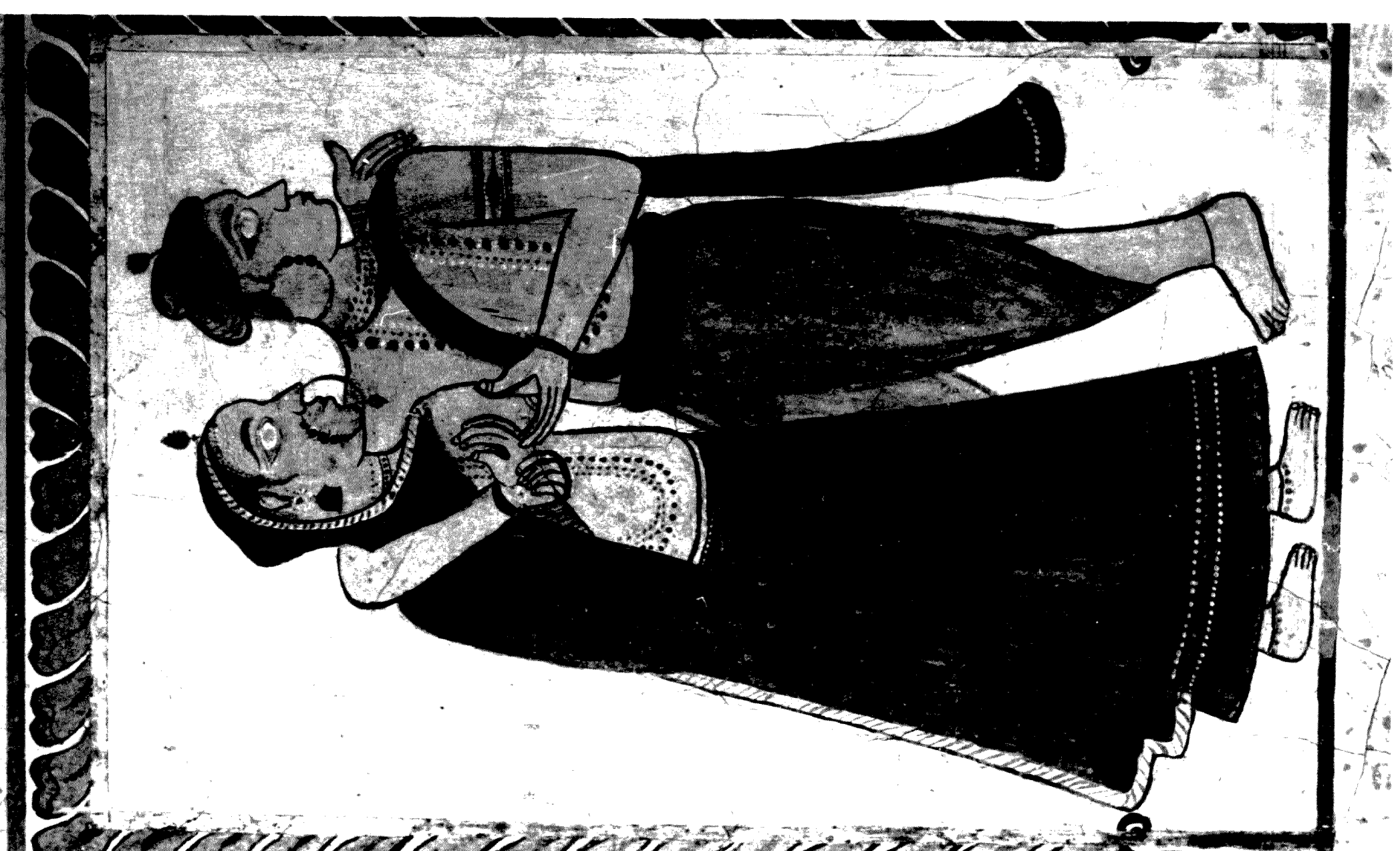
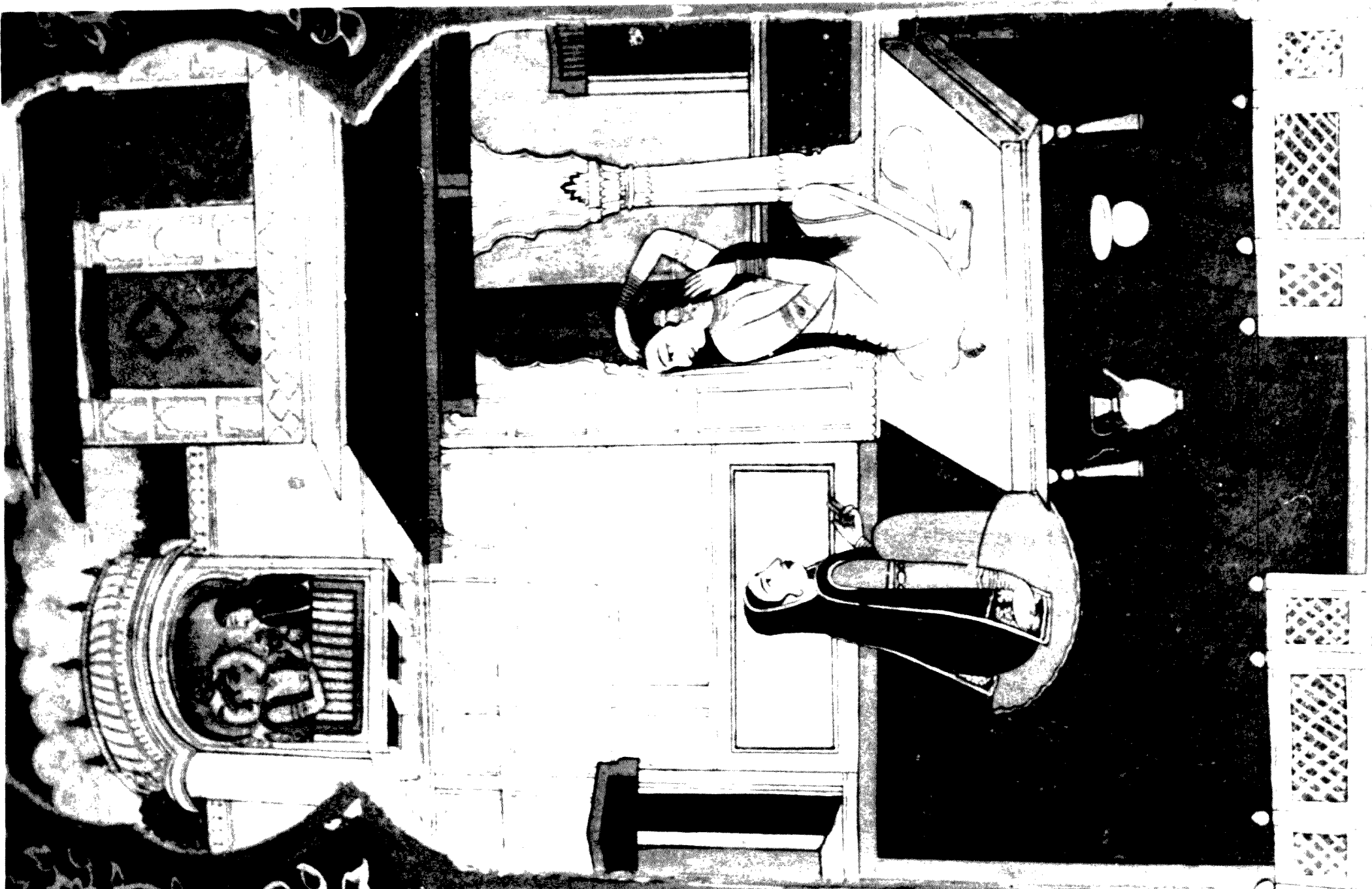
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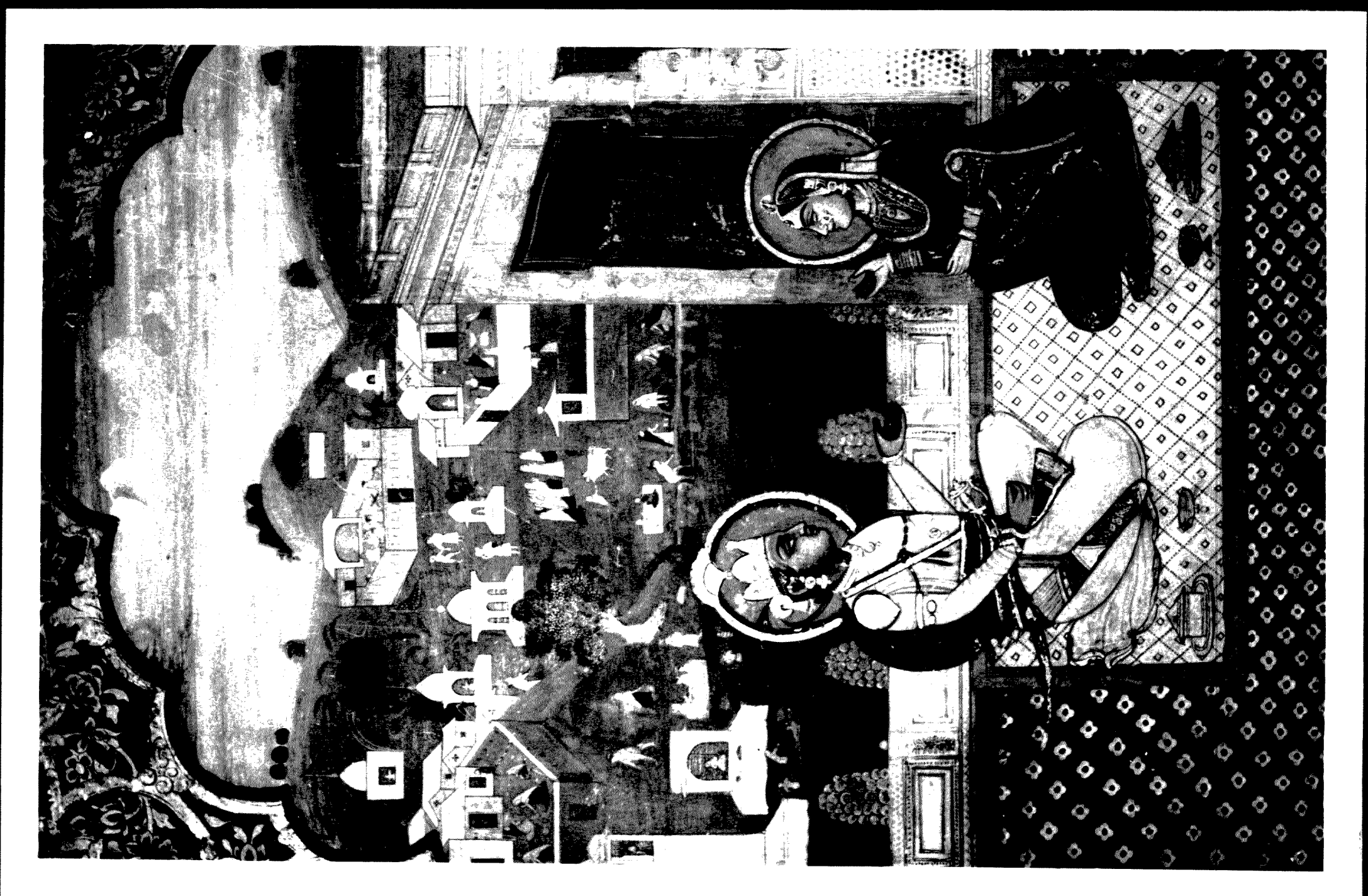
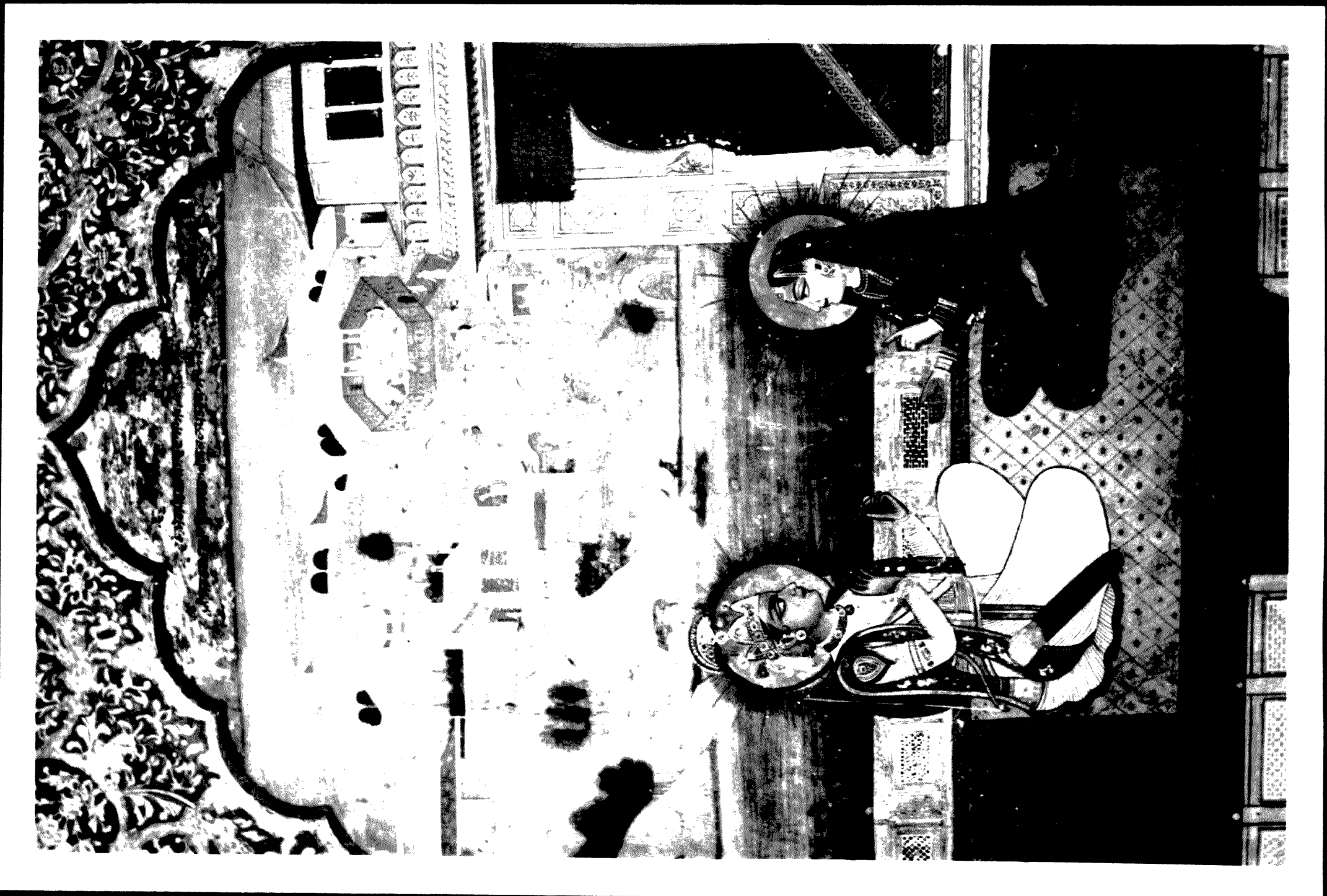


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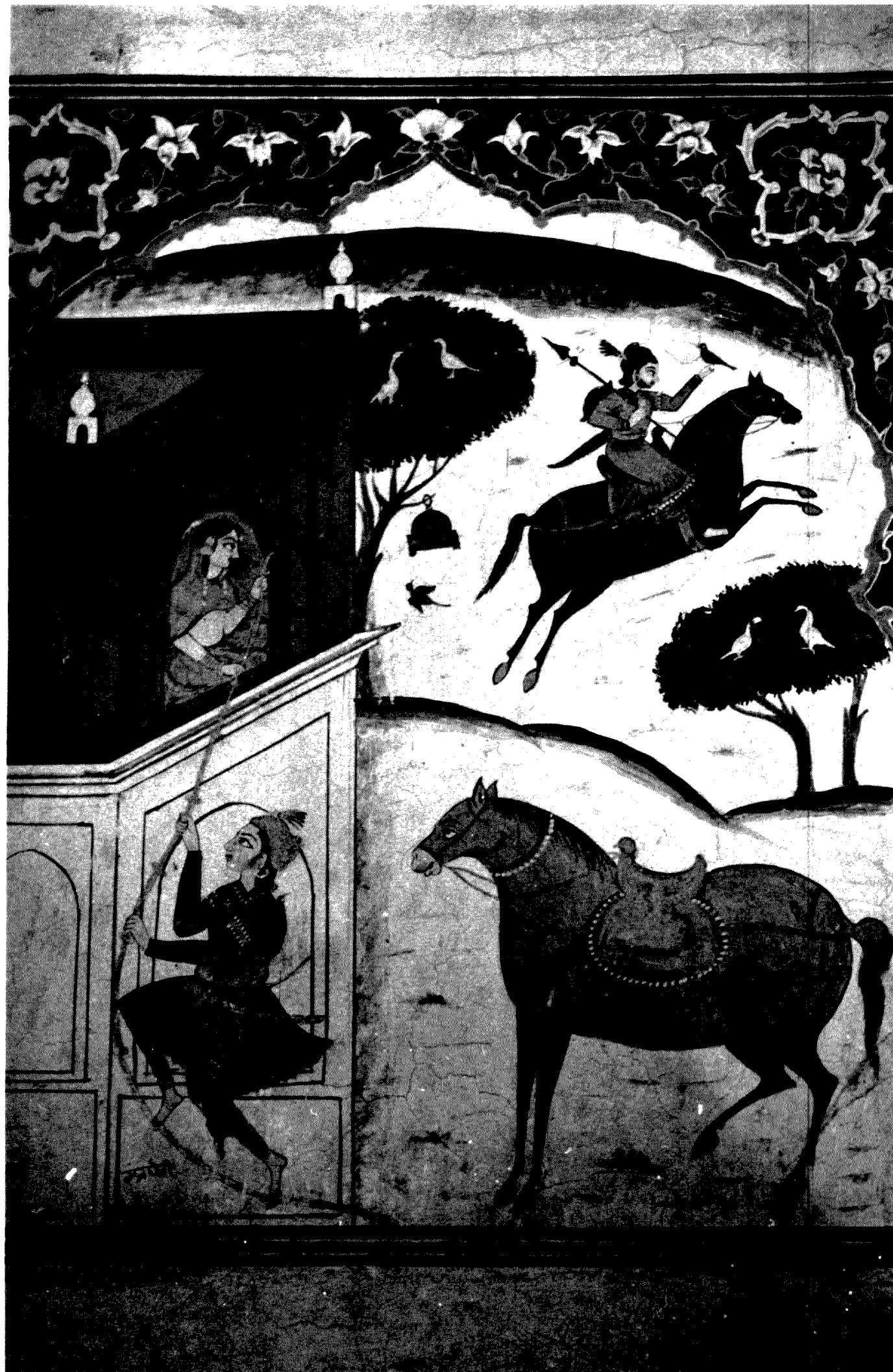
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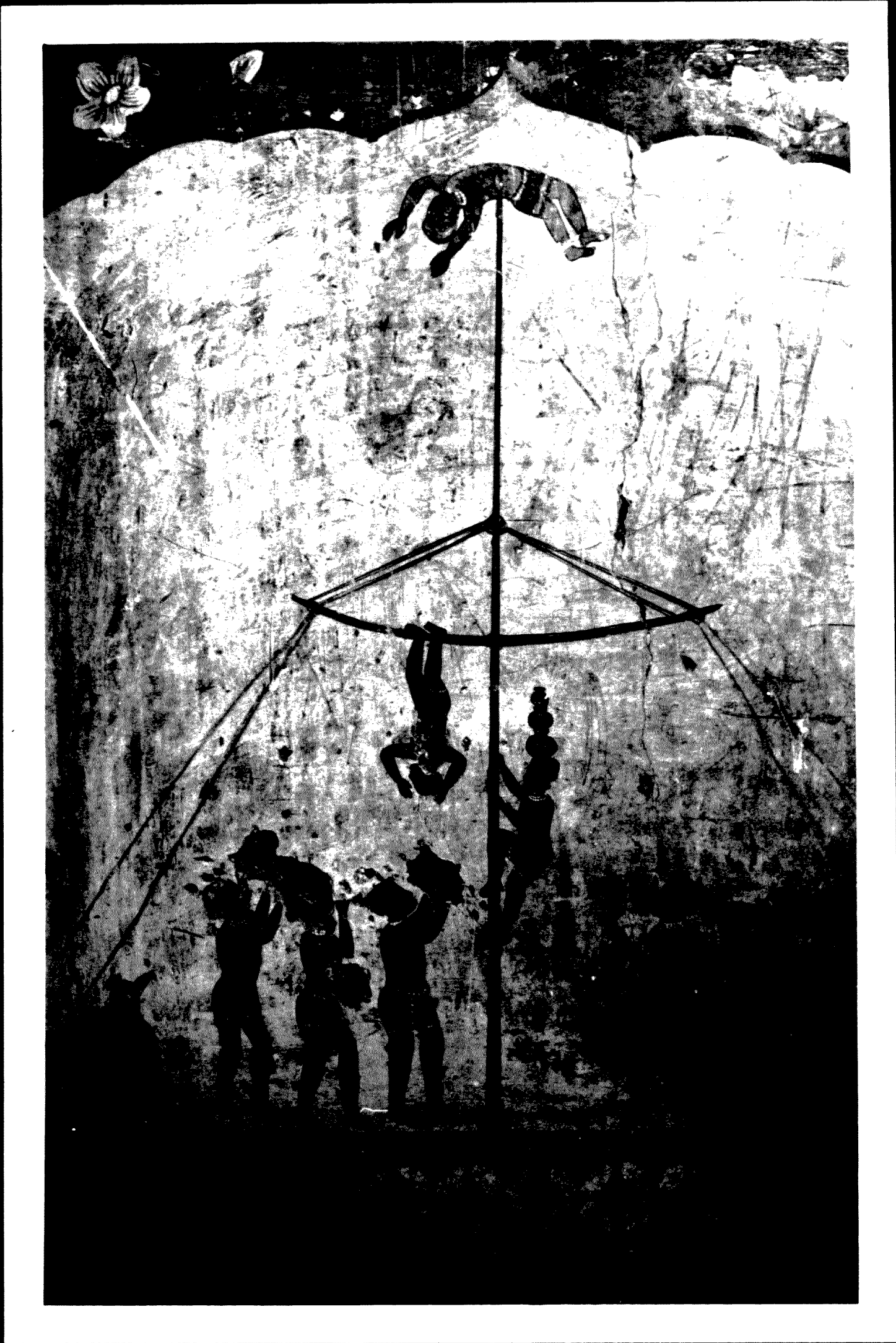




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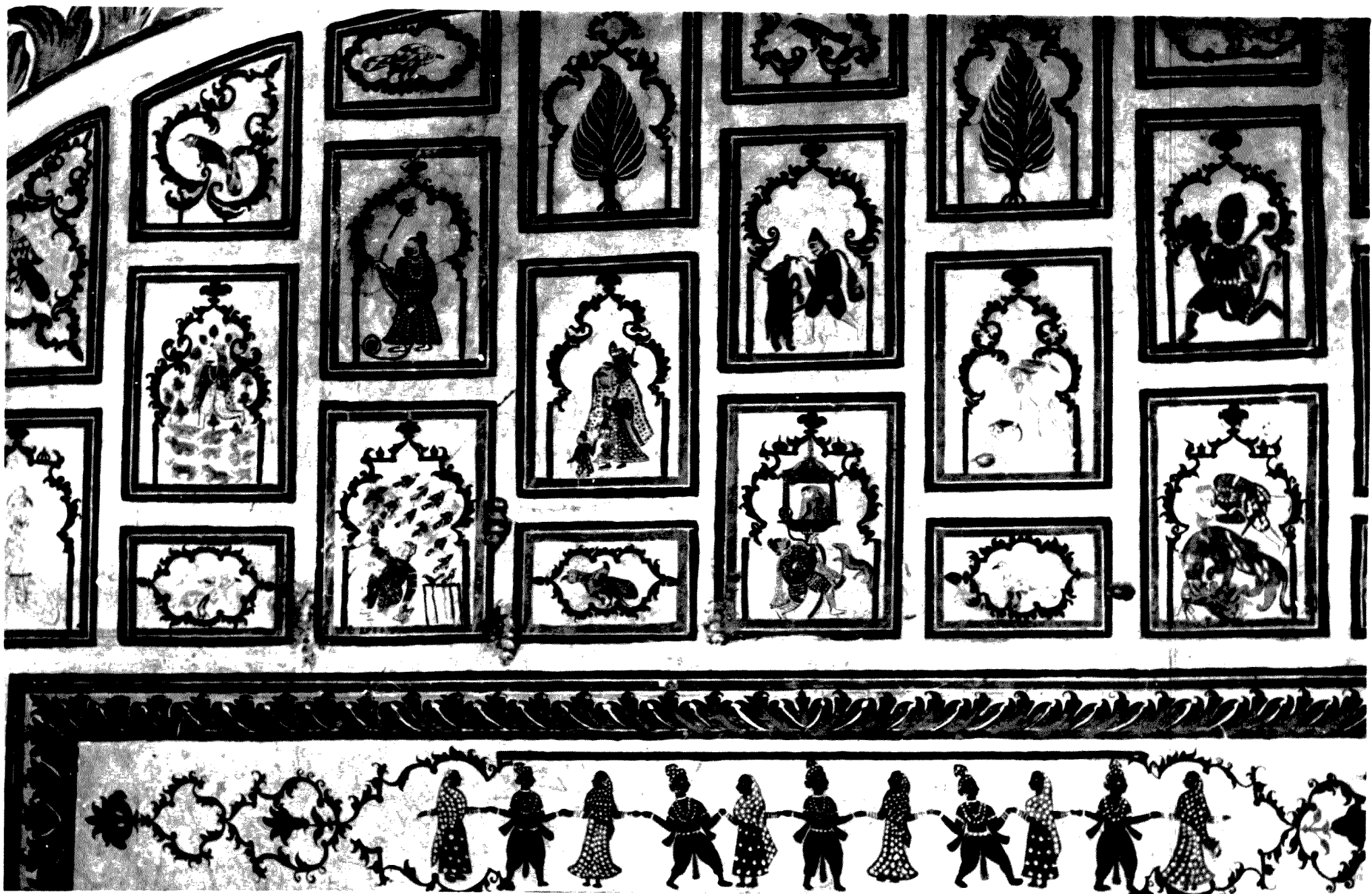
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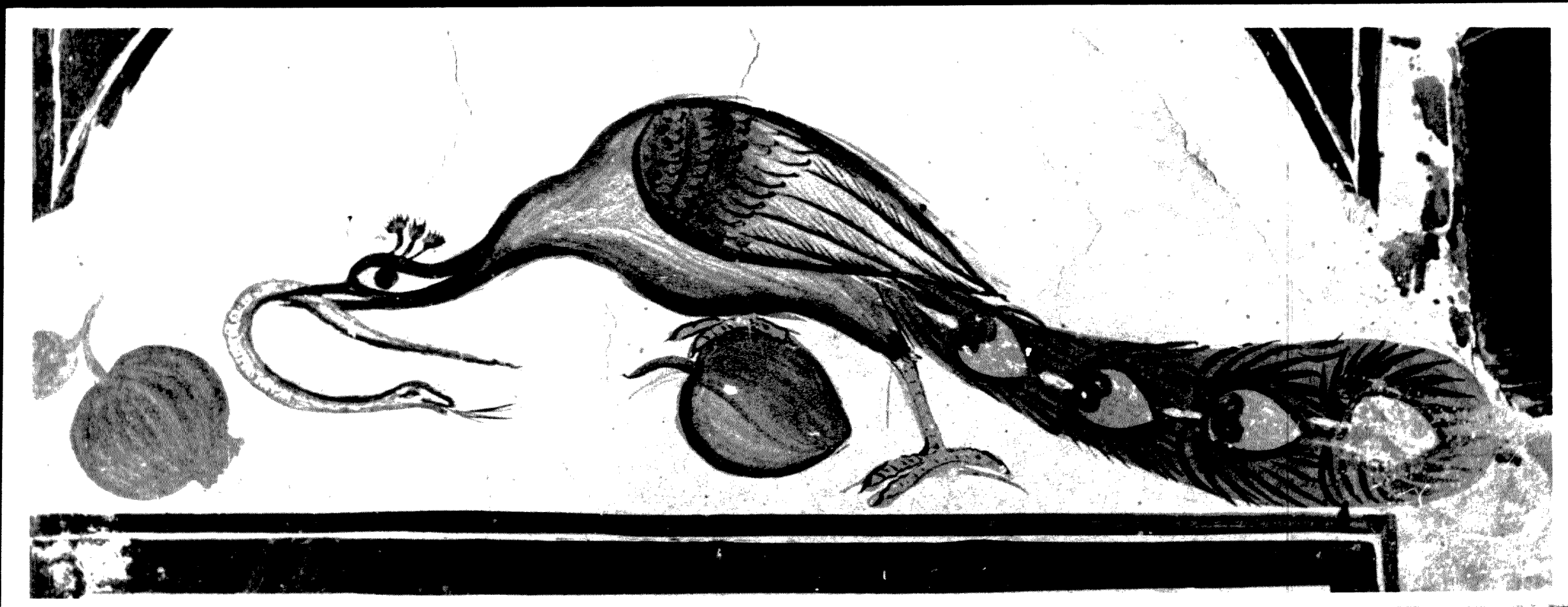




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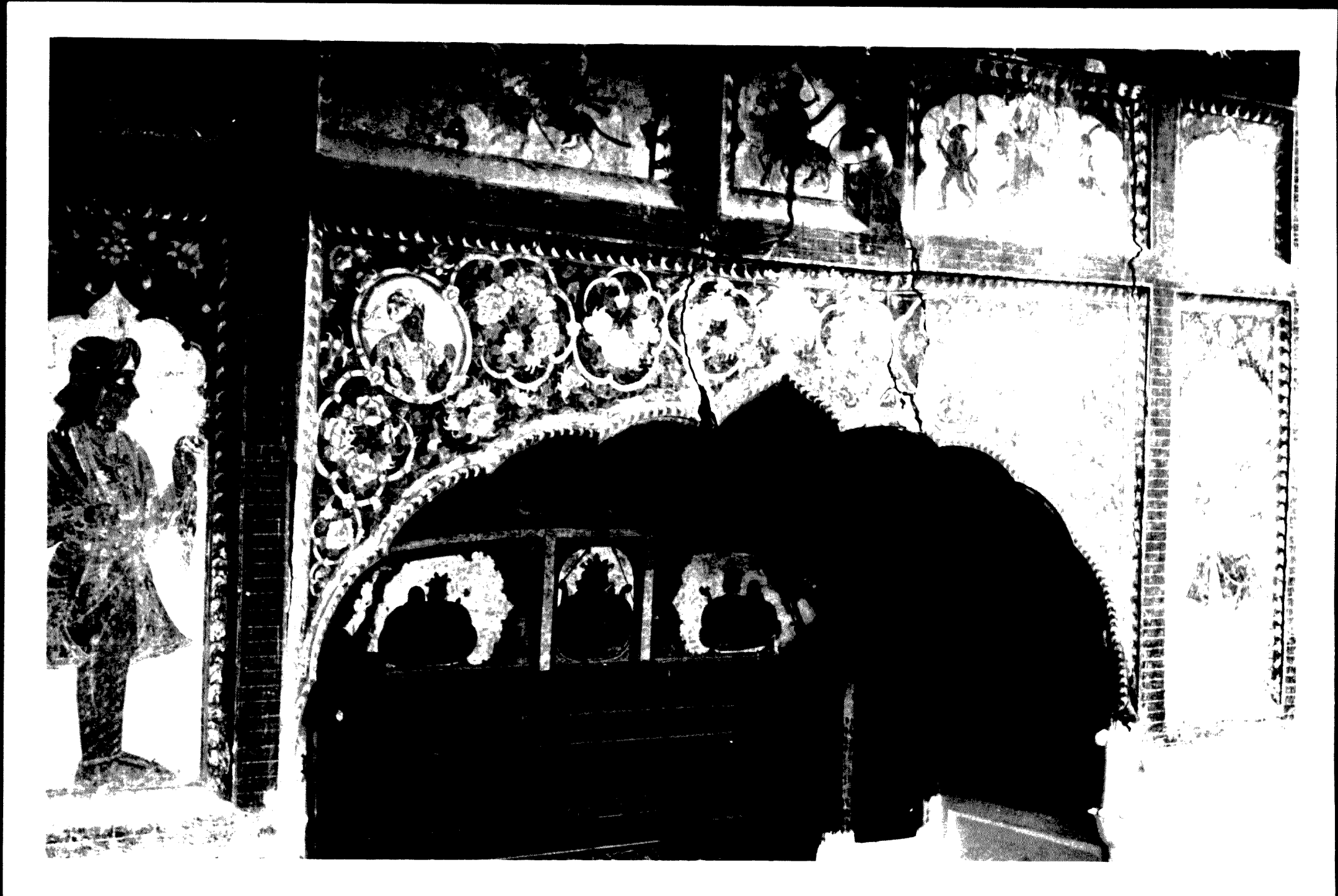
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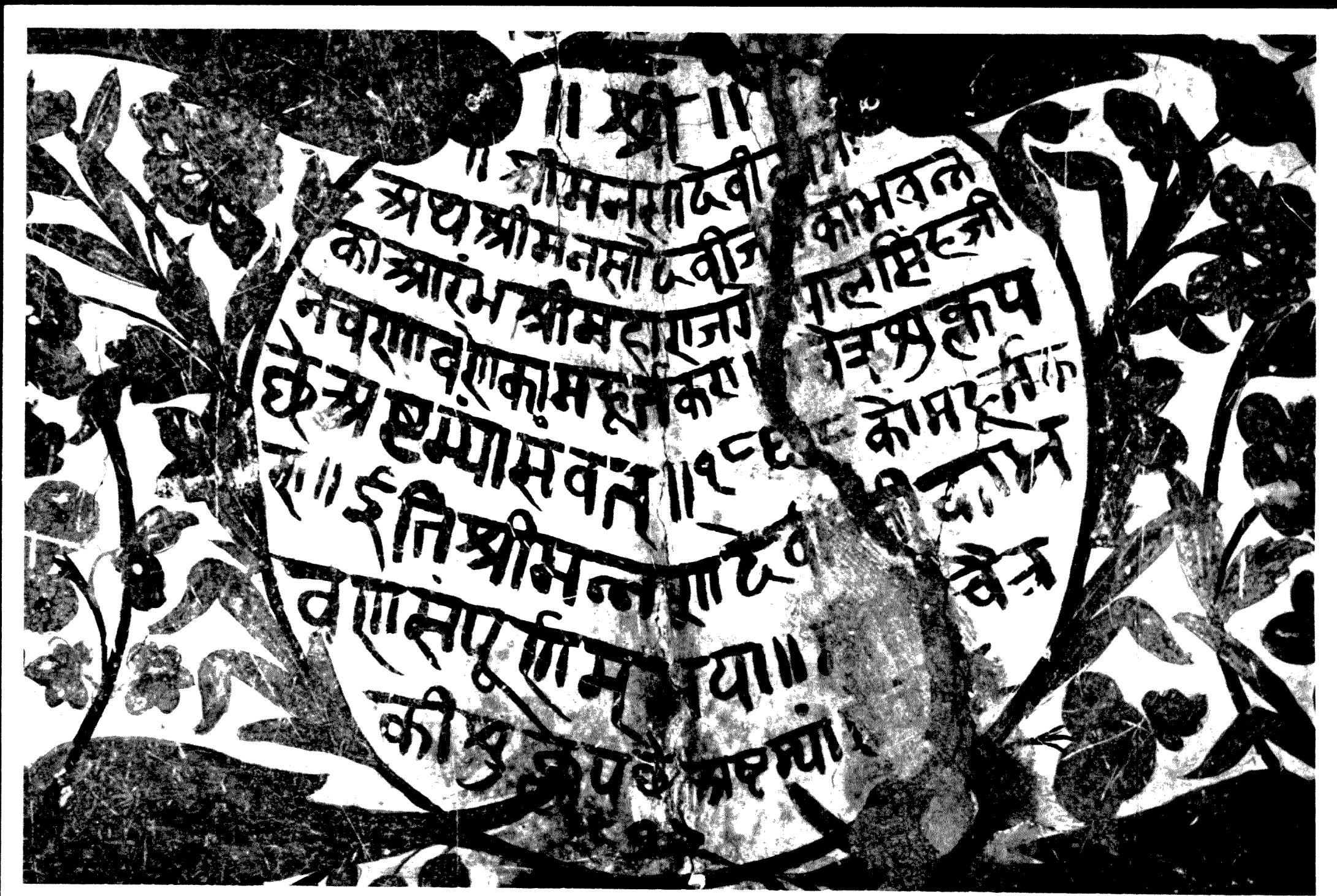
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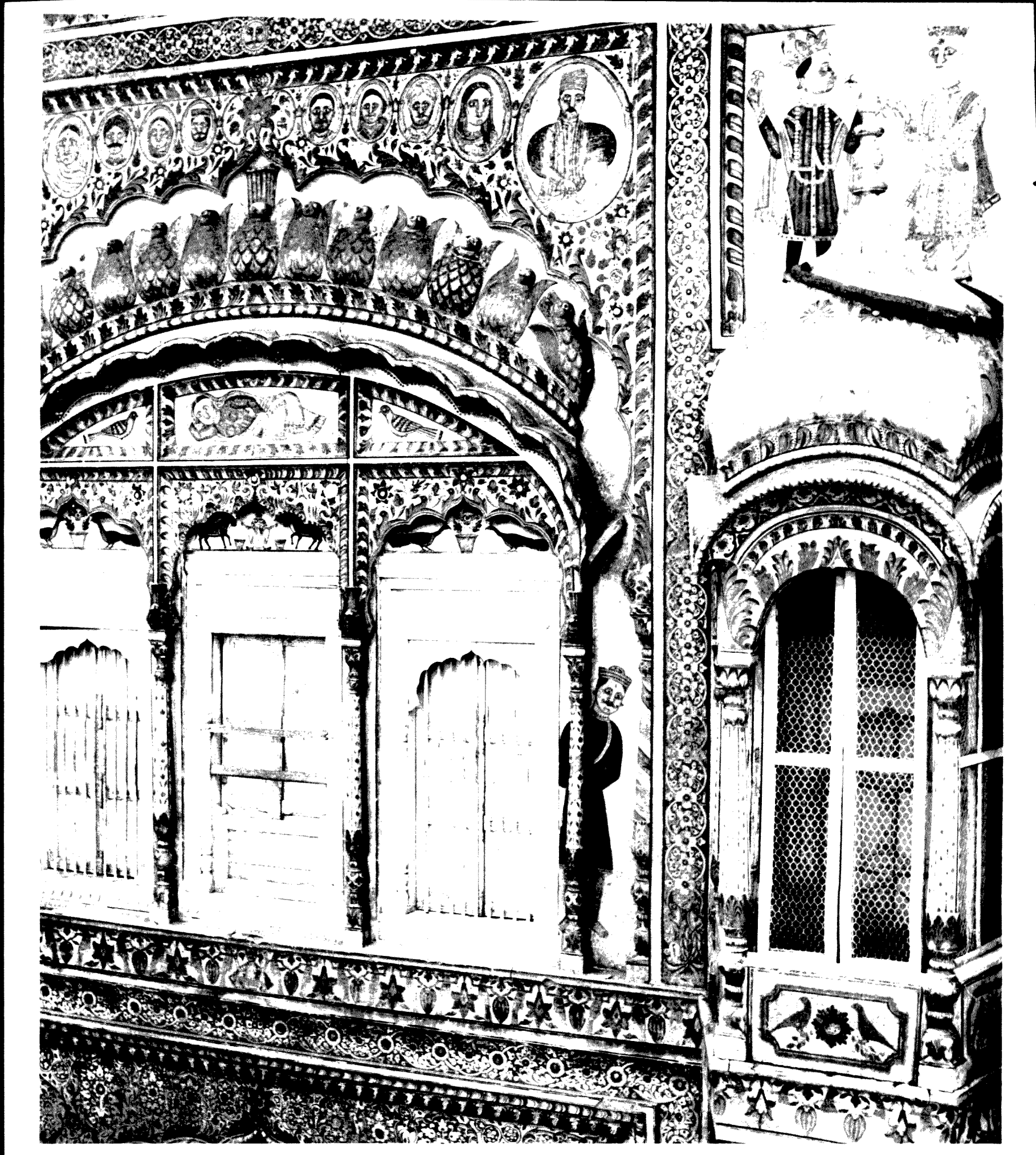
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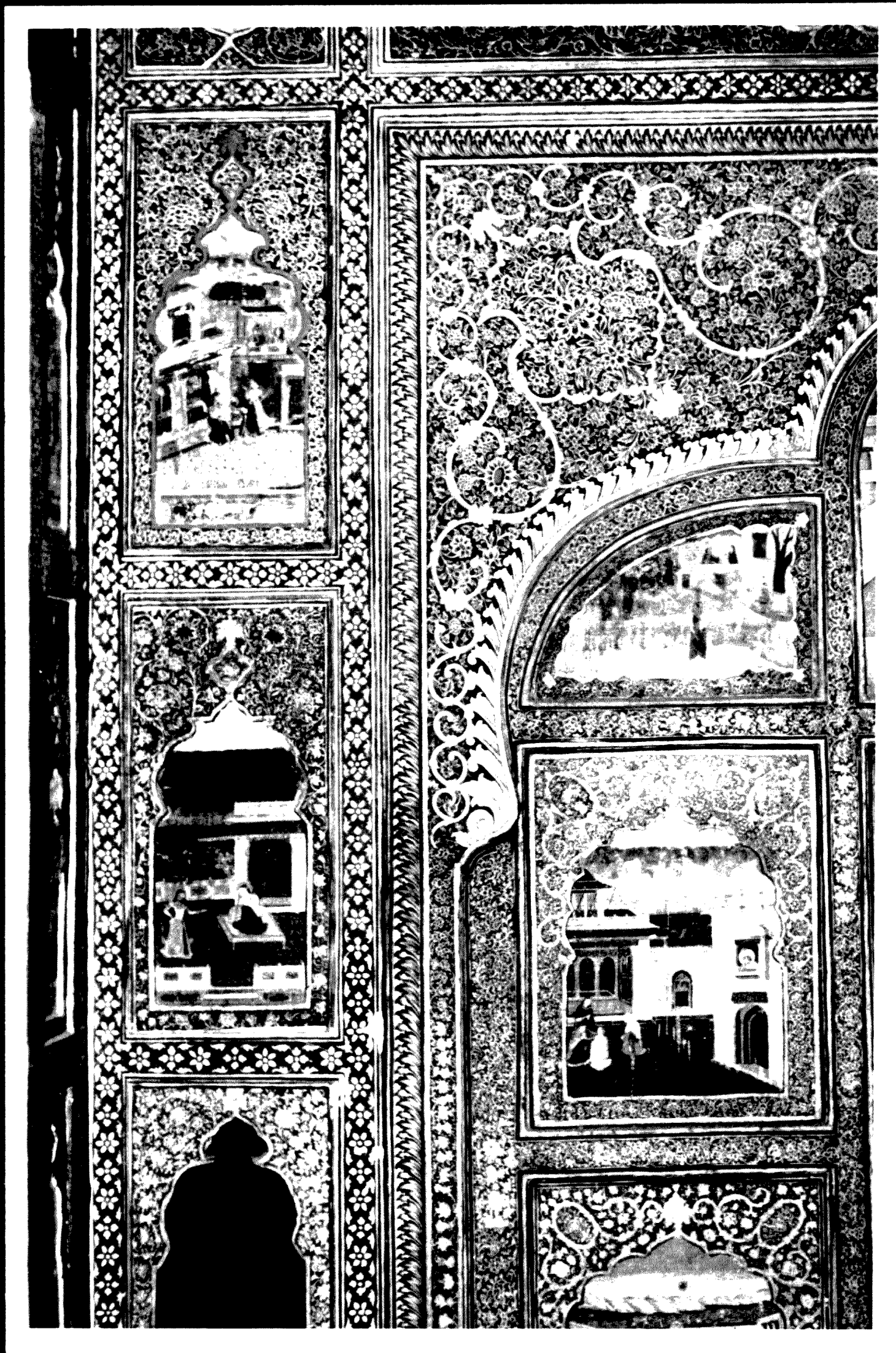
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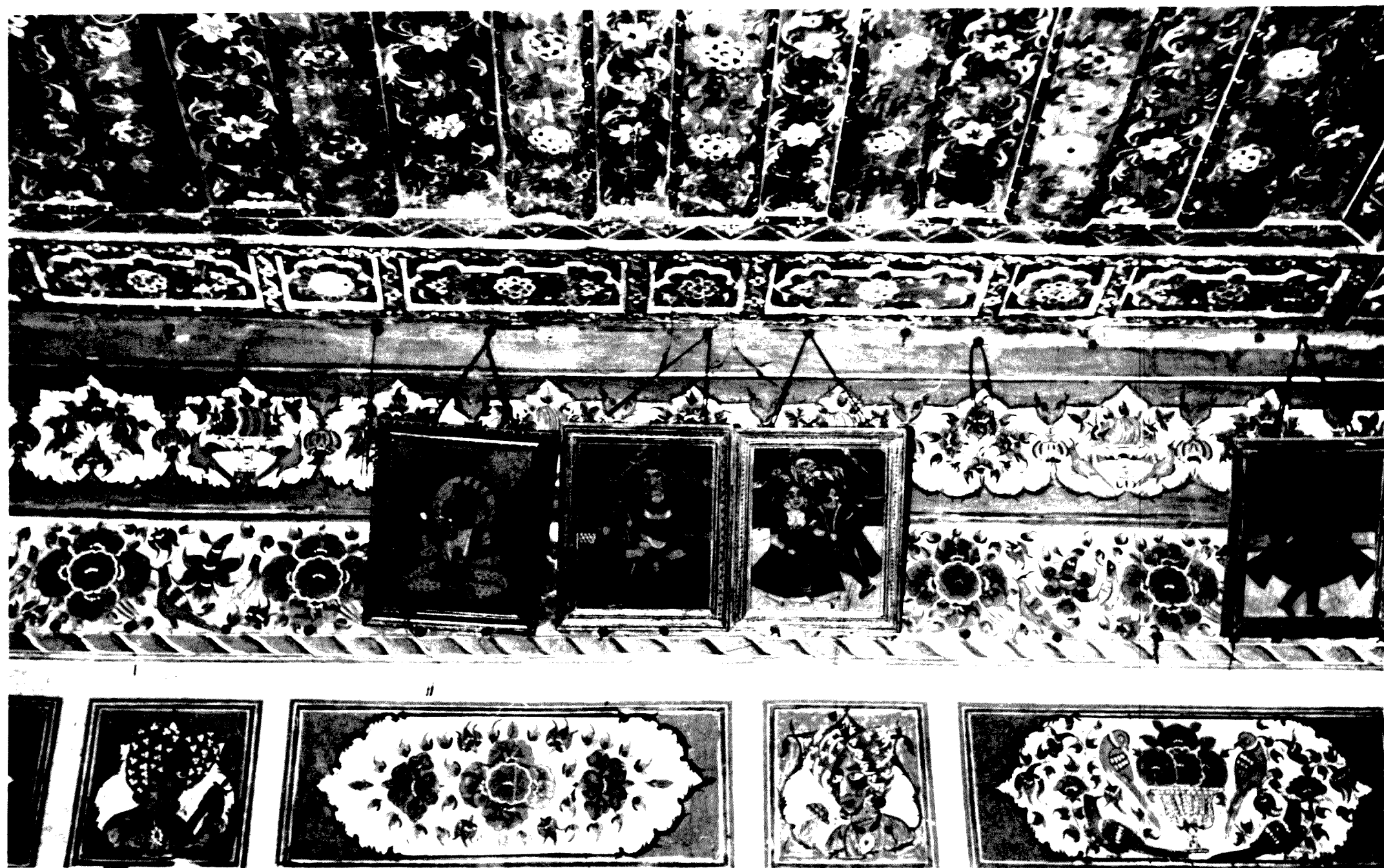


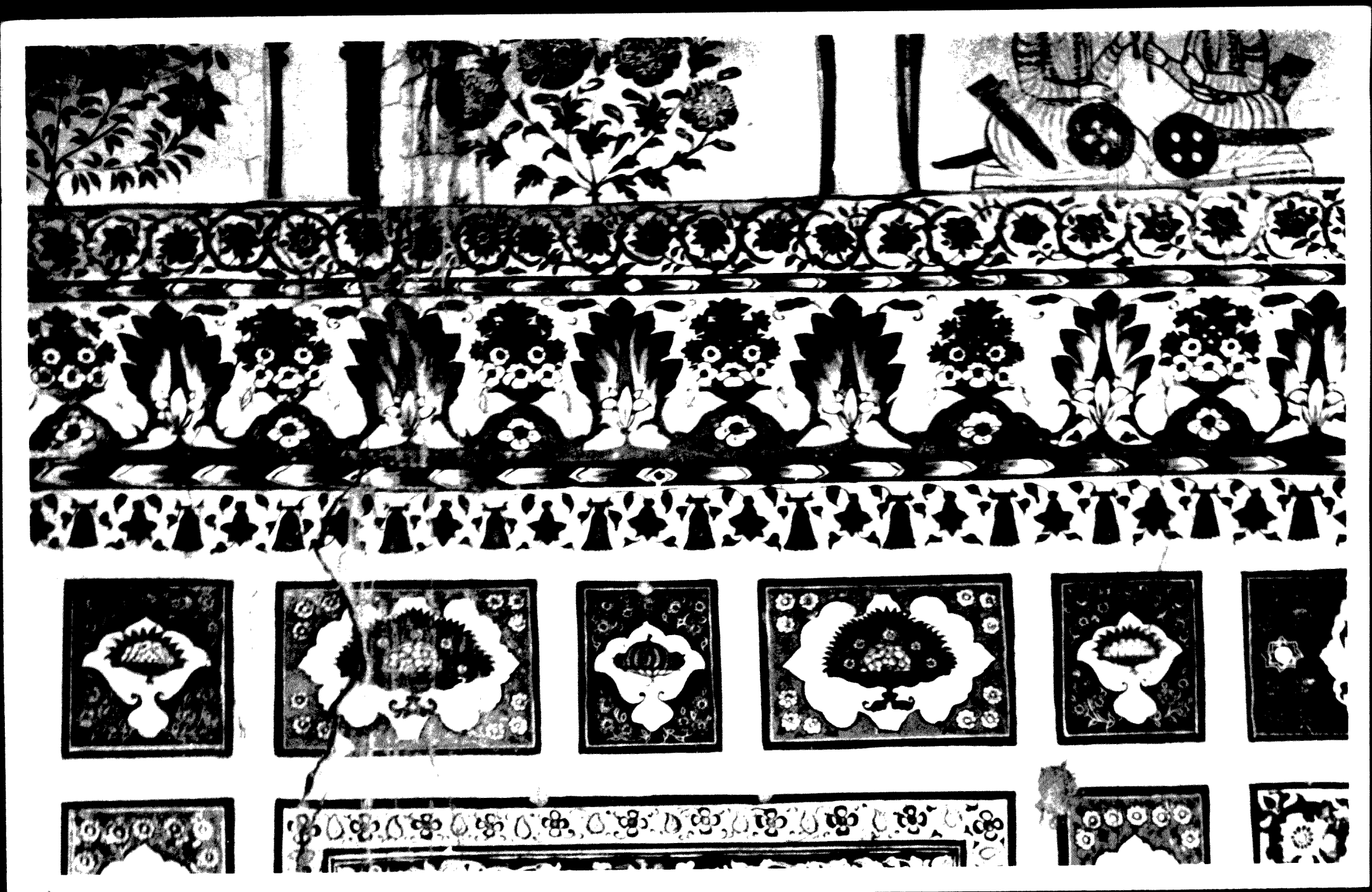
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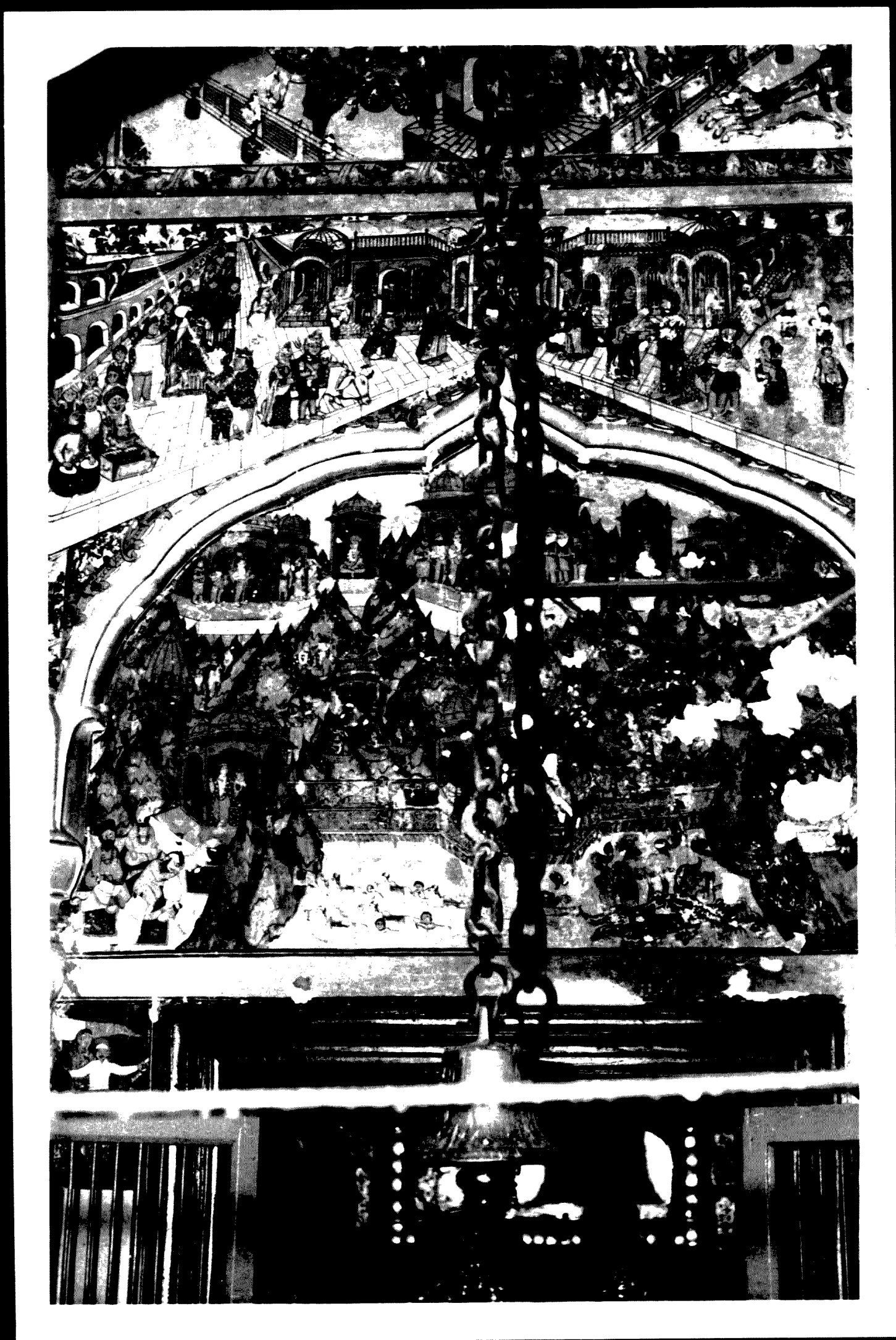
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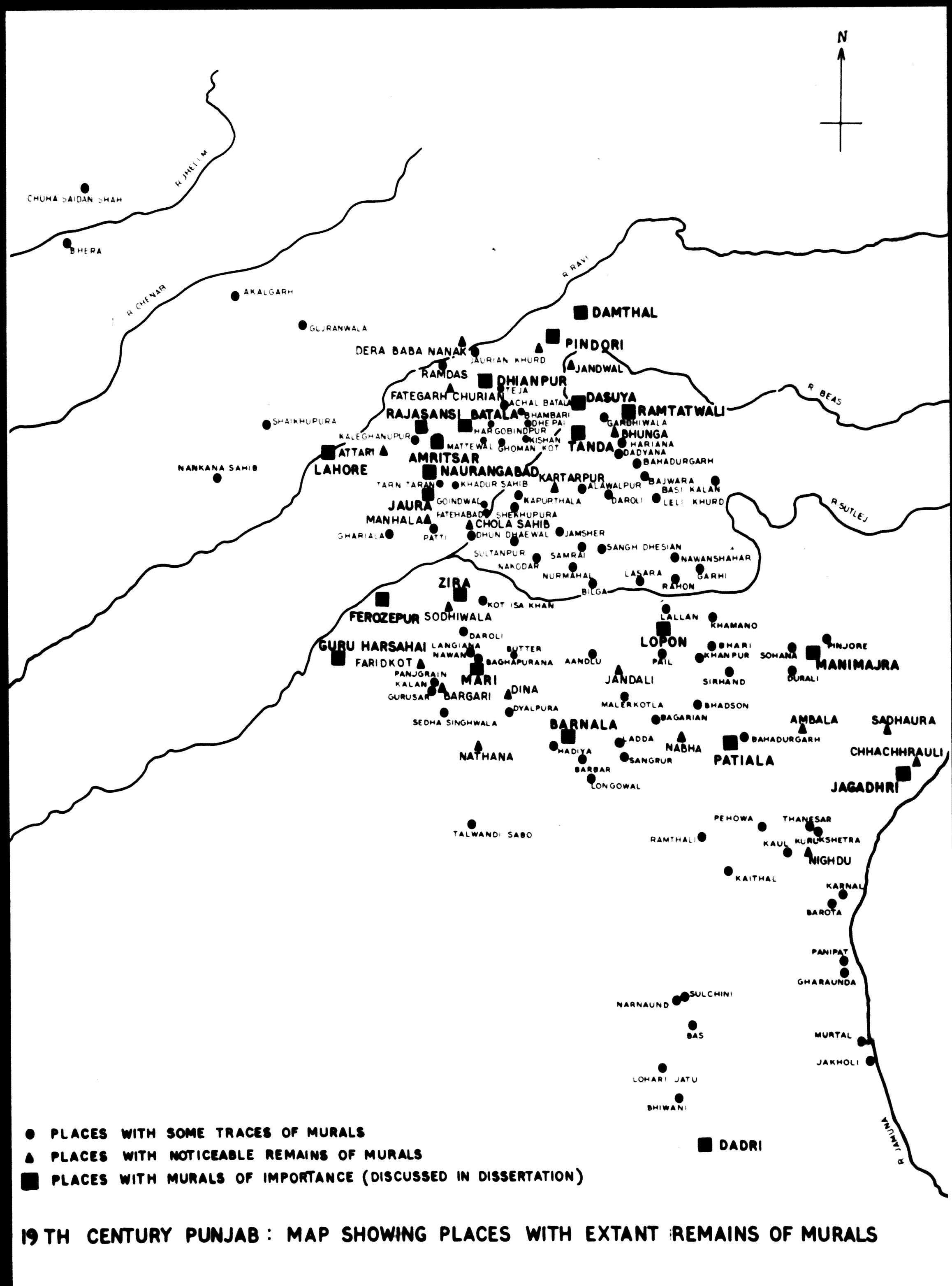
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SCALE 1 Cm :- 30.4 Kms OR 1/3,041,280