The Silent Memorial:
Life of the Mutiny in Orchha's Lakshmi Temple

Rahaab Allana

Jhansi, 1857-58

As the sun beat against their heavy armour, the 8th Hussars (European Mercenary Cavalry) charged rebel forces on the grounds near Gwalior in June 1858. These so-called dissenters were the last of the central Indian leaders who commanded loyalty from the sepoys. Their forceful encounter with the British lasted several hours, even as their battle cry, *Deen ki Jai* (Victory to Faith)!ƒ resonated with the impassioned zeal of resistance. With them, riding on a chestnut-brown steed and bearing a sword drawn swiftly from the scabbard, was the *Rani* of Jhansi. To her, this battle meant certain death. However, for a warrior like the *Rani*, to be slain in the field against monumental odds amounted to victory.

The first episode of the siege of Jhansi by British troops, almost a year before the Rani s tortuous death, is starkly portrayed in the Lakshmi Temple of Orchha ¡ a state that remained for the most part allied to the colonial forces throughout the violent course of the Mutiny. Today, the relative tranquility of Orchha is disturbed only by tourist vans and vendors, oblivious to its history, the years when its colossal forts became synonymous with political intrigue. The close proximity to Jhansi also induced the British to station their forces near the Orchha Gate that led to it from Jhansi Fort. In the aftermath of the Mutiny, with the leaders killed and the rebel voices silenced, local artisans chose the inner sanctum of the Lakshmi temple as a site for the depiction of their version of the turbulence, as a mark of their reverential allegiance to the warrior queen.

Orchha and Jhansi

Southwest of the river Yamuna, Jhansi sits on a vast triangular plateau. Its history is strongly influenced by its physical features. Streams water the rugged basalt hills and fertile valleys during the treacherous summer months. The fort itself stands upon a hill of solid granite, each bastion 16-20 feet thick. The steep incline of the rock ably protects the west, and three flanking towers shield the east face that once overlooked large tanks, picturesque palaces, numerous gardens and temples.[1]

Jhansi once constituted the kingdom of the Chandela Rajputs who claimed descent from the Gaharwar Rajas of Benares. Similarly the Bundelas, also Rajputs, created another foothold in the region comprising Kalinjar, Kalpi and Mahoni. Raja Malkhan first founded Orchha, followed by his son, Rudra Pratap. The latter s ascendancy was marked by the construction of the Raja Mahal; most Bundelas trace their lineage from him. He was later succeeded by Bharti Chand in 1531; the latter by Madhukar Shah in 1554. Eventually, in 1577 this small sector of principalities bowed to the imperial forces of Delhi. And so, on Akbar s instructions in 1592, Madhukar s son Ram Shah succeeded him as heir apparent.[2]

Without the authority or compulsion to resist external pressure, Ram Shah eventually succumbed to the forces of the Bundela chief Bir Singh Deo. In 1602, Bir Singh risked his own life by assassinating Abul Faz l, chief chronicler of Akbar, on his return to Delhi from the Deccan. Abul Faz l never openly supported Prince Salim (Akbar s elder son, better known to history as Jehangir), and was murdered at his behest. Accordingly, when Jehangir assumed power, Bir Singh easily acquired Orchha between 1605 and 1627, one of the smaller districts in the Malwa region.[3] After Bir Singh s demise, in their tireless squabble for power, in 1627 the Bundelas resisted the authority of Jehangir s son, the Emperor Shah Jahan. Champat Rai of Mahoba thwarted Mughal attempts at conquest for a period of time by attacking convoys and garrisons. In their own complex pitch for dominion, the Mughals too fought amongst themselves for Delhi. As allied rulers, the Bundelas directed their loyalties toward the emperor s eldest son Dara Shukoh, an able poet and philosopher, but those of Mahoba under Champat Rai opted for the stern military prowess displayed by Dara s younger brother Aurangzeb. However, Rao Shri Durjan Singh (Chattarsal) in the Malwa region took a stand against Aurangzeb. Despite a series of raids by the pillaging Mughal armies, he managed to sustain Charkhari, Bijawar, Panna and Orchha as independent principalities. A peace was drafted in 1640, proclaiming the independence of Orchha state.

Consequently, Orchha evolved with its own style of art and aesthetics that drew sustenance from the Rajput architecture that dominated surrounding states such as Gwalior. Though there was a minor spurt of creative impetus prior to Bir Singh Deo, none managed to develop a lasting aesthetic relationship between architecture and landscape. In his attempt to fortify the city, its centre and to distinguish the royal from the urban, Bir Singh had supported the construction of the Jehangir Mahal, named thus in honour of his patron. It was one of the first architectural ventures with *garh* palaces or private royal residences that accommodated both *zenana* and *mardana* (women s and men s segregated living spaces).[4] On the ground level, a rectangular courtyard afforded the construction of several storeys by the placement of domed pillars in the four corners. This base plan continued on to the subsequent floors. The symmetry of form, and the repetition of spaces from level to level, signified core aspects of this ground plan. These levels became more and more complex as one visually scaled the fort, eventually yielding a dramatic view of interactions between protruding *jharokhas* (balconies with domed or vaulted roofs).

Bir Singh also built Phoolbagh, a garden; the Lakshminarayan Temple, dedicated primarily to Krishna; a *hamam* (public bathing space) and a *naubat khana*, a ceremonial drum house used for musical recitals. With his penchant for large, well-garrisoned buildings, he was also responsible for the construction of Jhansi Fort in 1613, on a hill then named Bangra. Therefore both Orchha and Jhansi were territorially linked by virtue of lying within the Bundelkhand region, and aesthetically matched, being patronised by the same king**.** It is thus substantive to say that their cross-referential architecture and art commences in the early 17th century, almost 250 years before the actual breach by the imperial forces.

Orchha sealed an alliance with the British in 1812, during the reign of Vikramajeet Singh (1787-1817). During the pre- and post-Mutiny years, Orchha was ruled by Begum and Sujan Singh. During the Mutiny years, the town remained concealed behind the picturesque veil of *chattris,* without any clear evidence of defiance or support for the *Rani* from the ruling family. The only readily available trace of resistance perhaps is the collection of paintings discussed in this essay, drawn in the traditional Bundelkhand style, distinctive of Central Indian manner.

The *Rani* as Rebel

Like most states in Northern India, Jhansi too bore the wrath of the East India Company during the colonial period. Earlier, the adopted son of the *Peshwa* was made to abdicate in lieu of his uncle under the Doctrine of Lapse, conceived by the Governor General Lord Dalhousie as a means to acquire territory. A similar series of annexations persisted till 1853, which was marked by the Jhansi *Raja s* death. He left Lakshmibai, his 18-year-old wife, to command the administration and military forces.

Of her disposition, Dalhousie noted that she united the martial spirit of the Maratha soldier and the subtlety of the Deccan Brahminƒ.[5]

Colonel Lowe, a member of Central Indian Military Council at the time, pointed out, The native rulers of Jhansi were never sovereigns, they were only subjects of a sovereign, first of the *Peshwa* and latterly of the Company, and the Government now had full rights to annex the lands of Jhansi to the British administrationƒ[6]. A pension of £6000 was offered to the *Rani*, which she initially refused but later accepted. She was also asked to pay the debts of her late husband using this amount. The *Rani* maintained communication with Major Erskine, commissioner of the Sagar and Nerbudda territories, even after the outbreak of the Mutiny in Meerut, pledging the loyalty of her subjects to the Company. However, terrifying actions soon ensued. The rebels entered the city walls and massacred 58 resident British citizens. The only survivors of this gruesome episode were Mrs Mutlow, a Eurasian, and her young son, who were mistaken for Indians. Towards the end of January, the *Rani* sent another envoy to Erskine to certify her non-involvement with these events. In this letter she avowed her abiding allegiance, but asserted that if she were treated kindlyƒ, she would not oppose the British, else she would fight till the endƒ on account of being considered an outcasteƒ by her family.[7]

Jhansi, now a rebel state , was marked for conquest. Lakshmibai s sincere commitment to British authority waned after her meeting with another mutineer, *Raja* Mardan Singh of Banpur. She wrote a letter to Major Hamilton (the Governor General s agent for Central India) on 1 January 1858, reiterating her strained circumstances. But she had already been deemed a dissenter, also owing to subsequent clashes with Orchha and nearby Datia. However, she was by no measure considered a weak adversary. In the wake of this event, Major-General Hugh Rose, one of the most decorated officers in the colonial army, was commissioned to address the Central Indian situation . In a letter to his commanding officer, Rose concurred the *Rani s* impeccable stature and charisma when he wrote, ªher generosity to her subordinates was unbounded. These qualities combined with her rank, rendered her the most dangerous of all the rebel rulersƒ[8].

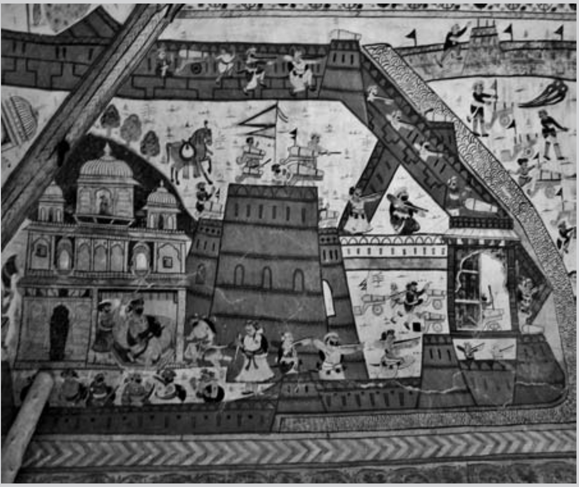
The Siege

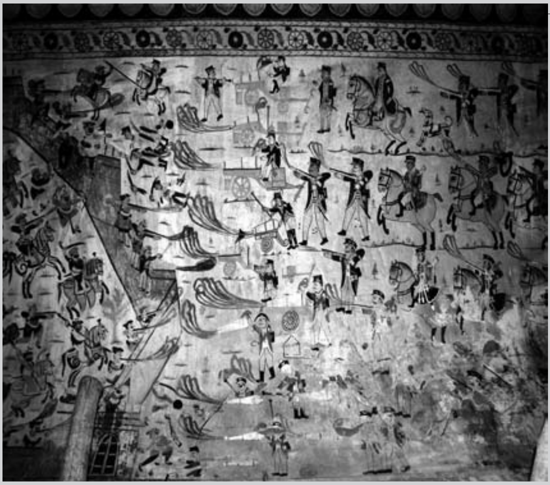
An elaborate plan devised by Sir Colin Campbell in Calcutta had begun to be implemented to rid India of its rogue elements. The Bombay Column, also called the Central India (CI) Force, the Rajputana Field Force and Madras Field Force (Sagar and Nerbudda Field Force) were raised to curb the revolt. Officers appointed by the Commander-in-Chief included Hugh Rose for the CI force and generals Whitlock and Roberts for the Madras and Rajputana columns.

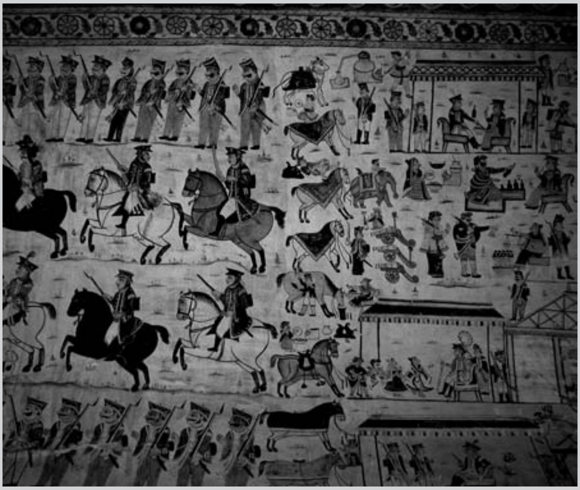
Rose had assumed command in December 1857, six months after the mutiny in Meerut.[9] He entered the British service as an ensign in the 93rd Southerland Highlanders. After service in Ireland, he became Lieutenant Colonel and Deputy Adjutant General to Omar Pasha s brigade in Syria. In 1851, Lord Palmerston appointed him Secretary to the Embassy of Constantinople. The same year he was promoted to Brevet Colonel. Subsequently, when Russia drifted into war with France and England, he was appointed Queen s Commissioner at the headquarters of the French army. On 19 September 1857, the Duke of Cambridge gave Rose direct orders to take command of the Poona division of the Bombay army. Once his position was stable, Lord Canning, Governor General of India, entrusted Rose with the task of leading the Central Indian forces.

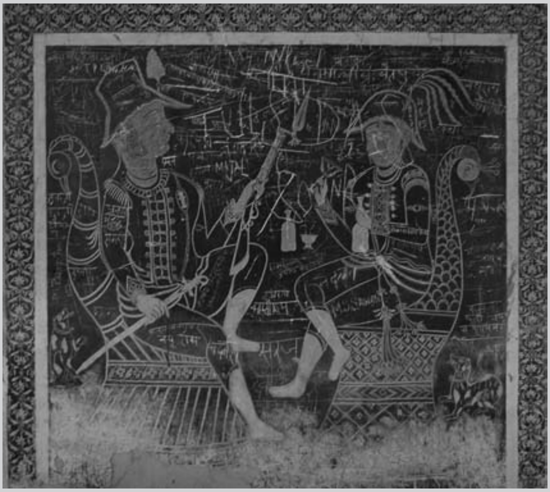
At 7 am on 21 March 1858, the day Colin Campbell captured Lucknow, Rose arrived at the gates of Jhansi. The massive fort before him sat atop a granite hill. The steepness of the rock protected its west face, and three flanking bastions sheltered the east. Stretching to the north and east of the city, to the right of the British encampment, were smaller hills leading to Orchha and the fortress of Kalpi. After consideration, Rose decided to launch his initial assault from the south, relatively unhindered by built structures. He then selected a rocky knoll adjoining Orchha gate for the breaching battery.

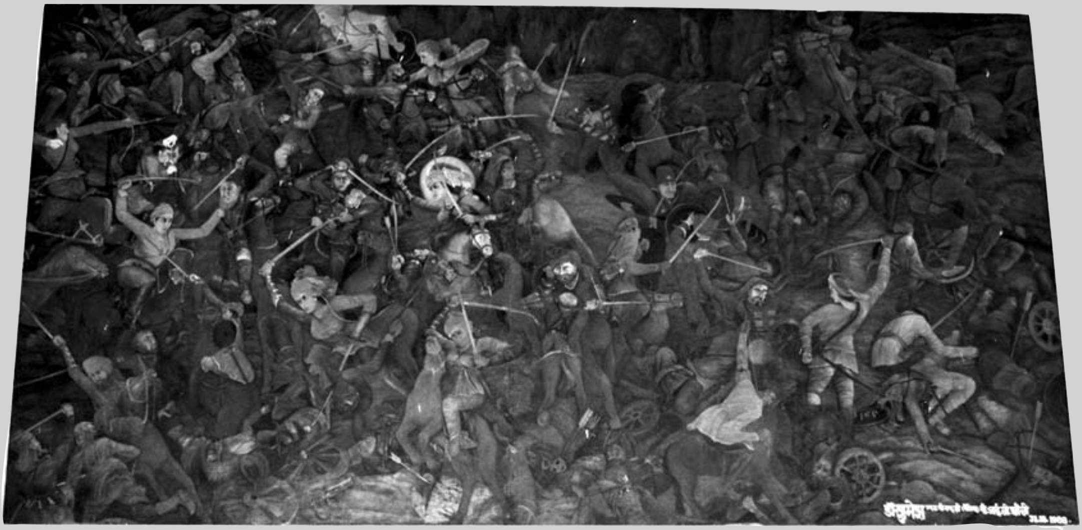
The following day, the Madras and Bombay sappers took charge of two 18-pounders and 8-inch howitzers. In addition, two 8-inch mortars were ordered as the 24th Native











Infantry initiated gunfire, further intensified by the arrival of the 1st Brigade the following day. All guns resumed firing on the morning of 26 March. Crucial battlements of the mutineers, such as the White Turret and the Black and Tree Towers, were reduced to rubble. However, eight days and nights of incessant bombardment had not yet deterred the rebel Bengal Artillery from resuming their lost positions on the south side.

The *mamelon* or raised bastion whose five guns protected the town s southern wall was gradually destroyed by the British forces. What is known in military reports and history books as the Battle of Betwa began on 1 April, with the British army directed against the *Rani s* ally Tantia Tope of the Peshwa s court, who had been involved in fighting alongside the mutineers in Kanpur and had retreated south when the city was reoccupied by the British. Tantia came to the *Rani s* rescue, but he was swiftly defeated and the CI troops continued their concentrated assault on the fort. The *Rani*, in an impressive show of gallantry, charged against the field marshals with 1500 Afghan followers. However, by nightfall most of the town was in British hands. The south picket was removed, to lure the *Rani* from the fort. After nightfall, wearing a breastplate, a sword and two revolvers, she (along with 300 of her Afghan guards and 25 troopers) managed an incredible escape from the reach of the 14th Light Dragoons. In the urgency and confusion at night, her father Moropant Tambe[10] was separated from her troops. He was captured by the British the following day, and hanged in the same park that had earlier witnessed the massacre of British residents by the rebels.

The Final Clash

By 15 April, all of Jhansi surrendered to Company control but Kalpi, the well-fortified arsenal full of warlike storesƒ[11], remained unattended. Kalpi stood on a high bald rock rising from the Yamuna and commanded the road from Jhansi to Kanpur. Dangerous rocky ravines led to it, each fraught with the lethal possibility of ambush. Rao *Sahib*, a Maratha general and the adopted nephew of Nana *Sahib,* Tantia s mentor and friend who had fought alongside him in the north, had chosen this terrain for the final stand. However, by 24 May the British army had overrun this safe haven.

On 26 May, the *Rani* and Rao *Sahib* fled to Gopalpur to rendezvous with Tantia and an unexpected supporter, the Nawab of Banda. Desperation led them to seek refuge and aid from the pro-British ruler of Gwalior, *Maharaja* Scindia. On 28 May, they crossed the Sind River and entered his state. There was a moment of indecision on the *Maharaja s* part, but he eventually agreed to support their efforts. This news travelled quickly to Rose, who immediately marched the troops to Gwalior. Within two weeks, the CI forces assembled within four miles of Gwalior. According to news reports in the *Times*, the battle plans of the rebels were affected mainly under the direction and personal supervision of the *Rani* ƒ, who clad in military attire attended by a picket and well-armed escorts, was constantly in saddleƒ[12]. Her main line of defence stretched along the base of the hills that separated Gwalior from Kotah-ki-Sarai, the site where she would be mortally wounded.

The final standoff took place on the plains between Gwalior and Morar, swarming with the forces of Tantia Tope. Here General Rose, accompanied by Brigadier Smith, brigade commander of the Malwa division, and Major Orr, began to coax the mutineers into open battle. On 17 June, a devastating attack was launched by the 8th Hussars. Led by Captain Foster, Lieutenant Morris and Captain Heneage, they charged through the narrow pass that led to the Gwalior plains. As they approached the fortress, the *Rani* charged with her troops. Surrounded by the enemy, she was wounded by bullets and eventually unhorsed by a sabre thrust. There are conflicting testimonies from both sides regarding her death; the generally accepted account states that she waited bleeding by the road, and upon seeing her assailant shot at him, but missed; he then ran his sword through her; in some versions he empties his carbine into her. Since she was disguised as a common *sawar* (cavalry soldier) in a red jacket, trousers and white *pugdee* (turban), the trooper never realised her true identity. Lakshmibai was hastily cremated under a mango tree in Gwalior. She was 22 years old.

After she fell, so did Gwalior, on 18 June 1858.

The British reaction comprised mixed sentiments of satisfaction and exultation. Though Colonel Lowe admitted Lakshmibai was the rebel s most determined, spirited and influential headƒ[13], Lieutenant-Colonel Bingham, who had helped with General Henry Havelock s epic rescue and relief operation of besieged Lucknow, believed that the British retaliation had been too slow, and the penalties too lenient in the light of the mutineers sadism in Jhansi and Kanpur. The momentum of the Mutiny gradually diminished and the rebels either surrendered, or were suppressed, exiled or killed. Tantia Tope was captured and hanged on 18 April the following year. Rao *Sahib* managed to evade the British until 1862. He was subsequently charged under British law of modified rebellion , found guilty and hanged in Satichaura Ghat, the scene of the slaughter of British women and children in Kanpur. The British confiscated the possessions of Damodar Rao, the *Rani* s adopted son, and also revoked the sum of Rs 600,000 earlier stipulated as payable to him after his father s death. He was given an allowance of Rs 150, which was later raised to Rs 200.

A Memorial to Mutiny: Paintings in the Lakshmi Temple

From a distance, the Lakshmi temple stands in staccato poise like a memorial with its central tower piercing the sky. The temple was built in 1622 by Bir Singh and renovated in 1793 by Prithvi Singh. Due west of the Jehangir Mahal, abounding with playful motifs, it sits within a square plan but appears triangular, given that the entrance rests at the intersection of two planes. An eastern opening allows the first rays of the sun to illuminate its sanctum. Here unbaked stone, faintly coated with lime plaster, marble and seashell powder on the inner walls, reveals the oldest surviving paintings in the temple.

The most unusual renderings among these all relate to the Mutiny. They are placed among mythic imagery that draws upon the *Ramayana*, *Shrimad Bhagwat*, the *Puranas*, scenes from the lives of Krishna and Vishnu, Tulsidas *Ramcharit Manas*, *nayakas-nayikas* (lit. heroes-heroines , stylised lovers enacting romantic tropes), *Ragas-Raginis* (personifications of modes of classical music); they also include events from the royal court of Bir Singh Deo. This artistic infusion of mythology with reality portends a means of immortalising the memory of mortal rulers, and alternately, placing sanctified/deified individuals within the realm of the living. Though the paintings flow along a horizontal axis, they do not follow chronological schemes. Often, episodes are broken into two or three sections, appended to the depiction of scenes from myth.

In terms of style, miniature paintings from Central India are broadly categorised into the Malwa (Mandu, Narsinghad), Raghogarh and Bundelkhand region; this last category inscribes Orchha and Datia. In conjunction, the Deccani school of miniature painting was highly developed in Hyderabad, and the Pahari painting style in Kangra, Basohli and Kullu, to mention a few.[14] The Lakshmi temple in Orchha evidently derives potency and inspiration from these, as niches along the entrance corridor reveal images of courtship, followed by religious narratives focusing on Rama and Sita at the intersection of two corridors. Renditions of the celestial couple also resonate with themes from Ragamala paintings, as seen in the figures of estranged lovers who embody the ambience generated by the notes of *Todi Ragini*. The melancholic lure of *varsha* (monsoon) entices peacocks to display their plumes in full splendour, while motifs of amorous intent, like the swing, allow the viewers to imagine catharsis. The ceilings of several corridors display iron rings, possibly for swings, transforming the space into a pleasure pavilion even while it functions as a gallery**.**

Apart from the painted ceilings, the concave slant of the domes also abounds with resplendent imagery. Tracing the breadth of the pillars, rectangular frames envelop a wide range of couples. Lovers seek solace from Shiva, while the turbulent Ganga perennially flows from a lock of his matted hair. In another panel, a fragment of historical truth is expressed through the image of British officials drinking wine. Here we see the English drawn in the traditional Bundelkhand manner, expressed in two dimensions. The eastern corridor lies to the right of the entrance porch, and is the last if approached by clockwise circumambulation. The images of the Mutiny are to be found here. Their style closely resembles that of devotional narratives, though the primary content is that of English-native military alliance and the siege of Jhansi Fort. Entering, one begins viewing the sequence from the far end of the left wall. Illustrations of the alliances between British officers and Indian officials perhaps bear testimony to the treaty of 1812 forged with the Bundelas. In these paintings, the British encampment is clearly depicted, consisting of tents; within, officials celebrate with liquor, a *natch* (dance by courtesans) and other *nawabi* (elite leisure) activities. The adoption of *desi* (indigenous) mannerisms, tastes and, at times, wives, was common among the British as they sought to carry the Mughal lineage of power and culture to its destined evolutionary pinnacle. In this section, there are also depictions of various native professions that several European painters and photographers also made the subject of their work. Noticeable are *bhishtis* (water-carriers), fruit sellers and grooms, who feed horses in the presence of their *gora* (white) masters.

From here, we are led to scenes of the marching infantry and cavalry, having beaten to quarters ¡ taken strategic positions to launch an attack, as it were, in preparation for battle. The howitzers are lined up and the troops begin to stride towards the palace. The soldiers hold bayonets as well as smaller matchlock handguns. Foot soldiers lead the charge, firing at what might in fact be the south wall of Jhansi fort. The mutineers retaliate with cannon fire and arrows. There are also associations with the white turret that General Rose destroyed, represented by white cannons pointed towards the British army. However, the formidable force of the Raj outweighs the rebel one. The outer wall of the fort is being fired upon, but the enclosure within the moat is still undamaged. The king, presumably the *Rani*s father, confers with his minister. The *Rani* herself is in a tower, facing away from the viewer, subdued, almost in a state of torpor.

A Resistant Figure

At a more general, cultural level, a particular artistic reciprocity between India and the English is manifested in Company paintings by Indian artists, who depicted the possessions, family members and even the sprawling estates of their colonial patrons. A portrayal of the Mutiny, as well as of British army officials, on the walls of the temple suggests that British presence had been accepted into and absorbed by the local population. They were paradoxically seen as foreigners but also as clients; an imperial force, but one that could strategically go native with ease, for they were skilled players within a complex and regulated system of bilateral negotiations. Sensitive to this dialectic, the Lakshmi temple artists were able to develop their own hermeneutic of the visible. In addition, the technique of watercolour, the aesthetic parameters of realism, and the concentration on real people as primary subjects broke sharply with the prevailing stylistic conventions. They enabled the artists to respond afresh to a situation they together appropriated as righteous, compelling and, perhaps most importantly, contemporary.

The figures, drawn from life, and the contextual accuracy of the ground in terms of objects and events, suggest an astute eye and a commitment to detail. However, there seems to be no positive motivation or vigour, but rather a drift into complacency and introspection, on the part of the depicted *Rani*. Several moments pass as though she were reconciled to the misfortune of the Jhansi rulers, subsequently eliminated or isolated. And so, the paintings manage to suspend the act of warfare between resolutions. Lakshmibai, seated in a pavilion in the *zenana*, becomes an icon of subjugation, resigned and unwilling to face the English army, as indeed she was.

This sensitivity completely changes post-1947, when the iconic focus shifts from latent to manifest opposition. In a 1980s portrait of the *Rani* that hangs in the foyer of the Jhansi railway station, she is astride her horse, on the open battlefield. Here she is drawn closer to scale, perhaps during her last hours. The style is more European, as she darts across the picture plane, fighting the Hussars.

Thus we find that within the temple, she sits with humility in the sacrosanct realm of the gods, respectful of their presence; outside it, she stands as a symbol of national pride and active defiance.

The different spaces demand differing treatments. In the temple, the eye leaps from detail to detail, absorbing the historical panorama while inferring nuances of the *Rani*s particular circumstances. She becomes a figure in crisis but also a bearer of epiphany.

Juxtaposed with avatars, the *Rani* signifies a manifestation of survival and continuity, even optimism. Though today she is looked upon as a martyr, killed in historical time, when she is resurrected in the temple sanctum she becomes timeless. The walls of the temple seem to indicate that while the colonial and the native may share a segment of the historical stage in works of art, yet a shared stature is impossible ¡ a fact which should be exhibited for public scrutiny. Though art has often been put to use with a nationalistic agenda, it is often the popular that becomes a more effective tool to address aspects of difference and change. The Orchha artists carefully include aspects of the traditional (in this case, the Pahari style) as well as the urbanised aspects of the folk (Company style). Often, these artistic impulses are affected by social change, and the use of artistic wit (in the rendering of drinking scenes, for instance) allows one to construe a hybrid that is potentially iconoclastic. As a result, the depiction of the *Rani* and the British military interspersed with numerous gods and symbolic figures creates degrees and modes of ideal alienation, allowing the characters and their situations to transgress time, and transcend the conventional limits of history and mythology.

The late writer and cultural critic Susan Sontag mentions that a society becomes modern when one of its chief activities is producing and consuming imagesƒ[15]. Even though such manners existed long before the advent of modernity, the way in which images are perceived today enables them to rise beyond the fetters of their own context and signify the development of an identity. With particular regard to the Mutiny images, new entities then become (re)configured, most plausibly those of a nation , in addition to, and in keeping with, older ways of representing gods and goddesses. And so, based on Sontag s assumption, I would then suggest that this society became modern when it consumed images belonging to a space that drew Indians together as a nation. In addition, the painting of such episodes allowed the gods to travel outside the domain of the temple and join the active lives of the people. The paintings in the Lakshmi temple then, quite ingeniously, intertwine notions of cult or a personal religious encounter on the one hand and exhibition or social participation on the other. The figures break with generic conventions; the motifs allow for re-inflection, the aesthetic paradigm allows for its formal deconstruction. The narrative strategy is radicalised and transfigured through the symbolic/mythic mode being closely associated, and even interchangeable, with (in this case) human action.

According to the historian Sumati Ramaswamy, the index or meeting point of corporeal encounters with art forms produces bodyscapesƒ, a term applied to underscore the deployment of the human, more so the female, with the territorial landscape of a nation.[16] The beholder looks upon this image not with a sense of disconnect from a historical abstraction, but rather with the sense that it is worth sacrificing one s life for this dynamic entity. In the mind of the viewer, the figure of the *Rani* traverses the liminal terrain between death and regeneration, eager to negotiate the terms of war and order. Her life that is historically true now becomes emblematic. And given the conditions of her martyrdom), she becomes even more of a tragic sign, aggressively transformed within the ethos of nationalism into a symbol of relentless energy and dignity.

Is it then possible to suggest that the series of paintings in Orchha are representative of visual practices that distinguish an Indian modern ? In doing so, do they still have the power to transform and mobilise the self and community, as the power to make visible also implies the ability to exercise a certain amount of control? No image is permanently bounded or an end in itself; an image is always porous, always engaging and always available for strategic appropriation. However, in *this* pledge for resolution, the unyielding figure of the *Rani* of Jhansi will always remain a compelling figment of our imagination.

NOTES

1. Major-General Hugh Rose, commanding the CI field force, wrote in a letter dated 30 April 1858: Outside the walls, the city is girt with wood except some parts of the south and east frontsª Temples with their gardens ¡ one the Jokun Bagh, the scene of the massacre of a lamented countrymen ¡ and two rocky ridges, the east-most called Kapoo Tekri , both important positions, facing and threatening the south face of the city wall and Fortƒ. See (ed.) George W. Forrest, *The Indian Mutiny: Selections from the Letters, Dispatches and Other State Papers, Preserved in the Military Department of the Government of India, 1857-58,* Vol. IV (Reprint: Asian Education Services, 2001, New Delhi), p. 41.
2. A.P. Singh. *Monuments of Orchha* (Agam Kala Prakashan, 1991), pp. 11-20.
3. A.H. Begley. *Handbook on Rajputs* (Reprint: Asian Educational Services, 1986, New Delhi), p. 56.
4. G.H.R. Tillotson. *The Rajput Palaces: The Development of an Architectural Style, 1450-1750* (Oxford University Press, 1987), p. 73.
5. Christopher Hibbert. *The Great Mutiny: India 1857* (Penguin Books, 1978, London), p. 378.
6. This statement was probably written after the massacre in Jhansi, as Colonel Lowe was very critical of the Doctrine of Lapse. He vehemently objected to Dalhousie s annexation of Nagpur: What crime did the Raja commit that his country should be seized by the Companyª the Indian government did not limit the succession of heirs to the body aloneªƒ See Saul David, *The Indian Mutiny* (Penguin UK, 2002), p. 7.
7. Ibid., p. 379.
8. George W. Forrest, op. cit., p. 81.
9. Saul David, op. cit., p. 356.
10. The Maharaja of Jhansi served for many years as chief advisor to the *Peshwa* Baji Rao II, younger brother of Chamanji. Upon the latter s death, Moropant joined the *Peshwa s* court at Bithur.
11. George W. Forrest, op. cit., p. 83.
12. Saul David, op. cit., p. 370.
13. George W. Forrest, op. cit., p. 139.
14. Krishna Chaitanya. *History of Indian Painting: Pahari Style* (Abhinav Publications, 1991) pp. 90-101.
15. Susan Sontag. *On Photography* (Dell, 1977, New York), p. 153.
16. Sumati Ramaswamy (ed.). *Beyond Appearances? Visual Practices and Ideologies in Modern India* (Sage Publications, 2003), xxii.