

Camouflage and Colonialism: The Tiger and the Persistence of Colonial Archive

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ABSTRACT

*The following paper was written to nuance the complex relationship between the mechanism of stereotypes and their persistent shaping of colonial consciousness in present day Britain. The systemic development of these often-visual tropes and their relationship to colonial statecraft has been reviewed by comparing the infamous colonial painting, *Retribution* (1858) (shown at a 2016 exhibition at Tate Modern) with the mechanical semi-automaton, *Tipu's Tiger* (1808). By drawing on seminal texts on the ambivalence of colonial discourse, this essay attempts to answer the question of how the tiger as a Muslim symbol has been used to camouflage historical and visual consciousness towards colonialism in India.*

Introduction

"The Lion of God is the Tiger of Mysore",¹ a phrase famously attributed to Tipu Sultan, the Muslim ruler of the Indian Kingdom of Mysore from 1782 until he was defeated and killed

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1 J. Fr Michaud, *Michaud's History of Mysore, Under Hyder Ali & Tippoo Sultan* (New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1985).

by the British troops in 1799.² The "Tiger of Mysore", earned his title by the British over a claim that he killed a tiger with his knife after his gun failed to go off.³ Therefore, the tiger is a symbol directly associated with his reign and persona. This article discusses the implications of bringing together the views of the colonisers and the colonized, as exhibited in the 2016 retrospective, *Artist & Empire* at Tate Britain. In particular, the paper focuses on the tiger in Edward Armitage's painting titled, *Retribution* (1858) (Fig. 1), showing the sword-wielding figure of Justice vanquishing the tiger of Indian rebellion alongside the import of the mechanical semi-automaton, *Tipu's Tiger* (Fig. 2) by the East India Company in 1808. Firstly, the paper establishes the Muslim personification of the tiger itself, and appropriation in historicizing 'the other' through the animal human binary employed in *Retribution*. Secondly, the base of this research paper is to argue that the persistence and continued ambivalence towards the use of colonial tropes renders exhibitions like, *Artist & Empire* incredibly problematic. It forefronts the continued visual and historical ambivalence perpetuated through major art institutions such as Tate Britain, which continues to perpetuate imperialist ideals rather than challenge or even undo them. Through the mechanism of mimicry and stereotype suggested in Homi Bhabha's, *Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse*, this essay primarily attempts to answer the question of how the tiger has been used to camouflage historical and visual consciousness towards colonialism in India. Through a close study of postcolonial theory (mainly Spivak and Bhabha), this paper comments on how significant the role of art was in furthering the imperialist agenda in India.

Tipu's use of the tiger as a central motif to his brand, has been regarded as almost obsessive. Present on his flags, coins and decorated throughout the walls of his palace. The title of "Lion of God" evokes religious iconography and Tipu's reverence to

2 Susan Stronge, *Tipu's Tigers* (London: V & A Publishing, 2009), 39-41.

3 Michaud, *Michaud's History of Mysore*.

a lion as the epithet of Ali.⁴ In his paper, *Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse*, Bhabha refers to Stephan Feuchtwang's analogy from a different context to address the nature of the epithet. Bhabha proposes that "epithets racial or sexual come to be seen as modes of differentiation, realized as multiple, cross cutting determinations, polymorphous and perverse, always demanding a specific and strategic calculation of their effects."⁵ It is important to note that at a linguistic level in India, *Sher* is a term used for both Lions and Tigers. Therefore, in such a context, Lions and Tigers are regarded as interchangeable.⁶ In 1799, while defending his fort of Seringapatam and before his death at the hands of British troops, the heavily allegorized figure of Tipu is famously recounted as repeating the Tibetan proverb, "I would rather live a day as a tiger than a lifetime as a sheep."⁷ For the first time in British history, a troop of 50,000 British soldiers were adorned with medals, which serve as an imperative visual reference of portrayals of animals as sovereigns and nations as well as a glorification of the image of conquest of colonizer over colonized. The medal (Fig. 3) inscribes the British lion defeating the Indian tiger and was designed to inspire soldiers towards victory in their impending battle against Tipu. Cast in Gold, Silver and Bronze to distinguish between ranks of officers sporting them, along with an inscription of *Asad Allah* on top which translates as the "Lion of God", the medal explicitly memorializes the vanquish of Tipu and his insignia.⁸

4 The title, 'Lion of God' was given by Prophet Muhammad to his son-in-law, Ali, to praise his wisdom and valour. Ali is revered as a great warrior by Shia Muslims in particular. (Michaud, *Michaud's History of Mysore*, 165).

5 Homi K. Bhabha, "The Other Question", "Of Mimicry and Man", and "Sly Civility" In *The Location of Culture* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), 96.

6 Kate Brittlebank, 1995. "Sakti and Barakat: The Power of Tipu's Tiger. An Examination of the Tiger Emblem of Tipu Sultan of Mysore," *Modern Asian Studies* 29, no. 2 (1995): 257–69.

7 Michaud, *Michaud's History of Mysore*.

8 Stronge, *Tipu's Tigers*, 84.

Tipu's Tiger

Of all of Tipu's personal possessions inscribing the symbol of the tiger, the most intriguing object and also the most relevant to the argument of this paper, is *Tipu's Tiger*. In 1808, a mechanical clock organ tiger was displayed at the East India Company museum at Leadenhall Street in London.⁹ On the dissolution of the Company 50 years later, all contents of the museum were transferred to the Crown, and the tiger eventually ended up in the permanent display of the Indian Section at the Victoria & Albert Museum in London. Ever since it first went on display, the Tiger became an object of public spectacle and fascination as it brought with it a promise of a colonial encounter. It also proved as intrigue to famous artists and writers of the time including John Keats and Gustave Flaubert.¹⁰ As writer Julian Barnes recounts, "in 1819 Keats saw on display Tippoo's Tiger, the famous mechanical beast manufactured for the Sultan of Mysore and captured by the British some twenty years previously. Life-sized, it stands menacingly over its latest victim, a prone Redcoat about to receive the *coup de grace*. It is part comic, part scary; part vast toy - an internal organ produces tigerish roars and human shrieks, while the victim's arm flails to fend off the beast".¹¹

Keats was so taken by the semi-automaton that he refers to it in his satirical poem, "The Cap and Bells" (1819), "That little buzzing noise... Comes from a plaything of the Emperor's choice, From a Man-Tiger-Organ, prettiest of his toys".¹² Barnes also mentions Flaubert's visit to London for the Great Exhibition of 1851, where he explored the great industrial bazaar at the Crystal Palace. However, as Frederick Brown, his latest biographer, reports, "apparently nothing under that stupendous roof delighted him more than Tippoo's Tyger at

9 Stronge, *Tipu's Tigers*, 62.

10 Stronge, *Tipu's Tigers*, 62.

11 Julian Barnes, "Flaubert C'est Moi," *The New York Review of Books*, 13, no. 9 (May 25, 2006): 12.

12 Barnes, "Flaubert C'est Moi," 12.

the East India Company Museum.”¹³ Moreover, The Victoria and Albert Museum’s 1851 guidebook describes how “enduring fascination can be explained by Tipu’s much-publicized tiger mania and Anglophobia, twin obsessions which were embodied in the toy tiger. Tigers and tiger symbols adorned most of his possessions, from his magnificent throne to the uniforms of his guards.”¹⁴ Tipu was deemed Anglophobic for resisting the presence of the East India Company and forcefully opposing the British rule in the subcontinent. This publicized tiger mania reinforces the significant role of the museum as an archive, in allegorizing an orientalist history of Tipu and his reign. The East India Company’s Museum guidebook advanced the same thesis as James Salmond’s “The review of the origin, progress, and result of the decisive war with the late Tippoo Sultaun in Mysore”, in which Colonel Mark Wood, co-author of a 1800-page book on the British defeat of Tipu Sultan the year prior, described the Tiger as “a characteristic emblem of the ferocious animosity of Tippoo.” It further solidified the association of a tiger with the image and potential of a rebellious India. The guidebook also prescribes, “We may conceive, how refined must have been the mind which designed such an invention, and also how deep must have been the feeling of resentment.”¹⁵ This statement brushes over the spectacularisation of the object in question, which drew in crowds so fixated on hearing the automaton’s roar that, 20 years later, wore out the original handle.¹⁶

Susan Stronge recounts the experience of a commentator who at the time deemed it the automaton’s fate, “to be seen and to be admired, if necessary, but heard no more.”¹⁷ Therefore, the resultant inaudibility of *Tipu’s Tiger*, created a

13 Barnes, Flaubert C’est Moi, 13.

14 Veronica Murphy, *Tipu’s Tiger* (London: Victoria & Albert Museum, 1976).

15 Mark Wood and James Salmond, *A Review of The Origin, Progress, and Result of The Decisive War with The Late Tippoo Sultaun, In Mysore* (London: T. Cadell, Jun. & W. Davies, 1800).

16 Stronge, *Tipu’s Tigers*, 68.

17 Stronge, *Tipu’s Tigers*, 70.

lack in the encounter with the object, as sound was an integral component in allegorizing the fantasy of the Tiger. The Company's museum as a colonial archive, hinged on the circulation of this allegory as knowledge to solidify the stereotype of the tiger as a rebellious other. This form of delineated circulation, has been deemed fetishitic by Bhabha as he claims, "The knowledge of the 'other' is arrested and fetishistic and circulates through colonial discourse as that limited form of otherness that I have called the stereotype."¹⁸ Tipu's book, written in Persian as a journal narrating his dreams, had been reduced to "revealing his preoccupation with tigers, and his association of the cult animal with the extermination, or at least the driving out, of infidels (i.e. non-Muslims)" by the Victoria and Albert Museum.¹⁹ The handbook further indulges in an orientalist claim stating, "He was in effect the royal tiger, the instrument of God, appointed to devour God's enemies, particularly the British, whose continuing presence in South India guaranteed opposition to the aggrandizement of Mysore. His opponents felt in him the mingled dread and allure of the 'tyger burning bright', irresistible to the European then as now."²⁰

Through Bhabha's analogy of the stereotype, one is aware of the preoccupation of the colonial discourse "to produce the colonized as a social reality which is at once the 'other' and yet entirely knowable and visible."²¹ Through this partial visibility of the tiger curated by the museum itself, the colonial archive also plays an eminent role in the production and circulation of the said knowledge. As Bhabha mentions, "It resembles a form of narrative whereby the productivity and circulation of subjects and signs are bound in a reformed and recognizable totality. It employs a system of representation, a regime of truth, that is structurally similar to realism."²² He

18 Bhabha, "The Other Question", "Of Mimicry and Man", and "Sly Civility," 123.

19 Murphy, *Tipu's Tiger*.

20 Murphy, *Tipu's Tiger*.

21 Bhabha, "The Other Question", "Of Mimicry and Man", and "Sly Civility," 123.

22 Bhabha, "The Other Question", "Of Mimicry and Man", and "Sly Civility," 101.

further compares this partial visibility to a partial presence of the colonial subject when he compares this partiality to a form of ambivalence. He states, "The ambivalence of mimicry (almost the same, but not quite) does not merely 'rupture' the discourse, but becomes transformed into an uncertainty which fixes the colonial subject as a partial presence. By partial I mean both 'incomplete' and 'virtual'."²³ Furthermore, the reduction of the tiger to "cult animal" not only renders it partially visible, but is also indicative of the imperialist prejudice towards the Islamic oriental in particular. While citing "Description de L'Egypte" by William Lane as an example, Edward Said addresses this particular aspect of orientalism as discriminatory. He asserts, "The Islamic orient has only been used to refer to the power of the orient but never the Islamic people as people nor their history as history."²⁴

Art, Archives and Audiences

The museum as a primary colonial archive also reinforces the royal tiger as a personification of the sovereign while simultaneously reducing the sovereign to a savage other. It reasserts the relationship of sovereignty with divinity but suggests a hierarchical difference in the scale of power and divinity in both. The museum, therefore, functions as a space that is discursively produced. It primarily functions as an optical instrument, delineating knowledge and making only some things visible. Georges Bataille described in his definition of the museum as, precisely, a mirror:

It is not just that the museums of the world as a whole today represent a colossal accumulation of riches but, more important, that all those who visit these museums represent without a doubt the most grandiose spectacle of a humanity liberated from material concerns and devoted to contemplation. We need to recognize that the galleries and the objects of art form only the container, the content of which is constituted by the visitors....The museum is the colossal mirror in which man finally contemplates himself in every respect,

23 Bhabha, "The Other Question", "Of Mimicry and Man", and "Sly Civility," 123.

24 Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), 87.

finds himself literally admirable, and abandons himself to the ecstasy expressed in all the art magazines.²⁵

Bataille renders the museum as the ultimate mirror as well as a site of both fixity and fantasy. Furthermore, the moral mandate of imperial presence and its resultant conflict is contingent on the depiction of a fantasy image of the future at risk or in ruins through such institutional display. Therefore, the tiger camouflages an orientalist and commodified figure of Tipu along with the visual imagery of his reign through the narrative of colonialism. In particular, the reinforcement of Tipu's depiction as a brutal tiger set to devour the English, and the emphasis on his anglophobia fixes and fantasizes Tipu as a spectacular, orientalist figure of colonial history.

As another vivid example of colonial preoccupation with *Fixity* and *Fantasy*, Armitage's *Retribution*, visually narrates the punishment of the Indian Mutiny by Great Britain in 1857. The narrative significance of the animal lingers in the subtext of the painting itself. The Mutiny as an act of rebellion was sparked over a refusal by Indian Sepoys to forego their religious customs under the command of the British.²⁶ The Mutiny and the incidents precluding to it serve as a ceaseless reminder of the subversion of indigenous culture and customs by the British Empire. In her book, "Can the Subaltern Speak?" Gayatri Spivak refers to the abolition of the controversial Hindu custom of *sati* by the British in 1839,²⁷ as an example of an imperialist act of subversion, which rendered the subaltern incapable of self-determination.

25 Gerald Raunig and Gene Ray, *Art and Contemporary Critical Practice: Reinventing institutional Critique* (London: MayFlyBooks, 2009), 72.

26 The 1857 mutiny arose after the refusal of Indian sepoys to bite and tear open gunpowder cartridges for the Enfield rifle, which contained cow and pig fat. British officers insisted that the new cartridges be used by both Muslim and Hindu soldiers, which Indians perceived as an act of discrimination against their religious practices. [George Forrest, *The Indian Mutiny, 1857- 58* (New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 2006)].

27 Rosalind C. Morris and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, *Can The Subaltern Speak?* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010), 29. 'In Memoriam' by Joseph Noel Paton is a painting depicting the killing of women and children at Kanpur during the Indian revolt of 1857. The painting is presently included in the *Artist and Empire* exhibition at Tate Britain.

Commissioned and painted a year after the mutiny, *Retribution* depicts a giant, masculine female figure of Britannica restraining and reclaiming the tiger as representative of a defiant India. The female figure of Britannica serves as a cultural signifier of a pioneering masculine British spirit, always under perceived threat from her colonial subjects. The overpowering of a tiger reinforces the strength of the opponent, while simultaneously demeans it as an untamed beast in contrast to a just and human Britain. The animal human dichotomy presents a racist rhetoric, which emphasizes stereotypes of animality associated with the ethnic other. Therefore, not only does it allude to the fetishizing of the struggle between man versus beast, it announces man as the indisputable victor. Simultaneously it reiterates the might of the Empire under imperialism, as undefeatable at the hands of its colonies.

The title, '*Retribution*' itself allegorizes Britannica as not only the avenger of the victims of the Kanpur Massacre²⁸ commemorated on the bottom right of the painting, but also reclaiming ownership by slaying the tiger of Indian rebellion as an exercise of power over its colony. The positioning of Taj Mahal, at the right-hand corner behind the figure of Britannica situates the architectural symbol of the Indian State under the sole and permanent control of the British. Said holds this skewed and partial representation of the East responsible for an orient that doesn't develop, is timeless, outside of history and placid.²⁹ Therefore, through Said's account of orientalism, one could argue that the Tiger mimics a similar placid depiction of the other. Said implicates the general process of using large abstract categories to create and perpetuate the 'Other' as more formal to present itself as objective knowledge. Hence the imperialist prerogative present in *Retribution*, asserts not just the knowledge of the west as

28 120 British women and children were captured by the Sepoy forces in the siege of Kanpur were killed in what is also known as the Bibighar Massacre. George Forrest, *The Indian Mutiny, 1857-58* (New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 2006).

29 Said, *Orientalism*, 27.

victorious but simultaneously reinforces the idea of the East as savage and inhuman. Retribution's tiger as a singular detail of a collective ideal, reminds one that what you see is never truly what you see because within this space, vision itself is implicated in an act of otherness.

Partiality and Self-effacement

To further consider the role of partial presence and representation, one can refer to homomorphy, a term described by Roger Caillois in, "Mimicry and Legendary Psychasthenia" as an idea of self-effacement; in the way that a moth may conceal itself on the bark of a tree.³⁰ A psychoanalytic proposition of self-effacement would suggest that both the moth and bark exist on a lateral axis as similar, but not the same.³¹ One could merit the colonial representation of the Tiger in *Retribution* as homomorphic, to conceal itself on the surface of the painting to mimic a set of ideals, which distances the viewer from seeing what they truly see. In "The Line and Light, Of the Gaze", Jacques Lacan claims, "the effect on mimicry is camouflage...It is not a question of harmonizing with the background, but against a mottled background, of becoming mottled — exactly like the technique of camouflage practised in human warfare."³² Through Callois's idea of resemblance one could think of The Tiger of *Retribution* in relation to camouflage as working not to resemble but to disturb the perceptual visual field. Similarly, Lacan's theory on the function of the subject in the domain of the spectacle concurs, as the main preoccupation of the scopic drive is an excess of the visual.³³

30 Roger Caillois, "Mimicry and Legendary Psychasthenia," trans., John Shepley, *October* 31 (Winter 1984): 16.

31 Juliet Mitchell, "Introduction," *The Selected Melanie Klein* (New York: Free Press, 1986), 9-54.

32 Bhabha, "The Other Question", "Of Mimicry and Man", and "Sly Civility", 120.

33 J. M. Heaton, "The Four Fundamental Concepts of Psychoanalysis", by Jacques Lacan. ed., Jacques-Alain Miller, trans., Alan Sheridan", *Journal of the British Society for Phenomenology* 9, no. 3 (1978): 204-205.

Caillois also proposes camouflage as an act of self-effacement through which the subjects are capable of becoming lost to themselves. In comparison, the tiger effaces a self of the oriental other that could potentially take it beyond "its naturalized role as an appendage" to India.³⁴ For Caillois, the proliferation of the image is integral to the process of camouflage. Similarly, Bhabha also insists "that the discourse of mimicry is constructed around an ambivalence, in order to be effective, mimicry must continually produce its slippage, its excess, its difference."³⁵ Consequently, the proliferation of the image of tiger as a rebellious India is everywhere. The tiger's status as an iconographic symbol of indigenous mythological, religious and cultural practices are unknowable yet visible and camouflaged by the colonial subversion of the image of India. For Bhabha, "Mimicry is, thus the sign of a double articulation: a complex strategy of reform, regulation and discipline, which 'appropriates' the Other as it visualizes power."

Jacques Derrida claims that the animal "is a name men have given themselves the right and the authority to give to the living other".³⁶ This reinforces the notion that historical consciousness has been mediated through an anthropocentric frame; focused on human as the empowered subject, while animals as the inferior other. Derrida's conundrum of his cat's returned gaze and the un-knowability of the stakes of this exchange are comparable to the un-knowability yet visibility of The Tiger as a looking subject. Similarly, the animal is also imbedded in a history of post-revolutionary colonial exhibitionism in France, which enabled a spectacularised public encounter between western audiences and colonial subjects from the East. The animal itself as colonial subject reinforced western imperial notions of otherness contingent on orientalist modes of visual exchange.

34 Said, *Orientalism*.

35 Bhabha, "The Other Question", "Of Mimicry and Man", and "Sly Civility", 120.

36 Jacques Derrida and Marie-Louise Mallet, *The Animal That Therefore I Am* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2008), 23.

Sovereignty and Semiotics

Building on this rhetoric of the colonial encounter and visual exchange and due to the interchangeability of the term *Sher*, I will also briefly employ the use of the Lion as a comparative reference of sovereignty and colonialism prevalent in Europe at the time. Through this association, I am interested in unpacking animality as a post-terror and orientalist subject which becomes an interesting proposition for a return to a state of nature or reverse to sovereignty. In her lecture titled, "Beast Within: Leonine Encounters in Post-Revolutionary France", Katie Hornstein drew comparison to the French Post-Revolutionary establishment of the Museum of Natural History and the use of live lions to represent the end of terror. Through Mark and Constantine, the famous Lion pair she used as the focus of her research, she reiterates how as status symbols these lions encompassed man's fixation to control wild nature; a fixation that is also quite evidently fetishized in Armitage's composition of *Retribution*. The Lions reflected Post-Revolutionary France's political ambitions and became a medium of encounter between the public and the colonies symptomatic again of viewer exchange with *Tipu's Tiger* and *Retribution*. An emphasis on the 'live' display of the lions demarcates the fixation with the real and highlights the structural significance of realism in colonial encounters. There were circulations of Lions as visual objects by artists who promoted this scopophilic encounter.³⁷

Although *Tipu's Tiger* was essentially a large mechanical toy, its ability to evoke a similar encounter as the live lions of Paris is rather remarkable. The Tiger in Britain was also circulated as a visual object much like the Lions from Africa were in France. Published in "The Graphic" in 1891, there is one particular print, which captures the tiger being circulated as a coercive gift from the ruler of Baroda to the Prince of Wales.³⁸ (Fig. 4)

37 Katie Hornstein, "Beast Within: Leonine Encounters in Post-Revolutionary France" (Lecture, UCL, March 04, 2016).

38 Illustration for *The Graphic*, November 7, 1891.

The representation of Mark and Constantine as an archetype is comparable to the Tiger as a depiction of the entire subcontinent. Bhabha in his definition of the stereotype states that, "It is a form of knowledge and identification that vacillates between what is always 'in place', already known and something that must be anxiously repeated", hence in this case the archetype can also function as a stereotype. He builds on this argument by asserting, "It is the force of ambivalence that gives the colonial stereotype its currency."³⁹ The display of both *Retribution* and *Tipu's Tiger* in their respective institutions implicated vision in the reinforcement of otherness through the persistence of the colonial archive itself. The Tiger of *Retribution* is integrally related to *Tipu's Tiger* within the narrative of constructing colonial consciousness and through the persistence this particular archive in shaping contemporary theories of vision. Employed as instruments for the reinforcement of British Imperialism, both fail to arrest the viewer in the way they once did. This shift from an active and scopophilic presence of the viewer to a passive or absent one today becomes a broader critique of visualizing colonialism post the emergence of post-colonialist discourse. Tipu and Armitage's Tiger as objects of spectacle, both play an integral role in camouflaging historical consciousness, however, they also mimic the ideals of otherness imbedded in notions of their individual disposition.

Conclusion

Artist and Empire, although anachronistic in nature, proposes a self-critical encounter with colonialism. The problem of this reimagined exhibitionism however, becomes a broader critique of the persistence and nature of the colonial archive itself. It also undermines camouflage as a visual device for determining and constructing the colonial encounter with a viewer. An understanding of colonial mimesis through Bhabha, suggests that the viewer's gaze is subjected to the appropriation of an ideal, which is in turn mimicked by viewers themselves, as well as the institution of its display. Although

39 Bhabha, "The Other Question", "Of Mimicry and Man", and "Sly Civility," 94.

such an exhibition may suggest an arguable obsolescence of the scopophilic encounter with such imperialist paintings post post-colonialism, it also predisposes the persistence of the colonial archive itself. The visual context and moral mandate of *Retribution* finds itself in a state of obsolescence, since as a painting it hardly generates the visual appeal it may have once had. In fact, *Artist and Empire*, although allotting it a fairly visible place within the extensive show, glossed over it in their brochure with a mere one-line mention. However, as I found myself then staring at the Tiger in *Retribution*, I imagined it attempting a leap from the very walls constructed to perpetuate its complacent narrative. A narrative that neither calls for its disappearance nor displacement and instead only keeps it fixed within the fantasy of its existence.

Illustrations



Figure 1: 'Retribution', by Edward Armitage, 1858, Leeds City Art Gallery. (Displayed at *Artist and Empire*, Tate Britain)



Figure 2: 'Tipu's Tiger', Mysore, India, about 1793. Victoria & Albert Museum, London.



Figure 3: "The Seringapatam Medal", designed by C.H Kuchler. Bronze, diameter 4.8cm. Struck at the Soho Mint, Birmingham, c.1801. On loan to the Victoria & Albert Museum from Lord Cornwallis.

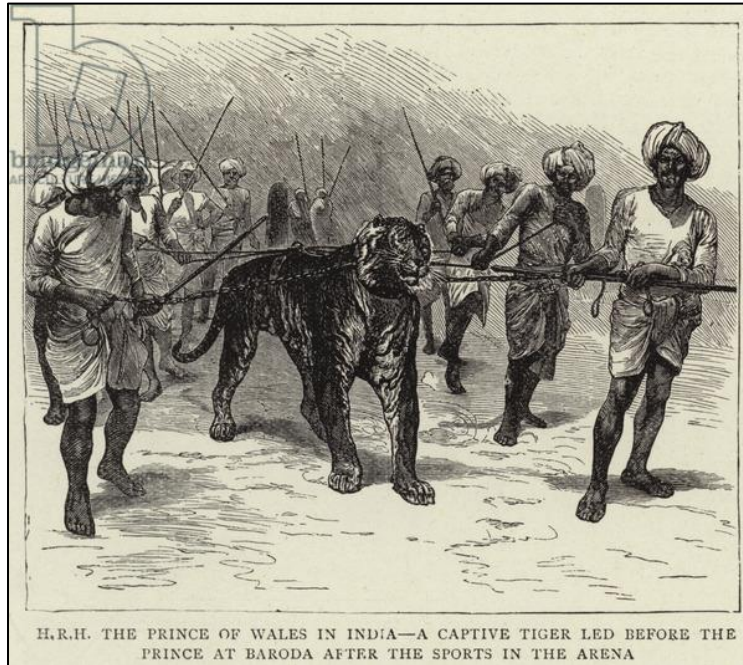


Figure 4: The Prince of Wales in India, a Captive Tiger led before the Prince at Baroda after the Sports in the Arena. Illustration for *The Graphic*, November 7, 1891. British Museum, London.