

**HYBRIDITY, STYLE AND IDENTITY, THE COURT ART AND ARCHITECTURE
OF LUCKNOW 1770-1850**

SALLY RYNNE B. A.

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the Open University
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

August 2000

The London Institute, Camberwell College of Arts

Abstract

Hybridity, Style and Identity - The Court Art and Architecture of Lucknow 1770-1850

Lucknow, the capital city of present day Uttar Pradesh, and previously of the Kingdom of Oudh, was the site of an extraordinary cultural and artistic milieu in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Oudh was an semi-independent state within the declining mughal empire, and close contact with Europeans provoked an exchange of architectural ideas which developed into a hybrid of Indian and European prototypes. In addition, the publication of Indian scenes in England initiated a response to Indian architectural styles with some fascinating results.

Adopting elements of neo-classical architecture, combined with the local late mughal style, the nawabs of Lucknow initiated an extraordinary program of palatial and religious building. Drawing extensively on local prototypes, and using neo-classical forms and motifs, a hybrid architectural milieu developed which functioned as a multivalent sign of the nawabs' aspirations and identity statements. The buildings provoked, and continue to provoke, comment and debate, and are examined here in terms of their use as signs of identity, gendered spaces, and ritual spaces, both social and religious. The converse; British uses of Indian architectural forms; is discussed as being equally significant as a demonstration of how exotic forms are adopted and assimilated into an existing style in the west. In late eighteenth and early nineteenth century England, this took place within a larger debate about styles and values, and a commitment to notions of primacy and purity in architecture. One result of this thinking is the denigration of hybridity and deviation from style which informed the art historical attitudes to Lucknavi architecture, and this is discussed with particular reference to the western art historical discourse.

The use of the other in the formation of diverse identity statements is examined and developed in three specific cases: the little-known culture, architecture and rituals of the Lucknavi Shias, the employment of a European artist in the king of Lucknow's inner circle, and his influence on the courtly style, and the use of the first visual mass-medium, the Panorama, to display Lucknow to the British public. These significant examples are used to illustrate the essentially tripartite nature of the hybrid culture of Lucknow: Indian (mughal), European and Shia; and subverting the polarity that is usually assumed in the contacts between east and west.

Contents

Page no.

Abstract

Acknowledgements

Introduction

Chapter 1 1
Lucknow - locating Orientalism

Section 1

Chapter 2 29
Hybrid Houses and Indian Origins

Chapter 3 56

The Mysterious West and the Classical East - architecture and otherness in Britain and Lucknow 1770-1820

Chapter 4 75

Hybridity, Morality and Decadence - problems of style and stylism

Chapter 5 94

Oriental and neo-classical - the place of Indian architecture in the battle of the styles.

Chapter 6 115

Recreating Karbala - the symbolic architecture of Shia Lucknow

Chapter 7 138

Robert Home and the King of Oudh - palace culture and art.

Chapter 8 162

The Orient as a Spectacle - A Panoramic vision of Lucknow

Conclusion 187

Bibliography

Appendix 1 - Glossary

Appendix 2 - List of Illustrations

Map

Acknowledgements

This work could not have been undertaken without the generous assistance of the London Institute, thanks are also due to Professor Roger Breakwell for his kind interest.

Many others in England and in India helped in various ways. The invariably helpful staff of the Oriental and India Office Collections of the British Library, the Prints and Drawings Collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum, and the library of the School of Oriental and African Studies played a large part in the early days, many thanks for their patience and helpful suggestions.

Dr. Rosie Llewellyn-Jones, whose earlier work on Lucknow inspired me to look again at the often despised hybrid buildings of the city, her kindness and generosity cannot be overstated.

My supervisors, Professor Oriana Baddeley, Professor Toshio Watanabe and Dr. G. H. R. Tillotson, thanks for their support, criticism and comment. Any defects in the present work are, entirely my own, and not in any way a reflection on the excellent supervision I received.

In India, so many people need to be thanked and acknowledged that I cannot attempt to name them all. In any case, some of them are unknown; anyone who has travelled in India knows the many small but important kindnesses shown to visitors.

P. T. Nair at the Asiatic Society guided me towards the Robert Home period of the Society's history. His vast knowledge of old Calcutta gave me valuable background to the chapter on Calcutta houses.

Dr. Rakesh Tiwari, at the State Archaeological Department of Uttar Pradesh, his wife Meena and children, Archit and Parul.

Dr. S. D. Trivedi and the staff at the State Museum, Lucknow.

Above all, the nawab Mir Jafar Abdullah, of Sheesh Mahal, his family and extended family made my second visit to Lucknow such a pleasure. Without his expert knowledge and valuable contacts in the Shia community, the chapter on Shia architecture would not have been written. His courtesy and kindness are a living reminder of the old courtly Lucknow.

My family and friends were always very supportive, thanks to my parents David and MayAnne particularly, and to my son Malachy, for enduring as long as they did. My dearest friend Francesca Altman, who always had time to listen and encourage I cannot thank enough. The staff and my friends and colleagues at Camberwell College of Arts I owe a great debt for their humour and support.

For James North - who knows why

Chapter 1

Lucknow - Locating Orientalism

“Lucknow is admirably situated, about 50 miles from Cawnpore, on the south-western, or right bank of the navigable river Goomtee, on a long hill, gradually rising from the water’s edge, along which it extends above four miles. The city may be said to consist of three parts, and is intersected by a deep canal, which falls into the Goomtee, near the Martiniere. The central, or oldest division, built by the ancient rulers, is appropriated to the mercantile community, and consists of mean, narrow and dirty streets, and inconvenient lanes, with the exception of a chook or market, and one or two open places, occupied by the better class of shopkeepers; this according to tradition, contained the stronghold of the ancient city, which was demolished by the great Aurungzebe.

The second partition, towards the south west, that more immediately beneath the spectator, was principally the work of Saadut Ali, the Nawab Vizier, who ruled Oude from 1798 to 1814; it has a very fine and handsome street, above a mile in length, called the Hussanabad, or Chinka (Chinese bazaar), approached at each extremity by very handsome gates, and it contains most of the principal religious edifices, royal palaces, and gardens, as well as the British Residency, and the houses of the English officers connected with the court. This division is, unlike most Native towns, from the strange mixture of all sorts of orders and styles of architecture that it presents, curiously diversified by modern and by no means classical innovation; beautiful Oriental buildings, tall and slender pillars, lofty colonnades, heavy masses of brick-work, iron railings and palisades; with shops and houses that look as if they had just been transplanted from Regent Street, gilded domes and the ever prevailing crescent, stand in singular and anomalous contrast to each other. The third or north-west division, is of purely Oriental character, and contains many fine mosques, including the Immambarrah, which cannot be surpassed in elegance of style, many rich and fantastic gateways, and other fine buildings, chiefly completed during the reign of the Asoof-oo-Dowlah, from 1775 to 1797.

Few cities, until very recently, presented so purely an Oriental appearance, or greater diversity of costume, than Lucknow; being the capital of a comparatively independent Native government, one also passionately fond of display and ostentation, regardless of cost - for no other Indian court could vie with Oude in wealth and magnificence - it was a perfect realization of the court of an Asiatic despot” (Galland: Panorama of Lucknow 1858).

The City

Lucknow became the capital city of the state of Oudh around 1775 during the reign of Asaf-ud-Daula. Though the architectural flamboyance of the nawabs of Oudh dates from this time onwards, Lucknow is thought to be an ancient city. From the Hindu epic Ramayana, much of which is based in nearby Ayodhya (from which Oudh derives its name) comes the earliest mention of the city of Lakshman, brother to the god Rama, which is thought to be Lucknow (i.e. Lakshman's city). Little is known of Lucknow after the invasion of northern India by various Islamic dynasties. The city had originally been part of the last great northern Hindu state of Kannauj, which was defeated by Qutb-ud-Din Aibak in the thirteenth century. Later rulers were the Sharqis of Jaunpur (1394-1478) and even later local clans like the Sheikzadis and related families. It is not until the mughal period that Lucknow is mentioned historically. It is said locally (Sharar 1975:36) that the deposed mughal emperor Humayun rested there on his flight to Persia. In Akbar's reign Oudh (or Avadh, Awadh etc.) became a province of the mughal empire.

In 1709, during the reign of Bahadur Shah, Mir Muhammed Amin, a Sayyid from Nishapur in Persia arrived at the court in Delhi. He was given an official post at court, and eventually became a military commander, with a reputation for ferocity and cunning (Sharar 1975:41). Invested with the official title of Burhan-ul-Mulk he took Lucknow from the Sheikzadis and ruled the province from Lucknow and Ayodhya. His son-in-law Safdar Jang succeeded in obtaining the governorship of Oudh, though spending a considerable amount of time at court in Delhi, where he was buried after his death in 1753. His son Shuja-ud-Daula was the first *nawab vizier* of Oudh to have direct contact with the British in Bengal. By this time the court of the nawab (now based in Faizabad) was extremely rich, and the army well equipped and professional. The increase in the power of the British in India had been earlier cemented at the Battle of Panipat (1761) and Buxar (1765), where on both occasions, Shuja-ud-Daula had taken to the field with his allies and been defeated. After surrendering to the British, he was reinstated as nawab vizier, and entered in the first of a series of treaties and settlements which were also enjoined on his heirs. After the reinstatement he returned to Faizabad and ruled the province from there until his death in 1775.

He was succeeded by his son Asaf-ud-Daula (r. 1775-1798) who made the important move to Lucknow and started the enormous program of palatial and public building which became the

hallmark of the nawabs of Oudh. Asaf-ud-Daula and his successors were much influenced by their contacts with Europeans, first with French adventurers like Antoine Polier and Claude Martin, and later by officials of the East India Company such as Gore Ouseley. It was the East India Company, or the Company as it was known, which played an extremely influential, and to many, disastrous part in the affairs of Oudh. So much so, that this particular area of the Company's quasi-rulership of an Indian province is widely considered a kind of text-book object-lesson in English perfidy.

The Company

The East India Company was founded on 31st December 1600 in order to finance trade with India. The supremacy of the Dutch in the highly profitable East Indies spice trade had persuaded the English to concentrate on India as an alternative (Spear 1965:65). By the eighteenth century trade politics and military prowess had become intermingled in such a way that the British were *de facto* rulers of large swathes of Bengal, and in the south, Karnatica and Tamil Nadu. A system of appointing Residents to native courts served to further advance English presence and ideas into areas which were, for the moment, ruled by Indians. This was the case in Oudh by the last quarter of the eighteenth century, and the arrival of the Resident was the impetus for the construction of the neo-classical style Residency compound on the highest point in Lucknow. In Lucknow the Company *inter alia* acted to control the movement of Europeans into the city; though this was not always successful, it demonstrates the extent to which the Company could act to isolate native rulers from other Europeans. Various treaties were made with Shuja-ud-Daula and his descendants, and enormous sums of money were advanced to the British. It was one of these treaties which led to the annexation of Oudh in 1856, when the hapless Wajid Ali Shah was unable to meet the conditions laid on him. Throughout the reign of the nawabs, the Company acted as an ostensible ally and partner in the affairs of state.

Thesis

This thesis, concerned mainly with the themes of hybridity and identity will attempt to describe a particular Orient, that of the nawabi court and city of Lucknow. In a period of about seventy years (1780-1850), during which a succession of nawabs and kings ruled and responded to the increasing encroachment on their territory (geographical, cultural and political), a rich interactive culture developed. Much of the Lucknavi response to the British

presence was expressed in a series of hybrid style buildings, mainly palatial, certainly highly individualistic and syncretic. Some other responses were in the field of consumption of European goods, including clothing, ceramics, clocks, mirrors, scientific equipment and modern technological development such as a pre-fabricated cast-iron bridge¹ and a modern Observatory. Another form of consumption was the employment of skilled Europeans in the court, as doctors, coachmen, architects, soldiers, painters, tutors and personal attendants. In the course of the seventy year period, the nawabs variously had differing degrees of proximity with the British, both political and personal, and there is no doubt that this relationship² was a source of anxiety and ambivalence for both parties. It was also the source of new artistic prototypes for the Lucknavi patrons of building, who were mainly the nawabs themselves, but not exclusively so. What is fascinating in Lucknow is that the enthusiastic adoption of new styles and forms was initially taken up very rapidly by a few powerful men: the nawabs Asaf-ud-Daula and Sadaat Ali Khan particularly. The confidence with which they approached the classical language of architecture and appropriated it, and subordinated it to their own cultural requirements is an excellent example of the kind of interactivity described by MacKenzie, and rarely admitted by Said. Another way in which Lucknow defies an essentialist interpretation of Orientalism is that the admission of new cultural prototypes did not actually replace the existing local prototypes, as would be expected in the usual discourse of colonialism and imperialism. The “superior” European models were co-existing with the local ones, and in the case of the “third culture”, Lucknavi Shi’ism, European influence was hardly present in any way. Leaving aside the questions of taste and value, the use of style by the nawabs in the making of hybrid architecture is a record of the process of a cultural exchange which lies outside the essentialist norms of the orientalism. The other significant aspect of interactivity in Lucknow - that of European personnel in the service of the nawab, is represented in this thesis by the life and work of Robert Home (1752-1834), court painter to the nawab Ghazi-ud-Din Haidar. From previously unpublished letters by Home to his daughter Anne, the letters and memoirs of Home’s sons, and from the album of Home’s designs, it has been possible to reconstruct aspects of the very cordial and informal relationship which existed between Ghazi-ud-Din Haidar and the Home family. It was also possible, using the family papers, to match the objects described with the designs in Home’s album, in effect, bringing to life Home’s descriptions of his work. The life and work of Home

¹ For a very full account of these imports and their uses see Llewellyn-Jones, R. *A Fatal Friendship, The Nawabs, the British and the City of Lucknow*. Oxford University Press 1985.

² The political and economic implication and effects of the relationship is described by Michael Fisher in *A Clash of Cultures, Awadh, the British and the Mughals*, New Delhi 1987.

has been overshadowed by more popular artists, like Thomas and William Daniell, and George Chinnery, but no other European artist up until that time, lived in such proximity and intimacy with an Indian ruler. Home's involvement with the nawab's boat-building projects, and his designs for the accoutrements of the king and his retinue testify how closely involved he was in the process of hybridisation in major and minor ways. His designs for the royal regalia at the coronation of Ghazi-ud-Din as King of Oudh has already been remarked upon (Fisher:1987), and also the importance of seemingly insignificant emblems. The coat-of-arms designed by Home is referred to as a "dramatic innovation" (Fisher *ibid*:1987) when it appeared on coins, mainly because the meaning of such an act implied the displacement of the authority of the mughal emperors over their erstwhile *nawab viziers*.

The relationship which existed between the nawabs and their European employees³ also occupied a hybrid social space, defying the rigid hierarchies associated with the mores of the British Resident and the East India Company. The traditional Indian court was far less formal and rigid, the rise of commoners, Hindus and eunuchs testifying to the class mobility possible under the patronage system. But the Europeans at the Lucknow court occupied a more intimate but nebulous place in the inner circle of the nawab. Restrained by dynastic tensions and the dangers of favouritism from appearing too close to their own siblings and cousins, the nawabs appear to have found friendly, amusing and often far more trustworthy companions among their European staff⁴. But nevertheless, they were still employees, Europeans which the nawabs could arbitrarily mistreat and dismiss, a power they could never wield over the other Europeans of the Company with whom they were constantly forced to negotiate and placate. John Home's own account (HP) of his dismissal from the nawab's service illustrates this very well.

Along with hybridity, the issue of identity must, by necessity be discussed. In Lucknow the change in political, cultural and religious institutions implied a change in the ways in which the nawabs saw themselves, and how they were perceived by others. The gradual change from being the provincial ministers of a province of the mughal empire to being self-styled "padshah" or great king with the connivance of the East India Company does suggest a gradual move westwards, so to speak. The most obvious public statement of this being the

³ I am writing of Home in particular, but also thinking of Claude Martin, Antoine Polier, M. de Russet and George Beechey.

⁴ The barber, de Russet, was (according to Knighton) the only person trusted by Nasir-ud-Din Haidar to collect and seal his bottles of drinking water.

previously mentioned coronation of Ghazi-ud-Din. But identity in the case of the Lucknow nawabs was not merely predicated upon the political and economic systems which characterised their reigns. Nor does the shift of identity occur only between the dualistic Occident and Orient which one would expect. The almost invisible (at least to Europeans), but enormously influential religious culture of Shia Islam⁵ is another area of identity formation and was, more importantly, the area in which the nawabs were identified with, and by, their own people. This religious culture, with its rich and distinct arts and rituals, comprised a facet of nawabi identity whose importance was never really recognised by Europeans. By describing the architectural forms and styles associated with Shi'ism, including the specific architectural vocabulary for the various unique elements, I hope to retrieve the Shia architecture of Lucknow from its relative obscurity. It is also hoped that the "third culture" of Shi'ism will subsequently be regarded as being equally potent in the formation of nawabi identity, albeit less visibly, as either the mughal or the European. Shi'ism also served to differentiate the nawabs from the mughal emperors and the Delhi court, the nawabs' otherness pointed up, paradoxically, by their sharing the Islamic faith with the mughals, one Sunni, the other Shia. It would seem that those objects which most closely accord with similar objects in the west, are the site of the greatest anxiety (for European connoisseurs), similarly, the doctrinal "proximity" of Sunni and Shia Islam was the cause of periodic cultural anxiety in the form of inter-muslim riots. Identity, at least in Lucknow, involves more than the usual dichotomous east/west polarity, it is basically a tri-partite phenomenon involving, in various amounts and at different times and places, the Iranian/Shias, the European/British, and the courtly/mughal.

Materials

By necessity this thesis must be a catalogue of sorts, of the architecture of Lucknow: its details, its lost and fast disappearing buildings. Fieldwork was undertaken in 1996 and in 1998/1999. There is an archaeological aspect to this descriptive index, several buildings can only now be seen in the photographs taken shortly after the "Mutiny" of 1857. In many cases the plasterwork has crumbled or been washed away. But what is truly surprising is how many beautiful buildings remain, particularly those unique to the Shia community. I have not so much attempted to list fully and categorise the buildings⁶ as to present them as

⁵ For a full, scholarly history of the origins of Lucknavi Shi'ism see Cole, J.R.I. *Roots of North Indian Shi'ism in Iran and Iraq. Religion and State in Awadh 1722-1859*, University of California 1988

⁶ Many of the Lucknow buildings are described by Rosie Llewellyn-Jones and a full catalogue by Banmali Tandan.

individual cases. Inevitably, making comparisons often leads to drawing up lists: the number of buildings with pediments, Corinthian columns, fanlights and so on. But this is not done merely to underscore an argument about the migration of motifs or of buildings elements, but to give a flavour of how *unlike* many of the houses in Lucknow appear, despite sharing a limited and repetitive range of neo-classical ornaments. The photographs of Lucknow which survive in British collections are overwhelmingly ‘pictures of buildings’, not only the tourist sights of the Bara Imambara and the Rumi Darwaza, but also the houses of the city, and the fabulous enclosure of the Kaisarbagh. Though it is beyond the scope of this thesis to deal with the so-called Mutiny of 1857, many of the photographs used in the thesis were taken in the immediate aftermath. The buildings which were photographed were frequently used as billets and stores for the British forces. In many of the earliest photographs soldiers and cannons can be seen, one memorable example being taken on the roof of the Alam Bagh, where above the heads of the lounging soldiers, one can see the Greek key design in stucco. This is the type of accidental information which is available from these scenes, and is invaluable in reconstructing the architecture of the city.

Lucknow was frequently drawn and painted as well; the sketches of Robert Smith⁷, many amateur works, and some Company paintings include buildings and generally depict the earlier (or pre-mutiny) period. One of the most extraordinary Indian paintings of Lucknow is a painted panoramic scroll, over thirty feet long, depicting a procession of the then king of Lucknow⁸, with the British Resident. The buildings are depicted ‘flat’, for example the garden of the Husainabad Imambara is shown with all four sides opened out, rather than the usual western method of depicting scenes as the observer sees them. The Lucknow painter has depicted the route of the procession as a series of all round views in some parts, and as a flat background in others. This painting is a hybrid of the common Indian processional scene with the panoramic ‘moving’ picture. Robert Home also painted the Rumi Darwaza⁹, now known only from a copy. Henry Salt, who accompanied Lord Valentia, and Thomas and William Daniell also drew and painted Lucknow scenes in the earlier period. By necessity, all these scenes depict architecture, but even from the earliest colonial period, there seems to have evolved a consensus about which buildings were of interest, or architectural value. Interestingly, these were the buildings which least resembled the borrowed European models.

⁷ Of the 44th regiment, not the Captain Robert Smith of Paignton, also an artist.

⁸ Whom Mildred Archer suggests is Amjad Ali Shah (r.1842-1847).

⁹ For a Mr. Wilton in 1813 (Home’s Sitters Book now the property of the National Portrait Gallery).

The design album of Robert Home¹⁰ contains some of his designs for the king of Lucknow, including the famous boats, the coronation regalia and carriages. An interesting discovery which seems to have passed other researchers by, is that Home's album also contains rough sketches for well known works such as his equestrian portrait of Lord Lake, and his view of the five rathas at Mahabalipuram. In addition, sketches for works which no longer exist, like his Hercules, give us some idea of what the finished paintings might have been.

Historiography

The other source of information used in this thesis is writing: contemporary accounts by visitors, and also the later art historical and critical texts about the buildings, culture and rulers of Lucknow. One of the most intimate and poignant texts used is the Home letters. Another similar text is the memoir of Home's son John (later General Home), dictated to his granddaughter. There is also a collection of other letters from the later Homes to relatives and friends¹¹. It is also exciting to correlate descriptions of paintings from the letters with sketches from the Home Album.

A secondary but valuable resource is the printed book, particularly the contemporary works on Lucknow and Oudh. Two books stand out as examples of sympathetic, closely observed accounts, one is the travel memoirs of Bishop Heber of Calcutta (in 1828), the other is *Observations on the Musselmauns of India* by Begum Mir Hasan Ali, an anonymous English woman who married a Shia and lived in Lucknow for many years. Her account, naturally, is strongly biased towards the Shia muslims of Lucknow, but her account of their beliefs, rituals and customs is an extremely valuable, one might say unique, insight into a private and frequently misunderstood community. Bishop Heber made a grand tour of India in the years 1823-27 and spent some time with the nawab of Lucknow. Though very much a representative of the British Establishment in India, he displays an erudite curiosity about India and Indians. His gift to the nawab was a bible in Hindustani, and he received a book of the nawab's poetry in return. He was also painted by Robert Home, an experience which he describes. The nawab often commissioned portraits of important visitors in this manner.

Another travel memoir, that of Lord Valentia, is an often amusingly high-handed (and exhausting) tour through Egypt, the Red Sea, India and so on. Valentia's stay in Lucknow,

¹⁰ Prints and Drawings Collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum. E685-1626 1943.

¹¹ Now in the Oriental and India Office Collection of the British Library.

like Robert Home's, Heber's and Begum Hasan Ali's coincided with the reign of Ghazi-ud-Din Haidar. It is this historical period which the present thesis explores in greater detail than any other. In part, this is because of the profusion of writing on Lucknow which is not Company reports or correspondence. In terms of architecture, the period encompasses very little building: some improvements in the Chattar Manzil, the Nur Baksh Kothi (perhaps) and the tomb of Sadaat Ali Khan (the Shah Najaf). Ghazi-ud-Din was far more interested in paintings and courtly life than in buildings¹², but his reign is characterised by a strong hybridising spirit, in arts and in attitude. Moreover, the profusion of European staff who were admitted into the innermost circle of the court was greater than at any other time. Ghazi-ud-Din also has the distinction of becoming the first King (rather than nawab) of Oudh ending a long line of *nawab viziers* of the mughal emperors at Delhi.

Other printed books used are art historical books on Indian architecture which were mainly written in the mid-nineteenth to early twentieth century (Fergusson, Brown, Havell and others), and also some contemporary works such as Rosie Llewellyn-Jones' *A Fatal Friendship* and Michael Fisher's *A Clash of Cultures*, each in its own way a very valuable history, one political, the other artistic and cultural, of the city and court of Lucknow. Juan Cole's *Roots of North Indian Shi'ism in Iran and Iraq - Religion and State in Awadh, 1722-1859* gives a very scholarly account of the Shia culture, both religious and political which prevailed in Lucknow. This is a frequently ignored and understated element of the cultural life of Lucknow, and its influence can be detected not just in the mosques and imambaras but also in the architectural craftsmanship and style of secular buildings.

Books by Indian historians/writers were a valuable source, though many ultimately derive from the work of Abdulhalim Sharar, whose descriptions of the old culture and folk customs of the citizens of Lucknow is a poignant memoir of a vanished age. Sharar's *Lucknow - the last phase of an oriental culture* gives a fascinating insight into the old Lucknow of the nawabs, and the remnants which survived into the late nineteenth century. Reading Sharar one obtains a quite different impression of Lucknow and its people than the Orientalist projections of outsiders. The overwhelming impression is of a city distinguished by a thriving local culture: literary, slyly amusing and with a highly developed sense of its own identity. Chapters in the book relating to such minutiae as hair styles, kite-flying, food and drink and

¹² Though Sir Edward Paget described him as spending his time "boat-building and house-building"

clothing details suggest a high degree of aesthetic awareness of the small things in life. Sharar's Lucknow is a place of highly-developed manners and style, which is sometimes difficult to reconcile with the orientalist's vision of decadence. The position of courtesans and eunuchs within the culture and the court is an interesting example of the misunderstanding of sexual and cultural *mores* by the British, indeed, the preference of Wajid Ali Shah for the company of his eunuchs was cited as a reason to annex his kingdom.

Structure

The subtitle of the present work "Hybridity, Style and Identity" comprises the primary themes underlying the presentation of material. Chapter 2 introduces the hybrid palatial architecture of Lucknow which is presented as a series of case studies (relating to the main themes) and the use of both Indian and European architectural forms and ideas. The material and observations are mainly based on fieldwork undertaken in Calcutta, Lucknow and Delhi and on archive photographs and illustrations. Some of the material in chapter 2 is examined more fully in the next chapter, which explores some British responses to Indian architecture, as buildings which seek to assimilate new concepts, and also with a similar movement in Lucknow. The use of the seemingly paradoxical terms 'classical east' and 'mysterious west' indicates the parallels in each culture. Chapter 4 draws together some of the material (i.e. individual buildings) presented in previous chapters on hybridity and places them within the dominant stylistic paradigm of the late eighteenth century in England. Neo-classicism was the style which provoked copious comment and intellectual attention in a period which coincided with the rise of secularism and the beginnings of empire; of modern architectural practice and of archaeological scholarship. The hybrid developments of Indian architecture in England can be seen mainly in the work of architects such as Humphrey Repton, John Foulson and George Wightwick. Chapter 5 explores some of the theoretical problems relating to these themes by way of a critique of the shortcomings of the western art historical paradigm in dealing with and attempting to describe the styles and motives of Indian architecture. There is a discussion of the concept of style generally within the western art historical discourse, and the problems relating to value and morality which affect attitudes and understanding of style. In the discourse of western art history, stylistic correctness and the problems of "stylistic" must be addressed, as it is the basis for much of the negative perceptions of Lucknow architecture, not just in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, but even recently. A hierarchy of values derived from earlier thinking about styles still informs modern attitudes,

both positive and negative, towards Lucknow. The moral aspects of style, purity and decadence also require detailed comment, as it is so peculiarly European to ascribe virtue and affect to the appearance of things, and it is an attitude which permeates western art history.

The final three chapters deal less with the themes of hybridity and style, and more with the notions and expressions of identity which relate to Lucknow and to wider issues of identity formation through spectacle, ritual and the use of image-making in the legitimation process. In chapter 6 this is explored through the unique architecture relating to the rituals of Shia Islam, and which differ quite dramatically from Sunni (or orthodox) Islam and from Shia communities elsewhere. Chapter 7 deals with the relationship of the painter Robert Home and the nawab of Oudh and his contribution to the formation of a new identity for the nawab - that of a king, no longer the nawab vizier of the mughal emperor. Unpublished family papers, letters, designs and illustrations attest to the intimacy of the relationship and give fascinating information about the daily life and entertainments of the court. Home was not the first European artist to be employed by the nawabs of Oudh. He was the first *successful* English painter to become an employee of the nawab, and his place within English society in Calcutta and his contacts with the court of George IV in England served to augment the prestige and identity of his royal employer.

Chapter 8 investigates the use of sites like Lucknow in the formation of imperial identity in Britain. Previously unpublished material, such as the original sketches of the Panoramas of Lucknow, Benares and Delhi shown in the Panorama in Leicester Square in the 1840's, are discussed in the context of contemporary ways of seeing, and as the technological development of the visual propaganda of empire. This particular facet of identity construction did not originate in Lucknow, but Lucknow (and India) operated as spectacles and as exotic other in the panoramic shows and displays which were immensely popular forms of mass education and entertainment throughout the nineteenth century. The use of Lucknow as a subject of the panoramas is very revealing of how this 'entertainment' was used as a vehicle for both displaying the east, and normalising a consensus about it. What was displayed of Lucknow, and of other Indian scenes and how it was displayed in a supposedly neutral educational medium is also part of the development of a consciousness of empire among British people. The relevance of the panorama material should be understood within a much larger context of orientalism; which actually involved and informed the 'general public', rather than the elite pre-occupations with architecture and theory discussed in previous

chapters. Moreover, as the nineteenth century progressed, India became the colony which ultimately defined the British consciousness of empire. The ways in which Lucknow was used in this defining process, and the descriptions and depictions of the city as an orientalist object further emphasises the importance of iconic sites in identity formation.

Theory - Said, Mitter, MacKenzie

Post-colonial, post-modern discourses, characterised by deconstructive, Foucauldian models of interpretation and criticism are the basis of many modern writings on the “Orient”. Within these discourses there has arisen certain consensual ideological attitudes towards the east, or rather, towards the non-European, which seek to replace the older enlightenment dialectical models with an almost paralysing sense of self-consciousness about the authors’ own relative position within a cultural matrix. There is much to be said in favour of these approaches for several reasons. Firstly, because they seek to counteract certain assumptions of superiority inherent in older, less self-conscious models. Secondly, they acknowledge the privileging and valorisation of western thought and ideas in the formulation of value-laden approaches to the “other”. Additionally, the notion of values, like Truth, Beauty and so on are seen as being determined by local values, not universal ones. Thirdly, and perhaps most importantly, is the emergence of “Oriental” writers on the orient (Bhabha, Spivak, Nandy for example), and others locating, in this case Indian cultural studies, within Indian modes of thought and history, one might say re-indigenizing the orient. Moreover, their writing on certain aspects of imperialism and orientalism is a revelation of the ambivalence, projection and fantasizing by which cultural authority over India was established. Homi Bhabha’s work is of particular relevance in this thesis as he deals with the phenomenon of hybridity within colonialism, carefully delineating how hybridity functions as subversion. In *The Location of Culture* Bhabha describes this hybridity as “the displacement of value from symbol to sign” (1994:113) and more importantly that hybridity “is not a third term which resolves the tension between two cultures”. In Bhabha’s understanding, the hybrid disrupts any authority based on a system of recognition, that is the colonial: representative and authoritative. What hybridity can achieve is “that the difference between cultures can no longer be identified or evaluated as objects of epistemological or moral contemplation”. He goes on to say that hybridity (and its “replication”) is particularly unsettling because it “terrorises authority with the *ruse* of recognition, its mimicry, its mockery” (ibid:115). I cannot think of a better

description of the effect of Lucknow's architecture on traditional art historians¹³. Nor does hybridity provide a comforting reconciliation between two different cultures - one which can then be solved by invoking a kind of cultural relativism. Rather, hybridity is "irredeemably estranging" (ibid:114) because it deprives the colonising culture of power by revaluing its presence, and by depriving it of its "full presence". In Bhabha's essay, this is done by those Indians who, able to read the bible because it was translated into Hindi, then interrogated the text without any reference to its authority and meaning to Europeans, and without any reference to cultural value. Thereby rendering "their" bible into a hybrid artefact, though without actually altering a word of its text. It is interesting to compare the process of hybridisation in the style of Lucknow architecture in the light of Bhabha's work. Merely mixing two types of building together would have produced some interesting, and possibly anxiety-provoking structures. However, in Lucknow the neo-classical, the chosen architectural style of the early colonists, was used in ways which revalued it as a sign, the regular use of its elements in various ways (and very publicly) could be seen as the "ruse of recognition" which terrorises authority. In the present work, the use of neo-classical architecture in Calcutta and Lucknow is discussed and contrasted, not only because of the differing visual effects, but also as a difference in meaning. Aside from the political authorities, whose aesthetic sensibilities must remain a matter of speculation, the art historical authorities who wrote about Lucknow seem to have had the common experience of being affronted by the unsettling similarity, not the difference between, "proper" neo-classical buildings and their mocking mimics.

In attempting to find a useful and appropriate theoretical approach (or approaches) in this thesis I was confronted by a seemingly bewildering, mutually antagonistic and often doctrinaire theoretical positions. Discourses concerning alterity, the orient, otherness, colonialism and representation seem to harden quite easily in orthodoxy. There is a problem in the "otherness debate," so to speak, particularly in relation to western art historical values and the universalist position which they assume in the face of otherness. Christopher Norris¹⁴ describes the two opposing schools of thought as relativists and universalists. The relativistic school - the new Historicists following Foucault and Said - suggests that all values are local, derived from specific cultural and historical events, the other "enlightenment" school invokes universal values, or at least local values which ultimately derive from universal notions of

¹³ Though Bhabha was speaking here of the disconcerting effect of bibles made available in "Hindoostanee" by missionaries.

¹⁴ *Truth and the Ethics of Criticism*, Manchester University Press 1994.

value, even inadvertently. There are a number of things which need to be said about both positions. Firstly, the relativists have much to contribute by pointing out the partiality of the west towards the west, and by deconstructing the political and other events which informed supposedly unbiased, scientific, modern modes of thought and action. Relativism unfortunately causes a kind of regression in approaches to the other, it does this by positing a universal relativism, an oxymoronic situation in which any position is undermined by invoking its relativistic phenomena and origins. In addition, the relativist position cannot allow for situations where “otherness” cannot operate, or where otherness is ameliorated, non-existent, or partial. I am thinking particularly of India here, where the European colonists were only the most recent in a series of encounters between others. By the time they arrived in India, a predominantly Hindu/Indian society was being ruled by a muslim dynasty from central Asia, the otherness of each already well advanced in hybridisation¹⁵. At that time in Lucknow a similar situation had developed with a tiny religious/cultural “other”, Persian Shias, were ruling a state composed mainly of Hindus, and with a small population of Sunni Muslims. Their otherness should be invoked and understood in the light of their simultaneous otherness in relation to Hindus, other muslims, and British colonists. The other problem with the relativistic (or anti-enlightenment) position is that it fetishizes difference because it has dispensed with universalist values or intentions, nor does it acknowledge that attempts to “solve” or ameliorate the estrangement may come *from* the other, or the possibility that hybridity may represent an attempt to do just that. Moreover, the most obvious shortcoming of the relativistic position is that it does not always recognise the relativism of its own *Weltanschauung*. In writing about nineteenth century India the obvious shortcomings of relativism quickly become apparent as well as the strengths. The narratives of empire in nineteenth century India, the political acts, the culture, the rituals, even the style by which this paradigm was established as a historical fact are rich material for deconstruction - they invite it. In dealing with actual objects, buildings, paintings, furniture and so on, when the narratives have been dismantled, the object still remains.

The universalist, enlightenment critical models seem to offer a way out of the reductionism of the deconstructionist model. Backed by tradition, and by appeals to a wider, humanistic mode of thought and existence, enlightenment thinking is often demonised by relativists, who identify within the universalist discourse a damaging exclusivity. But the enlightenment appears to offer far more to the historian than the relativist. According to Christopher Norris

¹⁵ This process can be seen in events as disparate as the creation of a hybridized religion, the Din Illahi, by the emperor Akbar and in the development of Urdu - a language made up of Hindi, Persian and Arabic words and written with Arabic letters.

the two positions could be described thus:

“Enlightenment” in this sense is a name for that distinctive, historically emergent (but by no means period-specific) set of ideas and values which may be characterised - very briefly - as the active antithesis of everything represented by the current postmodernist turn. Most important is the threefold claim: that human beings are able to communicate across differences of language, culture and belief; that such communication is possible...and moreover, that those interests have an ethical as well as a cognitive (or epistemological) bearing, since the project of emancipatory critique is closely bound up with the capacity for distinguishing true from false - distorted or ideological - habits of belief. Postmodernism may be characterised conversely, as a point-for-point denial of all three claims, along with an ethic (or a politics) of cultural ‘difference’ which views Enlightenment as a discourse of unitary Truth, bent upon effacing or suppressing such heterogeneity” (Norris 1994:31)

At its best, enlightenment thinking is supposed to transcend (according to Norris) the fractured relativism of the deconstructionist and the post-modernist. They also offer the possibility that the “other” is not an object of total alterity (or a ‘transcendental shibboleth’ as Norris puts it), but an approachable, apprehensible other. This is a very attractive way of thinking about theory, particularly if one is working in the field of ‘oriental’ subjects. But in writing about architectural styles in India, other problems replace that of paralysing self-consciousness about one’s irredeemable eurocentrism. The most obvious problem is that when dealing with cultural artefacts, rather than philosophical and political abstractions, the commonality proposed by Norris “that human beings are able to communicate across differences” must be greatly modified. There is little doubt that both Indians and Europeans developed aesthetic systems and ideas of the beautiful which informed the art and architecture of each. But, to use a linguistic analogy, they may not be translatable even in an atmosphere of good will rather than colonial oppression. The other obstacle is that the universalist position does not necessarily lead to a best case scenario as proposed by Norris - that Enlightenment thinking produces good outcomes for all concerned - though there are many instances where it undoubtedly did and still does. It must also be considered that this kind of thinking contributes to the colonial ideologies of European superiority, if even accidentally. For example, the debates about architectural style and value in eighteenth century England demonstrate that the enlightenment thinking about style involved also a valorisation of the

neo-classical as being more secular, rational and historical (and “better”) than any other. Instead of a communication across differences, there was a entrenchment into ideology and value. The enlightenment model is also a eurocentric one, though at its best, it ought to be pluralistic and egalitarian. But so also is the relativistic, deconstructionist model, which at its most basic, suggests a total estrangement of self and other, European and Indian, which cannot be either overcome or transcended by invoking universal values.

Much modern scholarship regarding the “east” is largely formulated under the influence of Said’s *Orientalism* , but in the field of art and architecture the literary bias of Said’s work demands additional approaches which can take account of the visual and aesthetic. Moreover, Said’s masterly description of western conceptions of the orient, by definition does not examine the productions of the orient by orientals, nor attitudes towards the west by the use of styles and the productions of artefacts. To describe this is in no way to answer the ‘case’ for colonialism by citing its supposed advantages. In any case, the events of 1858 in India demonstrated that defiance of imperialism did not seek expression through sublimation. By this I mean that the use of western styles and objects by orientals was not a cultural acquiescence which failed to ameliorate the effects of colonialism. Rather, the adoption of western styles and objects took place in a cultural and political milieu which was often highly ambivalent, this is particularly the case in Lucknow.

Said identifies many attitudes and acts through which the Orientalist perceives, orders and manages the orient, but the cultural and political and religious life of the oriental needs to be recognised. Otherwise, the study of orientalism is still the study of occidentals: their discourse, their ideologies, their orient. Said also points out how India occupies several positions in the Orientalist’s descriptive index. Though sharing many of the passive, corrupt, and antiquated qualities ascribed to the monolithic Orient, India also is the country of Sanskrit, the only language given equal footing with Greek and Latin. Developing out of this comparative linguistics is the notion of “Aryans” with their common Indo-European connections. Unlike Egypt, whose ancient civilisation was dumb (at least until Champollion deciphered hieroglyphics), India had to be perceived as a literary culture, though in the manner described by Said, only the ancient Sanskrit literature was admired¹⁶, a phenomenon which one writer describe as “The love affair with Sanskrit” (Bernal 1987:227). An important point

¹⁶ Lucknow’s Urdu literary renaissance in the eighteenth and nineteenth century was entirely ignored, and presumably unknown to orientalists.

which Said makes, but does not develop, is that India is not seen as dangerous in the same way as Islam - certainly India does not seem to be regarded (at least until 1858) as having any particular Islamic character at all, in comparison with the Middle East. There are a number of possible reasons for this, one of them is that the Sanskritists and early Orientalists (like Jones and Wilkins) were firstly interested in ancient India, using a classical approach which located European languages in an orient both “distant and harmless” (Said 1978:78) and by definition non-Islamic.

In Lucknow, Islam is a powerful, though almost invisible presence to the Orientalist. The cultural influence of Iranian Shias, their alliances and conflicts with the mughal Sunnis (and the clerics), their highly developed literary forms, and the hybridised rituals formed by contact with Hindus demonstrate that there are orients, which by existing outside the interests of oriental scholars, are deemed simply not to exist. In *Orientalism*, there are only two indexed references to Shi’ism, not because Said thought them unimportant, but because in the body of Orientalist literature, Islam is a great monolithic structure, its heterodoxies and schisms unacknowledged. This has certainly been the case in Lucknow (at least in the early period) with the honourable exception of the work of Begum Mir Hasan Ali, whose descriptions of the Lucknow Shias (though having no pretensions to scholarship) is a valuable, albeit highly subjective, record of Islamic otherness *and* set within a culture numerically and historically dominated by Hinduism.

In discussing Lucknow in the light of *Orientalism*, one deficit is quickly apparent - the binary and oppositionalist nature of Said’s discourse. The orient, in this case Lucknow, as both the site and subject of Said’s orientalism is subversive and multi-dimensional. The otherness of Lucknow is constantly shifting according to the subjectivity of the viewer, which is probably as it should be, many of the accounts conflict quite sharply. Indeed, Lucknow could be described as a place where there was no Orientalist consensus, at least until the 1840’s, when it became a perfect Orientalist fantasy of all the decadence, moral (and physical) squalor needed to justify its annexation by the East India Company¹⁷. These defects in Lucknow were neatly embodied in the dissolute nawabs who ruled the city; one mirroring the degeneracy of the other.

¹⁷ Which was eventually achieved in 1856.

Said's reliance on idiosyncratically individualistic orientalists (particularly those of French origin), presents a compelling spectacle of the power of charismatic individuals in the creation of intellectual and cultural biases. The situation in India, with primarily British colonisation, has an entirely different flavour. Said himself describes the British orientalism of East India Company personnel like William Jones as attempting "to codify, to subdue the infinite variety of the Orient" (ibid:78) and generously conceded that in the case of Jones, Colebrooke, Wilkins and others that they cannot be faulted for "the strictures placed on their humanity by the official *Occidental* character of their presence in the Orient" (ibid.). One might ask what character apart from occidental might a Englishman possibly have? Said appears to be trying to have it both ways - Orientalists are a reductionist, racist lot, but there are some who are not quite as bad. There is much in what Said says about those early scholars of Sanskrit, and of India in general; they were moved by a sincere spirit of intellectual curiosity, as the minutes and papers presented at the Asiatic Society of Bengal attest. Papers were read on subjects such as The Quran, The Ramayana, Indian musical systems, Avyar - a female Tamil philosopher, inscriptions, chronologies, antiquities, natural history and even "The Mysteries of Eleusis"¹⁸. As early as 1787 Antoine Polier, an employee of the nawab of Oudh, gave a paper on "The History of the Seek".

An unforeseen effect of the study of comparative linguistics and Sanskrit was that the historical primacy of the bible, and its claim to be the actual word of God, was severely undermined by the discovery that Sanskrit was an older language. It is a minor point made by Said, but one which in considering the relationship of orient and Orientalist in India, and particularly in Lucknow is of some importance. Said is describing how the orient, even through the Orientalist's essentialist approach, is capable of effecting changes in the occident, even inadvertently. The importance of this point is that those who describe, reduce and construct the Orient are also part of a relationship, a process. In his Introduction, Said states that "I study Orientalism as a dynamic exchange between individual authors and the large political concerns..." unfortunately he does not seem to regard Orientalism as a dynamic exchange between Orientalists, Orientals, and their respective cultures except in terms of re-interpreting texts, or in the case of the bible, reducing it to a text.

In the field of art and architecture, there is a great deal of dynamic exchange between England

¹⁸ Minutes and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal - bound manuscripts (no ms. numbers), now at the Asiatic Society, Calcutta.

and India, from the early colonial period (say 1770) to the middle of the nineteenth century¹⁹, in which India functioned as both a subject and a style. It is in art and architecture that Said's Orientalism cannot function in the overwhelmingly negative and simplistic way that he describes. Certainly, India was Orientalised, but, as I will demonstrate in the course of the present work, England was Occidentalised, and by far the most prolific Occidentalisation (so to speak) of England in India was the use of English architectural styles and imported objects at the court of the nawabs of Oudh in Lucknow. Moreover, the Occidentalisation continued throughout the nawabi, under different rulers and differing political conditions, and in different forms. These types of occidentalisation are explored in chapters relating to such subjects as the painter Robert Home, the palatial houses, and the mutual process of orientalisation and occidentalisation which I describe as the Mysterious West and the Classical East.

As mentioned previously, Said's subtitle reads - Western Conceptions of the Orient - and that is the remit of the work. But to accept Said's remit is to ignore the orient in which one participant in the dynamic exchange was an active, creative orient. Moreover, the sheer exuberance and enthusiasm of the orient (here meaning Lucknow) in acquiring the cultural products of the west contradicts the Orientalist notion of the east as being passive, feminine or even "supine". This is not in any way to defend colonialism (even if such a thing were possible or desirable) or Orientalism, but to ignore or deny the active participation of the Orient in a dynamic exchange of this kind is disingenuous, and suggests the Orient is truly passive as in the Orientalist tradition. This is not to say that Said's Orientalism does not describe the situation in India, or the attitudes of the Asiatic Society scholars. One of the clearest illustrations of Orientalist scholarship is the work of Prinsep in deciphering the Brahmi script used for the Asokan edicts, and thus 'discovering' not only the language, but the history of India's Buddhist emperor. Much was made of the fact that Asoka had been forgotten by Indians. Another Asiatic Society report on the temples of Mahabalipuram in southern India²⁰ tells us that not a single Brahmin in the area could read the inscriptions - soon to be translated by the linguistic ingenuity of the Orientalist scholar. Even more - these Orientalist subjects were ancient, Asoka from the third century B.C.E. and the Pallavas from the 7th to 9th centuries C.E. It is significant to note that during the period of this scholarship (late eighteenth century); which conforms to the Orientalist norms of Said; the nawab of

¹⁹ For an account of the stylistic changes brought about in the west see: Conner, Patrick, *Oriental Architecture in the West*, Thames and Hudson 1979 and Sweetman, J., *The Oriental Obsession*, Cambridge University Press 1987.

²⁰ *Asiatic Researches* Vol 1, London 1793

Lucknow was building a country house - an almost identical copy of Seaton Delavel in Northumberland, the original designed by John Vanbrugh.

Lucknow did not become the kind of Orient described by Said for a considerable period of time. There are a number of reasons for this which will be discussed in greater detail later. For the moment it is enough to say, that in a general sense, the English attitudes to Lucknow and the nawabs were quite fluid and at times contradictory. There was a great deal of admiration expressed by those who were acquainted with Asaf-ud-Daula and Sadaat Ali Khan. It should also be remembered that for the Orientalists of that time, Lucknow was *modern*, the capital was moved there in 1775 and much of the building was new. It was a muslim dynasty in addition. The Orientalist agenda in India was linguistic, textual and above all, ancient. India was Sanskritic, but Lucknow was Urdu-speaking. India was Hindu, Lucknow was Shia, and moreover, the dynasty had quite recently arrived from Persia, the first *nawab vizier* of Oudh became so in 1722. This is perhaps the main reason why the orientalist scholars of early British colonialism were uninterested in Lucknow.

Within Lucknow itself there were Europeans in the service of the nawabs who blurred the polarities between the British Residency and the “native” court. Antoine Polier and Claude Martin, two Frenchmen who were in the service of Asaf-ud-Daula were the beginning of a long line of Europeans admitted, not just into the household, but into the innermost circle around the nawabs. But Polier and Martin were not courtiers, they were employed as advisors on a wide variety of subjects, Polier was described as an architect. Martin was also an architect, an astronomer, hydraulic engineer and so on. Robert Home was perhaps the most distinguished of the European court artists employed by various nawabs. After Home another Englishman, George Duncan Beechey²¹ was painter to the last four kings of Oudh²² and married an Indian woman with whom he had several children, as did Richard Home, son of Robert. One might argue that these appointments are symptomatic of a decline in self-confidence on the part of the nawabs, but this is patently not the case. If anything, the vigour and confidence of the new Lucknow court (to say nothing of the vast amounts of revenue which it received) attracted Europeans, whose skills were readily utilised by nawabs eager to make their mark on an otherwise architecturally undistinguished city. Indeed, the employment of Europeans by the nawab was considered so dangerous by the East India

²¹ Son of the better-known Sir William Beechey.

²² The nawabs became kings in 1819, when Ghazi-ud-Din was crowned by the British in 1819.

Company, that for many years they forbade any European to reside in the city without their permission. It is difficult to perceive a Saidean Orient, with its attendant Orientalists in Lucknow. The texts by which this Orientalism is usually revealed are rare until the 1840's. All the earlier texts on Lucknow (apart from the Company Reports) are too individualistic to be combined into an essentialist agenda. There is a quality about the city itself, with its hybrid buildings, which seems to shift identity with each different gaze. If there is an Orientalist agenda at work in the period before the "mutiny", it is fragmented and incoherent, though it can still be detected.

Said described the Orient as "a textual universe", and one of the most striking examples he gives of the disparity between the text and the object is that of the German scholars being "cured" of their Orientalist taste by actually seeing an eight-armed Hindu sculpture. This report demonstrates that though the constructed Orient was a powerful abstract, that the power of concrete objects could still mitigate (quite strongly in this case) its effects. It demonstrates that the Orient, through "mimetic artifacts" can disrupt and antagonise the Orientalist's ownership of the east. Said's account of this Orient is unable to give account of the specific Orients which exist within the larger construction. Actually, Said uses these discrete, specific Orients to feed into the meta-Orient of Orientalism, without taking account of their individual differences. The importance of Lucknow, in the light of *Orientalism*, is that it was a well documented site and construct, before the hardening of Orientalist attitudes in the mid nineteenth century, as described by Said. Moreover, it contained, within an oriental culture, the signs and attitudes of an Occidentalizing orient, which can be clearly seen in buildings and art objects. In addition, the polarity which *Orientalism* invokes was almost impossible to construct or maintain in Lucknow, a city of confounding hybridity and constantly shifting boundaries.

In writing this thesis some shortcomings of *Orientalism* became apparent. Said's description of the intentions of the British in India, and of the role played by the Asiatic Society of Bengal and William Jones "to rule and to learn" and "to codify, to subdue the infinite variety of the Orient" (Said 1978:78) is reasonable, as far as it goes. But the Asiatic Society of Bengal was not a bridgehead of imperialism by its own definition, nor was its Orientalism neatly aligned with Said's account. On 1st of July 1829 a letter²³ was read out at a meeting of the

²³ Minutes and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal - bound manuscripts, now at the Asiatic Society, Calcutta

members. It was to H. H. Wilson, then Secretary of the Society, from Mordaunt Ricketts, Resident at Lucknow. The text of the letter said “his Maj. the King of Oude has been pleased to bestow on the Soc. a donation of 20,000 rupees to be laid out in *promoting researches in the Literature and Natural History of this country.*” The king was Nasir-ud-Din Haidar (r. 1824-1834), a further donation of 5,000 rupees was donated by his vizier (or minister). It is difficult to reconcile the intentions of the king of Oude with the Orientalist/imperialistic intentions ascribed to the Society by Said, unless it was an act of wily subversion. Moreover, the heart of Orientalist scholarship, research, taxonomy, “advancing knowledge” are being underwritten by a native king in the fields by which the Orientalists (according to Said) take ownership of, and define the Orient. Another example of this kind of patronage was the enormous Urdu/English dictionary commissioned and paid for by Ghazi-ud-Din Haidar (r.1814-1824).

In addition there is a profoundly ahistorical attitude at work in Said’s description of the British in India generally. Speaking of Curzon, one of the last great colonial administrators, Said states that “From the days of Sir William Jones the Orient had been both what Britain ruled and what Britain knew about” with Britain “always in the master’s place” (Said *ibid*:215). During Jones’ own time, the British in India were engaged in constant military campaigns, against variously, the French, the Bengalis, Tipu Sultan and so on. Their mastery of India being anything but assured. Moreover the catastrophic events of 1857-1858 and the huge changes in the political and administrative rulership of India which followed have been ignored by Said. Even in the 1820s to 1840s under Bentinck and Macaulay’s guidance, the ideological attitudes of the British in India were greatly altered. *Orientalism* takes very little account of the political and historical events which shaped British attitudes in India. Said seems to believe that there is something so inevitable about British Orientalism within that century, that it suggests an innate quality neither affected by, nor participating in, a real external world. Even painting with a broad brush, as Said does, invoking Jones and Curzon as participants in the same Orientalist endeavour is unwise and inaccurate.

Besides Said, there are other writers on Orientalism whose work not only exists in equal authority, but which is far more specifically concerned with two of the other areas of discussion in this thesis, one is of course, Indian art historiography, the other is the proliferation of Oriental themes and styles in England.

The publication of *Much Maligned Monsters* predates *Orientalism* by one year²⁴ and anticipates many of the themes and concerns of Said. The subtitle “History of European Reactions to Indian Art” describes a more specific Orientalism than Said’s “Western Conception of the Orient”, but ultimately they are both dealing with the consciousness of westerners when confronted with the Orient. *Monsters* details how Indian, particularly Hindu, art challenged the aesthetic ideologies of western scholars, travellers, aesthetes and later, historians of art. From Marco Polo who first described Indian deities to the later art histories of Fergusson, Havell and Coomaraswamy, Hindu art and architecture has existed as a troubling outsider.

The early perception of Hindu images, formed under the influence of late mediaeval Christianity, is that they were demonic and uncanny. This perception translates itself into some interesting (and amusing) depictions of Indian deities from early works including the fourteenth century *Livre des Merveilles* and Munster’s *Cosmographica* of 1550. Mitter makes the important point that these early writers, while ascribing satanic qualities to idols and sculpture, “did not hesitate to reflect on the architectural grandeur of Hindu temples” (Mitter 1977:31) and that “Architecture may even be called a neutral subject” (ibid.). This latter statement points out something significant about Hindu art (or perhaps about all oriental art), which is that those objects which seem to²⁵ accord closely with similar objects in the west, are the site of the greatest anxiety. Mitter points out the importance of the representation of the nude in Western art to explain how biased the European view of Indian sculpture was. Certainly, the descriptions of the horned and the hideous which he provides, bear little resemblance to the iconographies which they purported to represent. What this does show, apart from an Orientalist bias is something of the situation described by Gombrich in *Art and Illusion*, where the unfamiliar is gradually depicted by a developing series of schemata, approaching mimesis. Mitter’s work shows how this process developed, not only as increasingly accurate depictions, but also in light of the development of more accurate scholarship. In time, monsters became replaced by iconographically recognisable deities.

Collecting and connoisseurship also developed the capacity of Europeans to appreciate Indian painting and sculpture. And the textual antiquities (like the Bhagavad Gita) which, according

²⁴ And is based on an earlier doctoral thesis by the author, Partha Mitter.

²⁵ I say ‘seem to’ because the bodies depicted in Hindu art, however beautiful, are not shaped by the same tradition, or aesthetic value systems, as Greek-inspired European art, no matter how well they fulfill European criteria of beauty.

to Said, was how the Indian Orient was constituted by the Asiatic Society, the antique sites and their sculptures at Elephanta, Ajanta, Ellora and Mahabalipuram similarly were gathered into a body of knowledge which concentrated above all on the ancient. This inevitably led on to the search for origins of art in antiquity, not only in India, but universally²⁶. India's position was according to Mitter at one stage 'crucial' to that debate whose sides he identifies as polygeneticists and monogeneticists, whose adherents believed variously that art only originated in one place and was diffused elsewhere, and those for whom art had various points of origin. They are not so different from each other, in that each sought to prove the primacy and literal originality of their own favourite site. India as the *fons et origo* of ancient art had several champions; but more than just one site among many, it was a place where the primacy of the Greeks or Egyptians, in architecture, had to be modified in relation to the perceived antiquity of India²⁷. Mitter painstakingly charts the progress of Indian art, in the European mind, from the original prototypes of which the Egyptian pyramids were a mere shadow²⁸ to the "useful" craft tradition so admired by Victorians, and so lamented after they had destroyed it. Indian art had something for everyone: historians, travellers, aesthetes, and archaeologists.

India was also a site for the working out of ideas about race and origin, especially in the light of early racial "science". Mitter deconstructs the process and ideology behind the art historical attitudes to India which are to be found in Anquetil-Duperron, Creuzer, Caylus, Hegel, then later English writers Ruskin, Fergusson and Havell. The closely interconnected ways of thinking which he describes were typical of the later colonial attitude to India, and Indian art. The earlier Orientalist scholarship which was motivated by a far more open, questioning nature, as exemplified by William Jones and others, gave way to a type of art criticism seemingly motivated by racist and eugenic theories. But Mitter also describes how even in the early colonial period, writers like James Mill (*The History of British India*, 1817) were already making the connection between society and art. That is, the idea that Indian society was hopelessly backward and degraded, therefore its art somehow was inevitably infused with the same qualities. The connection between people and the art that they produce also promotes the view of particular societies as being static and immune to progress,

²⁶ An account of this search, in terms of architecture, can be found in Rykwerts, Joseph *On Adam's House in Paradise*.

²⁷ The site of Mahabalipuram was described by William Robertson, the Scottish historian, as "magnificent, and of a high antiquity", in 1791, Quintin Crauford, in the following year, on seeing the sculptures there remarked "there are pieces... which prove the great superiority of the ancient Hindoos in this art". The site was dated later to the 7th-9th centuries C.E.

²⁸ It was thought that the gopuras of southern temples, which date at the earliest from around 1000 C.E. were the forerunners of the pyramids (Mitter 1977:194).

since these theories take very little account of the vast differences in time between different art works, and the different cultures and societies which produced them within India. When this is taken account of, invariably it is only to point up the differences between some mythical golden age now passed, and the sorry state of the present Indians.

What is of particular fascination in *Much Maligned Monsters* is the incredibly detailed analysis of how the perception of otherness was fashioned, in the various humanistic disciplines, and with specific objects, buildings, sites and peoples utilised in the formation of that perception. Mitter is far too sophisticated to engage in a defence of Indian art and aesthetic values, since he knows it needs none. What he does is to re-focus on those whose perceptions and reactions are so self-revealing, but whose claim to objective scholarship is a form of selective blindness. Even those deeply admiring of Indian art like Havell and Coomaraswamy tended towards mystical and romantic explanations of intent. Both attempted in their own ways to present Indian art as “anti-classical”, Havell by suggesting an “ideal, spiritual world” (Mitter 1977:284) in which the art was created. Coomaraswamy also favoured transcendental explanations, making comparison between Indian art and European mediaeval models of patronage, production and intention. Mitter considers that both failed to escape from European standards for evaluating Indian art and he makes the important point to art historians that “a more effective and fruitful way of studying the nature and quality of Indian art and the entire relations between art and religion would be in concrete and human terms and not by presenting collective notions or metaphysical generalisations. This may be done by seeking to restore *the religious, cultural, and social contexts of Indian art*²⁹.

In *Much Maligned Monsters* Mitter writes almost exclusively on Hindu Indian art, but there is much in his book, dealing with the themes of artistic and cultural value, which is both important and useful in approaching any art object which originates in India. Indeed, it would be unwise to ignore either his exposition of the European reactions to Indian art, or, his challenge to art historians to produce a new Indian art history - avoiding the many pitfalls of previous approaches which he has outlined.

More recently John MacKenzie has revisited Orientalism (1995) in his capacity as an imperial historian. His orientalism is so much at odds with Said that the first two chapters of

²⁹ My emphasis

his book are, in effect, a criticism of Said and of “Saidism”. Mackenzie approaches the orient and orientalism in a far more inclusive and pluralistic way than the essentialism of Said would normally allow. In addition, Mackenzie points out the ahistorical nature of Said’s *Orientalism* which denies a context to Orientalisms small and large. He also takes Said to task for his use of “elite texts” (ibid:14) and attempts to redress the balance by examining the “vehicles” through which orientalism is projected. Envisaging that these would need to be examined “in terms of production, intention, content, audience and specific historical moment” Mackenzie mentions Orientalist objects as diverse as Uzbekistani themes in the music of Gliere and the “Moorish” shopping arcades of Victorian London. Significantly, he shows another aspect of Orientalism - that it effects change within the west, and not merely changes which further valorize an Orientalist political agenda. MacKenzie also includes popular art forms which, at least in England, are indicative of the spread of oriental themes and ideas of the orient into non-elite cultural forms such as the panorama, the pantomime or musical revue, and the theatre.

But Mackenzie’s *Orientalism - History, Theory and the Arts* does not merely exist as a text *contra* Said, or as an exposition of the popular versions of orientalism. What his *Orientalism* achieves is that it concretizes (rather than abstracts) where and how orientalism functions and is depicted in design, music, theory, painting, architecture and history. For MacKenzie orientalism is both a historical and a cultural phenomenon, with a context which ought not to be ignored in favour of grand sweeping theories. Moreover, the orientalism described by MacKenzie is not that of elites, either texts or objects, and this serves to expand the field of orientalism to include those objects which are not central to any political ideology, or strategy. MacKenzie makes the significant statement that “the Orient can become the means for a counter-western discourse” and that it can offer opportunities for “cultural revolution, a legitimising source of resistance to those who challenge western conventions” (MacKenzie 1995:10). MacKenzie’s *Orientalism* describes a far more ambiguous territory than that of Said, a more active and interactive orient which existed with, but not necessarily as the result of, imperial expansion and agendas.

The present thesis acknowledges previous scholarship on the orient generally, and India specifically. The discussion of the work and theoretical positions of Said, Mitter and MacKenzie has been made not to assert that the present work will support, contradict, or

otherwise “answer” the respective authors. It seems to be a little premature to advance this or that theoretical position regarding the city and culture of Lucknow, when significant parts of that art and culture are simply not in frame. The Shia architecture has never been described in any detail, nor are its interiors known to outsiders, nor the ritual uses of buildings. Similarly, many of the Lucknow palaces are known only by views of the exterior walls, not by their inhabitants and by their use. The polarised discourse on classical versus gothic architecture is assumed have so wide a remit, that even the architecture of India can be interpreted through it, substituting mughal for classical and Hindu for gothic, is another premature exercise in architectural taxonomy, and paradoxically undermined by the use of Indian prototypes, both as actual buildings and as theoretical models, in nineteenth century England. What is being undertaken here is a re-framing, a fundamental re-statement of what the city of Lucknow was: how it was regarded, used, displayed and understood by its inhabitants and by those for whom it represented, and was represented to them as the last word in oriental self-indulgence. The outcome hoped for is that Lucknow can be re-identified beyond the limiting and prescriptive vision of orientalism, both old and new. Moreover, exploring the three-fold underpinning of the hybrid culture of Lucknow: mughal, neo-classical and Islamic, it is hoped that an expansion of the reality and the *idea* of Lucknow will be achieved - beyond the traditional duality of orientalism.

The city of Lucknow is one of the better-known sites of colonial myth-making and Orientalist fantasy. It was, in addition, the scene of ferocious resistance during the “mutiny” of 1858, leading to a demonisation of its culture and people, and providing colonists with a potent mythos of heroic (British) men and tragic (British) women. Lucknow was the only place in the British Empire where the sun never set - the flag at the Residency was never lowered at evening until Indian independence (when it was, naturally, lowered forever). The city was perceived as an exotic maelstrom of colourful orientals, religious fanatics, corrupt courtiers and indolent aristocrats. The actual structure of the city, its buildings and architectural styles, functioned as a kind of all-purpose target for contemporary anxieties about identity, purity and power. Lucknow was well described and reported, even in the early colonial period (1770-1850), there is a wealth of paintings, sketches, and travel writing. The “mutiny” was one of the first wars which was covered extensively by a journalist (W. H. Russell for *The Times*), the siege of Lucknow being one of the more prominent campaigns. Lucknow was also photographed at that time, by Felix Beato and by Bourne and Shepherd and their work allows

us a glimpse of a world which would soon disappear under the bureaucratic “improvements” of the Raj³⁰. One might think that Lucknow was a well-plotted site, its features (both real and symbolic) signposted and classified, but I think that if anything, Lucknow is a hallucination, a construct of both admiring and disapproving gazes, of ambiguous boundaries between colonised and coloniser, western and oriental, classical and exotic. Writing about Lucknow could be to attempt to adjudicate between conflicting discourses and ideological positions, but this is attempting to solve a problem which has, as yet, not been clearly articulated and described. I hope that this thesis will succeed in writing another kind of discourse, one which does not seek to mediate between texts, or replace existing discourses, but which enlarges a field which appears (even today) to be inhabited by two mutually antagonistic “sides”. Between those who deplore the tasteless extravagance of Lucknavi architecture, and those who fiercely defend and mitigate it, there are other Lucknows. Partha Mitter’s suggestion that the task of appreciating Indian art on its own terms remains largely unfulfilled is a challenge which I hope this thesis will address. By illuminating the Lucknows which reveal themselves through previously unpublished material and new fieldwork I hope to expand the possibilities of that appreciation.

³⁰ For an account of the post-mutiny destruction of Lucknow see: Oldenburg, V. T., *The Making of Colonial Lucknow 1856-1877*, Princeton University Press 1984

Chapter 2

HYBRID HOUSES and INDIAN ORIGINS

In the preceding chapter the notion that there is not one Lucknow but many, and that the architecture of the city had shifting and contradictory aspects was asserted, and will now be developed further. One of those Lucknows is the Indian courtly Lucknow, deriving mainly from the north Indian culture of the mughals and their feudatories. In terms of architectural style, mughal buildings were themselves a hybrid combination of both Hindu and Islamic formal elements and decorations. In the latter mughal period this hybrid tendency was most apparent in the provincial courts, but the hybridised elements during the early colonial period were between the “late” mughal and the neo-classical, leading to some surprising combinations of both styles.

The great palaces and town houses of Lucknow are by far the most ‘hybrid’ structures in the city. It is tempting to dwell mainly on the very obvious use of the neo-classical repertoire with all its implications on otherwise “Indian” structures. However, it is equally important to acknowledge that the development of Lucknavi hybridity proceeds from two cultures. Most comment on Lucknow architecture, in terms of its hybridity, tends to take the Indian aspects for granted, as if they constituted a kind of innocuous background to the “real” architectural style of neo-classicism. But the Indian architectural style on which the neo-classical was grafted in Lucknow is in its own right an idiosyncratic development of mughal architecture. This is the same style which is hyperbolically admired in structures such as the Taj Mahal³¹ and Red Fort, but later, more provincial essays in the style attract accusations of decadence. There can be little argument about the superiority of the high mughal style over any of its later developments, but many of the basic elements of mughal style remained in the later period. No longer building exquisitely in marble, and tending towards a manic gigantism, late mughal buildings nevertheless are the offspring of their great prototypes and it is futile to describe the European origins of the Lucknow hybrids without also looking at the overlooked - in this case the elements of the hybrid buildings which can be firmly placed and traced in the mughal tradition.

³¹ The only dissenting comment I found came from a Londoner (Rogers 1820) who was disappointed in the Taj Mahal as he “expected Grandeur and found only Beauty” .

What is the nawabi 'style'?

Early nawabi building is a variation of late mughal (or decadent mughal). Its main features in Faizabad and Lucknow are large scale individual buildings with an abundance of decorative elements, which are shrunken but replicated profusely. The Bara Imambara in Lucknow being one of the best examples. The building is huge, but the arcading and decoration are neither grand nor graceful. The foliated arch with garland and bouquet (or guldasta) is an essential feature, the rows of small chattris, the absence of a visible dome of any size makes the building appear unsatisfactory and ambiguous. Tombs in Faizabad are mainly earlier and belong in the same category. The Indian houses of the time (judging from the old town in Lucknow and elsewhere) were havelis, the palaces were in the fort (the Machhi Bhavan) like those of the mughals.

The first major architectural statement of the nawabs of Oudh is the tomb of Safdar Jang in Delhi (1753-54), in terms of the mughal tradition it is described as “the style’s last major statement” (Tillotson 1996:9). It is a large square tomb (2.1) with attached minarets and central dome and though impressive overall, in the details it is somewhat over decorative, the cusped arches on so large a scale diminish its grandeur. The small chattris above the main arch dissipate any impact that the rather insignificant dome might have. Beginning with the reign of Asaf-ud-Daula (1775-1798) the earliest buildings in Lucknow of the nawabi period are the Bara Imambara (2.2), its accompanying mosque and the Rumi Darwaza and the palace complex of the Daulat Khana. The Imambara and its mosque are built on a large scale, in a very traditional style, even Fergusson (1928:335) was moved to comment that “though its details will not bear too close an examination, is still conceived on so grand a scale as to entitle it to rank with the buildings of an earlier age”. The decorative motifs are limited: the typical floral ornament with Guldasta, the very foliated arches, a profusion of small kiosks or chattris, and small bangla-shaped ‘frames’ over the windows and arcades, all in stucco and plaster. The plans are unremarkable except for the huge unsupported vault of the Imambara (162ft X 53ft6ins), one of the largest of its kind.

Mughal Prototypes

One of the most ubiquitous formal features of the nawabi architecture is the octagonal tower, whose incongruity on an otherwise classical facades deserves closer examination. The octagonal towers can be seen at Dilkusha, Constantia, the Alam Bagh, the Singharawali Kothi,

the Kurshid Manzil and the Residency. Rather nearer to Lucknow, and far more familiar to the descendants of Safdar Jang, is another type of octagonal tower, that of the Islamic tomb. Some of the Islamic tombs are octagons of one or two stories, topped by a dome. One of these octagonal buildings is the Sher Mandal (1540s), built by Sher Shah Sur (2.3), usurper of the mogul emperor Humayun, though it is not a tomb. Two slightly earlier versions are the Sabz Burj and the Nila Gumbad (1530s-1540s), which are the tombs of Persian noblemen. This style has been described as being “Timurid-derived imports” (Koch 1991:36) meaning that they originated, like the mughal dynasty, in central Asia, where octagonal tombs were well established as an architectural form.

The octagonal tombs of the early mughal period are the forerunners of the octagonal towers of nineteenth century Lucknow; there is a ‘line of descent’ in which the development and changes can be perceived. There is another octagon in mughal architecture which contributes something to the development of the tower, that is the octagonal room plan, seen at Humayun’s tomb (1560s) among others, which is an elaborated version of the simple tomb. This octagon is the core of the *hasht bihisht* or ‘eight paradises’ - a nine-fold building plan, often having a square or rectangular plan, ‘sometimes with corners fortified by towers, but more often chamfered so as to form an irregular octagon’ (Koch 1991:45). The octagon both as interior space and exterior form is almost ubiquitous in mughal architecture, from the reign of Akbar (r. 1556-1605) and was used variously in tombs, pavilions, platforms³², hammams and the corner towers of a formal garden. One of the most interesting of these octagonal structures, and a candidate for the transition of tomb to tower, is the “Anarkali” tomb in Lahore (completed in 1615), it is not only octagonal in shape, but has small octagonal towers, with projecting octagonal chattris. Slightly later is the tomb of Itimad-ud-Daulah, a Persian adventurer at the mughal court whose daughter married the mughal emperor Jahangir (r.1605-1627). Itimad-ud-Daulah died in 1622 and the tomb was commissioned by his daughter. The great beauty of this tomb (2.4) is mainly in its decorativeness, but it contains several unique features of design as well. The unusual roof pavilion (instead of the expected dome) is thought to derive from the catafalque of the tomb of Muhammed Gauth in Gwalior (1560s) (Koch *ibid*:74). A small pavilion on the gateway of the tomb of Maryam al-Zamani in Agra (1620s) has a similar roof. The corner towers at Itimad-ud-Daula’s tomb (2.5) are octagonal and a similar feature can be seen at the tomb of Shah Nawaz Khan in Buhranpur (1620s),

³² For example, in Dholpur at the tomb of Sadiq Khan 1596-7.

these corner towers are capped by small domes on octagonal drums. The tomb of Jahangir (1628-38) in Lahore also has octagonal corner turrets on an large platform tomb.

A convergent version of the octagonal tower occurs in the architecture of fortified walls - in the Hathi Pol at Agra Fort (1568) and in the corner towers of Ajmer fort (1570s); and their non-military counterpart - the boundary wall pavilion, seen at Fatehpur Sikri in the Hada Mahal (1570s) (2.6). Another strain of this type of wall tower is in the mosque of Wazir Khan in Lahore (1634) and in the nearby Badshahi mosque (1674), here the towers have been transmuted into a faceted minaret, growing out of both the traditional rounded minaret and the octagonal boundary wall tower. A later use of these towers is in the tomb of Rabia Daurani (1678), a wife of the emperor Aurangzeb (r.1658-1707), the tomb itself is a 'copy' of the Taj Mahal. Even in Mysore the same faceted minarets can be found at the mosque of Tipu Sultan (1780s) (2.7) a fantastic confection of local, mughal and European elements.

It is in the reign of Shah Jahan that the octagonal tower or minaret was most widely used, and also the period in which the octagonally shaped tomb seemed to decline and was never revived, though the use of towers on the tomb corners or on the boundary wall proliferated. The later mughal period, Aurangzeb (1658-1707) and his successors, sees a great decline in mughal architecture, quantitatively and qualitatively. The provincial courts continued to build in variations of local and mughal styles, some very extravagantly. This is the situation which obtained in Oudh, where Safdar Jang and his descendants grew in wealth and importance while their mughal overlords declined.

Faizabad was the capital of Oudh until 1775, when, during the reign of Asaf-ud-Daula the court was relocated to Lucknow. The architecture of Faizabad is large and imposing but utterly conventional. The architectural style is that of the later provincial mughal type and this style is also seen in Lucknow in the first phase of grand nawabi buildings, the Bara Imambara and its mosque. Even as late as 1814, the tomb of Sadaat Ali Khan (r. 1800-1814) is still in a very similar style to that of his ancestor Shuja-ud-Daula, buried at the Gulabbari in Faizabad. The high plinth of the Gulabbari has been abandoned and the dome is less bulbous but in most ways the tomb of Sadaat Ali is firmly located within the tradition. Like all the early nawabi buildings, it also appears to suffer from gigantism and repetitiveness. Small elements used repeatedly on large scale facades giving the impression of a bland grandiosity,

quite in contrast to the imperial mughal forms. By contrast, one of the most impressive, and visually pleasing features of mughal public buildings was a large central arch, usually the middle of three. This architectural feature was not adopted by the nawabi builders. There is only one great arch in Lucknow, the Rumi Darwaza (2.8), a free-standing gateway. Large entrances are not a feature of nawabi architecture, and it is this which dissipates the effect of the great size of the buildings as much as the little domes and arcades.

It is apparent that even before the arrival of the British to Lucknow, the architectural style had developed idiosyncrasies of its own, like the other provincial courts of the time. A perforated or open small arcade at the parapet level is almost ubiquitous in Lucknow as are doubled arches - pointed and foliate complete with *guldastas* ; bulbous, striped domes with brass *chattris* on top; large fer-de-lance style³³ decorations below the domes, and everywhere the octagonal towers and minarets. The one feature of mughal architecture which does not appear in Lucknow is the use of red and white contrasting panels on the exterior of buildings. One reason may have been the change of materials from stone to brick and plaster, but this should not have been an insurmountable problem, giving the great skill of Lucknow masons in plasterwork. The Lal Baradari, which is the only red building of the nawabi period is plaster painted red, but the imperial associations were well understood as the building was used for the enthronement of the nawabs and kings of Oudh. The almost exclusive use of white, decorated plaster is an ingenious imitation of the white marble cladding popularised in the reign of Shah Jahan, but deriving originally from regional prototypes in Gujerat and elsewhere.

The palatial house

The most obvious site of hybridity in Lucknow is the palatial house, admired and reviled in almost equal measure by early Europeans. Its antecedents are usually cited as the mixture of house plans available in book form (like Vitruvius Britannicus) in conjunction with the local forms, and the buildings favoured by the British themselves in the new town of Calcutta. Known as “the city of Palaces” Calcutta was the first real English city to exist outside the walls of a fort, which proclaimed the identity of the East India Company “nabobs” as rulers as well as merchants³⁴. The grand houses of the city and the governmental departments have been well documented elsewhere but these were not the only grand houses in the city. A very

³³ Ebba Koch (1991:38) calls these “budfringed” when they appear around arches, and given the context on domes with lotus bases, she would appear to be correct.

³⁴ The splendour of European Calcutta has been well described elsewhere (Losty 1990 et al.) and needs no further elaboration except by way of contrast with the Indian areas.

wealthy class of Bengalis had also prospered along with the Company and though they were confined to “blacktown” and other less fashionable quarters, they also built large town houses to reflect their status. These history of these hybrids has been described as “one of the most interesting but unexplored chapters of the history of the British in Bengal” (Losty 1990:49). These unexplored buildings also have something in common with the great houses of Lucknow - they are hybrids commissioned and built by a wealthy Indian elite, though in much else the patrons differ from each other quite radically. On one hand are the Shia nawabs of Lucknow, on the other, the wealthy (mainly) Hindu merchants of Bengal. The nawab of Oudh who did perhaps more than any other to promote the mixed-style palace building - Sadaat Ali Khan - actually lived in Calcutta before ascending the musnud of Oudh. The buildings of Calcutta which are normally compared with architecture elsewhere in India are the British-built, austere neo-classical Company structures like the Writer’s Building, the Town Hall, and the great houses of Chowringhee described by William Hodges as all being like Greek temples (2.9). Many of them certainly were built to a standard neo-classical format, a popular feature of Calcutta houses being the porch, often of double height, with pediment and pillars. The designs were unadventurous, many of them probably were the work of engineers in the Company. Unlike in Lucknow, there were no attempts to blend local Bengali styles or decorative elements into the new structures, the reason presumably that they were built by local workers but under the close guidance and supervision of the English patron or his agents. Another possible reason being that Calcutta was built up from almost nothing and there were no suitable local prototypes at hand to be imitated, in the unlikely event that they would be utilised on aesthetic grounds. The other and more basic reason is that Calcutta was deliberately constructed as a sign of empire, even in the early days this self-consciousness was evident and discussed. Living in the European manner in Calcutta was not desirable - it was obligatory, regardless of the total unsuitability of neo-classical houses in the sun and rain of Bengal. Even in England they had their critics (“Proud to catch cold by a Venetian door”), but appearances and the commitment to architecture as an identity statement initially prevailed over practicalities. Lord Valentia’s often-quoted remark about building in India that he wished India “to be ruled from a palace, not from a counting house” (Valentia 1809:235) avoiding the reproach that the English were “influenced by a sordid mercantile spirit” is not often seen in the context of his opinions on Calcutta houses.

“The architecture of all the houses is Grecian, *which I think by no*

*means the best adapted to the country*³⁵. as the pillars, which are generally used in the verandahs, require too great an elevation to keep out the sun...In the rainy season it is still worse...The more confined Hindoo or gothic arch would surely be preferable”.

It is obvious from contemporary remarks that no-one paid much attention to the practical aspects of housing in Calcutta, but in addition to the need to impress the on natives of India the cultural grandeur and superiority of the English there is another factor - that the English in Bengal were also impressing each other. The status of a person in Calcutta, in the service of the East India Company, could be hugely elevated by the mere fact of coming to India. The relatively modest social standing of these people in England disappeared when they became “Lords of the East”, and the huge sums of money which they could make in collaboration with the Bengali merchants gave them the means to build, and to live, far beyond the expectations of their social class³⁶.

Views of Calcutta by the Daniells (2.10, 2.10a), Frazer, and others show a blandly innocuous (literally) white city of colonnades and domes tightly clustered around Tank Square, where the Europeans first built outside the fort. Views of the native town are rare, but there is a written description taken from the Diorama “An Illustrated Description of the Diorama of the Ganges” from 1850 -

“stretching upwards along the banks of the river, is seen the principal part of the Native Town, consisting principally of bamboo huts, or houses of one story [sic] interspersed occasionally with the immense palace-like residences of the rich native Baboos, buildings which in size and in attempted effect are greater than Buckingham Palace, or almost any other building in this city; they are however only brick and plaster, and their architecture generally in the worst possible taste”.

But what were these buildings like? Possibly the grandest example (at least surviving example) is the so-called Marble Palace (2.11), a great town house of the Mullick family built around 1835. It contains a large collection of European *objets*: porcelains, statues and paintings, some attributed to Rubens and Joshua Reynolds. The house is ostensibly classical with a large pillared portico and an arcaded exterior, built around a courtyard in typical Indian (and Italianate) style, and where one would expect the usual pointed arcade of mughal type there is a classical colonnade with squat columns of no particular style, but with eccentric

³⁵ Author's italics.

³⁶ The ‘nabobs’ have been discussed in some detail by Holzman (1920) and Edwardes (1991), their return home to England exciting contempt, satire and social discomfort.

garlands around the top and an oversized abacus protruding beyond the architrave. Even more unusual is an *iwan* or hall of audience (now used as the family temple), whose primary opening is a huge rounded arch with two subsidiary smaller arches. Above these arches are the type of vegetal and floral motifs³⁷ typical of the late mughal period, here with frolicking *putti* unaware of their offensive hybridity. Though huge and well preserved, the Mullick house is not the only one of its kind. A very short distance away is the remains of another large town house, also owned³⁸ by a wealthy Bengali trading family. Though the house is much ruined, the remains of the huge porch still stand. From the structure which survives, it is obvious that this house is an almost exact copy of the Mullick House, even to the small verandahs which protrude from the front facade.

Other impressive Bengali houses include that of Govindra Ram Mitra which contains a large columned free-standing structure, where one might normally expect to see the typical pavilion of the mughal palace. The columns are Corinthian without any Indian flourishes. The courtyard is said (Evenson 1989:74) to have also contained a Hindu temple in the Doric style. Raja Manmatha Nati Ghose's house has a classical frontage with the typical high portico of European Calcutta with fluted composite columns, behind this is a rounded arcade. The courtyard is surrounded on its three sides with a classical colonnade, the upper row in the Ionic order, the lower in the Doric, demonstrating that whatever the aesthetic flaws of the buildings that they did understand the rule that one must never put an 'earlier' or simpler over a 'later' or more complex order. This is not always the case as the house opposite the Marble Palace demonstrates (2.12).

Another earlier Panorama of Calcutta³⁹ also alluded in passing to the native part of the city -

“The Black Town consists, like all Indian cities, of long narrow and crooked dirty streets, with numerous tanks and pools of water; small huts of bamboo, covered with mats or mud, and thatched; a few brick bazaars; and occasionally a large, gloomy-looking mansion of some wealthy baboo or squire”.

By contrast, in the European section -

“The public buildings generally display great architectural beauty...and, the houses on a large scale, stand isolated in a considerable space of ground, the entrance

³⁷ Usually called *guldastas* - bunch of flowers, in mughal architecture.

³⁸ As far as I could determine locally.

³⁹ The drawings for this panorama were made by Capt. Robert Smith, who also drew the scenes of Benares and Lucknow.

being by magnificent flights of steps under projecting porticos".

A general survey of the depictions of Calcutta during the period 1750-1830 does tend to suggest that only parts of Calcutta worth noticing are those where the English lived, ruled, and died and whose epicentre is the Chowringhee and Tank Square area. Many engravings and aquatints show over and over again, a white austere classical city, uncluttered (at least in pictures) by people. The long facade of the Esplanade, the Writer's Building and so on were shown with a few foreground figures but little else. Pictures of bazaars or other "native" places generally were depicted as being more inhabited, dirty and lively; for example Thomas Prinsep's view of the Chitpore Road (2.13) and a similar view in aquatint by James Baillie Fraser (2.13a), though almost all Fraser's views have a foreground with Indians depicted in the "trades and castes" manner⁴⁰. There are no depictions extant (if they ever existed) of the houses of the Bengali wealthy merchant class, but the areas in which these Bengalis lived were very mixed architecturally, large palaces built next to quite humble dwellings, and middle class haveli-style buildings, interspersed with bazaars, temples and mosques. By contrast the English city of Calcutta appears to be a place of almost stupefying blandness. The "grand scale" of the buildings being one of their redeeming features (2.14). It should also be noted that many of these statements of "great architectural beauty" are brick and stucco, with a final rendering of chunam, exactly the same materials as the hybrid palaces of Lucknow and of the despised palaces of the native elite.

What is also interesting is the description of Bengali grand houses as being "palace-like" or "gloomy mansions", from the few surviving examples it is clear that the hybrid houses of rich Bengalis were copying freely from those English houses so admired by European commentators. By combining the English classical facade and colonnades with the courtyard spaces of the Indian tradition, the resulting houses seem far closer the Italianate villa (though accidentally), than the solid English town house.

Bengali Hybrids

Hybridity in the context of Calcutta palatial architecture is very understated, with a few idiosyncratic exceptions. The houses built by the Indian elite seems to consist essentially of an overwhelmingly western approach, with little modification for local needs. Buildings do

⁴⁰ Trades and castes painting generally refer to a type of painting commissioned by Europeans and executed by Indian artists which depict various Indian castes and sub-castes in the clothing and accoutrements of their trade. It is not usual to regard the conventional depictions of Indians in English art as belonging to the same genre, but even a casual survey reveals how alike the depictions are.

not overtly make any statement of Indian origin, exceptions being the small verandahs on the facade of the Mullick house. Local decorative motifs are used, for example at Raja Manmatha Nat Ghose's house, but the colonnade and pilasters are classical. What is noteworthy in Calcutta is that the only truly hybrid buildings which exist from the early colonial period are religious. Three mosques built by the relatives of the Mysorean leader Tipu Sultan are striking examples of "mughal Palladian". They have a repertoire of elements such as Venetian windows with colonettes and classical friezes. These are combined with domes, octagonal corner turrets and merlons of mughal style, the overall effect is surprising yet graceful (2.15). The other hybrid religious building in Calcutta is the Gopalji Temple (1845) which has a classical Tuscan portico, pedimented with slightly outsize abaci. Above the portico soar the *pancha ratnas* (the clustered towers of the superstructure) and sloping *bangla* roof of the distinctive Bengali temple style (2.16). The Calcutta hybrid buildings work very well visually. In the main this is because the western elements are used as stylistic substitutions for formal elements which are congruent with the original style. Italianate windows and pilasters used where mughal blind arcading and pilasters are usual, as on the upper floor of the mosque of Tipu Sultan. The hybrid temple similarly combines those elements which are common to porticos both at Hindu and at Greek temples: pedimented columns. Whether deliberate or not this combination of elements gives an impression of restrained experimentation.

The adoption of western architectural style in large town houses by the Bengali elite seems to proceed from uncomplicated desire to have a "modern" western house like those of the East India Officials. The difference here being the immense size - Bengali houses dwarf those of the Company officials. Moreover, they have an uncompromisingly classical appearance, only the smallest details proclaim any allegiance to a local tradition. This is hardly surprising given that Calcutta was essentially a "company town", and the Bengali elite were bound quite closely with the British from the time of its origins as a trading post. In addition, the local commercial conditions ensured a level of proximity between both classes which was unusually intimate. Hybridisation in Calcutta between English and Indian houses tended to produce buildings of a decidedly English/neo-classical flavour, despite adhering to Indian norms regarding the ritual and gendered use of space. Architecture was one of the first areas of hybridisation in Calcutta, as it was in Lucknow, but the later Bengali responses to the presence of the English were also literary, artistic, political and intellectual. It is likely that

the absence of strong local traditions and prototypes in Calcutta in the early colonial period contributed to the adoption of the classical style, but in addition it should also be seen as a statement of confident anglophilia by the Bengali social/commercial elite.

Lucknow

By contrast with Calcutta, Lucknow is a place of unbridled experimentation and hybridity. It is in the palatial architecture that the use of classical motifs and formal elements were particularly prominent. Nearly all of these houses were built by the nawabs of Oudh, the remainder are considered to be to the designs of Claude Martin⁴¹, who rose from being a captured soldier in the French East India Company, to the close companion and confidante of the nawab Shuja-ud-Daula. The programme of building town houses seems to have begun with Martin's Farhat Bakhsh, a small house by the river Gomti, built of brick and stucco. In a similar period, the Residency was being built; a series of neo-classical buildings to house the incoming Resident and provide a base for the English in the city. The palaces of Lucknow are an amazing record of attempts to build in a mixed style, with results which are still the subject of controversy and debate⁴². A detailed examination of some of these remarkable structures will demonstrate how the process and progress of hybridity developed in an independent Indian state, to a great extent outside the mainstream of the Anglicising process of colonialism, but with a strong local tradition of architecture, both secular and religious. The earliest nawabi buildings are the mosques and tombs of Faizabad, which was the capital of Oudh until around 1775, when Asaf-ud-Daula moved his court to Lucknow. Faizabad had been the chief town of the nawabs of Oudh until the 1770s, it was still the capital when the first political and military contact with the British occurred. Despite the later move to Lucknow, palatial building continued in Faizabad (Tandan 2001:98) into the reigns of Sadaat Ali Khan (1800-1814) and Ghazi-ud-din-Haidar 1814-1827). One of these houses was called Dilkusha⁴³ and was (ibid 2001:99) perhaps the first neo-classical house in Oudh. Designed by Antoine Polier, a Frenchman in the service of Shuja-ud-Daula (r. 1754-1775), the house was ostensibly classical throughout, with pilasters, mouldings, Venetian windows with fanlights. However, it had two technical innovations: the first is the tykhana, or underground chamber with ground floor level windows/screens, deriving directly from Indian prototypes, the second seemed to have been an original idea of Polier's which was doubled exterior walls with a small gap

⁴¹ Martin did not build for the nawabs, but almost all his houses were later acquired by them.

⁴² As, for example in a recent work (1999) by Lucknow architect and historian Neeta Das about Dilkusha.

⁴³ Not to be confused with the Dilkusha of Lucknow.

between them acting as an insulating layer against heat and cold.

Lucknow palaces

The earliest palaces or mansions in Lucknow⁴⁴ are usually listed in the following order: the Farhat Bakhsh (completed in 1781), the Asafi Kothi (between 1782 and 1789), the Bibiapur Kothi (1780s), Constantia (begun 1795) Barowen (completed around 1802), and Dilkusha (1800-02). Some of the houses were built directly to the design of Claude Martin⁴⁵, and some others were probably influenced by him. The first of these houses, Farhat Bakhsh, was Martin's own house, after his death it was purchased by the nawab Sadaat Ali Khan who incorporated the structure into a later palace complex. It appears to have been the first proper European house in the city of Lucknow of any size or merit.

Musabagh or Barowen or Baronne (2.17) is described (by Llewellyn-Jones) as a "perfect synthesis of a European house in the the grand tradition with the practical Indian addition of a large open courtyard". Musabagh is an unusual building, not only on account of the synthesis described by Llewellyn-Jones, but rather on the very idiosyncratic use of European features in a structure of this type. The house is superficially European and is built on different levels. The front being three stories and the back with its sunken courtyard having two. There is one existing illustration of the front facade of Musabagh, a pencil sketch made by Col. Robert Smith. The facade has a large rounded bay in the centre with pillars of two storeys above the entrance which was a surprisingly small three arch affair below. The house appears from the front to be a very conventional neo-classical design, without the octagonal towers so ubiquitous elsewhere. One image of the rear of the building also survives; a photograph taken in around 1858. What can be seen are the decorative elements from neo-classical design. The open arcaded verandah on the ground floor is composed of Adam-style fanlights intercolumniated with clustered Corinthian columns. The upper storey is composed of tall pilastered bays with French windows, fanlighted, with swags and ribbons in the plasterwork. The fan-lights on the second storey are unusually elongated, more than semi-circular. A narrow floral frieze completes each storey.

The courtyard below, reached from the exterior by two circular staircases, had a deep arcaded verandah on the house side. At the corners of the courtyard are stairs which are topped by

⁴⁴ I am using the chronology developed by R. Llewellyn-Jones.

⁴⁵ See Llewellyn-Jones, R. *A Very Ingenious Man*. OUP 1992.

small kiosks (2.18), not the chattris of mughal style but with classical columns and oval lights. In the rooms at this level there is some very fine plasterwork still surviving. Above the rounded arches is a plaster trompe l'oeil which imitates the rolled up cloth screens which would have covered each entrance. The detail is extremely fine, showing the ties holding each curtain (2.19), and in places some paint still adheres to the surface. Another interesting three-dimensional effect is made by the incised lines on the plaster (2.20) which imitate cut stone blocks, the suggestion is the the arches are deep rather than flat surfaces. The overall effect is quite extraordinary. Elsewhere in the building remains suggest that each storey had richly decorated plastered walls and ceilings, mostly floral and vegetal motifs. Musabagh is still some distance outside the city, in nawabi times it was a country retreat, with landscaped gardens⁴⁶.

Constantia is considered to be the exemplar of the European house in Lucknow, It is by far the most important (and the best preserved) house in the city. It is taken to be the template for much of the nawabi style buildings elsewhere, and thus is assumed to be the way in which the grand house style was transmitted. There are a number of problems with this, one of dating, as Constantia post-dates some of the most important early houses, like the Bibiapur Kothi, the other issue relates to stylistic influence. Even so, the faults of much nawabi building could still be traced to the idiosyncratic taste of the famous autodidact, Claude Martin, but only if Constantia is indeed as powerful an influence as is supposed. The deviations from proper neo-classical are explained by the fact of Martin's lack of taste, or training, but Martin had in his library a number of books on architecture including the *Builder's Magazine* of 1774 (Llewellyn-Jones 1985:155). This last provides a comprehensive survey of various buildings in styles not only classical but gothic as well. He owned a *Vitruvius Britannicus* and other architectural works including Lumisden's *Antiquities of Rome*. Constantia is a remarkable building in a number of ways (2.21). It consists of a main block (the wings are not contemporary but were added later) with receding upper floors, finished by a tower composed of octagonal corner turrets, surmounted by twin arches bisecting the space of a dome. The flat roof created by the recession of the second and third floors is full of statuary: of affectionate couples and 'Greek' goddesses (2.22), huge stone lions whose mouths once held lanterns, and by numerous classical pavilions (2.23). The small balustrades are composed of repeated ovals, as at Musabagh. From the river side, an even

⁴⁶ Tandan's assertion that Sadaat Ali Khan was the architect, based on a remark in *Valentia*, is unlikely, its resemblance to the later house Constantia suggests the influence of Claude Martin.

greater similarity with Musabagh can be seen. The lower floors of both consist of a series of bays with rounded fan lights and interspersed classical columns. The next storey has receded, but is basically the same. The method of building upwards, and inwards is very similar on both houses but Constantia is a much larger structure. The two houses appear to be made of the same design “building blocks”, and using the same decorative ideas, and for this reason it is very likely that Barowen is also the work of Claude Martin.

The interior of Constantia is very well preserved, the only Lucknow grand house with its period details basically intact. The plasterwork is beautiful and elaborate (2.24), but in a decidedly European, even English style including the use of Wedgwood plaques (or Indian copies of them). The rooms are large with high ceilings. The central part of the house, leading to the tower has huge iron doors, presumably for defensive purposes - not surprising considering how far outside the city Constantia stood in 1795. Beneath this central portion of the house is a deep basement or tykhana which contains the mausoleum of Claude Martin. There has been much speculation about the reasons for this unusual interment, the reason mostly given is that it prevented the then nawab from appropriating the house for himself, on the grounds that no muslim would live in a tomb. While this may be true⁴⁷, it may also be irrelevant. It appears that Martin had always intended to make a school out of Constantia (according to the terms of his will), indeed, the entire building could be seen as a monument to himself. His burial beneath it having a certain logic. This logic also is expressed in the design of the building. While Constantia has all the appearance of a European house, albeit an eccentric one, it also closely resembles a type of muslim tomb popular in the mughal period. This consists of a base, square or rectangular, with a smaller superstructure, sometimes a dome, and replications of the elements for larger structures. The outstanding feature of the design of Constantia is that the core is actually a *hasht-bihisht* or “eight paradises”, a Timurid derived nine-fold plan⁴⁸. This can be seen at the tomb of Humayun (built between 1562-1571), the Hada Mahal at Fatehpur Sikri and many other mughal buildings, too numerous to mention, but almost all are tombs. The tower at the centre of the building, and the stepping down of levels also appear to be derived from mughal tombs, the tomb of Akbar at Sikandra being one of the most obvious examples, but again, the tomb of Humayun in Delhi (1562-71) bears a very strong resemblance (2.25) as does the tomb of Shah Nawaz Khan (2.26) in

⁴⁷ Which is doubtful, even now, there are a number of tombs which are occupied in Lucknow, the tomb of Hakim Mehndi and the tomb of Bibi Ghauri for example.

⁴⁸ Discussed earlier as the prototype of the octagonal corner towers.

Burhanpur - a later, provincial version of the same tomb design. Comparing a plan of Constantia with the plan of Humayun's Tomb shows just how similar they are. As stated before, the core of Constantia (**plan A**) is a hahsht bihisht as is Humayun's tomb (**plan B**) and the similarities are even further emphasized by the position of the catafalques. Martin's burial was originally below the central chamber, in the basement set aside for that purpose⁴⁹ as is the norm in muslim royal burials. The two wings beside the core of Constantia consist of a 3 bay x 3 bay structure which, if arches were substituted for solid wall would replicate almost exactly the plan of a typical imambara. Far from being a poor attempt at a Palladian villa, Constantia is actually the amalgamation of two Indian prototypes, and despite the decidedly European decorative flourishes, is firmly located within the Indian architectural tradition. But even the decorative elements which seem to be so classical are doubtful, looking again (2.27) one can easily substitute mughal features in place of the idiosyncratic classical ones which Martin used. If the arches were pointed rather than rounded, and if the small classical kiosks be seen as chattris, if the central cutaway dome were solid, the process would be complete - Constantia is a mughal tomb, this is further supported by the corner turrets on the ground floor, which allude to the minars which would normally be in place there. The design which is shared by the tomb of Humayun and by the tomb of Martin (so to speak) is one of the most interesting architectural developments of the mughal period, where "ideas of funerary and residential architecture were almost entirely interchangeable" (Koch 1991:46).

Farhat Bakhsh

This house was built by Claude Martin probably in the 1780's. When William Hodges was in Lucknow he contracted dysentery and was moved from Polier's house to 'a large brick house' (1793:100) by Martin who nursed him back to health. I suggest that this was Farhat Bakhsh, which is brick with a stucco exterior. Farhat Bakhsh has one unique feature, a two storey tykhana which was below the level of the river⁵⁰. In the dry season it was habitable and cooled by the proximity of the water. In the wet it was abandoned until the next season. An underground tunnel was said to lead to a small pavilion in the middle of the Gomti. Martin died in the Farhat Bakhsh but was interred in the tykhana at Constantia as he instructed. Around the Farhat Bakhsh grew a number of palatial buildings, including the greater and lesser Chattr Manzil, the residence of royal wives. The various palaces Gulistan-i-Eram (Heavenly

⁴⁹ After being damaged in the "mutiny", it was moved into one of the niches.

⁵⁰ An illustration from the European Magazine of Jan-June 1790 shows the tykhana clearly, and also that the house was still brick, the stucco had not yet been applied.

Garden), Darshan Bilas (Pleasure to the Sight), the underground Summer Palace were later built by Sadaat Ali Khan, Ghazi ud Din Haidar and Nasir ud Din Haidar. Farhat Bakhsh is basically a square structure with receding upper stories. The superstructure is irregularly shaped and is topped by a rather unusual arrangement of pavilions (2.28). One large and two small pavilions decorate points of the irregularly shaped first floor. The larger one sits above a pediment and looks very much an afterthought⁵¹. The little pavilions mark corners opposite. The elements of neo-classical architecture used here are columns and pilasters (Corinthian), pediment and the balustrade composed of linked ovals. A significant local motif is also here, the false door in stucco, imitating a door with wooden slatted blinds.

Dilaram Kothi

Opposite the Farhat Baksh and Chattar Manzil, on the far bank of the Gomti stood this small, austere, neo-classical house, built during the reign of Sadaat Ali Khan. It was a three storey house with a ground floor columned verandah, and enclosed second floor verandah and a smaller third floor terminating in a pitched roof with pediments. This building appears in several painting of the nawabs of Lucknow in durbar, as it could clearly be seen through the window of the Chattar Manzil. It had a walled garden with small pavilions at each corner, possibly for musicians to play in when the nawab was in the garden.

The Residency

The first building to be expressly built by the nawab for a European was the Residency (2.29), completed around 1800. The East India Company had foisted a Resident on the nawab Asaf-ud-Daula who was also encouraged to build a suitable official residence for him. The Residency is referred to as neo-classical as indeed it has the expected motifs, and columns both fluted and plain, and rounded classical arches in the windows of the tower. It is the tower of the Residency which is a problematic feature, it is octagonal, three stories high, and originally gave a very fine view over the city⁵², not surprising given that it also commands the highest piece of land in the city as well. Strategically this is important, it seems to place the entire city under surveillance by the British. The reality is very different. The Residency view does not show anything of any importance as it is too far away from much of the the city's heart to be of any use. More importantly, from a military point of view, the nearest

⁵¹ One source has suggested that Martin had an observatory on the top of the Farhat Bakhsh, this is eminently likely and might explain the haphazard roof lines.

⁵² Sketches and Incidents of the Siege of Lucknow etc. Meecham and Couper. No. 18, View from the Residency Look-Out Tower.

garrison of any size was across the river Gomti (crossed only by two bridges, one a pontoon) four miles away in the Mariaon Cantonment. This was to have great importance later in the First War of Independence in 1857. When the first Resident arrived it was merely an impressively placed viewing tower very much in the Lucknow tradition. There were several similar towers in the city, usually free-standing. Their primary use is in sighting the rising moon on Shia holy days, and during Ramadan.

In terms of its architectural design, the Residency is quite idiosyncratic. It contains a tykhana - that is a deep, habitable, vaulted cellar with narrow windows at the ground level of the exterior, it is a traditional feature of Lucknow houses and is a response to the intense summer heat. Its other feature is the aforementioned tower, which is a lone, asymmetric feature of the river side of the building, not neo-classical as such but corresponds far more with the picturesque style of building, rather than the regular neo-classical. The tower is octagonal, the almost ubiquitous feature of mixed style buildings in Lucknow. According to Meecham and Couper (No.18) it has a small domed top.

The Banqueting Hall of the Residency complex shares many of the decorative features of the Residency building and the Baillie Guard Gate especially in small details such as rustication and the fan light designs. The large fluted columns and the rustication of the ground floor are made of stucco. The Hall was built in order to give the type of impressive audiences (or *durbars*) which nawabs and other Indian rulers routinely staged, with ostentatious presents being exchanged and prestigious persons introduced formally to the court. The East India Company's imitation of this function took place in a neo-classical building - the English equivalent of a Diwan-i-Khas or hall of public audience. It is not too fanciful to suggest that the process of undermining the nawabs was realised in part by this type of imitation. While being thoroughly European in structure and appearance, the function was Indian and was (consciously or not) intended as an eventual replacement for the degenerate Indian form, both in custom and in building.

The Chattar Manzil complex

Now continuous with Farhat Bakhsh, the greater Chattar Manzil was build around 1800 and was the residence of the nawab's begum, or wife (2.30). Like the Farhat Bakhsh it also contained a large tykhana. There are other similarities as well. The balustrades, pediments

and columns are all used on a grander scale. The decoration of the exterior is very neo-classical, small pediments over the windows, swags above and intercolumniation of the windows. There is also use of the Venetian window - a triple opening with central arch and side lintels - surmounted rather surprisingly by a pediment here. Indian features include three (now only one) domes with the traditional foliated arches (containing classical fanlights), a chajja (overhanging continuous dripstone) and a gilt chattri (umbrella). These domes top octagonal kiosks or turrets and the main dome is placed on top of a classical style superstructure. Like Farhat Bakhsh, this palace is receding upwards and inwards and was intended to be seen mostly from the river, this side of the building shows the vertical aspect and is more impressive⁵³. The Chattar Manzil was the scene of an extraordinary power struggle between nawab Nasir-ud-Din Haidar and the Badhshah Begum⁵⁴, the wife of Ghazi-ud-Din Haidar. The nawab had wanted to move into the palace, but it was the home of the Badhshah Begum. She refused to give up the house, which was then attacked by an armed force which was repelled by her own 'Abyssinian' armed female bodyguard, several of whom were killed⁵⁵. Aside from this dispute, the Chattar Manzil was also the locus of the unusual Shia rituals developed by the Badhshah Begum, with many of the palace rooms given over to housing the "wives" of the Shia Imams.⁵⁶

Nearby houses surviving from slightly later are Darshan Bilas and Gulistan-i-Eram (2.31). Darshan Bilas is also known as the Chaurukhi Kothi (the four-faced palace) as each of its four sides resembles another building in Lucknow. The western facade is modelled on Dilkusha (2.32), and is very accurate apart from the shallowness of the portico, and the absence of the steps. The corner turrets at Dilkusha are here with false windows and blinds instead of real ones, and the unusual roof tiles are closely copied.

The **Kurshid Manzil** ("house of the sun") was built around 1818 in the reign of Ghazi-ud-Din Haidar. It is a long rectangular building with octagonal corner towers (2.33), and a deep moat, originally with four drawbridges. There is a large bow at the front with a three door entrance resembling closely that of Barowen. The house also has sun motifs in stucco in prominent places, this motif is a local emblem of the nawabs of Oudh. The house had a

⁵³ This building is discussed in greater detail in chapter 3.

⁵⁴ Her innovations in Shia religious rituals is detailed in chapter 6.

⁵⁵ As detailed in the anonymous *Tarikh Badhshah Begum* (trans. Ahmad).

⁵⁶ Discussed in greater detail in chapter 6.

smaller superstructure⁵⁷ above the first storey, and like the bowed entrance, recalling the similar structure at Musabagh, and more remotely, the mughal tomb⁵⁸. In the octagonal towers can be inferred a truncated minaret; here attached to the corners, with upright fer-de-lance decorations terminating. This was a large impressive house, amalgamating aspects of several different prototypes: from the classical repertoire, the frontage, the rustication and plasterwork; from the Indian, the towers, superstructure and plan. The overall effect is quite startling, like a cross between a rustic castle and an Indian tomb. This was not the last of the Musabagh-inspired country houses however, Alam Bagh has that distinction.

Alam Bagh

This is one of the later buildings in Lucknow, built as a country house by the last king Wajid Ali Shah, it had a large walled garden and four large gates, one on each side (2.35). The house is square with octagonal corner towers rising above the level of the roof, in this it resembles the Kurshid Manzil. The decorative elements are a mixture of neo-classical: rounded arcades with fan lights, pediments above the second floor, Greek 'key' design around the corner towers. Indian elements include: foliated arches, unusual mughal style pilasters and the common Lucknavi feature of false windows and blinds. The remaining gateway is more traditionally Indian but above the doubled (pointed and foliated) arch with the fish symbol of the kings of Oudh, above is a pediment with circular light, imitating the pediments of the house itself. On the ground floor of the house, one side is composed of doorways with foliated arches, and on the other side by plain classical columns. This late palace is in the line of descent from Musabagh and represents another essay in the mughal-tomb- derived house. Unlike Musabagh, whose octagonal turrets were at the perimeter wall; and Kurshid Manzil, where they had been attached to the house proper, albeit separated from the first floor superstructure; at Alam Bagh they attach to the first storey, whose walls have expanded from the Kurshid Manzil design to form a proper storey.

The **Hayat Bakhsh Kothi** (also Government House) was possibly built in the reign of Sadaat Ali Khan. After the first War of Independence it was used as a house by Major Banks, the Commissioner of Lucknow, when it was known as Banks House. An early photograph⁵⁹ shows the house described as a 'bungalow' though it is not (2.34). Some confusion may have

⁵⁷ Rosie Llewellyn-Jones describes this as as 'domed' based on a drawing by Smith (1814). This is not the case, as a photograph of 1858 clearly shows.

⁵⁸ Compare with the tomb of Itimad ud Daulah.

⁵⁹ Now in the collection of the National Army Museum

arisen because of the large verandah on the ground and first floor which may have been a later addition, presumably built for climatic reasons. A classical pediment can just be seen above the first floor verandah. This house greatly resembles the Dilaram Kothi, and was built during the same period.

Raushan-ud-Daula Kothi

This was one of the most magnificent palaces of Lucknow (2.36). Built by the minister Raushan-ud-Daula who served and was deposed by Nasir-ud-Din Haidar. It is inside the Kaisarbagh enclosure, but was built earlier and then incorporated. A huge rectangular building, it is unique in Lucknow palaces by having a mosque attached, there is a matching false mosque on the other side for balance, this is a *jawab*, or answer intended for symmetry. The features are unusual and the mixture of decorative elements is very confident. Like other houses the main two or three-storey building has a smaller superstructure on top with corner towers, square in this case with classical domes, Venetian windows⁶⁰ and stucco swags. The long columns of the porch are doubled, the building itself has identical rows of columns one above the other on the ground and first floor, this also has a continuous narrow floral frieze around the entire building. The superstructure on top of the fourth floor is most peculiar, even by Lucknow standards. On one side there is a triple-arched narrow pavilion with a pediment on top, surmounted by a bronze statue of a human figure and a metal, rayed, semi-circle over all. The pediment is pierced with a circle around which a relief carving of mermaids hold a crown in their hands. The other side is a dome cut in half (2.37), the flat side of which is decorated with a chattri and flag (among other things). The flat side of the dome faced the little pavilion, there was a narrow space between them. The balustrade of joined ovals is here as well. The “mosques” are far more traditional, and are very small with false domes and purely decorative minarets. An unusual feature of this palace is that the centre is hollow, the “courtyard” being the floor of the first storey rather than the ground floor, which is really a tykhana. This effectively makes the palace into a huge haveli, though to all appearances, it is a solid house.

The **Sikanderbagh** was a palace built for a wife of Wajid Ali Shah, Sikandar Mahal Begum. What now remains is the gateway (2.38) and some of the boundary wall. The gateway itself is typically mixed, neo-classical windows with small pediments above are combined with

⁶⁰ First seen at Dilkusha.

octagonal Indian chattris. On the interior of the gateway (2.39) is a foliated arch with garland and guldasta (a bouquet of flowers or leaves at the top of an arch) framed by deeply fluted columns with a winding garland. The ceilings of the gateway have very fine plaster decoration in a vigorous intertwining pattern of leaves, flowers and fruit⁶¹. The interior arches are rounded. A photograph taken in 1858 (2.40) shows the beautiful plasterwork of the interior courtyard. The first military map of the city made in 1858 clearly shows that the Sikanderbagh was basically an Indian style structure, that is, a square pavilion built around a large open courtyard. The columns which support the structure are decorated with thick floral “ribbons” winding around from top to base, and replace the series of pointed arches which would be usual. A large pediment with oval light and heavily decorated with floral and vegetal motifs tops the structure.

The Begum Kothi at Hazratganj was one of the most intriguing hybrid structures in the city⁶². It was built as a residence for the royal female household during the reign of Amjad Ali Shah (1837-1847). It was pretty, brick and stucco house (2.41) decorated with the typical Lucknavi trompe l’oeil false windows, with oval lights above and swags and rosettes above the lights. Each door is framed within a pilastered section. One unusual decorative feature can be seen in a photograph taken in 1858, in place of the oval classical opening above the false doors, there are also six-pointed stars. Also, on the balustrade above the first floor are tiny mughal chattris at each corner point. What is also interesting about the Begum Kothi is that the classical language has been utilised here in the construction of gendered space. Unlike many other palaces in Lucknow, this one was specifically a *zenana* or female space. This accounts for the solid, closed exterior walls with the entire facade of false entrances. The high, almost solid balustrade similarly deflects and frustrates the curiosity of outsiders. This is a departure in architectural terms from the previous zenana houses in Lucknow. Buildings from the earlier period such as the Chattar Manzil were also the house of royal women, however, the house design is an solid block with many doors and windows, even at ground level. In another way the hybridity of the Begum Kothi is obvious - it is in fact a haveli, a typical Indian house. The military map clearly shows the hollow interior of the building, though from the outside it appears to be a slightly eccentric classical house and a solid building.

⁶¹ This decoration is an exact copy in plaster of the sandstone roof panels of the Sola Khamba, a pavilion tomb for the wives of a Sufi, Ibrahim Chishti (died 1553 approx.) whose tomb is nearby.

⁶² The Begum Kothi no longer exists, it was demolished to make way for the present Post Office.

The Asafi Kothi

Built by Sadaat Ali Khan near the old Daulat Khana, which had been the palace complex of his immediate antecedent, Asaf-ud-Daula. The Asafi Kothi or “new palace” as it was called represents the first large scale, European style house to be built by the nawabs on the river side. Two views of the house⁶³ show it to be a large neo-classical building with two sizeable domes, one at either end. The centre of the facade has a rounded, columned entrance, very much like that at Barowen. There appear to be small towers at each corner of the building, as seen later on other houses like the Kurshid Manzil.

Decorative motifs

Two major changes occurred with the influence of European styles on Indian architecture, one was in structure the other in decoration. As I have previously stated, a limited repertoire of decorative elements was adopted and re-used in Lucknow. Some have entered the modern vernacular as well, particularly in the early 20th century houses of the well-to-do.

The main decorative motifs with their locations is as follows:

The fluted pillar with winding ribbon or garland can be seen at the Sikanderbagh gate and palace, on the pillars of the Shah Najaf, on the mirror frames of the Bara Imambara (these are of European manufacture) and on the pillars of the “west Lakhi” gate of the Kaisarbagh and the pillars at Musabagh. They also appear occasionally on the pillars of imambaras.

The oval light or decorative panel is very common, particularly above gateways such as the Shah Najaf and Sikanderbagh, the balustrades of most mixed style houses. As windows in the dome of the Shah Najaf, the stair-top pavilions at Musabagh, at Kurshid Manzil, Chattar Manzil, etc. On the Begum Kothi it is the only break in the exterior wall, situated high up on each level, perfectly adapted to the requirements of *purdah* as the house was occupied by the king’s women.

The Greek ‘key’ design as a frieze can be seen at the Begum Kothi, around the corner turrets of the Alam Bagh, at the Residency on the interior gate posts, in marble on the floor of the tomb of Zenab Asiya. Other frieze designs include a simple repeated floral pattern or rosettes interspersed with triglyphs.

⁶³ By Titus Salt in the 1800s and by Captain Robert Smith in the 1820s.

Rustication appears at Dilkusha and also on the Kurshid Manzil, Darshan Bilas, at the Residency building and the Banqueting Hall, at Barowen, the Husainabad Well House and others.

Pediments abound in Lucknow, few of them have any pretence to being structural (i.e. the gable end of a pitched roof). There are two types, the first being the small pediment in stucco seen over square windows, an almost ubiquitous feature. The other is the large pediment, equally decorative but used as if it were the roof end of a house or gateway, these can be seen at the Dil-Aram Kothi, Alam Bagh, Chattar Manzil, Raushan-ud-Daula Kothi, inside the Sikanderbagh, Hazratganj market, and in Government House and in the post-nawabi architecture like the State Bank of India (Hazratganj branch).

Generally speaking, the dispersal of the neo-classical motifs in Lucknow is informal and the approximate dates of some of the buildings makes it difficult to determine prototypes from copies. One noticeable feature is that the range of elements copied is very small indeed.

Houses: inside-out and outside-in

The difference between Indian and European houses is profound, a complete reversal of the notion of living space occurs when one model is substituted for the other. The traditional Indian house, or haveli style house, is an inward facing perimeter with a hollow interior, which is the courtyard. The exterior is of practically no importance, is not designed to be 'seen', its primary function is to insulate the inhabitants, the family, from the public place. This imposes quite a different notion of how a house should look, or even if it should have a look at all, since the appearance is for private consumption only. This is the model of the houses of the old city of Lucknow. By contrast the European house, especially of the neo-classical period is a solid block whose private space is interior and yet visible through windows and other breaks in the wall. Its exterior walls are designed to be seen, not to protect and conceal the interior, this involves a notion of style or visual statement on a surface for public view. This further demands a line of sight in order to view the building, so large exterior spaces are required in order that this is fulfilled.

The haveli has no such requirements, its spatial disposition requires an interior view. Its

boundary is the exterior wall, it encloses only its own space and is essentially private and self-contained. The two house types, Indian and European, are positive and negative versions of each other, inside-out and outside-in. There is a great change here, involving a radical alteration, not only of the inhabitants, but also those outside the house, as it were, now they are spectators. The traditional interior aspects of the house have been turned outwards. In the case of windows, the opening in the exterior house wall permits the inhabitant to look outward, but in an Indian context only at the blank exterior wall of the neighbouring haveli. By contrast the European house has moved the interior space outside its boundary. The windows also allow those unrelated or unknown to the inhabitants to have a view into the interior, the exterior space allows the whole house to be seen at once. The exteriorised house is also a spectacle. Statements can be made about the owner; the previously plain wall has changed into a signboard of identity statements relating to race, class, gender and aspiration.

In the mughal tradition, buildings without an enclosed interior space are few. One structure of this type is the pavilion as seen at the forts in Delhi and Agra. These are unsatisfactory for town dwelling due to their low elevation and the open sides which need arcading only. The only satisfactory box-type mughal building, which corresponds to European norms of "housing" is the tomb, and given that the Lucknow builders were Indian and not Europeans, and built from tradition, not from blueprints, the obvious solution to building the unfamiliar is to modify what already is familiar, that is, the tomb with its corner turrets and exterior garden. It is this utilisation of an Indian prototype to construct an entirely new kind of palatial architecture which is the basis for the formal structure of the grand, "neo-classical" Lucknow house.

One inverse relationship which continued throughout the nawabi period was the increase in palace size including the enclosure, and the gradually decreasing territory ruled by the nawabs. The first nawab lived in the fort of the Machhi Bhavan, which would have limited the size of any palace. In any case it is very likely that he lived much like the mughal emperors in Delhi in a series of pavilions of no great size inside the fortified walls of a military structure such as the Red Fort in Agra (which coincidentally also has a portion named the Machhi Bhavan or Fish House). The move outside the fort seems to have been initiated by Asaf-ud-Daula (r.1775-1798) who built the Daulat Khana, a small palace complex near the great Imambara. The Daulat Khana appears to be a transitional complex between the pavilion within the fort

and the open house in a garden, such as Musabagh and Dilkusha. The boundary wall is far less emphatic at the Daulat Khana and the growth of the complex is more organic, utilising unbuilt land near the river.

Types and Styles

At first glance the great houses of Lucknow present an almost bewildering variety of appearances, facades and decoration. Attempts to codify them in architectural stylistic taxonomies is unsatisfactory (Tandan 2001:187-216; Llewellyn-Jones 1985:41-64 et al) and clumsy. For example, to describe Dilkusha as “an unforgettable Nawabi variation on an English classical Baroque theme’ (Tandan 2001:211) is not much help in assigning identity. The corner turrets of Dilkusha (discussed earlier) are described as “very un-Indian” (Llewellyn-Jones 1985:43) when exactly the opposite appears to be the case. There is however, some distinct “genealogies” which can be seen in nawabi houses, and also some types which will detailed below. Decorative elements are far less important than plans.

1. Copies of Constantia:

The Raushan-ud-Daula Kothi is modelled on Constantia, essentially both buildings share the same basic features, with one difference. Where the centre of Constantia is a solid *hasht bihisht*, the Kothi is hollow, but the superstructure denies the hollow core within. Comparing the frontage of both houses shows the similarities: the domed pavilions at the corner of the second main storey of Constantia become solid, domed pavilions. The recessing is almost identical. The Kothi has a double height frontage whose pillars seem to be trying render the two storeys as one, making it appear more like Constantia with its two main floors. The octagonal corner turrets are also at the Kothi, but at the rear of the building, presumably to accommodate the mosque and jawab at the front. Even the unusual pavilions at the terminal of the Kothi can be seen as an impressionistic rendering of the equally strange dome of Constantia. The Chatter Manzil could be identified as a sequel to some of the architectural ideas used in Constantia: the massing of the elements in an upward diminishing series of floors terminating in a dome, the long facade composed of pilastered bays, the unusual domed superstructure, again, echoed at the Raushan-ud-Daula Kothi.

(2) Copies of Musabagh

The earliest copy of Musabagh is the Kurshid Manzil, followed by the Alam Bagh and,

perhaps less obviously, by the Begum Kothi at Hazratganj. This house although seemingly unique on account of its solid exterior wall is really just a “filled-in” version of Musabagh. The arcaded ground floor in Musabagh being altered to a series of panels, the fanlights becoming the oval lights above, and the little railing above being ‘closed’. Another possible Musabagh copy is the Asafi Kothi, though missing a rooftop pavilion feature, the little turrets on the original, the two domes provide the interest, the bowed frontage underlining the likeness.

Dilkusha, itself a copy, appears to inspired little imitation except one facade of the Chaurukhi Kothi. The Residency building is also an unusual, austere building with no obvious antecedent.

The Gulistan-i-Eram, Dilaram Kothi and the Hayat Baksh Kothi (Bank’s House) are so similar that they appear to be copies of each other, but since all were built in a similar period it is difficult to say with any certainty which was the prototype.

Conclusion

The development of the formal features of the hybrid house in Lucknow is an ingenious adaption of mughal tomb design to the requirements, both formal and aesthetic, of the European palace. The earliest, and most European palaces such as Barowen, Farhat Bakhsh, the Chattar Manzil and Constantia seem to proceed from a need to build the solid block western town house, albeit utilising the principles of mughal tomb design to achieve this. It does not take long for the local needs and requirements to be met either. The hollow, haveli-type seen at the Begum Kothi, Alam Bagh, the Raushan-ud-Daula Kothi and Sikanderbagh are later adaptations, but in effect they also are reversions to earlier Indian forms of building. The return to Indian spatial requirements was achieved without compromising on the “modern”, European style solid house. Barowen is a transitional structure as the house combines the solid with a sunken courtyard which had rooms around the perimeter walls. In effect it was two houses in one, the exterior ground floor and upper stories being a classical house, while below and at the rear the typical Indian structure was adhered to. In the later nawabi period, the reign of Wajid Ali Shah (1847-1856), the huge palace of the Kaisarbagh was an attempt to return to the walled pavilions of mughal forts, but the sheer size and variety of the buildings within accord better with exteriorised “showy” European architectural ideals. Similarly, the

slightly earlier palace complex of the Chattar Manzil contained behind its walls buildings like the Chaurukhi Kothi and the Darshan Bilas, whose appearance was specifically designed to be seen and to provoke comment. The hybrid aspect of this approach to architecture is that, while maintaining the privacy and interiority of the haveli-style house or palace, the exterior aspects of the building are also functioning as a subjunctive or “as if” statement of European architectural intent. This can be seen equally in individual houses like the Raushan-ud-Daula Kothi⁶⁴, which encloses and conceals its own interior empty space, and in the walled enclosures which enclose solid, block-type houses and pavilions within the space.

What can be identified in the palatial architecture of Lucknow is a hybridity deeply involved with, and drawing on, the prototypes of mughal architecture - tombs, palaces, and vernacular houses like the haveli. Though subject to a process of seemingly ignorant and insensitive borrowing from the neo-classical, Lucknow houses nevertheless continually draw upon their Indian origins, both in the formal and in the decorative aspects. What is noteworthy is that the process blurs the boundaries between houses designed by Europeans for Europeans, such as Constantia, with its mughal tomb form, and between houses built by Europeans for Indian elites, such as Barowen which smoothly, and intelligently, incorporate aspects of both traditions seamlessly.

⁶⁴ It was originally a free-standing structure, later enclosed in the Kaisarbagh.

Chapter 3

THE MYSTERIOUS WEST AND THE CLASSICAL EAST - architecture and otherness in Britain and Lucknow 1770-1820

The development of the Lucknow palatial town house (as discussed in chapter 2), deriving from both the mughal and neo-Classical traditions, is one important site of hybridity and of identity statements. The proliferation of books of European and neo-Classical designs, and the tastes and influence of English and French adventurers⁶⁵ at the court was a powerful catalyst in changing architectural styles in Lucknow. Equally important is the reverse: the influence of Indian architecture in late eighteenth and early nineteenth century England⁶⁶. That is not to say that the influences were in any way equal to each other as the present chapter will demonstrate, but that the influences were altered by the prevailing cultural concerns in each place. In late eighteenth century England this was primarily an intellectual concern with style, antiquity and perceived moral qualities relating to both. Those who did engage with Indian architecture, like Humphrey Repton and John Foulston could achieve quite startlingly original designs working from the same material - the illustrations of India made by Thomas and William Daniell. One significant area of similarity in both the classical east and the mysterious west is that both were overwhelmingly the result of printed materials and books. In Lucknow by works such as the *Vitruvius Britannicus* and in England by the Daniells' *Oriental Scenery*.

Artists of the picturesque and early colonists inspired changes in the architecture of both India and Britain. The differing and contrasting aspects of the use of each others architectural style and motif is also a visual record, not only of orientalism, but of a far more paradoxical, and less essentialist attitude both to east and west, by both sides, as it were. This attitude, in English architecture, involves in addition a type of identity crisis and a battle of styles between the gothic and neo-classical. Into this stylistic milieu, already pluralistic though with some antagonism, the exotic styles provided another possibility - an otherness free of the associational values of either ancient Greece or early mediaeval Europe. Enthusiasm for the exotic, particularly by people who had never visited the east is revealing of attitudes towards the other, in this case India, which must be located within the so-called battle of the styles as

⁶⁵ Llewellyn-Jones (1986).

⁶⁶ Other accounts of some of these influences are given in Head (1986) and Conner (1977).

this architectural argument provided the ideological means by which the exotic became an acceptable 'style', and perhaps even a necessary one. The exotic other in India: the neo-classical and its colonial variants, was not a mediator between styles but a confident new arrival, chosen for among other things, its ancient imperial associations. The traditional art historical view (Fergusson, Brown et al.) was that it arrived just in time to save the late, decadent mughal from complete exhaustion, as if the late mughal was in effect, India's baroque. Lucknow is one important site for the adoption of classical forms in the "east", because unlike Calcutta it was ruled by an indigenous dynasty, who chose to build with neo-classical motifs, and had a strong local architectural style. The classical east as patronised by the nawabs of Lucknow is a place where classicism, denuded of its textual and historical associations, acquires a different associative index, located in the conflicting loyalties and identity statements of the declining nawabs.

The term Mysterious West is being used here describe the architectural uses of Indian style and ornament in Britain, and also to describe attitudes and reactions to the architecture of India which prevailed in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century in England. The mysterious west was the India translated and used by Westerners, sometimes in surprising ways. It is the last exotic in an age driven by a desire for novelties, picturesque effects, and romanticism. The mysterious west also expresses something of the intellectual interests of the time, involving notions of antiquity, racial origin and religious veracity based on both. It evoked anxieties about the linearity of stylistic changes and the primacy of the Greeks in a way that the Chinese and the Egyptian⁶⁷ could not. Most of all the mysterious west is about the failure to adopt or transform a system of architecture within the European architectural tradition. The perception of exoticism and otherness may have been important in a time when there was neither an empire, nor a national style. Instead there were tastes and fashions, enthusiastically taken up and quickly discarded as well. The exotic other was used architecturally for almost every kind of folly and small adjunct to the 'serious' architecture of the time. With very few exceptions there was no attempt to either live in, or administer from, an Indian style building, even if that building was directly involved with British Indian affairs like the East India Company, whose headquarters in Leadenhall Street were in an austere neo-classical style.

⁶⁷ Because the Egyptians were considered to be 'white' and the architecture of the Chinese was regarded as insubstantial, suited mainly to garden ornaments.

Architecture in England was speedily affected by travel to India by Europeans, for a number of reasons; mostly because it was Indian architecture which was the subject of almost all the early views of India, corresponding to the established taste for the picturesque. The alternate exchange in India involving the adoption of classical motifs and structures (especially in Lucknow) was motivated not by visual material as such, but by the general enthusiasm for building and the need to both imitate and impress the new power in India, for example the new Residency in Lucknow built around 1800 in a neo-classical style for the incoming Resident, but was built and paid for by the nawab Sadaat Ali Khan.

William Hodges and Thomas and William Daniell were the first to depict India in a painterly way, showing a country full of atmospheric scenery (3.1, 3.1a) with suitably interesting buildings and sculptures posed within it. The Daniells also took pains to be accurate⁶⁸, deliberately correcting what they thought was a defect of Hodges work. Under their influence Indian architecture came to be adopted and included in the repertoire of exotic architecture along with the Chinese and Egyptian 'taste'. Most of this architecture, with the notable exception of Sezincote in Gloucestershire (Cockerell 1805-1811) and the Royal Pavilion, Brighton (Nash) are follies, and other small structures set within the grounds of large country houses. Another category which should be included here is unbuilt architecture, the important example being Humphrey Repton's plan for a Pavillon at Brighton⁶⁹. Another unbuilt project is that of George Wightwick in *The Palace of Architecture* (1840) who gave designs for a Hindu temple among other exotica.

Humphrey Repton designed a Pavilion at Brighton in a Hindu style in order to co-ordinate it with the stable block designed by Henry Porden. And though enthusiastic about Indian architecture as a style, going so far as to suggest its adoption alongside the classical and gothic, nevertheless, Repton wanted the use of Indian forms which "bear the least resemblance to those either of the Greek or gothic style with which they are liable to be compared" (Repton 1808:30). The east as envisaged by Humphrey Repton is slightly more equal though still separate from the west in order to prevent comparison. There is something here of the anxiety about the purity of styles, in the sense of keeping them separated in the same building, a sentiment later expressed by Foulston⁷⁰ in Devonport.

The pavilion built by Repton was copied from the work of the Daniells, in particular that of

⁶⁸ At least in the architectural details.

⁶⁹ Published in 1808.

⁷⁰ Foulston also copied Repton in solving the glazing problems inherent in the oddly shaped windows.

Thomas Daniell with whom Repton had collaborated in the design of the gardens at Sezincote. Repton brings to the proposed building a concern for correctness and authenticity which in no way interferes with an ability to re-invent rather than re-create the east. His own statement about architectural revivalism that we can only use “the forms of nature, not the exactness” (Repton 1808:38) seems to have been his guide in designing the pavilion, which is an interesting and graceful amalgam of mughal designs, including mosque and doorway styles. A witty adaptation of the massive stone temples of Vrindavan into a glass aviary, and a pheasantry inspired by various buildings at Fatehpur Sikri (3.2) demonstrates the potential of using the forms of Indian architecture with confidence and imagination. Repton also copied from Daniell the small temple (3.3) which was built at Melchet Park, Hampshire (c.1800) in memory of Warren Hastings⁷¹. The mysterious west as designed by Humphrey Repton is the least western and also the least mysterious of all. This is due mostly to his scholarly approach to the uses of Indian architecture in the west which has the effect of demystification, and also has the subsidiary effect of making the architecture explicable on its own terms rather than the effect-driven requirements of the picturesque.

John Nash was the architect who eventually built a Royal Pavilion in Brighton (1815-1822), and like Repton, he used the work of the Daniells for inspiration. Comparing the two pavilions, as seen from the west front is an interesting exercise. Both architects have responded to the Daniells in similar ways with regard to a central dome, but the differences are interesting. Where Repton (3.4) balances his dome with two subsidiaries which accord well with original Indian structures⁷², Nash has done nothing to imitate the massing of forms typical of mughal architecture (3.5), the jumble of elements in the centre of the facade are badly worked out. One gathers the impression that Nash threw everything he had seen of mughal architecture at the centre, with the result that the dome is obscured and the point is lost. More peculiar still is the mean little door of the building, which also dissipates the centrality of the facade. This is the point in a mughal building where a large archway is usually placed. Repton has designed two domed, octagonal pavilions, ending the facade with flat-roofed structures reminiscent of the mughal period, for example, the doorways of the Taj Mahal (3.6) or even the designs of his friend Thomas Daniell (3.7). The stepping down of heights is well realised. Nash makes no such effort, and his wings seem out of scale with the

⁷¹ By John Osbourne who had served at the court of Oudh.

⁷² Repton's designs have been criticised as being 'correct even to pedantry' by one writer who has surely missed the point that this was an age of careful, archaeological revivals and copies.

centre, as if, as an afterthought, he decided to put some more Indian bits in. This impression is heightened by the rather desultory attempts to Indianize the windows and to intercolumniate with attached minarets. In fact, all of Nash's decoration here is used to exoticize the ordinary, turning a bland Palladian house into an oriental fantasy, but; and this is where Repton is far more imaginative; Nash never abandons the west except in the most superficial way. His concave domes, (3.8) though an amusing negative of the bulbous domes, are strongly suggestive of European castles, like the round towers beside the main dome, and this unorthodox treatment of a traditional ensemble is also used in his Church of All Souls at Langham place in a witty combination with a rotunda.

In mitigation, Nash never intended to build an Indian palace with the same archaeological niceties observed by Repton, it could be said that perhaps the Royal Pavilion is too light-hearted a structure to deserve any serious criticism. In addition to any architectural or aesthetic canons by which the building might be evaluated there are indications of an attitude to the east, and the ways in which the attitude is manifested in architecture which makes all the architecture of this type meaningful.

A later manifestation of the mysterious west is Mount Zion Chapel in Devonport built by John Foulston around 1835 (3.9). The chapel is Calvinist and the patron's sole requirement was that as many people as possible could be fitted into the space. This was duly carried out and the plan of the placements of the furniture is given as proof of the utilitarian achievements of the overall design. The exterior seems to be a combination of vernacular chapel with Indian ornament. The windows are mughal style but with the suggestion of a distorted gothic. The small guldastas are a common feature of mughal tombs, houses and gateways. The attached minarets have the usual kiosks or chattris on top which is also taken up as the gable ornament. The ground floor extends slightly from the building, there is a small terrace above. The architect's description of the project included the hope that he had "preserved himself free from the abomination of having exhibited a combination of styles in the same building" (Foulston 1840:3). This remark which is understandable given the antipathy towards hybridity which was characteristic of the time. However, the chapel is part of a town centre (3.10) planned to exhibit a variety of exotic styles in order to

“experimentalize on the effect which might be produced by such an assemblage.

If the critic be opposed to the strangeness of the the attempt, he may still be

willing to acknowledge, that the general effect of the the combinations is picturesque” (ibid:63).

The other styles are Egyptian, and Greek.

Foulston was an enthusiastic and knowledgeable neo-classical architect. Other large projects which he built included the Hotel, Assembly Rooms, Public Library and Theatre in Plymouth, the latter being described as “an adaption of the Choragic Monument of Thrasyllus in Athens” (ibid:4). Other buildings are based on the “Choragic Monument of Lysicrates” and “the Ionic of the Temple of the Ilissus”. At Devonport the east and the exotic as constructed by Foulston is an ornamental afterthought on a practical chapel, perhaps intended to provide an otherwise ordinary, and traditionally plain type of building with a more decorative appearance without invoking any associational relationship with another Christian denomination. Any use of the gothic or the Romanesque may have provoked an antipathy based on the relationship of styles and beliefs not only confined to Calvinists and who might also disapprove of extravagance in decoration. Here we see the East fulfilling the role of neutral outsider, architecturally speaking, avoiding the possibility of religious offence by being sufficiently removed from any possible association with Christianity, and at the same time being recognisable, by its plainness and sparse decoration as a chapel. It is the only use of Indian style in a religious building in England. The setting of this Indian chapel within an arrangement of exotics recalls William Chambers designs at Kew built in the 1760’s where a mosque, a pagoda and an Alhambra were grouped together in an area designated “a Wilderness” (Chambers 1763:pl.43). Foulston, in his Address explains in a slightly apologetic manner his motivation for building outside the canons of acceptable taste.

“As objections may be made to the introduction of pure Grecian, Egyptian or Oriental architecture, in modern English buildings, which neither emulate the character, nor serve the purpose of a Parthenon, a Memnonium, or Indian Temple; he begs to intimate that he has only followed the example of other architects, in the hope that the precedents they have afforded might warrant him in making similar experiments” (ibid:3).

Similarly George Wightwick, in his (unbuilt) architectural fantasy which was published in the

form of an illustrated book⁷³ places exotics in proximity to each other in groups of the same national style. The Indian buildings are grouped together in a garden set apart from the others, presumably in this case to preserve their exoticism. Wightwick states in the Preface that though Greek and Roman architecture combines design with beauty, moral refinement and mental vigour, the buildings of India “symbolise fanciful vigour alone” (Wightwick 1840:35).

Wightwick was obviously acquainted with drawings and illustrations of Indian architecture, as he had studied the work of Ram Raz - the first modern history of Indian architectural style⁷⁴. Wightwick’s intentions are clearly different from Foulston’s, in the Preface he states that his book “aspires to that station in regard to architecture which the novels of Scott occupy in relation to History” and the motive of the book itself is “to open another source of enjoyment to those who delight in the imaginative”. Wightwick’s work is certainly imaginative, though to the modern eye it appears to be an architectural theme park, with different zones and their styles intended to be experienced in a sequence which he provides. Nowhere in his architectural garden are buildings of mixed style, or groups of different styles, each zone is carefully detached from the other.

The Indian Garden is illustrated as a series of temples, the interior of one also illustrated, having columns topped with grotesquely outsize elephant heads, presumably in imitation of the capitals at the chaitya-halls at Karli, or similar ones at the northern gateway of the stupa at Sanchi. The three buildings (3.11) which Wightwick chose are based on recognisable Indian prototypes. On the left is a *gopura*, the typical entrance to southern Indian temples (from about 1000 C.E.). In the distance is a temple which closely resembles the famous Krishna temples at Vrindavan, and which were visited and illustrated by the Daniells⁷⁵. These temples are a standard north-eastern Indian type, with distinctive superstructures. The building to the left is based on the Dharmaraja ratha at Mahabalipuram in Tamil Nadu, one of the first free-standing shrines in southern India, and carved entire from a large boulder.

“Upon the foundation however, of the Hindu Herculean grandeur, was constructed the Apollo-like elegance of Mahomedan design; just as the Greeks before had refined, without effeminizing, the ponderous majesty of Egypt. Even as MINERVA PARTHENON triumphs over LATOPOLIS -

⁷³ *The Palace of Architecture - A Romance of Art and History*, Wightwick, George, London 1840.

⁷⁴ *Essay on the Architecture of the Hindus*, Ram Raz, London 1834.

⁷⁵ And which, as previously mentioned, inspired Humphrey Repton.

so does the TAJE MAHAL, with a gentler and more impressive might,
lord it over TIRUVALUR”⁷⁶ (ibid:172)

No Islamic buildings are in the Indian Garden, however, though there are Islamic buildings included in another zone, based on the Moorish architecture of the Alhambra and the mosque of Cordoba. The India which Wightwick imagines is the ancient Hindu and Buddhist antiquarian and essentially romantic India. He is not unaware of the existence of importance of Islamic architecture, but the mysterious west which is evoked by Wightwick cannot include the rational, “Apollo-like” features of Islamic design. Here in the fantasy garden of India, geographically and chronologically unrelated designs can peacefully co-exist, bearing the same relation to architectural history as *Ivanhoe* and *The Talisman* bear to the Crusades and the reign of Richard I.

Gardens are an important feature of the mysterious west, they provide the setting by which its orientalism is simultaneously displayed and deprived of its indigenous context. This garden context is not so necessary in Hindu temple architecture, but is integral to mughal architecture, where buildings are set within formal gardens, or in the case of forts, a garden is often made inside. The Indian buildings which were constructed in England were set within conventional gardens of the period. Even Sezincote - the Cotswold Taj Mahal - which would certainly have benefitted from a formal mughal setting has gardens designed by Humphrey Repton, a promoter of the natural garden style begun by Lancelot “Capability” Brown. Follies within the grounds include a Hindu temple an exact copy of which appears in Repton’s later designs for the Royal Pavilion.

Remarkably, no Indian garden was made in England during the early period of colonisation, despite the fashion for Indian follies. Even more remarkable when considering that many of the early company paintings and albums⁷⁷ were of botanical subjects, and considering the importance of garden design and theory in the latter part of the eighteenth century. There are several possible explanations for this. Firstly, the formal mughal garden was not featured in the illustrations of Indian scenes by either Hodges or the Daniells, as even their supposedly accurate renderings of the scenes were so influenced by picturesque conventions. There are several views of the Taj Mahal made by the Daniells which show the building at an oblique

⁷⁶ Tiruvarur, in Tamil Nadu, was the site of several huge temples of the Chola period (c. 850-1000).

⁷⁷ These paintings were made by Indian artists under the direction of Europeans, many of whom were employees of the East India Company, hence the term.

angle, with a wall in the foreground. A “birds-eye” view of the buildings (which is the Indian fashion) would have been necessary to show how the building was incorporated into the landscape. Secondly, the severe formality of the typical mughal garden was completely out of fashion in the English garden as designed by the followers of Brown. If mughal gardens resemble anything in Europe, it is the similarly severe Italianate garden which was superseded by the picturesque ‘jardin Anglais’. Mughal gardens were not only foreign, they were suggestive of the old-fashioned, anything-but-mysterious, effectless, past. William Chambers’ setting of the exotics in an artificial wilderness represents the first siting of the orient in a place, which though according with the dominant aesthetic of the period, also places the orient outside history, geography and time. Repton placed his pavilion in an informal, picturesque garden (3.12), carefully showing in his design book (by fold out panels) how features could be altered. Nash also seems to have used all his energy on the house, giving little or no thought to a matching exotic garden. Sezincote, the only large country house designed in an Indian style (S.P. Cockerell c.1805) has gardens designed under the influence of Thomas Daniell and Humphrey Repton, which, apart from some of the ornamental structures⁷⁸ is a traditional English (and picturesque) garden.

The mysterious west as constructed by the architects and designers of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century was an orient in which the architecture of the other was subject to current aesthetic ideologies which coincidentally extracted the threat of its difference, and the fear of stylistic mixture and contamination which is a feature of contemporary works on style. Placing the exotics in ensembles, like Chambers and Foulston, or in English gardens like Repton and Nash (3.13) could be read as a failure to engage with the architecture of the other as architecture, and a fear of stylistic contamination. Even more than that, it is an attempt to re-create the east and its foreignness in a setting which both contains and familiarises it. Symbolically, one might say that these placements act as a filter, they remove the power of the architecture’s difference (by their diminished size and proximity to each other), while retaining the picturesqueness for which the style was valued. Similarly, placing the exotics in a garden (where most of them were put) both establishes their place as closer to nature (as ‘orientals’ tend to be) and yet managed and domesticated in a compromise between the real and the contrived natural which is characteristic of the picturesque landscape. There is no city architecture in England in an Indian style and this seems to emphasise the desire to

⁷⁸ A bridge with carved Brahman bulls etc.

divorce the mysterious west from any association with urbanity, modernity, governance, or chronology.

The Classical East

The classical east is no more authentically representative of architectural tradition than the mysterious west and its manifestations are of a different order of both intention and representation. Firstly, there are two classical easts in the early period, there are the neo-classical buildings of the European colonists, and the neo-classical buildings of Indian elites. The city of Lucknow is particularly rich in examples of the latter type which existed along with a late mughal style, in a state which still had some independence from the British.

The nawab of Oudh, Sadaat Ali Khan (r.1798-1814) carried on the enthusiastic building of his predecessor Asaf-ud-Daula (r.1775-1798), but with far greater preference for the neo-classical style. During his reign one of the most extraordinary examples of the classical east was built. Dilkusha (or the Heart's Delight) was built as a hunting lodge around 1800 (3.14) and stands in a walled enclosure outside the city. It is an almost exact copy of Seaton Delavel in Northumberland, designed by Vanbrugh and built around 1715. How this English country house was known in Lucknow is easy to determine, it is one of the houses illustrated in the *Vitruvius Britannicus* of 1719, along with the more distinguished Blenheim and Castle Howard. Dilkusha is not unique by being copied in this manner, Government House, Calcutta is taken from Kedleston Hall in Derbyshire; many colonial churches were copied from Gibb's St. Martin-in-the-Fields. What is unusual here is that an Indian ruler built it and used it, and he and his successors continued to use and adapt the language of European classical architecture for 50 years after. This is the classical east of converging statements about the nature of the nawabs and their rule and about the their 'occidentalisation' (if the term may be used) of western architecture. Dilkusha is in most ways the opposite of a typical royal residence in India (as discussed in the previous chapter), which usually was a pavilion, set with others of its type within a private enclosure, often within a fort. Dilkusha is accessible, with a low boundary wall, two wings which flank both sides of the original have been omitted, leaving the house open and visible from all sides. It has strong vertical lines in the large columns of the porch which are neatly countered by the long horizontal lines of the rustication on the base. There are almost no visual clues that this is not a minor English country house except for the turret roofs and the foliate arches of the upper floor, and in one

other respect it is entirely “inauthentic”, being carefully made of bricks and stucco closely imitating the cut stone of the original. This was nothing new in Lucknow⁷⁹, where builders were accustomed to making copies of elaborate marble carving in fine plaster, they transferred these skills to the neo-classical house, detailing the fluting of columns, the window decoration, the deep rustication and so on.

Seaton Delavel was built in (1715) under the influence as one writer (Watkin 1968:129) puts it of Vanbrugh’s “heroic mediaevalizing spirit”. It is also the plan of the architect’s own houses at Esher and Greenwich. Despite the classical dressing Seaton Delavel (3.15) is really an early or anticipatory building of the English Picturesque. Watkin describes Vanbrugh as “looking back to something more picturesque and heroic than even continental baroque”(ibid.). Sources all agree that Dilkusha was built as a hunting lodge inside a walled park which was stocked with game by keepers. This was not so unusual in India, the mughals were keen hunters, and many paintings from the court and the provinces depict princes (and princesses) at the hunt. What is significant here is the similarities between the nawabs of Lucknow and the country life of the nobility in England. Dilkusha is an appropriate response to the changing social and political milieu of Lucknow in the early nineteenth century, combining features of both English and Indian country houses and their uses, while maintaining a western exterior. It appears that Dilkusha was also used by the nawabs to impress European visitors, many of whom were given a tour of the building, presumably in order to impress on them the civilised tastes of the nawab. This is the classical East functioning as a sign of modernity and anglophilia.

Kaisarbagh

The Kaisarbagh (3.16) built by the last king of Oudh, Wajid Ali Shah (r. 1847-1856), is not a palace as such but a large walled enclosure containing a number of unusual buildings and statuary. A military map made in 1858 shows an enclosure which was the main palace, with a large adjoining garden full of smaller buildings. It has been described as “one of the most remarkable palace complexes ever built⁸⁰”, certainly the Kaisarbagh is an example of the classical east in its most exuberant and hybrid forms. The usual comparisons are made with Versailles or even Tsarkoe Selo obviously not on stylistic grounds but because of the sheer size of the project, its placement within a garden, and the use of idiosyncratic buildings. The

⁷⁹ Stone was expensive and had to be transported from considerable distances.

⁸⁰ Llewellyn-Jones (1985:189).

Kaisarbagh is perhaps the culmination of the various attempts to occidentalize an essentially eastern concept, though one with parallels in western palatial architecture. Despite its apparent resemblances to western structures it is also a reversion to the earlier mughal style method of placing palaces, conceived as a series of pavilions, within a walled enclosure, though in the mughal period this generally meant within the walls of a fort.

The style of the Kaisarbagh buildings is highly idiosyncratic and the use of classical elements is profuse, but does not correspond to the earlier type structures seen in the hybrid palatial houses⁸¹. In the Kaisarbagh the classical language of architecture is used in the construction of buildings whose purpose can sometimes only be guessed at. They are not houses in the usual sense, but some were undoubtedly lived in at times.

The Lanka is typical (if the term can be used) of the classical east manifested in the Kaisarbagh. It consists of a series of octagonal turrets (3.17), linking an open arcaded facade. The turrets are topped with small brass domes and chattris - all easily found within the mughal repertoire. The decoration consists of small pediments and Corinthian (or Composite) style pilasters with a triglyphic frieze, with swags and rosettes also used. The actual design of the building is most unusual. It consists of two square buildings with pillared verandahs joined by a series of arches which are also stepped and join the two main parts together. The purpose of the Lanka is not clear, though local sources⁸² state that it was used as a dance and music pavilion.

Another enigmatic building near the Lanka (3.18), consists of double-height fluted columns with Greek pediments on the gable ends. The building is a tall narrow rectangle and superficially resembles the Greek temples from which most of its elements are copied. The disproportionate height and lack of arcading on the ground floor suggests that the building was securely enclosed in a purposeful way. I suggest that this building was an aviary, based on Wajid Ali Shah's well-documented love of birds, especially doves. It is known that he kept an aviary and menagerie at Kaisarbagh. If the attribution is correct, it provides a fascinating counterpart to Humphrey Repton's use of northern Hindu temple forms for a similar purpose.

The gateways of the Kaisarbagh are large and extravagant and are at least as idiosyncratic at

⁸¹ As described in the previous chapter.

⁸² Consulted during fieldwork in 1998.

the buildings inside the enclosure. One gateway, known as the Mermaid Gate (3.19), is a disconcerting mixture of classical and Indian elements. The large pilasters are Corinthian, with winding ribbons from top to base. On the parapet above are the oval lights found in earlier palaces. Small rosette friezes are everywhere. There is a classical pediment above the main (rounded) arch. One extraordinary feature is the winding stairway on one side of the gateway, each flight capped by a “classical” statue of a woman wearing the robes of ancient Greece. Here, the classical East is not an cultural identity statement, but a sign of gendered space. There are clues that this gateway is the entrance to the zenana. The mermaid figures are part of the emblem of the royal wives of Oudh, and can be seen on a portrait of a wife of Wajid Ali Shah⁸³, and exists presumably as a feminised version of the two fish emblem of the nawabs. The mermaids are holding a crown and shield between them, also an emblem of the nawabs.

The classical east imitates the west share a number characteristics but with some important distinctions. Apart from Dilkusha there is no attempt to copy an entire building. At many of the other houses a surface of neo-classical decoration disguises an otherwise Indian plan and structure. Dilkusha and Barowen were never lived in for long periods, but used for summer palaces (or picnic palaces), hunting lodges, or significantly, they were show houses for the nawab’s European furniture and *objets* to which European visitors were shown around, a type of architectural propaganda testifying to the refinement and Europhilia of the nawabs⁸⁴. The classical east also mixes on equal terms with the local style, usually on palatial buildings, buildings which were designed to be seen, but not necessarily entered, except by an elite and servants. The classical east is a facade designed to impress on the viewer the grandeur and modernity of the building and presumably its patrons.

The notion of style in the classical east is a difficult one - applying the western art historical criteria of what constitutes a style, and deviations from a style (as discussed in chapter 2), lead only to one depressing conclusion (one reiterated by many commentators) - that the builders of Lucknow were incompetent, perhaps incapable of understanding the classical orders. There is no clear way out of this type of judgement until the idea that the nawabs tried, and failed to build a classical east acceptable to western eyes is abandoned. The mysterious west, which utilised the orient in order to provide a decorative adjunct to the

⁸³ Prints and Drawings Collection, Oriental and India Office Collection, British Library.

⁸⁴ It may have worked too well in the case of Barowen, on which Fanny Parks commented “ A palace built in the French style: I saw nothing worthy of remark but two marble tables, inlaid in the most delicate and beautiful manner with flowers of the convolvulus”.

dominant aesthetic of the time, kept the east at a (real and metaphorical) distance⁸⁵, used decorative elements in such a diminished and partial way that much of the effect is lost, and seemed to require an eastern other by which to point up its difference and distance. The classical east, by contrast, is amalgamating whole buildings and large elements into existing style and structures, sometimes with great confidence on large palaces⁸⁶, sometimes replacing an existing structure (e.g. arcades), and very often mixed thoroughly - alternating arches of mughal and classical style⁸⁷. This suggests a rather different intention than slavish (and unsuccessful) copying of western classicism. The intention (s) of the nawabs of Oudh are not difficult to 'read' from the structures they built.

Firstly, the buildings of the classical east are all secular in a city with a very extensive religious/funerary architectural repertoire. The religious buildings and tombs - designed for use by the masses primarily, are traditional late mughal. Those who are meant to see (and recognise) the classicism of palaces etc. are those who are connected with the court and with the Residency, not with the mosques, madrasas and imambaras⁸⁸. Those accustomed to the traditional Indian building will not be too discomfited by foreign ornaments, which in themselves do little to change the uses of the structure. Those accustomed to the revived classicism of the west, will see buildings far less foreign and resolutely other, with visual concessions made to the west, probably far more comforting than we can imagine. So the less discriminating eye might see, like Bishop Heber, Dresden or St. Petersburg.

Secondly, the buildings themselves remained resolutely Indian in many ways, rooms tended to be small, staircases were marginal and primitive, rooftop pavilions (for catching the evening breeze) continued to be built, though in a classical style. At the Raushan-ud-Daula Kothi this adherence to tradition can be seen in the large open 'courtyard' of the interior, which begins on the first rather than ground floor of the building. To all exterior views this is a 'solid block' building (3.20) like most English houses. The buildings conformed to the practical and social requirements of an Indian household while proclaiming a deceptive hybridity from the exterior walls.

Thirdly, the type of ornament copied tended to be the same few motifs repeated everywhere,

⁸⁵ In follies, summer houses and so on.

⁸⁶ Like the Raushan-ud-Daula Kothi and the Chattar Manzil.

⁸⁷ At the Sat Khanda, Sikanderbagh, Kaisarbagh etc.

⁸⁸ There are a few exceptions, some tombs have classical ornament.

Corinthian columns, pediments pierced with holes. Venetian windows and rounded arches. This suggests that a small number of motifs were considered adequate to convey an *idea* of westernness or occidentalism. Despite access to western goods, personnel, and books, the nawabs seem quite content with the version of the west as incorporated on the walls of their palaces, as they continued to build like this up to the 1850's. Here the classical east is mirroring a similar symbolic ensemble in the mysterious west, where a selection of ornaments stands in for the thing itself - not only the real buildings (or building style) which it is thought to mimic, but the whole undigested notion of the other and how the other looks.

Furthermore, the idiosyncratic Lucknow version of neo-classicism should not be judged by reference to the canons of European taste. They are emphatically not classical houses, despite the classical signs - and evaluating their appearance without reference to use (both practical and metaphorical) is to ignore the particular circumstances which encouraged the trend towards hybridization in palatial architecture. These buildings were provided with classical elements mixed with Indian as a type of statement about the nawabs of Oudh and their peculiar intermediary position between two cultures⁸⁹, particularly the one in the ascendant. They were on the one hand, under the rule of the mughal emperor at Delhi, though he was powerless to rule them. On the other hand they were one of the last independent states of northern India, much influenced and undermined by the East Indian Company, to whom they would always be licentious oriental monarchs, unfit to govern their own affairs. The classical east is not an attempt to re-invent the west, but to assimilate it, as a type of cultural shorthand on buildings whose essential Indian character is changed in appearance but not in function.

There are some common features of the classical east and the mysterious west, one is the association of the exotic other with leisure. In England, this took the form of follies mainly, where the garden became a form of entertainment, containing ruins, hidden grottoes, lookouts, and exotics. Even the large scale statements like Brighton are indicative of the fashion for the seaside and its entertainments. The unbuilt exotics of George Wightwick develop this association to its final possibility, that the east is, in itself, a spectacle or form of entertainment. Travelling through his grove of Indian exotics, one encounters the spectacle of the east, in enthusiastic, but inaccurate detail, but that hardly seems to matter if the experience

⁸⁹ While the East India Company gradually deprived the nawabs of territory, the nawabs themselves gained a reputation for depriving Europeans in the city of their houses.

is entertaining enough.

The leisure associations of the the classical east in Lucknow concerns mainly the nawab, the aristocracy, and their European guests. Dilkusha was used as royal hunting lodge, Musa Bagh as a place to watch fights staged between, for example, a tiger and a buffalo. Or, as described by Fanny Parks, being conducted on a tour of the nawab's European house in order to admire his imported goods and European-style furnishings.

The gendering of architecture in the mysterious west has already been mentioned by John Mackenzie (1995:83), who demonstrated how the use of 'oriental' rooms in otherwise European houses (among other leisure uses) "served to confirm the gendering of space which was a characteristic of nineteenth century country houses and public buildings", for example the Indian billiard room at Bagshot Park (1880's) or the Moorish smoking room at Rhinefield, Hampshire in the same period. What is remarkable in the earlier period (1770-1850) is that the east is an exterior phenomenon, with the notable exception of Thomas Hope's Indian room in his house in Duchess Street. In this earlier period the Indian buildings are seemingly genderless, only when they can be brought within the country house, does the gendering occur - and it is a masculinity which the space now expresses, in contradiction to the common Orientalist perception of the east as essentially feminine⁹⁰. Gendering the mysterious west was not a feature of the early period - its use as the exotic other precluded this type of use and identification and (perhaps) the gendering of the orient as feminine has its origins in literary rather than architectural artefacts. In the classical east of Lucknow the gendering of mixed-style houses had a changeable and often contradictory expression. Many of them were used, at various times as extensions of the zenana. Principal wives in particular would require a separate household appropriate to their status. The Sikanderbagh, Kurshid Manzil, Dilkusha, the Chattar Manzil, the Raushan-ud-Daula Kothi, and the Alam Bagh (all hybrid structures) were all at some stage used as the houses of the royal women. Thus, the classical east has gained along with its European associations, the attributes of privacy and femininity appropriate to its usage at that time⁹¹. The Chattar Manzil (3.21) palace was mainly used as the residence of the king of Oudh's principal wife from about 1815-1847 (when the Kaisarbagh was built). The palace is built in a mixed style; though thoroughly Indian in

⁹⁰ Though this type of gendering is usually invoked to demonstrate, by contrast, the masculinity of the European.

⁹¹ Some other neo-classical or mixed buildings in the city were used as an Observatory, complete with English telescopes made by Troughton and Simons (Llewellyn-Jones 1985:73), and another as a powder magazine which later became Government House.

structure, the decoration is a mixture of Indian and neo-classical motifs (3.22). The exterior is very neo-classical, small pediments over the windows, swags above and intercolumniation of the windows. Indian features include three domes with the traditional foliated arches (containing classical fanlights), a chajja and a gilt chattri (umbrella). These domes top octagonal kiosks or turrets and the main dome is part of a classical style superstructure. As a building of the classical east, the Chattr Manzil has a number of significant features, not least the association of female space with European style. The other use of this building is for banquets and feasts at which Europeans were frequently present. What is unusual here is the use of a normally enclosed area (the zenana) with a very public one along with the thoroughly mixed character of the building itself, and the presence of Europeans in the house of the king's women.

The establishment of polarities is a primary feature of orientalism, leading to an oppositional and hierarchical definition of differences and identities. Sometimes this coincides with existing features of the 'orient', as has been previously mentioned, the coincidence of gendered spaces⁹² in India generally, and in 19th century country-houses in England. Often there is no coincidence, only carefully delineated difference: west - east, masculine - feminine, civilized - primitive, democratic - despotic and so on. Here in the classical east the subversion of the polarity which orientalism normally establishes has been realized perfectly in the Chattr Manzil. The triangular construction (forming terraces) is typical of palatial buildings in parts of India, the building has in effect two kinds of facade. One is a flat, multi-storey construction which appears very impressive and massive and is the only facade which can be viewed from a distance (from outside the palace enclosure) (see plate 2.30). The other side is a multi terraced, far more Indian facade which is the part most often viewed from the interior of the enclosure. Most of the neo-classical ornament is on the outer facade (3.23), the one most likely to be viewed by Europeans and the masses. Though the building is in fact a "harem", its larger rooms are used for the public feasts and entertainments of Europeans. It should also be noted that as these Europeans were entertained by the nawab, they were themselves objects of entertainment, not only for those present at table, but also for the women concealed behind a purdah screen. This upsets the usual convention of separating the women and men in Indian palaces. The usual solution of separate buildings is undermined by the fact that the small palace directly beside the Chattr Manzil (where one would expect the

⁹² Not their style, which is mediated by other factors, but their use as gender-specific space.

zenana) was in fact the residence of the king (the Farhat Bakhsh, built by Claude Martin c.1795). The identity of the Chattar Manzil, as architecture belonging to either east or west is difficult to establish within a system of polarities. It has achieved a very useful synthesis of both Indian and European style and utilized that synthesis in the service of identity statements. Statements which could be interpreted as the ambivalence of the nawabs towards the two powerful forces which shaped much of their destinies, or as a type of reconciliation between the European and mughal which was only possible in architecture.

What is the identity of the architecture of the classical east in Lucknow? Is it Indian or European? does the greater or lesser mixture of elements provide us with a basis for identifying the style/class to which the buildings belong? What was meant to be seen when we looked at Lucknow architecture? and why were the buildings almost universally derided? These questions could probably be answered with an elaborate appeal to the viewer to overlook the stylistic incoherence and lack of classical correctness in the architecture on account of the various mitigating factors (Llewellyn-Jones 1986), as discussed in earlier chapters. I think this is to fundamentally misunderstand the classical east as being in some way an unsuccessful version of the classical west. When we look at Lucknow architecture without wishing it to be more classical, more intelligible, and so on, what can be seen is that the west was *used*, not blindly imitated. One significant example, Dilkusha, adequately demonstrates that western architecture could be successfully copied by Indian builders. The classical east is a surface phenomenon of Lucknow architecture, highly visible but structurally unimportant. As an identity statement, it can be decoded by reference to its associational values which are acknowledged by both sides (as it were). It is modern, civilized, pan-European (but especially English) and secular. For the nawabs of Lucknow it provided a repertoire of ornament which not only proclaimed these values (however purely aspirational they may have been), but also served to separate them from the provincial mughal style which connected them to the waning mughal empire and to the past. Far from wishing to *become* the other, the nawabs of Lucknow only required the west as part of the formation of a new architectural style which would declare them as being neither wholly mughal nor European. What the classical east depicted in Lucknow was the other, here confidently amalgamated into the local style, meeting the challenge of otherness with confidence if not always with canonical precision.

What of the mysterious west? Is its otherness so clearly utilized in identity statements? What can be said about the uses of Indian style in England is that whatever identity statements were being made in architecture ('the battle of the styles') at the time, that the Indian style was not utilized in their service by an assimilation process but by a demarcation process, where the east was required to be near but separate, to be exotic and picturesque without reference to its actual situation, and to convey otherness without threat, as can be seen in the work of Nash, Wightwick, and Foulston and in the designs of anonymous folly builders. The mysterious west was constructed in the service of ideologies relating to the beginning of empire, and to a self-conscious Britishness, distinct from the pan-European associations of the neo-classical. The mysterious west is also a Romantic vision of the east, involving aesthetic values relating to nostalgia, antiquity and a picturesque necessity for ever new sensations and scenes. What the mysterious west promised (and delivered) was the exotic in a manageable form, its strangeness filtered through the picturesque. While the mysterious west is not in any way a successful attempt to recreate authentic Indian-ness in England, it clearly reveals an India of the imagination - a microcosmic and manageable India around which the west might metaphorically orient itself.

Chapter 4

Hybridity, Morality and Decadence - problems of style and stylism

In dealing with a site which both falls outside of stylistic norms, and which also violates almost every prescription for architectural success in European terms, some examination of the roots of the problem becomes necessary. Moreover, the stylistic ideologies of the west, despite seeming plurality in the modern period, are very much intact when dealing with the cultural artefacts of the orient. Chapters 4 and 5 will describe some of the attitudes of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century attempts to understand and to “reproduce” Indian architecture in the west. What is striking is that, if anything, attitudes to Lucknow architecture have become more, not less, critical since that period. G.H.R. Tillotson (1989:14), writing on Fergusson and the problem of how to approach Indian architecture states that “in the assessment of Indian buildings, Indian criteria apply” and that this attitude was “not always found in the art-historical writing of the past” (ibid.). Unfortunately it is not found in the present either. Modern, academic authors on Indian architecture can still describe Lucknow buildings such as Constantia as “the most peculiar hybrid design” (Davies 1989:237), the Kaisarbagh “reflected the impotent nature of the politically moribund nawabs” (Asher 1992:323), “empty pretentiousness which well represent the attrition of tired convention” is one description of the Bara Imambara (Tadgell 1990:275). What is extraordinary about these descriptions is that they are made without any reflection on the discourse from which they derive their *ex cathedra* authority - western art history. Tillotson describes Lucknow as “debased mughal” (1989:7) but he is aware of the ideological and aesthetic circumstances which give rise to such remarks. He also makes an important point, which is that the judgements which disparage Lucknow architecture are no more serviceable when turned to the defence of it (ibid:16). This present chapter examines the formation of western ideas about styles which forms powerful but infrequently acknowledged ways of seeing and describing all art and not only that of India. What is particularly poignant about a site such as Lucknow is that it is so mutilated on the Procrustean bed of western art history that everyone sees the corpse, but no-one suggests that the bed might be the problem.

The architecture of the city of Lucknow has been described (by various authors. Tillotson, Llewellyn-Jones, Tandan) as being divided into three main styles: the late or ‘debased’ mughal, the neo-classical, and the hybrid: a mixture of the mughal and neo-classical. The early

colonial period in Lucknow (from 1790-1830) was a vibrant era with much artistic patronage and extensive building projects. Percy Brown commented that “there are few cities in India where there is a greater display of architecture, both religious and secular, all erected within the limited period of less than a hundred years” (1942:113). Brown, despite his far greater knowledge of Indian architecture than generalists like Tadgell, is equally dismissive of the nawabi style, again on moral grounds. His remarks about the appearance of the buildings is, like most other commentators, a crude linkage between the style and the moral conduct of its patrons, “Outward show and tawdry pretence mark the architecture, just as they were symptomatic of the life of the court” (ibid:114) Style and its uses in the city allow approaches to architecture which illuminate many of the visible and invisible factors at work in architectural history and criticism, combined in this case with statements of identity and power under the influence of unofficial colonisation by the East India Company.

Since taste and style will be an important theme in the discussion of art and architecture in this thesis, it seems appropriate to discuss at the outset the parameters and meanings of the uses of style and taste as terms of description. A very problematic area of the history of art is the history of style; particularly in periods where styles are undergoing a change of status, or, where the dominance of one style is being challenged by another. This is what appears to be the case in the 18th century in England, when the Greek revival was given as an antidote to the excesses of the baroque. An examination of contemporary texts reveal a more eclectic and pluralistic attitude to style co-existing with the orthodoxies of classicism. The idea that styles succeed one another as fashion or taste dictates is overly simplistic. Modern histories of art often neglect style, especially works on architecture. Some more recent works concerning style tend to concentrate on painting⁹³ or on music and literature (like *The Concept of Style*). A recent standard work of aesthetics⁹⁴ makes no mention of style, indeed, nearly all the discussions on aesthetics use literary models for explication, and this is a feature of many other works. Another authoritative writer on architecture⁹⁵ divides all architecture into two distinct parts: the historical and non-historical styles, into the latter division is gathered Indian Chinese, Japanese, Central American art and so on. The idea that oriental art is non-historical is proof that unexamined orientalism continues to be uncritically promoted within standard western art historical texts.

⁹³ E. H. Gombrich *Art and Illusion*, London 1960.

⁹⁴ Sheppard, A. *Aesthetics* 1987.

⁹⁵ Bannister Fletcher.

There seems to be something profoundly anti-visual in the language used to describe certain aspects of the visual arts, or perhaps descriptions and criticism of art can only be expressed through the use of another art form. This approach assumes that all the creative arts are alike *in the same way*. So what is, say, affective in a particular way in literature is so in architecture or music. One example of another type of thinking which actually works is the use of analogous terms to describe different things. For instance the ‘bridge passage’ in the classical symphony is so called, not because it looks like or sounds like anything architectural but because it performs the same function in music as an actual bridge does in architecture, it connects two separated things, river banks in one case, themes in the other. Style is something all art forms have in common but we cannot easily use one style to explain another, except by the crudest exclusionary terms. The literature on style may be relatively modest because of a perception that style is a social and imitative aspect of art. That style might also be both an expressive and ideological property of art may imply that it is most subject to change and modification, making its ‘set’ less identifiable and certain. This is especially interesting in architecture, where the possibility of large-scale public statements combined with the relative permanence of the structure combines to give style an authority and a publicity that other art forms cannot usually attain.

The styles of architecture in the 18th century in England acquired moral and ideological associations and the uses of style are not merely ‘fashion’, though this obviously has a part to play, but also that style is ideological, expressive, idiosyncratic and symptomatic as well. ‘The history of taste and fashion is the history of preferences, of various acts of choice between given alternatives’ and ‘an act of choice is only of symptomatic significance, is expressive of something only if we can reconstruct the choice situation.’ (Gombrich 1960:18). This statement by E. H. Gombrich is indicative of one type of explanation of style. Another type of explanation is that expounded by Alois Riegl, to the effect that there is a ‘will-to-form’, or *kunstwollen* which determines how and where art and styles change and develop. These schools of thought have not been chosen in order to invoke a spirit of antagonism, but both contain and explain much of the debate about styles and choices. Extrapolating attitudes about style from the available texts of the late 18th century is about reconstructing the choice situation, not only as a choice of available visual languages, but also a choice of associational usage of that language. It has been asserted (by David Watkin) that many architect’s practises of that time contained a neo-classical and a gothic ‘office’, as it were, but most architectural

comment was about neo-classical buildings. The late 18th and early 19th centuries are very much a period of 'taste', or style and is significant for what came later in the uses of architectural style, both as a bearer of meaning and as a statement of identity. The parallel which may be drawn here is that polarisation and the creation of dualistic opposites: between classical and gothic, western and oriental, Hindu and Islamic was already a paradigm of western art historical discourse before the large-scale program of hybrid building in Lucknow. The neo-classical sensibility also introduced the moral into art as an affective, thematic and intellectual element. The classical world was seen as one of plain, Roman values; sobriety, rectitude and rationality were treated in painting and literature in a didactic manner. This reverence for the golden classical age was described as "revulsion against the Rococo, and all the values it was felt to express, or at any rate to imply or condone, amounted in certain cases to an instinctive nausea" (Honour 1868:18). In architecture the neo-classical attitude was said to derive from "a combination of the idea of 'noble simplicity' with that of a rational application of the classical elements" (Summerson 1986:77). The development of the neo-classical styles and attitudes in Europe and later in England is beyond the scope of the present work, but it is difficult to underestimate the power and persistence of the ideas which "conquered not only the high places of architecture...but through the medium of prints and books...ultimately finding its way into the workshop of the humblest carpenter and bricklayer" (Summerson 1978:36). The style was adopted in a period which a lengthy and intense commentary and debate on the history and associations of style and taste took place. Numerous printed books of the time contain exhaustive details of motifs, orders, measurements so that anyone: builder, carpenter, metalworker, patron and so on, could identify precisely which elements of classicism they wished for themselves.

Definitions of Style

Style, generally is taken to mean a collection of motifs and elements which taken together comprise a recognisable gestalt or totality. A simple, but effective definition of style as a 'learned constraint' (Meyer, L. in *The Concept of Style* (revised ed.) is an interesting way of describing style as a limiting factor in design. A more sophisticated version of that constraint is given by James Ackermann (ibid.), 'In the study of the arts,...we must find certain characteristics that are more or less stable and flexible. A distinguishable ensemble of such characteristics we call a style'. Thus the distinguishable ensemble must be internally organised in such a way as to be externally recognisable. Presumably, where hybrid style

transgresses these categories is that the learned constraint is violated by the introduction of novelties and the distinguishable ensemble is confused by the use of another distinguishable ensemble. External recognition is complicated by the signs of another style. Hybridity also undermines the certainty of recognition, placing styles on a continuum of recognisability (as it were). Applying this thinking to the architecture of Lucknow, the hybrid buildings contain greater or lesser neo-classical elements. Dilkusha (1800), could pass for European⁹⁶, or a rural neo-classicism suggested by the heavy rustication. The gateways of the Kaisarbagh are very Indian by comparison, despite the rounded arches and fluted columns. What can we call these uneven mixtures? Hybrid only describes what it is in terms of other more distinguishable ensembles. Ackermann's definition is liberal, but also problematic, he does not say what the limitations are on either stability or flexibility.

Hybrid style is something of an oxymoron, since if it is a style, then it is opposed to hybridity (or its hybridity has achieved a particular limit), and if it is a hybrid its certain characteristics are by definition uncertain. This is not to suggest that styles are monolithic, conceptual prisons; according to Ackermann, they can be both stable and flexible, therefore the neo-classical style can occur quite widely over time and place, its stability and flexibility can be greatly modified without losing the distinguishable ensemble. Hybrids cannot do this since from the very first they do not seem capable of forming the ensemble into a distinguishable category. Taking Lucknow building as a example, we see that the use of neo-classical motifs and forms is a variable in late mughal design. In one building it is mostly by the addition of a portico and heavy rustication (Dilkusha), in another by the use of large pediments (Alam Bagh), in yet another by the giant Corinthian order (Raushan-ud-Daula Kothi). The ensemble is too changeable, the constraints are too loose. Would this type of building have eventually become a style by achieving synthesis, in the same way that mughal style is a successful fusion of Islamic and Hindu styles? It is unlikely. Taking by way of contrast the architectural style of the high mughal period, say, Akbar's Tomb, the Jami Masjid in Delhi, or the forts at Agra and Delhi, we can see that the mughal style is successful because the elements are not only organised differently, but also because the elements were themselves changed during the synthesis. The *chajja* for example; originally the slanted dripstone around the portico of a Hindu temple, it became a larger, decorative storey marker in mughal buildings, continuing all the way around the first floor level. Moreover, the mughal

⁹⁶ It is closely copied from Vanbrugh's Seaton Delavel.

style has combined a very small number of elements, whereas the Lucknow buildings are mixed together, but the parts are still distinct and recognisable. There is too much happening, and far too many possible variations in Lucknow architecture for a synthetic style to develop. Nor does it seem likely that a second generation fusion is possible in any style. It is the case that mughal architecture is a “proper” style derived from the synthesis of Islamic and Hindu architecture; combining the style again, as in Lucknow with the neo-classical, did not in this case lead to a particularly recognisable ensemble, or a learned constraint.

Interpretative models

Leonard Meyer’s definition - ‘Style is a replication of patterning,...that results from a series of choices made within some set of constraints.’ This seems like an adequate prescription for style in any art, though Meyer is talking mainly about music. The definition works well in architecture - imagine the repetition of columns in a Greek temple with the entablature and pediment above. The set of constraints includes in this case a limit on the number of pediments, i.e. only one to a side. Another constraint is the fixing of the proportional relationship between all the architectural elements. We can further apply the definition to gothic - a replicated pattern of pointed arches and arcades with buttresses outside, vaults inside and steeples over the sanctuary.

In Islamic architecture the pattern replicated is an arch with a dome above, the proportional relationship of the parts is fluid. One constraint being that the number of domes and arches is always uneven. One of the most obvious constraints in any style is that it does not utilize elements of other styles. In this way Meyer’s definition is *internal* to a given style. The ground rule of any style and its primary constraint is in avoiding mixture or hybridity. In architecture several definitions or analogies are needed in order to describe what style is - in relation to other styles, and in its own parts. A fairly modern analogy used for architecture is the linguistic one - that buildings are texts which are readable, it also implies that buildings have encoded meanings included within style. A much earlier use of this analogy by James Fergusson was used to describe the use of neo-classical elements in the architecture of Lucknow ‘It is like a man trying to copy an inscription in a language he does not understand, and of which he does not even know the alphabet. With the most correct eye and the greatest pains he cannot do it accurately.’ (Fergusson 1976:327). He is dismayed at the use of neo-classical style in Lucknow, not only because he deplored hybridity on aesthetic grounds but

because the classical was used without reference to its meanings by people who knew nothing about the classical orders and their supposed proportional canons. The incongruity of the use of the neo-classical style by Indians is expressed by Fergusson as a type of illiteracy, visual in this case. There is no word for the visual inappropriateness except by reference to language. The linguistic analogy is an attractive one and easy to apply to any architecture. There is a problem of reception here, in that each style may be said to constitute a language within the language of architecture. This implies some polyglottal capacity is required in order to read and use the style, which is what Fergusson believed. Again, hybridity tends to undermine the application (and validity) of this analogy, linguistically. Lucknow buildings are a mixture of Greek and Urdu, or, more to the point, can a sentence constructed of Greek and Urdu words make sense? A further use of the language analogy is that of the reception of art objects, "What distinguishes the hearer of a language who knows it from one who doesn't is not that he reacts to it, whereas the other doesn't...The difference is that the man who knows the language replaces an associative link, which might or might not be conditioned, with understanding" (Wollheim 1968:134).

Returning to James Ackermann's statement, 'In the study of the arts,...we must find certain characteristics that are *more or less stable and flexible*. A distinguishable ensemble of such characteristics we call a style.' This is a very useful definition which allows for the innovation and developments in a given style. The perception of style as a distinguishable ensemble of characteristics is a far more visual method of recognition than the linguistic model. Again, however, hybridity is outside the definition by having (perhaps) too many variables to be readily distinguishable as an ensemble and the stability and flexibility of the characteristics is too easily mediated by this. To put it simply, in hybrid buildings too many things are happening at once (or perhaps too few in the case of English follies derived from Indian prototypes), and this appears to be as true for English hybrids of Indian architecture as Indian hybrids of English. Perhaps it would be more useful to add the proviso to both Meyer's definition that the series of choices must be quite small, and to Ackermann's that the distinguishable ensemble should have few elements and that stability must have some precedence over flexibility.

The interpretative models used for hybrid styles

The eighteenth century seems to be an important area in which to investigate the uses,

meanings and associations of styles. It is the period of time in which non-European architectural styles became widely known and also incorporated in the architectural process. The introduction of Indian architecture in England through the designs of S.P. Cockerell and the aquatints of William Hodges and Thomas and William Daniell was also the period in which English architecture appeared in India. First in Madras, and later in Calcutta, the neo-classical style was the architecture of choice of the East India Company.

Another problematic interpretative model of the history of style or the fashion for a particular style is that of the relationship between art and the society which produces it. Too often connections become causalities, in a manner described by one author "To say of a particular work of art that it is socially determined, or to explain it in social terms, is to exhibit it as an instance of a constant correlation: a correlation, that is, holding between a certain form of art, on the one hand, and a certain form of social life, on the other. Thus, any particular explanation presupposes a hypothesis of the form, Whenever A then B. To say in general that art is socially determined is to do no more than to subscribe to a heuristic maxim, advocating the framing and testing of such hypotheses" (Wollheim 1968:165). This is not to say that no relationship exists or that the commonalities are accidental but rather that the relationship is probably as complex as both the society and the artefacts produced, and our discovery of those relationships is merely an act of description not of prescription. Or the relationship may be as Wollheim suggests "on a purely anecdotal level" (ibid:165). The heuristic maxim was almost universally invoked to explain, on the one hand the decadent ugliness of Lucknow architecture and on the other the moral unfitness of its primary patron, the nawab of Oudh. The shortcomings of this moral relationship between patrons and arts is immediately apparent when used to explain the classical preferences of the British in India. The society which colonised India used the neo-classical style to build the early Indian Empire, but to say that the perceived qualities of classical architecture reflect British society of the time is nonsensical. It may reflect the aspirations of the British establishment in Bengal, or adherence to the fashion of architecture in England at the time, or any other correlation which seems more likely than not.

Style and Decadence

The historicist or evolutionist approach to architectural (or any other) design presupposes developmental stages, and inevitably, ideas of growth and decline. Any discussion of

decadence must be contained within this historicism. One possible reason for the tenacity of the notion of decadence is that it corresponds to an organic process which we can both observe externally and have internal experience of ourselves; birth, growth, decline, and death in short. In classical architecture the process might be from simple Doric to the late Corinthian. Then Rome, arches, decadence and so on, until the barbarians arrive. The remarkable aspect of this type of attitude is that so often the aesthetic waxing and waning is coincidental with the political and cultural fortunes of the creators and patrons of those arts. This is also powerfully supportive of the notion of a zeitgeist, since artists were not only following an inevitable artistic process but the wider social and political aspects of their culture were mirroring the same inevitable process, and in terms of decadence it is unimportant what the agency of this process was since it is somehow predetermined.

Apart from changes to the distinguishable ensemble which are judged (in a moral sense) as being decadent, there is another way in which decadence is perceived using an organic model (birth, growth, decay) as part of the cycle of style and that decadence is as necessary perhaps in order that the cycle fulfils itself and new style begins. The time scales are very important *but* "old age" does not inevitably lead to artistic decline in the organic model. In the lives and works of individuals (Rembrandt and Titian for example) the later paintings are not only in a variation of the earlier style, but perceived as aesthetically and expressively superior in every way. In music whole tone modes gave way to diatony, an immeasurable improvement in scope and composition. The new whole tone and chromatic modes have never really superceded this, at least not in popular taste. There is also in architecture the 'puritanism' described by Summerson in the neo-classical - less is more, Doric is better than composite, 3d better than 2d and so on, but this is not the chronological path of the neo-classical, in reality Romanists (like William Chambers) copied the Renaissance, superceded by neo-classicists copying Greeks, superceded by an all-out eclecticism including Greek, gothic and Chinese styles. It seems that perception of the linearity of growth and decline is suggested by the organic model, and confirmed by our inclination towards it. Artistic tradition is also a factor to be considered and in architecture is probably more important than in other arts, and architecture is less individualistic on account of it. One way to look at decline and decadence is the end of a tradition. Another style/time notion is that things start off simple, get more complicated, get too complicated, then collapse or die. There are some interesting counter-examples, Turkish Iznik pottery was derived from quite complex metal prototypes, but

became simpler in form and in decoration as time went on.

If the linear/organic model is abandoned, then decadence is difficult to define since it seems to rely most on its placement within the historicist model (i.e. we don't know if it is decadent until we see what went before and after) rather than on purely visual clues except for the case of simplicity versus complexity which may also have contradictions and is also determined by essentialist and puritanical attitudes.

Developmental models and mimesis

The developmental models of art in *Art and Illusion* cannot translate from painting to architecture because the development of perfect mimesis in architecture is irrelevant. Building probably never imitated nature despite the powerful idea that a "primitive hut" was the early prototype of the Greek temple, even in details so small as the triglyphs, bucrania and so on. The development of architecture has been far more theoretical and philosophical since from the earliest times it is necessarily far more conscious of its history and tradition - given that a perfection of mimesis or a withdrawal from it was never a possibility. Architecture does not represent the world at all, except symbolically. Mimesis can exist in architecture though not in the purely imitative sense. Architecture is thought to be attempting to depict something in the world: the primitive hut made into stone with the beam ends still protruding and so on. Architecture also imitates its earlier forms - the various revivals and the endurance of the classical. The mimesis is not filling a gap between representation and reality as in painting but between one form, or style, of architecture and another. Architecture is possibly the least expressive and most self-referential of all the arts for this reason.

In examining the architecture of Lucknow, the colonial attitude towards it, the choice situation in which the architecture was located and the particular circumstances which prevailed in Lucknow, it is useful to say something about the perception and uses of style in a wider context. Ideas of value and purity (in relation to style and aesthetic) still abound in architecture in a way that would be untenable in painting and sculpture. The International Modern Movement and its adherents, those predisposed towards functionalism, invoke very similar canons of correctness in architecture as the art historical commentators on Lucknow. Even post-modernism in its witty and ironic play with style would probably find the architecture of Lucknow wanting. The use (and abuse) of classical motifs would find a more

sympathetic reception, though the sincere attempts to actually copy neo-classical buildings (rather than refer to them) would not. I would add to David Watkin's statement (in *Morality and Architecture*) that architecture has always been credited with moral attributes the proviso that styles are more particularly so. Beyond the illuminating examples which he describes (Pevsner, Pugin, Viollet-le-Duc) is a universal attitude to architectural style which, as well as being an element of architectural history is also the field of much architectural criticism.

It is worth considering that part of the problem concerning style and purity and criticism is that style itself is not necessarily part of the choice situation at all. The designation of styles usually is after the event, at least until the eighteenth century when the supremacy of classical (Roman) architecture (as bequeathed by Renaissance architects) was, paradoxically, overturned by the discovery of classical sites in Greece and by the archaeological digs at Pompeii and Herculaneum (in 1748 and 1719 respectively). The other discoveries in China and Egypt of antique architecture changed the view of classical architecture as being the original and only way to build. However, this change co-existed with a renewed reverence for all things Grecian, and the habit of attributing moral virtues such as truth and nobility to the characteristics of a particular style. Two quite important things have occurred as a result of this "stylism" which has forever altered the way in which we see architecture, that is - we think archaeologically about all architecture, including contemporary works, and we think morally about architecture because of the intellectual biases of a small group of elite scholars. The habit of recognising the distinguishable ensemble is now contemporaneous with the planning and creating stage, rather than following in the wake of it. More refinements in designating style can be wholly inclusive: merely increase the number of styles in order to take account of change, individuality and difference. Taken to an extreme conclusion - every object is also its own class of objects. Morally, styles are permitted to acquire a constellation of values which are the descendents of the bias of classical scholars, colonialists, or a combination of both.

The eighteenth century could be regarded as an experiment in various architectural and ideological approaches as it contained the differing adherents of various styles, including pluralists, and also contained the well documented beginning of a fashion in architecture created by knowledge (or rather, the introduction of new 'facts') rather than arising out of

gradually changing tradition. Burke, in his Introduction⁹⁷ states “the critical Taste does not depend on a superior principle in men, but on superior knowledge”. What was also imported during this period was the Renaissance idea that the classical was emphatically not a style, as one writer expresses it “if that means that any other style was possible. It was architecture and nothing else was.” (Allsopp 1968:34) Into this argumentative milieu the other “side”, the gothicists were also staking out their territory. It should always be borne in mind that although we think of the late eighteenth century as the neo-classical triumphant, the origin of the gothic revival was almost exactly contemporaneous with it. Both were “the products of Romanticism” (Crook 1968:1). What both revivals (classical and gothic) have in common, and is significant, is that both were the result of revived knowledge and the proliferation of texts, implying that the thinking about styles had already become archaeological. For example, though the proliferation of gothic designs was in no way comparable to that of the classicists, Walpole’s second architect at Strawberry Hill (Chute, who replaced Richard Bentley) was also engaged in collecting a portfolio of designs copied directly from gothic buildings. The archaeological approach to architectural style being created, in this case, by an enthusiast and aesthete.

According to Crook, the Greek Revival became accepted before the gothic because of the proliferation of archaeological texts - “It was not until the 1830’s that gothic revival architects had at their fingertips a range of stylistic precedents comparable to the volumes of Greek antiquities published during the second half of the eighteenth century” (1968:1). This does not appear to be the case, David Watkin (1983:49-93) in a different context gives a large list of publications on the gothic and antique architecture of England which were almost all published between 1605-1817. Strawberry Hill was begun three years before the English publication of Laugier. The neo-classical triumphed earlier than the gothic, but the proliferation of texts is not the deciding factor in the battle of the styles. That so many texts existed is however a fair indication that architecture (in the sense of constructing things) was fast becoming the province of gentlemen and dilettanti rather than builders.

Style and Orientalism

Certainly the early travellers/artists in India did not appear to possess the conceptual apparatus which distinguished, and was capable of distinguishing further, the differences

⁹⁷ *A Philosophical Enquiry in the Origins of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*, Oxford, Blackwell 1987 (orig. 1757).

between one type of Indian architecture and another. Nor could they abandon the inclination to assign moral values to aesthetic ones. What is interesting is the types of interpretation made about what they saw⁹⁸, and the attempt to fit architectural types into the pre-existing western models. The naming and identification of 'styles' took place over a period of about 80 years, from 1780 to first great architectural survey conducted by Fergusson in the 1860s. One of the earliest identifications was between the architecture of the Hindus and that of the Muslims, which was normally conducted through the dualistic and polarised cultural assumptions of the European mind: mughal=restrained, monotheistic, classical, Hindu=overdecorated, idolatrous, gothic. It was not the only ground of confusion for the Englishman abroad, Col. Davidson of the Engineers walking home one evening in Dhacca (in 1843) relates "Returning homewards, I observed a building within an enclosure, which from the ornament at the end of its spire, I mistook for a Roman Catholic chapel. I entered the area and discovered it was a temple to Kalee Ma! The hideous, many-armed, blood-begrimed figure, stared me full in the face." (Davidson 1843:103). Another earlier peculiarity is the identification of Hindu temples as being modelled from Greek temples⁹⁹ (on account of having columned halls), or from the gothic, by their common origin in certain types of caves (William Hodges), and the density of their surface decoration. As late as 1848, the *Journal of the Asiatic Society* described the Hindu temples of Kashmir as exhibiting "undoubted traces of Grecian art" (JAS Sept. 1848), though naturally they "cannot vie with the severe simplicity of the Parthenon" (ibid.). In the west at the time the battle of the styles (Greek vs. gothic) was the aesthetic conflict by which the ideologies of architectural styles were situated diametrically opposite to one another. This polarity of opposites seems to collapse in the Orientalist attitude towards Hindu temples, while the aesthetic biases of the viewer are preserved intact. For example, the admirer of the gothic can see a quality of gothicism in the Hindu temple: its complex exterior decoration, its apparent 'pointedness'; while the classicist may see in its pillared porch and halls the temples of ancient Greece. Leaving aside for the moment the matter of how temptingly easy these comparison are to make, there is something about this process of typifying and identifying the characteristics of the orient in all its aspects which transcends the oppositional nature of western thinking of how styles are related to each other. If the seemingly oppositional natures of the classical and gothic style can be perceived in a building belonging to neither tradition, this suggests a great capacity for

⁹⁸ This has been dealt with by Mitter (1975).

⁹⁹ The *Asiatic Annual Register* for the year 1800 contains an article by Lieut. Col. Symes which suggests that the Indian preceded the Greeks in their use of columned halls, entablatures and so on.

both projection and confusion when confronted with the otherness of non-European styles. One may ask why the contact with exotic architecture does not appear to affect the stylistic biases and ideologies of style which arise readily in European discourse? These stylistic biases are preserved by a number of methods. One way in which this process occurs is that the style of the other (in this case India generally) fails to earn its place in the canons of western taste (by reason of its difference), so its otherness is used as a stylistic benchmark by which to measure the successes of the western style. In addition, it may be admired (Islamic architecture for example) and this admiration provokes a search for likenesses with the west (the commonly held notion that Saracenic and gothic architecture had a single root). Sometimes the differences between styles is only seen insofar as it corresponds to the prejudices of the viewer, for example, in the early period, there was only Hindu or Muslim architecture, the (sometimes dramatic) regional variations were simply not remarked on, in this way being made to fit the 'two styles' bias of the late eighteenth century. A further development of this is the battle of the styles transposed into an Indian setting, by which the Hindu and Islamic styles were pitted against one another, the "Apollonian" rational Mohammedan against the "Dionysian" polytheistic Hindu, utilizing the same language of difference, value, morality and so on, as can be seen in the western working out of this conflict. In effect, the two main architectural styles of India were the other, and each other's other (so to speak), legitimising the western notions of how styles develop and appear by aligning neatly with the prejudices of the Orientalist gaze.

Lucknow and the problem of "style"

In Lucknow the assigning of identity to the buildings of the middle and late nawabi (say 1798-1856) is confused and confusing. In 1834 one writer describes a new house thus, "a *maison de plaisance* not in the Louis Quatorze but in the Anglo-Indian "music of the eye" style; and within, a high brick wall, which was pierced by a handsome Indo-gothic gateway" (Davidson 1834:22), such tortuous descriptions are typical of writing on Lucknow houses. Some buildings like Barowen and Dilkusha are composed of an easily recognisable ensemble of neo-classical elements. Others such as the Chattar Manzil are almost equally composed of Indian and European decoration. The Residency is typically European with the exception of its large octagonal tower - which unless it anticipates the picturesque country house (like Deepdene, which it resembles) - is stylistically inappropriate. The Alam Bagh is also well supplied with

classical motifs, including large pediments on each side, here also are Indian octagonal corner towers, with Greek key designs in stucco. The Raushan-ud-Daula Kothi is a dramatic classical statement at least for the first two storeys, with its giant fluted columns. But above, the Corinthian pilasters alternate with the late mughal foliated arch, the crazy half-dome on the roof subverting the western aspirations of the structure below. The Kaisarbagh with its neatly alternating arches of mughal and classical style, the inner enclosure with its hybrid pavilions, and formal gardens with classical statuary. Recognizing an “ensemble” within such stylistic eclecticism (or promiscuity) is not an act of identification as such, but rather an attempt to assign identity in a constantly shifting quantity of the signs by which identity is constituted and formalized.

Returning to Ackerman’s prescription that the elements of a style must be both stable and flexible, Lucknow has certainly stability in the sense of utilizing a reasonably fixed repertoire of both Indian and European elements. It is flexibility which is stretched to the point of exhaustion in Lucknow. There is no point or building in which the ensemble has achieved the kind of stability which is necessary for stylistic development; without belabouring the point, Lucknow is not the Fatehpur Sikri of 19th century India. In this sense it is a true hybrid, which is not only defined as “the offspring of a union between different races, species, genera or varieties” but has etymological associations with insolence and upstart presumptuousness (from its roots in *hibrida* - the offspring of a tame sow and a wild boar and *hybris* - arrogance which invites disaster) neatly, but accidentally, aligning with the opinion of Europeans.

Lucknow Style?

Is Lucknow architecture part of the synthetic process by which mixtures become a style? Properly speaking the answer must be no, style can only be used in the most vernacular sense in describing the architecture of Lucknow. Rosie Llewellyn-Jones vigorously answers the critics of Lucknow architecture by pointing out (inter alia) that none of the nawabs had travelled outside and were reliant on Europeans and their books for information and “had no way of knowing whether that information was correct or not” (Llewellyn-Jones 1985:236). But this is hardly the defence or response that Lucknow architecture requires. Certainly a copy of the 1719 *Vitruvius Britannicus* was in Lucknow, in order to build Dilkusha. One could hardly go wrong in using any of the other designs from this folio in order to build in the

English style of the early 18th century, Castle Howard and Blenheim are among its contents. Indeed, the *raison d'être* of the *Vitruvius* was to persuade English architects in England that their work was as good as “the best of the Moderns” (Campbell vol. 1). Nor would the nawabs have to travel far in India to see neo-classical architecture, Calcutta being a short trip down the river. Sadaat Ali Khan spent much of his early life in Calcutta among the British, and the colonial personnel with whom he was acquainted were in the main, cultured and educated men. His sometime architectural advisor, Claude Martin, possessed a copy of the *Builder's Magazine* of 1774, an amazingly detailed and eclectic set of instructions and plans for everything from a gothic cathedral to a pyramidal “Egyptian” dairy. Among the other architectural works in Martin's library (Llewellyn-Jones 1992:155) were *Buck's Antiquities* (London 1774) and Le Clerc's *Architecture*. According to a recent work on architecture and imperialism (Metcalf:1989), both Llewellyn-Jones and Banmali Tandan describe the Kaisarbagh as a genuine synthesis between two “sharply opposed” cultural traditions, a statement which can only further the idea that east and west are somehow, fundamentally opposed, dichotomous in both style and intent, and inevitably other, despite what we know of intercultural borrowing of architectural style and motif.

“A sad jumble of the Orders”

The criticisms of Lucknow contain some of the important symptoms of “stylism”, that ideological adherence to the superiority, not only of the architecture of the Greeks, but to the aesthetic and intellectual supremacy of everything derived from them. The field of the criticism is predicated upon the failure of Lucknow architecture to achieve any mimesis of European style (and its failure to carry on the high mughal tradition) and the reasons and rebuttals of this failure. This is irrelevant, for several reasons which have a wider resonance in the perception of stylistic success or failure, and in the notion of the choice situation being defined by the criteria of European art historical methods.

Firstly the architecture of Lucknow was not a failure of mimesis - it was not even an attempt at imitation, whether it succeeded or not. Criticism of the architecture's shortcomings do not adequately take into account the possibility that European style buildings in Lucknow were no more taken seriously *as architecture* than the mughal and Hindu effects of English folly builders, despite the great difference in scale and effect.

Secondly, as G.H.R. Tillotson points out (1989:12), Lucknow architecture is not a style, and would never have become one, regardless of the kind and quality of information available from European sources. It is at best a mixture, but probably never deliberately so. Its sheer haphazardness does not indicate any serious working out of a stylistic ensemble. Criticisms based on its failure as a style are beside the point.

Thirdly, that even the classicism that was adopted in Lucknow is illiterate because the rules of the orders are flouted without understanding. This appears reasonable, and has the added weight of being the position taken by James Fergusson but it represents a type of thinking, not only about architecture, but about Indians, which is more revealing of its adherents than of Indian intentions. Most revealing is Fergusson's statement "Of course no native of India can well understand either the origin or motive of the various parts of our Orders" (Fergusson 1910:327). This is probably so, but an examination of motive would perhaps lead to a far more interesting and illuminating history of Lucknavi architecture than the generally accepted notion that they were unable to build or imitate the neo-classical style. If we assume that Fergusson was right then there are only a few possible outcomes: that the builders of Lucknow knew what they were doing, that is, they were not trying unsuccessfully to copy European architecture. Or, that they were bad architects, or, that they wanted to build accurate neo-classical buildings, but their ignorance of the orders held them back. Fergusson's seemingly harsh remarks¹⁰⁰ are quite accurate given the limits he has constructed concerning anything like the 'choice situation' or remit of his criticism. Intention or motive is possibly the only way out of the argument - that Lucknow builders were not remotely interested in the sacred classical orders and used them in the same misguided but enthusiastic way as Foulston at his "Hindu" chapel or Nash at the Royal Pavilion. Lucknow builders were not attempting to perfectly imitate European architecture, nor were they trying by working it out in real buildings, to acquire or discover the "rules" of Greek architecture. The buildings of Lucknow, in whatever stylistic category they seem to belong, are part of a multi-style tradition of architecture, a concept which itself violates the polarity theory of style almost ubiquitous in European art historical thought.

The Geography of Style

"The history of styles as well as the cultural geography of nations can only be successful -

¹⁰⁰ Nor did he spare the late mughals from his lash for building a "Doric" pavilion in brick and plaster in the Red Fort in Delhi, a far more deserving target for his indignation.

that is approach truth - if it is conducted in terms of polarities, that is in pairs of apparently contradictory qualities.” (Pevsner 1993:24) Pevsner was describing, by way of significant examples, how artists express qualities which embody the national virtues, of in this case England. Or, how defining qualities of a nation can be seen in the work of artists such as Hogarth, Blake, Reynolds and Constable, and in the architectural style of the Perpendicular and in the aesthetic doctrine of the Picturesque. Leaving aside for the moment the circularity implicit in defining the cultural geography of any nation, the notion that polarity is how the history of styles can be truthfully approached is very revealing. Indeed, if a defining characteristic of western art historical method, with regard to the orient were to be formulated thus - a mania for polarity would be it. It affects the art history of European art as well, but without the implicit superiority which attends the describing of the orient. One might say that in this case, Indian art, a real effort must be made to make the object fit the ideology. But Pevsner has also identified something which appears to colour the perception of Europeans when looking both at themselves and at the other - that there are national characteristics, which are not unique as such to a national group, but are somehow always capable of expressing the national character at a particular time and place. The qualities may be oppositional and contradictory from period to period, from artist to artist. How are these characteristic found? Mainly by (quoting Sterne) seeing it in the “nonsensical minutiae” rather than in “the most important affairs of state”.

The question of a national style in England is an interesting one, when it is considered how far along a spectrum of taste the notion of Englishness had moved between 1750 and 1850, from the neo-classical to the gothic revival. Actually, the purism of stylistic correctness tended to be overstated by both sides, but a huge shift occurred nevertheless. Another fascinating aspect of the aesthetic theorising about architecture which developed in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century is that architecture was ascribed qualities and ‘meanings’ which were not in any way connected, necessarily, with any visual aspect of the buildings¹⁰¹ themselves. This is one of the reasons why the gothic is perceived (despite historical knowledge) as being an ancient English style. That is, it belongs to an England before the Reformation, before “technology”, before stylistic pluralism, before any “choice situation”, before modernism. The moral aspects of architectural stylism, which has been dealt with so well by David Watkin (in

¹⁰¹ One wonders what the 18th century neo-classicist would have thought of Greek architecture if he had known that the austere temples and sculpture of ancient Greece were painted in the gaudiest colours. as indeed, were the palaces of Lucknow.

Morality and Architecture), does not need restating here, except to say that the “orient” and its architectural styles also contributed and informed, and were subsumed into a debate about Englishness and morality and architecture, which in reality seemed to be a giant exercise in self-deception, in a national sense. India, and in its microcosm, Lucknow, brought into focus many of the anxieties about Englishness, identity, contamination, hybridity, miscegenation and even hygiene, which as the empire developed became more sharply delineated and even necessary for the Englishman abroad to contrast his identity upon. In architecture this was easily accomplished by drawing parallels between the moral character of the patrons of particular buildings, and the appearance of the buildings themselves.

Conclusion

The approaches to Indian architecture undertaken by western art historians is frequently an reflexive act governed by a long history of stylistic ideologies relating to western art which are firmly established as aesthetic “facts”, which on close examination is not entirely the case. Western critics of Indian art are almost always happier with the kind of “ancient” India, whose literary equivalent (the Sanskritists) are described by Said. The early colonial painting made by Indians for East India Company officials also depict the timelessness of caste-defined Hindu society, along with freakish sadhus, and religious rituals¹⁰². In architecture, the various attitudes to both Hindu and Islamic architecture shows how deeply and unexamined the moralising attitude to styles is entrenched. Any subsequent approaches to the art and architecture of India must by necessity challenge the assumptions, and call attention to them.

¹⁰² For a very full and informative catalogue of these types of paintings see Archer, M. *Company Painting* London 1992.

Chapter 5

Oriental and neo-classical - the place of Indian architecture in the battle of the styles.

One of the most fascinating chapters in the development of stylistic thinking took place in the eighteenth century in Europe and in England, when many of the ideas which form our perception of style and value in architecture were first promoted¹⁰³. The previous chapter discussed and examined the architecture of Lucknow in relation to its Indian prototypes and use of neo-classical motifs and style. The present chapter examines the development of the neo-classical and gothic styles with the ideologies which accompanied their promotion in the battle of the styles. It also examines how Indian architecture was imitated and used within this period of stylistic polarisation between the classical and the gothic.

The neo-classical repertoire and style is, more than any other, the architectural language of the colonial period and the beginning of empire. It is not merely accidentally contemporaneous with the expansion of the west into Asia and elsewhere. There are other factors which may be considered as equally contributing to the active dissemination of the style in India and especially in Lucknow. Some of those factors are practical, for instance, the availability of books such as the *Vitruvius Britannicus* and the familiarity of soldier/engineers with the basics of the style (there were no 'real' architects in India in the late eighteenth century). Other, less material, factors include the ideology of the style and its perceived meaning within western architecture, which will be the subject of this chapter, and how this altered by transplanting the style to India. Included in the debate will be an examination of the imperial ideology and ideas of identity and hybridization by which the architecture of India was perceived and criticised by Europeans.

Unlike the gothic, the neo-classical is generally perceived to be a universal style appropriate to all of Europe. The use of Greek and Roman architectural models combined with Enlightenment rationalism suggest a pan-European and civilized culture. When removed from Europe this changes to a *civilizing* culture and a statement of innate superiority. In India, the first large-scale neo-classical building was Government House, Calcutta (c.1795), about which Valentia made his famous remark that he wished to see India ruled from a palace, not a counting house. This statement is a paradigm of the colonial attitude towards the British role

¹⁰³ See for example: Joseph Rykwerts, *The First Moderns, The Architects of the Eighteenth Century*, 1980.

in India; not merely merchants but progressive and enlightened rulers. The vulgar business of making money could be concealed behind the columned facade of a Greek-style palace.

The neo-classical was not intended as a style of empire. It has its origins in the rediscovery of Greek architecture (c. 1740) and the development of practical archaeology combined with actual travel to Greece by north Europeans, all of which led to “a plurality of styles” (Summerson 1969:75). Rome was demoted as the supreme architectural authority leading to innovation as well as imitation, though the idea of a Greek revival persisted throughout.

Summerson identifies a tripartite character in neo-classical design at about 1800: archaeological purism, abstraction, as in the minimalist classicism of John Soane (5.1), and the exotic which is not classical at all but is designed by neo-classical architects. The examples of this latter group are often dismissed as follies or pastiches; but there is something else at work here as well, the desire to imitate and incorporate new forms and a genuine enthusiasm for the “oriental”¹⁰⁴. In this early period, no proper distinction is made within the orient, so for example, the Chambers designs at Kew of oriental buildings consists of a pagoda, pavilion and a mosque without any reference to their indigenous uses and meanings.

English neo-classicism has a particular character of its own. A fortunate coincidence in stylistic innovation and a fashion for country living and its semi-urban equivalent, the villa residence, led to the great era of the English country house. The new picturesque mode of landscaping and setting houses in parks has a particularly English character and was known abroad as the *jardin anglais*. In India this feature was abandoned, most likely for practical reasons, urban/rural categories being rather different in India. The palace/garden enclosure is an important feature of mughal architecture and it includes both the formal *charbagh* or foursquare style as well as the ‘uncultivated’ game park each with its appropriate palace or lodge.

Generally speaking, neo-classicism can be applied to any building which utilizes or even refers to the classical orders of Greek and Roman architecture. There is, therefore, no real ‘dates’ for the style. Even relatively modern buildings of the Beaux-Arts school, or grandiose statements of Nazi supremacy in buildings like the Haus der Kunst in Munich (1930s) are in the style, albeit with very different results. The fundamental criterion of neo-classicism is that the architectural language is that of the classical world, but not necessarily exclusively so.

¹⁰⁴ See for example Joshua Reynolds' Discourses of 1786, no. XIII.

European buildings which deviate from strict classicism are not 'bad' neo-classical but are testament to the longevity and mutability of the style. All this may seem like stating the obvious but a distinction between neo-classical proper (as it were) and its derivatives is important in considering the neo-classical in India (or any other colony). If no such distinction existed in Europe, then the notion of hybridity or incorrectness appears to be an ideologically informed and constructed category rather than an aesthetic or archaeological one. In India neo-classicism seems to have yet another meaning - in addition to the qualities which were assigned to it as the Greek Revival - it acquired an authority consonant with the increasing political and military power of the British. The new associational meaning of the neo-classical style; the British in India as a latter-day civilizing Greek; acquired a spurious legitimacy in the age of colonisation¹⁰⁵.

"TASTE'S ORIENTAL RAY"¹⁰⁶

Indian architecture first became known in England through the work of William Hodges (*Select Views* 1785-88) and Thomas and William Daniell (*Oriental Scenery* 1795-1808). While the adoption of classical forms in India was "the major architectural development of the mid-nineteenth century" (Tillotson 1989:17), architects in Britain were tardy in returning the compliment. Apart from a few very well known examples like the Royal Pavilion and Sezincote, the Indian influence was mainly confined to folly and gateway architecture, and very few of those. This is not due to ignorance of what the buildings looked like, or even a denigration of Indian styles, but a curious reluctance to engage with Indian architecture, all the more remarkable when contrasted with the examples of Chinese and 'Moorish' influences. Indian style rooms were more common than buildings (Mackenzie 1995:83) for several reasons, not necessarily practical. One commentator on folly architecture admits that "as inspiration India just never caught on" (Jones 1974:129) but this is an unsatisfactory explanation given the enthusiasm for the exotic and the willingness to experiment with novelty which prevailed throughout the late 18th/early 19th century. There are several factors which precluded the adoption of Indian form in any significant way, some are located within the ideology of orientalism and imperialism. Some are in part due to an intellectual and aesthetic failure to understand Indian architecture as being a system with its own interior logic and history. Until Fergusson's *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* (1876) there is no

¹⁰⁵ See chapter 2 for a fuller description of neo-classical Calcutta.

¹⁰⁶ A counterblast (in verse and satire) against Chamber's *Treatise on Oriental Gardening*. The anonymous poet addresses the late Alexander Pope 'Had'st thou been born in this enlightened day, Felt, as we feel, Taste's oriental ray', indicating that Pope was the fortunate one.

history of Indian architecture which treated the subject systematically and in its own terms, though there had been many commentaries and traveller's descriptive writing.

Humphrey Repton hoped that Indian architecture might become important in England, to the extent of becoming a national architectural style alongside the classical and gothic. In fact, it was all the other 'oriental' styles which were adopted, the Chinese, Egyptian, and the Arabic being fashionable in their turn. The uses of these architectural styles and motifs (MacKenzie 1995:75-8) is of interest insofar as they dovetailed with a need for new buildings devoted to the Victorian ideas of leisure. Some other uses for the style were funerary monuments, garden pavilions and follies. None of these are influential architecture, they are marginal, idiosyncratic buildings and this tends to undermine any stylistic innovation or influence they might have had.

It is unfortunate that Repton's designs for Brighton Pavilion were never carried out. The plans (Repton 1808) show an intelligent, graceful use of Hindu and Islamic Indian forms. His *orangerie* is suitable for use in the summer as a garden pavilion, and looks copied directly from India mughal types especially in his use of striped cloths as 'walls'. The plate depicting the west front (see plate 3.4) of the pavilion is a clear view of the entire side. Every element of Indian architecture is here, the domes, guldastas, chattris, jharokas (balconied windows supported by brackets), foliate arches, trabeate beams, and *fer de lance* ornamentation, and they are all appropriately placed. The glass houses which he designed in the shape of temple *shikaras* are surprisingly successful - the prototypes were enormously heavy cut stone towers, intended to symbolise the Himalayas. The influence of Thomas Daniell can be seen in this devotion to detail, and the accuracy of reproduction - allowing for the changes made for other reasons. In the foreword Repton informs us that "I was pleased at having discovered new sources of beauty and variety, which might gratify *that thirst for novelty*¹⁰⁷, so dangerous to good taste in any system long established; because it is much safer to depart entirely from any given style, than to admit changes and modifications in its proportions, that tend to destroy its character". This is a clear statement against the use of styles as a type of ornamentation and against hybridization. The treatise on architecture which accompanies the plans is a microcosm of neo-classical notions of apparent utility and architectural purity. Repton deplored the indiscriminate use of the classical style in the mania for fashionable, but

¹⁰⁷ Author's emphasis.

frequently uncomfortable dwellings:

“houses are built to resemble Castles and Abbeys, the Grecian or Roman Temples, forgetting their uses and overlooking the general forms of each, while their minutest detail of enrichment is copied and misapplied”.

This statement could easily be applied to his own use of Indian architecture, however, Repton's intent is directly at odds with this approach, though the end result might look superficially similar. And it is of interest that his sincere attempts to ‘use’ the Indian style intelligently look so much like the debased mughal in Lucknow, so deplored by later art historians. Repton's plea for architectural purity was a standard sentiment for his times, though his reasons are very different. He believed that ‘enrichments’ of gothic, Grecian, and Indian architecture are derived from (respectively) the bud, leaf and flower of a plant and “that these styles are, and ought to be kept perfectly distinct” (Repton 1808:38), nature herself, it seems, has ordered this distinction.

The Brighton Pavilion which was eventually built (5.2) to the designs of John Nash (c.1818) is a lighthearted pastiche, utilizing the decorative elements of Indian and Chinese architecture and decor. It is still a Palladian house underneath, albeit encrusted with orientalism. In this way the pavilion is a interesting mirror of certain Lucknow palaces, which were decorated with neo-classical motifs while the interiors were usually Indian¹⁰⁸. Another Lucknow feature is the use of classical columns on the portico or facade which are brick-cored but with a plaster skin imitating the fluting. Similarly the exterior of the pavilion uses cast-iron to imitate the stone carving of Indian workers, as in the decorative work on the verandahs. This is architecture on the ‘looks like’ principle where nothing is really intended but a picturesque appearance and this is achieved by exterior decor rather than by an integrated architectural concept.

Intention must be considered as an important factor in the uses of Indian architecture in Britain. First of all, it divides the field in two, as it were. On the one hand there are sincere attempts to use Indian design intelligently; admittedly there are few of those. The other group is the frankly Orientalist, the Brighton Pavilion, follies and the Indian interiors. The follies which have Indian influences cover a long period of time, from around 1788 to the

¹⁰⁸ Though sometimes with European furnishings.

beginning of this century. The list in the following section is not intended to be comprehensive, but illustrative of variety.

Follies as an architectural type within the neo-classical

Follies in England begin in the earlier age of Italianate gardens with an (almost) obligatory grotto. The ideals of the picturesque movement and the new English garden exemplified by Brown and others demanded features which complimented the ideal. Follies were often sited to draw attention to landscape features (hence the term 'eyecatcher'), or formed part of a romantic, painterly scene. There is a nostalgic theme at work as well; the gothic or castle types suggesting the medieval, the classical temple or arch, usually 'ruined' (5.3) harking to Greece and Rome. The taste for Indian follies is part of the enthusiasm for the exotic, which though rejected for domestic architecture, persisted throughout the nineteenth century. This mainly took the form of the Chinese pagoda, though the 'Moorish' pavilion was also quite common. The era of exotic follies was also, to an extent, the period of the Palladian house; in Brighton one might say that the house and folly are conflated. The earliest follies in England relating to India are not Indian architecture as such but commemorate Indian themes. The first is at Shooter's Hill in Woolwich, a 60 ft tower (b.1784) built by the widow of Sir William James (5.4) to record his military victory in India, he took the fort at Severndroog in 1760. His memorial is a triangular tower with corner turrets. The other is Haldon Belvedere, near Exeter (1788), also a triangular tower with corner turrets, built by Sir Robert Palk to commemorate his great friend Major-General Stringer Lawrence. The marble which decorates the floors and stairs was a gift of the Nizam of Hyderabad.

Of houses, only Sezincote in Gloucestershire (5.5) is an Indian house in the sense that its design and appearance were carefully planned using sketches and paintings of actual buildings in India, though like the Royal Pavilion it is a remodelling of an existing house. Designed (1805-1811) by Samuel Pepys Cockerell under the advice of Thomas Daniell, Sezincote was the house of Charles Cockerell, one of the so-called 'nabobs' of the East India Company. Daylesford (c.1793), also in Gloucestershire was an earlier project by S P Cockerell, but is altogether a more conventional neo-classical country house with a dome¹⁰⁹. Built for Warren Hastings, Governor of Bengal and infamous on account of his impeachment and trial. The Hastings family had originally owned Daylesford, but had sold the house and estate before his

¹⁰⁹ Edward's designation of this as a "mughal style dome" is doubtful, apart from the small finial on top of the dome, it is a firmly classical shape.

birth. Hastings had been buying land back piecemeal for many years before he was at last able to acquire something approaching the original size of the estate. No expense was spared in its building and furnishing (Edwardes 1991:39). There was ivory furniture from India and Wedgwood plaques, paintings¹¹⁰, enormous gardens; all the trappings of a returned Lord of the East.

The relationship of follies to houses in the 18th and 19th centuries has notable characteristics which involve both social and artistic changes. The increase in a wealthy merchant class brought about a demand for new country and town houses which reflected their status. Some of the returning 'nabobs' of the East India Company bought their estates from impoverished gentry and in this sense replaced a hereditary aristocracy with a mercantile one (Holzman 1987:71-87). The tastes of the nabobs were influenced by their stay in India, but in a surprising way; they wished to live in houses of the style of those they had inhabited in India, that is, in the main neo-classical (Head 1982:7). One returned nabob, John Osborne, built a temple/memorial to Warren Hastings in Melchet Park, Hampshire (1800). It is a small Hindu temple after a design by Thomas Daniell. Osborne had served the nawab of Oudh in Lucknow and, despite the profusion of funerary architecture in the Islamic style in Oudh with which he was familiar, he chose to commemorate Hastings as an incarnation of Vishnu in a Hindu style temple.

Most of the country houses of that time were built in neo-classical styles, and many of them had, unsurprisingly, 'ruined' and entire Greek and Roman temples. This could be interpreted as a gesture of legitimation: the modern neo-classical house with its smaller, but also significant prototype contained within the grounds. The false naturalness of the picturesque garden is a nostalgic statement as well, a manufactured Eden suggesting the pre-industrial and romantic. In this way the gardens and follies which accompany the neo-classical house also partake of what Summerson describes as the subjunctive¹¹¹ the 'as if' approach to design. This attitude is also described by Edmund Burke, who, speaking on the sublime makes the comment "no work of art can be great but as it deceives; to be otherwise is the prerogative of nature" (Burke 1757:2x). The neo-classical aesthetic used the orders as if they were functional in the same way as they assumed ancient Greek architects proceeded. The gardens

¹¹⁰ One of Hasting's paintings was *Colonel Mordaunt's Cock Match* by Zoffany, which showed the Nawab of Oudh, Asaf-ud-Daula, along with Claude Martin and others at a cock-fight.

¹¹¹ Summerson quoted in Crook (1987:195).

of Repton and Brown looked as if they had never been cultivated. The follies in those gardens looked as if they had been ruined for centuries rather than constructed as ruins. The neo-classical aesthetic is very much one of appearances, the notion of utility is aspirational rather than actual. This makes the ideal of stylistic purity or correctness untenable except where it is ideologically necessary.

The neo-classical country house also attempts to control and improve nature, creating a world of tamed, but natural-looking refinement. Outside its boundary is untamed nature; true nature and all that it entails has been banished. This banishment of nature is also part of the colonial ideology; the colonised as 'other' is also natural and untamed, and hence in need of civilizing. What could be more civilizing than the combination of Greek temple and English house? The exotic follies which imitated the forms of Indian architecture are also enclosed within the boundary of this subjunctive neo-classical, their foreignness is modified by their proximity to the house, and trivialised by being used for a landscape decoration. A telling example of this type of placement is the previously mentioned William Chamber's plans for Kew which includes "A View of the Wilderness with the Alhambra, the Pagoda and the Mosque", presumably the exotics were placed here together (5.6) in a symbolic representation of their relationship to European cultural norms.

Humphrey Repton's hope that Indian architecture might become a national architecture was never realized in any sense. The failure may have had its origin in the preference for the Nash design at the Brighton pavilion. Had Repton's intelligent adaption of Indian forms been built, the perception of Indian styles as intelligible rather than exotic might have followed. It may seem valid to reject the style on the grounds of climatic inappropriateness, though Indian architecture is not any more unsuitable for the English climate than the Greek temples so admired, and so imitated by British architects. It is the latter point which is significant. One of the most admired buildings, from the earliest travellers onwards, is the Taj Mahal (5.7), which had already 'a legendary reputation' (Sweetman 1987:97) by the time William Hodges visited it in the 1780s. Hodges and the Daniells made public their views of India, most of which depicted architecture (5.8) of one or another style. Another early view of an Indian scene is *Sher Shah's Mausoleum* (c.1770) by Francis Swain Ward which predated both the Daniells and Hodges; the painting is deliberately composed in order to display the symmetry and regularity of the tomb. This is a feature, not of the European paintings of Ward's time,

but of the mughal style of depicting buildings in a symmetrical way which exposed the regularity and patterning of the building and garden/water features. This may partly explain the failure of Indian, especially mughal architecture to be established as a style in England, and its use as primarily decorative and exotic. It is this symmetry and regularity which probably ensured that Indian architecture would be relegated to the margins of English style. There can hardly be a place in the picturesque vision for anything so ordered and regular as the finest mughal architectural, whose effects can be grand and severe, despite a profusion of ornament. It is difficult to imagine how the aesthetic of the neo-classical and the picturesque could have accommodated such regularity, that niche was in any case already occupied by 'Greek' temples and their progeny. Moreover, mughal architecture is an urban phenomenon, and seems to require this setting, or that of the symmetrical mughal garden with its basic foursquare plan.

To be accommodated into the dominant aesthetic of the neo-classical, mughal Indian architecture would, have to be the equal of, or even replace the neo-classical, that is, the regular, rational style. Mughal architecture (of the Akbar and Shah Jahan era) is rationally planned and extremely regular, the interior spaces are mainly based on the nine-fold plan or hahsht bihisht. In terms of rationality mughal architecture is at least the equal of neo-classical, but the perception of Indian architecture was filtered through the eyes of the picturesque artists, who had a tendency to dramatize the exoticism of Indian scenes. What actually happened was that the Indian style was made to fit the only other option available; that of exotic irregularity. This can be seen in the designs of the Brighton Pavilion by Repton and Nash. Both used the work of the Daniells as inspiration (Sweetman 1987:106) but the results are quite different. Repton has endeavoured to use the Indian style (understood here as Islamic architecture) as being at least equal to the neo-classical or gothic. He is not building a copy of an Indian building but rather, is using the architectural vocabulary of Islamic India in order to meet the demands of the project. Even the minor structures like the orangerie and the aviary use this vocabulary in an intelligent way.

Nash was certainly no purist, and his design, while superficially Indian, or at least 'eastern', is really nothing like Indian buildings. He has used Indian Islamic elements, but has abandoned some of the most essential qualities of that style; scale, symmetry, grace and proportion have been abandoned, what remains is a sprawling, neo-classical town house with a pretty, oriental

skin (5.9). There is nothing like the concave spire in Indian architecture, though they wittily offset the bulbous domes. The unitary concept has been cut piecemeal, depriving the building of any formal strength, and the low elevation diminishes any grandness the pavilion might have had. The west front of the pavilion is a good example of how Indian motifs are used in a superficial and unintelligent way. The main doorway has a porch which supports a dome (really a hollow 'light') on thin faceted pillars. Behind is an unusual decorated panel; above is a small superstructure whose presence seems to merely detract from the large dome. At the end of the two side wings there is a simpler version of the superstructure. The central portion of the buildings is a jumble of ill-conceived imitations of mughal forms; the tiny doorway overwhelmed by a dome, the main dome hidden by inconsequential minarets (chimneys?) and blocked from the side by two medieval turrets.

The other main Indian style, the Hindu, while admired for its ornament, is even a more unlikely candidate for adoption as an English national style, despite Repton's hopes, though the depiction of temples in Hodges and the Daniells' work (5.10) accords quite well with the picturesque (not surprisingly, given the times as well as the subject). What works against the Hindu temple is a type of unadaptability which no picturesque appearance can overcome. Almost every structural feature of a Hindu temple is symbolically and ritually determined, though this did not prevent the inevitable comparisons with Greek temples by some early travellers. Despite the profuse ornamentation, the Hindu temple is supremely functional, a fact which is not apparent without some knowledge of the religious requirements of Hinduism.

Nationalism and Rationalism

One intellectual concern of the late eighteenth century was the question of prototype and origins, a logical outcome of enlightenment thinking in which creationist models were insufficient. The origins of Greek architecture in the prototypical wooden hut were accepted almost universally, and the idea of this type of architectural beginning was applied generally to other styles. The notion of stone architecture being developed on imitative lines from wooden prototypes was of great concern to 18th century theorists. In a sense, recently discovered forms of architecture and design had to be mapped on to what was already known and accepted. In India this attracted a variety of comment on the origins of Indian architecture beginning with the discovery of the caves temples at Elephanta (c.1780) and the increase in

British controlled territory. There was some anxiety about dating the temples and chaitya halls, the European travellers had brought the fascination with origins and prototypes with them (Mitter 1977:180). Mahabalipuram, on the Coromandel coast was one of the first temple sites to be investigated by Europeans. The stone built and excavated architecture was visited both by the artists of the oriental picturesque and the amateur scholar, including William Chambers, whose account was printed in the Asiatic Researches of 1788 and was the first Indian antiquity to be published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The general view was a diffusionist one, there was a speculative search for the ultimate origin of all Indian architecture, or for an oriental version of the primitive hut. There was some acknowledgement of the importance of Indian architecture by French writers (Mitter 1977: ch.4), who were still engaged in a search for the original architecture. A very lively debate on the subject followed on from Rousseau; Egyptians, Chaldeans, Scythians, even the Chinese all had their mention (Rykwert 1989:62).

William Hodges in his treatise on architectural origins (published as part of his Travels in India) accepted the prevailing notions but with some enlargement:

“However partial I must feel, from habit and education, to the Greeks;...yet I freely avow that this by no means prevents my entertaining a similar partiality for countries, where different models have been brought to an equal perfection” (Hodges 1793:65).

This idea of an original architecture is ascribed not only to the Greeks by Hodges, but also universally:

“each of these nations or tribes will regard their primitive habitations with the same eye of partiality as they are prejudiced in favour of the respective countries; but when encreasing [sic] opulence, ambition, or successful oppression, create artificial wants, and the great look for more convenience and distinction, the national primitive hut or tent will be enlarged, and embellished with what is costly among them” (ibid:68).

Hodges also considers that oriental and gothic architecture derive from the same conditions, albeit in different places, their prototype being caves, natural at first and later excavated.

Another early commentator, John Garstin, wrote a description of a temple in Benares which he surveyed at the request of Warren Hastings in 1781. His remark on the architecture is

revealing, like Hodges, of the impact of Indian architecture of the western eye, and he was also aware of the *shastras*, the architectural “rules” which governed temple design

“and although these rules are totally different from those observed in the structures of Greece and Rome, which we have all been taught to admire and reverence, yet there is a boldness of design..... which compels us to admire the effect, though produced by an absolute reversal of all our established rules of art” (Garstin 1801:ii).

One effect of the adoption of the neo-classical (and its ideological trappings) in Britain was the decline of Roman architecture, and its relegation to the subsidiary ranks of Greek influenced styles. There is also an associational factor; the connection with Catholicism, which may have assisted its decline. In terms of prototypical evolution, the Roman is an awkward contradiction. Its main structural feature is a rounded arch composed of a keystone and voussoirs. No amount of bended branches or woven reeds or upright logs could lead to this type of engineering in stone - unless architecture is equally imaginative *and* imitative, something rarely acknowledged by the champions of the primitive hut. The impact of this idea and the decline of the Roman may also be attributed to “a strong tradition of architectural puritanism” (Summerson 1988:94) which led to the Greek Revival and the work of John Soane.

A similar debate which continued throughout the second half of the eighteenth century was on the origins of the gothic style. Two prevailing opinions stated that gothic was ‘natural’ in origin and arose (following Laugier, Cordemoy et al.) from the shape of saplings bent to form a hut, or, from the natural bending and leaning of trees. This idea was opposed by those who considered the gothic to have arisen from the Saracenic, that is, Islamic architecture, and therefore is an ‘eastern’ style. On one hand there is the idea that buildings derive from nature; on the other, that buildings derive from other buildings. The picturesque attitude to painting is also exemplified by this dichotomy; that nature is essential for providing the raw materials, but art is derived from art. The implications of this philosophical attitude continued throughout the eighteenth and well into the nineteenth century, in painting and in architecture and design.

In eighteenth century Britain the association of the classical Greek philosophical elite with enlightenment secularism and rationalism gave the adoption of the neo-classical style a certain

inevitability. The change in patronage from church to state and mercantile organisations influenced this adoption. Moreover, the classical had better claim to being *the* architecture of rational man by working backwards through its supposed developmental stages. Though the gothic had never entirely disappeared in England, it was very much in decline, and by the later eighteenth century had become “a synonym for barbarism” (Furneaux-Jordan 1966:63). The idea of the gothic was that of a decadent over-embellished style. The first volume of *Vitruvius Britannicus* criticises the contemporary Italians for their deviation from classical ideals the inference being that the gradual accretion of ornamental baubles can contaminate the classical to such an extent that it becomes gothick by a kind of contagion. The *Builder's Magazine*, a compendium of plans, notes and designs for all levels of the trade, illustrates this associational usage of styles. The 1774 edition contains gothic, Classical and Egyptian designs. The gothic is only used for churches and their ornaments, and for a market bell to commemorate the Smithfield Martyrs (Protestants burned alive in the reign of Mary Tudor c.1550). There is one gothic garden pavilion which seems very much out of place among the columned temples. Neo-classical designs are furnished for: houses, company halls, pavilions, villas, gaols, courts, funerary monuments, shops and interiors. There is no structural reason why gothic could not well serve for almost any of the latter buildings, (the new Palace of Westminster was still half a century in the future and the equation of Englishness with the gothic was tentative), unless one adheres to the idea of an artistic *zeitgeist*, or the force of fashion. Yet, the author of the *Builder's Magazine*, after providing dozens of neo-classical plans, confides, almost apologetically “I must confess myself a zealous admirer of gothic architecture” (Carter 1774:100).

The gothic style was starting to become fashionable again in a minor way. The plainness of the Grecian style was perceived as too austere, and the gothic became again admired for its decorativeness and its associational meanings were felt to be more in accord with the times (Head 1986:21). As a style the gothic tended to be associated with Indian and ‘eastern’ styles; with the Islamic because of the pointed arch and vaulting, and with the Hindu on account of the surface decoration. Paradoxically, the gothic is also perceived to be the most European of all styles because of its ‘natural’ origins in the forests of northern Europe. Walpole’s essay in the gothic (5.11) at his house in Twickenham (1750s) shares with the neo-classical a dual approach to design. The first designer, Bentley, built in a gothic theme, an ‘as if’ architecture. His successor, Chute, laboriously reconstructed from actual buildings an

archaeological gothic with the guidance of his patron (Furneaux Jordan 1966: 68).

Sir James Hall, Bart. submitted to the Royal Society of Edinburgh an essay on the origins and principles of gothic architecture in 1797. What is particularly noticeable in this plea is the presentation of the gothic style as having its origins both in antiquity and in nature, the same origins attributed to the classical style by earlier (mostly French) writers. Hall went so far as to have built under his direction a small church of willow trunks and osiers (5.12), which, both in the aging and rooting process, demonstrated the prototypes of gothic ornament (5.13). In its structure was demonstrated the origins of the vaults and groining, steeples and buttressing of the style. The authority of the style was thus appealed for as a peer, in rationality if not in age, of the classical.

The association of the gothic with the Indian places it, at least in European terms, in a dualistic opposition with the neo-classical. Under the umbrella of neo-classicism are the rational, archaeological and innovative versions of Greece and Rome. Its 'other' is the medieval, religious gothic, whose origins, either in the northern forests or in the Saracenic, make it the proper coeval of the Indian style. Not on account of architectural likeness alone but also perhaps because of the perceived barbarism of its builders. This perceived likeness between Indian and gothic, in a commonplace manner, led to the descriptive term 'eastern gothic', used fairly indiscriminately to describe Indian buildings in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century.

Returning to the legitimation of styles by reference to prototypes and associational meanings, it would appear that far from being the confident stylistic choice of the post-enlightenment; the neo-classical was accorded only the privilege of being the main taste of the times, hence the constant appeal to prototypical primacy. An alternative way of seeing the neo-classical period in England is as a temporary victory in the battle of the styles, and not for aesthetic but for perceived moral attributes. The primitive hut 'proved' the style's essential truth in architecture and in nature. The *a priori* nature of this approach to architecture is neatly illustrated (though not purposely) by the previously mentioned James Hall, who built a wooden church which resembled a stone gothic church, this was then taken as proof that the prototype of a stone church is a wooden one, q.e.d. That no one built a wooden Doric temple for the same type of demonstration is only due to the almost universal acceptance of the

wooden hut theory, at least in England¹¹² and Hall built his church to achieve the same type of legitimation for the gothic.

A foray into the problem of style and nationality was made by Henry Emlyn in his *Proposition for a New Order in Architecture with rules for Drawing the several parts* which was printed in London in 1784 and dedicated to the Royal Academy. Emlyn proposed a new addition to supplement the five classical orders, providing the English order. He follows the thinking of Laugier quite logically; his prototypical column is the twin trees of Windsor Forest, where the trunk has become bifurcated near the base. This phenomenon was to Emlyn an inspiration “it appeared to me, that nature had pointed out another kind of column deserving imitation”. Emlyn's design is both grotesque and banal but important in that his approach to creating a new order follows (as he imagines) from the spirit of the classical age, and his contribution is intended to be a nationalist addition.

Taking his inspiration from the Order of the Garter and the Knights of Saint George, Emlyn proposes that

“the Capitals are taken from the Plumage of the Caps of the Knights, with the Ionic Volutes interwoven and bound together in the Front with the Star of the Order between them, and the Supporters of the arms of England issuing out of the foliage of the volute; and in the Profile of the capital is a Lion's Snout rising out of a rose” (5.14).

Other decorative motifs include oak leaves and acorns, to underline the Englishness of it all. The plates carefully illustrate the order's internal proportions and the proportional measurements in relation to the classical orders. Though Emlyn's attempt at improving the orders by his own addition is a disaster, it is nonetheless an interesting disaster, and like Sir James Hall's gothic church, the new column exposes the intellectual and artistic shortcomings of the historicist approach. For instance, even if a split tree were used for an original building in wood, its descendant in stone would not necessarily be given that characteristic, unless ancient Greek architecture was a blindly imitative process, which is not suggested by surviving examples. The original hut, primarily functional, would have used a split tree in spite of, not on account of its shape. The aesthetic qualities of architecture as an art are ignored by Emlyn. But if architecture is an art, then its primary concern must be with

¹¹² Though see Rykwert (1981 Ch. 4) for the arguments.

appearances and image making, not with engineering and prototypical primacy. Indeed, any claim to aesthetic superiority made for classical architecture may be undermined by asserting the moral value of its antiquity and purity, since moral values are not generally conducive to any particular visual outcome. Laugier's hut is a *fantasy of intent* not an archaeological artefact, but the idea of it persisted for quite a long time, and still has adherents.

Another, earlier attempt, to nationalise the neo-classical appears in Le Clerc's *Treatise on Architecture* which was translated and published in England in 1732. Sebastien Le Clerc was uncompromising in his admiration for the Greeks and Romans who gave us the beautiful manner of building "in those magnificent Edifices which they erected to the glory of their false Gods" (Le Clerc 1732:4). His contribution is the creation of both a French and Spanish order whose encrusted ornamentation is not in any way congruent with the later perception of Greek purity and austerity which obtained in England. The Spanish order has among other thing a design on the frieze which consists of a globe surrounded by cornucopias from which is suspended from a chain what appears to be a dead sheep. The tops of the columns have acanthus leaves, flowers, and "grenat stalks" beneath lion heads. The French order is similarly overstated with symbolism, but the intent was serious, and the proportional measurements of the tiniest part of each item are carefully delineated.

It is interesting that from the period of the early eighteenth century up to almost the end of that century an attempt is being made for a national architectural statement, located within neo-classical styles. Some twenty years later Humphrey Repton deplored the entrenched attitudes of those of both sides of the style wars thus

"The admirers of Grecian Architecture...speak with contempt of all other styles, and reproachfully call them gothic; while those who have directed their attention to the variety and beauty of forms among the old British remains; glory in changing the term gothic to Ancient English Architecture, as a style of doing honour to their country" (Repton 1808:viii).

The argument between the two styles was not only about moral issues such as truth and rationality but about Englishness and national identity as expressed in architectural terms. The mighty *Vitruvius Britannicus* (Vol. I) states that (in 1719) "The general esteem that travellers have for things that are foreign, is in nothing more conspicuous than with regard to Building". The *raison d'etre* for the Vitruvius was to elevate the English architect to equal

status with earlier Italians. Rather oddly, Campbell disapproves of Palladio and his followers for “The Italians can no more now relish the Antique Simplicity, *but are entirely employed in capricious ornament which must at last end in the Gothick*” (ibid.). This revealing statement tells us some significant things about architectural thinking in England at the time. One: that there was a movement away from the Italianate, and also that the Gothick [sic] was denigrated, but not just as itself but that any tendency to over-ornament a building gave a result known as gothick. Englishness in architecture was a moveable feast throughout the eighteenth century. There was great uncertainty about what this consisted in, at least in architecture, possibly until the rebuilding of the Palace of Westminster in 1840. From the time of Walpole's shot across the bows of classical supremacy in 1750 until the age of Pugin and Barry, the classical was not without some competition (and considerable modification), and even the minor innovations and counterstatements can be regarded as important, suggesting as they do the desire for novelty, and the possibility for change. This attitude can be understood also by the proliferation of the exotic in architecture. The oriental tastes followed the discovery of various sites in the same way that visitors to Greece in the 1740s brought back the designs of the different classical buildings which lead to some modification in the use of classical styles. Instead of copying the Renaissance classicists only, the archaeological classical became accessible promoting debate about style and prototype.

By 1843 Pugin was able to claim that “the erection of the Parliament Houses in the national style is by far the greatest advance that has yet been gained in the right direction” (Pugin 1843:10). In the 18th century the idea of a national style was not prominent in the architectural texts of the day. Henry Emlyn's eccentric contribution illustrates to some extent the perceived pan-European qualities of the Grecian, his attempt at Anglicising the style demonstrates this. Emlyn might well have heeded Joshua Reynolds who in his Discourses delivered at the Royal Academy in the 1770's warned his audience that “The sound rules of the Grecian architecture are not to be lightly sacrificed” (Reynolds 1778:XIII). Another example of how the search for a particularly “British” form of building, influenced by growing awareness of empire and identity, was imagined is in a series of four painted designs by J. M. Gandy. These were entered for a competition but were unsuccessful. The proposal was for buildings for a ruler of the British empire (5.15, 5.15a) which may have been intended for the Duke of Wellington (Crook 1972:123). The buildings are a monumental, heavily-decorated classical/exotic hybrid. The use of the “caryatids” in what appears to be Turkish national

costume (15a, on the left), the clumsy colonnade, the lumpy triglyphs, the heavy lanterns, the over-decorated surfaces all conspire to suggest an unpleasantly triumphalistic architectural expression of empire.

Returning to the previous discussion on follies, the uses of architectural styles in folly architecture are a microcosmic indication of a general attitude towards style which could best be described as eclectic, despite the rhetoric on origins. A telling example of this is the inclusion in Wright's *Grotesque Architecture* (1769) of a wooden folly, simply called "A Primitive Hut". The accompanying text states "It is intended to represent the primitive State of the Dorick Order". The *fons et origo* of European architecture is now a garden hut, in the company of so-called Chinese pavilions, rural mosques and Greek or Egyptian temples whose only worshippers are 18th century English people sheltering from the rain. It is hardly possible to overstate what Repton referred to as "that thirst for novelty so dangerous to good taste", as the determinant for much of the late 18th century minor architecture.

CONCLUSION

What is meant, then, by the Indian style? and what can be said about the use of Indian forms and ornaments in architecture? That the style never achieved any influence except as a gothic substitute is obvious from the tiny number and scale of Indian buildings in Britain. The first Indian monuments at Shooter's Hill and Haldon Belvedere were in a castellated gothic style¹¹³. The only large house, Sezincote, is so exceptional that its existence must be considered as an example of patron-led architecture only and not as is claimed (Head 1982), a paradigm of the Indian style. There was no Indian style to speak of, at least not outside of the tiny group of cognoscenti and returned 'nabobs'. The India understood by folly builders and interior decorators was an India of romantic but trivial effects. A small window of opportunity existed for a brief time in the early nineteenth century, when Repton designed his Brighton Pavilion, and Samuel Pepys Cockerell rebuilt Sezincote. As in Lucknow¹¹⁴, where the borrowing of neo-classical motifs did not produce any true synthesis, the indiscriminate use of Islamic and Hindu effects is not enough to constitute a style. No new architectural language is being developed, only the temporary use of borrowed, half-understood terms

¹¹³ An almost identical plan is given in the *Builder's Magazine* of 1774 and described as 'A gothic Mansion to be erected on an Eminence that commands an extensive Prospect.'

¹¹⁴ It is of interest that some of the design features of Sezincote are thought to have been copied from two scenes in Oudh (Head 1982:49) painted by the Daniells, one of a palace in Lucknow and one of a gateway in Faizabad, both illustrations from *Oriental Scenery*.

which are soon discarded for that reason. Repton could be regarded as the architectural equivalent of men like the great Sanskritists Charles Wilkins, and William Jones, who founded the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1784. These men also belonged to the same era and it is tempting to see them as a phase of the enlightenment spirit. The colonial administrators who succeeded them had a more utilitarian and mercenary attitude to India. Similarly, the unintelligent use of Indian motifs, or, the use of India as the exotic other in conventional country houses like Elveden, or as a sign of imperial rulership in the durbar hall at Osborne seems to follow on naturally from the colonial ideology of the Bentinck and Macaulay period. Despite large scale, and lavish exercises like the Indian Hall at Elveden, there is no real attempt at Indian architecture after Repton and Cockerell.

In 1753 the first oriental architectural designs were being printed, in the Chinese taste. The Egyptian followed slightly later, and was also credited by some as being the antecedent of the Greek orders (Howe 1985:45). The Indian style followed later still, due mostly to the work of British artists and a few individuals like Cockerell. As 'exotic' architecture was discovered by European travellers, it quickly became incorporated into the dominant architectural fashion. Indian architecture depending on whether it was Islamic or Hindu could be fitted into either the classical or the gothic associational set and enlisted in each as required. This peculiar inhabitation of two seemingly opposed categories is one of the more revealing aspects of the exotic in the early colonial period, implying as it does the need for a contrasting other in the formation of architectural ideology.

Within the neo-classical, the use of Indian forms prompted one writer to remark "It will now be appreciated how the Indian Revival was, in a sense, a microcosm of the whole late neo-classical period since it combined, and was the result of two quite different realms of thought and activity" (Watkin, 197:237). He is referring to the picturesque ideals and the scholarly researches, which were committed to neo-classicism, but on the basis of their differing intentions. The use of Indian architecture in the neo-classical also contains these two positions, with some attempt at combining them by Repton and Cockerell, and as a picturesque fantasy by Nash. The Indian Revival functions as a mirror of the neo-classical, embodying some of the contradictions and ideological projections of the rational, historicist and evolutionary approaches to architectural style.

Neo-classicism also has at its heart an unresolvable contradiction. The rational origins of Greek architecture as demonstrated by Laugier, i.e. that temples in stone proceeded from wooden prototypes, decorative elements being incorporated as well, was disregarded by the actual practitioners of this style in revival (though intellectual debate continued). Despite a theoretical adherence to the notion of utility, in practice the style was “an architecture of appearance” (Crook 1987:195) contradicting its supposed functionalism. Even where the architecture was not intended to be an archaeological reconstruction as such, the underlying theoretical basis is similar (Crook 1968:7). The use of cast iron, by Nash illustrates this deviation from the ideal by the use of modern technology. The actual process of designing buildings became split by this contradiction, the appearance and the structure (or vice versa) needed to be reconciled to each other rather than proceeding from a unitary principle, unlike Laugier's primitive hut in which the form was dictated by the function mainly. This, however, does not necessarily lead to any problems in the English neo-classical (at least in architectural practice) which seems to have simply bypassed architectural purism, indeed, the development of the neo-classical from its Greek Revival origins may have been determined in part by this contradiction. Problems arise when the claims of a particular style are not borne out in practice or in appearance *and* if the ideological and aesthetic claims are unchanged by that reality. This is the most intriguing aspect of the neo-classical style, that is: the splits between ideology and practice, form and function, identity and association. The subjunctive, ‘as if’ approach to architecture is also mirrored in the intellectual debate which treated contemporary architecture as if it were directly descended, not just from Greece, but an even purer antiquity: the original man himself. The importance of these divisions can be seen more particularly in India where the later uses and criticisms of the style, its innovations and hybridizations are subject to an unrealizable aesthetic and intellectual standard, one which did not have practical validity even in England. Ideologically, the claims of the style provoked one of the most enduring intellectual debates of the late eighteenth century, involving not only architecture but also the painterly ideals of the picturesque, and moral factors concerning style and antiquity. Architecture seems to have particularly provoked the speculative inventiveness of the eighteenth century mind in a way that painting and sculpture could not. The archaeological type of thinking about buildings soon acquired a hierarchy of associations based on age, race, culture, style and their perceived values. Within architecture, the divide seems to basically be about whether architecture proceeds from imitation or imagination, that it might proceed from a mixture both is not often conceded. Two notable exceptions being

Chambers and Repton who, though accepting prevailing notions of origin, by promoting 'oriental' style intelligibly and intelligently, they undermined some of the monocultural assumptions of the time.

Finally, it could be said that the architectural debates of the eighteenth century determined a teleological view of architecture, which was to have a great influence in the later commentaries on Indian architecture. Notions of purity and decadence, combined with primitive race classifications undid some of the earlier admiration for Indian architecture and seemed to both promote and partake in the changing colonial attitudes of the nineteenth century.

Chapter 6

Recreating Karbala - the symbolic architecture of Shia Lucknow

One aspect of the architecture of Lucknow which has received little or no attention until recently is that of religious architecture. Its importance cannot be overstressed for numerous reasons: the main one being that the hybrid qualities of the culture of nawabi Lucknow were infused with and derived from the uniquely hybridised religious culture of nawabi Shi'ism. Equally, the confident and grandiose palatial architecture of early nawabi Lucknow derives both its technical expertise and its attitude of utilitarian hybridisation from the religious architecture. Moreover, the religious element of the culture of Lucknow utterly disrupts the polarities by which orientalism supports its doctrine of otherness. Recognizing the tripartite nature of Lucknow's nawabi culture also undermines the critical apparatus which regards its use of neo-classical forms as being merely an attempt to come to terms with the west. This recognition also enriches the appreciation of how western architectural style became assimilated into hybridity in Lucknow, not as the other in a polarised two-part exchange, but as a new element in a culture already steeped in hybridity and cultural inclusiveness.

Much has been made of the moral character of the nawabs of Lucknow; not only by art historians (as discussed in chapter 4) but also by political writers like William Knighton. What is rarely discussed is the religious attitudes and observances of the nawabs¹¹⁵ which tends to give a falsely dichotomous picture of the court art and culture of the nawabs. Shia sources about the nawabs (Sharar, Husain et al.) agree that they were great religious patrons, even when, like Nasir-us-Din, they drank alcohol and ate pork. They also encouraged patronage of religious buildings among the court, with the result that even Hindus built imambaras, and became involved in the Muharram ceremonies. A discussion of the Shia buildings of Lucknow should ideally be prefaced by a historical explanation of their origin as the other within the greater body of Islamic thought.

Early Islam and the origins of Shi'ism

The origins of the Shia branch of Islam lie in the political struggles which followed the death of the Prophet Muhammad (632 C.E) and the question of his spiritual and temporal

¹¹⁵ Juan Cole's *The Roots of North Indian Shi'ism in Iran and Iraq* 1988 is the only modern academic book on the subject. Harcourt's earlier *The Shia of India* describes the Shias in a wider context.

succession. After the Prophet's death, Abu Bak'r, his father-in-law was chosen as the first caliph from among a diverse group consisting mainly of the Companions of the Prophet, prominent townsmen of Madina, and leading Meccan families - many of them being later converts to Islam. The second caliph, Umar, was assassinated, on account of a private vendetta. During the third caliphate - that of Uthman bin Affan - some of the diverse group openly opposed the power of the caliph. Some of the sons of the Companions, and also the kin of the Prophet's wife Aisha revolted in Madina and Uthman was assassinated. This led to civil war in the community of Islam which at that time occupied a huge territory in the middle East, mostly ruled by Meccan and Arabian "original" Muslims. One claimant to the succession was Ali ibn Abi Talib, a Quraysh¹¹⁶, married to Mohammed's only child Fatima, and a cousin of the Prophet. His succession was disputed, but he became a caliph in the city of Kufa. Before the disputed succession could be resolved, Ali was assassinated and Muawiya ibn Abi Sufyan, a relative of Uthman, proclaimed himself caliph in 661 C.E.

There were two main opposers to the caliphate¹¹⁷ purists like the Kharijis, who wanted a succession based on individual piety and merit, envisaged as a imamate which could be rescinded at any time. The other main group were those who claimed that only the family of the Prophet were fit to lead Islam, generally they regarded the descendants of Ali as the hereditary imams. It was also expected that one of these imams, the *Mahdi*, would inaugurate a reign of peace and justice. Meanwhile the Shias of Ali (as they were known - that is, the factionalists of Ali) were persecuted by the then caliph Muawiya who is said to have poisoned Hasan, son of Ali, and the second imam of the Shias. The second son of Ali, Hussein, was murdered along with almost every other member of his family at Karbala, near Baghdad, in 680 C.E. The reigning Caliph, Yazid, was responsible for the massacre. It appears to have been an attempt to extinguish the entire line of Ali, and along with it the claims of succession, but some of Ali's line survived. Indeed, some years later there was another revolt on account of another son of Ali (though not a son of Fatima). From the events of Karbala - the cruelty and torture of helpless women and children, the slaughter of the male children of Hussein, the mutilation of their corpses and the denial of a decent burial - are the foundations of the commemorative and ritualistic aspects of Shia observance. The greatest reverence is felt for the imams, the martyrdom of Hasan and Hussein is the most important event for Shias after the prophecy of Muhammad and the transmission of the Koran. One of

¹¹⁶ The clan of the Prophet.

¹¹⁷ It should be pointed out the the caliphate after Muawiya became hereditary.

the distinguishing features of Shi'ism is the commemoration of martyrdom, which can take several forms. One is the narrative, in stories, readings and recitations, another is musical, praise songs and sung laments, but the most outstanding commemorative cultural artefact of Shias in Lucknow is architecture (6.1). The architecture specifically connected with Shia ritual is not only commemorative - it is a kind of remembering which also recreates the scenes and events of Karbala. From huge replicas of the tomb of Hussein to small wooden cradles representing the martyrdom of his infant grandson, the imambaras and their related structures represent Karbala. It should also be remembered that the seemingly extreme veneration paid to Hasan and Hussein is not only on account of their martyrdom, but also because they were the grandsons of the Prophet.

It is beyond the scope of this chapter to detail the later history of the Shia and their arrival in India, but it may be useful to add some remarks about the Shias geographically and historically. It should be borne in mind that whatever theological differences between the differing strands of Islam¹¹⁸ - all regard each other as Muslims (in spite of accusations of heresy) and agree about the primacy of the Koran and Mohammed's prophecy. After the death of Hussein, Shias recognized only their own imams (as opposed to the dynastic caliphates) until 879 C.E., when the twelfth imam suddenly disappeared. Shias anticipate his eventual return in order to complete revelation. The Shias were originally most powerful in Iraq but later in Persia, Ismael I, one of the Safavid dynasty, proclaimed Shi'ism to be the religion of state in 1502. It is from these Persian Shias that many of the Shias of Lucknow are descended. Many of the old Lucknavi families can trace their descent back to Nishapur in Iran. The first nawab vizier of Lucknow, Sadaat Ali, was from a noble Nishapuri Shia family, in contrast to the mughal ruling family, who were originally Sunni Muslims whose mongol ancestors had ruled Samarkand. The growth of the Shias in Oudh has been dealt with elsewhere¹¹⁹, but their architectural idiosyncrasies and the unique traditions of Lucknow are part of the hidden (some say ignored) history of Indian Shias.

Shia Islam in 18th and 19th century India

An English woman, married to a Muslim, Mir Hasan Ali, is the source of much early information¹²⁰ about the culture of the Shias of Lucknow. Her husband was an assistant to

¹¹⁸ The three main divisions being Sunnis, Shias and Ishmaelis.

¹¹⁹ Cole, J., *The Roots of North Indian Shi'ism in Iran and Iraq* 1988.

¹²⁰ *Observations on the Mussulmauns of India* (first pub. 1832) by Begum Meer Hasan Ali.

John Shakespear, professor of Hindustani at the Military College at Addiscombe. From 1816-1828 she and her husband lived in Oudh, mostly in Lucknow during the reign of Ghazi-ud-Din Haidar¹²¹ (1814-1828). Begum Mir Hasan Ali is the first writer to describe in detail, not only the public ceremonies of Muharram, but also the private and domestic life of the Shias she lived amongst.

Though the Shias are referred to as a minority in India, this is a purely numerical concept. The cultural importance of Shi'ism is a significant part not only of the history of Oudh but also of the reformative religious movements of the eighteenth century in India which equally involved both Muslims and Hindus. One of the more remarkable features of this religious revival is the eclectic and trans-denominational ideologies and activities which were tolerated and alternately discouraged. The Hindu Marathas supported the shrine of a famous Chishti (Sufi) saint in Ajmer. In southern India the Hindu rajas of Tanjore and the Dutch Calvinists both supported the shrine of another Muslim divine, Shaikh Shahul Hamid of Nagore (Bayly 1993:41). The Rajas of Benares patronised the Shia scholar and poet, Hazin (1692-1766), whose great contribution to Indian Islamic thought was the concept of "itjihad" - that a religious scholar could make independent judgements based on his own reasoning¹²² (Cole 1988:51). Delhi and Lucknow were both centres of the new Islamic renaissance. Among the matters deliberated on was the worship of saints - an act of piety which attracted both Hindu and Muslim devotion at the same shrines. The Hindu tradition of *bhakti* or loving devotion also flourished in Bengal mainly in the cults of Rama and Krishna. Another feature of the period is that the revivals were not necessarily led by social or religious elites. Both the reverence of Islamic saints and the practice of *bhakti* were (and are) very much the religious activities of the masses.

Shias were to have a cultural and political importance far beyond their status as a minority in India in the 18th and 19th centuries. Though Shias had been in India for several centuries before, it was under the largely benevolent patronage of the Sunni mughals, particularly Humayun, that Persian Shias came to India, many as soldiers. There had also been Shia "missionaries" and those fleeing persecution who often found sanctuary under Hindu rulership (Husain 1988:37). The Bahmani rulers of the southern Deccan (a fourteenth century

¹²¹ Her stay in Lucknow corresponds closely with that of Robert Home.

¹²² Though itjihad was not unknown to earlier Shias, it was only one of several approaches to muslim law (Rogers 1976:34)

dynasty) became Shias, subsequent dynasties, the Adil and Qutb Shahis were Shias distinguished by pluralistic and vibrant courts. The Nizams of Hyderabad, though not Shias themselves, were patrons of the displaced Shia nobility, those who lost their situations after the downfall of Mysore and the death of Tipu Sultan (1799). The Nizams of Bengal, on whose side Shuja-ud-Daula fought against the British at Buxar (1764) were Shias. The wife of the mughal emperor Jahangir (r. 1605-1627), Noor Jahan was a Shia and was said to have appointed hundreds of Shias to influential posts throughout the empire (ibid:44).

In Lucknow the relationship of the Shia clerics and the nawabs of Oudh is non-existent in the annals of contemporary European writing, but the patronage of the imambaras and madrasas was obviously constant and generous. The nawabs, regardless of their proclivities at court, participated fully in the ceremonies of Muharram, in the building and maintenance of imambaras and tombs (frequently their own), and in the ritual slaughter of animals in the presence of huge crowds as described by B. Hasan Ali and by John Home. A famous Shia college at Farangi Mahal in Lucknow taught a course, which owed its popularity to

“the fact that it provided an excellent education for the type of man of business needed in the contemporary courts as registrars, judges and revenue agents” (Bayly 1993:42)

and

“the Usuli branch of Shia Islam which became established in the Awadh court emphasized rationalistic discrimination in matters of religious practice” (ibid.).

There were close links between the Shia religious scholars and the bureaucracy of the nawabi, described by one author as “new religious elites” (Cole 1988:55). During the reign of Shuja-ud-Daula (1754-1775) a group of physicians

“trained in Avicennian medicine and the rational sciences at first established a virtual monopoly over intellectual pursuits within the new capital” (Cole:ibid).

Later tension between the rationalists and the more traditionalist Imami ulama (or religious scholars) who were mainly immigrant Iranian clergy led to a riot in 1779. The final outcome, in a general sense, was the privileging of the traditionalists at court. Their commitment to a separate Shia communalism and their connection with the more folkish and participatory aspects of Shi'ism like the Muharram were important because the nawabs -

“favored an assertion of specifically Shi’i law and ritual in order to accent its peculiar local values and authority” (Cole:ibid).

The most obvious local value in Oudh being the extreme veneration of the sons of Ali, and the ritualistic re-enactment of their death requiring a separate architectural form - the imambara. These commemorative ceremonies served not only to articulate difference, between Sunni and Shia for instance, but also to provide a highly emotional yearly festival which *united* all Shias regardless of class and status.

Muharram is the fasting and observance by which Shias commemorate the events of Karbala. The observance period is usually forty days and nights and consists of mourning congregations (called *majlis*) at which prayers, narratives, songs and addresses by learned Shias are heard. There are also processions of *taziyas* (replica tombs of the imams Hasan and Hussein), particularly leading up to the tenth day of Muharram on which the *taziyas* are buried after large processions and public displays of mourning. The buildings used as the resting place for *taziyas* before the burial are imambaras, this is also where many of the *majlis* ceremonies take place. Though almost all households who can afford the space have a private imambara, the public (though mostly male) congregations have social and cultural importance - as a unifying expression of Shia devotion, and also as a place of religious instruction for the young. Similarly the processions also act as signs of Shia piety and of community coherence. Given the highly emotional and devout nature of the Muharram processions and prayers, it is significant that outsiders including Christians and Hindus were allowed, even encouraged, to participate¹²³.

Apart from its use as a prayer hall the imambara’s purpose is to house replicas of the tomb of Husain, which are called *taziyas*. *Taziyas* may be made of any materials (6.2), some of them are ivory, some finely carved wood set about with silver and are carried in solemn procession during Muharram. There is even a subsidiary type of building called a *taziyagah*, a room or place where a *taziya* halts during procession. Imambaras can have several functions, including that of a tomb, several of the nawabs of Oudh are buried in them. According to Begum Mir Hasan Ali

“The word *Tazia* signifies grief...It is formed of every variety of material, according to the wealth, rank, or preference, of the person

¹²³ This inclusive attitude towards those outside their faith was a typical characteristic of Indian Shia communities.

exhibiting...The handsomest of the kind, to my taste, is in the possession of his Majesty the King of Oude, composed of green glass, with brass mouldings, manufactured in England.” (Hasan Ali 1917:18).

The *taziyas* are carried in procession on the tenth day of Muharram when the non-precious *taziyas* are “deposited with funeral rites in the public burial-grounds, of which there are several outside the town” (ibid:18). The other *taziyas* are brought home (as it were) for a further five days, and they too are carried in procession to the *Dargah*¹²⁴ (meaning [sacred] threshold or doorway) to be consecrated. Begum Mir Hasan Ali observes that “This custom is perhaps exclusively observed by the inhabitants of Lucknow” (ibid 1917:32). There is another type of tomb replica (6.3) known as a *zari* - which is a replica of the tomb of Ali. It is, like the *taziya*, intended to resemble its original, but unlike *taziyas*, *zaris* are never buried. Inside *rauzas* or *dargahs*, there is another *zari* - that is a wooden- screened catafalque, which can both indicate a real tomb and/or signify an imam’s tomb. Other precious items stored in the *imambaras* are *alams* or standards, based on those carried in the battle of Karbala. *Imambaras* can also be rooms or even niches in private homes, the erection of large-scale *imambaras* was usually undertaken as an act of piety by the wealthy. *Karbala*s or *kerbala*s are another type of Lucknow building, they are intended to symbolise the battlefield and the burial place of Hasan and Hussein, they are also the final resting place some of the permanent *taziyas*. *Karbala*s are usually buildings within an enclosure, whose exterior wall consists of niches, or small cells, being used for burials of Shia religious, among other things.

The importance of the Shia inspired architecture of Lucknow should not be underestimated, though it has never received any serious attention until recently¹²⁵, most likely on account of its inaccessibility, not only to non-muslims, but to non-Shias in certain buildings¹²⁶. Another reason is that most of the *imambaras*, apart from royal ones, are in the old city, not an area much visited by Europeans at any time¹²⁷. Another significant feature of *imambara* and *karbala* architecture is that it represents another building style and form distinct from either the mosques, palaces and hybrid forms, though sometimes involving features of all three. Mrs

¹²⁴ That is, the *Dargah* of Hazrat Abbas.

¹²⁵ Rosie Llewellyn-Jones (1985) and Neeta Das (1991)

¹²⁶ The author is deeply indebted to the Nawab Mir Jafar Abdullah of Shish Mahal for arranging access to many of these buildings.

¹²⁷ Llewellyn-Jones states that the buildings were “ignored” (1992:207), but I think this is putting it too strongly. Most *imambaras* are surrounded by high walls, and are not distinguishable from generic Lucknow architecture without reference to their religious and symbolic significance.

Mir Hasan Ali states

“The Emaum-baarah is a sacred place, erected for the express purpose of commemorating Mahurram; the founder not unfrequently intends this also as the mausoleum for himself and family.” (Ibid 1917:19).

And on the subject of the differences between the austerity of mosques and the almost hallucinatory ornamentation of imambaras (especially in Muharram) she tells us that

“The Mosque is devoted only to the service of God, where it is commanded no worldly attractions or ornaments shall appear, to draw off the mind, or divert the attention, from that one great object for which the house of prayer is intended” (ibid 1917:30).

But she is also aware of the particular characteristics of the northern Indian Shia culture which appear to be unique to that place.

“I have conversed with many sensible men of the Mussulmaun persuasion on the subject of celebrating Mahurram, and from all I can learn, the pompous display is grown into a habit, by a long residence amongst people, who make a merit of showy parades at all their festivals. Foreign Mussulmauns are equally surprised as Europeans, when they visit Hindoostaun, and first see the Tazia conveyed about in procession, which would be counted sacrilegious in Persia or Arabia” (ibid 1917:30).

It is noteworthy that local muslims themselves identify the influence of the Hindu procession of images on their customs. Begum Hasan Ali is at pains to point out that that it is imitation of form only

“with far different motives to the weak-minded Hindoos, who exalt their idols, whilst the former the testify their respect to worthy mortals only” (ibid 1917:31).

In the time of Nasir-ud-Din (1827-1837) these re-enactment ceremonies had become so theatrical and fantastic that the nawab himself dressed in women’s clothing on the birthdays of the Imams and pretended to give birth to dolls which represented them (Cole 1988:190), even going so far as to carry out the ritual ablutions that a Muslim woman would have performed after a genuine delivery.

Formal elements of the imambara/kerbala

Imambaras are usually built as long rectangular structures with one ‘closed’ side for the raised

niches called *shah-n-shin* which house the *taziyas* for most of the year. The central area is often a large congregational space, where, during Muharram, muslims gather to hear the story of the martyrdom of the sons of Ali, as related by professional speakers and imams. Imambaras and *kerbalas* are not required to be directional as is the *mihrab* in a mosque, their focal point is the *shah-n-shin*. Burials can take place in the floor of the building (6.4), usually either royals or divines, an exception being the architect of the Bara Imambara (Kifayat Ullah) who is buried in the Bara Imambara along with his patron, the nawab Asaf-ud-Daula. Most consist of three bays, the central one being the largest, and usually supported by a single vault constructed with the help of a supporting scaffolding which is taken away when the mortar has completely dried; the process may take years. This allows for a large open space unimpeded by pillars and arches, the Bara Imambara is one of the largest single vaulted halls in the world, 163ft long by 49ft high. Large imambaras like this and the Husainabad imambara are really walled complexes, containing separate mosques, tombs, and *madrastas* (Islamic colleges) and even a *hammam*. Some like the Faqr Bagh contain private residences. Many imambaras are contained inside private residences, but are opened to the public during Muharram. One of the most interesting of the imambaras is the Begum Wali Kothi, set deep inside the British Residency complex. It was beside the home of an English widow, Mrs. Whearty, whose daughter, Miss Walters became the mistress¹²³ (other sources say wife) of the nawab Nasir-ud-Din Haidar, converting to Islam and being named Mukuderah Oolea. On the death of Mrs. Whearty's second husband, she herself became the mistress of Buksh Ali Khan, the nawab's superintendent. Human interest aside, the unusual feature of this imambara complex is that the mosque is actually on the storey above a set of rooms. It is most unusual for a mosque to be built over any other structure. The imambara itself is a rectangular 3 bay x 3 bay construction sharing a courtyard in front of a set of rooms, a tiny narrow staircase leads to the mosque above, which has a small open roof terrace before the entrance. The Shah Najaf, which is also the tomb of Ghazi-ud-Din, has the unusual feature of an ambulatory path around a square, single-domed imambara. The subsidiary storage and other rooms are in the boundary wall, the entire plan is strongly reminiscent of a Hindu temple with its central cell (or *garba griha*). Another structure, the Kazmain, is a copy of an Iranian tomb; its unique brass covered double drums (6.5) with domed tops are said to be a replica of the tomb of two imams in Khorasan.

¹²³ It is unlikely that they were mistresses in the European sense. the practice of temporary marriage was very common in the royal *zenana*. This was a legal contract between two muslim adults and preserved the reputation of the woman to some extent. separating her in terms of status from concubines and slaves.

The plans of imambaras generally conform to a rectangular 3X3 plan as seen at the Bara Imambara, that is three bays intersected by 3 bays. There is no obvious antecedent for the plan, though loosely it could be a variation of mosque plans without a mihrab combined with the mughal hahsht bihisht¹²⁹. The typical Lucknow mosque, from the grand examples of the nawabs to the tiny neighbourhood versions which abound in the old city are a three-bay structure with two elongated minarets at the corners of the qibla wall. The imambara is frequently used as a pavilion, especially the smaller private examples, in which case they may be referred to quite accurately as *baradaris* or summer houses. The plans of imambaras are sometimes *iwans*: arcaded halls which have three closed and one open side, again very like mosques.

Decorative aspects of Imambaras

Imambaras share a common decorative repertoire with the other traditional architecture of Lucknow, though they sometimes have small classical details such as pilasters. Generally, their decorations consist of the same plasterwork guldastas, pilasters and so on as the mosques and palaces. The quality of the work is very fine, surpassing anything now extant in palaces, with the possible exception of the Sikanderbagh gateway. The Imambara Moghul Sahiba is a good example of the decorative abilities of Lucknow workers and of the eclectic, parareligious use of motifs. The building has octagonal corner towers (usually only a feature of houses and mosques), whose crowning “chattris” are copied, complete with oval lights from the stair kiosks at Musabagh (6a, 6.6b). The winding floral wreaths on the pilasters are featured in several palatial buildings. The false doors and windows rendered in plaster belong to the same tradition (6.7). In the nawabi period, much of this plasterwork was painted which would have led to a *trompe l’oeil* effect, rather than the present-day perception of falsity or pretence. The Imambara of Malika Zamina (wife of Ghazi-ud-Din Haidar r. 1814-1827), though in great disrepair (6.8), shows some of the original paint in the hollows of the arches (6.9). Some traces of paint can also be seen at other sites¹³⁰. In addition this imambara is very richly carved with some unique *alam* motifs (6.10) in the spaces between the arches. It appears that the austere marble-like plaster of many imambaras was painted in very bright colours; purple, red and green pigments remain here.

Painted ceilings are another feature of imambaras. The imambara in Hazratganj which contains

¹²⁹ As described in chapter 2.

¹³⁰ And not only on religious buildings, the sunken courtyard at Musabagh also bears traces of extensive painting.

the tomb of Amjad Ali Shah (r. 1837-1847) has beautifully painted ceilings in every chamber (6.11). The motifs are typically floral and vegetal with occasional solar symbols (usually associated with the ruling house of Oudh). Within karbalas and rauzas the domes are sometimes painted with intricate calligraphic designs (6.12), or, with geometric motifs on the underside of the arches and intricate vegetal patterning on the squinches. At the karbala of Dianat-ud-Daula the main dome is exquisitely painted with a wandering vine, which loops around a series of eight calligraphic plaques (6.13). The dome at the Kazmain is also painted with a rich red background and looping vegetal designs. The geometric designs are frequently “honeycombs” in black, white and green. One of the most unusual painted ceilings in Lucknow is in the Jami Masjid, though the Shia mosques sometimes contain photographs and portraits of imams and scholars, actual painting on surfaces is extremely rare. What makes the Jami Masjid particularly interesting is the colours and designs are clearly intended to imitate blue Persian tiles - possibly a reference to the origin of the upper-class Shias of Lucknow (6.14). Blue does not appear to have been used elsewhere¹³¹, based on surviving traces. Another unusual feature of this mosque are the Corinthian columns, used at the mihrab and arches.

Pillars and arches are often highly ornamented with plaster over a brick core. The pillars are usually not very tall, though the ornamentation can be quite complex. The winding floral ‘ribbon’ often seen in later palaces can be seen also on the pillars of the Imambara Deputy Sahib (6.15). In the Husainabad Imambara there are deeply fluted Corinthian columns. In later imambaras such as the Talkatora Imambara (built in the reign of Wajid Ali Shah) the pillars are clusters of narrow columns. But overall there does not seem to be any “stylistic progression” from simple to more decorated prototypes along time lines, which may be significant. Apart from the obvious need for congregational space for the *majlis* and a place in which to store taziyas and other ritual objects, imambaras do not require anything else to “work” as buildings. The profusion of ornaments, and the highly decorative objects stored within may obscure the highly utilitarian nature of this aspect of Lucknavi architecture. Stylistic progression which is a western expectation in architecture is almost absent here. What is present in imambaras is an eclectic, hybrid almost indiscriminate use of motifs and stylistic features which can be detected in the earliest imambaras, but also respond (often in the same building) to contemporary influences from other architectures. One of the most

¹³¹ Though the pigment may decay more quickly than red or black.

interesting examples of this can be seen in the Husainabad Imambara. The exterior of the building is decorated with painted calligraphy which is a feature of the oldest surviving imambara. The Kala Imambara was built by an uncle of Asaf-ud-Daula (1775-1798) and dates from his reign, the plain exterior has white calligraphy on a black background, with simple painted guldastas.

One extraordinary decorative feature of a Shia building is the use of stained (or painted) glass at the Karbala of Dianat-ud-Daula. Inside the tomb are doorways with classical style fanlights. Each portion of the fan contains a small glass portrait of persons connected with the events of Karbala, including Hasan and Hussein (6.16). The probable date of manufacture is in the 1840s, but it is also likely that the glass is painted¹³² in imitation of stained glass seen elsewhere. The most likely candidate being the church at the Residency. This depiction of the Shia martyrs also suggests that the avoidance of representation which characterises much Islamic art, can be modified where desired. The other decorative aspect of the imambara is the furniture and lamps which give it much of its character. Without the great profusion of coloured glass chandeliers (many manufactured in Europe) and the *minbar* (a moveable pulpit) and *taziyas*, the imambara would be rather like a mosque, albeit one with no mihrab. Another beautiful object to be seen in imambaras are the tombstones of holy men and scholars (and sometimes nawabs) which are usually set flat on the floor. Some are carved with exquisite calligraphy on the finest marble (6.17).

Sites and Axiality

Imambaras which are within complexes of buildings have one important feature: their axes bear no relation to the accompanying mosques, which in India face west. This is not unique by any means. The mughal palace complexes at Fatehpur Sikri and Lahore share this feature. The regularity of mughal axes is subverted by the position of the mosque at these sites. In other examples, such as the Taj Mahal, the tomb's disposition follows that of the two mosques, but the whole plan is that of the formal mughal garden with its symmetrical requirements. There seems to be no 'rule' as such regarding the incorporation of mosques into tomb or public sites, except that the mihrab must indicate Mecca. At one imambara in Lucknow, the Jannat ki Khirki, the mosque is part of a symmetrical plan, the complex includes living spaces, and on the exterior of the boundary wall, some shops as well. What is

¹³² I was not able to examine the glass very closely.

unique here is that the qibla (or direction for prayer) is not indicated by one of the recesses in the wall, but is in fact the blank wall at the side. Without altering the building in any way, the faithful are literally guided to the qibla by the curved walls and piers. At the Talkatora Imambara, the large courtyard contains the tomb of an imam with the imambara slightly off centre on the boundary wall. The mosque is a tiny afterthought perched at the side of the imambara building. At the Husainabad Imambara, a beautifully symmetrical plan is thwarted by the presence of a mosque (6.18). However, the mosque is situated almost out of direct sight, being so far back in the boundary wall, on entering through the gate facing the very impressive imambara, it is almost imperceptible. The tomb of the nawab's daughter within the complex has a *jawab* or answer - a building which exists purely to preserve the symmetry of the plan. Similarly, at the Bara Imambara, the gateways and steps lead directly to the front of the imambara, the huge mosque is set obliquely, in such way as to completely interrupt the axes (6.19). At the Shah Najaf, the tomb of Ghazi-ud-Din Haidar, the mosque is outside the walled complex. And since it does not appear on the military map on 1857-8, the mosque seems to have been an afterthought.

The imambaras of private houses in Lucknow also have a distinct character, or rather, the houses in which they were constructed have a distinctive form of their own. The haveli or, house built around a courtyard, is generally considered to be one 'type' of building, the houses of Lucknow which contain imambaras should be referred to as Shia havelis (6.20). These houses consist of a rectangular courtyard (almost never a square), one entire end of which is the imambara. It does not matter which direction the imambara faces, in this respect it is subordinated to the site requirements. The motivation to build private imambaras is not necessarily to conform to purdah requirements (as might be thought), but is generally a sign of piety. Almost all the private imambaras have a purdah gallery (6.21). This is a small gallery on both sides of the upper level of the building. It is usually only accessible from the roof of the other two sides of the haveli, so that the women could enter and leave without crossing the courtyard. In one private house in Lucknow there is a *mardana* imambara¹³³ - the so-called Imambara Deputy Sahib. This imambara was for the use of men only; subverting this gendered religious use of space - the grandmother of the present occupant actually lived in the imambara itself. The other noteworthy feature of this complex is that the mosque is contained within the walls (6.22), and has a *jawab* or "answer" on the opposite side of the

¹³³ Zenana and mardana are terms to describe the female and male areas respectively.

courtyard to maintain the symmetry of the complex. In addition, the axially of the mosque (only in this case) determines the direction of the entire structure. It is also one of the only buildings in Lucknow to have a large staircase, one enters the haveli on the “first” floor. This is feature which it shares with the “throne room” the Lal Baradari, which was part of the Farhat Bakhsh complex.

The significance of axially in Lucknavi architecture

Axially, the direction in which a building faces has great importance in Islamic architecture. It is necessary for the qibla (the directional wall) to face Mecca, but this was not always so. Early mosques and places of prayer faced Jerusalem. By the time of the early muslim conquest of India, Mecca was the orthodox direction for prayer. It is also of great importance that the head of a muslim is directed to Mecca during prayer. In architecture, where one building must without exception have a certain direction, it would seem that this basic axially must then be applied to the accompanying buildings in order to maintain the symmetry of the site. In Lucknow this is the exception rather than the rule. There are a number of interpretations could be assigned to this. The first is that the separation of the mosque from the imambaras was underlined by the differing axes, this was also done by building a wall or arcade between the two for example at the Bara Imambara and at the Shah Najaf. The other (more likely) possibility is that imambaras have their own directional requirements, however this is not borne out by an examination of the buildings, they do not always face in the same direction. Local sources (in the present day) assert that the dargahs and some imambaras face towards the actual site of Karbala, but that is also west, like mosques. At some integrated sites (where the mosque and imambara are in the same building), like the Jannat ki Khirki, the shah-n-shin and the qibla wall face in the same direction. Looking at some of the larger imambaras the general trend is that the imambaras are oriented to the compass points, that is, the entrance is north, the shah-in-shin is south, the two narrow sides are east and west. It seems that the imambaras which form part of a complex of buildings are aligned to the axes of a compass, the mosques are offset against this, subverting the perfection of the site’s axially. It is obviously a feature of some importance, especially considering sites such as the Begum Wali Kothi where the mosque is not only built on the storey above the imambara and other rooms, but has been ‘twisted’ in the most incongruous manner to maintain the qibla direction. It would certainly have been a great deal easier for the builders to simply follow the directional requirements of qibla in all the other buildings, as this is an integrated site. This

suggests that maintaining the difference was more important than almost any other consideration (after qibla) in buildings. The difference also being pointed up by the great contrast in decorative elements between mosques and imambaras, at least during Muharram. Difference here is not necessarily leading to polarisation - the mosques and imambaras co-exist, but they are very different in terms of ritual use and as cultural objects.

One way of maintaining this difference without devaluing either side, as it were, is to place the objects in relation to each other in a manner which does not seem to favour either. The imambaras are generally larger than their accompanying mosque, and are set in symmetrical gardens, with gateways at the compass points but always the offset mosque serves as a reminder that the imambaras do not exist alone. By their asymmetry they intrude into the ordered works of man, functioning as an architectural reminder of the presence of the 'other' Islam - the more ordered and rational, less devotional and mystical than that of Muharram and the majlis.

Dargahs, rauzas and karbalas - a problem of naming

While imambaras are the most numerous of the Shia religious buildings after mosques, there are several other kinds of commemorative structures in Lucknow which, though often associated with imambaras, sometimes containing imambaras, (and sometimes mistaken for them) have a separate form, content and meaning. This is not merely a problem of nomenclature - there is an interchangeability about some of the buildings, and some have several uses - but the distinctions are recognized. Dargahs, rauzas, baradaris and karbalas are words used to describe religious architecture, some are interchangeably used, not always accurately, and some terms are by their nature multi-dimensional.

Dargah usually means the tomb of a Shia saint or imam, and replicas of the imams' tombs are also called dargahs, for example, there are two buildings in Lucknow called the Dargah of Hazrat Abbas (the minor one is on the outskirts of the city).

Rauza - is also a tomb - but a replica of an actual tomb in Karbala or Medina. There are several rauzas in Lucknow, one being an imitation of the tomb of Fatima in Medina. This imitation tomb is part of another imitative building, the Masjidi Nabavi which is a miniature of the mosque of the Prophet at Medina. Inside this mosque is another rauza - Rauza el Rasul - a copy of the Prophet's own tomb. The 'copies' are objects of veneration in their own right.

Karbals are several things at once. Karbala was the site of the battle in which Yazid murdered almost the entire line of Ali and is the event commemorated in the Muharram ceremonies. A karbala is a building replicating the tomb of Imam Hussein and is also used to refer to the enclosure around the structure, which may contain other buildings and structures relating to Karbala, and also an enclosure where taziyas are buried. The “graves” of the taziyas are dug inside the boundary wall of the enclosure, sometimes there is also a muslim cemetery in the same space. Karbals are a unique type of built environment. They are not only commemorative architecture, but also a microcosmic environment for the re-enactment of the Karbala martyrdom, with a symbolic geography as well.

There is a karbala at the tomb of Nasir-ud-Din (r.1827-1837), consisting of a tomb, a mosque and in another enclosure, a large imambara with shah-n-shin and taziyas (6.23). Many of the original demarcations of the site have been eradicated or changed, it is interesting that the mosque and the tomb are facing in opposite directions. This site contains the most important *gher* (chamber) in Lucknow - it is considered most auspicious for the granting of wishes.

Perhaps the best example of this is the complex built by Dianat-ud-Daula, a powerful eunuch in the employ of Wajid Ali Shah (r. 1847-1856). The enclosure contains a large, beautifully decorated tomb, in imitation of the tomb of Hussein. It is a large square structure with two domes, one large (which indicates the burial place below) and one somewhat smaller. There are two large minarets of Iraqi type - with distinctive pointed tops. Inside, there are arcades around the four sides (called *sahanchi*) with small chambers below ground level on the two corners without minarets. The tomb is inside its own walled enclosure. The next building, called *khamagah* - the place of tents - symbolizes the camp of the Shias at the battle of Karbala. Many of the pictograms of Karbala show the tents burning (they were set on fire). In the left hand corner of the Khamagah is an area called *hujra* (cell or small room) in which Zainul Abidin (Hussein's eldest son) stayed during the battle, the *hujra* symbolizes Abid's tent. On the other side of the *khamagah* is a *zindana* - the place of imprisonment of Hasan. Proceeding leftwards, through another gateway there is a flight of steps and a small walkway terminating in the entrance to a mosque. The site is used for processions and prayers during Muharram, which involves praying at the tomb (it is a replica of the tomb of Hussein), then proceeding to the *khamagah*, where other commemorative prayers are made, the different zones invoking the various atrocities committed against the family of Ali. Inside the tomb itself, one of the sunken chambers symbolizes the place where the severed head of Hussein lay. This *gher* is a particular focus of intercessionary prayers by women.

The Significance of the Imambaras

Imambaras have until recently been a neglected part of the architectural culture of Oudh, many of them are off-limits to Europeans, many are private and in obscure locations, and above all perhaps, the beliefs and rituals involved in their design and usage were not well known except to scholars of Islam. There are a number of important issues relating to the design development of both the palatial and the hybrid buildings of Lucknow which can only be adequately explored by reference to the total architectural milieu which prevailed at the time.

1. The imambaras and their related structures, though sharing some of the formal and decorative aspects of both traditions (i.e. late mughal and hybrid), have unique features which are located within the religious requirements of Shia Islam. One of these unique features is the Shah-in-shin, the other is the large open (unpillared) hall. Once these conditions have been met, there is a bewildering variety of plan and decoration, hardly any two imambaras are alike, beyond sharing the usual Lucknavi decorative repertoire. As a group of buildings they comprise their own tradition, and they were certainly made by the same builders who worked on palaces and houses in the 'new' city. The Orientalist ideal of two traditions, contrasting with, and defining the other is untenable in Lucknow. There are three distinct architectural types here, each with its own conditions. The third no less important for being almost unknown to Europeans. Otherness in Lucknow would have to include the Shia branch of Islam contrasted with the Sunni allegiance of the mughals¹³⁴. Imambaras, karbalas and baradaris are the architectural expression of this.

2. The design of imambaras, though required to conform with certain religious requirements, is fluid and eclectic. Their location within houses, complexes and zenanas, and their subordination to domestic and social requirements, where appropriate, indicates that this eclecticism is itself a pervasive cultural phenomenon in Lucknow. This eclecticism, seen in hybrid style buildings (and hybrid religious phenomena), is also indicative of an attitude towards building design which would be anathema to the ideology-driven architectural attitudes of the early colonial. The sheer variety of locations, plans, usage and patronage¹³⁵ in imambaras subverts the notion of Lucknow architecture being a limited, decadent architectural tradition, which could only be improved by contact with Europe.

¹³⁴ Which B. Mir Hasan Ali refers to "we very often find the two sects hoard up their private animosities and dislikes until the return of Mahurram, which scarcely ever passes over, in any extensively populated city of Hindoostan, with a serious quarrel, often terminating in bloodshed" (1917:14).

¹³⁵ Including wealthy Hindus (according to Llewellyn-Jones).

3. The imambara tradition indicates that Lucknow architecture was not only eclectic, but that the symbolic and signifying aspects of architecture were well understood within the two cultures of traditional Lucknow, the courtly and the religious. The Kazmain is an example of how buildings function as signs. Here an imitation of the Imams' tomb is recreated in a style quite unlike that of India. It is not only a highly visible sign of the Iranian/Iraqi religious affiliation of the Lucknavi Shias, it is a re-creation of both a site and an event. The rituals undertaken within its precincts are also commemorative and recreative of the same rituals and observances at the original tomb. Moreover, it was built by a local Hindu, the Treasurer of Amjad Ali Shah. Whereas the large congregational mosques in Lucknow are extremely conventional (and there are few of them), the imambaras are anything but - they can be of any size, location, axis, religious affiliation, gendered location¹³⁶ and formal design. If an imambara can have any defining characteristic, it is *use*, an imambara is so because it is used for the objects and ceremonies of Shia Islam.

The significance of usage as the defining characteristic of imambaras is that it 'explains' much about the hybrid architecture of Lucknow, and also the perceived failure of the hybrids as a "style". Lucknow buildings were not built as exemplars of any style, mughal or neo-classical (as discussed in earlier chapters). What appears to be the case is that, for a Lucknow architect (using the term loosely), the style of a building was as optional as its form. If, for example, a building was required in which the nawab could be an English squire, the obvious answer was to build him a copy of an actual English squire's house - Dilkusha being one possible answer. If the nawab wished to appear in the more traditional surroundings of an oriental monarch, he could move to the Chhattar Manzil complex, with its mixture of mughal pavilions, hammams, charbagh and the hybrid Farhat Bakhsh and Chhattar Manzil palaces. Though its outer walls aspire to a neo-classical identity, the inner court is firmly Indian, despite some Corinthian pilasters and pedimented windows. For his coronation, Ghazi-ud-Din chose a baradari (built by Sadaat Ali Khan) coloured like a mughal palace, where he was crowned king of Oudh and an imperial power in his own right. The later nawabs, who by then had lost any ambitions to be considered as the equal of the British, retreated into huge walled gardens containing palatial and other buildings, whose surface decoration became, regressively, more Indian and whose formal arrangements echoed the mughal pavilions and gateways of an earlier time. This seeming regression should be understood by permitting the

¹³⁶ Large houses might have a zenana imambara, and some of the large public imambaras were built and endowed by women.

nawabs and builders the possibility that the choice was conscious and deliberate.

Hybridity

Hybrid customs in Lucknow seem to have grown and developed mainly in the reign of Ghazi-ud-Din Haidar (1814-1827). Though the nawab himself was not noted for his piety by British observers, his religious observances were extreme and highly idiosyncratic. The main reason for the developed of new religious observances was the nawab's extraordinary step-mother known as the Badshah Begum, who was the principal wife of Ghazi-ud-Din Haidar. She was the daughter of the officer-in-charge of the Observatory at Lucknow¹³⁷. The Begum's life is better known than almost any other Indian woman of her times as she had attracted the attentions of a biographer, whose history, the *Tarikh Badshah Begum* covers the period of Oudh history from the reign of Ghazi-ud-Din Haidar to the accession of Muhammed Ali Shah. The Begum was chiefly known in European sources from the work of Sleeman¹³⁸. In later life her attempts to place her adopted child on the throne of Oudh led to her taking the Resident hostage, until he was relieved by British troops. Her biographer notes that she was educated by her father in in "the science of astronomy" (anon. trans. Ahmad n.d.:3). The Begum appears to have been a strong-willed and deeply religious woman, her biographer describes her as "hot-tempered, unruly and ambitious" and says that her husband was afraid of her. She introduced several new rituals and observances into the Shia commemoration of the lives of the Imams. One of these was the "chhati" ceremony (Ahmad ibid:6) which is the ritual bath taken by mother and child six days after the birth, the Begum introduced a "chhati" for the Imam Mehdi¹³⁹, on the sixth day after his birthday, "She celebrated it every year... large sums of money were spent and the Begam scrupulously watched the completion of the programme lest there should be any mistake or omission" (ibid.). Her most important innovation was "marrying" Sayyidi girls to the Imams, significantly, her biographer states the "They were all called 'Achhooti', a word which in Hindi means something too pure and sacred to be polluted by touch." (ibid.) testifying to the hybrid nature of these novelties. Her protege, Nasir-ud-Din Haidar went even further with new rituals, on the birthday of each of the Imams, he dressed in female clothing and "he would behave like a woman in childbed and pretend that he was suffering from the pains of childbirth. A doll studded with jewels was kept lying in the King's lap to represent the false child...On the sixth day the king would take

¹³⁷ For a detailed account of the Observatory see Llewellyn-Jones 1985

¹³⁸ Sleeman, Sir William *A Journey through the Kingdom of Oudh*. London 1858, 2 vols.

¹³⁹ The twelfth Imam who disappeared.

a bath, customary for the women” [i.e. the chhati] (ibid). The anonymous biographer does not hide his disapproval of these rituals describing them as sacrileges. He also states that Nasir-ud-Din built special shrines close to the Farhat Bakhsh for each of the Imams “with a small mosque where the sacred relics of the ‘Zarih’ were deposited. A reconstructed map of 1833 mentions the site of the “Bara 12 Imamo ki Dargah” near the Darshan Bilas, that is, the dargahs of the 12 Imams. There was also an imitation in iron of the tomb of Hazrat Abbas” (ibid.). Badshah Begum lived in the Chattar Manzil¹⁴⁰ and it was here that she housed the Sayyidi ‘wives’. In addition the biographer enquired of the Badshah’s attendants who informed him that “the Begam [sic] had set apart a room in the palace for the Imams and nobody was allowed to enter it. On the day of the birth of each of the Imams, the room was richly decorated and exquisitely lighted” (ibid.). The hybridisation and innovation of Shia ceremonies continued unabated even after the rift between Nasir-ud-Din Haidar and the Badshah Begum, due to her refusal to give up the Chattar Manzil¹⁴¹. The Achhootis became so important and revered that the practice was imitated by other women in the city. And not just by the women, the scandalized biographer noted that “The men in their families had given up manly habits, talked and behaved like women and had adopted female costumes”.

The architectural traditions of nawabi Lucknow, the mughal, the neo-classical and the Shia should be understood in the context of syncretism and eclecticism, which encompasses not only the formal and decorative elements of buildings themselves and the uses to which they were put. This syncretism also embraces ceremonies, religious affiliation both public and private and even gender-related issues - such as the innovation of the women’s imambaras and majlis, and the development of a class of women Islamic scholars¹⁴² and musicians who could carry out the reading and the mourning chants at Muharram parallel to the men’s (or public) ceremonies. Hindus participated widely in the Muharram ceremonies and may have been responsible for some of the innovations in the theatrical rituals, especially the immersion of ephemeral taziyas in the river, similar to the Hindu practice of immersing images of gods. The taziyas themselves are similar to the “rathas” on which Hindu deities are carried, equally it is widely accepted that the cradle (which represents the infant grandson of Hussein) known as a *joola* seen in imambaras is influenced by the cult of the infant Krishna. Similar also is the practice developed by the aforementioned senior wife of Ghazi-ud-Din Haidar of “marrying”

¹⁴⁰ Discussed in more detail in Chapter 3.

¹⁴¹ As described in Chapter 3.

¹⁴² Usually women from impoverished Sayyidi families who were unmarried for lack of a suitable mate. Sayyids are said to be descended from the Prophet himself and their marriages are restricted to certain muslims for this reason.

Sayyidi virgins to the Imams, such “wives” were not allowed to marry thereafter. This presumably has its roots in the “devadasis” or girls enrolled in the Hindu temple as the attendants of the god, a tradition which is still extant in parts of India. The “hinduization” of Shia ceremonies can even be detected in the Muharram procession - the taziyas carried through the street to various holy places is comparable to the Hindu festivals in which the image of the god or goddess is brought through the street in rathas (or festival carts). In both cases there are re-enactments of dramatic scenes and the necessity to view the spectacle at hand (darshan in Sanskrit). That these ceremonies are not at all known in Shia communities outside India indicates quite emphatically their idiosyncratic (or idiosyncretic) nature. Hybridity can also be seen in the patronage of Hindu temples and rites by Shias, the temple of Hanuman at Aliganj on the north bank of the Gomti was enlarged with further building by the wife of Amjad Ali Shah (r. 1842-1847). The last nawab of Lucknow Wajid Ali Shah “participated in Hindu festivals with fervour” (Husain 1988), the compliment being returned by Hindu rulers in other places, such as the (Hindu) Maharaja of Gwalior who in times past led the Muharram processions in person.

Conclusion

What emerges from the overlooked tradition of Shia architecture in Lucknow is that architectural tradition in the city grew out of entirely different system of thinking about architecture. The western notion of styles and their relative merits, moral qualities, aesthetic values and so on is simply irrelevant. The development of Shia architecture in Lucknow proceeds from an unusual kind of utilitarianism, the ‘utility’ in this case being ritualistic and religious. However, the notion of utility is applied in a mundane way to everyday use as well in that imambaras may be used as schools, even for housing. The rauzas, karbalas and dargahs are also imitative, but on two levels, the first being their actual mimetic forms, derived from Iraq and Arabia¹⁴³, the other being the ritualistic mimesis of events and actions which derive from historical events. The symbolic geography of the karbala enclosure, the tents and prison and the circumambulation of the site all interact mimetically. This underlying quality of mimesis and re-creation is also remarked on in quite a different way by Begum Mir Hasan Ali,

“bad feelings between the two sects, amongst the lower orders of the people, may produce a real battle on the imitative ground of Kraabalah, and I have heard of many such terminations of the Mahurram at

¹⁴³ Though how successfully mimetic they are is another matter.

Lucknow” (Hasan Ali 1917:52).

The Shia *attitude* to architecture proceeds from such a different type of thinking about what buildings are, that to an outsider they appear to be anarchic, whimsical, over decorated and stylistically incoherent. To an observer whose expectations of architectural style were formed in the the western ideological frame, involving the powerful notions of Greek (and therefore English) primacy and aesthetic moralism, the Shia architecture of Lucknow simply cannot be understood. Indeed the difference between kinds of building - imambaras and karbalas for example - cannot be detected, because to do so would involve knowledge of what the buildings were for, how they functioned, the religious ideology and motive behind them and an acquaintance with the terminology of Shia architecture which derives in turn from historical events.

The tradition of Shia building in Lucknow in chronological terms is also interesting as there is no stylistic development in the sense that would be expected in western architecture. Indeed, Shia architecture seems to defy any notion of “development”, not by stasis, which would certainly be appropriate in the ritualistic buildings. It is a chronological mobility which characterizes Shia building notwithstanding the rootedness in an actual historical event (the battle of Karbala) which led to the tradition in the first instance. I have mentioned previously, one of the earliest and one of the latest imambaras have elaborate calligraphic white-on-black exteriors. There are other similarities between Shia buildings which have no real developmental linearity to them. One of these being the various “imitations” of the actual tombs of the imams in Iraq. One might say that the linearity of stylistic development is to some extent modified (or inhibited) by the religious/historical requirements, but there is no doctrinal necessity for karbalas, imambaras or rauzas to look a particular way. These buildings can be designed and built in any basic way which conforms to the use required of them; the structural, decorative and stylistic aspects can be modified endlessly.

Another fascinating example of the hybridity and interactivity of the Shia architectural tradition is the shared use of elements in palatial and religious architecture. Perhaps the most vivid example of this is the extraordinary plasterwork at the Imambara Moghul Sahiba where the false doors on the minars can be found at the palace of Musabagh, at the tomb of Hakim Mehndi Ali Khan and on the upper towers of the Raushan-ud-Daula Kothi, the Farhat

Bakhsh and Dilkusha. Similarly the small kiosks on top of the minars at the imambara are exactly like those at Musabagh which indicate the stairway down to the sunken courtyard. Again, on the interior of this imambara, the classical style fanlights echo those found everywhere at the Residency. The same fanlights appear at the tomb of Dianat-ud-Daula, here as real fanlights, the glass decorated with images. It is tempting in this situation to look for the “original” buildings on which these elements are utilized, searching for the “primitive hut” of Shia and Lucknavi architecture. From where did the use of particular common elements derive? Are the dates assigned to the buildings correct? Did the palatial buildings copy the religious or was it the other way round? and so on. How did the tradition develop in the nawabi period? All these questions are predicated on an ideology ultimately deriving from the chronological, linear and teleological ideologies of the western art historical discourse. What developed in Lucknow is a shifting amalgam of style and of signs, disconnected from the linear, and for that reason ultimately chronologically mobile, stylistically eclectic and inclusive. This is not an architecture which has as its end the polarities of either perfection or decadence. The world of Shia Islam, its history and above all its complex ritual is the basis of much Lucknow architecture. Though anchored in real time to events which took place in 680 C.E., Shia architecture in Lucknow is endlessly mutable, but always having at its core the re-creation, remembrance and re-enactment of the martyrdom of the family of Ali at Karbala.

Chapter 7

Robert Home and the King of Oudh - palace culture and art.

In seeking to re-create something of the choice situation and the milieu of cultural hybridity which obtained in Lucknow during the early colonial period the contribution of Robert Home (7.1), artist and designer, must be considered. Not only because of his official post of Court Artist to Ghazi-ud-Din Haidar, but also because of his role in designing the kingship of Ghazi-ud-Din, who was the first nawab to be crowned by the British Resident. Home's career at Oudh lasted some ten years at court, after periods as a briefly fashionable portrait painter in Dublin and in Calcutta. The influence of Robert Home on the court at Oudh, and his place in the ranks of early European artists in India has never previously been given the importance it deserves. There are several reasons for this, one is the assessment of Home as a second-rate painter (by William Foster) another is the general perception of the Lucknow court as an Orientalist fantasy by visitors (Eden, Parks, Sleeman and so on), which would be somewhat upset by the presence of ordinary Europeans in daily intercourse with the court and the nawab. The other, perhaps more important reason is that Home never returned to England. He did not have the opportunities to print, publicise or exhibit his India in the manner of the Daniells. All of his children eventually went out to India to live with him, which effectively gave him little incentive to return to England on personal visits. His reputation as a painter has suffered by comparison with that of Thomas and William Daniell, George Chinnery or Robert Smith, but his life and his paintings are, in their own way, a far more rewarding narrative of an artist's life in India than the carefully packaged 'tourist art' of his more famous contemporaries. His life was unique in several ways: the first European to be officially appointed as court artist to an Indian ruler, an Englishman who enjoyed the close companionship of an Indian king, with all its rewards and tribulations, and who was not an agent of the detested East India Company. A man who in his sixties, when many others would have been retiring and returning to England, left the British enclave of Calcutta to start a new life in Lucknow.

Copies of letters written by Home to his daughter, Anne Walker, during the period March 1816 to May 1818 are a fascinating glimpse of his work, companions, his relationship with the nawab, and the life of a British ex-patriot in the early colonial period in India. Included in

the letters is reference to his illegitimate half-Indian grandchildren (“Richard’s imprudence”), the Mahratta wars, and his boat-building endeavours. His sitter’s book, which details his work and related finances in Calcutta in the period before Lucknow, also sheds some light on the artist’s day-to-day life. Costs, late payments, names and subjects are carefully entered and a sudden falling off in commissions in 1808-1809 suggests that the appointment in Lucknow came just in time.

After a career which started as a medical illustrator for the ‘father of scientific surgery’, John Hunter, with long periods as a “society” portrait painter in Dublin and Calcutta, Home spent the remainder of his life (1814-1828) in or near Lucknow¹⁴⁴, consequently, he is comparatively little known, unlike his contemporaries, and sometime travelling companions, Thomas and William Daniell. His remaining in Lucknow denied him the chance to participate in the vogue for exoticism in England, and his grander paintings, large landscapes of Mahabalipuram for example were never seen by a western audience. Similar scenes painted by Thomas Daniell were regularly exhibited in London, and which were used to create the ‘Indian’ atmosphere in Thomas Hope’s famous mansion in Duchess St.

Early Life

Robert Home was born in Hull in 1752, the eldest (surviving) son of an army surgeon, Robert Boyne Home. As a child he contracted measles, subsequent infection in the bones of his left arm and an operation to treat the condition¹⁴⁵ left the arm fixed in a partially bent position. Prevented from following his father in his profession, Home’s enthusiasm for drawing was encouraged in the direction of making anatomical and medical illustrations for his brother-in-law, the famous surgeon, John Hunter. According to family records, there was initially great opposition to his becoming an artist but the patronage and encouragement of Angelica Kauffman mitigated this somewhat. Home exhibited a “Portrait of a Lady” at the Royal Academy in 1770, another painting was exhibited the following year.

Early Career

In 1773 Home went to Italy, to study painting, not returning until 1778, when he tried to established himself as a portrait painter. A more competitive field would be difficult to

¹⁴⁴ He retired to Kanpur around 1825.

¹⁴⁵ One regular method of treatment involved taking the boy to an abattoir and plunging the entire arm into the carcass of a freshly killed bullock (HP).

imagine than London in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Home moved to Dublin in 1779, where he had more opportunity in a less crowded milieu. In 1780 he exhibited twenty two paintings, mostly portraits, in the Artist's Exhibition in Dublin. The first large commission executed by Home was made by the Chancellor and the Vice-Provost of Trinity College, Dublin. This was for a set of eight portraits for a new theatre (now the Examination Hall), consisting of Queen Elizabeth and seven "Irish" worthies including Dean Swift, Bishops Berkeley and Ussher, and Henry Grattan¹⁴⁶, who sat for his portrait in 1782.

While in Dublin, Home married Susanna, the daughter of Solomon Delane¹⁴⁷, a miniaturist. The marriage took place in 1783 with the Dean of Limerick officiating (HP). Home's practice in Dublin was initially very successful; apart from the Trinity College Commission he painted many portraits of the Anglo-Irish elite. At one stage he seemed to have had several apprentices at his studio in Capel Street. A gradual falling off in sitters¹⁴⁸, and possibly his wife's bad health forced Home to return to England in 1789. Susanna Home died from tuberculosis in England in 1794, leaving her husband with four children to care for. The children were initially left in Ireland in the care of friends (HP).

Southern India

Home returned to London in 1789 and stayed at the home of John Hunter in Leicester Square, it was during this time that he painted 2 large portraits of Hunter¹⁴⁹. John and William Hunter, two Scottish brothers, were the giants of late eighteenth century anatomical studies. John was also an avid collector (and maker) of specimens, his huge collection forming a museum which backed onto the Leicester Square house. One of the most famous (and notorious) items he collected was the skeleton of Charles Byrne, the "Irish Giant", acquired by a massive bribe to the undertakers. Hunter was married to Anne Home, Robert's sister, a cultured London hostess, musician, poet and friend to Haydn, Hester Thrale and the Earl of Orford. Also in the Hunter household at that time was Everard, younger brother of Anne and Robert, later to become surgeon to the king, a Baronet, a luminary of the Royal Society, and first Master of the Royal College of Surgeons. During this period Home painted his first "oriental" subject -

¹⁴⁶ Subsequent to the Act of Union between England and Ireland, the portrait was apparently destroyed by the college and a portrait of Burke substituted.

¹⁴⁷ The name is frequently given as Delaney (by Archer et. al.). This is incorrect, her father's name is given in Strickland as Solomon Delane, presumably one of the many Huguenots who settled in Dublin.

¹⁴⁸ The arrival of Gilbert Stuart in Dublin was the probable cause.

¹⁴⁹ One now in the Royal College of Surgeons, the other in the Royal College of Physicians

a Malaysian noblewoman¹⁵⁰ who had been sent to England for education, but later died of an abscess; she had been a patient of Hunter's.

Robert Home left for India in 1790, and even painted on the long sea journey, his portrait of Captain Riou of the frigate *Guardian*, which had survived on the high seas for weeks after being holed by an iceberg¹⁵¹. Eventually landing in Madras he accompanied the army under Cornwallis during the Mysore campaign and made a series of sketches which were engraved and published in London under the title *Select Views in Mysore, the country of Tippoo Sultan*. The scenes are unremarkable in comparison with the work of Hodges and the Daniells, being mainly of the hill forts and scenery of the campaign without any attempt to provide picturesque or exotic subjects.

Another artistic outcome of the Mysore Wars for Home was the commission to paint a portrait of the victorious Cornwallis, and another of General Medows, to be paid for by the inhabitants of Madras. In Madras Home painted two historical and dramatic paintings. The first was the death of Col. Moorehouse at the Pettah Gate in Bangalore, the second depicts the handing over of the two sons of Tipu Sultan to the British (7.2) as treaty hostages, a scene which caught the popular imagination and was also painted by others¹⁵².

Home and the Daniells

In October 1792 Home had intended to leave for Calcutta, presumably in order to expand his portraiture practice, but his departure was delayed (Archer 1979:303) by the arrival of Thomas and William Daniell in Madras in November 1792. The Daniells had already been in Calcutta and had published the aquatint folio *Views of Calcutta*. They had also travelled extensively in upper India, sketching the picturesque scenes and antiquities as they went. After the pacification of Mysore they could travel more freely in the south, where they followed for a while the route of the army before coming to Madras.

The meeting of Home with the Daniells is not recorded but was almost certainly on or before the lottery of paintings by the Daniells (including sixty-eight oils), which depicted various

¹⁵⁰ Portrait now in the Collection of the Royal College of Surgeons of England.

¹⁵¹ Captain Riou was killed at the storming of Copenhagen.

¹⁵² The drama of the depictions was inversely proportional to the artist's proximity to the actual event. According to Archer (1979:300) Home was present, and has painted himself into the composition - at the extreme left, he is holding a portfolio.

scenes in north and south India (Archer *ibid*:303). Lotteries of paintings were a method of raising finance for artists, and this lottery enabled the Daniells to continue their travels further south (Archer:*ibid.*). Four of his finest paintings were done in this period, including two views at Mahabalipuram, an ancient city of carved stone temples some 45 miles south of Madras. This was one of the great picturesque sights of southern India. It had been the seaport of the Pallava kings during the 8th-10th centuries, and by the late eighteenth century was an almost deserted, but hugely atmospheric site of unique sculpture and architecture. Mahabalipuram was the inspiration for Robert Southey's epic poem "The Curse of Kehama" (1810). It was also the first Indian antiquity to be written up in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Southey's careful annotation of his poetic text is taken from the Journal and shows something of the desire to combine depictions of the exotic along with genuine scholarship of the objects depicted. One of those views is the so-called Arjuna's Penance¹⁵³, a unique sculpture depicting according to various sources, the Descent of the Ganges, the Penance of Arjuna or Bhagiratha and possibly the Kiratarjuniya (Siva disguised as a Kirata, or hunter, with Arjuna). It seems to be a combination of all three legends and is carved in a realistic and very lively manner, with a particularly sympathetic treatment of the animal characters. The panel is perfectly suited to the requirements of the picturesque painter, being both mysterious and beautiful, and set in a rough landscape of ruins and rocks.

Home was not a landscape painter as such, and it is this which makes his painting at Mahabalipuram all the more pleasing (particularly in comparison with the identical view by William Daniell). Home's painting shows the panel in the mid-ground of the painting, with a busy foreground depicting statues of Ganesh and Hanuman, a bearded *sadhu* or holy man holds his conch shell, there are two sleeping men, and a woman standing, wearing a white *sari*. Above the panel is an enormous cleft rock, shaped by the same geological forces as the panel itself. The other Home landscape at this site is of the Dharmaraja ratha (7.3), one of five shrines carved from a set of large boulders near the sea. A similar view appears also as a Daniell aquatint in the Oriental Scenery series. The two paintings by Home seem to combine both a picturesque concern for the drama of landscape combined with a portraitist's eye for human figures and details. Home never sold these paintings, they were given after his death to the Asiatic Society of Bengal by his sons. Two other landscapes; a wedding procession and a

¹⁵³ A monumental sculpture carved into the vertical faces of two boulders, about 5 metres high by 30 metres long. A vertical cleft divides the panels in two huge sections, and through which water was conveyed by means of a cistern above.

temple were also painted during this period. The wedding procession is a lively, colourful painting. The temple is a very peculiar composition, looming over the rest of the ground from the extreme left hand side. The mid-ground of the painting shows some innocuous *mandapas*, or pillared halls. This unbalanced, oblique view is an interesting example of the picturesque eye encountering the Indian landscape and something similar can be seen also in the Daniells views¹⁵⁴. The paintings of Col. Moorehouse, the handing over of the Tipu's sons and another painting of the same two boys leaving home were completed and Home left for Calcutta in May 1795.

Calcutta

While in Calcutta he married the sister-in-law of his friend James Colvin. Ann Alicia Paterson, called Nancy, who had nursed his first wife during her final illness, had come out to India to join the Colvins. It may have appeared to be a convenient domestic arrangement between a widower and a spinster, but it appears to have been a match, if not of romantic love, of deep and familiar affection. Home's stay in Calcutta was initially very profitable, his Sitter's Book shows a steady series of portraits, the surnames indicating that many of the Calcutta establishment were sitting for him¹⁵⁵. He was also patronised by the Indian elite; the Coorg Raja and the Rajah of Benares sat in 1803 and 1808 respectively. The Sitter's Book also lists a portrait in 1797 of "Asoph ud Dowlah", then Nawab of Oudh, painted in August/September of that year, suggesting an earlier visit to Lucknow (see note 1). Among his other commissions in Calcutta are two figures of Mars and Britannia in chiaroscuro for the arsenal, a small copy of Lord Mornington (later Marquis Wellesley), and 'Our Saviour on the Cross' (7.4) for the Armenian church among others. He also painted backdrops for amateur dramatics and parties. This design for a theatrical backdrop was described in the Calcutta Gazette, a sketch¹⁵⁶ in the Home Album shows this as a classical female figure holding aloft a banner with the words "Alyghur, Delhi, Agra and Saswaree" written along it. In March 1803 he writes that he "began four ceilings for the Government House" (HP). There are several designs in his album for decorative plaster and painted ceilings (7.5, 7.5a), though in the end his designs were never executed.

Three large portraits of Wellesley were made between 1799 and 1804, as well as members of

¹⁵⁴ A clear example being the peculiar view of the Taj Mahal from *Oriental Scenery* where the Taj Mahal can be glimpsed at an oblique angle behind a plain wall.

¹⁵⁵ The Sitters Book is now the property of the National Portrait Gallery.

¹⁵⁶ Home Album E1555.

his retinue, including Captain Benjamin Sydenham and Col. James Fitzpatrick. Home also made a series of portraits of Wellesley's brother, Arthur, later the First Duke of Wellington, whose military prowess in the Mysore wars made him famous, one of these portraits was commissioned by the (new) Maharajah of Mysore and later given to Queen Victoria. Another painting of Lord Lake at Fategarh, a hero of the Mysore campaign, was made in 1806 (7.6, 7.6a)). Numerous small 'heads' of Arthur Wellesley were made, indicating the profitability of Home's early work and contacts with the military establishment in southern India (and possibly the Freemasons, who paid for the Col. Moorehouse painting). He also painted many water colours of natural subjects for Wellesley, and did two oil paintings of a rare albino leopard, one of which was presented by the Marquis to George III.

It appears that Home's business began to decline around 1808; there are fewer names in the Sitter's Book, and in 1809 there is an entry "Reduced my Prices" (HP). This does not appear to have arrested the decline in portrait commissions, though he did a large landscape of a Lucknow scene 'The Rumi Darwaza' in 1813 for a Mr. Witton (now only known from a company painting copy) and in 1814 he painted 'The Nine Pagodas', presumably another view of the temples at Mahabalipuram which were known by that inaccurate but evocative name.

Asiatic Society of Bengal

Home also participated in the intellectual life of the English in Calcutta. He became a member of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in August 1797, being proposed by Judge J. D. Paterson¹⁵⁷. Paterson was a founder member of the Society along with luminaries such as Sir William Jones, he was a Magistrate at the Zillah Court in Dacca from 1793 to 1807. It is also very likely that he was Home's brother-in-law from his second marriage. Home appears to have been a very active member of the Society, for some years he was Secretary, which involved among other things the Society's correspondence, arranging the regular meetings, and communicating with the members. The latter included sending out the Resolutions, as the reports of the meetings were called. But in 1804 Home wrote¹⁵⁸ to John Anstruther, President of the Society to resign his position, the reason being "I find considerable embarrassment in performing the duties of Sec. to the Asiatic Society, from a want of knowledge in the language of the country". His resignation was accepted but he continued to be in charge of the library

¹⁵⁷ Proceedings of the Asiatic Society January 5th, 1797 (bound manuscript).

¹⁵⁸ Proceedings of the Asiatic Society April 4th 1804 (bound manuscript).

and of articles sent to the Society. He was active in other ways as well, in a letter from the President William Hunter to a Mr. Gibbons on April 30th 1808 the postscript states “I have ordered 4 small book cases agreeably to a drawing given by Mr. Home¹⁵⁹. Home also served on a committee of five whose task was to investigate a new permanent building for the Society and its growing collection of objects and manuscripts. In later years of his membership he presented a portrait of Sir William Jones to the Society, his letter¹⁶⁰ to them explaining that the work was “composed from the very slender materials which are left to the public, and suggested by the profoundest veneration for the talent and the fame of Sir William Jones”.

Robert Home does not feature in the Proceedings after this, he left Calcutta for Lucknow in 1814. It is obvious that he regarded the Asiatic Society highly as shortly after his death, Captain Robert Home wrote to the Society (letter read on 5/11/1834) to inform them that his father had left his collection of paintings, casts and books to the Society. Many of the paintings had been bought by Home while in India, the handlist describes some of them thus:

“Crowning of Mary de Medicis - Rubens 5ft by 3ft

Infant Jesus - ditto 4ft by 3ft

Sir William Jones as a boy - Sir J. Reynolds

Cupid asleep on a cloud - ditto

Cathedral at Antwerp - Steinwiche the Eldest 3ft 9in by 2ft 10ins¹⁶¹”

Home’s own works in the legacy included portraits of Hastings, Cornwallis, Wellesley, Minto, Paget, Horace (“H. H.”) Wilson, the nawab of Dacca and others. Two hundred and sixty-seven volumes were also left. Home was, according to Wilson, responsible for setting up the collecting of paintings by the Asiatic Society, which he began by presenting two of his own paintings of Mahabalipuram on February 3rd 1808. His direct association with the Society appears to have ended by the move to Lucknow but it is very likely that Home was the influence behind Ghazi-ud-Din’s donation of 20,000 rupees¹⁶² in 1829, the money to be spent in “promoting researches”.

¹⁵⁹ Manuscript letter in the collection of the Asiatic Society.

¹⁶⁰ Read at the meeting on October 13th 1813.

¹⁶¹ “Wilson’s List” an inventory of the Home paintings bequest by H. H. Wilson. President of the Asiatic Society for many years - manuscript in the collection of the Asiatic Society.

¹⁶² Proceedings of the Asiatic Society May 6th 1829 (bound manuscript).

Lucknow

The province of Oudh, was ruled at this time by the nawab Sadaat Ali Khan (r. 1798-1814) an anglophile and architectural enthusiast like his predecessor, Shuja-ud-Daula (1775-1798).

While the reign of Shuja-ud-Daula saw the building of Lucknow as the capital city with its late, provincial mughal style, the Lucknow of Sadaat Ali Khan had been influenced by classical ideas, blending with varying degrees of success the local style and the motifs of the Greek revival. Sadaat Ali Khan was the patron of buildings as diverse in style as the Residency - a neo-classical compound, the Lal Baradari - a two-storey mughal pavilion, and the Dargah of Hazrat Abbas - a saint's tomb copied from Iraqi prototypes. Along with the usual trappings of an Indian court, Sadaat Ali Khan also was about to engage an official artist, a *European* court artist, which was a novel development of the usual custom of patronising a school or group of artists like the mughal courts. European artists had visited Lucknow: Thomas and William Daniell, Ozias Humphrey, Tilly Kettle¹⁶³, John Zoffany and Francesco Renaldi being the most distinguished. George Place arrived in Lucknow in 1798 and seems to have been appointed to an official position in the court as a painter, at least to the extent of painting a full-length portrait of Sadaat Ali for an official in the East India Company¹⁶⁴; very little of his work survives and he died in Lucknow in 1805.

Home in Lucknow

According to Home's son John (HP) General MacLeod was responsible for obtaining the post as court painter, but it almost certainly also due to the influence of the Resident John Bailie¹⁶⁵ who was a friend of Home, and Sir Eyre Coote, British Resident between 1804 and 1806 who was an uncle by marriage. During the journey up river to Lucknow, Sadaat Ali Khan died and Home was forced to wait until his position had been clarified with the new nawab Ghazi-ud-Din Haidar. Home's first major work in Lucknow was to finish a durbar picture of the late nawab. His next undertaking was a picture of the present court and another of the three princes, the chief sons of Ghazi-ud-Din. The durbar picture of the present court was considerably more difficult than any other Home work, on account of the regular correction of figures due to changes in Company personnel. According to John Home "Col. Bailie was at this time Resident but on his removal in consequence of some dispute with the Marquis

¹⁶³ Who visited when the court was still at Faizabad in 1771.

¹⁶⁴ The custom of presenting a painting or a miniature of the nawab to visiting dignitaries was a characteristic of the Lucknow court, the need for an official artist to make these portraits from life led to the formalisation of the post and in the case of Lucknow - the further prestige of having a European in the position.

¹⁶⁵ Also spelled Baillie.

Hastings Mr. Strachey succeeded and again Mr Monckton to him - on these occasions alterations were required to be made in the durbar picture each new Resident to be introduced but Mr. Monckton objected to taking any place but the chief and in consequence was not introduced at all but had a full length of himself painted¹⁶⁶ and asked for a copy of it for himself" (HP). This durbar picture was not finished until the last years of Home's life, and when he had removed himself from court to Cawnpore (Kanpur).

Contemporary visitors to the Lucknow court describe the breakfasts at which the nawab, his ministers and courtiers would meet with the Resident and Company official, and distinguished European visitors. Much of the business of the Company, at least that which required a courtly audience was transacted at these darbars. Attendance at them had an obligatory dimension for both sides. Acknowledgement of the protocol and etiquette dilemma posed by the novelty of a European court painter (HP) indicates that the intervention of Marquis Hastings was required. Hastings was obliged to treat Home, in an ostentatious way, as an equal and later explain to the nawab "in what position artists were looked upon at home". This situation is emblematic of the stratification of the Lucknow court after the age of the adventurers like Polier and Martin. The increasing bureaucratisation of the East India Company and consequently the rituals of court also suggests European anxiety about the placement of 'client' Europeans in the service of Indian rulers¹⁶⁷. A generation earlier under Asaf-ud-Daula, Antoine Polier, Colonel Gentil and Claude Martin were employed by the court (Martin managed to be working both for the nawab and the Company) in a far more casual manner, though all three were French and apart from Martin¹⁶⁸, were not Company servants. Home's anxiety-provoking situation seems to have only affected the Europeans, it seems that he enjoyed a very cordial and easy relationship with his royal employer.

Home was not without a certain trepidation about his relationship with the nawab, but it had nothing to do with status but rather with the possibility of corruption and intrigue.

According to his son John¹⁶⁹, Home was a favourite at court because his ignorance of the language meant that he could play no part in intrigues, and the other reason given was "the

¹⁶⁶ presumably by Home

¹⁶⁷ See Fisher 1987:115

¹⁶⁸ Though it appears that Martin's relationship with the East India Company was merely to enable him to remain in the city - a letter states that he would accept a demotion (and consequently less pay), if his posting was left as it was (Eur Mss. British Library, Hastings letters).

¹⁶⁹ Who also served at court as his father's assistant in "curious works" another son Richard was also at this time commanding the Resident's Bodyguard.

resolution he had made from the first to be in no way instrumental in offering anything for sale to H.H.” (HP).

The Coronation of Ghazi-ud-Din Haidar

There is one event in the reign of Ghazi-ud-Din which exemplifies perfectly the changing and frequently ambivalent qualities of the institution of the Lucknow nawabi, and that is his coronation as “King of Oudh” in 1819¹⁷⁰. The political importance of the coronation within India, and the importance to the East India Company of Ghazi-ud-Din’s separation from the mughal empire have been discussed elsewhere (Fisher 1997). In line with a policy devised by Warren Hastings which encouraged rulers of other mughal provinces to repudiate their allegiance to the mughal emperor, Ghazi-ud-Din was created a Padshah. This gave him an equality with the emperor at Delhi, while not affecting the increasing demands made on him by the British Resident at all, though the British in Delhi continued to offer the *nazr* (a gift, usually of money from an inferior to a superior) to the emperor until 1843. And like the great mughal, Ghazi-ud-Din did not specify an exact geographical entity for his rulership, rather his claim to be a Padshah implied a nebulous, universal kingship, it was merely coincidental that he also ruled the province of Oudh as a nawab.

There was a more proximate and personal reason why Ghazi-ud-Din wished to achieve promotion. For some years Mirza Suleiman Shekoh, the estranged son¹⁷¹ of the mughal emperor, was living in Lucknow. This situation provided many occasions on which the nawab would, by etiquette, be forced to acknowledge his subordination to the emperor at Delhi. This would usually entail the offering of *nazr*, and given the circumstances, a constant audience to witness the exchange. Viscount Valentia witnessed one of these occasions, during the reign of Sadaat Ali Khan describing it thus “The Prince keeps up as much state as possible, and even treats the Nawaub as he would treat him if he were on the throne of Delhi in the fullness of power, and the Vizier an actual slave” (Valentia 1809:146). On visiting Suleiman Shekoh at home Valentia was impressed by his regal manner, but observed that the prince did not rise from his chair to make farewells, and in retaliation the equally grand Valentia made no departing “salam”. John Home in 1818 described the humiliation of Ghazi-ud-Din more fully “Whenever the Prince chose to pay a visit to the nawab the latter sank to a

¹⁷⁰ Though properly he became *Padshah*, or Emperor (Fisher 1987:119).

¹⁷¹ He was implicated in a murder, though later pardoned, (Fisher 1987:184), though how actually estranged he was is open to conjecture.

cypher in his own palace becoming nothing but a guest of the Prince and these visits were invariably made when the Governor General or other great person was on a visit - much of course to the annoyance and disgust of the nawab, it had therefore from this as well as other causes been the nawab's wish to be allowed to assume the rank and title of King of Oudh" (HP).

It is not difficult to conjecture the effect these constant public displays of inequality had on the nawab, equally likely is that they would have been used by the Resident to prise the nawab further away from the mughal emperor. Quite apart from the political gains to be made from this elevation of the nawab, a number of etiquette problems would be solved for the British, who appear to triangulate every exchange between Indian rulers in the period. Every account of the court contains references to the many formalities and rituals governing the recognition of status between the nawab and his visitors, and between the British and the nawab. The offering of nazr, the presentation of tokens, the seating, the clothing, the wearing or non-wearing of turbans, the offering of attar and so on presents a picture of a court obsessed with status (though no more so than the British), the numerous removals and disgrace of ministers underlining the insecurity of it all. The British also played their part by removing the legally enthroned heir of Asaf-ud-Daula, Vizier Ali, who reigned for a mere six months in 1797, and replaced him with the more malleable Sadaat Ali Khan. Nothing was permanent, not even the succession of designated heirs. It may also have been with this in mind that Ghazi-ud-Din wished for a British kingship, one that would be difficult to revoke without appearing both vindictive and ridiculous.

The construction of the new kingship of Ghazi-ud-Din required some new trappings - ones which would validate the elevation to Padshah, though by way of British support. Robert Home was responsible for designing the coronation clothing and regalia, sketches of which are in the Victoria and Albert Museum (7.7). The coronation was itself a hybrid affair, the Indian customs rigidly adhered to in the presence of the masses, for example, the visit to the mosque on elephants, scattering silver to the people whose houses and balconies were richly decorated. The journey made more perilous for the distinguished guests on elephant-back as their *mahouts* jostled for proximity to the nawab's elephant (itself an ancient emblem of royalty).

Home's designs for the king included a crown and collar, modelled on the collar of the Order of the Garter, and a robe trimmed with ermine which in one Home portrait¹⁷² is dark blue velvet. The crown (7.7a) is a complete departure from the Indian/mughal tradition¹⁷³ being a wide band with upward pointing triangular finials, there is a single large jewel in the centre of the band. Home's design also shows an aigrette in the centre, like the jewellery usually worn on the front of a turban. A close examination of Home's design suggests that the new crown is itself a hybrid, it combines feature both of the cloth turban and of the European crown - this one looking distinctly mediaeval. Mughal regal headgear was a turban, in the case of a king, the turban itself revered as an emblem of kingship, here the turban is inside the crown, partially concealed by the triangular element, but with the aigrette just showing above. The regalia also included the "Garter" collar, combined with a pearl collar of Indian design. The importance of these trappings is that not only did they signify in themselves the hybrid nature of the institution of Ghazi-ud-Din's kingship, but almost without exception, this became the official 'look' of the king thereafter. Not only the official portraits painted by Home, but even the anonymous Indian artist who painted him entertaining Lord and Lady Moira at a banquet. He is not only crowned and robed in ermine with his great chain, but is haloed as well, in the manner of mughal emperors¹⁷⁴. The message was plain - the king of Lucknow is not only an emperor (padshah) with the Persian titles and coinage of a mughal¹⁷⁵, but with the appearance of a European (though perhaps wearing more jewellery than would be considered tasteful) and having, presumably, the goodwill of the increasingly powerful East India Company. And though referred in official papers by the British as His Majesty the King, Ghazi-ud-Din continued to be called "the Nawaub" by Indians (Heber 1828:208, Irwin nd:98). And while not as overtly Anglophilic as his predecessor Sadaat Ali Khan, Ghazi-ud-Din's adoption of the English title and trappings of king demonstrate something of how the interests of both the coloniser and the colonised are sometimes contiguous.

The history of the nawabs of Lucknow seems to combine both compulsory and voluntary aspects of the process of colonisation and Anglicization. Two portraits by Home of Ghazi-ud-Din, illustrate the pre- and post-coronation king with an unintentional clarity. One is a

¹⁷² Hobhouse & Co. 1981.

¹⁷³ Bishop Heber was shown the crown by Ghazi-ud-Din during his visit in 1824, though he describes it as being "what Heralds call the "Oriental" form" (Heber 1828:217).

¹⁷⁴ A later painting (1840's) of the nawabs of Oudh shows Ghazi-ud-Din and two successors wearing the identical crown and ermine (Bengal P&P Vol XLIII).

¹⁷⁵ The British actually removed the imperial coinage of Ghazi-ud-Din from monies paid to the mughal treasury in Delhi, to avoid offending the emperor Akbar Shah (Fisher 1987:141).

portrait painted soon after his arrival at court (Victoria Memorial Hall, Calcutta), showing the nawab in traditional dress, wearing his turban and holding his sword, a visual cliché in Indian portraiture at that time. The portrait painted in 1820¹⁷⁶ shows the nawab seated above his court (as is usual in India), but the difference in dress is remarkable. Here he wears the full king's regalia designed by Home (7.8), and reputedly made in England, with the crown and the collar. He is also seated under a *chattri* or umbrella, symbol of royalty and divinity, and not an empty symbol, since one of the nawab's acts on ascending the throne was to ban the use of *chattris* by others in his presence (Fisher 1987:151). A man bows before him, his robes costly enough to suggest another ruler, perhaps a minor rajah. The floor in front of the throne contains bags, perhaps of money and jewels, signifying the actual tribute received or a symbolic token. Here is the king of Lucknow combining in his hybrid identity the functions and advantages of a traditional Indian ruler along with the dress and presumably the political and economic power of a king created by the British. A similar scene was witnessed by B. Mir Hasan Ali an Englishwoman whose husband was employed in the court of Ghazi-ud-Din "the king alone has the benefit of a *chattah*, except the Resident happens to be of the party, who being always received as an equal, is privileged to the *chattah*, the *chowrie* and the *hookah*" (1917:48), that is, the umbrella, the fly-whisk and the water pipe". In front of the court and the British Resident and his guests, the king received tributes from all and sundry, according to their status, in return they receive gifts from the king. The greatest *nazr* of all is from the king's own minister or *vizier* -

"On these great court days, the Vizier's *nuzza* [sic] is usually of great value, - sometimes a lac of rupees has been presented, when the Vizier is much in favour...When this large sum is presented, the Minister has his one hundred bags (each containing a thousand rupees), covered with crimson silk, and tied with silver ribands, placed on each side the throne prior to the King's arrival" (Hasan Ali 1917:147).

John Home was present at the entire coronation ceremonies and gave a description of the proceedings including his dissatisfaction at the new throne, whose workmanship did not impress him¹⁷⁷.

"The scene commenced with a procession to the mosque in which the king proceeded [sic] by the Resident and Assistant on splendidly

¹⁷⁶Royal Collection, Windsor, now in Victoria Memorial Hall, Calcutta.

¹⁷⁷ Despite Robert Home's penchant for furniture design, this does not appear to have been his work.

apparelled Elephants scattering silver about amongst the crowd, followed by such a press of elephants with all the courtiers and all the European visitors that it is difficult to imagine how all got through the narrow streets or how those who scrambled for the money thrown amongst them escaped with their lives from under the elephants feet...On returning to the Palace after some ceremonies had taken place the king entered the throne room where was the new throne prepared for the occasion, covered with gold and resplendent with diamonds and jewels of every kind...before ascending the throne the crown was placed on his head - it was a very rich one set with fine diamonds and having a large and brilliant ruby in the centre. The design for the crown and setting as well as for a rich diamond collar after the pattern of the collar of the Garter having been by Mr. Home, they were certainly more highly finished pieces of workmanship than the throne exhibited" (HP).

John Home also noted that "all the King's European servants presented nuzzas [sic] with the other courtiers" pointing to their adoption of the custom. Nazrs were presented, presents given in return, and showers of precious stones (to the value of 30,000 rupees) were thrown amongst those assembled in front of the throne. Home notes that only very few people were permitted to be seated at the ceremony - the king's children and the Resident and Assistant. In a typically understated way he refers to the whole thing as "an interesting morning's work" (HP).

That morning's work was to end forever the role of the Lucknow rulers as "nawab vizier" of the mughal empire, and further entangle the nawabs in the snares of the Company. John Home writes that the nawab was allowed to become king because of his presenting a crore of rupees to the British to finance the Nepal Wars in 1818-19, and the loan of one further crore and also that no impediment was put in his way (HP). On the contrary it is likely that the British did as much as they could to bring about the coronation, for the reasons previously stated and because in a real way the nawab had been deprived of his actual rulership - that of the mughal nawab vizier of Oudh, replacing it with a fictitious and non-territorial title of Padshah. One manifestation of this transfer of loyalties was described by Bishop Heber who wrote that the language of the court in Lucknow was "Hindoostanee" and not Persian, the reason being "this has arisen from the king's desertion of his old allegiance to the house of Timur, since which it has been a natural policy to frame the etiquette of his court on a

different model from that of Delhi” (Heber 1828:217). Even in 1833 the purpose of the coronation had been overtly recognized by an officer of the Company “It freed him from the necessity of manifesting submission to the house of Timour...It was important to release him from a dependence, which the general sense of his nobles, or prejudices of his people, might hereafter improve against us in case of war raised for the restoration of the ancient house of Timour” (anon:1833). Now bonded forever to the British Resident and the East India Company, the king of Oudh ruled only the city of Lucknow in real terms¹⁷⁸ (as indeed the mughal emperors in similar fashion became Kings of Delhi). The seeming splendour of the court (and the previous one under Sadaat Ali) only seemed to point up the impotence of the nawabs (who were never referred to as Padshah except in official matters), and the many criticisms of nawabi idleness and decadence seem unfair considering how deprived they were of any real power in the governance of their affairs. Moreover, there is an aspect of Indian kingship which is theatrical and spectacular, involving the public display of the king in processions, religious ceremonies, durbars and leisure activities such as the hunt. While these are not ‘useful’ in terms of statecraft or revenue they fulfil an important function for the actual people ruled¹⁷⁹. Further, the use of European personnel like Home in the production of the objects associated with the display of the king and the institution of his kingship indicates the importance of this ‘publicity’ to an Indian ‘audience’.

“Curious Works”

Very little of Home’s portrait and painting works from Lucknow exists, and it may be conjectured that they did not survive the “mutiny”, when British troops smashed and looted their way through the royal palace at Kaisarbagh. In any case it would appear that apart from the official portraits of the nawab and the occasional distinguished visitor, such as Bishop Heber, much of Home’s time was taken up with the design and making of the trappings of royalty - carriages (7.9), pleasure-boats, furniture (7.10) and regalia (7.11). Though seemingly trivial, it is obvious that a great deal of energy and expense was lavished on these objects, and far from being baubles, they are representative of something beyond their ephemerality. It is interesting that the type of European design required in Lucknow up to this time was architecture, in the first place to create a European enclave for the incoming Resident in the reign of Asaf-ud-Daula, and to build houses of sufficiently convincing classicism to satisfy the

¹⁷⁸ The territory of Oudh had shrunken steadily with each new nawab’s accession to the throne, losing such prizes as Allahabad. Ghazi-ud-Din’s predecessor, the anglophile Sadaat Ali Khan lost almost half his territory.

¹⁷⁹ An aspect of the nawabi which is almost ignored by contemporary European writers is the great popularity of the nawabs with their own people.

onlooker of Oudh's modernity. By the time of Home's arrival in Lucknow the major program of public and palatial building had already been carried out with the important exception of the Chattar Manzil.

Robert Home's letters to his daughter Anne are a valuable and revealing account of some of his time in Lucknow. A few months after taking up his post he wrote to his daughter "He [the nawab] will not let me get on with my large picture, but keeps me constantly employed on other things. I begin to flatter myself that he is afraid I should finish it too soon, having possibly heard that I once said I would leave Lucknow when it was completed. I am at present painting a picture of the King of Delhi and have two pictures in hand, as large as life portraits of four of his wrestlers, two in the characters of Hercules and Achelaus, the other two Hercules and Antaeus" (HP) (7.12). The large picture is presumably the great durbar painting with its substitutions of Company personnel. Home's other task as court painter was to paint visitors of high rank for the nawab, and also to provide small portraits of the nawab as gifts for these visitors. John Home describes the usual method of working;

"It was not an unusual thing for the King to ask any officer of Rank to sit for his picture who might have come for a visit to the Resident for a day or two, probably the very day he was about to depart - this took place with Sir Edward Paget who came from the Resident's breakfast table to take his first sitting - of course no finished portrait could be taken in one day, but by way of getting a sitter my father painted an outline head in two colours by which means he got a very good likeness of both Sir E Paget and Bishop Heber" (HP).

John also takes Bishop Heber slightly to task for stating that Robert Home took commissions from other patrons, he said his father was most particular in this respect, considering that all his time belonged to the king. When asked to paint a lady's portrait by some old friends, he sent the finished portrait to the king to present it to the lady, and refused to be paid for the work.

When not engaged in painting Home had many other projects to keep him busy. Among them the designs for a royal barge and other boats for sailing on the Gomti. In a letter to his daughter Anne in January 1817 Home tells her "You will be surprised to hear that I am now turned Boat Builder. You must know that a particular fish is the principal figure of His

Excell'ys Coat of Arms (7.13). And boats and the sailing on the river His principal amusement. So that my model of the boat, the exact figure of this fish pleased him so much that he has desired me to make a large one like it, 37 feet long, without its tail, and 12 feet broad”(HP).

Sailing on the river was a favourite activity of the nawab, it is also the subject of the most widely known images of Lucknow produced for mass consumption in the Panorama. One panoramic handbook informs that

“No description could do justice to the scene presented on a fine dark clear night, when the river was covered with boats of a long canoe-shaped graceful form , or carved in the resemblance of a bird or fish, filled with company glittering with gems and tissue, attending the king on a water excursion, whilst blue lights artfully disposed, so as not to be visible, clothe the pageant in unearthly gleams, and thousands of rockets illumined the air above.” (Galland 1858:13).

Home's designs for both a coat of arms, and for boats are in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. An unusual design is given for a crocodile, with a small pavilion on its back (7.14), the dramatic head and tail clearing the water by several feet. The design appears fanciful but we know it was built and launched¹⁸⁰. Writing to his daughter in July 1817 Robert Home tells her that the fish-boat will be finished by September. It was to be January of 1818 before the boat was launched and Home derived an understandable pleasure from confounding the expectations of the court -

“I have succeeded beyond my expectations. My large fish boat, which all the Courtiers said would never answer for the river Goomtee, as she would draw at least 4 feet water (and that I was afraid would really draw 3) only drew 1 foot and 8 in. without ballast (7.15). And the Swan¹⁸¹ was quite a surprise to him” (HP).

In the same letter Home also remarks that he has been made head of the Board of Works and complained that he had “more to do than I am well able to attend to. For now I am making a carriage, a Landa [sic], a Fish for the body (7.16), similar to the boat. A Howdah also that is to be on springs, and to be the most superb thing I can make it.” (HP).

As head of a Board of Works, Home's increased job description would include anything that

¹⁸⁰ By the Robert Smith sketches (Victoria and Albert Museum) as well as Home's letters.

¹⁸¹ See Robert Smith Panorama (Prints and Drawings Collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum).

he might be capable of turning his creativity to, whether he had trained in that profession or not. His success with the boats demonstrates not only his personal attitude towards pleasing his “most whimsical and fickle master” but also the attitude of the late eighteenth/early nineteenth century towards the dedicated amateur and man of taste. This attitude found an even more challenging milieu in early colonial India when many buildings were designed by military engineers, and a visual artist like Home could be confidently expected to design paintings, furniture, boats and even buildings. During this time he also worked on paintings, complaining in 1817 that his large painting goes slowly on account of the weather - it being so large that he could not use a *punkah*¹⁸² in the same room and had to wait for the cold seasons in order to work on it. Some months later he wrote to his daughter regretting that he could not answer her letters properly “having so many drawings to make for the numerous workmen I have employed” (HP). His picture similarly was delayed yet again by the nawab and Home believed it was on account of the anticipated arrival of the new Resident, John Monckton whom the nawab wished to be included in it, Home wrote “in that case we shall be obliged to rub out someone, for at present there is no room for him. It will be a fine medley when finished, if ever it is” (HP).

It is obvious that Home’s official position of Court Painter is inadequate to describe the remit of his actual work and his relationship with Ghazi-ud-Din Haidar. Throughout Home’s correspondence with his daughter Anne, he mentions his royal master in an intimate manner, sometimes with disapproval “I still continue to please His Excell’y, tho he does not in everything please me”. Home does admit to admiration for the nawab’s taste, but as a joke about himself “Thank God, His Excell’y the Vizier likes all the Pictures I paint for him whether they deserve his approbation or not, so you may be sure I have a very high idea of his judgement and taste” (HP). In other letters he sends home shawls¹⁸³ given to him by the nawab for his sister, daughter and other female relatives. When the arrangements had been made for Anne to come out to India, Home wrote that “I am still in high favour with His Excell’y who is quite delighted that I have sent for you and your Daughter” and later says that the nawab sent word asking if Home was to leave him (being mis-informed by Home’s assistant), and on hearing the correct plans said “I am glad of it, for now he is mine”, a touching illustration of how valued Home was, not only as an employee but also as a

¹⁸² A type of overhead fan made of cloth panels which were moved back and forth to create a draught.

¹⁸³ Traditionally fine cashmere lengths presented by the ruler to a favoured employee or client, sometimes offered as gifts to the nawab. They were quite frequently sold, or, returned to a courtier who would then give their value in money.

companion. It is also clear that Home was considerate of the nawab, sending to England for, among other things, a portable gas lamp, which he thought would amuse “His Excell’y” inspired by Home’s reading of “Acceson’s practical treatise on Gas Light”.

The departure of the Home family from Lucknow to Cawnpore seems all the more poignant, considering just how favoured they were, Robert and his son John in particular. In a letter to Mrs. Col. Duncan in 1821 John tells her that “we are admitted to greater priveliges [sic] than even his own brothers in many respects”. The cause of the withdrawal from court was the arrogant behaviour of the new Resident, Mordaunt Ricketts, who took up his post in 1823¹⁸⁴. John Home had been given the title of Commander of the King’s Bodyguard, by arrangement with the nawab and with the then Resident, F. Raper. At the end of the year when the annual report and accounts were being made, and Raper was in Jeypore, Ricketts wrote to the king in order to question the validity of the title claimed. According to John Home “he [the king] got offended and would not allow me to return to the Service when the army broke up and I was appointed a Brigade Major at Cawnpore in consideration of the hardship of my dismissal”. The nawab’s annoyance presumably had less to do with John Home, with whom he rode every morning, than with the petty bureaucratic enquiries of the Resident’s officers, whose questioning of the appointment would likely have been interpreted as yet another insulting interference in the court. Accordingly the family moved to Cawnpore and Robert Home tendered his resignation to Ghazi-ud-Din¹⁸⁵ “much to the king’s surprise and vexation and thus we all left Lucknow, my father after ten years of great happiness and greatly respected during all the time by everyone about Court and every Resident excepting Mr. Ricketts” (HP).

Cawnpore

Though not at court, Home continued painting, considerable work being required on the house in Cawnpore to make it suitable for working in. Home also brought with him the great durbar picture, something of a personal albatross, and which he continued to work on for some years after. The Homes seemed to have had a pleasant life in Cawnpore, which was essentially a British Army garrison town with a decidedly English ambience. For eleven years Home

¹⁸⁴ By all accounts Ricketts was a difficult man. His notable contribution to the British community in Lucknow being the importation of English cows to graze in the Residency gardens. Accusations of corruption later forced him out of his post.

¹⁸⁵ Mildred Archer (1979:332) claims that Home retired when Ghazi-ud-Din died in 1827, this does not appear to be the case. She also mentions the appointment of James Lock as court painter in 1825 or 1826, I suggest from this that Home retired in 1823-4, as the appointment of an unknown painter would hardly have been necessary with Home still at court.

stayed in Cawnpore, dying at the age of eighty-two on 12 September 1834, and healthy to the last according to John Home. Ten days before his death he completed a copy of Carracci's *Silence*. He left behind a collection of paintings, not only of his own works but also of paintings "brought out by the French and Dutch and Danes when first they settled in India" (HP). This collection, including the two Mahabalipuram landscapes by Home were eventually given to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, where their exposure in hallways and landings in Calcutta grieved John Home because he (and his father) thought they would be valued and preserved.

Conclusion

The life and work of Robert Home at the court of Ghazi-ud-Din Haidar is an interesting chapter in the entangled affairs of the Company and the nawabs of Oudh. It also combines some of the contradictory and unexpected nature of the roles in which the English artist and his wealthy patron played, both in public and private. Moreover, the hybridity of the kingship of Ghazi-ud-Din as seen in the material culture of his time, is also a hybridity which affected Robert Home, not only artistically as seen in his design book, but also personally in his relationship, and that of his family, with the king. John Home says that

"we had opportunities of seeing many ceremonies performed in a manner and with a degree of state that Europeans seldom can see. The marriage of the King's grandson with the daughter of the King's eldest brother was celebrated with great pomp and lasted for several days and nights, during which some of us took part in the ceremony and procession...on several occasions we attended the King when he went to celebrate the Eed and sacrifice the camel" and on "his visits at night to the mosque when beautifully embroidered velvet and silk purses used to be given to the guests filled with spices" (HP).

Home also attended the marriage ceremony of the Heir-Apparent with the daughter of the Prince of Delhi, this Prince being the troublesome Suleiman Shekoh.

Another dimension of the familial contact between the royal house of Oudh and the Homes is the friendship of Home's brother Sir Everard with the Prince Regent (later George IV), and to whom he presented some of Robert Home's work. One of these paintings was a portrait of the nawab receiving tribute in his coronation robe and crown, but still sitting on the traditional

seat of an Indian king¹⁸⁶ (discussed earlier in the chapter) with his legs crossed beneath him. There can be no doubt concerning the intimacy enjoyed by Sir Everard Home with the Prince Regent. Having treated the Regent for a serious head wound made by in an assassination attempt, Everard Home was made a Baronet (later with a coronet), he was Serjeant-Surgeon to the Prince and to the royal household. A surviving series of letters to his son¹⁸⁷, James Everard Home, a midshipman in the Navy, cast some light on the frequency of his visits to the Prince and later King. In a letter dated August 18th 1815 Sir Everard wrote to his son “I went over to Brighton and saw the Prince who was superintending great improvements he is making in the Pavillion”. Other letters state “the Prince Regent, notwithstanding all you may have heard to the contrary, is in perfect health and spirits (7/4/1816); “the Prince Regent has invited himself to dine with Lord Dysart next Tuesday and I am asked to meet him” (8/8/1816); “introduced Sir Humphry Davy to the Prince Regent” (2/6/1817); “the King is very well” (24/6/1821) and so on. It is very likely that the painting was intended all along for the Prince Regent. The transmission of gifts and tokens to the British monarch was normally made through the agency of the East India Company, and their conduct in these matters was less than honourable. The gifts of Ghazi-ud-Din were delayed so long that the answering gifts did not arrive until the reign of his successor (Fisher 1987:164) Nasir-ud-Din, whose gifts to Queen Victoria were refused by the Company. The gifts of the last nawab, Wajid Ali Shah, were refused, and some valuable items were stolen. It is reported (Fisher:ibid) that Ghazi-ud-Din was compelled to smuggle his presents from India with the connivance of Calcutta merchants¹⁸⁸. It is not difficult to imagine the Company’s response to a painting which shows the king of Lucknow in the most exalted position, every inch the civilized monarch and even wearing the almost identical ermine trimmings and chain of the Order of the Garter as an English king might wear on state occasions. While no Company official would interfere in Home’s sending a painting to his prominent and well-connected brother, it is highly likely that a direct gift from nawab to king would have been made impossible. In addition, the process of triangulation, whereby the Company interposed between the nawab(s) and any other agency serves to weaken the impact and undermine the authority of the nawab, isolating him from any possibility of a sympathetic, more personal alliance.

¹⁸⁶ Mildred Archer (1979:330) suggests that this is the famous ‘darbar picture’ which was continually being updated, based on a story in Robert Smith’s journals. This is extremely unlikely, as, quite apart from the disparity in size, it does not contain the personnel which Home’s letters refer to.

¹⁸⁷ Now in the Library of the Royal College of Surgeons of England.

¹⁸⁸ I think Fisher places too much reliance on Indian sources here. John Home mentions that his own promotion was on account of Captain Fortune being “sent down in charge of some presents for the Prince Regent”. Though what presents were allowed to be sent is another matter.

The role of Robert Home in the creation of the nawab's hybrid kingship is central, given the importance of appearances, rather than substance in the courts and public rituals of Indian rulers, and most particularly when any actual power they wielded was being inexorably eroded by the Company. Home's portraits constitute a kind of visual propaganda for the nawab, and in this he more than adequately fulfilled the role of demanded of him. As boat builder and maker of novelties he was more in accord with an earlier time when Europeans flocked to the court of Asaf-ud-Daula, eager to show him (and sell him) the latest toys and objects from the west, including clocks, mirrors, mechanical toys and more besides¹⁸⁹. One of Home's most enduring works was the large fish boat, perhaps the most poignant image of post-"mutiny" Lucknow is a photograph (1858) of this boat, beached in the mud, in front of the Chattar Manzil palace (7.17).

The daily life of the nawab: morning rides, public breakfasting, receptions, entertainments, dinner with the Resident and so on demonstrate just how public the life of the ruler was. In these public appearances, the trappings of the king: his carriage, howdah, boats, even the paintings on the walls of his palaces, were in a hybrid style. And it is safe to assume that these mixed style objects were acceptable to the nawab. Bishop Heber, whose closely observed account of his visit to Lucknow in 1824 is invaluable for its description of the court and Residency, remarks that the nawab possessed "a cultivated taste and an eye familiarized with European models" (Heber 1828:219). There is no doubt that this process of familiarization was almost entirely due to the influence of Robert Home, and is the reason for the proliferation of hybridised objects which fall within Home's area of competence, rather than architecture, which did not. Home's influence as a designer continued after his death, a collection of designs for furniture, dated around 1840¹⁹⁰ depicts chairs and other furniture which closely resemble the more fanciful items in Home's work (7.18, 7.18a). According to Heber (1828:221), the nawab, while heir-apparent, had been deliberately prevented from "all European intercourse and instruction" by his father Sadaat Ali Khan¹⁹¹ who is said to have disliked his son. Controlling Ghazi-ud-Din's access to the west as an expression of disapproval is not unlikely, given the anglomania of Sadaat Ali Khan, and illustrates the privileging of the west in the Lucknow court even before Ghazi-ud-Din came to the throne.

¹⁸⁹ One Victor Malliardet went to Lucknow with automatons which were intended for 'the late Nabob' and priced at £4000 sterling, this was a fortune in 1800.

¹⁹⁰ Prints and Drawing Collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum. E275-281 1967.

¹⁹¹ This is borne out by Robert Home who remarked in a letter to his granddaughter Jean in 1817 (HP) "He [Ghazi-ud-Din] does not speak English...".

Finally, the appointment of Home and his employment in the “occidentalization” of Ghazi-ud-Din Haidar serves to illustrate how the relationship between “others” had a significant personal dimension which operated to the advantage of both parties, in distinct contrast to the official relationship between the East Indian Company and the nawab. It also indicates that the process, and indeed the meaning of Anglicization, was for the nawab of Lucknow, a necessary and desirable attempt at a type of self-colonisation, on his own terms and guided by his own idiosyncratic tastes and desires.

Note 1.

There is some confusion about Home’s first visit to Lucknow. William Foster discounts Evan Cotton’s suggestion that Home went to Lucknow sometime after his second marriage and painted a portrait of the unfortunate Wazir Ali, later engraved by N. Way. It seems that Cotton was correct, and the portrait of Wazir Ali which disappeared is, I suggest, the equestrian portrait now in the State Museum, Lucknow. A comparison with another Home equestrian portrait (that of Lord Lake at Fatehgar) shows some striking similarities. The Sitter’s Book mentions a ‘Vizeer Ali’ finished around February 1801. Mildred Archer (1979:313) also seems to have missed the significance of Asaf-ud-Daula in the Sitter’s Book and states that “apart from a visit to Dacca between June and August 1799, and an exploratory visit to Lucknow between April and June 1811, he was continually in Calcutta”, this does not appear to be the case if the portrait of the nawab was made from life, the date in the Sitter’s Book is 1797. It is extremely unlikely that the nawab of Oudh would have visited Calcutta in 1797. In addition, Horace Wilson (“H.H.”), states that “in 1797 Asaf-ud-Daula died and Home came to settle in Calcutta” (manuscript in the Asiatic Society, Calcutta), meaning that Home returned from Lucknow to Calcutta.

The Orient as a Spectacle - A Panoramic vision of Lucknow

One of the greatest and most ephemeral art forms of the nineteenth century was the panorama. It was also one of the most impressive means by which the visual propaganda of the rationalist, the historian and the colonist were made available to a wider audience. Though never seriously accepted as an art form, compared with oil painting and sculpture, nevertheless it was an impressive instance of 'useful' art, with an informative or didactic purpose, and one which could be sensational and affecting as well. Another novel feature of the panorama was that it became a "truly international phenomenon" (Hyde 1988:13) and a technological development as well. From its beginnings via the Irish-born Robert Barker in 1789 whose first exhibited view was of the city and castle of Edinburgh, the panorama spread to America, across Europe, even to Brazil, Korea and Japan. The early panoramas consisted of a 360° drum with painted panels on the inside; the audience would stand in the centre of this drum and by turning or walking around, would eventually see the whole spectacle. Later developments involved among other things, a viewing platform, a moving diorama in which the viewer was static, and a special building where the diorama could be lit by an overhead dome instead of lamps. The idea was even patented by Barker in 1797 (Hyde *ibid*:17). The subject matter of the Panoramas of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century were mainly geographical and historical, the Battle of Trafalgar being a perennial favourite. The famous Panorama in Leicester Square owned by Robert Barker (and later by Robert Burford) showed a view of almost every capital city in Europe, the first 'exotic' view of Constantinople, the very popular battle of the Nile, and biblical scenes like Belshazzar's Feast.

Presentation and Representation

Though the Panorama was, in the sense that refers to its machinery and scale, a technological (and modern) art form it was not a particularly novel form of representation. Simply put, it was an attempt to introduce several new experiences in the field of reception. Firstly the scale of the painting was greatly enlarged in order to make the scale of the composition correspond more readily to the real world. Secondly by introducing motion either by moving the spectator or the image, and thirdly by making it too large to be apprehended without movement. Using these devices the overall effect was to improve mimesis or illusionism, not by improved painting technique but by the creation of an environment conducive to this *and*

to engage the viewer wholly by removing, in a sense, the intellectual distance between him and the subject. The panorama also provided a happy coincidence between the picturesque attitude to nature and novelties - that they should be affective - and the increasing self-consciousness of a nation turning into an empire. The views and spectacles were a method of displaying the empire to its subjects to inculcate a consciousness of empire in the early nineteenth century. Excluding the aerial view panoramas of large cities, the subjects read like a roll call of military victories, exploration, and exotic scenes. Moreover, the surviving handbooks which told the viewer what he was seeing, tended to emphasize the militaristic and or cultural importance of any British influence or presence. Some of the earliest panoramas were of British garrisons like Belle Isle, and of the fleet.

What I believe gave the impetus to the immense proliferation of the panorama in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century was three things:

1. The actual “witnessing” of historical events and scenes, and their recognition as being important, historically and culturally. The importance of ‘history’ and ‘discovery’ in an age of unprecedented travel and exploration. Many advertisements for the shows emphasized that the drawing were made “on the spot” by this or that person, the point being that authenticity and immediacy were highly valued. One characteristic of this early reportage was that many of the artists were, almost by necessity, soldiers rather than landscape painters or writers who could draw.
2. The popularity of landscape painting and historical painting.
3. The extreme aesthetic doctrines of the picturesque which combined with 1 and 2 above led inevitably towards painting which was at once moral, affective *and* purported to represent the world, not as it actually was, but in an edited, improved version with the drama and exoticism carefully exhibited. Panoramas tried to have it all ways by being affective and informative but above all ‘real’. The culmination of this being, eventually, the display of a (real) family of Lapps within a painted panorama of their environment shown in Bullock’s Museum, London in 1822.

Panoramas are by their nature exciting and informational. The sheer range of visual information it is possible to convey in the huge paintings is quite extraordinary, compared with the usual static, framed painting. Another way in which the panorama expands the conventions of depiction is that it attempts to re-present the world back to the viewer - not

just the exotic foreignness of Benares and Istanbul, but the ordinary world of the European spectator, perhaps even his native city. But how different London appears from the roof of the Albion Mills, rather than the perspective of a pedestrian in the Strand; the world has become multi-dimensional, expanded, the ordinary has been re-presented as a spectacle and as an experience. The idea of 'looking at' pictures does not apply here, where the distance between spectator and spectated has been to some extent negated by the sheer size and scale of the thing .

One of the parallel and contiguous developments in painting during the period of the development of the panorama is gigantic painting, immensity being "an important attribute of romantic art" (Altick 1978:187). This eventually led to paintings like that by James Ward which measured 35 by 22 feet, the subject matter was described by the artist as "expressing in allegorical spirit the triumph of Wellington". John Sinclair Copley painted huge scenes which he charged the public admission to see; his *Floating Batteries at Gibraltar*, displayed in 1791 was a tremendous success. In a similar vein the *Storming of Seringapatam* by Robert Ker Porter existed both as a large painting *and* as a panoramic scene. The panoramic scene was almost 200 feet long and was displayed at the Lyceum. Porter's friend Robert Girtin painted the *Eidometropolis or Panorama of London*; shown in 1802 it was 110 feet long by 20 feet high. None of these huge painting moved, and from contemporary descriptions were not fully round panoramas, but were a development in painting which, sometimes uncomfortably, combine the drama of historical and picturesque scenes with the gigantic and novel. Moreover, the subjects depicted as larger than life were a reassuring valorisation of British military prowess and the great capital of the empire.

Though the vogue for gigantic paintings co-existed with the panoramas, there is an important distinction to be made between these works, which despite their scale were still traditional painting, and with the methods and ideologies of panoramic paintings. One of the most important features of panoramas is that they are not paintings of things in any normal sense of the word, the question of whether they were art or not did occupy the nineteenth century mind. Humphrey Repton (in the 1820s) realized the limits of the mimetic ambition in relation to the natural world, "Much has been said of late concerning the study of Nature in all Works of Art; but if the most exact imitations of Nature were the criterion of perfection, the man who paints a Panorama, or even a scene at the Theatres. would rank higher than Claude or

Poussin". Repton's comment makes the distinction between the great landscape painters works of the imagination and the mere "scenery" of the panoramas and the stage. Repton considered that precise imitation of nature was undesirable for artists and warns against it "but in too close an imitation of nature, he commits an absolute fraud, and becomes ridiculous, by an attempt to perform impossibilities. It is a mark of low imagination to aim at the vastness of Nature" (ibid.). The artistic rejection being on the grounds that panoramas sought to "imitate rather than remind" the viewer of nature is very significant. While no one would mistake a painting of, say, the Lake District, for the actual place, no matter how closely it resembled an actual place, the verisimilitude or *trompe l'oeil* of the panorama attempted to do just that, and more importantly, with very little prompting the viewers recognized this illusionism as the most noteworthy and engaging aspect of the panorama as a type of representation. Some painters managed to transcend the divisions between high art, low entertainment and theatrical display. Phillippe Jacques de Louthembourg painted successful landscapes in the style of Salvator Rosa, co-operated with David Garrick in the development of theatre scenery and effects, he also invented a form of panoramic display, the *Eidophusikon*, whose name means "imitation of nature". Among the scenes he exhibited was Greenwich Park and he was most famous for his storms at sea, complete with flashing lightning and loud claps of thunder. However, his work is in direct contrast to painters like Porter and Copley, who despite their intrusion into the panoramic in terms of size and display, were nevertheless seen as superior to the mostly anonymous scene painters employed by Barker and Burford. Sir Joshua Reynolds was even invoked in an attempt to give the panorama some artistic credibility. It is said (*The Art Journal*, Feb. 1857) that after seeing the famous *London from the roof of Albion Mills* he was moved to comment that the panorama "is capable of producing effects, and representing nature in a manner far superior to the limited scale of pictures generally".

Panoramas and the Picturesque - illusions of reality

The early depictions of India by Hodges and the Daniells are firmly rooted in the ideals of the picturesque, which in the words of William Gilpin is "that Art, which gives the practised pencil power to rival Nature's graces; to combine in one harmonious whole her scattered charms" (Gilpin 1794:99). The picturesque is mainly concerned with landscape, not as it appears in nature, but how it is best assembled and represented in painting. Gilpin's seemingly obsessive attention to the differences between nature as it is, and nature as fit for

depiction is not only a prescription for artists, but is very revealing of the type of thinking about representing the world which exerted a very powerful (if not always overt) influence for many years on painting and criticism. It is also in direct moral opposition to the type of thinking about architecture¹⁹² which prevailed at the time. Paintings, picturesque scenes in particular, were not required to have any “truth” in them at all. On the contrary, the picturesque artist was exhorted to improve on nature’s faults, scenes which were too “smooth” being given the more affective “roughness”, buildings intact depicted as half-ruined, well-lit scenes darkened into shadow and so on. Gilpin also recognized the amoral tendencies (so to speak) of picturesque thought and ideals, and though a clergyman himself, acknowledged that while moral improvement is a welcome consequence of observing nature for the artist “we dare not promise him more from picturesque travel, than a rational, and agreeable amusement” (ibid:47). What is interesting here is that the admittedly “untrue” depiction of the world is not acknowledged or recognized as such in reception. For example, the picturesque is influenced by Poussin and Claude, who painted arcadian landscapes which, though appearing realistic, only existed in the imagination of the painter. By contrast, the picturesque painter depicted scenes which purported to be in the world - as real landscapes - but were painted under the influence of a type of distorting lens (picturesqueness) which included some elements, though altered to fit, and excluded others which though present, were unsuitable for the purpose. The tacit claim for realism is usually included in the title as well - picturesque landscapes being named for the places which they purported to depict. The absence of human figures except as markers is significant. Gilpin states that “the anatomical study of figures is not attended to; we regard them as merely the ornament of scenes...we merely consider general shapes, dresses, groups, and occupations; which we often find casually in greater variety” (ibid:45). The entire world seems to have been regarded as a scrap-book of potentially picturesque scenes, but it was a world of crags, brooding clouds, rotting fences, ruined gothic arches, without real people or anything smooth, or worse, modern, to locate the viewer in any particular era. The mania for ruins¹⁹³ is given a quasi-religious approval by Gilpin, these things he tells us are “the richest legacies of art. They are consecrated by time” (ibid:46); paradoxically, it is the exclusion of time, in the sense of any contemporary signs, which is truly picturesque. Uvedale Price, whose descriptions of picturesqueness were similarly intended to initiate the novice made careful distinction between entire, objects which “either in painting or reality” can only be beautiful; it is in ruin

¹⁹² Though the practice of architecture was quite another thing.

¹⁹³ Which also had its expression in architecture and gardening.

that they can be considered picturesque. Price greatly admired the work of Albano and Mola as being picturesque painters, because their work is “infinitely removed from vulgar nature”. The seemingly paradoxical attitude to nature as delineated by the theorists and adherents of the picturesque did not stop at timeless scenes of part ruined buildings near a rugged crag. Even in paintings which depict people (mainly labourers and peasants) which were a feature of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, they are usually carrying out some task in a pre-industrial context. De Louthembourg’s¹⁹⁴ paintings of peasants, in and around Matlock in Derbyshire show the subjects lead-washing, quarrying and so on but in a manner which could suggest either the fifteenth century or the nineteenth.

A significant person who combined both picturesque landscape painting with the panoramic was William Daniell. Best known for his aquatints of India - in collaboration with his uncle Thomas, Daniell also produced some panoramic plates for the aquatint series, depicting the temples of Ajanta and Ellora. His painting of London Bridge (c.1803, Mellon Collection) (8.1) appears to be imitative of Barker’s Panorama of London from the roof of Albion Mills. It also partakes of the panoramic “birds-eye-view” method of depicting cities and buildings which Daniell used for Ellora. Another London Bridge scene by Daniell was a panoramic-style painting which was publicly displayed to show a proposal for a new bridge designed by his friend George Dance¹⁹⁵. In 1830 a panorama of Madras was exhibited in Euston (Hyde 1988:69) painted by Daniell from sketches by Augustus Earle and in 1836 a Panorama of Lucknow was exhibited in Pall Mall¹⁹⁶.

The contrasts between the picturesque landscape and the realities of rural life in the period are beyond the scope of the present work¹⁹⁷, what will be examined is how the moral and aesthetic ideologies operate outside the familiar confines of the European landscape. More pertinently, the relationship between the picturesque, the panoramic and the exotic has not been fully explored, and the orientalism (if it is orientalism) implicit in depictions of India has not been contextualised within the dominant art historical discourses of that time. In the case of India, it must be stated that whatever retrospective orientalism is perceived within the depictions of

¹⁹⁴ Phillipe Jacques de Louthembourg (1740-1812) best known for his painting “View of Coalbrookdale by Night” was one of the first painters to depict industrial scenes in large-scale paintings

¹⁹⁵ Now in the Guildhall, London.

¹⁹⁶ Like most panoramas this has not survived, however, the Oriental Scenery aquatints of Lucknow are very “panoramic”.

¹⁹⁷ See Barrell, J., *The Dark Side of the Landscape: The Rural Poor in English Painting 1730-1840*, Cambridge University Press 1980 and *The Politics of the Picturesque*, ed. Copley and Garside, Cambridge University Press 1994 for an exploration of this relationship.

the country and its inhabitants - all the visual ideologies relating to those depictions were already extant in England before any large-scale colonial infrastructure existed in India.

The place of nature in relation to man and vice versa was a continuous process of attempted containment throughout the eighteenth century. As proposed in chapter 5, neo-classical country houses and their tame landscapes were an attempt to control nature by reproducing it inside the walls of the manufactured 'natural' garden. The rise of the picturesque landscape painting also confined the wildness of nature inside the (increasingly large) frame, but influenced by the Romantic and affective notions of the sublime and the beautiful. These landscapes may be intended to invoke terror, horror, ecstasy or wild melancholy, but it is ultimately a piece of painted canvas which is relatively easy to ignore. Nature is allowed her awesomeness, but always within the pictorial. Indeed, there seems to be an inverse relationship between the wildness and exoticism of the painted landscape and the tamed "real" landscapes of the picturesque gardens. Panoramas also attempt to enclose nature, but unlike landscape painting - the panoramas also attempted to reproduce nature as fully as possible. In this sense they were the antithesis of the picturesque. The philosophy of panoramic depiction was the reproduction of nature, along with the affective and dramatic elements of the romantic landscape. Though panoramic painting was not in the least self-consciously philosophical and was usually beneath the attentions of art theorists, nevertheless it is possible to ascertain its principles which could be simply reduced to - the marriage of art and science. Much was made of the technical developments in depiction; the new lighting, the revolving drums, the purpose-made buildings. Similarly, the technical apparatus for sketching scenes on the spot, like the *camera lucida*, the *camera obscura*, and later the daguerreotype, were developments in the process of depicting scenes as accurately as possible. One historian of panoramas described the making of the sketches thus "everything was dictated by the need to reproduce reality as closely as possible. Nothing was supposed to be added or deleted for aesthetic reasons...so the choice became one of weighing the actual features of the site *against*¹⁹⁸ the reigning aesthetic notions of natural beauty" (Oettermann 1997:51)

Panoramas do partake of several different strands of picturesque thought and attitude. They are gigantic, affective, picturesque and romantic, but, they differ from picturesque landscape paintings in several important ways (apart from the obvious difference in scale) - they also

¹⁹⁸ Author's emphasis.

claim to be informative, didactic, modern and above all “factual”. These claims deserve to be taken seriously, particularly the claims to historical or geographical accuracy because for many people the panoramas formed their views - literally and metaphorically - of the new territories and landscapes which were becoming part of Britain and Britishness in the empire. They flourished because they were “a bourgeois public’s substitute for the Grand Tour” and they “fed upon this frustrated yearning for Romantic experience” (Altick 1978:180), to which should be added that they also fed a thirst for novelty bordering on mania.

The differences between ‘art’ and ‘panoramas’ is not nearly as clear-cut as the proponents of the picturesque might like to believe. The increase in painting size and affective, dramatic scenery are panoramic, and the panoramas by their collections of scenery and natural phenomena partake of the picturesque. Painters such as William Daniell and de Louthembourg managed a foot in both camps. Even Constable whose disparaging remarks on the panoramic are regularly invoked¹⁹⁹ produced a panoramic set of watercolours “The Valley of the Stour” to provide a friend “with a clear record of the landscape familiar to her since childhood” (Hyde 1988:69), presumably the aim here was reminding by deceiving, since the scene would need to be depicted exactly as it was. Even one opposed to panoramas, like Constable, used the panoramic form to preserve a fast-disappearing landscape.

Panoramic India

The first Indian scene shown in the panorama was the the *Storming of Seringapatam*, by Robert Ker Porter. This was exhibited at the Lyceum from 17th of April 1800 to 10th January 1801 (Hyde 1988:65). It had a very successful run before being sent to Edinburgh, Dublin Liverpool, eventually reaching Philadelphia in 1805. The Mysore Wars were a series of campaigns against the Indian ruler of that state, the much-demonised Tipu Sultan. After a series of battles which dragged out for over a decade, the Fourth Mysore War culminated in the siege of Seringapatam and the death of Tipu in May 1799. The Mysore campaigns were possibly the most extensively illustrated military campaign of that time. Several artists (and reporters) had accompanied the army in its long struggle in the *droogs*, or hill forts in the Mysore countryside and the published views of the country were popular in England²⁰⁰. A stipple engraving of the Seringapatam panorama exists made by John Vendramini. It is in three panels and shows the English troops outside the city walls, about to enter through a

¹⁹⁹ “True art pleases by reminding not by deceiving”.

²⁰⁰ Though one of the less successful series was that by Robert Home.

breach.

Another Indian panorama whose paintings are lost but are reproduced in the handbook was published in 1850. The handbook is entitled “An Illustrated Description of the Diorama of the Ganges” and further, that “The entire Diorama invented and painted by Mr. T.C. Dibdin, from sketches by J. Fergusson, Esq. made on the spot during his residence in India” and was exhibited at the Portland Gallery, 316 Regent Street which boasted a pianist, a lecturer, and machinery - to move the paintings. What is depicted of India in this diorama is a type of tourist trail, starting in Calcutta, showing the view of Chowringhee with the huge neo-classical dome of Government House. Lucknow is featured, but only the neo-classical palace of Claude Martin, Constantia. Other places depicted were Konarak, with its great ruined temple of Surya²⁰¹, the rock-cut temples of Khundagiri, and Allahabad, which with admirable honesty the book described the British army as having destroyed “some of the most beautiful specimens of art in India” by using them as barracks and arsenals²⁰². Outside of the British enclave of Calcutta, the fictional traveller is “surrounded by a people who, in all their manners and customs, shew as little traces of European influence as the natives of the South Sea Islands”.

This diorama demonstrates an ambivalent attitude to India, which is typical of the orientalism of the early nineteenth century. On the one hand India is English as demonstrated by the view of Calcutta as reassuringly neo-classical. The other is the mysterious, savage exoticism of temples and ancient ruins. What is remarkable about this diorama is that the sketches were by James Fergusson, an art historian of great erudition in European architecture, whose work on Indian architecture was the first real survey by a European scholar. Several hundred pages of penetrating and critical scholarship on types, styles, histories and construction of buildings compiled with the eye of a moralist and aesthete makes *The History of Eastern Architecture* a truly monumental work. That Lucknow is represented by Martin’s house is not surprising under the circumstances, as Fergusson’s comments on nawabi architecture are almost entirely unflattering. Only Constantia is spared the critical *coup-de-grace*, as, according to Fergusson “it really does contain the germ of a very beautiful design”. Other buildings in the city are “debased”, “pseudo-Italian”, “crude”, “grotesque”, “offend painfully”, and so on.

²⁰¹ Carefully avoiding any mention of its very erotic sculpture.

²⁰² One of the concessions ceded to the East Indian Company by Sadaat Ali Khan was the fort of Allahabad.

India was also the subject of another panoramic exhibition: *The Grand Moving Diorama of Hindostan* which was shown at the Asiatic Gallery, Baker Street Bazar, Portman Square in around 1851. It was arranged by Lieut. Col. Luard and used sketches by some prominent visitors to India including the Princep brothers, Sir Charles D'Oyly, George Chinnery, and Mrs. Fanny Parks. Again it is a tourist trail though of a slightly different route; here are Simla, Barrackpore and Fort William, Calcutta; sights of reassuring Britishness. A story seeming to promote the modernity of India - the steam mill in Calcutta, is actually an illustration of the backwardness of Indians. The mill went bankrupt because "natives will not send their wheat to be ground in a mill in which it is mixed with the wheat of people of another caste and with that sent by Europeans" something which would have been known to anyone with even an elementary knowledge of the caste divisions of India.

Even children could partake of the panorama in the form of books such as Nelson's *Panorama Books for the Young* (c.1840). The India represented here is a sensational exotic. The cover illustration shows a lion attacking two men on elephant-back. In the background are a Hindu temple and a muslim tomb in an unlikely juxtaposition²⁰³. Delhi is described as a "Moscow of India" which had seen better days

"But gone are all thy glories and thy power,
Thy ruler now a puppet of the hour"

Benares in similar fashion was the abode of "fakeers and saints and devotees". The book also contains that 19th century prurient drama *par excellence*, the sati or widow burning. A theme which united seamlessly the sentimental notion of devotion appropriate to wives everywhere, with the specific cruelty and fatalism of the east.

"And she a willing victim must be
For this is the rule of the suttee
But a higher law, under British sway,
Has abolished this cruel rite for aye."

Another example of oriental perversity is given in the description of the temple of Jagganath in Orissa, whose temple cart, it was widely believed, crushed hapless isolators under its huge wheels.

"The goddess on her blood-stained throne
In all her hideousness is shown

²⁰³ And which is a crude copy of a Thomas Daniell painting (now in the Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection) which originally furnished the Indian Room of Thomas Hope's house in Duchess Street.

And votaries in thousands come
To bow before that idol dune
Whilst hundreds, prostrate on the ground
Beneath her wheels, crushed dead are found
With blood and murder ever fraught
Rolls the dread car of Juggernaut.”

This is India as represented to nineteenth century British children. The inaccuracy of descriptions of the festival cart's procession, and the nature of the god within could be taken as an amusing example of British ignorance. But the panoramic books were intended to be educational and 'factual' as other titles in the series include biblical stories and natural history.

The sketches for 28 Panoramic Views of Calcutta by William Wood appear to have been made for exhibition (1833), but it is not known whether they were ever exhibited. These sketches show the very bland facades of the English Calcutta, Chowringhee (8.2) and the Esplanade (8.3) with only a few anonymous natives as a visual clue to location. There are two scenes showing Indian houses, which are the humble thatched bangla-style house.

Lucknow was the subject of two Panoramas, one by Robert Smith and the other by Mr. B. H. Galland. The latter was shown as a double bill in the aftermath of the "mutiny" along with the Fall of Delhi. The Delhi scenes appear to be the original Robert Smith sketches of some twenty years earlier with troops, cannon and smoke superimposed. The panoramas were exhibited between January 1858 and May 1859, profiting from the intense public interest in the widely reported scenes of massacres and sieges, and the accompanying search for reasons, causes, and villains. The first (Smith) panorama of Lucknow is a delightful promenade from the great gateway, the Rumi Darwaza, to the river Gomti where the king is taking to the water with his court.

In 1832 Captain Robert Smith of the 44th (East Essex) Regiment visited Lucknow. He sketched a panoramic scene showing some of the old, mughal style buildings like the Rumi Darwaza and the Imambara. Half of the panorama was taken up with a scene on the river Gomti, showing the nawab and his retinue boating. This is said to have been shown in the

Panorama, Leicester Square. While in India Smith²⁰⁴ also produced sketches of Benares (8.4) and Delhi (8.5) which were used in the panorama. It is safe to assume that the surviving sketches of Lucknow are the scenes which were eventually seen in London. The view survives in eight sketches which would have been painted onto huge canvas panels - there are guides to colours on the sketches in order to assist the painters in England.

Sketch 1.

The stone bridge (8.6) is in the background - at the time the only permanent crossing of the river Gomti, it was actually brick faced with stone and was built in the 1740's. There are some boats on the river, and behind on the bank can be seen a mosque, presumably the minarets and domes of the Bara Imambara. At that time on the other side of the Gomti was the Purani Bazaar and the Kashmiri Mohalla, along with several royal gardens.

Sketch 2.

This a view of the Rumi Darwaza (8.7), a huge gateway straddling the road which runs along the southern bank of the river Gomti. The gateway is often mistakenly referred to as a copy of the Constantinople gate. It is nothing of the kind, apart from the curved recess giving it on one side the appearance of a gigantic mihrab, it is a idiosyncratic but recognisable Indian gateway. Next to it is the Bara Imambara, which is the tomb of Asaf-ud-Daula, and contains within its precinct a large mosque and a *madrassa*, or Islamic college. These buildings were the most frequently drawn and commented on sights in Lucknow. What is unusual here is the Smith has drawn the Darwaza with the messy temporary buildings and debris in the scene, even though they slightly obscure the building. The figures in the foreground give a useful sense of scale.

Sketch 3.

Slightly further along the road (8.8), this is a corner of the great Imambara, an exterior view showing the corner pavilions of the wall. In the foreground next to the tree is a small Hindu shrine, the base of a Sivalingam²⁰⁵. The lingam is not in the socket, but a figure who appears to be a Brahman might be lustrating the lingam at the base of the small tree.

²⁰⁴ Not to be confused with Colonel Robert Smith (1787-1873), an artist best known for his oil paintings, he was a surveyor and an expert sketcher, for some years he was employed in restoring the mughal monuments of Delhi. He visited Lucknow in 1814.

²⁰⁵ A representation of Shiva as a phallus - the cosmic progenitor.

Sketch 4.

Approaching the Machhi Bhavan (8.9) whose gateways all sported the two fish emblem of the nawabs of Lucknow. The scene shows people going about their business, a stereotypical view intended only to give scale and colour to an otherwise bland scene.

Sketch 5.

Outside one of the large gateways of the Machhi Bhavan (8.10). In the foreground is a tree with a Sivalingam, a Brahman stand in front of it performing his devotions. Nearby two men with shields and swords are descending to the road. Some of the buildings and pavilions of the fort can be glimpsed and beyond in the distance is the tower of the British Residency, the highest structure in Lucknow at that time.

Sketch 6.

This shows a Hindu temple (8.11) by the river with steps leading down, forming a bathing ghat. The temple still exists, though smaller subsidiary shrines have grown up around it. In the background can be seen the domes and facade of the Asafi Kothi, a neo-classical style building also known as the “new palace” and was depicted by Henry Salt, who accompanied Viscount Valentia in his tour of India. The prominent part of this scene is the temple itself with the decorations of the shikara. Again the temporary buildings which obscure the entrance to the temple have been carefully detailed.

Sketch 7.

A river scene (8.12). Two brahmins have emerged from the river and are making their way to the temple in (6). A mahout urges his elephant up the bank. Standing on the shore are a group of courtiers their attention focussed on the large crocodile boat coming to shore, this is the boat designed for his predecessor by Robert Home. Under a decorated canopy sits the then nawab of Lucknow, Nasir-ud-Din Haidar (r. 1827-1837), wearing his crown, again the pointed crown is an innovation from the previous nawab, to the design of Home.

Sketch 8.

Behind the royal barge is another boat with a small group of men in it. Next is a large fish-shaped boat (8.13) - its closed shutters suggesting that it is used by the women of the royal zenana. Even the rowers are obscured from view, not surprisingly, as they would have to be

female as well. Unlike the other craft, it is also rigged for sailing. The last boat is a simpler one with a decorative elephant's head on the prow. Some dancers are performing a *nautch* (dance), there are also men drumming to accompany them.

What is being depicted here is an innocuous, but exotic 'walkabout' of the road which leads to the river from the Imambara. This view also avoids any depiction of the neo-classical style buildings (except the Asafi Kothi), some which are nearby - the Chattar Manzil being one. What is seen of Lucknow is in fact very little - and the people depicted therein are closely related to the trades and castes painting typical of the company style paintings and albums, which were always the work of Indian artists working under the patronage and guidance of Europeans. The real subject of the panorama is the king of Lucknow with his pretty boats, in a suitably exotic, but unthreatening situation. There is an alternative sketch for no. 8 in which boat in the shape of a swan is sketched²⁰⁶. The swan boat was made as a surprise, Home's letter to his daughter (in Oct. 1817) expressed the hope that the king would find it agreeable (HP). The atmosphere of the Smith panorama is very placid, and in comparison with the later panoramas, extremely refined both in artistry and in subject. It is also very accurate, as comparisons with Home's designs and with the architectural record attests.

Robert Smith was in many ways an ideal artist of the panorama. Despite the temptation to remove them, he has left unaltered the shanty-type temporary buildings which tend to congregate around public buildings. He also depicted buildings and scenes in the accurate way which the panorama claimed, in contrast to the partial truth of picturesque convention. It has not been possible to ascertain why Lucknow was represented in the Panorama by this pretty and atypical scene. It may be that Smith was sufficiently attracted by the spectacle in a purely personal way. It is strange that of all the impressive nawabi buildings of Lucknow, only the Rumi Darwaza is included. Many visitors to Lucknow were allowed into the inner circles of the court and palace, even into the imambaras during the nights of Muharram. Smith's sketches appear to be made by someone who made a short trip to Lucknow which happily coincided with the nawab taking to the river in his boats. The objects which were numbered in the originals would normally have been included in a outline which was bound into a small pamphlet with explanatory notes. Quite a number of the small buildings are numbered, presumably Smith would also have supplied the information to accompany his

²⁰⁶ Prints and Drawings Collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum.

sketches²⁰⁷.

On January 15th, 1818 Robert Home wrote to his daughter “And I have also begun a building for Panoramas that are yet to be painted, the centre Temple of which, where he and the spectators are to be, is to turn round by Machinery, to save him the trouble of looking behind him. For he must be seated, and all others stand, so that his seat must be raised to place his eyes on a level with the stander’s eyes” (HP). No trace of such a building exists in Lucknow, it is doubtful that it was ever built. What is surprising is that at this early date the king of Lucknow was to be the patron of such a modern, and technological, art form. Though the first moving panorama seems to have been shown in London in 1800, it was not until the 1820’s that moving panoramas became widely used, and initially mainly in pantomime (Hyde 1988:131). Home’s close contact with his relatives in England may have provided him with the initial idea, but the panorama was not entirely a novelty to him. According to William Foster²⁰⁸, at Home’s house at Chowringhee in Calcutta, a panorama of the City of London was advertised as being on display and which Foster states was almost certainly the work of Robert Barker (Bengal P&P XLVII; 93). Barker’s panorama *London from the Roof of the Albion Mills* was painted in 1790-91, and it seems that this was a widely travelled scene, appearing in New York (in 1795), Paris, and Germany and presumably Calcutta. In a letter to his daughter (Sept. 1816) Home thanks her for “the Panoramas²⁰⁹ and Reviews we have rec’d and have been much interested in their perusal” (HP). Unfortunately, there is no evidence of Home’s attempts at panoramic painting. It was a medium not entirely unfamiliar to him. In Calcutta he painted scenes and backdrops for theatrical performances, some sketches of which survive, along with scenes of ships at sea which were sketched on a numbered grid²¹⁰, almost certainly for much greater enlargement.

Indian “panoramas”

Panoramic paintings were (as previously mentioned) displayed in Calcutta and perhaps elsewhere in British India along with the panoramic picture books which were sent out from England. As a subject of the panorama, India, and Lucknow had their moments of prominence, especially in the aftermath of the “mutiny”. But Indian artists also produced

²⁰⁷ It has not been possible to find an extant copy of the accompanying booklet for Lucknow. One possible reason is that the exhibition was in the smaller of the two Panoramas and may not have had anything more than a sheet of paper. The ephemeral nature of the booklets is also a factor. However, Galland’s handbook survives.

²⁰⁸ Bengal Past and Present, “British Painters in Bengal” Sir William Foster, pp. 1-6, XXIX 1925.

²⁰⁹ It is likely that this reference is to the popular panoramic books, or handbooks to the panoramic handbooks.

²¹⁰ Now in the Home Album (V&A)

panoramic paintings, albeit in miniature scale. One aspect of this painting is almost universal in Indian art of all periods and that is the processional subject. The court art of India of most periods has royal processions as a popular theme. In religious architecture of the stupas of the Buddhists at Amaravati, and at Sanchi, the mural paintings at Ajanta²¹¹ the Sivaite temples of Khajuraho (c.1100 A.D.), Hoysala temples, mughal and Pahari paintings, and company paintings we can see the royal person setting out, attended by courtiers, servants, elephants, pack animals and so on. In later paintings we often see another high status person, such as another ruler, or a representative of the East India Company, or the Portuguese envoy being involved in the scene. Hierarchical considerations are given careful treatment, and the placement of figures in space is predicated to a great extent on the status of the person depicted. There is a scroll panoramic painting of Lucknow which, though unfinished, shows a procession of the king (Amjad Ali Shah, or M. Ali Shah) along with the British Resident on elephants, accompanied by troops, equipments, attendants, and various other figures in 'trades and castes' style depictions. The king and Resident are carefully placed in the howdah, the top of the king's head being equal to the top of the Resident's hat, slyly showing the small difference in status. What is more interesting in the background of the scroll. It shows some of the great nawabi buildings like the Husainabad Imambara and the Rumi Darwaza, including gardens. The method of depicting the processional scene along a meandering route is most unusual. The background makes no sense as flat scenery, as a comparison with the real buildings shows. It can only be deciphered as a flattened three dimensional route. For example, at the Husainabad Imambara, though the scroll shows a flat series of walls, in fact all four walls of the imambara are depicted in succession. In actuality, the procession is 'walking around' rather than past the buildings, but the perspective is quite subordinated to the linear aspects of the procession. This strange work is not a panorama in the European sense, if anything it is a hybrid of the traditional Indian processional painting - many depicting scenes like Muharram - and the panoramic fold out "book" also known as a myriorama or polyrama. There are two other Lucknow paintings of this type²¹² showing the mughal emperor Shah Alam II in procession, one in Delhi and one in Lucknow, painted around 1790. The Delhi scene has an inscription on the top, identifying various buildings. In this it also resembles some paintings from the Gentil Album which depicts the Muharram procession dating (Archer 1992:124) from around 1774 (8.14), when presumably the scenes required explanations, hence the numbers. They resemble also the handbooks of the

²¹¹ Scene known as 'the raja with his women, riding through the palace gates' late 7th century, for example.

²¹² In the Prints and Drawings Collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum.

panorama, for the same reason. It is interesting to see how the two different approaches to the panoramic share some common features, one is the 'route' type of depiction, where a journey is undertaken by an important person. The Smith panorama is an example of this, as is the painting "The March of Francis, Marquess of Hastings, Governor-General, C. in C." by Col. Charles Joseph Doyle²¹³, this very long narrow painting shows a tour of inspection from Calcutta to Hardwar around 1815, which took 17 months to complete. The long narrow painting²¹⁴ shows the huge entourage which accompanied the Marquess, spreading out along an innocuous landscape. The various groups in the painting are numbered, and a key is provided for identification. Though painted by a European, it resembles closely the processional paintings of Indian artists previously mentioned.

Another very impressive painting of Lucknow in the panoramic style is an oil on canvas of the coronation procession of Ghazi-ud-Din (8.15). Though damaged (and probably reduced as a result) the painting is an impressive 'panorama' of the city, its buildings and the huge crowds of spectators and the retinue of the king. The king is wearing the regalia designed by Robert Home, and the troops wearing English uniforms but apart from this, there are no Europeans depicted in the procession. We know from John Home (HP) that there were Europeans (including himself) riding in the procession, but the artist has chosen to depict the scene as wholly Indian. The perspective of the scene is a hybrid of European and Indian methods. The buildings recede toward the background in the classical manner but not with the accurate shrinkage of scale that one sees in European painting. The mughal/Indian method of depicting cities is also utilized - as many buildings as possible are shown from a slightly overhead view and the buildings are merely schematic, as frames for the human figures (typical of much Indian art of earlier periods). Though the painting is packed with figures, the king is very much the prominent person. He and his elephant are larger than any other person, adhering to the Indian custom. He is followed by mounted troops, Indian nobles mounted on elephants, and everywhere a surprisingly large number of female spectators. Another feature of this painting is that it has been partly "repaired" with a similar scene (presumably from another portion of the entire composition) partly obscuring the large tree in the centre. The size of this painting and its composition and date, suggests that it is the surviving panel of a real panoramic painting, that is, in the sense of a Barker-style composition. Both the size and the repair show that it was a larger painting, the birds-eye

²¹³ Presumably the well-known "Carlo" Doyle who was painted by Home (now in OIOC).

²¹⁴ Now in the collection of the National Army Museum.

view and the detail are tending towards the “all-embracing view”. This is a hybrid painting, it utilizes the overhead view and the panoramic scale of the European panoramas with the schematic representation of buildings and people (the crowds and so on) from the Indian processional tradition. The painting may have been influenced by Robert Home, who was certainly familiar with the panorama, and also influenced by the long tradition of processional painting in India. Moreover, Home also worked on a large scale composition so big that when he moved to Cawnpore, a special room had to be built for it.

The development of photography was also incorporated into the panorama. A large photographic panorama of Lucknow was made sometime in the 1860s by Felix Beato. The photographer stood on the roof of the Rumi Darwaza and photographed a huge “slice” of the city. Looking out over the city, many familiar land-marks can be seen, and some unfamiliar ones. A tall thin “pagoda” which is never mentioned in inventories of the architecture of Lucknow can be clearly seen beyond the Sat Khanda/Asafi Kothi²¹⁵. Some other structures similarly remain unknown as they did not survive the “mutiny” of its aftermath. By the time Beato visited Lucknow, the “mutiny” was ostensibly over and Lucknow had achieved everlasting infamy on account of the two sieges and the fierce fighting to regain the city. Its proximity to Kanpur (Cawnpore) and the atrocities committed there also tainted Lucknow forever. Beato’s panoramic view of the city is a very impressive photographic feat, but as a view of Lucknow it contrasts greatly with the view of Robert Smith, though this is also a limitation imposed by the medium. Beato is looking down, from a great distance on the city, no people can be seen, nor any trace of them. The city appears to be frozen and lifeless. There is none of the engaging detail of earlier panoramic views, which generally tried to give both macro- and microcosmic details. To some extent this is generated by the technology of the day. Photographs (of this kind) could only be taken in bright daylight, the cameras were large and bulky and lenses did not have easily moveable focus. What appears in Beato’s vision is an almost anonymous scene, empty of life and in a strange sense, of detail. A huge scene captured in this way has such a profusion of buildings that an adjustment to the scale must be made, even to a person who was familiar with Lucknow the city appears different: further away, homogeneous, undifferentiated. There is no key to the buildings depicted, nor any information given.

²¹⁵ I have been able to identify this building (now much ruined), it is, like the Sat Khanda, a tower for viewing the first sight of the rising moon on the nights of Muharram.

The second of the painted panoramas of Lucknow, attributed to Mr. Galland was exhibited in the aftermath of the so-called Mutiny of 1857. Unlike the other Lucknow panoramas this one was exhibited in the main arena and thus had a full handbook with a small reproduction of the scene and numbered keys to the various objects depicted. What is surprising about this composition is the bland, vague outline of the city, with distant bulbous domes and minarets, with no pictorial hint of any kind of the devastation wrought by insurgents and British armies alike. Similarly the handbook, which basically informed the viewer of what he was seeing, is a mixture of overt orientalism and sentimental British nationalism. On the Residency “each one, nay, almost every foot of ground, associated with some noble deed of valor, or hallowed by some affecting scene of deprivation, desolation, or want, or some touching incident of sickness or death”. It should be stated that the “mutiny” was intensively reported in the press, in Parliamentary debates, was the subject of sermons at church, and there can have been very few people of the middle and upper classes in England who were not conversant with it in some detail. The handbook veers between an attempt to describe the city in panoramic terms coupled with descriptions of the military engagements which also took place at the same site. The Kaisarbagh, where some of fiercest fighting took place, and which was thoroughly looted by the British, is hardly mentioned, though it was the largest palace in the city. As might be expected this panorama overlaps in some of its depictions with the earlier Smith work. On the Rumi Darwaza one reads that “it may well be called the beautiful gate of Lucknow, being a most elegant structure, well worthy to rank with the magnificent building to which it conducts.” On the Bara Imambara: “Unquestionably the finest structure in Lucknow, or perhaps of the kind, in all India...The corridors, cloisters and every portion of the building is chaste in design and of beautiful workmanship.” The Farhat Bakhsh complex is similarly admired. Overall the tone of the booklet tends towards a patronising admiration. The city itself

“viewed from a little distance presents a splendid appearance, the *tout ensemble* forming a perfect realization of an Eastern city, from the vast assemblage of rich domes, gilded minarets, mosques, palaces, gateways, and thickly crowded houses, interspersed with and charmingly relieved by trees of gigantic growth and redundant luxuriance”.

However, even the most picturesque and fairy-tale scenes can hide a more sinister reality. There is scarcely a scene in this panorama which is not also pressed into service to illustrate the heroism and fortitude of the besieged British garrison, and of those who raised the siege.

The aforementioned Farhat Bakhsh, once the pretty appearance has been described was also “stormed and taken by Gen Havelock’s force on the 25th of September, and a vast amount of plunder, rich dresses, gorgeous shawls, and other items of great value, fell to the share of the soldiers”. Dil Kusha has “no great pretensions to elegance, resembling somewhat an old French, or German chateau” however the other aspect of Dilkusha was “Sir Colin Campbell’s force advanced from Alumbach [sic] into the city, they were met in the park of Dil Kousha by a considerable body of the enemy, who were not driven back until after a running fight of about two hours duration.”. The Sikanderbagh, a royal zenana, “after being bombarded for a hour and a half, was stormed, and, after a severe struggle taken in a most bold and brilliant manner”, the nearby tomb of Ghazi-ud-Din Haidar “was defended with great resolution, was then cannonaded for three hours and was taken by storm, after one of the severest fights ever known” and the nearby Kurshid Manzil²¹⁶ “the Mess House, a considerable and well defended building, was most gallantly carried by storm”. The meeting between those besieged at the Residency and the relieving forces was also described, and lest there be any doubt about the aims and outcomes of the military campaign “The whole affair, from beginning to end, was one of patient endurance, and of brave and unconquerable courage on the part of the besieged, and needs no eulogy”.

In addition to the use of Lucknow as a backdrop to British valour, the aesthetic and moral²¹⁷ criticisms which undercut any admiration for the city are also present. The Shah Najaf, or tomb of Ghazi-ud-Din Haidar ‘bears evidence of the lavish expenditure of vain and foolish princes, in adorning their tombs with curiosities’. The little Dil-Aram Kothi, which was a very pretty neo-classical house was described as “one of the many pleasure-houses belonging to the King, which he was accustomed to retire for quiet, or on the occasion of some new species of sensuality or debauchery”. Similarly the Bara Imambara “is deprived of all dignity and solemnity by being made the repository of as much incongruous splendor [sic] as can be crammed into it...bespeaking a prince who possessed immense wealth without knowing how to employ it”. Even the scientific patronage of the nawabs is doubtful; on the Observatory which had been built on European lines, with telescopes made by Troughton and Simmons the panorama handbook informed that “More than one of the Kings of Oude patronised astronomy, perhaps, however more from curiosity and a reverence for astrology, than from any love of science.” He was obviously unaware that the nawabs of Lucknow patronised the

²¹⁶ Usually referred to in all post-mutiny texts as “the Mess House”.

²¹⁷ These are discussed more fully in chapter 2.

publication of the Observatory Reports at regular intervals.

Speaking generally on the aspect presented by the city the handbook, while praising individual buildings, warns of what lies beneath

“although some of its buildings will bear comparison with those of the most celebrated capitals of Europe, there is a more than ordinary degree of dirt, and filth, and squalid poverty, which causes a feeling of intense disgust”.

And of style

“Many of the palaces and public buildings are striking, from their size, rather than for their splendour or architectural beauty’

and

“The high walls and lofty gateways, of grand, but singular style, with varied ornaments, gilded tops, and fanciful paintings, that form the enclosures of the palaces of the north-eastern portion of the city, present a painful and most disagreeable contrast with the innumerable filthy and wretched hovels by which they are surrounded, a combination of pomp and wretchedness, grandeur and misery, truly Oriental.”

The panorama of Lucknow shown in 1958 is a microcosmic blend of the varying, frequently contradictory, orientalist attitudes to India, and specifically Lucknow, which are typical of imperial nineteenth century views. In the case of Lucknow these views were supported by books such as Mill’s *History of British India* (1817), and by sensationalist works relating specifically to the nawabs’ lifestyles: *The Private Life of an Eastern King* and *Munna Jan’s Story*. The prurient curiosity about the zenana, and the belief that public luxury equalled private vice, seemed to be well established by about 1850. Lucknow is particularly identified as a locus of all the extravagant decadence of the east. The publication of *The Private Life of an Eastern King*, which described the court life of Nasir-ud-Din Haidar, prompted questions in Parliament about the nawabs’ fitness to govern their own affairs. The depictions of Lucknow seen in the panorama, and the accompanying texts make clear to the viewer that what is being depicted is not just a scene, but a moral environment as well. That is, a beautiful but also squalid city of oriental vice ruled by grandiose but corrupt nawabs, its fairytale loveliness disguising oriental squalor

Conclusion

The claims of the panorama to be accurate depictions must be taken seriously, but in a work which attempts to look beyond the “depicted”, in this case the city of Lucknow, supposedly “factual” accounts (either in writing or in visual representation) appear to be no more than another kind of fiction. The Lucknow of the 1830s as depicted by Robert Smith and the Lucknow of the 1860s photographed by Felix Beato, and that described by Henry Galland. Each has claim to be an accurate depiction, the one because the surviving buildings and other sources support the accuracy of the view, the other because it is a photograph whose technological accomplishments are usually held to produce truthful images, but in a sense this is no more important than verifying the accuracy of depictions of Arcadia or Fairyland.

Beyond any high-minded desire to educate the rising middle-classes in England about British endeavours and dominions overseas, in the first place the panorama developed a consciousness of spectacle. This began in the gradual gigantism of historical paintings and continued with greater effects and increasing size in the panoramic exhibitions. It is interesting that Robert Ker Porter’s famous panoramic paintings²¹⁸ were actually half or three-quarter circles, indicating a transitional phase. John Sinclair Copely painted huge scenes which the public were charged to see, and he was the first artist to make a living by exhibiting rather than selling his paintings (Altick 1978:105). This was the beginning of a trend which culminated in the gimmicky spectacles involving sound effects, lighting, music and any other technique by which the spectacle could be made more ‘real’.

Panoramas, Orientalism and the Picturesque

The panoramic views of the “east” and of other exotica appear to fit neatly into a Orientalist agenda. They show the exotic as a consumable, pre-digested spectacle, complete with factual and scientific information which neutralises any overt Orientalist prejudices. The strangeness of Constantinople or Caubul [sic] is ameliorated by these reassuring facts. In addition the sheer foreignness of foreign places forms a highly defined contrast to the viewer’s knowledge and expectations of their own everyday scenery and even identity. The early panoramas of India as seen in the work of the Daniells, that is, the panoramas in *Oriental Scenery*, are clearly done with a view to clarifying and educating the viewer as to what exactly is being

²¹⁸ In addition to Seringapatam, he made several battle scenes, usually involving the defeats suffered by the French under Napoleon. One of his most popular scenes was the Battle of Agincourt, the actual composition survived until 1910 (Oettermann 1997:115)

depicted. There is no doubt that the Daniells were deeply impressed with the huge scale of the temples and chaitya halls of Ellora, their carefully numbered aqua-tints of the site demonstrate this. The earliest panoramic Indian scene by Robert Ker Porter, by contrast, shows only the military victory of the English over the ruler of Mysore, its function being to depict the heroism and military power of the conquering army. The panoramas of Upper India drawn by Fergusson and various other India experts depicts the overwhelming strangeness of the India outside the English city of Calcutta. The three panoramic scenes of India drawn by Smith are less sensational but similarly exotic, with the exception of the Delhi scenes, which are largely processional scenes of no great interest. William Wood's panorama showing the mainly British parts of Calcutta is not in the slightest exotic - large bland open spaces with dull neo-classical facades in the background. Similarly, Galland's view of Lucknow seems vague and ill-defined as a visual composition, however, the accompanying text leaves the viewer in no doubt about the moral values of what he is seeing.

It is in the field of reception that the claims of the panorama must be examined. If it were only a production problem then even the depictions of the exotic would be ameliorated by claims for the individuality of the artist and the idiosyncrasies and fashions of the art world. The panorama had a publicity and a educative function which went far beyond painting and its claims to be a kind of virtual reality needs to be considered in terms of its wider social influence. For the nineteenth century viewer of a panorama of Lucknow, this *was* Lucknow, there was no competing view or vision which could form a contrast or a contradiction. The claims for accuracy and the didactic attitude developed the panorama far beyond any mere claims to visual accuracy. The very novelty of the medium and its effects on viewers negated distance and criticism, unlike the perceptive comments made about landscape painting by Repton, Constable and others.

Panoramas are not really a type of painting, if anything they are a type of virtual reality, hampered only by the technical limits of their time, and even then the process of illusionism (as described by Gombrich) is very complete. The "proximity" of the subject and viewer dissolves objectivity (in any sense) and the striving for affective experience makes the panorama an ideal vehicle for the dissemination of ideology. It is difficult to ascribe a particular agenda to the makers of the panorama in relation to the depictions of both India and Lucknow. The Orientalism which Said ascribes to the early Sanskritists (as discussed in

chapter 1), clearly does not describe the Barker and Burford endeavour in Leicester Square. What could be said is that what is significant here is the absence of certain things and not the presence. To illustrate further what is meant by absence - by necessity India had to be represented by a limited number of scenes, in effect creating a microcosm consisting of certain key scenes or events, which created the "India" of the panorama, and the "India" which existed in the mind of those seeing the spectacle themselves. The "India" contained very different things and ideas compared with the classical scholarship of the earlier period (late eighteenth and early nineteenth century) which sought to collect as much information as possible, as Said put it "to codify, to subdue the infinite variety of the Orient" (Said 1978:78). In one sense the same could be said of the panoramic artists and promoters, though unlike the Asiatic Society members, the panorama attempted to codify and subdue by a process of reduction and symbolising. The exotic can be depicted through a series of schemata, familiarising and reducing it to a manageable form, though paradoxically by displaying it in as gigantic.

Lucknow as depicted in the panoramic vision is an example of the pictorial orientalism through which the early nineteenth century spectator was invited to apprehend the world of difference. This is no exciting battle like Seringapatam, nor does it contain any self-affirming heroic British feats like Beechey's expedition to Spitzbergen²¹⁹. What it does show is a kind of romantic, placid orient: static, exotic and ahistorical. The overall impression of this panoramic "Lucknow" is of a fairytale orient, inhabited by a king whose main activity (at this point in the narrative) is to sail the river in strange but beautiful boats, accompanied by his courtiers and musicians. Or, as in Galland's Lucknow, beautiful domed palaces hide oriental vice, or, alternatively, are the scene of British courage in adversity. In the same way that the peasants of Derbyshire (as depicted by de Louthembourg) were only shown in the timeless romantic yesterday of nineteenth century nostalgia, so was Lucknow turned into an oriental dream. Moreover it was a dream which was intended to inform an eager public of the world which was gradually becoming the empire with which they might (no matter how vicariously) feel that they had knowledge and experience of. A spectacle whose original purpose was to accurately show the public the world as it was eventually became a mirror of bourgeois expectations and orientalist fantasy. As one writer saw it "it served both as an instrument for liberating human vision and for limiting and imprisoning it anew" (Oettermann 1997:7). It

²¹⁹ Shown in the Panorama in Leicester Square

sought to be an educative and factual entertainment which in its own way was just as fantastical and false as the works of imagination it sought to surpass.

Conclusion

Style, hybridity and identity are the three main themes used in re-examining the city of Lucknow in the present work, and those themes permeate every aspect of the art and architecture of the city. Hybridity, whether considered as an innovative assimilation of the other by the other, or, as the aesthetic preference in a choice situation, is the outstanding cultural attitude of the Lucknavi nawabs and people. Not because they were especially given to this type of inventiveness but rather, the cultural matrix from which they emerged is innovative, engaging and fluid.

The history of the city of Lucknow, and the state of Oudh in the period 1770-1856 (when Oudh was annexed) should read like a classic tale of colonial villainy, and in political terms it does. Several contemporary publications at the time of annexation take issue with the gross venality and corruption of the East India Company in its relations with the nawabs²²⁰. The so-called “mutiny” of 1857 had its fiercest resistance in Oudh, fighting continued in the countryside long after “peace” had officially been restored. The importance of Lucknow as the site of heroic British resistance against the ungrateful people of India has almost totally obscured its previous existence as the most vibrant and artistic court in north India. The present work could be seen as an answer to seemingly simple questions, such as: why does Lucknow architecture look the way it does? Why is it still execrated by western architectural historians? How does the exotic become familiarized. How and why does hybridity emerge. What effect does the exotic have on the colonists? Was neo-classicism the ‘exotic’ style in north India?

The first section of the thesis (Chapters 2 and 3) dealt with the theme of architectural hybridity, a theme which permeates the entire work, but needed some elaboration with regard to the use, in India, of neo-classical architecture, contrasting the British-built Calcutta with the Indian patronage of Lucknow. The seemingly incompatible requirements of Indian and the neo-classical houses was ingeniously solved by the amalgamation of Indian plans and European decorative effects, in most cases. And this took place despite the clear plans and elevations available from Le Clerc and Campbell’s *Vitruvius Britannicus*. The development of the examination of how hybridity develops is discussed in Chapter 3 - that is, the adaption of

²²⁰ *Dacoitee in excelsis, or, the spoliation of Oude by the East India Company*, London (c1857), printed and published by R J Taylor, 54 Chancery Lane; this pamphlet was suppressed by the British Government.

Indian architectural models in England by neo-classical architects, and the use of the neo-classical in specific sites in Lucknow. What is significant here is that both sides were using similar materials (printed books and painted illustrations) in their attempt to assimilate the other into a well-established stylistic milieu. The reversal of the usual qualities ascribed to east and west - the mysterious west and the classical east - underlines the interchangeability of both sites and the possibility that hybridity is not a failure of taste or understanding. Rather, hybrids can be multivalent in meaning and that the development of hybridity should not be assessed by appeals to unrealizable standards of stylistic purity. Lucknow's use of the neo-classical appear to be highly subversive in this way, but it is important to see them as being aesthetically motivated and not the vanguard of a politically motivated architecture. Homi Bhabha's description of hybrids as terrorizing by mockery and mimicry must be understood (at least in Lucknow) as an *affect* of the viewer, and not an *effect* intended by the builder. The conclusions of section 1 detail the several ways in hybridity was developed, used, and assimilated in Calcutta and Lucknow, similarly how Indian architecture was assimilated, ideologically, and in projects (mainly unbuilt) by prominent architects in England such as Humphrey Repton and John Foulston. A summary of those conclusion follows:

1. Hybridity in Lucknow proceeded from the adaption of neo-classical decorative and exterior features, combined with plans derived from mughal tomb architecture, which neatly coalesce the practical requirements with the desired aesthetic effects.
2. Throughout the nawabi period the hybrid architecture continued to draw on Indian prototypes, such as the walled garden with pavilions, but with many neo-classical elements, which were an important feature of the late nawabi period, but do not appear much in the early stages.
3. The often invoked polarity of east and west collapses when Lucknavi architecture is considered. The assimilation of the other, both east and west, shares some striking similarities, chief among these is the tendency to use the architecture without reference to its stylistic history and theory. This is as true for the west as for the east, as the work of Foulston, Nash and Wightwick demonstrates. Even Repton's more successful use of Indian style proceeds from his attempts to fit the Indian into a hierarchy of styles, with the west in the position of supremacy.

4. Despite the many criticisms of Lucknow architecture as being ignorant misunderstanding of neo-classical and western style, it can be seen quite clearly that the west was used in Lucknow. Moreover, it was used in ways which demonstrated that the use of architecture as a sign was well-understood by the patrons and builders.

The reputation of Lucknow was such that every modern work²²¹ was built on top of the pre-existing layers of ideology, “stylism” and a peculiar (and unexamined) tendency to believe that Lucknow architecture was a symptom of the moral ill-health of its rulers²²². To merely contradict these opinions was not enough, neither does defence on mitigating circumstances suffice. What this thesis demonstrates is the necessity of examining critically the traditions not just of the architecture but more importantly the traditions which inform how architecture is seen in a particular way. Style and its ideological components within the west (particularly with regard to the neo-classical) has a delightfully idiosyncratic character of its own, and is no more correct than it needed to be. In this way, neo-classical architecture, perhaps all architecture, is subject to great modification in reality, and often violates the fanatical prescriptions of its theorists and enthusiasts.

A critique of the western ways of seeing styles (Chapter 4) may seem out of place in a thesis mainly concerned with the art and architecture of an Indian city. It is difficult to overestimate the importance of style and ideology in western art history, and equally how this seemingly innocuous development of stylism has affected (or infected) the western art historical discourse with moral attributes and a moralizing tendency. Moreover, these moral attributes, which may work inside the cultural milieu in which they were developed, are grotesquely inappropriate when applied elsewhere. Attempts to fit Islamic Indian architecture into the Greek ideal, by reference to its regularity and (relatively) plain exterior demonstrates the complete lack of interest in, or understanding of, the roots of the Indian Islamic tradition. Hindu architecture suffered a similar fate, eventually being ascribed a gothic character (after some confusion) on account of its soaring shikaras (spires) and highly decorated surfaces. The use of Indian architecture in England is examined in the light of the critique of style and values. Indian architecture was first brought to England at a point when the ideologies of style had reached a kind of frenzy. The “battle of the styles” was being waged between the

²²¹ With a few exceptions such as Tandan and Llewellyn-Jones.

²²² As discussed in chapter 4.

adherents of the classical and the gothic, also further confused by picturesque notions of taste and beauty and the introduction of exotic styles such as the Egyptian, Chinese and Indian. The search for original architecture, understood initially as the prototype of Greek temples, provoked an interesting, and value-laden, examination of how buildings develop. Quasi-scientific thinking about the origins of styles was enlisted in attempts to prove the antiquity of either the classical or gothic. Into this over-heated situation the outsiders, especially the Indian were eventually assimilated in some interesting ways. For the Indian style, this eventually entailed being used in follies, rooms, and other shrunken, trivial structures, often within picturesque garden settings. The theoretical admiration for Indian architecture (discussed in chapter 5) never achieved any material reality in Britain. However important India may have been in ameliorating the fanaticism of the battle of the styles, it was never seriously utilized in a significant building. The debate about styles also was a search for an English, or rather British national style at a time when the international features of the neo-classical appeared to be insufficiently nationalistic, and both exotics and antiquities were enlisted in that search.

The conclusions of the discussion on style in Chapters 4 and 5 are as follows:

1. Styles and their values and meanings are the underpinning of almost all criticism of Indian and Lucknavi architecture, regardless of the implicit monocultural assumptions. Chronological and moral values inform much of the thinking about style in the west. The relative success and failure of styles and hybrids proceeds from this type of thinking, regardless of local tradition and values. This thinking still informs contemporary attitudes to Lucknow.
2. Assumptions about mimesis of styles from west to east are inappropriate when dealing with Lucknow. The narrowness of western thinking fails to fully take account of style as a utilitarian aspect of building, or of the possibility of stylistic pluralism.
3. The actual rather than theoretical use of Indian architectural models in England in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries demonstrates the gap between theory and practice. The debates about the primacy of style and the search for an English architectural identity undermined the possibilities of adopting Indian styles in any serious way.

Identity, like style and hybridity must also be considered as a universal theme in this thesis.

The final section is an examination of how certain aspects of identity formation occurred in the contact between Britain and Lucknow, and within Lucknow itself, but invisibly in the case of the Shias of Lucknow discussed in Chapter 6. The forgotten aspect of culture and style in Lucknow is that of Islam, in this case the idiosyncratic and lively culture of Shi'ism. No previous accounts are given of the importance of Shi'ism in the culture of Lucknow, though it permeates every aspect of the lives of the people and even the seemingly irreligious nawabs. Discussion of identity in Lucknow is futile without recognition of this. The architectural tradition of the Shias is also a revelation of the pluralistic, eclectic, ritualistic and entirely pragmatic attitude to building and style. An understanding of these aspects of Shia culture greatly assists an appreciation of the secular and palatial buildings of the city, and illuminates how, perhaps more than in any other place in India, hybridity and identity were very much part of the pre-existing cultural matrix. The "otherness" of Shi'ism within the dominant Islamic Sunnism of the mughals also underlines the relative position of Shia identity as, historically, a permanent other within the Islamic world.

The influence of the Other in terms of an individual can be seen in the work of Robert Home (Chapter 7). Unlike the other picturesque artists of India like Hodges and the Daniells, Home stayed in India, and his work there was done under the patronage of an Indian ruler. Home's style and attitudes influenced the tastes of his patron, the nawab (and later king) Ghazi-ud-Din-Haidar. In the formation of the nawab's identity as king of Oudh, Home's designs for regalia followed the designs more usually associated with European or even English royalty. He provided the nawab with a certain *cachet* in having a European rather than an Indian official artist at court. Despite the frequent visits to royal courts, no European artist had been directly employed by an Indian ruler in this capacity. Home's other role as court artist was to paint the nawab, and some surviving examples demonstrate how Home portrayed Ghazi-ud-Din in a very dignified and flattering way, further supporting his identity as *padshah* or king of kings. The relationship between Home and the nawab also illustrates how the other exists in close personal relationship with a person of differing status, and in reversal of the usual expectation of a European buying the services of a talented Indian.

The other significant area of identity formation which utilized Lucknow in the process is the Panorama. Emerging out of the scientific and taxonomic thinking of the eighteenth century, combined with the picturesque notions of the drama and affect of natural scenes, the

panorama attempted to combine all these elements and purported to represent the world as it was. Gradually, the number of scenes thus depicted grew to encompass not only the familiar and historic, but more and more, the unfamiliar, the exotic and the exciting. The development of “special effects” such as moving pictures, sounds, special lighting and even real people in painted scenes showed how the panorama concentrated on the mimesis of the “real world” and tried to extinguish the distance between the viewer and the spectacle as much as was possible, given the available technology. The use of Lucknow in the Panorama was intended to give the British public some idea of what the city was like, given that very few of them would ever visit it. The exhibition of Lucknow in the Panorama also coincided with the general change of policy and of attitude towards India (Spear 1956:116-128, Bayly 1988: 155-168), one might speculate what might have been the subject, had the panorama been made in 1800. The Panorama identified the city in a particular way: it amalgamated the hybrid, eclectic city of the nawabs into a moral discourse which inevitably cast the city in a fantastic, but morally dubious light. The panorama not only showed the British public what Lucknow looked like; it taught them how they ought to regard it, a moral as well as geographical depiction giving lie to its claims of objectivity.

Conclusions usually involve a simplification, or rendering down of the many points in a thesis into a simpler definitive whole. While this conclusion sums up the most important points of the work, it serves mainly as a reminder of what went before. It seems far too simplistic and undesirable to reiterate arguments in a reductionist way. If anything the present work is intended to be a plea for diversity, for a more complete picture of what Lucknow was, as a site, a sign and a city. It is also a description of the tripartite underpinnings of eclectic Lucknavi culture; Shia, neo-classical and mughal; and against the dualism which is assumed in every contact between east and west. Western attitudes to the history of art are often by nature reductionist and seek to replace earlier, less ‘correct’ discourses. That is not the intention in this work, quite the opposite. If anything this work is intended to co-exist with other histories, the work of Rosie Llewellyn-Jones and Banmali Tandan in particular, hopefully working towards a “choice situation” in which the plea²²³ to restore the religious, cultural, and social contexts of Indian art has been met.

²²³ Made by Partha Mitter in *Much Maligned Monsters*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Unpublished and manuscript material

Home Papers (HP in the text)

Letters of Robert Home to Anne Walker 1818-1820 (typescript from originals).

Memoir of General John Home (son of Robert), manuscript notebook dictated to his granddaughter.

Letter of John Home to Mrs. Col. Duncan, 1821.

Various later letters of the Home family.

Notebook by Robert Home re: paint and varnish techniques with recipes.

All the above are in the Oriental and India Office Collection of the British Library (uncatalogued).

The letters of Sir Everard Home to his son, James Everard Home.

Library of the Royal College of Surgeons of England.

Sitters Book of Robert Home - manuscript notebook in the National Portrait Gallery.

Photographs of Lucknow in the Prints and Drawings Collection of the British Library.

Design Book of Robert Home - large collection of illustrations, sketches, designs in the Prints and Drawings Collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum.

Proceedings of the Asiatic Society - bound manuscripts in the archives of the Asiatic Society, 1 Park Street, Calcutta.

Views of Calcutta, Benares and Lucknow by Captain Robert Smith (44th Regiment), Prints and Drawings Collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum.

The Will of General Claude Martin, European Manuscripts, British Library (Add.13863).

“Design for a Residence for a Ruler of the British Empire” by J. M. Gandy

Four painted designs now in the Prints and Drawings Collection of the Royal Institute of British Architects.

Printed Books, Articles and Papers

AHMAD, S.

Two Kings of Awadh, Muhammad Ali Shah and Amjad Ali Shah 1837-1847

Aligarh, Dawadash Shreni 1971

AHMAD, S. (trans.)

Tarikh Badshah Begum

Lucknow (no date)

ALLSOP, B.

Style in the Visual Arts

Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Oriel Press 1956

ALTICK, R.

The Shows of London

Cambridge Mass. and London, The Belknap Press 1978

ANON.

Catalogue of the Curiosities of the Indian Museum

London 1820

ANON.

'Some notes of Gen. Claud [sic] Martin'

Bengal Past and Present,

Vol. II, July 1908, no. 3, pp. 277-288

ANON.

'The Panorama with memoirs of its inventor, Robert Barker'

The Art Journal

Feb. 1857

ANON.

British Aggression in Avadh,

*Being the treatise of M. Mohammad Masih Uddin Khan Bahadur
entitled 'Oude: Its princes and its government vindicated'*

London, Davy 1857

ARCHER, M.

Early Views of India, The Picturesque Journeys of Thomas and William Daniell 1786-1794

London, Thames and Hudson 1980

ARCHER, M.

Indian Architecture and the British

Feltham, Mddx, Country Life Books 1968

ARCHER, M. and LIGHTBOWN, R.

India Observed

London, Victoria and Albert Museum 1982

ARCHER, M.

India and British Portraiture 1779-1825

London, Sotheby Parke Bernet 1979

ARCHER, M.

British Drawings in the India Office Library (2 vols.)

London, British Library 1969-1994

ARCHER, M.

Company Paintings - Indian Paintings of the British Period
London, Victoria and Albert Museum 1992

Asiatic Journal

London 1799-1811 13 vols.

Asiatick Researches

London 1801 (4 vols.)

ASLET, C.

A History of Elveden

London, Christie 1984

BARNETT, R. B.

North India between Empires - Awadh, the Mughals, and the British 1720-1801

University of California Press, 1980

BAYLY, C. A.

Indian Society and the making of the British Empire

Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1993

BASU, P.

Oudh and the East India Company 1785-1801

Lucknow, Maxwell 1943

BHABHA, H.

The Location of Culture

London, Routledge 1994

BEECHEY, G. D.

The eighth child - George Duncan Beechey 1797-1852 Royal Portrait Painter to the Last Four Kings of Oudh

London, Excalibur 1994

BELTING, H. (trans. Wood, C.)

The End of the History of Art?

Chicago and London, University of Chicago Press 1987

BERNAL, M.

Black Athena - the afroasiatic roots of classical culture

London, Vintage 1991

BROWN, P.

Indian Architecture, Islamic Period

Bombay, Taraporevala 1996 (and 1942)

BURKE, E.

A Philosophical Enquiry in the Origins of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful
Oxford, Blackwell 1987 (orig. 1757)

CARTER, J.

The Builder`s Magazine
London, Newbery 1774

CHAMBERS, W.

Plans, Elevations, Sections and Perspective Views of the Gardens and Buildings at Kew
London 1763

CHAMBERS, W.

Some account of the Sculptures and Ruins at Mavalipuram, a place a few miles north of Sadras
Asiatic Researches, Vol. I, Calcutta 1788

CHAMBERS, W.

A Dissertation on Oriental Gardening
London, Griffin 1772

COLE, J. R. I.

Roots of Northern Indian Shi`ism in Iran and Iraq - Religion and State in Awadh, 1722-1859
Berkeley, University of California Press 1988

CONNER, P.

Oriental Architecture in the West
London, Thames and Hudson 1979

COTTON, Sir E.

‘Robert Home’
Bengal Past and Present
Vol. XXXV 1928, pp. 1-24

COTTON, Sir E.

‘Robert Home’s Portrait of Lord Lake’
Bengal Past and Present
Vol. XXXVII 1929, pp. 85-86

COTTON, Sir E.

‘The Nawabs and Kings of Oudh’
Bengal Past and Present
Vol. XLIII 1932, pp. 137-140

COTTON, H. E. A.
Calcutta Old and New
Calcutta, Newman 1907

COTTON, J. J.
'George Beechey and his Indian wife'
Bengal Past and Present
Vol. XXIV 1922, pp. 49-53

CROOK, J. M.
The Dilemma of Style - Architectural Ideas from the Picturesque to the Post-Modern
London, Murray 1987

CROOK, J. M.
The Greek Revival
London, Murray 1972

CUNNINGHAM, A. Capt.
'An Essay on the Arian Order of Architecture, as exhibited in the Temples of Kashmir'
Journal of the Asiatic Society
September 1848

DANIELL, T. and W.
Oriental Scenery (8 vols.)
London 1795-1815

DAVIES, P.
Splendours of the Raj: British Architecture in India 1660-1947
London, Murray 1985

DEANE, ANNE ("A.D.")
A Tour through the Upper Provinces of Hindostan
London, Rivington 1823

EDWARDES, M.
The Orchid House - The Splendours and Miseries of the Kingdom of Oudh 1827-1857
London, Cassell 1960

EDWARDES, M.
The Nabobs at Home
London, Constable 1991

EMLYN, H.
A Proposition for a New Order in Architecture with rules for drawing the several parts
London 1784

EVENSON, N.

The Indian Metropolis

New Haven & London, Yale University Press 1989

FERGUSON, J.

History of Indian and Eastern Architecture (2 vols.)

London, Murray 1910 (first published 1876)

FISHER, M.

A Clash of Cultures - Awadh, the British, and the Mughals

Delhi, Manshar 1987

FISHER, M.

Indirect Rule in India: Residents and the Residency System 1764-1857

Delhi, Oxford University Press 1991

FORREST, LT. COL., C. R.

A Picturesque Tour along the Ganges and Jumna

London 1824

FOSTER, Sir W.

'British Painters in Bengal'

Bengal Past and Present

Vol. XXIX 1925, pp. 1-6

FOSTER, Sir W.

'George Duncan Beechey'

Vol. XLI 1931, pp. 101-104

FOULSTON, J.

The Public Buildings Erected in the West of England by John Foulston FRIBA

London 1838

GARSTIN, J.

An account of the Hindoo Temple of Vissvisshoor etc.

Bensley, London 1801

GILPIN, W.

Three Essays on Picturesque Beauty etc.

London 1794

GOMBRICH, E. H.

Art and Illusion

London, Phaidon 1992

GREENHALGH, P.

Ephemeral Vistas: The Expositions Universelles, Great Exhibitions and World Fairs 1851-1939

Manchester, Manchester University Press 1988

GUHA, R. and SPIVAK, G. C.

Select Subaltern Studies

Oxford 1988

HASAN, A.

Palace Culture of Lucknow

Delhi, B.R. Publishing Corporation 1983

HALL, J. Sir

Essay on the Origin and Principles of Gothic Architecture

Edinburgh, Transactions of the Royal Society 1797

HEAD, M.

Sezincote, a paradigm of the Indian style

M.A. Thesis

Royal College of Art 1982

HEBER, R.

Narrative of a Journey through the Upper Provinces of India: From Calcutta to Bombay 1824-1826 (3 vols.)

London, Murray 1828

HODGES, W.

Travels in India during the years 1780-83

London, 1793

HODGES, W.

A Dissertation on the prototypes of Architecture, Hindoo, Moorish and Gothic

London, 1787

HOLLISTER, J. N.

The Shi'a of India

New Delhi, Manoharlal 1953

HOLZMAN, J. M.

The Nabobs in England, A Study of the Returned Anglo-Indian, 1760-1785

New York, 1920

HONOUR, H.

Neo-Classicism

London, Penguin 1968

HOPE, T.

Household Furniture

London 1807

HOWE, T. N.

The Invention of the Doric Order

Ph.D. Thesis

Harvard University 1985

HYDE, R.

Panoromania! The Art and Entertainment of the "All Embracing View".

London, Trefoil Publications/Barbican 1988

JONES, B.

Follies and Grottoes

London, Constable 1974

JONES, K.

Socio-Religious Reform movements in British India - The New Cambridge History of India III.1

Cambridge, Cambridge University Press 1989

FURNEAUX-JORDAN, R.

Victorian Architecture

Harmondsworth, Penguin 1966

KITTOE, M. CAPT.

Illustrations of Indian Architecture from the Muhammedan Conquest Downwards

Calcutta 1838

KNIGHTON, W.

The Private Life of an Eastern King and Elihu Jan's Story

Oxford, Oxford University Press 1921

KOCH, E.

Mughal Architecture

Munich, Prestel 1991

LANG, B. (ED.)

The Concept of Style (revised ed.)

Ithaca and London, Cornell University Press 1987

LAWRIE, G. W. & CO.

Lucknow - The Garden of India

Lucknow, Lawrie & Co. (no date c.1910)

LLEWELLYN-JONES, R.

A Fatal Friendship, the Nawabs, the British and the city of Lucknow
Delhi, Oxford University Press 1985

LONG, J, REV.

Calcutta in the Olden Time
Calcutta 1974

LOSTY, J. P.

Calcutta City of Palaces
London, British Library 1990

LUCAS, S.

Dacoitee in excelsis, or, the spoliation of Oude by the East India Company
London, Taylor 1856

MAHAJAN, J.

The Raj Landscape - British views of Indian cities
Surrey, Spantech 1988

MCEVILLE, T.

Art & Otherness - Crisis in Cultural Identity
New York, Documentext, McPherson 1980

MACKENZIE, J. M.

Orientalism History, theory and the arts
Manchester, Manchester University Press 1996

METCALF, T. R.

Ideologies of the Raj - The New Cambridge History of India III.4
Cambridge, Cambridge University Press 1994

MITTER, P.

Much Maligned Monsters - History of European Reactions to Indian Art
Oxford, Clarendon Press 1977

MOORE-GILBERT, B.

Postcolonial Theory - Contexts, Practices, Politics
London & New York, Verso 1997

NILSSON, S.

European Architecture in India, 1750-1850
London, Faber 1968

NEWELL, H. A. LIEUT. COL.

Lucknow (The Capital of Oudh)
Brussels, Weissenbruch, no date c. 1900

NORRIS, C.

Truth and the Ethics of Criticism

Manchester, University Press 1994

OETTERMAN, S. (trans. Deborah Lucas Schneider)

The Panorama - History of a Mass Medium

New York, Zone Books 1997

OLDENBURG, V. T.

The Making of Colonial Lucknow 1856-1877

Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1984

PARKES, F.

Wanderings of a Pilgrim in search of the Picturesque

London 1850 (repr. 1975 Oxford University Press)

PEVSNER, N.

The Englishness of English Art

London, Penguin 1956

PUGIN, A. W. N.

An Apology for the Revival of Christian Architecture in England

London 1843

RAZ, RAM

Essay on the Architecture of the Hindus

Calcutta 1834

REPTON, H.

Designs for the Pavillon at Brighton

London 1808

REPTON, H.

An Enquiry into the Changes in Architecture as it relates to Palaces and Houses in England with some remarks on the Introduction of Indian Architecture

London, Taylor 1806

REYNOLDS, SIR J.

Discourses delivered at the Royal Academy

London, Sharpe 1825

RIEGL, A. (trans. E. Kain)

The Problem of Style

Princeton, University Press 1992

ROGERS, A.

Visit to the kingdom of Oudh

London, Strong 1920

RYKWERT, J.

On Adam`s House in Paradise - The idea of the primitive hut in architectural history

Cambridge, Mass., and London, The MIT Press 1989

RYKWERT, J.

The First Moderns, The Architects of the Eighteenth Century

Cambridge, Mass., and London, The MIT Press 1990

SAID, E. W.

Orientalism

London, Penguin 1991

SAID, E. W.

Culture and Imperialism

London, Vintage 1994

SHARAR, A. H.

Lucknow, the last phase of an oriental culture

Delhi, Oxford University Press 1989

SHELLIM, M.

India and the Daniells

London, Inchcape 1979

SINHA, D. P.

British Relations with Oudh 1801-1856

Calcutta, Bagchi 1983

SPEAR, P.

A History of India (vol ii)

London, Penguin 1965

SRIVASTAVA, A. L.

The first two nawabs of Oudh

Lucknow, Upper India Publishing House 1933

SRIVASTAVA, A. L.

Shuja-ud-Daulah

Lahore, 1945

SUMMERSON, J.

The Architecture of the Eighteenth Century

London, Thames and Hudson 1969

SUMMERSON, J.

The Classical Language of Architecture

London, Thames and Hudson 1980

STOCQUELER, J. H. and LONG, J. REV. (ed. Nair, P. T.)

British Social Life in Ancient Calcutta 1750-1850

Calcutta, Sanskrit Pustak Bhandar 1983

SWEETMAN, J.

The Oriental Obsession

Cambridge, Cambridge University Press 1987

TANDAN, B.

The Architecture of the Nawabs of Avadh between 1722 and 1856

Ph. D. Thesis

University of Cambridge 1978

TIDRICK, K.

Empire and the English Character

London, Tauris 1992

TILLOTSON, G. H. R.

The Tradition of Indian Architecture

New Haven & London, Yale University Press 1989

TWINING, T.

Travels in India a hundred years ago

London, Osgood McIlvaine 1893

VALENTIA, G. Viscount

Voyages and Travels to India, Ceylon, the Red Sea, Abyssinia, and Egypt in the Years 1802, 1803, 1805 and 1806 (3 vols.)

London, Miller 1809

WALLIS, N.

The Carpenter's Treasure, a collection of Designs for Temples etc.

London 1773

WATKIN, D.

The English Vision - The picturesque in Architecture, Landscape and Garden Design

London, Murray 1982

WATKIN, D.

Morality and Architecture

Oxford, Oxford University Press 1977

WATKIN, D.

Thomas Hope (1769-1831) and the Neo-Classical Idea

London, Murray 1975

WIGHTWICK, G.

The Palace of Architecture - A Romance of Art and History

London 1840

WOLLHEIM, R.

Art and its Objects

London, Pelican 1970

WITTGENSTEIN, L. (ed. G von Wright)

Culture and Value

Oxford, Blackwell 1978

WORSWICK, C. and EMBREE, A.

The Last Empire - Photography in British India, 1855-1911

London, Fraser 1976

YOUNG, R.

White Mythologies - Writing History and the West

London, Routledge 1990

Glossary

azadaari - mourning, usually refers to the Muharram observance, non-Shias may also observe azadaari

alam - a standard, similar to that borne by the sons of Ali at Karbala

bagh - a garden

bangla - a curved roof or vault sloping downwards on each side equally, derived from the vernacular architecture of Bengal

baradari - a rectangular or square pavilion, a summerhouse, usually with open arcaded sides

bhakti - devotion to a particular, personal god

begum - a title of respect for muslim married women, also used in place of “wife”.

chattri - also chatr, meaning the honorific parasol connected with royalty, refers to small domed kiosk on the superstructure of buildings, as in Chatter Manzil

chunam - a fine polished plaster made of shells, used to imitate marble

dargah - usually means the tomb of a Shia saint or imam, and replicas of the imams’ tombs are also called dargahs, also used by the mughals to refer to the imperial court (Koch)

darshan - vision or appearance, usually the sighting of a Hindu religious image

darwaza - doorway, gateway or gatehouse

darbar - an audience, usually the royal court

guldasta - ornamental pinnacle terminating in a bouquet of flowers

hammam - a bath or bath house

hasht bihisht - the “eight-fold paradise”, a building divided by four intersecting lines in to nine divisions, usually with a central domed chamber

haveli - residential building usually associated with the merchant class. Usually consisting of a series of rooms around a central courtyard, often multi-storeyed

hujra - a cell or small room

imambara - a building used for congregational prayers by Shias, distinct from a mosque. Imambaras are used to house the replica tombs of the Imams

jali or jaali - a decorated, perforated screen, usually of wood or stone

jawab - “answer”, a building repeated to preserve a symmetrical plan

jharokas - a balconied window supported by brackets

karbala - Karbala was the site of the battle in which Yazid murdered almost the entire line of Ali and is the event commemorated in the Muharram ceremonies. A karbala is a building replicating the tomb of Imam Hussein and is also used to refer to the enclosure around the structure, which may contain other buildings and structures relating to Karbala, and also an enclosure where tazias are buried

khamagah - ‘place of tents’, the part of a karbala which represents the encampment of the forces of Hasan and Hussein at Karbala

kothi - a residence, usually palatial

madrasa - a college for Islamic education

mahal - apartment, pavilion, palace used interchangeably

majlis - a religious assembly during the nights of Muharram

mandal - pavilion or a house

maqbara - tomb or graveyard

mardana - the male area of a building, usually the public space

masjid - mosque

mihrab - the arched recess in the qibla wall of a mosque, denoting the direction of Mecca

mimbar - or minbar, the moveable pulpit of a mosque

minar - a tower, usually free standing

minaret - an attached tower or turret

musnud - seat or throne used by Indian rulers - the institution of royalty

nawab - “deputy”, i.e. of the mughal emperors.

naz’r - Gift or offering from an inferior to a superior

rauza - is also a tomb - but a replica of an actual tomb in Karbala or Medina. There are several rauzas in Lucknow, one being an imitation of the tomb of Fatima in Medina, can also

refer to any large tomb

sahanchi - side galleries of a tomb or imambara

shah-n-shin - lit. "the king's seat", the niche in which the taziyas are kept

sufi - an Islamic mystic, often a member of a sufi order such as the Chishti or Naqshbandi

tazia or taziya - a replica of the tomb of the martyred imams Hasan and Hussein. They may be of any size or material, some are permanent, some are ephemeral and are buried on the tenth day of Muharram

tykhana - an underground room or suite for use in hot weather

ulema (sing. alim) - muslim scholars

vizier - minister or adviser

zenana - female quarters or space, usually forbidden to all but very close male relations

List of Illustrations

The first number of the illustrations refers to the chapter numbers.

- 2.1 The Tomb of Safdar Jang, Delhi
- 2.2 The Bara Imambara, Lucknow
- 2.3 The Sher Mandal, Delhi
- 2.4 The Tomb of Itimad-ud-Daulah, Agra
- 2.5 The Tomb of Itimad-ud-Daulah, Agra
- 2.6 The Hada Mahal, Fatehpur Sikri
- 2.7 The Mosque of Tipu Sultan, Mysore
- 2.8 The Rumi Darwaza, Lucknow
- 2.9 Neo-classical building, Calcutta
- 2.10 *Houses on the Chowringhee Road* by Thomas Daniell (aquatint)
- 2.10a *A View of the Scotch Church etc.* by James Baillie Fraser
(aquatint 28x42.5 cm)
- 2.11 The Mullick House, Calcutta
- 2.12 Neo-classical building, Calcutta
- 2.13 *The Chitpore Road and the Black Pagoda* by Thomas Princep
(watercolour 18.5x22 cm)
- 2.13a *A View of the Bazaar leading to the Chitpore Road* by James Baillie Fraser
(aquatint 28x42.5cm)
- 2.14 Plan of Government House, Calcutta
- 2.15 The mosque at Chowringhee, Calcutta
- 2.16 The Gopalji Temple, Calcutta
- 2.17 Musabagh, or Barowen, Lucknow
- 2.18 Musabagh, Lucknow (detail)
- 2.19 Musabagh, Lucknow (detail)
- 2.20 Musabagh, Lucknow (detail)
- 2.21 Constantia, Lucknow
- 2.22 Constantia, Lucknow (detail)
- 2.23 Constantia, Lucknow (detail)
- 2.24 Constantia, Lucknow (detail)
- 2.25 The Tomb of Humayun, Delhi
- 2.26 The tomb of Shah Nawaz Khan, Burhanpur
- 2.27 Constantia, Lucknow
- 2.28 The Farhat Bakhsh, Lucknow (detail)
- 2.29 The Residency, Lucknow
- 2.30 The Farhat Bakhsh and the Chattar Manzil, Lucknow
- 2.31 The Gulistam-i-Eram etc., Lucknow
- 2.32 Darshan Bilas, Lucknow
- 2.33 The Kurshid Manzil, Lucknow (detail)
- 2.34 Banks House, Lucknow
- 2.35 The Alam Bagh, Lucknow

- 2.37 The Raushan-ud-Daula Kothi, Lucknow (side view)
- 2.38 The Sikanderbagh Gateway, Lucknow
- 2.39 The Sikanderbagh Gateway, Lucknow (interior view)
- 2.40 The Sikanderbagh Palace, Lucknow
- 2.41 The Begum Kothi at Hazratganj, Lucknow

- 3.1 From *Oriental Scenery* by Thomas and William Daniell (aquatint)
- 3.1a From *Oriental Scenery* by Thomas and William Daniell (aquatint)
- 3.2 *Design for a Pheasantry* by Humphrey Repton
- 3.3 From *Oriental Scenery* by Thomas and William Daniell (aquatint)
- 3.4 *Design for the Royal Pavilion, Brighton* by Humphrey Repton (west view)
- 3.5 *Design for the Royal Pavilion, Brighton* by John Nash (west view)
- 3.6 Gateway of the Taj Mahal, Agra
- 3.7 Pavilion design by Thomas Daniell
- 3.8 The Royal Pavilion, Brighton (plan and section by John Nash)
- 3.9 Calvinist Chapel, Devonport
- 3.10 Town Centre, Devonport
- 3.11 Indian Garden by George Wightwick
- 3.12 Royal Pavilion, Brighton
- 3.13 Garden at the Royal Pavilion, Brighton, by Humphrey Repton
- 3.14 Dilkusha, Lucknow
- 3.15 Seaton Delavel, Northumberland
- 3.16 The Kaisarbagh Gateway, Lucknow
- 3.17 The Lanka of the Kaisarbagh, Lucknow
- 3.18 Panoramic View of the Kaisarbagh, Lucknow
- 3.19 The Mermaid Gate of the Kaisarbagh, Lucknow
- 3.20 The Raushan-ud-Daula Kothi, Lucknow
- 3.21 The Chattar Manzil, Lucknow
- 3.22 The Chattar Manzil, Lucknow (detail)
- 3.23 The Chattar Manzil, Lucknow (outer facade)

- 5.1 Dulwich Picture Gallery by Sir John Soane
- 5.2 The Royal Pavilion, Brighton by John Nash
- 5.3 Design for a “ruined” arch
- 5.4 Memorial Tower, Shooter’s Hill, London
- 5.5 Sezincote, Gloucestershire
- 5.6 The Wilderness at Kew
- 5.7 The Taj Mahal
- 5.8 From *Oriental Scenery* by Thomas and William Daniell
- 5.9 The Royal Pavilion, Brighton
- 5.10 From *Oriental Scenery* by Thomas and William Daniell
- 5.11 Strawberry Hill, Twickenham, London
- 5.12 “Gothic” church by Sir James Hall
- 5.13 Prototypes of Gothic ornament by Sir James Hall
- 5.14 The English Order by Sir Henry Emlyn

(watercolour)

5.15a *Design for a Residence for a ruler of the British Empire* by J. M. Gandy

(watercolour)

- 6.1 The Husainabad Imambara, Lucknow
 - 6.2 A *taziya*, Lucknow
 - 6.3 A *zari*, Lucknow
 - 6.4 Gravestone in an imambara, Lucknow
 - 6.5 The Kazmain, Lucknow
 - 6.6a The Imambara Moghul Sahiba, Lucknow (detail)
 - 6.6b Musabagh, Lucknow (detail)
 - 6.7 The Imambara Moghul Sahiba, Lucknow (detail)
 - 6.8 The Imambara Malika Zamina, Lucknow
 - 6.9 The Imambara Malika Zamina, Lucknow (detail)
 - 6.10 The Imambara Malika Zamina, Lucknow (detail)
 - 6.11 The Tomb of Amjad Ali Shah, Lucknow (detail)
 - 6.12 Interior of a tomb, Lucknow
 - 6.13 The Karbala Dianut-ud-Daula, Lucknow (detail)
 - 6.14 The Jami Masjid, Lucknow (detail)
 - 6.15 Imambara Deputy Sahib, Lucknow
 - 6.16 The Karbala Dianut-ud-Daula, Lucknow (detail)
 - 6.17 Gravestone with calligraphic decoration, Lucknow
 - 6.18 The Husainabad Imambara, Lucknow (plan)
 - 6.19 The Bara Imambara, Lucknow (plan)
 - 6.20 Typical Shia haveli (plan)
 - 6.21 The purdah gallery of an imambara, Lucknow
 - 6.22 The Imambara Deputy Sahib, Lucknow (plan)
 - 6.23 The Tomb of Nasir-ud-Din Haidar, Lucknow
-
- 7.1 Self Portrait by Robert Home (pencil and pen on paper)
 - 7.2 *Handing over the Hostage Sons of Tipu Sultan* by Robert Home
(oil on canvas)
 - 7.3 The Dharmaraja Mandapa by Robert Home
(watercolour and pencil on paper)
 - 7.4 Study for *Our Saviour on the Cross* by Robert Home (ink on paper)
 - 7.5 Design by Robert Home (watercolour and pencil on paper)
 - 7.5a Design by Robert Home (watercolour and pencil on paper)
 - 7.6 *Lord Lake on his horse at Fategarh* by Robert Home (oil on canvas)
 - 7.6a Sketch for *Lord Lake* by Robert Home (ink on paper)
 - 7.7 Sketch of Ghazi-ud-Din Haidar by Robert Home (pencil and ink on paper)
 - 7.7a Head of Ghazi-ud-Din Haidar by Robert Home (pencil and ink on paper)
 - 7.8 *Ghazi-ud-Din Haidar, King of Awadh, Receiving Tribute* by Robert Home
(oil on canvas)
 - 7.9 Design for a carriage by Robert Home (pencil and ink on paper)
 - 7.10 Furniture design by Robert Home (pencil and watercolour on paper)
 - 7.11 Design for a medal by Robert Home (pencil and watercolour on paper)

- 7.13 Coat-of-Arms of the kings of Oudh by Robert Home
(pencil and ink on paper)
- 7.14 Design for a boat by Robert Home (pen and pencil on paper)
- 7.15 Sketch for the Panorama by Robert Smith (pencil on paper)
- 7.16 Design for a carriage by Robert Home (pen and ink on paper)
- 7.17 The fish boat and the Chattar Manzil, Lucknow
- 7.18 Design for furniture by Robert Home (pencil and ink on paper)
- 7.18a Design for furniture by a Lucknow designer
(watercolour and pencil on paper)
- 8.1 *London Bridge* by William Daniell (oil on canvas)
- 8.2 *Government House, Calcutta* by William Wood (pencil on paper)
- 8.3 *Esplanade Row* by William Wood (pencil on paper)
- 8.4 Panorama of Benares (detail) by Robert Smith (pencil on paper)
- 8.5 Panorama of Delhi (detail) by Robert Smith (pencil on paper)
- 8.6 Panorama of Lucknow by Robert Smith (pencil on paper)
- 8.7 Panorama of Lucknow by Robert Smith (pencil on paper)
- 8.8 Panorama of Lucknow by Robert Smith (pencil on paper)
- 8.9 Panorama of Lucknow by Robert Smith (pencil on paper)
- 8.10 Panorama of Lucknow by Robert Smith (pencil on paper)
- 8.11 Panorama of Lucknow by Robert Smith (pencil on paper)
- 8.12 Panorama of Lucknow by Robert Smith (pencil on paper)
- 8.13 Panorama of Lucknow by Robert Smith (pencil on paper)
- 8.14 The Gentil Album (detail)
- 8.15 The Coronation of Ghazi-ud-Din Haidar by an unknown Lucknow artist
(oil on canvas)

Illustrations and acknowledgements:

Plates 2.1 2.4, 2.5, 2.11, 2.12, 2.15, 2.18, 2.19, 2.20, 2.21, 2.22, 2.23, 2.24, 2.25, 2.27, 2.28, 2.29, 2.32, 2.33, 2.38, 2.39, 3.6, 3.21, 3.22, 5.7, 6.1, 6.2, 6.3, 6.4, 6.5, 6.6a, 6.6b, 6.7, 6.8, 6.9, 6.10, 6.11, 6.12, 6.13, 6.14, 6.15, 6.16, 6.17, 6.18, 6.19, 6.20, 6.21, 6.22, 6.23 are by and copyright of the author.

Copyright of the Victoria and Albert Museum:

7.1, 7.3, 7.4, 7.5, 7.5a, 7.6a, 7.7, 7.7a, 7.9, 7.10, 7.11, 7.12, 7.13, 7.14, 7.15, 7.16, 7.18, 8.4, 8.5, 8.6, 8.7, 8.8, 8.9, 8.10, 8.11, 8.12, 8.13, 8.15.

Copyright of the National Army Museum:

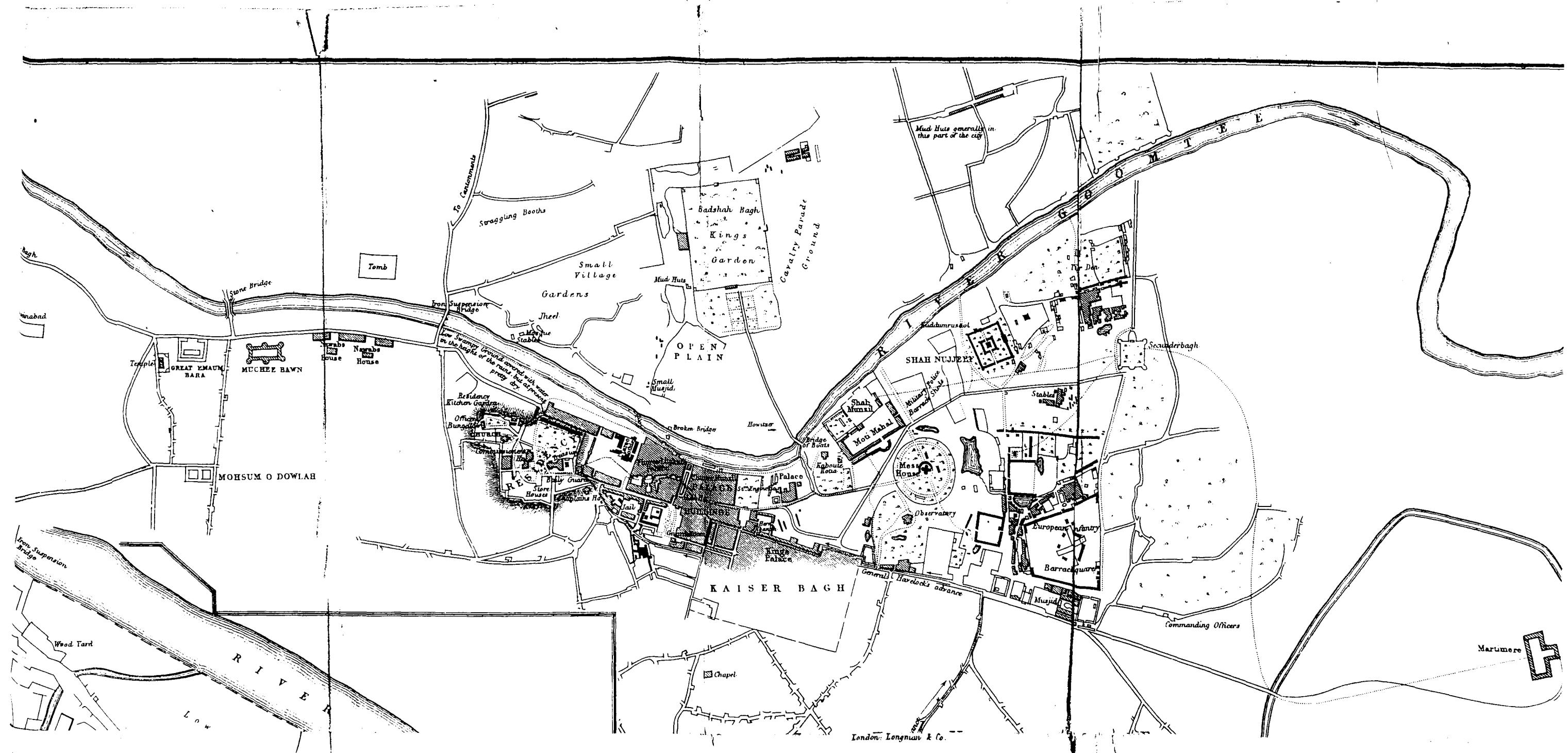
2.34, 2.35, 2.40, 2.41, 3.19, 7.2.

Copyright of the Royal Institute of British Architects:

3.9, 3.7, 3.9, 3.10, 3.11, 5.12, 5.13, 5.14, 5.15, 5.15a.

Copyright of the British Library:

2.13, 2.13a, 2.17, 2.30, 2.31, 2.37, 3.2, 3.4, 3.12, 3.14, 3.19, 8.2, 8.3.



Map of Lucknow from 1856 showing the layout of the main palatial and religious buildings. The blank parts are the heavily inhabited "native" parts of the city.

**HYBRIDITY, STYLE AND IDENTITY, THE COURT ART AND ARCHITECTURE
OF LUCKNOW 1770-1850**

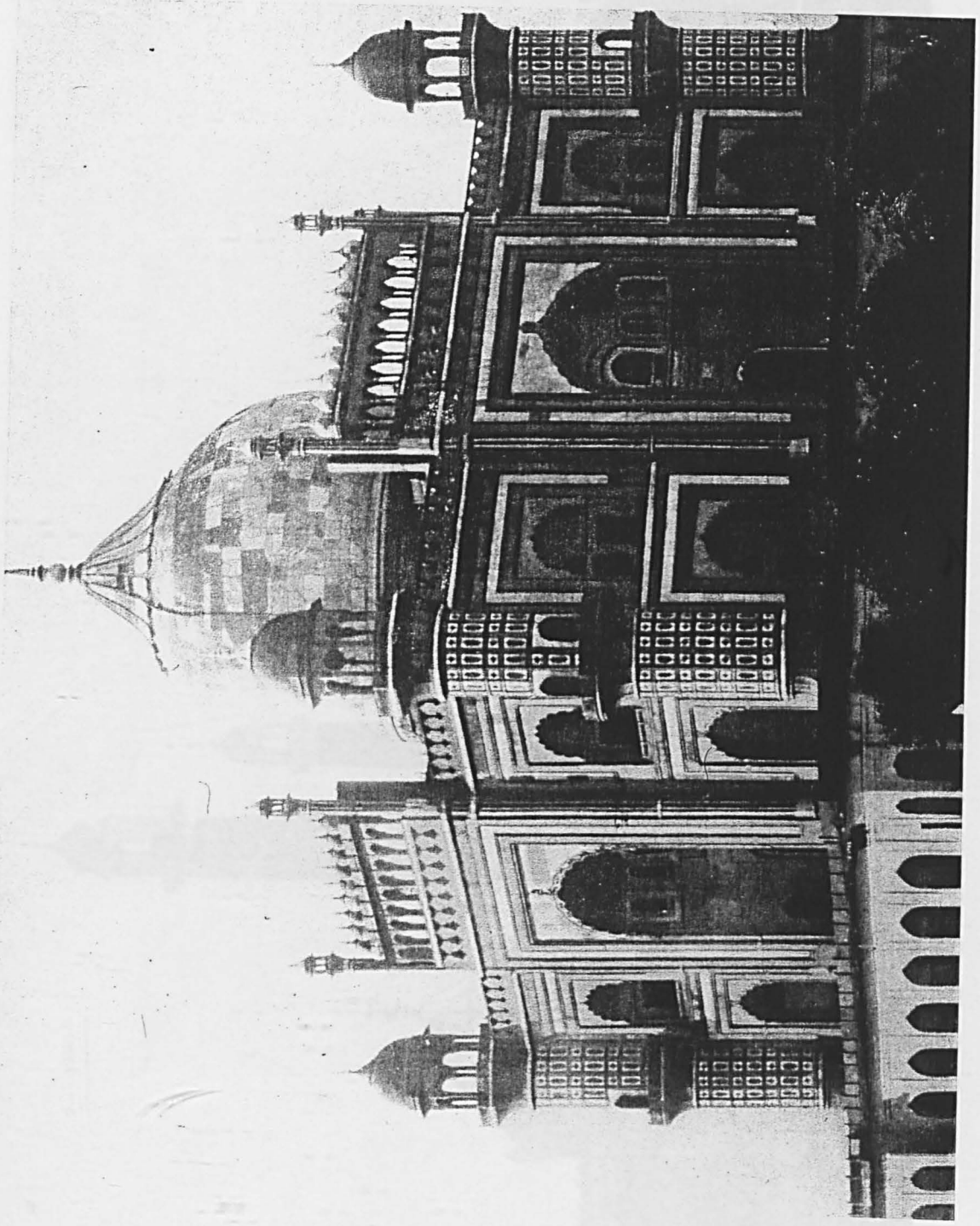
SALLY RYNNE B. A.

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the Open University
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

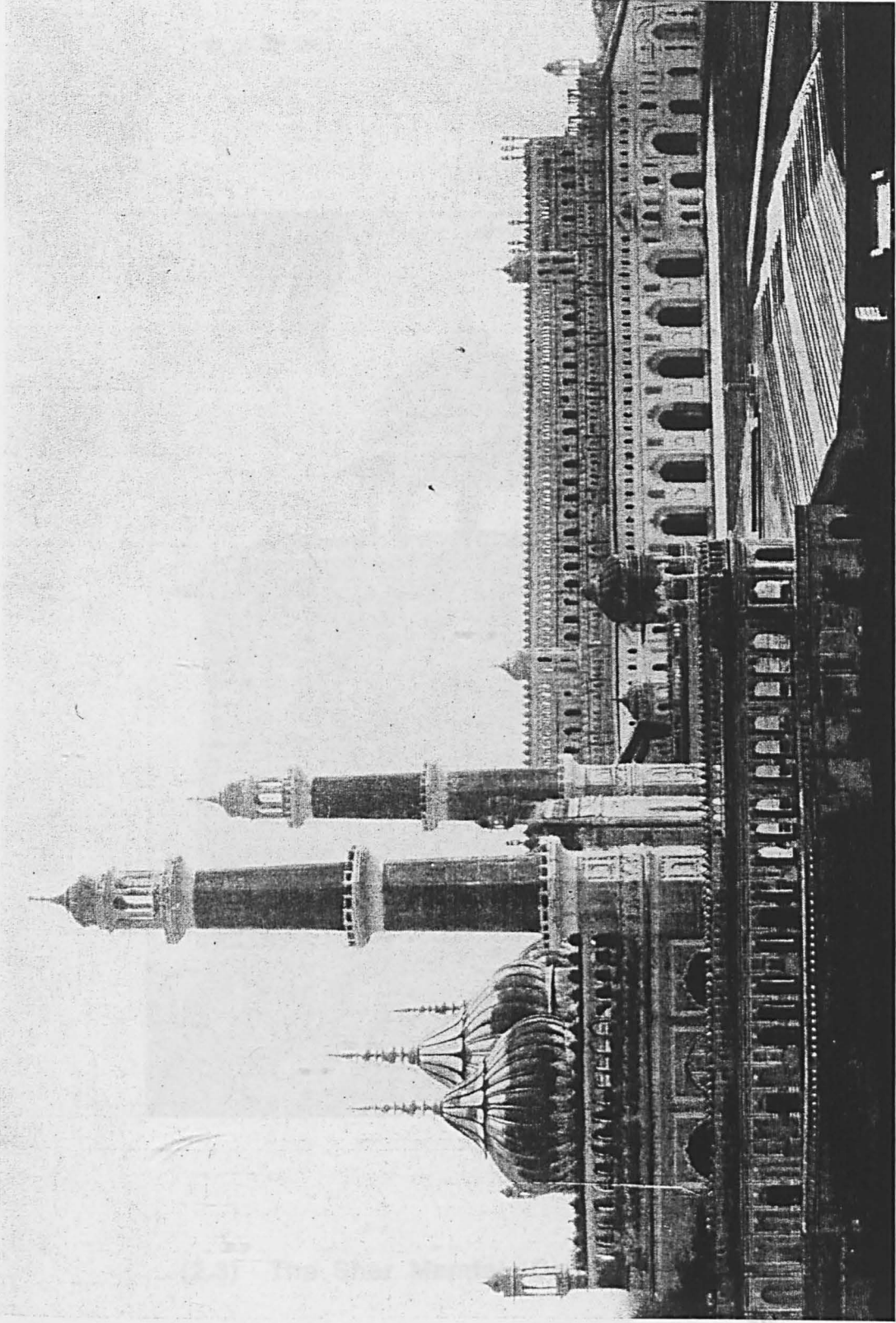
August 2000

The London Institute, Camberwell College of Arts

2



(2.1) The Tomb of Safdar Jang (Delhi 1753)

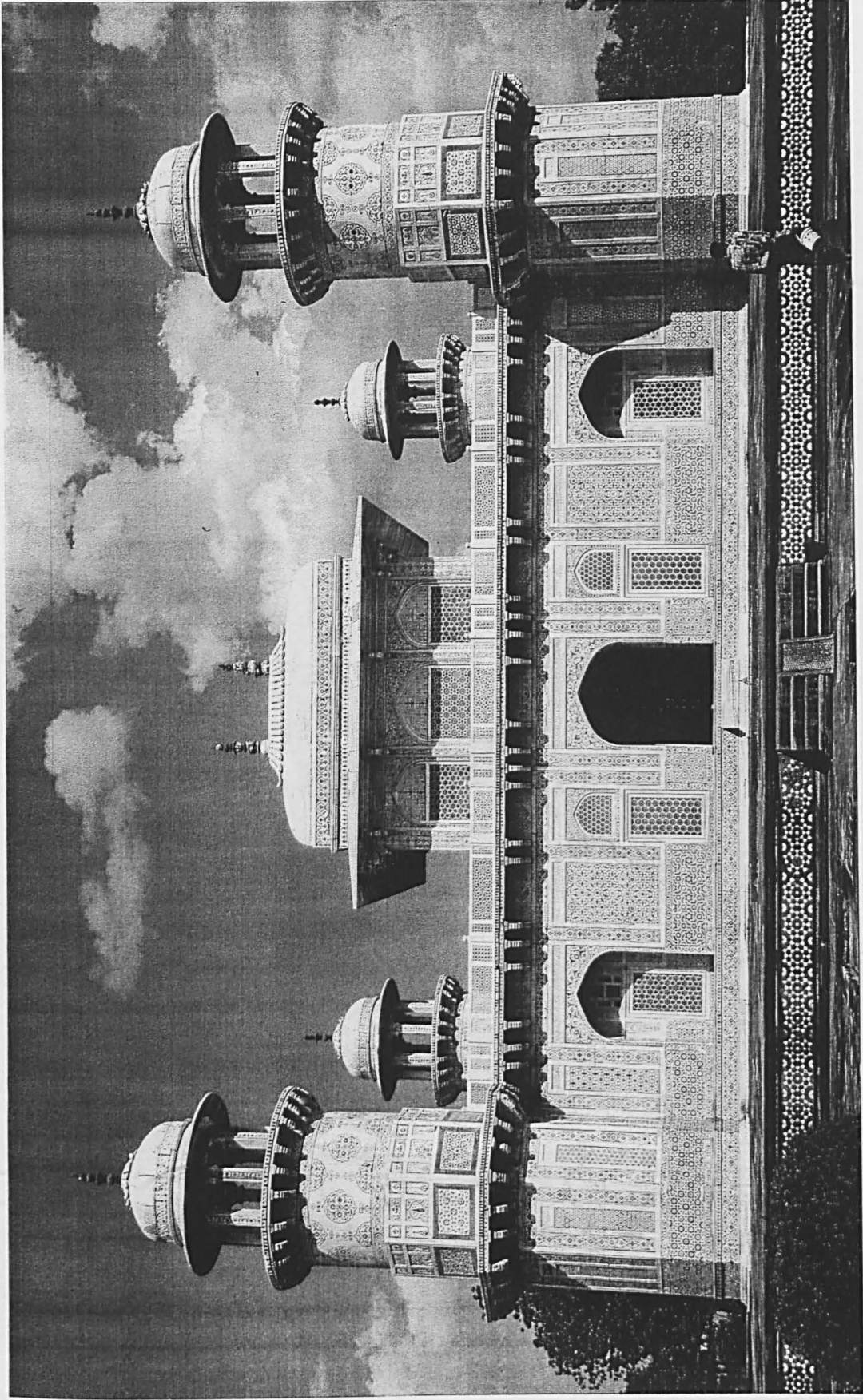


(2.2) The Bara Imambara and Mosque (Lucknow 1770's)

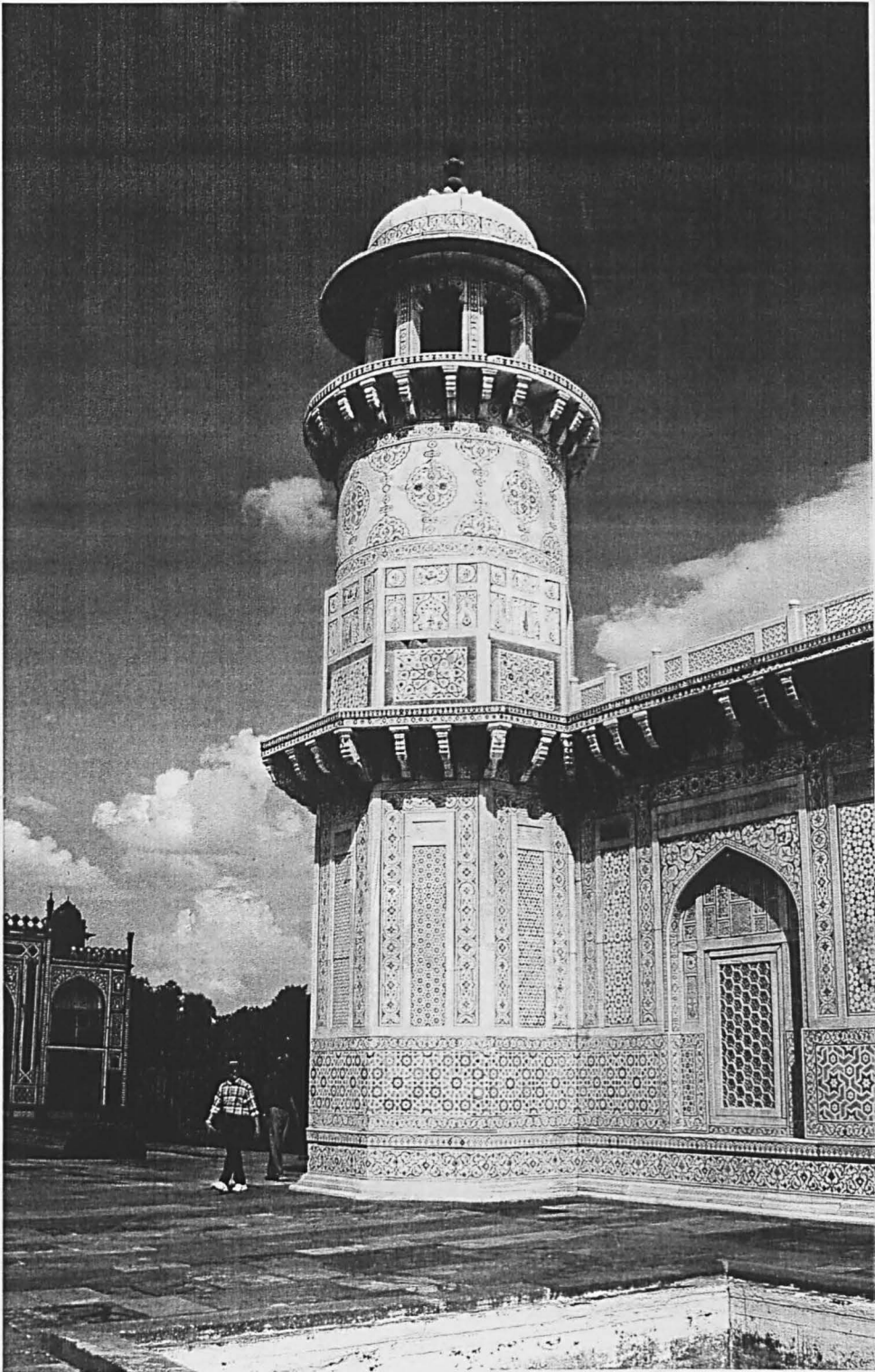


(2.3) The Sher Mandal (Delhi 1540's)

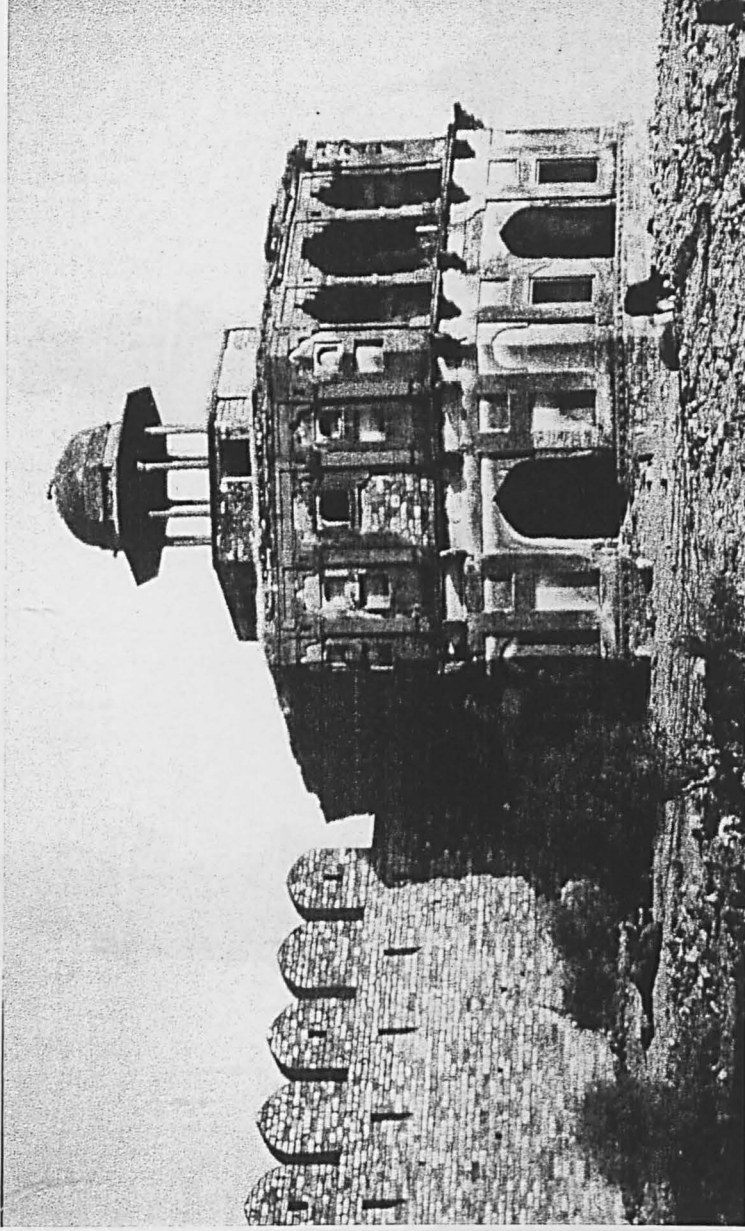
(2.4) The Tomb of Nur-ud-Daulah (Agra 1620's)



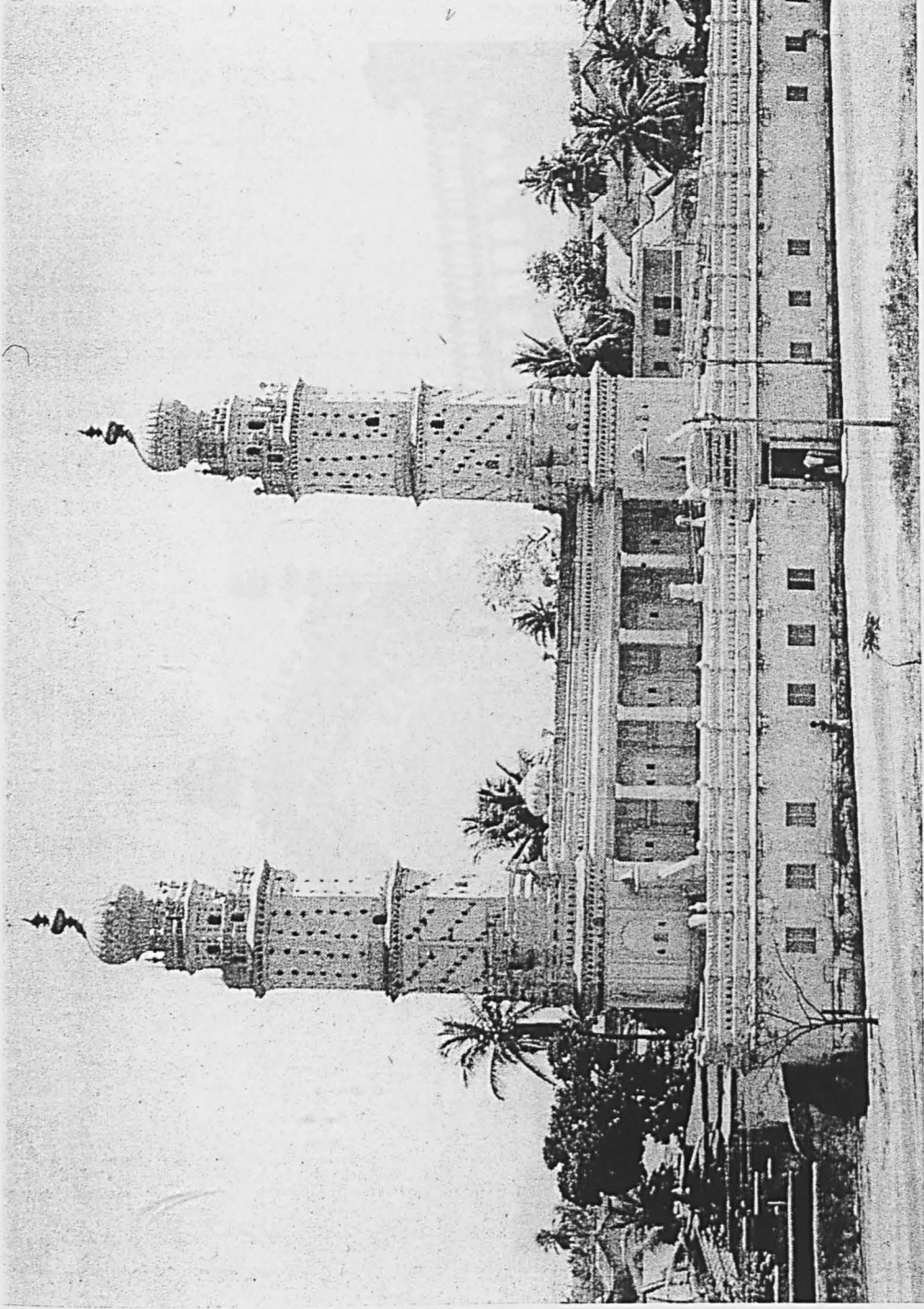
(2.4) The Tomb of Itimad-ud-Daulah (Agra 1620's)



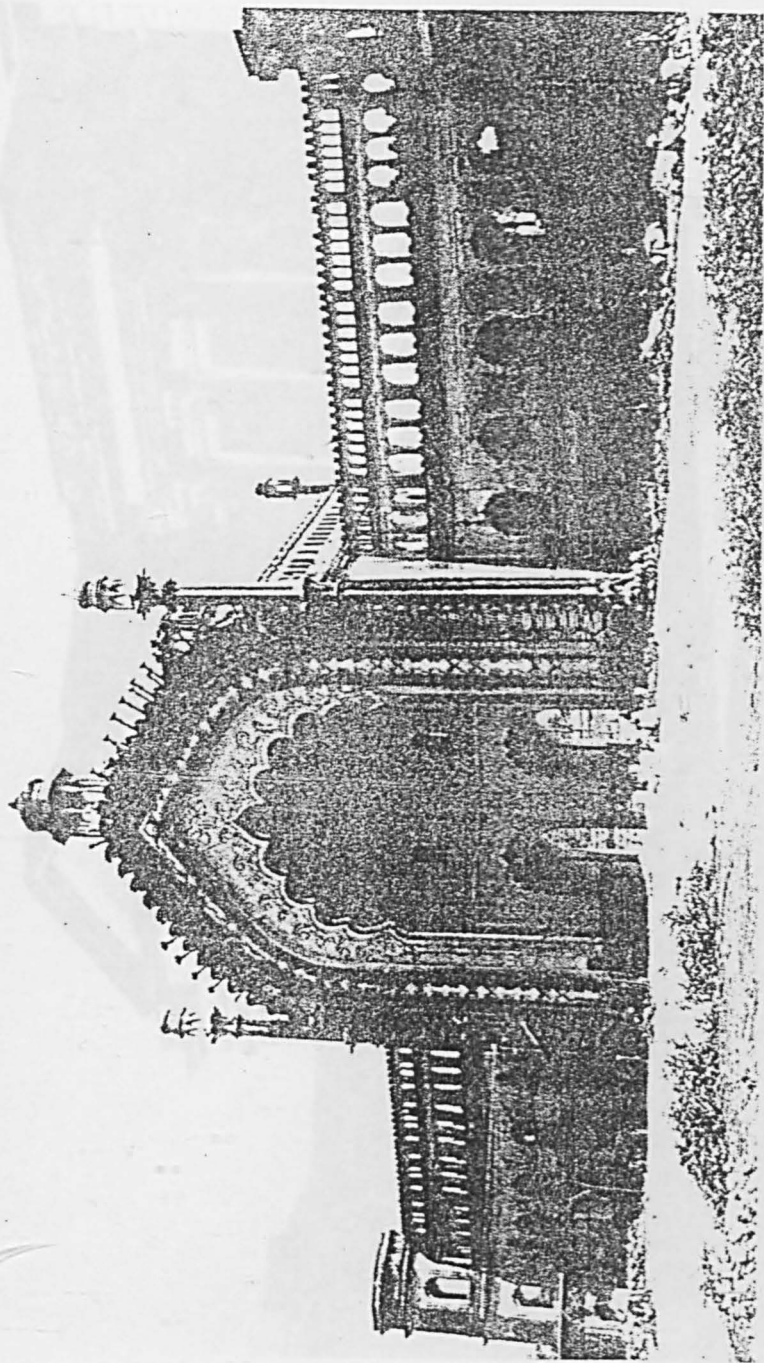
(2.5) The Tomb of Itimad-ud-Daulah - the octagonal towers



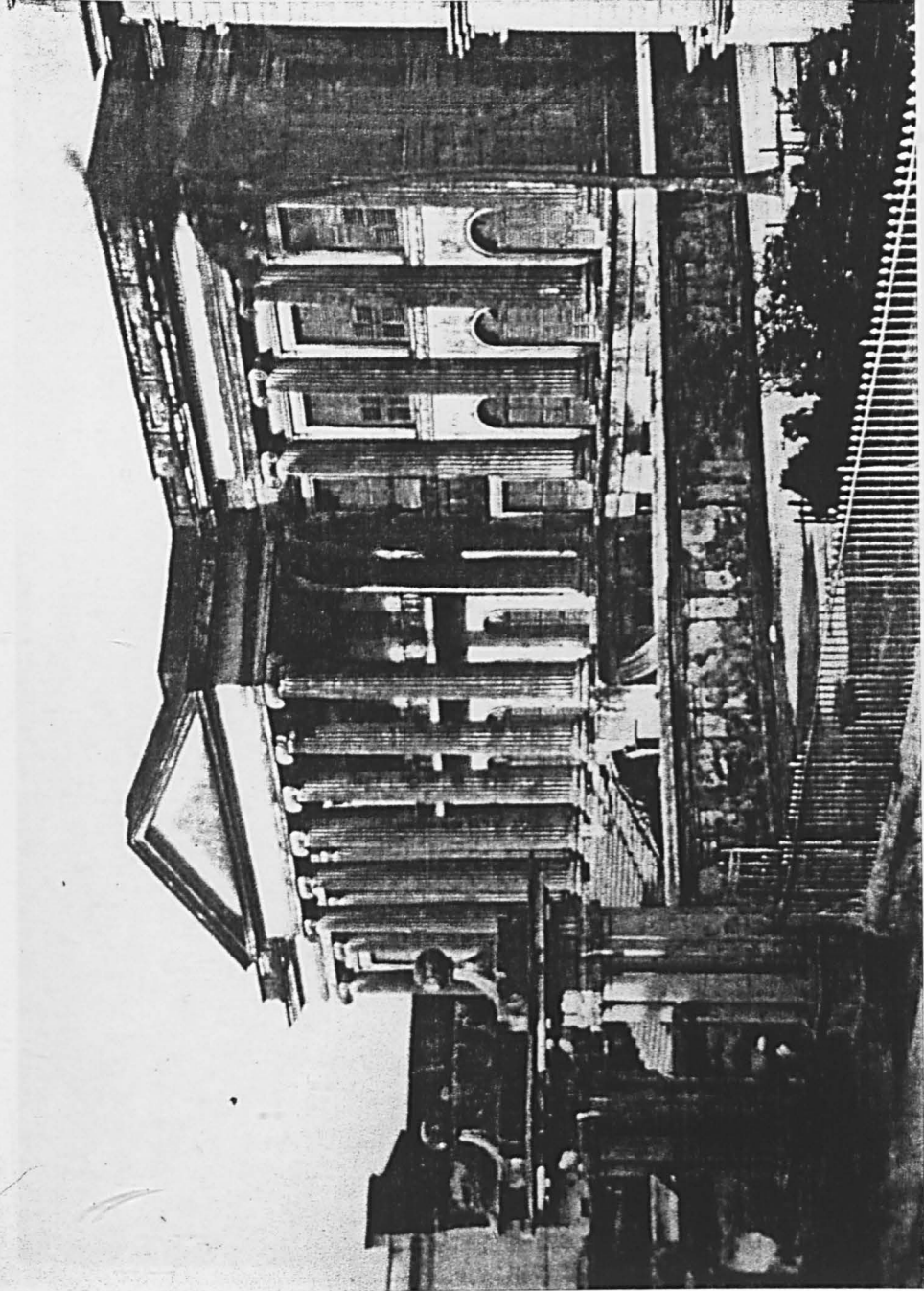
(2.6) The Hada Mahal, Fatehpur Sikri (1570's)



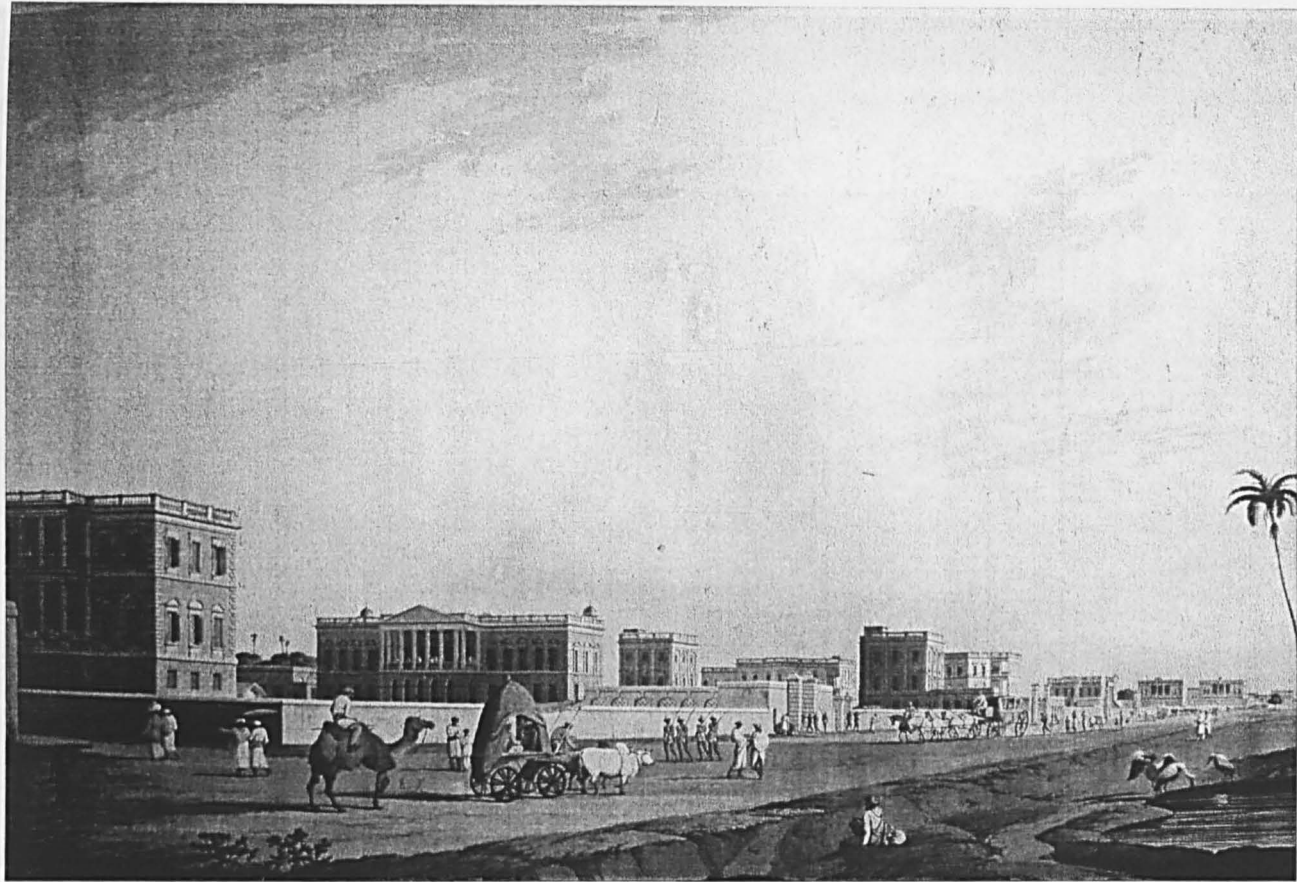
(2.7) The Mosque of Tipu Sultan, Mysore (1780's)



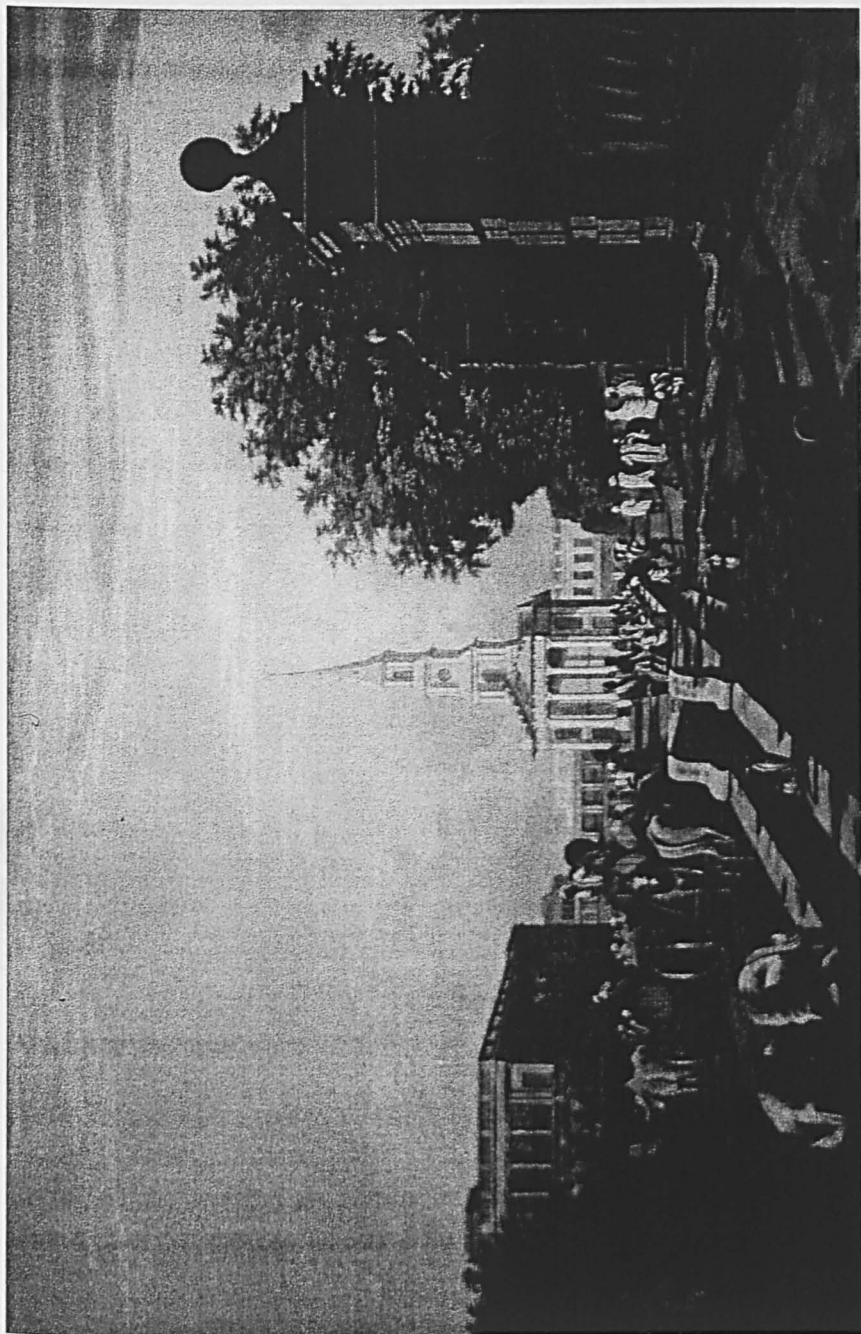
(2.8) The Rumi Darwaza, Lucknow (1770's)



(2.9) Typical neo-Classical Calcutta building (c. 1800)



(2.10) Thomas Daniell, *Views of Calcutta 7, Houses on the Chowringhee Road.* (1819)
Aquatint 1787



(2.10a) James Baillie Fraser - A View of the Scotch Church from the Gate of Tank Square (1819)



(2.11) The "Marble Palace" Calcutta (c.1835)

(2.12) Building opposite Marble Palace, with unplaced classical orders.



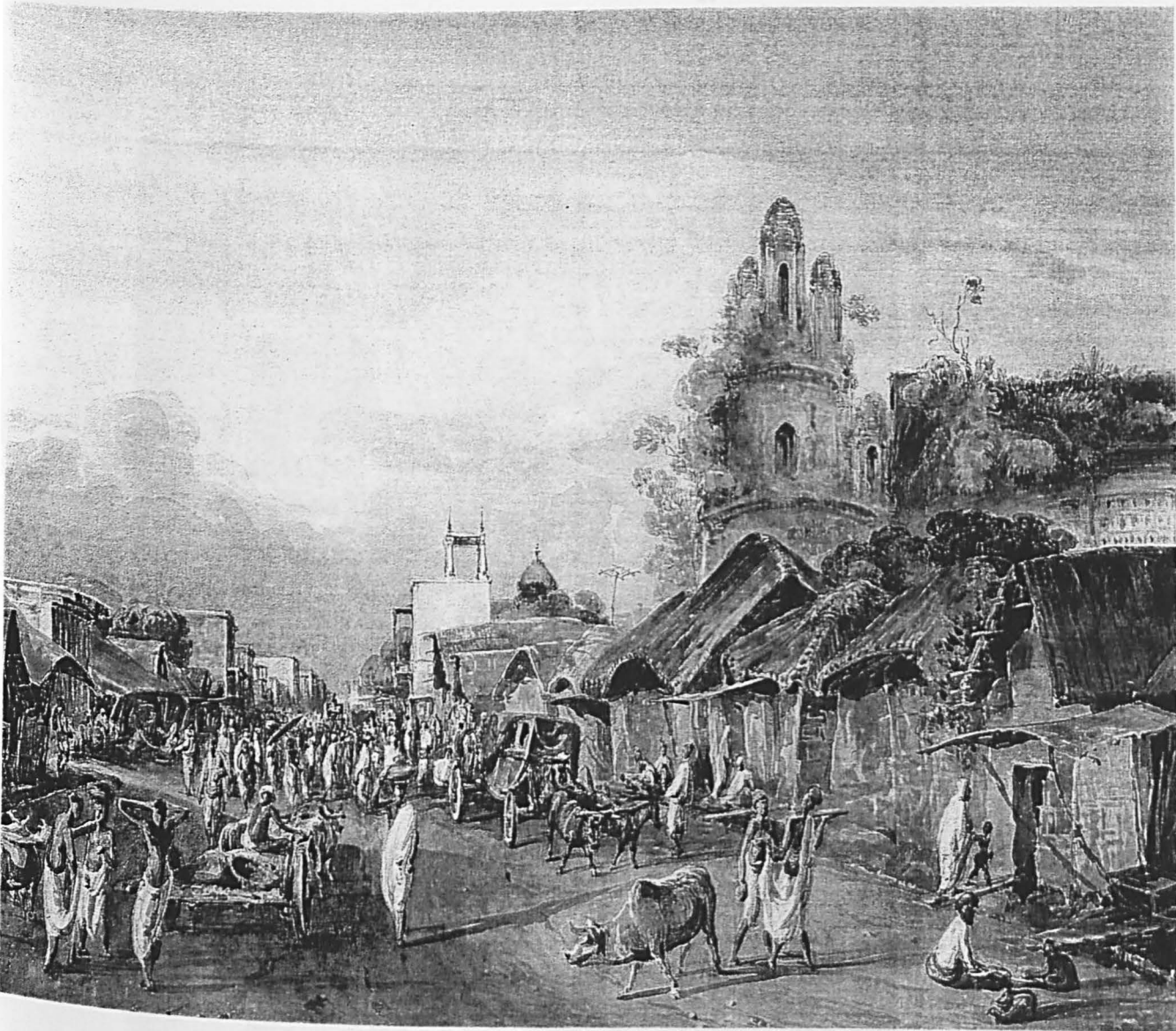
(2.12) Building opposite Marble Palace, with misplaced classical orders



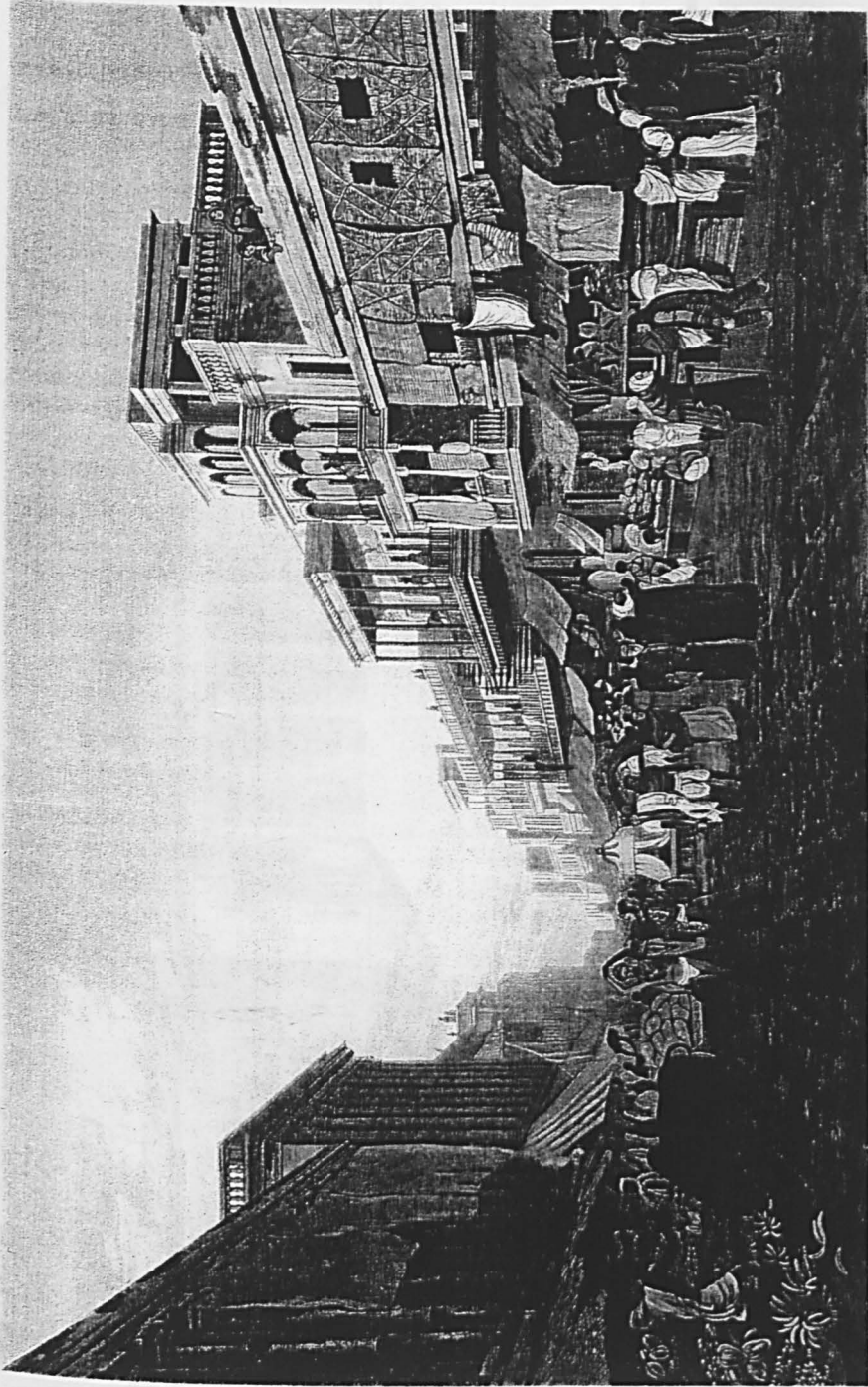
IMAGING SERVICES NORTH

Boston Spa, Wetherby
West Yorkshire, LS23 7BQ
www.bl.uk

**ORIGINAL COPY TIGHTLY
BOUND**

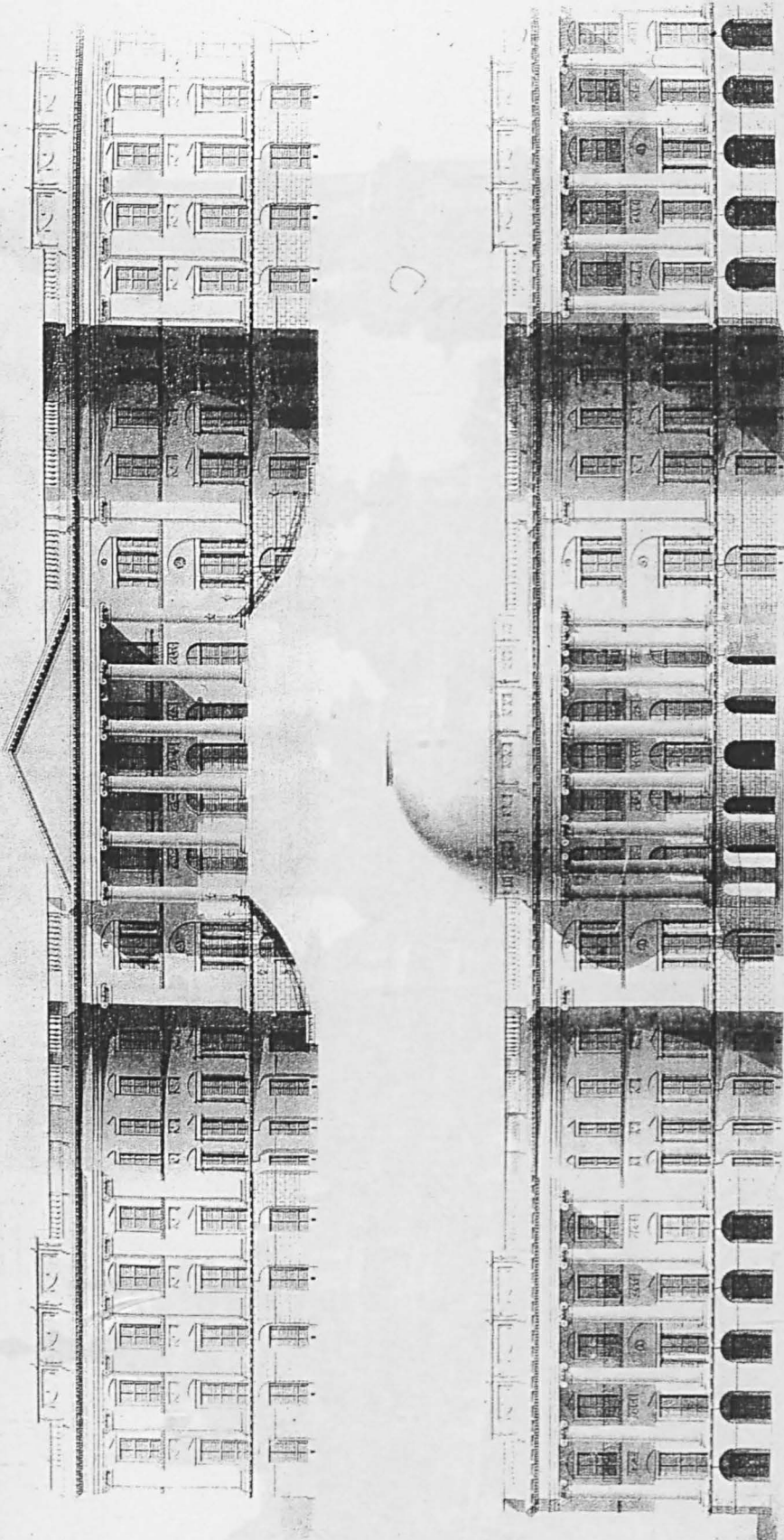


(2.13) Thomas Prinsep - *The Chitpore Road and the Black Pagoda*
(c.1829)



(2.13a) James Baillie Fraser - A view of the Bazaar leading to the Chitpore Road 1819

(2.14) Plan of Government House, Calcutta (1756-1803)



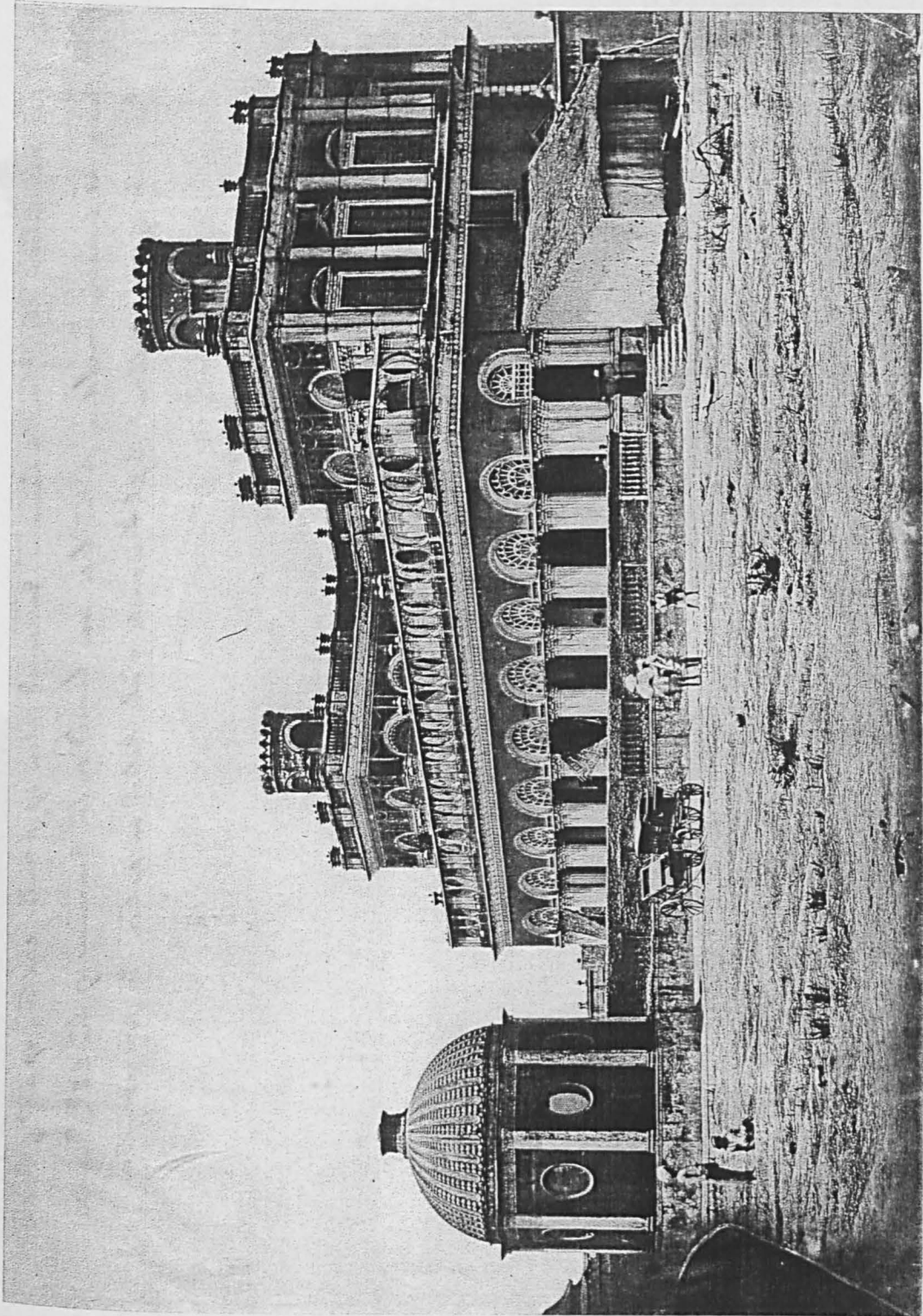
(2.14) Plan of Government House, Calcutta (1799-1803)



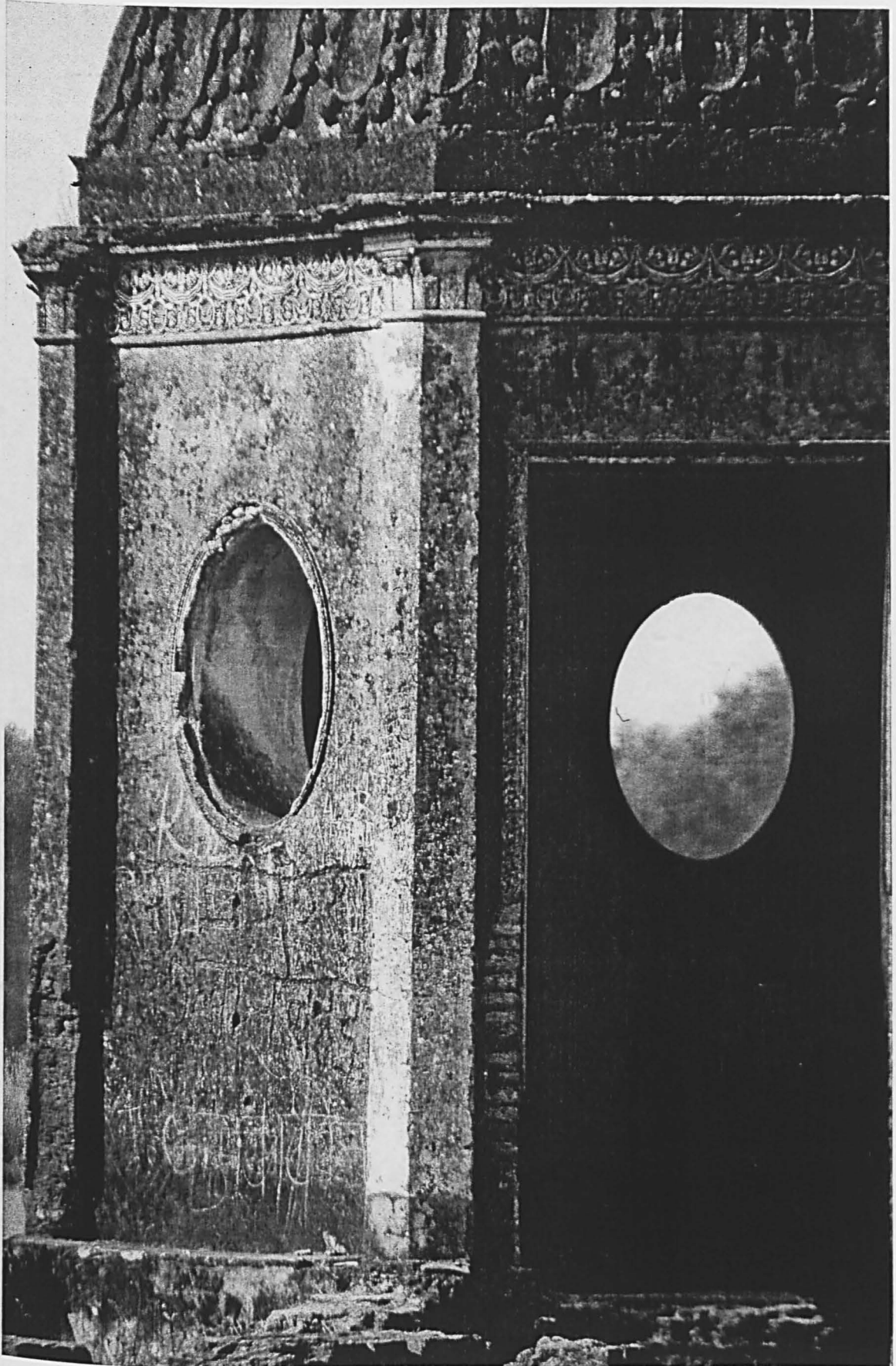
(2.15) The "Tipu Sultan" Mosque at Chowringhee, Calcutta (c.1842)



(2.16) The Gopalji Temple, Calcutta (1845)



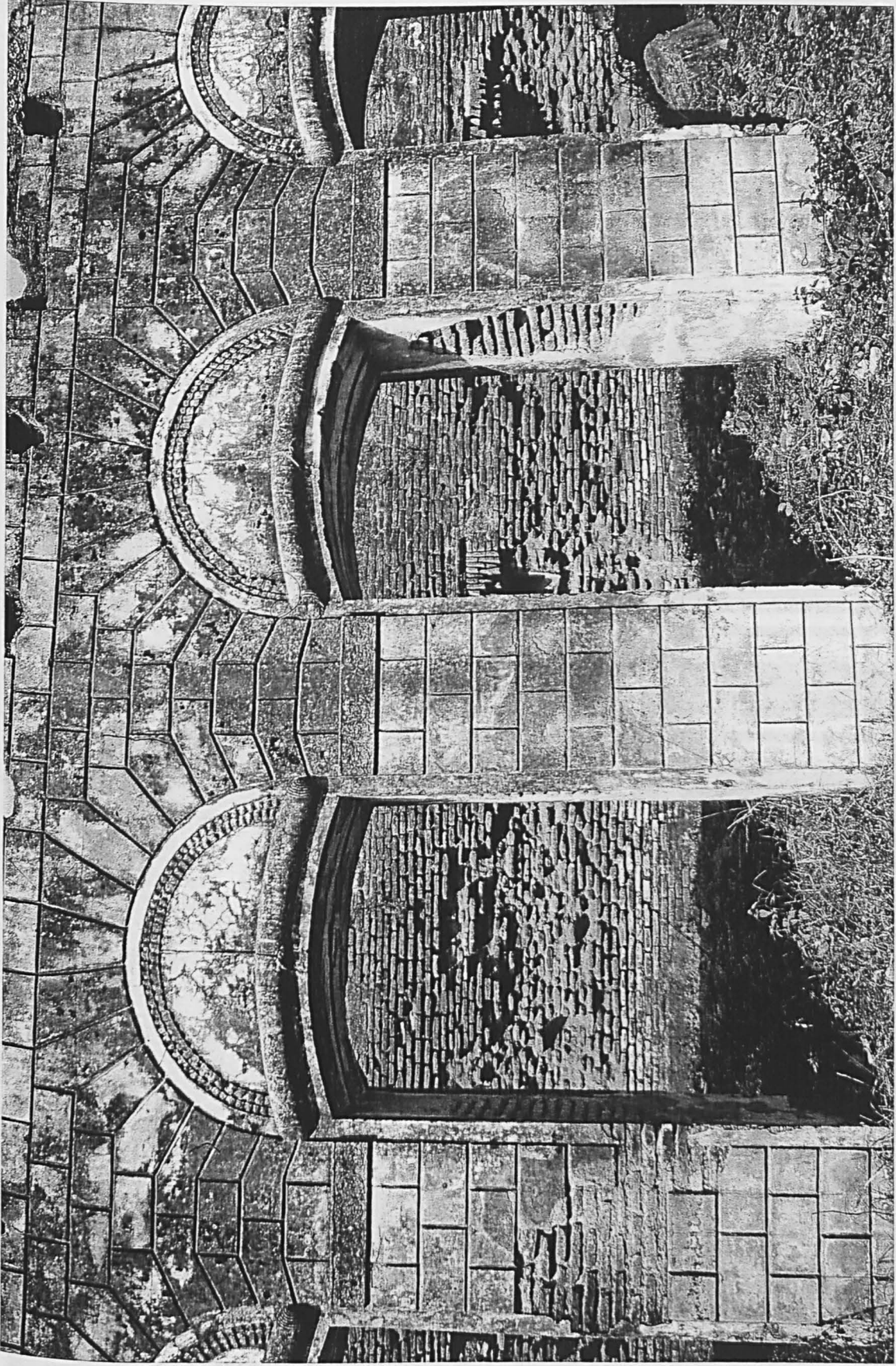
(2.17) Musabagh or Barowen, Lucknow (c.1800)



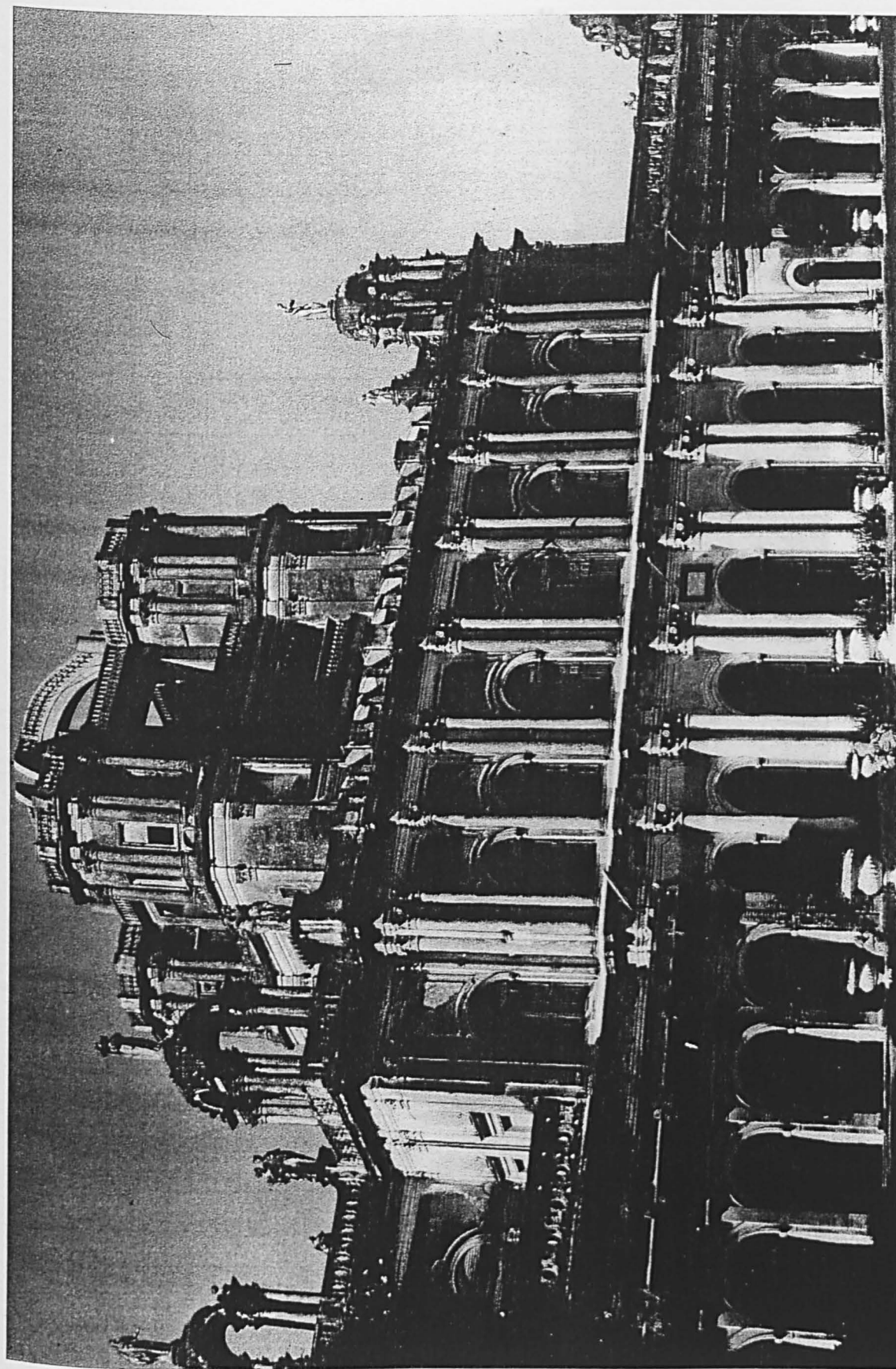
(2.18) Musabagh - the kiosks above the stairway



(2.19) Musabagh - plasterwork imitating cloth screens



(2.20) Musabagh, 3-dimensional effect in plasterwork



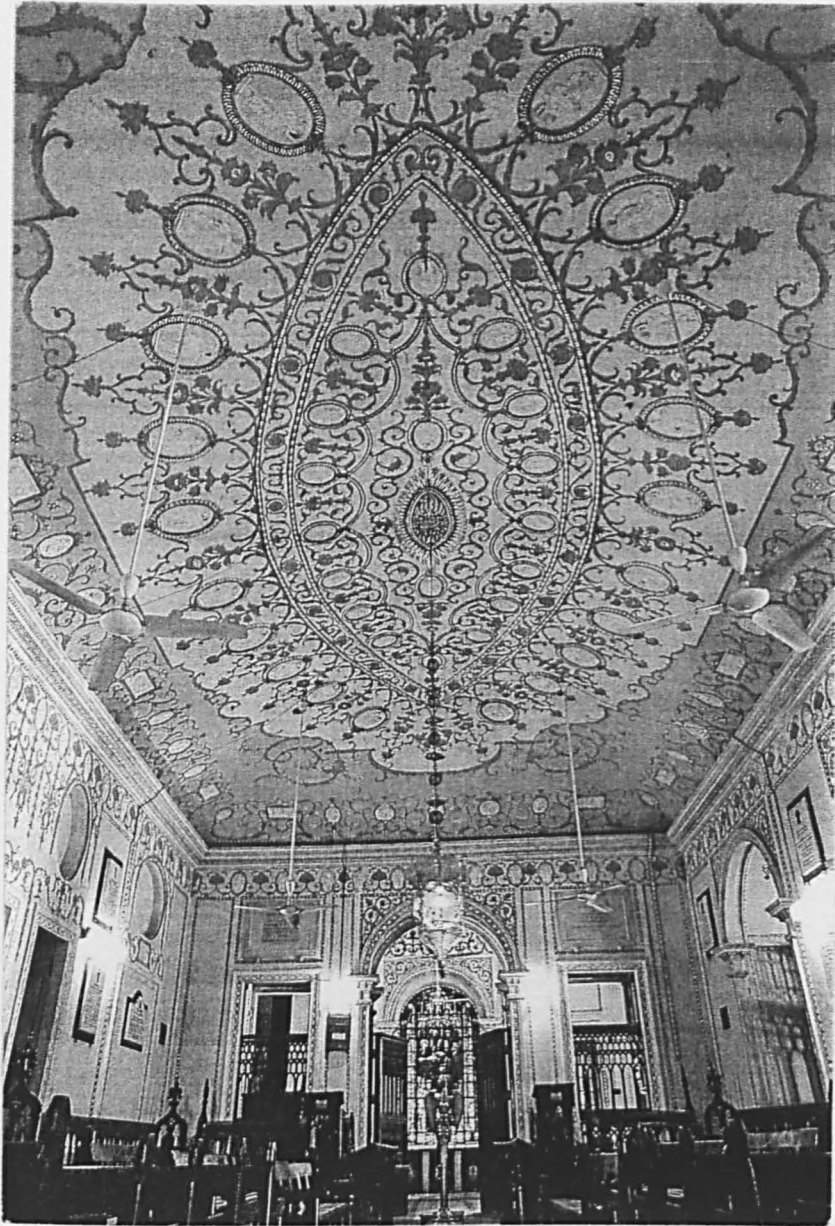
(2.21) Constantia or La Martiniere, Lucknow (c.1895)



(2.22) Classical-style sculptures on the roof of Constantia

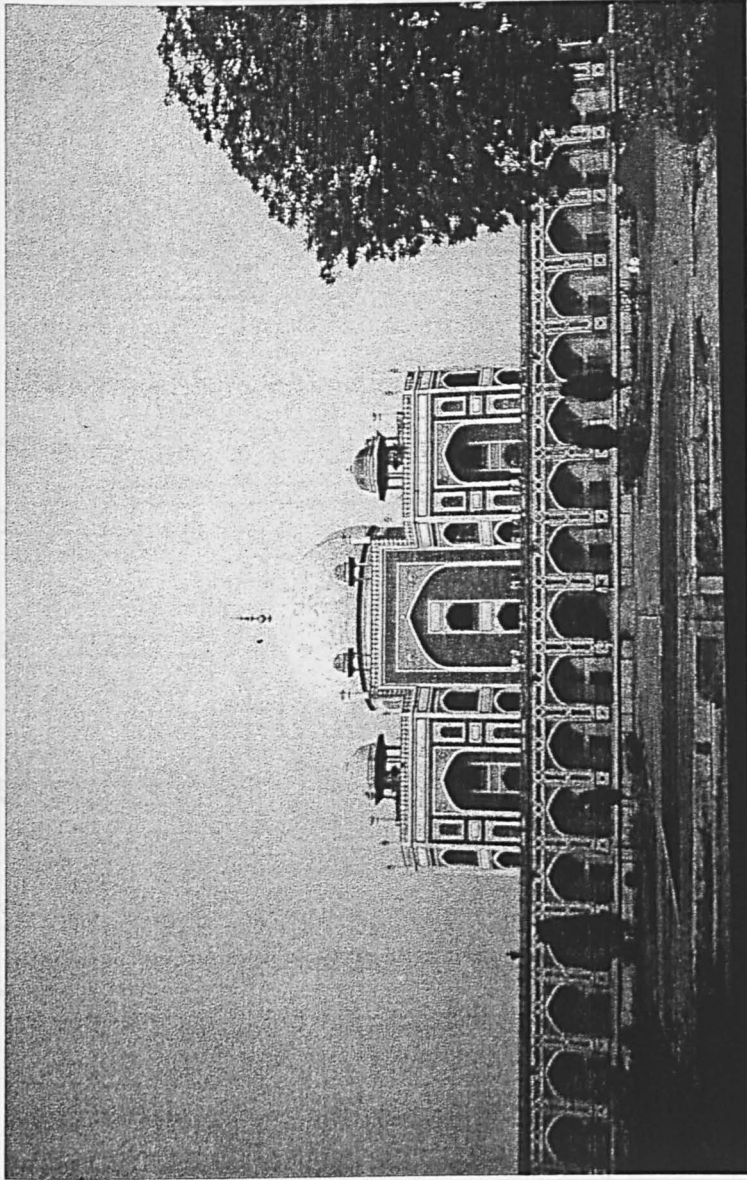


(2.23) Rooftop pavilions, Constantia



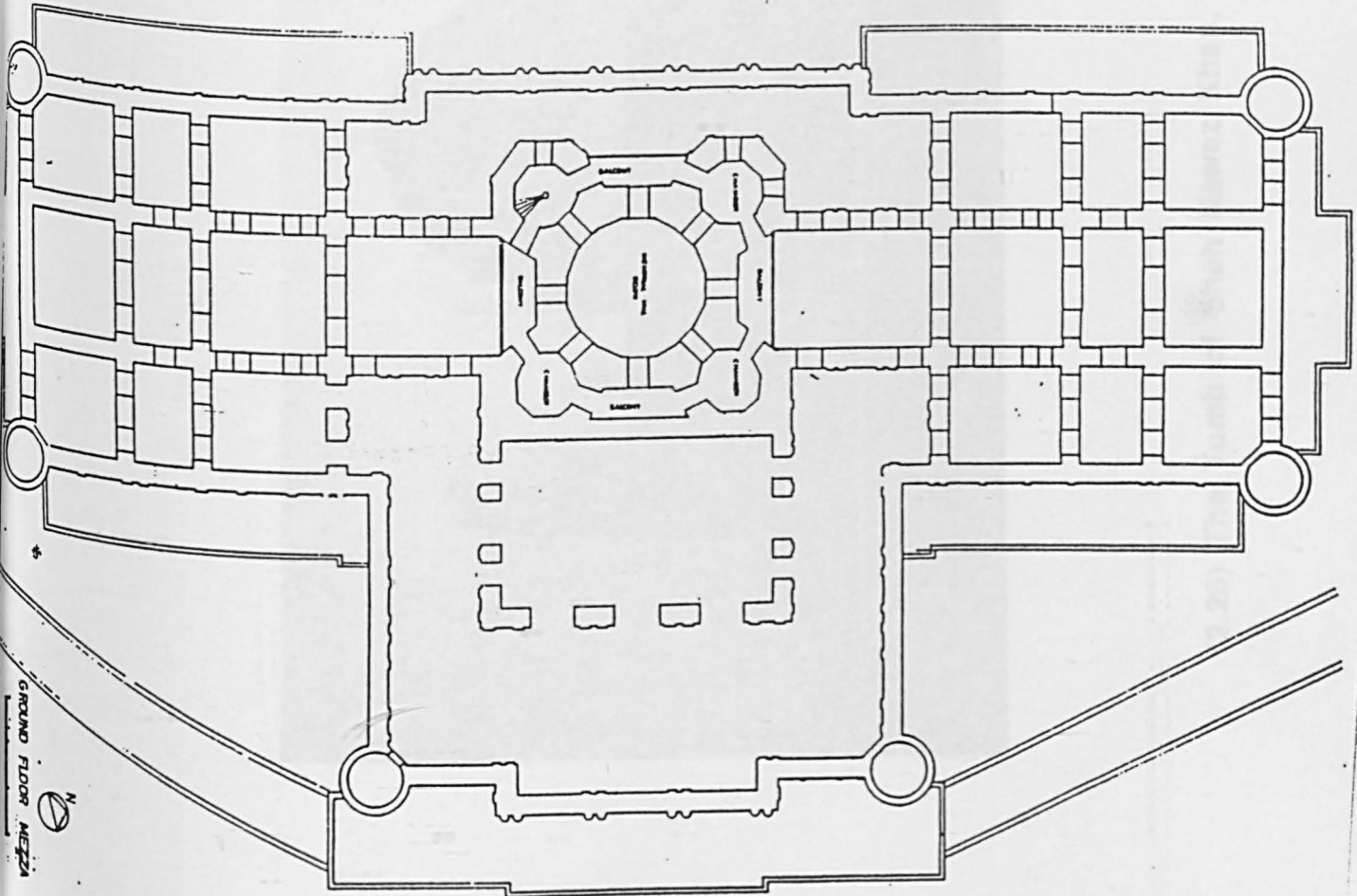
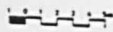
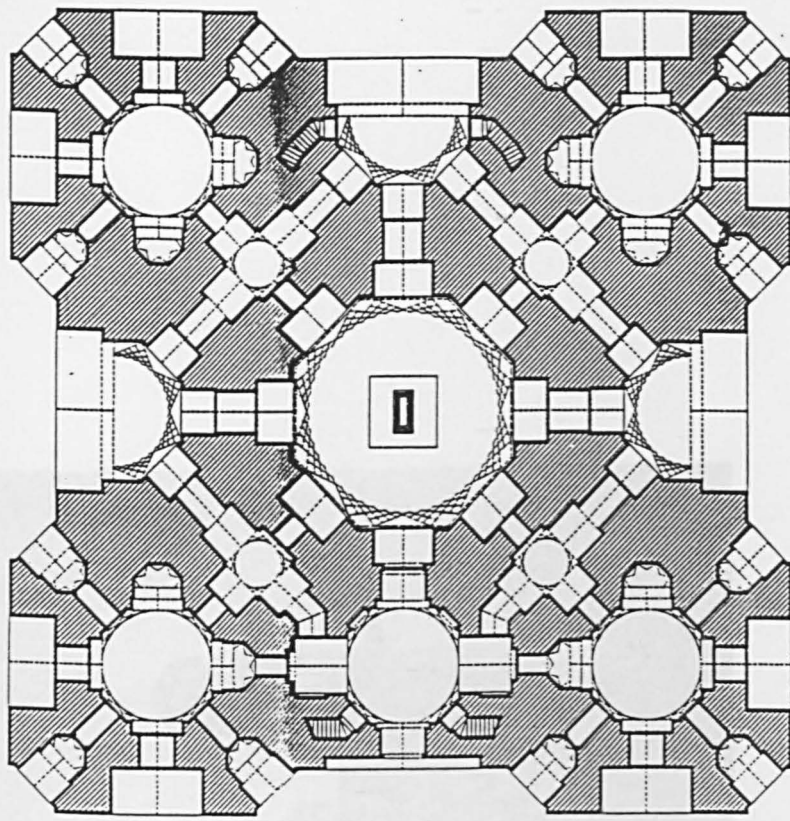
(2.24) The Chapel Ceiling, Constantia

(2.25) The Tomb of Humayun, Delhi (1560 a)



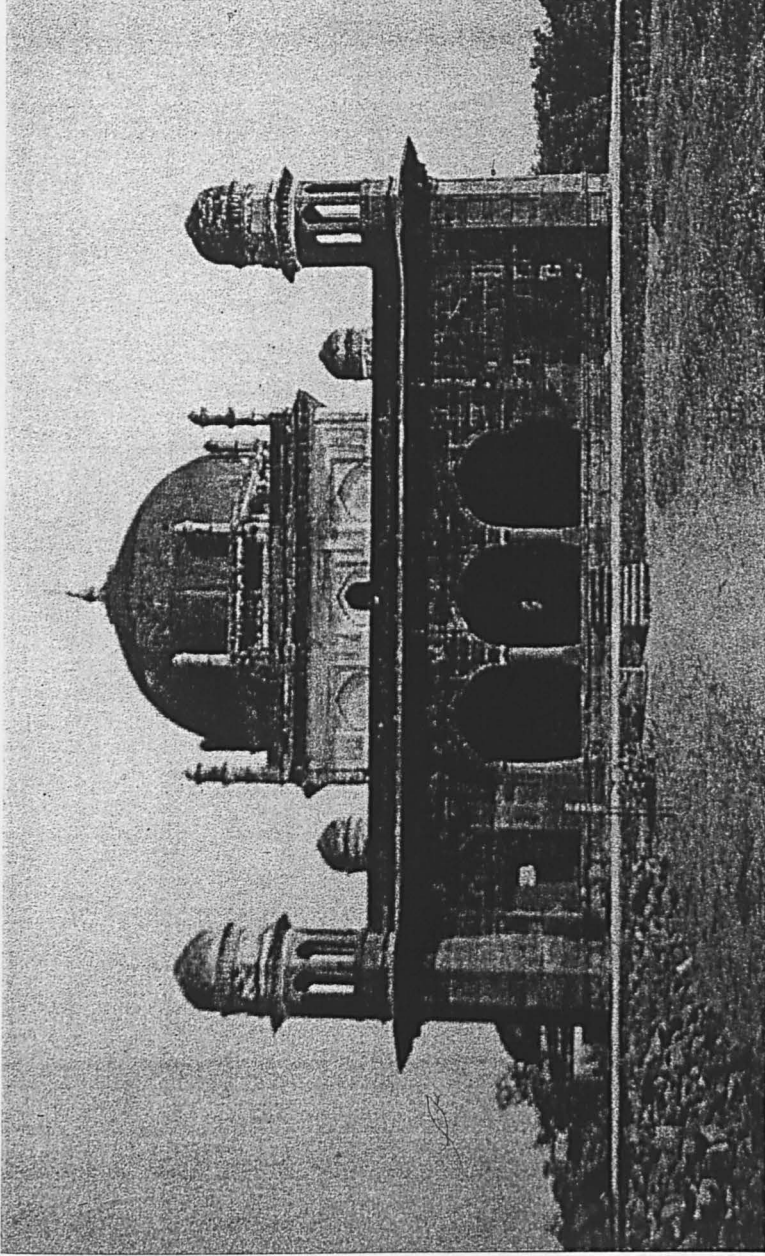
(2.25) The Tomb of Humayun, Delhi (1560's)

-top: plan B, The Tomb of Humayun
bottom: plan A, Constantinia, the ground floor

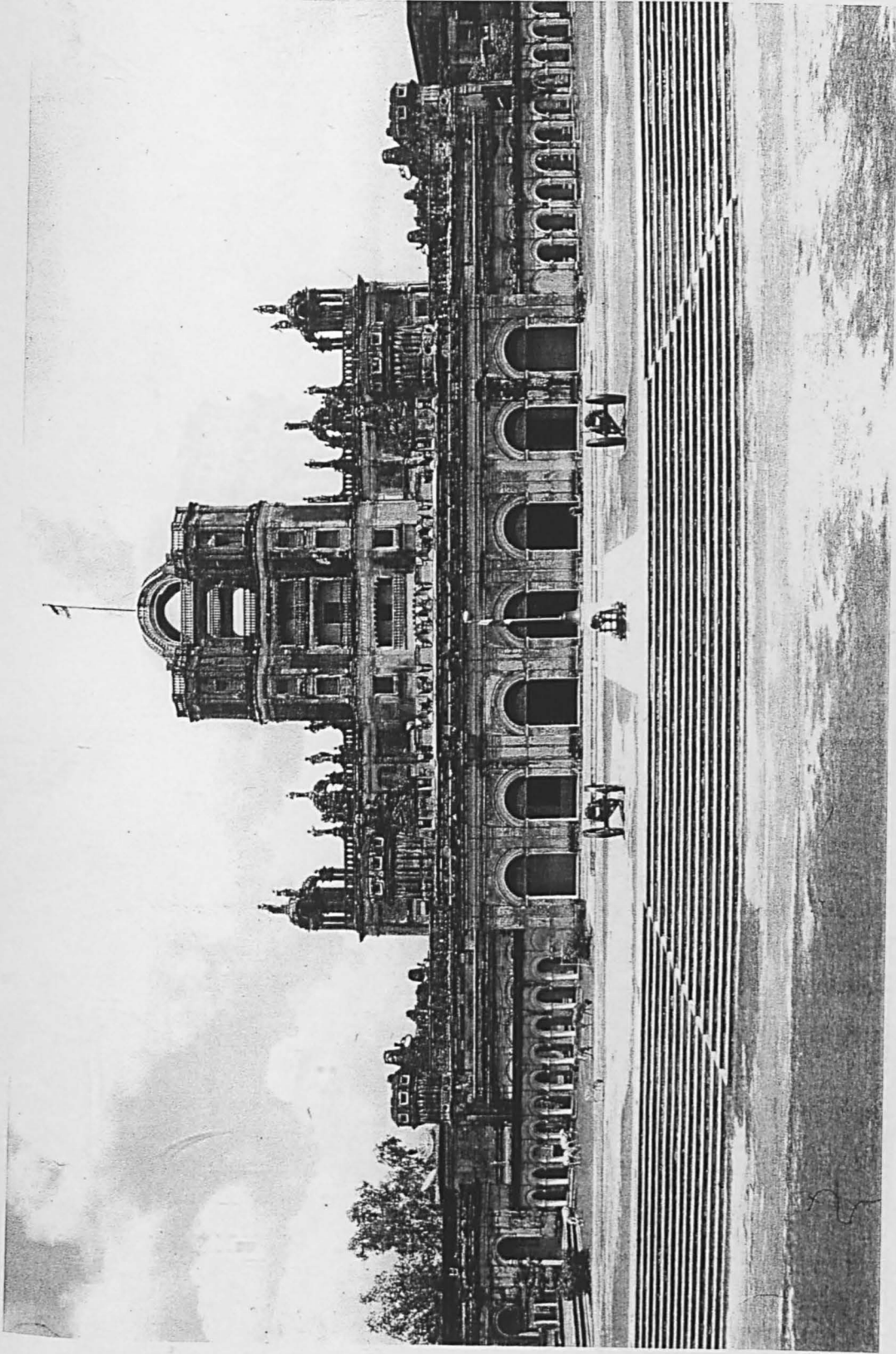


GROUND FLOOR MEZZA

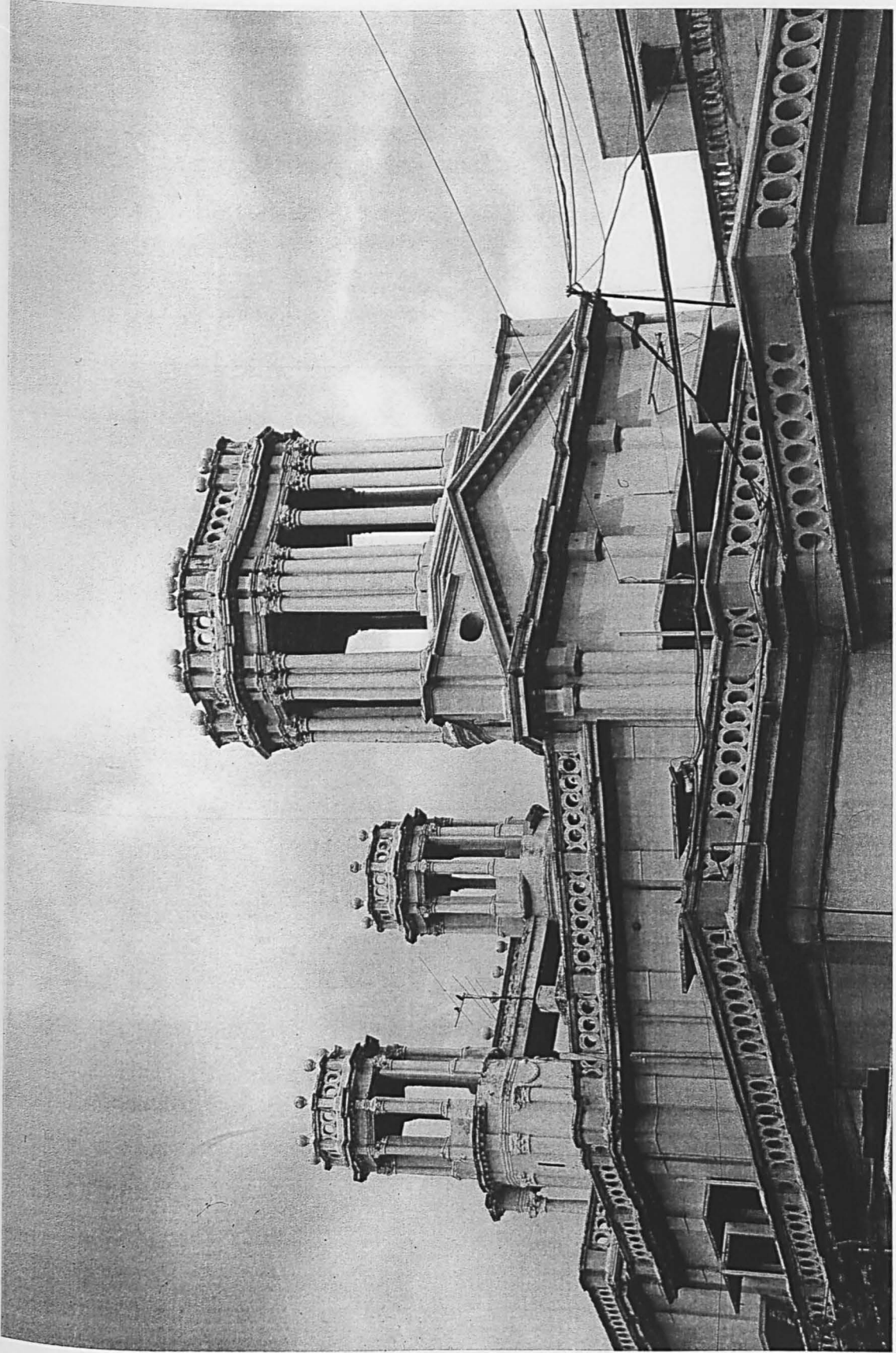
top: plan B, The Tomb of Humayun
bottom: plan A, Constantinian, the ground floor



(2.26) The Tomb of Shah Nawaz Khan, Burhanpur (1620's)



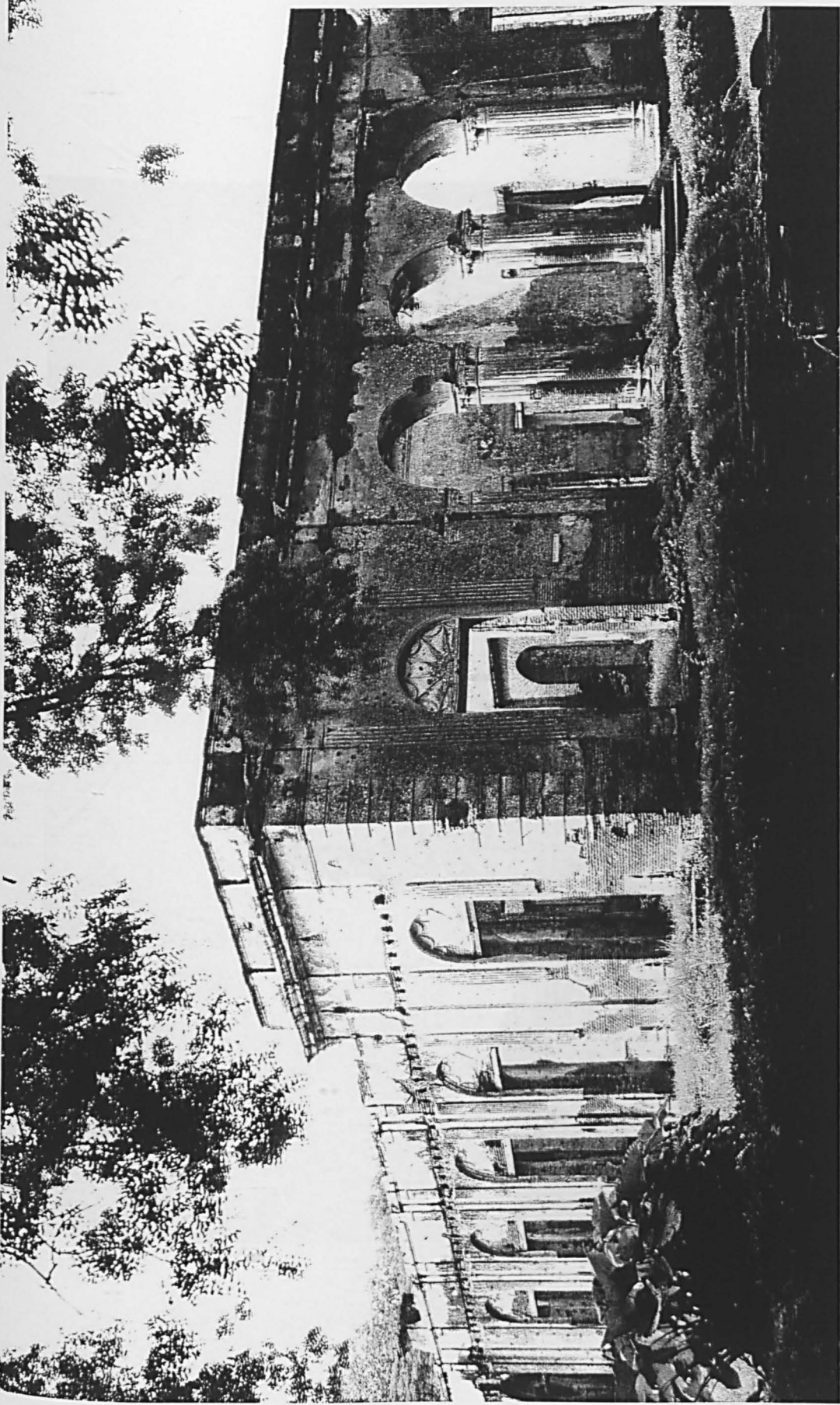
(2.27) Constantia, front facade



(2.28) Rooftop pavilions at the Farhat Bakhsh



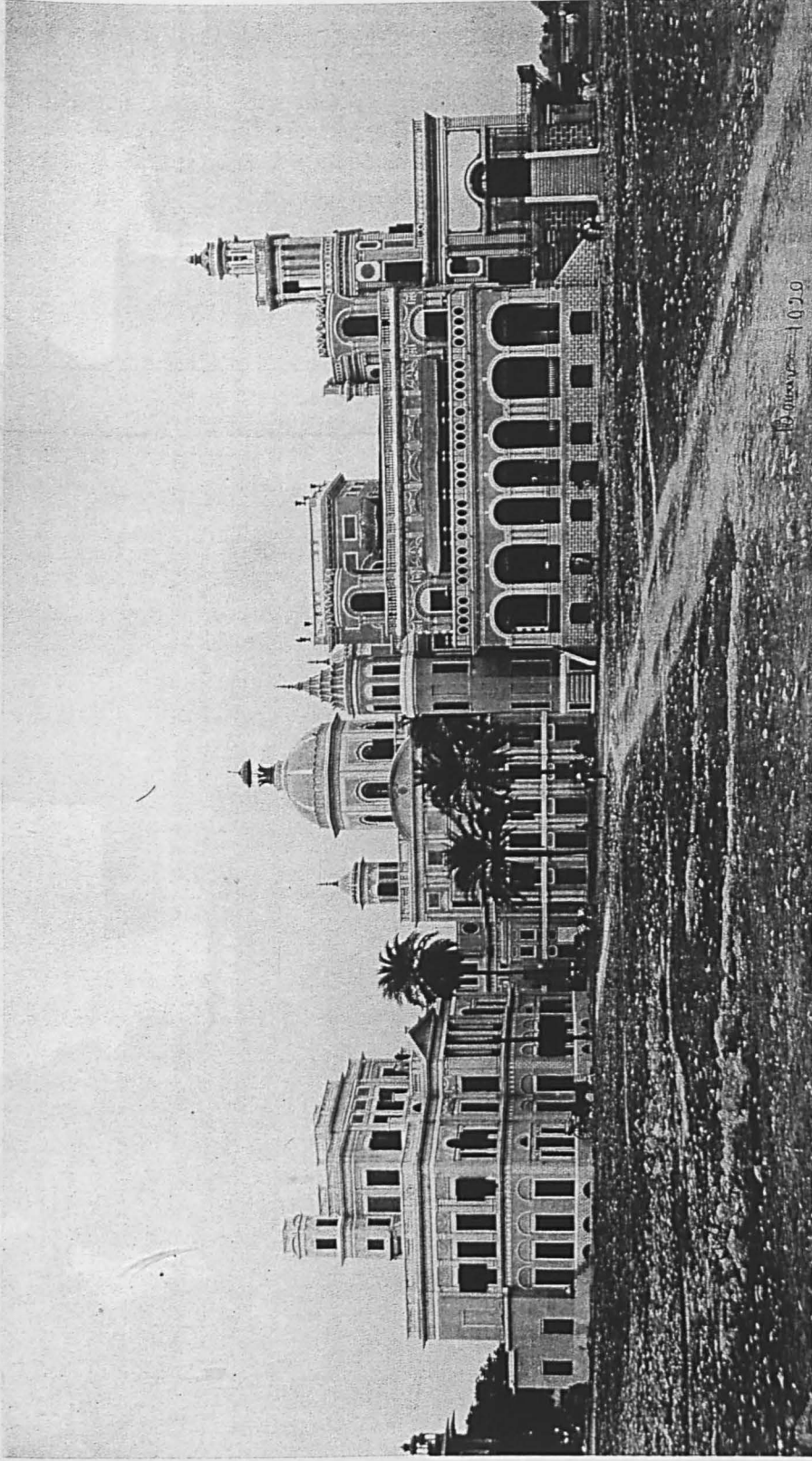
(2.28) Rooftop pavilions at the Farhat Bakhsh



(2.29) The Residency, Lucknow (1790's)



(2.30) The Farhat Bakhsh (foreground) and the Chattar Manzil, Lucknow

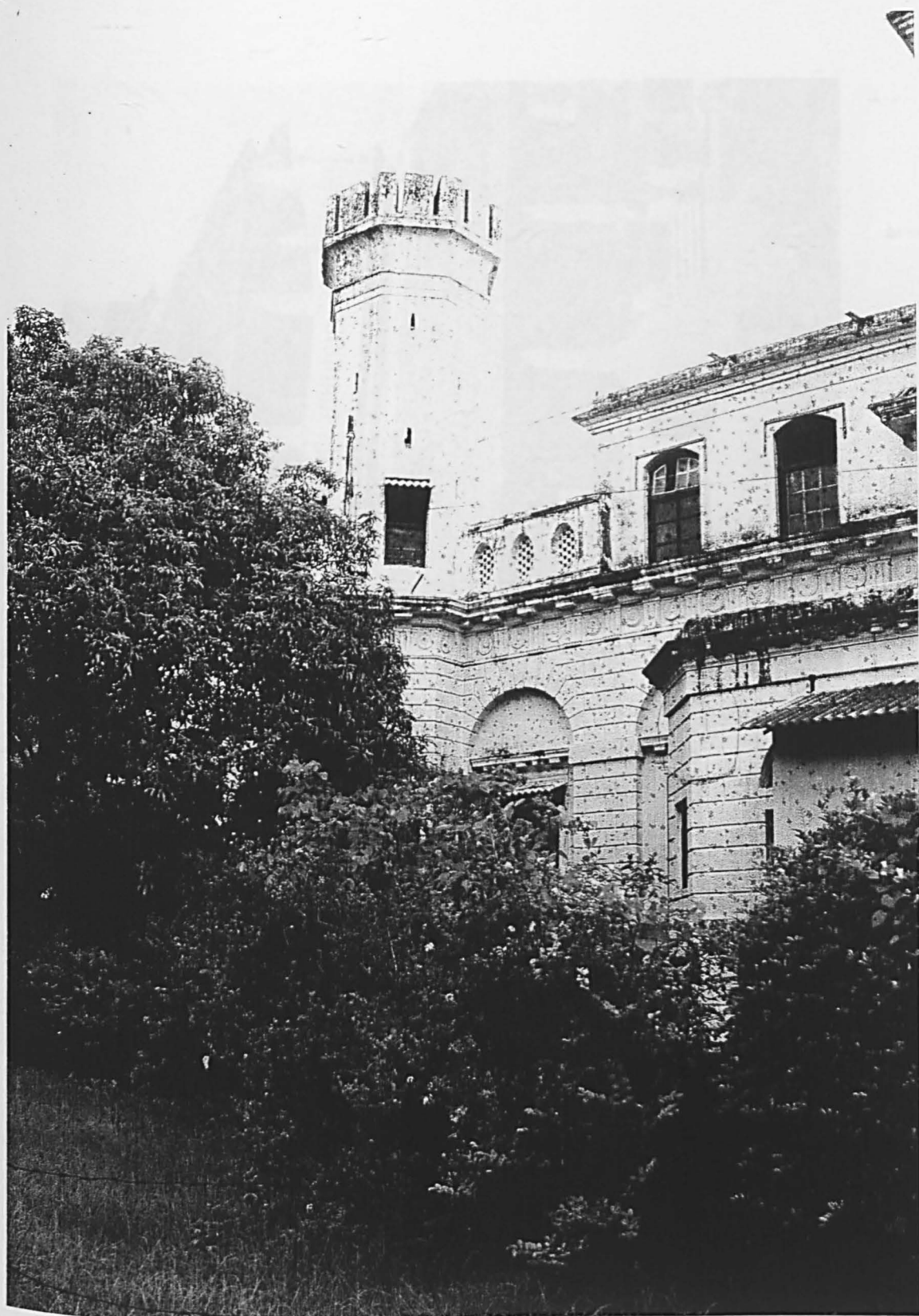


(2.31) left to right: The Gulistam-i-Eram, the Chhoti Chhattar Manzil, Darshan Bilas

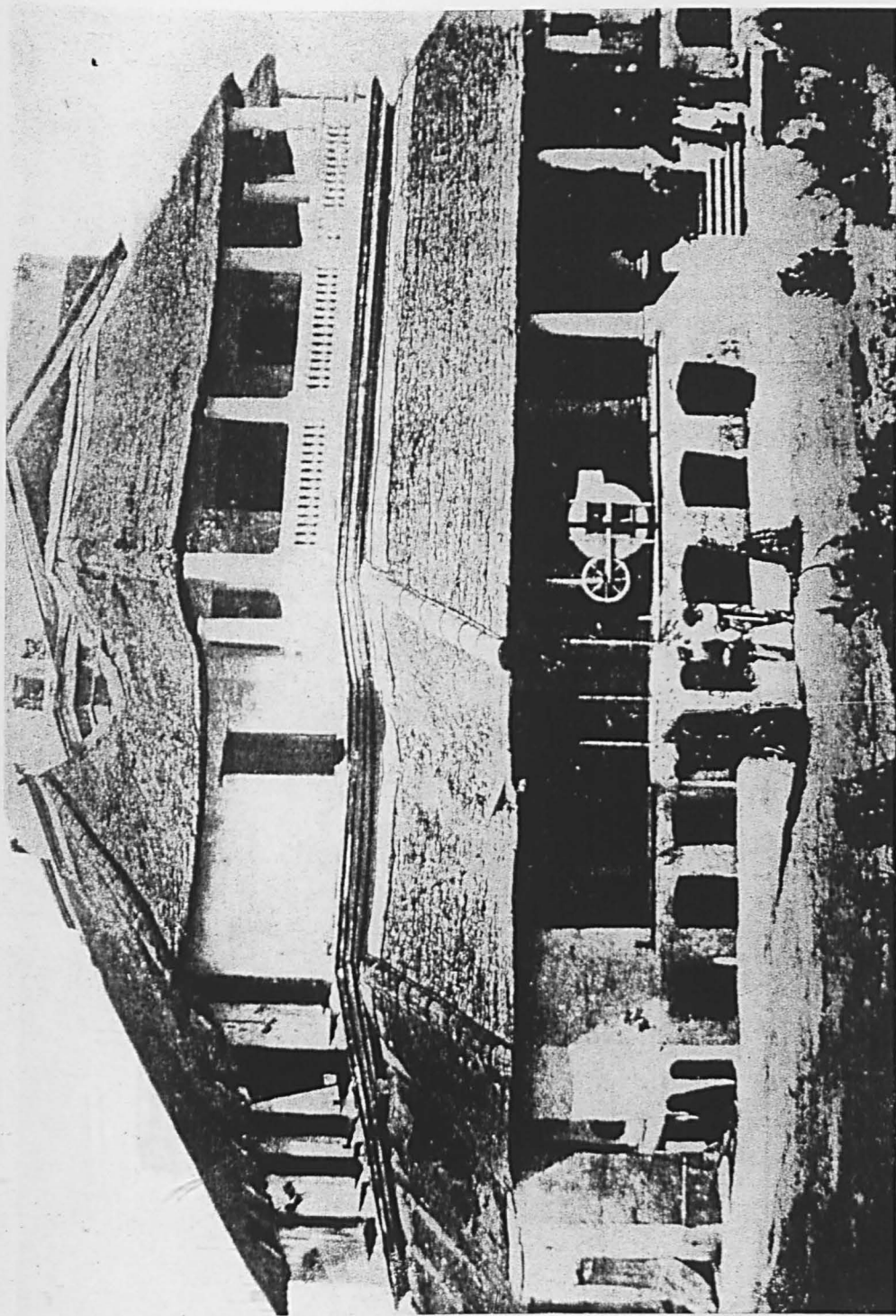


(2.32) The Kumbh Mela, corner tower

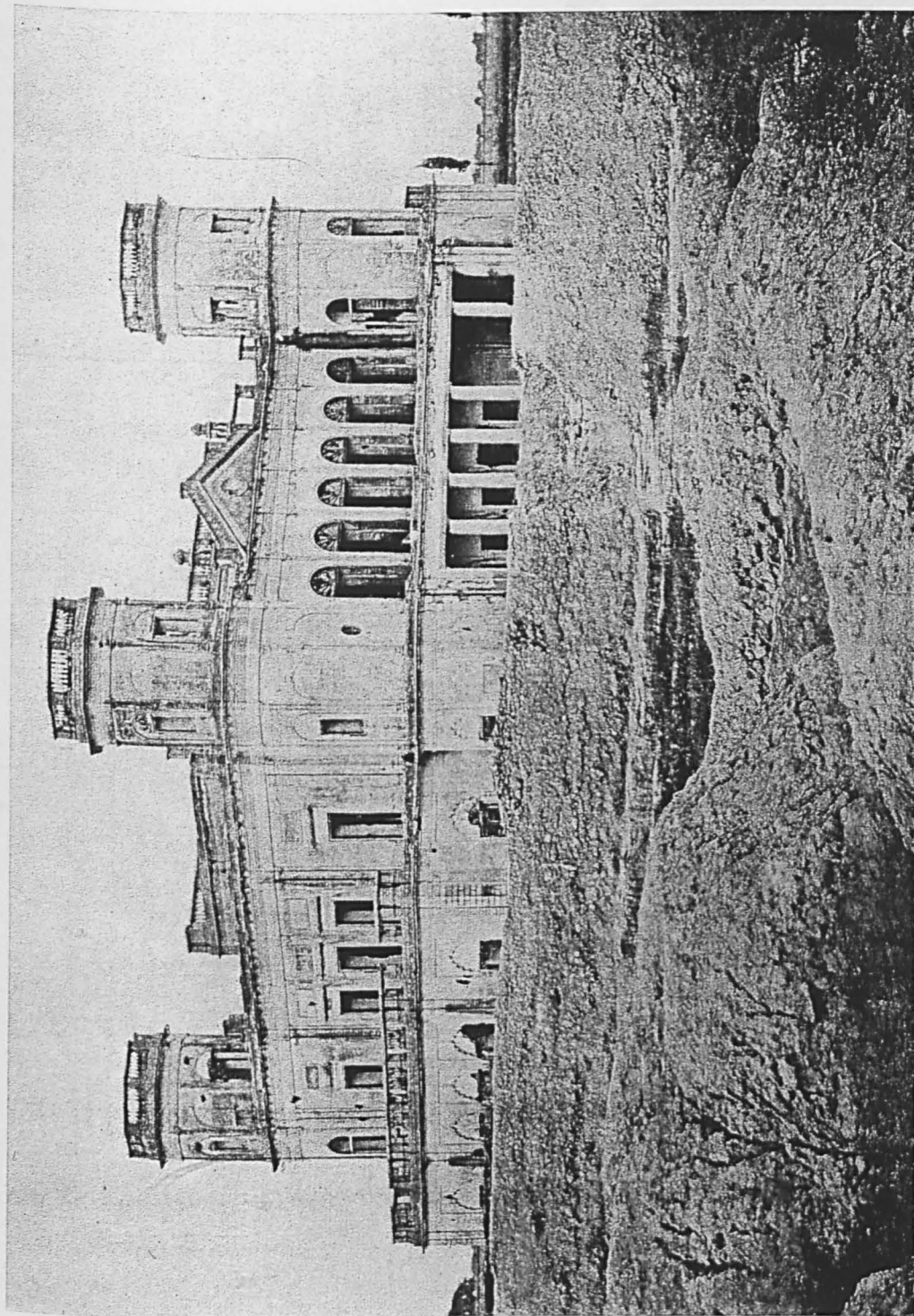
(2.32) Darshan Bilas - the "Dilkusha" facade



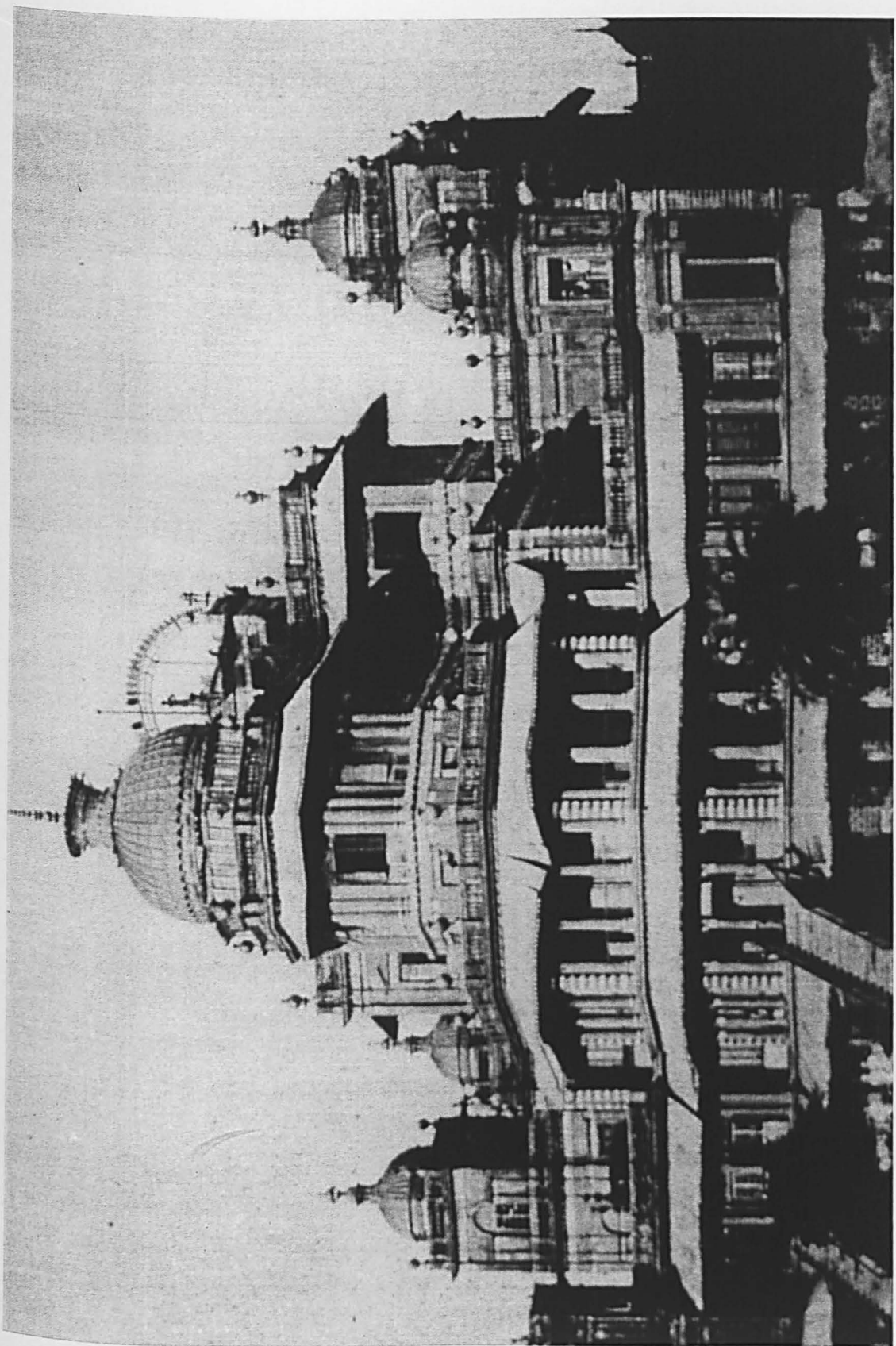
(2.33) The Kurshid Manzil, corner tower



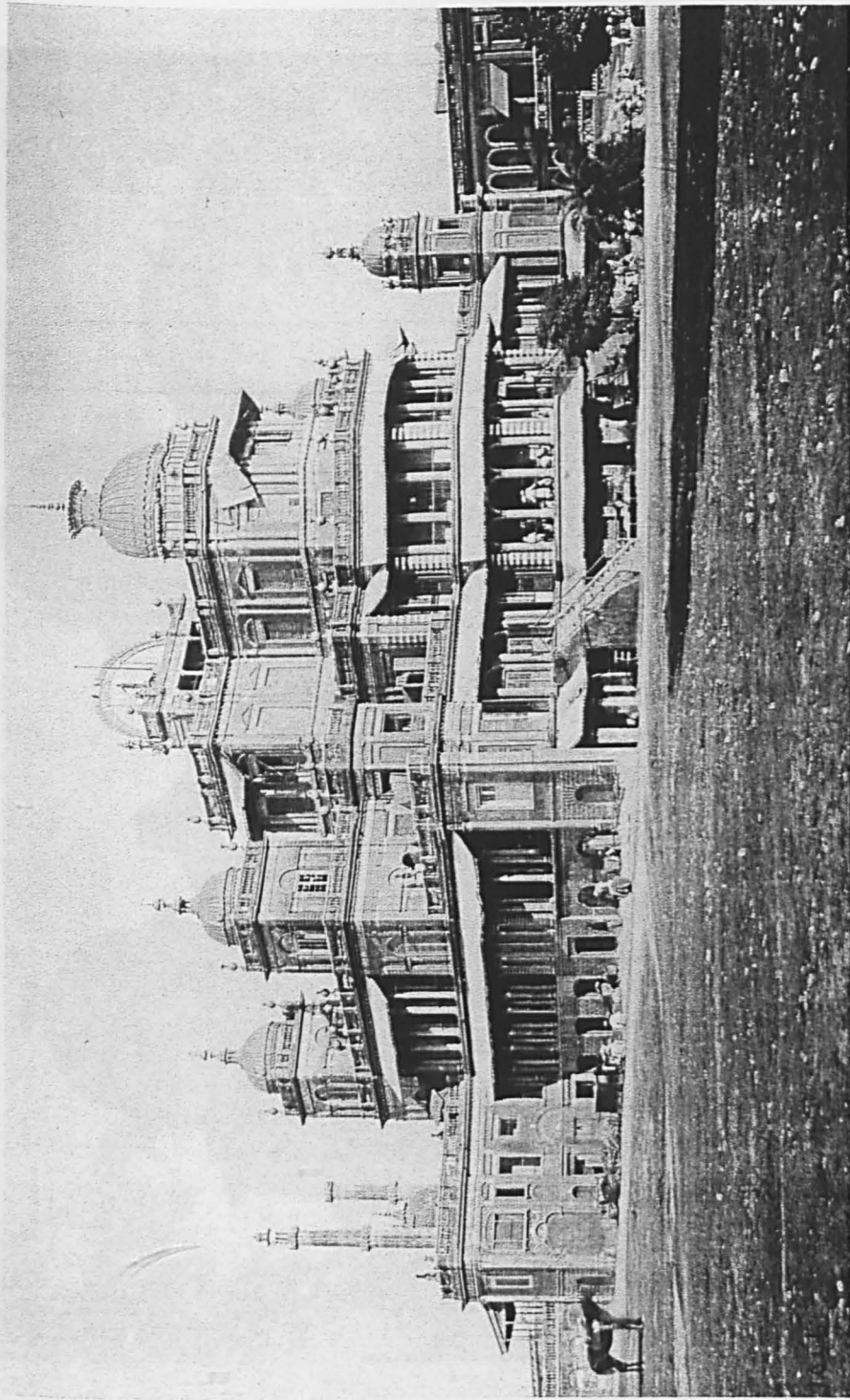
(2.34) Banks House, Lucknow



(2.35) Alam Bagh, Lucknow (1840's)



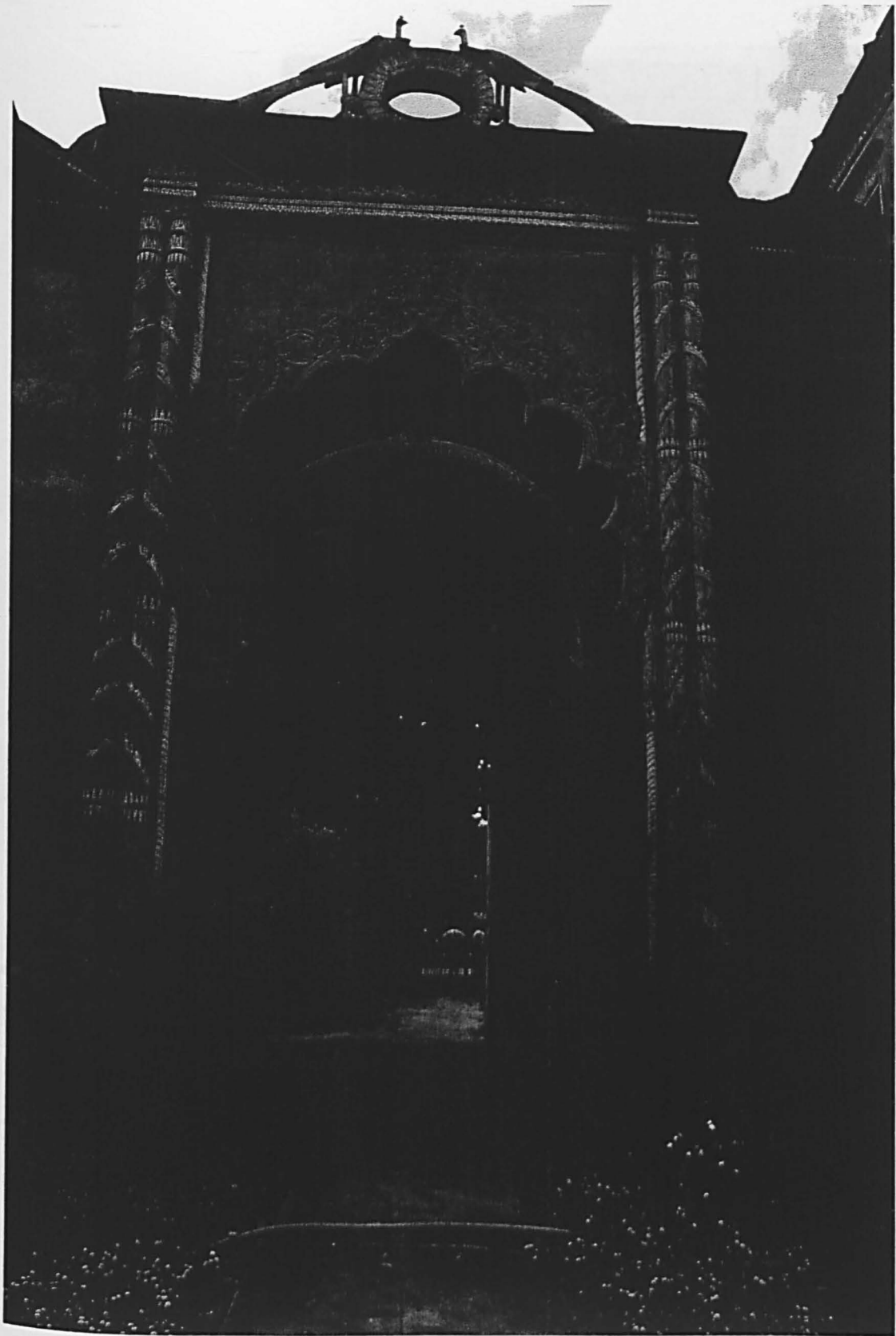
(2.36) The Raushan-ud-Daula Kothi, Lucknow (1830's)



(2.37) The Raushan-ud-Daula Kothi, side view showing the half-dome

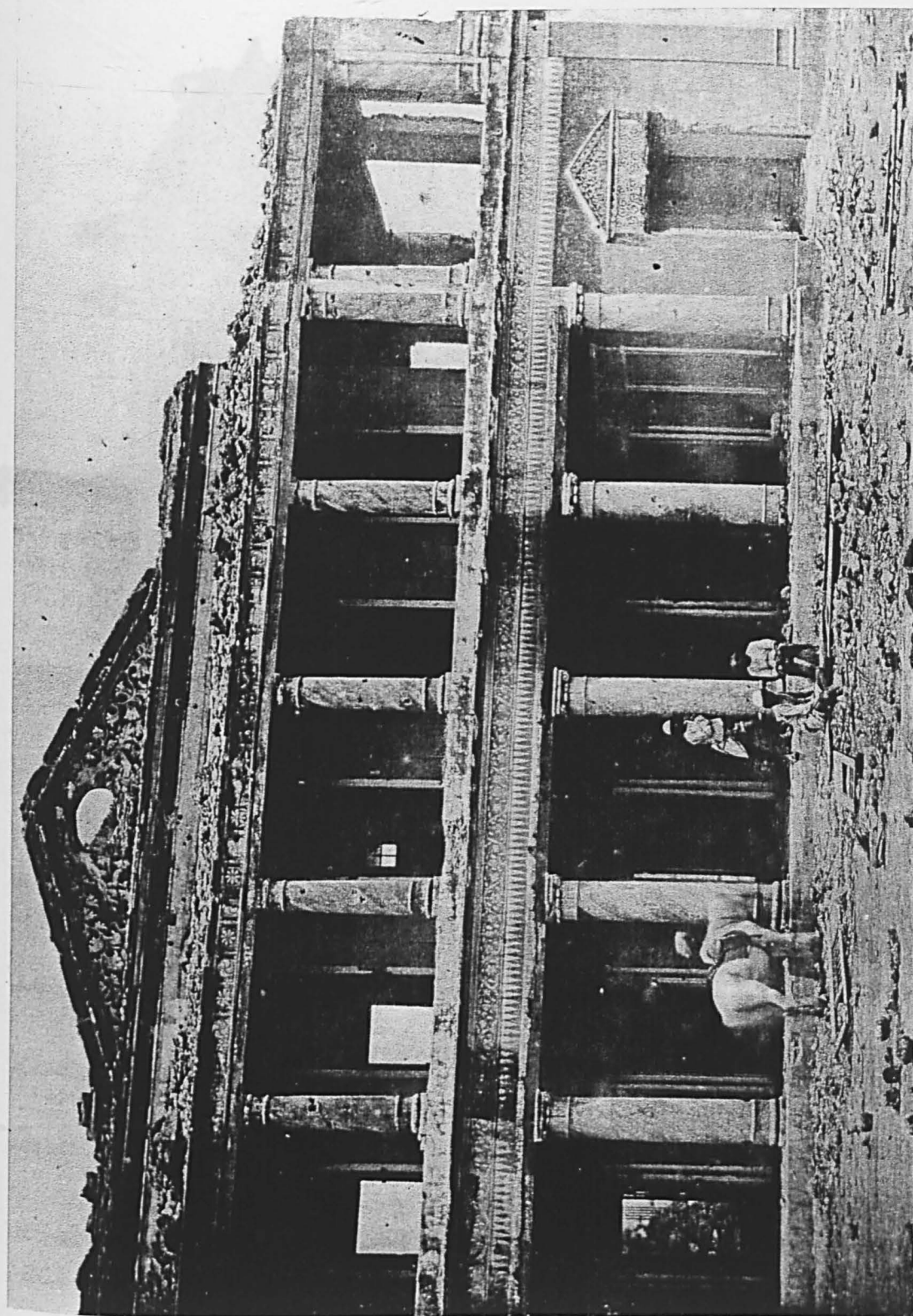


(2.38) The Sikanderbagh gateway, Lucknow (1840's)

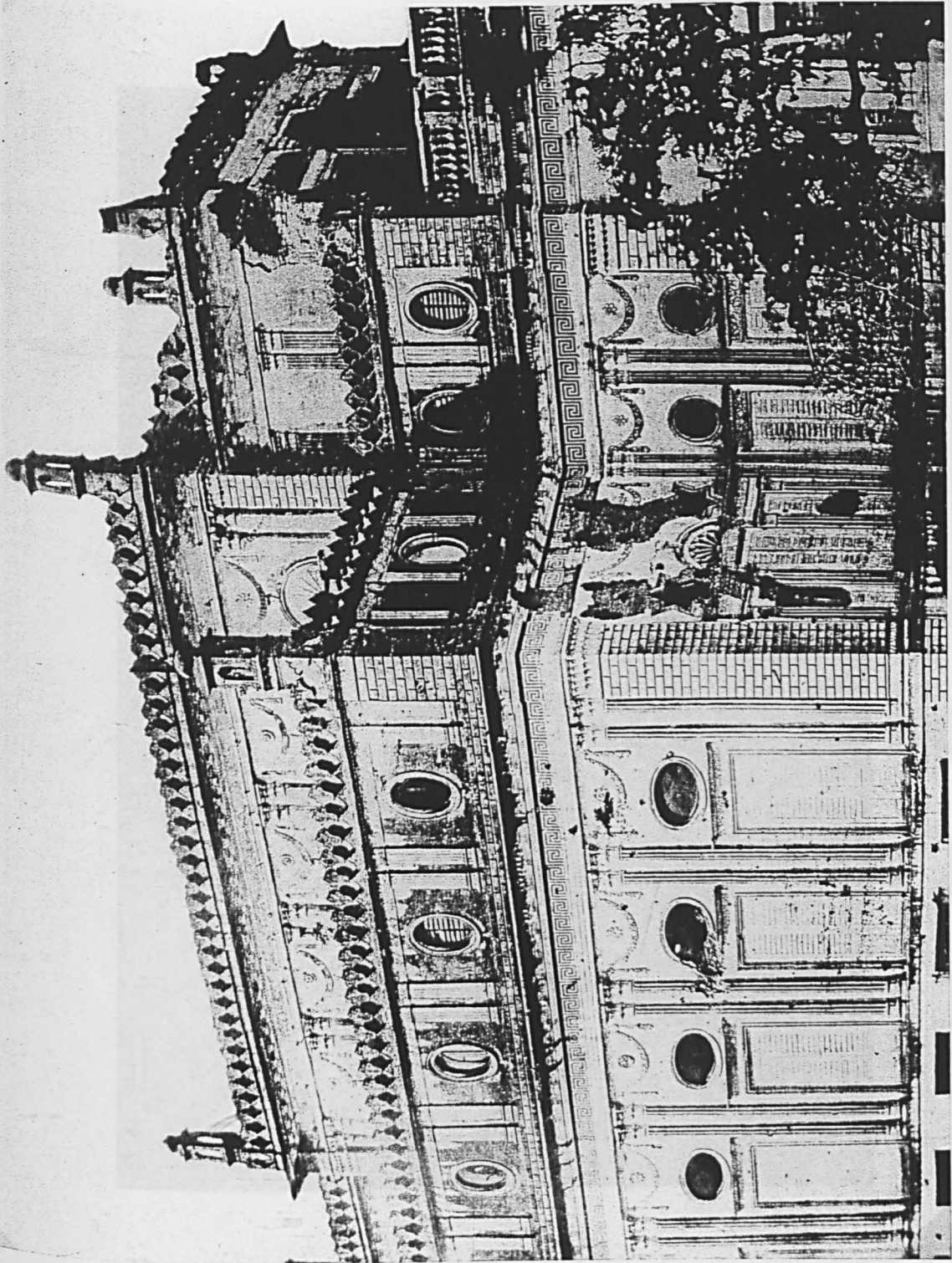


(2.40) The Sikanderbagh in 1856, photograph by F. Beato

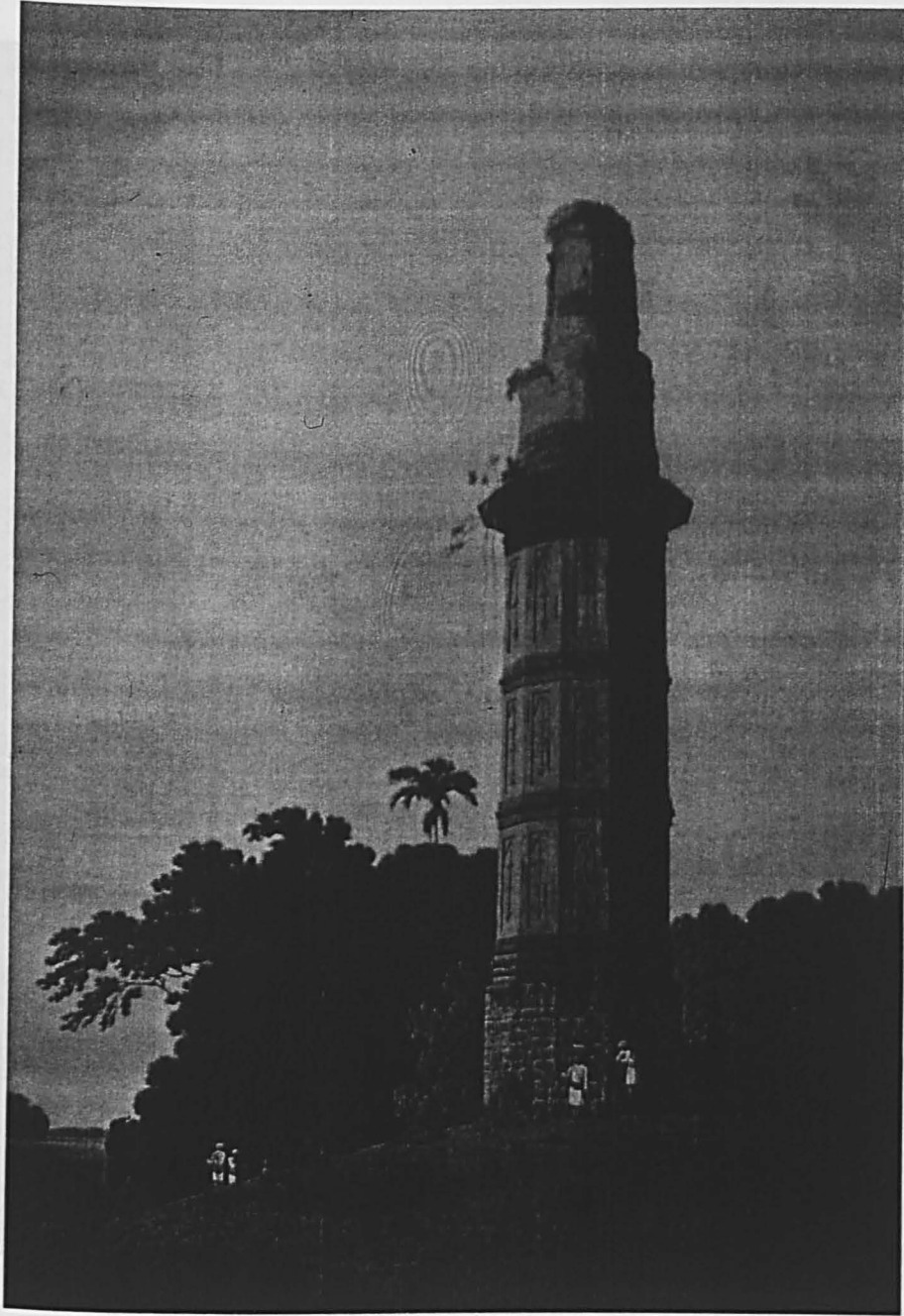
(2.39) Interior of the Sikanderbagh Gateway, Lucknow (1840's)



(2.40) The Sikanderbagh in 1860, photograph by F. Beato



(2.41) The Begum Kothi, Hazratganj, Lucknow (1840's)

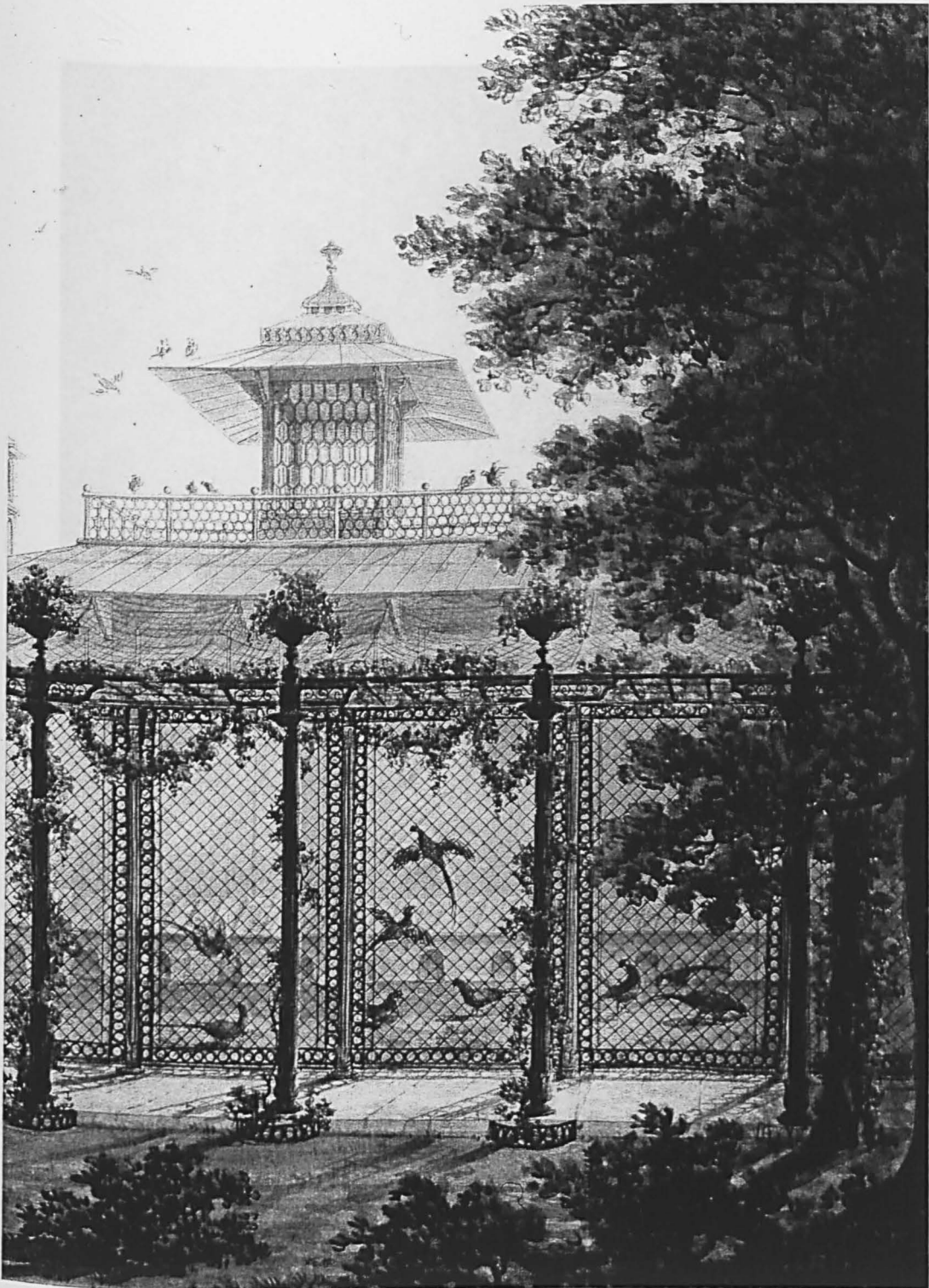


(3.1) from *Oriental Scenery*, Thomas and William Daniell 1815

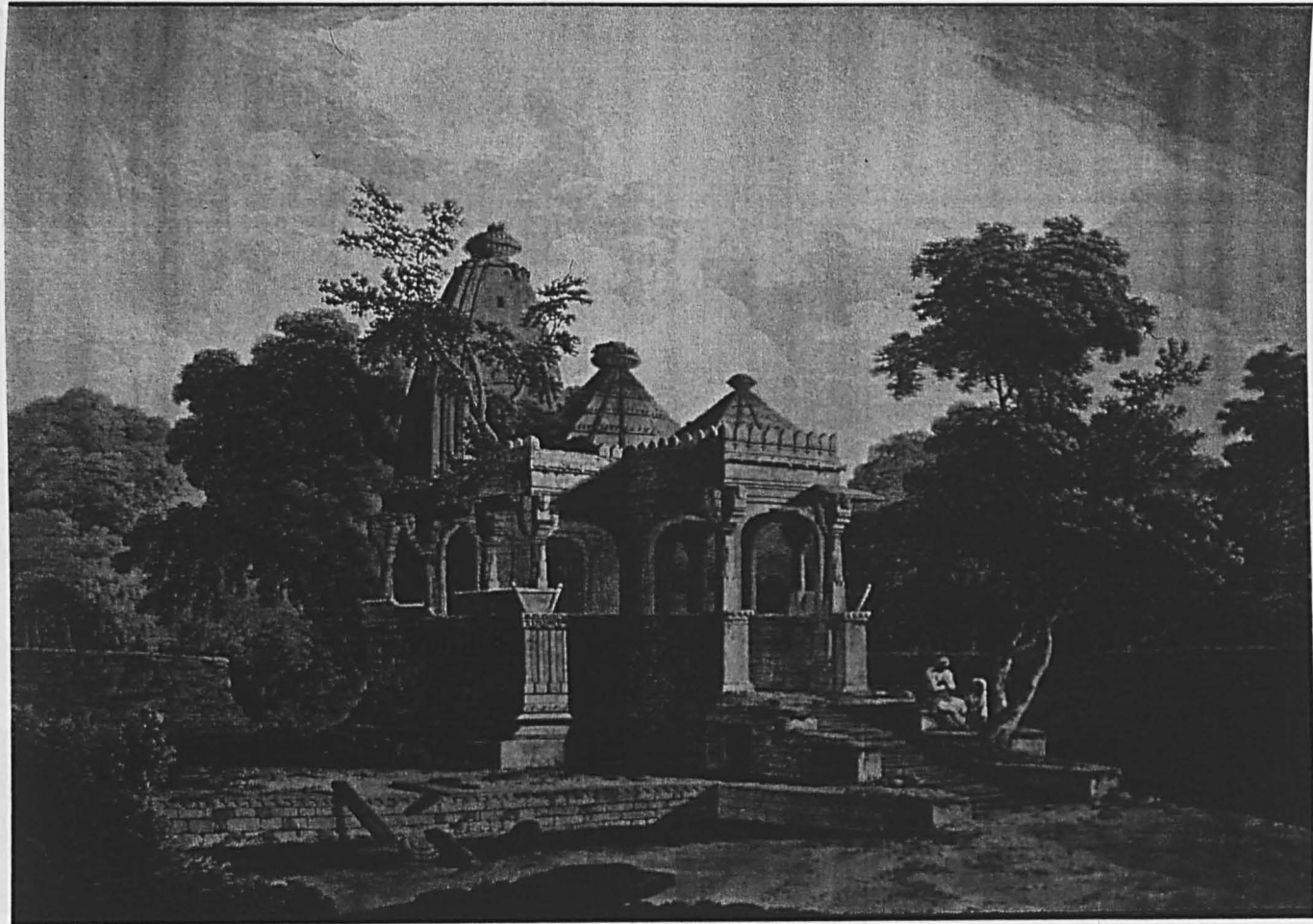
(3.2) Design for a phoenician, Humphrey Repton (1808)



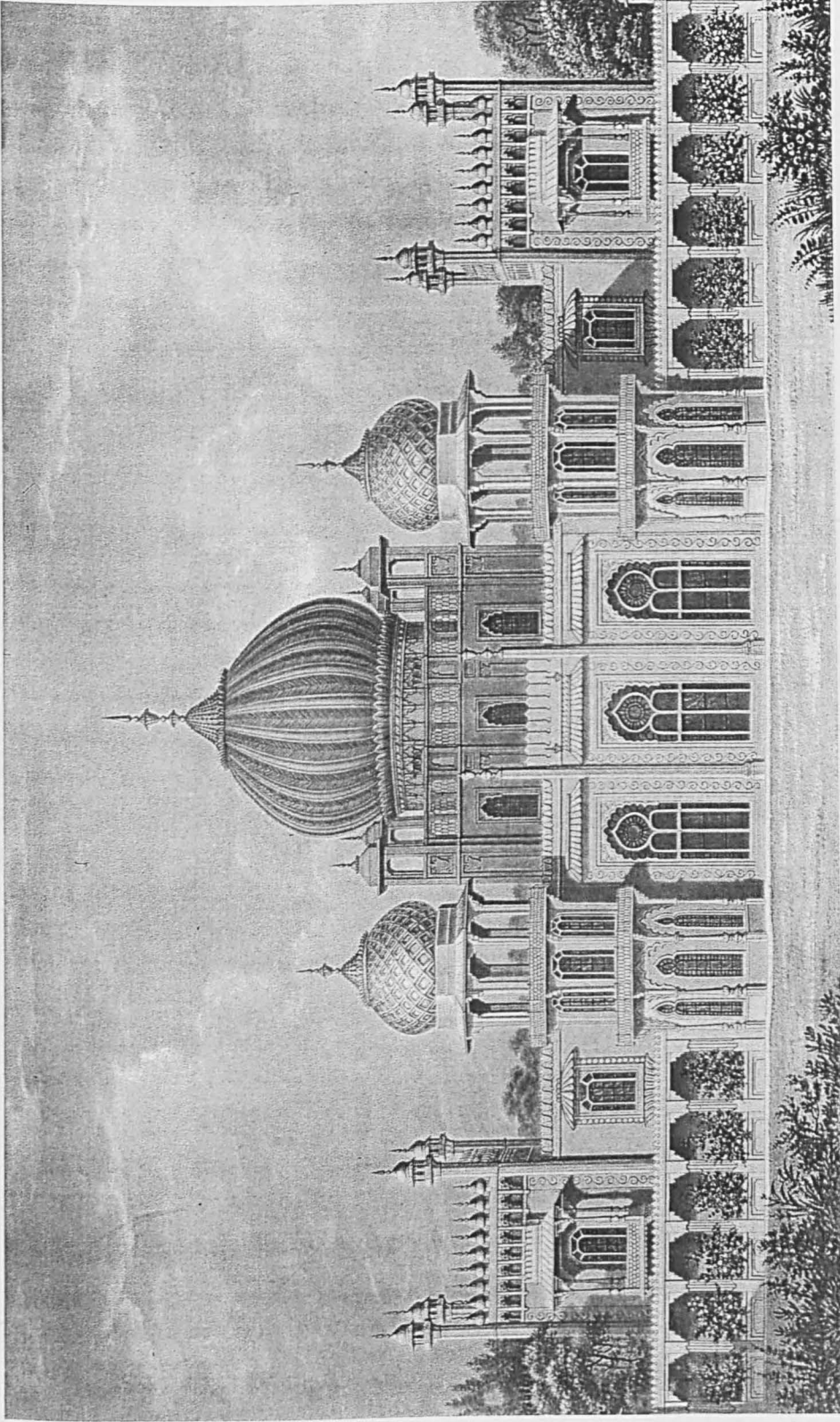
(3.1a) from *Oriental Scenery*, Thomas and William Daniell 1815



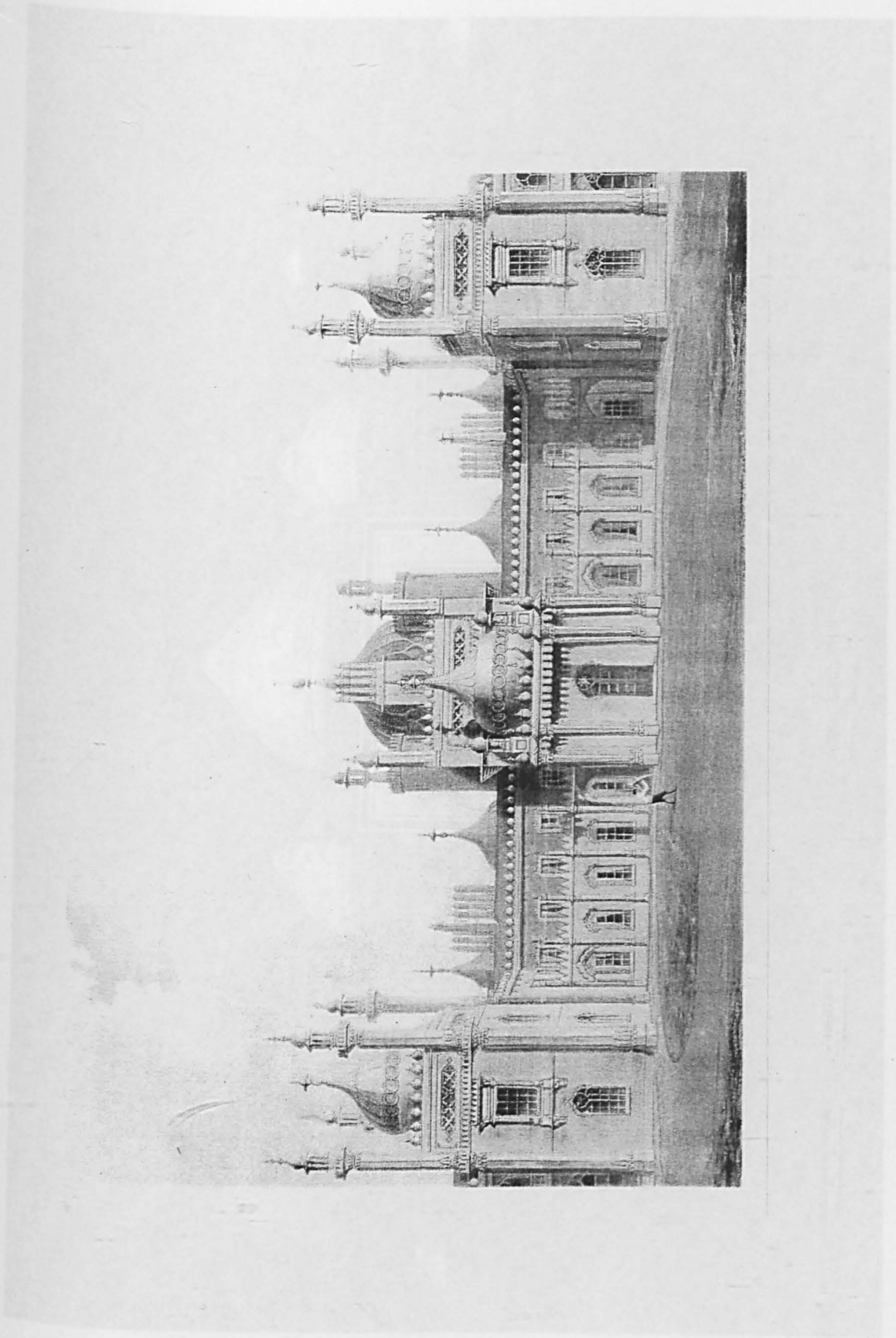
(3.2) Design for a Pheasantry, Humphrey Repton (1808)



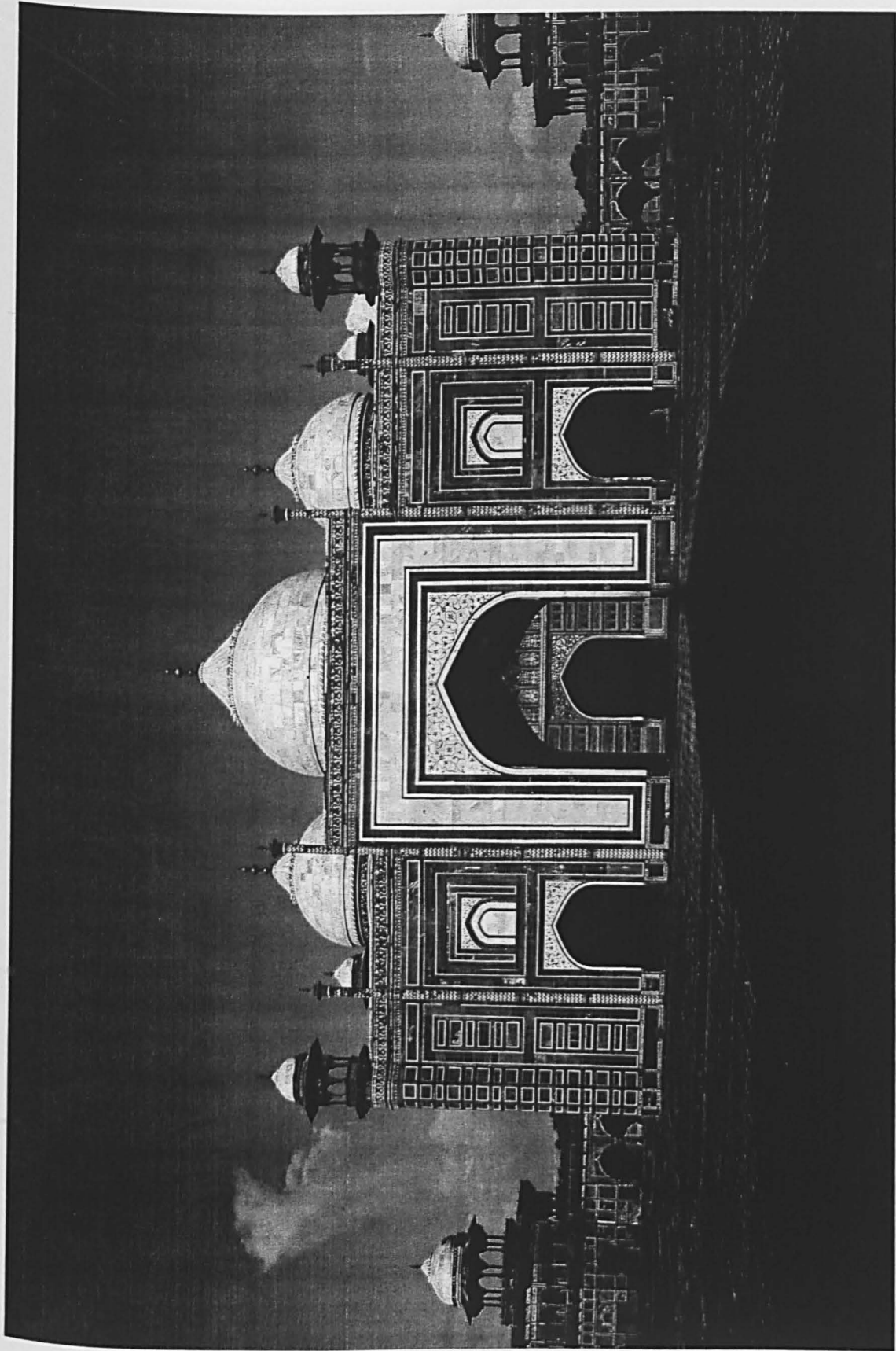
(3.3) from *Oriental Scenery*, Thomas and William Daniell 1815



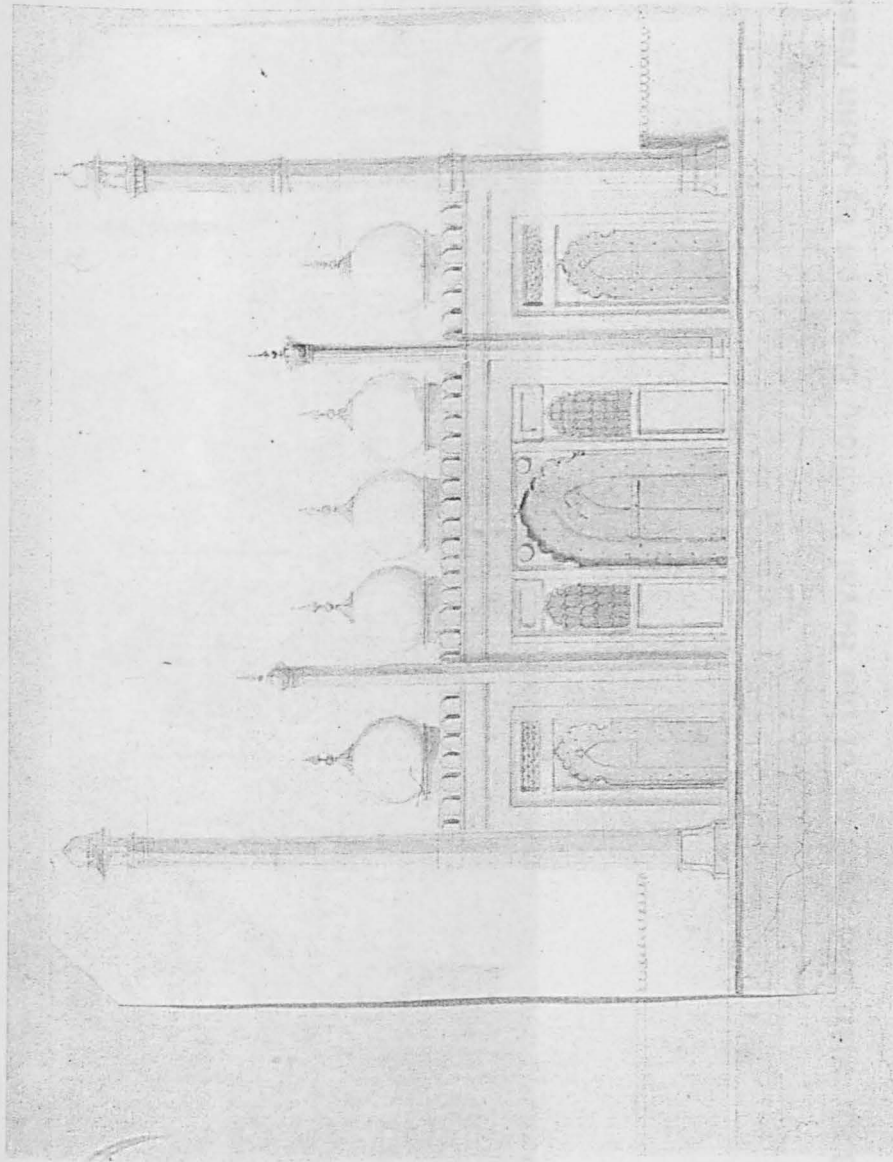
(3.4) Design for the Royal Pavilion, Brighton by Humphrey Repton (1808)



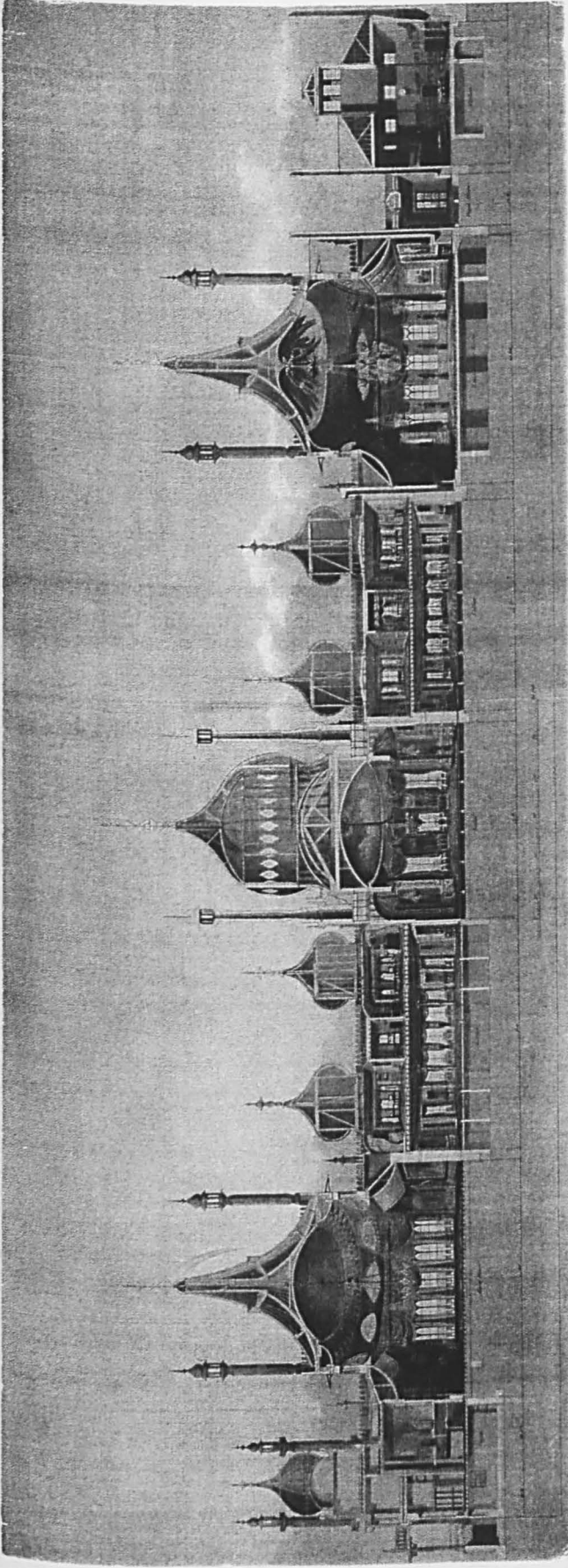
(3.5) Design for the Royal Pavilion, Brighton by John Nash



(3.6) Gateway of the Taj Mahal, Agra



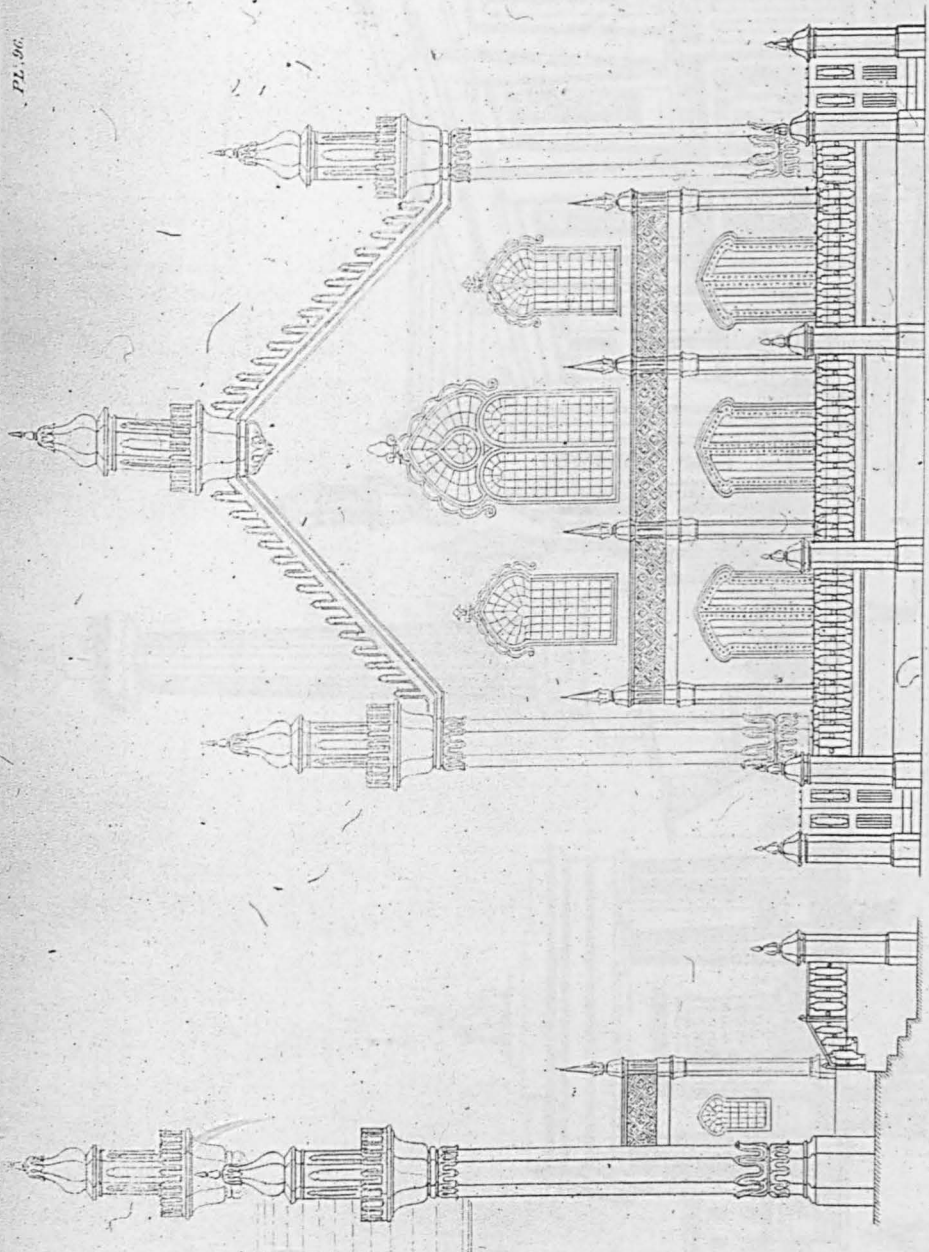
(3.7) Design for a pavilion at Sezincote, Thomas Daniell (c. 1805)



(3.8) Plan and Section of the Royal Pavilion, Brighton by John Nash

(3.9) Calvinist Chapel, Devonport by John Foulston (c.1835)

PL. 90.



Designed by J. Foulston.

1835

1835

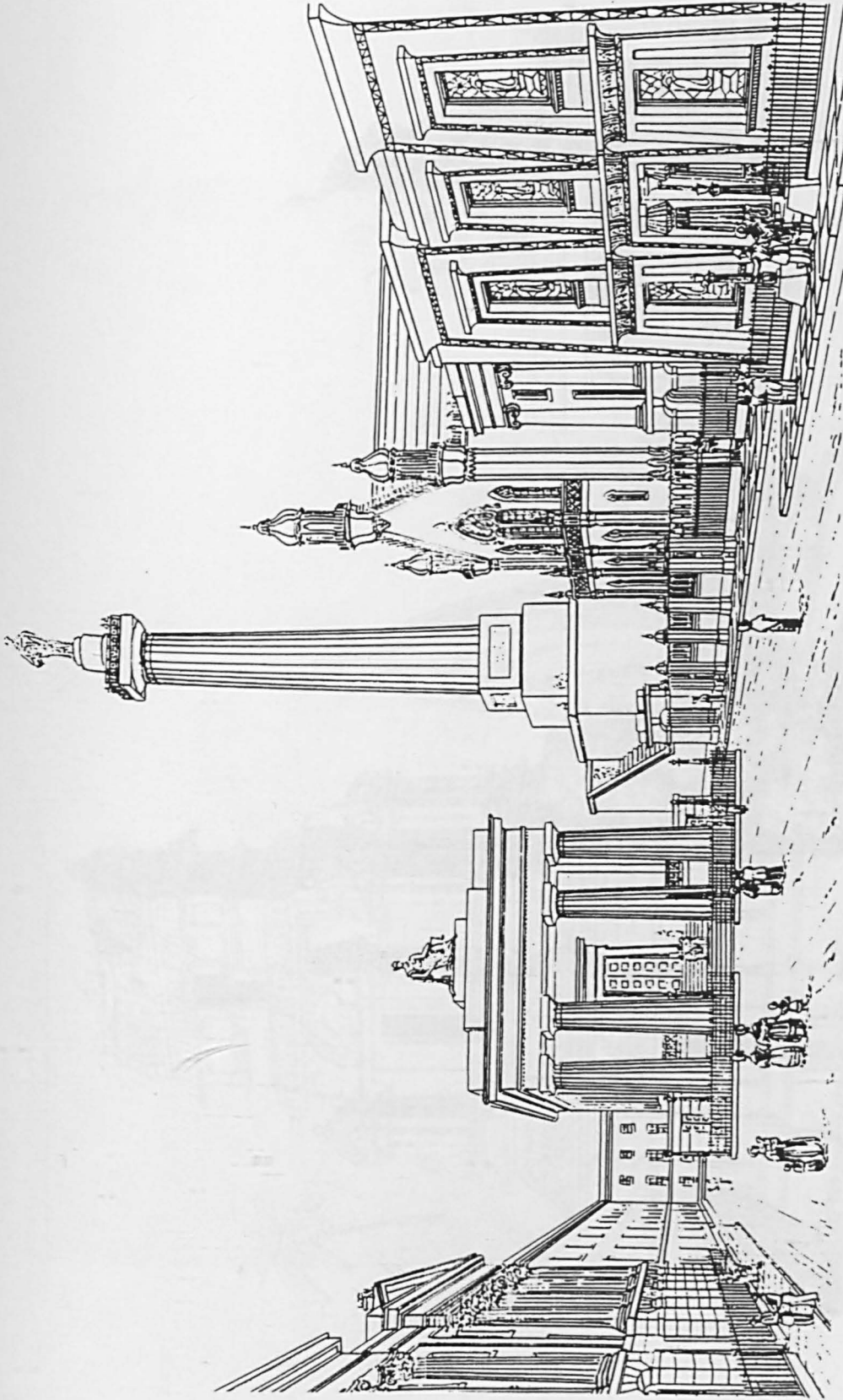
1835

1835

1835

Published by George Bellamy, at the Small Book-Binding Office, 10, St. Paul's Churchyard, London.

(3.9) Calvinist Chapel, Devonport by John Foulston (c.1835)

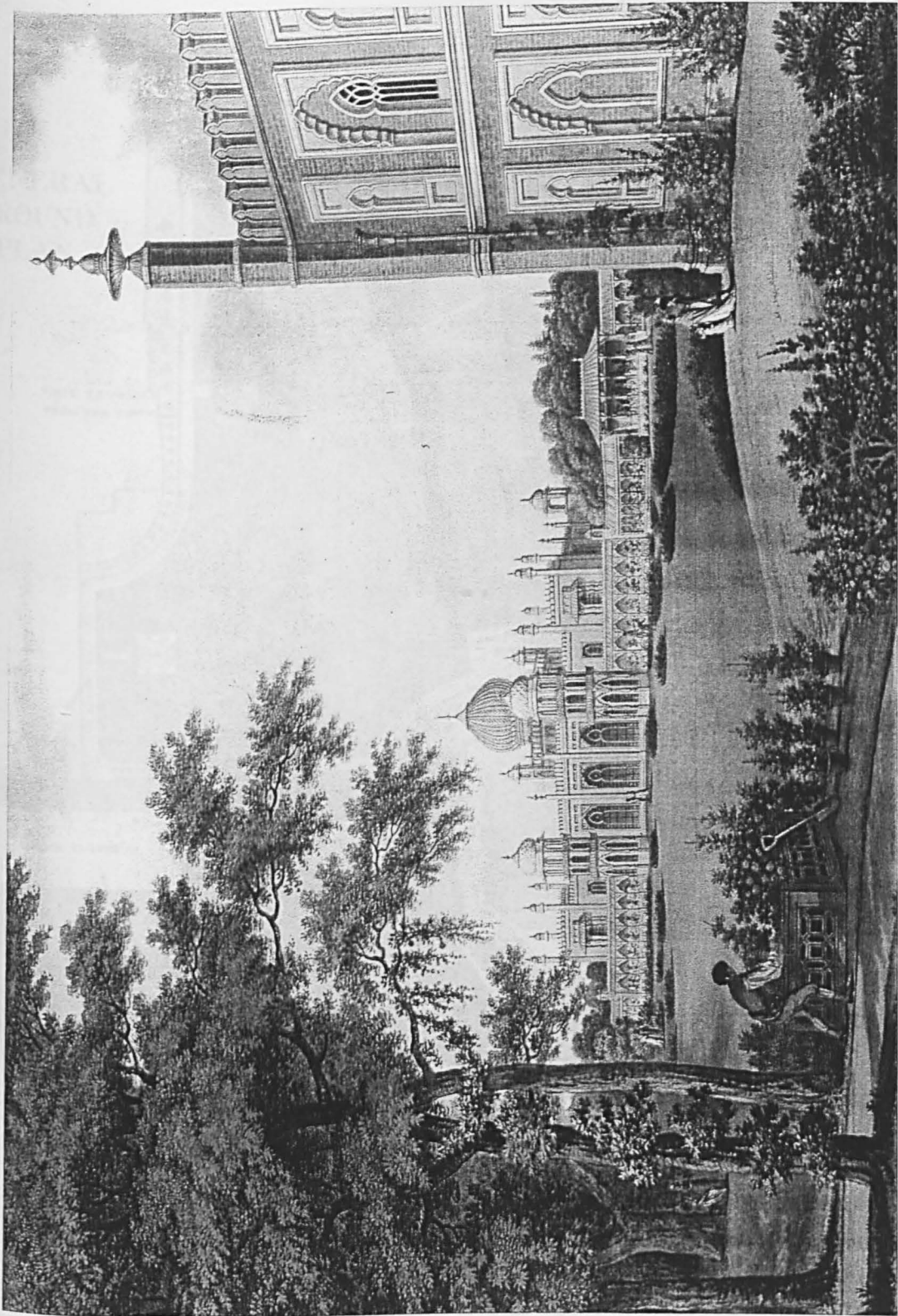


(3.10) Town Centre, Devonport by John Foulston (c.1835)



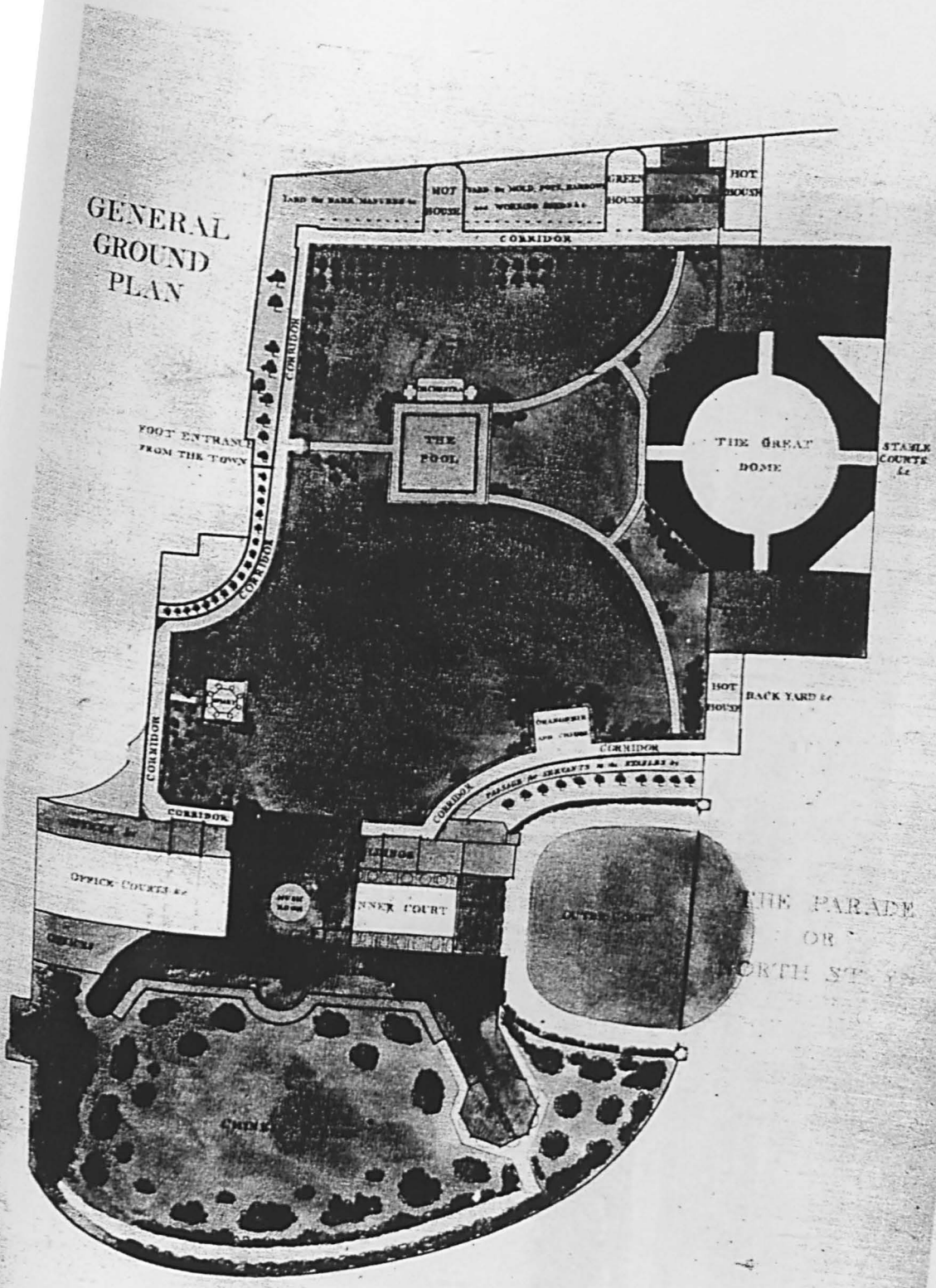
(3.11) The Indian Garden, from the *Palace of Architecture*, George Wightwick (1840)

(3.12) Royal Pavilion, Brighton by Humphrey Repton (1804)



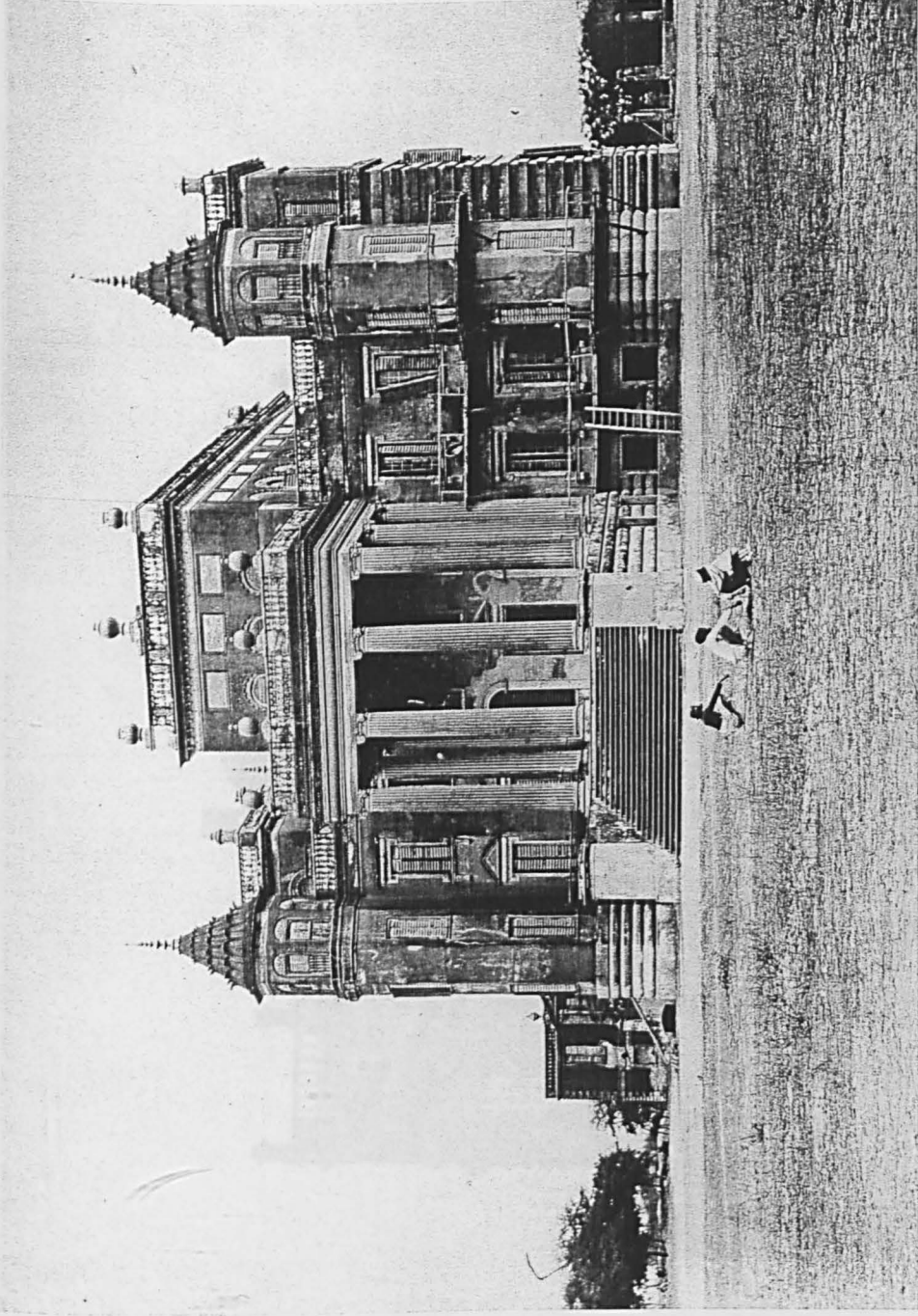
(3.12) Royal Pavilion, Brighton by Humphrey Repton (1808)

(3.13) Garden at the Royal Pavilion, Brighton, by Humphrey Repton

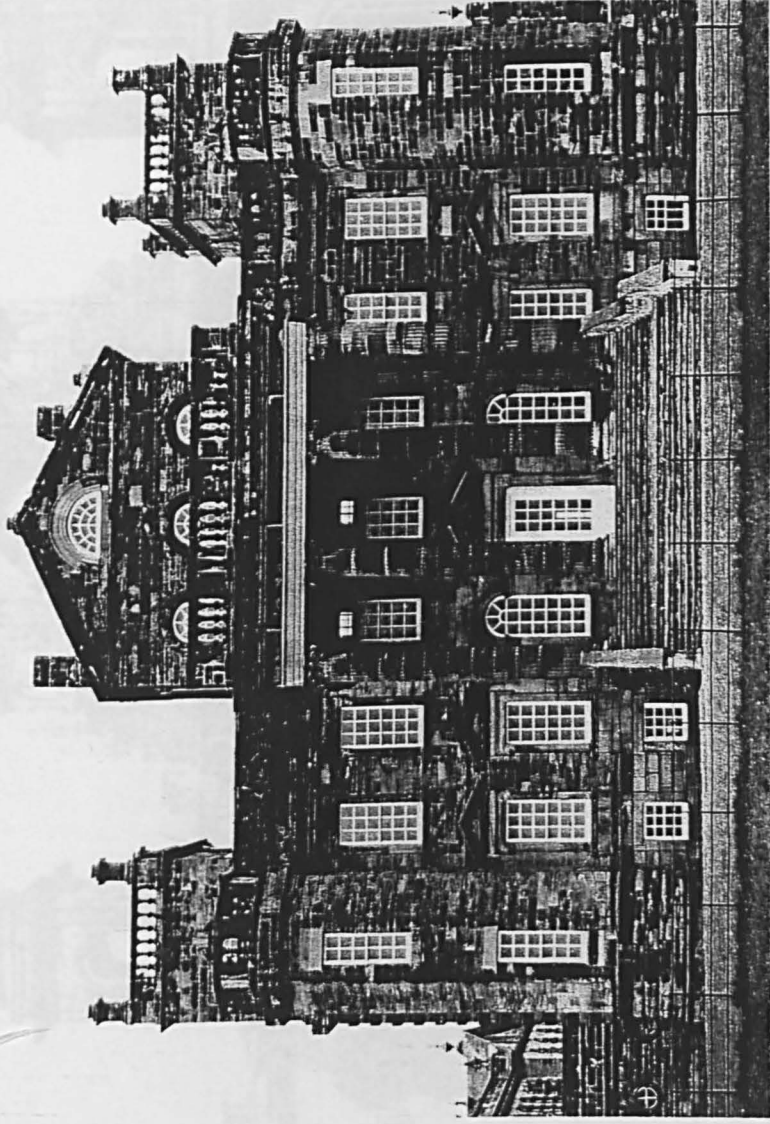


GENERAL
GROUND
PLAN

.13) Garden at the Royal Pavillion, Brighton, by Humphrey Repton

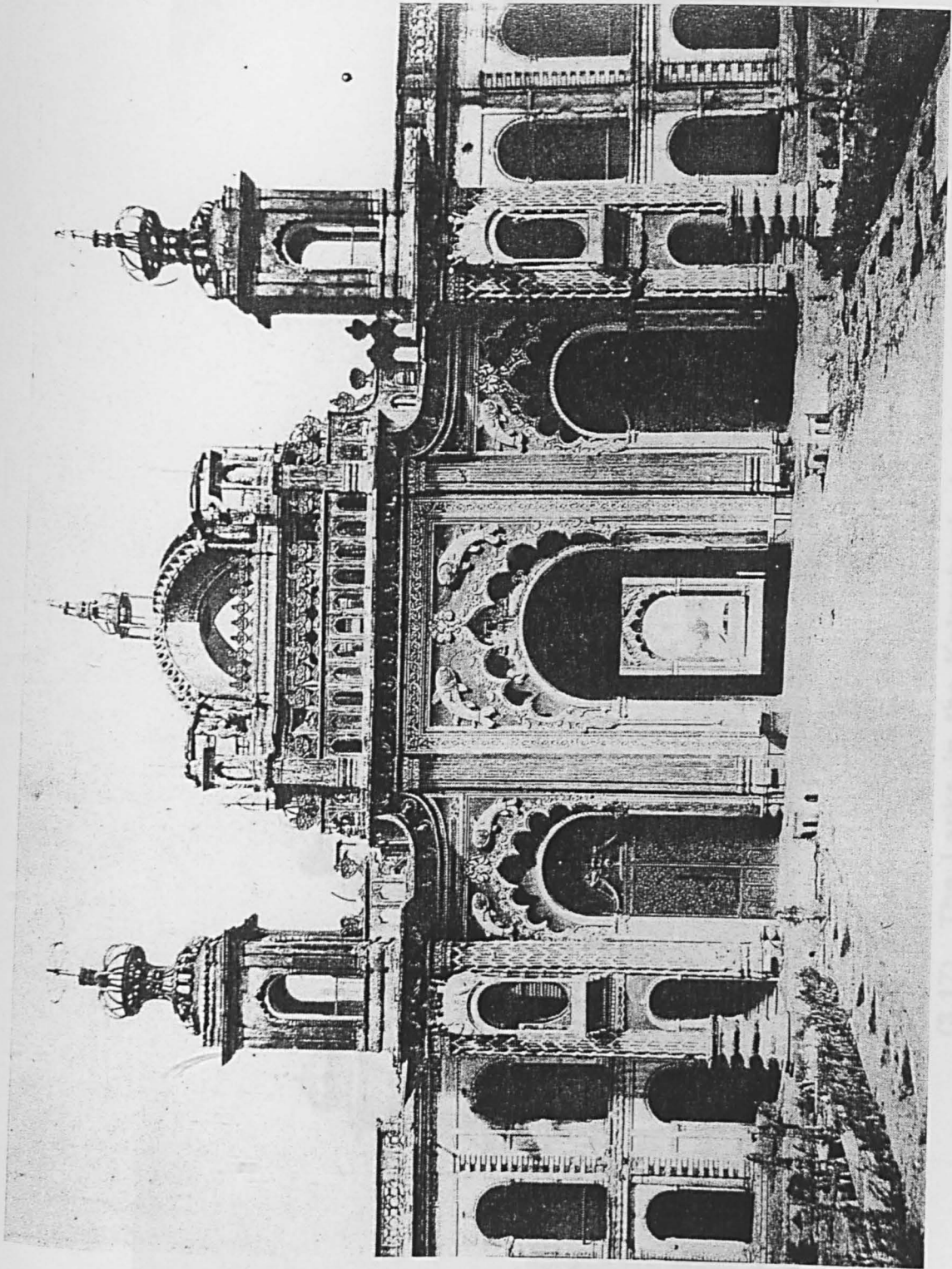


(3.14) Dilkusha, Lucknow (c.1800)

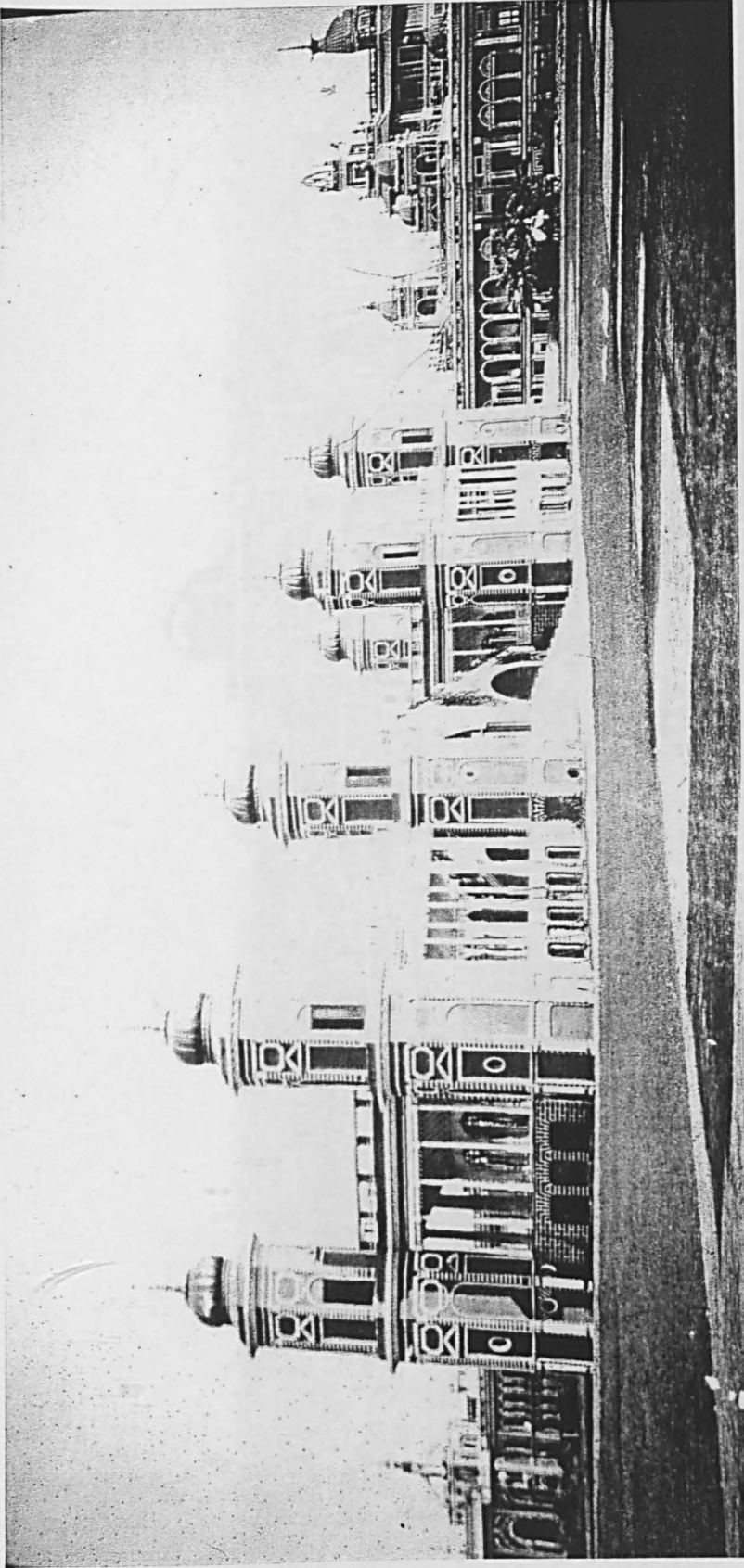


(3.15) Seaton Delavel, John Vanbrugh (c.1715)

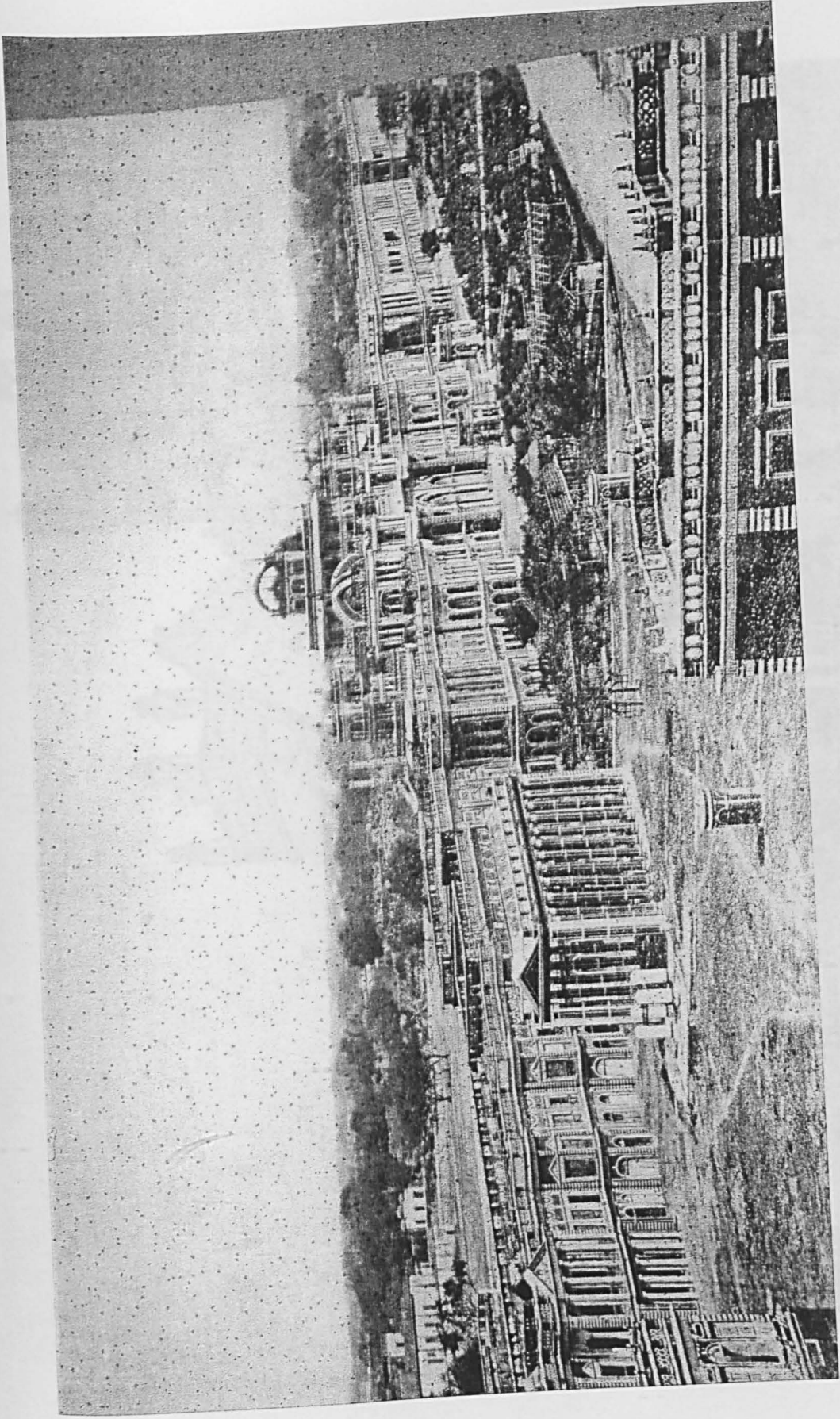
(3.16) Kilmoragh Cemetery, Lucknow (1840s)



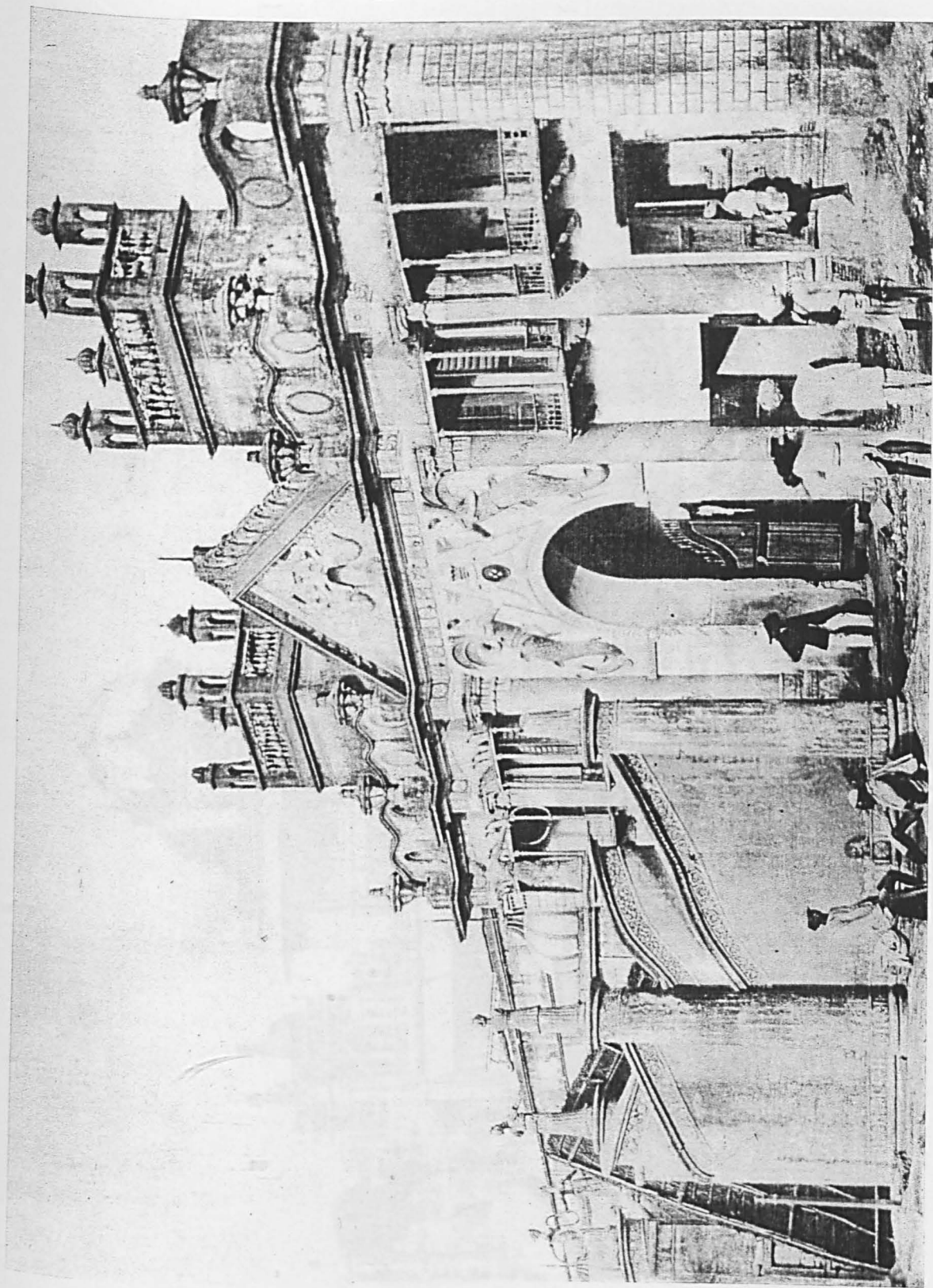
(3.16) Kaisarbagh Gateway, Lucknow (1840's)



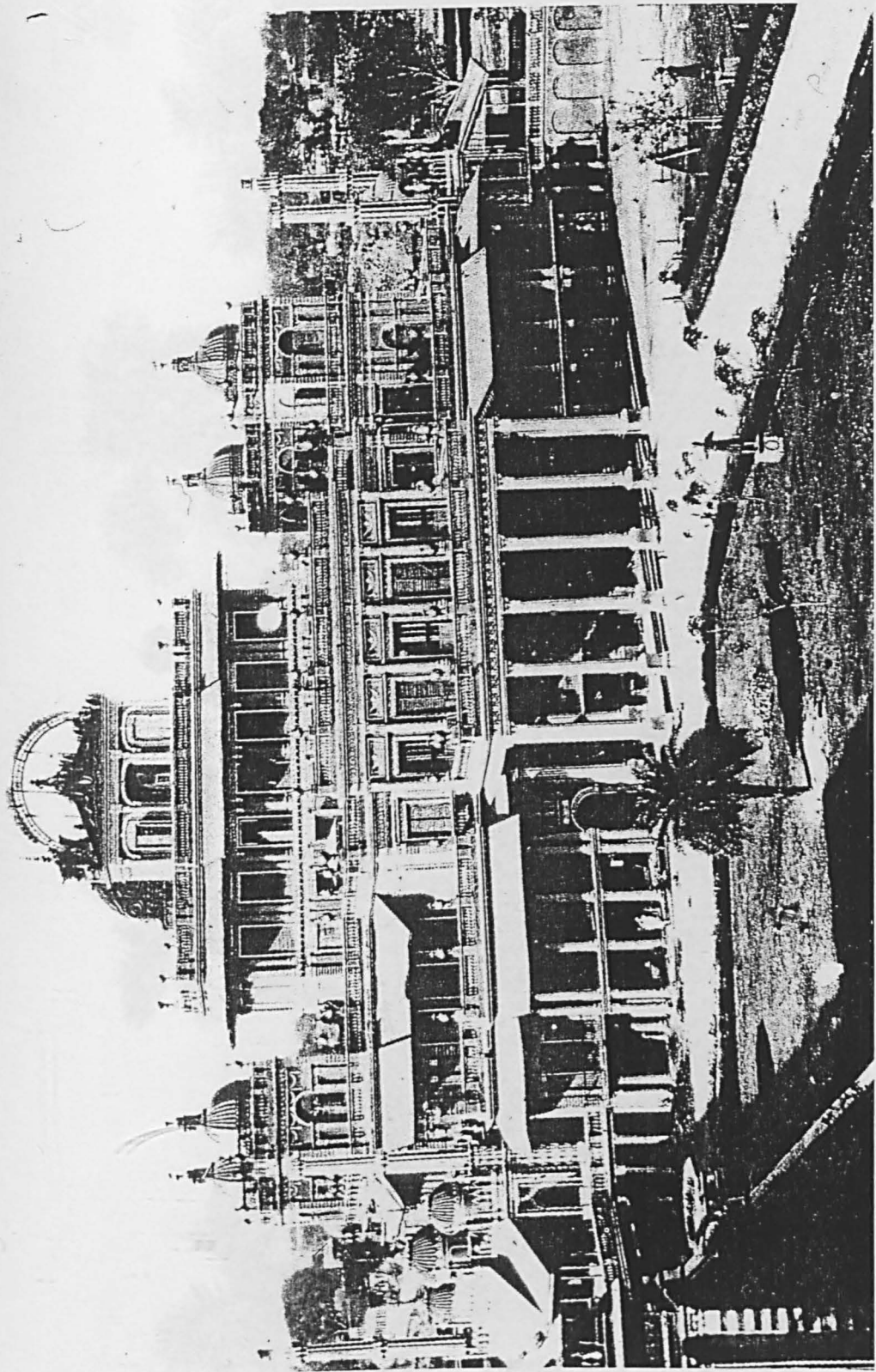
(3.17) The Lanka in the Kaisarbagh, Lucknow (1840's)



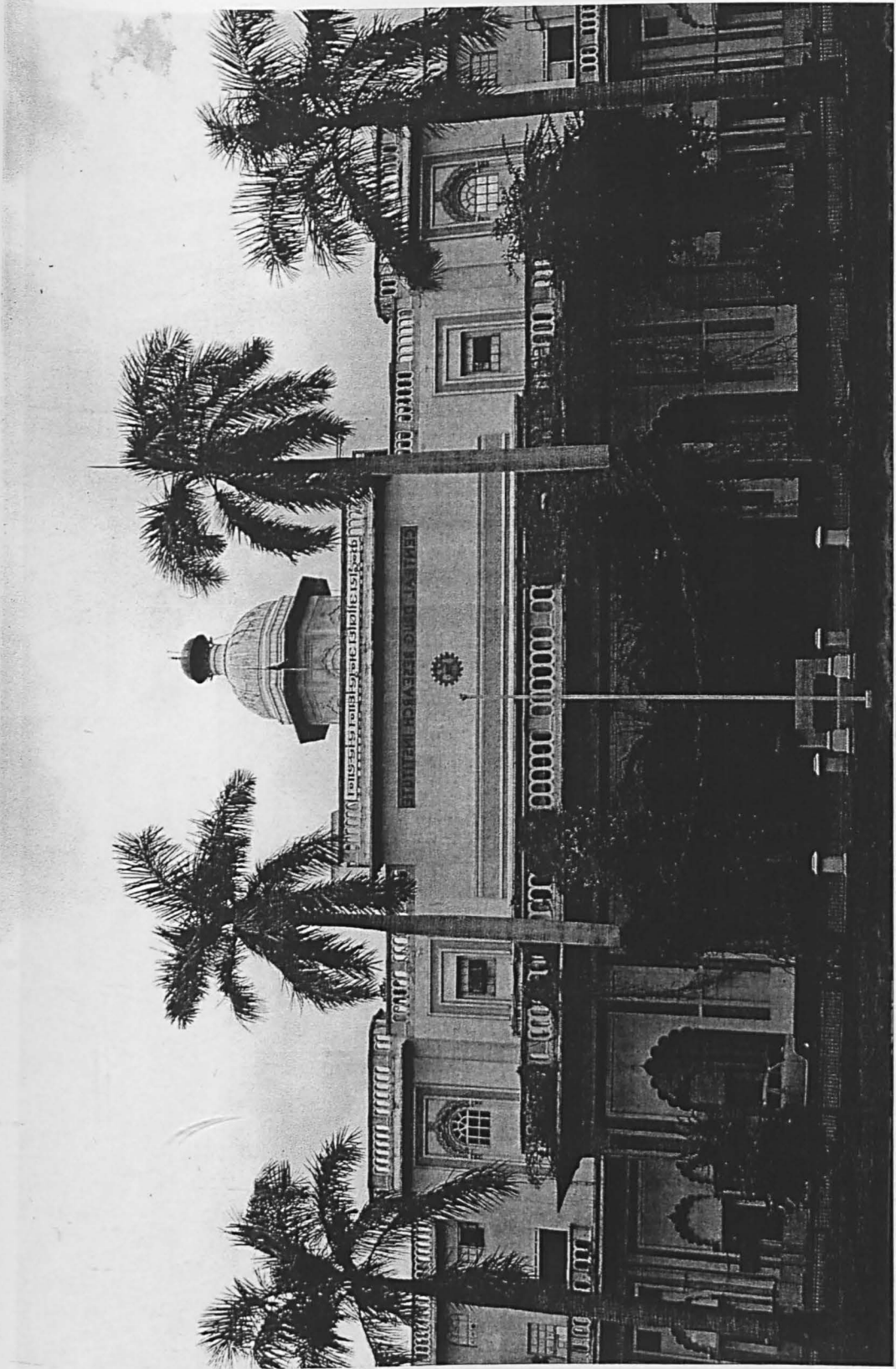
(3.18) View of the Kaiserbagh, Lucknow (1840's)



(3.19) Kaisarbagh, the Mermaid Gate

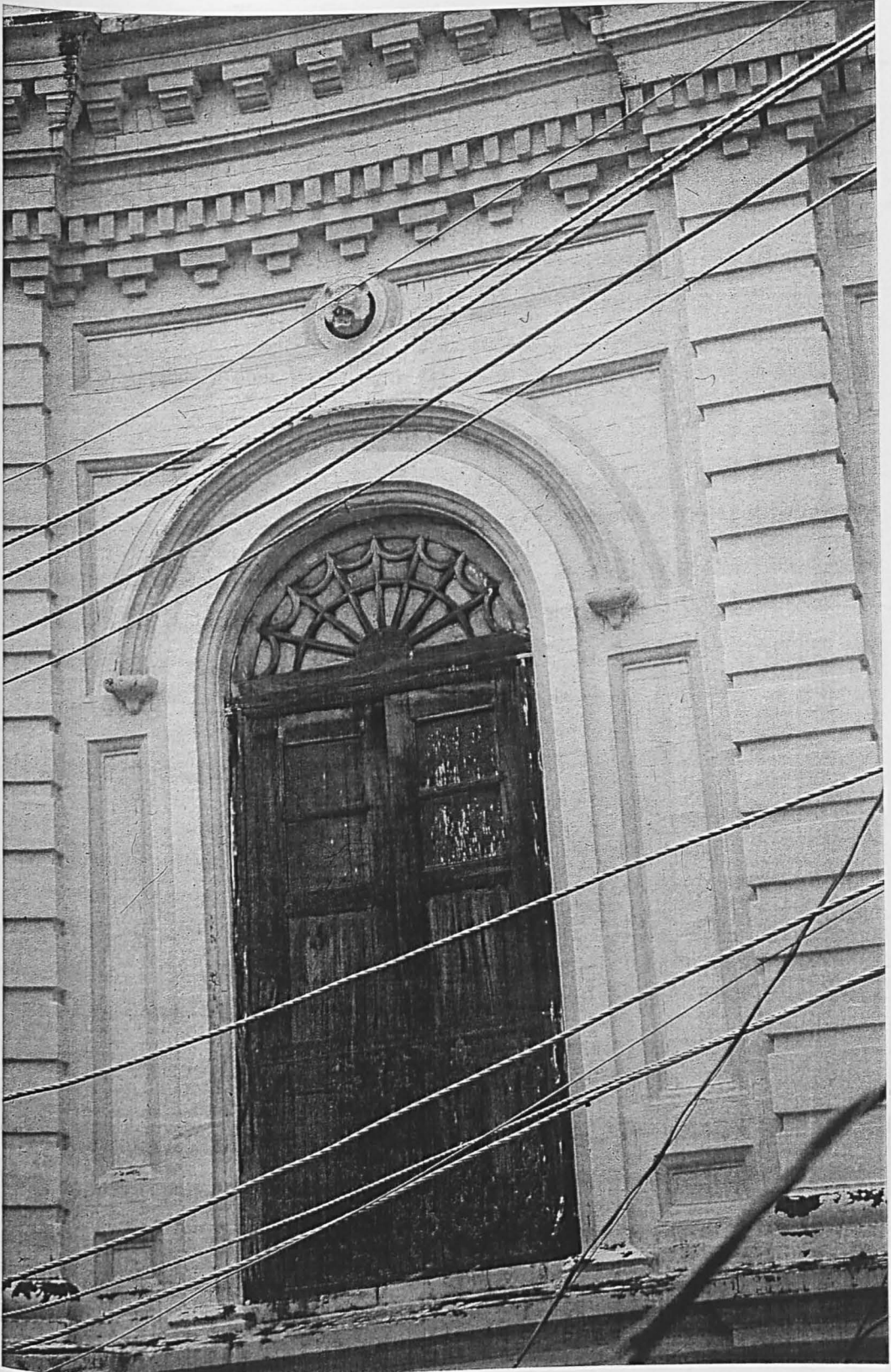


(3.20) The Raushan-ud-Daula Kothi (1830's)



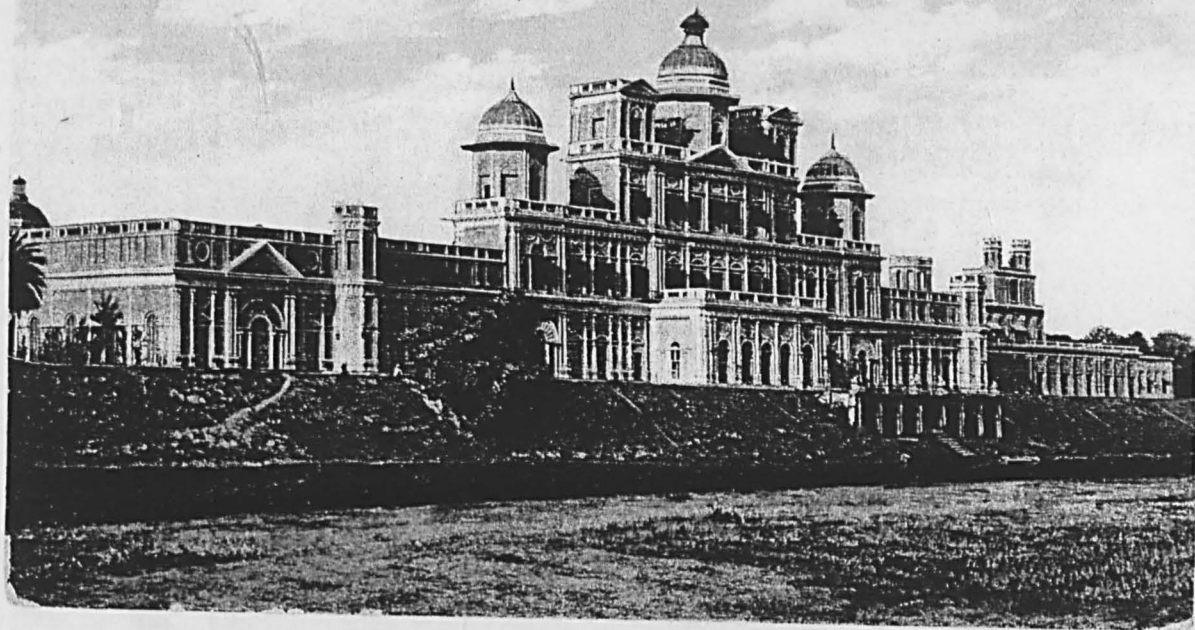
(3.21) The Chattar Manzil in 1998

(3.22) The Chattar Manzil, classical elements

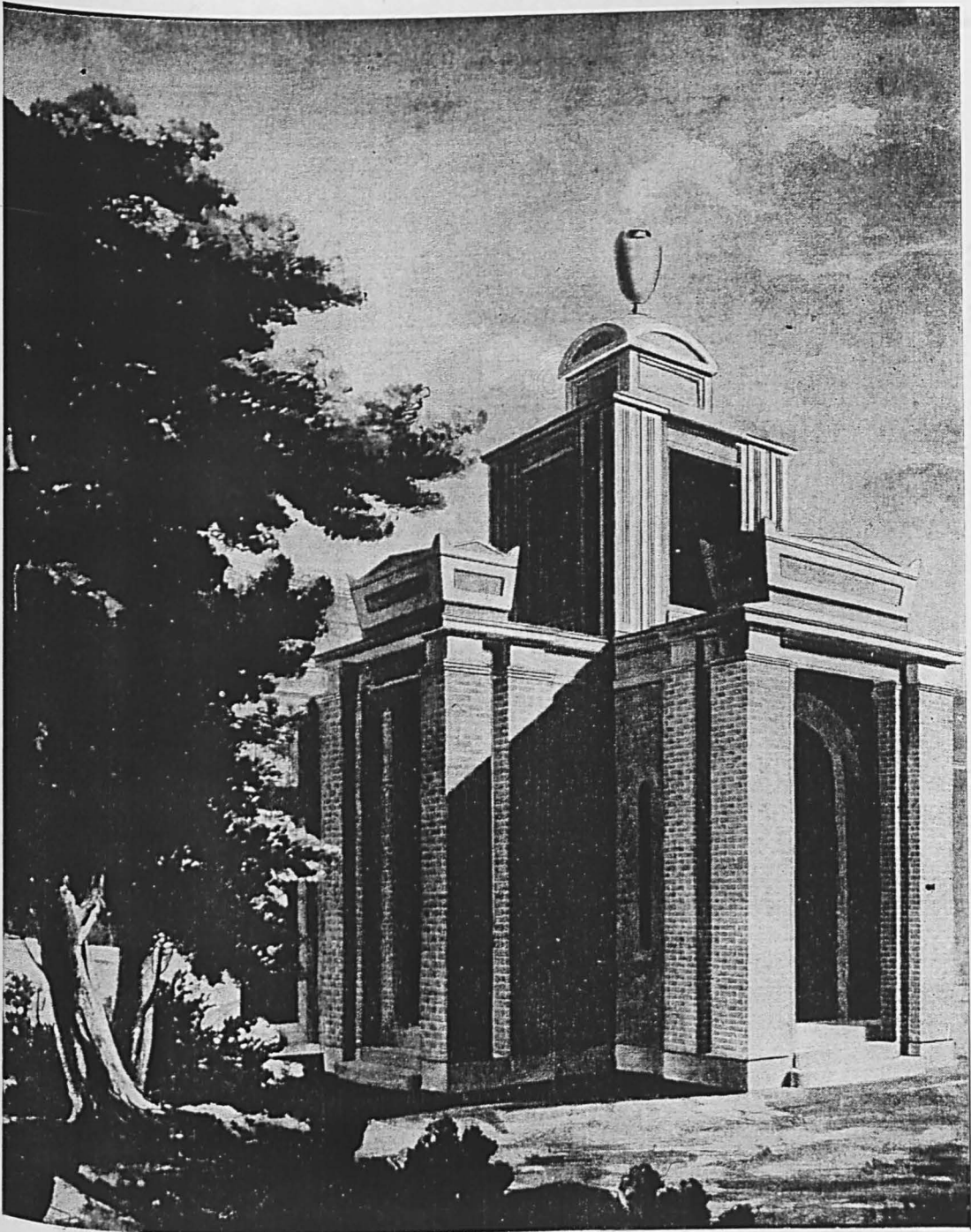


(3.22) The Chatter Manzil, classical elements

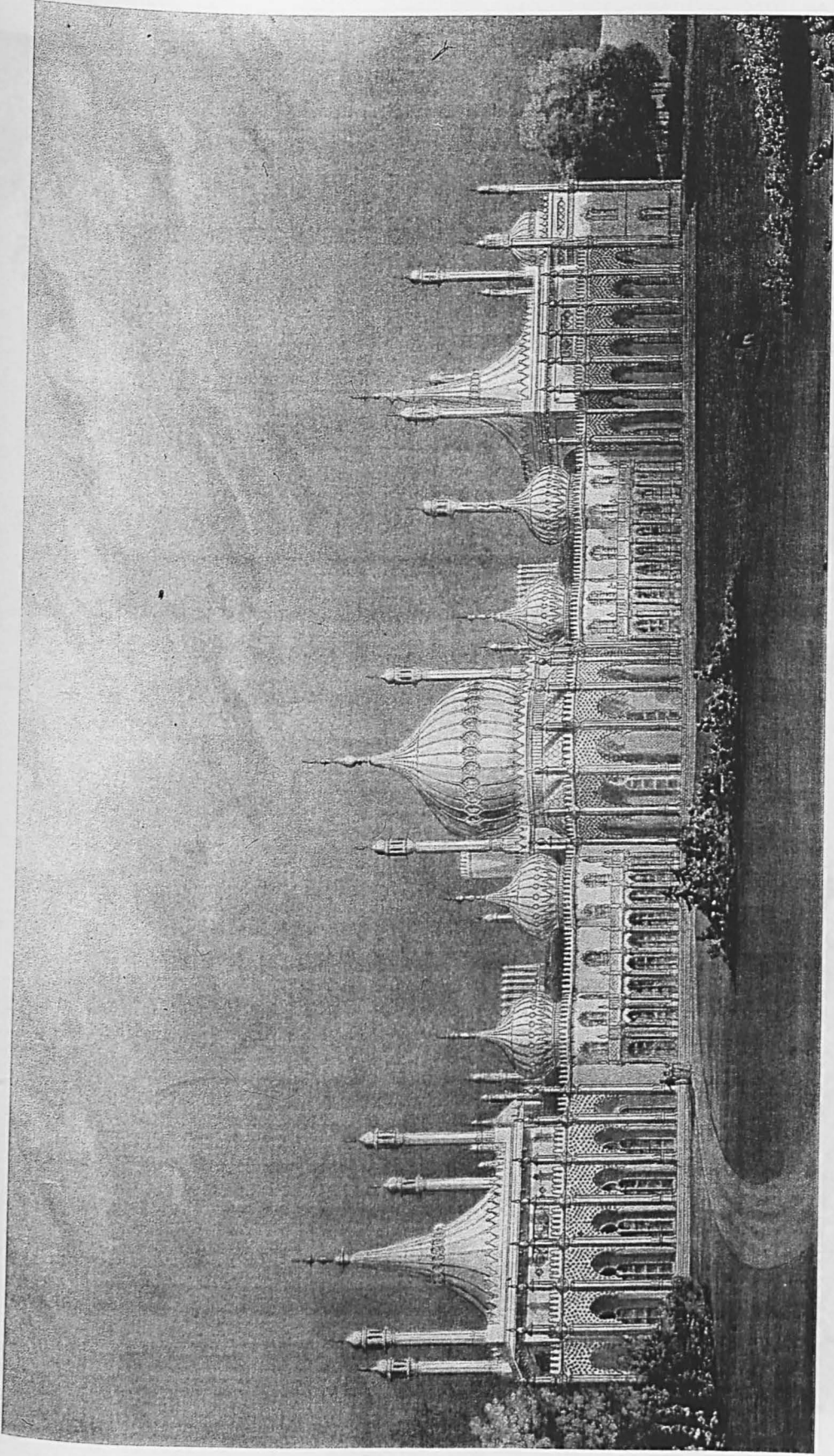
Chuter Munzil, Lucknow



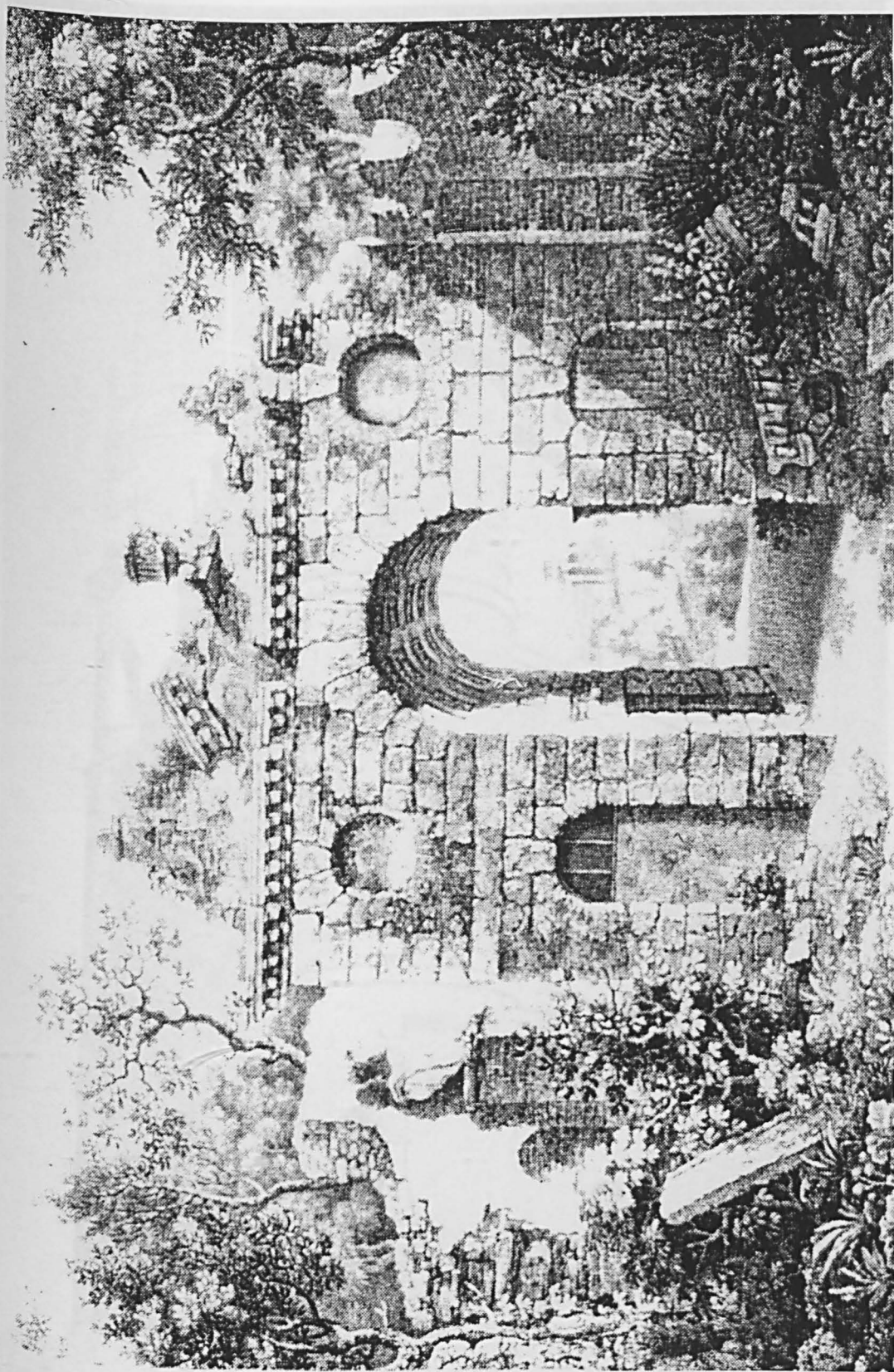
(3.23) The Chatter Manzil, the outer facade



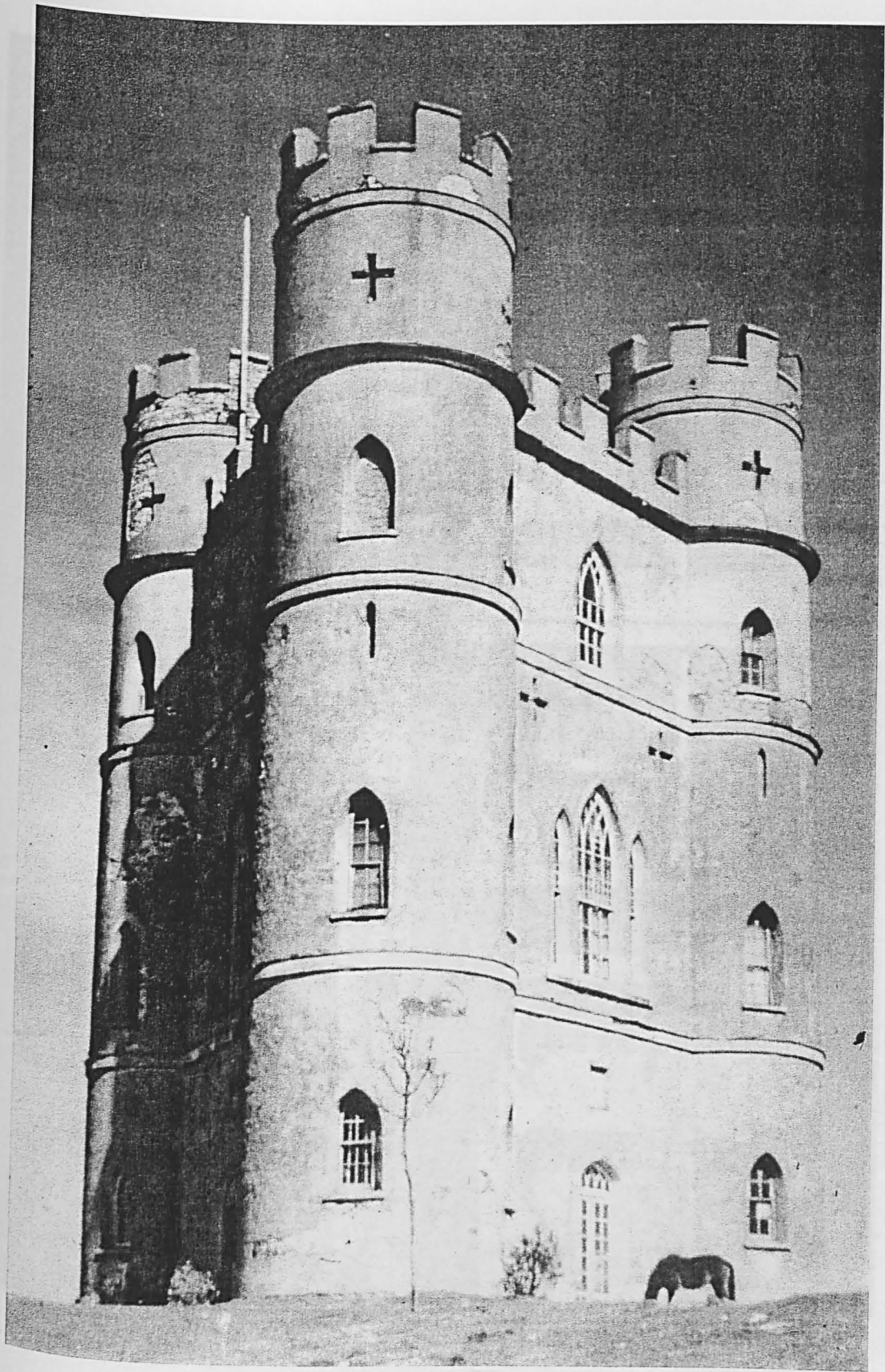
(5.1) Design for Dulwich Picture Gallery (1811-1814), Sir John Soane



(5.2) The Royal Pavilion, Brighton, (John Nash)

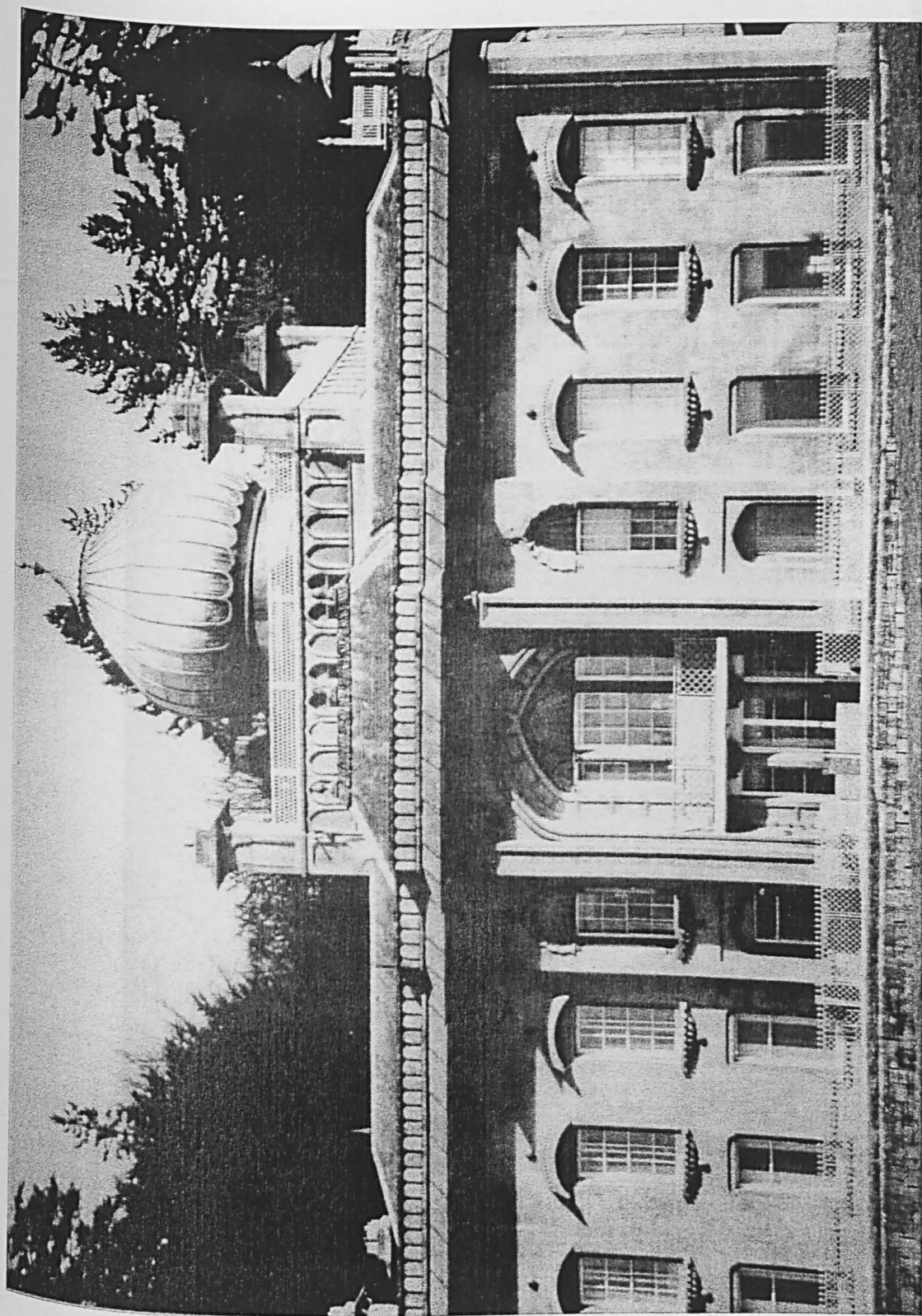


(5.3) Design for a "ruined" arch (c.1800)



(5.5) Seaford, Gloucestershire - S. P. Cokerell and Thomas Daniell (1805-1811)

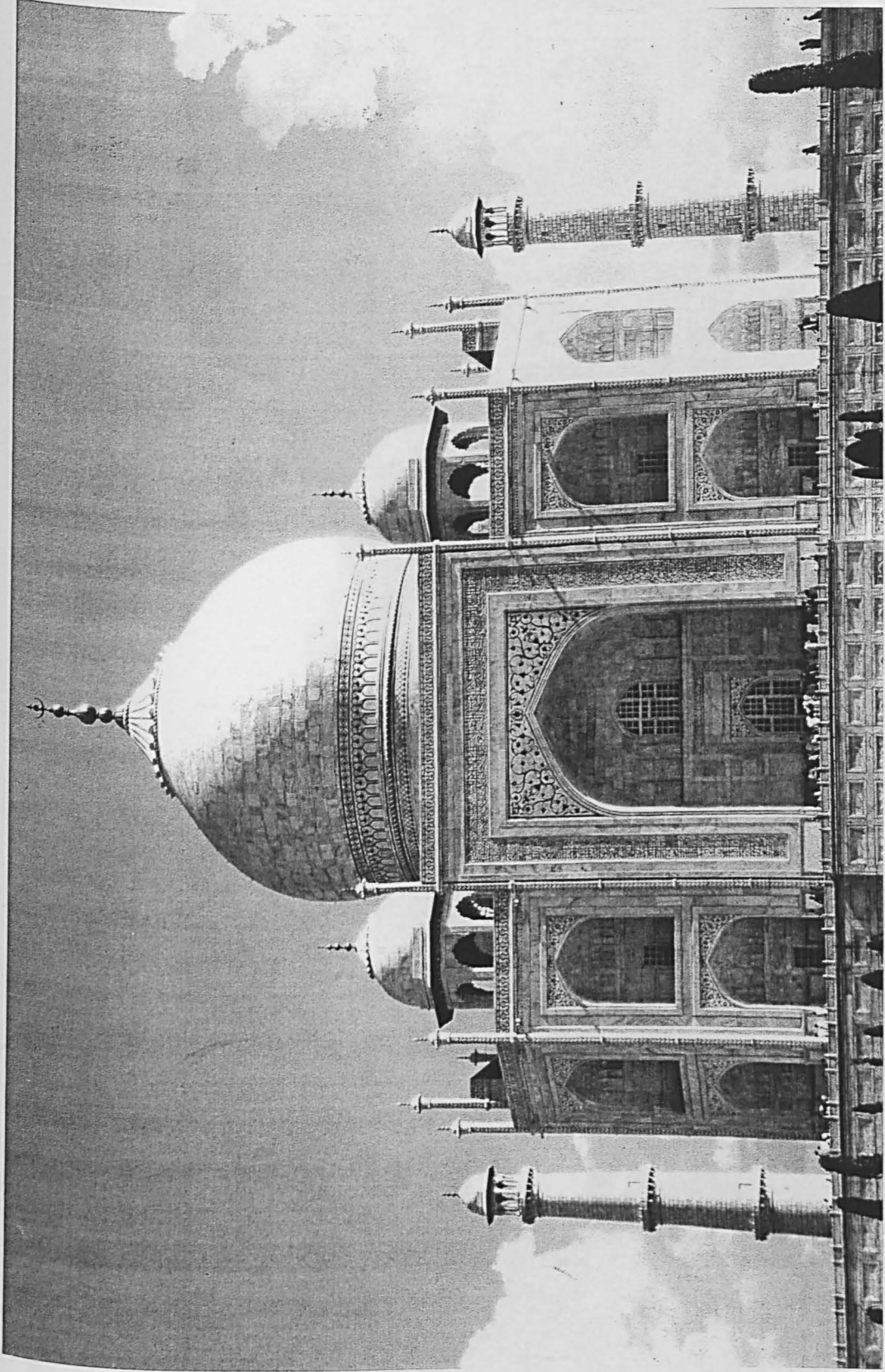
(5.4) Memorial Tower at Shooter's Hill, London (1784)



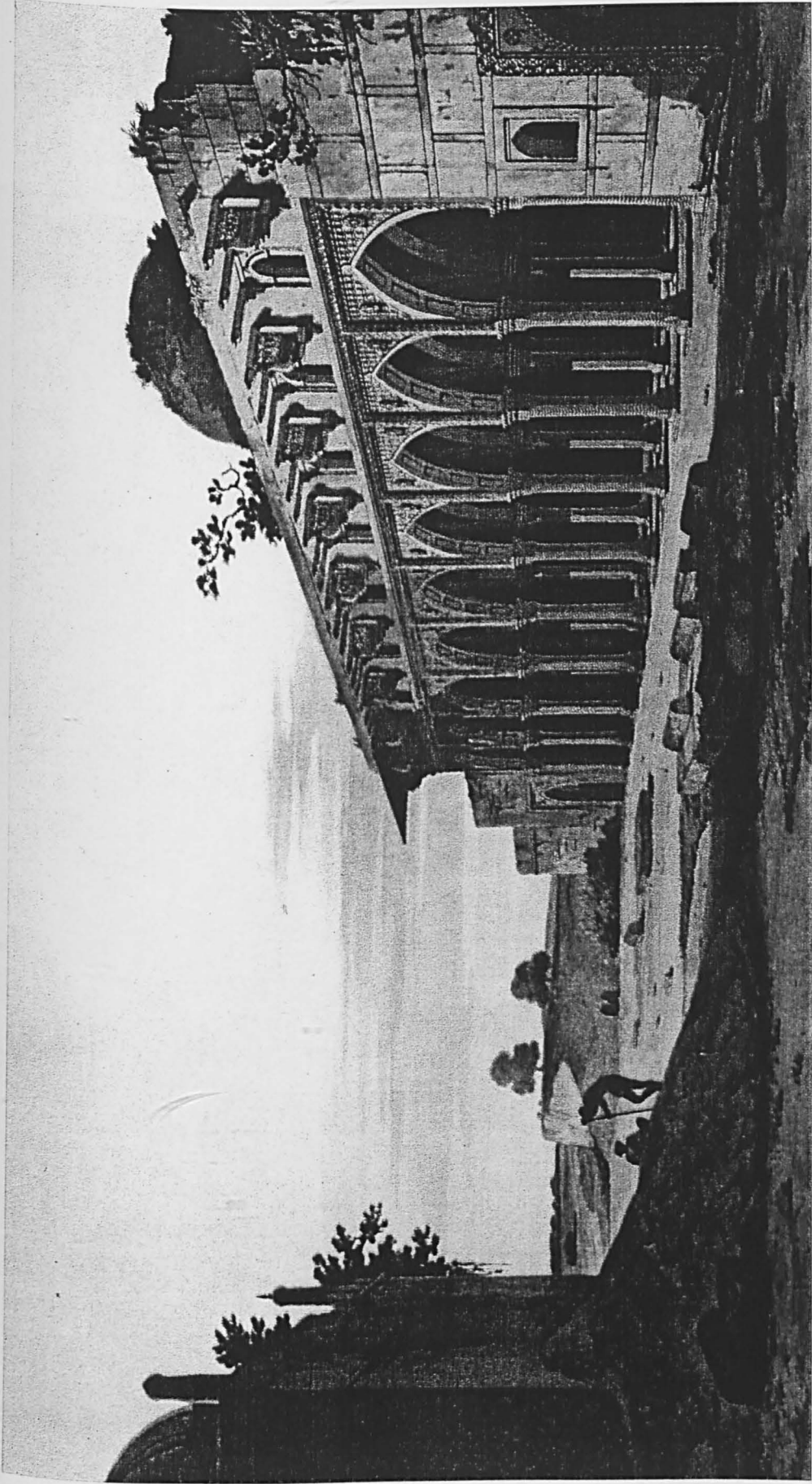
(5.5) Sezincofe, Gloucestershire - S. P. Cockerell and Thomas Daniell (1805-1811)



(5.6) A view of the "Wilderness" at Kew, showing the pagoda designed by Sir William Chambers



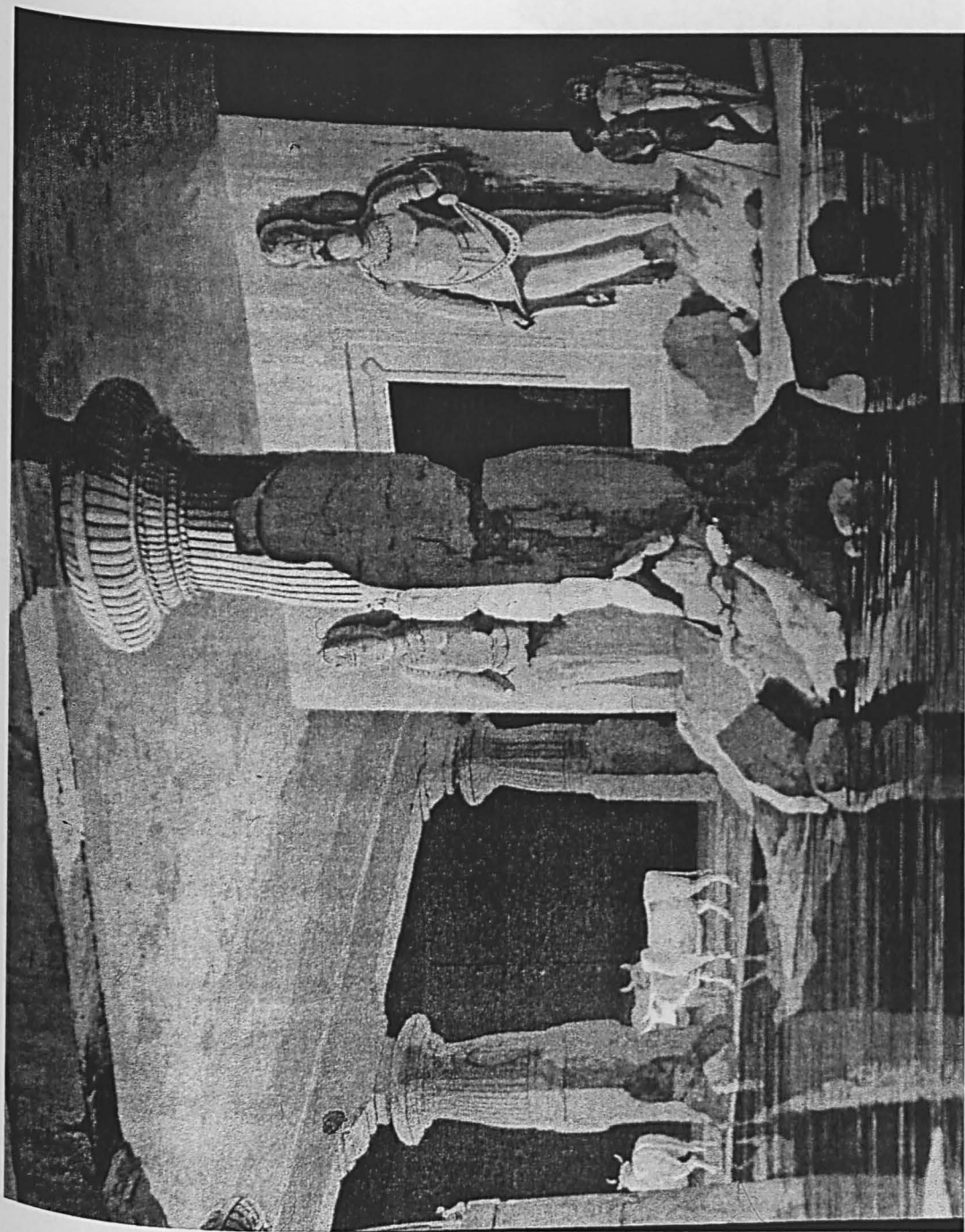
(5.7) The Taj Mahal



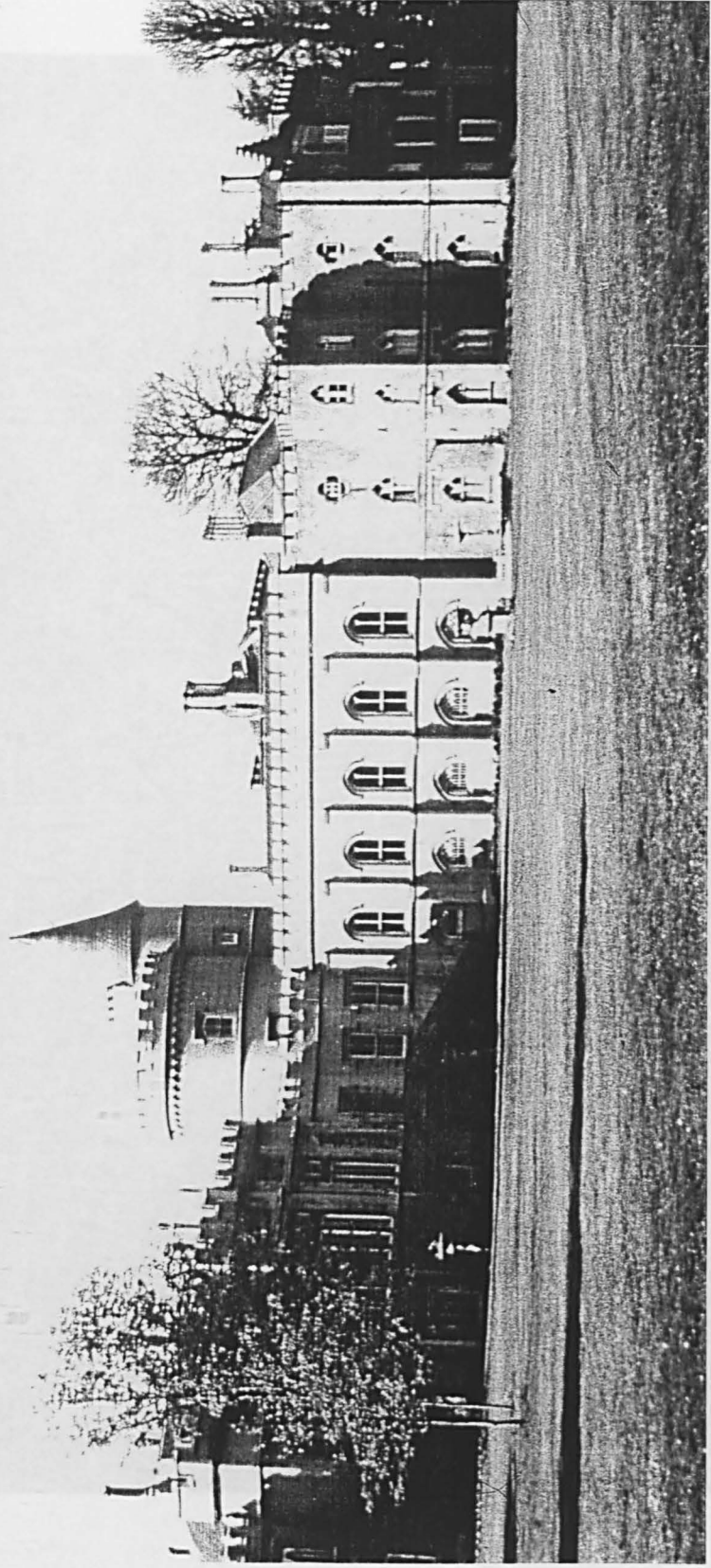
(5.8) from *Oriental Scenery*, Thomas and William Daniell



(5.9) The Royal Pavilion, Brighton (John Nash)



(5.10) from *Oriental Scenery*, Thomas and William Daniell

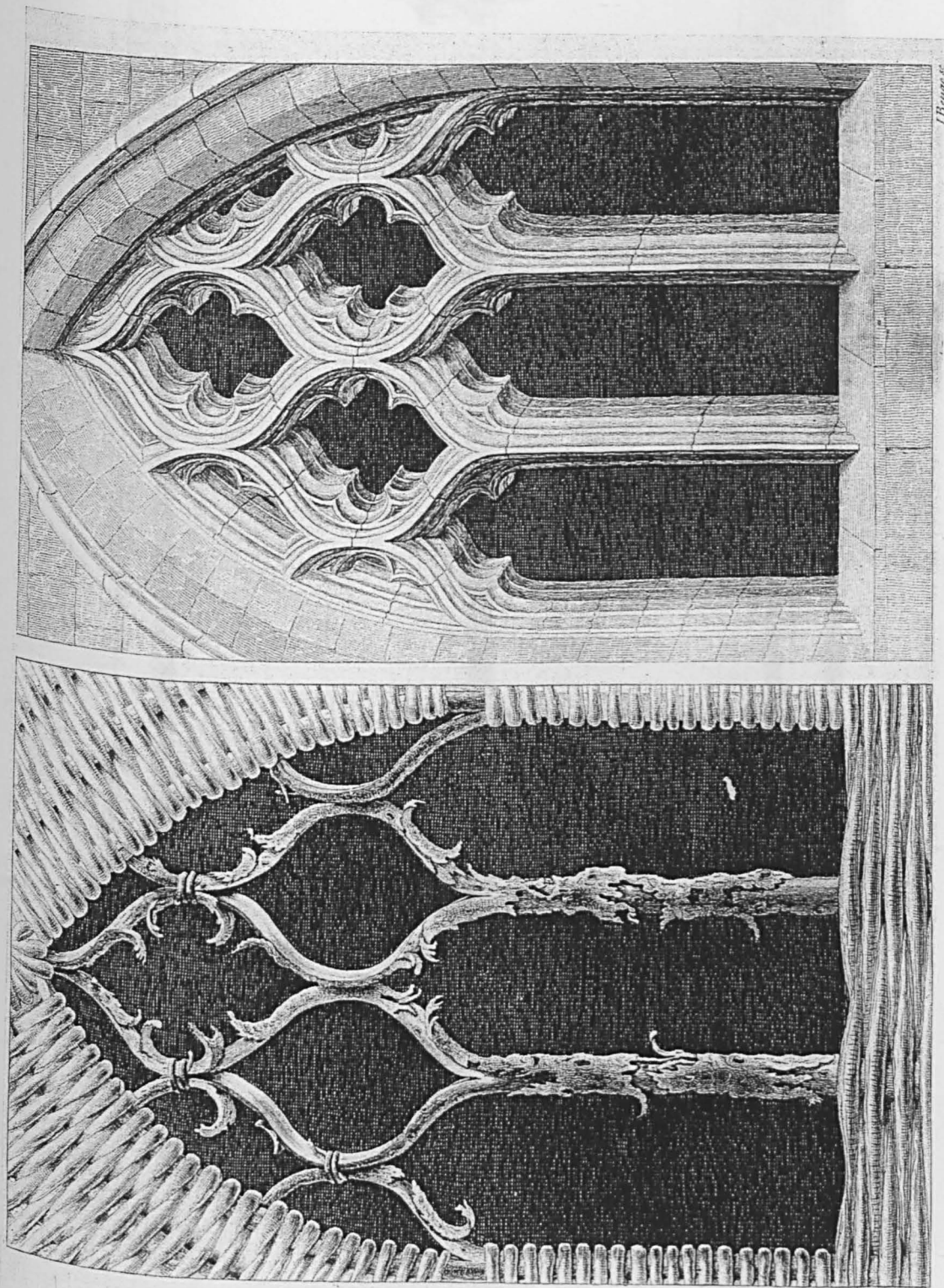


(5.11) Strawberry Hill, Twickenham (1750's)



(5.12) "Gothic" church made of willow - Sir James Hall (c.1797)

(5.13) The Prototypes of Gothic Ornament by Sir James Hall (1797)



J. Bourne sc.

(5.13) The Prototypes of Gothic Ornament by Sir James Hall (1797)

(5.14) The English Order, Sir Henry Emblyn (1784)

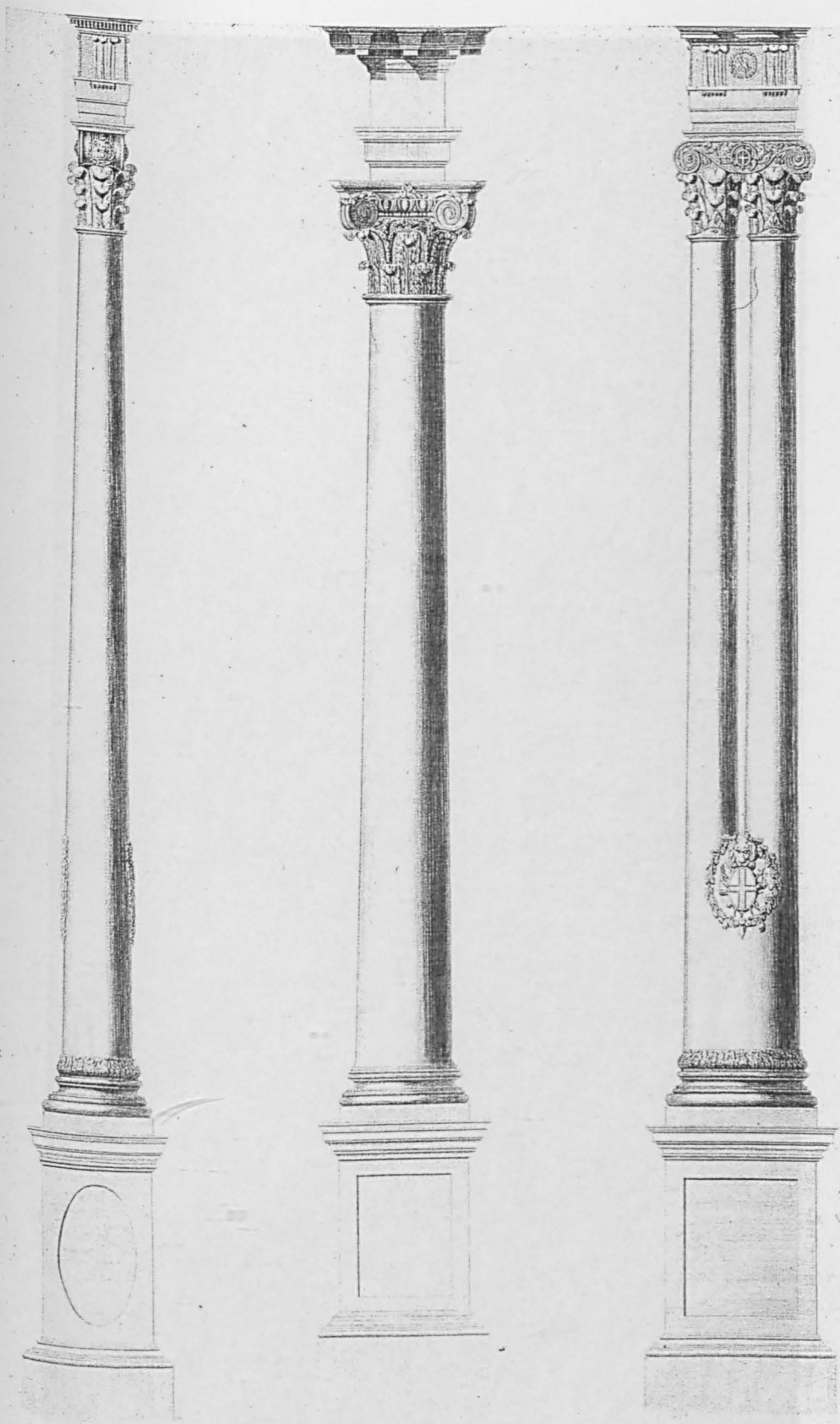
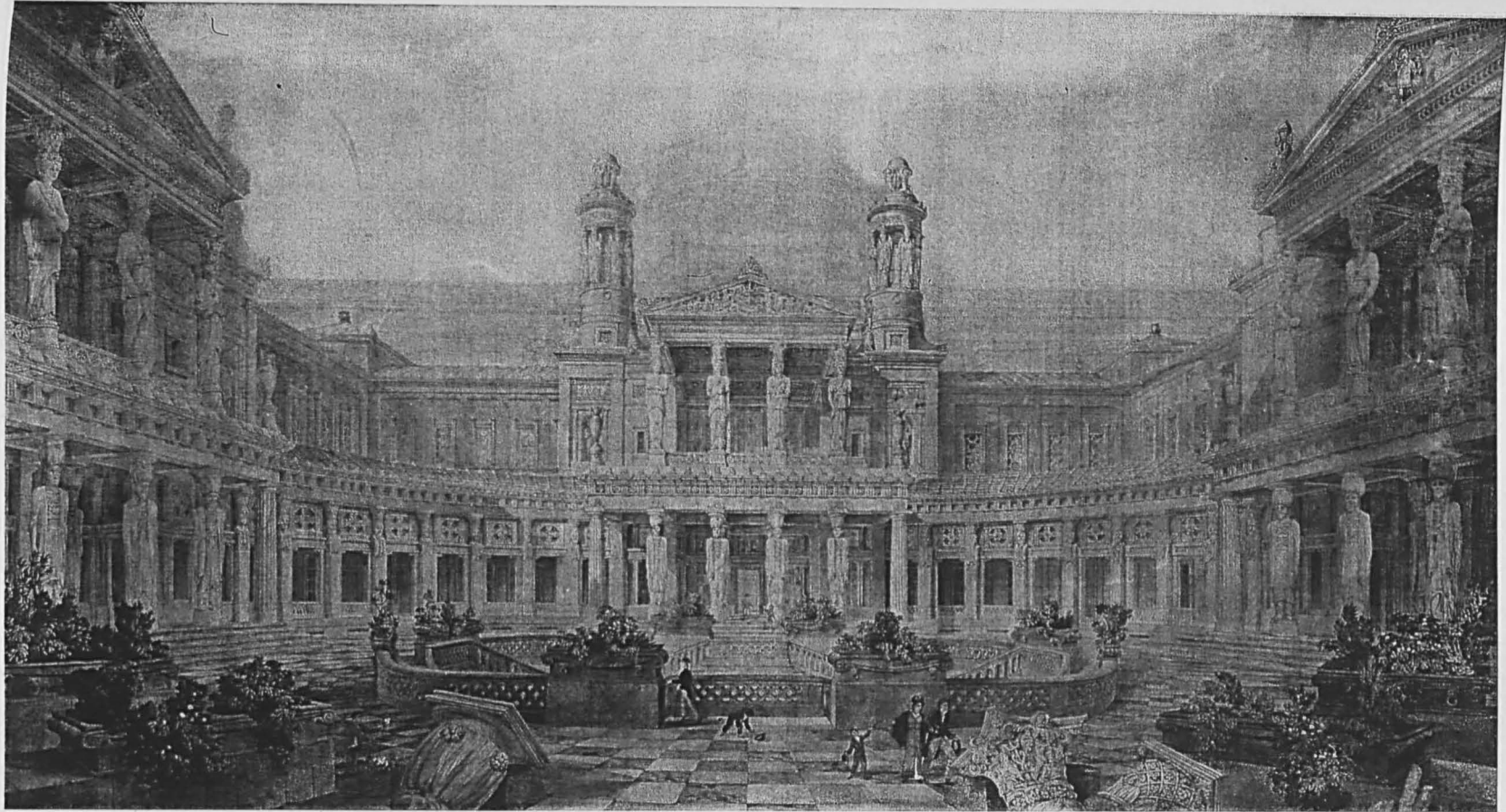
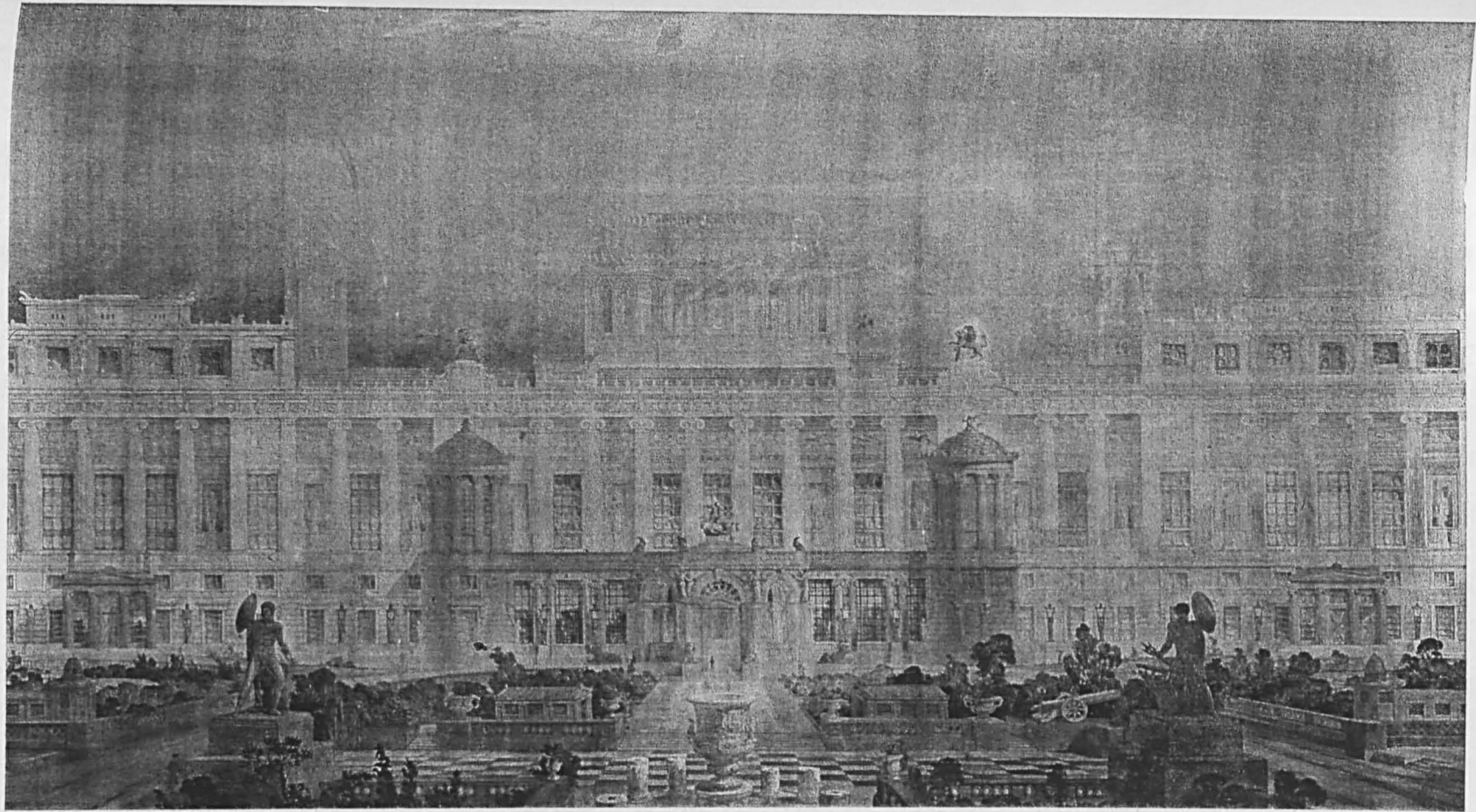


Fig. 1. Design for a Pedestal for a column of the British Empire, J.M. Gandy 1823

(5.14) The English Order, Sir Henry Emlyn (1784)



(5.15) Design for a Residence for a ruler of the British Empire, J.M. Gandy 1823



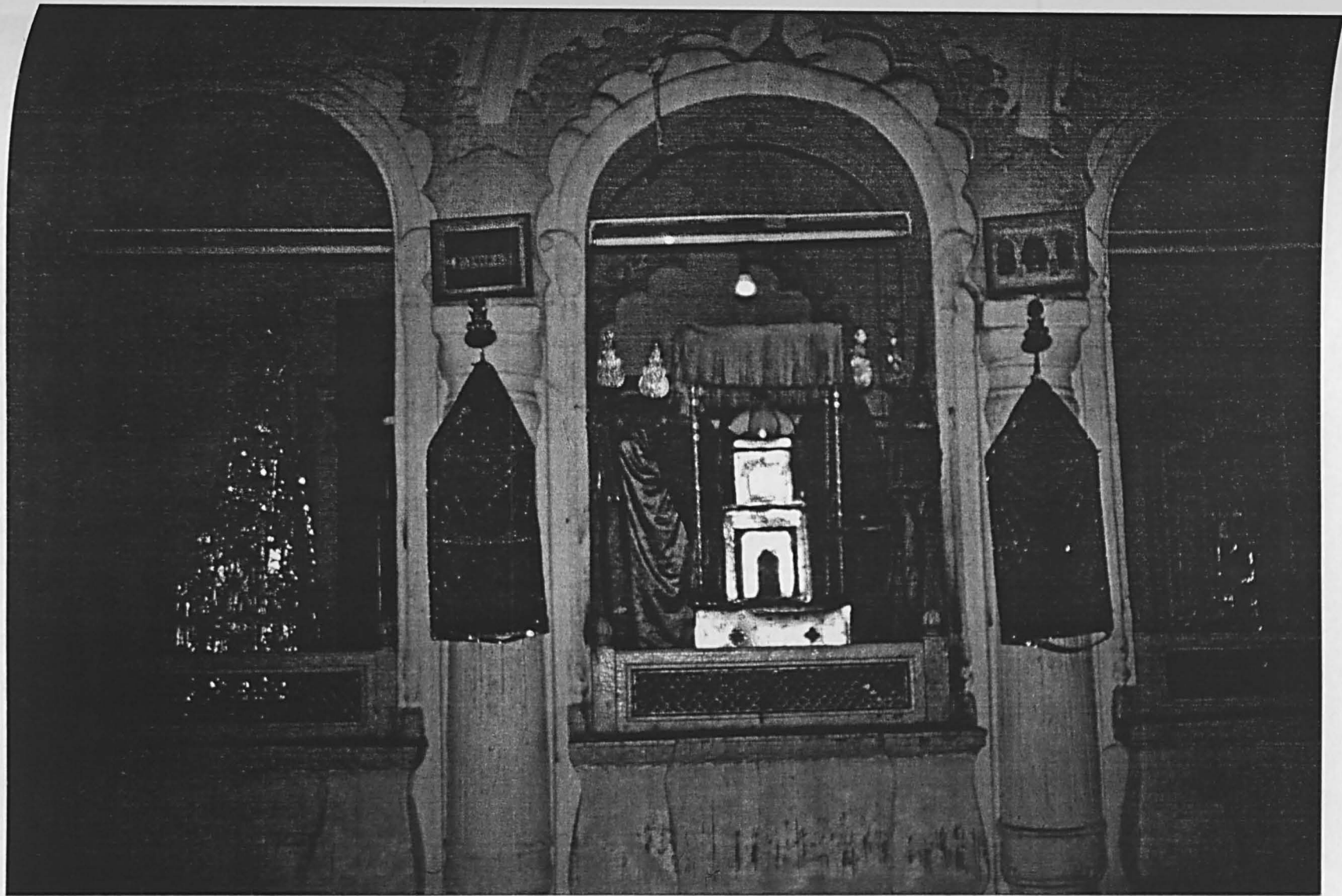
(5.1) The Husainabad Imambara, Lucknow (1840's)

(5.15a) Design for a Residence for a ruler of the British Empire, J.M. Gandy 1823

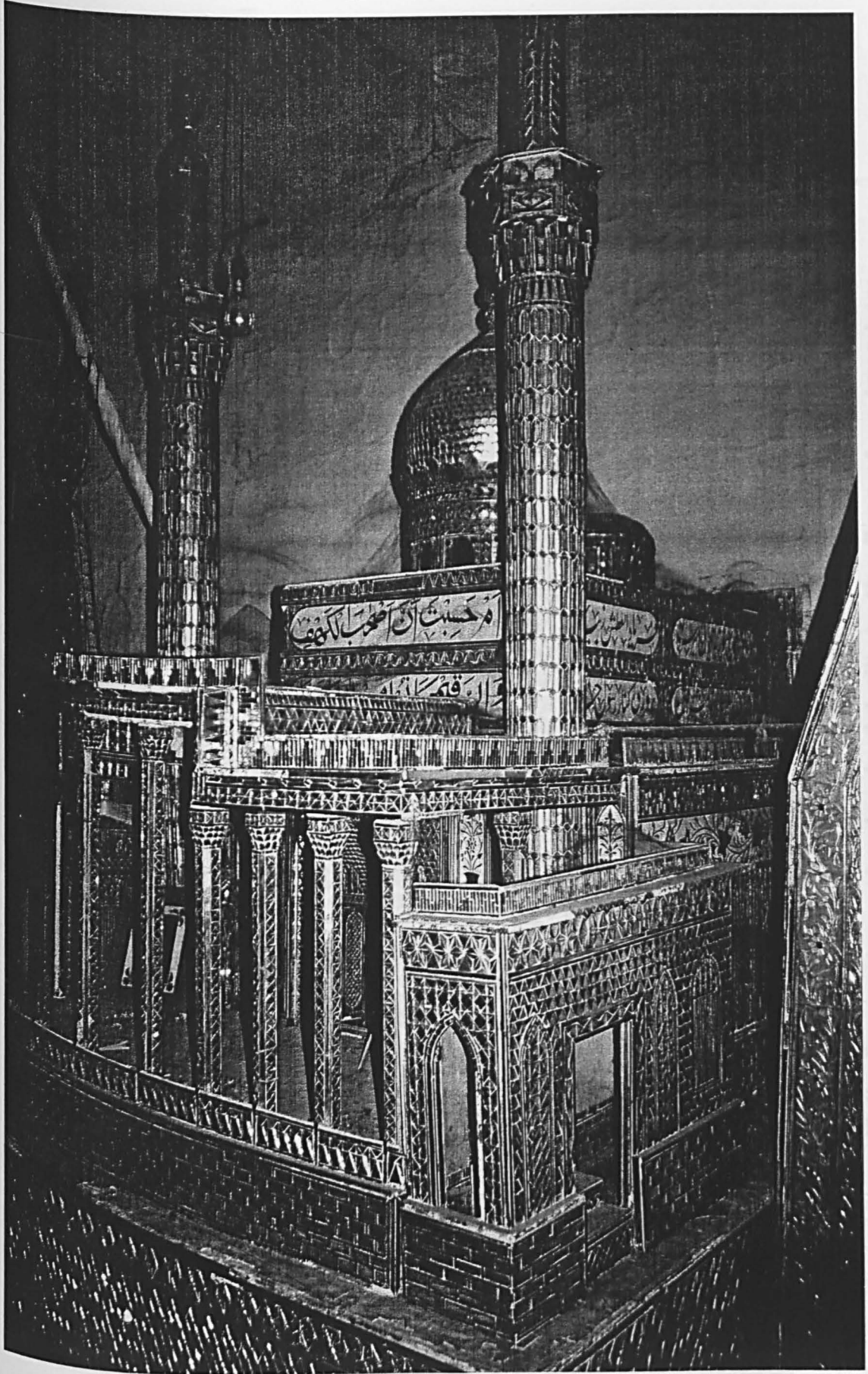


(6.1) The Husainabad Imambara, Lucknow (1840's)

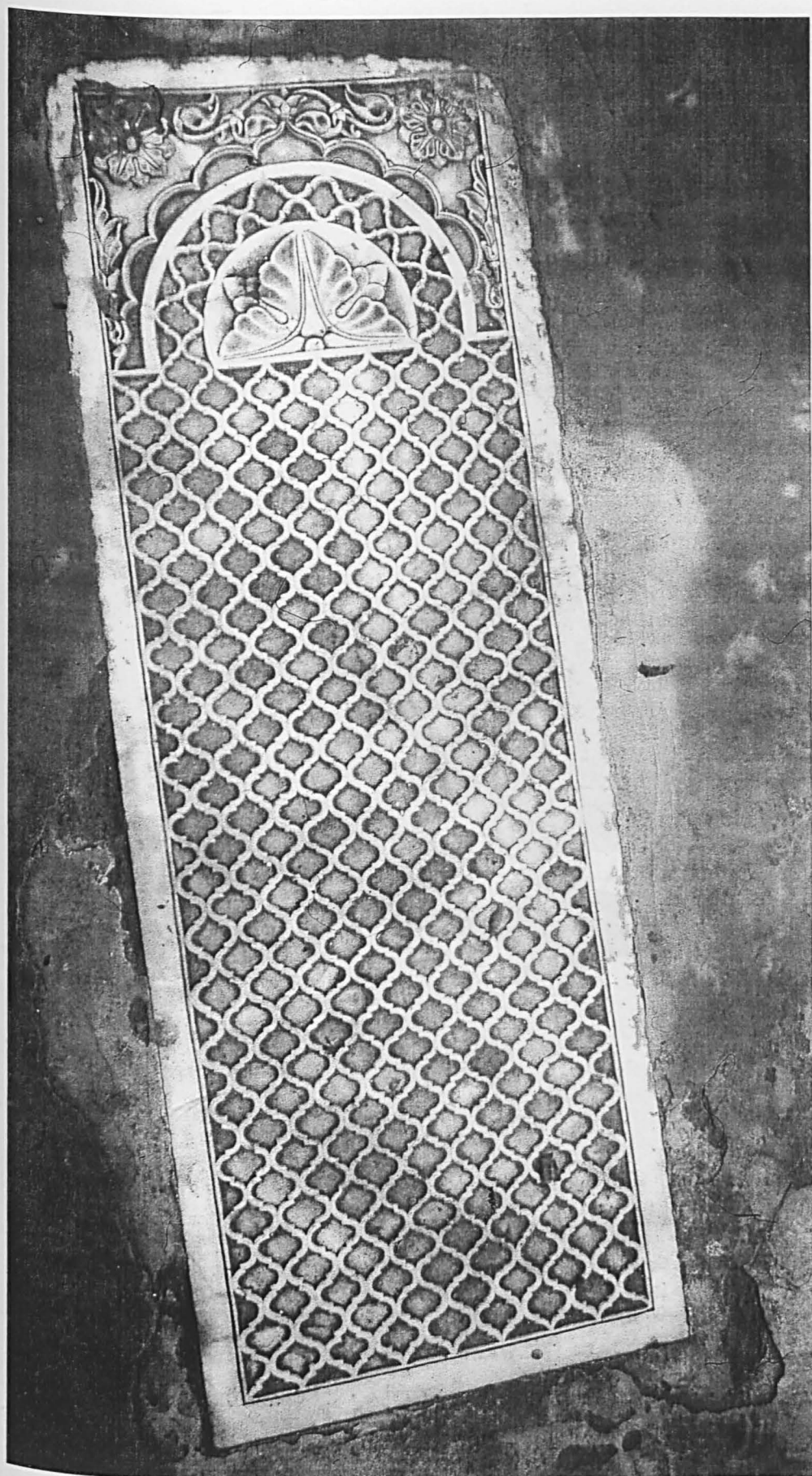
(6-4) A *tasbeeh* within the central shrine of the *Imambara*.



(6.2) A *taziya* within the central niche of the *shah-n-shin*



(6.3) Zari - wood and glass (private collection, Lucknow)



(6.4) Grave stone showing burial site in the floor of an imambara



(6.5) The Kazmain, Lucknow (1830's)

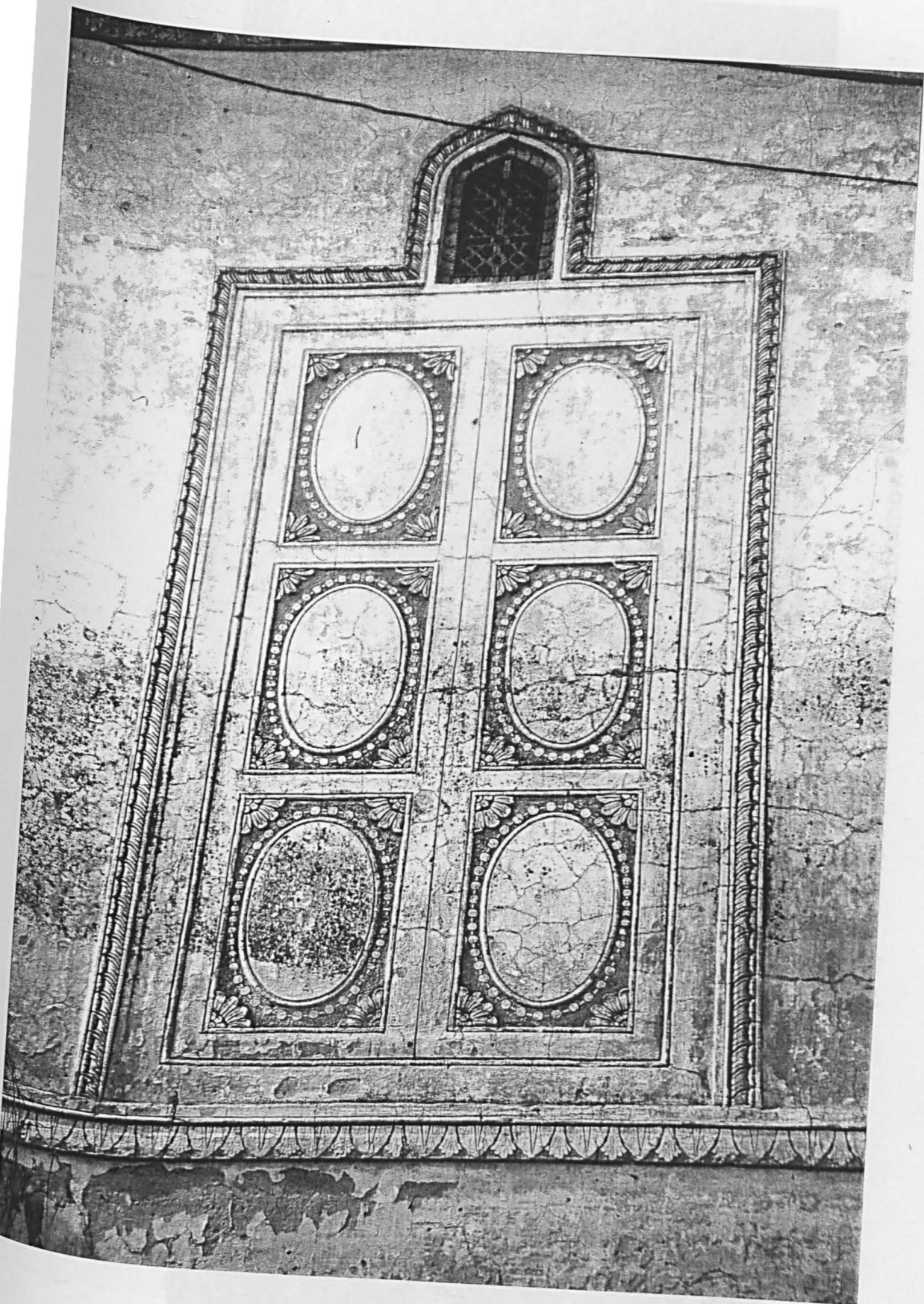
The chhatris on the corner towers



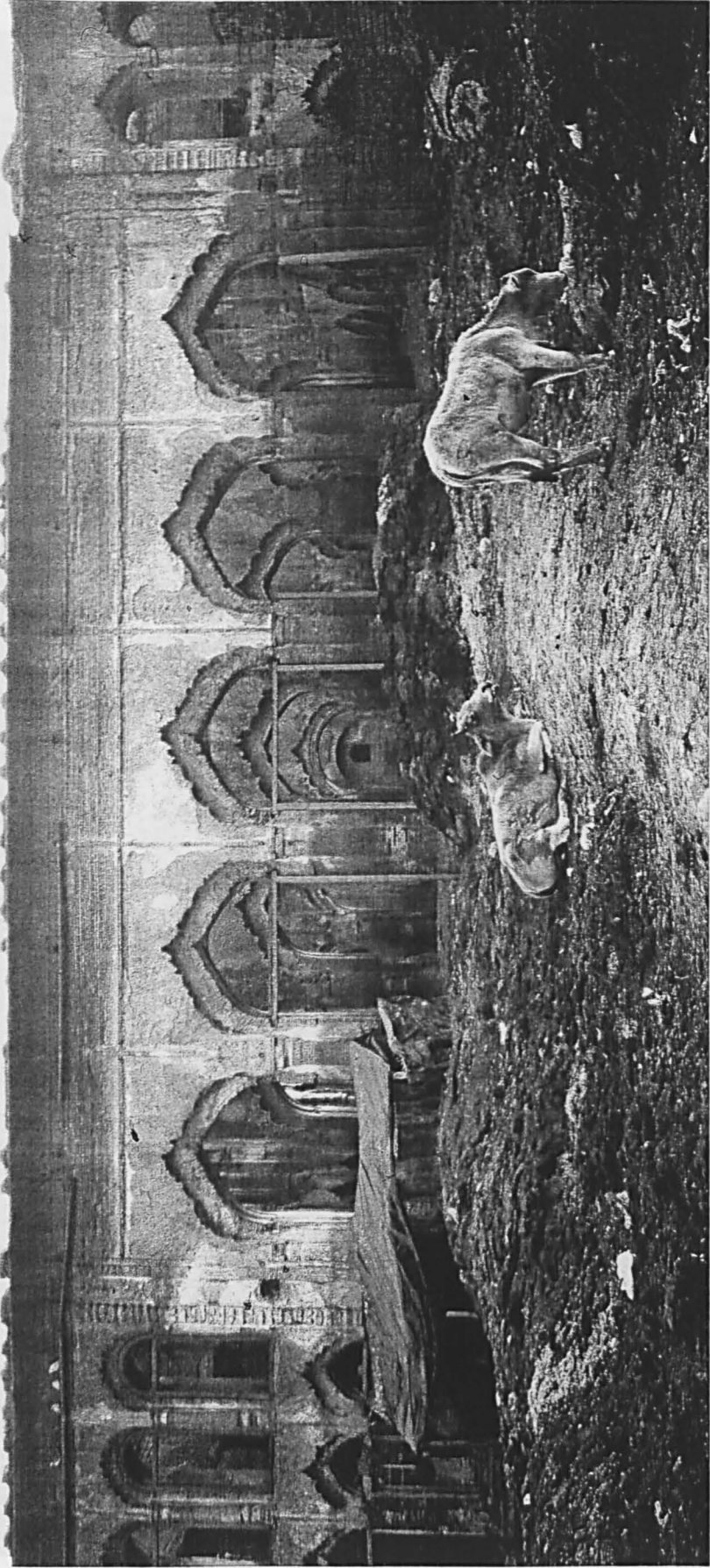
(6.6a) The Imambara Moghul Sahiba, the chattris on the corner towers



(6.6b) Musabagh, the stair kiosks



(6.7) Imambara Moghul Sahiba, decorative plaster work



(6.8) Imambara Malika Zamina, Lucknow (1820's)



(6.9) Imambara Malika Zamina, detail, showing original paint



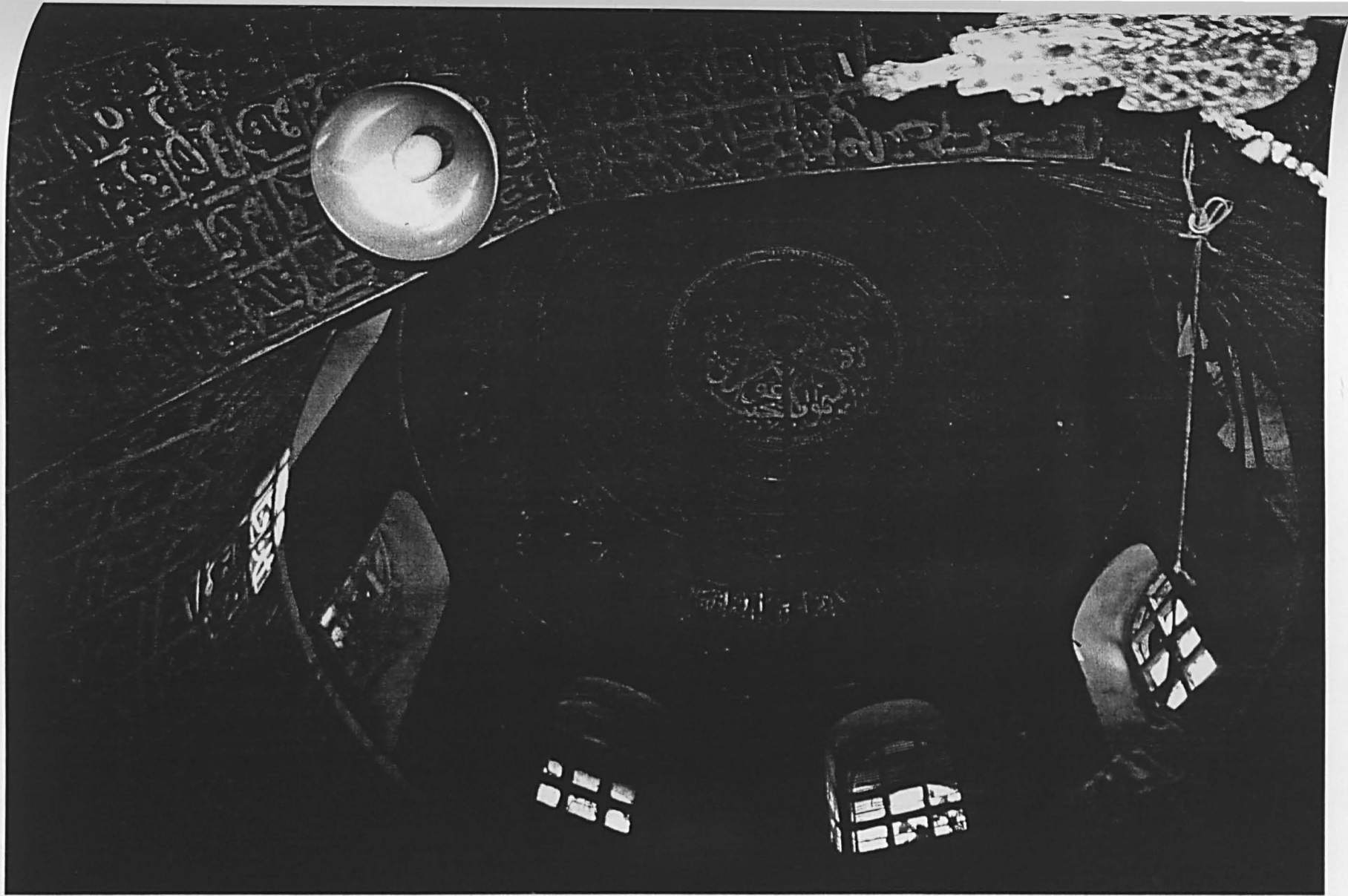
(6.11) The Tomb of Angkor (Al-Ghazal, Lucknow, India) - relief of the pinnacled ceiling

(6.10) Imambara Malika Zamina - the *alam* motif

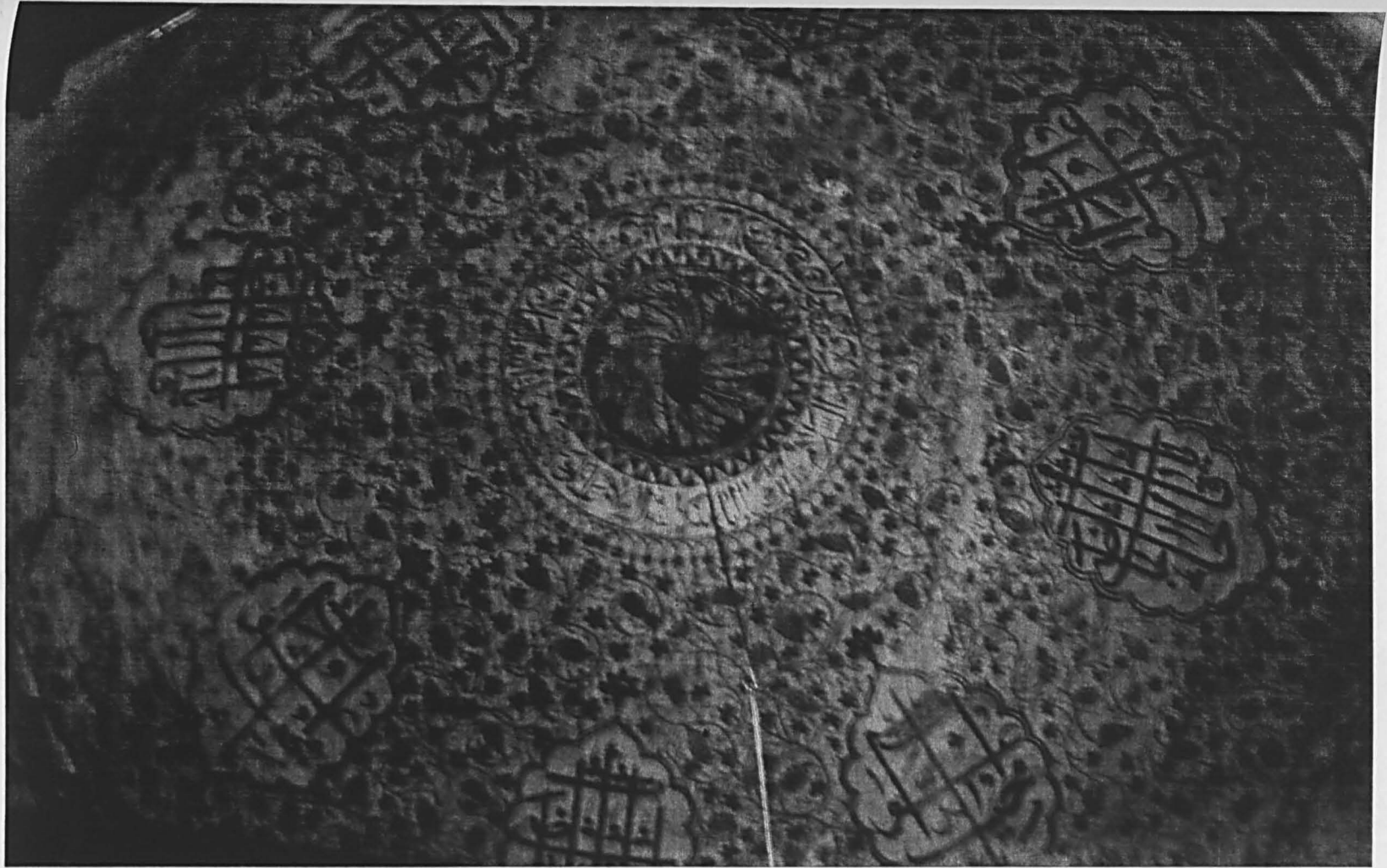


(6.11) The Tomb of Amjad Ali Shah, Lucknow (1850's), detail of the painted ceiling

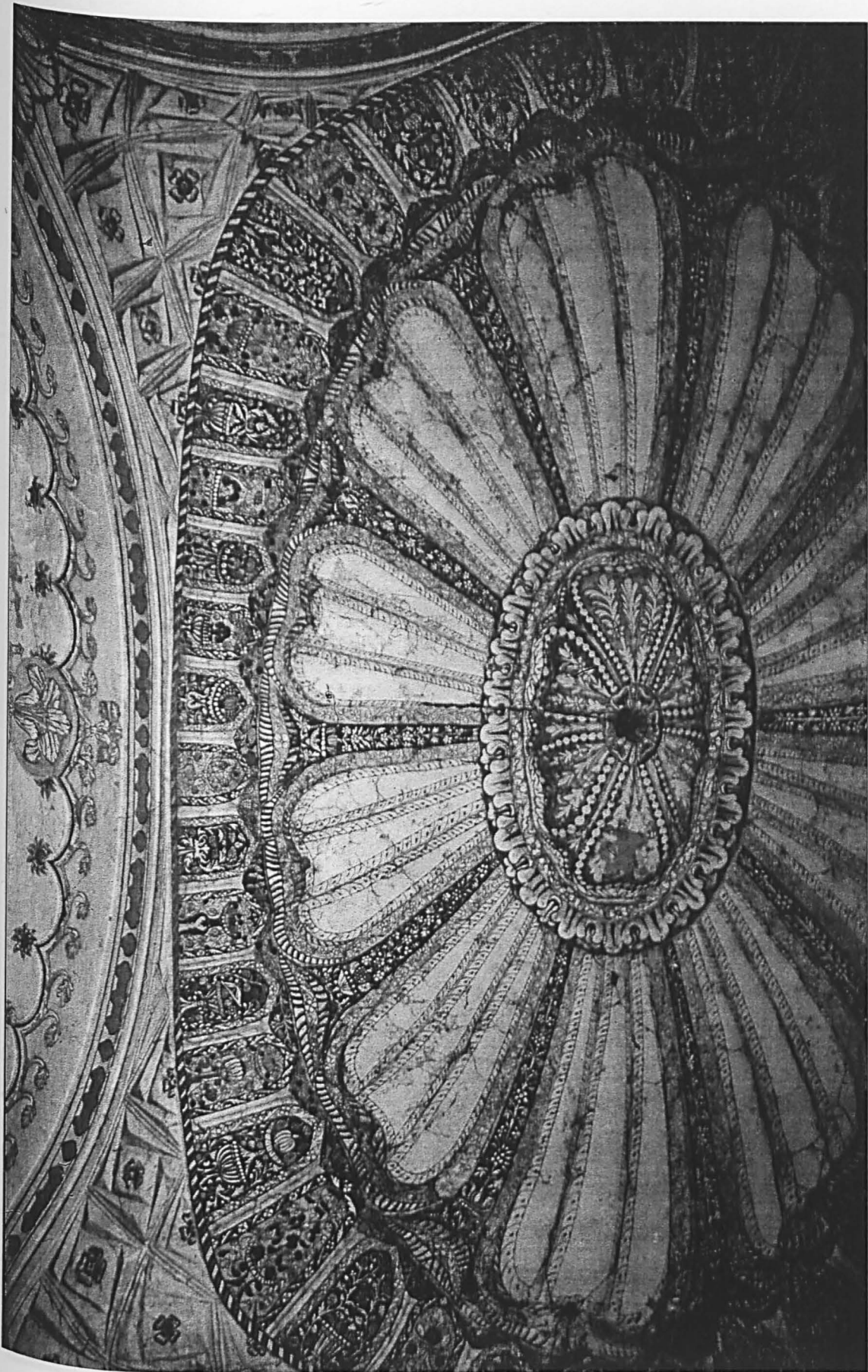
(6.12) Calligraphic decoration typical of Shia congregational buildings.



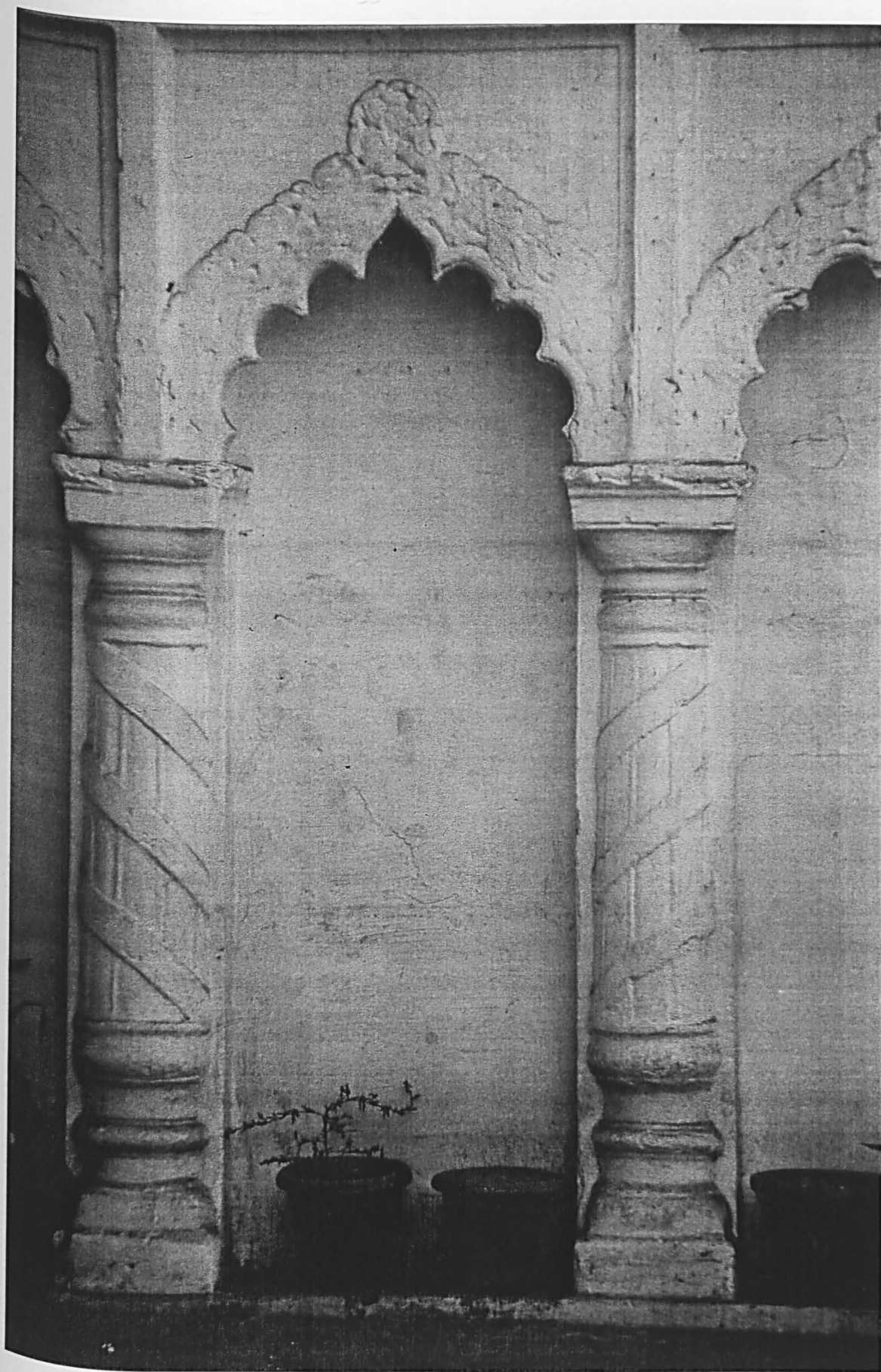
(6.12) Calligraphic decoration typical of Shia congregational buildings



(6.13) Karbala Dianut-ud-Daula, painted ceiling with wandering vine and calligraphic plaques

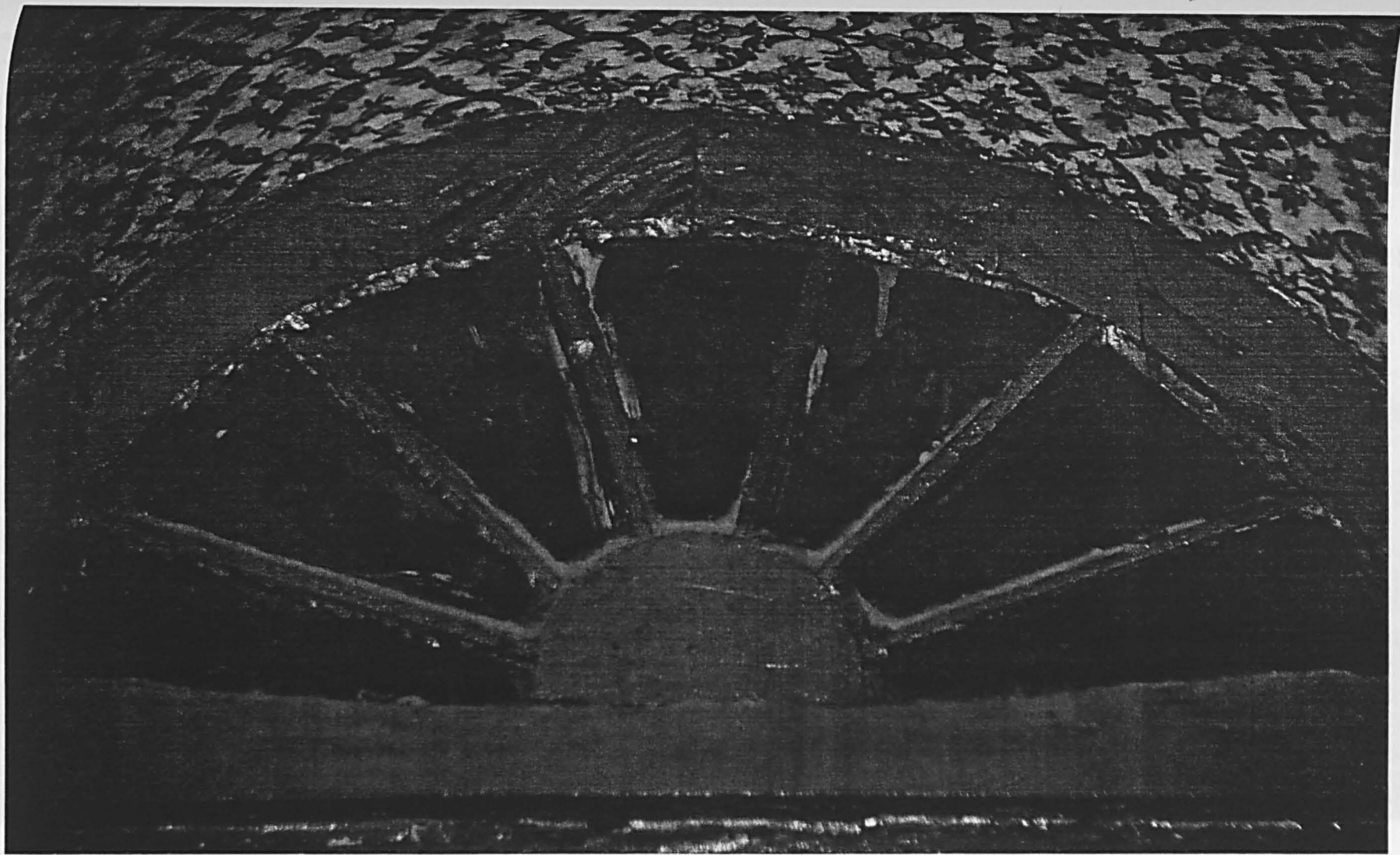


(6.14) The Jami Masjid, Lucknow, painted ceiling of the central dome



(6.15) Imambara Deputy Sahib

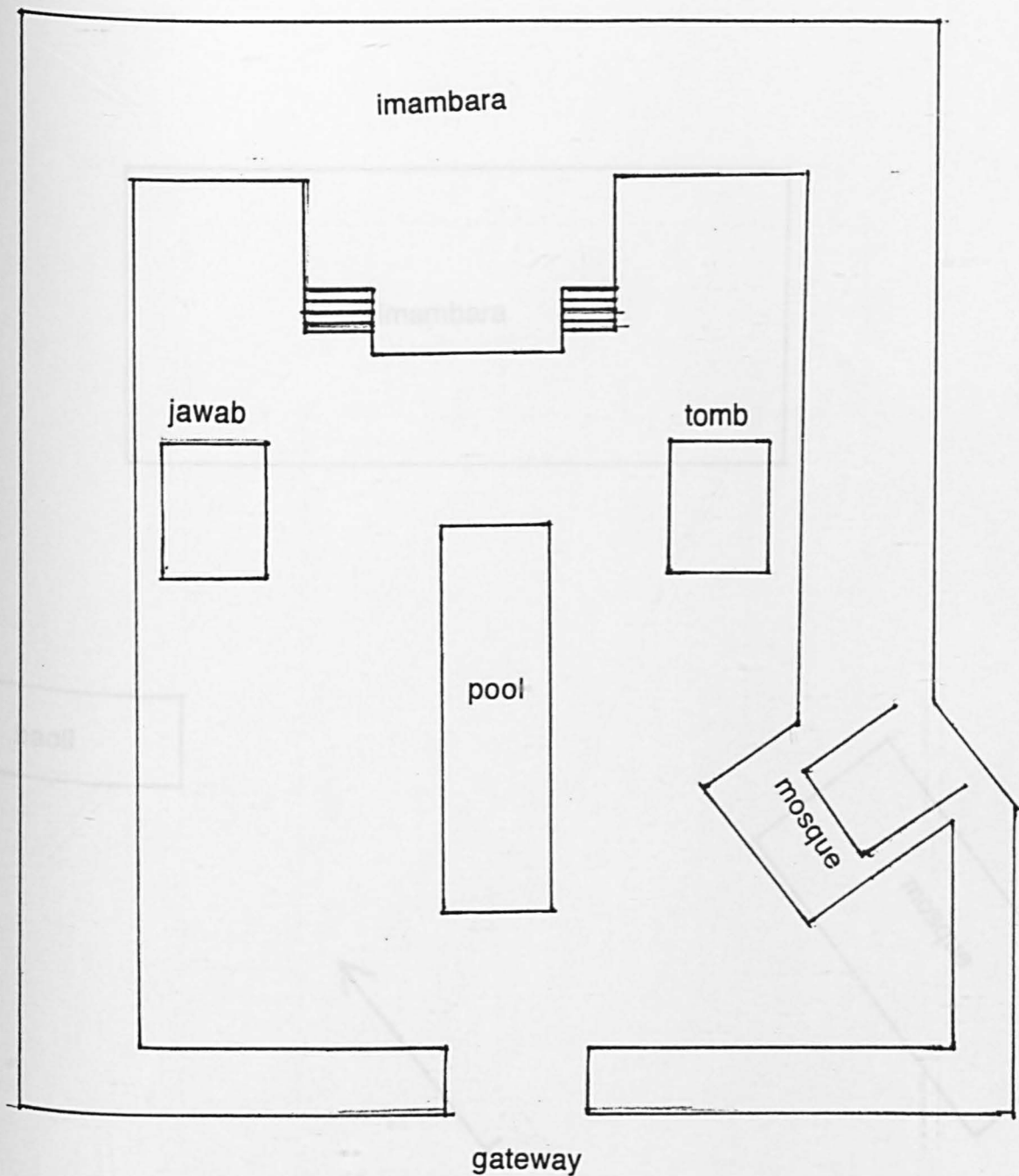
(6.16) Khabala of Darnat-ud-Daula, stained glass fan-light



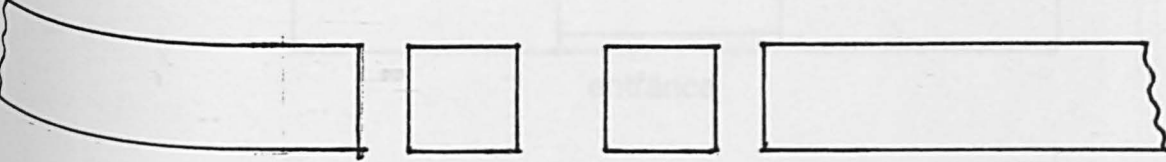
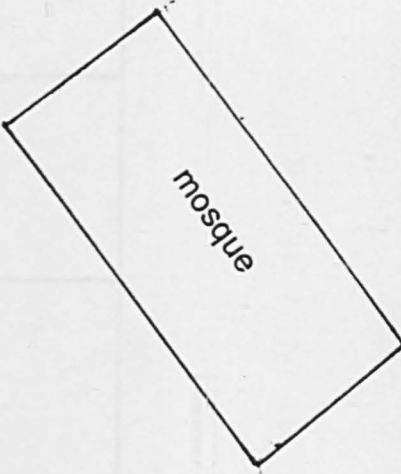
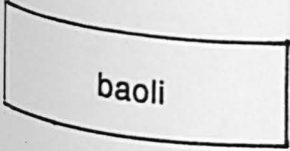
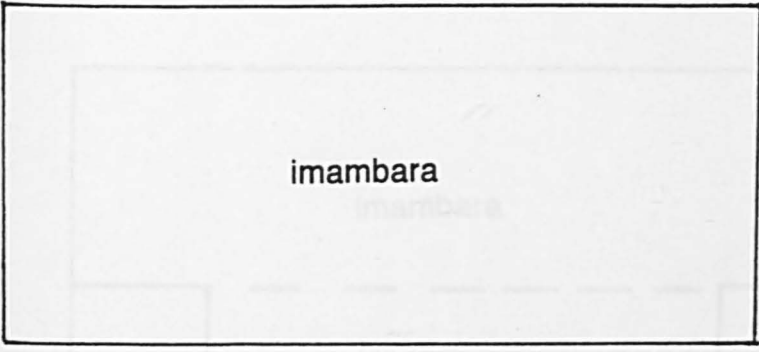
(6.16) Karbala of Dainat-ud-Daula, stained glass fan-lights



(6.17) Grave stone with calligraphic decoration

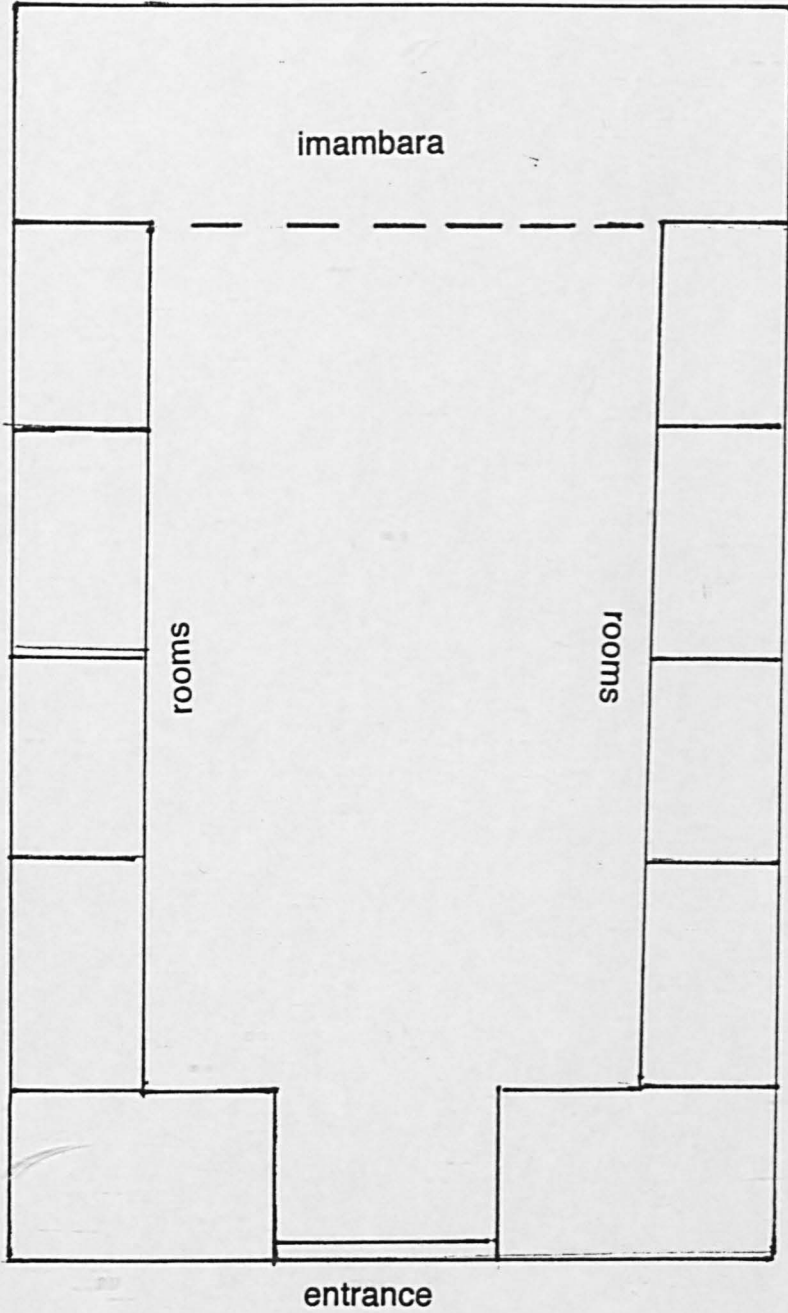


(6.18) The Husainabad Imambara (1840's)



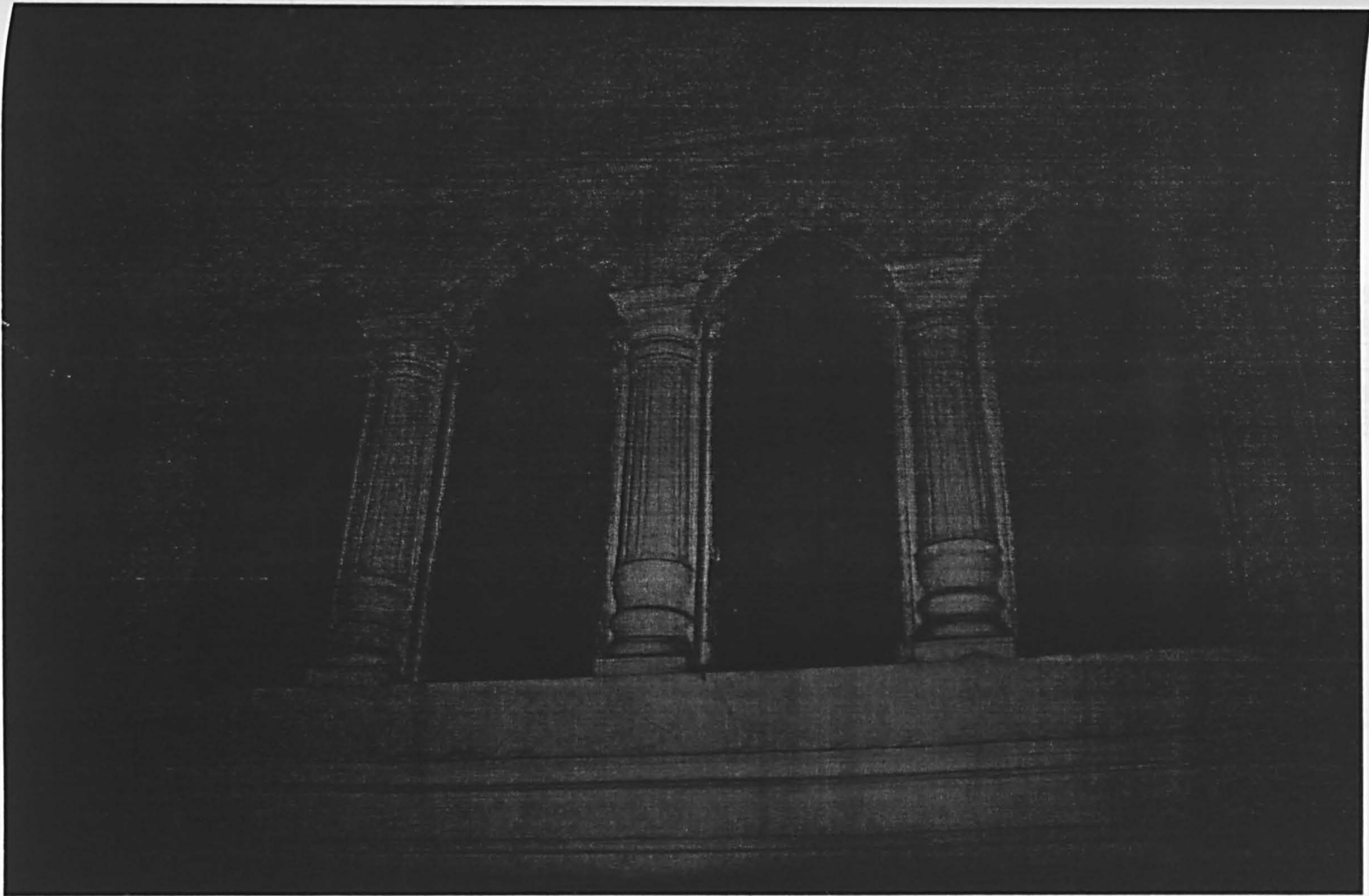
gateway

(6.19) The Bara Imambara (1770's)

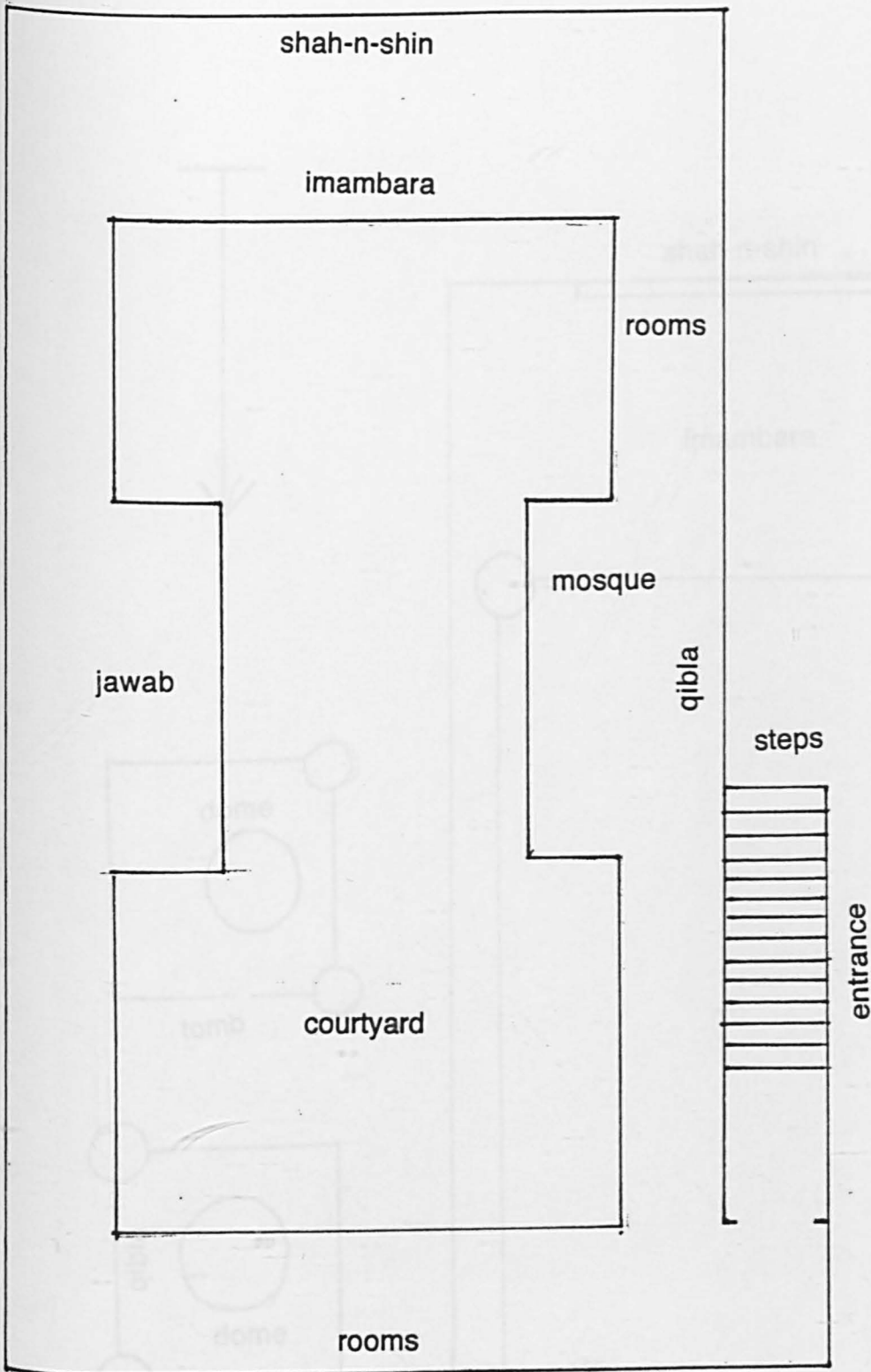


(6.20) Typical Shia Haveli

(6.21) The purchase gallery of an Imambara

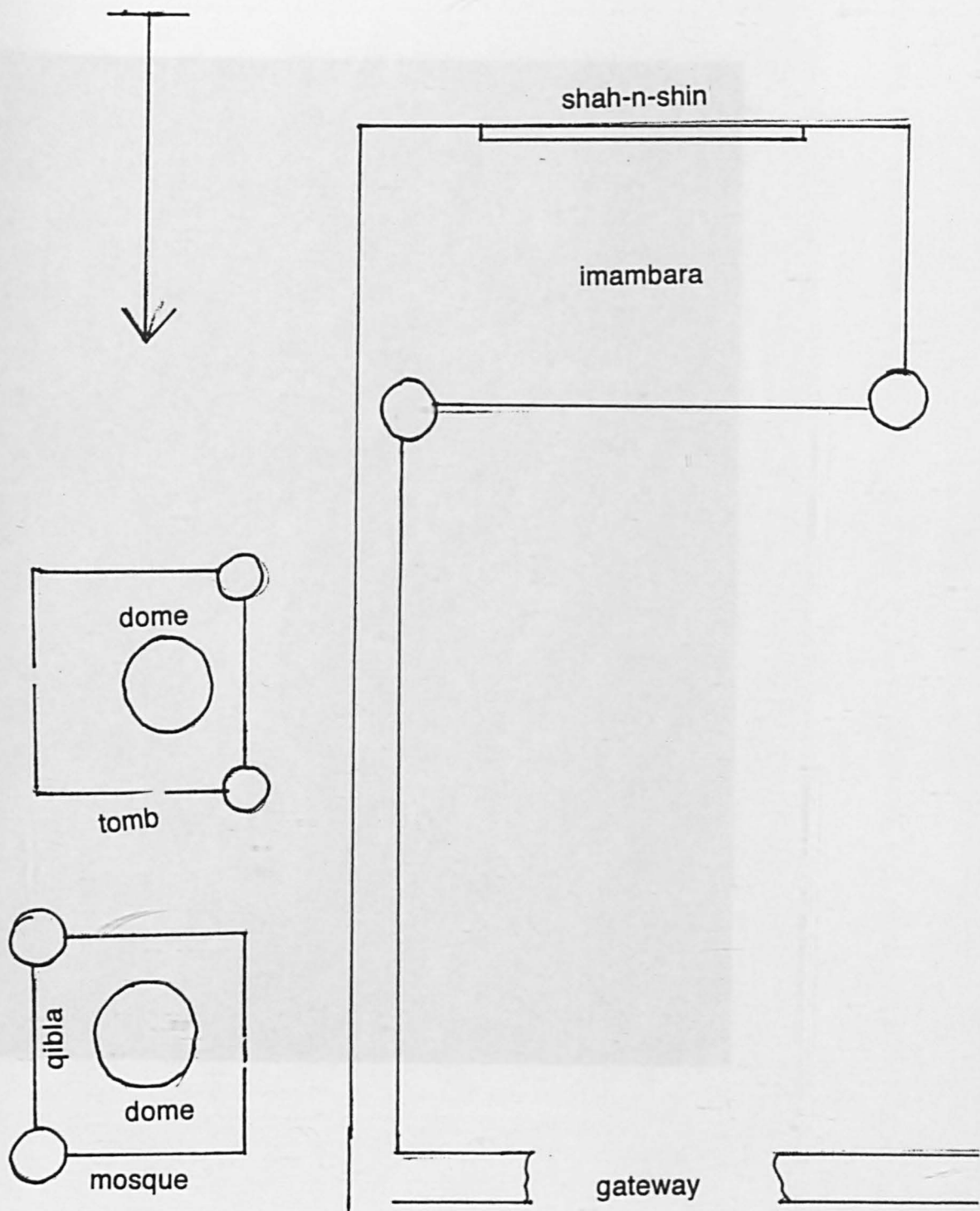


(6.21) The purdah galley of an imambara

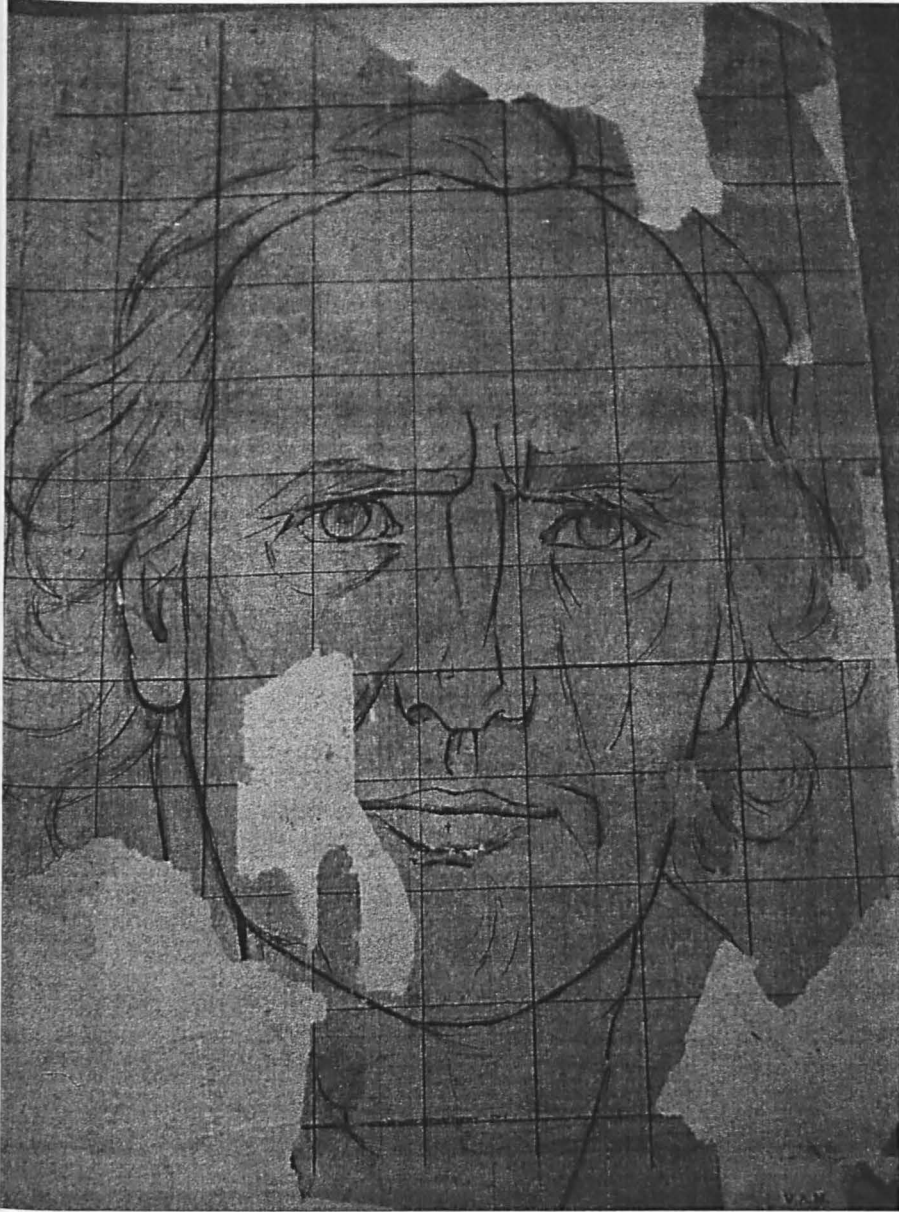


(6.22) The Imambara "Deputy Sahib"

(6.23) The Tomb Complex of Nasir-ud-Din Haidar (1827-1837)



(6.23) The Tomb Complex of Nasir-ud-Din Haidar (1827-1837)

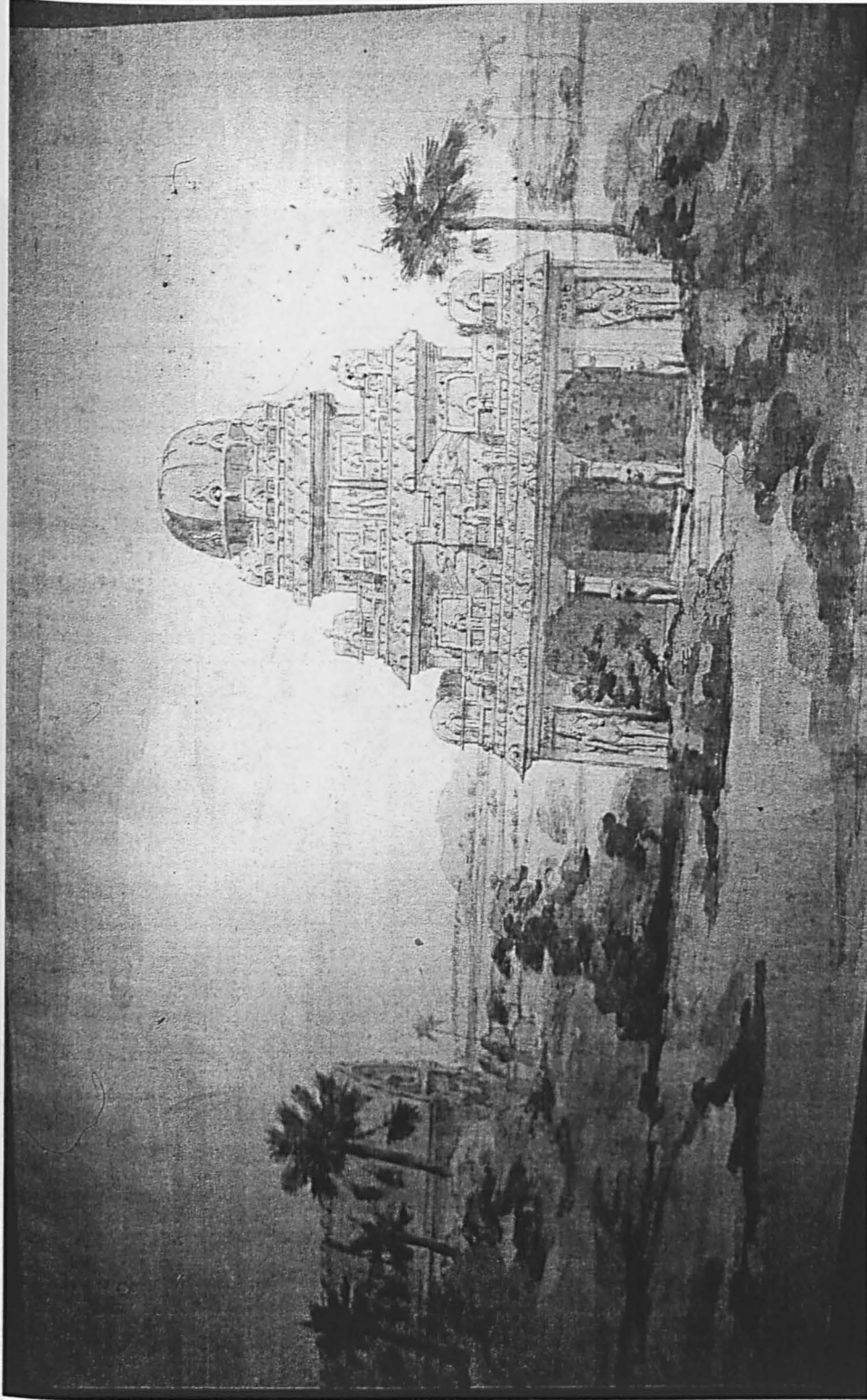


(7.1) Robert Home 1752-1834, self portrait

(7.2) Handing over the hearse to the Tipu Sultan, Robert Home (all on curved)



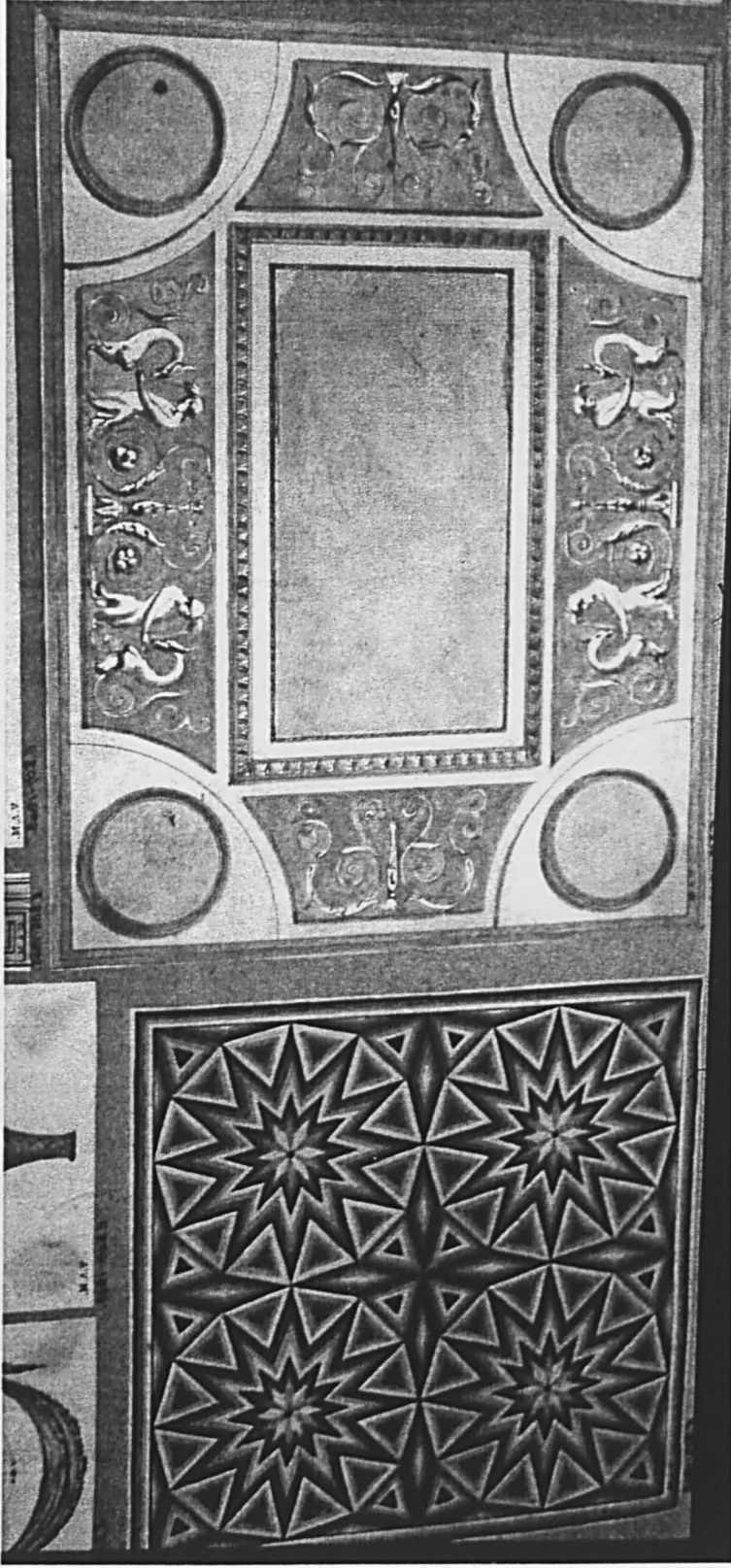
(7.2) Handing over the hostage sons of Tipu Sultan, Robert Home (oil on canvas)



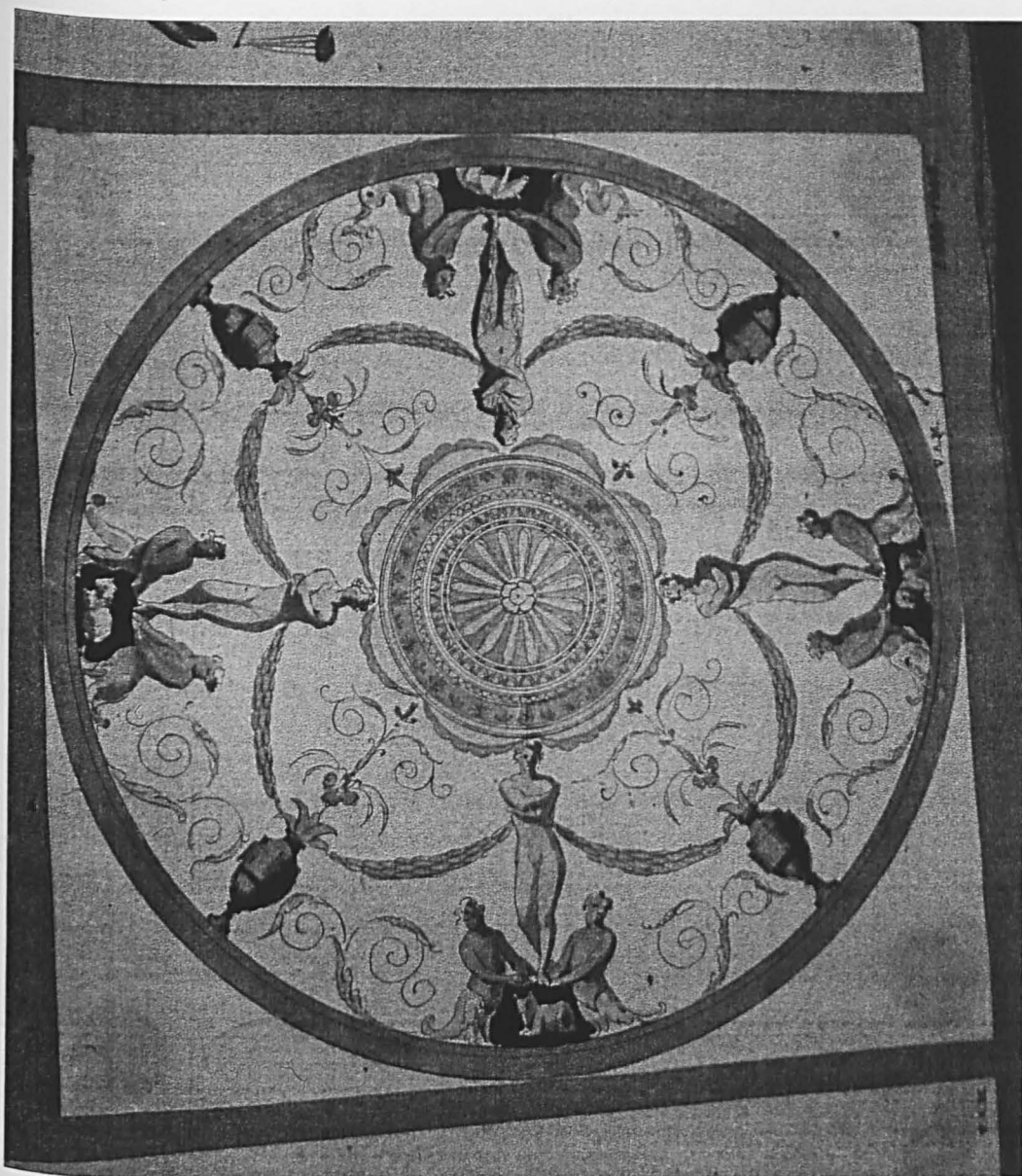
(7.3) The Dharmaraja Ratha, painted sketch, Robert Home



(7.4) Study for *Our Saviour on the Cross*, Robert Home



(7.5) Designs for ceilings, Robert Home

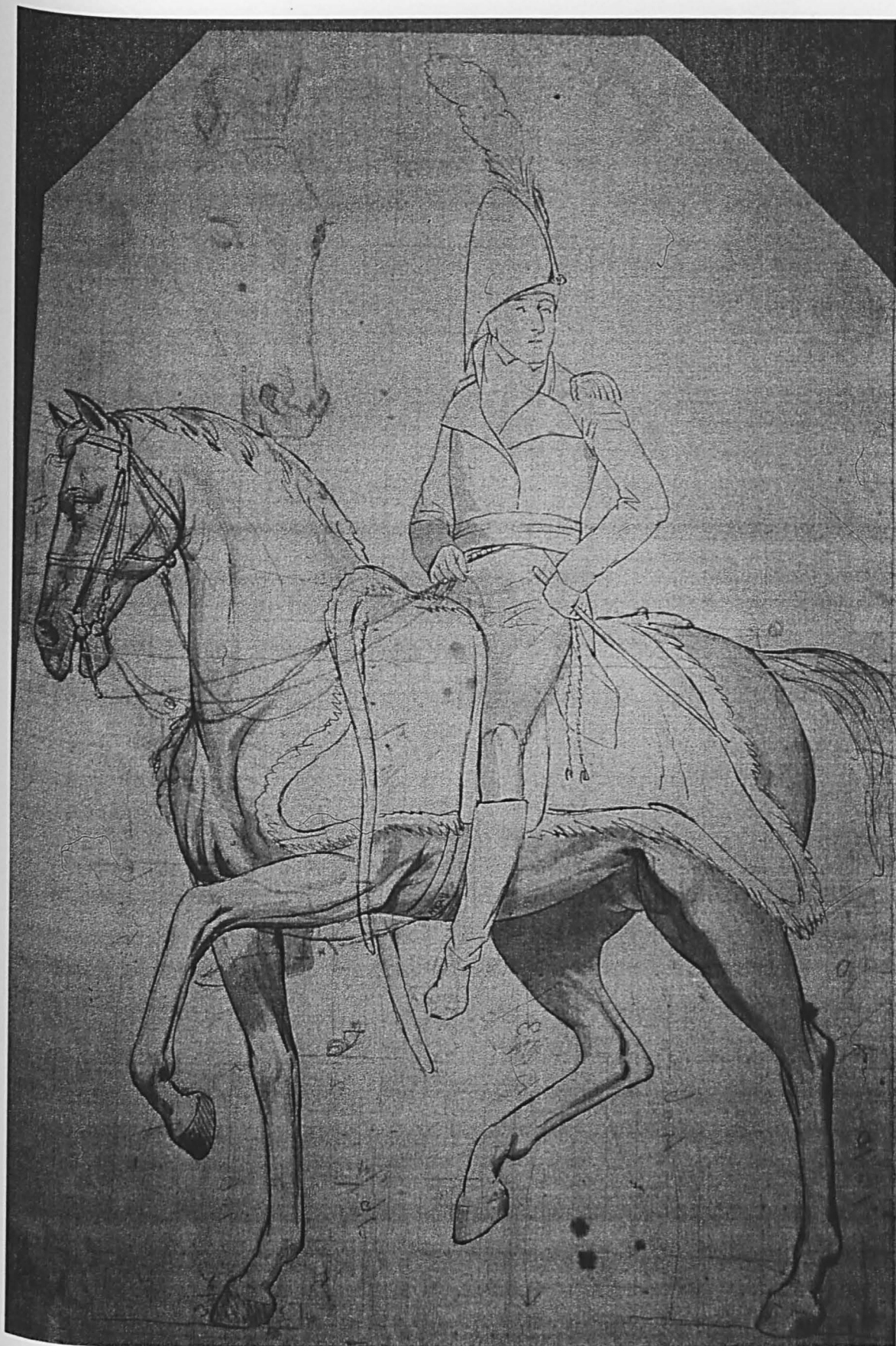


(7.5a) Design for ceiling, Robert Home

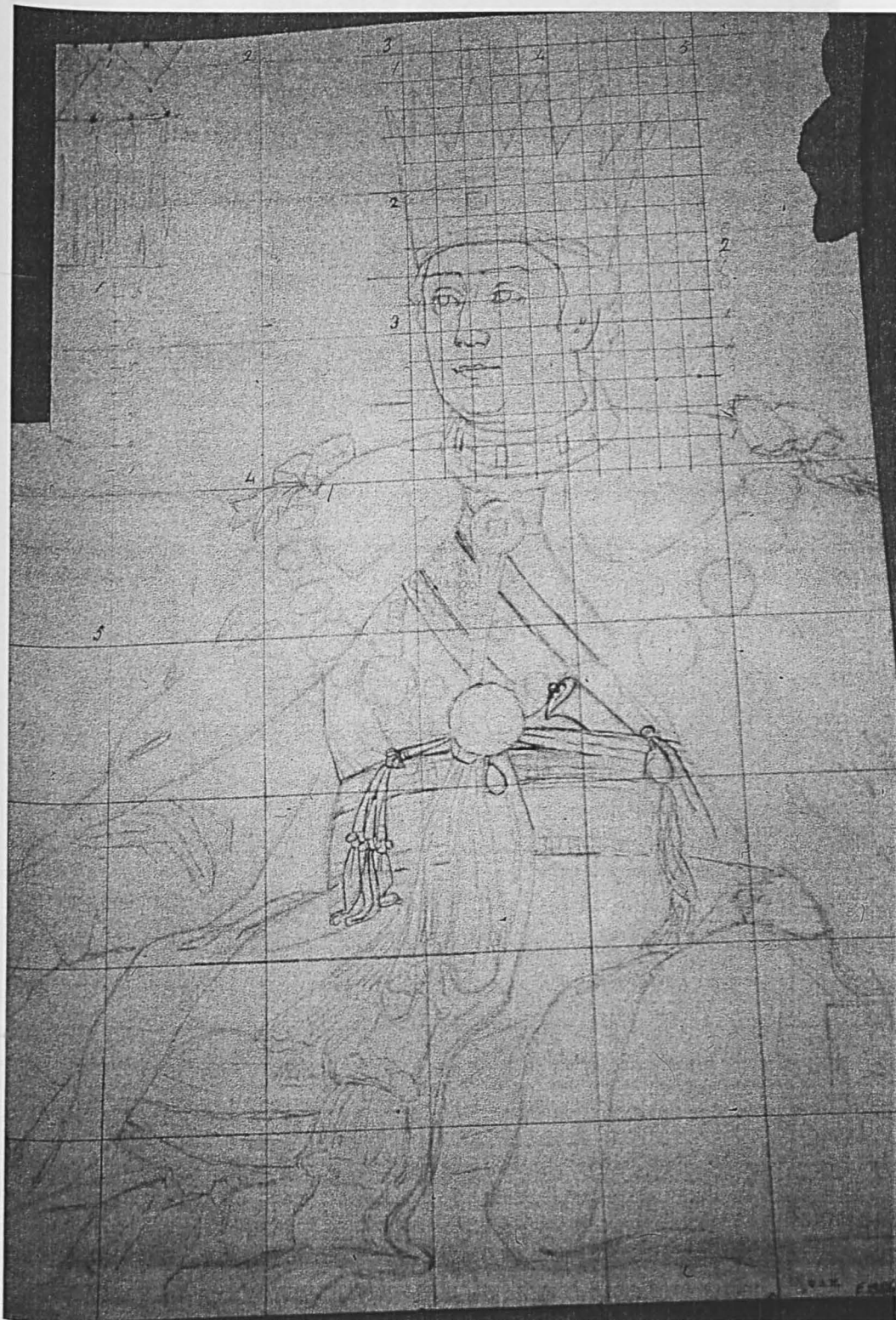


(7.6) *Lord Lake on his horse at Fategarh*, Robert Home (1808)

(7.6a) Preliminary sketch for "Lord Lake", Robert Home



(7.6a) Preliminary sketch for "Lord Lake", Robert Home



(7.7a) The coronation regalia of Ghazi-ud-Din Haidar
by Robert Home

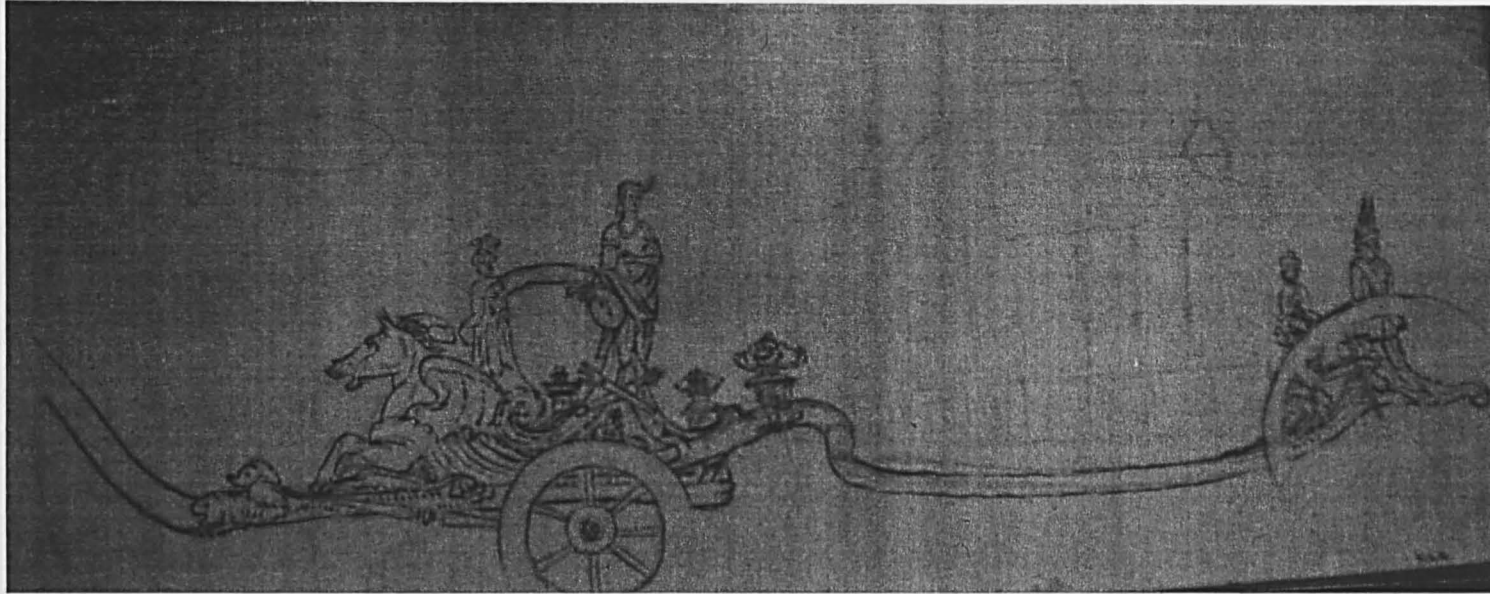
(7.7) The coronation regalia of Ghazi-ud-Din Haidar
by Robert Home



(7.7a) The coronation regalia of Ghazi-ud-Din Haidar
by Robert Home

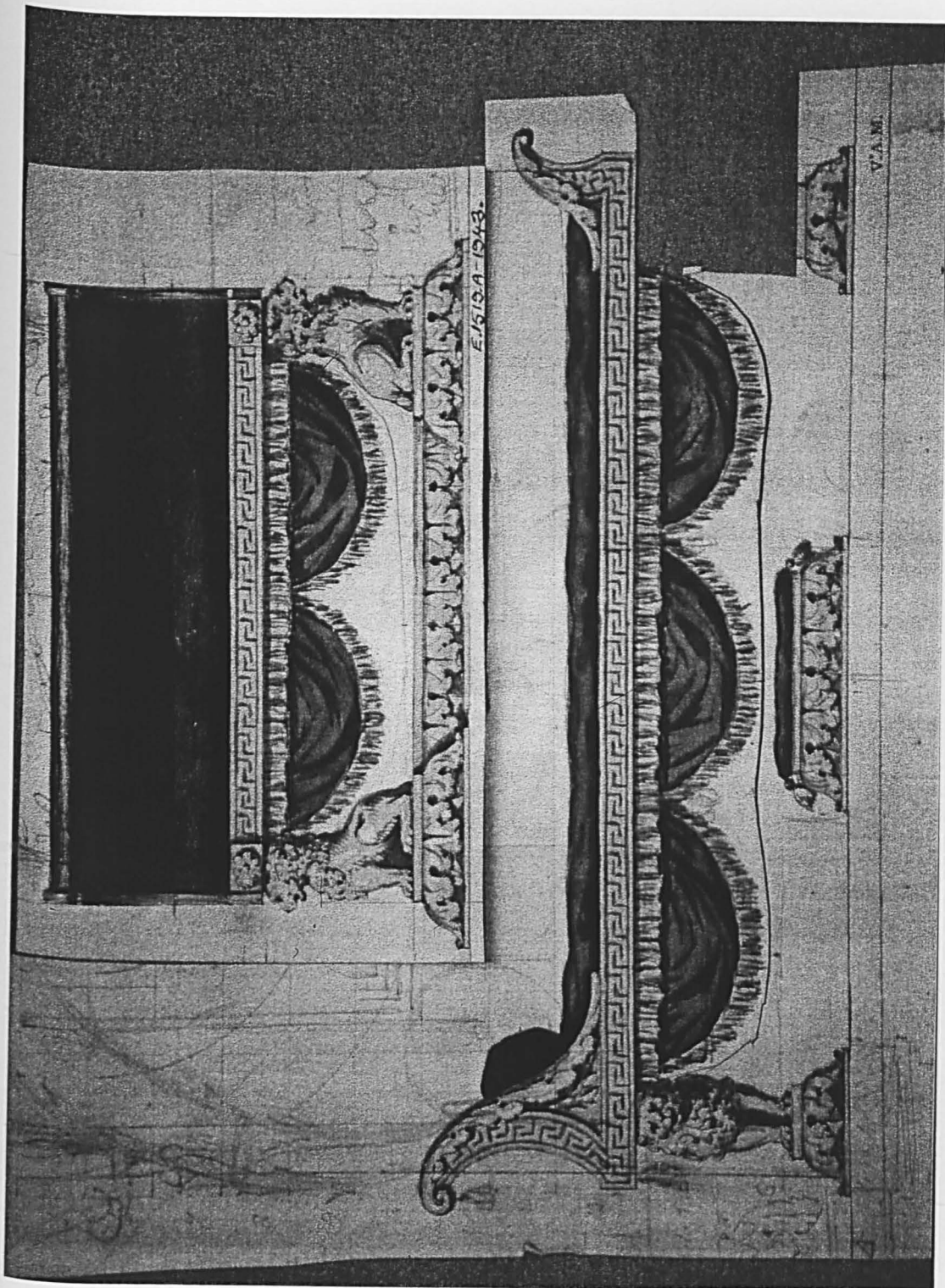


(7.8) *Ghazi-ud-Din Haider, King of Awadh, Receiving Tribute*
Robert Home (1820's)



(7.9) Design for a carriage, Robert Home

(7.10) Furniture design, Robert Home



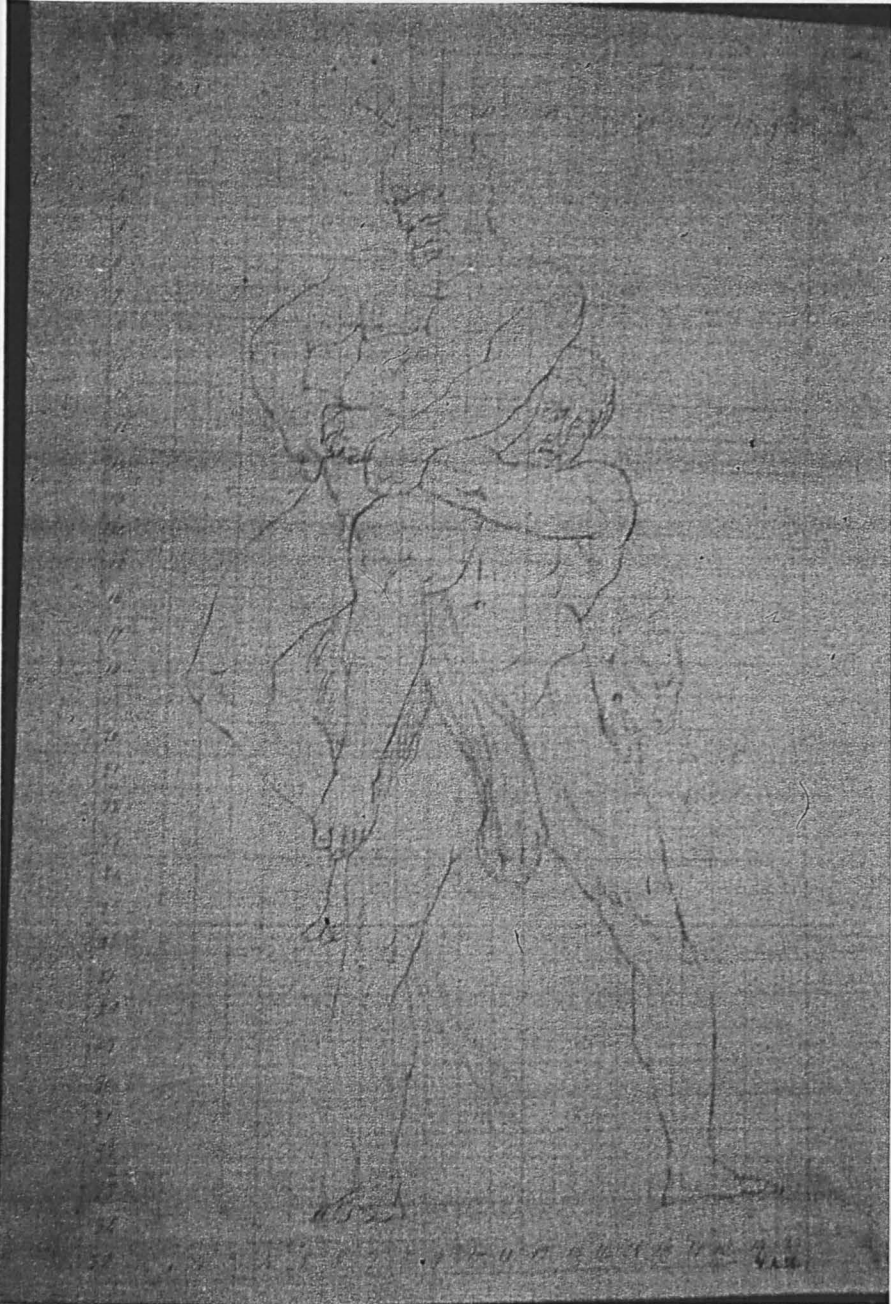
(7.10) Furniture design, Robert Home

(7.11) Design for a metal, Robert Home



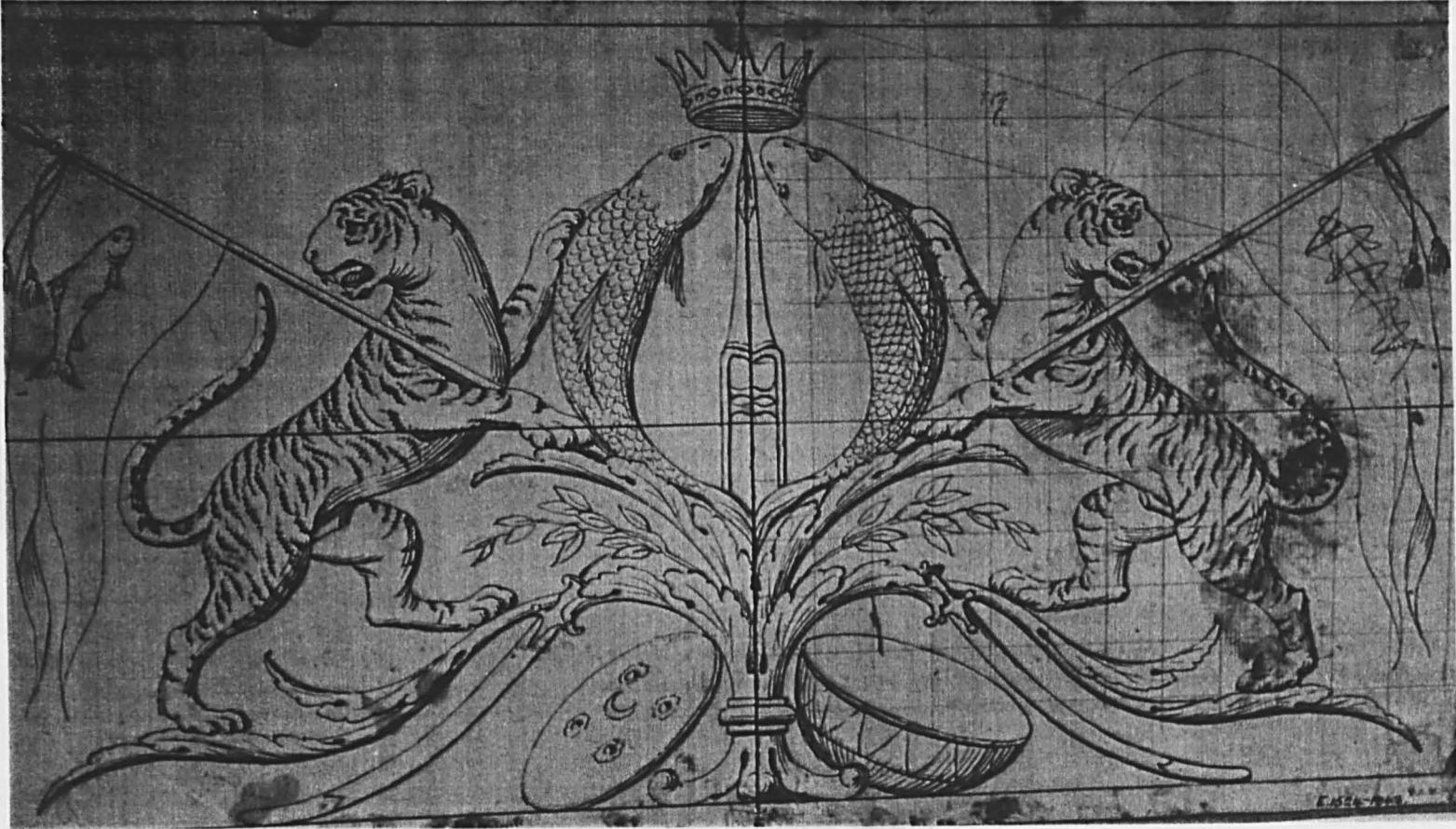
(7.11) Design for a medal, Robert Home

(7.12) Study for Hercules and Amisus, Robert Home

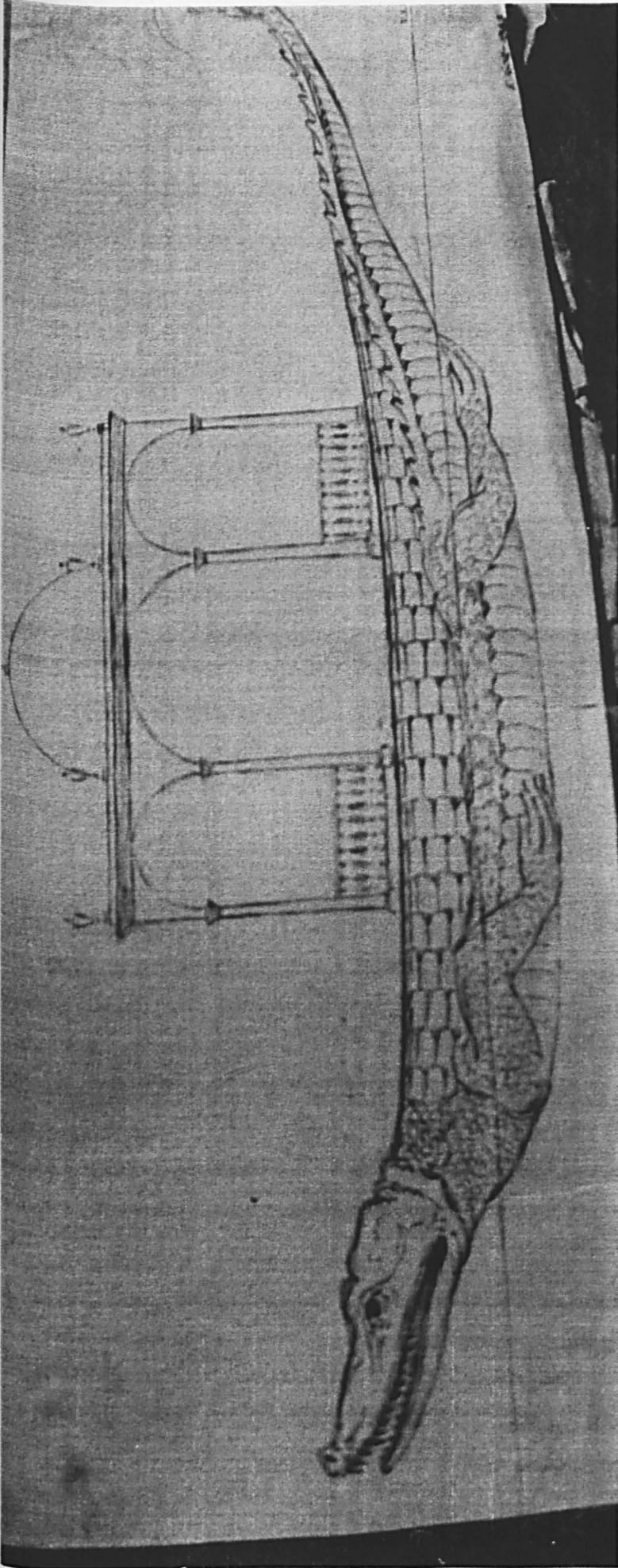


(7.12) Study for *Hercules and Antaeus*, Robert Home

(7.13) Coat-of-Arms of the Kings of Oudh, Robert Home



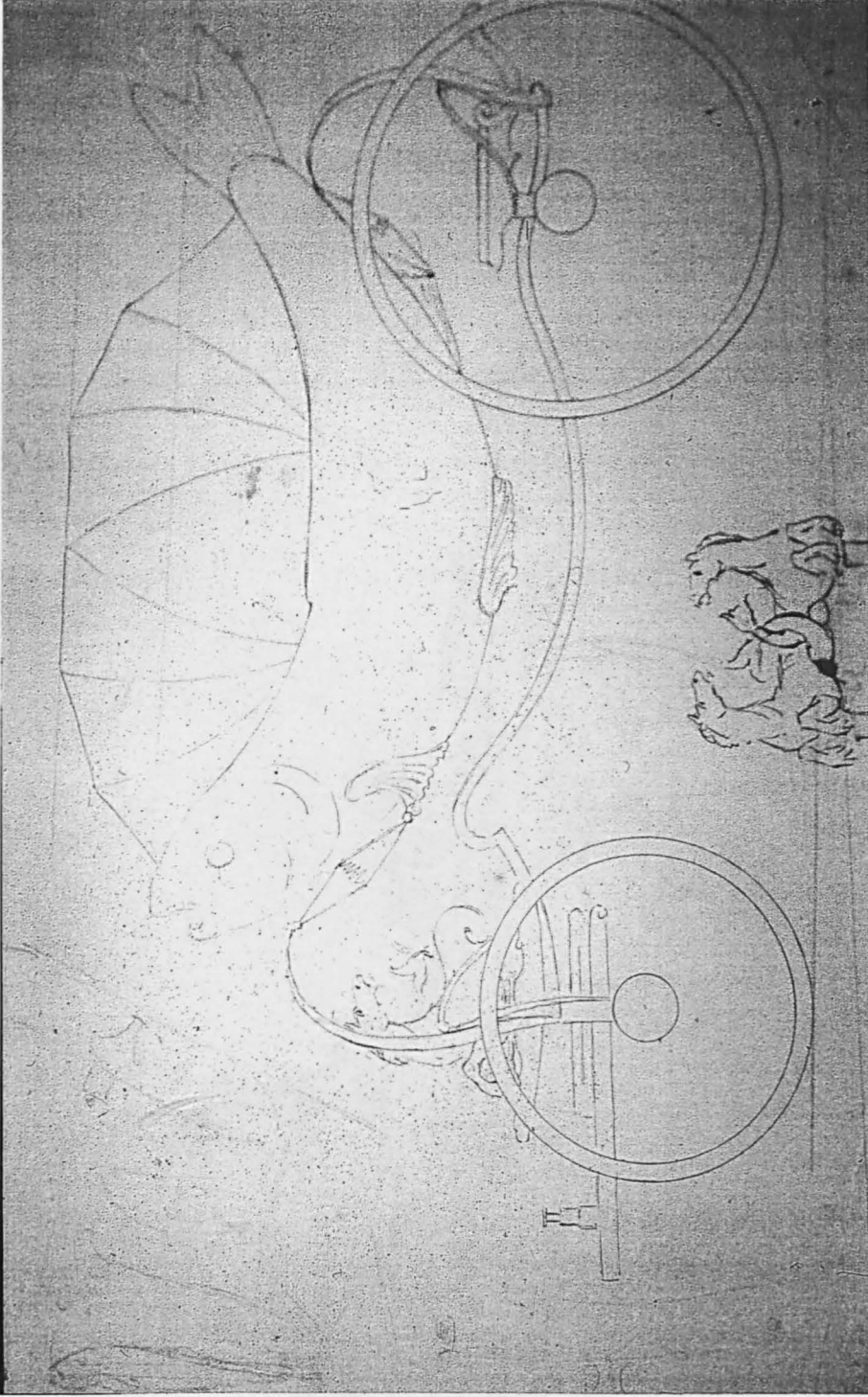
(7.13) Coat-of-Arms of the Kings of Oudh, Robert Home



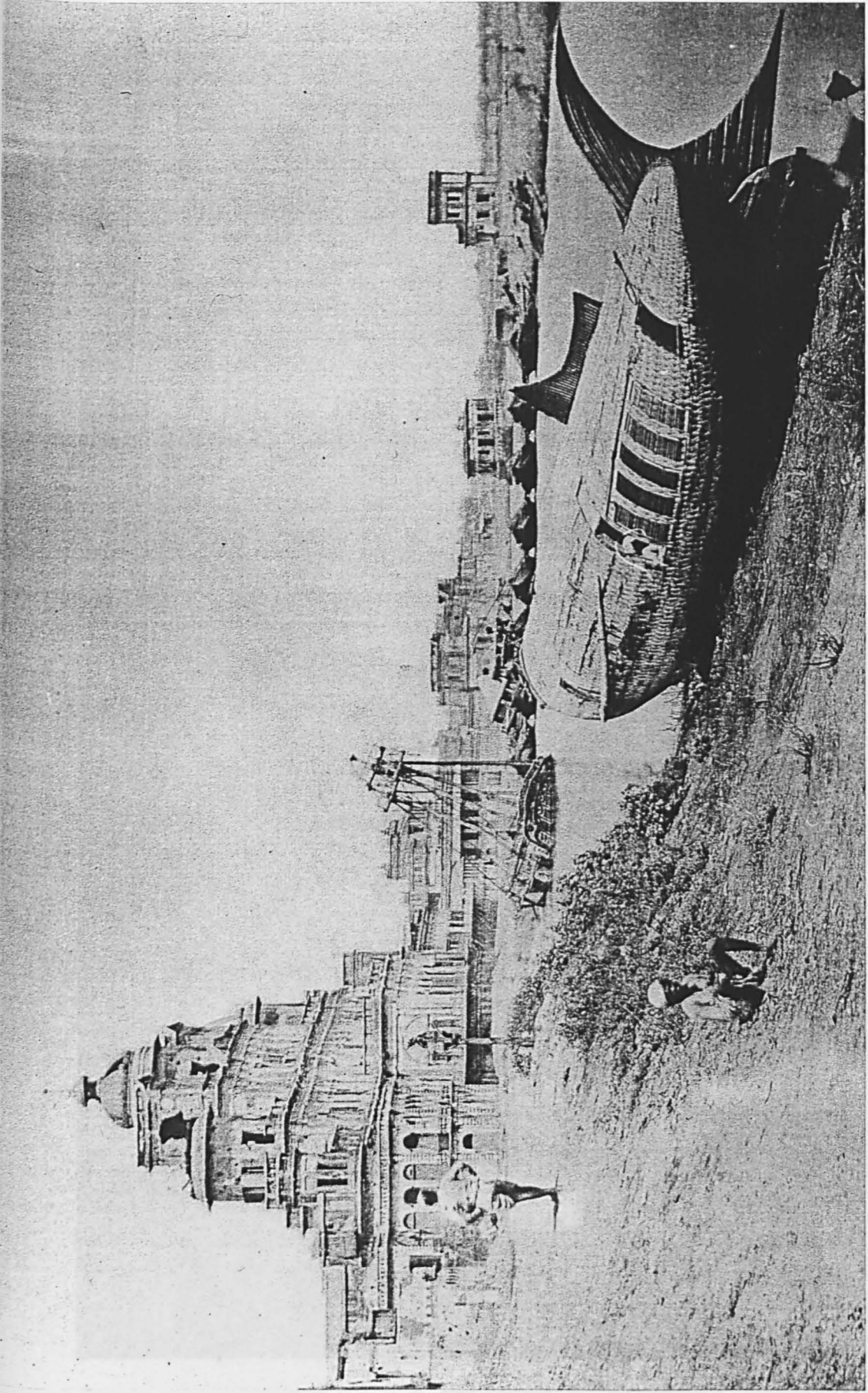
(7.14) Robert H. Smith (c.1823)



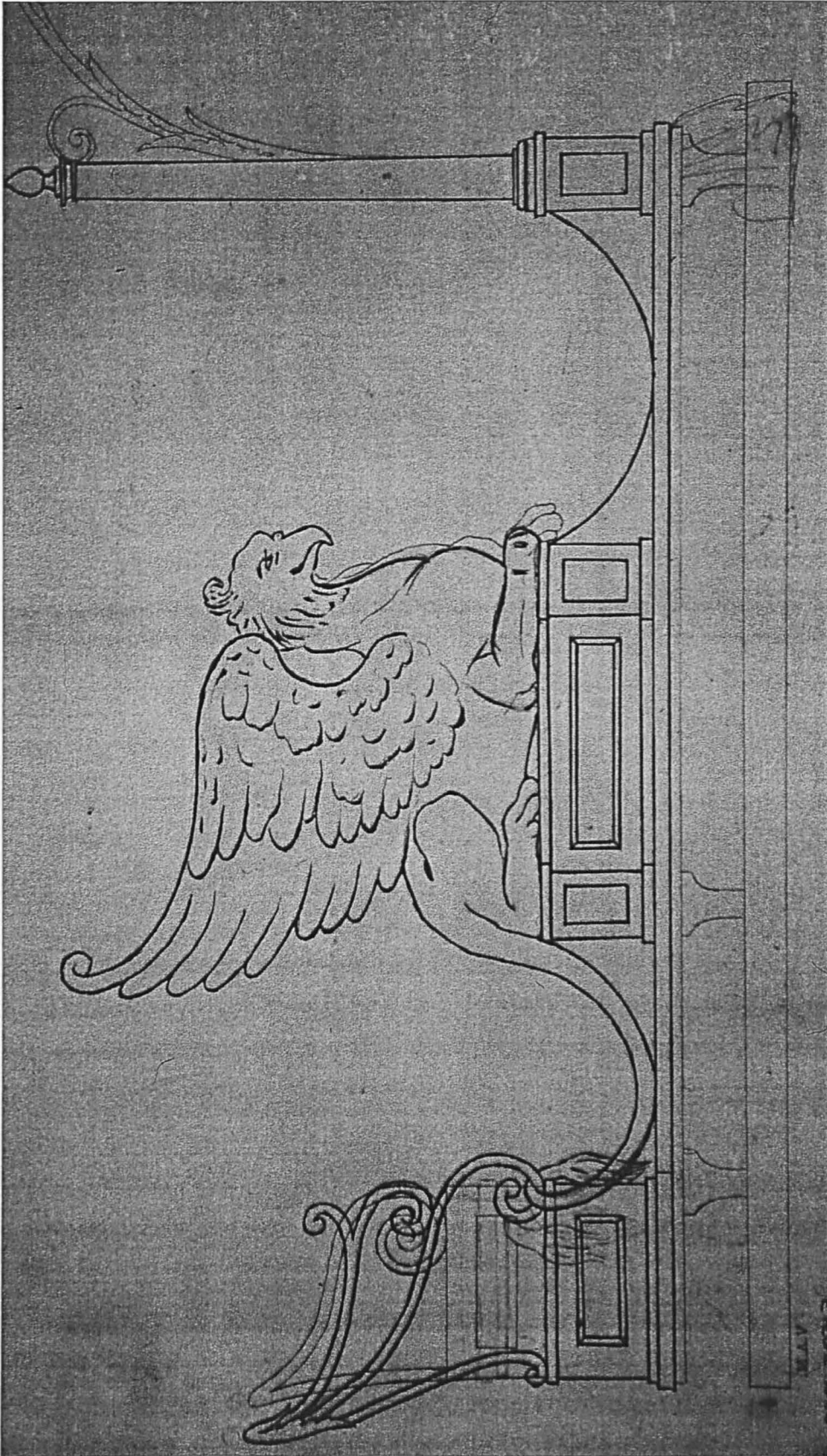
(7.15) Robert Home's fish boat - sketch by Capt. Robert Smith (c.1823)



(7.16) Design for a carriage, Robert Home

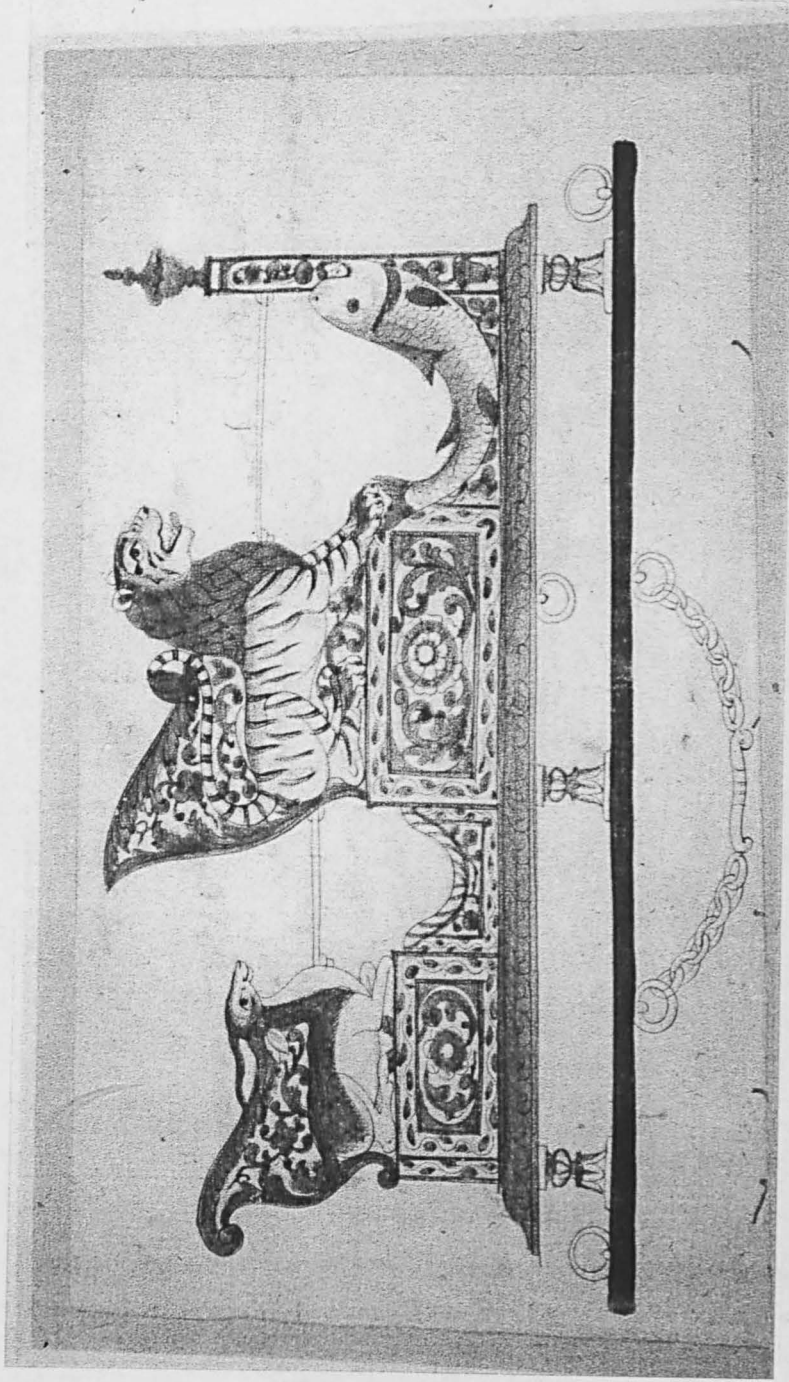


(7.17) Robert Home's fish boat with the Chathtar Manzil in the background

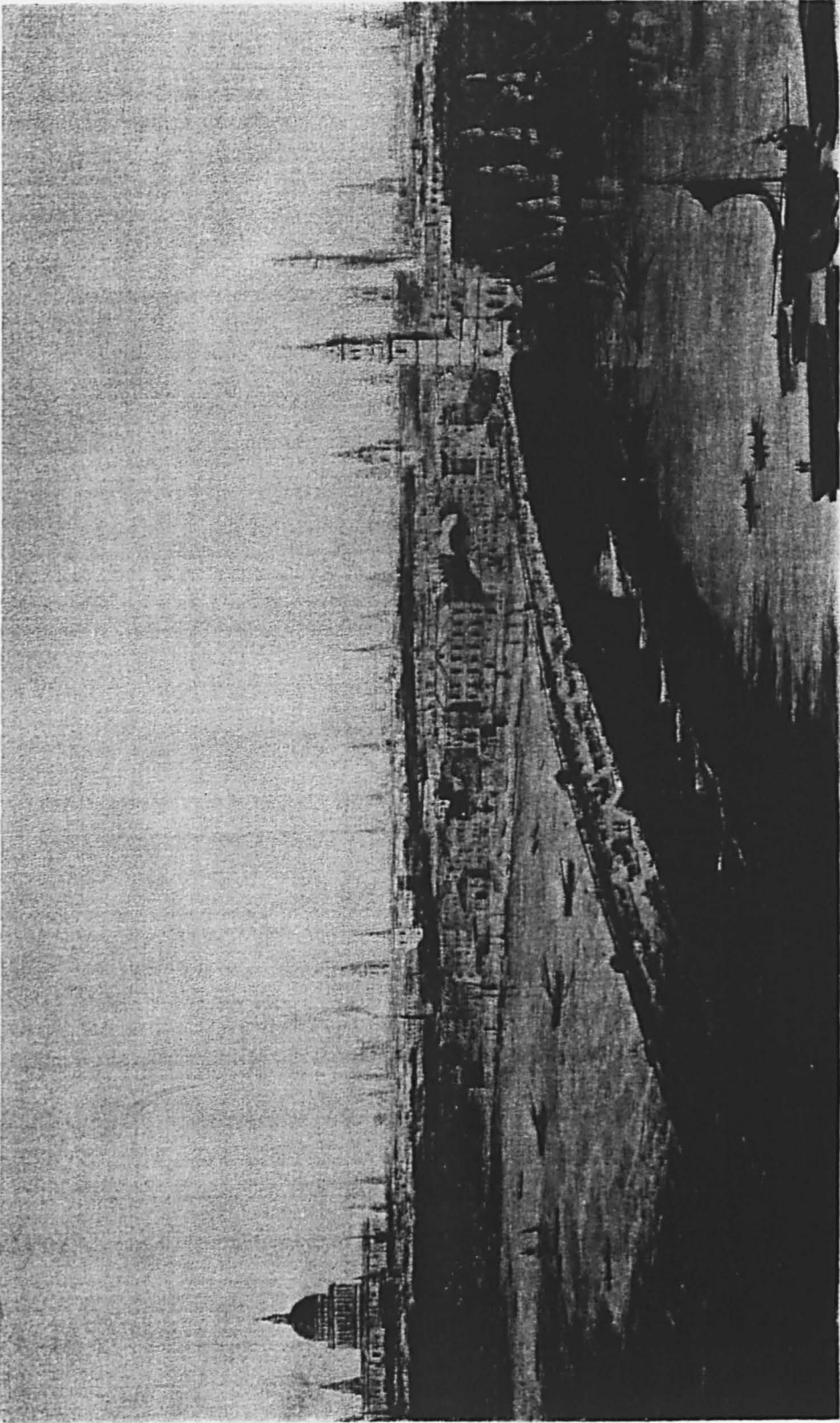


(7.18a) Design for a classical architectural element, designed by Robert Home

(7.18) Design by Robert Home

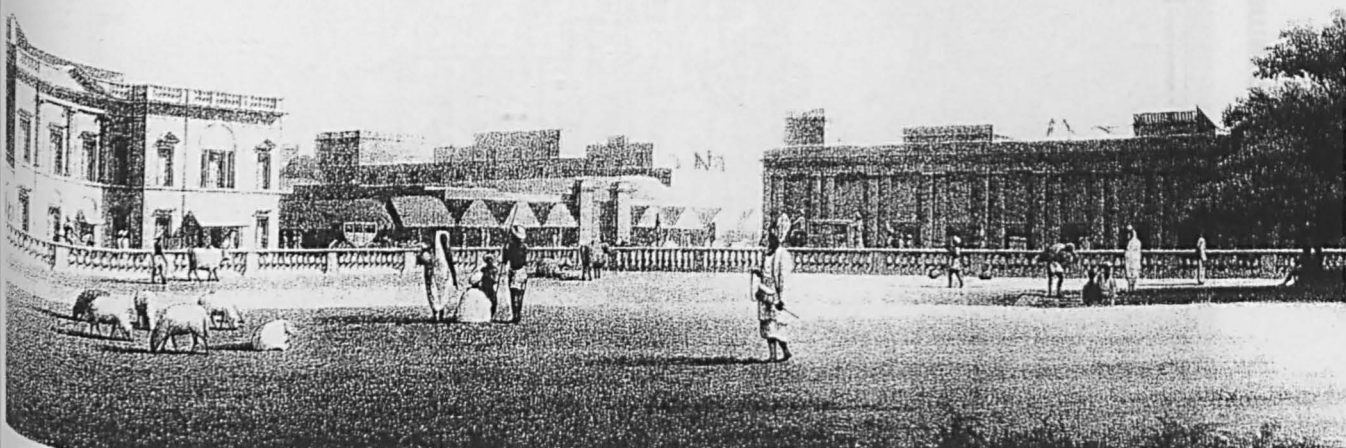
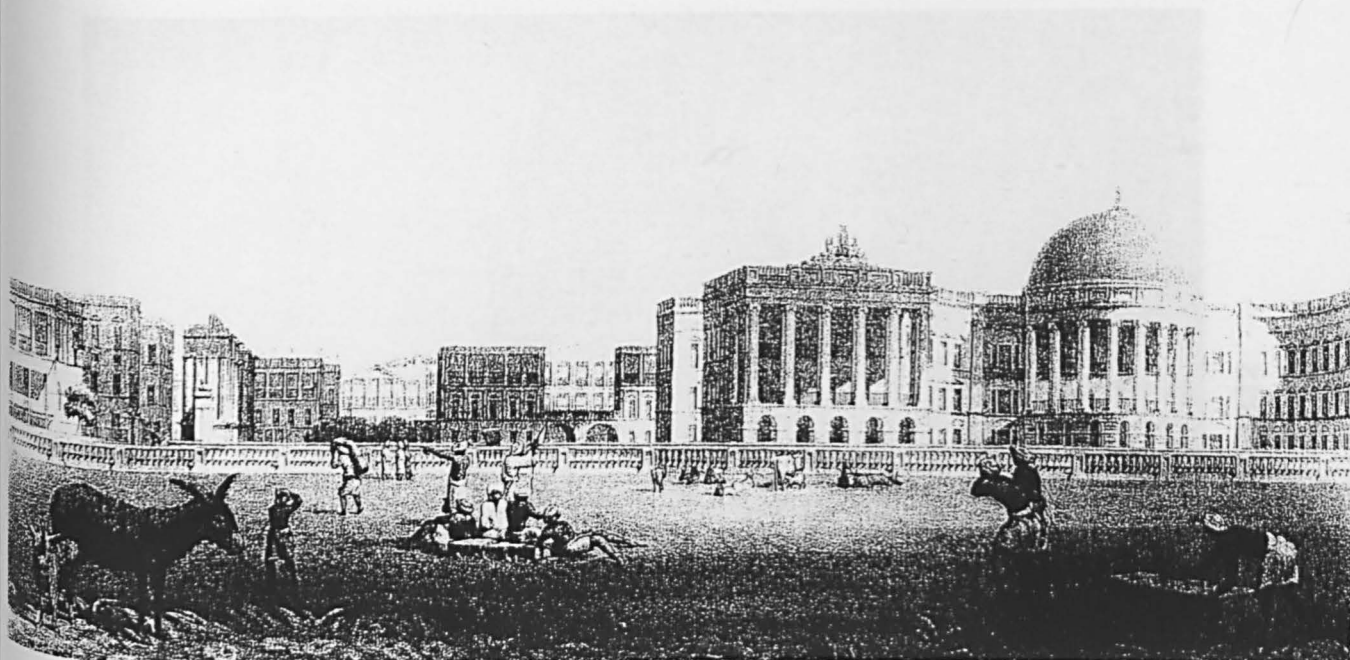


(7.18a) Design for a palanquin, unknown Lucknow designer (1840's)

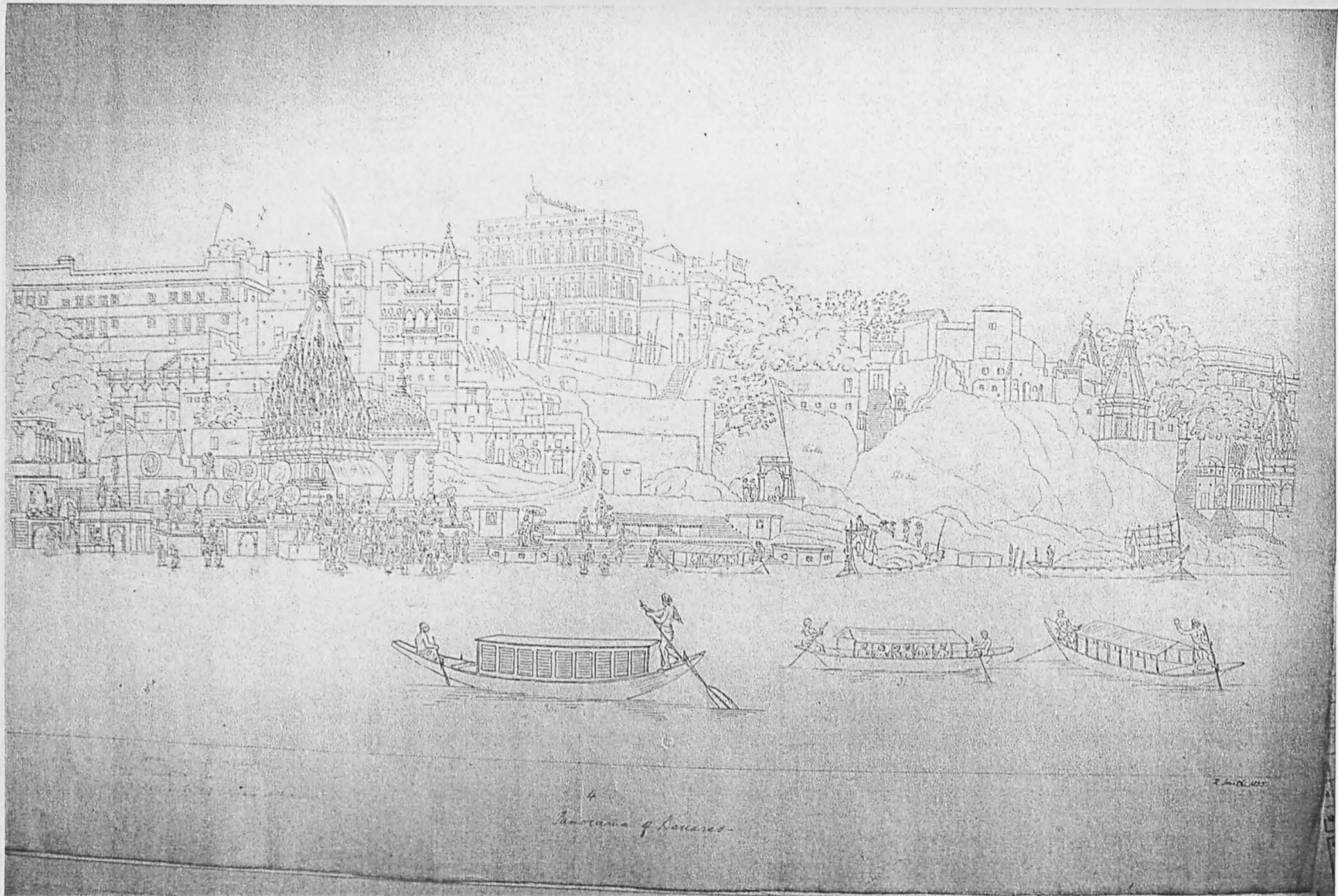


(8.1) London Bridge by William Daniell (c.1803)

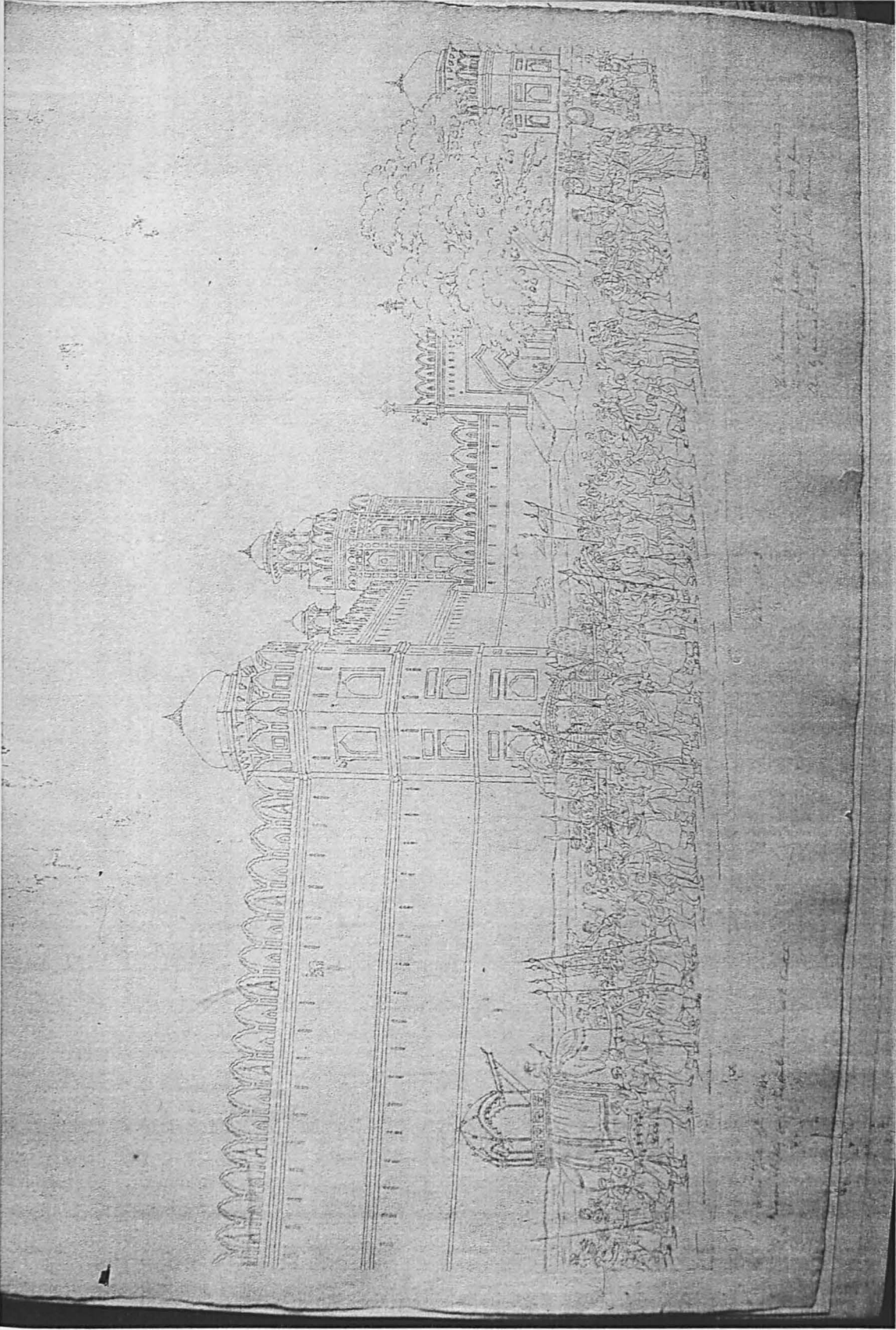
(8.2) Government House, Calcutta
(8.3) Esplanade Row
by William Wood (c.1805)
from: 28 Panoramic Views of Calcutta



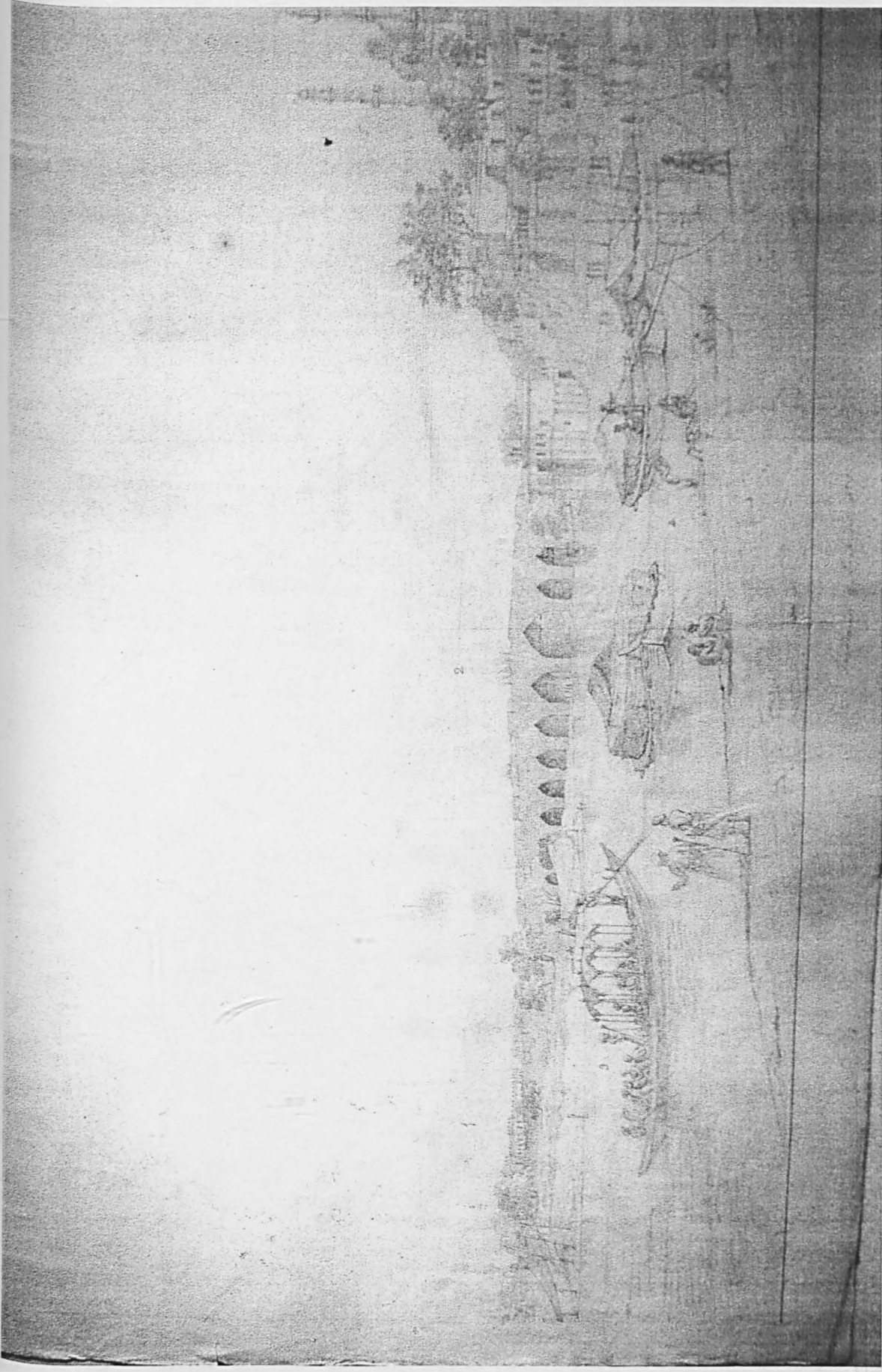
(8.2) *Government House, Calcutta*
(8.3) *Esplanade Row*
by William Wood (c.1830)
from: *28 Panoramic Views of Calcutta*



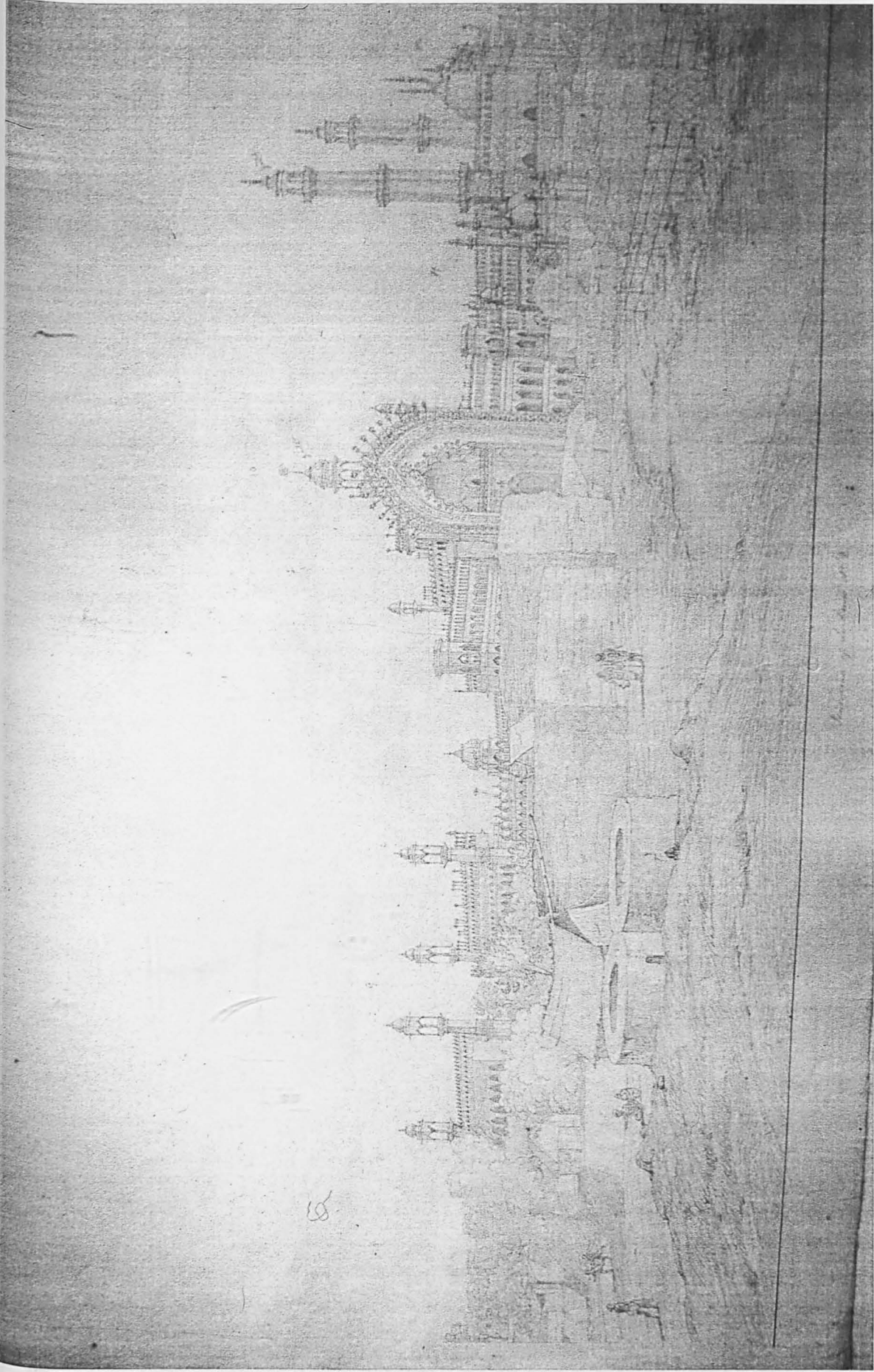
(8.4) Panorama of Benares (detail), Robert Smith 1832



(8.5) Panorama of Delhi (detail), Robert Smith 1832



(8.6) Panorama of Lucknow (1), Robert Smith 1832



(8.7) Panorama of Lucknow (2), Robert Smith 1832



(8.8) Panorama of Lucknow (3), Robert Smith 1832

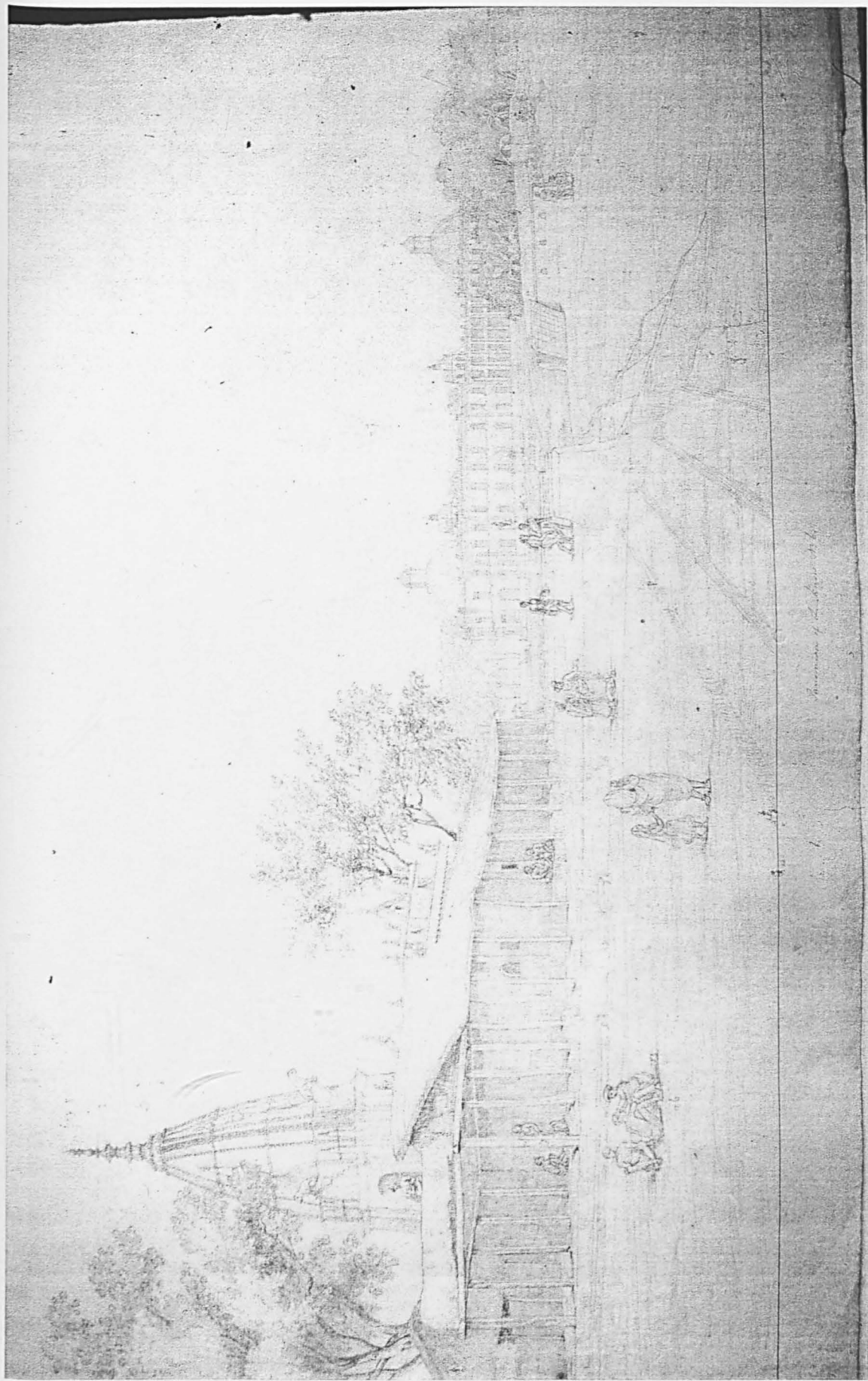


(8.9) Panorama of Lucknow (4), Robert Smith 1832



Engraving by G. S. ...

(8.10) Panorama of Lucknow (5), Robert Smith 1832



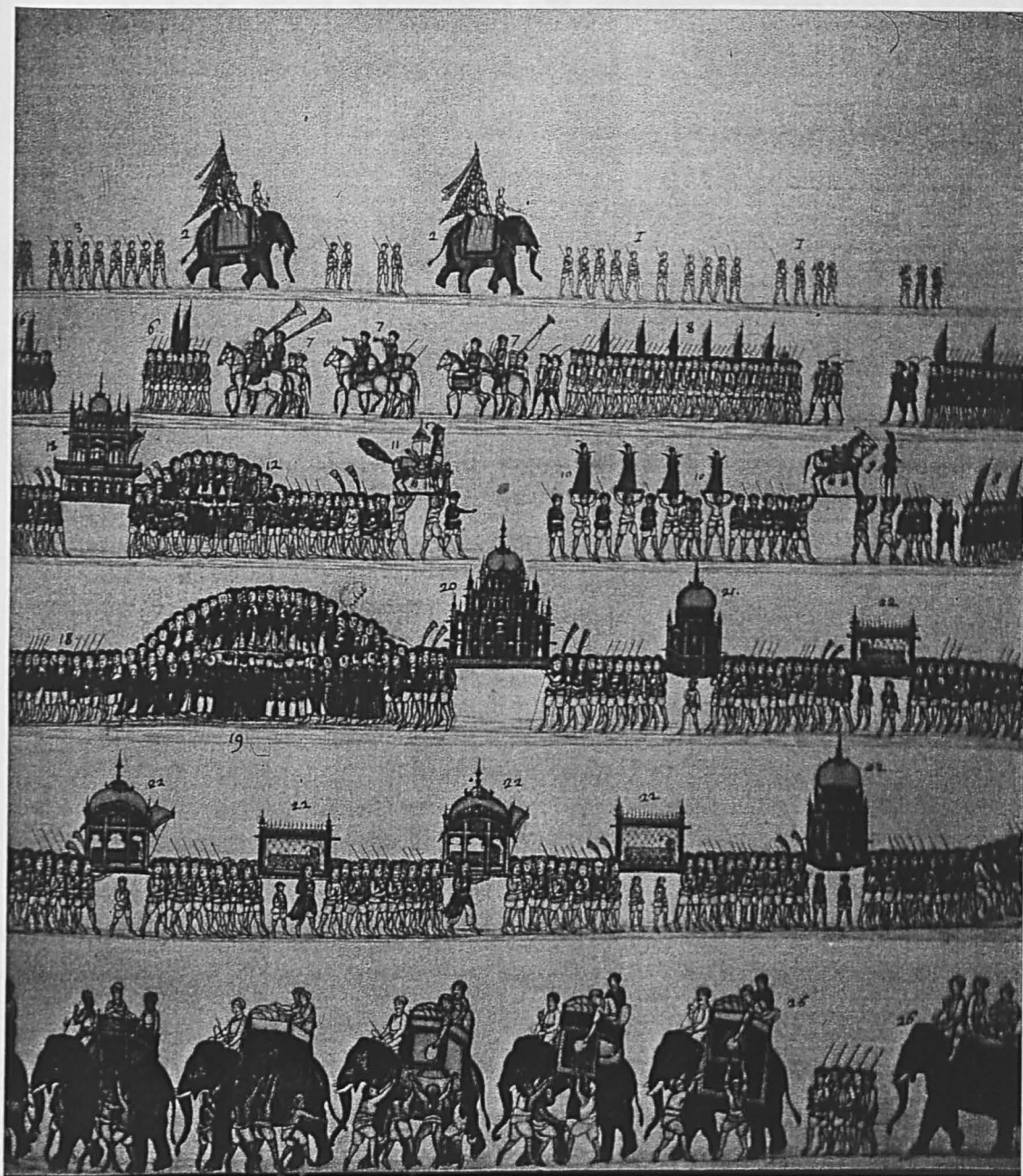
(8.11) Panorama of Lucknow (6), Robert Smith 1832



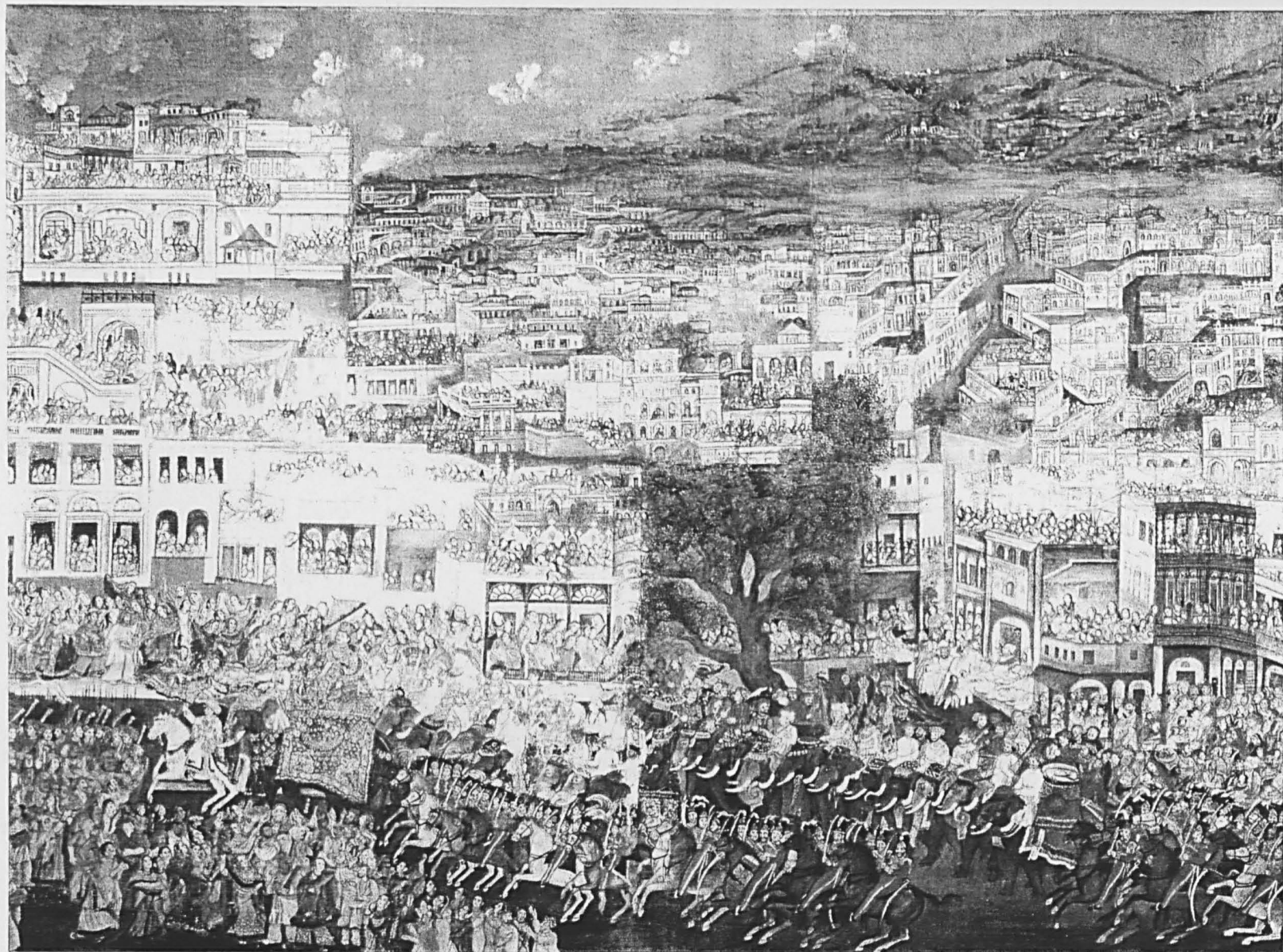
(8.12) Panorama of Lucknow (7), Robert Smith 1832



(8.13) Panorama of Lucknow (8), Robert Smith 1832



(8.14) The Gentil Album - Muharram Ceremony 1772



(8.15) The coronation procession of King Ghazi-ud-Din Haidar
by an unknown Lucknow artist c. 1920