CULTURAL HISTORY OF THE
KINGDOM OF AWADH

ABSTRACT

Thesis Submitted for the Degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
in
HISTORY

By
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Under the Supervision of
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Abstract

During the second half of the eighteenth century Awadh emerged as a renowned centre of culture in northern India. The patronage extended by the rulers of Awadh and their courtiers gave great impetus to fine arts and crafts. The present work seeks to study the development of literature, painting, music, architecture and industrial arts during the Nawabi period.

The first chapter deals with the progress in the literary field. The period is marked with the literary activities of an exceptional nature, both quantitatively and qualitatively. Awadh became a refuge of the literary celebrities mostly from Delhi who founded the Lucknow school of Urdu poetry. Persian declined as a language of poetry and culture. The observance of Shia faith by the rulers facilitated the development of mersiva to the extent that it became a hallmark excellence symbolic of Lucknow. Equally important was the contribution of Lucknow to the verse form known as masnavi. The rehas performance of Wajid Ali Shah paved the way to the development of drama. New forms were also evolved there such as rekhti and traditional forms of poetical composition were perfected, such as hazal, haif and wasokht.

In the second chapter arts of painting and calligraphy are discussed. These two styles were developed in Awadh almost side by side. First is the continuation of the Mughal style while the second developed
under the influence and patronage of Europeans. By the end of the eighteenth century the Indo-British style superseded the court style. The court style lingered on in a declined form due to lack of court patronage. The Indo-British style too languished when it passed into the hands of bazar craftsmen. During this period use of water colour replaced the tempera. Oil painting was also learnt by the local artists, and graphic technique was introduced.

The art of calligraphy was used for decorative purposes only. Although Lucknow possessed a number of expert calligraphists, books were no longer calligraphed due to the establishment of printing presses. Lithography was also introduced.

The third chapter is devoted to the study of music. The nawabs patronised this art on a lavish scale. Faizabad and subsequently Lucknow became centres of innumerable musical experts of all sorts — vocalists, instrumentalists and dancers. Lucknow is particularly noted for the development of kathak. Wajid Ali Shah developed his rahas dances by blending the kathak and ras. In Lucknow the vogue was for semi-classical styles — thumri, dadra and tappa; these folk forms were developed on classical lines. Sozikhwani was also standardized. Lucknow developed its own style in the sphere of tabla, sitar and nagara. This period has contributed to musicology too.

The fourth chapter deals with architecture. Innumerable buildings were constructed in Lucknow in the course of hundred years which comprise the
Imambars, mosques, palaces, garden pavilions, country houses and gateways. The buildings at Lucknow represent three phases of development and transformation of the Mughal style into the so-called European style, although these phases cannot be separated chronologically. In the first phase buildings were constructed in the Mughal style; the second phase is marked by the infiltration of the European elements into the art technique and style; while in the third phase buildings are entirely in the style of English country-houses and French chateau. The style at Lucknow is specially noted for its over ornamentation. This tendency becomes more pronounced in the later period corresponding to the second half of the 19th century. The builder has tried to present as many decorative elements as he could provide in one building. Marble and stone are replaced here by brick and mortar. Among the religious buildings the Imambars architecture was particularly developed. The tombs at Lucknow present a vividity of style. But Lucknow is remarkable for its palaces and country houses which gave the idea of its being a European capital to the contemporary travellers.

Development of industrial arts is dealt with in the fifth chapter. In this sphere the Nawabs followed a systematic policy of protection by imposing heavy tariff duties on imported articles and posing no obstacle on the inland trade. The result was that Lucknow became a famous centre of textile weaving, dyeing and calico-printing, enamelling, damascening, metallurgical crafts, embroidery etc. The articles produced were renowned
all over India. An elaborate description of details of all these crafts, their origin, development and chief characteristics have been discussed at length in this chapter.

I have tried to utilise the varied source material in Persian, Urdu and English. In Persian the main sources are Yadgar-i Bahaduri and Mirat-ul Auza and various taskirahs; in Urdu Maadan-ul Mosini, Bani, Muragga-i Khusrawi, Tarikh-i Aftab-i Awadh etc.; and in English the travellers' accounts, monographs and journals of arts and industries. Study of architecture is based on spot study; while industrial arts are supplemented largely by the specimens available in the collections of various museums.
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Preface

The present work is a study of the cultural history of Awadh during the Nawabi regime (1722-1856). This aspect of Awadh history has not received adequate attention of the scholars in spite of its great importance. Few books that have been published on Awadh history are mainly confined to the study of political history. The present work is first of its kind to undertake extensive survey of various facets of the Awadh culture, viz., literature, painting, calligraphy, music, architecture and industrial arts.

I have tried to utilise varied source material in Persian, Urdu and English. The study of architecture is based on spot study; and the study of industrial arts is supplemented largely by the specimens available in the collections of various museums.

It is my pleasant duty to acknowledge my deep sense of gratitude to my revered supervisor, Dr. Zameeruddin Siddiqui, whose invaluable guidance and support has been a constant source of inspiration to me. I am indebted to Mr. Shahab Sarmadee for his great help in the study of music and literature. My regards are also due to Professor S. Nurul Hasan, Professor K.A. Nizami and Professor Irfan Habib for their inspiration and guidance, and also to my friends who helped me in various ways.

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The errors that remain are mine.

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INTRODUCTION

The Kingdom of Awadh, 1722–1856, spans the period in the history of India which witnessed the transition from the Medieval to the Modern age. Though the basic features of its socio-economic texture were essentially medieval, it had blended certain modern elements and trends in its cultural life which made its heritage rich and varied.

Awadh during this period attained fame far and wide for its cultural achievements, the gay life of its people, its economic prosperity, trade and industrial arts, fine arts and letters, manners and code of decorum, and the evolution of a set of styles in manifold cultural aspects which gave it a definite brand and distinguished the cultural traditions of Awadh with uniqueness and exquisiteness.

In a way Awadh played a significant part in the evolution of cultural traits and trends. It was noted for its convivial and poetic assemblies, the profuse celebration of Muharram with its immense paraphernalia and the elaboration of social etiquette, customs and rituals.

It has been a subject of controversy if the Awadh culture represented the high water mark or signified the decline of the Mughal culture. Certain developments may suggest a declining trend, such as in architecture and painting; but it may be assumed that on the whole Awadh represented a
definite advance on the degree of sophistication and perfection attained by
the composite culture that flourished under the Mughals, and Awadh was both
politically and culturally its offshoot.

The kingdom of Awadh shrunk by cessions of territory was reduced
to such dimensions by 1801 that by that year its territory was situated
between latitude 25°34' - 29°61', longitude 79°45' - 83°11'. It was bounded
in the north by the territory of Nepal and separated from it by a range of
hills and forests. To the south lay the British district of Allahabad, to
the east the British district of Gorakhpur, to the south east British districts
of Jaunpur and Azamgarh, to the south west the Doab including the British
districts of Fatehpur, Kanpur and Farrukhabad, and to the north west by
Shahjahanpur. The total area was 23,733 square miles. Besides Lucknow,
the metropolis, other important cities were Faizabad, Ayodhya, Rai Bareli,
Shahabad, Kherigard, Manikpur, Bahraich, Shahaganj, Furwa, Tanda etc.

1. Edward Thornton, A Gazetteer of the Territories under the Government of
the East India Company and of the Native States of the Continental India,

2. Ibid., pp.24-25; Walter Hamilton, The East India Gazetteer, London, 1828,

3. Thornton, vol. IV, p.25. According to Thornton the kingdom was "70 miles
in length from south east to north west and 160 in breadth". In 1828 it
occupied a larger area 250 miles in length by hundred the average breadth;

The population of the kingdom of Awadh consisted mostly of the Hindus, though at Lucknow Muslim population was greater than any other part of Awadh. The occupations of the Hindu population, except of Rajputs and Brahmans, were mainly agriculture, industry and commerce. The Rajputs were mostly soldiers, while Brahmans performed ecclesiastical and educational services. However, the remark of William Hodges that the Muslims may be classed as entirely military and revenue collectors, is not true. Muslims were also engaged in various trades and manufactures.

The history of the Kingdom of Awadh can be traced as far back as the year 1722, when the Mughal Emperor Muhammad Shah appointed Saadat Khan as the governor of the province. The authority of the centre had lost effectiveness under the stress of factions and feuds. Hence, Saadat Khan governed the province like an independent potentate suppressing the refractory local chiefs and extending his influence in all directions. He was honoured by the Emperor with the title of Burhan-ul Mulk. At the time of his death (1739) he left a treasury rich enough to enable his nephew and successor, Abdul Mansur Khan Safdarjung, to part with the sum of two crore of rupees in order to secure for himself the office of his uncle.

3. Ibid.
Safdarjung (1739-54) had advanced his claim to the governorship primarily on the basis of inheritance. The claim was upheld by Muhammad Shah and confirmed later by his successor Ahmad Shah, a fact which meant recognition of the virtual autonomy of the hereditary governorships of Awadh. The Nawab Wazirs, as the governors were called, now independently began to engage in wars, make treaties, levy taxes and appropriate the revenues to serve their personal interests. However, this independence was short-lived. With Shuja-ud Daulah (1754-75), the third Nawab, the battle of the defeat of Buxur in 1764 at the hands of the English, Awadh passed under the increasing influence of the British.

The inefficiency of the rulers provided frequent opportunities to the British to extort money from them and to interfere more and more in the affairs of the state. Asaf-ud Daulah, the son and successor of Shuja-ud Daulah, had to agree to provide quarters for the British troops in his domain. During the reign of Saadat Ali Khan (1798-1814), the brother of Asaf-ud Daulah,

1. First of all a subsidiary force was stationed at Awadh on the pretext of protecting its territory 'from external enemies', to preserve 'its internal peace' and to extend 'its dominions by the assistance of a British force' (The East India Gazetteer, vol. II, p. 350) the expenses of the subsidiary force were to be borne by the Nawabs. The number of the standing army was further increased at the time of the outbreak of French Revolution and the members of the Bengal Presidency deemed it a duty imposed on them to endeavour to procure for the natives a better system of government at the same time to remove the uncertainty which attended the payment of the subsidiary force. As a result, the treaty of Benaras was concluded in 1801 (Ibid.).
about half of the territory of Awadh was annexed to the British territory. It was also that Awadh would not maintain relations with any power except the British. The conferment of the title of the king on the next ruler Ghazi-ud Din Haider (1814-27) by Lord Hastings on 9 October 1819 was a mere formality. The rulers were left with hardly any incentive to improve the

1. Upto 1790 the kingdom possessed all the flat country lying on both sides of Ganga except Rampur, and also the country lying between the principal portion of Doab to within 40 miles of Delhi (Hamilton, vol. II, 350). By the Treaty of Benaras several districts yielding a gross annual revenue of 1,35,23,274 were ceded to the British government from the territory of Awadh (Ibid., 351). There was commercial treaty too according to which Saadat Ali was free only in the management of his reserved territory, the area of which was about 21,000 sq. miles, with a population of about 3 millions (Ibid., pp.351, 353).

2. The remarks of Captain Mundi, who visited the court of Awadh in 1827, are worth mentioning here, "Ostensibly his Nawabship has been promoted with the rank of servant to that of Lord. Virtually, he has only changed masters, for like all other native potentates who have admitted British resident at their courts, he is so strictly supervised, that he can scarcely... enact any important state measure, without the interference of his super attentive allies". (Pen and Pencil Sketches, vol. I, p.13). The kingship was bestowed on Ghazi-ud Din Haider for diplomatic reasons as it was in the interest of the British government to "detach the rich and populous province of Oude from all subordination of Mughal empire, for sympathy with the Mussalman cause generally" (East India Gazetteer, vol. II, p.352). In lieu of the title Ghazi-ud Din Haider exempted the British government in India from the payment of rupees one crore which he had lent to the East India Company in 1814-15. Actually he had lent two crores on 6% interest. For one crore he was given the Tarai area acquired during the Nepalese war (Ibid.; Private Journal of Marquises of Hastings, 1813-1818, ed. Marchones of buil, 1907, Vol I, p 94)
administration. In the course of twenty eight years, following the death of Ghazi-ud Din Haider, Awadh had several rulers, namely Nasir-ud Din Haider (1827-37), Muhammad Ali Shah (1837-42), Amjad Ali Shah (1842-47) and Wajid Ali Shah (1847-56). The last of them was deposed by the British government in 1856 and the territories of the state were annexed to the British possessions of India.

In spite of this political decline, Awadh became reputed as a refuge of the old culture in Northern India. During the 18th century it was "the richest, largest and a well governed province in the contemporary Hindustan". Therefore, people flocked to Awadh from different places

1. Although the government exercised "pure despotism" (Thornton, vol. IV, p.36), this was only in name; because at the same time Thornton makes it clear that it was 'restrained' by 'the fear of giving offence to the British government' (Ibid.)

2. The excuse for annexation was maladministration. This had been an old refrain of the British critics of Awadh. Butler observes, "The administrative state of the country... may be summed up in a few words; a sovereign regardless of his kingdom, except in so far as it supplied him with the means of personal indulgence; a minister incapable or unwilling to stay the ruins of the country; local governors, or more properly speaking, farmers of the revenues, invested with virtually despotic powers, left almost unchecked to gratify their resentment and private enmities; a local army, ill paid and thus licentious, indisciplined and habituated to defeat; an almost absolute denial of justice in all matters, civil or criminal". cf. Thornton, vol. IV, 36.

particularly Delhi whose splendour was gone. Under Asaf-ud Daulah the Awadh-court became the most magnificent and the Nawabs became the very symbol of artistic virtuosity.

Surprisingly, there exists no general survey of Awadh culture. There are two works on Awadh culture which discuss some aspects only - the journal of Mrs Mir Hasan Ali and second is the Guzishta Lucknow in Urdu by Abdul Halim Sharar (English translation by E.S. Harcourt and Fakhir Hussain under the title 'Lucknow the Last Phase of an Oriental Culture', London, 1975).

Mrs, Mir Hasan Ali had been in Awadh for a period of twelve years and had written several letters to her friend 'as faithful sketches of the manners, customs and habits of a people but little known to the European reader'. But she has concentrated upon presenting 'a more familiar view of the opinions and the domestic habits of the Mussalman community of Hindoostan'.

1. Tarikh-i Farah Bakhsh, f.225a. Muhammad Faiz Bakhsh observes, "As no ruler of any country lived in such refinement, and pomp... as Nawab Shuja-ud Daulah, and also as it seemed that no where else were people so ready to spend money freely on any occasion or for any purpose, all sorts of expert artists, craftsmen and students from every direction.... made Faizabad their domicile".

2. Thomas Twinning, Travels in India, London, 1893, p.168. He visited Lucknow during the reign of Asaf-ud Daulah. Spray observes: "Lucknow, it should be observed, is now the only remaining Asiatic court in Hindoostan in which the thing like observance of Asiatic pomp and grandeur are preserved (see his Travels, vol. I, 229); Mrs. A. Dean, A Tour Through the Upper Provinces of India, 1823, p.101; W.W. Hunter, The Imperial Gazetteer of India, London, 1881, vol. VI, p.65.

3. See her letter, p.XVIII.
Most of the second volume is occupied by anecdotes. Sharar, the author of the other source - Guzishta Lucknow - had been close to Wajid Ali Shah since the age of ten and lived with him at Calcutta for several years. He has discussed in this book various aspects of Awadh culture: the manners, customs, costumes, the socio-religious and cultural pursuits, the development of Urdu literature and music. But even here, painting and architecture and also most of the applied arts remain untouched.

Among the research works produced on the history of Awadh in more recent days scholars have mainly focussed attention on political and administrative history. Cultural history despite its great significance has not been accorded its due place. Hence a modest attempt is made in the present work to fill in the gap. It aims at surveying critically the development of fine arts and crafts which flourished during the Nawabi period as well as the literary activities and styles which developed at Lucknow.

Naturally, the source material for the survey is varied. In the following pages I offer a brief description of the more important material used by me.

1. See her letter, p.IVIII.

1. The Architectural Monuments

In spite of the fact that various architectural monuments were destroyed during the Rebellion of 1857, a good many buildings exist even today, mainly at Lucknow, Faizabad and Khairabad to offer evidence of the development of architecture during the period of the Nawabs. Their religious beliefs, the mode of living of the upper strata of society and the European influence on architecture are displayed in varying degrees by these monuments.

2. Travellers' Accounts

A great number of European travellers especially English (travellers) came "in search of picturesque" and also for jobs. Their journals are very important for the sketches they provide of Awadh society and culture. It is in these sources that we find valuable data on various aspects such as on architecture and painting and arts and crafts.

Among the various travellers visiting Awadh the names of Lord Valentia and Mrs. Parkes are worth mentioning. According to Heber, Lord Valentia was the only traveller, except one Mr. Hyde, who "has visited India from motives exclusively of science and curiosity". He visited Awadh in 1803 during the reign of Saadat Ali. In the same year Mrs. Parkes was very

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keen to know of the harem life of the court of Awadh and she "talked for hours" to seek information from people. She visited Awadh during the reign of Nasir-ud Din Haider. The remarks of these two travellers are very valuable.

Other important accounts are those of Gentil, William Hodges, Thomas Twinning, Mrs. A. Dean, and Marquess of Hastings, Bishop Heber, Lumsdon, Emma Roberts, Spray, Mundi, Emily Eden, Von Olrich, Hoffmeister, and Egerton. The memoirs of Gentil supply valuable information on Awadh paintings.

2. His memoirs are in French.
3. He came to Lucknow during the reign of Asaf-ud Daulah in 1789.
4. He visited Lucknow in 1792.
5. He visited Lucknow in 1805.
6. He visited Lucknow during the reign of Saadat Ali.
7. He visited Lucknow during the reign of Ghazi-ud Din Haider.
8. He visited Lucknow during the reign of Nasir-ud Din Haider.
9. He visited Lucknow during the reign of Muhammad Ali Shah.
11. He visited Lucknow during the reign of Wajid Ali Shah.
Among the Gazetteers, the *East India Gazetteer* is of utmost importance as it contains the 'sketches of the manners, customs, institutions, agriculture, commerce, manufactures' etc. of the 'various inhabitants of India'. It was published in 1828. The other important work is that of Thornton, edited in 1854. The *Gazetteer of the Provinces of Oude* published in the post Nawabi period (1877) is an important source for the development of arts and crafts.

3. Contemporary Persian and Urdu Sources

Unfortunately, the information given about fine arts and literature is scanty in the accounts of court-chroniclers. There are only two Persian sources, written independently which deal with these aspects. One is the *Yadgar-i Bahaduri*. It was written in the year 1257 A.H./1834-5 A.D. This work is like a gazetteer. Besides dealing with the political events of the principal dynasties, the causes of their fall as well as of the rise of the British, the author has written on music, art of dancing, calligraphy, painting and a variety of crafts, such as metallurgical crafts and woodcraft. These are short notices but are quite important. But the author has not given details about architecture; he merely mentions the principal buildings.¹

¹. There are only two copies of this manuscript. One is at the State Archives, Allahabad, and the other is at the Balram Pur College.
The other source is the \textit{Mirat-ul Auza}, which provides a full description of the capital and the various castes of the Hindus and Muslims. The author also gives the names of buildings of the various Nawabs, especially in the premises of Qaisar Bagh. His account is important for the lists he provides of the various excellent articles manufactured at Lucknow. But he has only mentioned the names and has not discussed the origin and development of the crafts in Lucknow.\footnote{The copies of this manuscript are in Maulaza Azad Library, A.M.U., Aligarh (It is an incomplete copy containing 222 folios only). The other copy is at Raza Library, Rampur.}

On music we have a variety of sources. The most important are \textit{Usul-al Naghmat-i Asafi} \footnote{It is an extremely rare manuscript in the \textit{(possession of)} Raza Library, Rampur.} by Mirza Muhammad Raza in Persian, and \textit{Maadan-ul Mosigi} in Urdu.\footnote{This work was published in 1925 by one Wajid Ali Sandilavi.} The first is important for the development of the science of music and the other is a treasure book of all sorts of details about musical styles during the period of our study, their origin, the various instruments, the arts of dancing, the exponents and musical experts as well as the categories of musicians. \textit{This work has also made contributions to musicology.} This work was written by Muhammad Karam Imam, a \textit{navak} (the highest title awarded to a musician) of the Nawabi period. The work was written just after the annexation.\footnote{This work was published in 1925 by one Wajid Ali Sandilavi.}
The works of Wajid Ali Shah, written after the annexation at Calcutta, are of equal importance, especially for the study of the development of the art of dancing. These are *Saut-ul-Mubarak* (Persian), *Naq* (Urdu) and *Banji* (Urdu). Among the near contemporary sources on music, the *Chuncha-i Rag* (in Urdu) of Mardan Ali Khan is also very important. All these sources have largely been unexplored; and some have been used by me for the first time.

The literary pursuits of the people have been portrayed and discussed in the literary sources: the *Tazkirahs* and the *Masnavis*. Many *Tazkirahs* were written during the Nawabi period and the post Nawabi period in Persian as well as Urdu. Most of these *Tazkirahs* are in manuscript. The *Riyaz-ul Farha* and *Tazkira-i Hindi Goyan* (in Persian) of Mushafi, *Makhzan-ul Gharaib* by Ahmad Ali Hashmi (Persian) and *Tabaqat-i Sho'ra-i Hind* (in Urdu), *Tazkira-i Hind* (in Urdu) are particularly worth mentioning.

Among the near contemporary Urdu sources mention may be made of *Muraqqa-i Khusrawi* (in Urdu) by Muhammad Asmat Ali, in 1869, and *Tarikh-i Aftab-i Awadh* (in Urdu) written by Muhammad Taqi Ahmad, in 1874. But their accounts are confined to only the famous litterateurs and the exponents of various arts.

1. Most of these are in the collection of Raza Library, Rampur and Maulana Azad Library, A.M.U., Aligarh.
2. In the collection of Raza Library, Rampur.
3. Both of these manuscripts are in the Tagore Library, Lucknow University, Lucknow.
The arts and crafts of Lucknow were surveyed at length for the first time in the *Industrial Arts of India* by G. Birdwood and by T.N. Mukerjee in *Arts and Manufactures of India*, and *Hand Book of Indian Products*, and by P.C. Mukerjee in *Pictorial Lucknow*. A series of monographs were published at the close of the 19th century covering almost all industries - textiles, silk, cotton fabrics, dyes, leather, stone-carving, pottery and precious metals. They contain interesting information and insights into the developments made in these spheres during the Nawabi period.

Of similar importance were the *Reports of the Arts Exhibitions of Jaipur* (1883) and *Delhi* (1903), edited by Colonel Hindley and Watt.

Much important material is also to be found in the pages of the *Journal of Indian Arts and Industries* (Technical Series) published from 1884 to 1913.¹

A good many monographs recently published on Indian industrial arts, painting and music contain references to Awadh. But architecture has largely been ignored. There is only one article on Awadh architecture by Professor Nand Lal Chatterjee - *The Nawabi Architecture of Lucknow*.

This is a brief review of the principal sources of information on the subject. A detailed bibliography of the works and other material utilised, both original and secondary, is given at the end of the thesis.

¹. The American Academy of Benaras possesses a complete set of these Journals.
The Nawabi period witnessed great progress of Urdu literature in its various forms. The traditions of the Lucknow school were well-established as early as the first decade of 19th century when it no longer formed a mere extension of Delhi school. One factor behind the development of Urdu was the exodus of all renowned poets to Awadh. Secondly, there was the generous patronage of the poetic art, especially by Asaf-ud Daulah, \(^1\) Qasim-ud Din Haider, \(^2\) Nasir-ud Din Haider \(^3\) and Wajid Ali Shah. \(^4\) The last maintained no less than 700 litterateurs. Prince Sulaiman Shikoh, the Mughal prince was also a good patron of poets. \(^5\)

The institutions of **Majlis** and **Mushaira** greatly contributed to the development of literature. The majlis facilitated the development of **mersiya** and **mushairas** were instrumental in popularising the poetic art even among the

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common people. It became a fashion among the people to compose verses. Majilises were usually held during muharram but the Mushairas were held throughout the year. Not only did the poets themselves arrange Mushairas, these were also arranged by the nobles. Mushafi refers to various literary gatherings at the houses of nobles in which he participated. The residences of prostitutes were a sort of literary clubs attended by the nobles and litterateurs alike. The prostitutes of Lucknow were highly accomplished in poetry. Some of them have composed Diwans. The sarais (inns) also served as venues of assemblages of poets belonging to the more common strata. Here people collected in large number. Mushairas were also arranged in fairs.

The language of the Lucknow poets was more polished and high flown than other places. They spoke a very elegant idiom in Urdu. Even the illiterate were conscious of their good accent. Several popular literary forms were developed in Lucknow by the common people such as Phabti.

5. Sarang-i Sukhun, p.60.
8. Ibid., p.467,450.
10. It is to give an appropriate name in jest. (see Sharar, p.92). See Abdul Haleem Shama, Guzisha Lucknow, New Delhi, 1971, p.192.
Zila\(^1\) and Tukbandi.\(^2\) According to Sharar two more styles of verse were invented by the common people of Lucknow. One was Khayal, that is extempore verse composed by persons sitting in a circle and the other was Danda, that is composition of poems on well-known contemporary events and persons with full freedom of expression. These verses were sung with the accompaniment of Danda. People singing them were known as Dande Wale.\(^3\)

The establishment of printing press during the reign of Ghaziuddin Haider also contributed to the popularisation of literature.

The Lucknow school is especially noted for its masnavis and marsiyas and the evolution of drama and ornate prose.

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1. 'Double meaning'. Efforts are made with Zila to bring in every thing connected with the matter discussed. It is the counterpart of Riayat-i Lafzi in poetry. Ibid., p192.

2. 'Rhyme forming'. It is poetical rhyming.


4. Zaidat Ali Nasir, 1262 A.H.

5. Hulaqi Das, Quldesta-i Awadh (Urdu), Delhi, undated, p5.
and expert knowledge of language in Lucknow. Sauda Mir Taqi Mir and Mir Soz (1720-1798) were his leading pupils and similarly left Delhi for Lucknow.

The influence of Delhi on the development of Lucknow poetry was limited. Domination of the Nawabi court greatly affected its character. That is why Insha (1756-1818), Jurat (d. 1810 A.D.), Mushafi (b. 1750 A.D.) and Ranggen (1757-1835) - all these masters of the time allowed much of their poetry to be influenced by the tastes of their court patrons. They were devoted to innovating new forms and perfecting the older forms such as Rekhti and Hazal etc.

While the Delhi school was characterised by a marked prominence of emotion and introspection, the Lucknow school lays the main emphasis upon the externalia of language; though to be fair at both cities there were masters of both schools. Zauq at Delhi and Mir at Lucknow are cases in point.

At Lucknow the demand was overwhelmingly for play on words and rhetorical devices. Lucknow poetry is thus essentially ornate and artificial.

1. Guzishta Lucknow, p. 79: Kahan-e Arzu was invited by Salarjung, the uncle of Shuja-ud Daulah. He came here in 1739 A.D.
2. Ibid., p. 80. Sauda reached Lucknow during the reign of Asaf-ud- Daulah. See Tajkhir-i Gulshan, f. 51a.
3. Ranggen is considered the innovator of Rekhti - a form of poetry in the spoken dialect of the female. (نَزْ) Ab-i Hayat, p. 285.
4. The king and their nobles had a taste for such forms of poetry. cf. Risalah-i Subh-i Sadiq, f. 26a.
5. Ab-i Hayat, p. 417; Risalah-i Subh-i Sadiq, f. 5a; Guzishta Lucknow, p. 167.
At Delhi, love and mysticism formed the theme, at Lucknow beauty and its accompaniment were the popular themes.¹ Poets concentrated, mostly, on the themes of mammal bandi.² Jurat was the first to introduce it and Insha, Nasik, Rind and Amanat and many others promoted it.

In the Delhi poetry reflection (fikr) predominates and the problems of the life are dealt with. At Lucknow the poets devoted themselves to manipulating the stylistic symbols. The thought content is very weak.

Adherence to the formal code of poetry is a pronounced characteristic of the Lucknow school.³ Sanatgari or revolving round the figures of speech for beautifying the exterior appears to be the sole motto of Lucknow poets. Thus the devices of Murat-al Nazir⁴ and Tashbih dar tashbih⁵ were indulged in at the cost of simplicity of expression. As the scope for

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1. Ab-i Hayat, p.103.

2. It is a form of Sanatgari and existed in Delhi poetry in the form of Gamrari, initiated by Shah Hatim (Lucknow ka Dabistan-i Shairi, p.47). It resembles the Riti poetry in Hindi.


4. Adjusment on the basis of phonetic and semantic similarities.

5. Simile within simile. In it a thought was composed to a simile and then completed by means of subsequent similes which were the extension of the former. (I owe this explanation to Mr. Shahab Sarmadee).
showing all these ghazals was limited, the Lucknow poets gave vogue to Do ghazal, se ghazal and chau ghazal.

Towards the middle of the 19th century the poetry based itself on Riyayat-i Lafzi. 1 Riyayat-i Lafzi is associated with Amanat, who has claimed to have innovated this style. 2 A variation of the Riyayat-i Lafzi is zila jugat. There was a craze for it at Lucknow.

A new style of poetry was Binvat 3 - Takhayyul 4 and Khyal Bandi 5 were adopted to a great extent. Khyal Bandi became an established art in Lucknow poetry. Similes and metaphors are extensively borrowed from Persian poetry. Due to all these, sometimes, the poetry appears merely a jugglery of words.

The Lucknow poets were conscious of exclusive diction, which resulted in the chiseling of Urdu language at Lucknow. The effects of Sauda 6 and Nasikh (d. 1838 A.D.) are immense in this respect.

1. Riyayat-i Lafzi means the bringing out of the metaphorical and symbolical associations to a certain subject. It bases on the following figures of speech: Mirat-ul Nazir, Tazad, Iham and Iham-i Tazad. I owe this explanation to Mr. Shahab Sarmadee.

2. Amanat has himself declared:

\[
guzar aabi maibaaye ba evr dos na markhate samajhi aamir a lee e \\
\]

cf. Amanat's pupil, Abid Ali Ibadat's lines:

\[
ka kal lod a samajhi az maibaaye ba e
\]

3. A literary style peculiar to the later phase of Lucknow school. It bases on Riyayat-i Lafzi and Iham-i Tanasub. Rind was the master of this style.

4. i.e. intricacy of thoughts.

5. sketching out a thought in all its details by means of stylistic symbols.

Nasikh was the foremost in the movement of in Urdu. He substituted a highly ornate style for the simple style. He tried to exclude Sanskrit and Apbhransha words so far as possible. He also rejected archaic words. All these were regarded as matruk and led to some genuine polishing of the language. He laid stress on Persianised diction and eliminated the use of ka, ki, ke and substituted izafat. He also determined the 'sex' of inanimate objects or collective nouns for use in poetry after great labour. These principles which were followed by the Lucknow poets, the language of Lucknow came to be known as authentic and standard. Lucknow became a centre of Urdu prosody.

In spite of all these efforts and large number of poets, the Lucknow poetry is certainly inferior to the Delhi poetry in so far it has greater superficiality and has little room for scepticism and emotion. It has no depth and no new concepts. Its thought content is weak and it lacks social awareness, and it is far from reality. This is the reason that in spite of possessing poets of outstanding quality and number such as Sauda, Insha,

2. Ibid., p.260; Lucknow ka Dabistan-i Shairi, p.46.
4. Tabaqat-us Shoir-a-i Hind, f.143; Sarap-si Sukhun, p.69.
Jurat, Mushafi, Nasikh, Atish (1778-1867), Barq (d. 1857), Bahar (1810-87), Munir (1819-61), Rashk (1799-1867) and Mahar (1814-78), the poetry is by and large quantitative.

MARSIYA

Marşiya received great impetus in Awadh, as the rulers observed the Shiite faith.

This form of poetry was first popularised here by Afsurdah, Gada, Sikandar and Nazim Lucknawi. The most renowned of the early elegy-composers was Afsurdah. According to Kamaluddin Pani Pati, "He surpassed all his contemporaries. He wrote marşiya full of pathos".

1. Nasikh was the greatest ghazal writer of Lucknow school. Taqi Ahmad, Tarikh-i Aftab-i Awadh (Urdu), Lucknow University MS., 18, p.8; Tabagat-us Sho'ra-i Hind, f.471. The author remarks:

2. Tarikh-i Aftab-i Awadh, f.8; Tabagat-us Sho'ra-i Hind, pp.117-266.

3. Marşiya is elegy. At Lucknow such elegies came to be composed for Husain and his companions who were martyred at Karbala. Marşiyas of this kind had flourished under Shi'ite Safavid regime of Iran. The Haft Band of Muhatshim Kashi (d.994 A.H.) set the model for marşiya compositions.

4. Sikandar stayed in Awadh only for a short period and went to Najderabad. (Majma-ul Intikhab, p.52).

5. Tabagat-us Sho'ra-i Hind, f.315; Sarapa-i Sukhun, p.274.
Sauda (1703-1781) also excelled in composing marsiyas. He allotted tunes and rhythms to his marsiya and salam himself. Sauda made several innovations in the form of marsiya. He not only emphasized pathos and incorporated other sentiments also. He composed marsiyas in memory of individual heroes and fighters also and described their combats (کرمانی). Tamhid (Praise of God) was also written by him in marsiya for the first time. Manzar Nigari was also added to marsiya. Due to all these additions the length of marsiya grew considerably.

Sauda was the first to write marsiya in musaddas. It is significant that at Lucknow, later on, the musaddas form was adopted in marsiya and Sauda set the model. But he wrote only one marsiya in musaddas and wrote mostly in murabba and murabba dohraband. Finally Sauda lent a literary colour to marsiya.

It appears that the literary value of marsiya was not recognised

1. Tazkirah-i Hindi, p.78.
2. Ibid., p.126; Qudratullah Shauq, Tabaqat-us Sho'ra-i Hindi, Persian, MS. in the collection of late (Prof.) Masud Hasan Rizvi, f.8.
3. This new feature of marsiya was known in Lucknow as chehra.
4. In his Tamhid-i Sabil-i Hidayat dar Kasr, Sauda remarks that "he has evolved an intricate style of writing marsiya" and that "he was capable of depicting a subject in a thousand colours".
in the beginning and there was a controversy about it. But gradually his style was recognised, and we find the marsiya conforming to the same standards set by Sauda.

After Sauda Mir Zamir (1191 A.H.-1272 A.H./1855 A.D.) and Mir Khaliq (1774-1804) greatly enriched the art of marsiya composition. Zamir brought about changes in the technique and form of marsiya and evolved together with Khaliq a new pattern. Zamir and Khaliq standardized the form of marsiya.

This was the time when Shia rituals were taking shape. The separate Shia congregational prayer was established; Mujahids assumed religious powers. Tazias were taken out with great pomp and show. Indian customs were also incorporated as rituals in the celebration of Muharram.

1. According to Maulana Azad, the style of marsiya was not liked by all and most of the people thought that his marsiya lacked pathos and they are merely poetry. Ab-i Hayat, p.161. But there were some people who supported him. Ahad Ali Yakta censures the critics of Sauda saying that "these blind persons do not know that marsiya is to be characterized as poetry". Dastur-ul Fasahat, Persian, p.4.

2. Dastur-ul Fasahat, Persian, p.4.


4. Tarikh-i Farah Bakhsh, f.252a. The Shia Namaz-i Jamat was first conducted by Syed Dildar Ali Ghafur Ma'ab during the reign of Nawab Asaf-ud Daulah. It was managed by Sarfaraz-ud Daulah Hasan Raza Khan (Ibid.), also see Kuballigh Ghafur Ma'ab number, Rajab-Shaban, 1349 A.H., pp.16, 78-79.

5. Syed Dildar Ali Ghafur Ma'ab was the first Shia mujahid (d. 1820 A.D.) at Lucknow, Ibid., p.71. During his time Lucknow grew as a great centre of Shia Theology.

6. It was during the reign of Ghaziuddin Haider in the early 19th century that various innovations were made in Shia rituals. Tarikh-i Badshah Begam, pp.6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 13, 14.
Moreover, the period of mourning was extended during the reign of Sa'adat Ali from 10 to 40 days up to 20th of Safar. Naturally marsiya incorporated all these changes. Not only did it become descriptive, its entire structure changed.

Previously it contained Tamhid, vazayt (the events), rivayat (incidents and anecdotes), jang (the war) and bain (the mourning). Now the ingredients of marsiya were: rather the chehra, rukhsat, amad, sarapa, ra.jaz (verses read at the battle field to arouse martial spirit), majra, rudad, makalimah, ghore aur talwar ki taarif, jung, shahadat (martyrdom) and bain.

This form of marsiya was perfected by Zamir; the masaddas was adopted. He introduced some novel themes: sarapa, ra.jaz and jang. He was the first to add chehra as a permanent feature. Manzar Nigari is another item added to marsiya. Here Zamir has made ample use of similes, metaphors and exaggerated analogies. His diction is highly Persianised, though his style is otherwise simple and lucid.

1. It was done at the instigation of Mir Qhso Ali marsiya. Now Tazias began to be buried on 20th of Safar, Tarikh-i Badshah Begam, p.13.

2. op. cit.

3. Zamir claims in one of his marsiyas to have invented a new style:

4. He observes:

Zamir was particularly interested in sarapa and jang. Although Khaliq also describes sarapa but to the extent of describing only the strength of his hero, and not in the way of Zamir. He provides the full details of the figure of the hero from top to toe. Previously the description of jang was either avoided or treated in brief. But Zamir regarded it as a necessary part of marsiya. In later compositions, talwar-bazi, pata-bazi, neza bazi, binnot, bank, fikiyat and chut all found vogue in the description of jang or war.
Social customs and etiquette, religious beliefs, superstitions, all found way into his marsiya. He composed more than 200 marsiyas.

Khaliq specialised in describing assemblages, leave-taking, martyrdom and grief. These themes are treated most skillfully by him for instance he introduces the element of dialogue in rukhsat (leave-taking), and portrays the socio-religious customs especially in the marsiyas which deal with the martyrdom of Qasim. Most of his marsiya deals with this subject. Khaliq is noted for the simplicity and sweetness of his language as well as lyricism.

Two other renowned marsiya writers, Dilgir (d.1264 A.H./1846 A.D.) and Fasih (1197 A.H.), however, do not adhere to the style of Mir Zamir and Khaliq.

Dilgir was a prolific marsiya writer and he has left nearly 500 marsiyas. He does not open it with chehra and he does not concern himself with the portrayal of nature. He stresses the sermonising element in his marsiyas. He has given importance to narration; and quotations from hadis and other sources are used by him very extensively. Rites and rituals
are also described by him elaborately especially in the *marsiya* of Qasim, a favourite topic of Dilgir. His choice of poetical metres indicates his knowledge of well developed musical airs.¹

Like Dilgir, Fasih also seems to have been keen to give prominence to narration. But he has versified the traditional narrative (*rivyat*) without any embellishment in a prosaic manner. The use of lengthy metres is a peculiar characteristic of Fasih's *marsiya*. Again, *chehra* and such themes do not form part of his *marsiyas*. But he seems interested in the depiction of battles (*rajaz*).

Another striking feature of Fasih's *marsiya* is its language with its archaisms. He uses words and phrases no longer in common usage.² He composed near about 100 *marsiyas*.

It was left to Mir Anis (1802-1874) and Mirza Dabir (1803-1875) to popularise and perfect the trends set by Zamir and Khaliq and their contemporaries. Anis and Dabir gave this branch of poetry a high poetic standard;³ they did not introduce new forms, but they widened the scope of


2. Fasih uses

   - for 
   - for 
   - for 
   - for 
   - for 

   He also uses Awadhi words such as *samuukh*, *paithna*.

every ingredient of the marsiya. The marsiya was considered by some as the finest in the poetic art. Anis was a pupil of his father. Anis is noted for the fluent, impressive and idiomatic language, simplicity of style and expression, and flight of imagination. His poetry is full of emotions. Being a keen observer of nature, he depicts nature in all its colours, uses graphic similes. His marsiya, which he composed in thousands, are important from the point that he sometimes portrayed the contemporary Awadh society by means of it.

Mirza Dabir displayed the grandeur of language, lofty ideas and great erudition. The Lucknow style of poetry is more pronounced in him. Although Anis is also conscious of his exclusive diction and ways of expression, he used the spoken dialect of the gentry. But Dabir went a step further and he has chosen his diction in accordance with the scholarly tradition of the time. In this way he echoed Nasikh and have used high flown Arabic and Persian words extensively, especially in sarapa.

The depiction of these heroes of both these poets reflects the values of the aristocratic Awadh society of the period. The poets describe

1. Guzishta Lucknow, p.84.
2. Ab-i Hayat, pp.539-40; Guzishta Lucknow, p.84.
3. Guzishta Lucknow, p.84; Ab-i Hayat, pp.540-1.
4. Guzishta Lucknow, p.84; Ab-i Hayat, pp.540-1.
the children, the sentiments of the women, their fears, chivalry of the
heroes are all seen through the glasses of a definitely dated kind.

Anis and Dabir became popular rivals; and the city was divided
into two factions. According to Sharar every literary man was the champion
of either Anis or Dabir and the controversy between these two groups was
never ending.¹

MASAVI

masnavi attained popularity in Lucknow along with Haidar.
Sir (1724 - 1810) and Suda (1713 - 80) were perhaps the earliest poets
to introduce it.

There are a large number of romantic or ishq masnwis to
the credit of Sir Taqi 'Ali.² Masnavi-i Jahan-e 'Ali, Josh-i Ishq,
Ab-i Loh, Ali- i 'Ali, Jalal-i Loh etc. which paved the way for
the ishq to exist at Lucknow.³ Besides it, he employed this form
for

1. Qasimta Lucknow, p.84.
2. Sir migrated to Lucknow in 1782. He composed more than 30 masnwis in all.
Ab-i Lohat, p.107. Sury Chand Jain, Masnavi Shumali Hind, ;
3. His style was followed by various poets, such as Mir-i Naizli in
Masnavi-i Haidar-i, Mirza Ali Imr in Lakhnath, Shi, Sufi Khair in
Barapa-i Jof, Qasimti Jumali kh, p.127, 260, 277. His influence
4. On 'usfi was no less compared to others.
5. Of his masnavis: Mohini Gilli, For and, Akbar hama.
and festivities. He was fascinated by Holi. He also describes marriage ceremonies. Equally important are his satirical masnavis. Masnavi Dar Bayan-i Murgh Bazan is a social satire.

Although Sauda wrote his masnavis in Delhi for the most part of his life, the Lucknow poets too felt his impact, especially in satirical masnavis. Sauda satirized persons and drew their caricatures with perfection.

Mir Hasan (1736-86) was another important figure among masnavi writers of Lucknow. He composed eleven masnavis of which the Sahar-ul Bayan is the most renowned. In technique and expression it set the model throughout the first half of the 19th century. This masnavi mirrors the

3. There are a number of Hajviya masnavis of him. Hajy-i Khana-i Khud, Majammat-i Duniya, Majammat-i Barsigal urf Khush Batan, etc.
4. Only a few masnavis were written at Lucknow, such as Tarikh-i Shikar-i Asaf-ud Daula, and Maharban Khan ki Mahar.
6. See his Hajy-i Hakim Gaus, Hajy-i Sidi Khan Kotwal etc. See Masnavi Shumali Hind Me, p.185.
7. Tazkirah-i Mir Hasan, p.8; Sarap-i Sukhan, p.70; Guzishta Lucknow, p.18; Ab-i Hayat, p.372; Tazkirah-i Coulistan-i Hind, p.92.
life of the time; the customs, and rites, costumes, ceremonies and celebration are very faithfully delineated in it. In his other masnavis also Mir Hasan portrays the life around him.¹

It may be inferred from the above that the masnavi, unlike the ghazal and qasida, did not follow Persian tradition. The themes are chosen from common life. Mir and Sauda were followed by Insha, Mushafi, Jurat and Rangin, who dealt with problems of common life, popular pastimes, seasons, epidemics, or even such things as treatment of horses. Letters were also written in the form of masnavis.²

Insha (d.1617) wrote a small number of masnavis. Besides Urdu he composed in Persian and Arabic.³ Among his satirical masnavis the Murgha Nama is celebrated. He also composed a masnavi on the correct usage.⁴

Mushafi's ideal is Mir and most of his masnavis are 'in reply'.

1. His masnavis are: Ramuz-ul Arifin; Gulzar-i Iran; Jafsab ki Naqî; Kalawant ki Naqî; Do Ahmaq Doston ki Naqî; Dar Tahniyat-i I'tid; Qasr-i Jawahar; Khwar-i Niamat; Hajr-i Haveli Mir Hasan; Masnavi-i Shadi.


The most prolific masnavi writer was Rangin. He composed more than forty-two masnavis and in eleven bahars (metres). Masnavi-i Dilpazir is the most renowned of all his masnavis, which depicts the condition of society and also gives detailed description of dance and music.

It appears that with the passing away of the poets who had migrated from Delhi to Lucknow, the stress on writing of Masnavis shifted for a time to the composition of ghazals. The age of Nasikh and Atiah favoured ghazal. Still Masnavi continued to be written on religious topics. Even Nasikh wrote masnavis, viz., the Siraj-i Naam and the Urdu translation of Persian masnavi Hadis Mu'assil and Nasr-i Nasikh. Zamir wrote Rehbar-i Meraaj and Meraaj Namah. Rashk wrote on Hadis and Tabarrah.

The name of Muhsin Kakorvi is prominent among those who wrote masnavi on religious subjects. His masnavis are Fughar-i Muhsin, Subh-i Tajalli, Nigaristan-i Ulfat. These masnavis contain metaphors and similes.

1. Masnavi Shumali Hind Me, p.331; Lucknow ka Dabistan-i Shairi, p.250.
2. Taskira-i Mir Hasan, p.77.
5. Masnavi Shumali Hind Me, p.428.

common in Hindu devotional poetry.  

Another renowned masnavi of this period is Hijab-i Zanana of Munir Shikohabadi. It sheds light on court life during the reign of Nasir-ud Din Haider and reflects the licentiousness prevalent at the court.

The vogue for masnavi writing reappears with the Gulzar Nasim of Pandit Dayashankar Nasim (1811-1843). This masnavi is the distinct product of the Lucknow school, and reflects its poetic trends very well. It also draws on the principles of poetic diction initiated by Nasikh and Atish. It is considered by some critics to be a (compact ghazal'). It is marked by lyricism, its fluent diction, its Persian compounds and lastly for its blending of supernatural and human characters. It has hardly any human character except the heroine and her playmates. Like Sahar-ul Bayan it became a model and inspired the later masnavi writers, Qalq, Shauq and Wajid Ali Shah.

Qalq's Tilism-i Ulfat is a romantic masnavi. It is in continuity with the Sahar-ul Bayan on the one hand and Gulzar Nasim on the other. In matter of language and diction, use of similes and metaphors, it adopts Nasim's style, while its narration of events follows the pattern set by the Sahar-ul Bayan. Tilism-i Ulfat is a treasure of details as regards the

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2. Ibid., p.438.
3. Ab-i Havat, p.313; Sharar, p.18; Masnavi Shumali Hind Me, p.433.
magnificence of Awadh Court. Qalq was a courtier of Wajid Ali Shah and he
has faithfully recorded the court activities: its festivities, procession,
hunting paraphernalia, by means of this Masnavi. Besides the minute obser-
vation of courtly behaviour the customs of the elite are also depicted.

This masnavi is noted for its simplicity of diction, although
it is inclined to figures of speech. It is throughout written in idiomatic
language.

The most remarkable speciality of it is its story-within-story
style in the manner of the Panchatantra. In Lucknow of the day story-telling
being a very popular pastime. It had its influence in this masnavi.

Nawab Mirza Shauq had been a contemporary of Qalq and a courtier
like him. His masavis are: Zahar-i Ishq, Fareb-i Ishq, Bahar-i Ishq and
Lazzat-i Ishq.

It is said that his Masnavis are largely autobiographical, and he was inspired by Momin. Of his masnavis, Zahar-i Ishq is the most

1. Masnavi Shumali Hind Me, p.478.
2. For illustrations Cf. Masnavi Shumali Hind Me, p.479.
4. Ibid., p.553; Masnavi Shumali Hind Me, p.138.
5. Ibid., p.498.
renowned. Its epilogue captioned as Zahar-i Chahm is unique. This is a new feature awarded to the form of masnavi. In Fareb-i Ishq he gives a pen picture of Nauchandi and employs the best idioms of the Begamat. His Bahar-i Ishq is not for its language the language use in it is considered the best in Urdu.  

The characters of the masnavi of Shauq are drawn from real life and are average human beings. He portrays Khomcha wala conversing similes and metaphors, and the Kahar kahari indulge in zila-jugat.

Shauq is the best of all the masnavi writers in portraying the Awadh society of the day. He influenced his contemporaries in writing autobiographical masnavis, especially Wajid Ali Shah whose masnavis are in his style such as the Masnavi-i Garna, Huzn-i Akhtar and Ishq Namah. Matin Lucknavi's Riyaz-ul Ishq is in a similar style.

Besides the autobiographical writings (masnavis), Wajid Ali Shah also composed story-telling Masnavis which are inspired by the Sahar-ul Bayan and Gulzar Nasim. He portrays in it the court activities in regards of dance, drama and music.

1. Ibid.
2. Sharar, p.132.
4. Ibid.
There were several other masnavis also written in this period on Karbala and the traditional history of the Prophet's family, such as Haibat-i Haidari by Wajid Ali Shah, Mazhar-ul Ajaib by Zamir, Miraj Namah, Ahsan-ul Qasas by Dilgir, Riyaz-ul Mursilin by Asir.

Numerous masnavis dealt with the life at the court of Wajid Ali Shah, such as Jalwa-i Akhtar of Bekhud which deals with Rahas. Asir's Durrar-ul Taj also became very famous.

Among the ishqiya masnavi, Masnavi-i Alam of Alam, Wajid Ali Shah's wife, was quite famous. It was written in the style of Mir Hasan.

**REKHTI**

Rekhti is verse couched in the spoken dialect of woman folk, i.e. it is the colloquial form of Rekhta. Its characteristics are the complete avoidance of Izafat and Harf-i Atf (compound words).

The theme of Rekhti was almost confined to the Harem. Ghazal and Masnavi were composed in the Rekhti style. The ghazals are mostly semi-continuous (in themes).

Sharar believes that Mir Hasan has employed the idioms of Harem for the first time in his Masnavi Sahar-ul Bayan. But it was

really developed as a form of poetry by Insha and Rangin (1757-1835).

Rangin was the innovator of the style, and gave it literary depth.

Rangin composed many works in Rekhti: two collections of Ghazals, *Diwan-i Rekh\^ti* and *Diwan-i Angekhta*, and a Masnavi, *Masnavi-i D\^ipazir*. This masnavi was famous during the author's period. According to Jurat, it was better than the *Badr-i Munir* (Sahar-ul Fayan). It provides a good specimen of the idiomatic language of the prostitutes of Lucknow. One of the characteristics of Rangin's style is that he never crosses the limits of modesty. It is for this quality, he is distinguished among all his contemporaries.

Insha has composed numerous Rekhti poems. His Rekhti verses are noted for the lucidity of expression, clear phrases as well as idiomatic language.

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1. Cf. Rangin's remark in his *Diwan-i Angekhta*:
   


3. Ibid.


5. Ibid.


After Insha and Rangin it was Mirza Shauq who contributed to rekhti literature. The idioms of the Harem are particularly used in his masnavis. In later period, the contribution of Jansahib (b.1818) is noticeable as his rekhti verses are a good record of the customs and traditions followed by the women folk of Awadh. These are not met with so elaborately elsewhere. His Rekhti Diwan was quite famous during his period. Lucidity and accuracy of expression are the distinctive qualities of his works. He composed Ghazal, wasokht and other poems in this style.

Other rekhti poets are Chirkeen, Hazin, Mir Ahmad Ali Nisbat. Mir Ahsan Ali Makhluq, Nawab Amir-ud Daula Moimul Mulk Mirza Mehdi Bahadur Lucknawi, Begam and Nau Bahar Zalil etc. Now rekhti poetry is generally obscene and meant to arouse lustful sentiments.

2. Ibid., p.148.
5. Sarapari Sukhn, p.45.
6. Ibid., 268.
HAJV

Hajv is satire. In Lucknow it developed in poetry for satirizing or condemning an individual or an institution. Sauda is supposed to be the first Urdu satirist and the master of the art. Although Mir Taqi Mir, Mushafi, Insha and Jurat—all have composed hajv, but nobody could excel Sauda. His hajv are full of ridicule for those whom he hated. According to Azad, "they are drops of poison". He attacked every institution, the king for his cowardice, the courtiers for their corruption, the administration for the inefficiency. At the same time, these are of great literary value. Some of his hajv written about Hakim Ghaus and Sidi Kotwal and Bakhil, although all personal and bitter are excellent compositions, and the nicknames that he bestows on his characters have become proverbial, such as Halaku which he uses for Hakim Ghaus.

The hajviya masnavis of Mir Taqi Mir, Mushafi, Insha and Jurat are different from Sauda in respect of humour. The satire of Insha is not free from malice.

The hajviya masnavi belonged only to the above mentioned poets,

1. Satire in prose started with Ghalib.
2. Tabagat-us Sho'ra-i Hind, f.103
3. Ibid. Karimuddin Panipati remarks about him:
5. For details see section on Masnavi.
although there were poets who concentrated only on ha'fizgī such as Govind Ram Zirak Lucknowi, but their compositions are not of a high standard.

During the 19th century, a variation of ha'fiz developed, called ha'zīyagī. Its origin was from tabarra (condemnation of the enemies of the Prophet's family). Miyan Mushir, pupil of Mirza Dabir acquired the highest renown in ha'zīyagī. He introduced 'elegance in this despicable subject matter'. His style and technique were so formed as to evoke humour. He introduced humour even in his similes.

HAZAL

Hazal is humorous verse. It enjoyed much popularity at Lucknow. The first name of note in this sphere is that of Mir Zahik. During the 19th century, Miyan Chirkin rose to fame. In spite of apt metaphors, Chirkin's compositions are vulgar and in bad taste. Other noted names in this sphere are those of Imam Ali Bilgrami and Maqsud Beg Maqsud.

2. Guzishta Lucknow, p.78.
3. Ibid.
**Vasokht** is a form of Urdu poetry which originated at Lucknow. Its theme is erotic. In it the lover first proclaims his love, describes his beloved, then being offended by her infidelities, he pretends to love an imaginary beloved. He teases and torments the heroine until there is a reconciliation. It was written in Musaddas.

Although there were vasokhts composed by Mir Taqi Mir, Sauda, Mir Hasan, Nasikh, Mahar (1830-79), Bahar (1810-82), Mirza Shauq and Wajid Ali Shah, this form is associated particularly with Amanat. The form gave him ample scope to emphasize mamla bandi, and to make an extensive use of riayat-i lafzi. Amanat has introduced in it the element of dialogue. The language is throughout idiomatic. Amanat has composed three lengthy vasokhts comprising 110, 117, 307 stanzas (bands).

1. Guzishta Lucknow, p. 78.
2. Ab-i Hayat, p. 256. Mir composed two vasokhts, which are good compositions.
3. Ibid., pp. 186, 91.
5. Ibid., p. 575. His vasokhts are not up to the mark.
6. His one vasokht, namely vasokht-i Abad is in the collection of late Prof. Masud Hasan Rizvi.
Urdu prose in Lucknow developed on the lines of Persian qissa and independent of the style followed at Calcutta. While the literary works produced at Calcutta were in the spoken dialect of the time and where an effort was made to avoid the Persian words and phrases, Lucknow adhered to ornate prose style.

The first work of note produced at Lucknow, is Guldasta-i Dastan, most commonly known as Nau Tarz-i Murassa and also as Chahar Darvesh-i Murassa. It was composed by Mir Muhammad Ata Hasan Tahsin Lucknawi in 1797 A.D. According to Mirza Ali Lutf, it was this work which paved the way of Qissa Chahar Darvesh. It is in nasr arj style.

1. The credit of developing Urdu prose goes to Dr. John Gilchrist, the Principal of Fort William College at Calcutta (see O'Malley, Modern India and the West, England, 1941, p.524; Guarishta Lucknow, p.78. There were several works written under his supervision such as Bagh-o Bahar of Mir Amman Dihlavi, Araish-i Mahfil of Mir Sher Ali Afsos (see Tabagat-us Sho'ra-i Hind, f.234; According to its author, he also composed a work in prose on the pattern of Masnavi Sahar-ul Bayan, Ibid.) and Tazkira-i Gulshan-i Hind of Mirza Lutf (Cf. Tazkirah-i Gulshan-i Hind, p.9).

2. Ibid.

3. Tabagat-us Sho'ra-i Hind, f.276; Tazkira-i Gulshan-i Hind, p.5; Ab-i Hayat, p.36.

During the 19th century Mir, Insha presented a new standard in prose in his *Rani Ketki ki kahani* and tried to produce prose without Persian and Arabic words, or more ambitiously, without 'foreign words and rustic expression', or the idiom of any dialect except Hindavi. But this style was not acceptable to his associates, who objected to it on the ground that it was almost impossible to 'exclude the dialectical touch' and 'to maintain the Hindavi form' without any external influence. Although Insha composed his work successfully, his style did not become popular in Urdu. Insha himself composed his other work *Dariya-i Latafat*, based on an admixture of Urdu and Persian language.

The most renowned prose stylist was Mirza Rajab Ali Beg Saroor. He composed several works of which *Fasana-i Ajaib* received the highest repute. He is regarded as the initiator of the literary prose style in Urdu.

The style followed in *Fasana-i Ajaib* is nasr-i musajja -

2. Significantly *Rani Ketki ki Kahani* is considered the first standard Khari Boli composition, and the first Hindi story.
excessively ornate style - invented by Saroor himself. There are occasional glimpses of the current idiom (nəsr-i murawwida).  

Another name is that of Amanat who claims to have invented a new prose style, Naṣr-i Abdar (majestic prose) which he introduces in Sharah  

The ornate style produced by Saroor is followed by the Queens of Awadh in their letters.  

There were several works written on religious themes. The foremost name in this sphere is that of Ghulam Imam Shahid who composed Milad-i Sharif and Inshā-i Bahr-i Be Kizan. The Shia mujtahids also contributed to the Urdu prose. They wrote works like Mirāt-ul Ugool, Shahab-i Sargā and Zulfqar etc. Significantly the initiation of Urdu journalism at Lucknow was done immediately after the annexation of the kingdom. The first newspaper of Lucknow was 'Tilism' which also followed an ornate style.

3. Some of the letters are in Allahabad Archives, Allahabad.  
4. See photographed copies of Tilism in the Seminar Library, Department of History, A.M.U., Aligarh.
DRAMA

Urdu drama was developed and plays were staged during the reign of Wajid Ali Shah. Although there were several forms of theatrical or operatic performances such as bhandeti, bahurup, bhagat baji, besides Ramlila and swang, the traditional theatrical performances of India, But these did not have any direct influence upon Urdu drama. It was inspired by rahas.

1. Cf. Chapter on Music, section on bhandeti. The performance of the bhandeti may be styled as a comical play. The bhands highlighted an event or enacted the character of a person in a humorous way. The popularity of bhandeti may be judged from the fact that they performed in market places and fairs. see Fasana-i Ibrat, pp. 11-12; Wajid Ali Shah, Bani, pp.126-7.

2. The art of bahurup was that of make up expertise. The bahurupiya used to imitate the voice and mannerism in a convincing manner.

3. The art of bhagat bazi was similar to bhandeti except in respect of make up. While bhands did not have make up, the bhagat bazi used to disguise himself in various forms and performed mimicry. This art was practised by the bhagatiya or the bhagat bazi, a caste of loose people who pass their time in buffoonery, singing and dancing, Sherring, Vol. I, p.76.


5. Generally rahas is considered a synonym of Ras, although both are altogether different. Ras is a pure dance performed in serial sequence. Rahas on the other hand is associated mainly with the depiction of the events of the life of Krishna. This has the semblance of opera. For Rahas, cf. Mir Insha's Silk-i Gohar, ed. Intiyaz Ali Arshi, pp.25-26. It appears from Insha's account that swang and Rahas were the most popular forms of theatrical representations performed at marriages and festivals. cf. Kahani Rani Ketki ki aur Raja Udaibhan ki, pp.51, 53.
The first reference of theatrical representation occurs in a letter of Lord Moira, who visited the court of Awadh during the reign of Ghaziuddin Haider. But nothing is clear from his statement. Rajab Ali Beg Saroor refers to Rāgini ke Jalsa during the reign of Nasiruddin Haider. The roles of Rāgini were performed by the jalse waliyan, and each Rāgini continued as theme for a period of 30 days. We may infer from Saroor's description that the term for theatrical representation was known as jalsa.

The greatest development in the sphere of drama was made by Wajid Ali Shah. Although we get no reference of the impact of Western Theatre on the development of drama in Awadh, still there is a possibility that Wajid Ali Shah was inspired by English theatres. There were English theatres in Calcutta, as early as 1756, and Bengal Theatre was established on their model. It is also possible that there used to be theatrical representation at Residency when English theatre had such a long tradition in India. And these representations inspired the king. The drama form was not adopted but the desire to enact drama was probably derived from the English. He established a parikhana for imparting training to the dancing and singing

1. Published in Calcutta Gazette, June 1815, p.175.
2. Fasana-i Ibrat, p.106. Rāg马拉 shows are also referred to by Mir Insha in Kahani Rani Ketki ki...., p.59.
5. See O'Malley, p.490.
All girls who were designated pari,s. These pari,s enacted the first Urdu play Radha Kanhayya ka Qissa.

The performance of Radha Kanhayya ka Qissa was the first stage in the development of Urdu drama. It is referred to by him as Rahas and Rahas ka jalsa. It has a theme, dialogues and the King's directions about stage setting, costumes and decor etc. But dance here is the most emphasised item. The story and the dialogues consist of a series of dances by Radha and Kanhayya who appear here as ordinary dancers. The language is sometimes Braj and sometimes Urdu. The male and female roles were performed by the Paris. It was performed around 1260 A.H. After a gap of 5 - 6 years (1260-66 A.H.) three other jalsas of Rahas were performed which were based on his own masnavis, Darya-i Ta'ashuq, Ghazala Mahru and Afsana-i Ishq. These have been called jalsa-i Rahas or jalsa. Various contemporary writers

1. Wajid Ali Shah, Mahal Khana-i Shahi (Persian MS), in the private collection of Professor Masud Hasan Rizvi, ff.54, 123.

2. Wajid Ali Shah himself praised the jalsa: "The fact is that I have not witnessed any jalsa of this kind. It is performed not in the day but at night. Its production cost came to several lacs", Ishq Namah-i Nasri (Persian), p.150.

3. Bani, pp.103-5, 106-7. He has specified that there should be no noise at the time of conversation and orchestra should be suspended, Ibid., p.93.

4. Ibid., p.93.

5. Ishq Namah-i Nasri, pp.140-50. Probably all his plays were enacted by the female artists. Knighton also refers to that the role of Indra in the play of masnavi ghazala was enacted by a female artist. cf. Private Life of an Eastern King, p.307.
have recorded elaborate details of these jalsas. Dancing and orchestra came as a prelude to these jalsas. A noteworthy feature of these shows was that the details of every action or ceremony were performed at the same pace and in the same fashion as in real life. A marriage would entail the entire preparation and arrival of barat and the nikah ceremony; sweets and sharbat were distributed among the spectators also. As a result the performance of the jalsas took a long time. The script of the Rahas was prepared by Hakim Asghar Ali Khan. Darya-i Taashug was performed in the year 1267 A.H. and other two a little after it.

The impact of these jalsas was immense. Many people tried to imitate it in their own way. The first and the foremost was Indar sabha of Amanat, on the lines of jalsa. It was eclectic in its approach. It combined

1. cf. Tarikh-i Iqtidariya, pp.265-281. The author Iqtidar-ud Daula was an eye witness to the Rahas of masnavis Darya-i Taashug; Fasaani Ibrat,p.86; Muraqqa-i Khurshawi, ff.203b-204a.
2. Tarikh-i Iqtidariya, pp.89-90.
3. Ibid., 261. According to Iqtidar-ud Daula the performance of the jalsa of Darya-i Taashug took one month and 18 days. Numerous dancers and hundreds of instrumentalists were employed for it.
4. Ibid.
6. Amanat himself remarks that his intimate friend Mirza Abid Ali Ibadat suggested to him the idea of composing a qissa on the lines of jalsa. It was a bold idea in itself, and Amanat adopted a pen name, Ustad, and composed Indar sabha in 1266 A.H. His son, Syed Hasan, gives further details: His closest circle of friends suggested to him to compose a qissa of Raja Indar in such a way that it would include various literary and song forms, such as ghazal, masnavi, nasr, dadra, chhand etc., so that language as also imaginativeness and creativity may be put to test. Amanat took up the challenge, and the Indar sabha was thus composed.
all the characteristics of Rahas and jalsa on the one side and the elements of folk drama (swarg, nautanki) on the other. Here like the Radha Kanhayya ka Qissa, the emphasis is on the dance items. Kathak dominates the entire performance of Indar sabha. Gat, tora, tukra, batana, bhav batana, arath batana, arath bhav se kam lona, all these items of kathak are used. The orchestra usually consisted of sarangi, chinkara, tabla and majira.

On the basis of the procedure and details given by Amanat in the Sharah-i Indar sabha we come to know that the Indar sabha was performed on an improvised stage. A richly decorated red screen was hung and the orchestra was played behind it by the players.

The play commenced with Amad. The instruments announced the advent of the leading male and female characters. The curtain was raised and dropped whenever change of scene was needed and a new character arrived on the stage. This was a new feature; the plays of Wajid Ali Shah did not have a screen. Besides the screen, Indar sabha had all other ingredients of drama, dialogues, soliloquy and asides, histrionics and movements. Costume and decor are also indicated in it. At the end the entire party of the performers and players joined in a chorus in the style of the Sanskrit plays.

2. See Sharah-i Indar sabha, p. 35.
Thus the Indar sabha had all the characteristics of drama.

It was a great success and set the model for other such compositions. It paved the way for Urdu drama and a number of sabhas were composed and staged.1

**Persian Literature**

Persian poetry did not flourish in its own right to any great extent.2 The reason was that due to the growing popularity of Urdu most of the poets were inclined towards Urdu poetry. Sauda3, Insha4 and Saqa ullah Khan Baqa5 all wrote mainly in Urdu. All these poets are

1. Such as Indar sabha of Madari Lal, Farrukh sabha, Rahat sabha, Ashiq sabha, etc. Sabha came to be used as a term for jalsa.

2. It is only in the earlier period that we find Persian scholars patronised by the nawabs, especially by Safdarjung. He patronised various Persian scholars, such as Syed Azim ud Din Azim Bilgrami, Shaikh Burhan Ali Khan Lucknowi Rahin (Mushain Quli Khan Azimabadi, Nashtari-i Isbq, Persian, composed 1233 A.H., Raza Library HS., f.209b), Mirza Shustari (Mir Muhammad Ali Katib, Tazkirah-i Katib, Persian, composed 1225 A.H., Raza Library HS., f.222 ) and Mirza Muhammad Shafi i Simil (Ahmad Ali Hashmi, Mashar-ul sharaib, Persian, composed 1233 A.H., Raza Library HS., f.209b) etc.

3. See Nashtar-i Isbq, f.332a. Miraj-ud-din Ali Khan Arzoo has very much praised his Persian poetry in the following words:

   (Ibid.)

4. According to Mushafi, Insha was more inclined towards Urdu, see his Tazkirah-i Hindi, Persian, Raza Library HS., f.1E. He has several works in Persian also; Tazkirah-i Gulshan-i Hind, p.38; Tazkirah-i Katib, f.10.

5. For his Persian poetry see Tazkirah-i Gulshan-i Sukhun, f.149; Tazkirah-i Mir Hasan, p.65; Ab-i Hayat, p.109; According to Mushafi he later on became a 'Rekhta poet' (Tazkirah-i Hindi, f.3C).
praised for their mastery of Persian by contemporary tazkirah writers, but they did not write much in Persian. Mir Taqi Mir wrote two works in Persian and a Diwan of Persian ghazals; but his Persian poetry is not considered of a high standard. Although Mushafi has himself praised his Persian poetry, he is known for his Urdu poetry.

Still the number of poets composing in Persian poetry at Lucknow was by no means negligible. One meets such names as Mulla Fakhir, Tek Chandra Kayasth Bahar, Sarb Singh Diwana, Raja Jaswant Singh Parwana, Raja Ratan Singh Zakhmi, Sirajuddin Ali Khan Arzoo, Haulvi Muhammad Ahsan

2. Tazkirah-i Hind, f.162.
3. Contemporary of Sauda, Ab-i Hayat, pp.185, 205.
5. Tazkirah-i Gulshan-i Sukhun, f.51a; Hakhzan-ul Gharaib, f.327; Tazkirah-i Mir Hasan, p.13. Mir Hasan has praised him a lot (Ibid.). He had a large number of pupils (Tazkirah-i Gulshan-i Hind, p.102).
7. Sultan-ul Hikayat, f.141. He is praised by Lalji for his eloquent language (Ibid.); Tarikh-i Aavdh, V, p.120; Amaja Ishrat, Hindu Shoba, Lucknow, 1937, p.68.
8. He composed three thousand couplets on erotic poetry, see Hakhzan-ul Gharaib, f.95; Tazkirah-i Gulshan-i Sukhun, f.5b.
Persian, however, maintained its dominance over prose, especially over academic prose.

The greatest Persian scholar was Mirza Qatil (d. 1824 A.D.). Sharar believes that the study of Persiar at Lucknow began with Qatil. He was an authority on Persian usage. Among his works Nahar-ul Fasahat was held in great repute. It is a treatise on correct and elegant diction in Persian and it is composed with the object of correcting ungrammatical

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4. Tabaqat-us 3ho'ra-i Ind, f. 482; Tarikh-i Subh-i Gulshan, p. 34.
5. Ibid.
7. Sharar, p. 205.
unidiomatic phrases and to assemble the principles of Persian language. Among his pupils one is Amrit Lal Nagar praised by Muhtashim Khan, and other is Mirza Imamuddin Imami.

Another work of note was Ghayas-ul Lughat by Muhammad Ghayasuddin (1242 A.H.). Its object was to explain all the necessary words of Arabic, Persian and Turkish origin, and the metaphorical phrases and scientific terms occurring in standard Persian literary works. It was a work of great eminence and is regarded by Blochmann as the student's dictionary. It is extremely useful for the reading of classical literature.

There were several other works such as Farhang-i Husaini (1821-22) a general dictionary. It explains scientific terms also. It was composed by Syed Ghulam Husain Shaikh during the reign of Ghaziuddin Haider. A dictionary was composed by Ghaziuddin Haider himself named as Haft Qalzam.

2. Tarikh-i Muhtashim Khani, f.33b.
5. I owe this information to Mr A.A. Alvi, Department of History, Aligarh Muslim University.
Among the insha writers, name of Raja Lakshmi Narayan is of great renown. He was patronised by Jawahar Ali Khan, the eunuch of Bahu Begum. His letters are edited by Munshi Faiz Bakhsh, written during 1183-95 A.H. Some of these are 'rhetorical exercises' meant for teaching his pupil Shaikh Baqar Ali. Other noted insha writer was Amir Hilal Sarshar.

There were various works composed on History: Tarikh-i Farah Bakhsh, Imad-us Saadat, Tarikh-i Shahiya Nishapuriya, Qissa-i Dilpazir (Tarikh-i Badshah Begum), Sultan-ul Hikayat, Daftar-i Saqib, etc. The style of Mir Chulam Ali and Raja Tatan Singh Zakhmi is praised by Lalji.

Among the works written on medicine were the Tafrib-ul Atibba and Mufarraiha-ul Mushtaqin by Hakim Mushtaq Ali (b.1267 A.H.), Mubahis-ul Atibba, a work on theoretical medicinal aspect of the Unani medicine and Hall u'l Mushkilat, a commentary on the above-mentioned work by Fakhruddin Gopamawi, Khawasul-Jawahir, a treatise on the medicinal properties of

2. Ibid.
3. Tazkirah-i Subh-i Gulshan, p.35.
5. Tazkirah-i Gulshan-i Hind, p.32.
precious stones by Mahdi Ali Khan, Talkhis-i Masiha, a work dealing with recipes of compound medicaments by Masih-ud Daulah Hakim Mirza Ali Hasan Khan Sahadur, Tibbi-Adamadi, a collection of prescriptions by the author, by Hakim Ahmad Ali Khan, Tibyanu'l Irfan by Shifa-ud Daulah Hakim Mir Afzal Ali, Risalah dar Tahqiq-i Marz-i Haiza by Maulvi Khalil-uddin Mufti, Tilism-i Itqaz, a collection of recipes for the treatment of men and animals, preparation of sandal water, verdigris, cinnabar and sandal water and also on the processing of camphor and saffron by anonymous writer. It is dedicated to Asaf-ud Daulah, Fawakih-i Shahi, a treatise on the nutritive and salubrious properties of the fruits found in India, compiled at the instigation of Nasiruddin Haider, by Hakim Mir Shah Mirza Khan al-Masawi as-Safawi (probably identical with Hakim Mirza Ali Khan Hakim-ul-Mulk (d.1833)), Fawa'id-i Muntazimiyah by Mir Ihsan Ali Faizabadi (d.1830 A.D.). This is a treatise on fevers and their treatments, Ajwaban-us-Su'alat by Hakim Muhammad Ali commonly known as Hakim Nabba. It is a work on some theoretical problems of the Unani system of medicine, Risalah dar Funun-i Khamsa-i tibb by Mirza Abu Talib. Most of these works were written during 19th century.

There were a number of works written on arithmetic such as

Qanun-i Hisab, a work of accountancy which gives calculations of prices of different items in verse and prose. It was composed by Mehtab Rai Talib in 1805 A.D. Another work was Jasit-ul Hisab, a treatise on arithmetic by Ilmillah of Gopanpur; Sanaat-i Parkar ma Fawaid-ul Afkar, a work on geometrical compass by Dabir-ud Daulah Khan Zakhr-uddin Ahmad (1797). On Astronomy was written Risalah dar Hai'atr-i Jadidah by Abu Talib (d.1805). Another work was by Raja Ratan Singh Zakhmi (1817 A.D.). This is a treatise on calendars and chronology. It discusses the fixation of the time of the day, night, month and year. It also explains and examines the various eras. Another work was Hadaiq-un Nu‘um written by Zakhmi on astronomy.

In Physics Abdullah bin Muhammad Ashraf Siddiqi composed Risalah-i Judawal in 19th century.

1. I owe this information to Mr M.A. Alvi.
Hindi Poetry

Hindi poetry was fostered by Hindu landlords and nobles of Awadh rather than the Awadh Court.

The Hindi poetry of the period is known as Riti Kavya (formal poetry). It is characterised by artificiality and its strict adherence to the rules of prosody. It sometimes even appears an expression of the science of rhetoric. The poets seem to have set two aims before them: the elaborate depiction of erotic sentiment and display of prosodiac flamishes. Poetry was adopted as a hereditary profession.¹

There were three categories of poets: (i) poets who defined the code of poetry and wrote Lakshya Baddha Granth. These poets were known as Riti Granthkar; (ii) Those poets (Riti Baddha Kavi) who composed works in accordance with the definition given by the Riti Granth Kar; (iii) Lastly, poets (Riti Mukta) who were not bound by such rules.

Ras Manjari of Shamu Datt and Chandraloka of Jai Dev provided guidelines to the Riti poets.²

¹. (Ed.) Dr. jagendra, Hindi Sahitya ka Brahmatihas, Kashi, 2015 Samvat/1956 A.D., p.181.

². Ibid.
The Riti poetry concentrates on prosody - Alamkar, Chanda and Ras especially Shringar (erotic sentiment). The poets have given detailed account of hayatka Bhed (classification of heroines) and Nakhshish Chitrana (description of beauty from top to toe).

The language is Braj Bhasha, influenced by Sanskrit, Ap Shrasha and Persian. As the poet concentrated on exterior decoration, he greatly employed Shabdalamkar and Arthalamkar (figures of speech). The verses are in Yukteka style. Voha, Kavitta and Savayya are the metres employed.

The most renowned Riti poets of the period are Bhikari Das (1779-1807 samvat) and Mir Shulam Ali Rasleen (1747-1807 samvat).

Bhikari Das, the master of Hindi prosody and poetics, acquired first place during the period. He composed various works such as Kavya Nirnaya, Ras Saransh, Shringar Nirnaya and Chandornaya. His Chandornaya is considered by Nagendra, a modern critic, as the best of all the works on prosody. It is distinguished among others for its classification of Chanda, not made in the earlier period.

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1. A detached stanza, the meaning of which is complete in itself.
2. For details see Hindi Sahitya ka Brahata Itihas, op. cit.
3. Bhikari Das was patronised by Hindu Pati, the brother of Pratapgarh's ruler Frithvi Pati. He comes in the lines of Keshav and Dev for writing on every aspect of Riti.
4. Rasleen was the most renowned poet of Bilgram and contemporary of Safdarjun.
Rasleen was greatly reputed for his immense knowledge of Sanskrit. He composed 2500 Dohras and Goshs which acquired as great renown as those of Bihari. He also composed verses in Persian. His major works are Anga Darpan (a famous work on Nayika Bhed), and Ras prabodh (on Nakhshikh Chitran).

Another poet is Hansingh Dwij Dev (b. 1877 samvat). He is considered the last in the tradition of Riti poetry. He has written Shringar Latika, Shringar Battisi and Shringar Chalisi in an excessively ornate style.

**Awadhi**

Only two important works come from our period: Yusuf Zulekha of Shaikh Misar written during the reign of Asaf-ud Daulah and Hansjawahar.

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2. Tabagat-i She'ra-i Hind, f.519.
4. He was the successor of Darshan Sinc, A.D.C. to Nasiruddin iaidar, Dr. Nagendra, p.540.
5. Dr. Tirloki Nath Dikshit, Awadhi Aur Uska Sahitya, Delhi, 1944, p.45.
composed in 1145 A.H. of Kasim Shah Daryabadi.  

The Awadhi of Hansiawahar is greatly influenced by Baiswari dialect. It is sometimes has a close resemblance to jayasi. 

1. Awachi aur Uska Sahitya, p.46. 

2. Ibid.
Painting in Awadh falls into two sharply defined categories as regards the subject, style and technique. The first represents the continuation of the later Mughal tradition with certain Rajput characteristics. This style flourished from 1750 to 1800, but declined as a Court style after the death of Nawab Asaf-ud Daula. The second is dominated by European influences. Its seeds were sown during the reign of Nawab Shuja-ud Daula, who showed a fancy for his likenesses by European painters. But this style found its particular development under the patronage of European and Swiss patrons. While both styles developed on parallel lines, the latter gradually superseded the former so much so that by the end of the eighteenth century it was only the Indo-European style to flourish in Awadh with Lucknow as its centre where the European population abounded.¹

¹The opulence of the Court and the facilities which it offered for commercial intrigues attracted a large number of Europeans in Awadh, especially the British. The appointment of the Resident in 1773 provided another opportunity to them. As a result, in Lucknow especially, there grew up a colony of traders, planters, manufacturers, technicians and mercenary soldiers. The number of Englishmen was greatest, which is clear from Warren Hastings account. In a letter of December 12, 1781, to Macpherson, he mentioned that Lucknow was filled with many Englishmen who behaved as if they possessed "independent and absolute sovereignties" (C.C. Devies, Warren Hastings and Oudh, Oxford, 1939, p.155). In 1814 Wellesley regretted "the number of Europeans, particularly of British subject is a mischief which requires no comment", (quoted W.H. Hutton, The Marquess Wellesley, Oxford, 1893, p.67). This course remained unchecked until the annexation of the kingdom.
Early Phase of Awadh School:

This period is marked with the transient revival of classic tradition of Mughal miniatures during the reign of Nawab Safdarjung. He patronised a Delhi artist Faizullah Khan. One album of fifty paintings of Faizullah Khan, mounted on a gold illuminated elaborate hashia, is evidence enough of the fact that the art of miniature painting had not disappeared. Delicacy of line, brilliancy of colours, minuteness of decorative detail and the appropriateness of the background are the chief characteristics of his style. In fact the 'post script of the classical tradition,' maintained its reputation up to the end of 18th century with Awadh as its 'most important atelier.'

During this reign themes were presented in a new and larger version and an enormous number of miniatures were produced. Among these, the architectural monuments of Delhi found the main attraction. Nawab Safdarjung himself also collected a large number of Mughal miniatures.

This neo-Mughal-Rajput extension of art tradition received great

2. A study based on his paintings in the Baroda Museum Collection.
4. Karl Khandelwala, Eighteenth Century Mughal Paintings (Some Characteristics and some Misconceptions), published in Marg, Bombay, September 1952, p.58. The paintings of large size pictures were in vogue from the reign of Emperor Muhammad Shah, but it was not so much as in Awadh. Sometimes the compositions were doubled by extending the composition to a double page in a very skillful manner.
impetus during the reign of his successor Nawab Shuja-ud Daula. One of the outstanding painters of his reign was Mir Kalan Khan. He appears to have greatly influenced his contemporaries, and Hajek believes that the revival of the Mughal miniatures in Lucknow centred round him. His style was of an eclectic nature - a tendency so characteristic of Awadh paintings. During this reign a great number of artists turned up at Faizabad.

Numerous albums were produced in which copies of the seventeenth century paintings were also included. It appears that the preparation of such albums was in great repute outside the Court also among the Europeans.

2. Since the reign of Shah Alam copying of older paintings was in great vogue. These copies were prepared for various purposes; to replace the missing miniatures of the earlier period, and also to emulate the excellent pieces of the 17th century. This craze was to such an extent that the albums prepared for the presentation purposes invariably included the copies of the 17th century paintings. Sometimes entire manuscripts were illustrated in their representative style, such as Shahjahan Namah (see Eighteenth Century Mughal Paintings, p.58). This tendency later on tended to make the art of painting merely a degenerate system of stereotyped copying, and largely responsible for ending its creativity.
3. Among the Europeans, the demand for portraiture of notable persons increased to the extent that the production of type pictures by means of paper stencils became a considerable 'stock-in trade'. Careful tracings were made from some standard originals on a special type of transparent skin of deer, called charba. These were worked in a brush cut-line in black. The shades and tints used were either noted or micro-graphically written in their proper place. It was very easy to paint any number of copies by these stencils. This method was prevalent since the Mughal times (see Percy Brown, Indian Painting, Calcutta, undated, p.103).
Poller amassed a large collection of such albums in the period 1767-1776, six of which are in the Berlin Museum.¹

One of the characteristic features of this period was the production of the margin with figured scenes.² This was largely an imitation of the figured margins in vogue at the Mughal court during the earlier part of the 17th century. But the earlier margins consisted simply of arabesque, geometrical or flowered details common with the industrial arts. These hashias although lacked the inexhaustability of the floral decoration and the untiring patience employed in the Jahangir's muraqqas,³ still they are elaborate enough. This hashia decoration decayed during the reign of Nawab Asaf-ud Daula, and after him it seems to have received a setback.

Nawab Asaf-ud Daula was greatly interested in painting; and artists were handsomely rewarded.⁴ He owned a rare collection of Mughal paintings.⁵

1. Later on many Europeans became keenly interested in the collection of Awadh paintings: Richard Johnson (Assistant Resident, 1760-64), Gore Ouseley (A.D. C. to the Nawabs, 1793-1805), John Baillie (Resident, 1807-1813), Clude Martin (Military Counsellor to the Nawab Asaf-ud Daula), possessed a large number of Awadh paintings), Daniel Johnson refers to Martin's many pictures painted by 'native' artists. Sketches of Field Sports as followed by the Natives of India, London, 1822, p. 188.

2. According to Proff Kunhal figured margins have been characteristic of the the 16th century paintings of Shaibanid rulers of Turkistan. In a less decorative form these were employed in the late Mongol and Timuride manuscripts, and appears to have been imported from China (cf. Dr. Hermann Goetz, 'The Early Muraqqas of the Mughal Emperor Jahangir,' published in Marg, Bombay, September, 1958, p. 33.)

3. Ibid. Compare Plate Nos. 1 & 2.


5. According to Bahadur Singh Nami, during the reign of Shah Alam most of the Mughal paintings fell in the hands of Gulam Qadir Rohela. These Rohelas embued with no aesthetic sense sold the paintings unregardful of their actual price. Most of these were bought by the Nawab. He paid Rs. 30,000 for
Besides portraiture, paintings of historical scenes was also carried during this period though not on very considerable scale. Some of the leaves of \textit{Shah Jahan Namah} preserved in the Windsor Castle Library were prepared in Awadh.\textsuperscript{1}

After Asaf-ud Daula we do not see the conscious effort of the Court towards developing pictorial art. The lack of the royal patronage tended to break up the revival of the classic tradition and the general development of this style. The later Nawabs and kings maintained a limited number of artists to whom painting offered a means to preserve their likeness. Most of the Court painters were Europeans who worked in their own ways. This is the reason that after Asaf-ud Daula we do not see any definite style at the Court. The art declined because the painters did not take much pain for lack of recognition. The brush work seems to have become hurried and rough in the nineteenth century.

The leading painter in this period was Niddha Mal, a painter from Delhi. He is considered by O.C. Gonguly as the last representative

\textsuperscript{1} Stuart C. Wells, \textit{The Art of Mughal India}, New York, 1963, p.103. According to a note on the manuscript Asaf-ud Daula bought this manuscript for Rs.12,000/-. This copy bears the seal of Nawab Asaf-ud Daula (\textit{Ibid.}, p.175).
PLATE NO. 2

ASAF UD Daulah - by Siddha Mal

Early Phase of Awadh School; IV Quarter of 18th Century;

Courtesy - National Museum, New Delhi
of the Mughal school. Portraiture was his speciality, but he was more famous for his Radha Krishna paintings.

In spite of the lack of sensitivity in expression as well as of mastery of line and detail, and exaggerated colourfulness, he is noted of his remarkable sense of colour and large perspective by dividing the composition in two parts - the terrace and a deep landscape. Sometimes his brilliant mosaic colouring suggests Persian influence. Pale green and yellow colours are typical of his work.

The style of Middha Mal is idealised and his themes are restricted. Most of his compositions are limited to the depiction of a terrace, or an enclosed garden to present a cool evening scene. From his paintings in the Bhartiya Kala Bhawan it appears that his style declined in the later period. His work became more or less lifeless, his expression weak and colours opaque. Figures are depicted without any emotion or expression.

**Style:**

Miniatures from early Awadh school may be taken the combination

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2. Ibid.

3. See plate No. 2
of various styles - mainly the Mughal and the Rajput. Persian traditions may also be observed in these paintings in the representation of canopies, shamianas, etc., drawn from a bird's eye view; the ground covered with flowers; flat treatment of sky and human figures drawn from a direct view. But these characteristics had already been established in the Mughal qalam. Hence no direct influence of the Persian tradition was necessary, though the ultimate source of such features was undoubtedly Persia.

Features similar to Rajput style are: the use of colour in a mass, lack of the principle of the gradation of colours, and tonality of colours, the simplicity in forms, lack of the understanding of correct angles and conversions of angles, and diminution of scale, the principle of foreshortening, and lastly the stylised nature of the work.

Linear perspective, thick shading, representation of depth are the result of the European style at the end of the sixteenth century. However, one hardly finds an identical approach of perspective in these miniatures. The Indian painter constantly seems deeply imbued with the tradition of Mughal art. As a result European mode of perspective and shading are followed by him without following it correctly and completely.

1. This is a common characteristic of the 18th century art schools of Murshidabad, Patna, Delhi and Awadh that they are deeply influenced by the Rajput art tradition in style, technique and subject matter to the extent that sometimes it is very difficult to classify these as Rajput or Mughal. In the 18th century Awadh School the influence of the Jaipur School is more discernible. Comarawami calls it a "mixed style." "The example of this style cannot be classified as Mughal or Rajput." See Introduction to Indian Art ed. M.N. Anand, Adyar, 1956, p. 92. This mixed Mughal and Rajput style flourished during the 18th century in Delhi, in the Central Provinces. (Ibid, p. 95).
Distance perspective is followed by representing the objects small in size at the distant place, but the intermediary plain remains unaffected. The trees represented on the horizon may well be seen with the details of flowers, leaves etc. Colours too do not blur the haze sufficiently with the increase of distance. Hence the picture remains flat. The shadow is seldom shown, though in a few examples the reflection of trees, birds, boats, etc., has been marked out by the artist. The representation of the reflection of objects in water is borrowed from the European tradition. The distant landscape drawn with buildings, hills, mounds of earth, stream or a river with boats are shown some times in the European fashion.

Landscape gives the suggestion of aerial perspective though sometimes the sky and clouds are so heavily laid that they do not at all depict any atmospheric space. Architecture is given an important place in the landscape.

Though landscape painting did not develop in Awadh independently, sometimes it is given special prominence without it being the main theme. The representation of birds is very realistic as in the Mughal School. But natural features are usually heavily stylised, as in the Jaipur School. The backgrounds are, for the most part, formalised. Close to the representation of a mound in a curve resembles such representations in the Rajasthani paintings. In places the canvas has been over-emphasized by the placement of

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1. See plate No. 1.
stylised bright flowers which produce a drapery-like effect. Sometimes the trees are purely decorative and the aerial perspective is hardly ever followed by the painters. The foreground is always plain, and the figures seem to be imposed on it. The over-all effect remains flat for the most part.

Symmetry is followed as a matter of principle in the composition. The composition is balanced by introducing similar objects of nature in the landscape on either side. Even clouds are symmetrical.

The trees are identical to the Rajput qalam. The trees have long trunks with heavy bulk, dense foliage and conical tops. Leaves are presented in their stylised form after Mughal paintings. The lotus has often finds its place in the representation of water - a typical Indian tradition. Leaves are usually decorative.

In modelling male figures, the body below the waist line is slightly elongated, whereas in a few female figures the position is reversed. In most cases the facial idioms are stereotyped and the variety is produced in their representation by employing beard and moustaches. The propensity is for faces in strict profile. Feet are depicted flat and in a single direction.

1. See plate No. I
Facial idioms of the female characters have been greatly emphasized. Profile faces with fully open eyes with a prominent eye-brow and heavy upper-lid; long nose with round tips, slightly exposed upwards; small lips; round bulky chin settled in an oval shape are the characteristics facial idioms. The shading is employed around the eye-socket, nostril and the neck line as a regular formula in the eighteenth century paintings. The female figures are marked with a pinkish tint in the body and a reddish brownish glow in the cheeks and sometimes on the whole face. On the whole, the female figures are highly stylised with a few standard forms being employed. Sometimes figures are drawn from the direct view. Short and squat male and female figures around the main figure with heads too large for the bodies are often grouped.

Although the artists were capable of drawing likenesses from life, their work is deliberately stylised. The artists worked on set examples and delineated the accepted types. This tendency may be noticed throughout the period of our study. Setting of the objects in the vertical ascending order has produced a tilting effect.

Emphasis is laid on the fineness of lines. Lines play a vital role in the display of details, especially in the representation of the human figures and architectural designs. These are done with a single strokes of brush in dark pigment. Wherever possible, figures are distinguished from the background by thick shading around them or discriminated with thick shad'd rounded lines.
JAHANGIR WITH HIS TEN SONS

Miniaturised copy, by Nainsital, of the life size oil painting by Tilly Kettle, c. 1775 A.D.

Courtesy - Art of Mughal India, Painting and Precious Objects
'There is no light direction, hence no shadow. Only in Shiv-Puja is the circular dome represented with shaded lines giving a slight impression of the direction of light; but the light effect is rather flat.  

Subjects are mostly erotic and give us an interesting insight into the cultural environment, fashions, customs, modes and manners of the period. The delineation of the Nayikas in their different modes (Nayika Vhed) was the subject which predominated in the Hindi and also Urdu poetry (Masnavis). Here too various Nayikas appear - Abhisarika, Prasadhi, Viprabladha, and Mughdha. The larger number of the paintings consist of the study of young dames in various postures and occupations: reclining, chatting, bathing, enjoying music, swinging, worshipping.  

Classical Persian and Indian historical romances - the story of Yusuf and Zulaikha, Laila and Majmun, story of Padmini and of Baj Bahadur and Rupmati, are also depicted. The paintings also have as their subjects, and the gods, goddesses of musical modes (Rag-Ragini paintings), festival celebrations.

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1. Some technical details are discussed with the help of Dr. S.P. Verma, Department of History, A.M.U., Aligarh.

2. 53 of such paintings of 7''-5'' size are in the Baroda Museum. These are mounted on a large gold decorated carton. Their backs are decorated with springing plants.
Occasionally we meet subjects of Indian mythology. Yashoda churning milk and Krishna crawling near the jar, Krishna playing on his flute, were the favourite subjects.  

Other favourite themes are processions, hermits, and battle scenes.

The colours used are mauves and purple, flaring reds, dark heavy greens and brilliant yellow, blue, vermilion. Pale green is employed for vegetation. Gold is used as a colour. The paper is of light buff tint, not pure white. Only one thickness is used.

After Asaf-ud Daula the increased sense of luxury and richness resulted in the excessive colourfulness of the composition and flamboyancy of style. For all its richness and technical care, the work is inferior and lacks the previous masterly observation and acute feeling for detail.

Later Phase of the Awadh Painting (Indo-British Style):

There are three distinct stages in the transformation of the Awadh style into an Indo-British style from the year 1763 onwards.

1. O.C. Ganguli, ed.
2. Ibid.
3. According to V. N. Gopala the early products of Lucknow painting and the ivory miniatures of Delhi belong to the 'Pseudo-European School.' See European Influence on Indian Painting, Kuppuswami, January, 1921, Calcutta, (ed. O.C. Ganguli), p. 20.
The credit for initiating this transformation may be given to Gentili, a French military adventurer (1763-75). He employed three local artists at Faizabad for ten years for illustrating his works: *Abrege historique des Souverain de l'Indostan ou Empire Mogol* (Published in 1772), and *Divinites des Indostan* (published 1774).¹ It is on record in an inscribed miniature in the Musee Quimet Collection that one of the artists was Nivasi Lal.² The whereabouts of the other artists are not known, though it may be taken that these were also Hindus because all instructions given in the original manuscript are in Devnagari script. We are not aware of their previous training, yet on the basis of the differences with the flamboyant Court-style, we may assume that these artists were certainly instructed not only in the subject matter of these illustrations, portraiture, depiction of small scenes of royal life and trojies of arm pieces, but also in European techniques - knowledge of form, perspective, light and shade. This was an early instance of introducing European elements into the Indian pictorial art.

These paintings are in delicate water colour, representing a pale and insipid style. Thus, French influence is the first to penetrate here. The English adopted the trends and tendencies set up by the French. The paintings

1. Most of Gentili's collection is in the Cabinet des Estampes at the Bibliotheque Nationale. Albums of miniatures are od.36,39,43,44,49,50, 51,52.

2. Of Lala Nivasi Lal Mohammad/Bakhsh remarks

Insha-i Faiz Bakhsh, Persian MS., 1205 A.H., Maulana Azad Library, A.M.U., Aligarh, f.51a

3. See Plate 59.
continue, to display some French mannerisms. For instance the hazy effect here which is so conspicuous, is a French characteristic for denoting mist. These paintings invariably present the same characteristics as those found in the works of Gentil. ¹

Another important event of this period was the arrival of Kettle, in 1771, at Faizabad, at the invitation of Nawab Shuja-ud Daula. ²

It is interesting to note that Kettle could not influence the Court style during his two years’ stay at Lucknow (1771–73), as he had to ponder to the fancy of the rulers as regards the colour scheme. He, however, influenced the local artists, though this influence was confined to the copying of his works. ³

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2. Sir John Cartier, Governor of Fort William wrote to the Nawab in 1771, “having learned that the addressee very much wishes to see Kettle, painter, the writer has ordered him to proceed to Faizabad..., says that he is the master of his art and hopes the addressee will be much pleased with him”, cf. Indian Painting for the British, p. 54. Kettle was the first professional artist to come to India (in 1776). Leigh Ashton, The Art of India and Pakistan, London, 1950, p. 183.

3. According to J.D. Milner, Kettle executed six large oil paintings for the Nawab: (i) A life size study of the Nawab in a gold attire and fur cap. This picture is at present at the Government House, Madras (cf. H.D. Love, Descriptive List of Pictures in Government House and Banquetting Hall, Madras, 1903, p. 188). (ii) Picture of Shuja-ud Daula and four of his sons receiving an English General, Robert Barker, with his suit of two A.D.C.s., an officer and a Persian interpreter. (iii) The Nawab receiving an English General at Faizabad with his elephant and suit in the background. (iv) Portrait of the Nawab in Maratha attire. (v) Portrait of the Nawab and his eldest son Asaf-ud Daula. (vi) Portrait of the Nawab and his ten sons.

This was again at the instigation of Gentil. Kettle's work became so popular among the local artists that they began freely to imitate in miniaturized form in tempera. His influence is discernible more in the facial idioms so much so that these later on became characteristic of local art.

His figure of Shuja-ud Daula became the stock figure in trade. Meer Chand, another noted artist of the period, imitated Shuja's figure from Kettle's pictures of the Nawab and Sir Robert Barker, at least in three fresh compositions. At one place he portrayed the Nawab holding a bow, at another he presented him by changing the position of his hand and also the background. In another he borrowed the hand and face of the figure. He also copied the picture of the Nawab and his ten sons. Meer Chand's work shows an aptitude

1. Gentil borrowed four paintings of Kettle from the Nawab in order to have their miniaturised copies made by his own artists. When the first copy of the painting of the Nawab and his son was ready, he showed it to the Nawab, who insisted on keeping it. Gentil, in exchange, asked for Kettle's original. The original painting was presented by him to Louis XVI, in 1778 (J.J. Gentil, Memoires Sur l'Indostan ou Empire Mogol, Paris, 1822, p.310, cf. Indian Paintings for the British, p.116). Of the remaining three, only one picture of the Nawab and his ten sons was copied. It was also presented by him to Louis XVI, in 1778. This picture is at Versailles (No. M.J. 3686) and bears an inscription that it was made for him by Nivasi Lal, at Faizabad. The painter has correctly understood the European perspective which is represented in architectural designs (see plate No. 1). The hazy architectural design in the background has produced depth and contrast with the foreground. The artist's skill may be seen in the balanced composition, linear perspective, convergence of angles, appropriate shading and variety of modes and postures (Ibid.)

2. These are in the possession of Victoria and Albert Museum (Indian Section), Inv. 287-1951; British Museum, 1946-10-10-03.
PLATE No. 4

Nawab Shuja Ud Daulah

Tempera by Mir Chand; c. 1775 A.D., Partial copy of painting by Felli Kettle
Victoria and Albert Museum

Courtesy: Indian Painting for the British
for the foreign technique. He succeeded in the presentation of depth produced by diminishing the scale of the objects and distant landscape. How he grasped the idea of diminution of scale and depth is not known because we are not aware of his proper schooling in European technique in the matter of Nivas Lal. He was, for some time, patronised by Polier, and produced paintings for him chiefly in the Mughal style.  

Thus, by this time some of local artists were trying to understand the European technique, though no change seems to have occurred at the Court.

The second stage is from 1775 to 1800, corresponding to the reign of Nawab Asaf-ud Daula. He was greatly interested in the collection of European paintings, but had no discrimination between good or bad foreign works. Therefore 'two penny deal board paintings of ducks and drakes and excellent works of Lorraine' held the same attraction to him. He had a vast collection of European prints. Like his father, Asaf-ud Daula, invited European artists to his Court, such as John Zoffany (an oil painter), William Hodges (landscape painter), Czias Humphrey (miniature painter).

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1. See plate No. 4.
2. Mildred and Archer, Indian Painting for the British, p.55.
5. This was the period when the migration of British artists to India became more rapid and continued till the end of the 18th century. In all 37 artists landed in India during this period (Leigh Ashton, p.183). Till Kettle was the first artist to come to India. He reached Madras in 1766 (ibid.).
Zoffany established himself as an artist very quickly, and made numerous drawings and paintings for the Nawab and his courtiers. One of his best known paintings is Colonel Mordaunt's cock fight. It is an excellent specimen of group portrait, painted on a copper plate in oil medium, in 1785. Another notable group portrait by him is Haider Beg's Embassy to Calcutta — an imaginary representation. Other pictures by Zoffany are portraits — mostly life-size. Two half length-size portraits, by him, of charming young women, are referred to by Knighton.

Ozias Humphrey visited Lucknow in 1786, and executed five miniatures of the Nawab, his son, Vizir Ali, two of his ministers and a Mughal prince residing at Lucknow. He also got several other commissions but left Lucknow in a state of disappointment.

William Hodges arrived here with Zoffany, but he could not make much headway at the Court.

Zoffany was the only artist who stayed at Lucknow for a long period. But he could not greatly influence the pictorial art mainly because

1. Sidney Hay, p.16.
2. Mrs. Parkes, vol. I, p.181; Douglas, p.194. This painting was frequently copied during the 19th century. One such copy is at Husainabad Baradari Lucknow. According to P. Mackenzie, the original painting is lost and only prints are available. (Historic Lucknow, p.177)
3. "These pictures are superb", his remarks, "and more life-like than most pictures, having the touch of Titian and the flesh of Etty"., Private Life of an Eastern King, p.219.
his medium was oil and that was not agreeable to the Indian taste. Oil
colour painting was practised at this period to a limited extent only. The
failure of Hodges shows that the Nawab did not like the pale and insipid
style of painting. Hence we evince the same intensity and profusion of co-
lours characteristic of the earlier period. It was rather more exaggerated.

9 Martin also contributed to the development of the Indo-British
style. Innumerable portraits of him were painted by the local and the
European artists - Zoffany, Renaldi and others. ¹ He had a fabulous collection of excellent paintings at La Martinerae. ² He left 150 paintings in
oil. ³

Martin's contribution is more in the depiction of natural history, especially botanical. The credit for initiating the scientific study of natural history at Lucknow, goes to him. Polier and Gentil collected objects of natural history but not on such a large scale as Martin. Six of his botanical representations are at Kew. ⁴

The trend of natural history painting, though not carried as vigorously as under Martin, influenced the course of painting at Lucknow,

¹ Bahadur Singh Nami, f.326a. The larger part of his collection was dispersed after his death. A large number of his paintings were purchased by Ghaziuddin Haider to decorate his palaces.
² Daniel Johnson, Sketches of Field Sports as followed by the Natives of India, London, 1822, p.188. He mentions his 47 portraits by Zoffany alone.
more especially during the nineteenth century. There is a vast collection of botanical and zoological representations in the Lucknow Museum and Husainabad Baradari (Lucknow). The deliniation of birds is certainly far better in drawing and exactitude of details as compared to the contemporary portrait painting. We may infer that the artists were schooled in this branch by the Europeans.

Mildred and Archer believe that the real force of the development of the Indo-British style came from outside the Court, in the bazars. Towards the end of the eighteenth century sets of 'native rulers' and 'native characters' were produced in the characteristic style of Gentil. One such set (muragga) of native rulers, executed about 1796, is in the India Office Library. This set includes portraits of NawabSa’adat Khan Burhanul Mulk Safdarjung, and Shuja ud Daulana, their officers, and also the late rulers of Bengal, Arrah, Purnta, Patna, Bir Bhum and Benaras.

A study of these paintings shows that the Lucknow artists had by now adopted the European mode as their guide. Most of the rulers are depicted seated amongst cushions besides a low clipped hedge or flower vases. Their position is evidently in the European manner. The faces drawn direct in the front posture is certainly different tradition from that of the Mughal where the yak chashm faces have repeatedly been drawn in portrait drawing.

1. Mildred and Archer, Indian Painting for the British, pp.60-63.
The colour scheme is very sombre with a greater *increase* in whiteness. The monotony is broken by the couches of crimson, green, gold and purple. The sky is invariably presented in a pale wash of blue, and the facial idioms are stereotyped. A face appears again and again reminding us of Kettle's study of Nawab Shuja-ud Daula, with cross eye and limp moustache. Broad eyes with heavy lids, deep eye-brows, and eye-sockets marked with deep shading, long round tipped nose, bulky and round chin, clearly made distinct with thick shading and round faces. The modality of faces has been expressed in a single direction of light. Exposed parts of the faces are shown in light pigment which produces a three-dimensional effect.

Action in the figures is suggested by a variety of poses and changed positions of legs. Treatment of costume has been made with heavy folds and details are displayed with heavy shaded lines or strokes of brush. Figures are composed in a majestic fashion. The background may be plain or a few figures may be given place at a distance. These paintings depict bushy trees against blue sky. Their main feature is the introduction of shadow in dark patch, extended across the barren yellow soil as to suggest the light direction which in most cases appears to cross from the right side.

A set of paintings of native characters is also bound with this set. It is executed at about the same time because it is closely related to the colour scheme and style.

1. See illustrations given in *Indian Painting for the British*. 
There are other illustrations in this delicate water colour style, of animals and birds, set against the pale blue sky and sandy soil. A set of Hindu deities were also executed in this style for an album of 64 pictures.  

We may assume, on the basis of the above specimen, that numerous local painters adopted the European technique to humour the fancy of the foreigners. But no distinct style emerged because the artists were merely copying the European technique. This was an experimental stage. Significantly the artists did not paint in oil at this stage.

From the time of Nawab Asaf-ud Daula a custom grew up at the Awadh Court of employing European painters as Court artists. Nawab Saadat Ali Khan retained George Place and Home.  

The last stage of the Awadh School of painting belongs to the period from 1800 to 1856. Nawab Saadat Ali Khan was mainly interested in portraits. Painting at his Court was therefore largely limited to the delineation of likenesses.

1. Indian Painting for the British, pp.60-63.
2. Knighton, p.16.
3. Ibid., Home was invited by the Nawab a little before his death (Heber, I, p.220). Two other artists worked at Lucknow during this period - Thomas Longcroft and Charles Smith (Archer, p.58).
Place and Home continued to paint for Ghazi-uddin Haider.

Home was a talented artist and was praised for his portraits by Bishop Heber. We may infer from Heber's account that there was no good collection of paintings at the Awadh Court and that the propensity for glowing colours still persisted there.¹

Home executed numerous paintings of the king, his family and state guests.² Heber refers to his portraits of Nawab Saadat Ali Khan and Lord Hastings at Palace Farhat Bakhsh.³

During the reign of Ghaziuddin Haider, a local painter, Lala Thakur Das, rose to fame. He was well versed in water colour and oil techniques.⁴ He was also a good copyist.⁵ Another noted local artist influenced by European painting was Mirza Ghuman Husain.⁶

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1. "He is very good artist. Indeed for the king of Oude to get hold of.... Mr Home would have been a distinguished painter had he remained in Europe, for he has a great deal of taste and his drawing is very good and rapid; but it has been of course, a great disadvantage to him to have only his own works to study and probably finds it necessary to satisfy his royal patron". (Heber, I, p.122).


5. P.C. Mukerjee, p.179.

6. Israr Hussain, p.32.
King Nasiruddin patronised George Beechy, Cassanova and Charles Mantz. He was appointed to succeed Home after his retirement. He was a competent artist and had distinguished himself before he left for India. He secured great royal favours and was allowed to enter the royal harem for drawing likenesses of the favourite wife of the king. Like Home, he executed large size paintings also.

Charles Mantz produced many good portraits of the king in Indian and European costumes. He also executed the portraits of the queens. The patronage extended to European artists waned after Nasiruddin Haider.

The third and the final stage of the development of the Awadh painting arrived as Archer believes under the bazar craftsmen. Their work finally superseded the Court style, and this style, in a corrupt form, continued till the fall of the kingdom.

The Archer mentions three important collections, illustrating this final stage: In the India Office Library, in the Queen's Collection at Windsor and in the Victoria and Albert Museum.

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1. A landscape painter kept at a fixed salary of Rs.1000/- (Knighton, p.16).
2. Emily Eden, Up the Country, p.387.
3. Archer, p.119.
6. Indian Paintings for the British, p.61.
A HINDU MARRIAGE

Water colour, Lucknow, c. 1800 A.D., India Office Library, Wellesley set.

Courtesy Indian Painting for the British
According to three sets from a volume entitled, *Drawing Illustrating the Manners and Costumes of India,* from the Wellesley Collection at India Office Library represent three different styles current among the bazar artists.

The largest set of this series consists mostly of the portraits of craftsmen: tailor, comb-cleaner, grain-seller, sweet-meat maker, book binder, fire-works maker, silver-smith, bangle maker and cloth seller. All these characters are depicted with the same 'cross eyed glance' reminding us of the faces of the Nawab Shuja-ud Daula. Bright colours are used with abundance. We find a rich combination of orange, lime and peacock green, warm browns and yellows. The technique is highly Europeanised, as witness the manner of shading and soft tones of the colours shown. A good representation in this set is a picture of a Hindu wedding where the painter shows a marked tendency for animate objects to which he drawn in varying postures and rhythmic actions. In this picture great emphasis is laid on bold, thick and deep patches of brush. Deep shading is used for distinguishing the inner details of the object. Generally strokes mark the folds and wrinkles in costume. However, the water colour is not free from the effect of tempera.

1. Archer, p.61; there are several sets bound up together in this volume. The style of grouping, facial idioms and costumes denote the style flourishing at Lucknow. According to the claim of the owner in 1866, these paintings were prepared by the order of Wellesley during his Lucknow visit in 1802.

2. Indian Paintings for the British, p.61.

3. Ibid.
Colours and the treatment of the colours still remains hard. The strokes
distract the eye and do not match with the colour scheme. Besides, thick shaded lines are drawn in the objects to suggest the direction of
light and shadow. Shadows are shown in a direction at the bottom of each figure. However, the rest of the scene remains unaffected by the direction
of light, and therefore, the foreground and background remain flat.

Perspective has as a rule been correctly followed by the artists. It seems that by this time the Indian painter had come to terms with the scale perspective and geometric perspective, especially in the representation of buildings. To produce three dimensional effect in the human faces thick shading is done around the neck line. The nose is
distinctly marked as well as the chin, which is heavy and bulky. Both the three quartered and profile faces, have been employed, especially the later. The other paintings of the set also display similar features.

One of the remaining two sets has pale and insipid colour scheme and strong shadows. The pictures are executed in a curious manner — the sketching of broken lines which imparts some of the figures a queer modern appearance.

1. See illustrations given in Indian Painting for the British

2. Ibid., p.61. There are some line drawings in similar style of king's attendants, yogis and animals etc. at the Lucknow Museum also.
The other set is marked with hard knife edged drapery and outline in the manner of the picture of the Hindu marriage. Other characteristics are knotty and twisted trees and large and conspicuous shadows giving the impression of something other than the shadow of the original object.

The second collection is an album of Indian characters, at H.M. the Queen's Library, Windsor, presented to George IV when Prince of Wales. This album contains only 16 Lucknow figures of yogi, yoginies and faqirs, and also of jugglers and entertainers. As some of the pictures are inscribed 1812 we may assume that this set was also executed in the early years of the nineteenth century.

Another characteristic style is represented by a volume entitled Oriental Paintings, containing 50 Lucknow paintings, in the Victoria and Albert Museum. The characters are displayed in glowing greens and yellows, pinks and mauves. This volume was painted about 1815. In all these paintings the painter emphasises the central theme; and the rest of the composition is filled in light pigments. The plain is always divided in two parts, vertical and horizontal, by introducing the ground line or horizon in the picture. Naturalism is the main vehicle of the artist's approach in representation; whereas, he is always governed with the economy of lines, simplicity in form and composition. The artist employs profile,

1. Archer, p.62.
PLATE No. 6

AN ARTIST AT WORK
Water colours, 1815 A.D.; Victoria and Albert Museum.

Courtesy - Indian Painting for The British
three quarters as well as front faces. Sometimes his representation has become stylised; strokes are bold and lines are shaded; the sky remains flat. However, trees shown in the background in a line, are treated naturally with details of branches and patches of leaves. (See Plate No. 5.)

This is indeed a curious fact that at the very beginning of the nineteenth century several families of painters were engaged in executing sets of native rulers and native characters, and that the production of such sets became a lucrative trade even at such an early date.¹

During this period ancestral traditions were abandoned by the artists and the style is dominated by entirely European influences. During the reign of Ghaziuddin Haider this style was also adopted at the Court.

Some of the brilliant colours of the former period still persist, e.g., mauves, purpless, reds and yellows. The technique is, however, Europeanised.

Archer mentions to a Persian manuscript entitled Customs of the Court of Oude, at H.M. Queen’s Collection, prepared for King Ghaziuddin Haider by his own artists in 1826.² In it the life in the zanana is illustrated.

These paintings also reflect a decline of art at the Court which may be seen

¹. According to Bahadur Singh Nami the portraits of princesses and royal personages were executed for several purposes. These were carried to other countries by visitors. The kings and nobles were already in the habit of collecting such murqgas. It grew a fashion among elite and populace too to collect the portraits of past rulers (f.325b).

². Indian Painting for the British, p.62.
in the weak expression, hurried outlines and stained shading. The mixture of transparent water colour with Chinese white lends dullness to these paintings.  

Though the painters were not completely devoid of talent for drawing actual likenesses, the portraits are lifeless and stylised. The figures are lumpy and ill-defined. Female figures are stereotyped and having a semblance with Patna in the facial idiom, pointed nose, large eyes, curved lashes and heavy eye brows. It is very striking that sometimes amidst the female portraits we find a face executed with photographic precision.

This Europeanised style continued to flourish in the Court after Shaziuddin Haider. In fact the course of the development of Europeanised style became static by 1830. His successor, Nasir-uddin Haider was less interested in the works of Indian painters. Mohammad Shah did not patronise the art. About Amjad Shah Von Clich informs us that it was one of the fancies of the king to get all the palaces painted white or in colours and decorate these with scene of Indian life in very crude colours. Wajid Ali Shah's interest in paintings was limited to the portrayal of Court beauties and music and dance parties.

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1. Indian Painting for the British, p.62.
2. Yadgar-i Bahaduri, f.325b.
3. Indian Painting for the British, p.62.
The style declined considerably. The vast collection of miniatures in the Lucknow Museum and the Husainabad Baradari (Lucknow) indicates this plainly. The flamboyancy of colours, old types of colour combinations of blues, scarlets, reds, greens, and yellows, oranges are greatly employed; expression is very poor. With the dethronement of Wajid Ali Shah this school too came to an end.

The noted artists of this period were Mohammad Ali 'Mani Raqam', Lala Thakur Prasad 'Daryabadi', Fazal Ali 'Bahzad Raqam', Mir Ali Lucknawi, Kashi Ram, and Nawab Kazim Ali Khan, Saheb Rai and Bitchoo Beg.

During this period we find one strange feature introduced in the painting, that is the deliniation of Muslim Prophets and Imams in the manner of Hindu deities. We find several such illustrations in the private collections. Perhaps this trend of religious subject painting was inherited

1. Zafar Namah, p.41; delicate touches and placid expressions were the two main characteristics of his style. He executed portraits and Court scenes (P.C. Mukerjee, p.179).
2. He turned out the pictures of Hindu deities and Indian mythological subjects. Numerous paintings of this artist are in the Lucknow Museum.
3. Zafar Namah, p.41, Fazal Ali's sphere was the portrayal of Court beauties and zanana scenes (P.C. Mukerjee, p.179).
4. He was an ivory painter; Israr Hussain, p.33.
5. Ibid., he was famous for his paintings of animals and birds.
from Persian tradition, but the style is very Indian.

Other popular themes of the period were the delineation of Pari, Dev. This was partly due to the impact of Rahas and partly due to the illustration of Urdu and Persian masnavi.

Oil painting was practised in Awadh to a limited extent because it was an expensive device for a bazar craftsman. Life size oil paintings were executed by European painters. There were some local painters who painted in oil. Lala Thakur Das, Fazal Ali Shazad Raham, Lala Khushal Singh Lucknowi, and his pupil, Shalam Raaz Khan, were good exponents of this technique. We have references to full length portraits by the artists of Lucknow.

From the account of Bahadur Singh Nami it appears that graphic technique was also introduced towards the middle of the nineteenth century. He has referred to it as a curious innovation of the Europeans.

1. There are numerous illustrations depicting Mohammad Saheb and his followers in Persian paintings, but their faces are veiled (cf. Sir Thomas W. Arnold, Painting in Islam, Oxford, MCMXVIII, pp.88, 92, 93, 94, 96, 98.
2a. F.C. Yuferjee, p.179.
It is strange that European influence so intimate and conspicuous could not kindle here a new standard style and the synthesis of the two traditions could not bring any novel results. There were various reasons, lack of any artistic tastes on the part of European patrons for whom these artists worked. There are some exceptions, as Gentil, Folier and Martin. They belonged to the period when local style was at its zenith and the artists were not inclined towards the adoption of the European style. Of course, they influenced the local style but in the same manner as in the sphere of architecture. We find only the imitation of certain European characteristics of Gentil and Kettle throughout the period. There was no proper schooling of the artist in European technique. This is the reason why we find paintings on some subject again and again as Col. Mordant's cock-fight at Moffany. The painter was deprived of court patronage and the artist worked for the bazar where an extensive demand existed for certain types of sets. The work is mainly imitative as is in the other centres of the time, Delhi, Patna, Murshidabad, etc.
Calligraphy

The art of calligraphy flourished in Lucknow for decorative purposes and excerpt writing.

Almost every building of religious significance such as the Imambara, mosque, Karbala are freely adorned with calligraphical details, especially the buildings of the later period.

The details are either arranged to form a part of architectural designs over the arches and under the cornices or all over the inner or outer plastering of the building. Calligraphy is used here to decorate the whole facade. The styles employed in these decorations are mostly Tughra and Sulus. The best specimen of the Tughra may be seen in the Imambara and Jami Masjid of Husainabad, and that of Sulus in the Karbala of Tal Katora and Aish Bagh. The excerpts, qata (a four lined verse) are

1. Tughra is an ornamental style of calligraphy in Arabic. According to Choubey Visheshwar Nath, it is said to have been introduced in Persian by one Amir Panja Kash, an eminent calligraphist of Delhi (see Choubey Visheshwar Nath's article on Calligraphy with an introduction and note by Colonel T.H. Hindley, JIAI, vol. XV, Nos.117, 119, 121, London, 1913. The difference between the Arabic and Persian styles was that of angular and round characters used respectively in the Arabic and Persian styles. The Tughra style was used for ornamental purposes, for inscribing the royal signatures, the royal titles prefixed to letters, diplomas etc. (Ibid.) in this style the words are drawn in the shape of various animals, flowers and birds, usually in the shape of a dove or a tiger.

2. Sulus is a large Naskhi style used in the diplomas and letters.
written in **Naskh** and **Nastaliq** styles. *Qatar nawisi* was very popular in Lucknow; and it was a fashion to adorn the houses with *Qata*.  

In Lucknow, the popularity of the art of calligraphy is associated with two noted calligraphists - Hafiz Nurullah Khan and Qazi Mughatullah Khan. Hafiz Nurullah Khan had numerous pupils.

The other great calligraphists of the period were Mir Soz,

1. **Naskh** is a cursive form of Arabic writing, derived from Kufic (the earliest form of Arabic script characterised by heavy, solid and vertical distinct lines, (see for details R. J. Curbe, *The World of Islam*, London, 1966, pp. 11-13). But in Naskh the letters are not necessarily vertical, as in Kufic, only the foliation attached to them is derived from Kufic.

2. **Nastaliq** is an adjunct to Naskh. It is marked out by symmetry, proportion, and evenness in each letter and round circles. According to Sharar the rules and principles of this script were established by one Mir Ali Tabrizi, a native of Leylan. He popularised this style throughout the Eastern Islamic countries (*Guzishta Lucknow*, p. 216).

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid., they arrived during the reign of Nawab Asaf-ud Daulah.

5. Naulana Gulam Muhammad Dehalvi Hafiz Ahmad, *Tazkirah-i Khush Nawisan* (Persian), rub. Delhi, 1910, p. 64. The author of the *Tazkirah* met him personally (Ibid.) He perfected the style of Aha Abdur Rashid; *Tazkirah-i Katibin* (Persian), *Raza Library* 15., 1242 A.H., f. 60) and excelled in *Qata nawisi* and *masbq* (Ibid.) also see *Muragga-i Khwairavi*, f. 227a; *Tariq-i Aftab-i Asad*, f. 6.


1. Tarikh-i Farah Bakhsh, f.331a. According to Muhammad Faiz Bakhsh, he could write in ten styles, and he was capable of copying the handwritings of the famous calligraphists of his period as well as of past such as Mir Ali, Mir Imad, and Yaqut Raqam Khan, and so perfectly that even the experts could not mark out the differences. All among his pupils were first rank calligraphists (Ibid.)

2. Ibid.

3. He was expert in all styles of calligraphy. He is greatly admired by his contemporaries for his skill in the seal engraving. He was the pupil of Muhammad Yar Sahib Nami (Tazkirah-i Katibin, p.33).

4. He excelled in Nastaliq, Kashi, Shikast which he could write in various ways. He was patronised by Asaf-ud Daulah. He calligraphed qata, inscribed registers, books in Shikast. Chulam Muhammad Tehalvi remarks about him. (Ibid., p.64). Tazkirah-i Khush Naubian, p.01.

5. Ibid., f.60; Muraqqa-i Khushnavi, f.227a. He was the pupil of Hafiz Wurullah.

6. Tazkirah-i Khush Naubian, p.64. The author of the Tazkirah met himself during the reign of Sa'adat Ali Khan. He was greatly renowned for his exceptional skill in writing khufi (concealed) and jali (revealed); (jali is a large plain hand writing; khufi is not traceable).

7. Tazkirah-i Katibin, f.90.

8. Ibid., f.92. He was an excellent scribe and patronised by Raja Tikayat Rai. He learnt the art from Khuda Yar yakchashm, Khushnavis, nasavvir, but he preferred his own style (Ibid.).

9. Better known as Mir Kalan. He was patronised by Sulaiman Shikoh; Tazkirah-i Katibin, f.74.

Amen: the noted calligraphists of the later period were Hafiz Ibrahim, Hafiz Lutfullah, Rajab Ali Ber Sarur, Hafiz Qia-za Hasan Ata Zarr Regam, "Qia-za Ali Raza Jawahar Regam, Mir Bande Ali Yakhchash," and Qunshi Kalka Prasad etc.

In spite of such a great number of calligraphists, books were rarely calligraphed in this period. The calligraphists concentrated on qasa Navisi only in accordance with the popular taste.

The establishment of the press during the reign of Shaziuddin Haider at Lucknow and Kanpur undoubtedly reduced the employment of calligraphers; but lithography could not naturally dispense with the calligraphist.

1. Muraqqa-i Khusravi, f.227a. He was the son of Hafiz Aurullah Khan. He made innovations in the art and created a new style different from his father's. While the curves of the letters of Hafiz Aurullah Khan were completely round, those of Hafiz Ibrahim were slightly oval shaped (Sharar, p.216).


3. Huraqga-i Khusravi, f.227a; Tarikh-i Aftab-i Awadh, f.8.


5. The press at Kanpur was established by one Archer. See Hamid-uddin Nadri, Dastan-i Tarikh-i Urdu (Urdu), Karachi, 1966, p.
Lithography, indeed demanded much calligraphic skill. Very important was the art of *muslehsandi* (or stone correction). The technique of making an impression on stone and scraping and correcting it with a pen originated in Europe, but its introduction to Nashk and Nastaliq styles was the innovation of Lucknow. In the beginning the art was confined to perfecting the obliterated, overlaid or spread letters and designs, but gradually this technique was applied in producing the whole book. One Munshi Jafar Husain introduced mirror writing (or inverted writing) on stone, thus obviating the need for paper-calligraphy.¹

The art of singing and dancing flourished greatly in Nawabi period. It received recognition from all classes of society, besides state patronage of an exceptional nature. Its development begins from the reign of Shuja-ud Daulah. He patronised accomplished musicians, dancers and other artists. Innumerable artists from Delhi and other parts of India assembled at his court. Dancing and singing became a favourite pastime as well as an integral part of almost all festivities. No occasion of mirth and festivities was ever wanting these two arts. Even for the occasion like Muharram there had developed a special type of music, called soz-khwani. Great skill was shown in playing the instruments at the time of various processions of Muharram. The popularity of this art may be judged from the fact that it became a custom among the people of high rank to employ sets of

1. Chahar Gulzar Shuja, f.409.
2. Tarikh-i Farah Baksh, f.225a. Some of the musicians received as high salary as Rs.400/500 per month; Ibid., f.248b.
4. Mrs. Hasan, I, 186, 192, 375, 377; II, 11; Knighton, 267, 270; Mundl, I, 17
5. Mrs. Mir Hasan observes, "At the time of procession a band of music follows composed of every variety of native instruments...", I, 66-7; and also, "several bands of music are dispersed in the cavalcade performing solemn dirge like airs peculiar to the style of composition in Hindoostan, and well suited to the occasion", vol. I, p.87. Also see vol. I, pp.78-9, 83-4. Even the poor people paraded their banner accompanied by a single drum and pipe, Ibid., p.69; Knighton, 184.
dancing girls; their women folk employed **domanies** within the **zanana**. In the houses of the less well off persons the dancing girls performed for a fee.

The dancing girls of Lucknow were well cultured and reputed for their sociability and education. Most of them possessed a knowledge of colloquial Persian. They are said to have excelled the dancing girls of Delhi in their skill at music.

Shuja-ud Daulah’s successors were also great patrons of music.

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1. Valantia, I, 89.

2. Mrs. Mir Hasan Ali, I, 195, "...The Nautch girls are entirely excluded from the female apartments of the better sort of people. "Domanies...are the singers and dancers admitted within the zenanah. These are women of good character. They are intrusted in native music and play on the instruments in common use ... on the Sastarah,....the Suringhee...". Also see Sharaaz, p.421. From the version of Mir Insha it appears that domanies were skilled in dancing. They performed bhav and gesticulations and sang sohlas. See Kahani Rani Ketaki...., 45, 49. The word domani is derived from dom, a caste of musicians. The male members used to be genealogists, story-tellers, as well as musicians and their women were also dancers and singers. See Crooke, III, 496. According to Mrs. Hasan, sometimes female slaves were also taught to sing for their lady’s amusements; vol. I, p.196.

3. Valantia, I, 89. From the version of Muhammad Faiz Bakhsh it appears to be a wide practice among the low caste dancers to give performances in the markets where they attracted large gatherings and thus earned their livelihood; Tarikh-i Farah Bakhsh, f.368. Probably this practice existed at Faisabad only because at Lucknow no such performance is ever referred to.


5. Ibid.
Asaf-ud Daulah, Nasir-ud Din Haider and Wajid Ali Shah employed large numbers of dancers. Nasir-ud Din Haider patronised several groups of musicians, known as Jalse-waliyan. The greatest devotee of science of song was Wajid Ali Shah. He himself was a great exponent of this art and patronised it from a very early period when he was a crown prince. It had become customary with him to give a royal dance performance on the tenth day of the jogia mela set up by him. The greatest achievement of his reign was the establishment of the Fari-Khana. Here women highly skilled in song and dance were gathered from various places. They were divided in various categories and trained in various dance items and singing by eminent masters.


2. There were four groups of these Jalse-waliyan: (i) Bhanumati, (ii) Chune-wali, (iii) Domini, and (iv) Natni. See Fasana-i Ibrat, p.10.

3. Fasana-i Ibrat, p.121; Lalji, Sultan-ul Hikayat, f.485; Tarikh-i Aftab-i Awadh, f.146; Guzishta Lucknow, p.129; Knighton, p.306.


In a way the Pari-Khana was like a music college. Here public women of note and repute sent their daughters to receive proper training in the art of dancing. Teachers of rank gathered here for discussing various problems and introduced innovations. The different categories of dancers

1. Wajid Ali Shah, Pari-Khana, 71; Wajid Ali Shah, Bani, pp.311-2. The particulars of these groups as given in Bani are:

   1) Radha Manzil Valian, p.309,
   2) Sardah Manzil Valian, pp.310-1,
   3) Jalsari Sultan Khani, p.312,
   4) Huzur Valian or Khas Manzil Valian, p.315,
   5) Surur Mansil Valian, p.315,
   6) Shahanshah Mansil Valian,

   These six groups were trained in Rahas by Haider Khan and Qalandar Bakhsh (p.317).

   7) Satve Jalsa Valian, trained by Ghulam Mohammad (Qanu Nawaz) and Vishan Raqqas.

   8) Athava Jalsa, trained by Ahmad Khan and Qayan Khan, p.318,

   9) Nava Jalsa, supervised by Inayat Hasan Khan, adept in Dhurpad, Khayal, Tarana, Arith Bhatv, p.319.

   These Jalsas were trained in singing, dancing, gesticulation, gat-bhav ( ), These were also adept in chaturang, tirvat, tarana, dhamar, rupak, tivar chautala, dhima titala, Kabir ka chab, Bramh-lakshl, sulafda chab, tal chachar, ghazal-madhya khayal and thumri singing, (p.322).

   10) Nath Valian, p.325,

   11) Chunjhat Valian, p.325.

All these groups were trained with great labour for years under the direct supervision of the king (p.312), especially the Radha Mansil Valian and Sultan Khani, so much so that they were able to perform the difficult tukras of jawahar-lakshl (p.322). He taught them 200 or 300 dance items.


so trained were called Jaslah. The various artistes assembled in the Parikhana were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Role</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kalawant (Musician)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakhawaji</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khamti player</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarangi player</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cymbal player</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nai player</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dancers</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sabada player</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dholak player</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sur-singer player</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naqara player</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarur-i Mahfil (dowri)</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dancer:

The art of dancing flourished in various forms: classical kathak, rehas, nach, kaharva, and such other folk performances.

Kathak:

This age is especially marked for the development of

1. Nothing is known historically about Kathak. The Kathak is nowhere referred to in the sources before our period, though it existed in an elementary form, Brij Bhum ka Nritya. This elementary form may be traced in the temple-dances of Faizabad performed at the occasion of Ram-naumi and Jhula celebrations, where the kathaks (cf. Note on Kathak, footnote following) performed Stuti with dance accompaniment. Then only toras and tukras were performed (This tradition was communicated to the author in a personal interview with K. Kalyanpurkar, Lecturer, Morris College of Music, Lucknow). The tradition of kathak may be as old as the Vaishnav cult itself, which has an important bearing on it. The Lila of Krishna, an incarnation of Vishnu, is an important feature of this dance. Basically it stresses Bhakti. The word Kathak is referred to by Patanjali also (cf. note on Kathak). But this dance never existed in a distinct form. Its established as a pronounced form of kathak was not achieved before the Nawabi period. It is here that the kathaks associated themselves with the Court and developed it on classical lines. The Lillas of Krishna of Gita Govinda suited the taste of the people in contemporary literature. Hence it led to the development of the kathak natwari nritya, which stresses on Lasya Anga

2. Kathak: Sanskrit Kathik; Crooke, Tribes and Castes, III, pp. 175-6; a caste of story teller, singers and musicians. Traditions connect kathaks with King Prithu (a legendary figure in Vishnu Puran), who was born out of the right arm of King Yena, son of Anga. Finding the Udgotri (art of chanting Vedic hymns) distorted, he performed a rite, out of fire pits came out three men - Magadh, Suta and Bandi. From Magadh descended the kathaks (Crooke, III, pp. 175-6). According to another tradition, these were really Gaur Brahmins and danced in the temples. At the instigation of a certain Muslim ruler they began to perform in public and since then became known as kathaks (Crooke, III, 175-6). But on the basis of Patanjali's note on Panini's Sutra-hetum it can be said that kathak flourished since before the Christian Era. While discussing the occupations of Sobhik equal to Shobhnik and Granthik he has noted that, according to Kayat, the upper sanyasa for Granthik was kathak (Kayat Bhashya, 3, I, 26). The occupation of Shobhik was imparting training to nat. Shobhiks were a sort of dramatists who used to teach the nat-acting of Kana-bandha and Bali-bandhan in Rang bhum. The Granthik's work was the presentation of the epics and long poems by means of recitation (Kayat Bhashya, p.36).

According to Pandit Ravi Datta Shastri, the commentator of AMAR KOSH charan and Kushilav became synonymous with kathak (Amar Kosh, Dwitiya Khand, Sudra Varg, 20, Shlok 12). The Kushilav are referred to by Bhav Bhuti in

continued...
dance performances of jesters (Bhand). The paintings of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth centuries show that this style (bhandeti nach) was quite popular.

Its transformation into a highly technical form was the contribution of the Lucknow Court. It is due to their efforts that kathak could develop on classical lines. The kathak in its present form was established in Lucknow. The tremendous work of transformation of Natwari nritya into a darbari-nritya was the work of the family of Prakash Nartak. He obtained employment under Nawab Asaf-ud Daulah; and from this may be dated the beginning of the Lucknow School of Kathak.

Continued........ the 7th century as actors and dancers and singers.

Malti Madhav, p.1:

"मलिके श्रवणे तांगापकोषीस्वरूप अनुभवार्थ खानिकर" Ibid., p.1.

These Kushilav, following Lav and Kush wandered around the country, reciting the stories of the great epics, and the charan accompanied them with dancing. With the rise of the Vaishnava cult they began to perform Krishna charita. In our period the kathaks were the most renowned in the art of dancing among all the castes of musicians (Guncha-i Rag, p.173). Kathaks claimed to be Brahmins and were divided into 16 sections. By the low castes, Hindus as well as the Rajputs, they were regarded as Brahmins, though they could not accept the alms. But the established castes of Brahmins did not accept them. This was perhaps due to their occupation of teaching and accompanying the dancing girls during their performances. Their women were inaccessible in society except on rare occasions, such as marriages in very high caste family, and their men were known as Bharus (the attendant of the ordinary girls). Crooke, III, pp.175-6.

1. These remarks are based on a personal interview with the Late Shambhu Maharaj. He was the descendent of Prakash Nartak and the greatest kathak dancer in the modern period.

2. Ibid.
Prakash Nartak was a great exponent of kathak and belonged to its rasdharl tradition. Among his three sons, Maharaj Durga Prasad, Thakur Prasad, and Bharonji, Thakur Prasad was the most renowned. He started the great task of improving kathak and endowed it with a new name "Kathak Natwari Nritya". His innovations in kathak are various: (a) The use of mradang in kathak is attributed to him. Formerly they used to play on dhol (small drum) and cymbals. (b) The bol (mnemonic) of pakhawaj were introduced in this dance during his period. Formerly these bol existed in the form of primlu and not used much. (c) The use of the bandish of pakhawaj (rhythmic patterns) and paran (rhythmic phases compatible with the bol of a particular tal or theke synchronising with the whole rhythmic cycle) is also his innovation. His Ganesh Paran was very famous.

1. Muraqqa-i Khusrawi, f.227a; Ghunche-i Rag, p.123.
2. These remarks are based on a personal interview with Birju Maharaj, nephew of Shambhu Maharaj and an exponent of the Lucknow School of Kathak, Kathak Kendra, New Delhi.
4. Birju Maharaj. According to the popular notion the mridang and pakhawaj are identical.
5. Birju Maharaj.
6. I am thankful to Mr. Shahab Sarmadee for defining the technical terms.
Almost all the characteristics of a dance item took shape at this time, such as

1) Nritya ki amad
2) That bandh kar khara hone ka dhang
3) Gaton ke nikas
4) Gat bhav
5) Bhav nikas
6) Tatkar ke tukre
7) Natwar ke tukre
8) Primal ke bol
9) Tabla ke bol
10) Pakhawaj ki paran
11) Pair ki layakari etc.

Further embellishments were provided by Thakur Prasad's two sons, Kalkaji and Vindadin. Vindadin enriched the lyrical side by composing numerous thumri, dadra, ghazal, and bhajans. He enriched the technique also with the new forms and imparted it both vitality and variety. The expansion of bhav abhinay which became the pronounced feature of kathak, is attributed to him. He laid stress on the beauty of bhav so much that kathak no longer remained the mere exhibition of the rhythm of the feet. It embodied emotional expressions. Vindadin was thus the first to encourage the dramatic content of kathak.¹

¹ Shambhu Maharaj.
He improved and elaborated the gat also. He was the foremost, if not the first, to develop choreography (jo); or the art of composing dance item) in kathak. Previously neither the movements employed in gat were as graceful nor the gesture as elaborate as in his choreography. He also developed the ANGA of Thumri as adopted in kathak dancing.

Vindadin could dance in all the talas (time measure) and with each form of music—dhrupad, thumri, dadra, ghazal. Thumri-dancing was his special field, which he taught to some of the eminent artists of the period—Cohar Jan and Zohra Bai. Wajid Ali Shah learnt dancing under his guidance.

Kalkaji showed exceptional technical skill in the technique of nrit (pure dance), and also in the execution of its rhythm. He was the master of layakari (rhythm). He exercised perfect control over his dance steps, bodily movements and postures, even gestures, how so ever quick and brisk the laya may be. The use of Bhanwari and such other difficult ornamental devices in kathak were his innovations. These two brothers trained various male and female dancers in classical kathak.

1. Kalyanpurkar.
2. Not only full control over rhythm, but the lyrical control over rhythm is called layakari. (I owe this information to Mr. Shahab Sarmadee.)
3. Bhanwari or wheeling is a typical action in north Indian folk dance (deshi nritya). There were three forms of it: (i) anchit, (ii) lohari, (iii) bhanwari. These were the features of the acrobatic dances of nata (Ghuniyat-ul Munya, composed by an anonymous author, 1375-76 A.D., Fotograph copy of India Office Library MS. No.2008, Department of History, A.M.U., Aligarh, ff.72a-74a). The bhanwari form was adopted by the kathaks. The speciality of this dance is that it is invariably climaxed with a quickening tempo of dance-steps. There is then every likelihood of the steps getting confused or unrhythmic. Still more, there is every likelihood of the accompanying body movements becoming awkward or unharmonious. But a consummate bhanwari dancer exercises full control over steps, movements and postures. (I owe this information to Mr. Shahab Sarmadee.)
Besides the **Prakash Gharana**, two other **gharanas** also flourished in Lucknow, one was that of Miyan Abdullah and the other of Fazal Husain. It is very unfortunate that the details about these two **gharanas** are not available. It is on record that the **Abdullah Gharana** specialised in quick-tempo and ornamental dance devices. In the later **gharana**, besides Fazal Husain, Mustafa Husain and Sakhwat Husain were quite famous.

The **Lucknow Gharana** reached the climax of its development during the reign of King Wajid Ali Shah. Due to his *rahas*, in which he combined the **kathak** and *ras*, the **kathak** became more and more popular. The prostitutes of Lucknow were greatly adept in this particular classical dancing. The **kathak** became so popular that the Muslim dancers also adopted it. Mostly they were trained by the Nawab or the Kalka-Vindadin house.

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5. Ghunchar-i Rag, p.124.
Kathak as developed in Lucknow is based on the depiction of the following items:

i) **Thath-band**i and **lakshan prithya**: Depiction of the classification and various characteristics of the kathak dance.

ii) **Nrityang**: Pure dance.

iii) **Jati-shunya**: The rhythmic pattern of this particular dance was characteristic of physical jerks, thumping of the feet, clanking of the ghungaras, super-imposed with appropriate movements of limbs. Movements were also made to provide a visual picture of the intricacies of the particular bhav involved.

iv) **Bhav rang**: Depiction of the notes and aesthetic feelings involved with those notes by means of dance steps. In it the concept of **Nayak-Nayika Bhed** prevailed.

v) **Isht-padi**: Rendering of a particular passage, especially composed for the kathak dance, full of feelings of devotion and divine love.

vi) **Gat Bhav**: Depiction of the tempo of the dance.

**Tarana**: The term **tarana** refers to a form of vocal singing, mainly of the **khayal** style. **Tarana** in dance stands for a specific form of **gat bhav** which is performed in better speed and wherein **sahitya paran** and **sangeet paran** are assimilated with the **bel** of the **tarana**. The Lucknow Gharana has the following characteristics:
(a) The expansion of bhav (bhav) was the pronounced feature of Lucknow gharana of kathak which distinguished it from other gharanas. Here nritya and natya both were given equal emphasis. While in the other gharana gestures and emotional expressions played an inferior part. In Lucknow gharana various styles of bhav abhinaya (expressions of sentiments by the eyes and bodily movements) were developed.

1) Sabha bhav: creating a feeling among the individuals assembled in a dance assembly that the dancer is in direct response with him.

2) Ang bhav: depiction of the scene conveyed by the words and phrases through movements and limbs of the body.

3) Arth bhav: depiction of textual sense of the literary composition which is being danced.

4) Nayan bhav: depiction through movements of the eyes.


2. For instance, in Jaipur and Banaras gharanas, music was less employed in kathak. Only Lehra (a single phrase music) appears which, despite of being repeated again and again did not distract attention from the rhythmic variations of a dance item, produced by the dancers and the instrumentalist both.


4. Ibid. p.127.
There are three more varieties:

5) Bol bhav: depiction by mnemonic.

6) Nritya bhav: depiction of the various parts of a dance item.

7) Gat arth bhav: a composite item comprising gat and bol both.

Almost all dancers of Lucknow specialised in bhav abhinaya especially the nayan bhav, which was the most difficult of all. The tappa, thumri, dadra, geet and ghazals were used in kathak to elaborate bhav.

The bhav, as an inherent part of dance, assumed such a wide popularity and importance that even the downies, who used to sing it in a sitting position, took to making gestures.

The nautiya ang gave way to the performance of nayika bhed. In fact kathak embodied all the characteristics of its period by its abhinay ang.

2. Ghunchari Rag, p.125; Birju Maharaj. According to him bhav on ghazal was started in Lucknow as it was used in all other types of dances there. The dhrupads, and kavitas were comparatively less used as dance accompaniment, as compared to former periods. It was due to the incapability of dhrupads to expand bhav and maintain a fast tempo. The dhrupads were sung in slow tempo and it embodied only the sentiments and of devotion.
4. Nayika: is the heroine of a poetic composition. There are ten main denominations in Hindi and Sanskrit literature, according to her condition and behaviour. These are:
The main is shringar (erotic sentiment) with its two variations: sanvog and viyog. The lilas of Krishna of Gita Govinda found a wide acceptance.

In the kathak of Lucknow lasya ang (i.e., the performance of graces and embellishments of a heroine) predominates. All the ang and bhed of lasya were developed. The predominance of lasya ang imparted to it great sophistication.

1. Sanvog: Amorous meeting of the hero and the heroine.
Viyog is the feeling of sentiment of love in separation.

2. There are three divisions of lasya: (i) Sharira: gesticulations showing lust and passion; (ii) Ayatna: gesticulation showing spontaneous desire and expressions; (iii) Swabhava: gesticulations showing natural love.

These three have again been divided into various sub-divisions: (i) Sharira has three forms: (a) Bhav: emotions; (b) Hay: any feminine coquettish gesture calculated to execute amorous feelings; (c) Hela: amorous sports.

(ii) Ayatna has seven sub-divisions: (a) Shobha: lustre and grace; (b) Kanti: loveliness; (c) Madhurya: sweetness; (d) Deopt: brightness; (e) Pragalbhaya: boldness; (f) Audarya: generosity; (g) Dhairya: firmness.

(iii) Swabhava has nine forms: (a) Lila: amorous pastime; (b) Vilas: any feminine gesture indicative of amorous sentiments; (c) Vichchhit: a particular type of amorous gesture consisting in carelessness in dress and decoration through pride of personal beauty; (d) Kilkchhit: amorous agitation, weeping, laughing, being angry and so on, in the society of the lover; (e) Mottavit: silent involuntary expression towards an absent lover, as when a woman, her mind being taken by her lover, stretches the ear and so on, when he is remembered or spoken of; (f) Kuttamit: the affected repulse of a lover's endearments or caresses; (g) Affectation of indifference towards a beloved object through pride; (h) Lalit: any languid or amorous gestures in a woman; (i) Vibhat: one of the ten modes of indicating love used by woman.
The performance of *nayika bhed* and *laasya* made kathak, *thumri* ang pradhan, that is *thumri* was sung with it, as it was capable of elaborating the *Bhay* and it expressed well the erotic feelings. *Thumri* singing was developed in Lucknow owing to its employment in *kathak*, and this folk singing was thus absorbed into classical music.

The employment of *dadra* (a Persian time measure employed in *qaul*) was also a speciality of *kathak*. Like *thumri*, *dadra* was also now accepted as a semi-classical form.

In spite of displaying the *nayika bhed*, the *kathak* never employed lower sentiments, because in it the movements of the limbs were prohibited; and therefore it was not vulgarised.

There was no distinction between male and female dance, except for a few which are exclusively reserved for women due to their specific themes suited to women, such as *panghat* and *chaiti nritya*. Male and female both dancers danced *Gat* and *Tora* and performed *Bhavabhinaya*.

*Kathak* was originally a part of folk-culture. Although the impact of court-culture may be seen in its costumes and ways of presentation before the audience (*mujra*),1 its underlying popular content still survived.

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1. *Mujra* means to present any thing with due salutation. Technically it came to be known for *kathak* dancing. The reason being that since *kathak* was almost invariably performed before the ruling monarch or princes in darbars, A tradition grew up of opening such performances with *mujra*, and therefore it became synonymous with *kathak*.
Kathak basically concentrates on the variations in the development of a known dance item by swift and forceful foot work. In Lucknow this sphere of kathak was highly enriched. The most important development in the sphere was that of gat, which had two forms: gat bhav and gat nikas. In this period 360 gats were practised. Wajid Ali Shah himself made contributions here.

Previously gats were very short. These were elaborated by introducing bhav abhinaya. As a result gat became very graceful in the Lucknow gharana. Vindadin introduced new themes in gat, such as Murli haran, Panchnat lila, Cheer haran etc. Wajid Ali Shah's gats were based on amorous games. Among the kathaks, Krishna-gat was very popular. Gat-nikas or dancing of intricate and complicated phrases with great effectiveness was another speciality developed in Lucknow.

2. Gat means speed or tempo. Gat nachna is an idiom which means to synchronise the dance step with the bol of tabla, maintaining the laya of that particular rhythm.
5. K. Kalyanpurkar.
8. When intricate dance steps are introduced and the cycle of rhythm is completed, reverting to the original laya, it is called gat-nikas.
The use of tabla in dance accompaniment is another distinctive characteristic of the Lucknow gharana. In fact, the development of tabla playing is associated with the Lucknow Court. As the notes of the tabla were very clear-cut, it suited the kathak more than the pakhawaj, which gave a more serious effect.

Among the traditional performers of Kathak under the Nawab the following names are especially mentioned by Karam Imam: Lalji Kathak, Prakash Kathak, Durga Prasad Kathak, Man Singh Kathak, Beni Prasad Kathak,

1 It is interesting to note that the tabla is associated with the name of Amir Khusrau, though we do not find it referred to in any of his compositions. Barni refers to dahalki and Afif refers to dholki, but none speaks of the tabla. Nor did any style develop in the days of the Mughals of tabla playing.

Tabla is in fact associated with the Afghans, perhaps with the Bangash Nawabs. It is derived from tabl (ﳉ ), the Afghani folk instrument, which may still be seen at the Rampur State Palace. Tablak (IMER) or small tabl was a variation of tabl and tabla (divided into two pieces) was another. The three main styles of tabla playing were Farrukhabadi baj, Lucknowi baj and Banarasi baj. These three places are near each other. Perhaps the tabla originated at the Farrukhabad, developed at Lucknow and spread towards the east. This is the reason that the famous tablachi in the whole of Rohelkhand and Awadh were mostly from Rampur and Lucknow. Delhi adopted the tabla playing very late. The tabla was adopted in the kathak very late, perhaps during the reign of king Wajid Ali Shah, because up to the reign of king Nasir-ud Din Haider it is not referred to in dance accompaniment. Only pakhawaj was used.

(If. Tarikh-i Mohatshim Khani, f.21a.)

2. Ma'dan-ul Mosigi, p.49
Parsadu Kathak, Khushi Maharaj Kathak, Hilalji Kathak, Daya Ram Kathak, Vishnu Kathak, Durga Prasad Kathak, Thakur Prasad Kathak, Vindadin Kathak, and Kalka Prasad Kathak. Other notable performers were: Wajid Ali Shah, the last king; Ramzani, Husain Bakhsh, Qayam Ali, Mirza Wahid Kashmiri, Kanhayya (Muhammad Bakhsh), Aghwa, Haji Vilas Ali Dhari, Rahat Ali, Qalandar Bakhsh, Ali Bakhsh, Haider Ali, Muhammad Husain, Fazal Husain, Mustafa Husain, Sakawat Husain, Ahmad Khan, Nathu Khan Dhari, Ghulam Nabi Khan, Chaman and Ghulam Haider. Among the women performers we find the names of Chanda Bai (Pupil of Prakash Kathak), Jan Bakhsh, Jatto Bai and Bi Lutfan, etc.

Bhand Naach (Buffoon Dance):

One form of dance flourished among the Bhands. Besides

1. Ma'dan-ul Mosigi, p.49.
7. Bhand or Bhanr is the class of story tellers, buffoons and jesters (Crooke, I, p.256). They were also known as Naqqals (actors and mimic artists). They were separate from and of lower professional rank than the Bahurupiya (Ibid.). The Bhands were found in both Hindu and Muslim communities. The Muslim seem to have been more numerous. The Hindu sub-castes given in the census reports are Barha, Nakhatiya and Shahpuri. The Muslim branches were: Bakarha, Bhandela, Burkiya, Desi, Gaorani, Hasanpuri, Harika, Jaroha, Jaroyan, Kaithla, Kayasth, Kani wala, Kashmiri, Kathia, Qawwal, Kha, Kharya, Khatri, Kheti, Monkha, Naqqal, Nau Muslim, Pathan, Patua, Purabiya, Rawat, Sidiqi, Shaikh and Tareqiya (cf. Crooke, I, p.257).
being comedians and mimic artists, the bhand used to be usually good dancers and musicians. The performance of the bhand was as essential to a gathering as a dance like kathak. Bhandeti was a favourite pastime. This dance style was a highly developed style, based on the depiction of the various choreographical compositions, characteristic of brisk movements.

The participants were male. Usually the mujra consisted of eight or nine persons besides a set of musicians. One performer in a female attire used to dance and the other contributed to the development and climax of the dance item by means of clapping and encouraging the dancer. In between they showed their witicism, mimicry.

1. There were two recognised sub-castes of Muslim branch: (i) The Chen (derived from Chenra = little). They trace their origin to one Sayyad Hasan, a noble of the court of Taimur Lane. He had earned the title of Bhanr for composing a humorous poem in Arabic. Sayyad Hasan is regarded as the founder of their caste. These Bhanra appear to be composed of various castes: Kayasthas, Khatri, Patua, Rajputs etc., as is apparent from their sub-castes Kaithla (Kayastha), Banhamiya (Brahman), Kamarshta, Ujharha, Banthela, Gujarha (Gujar), Nonela (Lunia) etc. They professed themselves to be Mughals and Shaihks and their head-quarters were at Lucknow, Karra and Farrukhabad (Crooke, I, p.257).

   (ii) Kashmiri Bhand: These were said to be of very recent origin in Awadh. They migrated from Kashmir at the invitation of King Nasiruddin Haider (Crooke, I, p.257).


3. Technically this type of encouragement is known as ‘Bugga Dena’.

The music was provided by sitars and small drums by the Chenra Bhands and the Kashmiri Bhands played on the drums (Tabla) and fiddle (Sarangi).

With the popularity of kathak dancing, these Bhands took to learn it and they were good performers too. One Qayam Ali Kashmiri was as famous for his kathak dancing as Prakash kathak himself.\textsuperscript{1} Equally renowned kathak performer was Husain Baksh Kashmiri.\textsuperscript{2} Other such Bhand performers were Sajan, Rajabi, Nosha, Bibi Qadar, Fazal Husain, Khilona, Badshah Pazar, Kya Khub\textsuperscript{3} and Kanhayya Nagyal.\textsuperscript{4}

Folk Performances:

Among the folk dances, there were those associated with harvest times and festivals such as Holi, Kajri etc.

The greatest celebration was at the occasion of Holi. Every night in the month of Phagun, there was a continuous series of natches in almost every town and village.\textsuperscript{5} People gathered in large number near the house of\textsuperscript{1} Azmat Ali, Mureqa-i Khusravi, f.227a; also see Ma‘dan-ul Mosiqi, p.49.
\textsuperscript{2} Ma‘dan-ul Mosiqi, p.49; Qadimi Lucknow ki ek jhalak by Anon, Zamana, vol. 18, 1912, p.12.
\textsuperscript{3} Sharar, p.296.
\textsuperscript{4} Ma‘dan-ul Mosiqi, p.49.
\textsuperscript{5} Butter, p.153.
the local zamindar for the dance performed at a platform (chabutra) attached to his house. The naach was performed by a set of three or four Kasbis, accompanied by a set of Bhand and Kalawant. The instruments accompanying the dance were Sitar, Sarangi, Dhol, Khanjari, Manjira and Nafiri. During the last five days the performance continued night and day. These Kasbis and musicians were patronised by the zamindar who used to assign small lands to them in recognition of their service. They were also rewarded, at the termination of the month, by the zamindar and his women. This practice flourished in almost every district.

The Kajri dancers appeared during the month of Sawan. These were performed by the village maidens to the accompaniment of the jhula lyrics. These were merely 'dance games'.

There were some dances which were the speciality of a peculiar caste, the Kaharva dance of the Kahar, being the most important. The tradition is that once Asaf-ud Daulah conveyed to Sangi Mal 'Raja Mehra', the chief of the Kahar of the royal establishment, his desire to see caste dance. Raja Mehra instructed some beautiful women in the style: their

1. Butter, p.154. Their number increased sometimes to 300 or 400 at a time. The dance was viewed by the women too from a concealed place.

2. Ibid; Davidson also refers to the practice that the village prostitutes (naach girls) accompanied by her male assistant musicians visited the rich for their performances and they were 'handsomely rewarded' (see Diary of Travels and Adventures in India, London, 1847, vol. I, p.233).
performance was so successful that almost all the dancing women learnt it. Even the Bhands began to play the Harak in the style of the Kahars. After this the Kaharva became very popular in Lucknow and developed on classical lines.

In Lucknow Gats were also choreographed of Kaharva. These were:

1. Macheri Gat
2. Bhangar Gat
3. Thainga Gat
4. Lahenga Gat
5. Pankha Gat.

There were only four Tora danced in this style.

The Kazarva dance was danced in Kazarva Tal and resembled in its technique the Khomta dance of Bengal.

Naach:

Naach was a professionalised folk performance. Generally the naach is mistaken for a degenerate form of Kathak, but the very characteristics

3. Ibid.
underlying the both repertoires go to show that naach and kathak are entirely different.

In the kathak the nritya part predominates, so the movements are extremely complex. But in naach the greater emphasis is on the gracefulness of poses and motions. Movements are, therefore, uniform.

The following account by Charles Doyley of the dancing woman of Lucknow is of some interest: "It should be understood, that the dancing women of India pique themselves entirely on the gracefulness of their positions and motions. They have no variety of steps, the feet being kept parallel and close; one foot advancing or moving a few inches, and the other always following it; this, however, is done, with remarkable exactness as to time, which on all the occasions is regulated by the instruments played by the men attached to the set". ¹

The naach was generally performed in groups and the music was provided by a group of sarod, rubab, ud, pakhawaj, and mandalamaha players.²

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² Tarikh-i Muhatabim Khani, f.21a.
Rahas Performance of Wajid Ali Shah:

King Wajid Ali Shah is famous for his Rahas performances. Rahas was a kind of opera in which Wajid Ali Shah blended the classical Kathak and Ras, the folk dance of Braj. There were two categories of Rahas performances:

(a) In this category there are thirty-six compositions which may be characterised as corresponding to ballet. In it group dancing was performed and the dance contained a sustained theme depicted by various mudras and bhav. This may be called an elaborate form of Kathak. The dance style remained the same as that of Kathak, but it developed into a composite form of group dancing. The choreography played a very important part in these items. Amad-o-Raft, Ghumta, Gardish-o Bramari, Tukra, all these technicalities

2. Rahas depicts various phases from the playful, mystic and erotic episodes from the life of Krishna. It displays great artistry of expression as well as complexity of movements. Foot work in it is not as stylised and conventionalised as in the Kathak. It was performed by Rasdaris - a set of Brahmans in Mathura (Crooke, IV, 365). Ras was very popular in the Nawabi period and the Hindus spent money extravagantly on these performances (Wajid Ali Shah, Pari Khana, p.152). It was also popular as a form of swang and performed on festive occasions by the Rasdhari, Bhand, Bhagtiye, Nacchaye; Syed Insha Allah Khan Insha, Rani Ketki ki Kahani, Karachi, 1955, p.43.
3. Wajid Ali Shah, Bani, p.70. The Kathak is exclusively a chamber dance, and the dancer moves towards the audience and then goes back. This to-and-fro movement is termed Amad-o-Raft.
4. Wheeling in pieces, i.e. movements distributed into parts or partial movements.
5. Ibid., p.70.
6. Ibid.
of Kathak were introduced in Rahas by the King himself. The Rahas termed as Salami, Bargi and Maltub were the variations of Kathak's Salami Gat, Lucknow Chugnat Gat and Bangala Chugnat Gat. The difference was that Gates in Kathak were danced into and fro movements while here Gates were danced by going about in circles (halqas) and semi-circles in consonance with the original concept of Rasa. As would appear from some of the dance names, Wajid Ali Shah integrated several original dance styles into one and produced out of them into a composite chamber dance such as Rahas-i Mufra.

The Gates were danced in various Tals. The Rupak Tal appears to have been very popular. Only the female dancers took part in these Rahas. The tukra was pronounced by the Pakhawaj. These dances were known as Chaltis Ijad-i Rahas-i Sultan.

Wajid Ali Shah has designated and described the 36 Rahas. These Rahas, with slight variations are also given in the Saut-ul Mubarak. These are here categorised into two forms: (a) Rahas Mubarak Sultan, comprising seventeen forms, and (b) Rahas-i Sultan, comprising 15 forms.

1. For Gat of Bani (pp. 41-61) and Sautul Mubarak of Wajid Ali Shah (pp. 108-160).
2. Saut-ul Mubarak, p. 149.
4. Ibid., pp. 71-86.
7. Ibid., p. 139. In this form the influence of Kathak was more recognisable than the former form of Rahas. Wajid Ali Shah gave instructions to the dancing troupe, and he defined their mudras and bhav (cf. p. 141). Whenever a nayak pronounced a certain bol the dancers depicted it by gesticulation.
(b) In the second category come those Rahas which are operatic in character. These are: (i) two qissas of Radha Kanhayya, having almost identical themes. Both are entitled Radha Kanhayya ka qissa; (ii) maanavi. These Rahas contain most of the elements of opera except that these were not performed on the stage. Music was an essential part of these. The dialogues were used only as a means to introduce another dance. The Thumri, Dadra, Ghasal, Sowan were sung during the dance performance. Wajid Ali Shah was very careful about the expansion of bhav. Scenes were set down precisely to the minutest detail. Knighton records that a play was enacted in at least ten days.

It is interesting to note that in these qissas, Wajid Ali Shah blended together the Indian and Persian conventions. Characters of Persian origin, the paria, the dev, appear in the Radha Kanhayya ka qissa.

These qissas may be considered as the primitive or elementary form of modern Urdu drama.

1. For details cf. Section on drama.
4. Wajid Ali Shah warned that "at the time of dialogue there ought to be no noise, and the music of the instrument - players should be suspended". (Banj, p. 93.)
The instruments accompanying the Rahas were: [jhanj, Pakhawaj] and Bansuri (flute). These rahas were performed on an extravagant scale and at much cost. Only women participated in it, and the audience was exclusively from the court circle. However, these performances aroused interest in a wider public. They inspired the performance of Inder Sabha. The Inder Sabha was the first Urdu play produced with a profuse mixture of Indian with Persian conventions. The Rahas of the 'fairies' was very popular, even after the annexation. In Lucknow a new class of Rahas performers arose known as Rahas vale.

1. Bani, pp.70, 121. It is a sort of konsya tal or a jhanj of smallest size and softer tone.

2. Pari Khana, p.152; Wajid Ali Shah believed that the Rahas which he has prepared would not be produced anywhere else. All the paris were trained under eminent dance teachers. In fact there were seven persons who gave Rahas its art-form. Money in lacs were spent in the preparation of sets and the costumes.

3. See chapter on Literature (section - Drama).


5. Sharar, p.301.
Classical Music (Vocal):

Lucknow became a noted centre of classical Indian music as it possessed numerous experts of various musical styles. It is a curious factor that in spite of possessing a large number of outstanding singers of the family of Tansen and even nayaks, pure classical music declined considerably. The main reasons were: general decline in the sphere of music that set in during the post-Muhammad Shah period, when we find a departure from original musical principles; and the growing vogue of the people for semi-classical musical styles, such as Tappa, Thumri, Dadra and Ghazal in place of Dhrupad, Dhamar and even Khayal. Their popularity increased due to various factors. The styles of Dhrupad and Hori were plain and difficult in technique, and there was no scope of sharing laykari and decorative devices to produce rhythmic variations as it was in Tappa, Thumri and Dadra. Secondly, these styles, due to their great adaptability of rhythmic variations, well suited as dance accompaniments. The Lucknow school of Kathak is Thumri anga Pradhan, therefore, this period is especially noted for the development of Thumri.

1. According to Muhammad Karam Imam, Nayak was the highest title given to a musician those days (Maidan-ul Mosiqi, p.38). The Nayak performed every musical style; Ibid., p.20.
2. Ibid., p.21; Yadgar-i Bahaduri, f.320a.
4. Fasana-i Ibrat, p.22; Maidan-ul Mosiqi, p.162.
5. Ibid., p.162.
Thumri, along with Tappa and Dadra, superseded in popularity other styles of singing. Otherwise talent was not lacking as is witnessed from the fact that great number of Dhrupadiyas, Hori, Dhamar and Khayal singers were present there.

Significantly, this art at Lucknow did not belong to professional classes of singers — Dom, Dhari and Tawair (courtesan). There were great

1. Among the Dhrupadiyas Hismat Khan, Nur Khan (Yadgar-i Bahaduri, f.321a), Chhaaju Khan (Sultan-ul Hikayat, f.485), Mir Ahmad 'Mursiyakhwan Dhrupadi' (Ma'dan-ul Mosiqi, p.52), were of great renown. Among the Hori and Khayal singers were Sayyid Mir Ali, Muhammad Dilawar Ali Khan, Haiider Khan, Sharfu Bai, Khorshid Bai, Babu Ram Sahai and his son Babu Ishwari Prasad, and various others. For details please see Ma'dan-ul Mosiqi, pp.30-4, 37-8, 40, 45, 50, 51; and also, Muragqar-i Khusrawi, f.226a.

2. Dom was a caste of singers, minstrels and geneologists. They were also known as Mirasi derived from Miras — 'inheritance' — in the sense that they were hereditary bards or minstrels; Pahawaji from Pahawaj which they play; Kalawant — possessed of art and skill (kala); and also as Qawwals. See Crookes, III, p.496; Ma'dan-ul Mosiqi, p.25.

3. It was a tribe of dancers and singers, Hindus and Muslims alike (Crookes, III, 276). The Muslim branch was akin to Dom (Crookes, III, 496), and were known as Kingaria (Ibid., II, 276). There were forty sections of the Dhari tribe. Many of these are local, such as Audhiya, Balrampuri etc. At festive occasions the Dhari used to go and play Mrldang and Tanbura. The Hindu branch of Dhari also used to act as priest of local gods (Ibid., II, 277).

4. They were dancing girls and prostitutes. According to Crookes, the term is generally applied to the Muslim prostitutes. The Hindu branch had several sections — Paturiya, Patur, Kanchan (the equivalent of Tawair), Ramjani etc. Kanchan and Paturiya were the sub-castes of Horiya tribe (Crookes, II, 498).

The distinct classes of Muslim prostitutes were known as Kasbi and Kashmiri. See Crookes, IV, 364-5.
There were great artists among the amateur performers. Thus, the art received recognition from all sections of the society.

No western influence is traceable in the art of music. Although the Nawabs employed English instrumentalists and ‘bands of music’, but these were used only on the occasions of entertainments of English guests.

Soo Khwani:

The greatest contribution of the Nawabi period was in the field of

1. Among the amateur performers Salar Jung, Shuja-ud Daulah’s uncle (Tariikh-i Saadat Javed, f.386), Mirza Saif Ali Shigufta, Saadat Ali Nasir (Taszima-i Khush Marka-i Zeba, 1262 A.H. (in Urdu), Lucknow University MS., f.129), Babu Ram Sahai and Babu Ishwari Prasad (Ma’dan-ul Mo’iini, p.38), were of great renown, especially Babu Ram Sahai who was a Nayak (Ibid., p.38).


3. Saadat Ali Khan purchased a band of music from Colonel Morris (see Lord Valentia, I, 144). Lord Moira also refers to "a variety of English tunes played at the palace". (see Letter of Lord Moira, op. cit., p.66). Ghazi-ud Din Haider also had an English bag-piper, Jerry Cahagan (Hasting’s Journal, p.345). Later on the bands of music used to be employed at the time of the parade of the army (Lalji, Sultan-ul Hikayat, f.547). The only western instrument mentioned by Shaikh Ghulam Haider is turm. But it could never form a part of the orchestra of Wajid Ali Shah.
Soz-khwani. Soz-khwani as an established art and reputed style of music underwent considerable development at Lucknow.

Mersia Khwani was gaining popularity from the reign of Nawab Shuja-ud Daulah onwards. During Moharram, Urs and on certain days of Ramzan the observance of mersia khwani and Rauzakhwani in the palaces and at the graves of the saints was a popular practice. But at that time it was one of the several forms and did not receive much recognition. Its specific form was not yet established.

1. Soz Khwani, also known as mersia khwani is a style of sad and sombre music connected with the rituals of Moharram. In it the Rag and Ragi remain in the background as a framework only. The emphasis is on the rhythm. It is never accompanied by instruments. Soz Khwani comes as a prelude to the mourning assembly (Majlis).

In its primitive form soz khwani existed in Deccan and Delhi. Then only the folk tunes were applied in it and the soz compositions were sung in the Dhrupad style as is indicated by the Mudarrak metre adapted to the elegiac compositions of Sauda. Its 16 ruin echo, the chal of Dhrupad. From the well known saying bigida jawaia mersia khwani (Ab-i Hayat, p.101), we may assume that the style of singing mersia was quite crude and ineffective during the 18th century (Insha, Dariya-i Latafat, cf. Ab-i Hayat, p.485; Sharar, p.304).

2. Then the term of soz-khwani was unknown. The tuneful recitation was known as mersia-khwani. While referring to the musicians, Muhammad Fais Baksh mentions mersia-khwani (Tarikh-i Farah Baksh, ff.281a-282a, 359a). In its developed form, that is sozkhwani, it included mersia and salam both.

3. Tarikh-i Farah Baksh, ff.281a, 359a; also see Imad-us Saadat, p.68.
It is significant that at Lucknow the Soz-khwani was developed by the persons who were known Dhrupadiva. Sharar believes that Khwaja Hasan Maududi was the first to develop mersia-khwani on classical lines. He began the work of setting mersias in various tunes and melodies. Thus the art became standardised with its own rules. After him a musician Haideri Khan known as Sare Haidari set its conventions. From this time the Naqhas and such compositions were set in sad ragas. These compositions were called soz. They included both Salam and mersia.

The greatest contribution in the sphere of Soz-khwani came from Syed Mir Ali. He began the work of setting mersias in various tunes. He introduced various innovations in mersia-khwani. A new approach to the ragas was by eliminating all the joyful elements from the tunes, the musical phrases and the rhythmic tempo. He was a scholar also and composed many

Guzishta Lucknow, p.304.
1. He was a renowned musician and the teacher of the famous musicologist and greatest mersia khwani Mirza Muhammad Raza (Tarikh-i Farah Bakhsh, f.281a).
2. Sharar, p.304.
3. Ma'adan-ul Mosigi, p.37; Muragga-i Khusrawi, f.226a; Sharar, p.305. Muhammad Karam Imam considers him as the greatest musician of the period. He was known as a Nayak (Ma'adan-ul Mosigi, pp.37, 51; Ab-i Hayat, p.355). He excelled in every style of vocal music (Muragga-i Khusrawi, f.226a). He flourished in the first half of the 19th century.
4. Ma'adan-ul Mosigi, p.6; Muqammad Taqi, Tarikh-i Aftab-i Awadh, f.8. Mr Shahab Sarmadee has kindly supplied the following information:

The chief characteristic of soz-khwani is that it is a melodic recitation. In it the effort is made to conceal the musicality of the melody; and the laya as such is not maintained. The musical phrases employed in soz-khwani adhere to a cedance of their own. The bandish and Mudhra do not conform to any rhythmic pattern. Although the bol banao and Tan Taraf move in the Khayal and Thumri style, they are expressed with different tonal modulations. Awaz also contributed to it especially in the sphere of tune. The tempo is very slow. For this reason the soz composi-

contd....
elagiac verses, in various Ragas and Rqginis. Muhammad Karam Imam considers him the father of sozkhwani. He never accepted the court patronage.

Syed Mir Ali had numerous disciples: Maulvi Qayumi, Miyan Ahmad Ali, Ata, Ghulam Abbas, Mirza Fida Ali etc.

The style evolved by Syed Mir Ali continued to be largely followed, though some sozkhwani tried to introduce a style of their own such as Miyan Mamman and Mir Kallu Barchiyat.

Another great master of the art was Muhammad Raza, the famous musicologist. Nothing is known about his style.

Due to the effect of Nasir Khan sozkhwani, a member of the house of Tansen and his two disciples, Mir Ali Hasan and Mir Bande Hasan, the art was further developed. Now the sozkhwani was brought to the level of Raga.

(Contd...)
Their soz became very popular. Now soz-khwani did not remain confined to the professional musicians. People learnt it irrespective of caste and creed.¹

Even people of the upper strata learnt it.² One Nawab Sultan Ali Khan and Nawab Hasan Ali Khan Salarjung were renowned next only to Syed Mir Ali.³

The greatest influence was exercised on the women folk and it became a custom among them to learn soz-khwani with all its rules and technicalities.⁴ There were professional performers also among them.⁵

It was the time when the rituals connected with Muharram were getting formalised. Badshah Begam, Queen of Ghaziuddin Haider and her son Nasiruddin Haider were the greatest exponents of such practices. Badshah Begam initiated the practice of celebrating Muharram for 40 days instead of 10 days.⁶ Azadari was performed with great pomp and show.⁷ Soz-khwani and mersiakhwani

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2. Ibid., p.305.
4. Sharar, p.305. Nauba was much developed among them.
5. Among the professional women soz-khwani were Haideri Begam, Muhammadi Begam, and Nanhi Begam. Tarikh-i Awadh, V, p.54. Wajid Ali Shah trained a number of ladies. They are described by him as Mersia Valiyan.
7. Ibid., p.8. Badshah Begam spent large sums of money on Fatiha Darood and such other ceremonies.
were the most popular forms of elegiac recitations performed at Mâllâes and processions. Mrs. Hasan refers to the 'solemn dirge-like air' played on bands accompanying the royal processions during Muharram.

The mass popularity of the *soz*-*khwani* may be known from the fact that it influenced the *Molud-khwani* also as it followed the same technique of recitation. Some of the outstanding *mersia-khwans* of 19th century were:


2. Sharar, pp.485-6. *Molud Khwani* is a form of *Khitâb-khwani* or *Hadîs Khwani* punctuated by melodic recitations, specially of *Salâm*. The technique applied in the recitation of *soz-khwani* is: The performance requires a minimum number of 3 persons. The leading performer is known as *sar* and the other two supporters on his both sides are known as *Bazu* and *sar Bazu*. Some of the *soz-khwan* party have two additional performers known as *As* and *Bas*. The *As* is to sound the drone and the *Bas* is to create the tonal variety by sounding the accordant note involved in the particular *Raga* performed by the *soz-khwani*. The *sar* slowly hums the tune. The rest of the party catches the *sar* and the humming is followed by a full throated expansion of *Kharaj* with the scale established. (It is technically known as *Kharaj Qayam karna*. Now the *soz-khwani* commences. Usual practice is to start with *Rubai* or *gita* set in a *Raga* suited to the time and hour. Then come larger composition known *soz*. *Salâr* comes after *soz*. The last item is *mersia*. The *soz-khwani* ends with the termination of *mersia*. (Information from Mr Shahab Sarmadee.)

**Tappa:**

Tappa is an intricate musical style sung in fast tempo. The melody is built up by elaborate turns and trills. This style is associated with Miyan Ghulam Nabi Shori. Originally it was a rude folk style sung by the camel drivers of Punjab. Miyan Shori developed it on classical lines and gave it the intricacy and elegance to the extent that Miyan Shori is known as the innovator of Tappa style of singing.

The Tappa came in vogue during the reign of Asaf-ud Daulah. Gradually this style became so popular as to supersede all other styles.

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2. According to Muhammad Karam Imam, Miyan Shori, who was as renowned as Syed Mir Ali (Mureqqa-i Khwarawi, f.226a) travelled to Punjab and learnt the Punjabi language and selected the folk airs suited for tappa; then he composed tappa in every Rag and Ragni (Ma'dan-ul Mosiqi, p.39). Tappa is classified by the musicians as Dhun (Ma'arif-ul Naghmaw, p.91), a type of melody in India. Its characteristic features are that it is free from all the restrictions of classical music of fixed number of notes, regulated arrangement of traversing notes upward and downward (Arroh and Arroh). Dhun is a mixture of various bits of tunes, having the semblence of Rag, though 'it lacks its inherent expansiveness'. As Tappa bases on Dhun, it is considered a semi classical style.


There was another style of Tappa singing evolved by one Sharsha which was similar to that of Miyan Shori.¹

The expert 'Tappa baz' of the period were: Syed Mir Ali, Miyan Gamo Dhari, Shadi Khan Dhari, Babu Ram Sahai, Nawab Husain Ali Khan² and Achchan,³ Amir Khan and Chhajju Khan Dhari. Miyan Gamo popularised this style all over India.⁴

Besides Shori, one Hafiz Ashraf is said to have composed numerous Tappa.⁵

Dadra:

Like Tappa it is also a semi-classical style sung in Dadra and Kaharva time measures. This too existed as a folk form, mostly in Purabi dialects. It was developed on classical lines during the Nawabi period. There were prescribed Ragas for this style.⁶ Dadras of Hafiz Ashraf Ashraf and Alam are quite famous.⁷

¹ Ma'dar-ul Mosiqi, p.40.
² Ibid., pp.23, 30.
³ Yadgar-i Behaduri, f.321a.
⁴ Ma'dar-ul Mosiqi, p.31.
⁵ Tabagat-i Sho'ra-i Hind, f.482.
⁶ Hindustan ki Mosiqi, p.143.
Thumri:

An intricate style of music which has the characteristics of Khayal Dhrupad, Sufiyana, Qawwali, Ghazal, and Tappa. This style also had a folk base and flourished during the reign of Wajid Ali Shah. Thumri are mostly in Braj Bhasha. Like Tappa it has a restricted number of Ragas, such as Khamaj, Kafi and Pilu.

The development of Thumri is associated with Kathak. As Thumri has great scope of Bhav expression - a leading characteristic of Lucknow school of Kathak, it became popular with Kathak dancing as well as dance forms.

Wajid Ali Shah is considered the best Thumri writer. Besides him, Binda Din also composed various Thumris which are sung by the exponent of Lucknow school of Kathak. Alam, the queen of Wajid Ali Shah has also composed various Thumris. Other noted Thumri writers were Hafiz Ashraf Ashraf and Shaikh Nisami.

2. For his Thumri see Nazo, part two.
3. Ibid.
Instrumental Music

Tabla Playing:

During the Nawabi period, Lucknow was noted for its Tabla-playing.¹

The Lucknow-Baj or the style of Tabla playing is an off-shoot of Delhi school and introduced here by Dhari Bakhshu Khan² and Mamiu Khan of Delhi.³ But soon it acquired a distinct form.

The Lucknow-Baj is akin to the Pakhawaj style — i.e. in it, like the Pakhawaj, the eye is slapped by the fore finger. At Delhi the middle finger is used. The Lucknow-Baj is dominated by the use of gat, tukra and chakkardar gat, while in Delhi-Baj the emphasis is on Peshkar, Reha and small gats.⁴

Bakhshu Khan was the master of the Lucknow-Baj. His son excelled in Gat while Sulairi, his son, was matchless in Gat paran.⁵

Among Bakhshu's pupils one Najju Deradar was outstanding.⁶ Others were Agha Khan Naqqarchi and Haji Vilayat Ali Dhari.⁷

¹ Ma'dan-ul Mosiqi, p.48.
² Bakhshu was outstanding in Tabla playing. Muraqqa-i Khurashi, f.226a; Gusihta Lucknow, p.310.
⁴ Ibid., p.314.
⁵ Ma'dan-ul Mosiqi, p.48; Gusihta Lucknow, p.310.
⁶ Ma'dan-ul Mosiqi, p.48.
⁷ Ibid., p.50.
Significantly the Lucknow Baj is suitable only as accompaniment to dancing and singing.¹

Naqqara (Kettledrum):

Lucknow developed its distinct style of Naqqara playing, that is known as mursal. It is a difficult style in which intricate gats are played in the way of Paran in low and fast tempo.²

Qasim Khan, Ghulam Khan Unnami were the master of Mursal style. Other noted naqqara players were Makhdoom Bakhsh, Chhabbu Unnami, Agha Khan Unnami.³

Pakhawaj:

Pakhawaj was used in Lucknow, exclusively as a dance accompaniment. The most renowned Pakhawaji were Lala Bhawani Singh.⁴ Among his pupils Kodo Singh and Tan Khan were of great renown. They flourished during the reign of Wajid Ali Shah.⁵ Tan Khan excelled in Lag-i Turk Tali while Kodo Singh excelled in the Gat Faran. His style is noted for its soft and delicate slapping.⁶

¹. Ma’dan-ul Mosiqi, p.48.
². Ibid., p.47.
³. Ibid., pp.48, 50, 184.
⁴. Ibid., p.48.
⁵. Ibid., pp.48–9; Zafar Namah, p.40.
Besides them, Abid Ali and Jot Singh were the noted Pakhawaj. These were patronised by the Nawab and they followed their own style.\footnote{Ma'dan-ul Mosiqi, p.48.}

**Dhol Tasha** (large drum and semi-spherical drum):

It is a band of music played in the processions.\footnote{Guzishta Lucknow, p.314. This band included a pair of Ghanta too (Ibid.)} The **Tasha** gave the rhythm and the **Dhol** player followed it. The playing of these two instruments required a highly developed sense of rhythm as well as highest degree of skill.

Wajid Ali Shah was greatly expert in the art of playing **Dhol-Tasha** which he used to play at the occasion of Mehndi (7th Muharram).\footnote{Ibid.} One Pandit Bhaer Dutt Shastri excelled in **Dhol** playing.\footnote{Haroor Himar Mandair-i Awadh, p.78.}

**Sitar**:

**Sitar** was a favourite instrument with all classes.\footnote{Knighton, p.210.} In **Sitar** playing, Lucknow is noted for its **Masit Khani Baj**, a style evolved by Masit Khan. Rahim Sen, son of Masit Khan, Ghulam Husain Khan Delhavi were good exponent of this style.\footnote{Ma'dan-ul Mosiqi, p.44.}
The characteristics of Masit Khani Baj are that the Gat is played in slow tempo and Tin Tal. Like the Khayal it has two tooks - sthayi and Antara. An extensive swar vistar is played before the Gat is played. It is never played in between the playing of Gat. The use of decorative devices - Mirh, Kan, Murki, Zameema, Gamak - is made only when sthayi is repeated after Antara. In the last Tora is played Laykari, which is a special feature of it.

Another style was evolved by Ghulam Raza. Like Masit Khani Baj its Gat was played in Tin Tal. But here there was no scope of Thok (५) and the Ragas employed in it were mostly based on Dhun. According to Muhammad Karam Imam this style was similar to that of Thumri.\(^1\) It was not liked by good musicians and was popular with the amateur performers only.\(^2\)

The noted exponent of Sitar were Qutub Ali Khan,\(^3\) pupil of Piyare Khan,\(^4\) Rajab Ali Qawwal\(^5\), 'Jurat' also excelled in this art.\(^5\) Other noted names in this sphere are that of Babu Ram Sahai and Nawab Ali Naqi Khan.\(^6\)

1. Ma'dan-ul Mosiqi, p.44.
2. Ibid., pp.44, 45.
3. Ibid., p.46; Pari Khana, p.61.
4. Tarikh-i Muhtaghim Khani, f.17a.
5. Mushafi, Tazkira-i Hindi Goyan, f.63; Tazkira-i Mir Hasan, p.4; Tazkira-i Gulghan-i Hind, p.73.
"As playing of Bin is very difficult", observes Muhammad Karam Imam Khan, "There were only a few exponents of this art". Most of them were gathered at Awadh such as Umrro Khan and Muhammad Ali Binkar, Rahim Khan - the descendants of Raja Sumokhan Singh who settled here during the reign of Shuja-ud Daulah. One noted Binkar of 19th century was Nasir Ahmad Khan. There is no speciality of Lucknow in playing the instrument.

A variation of Bin was modelled at Lucknow named as Sundar Bin by Hafiz Ashraf 'Ashraf'.

Among the Sarangi players, the names of Hussain Miyan Zebu Khan Kalawant Nayak, Baksh Lucknavi, among the Rabab player that of Miyan Piyar Khan, Basat Khan and Jafar Khan, and Ghulam Muhammad Khan were of great renown. Ghulam Muhammad excelled in Rabab-Parani. The greatest exponent of Rabab was Bahadur Sen urf Ziya Ullah Khan.

Piyar Khan modelled a new instrument - Sur Singar and excelled in playing it.

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1. Ma'dan-ul Mosiqi, p.57.
2. Ibid., p.33.
5. Ma'dan-ul Mosiqi, p.46.
6. Ibid., p.31; Zafar Namah, p.40.
7. Ibid., p.33.
8. Ibid., p.83.
10. Ibid., p.33. Sur Singar is made of wood, a skin stretched on the lower portions that widens it into an ovalish elongation. Owing to its extreme complication there were only a few musicians to play on this instrument. See Shahinda, Music of India, p.79.
Musicology:

The most important contribution to musical science was Usul-ul Naghmat al-Asafi, a Persian work produced during the reign of Asaf ud-Daulat, by Mirza Muhammad Raza, a disciple of Khwaja Hasan Maududi. The author was well versed in Sanskrit works on music and had ample knowledge of Arab and Persian music. He claims to have written this work after consulting various scholars and musical experts, and this book according to him is the gist of all the knowledge available on the science of music.

Raza was the first musicologist to raise objection about the old Matas and their system of classification of Ragas on Raga-Ragini Putra basis. They give no basis of the relationship and related (derivative) to a particular Raga (principal Raga) on the basis of the similarity of the notes. He considered it to be an out of date system and laid down his own Mata on a more scientific basis. According to it the relationship between a Raga and

1. See Pandit Bhatkhande, A Short Historical Survey of the Music of Upper India, Lecture delivered at All India Musical Conference, Baroda in 1916.
3. Ibid., f.14, 75.
4. Ibid., f.8.
5. Ibid., f.75. The four Mata are: Bharat Mata, Kali Nath Mata, Hanuman or Hanumant Mata, and Someshwar Mata. The first two Mata have six principal Ragas. Each Raga has 5 Reginis, 8 Putra and 8 Bhari, while the other two Mata have 6 Ragas, 6 Reginis and 8 Putra. See Shahinda, Indian Music, p.15.
Ragini was to be established on the basis of the structural similarity of Shruti, Murchana, the treatment of its notes, their arrangement and above all the nature and the impact of the Raga (\( \text{\textindex{\textsl{Raga}}} \)) . His classification is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ragas</th>
<th>Raginis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. Hindol</td>
<td>Puriya, Basant, Lalit, Pancham, Dhanashri, Marwa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Shri</td>
<td>Gori, Purvi, Gaura, Tirvan, Malshri, Jaitsri.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Raza has also tried to give the scientific basis of Sur. Other important contribution of Raza is that he established Bilawal as Sudha scale in place of Kafi which was up to now considered the Sudha scale of North Indian music. **Bilawal** is also accepted as the foundation of modern Hindustani music by Pandit Bhat Khande, the modern revivalist of the Indian music. The **Raga** definitions (**Lakahana Sangit**) given by him are still useful for the Hindustani music.3

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2. Ibid., f. 224. This scale corresponds very nearly to the scale c (major). See *A Short Historical Survey of Indian Music*, p. 35.

Other work on musicology was *Usul-ul Naghaim* by Muhammad Khalil Khan Ashk and dedicated to Zain-ul Abidin Khan, written in 1228 A.H. He remarks that owing to the great controversy about the science of music, he has tried to give a solution in this book which he has reached after critically examining the various views and consulting the various musicians.

1. This MS. is in the Raza Library, Rampur.

2. See *Usul-ul Naghaim*, f.3.
Architecture

Nawabi reign is important for the development of architecture. The first two rulers were too busy in their own affairs to interest themselves in activities other than political. Under the later rulers, however, art and culture prospered. Lucknow came to be looked upon as the rival of Delhi and the nawabs as the very symbols of refinement and artistic virtuosity. Architecture shared the major part of their resources and energies. Almost every deceased ruler was accorded a tomb; every new nawab superstitiously abandoned the palace where his predecessor died and built his own. They vied each other in the effort to build more glorious monuments. Religious architecture received special impetus from their unbounded enthusiasm towards the glorification of the names of the Imams. In the course of a hundred years Lucknow was all over studded with scores of palatial monuments,

1. Faiz Bakhsh observes: As the early nawabs have no interest in the building art and masonry constructions, there were certain earthen houses constructed for them and nobles. The only building of note was Bangla-i Chobi (Khas Posh). Later on a citadel was constructed around it, with high walls and domes; see Tarikh-i Farah Bakhsh, Persian, A.H., 1333, written 1231-32 A.H., f.22a. Before the battle of Faizabad Shuja-ud Daulah used to go Faizabad only occasionally and just for sake of fun. It was only after the battle that he was permanently settled there and then he reconstructed the old citadel of Faizabad. Old buildings were demolished and new were constructed in place of them. The walls of new citadel were 10 ka{ in thickness (Ibid.).

majestic gateways, Imambaras, mosques, tombs, country houses, including more than hundred monuments in all. So that when Russel visited Lucknow in 1857, he recorded his impressions with reference to its monumental buildings in the following words, "Not Rome, nor Athens, nor Constantinople, nor any city in India appears to me as striking as this and the more I gaze the more its beauty grows upon me". 1

Of these buildings, many have been destroyed, especially those of Faizabad which was the capital of Awadh during the reign of the first two nawabs. Some are disintegrating gradually. But there are some, like the great Imambaras and the Jami' Mosque, which have successfully maintained much of their former strength and decoration.

The monuments of the Nawabi period may be broadly divided into two groups: religious buildings such as tombs, mosques and Imambaras; and secular buildings consisting of palaces, pavilions, garden-houses and gateways.

In the former kind of buildings, the traditional elements of Mughal architecture are consistently preserved. A sanctuary covered by a


2. According to Munshi Haul Kishor, there were numerous royal edifices in the north of the city of Lucknow; most of these were destroyed during the Mutiny. Tawarikh-i hadir-ul-Asr, Lucknow, 1263 A.H., n. 137.
dome, tall minarets with cupolas, a high plinth for the base, ranges of cloisters, arches, arcades, kiosks and turrets continue to be employed.

Although one finds some casual foreign elements adopted here and there, such as Corinthian pillars, Gothic vaulting and Roman round arches, they are either of a distorted form, or their effect remains subdued in the profusion of native elements.

The Nawabi architecture makes an interesting study in the transformation of the Mughal style into what may be called the contemporary European style, especially the house architecture developed in England. This change may be said to have taken place in three phases of transition.

The first phase is characterised by the adoption of Mughal style and is represented by the tomb of Safdar Jung built by Shuja-ud Daulah (in 1754-55), his own tomb, palaces of Faizabad and some earlier buildings of Lucknow, such as the Daulat Khana palace.

With the penetration of British political influence into Awadh, European influence becomes more visible. Shuja-ud Daulah was the first to requisition the services of a British engineer. It is significant that Henry Poller had been recommended by the Bengal government in 1766 after repeated requests by the Nawab. However, the palaces of Faizabad built

under his supervision bear only casual traces of European influence (viz., castellated outer wall) and seem to have entered by way of modifications or additions which may have been suggested by him in the plan which was prepared by the Nawab himself.  

An important role in this direction was played by Claude Martin, the French adventurer who settled down in Lucknow during the reign of Asaf-ud Daulah. The fantastic Constantia (La Martinière) of his creation captured the imagination of the Awadh builders who could see in it fresh ideas to introduce in their own buildings. From then onwards, European elements continued to infiltrate increasingly into the native architecture. The demand for European engineers increased. Of these, the names of MacLeod and Tucket are worth mentioning. MacLeod was employed by Saadat Ali Khan, who owing to his long association with the English was much inclined to the western ways of life. Tucket served under Ghazi-ud Din Haider.  

The buildings erected under European influence in the second phase combine the indigenous and foreign elements. Examples of these are the Palace Farhat nakhsh, the Great Chhattar Manzil Palace, and the Lal Baradari.

1. Anoine Louis, op. cit., p. 5.
The third phase is represented by buildings erected in a purely English style. Specimens of this are Hayat Bakhsh, Dilaram, Alam Bagh, Sufaid Baradari and Lunka Palace.

These phases cannot be rigidly separated chronologically. The whims and fancies of the individual builders largely determined the style of a building. Almost all the palaces of Saadat Ali Khan were built in the English style. Ghaziuddin Haider, Nasiruddin Haider, Roahsmrud Daulah (the Vazir of Nasiruddin Haider) preferred a mixed style, while Najid Ali Shah built in both. The fact is, that the process of transformation was still in its early stages when the dynasty came to an end.

The architecture of Awadh originated in the tradition of the Mughal architecture and the Mughal style remained essentially ingrained so far as the buildings of the first two phases are concerned. By the time the state of Awadh came into existence, Mughal architecture itself had

1. The comment of Sir Henry Lawrence is worth mentioning. According to him the houses look 'as if they had been transplanted from Regent Street'; see the Kingdom of Oude, Calcutta Review, 1845, p.360.

2. For instance Saadat Ali Khan was his own architect. see Lord J.V. Valantia, Voyages and Travels in India and Ceylone, the Red Sea, Abyssinia and Egypt in the year 1802, 7, 4, 5, 6, vol. I, London, p.143; Ghaziuddin 'Aider'prepared himself the plan of the tomb of his mother, Moti Mahal and Najaf Ashraf. Yad ar-i Jad aduri, ff.606a, 607a.
degenerated to a considerable extent. Hence, what the nawabs adopted, therefore, was only a debased form of contemporary Mughal art. With the assimilation of local elements and the impact of European features, it acquired a distinctness of its own. The stone and marble is replaced here by brick, mortar and stucco. The buildings are more massive and congested sometimes resulting in the loss of proportion. A very highly ornate style of decoration is found. Most of the nawabs prepared plans of their buildings themselves. They endeavoured to bring in as many decorative elements as possible, both in constructional form and surface decoration. Moreover, the plans were further enriched by foreign elements. The facade of a gateway would generally have the emblem of the fish on the spandrels, a parapet with additional embellishment in arches foliated, mouldings, minarets, kiosks, pediments, bell-turrets, pilasters, a dome or a pattern made up of flying

1. Percy Brown regards the post Aurangzeb period as the 'last phase' or the 'closing phase' of Mughal style. The characteristic feature of which was an excess of ornamentation. Now the style consisted of ornamental details and mouldings in plaster. History of Indian Architecture (Islamic Period), Delhi, 1968, p.122. While Dr. Harmanne Gietz regards it the 'Rococo Age of Delhi' or an 'over crowded and unbalanced degeneration of the classical Mughal style'. This style is marked by the erection of galleries, niches, balconies of polygonal ground floor and round outlines, curved windows enclosing smaller windows, pent houses and roofs, slim bellied columns and elliptic lotus cupolas and lastly the net work of the ceiling inspired by the 'Persian Tompes'. Later Mughal Architecture, Mary, September 1958, p.13.

2. The designs of this period are also influenced by the Sikh art displayed in the Golden Temple (Ibid., p.17).

3. As Percy Brown believes, the reason for this replacement was the concentration of the workmen on the 'elaboration of details' as well as to produce architectural projects of great size and imposing appearance at minimum cost, effort and time; see Indian Architecture, p.122.
butresses. If the building is provided with wings, long arcades with
Venetian blinds, a pair of oriels on the sides of the central arch, all
mixed up in close conjunction with each other. The other buildings would
have all these with rare exceptions and would be adorned additionally with
Italian vaults, cornices, decorative pillars and arabesque in a variety of
patterns. As though not satisfied with all this, the inward surfaces and
cupolas would be overlaid with gold. Finally, the foreign elements whether
Italian, Gothic, French, Palladian or English are never assimilated in the
conceptual framework of Awadh architecture which remains basically Indian
in character.

All the same, the architecture of Awadh excels in variety
and numerosness of its buildings. The great Imambara and the Husainabad
Imambara still stand unrivalled among others of the kind, in the whole of
India. The graceful tombs of Saadat Ali Khan and his wife are sensitive
pieces of architecture. The Roomi Darwaza combines majesty with grace in
its proportions and judicious decoration. No where the Italian style is
more suitably adopted than in the Kothi of Noshan-ud Daulah. Only for
these, if not for many other, the nawabi architecture of Awadh deserves a
place in the best traditions of Indian art.
The Imambaras owe their origin and prominence in Awadh architecture to the religious zeal of the nawabs. The Shiite faith which these nawabs professed had acquired considerable social significance from the institution of Majlis or the congregational gatherings dedicated to the commemoration of the sacrifices of the Imams, Hasan and Husain and their family. Its followers naturally looked upon their rulers as the champions of their faith. Majlis gatherings held in the presence of and provided for by the royal patrons grew in popularity. Hence Imambaras were taken up for construction in large number.

The main features of the Imambaras constructed by these nawabs (there were many more erected by nobles and other dignitaries) are their spaciousness and the provision for a central hall for the royal personage and others of his family. They are generally rectangular buildings.

1. An Imambara (the enclosure of the Imams) is an edifice meant for celebrating the Moharram festival and keeping the Taziyas or Tableaus. It also served as the mausoleum of the builder.

2. Imambara is not necessarily a square building as Mrs. Meer Hasan Ali has regarded it. Her version was probably based on Shah Najaf which contains a square hall, but Shah Najaf is a tomb as she has herself noted and not an Imambara; Observations on the Mussalmans of India, description of their manners, customs, habits and religious opinions made during a twelve years' residence in their immediate society, London, vol. I, p.74.
invariably single-storeyed and facing the north, that is, in the direction of Karbala, now in Iraq. It is divided lengthwise into three large rooms including the central hall in the middle with two smaller chambers at the ends. The outer verandah is an ornamental adjunct containing the pulpit. Since the rulers preferred to be buried in Imambaras of their own creation, the central halls of almost all these buildings contain graves. The verandah on the northern side of the building is a raised platform intended for the reciters of the Majlis and for placing the Taziyas.

The whole building of an Imambara is constructed as a rule on a plinth varying about an average height of five feet. A precinct or a forecourt or both may be provided with or without a tank which may have been for containing the sharbat (sweet drink) to be distributed during the progress of a Majlis gathering.

No strict rule is followed in the form of roof construction. It may be flat, with or without parapets, vaulted or crowned with cupolas. Curiously however, the general appearance of Imambaras give varying impressions. No wonder that the foreign travellers often mistook them at first sight to be fortresses, residential palaces and public buildings.

1. Asaf-ud Daulah was the first ruler of Awadh to be buried in his own Imambara. Yasin Ali, Tarikh-i Shahi-i vijapuriya, Persian, written 1650 A.D., Raza Library, f. 107.

2. Joe Kitabul Akbar Dost-i Badshah, Lucknow University, p. 56.

The Bara Imambara is one of the most magnificent structures affording a fine example of building art and 'stupendous solidity'. It is in the north west quarter of the ancient and original city of Lucknow. It is believed that Nawab Asaf-ud Daulah had projected its construction with the intention of providing monetary relief to the poor during the great chalisa famine in the year 1784. According to another tradition, that wishing to have his name immortalised through the monument, he invited all the architects of India and asked them to provide a plan which should surpass all imagination and be so unique as nobody might have ever before attempted.


the like of it. The building is undoubtedly a singular piece of its kind. In respect of originality of design and technique it has few rivals in contemporary Indian art. The cost of the whole cluster (along with its fitting) entailed a sum of about one crore of rupees. It was constructed in the year 1205 A.H.

The main building stands on an elevated platform. Two quadrangles extend in front of the main edifice. The inner quadrangle containing the monument is elevated to a considerable height from the outer court. The entrance to it is provided by an imposing gateway, surmounted by octagonal turrets on either extremities. Its whole facade is pierced by immense arched windows. At the end of this court is another gateway built on an eminence. The court in front of the main edifice contains on the left


2. To Archer however the design of the Ima bara aroused a strong suspicion of its having been inspired from the design of the mosque of St. Sofia. See *Tours in Upper India and in parts of the Himalayan range with an account of the courts of the native princes*, London, 1833, vol. I, p.29; Dr. Moffat finds in it the resemblance of the grand mosque of Cairo, *Travels in Ceylon and Continental Asia etc.*, p.255.


4. Tomos Jilliam Bail, *Miftah-ut Tavarikh*, Persiar, Lucknow, 1866, p.363; According to the author of *Ahsan-ut Tavarikh wa Afzal-ut Tavarikh* (p.32), the Ima bara was constructed in the year 1203 A.H.

5. In front of it is another gateway which is constructed for symmetry.
side a range of cloisters concealing behind it a deep cell and a Baoli (well with cellars) 'sunk in an open octagonal tower' on the right hand stands the grand mosque with its tall minarets.

The main building of the Imambara is a composite structure with a rectangular central hall flanked on either sides by two spacious verandahs which are beautifully vaulted and two octagonal chambers at the ends. The central hall which contains the grave of Nawab Asaf-ud Daulah, is 162 feet long and 53 feet six inches wide. The verandahs are respectively 26 feet 6 inches and 27 feet three inches wide. The octagonal apartments are 53 feet in diameter. The whole interior dimensions are 263 feet by 145 feet. A remarkable feature of it is that the entire structure stands without a pillar or beam.

1. Strangely Von Olbrich describes these rooms as square, while Hilton says that the room on the western side only is a square in shape. See Travels in India including Sind and Panjab, London, 1845, vol. II, p.102, and Tourist's Guide to Lucknow, p.142.

2. J. Ferguson, History of Indian and Eastern Architecture, vol. II, Delhi, 1967, p.329. There is considerable disagreement among authors about the measurements of the central hall. According to Hilton the length is 163 feet, breadth 53 feet, height 49 feet 6 inches (ibid.). According to Percy Brown it is 155 feet in length, 53 feet in breadth and 50 feet in height; Indian Architecture, vol. II, p.113. In Von Olbrich's account it is mentioned as 100 feet long, 60 feet broad and 40 feet high; Travels in India, vol. II, p.102. See also Private Life of an Eastern King, p.91 and Pen and Pencil Sketches, London, 1833, vol. I, p.31. But the measurements given by Ferguson are most accurate.

to support the ceiling. The piece of wood used in it and the entire building is erected in brick masonry rarely studded with stones. The Imambara is built in the Mughal style assimilated with local features, which become more and more conspicuous in later buildings. For instance, the crest of fish is employed to decorate the gateways. Similarly the roofs are provided with parapets studded with bell-turrets. The entire facade is pierced by innumerable arched window openings and further ornamented by small minarets and diminutive cupolas.

The Bara Imambara is a rare example among the host of Awadh monuments as it displays a fine sense of decoration. "Taken in conjunction with the Rumi Darwaza", observes Bishop Heber, "I have never seen such an architectural view which pleased me more from its richness and variety,

1. It is supposed to be the largest vaulted gallery without supporting columns, in the world. Pen and Pencil Sketches, vol. I, p.32.

2. Archer observes respecting the style: "the style is Saracenic but not highly ornamented". Tours in Upper India, vol. I, p.30; Heber characterises it as "oriental Gothic", Narrative of a Journey through the Upper Provinces of India from Calcutta to Bombay, London, 1873, vol. I, p.216. His version is accepted by Thornton in his Gazetteer of the East India Company, vol. II, p.310. Ampleton thinks that it combines the minarets with the "pointed domes" of the Hindus. See Private Life of an Eastern King, p.91. He was mistaken as the pointed cupola is a characteristic entirely of Islamic architecture. Secondly in the construction of the Imambara no dome is provided. Perhaps he was confused by the two octagonal apartments built along the outer wall.

as well as the proportions and general good taste of its principal features. 1
It is indeed "an architectural feat, of which its craftsman might well be
proud".2 In spite of it, the building does not bear 'closer examination'
as it reveals an excess of ornamentation in the construction as well as
"smallness in the application of certain accessories".3

Another peculiarity of the construction lies in the use of the
labyrinth (shul Bhalayan). This feature is evidently borrowed from the
Mughals.

The building is free from western impact.4

1. Narrative of a Journey through the Upper Provinces of India, vol. I,
p.216. Heber further remarks, "the details a good deal resemble those
of Eaton (the earl of Grosvenor's seat in Cheshire) but the extent is
much greater and the parts larger. On the whole it is perhaps like
Crewe, but both in splendour and good taste my old favourite falls
very short of it" (Ibid.). See also Dr. Hofmeister's Travels, p.255.
excels in his praise by observing, "An enthusiast might suppose that
genius had been the artificer" vide Thornton's Gazetteer, vol. II, p.310.
we may agree with Salt's view that it can scarcely be surpassed in the
light and elegant style of architecture (Ibid.)

2. Wand Lal Chatterjee, 'The Nawabi architecture of Lucknow', JIP43,
vol. IX, 1936, p.42; Pen and Pencil Sketches, vol. I, p.31; Emily Eden
had regarded the Bara Imambara and the Rumi Darwaza as 'two of the most
magnificent buildings I have seen ye', Up the Country, London, 1846,
vol. I, p.87.

3. History of Indian Architecture, vol. II, p.122; also see History of Indian
and Eastern Architecture, p.605.

The Hussainabad Imambara stands at a short distance from the Bada Imambara and is approached by a lofty gateway called Jilau Khana. It was erected by king Muhammad Ali Shah under the supervision of Azimullah Khan. Rajab Ali Beg admires the beauty of this building in these poetic words: "the Imambara looks from the street like 'Id crescent. Its older cupolas shine like the sun. The pilgrim's heart and eye gather the wealth and bliss of the two worlds when he looks at it and goes across it as an act of religious sanctity".

The entrance to it is a huge gateway decorated with the crest of the fish (Nahi-i Maratib) and surrounded by numerous metallic, gilded replicas of the palm of the hand called Alam. There is another unpretentious and small gateway in front of it. It is crowned by two gilt fish. Two statues stand as guards by its side; holding in their hands chains hanging from the top of the gate to the ground.

1. There is a similar gateway (Jawab) in front of it. These two form the part of an outer enclosure surrounding the main forecourt.
4. Fasanah-i Ibrat, Lucknow, 1937, p.44.
5. One building of similar dimensions called Kaubat Khana lies in front of this gateway also.
The main edifice stands at the end of the fore-court on a raised plinth. Its front is decorated in black and white stucco with lines from the Traditions of the Prophet. The central door contains an inscription giving the date of its construction. There are four rectangles on each side of the main door, the first contains an inscription in Arabic which is illegible; the second and the third contain Hadis and the next Bismillah. The other two portions of the facade are decorated with calligraphed verses of the holy Quran and the names of the twelve Imams.

Like the bara Imambara, the edifice contains three main apartments as in the great Imambara and two side rooms. In the central hall are the graves of Muhammad Ali Shah and his mother. They are paved with slabs of black and white marble. The walls are covered with grey colour. The interior (especially the pillars) is lavishly gilded. Abbas Ali observes of its previous grandeur, "the pavement of porphyry and precious stones, is so highly polished that it is almost dangerous to tread upon it; floor, walls, pillars, all glittering like glass and reflecting floods of light, so that the mind is bewildered in contemplating such an extraordinary scene, surpassing, by far, the stories of the Aravarian Nights and leaning deep in

\textsuperscript{4} The chronogram reads:

\textsuperscript{1} The last line gives the date 1252 A.H., which is short of the correct date (1253 A.H. = 1837-38 A.D.) by one year.
the shade, any account of oriental luxury or grandeur that have ever been accounted...

On the raised platform there is a big masonry tank (haun), 31' x 17'. Another rectangular tank runs from below the platform up to the entrance occupying much of the central space. It is spanned by a small iron bridge.

Besides the main building, there are three other buildings in the court. A tomb containing the remains of Zinat-un Xisa, the daughter of King Muhammad Ali Shah, was built in imitation of the Taj Mahal, though, far from approaching anywhere near it, it is an ugly construction. The domes are crowned with copper, gilt cupolas which have an impression of western architecture. There is another building of similar dimensions and form in front of it and seems to have been introduced for symmetry. Adjacent to the east of the tomb lies a small mosque which has no architectural significance.

The Husainabad Imambara is greatly admired for its overall impression and is regarded as one of the prettiest buildings for its colouring and ornamentation. It has an appealing design and a fine layout. Its motifs are noteworthy also. The skyline broken with turrets, kiosks among which

1. Lucknow Album, p. 52.
rise elegant domes, the composition of its parts, all present a beautiful sight, "charming and beautiful" in the words of Solticoff.¹

But it is an impression created only when the Imambra is looked from a distance. The building loses its charm as soon as one proceeds to have a closer view of it. Then it appears to be a building in which degeneration of architectural taste has taken place, a phenomenon which becomes more and more conspicuous in the later monuments. The whole layout is rendered stuffy by an effort to accommodate more construction than judicious planning would permit. Interestingly, the western impact has shown up here, and of this, characteristic example are the cupolas which to use Solticoff's expression again, appear to originate in the

**IMAMBAZA OF SIBTAHABAD**

The Imambara of Sibtainabad or Jannat Hakan ka Imambara, as Abbas Ali² calls it, is a 'typical illustration' of the nawabi style of the later period. It was built by Wajid Ali Shah⁴ as a burial place for his father Amjad Ali Shah. It is built on the same plan as that of Husainabad

2. Ibid.
3. Lucknow Album, p.23.
Imambara but without any dome or cupola. Two enclosures, one within the other, surround it. There are two smaller courts also adjoining the edifice. The Imambara is comparatively a plain building without any marks of architectural excellence. It has a flat roof with a parapet. The only outstanding feature of it is the perfection of the curvatures of its arches. The building was constructed at the cost of Rs. 10 lacs.¹

**Madbaa of MALIKA-I-JAHAN:**

This Imambara was begun by Malika-i Jahan, the queen of Muhammad Ali Shah. But the task remained unfulfilled due to her death. It stands on a raised platform by the side of the Jami Masjid. There are numerous columns of massive buildings resting on a high platform which reveals the enormity of the plan on which its builder had intended to erect it.

The land of Awadh contains innumerable Imambaras, which are a testimony of its people’s religiosity. Not all of them are worth mentioning. An unaccounted number of them have perished with the passage of time. These include many of those built by nobles. From the description of them by authors, who had witnessed them, one can gather an outline view, as for instance, of the Imambara of Sahoor Bakhsh Ki Kothi at Lucknow which has

¹. Tawarikh-i Awadh, f. 112.
been referred to by Abbas Ali. Ano-t-her Imambara built by and called after the name of Jawahar Ali Khan an eunuch of Bahu Begum Amanat-uz Zuhra at Faizabad. 4

Another Imambara was built by Maulvi Karamat Ali during the reign of Nasiruddin Haider. It is described as one of the best of those constructed during the reigns of the nawabs. 5

Mention may be made here of another pretty Imambara at Khairabad accompanied by a mosque, a tomb and the Qadam Rassul. 6 It is regarded by T.C. Mukherjee as a beautiful specimen of art. 7

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1. Lucknow Album, p.24. This kothi was built by one Ishaqmid Dulah, Miraat-ul Auza, f.109b.
7. Pictorial Lucknow, p.201.
A special significance attaches to the mosque architecture of Nawabi Awadh from the fact that, as a rule, every Imambara was complemented with an adjoining mosque. Naturally, efforts must have been made to ensure matching standards of style and decoration, lest one should get eclipsed by the other. As it happened, however, even the best specimens of these mosques appear to remain only the second best creations of the builders of the Nawabi Awadh. This fact may be generalised so as to include such other mosques as were built independently, as for instance, the Jami' Mosque.

The soil of Awadh is studded with an unaccounted number of these structures both big and small, built by the Nawabs or by the members of their family or by noblemen. They are all characterised by uniformity of style. The plan includes a screen wall made of three component facades. Generally, the central one consisting the gateway is higher than the other two or the sides of it. The proportion of its height to its length at the base is that of 1 to 4. The whole structure is towered by two minarets at either corner of the facades. Almost invariably all the mosques are erected on high plinths.

Decoration is provided in almost all cases by perforated arcades on the top of the facade, quite often with an extra ornamentation of bell
turrets or fret-work. Not all of these mosques deserve detailed treatment. As a matter of fact, there are only two mosques which may be taken to represent the tastes of the Nawabs. These are the Asafi Masjid and the Jami' Masjid. All the rest are either too small or apparently bare of any distinctive merit, though we might dwell upon them summarily.

The Asafi Mosque:

The building occupies the most prominent place among the mosques built by the Nawabs of Awadh. Standing close to the Imambara of Nawab Asaf-ud Daulah it constitutes a part of a bigger scheme (with it). It is a massive structure raised on a high plinth stretching sideways with ostentatious display of a robust front. Flanked by two minarets, one hundred and fifty feet high, the mosque's screen is made up of a high framed gateway and arched screen, all ornamented on the top by perforated arcades. From behind the arcades rise three fluted domes. The sides of the mosque's quadrangle are composed of arcades and fine kiosks on corner tops providing balance to the frontal view.

On the whole it is built in the conventional style. The inner decoration comprises of vaulted ceiling and decorative arches. But the frontal view is slightly marred by a lack of proportion in the dimensions of

the screen. In the first place the height of the facade which is only in 1:4 proportion with the length, makes the structure look somewhat congested, an effect which originates from the confusion of decorative arches above and below and from the disproportionate height of the minarets. Then the domes are of a very inferior order, specially the two side domes, bare of pilasters, appear to be inclined towards ugliness. While all of them seem to belong to a smaller than this gigantic edifice.1

It is difficult to appreciate the observation of Dr. Hoffmeister who is all praise for this mosque without a word of reference to its dome. In fact he seems to be too overwhelmed by the majesty of the towers which occupies all the place in his description.2 Dr. N.L. Chatterjee seems to have sensed some disproportion in the building. He has however passed over the point with an apology for the resources of the builders, a statement that stands invalid in the face of the enormous size of the whole undertaking.3

1. Von Credi is mistaken in regarding them as ‘bold cupolas’. They are in no way bold in proportion of the building. See Travels in India including Sind and Punjab, vol. II, p.103.

2. Travels in Cylone and Continental Asia etc., vol. II, p.255. He says "For I ever saw in Egypt minarets as beautiful as those of this mosque; they are fluted from top to bottom and enriched with exquisite wreaths". Its tall minarets have always been a source of appreciation. Abbas Ali observes, "the minarets are the tallest and the handsomest". Lucknow Album, p.30. Travels in India including Sind and the Punjab, vol. II, p.103. In the words of Dr. Chatterjee they represent the vitality of the style, Travels of Uttar Pradesh, p.38.

3. Ibid.
Minus the dome, however, it is a noble fabric and may be regarded as one of the best specimens of the mosque architecture of the Mughal period after the Jamia Mosques at Delhi, Agra and Jaunpur.

The Jamia Mosque lies to the west of Husainabad Imambara. It was founded by King Muhammad Ali Shah on 15th Jamad-us-Sani, 1255 A.H. (August 25, 1839) with the ambition of having a mosque superior to that of Asaf-ud-Daulah's creation. Unfortunately the king did not live to see it completed. The project was later on taken by his surviving wife Malika-i Jahan in 1850.

The Jamia Mosque stands on an elevated base with a spacious platform in front of it. The general plan is much the same as of the Asafi Mosque, but except in isolated instances where some novel ideas have been introduced, in general, the builder has shown no originality. On the other hand an attempt has been made to affect a touch of glamour by means of over-decoration. What has resulted is a hodge-podge of two many types of elements.

The front of the building is almost of the same size and shape as the Asafi Mosque. Its additional features are three short minarets of different shapes on the central block that contains the entrance, two of these being round and one squarish; octagonal gilt turrets surmounting the perforated arcades above and stucco ornamentation of the surface and fretwork. Undoubtedly the turrets provide the facade an extra air of elegance. The arches are also coloured. But when seen together with the elements, borrowed from the Asafi Mosque, these decorations give the whole ornamental work a clumsy appearance.

The decoration of the inner surface including those of the prayer hall consists of profuse fretwork, stucco, festoons, ornamental arches, chains of foliage patterns and arabesque. Instead of one, three Mithhrabs are provided here in the western wall. The cumulative effect of these, again, is not architecturally appealing, though in parts, the decoration is at some places extremely beautiful.

This comparative debasement is however compensated to a great extent by an improvement in its domes. They are flute and almost of the same shape as in the Asafi Mosque. But they are enlarged to proportionate sizes and crowned with elegant gilt pinnacles.
MOSQUE OF THE HUSAINABAD IMAMBARA:

This was constructed within the precincts of the Husainabad Imambara. It is too small and seems to have been erected to fill some of the vacant space. There is a peculiar thing about this mosque. Its two minarets which are of an immense height, do not form a part of the main building but stand aloof at the corners of the floor. The oddity of the pattern is all the more intensified by their disproportionate height.

MOSQUE OF SHUJA-UD-DAULAH:

William Hodges refers to this mosque as built by Shuja-ud Daulah. He writes, "not distant from the river Chaghra... is a mosque with three domes. The central one is very large. The form is perfectly that of an egg; the apparent want of firmness in the base, however, has a very unpleasant effect on the spectator and however difficult it may have been for the architect to produce, the consideration of the circumstances does not amend for the want of elegance, nay almost of propriety".1

It was built near Koti Mohal Palace by Amanat-ud-Duhra, wife

of Shuja-ud Daulah, also called Bahu Begum whose name this mosque still
bears. It contained a spacious courtyard laid out as a garden. ¹

THE MOSQUE OF JA'AHAR ALI KHAN:

It was built by an eunuch of Bahu Begum. The mosque stood
inside an Imambara. P. Carney and Kevill have highly spoken of this work
but they have not given any description. ²

THE MOSQUE OF YAQUB ALI KHAN:

Its distinctive feature was fret-work in stone. It was built
by one Yusuf Ali in compliance with the will of his brother Yaqub Ali Khan,
an eunuch of Shuja-ud Daulah's serailio, by the side of his tomb. ³

THE MOSQUE OF HAJJAL RAVA KHAN:

It is situated in the chawk and seems to have been built on a
large scale. P. Carney informs us that it was intended for the Shias to
offer their Id prayers. ⁴ Our sources contain references to two other mosques

². Ibid., Also a Historical Sketch of Fyzabad Tehsil, Appendix, p. VI;
³. iridi-i Farah jahsh, f. 367u.
⁴. Ibid., p.III.
called after their builders Jarzi Beg, a cavalry officer of Shuja-ud Daulah and the wife of Jursur Ali Khan. It is also known as Nawab Begum’s mosque.

Mention may be made here of a Mosque at Khairabad which was built according to P.C. Mukerjee by one called Mucca - a darogha of king Nasiruddin Haider and a tailor by profession. It formed a part of a complex with a tomb and an Imambara, a shrine containing the so-called Jadam Pasul, that is, the imprint of the foot of Prophet Muhammad, an inn and a Haveli. The mosque is highly praised for its extremely beautiful appearance. Its distinguishing features were its perforated domes, three serpentine Mirarets and a composite design.

**TOMB, KHALAS AND RELIGIOUS BUILDINGS**

The tomb architecture of Awadh represents a good many buildings that have survived the onslaught of the European style. One important reason

1. P. Carregy, Appendix, p.iii.
2. Ibid., p.ii; hevill’s gazetteer, p.XLI.
3. *Pictorial Lucknow*, p.201; Davidson, A Diary of Travels and Adventures in India, icider, 1843, vol. II, p.34E.
4. 'Uhtashim Khan, Tarikh-i Muhtashim Khan, Persian, A.M. '13, f.121a. According to the author the whole complex was prepared at the cost of Rs.100,000. (Ibid.)
6. Ibid.
for this seems to be the fact that religious architecture has a strong tendency to preserve its character. Its main elements are domes and minarets. Here very little option is left for the builders to introduce foreign elements, though their design may vary from one conventional form to another. As such the tombs of Awadh stand out distinctly amidst the host of secular buildings, like the residential palaces and garden monuments etc. Nevertheless, this rule is limited in its application to the plan and the design of the monuments. A large scope is left for the adoptive hand where constructional decoration is concerned. A Roman round arch, a Corinthian pillar or the parapet of the western kind may be introduced in order to obtain a desired effect. Such cases are, at any rate, rare and do not feature eminently against the native elements. The tomb architecture of Awadh is marked for its frequent employment of the lotus, a Deccani motif, the multi-coloured sappy lotus leaves, lotus flowers, lotus buds etc. But it is not fair to accept the opinion of Dr. Harmann Goetz that the tombs of Faizabad and Lucknow follow the Deccani style. They have a distinctness of their own.

The deep religiosity of the Awadh rulers is evidenced by some of the tombs which are either entirely replicas of the tombs of the saints and Imams of the Muslim faith, or, are so conceived as to resemble with them.

This fact should not be interpreted, however, to mean that the tomb architecture is influenced by the traditional Shiite architecture. As shall be seen, these foreign elements never became a part and parcel of the Awadh style. They remained confined to parts and were never repeated. There are numerous tombs in Awadh, having the graves of the Kings and their consorts, nobles and saints. Only a few of them deserve description here, as for instance, the tomb of Safdar Jung, the Nawab Kazir (1739-1854) in Delhi and those of Sandat Ali Khan and Mafdurshid Zadi in Lucknow. Others might well have one or other significant point meriting proportionate description.

TOMB OF SAFDAR JUNG (Delhi):

This grand mausoleum was erected about 1754 by Nawab Shuja-ud Daulah for his father Nawab Aoul Hasan Khan Safdar Jung under the supervision of Sidi Muhammad Ibrahim. The whole undertaking involved an expenditure of three lacs of rupees.

Safdar Jung's tomb stands in the centre of a garden 360 yards square and is surrounded by an enclosure. In the eastern side of this enclosure is the entrance. The other sides provide a covering to the inner galleries.


2. Carr, p.279.
On the four corners of this outer wall are erected four octagonal towers. A little removed towards the north of the tomb there is a mosque of red sand stone.

The base of this tomb is a 10 feet high platform, accommodating inside it rows of rooms all sides. It covers a total area of hundred feet square apart from the plinth. The tomb itself is a double storeyed structure, about ninety feet high. The building consists of one central hall and eight rooms around it. These rooms are alternatively square and octagonal in shape, each having a flatish dome for its ceiling. The lower portions of the walls are paved with marble. This arrangement is maintained in the upper storey. The central hall is surrounded by a spherical dome with four minarets at the corners.

In size, conception and lay-out, the tomb of Safdar Jung has very clear evidence that its architect was only trying to create an imitation of the tomb of Humayun at Delhi. That he has miserably failed in his effort is nonetheless clear. This fact is exemplified by many features. The massiveness of its various parts, for instance, is absolutely disproportionate to the space covered, so that the edifice appears like a whole lot of the building material crammed in a little place. This effect is further enhanced by an unintelligent use of ornamented bands on the minarets as they stand out in total defiance to the motifs of the facade. Both of these parts tend to go asunder for the want of consonance in pattern and conception. Then,
there is no proportion between the height and the thickness of the minarets. As a result the building has lost its rhythm. In the words of Percy Brown, "the principal fault, when the tomb is compared with that of Humayun or the Taj Mahal, is the unpleasing nature of its proportions, the narrow and the vertical tendency of the structure as a whole, the lack of correct expansion at its base..." Savell calls it 'a pretentious and ungainly structure' which shows 'how mediocre Mughal architecture became'. But the outright condemnation of the tomb will be an injustice to it. It is an imposing structure at a distance. For its general appearance it may be regarded as a grand effort.

TOHS OF SHUJA-UD-DAULAH (Gulab Bari):

Nawab Shuja-ud Daulah erected this mausoleum at Faizabad for himself. It is a fine structure of brick and plaster, standing in the midst of a rose-garden from which it draws its popular name of Gulab Bari. It contains three large gateways leading to three enclosures, one within the other. In the basement of the innermost enclosure lies the grave

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2. Eastern Architecture, p.274.
3. History of Indian and Eastern Architecture (1691), p.604. According to Percussion, this tomb is "quite unworthy of the locality in which it is found...." is qualified praise can hardly be awarded to any of the buildings in Lucknow" (Ibid.)
of the Nawab. The tomb is built in the traditional Mughal style.

**TOMB OF BAHU BEGUM (Faizabad):**

It is the final resting place of Amanat-uz Wuhra, the Begum of Nawab Shuja-ud Daulah. It was built in 1816 by an eunuch noble, Darab Ali Khan, but he had only completed the foundations and died. The undertaking though carried on afterwards by one Panah Ali and Kirza Haider, the adopted son-in-law of Darab Ali Khan, but it remained unfinished until after the annexation. The tomb is nevertheless beautiful. The chief attraction is its bulbous dome which is of large dimensions; while the tomb on the whole represents a great debasement of the Mughal style. Two other tombs of Faizabad are also worth mentioning here. One of these contains the remains of Banni Khanum, the wife of Anjum-ud Daulah, the brother of Bahu Begum and the other is of an eunuch, Yaqub Ali Khan. It was constructed by Yusuf Ali. The tomb is regarded as a good specimen of stone fret-work.

1. Tarikh-i Farah Bakhsh, i.3b.
2. According to Mudaddad Faiz Jakhsh, the Julab Bari garden was built by Safdar Junj. See Tarikh-i Farah Bakhsh, i.33Ca.
4. P. Carney, Appendix, p.5; according to Hevill the walls had not been plastered till 1901; see Gazetteer, vol. XLI, p.221.
5. Ibid.
6. P. Carney, p.5.
7. Ibid.
TOBi Al'I Ali J (Licknow):

This beautiful tomb was built by Nawab Saadat Ali Khan under the supervision of Aifayatullah Khan, the famous architect of the Bara Imambara. The main attraction of the tomb lies in its graceful 'Shaljami' dome.

TOMB OF SAADAT ALI SHAH AND MUNSHID WADI:

These tombs were raised by King Ghaziuddin Haider over the graves of his parents and lie at a small distance from each other.

Saadat Ali's tomb is a grand, massive structure of brick and plaster with three storeys above and one below the ground to which a dark spiral staircase descends. Here the graves of Saadat Ali, his daughter and grand daughter lie. The external measurement of the fabric is 125 square feet. The central hall is a vaulted chamber surrounded by four arcaded varandahs. There are spiral staircases at the four sides of the hall. A huge subdivided dome is mounted on the sanctuary.

The mausoleum of his wife, 'Urshid Zadi, is a smaller building:

1. Pictorial Lucknow, c. 20C.
2. 'Ibrat-ul Auza, f.10a.
crowned by a fluted dome and built on a high platform like the former. It is square in shape. The sanctuary is surrounded by beautiful arched galleries and four oblong ante-chambers at the corners accommodating stone staircases.

Both of these tombs deserve a special word of praise. In the first place, their surfaces are left entirely bare of ornamentation and this goes well with the purpose of the building. Instead, the buildings have been decorated with such constructional forms as turrets, kiosks, flutings and alcoves in artistic compositions. In the second place, both are endowed with masculine and feminine elements of grace. The horizontal expansion of Saadat Ali Khan's tomb lends it a masculine massiveness. The other tomb acquires a feminine character from the vertical tendency that is centralised in its tall-pinnacled dome and the close clustering of decorative minarets, turrets and kiosks all round it.

This characteristic is apparent enough to strike an understanding visitor. A close inspection reveals more artistry in them and we will agree with Dr. Chatterjee in saying, "They excel even the Imambara buildings. The latter are more spectacular than graceful, while the tombs, small as they are, surely more handsome... Architecturally there is left little to be desired".

Shah Najaf: (Tomb of Chazi-ud Din Haider):

Shah Najaf, or Najaf-i ishraf, is a huge, massive structure lying on the left bank of the river Gomti, at a short distance to the east of Moti Mahal. It was built by King Chazi-ud Din Haider in 1232 A.D. (1816-17 A.D.) in imitation of the tomb of Ali, the fourth of the pious Caliphs and is called Najaf after the name of the hill on which Ali's tomb lies. Shah Najaf tomb is surrounded by two quadrangles, one in side the other. Entrance into the outer court is provided by a lofty gateway which for its excellent polish at one time looked like a structure of marble. The elegance of the entrance along with the external appearance of Shah Najaf has been greatly admired by Dr. Hoffmeister and Mrs. Meer Hasan. The entire structure stands enclosed by high walls crowned by battlements which give it a fortress-like appearance. This impression is enhanced further as we enter the gateway to find rows of cells, all about the inner sides of the enclosure. Within the inner enclosure, which is divided from the outer one by a range of cloisters, lies the main Edifice. Entrance into it is provided by an archway of oblong shape. The whole structure consists of two large varandahs, running parallel to an elevated hall. Its doors are

2. Mirat-ul Ams, f.1064; Afzal-ul Tavarikh..., p.79.
decorated with mina patterns. The walls are painted in green varnish and gold. In the centre of the hall are the graves of the King and his three wives - Hubarak Mahal, Mumtaz Mahal and Sarfaraz Mahal. The vaulted hall is crowned by a flatish dome with a tall pinnacle.

Shah Najaf is rather a plain and unpretentious building. Suffice it to say that Shah Najaf presents another specimen of the degeneration that had begun to creep in Awadh architecture after Nawab Asaf-ud Daulah.

**KARBALA OF NASIRUDDIN HAIDER:**

This Kurbala contains the tomb of King Nasiruddin Haider (1827-37). The King himself began its erection in 1837 A.D., but it did not reach completion, on account of his premature death. The Kurbala is an admixture of the elements of mosque, Imambara and tomb architecture. Like a mosque it faces west and contains two minarets on its gateway. There are two main rooms in the centre of the building, on the four sides of which are ranges of cloisters. This arrangement is like that of an Imambara. The rooms are crowned by two domes of different sizes: one very large and the other is very small. It

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1. Ishat al-imar, Itar-i-Ishrat-i Anj, Persian, i.e. f.354, Afsal-ul Tarikh, p.79
is difficult to understand the significance of this arrangement which at any rate fails to appeal.

**Jahadara Qil Tal Kazora:**

This was erected by one Mir Khuda Bakhsh Khan, the naib of Nawab Saadaat Ali. It is patterned after the tomb of Imam Husain in Iraq. It is a single storeyed edifice surrounded by an extensive courtyard. Three sides of it are occupied by ranges of cloisters and the fourth one contains the entrance. On the left and right of the main edifice are two big towers. These are covered by pinnacled kiosks. As though framed between two raised arms and placed a little below them is a beautiful dome climaxed with a round crested plume. Apart from this there is hardly anything outstanding about the structure. The inside of it is of the usual type. There is a central hall with arched verandahs all round it.

**Darjah Qil Jadid Aamai:**

The building of the Darjah is a superstructure constructed by Nawab Saadaat Ali Khan. It was at one time just a small chamber that

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Kawab Asaf-ud Daulah built as the deposing ground for the sacred crest of the banner of Abbas, the standard bearer of Imam Husain. While the style and plan of the building is typically oriental, the Corinthian pillars and Roman round arches in the facade of the main portion smack of western impact. A low but picturesque cil dome rises in solitary grandeur. The surfaces are plain.

THE KAUVAHA:

It is an exact replica of the tombs of Imam Moosa Kazim and Raza Kazim in Iraq. It was built by a nobleman named Sharif-ud Daulah. Kazimain illustrates the deep devotion of the Awadh rulers to their faith and religious heroes.

DAKAR-RUL:

The building stands on an artificial mound east of the Shah Najaf. It was erected by King Shari-fud Din Haider (1214-27) to contain a relic considered to be the footprint of the Prophet Muhammad. It is built in the conventional Mughal style. With a dome and four minarets at the corners, the building is in quite a dilapidated condition. The plaster has fallen down from various places and the minarets have been tilted of their tops.

There were several other religious shrines in Awadh. One is the Dargah of Mir Hanif. It was built by Asaf-ud Daulah at Kathura village, parjana Balmampur. Another was erected at Lucknow and dedicated to the twelve Imams. It was built by King Nasiruddin Haider.

Looking as a whole the tomb architecture of Awadh presents no means of comparison to contemporary Indian Art. These are good buildings and those are bad buildings. They show the architectural achievement as well as the degeneration. It is in the tombs that the purity of the Mughal style and the grace of the native art is preserved.

PALACE ARCHITECTURE

The chief characteristic of Awadh architecture lies in the beautiful massing of its palaces. "A vision of palaces", remarks Russell, "domes, azure and golden cupolas, colonnades, long facades of fair perspective in pillars and columns - all rising up amidst a calm still ocean of the highest vermeure." Lucknow is all over studded with sparkling palaces of exquisite beauty. Even the great Mughals did not build so many of them.

4. Qazi Muhammad Sadiq Akhtar remarks: The palaces of the kings of Awadh are having the same grandeur which is characteristic of the palaces of the emperors of Persia and Rome. Risalah-i Subh-i Sadiq, Persian, 1851, A.M.U., M3., f.16.
at one place - a reason which may perhaps be accounted for, by two reasons:
First, the external dangers, which continually posed a threat to the empire, combined with their frequent involvement in political strife and conquests, required strong forts rather than palacial buildings. Second, that they were
for most the time on expeditions when the kham (tent) served as their
pleasure-resort. Contrarily, Awadh kings had a settled life and leisure
enough for the pursuit of pleasure and enjoyment. Building of palaces was
very much a hobby with them. They erected extensive palaces, country-houses,
pleasure-gardens and even castellated edifices. These were erected in two
styles: Traditional Mughal and western; though in most cases both of these
got intermixed into a hybrid style. The former group includes mainly
palaces of Faizabad and some of Lucknow such as Daulat wana, Sultan Manzil
and Mubarak wanzil. The later group may be further divided into two
categories. The first consists of palaces built under a pseudo-Italian
style which found expression in the highly ornate style of, for instance,
Constantia, Chattar wanzil and Qaisar Bagh. The second category is charac-
terised by the influence of the architecture of contemporary
land. This is its best specimen. In some
residency of the palaces may be found a pseudo-castle decoration, even some
elements of the castles of the baronial age as in Moti Mahal.

1. Travellers have compared the palaces of Lucknow to the palaces of Moscow
These foreign influences are not however observed consistently either in construction or in decoration. On the other hand, these elements acquire predominance or recede in the background according to the personal notions of the builders, as they succeeded one after another. This influence however does not penetrate beyond the outward appearance of these buildings.

Deep down the exterior there is clearly evidenced the orientality of conception. The builders have only introduced Western decorative features in oriental setting: Triangular pediments, oriel Roman round arches, Corinthian pillars — all featuring amidst ogee arcades, fluted-domes, turrets, kiosks and baradarees. This characteristic is well marked by Mrs. Parkes, who observes "It is a curious circumstance that many of the palaces of Lucknow have fronts in imitation of the palaces of Naples and Rome and the native palace is beyond, in an enclosed space."¹

At any rate these palaces display a great measure of novelty and variety in their designs. The intentions of the builders always been to produce a unique piece which could surpass others in magnificence. This feature is effected sometimes by means of combination of two or more facades of different buildings in a new construction. The technique makes them look rather grotesque, though sometimes imbued with grandeur.²

1. Pictorial Lucknow, p. 204.

2. Cain's remark (see Pictor...India, London, 1891, p. 275): that the royal palaces of Lucknow are without exception, the worst specimen in India; ....bad in architectural design, worse in decorative treatment is not sust...able.
Over-ornamentation is another special feature of these palaces.

A display of gilt-work enhances their gaudiness all the more. In the case of some palaces the dome stands out to emphasize the climax of the exterior, strange in composition and crowned by plumes of metallic ostrich feathers, set in a circle and surmounted by gilt umbrellas as in Chhatar Manzil. Some have flying buttresses designed on the framework of a dome as in Constantinia and Qaisar Bagh.

A collection of several buildings around the main palace is another characteristic of the palace architecture of Awadh. Almost all the principal palaces like Farhat Baksh, Moti Mahal, Malika-i Jahan, Begum Nothi and Qaisar Bagh are assemblages of numerous courts, blocks of residential buildings, gardens, pavilions, Baradarees, state apartments and the royal seraglio. One might say that they were little towns in separate enclosures. Knighton remarks, "In all oriental states, the palaces are not so much the abode of the sovereign only, as the centre of the government, little towns in fact, containing extensive lines of buildings, courts, gardens, tanks, fountains and squares as well as the office of the chief minister of the state. Such was the case in Lucknow".

1. Private Life of an Eastern King, p.C.
Haizabad Palaces: The palaces representing the Mughal style were those that were built earlier in Faizabad by the nawabs especially by Shuja-ud Daulah. Most of the buildings have vanished with the passage of time. Those that exist are in a dilapidated condition, so much so that it is extremely difficult to have an idea of what they might have been like, in their original form. Fortunately however, a semblance of their layout and structural features have been preserved in the passages of Hodges' book of travels. Hodges, writing in the later part of the 18th century, had an opportunity to see the palace of Nawab Shuja-ud Daulah by the bank of Ghaghra river. His description of the general features of this building can be generalised so as to cover the other buildings like Dilkusha, 'oti Mahal and Khurd Mahal, also. He writes: "It is a vast building, covering a great extent of ground, having several areas and courts and many separate buildings in them. In the inner court are the remains of the Darbar or the hall of the public audience." Hodges has described this building at some


see Chahar Gulzar Shujai, f.394.
length. It was similar to the one in the Daulat Khana Palace: "There are many other buildings designed for offices or other accommodations. Within an inner court is a large extent of building, the principal front of which is on the bank of the river; and when it was first raised, must have been very handsome. This was the part designed for the domestic habitation of the nawab. Adjoining are other buildings designed for the zenana and in which are the remnants of the garden. The grand entrance to the palace is through a large and handsome gate, the superstructure of which was a place of arms."

It is easy to see in this description the origins of the features which are so characteristic of the buildings later on built by the nawabs residing in Lucknow. The most important of these is the con-egal-9 tional layout) of a number of separate buildings around the main palace, giving the impression of a little town as Knighton has noted. The fondness of the builders to have before them the view of the river and use of imposing ways and large gardens are similar other features. Like the nawabs residing at Lucknow those at Faizabad were also obsessed with the thought of giving their buildings a touch of uniqueness. This is evidenced from the fact that the Dilkusha palace contained only thousand doors. The reign of

Shuja-ud Daulah marks the climax of Faizabad architecture. All his palaces were overlaid with gold and ornamented by a variety of colour designs. He also built Toti Mahal and Khurd Mahal but we do not find them described anywhere.

Daulat Khana Palace: Built by Asaf-ud Daulah, the Daulat Khana Palace is the earliest residential building that a Nawab built at Lucknow. It lies to the west of the 'Ishq-i Shahwan fort, embodying a huge complex of the residences of the Nawab and many of his courtiers. The buildings are now in ruins. Only a gateway and some portions of the main palace stand intact though defaced and worn out to an extent that it is very difficult to form an idea of their original appearance. We have to depend for information on the pen and pencil sketches produced by contemporary travellers, especially those by William Hodges and Lord Valentia who came respectively during the reigns of Nawab Asaf-ud Daulah and Saadat Ali Khan. It may be noted that the erection of these buildings was occasioned by the transfer of capital from Faizabad to Lucknow, following a quarrel of the prince with his domineering step-mother Amanat-uz Lohra. The great hurry in which they seem to have been erected is apparent from the

1. Imad-us Saafa, p.100.
2. Tarikh-i Saada Javed, f.459; Tarikh-i Awaftari, f.201a; Afzal-u't Tarikh..., p.60.
The general effect is that of a baronial castle of the 12th century. We might confine our study to some of the principal quarters forming the nawab's residence, namely, Daulat Khana-i Khas, stone palace, Khamam (Bath) the Afrinah Khana, and the garden pavilion.

The Daulat Khana-i Khas or Asafi Khana was originally the Lucknow residence of Nawab Shuja-ud Daulah and on this Asaf-ud Daulah had raised a superstructure by erecting a number of large courts and a Darbar where he publicly received his courtiers.

The Darbar hall was an imposing edifice built on a stepped platform. Entrance into it was through a flower garden. It contained three arcades running parallel to each other. The roof was supported by columns, in the Moorish style. The whole edifice, along with its ceiling, was gilded or painted with ornamental designs and flowers in stucco background. William Hodges highly speaks of the decorative part of it.

Close to the Daulat Khana-i Khas and divided by only a narrow

1. Imad-us Saada, p. 101.
2. Nothing is known of its architectural merits though it has been mentioned by Lord Valentia, see infra p. 40.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
Strech was a garden pavilion built by Nawab Shuja-ud Daulah. It was coloured in stucco and painted with ornaments which had an extremely good effect from a distance. There was a mosque and a Darjah lying close to the garden pavilion.

The stone palace or what Lord Valanția spells as Sungi Dalam was a square shaped building in stone, opened on all sides and supported by pillars. It was surmounted by a dome and contained three apartments with the central room being larger than the other two on the sides. The building was adjoined by a terrace to another of similar shape but of a smaller size. It was painted with deep red colour. The dome was gilded all over and this along with its four minarets at the four corners gave it an elegant appearance. The building still exists in a dilapidated condition.

The Hammam or the bath formed the part of the Sanjí Dalam. It consisted of two rooms: one about twenty feet square and contained three

1. o,c. Trucvs, p,131. It was perhaps the Haider Bāhh Pavillon referred to by Walter Hamilton; see East India Gazetteer, vol. ii, p.131.
3. Lord Valanția, Travels and Travels to India, Cylon, etc., etc., vol. i, p. 170
4. ibid.
5. ibid.
6. ibid.
The Atina Khana was a building not much remarkable for its architectural beauty, but it has drawn favourable comments from visitors for its mirrors of different sizes and shapes. It was perhaps a substitute for what the Moghuls called the Sheesh Mahal palace where small glass pieces were laid in the surface of the wall and the roof, producing a fiery effect.

Sultan Manzil: It was a double-storeyed pavilion erected by king Jhazi-ud Din Haider in stone and marble. The roof was flat and supported by elegantly shaped arches. Its appearance was extremely beautiful.

2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
Archer regards it as "the prettiest of the royal houses". This building is no more in existence while the sources have nothing to say about it.

MUBARAK MANZIL: Mubarak Manzil was also built by king Ghazi-ud Din Haider at the bank of the river Gomti. It consisted of low rooms and small doors. A grievous lack of appeal marks the whole structure. "There was nothing princely in the house", observes Archer, "No splendour or magnificence about it to warrant the appellative it possesses".

PALACES IN ITALIAN STYLE

Constantia: The Constantia, better known as La-Martiniere lies on the right bank of river Gomti four miles south east of the city of Lucknow. The building is remarkable for its peculiar style that gives it a mixed appearance of a fort and a palace. It was erected by general Claude Martin.

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3. Freedom Struggle in Uttar Pradesh, p.636. It could not be completed during his life time. Two additional wings at both the sides of the main building were constructed according to his plan under the supervision of Joseph Quieros, the executioner of his will.
as his country residence during the reign of Nawab Asaf-ud Daulah. The latter was so much attracted by the novelty and the freshness of its design that he offered a large sum of money for it. But his efforts remained futile due to Martin's sudden death; for, as a clever expedient against its forceful confiscation, the general had willed it to be converted into his tomb. The building was designed by the general himself who seems to have been impressed by the Palladian style. Far from succeeding in his attempt he ended up with producing a quaint admixture of Greek, French, Indian and Italian elements.

In the construction of La-Martiniere, the builder had two principles before him, suitability for all seasons and defendability against attack. Its rarified upper portion with broad open terraces, separating the upper two storeys from


2. Ibid.


The parapet, its passages, containing loop-holes, its winding staircases at small intervals and the battlements all these point to this fact.¹

The building lies on an elevated base facing east. The ground floor is the widest, the first floor is wider than the two storeys which are shaped like towers. Emanating from the sides of the building are two rows of double storeyed wings curving to make a semi-circle. The 'accentric array of statues', huge lion's heads, which had lamps instead of eyes, beautiful columns, arches, pillars, tall windows, carried long from the ground floor to the top of the building are the distinctive features of Constantia. The most striking thing here is the variety of the statues. Greek and Roman figures, Chinese mandarians, Gods and Goddesses of heathen mythology, monsters, divinities and all that the imagination of a parvenue could invent of grotesque and magnificence.² They are in great variety of attitudes and fixed on pinnacles, corners, pedestals and the crenalated tops of the circular towers which are raised between two sculptured lions of enormous size; and all the parorama of the sculptures is so closely set in the

general make up of the building that it seems to be a part of it. The kiosks, battlements and pavilions provide additional interest as they break the skyline. The building sports very conspicuous flying buttresses on the top. Fergusson takes it to be the frame work of a dome.

In front of it is a marble tank in the lawn and adjoining it, to the east, is an artificial lake. Inside the lake is an enclosure made up of a perforated arcade and from the midst of it rises a huge column, 123 feet high. It is of a composite order, with a cube as base and a beautifully shaped kiosk on the top, closed by a screen which has elliptical perforations on all the sides. 2

The interior of the palace consists of a number of apartments varying in size and shape. Some halls are very large and designed to produce a feeling of seriousness and tranquillity. 3 The roof is conspicuously devoid of wooden supports and decoration. Instead it rests on elliptical arches. The walls and ceiling are lavishly decorated with arabesque and

2. According to Louise Russelet it resembles the monument to the Duke of York, p. 552.
bass reliefs, illustrative of classical subjects. Thus they bear the appearance of a hall of an old Medieval Castle of Europe. But some of the rooms are very small and gloomy, loaded with stucco on yellow background, assuming an ineffective hue of gilt work.

In the basement of the central tower, wherein the body of Martine is interred, is a vaulted chamber with five doors. The door facing the east forms the entrance. There are two other similar chambers. Formerly, around the grave there were four statues of grenadiers who had their arms reversed in an attitude of grief.¹

Constantia is a piece of remarkable originality, albeit an adventure in stone and brick, albeit not a very commendable one. "A masterpiece of countryman", observes Louise Russelet who was amused by the builder's ingenuity, "the good corporal must have needed a strong dose of patience and constancy to succeed in creating this queer edifice". "What trouble has his mind undergone", he adds, "before bringing to life this strange accumulation of all known and unknown styles".³ In

1. These were destroyed during the war of independence of 1857.
2. Mirza Muhammad Taqi, Tarikh-i Aftab-i Awadh (Urdu), 1874, Lucknow University MS., f.70.
3. India and its Native Princes, p.552; Lunsdon also regards it as the 'most extraordinary edifice', see A Journey from Meerut in India to London, London 1822, p.10.
fact, for all its originality and magnificence, La Martiniere reveals some of the most disturbing additions introduced in the Italian architecture by the whimsical builder. First of all, the orders are 'extremely unconventional' and secondly, the arrangement of support given to half columns in pairs by the single pilasters and heavy cornices is 'contrary to all classical functional theory'. That is why it is sometimes regarded as a 'striking monument of folly'. As one looks from a distance, the view is marred by the flying buttresses which provide but a poor climax to the structure. Stretching awkwardly across the hollow space beneath, it looks more like an epitome of wilderness than a suitable pinnacle to a human habitation. This fact becomes all the more oppressive as one looks at the two rows of Roman arches making up the front of the double storeyed wings on either sides. Absolutely bare of any decorative element with the dungeon-like entrance below, these wings lie in ungainly contrast to the ornamentation of the main building. Little wonder that Hastings was reminded of the castles of Pastry which in former days adorned the desserts.

2. Sketches of India, p.151.
From a closer distance, Constantia appears to be a fantastic assemblage of heterogeneous elements. There are to be seen Gothin towers, indifferently rising amidst clusters of indigenous kiosks and Grecian pilasters, painfully engaged in moderating the exaggerated profusion of Arabic arabesque and bass relief ornamentation on the walls as well as the arcaded parapet in the Mughal style. European fountains, set against Asiatic turrets, Indian varandahs, running besides courts of the western type, Indian blinds, projecting from an Italian facade, statues of Indian, European and Chinese subjects all these get mixed up here in eloquent testimony to the builder's eccentricity. It is by and large composed in hybrid style and mostly of European styled elements.

La Martiniere is a tale told in brick and plaster of a man who raised himself from an ordinary uneducated soldier to the status of a military general; of fabulous wealth amassed through fraudulent means and squandered in earning an undeserved fame. In a lengthy narrative, Lord Valantia describes him as a man of affluence who knew not how to enjoy his wealth, but was ambitious to go down to posterity as a builder. Constantia, the monument that cost £150,000 sterling, embodies all these facts of its builder's character.

1. European Architecture in India, pp. 130-1.
For that reason it remains a too highly individualistic piece of architecture to be looked upon as a typical example of the transitional style. It defies any decision as to which of the two foreign and indigenous styles is innate to it or superimposed. Nevertheless it did arouse the curiosity of the native builders and this 'foreign fashion' was imitated in a number of buildings. From now onward the European elements continue to ascend in the favour of the Nawabs of Awadh. More conspicuously Asaf-ud Daulah's successor Saadat Ali Khan whose fondness for every thing European has been partly ascribed to his long association with the English.

**Palace Farhat Bakhsh:** The conglomeration of buildings called Farhat Bakhsh was built by Nawab Saadat Ali Khan and

3. Originally Farhat Bakhsh was the name of the palace which lay by the side of Bera Chattar Manzil towards the river. It was formerly the residence of General Martin who himself designed it in the form of a castle. Lord Valantia remarks, "Its caprice of iron doors, massive stone walls, the narrow winding staircases with draw-bridges and battlements give this house much the appearance of the castle of Blue Beard". *Valantia's Travels*, vol. I, p. 166. Twinning's account is also the same he says "This house had the appearance of a fortified castle, and was indeed constructed with a view to defence, with draw bridges, loopholes and turrets, and a water, when desired all round". See *Travels in India*, London, 1893, p. 309.
4. Other buildings in this complex were built by Saadat Ali Khan *Mirat-ul Auga*, f. 106a; *Afzal-ut Tawarikh wa Ahsan-ut Tawarikh*, p. 79.
draw its name from the principal edifice of the same name. Time has raised
them all to the ground, leaving only the Ial Baradari and a few walls here
and there. All that we know about it now, is through scanty accounts of
the foreign travellers.

It stood on the South Eastern side of the city of Lucknow. It was
designed in semi-Italian style and was built inside a large enclosure with
six spacious courts, well kept gardens, tanks, throne hall, banquet hall,
Seraglio and a cluster of buildings along with a small mosque. There was
a lake pavilion too, which is greatly admired by Knighton. The entrance
into the enclosure was through a gateway elaborately constructed and closed
with iron doors leading to a court. The first edifice here that one met with
was called Haybat Khana or the Battledrum house. Besides this, there were
several apartments for the servants. The next court contained a zaoli (well
with cellars) with side-walks crowned with flower-beds.

The principal building called the Farhat Akbar lay towards the
river. It had beautiful open arcades and spacious rooms lavishly decorated
and designed so as to mitigate the effect of summer winds.

   *Travels*, vol. II, p.100.
3. *Private Life of an Eastern King*, p.27; *It lay between the two Chattar
   (Bzil)*.
Opposite to this Durbar (in fact, lies the throne room called Asr-u Sultan, commonly known as Bangarda or Ketha) that covered the whole of it. It was built in mixed Mughal and Western style and was tastefully decorated. In the central hall was the *Masnad* of the king displaying costly jewels all about it. Adorning the top of it are kiosks, while the front gives the impression of an English villa. The slopy shades on the wings however have a debasing effect on the front so that it resembles a country house. The edifice is tempered with fine cusped arches.

Towards the east was the Sangi Dalan, built of hewn stone and surrounded by an enclosure. All round it was a double range of arcades opening into a garden with a small mosque in the centre and some pavilions. There were four gates leading into the enclosure; the gate on the north was meant for the ladies of the royal family, that on the south was exclusively reserved for the king and those on the east and west were for the visitors.

In the eastern side of the Sangi Dalan was the seraglio - a mass of irregularly placed buildings protected by high walls without any opening or window. The notable buildings here were the Sheesh Mahai, Khura Manal.

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1. *Qasr-ul Sultan* was also called *Qasr-ul Khan* (Lucknow Awd, p.12) and *Qasr-i Dauni* (Mirat-ul Auza, f.10bb).
4. The seraglio (Haram Sara) was built by Ghazi-uddin Haider. *Mirat-ul Auza*, f.10Ca.
and Rang Mahal. A separate garden was attached to each one of them. 1

On the northern side was another garden encompassed by many state apartments. 2 The palace contained a large saloon in the English style and a splendid banqueting hall. 3 The general effect of Farhat Bakhsh is summed up by Knighton in the following words: "...the royal residence in Awadh but resembled what one reads of the seraglio at Constantinople, the Khan's residence at Tehran and the imperial buildings at Pekin." 4

The architecture of the Farhat Bakhsh has not been much admired as it lacked the magnificence which distinguishes a royal palace from lay residential mansions. "A cluster of mean courts", that is what might one say about them with Heber. 5 The best of these, namely, the Farhat Bakhsh and Lai Baradaree were slightly above the average standard. The only traces of royalty were to be found in the giltwork and the pompous ornamentation which must have faded long before their decay.

Moti Mahal Palace: So called from the pearl-like appearance of the dome, Moti Mahal is the strangest of the buildings of the Nawabs of Awadh.

2. Ibid.
Built by Ghazi-ud Din Haidar, it has octagonal towers surmounted by kiosks and above the kiosks are the pinnacles of truncated pyramids. The main palace displays a vertical tendency, an effect obtained in the exaggerated height of narrow, pointed arches and alcoves, occurring all over the facade at close distances. It is a curious mixture of distorted Gothic, Saracen and Roman elements. The building has the appearance of a castle.

Palace Malik-i Jahan: It was built by Agha Mir during the reign of King Ghazi-ud Din Haidar whose minister he was. It was an assemblage of numerous edifices surrounded by an enclosure with imposing portals, beautifully laid out gardens, pretty pavilions, courts, a seraglio, an Imambara and numerous other buildings. The palace does not exist now. Nor is it described by any of the authors.

Chattar Manzil Group: Opposite to the Farha Badshah lay a cluster of magnificent buildings including the two Chattar Manzils, Darshan Darias and the Paulstan-i Imam. Of these the great Chattar Manzil has certainly enjoyed the prestige of place. The smaller Chattar Manzil has now been wiped out of

1. Aizal-u Tawariikh wa Ansar-u Tawariikh, p.79.
2. According to H. Goetz, 'It represents English Classicism', see Marg, September, 1928, p.17.
3. Originally Moti Mahal was the name of the complex of buildings including Moti Mahal, Sultan Manzil and Mumrak Manzil (Supra, p.40) Moti Mahal formed the northern part of the enclosure. All the buildings in this complex were constructed by Ghazi-ud Din Haidar, Kira-i Aza, 1. (५६).
4. Our information is based on a thesis by one Mr. Nigam on Ghazi-ud Din Haidar submitted for Doctoral degree to the University of Lucknow, p.102.
Existence and the land on which it stood has been converted into a park. All that we know of it is through a photograph preserved in the Lucknow Album of Abbas Ali and from sketchy accounts by foreign travellers. The Darshan Bilas and Gulistan-i Iram still exist.

The Great Chattar Manzil was begun by king Ghazi-ud Din Haider and was completed by his successor king Nasiruddin Haider in the year 1830. It is a massive structure beginning with a vast airy basement and rising into a crescendo of diminutive blocks built one upon the other. In all it has four other storeys above and one below the ground. The front of the ground floor is made up of a long arcade with a central arch which forms the entrance. A flight of steps descends down to the river bed. The other storeys are also built with arcade fronts but the arches are flat instead of round. An octagonal drum-like small room with several windows all about it supports a little fluted dome. The top of the dome is open and decorated with metallic ostrich feathers, giving it the appearance of a pomegranate cut at the middle. A beautiful umbrella pierced through and supported by a thin metallic rod hangs over the dome. This is the Chattar, an insignia of royalty, from which the building derives its name. The dome, its feathers, the rod and the umbrella are all gilded. On either side of the dome are


2. It is regarded by H. Goetz as a "westernised Hawa Mahal", see Later Mughal Architecture, p.17.
two separate rooms covered by sloping roofs. These, with the octagonal room in the centre, make the fourth storey. Similar octagonal rooms with domes and pinnacles, on either side of the third storey serve to provide the upper portion with symmetry.

Symmetry and uniformity of the design seems to have been the main aim of the architect in the construction of the great Chattar Mansil. But, evidently, the idea has been carried too far. A single geometrical design in relief decorates the entire exterior from top to bottom. This, with the rows of capitals and arches, mounted one upon the other, embues the edifice with a look of prosaic grandeur.

Smaller Chattar Mansil (Chattar Mansil Khurd): As the name indicates, it was a smaller structure, but certainly more attractive in appearance. It had also an underground floor but only three storeys above the ground. The arrangement of the top structure was also similar to that of its bigger counterpart. Its dome was however more impressive, circular in form and bigger in size. Both the Mansils were richly gilded.

The style is predominantly Italian. For the first time, native

2. Lt. Col. Newell remarks about the style of Chattar Mansil: 'A glance at the exterior suffices to say that the architect, responsible for the design, sought to reconcile late eighteenth century French influence with Muhammadan tastes and prejudices, the effect being that of a French Chateau to which,...... masons added the cupola and kiosks intended for an oriental palace'. See Lucknow, p.34.
decorative structures such as turrets, kiosks, minarets, fret-work have been discarded in favour of constructional simplicity. Ferguson remarks "The Farhat Baiksh... the Chattar Manzil... display all the quaint, picturesque irregularity of the age of Francis 1st combined with more strange details than there are to be found in the buildings of Henry IV". Formerly the space between the two Chattar Manzil was covered by a garden with an artificial lake. In the middle of this lake was built a beautiful pavilion with pointed minarets and miniature domes. Its appearance was so captivating that Knighton regards it as the most elegant structure in the capital.

**Darshan Bilas**: A queer example of originality as it comprises four different styles in its four facades. The facade facing Gulistan-i Iram is imitated from Dilkusha, the opposite side is surmounted by beautiful turrets. It is indeed a beautiful palace. It was built by Ghaziuddin Haider.

**Gulistan-i Iram**: It is a large three storeyed edifice with a spacious basement. Built by Ghazi-ud Din Haider, it is a westernised

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2. The remarks, "were I the king, I should almost desert the palace for the pavilion", Private Life of an Eastern King, p.27.


4. Ibid., p.108b.
building in all its appearance - without any dome, tower or turret. Its chief peculiarity lies in its numerous openings (windows). It lies near Darshan Bilkas.

Begum Kothi: The Begum Kothi was built in 1844 by King Amjad Ali Shah for his queen Malika-i Ahad.¹ The name was applied to a large number of buildings around the principal palace within an enclosure. It was a magnificent edifice in Italian style,² decorated with elaborately ornamental gables, entablatures, minarets and gilt spires³ outside, and gaudy ornamentation inside. The building is very imposing in appearance. Fergusson regards it as a fine specimen of Italian architecture in Awadh.⁴ However it has an exterior, suitable more for a public building or a castle. The notched parapets decorating the edges of the roofs and a tall closed facade lends it an air of grim solidity.

Qaisar Bagh: If not for any distinctive merits of its own, the Qaisar Bagh complex invites our special attention for its medley of heterogeneous architectural styles and elements. It was erected by Wajid Ali Shah⁵

¹ According to one version it was built during the reign of Nawab Saadat Ali Khan. It appears that Amjad Ali Shah built it on the sight of the former, as the style itself is an evidence to the fact.
² It displays 'Gothic admixture of the Romantic period', H. Goetz, p.17.
⁵ Zahur Khan, Asrar-i Hikmat wa Asrar-i Wajidi, Persian, 1853 A.D., Lucknow University MS., f.307. It is considered by Najm-ud Daulah Iftakhar-ul Mulk as the replica of Heaven (nawma-i Bahisht), Asar-ul Mahshar, Persian, 1850, Raza Library MS., f.24.
in 1850, at a cost of more than a million sterlings. The unfortunate king had lived in these hardly for seven years, when the British forces dislodged him with his family and rased most of them to the ground. The remnants were made over to the Taluqars who used them for dwelling purposes.

It is impossible now to form any idea of its original extent. The greater part of it has been built upon subsequently and now a whole locality has grown over the area, leaving only a few structures that have survived devastation by the British and the ravaging hand of time. At any rate, it must have been unusually expansive. To draw from Russel's comment: "If the Tuileries, the Louvre, Versailles, Scutari and the winter palace were to be all blended together with an entourage of hovels worthy of Gallipoli and the interior gardens worthy of the hew, they would represent the size, at all events, of the palaces of Qaisar Bagh and the garden inlaid."

Incidentally, the site on which Wajid Ali Shah erected the palace had been the favourite site of some of the earlier builders. These monuments were also enclosed within the premises of the Qaisar Bagh; and it would be proper to deal with them here as a part of the whole complex. Notable of these are the Qaisar Pussand built by Roshan-ud Daulah, the Vasir of

2. Ibid.
Nasiruddin Haider, Badshah Manzil by Saadat Ali and the Chaulakhee by Azimullah Khan. ¹

According to Lalji, the Qaisar Bagh ensemble included the following buildings: Shahanshah Manzil, Badshah Manzil, Ishq Manzil, Istrahat Manzil, Vasar Manzil, Afsar Manzil, Shikoh Manzil, Haziri Manzil, Rahas Manzil, Gulzar Manzil, Aram Manzil, Hayat Manzil, Rahat Manzil, Zard Kothi, Qasr-ul Khakan, Qasr-ul Baizavi, Makan-i Dilpasand, Qaisar Pasand, Dil Afza, Baradari-i Nagina, Makan-i Chogosbiya, Makan-i Khas, Bait-ul Sarur, Jahan Numa, Makan-i Chaupahlu, Kunj-i Gulshan, Taskin Bakhsh, Indrasan, Baradari-i Sangmarmar, Shah Burj. ²

The Qaisar Bagh ensemble could be likened to a royal town enclosed by a rectangular boundary and pierced by high gateways. Entering the northern gateway one would have to pass through an open court called the Jilau Khana.³ It was used as a parading ground by the royal troops.⁴ Further on and dispersed in various directions could be seen the enclosures of different buildings such as the China Bagh, so called from the China clay ornamentation; Hazrat Bagh; Chandi Wali Baradari, decorated with silver work; Khas Makan and Badshah Manzil. Further away are situated the tombs of

² Mirat-ul Anza, ff.110a-111b.
⁴ Ibid.
Saadat Ali Khan and Murshid Zadi. These past, one came upon the great Lakhi Darwaza so called from its having cost one lakh rupees in construction and decoration. This formed the entrance to the main palace or more correctly, vast conglomeration of buildings of Wajid Ali Shah's creation called the Qaisar Bagh from which the whole complex derived its name.

The Lakhi gate shows up a great, plain rectangle around which stood in a disorderly fashion numerous residences of the ladies of the royal Haram and other members of the family. All of this were built on a single plan: a quadrangle with two-storeyed residential accommodation along the sides enclosing a beautiful garden and numerous fountains. There were other detached buildings such as the Qaisar Pasand and those that were in the personal use of the king: Lanka palace, sufaid (white) Baradari etc. This whole area was also enclosed by a high wall. Taken all together, it would appear as though a little town had been built in a big garden, and a very tastefully decorated one.

Qaisar Bagh makes an interesting study in the transformation of the native into what may be called the highly Europeanised style of the mid-nineteenth century Awadh. Even if the other buildings of the Nawabs are excluded from consideration, one could find here enough material in evidence of this change. There are on the one hand the tombs of Saadat Ali and his wife, representing the Mughal style, and on the other hand the Lanka palace

bearing all over the stamp of a builder, who might well have been schooled
in the Vatican and chateaus of 18th century France. In between these fall
the Lakhi gate, the Qaisar Pasand of Roshan-ud Daulah, the Sufaid Baradari,
and a host of quadrangular abodes of the ladies of the haram, all built in
the mixed style with varying degrees of foreign influence.¹

The Lakhi gateway still stands largely intact, though most of
its coloured ornamentation has faded away. A view of its original appearance
has been preserved along with those of others mentioned above, by Abbas Ali.
It is a curious mixture of Roman arcades, Italian oriels, Corinthian pillars
(tempered with cross bands), French flying buttresses and Chinese friezes,
and all these are superimposed on a facade topped by fluted domes, perforated
parapets, bell turrets, filigreed fringes, cusped arches, and kiosks in
mixed Italian and Mughal style. Beneath the display of this ostentation of
a hybrid order can be perceived a framework that is typically of oriental
origin.²

Of much more westernised style is the Qaisar Pasand of Roshan-ud
Daulah. It is built in a predominantly Italian style and is the largest
and one of the most beautiful palaces built during the reign of the nawabs.
Rising to a good height and crowned by a triangular pediment with an acrotium.

¹. According to H. Goetz, Qaisar Bagh is the copy of Trianon (French style)
see Later Mughal Architecture, Marg., p. 17.
². For a fuller description of this gateway see infra pp. 278. 279-17.
it has in all four storeys above the ground and a basement. Bare of surface ornamentation, it depends for appeal on its design and arrangement. The lower facade, that includes a portico and side wings, is made up of rows of fluted columns tapering to a graceful height. The elevation shows open structures composed of blocks of rooms, rows of windows, spacious terraces occurring in an ascending order and fringed by perforated railings. The orielS, cusped arches, minarets, friezes, butterresses, all disappear. Only the bell turrets remain which are however suitably spaced on the balustrades of the railings. Even the two shapely domes complimenting the view of the pediment, lose their native identity, surmounted as they are by small kiosks with hemispherical finials. The only touch of orientality it derives from the two mosques annexed to its sides. These are separate structures however and do not influence the view of the main building.

The Sufaid Baradari marks a step further still towards the Europeanisation of the building art of Awadh. Its conspicuous parts are its octagonal pavilions at the four corners, eaves which run about the whole building, arched windows and doors, fan-lights with cut-glass screens, and wooden mullions (painted white and comprising the lower half of the openings). The structure wears the look of an English Villa. It is plastered white. The inner structure consists of a rectangular hall, flanked by galleries that are separated by arcades. The only local features of it are the bell turrets, a pair of kiosks and cusped arches; but they are reduced to very
suitable size; infact, here we learn one fine example where the local and
the foreign elements are well assimilated.

But perhaps the strangest of all of Wajid/Shah’s buildings is
what is no less strangely given the name of Lanka palace. For whatever
purpose it may have been designed is not clear. It is a single-storeyed
structure consisting of two rectangular blocks without walls. On all the
corners of these blocks are provided eight stupendous octagonal towers with
two storeys, the upper storey rising blankly to an equal height above the
roof having apparently no function to perform. Standing robustly in an
obstrusive contrast to the thin mulions supporting the roof on all sides.
These towers absorb all the attention of the visitor. Their surfaces are
relieved with motifs of deep round and plain arches and geometrical patterns
which lent them a typically pagan appearance. The local elements have totally
disappeared here from the exterior which is a quaint example of the pseudo-
Italian style as adopted by the Nawabs of Awadh. In the interior, however,
was provided an arcaded room with cusped and trifoliated arches, that can
hardly be reconciled with the general make up of the building.
BUILDINGS IN MODERN ENGLISH STYLE

A good many buildings were erected by the Nawabs in an exclusively English style. These comprise some garden pavilions, summer houses, country houses or villas, meant to serve as the occasional residences of the Nawabs and the members of their family. These are plain buildings with no or little ornamentation such as has been observed in the palaces. Most of these are double-storied. The plan generally consists of a portico with simple pillars, a drawing room and a central hall. In place of ornamental arches there are used either none or simple round arches. The facades are white-washed. Shuttered doors are commonly employed and some times with fan-lights. Casually one comes across big towers, as in the buildings of Saadat Ali and Wajid Ali Shah. The roofs are either flat or sloping or both. In any case, they present no extraordinary architectural features or originality. At best they represent the early phase of adaptation, and at the worst, the impoverishment of the mind of the Indian builder, as some of them are too ugly even to merit an apology for their imitational character. An examination of these buildings is however called for in as much as they show how completely the Awadh architecture had been transformed within a hundred years after the British domination. These are a few monuments of the over-all culture triumph of the west and a pointer to the future course of architectural development in India.
Bibiapur Kothi: It is a single block of two storeys, rectangular in shape and with the lower half of elevation rusticated. There are eight entrances with shutter doors and fanlights. These are tall, narrow and curved like Roman round arches. The upper storey is partially closed by pairs of cylindrical columns which serve also as frame work for tall shuttered windows. It bears the look more of an office building than of a princely residence. It was built by General Martin for Nawab Asaf-ud Daulah.

Darul Shifa: It is a huge pavilion, squarish in form and one of the most unpretentious of the buildings of Nawabi Awadh. The arrangement includes a central block (containing numerous rooms) enclosed by a low colonnade all round it. It has a roofing of the mixed type: a very steep, sloping roof covers the colonnades and runs like an eave all about the flat roof that shelters the central block. It has a gloomy interior and looks more like a village school. It was built by Saadat Ali Khan.

Dilaram: The Dil-Aram, or the heart's comfort, is a queer small building hardly worthy of the name. It was erected by Nawab Saadat Ali Khan. At the very first sight, the building seems to divide itself into two

1. According to Lalji, it was built by Asaf-ud Daulah himself. Mirat-ul Ausa, f.105a. There was another kothi, Kothi Chinhat, constructed by the Nawab (Ibid.). It does not exist now.

2. Ibid., f.107a.
incoherent parts. The lower portion comprising two storeys is an open structure with a balcony, supported by colonnades that surround the central hall on the ground floor. On the top is awkwardly placed a rectangular block that is absolutely out of proportion to the structure below. It gives the impression of a small country house mounted on the top of a pavilion such as is commonly observed in the modern hill resorts. Moreover, the second storey is too low to be in agreement with the first and the third and uncomfortably sandwiched between them.

Hayat Bakhsh: Another specimen of Nawab Saadat Ali Khan’s fondness for the English style, it was built as a summer retreat. From the photograph preserved in the Lucknow Album it appears to be a fine two-storeyed structure without outer walls. An oblong varandah, supported in and out by tall graceful columns, adjoins a row of rooms below. The upper part consists of three square blocks of rooms, placed at right angles, so that the roofs of the lower structure remains partly open. The openings between the columns are closed by venetian blinds. Except for the small thatched structure that is provided at the back, the building reminds one of the familiar residential portions in the Connaught Circus in New Delhi.

Kankar Wali Kothi: A double-storeyed structure, the like of which

would be a familiar sight in the countryside of contemporary England. It is composed of different types of blocks: square and polygonal rooms, a round tower, a portico— all covered by separate roofs of different forms viz., ridged, flat and sloping. It has a rusticated facade. The name of the builder is not known. If the triangular pediment decorating the top may be taken as a clue, it might have been built by Saadat Ali Khan who had a fancy for it.

Noor Bakhsh ki Kothi: Another building of Saadat Ali Khan's creation, it has a portico and a balcony above it, covered by sloping roof which is supported by tall capitals. The main portion is square in shape. It is built in the familiar English style of Saadat Ali Khan's other buildings.

Residency: It was a charming English Villa surrounded by a beautiful garden on three sides. It was built in 1800 by Nawab Saadat Ali Khan for the British resident near Palace Farhat Bakhsh. It represents a style which is a Gothic admixture of the Romantic period. It comprised

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2. The rest was occupied by state apartments.
3. Hilton, Guide to Lucknow, p.139; Lalji attributes its construction to Asaf-ud Daulah, see Mirat-ul Ausa, f.105b.
two large buildings lying parallel to each other. The two-storeyed house on the left was the banquetting house. It contained a number of large halls. The other one on the right was the resident's palace. Entrance into it was from the east, through a portico. Its flat roof was supported by open balustrades. Numerous lofty windows colonnades, plain quadrangle boxes and closed jalousies decorated it. The inner part was occupied by halls and side rooms with four spirer staircases on the four corners which lead to a large and spacious basement.

Khurshid Mansil: It is a solid castellated building with huge towers running above the roofs. Its windows are protected with iron gratings. Formerly it was surrounded by a ditch, 10 feet broad, and a small garden surrounded it. It was begun in Saadat Ali Khan's reign and completed in 1818 by king Ghaziuddin Haider.

Tara Wali Kothi: Tara Wali Kothi lies close to the Khurshid Mansil. It was erected by king Nasiruddin Haider under the supervision of Col. Wilcox. Originally meant to serve as an observatory, the building would have been equally good for residential purposes. Of the astronomical structures which might have been constructed, there is no now in existence.

1. Von Olrich, p.92; Dr. Hoffmeister, p.251.
3. Ibid., According to Lalji it was constructed by Saadat Ali Khan (see Mirat-ul Ausa, f.107a). The account of Hasting is authentic, because he visited the place immediately after its completion during the reign of Ghaziuddin Haider.
Pleasure Gardens

One of the remarkable features of Lucknow architecture is that the buildings are laid out in conjunction with the gardens. The remark of Stuart, that 'Eastern gardens and their buildings are closely and significantly interwoven', applies more appropriately to the gardens of Nawabi Awadh. They are laid out in the traditional pattern of Mughal gardens—square in shape, surrounded by high walls pierced by imposing gateways and containing beautiful pavilions in the middle. But there is a slight variation in the adoption of the style. Instead of a canal an Awadh garden would generally have a raised tank, occupying the centre and decorated with numerous fountains. 'A garden enclosed, a garden of living water, a garden of sweet perfumes'—these ideal Mughal characteristics are well adopted by the Nawabs in the lay-out of their gardens. Whether the residential building inside it is constructed after the style of a French chateau or an English villa (viz., Dil Kusha and Moosa Bagh), or of an eastern pavilion (such as Badshah Bagh), the lay-out is the same. These houses were constructed as summer retreats or for the purpose of festivities.

1. C.M. Villiers
   London, 1913,
   Stuart, Gardens of the Great Mughals, Preface, p. VIII.

2. An imposing entrance to the garden is a great feature of Mughal style.
   Some of the gateways were very elegant as the gateway to Sikandar Bagh.
These gardens have claimed admiration from all travellers and writers. "The most remarkable in Lucknow", remarks Von Olrich, "are the sepulchral monuments and the gardens". ¹ An Iranian traveller Mirza Abdul Latif Shustri who visited Lucknow during the reign of Asaf-ud Daulah tells us in his 'Tuhfat-ul Alam' that there were about four hundred gardens in and in the environs of Lucknow.² Hundred of horticulturists and gardeners from Europe and China worked in them.³ Important among them are Alam Bagh, Hasan Bagh, Aish Bagh, Char Bagh built by Asaf-ud Daulah,⁴ Badshah Bagh, Banarsi Bagh, Dilkusha, Hazari Bagh,⁵ Nasiree Bagh,⁶ Sikandar Bagh, Wilayati Bagh and Zenana Bagh and Hasan Bagh⁷ of Lucknow, and

¹ Von Olrich, Travels in India, vol. II, p.3; Cain's remark is worth mentioning: "No idiere in India are there more beautiful avenues, parks and gardens (as in Lucknow)", see Picturesque India, p.275.

² The gardens built by Asaf-ud Daulah are numberless, Nevill, XLIII, p.148; Tarikh-i Saadat Jawed, f.459a.

³ Lucknow Fastand Present, p.

⁴ Mirat-ul Ausa, f.105a.

⁵ No trace of Hazari Bagh exists now. It was situated at the back of Dilkusha. see Hasting's Journal, vol. I, p.114.

⁶ According to Von Olrich this was a garden in the French style and had a summer house. see his Travels, p.96.

⁷ Tarikh-i Mohatshim Khani, f.10a.

⁸ Syed Kamaluddin Haider, Tarikh-i Mamlakat-i Awadh, Persian, Allahabad Archives MS., f.17.
Anguri Bagh, Aish Bagh or Asaf Bagh, Buland Bagh, Hayat Bakhsh, Farhat Bakhsh and Lal Bagh of Faizabad. Unfortunately, no account is obtained of the gardens of Faizabad and of some of Lucknow. They have just been mentioned.

Unlike the religious buildings, the garden architecture of Awadh reveals a marked change from the purely Mughal to an eclectic style combining French, Italian, English and Indian elements. It is difficult to mark out a correct sequence in which these buildings could be placed in the process of this change. However, as we come to the later part of the period there is observed a clear tendency in favour of the style that was developing in contemporary England. It is marked by simplicity, rarification of ornamental superficialities, use of porticoes, balconies, columns and sloping roofs. The adoption of foreign elements is however neither complete, nor intelligent. Some of the buildings are even ugly to look at.

1. Muhammad Fais Bakhsh refers to various gardens at Faizabad: Anguri Bagh, Moti Bagh, Lal Bagh, Asafi Bagh, Buland Bagh built by Shuja (Tarikh-i Farah Bakhsh, ff.223a, 223b, 282a), but no details occur about them. He only refers to that Dilkusha garden was prepared at the cost of Rs.60,000 (Ibid., f.381a). Bahadur Singh Nam! has also just mentioned the names and given no particulars about the gardens in Faizabad (see Yadgar-i Bahaduri, f.115a; Tarikh-i Namalakat-i Awadh, f.53; )According to Harcharan Das, Anguri Bagh was within the fort of Faizabad and Gulabi Bagh, Lal Bagh and Moti Bagh were within the citadel of Faizabad (see Chahar Gulzar-i Shujai, f.394).
Badshah Bagh: This magnificent garden was built by King Nasiruddin Haider as a pleasure resort near Gomti. Formerly it was surrounded by a high enclosure having two ornamental gateways.\(^1\) It contained three lofty edifices and a large marble tank along with numerous fountains.\(^2\) One of these was constructed to serve as an **hammam** - an elegant building of white variegated marble inlaid with carnelian and blood stone and arched roof,\(^3\) the arches intersecting each other in all directions.\(^4\) It was ornamented with crimson and gold.\(^5\) There was another pavilion in the centre of the park. It was a vast arcaded hall supported by carved pillars.\(^6\) On the left of the garden was another building meant for the ladies. It was built with marble and decorated with flower work in bright silver colour.\(^7\) These edifices were crowned with turrets and castellated gables.\(^8\) Russel observes: "It reminds one

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1. According to Russel it was one of the best summer palaces of Lucknow. *My Diary in India*, vol. I, p.255.

2. Ibid.

3. Mrs. Parkes observes "the first house is a most beautiful one. We felt every inclination to live in the **hammam**". *Wandering of a Pilgrim etc.*, vol. I, p.180.

4. Emily Eden, pp.84-85.


7. Ibid.

some what of the views of Bois-de-Bougne from the hill over St. Clond". ¹
These were many statues fixed near the flower beds which according to
Von Olrich and Dr. Hoffmeister destroyed the beauty of the garden by
producing a most disagreeable impression.² Much of the old layout is
destroyed and all that exists is a baradari and a large raised marble
tank spanned over by a small bridge.

Banarasi Bagh: The Banarasi Bagh was built by Nasiruddin
Haider. It contained a two-storeyed summer house and a circular pavilion
known as Aish Mahal. Nothing is known now of its former layout.

Dil Kusha Park: An attractive building with a colossal front
rising against the skyline and partly hidden by tall trees of the walled
garden that once lent this summer resolt of Nawab Saadat Ali Khan an air
of cool tranquillity.³ Time has taken its toll and nothing has survived
of it except its broken massive walls and tall lonely turrets. However,
the remains still build themselves up in imagination to remind one of 18th
century French chateau enlivened by the touch of an Italian hand.⁴ It

² Travels in India, vol. II, p.96; Travels in Ceylon and Continental Asia
etc., p.258.
³ The palace was built by Saadat Ali Khan, Knighton, p.36; Hastings'
Mutiny of Oudh and of the Seize of the Lucknow Residency, London, 1858,
p.389.
acquired its character by such necessary provisions as alcoves, a platform for dancing and orchestra, cover-walks, orange trees and numerous statues in the Greek style. It must have surely been the familiarity of the foreign travellers with European styles which has drawn such caustic remarks from them as "an small ugly house with a high front like grenadier's cap" or "a cockney looking building". An evidence to the fine taste of various the builder however can be found in the proportions of the buildings/parts, decoration and general design. The visitor was received by an elevated portico showing up a large flight of steps supporting several corinthian columns. The main portions of the buildings stood on a high plinth, while the plinth was flanked by level blocks of spacious rooms. The latter along with the portico lent symmetry to the whole structure and prominence to the central portico that sheltered chambers for royal use. A flight of steps descended down the river bank.

The period under consideration was characterised by a general compact of Europeanism. Architecture too received its share of influence. A fair evaluation of the worth of the garden architecture therefore must

3. Pen and Pencil Sketches, p.25. Mundy found nothing in it to be recommended and appreciated. Russel (Ibid.) however has a great admiration for it.
take into account the extent to which the builders were able to accept this influence without falling victim to imitative tendencies. The Dilkusha presents an example where the European effect is gracefully adopted. Another example is the Sikandar Bagh.

Sikandar Bagh: Sikandar Bagh is justly regarded by Abbas Ali as the Shalimar of Lucknow. The most important architectural structure in the garden is its gateway, shaped after the Roman round arch and decorated on either sides by two elegant octagonal towers. The surface is decorated by minute stucco work and the crest of the fish. What distinguishes this structure from others of its kind is a conscious effort to effect a synthesis of the native and Italian elements. Any conservative application of the two styles has been carefully avoided and the Roman arches seem to be evolving along with the turret and the dome towards a neutral style assuming dignity without the loss of liveliness. Havell remarks "the native craftsman has built a classic style that has all the vitality and the freedom of a real pompeian villa". On the whole the garden architecture of Awadh marks

1. Lucknow Album, p.17. Formerly this garden was named as Bibi Bagh and it was constructed by Saadat Ali Khan (Mirat-ul Auza, f.107a). Probably it was reconstructed during the reign of Wajid Ali Shah, who has named it as Sikandar Bagh (Ibid.)

2. Dr. N.L. Chatterjee, The Nawabi Architecture of Lucknow. According to H. Goetz, it is styled in 'Chinoiserie fashion', see Marx, September, 1958, p.17.
an interesting study in the transitional phase from the purely Mughal to
the modern style. There are collections of gardens more which we can learn
in the contemporary sources, unfortunately they lack description. For
instance the Wilayati Bagh pavilion invites one special attraction. It
was erected by king Nasiruddin Haider in an entirely unfamiliar style. A
photograph preserved by Abbas Ali shows a conical top with sides curved in-
wards like two concave surfaces held aloft by a row of pillar on cylindrical
piece of wood the Moosa Bagh also called the palaces of Berore,¹ was a
commodious in the English style constructed by General Martin and flanked
by two circular chambers on either extremities. According to spray it was
the only fascimile of an English mansion in the plains of Hindustan.²

**Alam Bagh**: The garden contains in its middle a two storeyed
summer house in western style erected by king Wajid Ali Shah for his queen
Nawab Khas Mahal. It was once surrounded by a high buttressed wall.³ The
plan consists of a colonnade in the European style giving passage into big
hall. On either extremity of the buildings are mounted four octagonal towers
the like of which is frequently observed in the English castles. The front
is surrounded by a triangular pediment.

Modern India with Illustrations of the Resources and the Capabilities of
2. *Ibid.*, According to Valantia the architecture here is 'an imitation of
Grecian with many faults, yet a very fine portico running the whole height
of the house gives a considerable degree of grandeur to the front. It is a
vast pile...', see Travels and Voyages...., vol. I, p.147.
GATEWAYS

The gateways erected by the nawabs of Awadh fall in a class as distinct as any of such buildings as have been treated above. They were built as complete monuments in their own right, rather than mere auxiliaries to the edifices to which they provided access. Their designing and decoration had special demands to make on the craftsmanship and imagination of an architect. In fact they were supposed to be the repositories of the king's majesty. It is not surprising therefore that a substantial portion of the funds earmarked for a building project was claimed by the gateways.

A very lofty, domed archway, occasionally flanked by two smaller ones, and deep enough to accommodate a few cells in the inner wall, a long facade with wings of proportionate length and a crown: a cupola, or a kiosk or some other structure visible from behind the screen—these are the principal features of an Awadh gateway.

Each of the builders vied his predecessors in creating a monument of excelling grandeur. The scope for structural innovation being little, originality was sought to be achieved by means of over-decoration. Newer patterns were introduced. Foliated arabesque, strong geometrical patterns, pyramidal turrets, alcoves, false, pointed arches, pediments, all appear here in interesting fashions. Nawab Saadat Ali and Wajid Ali Shah even adopted foreign elements freely and abundantly. To these was added the luster of
gild, stucco and colours. More often than not, the effect thus created would be an adverse comment on the builder's taste. But then, profusion of colour, exaggerated embellishment and artificial decor was a part of the life of the Nawabi Awadh, and was most highly cherished.

Of the many gateways built in this period only a few have survived. At least five of these are particularly worth describing. These are the Roomi Gateway, and the gateways of the Imambara of Husainabad, gateways of Sikandar Bagh, Moti Mahal and Qaisar Bagh. The first two and the other three represent four absolutely distinct styles, though the basic frameworks are more or less the same.

Roomi Gateway: It is said that Asaf-ud Daulah had erected this gateway in an endeavour to surpass the renown of the builder of the gateway of Constantinople. It is sixty feet high to the apex. The composition is simple and conventional. An archway flanked by two arcades with octagonal towers at the extremities. On the top of it is a kiosk, the view of which is complemented by two thin minarets, also, supporting kiosks of smaller size. Its main arch which is built like the vertical section of

1. Miraz-ul Ahsa, f.105a; Tarikh-i Muzaffari, f.201a; Afsal-ut Tawarikh, p.60.


A dome is its chief attraction. There are three arches one within the other. The innermost one has a beautiful shape well curved at the shoulders and cusped. Above it is another arch of a simple shape. The uppermost is decorated entirely with vertical mouldings, shaped like thick leaves that are curved inward at the ends. From amidst the mouldings stick out shoots with buds at the ends. The spandrels are decorated with the emblem of fish. There is an elaboration of sculptured carving and details which has concealed that original conception of the gateway.

A terrace with perforated railings shelters a long passage through the archway. The wings and the towers have three storeys. The former contains cloisters; the latter have balconies on the first storey, and arched openings. It is an attractive building, decorated moderately and artistically composed. One cannot however fail to have a feeling that the spikes above the archway would better have been avoided. Moreover, the placement of the Roomi Darwaza in relation to its adjoining buildings has spoiled its effect of symmetry. The obtuse made by the left wing with the adjoining structure has gone askance with the right angle which the main building of the Imambara makes with the right wing. Some disproportion and rough work is also evident from the back portion.  

1. There were several other gateways constructed by Asaf-ud Daulah at other places also. One is at Dhaurahra, District Faizabad (see Fuhrer, p.301).
Gateways of the Hussainabad Imambara: Lovers of tasteful profusion in decorative art cannot fail to pick up a fancy for the Hussainabad gateway. A central archway rising shoulder-high, above two others of identical form on either sides, and band over band of foliated mouldings that invite attention to its every detail, constitute its panoramic facade. The wings are of composite order, having perforated parapets which are spaced with small beautiful turrets above and decorative arches with screens done in lattice-work below. The apex is adorned with a kiosk, sporting a fluted cupola and a tall pointed finial. In descending order on either side of it, rise four slim, fluted minarets that originate from the ground, along the joints of the arches.

The most conspicuous element in this structure is its half-domed archway which is composed of three arches one above the other. The innermost one is a plain pointed arch, but well executed. The upper two are engrailed and bedecked entirely with flower bands. The uppermost part is a false one and is composed of two bands of flowery patterns. The whole composition is beautiful, over-decorated, but not in bad taste. Nevertheless the arch of the gateway stands in no comparison with the arch of the Rumi Darwaza. The latter is certainly more beautiful.

Gateway of Sikandar Bagh: Of very different order is the gateway of Sikandar Bagh. It was constructed by Saadat Ali Khan and is conspicuous
for a pleasant blending of indigenous and foreign elements.¹

**Gateway of Moti Mahal:** None among the buildings of this period is perhaps so strange to the eye and alien to the soil of Awadh as the Moti Mahal gateway of Ghazi-ud Din Haider's creation. It is an unassuming structure erected on the conventional plan. The whole of its three-storeyed facade is bare of motifs; instead it is inset all over with narrow arcuate niches and alcoves which occur in rows upon rows from the ground to the top. The same is true of the octagonal towers on the extremities. The archway is plain and simple in the early saracenic style. No dome or turret adorns its apex. The wall of the facade is raised to its full height. Against an almost straight skyline rises a short parapet in the middle, indented like a comb.

The gateway acquires an added air of quaintness from the towers. Instead of domes or turrets they end up in octagonal drums, their pinnacles being small truncated pyramids with surfaces bent slightly inward. This position has an intriguing resemblance with a pagoda; but in all probability, it seems to have been built on the lines of a Ta'ziah.

**Qaisar Bagh Gateway:** The triple archway reappears finally in the Qaisar Bagh gateway. Since it forms a part of the quadrangle containing the

¹ For detailed description see, Supra, p. 212-13.
residential apartments. It has been described along with the Qaisar Bagh palace. Suffice it here to say that it represents the final phase of the Nawabi architecture, when, though purely English and Italian forms had found considerable vogue, the oriental and Mughal elements had not been entirely replace. It is notable that, taken separately, the various elements of this gateway are either clearly of the European character or so designed as to lose much of their native character. Illustrative of the former are the flying buttresses on the top, shaped like the crown of the king of England; Italian oriels and Roman arches. The latter are represented by pillars, pilasters, bell-turrets and kiosks. But they are all built into a composition that is typically Indian.

MISCELLANEOUS BUILDINGS

Forts: The Awadh of the Nawabs boasts of no great forts like those of Delhi or Agra or even some of the states of the South. The reason is obvious. By the treaties of Buxur and Lucknow (1765 and 1801) the military requirements of the Nawabs had been made subject to the approval by the British. They could aspire for no conquests and were permitted to maintain a limited number of troops.

1. See Supra, p. 197.
Yet a few forts were erected in the early years of the state's existence when the Nawabs enjoyed independent status. One such fort was built by Saadat Khan Burhan-ul Mulk at Faizabad, by the name of Qila-i Mubarak Shahi. Another was erected by Nawab Safdar Jung in Jalalabad to meet the attacks of Bais Rajput chiefs. He is also credited with having reconstructed an old fort at Lucknow called Machchi Bhawan.

Safdar Jung's successor Shuja-ud Daulah excelled his predecessors in that he constructed two forts. One of these was called Fasil. It embraced an area equivalent to nineteen villages and was surrounded by a moat, two miles in perimeter. Its walls were sixty feet thick, all made of mud, so well beaten that elephants made to tread on them left no impression of their feet. When Cols. Macpherson and Allen visited Faizabad in 1773, they found the fort under construction with 40,000 men employed on it. They have left no details of this gigantic project. The fort itself has been effaced out of existence.

1. Nevill's Gazetteer, p.221.
2. Ibid; Pictorial Lucknow, p.202; Imad-us Saadat, p.69.
4. Ibid., p.221.
5. Soldiering in India, op. cit., p.102.
6. Ibid.
The other fort, built by Shuja-ud Daulah, was strongly called Kalkutta-Khurd or small Calcutta. It stood on the Mirang Chat at the bank of Ghaghra river.  

The chronicles contain references to two other forts erected during the reign of Nawab Asaf-ud Daulah. One, that stood by the village Kali Kankar in Mahmudabad was perhaps the creation of Nawab himself; the other is ascribed to one of his nobles, Mirza Quli Khan by name. The former was made entirely of mud, while the latter was a brick structure.

None of these forts is now in existence. For the want of an ample supply of stones they had resorted to the use of mud which could hardly stand the onslaught of time. Then they were erected in great hurry in order to meet exigencies. At any rate forts do not feature in Awadh architecture as monuments of architectural skill. The lack of information about them may not therefore be regretted. A few words may however be said about the Machchi Bhawan fort, the account of which is made available to us by Gubbins and Louis Russlet.

Machchi Bhawan, the 'citadel of Lucknow', is situated on an eminence, parallel to the Gomti on the east of Husainabad. It owes its

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origin to the Shaikhsadas who formerly owned the city of Lucknow.\(^1\) Nawab Safdar Jung constructed it and enlarged upon it extensively.\(^2\) It came to be called as Machchi Bhawan from the crest of the fish which these rulers had adopted as their insignia. According to Syed Kamal-ud Din Haider, there were 26 gates in Machchi Bhawan. All were decorated by the fish motif.\(^3\) It was noted for its earthen round bastions.\(^4\)

The fort enclosed a vast area, covering three plateaus of which the lowest was slightly elevated from the ground, while the highest towered above the neighbouring buildings.\(^5\) On the latter plateau stood the old residential buildings namely, Panch Mahal and Mubarak Mahal, of the Shaikhsadas. These were acquired by the early Nawabs for residential purposes and remained in their use until the erection of Daulat Khana Palace by Asaf-ud Daulah.\(^6\) On the lower plateau, the Nawab erected a Baradari and

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1. According to Thornton (p.308), Machchi Bhawan was built by Saadat Khan. Wakefield says that it was erected by emperor Aurangzeb. But there is no evidence of Saadat Khan erecting a fort at Lucknow, and Aurangzeb built the mosque not the Qila.


5. An Account of the Mutiny in Awadh, p.22.

6. According to Lalji, Panch Mahal, the old palace of Shaikhsadas, Baoi and also the Macchi Bhawan fort were reconstructed by Shuja-ud Daulah. see, Mirat-ul Awaaz, f.104a.
some other smaller buildings of no special architectural significance. Two gates provided access into the third and the lowest plateau. One was on the eastern side of it and the second stood facing the main road on the northern side.\(^1\) It was an open square surrounded on all sides by sheds laid in masonry. Other buildings included here were the Naubat Khana, a baoli and several blocks for state offices.\(^2\) The Machchi Bhawan was demolished in the year 1883 by the British for strategic reasons.

**Husainabad Baradari:** King Muhammad Ali Shah built a baradari which lies facing the Husainabad tank. It is a two-storeyed, rectangular, red-brick edifice, ornamented with terracotta coloured round pillars and enclosed by wide varandahs. This baradari, as the name indicates, is not open all sides, but is a very vast building containing, a number of rooms strange in construction as well as in style. The lower portion of it is built in the saracenic style while the upper storey has the appearance of a European villa. This unassimilated hodge-podge however fails to influence the spectator, except adversely, by its strange appearance.

**Husainabad Tank:** This massive tank which lies in front of the Husainabad baradari, also owes its origin to king Muhammad Ali Shah.\(^3\) It is

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1. There was no gate leading directly to the second plateau from here.
3. The tank was constructed in the year 1838 A.D. one of the buildings around the tank bears the following inscription: — >

contd....
a large octagonal reservoir, connected by underground passages with the river Gomti. It has a fascinating shape, oblong with stellate brinks. With the baradari in its background, it presents a beautiful spectacle.

Satkhande: This is an unfinished structure of a tower, so called as it was originally intended to rise up to seven storeys. It was built by king Muhammad Ali Shah near Husainabad tank as a watch tower from the top of which he could take a view of the magnificence of "the great Babylon" which he had erected. But it could not reach more than four storeys due to the death of its builder.

Satkhande is a huge structure, an evidence of the Nawab's architectural ambitions. It is made of small bricks and has at each storey numerous small openings of different shapes. Although it is difficult to form any idea as to its final shape, it seems to have been undertaken on a grand scale "so that the heavens would be jealous of its height".

Continued......

the king, the ruler of the spheres of the earth and water has constructed the tank of whose felicity even Alexander is jealous. The poet has composed the date of its construction in the following chronogram: Chashmār-i Faisāl-Abād (i.e. 1255 A.H., = 1839 A.D.).

1. Suroor calls it 'Nau Khande', Fasana-i Ibrat, p.45. But it is generally known as Sat Khande; Abdul Halim Sharar, Guzishta Lucknow, Karachi, p.123.

2. Fasana-i Ibrat, p.45.
In the sphere of industrial arts Awadh figures prominently in the contemporary period. Writing about the metropolis Lucknow, Lalji remarks, "It should be known that Lucknow, since the reign of Nawab Asaf-ud Daulah, has become the greatest rendezvous for expert craftsmen and excellent artists. Even today the accomplished artists of various trades and professions abound here, whose matchless skill befits them to create wonders of arts unattainable in any other place". Lucknow was a renowned centre of crafts, where manufactures of all sort of costly products flourished luxuriantly. The other centres within Awadh were Tanda, Faizabad, Jais, Barabanki, Bahraich, Khairabad, Malihabad etc.

The development of various arts and crafts in Awadh began with the reign of Nawab Shuja-ud Daulah. His immense wealth and munificence invited expert craftsmen to Faizabad. This was the time when whole of northern India was experiencing disorder and turmoil. Awadh was a peaceful area, and this too helped to attract artists and artisans to Faizabad who flocked here in great numbers from Delhi and other parts of India.

4. All these centres were noted mainly for their textiles.
Nawab Asaf-ud Daulah followed the policy of his father in the patronage of artisans and craftsmen. He awarded land grants to many artisans so that they might settle down in Awadh permanently. There are numerous arts whose origin or introduction in Awadh is attributed to his reign, such as ornamental shoe-making, gold-embroidery, weaving of art fabrics (especially tanzeb), damascening, etc.

The policy of developing the local industries in a systematic manner was adopted during the reign of Nawab Sa’adat Ali. Besides imparting financial encouragement to the artisans, he restricted import trade by levying high duties on the imported articles and fineries, including those which were imported from England. At the same time, he did not impose any hindrance on internal trade. Thus the energies of the artists were not hampered by want of capital and markets. As a result of this systematic policy of encouragement, followed generally also by his descendants, Awadh became self-sufficient in all respects except a few luxury items for the rich, and some kinds of arms and ammunition. Lucknow was unrivalled in

1. Israr Husain, Hunar-o-Hunar Mandan-i Awadh, Lucknow, 1936, p.35.
2. William Hoey, A Monograph on Trade and Manufactures in Northern India, Lucknow, 1879-80, p.28.
4. The imported items were: Dacca jamdani (Knighton, 144); Ool Radan and Mashroo, striped washing silk manufactured at Benaras (Mrs. Hasan, vol. I, p.306); Pashmina of numerous varieties (Taqi Ahmad, Tarikh-i Aftab-i Awadh, Lucknow University MS, f.4); expensive shawls (Butter, D., Outlines of the Topography and Statistics of the Southern Districts of Oude and the Cantonment of Sultanpur, Calcutta, 1839, p.94); Kimkhwab, Indian and European wares (Ibid., p.94). Articles imported from Europe were clocks, watches, pistols, guns, glassware and furniture, English linens, crapes, English broad cloth (Thomas Twinning, Travels in India, London, published 1893, p.311; Mrs. Hasan, vol. I, p.108; Knighton, p.241).
5. Awadh imported shields of rhinoceros and of buffalo hide from Sylhet, matchlocks from Lahore, swords from Gujarat, Marwar and Lahore (Butter, p.94; Sleeman, Resident at Lucknow, Letter to the Governor General, Foreign Department, Foreign Consultation No.218,227, dated 27th December, 1850, National Archives, New Delhi.)
the production of countless articles which were very greatly in demand all over India and exported from here extensively. Their commercial importance remained unchanged up to the extinction of the kingdom. A large part of the population of Lucknow city was made up of the traders and artisans.

1. Lalji, ff.11Cb, 112a.

2. The removal of this policy after the extinction brought a sudden decline in all crafts. For instance, cotton manufactures could not now compete with Manchester fabrics and prints, which were comparatively very cheap, the local industry received a severe blow. The weaving of art fabrics ceased and the weaver wove usually the coarse fabrics like garha gazi, charkhana, tapatis, adotars and sursis and bilras of Lancashire twist. A sharp decline in spinning also occurred. Previously Lucknow was famous for its 200-300 yarns of count. (Gazetteer of the Provinces of Oude; Birdwood, p.247). Some of the arts vanished completely, like bidri (silver damascening). Though Lucknow was the centre of Ta'alluqadars in the post-Nawabi days and English visitors flocked here, yet artistic excellence decayed in the absence of any policy of protection. Indeed, local industries were subjected to enhanced duties. The artisans suffered both from want of the market and capital. The extinction was naturally greatly resented by the trading class and the artisans (The Garden of India, p.155). The other reason for decline was the sharp decline in demand caused by the extinction of the Awadh court. The artisans either became day labourers or migrated to Tarai areas which were brought under cultivation after the mutiny (Gubbins, M.R., An Account of the Mutiny of Oudh and of the Seize of Lucknow, London, 1858, p.99).

3. The decline in its industries led to the decline in the population also. During the Nawabi reign the population was approximately 1 million while the Gazetteer of the Provinces of Oudh, vol. II, p.356 recorded its population in 1877 at only 273,126.
Trade and industry at Lucknow was entirely in the hands of indigenous people. It had no industry run by European capital. Only one place in Awadh, Tanda posed an exception. Here textile printing and calico bleaching industries were run by two or three agents of the East India Company.

Some establishments, known as karkhanas, were maintained by the nobles, where the artisans were paid according to results which greatly encouraged them to pursue an artistic approach and to achieve a high level of skill.

All the industries were organised privately. The artisans paid a certain amount of tax; beyond this there was little interference from the side of the government. The technical training of an industry was acquired by apprenticeship under experienced craftsmen. Employment in various arts and industries, except a few such as embroidery, was based on caste or guild, especially in the metals, where the son was closely trained by the father from childhood. Due to this early training the artists acquired considerable skill, but tended also to remain conservative.

1. See section on Textile Industry.


The crafts catered largely to a non-sectarian market. It is only in a few cases that we can identify the articles used by the Hindus and the Muslims. These are the crescent motif (appearing mostly in copper) and calligraphic details in Sanskrit and Persian characters.

Lucknow's distinctive motifs are: fish motif, jungle scene comprising of mostly palm leave patterns, hunting scene depicting various animal figures and also human and monstrous figures. The depiction of human figures is a practice contradictory to the Islamic tradition; still we find them profusely displayed in Lucknow crafts. Calligraphic details are invariably present in each craft. These motifs are in some cases natural but in most are conventional.

The Lucknow artist did not blindly follow others. In many spheres we see some innovation at work. The jungle scene and fish motifs are Lucknow's own specific features. The zarbuland was a new technique in damascening, devised by the Lucknow metal workers. At the same time, individual styles are rare: Uniformity prevails throughout a profession.

1. These observations are based on the study of the artistic pieces at display in the Private Collection of the Maharaja of Benaras at Ram Nagar Palace, Indian Museum, Calcutta, Lucknow Museum and National Museum, Delhi as well as their photo prints in various Journals of Indian Art and Industries (Technical Series), at the American Academy of Benaras, Ram Nagar.
The artists generally followed one who had acquired distinction in some sphere. Thus, as a result the originality of the work is affected. The work in simple motif is excellent. But wherever the artist tried to elaborate and complicate the pattern he failed, the work usually becoming overburdened and lacking balance. This feature becomes conspicuous when we compare Lucknow work with Kashmir work. This tendency towards excessive ornamentation is the speciality of Lucknow in all spheres towards the close of the Nawabi regime. Even in architecture we observe the same features. In spite of these shortcomings the crafts of Lucknow are remarkable for the beauty of execution and delicacy of detail. Some of the arts of Lucknow smack of Kashmiri influence, which is most conspicuous in gold and silver work, where Kashmiri cave pattern is extensively used. The reason was that most of the gold and silver workers were from Kashmir. Sometimes European influence is also seen in different crafts, like the calico-printing of Tanda, the art of statue moulding, wood carving etc.

TEXTILE INDUSTRY

Textile industry was the biggest industry of Awadh, and a large number of industrial population was engaged in weaving and allied industries, such as dyeing, printing and glazing of the calicoes. Besides

1. Watt, Birdwood,
The Koris and the Julahas, a large number of lower caste people were also engaged in cotton weaving. Apart from the great centres and towns, villages too had their colonies of caste weavers. All raw cotton was consumed in the country except for a little quantity that was exported to Mau in the Ghazipur district. The weavers were generally prosperous, especially those of Lucknow, as they had no lack of work for their looms. The fabric they produced was not only destined for home consumption it was also in great demand, due to its fineness, all over India and abroad.

Awadh had numerous centres of textile production before the kingdom was founded. Mahrabad, Dariyabad and Lucknow came into prominence

1. The Hindu and Muslim weavers are denominated as Koris and Julahas respectively; Hutton, Castes in India, Oxford, 1851, pp.12, 281. The word Kori may have been derived from kora (unbleached cloth); cf. Hoey, op.cit., pp.136-137. It is significant that the Hindu weavers produced the coarser varieties, Ibid., pp.123-124.


3. Ibid.


5. Industrial Arts of India, p.248.

6. Lucknow fabrics were famous all over the country, chiefly at Delhi, Kanpur, Benaras and Calcutta. At Calcutta and Delhi Lucknow's broad cloth, sallam, for the soldiery was in great demand. A Monograph on Trade, p.28. In 1799 Lucknow provided 5,000 coats for the Delhi soldiers.
in the 17th century. But Tanda, Rai Bareli and Jais emerged as centres of cotton fabrics of superior quality during the 18th century.

Besides Lucknow, the other cotton-weaving centres in Awadh that we have come to know were Mohammad Nagar, in Lucknow district; Jais and Rai Bareli in Rai Bareli district; Tanda, Akbarpur, and Faizabad in

1. Lucknow was a centre of cotton textile from the early 17th century onwards. Both coarse and fine varieties were produced here extensively. Its linen was in great demand among the English traders (W. Finch, *England's Pioneer in India*, ed. J.R. Ryley, 1899; Foster, *A Journey from Bengal to England*, vol. I, pp.178-9); English factors were greatly interested in its mercools (a kind of coarser cloth used as a wrapper of quilt); Dariyabadi (*English Factories* (1646-57), p.299), and Khairabadis. These varieties were denominated after their respective centres. Pelsaert noted the production of coarse cotton stuff, in Awadh, as early as in the days of Jehangir (Pelsaert, F., *Remonstrantie*, c.1626, tr. Moreland and Geyl, *Jahangir's India*, Delhi, 1972, p.7). Also, W.H. Moreland, *From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, Delhi, 1972, p.127.

2. At Jais, in the 18th century, the yarn was spun so fine as to be worth its weight in silver and woven in muslin so fine and so light as to cost Rs.5 per yard. See Silberrad, C.A., *Monograph on Cotton Fabrics produced in the North Western Provinces and Oudh*, Allahabad, 1898, p.28; Birdwood, *Industrial Arts of India*, p.248.


8. Ibid., p.122.
Faizabad district; Dariyabad, Nawabganj\(^1\) and Barabanki\(^2\) in Barabanki district; Hardoi;\(^3\) Khairabad,\(^4\) Biswari\(^5\) and Kheri\(^6\) in Sitapur district; and Basti,\(^7\)
Gonda;\(^8\) Aliganj,\(^9\) Aminganj,\(^10\) Baiswara,\(^11\) and Lohita.\(^12\)

Lucknow was famous for its cotton as well as silk cloth; thin and semi-transparent gauze, net and fine plain muslin, *garhi*, and *Addhi* which served as the ground material for *chikan* and *kamdani*.\(^13\) Another variety produced at Lucknow was known as *sharbati* which was of extreme

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2. A Monograph on Cotton Fabrics...*, p.34.
6. Ibid.
9. Ibid.
fineness and of such a light texture that it was regarded as far superior to the finest of the mill made muslins of England.\(^1\) Lohita, Faizabad, Jais and Rai Bareli were famous for Tanzeb.\(^2\) At Jais, which was a reputed centre of weaving and spinning, various kinds of cotton cloth—both plain and brocaded—were manufactured.\(^3\) In the 18th century Rai Bareli was the seat of extensive manufacture of cotton textiles. It declined towards the middle of the 19th century.\(^4\) Still it was famous for its ad'hota which continued to be woven in Bitter's time.\(^5\) A majority of the population of Tanda, viz., about 4,000 out of its estimated population of 6,000, was engaged in the weaving industry.\(^6\) Similarly a large number of people living in Shahzadpur and Khare\(^7\) consisted of weavers. Tanda as well as Jalalpur and Akbarpur were

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1. T.N. Mukerjee, *A Handbook of Indian Products*, Calcutta, 1883, p.16. Sharbat was also a variety of silk.

2. A *Monograph on Cotton Fabrics*, p.28; Birdwood, *Industrial Arts*, p.248. Two varieties of Tanzeb were produced, plain and brocaded. The production of the plain one was at Lohita, Faizabad and brocaded was produced at Jais and to a limited extent at Rai Bareli.\(^2\)

3. A *Monograph on Cotton Fabrics*, p.28; Butter, pp.81,268.


8. Kheri was the centre of cotton weaving as well as printing. Birdwood remarks as late as 1830 when the cotton industry was towards its decay, "the cotton weaving is pursued by 3,155 (people)". see *Industrial Arts of India*, p.248.
famous for jamdani.\footnote{1} Barabanki was also a big centre, but it chiefly produced the coarser fabrics, namely garhas, gazis, dhotis, mamudis, and Kasas.\footnote{2} Gonda,\footnote{3} Basti,\footnote{4} and Faizabad,\footnote{5} were also famous for cotton muslins. Hardoi and Nawabganj were famous for their muslin called mamudi.\footnote{6} In Harha (a town in Baiswara) and Nawabganj garha and gazis (coarse cloth) were produced.\footnote{7} Blankets of coarser texture were made in every part of Awadh,\footnote{8} which were of varying length viz., 8\(\frac{1}{2}\) feet, 11\(\frac{3}{8}\) feet and 16\(\frac{3}{8}\) feet costing Rs.1, Rs.1\(\frac{1}{2}\) and Rs.2 each respectively.\footnote{9} Awadh occupied an important position in the manufacture of flowered muslins — jamdani and tanzeb. Jamdani was the most sophisticated product of handloom, and the one made at Tanda could rival the celebrated Dacca jamdani.\footnote{10}

\begin{enumerate}
\item Birdwood, \textit{Industrial Arts...}, p.248; \textit{A Monograph on Cotton Fabrics...}, p. 34.
\item Birdwood, \textit{Ibid.}, p.247.
\item Butter, p.81.
\item \textit{A Monograph on Cotton Fabrics}, p.28.
\item Butter, p.122.
\item Birdwood, \textit{Ibid.}, p.247.
\item Butter, p.126.
\item \textit{Ibid.}, p.126; Thornton, IV, p.30.
\item \textit{Ibid.}, p.80.
\item Hunter, VIII, p.517; Dacca excelled all other centres in India in the production of its flowered weaves.
\end{enumerate}
Jamdani means figured muslin in white, extremely fine in texture and remarkable for the intricate and flawless execution of its ornamental motifs which are inserted by hand during the process of weaving. Here was exhibited the greatest artistic skill of colour for producing effects of transparency and opaqueness by means of different shades of white and yarns of varying thickness. This in fact, as Forbes Watson observes, was the chief daedel of the Indian weaver.

It is significant that there is no reference to Tanda in the English records as the centre of jamdani or any type of fabric till so late as the first half of the 18th century. In the absence of any documentary evidence about the establishment of the industry as well as its flourishing state in the early 19th century we have strong reasons for accepting the tradition that the jamdani industry was established under Nawab Sa'adat Ali.

1. Sometimes dyed yarn was also used for motifs, Syed Mohammad Hadi, A Monograph on Dyes and Dyeing, Allahabad, 1896, p.5.

2. This was woven with very fine counts of yarn, 170 or 175 and sometimes even 200; Nevill, XLIII, p.42. The word jamdani is also applied to the woollen weaves of Kashmir. Probably jamdani has come to mean loom figured or embroidered. But it is generally used for cotton muslin, which was in vogue for making jama from which it derived its name. (Irwin John, Shawls: A Study of Indo-European Influences, London, 1955, p.2.).


4. Tanda was the "largest seat of cotton manufacture of cloth in Awadh", Butter, p.142; Thorton, Gazetteer, vol. IV, p.647.
Khan, who is otherwise known to have invited artificers from different places, such as Dacca and Benaras, the immigrants settling in Tanda, Jalalpur and Akbarpur.¹

Another factor which contributed to the progress of Tanda was the efforts of the European traders to improve the quality of its manufactures.² The name of Scott, James Orr, and Johanna are notable in this connection. Scott had an immense washing centre at Tanda and Orr introduced several new devices in weaving as well as in printing.³ Tanda soon grew into an important centre of muslin and the art of jamdani weaving became well established here.⁴

Jamdani industry flourished in Tanda until the end of the Nawabi rule. After the annexation the weavers took to weaving the coarse cloth and there were only a few families producing the jamdani.⁵

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¹ This kind of weaving is said to date from the time of Nawab Sa'adat Ali Khan but the present handicraftsmen do not appear very clear as to the origin of it. Silberrad, p.32. The credit is equally given to one Hayat Kha of Rasulpur, in whose time the town became largely populated by Muslim Julahas and Hindu Katwas, who were alike famous for the fineness of the fabric they produced; "At the time of Mutiny several European firms existed here", Silberrad, p.32.

² Nevill, XLIII, p.41.

³ Ibid.

⁴ There were 1,122 looms in the year 1862 in Tanda, Nevill, XLIII, p.42.

⁵ "Only six to seven families produce the jamdani, of whom half are Julahas and half Kasais", A Monograph on Cotton Fabrics, p.32. "Formerly the weavers of Tanda in Faisalabad district used to produce the most delicate muslins, but now they are seldom made". Birdwood, Industrial Arts..., p.248; "Market is very limited owing to the high prices and the weavers now make plain muslin in place of the flowered one in order to earn their livelihood, Nevill, XLIII, p.42; Silberrad, p.32; Birdwood, p.248."
The articles produced at Tanda were chiefly then (piece goods), for male wear: jamah, angarkha, chapkan, achkan, kurta, etc. Unlike Dacca, this industry was wholly a weaver's enterprise. At the same time some nobles maintained karkhanas to meet their requirements. ¹

The characteristic features of the jamdani was the application of twill tapestry technique (tillakari) of shawls in the weaving, though in a varied form. ² Unlike shawl, designs were inserted into the cloth without the aid of naqsha (aper design) to aid the weaver. The absence of the function of naqsha and the naqshaband was a new feature in the twill tapestry technique. ³ In this fabric the warp was of unbleached yarn and the motifs were interwoven in bleached yarn by a series of weft threads of suitable lengths. A pair of the thread for weaving the motif was inserted in between each pair of weft thread. The treddlers were raised or depressed after

¹ Raja Durga Prasad writes about one of his predecessors, Rai Jai Sukh, "Rai Saheb established a karkhana at Lucknow for him during the reign of Nawab Sa'adat Ali Khan the worked produced here was no less than that of Dacca", Tarikh-i Sandila, p.49.

² In the tapestry technique of shawl or tillakari, the weft threads pass alternately over one warp thread, or under two or more (not in one as in plain weaving), John Irwin, p.2, producing diagonal lines. The woof is supplied with spindles instead of shuttle with designs formed by stitches across the warp. This process of weaving was imported from Turkestan and introduced in the shawl weaving during the reign of Zainul Abidin; John Irwin, p.2.

³ Ibid.
inserting each pair. These were inserted between the requisite number of warp thread by a very small spool of very fine yarn. On the motif the space was much exaggerated. The figures were woven with such a fine yarn that it looked approximately even with the ground work. Generally three or four artificers worked on one loom.¹

The jamdani of Tanda and Dacca differed a lot although both applied the same tillakari technique in weaving. In the Tanda weave the motif was even with the background as it was woven with a coarse background. In Dacca it was distinct from the background due to its being woven with a course unbleached yarn against a fine background. Unlike Dacca, gold and silver threads were never used in Tanda. Lastly, in the Dacca weave the yarn forming the motif was cut at both the edges, in the Tanda weave it was left dangling on the spool and was introduced in the next motif.²

The motifs were of Persian origin.³ From a study of various specimens in the Bhartiya Kala Bhawan, Benaras, the Lucknow Museum and the National Museum, Delhi, we may say that flower (buti) formed the chief motif in the jamdani of Tanda. These were in varying shapes and sizes suggesting

¹ Silberrad, p.32.
² John Irwin, pp.2-3, ibid.
³ Watt remarks: The dominant feature of these art fabrics is unquestionably the designs that are commonly accepted as of Persian origin, see Indian Arts..., p.283.
different kinds of flowers arranged in several ways. The circular shaped
design suggesting the chameli (jasmine flower) appears occasionally.

The arrangement of these flowers gave different names to the
fabric. When the flowers were scattered all over the surface like spray,
it was called butidar; when grouped in diagonal lines, it was known as aribel;
when sprays of flowers connected together like the setting of a jewel, it
was known as panna hāzari (thousand emeralds); when the pattern was set in
floral scrolls, it was beldar; when flowers were arranged in a running
creeper, it was belpatridar; when the floral ornamentation formed a net work
covering completely the field, it was jaldar; when a running pattern covered
the entire field, it was phuldar; and when the flower was large and life
size, it was called toradar.¹ Again, there were numerous varieties of buti.
One was the sambak flower, tabular in shape with surrounding petals and
leaves below and around.² Others were merrigold flower (genda buti),
circular plant shapes (asharfi buti), and small dots (fardl buti).³ Pan and
guldasta patterns were also employed. Crown too was used as a motif. It
was known as taj buti.⁴ The crown with mermaids flanked on each side also

1. Indian Arts.....,p.283.
2. Ibid., p.284.
3. Ibid.
appears as an ornament. This type of jamdani was called taj marka. It is likely that this special motif was introduced at the instance of king Wajid Ali Shah whose buildings and coins also bear the same motif. Geometrical basis of patterns were also introduced. All these terms used on/floral designs were identical with those employed in other varieties of figured cloth.

Tanda is reported to have produced ten such varieties of jamdani deriving their names from the patterns employed. These were pench, juhi, khara bel, khara bel barik, aribel, taj marka, chand marka, butidar, jaldar, and jali (woven in net and circular patterns). Juhi and khara bel barik were the costly varieties, and pench was most expensive. Some of the names of patterned varieties remain unexplained.

Jamdani was an extremely expensive cloth. The usual cost of jamdani pieces was Rs. 10 - 15 per piece (15½ to 17 yards). Sometimes it was sold at such a high price as Rs. 5 per yard.

Another kind of flowered muslin was tanzeb, which was chiefly

1. The jilu khana gateways of Qaisar Bagh are decorated with this motif. The coins are available in the Lucknow Museum.
2. Watt, p.284.
4. Ibid.
produced in Rai Bareli district, specially Jais. It resembled the jamdani of Tanda in its texture and weaving technique, but varied in detail of ornamentation. In it verses in Arabic and Devanagari script were also sometimes used as motifs.

The tradition is that the art of weaving tanzeb originated during the reign of Nawab Asaf-ud Daulah in the second half of the 18th century. The credit for its origin goes to one weaver named Bhika, who in his attempt to excel his fellow artists prepared a kurta and a turban in a piece in which he wove the name and praises of Nawab Asaf-ud Daulah. This new device was appreciated by the Nawab and henceforth this craft began to flourish in Jais in which ornaments were woven according to the choice and means of the customers in the way of jamdani patterns.

The weaving of tanzeb was so comprehensive and difficult that a rumal (scarf) took 3½ or four months to weave. Consequently, these articles were highly expensive. A cap was sold at Rs.10/-, while a handkerchief cost as much as Rs.50/-, and sometimes even Rs.100/-.

1. Watt, Indian Art..., p.288; A Monograph on Cotton Fabrics..., pp.22, 32; Birdwood, Industrial Arts..., p.240.

2. Birdwood observes: "the weavers have a curious art of weaving with it at the time of its manufacture any design that may be suggested to them. Verses and sentences were most common and these were varied to every taste and creed. Some are passages from Quran, others from the Vedas, others from Moral Sayings and Hymns, see Industrial Arts..., p.248.

3. A Monograph on Cotton Fabrics..., p.33.

4. Ibid.
The tanzeb fabrics produced were caps, handkerchiefs, turbans and angarkhas. The cloth was sold in pieces of 15 to 17 yards in length and much of it was exported to Lucknow. Like jamdani, tanzeb was in high demand outside Awadh and large quantities were exported to places like Kanpur and Benaras. This craft also met the similar fate like that of the jamdani at Tanda and declined after the annexation.

Awadh was also renowned for its silk products. Besides Lucknow, Khairabad, Basti, and Barabanki were other centres of production. But no distinction could be achieved in this sphere and whatever stuff -

1. Butter, p.81; A Monograph on Cotton Fabrics ..., p.33.
2. Butter, p.81.
3. No specimen of tanzeb is available. The study is based on the description of dirdwoold and Silberrad who came across such specimens. Silberrad has referred about two artists, one Madan Bakhsh of Jais and Ahmad Ullah of Rai Bareli. This craft originated in the family of Madan Bakhsh, and Bhika was his predecessor.
7. Ibid., p.34.
jangi, ghalta, gauzes - was produced at these centres, was in imitation of Benaras and Azamgarh. Velvet and pure silk was not woven here, only brocade and fabrics of mixed texture of blended silk and cotton were produced. Knighton says that gold cloth was also woven at Lucknow.

In spite of the great demand of brocade at the court and the flourishing wire drawing industry as well as the presence of numerous tashbaff (brocade weavers) the brocade weaving did not flourish here on any extensive scale. We do not come across any reference to brocade woven at Lucknow as late as the reign of Nawab Asaf-ud Daulah. Haranam Singh Nami praises only the brocades of Benaras and makes no mention of any produced in Awadh.

The tashbaff of Lucknow concentrated mainly on lace weaving which was more profitable due to the immense demand among the people. Fabrics of mixed texture were produced in various designs: stripes of green, red, yellow, white and blue; floral designs of various shades such as pistachio green, buti pattern suggesting different flowers variously coloured on a dull background or in other shades of same colour.

1. Velvet was the only silk product not at all woven in Awadh; it was imported from Bengal, Bombay, Madras and Western Asia (A. Yusuf Ali, p.99); Basti was the only place where pure silk (grant) was woven (Ibid., p.94)

2. Private Life of an Eastern King, p.143.

3. Tarikh-i Sa'adat Javed, 1221 A.H., (History Department, AMU), p.461.


5. Watt, Indian Art..., p.297.
The Ab-i Rawan (gauzes or silk muslin or tanzeb) of Lucknow was famous as a plain and flowered silk muslin. The plain variety was woven in bright red and green colours and the flowers were characterised by patterns mostly of small butis (fardi buti), or simple spots woven on them or specks produced by tie-and-dye process.

Ghalta derived its name from Persian word ghaltidan (to roll) due to its smooth glazed surface which was done by passing the fabric over or under hot cylinders. It was mainly produced at Khairabad. The characteristic patterns of ghalta was check bound with one, two or three lines, and the portion between the lines in one direction was filled with silk of a different colour to produce an effect of check and stripes. Some other designs were also produced.

Girant was a plain fabric of pure silk, which was very light in texture. It was produced at Basti and is said to be English in origin. It was woven in cotton as well.

Sangi was produced at Barabanki. It was a fabric with a pattern

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1. Watt, Indian Art..., p.298; A Monograph on Silk Fabrics..., p.95.
2. Watt, Ibid., p.298.
3. A Monograph on Silk Fabrics..., p.89.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid., p.94.
6. A Monograph on Cotton Fabrics..., p.28.
of wavy lines called _khanjari_ (lahariya) running along its width and produced by an arrangement of different coloured threads. It furnished an imitation of _mashru._

_Sangi_ derived its name from the fact that two warp threads were treated together as one thread. The warp being, as a rule, coarse and the weft fine. The _surkh zard_ or yellow _khanjari_ on a red background was most popular.

**Shawl weaving:** Silk shawl weaving did not flourish in Awadh, although silken shawl was a part of the attire of the nobles and the elite of Awadh. Woollen shawls were manufactured here by local Kashmiri artisans, but these were not as fine as the Kashmiri shawls in quality which may be due to the coarse variety of raw material as compared to Kashmir. This industry was introduced by Hakim Mehdi in Lucknow.

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1. In _mashru_ the pattern was obtained by a difficult process by dyeing the portions of the warp threads tied in a bundle of 10-15; _A. Yusuf Ali,_ 48.


3. _Watt,_ p.298.


5. _P.C. Mukerjee,_ p.173; _Hunter, VI,_ p.94.


7. Ibid.
DYEING INDUSTRY

In the process of textile manufacture weaving was followed by bleaching and dyeing. A great advance in the tinctorial art was made at Lucknow during this period. The Nawabs, keen to improve this branch of textile, invited dyers from different places renowned for the art. These dyers settled in the big towns and improved the art in its various branches to the extent that dyeing gradually used to be known as prime art of Awadh, especially at places which were centres of calico printing.

Besides the Nawabi patronage, the socio-religious rituals and festivities had their favourable impact on this industry. During the Muharram there was great demand for black and green colours; at the time of Jogia melā the demand was for saffron-coloured garments.

1. S.M. Hadi, p.2; P.C. Mukerjee, p.174; Caine, p.290.

2. S.M. Hadi, p.2; In the absence of any literature available on the subject nothing can be said with assurance about when did the art of dyeing originate in Awadh.


4. Hadi, p.2; P.C. Mukerjee, p.174; Butter, p.80; Nevill, XLIII, p.42.

5. Hadi, p.2.
At Lucknow, the art developed especially during the reign of King Wajid Ali Shah when the artificers were inspired for improving the old methods of dyeing and to apply new methods to produce the most exclusive and new colours which were unsurpassed for the brightness and permanence of their tints.  

1. Lucknow's peculiar tints were of palest blue (baizai) and turquoise blue (zangarī). These were prepared from indigo. Tints from safflower called amaua were named: zard amaua, kishmishi amaua, sunhara amaua, and kabdi.

This industry was in the hands of Muslim artisans known as rangrez and nilgars. The rangrezs used to dye fabrics in all plain colours, and were known in Lucknow and in its neighbourhood as halwais because prior to taking up this industry they were confectioners.  

4. The name nilgar indicates that they only dyed fabrics in indigo.

The dye stuffs used were vegetable dyes including indigo,


4. Hadi, p.4; T.N. Mukerjee, p.17. At other places in northern India the dyers used to call themselves as Shaikhs and Pathans.

5. Hadi, p.4.

6. T.N. Mukerjee, Handbook of Indian Products, p.17.

7. Ibid.
safflower, madder (rubia chebula, magetha), al (Morinda citrifolia), myrabolam (Terminalia chebula), lac, besides sapan wood (patang), tun, catechu. Besides the two mineral dyes, red and yellow ochre (geru and multani) were extensively used by the dyers. Almost all the dyes used were produced in Awadh. No European dye was introduced in this period. The dealers in dye-stuffs were called gulal saz.

5. The dyers of lac were available only in Lucknow. Hoey, A Monograph on Trade, p.4.

1. T.N. Mukerjee, p.17.

2. It was more frequently used by the calico-printers. Liotard, pp.50-51; Hoey, op. cit., pp.166-67.

3. T.N. Mukerjee, p.17; Liotard, p.51.

4. T.N. Mukerjee, p.17.

6. Hoey, op. cit., p.167; Liotard, p.120. It was used to obtain gul-i anar and quirmisy shades and also for fleeting purple colours and permanent colours.

7. Tun was scarcely used by the dyers of Lucknow. Hoey, 166-7.

8. For obtaining the agrasi colours and its shades catechu constituted the chief ingredient. Hoey, p.168.


10. The introduction of magenta dye, c.1866 (a rival of safflower) which revolutionised the industry of dyeing in India, was made after the Nawab's reign; and this became the cause of the decline of this flourishing industry. The European dyes, easy to handle, became favourite with the Indian dyers; and this ultimately proved fatal to the indigenous art of dyeing. See Halidi, p.13.
The fabrics were dyed variously in one shade and also in lines of different shades. The process of dyeing was very easy; and it consisted only of dipping the material in the dye solution. But the preparation of the dye solution needed much patience and skill.

The dyeing of cotton cloth was the most important branch of this industry. Besides this, yarn of finer quality was also dyed, being used for weaving fabrics of coloured patterns. Cotton wool was also dyed, invariably with red. Silk was dyed in all the brightest hues. The dyeing of woollen cloth was not carried on very extensively and was confined only to shawls. This branch concentrated in the hands of dushala farosh from the Punjab and Kashmir, who had settled in Lucknow.

Shahzadpur and Tanda were other celebrated places for dyeing. According to Butter the best dyers between Kannauj and GORAKHPUR were found here. They had long been famous for the permanence and brightness of their dyes. The cloth was sent here for dyeing from great distances.

3. Ibid., p.5.
4. The dyers of cotton wool were confined to Lucknow. Hadi, p.4.
5. Mrs. Hasan, I, p.309. Like cotton wool the dyeing of silk was also confined to Lucknow.
6. Hadi, p.4.
10. Ibid.
CALICO PRINTING

Calico printing was undertaken on an extensive scale in Awadh, and was considered an excellent art owing to the tinctorial beauty and superiority of colours as well as the artistry of detail. It was a well established trade and the printed textiles of Awadh, especially of Lucknow, were much reputed throughout the country. The most flourishing centres included besides Lucknow, Tanda, Jafarganj, Kishanganj and Kheri. There was a distinctive community of printers who produced the printed material.

1. A Monograph on dyes...., p.44; Maffey, J.L., Monograph on Wood Carving in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, Allahabad, p.27; T.N. Mukerjee, Hand Book...., p.17.
4. Nevill, XLIII, p.43.
5. Watt, p.244.
6. Situated in tahsil Khaga, district Fatehpur. It was the only place where printing on silk was practised, A. Yusuf Ali, p.69.
8. Maffey, p.27; the men who were engaged in this trade were called chipigars (T.N. Mukerjee, Hand Book...., p.17). There was another class of printers known as qalamkars, they were so called, because in addition to printing, they wrote verses, sayings and quotations on the fabrics, (A Monograph on dyes...., p.44).
The art of calico printing in Awadh, like other industrial arts, owed its existence entirely to the patronage of the Nawabs. The Nawabs invited master printers from Kannauj and Farrukhabad.¹ The enterprises of the traders and the artisans also contributed to the advancement of the art.² As a result the art acquired the perfection for which Awadh, especially Lucknow,³ enjoyed great reputation throughout the country and formed an important article of inland export.⁴

Fine chintz for wearing apparel,⁵ bed covers, shawls, farād⁶ (quilt), thick cotton fabrics like ceiling cloth,⁷ palanquin coverings, curtains, mattresses (toshaks)⁸, prayer carpets, table-liners (dastar khoans)

1. Watt, p.244. Kannauj was one of the oldest centres of printing but it declined during the period under consideration. With the establishment of the kingdom of Farrukhabad, a great number of the Kannauj printers settled there. Great improvements were made here in the art of calico printing. S.M. Hadi, p.44.
3. Richly coloured Lucknow prints are highly esteemed throughout the country owing to their tints and lasting qualities, Lt. Col. Newill, p.13; Lucknow produced some of the most beautiful cotton fabrics and stuffs, Caine, p.290.
4. The Lucknow chintz was in high repute not only locally but had great demand from Bengal and other remote provinces, P.C. Mukerjee, p.174.
7. Watt, Indian Arts......, p.244.
8. Hoey, Monograph on Trade.....,p.84; T.N. Mukerjee, Handbook.....,p.351.
cotton carpets (shatrangies) were the chief articles produced by the chipigars. Besides this, patterns were also stamped as basic designs for embroidery. Printing on silk fabric was also done.

The technique employed here was that of block printing. Wooden dices were used for stamping the pattern on which were cut the designs. The calicoes were printed in two different styles:

1. The tel-chol style which was the superior style of printing in which bleaching formed an important preparatory stage.

2. The katha style was an inferior style in which cloth was not bleached at all.

1. S.M. Hadi, p.44; Hoey, Monograph on Trade..., p.84; T.N. Mukerjee, Hand Book, p.351.

2. Hoey, Ibid., p.84.


6. S.M. Hadi, p.44. In this style bleaching was done through an emulsion of mixed vegetable oil and alkali. The bleaching was undertaken by the chamars and dhobis and not by the dyers or printers (T.N. Mukerjee, Ibid., p.349; Liotard, p.132). The emulsion of castor linseed oil was prepared in which the cotton was dipped, and dried on grass under cover. Again some additives were mixed in emulsions and then the cloth was dipped for the second time in it. It was, then, dried for an hour in the sun and from 3 to 15 days in the shade. Now the cloth was ready for printing. It only required a little washing in impure carbonate of soda and some other ingredients.

7. S.M. Hadi, p.44.
The fabrics were stamped in several ways:

(a) The stamping of gold and silver lead, pure or imitation was done on coloured cotton fabrics. This was used for palanquin coverings, curtains, quilts, toshaks etc. Lucknow was specially renowned for it.¹

(b) Stamping of patterns on thin fabrics for embroidering purpose such as addhi and tanzeb.² This too was done at Lucknow.

(c) The printing of cotton fabrics in fast colours on articles such as bed covers, prayer carpets, table liners, etc.³

In Lucknow, except the blacks and reds, which were of the madder process,⁴ other colours were directly applied and fixed by edging and exposing the goods to the heat of the sun.⁵ The colours were prepared with indigo, safflower, turmeric, pomegranate rind, sapan wood, lodh (rotten toona), tesu (butra frondosa) and myrabolan.⁶ Before printing a cloth it

1. S.M. Hadi, p.44.
2. Ibid.
5. T.N. Mukerjee, Hand Book..., p.17; Hoey, Monograph on Trade..., pp.166-67; Liotard, p.51.
6. Washing alone was a tedious process. The cloth was first boiled in impure carbonate of soda and powder of other ingredients, then boiled in a copper vessel and, in case the cloth was too coarse, the entire operation had to be repeated. Afterwards it was left in the sun to dry. Liotard, p.132.
was sent for washing, bleaching, mordanting and dyeing which required several days' work. ¹

The printing method applied in Awadh did not resemble that of Agra and Delhi. At these two places tie and dye method was applied, which showed a strong leaning towards the industries of Rajputana and Central India.² While at Lucknow and other centres Persian influence predominated,³ in Agra and Delhi the material was, usually coarse, dyed first in al and then printed in black or black and white.⁴ This method was similar to that of Lahore.⁵

There were three main schools of printing flourishing at Lucknow, Jafarganj and Tanda; having their own characteristics. The most important of all was Lucknow which produced the most beautiful cotton fabrics and stuffs especially chintzes being elegant and in minute and complex patterns in different hues and shades.⁶ These were equally renowned for the

¹ Watt, p.244.
² Ibid.; Birdwood, Industrial Arts of India, p.248.
³ Coomaraswami, p.246.
⁴ Watt, p.244.
⁵ Coomaraswami, p.246.
⁶ Caine, p.290.
superiority of their colours. The most complicated work was done at Lucknow.

The Lucknow fabrics exhibited great originality and variety of designs as they incorporated patterns from various fields especially from embroidered fabrics. The characteristic patterns of Lucknow prints were:

1. Bel hashia (flowered design)
2. Bel buti (single flowers)
3. Bel haazi (flowered stripes, printed in long diagonal or transverse lines)
4. Tahrir: letters, verses and quotations in Arabic characters and sometimes figures and pictures also. This was properly not printing but painting. It was known as qalamkari and confined only to dastarkhwans, palangposh and prayer carpets. The leaning towards calligraphy which is in general the characteristic of all

1. The credit of it was given to the Baita and Kukrail rivers which were famous for the purity of the tints their water gave to the deep toned dyes of India. Birdwood, p.248; Lt. Col. Newill, 13.
5. S.M. Hadi, p.44.
6. Ibid.
the arts and crafts of Awadh is thus also exhibited here. The patterns of Lucknow fard resembled that of Kannauj.\(^1\) It had generally a minute flower sprayed over the ground, closely compacted with a border pattern which was composed of two or three parallel scrolls.\(^2\)

The above description shows that originally the art was imported from Kannauj and Farrukhabad and applied the same technique. Yet these places exhibited a lot of difference regarding details. The chintzes of Kannauj and Farrukhabad were in large and bold designs while at Lucknow minute patterns were preferred.\(^3\) Again, the Farrukhabad printers were fond of the Persian 'tree of life' motif as the central design, while the Lucknow printers preferred the butas sprayed over the surface. The difference again appears in the border; in Farrukhabad printings the border is wide broad consisting of festoons of flowers encircling cones or conventional facades and balconies.\(^4\) At Lucknow the border was composed of two or three parallel floral scrolls.\(^5\) The work at Farrukhabad was rather heavy and overburdened while at Lucknow it was most artistic which far exceeded in beauty the cotton prints manufactured at Manchester.\(^6\)

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1. Watt, p.244.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Hoey, A Monograph on Trade, p.83.
An equally important centre of the industry was at Jafarganj near Fatehpur. It was distinguished from the Lucknow school of printing in its details, as well as the approach in the methods applied. Although the designs were mostly floral in character and of Persian origin like the Lucknow school, yet they were much bolder in conception. The Persian 'tree of life' motif was frequently used here. Besides this, large Persian cones, vases with sprays of flowers or bunches of carnation like flowers also appeared here. The borders of the sheets were composed of the medallions of decorative flowers which were encircled by broad bands of red and blue with interspaces filled in with calligraphic letters. The ground was generally a dull lemon colour and the details were in blue, brown or black. These when encircled with broad bands of red and blue and white or black qalamkari presented the most pleasing contrast. Yellow shade dominated the whole colour scheme.

The most important feature which imparted to this work an artistic delicacy of painted work was the use of brush. The large surfaces of the details were touched up with brush so that the shadows within the flowers and the ornamental curves of the leaves were shown through the main brush colour. The use of brush gave it much greater excellence than could be obtained through calico printing.

1. Watt, p.244.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
Another ground of distinction with the other schools was that in the other schools the work was treated in a conventional and rather rigorous style while the Jafarganj painter or printer was able to shake off traditions to adopt new motifs. We see here the conventional Indian motif of peacock which usually appears in ceiling cloths. The motifs were large in conception, graceful in outlines and delicate in colours. The Atjandha printing smacked of European design as a result of its being in constant touch with European merchants who did a lot to improve the textiles.

Printing was no exception. The name of Ore is remarkable in this sphere, for he introduced patterns of table clothes, towels and other articles from Europe.

Kishanganj and Kheri were the other noted centres of calico printing. The former was the only place in northern India where printing on silk was undertaken, which itself was an innovation of the Nawabi rule. Printing at Kheri was also practised extensively, as Birdwood refers to 990 printers working here as late as the year 1880 when the art was certainly in an advanced stage of decline.

1. Watt, p. 244.
4. Ibid.
FINE NEEDLE CRAFT (Embroidery)

Embroidery was an indispensable part of the textile industry of Awadh. Its use was not confined to the garments alone. In fact, no decorative article was deemed as complete without embroidery. Forbes Watson's dictum that in India "hand embroidery .... is destined in all probability to take a somewhat important place" applies especially to Awadh.

This craft found its impetus due to two main reasons: firstly, the growing need of decorative articles in numerous festivals and ceremonies for which Nawabi Awadh was noted. Life was here full of festivities and the display of much finery was a part of it. Even ziyarat to a dargah needed the ostentation of finery in procession. Secondly, the extraordinary inclination of people towards embroidered and embellished garments - so much so that plain fabric became taboo here. The Nawabs evinced an unusual knack for stylish dresses and displayed innovative mind. The gentry and the commoners alike looked towards the court for new vogues in fashion; and so sooner was one fashion introduced in the court that it was adopted by such people outside as could afford it.

2. Forbes Watson, p.166.
This period is characterised by a change in the conception of dresses. The emphasis previously laid on massive, pleated dresses shifted to exaggeration in outward embellishment viz. luxuriant use of lace and embroidery. Richly embroidered garments were preferred by all. Even the poor people were ambitious enough to make a pompous display of such fineness according to their limited resources, at least at the festive occasions. This resulted in a large demand of the embroidered articles. In so far as embroidery is not as "essential" craft, its popularity in Awadh is an index of how much crafts might reflect the cultural traditions of a people.

Embroidered cloth was so much in demand in Lucknow that embroidery became a profitable profession.

Not only was embroidery a profession, it also flourished as an accomplishment among the ladies of the higher strata. It is interesting that the most expensive and delicate work was done by them. They were renowned for the extreme dexterity of their fingers, exhibited in the innovation and execution of newer and newer designs. In this respect their work was far superior to the professionals, who worked on traditional lines, thereby confining the work to a 'dull level of uniformity'.

1. Knighton, pp. 143, 230; "No trouble was spared in the embroidery of the garments".
3. Ibid; Mrs. Hasan observes that the poor women adopted this profession (I, p. 44).
various articles of clothing and bags (batua and tilledani) of different shapes in picturesque designs for the purposes of presentation during Muharram. The craft of the embroidery was so much improved here that Lucknow grew into a great centre of needlework. Lucknow work was celebrated for the neatness, finish and perfect workmanship which could compete for beauty with similar manufacture in any other part of the world. Innumerable workshops sprang up in various parts of the city and its suburbs to meet embroidered articles in and around Awadh. And Lucknow exported its the demand of embroidered fabric all over India.

It is difficult to assign any date when this craft was established at Lucknow, though it may be assumed that it was brought here from Delhi, Agra and Benaras during the reign of Nawab Asaf-ud Daulah in whose reign Lucknow came into prominence, or a little later, during Saadat Ali's reign. But soon this art developed to such an extent as to supersede the products of these noted centres. In Awadh Lucknow enjoyed the monopoly in this craft.

1. Mrs. Hasan, I, p.44.
2. Gwenne, C.W., Monograph on Wire and Tinsel, Benaras, 1909, p.7; P.C. Munkerly, p.173; Lalji, f.110b; Hunter, vol. III, p.235; Hoey, Monograph on Trade, p.196; Watt, p.408; Nevill, vol. XXXVII, p.12. Only Benaras could rival Lucknow in the manufacture of embroidered fabrics (Gwenne, p.7). Lucknow's rise as a centre of needle work was comparatively very late while Benaras was reputed in this sphere for a long time.
6. No other place is traceable except an American mission near Fatehgarh, where girls used to embroider fabrics in European style (Anon, Tarikh-i gila-i Farrukhabad, (Urdu) Raza Library, Rampur MS (incomplete), p.54). But the study of this school is of no consequence because this type of embroidery did not flourish outside the mission, and consequently did not have any impression over the needle work of Awadh.
Needle work may be classified into two main categories:

1. Gold and silver thread embroidery;
2. Cotton thread embroidery.

1. **Gold and silver thread embroidery**: It flourished in various forms: fabric embroidery which comprises the embroidery of woollen and silken shawls, besides countless articles of garments of silk, muslin, satin, broad cloth, and velvet; shoe embroidery; tent embroidery; embroidery of the pipe sticks of the huqqas; Lastly, lace embroidery on kor, kinari, madakhil, etc.

Gold and silver thread embroidery was done in two forms: kamdani and zardozi. These two forms are entirely different from each other as regards the working technique, background material, and in the use of thread. **Kamdani** is a delicate form of embroidery, worked on fine gossamer materials, especially on fine muslin, silk, and sometimes, net, English crape, coloured gauze etc. It was worked as a rule on white cloth in those days. On the other hand, **zardozi** being very heavy and massive, was worked on velvet, satin, and sometimes on woollen fabrics. Shawls and ornamental tents of peabmina and velvet, and shoes were also embroidered in zardozi.

As regards the working material, in kamdani, only gold and

2. Watt, p.399; Knighton, p.143.
silver wire was used and no thread was employed.\(^1\) Specially manufactured wires of different fineness were put into use, known as kamdani ka tar, badla, and mugesh.\(^2\) In zardozi tinsels, such as salmah (hallow tubes), sitara (sequins), kalabatun (gold thread), kangan, katori (a cup like spangle), goshoo and goolabatun (gold-wire used for embroidering the caps), seed pearls, jewels and silver thread were employed.\(^3\)

The essential difference between the two is that of the technique. In zardozi the material was sewn on the fabric with a needle, usually with a cotton lining to give support to the heavy wire. But in kamdai the wire served as the needle itself, inserted into the fabric and pressed into the required motif.\(^4\) With this process the design is equally presentable on both the sides. Besides this, in kamdani no frame or adda is employed, while zardozi is executed after stretching the fabric on a frame. The zardozi is for this reason also denominated karchob (wooden work-frame). In its technique kamdani resembles chikan which is also executed without any frame.

Zardozi was worked in two ways in those days - "couched", and "laid". In the first case the motifs were cushioned to certain extent to

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1. Owenne, p.22.
2. Ibid., p.20.
3. For the terms cf. Section on Wire Drawing Industry.
4. Owenne, p.22; Watt, p.405.
riase the work with kalabatun above the ground material. Bharat kam (worked fill in) was the most expensive and the difficult form of the work, which was mostly done on saddle clothes, masnads, coats, caps, etc. In the "laid" form the gold and silver mudakhil, kor, kinari, which were especially prepared for this purpose, were attached on the fabric with a yellow thread by a needle from the lower side. The "laid" embroidery was in greater vogue.

In kamdani the floral designs suggesting various kinds of conventional flowers, buds, fruits - especially mango, almonds, diamonds, stars and small dots (butis) were made. These were either scattered all over the fabric or worked up in the centres or interwoven into borders, creepers and sprays. The prettiest and the most characteristic motif in it was called hazar-butti produced by interweaving 1000 dots of overlapping satin stitch with a wire one tola in weight. Depiction of human figures is not seen in this work. The kamdani work is renowned for its rich effect and delicate beauty alike.

2. Mudakhil: embroidery stitched on the back, front, sleeves, pockets of the coats worn by prostitutes and children (Gwenne, p.20).
3. Watt, 405: "As a rule gold wire thread can neither be woven on a revolving spool nor sewn with a needle, unless especially prepared and very expensive. Accordingly gold wire embroidery is almost of necessity 'laid'.
4. Ibid.
Patterns in zardozi exhibited a greater range of variety, originality of taste and purity of conception. The floral motifs were almost the same as of kamdani, though they tended towards correctness of outline rather than being treated on conventional lines. Besides this, calligraphic details (verses of the Quran and Vedas) and ornamental scrolls and designs were also attempted. These ornamental designs were very beautifully executed, and displayed flowers, plants, birds, etc., and sometimes figures depicting various aspects of life.

The traditional Indian motifs - peacocks, lotus, and elephants, are not found here. Cypresses and mango-shaped designs were much favoured. This may be due to the impact of the Kashmir embroidery which flourished extensively at Lucknow.

Birdwood believes that the lavish gold scroll ornamentation, so much seen in the canopies, chattar, elephant draperies, horse coverings, state housing and caprisions were in designs of Italian origin of the 16th century, which was due to the fact that the Portuguese sent satin to India to be embroidered in Italian designs. These influenced the works of Culburg, Aurangabad, and Hyderabad, as well as of Lucknow at a later period.

The chief characteristics of Lucknow work which raises it to

1. P.C. Mukerji, p.171.
2. Birdwood, p.368.
a higher level than the work of Delhi were:

1. In the work of Lucknow over crowdedness and gaudiness were generally avoided except in the dancing costumes where the work, in spite of its gaudiness, appeared the most picturesque and gorgeous. Velvet caps were generally worked in profusion.

2. Greater finish and refined elegance.

3. Purity of the material.

4. The vividness of details. Significantly there was no distinction between the ornamentation of the male and female costumes, all being embroidered alike.¹

Numerous variations were produced to heighten the effect. One such variation was the depiction of golden flower emerging out of silver foliage. The beauty of the flowers was enhanced by the use of spirals in the leaves and little sequins in the stamens and pistils. The sequins were worked in chains and circles.²

Sometimes use of bright coloured silken thread was also made in zardosi, and then the work was known as mine ka kam because of its semblance with enamelled work (meenakari). Another variation was known as tille ka kam. In it embroidery, with twisted silver and golden threads, was done so intricately that it imparted the fabric a brocade-like appearance.³

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1. These remarks are based on a study of the garments preserved in the collections of various museums of Delhi, Benaras, Allahabad, Lucknow, Calcutta.
2. Nevill, vol. XXXVII, p.41. The term for this work is not given.
3. Ibid.
We shall now discuss, in detail, the articles which were embroidered with gold and silver thread:

**Caps and headgear:** These were available in large varieties such as Chogoshia, Panchgoshia, Shisgoshia, Hastgoshia, Kamdar, Nakkedar.

1. The most favoured round shaped cap, having low four walls and four triangles ( \[ \triangle \] ) above them. The lunes ( \[ \L \] ), cones ( \[ \text{Cone} \] ) and triangles ( \[ \triangle \] ), all these ornamental parts of this cap were heavily embroidered either in chikan for summer wear, or gold work. It is said to have been fashioned by King Nasiruddin Haider, Sharar, p.365.

2. Sharar, p.365; It was also fashioned on the same pattern as Chogoshia. The difference was in the number of walls, and the triangles were five instead of four. When worn over the mould it gave the appearance of a dome. But it is significant that this cap remained known as Chogoshia.

3. Lalji, ff.11cb-111a. Shisgoshia and Hastgoshia were probably the other variations of Chogoshia and Panchgoshia. It seems that these were not popular forms of the caps as only one reference comes from Lalji.

4. Sharar, p.365. It was heavily embroidered in karchob. This style of cap was also embroidered in chikan.

5. Israr Husain, p.160; Egerton: Journal of Winters* tour in India, London, 1850, vol. II, p.7. A scanty cap after the dupalli, kept perched only on the hair. It had an elliptical insertion for the top which gave it the name of Nakkedar. This cap was invariably worked in gold and jewel and used by the princes and nobles. It was a favourite cap of King Wajid Ali Shah. The most graphic description of it has been given by Egerton: "the king's cap (is) more ornamented with jewels than the others and the sides rising in points like a diadem, the points covered with diamonds, string of pearls, emeralds and rubies...."
Mandil, Jazil, Alam Pasand, Taj-i Samoori, and Shamla-i-zard Vajah.

Costumes: Numerous varieties of embroidered costumes were in use, such as Qabas, Seenaband and Neemtenah, Chapkan, Achkan, Angarkha.

1. Sharar, p.368. It was a drum-shaped stiff cap, heavily decorated with gold embroidery. This became a part of the court costume since the reign of King Ghazi-uddin Haider, in whose reign it was shaped and popularised.

2. Sharar, p.368. It was a variation of Mandil. It was made in black velvet with profuse embellishment of embroidery, and was used by the princes and the nobles.

3. Sharar, p.368. It was introduced by Nawab Wajid Ali Shah and consisted of a roll with a broader front and surmounted by kimkhwab or karchob work. It had an appendage of net or tanzeb falling to the nape of the neck. This cap never became popular outside the court where it was denominated as jhula. The privileged few nobles of the Wajidi reign had to wear it.

4. Lalji, f.111a. None except Lalji mentions it. Probably this cap was studded with sable in addition to embroidery.

5. Lalji, f.111a; Sharar, p.373. It was a round band over which a great length of cloth or silk or shawl stuff was wound in numerous coils of lace. The open top was covered with a strip of silk and the whole structure was fastened outside and inside by means of stitches. The coils were embroidered in minute work. It was designed by Nawab Saadar Ali Khan.

6. Overcoats.

7. Inner jackets.

8. A tight fitted gent's coat.

9. Gent's coat.

10. Ibid.
Salwar, Dupatta, Peshwaz, Pamijah, Kurta. All kinds of courtly dresses were embroidered in pure gold, so much so that these appeared to be a mixture of tinsels and spangles.

Decorative Articles: These were velvet hangings, embroidered thans of muslin and velvet, pillow covers, masnad covers, bed covers, covers of the food baskets and fans, elephant housing, horse cloth, bridle, saddle cloth, elephant draperies, throne cloth, and lines of the conveyances, embroidered belts of the swords, canopies, chatar, aftabah (embroidered sun). The last three articles were exclusively for use of the royalty.

Articles connected with the ceremonials: Patkas of the Alam (banners) were made of the richest and very deep embroidery in gold and silver (kamdani and zardozi) on the borders on silk ground.

Lucknow was greatly reputed for its embroidered handkerchiefs

1. Ladies gown, used in dancing costume.
2. Ladies' inner vest. The kurta was invariably prepared of semi-transparent texture, net, thread net, bobby net, crappe and gauze. Mrs. Parkes, I, p.385; Mrs. Hasan, I, pp.107, 308; Knighton, p.144.
7. The list of the embroidered articles has been prepared from the following sources: Lalji, ff.110a-111b; Mrs. Hasan, Vol. I, pp.18, 38, 68, 84, 263, 264-65, 268-69, 277, 35-6, 66, 308; vol. II, pp.75, 77; T.N. Mukerji, p.333; Raja Durga Prasad, p.50; Knighton, pp.89, 143-44, 218; Shaikh Ghulam Hussain, Zafar Namah, Lucknow, 1872, p.20; P.C. Mukerji, p.173; Sharar, pp.36, 345; Hoey, p.196; Mundi, I, p.25; Valantia, I, pp.152, 169.
and scarfs (لْبْعُ )\(^1\), hanging of the state carriages, etc., and
the skill exhibited in these articles was not seen in the work of other
places.\(^2\)

Workers in gold and silver embroidery were called zardož. One
Mardan Bag was very much renowned for his skill. This craft did not belong
to any professional caste and employed many people.\(^3\)

Besides meeting the tremendous demand at home,\(^4\) Lucknow
exported its embroidered fabric all over India.\(^5\)

The working material - tinsels and gold thread were produced
in Lucknow itself; and was one of the greatest centres of kandilakashi
those days.\(^6\)

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\(^1\) Lalji, ff.11Ob - 111a; Muhtashim Khan, Tarikh-i Muhtashim Khani,
Persian, A.M.U. MS, f.21a.

\(^2\) Ibid. The hangings used to be so embroidered that they appeared 'a mass
of gilding and velvet' (Knighton, p.216).

\(^3\) Hunter, VI, p.94.

\(^4\) P.C. Mukherji, p.173.

\(^5\) T.N. Mukherji, p.373; Lalji, f.112a.

\(^6\) Cf. Section on Metal Crafts.
Shawl embroidery: In Lucknow gold embroidered shawls were in great demand because of their extensive use in the winter season by the rich people. 1

Shoe embroidery: Lucknow was renowned for its embroidered shoes and slippers all over India, which were, in fact, Lucknow's speciality. 2 The craze for ornamentation led to the making of shoes that reached half way to the knees. 3 Almost all varieties had picturesque embroidery in numerous patterns with gold and silver spangles and different coloured small sea-beads, 4 mudesh and coloured silk and salmah, 5 so profusely set that the whole appeared a glittering mass of metal. 6 Shoes of the less affluent were worked in tinsel. Even the meaner shoes had silver bindings. 7 Shoes in silver embroidery were also made but gold was in greater vogue. 8

5. Lalji, f.111b; Hoey, p.196.
7. Ibid.
The embroidered shoes were made with velvet. It is interesting to note that due to the great demand of embroidered shoes a new class of artisans emerged who only prepared the ornamental part of the shoes.

The Nawabs were very particular about the quality of the work and they had restricted, by a royal edict, the use of any other material than pure gold wire for shoe embroidery. As a result the work was more durable and picturesque.

A variety of shoes were available, like Khurid Noka.

1. Mrs. Hasan, I, p.42; vol. II, p.38; Walton, p.18; only the meanest qualities were made of red and yellow cloth. Brocaded and metallic shoes were also made.

2. Sharar, p.387; The upper part was separately prepared and tacked over the leather portion. The manufacturing of this ornamental part was not considered a low trade and its workers considered themselves as distinct from the ordinary shoe makers. Baiswas Chamars, Kori Chamars, Kori and Kuril etc. cf, Walton, pp.25, 26.


4. Caine, W.S., Picturesque India, London, 1891, p.290; Nevill, p.13; Tota Ram Shyan, Tararikhi Nadir-ul Aar, Lucknow, 1863, p.169; Birdwood, p.230; Hoey, pp.125, 169; the excellence of the shoe embroidery could not be maintained after the annexation for the lack of court patronage. With the removal of protection it came into competition with Delhi's pinch back embroidered shoes (worked in imitation), which were cheaper and filled the market. These swept away the shoe makers of Lucknow and Lucknow's reputation as the greatest centre of shoe manufacturing craft came to an end.

5. Shoe with small and round parapet and low heel, made with velvet, and embroidered in kala-batun. Shoes of kimkhwab (brocade) and kimikht (horse's hide dyed green) were also made on this pattern. Sharar, p.386.
Charwan, 2 Chatela, 3 Aram Pai, 4 Konsh, 5 Zar Pai, 6 Zuft Pai, 7 Hafti, 8 Salim-shahi, 9 Boot, and Peshawari. There was no distinction between the male and the female designs, and the same style was worn by the male as well as the female, except a few varieties such as Zar-pai and Aram-Pai, which

1. Sharar, p.387. It was a gold plated and richly ornamented shoe, with toe endings turned up and pressed along the upper surface. It was named charwan because it enclosed the outer half of the feet and the entire heel up to the ankle. Originally, in a very simple form, it belonged to Delhi and was restyled at Lucknow.

2. Sharar, p.387; Walton, p.18; Con Olrich, I, p.207. It was a shoe with an exaggerated point over the toe curled up like the trunk of an elephant, which was very richly embroidered. This shoe was, in fact, a reformed form of the old kafash, an old styled shoe with a high heel having a small projecting tip on the fore front and a long ending on the sides of the toe. The high heel disappeared in chatela, and which had become very popular with the nobility and the men of distinction, male and female alike.

3. Hoey, p.125. It was a highly ornamented slipper, worn by the well-to-do women only. It had heel, slides and a long curled-up front, and the whole upper portion was embroidered in gold.

4. Another variation of the slipper. All these three varieties were the creations of the later reign.

5. Walton, p.18; Hoey, p.124. It was also a slipper with a point but had no heel or sides.


9. It was an Indianised English boot made in the later reign.

10. Not traceable.

were exclusively meant for the ladies and the children due to their extreme delicacy. All shoes were made on a similar pattern.

**Tents:** Gold embroidery on the tents was turned out on two kinds of bases—peshminah and velvet. Peshminah tents, denominated as Marki, and velvet Baradaris, were worked in profuse embroidery with salmah, sitara, mugesh and kala-batun, fringed with netted work of badla, mugesh and pearl-strings at the endings. The sumptuous gold ornamentation display in seed pearls in profusion imparted to the velvet Baradari the most picturesque appearance.¹

**Embroidery of the pipe sticks of the huqqas:** Pipe sticks or huqqa snake were embroidered chiefly in salmah and kala-batun. Lucknow was renowned for its embroidered pipe sticks which were produced in various simple and stylish forms.²

The workers of the pipe-sticks were known as necchabands.³

**Lace embroidery:** Laces were embroidered in two ways; firstly, by stitching spiral cords of gold salmah and sitara in numerous fascinating patterns upon jhalar, kor, and kinaries;⁴ and secondly, by sewing variously prepared trimmings of wire, especially on bolun, mudakhil etc. These laces were in fact narrow stripes of karchob.⁵

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¹ Gulam Haider, pp. 20, 34; Najmul Ghani Khan, IV, p. 144.
² Lalji, f. 111b.
⁴ Gwenne, p. 20; Watt, p. 422.
⁵ Ibid.
2. **Cotton thread embroidery**: Sujani and chikankari were the two forms of the cotton thread embroidery which were executed on silk and muslin.

Sujani: Originally it flourished among the common folk, and was, presumably, named after the sujani, on which it was worked. Gradually it was developed to a higher artistic level, which is discernible from the embroidered specimen from the State Museum, Lucknow. The profuse work comprising of minute floral foliage details is the characteristic feature of this embroidery. This type of embroidery seems now to be extinct. This form of embroidery flourished as an accomplishment not as a profession.

3. **Silken thread embroidery**: It was executed mainly on silk and velvet. The ornamentation of caps and all sorts of woollen and silken shawls was the principal part of this industry. It is interesting to note that cap embroidery was chiefly practised by the Kayastha and Khatri ladies.

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2. Gazetteer of the Provinces of Oudh, I, p.XVII.
CHIKANKARI

In contrast to the dazzling Karchobi work was the Chikankari, which was elegant and simple, though extremely fine in execution and fascinating in effect. Chikankari means white cotton embroidery worked on muslin and silk with bleached or unbleached yarn. Perhaps this craft was introduced as an embellishment of the summer garment in the early decades.

1. Anonymous writer, 'Indian Embroidery', JIAI, vol. II, 1887-88, part two, p.11. The origin of the Chikankari is not known. According to some of the authors, it may be dated back to the time of Shri Harsh, who had a fancy for white muslin garments embroidered in white thread. (Mrs. K. Chattopadhyaya, Origin and development of embroidery in our land, p.8). But nothing can be said with certainty though it is considered that Chikankari originated in Eastern Bengal (Nevill, XXXVII, p.41) perhaps from the local Kantha folk embroidery, from where it was carried to many other places: Calcutta, Dhaka, Gaya, Benaras, Allahabad, Bhopal, Delhi, Rampur and Peshawar (Watt, p.399). But the best kind of work originated in Lucknow (Nevill, XXXIII, p.41; Watt, p.399). Chikan embroidery in its present form was developed here and, significantly, Lucknow is the only place to preserve this art up to this day. Chikankari is extinct in other places since long ago.

2. Chikan embroidery on silk was Lucknow's own innovation. The use of cotton thread on silken background and silk thread on cotton background were the devices used only by the Lucknow artists of the Nawabi days. Silken thread, generally Munga and sometime, Sangal and Banak, which were imported from lower Bengal and Central Asia via Panjab were used for filling the petals and leaves of the motifs (cf. Watt, p.401; A. Yusuf Ali, pp.38, 69). Some of the stitches were invariably executed with silken thread such as phanda (Watt, p.401). This practice does not exist now-a-days.
of the 19th century. The Nawabs invited famous artificers from various places where this form of fine embroidery flourished. Large rewards for masterwork inspired these craftsmen to improve the craft. Watt's comment is worth noting, "Lucknow chikan work is perhaps the most remarkable of these crafts as it is the most artistic and most delicate form of what may be called the purely indigenous work of India....when compared with Lucknow chikan work that of Calcutta and Dacca has to take a distinctly second position".

1. In the absence of any record nothing can be said with certainty about the date of the introduction of Chikankari in Lucknow; because we get occasional references of ladies short (Kurti) of thread net. (Mrs. Hasan, I, p.9) Knighton, p.143). As the net cannot be produced in Kamdani, so we may infer that it is, perhaps, Chikankari. Mrs. Hasan at other places refers to pieces of fine embroidered muslin awarded to most exalted persons in Khillat (I, p.278). Perhaps, these were worked in chikan embroidery. In the absence of any record of the 18th century costume worked in this style, we may assume that it was not introduced before the 19th century. We get, only caps: Panchgoshia, Jazil, Nakkedar and Dupalli, tight Angarkhas, Chankans and Achkan worked in chikan embroidery but no Chikan. All these articles were part of the costume of the 19th century Awadh. Sharar's version also supports this view (pp.359, 362, 365). According to Watt also, the chikankari was introduced in Awadh in the later period. Israr Husain claims that the popularity of the chikan embroidered articles began from the reign of Nasiruddin Haider. But then, the likeness was confined only to the caps; the coats began to be embroidered in this style during the reign of Wajid Ali Shah. Chikan embroidered coats were the part of the court costume. Hunar-o-Hunarmandan-i Awadh, p.160.

2. Watt, p.399.

3. Ibid., pp.399, 402.
Chikan kari is surprisingly not referred to by Lalji. There may be two reasons for this: Either chikan did not find much impetus during the Nawabi period or the craft became important only during the closing years of the Nawabi regime. The first view is corroborated by Hoey's account. According to him the industry developed on an industrial basis in the post-Nawabi period when the demand for chikan embroidered articles increased at Calcutta, Patna, Bombay, Haiderabad and other cities; and that it was 'almost unknown' during the preceding period. But at the same time we are informed by Tota Ram Shayan that it was the most thriving industry of the Nawabi period. At any event, after 1857, the artistic workers in chikan found in Lucknow far exceeded that at other places.

Though the exact extent of chikan work in the Nawabi period is thus uncertain, the art existed in probably all its styles. The embroidery was especially applied on the kurta, achkan and angarkha. Applique work (katao ka kam) on the shirt of the angarkhas was very common. It was more usual to embroider in a creeper-like pattern than to fill the whole garment with embroidery.

1. Hoey, Trade, p.80, writing in 1879 he observes, "The industry has grown to great proportion within the last 20 years. It was almost unknown in the Nawabi period."


3. Watt, p.399. Hoey remarks, "It is an extensive trade that idea of which can only be formed when one wanders the city inquiring into trades. See Monograph on Trade..., p.88.
There were thirty varieties of the chikan work, but on the basis of stitches used, chikan embroidery may be classified into three categories. Flat Stitches: Stitches sewn close to the surface of the fabric. The following are the stitches of this kind:

1. **Taipchi**
2. **Ghaspatti**
3. **Pechani**
4. **Bukhia**
5. **Thun**

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1. *Journal*, op. cit., p.11.

2. Watt, p.399. It was the cheapest and simplest type of work produced in darning stitch by drawing the thread through the fabric in parallel and straight lines. This type of work was produced chiefly on muslin, usually, for the outlining of the motifs and sometimes to fill the petals and leaves. It also served as a basis for other stitches such as ghaspatti and pechani. This was usually done by women.

3. Another variation formed on Taipchi. This flat stitch is peculiar to Lucknow.

4. Produced by interlacing the thread of Taipchi without disturbing the underlined fabric. The process of the interlacing of the Taipchi thread is called Madhava. This stitch is also peculiar to Lucknow.

5. Watt, p.400. Also known as shadow work. The stitch is employed in effecting opaque spaces and lines on fine muslin. This is the true flat chikan stitch produced by nipping the needle over the surface of the material, with minute stitches, in the way that the thread gets accumulated on the lower surface of the fabric and the desired motif is effected on the right side. This is worked up on the reverse side of the fabric. There are two varieties of it:

   (a) **Sidhi Bukhia**. Produced by accumulating the thread in the form of bold straight lines on the reverse of the fabric.

   (b) **Utli Bukhia**. (Inverted Satin Stitch)

       Produced by transverse crossing of the thread on the reverse surface in the way that tiny stitches are effected on the upper surface.

6. Similar to Bukhia in its working technique, but it is effected on the right side. This flat stitch is also characteristic of Lucknow's chikan work.
Zanjira, 1 Sitti, 2 Khatoo or Khatawa, 3

Embosed or knotted stitches: Stitches raised above the ground providing the motif a bold appearance. Embossed stitches are Lucknow's particular contribution to Chikankari. The most characteristic forms of chikan — the phanda 4 and Murri 5 were developed at Lucknow. Another stitch

1. Simple chain stitch used for the outlining of the motif.
2. A circular pattern with a minute hole in the Centre produced by teasing and holding the warp and weft thread by long stitches. It is peculiar to Lucknow's chikan embroidery.
3. Watt, p.400. A sort of applique work, khatoo is rather an imitation of flat work and produced by attaching the minute pieces of the same fabric to form the desired pattern. The details are filled with Taipchi or some other flat stitch. This stitch was greatly employed in working of the skirts of the Angarkha (Sharar, p.362). During the Nawabi days the khatoo work was done on muslin (addhi or tanzeb) but this practice ceased in the later period since Watt mentions this work as being executed on Calico and linen only. (Indian Art..., p.400). This stitch is not found now a days in chikankari. Its execution needed an adept hand. Khatoo and Bukhia are the most important stitches and these are collectively regarded as the flat embroidery of Lucknow (Watt, p.400).
4. Millet shaped. (Watt, p.400). A sort of tiny French knot produced by a minute Satin stitch. The embroidered portion is executed only in thirtysecond part of an inch. "This is the most graceful achievement", as Watt observes, "of Lucknow embroidery and this may be described as the most characteristic of this great centre of needle work. The presence of phanda is the surest indication of the highest class of the work (p.400).
5. Murri (Rice shaped) (Watt, p.400). This was the elongated condition of phanda exceeding no more than 1/16 or at the most 1/8 of an inch. Murri was further developed into three sub-varieties:
   1. Mundi Murri
   2. Nukili Murri

These two forms — Phanda and Murri were used for the filling of the motif.
is Balda.\(^1\) In this class we may also categorize those embossed motifs which were used and known as single stitches though they were made by employing several stitches. These are: Keel, Kalai or Kansam, Bijli, Tar Tar and Samoondar Leher.\(^2\) These last two were the favourite motifs of our period.\(^3\)

**Net Work:** It comprised stitches employed for making net by breaking down the texture of the cloth with the needle and converting it into open meshes and holding them in that position through minute button hole stitches.\(^4\) Chikan included a great variety of net work: Madrasi Jali, Calcutta Jali, Bulbul Chashm, Chataiya, Satkhani, Tabar, Chitegul, Makra, Kanthmal, Sidhaur etc. All these varieties were produced by an arrangement of the meshes into different patterns and sizes. The working technique remained the same in all patterns. Madrasi,\(^5\) Sidhaur\(^6\) and Calcutta Jali\(^7\) were commonly executed.

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1. A variation of Phanda, produced by covering this stitch with thread so that it acquired the shape of a pearl.

2. JIAI, op. cit., p.11.

3. Ibid. These are unknown today.

4. In Lucknow chikan work the net was never made by drawing out the thread. This technique was considered rather a slovenly imitation of true Jali embroidery. (Watt, 400; JIAI, op. cit., p.11).

5. It consisted of minute squares made in the following manner: one square is opened, the second is left closed and the third one is broken into four minute openings. This is repeated again in the same manner. The squares are 1/16 of an inch in diameter (Watt, p.400).

6. Watt, p.400. This is a drawn jali found in cheap fabrics. In the net is produced by drawing out the thread and not by teasing it. The openings are irregular and square in shape. This jali was worked by women.

7."Calcutta Jali, in Lucknow style" consisted of square openings half in diameter of the Madrasi Jalis, arranged in parallel bounds and unbounds alternately. (Watt, p.400).
The Madras Jail was the most intricate and the sidhaur the simplest. Two other variations were the Hatketi and hool. Generally floral and foliar designs were executed in chikan. The Bel (creeper) in wavy bands or scrolls or borders and Buti (individual floral motif) were the most common. Fish the characteristic pattern of Awadh arts and craft is also found here. Besides this, jungle scenes which provide a favourite motif in Awadh metal crafts, are also depicted though very rarely. Here, as in Jamdani, the crown pattern and human figures, also appear, although in a very crude form. Monograms and calligraphical details were also embroidered.

The articles with chikan embroidery were mostly caps and male and female dresses, those produced in zardozi also. Significantly it was more popular among the Muslims. This craft was not confined to any class and it was carried on by men and women alike. Some of the stitches were executed by women artisans, especially sidhaur and Taipchi. Hoey remarks,

1. Watt, p.400.
2. In it, a line of square holes was produced as the bounding of the borders and in the middle of flowers and leaves. This is peculiar to Lucknow.
3. Another variety of Hatketi produced by teasing the fabric by needle and holding the parted warp and wefts by minute stitches to form small holes. This is also peculiar to Lucknow.
4. These remarks are based on my own examination of the chikan embroidered garments in the collection of Lucknow Museum, National Museum Delhi and Bhartiya Kala Bhawan, Benaras.
5. JIAI, op. cit., p.11.
6. Hoey, Monograph on Trade, p.88.
7. Watt, pp.399, 401.
"Little girls five or six years of age may be seen sitting at the doors of their houses busily moving their tiny fingers over a piece of Tenzeb and working Buta... It is by this early beginning that chikan workers attain the great skill they do in embroidery...". But the master craftsmen and designers were always men.

There were certain characteristics of Lucknow chikan work of the Nawabi days which distinguished it from chikan work elsewhere.

1. The use of coloured silk (Taser) in the filling of petals and leaves, was an effective device introduced by the Lucknow artist. Phanda was a rule done in silk. This combination of silk and cotton thread made the work very attractive.

2. The use of brush (qalam) for drawing the motif before execution was another Lucknow characteristic. This practice of qalamkari disappeared afterward by the introduction of the Thappa (stamping die).

3. The use of satin stitch was not in vague in the chikankari of Lucknow as it was in other centres - Calcutta, Bhopal, Queta and Kashmir. At Lucknow embossed motifs, phanda and murri were most preferred.

1. Hoey, Monograph on Trade, p.88.
2. Watt, p.401; Nevill, XXXIII, p.211.
4. See an early specimen of Lucknow work, article no.68, 4,20, of Lucknow Museum. It was woven and embroidered probably around the middle of 19th century.
5. Watt, p.401.
KASHMIRI EMBROIDERY

A note may here be appended on the Kashmiri style of embroidery, which was established as a craft in Awadh during the Nawabi regime.

It was executed on all sorts of woollen fabrics, shawls, scarfs and overcoat, as also on tents.1

The most popular work of the Kashmiri embroidery was known as rafugari. It received great spurt due to its use in shawl embroidery. Due to the great amount of labour, minute workmanship and untiring patience that the thread by thread treatment of the cloth required, the product was quite expensive, nevertheless the Kashmir work was very popular. As a result a large number of Kashmiri rafugars came and settled in Kashmiri Mohalla, a colony of Kashmiri craftsmen.2

1. Ghulam Haider, p.34.
ENAMELLING OR MINAKARI

Enamelling was one of the most flourishing crafts of Lucknow. Lucknow was famous for its gold and silver enamels and ranked amongst the most prominent centres of India, the others being Jaipur, Lahore, Benaras and Delhi.

Birdwood considers enamelling as the highest master craft of India. It was Indian enameller who was capable of producing wonders of art as regards the refined workmanship, elegant details, and above all, the use of some of most exquisite colours in enamel with matchless perfection — a peculiar Indian device. Birdwood observes “Even Paris cannot paint gold with the ruby and the coral reds, emerald green and turquoise and sapphire blues of the enamels of Jaipur, Lahore, Benaras and Lucknow.” The work of Jaipur was peerless, and Lucknow stood only next to it, especially during the eighteenth century. Lucknow enamelling was chiefly practised on silver; gold enamelling was less common.

4. Ibid.
5. Ibid., pp.165-6.
It is difficult to ascertain when this craft was established in Lucknow. It appears that enamelling assumed its distinctive form very early, perhaps during the reign of Nawab Shuja-ud Daulah, because the colours used in it appear throughout the period, but then the enameller worked privately for the royal patron.

Like Jaipur, the enamelling of Lucknow was of 'Champlevé' style. The main difference between the Jaipur and Lucknow work is in the use of colours. Green, brown, and blue on a silver background are the characteristic shades in Lucknow, while in Jaipur the use of deep red, green and ivory white is prominent.

1. See an early specimen of enamelling at Ram Nagar Palace - a sword of Nawab Shuja-ud Daulah. This sword was presented to Raja Balwant Singh by Nawab Shuja-ud Daulah (Watt, Indian Art at Delhi, p.464).

2. Enamels were applied to the metals in three distinct forms:
   (i) Painted: in it the enamels were simply applied over the metallic surface.
   (ii) Translucent or semi transparent: in it the enamels were laid over the designs produced by etching and hammering (cf. Birdwood, Industrial Arts of India, p.165) and called translucent from the fact that the design on the metal was seen through the glassy substance on it. Painted and translucent enamels are comparatively modern devices (Birdwood, Industrial Arts of India, p.165).
   (iii) Inlaid or encrusted: in it the outlines are formed by metal divisions. This method of enamelling was of a very ancient origin (Birdwood, Ibid, p.165). It can be further classified as 'Cloisonné' and 'Champlevé' on the basis of two different techniques of treatment. In the 'Cloisonné' style the base is a thin plate of gold and the pattern was raised over the surface by means of stripes of metals or wire welded on it forming a fine tracery around the enclosures of enamels. This kind flourished in Constantinople from the eighth to twelfth century (Birdwood, Ibid.) Wheatley, Henry, B., Handbook of Art Industries in Pottery and the Precious metals, London, 1886, p.111. The second form was 'Champlevé', in which the metallic surface was cut or dug away to receive the enamels. (Birdwood, Ibid.) The metal was filled in both cases with enamels within the enclosures, either cut or raised, and its colouring glaze was fused on to the metal (cf. Birdwood, Ibid.) Presumably 'Cloisonné' and 'Translucent' forms did not flourish in Lucknow.

Etching in Lucknow enamelling is very minute and abundant which imparts this work from a distance, sometimes an appearance of being corroded in verdigris.  

The most distinctive part of the Lucknow enamelling was the extensive use of animal motifs, no detail was thought complete without it. Whenever some other motifs, for instance human figures, were executed, these were surrounded by bands composed of medallion leaves, elephants and pheasants. Animal motifs were so favourite with the Lucknow enameller that sometimes the work got overburdened with them.

Lucknow enamel work can be divided into two phases: The first phase belonged to the second half of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century. The patterns are very minutely and intricately worked. The colour scheme and the composition are balanced. The birds, peacocks, doves are conspicuously drawn. Floral scrolls and trees were the favourite motifs of this period. The work is certainly very refined and of great artistic skill for in those days the enameller worked for his own patrons. But this high degree of perfection was not retained

2. *Huqqa* illustrated in Watt's *Exhibition at Delhi*, plate No.6, p.465. This *Huqqa* was in the possession of Maharaja Bikaner.  
ENAMELLED HURQA (Silver)

Courtesy - Indian Museum, Calcutta
in the second phase, during the second half of the 19th century. Now work gets distinctly inferior to any other school. This decline in enamelling was due to several factors: firstly, the growing inclination of the people to diamond cut plain jewellery. Ornaments began to be treated with raised figures instead of enamelling. Secondly, now parcel gilt ware came to be in vogue. As a result the art of enamelling languished. The enameller too tried to imitate the work of other places, and thus the work was deprived of the originality as well as the lasting quality and the brightness of the enamels. In addition we mark the absence of any well marked scheme in composition and colour scheme. The work becomes so inferior that it is very difficult to find any good piece of Lucknow enamel after the annexation.

Enamelling was done in Lucknow upon gold and silver jewellery and other gold and silver ware, sword, furniture and glass bangles. Enamelling upon jewellery, after the Delhi style, was not exclusively done for its own sake. It is either on the back of the ornaments encrusted with precious stones within the 'kundan setting', or it is above the fronts set on intervals with diamonds and crystals. Significantly the back of the ornaments was treated as skillfully as the front, though it was not exposed to view.

1. Watt, Indian Art at Delhi, p.25.
4. Ibid.
The Lucknow enameller showed great skill in the ornamentation of the ware and sword furniture. The most pleasing examples of Lucknow enamelling were the decorative huqqas. Mohammad Faiz Bakhsh refers to an inlaid enameled gem encrusted huqqa with a coiled tube worth 70,000 rupees. It was presented by the Bahu Begam to Nawab Asaf-ud Daulah. An enameled huqqa was in the possession of the Maharaja of Bikaner which is of great significance from the point of view that it combined figures in miniature with the bands of floral and animal motifs. Significantly this style is seen in the embossed copper ware of Lucknow also. It seems some enamellers borrowed patterns from other fields. Some huqqas are decorated with trees, birds, and animal motifs. Most of these specimens belong to the 18th century. Also, elegantly shaped silver boxes, decorated with peacocks and doves, silver and niello boxes (black composition for filling engraved lines in silver or other metals), oval shaped boxes, pandan, etc., decorated in the same style belong to the 18th century.

5. Ibid.; Watt, op. cit., (plate No.6).
Enamelled sword furniture was made during the whole of our period. The hilt, hilt-cover and scabbord of the sword, sword daggers (disk) were as rich in enamel work as the sword itself. Similarly, we find shields very richly decorated with enamelling. Some shields were even encrusted with precious stones. The finest piece of artistic workmanship is perhaps the enamelled sword of Nawab Shuja-ud Daulah, which he presented to Raja Balwant Singh of Benares. Its silver hilt is enamelled in characteristic intricate patterns, with large surfaces of silver exposed exhibiting scrolls with conspicuous blue flowers and green leaves. The beauty of the scroll ornamentation is further enhanced by the shading of the orange and pale turquoise-blue shading.

Enamelling on glass bangles was also practised at Lucknow and Palmau. This art was imported from Multan.

Like kandila kashi, enamelling was practised by the Muslim artisans, and the enamelled articles were, generally, used by Muslims.

2. Leigh Ashton, Ibid., p.235; Mrs. Hasan, p.277. In the list of articles manufactured at Lucknow Mirat-ul Anza, we find mention of excellent sword furniture also. But, unfortunately, he has not classified whether it was enamelled or damascened.
5. Watt, op. cit., p.25.
DAMASCENING

Damascening is the art of encrusting one metal with another through an extremely difficult process of undercutting and hammering. This work flourished in two forms: (i) Bidri, and (ii) Kuftgari.

(i) Bidri: So called reputedly after its place of origin, Bidar in the Deccan, Bidri is damascening in silver on the surface of the alloys of copper, lead and zinc, and sometimes on iron also. The articles ornamented in this style are characterised by their brightly polished silver designs over deeply blackened background which renders a most pleasing contrast.

1. These two forms differ from each other in two ways: In Kuftgari the applied metal is invariably in the shape of wire, and only gold is applied as ornament. In Bidri gold wire is rarely applied. Here silver in the form of metal plates is encrusted to the ground. Secondly, the ground metal in Kuftgari is steel, iron or bronze, while the use of these metals in Bidri is rare. Hence these two forms developed separately and at different centres - the former in Sialkot, Kashmir and Gujrat (Birdwood, Indian Arts, I, p.164), and the latter in Bidar, Furnia, Murshidabad and Lucknow. Bidri is rather more Indian in its ornamentation. Watt, Indian Arts at Delhi, p.42; Birdwood, Industrial Arts of India, p.163.

2. T.N. Mukerjee, 'Bidriware', JIAI, 1884-86, vol. I, p.41; T.N. Mukerjee, Art Manufacture, p.181; Coomaraswami, p.139; Watt, p.42; Birdwood, Indian Arts, I, p.163. Nothing can be said about the origin of it with certainty. According to Coomaraswami and T.N. Mukerjee, it was an old Indian art which tradition attributed to a Hindu king of Bidar in the 4th century B.C. He originated Bidri ornamented prayer vessels and this craft was encouraged by his successors. This local indigenous craft was developed and encouraged to its present stage by the Bahamanis.

3. Monograph on Ware..., p.18.

4. Camac, On Some Specimens of Indian Metal Work, JIAI, ix, 1902, p.36; Birdwood, Industrial Arts of India, p.163, p.163.

5. Monograph on Ware, p.18.
According to tradition the art of Bidri work was introduced in Lucknow during the reign of Nawab Asad-ud Daulah who invited Bidri workers from Hyderabad and Murshidabad. Bidri work received impetus during the reign of Nawab Saadat Ali Khan as may be seen from the excellent huqqah pieces of the period. During this period Lucknow developed into a major centre of bidri manufacture in northern India.

Bidri work was one of the most expensive crafts as its value depended more on the depth of chasing than the artistry of its details. In this case the work employed more amount of the applied metal as well as labour. Consequently it was more valuable. The oldest work of Lucknow is distinguished by its bold and simple patterns being considered as the best and the most renowned of the Lucknow bidri. This work was of a very difficult artistic nature and its manufacture was done in the manner as follows: The metal ground was an alloy of copper, lead, tin and zinc.

1. Monograph on Ware, p.18.
2. Fuhrer, A., 'Old Bidri Ware of Lucknow', JIAI, 1896-1902, p.60. A huqqa displaying the same details is in the Ram Nagar (Varanasi) Palace art collection.
3. T.N. Mukerjee, Art Manufacture, p.12; T.N. Mukerjee, Monograph on Ware, p.18.
4. Carnac, op. cit., p.36.
5. Fuhrer, op. cit., p.60.
6. Ibid., p.60.
7. Birdwood, Industrial Arts of India, p.164; Monograph on Ware, p.18.
tuents were melted together and formed into shape by pouring it into a mould of baked clay. The article was then turned in a lathe. The required pattern was engraved over it and inlaid with silver. The ground metal was blackened above the surface by subjecting the metal to moderate heat and dipping it into a solution of salt-ammoniac, salt-petre, salt and blue vitreol which gave the metal a jet black hue. The silver ornamentation was a little altered by this process which was secured by the brightest polish. At Lucknow it was worked in two forms - teh nishan and zar nishan (more commonly known as Zar Buland).

In teh nishan or deeply cut work the applied metal was within the surface and the pattern was even with it. The motifs were engraved deeply on the surface of the ground metal and the applied metal accordingly cut to shape and finished, was inlaid in it and fixed by hammering. The surface was then smoothened and polished. Tarkashi or inlaying of silver wire was another variation which was, usually, seen in combination with Teh Nishan.

Zar nishan orzar buland (raised work) was Lucknow's innovation

2. *Ibid*.
in bidri. In it the applied metal was laid above the surface in large patches. Only the outline of the pattern was excavated, the design being traced on the silver leaf by rubbing it over the ground with fingers. The leaf was then cut into patterns. Each piece to be inlaid was bigger than the space in which it was to be set. The design was repoussé by moulding over the edges of each piece, the inner space of which was covered with soft lead or gilt silver. The pattern was kept in a reverse position over the engraved space. Its edges were pressed into the grooves and fixed by hammering and punching all around above the surface metal. This was now ready for the chasing of the desired motifs.

The chief characteristic of the zar buland was that in it applique ornamentation was not completely finished before embedding as was in proper bidri but crudely cut to shape and chased in the final stages of manufacturing. Also, the metal was overlaid on the surface and not let into it.

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1. Carnac, JIAI, vol. I, p.36; T.N. Mukerjee, Handbook..., p.20; Watt, Indian Arts at Delhi, p.36; Monograph on Ware, p.18.
2. Ibid., p.47.
3. Ibid., p.48; Monograph on Ware..., p.18.
4. T.N. Mukerjee, JIAI, vol. I, p.42; Pure metal was not used in the filling of the patterns.
5. Ibid., p.48; Monograph on Ware..., p.18.
6. Ibid., p.48; T.N. Mukerjee, Art Manufactures..., p.181.
This style rather resembles the Tanjore encrusted ware in which silver ornamentation stands in relief over copper or brass surface. The difference is in their repoussage. In Tanjore work the applied metal is embossed on the bed of lac. The outline of the pattern is etched over the ground and the metal is fixed in the grooves. Lastly, the edges of the ground metal are hammered.

The zar buland form developed in Lucknow at a very early stage, and was more popular here on account of its greater artistry than the proper bidri. For several years this was the most accepted form of Lucknow damascening. Aftabi or cut out design in overlaid metals was another variation.

Motifs in Lucknow bidri were chiefly floral in character. Bands of flower, fruits of medallions, fish pattern, creepers, grape leaf, hunting scene, birds and animals are seen here extensively. Sometimes arabesque patterns are also traceable.

1. T.N. Mukerjee, JIAI, I, p.42; Carnac, p.36.
2. Watt, op. cit., p.42.
3. Carnac, p.36. This was rather an imitation of bidri. Watt, p.36.
5. T.N. Mukerjee, JIAI, I, p.42; Monograph on Ware..., p.18. The study is based mostly on the specimens of bidri in the collections of various museums.
As regards the treatment of the subject, the Lucknow bidri work may be divided in two phases. The early phase, belonging to the early 19th century, is characterised by bold simple and natural motifs. Nature was the great source of inspiration to the bidri worker of this period and he showed great originality in the selection of his motifs. The depiction of the groups of animals, horse, elephant, camel, lion, tiger, deer and sometimes human figures in combination with foliage, more particularly the depiction of hunting scene was his favourite motif. The articles produced in the period are the best specimen of Lucknow bidri. But gradually a propensity towards minute and complex patterns became prominent under the influence, perhaps, of the damascened work of Purnia and Murshidabad. Now the work got conventionalised. In this phase Mahi Pushet becomes the characteristic pattern of Lucknow bidri. This motif was common among the works of Lucknow and Bidar, except that in Lucknow its treatment was done on conventional lines. The work became heavily burdened with details. This can be seen as a sign of decline in the art, which came during the middle of 19th century.

1. T.N. Mukerjee, JIAI, I, p.42; Carnac, op. cit., p.36; Fuhrer, op. cit., 60.
2. See a specimen of Bidri Huqqa at Ram Nagar Palace art collection. This is the real Bidri.
3. Fuhrer, op. cit., p.60.
4. Watt, op. cit., p.36.
5. Birdwood, Industrial Arts of India, p.184; T.N. Mukerjee, JIAI, I, p.42.
The Lucknow bidri differs from the Purnia bidri in its ornamentation because the ornaments in Purnia were of Chinese character and this impact was, according to Birdwood, derived through Sikkim and Bhutan. Purnia work is strictly conventional. On the other hand, the ornamentation in Bidar is more naturalistic and delicate in comparison to Lucknow work.

Bidri was a costly craft and apparently for the taste of the well-to-do gentry, articles of high value were produced, especially those used by the Muslims. These were surahi, huqqa bottoms, betel boxes, spittoons, drinking cups, flower vases etc. Lucknow was particularly reputed for its bidri huqqas produced in numerous excellent varieties—pechwan, gulkari, huqqah pechwan, and gurguri.

Bidri craftsmanship was hereditary. The craft was in the hands of a particular community or caste. In Lucknow the craft was exclusively in the hands of the Muslims. The work of melting down the metal was performed by the braziers and the rest of the ornamentation was executed by

2. Ibid., Carnac, op. cit., p.36.
3. Fuhrer, op. cit., p.60.
4. Mirat-ul Auza, f.111a; Monograph on Ware..., p.18; Birdwood, Industrial Arts of India, p.164; T.N. Mukerjee, JIAI, I, p.42.
6. Carnac, op. cit., p.36.
7. Coomaraswami, p.243; T.N. Mukerjee, Arts Manufactures..., p.183; Nevill, XXXVII, p.44.
the damasceners. Some of the renowned workers of Lucknow bidri, who were mostly Kashmiris, of the period under study, were Husain Ali, Mohammad Ali Beg, Bullan Beg, Mehdi Husain, and Mahummad Ali, who had acquired a wide reputation in this industry. Lucknow exported its bidri articles, especially the huqqa, to other parts of India.

The craft of damascening flourished in Awadh for a period of hundred years. It declined with the downfall of the Nawabs, because the demand for valuable articles now ceased. As an industry its decline was so complete that in the Awadh Gazetteer of 1873 not a single bidri damascener in Lucknow is mentioned.

Kuftgari also flourished in a varied and comparatively simple form. In it the gold leaf was laid over the surface etched previously. The gold was fixed in the etched portion and removed from the rest of the surface.

Lucknow was famous for its shields, swords and daggers

1. Nevill, XXXVII, p.44.
3. T.N. Mukerjee, JIAI, I, p.44.
5. T.N. Mukerjee, JIAI, I, p.44; Nevill, XXXVII, p.44.
6. Fuhrer, op. cit., p.60.
ornamented in different styles: enamelled, embossed, damascened. The need of decorative arms prevailed in Awadh due to two main reasons. Firstly, the use of shields, swords, daggers as the articles of khillat. Secondly, in Awadh arms formed the part of one's attire; every one being loaded with arms specially shields and swords. After the annexation, however, the use of arms was almost confined for the decorative purposes.

Iron was also inlaid with silver here as skillfully as gold. This is clear from a neemah (a small dagger) inlaid with silver and ganga jamuni work over the handle. Sometimes, gold damascening was done on coppered silver and coppered steel; boxes, ewers, trays and Quran stand were manufactured in this style. Lucknow damasceners also produced beautiful articles of silver damascened on iron.

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1. Mirat-ul Auza, f.111a. In the 18th century the Nawabs established their own foundries in Lucknow (Paper Relating to India, an authentic copy of the correspondence of India between the country powers and the East India Company, London, 1787, Paper II, 331-334).


4. Watt, Indian Arts at Delhi, p.471. Watt gives an account of the Delhi exhibition where the splendid collections of Awadh arms were exhibited. One damascened set was exhibited by one Shah Wahid Alam; another was sent by Raja Rameshwar Singh of Sheogarh (Rae Bareilly).

5. Ibid.


The craft for which Lucknow enjoyed the greatest reputation all over India was that of gold and silver wire drawing with its complementary crafts of gold and silver thread making, manufacturing of foils, spangles and other tinsels, and most important of all gold and silver lace making. Lucknow was unparalleled for the extreme tenuity of its wire and the extraordinary skill exhibited in its metallic filigree work. "The gold and silver laces", remarks the anonymous author of the Oudh Gazette, "would compete both for beauty and cheapness with similar manufacture in any other part of the world". The establishment of the industry and its flourishing state was largely due to the patronage of the Nawabs as well as the increasing demand for work of colour and splendour. Articles such as umbrellas, draperies, liveries, flags, belts and banners began to be fringed with gold lace. Men too, had a fancy for similarly fringed articles. In fact no trouble or expense was spared for ornamenting the attire with rich silver and gold lace fringes in addition to fine needle work. Gold and silver was further used

1. According to Gwynne, the origin and establishment of this craft in northern India is associated with the advent of Muslim rule. Monograph on Wire, p.1.
for trimming caps and shoes, embroidering shawls and other woollen fabrics, and for being woven into brocades.

It appears that wire workers (Kandila Kash) and lace makers were invited from Delhi, Agra, Lahore and Benaras during the reign of Nawab Sa'adat Ali Khan. But soon these became the staple industries of Lucknow. The wire products of Lucknow were esteemed throughout India and exported from here on an extensive scale.

This industry was exclusively in the hands of Muslims - the Gota wala (gold and silver lace dealers) and the Kandilakash (wire-drawers). The existence of a mint-like institution Kandila Kachahri proves that this was a highly organised industry. This institution was maintained by gold and silver lace dealers in a body and was superintended by a Darogha. The silver was here melted down and cast into Kandilas of uniform size.

1. Birdwood, p.278; Monograph on Wire..., p.1. According to Birdwood the kandilakash of Lahore enjoyed great celebrity for the purity of the metal that they employed.

2. Monograph on Wire..., p.1; Birdwood, p.274; Mirat-ul Auza, f.111a; Hunter, p.235; Caine, p.287.

3. Mirat-ul Auza, f.112a; Caine, p.288. So much was the demand for the Lucknow laces that the tashbaff (brocade weavers) here wove the gota (laces). They specialized in filigree work for which they were unrivalled. (Section on Textile Industry).


5. Kandila Kachahri was the only institution of its kind as there is no reference to it at any other place. This institution existed in Lucknow, as we are informed by Gwynne, till the early decades of the 20th century. Monograph on Wire..., p.7.

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid.
No alloy was used and the metal melted here was absolutely pure. ¹ So particular were the Ghotawalas about the purity of the metal that scrupulous record was kept of all the lengths of Kandila taken by the Kandilakash to their workshops. ²

The Kandilakash did not employ any external source of power. His tools or machines were few, principally the charab (wheel) and the Jantri (ironplate). All his work was done by his dexterous fingers and the toes which Caine has regarded as an 'extra hand possessed by every Indian'. ³

The extraordinary skill of the wire worker may be judged from the fact that a rupee could be drawn out to 800 yards of wire. ⁴ This wire was sometimes used round, and sometimes flattened into metal ribbons or cut out into differently shaped spangles. ⁵

To obtain the wire the Kandilakash drew out a thin bar of silver (kandila) which was beaten and drawn several times through a succession of holes in the Jantri till it acquired the thinness about 1/12th of an inch. It was pulled again to the required thinness by means of a wheel. This manufacturing process was in essentials similar to contemporary European process. ⁶

¹ "The several articles of silver trimmings are invariably manufactured of the purest metal without any alloy and when they have served the first purpose the old silver procures its weight in current rupees", Mrs. Hasan, II, p.44; Monograph on Wire.....,p.7.
² Ibid.
³ A. Yusuf Ali, p.68; Birdwood, p.274; Caine, 288.
⁴ Caine, 288.
⁵ Ibid.; Birdwood, p.274.
⁶ Birdwood, p.274.
The European artificer was, however, helped by a perpetual band worked by steam engine. The Indian worker used his "marvellously flexible toes" for the purpose. The hand products of Lucknow workers were far superior to European products. The labour charges must have been very low because in the Gazette of 1877 the labour charges of a skilled wire-worker are recorded as only "2 pence a day".

The metals applied were gold and silver except for the Batun which was drawn only of silver. There were four varieties of the flat wire:

1. **Mugesh**
   - These two were the thickest and the widest varieties of the flat wire, appropriated chiefly in embroidery and sometimes in laces. Only a few yards could be procured out of one Tola.

2. **Kamdani ka Tar**
   - It was the thinner variety of the flattened wire, 40 fine as the Batun. It was used in weaving the fabric Tashbadla besides laces.

3. **Badla**
   - Lucknow produced the thinnest and the finest varieties of Mugesh and Badla and it was renowned all over India.

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1. Birdwood, p.274.
2. Caine, 288; Gwynne, p.7. Birdwood says that the Indian wire drawn was far superior to the European (p. 278).
3. Birdwood, p.278.
5. Ibid.
4. Batun: The finest variety of the flat wire was Batun. To manufacture it, wire, already manipulated, was pulled by two wheels through an iron plate until it was so fine as to be twisted together with silken thread. This was slightly flattened and used for making the gold and silver thread, Kalabatun for weaving into brocades and tissue fabrics. It was exported to Benaras, Ahmadabad and other places where brocade weaving industry flourished.

The principal products of wire were: Kalabatun and filigree.

A. Gold and Silver thread (Kalabatun):

The Kalabatun was produced by means of twisting the Batun wire and the silk thread in four varieties.

1. Rupa Kalabatun (silver thread)
2. Sona Kalabatun (golden thread)
3. Batun ka kalabatun
4. Rasi ka kalabatun

When the Batun was closely twisted with a white silk thread, it was given

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2. Monograph on Silk, p.68.
3. Monograph on Wire, p.268; Monograph on Silk, p.68.
4. The silk thread employed in the kalabatun were sangal and banak (both, white and yellow varieties of silk). The thread was imported from lower Bengal and central Asia via Panjab. Monograph on Silk, p.38.
the name of Rupa kalabatun,\(^1\) and when gold coated silver wire was twisted round a yellow silk thread,\(^2\) it was denominated Sonakalabatun. Batton ka kalabatun was the superior variety of kalabatun (in gold and silver both). In it the entire thread was closely covered with wire so that the thread was not visible through its spirals. This was the heavier and costlier product of the kalabatun.\(^3\) Rasi ka kalabatun was just the opposite and of an inferior variety. In it, the coating of gold was very light and the golden effect was intensified by the use of turmeric (haldi).\(^4\)

E. Filigree Ornaments:

Filigree ornaments\(^5\) may be classified into two categories, Luchka and Lais (a corrupt form of lace).

Luchka: was a costly variety of filigree, worked in gold and silver, woven with a warp of wire and woof of silver thread. The patterns in it

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1. Monograph on Silk...., p.68.

2. Ibid., p.58. The basis of kalabatun was always silver, because gold was not so soft and ductile as silver. Consequently it could not be drawn to the required fineness needed for the kalabatun. Hence, in the final stage of manipulation the wire was coated with gold by adding it at the jantri and by heating it by quick motion. By this process the silver acquired a deep coating of gold; and this was used as gold wire. Cf. Monograph on Silk...., p.58.

3. Monograph on Silk...., p.68.

4. Ibid., p.58.

5. Ornamental work of fine gold or silver or copper wire formed into delicate tracery.
were chiefly worked in high relief. Its width varied from 1\(\frac{1}{2}\) to two or three inches. The Luchka of Lucknow was famous for its delicacy of patterns and minuteness of its work and was used everywhere in India for edging the turbans and trimming the state and dance costumes.

Lais (laces): By this was denominated a type of narrow fabric in which silk formed the waft and the warp contains the metallic wire, either badla or kalabatun or both, sometimes round and sometimes flattened into bands. The texture is not so fine as that of brocade and it is woven loosely.

The laces of Lucknow exhibited at one time the immense patience of the designer, grace in designing and that skill which was the result of many years of application. The laces were worked up in two ways: (1) those in which the surface ornamentation was stamped during the weaving process, such as gota, tappa dhanak etc.; and (2) those which displayed needle work in addition to weaving. These were in fact narrow stripes of karchob and zardozi sewn together and further elaborated by stitching.

2. Monograph on Silk... p.68.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., p.69; Birdwood, p.274; Caine, 288.
6. Watt, 422.
differently shaped gold and silver spangles and spiral cords. Banat, Toi and jhalar belonged to this class.¹

The laces were produced in numerous varieties, among which may be enumerated the following: Gota - Broad silver lace; about one-fourth of an inch in width.²

Dhanak: Narrow silver lace; about one-eighth of an inch in width.³

Patta: Wide silver lace; one to one-eighth inch in width.

Thappa: Another variety of broad silver lace.

Dhanak was further curled up into Gokhru and Chutki. Gokhru was an ornament raised and fringed; Chutki was worked of strong gold thread serving to relieve the flowers.⁴ All these laces were woven with a warp of Badla and weft of silk.⁵

Bankri: This was made of badla and kalabatun with a width of ¼th of an inch, having an edging of golden wire and badla attached to its patterns.⁶

Patri: was similar in its patterns and width to Bankri. The difference was that it has a border of badla and kalabatun.⁷

¹. Monograph on Wire..., p.20; Watt, p.422.
². Monograph on Silk..., p.168.
³. Ibid.
⁴. Ibid.
⁵. Ibid.
⁶. Ibid.
⁷. Ibid.
Champa: Champa was lace made of badla in silver or gold with narrow gota. This had katori (reversed sitaras or cup-like spangles) attached to it and a scalloped edge.\(^1\)

Kaitun: Thin gold lace made of rolled up dhanak. It was similar to Boot generally lace and used for trimming the uniform.\(^2\)

Kangam: A brocade-like broad lace woven in kalabatun and badla.\(^3\)

Paimak: A narrow lace, without any curly edging and woven in kalabatun and badla.\(^4\)

Embroidered forms:

Banat and Toi: Silver lace embroidered with gold and silver wire in various designs.

Lahariya: Floral embroidery in serpentine design.

Jawa or murmura: Dhanak, in gold or silver, sewn into angular wavy lines.\(^5\)

Jhalar or Kinari: This was a lace of a very elaborate appearance about half an inch to one and half thinly woven of badla and kalabatun. To it were

\(^1\) Monograph on Wire..., p.20.
\(^2\) Ibid.
\(^3\) Ibid.
\(^4\) Ibid.
\(^5\) Monograph on Silk..., p.68.
attached pearls or glass beads arranged diagonally and strung with salma. A border of tassols of gold thread tucked with coloured glass or precious stones was also attached, which gave it a sparkling effect. The designs in it were very beautiful. This was used generally for trimming mudakhil.

The patterns in the filigrees were mostly floral in character and worked up in high relief. Besides it, two other patterns were also worked up, namely, Ilayaha which was woven in kors and kinaria, and Mothra a popular border-pattern of the reign of Wajid Ali Shah woven in black silk and gold kalabatun. The ground was composed of gold and silver kalabatun checks with edges of red silk and gold thread.

Borders of black and red silk were also popular.

Braided lines of badla (badle ki jali or netted work of moti string) were also made. These were chiefly used to hide the seams of the gussets and borders and dupattas. The embroidered part of the laces and their curlings and rollings were prepared by women of poor Muslim families.

1. Monograph on Wire, p.20.
2. Watt, p.422.
4. Monograph on Silk, p.68.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. Hoey, Monograph on Trade, p.197.
and also by Hindu, Khatri and Kayastha women.¹

Lalji refers to two other products of wire besides the laces, namely, gota garlands and Mahatariya Shamiyana - tent woven in bankri and champa. Lucknow was said to be the only place where these were manufactured.²

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1. Monograph on Silk..., p.67.

GOLD AND SILVER WORK

The variety of work, richness of details, excellence of cast, and skill and subtlety of craftsmanship were features for which gold and silver work of Lucknow was noted. This art flourished in Lucknow due to demand for its products among the people of upper strata. They needed pompous and precious metals for exhibiting their grandeur in processions, ceremonials, and above all in the rituals connected with the Muharram. This was the occasion when the king and the nobles, all emulated each other in the display of their wealth. Therefore, articles from tiny tinklets to the huge elephant carriages were executed and adorned with these precious metals.

Gold and silver articles displayed in Muharram ceremonial included Tazias of purest silver worked in beautiful filigree, models of Mecca, the tent of Husain, the gates of Karbala, chased pulpits, gold Burraq, etc.

3. Muraqqa-i Khusrawi, f. 109a; Lord Valentia, I, 158; Mrs. Hasan, I, 31; these Tazias were prepared at the cost of Rs. 50,000 to Rs. 1,00,000 each. Lord Valentia saw such tazias in the Imambara-i Safia at the time of his visit to Lucknow during the reign of Nawab Sa'adat Ali Khan (I, 158).
4. Mrs. Hasan, I, 34; these were decorated in the Shah Najaf during the reign of King Ghaziuddin Haider.
and silver Imam-Baras, 1 silver staffs of the banners (alam) worked into figures of birds and animals decorated at the top with crest of spread hands (panjetan) and plume resembling a grenade in gold and silver and set with precious stones, 2 gold and silver censers, etc. 3

Sword furniture was generally prepared in silver, usually with embossed motifs set with precious stones. 4 Handles of scabbards of swords and daggers and shields were also studded with gold and silver ornaments. 5

Lucknow produced a variety of precious metal ware in plain and ornamental, mixed gold and silver ware, parcel gilt silver ware, and silver (see plat. no. 22) gilt ware. These were chased in excellent manner. Surahi, hugga, bowls, rose water bottles, vases, trays, and aftaba, were some of the articles made in elegant shapes. 6

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1. These were decorated in the Dargah-i Dwazdah Imam of King Nasiruddin Haider, and were prepared at the cost of Rs.1 lakh. Murqqa-i Khursawi, f.109a
3. Knighton, p.188.
5. Ibid.
6. Knighton, p.185. The wares possessed by the kings of Awadh are as sumptuous as those of the Pharoah (Md. Sadiq, Risalah-i Subah Sadiq, Persian, 1851, AMU MS., p.16). The nobles used these precious metals in vessels of ordinary daily use, like lota and loggan (Mrs. Hasan, I, p.31).
PLATE NO. 22

SURAIHI (Silver)
Lucknow was particularly reputed for its silver huqqa and
their chambals. 1 Pechwan, huqqa—pechwan, putkari, and gurguri — the shapes
met within bidri work — were worked in silver also. 2

The work seen in metal bore some resemblance to the work of
Kashmir. This was due to the employment of large number of Kashmiris, 3 who
introduced patterns of their native places in the chasing. The Kashmir
influence is more apparent in the silver surahis. 4 The Kashmiri shawl
pattern often appears here. 5 Other patterns were jungle scene, snakes and
rose designs which were Lucknow’s own characteristic designs. 6 Jungle scene
was composed of closely compacted palm leaves. 7 Sometimes animal motifs
were also worked. 8

One variety of exclusively chased ware was produced in a
mixture of gold and silver. This work was of a very costly nature and
dropped after the annexation. 8

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once presented to Nawab Asaf-ud Daulah 40 such chambals, the chains of
which were worked in exquisite workmanship.
2. Lalji, f.112a.
4. Birdwood, Industrial Arts of India, p.150.
5. Ibid.
6. Watt, Indian Art at Delhi, p.36; Nevill, XXXVII, p.43.
7. Watt, Ibid., p.36. This motif continued to be worked out throughout
the 19th century.
8. Birdwood, Industrial Arts of India, p.150.
Parchil gilt silver ware. It was an elegant style seen on silver ware in Lucknow. In it the details were engraved on silvery background through gilding. It was an art of Mongolian origin refined in the hands of Kashmiri mostly artists, who introduced elaborate decorative patterns (conch patterns). This art was introduced in Awadh, by the Kashmiri silver-smiths and remained confined in their hands.¹

This style was worked up on surahis, cups, ornamental trays with four arch-shaped corners. The surahi was the most artistic product. Caine remarks "The elegant shapes and tracery, graven through the gilding on the dead white silver below, which softens the luster of the gold to a pearly radiance, gives most charming effect to this refined and graceful work."²

Numerous decorative articles, silver shoes,³ hawdah inlaid with silver sticks⁴ (chak), gold and silver saddles⁵ gold ornaments,⁶ and their mountings, and stirrups in solid silver and gold⁷

¹ Caine, p.286.
² Ibid.
³ Mrs. Hasan, II, p.38.
⁴ Valentia, I, pp.142-3; Sprey, I, p.226; Knighton, p.296; Mrs. Hasan, I, p.263.
⁵ Knighton, 296.
⁶ Hoey, Memoirs of Delhi and Faizabad, p.28, one such saddle presented by Nawab Asaf-ud Daulah was worth Rs.17,000, Fatah-Nama, p.48.
⁷ Hoey, Ibid., p.28; Mrs. Hasan, I, p.36.
were also made at Lucknow. Lucknow excelled in the preparation of the silver ornaments (śrāvāṇa) for horses and elephants, and saddles of the horses.¹

The articles used by the royalty were naturally very sumptuous. The furniture of the bed-rooms and bath rooms of the palaces, small tables and stools for the reception of the dining treys, were all of pure silver.² Even bed-steads were turned out in gold.³ Splendid chairs of gold and ivory and the royal throne were among the costliest articles.⁴

The most curious example of Lucknow silver and gold plated work were the state carriages and conveyances made in numerous varieties. The palki or covered conveyance with exterior of silver was used by the highest of the nobles' ladies.⁵ Nalki of beautifully wrought gold,⁶ silver chandol⁷ and gairath or royal elephant carriages which were chiefly composed of silver.⁸

1. Lalji, f.112a.
3. Ibid. Two such bed-steads are referred to be produced during the reign of Nawab Sa'adat Ali Khan (Ibid., p.340).
4. Knighton, p.89; Mrs. Hasan, I, p.265. King Ghaziuddin's throne was of pure gold.
5. Knighton, p.185.
6. Mrs. Hasan, I, p.265. It was a conveyance supported by the bearers.
7. Mrs. Hasan, II, pp.76-7. A conveyance resembling a palanquin, but much larger and more lofty, made of silver. "It is in fact a small silver room, 6 feet long, 5 feet broad and four feet high supported by the aid of four silver poles on the shoulders of the 20 bearers".
8. Mrs. Hasan, II, p.38. It was Ghaziuddin Haider's innovation.
Lucknow specialized in the working of large and small gold and silver fishes. These were used as emblem in the turbans of the royal servants. Besides it magnads, pleasure boats, hawdah and canopies etc. were also adorned in the silver. Sometimes silver articles were studded with gold ornaments.

JEWELLERY

Lucknow produced choicest pieces of costly jewellery during the Nawabi period. The jewellery market of Lucknow was one of the most famous in northern India, at that time.

In style the Awadh jewellery followed the patterns set by Delhi and Lahore. It may be due to the fact that these two centres had the tradition of several centuries to their credit in this art, and, as Hindley

4. Mundi, I, p.18; Mrs. Hasan, I, p.263.
8. Sharar, p.399; Caine, p.287.
believes, the best designs and artisans were brought from thence by the early nawabs for repairing their treasures and supplying the wants of their families. Yet two features of Lucknow jewellery need greater attention—lightness and delicacy. Besides the traditional jewellery, which is resplendent with jewels, kundan setting and gold enamelling above the back, diamond cut jewellery was also produced. In this style the back of the ornaments was not enamelled; instead the figures were cut out on the metals like those on a diamond. The effect on the gold was pleasing. This work greatly flourished in Lucknow.

LAC & GILT WORK

It did not flourish, in Awadh, to any considerable extent.

Mrs. Hasan, however, informs us that "lota and loggans lacquered are of zinc and used by all classes of people". There are no reasons to suppose that these lacquered articles were imported. Presumably lacquering was done

2. Sharar, 399.
3. Monograph on Ware, p.20.
4. Diamond cut work was also produced at Ahmadabad and Benaras (Ibid.).
here on ordinary vessels only, and ornamental articles were imported from outside Awadh.1

Gilt work flourished in two forms: one, the usual plain form on which thin layers of gold were put all over the metallic surface - silver, copper, etc. on articles such as tables,2 chairs,3 legs of the bed-steads,4 looking glasses,5 hawdahs,5 palanquins,7 state carriages,8 cupolas, etc. Even statues were sometimes gilded.9

The second form of gilding was that done on the silver ware. Here the inner surface of cups, bowls, surahia, etc., was gilded.10

1. Knighton, pp.15, 89 giving the list of the imported decoration pieces, from India and abroad, in the palace of Nasir-ud Din Haider refers to lacquer ware also.
3. Ibid.
5. Valantia, I, p.149.
7. Valantia, I, p.149.
9. The buildings of the whole of Lucknow are adorned with gilt cupolas. Gilt statues, even today, could be seen in the Husainabad Imambara.
10. See section on Silver Work.
METAL WORK/ COPPER AND BRASS WARE

There was a great demand of copper and brass wares at home and outside Awadh. The manufacture of ornamental copper or brass ware was among the oldest and most flourishing crafts of Lucknow. Its products in copper ware were the more renowned. The work consisted of beaten and pierced metal with chased or embossed motifs. Lacquering and zinc coating was also applied to these articles. The seeni, khasdan, pandan, bandhnas, itrdan were the most artistic production of these metals.

The greatest artistic skill was shown in the ornamentation of the seenis, worked in numerous intricate patterns and designs. Floral centres, encircling bands of flowers and fruits, medallions inset with various animal motifs and human figures and bands of floral ensemble around

1. Hoey, Monograph on Trade......p.198; Nevill, p.43.

2. Birdwood, Industrial Arts of India, p.158. Besides, Lucknow, Bandhua also enjoyed local reputation for its metal wares. But it is not known if its production was limited to the ordinary house-hold vessels or ornamental work also flourished there.

3. Hoey, Ibid., pp.198-200; Watt, Indian Art at Delhi, p.56. Benaras enjoyed greater celebrity for its brass work.


6. Monograph on Copper and Brass wares...p.33; T.N. Mukerjee, p.195; Nevill, p.43.

7. Monograph on Copper and Brass wares...p.33.
these were some of the motifs worked in brass. One of the best examples of
Lucknow brass work, is a seeni displaying very curious motifs in an embossed
style. In the inner circle there is a demon springing from the mouth of the
fish supporting the royal crown of the king of Awadh, and in the three outer
circles are exhibited thrice over a man, a horse, an elephant, a camel, an
ass, a lion, a deer and a tiger.

In copper work the crescent motif appears very frequently.
Chased calligraphic details were also produced. One such excellent specimen
of Lucknow's chased copper work is a tray, prepared by one Muhammad Ghaus,
dated 1200 A.H. (1785-86), which displays chased calligraphic design.

In Lucknow we find two distinctive styles of copper ware
catering for two different markets. One was for the Muslims. This ware is,
for the most part, perforated and bears the crescent motif. The other, in
which, as a rule, perforation and the crescent motifs are not found,
comprised articles used by the Hindus.

The chief characteristic of Lucknow copper ware work is that
it is mainly in a bold embossed style. The work is for the most part perfo-
rated. Copper work maintained a high order of workmanship, and is more
effective and artistic than that of Benaras.

1. Holben, T., 'Brass Ware', JIAI, 1891-92, IV, illustration No.43.
This industry employed a large number artisans - moulders, casters, turners, polishers, copper-smiths, and braziers. The brass work was exclusively in the hands of people called thatheras.¹

**IVORY CARVING**

Nawabi Lucknow boasted of skilled workers² who carved out various articles in ivory, viz., combs, small trays, items for the pen-case, sticks for applying surma, handles for the sticks, small boxes,³ red and white cones for games pieces in chopar,⁴ chess-men,⁵ tazias, and pulpits.⁶ Portrayal carving was not within the scope of the ivory carvers.⁷

The ivory workers of Lucknow had definite traditions to which they strictly adhered. Consequently, themes and patterns tend to be conventional. The ivory chess-men of Lucknow offers some of the most beautiful examples of ivory carvings. The pawns are about an inch in length, and clad in the old Indian infantry costume, having a shield in one hand and a lance in

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¹ Hoey, Monograph on Trade, p.198; Nevill, p.43.
² L.M. Stubbs, 'Ivory Carving in the North West Provinces and Oudh', JIAI, IX, 1902, p.43.
³ Ibid., p.42; Knighton, p.15.
⁴ Mrs. Hasan, II, p.82.
⁵ IM Stubbs, JIAI, p.43.
⁶ Mrs. Hasan, I, pp.31-34.
⁷ IM Stubbs, JIAI, p.43.
the other, that is held in an angular direction. The carving of the king, seated on the throne, the bearded vizier, camel riders (bishop), cavaliers (knights), elephant riders (castles), all these show considerable artistic distinction.

Ivory was imported from Bihar and Bombay. The ivory carvers worked on bones also, especially in camel bone.

The only tools applied by the ivory carvers were knife and a file.

The artists were mostly Muslims.

ORNAMENTAL TENTS AND CANOPIES

Tents in numerous varieties of materials - gold cloth, velvet, wire, etc. - were produced at Lucknow. These were:

1. L.M. Stubbs, JIAI, p.43.
2. Ibid., p.44. This is based on the information of Stubbs who was told by an ivory carver that his father and grand father generally worked on bone, and they worked on ivory whenever they were given the opportunity. Stubbs quotes one Cockburn who had made enquiries of the workers and had come to know that they worked on bone. They preferred to work in ivory, which was easy, but could not afford it all the time.
3. L.M. Stubb, p.44.
5. Tarikh-i Sandila, 50.
1. Mahtariya Shamlyana, made exclusively from badla and mugesh wire. This was one of Lucknow's unique production. Zarbaft shamiyanas were also produced.


3. Makhmali Khema, one and sometimes two storied tents, baradariees, of velvet adorned with kalash (cupolas), and worked with karchob.

4. Raoti, made of, comparatively, cheap materials — guzees, dosuti, and kharwarah cloth. It was also known as khemadoz.

TAZIAS

Tazia or the replicas of the tombs of Imam Husain, Hasan and their friends and followers were extensively manufactured in Lucknow. It was a flourishing art since the days of Nawab Asaf-ud Daulah. Great attention

1. Mirat-ul Auza, f.11a (cf. Section on Wire Drawing).
2. Tarikh-i Awadh, IV, 144.
3. Zafar Nama, p.34.
4. Tarikh-i Sandila, p.50.
5. Hoey, Monograph on Trade...,p.132. To prepare a Raoti 25 webs of guzees 28 webs of dosut and 22 webs of kharwarah cloth (a stout canvas like material dyed red with al plant). It was made of the cost of Rs.200 (Hoey, 132). Even the cloth cost Rs.25, 35, and 30 respectively.
6. Ibid.
was paid to imitate the original buildings at Karbala. But the models nevertheless reflected in detail certain features of the tomb architecture of the Nawabi period. For instance, in the year when Shah Najaf Ashraf was completed, most of the tazias were made in the same style.

The tazias were made of a variety of materials, from the purest silver down to bamboo and paper, according to the means and preferences of the customers. They were of two types: Permanent, or those which were made of the expensive materials - silver, ivory, ebony, sandal wood, cedar, glass etc. These tazias always adorned the Imambaras. Another type was known as temporary. These were made of bamboo frames covered with silk cloth over the side of which mica or talc was applied. These were required for the outdoor ceremony and deposited finally with funeral rites in Karbala on the tenth of Muharram. These were made of various sizes and fetched from Rs.2 to 200 each. In the later period during the reign of King Muhammad Ali Shah, tazias made of wax came up for the first time. These were made by Munshi Lutf Ali.

4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.; Knighton, 278.
7. Ibid.
The paper that was manufactured at Lucknow and Bahraich was of coarse quality. Arwali, wasli and zard were the varieties that were produced at Lucknow.

Arwali (hemp paper used in the manuscripts).

This variety was produced in large quantities, and at the same time, was the most expensive. The manufacturing process was quite elaborate and took much time. Four maunds of hemp was kept in a vat and soaked in a mixture of 20 seers of sajji and 15 seers of lime. The mass was then beaten with a dhelki (a wooden instrument). This process was repeated thirty times within a period of four months. In the final stage the paper-maker lifted the paste on a chick, spread on a frame, and pressed it with his hand and dried it.

Wasli

The wasli, used as boards for book binding, was made from waste paper. For its manufacture 15 seers of waste paper was placed in a large tank and trodden under foot until it was reduced to pulp. The pulp was then washed in river water and put into a large reservoir filled

2. Hoey, Monograph on Trade..., p.128.
with sixty pitchers of water, where it remained for the next twenty days, when transformed into a paste, it was spread in the same manner as Arwali. This type of paper was made by the book-binder himself.

**Zard**

It was a coarse variety used for various general purposes and prepared by the same process as the Wasli. This was foolscap in size, soiled, dirty white in colour and glazed. This was also prepared by the daftaris,\(^1\) or binders.

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Clay work was produced in four varieties:

1. Ornamental pottery,
2. Models of fruits and vegetables,
3. Models of figures,
4. Tiles, vases, clock cases, etc.

Lucknow pottery was noted for the beauty of its form and the elegance of detail. China clay and glass ware were beyond the reach of the ordinary people, and they preferred deftly modelled earthen vessels. "It is as common", observes Mrs. Hasan, "in the privacy of the palaces as well as in the huts of the peasantry to see many choice things introduced at meals, served up in the rude red earthen platters; many of the delicacies of Asiatic cookery being esteemed more palatable from the earthen flavour of the new vessels in which it is served....Brown earthen platters were used by the nobility from choice—...custom reconciles every thing".

Every kind of earthen vessels from the simple unglazed water-jugs and lamps, pierced with fret work to the "turquoise imitation of the

2. Twinning, p.311; Mrs. A. Dean, I, p.199; Mrs. Hasan, I, p.329. China clay and glass ware were used by the royalty since the reigns of Asaf-ud Daulah and Sa'adat Ali Khan. These were imported from England.
finest glazed ware" were produced at Lucknow. Pottery was unglazed for the most part. Vessels for keeping betel leaves, pitchers, bowls, goblets, platters, water-jugs and huqqas were made in very large numbers. Lucknow was famous for its clay huqqas. Azimullah Ali Shah introduced numerous styles of clay huqqas which became popular in the fashionable society. The lightest and smallest was known as huqqa-i-gli-madariya. It was produced with its chilam and chambar in various stylish ways adorned with picturesque details. Such delicate huqqahs were not met with elsewhere and were exported to other cities. Other varieties were known as kaliya, gur-gurja, satak, pechwan, and choghani.

Lucknow pottery was produced in two forms. The first was simple, unglazed, coloured blue, plum coloured background was worked with floral and arabesque in white. Usually goblets, plates, cups and saucers were turned out in this way.

The second variety of the earthen vessels was painted with

1. Calne, p.286.
2. Sharar, pp.487, 518.
4. Lalji, f.112a.
5. Ibid.
7. Monograph on the Pottery......,p.16.
Varnished colours. This imparted to the work a resemblance with glazed pottery. This process of colouring was peculiar to Lucknow. Earthen plates were sometimes lacquered over to resemble silver. The background colours in it were: red ochre, gambage, aniline, purple or cochineal and the details in white lead, or native ink.

The most common decorative designs were those of a mosque or a fountain, surrounded by palm trees, the leaves being marked with twined leaves and flowers.

Besides the common red coloured terracotta, dark coloured terracotta articles tinged with apricot were also produced at Lucknow. The unbaked vessels were covered with rust coloured earthen Kabiz mixed with sweet oil. Due to this device the effect was far richer than the common kabiz. The details were produced in white.

Clay fruits and vegetables, from a small dried onion to the biggest Jack fruit and huge branch of plaintains, were modelled at Lucknow.

1. Monograph on the Pottery..., p.16.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
Though the models of fruits were produced at other places outside Awadh, none could achieve the excellence of Lucknow models, which were the cheapest and the best of all those made in any part of the country.¹ These were so skillfully made and so perfectly coloured that they could not be detected by the most astute until handled.² These were purely hand-modelled, and the larger models were strengthened by stout wires introduced in their stalks. After baking and prior to the colouring, the articles were given four or five coatings of khariva mitti (chalk earth).³ The colours used were a little glossy.⁴

These articles were used as toys and curiosities and sold in every lane and street by the hawkers.⁵

The clay figures of Lucknow were the best among such productions in any part of India, and represented the "highest form of fine art in India".⁶

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3. Monograph on Ware..., p.17.
5. Mrs. Hasan, I, p.38; II, p.45. She says "Toys of every kind, of which no country in the world I suppose can produce greater variety in wood, lack, uberuck (paper), paper, bamboo and clay, etc." The popularity of these models can be judged from the fact that even after the annexation these were exported to Bombay and Calcutta. Monograph on the Pottery..., p.17.
6. Coomaraswami, p.54; Monograph on the Pottery..., p.16; Birdwood, Ibid., p.222; P.C. Mukerjee, p.174.
The art of clay modelling developed in Lucknow as a direct result of Martin's sculptural movement, which introduced the art of figure sculpture after the Greek and Italian tradition. As a result of the fashion set by Martin, the palaces and gardens of Lucknow were adorned by statues. But this movement could not become popular. All the Greek characteristics of figure sculpture, as we find in the statues of La Martinerre, were introduced in clay ware, where we find a very realistic treatment of the human figure. The European impact is more apparent in the red ochre coated smaller figures which resembled the Italian terracotta. Busts were also produced in this style.

These clay figures depicted various aspects of life in a faithful and skilled manner. Country carts, marriage parties, processions, groups of workmen, domestic servants, turbaned heads, images of Hindu gods and goddess, and numerous pictures of domestic scenes were the favourite subjects of the Lucknow clay modellers. Sometimes, animal figures were also made.

4. Sharar, p.520.
The special feature of these figures was that they expressed most faithfully and characteristically the facial types and costumes of the different classes of people of Awadh. The statues were wonderfully true of life representing the technical knowledge and the taste of the artist in his strict observation of the principles of anatomy and bodily proportion, as well as in the exactness of the expression. Portraits and caricatures were also successfully attempted.

One distinguishing feature of the Lucknow work which ranks it high above the Krishnagarh products was the fact that at Lucknow decorative accessories such as actual hair, wool, pieces of clothing etc. were not used, and the effect was given in the clay itself, which imparted more artistry and durability to the articles.

Colouring was not done on the smaller and cheaper figures. These were simply coated with red ochre. The bigger figures were coloured brightly. The costliest work of Lucknow was a little gaudy and flaunty in accordance with the taste of the people for bright hues.

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1. Birdwood, Industrial Arts of India, p.222; Monograph on the Pottery..., p.16
2. P.C. Mukerjee, p.174. One Hira Lal was very much noted in this field as well as in producing animal figures. The most reputed modellers of the period under study were Gopal Das and Bal Krishna.
3. Another reputed centre in Bengal producing clay figures.
The modeller figured the heads and face, limbs, and curved of the body with his fingers and a graving tool. A special type of terracotta was produced in Lucknow by a small group of moulders. In it the working process was that of 'tooling and carving than actual modelling'.

The working process required great care and skill and the clay had to be of the finest texture. The figures were modelled when the clay was in a 'green stage'. This work was of extreme costly nature and vanished after annexation, as the modellers took to produce articles in the plaster of Paris, which was cheaper and more acceptable to the people.

Finally, Lucknow clay ware comprised glazed tiles, flower pots, jars, clock cases, wall brackets, etc. The most important and artistic were the tiles, exhibiting a great variety of shades of pale purple, green and blue, Lucknow's favourite colours.

The other articles were copies of the debased Italian work.

1. Monograph on the Pottery...., p.16.
2. Terracotta figures from Lucknow, JIAI, 1903, p.50. The origin of this craft is as old in Lucknow as the clay modelling itself. We have references that in the family of one Bhagwant Singh it was practised for many generations.
3. A stage between wet and dry.
4. JIAI, 1903, p.50.
6. Ibid.
found all over Lucknow, though whenever the artist tried to imitate, he failed.¹

The craft was practised by kasgars, thakurs, and kumhars.²

The clays used were chuhí (bright red or dark yellow clay, it was used for cups, saucers, and earthen lamps);³ pota (light grey clay, a fine variety of Lucknow’s clay)⁴; and parei mitti, imported from Mathura.⁵

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1. Monograph on the Pottery..., p.17.
2. Ibid., p.18.
3. Ibid., p.4.
4. Ibid., p.5.
5. Ibid.
WOOD WORK

Wood work may be divided into two categories: (i) architectural carvings, and (ii) furnitures and decorative articles. While the use of wood was on the decline for the architectural purposes, it had not become popular as material for furniture articles.

The architectural carvings were patronised by the earlier nawabs, but with European influence, the use of wooden balconies and verandas declined. Now only beams, doors, windows were carved. It is interesting that in the Chattar Manzil palace the wood carvings above the door hinges were done by the artisans of Punjab.

The use of wood furniture came very late, and was confined to the affluent section of the society. The Nawabs due to their close association with the Europeans, developed a taste for the furniture and other luxury articles, but their use was reserved exclusively for the male

2. Lord Valentia, I, p. 142, says "Wooden lattice work above one of the palaces of Nawab Sa'adat Ali gave the most melancholy appearance".
4. In Twinning's account, 1792, we find the first reference to the use of such furniture. During the reign of Nawab Asaf-ud Daulah, he says, the Jina Khana of the Daulat Khana palace was decorated with English furniture (p. 311). The breakfast table and chairs of Nawab Saadat Ali were in the English style (Valentia, I, p. 136; Mrs. A. Dean, p. 199). The furniture of King Ghaziuddin Haider was altogether English (Heber, I, p. 216). The drawing room of King Nasiruddin Haider differed in no way from the English (Knighton, p. 15).
apartments (mardanah); the ladies preferred the old mode of sitting and lounging on carpets. It appears that in the beginning the furniture was imported, and only gradually the wood carving of Lucknow took to producing them.

Tazias were also made of wood and had wood carving.

Apart from these, wood was used for die making; and die-cutting or thappa carving was an extensive trade of Tanda and Lucknow. There was a class of carpenters who took to the profession of thappa carving. The Lucknow die-carvers were so skilled that Farrukhabad printers often employed them. One Qutab Ali was the most skillful die-carver at Lucknow. These dies were produced in four styles:

1. Bel Hashia (Flowered borders)
2. Bel-buti (single flower)
3. Bel haazi (flower stripe)
4. Tahrir (calligraphic details)

1. Knighton, pp.241-42. Even the dressing rooms of the royal harem had no shelved closets, almirahs or chest of drawers.
2. Mrs. Hasan, I, p.310: "looking glasses and furniture are very rarely to be seen in the zenana, even of the richest females. Chairs and sofas are produced when English visitors are expected".
4. Ibid. The demand for their work may be imagined from the fact that about 1880 when the trade of wood-carving was towards the decline, the earnings of a skillful die-cutter was eight annas per diem, while each die cost four annas per piece to rupees two to four a set.
5. Maffey, p.27.
There were seven varieties of the dies:

1. Kalunga
2. Oulkut
3. Siah kurwa gulkut
4. Khatri pardedar
5. Patti ari
6. Ikka rekhta

These dies were made from the wood of shisham, mango, and ebony.

The de luxe articles were manufactured on a very limited scale. Besides the usual floral and foliar designs, animal motifs, human and monstrous figures in all varieties were cut out in relief or independently. These figures were mostly employed as the legs of the chairs, couches and the tables. The most curious of all of these was the fairy motif employed in the coaches. These were depicted in a standing or flying mode, thus suggesting the idea of the throne of King Vikramaditya. Lucknow was quite famous for these 'flying coaches'. Garden motif — the peep show of a garden with lily ponds was used in the cabinets. The palanquins and tamjams exhibited uncountable details.

1. Maffey, p.27. Here the details are not available.
2. Ibid.
3. P.C. Mukerjee, p.175.
5. P.C. Mukerjee, p.175.
The carving of figures and animal motifs was an Indian characteristic which distinguished it from the Farrukhabad school of wood carving "which is strictly Mohammadan both in execution and designs", and characterised by a "cold and geometric severity and flatness of relief". In the architectural carvings fish and peacocks motifs are quite conspicuous.

For the architectural carvings the timber employed were sal and shisham. In the decorative articles and the furniture a variety of rare woods, like ebony, cedar and sandal wood, were used.

Besides carving, enamel paintings on fine wood was also done on such articles as bedsteads, cabinets and palki, with gilt wood, (set with cut looking glass) were also adorned with fine paintings of flowers.

STONE CARVING

The use of stone carving is not seen in the architectures of the Nawabi period, and instead, as has already been noted, the use of brick and mortar was prevalent. We find some decorative work in brick and mortar in the windows of Lal Baradari, but it is not in any way impressive. Statues and figures were made in plaster of Paris, except a few examples of La Martinerre, which are in brick and mortar.

1. Maffey, p.24. 3. See wooden door displayed at State Museum, Lucknow.
2. Ibid. 4. Watt, Indian Art at Delhi, p.109.
9. See statues of the facade of La Martinerre.
Conclusion

The Lucknow culture was a town culture dominated by the tastes and fancies of the Awadh court to the extent that various arts and crafts declined with the annexation of the Awadh kingdom.

Another significant trend in Awadh during the period was the shift from Persian to Urdu. Persian lost its erstwhile dominance and declined both as the language of the state and literature.

The Lucknow school of literature although initiated by the Delhi poets acquired distinctness as early as the first decade of the 19th century. Due to the strict court dominance all outstanding poets of Lucknow allowed much of their poetry to be dominated by the taste of the court patrons. They were devoted to the innovations of new forms, such as rekhti, and the perfection of the older ones, like haly, hazal etc.

This period is further marked by the literacy of an exceptional nature at the court and among the common people. People arranged mushairas and even the residences of prostitutes were a sort of literary clubs attended by the elite and the litterateurs alike. The sarais served the venue for the assemblages of the poets of the common strata. It became the fashion with the people of Lucknow to compose verses, and they spoke a very elegant idiom in Urdu. Several popular poetic forms were developed in Lucknow, such as fabti, zila, tukbandi etc. Two other styles of verses were developed by the common
people of Lucknow, known as *khayal* and *danda*. *Mojaalis* were also instrumental in popularising the art of poetry among the masses and the development of *mersia* literature.

The poetry of Lucknow is characterised by the emphasis on the *externalia* of language, play on words and rhetorical devices. The popular themes are beauty with its accompanying allurements and embellishments, love in nicer aspects and the theme of *mamlabandi*. The main stress is on manipulating the stylistic symbols and *sanatgari*.

Due to the efforts of Sauda and Nasik the language was chiselled and polished at Lucknow. Nasik was foremost in the movement of *islah* in Urdu. In spite of the existence of a large number of poets, Lucknow poetry is inferior in comparison to Delhi. It has no new concepts and depth of vision, it is far from reality and lacks social awareness. This is marked by its superficiality. But Lucknow is specially noted for its *mamnvi*, *mersia*. The modern drama has developed on the lines of the *sabha* performance developed at Lucknow.

Persian poetry did not flourish at Awadh to an appreciable extent because most of the poets were inclined towards Urdu poetry, and, therefore, wrote in Urdu, although they were masters of Persian poetry. Still the number of Persian poets was not negligible, and they were good poets, like Sarab Singh, 'Diwana', Jaswant Singh 'Parwana', and Tek Chand 'Bahar'. Persian, however, maintained its dominance over prose, especially literary prose.
Hindi poetry (Riti Kavya) was fostered by Hindu landlords of Awadh rather than the Awadh court. Surprisingly the Hindi poetry is also characteristic of the same tendencies which dominated the Urdu poetry, such as artificiality, strict adherence to the rules of poetry, and the elaborate depiction of the erotic sentiments, and display of prosodic flourishes.

The Awadhi literature did not flourish much, and only a few works were produced during our period of study.

Painting in the beginning represented the continuation of the Mughal style. This is a mixed Mughal and Rajput style which flourished there. But with the penetration of the British influence this art also, like architecture, began to represent European characteristics and a style was developed on parallel lines under the supervision of European patrons from 1763 onwards. But gradually the latter superseded the other so much so that by the end of the 18th century it was only this style to flourish in Awadh with Lucknow as its centre.

During the 19th century, the art of painting lacked the patronage of the rulers of Awadh in an appreciable degree. Their interest was confined only to their own portraiture as well as of their families by European painters. Therefore, the court style declined, and the art of painting passed to the hands of bazar painters. As a result the art degenerated, because there were no generous patrons to supervise their works and they painted in degenerated
Mughal style which had certain characteristics of the styles of Gentle and Kettle. The work is quantitative although it represents the life on a larger canvas. Graphic technique and oil paintings were also introduced, but oil painting was not a popular art.

The art of calligraphy was cultivated and flourished in Lucknow for decorative purposes and excerpt writing. The books were rarely calligraphed in this period. The calligraphists concentrated on Qata-Nawisi only, which was a popular vogue among the people of Lucknow.

The establishment of a printing press reduced the employment of calligraphers. But they were still needed in the field of lithography, which demanded much calligraphic skill. The use of Musleb Sangi in Naksh and Nastaliq characters was Lucknow's peculiar innovation. This technique was applied then in producing the entire book. Lucknow became a famous centre of classical Indian music and possessed a number of musical experts in every branch of the art. In Lucknow the art of music and dancing received patronage on an extraordinary scale. While in other regions the art of music had suffered setback and the musicians were leaving their hereditary profession, but in Lucknow the musicians were the recipients of high favours, handsome salaries and were even conferred titles.

The popularity of the art of music and dancing among the people was considerably enhanced during the period. These arts were not confined to the professional classes only. This period is characterised by the growing
importance and popularity of the semi-classical musical styles, such as tappa, thumri and dadra. The other styles, such as dhrupad, dhamar even khayal, were relegated to the background.

Lucknow is noteworthy for the development of sozkhwani. It was standardized there and developed on classical lines. Previously this art existed in a crude and rudimentary form, just as a tuneful recitation of mersia. But at Lucknow great techniques were developed. This art became popular among the women-folk. There were woman mersia-khwans also. Sozkhwani influenced other forms of recitations also, such as molud-khwani.

Tappa was developed here by Mian Ghulam Nabi Shori on classical lines. Numerous tappa in Punjab language were composed by him in various rag-ragini. The tappa of Lucknow was renowned for the intricacy as well as elegance. This style came in vogue during the reign of Asaf-ud Daulah, and for a period superseded the other styles in popularity.

Similarly, dadra, a folk form of song in purabi dialect, was also developed immensely in Lucknow. This period is specially noted for the development of thumri a song of Brij-bhaasha. It attained celebrity during the reign of Wajid Ali Shah. He had composed various thumris. This style came in vogue mainly due to its use in kathak dancing. In kathak the main emphasis is on batana, it is also the characteristic of thumri. It was popular with other dance forms as well.
In tabla, sitar and naqqara-playing several innovations and distinct styles were developed in Lucknow. The Lucknow style of tabla playing, known as Lucknow-ka-baj, is akin to the style of Pakhawaj playing, and this style suits to sangat only. The intricate style of naqqara-playing is known as mursal. It is curious that tabla, pakhawaj and naqqara all are dominated by the use of gat-paran, gat and tukra. In the sphere of sitar Lucknow is especially noted for its masit khani baj. There was another style developed by Ghulam Raza. It was similar to that of thumri, and like it the ragas were also based on dhun. This style was popular among the amateur artists only.

Two new instruments were modelled during our period of study, viz., sundar-bin and sur-singer.

Lucknow was a noted centre of kathak dancing also and it was developed here on classical lines. The rahas-dance of Wajid Ali Shah paved the way for Urdu drama. This period also contributed to the science of music.

The rulers of the Awadh were greatly interested in the building art. Each ruler vied with his predecessor in erecting a more glorious monument. Then the religious architecture received great impetus as the rulers observed the Shiite faith. As a result religious and secular buildings were built to the extent that Lucknow was embellished with more than a hundred monuments in a course of hundred years which included palaces, gateways, country houses, garden-pavilions as well as Imambaras, mosques and tombs etc.

The Nawabi architecture makes an interesting study in the transform-
ation of the Mughal style into a so-called European style, especially the 'house architecture' developed in England. There are three phases of its development. First phase is characterised by the adoption of the Mughal style. The European elements seem to have featured in the buildings of this phase by way of modifications made by the European engineers whom the Nawabs employed, and this was only in the sphere of secular architecture.

The buildings of the second phase are characterised by the assimilation of indigenous and foreign elements. The buildings of this phase were inspired by constentia, a pseudo-classical composition of General Clode Martin. From now onwards European elements began to infiltrate increasingly into the domain of Awadh architecture.

The Mughal style remains basically ingrained in the buildings of the first two phases. The framework is Mughal, and the elements of the European architecture are superimposed on it and adopted as decorative devices only.

The third phase is represented by the buildings erected in the English and French style.

Significantly these three phases cannot be demarcated chronologically because the buildings were erected according to the fancies of the rulers themselves. That is the reason why the buildings of Saadat Ali were erected in English and French style while Ghazi-ud Din Haider and Nasir-ud Din Haider preferred English style, but Wajid Ali Shah had his buildings in both these styles.
The Nawabi architecture originated in the framework of Mughal style but it acquired its distinctness by the adoption of local elements and Italian, Gothic, French, Palladian and English elements as well as some features of the Deccan style. Marble and stone were replaced therein by brick, mortar and stucco. The buildings are in highly ornate style. The main concentration of the builder is decoration and he has introduced as many decorative elements as he wished. It is a curious factor that the Nawabs started their building activities at a time when the Mughal architecture and English architecture both had degenerated, and what the Nawabs found in inheritance were the degenerate styles. This feature is very well represented by the architecture of Lucknow. However, the buildings excel both in variety and novelty.

This period noticeably marked the development of various arts and crafts. From the very beginning the policy of the Awadh court was to patronise artists and craftsmen so that they might settle down in Awadh permanently.

The policy of developing local industries in a systematic manner was adopted during the reign of Saadat Ali Khan. Besides imparting financial encouragement he restricted the import trade by levying high duty on the imported articles and fineries. But he did not impose any hindrance on inland trade. This policy was followed throughout the Nawabi period. The result was that Awadh became self-sufficient in all except a few luxury items which were not for common consumption and were used by the royalty and the nobility of Awadh. The articles produced in Lucknow were in demand all over India and
were exported. A large section of the population of Lucknow was composed of traders and artisans. This commercial importance continued throughout the period of our study. The trades and industry were in the hands of local people, except at Tanda where bleaching and washing industries were in the hands of the European traders. The metal crafts were in the hands of the Kashmiris who had settled in Awadh.

The Lucknow arts and crafts were largely non-sectarian and non-denominational in character. No European influence is discernible except in calico printing at Tanda where some European motifs were introduced.

Various 'master crafts' flourished in Awadh during the Nawabi regime such as enamelling, damascening, silver work, wire-drawing. Lucknow had great renown for its embroidered articles as well as woven cotton stuff especially the art fabrics - Jamadani and Tanzeb. There were other crafts too which flourished here extensively such as clay work and metallurgical crafts.
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