AWADH-CONGENIAL HOME FOR NURTURING ARTS - IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE OF PAINTING AND MUSIC (1722-1856)

THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF LUCKNOW FOR THE DEGREE OF
Doctor Of Philosophy
IN HISTORY

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2014
This thesis is an attempt to highlight the colourful strokes in painting and melodious music developed during 1722-1856 under the patronage of the Nawabs of Awadh. The period under study, was indeed a fascinating phase which witnessed a peculiar Northern culture evolving from a provincial state of Awadh under able guidance and patron ship of Nawabs of Awadh for about 134 years. The Nawabs of Awadh could be distinguished as a class apart because instead of bloodshed and expansion of the geographical boundaries, they opted themselves into a life of pursuing finer aspects of life and thus arose a system of patronage of fine arts that even survives to this day.

Being a resident of the region, I always felt that Lucknow’s Nawabi Tehzib, mannerism, so called cultural legacy is popular in theory but in real form, the contributors are neglected upon. There is a treasure of unnoticed styles of art and music which require its undue recognition. The Nawabs, during the period under study, patronized various art forms, but it’s really difficult to sum up about all changes in a single thesis.

Scholar has emphasized on two most distinctive artistic expressions of the Nawabi era – Painting and Music. Main objective to explore these two art forms was to explore treasure of art and music which manifested with changed political situations in the provincial state of Awadh and attained a state of perfection.

Awadh paintings have always been a source of attraction for me because of its captivating beauty and fineness in detail. These paintings also present a different way of representing the political, social and cultural atmosphere that is distinctly different from the conventional Mughal style or the European style of perspective drawing that we are used to seeing. It is a traditional Indian art form in which considerable importance was given to symbolism, rich detailing, use of
tempera colors which were not bright as that of Mughal Paintings and intricate drawing.

‘Nawabi Awadh’ or ‘Awadh (1722-1856) - period under study, as the title goes, is quite apt for an age co related with a culture distinct with characteristics of its own. It paved the way to register in the form of a composite culture. The cultural transition from a dependent region under the Mughals to an independent state, introduced to cultural world of Indian History distinctive art forms. Among a long list of art forms flourished during 1722-1856 were unknown art of Painting and recognized style of Lucknow Gharana of Music.

The entire thesis is based mostly upon the original, contemporary sources available in English, Persian and Urdu but non- contemporary and modern sources have also been fruitfully utilized. All the sources have critically been examine and analyzed to from the opinions given in the thesis. Resource material for the present research included Primary Sources in the form of Copies of original paintings which are displayed in reputed museums all over the world but maximum paintings are in State Museum, Lucknow, manuscripts in Persian, information obtained from dignitaries who are carrying the legacy of Lucknow Gharana of Music at present. Secondary sources included references from books of that age and invaluable comments given by eminent Research Historians.

The thesis is an attempt to do an extensive survey of two important art forms i.e. Painting and Music.

To do in depth study, the thesis is divided into nine chapters.

- **Chapter 1** outline brief historical aspects of the Nawabs and Kings of Awadh.
• **Chapter 2** deals with development of painting under the Nawabs and impact of European influence. Initially, under first three Nawab Wazirs of Awadh, it was more like in a conventional Mughal style but with a difference. With the change of hegemony and interaction with Europeans, local painters learnt the technical details of perspective and use of oil colours.

• **Chapter 3** deals with development of painting in Awadh under imperial patronage where the style of painting and subject matter varied in between historical and natural veracity - Miniature as well as Portraiture with realistic details.

• **Chapter 4** outlines methods of painting which were used to execute classic collection of Awadh paintings in the form of miniature, portraiture, ‘nimqalam’ style, sketches of maps, costumes, head gears, carriages, RagRagini Paintings.

• **Chapter 5** deals with musical evolution of Awadh. Whenever North Indian Classical forms of singing as well as instrumental music will be discussed, contribution of Lucknow Gharana during the period under study would act like strong pillars in the growth of Indian music.

• **Chapter 6** deals with Awadh-cultural hub for classical artists (Dhrupad and Khayal).

• **Chapter 7** covers ‘Development of light classical forms of music’- Thumri and Tappa.

• **Chapter 8** deals with Experimentation and creation of new instruments like Lucknow Gharana Tabla, Lucknow Gharana Sitar, Lucknow Gharana Rabab, Lucknow Gharana Sursringar.

• **Chapter 9** covers “An Era Of A Melodic Recitation” under Sozkhwani, Doms and Dharis, Bhands and Qawwali. Last chapter is the conclusion of this research study.

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I would like to express my deep sense of gratitude to Dr. Rashmi Pande, under whose supervision and encouragement this work has been completed. I thank her for nourishing me intellectually throughout my research work, and, for seeing this project through its many stages of unfolding, from its pre-conception to completion. I consider myself fortunate for the care and critique that went into her engagement with my often-desultory submissions, and for the space and time she generously made available for every inchoate idea to be voiced and vetted.

I am deeply indebted to a number of persons who have taken keen interest and have helped me in various ways. I am sincerely thankful to all the staff members of the Department of Medieval and Modern History, University of Lucknow, for their ready and ungrudging help in various ways.

I earnestly feel certain that the dissertation would have not been possible without the friendly, prompting and personal interest of the people-in-charge of libraries of Sangeet Natak Academy, Lucknow, Bharat Vidya Bhavan-Varanasi, State Archives-Lucknow, National Archives-Delhi, Khuda Baksh Library-Patna, Raza Library- Rampur, Salar Jang Library- Hyderabad, for allowing me to have access to the different reports, gazetteers, books and other reference material of the department.

I also wish to acknowledge the great support and encouragement provided by my parents Mr. & Mrs. Awasthi, my husband M.S. Rana, support and motivation provided by sister Deepti Joshi and brother Yash Awasthi and my daughter Vidushi, who adjusted their daily schedule according to my research work.

Finally, I am thankful to ICHR for providing Junior Research Fellowship, which was of immense help to enrich content for the research work.
However, in spite of my best efforts, there might be some typographical errors for which I may kindly be excused.

LUCKNOW

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Dated-24-2-2014 (Department of Medieval Modern Indian History)

University of Lucknow, Lucknow.
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Chapter 1

Awadh-its historical past and brief history about the Nawabs

The historical significance of Awadh goes back to its ancient past, when 'Awadh' and 'Kosala' (popular form of Ayodhya) were synonymous, whose capital was Ayodhya. It was the seat of kings of Surya Dynasty of which the fifty-sixth emperor was Raja Dashrath, the father of Legendary Ram. With the fall of the last Suryavanshi ruler, Raja Sumitra (the one hundred and thirteenth Monarch), Ayodhya turned into wilderness and the royal family diffused. In the remote Lakshmanpuri, the present Lucknow, was a suburb of this great kingdom. It is said that Raja Ram Chandra had conquered Ceylon and completed his term of exile in the wilderness and when he had honoured the status of kingship by adopting its form, he gave this region as a reward to his devoted brother Lachman, who had accompanied him on his travels. Later, a village was built on a high hill, known as Lachmanpur.

If we start finding the details of the historical past of Awadh, then the earliest recorded evidence is of 5th and 6th centuries B.C., We come to know about sixteen kingdoms (Janapadas) in India, Kosala being the most important. The east Kosala then extended upto river Gandak separating Videha, in the west it was bordered by the river Gomti. The three great cities of Ayodhya, Saket and Sravasti were within the province of Kosala. Awadh and 'Kosala' (popular form of Ayodhya) were synonymous, whose capital was Ayodhya. The sixteen kingdoms were eclipsed by the rise of the Magadha empire. In the words of W. Crooke- "This is Oudh, apparently, after the fall of Sravasti, a state in alliance with or Subject to the Imperial Gupta Dynasty, the northern districts fell for a time into the hands of a tribe whom traditions call ‘Bhars’. Ayodhya increased in its importance during
the Gupta Period and probably it was the second capital of Gupta Emperors during A.D. 330 to 472. In the seventh century, Awadh was a part of Harshvardhan's empire and in the ninth century, it was included within the dominion of Gurjara-Pratihara. Two Tribes – Bhar and Pansi took possession of the region. These tribal people were attacked by Saiyyid Salar Masud Ghazi in 1030 and probably also by Bakhtiyar Khilji in 1202. Malik Hasam-ud-din-ugul Bak, a commander of Muizuddin of Ghor conquered Awadh in A.D. 1192. During a brief time period in between (1399-1479), it was a part of the Sharqui kingdom of Jaunpur, but again came under Delhi Sultanate during the rule of Lodi dynasty. When Babar defeated Ibrahim Lodi (1526 A.D.), Awadh became a part of Mughal Empire. 'Babarnama' mentions that Awadh and Bahraich were in the occupation of Babar who appointed Shaikh Bijid in Awadh, and Ayodhya was the seat of provincial administration.

It cannot be said when this town changed its name from Lachmanpur to Lucknow. The family records of the Shaikhs of Lucknow state that in 1540, when king Humayun was defeated by Sher Shah at Jaunpur, he fled from the battlefield by way of Sultanpur, Lucknow and Pilibheet. He paused to rest for four hours in Lucknow and although he came as a victim of defeat and had no power or authority, the people of Lucknow, purely from feelings of sympathy and hospitality, gave him a gift of ten thousand rupees and fifty horses. Among the families that came to Lucknow in those early days was that of Shah Mina. Because of his residence, the old name of ‘Lachman Hill’ was changed to ‘Pir Muhammad Hill’.

During the period of the Delhi Sultanate, three centres seem to have grown in this region - Jaunpur, Ayodhya and Kara. Political boundaries thus tended to follow the boundaries of the areas of influence of these three centres. Historical and perhaps ethnic factors played the decisive role in the determination of boundaries, may be partly due to the absence of any effective physical barrier in the Ganga - Ghagra Doab, the
Gomti and the Sai being insignificant in comparison to the Ganga and the Ghagara. The south western boundary of Suba Awadh ran along the Ganga from Deorakh Mahal of Sarkar Lakhnau in the South east to Mahal Khankhat Mau of Sarkar Khairabad in the north - west. The north western sector of the boundary of Suba Awadh lay in thickly forested tracts and joined the north-western tip of Mahal Khairagarh of Sarkar Khairabad, situated at in the foot of the hills, with Mahal Khankhat Mau on the Ganges.¹⁹

When in 1590²⁰, Emperor Akbar divided the whole of India into twelve provinces Awadh was also formed into a ‘subah’ or province, containing five ‘sarkars’ or divisions and thirty eight ‘mahals’ or ‘parganas’.²¹ As far as its geographical limits are concerned- the Mughal province of Awadh extended over the territory lying between 79.6⁰ and 84⁰ longitude E and 26⁰ and 28.4⁰ latitude N.²² Though the size of the entire state, which of all the successor states that emerged during the crisis of the Mughal Empire, Awadh –A ‘suba’was the largest in extent, the richest in resource generation, and the best governed. According to Abul Fazl in "Account of Twelve Provinces", described the limits of ‘suba’ as "it was bounded on the east by the province of Bihar and to the North lay the northern mountains, Sarkar Manikpur of ‘suba’ Allahabad was situated on the South of the province, while on the western side was Sarkar of Kannauj of ‘suba’ Agra.²³ The distance from the limits of Sarkar Gorakhpur to Kannauj was computed at 135 Kos, while only 115 Kos were said to separate the northern mountains and the southern boundary of the ‘suba’.²⁴

When in 1590²⁵, Emperor Akbar divided the whole of India into twelve provinces, Lucknow, was chosen as the seat of the Subehdar, or Governor of Awadh, Shaikh Abdur Rahim, a nobleman of Bijnaur (U.P.) went to Delhi, obtained imperial service and in return was granted land in Lucknow where he took up his residence “Panj Mahla” and erected the Shaikhan Gate. His tomb is known today as Nadan Mahal.²⁶ Either because Shaikh Abdur Rahim had been awarded the title of ‘Mahi Maratib’²⁷ at
the Imperial Court or because of the 26 arches in one portion of the fort, the architect engraved two fishes on each arch, making a total of 52 fishes, this fort became known as “Machi Bhawan”. The architect who designed this fort was an Ahir named Lakhna. Some say that because of his name the town was called Lucknow. Later, a number of Pathans arrived who settled in the south and were known as the Ram Nagar Pathans. They fixed the limit at the place where Gol Darwaza now stands. Another group of Shaikhs arrived and settled towards the east. They were known as the Benehrah Shaikhs and fixed the limit at the place where the ruin of Residency now stand.

After Aurangzeb’s death, the political unity of the Mughal Empire came under great pressure. Local prosperity may be inferred from the rise in revenue, which was 50 Lakhs in 1594 and 83 Lakhs about 1720 A.D. while the measured area had increased from 9,933 to 18,577 square miles. Between 1707 and 1722, about thirteen governors were sent from Delhi to Lucknow to secure the province for the crumbling Mughal Empire. None succeeded in accomplishing the feat instead slowly eroded the central authority and kept on introducing innovations in the post of Governors. There was a demand for greater decentralization as province after province began breaking away under the overbearing weight of the old Imperial framework. However, the Mughal empire was divided into pieces, small states arose and the rulers of which obtained practical independence.

Mughal ruler Shahjahan (1627-58) reorganised the Empire and put Awadh in Eastern Hindustan, which was subdivided into five Sarkars: Haveli Khas, Khairabad, Bharaich, Gorakhpur and Lakhnau. These five sarkars had 119 mahals. From the Mughal period upto the rise of Nawabi rule, the boundaries of the ‘suba’ remained almost the same.

Under Sa’adat Khan ‘Burhan-ul-mulk,’ who took charge of Awadh as the Governor and later as Nawab –Wazir, Awadh
included five districts - Khairabad, Faizabad, Gorakhpur, Bahraich and Lucknow. Boundaries of Awadh stretched to Himalayan hills in north, Bihar in east, in south up to Kara Manikpur of Allahabad province and in west up to Kannauj. From Gorakhpur to Kannauj -the province was 270 miles long and from northern hills to Kara Manikpur -the province was 230 miles wide, totaling to 1,01,71,080 bigha in area. Fortune further smiled and the dominion of Sa’adat Khan was extended so as to embrace the province of Allahabad and all the districts to the east of Awadh which later formed the Zamindari of Benares. He modeled, developed and remodeled ‘Panch Mahalla’ where he stayed whenever he was at Lucknow. However his Sardars who were stationed in the city, made permanent settlement which are still known by their names as mohallas. Areas which were developed during ‘Burhan ul Mulk's time were Katra Jehangir, Katra Muhammad Ali, Katra Khuda Yar Khan, Katra Wafa Beg, Katra Abu Turab, Katra Bazan Beg, Sarai Mo'ali Khan and Ismailganj.

By 1728, under Nawab Safdar Jang, the area of influence was pushed further east and south by the inclusion of fertile regions of Benaras, Ghazipur, Jaunpur and Chunargarh. The western borders of Awadh kingdom were extended upto Kannauj by the use of armed power against the hereditary Rajput chiefs. Emperor Ahmad Shah conferred upon Safdarjang the office of the ‘Wizarat’ and assigned him the province of Ajmer in 1748 but the Wajir exchanged his new assignment with suba Allahabad.

In 1764, Nawab Shuja ud daula supported Mir Kasim in the Battle of Buxar, but was defeated. The defeat compelled Nawab Shuja ud daula to enter into a treaty with the East India Company, in addition to payment of 50 lakh of rupees. This was the advent of British on the soils of Awadh. The First British resident Mr. Middleton entered the court in 1773. The British extracted fifty lakhs of rupee from Shuja ud-Daula and appointed a Resident at Lucknow. To pay for the protection of British forces and assistance in war, Awadh gave up first the fort of Chunarn, then districts of
Benaras, Ghazipur and finally Allahabad. In 1774 A.D\(^{46}\), when Nawab Shuja-ud-daula with the help of the East Delhi company annexed Rohilkhand, much of which formally belonged to *suba* Delhi.\(^{47}\) It is also trru that maximum limits were attained by the Awadh kingdom under Nawab Shuja-ud-daulah. It comprised the Mughal province of Awadh, and much of the province of Allahabad (barring the Bundelkhand region) Rohilkhand and mid-Gangetic Doab including Etawah.\(^{48}\) He built the Chowk in 1765 and subsequently built the Anguribagh and Motibagh to the south of Faizabad and Asafbagh and Bulandbagh to the west of the city.

On 21\(^{st}\) May 1775,\(^{49}\) Nawab Asaf-ud-daulah was made to sign the ‘Treaty of Faizabad’. It paved the way for the disintegration of the kingdom of Awadh. As per the Treaty of Faizabad, the entire region of Benaras was ceded to the company and the fort of Allahabad was annexed by the English.\(^{50}\) Next in line Nawab Saadat Ali entered into a fresh treaty in 1801 with East India company by which he ceded a territory yielding gross revenue of 1.35 crore. This was almost half of Awadh which was given in lieu of 1000 English troops to be stationed in Awadh.\(^{51}\) With the treaty of 1801, Awadh was divided into ‘Nizamats’ and ‘Chaklas’.\(^{52}\) The ‘Chaklas’ were put under the overall charge of the ‘Chakledar’ or ‘Najine’, while the smaller units were looked after by the ‘faujdar’ and the ‘diwan’, receiving Rs. 25 and Rs. 15 each respectively as their salaries.\(^{53}\)

Butter gives the following list of ‘chaklas’ in Awadh\(^{54}\):- Sultanpur was made up of 6 parganas, Aldemau had 5 parganas, Pratapgarh had 3 parganas, Pachhimreth also had 3 parganas, Bairswars contained the largest number- 13 parganas, Solar had 4 parganas, Ahladgunj too had 4 parganas, Goanda -Bahraich was divided into 5 parganas, Khairabad again contained the largest number, i.e. 13 parganas, Sandeela also had 4 parganas.Rasulabad was divided into 5 parganas. Lucknow was made up of 5 parganas.
As per the treaty of 1801, which was signed in between Nawab Saadat Ali Khan and the East India Company. Rohilkhand, Farrukhabad, Kara, Kora, Etawah, Fatehgarh, Kalpi, Gorakhpur and Azamgarh were ceded by Awadh to the company. The territorial extent of Awadh from the year 1801 to 1856 remained more or less fixed. From the north and north-east, it was bounded by Nepal, on the east by British district of Gorakhpur, on the south-east by district Allahabad, on the south-west by the Doab including the British districts of Fatehpur, Kanpur and Farrukhabad, on the north-west by Shahjahanpur. These new limits extended from latitude 29°6 to 25°34 and from longitude 79°45 to 83°. The total area was computed at 23,923 square miles.

The territorial distribution of Awadh, as mentioned above, continued till the appointment of Col. W. Sleeman, as Resident in 1849. This was a turning point in the history of Awadh because Dalhousie had sent him to Awadh only to assist him in annexation of Awadh to the British empire. Nawab King Wazid Ali Shah was asked to leave the effluent city of “Lucknow and it was annexed on the pretext of misgovernment. The long reign of Nawabs, beginning with Nawab-Wazir Sa’adat Khan to Nawab Wajid Ali Shah, was eventful and marked by gradual attempt on the part of the sovereign to emancipate themselves from the Mughals and later on the English East India Company. A brief glimpse of the role played by the ‘Wazirs’, then, ‘Nawab-Wazirs’, and, finally as the ‘Kings’ of Awadh during the period 1722 to 1856, who all nurtured the cultural and artistic tradition which shows the composite nature and the dynamism and resilience of a beautiful era, here shall not be out of place.

**Brief history about the Nawabs (1722 to 1856 A.D.)**

**Nawab Burhan – ul – Mulk (1722-1739):**

Meer Muhammad Ameen, in 1705 a.d. set forth with his father and brother from Persia to seek fame and fortune in Hindustan.
Belonging to Naishapur of Khorasan province of Persia, the family of Saiyyads was a respectable one. The court of Delhi had strong lobby of Persian group, Tooranian and Hindustanis that consisted of Hindu Rajahs also. He came to Delhi where he attracted the notice of the Emperor of Delhi, Muhammad Shah, then much harassed by the activities of two obstreperous brothers, Abadullah and Hussein Ali, Saiyids of Barhi. After the victory of Emperor Mumhammed Shah over the Sayyid brother, he was given the rank of Burhan-ul-Mulk. In 1720, he became Governor of Agra with the title of Bahadur Jang, when he also assumed the name of Sa’adat Khan.

Local kings, zamindars and jagirdars have created mismanagement and destroyed the peace of the area since the reign of Aurangzeb, specially the Shaikh-Zadas. Sa’adat Khan tamed them, made his own palace near Ayodhya, and founded a new city Faizabad, which became the capital of the new government. Due to his management policy, state's income rose from Rupees 70 lakhs to 2 crores. On his success Muhammad Shah was very pleased and given him the title of "Burhan-ul-Mulk" Sa’adat Khan”. He was assigned the Subedari of Awadh as a reward in 1722 and was given the task of suppressing zamindars or the ‘Sheikhzadas’ in Lucknow. The entry of Sa’adat Khan into Lucknow was opposed by the powerful sunni Shaikhjadas. The authority of the Shaikhzadas was paramount in Awadh and their power over the neighborhood was supreme too. The principal reason for this was that they had influence with the court at Delhi and members of the family had been appointed subedars of the whole province of Awadh.

He was unable to make any substantial change in administration because of strong opposition of Shaikhs because they were supporters of ‘Saiyed Brothers’ at the Delhi court, and the Nawab was instrumental in destroying their power. Finally Burhan ul Mulk decided to move to Lucknow in 1732. The city of Lucknow was the stronghold of the Shaikhzadas, whose recalcitrant attitude was causing concern to the Mughal emperor. For establishing his supremacy as governor of
Awadh, Saadat Khan made a diplomatic alliance with the Shaiks of Kakori. Shaikhzadas’ fort “Macchi Bhavan was so strong that it was said, “He, who holds Macchi- Bhavan, holds Lucknow.” According to one story, he invited the Shaikhzyada and arranged for their entertainment. While they were enjoying, he sent his army to capture Lucknow and Macchi Bhavan. The second story states, that, he treacherously killed Shaikh Ahmad Husain and thus reducing the influence of Shaikhs with the help of Sunni Shaikhs of Kakori. Instead of entering Lucknow through Mahmudnagar and Akbari Gate, he quickly crossed Gomti near Gaughat and took possession of Machi Bhavan without any resistance. Over the main gateway, the Shaikhs had hung a drawn sword, beneath which they made visitors how in taken of submission. This sword was removed by Sa’adat Khan.

The Panch Mahal and Mubarak Mahal, both palaces of the Shaikhzadas, were occupied by the governor at a nominal rent. This event was followed by the submission of several chieftains and aggressive Zamindars of the Mughal authority. The Mughal emperor conferred on Saadat Khan the title of Burhan ul Mulk (symbol of the state). Sa’adat Khan consolidated his position very soon. Peace was now ensured for the habitants, and highways were secure for caravans. These factors resulted in the growth of trade and commerce. Irwin rightly says that Sa’adat Khan “was probably the first governor to make the power of central government felt through the province”. He mostly resided at Ayodhya and Lucknow.

Though Lucknow was dear to Sa’adat Khan, where he spent considerable time and renamed the old fort as " Machchi Bhavan", he settled down at Ayodhya. There he built on the high bank of the Ghagra a fort, Qila-i-Mubarak, close to his royal residence Haveli Khas. As per – “Qaiser-ul-Tawarikh”,’When Sa’adat Khan Burhan-ul-Mulk crossed the Ganges at Farrukhabad ,on his way to Awadh, a fish leapt into his lap. It was considered a good omen and its skeleton was treasured in the royal family’. It may be on
account of this allusion that Sa’adat Khan Burhan-ul-Mulk assumed the fish as the decorative device over the gateway of Qila Lakhna now rechristened as ‘Machchi Bhavan’. Indeed since then, it became a common decoration on the buildings in Awadh. He chose the fish as his emblem and it later became the most popular symbol of Awadh, appearing on gates, doorways and cornices of official and private building for more than two hundred years.

In 1739, Sa’adat Khan betrayed his benefactor, the Mughal Emperor, to Nadir, Shah, joining forces with the better in Delhi, where he became Wazir of the Delhi Empire. The fruits of his treachery, for which, he was poisoned a few months later, either by his enemies, or by himself in a fit of remorse. Contemporary historians bear testimony to the fact that Awadh was much better governed under him than under any governance since the last quarter of the 17th Century, and the people were contented and prosperous … He left behind him nine crores of rupees in hard cash.

The prestige and authority of Sa’adat Khan rose enormously and the whole of Awadh stood in awe, as it had never done before. He, then, evolved the imposing fabric of bureaucratic administration on the model of the Mughal Empire. It is ironic that a foreigner – Sa’adat Khan was responsible for bringing them together as part of an organized administration and Awadh got re-associated with the Mughal court under Sa’adat Khan and broke away from the Mughal court to find its own niche in history at a later date. At the same time, he was fully conscious of the fact that his treachery towards the Emperor, was thoroughly exposed. To avoid further disgrace, he took poison and ended his career on March, 1739.

**Abul Manur Khan, Safdar Jang (1739-1754):**

Sa’adat Khan was succeeded by his son-in-law Muhammad Muqim. Since Burhan-ul-Mulk had left behind only five daughters so there was no male heir to the throne. Mirza Muhammad Muqim,
better known as Safdar Jang, was the son of Burhan-ul-Mulk’s eldest sister. His life was marked by a high standard of morality which was not common in that age and has, therefore, been admired by the well known historian Mir Ghulam Ali. Even Emperor Ahmad Shah was so much impressed that immediately after the accession in 1748, he appointed him the 'Wazir' of the empire. Hence-forth the Governor of Awadh was called the Nawab-Wazir of the empire, a combination of two, the Nawab of Awadh and the Wazir of the empire.

With the general deterioration and slackening of central control, Burhan-ul-Mulk (1739 A.D.) and his two immediate successors Abul Mansur Safdar Jang (1739-56) and Shuja-ud-daulah (1756-75) were able to assert their independence from imperial control. The designation of Nawab Wazir was applied to them till 1814 when Ghazi-ud-din Haider designated himself ‘king’. Muhammad Muqim, was given the title of Abul Mansur khan by the Emperor. Muhammad Muqim had already distinguished himself by achieving notable achievement in every expedition led by Burhan-ul-Mulk, gaining the post of Mir Atish (superintendent of the Royal Artillery). Soon he was appointed as the Wazir of Mughal emperor Ahmad Shah on 29 June 1748. with the title of Safdar Jang.Safdar Jang, being of a militant disposition, warred against the Rohillas. He temporarily subdued the Pathans before he took up his abode in Awadh and established his court at Faizabad. Safdar Jang’s most trusted officer was Raja Newal Rai, who was killed , when he was fighting against the forces of the Afghan Nawab Ahmad Khan Bangash of Farrukhabad on 13 August 1750 at Khudaganj. Soon Bangash became so powerful that he, even defeated the forces of the wazir and occupied Lucknow. But the occupation was short-lived, since the Shaikhzadas of Lucknow could not able to bear the violence committed by the Bangash officials. They revolted under the leadership of Muiz ud din khan and expelled them from Lucknow. Consequently, Awadh again came under the administration of the Nawab Wazir. Later on, Safdar Jang had to leave for
Delhi where court conspiracies against him were extensive. He returned to Awadh in 1753\(^{88}\), but died within a year at Papar ghat, near Sultanpur in 1754, while struggling to reconsolidate his position. His mausoleum in Delhi is one of the finest pieces of architecture of that period. The palaces of the Shaikhzada of Lucknow that were taken over by Nawab Sa’adat Khan Burhan ul-Mulk were finally declared the property of the Nawab Wazir by Safdar Jang and in return the Shaikhzadas were granted seven hundred acres of land in Dugawan.\(^{89}\) The lasting peace and firm justice gave an impetus for the development of liberal arts and profitable industries and made Awadh to evolve a distinct type of civilization, known throughout India as the “Lucknow Culture”.

**Nawab Shuja – ud – Daulah (1754-1776):**

On Safdar Jang’s death, his only son, Mirza Jalal-ud-deen Haider Shuja –ud-daulah,\(^{90}\) succeeded to the governorship of the two important provinces of Awadh and Allahabad when he was twenty – two years\(^{91}\) old. In 1761, \(^{92}\) Nawab Shuja ud daula sided with the Rohillas and Ahmad Shah Durrani to inflict a crushing defeat on the Marathas. He was appointed Wazir by the Emperor Shah Alam on the recommendation of Ahmed Shah Durrani.\(^{93}\)

Shuja-ud-daula, who stayed mostly at Faizabad, was subjected to frequent interference by the British who curtailed his freedom with regard to the maintenance of troops and the signing of treaties with other regional rulers. In spite of the interference by the British, Shuja ud-Daula administered Awadh well. During the reign of Shuja-ud-daula, Faizabad attained such a prosperity which it never saw again. Shuja-ud-daula built a fort here which was known as Chhota Calcutta, now the fort has been ruined.\(^{94}\) The Nawabs graced Faizabad with several beautiful buildings, notable among them are the Gulab Bari, Moti Mahal and the tomb of Bahu Begum. Gulab Bari is a beautiful building of fine architecture, standing in a garden surrounded by a
wall, approachable through two large gateways. These buildings are particularly interesting for their assimilative architectural styles. Shuja-ud-daula’s wife was the well known Bahu Begum, who married the Nawab in 1743 and continued to reside in Faizabad, her residence being the Moti-Mahal. Bahu Begum was a woman of great distinction and rank, who contributed significantly towards the growth and consolidation of her husband's government. Close by at Jawaharbagh lies her Maqbara, where she was buried after her death in 1816. It is considered to be one of the finest buildings of its kind in Awadh, which was built at the cost of three lakh rupees by her chief advisor Darab Ali Khan. A fine view of the city is obtainable from top of the begum’s tomb. Bahu Begum was a woman of great distinction and rank, bearing dignity. Most of the Muslim buildings of Faizabad are attributed to her. From the date of Bahu Begum’s death in 1815 till the annexation of Awadh, the city of Faizabad gradually fell into decay. The economy of the province continued to flourish and the city of Faizabad was adorned with stately buildings, both secular and religious thus Faizabad attained a prosperity, which it never saw again.

The Company's victory over the Bengal Armies at Plassey in 1757 - left the company in possession of vast territory (three times the size of England). This conquest brought the English into direct collision with the aggressive political ambitions of current ruler of Awadh, Shuja-ud-Daula. Awadh and the Company first directly challenged each other when Shuja-ud-Daula marched his armies against the English, under the Mughal banner in 1764. The Company crushed these armies at the battlefield of Buxar. But given the vast extent of the Awadh the Company shrank from attempting to assert its own direct rule. The Company sought an Indian ruler to entrust with these lands. It decided to restore Shuja-ud-Daula to authority, but as its subordinate ally, and an effective buffer against hostile forces. He had proven abilities which Company desired to exploit. In the treaty of 1765, the company selected...
for annexation only part of Nawab's holdings and rest were restored to him on payment of Rs. 50,00,000. The ease with which the Nawab paid this vast sum whetted the Company's expectations of future extractions. To manage its relations with the ruler, the Company appointed a political agent, or Resident, at the Awadh court. Until 1772, the Company had transmitted the occasional message through an officer in its army stationed nearby but now the Resident would supervise the Company's interest. This Resident not only gradually moved to monopolize communications between the Nawab and the Company, he eventually intervened in virtually all aspects of the affairs of the state, thus establishing a system of indirect rule. Shuja ud-Daula died on 26 January 1775, at the age of forty-three, leaving a full treasury supported by abundant revenue and was laid to rest at his mausoleum at Gulab-Bari, Faizabad. Faizabad reached its glorious period only under his care. Had he lived longer and not so young in age (45 years), etc city of Faizabad would have suppressed Delhi. People from Shahjahanabad were ready to migrate to Faizabad. Tripolia and Chowk bazaar also spruced up and the main road was so wide that ten carriages could move simultaneously. Once Munshi Faiz Baksh met a motley crowd at Mumtajnagar (8 miles 12.8 cm before Faizabad), it was hard for him to believe that he had not reached the city of Faizabad as yet. When he entered in the city, he saw entertainers of all kind were busy in showing their acts. Every time the trumpets were played announcing the presence of troops. Naubat was played continuously to inform the place time to the people. Everyone was flush with money and enjoyed a luxurious life. Nawab Shuja-ud-daula showed interest in music. Artists from Delhi started coming to Faizabad. Ghutam Rasul and Miya Zani, the two Qawwali singing experts came from Delhi to Faizabad and later in Lucknow they opted for singing Khayal. Ghulam Rasul’s son Miyan Shori started singing Tappa About in months later, after the battle in 1774, Shuja-ud-drula marched from Barailly to Lucknow where he spent the month of Ramzan. Next month, he left Lucknow, arriving in Faizabad six days later –
nine months and the days after the victory in the year 1774, he was called to his eternal rest. Sadly, his death put an end to all forms of progress in Faizabad.

Shuja-ud-daulah dominated the contemporary India stage like a colossus and naturally raised a host of enemies among his rivals who were jealous of his power and position. Col. Malleson says, “We must also admit that never before had they (the English) encountered an enemy in all respect so formidable. In spite of the failures and weaknesses of Shuja-ud-daulah, his real chains to greatness cannot be denied. He raised the prestige of Awadh during his time to an amazing height. He won a reputation among country powers that has not been equaled by any rules of Awadh. He aroused a dread in his English contemporaries which is not doubt a tribute to his personal power and a testimony to his sagacity.

**Nawab Asaf – ul- daulah (Shahjahan of Lucknow) (1776-1797):**

When Shuja-ud-daulah died in 1775, his son Mirza Amani become Nawab, assuming the name of Asaf-ud-Daullah. The monthly subsidy was raised from Rs. 2,10,000 to 2,60,000. Bahu Begum protested and made an offer of a sum of money but Benaras was, nevertheless made over to the Company. In 1775, he transferred his capital from Faizabad to Lucknow, and, at once set on foot schemes for the arrangement of his new headquarters. He and his courtiers lived in the Daulat Khana behind the Taluqdars Hall in the Hussainabad area while his other schemes were taking shape. To him are attributed the Rumi Darwaja, the great Imambara and the Bibipur Kothi. With the British to take care of defence of Awadh, Asaf-ud-daulah maintained a small army. Having been thus freed from worries of government, he diverted his attention to fine arts, architecture, literature, poetry and legendary munificence. During his reign, the fame and luxury of Awadh reached its zenith. The coming of Asaf-ud-Daulah to Lucknow was not a planned movement by the Nawab, but, was the result of deep-rooted conspiracy.
of separating the son from the influence of his mother and grandmother. The brain behind the conspiracy was Hurtaya Khan, who was barred from entry in the services of Nawab by Shuja-ud-Daulah. The inherited wealth of Nawab of Awadh was now being utilized in beautifying the city by building new imposing structures that had no parables existing elsewhere. During his reign, seven British residents successively assisted in the administration of his lands and revenue. In 1794, Thomas Twining of the civil service accompanied the commander in chief of the company’s army on inspection, wrote “The style in which this remote colony lived for exceeding even the expense and luxuriousness. They had established a numerous band of musicians” Lucknow had now become the established residence of the Governor, ruler, and ordinary people drifted towards it. Those who had settled in Faizabad during Shuja-ud-Daula’s time left their birthplace, came to Lucknow and stayed there permanently. Until this very day, Hindu shopkeepers, on waking in the morning, expressed the sincerity of their faith in him by saying “Hail to the Asaf-ud-Daula, our guardian.” He had four thousand gardeners, several hundred cooks, a thousand dogs and 300,000 fighting cocks and pigeons. He loved the racing of old women in sacks. His benevolence is recited with,” You may return from the Gates of Heaven empty handed, but not from the darbar of Asaf-ud-daula.” But, Asaf-ud- daulah was, however, a sad man because of the over baring attitude of the British Resident and his frequent interference in his administration. As a result of extravagance and lack of supervision over petty court officials and tax collectors, the court of Awadh found itself almost penniless at the death of Nawab Asaf-ud-Daulah in 1798.

**Nawab-Wazeer Yameen-ud- Daullah (1797-1798) and Mirza Saadat Ali Khan (1798-1814):**

Nawab Asaf-ud-Daulah was succeeded by Wazir Ali, his son but after only four months, he was asked by the English governor general to step down on the grounds of illegitimacy. Instead, the Governor General sent
for Saadat Ali, a half-brother of Asaf-ud-Daulah, who had been living under British protection at Benares since 1776.\textsuperscript{123} Because of opposition from Asaf ud Daula, Saadat Ali had stayed outside Lucknow and was brought to Lucknow when opinion about Wazir Ali Khan grew strong. Governor General himself appointed him as Nawab on 21st Jan, 1798 at a grand darbar held at Bibiyapur Palace. It is said that he had a deal with English government that if they helped him in getting the throne he will give them half of Awadh.\textsuperscript{124} And English government was in dire need of money to fight Marathas.

Since the treaty was imposed most arbitrarily it became constant irritant with the Nawab and he felt guilty throughout his life. He therefore acted with utmost restraint with the state expenditure and further improved the revenue of the left over subedari with tact and strict administration and accumulated a sum of about 23 crore in cash.\textsuperscript{125} Somehow Saadat Ali Khan persuaded the East India Company to hand back this lost territory and promised to manage it on behalf of the company. Since this act would have damaged the reputation, the company conspired to get him poisoned by Jawahar Khan, superintendent of dewan khana and Nawabs personal servant Buddhhan Khan which was not successful.\textsuperscript{126} However his better management of finances did not deter the Nawab to venture upon the extensive building activities and colonization of Lucknow. New colonies developed by him were Saadatganj and Maulviganj.\textsuperscript{127} He started his building activities by adding few structures in Daulat Khana complex. Saadat Ali stayed at Daulat Khana only for about five years and shifted from there after he fell seriously ill with ulcers.\textsuperscript{128} His illness was attributed to unhealthy surrounding and congested environment around Daulat Khana.\textsuperscript{129} He, therefore, shifted to Farah Baksh in 1803 which was purchased from a Spaniard, Joseph Quiers for rupees fifty thousand.\textsuperscript{130} This area later became the nucleus for the future expansion of Lucknow by the successive Nawab since hardly any room was available around Daulat Khana. Other buildings built in his time are Chattar Manzil, Lal Baradari, Dilkusha, Hayat Baksh, Noor Baksh, Kallan ki Lat, Badshah Manzil, Zahoor Baksh,
Begum Kothi, Darul Shafa (old), Chini Bazaar, Khurshid Manzil, Moti Mahal, Qadam Rasul, Tehri Kothi, Iron Bridge and Mandiaon Cantonment. The Awadh style was gradually abandoned during reign of Saadat Ali Khan and European innovations adopted largely. The result was that Lucknow became rendezvous for more distinguished people than ever before.

Saadat Ali Khan thought that he would be able to rule over the territory which remained in his possession without interference unfortunately, he was not left in peace. In spite of those worries, he carried out reforms. No sovereign of Awadh has conducted the government with great ability as he did for the remaining fourteen years of his life. The result was that Lucknow became the rendezvous for more distinguished people than ever before. Any trended person, wherever he lived, on hearing of Sadat Ali Khan’s appreciation of merit, left his own town from Lucknow where he lived in such ease that he never thought of returning home. His personal habits were frugal and economical, so that he earned unjust reputation for parsimony and miserliness. But he gained an entirely new character during the latter and greater part of his reign as being the best administrator and the most sagacious ruler that Awadh had ever seem a character which stood but the more sharply against a background of the lavish extravagances of his brother, the form Nawab. Saadat Ali left behind him nine sons. One died in the same year as his father, but an Awadh paper dated 1873 shows that at that time five of them were still alive in spite of the cruelties of their great nephew, the notorious Nasir-ud-din Haider, to whom nothing gave more delight than to torment the aged, the infirm, and the helpless.

Ghazi-ud-Din-Haider -(Nawab-Wazeer 1814-1819 : H.M. the King 1819-1827)

Ghazi-ud-din Haider succeeded his father, Saadat Ali Khan, in 1814. So much had been squeezed out of the reluctant parent that himself. The usually mutual recognitions of existing treaties were executed on
the accession of the new sovereign and it was agreed that they should be observed and kept till the end of time. Ghazi-ud-din Haider's accession was a smooth affair in 1814. He started his reign with the accumulated cash of Saadat Ali Khan which he spent lavishly. The money did not go towards any scheme benefiting the poor but for his own self and that too on debauchery and acts of sensuality. He also indulged in a novel sport of animal fighting and large sums were spent in the upkeep of wild animals. A very significant development during his tenure took place when the East India Company prevailed upon him to sever his ties with the Delhi court and declare himself as sovereign King in 1818. The price paid by Ghazi ud din Haider, was ,one crore rupees cash and asharfee worth several lakhs at 5% interest. The interest was paid as stipend by the company to the relatives of the King and their descendant perpetually. He also introduced for the 1st time animal fighting sport, which was hitherto unheard in Lucknow. Ghazi-ud- din used to watch these fights from Shahmanzil, which took place on the other side of the river at Hazari Bagh. He got a European style house built for one of his European wife and named it 'Vilayati Bagh. The edifice of Qadam Rasul was constructed near it. According to popular belief this impression of the supposed footprints of Muhammad on black stone, was brought from Mecca, by some distinguished pilgrim.

In his lifetime itself Ghazi-ud-din Haider had constituted the unique 'Vasiqa system' an endowment arrangement with the British, for the upkeep of Imambaras. With the interest of the 'perpetual loans', the maintenance of the Imambaras was to be taken care of. In 1886 the Vasiqa legislation was passed with which the arrangements were regularized and a board of trustees, which continues to this day was instituted, to manage the funds. The vasiqas continue to the present time and the Bara Imambara, Chotta Imambara and the Shahnajaf Imambara are looked after by them. Ghazi ud din Haider showed no signs of his father’s intelligence and appreciation of the value of money, nor
had he the interest of the former rules in the army. His court became remarkable both for splendor and for agreeable and polished manners. He showed a lively interest in literature and the arts and did much to encourage and support those around him who showed talent. He appointed Mr. Robert Home, to be his historical and court painter, Thomas Denharm as chief mechanic and Mr. Trucket as architect and engineer.  

The Nawab desired to present to the governor-general a crore of rupees for the use of the government. Col. Baillie in a letter dated Lucknow 10th January, 1815 to C.M. Ricketts, secretary to government, wrote—As far as a crore of rupees I shall certainly furnish by way of loan, but beyond that sum is impossible, and a voucher for this sum must be given. This proves that the statement, printed and published officially, his highness offered one crore of rupees as a gift to the “company was the a total flashboard published simply to hoodwink the world.” In accordance with Ghazi-ud-din Haider’s wishes, the British government bestowed on him the title of king. It was to hurt the pride of the Delhi Kings that the East India Company conferred the title king on Ghazi-ud-din Haider, who had loaned the British much of his father’s wealth. The court of Awadh greatly appreciated this honour and from that time on the rules of Awadh, who were puppets, in the hands of the Resident, were classed as kings. According to the District gazetteer, he received the “title” of King from Marquis of Hastings of Kinghood and a newly struck coin to the court of Emperor of Delhi to add salt to the cut. Pat came the reply in the form of a Persian couplet. “Thanks to sky’s atrocity coins have been issued By Ghazi ud din Haider, the treacherous king” The king died in 1827 at his Lucknow palace, leaving his treasury well lined with a reserve of four crores of rupees.
King Nasir-ud-din Haider (1827-1837)

In 20th October 1827, Ghazi-ud-din Haider’s son Nasir ud-din Haider; took over the reins of the province Awadh. It was believed that he not the real son of Ghazi ud din Haider as Colonel Low a british resident in Lucknow wrote a memorandum to the company saying that Nasir was not the right heir. During his prince-hood he was virtually a prisoner of Moatamid ud Daula Agha Mir, the Prime Minister, due to his frolic practice. Once he became the Nawab, he started to live the life of great pleasure and debauchery. He squandered whatever money was left over by Ghazi ud din Haider from the coiffeur of Saadat Ali Khan. Naturally he did not have spare time for looking into the affairs of the state for which he had no clue or perception. The administration of the kingdom was left to the hands of Wazir Hakim Mahdi and later to Raushan ud Daula. Nasir ud din Haider cared only for his personnel amusement, and his tastes grew more and more towards degeneration with the passing of time. Thus the East India Company decided to annex the Kingdom, but somehow the Board of Directors did not agree and decided for the wait and watch policy.

“Tariikh Badshah Begam” book has given interesting details about woman like behaviour of Nasir-ud-din. He used to dress up like a woman and dances with the ladies. Sometime he was furious at the thought that Badshah Begum who brought him up, was responsible for such of his mental buildup. “It’s said that he was the son of the washerman attached to the palace. It is supported by a document which states that “Ghazi-ud-din had no son and only one daughter who got married to her cousin and had a son - Mossem-ud-Daulah, the true heir to the throne. Ghazi-ud-din instead of leaving the throne to his true heir and grandson, left to Nasir-ud-din Haider. No one could succeed to the throne without British consent and British troops were quartered throughout the country. In his regime the British Resident took the unusual step of confining the Prime Minister of Awadh, Mutamad-ud-Daula in
the Residency and got him dismissed although he was later censured by the governor-general for this uncalled for interference. Of the wealth acquired by Saadat Ali Khan, some went to prolong the debauchery of Ghazi-ud-din Haider and Nasir-ud-din and to assist in their lives of luxury, and, some was given to British as a loan.

Although, Nasir-ud-din completely neglected the administration, he was lucky to have hard William Bentick, who did not take any precipitate action despite adverse reports from the Resident and instruction from Home Authorities. King Nasir ud din had a strong belief in Astrology and Astronomy. This led him to set up an observatory at Lucknow 'The Tara Kothi' which was bedecked with exceptionally good astronomical instruments. Other major buildings which were built under his kingship were Darul Shafa Shahi, Shahi Matba and orphanage. He also added Darshan Vilas, an European style Kothi, to the Farhat Buksh complex in 1832. His spendthrift habits were mainly towards his numerous wives and tawaifs. The King had employed a French barber who was paid 10000 rupees per month. He instructed his barman to see that the wines were bottled in his presence. The barman would sip it before pouring it for the King to ensure that it was safe. However his tyrannical rule was brought to an end in 1837, when he was poisoned by his own friends and favorites Nasir ud din Haider died after drinking poisoned sherbat(sweet drink) on the morning of 20th October 1837 – the very thing of which he had been most afraid – on July 8, 1837 allegedly poisoned by his Kahari, Dhania.

**King Muhammad Ali Shah (1837 – 1842):**

Nasir-ud-din Haider died without any offspring so Ghazi-ud-din Haider’s queen Badshah Begam put forward Munna Jan, whom she had always considered to be her grandson and heir to the throne.
Accordingly, the British government had arranged for the accession of the late Nawab Saa’dat Ali Khan’s son, Nasir ud-Daula Muhammad Ali Khan.\textsuperscript{169}

Moonna Jan and Badshah Begam were arrested and deported first to Cawnpore on 12\textsuperscript{th} July 1837.\textsuperscript{170} with eighteen carts loads of goods and 18 female slaves and Afjal Mahal, the mother of Moonna Jan, Moonna Jan died on 15\textsuperscript{th} January, 1846, and he was followed, about one month later, by Badshah Begum.\textsuperscript{171} Both were buried at Chunargarh. His two sons and daughter were brought back to Lucknow by the order of king Amjad Ali Shah.\textsuperscript{172} Muhammad Ali Khan though infirm in health, possessed a keen intellect because he was trained under the vigilant eye of his father Sa’adat Ali Khan.\textsuperscript{173} The King was popular and had a certain amount of influence over his subjects, especially as he made efforts to improve the city and did not dispense all thought and substance upon his own Palace.\textsuperscript{174} He appointed Hakim Mahdi of Farrukhabad as wazir but he died after two-three months. The post was given to Munavar ud Daula, who resigned later. Asherf-ud-Daula Muhammad Ibrahim Khan\textsuperscript{175} was appointed as the new Wazir. One good feature of his reign was that he was least bothered by the British Residents. After a peaceful and eventful reign of 5 years, he breathed his last in 1842.\textsuperscript{176} When Muhammad Ali Shah died, his treasury contained about £ 800,000.\textsuperscript{177} This was substantial enough taking into consideration his extensive building operations and the fact that he had succeeded to a bare pittance. In those days the population and splendour of Lucknow increased to such an extent that it would given the name ‘Babylon of India’.\textsuperscript{178}

\textbf{Amjad Ali Shah (1842-1847):}

After the death Muhammad Ali Shah, his son Amjad Ali Shah ascended the throne.\textsuperscript{179} Muhammad Ali Shah had made every effort to ensure that the heir apparent received an excellent education, and had therefore entrusted him to the company of religious scholars, which instead of
making him an intelligent ruler made him a devout Muslim. Thus, he became the most deeply religious, circumspect and abstinent ruler of Awadh. He was, by far the, most religious of the all Nawabs of the Awadh and his focal point remained to be religion. Due to this, the administrative system which were quite effectively established by his father was again came apart and his officer started to rule on their own behalf. Thus, it became completely disorganized, while the vicious officers were enjoying their day. He died in 1848 due to cancer and was buried at the Imambara Sibtainabad in western part of Hazratganj, a quarter which he had himself established.

Amjad Ali Shah was a maulvi, a devout shia and a follower of Shia religious leaders. His period saw the climax of the ascendancy of Shia Ulema who were closely associated with administration. He started distribution of Zakat to those who were found qualified to receive it under Islamic Law. The Mujahid-ul-Asa was the overall supervisor for the purpose. He died 13 Feb. 1847 and was succeeded by his son, king Wajid Ali Shan, the last occupant of the Awadh throne.

**King Wazid Ali Shah (1847-1856):**

Wazid Ali Shah was born on 30th July 1822, when his grandfather Naseer-ud-daullah (Later king Muhammad Ali Shah) had no chance of succeeding to the throne. He was given the title of ‘Nazim-ud-daulah Mirza Muhammad Wazid Ali Khan’. When his father became the king, he received the letter of about Mansoor, Sikandar Jah, Sulaiman Hashm, Sahab ‘Alam waliahd, Mirza Muhammad Wazid Ali Khan Bahadur.” Wazid Ali Shah succeeded to the throne of Awadh on February 14, 1847, on the death of his father Amjad Ali Shah, who made a deathbed prophecy that the country would never prosper under his son’s rule. Appointment of Col. W. Sleeman, as Resident in 1849 was a turning point in the history of Awadh because Dalhousie had sent him to Awadh only to assist him in annexation of Awadh to
the British empire. Col. Sleeman reduced the king to the status of mere *taluqdar* who had to seek approval of his actions from the Resident whose authority seemed to cover everything. Wazid Ali Shah could not shift his royal throne from one place to another because the Resident did not approve of it.\(^{193}\)

The first part of his reign was characterized by the dashing young king’s paying more than usual attention to the dispensation of justice and army reform. According to his temperament, the king gave poetic names to the cavalry regiments such as Bank, Dandy, Tircha, Fop and the infantry, battalions Akhtari, Lucky and Nadiri.\(^{194}\) Comparing Lucknow court with the Imperial court at Delhi, Bishop Heber candidly says, This is in fact the most polished and splendid court at present in India, Poor Delhi has quite fallen into decay.\(^{195}\) At that time in Lucknow Urdu Poetry, there were more poets than in the rest of India.\(^{196}\) Nawab Wazid Ali Shah started with a new hope and zeal to bring administrative reforms in the state till the English stepped in. When he revamped the military, the English grew apprehensive of his intentions and told him to keep off. He tried to act statesman like, and started correspondence with other rulers, English thought these as acts of sedition. He tried to introduce ‘*Ganga Jamuna*’ culture in Awadh, but, the English thought him a man of debased values. He wrote and enacted in dramas and a new culture of Awadh, which was mass oriented, had finally come of age. The East India company officials instead of blaming their own officers for maladministration-who were minting money, blamed the king for all the ills in the state.\(^{197}\)

Hon’ble Frederick John shore toured the country in 1833 and said – The misgovernment of Awadh has been the most fertile topic for the English for years and is strenuously asserted, both officially and in private conversation ---- - in strict justice, they ought to be punished for making them.\(^{198}\)

Wazid Ali received a letter from the Governor-General saying that it had been decided to effect the formal annexation of Awadh to British territory. He was
stunned by the news and set alone Wazid Ali Shah and his successors certain the little and dignity of king with sovereign rights within the place at Lucknow and Bibliapur and Dilkusha, but he refused saying that treaties were necessary between equals and he was in no position to sign one.  

The king left Lucknow on 5th Rajab 1227 AH Wednesday  that is to 12th March 1856 at 8 in the night. He was allowed to put forward his case in an orthodox manner. So, he sent his mother and brother to England. In Calcutta, 1857, he was arrested and detained in Fort William-Calcutta as a state prisoner until July 1859. He died at the age of Sixty Seven, on September, 21 1887. The reign of Wazid Ali Shah marked the culmination of the cultural developments nurtured by the Nawabs. One may notice unprecedented heights in the realm of painting and music under his inspiration and what is more significant about his reign is the fact that the cultural traditions during this period moved from the elite to the people.
Chapter 1:

Awadh-its historical past and brief history about the Nawabs:

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74. Khan Maseeh ud din -‘British aggression in Oudh’;pg.138.
75. Qidwai Dr.Ikram-ud-din -‘The court life under the nawabs of Awadh’;pg.133.
76. Hussaini Imamuddin, ‘Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shah Durrani; pg.20-24
77. Nevill H.R.-‘District Gazetteer of Lucknow’.
78. Ahmad Safi-‘British Residents at the court of Awadh’;pg.17.
79. Hussain, Dr. Safdar -‘Lucknow ki tehzibi miras’; pg.134. (Qaiser- 34-38.
82. Qidwai, Dr. Ikram-ud-din-‘The court life under the nawabs of Awadh’; pg.134-135.
83. Ahmad Safi -‘British Residents at the court of Awadh’; pg.18.
84. Ibid; pg.19.
85. Khan Maseeh ud din -‘British aggression in Oudh’; pg.138-139.
86. Qidwai Dr. Ikram-ud-din -‘The court life under the nawabs of Awadh’; pg.136.
87. Nevill H.R.-‘District Gazetteer of Lucknow’.
90. Khan Maseeh ud din -‘British aggression in Oudh’; pg.139-140.
91. Hussain Dr.Safdar -‘Lucknow ki tehzibi miras’; pg.11-14.
92. Qidwai Dr. Ikram-ud-din-‘The court life under the Nawabs of Awadh’; pg.139.
93. Ahmad Safi -‘British Residents at the court of Awadh’; pg.39.
94. Hussain Dr., Safdar -‘Lucknow ki tehzibi miras’; pg.66.
95. Qidwai Dr. Ikram-ud-din -‘The court life under the nawabs of Awadh’; pg.140.
96. Hussain Dr. Safdar -‘Lucknow ki tehzibi miras’; pg.67.
99. Khan Maseeh ud din -‘British aggression in Oudh’; pg.140.
100. Qidwai Dr. Ikram-ud-din -‘The court life under the nawabs of Awadh’; pg.140.
102. Bhatnagar A.P. -‘The Oudh Nights’; pg.43.
103. Safari, Sultan Ali, ‘Maadan-us-Saadat’; pg.32.
108. Hasan Amir -‘Palace Culture of Lucknow’; pg.16.
110. Hay Sydney -‘ Historic Lucknow’; pg.3
111. Ibid; p.41-44.
112. Dr. Srivastava A. L. -‘The First Two Nawabs of Awadh’; pg.77.
114. Bhatnagar A.P. -‘The Oudh Nights’; pg.60.
115. Hay Sydney -‘ Historic Lucknow’; pg.6
116. Qidwai Dr. Ikram-ud-din -‘The court life under the nawabs of Awadh’; pp.22-27.
117. Hussaini Imamuddin, ‘Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shah Durrani’; pg.20-24
118. Nevill H.R.-‘District Gazetteer of Lucknow’.
120. Santha K.S.-‘Begums of Awadh’; pg.12.
121. Dr. Srivastava A. L.-‘The First Two Nawabs of Awadh’; pg.240,241.
122. Qidwai Dr. Ikram-ud-din -‘The court life under the nawabs of Awadh’; pp.135-139.
123. Hussaini Imamuddin, ‘Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shah Durrani’; pg.20-24
126. Hasan Amir -‘Palace Culture of Lucknow’; pg.17.
127. Ibid; pg.29.
128. Hay Sydney - ‘Historic Lucknow’; pg.10.
129. Bhatnagar A.P. -‘The Oudh Nights’; pg.71.
133. Ibid; pg.34.
136. Harcourt, Fakhir Hussain-‘ Lucknow- the last phase of an Oriental culture’; pg.35.
137. Dr. Srivastava A. L.-‘The First Two Nawabs of Awadh’; pg.244.
138. Col. Melleson G.B.-‘The decisive battles of India’; pg.221.
139. Qidwai Dr. Ikram-ud-din -‘The court life under the nawabs of Awadh’; pg.20.
140. Bhatnagar A.P.-‘The Oudh Nights’; pg.91.
141. Hay Sydney -‘ Historic Lucknow’; pg.13.
143. Qidwai Dr.Ikram-ud-din-‘The court life under the nawabs of Awadh’; pg.150.
144. Hay Sydney -‘ Historic Lucknow’; pg.13.
146. Torrens W.M.-‘Empire in Asia’; pg.124.
147. Hay Sydney -‘ Historic Lucknow’; pg.14
150. Bhatnagar A.P.-‘The Oudh Nights’; pg.103.
151. Hay Sydney -‘ Historic Lucknow’; pg.16.
153. Ibid; pg.118.
154. Harcourt, Fakhir Hussain-‘ Lucknow- the last phase of an Oriental culture’; pg.48.
156. Hasan Amir-‘Palace Culture of Lucknow’; pg.19.
159. Bhatnagar A.P. -‘The Oudh Nights’; pg.113.
161. Bhatnagar A.P. -‘The Oudh Nights’; pg.117.
162. Harcourt, Fakhir Hussain-‘ Lucknow- the last phase of an Oriental culture’; pg.50.
163. Ibid; pg.53.
166. Khan Maseeh ud din -‘British aggression in Oudh’; pg.34.
167. Harcourt, Fakhir Hussain-‘ Lucknow- the last phase of an Oriental culture’; pg.53.
168. Hay Sydney- ‘Historic Lucknow’; pg.27.
171. Bhatnagar A.P. -‘The Oudh Nights’; pg.117.
173. Harcourt, Fakhir Hussain-‘ Lucknow- the last phase of an Oriental culture’; pg.54.
175. Ibid; pg.41;
177. Khan Maseeh ud din -‘British aggression in Oudh’; pg 28.
179. Harcourt, Fakhir Hussain-‘ Lucknow- the last phase of an Oriental culture’; pg.54.
181. Khan Maseeh ud din -‘British aggression in Oudh’; pg.34.
182. Hay Sydney -‘Historic Lucknow’; pg.33
183. Ibid; pg.35.
184. Bhatnagar A.P. -‘The Oudh Nights’; pg.117.
188. Khan Maseeh ud din -‘British aggression in Oudh’; pg.28.
189. Hay Sydney -‘Historic Lucknow’; pg.36.
190. Harcourt, Fakhir Hussain -‘Lucknow - the last phase of an Oriental culture’; pg.56.
191. Ahmad Safi -‘British Residents at the court of Awadh’; pg.52.
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193. Khan Maseeh ud din -‘British aggression in Oudh’; pg.44.
194. Bhatnagar A.P. -‘The Oudh Nights’; pg.117.
196. Hussain Dr. Safdar -‘Lucknow ki tehzibi miras’; pg.72.
199. Capper, John, ‘The Three Presidencies of India’; pg.34.

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Chapter 2

Development of painting under the Nawabs and impact of European influence

The flavour of Awadh comprised of famous ingredients of Nazakat, Nafasat and ada, which set its people apart. Even when Muslim rule declined, with the breakup of the great Mughal Empire, Awadh kept up its cultural traditions in the midst of the cultural changes and revolutions. In the surrounding sea of political decomposition, Awadh remained for long a strong pillar of cultural greatness and cultural leadership in northern India which had shifted its base from Delhi to Lucknow.¹

The people of Lucknow possessed a combinations of manners so that people from the city could be distinguished as a class apart anywhere in the world. They decided that rather than bloodshed and the expansion of the geographical boundaries, they would set themselves into a life of pursuing finer aspects of life² and thus arose a system of patronage of fine arts, literature, personal manners, clothes, design, dance, music, poetry and leisure activities, that even survives to this day, albeit more as a relic.

The period from 1722 to 1856 was an era, where the impact of the Mughal administrative system is extended under the Nawabs’rule. There is also the influence of the East India Company, which had established itself in the area through its Resident. The rise of Awadh as an independent political force took place in the time of the first Nawab-Wazir of Awadh- Saadat Khan Burhan- ul- Mulk in the second quarter of the eighteenth century.³ Nawab Wazir Saadat and his successor did not view Awadh as their permanent abode so Awadh did not attain significance under them because they considered Shahjahanabad , popularly known as Delhi, their home. Nawab
Shuja ud daula’s reign signify the attainment of prominence and earned distinction as a centre of art and culture. In the words of Muhammad Faiz Bakshsh ‘As no ruler of any country lived in such refinement and pomp….. as Nawab Shuja ud daulah’.\textsuperscript{4} He further says,’ Well dressed men, the sons of the nobles of Delhi, physicians of the Greek School, singers and dancers of every land were in the enjoyment of large salaries’.\textsuperscript{5} In such favourable conditions emerged an art form which was a distinct style within itself and that was the ‘Awadh School of Painting’.

Generally to test the establishment of a particular style of painting, following four criteria can be of much help:

- Proper specimen of art form in large number.
- Connection to its roots.
- Patronage to the artists by the Nobility.
- Authenticity of evidence due to presence of artist’ names on art work.\textsuperscript{6}

If we put the Awadh School of Painting on these four tests it becomes obvious that there existed an independent school of Awadh Painting because State Museum, Lucknow alone possesses about two hundred specimens of the Nawabi Era.\textsuperscript{7} A colourful personality like Nawab- King Wazid Ali Shah was a favourite theme for the painters who derived pleasures in portraying scenes[Figure 007] which included social gathering, processions, music, dance, drama, Rasa and a few depictions of harem and garden recreations.\textsuperscript{8} In one sketch the King Wazid Ali Shah is seen punishing an offender. The Nawabs of Awadh derived their lineage from the Imams and considered themselves the patron of the Shia thought and philosophy because the history of modern Awadh started from 9\textsuperscript{th} September 1722 when Saadat Khan ‘Burhan-ul- Mulk’ was appointed the Subehdar of Awadh.\textsuperscript{9}
The State Museum, Lucknow possesses some unfinished paintings or pencil sketches which were produced in traditional style and bore inscriptions in Persian scripts. [Figure 014] The drawings are rather dim and faded and it is very difficult to cover their details in photographs and slides. Most of these have been drawn on the watermark paper imported from England between 1801 and 1826, as revealed from the year given in self impression on the paper itself. These unfinished paintings also bear seals or monograms. The year on the water mark suggests that the paper used for the sketches belongs to the pre Wajid Ali Shah period as he ruled from 1847 to 1856 A. D. and as such we can indirectly infer that the rendering is contemporary.

The patronage to the artist is evident from the fact that they were depicting the life of a ruler who was not only a great patron of art but was himself an artist, poet, writer, musician and actor. In the [Figure 022,Figure 007] under reference he has been shown performing or witnessing a drama and Rasa, playing on sitar and supervising the rehearsal of a drama or Indrasabha. The most revealing discovery which enables us in recognizing the Awadh School of Paintings as an independent style is the mention of seven artists, all of whom were Indians. These were Gajraj Singh, Asaf Ali Khan, Ghulam Mustafa, Mohammad Masud, Mohammad Wazir, Hasan Ali and Jahan Ali Khan. [Figure 103-108] Although the names of seven artists are inscribed on different pencil drawings yet there is a close resemblance of treatment of the subject in this group. The above cited names of the artists further strengthen the case of the existence of the Awadh School Paintings as an independent style. This proves beyond doubt that it was not only the band of a few European artists coming to the courts of the Nawabs and painting the themes but the local artists also displayed the valour of their brush. When the names of seven artists are noticed in an album of twenty-eight sketches, we can well imagine some more painters whose art forms are either scattered or destroyed. Awadh School of
Painting- under the broad categories of subject, style and technique. can be divided into two stages:

(i) Continuation of the later Mughal Court Art from 1750 to 1800.

(ii) Dominated by European influence (from the reign of Shuja-ud-daula till mid Nineteenth Century)\(^\text{19}\)

The first category i.e. Continuation of the later Mughal Court Art from 1750 to 1800, is also referred as the Provincial art form with certain characteristics borrowed from the Rajput Paintings. This style flourished, as a court art and declined after the death of Nawab Asaf-ud-daulah.\(^\text{20}\)

The second category-‘Dominated by European influence (from the reign of Shuja-ud-daula till mid Nineteenth Century)’\(^\text{21}\), is the result of the interaction between the political, social and economic factors related with the Nawabs and the Europeans. Awadh emerged out to be an important centre for supporting all forms of art so it was an ideal centre to be affected by European influence too.\(^\text{22}\) It appeared through two channels: the penetration of British political influence and Frenchmen employed by the Nawab in large numbers. European influence continued to manifest itself in many ways and one such form of art was Painting- the Awadh School of Painting.\(^\text{23}\) The second phase is dominated by European influence; it originated in the reign of Nawab Shuja-ud-daula under French and Swiss patrons, especially J.J. Gentil and Antoine Louis Henry Polier who not only demanded the delineation of themes in a naturalistic manner, but took care of the technique and the colour palette as well.\(^\text{24}\) The British governing elite also started commissioning Indian artists to paint subjects of interest to them. This style, which thrived on the synthesis of Indian and European pictorial traditions, continued to flourish in and outside the Awadh court up to the mid-nineteenth century with Lucknow as its centre.\(^\text{25}\)
As a regional version of the Mughal School, Awadh painting in the first phase represents several traits specific to the Mughal art of the post-Aurangzeb era. The progression of Mughal Painting was influenced to a considerable extent by the long absence of the Mughal court from the capital and its sojourn in the Deccan in 1678 during the time of Aurangzeb.\textsuperscript{26} While some of the prominent court artists followed the royal train to the Deccan, some saw new patrons in Rajasthan, for instance in Bikaner, where ‘Mughal naturalism and Mughal themes’ appear by the 1670s.\textsuperscript{27} There were a number of talented people who stayed back at Shahjahanabad, seeking the patronage of new patrons of art who were coming to the fore in the changed politico-economic scenario.\textsuperscript{28} Gradually, once acclaimed Mughal style of painting got divided into various ‘qalams’. Main branch during the first half of the eighteenth century came to be known as the Delhi qalam.\textsuperscript{29}

The Awadh paintings, however, have their own characteristics of presentation. The important ones are:

(i) An atmosphere of religious harmony was a favourite subject and this is much clear from a few representation of the album which show the last King of Awadh Wajid Ali Shah witnessing the Ras-leela\textsuperscript{30} in standing attitude, probably respecting the feelings of his Hindu subject.

(ii) The second illustration in the same painting deals with the ‘Cheer Haran’ (stealing the clothes of gopis by Krishna).\textsuperscript{31} In this case the ladies standing on the Yamuna bank and begging for their clothes have not been shown nude although their garments are seen in possession of Krishna who sits on the tree.\textsuperscript{32} Such representation in rajput and Pahari style display the gopis devoid of any garment but here also the ruler seems to take due notice of the sentiments of the Hindus.\textsuperscript{33} [Figure 024]
(iii) Another fact which emerges from the survey of Awadh painting is that the life has been shown happy and gay despite the odd situation and loosing power game. The scenes of music, recreation and procession confirm this observation.

The album under reference\(^3\text{5}\) (State Museum, Lucknow), [Figure 014, 16, 2, 4, 112] displays a taste for the indigenous drapery and ornaments. This indicates that a feeling of hatred and repulsion was developing against the British conventions. The artists had started ignoring and discarding alien trends and this stand seems justified in the light of the contemporary political situation. The revival of indigenous elements in art was thus an imminent feature.\(^3\text{6}\) All these and various other factors ultimately culminated into the freedom struggle of 1857.

During the mid eighteenth century, experimentation with light and shadows was used. The paintings of Muhammad Faizullah Khan shows that proper depiction of light, space and volume were the technical problems about which some artists were concerned.\(^3\text{7}\) Under the supervision and guidance provided by the mentors, interest in naturalism in both figural and landscape depictions was introduced. The artists learnt how to impart volume to their figures and spatial depth to their compositions.\(^3\text{8}\) Figures are not merely cut outs, but are carefully placed to suggest a naturalistic grouping. Even Ragamala illustrations, [Figure 025, 027] traditionally a conservative genre, show the women draping their arms across cushions’, as in paintings by Ghulam Raza of the early 1780s.\(^3\text{9}\) All these techniques were further improved in Awadh when Indian artists had the opportunity to interact with Europeans and their art during the third-quarter of the eighteenth century.

Paintings under the direct patronage of the Nawabs:
Awadh had earned a reputation as the ‘most important atelier’ of the imperial school of Mughal miniatures during the eighteenth century under the patronage of Nawab Safdar Jang (1739-54). This period is marked by the transient revival of the tradition of Mughal miniatures, essentially a court art organized and patronized by the Nawabs. The artists were recruited and worked as per the individual work assigned to them by the Nawabs themselves. The thematic contents of these paintings, therefore, reflect the personal taste and temperament, preferences and ideologies of the individual patrons and their associates. As an extension of the Mughal School, it retained those traits which are the distinguishing feature of Mughal painting. It is secular, aristocratic and urban, and in its theme and spirit it belongs clearly to a world, which was free from the external or internal intrigues as were happening in its parent city-Delhi. The credit for creating an environment, which was responsible for the beginning of a composite culture

Nawab-Wazir Safdar Jang had an excellent collection of Mughal Miniatures; eminent artists from Delhi such as Faizullah Khan produced an enormous number of miniatures for him. Delicacy of line, brilliance of colour and the appropriateness of the background are the major characteristics of his style. Themes were presented in a new and larger version during this phase. Sometimes the compositions were doubled, by extending these to a double page in a very skilful manner. An album of fifty paintings of Faizullah Khan, mounted on a gold illuminated hashia, is evidence of the fact that the art of miniature painting still retained the taste of aristocracy. The Awadh art received an impetus during the reign of Shuja-ud-daula. One of the outstanding painters of his court was Mir Kalan Khan who was, as Losty opines, one of the direct transmitters of the seventeenth century imperial style to Faizabad. He began his career in the imperial studio of Muhammad Shah in the 1730s. Mir Kalan Khan was also good with the human figure in three-quarters profile. Mir Kalan Khan exercised great influence over his
contemporaries and as Lubor Hajek believes, the revival of Mughal miniatures in Lucknow centred around him.\textsuperscript{47} Mihir Chand- another promising artist of Faizabad, left Delhi for Awadh in the late 1750s.\textsuperscript{48} He took keen interest in the depiction of observed landscape backgrounds. An excellent example of a beautifully imagined landscape is his study of the death of Farhad created in the form of a picturesque painting.

Another leading painter was Niddha Mal who was one of Muhammad Shah’s finest artists.\textsuperscript{49} Niddha Mal’s portraits of young Shuja-ud-daula suggest that he was first employed by Nawab Safdar Jang in Delhi, and then in Awadh.\textsuperscript{50} It was probably Niddha Mal who established the court style of the Nawab Shuja-ud-daula in the mid-1750s, a style perpetuated by his assistants. [Figure150] He is considered by O.C. Gangoly as the last representative of the Mughal School.\textsuperscript{51} Although Niddha Mal’s style lacks the sensitivity in expression and mastery of detail, he is recognized for his remarkable sense of colour and large perspective which he devises by dividing the composition in two parts- a terrace and a deep landscape.\textsuperscript{52} His brilliant mosaic colouring sometimes suggests Persian influence. Pale green and yellow hues are typical of his palette.\textsuperscript{55} Most of his compositions are limited to the depiction of a terrace or enclosed garden to present a cool evening scene.\textsuperscript{53}

Niddha Mal was an adaptable artist; during Muhammad Shah’s heyday, he cultivated a ‘softened version of Chitarman’s razor sharped style.\textsuperscript{54} One can also notice his concern to render the effects of light and shade.\textsuperscript{55} Portraiture was his speciality; there is a change in the representation of the human body and one finds ‘new signs of naturalism’ in his painting of Nawab Shuja-ud-daula where he introduced expressive hand gestures.\textsuperscript{56} He was known for his expertise in making pictures of Hindu divinities, especially Radha-Krishna paintings. His style declined in the later period primarily due to lack of patronage; it tended to become lifeless with weak expression, opaque colouring, and figures without any emotion or expressions.\textsuperscript{57} The artists of Awadh were
mainly engaged in creating numerous albums which were produced in the royal atelier. Reason could be either to replace missing manuscripts or to emulate the excellent pieces of the seventeenth century. The copying of older paintings became a popular practice during the eighteenth century [Figure 047,048,053,059,061,086,087] These albums or ‘muraqqas’ included some copies of the seventeenth-century paintings. Sometimes entire manuscripts, such as the Padshah Nama and Shahjahan Nama, were copied in their representative styles. The process of creating an art form into a painting or copying of an original one included following steps- Careful tracings were made from standard originals on a special type of transparent deer skin called charba in a brush outline in black. Shades and tints were also noted. It was very easy to paint any number of copies with the use of these stencils.

One of the characteristic feature of this period was the creation of hashia (margin) with figured scenes. [Figure 001,005,010,062,063.] The paintings produced for Nawab Safdar Jung in Delhi display arabesque, geometric or flowered details. These hashias undoubtedly lacked the floral decoration but are elaborate and exhibit the skills of an expert’s hand. Hashia went out of vogue during the nineteenth century.

A comparison of the paintings of the Nawab Asaf-ud-daula’s period with the earlier products of the Awadh atelier, however, shows a marked decline in the hashia decoration though some good specimen also survive. Nawab Asaf-ud-daula was greatly interested in painting and owned a rare collection of Mughal Paintings. According to Bahadur Singh Nami, during the reign of Shah Alam, most Mughal paintings fell into the hands of Ghulam Qadir Rohela. The Rohelas, imbued with no aesthetic sense and unregardful of the value of this priceless treasure, sold these paintings. Most of the collection was bought by the Nawab. He paid Rs. 30,000 for one painting showing Emperor Jahangir taming an elephant. Besides, Nawab Asaf-ud-daula handsomely rewarded his artists.
Court patronage was apparently withdrawn considerably after Nawab Asaf-ud-daula. The later Nawabs maintained a limited number of artists, and to them painting only offered a means to preserve their likenesses. Most of the court painters were Europeans. Indian artists lacked recognition and brush work seems to have become hurried and rough during the nineteenth century.

**Awadh Painting dominated by European influence:**

Indian Painting has always been open to foreign influence. While the paintings of the sixteenth century is dominated by Persian influence, in the seventeenth century, it appears to be influenced by European art. According to some scholars, the European influence was actually greater and more permanent than that of Persia. Lubor Hajek is of the opinion that ‘European style almost certainly attained greatest influence in the Mughal miniature, where some of its techniques were completely absorbed’. Rules of perspective and techniques of foreshortening and modeling as well as shading were also introduced to certain extent. These instances, however, are rare and Mughal Painting remained essentially a two dimensional art.

If we put the works of Awadh School of Art under this perspective, then, we realize that the best painters in Awadh were not overwhelmed by the influence of Tilli Kettle (a British portraitist employed by Nawab Shuja ud daula) but perfected their own ‘internally induced Europeanisms’.

In the last quarter of the eighteenth century, however, European influence began to show itself on the cultural canvas of the Awadh. The munificence of Awadh rulers and their darbars attracted a number of European painters, who influenced the local painters at Faizabad and later at Lucknow. According to Mirza Azhar, “There was in fact a continuous tradition of British artists working in Lucknow till 1856”. This comment is not true in its real
sense because it continued even after which is evident from the huge, life-size portraits of the Nawabs of Lucknow –showcased at the picture Gallery. [Figure 103-108]

There are three distinct phases in the transformation of the Awadh style into the Indo-British style from 1764 onwards when the Awadh state experienced the increasing influence of the British. 78 Frenchmen employed by the Nawab in large number also exercised considerable influence at the court at Faizabad.

(i) The products of this early phase, like the ivory miniature of Delhi, belong to the ‘pseudo-European School’. 79 As per the Dictionary, the term ‘Pseudo’ means false or counterfeit; fake. It indicates that art work of this stage were just the imitation of the original at reduced cost.

(ii) The second phase is of adaptation and incorporation of some of the principles of European art. 80 This may be called the period of experimentation.

(iii) In the third phase, there is total acceptance of the European techniques and styles; the superiority of European art was acknowledged by all. 81 Bahadur Singh Nami, a contemporary historian commented that Painting was at its climax of development under the European influence. 82 The characteristic style of the Awadh painting during the third and the last phase, according to the Archers, arrived under the ‘bazaar artists’ and it remained in vogue till the annexation of the kingdom. 83

In Awadh mainly at Faizabad and Lucknow, some painters were engaged in promoting a distinct provincial Mughal style in the early eighteenth century, though it was a degenerated style with dull colours, mainly portraits or book illustrations based on religious texts or the slim, delicate and fully ornamented female figures in an elongated fashion. 84 [Figure 004,052] Gentil around 1763 A.D., who was a French Colonel and the Resident at Faizabad, exercised good influence over the Nawab’s Wazir. 85 Besides being a military advisor to Nawab Shuja-ud-daula, he was deeply interested in Indian History,
culture and iconography. Gentil’s fascination with ‘the manners and custom of Hindustan’ resulted in the preparation of several albums of paintings. [Figure 082-084] He employed three local artists for ten years to illustrate his Abrege historique des Souveraines de L’ Indoustan ou Empire Mogol and Divinites de L’ Indoustan. [Figure 079-081]

It is on record in an inscribed miniature in the Musee Guimet Collection that one of these artists was Nevasi Lal, highly praised by Raja Lakshmi Narayan in a letter for his exceptional skill. The details of 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 the Devnagiri script. Gentil initiated the Awadh artists into the contemporary style of French painting.

He is said to have engaged a local painter, Nevasi Lal, to illustrate his two books, one on the History of Mughals and the other on the Hindu Gods and Goddesses. [Figure 057] He advised Nawab Shuja-ud-daula to invite some renowned European painters to train the local artists in oil paintings and to make his own portraits. [Figure 114] Then, Tilly Kettle, who visited Faizabad in 1771 A.D., remained there up to 1773 A.D. He was a portraitist and the first professional European artist to come to India. It is interesting that Nawab Shuja-ud-daula invited him to execute portraits of himself and his family members. Kettle executed six large oil paintings for the Nawab: [Figure 113,114] (i) a large size study of the Nawab in gold attire and fur cap; (ii) a group portrait of Nawab Shuja-ud-daula and four of his sons receiving an English General- Robert Barker, with his A.D.C.s, an officer and a Persian interpreter; [Figure 152] (iii) a portrait of the nawab receiving an English general at Faizabad with his elephant in the background; [Figure 053] (iv) the portrait of the nawab and his eldest son Asaf-ud-daula; [Figure 113] (v) a portrait showing the Nawab in Maratha attire; [Figure 073] and (vi) a portrait of the Nawab and his ten sons. [Figure 048]
Though he painted six portraits of Nawab Shuja-ud-daula. One of these, ‘a full length study of the Nawab in a cloth of gold with fur cup, his right hand in his belt, is the only surviving portrait by Tilly Kettle in India.95 Rest of the portraits are said to be housed in the palace of King Louis XIV at Versailles. As per the records,96 Gentil borrowed four paintings of Kettle from the Nawab in order to have miniaturized copies of them made by his own artists. When the first copy of the Nawab and his son (Asaf-ud-daula) was ready, he showed it to the Nawab, who insisted on keeping it.97

This event is very significant as it shows that oil painting did not find favour with the Nawab. On the contrary, he liked the miniature of it in tempera and exchanged it with Kettle’s original. Gentil later presented the oil painting to Louis XVI in 1778.98 Of the remaining three, only one picture of the Nawab and his ten sons was copied, which was also presented by him to Louis XVI, in 1778.99 [Figure 048]

Awadh paintings are rarely dated so that it is at first difficult to construct a coherent development of the school after Nawab Shuja-ud-daula death in 1775 A.D. Nawab Asaf-ud-daula became the great builder of Lucknow,100 absorbed the enormous part of his artistic energy on European items along with Indian items too.

Available three great collections of the world related to the Awadh school of paintings under Nawabs:- Jean Baptiste Gentil’s, now mostly in the Bibliotheque Nationale in Paris101, [Figure 028-031] Richard Johnson’s in the British Library in London and Antoine-102 Louis Polier’s mostly in the Islamisches Museum and the Museum fur Indische Kunst, Berlin.103[Figure 032,059,060, 069,070] Gentil worked for the Nawab (1763-75), and, his collection contains Mughal miniatures and some contemporary ones from Faizabad. He commissioned a number of albums and atlases which are illustrated by Nevasi Lal and Mohan Singh, who worked for him in Nimqalam
style. In this style, the line remains fine and detailed, but the coloring is very subdued, applied in colour washes rather than in burnished layers, with gold highlights, and the background is often left blank. This style is used for Gentil’s atlas illustrating the divisions (subahs) of the Mughal Empire; his manuscripts on the History of India and his various atlases ion Paris, compiled in 1772-74 A.D., and albums illustrating customs and dress of the people of Hindustan in Victoria and Albert Museum, compiled in 1774 A.D. Albums were also prepared outside the court by freelance artists by means of stencils owing to a heavy demand among the Europeans. Polier amassed a large collection of such albums in the period 1767-76; six of these are in the Berlin Museum. There are many others keenly interested in collecting Awadh paintings, such as Richard Johnson (Assistant Resident, 1780-84), Gore Ouseley (A.D.C. to Nawabs, 1793-1805), John Baillie (Resident 1807-13), Claude Martin (Military Counsellor to the Nawab Asaf-ud-daula); they possessed large numbers of them.

The demand for portraiture of notable personalities and grandees of the Mughal Empire increased to such an extent amongst the Europeans, that the production of stock pictures became a considerable ‘stock-in-trade’. The increased vogue for copies of standard originals, however, tended to make the art of painting merely a degenerate system of stereotyped copying, and marred its artistic creativity. This style declined as a court style after the death of Nawab Asaf-ud-daula.

The second phase is from 1775 to 1800, corresponding to the reign of Nawab Asaf-ud-daula. This was the period when the migration of the British artists to India became more rapid and continued to the end of the eighteenth century. In all, thirty-seven artists landed in India during this period. Nawab Asaf-ud-daula had a vast collection of European prints but some European observers opine that two-penny deal board paintings of ducks and drakes and excellent works of Lorraine held the same attraction for him. He extended patronage to British artists, such as John Zoffany.
(an oil Painter), William Hodges (landscape painter), [Figure 031,034,037] Ozias Humphrey (miniature painter), and William and Thomas Daniell (landscape painters).\textsuperscript{114} [Figure 041,054,153]

French officer Polier was deputed to the Nawab’s court in 1773 A.D. by Warren Hastings as an engineer, who stayed with the Nawab until 1775 A.D. He employed Mihr Chand to produce seven – eight portraits of Nawab Shuja-ud-daula.\textsuperscript{115} [Figure 149] He made copies of the main figure of Nawab Shuja-ud-daula from the portraits of Tilly Kettle and fitted in various scenes such as Nawab holding a bow, receiving an envoy in desert with an elephant and doom. He tried these portraits in watercolour as well as in tempera. Some of his works are housed in India Office Library collection in London.\textsuperscript{116}

Polier was by far the most aesthetically aware of these three collectors, and his collection consists largely of miniatures of very high quality from the 17\textsuperscript{th} and 18\textsuperscript{th} century Mughal and Deccani Schools\textsuperscript{117} and also of contemporary Awadhi paintings. When Mihr Chand copied the portraits as guided by Polier, while producing an imitation of a European miniaturist techniques.\textsuperscript{118} [Figure 028,029,032] The miniature has padding under the painted surface of the portraits to produce the same effect as seeing a European miniature under a slightly convex glass. A portrait of Nawab Asaf-ud-daula (painted by a Lucknow artist, now in British Museum, [Figure 149] the Nawab Asaf-ud-daula is shown seated on a sofa and testing the sharpness of a sword is also probably based on a preparatory drawing by an European artist.\textsuperscript{119}

With the increased presence of Europeans in Lucknow and an official presence also, Lucknow artists had a wider range of patrons. Some of these chose to interfere directly the technical processes of painting, a development begun by Gentil, who had artists paint in subdued watercolour style for some of his direct commissions.\textsuperscript{120} [Figure 083,084] Most important of all the Company Paintings made in Lucknow, is the album made in 1774 A.D.
for Colonel Gentil (1763-75) . Born of a Savoyard family, Gentil employed a group of Indian artists to make paintings for himself, illustrating the manners and customs of the people of India.\textsuperscript{121} [Figure 019,020] It provides a fascinating account of life at the court of Nawab Shuja-ud-daula as well as of everyday life and history of Awadh. The paintings clearly show how Indian artists were adapting their style to suit a European patron. All but one painting is executed in watercolour in pale shades of pink, yellow and green.\textsuperscript{122} [Figure 015,016,017,018]

[Figure 047]- A group of the seven sons of Nawab Shuja-ud-daula’ Nawab of Awadh(1754-75), standing on a patterned carpet, wearing long muslin jamas, is now in the Musee Guimet, Paris. This drawing is a copy by an Awadh artist Nevasi Lal, [Figure 048]of an oil painting by Tilly Kettle, who worked in Faizabad from 1771 to 1772 A.D. or early 1773. This was given to the French King by Colonel Gentil in 1778.\textsuperscript{123}

Another copy of the oil painting by Tilly Kettle which was made by him for Nawab Shuja-ud-daula in 1772, was recreated by Mihr Chand who was commissioned by Polier. [Figure 053] Nawab Shuja-ud-daula is shown in tarter dress holding a bow; two attendants and an elephant with howdah in the background.\textsuperscript{124}

The Gentil’s Album:- There are fifty-eight pages of drawings, depicting the manners and customs of the people of Awadh at the time of Nawab Shuja-ud-daula(1754-75), which he supervised and designed himself, divided the pages into rectangles, [Figure 076,082,083,084] somewhere faintly inscribed in pencil with the names of the subjects, \textsuperscript{125} which he wanted the artists to include He was fascinated by the culture of Awadh began to make a collection of manuscripts, medals and arms which he had eventually gave to the Cabinet du Roi, Paris. During the period, Gentil was serving Nawab Shuja-ud-daula; Awadh was a flourishing cultural centre. \textsuperscript{126} In 1772, Nawab Shuja-ud-
daula had a portrait of himself with his eldest son and other seven portraits by Tilly Kettle. Gentil had Kettle’s oil portraits of Nawab Shuja-ud-daula with his eldest son, copied in miniature for himself by Nevasi Lal. It happened that Nawab Shuja-ud-daula fell ill’ and when Gentil visited him he took the miniature to show him. The Nawab wanted to keep it and said—“Why do you need this picture? Isn’t my portrait engraved on your heart? Gentil replied—‘Yes, but how can I show you to my friends who cannot come here? Later, Nawab kept the original copy with him.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, many albums of miniature paintings of ‘native rulers’ and ‘native characters’ were produced in the style of Gentil. One such album executed about 1776, is in the India Office Library which has the portraits of Nawab Sa’adat Khan Burhan ul Mulk, Safdar jang, Shuja-ud-daula, the rulers of Awadh and their officers as well as the rulers of other princely states, Bengal, Arrah, Purnea, Patna, Bir Bhum and Benares. [Figure 112,113,114,115,116,117]

Richard Johnson too commissioned local artists, favoured a style more akin to a traditional nimqalam. Although they modified the traditional techniques in miniature but no essential change in compositional methods i.e. no readily discernible greater European influence than was already present in Awadh paintings before 1772 A.D. He was especially interested in Indian music, manuscripts of impotant texts. For illustrations, he used the services of Lucknow artists like Mir Kalan Khan, Mihr Chand, Bahadur Singh, Hunhar, Utam Chand, Muhammad Afzal, Govind Singh, Mohan Singh, Udwat Singh and Ghulam Reza. Ghulam Reza, the strongest artist in the Ragamala series drew fourteen of the subjects including all six of the Ragas.

A series of drawings by Sital Das, who was commissioned by Richard Johnson, illustrated vedic sacrifices in nimqalam style. Another stronger artist was Bahadur Singh, who too worked in nimqalam style. A picture
Polier interfered with artistic technique a much lesser extent, preferred to commission in the traditional manner. He writes of himself “on establishing myself there (Faizabad), I took on the customs and usages of the Indians with whom I lived”. In this picture, Antoine-Louis Polier is shown seated on cushions in the veranda of what must have been his house in Lucknow, watching, dancing girls and musicians. It must be based on an original painting by Zoffany. It is more complicated in its subtle compositional layers than anything Kettle had attempted in India. Watercolour washes and nimqalam techniques were finding their way into the mainstream of painting in Lucknow. Another development in the field of colouring was use of gouache or body colour rather than pure water colour from this time on. [Figure 128] English water colour technique in the late eighteenth century, had only just developed where it was permissible to lay in tones of local colour over the initial washes of grey or sepia, and for more colourful, gouache was the preferred medium, with its bright and heavy colours which enabled the local artists to produce the colourful effects of traditional miniatures but without the labour. [Figure 006] Command of space, area, where the local Awadh artists lacked, learnt it from their European patrons, and, it was obvious that a concern for rendering space could be noticed. [Figure 127]

When Nawab Asaf-ud-daula shifted his capital from Faizabad to Lucknow in 1775 A.D. Here, he sought advice from the famous French envoy Claude Martin. In 1784 A.D. Claude Martin introduced John Zoffany to the Nawab, who painted several portraits for the Nawab as well as Claude Martin. [Figure 047,059] Zoffany remained in Lucknow upto 1786 A.D. Zoffany was perhaps the most outstanding among these painters. One of his best known paintings is ‘Colonel Mordaunt’s cock fight’(1785), painted on a copper plate in oil medium. [Figure 028] This painting was extensively copied
by ‘bazaar artists’in tempera in the nineteenth century.\textsuperscript{144} Another notable group portraiture by him was Haider Baig’s ‘Embassy of Calcutta’, an imaginary representation. [Figure 054] Zoffany also made portraits, mostly lifesize. Knighton mentions two half length portraits by him of charming women, he remarks-‘These pictures are superb and more lifelike than most pictures, having the touch of Titian and the flesh of Eity’.\textsuperscript{145} Zoffany was the only artist who stayed in Lucknow for a long period, but he exclusively worked for the court circle and for European patrons, especially Claude Martin (making 47 portraits of him).\textsuperscript{146} [Figure 047,054] Zoffany influenced the local artists, but in the limited manner described above. Oil was still not popular as a medium and instead the impact of Gentil and Kettle persisted.

In [Figure 028], Claude martin appears with Nawab Asf-ud-daula and other nobles and Europeans, entitled ‘Colonel Mordaunt’s cock match’.\textsuperscript{147} Claude Martin is pictured among the elite with his employer Nawab Asaf-ud-daula on one side and the British Resident, Gabriel Harper, standing behind him.\textsuperscript{148} Claude Martin had a poor opinion of his employer, however describing Nawab Asaf-ud-daula in derisory terms, he expressed no sorrows when the Nawab died in 1797 but saw his death merely as an opportunity for the company to lay hands on his vast fortune. It’s true to some extent that when he was appointed to his service “his days of wealth, prosperity and power began”.\textsuperscript{149}

This [Figure 047], showcased in the Victoria Memorial Hall, Kolkatta, depicts the interior of a house, probably Colonel Polier’s house at Lucknow, with a group of nine figures.\textsuperscript{150} In the centre, beyond table, he artist is seated at an easel, printing a picture of an Indian landscape, while five other pictures hang on the wall behind.\textsuperscript{151} Claude Martin is to the right of the picture, in scarlet military coat and holding dividers in his right hand. By his side (in blue coat and riding boots) is John Wombwell, an accountant of the East India Company.\textsuperscript{152} An Indian servant holds a depiction (}
identified as a painting by William Hodges) of Martin’s town house, Lakh-e-pera. Antoine- Louis Polier is to the left of the picture, in scarlet uniform and fur hat, giving orders to his Indian cook, who is showing a basket of fruits and vegetables. Two Indians play with the artist’s favourite monkey in the background.\textsuperscript{153}.

[Figure 055,073] shows clearly Claude Martin’s social standing in Lucknow. Martin’s contribution is immense in the development of the Indo-British style in Lucknow. He took interest in natural history objects, especially botanical.\textsuperscript{154} The credit for initiating the scientific study of natural history goes to him. Gentil and Polier also collected objects of natural history but not on such a large scale as was done by Martin. Six of his botanical representations are at Kew.\textsuperscript{155}

Another [Figure 049] painted by Zoffany, where Claude Martin’s favourite girl, Boulone Lize also known as Gori Bibi, who was a muslim and had been adopted by Martin when she was about nine years old, was painted in a delicate style.\textsuperscript{156}

In water colour medium, Daniels (both Thomas and William) painted the landscapes\textsuperscript{157} of Lucknow and Faizabad. [Figure 153] Some of these are housed in the State Museum, Lucknow too. [Figure 054,065,067]

Ursula Low in “Fifty years with John Company” mentions- “A European painter was always attracted to the King’s entourage. The Italian- A. Dufay de Casanova- had been preceded by a German, of the name of Grutte”.\textsuperscript{158} There is an interesting picture by Casanova depicting the public reception of Lt. Col. Low at Lucknow by His Majesty, [Figure 059 ]the King of Oudh, 4\textsuperscript{th} March,1834.\textsuperscript{159} The other painting relates to Moonna Jan’s incident. Sir John Low’s services at the time, in suppressing Badshah Begum’s attempt to seat Moona Jan on the throne, were highly appreciated by the Court of Directors. They also ordered a picture to be painted of the scene in the Baradari by the
court painter, Casanova, and presented to him in memory of the picture.\textsuperscript{160} [Figure 085]

Ozias Humphry, the renowned painter of miniature portraits on ivory was invited to visit Lucknow on a sum of Rs. 40,000.\textsuperscript{161} He came to Lucknow in 1786 A.D. and trained the local painters in miniature paintings on ivory for three years up to 1789A.D. Ozias Humphry executed five miniatures of the Nawab and his son Wazir Ali, two of his ministers and a Mughal prince-Sulaiman Shikoh , residing at Lucknow. [Figure 059] \textsuperscript{162}He was paid only Rs. 6,000 for his works, so he returned back. He also got several other commissions but left Lucknow in a state of disappointment.\textsuperscript{163} William Hodges who arrived in Lucknow with Zoffany could not make much headway at the court.\textsuperscript{164} Similarly, Daniell brothers did not stay for long. This explains that landscape painting as a genre failed to appeal the Nawab. [Figure 125,126]

The third phase extends over the first half of the nineteenth century From the time of Nawab Asaf ud daula, the practice began of employing European painters as court artists.\textsuperscript{165} The names of George Place and Robert Home are significant in this regard, especially the latter who was invited by the Nawab a little before his death.\textsuperscript{166} [Figure 124] The next ruler, Nawab – Wazir Sa’adat Ali Khan retained these artists.\textsuperscript{167} According to Archers, two other artists, Thomas Longcraft and Charles Smith, also worked in Lucknow during this period.\textsuperscript{168}

Robert Home was another well known painter who remained in Awadh court at Lucknow up to 1828A.D. painted exclusively for the Nawabs. The portrait of Nawab Wazir Ali Khan on a horse back, now in State Museum, Lucknow, is a masterly creation so far as the usage of colours and dimensions are concerned. Robert Home (1752-1834),\textsuperscript{169} who worked as retained court artist to King Ghazi-ud-din Haider (Nawab 1814-19; King 1819-27) and King Nasir-ud-din Haider (1827-37).\textsuperscript{170} Home designed furniture, state
barges, carrying chairs, howdahs, carriages, regalia, military uniforms and coats of arms for his masters. He adopted European styles and blended them with fantastic Indian elements which greatly appealed to the rulers of Awadh and were copied widely by Indians at courts all over India.  

Robert Home not only created but inspired local artists in miniature portraits on ivory, which become a favourite medium in the 1820s. A portrait of King Ghazi-ud-din Haider is painted in water colour on ivory, is in oval shape 7x6 cm., [Figure 087] now in the Mordaunt Ricketts Collection of ivories.  

George Place and Robert Home continued to paint for Ghazi ud din Haider. Robert Home was a talented artist and was greatly praised by Bishop Heber, ‘He is a very good artist…..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 a great disadvantage to him to have only his own works to study and probably finds it necessary to satisfy his royal patron’. Home executed numerous paintings of the king, his family, and state guests. A superb example of his artistic genius was the design of a throne chair presented to the first Earl Amherst, Governor General of India (1822-8), by Ghazi ud din Haider. While the design was based on ‘a European prototype of the Egyptian Revival’, the decorative details were typical of Awadh. [Figure 155] It had on its back, in bold design, the fish symbol of the Awadh rulers.

George Place and Thomas Longcraft lived in the courts of King Ghazi-ud-din Haider and King Nasir-ud-din Haider. The last famous European court painter of Awadh was George Beechey (1828-1855). Nasir ud din patronized George Beechey, Cassanova and Charles Mantz. George Beechey was a competent artist and had distinguished himself in Europe before he left for India He was allowed to enter in the royal harem for drawing the likenesses of the favourite wife of the king.
Charles Mantz produced many portraits of the king in Indian and European dress which were copied by local artists. He also executed the portraits of his queens. He was given a salary of Rs.1,000 per month. It should be noted that landscape painting never became popular in Awadh. The patronage extended to European artists waned after Nasir-ud-din Haider.

During the hey-days of Awadh King Wajid Ali Shah, Beechey painted independently devoid of royal patronage. He married an Indian, Hinda, who served as model for his various artistic masterpieces which were exhibited in various exhibitions.

Two portraits of the State Museum, Lucknow, in which one depicts, a blooming beauty of the court and the other a little elderly lady dressed in typical female attire of the Lucknow courtesans of the period of King Wajid Ali Shah, painted by George Beechey, who perhaps painted his own consort Hinda in her blooming maidenhood, at short intervals in these two portraits as the facial features are almost similar except the age and costume.

Later on, in 1880 A.D., some European painters were commissioned to paint the portraits of the Nawabs and Kings of Awadh which are housed in the Picture Gallery near Hussainabad Clock Tower. Out of nine portraits, right from Saadat Khan Burhan-ul-Mulk to King Wajid Ali Shah, three each have been painted by S. Dowling and E. Rat Harrison while one was painted by a lady painter Alice Grant, and famous portrait of King Wajid Ali Shah by D. C. Singh. [Figure 103-108] All these portraits seem to be presentation portraits commissioned on the eve of commencement of the second floor of the Baradari built earlier by Mohammad Ali Shah.

The idea of a ruler gifting a portrait of himself to someone as a mark of special favour was common across India from the
Mughal period. When it happened, often in a ceremonial occasion at the durbar, it was the recipient who was honoured, not the giver. ¹⁸⁴ (This was a reversal of the tributes paid to a pir or religious figure, where merit would accrue to the donor, especially if the gifts were particularly costly or unusual.) ¹⁸⁵ One of the most splendid portraits of the Nawab Asaf-ud-daula (r. 1775-97) by Johann Zoffany, was given by the Nawab to Sir John Shore, the Governor General during his visit to Lucknow in 1797, "as a memorial of friendship" [Figure 075]. The Nawab was conferring a signal honour on the powerful head of the East India Company. Shore received it ungraciously, noting privately that it was not set in diamonds, but that it bore "a strong resemblance to the Nabob; and for which, to say the truth, I would not give two-pence". ¹⁸⁶

As European influence in Awadh increased during the late 18th and early 19th centuries, we find reports of foreigners at court required to wear on their bosoms a miniature of the ruling nawab. ¹⁸⁷ The miniature gave them entry to the durbar, or refused them entry if they forgot to pin it on. ¹⁸⁸ Set in diamonds, the miniature was presented to a new employee on taking up his post. Sometimes a portrait gift was given to a commoner by the nawab, out of genuine affection. Joseph Queiros, an old Spanish employee of the Nawab Ghazi-ud-din Haider (r. 1814-27) received a portrait of the Nawab, which remained with him until his death. ¹⁸⁹ His family then returned it to the Nawab, thanking him for the honour he had bestowed on the Queiros family by his gift.

We know from written accounts and interior views of the nawabi palaces that the public rooms were hung with pictures in the European style. A painting of Nawab Ghazi-ud-din Haider entertaining the Earl of Moira and his wife to dinner includes pictures of race-horses decorating the walls of the dining room. ¹⁹⁰ [Figure 059] The throne room of the last nawab, Wajid Mi Shah (r. 1847-56) contained pictures in a mock heroic style of cherubs with Roman shields and armour copied from, or inspired by, a European work. ¹⁹¹
By the middle of the 19th century there were four great palace complexes in Lucknow, and a substantial number of kothis (large houses) belonging to the nawabs and their numerous relatives. Providing enough paintings to hang on all these walls clearly kept a large atelier of artists and copyists busy. Poor though some of these copies are, they should not be discounted, because in some cases they represent lost originals by prominent European artists.

Figure [005] comes from the State Museum, Lucknow and is a pencil drawing of the Nawab Ghazi-ud-din Haider in a splendid dress, bedecked with jewels but wearing an awkwardly combined turban and crown, with sarpech and plumes. Nothing could more clearly demonstrate his anomalous position as both Nawab and King. He had been "crowned" in 1819 by the British Resident, in a gesture designed to wean him away from his allegiance to the fading Mughal emperor, from whom he held his title as Nawab Wazir. It was also to attract him into the expanding fold of compliant rulers, as the Company increased its political hold on native states. To his right stands one of the chairs designed for his coronation by the English court artist Robert Home, while to his left is a composite building with elements from the Shah Najaf, which he commissioned as his tomb. This in turn was based on a Shi'ite monument in Iraq and therefore an important statement of his role as defender of the Shi'a faith in India. He is a man truly caught between two opposing cultures, upholder of his Muslim faith, yet a political tool of the intrusive and ultimately victorious English Company.

Nawab Mohammed All Shah (r. 1837-42) was an old and sick man when he came unexpectedly to the throne. [Figure 005] shows a stolid figure plumped on the throne, with his Chief Minister, Hakim Mehdi, in attendance. Poorly executed, with none of the skill, or pathos, of figure 4, this may nevertheless be a copy of something better, possibly by George Duncan Beechey, the court artist. [Figure 005] Note that the chhattar, the ceremonial
parasol, is now reduced to an insignificant little umbrella that seems to be growing out of the Nawab's halo, but that the crown bestowed by the East India Company is now firmly on his head, and that he has given up the traditional turban. The caption in Urdu tells us that he is pictured in the 'Kothi Farhat Bakhsh', part of the palace complex developed between 1803 and 1848.

The group portrait in the Husainabad Gallery [Figure 074] is probably about seven or eight years earlier, that is, c. 1842, because the new Nawab Amjad All Shah (r. 1842-47) has been patched in from a separate cut-down painting. In this picture the Nawab Nasir-ud-din Haider (r. 1827-37), third from right, and distinguished by his heavy sideburns and slender figure, strikes an odd note as the only one in European dress, which he is known to have preferred. He appears again in figure 8 in similar dress, and ermine cape, carried on high by the ladies of the court. He reclines in a lightweight, possibly wickerwork, throne, padded with pink satin. Across the river, to the left, an elephant fight is in progress, the poor beasts urged on by men with heated iron staves. Another painting shows the same Nawab on horseback, inspecting his troops. The naive painter, unskilled though he is, has clearly understood the importance of court hierarchy.

While the four turbaned ministers with the Nawab are almost in proportion, as is the mounted cavalry behind him, the European officer at the extreme bottom right is an awkward size. This may be Captain R.J.H. Magness, Commandant of the Nawab's Bodyguard of 200 horses who, in spite of his title, received only a small salary compared to other Europeans at court and who therefore did not have the same status, or as it seems here, stature. The minute, stick-like figures standing along the wooded road, are the general public, properly cut down to size.

The Lucknow State Museum holds a number of pencil sketches which show the last Nawab Wajid Ali Shah in surprisingly informal situations in and around the Qaisarbagh palace. [Figure 007] He is often surrounded by his Begums and courtiers, and in one picture is seen rebuking a
Begum who has misbehaved. In another unusual sketch he is seen playing with a pet cat, dandling the long-haired and collared animal on his lap. In his Zenana he lolled on a chaise longue, surrounded by women, some of whom are fanning him with peacock feathers. This could be a preliminary drawing for a painting entitled "Wajid Ali Shah in the Zenana", also in the State Museum [Figure 063]. A huge amount of treasure, including paintings and photograph albums, was looted from the Qaisarbagh palace in March 1858, when Lucknow was recaptured by the British. What remains today in the State Museum appears to be part of a larger album containing sketches for a series of paintings showing the Nawab's daily pastimes.

[Figure 073] Wajid All Shah is seen today by sympathetic historians as the most "traditional" of the nawabs, and a man of culture. It may not be fanciful to suggest that he was trying to recreate a pictorial history of his reign in the great Mughal tradition, and that the lost paintings were part of a planned Nawabnarna. Having gone this far, we may as well go further and wonder if some of the sketches themselves were not based on photographs taken by Ahmad All Khan of the Nawab and his family.

Not only sensitive to former glories, Wajid Ali Shah was a skilled poet, author, and musician who learnt and promoted the Kathak dance form in Lucknow. He gave poetic names to the regiments and battalions allowed him by the East India Company and would spend hours on horseback watching military parades. This monarch's genuine interest, as a Muslim ruler, in the customs of his Hindu subjects, is one of the most attractive features of a much misunderstood man. Once a year he would open the gardens of the Qaisarbagh palace to the public, and would himself act the part of the God Krishna in a traditional drama. The ladies of the court played the part of the milkmaids whose clothes were stolen by Krishna as they were bathing.
The Hindu celebration of ‘Basant’ (the spring festival) is shown in [Figure 030], an extraordinary scene on the River Gomti, and of which there seem to be no written descriptions. Everyone in the picture is wearing yellow, the colour of spring, from the mounted cavalry on the riverbank to the elephants, the courtiers, the court ladies, and the dancers. Even the wife of the British Resident (centre on the top deck), has managed a low-cut yellow dress. Only the Resident himself strikes a discordant note in the Company's red uniform, and if this was William Sleeman, Resident for much of the Nawab's reign, he would be feeling very uncomfortable indeed, for it was his reports on the dreadful state of Awadh, as he perceived it, that became a powerful factor in its annexation.

To the Resident's left sits Wajid Ali Shah, waiting for the entertainment to begin. A dancing bear and a mounted camel sail past on a barge, and musicians and actors on punts join in. There were a large number of gorgeous state barges used for festive occasions that sailed up and down the Gomti, some of them designed and fitted up by Europeans. This particular one looks rather unstable, with the ladies in the cabins on the lower deck perilously near the water-line. But it is an enchanting picture, full of detail, even down to the sweet-seller on the bank, with his yellow laddus on a tray, and the elephants waiting patiently with their empty howdahs, ready to carry the Nawab and the Resident back home.

[Figure 0111] is a miniature on ivory of the last nawab, with finely painted features and rich jewellery. He is wearing his favourite nukkad cap, embroidered with heavy silver-wire thread. The likeness captured here of the young man, a plump but dignified figure, is borne out by the photographs known of him in later life. His serious expression seems to foreshadow the tragedies that were soon to beset his kingdom and end his reign. The pictures discussed here may not be great works of art, but they tell their own story of this ill-fated dynasty and the history of nawabi Awadh.
As the central power declined, and regional governments rose in 18th-century India, these royal entertainments were transferred to the Lucknow Court of Awadh, together with the Mughal tradition of the patronage of artists, poets, musicians, dancers, architects, and others, which the nawabs continued to uphold.

Skilled artists including Mihr Chand and Mir Kalan Khan produced beautiful paintings, often based on traditional themes, but sometimes reworked from original European portraits of the nawabs. Indeed, where the nawabs are known to the Western art-lover at all, it is usually through these portraits, commissioned from visiting European artists including Johann Zoffany (1733-1810) and Tilly Kettle (1735-86), Zoffany, Kettle, the Daniells, and others had to get permission from the East India Company to travel upcountry to Awadh, they were not employed by the Company.

[Figure 054,055,040,041] They sought commissions from the wealthy nawabs and their courtiers to finance their lengthy expeditions.) But between the two schools of superior painters, the Indian and the European, seems to lie a third, as yet unnamed. It consisted of a group of professional, but not always very skilled, copyists--men whose job it was to turn out reproductions of nawabi portraits.

Mildred and W.G. Archer have discussed the traits and style of Awadh Painting during the third and final phase, in their monograph, through three important albums which are in the Wellesley Collections in the India Office Library, in the Queen’s Collection at Windsor, and in the Victoria and Albert Museum. These Paintings are characterized as ‘Bazar Paintings’, comprising of portraits of craftsmen like tailor, comb-cleaner, sweetmeat-maker, bookbinder, fireworks-maker, silversmith, bangle-maker and painter, besides some portraits of grain-sellers and cloth-sellers, etc. These paintings were prepared by the order of
Wellesley in 1802.\textsuperscript{223} Most of these paintings are in water colour but the technique is highly Europeanized. Their production became a lucrative trade as these were in great demand among the foreigners.\textsuperscript{224} Another set of these types of paintings- [Figure 032,034,035] an album of Indian characters in the Queen’s Collection at Windsor (presented to George IV when Prince of Wales). It contains 16 Lucknow Paintings, the figures of yogis, yoginis and faqirs as well as jugglers and entertainers. This set was also executed in the early years of 19\textsuperscript{th} century, as some of the pictures are inscribed 1812.

The tradition of the fresco painting was revived during the 19\textsuperscript{th} century under Amjad Ali Shah. [Figure 70]Von Olrich informs-it was one of the hobbies of the king to get all the palaces in white or in colours and decorate these with scenes of Indian life.\textsuperscript{225} This is , however, a singular instance at court level, for which we do not have visual or written details. Some of the old palaces of the Nawabi period have the fresco ornamentation with mermaids.\textsuperscript{226}

Towards the middle of the 19\textsuperscript{th} century, the popularity of oil paintings increased. Bahadur Singh Nami refers to the tasavir-i-roghani, a term which appears for the first time in the sources. He also informs that life size paintings (qadd-i-adam tasvir) had begun to be painted frequently.\textsuperscript{227} The oil portraits which are kept at present in the Hussainabad Art Gallery,, used the technique of painting in oil medium was also learny by the local artists towards the middle of the 19\textsuperscript{th} century.\textsuperscript{228} [Figure 103-108]

Bahadur Singh Nami also mentions tasavir az chhapa as a unique innovation of the Europeans.\textsuperscript{229} Probably he is referring to the art of engraving. This art came into existence in Europe in the 15\textsuperscript{th} Century with the invention of the printing press and was used for the multiplication of pictures. There is no instance known of Indian artist adopting this technique which was done on wood and copper, though according to Thevenot, there were some skilled engravers at Delhi in the 17\textsuperscript{th} century.\textsuperscript{230} Bahadur Singh Nami’s
comment suggests that this technique was introduced by the Europeans in Lucknow. Probably, it became popular with the establishment of the litho printing press in Lucknow during the reign of Ghazi ud din Haider. 231

As far as, large number of local painters and their families are considered, who were living here since ages, were engaged in preparing sets of portraits of native rulers and nobles in particularly the portraits of princess and royal personages because these were in great demand among the foreigners and locals too. 232 It was considered to be an ideal thing to gift for the foreigners at home. Besides, it became a fashion amongst the classes and the masses alike to collect the portraits of past rulers. Though there were reasons for was a change in the types of art works produced during the Nawabi era, but the entire era is evident of the fact that each one contributed for flowering of this art form which occupied an important place among all the provincial centres in India.

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Chapter 2

Development of painting under the Nawabs and impact of European influence:

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9. 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;pg.190.
10. Ibid;pg.191.
11. Mildred and W.C.Archer-‘Company Paintings’;pg.54.
12. Cabinet des Estampes at the Bibliotheque Nationale Albums of miniatures are 44,49,50.

15. Cf. J.J. Gentil, Memoirs Sur L’Inoustan au Empire Mogol’; pg. 310

16. Ibid; pg. 312.

17. S.M. Naqvi-‘The European Painters of Awadh’ (Paper presented in a Seminar at Lucknow in 1983; pg. 121.

18. Ibid.; pg. 124.


20. L.F. Smith-‘The Asiatic Annual Register for the 1804; Miscellaneous tracts, 10-2.

21. Ibid.; pg. 11.

22. J.P. Losty-‘Towards A New Naturalism, Portraiture in Murshidabad and Awadh, 1750-80’, in After the great Mughals’; pg. 121.

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24. S.M. Naqvi-‘The European Painters of Awadh’ (Paper presented in a Seminar at Lucknow in 1983; pg. 118.

25. Mildred and W.C. Archer-‘Company Paintings’; pg. 58.


27. Fanny Parkes, Wandering of a Pilgrim in search of Picturesque during Four and Twenty years with Revelation of life in Zenana, vol. I; pg. 112.


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32. Ibid.; pg.55.
33. Rosie Llewellyn Jones-‘Lucknow, city of illusion’; pg.56.
34. Ibid.; pg.61.
37. Ursula Low-‘Fifty Years with John Company’; pg.466.
38. Ibid.; pg.467.
39. S.M. Naqvi-‘The European Painters of Awadh’ (Paper presented in a Seminar at Lucknow in 1983; pg.118.
41. Knighton, William-‘Private Life of an Eastern King’; pg.15.
42. Ibid.; pg.18.
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44. Ibid.; pg.119.
45. Knighton, William-‘Private Life of an Eastern King’; pg.18.
46. Mildred and W.G. Archer-‘Indian Paintings for the British (1770-1880); pg.58.
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49. J.P. Losty-‘Towards A New Naturalism, Portraiture in Murshidabad and Awadh, 1750-80’, in After the great Mughals; pg. 118.

50. Ibid.; pg. 120.


52. Ibid.; pg. 185.


54. John Guy and Deborah Swallow; pg. 184.

55. Ibid.; pg. 182.

56. S.M. Naqvi-‘The European Painters of Awadh’ (Paper presented in a Seminar at Lucknow in 1983; pg. 121.

57. Emily Eden-‘Up the Country’, vol. I; pg. 387.

58. Ibid.; pg. 388.

59. Knighton, William-‘Private Life of an Eastern King’; pg. 16.

60. Ibid; pg. 17.


62. S.M. Naqvi-‘The European Painters of Awadh’ (Paper presented in a Seminar at Lucknow in 1983; pg. 125.

63. Two of these pictures are in the Royal Engineers Officers' Mess at Chatham, Kent. They were presented to the Mess by Sir Colin Campbell who led the recapture of Lucknow in 1858.

64. The exquisite Padshahnama, the album recording the life of the Mughal Emperor Shah Jahan, had been purchased by Wajid Ali Shah's great-great-uncle, Asaf-ud-daula. It was probably among albums looted from
the Delhi palace by the Rohilla chief Ghulam Kadir Khan, and sold to the Nawab. It was generously given to Sir John Shore in 1799, who presented it to George III.

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72. Ibid.; pg.11f.
73. Ahwal-i-Salatin-i-Mutakhirin, Patna: Khuda Baksh Oriental Public Library.
74. Ibid.; pg.34.
75. Akhbar-i-Deorhi, Muhammad Ali Shah, Lucknow: Lucknow University Library.
78. Ali, Abbas, ‘Tawarikh ma TasawioRajagan wa Ta’alluqdam-i-Awadh; pg.34.

79. George Duncan Beechey was the son of Sir William Beechey, portrait painter to George III and Queen Charlotte. He was appointed official portrait painter to the Awadh court in 1835 and remained there for the rest of his life. The majority of his paintings were lost at sea in 1851.


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113. Majmua-i-Khutut, Persian MS10915; Regional Archives, Allahabad; pg.27.
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Chapter 3

Development of Painting in Awadh under imperial patronage

The period under study i.e. 1722-1856, was a momentous time in the history of Awadh, where on one side the Mughal Dynasty was falling apart and on the other, the art of painting in India was in a state of decay. To check the process of decay, central authority as well as the provincial centres also contributed a lot. While the Mughal painters endeavored to develop the means to record accurately what they perceived around them, The Awadh painters expressed in pure water colours and freely used white colour in the background; used tempera colours to show natural expressions on face with elaborate work on the border; introduced the ‘Nimqalam’ style’ on various art samples created during that age.

Among all types of fine arts, painting is widest in its reach and range of themes. These vary according to the contours of a culture or epoch and the purposes of the artist. All new movement in painting is the result of the exploitation of possibilities of the use of formal patterns and colours in adaptation to human emotions and sentiments hitherto unrevealed.

As far as the ‘Forms of Painting’ are concerned, the Awadh Paintings can be divided into four sections-

(i) Portraiture,
(ii) Miniature,
(iii) Calligraphy, and
(iv) Raga Mala and Raga-Ragini.

The art of Portraiture was popular in India from very remote times. It is related that during the lifetime of the Buddha, when
Ajatshatru desired a portrait of the Master, he allowed his shadow to fall on a
piece of cloth, and then this shape was filled in with colour.\(^4\) The art of
portraiture speedily developed under the Mughals towards the end of the
sixteenth century. For it is stated in the ‘Ain-i-Akbari’ that ‘His Majesty himself
sat for his likeness, and also ordered to have likenesses taken of all the grandees
of the realm. An immense album was thus formed: those that have passed away
have received a new life, and those who are still alive have immortality
promised them’.\(^5\)

The Portraiture of Awadh since 1775 explains in detail about the natural development from the late Mughal style under Muhammad Shah but without any obvious extraneous European influence,\(^6\) use of vibrant and cool colours depicting richness of the culture as far as then society is concerned, use of tempera technique, as far as fading Mughal art is concerned, it denote the revival of Mughal art, use of gold powder, a sign of economic development and prosperity in brief, the Awadh style of painting showcase all aspects of administration prevalent during Nawab's rule.\(^7\) The Nawabs showed interest in Portraiture, initially, it was confined to the people of the royal families but later on, portraits of common people even of dacoits, thugs courtesans and fakirs were made.

The art of Portraiture- development under the Nawabs can be divided into-

a) **North Mughal Style Portraits**

b) **Portraits influenced by European Style or Mixed Style.**

c) **Portraits in pure European style.**

In the first category of the North Mughal style, the portraits were painted in conventional style where the figures are shown generally in standing position or position of the legs are shown in one direction only. The late Mughal style at Awadh has been the subject of considerable
scholarly interest. The peculiar features of the Late Mughal style Portraiture are:-

a) The figures are in standing position and the positions of the legs are shown in one direction only.

b) A Halo around the face of the Nawab determines the ultimate importance to be given to a King.

c) Use of gem-encrusted decanters, flowerbeds with twists and curls and elaborate work on carpets and bedspreads.

d) Use of opaque or tempera colours.

e) Use of curtain, sky, door to give an effect of open backdrop.

f) Face is in ‘three – quarter’ and in profile.

In [Figure 053], Nawab Shuja-ud-daula is in standing position, whereas the face is in frontal position and both the legs are towards right side, giving a definite picture of a conceptual portrait not a retested portrait. The background is not an afterthought. The background is of a war scene, where he is shown imposingly over other two who are shown dressed up as nobles while each fold on his Tartar dress, is realistically painted by Mihr Chand (copy of an original painting by Tilly Kettle) 8 The gaps are filled up by a wash of bright colours while each character's expressions are different to each other - a peculiar style of Lucknow portraiture.

Stiff and formal though the portraits of the Nawabs at first sight may seem to be, the delicate drawing and subtle modelling of the likeness is there in its perfection, and by means of these qualities, we realize the character and soul of the original actually look into the heart of the man himself.9 The artists tried his deeds, and marked the character great or petty, kind or cruel, generous or miserly, true or false, strong or vacillating - these qualities reveal
themselves, touch by touch, through the fine brush, dexterous hand and observant eye of this brilliant character delineator.\textsuperscript{10}

Although portraiture was a special feature of the paintings of the Nawabi era in Lucknow, it was also an art of considerable popularity in provincial towns. Members of the royal line are almost always distinguished by a golden halo, besides other insignia of their high degree.\textsuperscript{11}

In [Figure 112] of Nawab Sa’adat Khan the background is dull but realistic where the Nawab is shown in profile, all the jewels and ornaments still bore the shine even the wrinkles on the silk or shamed cloth worn by Nawab himself. Gentle expressions on face along with light use of brown shades to give an elderly look fascinate the observer. \textsuperscript{12}

[Figure 116] A halo is around his face determines the ultimate importance to be given to a king, is a peculiar feature of North Mughal style which was started during the reign of Jehangir. Another portrait of Nawab King Muhammad Shah [Figure 116] the plumed and jewelled head dress, and the pearls and precious stones around the neck, acted as a foil to the delicate painting of the face, with the halo not in golden colour but copper brown shaded, which give a dull finish. The figure is in almost complete profile. The portrait looks a lifeless work but elaborate description of royalty through dress and ornamentation is extraordinary.\textsuperscript{13}

In [Figure 152], Nawab Shuja-ud-daula is shown with his sons. It is not unusual for pictures to have been painted displaying two or three succeeding emperors of the dynasty seated together, and similar situations not historically correct, but as a rule the artist confined himself to a representation of a single figure standing on a brown floor, with a background of blended colours with ornamented pillars in the centre, the rich brocades and use of gold which formed the usual costume of the Awadh aristocracy, presented the artist with excellent opportunities for brilliant scenes of mosaic colouring, and he

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further heightened his glowing effects by picking out the accessories with burnished gold.\textsuperscript{14}

The peculiar feature of Awadh style of portraiture was the individual explanation of emotions, as shown on each face, depicted on the picture. Main figure -Nawab Shuja-ud-daula in an authoritative pose whereas his sons show norms of courtesy and elegance combined with leisure, gives a natural outlook.

[Figure 052] of Begum Sikandar Mahal beautifully designed square shaped black and white marble mosaic system is painted. Dark green curtain at the backdrop with a golden lace connecting from North to North East once the curtain has detailing on it in gold colour. Begum is dressed up in brocade green and white dress bordered with red and golden embroidery work.\textsuperscript{15} Ornaments look real even the facial expression are soft and looks natural. All the folds, curves that could naturally occur on a dress could be seen clearly in this picture.\textsuperscript{16}

[Figure 051] gives a better picture of an example of portraiture in Awadh style, where a complete picturesque form of portrait painting is done, whether its bright coloured dress with frills, golden bordered all over or stylish huqqah pipe the delicately holds in her hand, gentle, calm but natural expressions on her face and in the backdrop door green textured one, with curtain hanging up.\textsuperscript{17}Open sky towards left with clouds blue and white, trees of all shapes and sizes with a mosaic floor, makes a picture perfect in all aspect. The only aspect of painting the portraiture is the effect of light, otherwise its a masterpiece of Awadh style of painting. Asceticism cannot be taken as a purely religious subject, but should be understood as a metaphor for romantic disappointment or the guest for an ideal lover. Mir Kalan Khan a famous painter shifted from Delhi to Lucknow painted a 'Yogini', [Figure 119,156] who is listening music in a forest at night.\textsuperscript{18} The subdued lighting, the quiet poses of the figures and the overall stylistic restraint suggest that the Muslim artist was aware of a serious aspect to his subject, but he has not over dramatized his
theme. Done in water colours and gold on paper, painting is set into a narrow gold border with floral scroll, margins painted with flowers on a silver ground, dated AH1210 (A.D. 1795-6).  

The peculiar features of Awadh painting whether its portraiture or miniature, bright colour are used for dresses, white tempera colours are used for facial features though dull but natural. [Figure 122]

[Figure 113], two portraits, one of Nawab Asaf-ud-daula and the other of Nawab Safdar Jung—the portraits are painted against a flat background of very dark and light brown shaded, evidently the work of an artist of some originality. No light and shade, or cast shadows, as ordinarily understood, are observable, only a delicate toeing modeling is introduced to bring out the relief. The picture relies on its rich colouring, sympathetic outline drawing and decorative treatment for its artistic effect.  

Use of opaque or tempera colours was the general scheme in which these portraits were conceived. [Figure 157] Technically the actual painting of the face and head is a marvel of fineness and finish, but the amount of character that the artist has put into the likeness of his subject is only excelled in the medals of Pisanello.  

In the [Figure 117,,061,009] is shown seated, all three things in the backdrop i.e. the curtain, open, sky, door are distinct features in typical north Mughal style and later incorporated by the local painters of Awadh in the 18th century. Use of tempera colours for facial expressions dominated by the use of white colours, face is in profile proves fact that while the Mughals inherited the love of Portraiture from their Mongol ancestors, it cannot be said that it was quite the same instinct which prompted both people to like the same thing.  

This is shown in not only the numerous individual likenesses of the Awadh Nawabs but in those, frequent representation of court scenes and ceremonies in which they are the central figures, elevated above all others.
The hills shown in portraits [Figure 045], were small, rocky and very bare of wood – which are chiefly of a light grey tint on a dark ground with patches of dark green. Rocks of all forms and sizes, tinted as one could wish shade very rich foregrounds.  

If we compare technique used by the painters of the pure Mughal style and an Awadh artist, the Awadh face is slightly different from the Mughal. The nose is bigger, with an outward thrust, and the features more clearly defined. The head is larger, with a thick growth of hair falling unfettered down the back. As the whole emphasis of life in Awadh, was on etiquette and formality, extreme norms of courtesy and elegance, combined with unlimited leisure, led to the evolution of an art that was replete with nuances. While retaining the basic Mughal style, the Awadh school developed a lavish style of its own, for there was a tremendous emphasis on decoration. Decanters are gem-encrusted; the spikes on the rails guarding flowerbeds have graceful twists and curls, and even the edges of the flowerbeds are decorated with spraying stems and flowers. Carpets are gorgeous, even with scenes of hunting, and beds covered with magnificent bedspreads are placed under canopies.

[Figure 009] shows the Nawab king along with a noble. The delicate touch given to the position of the hands, as well as the great character that lies in the figures and using this knowledge with rotable effect in his artistic production, proves excellent handling of art. The Nawab is shown holding one base of the seat, was a means of showing the stand character of the hand who wanted to use and show his authority over others. The face is in three quarter whereas the eyes are facing towards the painter. Beautiful mosaic on the floor, with railing at the backdrop and curtains plates in shaded green colour and open sky towards left side complete the north Mughal style outlook. Detailing on dress and hands is of utmost importance.

The painter has fully exploited his skills in preparing this artifact. Ornament are highlighted on skin whereas the colour of the outfit is dull mainly
in tempera colour scheme, face is in one quarter, where detailing is done on facial features well as expression too. \(^{28}\) Floral motifs are painted on ghaghra which are matching to its basic colour scheme.

Figure 062 of a bird sitting on a stand, somewhere in a deserted land the painter has shown great craftsman ship in showing sky (well blended with blue and white colour, mountain but all in white shades), nearby the stand is green pigment that is indicating greenary rest all shaded white with a tinch of brown. Wings, legs of the bird are painted very well as per the style firstly adopted by Jehangir.

All condition were favourable for the development of this art of portraiture in Awadh as the atmosphere was a supremely personal one, and every individual was eager for some form of immortality, historical or pictorial. \(^{29}\) It was an age of materialism, and portraiture seemed to be one of the means of satisfying an obvious craving for the realities of life, for there is nothing, illusory in a likeness - it is a definite and concrete facts of the person's.

(ii) **Mixed style (Influence of Europeans on Later Mughal style)**:

Though the existing Mughal style of portraiture was great and easy to imbibe by local painters but other political developments, too, were affecting the art which existed during the Nawabi era. As more and more Europeans, whether collectors or buyers of arts or the Residents of Awadh who all visited the city, most of them gave way for a change in the existing style of Portraiture. \(^{30}\)

The mixed style is a combination of Later Mughal style and an effect of European influence. The peculiar characteristics of the Later Mughal Style are discussed above so about the European style, some marked features are as follows:-

a) Use of line drawing for facial features.

b) Delicate presentation of the drapery.
c) Use of contrast colours for the foreground and the background.

Figure 014 a pencil sketch of Ganga Daccoit, is a carefully executed impression in black and white, unfinished outlines before the actual pigments have been applied. In this marvelously fine sketch, it is possible to study the accuracy of the drawing the breadth and at the same time, the minuteness of the modeling, a the high quality of the artist's handiwork generally.

In the Figure 009 Nawab is shown along with a noble on a golden bordered paper where the central character is in conventional and decorative form i.e. the head gear and the 'angrakha' with brocade work is beautifully painted, the legs are in two position right leg towards right, left in front. The background is in plain blue colour blending into a combination of white copper coloured sky at the lower border. The Nawab has kept his left hand on the table where whether a flower vase or 'chilman' is kept is not clearly visible. The dresses, including the head gear, effectively denote the position of the figure in the court. The simplicity of the background contrasting with the richness of the costume and figure is evidently the artist's main idea.

The local painters of Awadh were master of their craft. Their pictures were a model of fineness and finish, and in the amount of character, that they exhibit, have not often been excelled. Paintings drawn by Mir Kalan Khan of- European Ladies, in a typical Awadh style, is quite popular. In this, one European lady is shown inside a sphere. Eyes are painted focussing towards right side. Third lady is standing towards left side. Though the line drawing for facial features are European but drawn in Awadh style. The architecture, walls of the palace in the back ground, trees and sky are painted in typical North Mughal style only.
Local artists including Mir Kalan Khan and Mihr Chand etc selected a variety of elements directly from European works. [Figure 022] These motifs included goddesses, princesses, fleets of ships, and European landscapes which he combined with his over fantastic motifs to create a slightly aerie world. [Figure 024] They carefully demonstrated their command of subtle colour combination.\(^{38}\) [Figure 026] The foreground of the scene was composed of hot colours skillfully selected to clash, but not to be unpleasant, these hot tones are set against an icily cool background of pale aquamarine, grey and blue. The result is bold and original. Though the scene is decorative, it also slightly dreamlike. This quality of imagination is projected in their work only when the artists are fully in command of both subject and techniques.\(^ {39} \)

Figure 004 showcase a female courtesan who is holding huqqa-pipe in her right hand while left hand is on her lap. Bushes, trees could be seen in the backdrop originating from the railing where a symmetrical floor design is painted. River, plain area along with distant hills covered with show open sky, presents a beautiful backdrop.\(^ {40} \)

In the year 1810 A.D. a portrait of Mirja Kasim, which is a good example of mixed style (i.e. combination of existing Mughal style and inspired by the European techniques).\(^ {41} \) Mirza [Figure 003] Saheb is seated on a chair, face is in two quarto and holding a pipe of huqqah in his right hand. Expression on his face, lines on the forehead are clearly drawn. Even the nails of the fingers are clearly visible. The shading effects on face and neck is inspired from the European style. Folds of the curtain in the backdrop is also peculier feature of the European style but hand movement, dress, position of legs towards right side are indicative of the North Mughal style of portraiture.\(^ {42} \)

[Figure 114] Nawab Asaf-ud-daula is in seated posture, face is in two quarter. The backdrop is properly arranged by using complete sense of light and thereby creating a halo around the person. The depiction of soft expressions on face (typical North Mughal Style) along with painting the dress
in thin layers of fabric that each ensemble perfectly over other without causing any harm to the basic design was executed. Use of bright shades for head gear and bright presentation of ornaments was combined to give beautiful presentation of this form.

(iii) **European Style :-**

In the beginning the painting work in European style, was executed mainly by the European artists. In place of thin like a hair strand brush, the Europeans used broad brushes. In place of tempera or dull colours, they used bright colours and extensively used lighting and shading in their artifacts. It was the creation of three - dimensions as well as it used to give life to the picture.

[Figure 109] is of a courtesan with a huqqah, made in Lucknow, circa 1795, painted by the artist Francesco Renaldi. In 1793, He came to Lucknow to win favour of the Nawab Asaf-ud-daula. The character in her costume identifies as a Muslim. The expression artist captured is submissive and quiet but infinitely wistful. The sense of impersonality has been emphasized by the artist increasing the amount of jewellery worn and adding draperies and the lamp overhead. Two decorative boxes are placed in front of the subject and the huqqah has become for more ornamental. The painting is in perfect colours and gold powder on cream paper with some details executed in relief, lamp set with small glass cabochons imitating precious stones, the inner border with gold floral scrolls on a black ground, margin with a design of multi coloured floral scrolls is truly in European style.

Nawab Shuja-ud-daula invited British painter Tilly Kettle to Faizabad. He prepared portraits of the Nawab. [Figure 149,150,152] Joffany worked under Nawab Asaf-ud-daula, and prepared various paintings of the Nawab on various occasions. Then Mr. Robert Home, an eminent painter under Nawab king Ghazi-ud-din Haider came, whose son was
equally good. Robert Home was appointed on a salary of Rs. 1000 per month to do painting in the court of Nawab Saadat Ali Khan. George Beeche (1828 a.d.) came to Awadh and spent major portion of his life here only. By that time, his paintings, mainly oil painting in European style could be found in all the rich families.

[Figure 048] Nawab Shuja-ud-daula and his ten sons by Tilly Kettle is an example of pure European style. Dresses, the pillars in the background, presence of a chair, use of light and shade on the floor, on their face and in the backdrop, are all European in style. Various copies of this portrait was done by local artists as well as by the original creator, Tilly Kettle, which could be generalized by carefully analyzing use of light and colours used by the artist.

Not infrequently the Awadh Portraits bears, either on the picture itself or on the border. Continuing the practice of the existing style of Mughal art or a better version of the contemporary style of portraiture, Awadh artists portrayed the figures mostly in standing posture, in profile, turned towards right side. Although most of the portraits were made in profile but they used the Mughal techniques of frontal form, one quarter and even three quarter too.45

[Figure 149] A portrait of Nawab Shuja-ud-daula, is a good example of this style. The legs are turned towards one side while face and body is turned towards opposite side. Head bending towards the back, long nose and below it, lotus shaped lips and small round moustache, stretched eyebrows with expressive fish shaped eyes all these are the characteristic features of the traditional style of painting for showing male and female facial features of the Awadh style of paintings.

Out of the total available portraits of Awadh School, most are about the royal people. All portraits of the Nawabs carry a halo around their
head, either to give respect or to show them different from other royal people. Continuing the practice of the existing style of Mughal art or a better version of the contemporary style of portraiture, Awadh artists portrayed the figures mostly in standing posture, in profile, turned towards right side. Although most of the portraits were made in profile but they used the Mughal techniques of frontal form, one quarter and even three quarter too.

Decoration is an inseparable part of pictorial art and has fascinated the imagination of all artists who have used it as complementary medium. The Awadh artists achieved a remarkable degree of expertise in the utilization of design. In drawing, Awadh artist does not depend on his memory but takes the help of carefully prepared drawings of the human and animal figures, costumes, jewelry designs etc. If both sides of the design are similar, one half is accurately drawn and the other half is traced. After finishing his painting, the painter used to draw the border-lines and decorated the border with floral scrolls, etc. The painter generally used those colours which either harmonized or created a contrast to the colour scheme of the painting. The artist kept three things in his mind that is it should be firm (zordar), closely knitted (gathi hui) and balanced (jawab). Awadh artists used creepers, flower patterns wherever they wanted to highlight the picture. They used gold powder and bright colours on the ‘hashias’ as borders. [Figure 010]

We know from written accounts and interior views of the nawabi palaces that the public rooms were hung with pictures in the European style. [Figure 037] A painting of Nawab Ghazi-ud-din Haider entertaining the Earl of Moira and his wife to dinner includes pictures of race-horses decorating the walls of the dining room. The throne room of the last Nawab Wazid Ali Shah (r. 1847-56) contained pictures in a mock heroic style of cherubs with Roman shields and armour copied from, or inspired by, a European work. By the middle of the 19th century there were four great palace complexes in Lucknow, and a substantial number of kothis (large houses)
belonging to the nawabs and their numerous relatives. Providing enough paintings to hang on all these walls clearly kept a large atelier of artists and copyists busy. Poor though some of these copies are, they should not be discounted, because in some cases they represent lost originals by prominent European artists.

Portraits of certain dignitaries were made at all stages of their lives; whether it were Nawabs, nobles or the elite class as a whole, faithfully recording the tradition from childhood to youth to old age.

The second form of painting in Awadh was **Miniature Painting** - a ‘new genre of expression’. Miniature Painting characterized by dominant lyrical tenderness, delicate and refined draughtsmanship, grace, colour of extraordinary richness and purity can be compared with the art of painting of any time. Vatsyayana, who lived during the third century A.D. enumerates the ‘Sadanga’ or six limbs of painting, extracted from ancient texts. These six limbs are- *Rupa Bheda*- Knowledge of appearances, *Pramanam*- correct perception, measure and structure, *Bhava*- action of feeling of forms, *Lavanya Yojanam*- infusion of grace, artistic representation, *Sadrisyam*- similitude and *Varnikabhangi* – artistic manner of using the brush and colours.

The earliest Indian miniatures to survive were painted on palm leaf in Eastern India. During the period 770-1126 A.D., Bihar and Bengal were ruled by Pala Dynasty. Dhiman and his son Bitpalo, hailing from Varendra (West Bengal), produced many works in paintings which resembled those of the Nagas. The subject of pala Miniatures is Mahayana Buddhist deities depicted in small size on the palm leaf manuscripts.

The western Indian style of painting flourished in Gujarat from the 11th to the 16th century covering Malwa and Rajasthan also underwent through two phases of development. The earlier manuscripts were executed on palm leaf. The composition of miniature paintings on palm leaf generally depicted a
single deity with figures of donors against a purple, red or blue background with yellow, white and green colours.\textsuperscript{53} The lavish use of gold and silver in writing the texts enhanced the quality of the manuscripts.

During the 15\textsuperscript{th} century, the Persian style started influencing the western style of painting. It’s evident from the facial types and hunting scenes appearing on the borders of some of the illustrated manuscripts of the Kalpasutra.

A style of painting which evolved as a result of happy synthesis of the indigenous Indian style of painting and the Safavid school of Persian painting under the Mughal emperors came to be known as Mughal Style. Under the unsympathetic rule of Aurangzeb, who was a puritan, it suffered a setback and it steadily declined under the Later Mughal.\textsuperscript{54} However, it lingered on as a decadent art under the Nawabs of Awadh until the end of the 18\textsuperscript{th} century and practically ceased to exist with the advent of the British rule. Artists, once active in the Mughal workshop or under the patronage of some feudal aristocracy in eastern and northern India were out to seek other lucrative employment. They migrated to the newest centres of power adapting themselves quickly to the changing patterns of patronage.

Awadh miniature, though, incorporated from Mughal miniature, a practical hard-headed individual style with a curb on its imagination. [Figure 017, 018] Mughal Miniature portray the minuteness of the treatment, the decorative composition, the extremely fine and short outline,\textsuperscript{55} the free use of gold on costumes and background and the application of “elaborately designed patterns to the garments ‘trappings’ and accessories whereas, the Awadh School of paintings, however, has their own characteristics of presentation. [Figure 076]

Lucknow Museum alone possesses about 185 specimens’ works of both European and Indian painters. Of these, 7 are oil paintings on
tiger skins and the remaining 171 are miniatures on paper. 100 are coloured and the remaining 71 are pencil sketches (State Museum, Lucknow Accession No. 60-58/1-28) are works of the Indian artists. Gentil’s Albums are presently preserved at Bibliotheque Nationale in Paris, Richard Johnson’s in the British Library in London and Antoine- Louis Polier’s in the Islamisches Museum and the Museum fur Indische Kunst, Berlin.; in which a number of local artists contributed with their artistic creations. A magnificent set of natural history drawings or illustrating the manners and customs of the people of Awadh or the fascinating account of life at the court of a Nawab or picturisation of the Ganga-Jamuni Tehzeeeb through the religious life of the people of Awadh, all preserved in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London( nos. 86-98) The subjects are- a group of the seven sons of Shuja-ud-daula painted by Tilly Kettle and later on by Mihir Chand [Figure 048, 078]; Nawab Shuja-ud-daula- in tartar dress holding a bow; two attendants and an elephant in the background by Mihir Chand. [Figure 053] The Gentil Album: fifty-eight pages of drawings bound into a worn leather cover; painted by Nevasi Lal and Mohan Singh; fourteen drawings of various occupations like potters brass-workers, carpenter, basket maker, beggar a musician with crymbals [Figure 088,089] and so on.

**Miniatures**, done in two styles, both beginning at the outset of Nawab Shuja- ud- daula’s reign, continue the Indian miniature tradition.

(i) The style generally known as the ‘Later Provincial Mughal School of Lucknow’.

(ii) 18th Century Orientalism in miniature (confluence of the Mughal and European trends).

The Awadh artists whether local painters or those who migrated from Delhi, while working on illustrations, had to conform with the texts. Though,
objectivity was the basis, but variety of themes like the elaborations of various events, the Nawabs’ life, included a number of objects to complement his central figure. Later Provincial Mughal School of Lucknow consists of:

a) Use of tempera colours,

b) Short statured male but elongated and slim female figures,

c) Minuteness in its treatment,

d) Decorative Compositions, Fine and short lines,

e) Use of gold powder on garments.

The paintings of this school resolved themselves into various styles or qalms, all of which have distinguishing features mainly of technique. Various existing styles or qalms have distinguishing features mainly of technique. The Delhi qalm is crisp and clear in its outlines, The Jaipur qalm is soft and rounded in execution. Deccani qalm is identified by their small character, both in actual size and also in treatment. The Patna qalm is good in drawing but hard in its general effect. A Kashmir qalm is occasionally alluded to. The Rumi or European qalm- they were either executed either by royal command or were prepared to the order of the Jesuit priests in their work of continuing the spread of Christianity. Lucknow qalm treatment being less opaque, in fact, not infrequently the actual figures are painted in almost pure water colours, although white, as a ‘body’, is used more freely in the background.
The most revealing discovery which enables us in recognizing the Awadh School of Paintings as an independent style is the mention of seven artists, all of whom were Indians. These were Gajraj Singh, Asaf Ali Khan, Ghulam Mustafa, Mohammad Masud, Mohammad Wazir, Hasan Ali and Jahan Ali Khan.\[^60\] Provincial Mughal School of Painting at Awadh dominated the scene during the periods of Nawab Wazir Saadat Khan and Nawab Wazir Safdar Jang. Awadh miniature, though, incorporated from Mughal miniature, a practical hard-headed individual style with a curb on its imagination. \[^60\] Mughal Miniature portray the minuteness of the treatment, the decorative composition, the extremely fine and short outline, the free use of gold on costumes and background and the application of “elaborately designed patterns to the garments ‘trappings’ and accessories,”\[^61\] whereas, the Awadh School of paintings, however, has their own characteristics of presentation.\[^61\] An atmosphere of religious harmony was a favourite subject, eg. the album which shows the last King of Awadh Wajid Ali Shah witnessing the Ras-leela in standing attitude, probably respecting the feelings of his Hindu subjects.\[^62\] Other aspect of miniature paintings, drawn in Lucknow was that, the life has been shown happy and gay despite the odd situation and losing power game.\[^019,020\] The scenes of music, recreation and procession confirm this observation.

The Awadh miniature is distinguished from any other style of Indian painting by one feature which at once proclaims its uses of tempera colours; not portraying artificiality in painting court scenes, depicting natural emotions and court life rather than showing a large gathering of court people in the paintings of the Mughal style.\[^63\]
ii) 18th Century Orientalism in miniature (confluence of the Mughal and European trends):

The rule of King Nasir-ud-din Haider marked the confluence of the Mughal and European trends. The period of the Nawab Asaf-ud-daula to Nawab Amjad Ali Shah saw the ascendency of European trend but in the reign of Wazid Ali Shah, the indigenous style was considerably revived 64 i.e. use of dull colours, short statured male but elongated delicate and slim female figure, mostly based on scenes obtained from day to day life that involved commoners too.

[Figure 012,014] A lot of paintings which are preserved at Victoria and Albert Museum, London, showcased a number of artisans, attendants even dacoit too which proves that they refused to be a part of the existing Mughal School which only talks about grandeur or pure European style, which lacked delicate details and most importantly replacing use of water colours in tempera to oil colours. 65

With the decline of patronage at Delhi, Mughal artists had moved to Faizabad and later to Lucknow, and a school of painting had arisen which was marked by feverish brilliance, a fitting expresson of Awadh society under Nawab Shuja-ud-daula (1753-75) and Nawab Asaf-ud-daula (1775-97).

Many musical portrayal of miniature in nature with a semi-erotic flavour were made at this time. The artists were well patronized and felt confident in the traditional character of their work. 66 The patronage to the artist is evident from the fact that they were depicting the life of a ruler who was not only a great patron of art but was himself an artist, poet, writer, musician and actor. [Figure 021,138]

It’s true that under both Nawabs- Nawab Shuja-ud-daula and Nawab Asaf-ud-daula, local artists’ paintings in the traditional style, had been patronized and among the Europeans, a few exceptional individuals were
keenly interested in their work. Richard Johnson (Assistant Resident, 1780-4) Gore Ouseley (A.D.C. to the Nawab, 1793-1805) and Colonel John Baille (Resident, 1807-13) Colonel Gentil, a French military adventurer who lived at Faizabad from 1763-1775 became French resident there, was few exceptional individuals who made important collections of Awadh paintings. Colonel Polier, who worked for King Nasir-ud-din Haider from 1774 to 1775, remained in Lucknow to collect manuscripts and paintings. [Figure 058,060]

Few European painters who too contributed to start the late 18th century Orientalism were John Zoffany, Ozias Humphery, a renowned British painter of miniature portraits, who trained Indian artists in miniature painting on ivory from 1878-1879. William Daniels and Thomas Daniels who painted landscapes of Faizabad and Lucknow. [Figure 126,127,153] Robert Home, George Place and Thomas Longcraft were patronized by King Ghazi-ud-din Haider and King Nasir-ud-din Haider. [Figure 125,155]

Among the prominent Indian painters during the later Nawabi period were Thakur Dass, Mirza Ghulam Hussain who were actively involved in painting during the reign of King Ghazi-ud-din Haider and Muhammad Ali Shah repectively. Durga Prasad’s painting of a majlis of Mir Anis was painted during Amjad Ali Shah. Nawab Kazim Ali, a descendant of Nawab Shuja-ud-daula, who died when Wazid Ali Shah was the king, was himself an accomplished painter and an expert in making sketches of animals. [Figure 001,011]

Few important Indian artists who were even employed by Europeans were Mir Kalan Khan, who came to Awadh in the time of Nawab Shuja-ud-daula and Nawab Asaf-ud-daula. He made few paintings on some aspects of Nawab Safdar Jang’s romantic life at Faizabad, which is presently preserved at Baroda State Picture Gallery. Mir Kalan Khan’s style is one of the most distinctive that can be associated with Awadh. [Figure 022] The serenity
characteristic of an early date is replaced by a mannerist, often macabre atmosphere in many of his works. Judging from the number of surviving works of Mir Kalan Khan, the famous one-‘Festival of Holi’, it appears that such themes allowed the artist to build a personal reputation in Lucknow, whereas previously, painters had been known only to their particular patrons.\textsuperscript{73} Mir Kalan Khan demonstrated his command of subtle colour combinations. The foreground of the scenes in the painting, is composed of hot colours skillfully selected to clash, but not to be unpleasant; these hot tones are set against an icily cool background of pale aquamarine, grey and blue. The result is bold and original. Though the scene is decorative, it is also slightly dreamlike. This quality of imagination is projected when the artist is fully in command of both subject and technique.\textsuperscript{74}

Nevasi Lal was employed by French National Colonel Jean Baptise Joseph Gentil, when he was at Faizabad during the reign of Nawab Shuja-ud-daula (1763-1775) to illustrate some manuscripts.\textsuperscript{[Figure 128,129]} An European painter Tilly Kettle was invited to Awadh in 1771 to execute six portraits of Nawab Shuja-ud-daula. He also trained local artists including Mihir Chand and Rai Fateh Chand, who did a painting together depicting scene of Gajendra Moksha.\textsuperscript{75} [Figure 120,122] Other painters of the early nawabi period were Bahadur Singh, Raja Anand Dev, Pathak Chand, Raja Dhruv Dev and Ram Sahai, Mul Chand, Miskin, Uttam Chand, Mohammad Afzal, Jagannath, Govind Singh, Ghulam Raza and Sital Das.\textsuperscript{76} [Figure 068,038,039]

Nawab King Wazid Ali Shah patronized painters like Kanshi Ram and Musauruddaulah in turn they accompanied Wazid Ali Shah to Matiaburj too.\textsuperscript{77}

Miniature paintings in Lucknow reflects both a new openness and a confusion of identity. During this period miniaturists were encouraging a bewildering array of influences. So many of Mughal Emperor
Muhammad Shah’s painters moved from Delhi to Awadh that there was some continuity of style until around 1760.\textsuperscript{78}

Though miniature paintings in India depict a variety of themes, from Gods and kings to important episodes in the lives of men. Scenes of valor and heroism, worship and devotion, lover’s tryst and partings, the holding of courts and the building of cities, all provided grist to the painter’s mill.\textsuperscript{79} Following the rich tradition of the Mughal line of the miniature and thereby maintaining its own identity by differentiating a bit from Mughal style. The Awadh miniature is distinguished from any other style of Indian painting by one feature which at once proclaims its uses of tempera colours; not portraying artificiality in painting court scenes, depicting natural emotions and court life rather than showing a large gathering of court people in the paintings of the Mughal style.\textsuperscript{80}

It’s therefore, clear that there existed an Awadh School Of Painting which was, no doubt, a provincial form of Mughal School of painting but gradually acquired a prominent place in the cultural history of India which no other province gained.\textsuperscript{81} Alas! The cultural legacy of painting which was well appreciated even by the Europeans too, is slowly figuring away from the painting books highlighting the method and techniques or forms of the Indian Painting published in India. One major reason might be that the collection is mostly in the hands of the private collectors (Europeans) or museums outside India. The new cultural structures now being built are not in harmony with its glorious heritage. The present day Awadh in particularly Lucknow is like an old bottle which contains sediments of old wine most of which has disappeared. So before everything crumbles down and loses its identity, we should make efforts to preserve the rich cultural legacy of Awadh.

Third form of art, which is quite evident in old manuscripts and buildings of the Nawabi era in Awadh, is \textbf{Calligraphy}: To understand the art of
calligraphy, brief history of this art is appropriate because it was a result of cultural assimilation what we call as Indo- Persian Style in the form of writing.

The history of Indian writing goes back to the prehistoric times. But the earliest form of writing, which has been properly deciphered, studied and interpreted, is the script of the Mauryan period, popularly known as Brahmi. During the same period, in the north-west, there developed a script from the Iranian Aramaic to suit the Indian languages, the Kharoshti. The Islamic calligraphy flourished through Arabic Persian scripts of the medieval period, and these both the scripts became one of the visible links of Islam that can be seen throughout the Islamic world.

Calligraphy and penmanship are connected with learning. The old muslim script was the ancient Arabic Naksh. During the late 7h century A.D., the tendency of writing and to preserve the Koranic verses and Hadith was very much popular among the muslims. [Figure 139] At an early date calligraphy became more than a mechanical literary record, it became literary record, it became a visual art of the higher order. The Arabs, who had never expressed themselves artistically through pictorial representation, found an outlet for their artistic genius in calligraphy.

Calligraphy, the greatest artistic achievement of Islamic culture was used both religiously and artistically on the buildings, especially in mosques, tombs, epitaphs, to the final exclusion of pictorial representation. The Arabs, received the tradition of calligraphical art from the ancients. Syrians were the first to initiate the muslims into the art of moulding words into graceful forms, it was the Manichaen tradition, that spurred it on the artistic heights.

Its beauty is ornamentation and among its decorative scheme, calligraphy has claimed their best attention. In calligraphy the lines has to be so supple and round in form and graceful in movement that
they must give an impression of being alive to the eyes. Lines must move with grace and rhythm, while each of the curves and strokes keeps its balance in perfect poise. 88

The history of Indian writing goes back to the prehistoric times. But the earliest form of writing, which has been properly deciphered, studied and interpreted, is the script of the Mauryan period, popularly known as Brahmi. 89 During the same period in the north-west, there developed a script from the Iranian Aramaic to suit the Indian languages, the Kharoshti. [Figure 142] The Islamic Calligraphy flourished through Arabic Persian scripts of the Medieval period, and these both the scripts became one of the visible links of Islam that can be seen throughout the Islamic world. 90

The decline of Mughal rule in India in the 18th century proved a boon for the Nawabs of Awadh and provided them with a unique opportunity to establish themselves as the prime connoisseurs of the three 'a's viz. art, academics and architecture in north India. 91 [Figure 156] A large member of artists and artisans, scribes and calligraphers migrated to their capital, initially at Faizabad and later when it shifted to Lucknow, permanently in 1775. 92

If we find in detail about the inflow of all the cultural aspects then it is clear that apart from the creation and development of the main forms of arts whether it's painting, music, dance or architecture one could be seen everywhere and that is the art of writing calligraphy. It could be seen on building, written texts, paintings and in the literature produced under the Nawabs of Awadh.

Calligraphy and penmanship are connected with learning. The old Muslim script was the ancient Arabic Naksh. 93 During the late 7th century A.D., the tendency of writing and to preserve the Koranic verses and Hadith was very much popular among the Muslims. 94 [Figure 008]
At an early date, calligraphy became more than a mechanical literary record, it became a visual art of the higher order. The Arabs, who had never expressed themselves artistically through pictorial representation, found an outlet for their artistic genius in calligraphy.\(^{95}\)

A new culture, an improvement upon the one created earlier at Delhi came into existence which was an extension of the philosophy of Hafij and Khayyam from Nishapur (Iran) intermingled with that of Tulsi, Kabir and Jaisi of Awadh.\(^{96}\) It promoted mutual respect and tolerance for peaceful coexistence. The Nawabs and Lucknow who are synonymous are fondly remembered today for their exquisite culture and courtesy. Calligraphy the greatest artistic achievement of Islamic culture, was used both religiously and artistically on the buildings, specially mosques, tombs, epitaphs, to the final exclusion of pictorial representation.\(^{97}\) The Arabs received the tradition of Calligraphically art from the ancients. Syrians were the first to initiate the Muslims into the art of moulding words into graceful forms; it was the Manichaeans tradition that spurred it on the artistic heights.

Calligraphy, the art of decorative writing was highly esteemed during the Nawabs’ period and actually ranked before painting, sculpture and architecture. This extraordinary appreciation of a minor art was undoubtedly engendered by the Muhammadan Law, which prohibited the representation of living things in art.\(^{98}\) ""The artistic spirit craved for satisfaction and found it in Calligraphy." According to Abul Fazl,\(^{99}\) the following calligraphical systems were used in Iran (Persia), Turan (Turkistan), India and Turkey towards the end of the 16th century.

1. The *suls* and 2. the *naska*, both consisting of one third curved lines and 2/3rd straight lines
2. The *taugi* and 4. the *riga*, both containing 3/4th curved lines,
3. The *Muhaqqaq* and 6. the *raither*, both containing one fourth curved lines,
5. The *taliq*, a composite script, formal from the *taugi* and the *riga*,
containing only a few straight lines, and (8) the nastaliq,\textsuperscript{100} composed entirely of curved lines. [Figure 139]

Numbers 1, 3 and 5 were characterised by thick, heavy letters obtained with a pen full of ink, and, conversely 2, 4 and 6 by thin, light letters. Number 8, the nastaliq or the round Persian character, was the one favoured and practiced by the writers in Awadh towards the end of the 18th century.\textsuperscript{101}

It's beauty is ornamentation and among its decorative scheme, calligraphy has claimed their best attention. In Calligraphy, the lines have to be so supple and round in form and graceful in movement that they must give the impression of being alive to the eyes.\textsuperscript{102} Lines must move with grace and rhythm, while each of the curves and strokes keeps its balance in perfect poise. "Chinese and Persian script are based on a much more free and flowing rhythm is of great importance since it enables the painters and decorative artists to combine calligraphy with pictorial forms in a single work of art.\textsuperscript{103}

It was not however until the Mughal period that the art of Calligraphy attained the highest development in India. But, with the downfall of the Mughal rule, the patronage of the Nawabs of Awadh induced many Iranian Calligraphers to immigrate to India and under the influence of their foreign masters, local men also were slow to make themselves accomplished in it. Specimens of the writings of many Awadh Calligraphists can be compared in excellence and beauty of style with the works of Iranian experts. Munshi Shams 'ud'-din, a famous Calligraphist puts his period as before that of Tamarlane.\textsuperscript{104} A large number of Nastaliq calligraphists sprang up in every district and province of India. The nephew of Mir Amad at Hasani, famous as a master of Nastaliq in Persia, Agha Abdur Rashid of Deylam came to India at the time of Nadir Shah's invasion. He had hundreds of pupils, who are called the Noahs of Calligraphy in India. Three of his renowned pupils came to Lucknow
- Hafiq Nur Ullah Qazi, Nemat Ullah and Abdullah Beg, came at the time of Nawab Asaf-ud-daula. Qazi Nemat Ullah was appointed to improve the princes hand writing and Hafij Nur Ullah was attached to the court of Awadh.

**[Figure 008]**

Few important characters of the Arabic or Persian Script are -

1. **Kufic** :- The Kufic or the angular variety of the Arabic script, can be traced to about 100 years before the foundation of the town Kufa, 638 A.D. (A.H.17). Kufic is bold angular and majestic and was ideally suited for the oblong format of the early book. It is suited for monumental use and on architecture ceramics, tiles and stone. The horizontal lines are often doubled in parallel, accentuating both the horizontal format of the script and the book. Most of the Koranic verses are written in this very style. The major identity of the Kufic style which separates with other styles is the principle of different proportion in which the vertical lines stand to the oblique ones and the intervening curves and also the proportion that the breadth of the line has to its length. **[Figure 139]**

Script is like a living thing and as such through it undergoes changes as it grows and becomes more and more aged, it always has some features, peculiar to its age, which are its genuine features and people know it by its features.

For the development of Naskh style, the name of two famous Calligraphers are associated namely - Ibn - at - Maql and Ibn-al-Bawwe, painter as well as Calligraphist, of the Abbasid Caliph in Baghdad.

2. **Ghubar** :- Ghubar is simply a fine hand writing. Letters in it are so small that they appears almost at flouting dust.

3. **Shafia** :- It is a style which is derived from Nastaliq. In this style, curve are after left as half curves and prolonged to as extent that they resemble slanting strokes.
4. Hilal :- a style, in which letters are written in a way that they look as it composed of crescent moon.

5. Shikasta :- Or the broken style, in a further simplification of the Nastaliq, and is, infact a sort of short hand. Though at first sight, it looks like having been written in most careless way, yet it requires much practice. This shikasta style came into existence in courts. In it, curves turn into long flung strokes, curved naturally in the sweep of the pen.\textsuperscript{110} This style is only a variation of Nastaliq. [Figure 138]

Celebrated calligraphists, who came to Lucknow during Nawab's period were Munshi Muhammad Ali. A true indication of the appreciation accorded to any calligrapher of that time, for example Hafij Nur Ullah, was that people bought passages written by him at enormous prices. Even rough copies of his work were sold from hand to hand in the bajaars at one rupee per letter of the alphabet. Both wealthy and not so wealthy would decorate their houses with 'qatat' (four lined verses) instead of pictures.\textsuperscript{111} Society benefited because ethical quotations and sentences or verses giving moral advice were constantly before the people and there was always moral instruction in the home. [Figure 140]

Calligraphy could be seen on the pictorial art work, where it is crafted on border that adds up ornamentation part of the paintings. During the Nawabi period, the Calligraphers thought that getting involved in writing a manuscript was benefit their dignity.\textsuperscript{112}

Once Nawab Saadat Ali Khan asked Hafij Nur Ullah to write him out a copy of "gulistan", Because it was requested by Nawab himself, he agreed and asked for eighty 'gaddis' of paper, one hundred pen knives for fashioning and sharpening, many thousands bamboo quills.\textsuperscript{113} He had written out seven chapters and the eighth chapter was still to be written when he died. His son Hafij Muhammad Ibrahim completed the eighth chapter.\textsuperscript{114}
One Hindu Calligraphist, Munshi Sarab Singh had assimilated his teachers’ style i.e. Hafij Nur Ullah's, to such an extent that he was able to distribute hundreds of tablets as having been written by Hafij Nur Ullah. Even an expert Calligraphist could not till the difference inspite of the fact that distinguishing a copy from the original was in those days their speciality.  

To continue this tradition, were Hafij Said-ud-din, Munshi Najir dHamid and Munshi Abdul Majid, who were employed by the Nawabs to write royal edicts, memoranda and correspondence with the British government. 

Munshi Mansa Ram, a Kashmiri Pundit, Munshi Muhammad Hadi Ali, who had no equal in Luckow in the writings of Naskh and Tugra- scripts. Qaji Nejat Ullah, his son Maulvi Muhammad Ashraf, Maulvi Qul. Ahmad were all masters in writing Nastaliq and through them calligraphy reached perfection in Lucknow.

Later, Munshi Abdul Hai of Sandeela, his pupils Munshi Amir Ullah Taslini, his elder brother Munshi Abdul Latif, Munshi Ashraf Ali, Munshi shams ud-din and Munshi Hamid Ali become famous as writers of Nastaliq and Naskh respectively. They are both pupils of Munshi Hadi Ali, Shah Ghulam Ali, who was adept in the Naskh script, became famous and after him Maulvi Hadi Ali gained great renown as a writer of Tughra.

Mir Bandey Ali Nurtaih, whose teacher was Nawab Ahmad Ali, a distinguished Master of Naskh, hands were palsied but he could not lose control.

The third king of Awadh, Nawab king Muhammad Ali Shah (1837-47) was interested in employing calligraphers for the embellishment of an Imambara, Bahr-ul-Husnaat at Jamunia Bagh, later named Hussainabad and popularly known today as the Chhota Imambara, has beautiful Khattari
(Calligraphy) in the form of Tughra design at their very best. The exterior designs in various recognizable shapes and forms, on the front and the wings. Each one of these individual designs is a master piece in itself and adds to the purity of the beauty of this religious structure and its facade. [121 Figure 142]

Later on, five other nobles of his period, his son Amjad Ali Shah and grandson Nawab Wajid Ali Shah built Kabalas with the hujra (main domed structure), masjid (mosque), ghulam gardish (boundary with attendants rooms) of gateway, having inscriptions from the Holy Quran in the Naskh script, is of a high standard and is at par excellence. [122 Figure 143]

Few manuscripts of the Nawabs' period are on display at the state Museum, Lucknow, one - a coloured piece in frame is a top portion of a forman of a king of Awadh.[Figure 143] Nearby is a collection of Fatwas or religions decrease in Persian, which deal with khamis or religious taxes applicable on the sums obtained from seven sources in accordance with Shiite' theology. [123 Figure 143]

Another manuscript is Ausaf-ul-Asif in persian throwing light on the life and woks done by Nawab Asaf-ud-daula. A unique manuscript is the urdu translation of Shrimad Bhagwat. [124 Figure 141]

A manuscript which is a persian translation of an important treaty signed between Nawab Sa'adat Ali Khan and governor general John Shore, an important treaty, which is considered as a turning point in the history of Awadh. [Figure 144]

The art of calligraphy made great strides during the nawabi period. Besides Hafij Nur Ullah and Hafij Ibrahim, Mohammad Abbas, Surab Sukhlal, Mir Uns and Mir Ishq became distinguished names in this art. The qatat and marsiyas written in their handwriting in nastatiq form, attained popularity and eminence throughout India. Niyamat Ullah's two disciples, Mohammad Ashraf and Qul Ahmad were also prominent calligraphists. [125 Figure 144]
Apart from these groups of Khattats, Munshi Kalika Prasad Naheef and Munshi Kalika Prasad were also well known. Naheef was Mir Munshi of Nawab Saadat Ali Khan. Prominent Khattats of Nawab Wajid Ali Shah's period were Jawahar Raqam Khan, Yaqut Raqam Khan, Gauhar Raqam Khan and Munshi Abdul Hai. Among the amateur Calligraphists were Nawab Saadat Ali Khan, Nawab Wajir Ali and Malka Jahan, a begum of Mohammad Ali Shah. \[127\]

The eminent calligraphists of that era could perform such marvels as writing on seeds of musk melon, grain of rice and dal of gram. Maulvi Mohammad Rasheed Fatehpuri was known for writing the complete sura of "quiloallah" with "bismillah" on a dal fo gram. Munshi ghulam murtaja was so deft with his pen that he wrote a book of 20 volumes in one night. \[128\]

Because of litho printing, a member of katibs are still found in Lucknow. But they do not compare with the calligraphists of the nawabi era. Contrary to the classical Mughal art tradition wherein the calligraphist was as much part of the royal atelier as the painter and worked collectively with him, during the 18\(^{th}\) and 19\(^{th}\) centuries, production of calligraphic details and hashias became rare. The art of the illustrated manuscript also vanished. The art of calligraphy flourished for decorative purposes and writing. \[129\]

However, mural calligraphy was quite in vogue. In Lucknow, almost every building of religious significance such as the Imambara, mosque, Karbala are freely adorned with calligraphic details, especially the buildings of the later period. The details are either arranged to form a part of the architectural design over the arches and under the cornices or all over the inner or outer plastering of the building. Calligraphy is used to decorate the whole façade. \[Figure 147\]

The style employed in these decorations is mostly tughra\[130\] and sulus. The best specimens of the tughra can be seen in the Imambara and Jami’
Masjid of Hussainabad, and that of the sulus in the Karbala of Talkatora and Aishbagh. The excerpts qita’ (a four lined verse) are written in naskh, and nasta liq\textsuperscript{131} styles. Qita-nawisi was very popular in Lucknow and it was a fashion to adorn the house with qatas. In Awadh, the art of calligraphy is associated mainly with Nafis Nurullah Khan and Qazi Na’amatullah Khan.\textsuperscript{132} [Figure 001,009]

Here's the geneological tree of the Nurullah group of Calligraphists.\textsuperscript{133}
Fourth style in which the expressions were easily expressed by the painters of Awadh under the Nawabs, is the **Ragamala or the Raga- Ragini**: A set of paintings known as Ragamala or necklace of raga series, where a raga is a selection of musical notes set in a certain progression with some more emphasized than others; were also painted by Awadh artists. According to Hindu musicologists in Northern India, melodies are divided into six principal modes or ragas; each of which is subdivided into six minor modes or raganis (literary signifying wife of a raga), and from them spring a number of derivative ragas, called *putra* (children of raga and ragini).\(^{134}\) The six principle ragas are variously named, and the system for classifying melodies into forty-two modes. These, when produced by an expert, not only reflect the ultimate tensions in the singer’s spirit but also evoke in the listener certain images, or rhythms, and pictorial associations with his surroundings.

Before covering the details about the Ragamala painting of Awadh, let's cover its origin from inception. Bharat Natya Shastra, the treatise on music and dance, has clearly mentioned the symbolism of the ragas or emotions in colour; based on the belief that each raga or a ragini has a sound body symbolized by a god, goddess or beautiful women.\(^{135}\) [Figure 122]

The sacred book of the Sikhs, compiled by Guru Arjun Dev- The Guru Granth Sahib, six principle ragas are depicted at the end, having five wives and eight sons each, which means that the scale of twenty two notes can be manipulated in eighty-four different ways to produce identifiably different melodies.\(^{136}\)

The six main ragas throughout India are the same – Bhairava, Malkaun, Hindola, Deepak, Shree and Megha- but the ragini associated with them vary regionally.\(^{137}\) Sree gaga is represented as a divine being wandering with his love in a wood picking fragrant flowers. Raga Bhairava is represented by the God Shiva attended by a group of worshipping maidens. [Figure 122]
Each raga or ragini is played or sung during a particular season or at a specified time of day to denote various aspects of life. Apart from the season, the raga are also related to different parts of the day. There is a specific raga and ragini for almost every hour of the day—Bhairava is sung before day break, Ramakiri at dawn, Asawari, Bhairavi and Bilawal after sunrise, Sarang at noon, Kalyan in the evening and Kaidar and Chandra late at night. The full flavour of a raga or ragini is experienced only at its appointed time. The paintings also give the idea of the time of day allotted to the raga. [Figure 123]

Nawab Wajid Ali Shah used a wide range of raga- ragini such as Tilak kamod, Lalit, Jhinjhoti, Pahadi- Jhinjhoti, Sree, Kaukabh, Mujeer, Khamaj, Sorat, Pilu, Paraj, Malkauns, Gaud, Sarang, Todi, Ramkali, Darbari, Multani, Bhatiyar, Shahana’ Nat- Malhar, Gauri, Kafi, Jangala, Dhani and Brindavani. [Figure 119]

During the early part of the nineteenth century, an important Persian text offers a new development in the classification of ragas. This is a Persian text compiled in 1813 AD. By Muhammad Reza, a prince of Patna. It is known as “ Nagmat –e- Asaphi” and appears to survive in manuscripts. This eminent connoisseur of music had the courage to call into question the classification of the northern system, based on a picturesque divisions of the melodies into ‘ wives’ and ‘sons’ of ragas. He devised a new system based on a study of the structural similarities of the ragas. He based his classification by accepting the Vilawal scale as the standard of shuddha scale. He built up his system after consulting the best practicing artists of his time. [Figure 120]

The evolution of the raginis as a class of melodies to be distinguished from ragas properly so called is a matter of later history. Raginis are believed to be graceful, minor, diminutive or abbreviated forms of ragas. “ It is the placing of the emphasis on the cadential notes ( nyasa, vinyasa, apanyasa, sanyasa) on the stronger or the weaker pulses of the rhythm of a melody that
determines its sex. And that when the musical phrases or structure of a melody have an upward or ascending tendency (a rohana) with the cadential notes resting on the stronger pulses- then it is called a raga (a masculine melody). And when the phrases and structure have a downward or descending tendency (avarohana) with the cadential notes resting on the weaker impulses- it is characterized as a ragini (a feminine melody).[Figure 118]

The conception of ragini, as a graceful, or a diminutive phase of a raga, and designated with a feminine ending appears to be a peculiarity of the Northern system. The male melodies are assigned to the sentiments of wonder, courage or anger, the female melodies are assigned to the sentiments of love, laughter and sorrow, while the neuter melodies are assigned to the sentiments of Terror, Fear, Disgust and Peace.[Figure 121]

While the Hindu versions helped to broadcast the message of Indian Music and to a popular realization of the qualities of ragas among an ever-growing circle of appreciation far beyond the narrow clique of learned experts, it was found that the meaning and significance of the ragas were inaccessible to a large group of cultured men ignorant of the Hindi dialects.[Figure 026]

According to a Hindustani (urdu) Manuscript of Raga- Mala by Saiyid ‘Abd-al- Wali’ Uzlat, dated 25th Muhamram, A.H. 1173 (AD>1759) in the India Office, London (No. 101 P-2380-C), described at p.54, of Blumhardt’s catalogue of the Hindustani Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office, 1926.[Figure 027]

According to this scheme of classification, the melodies are grouped under six ragas, each having five raginis, and each having a family of eight sons (putras) representing 84 different musical modes. As the list of the sons (putras) are not complete, they are not cited here:
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The Johnson album no. 34 at India Office Library, London, presumes that this Ragamala was made on commission by Richard Johnson. [Figure 024] It is the work of two Lucknow painters, Udwat Singh and Mohan Singh, who also contributed to Johnson’s Album no. 42- picture no. 98. The inscriptions are quotations from the chapter on music in the Persian book ‘Tuhfat-al-Hind’. 148 [Figure 022,025]

The delicate drawings are only lightly coloured, a process which apparently was left unfinished. The iconographers are mainly dictated by the Abmer tradition which left the painters a great degree of latitude in the iconographic group of lone women.149 In fact, the painters produced Kambhavati, Gujari, Lalit, gauri and Kakubha, also as lone, who stand or sit waiting, without separate characteristic of their own. [Figure 025]

Three distinct iconographies are executed in a manner visually different and need to be mentioned. Megha stands alone, holding a sword. Bhopali and Desi each show a seated couple in loving embrace. Megha shows a lone ascetic, but lordly veena player. Kakubha pictures an aristocratic coitus on a terrace.150 The Johnson Album 42 was bound for Johnson in 1780 AD. And inscribed with a Persian text the Risalah-i-Ragamala, written by Thakur Das in 1774. 151

The Johnson Album no. 31 is a set of 31 charbas, drawings on tracing paper used for copying, are pasted on six large, white sheets of paper, one to a family, according to the painters system.152 The inscriptions on the white backings indicate, besides the names, also the season of the year appropriate to each family. [Figure 022,025]
SHARADA (Fall)

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↓--------------------------------BHAIRAV--------------------------------↓

Bhairavi Malsri
Patmanjari Lalit Nat

↓--------------------------------SISIRA (cold season)--------------------------------↓

GAURI MALAVA
RAMKALI KHAMBHAVATI
GUNKALI

VASANTA (Spring)

↓

↓--------------------------------HINDOL--------------------------------↓

MADHUMADHVI DEVGANDHAR
TODI DESAKH VILAWAL

GRISHMA (summer)

↓

--------------------------------DIPAK--------------------------------↓

KANARA DHANASRI
VAIRADI VASANT DESVAIRADI
Lucknow painters owe their style of draughtsmanship, their technique of anatomical shading, perspective, and treatment of textiles to their obvious preference for Mughal and European naturalism.\textsuperscript{153} Imports of the latter may even have inspired the uncommonly high numbers of signatures, a custom otherwise infrequent in Ragamala painting.\textsuperscript{154}

In the iconographies of Awadh school, we find a motley mixture of Rajasthani and Mughal tradition, often with a high rate of mix ups, a good number of compositions with no traditional ties to earlier Ragamala paintings, some very outspoken erotic scenes, and an occasional portrait of a patron in the role of the nayaka.\textsuperscript{155}

Ragini Bhairavi of Awadh School of music was now recognized all over Hindustan. The Raga-Mala series of paintings, in particularly, Raga Bhairavi of Lucknow school, gives us with its inscribed
number 2 and its text B couplet reasonable assurance that its Ragamala had been arranged according to the painters’ system.\textsuperscript{156} [Figure 123]

Another important work about Rag- Ragini, is “Usulun-Naghmat-e-Asafi” by eminent musician of Lucknow Mohammad Raza. Regarding the creation of the manuscript, Pandit Bhatkhande states: “Raza seems to have been thoroughly dissatisfied with the absurd and meaningless Raga-Ragini classification of his time and look into his head to introduce some sort of intelligent principle in them. He boldly criticized all the four matas viz; Bharat Mat, Kallinath Mat Hanuman Mat and Sameshwar Mat and pronounced them entirely out of date and unsuited to the spirit and practice of the time and then laid down his own ‘Mata’.\textsuperscript{157} The great principle which he clearly enunciated for Rag- Ragini classification was that there should be some similarity or common features between the Rag and its Raginis. Raza was no doubt a talented musician. I wish we had men of this type now. For the first time, we do come across a reliable authority with the Bilawal-scale for its Shuddha scale.\textsuperscript{158} The author tells us that he wrote the book after fully consulting all the available best artiste of the day, probably in a conference under the President ship of the Nawab. [Figure 123]

As per Muhammad Karam Imam, in olden times, the Ragas and Raginis had their effects-

- Firstly by singing Raga Bhairava, the top would spin by itself.
- By singing Raga Malkauns, the running water would stop flowing by itself
- By singing Raga Hindol, the swing would start swaying by itself that means without manual swinging it would come into motion.
- By singing Raga Deepak, the fire would kindled all by itself, so much so that the lamp and the like things would get lighted themselves.
Shree raga would make even birds and beasts lose their consciousness. What to say of man who has a very tender heart?

By singing Raga Megh, the rain would start pouring itself.

Besides these six Ragas other ragas that are called Putra(son). Ragas and Raginis had also their effect. Hence by singing Sohni, the rain would cease pouring, by singing Todi, the speed of air would get reduced and by singing Sarang, the beasts and human beings would become restless and perturbed.¹⁵⁹

Nasir Khan, the great grandson of Tansen, along with several musicians arrived at Lucknow. Nasir Khan used Rag Malkauns for some other small raginis and tuned a number of songs, the “swarlipi”(scale) of which are still available. “Nasir Khan used part of Malkos in tuning “Bhairavi That”. That was the period when the whole atmosphere had been musical.¹⁶⁰

Nawab Wajid Ali Shah, in his book “Sautul-Mubarak”, has very masterly defined the relation of raga to the twelve houses of ‘Horoscope”, which are present in the body of human being from toe to the head. There are certain Ragas, the voice of which emerges from a particular house of body like Paraj from the seventh house, ‘Kharaj’ from 8th and Bhairavi from tenth.¹⁶¹

It is undoubtedly great contribution by the painters to illustrate the group of Indian musical compositions, known as Rag-Mala. Each music picture is a coloured interpretation of the particular melody with which it is associated. In other words, the musician plays from a picture, and the artist paints from a tune. And the Awadh Painters in particular Ghulam Reza made great use of this art, a large number of paintings in this style being illustrations of the various melodies comprising the Rag-Mala.

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Chapter 3:
Development of Painting in Awadh under imperial patronage

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94. These comments are based on the study of his paintings in the collection of Bhartiya Kala Bhawan, Varanasi and some reproductions in ‘After the Great Mughals, Paintings in Delhi and the Regional Courts in the 18th and 19th Centuries.


96. 53 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.


98. Anonymous, ‘Kitab ul- Akhbar Deorhi Badshah Muhammad Ali Shah (a record of the daily occurrences of the reign of Muhammad Ali Shah from 1 January 1839 to December 1839), incomplete and undated MS, Lucknow University, Lucknow.


101. Nami, Har Nam Singh, ‘Tarikh-i-Sa’adat-i-Jawid (1221/1806-7), Rotograph, Centre of Advanced Study, Department of History, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh.


110. Mirza Muhammad Taqi, ‘Tarikh-i-Awadh (1874), MS., Tagore Library, Lucknow University, Lucknow.


120. Hasan Amir, ‘Vanishing Culture’; pg. 188.


124. These comments are based on the study of his paintings in the collection of Bhartiya Kala Bhawan, Varanasi and some reproductions in ‘After the Great Mughals, Paintings in Delhi and the Regional Courts in the 18th and 19th Centuries.

125. These technical details are delineated with the help of S.P. Verma, art historian, Department of History, AMU, Aligah.

126. M. Zia ud din- ‘Moslem Calligraphy’; pg. 7.


133. M. Zia ud din- ‘Moslem Calligraphy’; pg. 5.


136. Anwar Abbas- ‘Need for preservation of Islamic Calligraphy of Nawab’s buildings in Lucknow.

137. Mookherjee Radhakamal, ‘The Flowering of Indian Art’; pg. 246.

138. Chatterjee Dr. Nandlal, ‘Glories of Uttar Pradesh’; pg. 3.

139. Lal Ratan Mani, ‘This Lucknow and that’; 148.
140. Jones Ilewlyn Jones, ‘Lucknow then and now’; pg.119.
154. Mookherjee Radhakamal, ‘The Flowering of Indian Art’ ; pg.91.
155. Nami, Har Nam Singh, ‘Tarikh-i-Sa’dat-i-Jawid (1221/1806-7), Rotograph, Centre of Advanced Study, Department of History, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh.
156. Anonymous, ‘Kitab ul- Akhbar Deorhi Badshah Muhammad Ali Shah (a record of the daily occurrences of the reign of Muhammad Ali Shah from 1 January 1839 to December 1839), incomplete and undated MS, Lucknow University, Lucknow.


Chapter 4

Methods of Painting

Although records are naturally scanty regarding the technical detail of the Awadh paintings during the periods - 1722 to 1856, in writings but we have sufficient examples of paintings which form the base for understanding the material and techniques used by local painters as well a European painters. The basic materials required for execution of a painting are Paper, paste board, brush, colours and the techniques of pigments and perspective. To understand the works of the Awadh Painters, we have to understand it under these yardsticks which are classified as the material and technique.

Paper was the most important material for painting during the Nawabs’ period in Awadh. If we try to find the historical past of the its invention then the facts say that, in 105 A.D., the invention of paper was executed by one Tsai-Lun in China was of far reaching consequence [as it foretold the down of the new age in which paper plays such an important role]. But in India, four centuries earlier, in 327 B.C., according to the observation of Nachos the Cretan, the friend and follower of Alexander the great, a kind of thin glazed sheets which were made by felting cotton wool were used for the purpose of writing. ¹ It is still an undisputed fact that the Arabs learned the art of paper making after the battle of Kangli in 751 A.D. in Western Turkistan from a Chinese workmen.² The first paper making factory was opened at Samregard, and another was started at Baghdad in 794 A.D. in the reign of Harun Al Rashid.³

According to William Raite, Zain-ul-Abedin, a ruler of Kashmir (from A.D. 1420 to 1470), imported paper makers from Samargand, whose technique is still followed by the paper makers of Kashmir.⁴ Al-Efendi,
the author of Managib-i-Hunar-un-aran, says that Turkish paper from Samargand was of very good quality. The following kinds of papers were also manufactured in different centres of the world.

1) **Daulatabedi** - Paper manufactured as Daulatabad formerly called Devageri, in North-Western part of the Nizam's territory.

2) **Khatai** - Paper manufactured at Khata, the cathay of Marcopolo, situated in North China.

3) **Adil Shahi** - A kind of paper manufactures in the dominions of Adil Shah.

4) **Hariri** - Silk paper

5) **Sultan** - Paper manufactured at Samargand

6) **Hindi** - Indian paper

7) **Nijam Shahi** - Paper manufactured at Nijamabad.

8) **Gauni** - Paper manufactured at Tabeij. This was slightly yellowish in colour.

9) **Nukhayyae** - Watered paper.

The paper that was manufactured in Lucknow and Bahraich was of coarse quality; arwali, wasli and zard varieties were produced in Lucknow. Arawali (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 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 to a chick. He spread it on a frame and pressed it with his hands and dried it.
The paper which the Awadh artists chose for their work was either imported and was designated Irani and Isfahani, was produced in this country. Paper of fine texture produced in the factories at Sialkot and Kashmir was in great demand. Various raw materials such as bamboo, jute, flax were used for making paper. The best paper came from Kalpi and was manufactured from the old nets of the fisherman and hence called mahajal, was perfectly water bleached.

**WASLI (Paste board):**

It was made by pasting two, or more sheets of papers, for mounting, pictures. Most of the times, the local painters had to prepare waste for his over requirement. The paste should be prepared on the night previous to the making of wasting. No paste was applied over the final sheet. Afterwards, this panel was kept in such a place where light breeze help it in drying but no sunshine.

The painters of Awadh school never paint pictures directly on it, but pasted the paintings painted separately on paper and trodden under foot until it was reduced to a paste. The pulp was then washed in river water and put into a large reservoir filled with sixty pitchers of water, where it remained for the next twenty days; when transformed into Wasli was used as board for bookbinding, and was made from waste paper. For its manufacture 15 seers of waste paper was placed in a large tank a paste, it was spread in the same manner as arwali. This type of paper was made by the bookbinder himself.

**Zard:**

It was a coarse variety used for various general purposes and prepared by the same process as the wasli. It was foolscap in size, soiled, dirty white in colour and glazed. This was also prepared by the daftaris or the
bookbinders. After the proper selection of the tusk panels to the thickness varying from 1/20 to 1/16 of an inch are obtained. The artist has to smoothen surface the roughness is filed with a sharp razor or even slab of stone till it become ever. The drawing is transferred if the painting is to be the copy of some original.

After this, the required colours are applied in thin coatings so that the ground is visible.

**Colours used by the Awadh painter** -

It can be divided into two classes natural and artificial. Some minerals were found in fine powder as coloured erecter and ouches. There were pigments found in stone which had to be pounded to separate the colours.

There are two kinds of manufactured salts used by Awadh painters.

(i) Salts resulting from the direct combination of elements, as vermilion or the red sulphide of Mercury,

(ii) salts resulting from the action of acid on the metal.

Here is the details in brief about the technique used for making various colours to execute paintings in Awadh. To begin with -

1) **White** :-

The only white used by the painter was 'Safeda' (Zinc white), which was thoroughly ground and sifted though a muslin, then, put in a porcelain cup and gradually dissolved by adding a thin solution of dhau gum as per requirement. It is needed by the thumb by adding few drops of water, then it is poured in another cup. The uncrushed particles which remain deposited at the bottom is impurity, it is continued till it is free from
all impurities. Finally the water is drained and the dried powder is ready to be used. White lead was extensively used in painting, firstly by local artists, then by European painters, but it had a drawback, it may be blackened by sulphur gases in the air.

2) **Black**:

Lamp black served as black pigment for the Awadh painter who used it from very ancient times. Black from the lamp black soot was prepared in the following way - A lamp filled with the mustard oil is lighted and kept inside an earthen pitcher and covered with a bowl. The lamp black sticker to the bowl, was also burnt to obtain lamp black. The soot is then rolled into balls mixed with gum arabic and cooked on fire, the oily portion is absorbed in the dough.

3) **Red**:

Such clays, where oxide of iron is rich, was choosen for getting this colour. Red ochre, widely used by painters because its hue is light and warm. Indian red, produced from Ochre obtained from Persian gulf, its shade was dark, cold and purple. Orange lead was widely used by the painters for yellowish red, produced by roasting white lead in open air till it attains deep red colour.

4) **Blue**:

The colour was extracted from indigo reface. Lapse Lazuli was the source of the ultramarine agree. Ultramarine was an expensive colour and no doubt, it could be used at the command of the royalty and rich people. In Italy in the 14th century, powdered trap was fixed with a paste of wax, oil and resin, and kneaded in water. That could be brought here in Awadh by Europeans.
5) **Yellow:**

Yellow Ochre -ramraj also yields a brownish yellow. Garbage obtained from *Sare-revan,* was used by the painters of Patna and Awadh School as yellow.25

6) **Green:**

'Harabhala' is a kind of silicate of ferrous oxide. Zangel or verdigris was a favourite green of the Awadh Painters. It is an acetate of copper prepared by treating pieces of copper with vinegar.26

7) **Gold powder:**

The painters used gold powder for the purpose of painting. A light coating of honey, glue, thick syrup or the yellow portion of the eggs was applied to a porcelain dish, a gold leaf is imprinted on it. Then it is reduced to power with light motion of hand.27 The process continued, and liquid is strained through Muslim, and then allowed to settle for 15 hours. The month of the vessel is covered and bottled. The required amount of gold is taken from it, used with the size as binding medium. 28

As regards brushes, there is the following reference in the Upanishads, a treatise the greater portion of which dates a very distant period:

‘Let a man with firmness separate the spirit, the inner soul, from his own body, as from a painter’s brush a fibre’.-6th Valli,17.29

The word ‘qalm’, which is a synonym for brush, in the terminology of Mughal Painters, is used to express from two ideas-brush as well as style. Both ‘Delhi qalm’ and the ‘Awadh qalm’ were classified as ‘soft qalms’.30

**Brushes (qalm)** were made from the hair of various animals such as the goat, camel, squirrel and mongoose.31 While making a brush, the painter keeps two things in view; firstly only that hair is to be used which clots when dipped in
water; and secondly, it should neither be extra soft or hard. The brush par excellence of the Awadh painters was obtained from the tail of a squirrel because it was easily obtainable. Very fine brushes were much in vogue, as the minute character of the painting plainly shows, some of the finest being prepared from the dowry hairs on the tails of young squirrels. In the very beginning, the painter used to touch his brush to the forehead thanking god and commences work by drawing a sketch with a pointed twig of tamarind tree or arahee plant (arahar ka koyala) or with brush, without caring for the correctness of the drawing. With the help of horizontal and vertical lines and circles, the painter used to create a rapid impression of the desired object.

Various existing styles or qalms have distinguishing features mainly of technique.

(i) The Delhi qalm is crisp and clear in its outlines,
(ii) The Jaipur qalm is soft and rounded in execution.
(iii) The Deccani qalm is identified by their small character, both in actual size and also in treatment.
(iv) The Patna qalm is good in drawing but hard in its general effect.
(v) A Kashmir qalm is occasionally alluded to.
(vi) The Rumi or European qalm - they were either executed either by royal command or were prepared to the order of the Jesuit priests in their work of continuing the spread of Christianity.

Awadh or the Lucknow qalm - being less opaque, in fact, not infrequently the actual figures are painted in almost pure water colour, although white, as a body is used more freely in the background.

After the outlines are drawn, then, the sketch is covered with a thin coating of zinc-white, this serves two purposes-

Firstly, it covers the correction lines.
Secondly, it covers the tissues and pores of the paper making it smooth and impervious to the spilling effect of liquid. Then, the painter begun to apply different shades of colours as required on the drawing, the process being technically known as *gadkari or rangareji*.\(^{39}\)

One style of painting, known as *jarah*, consisted in encrusting parts of the picture with red pearls and precious stones, was also used in the pictures. These embellishments were applied to the head ornaments, draperies and other ornamental accessories.\(^{40}\)

**Perspective used by Awadh Painters**:

As mentioned in the dictionary, Perspective in drawing, is an approximate representation, on a flat surface (such as paper), of an image as it is seen by the eye.\(^{41}\) The two most characteristic features of perspective are that objects are drawn:

(i) Smaller as their distance from the observer increases

(ii) Foreshortened: the size of an object's dimensions along the line of sight are relatively shorter than dimensions across the line of sight.\(^{42}\)

Knowledge of perspective greatly enhances artists’ perception and understanding of light and space, and it is a fascinating case study of the ways that a painting is shaped by purely conceptual considerations.\(^{43}\)

The Awadh artist ingeniously combined the ancient Ajanta technique of perspective with that of contemporary European artists. Ancient Ajanta technique in terms of hierarchical perspective, is, placing figures in their order of importance and giving a kind of bird's eye view of the scene.\(^{44}\) By means of walls, rocks, cliff and buildings, certain figures were brought into the foreground and other set in the distance. This forms, combined with the
European use of receding background, helped to give Awadh School their perspective.\textsuperscript{45}

The convention which the Awadh painters followed in the matter of perspective was to represent the background and foreground by somewhat deeper colours.\textsuperscript{46} [Figure 016,004] For depicting night scene, dark colours are used, where the sunlight is expected to reach is lighted and where there is neither light nor darkness only the ground is shown. [Figure 002,052]

The representation of the landscape in early Awadh paintings is greatly influenced by the Persian conventions. Trees, flowering shrubs are represented in a realistic manner, the former with zig-zag or realistic trunks with hollows and knots.\textsuperscript{47}[Figure 022,056] In the beginning, the tree is sketched showing correctly the knots and modulations of the trunk and branches.\textsuperscript{48} Then the clusters of the leaves are sketched and then painted. For certain trees like Banyan, Mango, Pipal, this method cannot be followed. The leaves are painted separately and not in clusters. The folds, veins, the backsides of the veins are also shown.\textsuperscript{49} The intervening space between the leaves and the background is shaded. For mountains, the painters divided it into several compartments made of zigzag lines with rivers and streams flowing through it.\textsuperscript{50} [Figure 040,041]

The Awadh painters have represented water either by white zigzag lines painted on a grey surface the foams being represented by zinc white. The agitated water is represented by the spirals in zinc-white on grey surface.\textsuperscript{51} [Figure 042,043]

The Awadh painters adopted mainly two devices for the representation of night scenes.

(i) by adding a little indigo blue to all colours, [Figure 051]

(ii) applied fine powder of the charred tamarind wood with cotton wool to the pictures.\textsuperscript{52}
The method of shading employed is similar to that in Ajanta Paintings, though the European techniques also begins to show with deep and thick shading.\(^5^3\)

(i) With the influence of European art that is ‘encounter and transition of the art forms in Awadh’, the most significant of which is the introduction of perspective. The artists realized the importance of the background and the aerial perspective to enliven the scene and broaden the canvas.\(^5^4\) [Figure 135] The narrow strip of a flat sky painted in a plain blue or gold pigment is replaced by a background of towns, castles, open fields, rivers, a hunting scene, distant hills and trees or a shepherd or a farmer shown at work.\(^5^5\) Sometimes the background consists of a larger expanse of sky with floating clouds in varying shades. [Figure 129,132] European influence is also evident in the three dimensional effect and the reduction of scale as the eyes move towards the horizon.\(^5^6\) The distant view of the cities in diagonal perspective and massed clumps of trees are directly derived from western paintings. [Figure 133]

The plastic roundness of form is represented by employing fine shaded lines and folds. The draperies, the flowing costumes of ladies etc. are mostly painted with deep shaded strokes.\(^5^7\)

(iii) Linear perspective, thick shading, and representation of depth are some of the features that had already found their way into Mughal Miniatures under European influence at the end of the sixteenth century.\(^5^8\) This process of amalgamation continued during the early seventeenth century, when it drew influences from European art in respect of technique as well as thematic content.\(^5^9\) The experiments were carried on successfully in the Murshidabad atelier, but not in the early phase of Awadh art. The artist in the Awadh atelier constantly follows the European mode of perspective and shading without understanding it correctly and completely.\(^6^0\) Distance perspective is followed by making objects in the distance small, but the intermediary plain in these
miniatures remains unaffected. Trees on the horizon are shown with the details of their flowers and leaves. Colours too do not blur sufficiently with distance. Hence the picture remains flat. [Figure 135] The landscape gives the suggestion of an aerial perspective though in a few examples the artist has marked out the reflection of trees, birds, boats, etc. The representation of the reflection of objects in water is a new feature of the miniatures of the early Awadh paintings, a technique borrowed from European art. Sometimes, a distant landscape drawn with buildings, hills mounds of earth, stream or a river with boats is delineated in the European fashion. Landscape painting did not develop in Awadh independently; though in some instances it is given prominence without being the main theme. Architecture is given an importance place in the landscape. Birds are depicted realistically as in the Mughal School. [Figure 056] The backgrounds are for the most part, stylized, as in the Jaipur School. The backgrounds are, for the most part, formalized; depicting a mound in a curve as may be seen in the Rajasthani Paintings of the period. In some of these, however, the canvas has been over emphasized by the placement of stylized 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, the figures imposed on it. The overall effect remains flat for the most part. Symmetry is followed as a matter of principle with similar objects of nature in the landscape on either side. Even clouds are symmetrical. The trees are identical to the Rajput qalm. They have long trunks with a heavy and dense foliage and conical tops. Leaves are decorative, presented in their stylized form after Mughal Paintings. The lotus often finds its place in the representation of water, a common Indian tradition. [Figure 081]

The primary sketch was drawn in soft lines, suggesting the outer forms of the figures. To obliterate the wrong and superfluous lines, a thin coat of white pigment was laid on the sheet. In few unfinished paintings, the
lines are quite visible and show up against the surfaces treated with the first coat of the white pigment and in some instances against the next coat of the pigment used for the background.\textsuperscript{70} Evidently the final sketch was drawn in dark pigment.\textsuperscript{71}

**Pigments:**

Pigments are painted one upon another when the base colour finally dries up. The process of shading, final linings and lastly, the use of gold pigment involves two to three or even more layers of pigments on a paper.\textsuperscript{72} The tempera colours, as a matter of rule because it was a speciality of the Awadh School of Art, was used thickly to form a layer on the paper.

With the introduction of the three dimensional technique, this treatment of colours was replaced by the blending of colours, though the former technique survived in its changing modes to the last.\textsuperscript{73} [Figure 062]

The technique of blending colours is not found too frequently in the miniatures. It would emerge only in the treatment of a few subjects, \textit{viz}, the sky, hills, tree trunk, foliage of a tree, and rarely in the objects more frequently encountered in the foreground. In this technique, instead of treating a sketch with a first wash and laying the colours one on another, tonality, light and shade were directly defined in the first treatment producing a three dimensional effect.\textsuperscript{74} This naturally involved a greater skill. Colour is used thinly in this technique. The technique for blending colours was first used for the sky and clouds and later for hills, trees etc.\textsuperscript{75}

In another process, first, the thin wash of a tinge on the surface of the paper. The base, when dried up, was ready for the brush. Next, the outline of the objects was drawn in colours to distinguish them from the background.\textsuperscript{76} Other colours to be fitted in the various objects, e.g. costumes, utensils and buildings were obtained from the gradations i.e. tints or shades of
the ground colour and thus the painting was finished in a harmonized colour scheme. The tree trunk, its foliage, the sky etc. remained submerged in the background. The artist sometimes used fine, shaded lines to represent the anatomy of the figures, the details of the objects, and the fineness of the forms and, lastly, the three dimensional effect. White pigment or some other pigment of light tone, slightly differing from the base, was used in the costumes, etc.

In [Figure 054], the whole scene—human figures, their costumes, the trunk of a tree, hills, water and the distant landscape comprising buildings—is dominated by one colour—chrome yellow with a tinge of brown. The details are also represented by employing a deeper shade of the same pigment, shaded strokes directed to a side, suggest a shadow and produce depth in the picture. The strokes drawn are bold and directed horizontally. This distinctive use of a single colour is indicative of the skill of the painter, whose name, unfortunately does not appear on the folio. [Figure 124]

The marked tendency of representing every minute detail, irrespective of the distance and the principle of maximum visibility and lastly the love for decoration, was, best suited to the pigments being laid flat. [Figure 015] It provided an easy approach for introducing designs, and easily accommodated the gold pigment which was invariably laid flat. The floors, carpets, domes, costumes, arms, and armours, utensils etc. are represented with profuse decoration. As against this, the draperies etc. are invariably plain. Similarly, the loose garments, viz. the peshwaz of the ladies,’ aba’ of traders etc., are left plain, though the folds and curves are distinctly displayed by employing shaded lines. [Figure 052]

The paintings which were executed in Awadh during the reign of the first three Nawabs of Awadh may be taken as combinations of various styles, mainly Mughal and Rajputs. The Rajput
influence is not specific to Awadh, but is common to most eighteenth century art schools, Delhi, Murshidabad and Patna. These are so deeply influenced by the Rajput tradition in style, technique and subject matter that sometimes it is so difficult to classify compositions as Rajput or Mughal. The eminent art historian Coomarswamy had preferred to call it a ‘mixed style’. Features of the Rajput style are the use of colour in a mass, lack of the principle of colours gradation, tonality of colours, simplicity of form, lack of the understanding of correct angles and conversions of angles and diminution of scale, the absence of the principle of foreshortening, and last, stylization. Persian tradition may also be observed in these paintings in the representation of canopies, shamyanas, etc., drawn from a bird’s eye view; the ground covered with flowers, a flat treatment of the 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 is traceable in the Awadh paintings, though the ultimate source of such features was undoubtedly Persia. [Figure 068]

In modeling male figures, the body below the waist is slightly elongated, whereas in female figures the position is reversed. In most cases the facial idioms are stereotyped and variety is produced by employing the beard and moustache. The propensity is for faces in strict profile. Feet are depicted flat and in a single direction. [Figure 006] On the whole, the female figures are highly stylized, a few standard forms being employed. Short and squat male and female figures around the main figure with heads too large for the bodies are common. [Figure 040]

The females are shown in various forms-profile face with fully open eyes, prominent eyebrows and heavy upper-lid, long nose with round tips, slightly exposed upwards; small lips, round bulky chin settled in an oval shape. [Figure 042]The shading is employed around the eye-socket, nostril and the neckline as a regular formula in the 18th Century paintings.
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.\textsuperscript{95}

Emphasis is laid on the fineness of lines. Wherever possible, the figures are distinguished from the background by thick shading around them or with thick shaded rounded lines.\textsuperscript{96} There is one direction from which the light comes, hence no shadow. In some structures, the circular dome is represented with shaded lines giving a slight impression of light but the effect is rather flat.\textsuperscript{97} [Figure 041]

After Nawab Asaf ud daula, an increased sense of luxury and richness resulted in the excessive colourfulness and flamboyance in miniatures. For all its richness and technical care, the work is inferior and lacks the previous masterly observation and acute sense of detail.\textsuperscript{98} The roofs at the far left of the panorama, rendering the lines of marching troops, or arranging the turns of the parade into the distance, he is extremely skilled as a naturalistic painter.\textsuperscript{99} Such ability suggests exposure to European topographical works as well as experience in unifying a scene of this magnitude. He has managed to strike a perspective balance between detail and large scale dynamism which allows the viewer to read the panorama up close as well as from a distance.\textsuperscript{100} The artists rational treatment has ensured that neither the sensitive sketching of certain individuals nor the overall movement through the square has been sacrificed.\textsuperscript{101} [Figure 065]

When the Awadh artist started adopting the European techniques, which is called the Indo British Style, they were thoroughly trained in European techniques, in form, perspective, light and shade, And this is what marked the transition from the existing tradition of visual art. While Mughal artists were highly selective about European elements, painters at Lucknow directly observed British artists at work.\textsuperscript{102} They had to copy as long as patrons wanted smaller versions of their paintings. They also painted extensively for
their European patrons as per their specifications. The themes of these miniatures are depiction of indigenous gods and goddesses, small scenes of royal life, [Figure 137] trophies of arms, portraits etc.; yet the artists employed European techniques as may be observed in the frontal depiction of the human body, correct representation of perspective, and employment of the principle of light and shade. This was an early instance of the introduction of European characteristics in accordance with precise European standards and not as they appeared to the artist. These paintings are in delicate water colours and represent rather a pale and somber style. [Figure 127] Thus, French influence is the first to penetrate here. Gentil’s influence manifested in many ways in the muraqqas, is a French artistic device for denoting a mist. Polier also had some muraqqas prepared by the local artists, of whom Mihr Chand was of great renown.

Kettle who stayed at Faizabad for about two years (1771-73), could not influence the court much, as his medium was oil, neither agreeable to the tastes of his patron nor compatible with the traditional technique of the indigenous artists. [Figure125] However, he influenced local; artists otherways. Some of his paintings began to be copied in miniatures at the initiative of Gentil. [Figure 127]

Artists who were fascinated by Kettle’s paintings began to freely imitate these in tempera. The artists employ prepared the smaller versions of at least four life size oil paintings of Kettle in tempera. Other prominent freelance artists such as Mihr Chand and Duli Chand also prepared a miniaturized version of the life size figure from Kettle’s study in heir compositions. Kettle’s influence is discernible in the delineation of the facial idioms to the extent that later this became a characteristic of the local art. It virtually became the ‘stock figure in trade’ during the 19th Century.
During the period in between 1775 to 1800, there was a rapid inflow of the Europeans in Awadh. In all, 37 artists landed in India during this period.\textsuperscript{111} Nawab Asaf ud daula extended patronage to British artists, such as John Zoffany (an oil painter), William Hodges (landscape painter), Ozias Humphrey (miniature painter), and William and Thomas Daniell (landscape painter).\textsuperscript{112}

Amongst the Europeans residing in Lucknow, Claude Martin extended patronage to European as well as local artists on a lavish scale. He took interest in natural history objects especially botanical. The credit for initiating the scientific study of natural history goes to him.\textsuperscript{113} The trend of natural history paintings influenced the course of paintings in Lucknow during the 19th Century. [Figure 065] The delineation of birds is certainly far better in drawing and exactitude of details as compared to the contemporary portrait painting.\textsuperscript{114} Towards the end of the 18th Century, many albums of the miniature paintings were produced in the style of Gentil.\textsuperscript{115} [Figure 065] Most of the rulers are depicted seated amongst cushions besides a low clipped hedge or a flower vase, a clearly European pose. A set of paintings of native characters is also bound with this set; closely related to it in respect of colour scheme and style which suggests that it was executed about the same time.\textsuperscript{116} [Figure 068]

A study of some of the specimens from these albums brings out the following characteristics: the colour scheme is somber with more white, in accordance with the contemporary French tradition.\textsuperscript{117} The monotony is, however, broken by couches of crimson, green, gold and purple. The sky is invariably painted in a pale wash of blue.\textsuperscript{118} The hazy mist is in the characteristic style of Gentil. [Figure003] Faces are drawn frontally and the exposed part of the face is shown in light pigment in order to produce a three dimensional effect; the facial idioms are, however stereotyped.\textsuperscript{119} They generally have broad eyes with heavy lids, deep eyes brows and eye sockets clearly marked with deep shading, long round tipped nose, bulky and round
A cross-eyed person with a limp moustache appears again and again with the main figure, reminding one of Kettle’s study of Nawab Shuja ud daula as popularized by Meher Chand and other freelance artists of Faizabad.\textsuperscript{121}

Figures are composed in a majestic fashion. Movement is achieved with variety of poses and changed position of legs. Treatment of costume has been made with heavy folds and details are displayed with heavy shaded lines or strokes of brush.\textsuperscript{122} [Figure 002] The background may be plain or a few figures at a distance. These paintings depict bushy trees against a blue sky. Their main feature is the delineation of shadows in dark patches extended across the barren soil so as to suggest the direction of the light which in most cases appears to cross in from the right side.\textsuperscript{123} There are some illustrations of animals and birds, set against the pale blue and sandy soil, and a set of deities also executed in this style for an album of 64 pictures. The paintings were done in delicate water colours.\textsuperscript{124} [Figure 062,045]

In fact, it was a period of experimentation. No distinct style was emerging. Aspects of Indian Culture and religion were painted in a style which incorporated European techniques for the most part. The local artists used water colours but did not yet paint in oil. Oil paintings were executed by European artists only: they worked mostly for Claude Martin who had left about 150 oil paintings by Zoffany, Renaldi and others.\textsuperscript{125}

In the beginning of the 19th Century, the freelance artists were engaged in preparing sets of portraits of native rulers and native characters. The noted artists of this period were Muhammad Ali ‘Mani-raqm’: delicate touches and placid expressions were the two major characteristics of his style.\textsuperscript{126} He executed portraits and court scenes.\textsuperscript{126} Lala Thakur Das ‘Dariyabadi’- well versed in water colour and oil techniques, turning out pictures of Hindu deities and Indian mythological subjects. [Figure 120,122] He
was also a good copyist. Numerous specimen of his art are in State Museum, Lucknow; Fazl ‘Ali’ Behzad-raqm specialized in the portrayal of court beauties and *zenana* scenes.\textsuperscript{127} [Figure 051,052] Mir Ali Lakhnawi was an ivory painter. Qasim Ali Khan was famous for his paintings of animals and birds.\textsuperscript{128} Another distinguished painter was Mirza Ghulam Hussain; he was well versed in European art.\textsuperscript{129} Kanshi Ram and Sahib Rai were well known for their exceptional skill in portraiture.

During this period, the female portraits were executed with photographic precision. The delineation of the figures is, however, not up to the mark and these are ‘lumpy and ill defined’. The facial idioms are also stereotyped as one notice in the illustrations of Mir’at al-Auza.\textsuperscript{130}

This Europeanized style continued at the court also, becoming static in 1830s due to lack of patronage; Nasir ud din Haider was least interested in Indian painters.\textsuperscript{131} Some of the procession scenes are in his time executed in this style in the gouche, and display a medley of people and numerous objects of ostentation, musical bands and so on.\textsuperscript{132} [Figure 077]

Decoration is an inseparable part of pictorial art and has fascinated the imagination of all artists who have used it as a complementary medium. The Awadh artists achieved a remarkable degree of expertise in the utilization of design. [Figure 021] In drawing, Awadh artist does not depend on his memory but takes the help of carefully prepared drawings of the human and animal figures, costumes, jewelry designs etc.\textsuperscript{133} [Figure 022] If both sides of the design are similar, one half is accurately drawn and the other half is traced. After finishing his painting, the painter used to draw the border-lines and decorated the border with floral scrolls, etc.\textsuperscript{134} [Figure 013] The painter generally used those colours which either harmonized or created a contrast to the colour scheme of the painting. The artist kept three things in his mind that is
it should be firm *(zordar)*, closely knitted *(gathi hui)* and balanced *(jawab)*.  

[Figure 008]

Awadh artists used creepers, flower patterns wherever they wanted to highlight the picture. They used gold powder and bright colours to highlight the intricate details of person, its surroundings and the utensils used by the person.

**Colour Application**

After the correct outline had been drawn, the painting was covered with a thin coating of zinc that filled the pores of the paper and made it smooth and impervious to liquid colours. The final drawing was made with the aid of the outlines visible through the coating. When the picture was finished, the reverse side was then burnished. The illustrated side was placed on polished glass or a polished marble slab and burnished with an agate burnisher which imparted a mellow glow to the surface. Different colour coatings were applied to the picture and after each, the burnishing process was repeated. The colour coatings were always thinly applied to prevent flaking.

The order of the application of colour was:

(a) foreground and background,

(b) body colour,

(c) clothes and other articles,

(d) gold where required.

The final outline was drawn in at the very end. The finishing touches were given on the part of painting which carried ornaments and the red effects of hands, feet’s and lips.

To complete the picture, the following steps were required:-
1. the preparation of the ground, called zamin bandhna by the Mughal painters;
2. the first sketch, or tipai;
3. the filling in of details, or sachchi tipai;
4. light and shade modeling done with lines and dots; and
5. the final outline and colouring.¹⁴²

After completion, the picture was mounted and the borders painted. [Figure 019] These were jobs done by the vasligar, or mounter, and the naqsnavis, who painted the pattern on the borders. The calligraphy on the face or the reverse of the picture was done by the khusnavis (calligrapher). Often the manuscript page was written first and the space for the illustration left to be painted in at a later stage.¹⁴³ Sometimes the writing and painting stages followed each other, but quite often the written pages just lay around and were not illustrated until one hundred and fifty years or more lately. This explains the discrepancies between the styles of writing and painting found in certain manuscripts.¹⁴⁴

Perhaps the single most important branch of painting was that of portraiture. Nawabs used painting as the Europeans did, as a vehicle for recording the likeness of every man of note. Portraits of certain dignitaries were made at all stages of their lives, faithfully recording the transition from childhood to youth to old age. In those days, pictures depicting social and religious life of the people were much in demand specially by the Europeans, and to satisfy this demand Lucknow produced pictures representing social, religious and professional life of the people, known technically as firka (profession). In these pictures, one can see the life of the nineteenth century India depicted in every detail. Religious festivals and rites, nautch parties¹⁴⁶, wandering mendicants, bazaar and school scenes and village scenes were depicted with accuracy and minute observation. They are faithful records of the contemporary manners and practices.¹⁴⁷ [Figure 058,029]
The roofs at the far left of the panorama, rendering the lines of marching troops, or arranging the turns of the parade into the distance, he is extremely skilled as a naturalistic painter. Such ability suggests exposure to European topographical works as well as experience in unifying a scene of this magnitude.\textsuperscript{148} He has managed to strike a perspective balance between detail and large scale dynamism which allows the viewer to read the panorama up close as well as from a distance. The artist’s rational treatment has ensured that neither the sensitive sketching of certain individuals nor the overall movement through the square has been sacrificed.\textsuperscript{149}

During the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth, Awadh, as a centre of art, emerged on the map of northern India- a characteristic style of painting-manifesting some of the attractive qualities of the Mughal School as well as the European influence.\textsuperscript{150} Few refer it ‘an ostentation and a want of taste, typical of the State of Awadh at that time’ and others feel that ‘they are spoilt by the vulgarity of their setting and the strained and debased treatment of the whole conception’.\textsuperscript{151} Whatever is the reaction, at least we are proud of the fact that Awadh shared the platform along with few selected provinces as far as the creation of art is considered.
Chapter 4:

Methods of Painting:

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Chapter 5

Musical evolution of Awadh

Music may be said to sublimit all the attainments of the man since his emergence on this earth as it precedes all the arts that afford pleasure, bliss or ecstasy. The appreciation of any thing of beauty or any piece of art depends upon the intellect and the sensibilities of a man. The keener the intellect and finer the sensibilities the more pronounced is the effect.

While Islam did not encourage music, the Arabs and Iranians had nevertheless inherited a tradition of music from the pre-Islamic period, which they retained though maintaining a low profile. Virtually speaking even Islam could not put a total boycott on musical sounds as the prophet of Islam himself enjoined on his people to recite the holy text in the most sonorous, mellifluous and sweet tone. The cultural and artistic products of an era reflected not only the emotional background and physical condition, but also the particular projections, temper and aspirations of that era. Musical forms are closely related and connected with the social, economic, political and artistic life of the period.

The Mughal rulers in particular Akbar gave the title of ‘Kalawant' and ‘Qawwal’ to the people who were master in the art of singing. Later on, when the glory of the Mughal Empire reached its peak in Delhi, and the celebrated Nawabi era of Lucknow commenced, music was moulded to please these princely-lavish patrons. Later to their demands, a fresh type of semi-classical songs had to be created. Distinct Lucknow gharanas were developed in 'Khayal' 'Thumri', 'Tabla' and 'Sitar'. Despite of political and administrative wrangling, Awadh emerged as the cultural centre of India. The
Nawab -Wazirs and kings of Awadh gave full patronage to all types of fine arts, specially music, paintings and dramatis.

The glorious era of Lucknow which dawned in 1775, continued till the last Nawab Wazid Ali Shah was deposed in 1856. During this colourful decades, Lucknow as the capital of the Awadh empire became one of the most celebrated centre of music, drama, dance, painting and poetry. It became the nucleus of a culture unique in the annals of India. The glorious era of Lucknow lasted till 1856 when the last Nawab, Wajid Ali Shah was deposed by the East India Company and banished to Matiyaburj near Calcutta. During these eventful years, Lucknow became one of the most celebrated centers of Oriental opulence, music, dance, drama , poetry and scholarship. The Nawab Wazirs brought with them their Persian music, dance, language, costumes and culture which blended beautifully with the already highly-developed arts, language and culture of Hindu India.

With the course of time, the elite artists tried to protect their traditions and began to transmit them within the family to their direct descendents and this gradually led to the development of gharana music during the nineteenth century.

Music in India went through a metamorphosis for four centuries from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century resulting in the Hindustani music of today. The modern period saw the birth of many of the musical forms dominant today, like *Khayal* and *thumri*. With the central Mughal power in Delhi weakening after Aurangzeb's death, there was a quick succession of emperors. One of them was the legendary Muhammad Shah Rangeele (1716-1748 AD). He was a loving and generous patron to many musicians. It was in his court that Niamat Khan, popularly known as ‘Sadarang’, invented a new genre, ‘the Khayal’.
There is a popular saying, “Jab Dilli Ujadi, Lucknow Bani”, when Delhi’s years of glory ended, and arts like music, dance and poetry were on the verge of decay, it was the cultured and refined ‘Nawab- Wazirs’ of Lucknow, who offered lavish patronage and fostered them in their opulent *darbars*. The musical arts received patronage of an exceptional nature not only from the court and the elite circles, but also from a large section of the local populace who, too, evinced an unprecedented taste for these performing arts.⁹

The period from 1722-1856 also witnessed new assertions in musicology related to modal classification and the ‘*Shudh*’ scale which were now recognized and were to become the foundation stones of Hindustani music.¹⁰

After the death of the first Nawab-Wazir Sa’adat Khan ‘Burhan-ul-Mulk’, his son-in-law Safdar Jang ascended the throne, he got no time to contribute anything for the development of music but it is said, he was a musically trained person.¹¹ Whenever he felt tired, he used to call musicians to entertain him so that he is relaxed mentally as well as spiritually too.¹²

Nawab Safdar Jang’s son Nawab Shuja-ud-daula declared Faizabad city as the capital of Awadh. Eminent musicians, dancers, artists, craftsmen started pouring from all over towards Faizabad and it was day and night processions of caravans that entered the city of Faizabad.¹³

Nawab Shuja-ud-daula always showed interest in the music and dancing.¹⁴ Ghulam Rasul and Mirja Zani, the two Qawwali singing experts came from Delhi to Faizabad ¹⁵ and later to Lucknow they opted for singing Khayal. Ghulam Rasul's son Miyan Shori started singing Tappa. ¹⁶ A large number of girls skillful in the art of singing and dancing accompanied the Nawab wherever he went and entertained him.

One interesting incident mentioned by Sharar¹⁷:

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"One night during the period of Moharam, when Insha, the famous poet had been passing near the mound of Shah Peer Muhammad, he saw a woman reciting a mersia in Awadhi in pure pathetic tune:-

‘Dukhiari Zainab door khari,

Sar Veer Sipahi Joojh Gaye

Ab Bhai bhi Marne jawan hai’.

(The Lamented Zainab standing at a distance, beating her head and crying all the brave soldiers have been sacrificed and now (her) brother also going to be killed).

Next day, Nawab Asaf-ud-daula also listened and saw that women, who was reciting that mersia. He felt the pathos of music. Some historians say that after this incident, the rule book of classical music- "Usul-ul-Naghamat al Asifia" has been written by Ustad Muhammad Reza.18 About its author Mohammad Reza, no detailed information found except that he wrote this book in the year 1813 A.D. and took training in music from Khwaja Hasan Maududi, who held important position in the court of Nawab Asaf-ud-daula. Khwaja Hasan Maududi was patronized ever after Nawab Asaf-ud-daula, by Nawab Saadat Ali Khan.19 This is one of the popular works of the later medieval period in Persian language. Three manuscripts of this work are available at the Dr. ZakirHusain Library, Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi; Salarjung Museum, Hyderabad; and the Faculty of Music and Fine Arts Library, Delhi University. There are considerable differences in the title of this work indifferent manuscripts. The author of this work was Ghulam Raza Bin Mohammad Panah. It contains six chapters: Svar, Raag, Prakeerna, Prabandha, Tal and musical instruments. One of the important parts to note about this work is that it highlights the shuddha scale of Hindustani music as Bilaval scale. Although this has not been described in detail, it provides useful information to
modern researchers. In my opinion this work is of a high standard in which the author has dealt with all the important aspects of Hindustani music with deep understanding. In addition to the above-stated works, numerous other Persian manuscripts on Indian musicology exist at various places in India and abroad. These need to be explored and studied. Some of them are in a precarious condition and need to be preserved and translated. In my view it is a task of utmost importance and urgency that deserves to be taken up in order to bring to light the rich heritage of Indian musicology before it is lost.

Nawab Saadat Ali Khan was fond of listening Rag Bhairavi. According to Mirja Jafar Hussain, "Every day early morning, immediately after namaz, eminent courtiers were fond of listening Raga Bhairavi."

By the 18th century, people were bored of the rigid and highly disciplined Dhrupad-Dhamar so the khayal was evolved and popularized by Niamat Khan ‘Sadarang’ (1670-1748) in Lucknow. A great musician and vainik at the court of Mohammad Shah Rangeele, he once defied the imperial orders, and in order to escape wrath, he fled to Lucknow and lived here in peaceful obscurity for some years. It was during his sojourn in Lucknow that he evolved the khayal style and composed hundreds of khayals under his pseudonym ‘Sadarang’, followed by his two sons, ‘Adarang’ (Feroz Khan) and ‘Maharang’ (Bhupat Khan).

The ‘Qawwal Bachcha Gharana of khayal singing’ also flourished in Lucknow because the Lucknow Gharana of exponents began with a famous qawwal named Ghulam Rasool. His descendants became famed exponents of this gharana which had the deep influence of qawwali introduced by Amir Khusrau. The founders of the now famous Gwalior gharana were none other than Bade Mohammad Khan and Nahan Peer bux descendants of Ghulam Rasool. They created this new gharana after they migrated to Gwalior.
It was Shori Miyan, the son of Ghulam Rasool, who invented the tappa which is now at its best in Gwalior and Varanasi.\textsuperscript{25}

The diverse and rich musical traditions of Delhi contributed to the full fruition of the art of dance and vocal music at the court of Awadh. Nawab Shuja-ud-daula was a great patron of the performing artistes\textsuperscript{26}; innumerable accomplished musicians, dancers and singers from Delhi and elsewhere assembled at his court. Some of the musicians received as high a salary as Rs.400-500 per month.\textsuperscript{27} Nawab Asaf ud daula, Nasir ud din Haider and Nawab Wajid Ali Shah, who had employed a large number of singers and dancers.\textsuperscript{28}

Maharaj Bindadin, who was a superb dancer and along with this a prolific composer too. His \textit{thumris} were ideally suited for ‘\textit{bhava-abhinaya}’ in Kathak.\textsuperscript{29} His compositions were highly mystical, and, surcharged with \textit{Krishna-bhakti} or devotion to Krishna. An outstanding quality of his compositions was – on one side their richness in \textit{ragas} and \textit{talas}, and on the other the \textit{sringara} is on a higher spiritual plane.\textsuperscript{30} [Figure101]

Every year, on other occasions, like Hindu festival of colours like Holi and Basant, [Figure 030] Nawab Asaf-ud-daula used to spent Rs. 60 per lacs.\textsuperscript{31} to boost the folk music of the people to celebrate their festival. Raja Mehre invented and started a new style of Kahar dance in that period.\textsuperscript{32} Even we can relate this contribution in building a platform for national integration on these occasions, Basant songs were composed on Sur - Tal and Rag - Ragini, accompanied by various instruments. Main characters in the Holi songs were Radha Krishna and when Haider Khan used to sing, it is said even the birds forget flying.\textsuperscript{58} Nawab Asaf-ud-daula used to play Holi with the common people and Englishmen gifted fire crackers to Nawab, indicate that Muslims celebrated Holi-festival not as a formality but considered it as their main festival.\textsuperscript{33}
Nawab Tafajj ul Hussain Khan, Shustari Saheb, and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad mentioned about one noted musician, during the reign of Nawab Saadat Ali Khan, who used to sing a particular raga before the Nawab used to sleep and the other one when he used to get up early in the morning. It indicate that the Nawabs were aware of Raga-That system that is why the request of an apt song before sleep and Bhairavi, early in the morning, was demanded by him.

Mian Shustari introduced the folk form of frontier provinces 'Tappa' to North Indian Music. Haider Khan was a renounced singer during the regime of Nawab king Ghazi-ud-din Haider. Another special style was evolved in which raga were used as a framework and no instrumental accompaniments were used called sozkhwani under Nawab king Ghazi-ud-din Haider.

Nawab Ghazi-ud-din Haider and Nawab king Nasir-ud-din Haider, despite their busy schedule with politics gave full patronage to music also along with other fine arts. Haideri khan was the only distinguished musician in Lucknow at the time of Ghazi-ud-din Haider. In Nasir-ud-din Haider's reign, there were a large number of singers but no one was of the standard of Haideri Khan. In Muhammad Ali Shah's and Amjad Ali Shah's reign, little interest was taken in these wordly affairs: the former had no energy because of his age and the latter did nothing because of religious dogmas. It was, the literary and artistic attainments of Nawab King Wazid Ali Shah, which bear testimony of his skill as an artist and Lucknow surpassed other centres as far as the creation of 'thumri', 'dadra' and other forms of musical arts are considered.

Until the age of "Najo" and "Bani", Marsia Khwani provided a religious outlook to the musical atmosphere in Lucknow. According to sharer Haidari khan was the only distinguished musician in Lucknow at the
time of Ghazi-ud-din Haider. In Nasir-ud-din Haider's reign there were a large number of singers but none was of the standard of Haideri Khan. In Nawab Muhammad Ali Shah's and Nawab Amjad Ali Shah's reigns little interest was taken in these worldly affairs.

On the basis of the late Asad-ullah-Kaukab's letter, Sharar clearly states the atmosphere of music in Lucknow when Wazid Ali Shah became the Nawab: "There was a large number of musical experts in Lucknow, but the singers who had influence at court and received royal titles were not among the most adapt. Qutub-ud-daula, was an expert sitar player. Other experts were Pyar Khan, Jafar Khan, Haidari khan and Basit Khan all of whom were of Mian Tan Sen's family".

Nawab Wazid Ali Shah had been taught the art of music by Basit Khan. Under his guidance, Nawab Wazid Ali Shah evolved new raginis like 'Jogi', 'Juhi', 'Jasmine' or 'Shah pasand' according to his predilections.

The musical arts received patronage of an exceptional nature not only from the court and the elite class but also from a large section of the local populace who too evinced an unprecedented taste for these performing arts. No occasion of mirth or festivity was ever wanting in them. Lucknow became a noted centre of classical Indian music and dance and possessed numerous experts of various musical styles. This period also witnessed new assertions in musicology related to modal classification and the Shudh scale which were now recognized and were to become the foundation stones of Hindustani music.

Amir Hasan writes in his ‘Palace Culture of Lucknow’, ‘No other city can perhaps claim to have won a larger measure of love and loyalty from its citizens than Lucknow’. He has compared Lucknow to “an exquisitely charming courtesan who is highly sophisticated, elegant, well-mannered is a good conversationalist, has a fairly good knowledge of contemporary literature.
and topics of the day, and is capable of satisfying the diverse tastes and needs of her clients and admirers”.

Though the Nawabs of Awadh were familiar with western music and even arranged concerts to entertain their European guests. During the reign of Nawan Asaf ud daula in 1784, a Raqs-i-farangi was organized at the time of the banquet given for Governor General Warren Hastings. During the nineteenth century, the Nawabs employed English instrumentalists and bands to entertain their European guests. Sa’adat Ali Khan purchased a band from Colonel Morris. Lord Moira also refers to ‘a variety of English tunes played at the Palace’. Ghazi ud din Haider had an English bag-piper, Jerry gahagan. At a later stage, however, the bands used to be employed for military occasions, as has been the tradition in the West. Sa’adat Ali Khan purchased a band from Colonel Morris. Lord Moira also refers to ‘a variety of English tunes played at the Palace’. Ghazi ud din Haider had an English bag-piper-Jerry Gahagan. At a later stage, however, the bands used to be employed for military occasions, as has been the tradition in the west. Evidence shows that nobles had French organs but merely as curiosities. The keyboard instruments never became popular in Nawabi Awadh.

Nawab Shuja ud daula was a great patron of the performing artistes; innumerable accomplished musicians dancers and singers from Delhi and elsewhere assembled at his court. Some of the musicians received as high a salary as Rs. 400/500 per month. Shuja ud daula’s successors were also patrons, especially Asaf ud daula, Nasir ud din Haider and Wajid Ali Shah, who had large number of singers and dancers in their employ. Nasir ud din Haider patronized four groups of performing women, known as ‘jalse-waliyan’, who belonged to the Bhanumati, Chune-wali, Domni and Natni communities. The great patron and connoisseur was, of course, Wajid Ali Shah himself a musician.
The number of popular artists burgeoned during the period. The elite artistes tried to protect their traditions and began to transmit them within the family to their direct descendants and this gradually led to the development of gharana music during the 19th century. Medieval musical texts do not mention the gharana: primarily because classical canonized forms of dance and music were generally preserved by the hereditary communities of dancers and singers and not strictly by families. Interestingly, the term Gharana appears for the first time in a musical treatise of Wajid Ali Shah in the context of dance.

Simple and attractive tunes which could be appreciated by everyone was adopted by noted musicians of that age. Shori’s attractive raginis such as ‘Khammach Bhairvi’, ‘Jhanjhavi, senura’, ‘Tilak’ and ‘Pilu’, became popular among the elite class. It is said that ‘Bhairvins belong to Lucknow and this style of singing was evolved in the land of experimentation during the period of 18th-19th century.

It sounds interesting that when Khayal singing was introduced in Lucknow, eminent classical singers had objected, who were more in favour of dhrupad and dhamar and considered it an attempt to dilute the classical music. In reality, music during the Nawabi era, was merely a source of entertainment so they thought to simplify the khayal singing too later on. A result of these efforts was the emergence of thumri in the reign of Nawab Wazid Ali Shah. He composed thumris and dadras under the pennames ‘Akhtarpia’, which won instant popularity.

Nawab Wazid Ali Shah was a very versatile and highly accomplished artiste. He combined the talents of a musician, composer, choreographer, dancer and poet, and was the author of numerous books, creator of Rahas operas, and a painstaking guru. Nawab king Wazid Ali Shah, himself wrote three books, ‘Dulhan’, ‘Bani’ and ‘Najo’, they deal on
contemporary music and musicians. Another treatise written by Nawab Wazid Ali Shah was ‘Sautul Mubarak’ dealing with "gat" in dances. No ruler so versatile ever sat on the throne. Hamid ud daula Sayyad Mahmud Ali Khan Bahadur wrote :-

"Koi Kamil aisa jahan me nahi
kitabe hare k phan ne Tasnif kiye
……. mahir har juban

Arab se ajam tak……….."  

Nawab Wajid Ali Shah's character was complex. He was a versatile ruler whose faults have been highlighted, and his contributions under rated, writes, cast by providence for the role of an accomplished dilettante he found himself a for the high office he was elevated by chance. He was a lovable and generous gentleman he was a voluptuary still he never touched wine, and though sunk in pleasure, he never missed his five daily prayers. It was the literary and artistic attainments of Nawab Wajid Ali Shah which distinguished him from his contemporaries. Nawab Wajid Ali Shah, a widely read scholar, he spent lavishly in honouring poets and scholars, Mirja Ghalib, the great Urdu poet, received for example, a pension of Rs. 500/- per month from the Awadh Government during his reign. His opulent darbar attracted artistes from all over the north to participate in the mehfils and competitions. The king himself enriched all aspects of Hindustani Music and dance with his prolific creations. Nawab Wajid Ali Shah was the author of over a hundred books which were all published in his royal press (Matab-e-Sultani)  

Few eminent writers, who have written book on Nawab Wajid Ali Shah or translated works of Nawab Wajid Ali Shah like Roshan Taqui and Dr. Yogesh Praveen who have translated 'Najo' and 'Bani', have pointed out few
points, which establish similarities between Hajrat Amir Khusrau of the 13th-14th century and Nawab Wazid Ali Shah:

a) Both believed in rational integration communal harmony and excellent linguists.

b) Both composed songs in many languages and diabetes such as Persian, Urdu, Arabic, Hindi, Braj Bhasha and Awadhi. Wajid Ali Shah had also mastered English and French.

c) Khusrau a Sufi while king Wajid Ali Shah a Shia Muslim, were Tolerant towards other religions Nawab Wajid Ali Shah himself said about his two eyes, one was Shia and the other Sunni.

The above mentioned point would be clear by giving an example of their composition. "Nawab Wajid Ali Shah's most famous thumri in Rag Bhairvi.

"Babul mora naihar chhuto jay,
Char kahar Mil more doliyan uthaye."

It is the sad song of parting of a bride leaving her beloved parental home in a doli. It also signify human beings, last journey into eternity when the body is carried on the shoulders of four pall bearers.

A very similar composition by Amir Khusrau:

"Bahut rahi babul ghar dulhan chal tore pine bulayi,
Bahut khel kheli Sakhiyan se, ant kari larkayi,
Bida karne ko kutumb sab aye, sagare log lugayi,
Char kahar mil doliya uthayi, sung purohit aur bhai,
Khusrau chale sasurari sajani, sung nahin koiayi."
Nawab WAjid Ali Shah's book "Bani" mentions his composition in its first chapter 'sur' as: dhamar, khayal, thumri, dadra, tappa, sawan and so on.

Few examples are:

a) Tappa: Ragini khamaj (Tal Tri Tala)\(^76\)

स्थाई — यार बदनाम मेड़ी गुल्क जहां दे।

अन्तरा — तारे अकास पर "अखारा" सांझ भी है।

चन्द्रमुखी में भवें दोऊ धनक कमान दे।

b) Dadra: Ragini Pilu (Tal Addha) \(^77\)

स्थाई — आजा निदिया मेरे बलम को।

दुःख न होवे सपने में "अखार"

मौला रखखे तेरे धरम को।

c) Hori (Ragini Jhanjhavati - Tal : Chachar) \(^78\)

स्थाई — में भोली न लया रे न लगाया

अन्तरा— अखार पिया की कदर न जानी

आशिक नाम दोहराया।

d) Sawan: Rag - Aijan, Tal - Aijan.\(^79\)

स्थाई — पदमियां बूढ़न बरसे रे

लखमियां बूढ़न बरसे।

अन्तरा— ताल तलेया सागर नदिया हैं भरे

कैसे निकसू "अखारा" में घर से।

e) Khayal: Ragini - Gaud Sarang : Tal - Tri tala.\(^80\)

स्थाई — बापू का छोरा बीन बजावे
Nawab Wazid Ali Shah was a disciplined singer and used to practice for two hours. 'Sur' and 'Laya' are the foundation of good singing. He developed mastery over these two forms so much it was even difficult for an accomplished singer of repute to keep up with him.  

Nawab Wajid Ali Shah himself said about Indian Music:

"सुरों की उपज हो तरन्तुम के साथ
हिले होठ मुलांब के कुफ़कुफ़ के साथ
खरज का वकार और सुरों की लकीर
वो ताने कि जिनसे पड़े दिल पे तीर।"

In his book "Najo", he presented 144 of his compositions with specific ragas, talas and the time for singing each according to the time theory of music. Some are in praise of Hazrat Ali, others in praise of Lord Ganesh, some describe the beauty of nature and so on. Wajid Ali Shah encouraged aristocratic ladies from the royal household to become good singers.

He used to devote hours and hours giving advanced training in dance
and music to the already well trained and specially gifted 48 gems of female dancer singers of the Radhamangilwaliyan category, in dhrupad, khayal, chaturana, trivet, hori-dhamar, tarana, thumri and ghazal in difficult talas like, rupak, chautal, brahmatal, laxmital, sulfakta, chhabital, besides tritala, addha, chachar and so on.\textsuperscript{85}

Wazid Ali Shah, in his book "Sautul-Mubarak\textsuperscript{86} has very masterly defined the relation of raga to the twelve houses of "Horoscope", which are present in the body of human beings from toe to the head. There are certain Ragas, the voice of which emerges from a particular house of body, like Paraj from the seventh house, kharaj from 8th and Bhairavi from tenth. He has also explained the method of "Riyaz" for ordinary music students.\textsuperscript{87}

When the last king of Awadh Wazid Ali Shah left his splendorous Lucknow on the gloomy night of March 13\textsuperscript{th}, 1856,\textsuperscript{88} there was great mourning and waiting all over the city. It was at this agonizing moment of being wrenched away from his beloved city and subjects that Akhtar sang the unforgettable thumri which he had composed:\textsuperscript{89}

\begin{verbatim}
शबे अन्दोह से रो रो के सहर करते हैं
दिन को किस रंज ओ तरदुद से बसर करते हैं
नाता ओ आह गरज आलों पहर करते हैं
दरो दीवार पे हसरत से नजर करते हैं

दोस्तों शाद करो तुमको खुदा को सौंपा
हमने अपने दिले नाजुक को जफा को सौंपा
केसरी बाग जो है उसको सबा को सौंपा
दरों दीवार पे हसरत से नजर करते हैं
\end{verbatim}
The nineteenth century saw the birth of Nawab Wazid Ali Shah's pageants—jogia jashan. In these pageants the king, his palace maids and his subjects paraded as yogis. These presentations of Krishna-lore sowed the seeds of Modern Hindustani Theatre. The thumri form of romantic and devotional music also became popular in the 19th century.90

In the history of Hindustani music and dance, Lucknow occupies a very prominent place among other musical centers such as Delhi, Gwalior, Rampur, Baroda, Jaipur, Maihar, Rewa and Alwar. The distinct style of Lucknow Gharana Kathak, Lucknow Tabla, Lucknow (poorab) Ang Thumri-Dadra and Lucknow style of ghazal singing prove the many-sided contributions of Lucknow to music and dance.91 The royal court was adorned by numerous descendants of Sangeet Samrat Tansen’s musical lineage and they were essentially dhrupadiyas such as Ustad Pyar Khan, Basat Jaffar, Bahadur, Haidar and Nasir Ahmad Khan Ghulam Hussain, his son Dulbe Khan, Mehndi Hussain, Kalawant Raza Hussain and many others.92

Such was the glorious era of Awadh from 1722 to 1856 a.d. during those eventful decades, Lucknow became a hub for various forms of music, dance, drama, poetry and scholarship. It's contribution to all the three aspects of music—namely vocal music instrumental music and dance have been so valuable and lasting that the name of Lucknow as the capital of the Awadh regime, will always figure prominently in he history of Indian music along with
other prominent centres of music all over India. Lucknow has witnessed various stages in the growth, decline and revival of our music and even played significant role in the early part of the 19th century in the renaissance of Hindustani music. Wherever any scholar will sum up the history of Indian music in North India or North Indian Music as a whole, it will not be complete without a detailed introduction of the musical forms that developed in the Nawabi era from 1722 to 1856 A.D.

To understand the musical journey of Awadh during the period under study, we have to go through the details of its gradual development regarding the invention of ‘Purab Baz’ or typical Lucknow gharana of various forms of music like-

(i) In singing-Dhrupad, Khayal, Thumri, Tappa, Sozkhwani and Qawwali.
(ii) In playing of the instruments- Tabla, Sitar, Sur Sringar, Rabab.
(iii) Doms and Dominis.

During the musical evolution of Awadh, it witnessed melodious experience of the tinklings of thousands of ‘ghunghroos’, the thunder of ‘pakhawajs’, the boons of ‘baayaans’ and the resonant tones of sitars, sarods, shahnais and sarangis of the great maestros, which are frozen in its historic pillars of the grand musical past.

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Chapter 5:

Musical evolution of Awadh:

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46. Amir Hasan ‘Palace Culture of Lucknow’; pg. 17.
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Chapter 6

Awadh-cultural hub for classical artists

[i] Dhrupad  [ii] Khayal

Evolution means a gradual working out of development. The old form changes and takes on a new one. And while changing it sheds some of its old paraphernalia and takes on some new trappings or arranges the placing of its different parts and so was the case with the classical vocal music of Awadh. The interaction of dhrupad Khayal and thumri with one another is essentially a process of evolution. Understanding of the interaction of dhrupad, khayal and thumri with one another is a matter of understanding the process of give and take and as we go deeper into this process, various important things reveal themselves to us. With reference to the North-Indian music system, the main forms of classical singing are:

(i) Dhrupad
(ii) Khayal.

As far as the rendition of dhrupad is considered, it is by far the most difficult form of classical singing. During the period under study; (1722-1856A.D.), this form of music was also affected. We find major change in the verbal content of dhrupad, what was followed in the older days as a part of temple rituals to its entry in the courts of the Nawabs of Awadh.¹ If we try to ascertain the role of dhrupad as an entertainment and the textual content which was mainly in praise of god before, it definitely gave way perhaps to that of Nawabs and courtiers, and, thus gave birth to the new form of dhrupad.²
Dhrupad fell out of favour during the early eighteenth century and lost large scale patronage in Delhi because it was considered difficult and rigid, as compared to khayal which has greater potential for individual flexibility. It regained its popularity at the Awadh court towards the second half of the eighteenth century under the influence of Khwaja Hasan Maududi, who was an outstanding musician.³

Tansen a renowned name in the music world of all times can be recognized as a medium to connect dhrupad to the courts of Awadh. The descendants from Sangit Samrat Tansen's musical lineage were essentially Dhrupadiyas and Vainiks such as the Ustad Pyar Khan, Basat Khan and Jaffar Khan.⁴ Bahadur Khan and Haider Khan, Ghulam Hussain, his son Dulle Khan, Mehendi Hussain, Nasir Ahmad Khan and so many others, who adorned Awadh court during the Nawabs rule and contributed a lot in its development.⁵

The language of most dhrupads is Hindi but it is that form of Hindi which is referred as Brajbhasa and in earlier times was known variously as Desi-bhasa, or Madhyadesiya.⁶

The term Madhyadesa was the heart of the Aryan settlement and had been the centre of cultural activities from ancient times. It became a melting point of races, cultures, languages and arts. All intermixed here and were transmitted into a composite culture.⁷ A part of Madhyadesa was Awadh too where the Nawab continued the spirit of unity with its Ganga-Jamuni tehjeeb and helped all forms of art and music to prosper in a congenial atmosphere. After the fall of the Mughal rule at Delhi, the dhrupada singers settled mainly at Mathura, Vrindavan, Rampur, Jaipur, Varanasi, Indore, Haryana and Lucknow and established schools of music which found good nurturance from there progeny and their growing number of pupils.⁸
The musical structure of Dhrupada consists of a Dhrupad pada (text), which is marked by its literary excellence and in this respect it comes fairly close to poetic composition. It is in fact the fine blend between the melodic and the poetic (the literary) qualities of dhrupada that gives it its uniqueness.

It is composed of raga (the melody) laya (the tempo), tala (the rhythm) and dhatus (the melodic components). The raga is presented in its clearest and purest form. This is in contrast to Khayal, thumri and tappa, where the raga is sometimes mixed with musical phrases of a different raga to add colour and appeared.

Dhrupad is performed in two steps – ‘alap’ and singing of the composition. The ‘alap’ is performed in four steps. In the first step, the volts of lower register are sung and in later steps the notes of progressively higher register are sung. At the end of these four steps, the phrases of nom, tom like re, tano or tana to om are sung. The end of each step is indicated by a stroke of the drum. The second step is the singing of the composition. Now, the drummer starts his beats and the singers as well as the drummer perform together in a manner as to ensure that they reach a perfect concordance with respect to same.

Dhrupada has four dhatus:- sthayi, antara, sanceri and abtoya.

According to Imam, If the names of flowers occur in any Dhrupad, it is called 'Gul' band or phool band. If two Dhrupads are set to the same Tal and the words and phrases are similar, it is jugal band. It means that anything which bears resemblance whether it is Dhrupad, Khayal, Tarana or gat Paran of Dholak or Pakhawaj having the bols of equal tals is called Jugul band rendering.
The *laya* in *Dhrupada* is characterized by the fact that during the same performance, it changes a number of times. The acceleration in tempo is not in a continuum but in a ladder like fashion. Each step of the ladder represents acceleration in multiples of two, three, four, 1/2, 1/4 or 7/6 and 50 on the basic tempo which is called *tala*.\(^{17}\)

Kalawant\(^{18}\) Raja Hussain of Lucknow knew hundreds of *dhrupads* and *dhamars*, but when this type of music lost its popularity in Lucknow, he migrated to the Rampur Darbar as a court musician.\(^{19}\) This was how Ustad Allauddin Khan \(^{20}\) came in contact with him and learnt many *dhrupads* and *dhamars* from him. Apart of Kalawant Raja Hussain, other prominent singers of hori, dhrupad Nishapuri-were the brother in law of Nawab Asaf-ud-daula and his son Nawab Qasim Ali Khan and Chajju Khan Kalawant.\(^{21}\)

Another profound singer Syed Meer Ali, who has been called one of the founders of music, by Karam Imam, was a versatile singer. He was proficient in all forms of classical music, flourished from the rule of Nawab Saadat Ali khan till the reign of the last king Wajid Ali Shah. In the early 19th century, besides Syed Mir Ali soz khwan dhrupadiya, there were several other dhrupad maestros, such as Himmat Khan, Nur Khan, Chajju Khan and some high class courtesans Khursdid Bai, but they remained a small and elite group.\(^{22}\) Dhrupad, may have in time, acquired a stereotypical image, for in 1834 Captain N.A.Willard described it as ‘too masculine to suit the tender delicacy of female expression’ and almost ‘devoid of studied ornamental flourishes’.

Another well known, dhrupadiya as well as Khayalia, was Haideri khan, who refused court patronage as is evident by the following incident. ‘Once he was invited by king Ghazi ud din Haider.\(^{23}\) Haider Khan pleased him with his compositions but displeased him with his
manners. The king told him that he had made him laugh but requested him to do something so that he become sad. If not fulfilled then he would get him drained in the Gomti. Haideri sang a melody which enabled him to make the king weep profusely. When the king asked him to name his reward. He told the king with folded hands “Please do not call me again. If you kill me, another Haideri will not be born again. But if you die, another king will be there, without delay”.

However the Nawabs of Awadh were committed to the development of music which meant classical music in particular. As mentioned earlier, the dhrupad ruled the field as the most respected form of classical music in the beginning and gradually promoting different forms of dhrupad, such as Khandar bani, Nouhar bani, gobarhari bani and Dagur bani. There is no material written or oral to show how they differed from one another although it would be evident that they must have developed their distinct concepts which must have been different from one another in material respects. Though Dhrupad style migrated along with Nawab Wajid Ali Shah to Calcutta and other places too like Rampur, Jaipur etc, if, it would have retained here, the style would have another form-Awadh style of dhrupad singing, a style of its own. Though the dhrupad style is fixed on the parameter of its presentation, change is not allowed. Whereas in the Nawabi era, full of political upheavals managed to provide cultural environment- an environment of absorption of good techniques with a slight change in its existing pattern, could not be applied to this form of classical music so it gave may for creation of another lighter form of classical music - Khayal and Thumri.

In the beginning, the dhrupad maestro in Awadh followed the traditional style as practiced by their ancestors in Delhi but gradually in the course of time dhrupads underwent far reaching changes and in the process paved the way for the emergence of a new style of singing called "Khayal".
Efforts were therefore made to simplify, classical music. The Khayal was evolved as a reaction against the austerity and rigidity of the Dhrupad style. When people got tired of the ponderous pace, and lack of vocal ornamentations in the dhrupad elaboration this form began to lose its popularity and made way for the classical romantic khayal combining romanticism of thumri a form which allowed the musicians of lot of freedom for improvisation on rage and tala.

**Khayal**

As stated earlier, every age has its aesthetic norms and the taste of the then audience enabled the 'dhrupad' to establish itself and flourish for a long period of nearly two hundred years until the early poet of the 18th century when the kings and courtiers started getting weary of its mathematical acrobatics and its stereotyped content. The theme of the dhrupad was not love or one of amorous or sensuous nature. But the Nawabs of Awadh had became more prone to the sensuous side of life. Generally the ways and manners of the kings spread among the courtiers and then on to the common people. The sensuous side of the ruling class thus spread far and wide and influenced the current of music which provided immense scope for the performers musical imagination. Hence, Bahadur Khan and Dulla Khan, for all practical purposes, discovered a new form of Khyal singings and were the founders of the Khayal school of Lucknow. They became conscious of the new demands, and, started composing amorous songs which they taught to their disciples although they themselves remained wedded to the then orthodox dhrupad, if only to maintain their status as classical performers, respected in the musical fraternity.

How exactly Khayal originated is not yet clear. It is conjectured that it was a further sophistication of what was known as rupaka alapti in ancient India. But it is also quite possible that migrant central and
mid-Asian Musicians developed and modified some indigenous music into Khayal.\textsuperscript{35} The credit of making it in art of high order is given to Niyamat Khan ‘Sadarang’ and his nephew ‘Adarang’ (18th century).\textsuperscript{36}

‘Sadarang’ was the pen name of Nyamat Khan, a court musician of the Mughal Emperor, Mohammad Shah (18th century). He is considered to be a descendent of Tansen through the lathur's daughter, his father being Nirmal Khan (Lal Khan). \textsuperscript{37} Nyamat Khan was attached to the court of Mohammad Shah 'Rangeele" a Veena player. It was a practice in those days for this instrument to be used to accompany singing (specially dhrupad), which meant that the player had to sit behind the vocalist and be subordinate to him. \textsuperscript{38} He left the services of the king, and, according to the tradition of his school of music, Nyamat Khan settled in Lucknow sometime after 1719 A.D. and developed Khayal singing to a beautiful artistic quality.\textsuperscript{39}

The credit of introducing a new style of singing 'bandish' in the delicate form of singing - Khayal, goes to Niyamat Khan Sadarang and Feroj Khan Adarang who were patronized by Emperor Mohammad Shah Rangeele.\textsuperscript{40} As per a story, Niyamat Khan infuriated the emperor by refusing to play a duet with some others instrumental artiste because Nyimat considered it infeasible for a Vainik of the Seniya parampara to perform jugalbandi with a sarangiya.\textsuperscript{41} The emperor in his rage, dismissed Niyamat Khan from his court and banished him from Delhi. It is believed that Niyamat fled to Lucknow and lived here incognito for many years to escape from imperial wrath.\textsuperscript{42} It was during his sojourn in Lucknow that he evolved the khayal style which was destined to make his name immortal in the history of Hindustani music. In Lucknow, he chose two poor but talented young boys - Bahadur and Dulle who were the sons of a dhrupadiya who had died prematurely, and trained them in the new Khayal style created by him.\textsuperscript{43} Surprisingly, Niyamat Khan never sang these Khayals in public nor taught these to any member of his family. His disciples Bahadur and Dulle became
accomplished exponents and came to be known as the famous "Miyan brothers'. The young men would remove all their costly jewellery and throw them on the dais and challenge. "If anyone can sing even a small tan of the entire composition , these ornaments are his." There were none to take on the bet.  

Once, they were insisted by Emperor Mohammad Shah to perform in the Imperial darbar. He was impressed by the lilting bandishes and expressed his eagerness to meet the 'ustad' and composer. The ruler was immensely pleased with their style, on enquiry, came to know that their ustad 'Sadarang' was his erstwhile court musician - Nyamat Khan. He requested him to come back into his court and to train a large number of disciples. In most of Sadarang's compositions after his re-appointment in the court, we find his name coupled with that of his royal patron "Muhammad Shah Rangeele."  

Two young boys, Bahadur Khan and Dulle Khan (Miyan brothers), who were the sons of a famous dhrupad singer also lived in Lucknow. Their father died when they were young so their mother requested Nyamat Khan to take them under his care and train them. Nyamat Khan could not impart knowledge of Khayal to his family because it was considered derogatory in comparison to 'dhrupad'. Indeed, it is said that he never sang them in concerts but taught to his disciples. The Miyan brothers virtuosity were so great that they would set images in their performances.

Eventually the Miyan brothers got an opportunity to sing in the presence of king Mahmood Shah in Delhi. Forgetting his old displeasure, he appointed him in the court with great honour and requested him to tear music to the ladies of his palace.  

Sadarang made a request that he be relieved of his duties in the court. He seems to have felt that such restrictions would only come in the way of his free life and musical development. The plea was agreed to on one condition, that Sadarang would always couple his name with that of the king in his compositions. Therefore, from then on Nyamat Khan used the signature
'Mohammad Shah Sadarang-ele'. So it is surmised, Nyamat Khan signed his songs in two ways, Sadarang, when he live incognito in Lucknow and Mohammad Shah Sadarangeele when he rejoined the Delhi darbar.  

In Lucknow style of Khayal singing Sadarang must have experienced the gradual woodenness that had crept into his contemporary dhrupad with its more than mechanical insistence on arithmetical rhythm. As a departure from this bondage, eliminating the preliminary alap, he composed 'Khayals' in simplex tolas such as Jhumra, Tilvada and Ektal. The melodic line was also made less severe with provision for variations and frees approach. In consonance with the ways of royal courts, their texts were also lyrical and often erotic. But they did maintain partly the dignity of dhrupad, without being tied down to a straight jacket. With changing times, many of these have become looser in structure and perhaps there is much of piracy and plagiarism in using his signature, ‘Sadarang’.  

Mohammad Karam Imam, the author of an outstanding treatise on music in Urdu called Ma’adanul Moosiqui, is by far the best book now available on music during the Nawabs of Awadh. The ancestors of Mohammad Karam Imam hailed from Ghor. In the period of Nawab Saf-ud-daula, Karam Imam’s grandfather- Zorawar Ali Khan came to Awadh and later on Imam learnt music from his father Mohammad Dilawar Ali Khan and two renowned musicians of the day Syed Meer Ali and Babu Ram Sahai along with his friend Nawab Hussain Ali Khan- son of Nawab Qasim Ali and grandson of Nawab Salarjung. Mohammad Karam Imam managed to become a musahib of Nawab Ikramuddaulah-father-in-law of Wazid Ali Shah and thereby got access to the darbar of the king also. Mohammad Karam Imam wrote ‘Ma’adanul Moosiqui’in 1272Hijra(A.D. 1856) but the treatise remained unpublished in his lifetime. It got published only in 1925 at the Hindustani Press with the efforts of Syed Wajid Ali, a ‘rais’ of Sandila(Hardoi) who discovered it among various manuscripts kept in the family archives.
Mohammad Karam Imam refers to the musicians of Lucknow during the reigns of Nawab Shuja-ud-daulah and Nawab Asaf-ud-daula. Only a few well known musicians had adorned the court of Awadh. When the capital was shifted from Faizabad to Lucknow they also came to reside at the new capital. After the death of Nawab Asaf-ud-daula, his successor Nawab Sa'adat Ali Khan did not show much interest in fine arts and music.

The author has related many interesting and amazing anecdotes in his book. The following one affirms the miracle of music in which the authors very credulously believe. "It was the day of Vasant Celebrations. The Saheb's shrine in the presence of the great Faquir and Ustad Mir Ali Saheb. The entire Lucknow had assembled. Mian Ghulam Rasool father of Mian Shori and his brother were singing a Khayal in Rag Bahar. In a thickly populated city like Lucknow, a bird of the wilderness, a cuckoo (Koel) came flying and sat on Ghulam Rasool turban and began cooing. When he stopped singing, the bird flew away. My father and uncle as well as Shaikh Mohammad Saleh Saheb and Maulvi Ahsanullah Saheb of Unnao were present in the gathering."

According to Imam, in those days of ease and luxury the aristocrats took great interest in female singers. Bi Rahiman Bai used to sing Holi and Khayal exceptionally well. Even at the age of 50, she took lessons from Babu Ram Sahai.

Sunder Bai, younger sister of Rahiman Bai was famous for rendering Khayal. Sharfo Bai, daughter of Sedho Bai, was an expert in singing Khayal in Mohammad Khan's style.

Imam mention - "There was a time when music was held in highest esteem by nobles, scholars and connoisseurs. Music was considered an art of worship, The singer was offered a higher place while listeners, irrespective of their status, sat at a Comer palace."
having obtained permission from Nawab Asaf-ud-daula invited these musicians to his house. When they arrived, he apologized for his inability to get up from his seat to welcome them as he was ill. He requested them to be kind enough to sit down and sing but they turned their back saying that he should have called them when he was all right. Not only this they tendered even their resignation to the Nawab stating "As long as we enjoyed respect in his kingdom, we were ready to give our lives but now we want to be relieved as Nawab Hasan Raja Khan has not treated us with due respect. It is impossible for us to suffer humiliation like this." The Nawab tried his best to dissuade them but to no effect. 62 These two brothers were so effective singers that even bird and animals stood lost in their music."

According to Mohammad Imam, "the musicians from the olden days are classified into various categories according to the proficiency they require. The one who knows Rajas Deshi and Marji i.e. new and old both known as gandharpa and the one who knows only Deshi Rajas is called Kankarookhi, if the gandharpa has the knowledge of many Rajas, every 'pad' and 'tirvat', he is called a 'Kalawant' and one who knows Khayal, Qaul, Qalbana, Nagsh, gul and Tarana, is called Qawwal. 63 One who is only the master of the knowledge of music but not in practice is called 'Pandit' and one who is the master of the knowledge of music both theoretical and practical in singing, composing, playing any instrument, and has the knowledge of dance etc. is a Nayak. 64"

Many of the old Khayals were perhaps composed by musicians who had no literary background, and therefore, the themes gives us a glimpse into the social patterns and domestic lives of the people of those times. 65 The common experiences of ordinary people in simple day to day conversational language were welcomed by the people of those times, but such text are not suitable for presentation before today's discerning and awakened audiences. 66
Not only was the rich Khayal style created by Sadarang and Adarang in Lucknow but also the creators of the 'vilambit' and drut Khayal also belonged to Lucknow. It all began with a famous gauval singer of Lucknow named Ghulam Rasool, whose great grandsons Shakkar Khan and Makhkhan Khan became found exponents of the Khayal style. Their sons Bade Muhammad Khan (Shakkar Khan's son) and Naththan Peerbux (Makhkhan Khan's son) surpassed their predecessors and emerged as the best Khayal exponents of their times.

We come across the names of numerous Khayal exponents who flourished in Lucknow during the Nawabi era such as Suraj and Chand Khan, Pyar Khan, Jaffar Khan, Basat Khan, Aniouddaula, Musahabuddaula, Raijuddaula (these three were disciples of the great Pyr Khan), Mohammad Ali Khan (son of Basat Khan), Anie Ali, Nasie Ahmad, Murad Ali, Sulaiman, Ghulam Rasool, Bej Bahadur, Chanchalse, Sadiq Ali Khan, Khurshid Ali Khan, Chajju Khan, Ghulam Hussain, his son Dulle Khan and the Latter 's son Ahmad Hussain Khan, Mehendi Hussain, Haider Khan, Raja Hussain and so on.

Miyanjani and Ghulm Rasool quarrel were famous ustads who were instead to join Nawab Asaf-ud-daula's grand darbar in Lucknow. Mohammad Karam Imam describes the chance of the music Ghulam Rasool (father of Shri Miyan) which captioned even birds and beasts, and narrates the following incident. Once on Basant festival, Miyan Jani and Ghulam Rasool were performing in Khurja Basant Saheb's tile in Lucknow before a vast gathering. When they started singing the Khayal beginning with the words "Kaliyan Sang baratrangaraliyan", a koel flew in from somewhere and joined them by "cooing" each time they repeated the line 'Koyal ki kook sun hook uthi" ! As soon as the music ended, the koel flew off! Karam Imam's father, uncle and several rich music patrons of that time are said to have witnessed this incident. Other popular musicians mentioned in the book are Shakkar Khan,
Makkhan Khan, Miyan Mohammad Khan Qauwal, Sona, Kalawant Miyan Chajju, Gaurari and Miyan Jiwan Khan (brother of Chajju Khan). 72

Salarganj Bahadur and his son Nawab Kasim Ali were good exponents of Dhrupads, Dhamans and Khayals. During the reign of Nawab Shuja-ud-Daula, the Ustads Umrao Khan, Ahmad Ali, Tarab Ali, Rahim Khan, Amir Khan (all belonging to the musical lineage of Raja Samokhan Singh) came to Lucknow and settled down here. 73 Their descendants continued to maintain the musical traditions of the family. Ustad Yusuf Khan and Ustad Wajir Khan (nephews of Ustad Mohammad Khan of Lucknow) were excellent exponents of hori dhamors, Khayals, tappa and so on. 74 Karam Imam writes that he heard Yusuf Khan and Wajir Khan in Lucknow continuously for six months and that not even once did he hear them out of form or off mood in their recitals. Pleasant and good looking, these two maestros sang in shuddhvani, and their style was characterised by correct enunciation and purity of notes. 75 He has also mentioned about Kalawant Mohammad Khan (son of Shakkar Khan) whose impressive Khayal singing was to a large extent responsible for the popularisation of the Khayal in Lucknow. His 'tan-pattes', 'Jane-zama' and other characteristic embellishments were highly admired. 76 Gifted with an attractive personality and rare humility in manners, this artiste won such wide acclaim that later on, the ruler of Rewa took him away and appointed him as a court musicians at Rs. 1000 per month- which was a lavish amount in those times. Ustad Mohammad Khan's two out of four sons Munauwar Khan and Murad Ali were good singers, Mohammad Khan's descendants Rajab Ali and Fazal Ali Khan who were fine Khayal exponents continued to stay on in Lucknow. 77 His nephew Maidu Khan whose style was moulded by that of Haddu Khan was also a good Khayaliya. Haddu - Hassu, Naththan Peerbux and Ghulam Imam were at first court musicians of gwalior but latur on they came to Lucknow and stayed on here. Sulaiman, Murad Ali Dadhi, Rajab Ali, Nur
Khan, Karim Khan and Mughal Khan were good Khayal exponents who lived in Lucknow. 78

Professional women singers of the earlier Nawabi era sang mainly Khayals. Nawab Wajid Ali Shah picked up hundreds of such talented girls and got there trained free in dance and singing by well paid professional Ustads, 'Madanul Mosqui' gives a long list of reputed female singers who flourished through royal patronage in those times Rahiman Bai received training from many gurus of whom Babu Ramsahayji needs special mention. Karam Imam writes that Rahiman Bai was Peerbux. 79 Her sister Sunderbai was also an expert Khayal Singer and high praise for the purity of her ragas. Other female Khayal singers were - Sidhobai, Sharafobai, Dhannobai, Jaisukhbai, Hirabai, Dhooman, Hussaini, Khajurbai, Khurshidbai, Bandiyan, Jattobai, Chandrabai and Juhubai. 80

An inimitable and peerless singer Haidari Khan, who lived during the reign of Nawab Ghajiuddin Haider (1814-1827 A.D.), who received the title of "king" from the Marquis of Hastings in 1819 A.D. 81 Haidari Khan was considered crazy perhaps because he never cared for royal favours, fame or wealth, and lived like a faqir. One day he was forcibly brought to the royal court by the order of the king who was very eager to hear this accomplished but strange musician. He gave such an impressive recital that the pleased king generously told him that he could ask for any gift from him. All that 'crazy Haideri' instead was that he should never again be asked to sing in the royal darbar! 82

Sharar mentions, the richer classes of people were not only genuinely interested in the art but they could tolerate only singers of a high standard. 83 A feeling for rhythm was ingrained in everyone even in the children of Lucknow. The ustads Pyar Khan, Jaffar Khan, Basat Khan, Bade and Chote Munne Khan, Sadiq Ali Khan, Khurshid Ali Khan, Dulle Khan and Ahmad Hussain Khan were among the most outstanding singers of Lucknow who
While the audience of the dhrupad remained a select one, khayal-gayaki became very popular in the 19th century. Many ‘chota khayals’ were composed as dance songs to be employed in Kathak, especially by Sanat Piya.85

One of the most outstanding musicians of Lucknow was Ustad Sadiq Ali Khan the famed exponent of Lucknow Gharana Khayal and the pioneer of thumri singing. His prime disciple Ustad Khurshid Ali Khan emerged as a worthy successor who continued his ustad's rich tradition of classical music. There two belonged to the distinguished gharana of musicians like the Ustads Haidar Khan, Turab Khan, Saket Khan, Pyar Khan and others. Sadiq Ali Khan flourish during the time of Nawab Wajid Ali Shah.86 Sadiq Ali Khan and Khurshid Ali Khan were the son of two brothers, therefore they were first cousins. When Sadiq Khan married Khurshid Ali Khan's elder sister, they became mutual brothers in law. Since Sadiq Ali Khan had no children of his own, Khurshid Ali Khan became for him, son, disciple, and musical heir - all rolled into one.87 Sadiq Ali Khan's training was intensive as well as extensive. Khurshid Ali Mastered both the Khayal and thumri styles, and later on underwent special training in Soj, Marsia, and Kakam of Lucknow under Syed Meer Ali of Lucknow.88 He was invited to perform in the great darbars of Rampur, Hyderabad, Gwalior, Delhi and so on. He was perhaps the last great representative of the Lucknow gharana of Khayal rendering. He paid meticulous attention to the 'asthai' and 'antara' of the bandishes and to the purity of the ragas. It is said that he sang Khayals in the pure old Saini style or the Qauwal Bachcha style. The Ustad taught a large numbers of Khayals and thumris to his granddaughter Sikandar Jahan in singing soj, Kalam, and Marsia in Raga-Raginis, and in pure traditional style.89

Dr. S.K. Chaubey writes in praise of Heerabai, a singer of rare beauty and talents who was initially getting a high monthly remuneration of Rs. 3000/- in the Bithoor darbar of Peshuna Nanarao.90 But the left Bithoor and
preferred the lavish darbar of Lucknow. She had gained admirable mastery over intricate tan varieties in Khayal singing and won much praise.

The peculiar presentation of three and a half saptak Tan presentation of Ustad Khurshid Ali Khan was outstanding; it was so difficult to say its 'sargam'. He had complete held over his breathings and mastery to hold on 'Tar-Septak' and delivering fast tempo chok khayal. 91

Ustad Khurshid Ali Khan tabs like 'Tilwara, Jhumra, Fardost, Sawari, Teental etc. for khayal singing. He was given the title of "Lucknow ke Fatak" because of his importance. Once, he sang Rag Nat Malhar and it started raining, the bandish was like this (as told by Ustad Momin Khan). 92

स्थाई --अल्लाह नबी जी करम की बूंदे बरसा दीजे
अन्तरा -- करम की बूंदे मेहर के बादल,
बेगी मेरे पिया से मिला दीजे।
अन्य बंदिशों--
राग भूपाली
स्थाई -- बैरन ननदिया लागी रहीली।
नित उठो मैंका के जावे।।
अन्तरा--सांची कहत छूं बावरे।

नाहीं शूली कहत दुरत न लजावे।।

राग जैत कल्याण
स्थाई -- अल्लाह को तू याद रखियो।
जिप्ये लाइल्लाह ईल्लाह
अन्तरा--एक आलम तू ही तो करत हे

तेरो नाम का तजल्ला।
The striking characteristic of Awadh Society, culture both art and music, was both its variegated strains of influence as well as its partial isolation from outside incursions.  

As is the case with culture, music is also moulded by the environment of each era. The Khayal, which still dominates Hindustani classical music is a typical example of the synthesis of Indian and Persian musical forms and it has been described as "essentially a Hindu Muslim syncretic art-form" affording ample scope for "eloquent vocalizing, for ornamentations like sparks of sound trills, fast glissandos, graphic oscillations". and for technical display in the fast tempo of verbal gymnastics.

Willard admired it as an ‘extremely graceful style, replete with studied elegance and embellishments’. He further remarks: ‘To a person who understands the language sufficiently, it is enough to hear a few good ‘Kheals’, to be convinced of the beauties of ‘Hindoostanee’ songs, both with regard to the pathos of the poetry and delicacy of the melody’. Muhammad Karam Imam Khan Unnami referred to two styles of khyal singing: one, sidhi tapli ka khayal and the other tariqa-i-khairabadi. The latter, according to him, was the traditional style of Delhi. An eminent classical singer of 'Qawwal Bachcha Gharana' Ustad Sadiq Ali Khan was not good in singing dhrupad, dhamars and Khayal but was excellent in thumri presentation too. His adopted son Ustad Khurshid Ali Khan continued the rich legacy of the Khayal singing to Ustad Iqbal Ali Khan.

Here's a genealogical study of "Qauwal Bachcha gharana' as presented by Ustad Momin Ali Khan, who is the grandson the Ustad Khurshid Ali.
**Qauwal Bachcha gharana (Dhrupad Khayal)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Brother</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Baksh ali Khan</td>
<td>Raje Khan (Rajab Ali Khan)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sadiq Ali Khan</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Khurshid Ali Khan (adopted son)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Iqbal Ali Khan</td>
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<tr>
<td>Momin Ali Khan</td>
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Khayal is so called because it is by nature imagination both as regards its subject matter and its interpretation. It was a revolt against the Dhrupad itself which was becoming too rigid, mechanical and losing its aesthetic appeal. If Niamat Khan, once he left Delhi court, would have not got welcome note in Lucknow, then a new style in classical singing which he created by combining 'Alap of Dhrupad, Bol-tans of Dhamar, Tans of famous songs, Murqi, Khatke', created a new form of singing 'Khayal would not be a reality as if now.
Chapter 6:-

Awadh-cultural hub for classical artists:

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Chapter 7

‘Development of light classical forms of music’:–

(i) Thumri 
(ii) Tappa

The culture of Lucknow as nurtured by the Nawab-Wazirs and later the ‘Kings’, around 1800, was a derivative offshoot of the refined late Mughal culture of Delhi. The Urdu poet ‘Insha’, himself a refugee from Delhi¹, wrote: “So many nobles forsook Delhi for Lucknow that Delhi became empty and Lucknow full. Of this multitude, there were none whose ancestry or residence had been in Lucknow for more than a century”.² During the reign of Nawab Shuja-ud-daula in Lucknow, most of the musicians of 18th century migrated to Lucknow - thousands of courtesans who were singers had come from Delhi and other places.³ The independence of Awadh was soon sharply compromised by a relatively new political force on the Indian scene: the British.⁴ The Nawabs, themselves protected by British power from popular revolt, made little or no attempt to administer their kingdom.⁵ The cultural aspect of any age reflects the environment and various musical developments occurred in Awadh, was also not an exception. The peculiar character of a regime which was at once wealthy has now become totally free from responsibility to the welfare of its subjects. It fostered the sensuous, carefree, and somewhat superficial nature of the arts ⁶ which is evident due to certain factors:

Firstly, some musicians took an active interest in the local folk traditions; such interest probably extended to Thumri which itself was a part of a product of Braj folk music.⁷ This cultural transmigration was not a new concept in India as it already happened during the earliest period of Muslim
hegemony in India when Hindu culture had exerted a powerful influence upon the art and culture of the Islamic rulers.

Secondly, the difference between the cultures of Lucknow and Mughal Delhi was due to the increased amity and interaction between the Hindu and Muslim communities of Awadh, thereby creating strong mutual influence in the fine arts. It resulted in the aristocracy’s prodigious appreciation of an interest in the Hindu culture which coincided with the popularity and development of thumri.

As we have already understood in the previous chapters, how the pure classical forms of music made their way into the courts of Awadh. Gradually as per the demands of the people comprising of the elite class and the Nawabs themselves, encouraged the experimentation in the mode of singing the classical compositions. With the help of the patronage provided by these Nawabs, lighter forms of classical singing were encouraged. Two important forms of light Indian Music – Thumri and Tappa were developed in an atmosphere of peace and comfort( in Awadh) so much that it completely changed its form and become popular as “Purabia Style” and helped in the process of ‘Ganga-Jamuna tehzeeb’ to take its shape. In Awadh, the extremely close relations between the Hindus and the Muslims fostered a degree of cultural exchange which is unparalleled in Mughal India. On the one hand, educated Hindus avidly mastered Urdu and Persian, wore Mughal sherwanis, even worshipped at Shia Imam- baras, on the other hand, Muslim musicians like Tawaqul Hussain adopted Hindu pen names and composed Bhakti devotional thumris, while devout Muslim Nawabs celebrated Holi in the court, Nawab Wazid Ali Shah composed thumris and staged rahas dance- dramas in which he himself played the part of Krishna.

The word thumri appears for the first time in Rag Darpan. Faqir ullah Saif Khan, discussing the similarities of Persian muqams
with their Indian counterparts (rags), says that melodies (mujawat) and songs (naghma), in which pardas (dhuns) were rendered in the current language of the populace, were similar to birwa, called thumri by some people. If we go the historical past of the musical form of Thumri then we come to a conclusion that the word did not come into common usage outside the Doab until the seventeenth century because there is no reference to thumri earlier than the Rag Darpan has been discovered. Yet the historiographers tried to collect much information about the origins and predecessors of thumri by examining various medieval genres which corresponded to thumri, or had important affinities with it, and hence may have been its ancestors. These genres include both ‘Great tradition’ forms as well as ‘regional folk genres’ of the braj area. As thumri has always been a semi-classical form, it has been susceptible to influences from both folk and classical music.

By the mid-eighteenth century, however, Delhi’s socio-economic decline had begun to enervate its cultural life as well. After Aurangzeb’s death in 1707, the empire disintegrated rapidly. Within a few decades, frivolous palace expenditures, wars of succession, and the dismemberment of the kingdom as Jats, Marathas, Afghans, and Sikhs all rebelled and established independent suzerainties cause the depletion in the Imperial treasury. The pillage and general massacre of Delhi by the Persian invader Nadir Shah in 1738 was but the first in a series of catastrophes which ravaged Delhi in the decades to come.

As for the nobility whose patronage had sustained the fine arts, Mir Taqi Mir wrote:

“Paise wale jo hue faqir
Tan se zahir hai ragen hain jaise lakir”.
[Those who were rich and have become beggars; Their veins stand out like lines on their emaciated bodies].

Thumri is intricate music which amalgates elements choosen from khayal, dhrupad, sufiyana, ghazal and tap,\(^\text{19}\) rose to its sophisticated and classicized status at the Awadh court. The origin of thumri has been popularly ascribed to the court of Wazid Ali Shah of Awadh, or more specifically, to the Nawab himself, and his court musicians.\(^\text{20}\)

Awadh’s Nawabi Era is incomplete without a mention about the courtesans, who were trained in classical music, dance and poetry. Political stability and aristocracy of Awadh attracted a large number of courtesans to migrate from Delhi to Lucknow. Mohammad Karam Imam, in \textit{Ma’adanul- Mausiqi} of 1856, includes twenty-five courtesans; renowned for their excellence in classical \textit{khayal, hori and tappa} as well as in the lighter thumri and ghazal.\(^\text{21}\) By the middle of the 19\textsuperscript{th} Century, thumri along with ghazal superseded all other musical forms in the region of Lucknow and Benares. Thumri attained tremendous popularity in Lucknow and made its impact on other musical forms such as soz khwani.\(^\text{22}\) There are many soz composed in thumri ang. Thumri was adapted to instrumental performances also. The peculiar feature of Lucknow Gharana Music, whether it is Lucknow Tabla or ‘Purab Baj’, where various portions of the tabla face to create a fusion of sonics, the renovation from the role of tabla as auxiliary to vocal music to function of the tabla as accessory to a affluent dance form needed intricate objects like gat, tukda, chakradhar. The paran-gat is an especially typical gat of this gharana. The barabar and ad layas are also renowned in this school which were apt for thumri too. The Lucknow Sitar or the \textit{Razakhani Baj} integrated its techniques into Sitar playing\(^\text{23}\) which was specially evolved to accompany thumri. This form of musical presentation was sensuous, carefree, and somewhat superficial in nature but definitely introduced an effective mode of light classical music.\(^\text{24}\) Thumri—in particular, helped the Lucknow Gharana
Kathak to prosper because it helped in portraying emotions in an effective manner.²⁵

A gharana indicates a comprehensive musicological ideology. This ideology sometimes changes substantially from one gharana to another. It directly affects the thinking, teaching, performance and appreciation of music. There are also gharanas for thumris:

(i) In the Benaras thumri, the words in the text of a song are musically embellished to bring out their meaning.²⁶

(ii) The Lucknow gharana presents intricately embellished and delicate thumris that are explicit in their eroticism.

(iii) The principal feature of the thumri of the Patiala gharana is its incorporation of the tappa from the Punjab region.²⁷ It is with this tappa element that the gharana makes its impact, departing from the khayal-dominated.

The Eighteenth Century *thumri* evolved as a result of:

(i) folk based courtesan dance songs like *jangla*,

(ii) the classical *khayal*.²⁸

The *thumri* of the 17th and 18th centuries was probably closely related to *jangla*²⁹ a popular melody mentioned in *Maraka-e-Delhi*, a text written in 1739 by Nawab Dargah Quli Khan on contemporary music and musicians of Delhi.³⁰ While Quli Khan does not mention thumri, he refers to a courtesan and a barber as being expert singers of *jangla*. *Jangla* is the name of now virtually extinct thumri raga, characterized, like many light ragas, by having both raised and lower third and seventh scale degrees.³¹ It is thus a mixed raga of the sort which distinguished thumri ragas like Pilu, Khamaj, and Zilla, indeed the word “jangla” is occasionally used in music to mean mixed, more specifically, it probably derived from a Persian melody “Zangola”, which was popular at one time in the Delhi area.³² Although modern scholars have
tried to establish a link between thumri and the dance forms of the early medieval period, such as chhalik-nritya, rasak and charchari, this music is of recent origin.\textsuperscript{33}

As thumri has always been a semi-classical form, it has been susceptible to influences from both folk and classical music.\textsuperscript{34} The influence of the folk songs of Awadh on thumri is evident in the talas chosen for them such as Kaharva, Deepchandi, Chachar, Dadra and so on, and in the ragas like Khamaj, Jangala, Pilu, Kafi, Barwa, Dhani, Tilak, Desh, Tilak Kamod, Bhairavi and so on.\textsuperscript{35}

Following are the reasons to support that the Thumri evolved from folk songs of ‘Brij’ area and its association with the classical music:

(i) use of simple, devotional \textit{Braj} texts\textsuperscript{36},
(ii) bipartite composition structure,
(iii) predominance of diatonic modes loosely resembling Raga Kafi,
(iv) specific association with interpretative dance, and,
(v) a relatively free approach to raga exposition, manifested in a liberal use of accidentals and phrases borrowed from related ragas.\textsuperscript{37}
(vi) use of \textit{tintal}, rather than \textit{kaharva tala},
(vii) \textit{bol bani} techniques from dhrupad- of a wider repertoire of ragas, and,
(viii) a generally enhanced sophistication of style.

As far as the classification of the Thumri goes, there are two types of thumris:

(i) Bol-bant-ki thumri ,and ,
(ii) Bol- banav ki thumri.\textsuperscript{38}
The Bol-bant-ki- thumri is sung in medium or fast tempo and it is pre-eminently suited for abhinaya and for dance, as its beauty lies in rhythmic variations.\(^{39}\) Bol- Banav ki thumri is sung in slower tempo, and “abhinaya” is performed towards the end when the laggi starts in faster tempo.\(^{40}\) The musical notes are twisted, turned, moulded to bring out the emotional content of the song. In the world of passion, where all taboos were lifted, eroticism and love are released in all their feminine delicacy, fury and passion.\(^{41}\)

Many eminent musicians believe that the credit for the creation of thumri goes to Ustad Sadiq Ali Khan of Lucknow who was patronized by Nawab Wazid Ali Shah.\(^{42}\) Though Ustad Sadiq Ali Khan, who was a scion of the hoary ‘Qawwal Bachche Gharana’, was trained in the khayal tradition\(^{47}\) but he also developed a liking for thumri. He commenced the practice of singing thumris in slow tempo, \(^{43}\) inaugurating the transition from the fast, rhythmic bol bant style to the early bol banao thumri.\(^{44}\) Sadiq Ali is said to have had a number of prominent disciples during his long life, including Nawab Wazid Ali Shah, Qadar Piya, Bindadin Maharaj, Bhaiya Saheb Ganpat Rao (harmonium player), Khurshid Ali Khan (vocalist), Inayat Hussain Khan (Saheshwan gharana vocalist), Ramakrishna (Maharashtriyan Khayal singer) and renowned courtesans of Lucknow like Haider Jan and Najma.\(^{45}\) As per the demands of the people, he refined the bandish thumri and moulded it into a mature art. Thumri rendition by Sadiq Ali Khan, “the father” of Lucknow style of thumri, reflected the delicate, supple and romantic temperament of Lucknow and came to be known as ‘a fine mirror of emotions’.\(^{46}\)

Regarding the use of mode, two interrelated developments should be noted:
(i) The simple modes of *Thumri* were refined into a set of individual ragas with relatively clear distinguishing phrases, scales, and characters.\(^{47}\)

(ii) As classical musicians applied their talents to *thumri*, they did compose some *bandish thumris* in pure classical ragas like Darbari, Malkauns, Nat Malhar, Hindol.\(^{48}\)

The Nineteenth Century *bandish thumris* did not persist into the twentieth century *bol banao thumri* because of the use of sober ragas like *Darbari, Malkauns, Nat Malhar, Hindol*.\(^{49}\) But such innovations did contribute to the expansion of *thumris* modal repertoire to include *thumri ragas* as *sohini and Jogiya*, which involve augmented seconds less often encountered in folk music.\(^{50}\)

As far as the composition structure of the Thumri is concerned-

Both *bol- banao* and *bandish thumri* compositions are set in bipartite melodic form: \(^{51}\)

(i) The first part, the *sthayi*, consists of a first line, itself called *sthayi*, followed, in most cases, by a Madhya portion, whose length usually does not exceed two lines.\(^{52}\)

(ii) The *mukhra*, or the portion of the first line concluding on the *sam* (the first beat of the *tal*), is the most important part of the composition, as it is sung repeatedly, with variations, and is used to punctuate improvised passages.\(^{53}\)

(iii) The *sthayi* is followed by the *antara*, usually from two to four lines, which explores the upper region of the octave and then descends to meet the melody of the *mukhra*.\(^{54}\)

The melodic structure of the thumri composition may be depicted as below:

*Sthayi: (one line)*
In Eighteenth Century Lucknow, the bandish thumri assumed its mature form, as a two part song, generally in one of a particular set of light ragas, characteristically with Krishnite Braj Bhasha lyrics, set to medium tempo fintal, and accompanied by sarangi and tabla. Thumris were rendered either as an accompaniment to Kathak dance or increasingly as independent pieces. The improvisatory techniques used were evidently of the bol bant variety, viz., rhythmic manipulations, and some tans performed to the texts of the sthayi.

During the early decades of the nineteenth century, thumri had achieved such popularity in Lucknow that some sitarists have begun to imitate it and a contemporary observer ranked thumri after khayal, dhrupad, and tappa in importance. Lucknow’s culture was at its zenith during the two decades preceding the revolt of 1857. Nawab Wazid Ali Shah displayed as a Nawab more fondness for the fine arts and for epicurean enjoyment in general. Ascending the throne of Awadh in 1847, he occupied himself with mastering and promoting fine arts, especially thumri and dance. He studied kathak under the resident dancers Thakur Prasadji and his brother Durga Prasadji and attained such skill that he himself had a number of prominent disciples. Nawab Wazid Ali Shah’s dance drama “Inder Sabha” is regarded as the first Urdu drama. He took interest in the art of the folk ras- dharis who had congregated in Lucknow, and he produced erotic Vaishnavite dance dramas in which he himself played the part of Krishna. While the dialogues for these extravaganzas were in Urdu but had many thumris and holis in Braj Bhasha.

Without any doubt, we can say that the nawabi period was a time of the flowering and fruition of our music when greatness had not died out. Mohammad Karam Imam mentions in his book that it was from Raza Khan
that he heard *thumri* for the first time.\(^{62}\) The fullest flowering of this delicate and sensuous musical type blossomed under the lavish and enthusiastic patronage of Nawab Wazid Ali Shah who was not only an expert exponent, but also a prolific composer. He was deeply influenced by his kathak guru Thakur Prasadji who was an outstanding exponent of the Natwari aspect of kathak. \(^{63}\) They adorned a school famous for thumri, particularly that aspect of it which is called *batana* or *bhav-batana*, an emotional interpretation of the *bols* (texts) with rather informal gestures in a seated pose, accompanied by a vocal rendering of each line in all its emotional shades and nuances. \(^{64}\) The language chose to garb thumri was a mixed jargon of *Brajbhasha*, interspersed with the rural jargon of Lucknow and of the eastern districts. \(^{65}\)

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, a number of social, economic and cultural factors contributed to the rise of the Lucknow bandish *thumri*. This genre, while lacking the depth and sobriety of *khayal* and *dhrupad*, exhibited an accessible charm and vitality. \(^{66}\) The bandish *thumri* may be said to have arisen to fulfill the aesthetic needs of a particular class at a particular time: the aristocracy of Awadh in the nawabi era. \(^{67}\) This class was not entirely homogenous, comprising newly rich landlords, speculators, and merchants as well elements of the older, neo-feudal elite. But the constituents seem to have shared an Epicurean fondness for the arts, and particularly for the lively and accessible thumri, which appealed to them more than the esoteric dhrupad. \(^{68}\) The popularity of the Lucknow style rose and fell with this class, as the genre has been effectively extinct since the thirties. The Lucknow thumri thrived on a preciosity that was symbolic of its inherent sophistication. It had in it something of sartorial elegance and conversational wit and the charm of the older Lucknow. \(^{69}\)

*Thumri* singing was closely linked to dancing. In fact the two became interdependent. *Thumri* is essentially a product and achievement of Lucknow and therefore it imbibes its delicacy and finesse
Thumris and Dadaras\textsuperscript{70} became hot favourites with Nawab Wazid Ali Shah who took all possible steps to promote them and his own contribution as a maestro in their development, was in no way mean.\textsuperscript{71} He composed \textit{thumris and Dadras} under the pen name- \textit{Akhtarpia}, which won instant popularity, short and catchy raginis like \textit{khammach}, \textit{jhinjhaunti}, \textit{bhairvi}, \textit{sunindra}, \textit{tilak}, \textit{kamod}, \textit{peelu}\textsuperscript{72} etc. became great favourites of the nobility and public alike.\textsuperscript{73} Nawab Wazid Ali Shah himself composed several raginis such as \textit{jogi}, \textit{kannar (Shyam)}, \textit{juhi} and \textit{shahpasad}.\textsuperscript{74} Other prominent names in \textit{thumri} were \textit{Bindadin}, \textit{Aadarpiya}, \textit{sanadpiya}, \textit{Harrang Sabras}, \textit{Achpal}, \textit{Daraspiya}, \textit{Sugharpiya} and several others mentioned by Bhatkhandeji.\textsuperscript{75}

\textbf{Tappa}

The cultural and artistic products of an era reflect not only the emotional background and physical conditions, but also the particular projections, temper and aspirations of that era. Musical forms are closely connected with the social, economic, political and artistic life of the period. The celebrated Nawabi era of Lucknow commenced, music was moulded to please these princely, lavish patrons who were ardent hedonists who made a cult of Epiriluatism. However the Nawabs of Awadh were committed to the development of music which meant classical music. Therefore it was unthinkable for them to completely abandon classical music. Efforts were therefore made to simplify classifiable music.\textsuperscript{76}

The evolution of Tappa came into vogue during the reign of Nawab Asaf ud daula.\textsuperscript{77} Gradually this genre became so popular as to supersede the others.\textsuperscript{78} The introduction of Tappa as a distinct and intricate musical genre is credited to Miyan Ghulam Nabi Shori devised a unique blend of Indian classical and folk traditions with techniques used in Persian \textit{muqams}. He employed ‘\textit{tahrir}’ in it as a zigzag \textit{tan}, known \textit{adi}.\textsuperscript{79} Miyan Shori travelled to Punjab and selected those \textit{dhuns} which particularly suited the \textit{tappa} structure.
and modulated the *tappa* compositions in numerous rags-raginis in Punjabi and Multani dialects. Miyan Shori endowed intricacy and elegance to this music to the extent that he is known as the innovator of this musical genre characterized by a complex and abrupt rhythm, and fast tempo.

Tappa was another branch of music for which Lucknow acquired fame far and wide. The musicians of Lucknow were not originally conversant with tappa which was a speciality of the Punjabis. It was Ghulam Nabi alias Shori, son of Ghulam Rasul, a noted Khayal singer, who went to Punjab to learn this art.

Regarding Tappa, Captain Willard in his book *Music of Hindustan* states - "Songs of this species are admiration of Hindustan. It has been brought to its present degree of perfection by the famous Shori, who in some measure may be considered its founder. Tappa were formerly sung in very rude style by the camel drivers of the Punjab, and it was he who modelled it into the elegance it is now sung with. Tappa have two looks and are generally sung in the language spoken at Punjab or a mixed jargor of that and Hindi. They recite the love of Heer and Ranjah equally renounced for their attachments and misfortunes and allude to some circumstance in the history of their love.

There are various stories about his title 'Shori'. Some says - 'Ghulam Nabi had very sharp, high pitched voice that would create noise at times, that is why he was called 'Shori Mian', others say that he might have lived in a town for a longer time that is why, on his return to Lucknow, he became famous as 'Shori Mian'. Ghulam Nabi was contemporary to 'Adarang' which is clear from a tappa created by Ghulam Nabi -

```
यार दाये नजारा वे खुण तू मेंडा खुण प्यारा लगदा,
मेरी जिन्दगी को क्यूं कस दाये
दे दीवार जो माले करम दा शोरी मिलन नू चाहे दमदम दा
```
Tappa in Punjabi means "jumping" and due to its jumping and jerking style the conjecture that it got its appellation as "Tappa" sounds reasonable. Even today, some such folk songs are prevalent in Punjab and sind that are called Tappa but they are crude and quite different from this tappa which is associated with Mian Shori.

Two styles of tappa singing were evolved in Lucknow: -

(i) one by Sharsha which was not very different from that of Miyan Shori, and,
(ii) the other was by Nawab Hussain Ali Khan.

Ghulam Nabi alias Shori did not care for wealth and power. Once when Asaf-ud-daulah asked him to come to him, he told the Nawab that he was not aware where he (the Nawab) lived! After much persuasion, he visited the Nawab who rewarded him handsomely but Shori distributed the reward among the needy. It goes to the credit of the Nawab that on hearing this, he sent an equal amount of money to him again.

Later Sarshar, a dhari composed tappas in ragas and raginis different from those composed by Shori, and became a distinguished tappa singer in his own right. Shori died heirless but his disciple gammon carried on the torch of his master.

There were several expert tappa baz at Lucknow such as Mir Ali Soz khwan, who was a disciple of Miyan Shori. He was as renowned as Miyan Shori. Sidi Murad Ali, Khanazad-i-Shah-I Awadh, was also known for his vigorous rendition of tappa. Babu Ram Sahai, Achchhan, Miyan Gamo Dhari, Amir Khan and Chajju Khan Dhari were also considered without parallel in tappa.
Mohammad Karam Imam, the author of "Maadanul Mausiqui" has provided some information about Tappa in his book, the English rendering of which is as follows - "During the hundred years span of Nawab Asaf-ud-daula, a certain Ghulam Nabi surname 'Shori', son of Mian Ghulam Rasool Qauwal of Lucknow, innovated such a tappa in Punjabi language that all other forms of music lost their hue. It has only 'sthayi' and 'antara'. Embellishing it with Zamzama and phrases, he gave usage of it.\(^9\)

Ghulam Nabi Shori, who was attracted by the softness and beauty of the Punjabi language undertook a journey to Punjab and stayed there for some time. Once he acquired mastery over this language, he returned back to Lucknow and composed Tappa in every Raga and Ragini and sang them in a peaceful atmosphere under patronage of Nawabs of Awadh. Shori had no offspring so he taught the art of Tappa singing to his disciples. His adopted son Shadi Khan was a court musician of Maharaja Udit Narayan of Kashi. Babu Ram Sahay, disciple of Shori and Nawab Hussain Ali Khan also excelled in Tappa singing. Chajju Khan and Mammu Khan were also good tappa singers. Shori's fame flourished during the time of Nawab Asaf-ud-daula i.e. in the latter half of the 18th century and the first half of the 19th century. Shori's father was Ghulam Rasool and that of his grandfather was Taj Khan, the famous Qauwal whose name was figured in the work 'Muraqqa-e-Delhi' written by Dargah Quli Khan in 1738 A.D. The two sons of Taj Khan named Jaami and Ghulam Rasool have also been mentioned in that treatise. They were quiet popular in the music loving circles.

Most of the tappas available today, have the name of Shori in the antra. Though Shori did not made any attempt to enter the darbar of the ruling Nawab Asaf-ud-daula but these are prized possessions even today which were created during a time when cultural aspect of Awadh was highlighting. It is right to say that in tappa, we find the germs of the light classical music which attained perfection in the reign of Nawab Wajid Ali Shah.
The characteristic features of *The Tappa Of Lucknow* :-

(i) Taans, in form of 'Jamjama' and 'khatka' - patterns were used by Ghulam Shori,

(ii) Only short 'tans' of 'Bol tan style' comprising fast changing notes were used,

(iii) As difficult and odd and as unusual as possible straight ascending *Tans* are avoided instead twisted and creaked *tans* are preferred.

(iv) *Tans* of only two *danas*, three *danas*, four *danas* and five *danas* are used. (*'dana' means, 'Sunars'*)

(v) A continuous volley of the *jamzana and khatka* pattern of *tana* should be kept up.

(vi) The singer has no respite in this *tappa* style of singing. Once he begins the composition, he has to go ahead embellishing it in the old manner and not in the simple and modest may.

*Tappa* is sung in medium tempo and the *tals* used are - *Gadhe ki Dum, Punjabi, Addha, Sitarkharni, Pashto and also those talas* in which *Khayals* are sung. It is worth mentioning that Pt. Hari Shankar Mishra of Varanasi is in possession of hundreds of *Tappas* written by *Mian Shori*. *Tappa* is different from 'alap' style of singing. It is a form full of ‘jumping and jerking style’.

Few compositions of The Tappa of Lucknow Style are mentioned below:-

1- राग यमन (बिंताल)– (टप्पा–ताल)

स्थाई

चंचल नैन मतवारे तिहारे, क्यां बड़मारे,
ए द ई मारे कजरा रे ।

अन्तरा

मियां शोरी तेनु घायल की तारन,
अरी बिच ढारी मौरे प्यारे ।।
2. राग मालश्री – बिताल (टप्पा – ताल)

स्थाई
आजा मिरजा आयो,
बांके जवान

अन्तरा
शोरी सिर ताजिया परियां करे यजमान,
कोई टपपे दी सुन लीजिये तान।।

3. राग मांड – बिताल (टप्पा – ताल)

स्थाई
परख ले परखाय लेए मियां,
देखना दीदार यारा दा।

अन्तरा
खोटा खरा पहचान शोरी मियां,
कोई घनीमत ईमान ख्याल दा।।

An example of Lucknow style Tappa with its notation:-

राग खमाज – बिताल (टप्पा ताल)

स्थाई
फुलवा बीनन जावो री मै तो अब ।

अन्तरा
तोरे देखन मोरी अखिया रं ,
निबरुन जाते वे प्रान मैतो।।

राम खमाज – बिताल (टप्पा – ताल)

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प प, ध ध प म ग म
प प नी सं— नि नी नी
 तोरे, दे'

सं— सं—
सं, गंगं रं सं रं गं मं
 अं, खिं खिं

प, प ध प म ग म
प प नी सं— नि नी नी

रें रें सं नि ध प म
रें रें सं नि ध प म

रें रें सं नि ध प म

मं गं रें सं नी ध प म
वे' वे' वे'

मं, तोरे' वे' वे'

फुल वा' वा' वा' वा'
Ghulam Rasool died in the last quarter of the 18th century. His son Ghulam Nabi also known as Mian Shori invented and popularized *Tappa* style of singing. Ustad Mir Ali, who flourished as a great vocalist in the first half of the 19th century was in the establishment of Nawab Mohammad Ali Shah of Lucknow on a monthly salary of Rs. 1,200/-. He learnt *tappa* from Mian Shori, *Dhrupad* from Chajju Khan Senia and *Khayal* from Ghulam Rasool. He died during the regime of Nawab Wajid Ali Shah.

Shori was a man of friendly and saintly nature and hence he got name and fame. Among the courtesans, who were well trained in pure classical and light classical music, Bandi Jan, resident of Onam was well versed in singing Tappa, she learnt it from Mir Rohan Ali. Another courteson Chitra of Benaras and Imam Bandi of Benaras were well versed in singing Tappa, they were disciples of Shadi Khan who was the son of gamun, an eminent disciple or the only disciple who followed the legacy of Mian Shori.
Chapter 7:

‘Development of light classical forms of music’:

(i) Thumri
(ii) Tappa

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Chapter 8

**Experimentation and creation of new instruments**


Music whether vocal or instrumental was by far the most popular form of entertainment among the royalty and nobility during the period under study; i.e. 1722-1856. The Nawabs not only patronized music as a fine art but many of them had acquired sufficient knowledge to be amateur practitioners.\(^1\) It can be said that it was the musical instrument which created musical styles. The construction of an instrument, its musical potentialities and tone colour suggest certain definite line of musical development. The appearance of a new instrument heralds the beginning of a new musical style.\(^2\) The revolution of its shape and constitution makes it possible for a musician to obtain new forms of sound. However, Lucknow has been the home of a galaxy of eminent masters of instrumental music who had achieved extensive popularity for their mastery over a wide variety of instruments like Sur-Sringar, rabab and surbahar.\(^3\)

Awadh was indeed, a land of dream during the Nawabi era. The glorious era of Lucknow which dawned in 1775 lasted till the last Nawab Wazid Ali Shah. It became one of the most celebrated centres of Oriental Opulence, and of music, dance, drama, poetry and scholarship.\(^4\) All these factors helped in the invention of Lucknow Gharana of music regarding the growth of vocal as well as instrumental music. Before discussing the role of Lucknow Gharana, firstly the meaning of the term ‘Gharana’ requires attention.

The term ‘gharana’ is used to specify a lineage of teaching and repertoire in Indian classical music.\(^5\) A gharana indicates a comprehensive musicological ideology. This ideology sometimes changes
substantially from one gharana to another. It directly affects the thinking, teaching, performance and appreciation of music.\(^6\)

With the growing influence of all forms of art and music, 'Lucknow gharana' in music rose to its prominence and till date, occupies an important position in the world of Indian Music. This was all started during Nawabi era. The question of gharana is and important aspect of music - whether vocal or instrumental. Gharana means musical lineages paralleling blood lineages, where court Musicians made a living from their ability to excel in some unique aspect of knowledge or style.\(^7\) Gharana not only specialised in certain areas of musical knowledge and promoted a distinct and recognizable style, that resulted in the great variety of rags, compositions, technique and approaches to the structuring of performance that could be witness in today's generation of performers.\(^8\) Basing himself on his our temperature vocal capacity and musical aptitude, a great master developed a style and his descendents (gharana) followed him. The students who were trained in his family also adopted the same style thus ‘Gharana’ means a combined form of a 'house', 'guild', or 'school' was thus born and Lucknow has been no exception.\(^9\)

As far as Lucknow Gharana goes, there were so many instruments used during the Nawabi Era. Few gained importance and gained popularity because they developed and introduced a new style within the classical Raga-That Method,\(^10\) which entertained everyone. Some instruments which are registered for its peculiarities during the period under study are mentioned below:-

(i) Lucknow Gharana Tabla.
(ii) Lucknow Gharana Sitar.
(iii) Lucknow Gharana Rabab.
(iv) Lucknow Gharana Sursringar.
The concept of hereditary musicians was not confined to vocal music alone. Hence there are also gharanas in instrumental music. Musicians then recognize six gharanas – schools or traditions – of tabla. The gharanas of the tabla are Lucknow, Delhi, Ajrada, Punjab, Benaras and Farukkhabad, among others.

Most performers and scholars recognize two styles of tabla gharana:

(i) Dilli Baj and
(ii) Purbi Baj. Dilli (or Delhi) also known as Chati baj (Chati is a part of Tabla from where special tone can be produced).\(^\text{11}\)

The Purbi style derives its name from the Hindi word "purab". Purab means "Eastern" and reflects the fact that this style was popular in Lucknow, Benares, and other eastern parts of the country. The Purbi style is characterized by open hand strokes and a strong emphasis on material from pakhawaj (an ancient barrel shaped drum from which tabla was derived).\(^\text{12}\) Before we get into the details of the Lucknow Gharana, a brief introduction of other Gharanas would not be out of place-

(i) **Delhi gharana:**

The first gharana to establish norms for improvisation is also the oldest of the tabla gharanas - Delhi gharana. Founded in the early eighteenth century by Sudhar Khan, the playing style (baj) of this gharana is also known as the bandh baj. This style has a clarity of sound that is a result of the initial role of the tabla as an accompaniment to vocal and instrumental music. This sharpness is achieved by playing on the chati or kinar, and has led to the baj being called the chati-ka-baj. Pakhwaj (the predecessor of the tabla) bols are no longer part of the gharana's repertoire, despite Suddhar Khan having been a pakhawaj player.\(^\text{13}\) The tempo most frequently encountered is the *barabar* (basic) of the *adh* (fractions and multiples of one-and-a half), while the items are predominantly *kayada-rela, peshkar, and themohra/mukhda*. 

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The *kayada* repertoire of the Delhi gharana is the model for the *kayada* items of the other gharanas as well.\(^\text{14}\)

(ii) **Farrukhabad gharana:**

This *gharana*, usually spoken if in connection with the Awadh Court, was founded by Vilayet Ali, in the late eighteenth century. Vilayat Ali was the son-in-law and disciple of Mian Bakshi (founder of the Lucknow gharana).\(^\text{15}\) After the deposement of Wazid Ali Shah, many of the gharana's musicians shifted to the Rampur court, among them Ahmedjan Thirakwa. The Nawab of Rampur's death led to another shift this time to Calcutta where Keramatullah Khan and his son, Ghulam Ahmed Sabir Khan based themselves. Keramatullah Khan personally reverted to playing on the kinar section of the tabla to create the sharpness of the Delhi style, but his son remained with the Farrukhabad style.\(^\text{16}\) The playing style of this gharana belongs to the Purab baj (or the khula baj) and has maintained its affinities of the pakhwaj (a predecessor of the tabla) tradition. The richness of the Lucknowi gharana playing is found here as well. The Farrukhabad technique emphasizes playing on the sur and shyahi (when playing the right hand drum, the dayan), avoiding the kinar. Performing in barabar laya (basic tempo) and ad (fractions and multiples of one-and-half) laya are the norm.\(^\text{17}\)

(iii) **Ajrara gharana:**

Categorized as playing in the bandh baj (as is the Delhi gharana), this school was founded in the nineteenth century by Kallu and Miru, both disciples of Sitab Khan of the Delhi gharana. Clarity of sound is the hallmark of the gharana's playing style, made possible by the propensity for using the index and middle fingers in the traditional manner, with no effort to enhance sound differences between the kinar, sur and shyahi.\(^\text{18}\) The Ajrara gharana style includes bol-patterns that are rather complicated, much more than does the Delhi gharana, and for the purpose the third fingers is brought into play as well. However, phakhwaj bols are rarely encountered in
this gharana (and absent in the Delhi gharana repertoire). Again, barabar and ad laya form the bulk of tempo repertoire.¹⁹

(iv) **Punjab gharana:**

Originally a pakhawaj-playing gharana that has not abandoned its roots, the Punjab school was founded in the nineteenth century by Lala Bhavanidas. The complicated pakhwaj bols and the clear influence of the Punjabi language set this gharana apart. Syllables are elided, as shown in the transformation of 'Dh te dh ge n' into 'Dh tdh gen' and of 'Dh' dhin dhin dh into 'Dh te dh d.'²⁰ There is a greater range of tempos - besides ad and barabar, the gharana plays inkuad (fractions and multiples of two-and-a-half), and viad (fractions and multiples of three-and-a-half).²¹ This necessitates a rigorous time keeping by the player. Pakhwaj tals such as dhamar, pancham sawari are popular with the players of this gharana. Certain authorities believe Kader Baksh the first to be the founder of the gharana, and still others believe Saddu Hussain Baksh to have founded this school. Ustad Alla Rakha was a disciple of Kader Baksh the second.²²

(v) **Benaras gharana:**

Founded in the nineteenth century by Ram Sahay Mishra, the Benaras gharana follows the khula baj (and the Pakhwaj baj) style of playing, and is regarded as an off-shoot of the Lucknow and Punjab gharananas.²³ The unusual sound-quality of the gharana’s playing can be attributed to the practice of playing with the third finger held in a bent position. Influences as diverse as vocal music and instrumental, pakhwaj playing and dance forms have led to a distinct technique and presentation. Thus, gat, paran, chakradhar, and tukda are regular features in the gharana’s playing style, and rare tals such as pancham sawari, dhamar are performed.²⁴ There are many similarities with the Punjab gharana, particularly in the repertoire.
Although each of the gharanas have their own minor variations, there are two major approaches; Dilli and Purbi. The Dilli style derives its name from Delhi. It is characterized by a strong emphasis on rim strokes and use of the middle finger. The Purbi style derives its name from the Hindi word "purab". Purab means "Eastern" and reflects the fact that this style was popular in Lucknow, Benares, and other eastern parts of the country. The Purbi style is characterized by open hand strokes and a strong emphasis on material from pakhawaj (an ancient barrel shaped drum from which tabla was derived). These lines are apt for describing etc. contribution of Lucknow gharana of music, which was well nurtured and inspired during the glorious Nawabi era. 'Lucknow-gharana of music', a term applied to a school of music comprising a creatively innovating founder, its pupils and those who follow in the line of discipleship. This gharana, therefore, while keeping true to its basic tradition goes on assimilating over new musical ideas with each new artist. It is in this manner that it perpetuates itself.

The striking characteristic of 'Lucknow gharana of music', is both its variegated strains of influence as well as its isolation from outside increasing, which were frequent particularly in Delhi.

"Dava Sukhanka Lucknow-walon ke Samne

Izhare bu-e-musk ghazalon ke Samne."

(To claim mastery and language before the people of Lucknow,

Is to talk of musk scent before musk deer)

(Translated by Amir Hasan for Amir Minai's Couplet).

We will discuss main characteristics of Lucknow Gharana Tabla:-

**Lucknow Gharana Tabla :**

In the field of instrumental music, Lucknow can take a rightful pride in developing the tabla which is now a "must" accompaniment in singing and dancing. From the list of instrumentalists
employed by Nawab Wazid Ali Shah in Matiyaburj, he had on his pay roll twenty three tabla experts for regular participation.\textsuperscript{30}

According to Sharar, "Mohammad ji, a famous tabla expert and an expert vocalist too, came from Maharashtra, to find out about the proficiency of the musical experts here. On his return, he wrote - "I have been everywhere, but I have never heard a more accomplished tabla player." \textsuperscript{31} It is said that the invention of the tabla was the result of an accident. Sudhar Khan, a famous Pakhabaj player of Delhi, in one competitive mehfil, broke his Pakhabaj in two pieces when he was not successful in a contest to his competitor Bhagwandas. The two pieces were separately repaired to be used again as bajas. These came to be known as tablas. He also created gats, todas and bols suited for this new percussion pair.\textsuperscript{32}

Two of Sudhar Khan's grandsons, Ustad Modu Khan and Ustad Bakshu Khan were invited to Lucknow to become court musicians during the sign of Nawab Amjad Ali. They become the founders of the Lucknow gharana tabla.\textsuperscript{33} Ustad Mammu Khan and his son Mohammad Khan, the latter's sons Ustad Munne Khan and Ustad Abid Hussain, Munne Khan's son Wajid Hussain, the latter's son Afaq Hussain and Akbar Hussain Khan and now their sons Ilmas Hussain and Ilyas Hussain are the well known representative of the Lucknow gharana tabla.\textsuperscript{34} [Figure 100] Lucknow gharana Tabla was founded by Mian Bakshu, Siddhar Khan's grandson, in mid eighteenth century. Tabla gharana was heavily patronized by the Nawabs of Awadh and came to be closely linked with kathak performance. This allowed the emergence of a vast repertoire. The playing style (baj) is classified as the Purab baj, also called the khula baj.\textsuperscript{35}

**Characteristic features of Lucknow Gharana Tabla :-**

1) Due to influence of ‘Pakhawaj’ and dance, Delhi’s bandh tabla turned into the forceful and vigorous khulla baj of Lucknow.

2) All the five fingers are used in this baj. Lucknow players produce meend and ghasit by creating vibrations of daga.\textsuperscript{36}
3) Lucknow Gharana has beautiful bandishen. It uses pran, gat-paran and various types of chakardar, gat and farad.

4) Padhant is popular in Lucknow in the Lucknow Gharana. Due to influence of dance, Bols are verbalized first and then played on Tabla.37

5) Laggi and Ladi are common in Lucknow Tabla playing because of the influence of Thumri and the folk style of singing.

6) It is a known fact that from Delhi Gharana Tabla came into existence, who brought all characteristics of Delhi baj but when the closed tabla of Delhi came into contact with Pakhawaj and Dance form, it exploded and become very loud matching its expressions with the various dance forms.38

7) Use of 'Syahi' instead of 'Chanti' and creating sound with 'luv is a peculiar feature of this style.

8) In this Purav baj, all five figures are used instead of two, and 'Meend', 'Ghaseetk' are produced on 'Bayan' by using thumb differently.

9) 'Kayadas' used in Lucknow Gharana are different from what is used in Delhi and Agrada Gharana. Use of 'Laykari', 'Nauhakka', Paran, Gat - Paran, 'Chakradar,' 'Farad', Satvik Paran are used in kayadas.39

10) Words 'group like 'Taganna, drung, nag - nag, kit tak dhetta, dhidan, dhintada- na, dhet-dhet, dhednag, dhetan, dhedhit, ta-n, qalan, dhet dhet qladh tet' are wilely used. Words like - 'dhet dhet dhage tet, qladh tet dhage tet' has become symbolic of Lucknow gharana tabla.40

11) When tabla reached Lucknow, the Lucknow gharana Kattak was already evolved so its impact could be seen in a peculier style of tabla playing where the 'bols' are firstly spoken by the tabla player and then played on tabla which gives a dramatic visualization of bols on tabla.

12) Few 'gats' which are called 'Dahej gats' are used by artists, which is said to have been brought by Ustad Modu Khan's begun from Punjab.

13) Thumri prospered in the suitable cultural atmosphere of Lucknow under patronage of Nawabs, thereby giving way for the development of 'Laggi-Ladiya' on tabla, a peculier feature of Lucknow gharana tabla.41
The style and techniques of Lucknow Gharans Tabla did not develop within a day. These characteristics were hidden to the parent source the Delhi Gharana or the ‘Dilli Baz’ and started unfolding itself gradually in a free environment under the patronage of supportive elite class of nobles and the Nawabs. The Lucknow baj uses different parts of the tabla surface to produce a blend of sounds that are more fullsome than those of the Delhi gharana. There is a conscious effort to eliminate sharp sounds. The ‘sur’ and ‘shyahi’ parts of the tabla are played, and the ‘kinar’ avoided. Finger techniques can vary from and economy of movement to all the fingers being used. The Lucknow baj employs various portions of the tabla face to create a fusion of sonics that are more fulsome than those of the Delhi gharana. The renovation from the role of tabla as auxiliary to vocal music to function of the tabla as accessory to a affluent dance form needed intricate objects like ‘gat’, ‘tukda’, ‘chakradhar’. The ‘paran-gat’ is an especially typical gat of this gharana. The ‘barabar’ and ‘adh’ layas are also renowned in this school. Created by Miyan Bakshu Khan around the eighteenth century, the Lucknow school was greatly endorsed by the Nawabs of Awadh and was eventually intimately affiliated with kathak dance performances which enabled the creation of an extensive range within itself.

The syllable, called ‘bol’, is a very important concept for the tabla player. because it represents the various strokes of the tabla. It is important for two reasons:- First, the bol allows the musician to remember complicated fixed compositions. Second; the musician uses the bol to perform the mental permutations to know if an improvised passage or "lick" will work. Although these bols are supposed to represent the strokes there is not a one-to-one correlation. This variation is often attributed to differences in gharana.

The transformation form the role of tabla as accompaniment to vocal music to the role of the tabla as accompaniment to a rich dance form required complex items like gat, tukda, chakradhar. The paran-gat is a particularly characteristic gat of this gharana. The barabar and adh layas are popular in this school as well. The development of the Lucknow baj was the
catalyst for the tabla emerging as a solo instrument in the Farrukhabad and Benaras gharanas.\textsuperscript{51}

Tabla gained immense popularity because whereas the Pakhawaj was used only to accompany dhrupad- dhamar, and vina-recitals, the tabla was ideal for Khayal, Thumri, Dadra, Tappa and for Pathak.\textsuperscript{52} It appears that the demands of accompanying new forms in Lucknow, and in particulars the Kathak resulted in a style somewhat different to that of the other main centre for tabla, Delhi. Whereas the Delhi style remained pure with a limited number of refined finger strokes, the Lucknow style developed a wider range of strokes, particularly heavy ones derived from Pakhawaj technique, needed to initiate the sounds of dance pieces.\textsuperscript{53} When Modu Khan and Bakshu Khan migrated to Lucknow, they brought with item the 'Dilli Baj' (the Delhi style) inherited from Ustad Sudhar Khan .\textsuperscript{54} To suit the light classical music, which flourished in Lucknow created the rich 'Lucknow baj' of tabla, a synthesis of the forceful Pakhawaj bols and the delicate well modulated Kathak bols, thus combining dignity and delicate finesse.\textsuperscript{55}

The Lucknow gharana abounds in 'Gat tukde', Gatparans,' Chakkardar', 'Tipalli', 'Chaupalli' and so on. These 'nach bols' are played with such dexterity and pleasing modulations that the tabla accompanist can inspire the dancer and provide exhilarating mutual competition.\textsuperscript{56} As per Sharar, 'Although tabla is extremely important in maintaining tempo and rhythm, no trace of anything of its kind can be found among the ancient races of any other country. It was made by dividing the Pakhawaj into two separate drums, one being called "eight" and the other "left."'\textsuperscript{57}

The ‘dayan’ is made either of clay or of copper while the ‘dayan’ is usually hollowed out of a block of wood. Both are covered with skin fastened to leather loops which are stretched over the body of the drum by means of battle braces. Cylindrical blocks of wood are wedged between the braces and the well of the tabla.\textsuperscript{58} These wedges can be pushed up or down to Lower or raise the pitch. The two pieces are generally tuned one octave apart.\textsuperscript{59}
Rana Sahay, who evolved the Benaras baj of tabla, started playing Tabla at a tender age of nine. He requested Ustad Modu Khan, to accept him as his disciple, who in turn, was so captivated by the boy's talent, agreed to do so. "Once Ustad Modu Khan had to go to Lahore, then, Ustad's begun taught him 560 Punjabi gats which her father taught her as pact of dowry. When Nawab Wazid Ali Shah ascended the week long celebrations were arranged where all the reputed singers, instrumentalists and dancers took part. Ram Sahai impressed everyone including the Nawab and he is said to have awarded him will several pearl necklaces, four elephants and huge cash gift in return for his performance on all seven days.

Haji Khan, the originator of the Farukkabadi style (linked with the Purb baj of Lucknow), married the daughter of Ustad Bakshu Khan of Lucknow and received many 'qaydas' of the Lucknow gharana as part of the dowry. Ustad Nanhe Khan, his descendant became a court artist in Nawab Wajid Ali Shah's darbar. Every upcoming artist always possesses some heritage handed down by tradition to which he makes his own addition. If he achieves eminence and sets up his our school of followers he becomes a pioneer of a new style. It is a well known fact that art of playing Tabla flourished in Delhi but when political, and cultural atmosphere become gloomy at Delhi, the artists migrated towards eastern direction and Lucknow proved helpful in upgrading in a different style i.e. Purab baj. In this baj, 'Luv' and 'Syahi' are main content, which allows it to sound loud and forceful. 'Gat', 'Tukre, 'Paras', 'Chakrada' are frequency used. The nobility, the Taluqdars and the Nawabs gave patronage for the development of a distinct style, what is even popular today. During the reign of Nawab Asaf-ud-daula, Ustad Modu Khan and his younger brother Ustad Bakshu Khan came and upgraded the standard of music. Ustad Bakshu Khan was an eminent musician during Nawab Nasir-ud-din Haider, who was younger to Ustad Modu Khan. It is said that elder brother Modu Khan was simple and gentle at heart while younger brother Bakshu Khan was harsh and arrogant too. Ustad Modu Khan's son Zahid Khan was acknowledged as "Good tabla player" by Mohammad Karan Imam. His main
'Shagirds' were Pt. Ram Sahai Mishra and his nephew Mamman khan or Mammu Khan. Ustad Bakshu Khan had three sons Mamman or Mammu Khan, Salari Khan and Kesari Khan. His son in law and disciple was Haji Vilayat Ali Khan, who was an excellent Tabla player. Though Ustad Mammu Khan's father Ustad Bakshu Khan was an excellent Tabla player, he was more impressed by his uncle Ustad Modu Khan. Ustad Modu Khan developed the style of creating the echo sound of 'dhir-kirkit' by pressing or rubbing on the 'syahi' a peculiar characteristic of Lucknow style of tabla playing. Ustad Bakshu Khan's second son Salari Miyan was an excellent tabla player and used all ten fingers beautifully while playing tabla.

Bachcharam Chattopadhyaya was a disciple of Ustad Bakshu Khan, who continued and enhanced Lucknow style of tabla playing in his native place Vishnupur. Later on this was called Vishnupur style of tabla, which was continued by another follower of Ustad Mammu Khan Ram Prssana Bandopadhyaya. Ustad Mammu Khan had a son Ustad Muhammad Khan who was better tabla player than his father. Muhammad Khan had two sons Munne Khan and Abid Hussain Khan, both were great artists and very good as accompanying artists for dancers, Ustad Muhammad Khan was the court artist of Nawab Shuja ud daula while Ustad Munne Khan was a jewel in the court of Nawab Wajid Ali Shah. Ustad Bakshu Khan and his grandson Ustad Munne Khan used to accompany in the dance performance by the Khalifa of Kathak - Kalka Bindadin in Lucknow courts. Ustad Muhammad Khan died at a young age so his younger son Abid Hussain was trained by his elder brother Ustad Munne Khan. Ustad Abid Hussain was very hard working, talented and an intelligent artist, whose hand was so clear, and melodious on tabla that everybody used to fall in love with his style of tabla playing. His son-in-Law and nephew Ustad Wajid Hussain Khan was also a great tabla player. Wajid Hussain Khan's son Ustad Afaq Hussain continued this tradition now his grandson Ustad Ilmas Hussain is playing a vital role in continuing a rich cultural legacy, who is not only a simple and humble man, very supporting and make efforts to retain this legacy.
LUCKNOW GHARANA TABLA
[I] Ustad Modu Khan

↓--------------------------------------------↓
Jahid Khan

Mamman Khan (nephew)

↓

Muhammad Khan (son) Ghulam Haider Khan (nephew)

↓

Chuppan Khan, Ali Qadra, Ali Raza (nephew), (brother-in-law), (nephew)

↓

Munne Khan (son), Abid Hussain (son)

↓-------------------------------↓-------------------------------↓-------------------------------↓
Abid, Bahadur Hussain, Khamman Bibi, Sazid Hussain, Wazid Hussain, Hussain Khan (daughter), (nephew), (nephew)

(brother), (son) ↓

Nayab Hussain

↓-------------------↓-------------------↓-------------------↓
Irshad, Intezar, Inayat, Raza, Sultan, Wazid Hussain, Hussain Hussain Hussain Hussain Hussain (nephew & son-in-law)

(son), (son), (son), (son), (son), Afaq Hussain (son)

Ilmas Hussain (son)

Ilyas Hussian (son)

[Figure 096]
II

USTAD BAKSHU KHAN

Mamman Khan  Salari Khan  Hazi Vilayat Ali  Kesari Khan
(Mammu Khan)   (son)        (son-in-law)          (son)

↓  ↓  ↓
Ghaseet  Nazzu  Moti  Choti
Khan  Khan  Bibi  Bibi
(nephew)  ↓  (daughter)  (daughter)

↓  ↓  ↓  ↓  ↓
Chote Khan  Nadir  HajiZakir  Ladley Khan  Lal Khan
(son)  Hussain  Hussain  (son)

↓  (chuttan son)

Saadat Ali
(son)

↓

Raza Hussain

↓

↓

Zaafar Khan  Akbar Hussain
(son)  (Bablu Khan)

(son)
Sitar:

The gradual development of music in Awadh led to the rise of Lucknow Gharana on the map of the North Indian music system. Wherever the reference of Lucknow Gharana instrumental music is mentioned, it is always in relation to Tabla or Sitar. To understand the Lucknow Sitar, brief history of its origin is required.

The Sitar has evolved from the ancient (1000 AD and earlier) Indian Veena, a fretted string instrument played by Saraswati, the Goddess of Music and Learning. Its development was also influenced by instruments from Persia (Iran) and the Middle East such as the Sehtar and Awadh. Early accounts and paintings indicate that instruments resembling the Sitar were used during religious festivities in pre-Islamic India. Later, in the Mughal period (12th to 18th century), the Sitar came to be used to accompany "nautch" girls as they entertained the courtiers by singing and dancing. It is only in the 18th and 19th century that the Sitar gradually developed into and acquired the status of a solo classical instrument. This is due to the efforts of many dedicated court musicians of Delhi, Rampur, Gwalior, Lucknow, Benares, Jaipur, and Bengal.

The invention of the Sitar was for some time believed to be the work of Amir Khusro the noted literary, musical and intellectual figure of the 13th century. He served in the Delhi court of Allauddin Khilji, has been credited also with the invention of the vocal music forms Qawwali, Khyal and Tarana and also the melodies Raga Yamanand Raga Basant Mukhari among other things. It turns out that none of these figured in Khusro's own writings and, although he alludes to several instruments in use at the time, there is no mention of any instrument resembling the Sitar. The name of the sitar is derived from the persian expression seh-tar meaning 'Three Strings' which is number of the strings the instruments originally had.
ancient treatises, various names of veenas having only three strings, for instance *tritantri, trinari, tripari, trishavi, trichari* and so on. It is possible that Amir Khusrau tried to improve upon one of the veenas then in vogue and ended up by inventing the sitar. Another theory by Mohammad Karam Imam states that Amir Khusrau evolved sitar from Been. In Been, there are 7 strings and 2 tumbas and 19 parda or saars. It is played wearing two mijrabs and Angushta (finger cover which is called Angusha). It is played sitting on two knees and propping the instrument on the shoulder. It is played with the help of eight fingers. Amir Khusrau kept in his sitar only one Tumba, one Dand (hollowed wooden tube), 14 frets and three strings. Wearing the mijrab only in one finger, it is played in one sitting posture.

In the book 'Qanoon-e-sitar', written by Saiyed Safdar Hussain Khan Dehlavi, in June 1870 a.d. corresponding to Hijri 1287, this work is in persian mixed urdu and consists of 272 pages, mentioned, about two types of sitars.

a) A sitar with the arrangement of 22 frets in stationery position. This arrangement is called "Achal That" i.e. static or fixed that.

b) The other sitar is the one which has 16 reeds and needs adjustment according to the requirements of a "Raga". The frets of Kharaj and Pancham are immovable in this also and the rest are to be adjusted.

The type of sitar which has 22 frets is known as "Achal That (fixed mehr) According to him, this arrangement of the facts is used on Been (Veena) but some musicians prefer this on the sitar also. This clearly demotes that he instrument sitar has gradually been developed derived or innovated from Been, an ancient instrument.

Sitar has sixteen frets arranged in the following manner.-The first fact is set to *Teesra Ma*, the second to *panchama*, the third to
shuddha dhaivata, the fourth to Komal Nishada, the fifth to Shuddha Nishada, the sixth to sa, the seventh to Shuddha Re, the eight to Shuddha ga,\textsuperscript{85} the ninth to Shuddha Ma or Teevra Madhyama, the tenth to Teevra Ma, the eleventh to Pancham the twelveth to Shuddha Dhaivat, the thirteenth to Shuddha Nishada, the fourteenth to Shuddha Nishada, the fourteenth to Shuddha Nishada of the upper octave, the fifteenth to Teevra Re and the sixteenth to Teevra gandhara.\textsuperscript{86}

Regarding the tuning of sitar, there were 6 strings in the sitar which were tuned as follows :-

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
6 & 5 & 4 & 3 & 2 & 1 \\
Sa & Sa & Pa & Sa & Sa & Ma \\
Papaya & Laraj & Pancham & Kharaj & Kharaj & Baaj \\
(Chikari)
\end{array}
\]

Iron \hspace{0.5cm} Brass \hspace{0.5cm} Iron \hspace{0.5cm} Brass \hspace{0.5cm} Brass \hspace{0.5cm} Iron

Another significant contribution of Lucknow to instrumental music was the development of the sitar.\textsuperscript{87} The sitar is perhaps the commonest of all the stringed instruments of northern India. In superficial appearance the sitar is very much like a tambura. The body is usually made of a gourd cut in half near the core. Originally the gourd was almost flat, like the back of a tortoise and therefore such a sitar was called 'Kachchawa'.\textsuperscript{88} The name Kachchapi was also given to a type of Veena for the same reason.

The Tuning system as advocated by Amrit Sen, is as follows :-

The main string was tuned to Madhyama, followed by two to Shadajas and two to Panchamas. Some Senias also used one as Kharaj. It appears that the gourd fixed in the middle of the sitar was removed by Raja Khan.\textsuperscript{89} He introduced additional frets in accordance with the Achal that system.
and had 23 facts on his instrument. His sitar of seven strings was tuned in the following order.

1) Lower octave Ma  
2) Sa Middle octave
3) Middle octave Sa  
4) Middle octave Pa
5) Pa (Kharaj)  
6) Middle octave Sa
7) Upper octave Sa.\(^90\)

Whenever any sitarist performs, he shows his performance through two types of Baaj in sitar -

a) Masectkhani  Baaj-Delhi baaj.

b) Rezakhani  Baaj-Lucknow baaj.

How did these two forms in Sitar come into existence? What is the main difference between the two forms are given in the form of comments made by the contemporary historians. It is said that Amir Khusro's brother Niyamat Khan, a Beenkar (veena player)\(^91\) and vocalist in the Dhrupad tradition was the leading and most famous musician in the Delhi court. They were descendants of Tansen from his daughter Saraswati's line. Khusro's son Firoz Khan and grandson Masit Khan were Sitaras (professional Sitar players) and introduced many innovations into the art of Sitar playing. The Firozkhani Gat and Masitkhani Gat - structures used in today's music, are their creations.

According to one story\(^92\) Niyamat Khan and his nephew Firoz Khan were insulted on one occasion when a vocalist they were accompanying called them "nirjeev" (lifeless). The Emperor sympathized with the vocalist and Niyamat Khan and Firoz Khan left the court and settled in the outskirts of Delhi. Under the pennames of Sadarang and Adarang they created many lively compositions in beautiful and melodious Ragas using fast and
dynamic Taans. Thus was born the new vocal music style which came to be known as Khayal. The composition of Adarang and Sadarang continue to figure in today's Khayal singing. Several of these compositions were in praise of the Emperor who then invited them back to his court in Delhi. Firoz Khan thus incorporated into his Sitar playing both the Beenkar and slow Dhrupad styles as well as the new Khayal style with its fast Taans and rhythmic work. His son Masit Khan further developed the classical art of Sitar playing by composing many Gats in which the purity of the Raga's melodic structure was carefully retained which was classified as Maseetkhani Gat.

Compositions in Maseetkhani Baaj are a bit difficult to play because that needs to be played with patience. Their elaboration and presentation require special skill. Maseetkhan has improved upon the technique of playing sitar. Writing about Maseet Khan's son Bahadur Khan, Imam states that he know the technique of Been. Due to some injury in his hand, he could not play Been, so, he decided to take up playing on sitar and played the same 'Todas' of Been on sitar and taught his pupil Biyaba Jan of Delhi. He states that playing of this Baaj is very difficult and he has not heard anyone playing sitar like Biyaba Jaan who displays with dexterity all the salient feature like 'Ad', 'Kuwad', 'Gamak', 'Soot' and 'Taan' and the technique of mijrab.

There are two principal styles or Baj of sitar Maseetkhani and Rezakhani, named after their originators, Maseet Khan and Ghulam Reza Khan of the two styles, the Maseetkhani is the older and is played in Vilambit Laya (slow tempo), the Rezakhani gat is played in Drut laya (fast tempo). While both the types of gats are usually set to Teen-Tal, the bols of the two are distinct.

A Maseet Khani gat invariably uses the following set of bols:
Unlike those of Masectkhani, the bols of a Rajakhani gat are to be used in combination for instance, Da Ra and Da may be produced as single bol Darda, but such a combination of bols does not affect its rhythmic value which consists of three maters or units of time.

For example 99:-

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Da} & \quad \text{Ra} & \quad \text{Da} \\
(1) & + & (1) & + & (1) & = & (3)
\end{align*}
\]

The bols used in both Masectkhani and Rajakhani gats are each of the value of one mater or rhythmic unit. The difference is only with regard to the speed or tempo in which the two types are played of. 100

1) 1 2 3 4
   Da) Ra) Da) Ra)
2) Da) Ra Da) Da Ra) Da)
3) Da) Dar) Da) Ra)
4) Da) Ra, Da) -Ra) Da)

The above bols are examples in which Da Ra Da can be used in combination in a Rezakhani gat.

Rezakhani style or ‘Purab - ka- Baj’ style is generally believed to have been introduced by Ustad Reza Khan or Ghulam Reza Khan. Some musicologists do not hold this view. It is said that Masect Khan, having been annoyed by the misbehaviour of his senior student, made gats in faster tempo and taught these to his student Reza Khan of Lucknow. 101 According to
Raja S.M. Tagore, Reza Khan and his son Ali Reza belonged to the district of Patna, Bihar. The style of their execution has been followed in other parts of the country. But Karam Imam observed that Ghulam Reza's untraditional style was unsystematic, but his performance was excellent. “The gats in Teen Tal are composed in the style of Thumri, Ragini and Dhun are incomplete, hence I am not impressed, but, undoubtedly, Ghulam Reza had a sweet touch. The followers of this style are quite enamoured of it. But there is no room in this style for Thok and Jhala, nor there no scope for Rag except for one or two. Ustads are averse of this style and the connoisseurs are ashamed of it. Ghulam Reza developed this style only for the nobleman of Lucknow”. From the above statement it is evident that Karam Imam had personally heard Ghulam Reza playing Rezakhani Baj because the book “Ma’adan ul Mosiqui” by Karam Imam was written in 1853 and Ghulam Reza must have lived about the same time.

Here's an example of drut gat or Rezakhani gat, encouraged by Nawab Wazid Ali Shah.

Notation of Tarana in Bihag :-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>0</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>*</th>
<th>2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

स मम गम ति थ सं नि प म ग ग नि
न देे देता " दिये ता ना दा ना ना नाला नां

Laya - Bol Ki Thumri in Kafi:-

छाड़ो छाड़ो छैला

<table>
<thead>
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<th>0</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

स रेे रे र भ भ म म प प प म ग रे स नि
छा डो छे ला इ मो* री छा डो
The exposition of Ragas in *Rezakhani gat* always follows a *Masectkhani gat* and never proceeds it. Sitar playing was very popular in Awadh. Not surprisingly, Awadh has produced a large number of prominent sitar players. *Gharana* system in instrumental music came into light under the patronage of the Nawabs of Awadh like - Ustad Niamat Ullah Khan Gharana, Ustad Muhammad Hussain Khan Gharana and Ustad Abdul Ghani Khan and Yusuf Ali Khan's Lucknow Gharana, which made distinctive cooperation to highlights new techniques in sitar. Muhammad Ghulam Reza Khan, a renowned sitariya, was a resident of Jaunpur and came from Faizabad to Lucknow when Nawab Asaf-ud-daula shifted the capital city from Faizabad to Lucknow. He wrote an important treatise on music in Persian. From the time of Asaf-ud-daula, one may notice renewed interest in the study of music as an ilm; many connoisseurs of music developed interests in the principles and theories related to various aspects of music. Jhumman Khan was a renowned sitar player of the Asafi period. Rajab Ali was Ustad of Nasir-ud-din Haider in sitar. Among the sitar player of Amjad Ali Shah's period, Qutub Ali Khan who was teacher and companion of Nawab Wazid Ali Shah. According to Wazid Ali Shah, “Qutub Ali Khan was Baiju, Gopal and Tansen of his times but he was irreligious and fond of women”. Nawab Wazid Ali Shah gave him the title of Qutub ud daulah. Abdul Halim Sharar mentions the names of sitar experts as Pyar Khan, Jaffar Khan, Haider Khan, Basit Khan and Qutb ud daula. Nawab Wazid Ali Shah learnt sitar from Ustad Sitar Nawab Qutub Ali khan. Under his guidance, he gained such proficiency that he wrote - "I became such an expert on the sitar that I could make those who weep, laugh. My Ustad was so pleased with my progress that often he used to kiss my fingers with appreciation. Everyday he used to teach me in the second and third 'prahar'. The Ustad was renamed 'Qutub-ud-daula Bahadur" by Nawab Wazid Ali Shah. Ghulam Mohammad, his son Dulle Khan and Mehendi Hasan were also well known sitariyas of the time.
Nawab Hashmat Jang Bahadur, a disciple of Pyar Khan of the Seniya Traditions, was another sitar maestro who enriched sitar baj by composing gats based on light classical thumris. These were grouped under Purab baj and became very popular. Nawab Hashmat Jung Bahadur and Ghulam Mohammad Khan flourished in the court of Nawab Wazid Ali Shah. Raja Dhuravji Singh of Balrampur became adapt in the Purab baj.

Ustad Hamid Hussain Khan-the grandson of Ustad Sawaliya Khan of Farukkhabad, had received training from Ustad Pyar Khan of the Seniya Gharana (Ustad of Nawab Wazid Ali Shah), an accomplished Veena and Sarod Mastro besides being a great Dhrupadiya and composer. Hamid Hussain was trained in sitar by his father Tullan Khan and uncle Turab Khan. Later he was replaced by Ghulam Reza Khan, another companion of Nawab Wazid Ali Shah, who was also a well known sitar player.

Ghulam Raza made an innovations called RezaKhani drut gat in sitar which although frowned upon by the masters became extremely popular in the darbar. Even now, all the renowned Sitarists cannot give a recital without including some Rajakhani gats, it reminds everyone of the talented composer Ghulam Reza Khan. "Although Ghulam Reza Khan charmed his listeners with his fast Rezakhani gats, the conservative Ustads of those times who had learnt only the slow Maseetkhani gats, disapproved of this new creation. They warned that the newly created 'drut gat' was going to create a lot of confusion. Initial disapproval was always the first reaction of purists to any new innovation. People must have been getting rather tired of the slow paced 'Maseetkhani gats' based on dhrupad and vina styles, it was then that Reza Khan shrewdly created the fast Rezakhani gats which naturally won instant popularity. Nawab Wazid Ali Shah was a great patron of musicians and it was during his stewardship that the Thumri and Dadra vocal forms and the Kathak dance from were developed in the Nawabi-culture of Lucknow. The most important Sitaria of the 19th century was Ghulam Reza from the
Lucknow court of Nawab Wazid Ali Shah. Ghulam Reza wielded considerable influence in the Lucknow court and at one point was even appointed Deputy Prime Minister. He and his son Ali Reza are credited with the development of the compositional structure known as the Rezakhani Gat. [Figure 092,093]

**Rezakhani gat - Lucknow gharana sitar - its characteristic features :-**

(i) Rezakhani gats are set to *Teen-Tala* and are played in fast tempo bols like *Da, Rada, Ra, Da* figure permanently in all types of Rezakhani gats.

(ii) It consists of two movements - *Sthai and antara*. There are, however, some *gats* in which the *antara* is not played separately but *gats* merged into the body of the *Sthai*. These are called *Kulfidar gats* or *Munjhadar gats* by some sitar players.

(iii) Small *todas* are played after *Rezakhani gats* to be followed by bigger *todas*.

(iv) More intricate and complicated *tanans* are played after the *todas*.

Vocal varieties like fast *khayal, Laya-Bol ki Thumri and Taranas* which were popular in Nawab Wazid Ali Shah's time might have inspired Ghulam Reza Khan to compose Rezakhani gat which learnt heavily on these forms as the following example would show:-

**Notation of Tarana in Bihag:**

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
0 & 3 & X \ 2 \\
स म म ग प & नि –ध सं & नि – प मे \ ग म ग नि \\
न रे दे ता & ड दि ड ता & ना ता ना \ ना ना ता ना \n\end{array}
\]

(v) Short 'fikras' which were earlier introduced were further embellished as a part of *gat* presentation, mainly by Ghulam Reza Khan, court artist under Nawab Wazid Ali Shah.
(vi) The Lucknow sitar ki gat or Reza khani gats are set to Teen-tala and 'Gat Vistara'in a rhythmic pattern is rendered like bol-banao and bol-bant which is followed by Upaja tanas.126

(vii) As the speed of the gat gets faster, double note tanas in dhai are usually introduced.

(viii) Finally, the jhala starts, in which the Chikari plays a significant role.

Vilayat Khan also sometimes plays a bandish of a khayal in the Rezakhan technique on the sitar:-127

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rag Shankara</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>नि निधनि संति रेंसं</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>एं सो डड ठीड, टड</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ग पटि रेंगठो ड</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Imrat Khan, Vilayat Khan's pupil and younger brother excelled in the use of heavy gamakas and chhut tanos.128

Raga Kafi - Rezakhani gat by Ghulam Raja

| 0            | स गग, रे ग  | – म प म  |
| /            | प – प म  | ग रे स नि  |
| +            | प – प म  | प धव नि सं  |
| 0            | नि ध मम पप  | ग गरे –स रेरे  |
| +            | रे निनि ध नि  | प धव म प  |
| 0            | ग मम ग प  | म – स नि  |
| +            | स –गग रे म  | ग रे स नि  |
Initially sitar was originally an accompanying instrument, it was used as a pause filler, but, during the 18th century it is believed that in the tension free atmosphere, new style of sitar players used 12 different 'angas' similar to the 'Veena ang'. There were alap, jad, gat, toda, ladiguthav, ladlapet, kattar, tarparan, Jhala and Thok, which could be played in Rezakhani gats which originated from Lucknow. During the 18th century, after the initial introduction of the bols into the technique of sitar playing, the gat presentations made full and effective use of different bol combinations in the highly ornamental gats that were developed by various musicians both in the Masitkhani and Rezakhani style. Further developing the existing style of gat playing, sitar players introduced several innovations which increasingly enriched the style. Short 'fikras' which were earlier introduced were further embellished as a part of gat presentation, mainly by Ghulam Reza Khan, court artist under Nawab Wazid Ali Shah. Later, the technique of gat toda by intelligent use of bols was also introduced. It is believed that the technique of tihais to be played in a sitar performance was introduced during the time of Ustad Inayat Khan. [Figure 099]
Geneological chart of Ustad Muhammad Hussain Khan.

↓

Ghulam Abbas Khan

↓

Ghulam Waris Khan.

↓--------------------↓-------------------↓-------------------↓

Mehndi Hasan Khan Fida Hussain Khan Kanya Dulhe Khan.

(disciple) (nephew and adopted son) Hamid Hussain Khan

(Babu) - Beenkar.

Khalifa Muhammad Hussain Khan (Beenkar) Khadim Hussain, Khan (Singer)

↓-------------------↓-------------------↓-------------------↓

Raja Hussain Baqar Khan Khalifa Ahmad Abbas Hussain Khan

Khan Hussain Khan Farrukh Hussain

(son) (son) (son) (disciple and nephew)

Kanya Puter - Rahmat Hussain Khan, Abbas Khan.

↓

D.N. Sanyal, Basharat Hussain, Tajammul Khan, Riyasat Hussain Akhtar. (disciple)
Surshringar and Rabab:

During the nawabi era, Awadh, in particular Lucknow has been the home of a galaxy of eminent masters of instrumental music who had achieved extensive popularity for their mastery over a wide variety of instruments like Sur-Shringar, rabab and Surbahar.

The Surshringar is a combination of three instruments of the stringed variety found in the north, namely the mahati veena, the rabab and the Kachchapi Veena.\(^{134}\) The small gourd and the neck to which the strings are attached are features of the ‘mahati veena’; the finger board with the metal plate is very much like the type of rabab which Tansen played; and the main body is similar to that of the ‘Kachchapi veena’ popularly called the ‘kachchapi sitar’, with its flat gourd resembling the back of a tortoise. There are six main strings which are placed on a flat bridge. There are two additional strings for the drone and the rhythmic accomplishment.\(^{135}\) [Figure 094]

To play Sursringar, the instrument is placed in front of the performer and held in a slanting position so that the upper portion rests on the left shoulder. The strings are plucked with wire plectrums (mizrabs) worn on the fingers of the right hand and the notes are held with the fingers of the left hand.\(^{136}\) The polished metal plate on the finger board facilitates the sliding of the fingers thus making it easier to produce the gamakas and other graces of Indian music. The Sursringar is restricted to serious types of music, mainly the Dhrupad and Dhamar styles.\(^{137}\) After playing Alap of the raga in vilambit, Madhya and drut laya (slow, medium and fast tempo), the performer usually ends the recital with varieties of jhalas played to the accompaniment of the pakhawaj.\(^{138}\)

Chajju Khan is regarded by some scholars as the originator of Sursringar. Others credit Ustad Pyar Khan (the music preceptor of Nawab Wazid Ali Shah) with the invention of Sursringar. As he
had no offspring of his own, he adopted his sister’s son Bahadur Khan and trained him to become a fine Sur Sringar artiste.\textsuperscript{139}

Pyar Khan was a great player of the rabab and sarod and invented a special type of Sarod called Sur Sringar. His brothers-Basit Khan and Jafar Khan were equally versatile. Their offsprings Kazim Ali Khan (Aramuddaulah), Sadiq Ali Khan (Rahtuddaulah),\textsuperscript{140} Nisar Ali and Bahadur Sen (Ziaudddaulah) adopted son of Pyar Khan and Bahadur Khan (Pyar Khan’s nephew), were also rabab and sursringar players of distinctions. [Figure 095]

**Rabab:**

If we talk about an important instrument of the Nawabi-Awadh, it was Rabab - which created musical styles. The construction of an instrument, its musical potentialities and tone colour suggest certain definite line of musical development.\textsuperscript{141} The appearance of a new instrument heralds the beginning of a new musical style. The revolution of its shape and constitution makes it possible for a musician to obtain new forms of sound. To understand its role in the cultural history of Awadh, we have to cover its historical past in brief. The Rabab, is a popular stringed instrument of the plucked variety found all over the Middle East. The Indian rabab, which might have brought into India by the Abbasids, made few changes in the existing form.\textsuperscript{142} There was a time when Lucknow was the home of some eminent rababiyas, namely Pyar Khan, jaffar Khan, basat Khan, Chajju khan, Bahadur Khan and Kazim Khan (son of Jaffar Khan), Kazim Ali is still remembered as one of the greatest rababiyas. His sons Sadiq Ali and Nissar Khan and two sons of Jeewan Khan-Bahadur Khan and Haider Khan were all great rababiyas.\textsuperscript{143}

‘A special class of artists known as ‘Meers’ used to play on the Afghan rabab and daf, and sing martial songs and songs of heroism in front of the marching armies of Babar.\textsuperscript{144} It was these ‘meers’ who brought rabab into
north India. They were given Jagirs in different places where they settled down. The batch which settled down in Bulandshshar had as their leader Meer Gul Mohammad Khan, the senior most Meer. His son Haqdad Khan and the latter’s son Miyan Niyamatullah Khan became shagirds of Miyan Basat Khan. They altered the gut strings into plate and iron strings.¹⁴⁵

The instrument is made of wood. It has a double belly, the first being covered with parchment and the second with wood. There are four strings; the upper strings are sometimes doubled in which case the instrument has six strings.¹⁴⁶ A number of sympathetic strings of metal run beneath the main strings. There are four or five frets made of gut tied round the finger board at semitonic intervals and the instrument is played with a plectrum. The tone resembles that of a banjo and no ‘meend’ or ‘glisando’ is possible on this instrument.¹⁴⁷

Apart from a list of main instruments which were stylized in a newer version as per the demands of the people during the period under study i.e. 1722 to 1856, there were other instruments which are listed by Muhammad Karam Imam, who wrote a treatise on music “Ma’adanul Moosiqui” [discussed in the previous chapter] mentioned about 50 musical instruments which were in vogue during his time¹⁴⁸ as:-

1) Dheru  
2) Jhanjh  
3) Manjeera  
4) Tambura with four strings  
5) Been- played with ten fingers originated by Mahadev  
6) Pakhawaj

26) Narsinga  
27) Tamboor  
28) Bagai  
29) Organ  
30) Sur-Bahar  
31) Daf
7) Sitar  
8) Qanoon  
9) Barbat  
10) Chango (Chang-Rabab)  
11) Qanoonacha  
12) Sarod  
13) Taoos  
14) Guitar  
15) Sarangi  
16) Sur-Sringar  
17) Nae-An  
18) Shehna  
19) Nai (resembling flute)  
20) Algoza  
21) Khushtarang  
22) Nakpara  
23) Choti Nakkara  
24) Qarna  
25) Turhi  

32) barbat  
33) Tabel  
34) Dhol  
35) Bawak  
36) Chang  
37) Tasha  
38) Murfa  
39) Sarangi  
40) Surmandal (with 25 strings)  
41) Jantar (with three strings)  
42) Kinner Bin  
43) Surbeen  
44) Ambarati  
45) Dohotay  
46) Kankrah  
47) Aan Awaj  
48) Khyal (an instrument)  

According to Muhammad Karam Imam, “Mian Chajju Khan Kalawant was the brother of Mian Jeewan Khan kalawant.” Zafar Khan’s sons Sadiq Ali Khan and Nisar Ali Khan played rabab. Few scholars says- “ Basat Khan(1787-1887ad.) had three sons namely Ali Muhammad ,
Muhammad Ali and Riyasat Ali but Muhammad Karam Imam mentions that he had no child whereas Acharya Brihsapati mentioned the names of Muhammad Ali as his son.\(^{150}\)

Jeewan Khan had two sons- Bahadur Khan and Haider Khan. Bahadur Khan was an excellent rabab player. Apart from this, Ustad Bayachid Khan, his disciple Shikhar Sen and another artist Hayati were excellent rababiyans.\(^{151}\)

Ustad Bahadur Hussain Khan “Jia-ud-daula’ used a symmetrical style of playing ‘tans’ continuously and had deep knowledge of ‘Rag- Ragini’ helped him to experiment himself in playing rabab and Sur Sringer though it was difficult to play it on these instruments without disturbing the continuity.\(^{152}\)

Going through the musical journey whether vocal or instrumental, it is clear that the during the cultural period under study, music was by far the most popular form of entertainment among the royalty and nobility. However, it would be apt to conclude that the Nawabs considered music merely as a form to entertain themselves and in that process, allowed this art form to grow freely and go for experimentation to refine itself. Had the Nawabs of Awadh and the nobility not come to the rescue of the musicians, they would have perished and our music would have got effaced from the surface of the Earth. Although, the Nawabs, the services rendered by them to the cause of music can never pass into oblivion and whenever we would be paying homage to our past musicians the great masters, we cannot but feel greatful to these patronizing Nawabs who acted as the Saviour of our musicians and our music as well. It may also be said that if the patron showed his taste for a particular style, the musician of that Gharana, in particularly ‘Lucknow Gharana’ made that state as their permanent habitat and they assumed the name of that state for their ‘gharana’. The Nawabi era in Awadh was, no doubt, an age of experimentation and creation of various musical forms both vocal as well as instrumental music.
Chapter 8:

Experimentation and creation of new instruments:

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150. Baksh, Munshi Faiz, Ahwal-i-Zindagi-i-Faizbaksh, Calcutta: The Asiatic Society of Bengal; pg.43.

151. Bedar, Sanath Singh, Majmua Tawarikh-i-Bedar Agra: Agra University Library; pg.28.


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Chapter 9

“An Era Of A Melodic Recitation”

(i) Sozkhwani, (ii) Doms and Dharis, (iii) Bhands

[I] Sozkhwani- {prelude to mourning}:

The rulers of Awadh were active patrons of art and culture. They inherited the rich traditions of the Mughals and strengthened these by creating an atmosphere of trust and cooperation amongst their subjects. They also created an environment of eclecticism by bringing together heterogeneous elements in several aspects like painting, music, philosophy, education and religion. Under the patronage of the Nawabs of Awadh, who conformed to Shi’a rituals, the marsiya and sozkhwani rose to unprecedented heights; as a literary genre it represented a synthesis of multiple Indian traditions. Marsiya and Sozkhwani took shape in accordance with these developments in language, musical forms, and Shi’a rituals and came to reflect all aspects of the culture of Awadh.

Because of the fervour and devotion of the Awadh rulers for Imam Husain and martyrs of Karbala, many musicians began reciting marsiyas with rhythms. Sharar wrote that although it might be considered presumptuous to include this new religious art as part of music, its appeal is as much through the raga-raginis in which they are sung. Sozkhwani was, in a way, a form of religious music begun by the Shias in India to keep ever-fresh the memory of the martyrdom of the Prophet's family, especially during Moharram.

The most visual manifestation of the Shi’ा culture in Awadh may be found in Lucknow in the elaboration of the customs and rituals connected with Muharram. These were formalized with the approval of the
Shi’a ‘ulama, for instance Saiyid Dil Dar Ali,⁵ who saw it as a powerful medium of the growth of the Shi’aism in Awadh. Some of the practices such as mehndi, jhula, processions and illuminations were of Indian origin. All the events of the seventh Muharram (the day of the martyrdom of Imam Qasim) were actually depicted.⁶ These rituals certainly have links with the Iranian dramatic performance called ta’zias especially the “two muslim infants” and ‘Ghasem’s Marriage’ (Qasim’s marriage) which represent an attempt ‘to mythologize, fictionalize or give an imaginative treatment to actual events.’⁷

‘Soz’ is a Persian word which means ‘Lament. Sozkhwani is the musical rendering of religious dirges or elegies in sad and melodious tunes. Although it existed in Persia since ancient times, the earliest Sozkhurans (Soz singers) had come to Awadh during the reign of Nawab Shuja-ud-daula and it become as perfected form of art in Lucknow.⁸ As the centre of art and culture shifted from Delhi to Faizabad during the mid eighteenth century, Shi’a ‘ulama and scholars, and elite families too, gathered there under the patronage of nawab Shuja-ud-daula from different parts of India and Iran. Mulla Muhammad ‘Ali’ Kashmiri, entitled Mulla Padshah, arrived in Faizabad during the reign of Shuja-ud-daula and after his death he was patronized by Bahu Begum.⁹ The famous scholar al-Bihabani, after his rift with Gufran- ma’ab, also settled in Faizabad in 1807, where Bahu Begum gave him a warm welcome. Al-Bihabani spent most of his time writing on religion. Asaf-ud-daula referred important problems to him and as impressed by his fatwas.¹⁰ The improvement of facilities for Shi’a scholars during the reign of Asaf-ud-daula facilitated the growth of centres of learning in Lucknow. Maulana ‘Ata’Hussain bin Ghulam Murtaza Zangipuri (d.1797), who was a prominent disciple of the renowned Zangipur Shi’a ‘alim Maulana Ziya’ Allah, established a school for higher learning in Awadh.¹¹

It may be pointed out at this juncture that owing to Nawab Sa’adat Khan Burhan-ul-Mulk and Safdarjung’s fascination for Delhi,
and the early Nawabs conducted the Muharram mourning ceremonies at the Qadamgah-i-Hazrat Imam Amir ul Mominin ‘Ali’, popularly known as Shah-i-Mardan. Initially Delhi remained a favourite place for Shuja-ud-daula also. Ghulam ‘Ali’ Khan Naqvi, an official chronicler of Awadh, mentions mourning assembly held here on the 20th of Ramzan, the anniversary of Imam Ali’s martyrdom. Then rauza-khwans and other zakirs (orators), experts in relating the history of the martyrdom of Imam Hussain, took part; Naqvi relates that the audience, charged with emotions, spent the entire night lamenting and crying. He also states that on the tenth of Muharram, ta’zias were buried there. Nawab Asaf-ud-daula spent lavishly during Muharram. We are told by Abu Talib that-

“Every year since its completion four or five lakhs of rupees have been spent on the decoration of the Imambara. Hundreds of ta’ziyas, big and small, are made of gold and silver, and the number of glass chandeliers with and without glass shades, plain and coloured, and candelabras of gold, silver and brass with drum-shaped shades, which are purchased defies computation. The halls, large as they are, have their floors and ceilings filled with them, so that the caretakers can with difficulty perform their duty..... With all this the wazir was not satisfied. When Dr. Biane was going to England, he gave him an order for two glass ta’ziyas with chandeliers and shades and their appointments, one to be green and the other red. The price was fixed at a lakh of rupees. In AH 1211 one arrived and the other was promised for the next year”.

Ordinary Shia considers Soz Khwani, the road to salvation, their religious leader have not yet sanctioned it in view of the Muslim religious law. At majlises where mujtahids and maulvis are present there are only recitals of the hadis and ‘tahat ul lafz khurani’, the spoken recital of elegies, dirges are never chanted in their presence.

Marsiagoi, too, received much encouragement in Awadh during Nawab's rule. Marsia is a kind of epic, elegiac poem depicting the martyrdom of Imam
Hussain and members of his family.\textsuperscript{17} Musahfi should be treated as the founding father of marsia writing in Lucknow, many of his pupils followed his example. The marsias of Mir Anis and Mirza Dabir became famous as works of poetry. Janab Sayyad Amir Ali of Muftiganj, his pupil Miyan Ahmad Ali Khan, Ghulam Abbas Khan, Meer Maulvi, Mehndi Bux, Achche Sahab Mirza Fida Ali Sahab, Raiz Bade Saheb, Barkar Hussain, Chhote Munne Khan and Badu Munne Khan and Munir Bidesua were accomplished marsia-singers.\textsuperscript{18} Interestingly, the Ta’ziya-gardani and Shabih-khwani, the two representative dramatic art forms of Iran, did not find vogue in Lucknow. This is strange both in view of the Awadh rulers’ Iranian origins and the growing popularity of theatrical arts.\textsuperscript{19} These Iranian forms had integrated the subtleties and elegance of theatrical art with religious rites. Ta’ziya is ‘one of the most characteristic dramatic arts in the Iranian people’s traditions’, focused on mourning (soz) for Imam Hussain and his companions.\textsuperscript{20} In its original form, it relied heavily on speeches in the form of monologues or dialogue and less on actions, and actors representing religious figures appeared on the stage wearing masks, which led some scholars to believe that Iranian Ta’zia is a popular and ideological play, more akin to oratory than drama.\textsuperscript{21} These heart moving (huzm-angez) plays are still enacted, yearly in every Persian town and colony in crowds of weeping spectators during the months of Muharram and Safar in the Takya (an abode used for prayer and mourning).\textsuperscript{22} Sometimes they are represented as street plays by hereditary performers who are trained orators. Shabih-khwani was a play in which relied heavily on the delivery of dialogues and it is held that its eloquent performers and excellent prosody (funun-i-fasila-guzari) and entrancing an assembly (majlis-arayi), have retained the traits of language of the olden days so that its roots may be traced I the ancient sog-i-Syawash and Urus-i-Qasim which is still performed today.\textsuperscript{23}

The art of marsiya –khwani was perfected and standardized by Saiyid Mir Ali, who is considered by Karam Imam Khan as the greatest musician of
his period, and a Nayak. He is said to have excelled in every style of vocal music. A new emotion was given to the rags by eliminating all the joyful elements from the melody, rhythm and tempo. Saiyed Mir Ali composed numerous soz and modulated them in various rags and raginis. His style retains the ethos of indigenous folk music. Saiyed Mir Ali had numerous disciples—Maulawi Qayyumi, Miyan Ahmad Ali ‘Ata’, Ghulam ‘ Abbas, Mirza Fida ‘Ali’, etc. and his style continued to be followed. Karam Imam Khan mentions the names of two other soz-khwans besides Saiyed Mir kallu Barchhiyat. But he does not elaborate, except to say that ‘Miyan mamman was as well versed in Ma’lumat as Saiyed Mir ‘Ali’ himself. He had his own followers, namely Mir Maula, Ahmad ‘Ali’, and Mahdi Bakhsh, and Ahmad ‘Ali’ was the most renowned amongst those who followed his style.

Due to the efforts of Nasir Khan soz-khwan, a musician of the family of Miyan Tansen and his two disciples Mir ‘Ali’ Hasan, and Mir Bande Hasan, the art was further developed and brought to the level of a musical form. The soz which they rendered had all the traits of rags, and became very popular. The mass popularity of soz-khwani may be gathered from the fact that now it did not remain confined to the professional musicians and people learnt it irrespective of caste and creed. Many people from amongst the shurfa also learnt it. Nawab Sultan ‘Ali’ Khan and Nawab Hussain ‘Ali’ Khan were so well versed in the art that their names figured next to Saiyid Mir Ali Khan were so well versed in the art that their names figured next to Saiyid Mir Ali.

Three types of elegies centred around the series of tragic incidents connected with the martyrdom of Imam Hussain—Masia, Salaam and nauha—dirges recited in poetic form. In Lucknow, the masnavis began to be based even on love themes which throw light on the social life and cultural values of the Nawab rulers and others in that era.
The term marsiya (an elegy) is a derivative of the Arabic ‘risa’, which means praising the dead in a funeral oration, weeping and wailing over the deceased. Marsiya, generally speaking, is a poem recited to express sorrow on the death of a person; it is also a poem to commemorate a pathetic event. It is also known as ‘risa’, ‘soz’ or ‘soznama’. The history of marsiya is the history of the Indianization of an Iranian tradition, and hence of particular importance.

The history of marsiya in Awadh, however, is unique. From solitary verses and songs to wails it came to acquire the characteristics of an epic and heralded a new era in urdu poetry. Due to its association with rituals, the marsiya of Lucknow came to portray contemporary socio-religious customs. These are best delineated in those marsiyas which deal with the martyrdom of Imam Qasim. By this time, the ritual related to the mourning were formalize in Awadh. The marsiya poetry provides a fuller view of these rituals and cultural practices.

Interestingly, the marsiya in Awadh presents an Indian cultural ambience. The characters involved in the tragedy over now and then talk and behave like the gentry of Awadh. The more poignant the situation, the more subtle is the sentiment and more telltale the atmosphere and surroundings. The images portray the family of Imam Hussain as an aristocratic family of Awadh. The camp of the Imam is visualized as a durbar. The morning sound of naubat and shahna (shehnai) fills the surroundings of the camp with happiness. Every care is taken of the parda of the ladies of the Imam’s household, the haramsara. We also find the expression deorhi, prevalent amongst Rajputs and also in use for the royal residence of the rulers of Awadh.

Sharar has given a vivid description of a unique procession of charming women from noble families on a moonlit night during Moharram. With their loose tresses, and carrying tazias, these young women were
proceeding towards Talkatora shrine while rendering Soz verses in rag paraj in such a heart rendingly appealing manner that their Sozkhwani haunted his mind for days afterwards.\textsuperscript{38}

In describing the dress of Imam Hussain and his warriors, the marsiya writers have virtually described the contemporary fashions of Lucknow.\textsuperscript{39} Imam Hussain wears the shamla and pataka (a waistband). The arrival (amad) of Imam Hussain on the battlefield is described as if he is proceeding to court.\textsuperscript{40}

There are some masnawis also written during the nineteenth century on Karbala and the traditional history of the Prophet’s family, such as Hibat-i-Haidari by Wajid Ali Shah, Mazhar-ul-Aja’ib by Zamir,\textsuperscript{41} Miraj-Nama, Ahsan-ul-Qasas by Dilgir, Rivaz-ul-Mursalin by Asir. Rashk wrote masnAVIS on hadis and tabarra.\textsuperscript{42} A new verse form, harziyago’I, also developed during this period. Its origin was in the tabarra (condemnation of the enemies of the Prophet’s family), a contemptuous theme awarded a certain elegance by Miyan Munshir, pupil of Mirza Dabir.\textsuperscript{43} Marsia Khwani was the most popular form of elegiac recitation, but later instrumental soz khwani attained tremendous popularity in Lucknow.\textsuperscript{44}

Though Syed Meer Ali was the father of Marsiya singing called Sozkhwani in Lucknow then too his disciples, Mir Tiolai and Ahmad Ali from Lucknow and Mehdi Bux of Rudauli were also renowned Sojkhwans.\textsuperscript{45} Nasir Khan, a descendant of Tansen was a Sozkhwan par excellence along with his two disciples. With the help of the patronage provided by the Nawabs of Awadh, they created a synthesis of multiple Indian tradition. Mir Ali Hasan and Mir Banda Hasan, who hailed from a good Shia Syed family, acquired fame as Sojkhurans in the reign of Nasiruddin Haider.\textsuperscript{46} Nawab Qasim Ali Khan in the period of Ghaziuddin Haider and Ghulam Murtaza in the period of Nasiruddin Haider were reputed Soz singers.\textsuperscript{47}
There were a number of poets like Mir Khaliq, Mir Anis and Mirza Dabir who composed marsiyas themselves. They also recited Marsiyas in the majlises but they recited them only in tahtullafz i.e. without singing. In ‘tahat ul laft’ Khurani an elegy is read out and explained simply and forcefully, just as a poet reads out his odes in a mushaira. A Soz- Khwan sings an elegy to sad melodies. Both these accomplishments advanced to such an extent that they became distinct art forms which were from start to finish peculiar to Lucknow.

The old and original marsiya Khwani was actually soz khwani. In majlises, gatherings of mourning, marsiyas were recited to melodies. Although soz khwani dates from ancient times and was widely known, Lakhnavis brought it to such perfection that they made it an art peculiar to themselves. They raised its standards in India to such a degree that they became more accomplished than the professional singers. In the delightful history, it is written that Bahu Begum used to hold majlises at her residence and that Khwaja Sara Javahar Ali Khan, who was the Superintendent of her household and personal estate, listened to the chanting of elegies.

Some people say that Khwaja Hasan Maududi created the art. Instructor to the author of Naghmat-ul-Asafiya, he was a self-taught man and such an expert musician that none within miles could rival him. Although he was by religion a Sunni, he harmonized some special dhuns to the singing of dirges. The foundations were thus laid free this art on a regulated and defined basis. Later Haidari Khan chanted dirges during Muharram to tunes suited to his taste. From the thousands of existing dhuns, those tunes were selected that were expressive of grief and sorrow and were used for hundreds of dirges. Eventually Haidari Khan taught this art to Saiyyid Mir Ali, who gave great impetus to the art because of his religious fervour. He became so well known in the days of Saddat Ali Khan that once he was annoyed and had decided to
leave Lucknow. Insha Allah Khan exerted his influence and the Nawab consoled him, assured him of his esteem and stopped him from going.\textsuperscript{54}

Another popular Sozkhwan was Nasir Khan, who was a descendant of Tansen. He took up this musical form and polished it with his musical skills. He even trained two sons of a poor widow – Mir Ali Hasan and Mir Bande Hasan who further refined the art and gained wide popularity.\textsuperscript{55}

Many courtesans obtained recognition in society as 'Sojkhwans' some of them held their own Majlises, while others were employed by royalty or by noble families to render these dirges musically. Among the important courtesans known for their melodious voice in the period of Nawab Asaf-ud-Daula were Bari Misri, Salaro, Ram Kali, Mehtab Jan, Khurshed Jan, Jalalo Radha Baoli, Najbai and Sunderjan.\textsuperscript{56} Large crowds of listeners collected to hear highly talented and popular sojkhuran and marsiya singers, namely, Hasso, Chowdhrani sisters, Badi jaddan, Kallan, Baban and others.\textsuperscript{57} Among reputed professional women singers were Haidar Jan, Mughal Jan, Najja, Haidari Begum, Mohamadi Begum, Nandi Begum and many others. It is said that during Moharram, thousands of people used to throng the Imambara to hear Haidari Chunawali's hauntingly sweet rendering of soz verses of lamentation.\textsuperscript{58}

A peculiar uniqueness of the sozkhwani of Awadh was its female marsiya singers, including the famous three sisters Haidari Begum, Mohammadi Begum and Nanhi Begum by Nawab Wajid Ali Shah who had employed them in his service. They were granddaughters of a great Urdu poet, Inshaullah Khan Insha. Nawab Wajid Ali Shah later married one of the three, Nanhi Begum.\textsuperscript{59}

Among other Sozkhwans mentioned by Karam Imam are Mirza Fida Ali, Mir Kazim Ali, Mirza Mohammed Raza (a descendant of
Nawab Salarjung), Ahmad Ali and Asghar Ali of Faizabad and Kammo and Fajjo Dharis.\(^{60}\)

Maharaj Kumar Muhamad Amir Haider Khan of Mahmudabad, Muharram Ali and Prince Sultan Hasan Mirza are some of the prominent Sojkhurans mentioned by Sharar.\(^{61}\) As soon as the impressive and heart-rending notes of dirges were chanted by Mir Ali Hasan and Mir Bandey Hasan, hundreds of men from elite families began to sing them, and then the women of noble Shia families also intended them with their matchless voices.\(^{62}\)

Matters have now reached the stage that during Muharram and on most other days of mourning, heart rendering sounds of lamentation and the melodious chanting of dirges can be heard from every house in every lane in old Lucknow.\(^{63}\)

As per all the evidences mentioned above, it is clear that under the patronage of the rulers of Awadh, who conformed to Shi’a rituals, the marsiya and soz-khwani rose to unprecedented heights. As a literary genre, it represented a synthesis of multiple Indian traditions and incorporated traits of both folk and urban theatre and also qissa-khwani.\(^{64}\) Awadh has developed a unique style of Sozkhwani where there were professional women soz-khwans too. One may notice here a break from tradition. The Deccan and Delhi sources do not mention women Marsiya- khwans.\(^{65}\)

The Nawabs were lovers of entertainments and patrons of fine arts. They spent lavishly on artists. Other members of the royal families and nobles also followed in the footsteps of the King. Many proved to be artists of a high order. There were yet others who were able to win confidence of the rulers and rose high acquiring considerable political clout.\(^{66}\)

The musicians were of both Hindu and Muslim origins. Foremost among the Hindu musicians were the Kathaks, originally a class of Brahman musicians attached to temples. The Muslim musicians of
Awadh can be broadly categorized as (a) Qawwals (b) Kalawants (c) doms and dharis (d) bhands and (e) non-professional gentlemen signers. Because of the respectability bestowed to music by the Nawabs, many gentlemen too took to music and constituted a small but important group of musicians during the Nawabi period.

[II] **Doms and Dharis:**

The doms and Dharis in the court of the Nawabs, however, were an adventurous and ambitions lot. Not content with their success as musicians, they sought new avenues to exhibit their talents. They were, in fact, traditional singing sects, came to Faizabad and later to Lucknow. Both were closely linked and intermarry between themselves. They have both Hindu and Muslim branches. In the context of Nineteenth Century Lucknow, however the term Dom means an occupational term signifying both Hindu and Muslim musicians from a range of regional and ethnic backgrounds who were or had somehow been, associated with regional military forces. One such musician-Ghulam Ali, who played Sarod and apparently achieved some renown in Lucknow, was labeled as a Dom. The military labour market of Awadh as was also the case during the period of the Mughal rule, was composed of a multitude of ethnic groups. These troops were drawn from the communities of Bundelas, Baksariyas, Bhojpuris, Baghchotes, Pathans and Ujjains amongst others, in and around the province. All of these communities would have had their own musicians to accompany their forces. The rapid cultural and economic expansion of Lucknow which made it a boom town in the early Nineteenth Century, also made it the most likely destination for these displaced soldiers and their ancillaries. Their migration to Lucknow would have in no small way contributed to the rather sudden increase in that city’s population during the first half of the Nineteenth Century, which in 1799 was estimated at half a million and in 1858 at a million. According to Jones, it has estimated that the
population increased by about 50,000 to 3,00,000 during the last quarter of the Eighteenth Century alone, and that most of this increase took place between 1775 and 1785.\textsuperscript{73}

Dharis in Lucknow were known to perform on the Sarangi, the Sarod and Tabla. A few Sarangiyas with the title of Dhari were listed by Imam as musicians in Lucknow besides whom he says, there are ‘Thousands of others’.\textsuperscript{74} He also states that the best tabla players also come from the Dhari community. There may have been another interesting musical outcome of this migration. Regional tunes, dhuns became very popular in Lucknow and influenced different musical forms.\textsuperscript{75} Along with the influence from musicians from the countryside, it is not unreasonable to expect that this would have been a conduit for a host of regional tunes to find their way to Lucknow from Brij, Bundelkhand, Rohilkhand, Ujjain, Rewa and many other areas.\textsuperscript{76} Domnis only performed for women and it is mentioned by Sharar as, ‘The performance practices of domnis which became the most important feature of all wedding celebrations and so fascinated the ladies of wealthy families that there was no household that did not employ a troupe of domnis….The domnis themselves were averse to dancing and singing before a male audience’.\textsuperscript{77} The domnis also belong to a community of occupational musical specialists quite distinct from the untouchable caste of ‘dom’ whose traditional occupation is concerned with crematic Pre-modern categories of musicians.\textsuperscript{78}

According to Crooke, in U.P. the Doms numbered 2,98,923 in 1891 out of which only 28,363 (9.5\%) were muslims whereas the total Dhari – population was only 14,294 out of which 1322 (9.9\%) were Muslims. The following table presents the population of Doms and Dharis in Awadh as per 1891 census.\textsuperscript{79}
Population of Doms Dharis in Awadh (1891)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Doms</th>
<th>Dharis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lucknow</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unnao</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raebareli</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sitapur</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hardoi</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kheri</td>
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<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gonda</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahraich</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sultanpur</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pratapgarh</td>
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<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barabanki</td>
<td>272</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faizabad</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>640</td>
<td>766</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Doms were divided into two main groups. The principal group was engaged in basketry to meet out their means while the second group – Dom Mirasi, makes a living by music on festive occasion like Child birth, marriages etc. Both males and females sang and played their traditional instruments like mridang or tambura. The dom mirasis were musicians, story tellers and genealogists. The women mirasis used dholak, manjira and Kingri (gourde fleet). The Domnis were the only performing artistes who were allowed to perform at women’s gatherings. Traditionally
they used to sing sohlas, to the accompaniment of a dhol; however they started singing in the characteristic style of the courtesans and as may be gathered from Saiyid Insha’ Allah Khan’s account, they were skilled dancers.83

According to Crooke, the Miras is sometime style themselves as "mir" by abbreviating the word mirasi. The term "mir" means a "chief" and used to describe the syeds, the descendants of the prophet. They were also called Pakhwaji from Pakhwaj they play.84 Some called themselves kalawant, ‘possessed of art or skill’.

The Dharis have produced a number of outstanding signers and instrumentalists. Karam Imam has included Bakshu, a Dhari among the twelve nayaks of music. During the reign of Nawab King Nasir-ud-din Haider, Baksh Ali Dom , was employed as coachman (in Kanpur) to an European widow. Later, he was employed as darogha of Mukhder Alia to whom Nawab Nasir-ud din got married and Baksh Ali acknowledged himself as father of this begum. He was also appointed as Nazim of her jagir in Mianganj.85

Nasir ud din Haider patronized four groups of performing women, known as jalse-waliyan, who belonged to the Bhanumati, Chune-wali, Domni and Natni communities.86

Nawab Wajid Ali Shah employed two domini sisters, named Aman and Amaman. They helped nawab in procuring beautiful women for his haram life Wajiran (Nawab Nigar Mahal) and Pyare Saheb (Nawab Mashooq Mahal), Mahakpari (Begum Hazrat Mahal). Nawab Wajid Ali Shah conferred the title of Saroor-e-Sultani to Aman.87

‘Four persons, number one, their (Aman and Amaman's) father, Nathu Khan, number two, their uncle, Ghulam Nabi, number three, their brother-in-law, Khamman Khan and number four their brother, Ghulam Haider entered the room, paid obeisance and began to play Sarod. I too was playing Sitar behind
the Chilman …… Their singing was so overwhelming that I placed my mouth on the chilman."

- Wajid Ali Shah

They were appointed in 'Parikhana' to teach music to the Paris. Later, He gave title of Ghulam Ali Khan to Nathu Khan and Ghulam Hasan Khan to Khamman Khan, Musahiban-e-Khas (Chief companions) and Jawanan-e-Pahra (Youthful watchers) to Ghulam Raja Khan and Chajju Khan respectively.88

The real rule of the Doms and Dharis began with the accession of Wajid Ali Shah on the throne of Awadh in 1847. One of his first act as ‘king’ was to confer titles of honour on most of these Don and Dhari companions and put them in charge of important officer.89 Nathu Ram was given title of 'Najbuddaulah' and was made commander of Sikandari Platoon. Ghulam Raza Khan got the title of 'Rajiuddaulah, Marziul Mulk Ghulam Raza Khan Bahadur' and in change of Ghanghor platoon; Ghulam Nabi – brother of Nathu Khan as Tahseenuddaulah Bahadur and a risaldar too. Khamman Khan (brother-in-law of Ghulam Raza Khan) received the title of 'Wahiduddaulah' and was made Darogha of Stables.90

According to Najmul Ghani, these doms and dharis became so powerful that sometimes they even managed to get the orders of the Prime Minister superseded.91 According to him, ‘During Nawab Wajid Ali Shah, Awadh was being ruled by Doms and Dharis.’

The Bhands:

The word 'bhand' originates from the Sanskrit word 'bhanda' which means a jester. The bhands were employed by Hindu princes in their courts to amuse themselves and their companions with buffoonery and imitation for which they acquired a great skill. In this category of male dancing, a handsome adolescent
boy with long hair in the chignon style, wearing gaudy coloured male clothes and with bells on his ankles, dances and sings. The accompanying music is rhythmic and gay. In the dance itself musical nimbleness, playfulness and fun are displays and the singing is suited to the style of the dance. Apart from the instrumental musicians present there are about a dozen bhands who loudly applaud the boy's dancing and singing. As soon as his performance is over, they mimic him, showing great skill in their criticism and imitations. The bhands made their debut in Lucknow during the rule of the Nawabs. It is believed that in the wake of the fall of the Mughal Empire and rise of nawabi power in Awadh, many bhands, walking in the footsteps of the courtesans of Delhi, made a beeline of Faizabad during the rule of Nawab Shuja-ud-daulah (1754-1775), who loved the pleasure of life and patronized art and artists. They were led by Shah Daniyal alias Sukhi, another popular bhand of Delhi.

Besides the Delhi group of bhands, another group of bhands known as Kashmiri in Lucknow. It is said that once Maharaja of Kashmir participated in the marriage of Wazir Ali, the adopted son of Nawab Asaf-ud-daula, with a large entourage. Some of the members stayed back. According to another popular version, Kashmiri Bhands came to Lucknow on the invitation of Nawab King Nasir-ud-din Haider.

The Chenr and Kashmiri bhands constitute two different endogamous groups. They are further sub-divided, based on caste and the places where their ancestors had lived. Sharar has given a vivid description of a Nawab of Garhiya, the Lord of the Pond, because there was a pond near his residence. On one occasion, a bhand said, "The Nawab Sahib is coming", saying this, he took the lid off an earthenware pot and a large frog jumped out and joined the party and said "get up quickly, don’t you see the Nawab of the pond?"

The bhands used to mock the person at whose house they went to entertain and it was impossible that they should not make a jibe at him.
in some way. In their acting, personification and mimicry, they showed great perfection and received much applause. They used to ridicule the Persianized Urdu of the Kayasths. Their acting in playing the role of 'diwanji' (a Hindu bookkeeper) was so accomplished that spectators were amazed. As per the census of 1881, the bhands as registered were – Bakarha, Joreha, Jarayan, Kaithla, Kayasth, Kaniwala, Kashmiri, Kaithiya, Katila, Quawwal, Kahryti, Khatari, Kheti, Monkhara, Mussalmani, Naqqal, Nau Muslim, Pathan, Patua, Puriya, Rawat, Sadiqi, Sheikh and Tarakiya. Sharara has mentioned few names of Bhands – Karda during the reign of Nawab King Nasir-ud-din Haider, then, Sajjan, Qaim, Daim, Rajbi, Nau Shah and Bibi ………..were famous.

The Bhands preferred to call themselves naqqals, literally mimics. In actual practice, these attached to the court and nobility, were called naqqals while those who performed for the people, were called bhands. Some of the bhands also learnt Kathak from eminent masters like Thakur Prasad Maharaj in the reign of Nawab Maohammad Ali Shah and his son, Kalka Prasad Ji in the reign of Nawab Wajid Ali Shah. In his treatise 'Bani', a work on Music, Nawab Wajid Ali Shah has mentioned about two hundred nawals of bhands. According to Bani, the naqals dealt with themes like – unfaithful wife, rural prostitutes, begging, horse-riding, sweeper and milkmaid, Begums visiting Sheesh Mahal, road building by the British, maulvi, generous master and miserly servant, fireworks etc.

Taking full advantage of Urdu verses, reportees, ambivalent, ambiguous and equivocal words, these bhands made fun of their audience with an excellent use of satire, in which they had gained a wonderful expertise. The Nawabs and nobility and even gantry generously rewarded the bhands for the satires and naqals which rendered them a laughing stock in their over a swell as the audience's eyes.
Crooke quotes a popular saying\textsuperscript{104}—

\textit{The assembly where there are no bhands is desolate, indeed.}
\textit{As the forest where there are no tigers is certainly desolate.}

The usual dress of a bhand consisted of a hand-rolled turban on the head, a dupatta tied round the waist and an angarkha with loose sleeves.\textsuperscript{105} Later, they wore kurtas with chooridar pyjamas, with a dupatta or a piece of cloth round their waists.

Among the Kashmiri bhands, the leader was generally attired in a female dress including a peshwas, with ornaments on arms, a tika on the forehead and a pigtail on the head, others, wore male dresses, suitable to the roles they were playing.\textsuperscript{106}

The bhands were invited to marriages; birthday celebrations even entertaining foreigners too. Once, Almas Ali Khan, a slave and eunuch of Bahu Begum who rose to jagirdar during Nawab Saadat Ali Khan, invited a foreign traveller,\textsuperscript{107} George Viscount Valentia for breakfast, entertaining him with a show of bhands.

When Nawab King Nasir-ud-din Haider was being married, several bhands Quwat and Kune (Kashmiri) and Buniyad (Non-Kashmiri) gave a superb performance. When Badshah Begum put munajan on the throne of Awadh after the untimely death of Nawab Nasir-ud-din Haider in 1837, two bhands, Allahwale and a son of Nura bhand were summoned to give a performance on the occasion.\textsuperscript{108}

On the occasion, when he was crowned as king of Awadh, the Kashmiri bhands recited a ghazal.\textsuperscript{109}

"The moon is put to shame by Birjis Qadar
A rare pearl, indeed, is Birjis Qadar."
According to ‘Afzallul Tawarikh’, Seema Nura bhand was a favourite of Nawab Asaf-ud-daula. Two other bhands of this period were Yari and Anutha. Tule Shah was attached to the court of Nawab Ghaziud-din-Haider.\textsuperscript{110} As the bhands were deft in using puns and taking advantage of double-meanings of certain urdu words, it is not always easy to give English rendering of these anecdotes.\textsuperscript{111} Few examples are – An anecdote, mentioned by Agha Mahdi in his book Tariikh-e-Lakhnau. One of the maulvis of Firangi Mahal was persuaded to inside a troupe of bhands on the occasion of a marriage in his family. The maulvi insisted that the troupe would not indulge in any music. Irked by this restriction, they dressed themselves as noted maulvis.\textsuperscript{112} One dressed up as Maulvi Mir Baqar, whose teachings and sermons were not comprehended by ordinary folk. The naqal showed that after his death, the maulvi was interrogated in his grave by the angles as per Muslim belief. These answers were so difficult that the angels could not comprehend them and therefore failed to record them.\textsuperscript{113} They flew to heaven and sought instructions from God. God asked them to stop the interrogation as the Maulvi Mir Baqar was so learned and said even I had never been able to understand him in his lifetime.\textsuperscript{114} A naqqal to ridicule the muftis (law officer) of the Nawabi period. The word mufti also means free of cost. One bhand is shown sitting, sad and gloomy. His companion asks him, "Why are you so unhappy? Do you want anything? "Oh, yes", replies, the first bhand, "I want a wife". Thereupon asks his companion, "What type of wife? Worth Rs. 1000 or Rs. 500?" The first bhand shakes his head vigorously. "No, no, I want a mufti!" he replies.\textsuperscript{115}

The Bhand dance was influenced by Kathak to a considerable extent. It is ascertained by the fact that most of the Bhands of the Nineteenth Century mastered the techniques of the dance. One Qayam ‘Ali Kashmiri’ was as famous as Prakash Kathak for his expertise in dancing.\textsuperscript{116} Husain Bakhsh Kashmiri and Kanhayya Naqqal were highly renowned for layakari.\textsuperscript{117} Other expert dance masters of this community were Sajan, Rajabi, Nosha, Bibi Qadar, Faz’l Husain, Khilona, Badshah Pazar, Kya Khub.\textsuperscript{118} With the fall of the Nawabs, the bhands’ fortunes too began to decline.

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Chapter 9 -

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CONCLUSION

If it is true that culture is the acquired knowledge people used to interpret experience and generate social behavior then it is apt in context of composite culture of Awadh. It evolved as a social phenomenon because political and ideological conditions provided by the Nawabs of Awadh prepared a base for nurturing arts. The efflorescence of Awadh’s composite culture under the Nawabs emanated because there were deep roots of mutual understanding among various communities in this region during ancient and medieval period. On the basis of the collected reference material related to the period under study i.e. Awadh during 1722 to 1856 was indeed in a state of transformation which not only affected the political equilibrium but social and cultural aspects were also touched upon. This research work has attempted to establish connections between a range of concurrent events, availability of art pieces which prove existence of ‘Awadh School of Painting’ along with list of musical inventions conducted during the historic age under Nawabs i.e. 1722-1856. It has also tried to establish a connection between contemporary ruling nobility with number of artists who came to Awadh in search for patronage and ultimately established a cultural capital marked with an example of Hindu-Muslim unity. Keeping all the evidences of all references, personal interaction with a number of people related to the topic under study, I have analyzed that the Nawabi Era was an experimental phase but in an unique atmosphere of unity between Hindus and Muslims which is classified as “Ganga-Jamuni Tehzeeb” of this region. This research work attempts to break new ground with an extensive survey of different stages involved in the development of Awadh School of Painting and Lucknow Gharana of Music. With reference to the trends in the art of painting, the artists who came to Awadh in search of patronage belonged to different caste, creed and religion. For example, eminent painters like Mihr Chand, Sitaram, Gajraj, Bahadur Singh, Raja Anand Dev, Pathak Chand, Raja Dhruv
Dev and Ram Sahai, Mul Chand, Miskin, Uttam Chand, , Jagannath, Govind Singh and Sital Das were from Hindu section and Mohammad Afzal ,Ghulam Raza from the muslims. Patronage was extended not only by Nawabs but the royal atelier too. Zamindars and Taluqdars supported art forms and helped in establishing trade centres in and around Lucknow and Faizabad which is still thriving but missing its glorious past. The Nawabs of Awadh could be distinguished as a class apart because instead of bloodshed and expansion of the geographical boundaries, they opted themselves into a life of pursuing finer aspects of life and thus arose a system of patronage of fine arts that even survives to this day.

As far as musical evolution of Awadh goes- all eminent musicians who laid the foundation of various Lucknow Gharana of Tabla, Sitar, Khayal, Thumri, Tappa, Kathak were from different castes and religion. Every year, on hindu festivals of colours like Holi and Basant , Nawab Asaf-ud-daula used to spent Rs. 60 per lacs., to boost the folk music of the people to celebrate their festival. Raja Mehre invented and started a new style of Kahar dance in that period. Even we can relate this contribution in building a platform for national integration on these occasions; Basant songs were composed on sur, tal and rag - ragini, accompanied by various instruments. Main characters in the Holi songs were Radha- Krishna. Nawab Asaf-ud-daula used to play Holi with the common people and Englishmen gifted fire- crackers to Nawab, indicate that Muslims celebrated Holi-festival not as a formality but considered it as their main festival.

With the use of tempera technique to picturise the fading Mughal art to the use of vibrant cool colours and gold powder - an indication of a sign of economic development and prosperity, indicate that the Awadh style of painting showcased all aspects of administration prevalent during Nawabs rule. Whether its portraiture or miniature, the peculiar features of Awadh
painting were the use of bright colours for dresses and white tempera colours for facial features though dull but natural in showing perfect emotions. The Awadh miniature is distinguished from any other style of Indian painting by one feature which at once proclaims its uses of tempera colours; not portraying artificiality in painting court scenes, depicting natural emotions and court life rather than showing a large gathering of court people in the paintings of the Mughal style.

Awadh School of painters owes their style of draughtsman ship, technique of anatomical shading, perspective, and treatment of textiles to both Mughal and Europeans. Being less opaque, Awadh style of painting tried to attempt the actual figures in almost pure water colour, although white, as a body is used more freely in the background. The Awadh artist ingeniously combined the ancient Ajanta technique of perspective with that of contemporary European artists.

My enquiry into these two artistic expressions—Painting and Music in all its forms and to disentangle the set of Pure-Mughal, Semi-Mughal, Pure European and Oriental forms in both Painting and Music involving its historical processes that enliven a larger question: If Nawabs of Awadh were accused of leading a luxurious life style and ignoring administration how come Awadh become cultural capital when Mughal rule was crumbling down? The society in any part of the world depends on all round development of the basic necessities and luxuries which is evident in the outlook of the Nawabs of Awadh. All these parameters of the society witnessed considerable change under the Nawabs of Awadh due to their capacity to utilize the surplus of land revenue in their capitals, which had previously gone to the Mughal centre. The pace had also to be slow because it had to work in the background of the degeneration and stagnation of the societies in the 1st half of the 18th Century. The Nawabs and Kings of Awadh were considered to be the fountain head of the culture, which flourished in their capitals. They were
imitated by their nobles and the masses both Hindus and Muslims alike except strictly religious observances. Both the communities followed a similar lifestyle and presented integrated life styles. While the Mughal painters endeavoured to develop the means to record accurately what they perceived around them, The Awadh painters expressed in pure water colours and freely used white colour in the background; used tempera colours to show natural expressions on face with elaborate work on the border; introduced the ‘Nimqalam style’ on various art samples created during that age. During the mid eighteenth century, experimentation with light and shadows was used. Under the supervision and guidance provided by the mentors, interest in naturalism in both figural and landscape depictions was introduced. The artists learnt how to impart volume to their figures and spatial depth to their compositions. Figures are not merely cut outs, but are carefully placed to suggest a naturalistic grouping. The thematic contents of these paintings, therefore, reflect the personal taste and temperament, preferences and ideologies of the individual patrons and their associates. The period from 1722-1856 also witnessed new assertions in musicology related to modal classification and the ‘Shudh’ scale which were now recognized and were to become the foundation stones of Hindustani music.

At present Centres to represent Painting in Lucknow are State Museum, Lucknow where rare paintings are displayed but require utmost care and handling. According to one of the staff members, some art pieces were destroyed in one of the floods in Lucknow during 1986. There is not a single specimen of art work available in State Archive, Lucknow. Few art works are displayed in Lamartiniere College but managed by the trust so it is difficult to approach. It was sad to witness that not a single art piece of the glorious age is displayed in Arts College, Lucknow where students are aware about other provincial art centres except Lucknow. If specimen of the original art works are displayed and technicalities involved in the process is explained in detail, they in turn can use it to create art works different in attitude.
For music, main centres are Bhatkhande Music University, Lucknow, where major part of the teacher fraternity, themselves don’t belong to Lucknow Gharana so continuation of the cultural legacy is in question. There is no section on ‘Lucknow Gharana Music’ in the library to find out material related with the region Awadh itself. It becomes difficult to get an access to the foundation pillars of North Indian Classical Music. It is rightly said that Music is another expression of emotions. Whenever North Indian Classical forms of singing as well as instrumental music will be discussed, contribution of Lucknow Gharana during the period under study would act like strong pillars in the growth of Indian music. Can anyone imagine Indian Music without the mention of Khayal gayaki of Qawwal- Bachcha Gharana of Lucknow, ‘Purab Baz Tabla’, Rezakhani Gat of Sitar, ‘ bol banao thumri’, tappa, Sursringar, Rebab……list is very long.

There is no doubt that creative musical forms developed during the age under study was significant but the way it is functioning these days, require immediate care, supervision and support not only from the musicians of Lucknow Gharana to keep the treasure in printed form whether its a notation or special techniques to be employed at the time of performance. Role of State Government is significant in providing an infrastructure for its preservation and continuation. The people of Awadh can contribute by encouraging it so large number of children pot for it and learn so that the cultural legacy continues. Bhatkhande Music College, Lucknow and Sangeet Natak Academy, Lucknow appoint teachers without giving weightage to artists from Lucknow Gharana As a result, the students are learning a mixed of all notations without getting a feel of peculiar characteristics of Lucknow Gharana.

To acknowledge a centre for promoting arts in particular ‘painting’, important parameters are already discussed in Chapter 2(pg.32 onwards), but it ultimately perished once the colonial rule changed. Most of the paintings of the period under study are either displayed in art galleries outside
India or enhances in private collection. Very few are showcased at State Museum, Lucknow which also requires adequate care to preserve it in its original forms. Devoid of court patronage following the annexation of Awadh in 1856, the Awadh School of Painting died a natural death in the 20th century. There is one instance mentioned in the sources and displayed in actual form in Picture Gallery, Hussainabad, where in the last decade of the 19th century and first quarter of the 20th century, European painters were commissioned to paint the life size portraits of Nawabs and Kings of Awadh.

The present study is an attempt to study and document the specimen preserved in India and in foreign art galleries, museums and private collections. This will open new avenues to pick up the lost threads of the Awadh art and will also help in installing the style on a raised platform. Besides, it will shed a fresh light on the contemporary political, social and cultural life of Awadh during the reign of Nawabs whose role is generally undermined by the British to usurp the power. Like charity Art also begins at home. Instead of reading about ‘Awadh-Congenial Home for nurturing Arts’ (1722-1856), we can continue it forever if Statues of Great Nawabs are installed at important centres rather than of political figures, paintings by eminent artists with the inclusion of peculiar characteristics of Awadh School of Painting, regular presentation of Lucknow Gharana Music will be a treat and an experience to feel proud of. It’s not a big challenge but definitely require participation and acknowledgement.

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Picture Gallery

[Figure 001]  [Figure 002]

[Figure 003]  [Figure 004]

[Figure 005]  [Figure 006]