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 While both styles developed on parallel lines, the latter gradually superseded the former so much so that by the end of the eighteenth century it was only the Indo-European style to flourish in Awadh with Lucknow as its centre where the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

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

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

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

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

2. A study based on his paintings in the Baroda Museum Collection.
4. Karl Khandelwala, Eighteenth Century Mughal Paintings (Some Characteristics and some Misconceptions), published in Marg, Bombay, September 1958, p.58. The paintings of large size pictures were in vogue from the reign of Emperor Muhammad Shah I, but it was not so much as in Awadh. Sometimes the compositions were doubled by extending the composition to a double page in a very skilful manner.
impetus during the reign of his successor Nawab Shuja-ud Daula. One of the outstanding painters of his reign was Mir Kalan Khan. He appears to have greatly influenced his contemporaries, and Hajek believes that the revival of the Mughal miniatures in Lucknow centred round him.¹ His style was of an eclectic nature - a tendency so characteristic of Awadh paintings. During this reign a great number of artists turned up at Faizabad.

Numerous albums were produced in which copies of the seventeenth century paintings were also included.² It appears that the preparation of such albums was in great repute outside the Court also among the Europeans.³


2. Since the reign of Shah Alam copying of older paintings was in great vogue. These copies were prepared for various purposes; to replace the missing miniatures of the earlier period, and also to emulate the excellent pieces of the 17th century. This craze was to such an extent that the albums prepared for the presentation purposes invariably included the copies of the 17th century paintings. Sometimes entire manuscripts were illustrated in their representative style, such as Shahjahan Namah (see Eighteenth Century Mughal Paintings, p.56). This tendency later on tended to make the art of painting merely a degenerate system of stereotyped copying, and largely responsible for ending its creativity.

3. Among the Europeans, the demand for portraiture of notable persons increased to the extent that the production of type pictures by means of paper stencils became a considerable 'stock-in-trade'. Careful tracings were made from some standard originals on a special type of transparent skin of deer, called charba. These were worked in a brush outline in black. The shades and tints used were either noted or micro-graphically written in their proper place. It was very easy to paint any number of copies by these stencils. This method was prevalent since the Mughal times (see Percy Brown, Indian Painting, Calcutta, undated, p.103).
Poller amassed a large collection of such albums in the period 1767-1776, six of which are in the Berlin Museum.¹

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

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

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

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

³Ibid.³⁰⁰ Compare Plate Nos. 1 & 2.

⁴Bahadur Singh Nami, Yadgar-i Bahaduri, Persian, 1257 A.H., State Archives, Allahabad MS. f. 325b.

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

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

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

continued from last page.....

one painting showing Jahangir as an elephant driver. Kadgar-i Bahaduri, f.526a.

According to a note on the manuscript Asaf-ud Daula bought this manuscript for Rs.12,000/-. This copy bears the seal of Nawab Asaf-ud Daula (Ibid., p.175).
PLATE No. 2

ASAF UD DALlah - by Niddha Mal

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

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

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

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

**Style:**

Miniatures from early Awadh school may be taken as the combination of

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Emphasis is laid on the fineness of lines. Lines play a vital role in the display of details, especially in the representation of the human figures and architectural designs. These are done with a single strokes of brush in dark pigment. Wherever possible, figures are distinguished from the background by thick shading around them or discriminated with thick shaded rounded lines.
SHUJA UD Daulah with his Ten Sons

Miniatuised copy, by Namjilal, of the life size oil painting by Tilla Kettle, c. 1775 AD.

Courtesy - Art of Mughal India, Painting and Precious Objects
'There is no light direction, hence no shadow. Only in Shiv-Puja is the circular dome represented with shaded lines giving a slight impression of the direction of light; but the light effect is rather flat.¹)

Subjects are mostly erotic and give us an interesting insight into the cultural environment, fashions, customs, modes and manners of the period. The delineation of the Nayikas in their different modes (Nayika Bhed) was the subject which predominated in the Hindi and also Urdu poetry (Masnavis). Here too various Nayikas appear—Abhisarika, Prasadhitā, Viprabladha, and Mughdha.² The larger number of the paintings consist of the study of young dames in various postures and occupations: reclining, chatting, bathing, enjoying music, swinging, worshipping.

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

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

² 53 of such paintings of 7"-5" size are in the Baroda Museum. These are mounted on a large gold decorated carton. Their backs are decorated with springing plants.
Occasionally we meet subjects of Indian mythology. Yashoda churning milk and Krishna crawling near the jar, Krishna playing on his flute, were the favourite subjects.¹

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

The colours used are mauves and purple, flaring reds, dark heavy greens and brilliant yellow, blue, vermilion. Pale green is employed for vegetation. Gold is used as a colour. The paper is of light buff tint, not pure white. Only one thickness is used.²

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

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

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

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

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

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Faiz

2. Of Lala Nivasi Lal Muhammad/Bakhsh remarks

النُّرايِ لِانْ مَعْلُومٍ بِهِ الرَّسُولُ ﷺ كَرِيمٌ بْنُ رَضُوٌ ﷺ ﴿۷۱﴾

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

3. ٨٥٠٩
to display some French mannerisms. For instance the hazy effect which is so conspicuous, is a French characteristic for denoting mist. These paintings invariably present the same characteristics as those found in the works of Gentil. 1

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

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

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

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

This was again at the instigation of Gentil. Kettle's work became so popular among the local artists that they began freely to imitate in miniaturised form in tempera. His influence is discernible in the facial idioms so much so that these later on became characteristic of local art. His figure of Shuja-ud Daula became the stock figure in trade. Meer Chand, another noted artist of the period, imitated Shuja's figure from Kettle's pictures of the Nawab and Sir Robert Barker, at least in three fresh compositions. At one place he portrayed the Nawab holding a bow, at another he presented him by changing the position of his hand and also the background. In another he borrowed the hand and face of the figure. He also copied the picture of the Nawab and his ten sons. Meer Chand's work shows an aptitude  

1. Gentil borrowed four paintings of Kettle from the Nawab in order to have their miniaturised copies made by his own artists. When the first copy of the painting of the Nawab and his son was ready, he showed it to the Nawab, who insisted on keeping it. Gentil, in exchange, asked for Kettle's original. The original painting was presented by him to Louis XVI, in 1778 (J.J. Contil, Mémoires Sur l'Indoustan ou Empire Mogol, Paris, 1822, p.310, cf. Indian Paintings for the British, p.116). Of the remaining three, only one picture of the Nawab and his ten sons was copied. It was also presented by him to Louis XVI, in 1778. This picture is at Versailles (No. M.J. 3688) and bears an inscription that it was made for him by Kivasi Lal, at Faizabad. The painter has correctly understood the European perspective which is represented in architectural designs (see plate No. 1). The hazy architectural design in the background has produced depth and contrast with the foreground. The artist's skill may be seen in the balanced composition, linear perspective, convergence of angles, appropriate shading and variety of modes and postures (Ibid.)

2. These are in the possession of Victoria and Albert Museum (Indian Section), I.s 287-1951; British Museum, 1946-10-10-03.
Nawab Shuja Ud Daulah
Tempura by Mir Chand, c. 1775 A.D., Partial copy of painting by Felli Kettle
Victoria and Albert Museum
Courtesy: Indian Painting for the British
for the foreign technique. He succeeded in the presentation of depth produced by diminishing the scale of the objects and distant landscape. How he grasped the idea of diminution of scale and depth is not known because we are not aware of his proper schooling in European technique in the matter of Nivasi Lal. He was, for some time, patronised by Polier, and produced paintings for him chiefly in the Mughal style.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1. Bahadur Singh Nami, f.326a. The larger part of his collection was dispersed after his death. A large number of his paintings were purchased by Ghazi-uddin Haider to decorate his palaces.

2. Daniel Johnson, Sketches of Field Sports as followed by the Natives of India, London, 1822, p.188. He mentions his 47 portraits by Zoffany alone.


more especially during the nineteenth century. There is a vast collection of botanical and zoological representations in the Lucknow Museum and Husainabad Baradari (Lucknow). The deliniation of birds is certainly far better in drawing and exactitude of details as compared to the contemporary portrait painting. We may infer that the artists were schooled in this branch by the Europeans.

Mildred and Archer believe that the real force of the development of the Indo-British style came from outside the Court, in the bazars. Towards the end of the eighteenth century sets of 'native rulers' and 'native characters' were produced in the characteristic style of Gentil. One such set (muragga) of native rulers, executed about 1796, is in the India Office Library. This set includes portraits of Nawab Sa'adat Khan Burhamul Mulk, Safdarjung, and Shuja.ud Daulana, their officers, and also the late rulers of Bengal, Arrah, Purnta, Patna, Bir Bhum and Benaras, 1

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

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

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

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

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

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

From the time of Nawab Asaf-ud Daula a custom grew up at the Awadh Court of employing European painters as Court artists.² Nawab Saadat Ali Khan retained George Place and Home.³

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

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1. Indian Painting for the British, pp.60-63.
2. Knighton, p.16.
3. Ibid., Home was invited by the Nawab a little before his death (Heber, I, p.220). Two other artists worked at Lucknow during this period - Thomas Longcroft and Charles Smith (Archer, p.58).
Place and Home continued to paint for Ghazi-uddin Haider. Home was talented artist and was praised for his portraits by Bishop Heber. We may infer from Heber's account that there was no good collection of paintings at the Awadh Court and that the propensity for glowing colours still persisted there.  

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

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

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


4. P.C. Mukerjee, p.179; Israr Husain, p.32.

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

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

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

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

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

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1. A landscape painter kept at a fixed salary of Rs. 1000/- per month (Knighton, p.16).
3. Archer, p.119.
6. Indian Paintings for the British, p.61.
According to three series of three sets from a volume entitled, *Drawing Illustrating the Manners and Costumes of India,* from the Wellesley Collection at India Office Library represent three different styles current among the bazar artists.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1. Archer, p.62.
AN ARTIST AT WORK

Water colour, 1815 A.D.; Victoria and Albert Museum.

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

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

During this period ancestral traditions were abandoned by the artists and the style is dominated by entirely European influences. During the reign of Ghaziuddin Haider this style was also adopted at the Court. Some of the brilliant colours of the former period still persist, e.g., mauves, purpless, reds and yellows. The technique is, however, Europeanised.

Archer mentions to a Persian manuscript entitled Customs of the Court of Oude, at H.M. Queen's Collection, prepared for King Ghaziuddin Haider by his own artists in 1826. ² In it the life in the zanana is illustrated. These paintings also reflect a decline of art at the Court which may be seen

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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1. Zafar Namah, p.41; delicate touches and placid expressions were the two main characteristics of his style. He executed portraits and Court scenes (P.C. Mukerjee, p.179).

2. He turned out the pictures of Hindu deities and Indian mythological subjects. Numerous paintings of this artist are in the Lucknow Museum.

3. Zafar Namah, p.41, Fazal Ali's sphere was the portrayal of Court beauties and zenana scenes (P.C. Mukerjee, p.179).

4. He was an ivory painter; Israr Hussain, p.33.

5. Ibid., he was famous for his paintings of animals and birds.

from Persian tradition, but the style is very Indian.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2. Sulus is a large Nashki style used in the diplomas and letters.
written in Naskh and Nastaliq styles. Qatah Nawisi was very popular in Lucknow; and it was a fashion to adorn the houses with Qatas. 3

In Lucknow, the popularity of the art of calligraphy is associated with two noted calligraphists - Hafiz Nurullah Khan and Qazi Moinatullah Khan. 4 Hafiz Nurullah Khan had numerous pupils.

The other great calligraphists of the period were Mir Soz, 6

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

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

3. Ibid.

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

5. Maulana Ghulam Muhammad Dehalvi Haftqalmi, Tazkirah-i Khush Nawisan (Persian), rub. Delhi, 1910, p. 64. The author of the Tazkirah met him personally (Ibid.) He perfected the style of Aha Abdur Rashid; Tazkirah-i Katibin (Persian), Raza Library 15., 1242 A.H., f.60) and excelled in Qatah Nawisi and mashq (Ibid.) also see Muragga-i Khusravi, f.227a; Tazkirah-i Aftab-i Awdah, f.C.


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

2. Ibid.

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

4. He excelled in Nastaliq, Naskh, Shikast which he could write in various ways. He was patronised by Asaf-ud Daulah. He calligraphed qita, inscribed registers, books in Shikast. Chulam Muhammad Tehalvi remarks about him. (Ibid., f.61). Tazkirah-i Khush Navis, p.64.

5. Ibid., f.60; Muraqqa-i Khusrawi, f.227a. He was the pupil of hafiz Nurallah.

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

7. Tazkirah-i Katibin, f.90.

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

9. Letter known as sir Kalan. He was patronised by Sulaiman Shikoh; Tazkirah-i Katibin, f.74a.


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

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

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


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


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

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