ARCHITECTURE AND DEVELOPMENT AS INSTRUMENTS FOR POLITICAL CONTROL AND MARGINALIZATION IN LUCKNOW, INDIA

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Bachelor of Architecture (1989)
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Submitted to the Department of Architecture and the MIT Center for Real Estate
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degrees of

Master of Science in Architecture Studies

and

Master of Science in Real Estate Development

at the
MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY
JUNE 1997

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Table of Contents

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ABSTRACT

A critical inquiry was undertaken to explore the role that architecture, development, architectural criticism, and urban intervention played, as representational and ideological tools, in the process of British colonial formation in Lucknow, from 1765 to 1858.

Results show: (1) Architecture and development played a crucial role in annexation of Lucknow by the British in 1856, (2) Orientalist architectural criticism was an instrument to justify the annexation of the city and the deposition of its rulers, (3) the British government used urban intervention and massive urban surgery to establish their political and social control over Lucknow, and (4) through the representation of the pre-colonial city as an impediment to progress and change, the British colonial enterprise permanently destroyed the indigenous socio-political economy and culture that symbolized the flouring city between 1765 and 1858. Since then, Lucknow has yet to recover.

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Acknowledgments

Introduction

Architecture and Development as Instruments for Political Control and Marginalization in Lucknow, India

Political power takes many forms. In addition to the power evinced by a charismatic leader, an indomitable military presence, an entrenched bureaucracy, or an imposing network of laws and statutes, many political regimes make especially powerful symbolic use of the physical environment. Throughout history and across the globe, architecture and urban design have been manipulated in the service of politics. ... We...learn much about a political regime by observing closely what it builds.

Lawrence Vale[1]

The above argument centers around the representation of power and engages the question as to how knowledge of political strategies and ideological objectives can be derived from what a regime builds. This thesis probes this argument in great detail, in the context of British colonial formation in the city of Lucknow in India (figure 1),

from 1775-1858. It does so by investigating the different processes by which, "architecture and urban design have been manipulated in the service of politics," in pre-colonial Lucknow.

Lucknow is a paradigm of a city in transition and transformation during the period of British colonial formation in India. This thesis captures the four transitional phases of the political interaction of the British East India Company with the Nawabs (kings) and the people of Lucknow. These phases are: (1) initiation of political alliance between the Nawabs and the Company, (2) emergence of the British Residency as a competing power center in Lucknow, (3) formation of an Orientalist knowledge structure of India's architectural history, and (4) annexation of Lucknow by the British in 1856, followed by its recapture in 1858. For the purpose of this thesis, the boundaries of each phase can be assumed to overlap with the next phase.

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[1]Lawrence Vale, Architecture, Power, and National Identity, (New Haven, Yale UP, 1992) 3.

The four chapters of this thesis follow the contours of the evolution of the four phases mentioned above. Chapter one investigates the use of the European house as an instrument for the marginalization of indigenous architecture in Lucknow. During the eighteenth century, the British position as a colonial power was ambiguous. From a mercantile presence in Bombay, Calcutta and Madras, their political and military influence expanded through several wars they successfully fought throughout the sub-continent. The first interaction between the British and the Nawabs of Lucknow occurred in 1764, with the signing of the Treaty of Buxar, which established the two parties as allies.

This chapter also contextualizes the production of the European house in Lucknow within the larger Orientalist discourse on India during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Furthermore, it also investigates how the Orientalist discourse of this period, manifested itself in the representational, morphological and historical oppositions between the European and indigenous house in Lucknow. It also locates the European house in Lucknow within the larger formation of the colonial-capitalist world economy of its time.

Chapter two demonstrates the emergence of the British Resident as a powerful political force and his office as a competing power center to the sovereignty of the Nawab. The conflict over power was manifested in the politics surrounding the spatial location of the British Residency site, the Residency building and in the location of the British Cantonment. Furthermore, this chapter reveals the process by which the Residency site was spatially connected to the Lucknow and Kanpur Cantonments.

Chapter three analyzes the role of British architectural criticism as an instrument for the

annexation and political control of Lucknow. Inspired by existing European-style houses in Lucknow, indigenous buildings appropriated architectural elements from these houses to create a hybridized architectural assemblage. This amalgamation of architectural elements from different styles, was zealously scrutinized by British architectural critics who saw in this hybridization a direct assault on the purity of British architectural heritage. This chapter brings into focus the British desire to control and sanction a style of architecture suited to their self-representation as an imperial and superior power. Therefore, the architectural criticism surrounding Lucknow's hybridized buildings and its connection to the annexation of Lucknow in 1856, has been investigated in the context of British self-representation.

The fourth chapter analyzes the urban transformation of Lucknow in the aftermath of the First War of Indian Independence. This chapter also examines the urban structure of the pre-colonial city and highlights the problems it posed for the British military during the War. After the British re-captured Lucknow in 1858, extensive urban surgery was performed to facilitate their social and military control over the city. The morphological oppositions between the pre-colonial city and the city that emerged after its urban transformation, have also been contrasted.

Finally, the epilogue brings into perspective the impact of Lucknow's urban transformation on the field of representation of the pre-colonial city, immediately following 1858.

A time-line of major historical events and their brief description follows this introduction. For the reader unfamiliar with Lucknow's pre-colonial history, this time-line will contextualize the chapters that follow.

Time-line of events preceding the final Annexation of Awadh in 1858, and description of Treaties between the Nawabs of Awadh and the British East India Company

1498:   To establish spice trade between India and Portugal, Vasco da Gama arrives at Calicut port in Southern India.

1526:   Mughal Emperor Babur establishes rule over North India.

1600:   Queen Elizabeth I grants charter to British East India Company for English trade with the East Indies (India).

1615:   Sir Thomas Roe, the British East India Company's first ambassador to India, arrives at the court of the Mughal Emperor Jehangir. The British are attracted to India for its fine manufacturers of cloth and silk and its agricultural raw materials, most notably indigo, pepper, cardamom and other spices. The ability of the East India Company to pay for its commodity purchases in silver bullion obtained from the New World and Japanese copper and gold, creates a strategically indispensable position for the Company in the sphere of Indian trade.[1]

1639:   Madras founded as Fort St. George by the East India Company.

1665:   The Portuguese give Bombay to the English as part of the dowry for the marriage of Catherine of Braganza to Charles II.

1674:   The French arrive in India to establish trade. The French expedition has full political support of the French government.

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[1]C.A. Bayly, <u>Indian Society and the making of the British Empire</u>, The New Cambridge History of India, (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1988) 45.

1696: The British East India Company establishes the Surat factory, later known as Fort William in Calcutta.

1707: The last important Mughal ruler, Aurangzeb, dies at the age of 89. Saadat Khan, a nobleman and founder of the Nawabi dynasty in Lucknow, arrives from Naishapur in Persia.

1719: Muhammad Shah becomes Mughal Emperor. Saadat Khan is appointed *faujdar* (superintendent) of the district of Agra.

1722: Saadat Khan is appointed the Governor of the Province of Awadh and continues to operate from Delhi.

1728: The Mughal Emperor attempts to transfer Saadat Khan to Agra. Saadat Khan refuses the Mughal order. This year marks the beginning of the period when Saadat Khan stops taking orders from the Mughal court at Delhi.

1732: Saadat Khan moves to Lucknow and establishes his residence in Panch Mahalla, an imposing palace in the Chauk area of the city.

1739: Nadir Shah invades Delhi from the west. He defeats the Mughal Emperor and takes him prisoner in February. He enters and sacks Delhi in March, ordering a general massacre in May. Mughal rule is henceforth permanently weakened. Saadat Khan dies. His nephew Safdar Jang assumes the position of the Governor of Awadh.

1742: Nawab Alivardi Khan of Bengal permits the English to construct a moat around their mercantile settlement in Calcutta. This is the first instance when British merchants fortify their settlements thereby differentiating themselves from other European merchants in Bengal. This

fortification is called Fort William. The French enter Pondicherry in South India. Joseph François Dupleix becomes the Governor of Pondicherry.

1746:   The French under Dupleix, capture Fort St. George (Madras) from the British.

1748:   The War of Austrian Succession in Europe ends with the signing of the peace treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle between the British and French. The French return Madras to the British. Major Stringer Lawrence takes command of all Company forces in India.

1751:   *Subedar* (administrator) Safdar Jang of Awadh enters into an alliance with the Marathas (a Hindu warrior clan of Western India) and defeats the Rohillas (Afghans who had settled in India after Afghan invasions) to the West of Awadh.

1753:   Safdar Jang dies and his son Shuja-ud-daula is confirmed to the position of Governor of Awadh. Hereditary ascension of the Governorship of Awadh is established through this appointment.

1754:   The treaty of Pondicherry is signed between the English and the French. Shuja-ud-daula becomes the Subedar of Awadh. Submission of revenues collected from Awadh stops and henceforth all revenues are retained in Awadh making the Awadh court rich and attractive to the British.

1755:   Robert Clive is appointed Lieutenant Colonel of the British army in England and arrives at Bombay with a huge artillery force under his command.

1756:   Nawab Alivardi Khan of Bengal dies and is succeeded by Nawab Shiraj-ud-daula. Shiraj-ud-daula's soldiers storm

the English factory at Kasimbazaar and capture Calcutta. A squadron under Admiral Watson and Robert Clive, which is made-up of 900 Europeans and 1500 Indian troops, leaves Madras for Calcutta and arrives in December.

1757: Battle of Plassey is fought between the English and Nawab Shiraj-ud-daula. Shiraj-ud-daula is killed shortly thereafter. Mir Jafar is appointed the Nawab of Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa. This battle marks the beginning of the changed role of the British in India -- from a purely mercantile operation to that of a political and military organization aimed at protecting and furthering British mercantile interests. Robert Clive is appointed Governor of Bengal.

1758: The East India Company virtually ceases to import bullion into Bengal. This precipitates a severe credit crisis in Eastern India. In response to the crisis, the Company begins to use the proceeds of its political power -- cash revenue -- to finance its trade.

1759: Robert Clive humbles Dutch settlers in Bengal and captures their fleet and their troops at Chinsura. This further consolidates British mercantile interests in Bengal and eliminates all other European competition. Shah Alam becomes the new Mughal emperor.

1760: Robert Clive leaves for England. In his absence, the English replace Mir Jafar with Mir Kasim.

1761: French mercenaries (Madec and Gentil), not reconciled to the idea of absolute British control over India, defect and join the Nawab's army.

1763: The British depose Mir Kasim as the Nawab of Bengal and re-appoint Mir Jafar as the Subedar. Mir Kasim fights

and is defeated by the English and flees to Bihar. The Seven Years' War ends in Europe with the signing of the Paris Treaty between the British and the French.

1764:   Robert Clive returns to India as the head of the Bengal government. Battle of Buxar is fought. The combined armies of Shah Alam (the Mughal emperor), Mir Kasim (the deposed Nawab of Bengal), and Shuja-ud-daula (the Governor of Awadh) are crushed by the British army under the leadership of Major Hector Munro. The British victory helps to permanently consolidate their position in Northern India. Under pressure from Clive, who senses it is more advantageous to reinstate the Nawab in Awadh than to have him foment other troubles in tandem with the Marathas, Shuja-ud-daula is re-appointed as the *Wazir* (Chief

Minister) of Awadh. Mir Kasim escapes into Ruhelkhand.

1765:   On August 16, 1765, following the defeat of Shuja-ud-daula's forces, the tripartite Allahabad Treaty is signed between Shuja-ud-daula, the Nawab of Bengal, and the British. Under the treaty, Awadh is restored to the Nawab. The areas of Kora and Allahabad are taken from the province of Awadh (figure 2) and given to the Mughal Emperor, Shah Alam, who had by now become destitute (because of Afghan control of Delhi), with no province of his own. The treaty ensures that the East India Company can carry out duty-free trade throughout Awadh and orders the Nawab to compensate the British Rs. 5,000,000 towards war indemnity. The sum was to be paid partly in cash and partly in jewelry and the rest in monthly installments spread out over

thirteen months. The treaty also stipulates that British troops be stationed in Awadh to assist the Nawab in protecting the province from invasions from outside his domain. The cost of stationing these British troops in Awadh is to be assumed entirely by the Nawab. Since the Nawab's army employed French mercenaries in the Battle of Buxar, the treaty of Allahabad makes the Nawab pledge that no other Europeans besides the British be employed by the Nawab in the future.

The treaty creates the foundation for British infiltration into the province of Awadh and allows the British to interfere in its day-to-day affairs. This interference continues until 1856 when the annexation of Awadh is complete. The five main elements of the British strategy, as manifested in the articles of the treaty were: (1)

presence of military within the province funded by the Nawab, (2) access to duty-free trade and the presence of British traders, (3) the elimination of competition from other European merchants, (4) the encouragement of financial dependence of the Nawab on the British, and (5) the creation of Awadh as a friendly buffer state that would protect English possessions and mercantile interests in Bengal from any threat that a Maratha advance towards the north might pose.[2]

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[2]An important corollary of the Treaty of Allahabad, for the British, was the appointment of the East India Company as the *Diwan* (Chief Revenue Manager) for the provinces of Bengal, Orissa, and Bihar. The position of *Diwani* (Revenue Management) of Bengal, was a bait which Emperors had dangled in front of many adventurers who aspired to seize control of the provinces. In return for granting their recognition to any prospective conqueror, the Emperors expected a guaranteed tribute. Each time Shah Alam had been defeated by the East India Company in Bihar, he had offered them the Diwani which the English had until now refused. After his return to India, Robert Clive was determined that instead of settling with the Nawabs of Bengal, the British "must become the Nawabs themselves (Marshall 89)." In return for the

1772:   Warren Hastings is appointed Governor of East India Company.

1773:   Lord North's Regulating Act is passed by the British Parliament, laying out the statutes by which power of government is eventually defined in the hands of the East India Company. It is the first instance of parliamentary supervision of the East India Company's affairs.

Governor Warren Hastings has a long anticipated clash with the Marathas from Western India. The Marathas hold the Mughal Emperor, Shah Alam II, under their protection and tutelage demanding in return from him the provinces of Kora and Allahabad. The Marathas also threaten Ruhelkhand

which was to the west of Awadh (figure 2). To counter the Marathas, Hastings focuses on maintaining Awadh as a friendly and powerful buffer to British Bengal. To ensure this, a meeting is held between Shuja-ud-daula and Warren Hastings in Benaras, on August 18th, 1773. On September 7, the Treaty of Benaras is concluded.

The first article of this treaty deals with the sale of Kora and Allahabad to Awadh. These two areas which were earlier taken from Shuja-ud-daula and given to the Mughal Emperor under the Allahabad Treaty are now sold back to Shuja-ud-daula for Rs. 5,000,000. The second article of the treaty stipulates that the Nawab is responsible for the cost of maintenance and the deployment of Company troops upon demand by the Nawab. This cost is calculated at Rs.

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financial administration of the three provinces, the Emperor was granted a tribute of Rs. 2,600,000. With the acceptance of the Diwani, the provinces of the Nawabs of Bengal came not merely under the dominance of the East India Company, but under full British rule.

2,100,000 per brigade which would be provided by the British for the Nawab's protection.

A secret agreement is also entered into by the Nawab and the Company. Under its terms, the British are obligated to supply a brigade of troops to help the Nawab punish the Rohillas for their alleged evasion of conditions agreed upon by the treaty signed between the Nawabs and the Rohillas in 1772. The British commit to conquering the Ruhelkhand for the Nawab. The Nawab is to bear all the expenses for this campaign. For allowing him to retain his Ruhelkhand, the Nawab has to pay the Company Rs. 4,000,000; if, however, the Company does not assist him, the Nawab is excused from paying the stipulated sum. Hastings does not give any written commitment stating that

this help would be rendered upon demand.

The brigade is comprised of two battalions of Europeans, six battalions of Indian sepoys, and a company of artillery. It is agreed that Nawab be billed for the expenses of Company troops from the time they enter into Awadh and travel across into Ruhelkhand and then return within the borders of Bihar.

The Nawab also agrees to receive a "person of trust," nominated by Warren Hastings, to reside at Awadh as Hasting's ambassador. This ambassador is to be called the Resident.

For the British, the strategic implications of the Benaras Treaty were: (1) it made the Nawab more dependent on the English in so far as he would, by joining them, earn the

undoubted enmity of the Marathas, (2) the treaty freed the British from the possession of two remote districts, (3) it ensured the protection of British frontiers by a force maintained at the Nawab's expense, and (4) created a British power center in the form of the British Resident within the sovereign domain of the Nawab.

Together these treaties laid the foundation for political infiltration and financial extortion of successive Nawabs during the 81 years of their dynastic rule. The *modus operandi* of the annexation of Indian states by the British can be captured in the words of Marquees of Hastings:

> In our [British] treaties with them [Indians] we recognize them as independent sovereigns. Then we send a Resident to their courts. Instead of acting in character of ambassador, he assumes the function of a dictator, interferes in all their private concerns; countenances refractory subjects against them; and makes the most ostentatious exhibition of authority. To secure to himself the support of our Government, he urges some interest which, under the colour thrown upon it by him, is strenuously taken up by our Council; and single point but on the whole tenor of his conduct. In nothing do we violate the feelings of the native princes so much as in the decisions which we claim the privilege of pronouncing with regard to succession to the musnud. We constantly oppose our construction of Mohammedan law to the right which the Moslem princes claim from usage to choose among their sons the individual to be declared the heir apparent.[3]

1774:   The first British Resident, Nathaniel Middleton, arrives at Lucknow, in January. English troops and Shuja-ud-daula's forces enter Ruhelkhand. The Rohillas are defeated. Pursuant to Lord North's Regulating Act, Warren Hastings, is appointed the Governor General of British India. The office of the Governor General is administered by the British Parliament and replaces

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[3]R.C. Majumdar, ed., <u>British Paramountcy and Indian Renaissance</u>, 11 vols. (Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1963) 9: 15.

the office of the Governor of the British East India Company.

1775-97: Shuja-ud-daula dies at the age of 46 and is succeeded by Asaf-ud-daula. Asaf-ud-daula moves his administrative capital from Faizabad to Lucknow. Asaf-ud-daula lives with his courtiers at Daulat Khana in Lucknow. Asaf-ud-daula is responsible for the construction of the Rumi Darwaza, the Great Imambara, and the Bibiapur Kothi. Under pressure from the British, Asaf-ud-daula appoints Claude Martin as the Superintendent of the Arsenal (1776). Martin becomes a close friend and confidant of Asaf-ud-daula and becomes the chief mediator between the East India Company and the Nawab. Martin designs and completes the Farah Baksh in 1781. Martin begins the construction of Constantia in 1795.

In 1776, America declares independence from Britain. In 1785, Sir John Macpherson, a British civil servant, is appointed the Acting Governor General replacing Warren Hastings who is recalled to Britain for impeachment. In 1786, the Second Earl of Cornwallis is appointed as the Governor General replacing Sir John Macpherson.

1795: Sir John Shore, a civil servant, is appointed the British Governor General replacing the Second Earl of Cornwallis.

1798: Asaf-ud-daula dies and Wazir Ali ascends the throne of Awadh. Within four months of Wazir Ali's ascension, suspicious of his loyalty, the British Governor General, John Shore, visits Lucknow and engineers a succession dispute and manages to have Wazir Ali declared illegitimate. Shore then

sends for Saadat Ali, a half brother of Asaf-ud-daula, who was living in Benaras under British protection and tutelage, and appoints him the Nawab. Saadat Ali had spent his youth in Calcutta and grew up surrounded by Europeans. By virtue of this interaction with the Europeans of Calcutta, Saadat Ali had assimilated the ideas and the methods of the British.[4] Therefore, his ascension to the throne of Awadh was a strategic move aimed at putting in power a trusted person who understood and communicated well with the British.

Lord Wellesley is appointed the British Governor General replacing Sir John Shore. Wazir Ali, who had been exiled to Benaras, assassinates the district collector and flees the city to raise rebellion with the Rajput warriors of the Awadh hinterland. The conversion of Awadh into a dangerous and volatile frontier for British Bengal and Benaras leads Wellesley to push for abdication of the new Nawab Saadat Ali Khan over the next two years.[5]

1799-1813: Saadat Ali, who had inherited empty coffers and large debts from creditors is faced with the possibility of external invasion and several internal revolts. The Rohillas and their Rajput allies seek to regain the independence they had enjoyed before the Nawabs and his English supporters invaded the territory in 1774, in search of loot and revenue. Also, Tipu Sultan and his ally Zeman Shah (the ruler of Afghanistan), turn their armies towards Awadh.[6] For protection, the

[4]Sidney Hay, Historic Lucknow, (Lucknow: Pioneer Press, 1939) 26.

[5]Bayly 90.
[6]The deposed Nawab is granted protection by Zeman Shah who controls Ruhelkhand.

Nawab turns to the British Governor General, Lord Wellesley, for help based on the Benaras Treaty. In exchange for help, Wellesley demands that the Nawab's entire army be disbanded and replaced by Company troops. In light of the grave situation, the Nawab agrees, but later tries to back-off as the threat of aggression diminishes. Wellesley, continues to force for the disbandment of all the Nawab's troop and succeeds. The overall British force in Awadh swells to twelve infantry battalions and four cavalry regiments, costing the Nawab a total of Rs. 5,000,000 per year. Wellesley also proposes a scheme that would transfer the entire civil and military government of Awadh directly to the Company's control. Saadat Ali strongly opposes the scheme but agrees to another treaty, known as the Treaty of 1801.

Under this treaty, Saadat Ali Khan parts with the province of Agra and is forced to cede his sovereignty over his territories along the Ganga and Jamuna Rivers. Saadat Ali is also forced to grant the Company permission to use the Allahabad Fort as an arsenal for Company troops. Struck deeply by the conditions of this new treaty, Saadat Ali Khan focuses on the fiscal management of Awadh. Within the year he establishes a reserve treasury, which grows to Rs. 14,000,000 by the time of his death in 1814.[7]

Saadat Ali expands the city towards the east. He establishes the British Cantonment in Mariaon, five miles to the north of the River Gomti. Dilkusha is constructed towards the east of the city under the supervision

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[7]Hay 23-8.

19

of Claude Martin. Saadat Ali also purchases Farah Baksh, another European style house constructed by Claude Martin. His reign also witnesses the construction of Moti Mahal, a large palace along the River Gomti. In 1810, under pressure from the British Resident, Saadat Ali writes a letter to the Governor General expressing his desire to build an Iron Bridge across the river.

Between 1799-1813, four British Governor Generals are appointed. The Second Earl of Cornwallis is re-appointed Governor General after Wellesley is recalled in 1805. Cornwallis dies the same year and Sir George Barlow a British civil servant is appointed the Acting Governor General. In 1807, the First Earl of Minto, a lawyer by profession, is appointed the Governor General. In 1813, the First Marquis of Hastings, a soldier, is appointed Governor General replacing Lord Minto.

1814: Saadat Ali dies of poisoning at age 60. His son Ghazi-ud-din Haider becomes the Nawab.

1818: The First Marquis of Hastings visits Lucknow. Upon demand, the Nawab loans the Marquis of Hastings, Rs. 10,000,000. He further demands an additional Rs. 10,000,000 to meet Company's expenses for its war with Nepal. The Nawab grants the loan putting further pressure on the local population for extraction of revenues.

1819: By 1818, the British gain full control over India and the Marquis of Hastings, on his visit to Lucknow, offers the Nawab the title of King. This symbolizes a direct confrontation between the powers of the Mughals and the Nawabs. The acceptance of the title by the Nawab implies a formal

renunciation of the allegiance of the Nawab to the Delhi court. "By one stroke of his pen, His Majesty of Oudh [Awadh] was made the rival of the titular Emperor of Delhi, and that this was deliberately done to break the solidarity of the Muslims in India."[8]

1823: John Adams, a British civil servant, is appointed the Acting Governor General, replacing the First Marquis of Hastings.

1824: The British engage in a war with Burma. Bishop Reginald Heber, Church of England's second Bishop to India, visits Lucknow on his way from Calcutta to Bombay. Four years later, Heber publishes his account of India titled, *Narrative of a journey through the upper provinces of India from Calcutta to Bombay.*

1827: Ghazi-ud-din Haider dies and Nasir-ud-din Haider ascends the throne of Awadh.

1828: Lord William Bentick, a British landowner, is appointed the Governor General replacing John Adams.

1830: The British annex Cachar in Assam (North-east India).

1831: Governor General William Bentick visits Lucknow and threatens to take over the administration of Awadh from the Nawab. The Raja of Mysore is deposed and Mysore in South Central India is annexed by the Company.

1834: The province of Coorg near Mysore is annexed by the Company. Central Cachar in Assam is annexed by the Company.

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[8]Majumdar 296.

1835: Sir Charles Metcalfe, a British civil servant, is appointed the Acting Governor General replacing Lord William Bentick. The Company annexes the province of Jaintia in Assam.

1836: The Earl of Auckland, a lawyer by profession, is appointed the Governor General replacing Sir Charles Metcalfe.

1837: Nasir-ud-din Haider dies of poisoning. On hearing of the Nawab's death, the British Resident, Colonel John Low and the Assistant Resident J. Paton, attempt to appoint Muhammad Ali Shah, the deceased Nawab's uncle to the throne. However, he is met with resistance from within the royal family. In the ensuing battle, several people supporting the opposite party are killed and the contender to the throne is arrested and exiled. The ascension of Muhammad Ali Shah to the throne of Awadh is based upon his signing of an agreement on the night of July 7, 1837. The agreement reads:

> Lieutenant Colonel John Low, the Resident, has apprised me, through Lieutenant Shakespear, his second assistant, of the death of Nasir-ud-din Hyder, king of Oude [Awadh]. The Resident has also communicated to me the substance of the orders of the Government of India respecting the necessity of the new engagements on the part of the Company's Government with the Oude [Awadh] State; and I hereby declare, that in the case of my being placed on the throne, I will agree to sign any new treaty that the Governor General may dictate.[9]

Pursuant to the above agreement, a new treaty is forced upon Muhammad Ali Shah. Under this treaty, the existing method of revenue collection in Awadh is to be replaced. The treaty stipulates that, henceforth, revenue collection will be under the direct organization and command of the

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[9]Majumdar 299.

British officers. The treaty also stipulates that the British Government is entitled to appoint its own officer to manage any part or the entirety of Awadh, for as long a period as it may deem necessary.

The manner and the content of the treaty is immediately rejected by the British authorities in London, as well as by the Company's Court of Directors. However, the Nawab is not informed of the cancellation of the treaty, until the annexation of Awadh in 1856.[10]

1842:   The Earl of Ellenborough, a politician, is appointed Governor General replacing the Earl of Auckland. Muhammad Ali Shah dies and his second son, Amjad Ali Shah succeeds him as the Nawab.

1844:.   Henry Hardinge, a soldier by profession, is appointed Governor General replacing the Earl of Ellenborough.

1847:   Amjad Ali Shah dies and Wajid Ali Shah ascends to the throne of Awadh. Hardinge visits Lucknow and threatens the Nawab (who had not yet been informed of the cancellation of the treaty) that Awadh could be acquired under the provisions of the treaty of 1837. Since the Nawab had not been informed of the cancellation of the treaty, he agrees to meet all British demands.

1848:   The Marquis of Dalhousie, a politician, is appointed the new Governor General replacing Henry Hardinge. The province of Satara in Western India is annexed by the Company.

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[10]Majumdar 300.

1849:   Punjab and Sambalpur (Orissa) are annexed by the Company. Dalhousie asks the British Resident at Lucknow, William Sleeman, to tour all areas of Awadh and submit a report on the condition of the province.

1850:   Sleeman submits his report to Dalhousie. This report gives a gruesome picture of the King and his court, and details the anarchical condition of the country.

1853:   Nagpur in Western India is annexed by the Company. The Company also annexes Berar province from the Nizam of Hyderabad.

1854:   The Company annexes Jhansi in Central India.

1855:   William Sleeman retires. General James Outram is appointed the new British Resident at Lucknow. General Outram is asked by the British Governor General to prepare another report on the condition of Awadh. Without touring the province, Outram bases his report on Sleeman's report and other Residency records and recommends Awadh be annexed.

1856:   Earl Canning, a politician, is appointed the Governor General of India. Annexation of Awadh by the Company is complete (figure 3). All administrative powers are transferred from Wajid Ali Shah to the British Resident, General James Outram, on February 13th. Wajid Ali Shah is exiled to Calcutta, granted a pension and allowed to retain the title of King.

1857:   The first war of Indian Independence starts in a military revolt at Meerut. The British Residency at Lucknow is captured by the rebels.

1858:   Peace is proclaimed by the British throughout India. The revolt is

crushed. After the loss of 4000 lives,
Lucknow is recaptured by the British.
Governance of India is transferred
from the Company to the British
Crown. Queen Victoria proclaims her
sovereignty over India. Earl Canning
becomes the first Viceroy. Upon
recapture of Lucknow, the entire
British effort is focused on making the
city militarily safe for the British.
Robert Napier's plan for Lucknow is
executed and two-fifths of the city is
demolished. The urban structure of
Lucknow is forever transformed.

Chapter 1

The European House: Instrument for Marginalization

In pursuit of becoming a colonial, imperial power, the European house was extensively used by the British to marginalize the native peoples of Lucknow, their rulers, and their culture. As a way to contrast, separate and elevate British culture from Lucknowi culture, the British sought to claim that the morphological and structural differences between the European house and the indigenous house (in this case the pre-colonial Muslim house/settlement in Lucknow) was evidence enough to legitimize their right to rule. Inspite of its design not being suitable to the Indian climate, the British continued to prefer the European house to the indigenous house which would have provided greater protection from the hot climate. Therefore, discomfort was balanced by the feeling of moral and cultural superiority that living in an European house provided. In addition, the economics of local production enabled many of the British in India to construct houses on a scale unattainable at home. Thus, the European house provided an index for rating cultural superiority; served the British as living memory of the land they had left; and was a direct manifestation of the presence, power and permanence of the British in Lucknow. This chapter explores these conditions in detail.

The late eighteenth century was marked by a wave of Western colonial expansion throughout the world. The politics of cultural, ethnic and national[1]

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[1]One of the crucial reasons for East India Company's political interference and consequent colonial expansion into India was that during the eighteenth century there was a massive expansion of European production and trade, along with the development of strong *nation states* in Europe which indirectly echoed the more assertive policies of European companies in India beginning in the 1730s, most notably the policies of the English East India Company after 1757. From C.A. Bayly, <u>Indian Society and the making of the British Empire,</u>

identity stood at the heart of the colonial enterprise which fundamentally reconstructed the politico-economic power structures around the world. As a result of colonial expansion, peoples and cultures hitherto separated by time and distance were brought face-to-face, often for the first time. An immediate consequence of this interaction was the increased interplay and juxtaposition of different identities -- often in clash with one another.

Part of this clash was brought about by an increasing awareness of unique ethnicities from which new cultural prejudices sprung. Consequently, the colonizers experienced an increase in racial and national identity heightened by the moral compulsion of the "White Man's Burden"[2] -- that is,

the feeling of racial superiority and a duty to "civilize" the untamed "savages" of non-Western origins (figure 4). This manifested itself in the theory of "Otherness," which implied that people were fundamentally separate from each other as a result of being members of homogeneous races and exclusive nations.[3] This belief became what can be called the epistemology of colonialism and formed the core of the politics of identity. Otherness stemmed from the conscious and unconscious needs of the colonialists to differentiate themselves from the natives. Whatever their internal differences as a nations of "English, Scots, and Welsh...'Britons could feel united in dominion over, and in distiction from, the millions of colonial subjects beyond their own boundaries.' The growth of empire, and a conviction

The New Cambridge History of India, (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1988) 3. Also see, Thomas R. Metcalf. Ideologies of the Raj, The New Cambridge History of India, (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1994) ix-x.

[2]Rudyard Kipling, The Portable Kipling, Ed. Irving Howe. (Viking Press, New York 1982) 602-3.

[3]Edward W. Said, "Orientalism," The post-colonial studies reader, Eds. Bill Ashcroft, et al. (London: Routledge, 1995) 87-91.

of 'Britishness', went hand in hand."[4] Therefore, differentiation for the "Oriental masses"[5] was a way to assure themselves of their cultural superiority, thereby legitimizing their presence in the native's domain.

Architecture reflects and encrypts the knowledge of the human condition of the time in which it is produced. This encryption occurs through the act of design, i.e. in the language of formal, spatial, and tectonic symbolism. When these three formal dimensions interact with political ideology and historiographical intent, the symbolism generated is usually very strong and potent. An example of the interaction of the political ideology of Otherness with a formal architectural vocabulary, occurs in Lucknow with the production of European houses, especially those houses built in the late eighteenth through the early nineteenth century. This specific time frame is important to our analysis because it marks the arrival and settlement of European merchants, diplomats, and representatives of the East India Company in Lucknow.

The following discussion highlights how the European house and its representation was employed as an instrument for the assertion of political dominance and for the marginalization of the native peoples of Lucknow by European colonists. By contrasting the formal, structural and cultural differences with the indigenous house, the European house became a potent methodological tool in the Orientalist discourse on India. In order to articulate effectively the preceding argument, it is prudent to begin by understanding the style of the indigenous house.

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[4]Thomas R. Metcalf. Ideologies of the Raj, The New Cambridge History of India, (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1994) 3.

[5]Sten Nilsson, European Architecture in India 1750-1850 (London: Faber and Faber, 1968) 165.

The Indigenous House

In its urban structure and typological formalism, pre-colonial Lucknow was a typical Indian Islamic city. In the Islamic tradition, the typical indigenous house in Lucknow was inward looking with all the activities of the house converging into one or two square courtyards located side-by-side. The larger of these courtyards catered to the *Mardana* (men's quarters) while the smaller one catered to the *Zenana* (women's quarters). The Mardana was accessed through the outside streets while the Zenana was accessed through the men's courtyard. The courtyards functioned as excellent systems for natural ventilation for the entire house, and helped to keep air circulating day and night (figure 5). Courtyards also formed spill-outs (open spaces) for families within the boundaries set by social and cultural norms. Since all the activities of the house were concentrated around these courtyards

-- in the private realm -- the indigenous house in Lucknow emphasized the interior of the house rather than its exterior facade.

Unlike the European house, which facilitated a *private realm* for its occupants and a surrounding *public realm* for social activity, the indigenous house was unique for the absence of a surrounding public realm. While the interior of the indigenous house facilitated private activities, the dark narrow lanes surrounding the indigenous house created what can be called an *alien realm*. This alien realm was distinct from the public realm (in the European sense) for its discouragement of public activity (figure 6).

According to Keith Hjortshoj, indigenous houses should be seen as separated from one another in terms of their spatial divisions rather than in terms of spatial distance.[6] When this criterion is

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[6]Keith Hjortshoj, "Urban Structures and Transformations in Lucknow India," Thesis. (Cornell, 1979) 62.

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applied to the analysis of the indigenous house in Lucknow, it becomes clear that this model of spatial distinction justifies the existence of an alien realm, since pre-colonial Lucknow evolved as an unplanned Islamic settlement based solely on occupational and mercantile distinctions of its settlers.

The alien realm which started at the point of departure from the comforts of the private sphere (the main exit of the house), consisted of narrow lanes and minor spaces that enveloped the indigenous house and rarely led to open spaces. These lanes formed (as they do today) a labyrinthine network of streets with the primary purpose of providing access to its residents (figure 7). Due to their extremely narrow width, these lanes did not facilitate social and public activity which was centered in the interior courtyards and in the commercial district of Chauk respectively. This

rendered the immediate exterior of the indigenous house unimportant for formal architectural treatment and embellishment. Often the only decoration on the exterior of an indigenous house would be over an insignificant gateway set in a high wall. Thus, the indigenous house presented a rather forbidding and bleak appearance to the pedestrian on a typical street in the Farangi Mahal Mohalla near the Chauk in Lucknow. Even today, a walk down the dark shaded streets of this part of Lucknow, affords little hint of what lies behind the entrance of the house and the house itself seldom provides any clue to the status or identity of its owner. It is possible to find seemingly insignificant gateways which open into large and splendid courtyards with highly decorated rooms, pleasant gardens and even fountains.

Hjortshoj argues that the seclusion permitted by the alien realm allowed for the preservation of: (1)

ritual, (2) socio-economic status of particular groups, and (3) the seclusion of women according to the Islamic traditions of Lucknow.[7] If a stranger attempted to violate the privacy and integrity of the private realm, then the intentional complexity of the narrow lanes of the alien realm was too complex for him to comprehend. Caught up in the maze of narrow lanes, a stranger would be stuck in the ceaseless imagery of blank walls and jagged rooftops, beneath which he would be extremely vulnerable. Thus, in pre-colonial Lucknow, by discouraging access to strangers, the indigenous house and its surroundings[8] eliminated the existence of a public realm (figure 8).

The morphology of the indigenous house has its antiquarian origins in the military encampments

of the Muslim warriors of Central Asia.[9] These military encampments consisted of tents of all sizes placed within a defined or an enclosed area. There was no geometrical logic to their spatial organization, except that they reflected the hierarchy of their occupants within the unit. The 'hierarchy of occupants' implied not only their military rankings, but was also meant to include social and economic hierarchies. For example, the Zenana was placed at the far end of the compound and was not accessible directly from the outside. Such a structural layout of military encampments was transferred to India through the Mughals and the Nawabs. Elsewhere, similar relationships have been shown to exist in the layout of Fatehpur Sikri and other Islamic complexes of the Mughal period. The location of structures as individual functional elements, placed at random

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[7]Hjortshoj 40.

[8]These surrounding lanes belonged to no specific house, rather they were collectively owned by the families that lived in a typical Mohalla (a gated colony). A detailed discussion of the Mohalla can be found in chapter four of this thesis.

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[9] Rosie Llewellyn-Jones, A Fatal Friendship (Delhi: Oxford UP, 1992) 190-1.

angles within the exterior walls of the house, suggests a deeper symbolic relationship between the pre-colonial house and its Central Asian origins.

Together, the inward focus of the indigenous house and its ineffable logic of internal spaces, contributed to the dissolution of perspective, making it even more private, protected, and incomprehensible to the stranger.

Representation of Power

Beginning in the eighteenth century, Europeans began arriving and settling in Lucknow. Driven by their mercantile, professional, and political interests, they formed distinct residential domains which were closely linked (both physically and socially) to the urban elites of the Nawabi administration, rather than with those of the common people. Through this process, they were able to acquire proximity to administrative power and simultaneously highlight the oppositions between their culture and that of the native elites. Integral to contrasting these oppositions was the problem of Colonial self-representation.

Deeply embedded in the Orientalist discourse, the agenda for self-representation focused on a synthetic construction, reinforcement, and articulation of the differences between the dominant (the British), and the dominated (the indigenous people).[10] Not only did Orientalist ideology seek to restrict the interaction between the British and the local population of Lucknow, but it also sought to establish the conditions under which contact between

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[10]Bayly states that "Some modern writers have argued that caste and religious practice in the pre-colonial Indian society was fluid, eclectic, and uncodified. Families could change their caste ranking in quite short periods of time; degraded liquor distillers might serve armies, became revenue managers and even landlords, elevating their caste status in the meantime. Traditional India was not a rigid society. It was the British rule that made it so, codifying many localized and pragmatic customs into a unified and Brahminized 'Hindoo Law' and classifying people into immutable castes through the operation of the courts and ethnographical surveys. Colonial society was seeing a mirror image of itself when it understood Indian society as rigid and stultified (156)."

these two peoples could take place. Therefore, in the context of British colonial formation, the British had internalized a pre-existing image of indigenous peoples[11] and through different modes of representing their intellectual, scientific and moral superiority, sought to make these distinctions permanent. The most potent method of self-representation that contrasted the cultural oppositions between the British and Indians, was through the production of the European house in Lucknow.

Morphological Oppositions

Instead of adapting to the indigenous house style, the British sought to differentiate themselves from the indigenous population by choosing to build their houses in the European style. The juxtaposition of these two styles in the same city, within Nawabi domain, highlighted the formal and cultural oppositions between European and indigenous forms of knowledge and the urban traditions that the morphology of these distinct styles represented. The main oppositions that emerged from these contrasting morphologies can be studied by comparing the indigenous house type with Dilkusha (figures 9, 10), one of the earliest European houses built in Lucknow. Dilkusha was constructed in 1800, by the British Resident Gore Ousely and was almost an exact replica of Seaton Delavel (figures 11, 12), an English house by Sir John Vanbrugh in Northumberland.[12]

In direct opposition to the morphology of the indigenous house, Dilkusha had no courtyards and central openings. Instead, it was enclosed in a solid block of masonry in which all its rooms with their

[11]For an excellent account of early English impressions of India, see Richard C. Barnett, Images of India, ed. Balkrishna G. Gokhale (New York: Humanities Press, 1971) 10-33.

[12]Jones, Fatal 153.

different functions gathered together. This characteristic made the European house outward looking in contrast to the indigenous house in which the courtyard drew all the household activities towards its center making the house inward looking.

In addition, the public realm of the European house consisted of surrounding gardens and open spaces which performed the role of spill-outs during summer evenings, when English families could engage in outdoor socializing and elite entertainments. Furthermore, while the indigenous house facilitated the separation of gender spaces, the European house because of the lack of distinct gender spaces served to integrate women in all spheres of household and social activity.[13]

In contrast to the indigenous house, which had very small openings for windows and insignificant doorways for entrances, doors and

windows formed an essential element of Dilkusha's facade. Also in contrast to the insignificant main entrance of the indigenous house, the main access to Dilkusha had extensive ornate treatment. In fact, Dilkusha had an imposing staircase which led to the main door which in turn led to a highly ornamental portico. Thus, externalization of ornamentation contrasted with the indigenous house in which all the ornamentation resided within the interior.

As discussed earlier, the indigenous house was part of a dense and compact system of labyrinthine streets. These streets were bordered by the high exterior walls of indigenous houses and the shadow from these walls not only kept the streets cool, but also cooled the entire compact structure of the indigenous settlement in the summer while retaining heat in the winter. The central courtyard also circulated air in the house, allowing for warm air to rise and cool air to settle down in the summer.

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[13]Metcalf, Ideologies 94.

Courtyards were often sunk to create berms to cool the lower story better. In contrast, Dilkusha had no such arrangement. Its big European windows trapped heat in summer and offered no structural protection from the hot summer sun except for the wooden venetian blinds that shielded the glazed windows.[14] The Residency building is another example in which external window awnings were used to shield the sun (figure 13).

Another contrast between the European house and the indigenous house was the extensive use of human and animal sculptures employed in European buildings, whereas Islamic tradition prohibited and considered the use of animated forms in art and architecture blasphemous. Therefore, the use of human and other animated forms in Constantia (figure 14) and Farah Baksh, challenged the pre-existing socio-religious order.

A comparison of structural elements between the European and the indigenous house further highlights technological differences. The use of pure Grecian architectural elements and Orders on the exterior facade of the European house, was meant to exhibit British mastery over the technological grammar of their buildings. In contrast, in the eyes of the British, the treatment of the facade of the indigenous house symbolized irrationality and inferiority. Hence, consciously chosen imagery formed an integral component of the imperial formation in India. Even in the absence of universally acceptable modes of communication, the exterior treatment of the European house directly communicated the differences between the native population of Lucknow and the British who were settling within the domain of Awadh.

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[14]Jones, Fatal 43.

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Visual Representation

Visual representation of the European house was an integral part of the Orientalist discourse on India. Due to its location as an isolated building on a typically raised piece of land, the European house stood out from its surroundings. By placing the house in the center of the visual frame, the technical prowess of perspectival imagery which was hitherto unseen by the indigenous peoples in their settlements was invoked.

The technology of perspectival imagery which was acquired by the Europeans during the Renaissance has been under-appreciated for its role as a unique method in the arsenal of Orientalist discourse on India. Perspective provided the Europeans a technical tool to perfect and control architectural imagery and through it all other forms of visual representation. By placing the European house on a pedestal (a raised piece of land) -- like a teacher at the head of a class -- the purpose of colonial representation was didactic and meant to inform native peoples about the visual oppositions that the indigenous and the European urban traditions invoked. Through visual suggestion of order in their house form, the Europeans made the natives more aware of the visual disorder in their indigenous settlements. Similarly, by suggesting the cleanliness in their public domain, European houses also made the natives more aware of the filthy conditions of the alien realm in pre-colonial Lucknow.

Several travelers to Lucknow have noted that conditions of the poor under the Nawabs were wretched. The poor of the city did not have any participation in their own governance and were sealed off from the elite domain by the high walls and secluded houses of the indigenous elite. In contrast, through its imagery, the European house suggested the inclusion and participation of the

public in its appreciation. The European house was meant to symbolize that the European mode of government and way of conducting business was more honest and straightforward as compared with the operations of the Nawabi court.

While the indigenous house with its secretive position in the labyrinthine network of streets eliminated any possibility of its visual appreciation from a distance, the European house dominated the context in which it existed and informed the observer of its monumentality and power. In fact, as we shall later see, the choice of individual sites for European houses were deliberate attempts to bestow upon them the power and symbolic imagery of the Acropolis and the Parthenon.

The use of extensive treatment and detailing of the exterior facade of the European house, was meant to remind the indigenous elite and the common people of the monumental achievements of the English. The unique location of the European house, the symbols which it housed, and its exterior ornamentation suggests that the European house was engineered as an exhibit to communicate the greatness of European Civilization.

Historiographical Displacement

The European house in Lucknow enhanced the antiquarian opposition between the forms of European antiquity (Grecian), and structures of Muslim antiquity. The historiographical battle which was being waged in Europe regarding the purity of Hellenic architectural elements and the extent of their contamination by the Ottomans, manifested itself in a dialectic debate over the formal architectural vocabulary of the European and indigenous house form.

The Nawabs whose ancestral and religious ties originated from Persia and extended throughout the Muslim world, including the Ottoman Empire, were

perceived by the English as responsible for the contamination of their Greek heritage and antiquity. Metcalf argues that, "For the ancient Greeks, the home of despotism was the land of their antagonists, the Persians."[15] The Ottomans who were regarded as "Eastern Barbarians" were in control of Greece until the early part of nineteenth century and had influenced its art in significant ways.

In the eighteenth century, the construction of Greek antiquity as the source of Western progress had started. In 1734, the Society of Dellitanti was formed, bringing together a group of English noblemen and gentlemen for the purpose of toasting "Grecian taste and Roman spirit."[16] Enthralled with the ideal of Greece, the society focused on archeological sites and architectural ruins. The society began to sponsor artists to travel, sketch and document the surviving material culture of Greece. In 1751, engraver John Stuart and painter Nicholas Revett were sponsored by the Society to measure and prepare accurate drawings of Grecian architectural antiquity.[17] In England, the admiration of "authentic" Greek architecture was becoming an inseparable mark of taste and knowledge in art. Soon thereafter, Johann Winckelmann's *History of Greek Art* (1764) which used "style" to discriminate between the different periods of Greek sculpture with the intent of extracting Hellenic purity from Ottoman influences appeared.[18] In its exclusion of the Ottoman, the discourse on the construction of Greek antiquity sought to remove the influence of Islam.

From 1826-1833, the Greeks battled to regain their independence from the Ottomans. During this

[15]Metcalf, Ideologies 6

[16]Christine M. Boyer, The City of Collective Memory: Its Historical Imagery and Architectural Entertainments (Cambridge: MIT, 1994) 155.

[17]Boyer, City 155.

[18]Boyer, City 154.

time, several Greek buildings and monuments were ravaged and demolished. Those who had assembled the knowledge of Greek antiquity through extensive documentation sought to reconstruct its formal and structural vocabulary in the neo-classical style throughout the colonized world. One of the first re-construction projects was the re-building of Athens itself. This project was led by Hellenophiles who were predominantly from Northern Europe, especially from Germany.[19] An excellent discussion on the role of Greek antiquity as the formal determinant in the post-colonial designs for Athens, Canberra and New Delhi, is addressed in the work of Lawrence J. Vale, entitled *Architecture, Power, and National Identity*.

This European interest in "a broader revival of the ancient classical civilization" of Greece,

manifested itself on the colonial turf of India.[20] The role of Greek antiquity as a source of Orientalist representations of British India has been extensively documented in Thomas Metcalf's work, *An Imperial Vision*. In its use and assemblage of classical elements, the British political enterprise sought to reinforce the purity of Greek antiquity and to contrast it with the incomprehensible labyrinthine network of pre-colonial Muslim settlements of Lucknow. By doing so, the British intent was to cause historical displacement through "re-appropriation of the rightful patrimony of northern Europe, and to reform the present based on the highest and purest accomplishments of the past."[21]

The scenographic imagery of the European house which was placed on an elevated site with the front facing the River Gomti, sought to re-invent the

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[19]Lawrence Vale, <u>Architecture, Power, and National Identity</u> (New Haven, Yale UP, 1992) 38-42.

[20]Vale 39.
[21]Boyer, <u>City</u> 170.

tradition of Ancient Greek temples. Boyer, argues that Frederick Gilly, who best understood the imagery of the Acropolis, in his design of a monument for Frederick the Great in 1797, placed a Doric temple on a pedestal raised high enough to dominate its environment.[22] Gilly, in his "romantic classicist" intent, sought to replicate in his building, the abstract geometry of the Parthenon, to dominate its setting by combining the monument with its scenic landscape. Gilly imagined, "a viewer who ascended the steps of his Grecian temple would gaze... below, with its ceremonial obelisks, and then beyond to the panoramic landscape...."[23] This imagery is very similar to Constantia, the palatial house designed by Claude Martin[24] for himself in

1785, and completed after his death in 1800 (figures 15, 16, 17). Dilkusha (figure 18) and Farah Baksh (figure 19) also attempted to achieve similar imagery.

Symbol of the Emerging Political Economy

Anthony King, in his work *Urbanism, Colonialism, and the World Economy* argues that the formal political control of parts of colonial economies has been a feature of the world-economy since the beginning of imperial and colonial formation.[25] One way by which colonialism was perpetuated was through the production of the built form. Therefore, the eighteenth and nineteenth century European house in Lucknow symbolized the

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[22]Boyer, City 170.

[23]Boyer, City 172.

[24]Claude Martin was a French mercenary who had shifted his loyalties to the British after the defeat of French pursuits in India. Owing to his position as close to the British and the nawabs as well, Martin was the chief negotiator amongst the two. Martin over a period of time accumulated significant wealth

and real estate in Lucknow. He is also responsible to for European influences in the architecture of Lucknow.

[25]Anthony D. King, Urbanism, Colonialism, and the World-Economy: Cultural and Spatial Foundations of the World Urban System (London: Routledge, 1990) 6.

mechanism by which Lucknow was incorporated into the emerging global political economy.[26]

The primary modes by which built form embodied the colonial political economy of the eighteenth and nineteenth century were through the inclusion of built form in: (1) a global system of production, and (2) in the international division of labor perpetuated by colonialism. King has explained this relationship in his Center-Periphery model of the international capitalist economy.[27] This model is

structured as a radial network with a *Center* or *Core*, and its concentric *Peripheries*. While the metropoles of the colonizers constituted the Core, while those of the colonized formed its Peripheries.[28]

This core-periphery model also suggests that the colonial-capitalist-world-economy was based on extraction of surplus (or non-surplus) resources (capital, labor, and raw materials) from the Periphery for transfer to the Core.[29] Thus, in exchange for raw material obtained from the Periphery (Lucknow), the factories of the Core (England) provided returned finished goods and services such as: "British capital, shipping, insurance, managerial expertise, as well as cultural products in their broadest sense: education, science, language, religion, and also architecture, planning, and design."[30]

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[26]The Time-line of Events and description of Treaties, found earlier in this thesis, demonstrates that the economic extraction of Lucknow was based on the different treaties signed between the Nawabs and the British in 1765, 1801, and 1837. These treaties formed the primary mechanism by which Lucknow was incorporated as a periphery into the colonial political economy. These treaties established an important market for British military services and for British goods in Lucknow. Furthermore, these treaties enabled the extraction of capital from Lucknow and for its transfer thereby facilitating other British interests, including the wars fought by the British to annex other states throughout the sub-continent. The European house was therefore a subtle instrument by which Lucknow was incorporated into the global political economy, as the above discussion suggests.

[27]King, Urbanism 3-5.

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[28]King, Urbanism 6.
[29]King, Urbanism 6.
[30]King, Urbanism 6.

If King's model is accepted, it becomes possible to explain that the production of the European house in Lucknow according to this model. The European house in its intent and product design was entirely created in England. As we have seen before, Dilkusha "was almost an exact replica of Seaton Delavel, an English building by Sir John Vanburgh in Northumberland."[31] In Dilkusha therefore design (an intellectual act), and British capital was transferred to the Periphery (Lucknow), from the Core (England). In return, the labor (artisans), and raw material (construction material) was contributed by the Periphery. The finished product was the English house, but on Indian soil.

By suggesting the feasibility of such large material productions like the English house, in which different components were contributed by the Core and the Periphery, the English house subtly incorporated Lucknow into the capitalist world-economy. The role of the English house in this process is especially significant because unlike smaller items of trade, the house transferred with it cultural symbolism, imagery, and morphological oppositions. Together, these transferred elements had a marginalizing effect on the local population. By incorporating European architectural elements in the design of the indigenous house, and adopting European vocabulary, Lucknow itself became a peripheral market for English goods and services.

Colonial Self-Representation and the Marginalization of Lucknow

Inspite of the functional problems arising out of the direct transfer of the European house to Indian climatic conditions, the motivating factors behind the continued preference for the European of house were: (1) memory, (2) ethnographic perceptions, and (3) the economics of local production.

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[31]Jones, Fatal 153.

Early Europeans in Lucknow were skeptical of change and of non-Western modes of life. More conscious and aware of their Western identity in an alien land, the British deliberately feared the adoption of non-Western ways and "they strove consciously not to be absorbed in the Oriental mass."[32] In the eighteenth century, when British families first moved to Lucknow from Europe, they were accustomed to living in the upper floors of town houses in Europe. Likewise, when British families moved to Lucknow, they continued to inhabit the upper floors of their European style houses, making hot climatic conditions worse.[33]

The building designs which were directly transferred from Europe were such that they better suited heat retention in the winter rather than heat dissipation during the summer. In Lucknow, where summer temperatures are as high as 44-50 degrees Celsius, the upper inhabited floors became like hot ovens. The conscious and deliberate attempt at self-differentiation was implemented and perpetuated by rejecting the indigenous building type, and reflects the logic that also "kept them [early Europeans] in clothes more suited to a chilly climate of Europe rather than that of the sub-continent."[34] In 1810, Captain Thomas Williamson wrote:

> They [the British] adopted a mode of building by no means consistent with the common sense, and displaying a total ignorance of the most simple of nature's laws. Houses constructed during 1750 and 1770 were more like ovens, than like the habitations of enlightened human beings. The doors were very small, the windows still less, in proportion, while the roofs were carried up many feet above both.[35]

When the British eventually realized that the lower floors, which were being used for storage or

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[32]Nilsson 165.
[33]Jones, <u>Fatal</u> 50.

[34]Jones, <u>Fatal</u> 49.
[35]Williamson qtd. in Jones, <u>Fatal</u> 49.

stables were much cooler in the summer, design changes were made to make the ground floors much taller, with storage rooms placed on smaller upper floors. However, as Jones notes, "in that these later, more sensible [houses], modifications were made to 'European' houses; there was no attempt to Indianize the houses at all."[36] Instead of interpreting and adopting the formal structure of their houses to benefit from the long tradition of indigenous house type, the modifications made in the use of space were superficial and rhetorical at the most.

Memory of Home

Memory was an intangible yet a powerful emotion which permeated the majority of European attitudes in India. Among British officers, the feeling of being exiled from everything decent and good was widespread. It was thought that the time spent in India was an onerous duty, but one that would be duly rewarded on one's home leave. This sentiment and omnipresent nostalgia is documented in an article which appeared in the Calcutta Review in 1845. The article states:

> We are wanderers, and are not voluntary wanderers; and even the most fortunate-what is their sense of home? The merchant or the presidency civilian, or the staff officer-the only feature of which Indian society can boast-may chose his own residence within a circle of half a dozen miles, but when he thinks of home, he sees the masts of tall ships, which make a forest of the Hoogly, or study the ocean which washes the beaches of Madras or Bombay, and beyond this a snug English house, with its shrubbery and trim garden-walks, and its sunny fruit walls luscious with the ruddy peach and ruddier nectarine. An Indian home is but a lodging house, or way-side inn, in which the exile kills time, as best as he can until it is permitted to him to proceed on the last of his journey homewards.[37]

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[36]Jones, Fatal 50.

[37] Calcutta Review (1845), qtd. in Jones, Fatal 55

Therefore, it is no coincidence that the style in which the majority of European architectural productions in India were neo-classical, Graeco Roman revival which had become increasingly popular in Europe in the last part of the eighteenth century through the nineteenth century. In order to legitimize its growing power against civilizations which were much older than itself, the British looked to Greece and Rome for inspiration, and for legitimizing its cultural origins.

In archaic Greece, three figures -- the inspired poets, diviners, and the King of Justice -- all share the privilege of dispensing truth by the power of divine memory which provided them with knowledge of the present, the past, and the future.[38] By connecting their present with archaic Greece, the British legitimized themselves as Kings, who were bestowed with similar divine directives to impose their truth and knowledge on the native Indian population. The intellectual comfort and the need for philosophical justification of the colonial enterprise, created a sudden interest in the archeology of Greek architecture, culture, historiography, and antiquity. "The memory of classical Athens and its reinvention was rooted in a sentimental desire to return to the origins of Western knowledge, to re-appropriate the rightful patrimony of northern Europe, and to reform the present based on the highest and purest accomplishments of the past."[39]

Many travelers in India during this period remarked that European towns and individual houses reminded them forcibly of "Greece and Rome."[40] The intention of the designers and the builders of such houses was that the intelligent

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[38]Marcel Detienne, The Masters of Truth in Archaic Greece, Trans. Janet Lloyd (New York: Zone Books, 1996) 135

[39]Boyer, City 170.
[40]Nilsson 25.

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traveler would make the obvious correlation between those buildings which had once impressed barbaric races under Roman rule and similar buildings now used by the British, who found themselves, as they imagined, masters of a pagan and unruly people. It was therefore believed that European architecture had a "civilizing effect on the poor Indian, whose untutored mind Sees God in cloud or hears him in the wind."[41]

Many in the East India Company did not attempt to come to terms with their unfamiliar although temporary surroundings. Others tried to rationalize or explain the exotic phenomena they saw by referencing them to things and memories that were more familiar. Bishop Heber's writings on India are good examples of this phenomenon. According to Heber, Calcutta reminded him of St. Petersburg and Moscow. He described Hazratganj which is the center

of Lucknow as "wider than the High Street at Oxford, but having some distant resemblance to it in the color of its buildings and general form and Gothic style of the greater part of them," while, the Rumi Darwaza and the Great Imambara reminded Heber of "Eaton, the Earl Grosvenor's seat in Cheshire."[42]

Ethnographic Superiority

The second factor which contributed to the favoring of the European house over the indigenous house was the idea of political, cultural and overall racial superiority of the colonizers over the native peoples.[43] The political economy of colonialism

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[41]Bearce qtd. in Jones, Fatal 54.

[42]Heber qtd. in Jones, Fatal 57.

[43]Metcalf states: "While the European branch of the Aryan peoples triumphed over those of other races, those who went to India, as amateur ethnologist and civil servant George Campbell wrote, 'lost their purity of race' by 'intermingling with the aboriginal races, and by the innate decay of enervation by the climate (Metcalf, Ideologies 83)." It is noteworthy that European perceptions of India, especially those of the French Orientalist scholar Montesquieu were "overtly concerned with explaining India on the basis of her climate...Montesquieu had held that Indian character was determined by the climate. (Garrett 99)." Thus in formation Orientalist knowledge about

needed an instrument to symbolize the unequal distribution of power between the Europeans as colonizers and Indians as colonized in order to legitimize their rule: "In architecture they had an instrument by means of which they could manifest their staturs and their ideals -- so long as they kept the style pure"[44] (figures 20, 21).

In the production of their habitat, the British were able to perform an almost controlled socio-technological experiment through the use of architecture as an instrument for political control.[45] A controlled experiment is one in which the relationship between causal factors and their combined outcome is free of experimental noise, i.e. such relationships as captured by an experiment which can be objectively assessed without external influences and distortions. By extension, the European house was a unique insertion into Lucknow's socio-cultural fabric. Its classical forms stood as a symbol of "conquering militarism and a culture and race which considered themselves superior."[46] Thus, the impact of colonial self-representation could be directly assessed on the native population.

East India Company officials in India thought of their own building "as not only places to live in, but as monuments designed to impress the humble native, his less humble Indian master, and other Europeans with less taste or money."[47] In the words of Viceroy Lord Wellesley:

> They ought to remember that India is a country of splendor, of extravagance and of outward appearances, that the Head of a mighty Empire ought to confirm himself to

India in the later part of eighteenth century, interpretation of climate as a chief determinant of human condition in India served to validate ethnographic superiority of the Europeans over the Indians. This aspect of colonial representation is very interesting and requires further research.

[44]Nilsson 165.

[45]King, Urbanism 23.

[46]Nilsson 165.

[47] Jones, Fatal 53.

the prejudices of the country he rules over, that the British, in particular, ought to emulate the splendid works of the Mughals.[48]

It is interesting to observe that by 1849, just eight years before the first major struggle for independence, the idea of superiority in every sphere was so integral a part of European thinking that the following statement by Colesworthy Grant was applauded. Grant argued that "the mission of the European to India was not to find a highly principled, educated and enlightened people, but to aid in making them so."[49]

Therefore, the European house, was meant to serve as a tool for educating and enlightening the natives as to the proper way to live, while substituting for the colonizers' didactic burden. Whenever a European house was constructed in Lucknow, it was a clear reminder to the citizens that a new, and powerful force political force was settling

amongst them in the city, influencing their rulers and introducing different ideas. Thus, clearly architecture and its phantasmagorical effects served as a strategic tool in the arsenal of the colonists whose growing sense of superiority precipitated the sense that European and native peoples must be kept separate.

Economics of Production

The third factor which contributed in favor of European architecture was the affordability to construct European houses on a grand scale in India. This was in sharp contrast to the purchasing power the colonists had back home.[50] Captain Thomas Williamson provides a comparison:

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[48]Jones, _Fatal_ 53.

[49] Grant qtd. in Jones, _Fatal_ 54.

[50]An area of study which is relevant to the arguments above and invites further investigation is, how currency exchange rate mechanisms were used to boost ownership and accumulation of real estate wealth by the colonists. What effect did artificial exchange rate mechanisms have on the production of political architecture in the colonies?

A single marble chimney piece in an English country house cost more than the stables erected in Lucknow at about the same time. A completed bungalow with glass windows, tiled roofs and outbuildings could be built in India for only Pounds 500 in 1810 while the Gothic church in the Lucknow residency area cost only Pounds 540 in 1837.[51]

Another source provides the following comparison:

> In India the average price for a large detached house in its own grounds at the end of the eighteenth century was about Pounds 4000, while a house of similar pretensions with the same amount of land in England was changing hands at the astronomical price of Pounds 85,000.[52]

One key reason for the low cost of construction in Lucknow was cost of hiring skilled local artisans. Even though, stone which was commonly used in high quality constructions was very expensive and had to be transported from as far as Agra and Jaipur,

the ingredients for high quality stucco work were cheaply available. Skillful local artisans were able to negotiate the high cost of stone construction by imitating the effect of stone and marble in highly polished stucco at only a fraction of the price (figure 22). Therefore, construction which was predominantly in stucco was cheap and of excellent quality. Land was also cheap and abundant, as were the wages for both skilled and un-skilled labor.

While it was not denied that local artisans possessed elaborate skills, politically it was incorrect to recognize this and therefore it was propagated that Indian artisans had to be constantly supervised by Europeans. Such was the quality of the craftsmanship applied at Constantia (figure 23), that it was widely believed that it was built by Italian craftsmen. Jones writes:

> Europeans found it difficult to believe that the beautiful stucco work inside the house and the statues on the parapets had been done by

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[51] Williamson qtd. in Jones, <u>Fatal</u> 51.

[52] Hussey qtd. in Jones, <u>Fatal</u> 50.

native craftsmen. . . but it was part of the myth that anything out of the ordinary must have been done by Europeans, just as unfounded rumors suggest that the Taj Mahal was built by Italians.[53]

Inspite of local artisans being highly skilled, there was a huge disparity between the wages that were paid to locals and those paid to the British engineers whose salaries were many times higher. A comparison of compensation levels can be assessed from this comment:

> No one thought fit to remark that a society in which Saadat Ali Khan paid his English Engineer McLeod Pounds 150 per month in 1812 while a master mason earned 15 shillings a month....[54]

It is interesting to note that although Company officials, British settlers, and traders in India built for themselves large and extravagant houses and were well aware of the conditions of poor artisans, they neither ever found nor cared to explain the correlation between the wages they paid to local artisans and their prevailing poverty. However, even prior to the British annexation of Awadh in 1856, the blame for such economic disparity was put entirely on the Nawabs. Thomas Twining in his work, *Travels in India a Hundred Years Ago*, wrote in 1798:

> Amidst all the blaze of wealth and magnificence, thousands of poor wretches are seen on the road to all appearance in real want. There is not, perhaps, in the whole compass of human affairs a more striking display of the inequality of conditions, than this scene affords.[55]

In the same work Twining criticizes the differences between the lives of Indian rulers and their subjects. He states:

> The streets all this way were narrow and dirty, and crowded with bazaars and poor people presenting upon the whole an air of wretchedness that much disappointed the

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[53] Jones, <u>Fatal</u> 52.
[54] Jones, <u>Fatal</u> 50.

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[55] Twining qtd. in Jones, <u>Fatal</u> 231.

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expectations I had formed of the splendor of this celebrated capital. It was evident that this splendor was confined to the palace, while misery pervaded the streets: the true image of despotism, and on the passing and re-passing through the streets, I observed the same wretchedness as before. There must be much that is rotten in the state, whose chief city, the residence of sovereign presents such an appearance.[56]

Such commentaries do not address and thereby deny the role that British colonial strategy played in the growth of misery and the overall deterioration of the human condition amongst the inhabitants of Lucknow. Thus, Twining's comments reflect that the Orientalist system of "knowledge was a collaborative enterprise"[57] and the platform from which Otherness was used to marginalize the indigenous rulers and their subjects.

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[56] Twining qtd. in Jones, Fatal 231.

[57] Metcalf, Ideologies xi.

Conclusion

The European house in Lucknow, in opposition to the indigenous house, sought to establish a polemical debate between colonial and local forms of knowledge. In doing so, the European house served as a medium of representation of European culture and society. The European house was not neutral and objective. Rather it was didactic and was meant to remind the locals of their position as subjects. Through its representation of European culture, the European house portrayed indigenous culture as irrational, unscientific, and illogical. In contrast, the British portrayed themselves as the opposite -- rational, scientific, and logical. Thus, through its symbolism, the European house marginalized the indigenous house and in doing so the peoples and rulers of Lucknow.

By seeking to impose the architectural imagery of classical forms and settings, the European house

contrasted the forms of Muslim antiquity which were linked to the Ottomans and their descendants, the Nawabs. In the classical elements of the European house, the British claimed their right to Greek antiquity and cultural ancestry. By doing so, they legitimized themselves as the superior power and as an antiquarian culture which had the ability to correct the "wrongs" the Nawabs had committed in Lucknow.

The local observer who had never been exposed to European architecture and scenographic settings, could no doubt be intrigued by its message and how it sought to incorporate classical elements into its architectural vocabulary. In the process, Lucknow was subtly incorporated into the larger capitalist colonial economy that was emerging from Europe.

The three particular aspects of the continued use of the European house, despite its functional problems, were that it: (1) engaged in antiquarian Western imagery, (2) portrayed the British as superiors, and (3) was substantially cheaper to build in India than in Britain. The production of the European house in Lucknow was economically beneficial to the British due to the low cost of local labor. The difference in the wages paid to the British and the Indians was very high and cannot be justified. Even though substantial economic disparity existed in the production of the European house, the British made no attempts to remedy the situation. In fact, at the time of the annexation of Awadh in 1856, European criticism was singularly targeted at the Nawabs and their economic mis-management as the sole cause of the misery and economic suffering of the working classes of Lucknow.

Thus, this chapter explores the use of the European house as an instrument for marginalization and political control in Lucknow.

The next chapter will investigate the production of two important public projects in Lucknow in light of the politics surrounding the location of the British Residency and the British Cantonment. It will also highlight the political conflicts posed by the spatial juxtaposition of the British Residency and the Nawab's domain.

Chapter 2

The Politics of Spatial Location and Development

This chapter investigates the politics surrounding the spatial formation of the British Residency and the British cantonment into a strategically integrated network in pre-colonial (1765-1856) Lucknow. It also analyzes the politics of two of the main development projects implemented during the reign of the Nawabs, namely the Iron Bridge and the Kanpur Road. These two examples have been specifically chosen for this study because their implementation exemplifies the spatial and representational manifestation of a larger British strategy of interference in the domestic affairs of Awadh and the marginalization of its rulers. These two examples also reveal the deeper connections between development projects undertaken by the Nawabs from 1801 to 1856, and the strengthening of the British political position in Lucknow.

The Residency

The office of the British Resident played an integral part in the British colonial formation in India during the eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth century. The connection between the office of the British Resident and the larger strategy of British colonial formation in India is captured in the words of the Marquees of Hastings, who served as Governor General between 1813-1823:

> In our [British] treaties with them [Indians] we recognize them as independent sovereigns. Then we send a Resident to their courts. Instead of acting in character of ambassador, he assumes the function of a dictator, interferes in all their private concerns; countenances refractory subjects against them; and makes the most ostentatious exhibition of authority. To secure to himself the support of our Government, he urges some interest which, under the colour thrown upon it by him, is strenuously taken up by our Council; and

single point but on the whole tenor of his conduct. In nothing do we violate the feelings of the native princes so much as in the decisions which we claim the privilege of pronouncing with regard to succession to the musnud. We constantly oppose our construction of Mohammedan law to the right which the Moslem princes claim from usage to choose among their sons the individual to be declared the heir apparent.[1]

The office of the British Resident in Lucknow was established after the Treaty of Benaras in 1775. Warren Hastings, the Governor General (1772-1785) offered the Nawab, Shuja-ud-daula, to place an ambassador in the Nawab's court, "for the sake of perpetuating and strengthening the good understanding so happily begun [between the Company and the Nawab]."[2] Upon the reluctant acceptance of Hastings' offer by the Nawab, Hastings appointed Nathaniel Middleton as the first British

Resident assigned to the Nawab's court, which at that time was located in Faizabad, a city twenty-five miles east of Lucknow.[3]

The relationship between the British Resident and the Nawab was like that of "an unwelcome guest foisted upon a reluctant host."[4] Since the Resident was the guest of the Nawab, the British expected the Nawab to bear all the Resident's establishment expenses. After the Nawab's court moved from Faizabad to Lucknow in 1775, the British Resident, John Bristow, also moved with him.[5] From modest beginnings, the office of the Resident, by 1800, had rapidly grew to include: "a great army of officials, clerks, messengers and servants."[6]

The role of the British Resident in Lucknow was initially limited to that of the Company's

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[1]Marquees of Hastings qtd. in R.C. Majumdar, ed., British Paramountcy and Indian Renaissance, 11 vols. (Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1963) 9: 15.

[2]Warren Hastings qtd. in Rosie Llewellyn Jones, A Fatal Friendship, (Delhi: Oxford UP, 1992) 88.

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[3]Jones, Fatal 89.

[4]Jones, Fatal 89.

[5]Jones, Fatal 89.

[6]Jones, Fatal 89.

ambassador. Over time, the stature of the Resident evolved and expanded to that of one having jurisdiction over all Europeans and Anglo-Indians in Lucknow.[7] The Resident acted as a filter between the European community and the Nawabi court in legal and social affairs. The overall increase in the Resident's influence simultaneously augmented his political interference in the Nawab's court.

The site which was chosen for the Resident and his office, also known as the Residency, was located south of the River Gomti, east of Macchi Bhavan, "high up on a green hill"[8] (figure 24). During the reign of, Nawab Saadat Ali Khan, the Nawabi domain expanded towards the east of the city to where the Chattar Manzil palace complex and Farah Baksh are now located (figure 25). This expansion of the Nawab's domain brought his court into close proximity to the Residency site and thereby helped to promote the political role and unique position of the Resident in the affairs of Lucknow.

This new spatial dynamic resonated the emergence of competing power centers in Lucknow. It also brought into conflict the British and the indigenous form of administration. With the Nawabi palaces designed to be interior oriented, they visually restricted access to onlookers, symbolizing inaccessibility. On the other hand, even though the British Resident did not directly interfere in the affairs of Indians, the outward looking appearance of the Residency compound symbolized an alternative power structure intended to impress the, "Oriental mass."[9] The British Resident, who believed that "in a country where power was expressed outwardly and

[7]Jones, Fatal 97.

[8]Sten Nilsson, European Architecture in India 1750-1850, (London: Faber and Faber, 1968) 112.

[9]Nilsson 165.

openly, the Company's hegemony could only be sustained by similar measures,"[10] wrote in 1811:

> They can judge of power and authority by no other standard than the external marks of it; and if they saw a Resident with less state than his predecessor nothing would convince them but that he had less power too. The keeping up of an outward appearance of power will in many instances save the necessity of resort it the actual exercise of it. The Resident's authority must either be seen or it must be felt.[11]

The location of the Residency site as an island in the dense mass of Indian settlements, enabled the British to reinforce their sense of superiority over the Nawabi and indigenous domains. While the signing of treaties sanctioned the formal relationship and facilitated greater access to the Nawab, symbolizing the Resident's unique position in Lucknowi society, the sense of superiority that the British had created

an insurmountable social barrier between themselves and the local people. In that sense, "the British Residency look[ed] like an isolated phenomenon, an island in the Oriental environment."[12]

Adding to the ambiguity of the nature of British presence in Lucknow, was the design of the main Residency building (figures 20, 26, 27). This building was designed in a neo-Classical mode and stood in direct opposition to the Chattar Manzil which was an assemblage of Islamic morphology and classical forms appropriated from other European buildings constructed in Lucknow. It appears that "the English had endeavored to keep the style *pure* [of the Residency] in order to emphasize the distance from the[se] hybrid structures which were erected elsewhere in the town."[13] The contrast in the usage

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[10]Philip Davies, <u>Splendours of the Raj: British Architecture in India, 1660-1947</u>, (London: John Murray, 1985) 95.
    [11]Davies 96.

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    [12]Nilsson 112.
[13]Nilsson 113.

of architectural elements suggested the difference between the two forms of knowledge, Indian and European. While the skeleton of the Residency building was constructed in local Lakhori bricks, its facade reflected a strong "desire to be European."[14] This desire to be European was dictated by the consciousness to keep "the style pure,"[15] thereby symbolizing the Residency building as "a banner of a civilized nation."[16] Through their self-representation as a civilized nation, they depicted the "other" (Indian) as barbarians and their rulers as despots. The purity of classical style in the Residency building, suggested the "triumph of reason over barbarism."[17] Thus, "Classicism acquired a racial character,"[18] in the British Residency at Lucknow.

Due to the prominent spatial location of the Residency and its neo-Classical formal structure, the Residency posed a direct ideological and practical threat to the Nawab's regime. As Nilsson argues, the "British Residencies in the various Indian principalities display growing power. They do this quite obviously through their geographical location."[19] Nilsson further describes the political implications of the Residency site: "[It] can be regarded as [a] greatly advanced chess[man] whose position is strengthened, without any actual change in [its] situation, as the political game advances."[20] In light of the Resident's growing power and interference in the Nawab's court, facilitated by the spatial location of the Residency site, the Nawab, made several requests to the British to relocate the Residency. One such request was made in 1831 by

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[14]Nilsson 164.
[15]Nilsson 164.
[16]Nilsson 164.
[17]Nilsson 164.
[18]Nilsson 164.

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[19]Nilsson 111.
[20]Nilsson 111.

Nawab, Nasir-ud-din Haider, to the British Resident, Colonel John Low:

> The House in which you [Resident] live is situated very close to the Palace...and in consequence of its elevated situation, many of my houses are overlooked which for many reasons is inconvenient and troublesome, and as also it is improper for certain reasons that the Residency House should be so near to the Governments House.[21]

The Company refused to relocate the Residency, arguing that any such move would inconvenience the Europeans of Lucknow who had come to depend on the Resident for a variety of matters. In this entire drama of requests and denials, the British clearly understood the political and ideological advantages offered by the Residency site, and the challenges it posed to the Nawab. In fact, Colonel John Low, the British Resident (1831) was aware that the physical proximity of the Residency to the Nawabi domain symbolized competing power

centers and threatened the Nawab's sovereignty. He wrote: "His [the Nawab's] rule and authority would appear more complete within his capital by the removal of the British representative to the country."[22]

In summary, the Residency building in Lucknow was an imposing structure designed in neo-Classical vocabulary and stood for the "commercial, military and political progress,"[23] of the British. Contributing to the building's grandeur was its elevated site informing the residents of Lucknow as to who their real ruler was. Giving up such an establishment and relocating far from power center of the city, would have diminished the role and the capability of the Resident to interfere in the affairs of the court. Therefore, their denial of the Nawab's request to relocate, was symbolic of the increased

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[21]Low qtd. in Jones, Fatal 105.

[22]Low qtd. in Jones, Fatal 106.
[23]Nilsson 163.

power of the British Resident. The fact that he was supposed to be the Nawab's guest was conveniently forgotten.

Location of the Mariaon Cantonment

British military cantonments played a crucial role in supporting the politico-economic and strategic maneuverings of the British in their colonial formation in India. Due to a large number of regional wars being fought between independent rulers, the British saw a market for their army and military equipment. Without themselves getting directly involved in local wars, the British leased out individual personnel and entire brigades to their allies to fight their wars. After the signing of the Treaty of Benaras (1774), which stipulated the disbandment of, Nawab Asaf-ud-duala's, entire army, the Nawab had no other choice but to employ British troops to fight his regional wars and defend Awadh against aggression.

In 1801, Nawab Saadat Ali Khan, lost a significant portion of his territory to the British in partial payment for the cost of British troops leased to, Nawab Asaf-ud-duala, to support him in his war with the Rohillas (figure 3). To avoid further loss of his territory, Saadat Ali Khan complied with the British demand to significantly expand the size of the British army positioned in Lucknow. By 1807, the number of British troops in the city reached 10,000.[24] This increase rendered the existing cantonment which was located on the north bank of the River Gomti across from the Macchi Bhavan, the principal Nawabi palace (figure 27), inadequate from the standpoint of supporting such a large army. Consequently, British requests for a larger site implied, "serious encroachment upon his [Nawab's] sovereign state."[25]

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[24]Jones, Fatal 116.
[25]Jones, Fatal 116.

While his allocation of land for a larger site was unavoidable, the Nawab sought to restrict further military encroachment, by (1) allotting land for the Cantonment at a substantial distance from the city, and by (2) restricting the boundaries of the land granted to the Cantonment. Therefore, he chose a site in the village of Mariaon which was across the River Gomti, at a distance of five miles north of the city (figure 24). He specified that "a ditch be dug around the Cantonment to define limits and that no extension beyond the ditch would be allowed."[26]

The location of the new cantonment site at a significant distance from the city fit well with the British conception of a separate ethnographic and cultural, space secluded from the "Oriental mass" of the indigenous city. As King argues, the cantonment provided a "culture specific environment"[27] to symbolize cultural and social differences between the British and the Indians. This was probably one the main reasons why the British agreed to locate the Cantonment at such a distance.

On a practical level, the new location of the Cantonment posed a strategic problem for the British establishment in Lucknow. There existed no adequate infrastructure for the rapid deployment of troops in the event of any trouble or threats to the Residency. Therefore, even though the two main institutions of colonial political formation in India, the Residency and the Cantonment, were in place in Lucknow by 1807, spatially these institutions remained disconnected and lacked an infrastructure to support rapid military intervention. Therefore, creating such an infrastructure and synchronizing the Residency and the Cantonment into an integrated network became a priority for the British.

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[26]Jones, Fatal 118.

[27]Anthony D. King, Colonial Urban Development, (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1976) 97.

The Construction of the Iron Bridge

In 1807, the year the Mariaon Cantonment was established, the only line of connection between the city and the Cantonment was by the Old Stone Bridge (figure 29). However, the Stone Bridge was not sturdy enough to support the movement of troops. Also, the road that connected the Stone Bridge with the Residency cut through the dense indigenous settlements (discussed later in chapter 4) which made it possible for troops to be ambushed as they passed through. The British believed these problems could be eliminated by: (1) constructing a new bridge which would connect the Residency to the Cantonment without troops having to pass through the dense indigenous settlements, and (2) the construction of a road which would directly connect the Residency with the Mariaon and Kanpur Cantonments (figures 29, 25).

Three years later, in 1810, Nawab Saadat Ali Khan, who was educated by English tutors in Calcutta, and who was intrigued by European artifacts and technology, wanted to construct an iron bridge across the River Gomti. Probably convinced by Claude Martin[28] he sent a request to the Governor General to send a "'Professional Gentleman' to Lucknow to measure the breadth of the river and to determine the best site."[29] In response to the Nawab's request, the British sent Captain Duncan M. McLeod, to survey the river. As an employee of the Company, it is no coincidence that McLeod chose a site adjacent to the Residency which would enable troops direct access to the Residency site.

Since, Saadat Ali Khan, made successive attempts to limit British military encroachment throughout his reign, as evidenced in his allocation

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[28]Sidney Hay, Historic Lucknow, (Lucknow: Pioneer Press, 1939) 97.

[29]Nawab Saadat Ali Khan qtd. in Jones, Fatal 118.

of land for the new Cantonment far from the city, it is highly improbable that he ever intended the new bridge to facilitate military access for the British. Rather, his wish to construct an iron bridge probably reflected his desire to bring the latest technological achievements from Europe to his kingdom. In fact, the bridge he ordered was designed only "twenty years after the first iron bridge had been made in England."[30]

After the location for the Bridge was determined, its measurements were sent to John Rennie[31] in England for its design and construction. The finished bridge which was to be assembled in pieces, reached Lucknow in August, 1816. However, in the meantime, Saadat Ali Khan died and was succeeded by his son, Ghazi-ud-din Haider. Although, the new Nawab accepted and paid for the

Bridge upon its arrival (Pounds 12,822),[32] he did not move to erect bridge. When pressed by the British to do so, the Nawab reasoned that: (1) it was too expensive to put-up the peers which were needed to support the bridge, and (2) it was unlucky to continue a project started by his father.[33] The validity of this latter argument, is especially discounted since the Nawab continued to construct projects started by his father in the Chattar Manzil palace.[34] Therefore, it is likely that Ghazi-ud-din Haider's reluctance was tied to a realization that the site the British chose was motivated by political and military interests. This is supported by the fact that the Nawab, because his father, Saadat Ali Khan, had deliberately taken pains to ensure that the British military force stayed away as far as possible from the city, did not want the

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[30]Hay 97.
[31]Hay 97.

[32]Jones, Fatal 76.
[33]Jones, Fatal 77.
[34]Jones, Fatal 77.

Bridge erected as it would be contradictory to such a policy.

Frustrated, the British made several fruitless attempts to persuade the Nawab to erect the Bridge. The urgency of their actions, such as offering to bear all of the expenses in constructing the Bridge's foundation,[35] is significant and a clue to their real motivations. The reasoning goes that if the British were willing to pay for the Bridge's foundation, they must have desperately wanted the bridge erected on the specific site they had chosen.

The British also tried to convince the Nawab "to erect in His Majesty's Dominions this Striking Specimen of British Art and Skill,"[36] on its technological and artistic merits. However, if the British wanted the Bridge erected for purely aesthetic reasons, then it would have been logical for them to

have accepted an offer by, Nawab Ghazi-ud-din Haider, to erect the Bridge anywhere else they liked in India.[37]

With the succession of the throne by, Nasir-ud-din Haider, the son of Ghazi-ud-din Haider, who "surrounded himself with Europeans wherever possible and was at the mercy of any degenerate rascal who happened to come along so long as he was a European,"[38] the British saw an opportunity to persuade the new Nawab to erect the Bridge. Finally, in 1828, after twelve years of unsuccessful persuasion, the British were able to convince the Nawab to erect the Bridge. This change in Nawabi policy was most likely due to the new Nawab's, "love of mechanics."[39] However, due to various construction related delays, the Iron Bridge was not completed until 1843.

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[35]Jones, Fatal 77.
[36]Warren Hastings qtd. in Jones, Fatal 76.

[37]Jones, Fatal 77.
[38]Hay 36-7.
[39]Hay 36.

In summary, British "interests"[40] in erecting the Iron Bridge were primarily aimed at shortening the distance between the Cantonment and the Residency, "as well as provide a vital alternative crossing point should the Stone Bridge ever fall into enemy hands or be rendered unfit for use."[41] This strategy can be deduced through the following evidence: (1) the persistence demonstrated in their attempts to persuade the Nawabs to erect the Bridge -- a period of over twelve years, (2) they offered to pay to erect the Bridge themselves, (3) they did not accept the Nawab's offer to erect the Bridge elsewhere in India, and (4) according to Dr. Login, the Resident British Surgeon, "the accommodation in the Cantonment began to be regularly used after the opening of the 'Bridge and the direct roads to the Cantonments.'"[42]

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[40]Majumdar 15.
[41]Jones, Fatal 77.
[42] Login qtd. in Jones, Fatal 79.

The Lucknow-Kanpur Road

Another development project undertaken by the Nawabs through British persuasion was the Lucknow to Kanpur Road. After the disbandment of the Nawab's army under the Treaty of 1801, it was stipulated that British troops would be employed to protect Awadh. Since one of the largest British garrisons was in Kanpur, eight hours from Lucknow, a direct route from Lucknow to Kanpur became necessary. In addition to protecting the Nawab, the British were conscious that a new road between Lucknow and Kanpur would also serve their interests in protecting the Residency. That is, the same troops that could be called in from Kanpur in the service of the Nawab, could also be employed to protect the Residency in the event of an uprising in Lucknow.

While the Nawabi domain existed in the west of the city, in the Macchi Bhavan complex, the

Nawabs had direct access to Kanpur by a road that cut through the dense city. However, for British troops who might be called in from Kanpur to protect the Nawab, this route presented the same problem as did the Stone Bridge. That is, if British troops had to enter the Nawabi domain, they would have to traverse the dense indigenous city (figure 29). Therefore, when Saadat Ali Khan expanded the Nawabi domain towards the east of city, to where the Chattar Manzil now stands (figure 30), the Nawabs no longer had a direct road which connected their palaces to Kanpur. This also meant a further increase in area through the dense city that British troops would have to cross in order to reach the Nawabi domain. Traversing the dense city was poor military strategy for reasons discussed later in chapter four.

Therefore, with the expansion of the Nawabi domain to an area which was adjacent to the Residency, the British saw another opportunity to persuade, "the Nawab to pay for a scheme beneficial to the Company."[43] When the Nawabi domain expanded to the area near the Residency, the British sought to persuade the Nawab to construct a new road on grounds that there was no longer a direct route from his own domain to Kanpur. Therefore, when Muhammad Ali Shah, became the Nawab in 1837, due to British interference in his ascension to the throne (see time-line), the British proposed the construction of a new road from Lucknow to Kanpur, originating from the Residency (**figure**).

The conditions under which, Nawab Muhammad Ali Shah, ascended the throne and the "engagements"[44] he promised by which he agreed to "sign any new treaty [in the future] that the Governor General may dictate,"[45] suggests that it was no coincidence that the Nawab consented to construct

[43]Jones, Fatal 84.
[44]Majumdar 299.
[45]Nawab Muhammad Ali Shah qtd. in Majumdar 299.

and pay for the new road exactly as the British proposed in 1840. After it was determined that the costs of the road had been underestimated, the Political Department of the Company in Calcutta petitioned the Nawab for more money, describing the new road as being "an important line of communication."[46] The Nawab obliged, and the Road was completed in 1842. Four years later, a new Nawab Amjad Ali Shah, the son of Muhammad Ali Shah, under whom the Iron Bridge was finally erected, extended the Road to also connect the Mariaon Cantonment. Therefore, by 1846, the British had succeeded in laying a military infrastructure which resolved the spatial disjointedness that obstructed the efficiency of British institutions, namely the Residency and the Cantonment, which were absolutely essential to the process of British

colonial formation (figure 31). This scheme was entirely financed by the Nawabs.

Conclusion

The two primary institutions by which the British assumed political control and marginalized the influence of the Nawabs in Lucknow, were the army and the office of the British Resident. As the power of the British Resident increased in Lucknow, his influence was symbolized by the location of the Residency site and in the neo-Classical design of its main building. The challenge that the Residency site posed to the Nawab's authority, forced him to seek the relocation of the Residency. The refusal of the Company to move, despite their official position as the Nawab's guests, demonstrates the importance of spatial location in British colonial formation in India.

The location of the British Cantonment on the far outskirts of the city, was a spatial manifestation of

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[46]Jones, <u>Fatal</u> 85.

the ethnographic differences which formed the basis of colonialism in India. The steps taken by the Nawabs to restrict British military encroachment into the city, suggests the growing influence of the army as an instrument for interference in the Nawab's administration.

The development projects undertaken by the Nawabs at the behest of the British were aimed at establishing spatial linkages between the Residency and the Lucknow and Kanpur Cantonments. These institutions formed the basic infrastructure by which the British were able to manipulate, control and annex Awadh in 1856. This annexation resolved the spatial conflict and political ambiguity when the British forced the Nawab to vacate the Chattar Manzil, thereby eliminating the Nawab as a competing power in Lucknow.

The next chapter deconstructs the Orientalist knowledge-structure which formed the basis of the architectural criticism of the nineteenth century. It also examines the role such architectural criticism played in justifying the British annexation of Awadh in 1856.

Chapter 3

Architectural Criticism: Instrument for Political Control

Architectural criticism played a crucial political role in the marginalization of the Nawabs and in the annexation of Awadh by the British in 1856. In order to deconstruct and analyze the European criticism targeted at the architectural productions of the Nawabs, it is prudent to evaluate the larger antiquarian, imperialist, and semantic context in which Indian architecture and development was interpreted during the pre-colonial (1757-1857) and colonial (1858-1947) periods.

The earliest attempts to represent India's indigenous architecture originated in the form of scenic pictorial sketches by traveling artists such as William Hodges (1780-1783), William and Thomas Daniell (1795-1803).[1] These direct pictorial representations were realistic, mostly devoid of ideological intent and served the purpose of communicating the exotic nature of India's heritage to the viewer in Britain.

This mode of realistic portrayal and visual representation paralleled the decrease in the political power of the English aristocracy and the consequent shift in the nature of artistic patronage which primarily shifted to the bourgeoisie. With this shift, the preferences and tastes which had been dominant and specific to the aristocracy were supplanted by the preferences and tastes of the bourgeoisie. Among the differences between the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie was the movement away from a highly fanciful and illusionary portrayal of events, to a more realistic representation of the human condition.

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[1] Thomas Metcalf, <u>An Imperial Vision: Indian Architecture and Britain's Raj</u> (Berkeley: U. of California, 1989) 17.

Therefore, inspired by Denis Diderot (1713-1784), a French art critic from the second part of eighteenth century, "realistic sets and visual tableaux were becoming common theatrical expressions reinforcing the demand for silent (non-ideological) theatrical tableaux over the earlier abruptive changes of narrative pace and theatrical shock."[2] In such a context, the realistic, though silent paintings of the Daniells', formed a series of pictorial tableaux (scenographic space) in which the actors (the English) moved. The intent therefore was to communicate to the English audience the context in which the representatives of the East India Company operated. By doing so, these representations connected the spectator (the viewer in Britain) to the actor's (British East India Company's) space through romantic enthrallment or contemplation rather than through authoritative and didactic ties. This pictorial method of representation therefore, did not attempt to classify Indian buildings, nor did it inform of their "age or relative antiquity."[3]

Following in the genre of this period (late eighteenth century), also known as the "Age of Reason," European representations, both written and pictorial, of late eighteenth century architecture in Lucknow reflected the open-mindedness of the inquiring mind, which was a characteristic feature of this era.[4] Gladwin's (1785) description of Macchi Bhavan area in Lucknow can be regarded as an excellent example of such objective writing and can be seen to parallel the art of the Daniells, in which the purpose of description and delineation was to

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[2] Christine Boyer, The City of Collective Memory: Its Historical Imagery and Architectural Entertainments (Cambridge: MIT, 1994) 95.

[3] James Fergusson, On the Study of Indian Architecture, 1866 (Varanasi: Indological Book House, 1977) 71.
[4] Rosie Llwelyn Jones, A Fatal Friendship (Delhi: Oxford UP, 1992) 175.

convey information free of ideological underpinnings.[5]

Some of the key scholarly achievements of this age on India, were accounts by European travelers on their new discoveries of the architectural sites of Ajanta, Ellora and the Kailash temple.[6] The discoverers of these sites were "children of the era of Romanticism,"[7] who were so impressed by the pictorial scenography and the "sublime grandeur" they experienced, that they did not subject these sites to detailed historiographical treatments or to ideological engagements.

At this time, however, none of these individual sites fitted into the larger Orientalist discourse (unified theory aimed at the construction of knowledge of India's past), which was to emerge at the turn of the nineteenth century. According to

Edward Said, the Orientalist discourse "presents itself as a form of knowledge that is both different from, and superior to, the knowledge that the Orientals [Indians] have of themselves."[8] Thus, the larger conception of Indian history implied the ordering and classification of India's past into a strategic framework that enabled the emerging British colonial-capitalist machine to control India's history.

As the East India Company's position in India gradually changed from a trading company to that of an emerging imperial power with wide ranging political ambitions, the British sought to control, master, and represent India's past, including its architectural historiography (figure 32) and political geography (figure 33), in ways that served its imperialist aspirations. According to Nelson Goodman, "the knowledge of the knower is not a

[5] Jones, Fatal 175
[6] Metcalf, Imperial 25.
[7] Metcalf, Imperial 25.

[8] Edward W. Said, "Orientalism," The post-colonial studies reader, Eds. Bill Ashcroft, et al. (London: Routledge, 1995) 88.

disinterested mental representation of an external, natural reality. It is a construct that is always situated in a world apprehended through specific knowledge and motivated by practices in it."[9] The British intent, therefore, was to construct and represent India's architectural history into a synthetic knowledge-power framework that would serve the larger concept of imperialism and cultural hegemony.

The enterprise to control India's past was led by James Fergusson, a British architectural historian, who first came to India as an indigo farmer in 1835, and who extensively documented and catalogued architectural icons throughout the sub-continent. Fergusson's documentation of Indian history followed the Orientalist construction of knowledge which was based on categories and matrices, whose combinations and permutations of sites and styles

could deal with any type of critical treatment that the colonialist agenda dictated. Through Fergusson's epistemology, the British found a way to construct and control India's past in order to make its present less ambiguous for their own purpose.

Fergusson's construction of India's architectural history into stylistic categories invoked the antiquarian knowledge structure of Renaissance and ancient Greek philosophy which placed scientific categorization and a search for technical perfection at the core of its operational method. Fergusson's work (a contemporary of Charles Darwin) paralleled Darwin's revolutionary work, *The Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection*, published in 1859. The link between biological organisms that Darwin proposed, traced the biological evolution of the human race -- of which Darwin gave the highest rank in his model. Human beings, Darwin suggested, were the most recently evolved species in the larger

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[9]Goodman qtd. in Inden, Imagining India (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990) 33.

process of evolution and had reached their current state of advancement through: (1) their struggle for existence, and (2) their survival as the fittest. These two building blocks of the evolutionary model that Darwin proposed were appropriated by empirical historiographers as a way to legitimize the knowledge-power structure of imperial control. The invocation of biological antiquity sought to legitimize the classification of peoples by their race, religion, language, caste, and cultural norms, as either being "Progressive" or "Decadent." By linking Western progress to the idea of "survival of the fittest," Orientalist historians sought to classify "Others" (Indians) and their culture as "decadent," while they classified themselves as "progressive."[10]

Darwin's theories also suggested that the process of evolution was linear.[11] For the Orientalist, this signified that if a culture was set on a "decadent" path there could be no reversal. The only recourse for the "decadent," was to subjugate itself to the powerful and fresh force signified by the "progressive" colonial powers. By the virtue of being superior, the "progressive" race had to control and educate the "decadent."

The obsessive engagement with classification as a mode for attaining control, led Orientalist scholars to identify the most readily identifiable fault lines (social differences) in the structure of Indian society. The authentication of societal groups and classes based on religion, caste, language, and racial origins fit the knowledge-power structure that the imperial agenda sought to impose on Indian history.

[10]James Duncan, "Sites of Representation: Place, time and the discourse of the Other," Place/Culture/Representation, Eds. James Duncan and David Ley. (London: Routledge, 1993) 44.

[11]Neil A. Campbell, et al, Biology: Concepts & Connections (Redwood City: Benjamin/Cummings, 1994) 260.

Despite their immense disdain for Hinduism, which the British reasoned was the root of India's historic and particularly its architectural decadence, they nonetheless directly borrowed the categories by which the Brahminical model had stratified Indian society in constructing their own knowledge of India.[12] In fact, the British "took to referring to themselves as 'white Brahmins', at the pinnacle of the caste system"[13] (figure 34).

The rigid classifications and divisions of Indian styles by the Orientalist, sought to construct permanent oppositions and divisions in India's architectural heritage and its formal vocabulary. Therefore, British synthetic taxonomies determined the conditions under which indigenous or other architectural styles could overlap. Consequently, the British were able to control and sanction the cross-fertilization of architectural styles.

At the same time, under the stewardship of James Mill[14] and James Fergusson, the British also created new classifications to impose their linguistic ideology via the nomenclature they assigned to a particular style.[15] The Nawabi architecture of Lucknow was therefore easily termed, The "Bastard"[16] Style. This linguistic symbolism elevated British self-representation in two ways. First, by calling Nawabi architecture "Bastard" architecture, it could be concluded that the hybridization of styles and elements was immoral and the British were superior in their knowledge and understanding of architecture. Secondly, if Nawabi architecture was "Bastard architecture," then, by extension, those who

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[12]Thomas Metcalf, Ideologies of the Raj, The New Cambridge History of India (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1994) xi.

[13]Margaret, MacMillan, Women of the Raj, 1988. (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1996) 57-58.

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[14]James Mill was an influential British political theorist who published his first work, History of India, in 1817.

[15]Duncan 49.

[16]Fergusson qtd. in Metcalf, Imperial 38.

lived behind its wall were also "Bastards" (immoral) or inferior to the British who basked in Victorian morality. This in effect helped the British to legitimize in their own minds the annexation of Awadh whose immoral value system could only be set straight under direct British rule.

The Orientalist scholars who engaged in the ordering of Indian history, accepted that India had in the past a "golden age" of art, architecture, and culture. Their reference point for this argument was the uncovering of Gandharan sculptures in Northwest India which pointed to ancient ties between India and classical Greece.[17] These scholars laboriously maintained that, since the time these sculptures had been created, Indian society had stagnated, been contaminated by internal influences, and along with its art, architecture, and culture had

declined. Metcalf argues that these scholars were committed to the argument that inspite of its golden age, at no time could Indian architecture stand in comparison with that of Europe's.[18] Grounded firmly in Orientalist scholarship, Fergusson's states, "It cannot of course be for one moment contended that India ever reached the intellectual supremacy of Greece, or the moral greatness of Rome."[19] Even though Fergusson accepts that "Indian buildings display an exuberance of fancy, lavishness of labor, and an elaboration of detail to be found nowhere else,"[20] and that these buildings are "important" for the purposes of art, Fergusson does not hesitate to declare that Indian buildings "contain nothing so sublime as the hall at Karnac, nothing so intellectual as the Parthenon, nor so constructively grand as a

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[17]Gandhara was a province located at India's northwest borders. Alexander's armies retreated from Gandhara after his unsuccessful attempt to conquer the world.

[18]Metcalf, Imperial 26.
[19]James Fergusson, History of Indian and Eastern Architecture. 1876. (Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1967) 4-6.
[20]Fergusson, History 1.

medieval cathedral."[21] Thus, Indian architecture and culture -- in Orientalist representation -- was intrinsically connected to the idea of subsequent or imminent decline. By standing in direct opposition to the concept of English progress, this theory of India's decline, provided the intellectual legitimacy and moral justification for British intervention and political control.

Lucknow proved to be an excellent laboratory for testing the Orientalist theory of India's imminent decline, decadence, and fall from earlier glory. An Orientalist scholar, Dr. A. Fuehrer, who was also the Curator of Provincial Museum in Lucknow around the time of the annexation of Awadh in 1856, wrote:

> Nowhere can we see more markedly the influence of a depraved oriental court and its politics upon art and architecture than in Lucknow. Whilst some of the tombs, masjids, and portals, erected by Asaf-ud-daula and Ghazi-ud-din Haider...*have a strong smack of the old solemn sepulchers of a better age...*the more modern buildings of Nasir-ud-din Haider and Wajid Ali Shah are the most debased examples of architecture to be found in India.[22]

Feuhrer's comparative criticism of early Nawabi architecture (1722-1798) to later Nawabi architecture (1799-1856) highlights two major points which require further analysis. First, there is a celebration of antiquity (a better age), even though, the actual span of time over which all Nawabi architecture was produced was less than 150 years (1722-1856). This suggests that Dr. Fuehrer invoked past glory to suggest present decadence for symbolic purposes rather than for an empirical purpose. Secondly, the extensive use of classical elements in later Nawabi buildings (especially the Kaiserbagh) had a disturbing affect on the British imperial psyche, which was comparing all architecture against the rubric of Greek architectural elements and their

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[21]Fergusson qtd. in Metcalf, Imperial 26.

[22]Fuehrer qtd. in Jones, Fatal 240.

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Hellenic assemblage. The early Nawabi architectural productions were entirely constructed in an indigenous style and used local elements derived form indigenous tradition, the later Nawabi architecture, in the Orientalist view incorporated European architectural elements promiscuously. By challenging the antiquarian sanctity of classical elements, later Nawabi architecture created moral confusion for the British who were influenced by strict Victorian ideals and sense of morality. The extensive destruction and demolition of Nawabi architectural buildings, which took place in 1858 after the recapture of Lucknow, was a desperate attempt to permanently resolve the crisis. This destruction and demolition will be discussed in the next chapter.

Greek Antiquity: An Imperial Resource

The emerging knowledge-power axis in Imperial Europe, put Greek antiquity as a source of English culture. Consequently, the English saw themselves as the inheritors of Alexander's vision of ruling the world. As early as 1781, William Hodges compared British colonial cities with "an appearance similar to that we may conceive of a Grecian city in the age of Alexander."[23] The British obsession with pure classical architecture in their Imperial domain can be understood in the words of Herbert Baker,[24] who in the early twentieth century reasoned that classical architecture was superior "for its eternal principles of ordered beauty."[25] The elements of classical architecture fitted the British conception of how a world-wide empire should be represented. After all, classical architecture incorporated an aesthetic perfection that symbolized timelessness, and therefore proclaimed the superiority of the

[23] Hodges qtd. in Nilsson, European Architecture in India 1750-1850 (London: Faber and Faber, 1968) 26.

[24] Herbert Baker was the architect of two secretariats on the Raisina Hill in Imperial Delhi. Baker and Edwin Lutyens were the architects responsible for the design of Imperial New Delhi.

[25] Baker qtd. in Metcalf, Imperial 15.

Western culture that created it. Paradoxically, however, this enterprise for a grand classical architectural vocabulary, brought to the foreground the incomplete nature and the insecurity of Britain's empire in India during the nineteenth century.

By the 1850s, even though the British had emerged as a colonial power by virtue of their superior military force achieved through technological advancements, as a government their influence had not yet penetrated Indian society at all levels. At this time the British had not articulated for themselves a clear conception of their position as an imperial power in India. In fact, their knowledge of India was inadequate to deal with the complexities of its diverse society. They therefore continued to operate as a mercantile company leaving the reins of direct administration, minus military control, in the hands of provincial rulers[26] including the Nawabs of Lucknow (until 1856). In such a context, it is not surprising that the European building enterprise in India was by necessity directed to an European and largely classical idiom. European classical architecture in India was not only meant to represent an empire, its job was also to represent the overall military and cultural supremacy of the West which would draw the attention of the native Indian population.

Foremost, the introduction of European architectural styles affected the Nawabs and court elites who saw in European architecture the vision of the modern world they sought to enter. With their political power significantly depleted (after the Treaty of Benaras in 1773), the Nawabs attempted to portray

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[26]The arragement by which the British controlled provincial rulers is known as *subsidary alliance*. Several of these provinces were annexed by the British prior to 1856. For further information on subsidary alliance, see R.C. Majumdar, ed., British Paramountcy and Indian Renaissance, 11 vols. (Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1963. Vol 9) 10-95, 295-311.

that their status was undiminished by building a series of palaces, namely (1) Macchi Bhavan (1775),[27] (2) Daulat Khana (1775-1784),[28] (3) Chattar Manzil (1814- 1827),[29] and (4) Kaiserbagh (1848-1850).[30] Each palace was more splendid and extravagant than the one it followed. The savings accrued to the Nawab's exchequer as a result of the forced disbandment of his army in 1801,[31] was directed towards luxurious spending including the building of palaces and houses.[32] In addition to encouraging the Nawabs to build palaces for themselves, the British also convinced the Nawabs to create infrastructure and institutions for the city which would serve British interests. Consequently, the production of these luxurious, non-functional, architectural entertainments, which freely borrowed European classical elements, came into direct confrontation with Orientalist scholars who believed in the purity of classical architectural assemblage. In fact, Fergusson argued that "there existed certain absolute rules of [classical] architecture applicable to all buildings everywhere."[33] That so few of these Lucknowi buildings could meet classical canons of taste, derived from European standards, was in the mind's of English architectural critics, symptomatic of the decadence of Lucknow's culture and political society.

The Politics of Culture

The English strategy in India was well articulated. The inducements offered by Western

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[27]Even though the Awadh Gazetter records that the Macchi Bhavan existed since 1743, it was only under Asaf-ud-daula in 1775, that the Macchi Bhavan was converted into a splendid palace. See Sidney Hay, Historic Lucknow (Lucknow: Pioneer Press, 1939) 160-1.

[28]Abdul Halim Sharar, Lucknow: The Last Phase of an Oriental Culture (Paul Elek, 1975) 47.

[29]Awadh Gazetteer 371.

[30]Awadh Gazetteer 373.

[31]See Time-line for further details.

[32]Jones, Fatal 177.

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[33]Metcalf, Imperial 34.

technology, fashion, culture, and other finished products were bound to expose the Indian to the "rationality" and "modernity" of European civilization. There are several records that the Nawabs of Lucknow were exposed to European products that affected all spheres of their lives and drew them to appreciate the rationality and technology of European architecture.[34] A piece written by Fergusson in 1862, exposes the fact that the British were fully aware of the connections between minor cultural appropriations by Indian rulers and their appropriation of European architectural themes and elements for the production of their domestic architecture. Fergusson writes:

> When we find the surtout-coat and tight fitting garments of the West in possession of the streets of Constantinople, superseding their own beautiful costume, we ought not to be surprised at the 'Orders' [of classical

architecture] being introduced simultaneously: and when native princes in India clothed their armies in caricatures of European infantry, it was impossible that they should escape the architectural contagion also.[35]

However, British architectural critics and British historians of India were never comfortable with the appropriation of classical elements, i.e. "the elements of European architectural heritage"[36] by native rulers in their buildings since these appropriations exposed the contradictions inherent in the very nature of the British colonial intent.[37]

There was an underlying contradiction between the British sense of being indispensable to India and the simultaneous recognition that it was possible to "re-make" the Indian through Western education. The colonial project to re-make the Indian on Western lines was meant to perpetuate British control of India. The deposition of Wazir Ali, and the

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[34]For an excellent discussion of the inducements made to the Nawabs, see Rosie Llwelyn Jones, A Fatal Friendship. Delhi: Oxford UP, 1992.

[35]Fergusson, History 409.
[36]Metcalf, Imperial 16.
[37]Metcalf, Imperial 16.

seating of Saadat Ali Khan, to the throne of Awadh, who was educated under English tutelage, is an example of the British using Indians trained in the Western tradition to further their colonial objectives. After the introduction of English education in India, graduates trained in the Western manner were deemed fit to serve in the lower ranks of government, while the top positions went to the British. It was believed that once a cadre of Indian trained in the manner formed, dependence on European supervision would be lessened, and by extension "the British empire in India would be unnecessary."[38] Symptomatic of such conflict, the use of classical elements in architecture during the Nawabi period was charged with semantic and ontological paradox.

The confusion caused by this paradox situated itself as a methodological tool in the colonial political enterprise. Whenever, the British, or their local allies, used classical architectural elements and symbolism for their own buildings, it was either condoned or benignly critiqued by the English critic. However, whenever the Nawabs, or those native rulers who were opposed to the British control of India, appropriated classical elements for their buildings, their buildings were severely condemned by the critics, articulating the connection between politics and architectural criticism in the colonial enterprise.

Commenting on the late nineteenth century British comparative criticism of Jai Vilas Palace[39] (figure 35) in Gwalior (completed 1874) with the Kaiserbagh Palace (figures 36, 37) in Lucknow (completed 1850), Metcalf observes: "Of necessity the British judged this structure [Jai Vilas] less harshly

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[38]Metcalf, Imperial 16.

[39]G.H.R. Tillotson, The Tradition of Indian Architecture: Continuity, Controversy and Change since 1850 (New Haven: Yale UP, 1989) 27-8.

than those of the erstwhile Nawabs of Oudh [Kaiserbagh]. Sindhia [King of Gwalior] had after all supported the Raj in 1857, despite the mutiny of his own troops."[40] Nawab Wajid Ali Shah's sympathy with rebellious troops invited condemnation from critics of Kaiserbagh Palace and wrath never before seen from the British, "when they raced from room to room in a perfect orgy of destruction in 1858."[41]

Before and after the annexation of Awadh, Nawabi buildings which had appropriated classical elements of architecture, were singled out for severe architectural criticism. Jones argues that architectural elements recognizable to the British eye invited criticism because they spontaneously struck an immediate response in their mind.[42] It was easier for the British "to condemn a structure because its Corinthian columns are too attenuated, its cornices too shallow or too deep, or its statues inappropriate, than for the same European to criticise a Hindu or Muslim building."[43] It is not surprising therefore that Nawabi structures which were free from European influence, in particular the Rumi Darwaza, the Great Imambara, and the buildings of the Macchi Bhavan did not attract poignant criticism.[44]

The application of borrowed classical elements confronted not only the antiquarian purity of those elements that had become the norm and reference point for Orientalist historiography, but also challenged the very foundation of the international-colonial-capitalist enterprise, which legitimized the very presence of the English in India. We have seen before that according to King, the essence of the colonial enterprise was in stability of the core-periphery relationship that the colonial enterprise

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[40]Metcalf, Imperial 111.
[41]Jones, Fatal 177-78.
[42]Jones, Fatal 236.

[43]Jones, Fatal 236.
[44]Jones, 236.

represented. In the period between the eighteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century, the European colonizing powers formed the core of the global political economy. This core consisted of European states which had an advanced technological and industrial infrastructure. The periphery on the other hand consisted of colonized states (including India) who were providers of raw materials to the factories of the West for the production of finished products. These finished products then found a market for themselves both in the core as well as in the periphery. The politico-economic structure of the core-periphery was therefore based on the extraction of profits from the periphery's urban centers and its transfer to serve the core's economy. The advanced modes of production employed in the metropolitan areas of the core and the consequent expansion of scientific knowledge in the modern age, helped to create a power structure which marginalized the periphery, both economically and politically.

This core-periphery relationship, therefore, explains the position of England as the locus of the Eurocentric colonial discourse in relation to India. It also helps to explain the structural essence of colonial architecture especially symbolized by the emergence of the *Indo-Saracenic* style in the latter part of the nineteenth century.

The Politics of Representation

The Indo-Saracenic style emerged in response to the ideals of "power" in the idiom of colonial representation as captured in King's Core-Periphery model. This style of architecture sought to integrate the elements of "traditional" (both Hindu and Muslim) Indian architecture with an European plan that served the needs of the colonial institutions it housed. The logic of the plan therefore was analogous to and represented the core, while the

Indian architectural elements that adorned the facades represented the periphery. Tillotson describes the Indo-Saracenic style as one where "the planning and massing of the buildings was always thoroughly Western, and the revived Indian forms are merely sprinkled over a frame which is usually Gothic and sometimes classical."[45] Tillotson's description of the morphology of the Indo-Saracenic style fits perfectly with the Core-Periphery model of a capitalist political economy proposed by King. The periphery (Indian architectural elements) was once again at the service of the core (the Western style structure and mass of the building). This unique similarity between the structure of the international colonial enterprise and architectural assemblage, points to the power-knowledge dialectic of the colonial method in India. Metcalf and Tillotson argue that after thorough contemplation and research on the implications of

the power-knowledge of this style, the British sanctioned it with their official approval.[46] Tillotson states, "It had for them [the Maharajas] a double advantage: on the surface, it was an Indian style and so enabled them to acknowledge their cultural roots, but it was at the same time an Imperial style, with British sanction."[47]

Metcalf argues that "much of the appeal of the Saracenic style [to the British] was to be found in its association of the arch and dome with early Christendom, with the Roman and Byzantine Empires, and with Renaissance notions of ideal beauty."[48] This style, through its structural system of arches and domes, also represented the superiority of European technology through its "economical management of stress," which avoided "the vast

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[45]Tillotson 54.

[46]Metcalf, Imperial 57-58; Tillotson 49.
[47] Tillotson 49.
[48]Metcalf, Imperial 58.

application of materials in its most weighty and expensive form."[49]

Returning to my earlier argument, the stylistic incorporation of classical European elements in Nawabi buildings fundamentally challenged the colonial representation of power. By reversing the core-periphery structure, which had facilitated the strength of the British colonial enterprise in India, Nawabi architecture symbolized the Nawab's refusal to accept the British as masters and to validate their control of India.

Furthermore, the casual way in which classical elements were used, undermined the power of the British to control the periphery. The reduction of classical orders into ornate pilasters portrayed the British as weak and their Greek heritage secondary to the Nawabs' Persian/Ottoman heritage. Consequently, Orientalist critics were severe on the

appropriation of classical elements by the Nawabs for their buildings. Fergusson singled-out the assemblage of classical elements in the Kaiserbagh Palace to suggest the inferiority of its designers relative to British designers who were the heirs of classical antiquity. Reinforcing his belief as to who should form the core, and who should form the periphery of the colonial power structure, Fergusson writes:

> No native of India can well understand either the origin or motive of the various parts of our Orders-why the entablature should be divided in architrave, frieze, and cornice-why the shafts should be a certain number of diameters in height, and so on.... In India, besides this ignorance of the grammar of the art, the natives cannot help feeling that the projection of the cornices is too small if meant to produce a shadow, and too deep to be of easy construction in plaster in a climate subject to monsoons. They feel that brick pillars ought to be thicker than the Italian Orders generally are, and that wooden architraves are the worst possible mode of construction in a climate where wood decays so rapidly, even if spared by white ants. The consequence is, that between his ignorance of the principles of

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[49]Metcalf, Imperial 58.

Classic Art on the one hand, and his knowledge of what is suited to his wants and his climate on the other, he makes a sad jumble of the Orders. But fashion supplies the Indian with those incentives to copying which we derive from association and deduction and, in the vain attempt to imitate his superiors he has abandoned his own beautiful art to produce the strange jumble of vulgarity and bad taste we find at Lucknow and elsewhere.[50]

The above passage highlights the intrinsic relationship between the power-knowledge structure of the colonial order and the Orientalist architectural criticism which blatantly appropriated Greek antiquity to marginalize Nawabi architecture. By extension, this criticism established a hierarchy to rank the intellect and morality among the builders of different architectural forms. That is, in the context of British colonialism in India, classical Greek architectural elements were held in the highest esteem, followed by Indo-Sarcenic architecture which had official sanction, while later Nawabi architecture was seen as decadent and inferior. In contrast, contemporary architectural critics who look at later Nawabi architecture have taken a more compassionate approach by exposing the Orientalist intellectual space in which colonial criticism was located. For example Tillotson writes:

> In the last century, the Nawabs of Lucknow were widely perceived as dissolute and incapable, and it was alleged by some of the early critics that the evident decadence of Nawabi architecture was a reflection of the decadence of the court; for they supposed that architecture is always in some way, principally and by necessity, an embodiment of the age that produces it. They transferred a part of their contempt for the people to the architecture: expecting buildings always to reveal the character of their creators, they confounded moral with aesthetic judgments.[51]

Therefore, by indexing everything that was Indian and measuring it against the highest level of their own civilization, the British created "a sort of

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[50]Fergusson, <u>History</u> 327-328.

[51]Tillotson 15.

architectural...fallacy"[52] which justified their political annexation of Lucknow.

Conclusion

This chapter demonstrates the connection between Orientalist architectural criticism and colonial political formation in Lucknow. There seems to be a direct correlation between the representation of Nawabi architecture as decadent and the consequent justification by the British that they had the moral authority to annex different provinces throughout India, most particularly Awadh.

This chapter leaves open several other areas for further research on how architectural criticism was used for political control. One of these themes is the colonial perception of gender and its representation in the formal structure of Indian architectural productions. As Metcalf argues: "With the growth of empire, gender, like race, helped define the contrast between ruler and ruled and so provided a way to order Britain's relations with its Indian subjects."[53] In other words, the British considered themselves to be masculine -- "strong, active and intellectual"[54] -- while the British viewed Indians to be feminine -- "fragile, passive and emotional."[55] It goes without saying, that the British valued characteristics which they labeled masculine over feminine traits. Consequently, British civilization -- its architecture and its architectural elements -- symbolized masculinity and embodied "rationality" and "reason."

Since, Greek architecture was embodied in stone, stone came to symbolize solidity and power, the essential elements of masculine energy. There

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[52]Tillotson 15.

[53]Metcalf, Ideologies 93.
[54]Metcalf, Ideologies 93.
[55]Metcalf, Ideologies 93.

was no representational contradiction between the conception of stone as a masculine material, and the masculinity of Grecian architectural elements. Through the amalgamation of 'idea' (form) and 'medium' (material) an "ultimate truth"[56] (the final architectural product) was manifested and incorporated in the colonial discourse.[57] Any violation of this "ultimate truth" suggested cultural blasphemy. Since "ultimate truths" are hegemonistic in nature this naturally fit the British imperial enterprise in India.

The next chapter investigates urban transformation in Lucknow beginning in 1858 -- after the First War of Indian Independence. These transformations were violently brought about with the demolition of two-fifths of the indigenous sections of Lucknow. The urban surgery the British performed was clearly an experiment in colonial social control. The chapter first explains the urban structure of pre-colonial Lucknow as evidenced from the archeological remains of the pre-colonial city, contrasted with the urban structure that emerged in the aftermath of the revolt.

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[56]The term "Ultimate Truth" was coined by Hegel in his book, The Philosohy of History.

[57]George Soros, "The Capitalist Threat," Atlantic Monthly Feb. 1997: 45.

Chapter 4

Colonial Urban Transformation: Instrument for Political and Social Control

The period between 1856-1858, marks a disruption in the historic continuity of Lucknow as an Islamic city. During this time a series of critical events took place: (1) Awadh was annexed by the British in 1856, (2) taken over by Indian troops in 1857, and (3) recaptured by the British in 1858. For the British, this event was a manifestation of their fear of "what could happen if the Indians decided that they had had enough."[1] After recapturing Lucknow from Indians troops, who had held the city captive for seven months, the British, with fresh memories of personal imperilment, sought ways to ensure that another uprising would never again occur. To do this, the British performed extensive surgery upon the urban fabric of Lucknow, destroying two-fifths[2] of the pre-colonial city and designing a new urban structure for Lucknow which would impose colonial social control and make the city safe for the British.

The Pre-colonial Urban Structure

Pre-colonial (pre-1857) Lucknow was a typical Indian Islamic city with an inward looking settlement pattern (figure 28). The urban structure of the pre-colonial city can be classified into four domains: (1) the Nawab's domain and the adjacent British Residency, (2) dense indigenous quarters, (3) the district of Chauk, and (4) the European residential domain -- Hazratganj (figure 28). In order to interpret the drastic urban changes imposed upon Lucknow following the First War of Indian Independence in 1857, it is prudent to compare and contrast the

[1]Margaret MacMillan, Women of the Raj, 1988. (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1996) 11.

[2]Rosie Llewellyn Jones, "The Courtly Style: The Remaking of Lucknow," Architecture in Victorian and Edwardian India, Ed. Chistopher W. London. (Bombay: Marg Publications, 1994) 79.

morphology of Lucknow prior to the War and after. It is only through such structural analysis that the representational contrast of Lucknow in pre-colonial and early colonial times (1858-1870) can be fully appreciated. The most effective way of comprehending the pre-colonial city is to interpret the four domains discussed above and then to understand their mutual interdependence.

The Nawab's Domain

The Nawab's domain extended along the south bank of the River Gomti, and primarily consisted of residences for the Nawab, his family members, important court officers, and religious buildings. The important Nawabi residences were Machhi Bhavan (figure 38), Daulat Khana, Farah Baksh (figure 39), Chattar Manzil (figure 40), and the Kaiserbagh Palace (figure 41). The important religious buildings were the Jama Masjid (figure 42), Hoseinabad Imambara (figure 43), and the Asafi or Great Imambara (figure 44).

The Nawabi residences were urban citadels (figure 45) and mansions which were morphologically not unique to Lucknow. Historian Stephan Blake has observed the presence of similar structures in Shahjahanabad (pre-colonial Delhi) in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[3] In terms of morphological structure, these Nawabi complexes were similar to the those found in Istanbul under the Ottomans and in many older urban citadels throughout Near East and North Africa.[4] Other scholars have also observed a remarkable similarity between the Round City of Baghdad and the Nawabi domain of Lucknow. According to Lassener, "both were concentric in their structure and replicas of a

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[3]Keith Hjortshoj, "Urban Structures and Transformations in Lucknow India," Thesis (Cornell, 1979) 50.
[4]Hjortshoj 52.

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large Islamic city with spatial functions hierarchically distributed away from the center."[5]

According to Viscount Valentia (1811), an English traveler, who had been invited by the Nawab to his residence, Daulat Khana, one had to pass through a series of four gateways and courtyards before finally arriving at the doorstep of the Nawab.[6] These layers of walls (figure 46) separated the Nawabi domain from the outside world. Protected by these walls, the Nawabs in their own domain created residences furnished with "luxurious pools, fountains, saunas, pleasure gardens, pavilions, private mosques, legions of servants, and entertainments"[7] (figures 47, 48). The privacy in the confines of these layer of walls also enabled the Nawabs to promote a unique culture for Lucknow's

poetry, crafts, dance, music, painting, literature, etiquette, fashion, and unique cuisine.

In its morphological essence, the structure of the Nawabi citadel was similar to the indigenous house as analyzed in chapter one. By positioning the palace at the center of the layered arrangement of walls, the Nawabi domain was able to construct a desired spatial and social hierarchy enabling the principal residence to be intensely private. The inward looking and metaphorically concentric domain of the Nawabi citadel, was structurally separate, but at the same time able to remain economically, culturally, and socio-politically integrated with the rest of the city.

Indigenous Settlements

The densely populated settlements of the residents of Lucknow, surrounded the Nawabi domain and extended south, away from the banks of the River Gomti (figures 49, 28). The morphological

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[5]Lassener qtd. in Hjortshoj 52.
[6]Hjortshoj 46.
[7]Hjortshoj 47.

structure and social context of the indigenous house has been analyzed in chapter one of this thesis. Extending from this work, this section will focus on the morphology of the urban fabric and the politico-economic context in which these residential settlements existed.

The parts of Lucknow which escaped demolition and urban surgery in 1858, after the War, remind us of Lucknow as a pre-colonial Islamic city. These parts have remained insulated within the urban fabric (figure 31) and provide clues to the structure of the pre-colonial indigenous city and its society. The structure of the pre-colonial city has been characterized as highly dense and labyrinthine in which every spatial arrangement is in some way enclosed and defined by its association with specific groups, institutions, commercial activities, and any other homogenizing attribute (figure 50).

The narrow lanes which surrounded indigenous houses in the pre-colonial city were a confusing intricate network of passages that rarely led to open spaces (figure 51). They wound endlessly among sheer walls, as slots in the urban structure, connecting at frequent intersections with other almost identical lanes that wound among other walls. In the early 19th century, these lanes which varied in width between three and twelve feet, were the only routes through the city. To protect against possible intrusion, these streets led through hundreds of gates and endless doorways to specific enclosures that could easily be closed-off, and defended as separate fortresses (figure 52). Therefore, if the pre-colonial city would have been viewed from a bird's eye view, it's morphology would have shown a complex of enclosed compounds. From these compounds would emerge:

courtyards and formal gardens, wells, temples, mosques and other shrines, artificial ponds and fountains, stables and pavilions, small bazaars and caravan serais, bounded by high walls and gates, mounted by domes and minarets, and threaded by irregular narrow passages.[8]

Since labyrinthine structures are difficult to comprehend, a stranger to the narrow lanes would have seen almost nothing but blank walls and jagged rooftops, beneath which she would have been extremely vulnerable (figure 53). While the lanes of these dense environments provided necessary access to urban residents and to their own familiar localities and destinations, they effectively restricted access to strangers.

When the British annexed Awadh from the Nawab in 1856, the lines of communication with the Mariaon Cantonment came under direct British control. Despite the British implementation of public projects (as discussed in chapter two) geared toward the protection of the Residency in the event of an uprising, the British army had neglected to understand the intricate structure of the indigenous city. As Oldenburg argues: "In a British map of Lucknow there is no attempt to delineate more than a few major thoroughfares; the major part of the city is a simply shaded patch labeled 'dense' (figure 54)."[9] As it turned-out, this failure to comprehend the indigenous city was the foremost reason why the British lost control of Lucknow.

Chauk: The Commercial District

The commercial district of Chauk, was to the south of the Asafi Imambara as shown in (figure 28). This was one of the earliest settlements in Lucknow and dates back to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. During the height of the Mughal Empire,

[8]Hjortshoj 40-41.

[9]Veena Talwar Oldenburg, The Making of Colonial Lucknow 1856-57 (Delhi: Oxford UP, 1989) 28.

in the sixteenth through seventeenth centuries, the center of the Chauk district was inhabited by diverse classes of Hindu and Muslim nobles, merchants, craftsman, and other occupational groups. Over time the commercial district of Chauk shifted south to its present location around the Akbari Darwaza, from its earlier location from the edge of Lakshman Tila adjacent to Macchi Bhavan near the River Gomti[10] (figure 31). This shift to the south was brought about by: (1) constant flooding caused by the river, (2) increasing density of its earlier location, and (3) fortification of palace complexes around its earlier location.[11] By 1800, the present Chauk area was at a considerable distance from the citadels of the Nawabi domain, and had become the chief commercial center of the city, as well as the representative center of its

heterogeneous population and its cultural life (figures 31, 55).

The areas surrounding Chauk, however, had its own unique citadel structures which were extensions of indigenous dwelling units. These extended units enclosed different qualities, such as different social relationships and different functions within the city at large. These structures were called *mohallas* or *tolas*, the English equivalent of the word colony[12] (figures 31, 50).

The basic difference between the Nawabi citadel and the mohalla, was that the former enclosed a status hierarchy of greater heterogeneity, like a small city in itself, while the latter enclosed a homogeneous population, members belonging to a specific caste, kin group, occupational category,

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[10]Hjortshoj 58.

[11]Hjortshoj 58.

[12]Anthony D. King, "Rethinking Colonialism: An Epilogue," Forms of Dominance: On the Architecture and Urbanism of the Colonial Enterprise, Ed. Nezar AlSayyad. (Aldershot, England: Avebury, 1992) 348.

regional community, or religious sect (figure 56). In light of this, the mohalla should be visualized as a cluster of houses, usually with contiguous walls, associated with a specific group of people and their common qualities (figure 50, 52). Like the divisions between indigenous houses, the divisions between mohallas were often difficult to distinguish when viewed from within the narrow lanes of the pre-colonial city. As in the case of the indigenous house, the distinguishing features of these mohallas were primarily internal, having to do with the spatial arrangements, relationships, and occupations contained within.

In a study of the Rastogi[13] community in Lucknow, Indu Sahai suggests the morphological reasons for equating the mohalla with a Nawabi citadel. She describes:

The Rastogi tola contains large houses with very narrow lanes sometimes making it impossible for two persons to walk side by side. The whole locality can be closed from the outer world by six or seven gates at nights; in old quarters most of the houses have one such window which opens into another house thus connecting scores of houses internally. The Rastogi do not generally want to settle in other more fashionable localities as they cannot get such security elsewhere. Two things force the people to live in the same congested localities: one is that these localities are made almost in the form of a "kila" [citadel] where access is difficult and regulated.[14]

Even though Rastogi's are a Hindu community, similar structures are also common among Muslim occupational and kin groups, regional groups, and other communities. The ability of urban structures to consciously isolate communities, implies that these mohallas were organized as homogeneous social, cultural and economic units, rather than as parts of broader socio-

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[13] The Rastogis are a Hindu merchant community. They are primarily in the jewelry business.

[14]Sahai qtd. in Hjortshoj 65 .

economic systems, such as the caste system of a Hindu village. As participants in these homogeneous communities, residents of these mohallas had much broader affiliations with traditions that extended beyond the city and in turn sometimes defined broader relationships within the city itself. Lucknow was home to settlers from all over India, especially renowned artists from the weakening Mughal court at Delhi. These settlers, when they arrived in Lucknow formed independent communities which were distinct from the other communities of the city. Abdul Halim Shahar, in his book, *Lucknow: The last phase of an Oriental Culture*, states:

> From Delhi...Nobles, scholars, poets, devout and pious men all came to Lucknow. A strange thing is that the Delhi social community that became established in Awadh was confined to people of Delhi alone. There were no outsiders and there was no place in it even for the most honored of old Lucknow residents.[15]

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[15]Abdul Halim Sharar, Lucknow: The Last Phase of an Oriental Culture (Paul Elek, 1975) 185.

Extending from this, Hjortshoj argues that the totality of the indigenous city and the homogeneous structure of the mohalla, meant that there were few clear, socio-economic networks among individual groups. Thus, commercial activity in pre-colonial Lucknow was fully decentralized and existed on the surface of the exterior walls of houses. In doing so, the pre-colonial house in Lucknow integrated the indigenous household with the commercial domain and mercantile activities which were unique to these specific localities.

Since people associated with unique occupations or professional expertise often lived together in a concentrated locality, or in one of several, similar localities in different parts of the city, bazaars were (as they are today) usually commercial extensions of the mohalla. The shops of a specific occupational group, in most cases, were arranged along the walls of one of the lanes, usually the widest

in the mohalla, constituting a specialty bazaar, in which goods and prices among the shops were nearly identical (figure 55). To a stranger in these parts of the city, these specialty bazaars would have been very difficult to locate in the maze of its lanes.

Unlike the commercial markets of Western cities where the traveler is taken to open squares and public places, in pre-colonial Lucknow the traveler would be taken through a narrow lane, the Chauk Road (figure 28), that cut like a tunnel through the core of the pre-colonial city. The surroundings of the Chauk Road were home to the finest artists, scholars, and craftsmen of the city. These luminaries were actively employed by the Nawabs for their entertainment and for the promotion of Islamic culture. The massive buying power of the prosperous Nawabi domain and the large number of people that it supported, contributed to the prosperity of the residential-commercial settlements surrounding it.

Commerce in the pre-colonial city extensively depended upon the consumption of the Nawabi domain. Therefore, even though the Nawabi domain was morphologically separated from the residential and commercial parts of the city, it firmly supported the social, cultural, and religious institutions of the indigenous society.

The European Domain

While the European domain primarily consisted of private houses, socially and politically it extended to include the British Residency and the distantly located Mariaon Cantonment. While the Residency was adjacent to the Nawabi domain, the houses of Europeans, were located east of the pre-colonial city in the area known as, Hazratganj (figure 54). The location of the European domain at the eastern fringe of the city reflected the Nawabs' view of the British as representatives of an extremely alien culture and a politico-economic force that was rapidly

encroaching upon their territory. Therefore, due to spatial segregation, the British were confined to the Nawabi domain or Hazratganj and had little contact with the indigenous quarters in which most people lived.[16]

As the British settled to the east of the city, one of their chief complaints was that city lacked proper streets. In response, Sadat Khan, the Nawab, constructed a *ganj* (a commercial street) to connect the European domain with the British Residency and the greater Nawabi domain[17] (figures 28, 24). In 1828, Walter Hamilton, a British officer, described this Hazratganj[18] (figures 57, 58) as:

> A very handsome street, after the European fashion, above a mile in length, with Bazaars striking out at right angles, and a well built new Chauk in the center with a lofty gateway

at each extremity, which presents a Grecian front on one side and a Moorish one on the other.[19]

This "handsome street," was enclosed by the tall gates and walls of surrounding buildings. It connected Farah Baksh with Dilkusha which was on the eastern periphery of the city. Since this area of the city was restricted to the Nawabi elite and the British, it never acquired the typical characteristic of a pre-colonial Chauk, with its dense quarters and narrow lanes. Succeeding Nawabs built a number of large palace compounds, shrines, barracks and other structures around Hazratganj.

This section of the city, now known as New Lucknow, until 1858 remained an area almost entirely composed of European and Nawabi buildings. Europeans rarely ventured beyond this area into the indigenous city. Therefore, the contact of the British with native elites was restricted to

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[16]Hjortshoj 87.

[17]Jones, Fatal 48.

[18]Besides being the name for the area where the Europeans lived, the word Hazratganj was also the name of the street which ran through this area.

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[19]Hamilton qtd. in Hjortshoj 87-88.

extremely formal relations. Thus, Hazratganj and its surrounding areas formed the natural setting for the formation of a truly hybrid Anglo-Indian urban structure.

Interdependency between domains

In summary, the urban structure of pre-colonial Lucknow consisted of four distinct domains: (1) the Nawabi domain and the adjacent British Residency, (2) dense indigenous quarters, (3) the district of Chauk, and (4) the European residential domain. Even though distinct from each other, the Nawabi domain, the indigenous quarters and the Chauk were intrinsically inter-dependent upon each other economically, socio-politically, and culturally. In pre-colonial Lucknow, these links were inconspicuous. In contrast, every time the Mughal elites moved, the entire indigenous population connected with their settlements would also relocate. Unlike the settlements of the Mughals, the Nawabs

of Lucknow were never on the move with the intent of expanding their territories. This invisible and stable interdependence of the Nawabi domain and the indigenous residential and commercial domains, was key to the emergence of a flourishing Islamic city.

The fourth domain which consisted of the European quarter was an add-on to the city and symbolic of the presence of an alien power at the fringes of Lucknowi society. Due to its physical location at the eastern edge of the city (figure 28) and various socio-political barriers, the European domain had little interaction with either the Nawabi domain, the Chauk or the indigenous settlements. When the British did interact with the Nawabi domain, it was through a formal code of public[20] etiquette. The

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[20]Jürgen Habermas, The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society, 1962. Trans. Thomas Burger and Frederick G. Lawrence. (Cambridge: MIT, 1995) 58.

layers of walls which surrounded the Nawab's citadels and the role of the Resident as the arbitrator for all Europeans residing in Lucknow, further accentuated the separation of the two domains. As Benjamin Disraeli writes in his novel *Sybil, or the Two Nations* (1846), the relationship between the British and Indians can be described as:

> Two nations; between whom there is no intercourse and no sympathy; who are ignorant of each other's habits, thoughts, and feelings, as if they were dwellers in different zones, or inhabitants of different planets; who are formed by different breeding, are fed by different food, are ordered by different manners, and are not governed by the same laws.[21]

Consequently, the Europeans remained oblivious to the indigenous social network and combined with their lack of understanding of the physical intricacies of the indigenous quarters led to the defeat of the

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[21]Disraeli qtd. in Christine M. Boyer, The City of Collective Memory: Its Historical Imagery and Architectural Entertainments (Cambridge: MIT, 1994) 189.

British army and the capture of the Residency in 1857.

The aim of the preceding analysis is to help understand the pre-colonial urban structure of Lucknow before its annexation by the British in 1856. This analysis provides the foundation to comprehend the urban surgery imposed upon Lucknow -- resulting in the virtual destruction of the pre-colonial city -- in the aftermath of the First War of Indian Independence.

Urban Transformations

After consistent political and administrative interference in its affairs, Awadh was annexed in February 1856 by the East India Company. The Nawab was deposed of his ruling and administrative powers, but was allowed to retain his property and residences within the city. Around the same time, the brewing discontent amongst *sepoys*, junior Indian army officers in the British army, of which nearly one-

third came from Awadh, erupted into the First War of Indian Independence in 1857. Metcalf and other historians have argued that one of the principal reasons for this revolt was the prevalent fear of forced conversion to Christianity and the belief that the British were out to destroy the dietary norms (banning of pork for Muslims and beef for Hindus) prescribed by the religious beliefs held by Indian army personnel.[22]

The seizure of the British Residency during the War and its difficult and costly recapture (after the loss of 4000 British and Indian lives - (figure 59) in March 1858, have been topics of much historical debate, but are beyond the scope of this thesis. However, in light of the War and the consequent conversion of the city into a battlefield, it is prudent to understand the militaristic problems posed by the pre-colonial urban structure of Lucknow. This in turn will demonstrate the principal motivation for the British to perform massive urban surgery after their recapture of Lucknow.

As discussed in chapter two, the public projects undertaken by the Nawabs at the suggestion of the British, were for the primary purpose of ensuring that the Residency would be protected in the event of a riot, so that British troops could move in from the Mariaon and Kanpur Cantonments to protect the Residency. The key reason for the fall of the Residency was that the connecting roads to both of these cantonments were surrounded by a labyrinth of indigenous houses and narrow lanes. To the English troops, the labyrinth was incomprehensible: "There seem[ed] to be a pattern and then, suddenly, the piece tumble[d] about. ... Other patterns appear[ed] but never the same ones."[23] On the other hand, the

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[22]Thomas R. Metcalf, The Aftermath of Revolt: India, 1857-1870 (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1964) 46.

[23]MacMillian 12.

Residency remained fully exposed to the Indian soldiers, many of whom were natives of Lucknow and knew the area well. While the Indians could attack the British in guerrilla-style warfare from within the maze of the indigenous city, the British who did not understand the indigenous city's structure, were unable to retaliate and detect from where they were being attacked. Henry Davis Willock, who was present in Lucknow during the War writes:

> The city [indigenous settlement]...is skirted by very thickly wooded gardens, with high wall of mud, and long, narrow lanes, with straggling lines of houses and mud huts forming excellent covers for the enemy, who only fight behind mud walls. ... while roads were picked and routes determined. ... [We] had to pass under the very walls while the rebels [Indians] hurled down stones and bricks...a fierce fire being kept up from the loopholes. ... It was cruel work; brave troops being exposed to such unfair fighting. What can men do against loopholed houses? ...We ran the gauntlet regularly through the streets. ...Our men were knocked down like sheep without being able to return the fire of the enemy with any effect.... Excited men can seldom fire into loopholes with any certainty...with sheets of fires shooting out from the houses. On we went about a quarter of a mile, being peppered from all sides. ... Their guns poured in round-shot day and night, being placed in such dodgy places that our batteries could make no impression upon them. The engineers had so little time to run them up, that most of them were, from a military point of view quite useless, being exposed to the fire of guns from positions which they had no power of commanding.[24]

It was only after several unsuccessful attempts that the British were able to recapture the Residency in March 1858.

After the city was recaptured by British troops, the ideological and functional key stone of the imperial urban policy for Lucknow was established. The new British urban policy was aimed at reconsolidating Lucknow as the seat of regional authority in Awadh. The policy makers aimed to perfect a system of political, economic, and social

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[24]Willock qtd. in Oldenburg 24-5.

control that would lessen the likelihood of future revolts. In doing so, the discourse on city planning reflected the insecurity and fear that pervaded the European community, and engaged in transforming the city to create a rebellion-proof environment that restored the confidence of the new ruling class: "They could not tolerate ambiguities and uncertainties in their approach to India because it was not safe."[25] It also focused on making Lucknow a solid base from which the rest of Awadh could be governed and revenue collected.

At a functional level, four imperatives dominated British urban policy after the War and formed its rationale for urban surgery and transformation. These imperatives were: (1) safety, (2) order, (3) sanitation, and (4) securing the loyalty of the residents of Lucknow.[26] This section first investigates the morphological manifestations of these imperatives and proceeds to discuss the more ideological and semantic alterations aimed at an intended representation of the city within the colonial political discourse.

Napier's Urban Surgery

In the aftermath of the War, two-fifths of the city was demolished, disrupting the historic existence of Lucknow as an indigenous Islamic city. The British prescription for reconstructing the city was designed by Robert Napier, a Military Civil Engineer, who had built a reputation for himself through his interventionist designs in several other Indian cities, namely Ambala (1841) and Kote Kangra in Punjab, Darjeeling in Bengal, and Delhi.[27]

Napier's interpretation of Lucknow is mirrored in Hobsbawm's description of the model of

[25]MacMillan 12.
[26]Oldenburg xv.

[27]Oldenburg 30-31.

an "ideal city for riot and insurrection."[28] Hobsbawm suggests a conceptual framework for this ideal city for riot and insurrection:

> Suppose, then we construct the ideal city for riot and insurrection. ... It ought to be densely populated and not too large in area. Essentially it should still be possible to traverse it on foot. ... It should perhaps not be divided by a river, not because bridges are easily held by the police, but also because it is a peculiar fact of geography or social psychology that the banks of a river look away from each other, as anyone living in South London or on the Paris left bank can verify. Its poor ought to be relatively homogeneous socially or racially. ... It ought to be centripetal, that is to say, its various parts ought to be naturally oriented towards the central institutions of the city, the more centralized the better.[29]

Napier perceived Lucknow as an ideal city for riot and insurrection because like the city Hobsbawm describes in his model, Lucknow was densely populated and not too large, its population not

divided by the River Gomti, and its indigenous settlements surrounded the central institutions of the city -- the Nawabi domain.

Napier's prescription for Lucknow is evident in his "Memorandum on the Military Occupation of the City of Lucknow, dated March 26th, 1858."[30] According to Oldenburg, this memorandum laid out the basic foundation of Napier's plan. The key components of the plan were: (1) establishment of military posts throughout the city, (2) removing all physical and visual obstructions from around these posts, (3) opening broad streets for communication and movement of troops.[31]

Several important buildings, including some along the river, were taken-over by the British for the establishment of military posts (figure 60). These buildings included the residences of the Nawab and

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[28]Eric Hobsbawm, Revolutionaries: Contemporary Essays (New York: New American Library, 1973) 222.
[29]Hobsbawm, Revolutionaries 222.

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[30]Oldenburg 30.
[31]Oldenburg 31.

religious buildings like the principal Imambaras. The Macchi Bhavan Palace, which had a commanding view of the both the Iron Bridge and the Stone Bridge and the dense indigenous city, was converted into the central military headquarters of the British. A 600 foot-wide strip of land was cleared off around Macchi Bhavan which was in the most heavily populated and densest part of the pre-colonial city. Napier ordered that all military buildings must have individual esplanades and those buildings not required for military use be cleared, so that "'the buildings occupied by our [British] troops' could not be approach[ed] under cover and 'may command as great a range as possible.'"[32]

The process by which Napier transformed Macchi Bhavan from a Nawabi palace to a British military fort, parallels Hausmann's method for transforming the urban structure of Paris beginning in 1852. Like Napier's transformation of Macchi Bhavan, Hausmann had:

> developed a unique manner of creating a monument by isolating it from its original urban fabric, destroying its original functions, erasing its heterogeneous supports, and then placing this context-free object in a completely redesigned sceneographic space...reconfiguring it as the focal perspective point of new axial boulevards.[33]

In this way, Napier sought to transform Macchi Bhavan from a Nawabi structure into an European-like building. That is, by removing the dense settlements surrounding Macchi Bhavan, Napier created an open-space around the building which resembled the open spaces around the European buildings in Lucknow. By doing so, Napier successfully translated previously incomprehensible -- and thus uncontrollable -- Nawabi/indigenous space into one which could be controlled by the

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[32]Oldenburg 35.

[33]Boyer, Collective 185.

British. Similarly, between Jama Masjid and Constantia all indigenous housing settlements were cleared and many Nawabi palaces transformed to ensure the safety and unobstructed movement of British troops.

In order to facilitate movement of British troops from the acquired Nawabi buildings, a network of wide streets was cut through the city. Originating from Macchi Bhavan, these streets superimposed an order, engineered control, and ensured frictionless access of troops to any part of the city where they were required. The concept of wide and imposing streets, cutting across the city may have been inspired by Haussmann's design of Paris (figures 61, 62). As Oldenburg argues:

> The construction of boulevards undertaken as a remedy in European capitals that had recently (1848) been threatened by revolutionary mobs profoundly influenced military engineers entrusted with the redesigning of vulnerable cities elsewhere. The redoubtable Haussmann, who rebuilt Parisian main streets so that they could not be easily barricaded, probably inspired a good deal of the esplanade and road construction that became the vogue in Indian cities after 1857.[34]

The process of opening enclosed structures was drastically and violently implemented: "Anything that came into the path of a proposed road, be it a house, cemetery, or mosque, was summarily leveled"[35] (figure 63). Several Nawabi buildings which were citadel-like in nature, and were enclosed from all sides and accessible only through gateways, were dramatically altered. The connecting gateways were appropriated as access routes and the building compounds were freely partitioned to create boulevard-like roads. The most notable of these roads was the Mall, which was formerly the street that connected the Farhah Baksh Palace to Dilkusha. This road was widened and extended through to Macchi

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[34]Oldenburg 33.
[35]Oldenburg 34.

Bhavan and beyond to the Jama Masjid (figure 56). In the process, several Nawabi palaces were split-open. The demolition of the Kaiserbagh Palace which had started in 1858 immediately after the War, culminated in the destruction of the entire northern section of the palace in 1870.

To the south-east of the pre-colonial city, a new cantonment, "the institutionalized form of settlement for military representatives of British colonial power in India,"[36] was established on the site formerly occupied by the Dilkusha Gardens (figure 60). This cantonment was one of the largest in the country. The Charbagh area, which was near the new cantonment, was converted into a railway station (figure 64) thereby linking the cantonment with other parts of India to facilitate quick deployment and diversion of troops. The imposing

building of the Railway Station dominates the sky-line when viewed from the dense settlements (figure 65).

The center of administration was moved east to where the former European domain flourished during the rule of the Nawabs. This area was re-named from Hazratganj to Civil Lines. This name-change was symbolic of colonial nomenclature imposed upon Lucknow and was part of the greater colonial process of renaming streets and buildings throughout the city.[37]

Civil Lines was mainly a residential area for the use of Europeans, the non-military community comprised of civil servants, traders, shopkeepers, and school teachers. Both the residents of Civil Lines and the cantonment occupied plush Bungalows.[38] A post-

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[36]Anthony D. King, Urbanism, Colonialism, and the World-Economy: Cultural and Spatial Foundations of the World Urban System (London: Routledge, 1990) 97.

[37]Paul Carter, "Naming Place," The post-colonial studies reader, Eds. Bill Ashcroft, et al. London: Routledge, 1995) 405.

[38]For an excellent discussion on the Bungalow and its position within the global capitalist-imperialist enterprise, see

office was built with an imposing clock tower (figure 66). The Civil Lines area along with the cantonment and the railway station constituted, "New Lucknow." The link between the Civil Lines, the new cantonment and the railway station provided a sense of security for the colonial residents. "Not only could the troops quickly come to the defense of civilian families but these families could hastily withdraw into the cantonment or be evacuated form the city by rail."[39]

Conclusion

The transformations brought about in the urban structure of Lucknow were aimed at making the city safe, controllable, and orderly for its new rulers -- the British. In the aftermath of the War, two-fifths of the city was destroyed and indigenous settlements along the Nawabi domain and the banks of the River Gomti were cleared to facilitate smooth movement of British troops positioned in the Nawabi buildings acquired by the British. Significant portions of the Kaiserbagh Palace and the Chattar Manzil palace complex were demolished. Macchi Bhavan was converted into the main military post and became the center for the physical and social control of the pre-colonial city. Inspired by Haussmann's re-construction of Paris, Robert Napier's plan for Lucknow super-imposed wide, open streets and boulevards on the dense urban structure of the pre-colonial city, in the process destroying several indigenous morphological, economic and cultural links.

The urban structure of pre-colonial Lucknow was dictated by the layers of inter-connections between the ruling aristocracy and the settlements surrounding their citadel. Although the British

Anthony D. King, Urbanism, Colonialism, and the World-Economy: Cultural and Spatial Foundations of the World Urban System. London: Routledge, 1990.
[39]Oldenburg 60.

allowed some of the urban aristocracy to retain their titles and wealth after the War, many of those who had close connections to the Nawabs lost their political status and most of their properties were acquired by the British government. The flourishing culture and Nawabi patronage was the economic spine of the pre-colonial city. Thousands of people who had depended upon the aristocracy for their livelihood were left unemployed and the traditions that distinguished Lucknow as a great cultural center were suddenly without patronage. Thus, the institutional, cultural and economic links connecting the aristocracy and the indigenous residential-commercial domains collapsed -- rendering the pre-colonial city isolated, severely impoverished and virtually desolate.

The only buildings which escaped urban surgery were the religious buildings and shrines (figures 67, 68) which did not stand-in the way of the new network of roads for the access of British troops. Immediately after the recapture of Awadh, most of the religious buildings of the pre-colonial city became the property of the British government and were used as armories for troops positioned in military outposts created within the former Nawabi palaces.

The key factor contributing to the survival of religious buildings was a change in British policy towards India after 1858. The revolt had informed the British of the futility and the symbolic consequences of interfering in the cultural and religious ways of indigenous life. Once the military superiority of the British had been successfully demonstrated in the War, "a theory of authority became codified" based on the ideas and the assumptions of a power structure in which the British were to become "insiders" in India.[40] The shift of British power from

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[40]Bernard S. Cohn, "Representing Authority in Victorian India," The Invention of Tradition. Eds. Hobsbawm, Eric, and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1983) 165.

that of an indirect influence in the administration of Lucknow to that of direct rulers implied a paradigm shift in imperial discourse on power: "They were to be at once invaders from outside, and rulers from within."[41] Therefore, one of the earliest proclamations of Queen Victoria (November 1858), stated that, "all her Indian subjects were to be secure in the practice of their religions," and "due regard would be paid to ancient rights, usages and customs of India."[42]

The epilogue will examine the ideological implications of Lucknow's urban transformation and the representation of its pre-colonial city as "traditional" within the discourse on power as conceived in the aftermath of the War. It will also analyze the synthetic oppositions resulting from

imperial consolidation in 1858 -- the idea that everything indigenous was "traditional," while British technology, power, and institutions in the New City symbolized the "modern."

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[41]Thomas R. Metcalf, Ideologies of the Raj, The New Cambridge History of India. (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1994) 148.

[42]Cohn 165.

Epilogue

The body of this thesis investigates the representational, functional and ideological mechanisms by which architecture and development projects were employed in the service of British colonial formation in Lucknow. This epilogue highlights the representational effects and ideological symbolism of urban surgery performed upon Lucknow's urban fabric in the aftermath of the First War of Indian Independence.

The impact of urban surgery upon pre-colonial Lucknow primarily occurred in its field of representation. Prior to the re-annexation of Lucknow in 1858, the principal elements of British self-representation in the city consisted of: (1) European-style houses, (2) the British Residency, and (3) infrastructure development projects with the intended purpose of advancing European political dominance. While these projects were few in number and physically isolated in the European and Anglo-Indian parts of the city, as a representational medium, their field of influence was potent and far-reaching. After the re-annexation of Lucknow, the British sought to transform the entire city into a canvas on which colonial ideology and its power-knowledge relationship could be represented.

While in the eighteenth century, British representations of India highlighted the racial and culture differences of the English and Indians, the nineteenth century marked the use of time, history, and space as resources for manifesting these differences. In that sense, "the nineteenth century became the century of spatialized time,"[1] in which, "differences were increasingly converted into history, and history explained in terms of evolution."[2]

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[1]James Duncan, "Sites of Representation: Place, time and the discourse of the Other," Place/Culture/Representation, Eds. James Duncan and David Ley. (London: Routledge, 1993) 46.
[2]Duncan 46.

Darwin's theory of biological evolution and Spencer's theory of social evolution reinforced the prevalent propensity to "temporalize the Other."[3] The tremendous interest in evolution increased the desire of the British to represent Indians as examples of how their ancestors once lived. *Beyond* Britain therefore came to symbolize *before* Britain. Thus, pre-colonial socio-economic and political structures came to symbolize the "Old" or the "Traditional."[4]

Napier's urban transformation of Lucknow which imposed scientific "discipline"[5] through social control, was followed by the shift of Lucknow's political and cultural power center to the European domain. This shift permanently established the pre-colonial city as the "Old" or the "Traditional" (the fallen) city, in contrast to the "New" (the rising) city, of the British. As Said argues: "The Orient has helped to define Europe (or the West) as its contrasting image, idea, personality, experience."[6] In the "totalization"[7] of the "Old" city, the idea that the pre-colonial city had been "a place of romance, illusions, exotic beings, haunting memories, landscapes, and remarkable experiences,"[8] was fixed upon Lucknow's indigenous culture. In doing so, the "scientific discipline" by which Napier performed his urban surgery sought to establish "a single narrative truth [of British modernity] which was [to be] the closest possible representation of [all future] events."[9] Thus,

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[3]Duncan 46.

[4]Shirine Hamadeh, "Creating the Traditional City: A French Project," Forms of Dominance: On the Architecture and Urbanism of the Colonial Enterprise, Ed. Nezar AlSayyad. (Aldershot, England: Avebury, 1992) 241.

[5]Michel Foucault, The Archeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language, 1969. Trans. A.M. Sheridan Smith. (New York: Pantheon, 1972) 178.

[6]Edward W. Said, "Orientalism," The post-colonial studies reader, Eds. Bill Ashcroft, et al. (London: Routledge, 1995) 87.

[7]Linda Hutcheon, The Politics of Postmodernism, (London: Routledge, 1993) 62.

[8]Said 87.

[9]Hayden White, Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth Century Europe, (Baltimore: John Hopkins UP, 1973) 11.

Napier's plan introduced the "problem of [urban] space [as a] historico-political problem."[10]

In this way, the representation of the "Old" city, also suggests that its societal values, rituals, routines, functions, organization, space, and economics were presented as impediments to progress and change. It is in this sense that the notion of the "Traditional," stripped the indigenous city of its potential for future transformation and excluded it from the historical continuum: "in a sense it [the indigenous city] had happened, its time was over."[11] This mode of representation negated the indigenous micro-economic structures and imposed the larger macro-economic framework of the "homogenizing"[12] global world economy in which the pre-colonial city stood as an isolated island.

Therefore, the contrasting representation of the rise and fall of two urban structures -- European and indigenous -- within the same city, served to "total[ize] history,"[13] and therefore marginalize Lucknow's past and everything that was indigenous. In this sense, the pre-colonial city of Lucknow, an icon of indigenous culture and institutions, was permanently destroyed. Since then it has never recovered.

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[10]Foucault qtd. in Gregory 302.

[11]Said 87.

[12]Derek Gregory, Place/Culture/Representation, Eds. James Duncan and David Ley. (London: Routledge, 1993) 287.

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[13]Hutcheon 63.

ILLUSTRATIONS
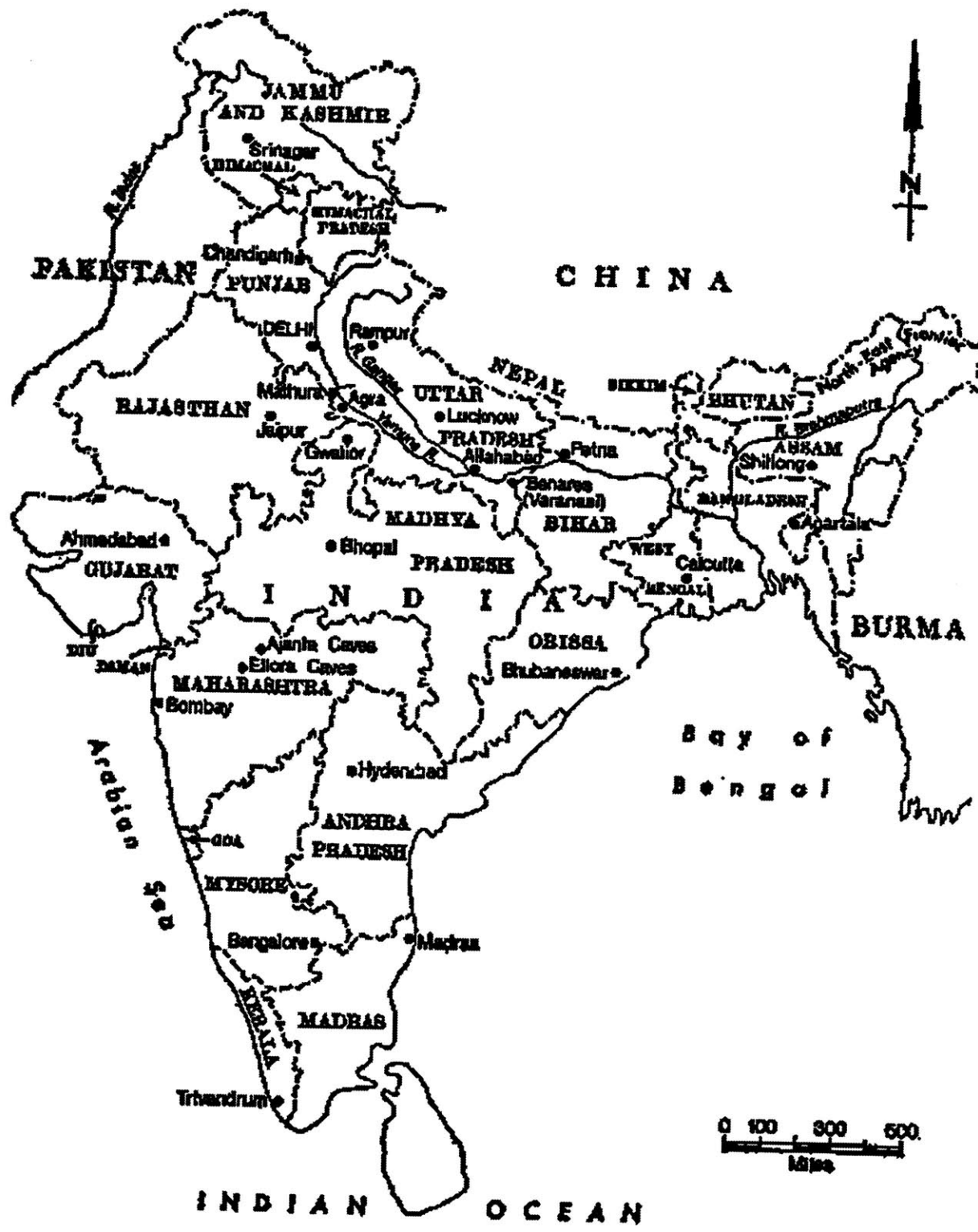
Figure 1: Contemporary Map of India showing Lucknow.
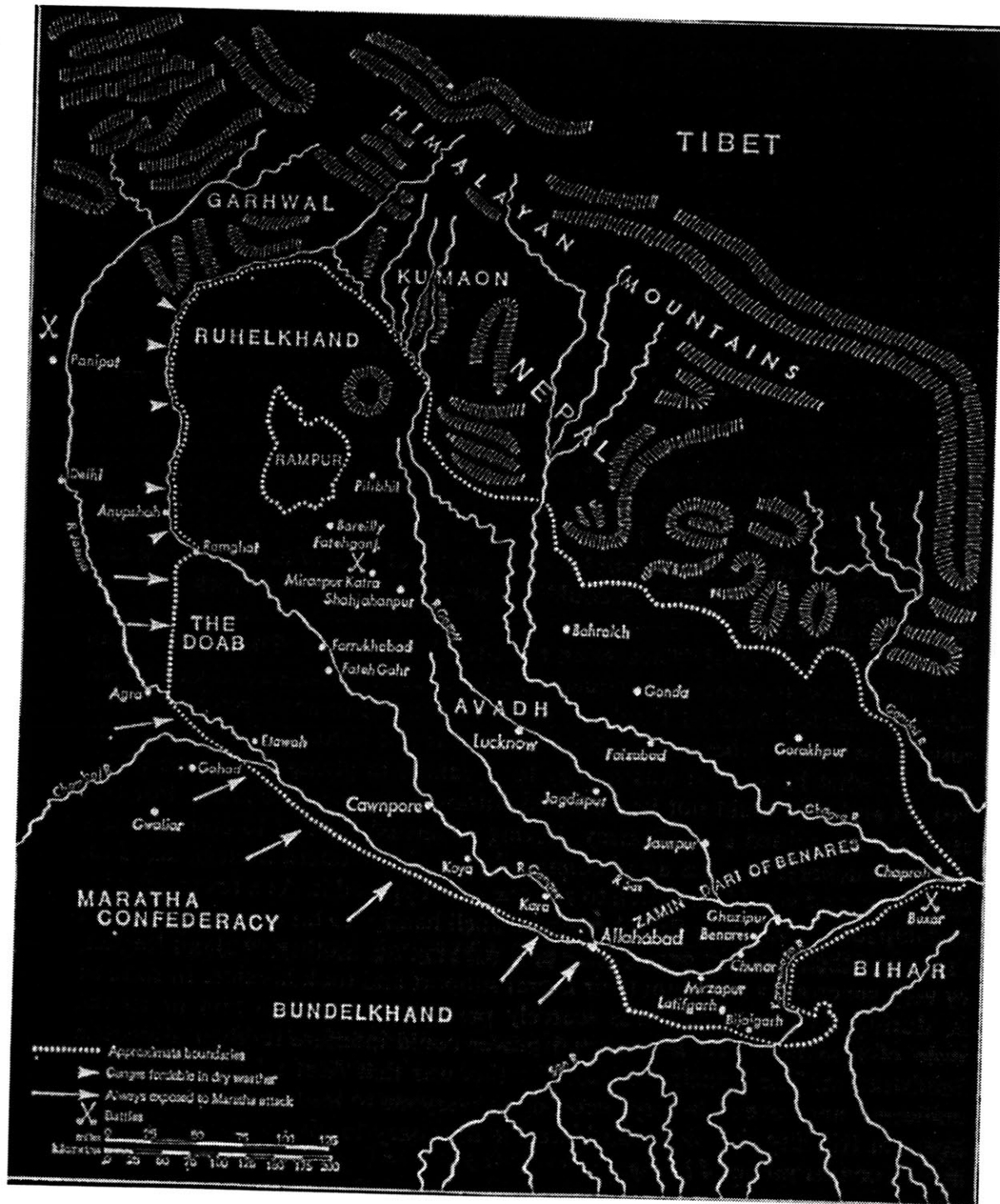
Figure 2: Map of Awadh in 1775 showing: (1) the areas of Kora and Allahabad, (2) Lucknow, (3) approximate boundaries of Awadh in 1775, (4) areas susceptible to Maratha attack from the southwest, and (5) Ruhelkhand towards the north-west of Awadh.

Gradual Annexation of Awadh by the British East India Company

Outer line shows borders of the post-independence state of Uttar Pradesh
Area shaded in alternate dark and white stripes show areas ceded under the treaty of Benaras of 1775
Area shaded uniformly shows the areas ceded to the British in 1801
Area within the dark border shows the remaining area of Awadh annexed by the British in 1857
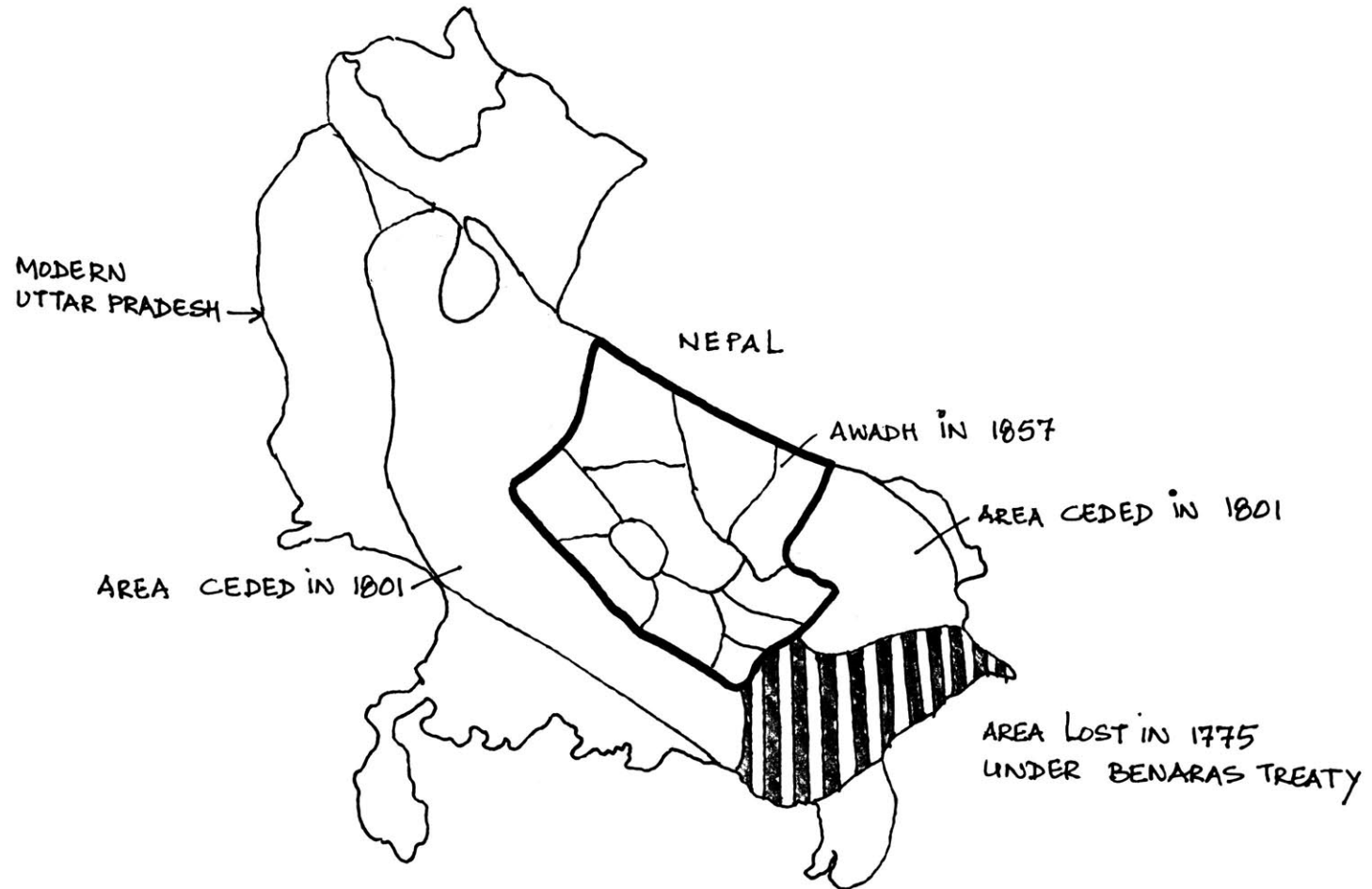
Figure 3: Sketch showing gradual annexation of Awadh by the British East India Company.

Plate 43 The French photographer Oscar Mallitte took the earliest known photographs of Andamanese islanders in December 1857. M.V. Portman also photographed them for the British Museum in the 1890s (*see p. 36*) and two of his studies are reproduced here: (a) a woman of about forty-two of the Puchik-war tribe; (b) a girl of six of the Ta-Yeri tribe. Portman adopted the measured screen devised by J.H. Lamprey, Assistant Secretary of the Royal Geographical Society. 'For Andamanese single figures for scientific measurement, I use a background of canvas lightly stretched, and painted in black and white chequers, each chequer being exactly two inches square.'
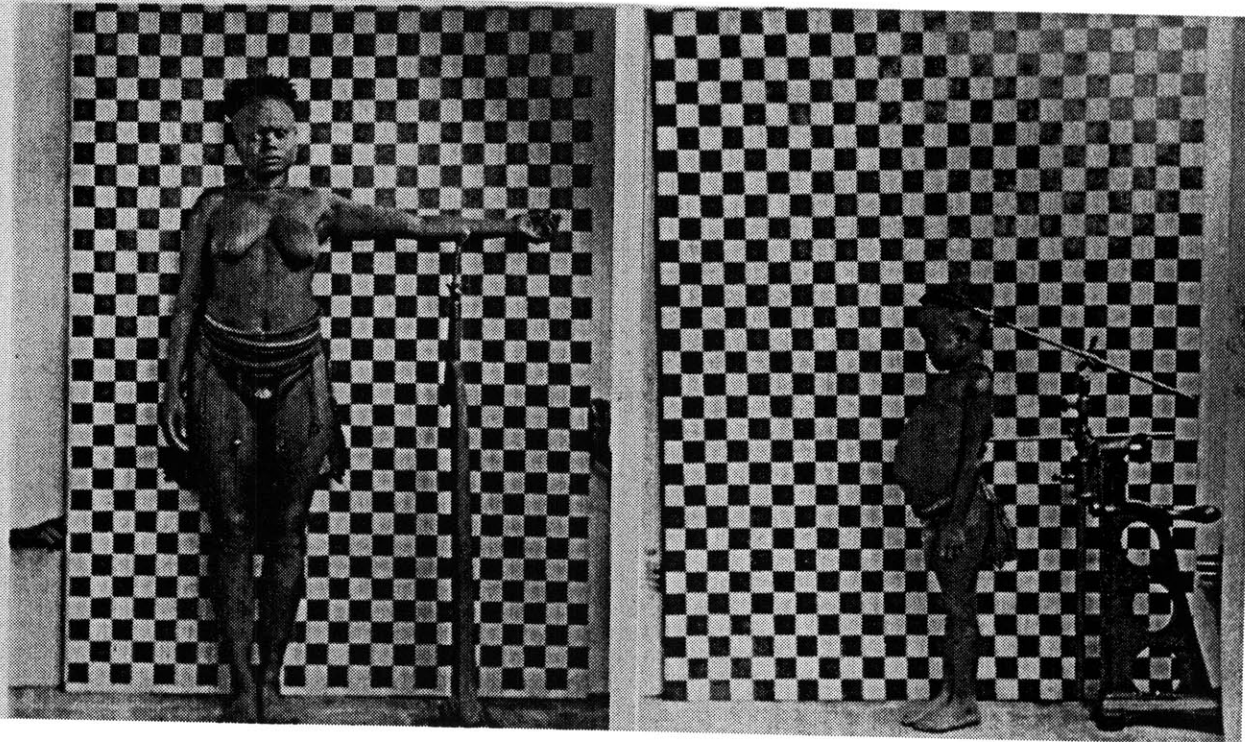
Figure 4: The cataloguing of "Others" (natives of Andaman and Nicobar Islands of the Indian Ocean) by the French photographer, Oscar Mallitte, in 1857. This photograph signifies the project of racial documentation as an integral part of the White Man's Burden.
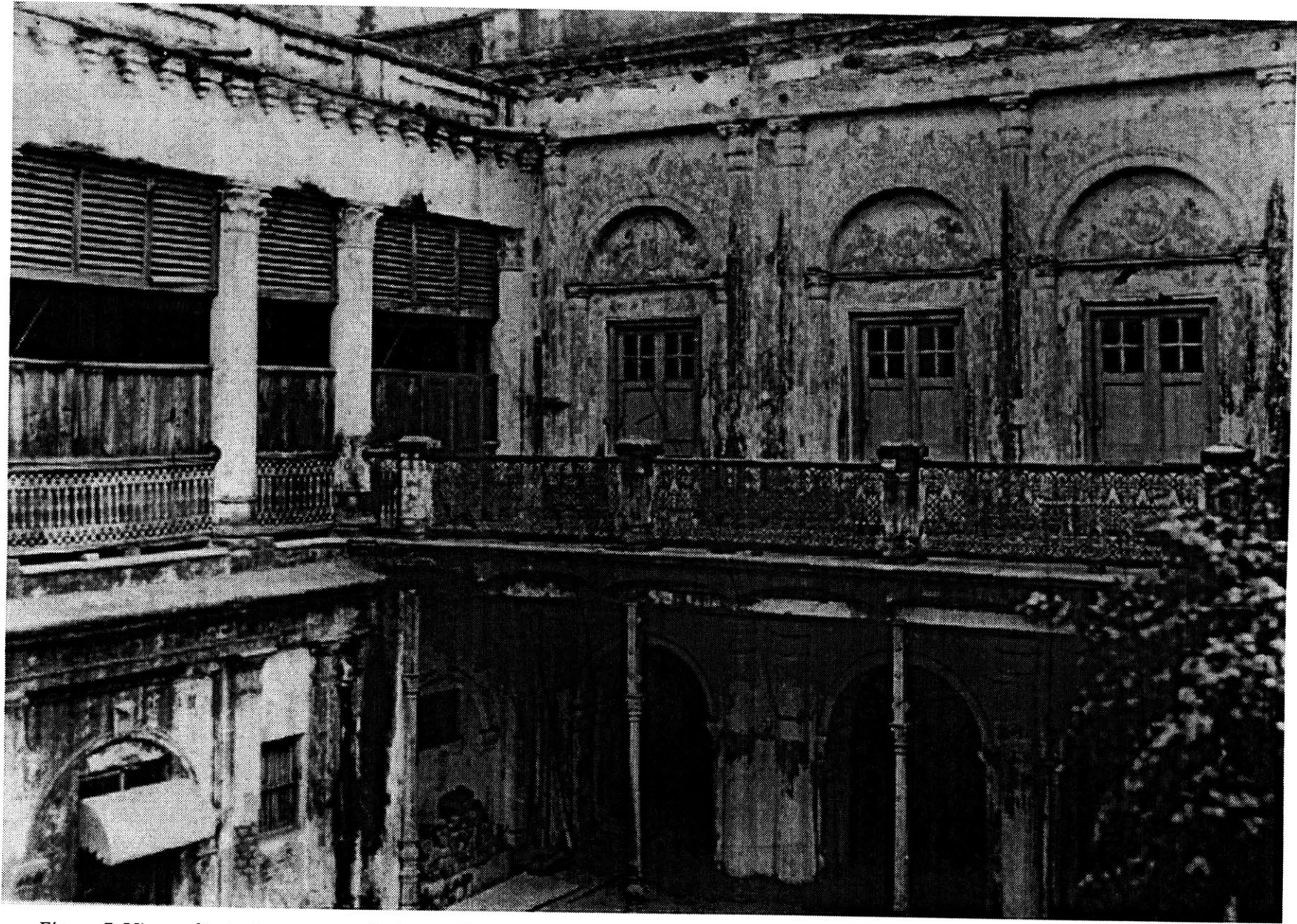
Figure 5: View of interior courtyard of an indigenous house in dilapidated condition. These courtyards kept the indigenous house cool during the summer and formed the core private space for family activity. The rooms on the upper floor constituted the *Zenana* (female's quarters).

Figure 6: Photograph showing the narrow lane between exterior walls of two houses. These lanes formed the *Alien Realm*.

Figure 7: The narrow streets between the exterior walls of indigenous houses facilitate access to residents, but are not used for other purposes.
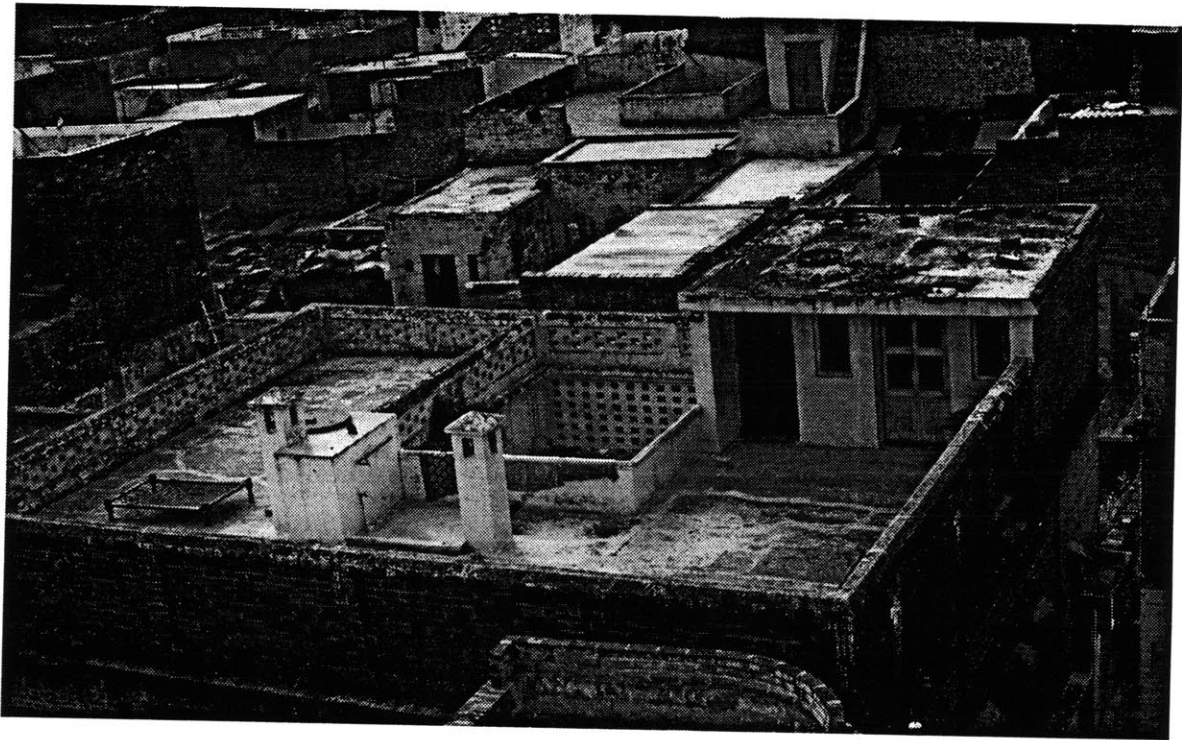
Figure 8: The dense arrangement of indigenous houses eliminates the existence of the *Public Realm*.

Figure 9: View of Dilkusha, 1858. A simple comparison of its formal structure with figure eight reveals that Dilkusha was an almost exact replica of Seaton Delavel.
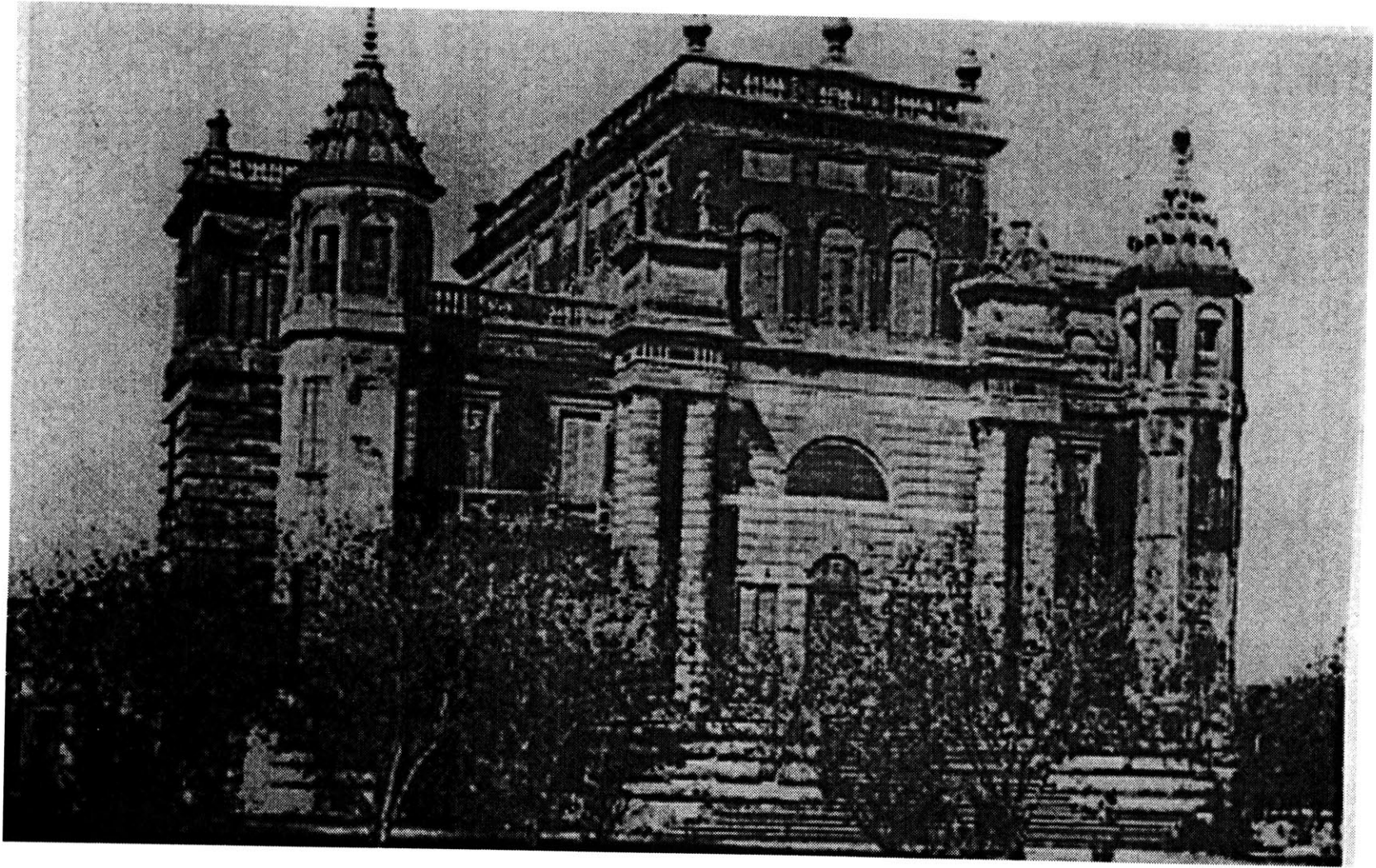
Figure 10: View of Dilkusha, 1858. A simple comparison of its formal structure with figure twelve reveals that Dilkusha was an almost exact replica of Seaton Delavel.

Within the image, handwritten captions read:

The South front of Seaton Delavel in the County of Northumberland the Seat of Francis Delaval Esq: designd by Sr John Vanbrugh Kt: 1721.
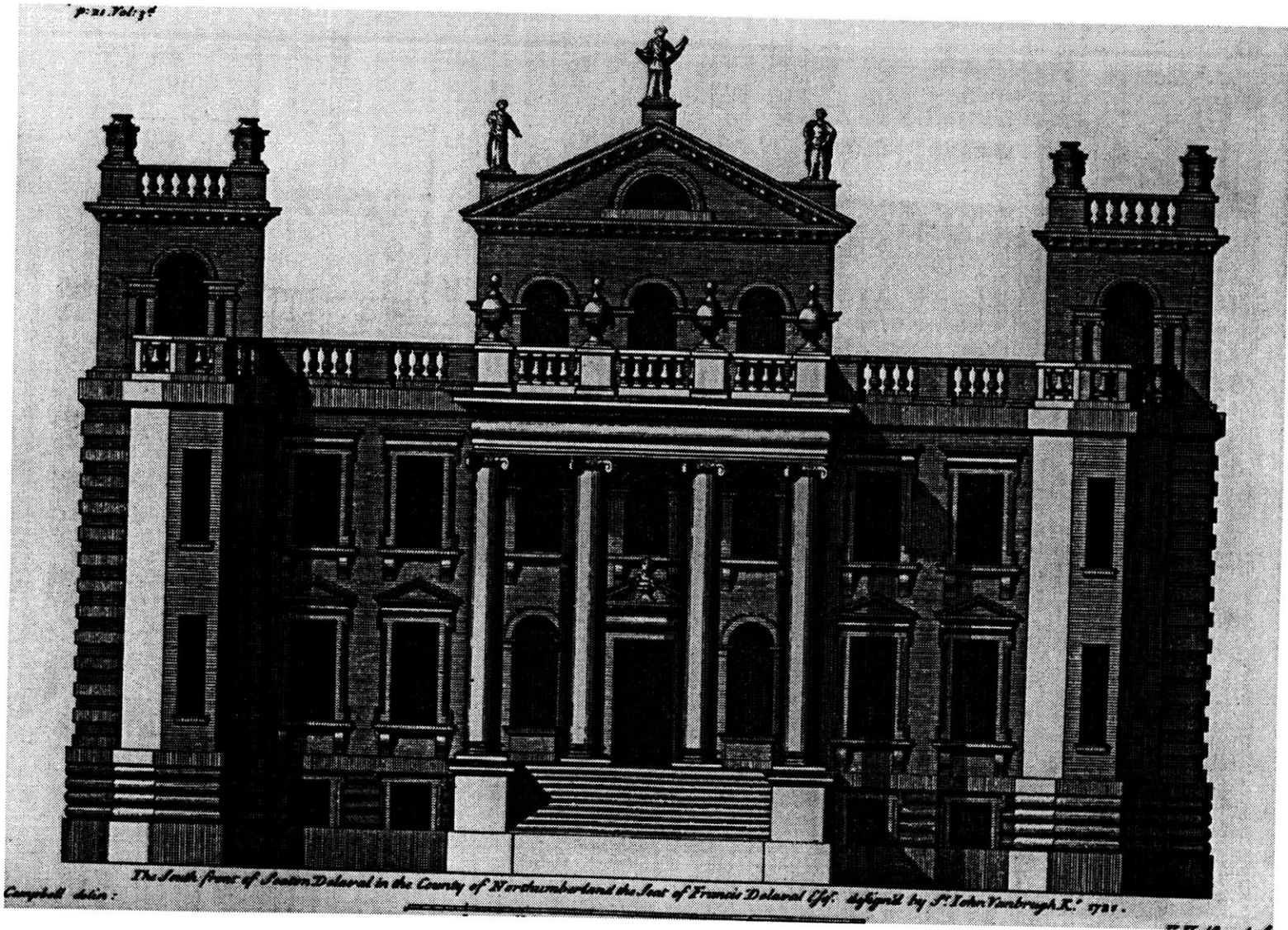
Figure 11: North front elevation of Seaton Delavel in the County of Northumberland. The house was designed by, Sir John Vanburgh, in 1771.
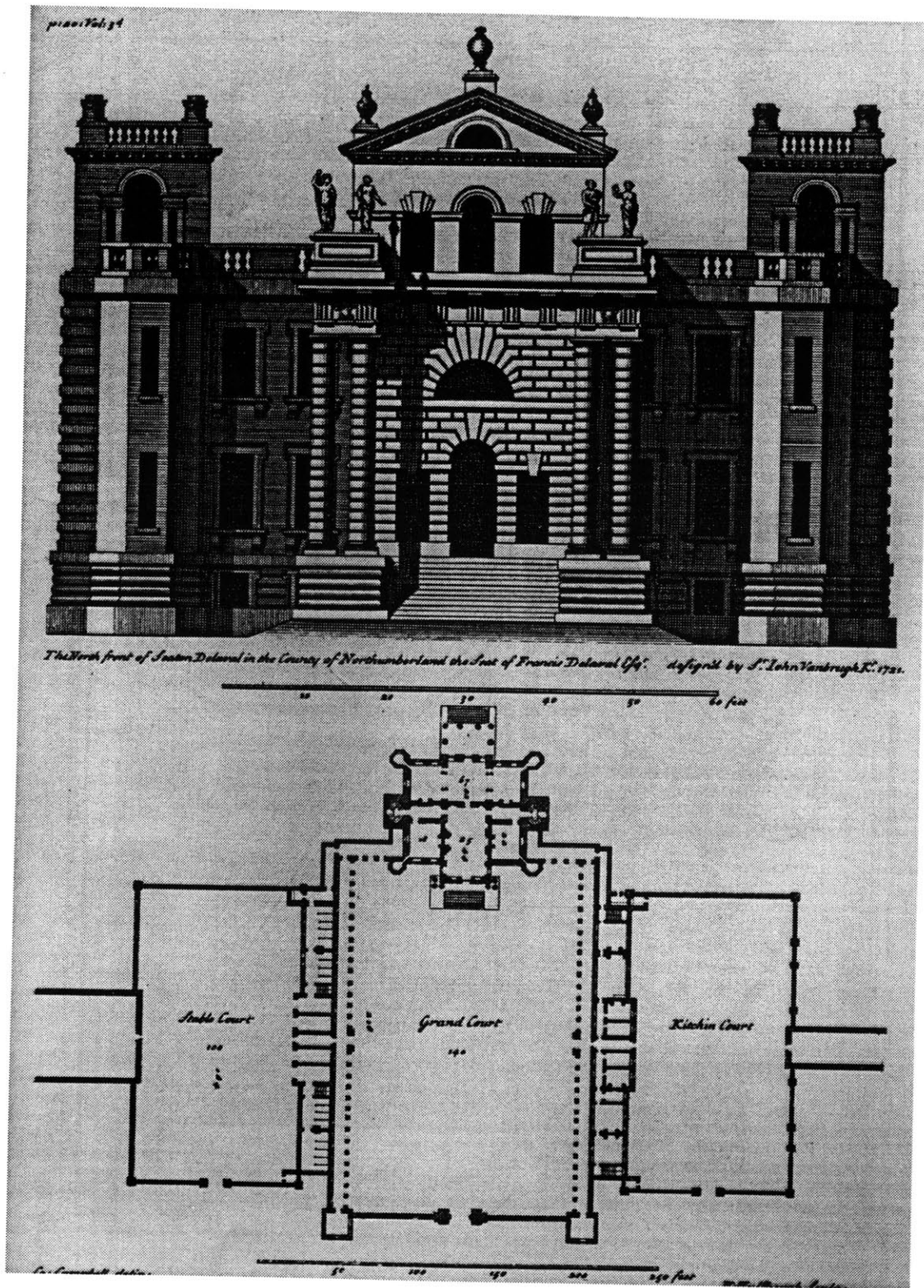
Figure 12: North front elevation of Seaton Delavel in the County of Northumberland. The house was designed by, Sir John Vanburgh, in 1771.
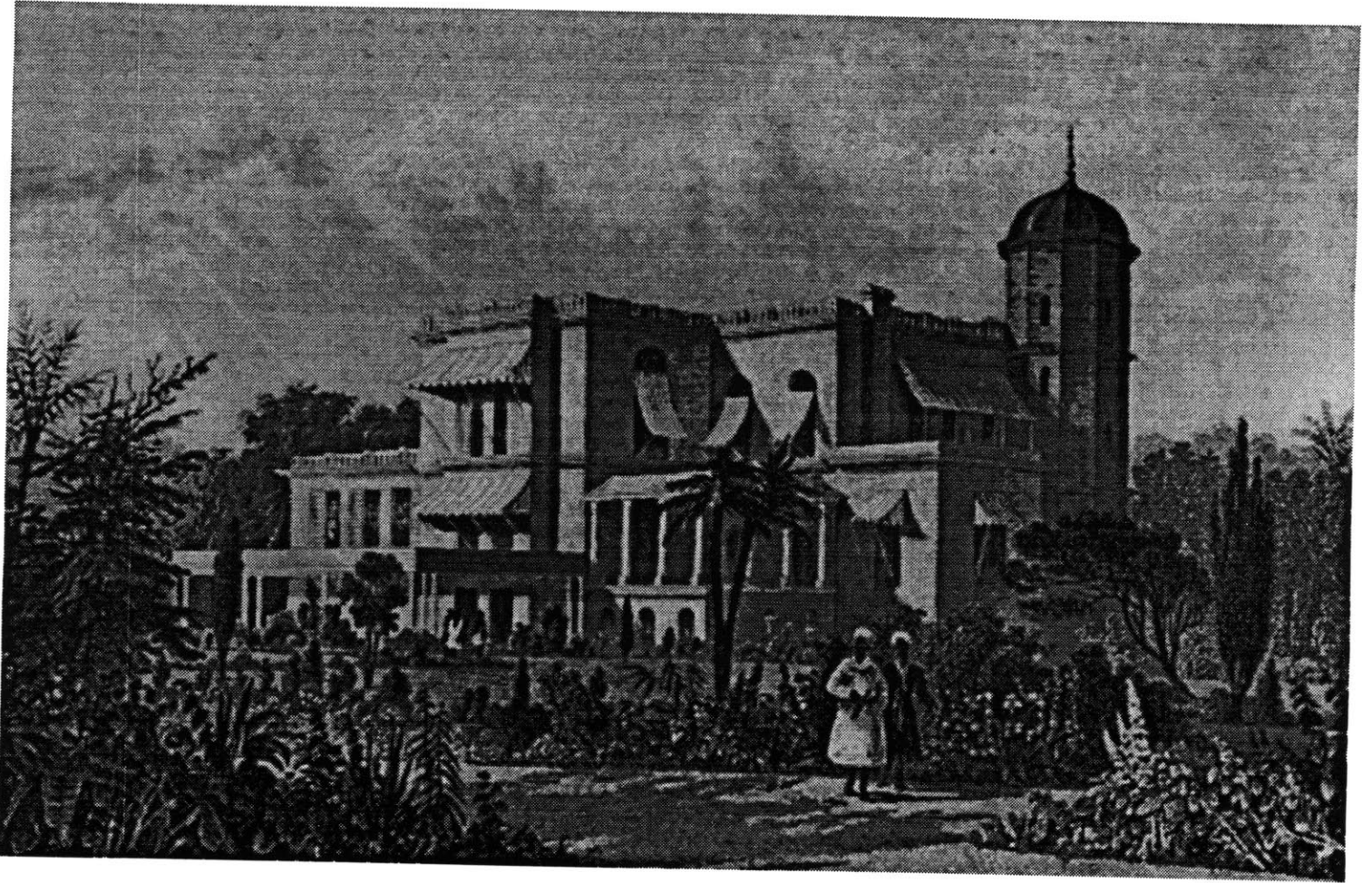
Figure 13: The British Residency, pre-War engraving.
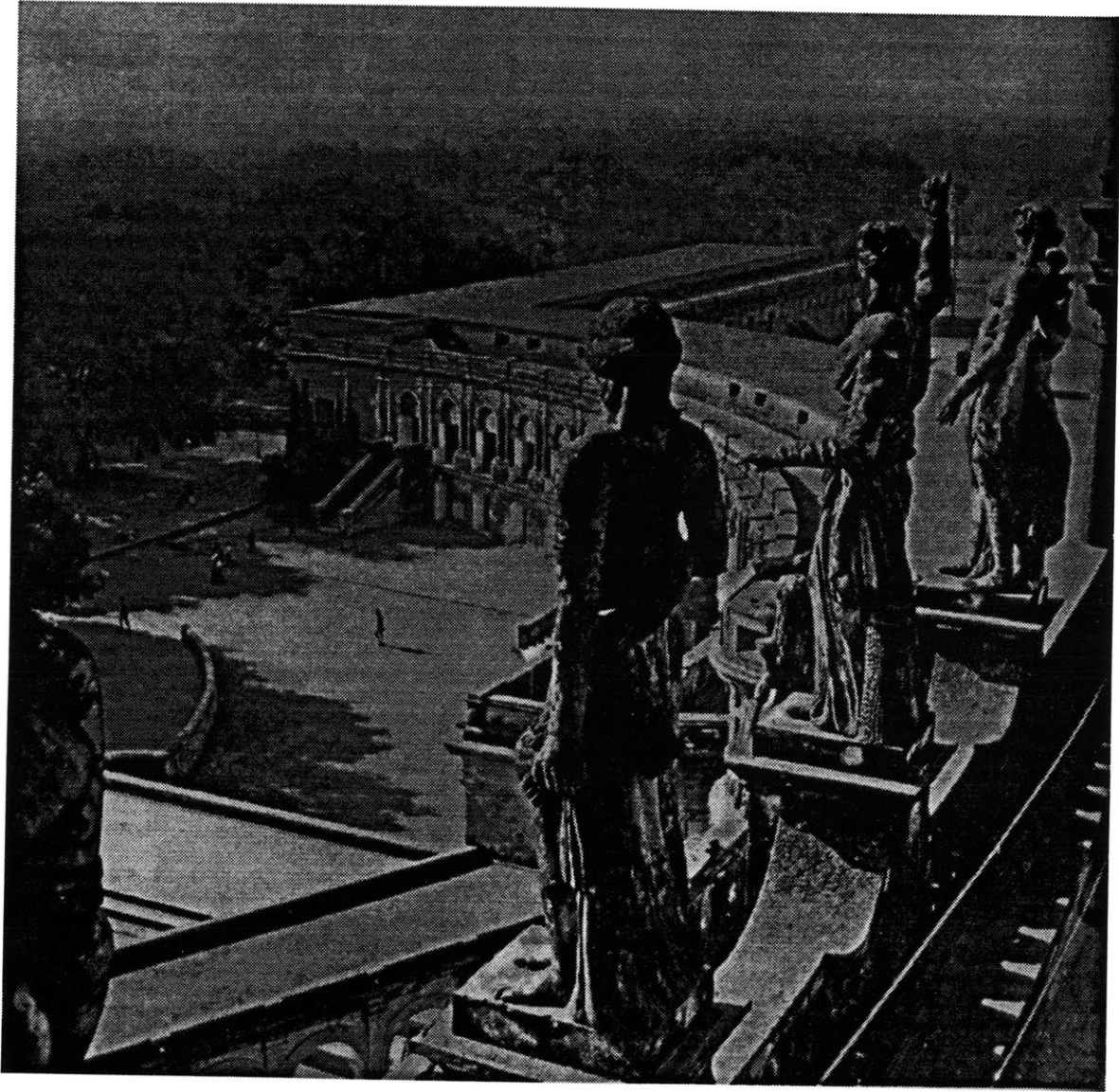
Figure 14: Constantia, human sculptural forms in Stucco.
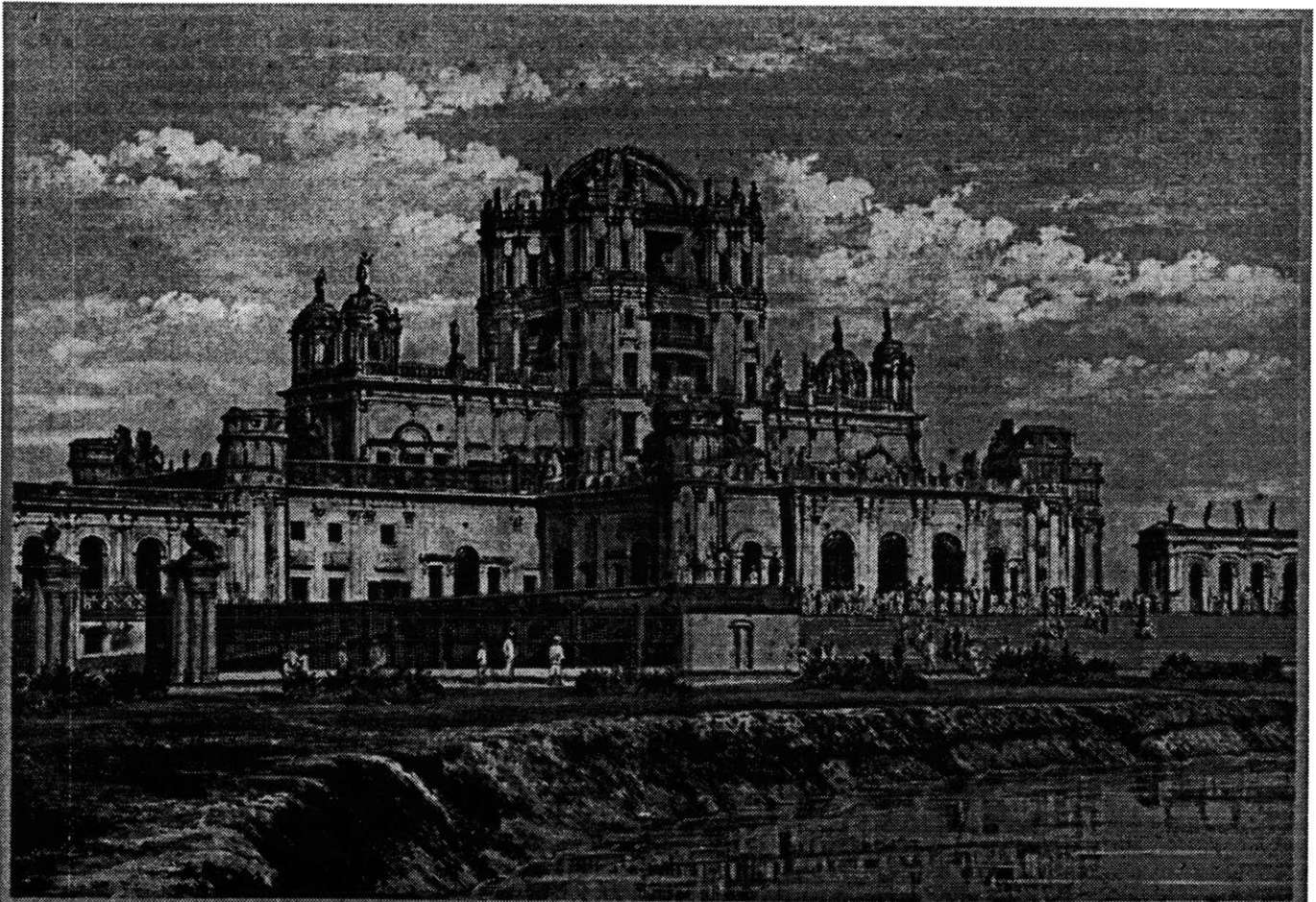
1. La Martiniere designed and built by Major General Claude Martin, completed after his death in 1800. This building greatly influenced much later nawabi building (see for example the repetition of the quadrant arches on top of the Kaisarbagh Gateway, figure 5). Line engraving after Vincent Brooks. Courtesy Phillips Antiques, Bombay.

Figure 15: Constantia, view from distance.
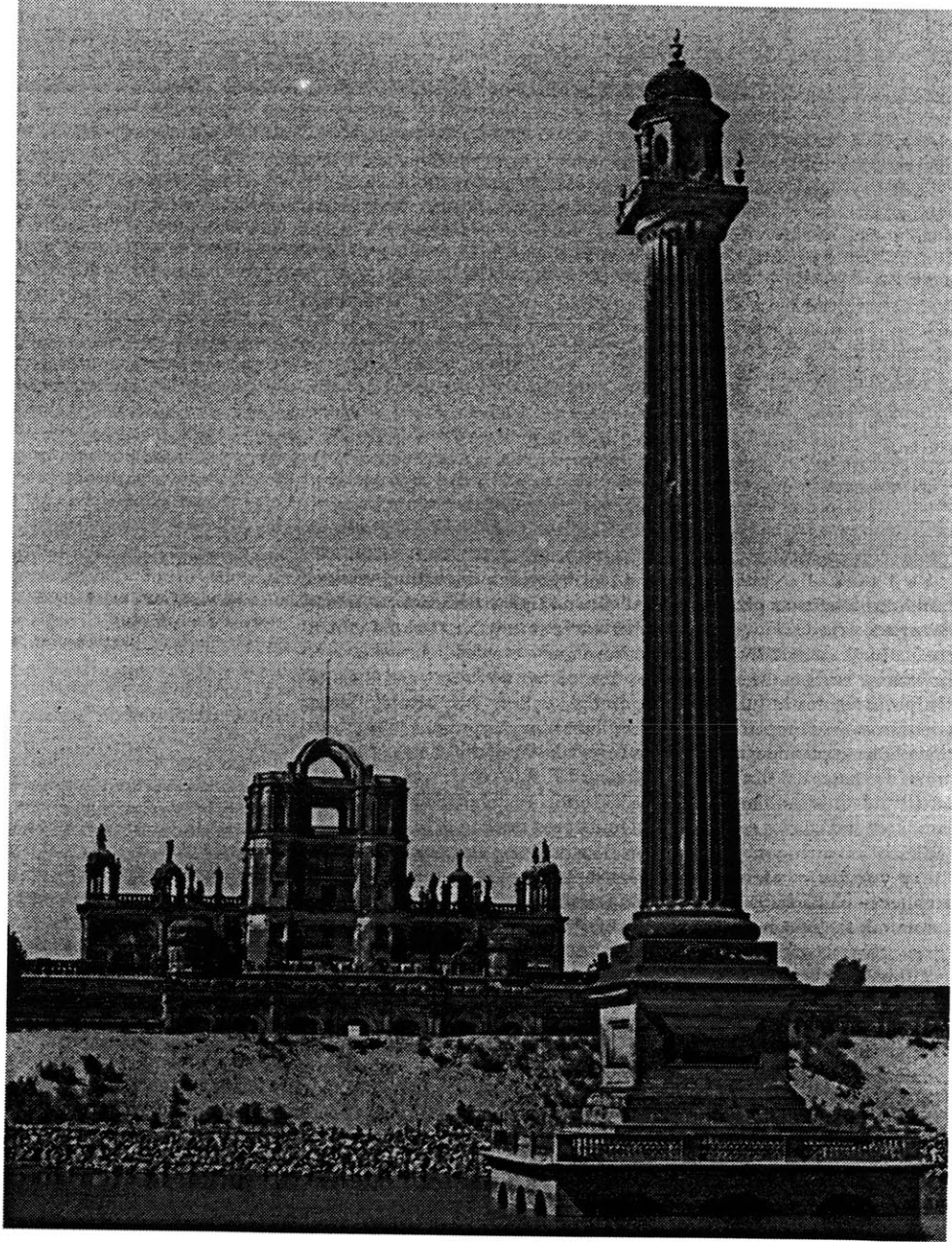
Figure 16: Constantia, view from the lake.
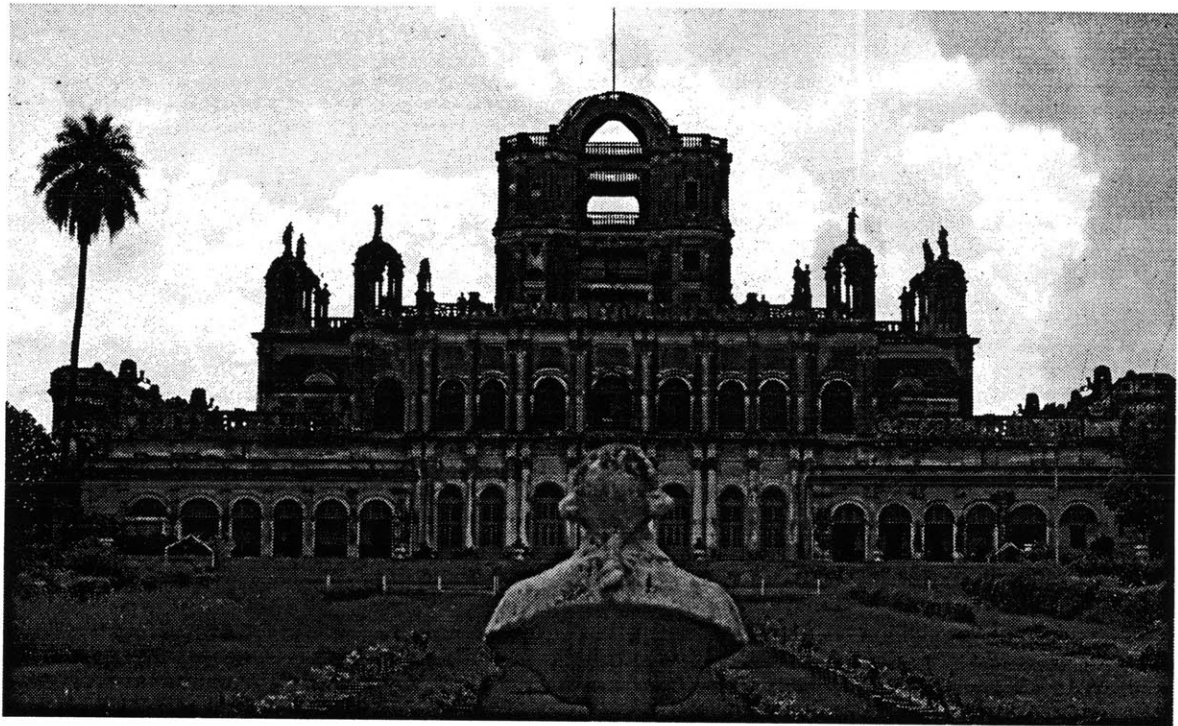
Figure 17: Constantia, rear view.
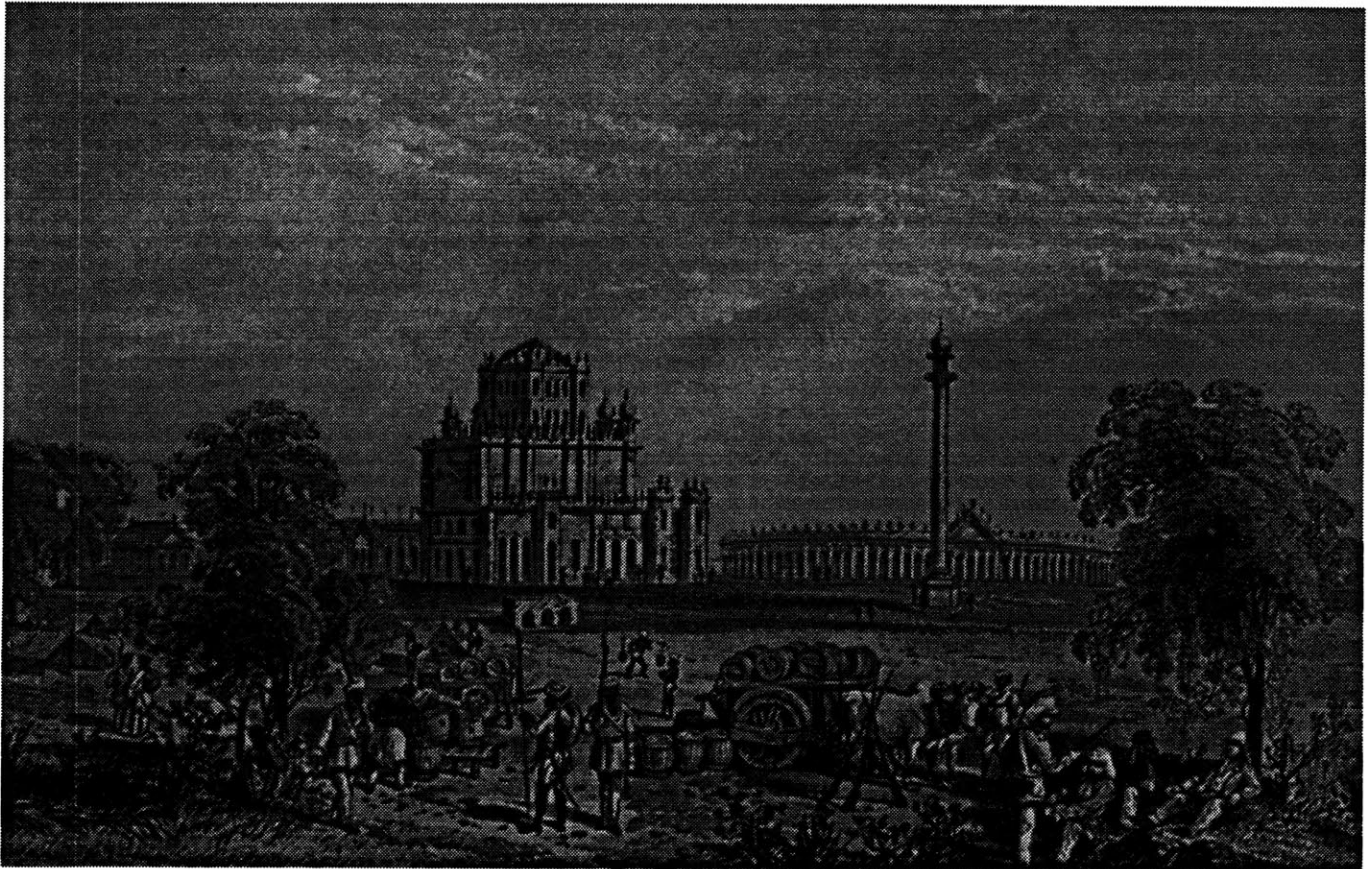
Figure 18: Dilkusha, The isolated building with its column shows the grandeur of the composition.

Figure 19: Farah Baksh, river front view (contemporary engraving).
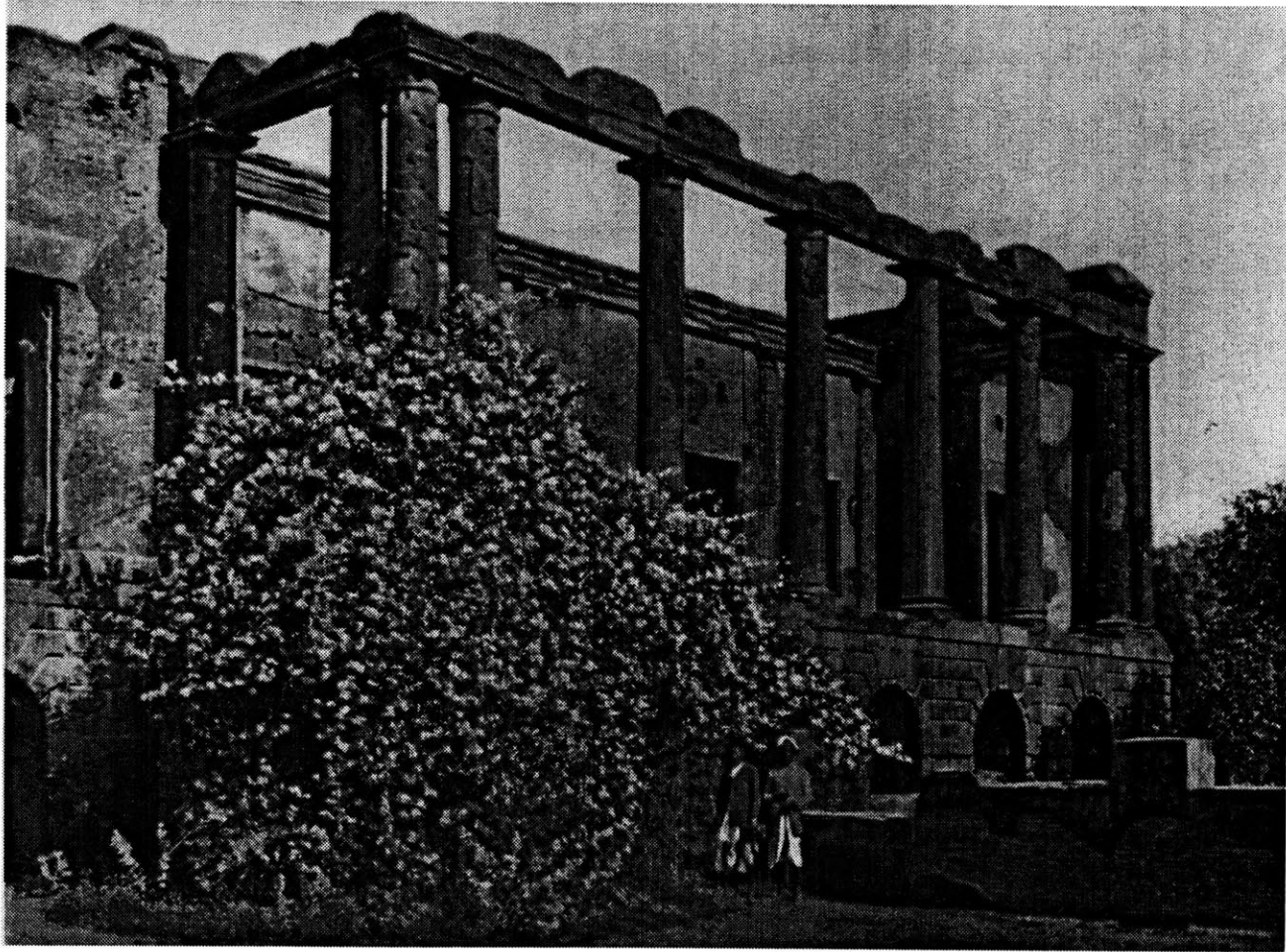
Figure 20: The British Residency, remains of the Banquet Hall, Grecian architecture was used as symbol of power.
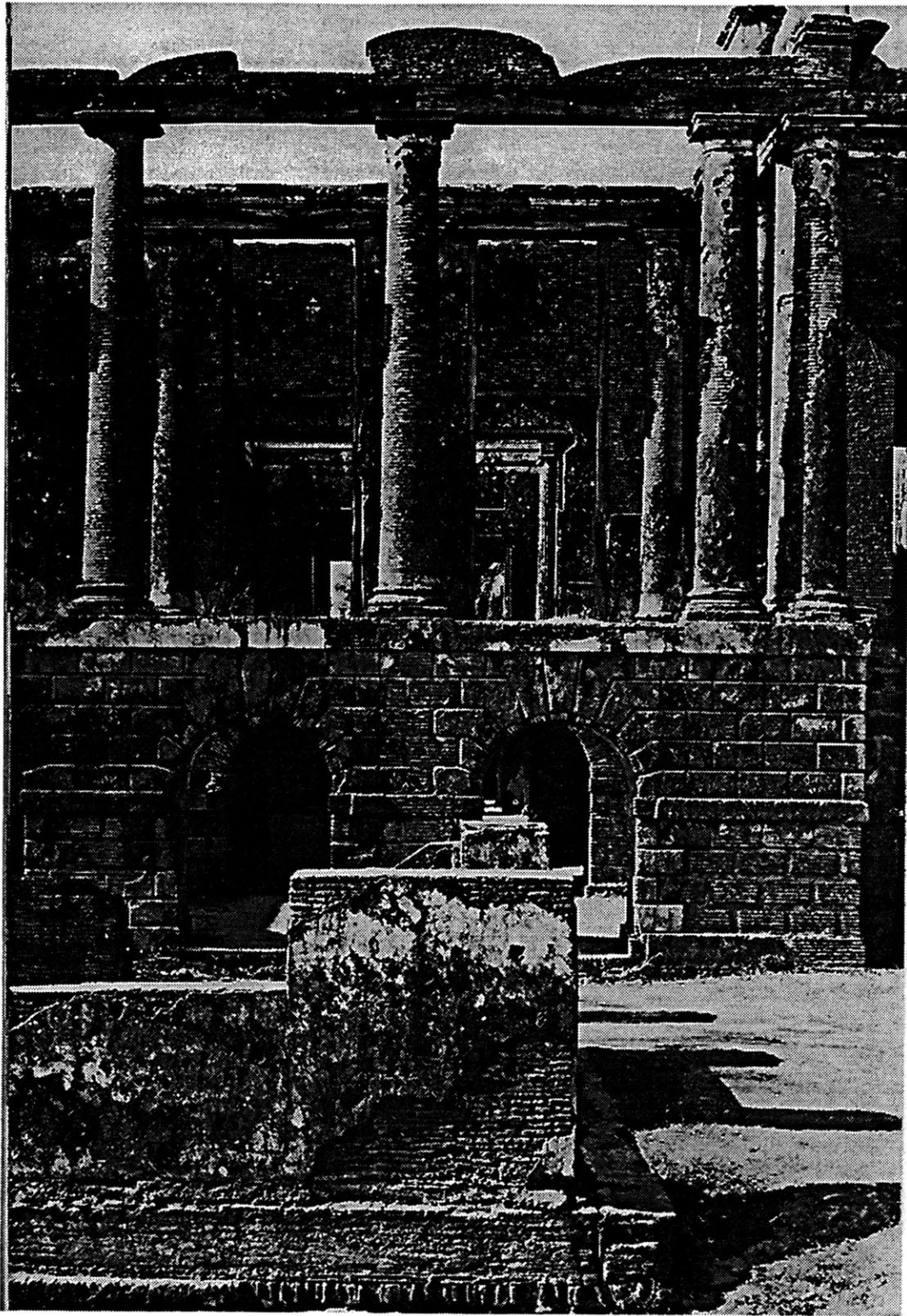
Figure 21: The British Residency, Banquet Hall.

Figure 22: Jama Masjid, decoration in stucco.
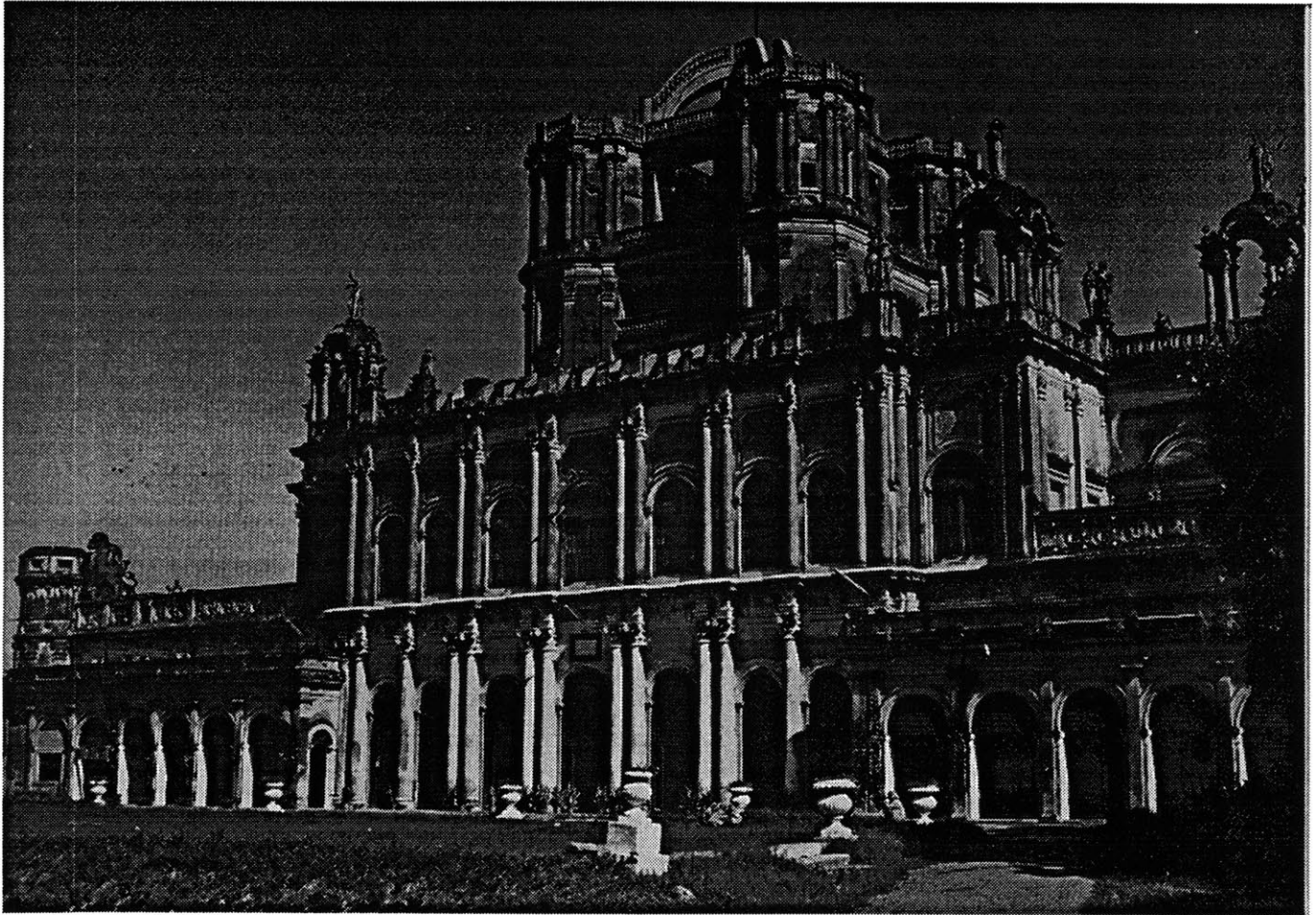
Figure 23: Constantia.
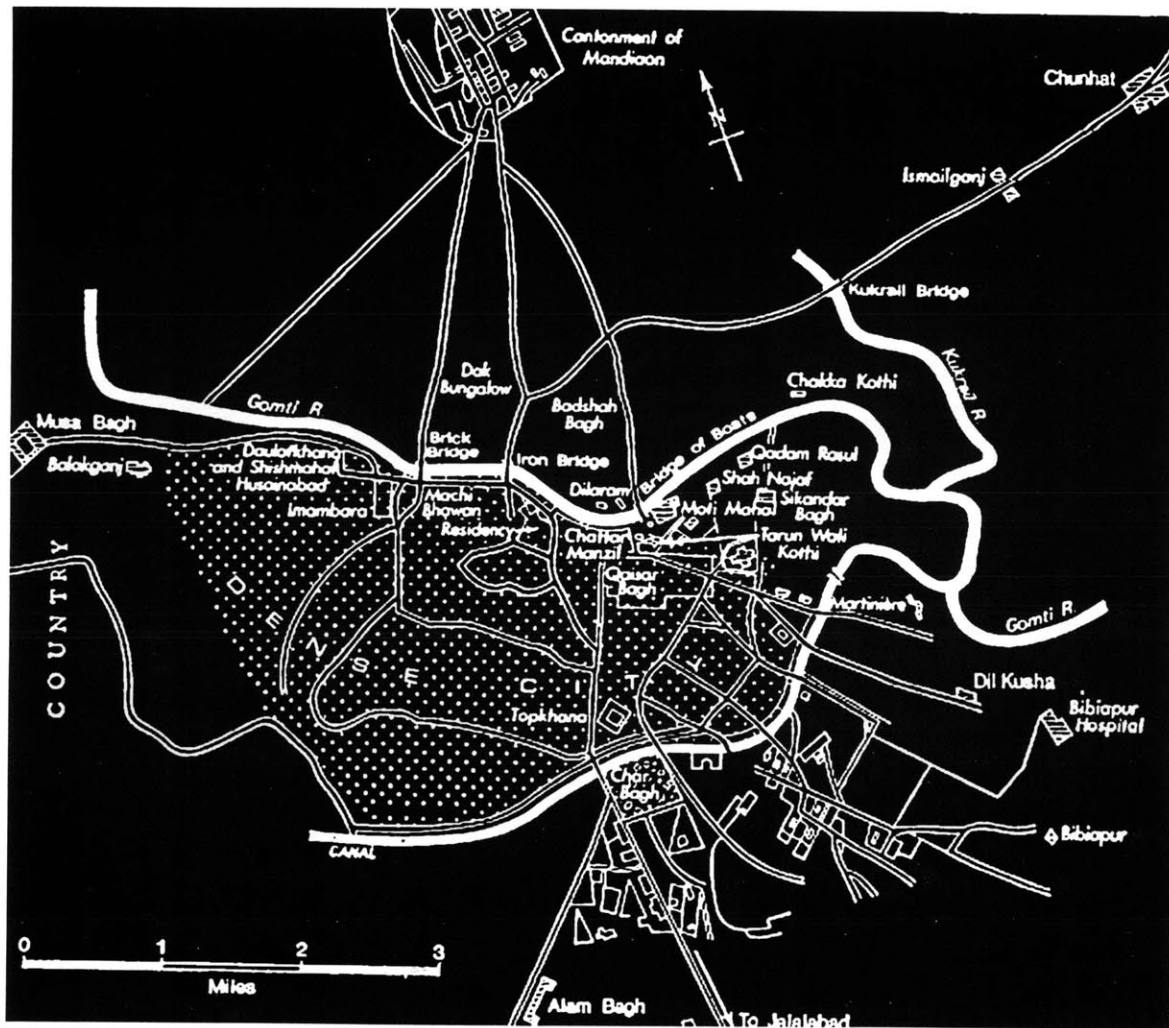
Figure 24: Lucknow and its environs at the time of the First War of Indian Independence (1857).

Figure 25: General plan of Nawabi and Elite domain, 1857.
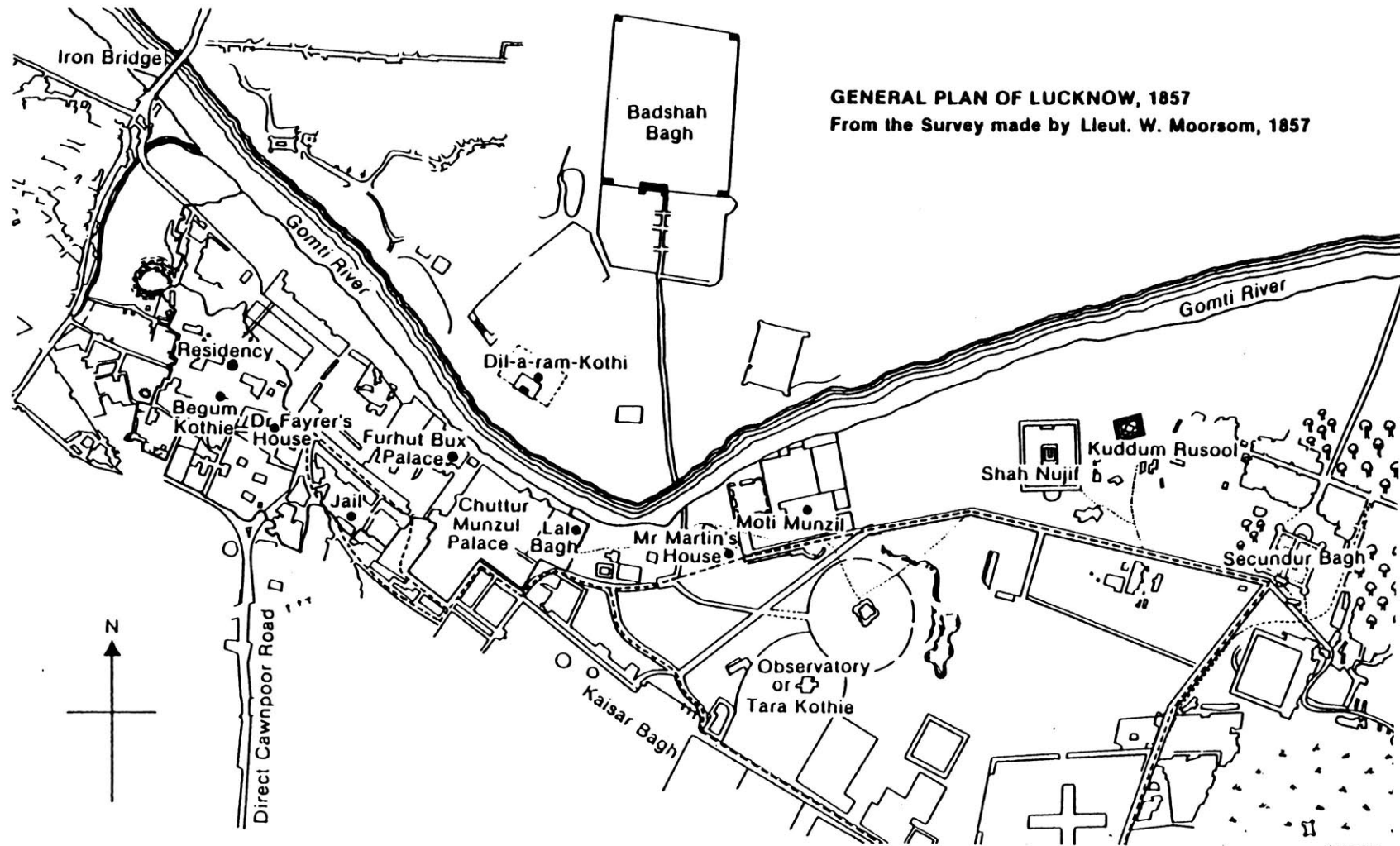
Figure 26: Ruins of British Residency in Lucknow.
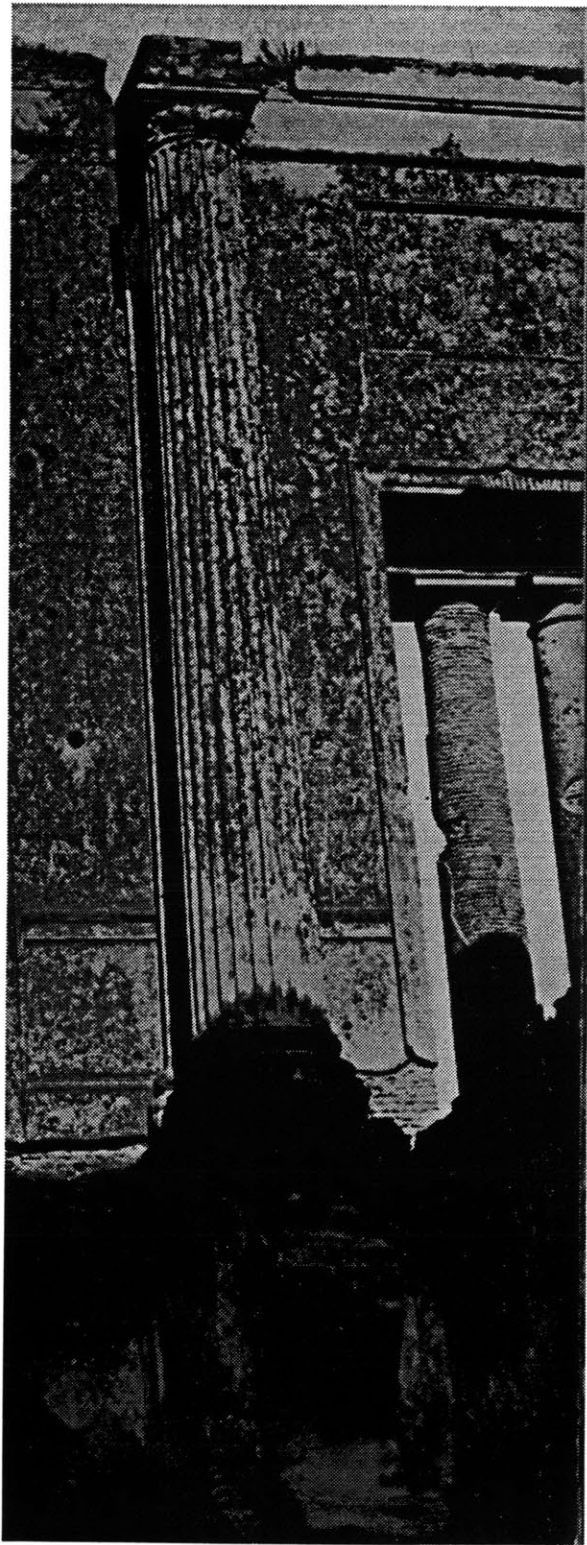
Figure 27: British Residency, Neo-Classical Elements.

GENERAL PLAN OF THE CITY
SHOWING AREAS OF DEVELOPMENT BEFORE 1857

Pre 1775 extent of the city

First Cantonment site

Faizabad Road

Scale: 3"-1mile

A Daulat Khana
B Husainabad
C Great Imambara
D Macchi Bhavan on Lakshman Tila
E Farangi Mahal
F Residency area and land owned
  by Claude Martin
G Golaganj
H Chattar Manzil
I Qaisarbagh

A

B

C

D

E

Chauk

F

H

River Gomti

G

Old West
Road

Hazratganj

I
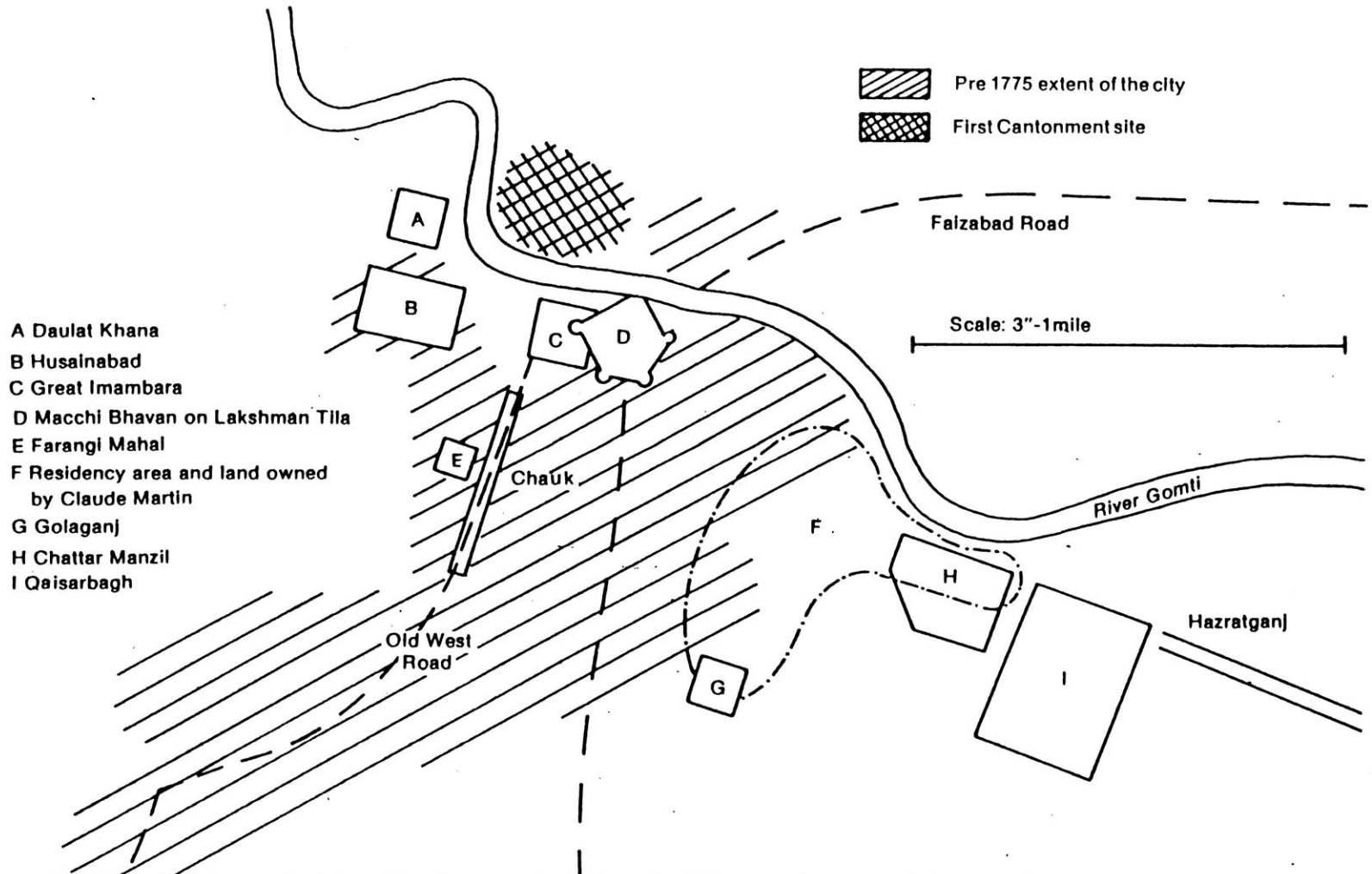
Figure 28: Plan showing early Nawabi palaces and religious buildings to the west of the city, the Chauk Road cutting through the center of the pre-colonial city, the British Residency, the Nawabi domain, and Hazratganj -- the European domain. The first Cantonment site implies this plan dates prior to 1807, when the British Cantonment was across the River Gomti across from Macchi Bhavan.

Figure 29:

Sketch showing the strategic advantage of the Iron Bridge and the direct Kanpur Road

The location of the Iron Bridge relative to the Old Stone Bridge eliminates the passage of troops through the dense settlements and effectively connects the British Residency with the Mariaon Cantonment. The Kanpur Road facilitated direct connection between the British Residency and the Kanpur Cantonment. Together these two developments facilitate smooth movement of British troops from one point to the other, and to the Residency from Mariaon and Kanpur. The motivation behind the promotion of these strategic developments was to eliminate delay and ensure rapid deployment of British troops to protect the Residency in the event of a riot or an uprising

TO MARIAON CANTONMENT

RIVER GOMTI

TO MARIAON CANTONMENT

OLD STONE BRIDGE

MACHCHI BHAVAN

IRON BRIDGE

RESIDENCY

DENSE SETTLEMENT

NAWABI RESIDENCES

DIRECT KANPUR ROAD

Areas of Lucknow developed during the reign of:

1. Saadat Khan
2. Asaf-ud-daula
3. Saadat Ali Khan
4. Ghazi-ud-din Haider
5. Nasir-ud-din Haider
6. Muhammad Ali Shah
7. Amjad Ali Shah
8. Wajid Ali Shah

RIVER GOMTI

Figure 30: Sketch showing areas of Lucknow developed during the reign of the Nawabs.
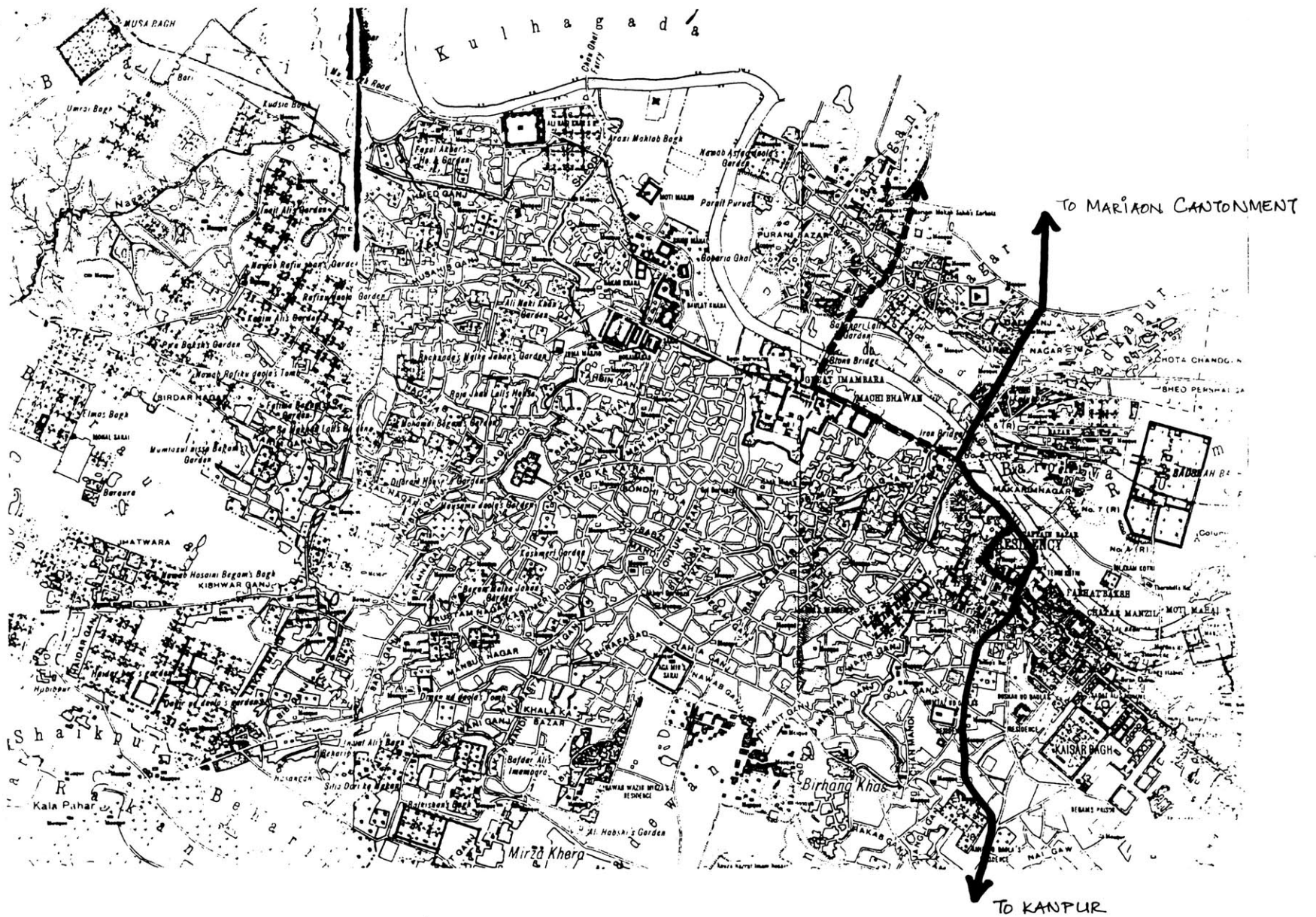
Figure 31: British map of Lucknow showing the connection between the Mariaon Cantonment, Residency and the Kanpur Cantonment.
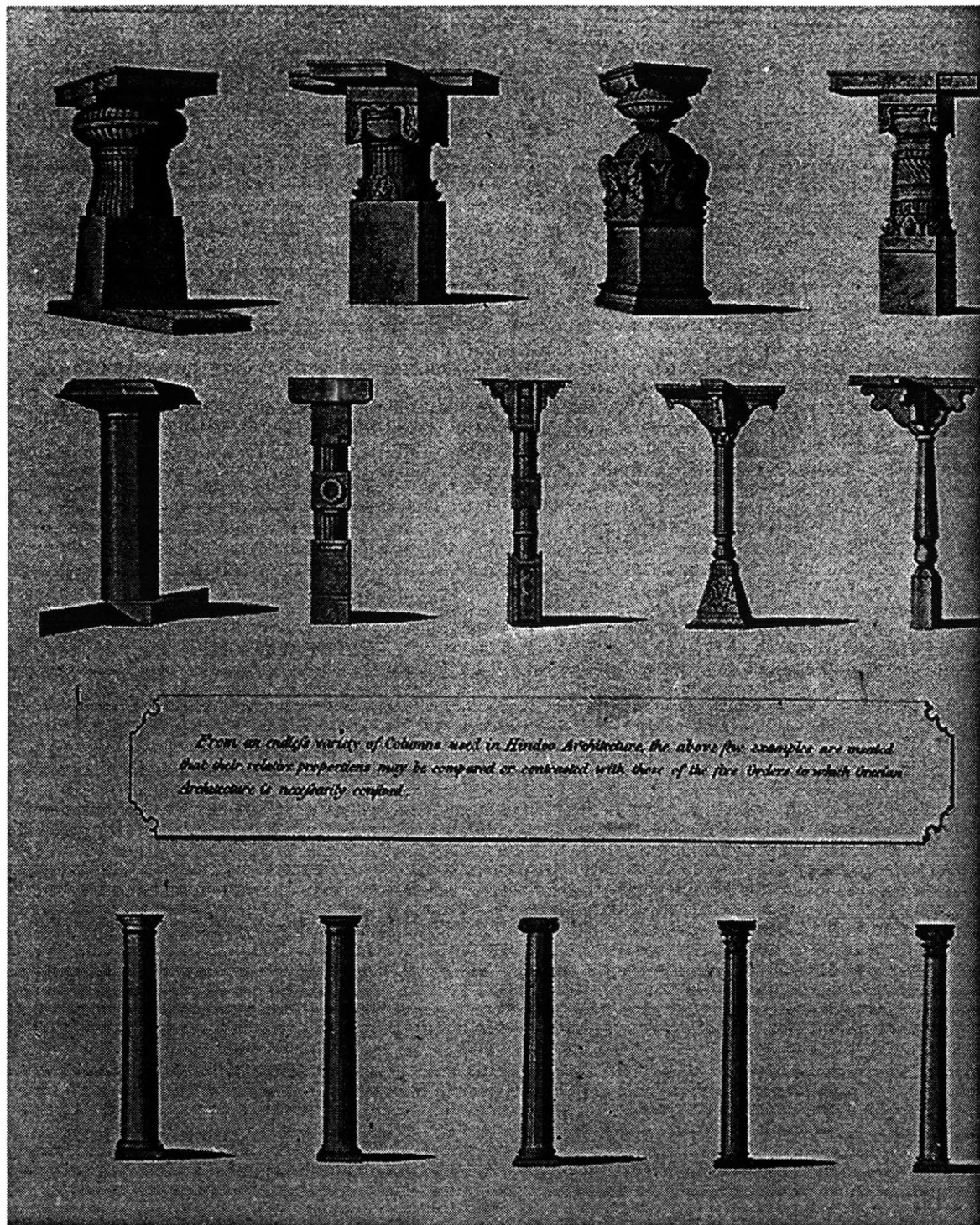
Figure 32: Controlling India's architectural history by measuring Hindu columns relative to Grecian Orders in the construction of Knowledge of India's architecture. This illustration of designs for the Pavilion at Brighton was the work of Humphry Repton (1752-1818).

Figure 33: Controlling India's geography through architectural symbolism. Detail of the inner court of the Indian Office (1867). The structure itself represents the British imperial empire while the columns represent the different Indian states.
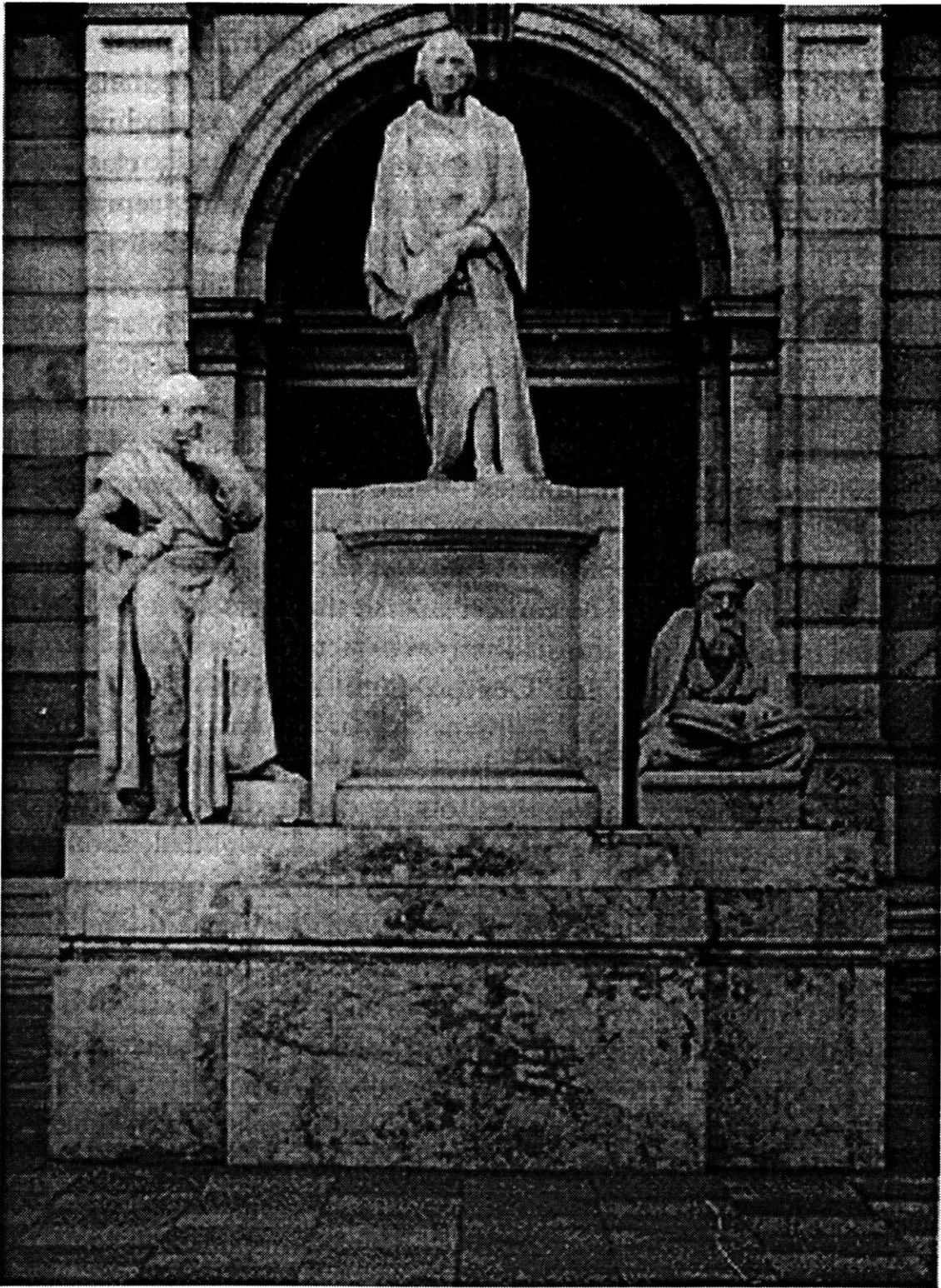
Figure 34: Monument to Warren Hastings by Richard Westmabott, 1830. Notice Hastings is dressed as a Roman and is next to a Brahman and a Sikh.
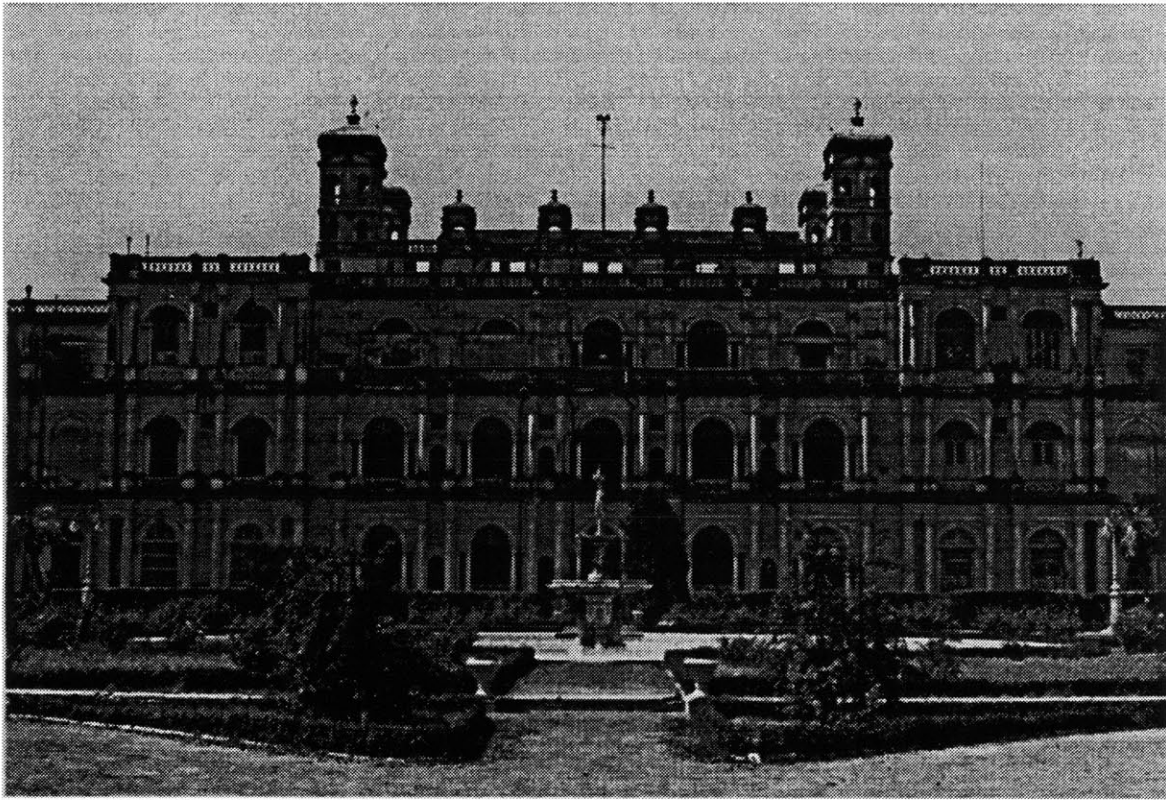
Figure 35: The Jai Vilas Palace at Gwalior. Metcalf argues that the Jai Vilas and the Kaiserbagh were similar for their playful appropriation of Classical Orders and architectural assemblage.
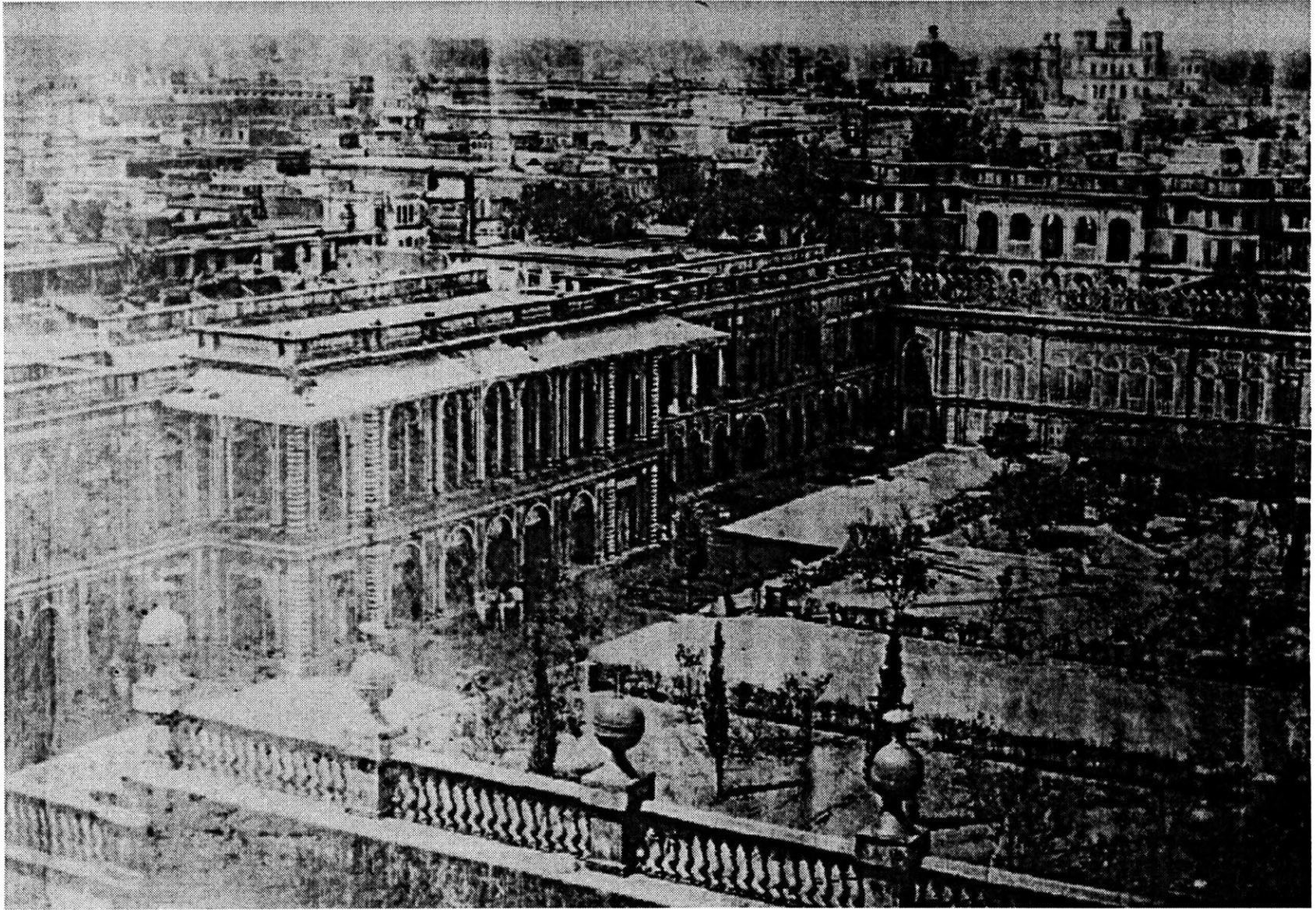
Figure 36: The Kaiserbagh, view of interior compound.
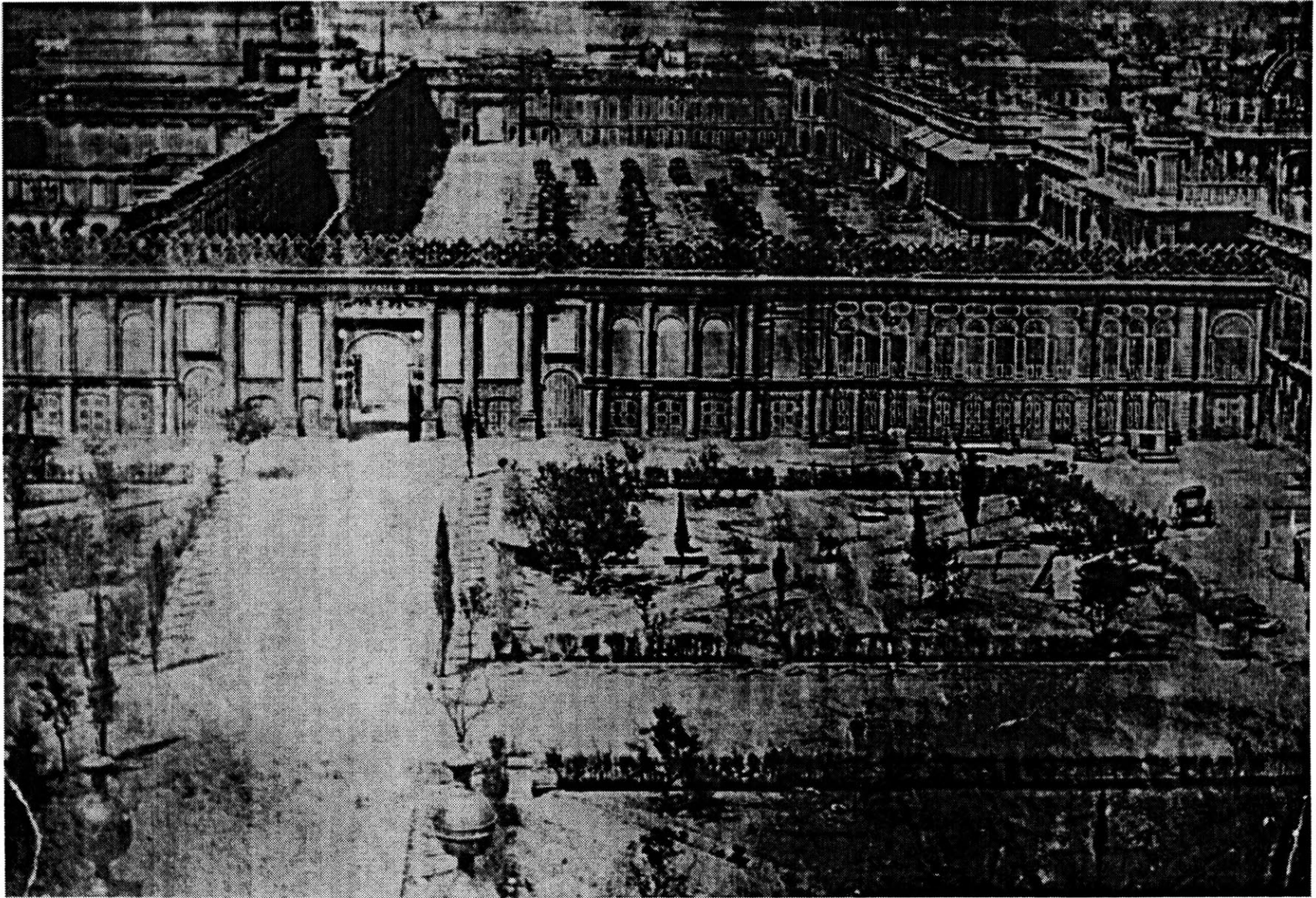
Figure 37: The Kaiserbagh, view of interior compound.
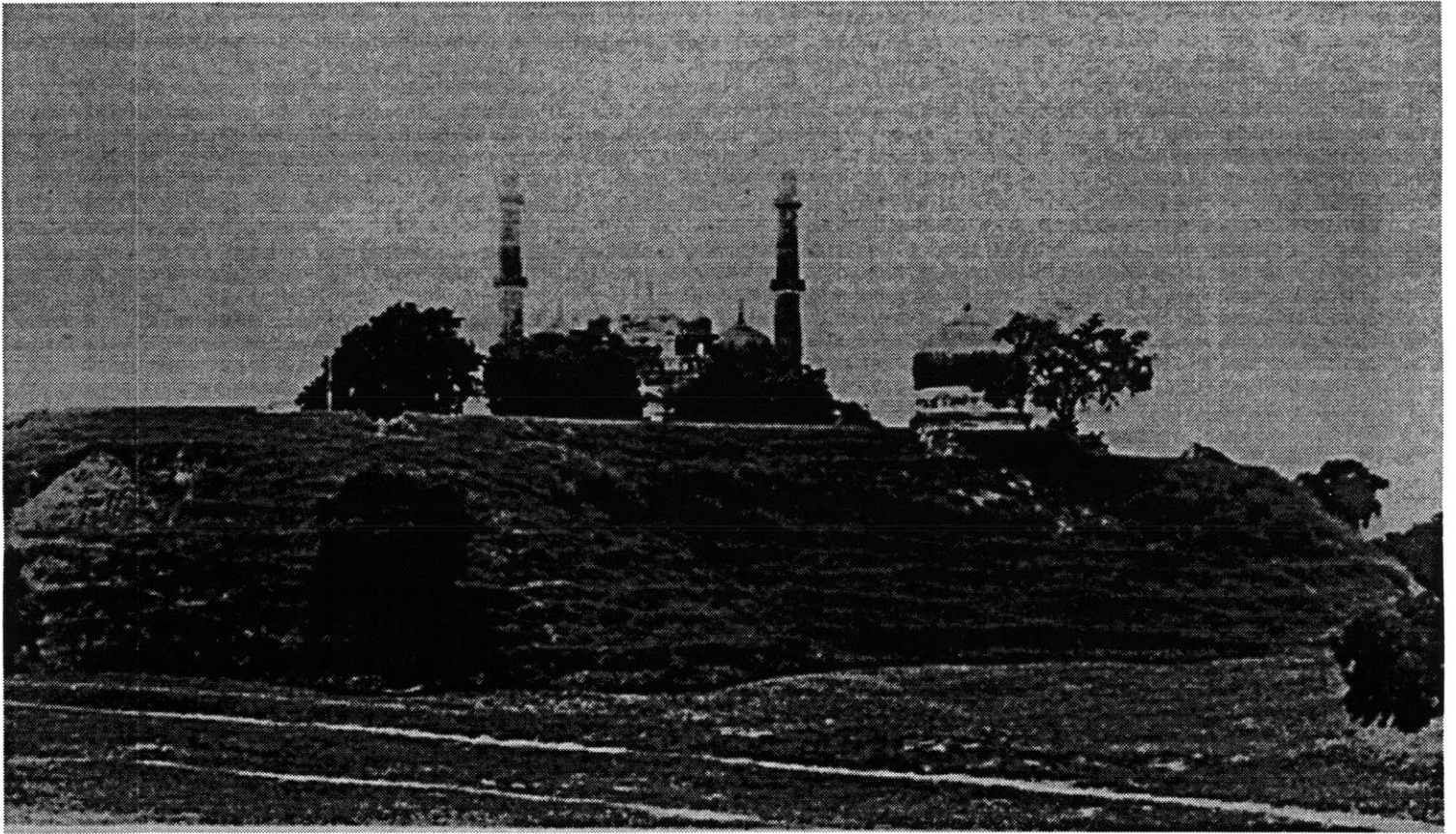
Figure 38: Macchi Bhavan became the principal military post under Robert Napier's plan of 1858.

Figure 39: Farah Baksh Palace, Gulshane Aram and Aish Mahal.
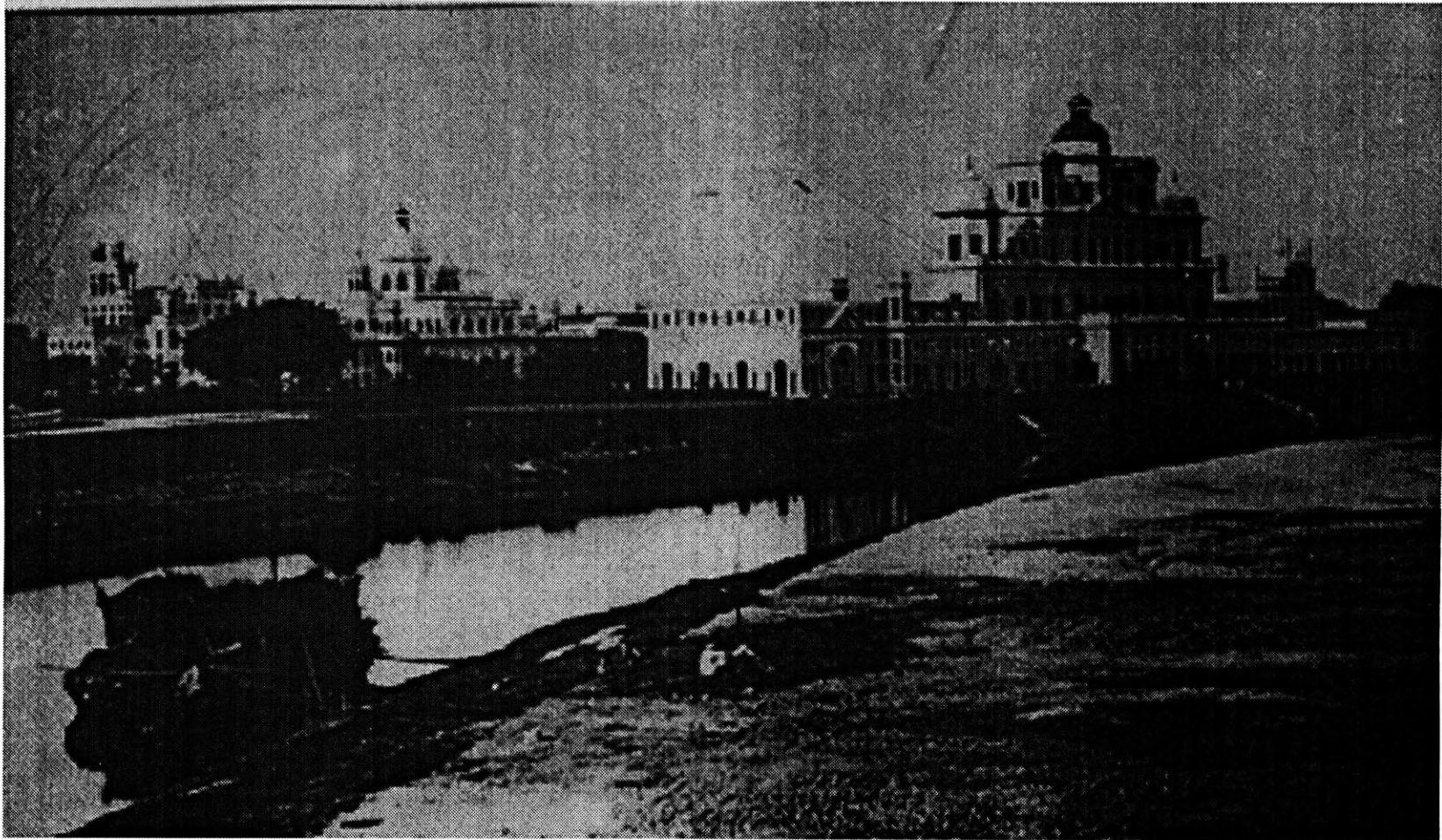
Figure 40: View of Chattar Manzil Palace Complex from across the river.
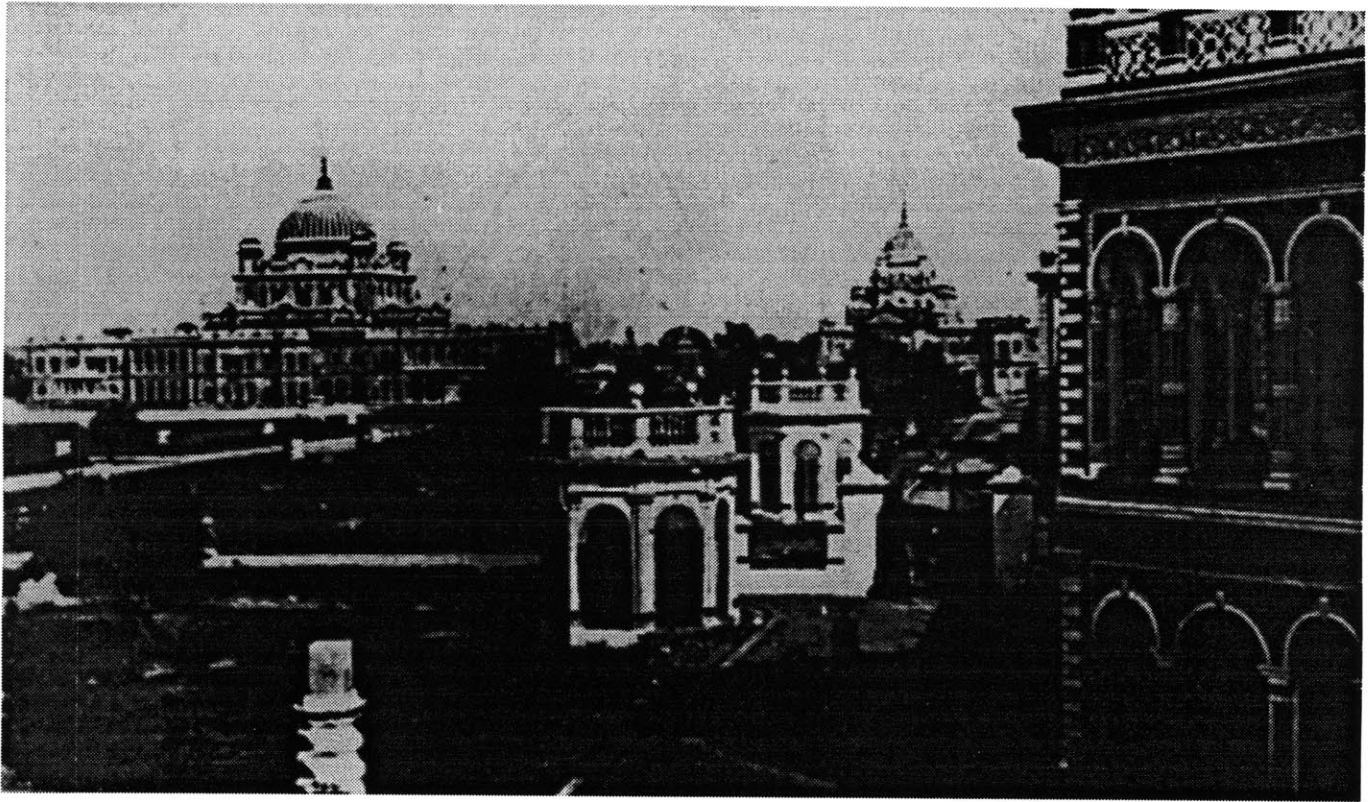
Figure 41: View of Kaiserbagh Palace.
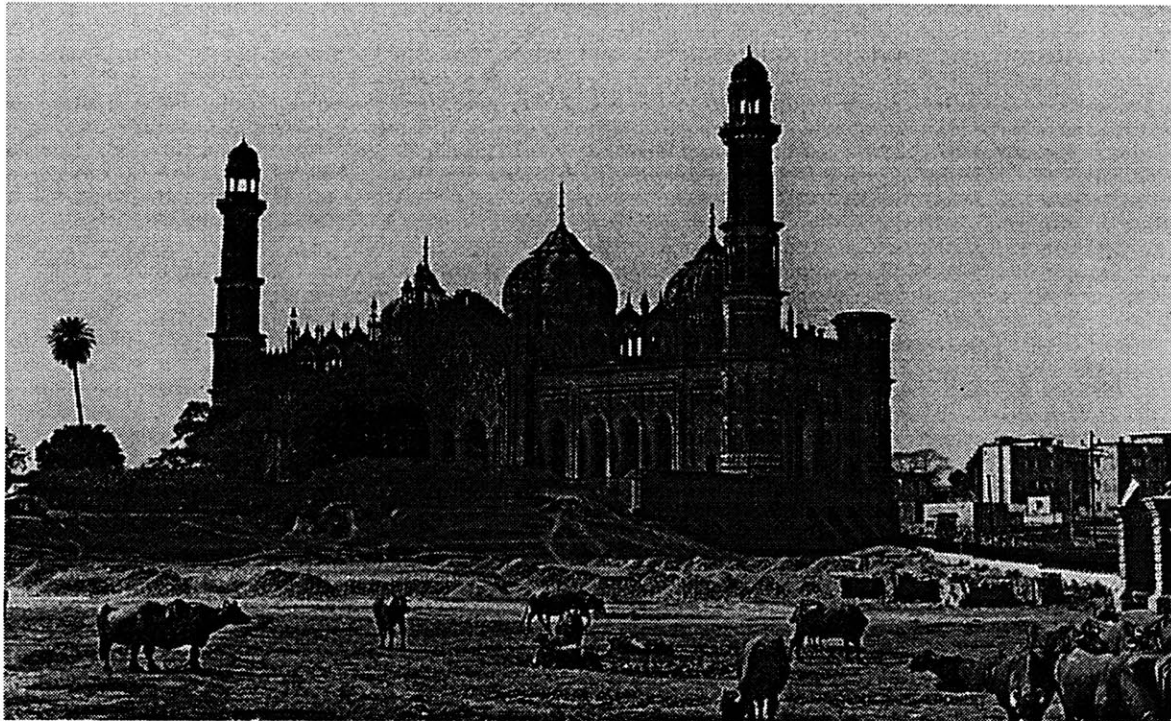
Figure 42: Jama Masjid.
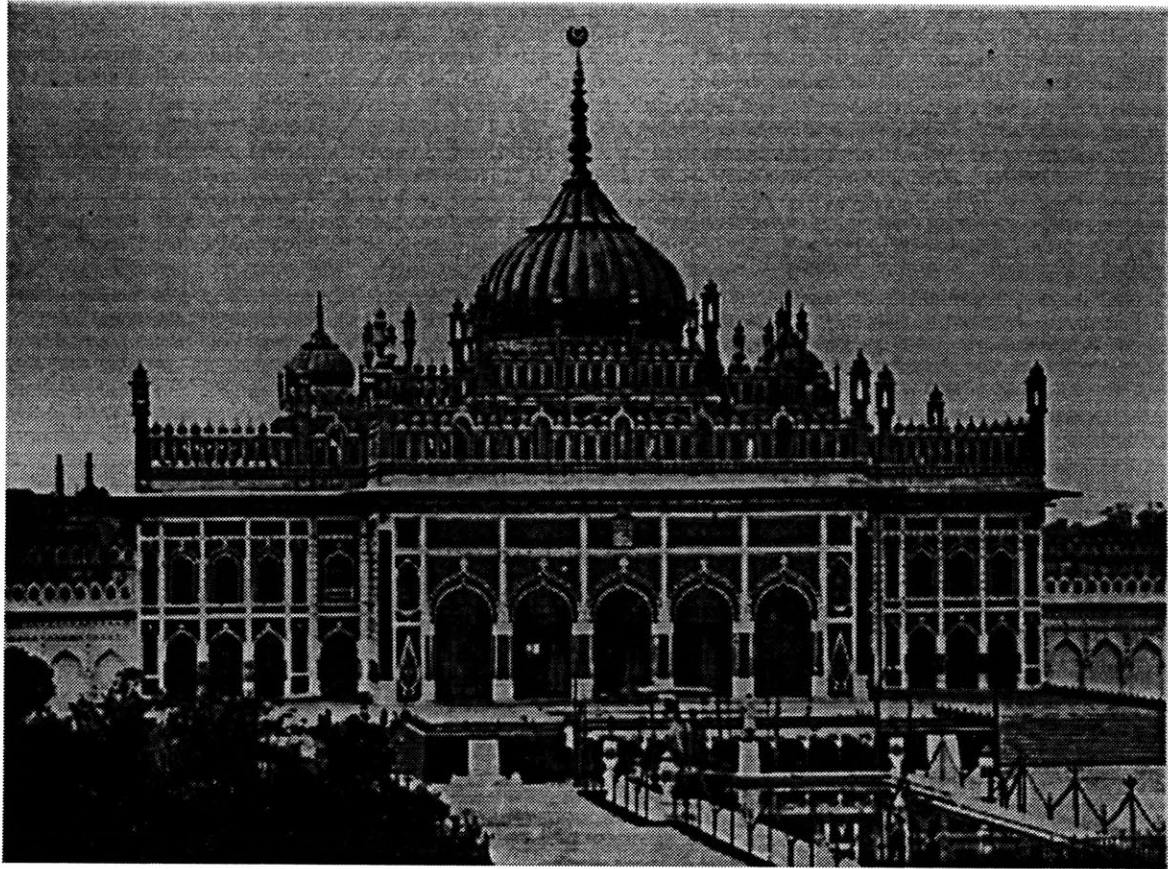
Figure 43: The Hoseinabad Imambara.
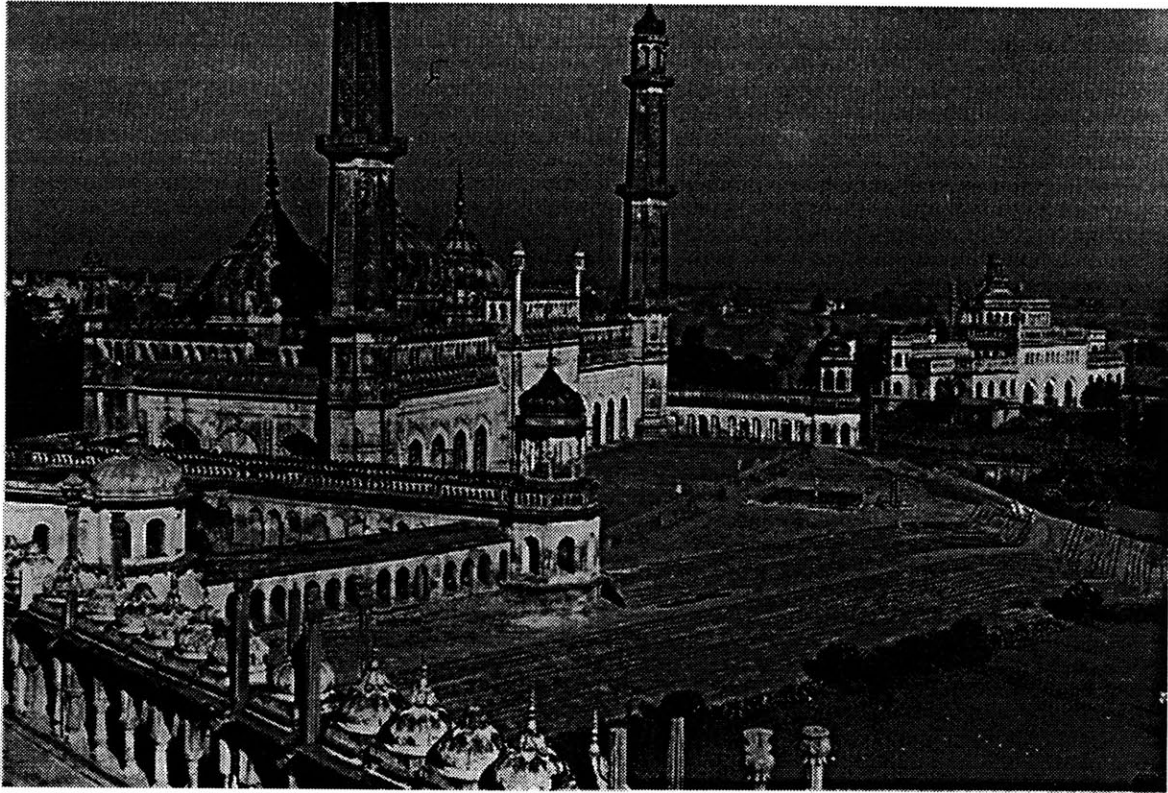
Figure 44: The Asafi or the Great Imambara.
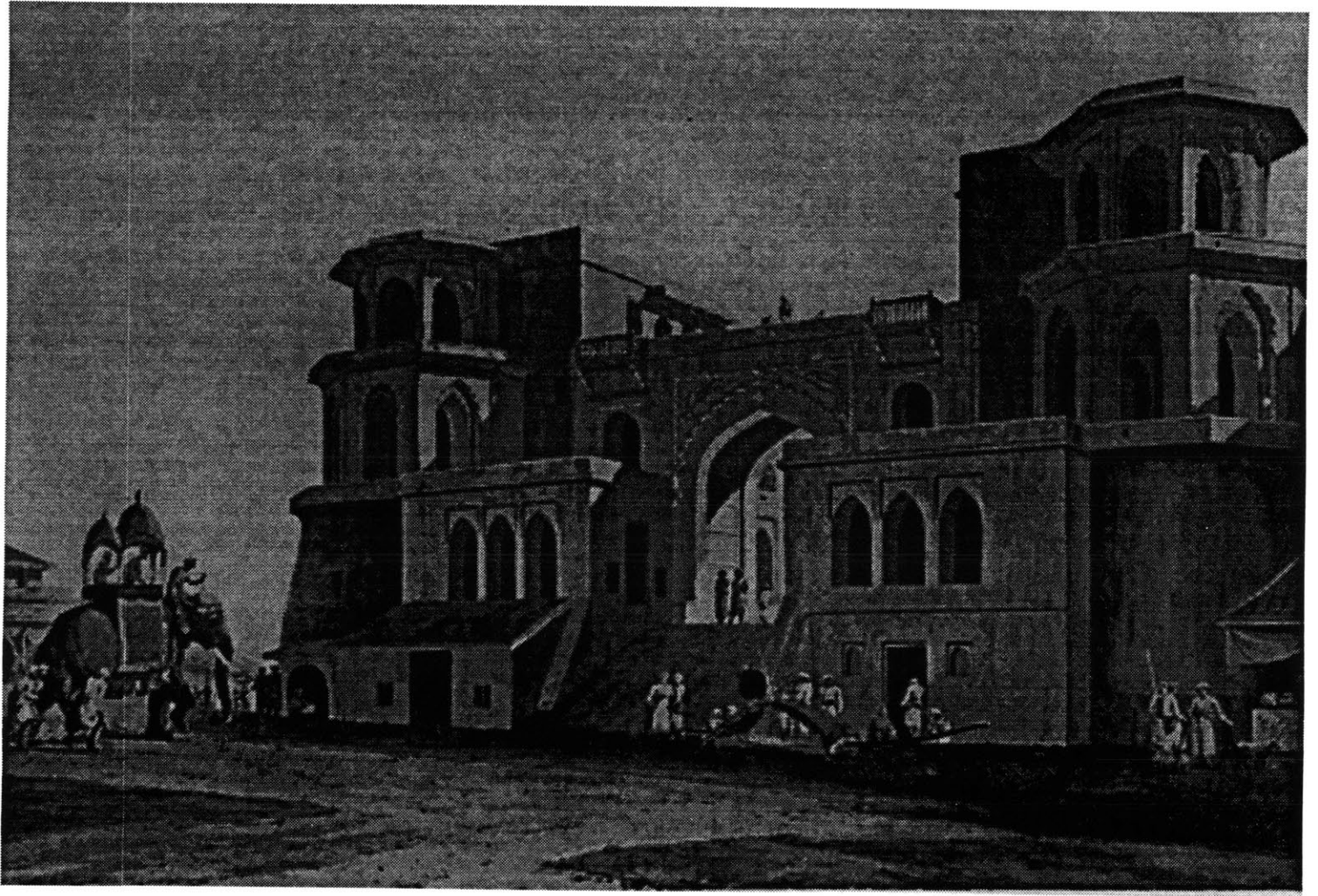
Figure 45: The Entrance Gate to Panch Mahalla. Notice that the solidity of the structure implied the citadel-like structure of the palace.
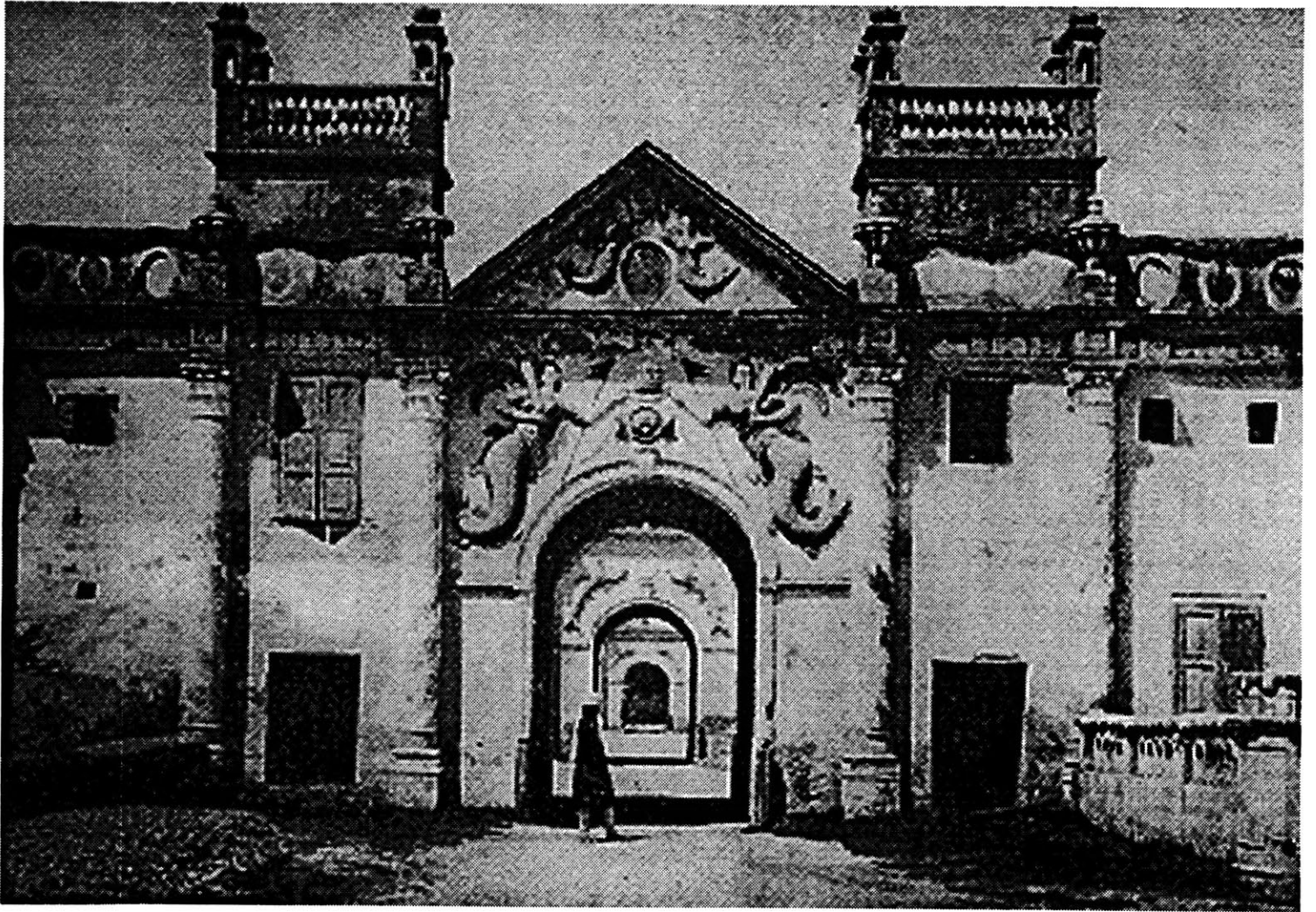
Figure 46: Series of walls leading to Nawabs' interior domain.
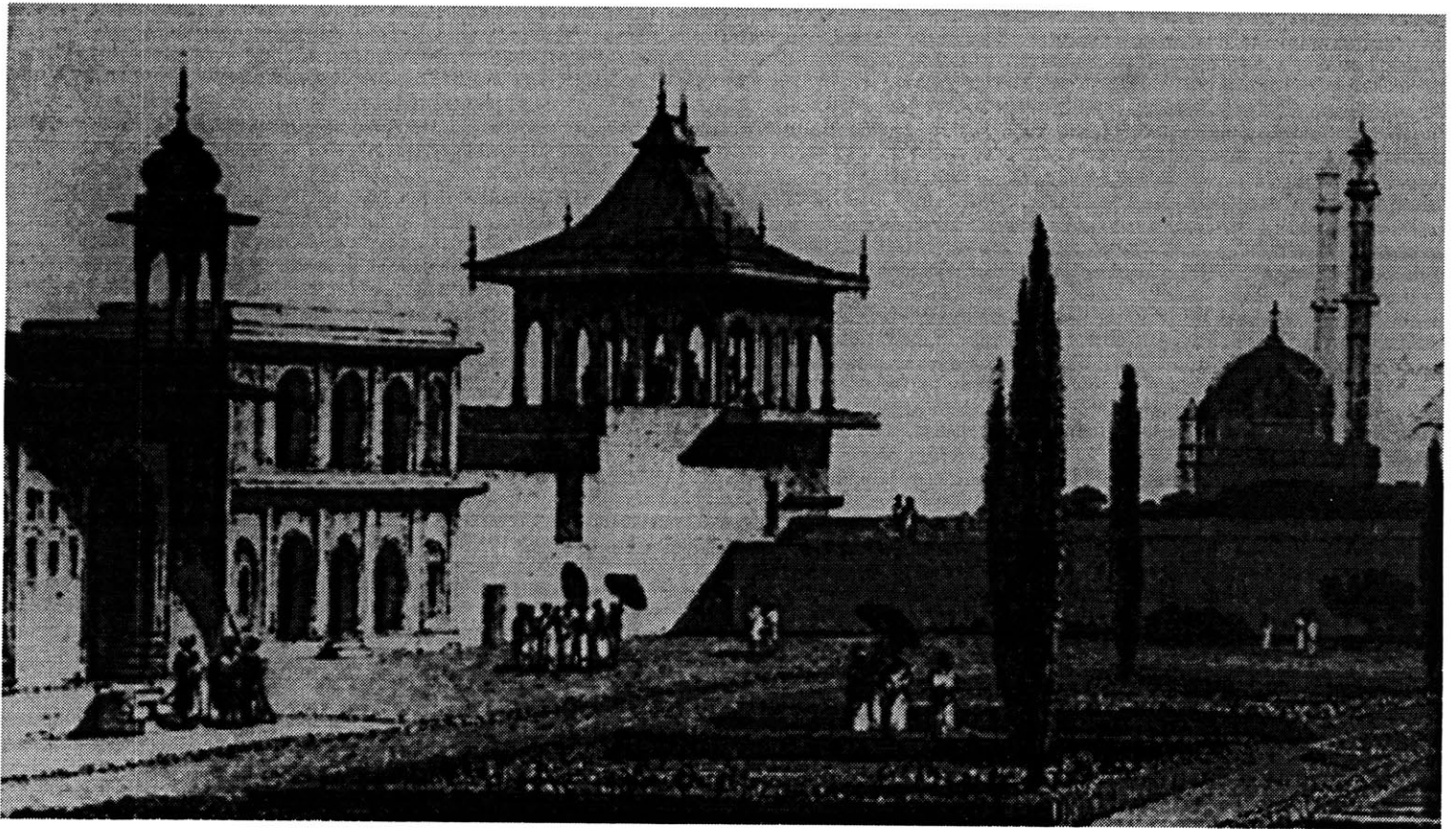
Figure 47: View of courtyard inside a Nawabi residence.
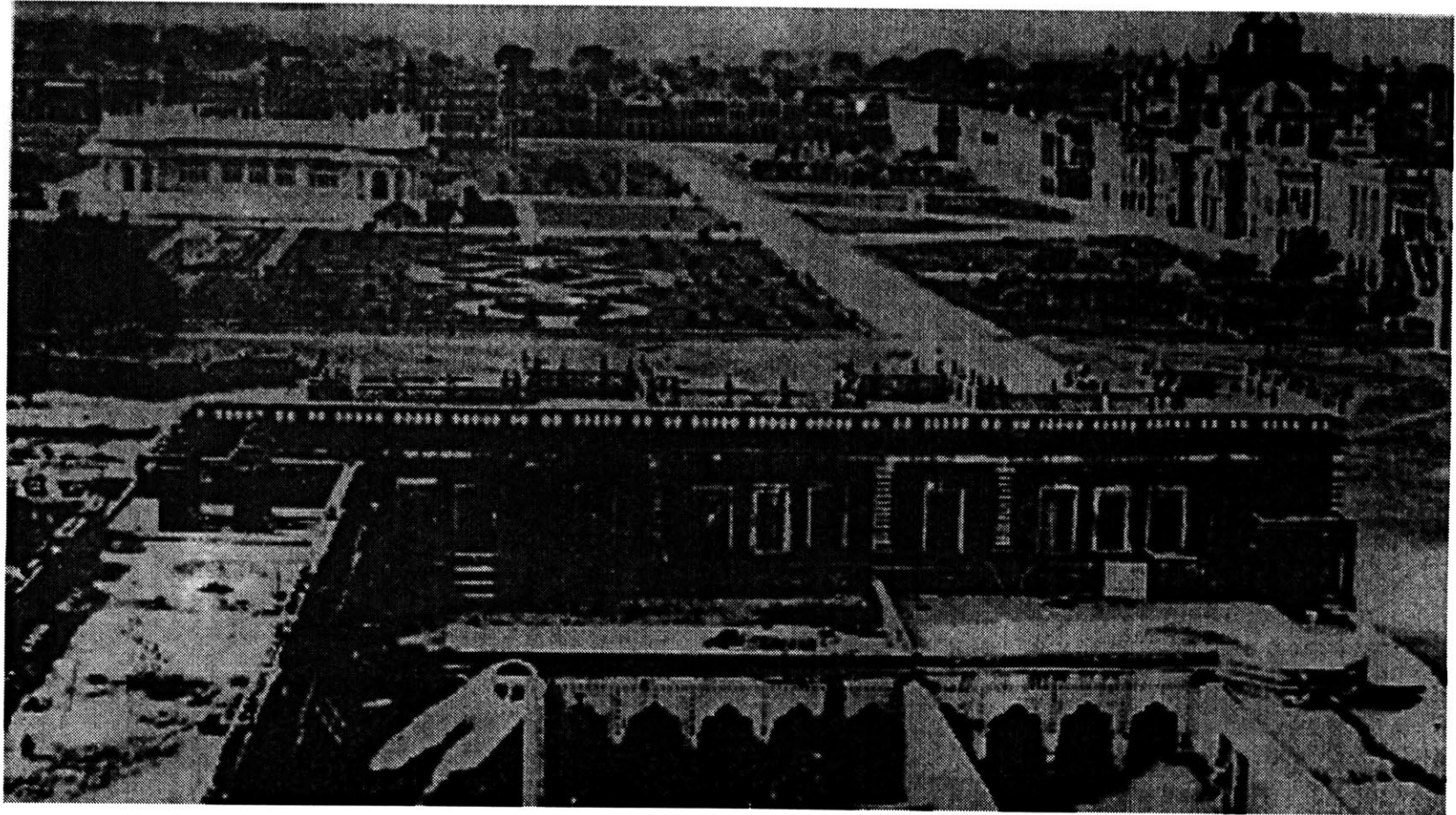
Figure 48: View of Kaiserbagh with the White Baradari in the center.
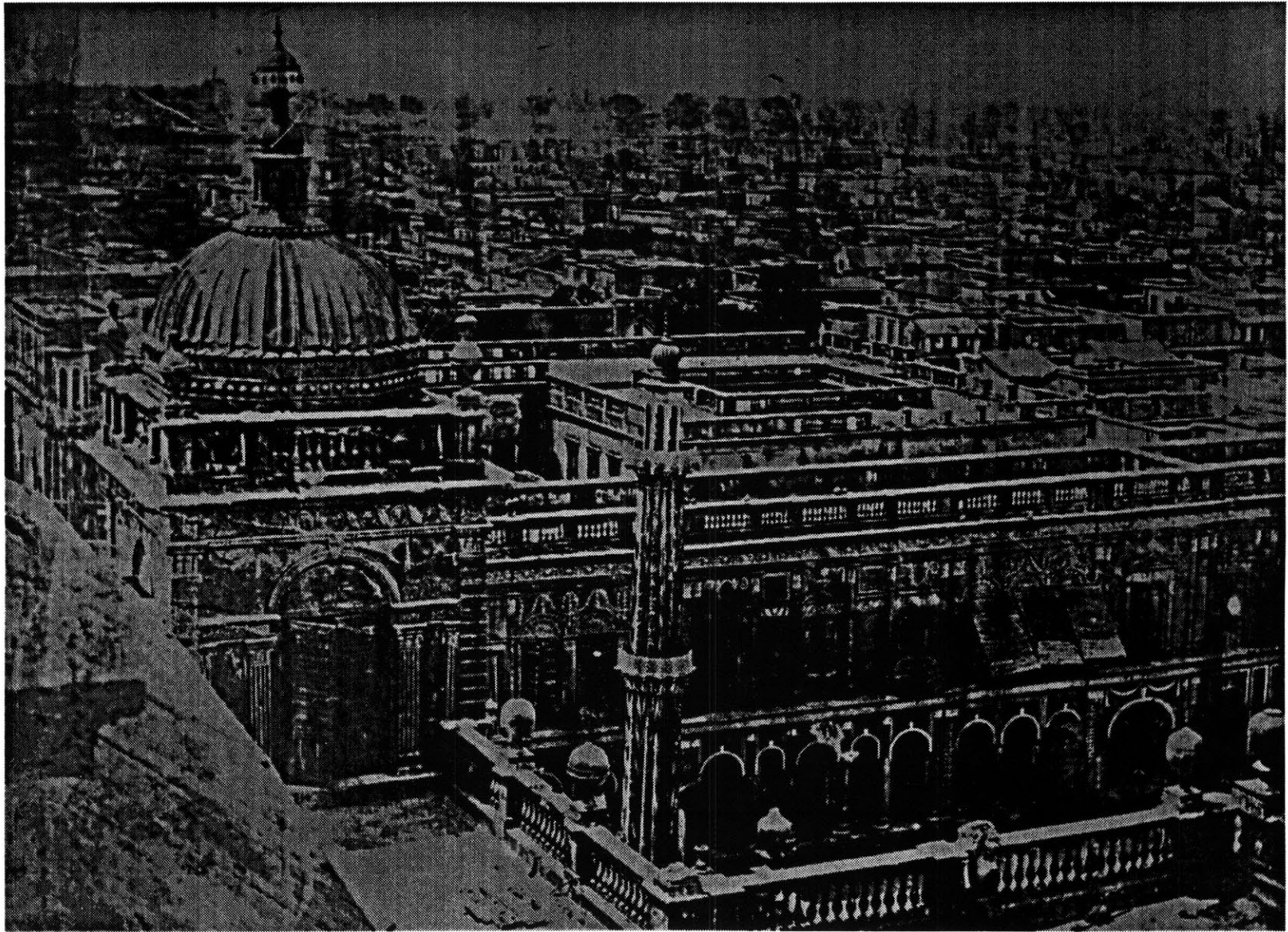
Figure 49: View across Lucknow (1858) from edge of Kaiserbagh. Notice the dense settlements surrounding the Palace.
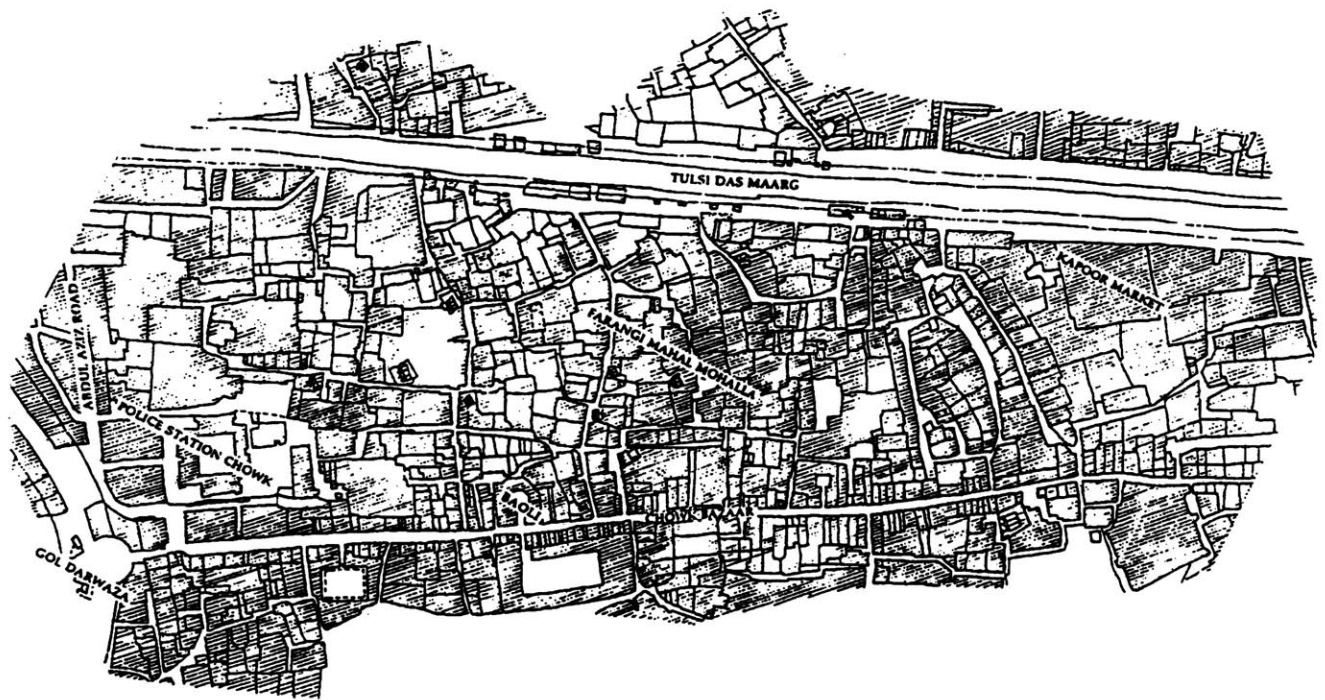
Figure 50: Urban morphology, Farangi Mahal Mohalla in the pre-colonial city.
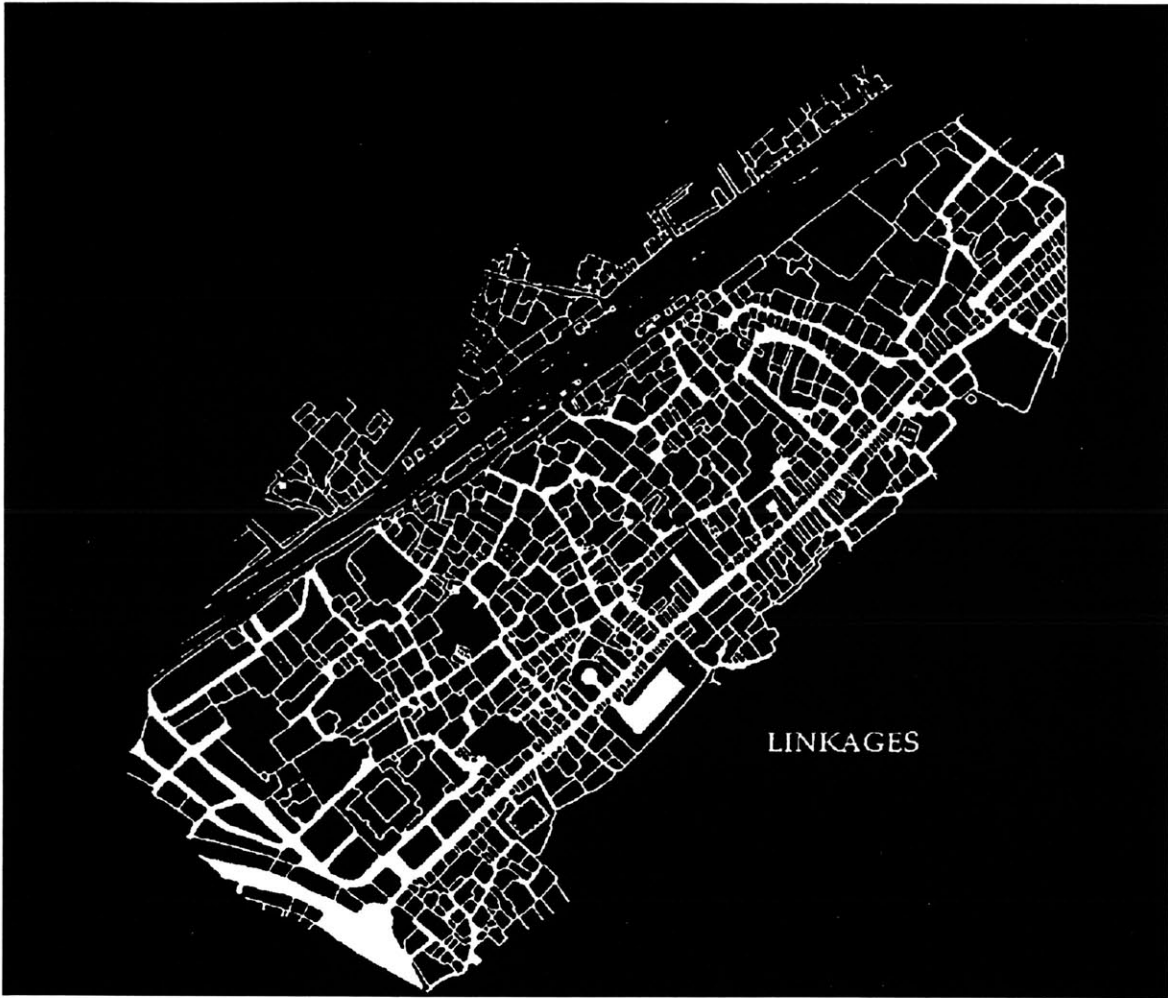
Figure 51: Figure showing the intricate street linkages within the Farangi Mahal Mohalla.
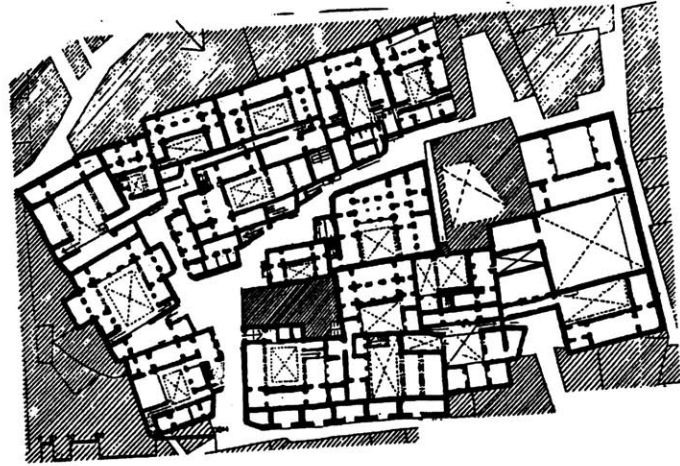
Figure 52: Farangi Mahal Mohalla, gated community. The gate at the end of the street can be closed-off and defended as a fortress.

Figure 53: View of a section of indigenous city (contemporary photo) showing the dense network of buildings, roof tops, courtyards and lanes.

Lucknow in 1856
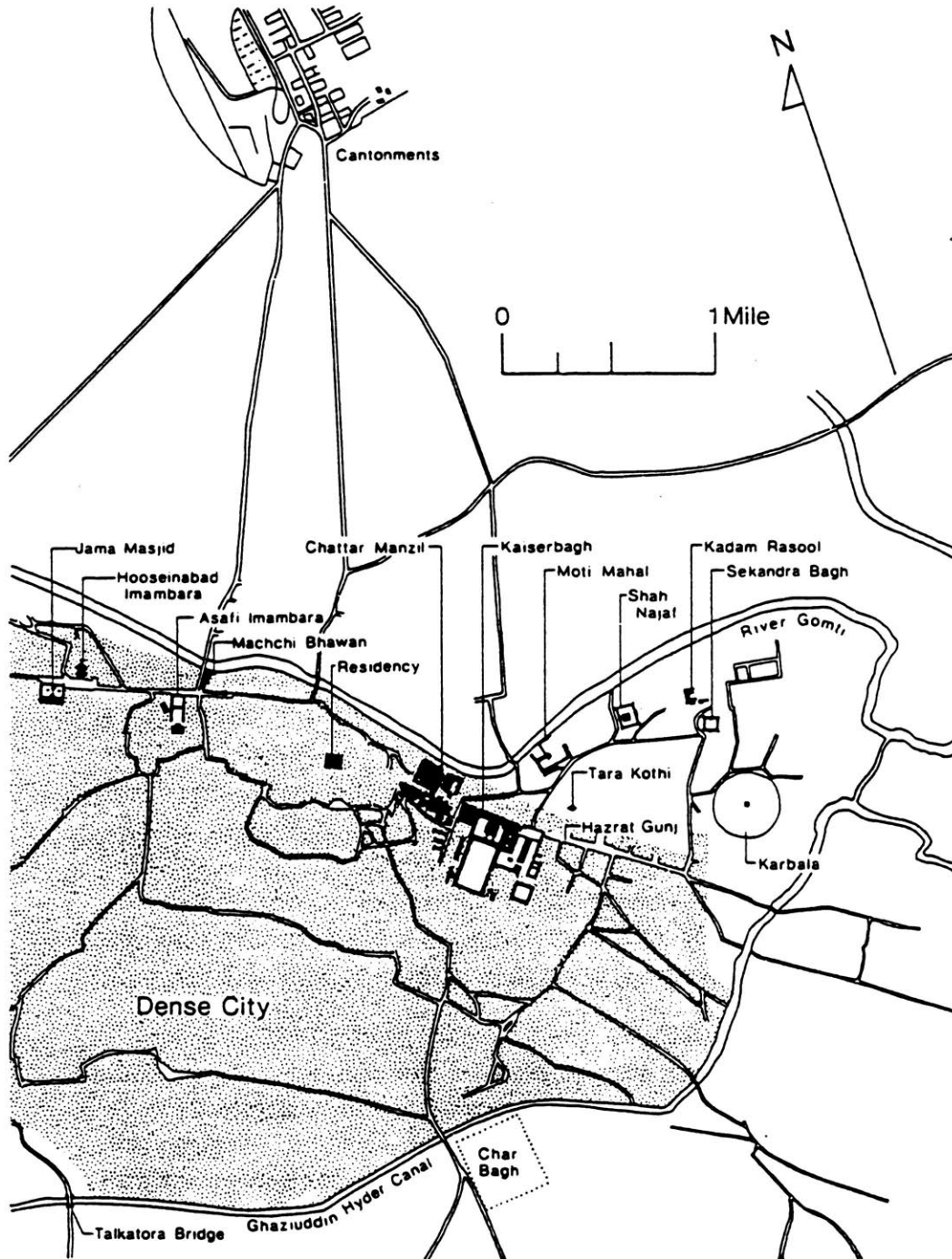
Figure 54: British map of Lucknow in 1856.

Figure 55: View of Entrance to Chauk.

Figure 56: Plan of city and environs of Lucknow in 1862-63 and 1865-66. Notice the dotted-lines south of Macchi Bhavan, these lines show the boundaries of a Mohalla.
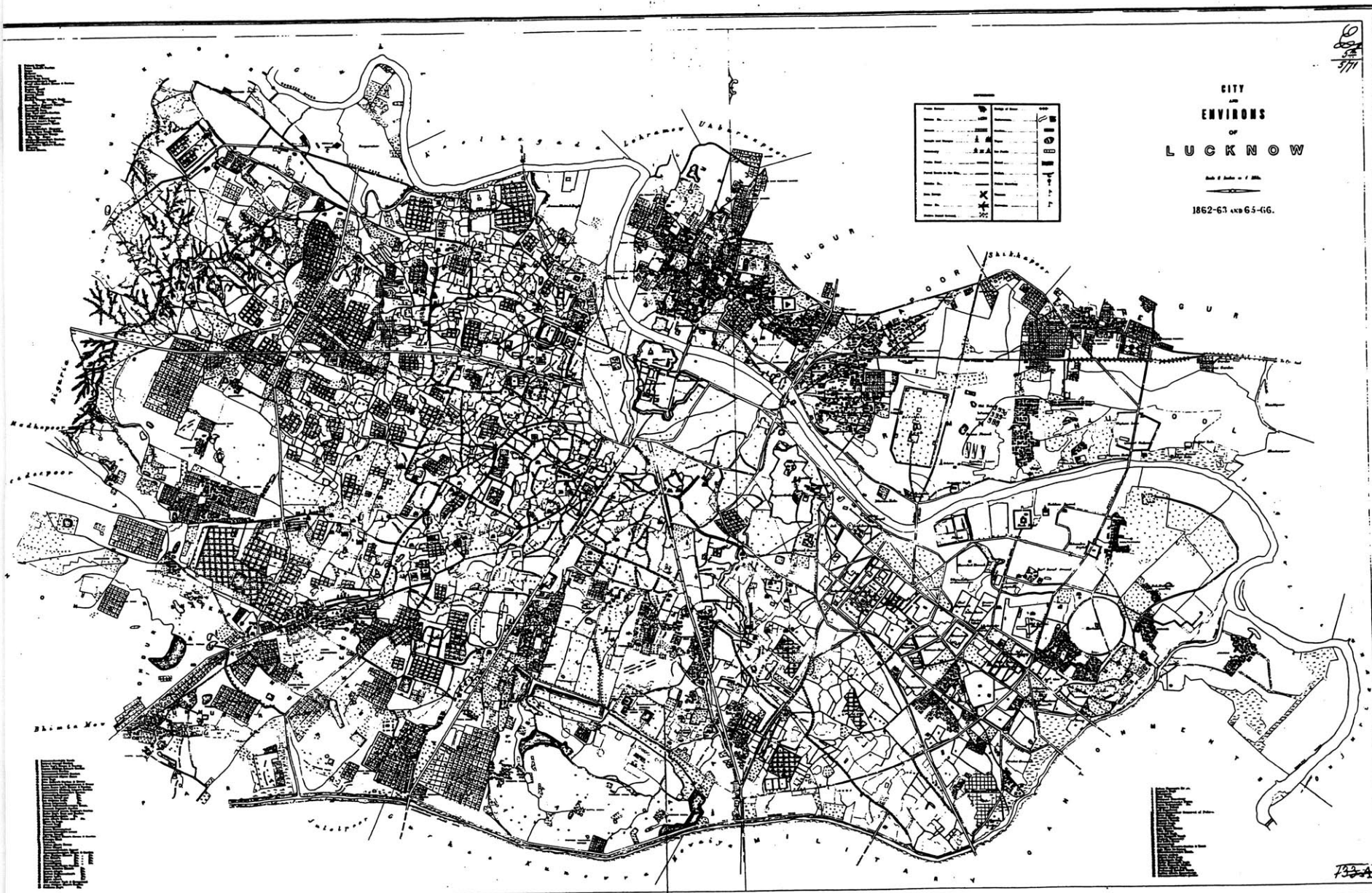
Figure 57: Contemporary street view of Hazratganj.

Figure 58: Contemporary view of Mall Road which connects Chattar Manzil with Hazratganj.
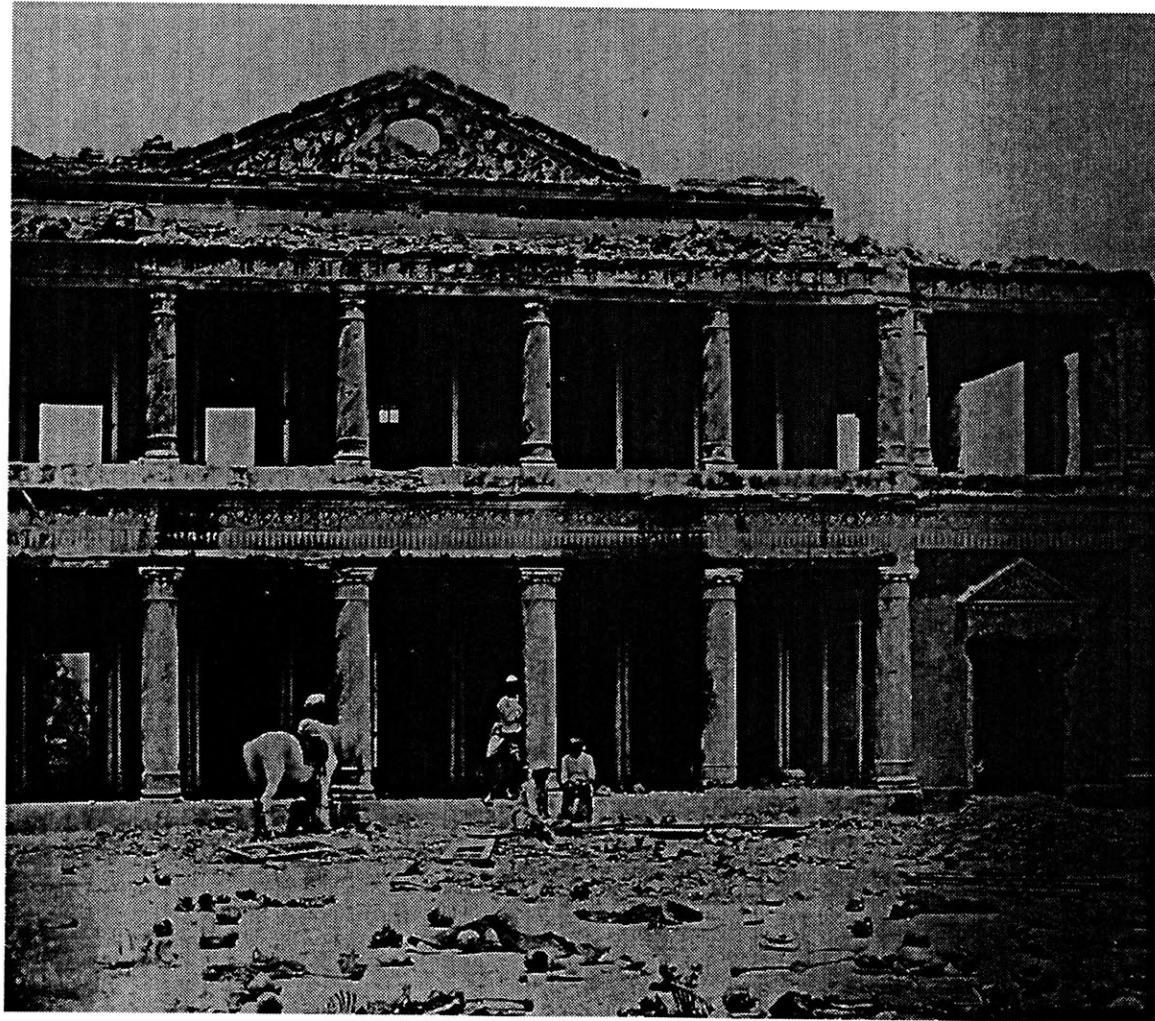
Figure 59: View of Sikandarbagh (1858) showing human skeletons of Indian soldiers on the ground.

Lucknow in 1858

(┼┼┼┼┼ indicates railway lines built by 1875)

Area of demolition

River Gomti

Jama Masjid

Hooseinabad Imambara

Chattar Manzil

Kaiserbagh

Kadam Rasool

Moti Mahal

Sekandra Bagh

Asofi Imambara

Shah Najaf

Machchi Bhawan

Site for botanical garden

Residency

Dense City

Tara Kothi

Parkland (later Wingfield Park)

N

Victoria Street

Hazrat Gunj

Aish Bagh (later site for cemetery, distillery and trenching pits)

Site for Railway Station

Site of New Cantonments

0   1 Mile

Ghaziuddin Hyder Canal

Talkatora Bridge

Site for Karbala

Figure 60: Sketch showing Robert Napier's transformation of Lucknow in 1858. Notice the area of demolition and the three roads emanating from the Macchi Bhavan. Also, notice the superimposition of straight roads in a nodal network placed on top of the city fabric. The site of the new Cantonment, site for the Railway Station and Civil Lines are clustered together.
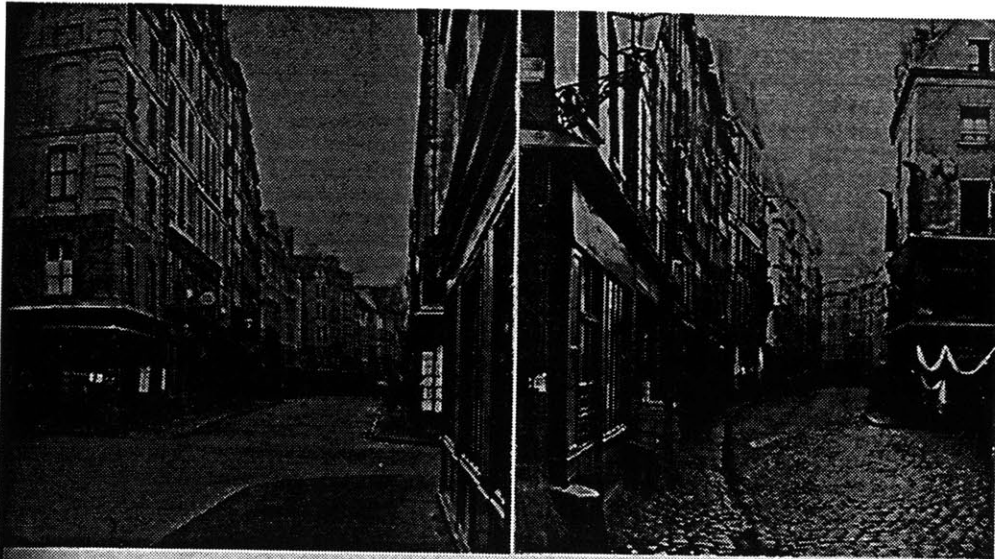
11, 12 Paris in the 1850s. Rue de la Ferronnerie near the Halles (*above, left*), seen from the crossroads of the Rue Saint-Denis and the Rue de la Reynie. Rue Saint-Honoré (*above, right*), looking west from the Rue de la Ferronnerie. This street was the main east-west route across the centre of Paris before the Rue de Rivoli was built.
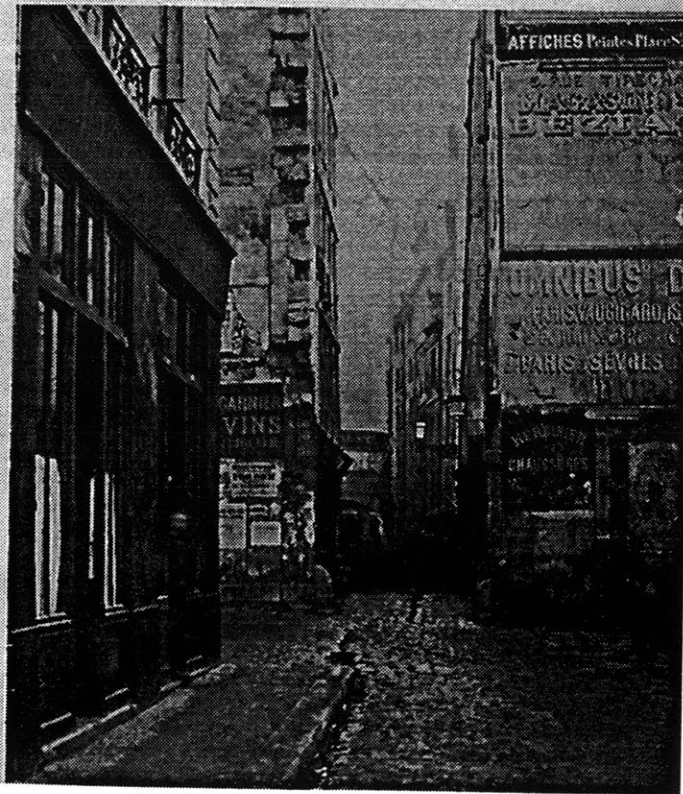
13 Paris in the 1850s. Rue Tirechape, from the Rue de Rivoli. This sinister alley is typical of many decrepit areas which stand just a few feet from Haussmann's new streets.

Figure 61: View of the Parisian streets in 1850.

Figure 62: Haussmann's design for Paris. Notice nodal network of wide streets superimposed upon the pre-industrial city fabric. Haussmann's design for Paris influenced Robert Napier's plan for the social and political control of Lucknow.
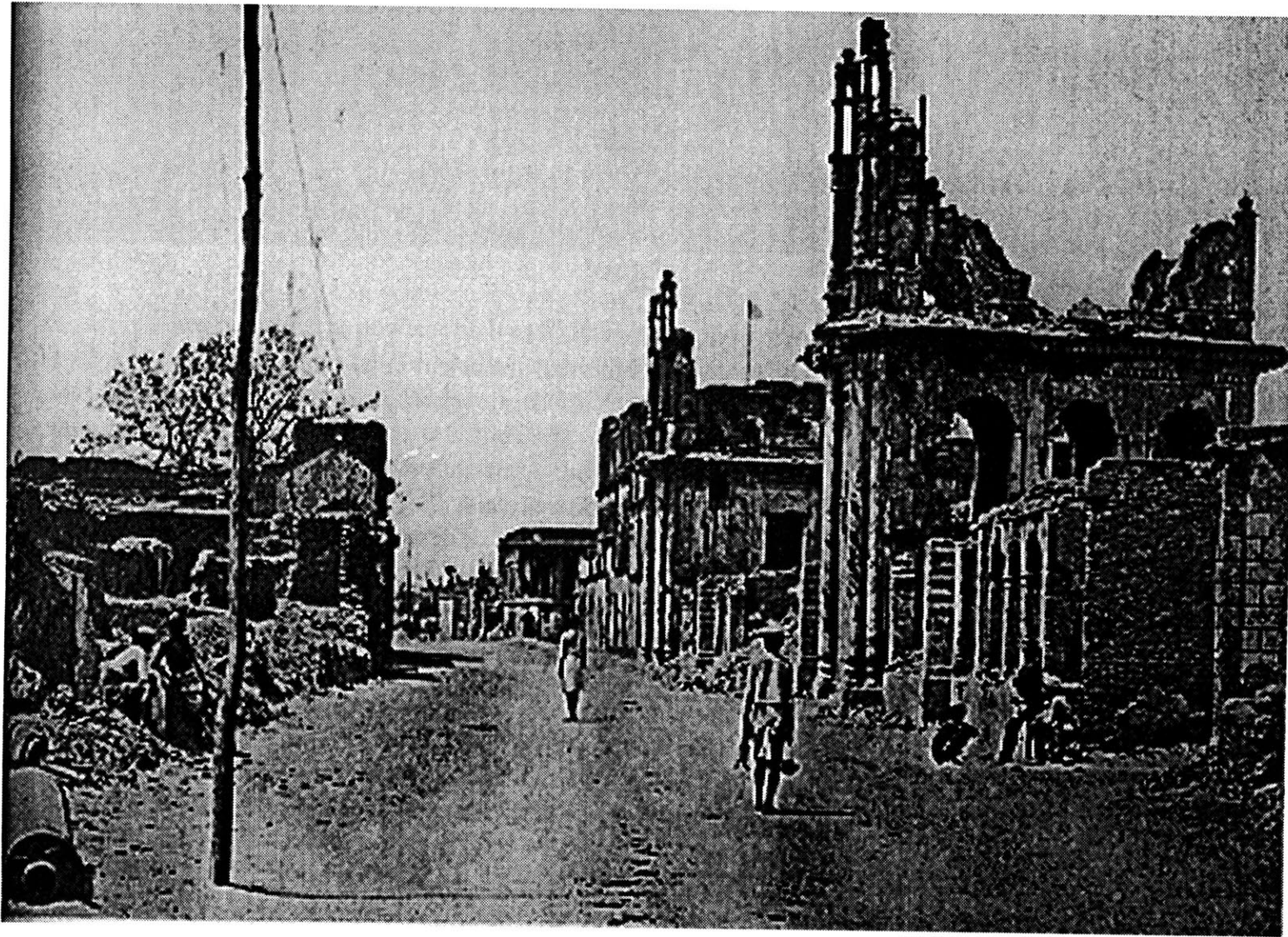
Figure 63: View showing extensive demolition and destruction in the aftermath of the First War of Indian Independence (1858).
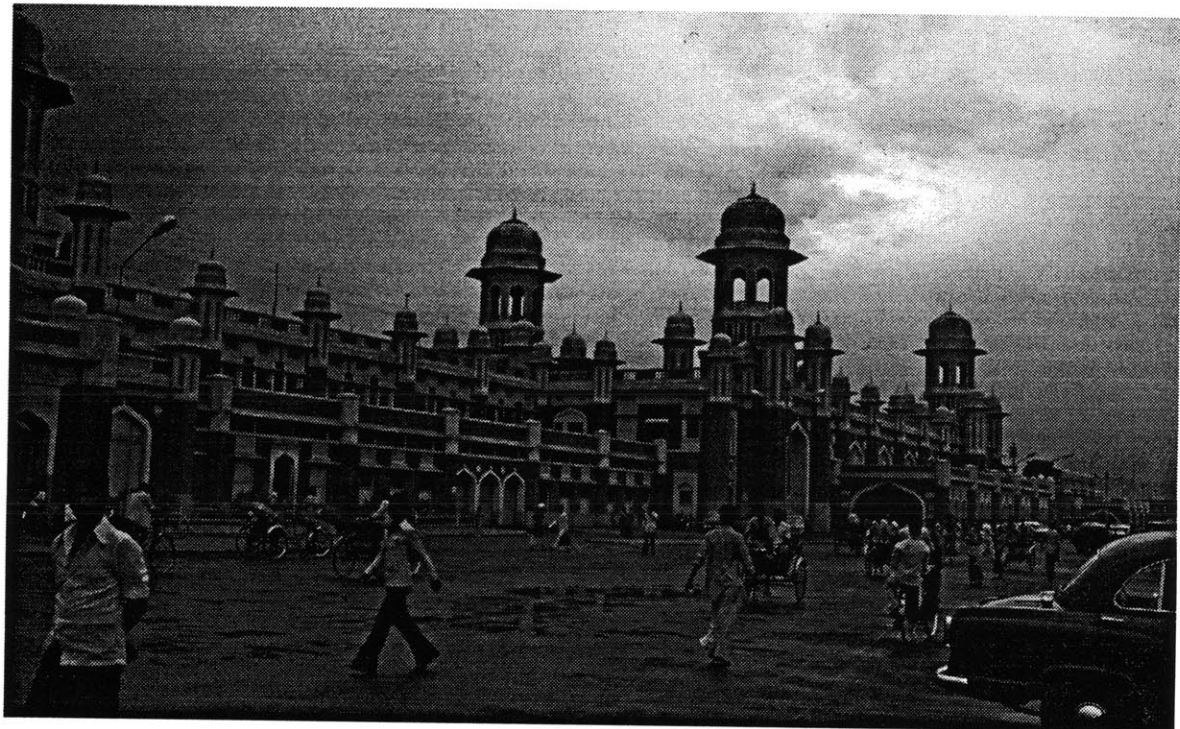
Figure 64: Contemporary view of the Railway Station in Lucknow.

Figure 65: Contemporary view showing the dominance of the Railway Station
building on the skyline of the dense city.

Figure 66: The clock tower of the General Post Office building in the
Civil Lines area of Lucknow.

Figure 67: View of surviving religious buildings and shrines in the pre-colonial city.

Figure 68: View of Hoseinabad area of the pre-colonial city.

List of Illustrations

13. *The British Residency, pre-War engraving*. Sharar, Abdul Halim. <u>Lucknow: The Last Phase of an Oriental Culture</u>. Paul Elek, 1975. p. 65.

14. *Constantia, human sculptural forms in stucco*. Cameron, Roderick. <u>Shadows from India</u>. New York: British Book Center, 1958. p. 156.

15. *Constantia, view from distance*. Jones, Rosie Llewellyn. "The Courtly Style: The Remaking of Lucknow." <u>Architecture in Victorian and Edwardian India</u>. Ed. Christopher W. London. Bombay: Marg Publications, 1994. p. 74.

16. *Constantia, view across from lake*. Cameron, Roderick. <u>Shadows from India</u>. New York: British Book Center, 1958. p. 157.

17. *Constantia, rear view*. Mazumdar, Sanjoy. Aga Khan Slide Archives No. IN82MA (Roll 25-30).

18. *Dilkusha, the isolated building with its column shows the grandeur of the composition. .* Jones, Rosie Llewellyn. "The Courtly Style: The Remaking of Lucknow." <u>Architecture in Victorian and Edwardian India</u>. Ed. Christopher W. London. Bombay: Marg Publications, 1994. p. 81.

19. *Farah Baksh, river front view (contemporary engraving)*. Tandan, B. "The Architecture of the Nawabs of Avadh, 1722-1836." <u>Facets of Indian Art: A symposium held at the Victoria and Albert Museum on 26, 27, 28 April and 1 May 1982</u>. Ed. Robert Skelton, et al. London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1986. p. 71.

20. *The British Residency, remains of the Banquet Hall, Grecian architecture was used as symbol of power*. Hürlimann, Martin. <u>India: The Landscape, the Monuments and the People</u>. New York: B. Westermann, 1928. p. 164.

21. *The British Residency, Banquet Hall*. Nilsson, Sten. <u>European Architecture in India 1750-1850</u>. London: Faber and Faber, 1968. PL. 35.

22. *Jama Masjid, south elevation decoration in stucco*. Mazumdar, Sanjoy. Aga Khan Slide Archives No. IN82MA (Roll 9-10).

23. *Constantia*. Tillotson, G.H.R. <u>The Tradition of Indian Architecture: Continuity, Controversy and Change since 1850</u>. New Haven: Yale UP, 1989. p. 9.

24. *Lucknow and its environs at the time of the First War of Indian Independence*. Sharar, Abdul Halim. <u>Lucknow: The Last Phase of an Oriental Culture</u>. Paul Elek, 1975. p. 68.

25. *General plan of Nawabi and Elite domain, 1857*. Jones, Rosie Llewellyn. <u>A Fatal Friendship</u>. Delhi: Oxford UP, 1992. p. 7.

26. *Ruins of British Residency in Lucknow*. Cameron, Roderick. <u>Shadows from India</u>. New York: British Book Center, 1958. p. 163.

27. *Grecian Order*. Nilsson, Sten. <u>European Architecture in India 1750-1850</u>. London: Faber and Faber, 1968. PL. 35.

28. *Plan showing early Nawabi palaces and religious buildings to the west of the city, the Chauk Road cutting through the center of the pre-colonial city, the British Residency, the Nawabi domain, and Hazratganj -- the European domain. The first Cantonment site implies this plan dates prior to 1807, when the British Cantonment was across the River Gomti across from Macchi Bhavan*. Jones,

Rosie Llewellyn. <u>A Fatal Friendship</u>. Delhi: Oxford UP, 1992. p. 6.

29. *Original sketch showing the strategic benefits of the Iron Bridge and the direct Kanpur Road.*

30. *Sketch showing areas of Lucknow developed during the reign of the Nawabs.* Kidwai, R.R. Lucknow: <u>The Lost Paradise</u>. Lucknow: S.R. Publications, 1993. p. 15.

31. *British map of Lucknow showing the connection between the Mariaon Cantonment, Residency and the Kanpur Cantonment.* (UP State Museum Archives). Hjortshoj, Keith. "Urban Structures and Transformations in Lucknow India." <u>Thesis</u>. (1979): Cornell. p. 77.

32. *Controlling India's architectural history by measuring Hindu columns relative to Grecian Orders in the construction of Knowledge of India's architecture. This illustration of designs for the Pavilion at Brighton was the work of Humphry Repton (1752-1818).* Archer, Mildred. <u>Indian architecture and the British</u>. London: RIBA, 1968. p. 30.

33. *Controlling India's geography through architectural symbolism. Detail of the inner court of the Indian Office (1867). The structure itself represents the British imperial empire while the columns represent the different Indian states.* Metcalf, Thomas. <u>An Imperial Vision: Indian Architecture and Britain's Raj</u>. Berkeley: U. of California, 1989. p. 4.

34. *Monument to Warren Hastings by Richard Westmabott 1830. Notice Hastings is dressed as a Roman and is next to a Brahman and Sikh.* Metcalf, Thomas R. <u>Ideologies of the Raj</u>. The New Cambridge History of India. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1994. p. 131.

35. *The Jai Vilas Palace at Gwalior. Metcalf argues that the Jai Vilas and the Kaiserbagh were similar for their playful appropriation of Classical Orders and architectural assemblage.* Chau Lakhi Gate Kaiserbagh (Pre-Mutiny). Tillotson, G.H.R. <u>The Tradition of Indian Architecture: Continuity, Controversy and Change since 1850</u>. New Haven: Yale UP, 1989. p. 28.

36. *The Kaiserbagh, view of interior compound.* Hjortshoj, Keith. "Urban Structures and Transformations in Lucknow India." <u>Thesis</u>. (1979): Cornell. p. 81.

37. *The Kaiserbagh, view of interior compound. (UP State Museum Archives).* Hjortshoj, Keith. "Urban Structures and Transformations in Lucknow India." <u>Thesis</u>. (1979): Cornell. p. 80.

38. *Macchi Bhavan became the principal military post under Robert Napier's plan of 1858.* Sharar, Abdul Halim. <u>Lucknow: The Last Phase of an Oriental Culture</u>. Paul Elek, 1975. Photo 4.

39. *Farah Baksh Palace, Gulshane Aram and Aish Mahal.* Hasan, Amir. <u>Palace Culture of Lucknow</u>. Delhi: B.R. Publishing, 1983. PL. XX.

40. *View of Chattar Manzil Palace Complex from across the river.* Hasan, Amir. <u>Vanishing Culture of Lucknow</u>. Delhi: B.R. Publishing, 1990.

41. *View of Kaiserbagh Palace.* Tandan, B. "The Architecture of the Nawabs of Avadh, 1722-1836." <u>Facets of Indian Art: A symposium held at the Victoria and Albert Museum on 26, 27, 28 April and 1 May 1982</u>. Ed. Robert Skelton, et al. London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1986. p. 71.

42. *Jama Mosque.* Asher, Catherine B. "The Later Mughals and Mughal Successor States: Architecture in Oudh,

Murshidabad, and Rampur." <u>Architecture in Victorian and Edwardian India</u>. Ed. Christopher W. London. Bombay: Marg Publications, 1994. p. 94.

43. *The Hoseinabad Imambara.* Sharar, Abdul Halim. <u>Lucknow: The Last Phase of an Oriental Culture</u>. Paul Elek, 1975. Photo 18.

44. *The Jamasjid Masjid -- now in dilapidated condition. The Masjid was occupied by the British army garrison from 1858-1888.* Tillotson, G.H.R. <u>The Tradition of Indian Architecture: Continuity, Controversy and Change since 1850</u>. New Haven: Yale UP, 1989. p. 7.

45. *The entrance gate to Panch Mahalla. Notice that the solidity of the structure implied the citadel-like structure of the palace.* Sharar, Abdul Halim. <u>Lucknow: The Last Phase of an Oriental Culture</u>. Paul Elek, 1975. Photo 7.

46. *Series of walls leading to Nawabs' interior domain.* Hasan, Amir. <u>Palace Culture of Lucknow</u>. Delhi: B.R. Publishing, 1983. XXIIIA.

47. *View of courtyard inside Nawabi residence.* Tandan, B. "The Architecture of the Nawabs of Avadh, 1722-1836." <u>Facets of Indian Art: A symposium held at the Victoria and Albert Museum on 26, 27, 28 April and 1 May 1982</u>. Ed. Robert Skelton, et al. London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1986. p. 70.

48. *View of Kaiserbagh with the White Baradari in the center.* Hasan, Amir. <u>Vanishing Culture of Lucknow</u>. Delhi: B.R. Publishing, 1990.

49. *View across Lucknow (1858) from edge of Kaiserbagh. Notice the dense settlements surrounding the Palace. (UP State Museum Archives).* Hjortshoj, Keith. "Urban Structures and Transformations in Lucknow India." <u>Thesis</u>. (1979): Cornell. p. 79.

50. *Urban morphology: Farangi Mahal Mohalla in the pre-colonial city.* Arora, Sumita. "Aspects of Urbanism in the World of Islam: Lucknow an Indian Islamic City." <u>Thesis</u> (1992): Centre for Environmental Planning and Technology, Ahmedabad. PL. 3.2.1.3. - Institutions VI.

51. *Figure showing the intricate street linkages within the Farangi Mahal Mohalla.* Arora, Sumita. "Aspects of Urbanism in the World of Islam: Lucknow an Indian Islamic City." <u>Thesis</u> (1992): Centre for Environmental Planning and Technology, Ahmedabad. PL. 3.2.1.4 - Urban Tissue IV.

52. *Farangi Mahal Mohalla, gated community. The gate at the end of the street can be closed-off and defended as a fortress.* Arora, Sumita. "Aspects of Urbanism in the World of Islam: Lucknow an Indian Islamic City." <u>Thesis</u> (1992): Centre for Environmental Planning and Technology, Ahmedabad. PL. 3.2.1.4 - Urban Tissue II.

53. *View of a section of indigenous city (contemporary photo) showing the dense network of buildings, roof tops, courtyards and lanes.* Mazumdar, Sanjoy. Aga Khan Slide Archives No. IN82MA (Roll 1-1).

54. *British map of Lucknow in 1856.* Oldenberg, Veena Talwar. <u>The Making of Colonial Lucknow 1856-57</u>. Delhi: Oxford UP, 1989. p. 22.

55. *View of Entrance to Chauk.* Mazumdar, Sanjoy. Aga Khan Slide Archives No. IN82MA (Roll 17-14).

56. *Plan of city and environs of Lucknow in 1862-63 and 1865-66. Notice the dotted-lines south of Macchi Bhavan, these*

lines show the boundaries of a Mohalla. Source unknown.

57. *Contemporary street view of Hazratganj.* Mazumdar, Sanjoy. Aga Khan Slide Archives No. IN82MA (Roll 25-28).

58. *Contemporary view of Mall Road which connects Chattar Manzil with Hazratganj.* Mazumdar, Sanjoy. Aga Khan Slide Archives No. IN82MA (Roll 14-9).

59. *View of Sikandarbagh (1858) showing human skeletons of Indian soldiers on the ground.* Desmond, Ray. Victorian India in Focus. London: India Office Library and Records, 1982. p. 68.

60. *Sketch showing Robert Napier's transformation of Lucknow in 1858. Notice the area of demolition and the three roads emanating from the Macchi Bhavan. Also, notice the superimposition of straight roads in a nodal network placed on top of the city fabric. The site of the new Cantonment, site for the Railway Station and Civil Lines are clustered together.* Oldenberg, Veena Talwar. The Making of Colonial Lucknow 1856-57. Delhi: Oxford UP, 1989. p. 32.

61. *View of the Parisian streets in 1850.* Sutcliffe, Anthony. The Autumn of Central Paris: The Defeat of Town Planning 1850-1970. Studies in Urban History I. Montreal: McGill-Queen's UP, 1971. PL. 11, 12, 13.

62. *Haussmann's design for Paris. Notice nodal network of wide streets superimposed upon the pre-industrial city fabric. Haussmann's design for Paris influenced Robert Napier's plan for the social and political control of Lucknow.* Source not known.

63. *View (1858) showing extensive demolition and destruction in the aftermath of the First War of Indian Independence.*

1858. Watson, Francis. A Concise History of India. 1974. London: Thames and Hudson, 1979. p. 143.

64. *Contemporary view of the Railway Station in Lucknow.* Mazumdar, Sanjoy. Aga Khan Slide Archives No. IN82MA (Roll 24-13).

65. *Contemporary view showing the dominance of the Railway Station building on the skyline of the dense city.* Mazumdar, Sanjoy. Aga Khan Slide Archives No. IN82MA (Roll 20-18).

66. *The clock tower of the General Post Office building in the Civil Lines area of Lucknow.* Mazumdar, Sanjoy. Aga Khan Slide Archives No. IN82MA (Roll 13-10.

67. *View of surviving religious buildings and shrines in the pre-colonial city.* Mazumdar, Sanjoy. Aga Khan Slide Archives No. IN87HO (Roll 15-3).

68. *View of Hoseinabad area of the pre-colonial city.* Mazumdar, Sanjoy. Aga Khan Slide Archives No. IN87HO (Roll 15-1).

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191

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194

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