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Monumental Visions: Architectural Photography in India, 1840-1901

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Thesis submitted for PhD

2010

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Declaration for PhD thesis

I have read and understood regulation 17.9 of the Regulations for students of the School of Oriental and African Studies concerning plagiarism. I undertake that all the material presented for examination is my own work and has not been written for me, in whole or in part by any other person. I also undertake that any quotation or paraphrase from the published or unpublished work of another person has been duly acknowledged in the work which I present for examination.

Sophie Gordon

ABSTRACT

The thesis is an examination of architectural photography produced in India during the period 1840 to 1901. The study raises a number of concerns that divide into two broad groups:

1. The documentation of Indian architecture and the creation of an architectural history for India, looking specifically at the central role of James Fergusson
2. The dissemination and interpretation of architectural photographs, looking at three groups of photographs that serve as case studies.

James Fergusson (1808-86) made extensive use of photography in his work. Fergusson's belief in the importance of photography influenced the documentation of Indian architecture and the writing of its history. Fergusson's methodology is examined alongside the work of Alexander Cunningham and their contemporaries working on Indian architecture.

The case studies address three specific groups of photographs: photographs of Lucknow; photographs of Vijayanagara, and the publication of the photographically illustrated book, *Architecture in Dharwar and Mysore* (London, 1866) and its two companion volumes. Specific issues addressed include the impact of historical events on the interpretation of photographs, such as the 1857 Uprising; the effect that photographic processes have on the appearance and interpretation of photography, and the different visual languages that emerge from different working contexts, such as official commissions on behalf of the Government or commercial imperatives.

This leads to an examination of photographs by Ahmad Ali Khan, Felice Beato, Samuel Bourne and J.E. Saché in Lucknow; by Alexander Greenlaw, William Pigou, Andrew Neill, E.D. Lyon, H.H. Cole and Lawrie & Co. in Vijayanagara, and through the papers of T.C. Hope, the producer of the three volumes of 1866, an examination of the production and reception of a group of photographically illustrated books in the mid-nineteenth century.

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INTRODUCTION

OUTLINE AND METHODOLOGY

This thesis will be an examination of architectural photography produced in India during the period 1840 to 1901, focussing on particular groups of photographs that will serve as case studies. This study has raised a number of concerns and questions about architectural photographs of India and they fall into two broad groups: the first group focuses on the documentation of Indian architecture and the creation of an architectural history for India, while the second group of questions concentrates on the interpretation and dissemination of the photographs.

The first set of questions, which focuses on the documentation of Indian architecture and the creation of an architectural history, looks particularly at the role played by James Fergusson (1808-86). By the time of his death, Fergusson was recognised as one of Britain's leading architectural historians and commentators on all aspects of architecture from India and elsewhere. I am particularly concerned with the extent that Fergusson bases his work on photographs, and how this might affect his working practice and subsequent ideas about Indian architecture. Conversely, I am interested in what Fergusson's engagement with photography tells us about the Victorian belief in photographs. I am also concerned with the influence that Fergusson's version of architectural history has on others and how his methodology compares with that of the other leading figure in the study of Indian architecture, Alexander Cunningham (1814-93), who eventually became the Director of the Archaeological Survey of India. This leads to questions over the influence that Fergusson as a historian and a curator had on the photographic documentation of Indian architecture.

The second group of questions is concerned with the reception, interpretation and dissemination of photographs of India. How does the public interpret these photographs? How does the public encounter these works? How do the processes of photography (including the printing techniques and methods for dissemination) affect

the appearance and interpretation of the photographs? What are the forces that create and direct different visual languages found within these photographs?

These questions are answered throughout the thesis using evidence retrieved from the photographs. The photographs are used as primary source materials, gathered from various public and private collections and they are situated alongside other types of visual material as well as archival manuscripts. The photographs have not been selected to prove or disprove a theory, but rather they together contribute towards the questions raised and the ideas presented as a result. This has led to the structure of the thesis, which begins with this introduction providing a historiographical outline of the study of Indian architecture in the nineteenth century. The introduction is followed by four main chapters and a conclusion. Within the introduction, the role of James Fergusson and his relationship with photography is addressed.

The first chapter presents a history of the study of photography which allows one of the central questions of the thesis about the changing interpretation of photographs to be discussed. At the same time, this thesis is also situated as emerging from this historical process of shifting photographic interpretations. As a central part of my methodology, the thesis demonstrates an awareness of the changing nature of scholarship. Photographs undergo different readings over time, as do architectural sites; an awareness of this informs our past and future readings, as time allows for the re-interpretation of a body of work or the acknowledgement of a newly significant group of objects. The first chapter outlines some of these changes, as well as providing a critical assessment of previous scholarship on photography from India.

The case studies

The three remaining chapters function as case studies, concentrating on three distinct groups of architectural photographs produced in India in the nineteenth century. Within each individual case study a chronological framework is developed, which emerges from the selection of the photographs. The case studies themselves grew from the discovery of significant bodies of unstudied material, respectively the identification of hitherto unrecognised work by the Indian photographer Ahmad Ali Khan produced during the 1850s in Lucknow; the collection of negatives made by the

British photographer Alexander Greenlaw (1818-70) at Vijayanagara, in southern India, and the discovery of an archive of papers concerning the publication in 1866 of a set of photographically illustrated books on Indian architecture, with a text contributed by James Fergusson, amongst others.¹

The first case study looks at architectural photography in the city of Lucknow, which became one of the most photographed locations in nineteenth-century India because of the events of the 1857 Uprising.² The city underwent dramatic physical, social and cultural changes over the years following 1857-8. Through uncovering the work of Ahmad Ali Khan, one of the very few photographers who worked in Lucknow both before and after 1857, it is possible to map some of these changes. It is also possible to identify a shift in the interpretation of images of the city, using 1857 as a watershed moment. Khan's early work has typically been absorbed into the post-1857 imagery that is viewed and interpreted within a British colonial context that transformed the Uprising into one of the most mythologised and traumatic events of empire. Through the comparison of albums in the British Library and the Alkazi Collection, it was possible to uncover new examples of Khan's work, providing a significant number of pre-1857 photographs with which to work. This work suggests there was a transformation in the perception and depiction of Lucknow from an Islamic cultural centre and seat of royal power into a battle-scarred, yet ultimately peaceful, British colonial administrative centre. After the Uprising, Lucknow attracted a large number of commercial photographers who were drawn by the opportunities offered by a site of such emotional value. The work produced by these photographers focuses on sites associated with the Uprising, although occasionally this colonial vision slips and a pre-1857 Lucknow can still be glimpsed.

The second case study is an examination of photography carried out at the site of Vijayanagara, the former capital city of a powerful fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Hindu kingdom. The production of these images is part of the wider story of the colonial desire to document and record archaeological and architectural sites in India,

¹ Photographs by Ahmad Ali Khan have been identified in the British Library and in the Alkazi Collection; almost all the surviving Greenlaw negatives are in the Alkazi Collection of Photography; the manuscripts concerning the 1866 volumes are in the British Library, Mss Eur D705/28.

² The principal events of the Uprising, broadly dating from 29 March 1857 to 1 November 1858, will be outlined in chapter two.

this desire itself part of the discovery of India's history through the gathering of empirical data.³ The architecture at Vijayanagara was seen by the British as an example of a 'late Hindu' style that they placed low down in the emerging canon of Indian architectural styles. But although of a lesser architectural status, the site still attracted visitors, both tourists and scholars, in larger numbers than its perceived importance might suggest. It is possible that the historical legacy of the Vijayanagar empire had a significance for the British *Raj*: the Vijayanagar empire came to be understood by the British as a once powerful and controlling kingdom that ruled a large region of southern India; at first they resisted the onslaught of the surrounding Muslim kingdoms, but eventually they lost their power and status, and the empire was gradually reduced to ruins over the course of two centuries. Both romantic antiquarians and less poetic administrators may have seen the fate of one empire providing a potential parallel course for another.

The main collections consulted for this case study were the India Office collection at the British Library, the Alkazi Collection of Photography and the Victoria and Albert Museum. Identifying the different photographers who worked at Vijayanagara (sometimes called Hampi) was often a difficult task given the multi-variant spellings of the site (e.g. Beejanugger or Humpee) that were employed in the nineteenth century. Once the photographs were gathered, it allowed a comparison between the work of amateur, official and commercial photographers, who were all faced with the same subject matter but produced work that differs in several ways. The differences are dependant upon the context in which the photographers were working and also upon the photographic techniques and processes available to them. The case study thus addresses the initial questions posed about the forces that create and direct different photographic languages, and how these might be affected by the various processes of photography.

The third, and final, case study concentrates on the publication, *Architecture in Dharwar and Mysore* (John Murray: London, 1866), with a text written by Philip

³ The story of the 'discovery of India' through its art and architecture is told by many commentators, including Archer 1968; Mitter 1977; Keay 1981; Archer 1982; Bayly 1990; Allen 2002; Singh 2004 and Almeida 2005. The history of the various surveys of India is covered, up to c.1878, by Clements Markham, *A Memoir on the Indian Surveys* (London, 1878, 2nd edition; the first edition was published in 1871).

Meadows Taylor and James Fergusson, illustrated with photographs taken during the 1850s. It also considers the two companion volumes published by John Murray in London at the same time - *Architecture at Beejapoor* and *Architecture at Ahmedabad*. A manuscript archive that was discovered at the British Library charts through letters, lists and memoranda the process of publishing these volumes, from the initial funding for the project to the first set of reviews in Britain. It provides in particular information on the dissemination and reception of the volumes which is an aspect of the history of photography in India which has not been sufficiently explored to date. This case study attempts to address this, by providing a critique of the volume and its intentions, and considering alongside this the interpretation of the work in contemporary reviews. Thus, it answers questions posed about the reception and dissemination of architectural photographs.

A conclusion ends the thesis, summarizing the answers to the questions posed at the beginning. It also points towards a new interpretation of photographic material originating from India, which is dependant upon the involvement of community groups in the UK who are being encouraged to reclaim these images as part of their own heritage.

THE STUDY OF INDIAN ARCHITECTURE

This introduction provides a historiographical outline for the study of Indian architecture in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, highlighting key areas and themes that have been researched and addressed by earlier researchers. This will provide the disciplinary and chronological context for the photographs, which are dealt with in detail in subsequent chapters. The outline begins with colonial scholars from the late eighteenth century who concentrated their studies on language and textual sources, their interest coinciding with the growth of British presence in India as a result of the activities of the East India Company.⁴

⁴ The East India Company was initially a trading concern, established by royal charter in 1600, but by the early nineteenth century it had grown to such an extent that it controlled factories, plantations, forts and cantonments across India. From the 1740s, the Company established a form of British rule in many regions across India, reinforced by a company army, supported by the presence of troops from the

The account continues to focus particularly on the work of two important figures: the architectural historian James Fergusson and the archaeologist Alexander Cunningham. Both men, in different ways, played key roles in developing the field of the study of architecture. The extensive use of photography in their work and the encouragement that they gave to the commissioning of photography allows a consideration of the central questions over the role that photography played within the creation of an architectural history for India. From the work of Fergusson and Cunningham, it is possible to identify a strong emphasis on the surveying and documentation of Indian architecture during the decades from the 1850s to the 1870s. From the 1880s, a greater concern for the preservation and conservation of monuments also emerged, particularly following the work of Henry Hardy Cole (1843-1916) as Curator of Ancient Monuments.

Pre-photographic Studies of Indian Architecture

Some of the earliest significant descriptions by Europeans of Indian architecture were produced by British and French travellers in the eighteenth century, who published accounts of their experiences after their return.⁵ Early enquiries, such as Le Gentil's *Voyage dans les mers de l'Inde* (Paris, 1781) which covered his travels in 1761 and 1769, placed Indian art and architecture within a broader investigation that sought to understand the nature of Indian culture and society. Le Gentil and other eighteenth-century travellers provided descriptions of the buildings they encountered in coastal towns, particularly in the south. These accounts concentrated on Hindu temples, with their elaborately carved and painted *gopura* which alarmed and intrigued in equal measure.⁶ A distinction between Hindu architecture and Islamic architecture was recognised at this time, but there was little understanding of the Hindu religion in contrast to Islam, which was comparatively well known. The major religious texts of

British Army. The Company evolved into an imperial administration for India which was formally dissolved by the British Government in 1858. After 1858, the British Crown officially governed India.

⁵ European visitors to India from the Western Renaissance period have also left important descriptions of India. Many are mentioned and discussed in Rubies 2000. These accounts generally do not discuss architecture as a distinct subject.

⁶ A *gopura* is a tower-like gateway, serving as an entrance into a Hindu temple. The *gopura* is usually covered in carvings, sometimes figurative, of gods and goddesses or sometimes purely ornamental.

Hinduism were only beginning to be translated, generally into English, and the men doing so, including Charles Wilkins (who translated the *Bhagavad-Gita* in 1785), Sir William Jones (who translated *Shakuntala* in 1789), and A. H. Anquetil-Duperron (who translated the *Upanishads* into Latin in 1802-4), were concerned to use the texts to uncover as much as possible about Indian culture, including architecture. The work of these men inspired the next generation of scholars, men such as Horace Hayman Wilson and James Prinsep, the latter responsible for deciphering the ancient Brahmi script in the 1820s. With the majority of the British residents in India based in one of the major colonial centres of Bombay, Calcutta or Madras, early scholarship was of necessity text-based. Journeying out of the city into unknown territory was a difficult, and potential risky, undertaking.

In British India, the interest in understanding Sanskrit, translating texts and inscriptions and the acquisition of artworks led to the formation of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1784. The society gathered together men with similar interests and concerns and encouraged their work of understanding India, as well as providing a forum for exchanging new discoveries and ideas. In addition, a museum was established in 1814 to display collected items. The society published a journal, *Asiatic Researches*, which became a major source for disseminating information on art and architecture.⁷ Various papers on architecture were published, including descriptions of Mahabalipuram (1788), the Qutb Minar in Delhi (1798), Ellora (1801), Elephanta (1819), and temples in Orissa (1825). One of the most significant architectural events for the British was the discovery of the caves at Ajanta in 1819. The first substantial article on the site was published in 1830.⁸

In Britain, antiquarians were also involved in archaeological investigations in many parts of the world during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, including Greece, Italy, Egypt, Syria and Lebanon. These were all countries with a Classical history, which gave those who had received a traditional education focussing on the

⁷ In Bombay, the Literary Society of Bombay first met in 1804. In 1830 it became known as the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. It published a journal from 1819, known initially as *Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay*. In Madras, the Literary Society was established in 1812, and published a journal from 1827.

⁸ Alexander 1830, pp.362-364. James Alexander visited the site in 1824 and made the first descriptions of the paintings within the caves. Archer 1982, p.126.

histories of ancient Greece and Rome an initial foothold for comprehending what they saw. This exploration of Europe, the Middle East and beyond was part of a growing interest in and awareness of past history.⁹ The exploration and classification of architecture in India should be seen not only as part of the colonial attempt to know the country, but also as part of the broader European drive to structure and classify the arts and sciences which emerged from the Enlightenment.

The Society of Antiquaries had been founded in London in 1717, bringing together many of those involved in these early European explorations. In 1785, the society's director, Richard Gough (1735-1809), published one of the first books on Indian architecture, *A Comparative View of the Antient [sic] Monuments of India* (London, 1785). Even though Gough had never been to India, he considered the monuments to be of interest within his comparative methodology, and, based on the accounts of early travellers, he wrote about Ellora and Elephanta in particular (Bombay, the nearest colonial centre, had been a British possession since 1661). These rock-cut cave temples were regarded as the earliest surviving monuments in India, and therefore 'began' the history of architecture in the country. The skill and complexity of the carvings challenged early colonial perceptions about the lack of artistry in early Indian culture. The same year that Gough's book was published, a painting of *The Temple of Elephanta* by James Wales after a sketch by James Forbes was exhibited at the Royal Academy Summer Exhibition.¹⁰ The darkness of the cave's interior and the unfamiliar subject matter which was presented through clearly accomplished carvings and sculptures appealed to a British audience, attracted by the apparent mystical and Romantic qualities of the primitive religion depicted in the image.¹¹ The painting was also engraved which gave it a wider circulation. Also in 1785, the Society of Antiquaries published drawings of Elephanta made in 1712 by a military surveyor called William Pyke.¹² The cave temples would have become known to intellectual circles in Britain through these various sources.

⁹ Mitter 1977, p.105.

¹⁰ James Forbes (1749-1819) first visited Elephanta in 1774. His drawings and watercolours are in the Yale Center for British Art, New Haven. He published *Oriental Memoirs* in 1813, based on his records from almost twenty years in India.

¹¹ Almeida 2005, p.47.

¹² Alexander Dalrymple, 'An Account of a Curious Pagoda near Bombay', *Archaeologia*, VII (1785), pp.324-328.

Gough and his colleagues in the Society would have been writing for fellow antiquarians in Britain, curious about a country whose architecture appeared to challenge existing Western histories and ideas. Gough's own early interest in India probably stemmed from his father's career in the East India Company culminating as a Director, but his interest would also have been stimulated by the ever-increasing presence of the East India Company in India in the mid to late eighteenth century. Following the battle of Plassey in 1757 in which the East India Company defeated the ruler of Bengal and his French allies, British control had been relatively secure in the region. Trade flourished as a result, the number of British residents increased and scholarship and art grew as well. Publications such as those produced by William Jones and his colleagues in the Asiatic Society were sent back to Britain, and the demand for images of India both within the country and at home also increased. This period of discovery, exploration and intellectual flow between Britain and India has been described as an 'Indian Renaissance' which flowered particularly under Warren Hastings (1732-1818), who was appointed Governor-General of India in 1773.¹³

British artists in India

This appetite for images was fed by artists who published prints of Indian landscape and architecture. Perhaps the most successful of these was Thomas Daniell who, accompanied by his nephew William, travelled to India in 1785. Arriving in Calcutta in early 1786, they worked there for some time and issued a series of aquatints of the city (*Views of Calcutta*, 1786-8), designed specifically for the European population of Calcutta. This was followed by three tours: to Srinagar (1788-91); from Madras to Mysore (1792-3) and to Bombay and the surrounding cave temples (1793). The paintings and aquatints that they produced in India were successful with both British and Indian clients.¹⁴ When they returned to London in September 1794, they used the drawings and sketches they had amassed to publish six volumes of aquatints for an English audience. The series, *Oriental Scenery* (published between 1795 and 1808), contained 144 views of Indian landscape and architecture (**fig. 1**).¹⁵ It was a great success, for both the quality and large scale of the images (approximately 55x75 cm)

¹³ Schwab 1984 (a translation of *La Renaissance orientale*, Paris, 1950). Also see Almeida 2005, p.58 and pp.108-114 in particular.

¹⁴ Natasha Eaton, 'Daniell, Thomas (1749–1840)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edition, Oct. 2007.

¹⁵ Significant sources for the Daniells' aquatints include Archer 1980 and Christie's 1998.

and the artistic content of the views. It was to be highly influential for design in Britain and on subsequent British artists working in India.



Fig. 1 Thomas and William Daniell, *The Great Bull, an Hindoo Idol, at Tanjore* [the Brihadishvara Temple], 1798, aquatint, from *Oriental Scenery*. The British Library, P957, plate 22.

Thomas Daniell sought out scenes that could be presented within the aesthetics of the Picturesque, but within this he attempted to include features that demonstrated difference - differences between Britain and India, in terms of culture, architecture, customs, religion and dress. He described these features as 'singular', meaning uncommon.¹⁶ In this way, the aquatints, intended for a home audience, emphasised the 'otherness' of India and her people (**fig. 2**).

¹⁶ Almeida 2005, pp.193-4 and pp.208-210.



Fig. 2 Thomas and William Daniell, *Bangalore, Entrance to a Hindoo Temple*, 1808, aquatint, from *Oriental Scenery*. The British Library, X432/5, plate 18.

The Daniells' aquatints were undoubtedly influential on artists, and later photographers, visiting India. While seeking the 'singular' within the Picturesque was an approach that was to be successful for commercial photographers such as Samuel Bourne (1834-1912), who like the Daniells, relied on sales to the public, it was not an approach that could be sustained by those working in an official capacity, where documentation was required, and information about the common rather than the uncommon was desired.

In Britain, the Daniells' work was far-reaching and influential. Architects used the aquatints for inspiration and for designing ornamental features in their work. Samuel Pepys Cockerell incorporated Indian architectural features into the design of Sezincote House in 1805-10, and asked Thomas Daniell to draw up designs for features including a bridge and a pavilion for the garden.¹⁷

¹⁷ The sketches for Daniell's design are in the Royal Institute of British Architects collection. See Archer 1968, p.27.

An important early attempt to outline and define Indian architectural practice, with a particular emphasis on style, was the artist William Hodges' essay, *A Dissertation on the Prototypes of Architecture: Hindoo, Moorish and Gothic* (London, 1787) which was based on Hodges' travels in India between 1779 and 1784 under the patronage of Warren Hastings. Hodges, who also wrote about Indian architecture in *Select Views in India* (London, 1785-8) containing forty-eight aquatints, presented to the public through his images and writings the first substantial account of architecture and its practice in India (**fig. 3**).



Fig. 3 William Hodges, *A view of part of the palace of the late Nabob Suja ul Dowla at Fizabad* [Faizabad, Shuja-ud-daula's Palace], aquatint with etching, 1787, from *Select Views in India*, plate 38. The British Library, X744(38).

A Dissertation was revised and republished as part of chapter four of Hodges' account of his expedition, *Travels in India during the years 1780, 1781, 1782, and 1783* (London, 1793). In his account of Indian architecture, Hodges was very aware of the tendency to compare all architectural traditions with the Greek and Roman traditions of the Classical world, a tradition that was often seen by Europeans as universal. The Classical architectural orders were categorised into four principal styles: Doric, Ionic, Corinthian and Composite. Traditions from beyond the Western Classical tradition were often compared and found wanting for not adhering to these stylistic categories.

Hodges tried very hard to adopt a more pluralist approach, stating that it would be unfair to force Indian architecture into European Classical categories, because Indian architecture had emerged from different origins within a different climate: ‘architecture undoubtedly should, and must, be adapted to all the climates and countries which mankind inhabit, and is variously, more than any other art, influenced and modified by the nature of the climate and materials, as well as by the habits and pursuits of the inhabitants.’¹⁸ Essentially Hodges believed that Indian and European architecture was conceived within different paradigms. He also suggested that in some cases, because of the very great age of certain Indian structures, these buildings may have served as models for ancient Greek architecture.¹⁹ This was an extraordinary idea to propose at this time.

During this period, Colin Mackenzie, later to become the first Surveyor-General of India, was spearheading attempts to document various parts of India, mostly in the south, including the territories under the rule of the Nizam of Hyderabad during the years 1792-8 (covering modern-day Andhra Pradesh, central Maharashtra and northern Karnataka) and the Mysore region in 1799-1810. Mackenzie incorporated into his surveys the documentation of architecture, as well as information about the people of India and their customs. He amassed a large collection of drawings, manuscripts, maps and descriptions of buildings which was sold to the East India Company in 1822, the year after his death. The images produced by his artists were both landscape scenes and pencil line drawings (**figs. 4 and 5**).

¹⁸ Hodges 1793, p.64.

¹⁹ The origins of Greek and Roman myths were also debated in intellectual circles in Britain, with suggestions made that they were influenced by much older Hindu narratives, notably the Bhagavad-Gita. See Almeida 2005, p.271-2 where this is discussed, alongside the influence of ancient Indian mythologies on the artist William Blake (and more broadly on the British Romantic movement).

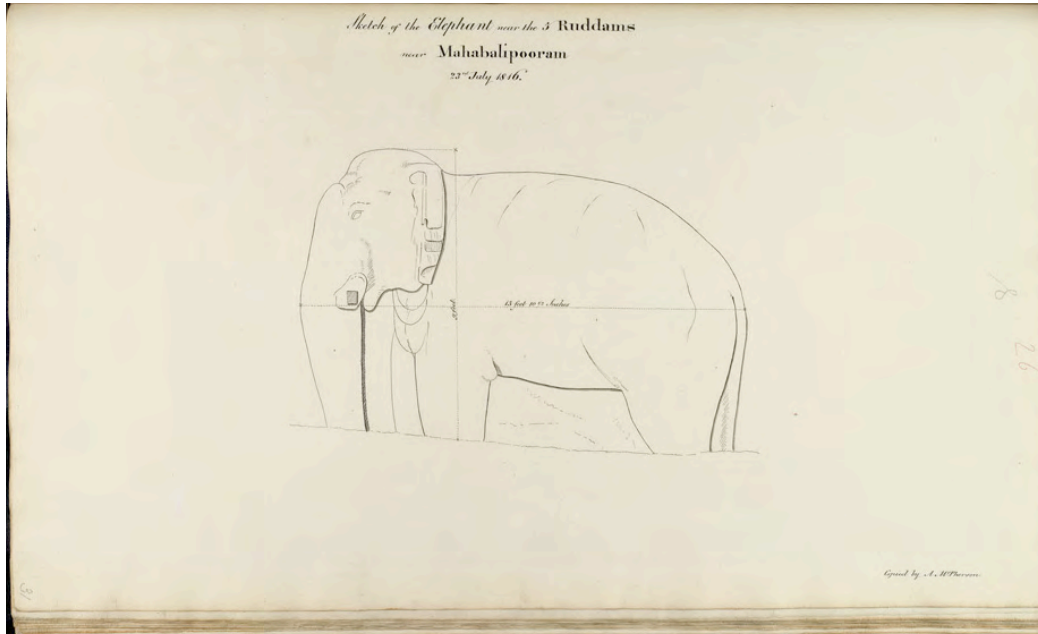


Fig. 4 Unknown artist, copy by A. McPherson, *Elephant sculpture next to the Five Rathas, Mahabalipuram, 23 July 1816*, 1816, pen and ink, from the Mackenzie Collection. The British Library, WD1068, f.31.



Fig. 5 Unknown artist, *Ruined temple north of Mahabalipuram*, 1816, watercolour with pen and ink, from the Mackenzie Collection. The British Library, WD1068, f.11.

Mackenzie was not an Orientalist devoted to languages and the interpretation of data, but rather a collector of material which he gathered together for others to interpret. He saw the amassing of data, visual and textual, as a way of creating a knowledge bank

on India which would be of benefit to the British.²⁰ There were of course also practical benefits to making accurate maps, for military purposes and for gathering revenue. Mackenzie's presence in the south was a result of British military interventions in the region, in which Mackenzie's engineering skills had played a vital role. This led eventually to the redrawing of political boundaries as land was ceded to the victors. But although Mackenzie's role was initiated by British military victories, Mackenzie's response to India and the wide remit he was given to gather different types of information emerged from the cultural and intellectual environment created by the officers and administrators in the East India Company, comparable to the artistic surveys undertaken by William Hodges and Thomas Daniell.

Mackenzie was appointed the Madras Surveyor-General in 1810. In 1815 his remit was extended and he was made Surveyor-General of India. The success of his work was crucial in confirming surveying as a useful method for information gathering in British India by future generations.

The establishment of the Royal Asiatic Society in London in 1823 created a more specialised home for scholarship to be presented and published.²¹ Early members included Sir Henry Colebrooke, the founder of the society and a former employee of the East India Company, as well as other scholars and administrators such as the writer Thomas Broughton; the army officer George Fitzclarence (the illegitimate son of King William IV); the orientalist scholar Alexander Hamilton; Brian Houghton Hodgson, the scholar of Nepal; the writer Edward Moor and the colonial administrator Sir Alexander Johnston, who had been a judge in Ceylon [Sri Lanka] for part of his career. Colebrooke, when in India, had been a member of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, becoming its director in 1807. He set out to model the Royal Asiatic Society on his experiences there.

²⁰ Mackenzie's approach to the collecting of information is discussed in Howes 2010. See particularly chapter two, 'Historians and Orientalists', pp.55-77.

²¹ A similar society in Paris, the Société Asiatique de Paris, first met on 1 April 1822.

Indian contributions to architectural history

Hodges, Mackenzie and other Europeans working in India in the late eighteenth century remained unaware of the Indian shastric texts that discussed architecture.²² The ancient knowledge of architectural theory and practice is traced back to the Vedic period 1500-1000BC, although most surviving texts date to the period 500-1500AD.²³ In the early decades of the nineteenth century, these texts were still gradually being uncovered and translated. In an attempt to extract information about the essential rules of Indian architecture, the British official Richard Clarke directed linguist Ram Raz (1790-1830) to translate surviving texts from various shastras. These translations were published in 1834 in London.²⁴ Many of the texts obtained by Ram Raz were fragmentary, but he also located the *Manasara*, a substantial text dealing with architecture in South India.²⁵ Ram Raz attempted to link practical instructions and theories in the texts with the surviving temples in South India, by illustrating the text with his own drawings of generic south Indian temples (**fig. 6**).

²² Tillotson 2000, p.140. A *shastra* is an educational treatise or a body of rules. The term is usually applied to a specific discipline, hence *Vastu Shastra* - the rules or practice of architecture; *Shilpa Shastra* - the practice of sculpture; *Artha Shastra* - the rules of economics, and so on.

²³ Chakrabarti 1998, p.1-2.

²⁴ Ram Raz 1834.

²⁵ The *Manasara* is generally known today through the more recent edition by P.K. Acharya, *Architecture according to the Manasara Shilpa Shastra* (London, 1927).



Fig. 6 Ram Raz, *Study of a temple gopura*, pencil and wash, 1820s. The Royal Asiatic Society, London.

Ram Raz noted that the craftsmen and builders that he spoke to were unaware of the shastric texts, having learnt their skills through observation and practice with the older generation. The priests were the only people with the ability to read the texts, but they had no practical knowledge of architecture. This threw up questions about the practicalities of following the shastras as architectural guides. In addition, the mere existence of the shastras was a challenge to existing Victorian beliefs about the precedence of Classical architecture and even the primacy of Christianity. This caused concern and also influenced interpretation of the texts; even Ram Raz introduced a comparison between the Classical orders and different types of Indian columns, but his editor explained this by stating that the European audience required familiar terms

and contexts in order to understand an entirely new subject.²⁶ Ram Raz expressed his doubts that European traditions had influenced Indian architecture. This came at a time when challenges to the Victorian world view were coming from the world of European science, following new geological discoveries and, for example, the work of Charles Darwin.²⁷ In the early nineteenth century, British scholars struggled to understand the implications of the shastric texts. It was to be almost a century before due consideration was given to them and their relationship to architectural practice.²⁸

Indian artists were also to provide very detailed architectural drawings and paintings for European patrons living in India. From about 1801, Indian artists produced what are now known as 'Company School' paintings - very precise, perspective depictions of buildings such as the Taj Mahal, or Akbar's Tomb at Sikandra, in which every small brick or inlaid section is clearly presented and painted in colour. The paintings functioned as souvenirs for travellers and residents alike, so usually depicted only the most visited and highly regarded Mughal monuments. The first decades of the nineteenth century saw quite large and high quality paintings being produced, but from the 1830s onwards, both the size and quality of the work began to decline as it began to be produced for a much larger market.²⁹ The amount of information contained in the Company School paintings can be described as almost 'photographic', particularly when compared to the landscapes by British or European artists of the same date (**fig. 7**).

²⁶ Ram Raz 1834, p.v.

²⁷ Charles Darwin (1809-82) began developing his ideas on evolution in the 1830s. His most famous work, *On the Origin of Species* was published in London in November 1859.

²⁸ Some scholars in the nineteenth century were aware of the work of Ram Raz, even though his influence appears to have been small. Fergusson made use of a plan of a temple in Tiruvalloor (about 30 miles west of Madras), which he credits as 'a drawing in Ram Raz's *Hindu Architecture*'. Fergusson 1876, p.346. P. C. Mookherji describes the shilpa shastras and other texts such as the Vedas as possible sources for archaeological and architectural information. Mookherji 1883, p.190.

²⁹ Archer 1968, p.55. Archer describes how the decline in the quality of work coincided with a growing dislike on the part of the British for large architectural drawings, which coincided with a shift within the colonial mind - she suggests that attitudes towards India began to change in the 1830s from curiosity and romanticism to criticism and caricature. Archer 1968, p.61.



Fig. 7 Company School (Agra), *Agra Fort, Delhi Gate*, c.1815, pencil and watercolour, heightened with white. From Christie's 1998, lot 159.

Although in Company School paintings there was great attention given to providing an accurate and detailed presentation, the use of perspective was often from more than one point. In addition, the landscape and surroundings of the building were usually not included. Instead, a blank sky and ground would leave the structure apparently floating in the air.

Some Indian scholars were researching architectural topics at this time, although few were publishing their results. Sayyid Ahmad Khan (1817-98) wrote *Asar as-Sanadid* [Vestiges of the Past] in 1847. The first edition contains three chapters describing the buildings in and around Shahjahanabad (old Delhi), while the fourth chapter is a history of the different settlements in wider Delhi. A second edition was published in 1852, after he was admitted to the Archaeological Society of Delhi which was established in 1847 under the guidance of Sir Thomas Metcalfe. In 1850 the society decided that they would work actively to locate Indian scholars and involve them with the society's work.³⁰

³⁰ Juneja 2001, p.12.

Educating the Company men

Most of the British scholars and administrators discussed above came from a background that had provided them with a traditional education concentrating on ancient history, Latin, Greek and Classical mythology. This was believed to provide young men with an academic grounding suitable for leading administrative roles in the colonies. In 1806, the East India Company established its own college in Britain for educating those destined for an administrative career in the East. This was paralleled by a college at Fort William in Calcutta established in 1800.³¹ In 1809 the Company also established a military academy at Addiscombe for army officers. The curriculum at the school included oriental languages such as Urdu, Sanskrit, Bengali and Hindi; law and philosophy; mathematics and politics, and Classical literature. At Addiscombe, additional elements of draughtsmanship, surveying and drawing were taught, and, from the mid 1850s, photography was also included. Through education and through example, the methods of surveying India were taught. Other men who worked in India, particularly those who had trained as surgeons, would have received further intensive education in the sciences (knowledge which was highly desirable for photographers). All these educational approaches shared a belief that the Classical world was unsurpassed in its artistic and cultural achievements, and that contemporary European society developed from roots in this world. This grounding in a Classical education was to influence the British approach to India as comparisons were made and expectations were challenged by what India had to offer.

In the 1830s, the early antiquarian interest in India was developing and formalising into a more serious attempt to uncover the essential principles of Indian architecture. James Fergusson undertook a series of important excursions across India between 1835 and 1842 to study architectural and archaeological monuments.³² His published work, initially at least, drew heavily on this first-hand experience.

³¹ The core of the library at the college came from the collection of books owned by General Claude Martin in Lucknow. He owned over 5000 books in English and French. Almeida 2005, p.78.

³² Fergusson 1884, p.vi.

James Fergusson, Architecture and Photography

James Fergusson was originally from Scotland where he was the second of five children born to Dr William Fergusson (1773-1846) and Harriet.³³ James was educated at the Royal High School in Edinburgh.³⁴ He moved to Windsor in 1817 at the age of nine when his father, an army surgeon, moved there at the invitation of the Duke of Gloucester and set up a private medical practice.³⁵ James was sent to a private school in Hounslow, but did not go on to university. He was later to write that his education had been designed to set him up as a merchant in India, and he lamented his lack of access to intellectual society: 'Another disadvantage of my mercantile pursuits has been the practical exclusion it entails from the best class of intellectual or artistic society'.³⁶

Having finished his education, Fergusson went to India in 1829³⁷ where he was initially employed by the merchant house Fairlie, Fergusson and Co. in Jessore (to the north-east of Calcutta and today part of Bangladesh), before setting himself up as an indigo planter in Bengal in c.1833-4.³⁸ He made enough money to retire within ten years of his arrival and he returned to Britain in 1839.³⁹ Fergusson then made a second, much shorter visit to India in 1842 in order to study the architecture of southern India.⁴⁰ At home in London, Fergusson, who was now free from financial worries, was to transform himself from indigo plantation owner into eminent architectural historian.

³³ The first child was William, born in 1803. After James was born, three daughters followed: Marion, b.1816, Jane, b.1819 and Anna, b.1820.

³⁴ Fergusson's life and work is discussed by a few scholars, particularly Pevsner 1972; Archer 1982; Chandra 1983; Elwall 1991; Pelizzari 2003 and Guha-Thakurta 2004.

³⁵ Prince William Frederick, 2nd Duke of Gloucester (1776-1834). William Fergusson had served on the Duke's staff whilst in the army.

³⁶ Fergusson 1849, p.xii.

³⁷ Markham 1878, p.246.

³⁸ Fairlie, Fergusson & Co. was established in Calcutta by William Fairlie and John Fergusson, both originally from Ayr, Scotland. It became a highly successful merchant house and import and export agency. Fergusson's paternal uncle was called John Fergusson, and in 1832 when he died, was living in Calcutta. It is likely that the business that James was sent out to join was connected to the family in some way, if not owned by his uncle. Some sources state that James's elder brother William was already working for the firm in Calcutta when he went out to India - two of William's three children were born in Calcutta, in 1829 and 1837, so this is possible.

³⁹ Markham 1878, p.247, and Obituary, *The Athenaeum*, 16 January 1886, p.109.

⁴⁰ Markham 1878, p.247.

In India, Fergusson undertook a number of tours across the country in order to study its architecture. Throughout his life, Ferguson referred back to these journeys and the pencil drawings that he made at the time. About 150 drawings and fragmentary sketches survive in the collection of the Royal Institute of British Architects, and as a group, they indicate the breadth of Fergusson's travels, including scenes from Benares, Allahabad, Lucknow, places in Rajasthan, Mahabalipuram, Trichinopoly, Madurai, Dacca, Delhi and Agra.⁴¹ The drawings are composed in a Picturesque style, but quite often, a section of the building will be completed with a concentration on precise details such as ornamentation or mosaics. Occasionally, Fergusson's drawings include a pencil line grid across the entire page, indicating his use of a *camera lucida* device.⁴²

A small section of Fergusson's explorations are also described in what appears to be the only surviving manuscript volume of his journals, a small tightly bound volume, its pages filled with closely written black ink manuscript, interspersed occasionally with a rough architectural sketch or plan.⁴³ The journal starts on 18 June 1837 as he is about to set out towards Cuttack [Katak] in Orissa with his companion, the English businessman Thomas Holroyd.⁴⁴ It is worth looking closely at the journeys written about in the journal, as they provide an indication of how Fergusson worked and how he may have conducted the other, undocumented tours.

Fergusson set off through lower Bengal towards Cuttack, via Midnapore. While in Cuttack, he visited the Barabati Fort which he describes as 'almost completely

⁴¹ Royal Institute of British Architects, PB194/1(1-137), PB194/2, PB194/3. There are also some surviving sketchbooks, but these deal predominantly with Europe, SKB108/1 Italy; SKB 69/4&5 Britain and elsewhere; SKB70/2 Britain; SKB 71/1-4 appears to cover Hong Kong and Canton, France and Italy. Consulted at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. SKB70/2 f15v shows a pencil sketch of a British house, captioned 'Monkwood by Ayr/ Fergusson's ancestral home/ William McClelland 13/9/32'.

⁴² The *camera lucida* was a drawing device, essentially a prism which sat on the top of a brass rod, through which an artist could look to see an image apparently projected onto the paper (the image remained in the prism). A patent for the device was filed in 1807 by the scientist William Hyde Wollaston. It was used by artists, but collections of drawings made in this way are apparently few. Larry Schaaf has suggested that this is because recognising the technique is difficult for contemporary art historians, but also because artists would often hide their use of the device as its use suggested a lack of artistic technique. Schaaf 1992, p.30.

⁴³ Fergusson's surviving journal is in the British Library, Add 35,282, subsequently referred to here as 'Fergusson journal'. It has not been published, either in extracts or in its entirety.

⁴⁴ Thomas Holroyd is depicted in the painting *Thomas Holroyd reads in his palanquin*, by Muhammad Amir of Karraya, c. 1835 (San Diego Museum of Art, accession 1990:1387).

destroyed ... for the dignified purpose of “mending roads”, a fault which he lays firmly with the British administration.⁴⁵ Fergusson is never above criticising the British, but he is equally critical of almost everyone he encounters, from his servants and travelling companions to worshippers at Puri and the Raja involved in the ceremony he witnesses there. Fergusson seems to exaggerate many of his descriptions, and finds in almost equal measure the beautiful and the Picturesque alongside what he sees as a mix of exoticism, absurdity and ugliness. His writing is entertaining but throughout displays a tension between the objective, academic approach that he may have felt was expected from him which is highly critical of Indian culture with a more emotional and personal response which finds beauty and great achievement in unexpected places.

Moving on from Cuttack, Fergusson reached Puri where he went to witness the *Rath Yatra* at the Jagannath temple, a large Hindu festival in which three chariots carrying the gods Lord Jagannath, his brother and his sister progress from the temple through the streets of Puri. The journal relates with great glee how the rainfall and ensuing mud caused the chariots to become stuck and a house had been taken to pieces in order to free one of the chariots. On the road to Puri, Fergusson's party encountered many pilgrims and holy men, and the scene evidently amazed them although Fergusson noted that he was disappointed not have found any skulls because he wanted to keep some as souvenirs.

Fergusson had prepared for his journey by reading various accounts. His principle source for Orissa was Andrew Stirling's *An Account, geographical, statistical and historical, of Orissa proper, or Cuttack* (London, 1846), first published in 1822. Stirling's publication included a number of engravings, the subjects of which would

⁴⁵ Fergusson journal, f7. Throughout Fergusson's entire career, he repeatedly laid heavy criticism upon British civil servants - railway engineers in particular - whom he saw as responsible for the unthinking destruction of many monuments; in particular, for the removal of stones and other materials which were to be incorporated into colonial structures built by the Public Works Department. He does not seem to dwell on the possibility that Indians were also responsible for removing materials, to re-use elsewhere. Fergusson often displays sympathy for Indians and the culture in a variety of forms. For example, Fergusson describes how he went out sketching alone while in Puri, and he was surprised at the civility he received: 'I was much surprised to find the people so civil as they were. I was entirely alone, having come in my palanqueen without even a peon... but so far from offering any molestation, which might have been expected from the excitement of religious enthusiasm at their great festival, they were as civil & obliging as could be and cleaned the place for me wherever I wanted help and answered all my questions with the greatest civility.'⁴⁵ Fergusson journal, f11v.

have been partly the reason for Fergusson's mix of excitement and apprehension felt upon arriving in Puri. The engravings showed 'Hindoo self torture', 'Infanticide', and 'The Suttee'. Stirling's account was also one of the first substantial descriptions of the temples in Puri and Konark. Fergusson admired many of the buildings he encountered in Orissa, although there is a marked preference for those structures that were no longer in use. Because of strict Hindu religious observance in certain temples still in use, Fergusson would not have been able to enter a working temple. It is possible that this had some impact on his approach, which focuses closely on the external appearance of structures, rather than on internal space and the function of buildings.

Although Stirling could not bring himself to describe the erotic carvings, he believed that the chlorite stone carvings at the Sun Temple, Konark, were 'executed with a degree of taste, propriety, and freedom, which would stand a comparison with some of our best specimens of Gothic architectural ornament'.⁴⁶ Fergusson echoed this, writing: 'Tho' I heard so much of this temple it certainly far exceeded my expectations. The extreme richness & beauty of the carving is beyond anything I had seen, for looking on either face there is not one stone from the foundation to the summit that is not sculptured & on close inspection the beauty & depth of the cutting of the stone, its precision & the grace & elegance ... exceed anything I had ever witnessed or indeed imagined.'⁴⁷ This description illustrates Fergusson's sometimes emotional response to the architecture. While he is happy to write in this way in his journal, his responses are modified and more intellectual in his published works.

Fergusson provides some sketches with his description of the temple, including a ground plan and diagram of the finial. He also laments the impossibility of sketching all the carvings, stating that the detail was such that it would require a piece of paper as large as the temple itself, hinting at a representational problem that would later be solved by photography. One of Fergusson's own drawings of the temple would later

⁴⁶ Stirling 1846, p.133. Chlorite is a naturally occurring dark mineral stone, generally green or black, that is relatively easy to sculpt. The Sun Temple, or Surya Temple, at Konark was built in the mid-thirteenth century. It displays a wealth of intricate carvings around the plinth, including musicians and attendants accompanying horses and twelve large wheels, which identify the temple as a chariot of the Sun God Surya.

⁴⁷ Fergusson journal, f13.

be reproduced as a woodcut in his *A History of Architecture in all countries* (London, 1867) (**fig. 8**).⁴⁸

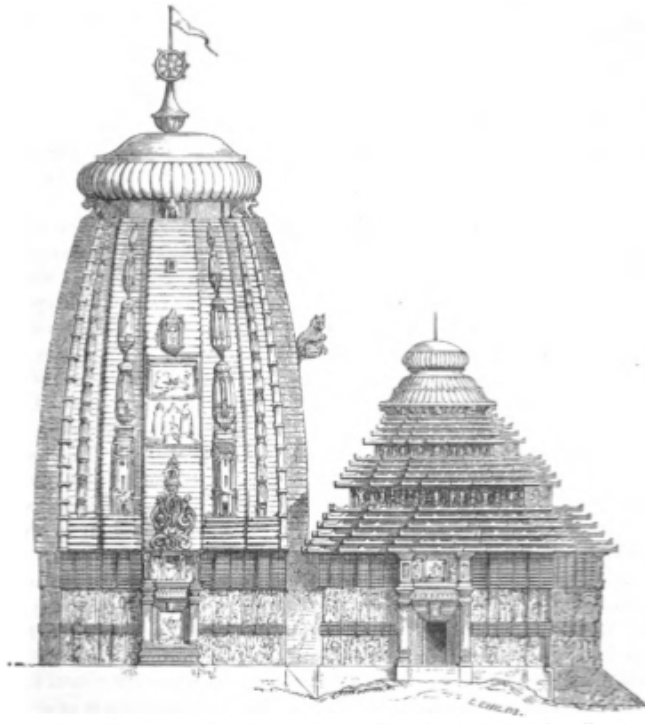


Fig. 8 James Fergusson, *Restored elevation of the Black Pagoda at Kanaruc*. From a drawing by the author. No scale. Woodcut engraving from *A History of Architecture in all countries* (London, 1867), p.591.

After leaving Konark, the party set off for Bhubaneswar which, like Stirling, Fergusson saw as a city of temples. As Fergusson encounters temples and other structures, he remarks upon the inefficiency of existing drawings of various places for the purposes of making comparisons: ‘indeed no drawings of Indian Buildings exist sufficiently correct & detailed for this purpose [i.e. making comparisons].’⁴⁹

Fergusson continued to visit places and buildings mentioned in Stirling’s account, some of which he states were also drawn by Major Markham Kittoe (1808-53). Kittoe went on to publish numerous examples of his drawings shortly after Fergusson

⁴⁸ Fergusson 1867, p.591.

⁴⁹ Fergusson journal, f15.

returned from this tour, in *Illustrations of Indian architecture from the Muhammadan conquest downwards* (Calcutta, 1838).⁵⁰

The following year Fergusson set out on another journey which combined visiting a factory in Mirzapur with explorations across northern India and into Rajasthan.⁵¹ The journal ends almost mid-sentence on 22 March 1839, indicating that a second volume must have existed, but its current whereabouts are unknown. The map of Fergusson's route published in 1847 indicates that his journey continued (**fig. 9**). Many of the sketches from this tour were subsequently published as lithographs in his *Picturesque Illustrations of Ancient Architecture in Hindostan* (London, 1847) (**fig. 10**).⁵²

⁵⁰ Kittoe joined the army in 1825 and was based in Bengal. He knew James Prinsep, who encouraged him to explore India's monuments and produce drawings of them. This led to his first publication in 1838. After Kittoe was discharged from the army for a year following a court martial, Prinsep secured him a position as Secretary of the Coal Committee. This led to a long tour in Orissa and more drawings. After returning to the army and leave in Europe, Kittoe returned to India. He spent much of his time acquiring drawings by other artists, and this is the collection that survives in the British Library today. He was eventually given the position of Archaeological Engineer to the Government in 1847, and undertook important excavations at Sarnath. He returned home in 1853 but died very shortly afterwards.

⁵¹ The route included Jaunpur, Chunar, Benares, Sarnath, Lucknow, Agra, Delhi, Ferozepur, Karnal, Delhi again, Sikandra, Agra, Gwalior, Sisodia, Bundi, Kotah, Udaipur, Mount Abu, Chittor, Ujjain, Mandu and Indore.

⁵² The locations depicted in *Picturesque Illustrations* are Bhuvaneswar; Puri; Konark; Baroli; Chittorgarh; Mount Abu; Udaipur; Bundi; Mahabalipuram; Kumbakonum; Chidambaram and Srirangam.

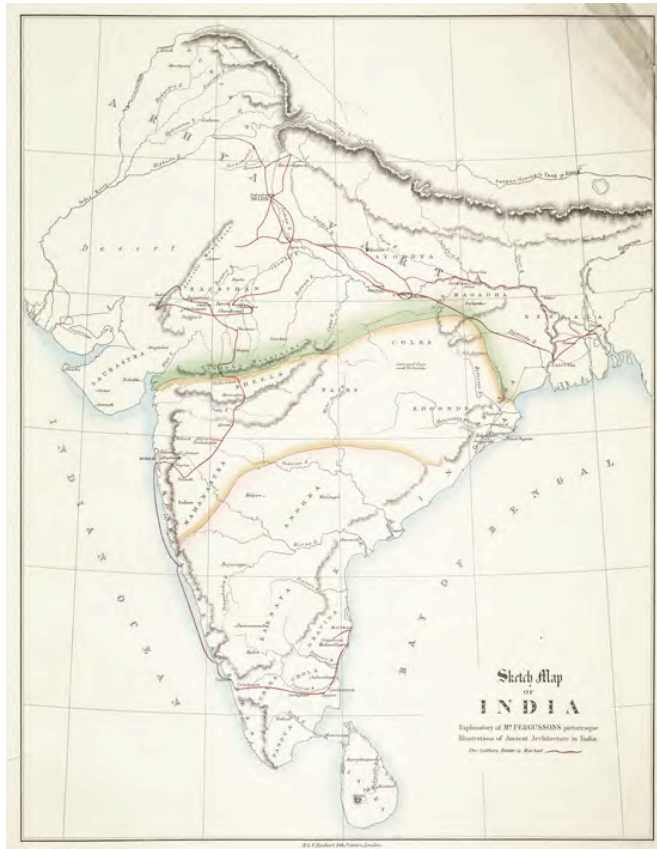


Fig. 9 James Fergusson, *Sketch map of India*, lithograph. Unnumbered plate from *Picturesque Illustrations of Ancient Architecture in Hindostan* (London, 1847).

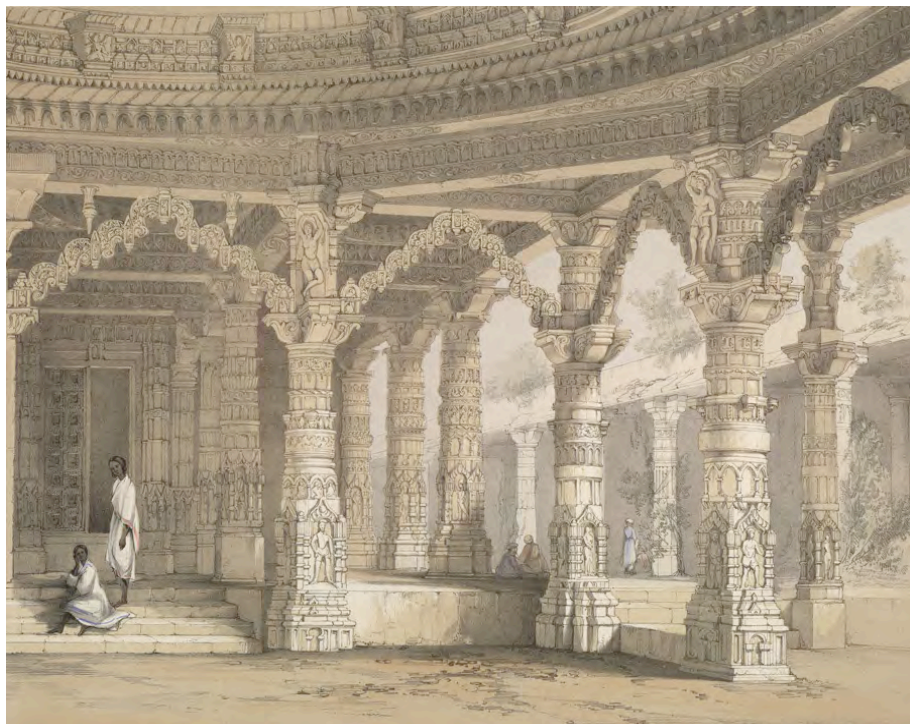


Fig. 10 James Fergusson, *Temple of Vimala Sah, on Mount Abu*, lithograph. Plate 9 from *Picturesque Illustrations of Ancient Architecture in Hindostan* (London, 1847).

Fergusson's opinions about Indian architecture were at this stage in a state of flux as he struggled to make sense of what he was seeing, particularly when compared against the publications he had read. In one journal entry he writes: 'it is sad to think how art has declined in this country & I fear it is not likely to recover again. If it does it will probably be in the favour of a bastart [*sic*] Italian style. Which like other exotics can never become a fine or handsome plant.'⁵³ From an early stage in his published work, Fergusson seems to have associated early Indian architecture and carvings with the highest levels of skill and craftsmanship, equating Buddhist architecture with one of the highest points of achievement in Indian art production, as illustrated by sculptural work at Sanchi, Bodhgaya and Amaravati. From this high point, according to Fergusson, Indian art steadily declined. This hierarchy partly owed its structure to the Classical orders that moved from the relatively unadorned Doric style towards to ornate and decorative Composite style - the Buddhist 'style' was relatively simple when compared to the late Hindu structures of southern India.

It is interesting to note that in his private journal, Fergusson's highest praises are reserved for Hindu and Jain temples, particularly for those at Konark (as seen above) and also the Dilwara temples near Mount Abu (**fig. 10**). Of the Vimal Vasahi and Luna Vasahi temples at Abu Fergusson notes, 'altogether I think these two temples the most wonderful works I have ever seen.'⁵⁴ Fergusson devotes the largest sketch in his journal to a plan of the Vimal Vasahi, and his description is lengthy. He begins by writing, 'On entering the doorway a scene of architectural beauty opens on the visitor that is as far as my experience goes unequalled for its size. The whole is of white marble & the uniformity & [?] of the details perfectly wonderful.'⁵⁵ Fergusson is setting himself up for a struggle between his European belief system, and the reality of Indian architecture and its own ancient systems.

Fergusson's scholarship and the Picturesque

Fergusson's tours in India and the sketches he made became the basis for the first publications produced on his return to England. His scholarly work emerged from his

⁵³ Fergusson journal, f.43v. 6 January 1839. Fergusson uses the term for late (i.e. eighteenth or nineteenth century) buildings that display marked European influences. This description could refer to, for example, the Qaiserbagh palace in Lucknow.

⁵⁴ Fergusson journal, f.78. 9 February 1839.

⁵⁵ Fergusson journal, f.76v. 9 February 1839.

financial independence, the luxury he had enjoyed in India to spend time travelling to pursue his own interests, his upper middle class background and possibly his exposure to science at an early age through his father. Fergusson's early scholarly ambition was to write an architectural history that described and classified the major buildings and styles of the world. He realised quickly that this would be a somewhat time-consuming undertaking, and consequently he started to educate his public with shorter works. Fergusson's first public lecture was given to the Royal Asiatic Society in 1843 on the rock-cut temples of India, the same structures that had caused so much interest in the late eighteenth century.⁵⁶

Photography was not available when Fergusson made his own tours in India in the 1830s, and in 1840s when he began publishing, photography was still an impractical method of illustrating publications.⁵⁷ Lithographs based on sketches remained the preferred method of illustration. In the introduction of *Picturesque Illustrations of Ancient Architecture of Hindostan* (London, 1847), he stated that he had chosen the Picturesque style for his drawings rather than something more scientific to present to the public because: 'the best mode of making it intelligible would be to place a general view of the whole subject before them in a picturesque and consequently most easily understood form'.⁵⁸ (**fig. 11**)

⁵⁶ Fergusson 1843.

⁵⁷ This is illustrated by the difficulties encountered by William Henry Fox Talbot when he produced *The Pencil of Nature* between 1844 and 1846. Talbot planned to issue 50 photographic plates, but ended up with only 24.

⁵⁸ Fergusson 1847, preface.



Fig. 11 James Fergusson, 'Temple of Kapila Devi at Bobaneswar', 1847, lithograph. Plate 4 in *Picturesque Illustrations of Ancient Architecture in Hindostan* (London, 1847).

By the mid-1840s, an educated British audience would immediately have understood what was meant by the term 'Picturesque'. It was a particularly British method of both aesthetic and intellectual enquiry into the landscape and its depiction. The Picturesque as an aesthetic concept emerged in Britain following the publication of Edmund Burke's *Essay on the Sublime and the Beautiful* (London, 1757). It developed as a third possible option for describing landscape that was, in the opinion of the writer, neither Sublime nor Beautiful. While 'beautiful' was a term meaning pleasing, delicate and gentle, 'sublime', when applied to the landscape, described scenery that evoked strong emotions, even fear and terror.

Initially at least the Picturesque was described as nothing more than than 'a term expressive of that peculiar kind of beauty, which is agreeable in a picture'.⁵⁹ Over subsequent decades, however, the term came to imply specific elements that together contributed to a certain way of depicting the landscape designed to elicit a particular

⁵⁹ Gilpin 1768, p.2.

response in the viewer. This was achieved through both artistic practice in the work of Thomas Gainsborough in particular, and through the writings of William Gilpin, Richard Payne Knight and Uvedale Price, amongst others. Gilpin (1724-1804) was primarily responsible for being the first to define the Picturesque through a series of rules, while others developed the theories further elsewhere. For Gilpin, the rules included directions for both the content of the work, and the texture of the composition. The picture should have a dark foreground, a brighter middleground and a background, all working together to create a unified whole, and the resulting picture was supposed to sit half way between the Beautiful and the Sublime. The texture should be rough and broken, without straight lines. Gilpin, whose writings were extremely popular and ran through several editions, continued to write on the Picturesque and its relationship to landscape, publishing *Three Essays: On Picturesque Beauty; On Picturesque Travel; and On Sketching Landscape* (London, 1792). The most important distinction that Gilpin made in defining the Picturesque was that it was not 'beauty' that he was discussing, which is a term that can be applied to a view in its 'natural state', but 'Picturesque beauty' which implies that the view can be depicted as a successful painting (or print or, presumably, a photograph). Gilpin separates the real view from its representation, demonstrating that while the physical landscape may be beautiful it may not be Picturesque, with the opposite also the case. When artists such as Hodges and the Daniells arrived in India, they brought with them this very British approach to the landscape. It would not have been difficult to locate Picturesque beauty in the Indian landscape, as it displayed the main characteristics: roughness and ruins, variety and contrast, rather than sleekness, smoothness and elegance. The crumbling palaces and temples, the mass of people, the wandering animals, the wild vegetation – all could easily be incorporated into a pleasingly Picturesque composition. Fergusson was aware that the public knew little about Indian architecture so the work needed to be presented within a familiar context in order to be understood.

Fergusson does go on to claim that his lithographs are extremely accurate, however, despite the use of the Picturesque and that the engraver 'has succeeded in rendering the sketches much more faithfully than has hitherto been done in any work I am acquainted with; except, perhaps Daniell's [*sic*] earlier works, where the defect is not

the want of correct rendering, but an avowed attempt to make pleasing artistic compositions out of the sketches'.⁶⁰ Several of the locations visited by Fergusson would not perhaps be thought of as typically Picturesque, such as the south Indian temple towns of Chidambaram or Kumbakonum, but other sites which were given more prominence in the publication were perfect examples of the technique, particularly the Rajasthani towns of Udaipur and Bundi.

At this early stage in his scholarly career, Fergusson evidently perceives some tension between the Picturesque – which Fergusson sees as artistic and therefore not to be entirely trusted for an accurate depiction – and his own use of the *camera lucida* in creating drawings, which he believes are as accurate and truthful as it is possible to be. Even in his first publication, *Illustrations of the Rock-cut temples in India* (London, 1845) Fergusson adds a footnote to the descriptive text every time he believes the artist has altered the illustration by adding or amending something. For example, when describing the Kailasa cave at Ellora, Fergusson adds: 'There is an error in this plate in the floor on the right hand being cut back to the principle pillars, instead of extending to the outer range; it arose from my having accidentally rubbed out the line, in drawing the part of the Kylas seen in the view, and the artist having followed me too literally.'⁶¹ Given these anxieties over accurate representation, it is not surprising that Fergusson would see photography as offering a solution to his problems.

In the 1850s Fergusson began to form his own photograph collection (part of which still survives in the Boston Public Library) to aid him in his work.⁶² The illustrations

⁶⁰ Fergusson 1847, preface.

⁶¹ Fergusson 1845, p.xiv.

⁶² The photographs, which have not previously been published, have been pasted into albums. At the time of my visit in 2004 the photographs were uncatalogued, although the albums have a general shelfmark: Cab.60.186.1. Most of the photographs are without captions or information of any kind, and the order of the photographs appears to be random. Some pages have hand-written notes pasted opposite the relevant photograph, providing a title and brief description of the monument in the photograph. The notes appear to date to the late nineteenth century. It is not clear how the surviving albums came into the Boston Public Library, as conflicting provenance information exists. The library archives include a copy of the printed catalogue of Fergusson's library, which was sold by booksellers Bernard Quaritch in London ('Choice Portions of the Libraries of the late James Fergusson Esq ... London October 1886 Bernard Quaritch') and a subsequent reference exists in the library's *Bulletin*, to '48 volumes and a collection of photographs' from Fergusson's library received as a gift from 'Jas M Barnard' (*Bulletin*, 7:73, 1886-7). On searching the acquisitions files, however, there is a note taken from the Minutes of the Trustees in the Annual Report, dated 20 May 1890, stating 'James Fergusson's Collection of Photographs of Indian architecture ... order that collection be purchased' (p.14). There

that appear in many of his later publications include woodcuts based on these photographs (figs. 12 and 13).⁶³



Fig. 12 Unknown photographer, *Tower at Chittor*, albumen print, 1860s. Boston Public Library.

Fig. 13 A woodcut from Fergusson's *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* (London, 1876), p.252, captioned '142. Jaina Tower of Sri Allat, Chittore. (From a Photograph).'

Fergusson relied heavily on photography to write his histories; it would have been impossible for him to claim they were complete otherwise. Comparing an early edition of his architectural history of India with a later one also indicates that substantial work using photographs was been done between 1855 and 1867: Fergusson's first history of Indian architecture was part of *The Illustrated Handbook of Architecture: being a concise and popular account of the different styles of architecture prevailing in all ages and all countries* (London, 1855). It had been intended that this two-volume work would be followed by a third, but in the event, the third volume was a stand-alone publication, *History of the Modern Styles of Architecture* (London, 1862). Fergusson is still at an early stage in his delineation of a

are several hundred prints in the surviving albums, but this almost certainly only represents a small part of Fergusson's collection: he wrote in 1876 of owning 'more than 3000 photographs of Indian buildings' (Fergusson 1876, p.vii). A stamp in the back of one of the albums indicates that the albums were created by the library's bindery: 'B.P.L. Bindery Jul 27 1894', ink-stamp inside lower cover of one of the albums.

⁶³ It has long been recognised that Fergusson used photographs as the basis of many of his woodcuts; Fergusson often includes this information in the captions to illustrations. The photographs used, however, have not previously been traced back to Fergusson's own collection.

history of Indian architecture in 1862. He begins by noting how Indian architecture has declined because modern architects are attempting to copy British models, continuing his criticism of the contemporary situation in India seen earlier in his journal.⁶⁴ Fergusson then begins to outline the subject, starting with the Portuguese influence in Goa, followed by French and Dutch colonies, such as Surat, before concentrating on 'English' architecture. He finds the Neo-classical style as used in the Bombay Town Hall an acceptable style, but does not approve of the Victorian Gothic style, which he believes could be the perfect style for the Indian climate but sees it used so far in an unacceptable manner.⁶⁵ Fergusson concludes the first section by concentrating on Calcutta at length. The second section, 'Native Architecture in India', discusses how European style has infiltrated architecture in the Indian princely states, briefly discussing Tanjore before dealing with Lucknow in detail. Fergusson does not approve of the 'Italian' style of architecture that he finds in Lucknow (although he almost admits to admiring the building known as 'Constantia' which he describes as a folly, comparable with William Beckford's Fonthill), but he does not dismiss it without trying to find an explanation for its use. Additionally, it is not only in India that Fergusson finds a lack of architectural inspiration; he identifies this as a problem in Europe and Britain as well. Fergusson's criticism of modern architecture is in fact unrelentingly negative throughout. The publication concludes with an extensive discussion of the relationship between ethnology and architecture, and of how it is essential to understand and distinguish the different races of mankind in order to appreciate their architecture.

The book was destined for a general educated audience with antiquarian leanings, as well as practising architects. It was favourably received: 'Taken in conjunction with the two volumes of the Handbook of Architecture, issued some years ago, [it] forms one of the best comprehensive accounts of architecture extant in any language'.⁶⁶ The number of illustrations is also remarked upon: 'it is a very important, valuable, and useful work, for which the public is much indebted to whoever formed the design and

⁶⁴ Fergusson speculates that had the French colonised India, the situation might have been different: 'Had the French ever colonised the East, their artistic instincts might have led to a different result; but as the inartistic races of mankind seem the only people capable of colonisation, we must be content with the facts as they stand, and can only record the progress of the flood-tide of bad Art as we find it.' Fergusson 1862, p.409.

⁶⁵ Fergusson 1862, p.412.

⁶⁶ *The Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal*, 26:346 (January 1863), p.27.

bore the expense of the enormous number of engravings here brought together in a convenient and accessible form.⁶⁷ The volume brought Fergusson to the attention of a much wider audience. It also opened him to strong criticism, however. The same reviewer continued to describe Fergusson's faults: 'the most arrogant self-conceit, the most perfect conviction that there never was such an architect in the world as Mr. James Fergusson, that there is not a building in the world which he could not have improved, that there is no other architect, ancient or modern, who deserves to be named in comparison, and that he is the only one who possesses any common sense'.⁶⁸ Fergusson was known for his aggressive writing and negative response towards those who disagreed with him, to the extent that it was obliquely referred to in his obituary in *The Athenaeum*.⁶⁹

A fresh attempt at a comprehensive architectural history appeared in 1867, *A History of Architecture in all countries from the earliest times to the present day* (London, 1867). This volume contains much enlarged sections on Hindu and Islamic architecture – Fergusson suggests the section has doubled in size, as well including Cambodia and Thailand for the first time.⁷⁰ It was also the first time that Fergusson could claim he had achieved his goal of a 'universal history'.⁷¹ Given the extra amount of information included about India in this publication, it seems likely that Fergusson extended his use of photographs in the years immediately preceding this publication.

During the 1860s, Fergusson had begun to make reference to photographs in his articles and lectures. He was involved in selecting the plates and writing the text for two large photographically illustrated books, *Architecture in Dharwar and Mysore* (London, 1866) and *Architecture at Beejapoor* (London, 1866) which are discussed in detail in chapter four. A group of fifteen photographs were published as woodburytypes in *Illustrations of various styles of Indian Architecture* (London, 1869), which also included the transcript of a lecture, 'On the study of Indian Architecture', which Fergusson presented to the Society of Arts on 19 December

⁶⁷ *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 214 (1863), p.35.

⁶⁸ *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 214 (1863), p.35.

⁶⁹ *The Athenaeum*, 16 January 1886, p.109.

⁷⁰ Fergusson 1867, p.v.

⁷¹ Fergusson 1867, p.vii.

1866.⁷² The photographs and the lecture were published by the South Kensington Museum, intended for educational use in schools of art.⁷³

The 1866 lecture is a key moment for Fergusson, and the history of Indian architecture. In the lecture, Fergusson is not proposing a history of architecture, but rather he is explaining the importance of documenting and studying Indian architecture. Suddenly, with the increased availability of photographs, it is possible to study buildings in depth that he has never inspected personally. He stated, ‘I have learnt as much, if not more, of Indian Architecture during the last two or three years, than I did during my residence in India, and I now see that the whole subject may be made intelligible, and I see how it can be done’, this last point referring to the acquisition and ordering of photographs.⁷⁴ Fergusson goes on to make statements that have been used to illustrate his insistence upon architecture as the only reliable source of information about the people of India, in the absence of written records⁷⁵ and how this information can be used to compare the different phases of Indian civilisation, ending with the ‘effect our civilisation has had on the natives of India’.⁷⁶ Finally, Fergusson states his belief that, because ‘architecture in India is still a living art’, the study of it by British architects will lead ‘to the improvement of our own architectural designs’.⁷⁷ Fergusson believed wholeheartedly that the study of Indian architecture would help the practice of British architects. The desire to improve modern British architecture underpinned much of his published work, an aspect of his work that is explored further in chapter four. At the end of Fergusson’s lecture, Henry Cole called for the systematic acquisition of photographs by a London repository, to assist with the classification of Indian architecture.⁷⁸

The volume *Illustrations of various styles...* included fourteen photographs ‘from life’ and one photographic copy of an engraving (of the Taj Mahal, Agra). The locations

⁷² The lecture is reported in the *Journal of the Society of Arts*, 15 (21 December 1866), p.71-76.

⁷³ Fergusson 1869. A note on the title page reads, ‘Printed for the use of schools of art in the United Kingdom’.

⁷⁴ Fergusson 1869, p.6.

⁷⁵ Fergusson 1869, p.13. ‘I need hardly tell you that in India there are no written annals which can be trusted.’

⁷⁶ Fergusson 1869, p.13.

⁷⁷ Fergusson 1869, pp.22-3.

⁷⁸ Fergusson 1869, p.28. The Archaeological Survey of India also published at this time a report on the illustration of Indian architecture, including a list drawn up by Fergusson of the monuments of which photographs should be obtained. Watson 1869.

and buildings selected were intended to represent a comprehensive sample of India's architecture. The selection included Felice Beato's photograph of the Golden Temple at Amritsar (**fig. 14**); the Suneri Temple, Ramnagar, Varanasi; the Red Fort and the Qutb Minar complex, Delhi; Fatehpur Sikri; the Vithala Temple, Vijayanagara; Kailasa cave, Ellora; the Martand temple, Kashmir, and the Buddhist stupa at Sanchi.

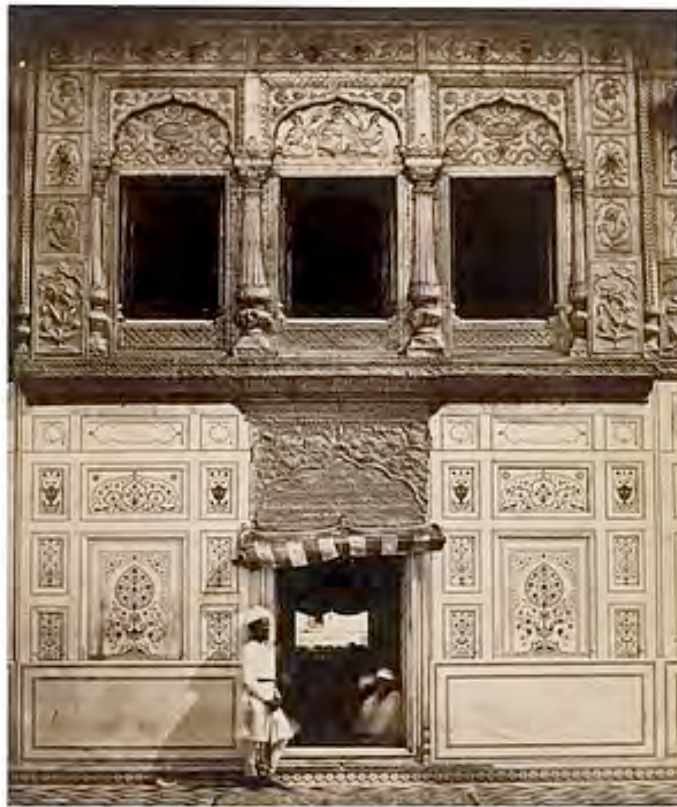


Fig. 14 Felice Beato, *Amritsar, The Golden Temple*, 1858, albumen print. The Victoria and Albert Museum, 80.091.

Some of these photographs also appeared in a display curated by Fergusson at the Paris Exhibition in 1867.⁷⁹ The lecture was influential and was the spur for the organisation of several projects in India, including the documentary work conducted at Sanchi by engineers who made plaster casts of the four monumental gateways.⁸⁰

Apart from Fergusson's display, other photographic works were included in the Paris Exhibition, such as J. Forbes Watson's *The Textile Manufactures and the Costumes of*

⁷⁹ Paris 1867, p.300. The importance of the exhibition is discussed in chapter four.

⁸⁰ The Journal of the Society of Arts reported that "Mr. Fergusson's teaching has at last borne its fruit, and some quite practical measures have been taken to give effect to it." *Journal of the Society of Arts*, 17 (15 October 1869), p.868.

the People of India (London, 1866),⁸¹ a display of portraits of the princes and people of India, and various unspecified architectural views from Bombay and south India.⁸² Most of the photographs from Paris were returned to London and put on display in the South Kensington Museum. Compared to previous years, there was suddenly a wealth of material concerning Indian architecture readily available to the public.

The impact of having access to a great many more photographs led to Fergusson revising his 1867 history in order to produce a single volumed history on Indian architecture. A new section on Jain architecture was added. Furthermore, for the first time Fergusson now made a distinction between several different styles of Hindu architecture, creating categories for Himalayan, Chalukyan, Dravidian and Indo-Aryan styles.⁸³

The revised text was published as *The History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* (London, 1876) and became the standard reference work on Indian architecture for several decades.⁸⁴ Fergusson wrote in the preface to this work, ‘photography has probably done more than anything that has been written. There are now very few buildings in India – of any importance at least – which have not been photographed with more or less completeness; and for purposes of comparison such collections of photographs as are now available are simply invaluable. ... Photographs are almost equal to actual personal inspection.’⁸⁵

In essence, Fergusson saw the history of Indian architecture following a trajectory of decline from the Buddhist era (which was influenced by the Greeks) until the Islamic invasion in the twelfth century. This introduced fresh ideas and elements into

⁸¹ Paris 1867, p.273. Class VI: printing and books, no.1. Dr John Forbes Watson was the Director of the India Museum in London.

⁸² Paris 1867, p.275. Class IX: photographic proofs and apparatus. ‘1. India Museum, London. Selection from a series of photographs of the princes and people of India. Frame of photographs, illustrating the costumes of the people of India.’ Also listed in class IX are a group of photographs sent by the Maharaja of Indore (presumably the portraits taken in 1866 by James Waterhouse); photographs of the cave temples, sent by the Bombay Government; photographs from Major Dixon; photographs of ‘mission buildings’ from the Maharaja of Travancore; photographs from Captain Lyon; views of antiquities and the tribes of southern India from the Madras School of Arts; and photographs and stereoscopic views from Bangalore.

⁸³ These categories were first proposed by Fergusson in Taylor 1866a.

⁸⁴ Raymond Schwab names this volume as one of the works that marks the ‘end of an era’ in terms of the gathering and classification of knowledge about India. Schwab 1984, p.8.

⁸⁵ Fergusson 1876, p.v.

construction and design but Islamic architecture remained the architecture of outsiders; for Fergusson, Islamic architecture was never truly Indian. This style blossomed and exhibited different styles in different regions, but eventually it also entered a period of decline in the sixteenth century, culminating in the post-Mughal architecture of Awadh and Mysore, which Fergusson saw as decadent. This history was to be extremely influential and was adopted by subsequent scholars. When James Burgess edited and reissued the 1876 work in 1910 in two volumes, he largely maintained the existing analysis and religious and racial categories established by Fergusson, although he did make corrections and additions to allow for new research undertaken after Fergusson's death in 1886. Decades later, the historian Percy Brown published a two-volume history, *Indian Architecture* (Bombay, 1942) which makes use of the same classifications. Brown's work remained a standard text for several decades for architecture students in India.⁸⁶

How much the use of photographs is responsible for his particular reliance on style and ornamentation is difficult to ascertain; Fergusson was already making use of this comparative method in the 1840s, but pre-photography his work was restricted to those sites he had visited personally. In *Illustrations of the Rock-cut temples in India*, there is an early outline of his thoughts on methodology, particularly when compared to the use of inscriptions and texts. When introducing his paper to the Royal Asiatic Society, he refers to Dr Bird who was also about to publish on the cave temples⁸⁷:
'His [Dr Bird's] conclusions are drawn principally from the inscriptions and written authorities, while mine have been arrived at almost entirely from a critical survey of the entire series, and a careful comparison of one cave with another, and with different structural buildings in their neighbourhood, the dates of which are, at least approximately known. A combination of both of these methods of research is necessary to settle any point definitely; but the inscriptions will not certainly by themselves answer that purpose.'⁸⁸

⁸⁶ Hosagrahar 2002, p.358.

⁸⁷ Dr Bird was the Residency Surgeon at Satara, south of Bombay.

⁸⁸ Fergusson 1845, p.2. It is clear that Fergusson distinguishes between original carved inscriptions and written accounts (i.e. those written at a later date). He accepts the former as acceptable historical evidence, but usually dismisses the latter as unreliable.

Fergusson undoubtedly used photographs extensively as he developed his history of Indian architecture. Some of them became the basis of woodcuts in his books. Fergusson's use of photographs was not unique, however, and nor was his influence on the history of architecture complete. In India, the Bengali scholar Rajendralala Mitra (1822-1891) incorporated photographic evidence from various sources into his two-volumed work *The Antiquities of Orissa* (Calcutta, 1875-80; the second volume contained collotype photographs) and *Buddha Gaya: the Hermitage of Sakya Muni* (Calcutta, 1878).⁸⁹ Mitra was, in the 1870s, a highly respected Indologist and member of intellectual society in Calcutta, closely involved with numerous societies and associations.⁹⁰ These included numerous academic institutions and groups, as well as the British India Association, the first formal organisation for Indians proposing more involvement in the political administration of their country.

Following the publication of *The Antiquities of Orissa*, Mitra sent a copy to James Fergusson in London. Fergusson perceived an insult in this gesture because within the text, Mitra disagreed with Fergusson's belief that stone construction was unknown in India in the Asokan period (c.250BC).⁹¹ Fergusson claimed that no stone buildings had been designed in India before the arrival of the Greeks but Mitra argued that this was not the case. Mitra argued against Fergusson again in *Buddha Gaya*, repeating his arguments about European influence on stone construction, as well as reassigning the date of the temple at Bodh Gaya. Some bitter correspondence ensued, culminating in Fergusson's publication *Archaeology in India, with Especial Reference to the Works of Babu Rajendralala Mitra* (London, 1884). Fergusson responds virulently to Mitra's perceived attack. He tries to demolish Mitra's arguments point by point, and links the attack to the political debate that was current at the time in Calcutta concerning the Ilbert Bill. The bill in its original form would have allowed British inhabitants of India to be tried by Indians; as a result, there was an outcry and the bill was reformed

⁸⁹ Mitra's life and work is discussed in Thomas 1984; Singh 2004, pp.322-334; Karlekar 2005a, pp.137-148; Pinney 2008, pp.69-75. Mitra undertook fieldwork in Orissa in 1868-9 and at Bodh Gaya in 1877. The photographs in *The Antiquities of Orissa* are not by Mitra, however; they came from several photographers including David Garrick and H.C. Levinge, the Superintending Engineer of Bhar Irrigation works.

⁹⁰ Mitra had also been a founder member of the Photographic Society, established in 1856. On 6 April 1857 he made a speech about the unacceptable behaviour of the British indigo planters in Bengal towards the working class Indians in their employment. This led to much angry debate and discussion that spilled into the newspapers. Mitra was eventually expelled from the society, only to be asked to rejoin in 1868 when his status in Calcutta had changed significantly.

⁹¹ Fergusson 1884, p.7.

to apply to the lower courts only. The British response to the proposed bill indicated that there was in general little trust or respect for Indians and that racial tensions lay only just beneath the surface. Amongst the strongest opponents to the bill were the indigo planters - Fergusson of course made himself an independent fortune as an indigo plantation owner. Fergusson also calls into question the ability of Mitra to interpret photographic evidence, and links this to questions on the ability of Indians to judge Europeans.⁹² Fergusson's arguments combine personal, political and academic arguments into one arrogant diatribe, and this work with its racist overtones is probably the main reason that Fergusson's reputation has suffered a great deal in the twentieth century.

Alexander Cunningham and the Archaeological Survey

Fergusson and Cunningham approached Indian art and architecture with a shared belief: that monuments and ruins were the only reliable sources for constructing India's history, because there were no written primary sources that they could accept. Fergusson acknowledged the use of inscriptions and coins, but employed his knowledge of architecture to interpret these sources.⁹³ Cunningham placed more importance on the inscriptions that he uncovered during his archaeological digs.

Alexander Cunningham was a disciple of William Jones and James Prinsep, the early Orientalists who helped form the cultural and intellectual environment in Bengal. Their researches into languages, inscriptions and numismatics deeply interested him and eventually encouraged Cunningham to undertake his own independent archaeological explorations (**fig. 15**).⁹⁴

⁹² Pinney 2008, pp.73-74. Pinney places this argument within a wider discussion of the use of photography as evidence and the belief of the British colonial administration in India that photographs could not be 'read' by Indians, even the most educated of them.

⁹³ Fergusson often remarked on the importance of architecture as the principal source for understanding Indian history. For example, 'I ... feel certain that in such a case as India, the architectural remains are in most cases the best, and in some, the only evidence that is available for the determination of either historical or ethnographical problems'. Fergusson 1870, p.82. In the same article, Fergusson later states 'It is my knowledge of Indian architecture that gives me confidence in the scheme of chronology propounded'. Fergusson 1870, p.137. The architecture came first, and informed his reading of other sources.

⁹⁴ For discussions on Cunningham's life and work, see amongst others, Silas 1996; Chakrabarti 2001; Guha-Thakurta 2004; Singh 2004.

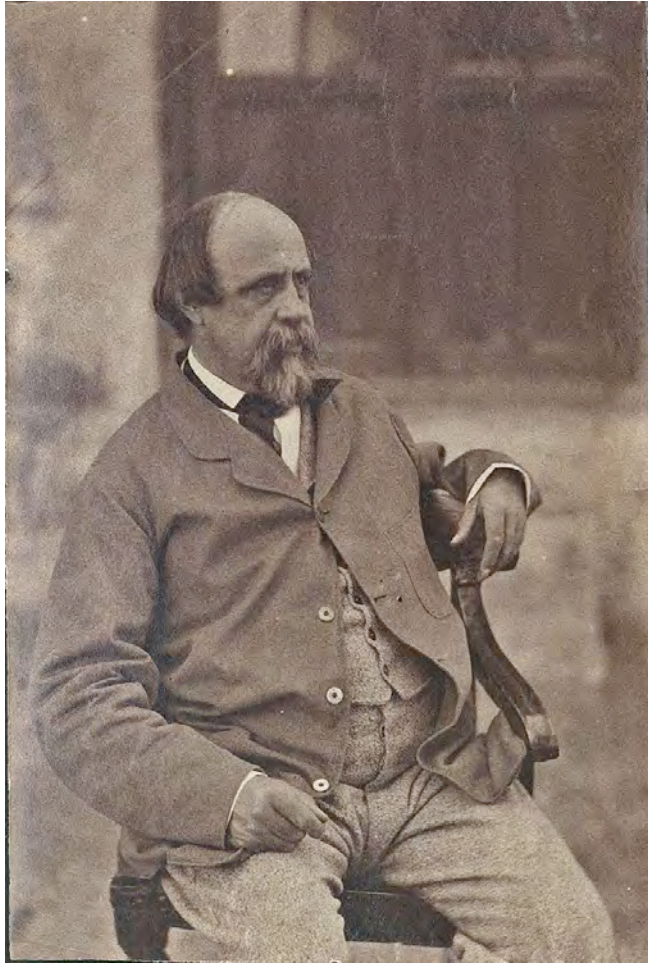


Fig. 15 Unknown photographer, *Alexander Cunningham*, albumen print, 1870s. This appears to be a previously unknown portrait of Cunningham. Private collection.

While still on active duty in the army as a field engineer, Cunningham excavated the Buddhist ruins at Sarnath in 1835, as well as finding time to publish articles in the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society* and writing about his work in Kashmir and Central India. Cunningham's publication *The Bhilsa Topes; or, Buddhist Monuments of Central India* (London, 1854) was significant as the first attempt to write a history of Buddhism from archaeological remains. With his friend Colonel Maisey, Cunningham had excavated the stupas (or topes, as he describes them) in and around Sanchi in January and February 1851.

Cunningham retired from the army in June 1861 and shortly afterwards was appointed Archaeological Surveyor to the Government of India. This position enabled him to devote himself to excavations for the next four years, during which time he published

four substantial reports, outlining what had been achieved.⁹⁵ Cunningham had largely been responsible for the creation of his position. He had sent a memorandum to Lord Canning, the Governor-General of India, on the subject and Canning had responded with an official Minute, dated 22 January 1862. The Minute included a clear statement from Canning, which Cunningham was later to reprint as an epigraph at the beginning of each of his annual reports: ‘What is aimed at is an accurate description, illustrated by plans, measurements, drawings or photographs, and by copies of inscriptions, of such remains as most deserve notice, with the history of them so far as it may be traceable, and a record of the traditions that are retained regarding them.’

The post of Archaeological Surveyor was abolished in 1865 but in 1870 a new department was established, the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI), and Cunningham was made director-general. Every year until his last season in 1880-81, Cunningham, or more usually one of his colleagues, made a tour to a pre-determined area in northern India to examine archaeological ruins and monuments, and subsequently produced a report on it. In total, twenty-three volumes were published, all either written or edited by Cunningham.

Between 1870 and 1880, the department employed several other scholars including H.B.W. Garrick, J.D. Beglar and A.C. Carlleyle. All of Cunningham’s assistants used photographs and were sometimes highly skilled photographers themselves. Garrick was employed specifically for his photographic knowledge, and Beglar, whose photographs first appeared in the reports for the seasons 1873-4 and 1874-5, was also regarded as a highly accomplished photographer (**fig. 16**).

⁹⁵ These four reports were initially published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. They were subsequently republished in 1871 as the first volume of Cunningham’s planned series of annual reports for the newly established Archaeological Survey of India.



Fig. 16 J.D. Beglar, *Bharhut, Ruins of a temple*, 1874, albumen print. The British Library, Photo 1003/(1504). This temple was discussed in *Report of a Tour in the Central Provinces in 1873-74 and 1874-75* (ASI, vol. IX, Calcutta, 1879).

Cunningham also occasionally mentions particular images in his writings. For example, in *Report of operations during 1862-63 in Punjab, N-W.P. and Oudh* (1871) he makes reference to photographs of the Qutb Minar complex in Delhi by Felice Beato and Oscar Reitter. The work of the ASI focused on identifying monuments, measuring and recording them, describing them and collecting any interesting objects that lay in the vicinity, such as coins or sculptural fragments. These objects would then be sent back to a museum or a scholar to analyse. Larger statues were usually left *in situ*, but sometimes the reports contain recommendations for further action or conservation. Cunningham often preferred to send statues to major museums for preservation and send a cast back to the local museum at the original location.⁹⁶

⁹⁶ Watson 1869.

Sculptures deemed to be of a particularly high quality were sometimes recommended for photographing.

One recent account comparing Fergusson's work with Cunningham's has stated that while Fergusson set out to establish an image archive, Cunningham built up a textual archive.⁹⁷ The differences are not so clear-cut as this suggests, however, particularly given that the major surviving image archive from nineteenth-century India is that created by the ASI, now housed at the British Library (**fig. 17**).



Fig. 17 Henry Garrick, *Sasaram, Tomb of Hasan Khan Suri, father of Sher Shah*, 1882, albumen print. The British Library, Photo 1003/(478). From the Archaeological Survey photograph collection.

Both scholars made substantial use of images as well as inscriptions. One example of Cunningham's use of photographs is his book *The Stupa of Bharhut* (London, 1879) in which he describes the Buddhist site that he discovered in 1873. Alongside the photographs is a plan of the site, with drawings, copies of the inscriptions, plans and elevations. A couple of years later, Cunningham had most of the remains at the site

⁹⁷ Guha-Thakurta, 2004. The description of Cunningham's work in Singh 2004 demonstrates his use of images including photographs quite clearly.

removed to the Indian Museum in Calcutta. Cunningham also wrote to A.C. Lyall, secretary to the Government of India in 1874 stating that: ‘the necessity of being able to refer to and consult photographic pictures of buildings is of paramount importance to the Archaeological Department.’⁹⁸ Cunningham did rely far more on textual sources than Fergusson. He was responsible for creating the position of epigraphist within the Archaeological Survey and initiated the series of volumes *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, to publish texts and their translations.

Cunningham also relied heavily on the accounts of earlier travellers when planning and devising routes for his expeditions. In particular, he used the account of Chinese pilgrim Xuanzang, written in the 7th century CE, a record of a pilgrimage to all the significant Buddhist sites in India. Cunningham, following the first translation of this account from the Chinese into French, retraced the pilgrim’s footsteps in his early expeditions, using the distances supplied by Xuanzang to locate the site of towns, monasteries and sacred places long since disappeared or ignored. In Cunningham’s second expedition of 1862-3, he based part of his journey on accounts of Alexander the Great’s invasion of the Indus region in northwest India in 327-325 BCE. Here, Cunningham encountered numerous sites rich in Buddhist ruins. He combined accounts of the Chinese pilgrim and Alexander the Great in his publication *The Ancient Geography of India* (London, 1871). This interest in and concentration of energy on early Buddhist antiquities had a significant influence on other scholars in the mid and late nineteenth century. Additionally, the concerns held by Cunningham and other early scholars such as Prinsep, which focused on the biography of the Buddha and the locating of sites associated with the life of the Buddha, were to influence art historians working on Buddhist architecture for several generations to come.⁹⁹ Like Fergusson, Cunningham saw the early Buddhist period as a golden age for Indian civilisation. Although recently this has been seen as evidence of colonial desire to minimise the significance of the Hindus, the largest religious and social group during the colonial era¹⁰⁰, at the time it led Cunningham to ignore late Buddhist works from the highly significant Pala period (750-1174AD) because he saw this as a period of artistic and spiritual decline.

⁹⁸ Cited in Singh 2004, p.127-8.

⁹⁹ This is one of the central arguments in Leoshko 2003.

¹⁰⁰ Guha-Thakurta 2004, p.37.

Cunningham retired on 1 October 1885, having never written the history of Indian architecture that he proposed on several occasions. The following year James Burgess (1832-1917) was appointed as the new director-general. Under Burgess, the ASI continued to grow. For administrative purposes, he split the country into regional divisions, known as 'circles'. The number of circles active at any one time shifts over the decades, but generally there were five circles: Bengal; the North-Western Provinces; the Punjab; Western India; and Southern India.

Burgess, an architect by training, had been working with the ASI from 1874, leading the Archaeological Survey of Western India as 'Archaeological Surveyor and Reporter'. Burgess's approach had led to certain tensions with Cunningham, primarily over working methods, but there had also been a conflict over whether Cunningham's authority extended into Western India. Burgess was also eventually put in charge of a newly established Archaeological Survey of Southern India, independent of Cunningham, in November 1881. After Cunningham's retirement, however, the structure of these regional surveys was to alter when Burgess was appointed Cunningham's successor.

The appointment of Burgess as director-general moved the ASI away from field archaeology towards an approach that owed a great deal to Fergusson, concentrating on detailed architectural studies. Burgess and Fergusson had worked together on the substantial publication *The Cave Temples in India* (London, 1880). Burgess was responsible for increasing the archive of images, basing his work on photographs, drawings and plans far more than making observations out in the field. Burgess also included more photographs in the survey's publications, indicating his belief that the photographs would act as confirmation for the findings that he and his colleagues wrote about.¹⁰¹ The photographs proved the existence of the building; they showed the state that it was in when discovered or viewed, and subsequent photographs would show the improvements that the ASI was making to the monuments. Conservation

¹⁰¹ Burgess published his reports and other work as the *New Imperial Series*. This series was produced from 1874 and continued until 1933.

and restoration had become a central concern for the survey, particularly following the reports compiled by Henry Hardy Cole published between 1882 and 1885.¹⁰²

Cole, writing his first report as the newly appointed Curator of Ancient Monuments in India in 1882, provided a comprehensive, chronological outline of the conservation measures carried out in India between 1866 and 1881. Beginning with his father, the late Henry Cole and his enquiries concerning the acquisition of illustrations of Indian architecture for the South Kensington Museum, Cole compiled a list that records various activities, including the making of casts and models and a number of repairs on various monuments across India.¹⁰³ The conservation and restoration measures conducted during this fifteen-year period were important, but the preservation of buildings was not an official priority for the colonial administration until the 1880s. This move from the identification, documentation and classification of monuments to their preservation and restoration was a definite shift in priorities, and was ultimately responsible for Cole's appointment. The amount of practical conservation work achieved during Cole's tenure was small but focused. In addition, Cole produced ten reports accompanied by photographs and drawings under the series title, *Preservation of National Monuments*, between 1884 and 1885.¹⁰⁴

Cole, as part of the Public Works Department, had earlier been in charge of some architectural surveys in Kashmir and sites close to Deeg and Mathura, both of which had been documented photographically. In 1870 he had been tasked with making a plaster cast of the eastern gateway at Sanchi. This was followed by making casts at the site of the Qutb Minar complex in south Delhi and Fatehpur Sikri. Cole then returned to England where he wrote what is sometimes described as the first history of Indian art, *Catalogue of the Objects of Indian Art Exhibited in the South Kensington Museum* (London, 1874).

¹⁰² Henry Hardy Cole was the son of Henry Cole (1808-82), the driving force behind the new museum and cultural complex in South Kensington (now the Victoria and Albert Museum), as well as an instrumental figure in the organisation of the Great Exhibition of 1851 and in the reform of the schools of art and design. Thus his son was well positioned to involve himself with the arts and crafts of India.

¹⁰³ Cole 1882.

¹⁰⁴ The volumes covered the Golden Temple, Amritsar; Delhi; buildings in the Punjab; the Sri Minakshi temple, Madurai; temples in Trichinopoly; the tomb of Jahangir, Shahdara; buildings in Mewar; Agra and Gwalior; Sanchi; and 'Graeco Buddhist' sculptures from Yusufzai (in modern-day Pakistan).

Conservation, Craft and Design

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, the focus of architectural scholars shifted from documentation and classification to conservation and preservation, an approach which continued into the early twentieth century. This contrasted with the work of only ten or twenty years earlier, when it was still possible for Fergusson to worry about the decay of structures because of the climate and vegetation, but most of all, because of the British themselves and their tendency to destroy important structures due to ignorance.¹⁰⁵ Although British scholars shared many ideals at this time, not least the importance of simply surveying and documenting Indian architecture, the different working methods and ideas behind them led scholars to identify themselves into two disciplines: archaeology and art history. While archaeology continued to be undertaken in the field, and increasingly became the domain of Indian scholars, art history was largely practised at home in Britain by British scholars. Within the discipline, Indian architecture was forced into alien classifications and judged on terms that were imposed from outside.

Concurrent with this growing concern for conservation, there was a growth of interest in Indian crafts and traditional methods of design. The work of Samuel Swinton Jacob, Thomas Holbein Hendley, John Lockwood Kipling and George Birdwood was directed towards rediscovering the traditional skills of the craftsman in the decorative arts and the knowledge of the *mistri* in architecture.¹⁰⁶ Jacob, who worked in the Public Works Department, supervised the construction of buildings (notably the Albert Hall in Jaipur in 1883-87 which was intended to house the city's museum) in a way that enabled the traditional guild system rather than adopting Western methods of construction. Jacob also worked with Hendley, who was the first curator of the museum, teaching Jaipuri craftsmen by providing them with the finest examples of local crafts. Jacob was responsible for publishing portfolios of architectural details, the *Jeypore Portfolio of Architectural Details* (Jaipur, 1890-1913), designed as educational reference works for both British and Indian architects. The twelve portfolios contained photolithographs by W. Griggs & Sons, London.

¹⁰⁵ Fergusson 1869, p.24. He cites the example of the Red Fort, Delhi where a military barrack was constructed.

¹⁰⁶ Tillotson 1989, particularly chapter three. *Mistri* is the name given to a traditional Indian master craftsman.

The decorative arts and crafts of India had been admired in Britain since the 1850s, greatly helped by the impressive display of Indian objects in the Great Exhibition of 1851. While the still largely alien ‘fine arts’ of India were for many hard to understand, Indian crafts could be more easily appreciated, perhaps partly because there was a comparable British crafts movement, led by William Morris and John Ruskin, which also focused on traditional design and skills. Following the introduction of art schools in India, however, many of those involved in the Arts and Crafts movement felt that the standards of Indian craftsmanship was declining, principally because of the intense focus on commerce. British-run art schools had been introduced in India in the 1850s, although there had been a few short-lived attempts previously.¹⁰⁷

To address this, Hendley and Lockwood Kipling established a journal in 1884: *The Journal of Indian Art and Industry*. It was published until 1917, providing articles to inform and educate. The most written about subject was textiles, followed by architecture and metalwork.¹⁰⁸ Kipling also put into practice a new approach towards crafts education while he was in charge of the art school and museum in Lahore, much of which was in direct opposition to government policy.¹⁰⁹ For Kipling, architecture was an integral part of the arts of India, and he wrote about the subject in an article in his journal, calling for greater importance to be given to domestic Indian architecture, rather than relying on teaching British and European design.¹¹⁰

In Britain, one of the most vocal supporters of Indian crafts was George Birdwood (1832-1917), who published *The Industrial Arts of India* (London, 1880). It became an authoritative text on Indian handicrafts. While still in India, Birdwood was in charge of the Indian exhibits being sent to the 1867 International Exhibition in Paris.

¹⁰⁷ In 1791, the artist James Wales established a school for local painters in Pune. In 1795, he and his students spent several weeks at the Ellora caves, preparing plans and drawings. The school ended with Wales's death in 1795 and Thomas Daniell subsequently prepared his work from Ellora for publication. In 1839, a Mechanics Institute and School of Art was set up in Calcutta but it did not last. Rohatgi 2008, p.331.

¹⁰⁸ Dewan, D. 2003.

¹⁰⁹ Tarapor 1980, p.72. Kipling came to India in order to take up a position as Architectural Sculptor at the School of Arts in Bombay. In 1874, he was appointed the first Principal of the Mayo School of Art in Lahore, as well as the Curator of the museum.

¹¹⁰ Kipling 1886.

To many, however, including William Morris, the Indian display in Paris was evidence that the standard of Indian crafts was in decline.¹¹¹ Once in London, Birdwood was involved in a series of Indian exhibitions at the South Kensington Museum before becoming the Keeper of the Indian Museum in 1875. He also wrote the catalogue for the Indian exhibits in the 1878 International Exhibition in Paris.

The growth of a revivalist arts and crafts movement in India also helped start a critical response to the work of the earlier colonial scholars. Ernest Binfield Havell (1861-1934) in particular reacted against Fergusson's attempt to classify Indian architecture. Instead Havell saw the history of Indian architecture as 'a history of national life and thought', an approach that was continued by Ananda Coomaraswamy and Stella Kramrisch, amongst others.¹¹² Scholars have more recently expanded Fergusson's architectural canon to include colonial, vernacular and domestic architecture, shifting the emphasis of their studies to examine patronage, power and ideology.¹¹³ Although this thesis will not be engaging in depth with imperial ideologies, these theories do have an impact on the history of photography in Britain, Europe and in India, and this will be discussed in chapter one.

¹¹¹ Tarapor 1980, p.71.

¹¹² Havell 1913, p.v.

¹¹³ For example, the study of European colonial architecture in India demonstrates how the subject has shifted from a chronological survey towards a theoretically driven approach that discusses colonial architecture within an imperial ideology. See Nilsson 1968; Morris 1983; London 1994; Metcalf 1989; Tillotson 1989; Volwahn 2004; Scriver & Prakash 2007.

CHAPTER 1

THE STUDY OF THE HISTORY OF PHOTOGRAPHY

The Development of a Euro-American History

Almost as soon as a viable photographic process was made available to the public in 1839, the history of the medium was being documented. Accounts staking rival claims over supremacy in creating the first photographic process were made in France on behalf of Louis Jacques Mandé Daguerre (1787-1851) and in Britain for William Henry Fox Talbot (1800-77). This debate has occupied a great deal of space in photographic histories ever since, partly for reasons of national pride during a century of constant Anglo-French rivalry, but also for commercial reasons - a confirmed date on an early photographic image can have a substantial impact on its value.¹

The study of the history of photography has shifted over time, as attitudes towards the narrating of cultural and social histories have changed.² Consequently, within this history, the study of photography in India has also changed over time. The interpretations of previous generations directly inform how we look at photographs of India today. This chapter will consider some of the changes in photographic history and will help place this thesis within a broader context, as well as highlighting some of the key moments in the study of photography in India.³

During the nineteenth century, many of the photographic histories produced concentrated primarily on technical issues relating to optics, chemistry and photographic processes: the books were written by photographers for photographers. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, attitudes towards photography

¹ See, for example, the extended debate over the authorship and value of 'the leaf' - a photograph that Sotheby's wished to sell. Sotheby's New York, *The Quillan Collection of 19th and 20th Century Photographs*, 7 April 2008, lot 43. An argument was made connection the image with Thomas Wedgwood (1771-1805) who experimented with photograms in the late eighteenth century. The photograph generated widespread interest in the press and within the photographic community, not all positive, and eventually the photograph was withdrawn from the auction. See Rooseboom 2010, p.4-5.

² Important historiographical surveys include Gasser 1992 and Nickel 2001.

³ A bibliographic essay on the literature of the history of photography in India was published in 2004 (Gordon 2004). A substantial bibliography for photography in India was also reproduced in Pelizzari 2003.

began to change. Efforts were made to promote the medium as a fine graphic art and to exhibit examples in contemporary art galleries, particularly in New York, where Alfred Stieglitz (1864-1946) showed the work of photographers such as Edward Steichen, F. Holland Day, Alvin Langdon Coburn and Gertrude Käsebier. Early histories emerged to mark the 100th anniversary of photography, including Lucia Moholy's *A Hundred Years of Photography 1839-1939* (London, 1939). The book was published by Penguin, and was relatively easy to acquire by a general audience (fig. 1-1).⁴ Moholy mentions several important British photographers in her work, including Hill and Adamson, Julia Margaret Cameron, Roger Fenton (particularly his Crimean views) and Francis Bedford. Moholy attempts to place many of the technical developments of photography within the broader cultural context of the Victorian era.

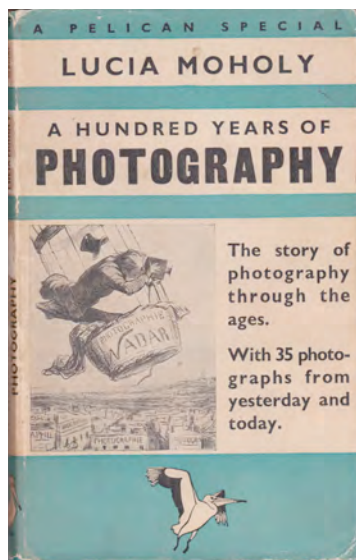


Fig. 1-1 Cover of Lucia Moholy, *A Hundred Years of Photography* (London, 1939).

It was in New York that the young art historian Beaumont Newhall (1908-1993) pinned down the first substantial cultural history of photography in 1937. Newhall, engaged by the Museum of Modern Art as its librarian, was asked to curate the museum's first exhibition on the history of photography. A catalogue was produced to accompany the exhibition, *Photography 1839-1937* (New York, 1937). Newhall's catalogue was reprinted in 1938 as *Photography: A Short Critical History* before

⁴ The book was one of two photographic histories that Helmut Gernsheim reportedly carried with him during his period of internment in 1940-41. Flukinger 2010, p.18.

being revised completely in 1949 and again in 1964. It was, and still is, a highly influential publication (fig. 1-2).

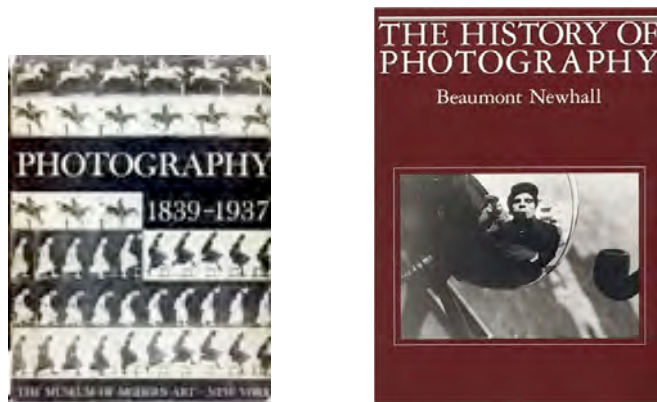


Fig.1-2 Covers of Beaumont Newhall's exhibition catalogue from 1937 and a later reprint of the 1964 edition.

Newhall's history is structured chronologically, with categories based on different processes and technologies, but the text gives equal weight to aesthetics (particularly modernist aesthetics). Particularly influential for the next fifty years, this formalist approach to the aesthetics of photography sought to define a particularly 'photographic' set of aesthetics – a standard of criticism that could be applied to photography alone.⁵ The *invention* of photography was explained through a social and cultural desire for verisimilitude which Newhall dates from the European Renaissance (but which has been traced back to Ancient times in several histories with the development of the *camera obscura*), while the *history* of photography was seen as progress from the 'primitive' photography of the 1840s, through 'early' photography which covers the period 1851 to 1914, before arriving at the modernist, 'straight' photography of Atget, Stieglitz and Weston. Newhall owed his methods to the formalist art histories and connoisseurship practised by Heinrich Wölfflin and Bernard Berenson, amongst others. Newhall had also been influenced by his teacher Paul J. Sachs at Harvard University, who was responsible for introducing museum studies and discussions that focused on the practice of connoisseurship. Newhall cited his sources at the end of the book. One work in particular was highlighted: Josef

⁵ Newhall 1937, p.41-42. 'But we are seeking standards of criticism generic to photography. ... Primitive photography enables us to isolate two fundamental factors which have always characterized photography, whatever the period. One has to do with the amount of detail which can be recorded, the other is concerned with the rendition of values. The first is largely dependent on optical laws, the second on chemical properties.'

Maria Eder's *Geschichte der Photographie* (Halle, 1905) which Newhall described as 'the standard technical history of photography and the only book which covers the field completely'.⁶ It is also indicative of the high quality research on the history of photography that was emanating from Germany in the early twentieth century, something that was to cease with the political upheavals of the 1930s.

Several subsequent important histories and accounts of the birth of photography followed Newhall's work, most notably Helmut Gernsheim's *The History of Photography from the Camera Obscura to the beginnings of the Modern Era* (London, 1955). Gernsheim's history has been extremely influential in establishing the canon of nineteenth-century European photographers, particularly British practitioners, whom Gernsheim places firmly at the centre of his photographic history. Gernsheim (1913-95) was in contact with Beaumont Newhall and his wife Nancy shortly after World War II, following Newhall's favourable review of Gernsheim's first book, *New Photo Vision* (1942).⁷ Gernsheim and his wife Alison were encouraged by Newhall to begin collecting seriously and systematically as many examples of nineteenth-century photographs as possible in order to rescue them from destruction. Gernsheim's collecting activities began in January 1945 and were based predominantly in England. Consequently, he focused particularly on British photographers. In this way, Gernsheim (always working with his wife Alison) acquired substantial groups of photographs by Talbot, Cameron, and Hill and Adamson, and in the process also discovered 'forgotten' photographers, for example Lewis Carroll whose portraits of children were unknown at this time. Gernsheim's lack of any institutional affiliation sometimes made access to many existing collections much harder for him than it had been for Newhall, so Gernsheim came to rely increasingly on his own collection, using his own photographs as the source

⁶ Newhall 1937, p.92. Eder (1855-1944) was an Austrian scientist who made an extraordinary contribution to the science and history of photography. His best-known publication, still in print today, is *Ausführliches Handbuch der Photographie*, first published in 1882. The second, much enlarged edition was titled *Geschichte der Photochemie und Photographie* (1891) and the third edition was titled simply *Geschichte der Photographie* (1905). Today it is the fourth edition of 1932, subsequently translated into English by Edward Epstein and published in 1945, that is still a highly useful text in English-speaking countries.

⁷ Hill 2005, p.146. The book contains photographs taken by Gernsheim in the 1930s, accompanied by a text in which he outlines a new approach for British photographers, who (according to Gernsheim) had more or less ignored the European Modernist tradition up to that date, with a few exceptions. Gernsheim continued to work as a photographer, notably for the National Buildings Record photographing in London during the war, until he was able to abandon almost completely his photographic work in 1947 for full-time research and writing.

material for much of his future work. This contrasted with Newhall's method of travelling around Europe to visit existing institutional collections and libraries. Thus both of their histories are subjective ones, incomplete in many ways, yet both have been seminal in their influence in creating and defining the subject of the history of photography.

Gernsheim's publications demonstrate clearly his approach to the medium. His first significant publication on the history of photography was a biography of Julia Margaret Cameron. This was followed by works on Lewis Carroll and Roger Fenton.⁸ In addition, Gernsheim produced a ground-breaking exhibition and publication for the British Arts Council, *Masterpieces of Victorian Photography* (London, 1951), the success of which was to cement Helmut and Alison's reputations and their roles as pioneers of the photohistorical world.⁹ A wide range of photographers was included in the exhibition, notably in the present context Samuel Bourne who worked in India in the 1860s. Those photographers who were represented by several examples of their work – Roger Fenton, Hill and Adamson, Rejlander and Cameron – now hold the status of master art photographers, and their work at auction commands some of the highest prices for nineteenth-century photography.¹⁰ In addition, much of the introductory essay to the exhibition is concerned with discussing the relationship between photography and painting in Victorian Britain, looking at artists' use of photographs in their work and the role that photography may have had in suggesting new topics and approaches to painters, particularly the French Impressionists. The tone of the text now seems defensive, as Gernsheim makes his case for considering

⁸ Helmut Gernsheim, *Julia Margaret Cameron: Her Life and Photographic Work* (London, 1948); Helmut Gernsheim, *Lewis Carroll, Photographer* (London, 1949); Helmut and Alison Gernsheim, *Roger Fenton, Photographer of the Crimean War: His Photographs and His Letters from the Crimea* (London, 1954). The Gernsheims also produced a biography on Daguerre, *L.J.M. Daguerre: The History of the Diorama and the Daguerreotype* (London, 1956), widely regarded as the finest of their biographical studies. Flukinger 2010, p.72.

⁹ Flukinger 2010, p. 50. The exhibition was part of the Festival of Britain of 1951, held in part to commemorate the Great Exhibition of 1851, the latter containing the first substantial display of photography in Britain, duly noted by Gernsheim in the catalogue. The Arts Council supported this particular exhibition even though it contained photographs (which at this stage it did not consider 'art') because of the connection with the Festival of Britain, and the celebration of the Great Exhibition.

¹⁰ Gernsheim's 'eye' as a collector was inevitably formed by his own early experiences as a photographer. He identified and acquired many exceptional images. These images have in turn shaped the history of photography through being studied, written about and reproduced for several decades. See in particular Flukinger 2010, pp.1-2.

photography as an art alongside painting and drawing, but it was part of Gernsheim's efforts to have photography taken seriously as one of the visual arts.

In subsequent editions of their work, both Newhall and Gernsheim rewrote their histories to include more discussion about aesthetics; the types of images specific to photography and more biographical information on the individuals who produced the work. They concentrated more and more on the images produced, rather than the mechanics of achieving this. Both placed an emphasis on originality and singularity as important, key elements. This was partly a result of the writings and influence of John Szarkowski (1925-2007) who was Director of Photography at the Museum of Modern Art in New York from 1962 to 1991. He produced two particularly influential publications, *The Photographer's Eye* (New York, 1966) and *Looking at Photographs* (New York, 1973), both of which included snapshots and vernacular works alongside the works of acknowledged master photographers. Szarkowski focused relentlessly on the image and its construction, allowing all photographs the chance to be analysed in the same way. His democratic approach and willingness to look beyond the existing canon changed the way that photography was thought about and understood. This shift energised photography, its study and its presentation in Britain, Europe and the US in the 1970s.

In respect to photography in India, very little was published during this early period. A handful of references to Felice Beato's photographs taken in the aftermath of the 1857 Uprising were discussed in military history journals¹¹, and photographs by Samuel Bourne played a role in early survey books and exhibitions (**fig. 1-3**).

¹¹ Harris 1949; Chappell 1958; Annand 1968.



Fig. 1-3 Samuel Bourne, *The Scinde River*, 1864. As illustrated in Gernsheim 1955, plate 188.

Although Gernsheim comments on Bourne's achievement in making an arduous Himalayan expedition in 1866 and crossing the Manirung Pass with a team of porters, he chooses a Picturesque landscape scene rather than one of the mountainscapes to illustrate Bourne's work. The landscape scenes taken in the foothills of the Himalayas were (and still are) easy for a Western audience to appreciate. The photographs taken during Bourne's 1866 Himalayan trek are much bleaker and emptier scenes (**fig. 1-4**).



Fig. 1-4 Samuel Bourne, *View at the top of the Manirung Pass*, summer 1866. As illustrated in Taylor 1980, p.15.

The one substantial contribution to the study of photography in India in this early period came from India. Under the editorship of Mulk Raj Anand, the art journal *MARG* published in 1960 an edition devoted entirely to photography.¹² This volume included modern photographers who covered the events of Indian Independence in 1947 such as Henri Cartier-Bresson and Sunil Janah, as well as earlier Indian photographers, notably Lala Deen Dayal, Maharaja Sawai Ram Singh II of Jaipur (r.1835-80) and Shapoor Bhedwar, a Parsi photographer who worked and exhibited in Bombay (**fig. 1-5**) and also in England with the Linked Ring group (a brotherhood of photographers dedicated to developing photography as a fine art). Through these three photographers, a wide range of material was presented.

¹² Anand 1960.



Fig. 1-5 Shapoor Bhedwar, *The Mystic Sign*, platinum print, 1890s. The Alkazi Collection of Photography.

The Study of Photography in the 1970s and 1980s

The 1970s was a crucial time for photography in general, as institutions and galleries began to show more work.¹³ In Britain in particular, photography began to flourish. The Arts Council officially recognised photography as an art form, which meant that photographic exhibitions were eligible to apply for funding.¹⁴ The Photographer's Gallery opened in London in January 1971. The National Portrait Gallery in London had held its first photography exhibition in 1968, devoted to the work of Cecil Beaton. In 1972, the gallery appointed Colin Ford as its first curator of photography, the first time a British national museum had made such an appointment. This indicated that photography was starting to be seen as a serious art form, worthy of equal consideration alongside paintings, drawings and sculptures.

Two important exhibitions were held in London demonstrating not only the shift in attitude towards photography, but also a new approach to the Victorian age.

¹³ In the US, the Aperture Foundation had been established by a group of photographers including Ansel Adams and Dorothea Lange in 1952. It began publishing photography books in the 1960s, and was responsible for some early influential exhibitions on nineteenth-century photography, such as *French Primitive Photography* by Minor White, André Jammes and Robert Sobieszek (New York, 1970).

¹⁴ Hill 2005, p.139.

Nineteenth-century art had been out of fashion to the extent that it was derided in the art world, but gradually attitudes towards nineteenth-century photography shifted. The first exhibition, *'From today painting is dead' The Beginnings of Photography*, was an Arts Council production, held at the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1972. It concentrated exclusively on photography before 1885, drawing works from a large number of British collections. India was well represented, with works by W.W. Hooper (**fig. 1-6**), Colonel Thomas Biggs, Richard Oakeley, Felice Beato and Bourne. It also included photographically illustrated books. By concentrating on a limited timeframe (1839-1885), the exhibition was able to introduce a wider variety of material and formats. The exhibition was designed to present the wealth of material produced during this period; there was little interpretation or analysis.



Fig.1-6 Willoughby Wallace Hooper, *The Madras Famine, 1876-78: 'The Last of the Herd'*. As illustrated in *From today painting is dead* (London, 1972), plate 43b.

The second exhibition, *The real thing: an Anthology of British Photographs 1840-1950* (Hayward Gallery, 1975) was equally ground-breaking not only in its subject matter, but also because after the London exhibition, the show toured to four further venues within Britain.¹⁵ Photography had begun to be consistently promoted in

¹⁵ The Hayward Gallery, London, March 19-May 4, 1975; Graves Art Gallery, Sheffield, June 21-July 27, 1975; Bolton Art Gallery, Aug. 9-Sept. 13, 1975; City Museum and Art Gallery, Birmingham, Sept.

galleries outside London - the gallery Impressions opened in York in 1972 and Stills gallery in Edinburgh opened in 1977.

The major auction houses began holding sales in the 1970s – Sotheby’s held its first photography sale in London in 1971, followed quickly by Christie’s in 1972.¹⁶ From the very first sales, a wide range of material was included originating from outside Europe and the US. These photographs were often gathered together under the heading of ‘topographical’ and placed in a different section to the more mainstream works of the British and European photographers as identified by Newhall and Gernsheim. By highlighting photography in this way and simultaneously enlarging the small existing canon, the auction houses helped secure the presence of photography on the walls of museums and galleries. They also defined the factors deemed to be necessary in examples of ‘good’ photography, factors which relied heavily on the physical characteristics of the print as well as on the image itself.¹⁷ One result of the development of a photographic market was that, as photographs became more valuable and collectible, the quality that is common to most photographs – their reproducibility – became more and more undesirable. Photographs that were perceived to be rare or unique commanded higher financial values, but at the same time the negatives, which are unique and are the objects produced by the photographer in the camera, never commanded particularly high prices in comparison to positive prints.¹⁸

The number of books published on photography increased. The Gordon Fraser Photographic Monograph Series made the work of modern and Victorian photographers accessible, as did the colour supplement magazines that started to accompany the Sunday newspapers, making photography available to a far wider

27-Nov. 9, 1975; Bristol City Art Gallery, Nov. 22, 1975-Jan. 3, 1976. Subsequent exhibitions also made touring a priority, for example John Hannavy curated *The camera goes to war* for the Scottish Arts Council in 1974. The exhibition subsequently travelled before ending its run at the National Portrait Gallery, London in 1975.

¹⁶ Christie’s, *Victorian Photographs and Photographica*, London, 14 December 1972.

¹⁷ Print condition quickly became the defining element in valuing photographs that exist in multiple copies. If a photograph is perceived to be particularly rare, then the condition becomes less important.

¹⁸ Negatives are usually regarded as interim works, rather than as finished works of art. The Victoria and Albert Museum, for example, is responsible for the national collection of the art of photography but they do not acquire negatives for this reason.

audience than ever before.¹⁹ Both the increased display of photography and its widespread publication now placed greater emphasis than ever before on looking at pictures irrespective of their history or by whom they had been made.

This encouraged the field to open up further to non-Western material. The collector and writer Clark Worswick produced several books which proved to be pioneering in their subject matter: *The Last Empire: Photography in British India 1855-1911* (New York, 1976) in collaboration with historian Ainslee Embree (**fig. 1-7 & fig. 1-8**); *Imperial China: Photographs 1850-1912* (New York, 1978) with Jonathan Spence, and *Japan: photographs 1854-1905* (New York, 1979).

¹⁹ The Gordon Fraser Photographic Monograph series began in the early 1970s. Most of the volumes concentrated on contemporary photographers, but there were books on Roger Fenton by John Hannavy (1975); Julia Margaret Cameron by Helmut Gernsheim (1975); Frank Sutcliffe by Michael Hiley (1974) and a book on Victorian photography by Colin Ford (1979). *The Sunday Times Magazine* was launched in 1962. Lord Snowdon was appointed the photographic and design editor. In 1971, Bruce Bernard was appointed Picture Editor, from which position he published major photographic articles, as well as producing the influential book, *Photodiscovery: a Century of Extraordinary Images* (London, 1980). The selection of images included unusual and breathtaking works that had not been seen before, by both acclaimed photographers and unknowns. Bernard followed Szarkowski's approach of looking only for visually striking images, while ignoring the context or the maker.



Fig. 1-7 Ganpatrao Kale, *The Maharaja of Bundi*, c.1900. As illustrated in Worswick 1976, p.114 (where it is dated 1888).

Each of these publications, based on exhibitions, contains the work of native and non-native photographers, and also provides some sort of historical context for the country in which the photographers were working. Worswick's book on India covers a far wider range of images than had been previously presented. While he concentrates predominantly on photographs of people, he also covers architectural material and landscapes. Many of the photographs are by unknown photographers, and the subject matter covered ranges from formal portraits of Europeans to a dissection in an anatomy class for Indian medical students. Some of the particularly striking images have been reproduced by subsequent publications and have now become very familiar to scholars. The portrait of the Maharaja of Bundi (fig. 1-7) has appeared in a few catalogues and books, and was the lead image for a British Library exhibition of Indian photographs in 2001.²⁰

²⁰ Falconer 2001.



Fig. 1-8 Unknown photographer, *Badminton party, Rawalpindi*, 1890s. As illustrated in Worswick 1976, p.48.

Much of the research in these books has been superseded, but these wide-ranging publications with their high production values stand out as early works. Working at the same time as Worswick, Ray Desmond at the India Office Library began cataloguing the vast, undocumented collection of over half a million photographs from South Asia, many of which had been acquired by the government department responsible for the administration of India (they are now part of the British Library). Desmond produced two important articles on the collection during this period.²¹ The material he concentrated on was inevitably heavily biased towards the official documentation of India, and included discussion of several architectural photographers including Lala Deen Dayal (**fig. 1-9**).

²¹ Desmond 1976; Desmond 1977.



Fig. 1-9 Lala Deen Dayal, *Gwalior Fort, approach to the main entrance*, albumen print, 1882. British Library, Photo 2/4(71). This photograph was taken during a tour of Central India in 1882, directed by Sir Lepel Griffin, the British Resident at Indore. Many of Dayal's photographs from the tour, including this one, were published in *Famous Monuments of Central India* (London, 1886).

Desmond's research at the India Office Library culminated in the influential publication, *Victorian India in Focus* (London, 1982), which presents an overview of the material in the collection. Whilst it focuses on the official photography and the colonial presence in India, Desmond weaves personal stories into the narrative, providing a way to an audience to access this largely unfamiliar material. For example, he highlights the domestic life of colonial administrators which sometimes came at a high cost. The final image in the book is a view of the South Park Street cemetery, Calcutta, where many men, women and children were buried, in often elaborate tombs (**fig. 1-10**).



Fig. 1-10 Frederick Fiebig, *South Park Street Cemetery*, hand-painted salted paper print, 1851. British Library, Photo 247/2(46). Reproduced in black and white in Desmond 1982b, p.100.

Several photography dealers produced publications highlighting some of the newer material that was being uncovered, usually through their catalogues of works for sale. Hans P. Kraus, Jr, a New York-based dealer, has been producing scholarly catalogues since 1985, principally dealing with works made pre-1860.²² Robert Hershkowitz, a UK-based American photography dealer, mounted an exhibition at the Camden Arts Centre and wrote an accompanying book with the title *The British Photographer Abroad: the First Thirty Years* (London, 1980). It presented examples of the work of several British photographers working outside Britain. This included European work (Talbot in Paris; Calvert Jones in Italy; Charles Clifford in Spain) alongside work from the Middle East and Asia (Linnaeus Tripe in India; Francis Frith in Egypt; Dr John McCosh in Burma and Charles Shepherd on the North-West Frontier, amongst others). Additionally, the year 1980 also saw two significant exhibitions focussing on the work of individual photographers from India: Samuel Bourne and Deen Dayal.²³ The exhibition of Bourne's work displayed his mastery of the Picturesque landscape and confirmed Bourne as one of the great British photographers of the nineteenth century. The exhibition, and publication, on Deen Dayal showed the extraordinary

²² Kraus began dealing in photographs in 1984. He has produced a series of catalogues titled *Sun Pictures*. The first was Schaaf 1985; the most recent is the eighteenth catalogue, Schaaf 2009.

²³ Taylor 1980; Worswick 1980.

range of his work, phighlighting previously unknown examples owned by the family descendants. Since the 1980s, Bourne and Deen Dayal have remained two of the best known photographers to have worked in India. As successful commercial photographers, their work is more widely available on the market and in collections, generating more interest from contemporary researchers and audiences.

These activities all raised the profile of photography considerably both in the art world and with the general public. The increased emphasis on the image was unfortunately sometimes at the expense of the photograph as a material object, although auction houses and dealers in particular countered this with their high regard for rare prints and good condition.

Today there is sometimes a tension between those who prioritise the photographic object and those who prioritise the image: whilst the former, often a curator, might place an emphasis on the viewing experience, prioritising the historical context and provenance, the latter at its extreme would be concerned to reproduce the image only, in whatever format possible. At its worst, this leads to the digitisation of photographic images and the consequent neglect or even destruction of the original works. It remains important to respect the original object. The photographer, as an artist, is understood to have a particular message or vision that s/he is trying to convey through the object and this is at least partly dependant on its physical appearance.

By placing such importance on the historical context and provenance details, the curator (and by extension, the institution) is attempting to exercise control over what is a vast and uncontrollable medium, often within the scope of the institution's own archive. This inevitably has implications for the interpretation of the material - the curator is the guardian and gatekeeper (as well as sometimes the acquirer and compiler) of the material on which everyone else bases their studies. Many, but by no means all, collections, whether located in a museum or library, in public or private ownership, define and display photography in a manner that best suits them, their aims, ambitions and institutional ideologies. Today this can encompass a wide range of approaches, including particularly political ideologies; the need to attract certain types of audiences especially those that are diverse in terms of race and age; the desire

to define the the institution's role, emphasising its uniqueness and open-mindedness; or the need for individuals to display wealth, position and a commitment to philanthropy.²⁴

In institutions, material is both selected and presented for its suitability in promoting these aims; this inevitably has an impact on scholarship that derives from it. Recent scholarship on the political and cultural forces that shape archives in particular (where large numbers of photographs are, or have been, located) indicates that there is growing awareness that archives are not neutral spaces in which documents can reside.²⁵ It is important that institutions, particularly those with a national or international presence such as the British Library or the Smithsonian, retain an awareness of the context from which their research emerges.

The 'Festival of India' in 1982 was a catalyst for several exhibitions focussing on the arts of South Asia, including sculpture and contemporary painting, as well as concerts and other events. The Festival, organised by the British Government with heavy involvement from India, was a combination of a desire to attract new audiences to museums, as well as a celebration of increased Indian presence in Britain at a time of growing immigration. The Festival enjoyed a high political profile, incorporating a meeting between Prime Ministers Margaret Thatcher and Indira Gandhi (**fig. 1-11**).

²⁴ In this last case, it is worth noting that the role of private collectors in driving the photography market has been extremely important. Some individuals have ensured that their collections end up in museums (for example, Sam Wagstaff's collection went to the Getty; part of Howard Ricketts' Indian collection has gone to the National Gallery of Australia) while others have bought systematically over many years before selling the collection at auction (for example, Paul Walter sold much of his Indian collection of photographs and paintings at Christie's in 1995 and 1996; Satish Gujral's collection of Indian photographs was sold at Christie's in 2001 and Dr William Ehrenfeld's collection was sold by Sotheby's in 2005.)

²⁵ Generally, see Schwartz 2000; also Lara Jennifer Moore, *Restoring order: the École des chartes and the organization of archives and libraries in France, 1820-1870* (Duluth, 2008) who links archival practice with the ideologies of the changing regimes in nineteenth-century France.



Fig. 1-11 Margaret Thatcher and Indira Gandhi attend one of the exhibitions mounted for the Festival of India, 1982. Photograph from *The Hindu* newspaper website.

As well as Desmond's substantial India Office publication already discussed above, the Festival of India saw an exhibition of Deen Dayal's photographs at the Camden Arts Centre and a survey exhibition at the Photographers Gallery covering the period 1858 to 1980.²⁶ The latter had a stated desire to include only works by Indian photographers, but 'there are of necessity some Europeans included, particularly in the early years'. Rajendralala Mitra, Narayan Dajee and Shapoor Bhedwar were included in a broad exhibition that also displayed the work of young contemporary photographers, film stills and film posters in an attempt to contextualise photography within a broader Indian visual culture.

Photography and Theory

Following the lead of the National Portrait Gallery in appointing a curator of photography, other institutions also appointed curators and gathered photographs from various sections (usually libraries and archives) to create distinct photography departments. While this was good for encouraging the study of photography, it had the effect of removing photographs from their original contexts where they contributed to particular histories. Once separated from their context, the photographs

²⁶ Desmond 1982c; Davies 1982.

gained in significance as aesthetic objects, but lost importance as historical documents.

Practical photography was also being taught at more higher educational establishments than before, and in the early 1970s photography was introduced as an 'A' level subject at schools. At the same time, the nature of photography and theories to explain the medium came under increased academic scrutiny within universities.²⁷ Challenges to the canon of photographers set up by Newhall and Gernsheim were made and alternative ways of thinking about photographs were sought. The theoretical approaches that were being discussed in English literature departments began to be highly influential in other academic disciplines, including art history and photography. By suggesting that visual objects could be cultural and social objects, as well as aesthetic objects, photographs were discussed in respect to the circumstances of their production, their uses and their dissemination. Analysis demonstrated how photographs could give representation to political and abstract ideas and ideologies. Significant theoretical approaches that have influenced how we think about photographs include structuralism and semiotics; post-structuralism and psychoanalysis; postmodernism, and, of particular importance to photography in India, postcolonialism.

Questions concentrated particularly on the role of the viewer and his or her responses to photography. The writer Susan Sontag, in *On Photography* (London, 1979) produced a series of essays, originally published in the *New York Review of Books*, that introduced these concerns in a readable way to a wider audience. Sontag was influenced by the work of John Berger in *Ways of Seeing* (London, 1972) as well as by Walter Benjamin (whose work is discussed later in this chapter). Berger is initially concerned with the reproduction of art works and the concept of 'authenticity' associated with unique artworks, particularly paintings. He shows how meaning changes depending on context, financial value and academic criticism.

²⁷ Bate 2009, p.28. Bate suggests that there have been three key periods when photographic theory has flourished: the moment of photography's discovery in the 1830s and 1840s; the era of mass reproduction in the early twentieth century, and the 1960s and 1970s with the rise of the various media industries and growth of photographic studies in institutions.

This was followed by Roland Barthes' publication, *Camera Lucida* (London, 1984) which was first published in France in 1980. Barthes, a semiotician, examines the meaning of certain types of photographs, and also relies heavily on his own personal responses to family photographs. He highlights the reproducible, ubiquitous nature of photographic prints, which makes them difficult to read as signs because photographs can emerge in so many different contexts. Barthes concludes the essence of photography is its relationship with time – that is, the photograph always shows something that was present in the past in a way that other visual media cannot. For Barthes, the act of looking at photographs is always about looking at the subject, through the photograph to a specific point in time, rather than at the photograph as a material object.

The social history of photography has been a subject that has considerably expanded the field. The use of the camera and of photographs within the home has been examined, looking particularly at personal albums and portraits, as well as considering the impact that photography might have had on Victorian society and attitudes. Gisèle Freund wrote *Photographie et Société* (Paris, 1974) to examine the relationship between changing society in France and photographic portraiture.²⁸ In regards to nineteenth-century material, her central thesis is that the demands of the middle classes and the supply of cheaper photographic portraits moved hand-in-hand as the middle classes imitated those in power or those possessing wealth. This approach has recently had an impact on the understanding of painted photographic portraits produced in India in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and on vernacular photography in India in general.²⁹

Several important works have emerged looking at non-elite photography in India, most notably Judith Mara Gutman's book *Through Indian Eyes: 19th and 20th Century Photography from India* (New York, 1982) which was the first substantial study of photographs produced by Indian photographers, for an Indian clientele (**fig. 1-12**). Gutman incorporates a wide body of work, from painted portraits of Maharajas to middle-class portraits, architectural studies and genre scenes. The more

²⁸ Freund (1908/12-2000) based the first chapter of her book, dealing with the nineteenth-century, on her PhD thesis, *La photographie en France au dix-neuvième siècle*. It was written at the Sorbonne, Paris, and submitted in 1936.

²⁹ Gutman 1982; Ghosh 1988; Allana 2008.

recent *Painted Photographs* (Ahmedabad, 2008) drawing on the Alkazi Collection of Photography concentrates heavily on hand-coloured portraits of Indian rulers, demonstrating the type of images consumed by an Indian elite. Publications such as these have highlighted the narrow focus of many of the preceding (and succeeding) surveys on the history of photography, as well as demonstrating that the narratives of Western art history do not necessarily accommodate this sort of material easily. These photographs are instead presented as products of a demand from an Indian market.

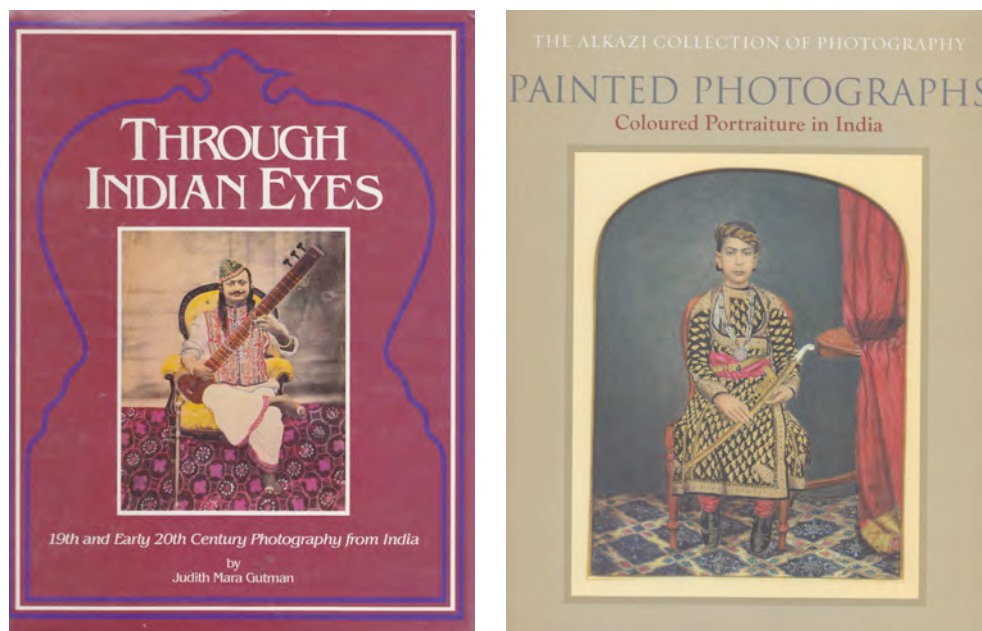


Fig. 1-12 The covers of *Through Indian Eyes* (1982) and *Painted Photographs* (2008) which illustrate the type of images selected for discussion within.

Some histories, which termed themselves ‘alternative’, were in fact not new critical approaches but instead presented new arcs for the history of photography, such as Ian Jeffrey’s *Revisions: an alternative history of photography* (Bradford, 1999). For example, Jeffrey discusses the importance of stereoscopic views which, due to their commercial success in the 1860s, are often omitted from historical surveys. Jeffrey states that this was probably because popular material is often been equated with poor taste and poor aesthetic content.³⁰ He reintroduces stereoscopic views into photographic history, reminding us that alongside the *carte-de-visite*, this is how the majority of the Victorian public would have encountered photography.

³⁰ Jeffrey 1999, p.45-46.

Another exhibition demonstrated how in a short space of time, photographs from India had moved from being perceived as part of an alternative history of photography to being a site of enquiry themselves, subject to multiple interpretations. The British Library, in collaboration with the British Council, mounted a touring exhibition *A Shifting Focus: Photography in India 1850-1900* (London, 1995).³¹ The exhibition was displayed in London at the Nehru Centre, before travelling to several venues across India. The accompanying catalogue presented the material as representative of what emerged in India in the nineteenth century - painted photographs were included, as were striking images by Indian photographers (**fig. 1-13**). Indian critics were quick to point out, however, that the history they were offered here was a sanitised version of a colonial history. The main objection was that there was no mention of the 1857 Uprising, presumably from fear on the part of the organisers of offending an Indian audience. The response from India was that this omission was patronising and upsetting, and that Indian audiences were capable of addressing the past.



Fig. 1-13 Shamaranda Chandra Deb Barman Maharaja of Tripura, *Portrait of a Young Girl of Tripura*, c.1893. As illustrated in Falconer 1995, p.53.

³¹ Falconer 1995.

Identifying the role of photographs within power structures such as class or imperialism has been a significant development. Attempts have been made to expose the power structures within which the camera was used and analyse how this may have directed the outcome of the photographs and their subsequent use. The academic catalyst behind this approach was Edward Said's *Orientalism* (London, 1978).³² In the book, Said demonstrates how Europeans have constructed an imaginative alternate version of the Middle East (the 'Orient') which does not necessarily correspond to reality, but instead serves Western needs and desires through an intricate network of institutions, scholarly works, government ideologies and vocabulary. At the same time, he shows how this has helped the West define itself in contrast to the Orient. In *Orientalism*, Said generally employs literary sources to demonstrate this, but the argument is transferable to visual works as well.³³ It was Western power and perceived superiority over the Orient that enabled this construction to emerge and continue from the late eighteenth century into the twentieth century (according to Said) and it remains a powerful cultural hegemony that is inescapable for Europeans considering the East. Because of this, it is acknowledged here as one of the most important forces on the interpretation of photographs from India. However, it does not suggest the central questions of this thesis, even while it is recognised that the reason the photographs were taken is in the first place was due to the British colonial presence in India and that the cultural domination of the British at this time determined the activities of many photographers and the life of their photographs subsequently. Other scholars have analyzed the role that photography played in contributing to an imperial ideology, most notably James Ryan in *Picturing Empire* (London, 1997).³⁴ Ryan sees photography as a visual indicator of imperialism, including 'cultural formations, attitudes, beliefs and practices'.³⁵ These all have a role to play within imperial ideology.

Ryan begins by stating that although photographs have been used as historical documents in many publications, they are never given more than cursory attention and

³² Said acknowledges the concept of *discourse* from Michel Foucault and the idea of *cultural hegemony* from Antonio Gramsci. Said 1978, p.3 & 7.

³³ One of the first people to do this was Linda Nochlin. See Nochlin 1983.

³⁴ Ryan 1997. See also Sampson 1991, Sampson 1992 and Sampson 2002, Pinney 1997, Ryan 2003. There was also an early discussion of imperial control and photographic documentation in India in Vidya Dehejia's exhibiton catalogue, *From Merchants to Emperors* (Ithaca, 1986).

³⁵ Ryan 1997, p.12.

are certainly never examined within a proper analytical historical context. This is partly true (there are some exceptions³⁶). Equally true is the point that conventional photographic histories fail to place images within a relevant historical context, beyond that of the history of photography. Ryan places these imperial images within what he describes as ‘broader discourses... which require historical delineation’.³⁷ Of particular concern to Ryan is the geographical discourse, particularly imperial exploration and the documentation of overseas lands. Ryan draws a comparison between the cartographer and the photographer in delineating imperial acquisitions.

Ryan subsequently discusses at length the photographs of India taken by Samuel Bourne, who displayed great skill in taking picturesque landscape photographs in nineteenth-century India. Bourne is described as ‘familiarising and domesticating a potentially hostile landscape’ by producing picturesque compositions that create Kashmir in the image of the English Lake District (**fig. 1-14**).³⁸



Fig. 1-14 Samuel Bourne, *View on Dal Canal, Srinagar, Kashmir*, 1864. As illustrated in Ryan 1997, p.49 (where it is dated 1866).

³⁶ Fraser 1981. Fraser’s exploration of Beato’s photograph of the interior of the Sikandarbagh in Lucknow taken in 1858 was one of the earliest articles to examine systematically a nineteenth century Indian photograph. Fraser compared it at length with contemporary written sources and made a compelling conclusion as to its constructed nature.

³⁷ Ryan 1997, p.19.

³⁸ Ryan 1997, p.51.

Yet this use of a Picturesque convention cannot be explained as an active element of imperial ideology and it is more often a case of individuals reading into these photographs a set of conclusions about colonial photography which they have already formulated and wish to demonstrate. The Picturesque was a method of composing the landscape that was developed in eighteenth-century Britain and used by British artists across the world, in both imperial and non-imperial contexts. By the 1860s the use of the picturesque was the dominant aesthetic convention for landscape composition, and it would be almost unimaginable for Bourne to have worked in any other way.³⁹ The tension between the aesthetic discourse and the colonial discourse is one that is insufficiently explored by Ryan, and by others writing on a similar theme.⁴⁰

Furthermore, Ryan restricts himself to exploring the construction and appearance of the image and does not look further at the role the image subsequently plays as it is published, sold and distributed across the empire. Nor does Ryan address in any detail the role of patronage or commissions in directing the photographic explorations. He does conclude however by stating that 'to see all photography as merely imperial surveillance is to ignore important inconsistencies and differences in both photographic practice and imperial discourse'.⁴¹ Some of these themes have been explored further in a volume of essays edited by Ryan and Joan Schwartz, but have also been usefully expanded as well, particularly Morris Low's essay which looks at photography and non-European colonialism in *Photography's Other Histories*.⁴²

One of the most influential commentators to write about power structures and photography has been John Tagg, *The Burden of Representation. Essays on Photographies and Histories* (London, 1988). The essays explore photography and its relation to power structures, examining how this relationship may have shaped the practice of photography and the meaning of photographs. Tagg argues that photographs should be considered within the discourse of the institutional space in which they appear. In his work, he highlights previously neglected areas of

³⁹ This argument is explored at length by Tillotson in respect to the work of the painter William Hodges. Tillotson 2000.

⁴⁰ Sampson 1992; Sampson 2002.

⁴¹ Ryan 1997, p.219.

⁴² Ryan 2003 and Low 2003.

photographic practice, such as medical photography or police photographs and presents photographs as powerful tools of the institutions that produce them.

Tagg's book was preceded by a volume of essays edited by Victor Burgin, *Thinking Photography* (London, 1982) which presented different approaches which, as a whole, were intended to provide a new theoretical context for discussing photography as well as challenging existing ways of thinking about the subject. With arguments that included political, semiotic and ideological approaches, it was a significant and self-conscious contribution that drew on the work of post-structuralists including Michel Foucault.

Methodologies developed from the fields of cultural and visual studies have transformed the discussion and analysis of the medium (the terms 'material culture' or 'visual culture' are often used as a short-hand for this multiplicity of approaches).⁴³ The field of material culture has in fact been described as a 'post-disciplinary space', suggesting an active search for new methodologies.⁴⁴ These areas have successfully engaged with areas of photographic practice overlooked by earlier methodologies by moving away from a focus on the content of the image towards a consideration of the materiality of the photograph, and the life of the photographic object through time and space. The work of Arjun Appadurai and Igor Kopytoff have been particularly influential here, in discussions on commoditisation and the changing status of objects, including art, over time.⁴⁵

In 1989, the recognition of the 150th anniversary of the birth of photography led to renewed attempts to mount surveys of the history of photography, recalling the pioneering attempt of Beaumont Newhall in 1937. Two particular exhibitions stood out for their significance: in the UK, the Royal Academy allowed a photography show to be curated for the first time in its galleries, publishing a substantial catalogue, *The*

⁴³ The materiality of photographic objects has in the past been overlooked but the work of Elizabeth Edwards (an academic, but also previously a curator at the Pitt-Rivers Museum, Oxford) has engaged with photography as a material culture in recent publications including *Raw Histories: Photographs, Anthropology and Museums* (Oxford, 2001) and, with Janice Hart, *Photographs Objects Histories. On the Materiality of Images* (London, 2004).

⁴⁴ Pinney 2002, p.81.

⁴⁵ Appadurai 1986, and particularly Kopytoff 1986.

Art of Photography 1839-1989 by Mike Weaver.⁴⁶ In the US, *On the Art of Fixing a Shadow: One Hundred and Fifty Years of Photography* was curated jointly by the National Gallery of Art and the Art Institute of Chicago.⁴⁷ Both of these exhibitions remain substantial celebrations of the photograph as a work of fine art. They also provided opportunities to reflect how far acceptance of photography in all its various forms had come since 1939. While the curators of *On the Art of Fixing a Shadow* commented that they admitted and celebrated other points of view, from other countries and other theoretical perspectives, they went on to state that : 'it has been our intention ... to present and analyze those photographs that, regardless of why they were made, seem the most visually significant.'⁴⁸ This suggests that the influence of Szarkowski remained strong in the US, and indeed successive exhibitions at the major museums confirm this. For example, *The Waking Dream: Photography's First Century* (1993) presented a series of visually striking photographs drawn from the Gilman Paper Company collection.⁴⁹ From India, there are examples of the work of Samuel Bourne alongside Linnaeus Tripe and Dr John Murray (**fig. 1-15**).

⁴⁶ Weaver 1989. The exhibition was also shown at the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, and the Australian National Gallery, Canberra.

⁴⁷ Greenough 1989. The exhibition travelled from the National Gallery of Art, Washington DC, to the Art Institute of Chicago, and ended at the Los Angeles Museum of Art.

⁴⁸ Greenough 1989, p.xvii.

⁴⁹ Hambourg 1993.



Fig. 1-15 John Murray, *Main Street at Agra*, 1856-57. Reproduced in Hambourg 1993, pp.110-111.

In the Royal Academy exhibition, the selection criteria was somewhat different, concentrating on photography as an art form which resulted in works being chosen by those photographers who were deemed to have made a significant contribution to the art of photography. The influence of Newhall and Gernsheim was still apparent. What was significant in both exhibitions was that the theoretical concerns of the past 15 or 20 years were almost entirely absent, suggesting a divergence between academic writing on photography and the successful display and public reception of photographs.⁵⁰

Recent Approaches to Photography

In more recent exhibitions, a variety of approaches to photography in India has been evident, although all institutions and writers acknowledge the importance of photography as the dominant modern art form. The Smithsonian Institution was responsible for the large survey show, *India through the Lens*, in 2000 that drew

⁵⁰ In 1979, an attempt was made to combine different theoretical approaches with the curating of an exhibition. *Three Perspectives on photography: recent British photography* was mounted by the Arts Council at the Hayward, with sections on creative fine art, feminism and socialism, curated by Paul Hill, Angela Kelly and John Tagg. It was regarded as radical at the time.

heavily on the British Library collections. Different aspects of photography in India were discussed by scholars, including an important contribution from David Harris, who examined Beato's photographs from the aftermath of the 1857 Uprising (**fig. 1-16**). Harris carefully describes Beato's career in India and provides a way of thinking about these sometimes controversial photographs by reminding the reader of their bias.



Fig. 1-16 Felice Beato, *Mosque near the Custom-House Battery, Delhi*, 1858 or 1859. As illustrated in Dehejia 2000, p.137.

Several of the exhibits from the Smithsonian exhibition, alongside material from the private collection of Howard and Jane Ricketts, were incorporated into a subsequent show mounted by the British Library, which resulted in one of the most useful texts on photographers working in India. *India: Pioneering Photographers 1850-1900* by John Falconer.⁵¹ The exhibition draws heavily on the structure of the previously discussed exhibition, *A Shifting Focus*, from 1995. It included several of the same photographs, but also addressed the earlier criticism by incorporating a heavy emphasis on the 1857 Uprising as well as showing many photographs by early amateurs, an area that has not been well-examined before (**fig. 1-17**).

⁵¹ Falconer 2001.



Fig. 1-17 Unknown photographer, *Lady Louisa Bruce, daughter of Viceroy Lord Elgin, with her pet deer, Simla, 1863*. As illustrated in Falconer 2001, p.94.

The appearance of two new journals on photography in 2008 indicates the range of new ideas and theories being discussed and applied: *Photography and Culture*, published by Berg and *Photographies*, published by Taylor and Francis, who also publish the long-established *History of Photography* (the first issue appeared in 1977 under the editorship of Heinz K. Henisch). The success of some of these new applications of methodology is also being questioned, as the problems connecting photography and art history are discussed with the suggestion that one historical discourse (art history) is being replaced with another (anthropology), although Geoffrey Batchen in his discussion of this comes to a positive conclusion regarding the potential of photographic ethnographies.⁵²

Overall, the importance of many of the more recent writings on photography is the insistence, as Batchen has stated, be it implicit or explicit, that photography is a localised, vernacular practice with all the differences that this implies and that any

⁵² Batchen 2008, pp.121-142. He particularly highlights the work of Elizabeth Edwards and Christopher Pinney as positive examples of successful approaches.

analysis of the material must approach it with this understanding.⁵³ Scholars are no longer simply expanding the existing canon; they are actively seeking new paradigms or discourses. This shift is echoed within the current scholarly approaches which have emerged in recent years.⁵⁴ Most recently, some academics have been calling for a greater attempt to focus on producing particular case studies, highlighting how some of the post-colonial narratives are too broad and non-specific. By selecting particular regions or examples for further examination, they claim the richness of the field is revealed. They argue against linear chronological or geographical narratives and instead show that a series of case studies, revealing varied influences and approaches from historians, art historians and anthropologists, will illustrate the diversity and significance of this field. Perhaps the most notable publication in this respect is *Photography's Other Histories* (Durham & London, 2003), which de-centered the Euro-American approach to photography by combining a series of essays that focus on personal relationships with individuals depicted; different histories of materiality, including image circulation, uses and meanings, and case studies that focus on particular countries and types of images.⁵⁵

This is attempted in Maria Antonella Pelizzari's important volume of essays, based on the exhibition of the same name, *Traces of India: Photography, Architecture, and the Politics of Representation 1850-1900* (Montreal & New Haven, 2003). In *Traces of India*, a diverse, inter-disciplinary group of scholars address the architectural documentation of India, beginning with the pre-photographic work of William Hodges, before moving through early photography by Alexis de La Grange, Tripe, Joseph Lawton in Sri Lanka, the work of James Fergusson and images recalling the events of 1857. The final essays present some of the Indian responses to architectural views, looking at early twentieth-century images produced for an Indian market.

The essays in the book all deal with aspects of the juncture between the production of colonial knowledge and the production of photographs. Pelizzari places photographs in a context of knowledge production and consumption that also includes the collecting of sculpture and architectural fragments, the production of other types of

⁵³ Batchen 2008, p.126. See also Pinney & Peterson 2003, p.1.

⁵⁴ See also the introductions in Barringer 2007 and Thomas 1994.

⁵⁵ Pinney and Peterson 2003. See also Morris 2009.

images (such as postcards and illustrated newspapers), the creation of museums, the making of casts, plans and models and the appearance and development of various academic disciplines. This is explored in four sections, which Pelizzari has created by drawing on the work of Bernard Cohn and his concept of ‘investigative modalities’: travel or observational, survey, museological and historiographic.⁵⁶ These categories are useful for shaping and controlling the vast quantities of photographic images that were produced by the British in India, and work well within the context of an exhibition that has restricted itself to the work of the colonial photographer. Pelizzari also extends these categories, however, looking not only at the role of the photographer in the production of the image, but also at the subsequent life of the image – particularly the incorporation of images into personal photographic albums, showing how the images function as souvenirs of experience. Furthermore, she specifically addresses the question of how an individual image can display the traces of imperialism, providing an example of a photograph by Charles Moravia taken in c.1858, showing the Iron Pillar at the Qutb Minar in Delhi but with sculptural fragments carefully placed in front of the pillar (**fig. 1-18**).⁵⁷

⁵⁶ Pelizzari 2003, p.23, from Cohn 1996.

⁵⁷ Charles Moravia (c.1821-59) was a British engineer charged with overseeing aspects of the clearances around the Red Fort in Shahjahanabad, Delhi, after the 1857 Uprising. Prior to carrying out this task, he took a series of photographs of the fort, interiors and exteriors. Moravia accompanied Dr John Murray on some of his photographic excursions around Delhi.



Fig. 1-18 Charles Moravia, *Architectural fragments scattered around the Iron Pillar in the Qutb Minar Complex, Delhi*, c.1858. As illustrated in Pelizzari 2003, p.38.

The fragments and their placement, she states, turn the Quwwat-ul-Islam *masjid* into an open-air museum, proclaiming British ownership of the cultural site. This connection with the specific content of the images is important as it has been frequently overlooked in previous studies where it has been assumed that any image produced within a colonial context must clearly display its colonial provenance. Although the example she selects demonstrates her point, it remains unconvincing as an argument for the majority of photographs taken in India unless it is the act itself of photographing India that proclaims power and control, in which case the appearance of the image must surely become immaterial.

A substantial section of the volume examines the photograph and its role in building a collective memory. This focuses on the 1857 Uprising, and the earlier conflict in South India between the British and the forces of Tipu Sultan. Tipu was killed in 1799; he was admired in his defeat as an enemy who had earlier resisted the British. Mythologising events from the pre-photographic period through photography became another way for the British to proclaim their presence in India. The photographs recall

the fear which was eventually quashed through British superiority, as well as holding a ghoulish fascination as representations of violent events. This is particularly evident through the imagery surrounding the 1857 Uprising, but also includes the 'Black Hole' of Calcutta, the name used to refer to the room in Fort William where a number of Britons were imprisoned overnight by the Nawab of Bengal, leading to many deaths. This approach will have particular relevance to the case study on Lucknow which assesses the city as a pilgrimage site, for both Muslims and Christians, before and after 1857.⁵⁸

In *Traces of India*, the Indian contribution to architectural imagery during the colonial period is not assessed. It certainly did exist as the work of Madho Prasad, Lala Deen Dayal, Ahmad Ali Khan and others attest, and this is something that will be an important part of chapter two. The popular Indian visual culture that becomes more visible at the end of the nineteenth century is examined in *Traces of India*, although as Pinney remarks in his essay, 'many "Indian" views of India do not look like "views" of India at all.'⁵⁹ He is drawing attention to the fact that images by Indian photographers can be made to resemble either the views produced by the British, framing the world through Renaissance, single-point perspective or what he describes as 'Indian views' - those images that were produced for Indian clients, including studio portraits in front of backdrops depicting architectural sites, posters and calendar art incorporating monuments and even devotional images that show temples as the home of the gods. It is the life of these 'Indian views' that he discusses, demonstrating that in these images architecture takes second place to the human figure. Pinney reiterates his thesis, first developed in *Camera Indica* (London, 1997), that the resulting imagery is dependant upon the sphere of power in which it is produced, rather than the culture that is producing it.

In his latest work on photography in India, *The Coming of Photography to India* (London, 2008), based on a series of lectures presented in 2006, Pinney addresses the indexicality of the photograph and the implications and consequences of this at different stages of the technological development of photography in India. He begins

⁵⁸ See also Pinney 2008 for specific discussion of photography and its relationship to the events of the Anglo-Mysore War and the 'Black Hole' of Calcutta. Pinney 2008, pp.20-22.

⁵⁹ Pelizzari 2003, p.264.

by discussing the response of the British to photography in the early decades of the medium, when the colonial administration saw the potential of the camera to act as independent witness to solve the 'existing representational problems' encountered in the work of artists.⁶⁰ He demonstrates how the colonial administration supported and enabled the photographic practice of men such as John Murray, Samuel Bourne and James Waterhouse while also constraining the possibilities offered by the camera.⁶¹ Pinney goes to show how this very indexical quality that the British so valued was the element within the developing technology that ultimately worked against them. He also argues that 'photography's inability to discriminate' would reduce everything to the same level, but at the same time can emphasise the individuality of a sitter, particularly in early photography from the 1850s. 'Photography's indexicality, its chemical trace, its data ratio, has underpinned the dualities ... : cure *and* poison; network *and* individuation; the already existent *and* the future possibility'.⁶² Pinney gives an account of the impact and consequences of photography arriving in India, and at the same time, focuses closely on the construction of individual images, fitting them into the broader narrative. His account is compelling and offers a method for analyzing photography in other contexts, beyond India.

Photography and the History of Art

Like the history of photography, modern scholarship has identified the study of Indian art and architecture as existing as a separate (sub)discipline only since the mid-nineteenth century.⁶³ Thus, the new discipline emerges at the same time as the new photographic technology. This is no coincidence: photography was to play a central role in developing not just the history of Indian art, but the study of art in general in all countries.⁶⁴ Photography apparently offered an objective view of the art work or building and this promised a rational, scientific methodology for analysing works of

⁶⁰ Pinney 2008, p.16.

⁶¹ *Ibid.* p.30.

⁶² *Ibid.* p.145.

⁶³ Some scholars acknowledge a distinct discipline; others debate its existence. See particularly Hosagrahar 2002 where the lack of a separate discipline is lamented.

⁶⁴ See Roberts 1995; Hamber 1996; Bohrer 2002; Falconer 2009, pp.82-95; Bann 2011.

art.⁶⁵ For the first time photography allowed an individual to make close comparative studies between large numbers of works of art, from different regions or different countries, relying on the photographic process to ensure an accurate reproduction that had so far not been possible. This person did not have to travel far to see the art in order to describe it or analyse it; he could visit the libraries that purchased photographs and photographically illustrated books, if the prices of photographs were too high to allow him to purchase these prints himself. At the same time, archives consisting of thousands of photographs were being constructed. Some were official such as the India Office's collection; others were private, such as Albert Kahn's *Archive de la planète* in Paris, but all relied on the apparent transparency of the photograph (that is, we learn to look through the prints at the subject matter within) and its accuracy to organise information.

The use of photography to document art meant that multiple copies of these images could be distributed, encouraging discussion and debate about these objects in a way that would previously have been impossible. In Britain, for example, Prince Albert was quick to see the potential of photography as a tool for enabling the study of art. Following the Great Exhibition in 1851, works of art from the Royal Collection were loaned to the Government School of Design which had set up a museum, under the auspices of Henry Cole's Department of Practical Art. The museum, which was initially known as the Museum of Manufactures (subsequently the Museum of Ornamental Art) was established in Marlborough House, next to St James's Palace. Once there, many of the objects on display were photographed in 1854 by Francis Bedford (1816-94). These objects included a number of items from India and South Asia (**fig. 1-19**). The photographs survive in an album in the Royal Collection.⁶⁶

⁶⁵ Bohrer 2002, p.250. As Bohrer goes on to point out, however, it may be that only certain objects respond well to being photographed, which in turn affects our response. He states that the camera, which renders three dimensional objects into two dimensional linear perspective, may photograph well those objects created within the rules of European Renaissance perspective but may not photograph other objects well, including 'the vast domain of world art'. He describes this as 'photography's enforcement of Renaissance perspective' (p.253). Pinney proposes an alternative - photography, at least in the earlier decades, produced more successful results when photographing individuals. Pinney 2008, p.109. See also Pinney 2008, p.75 where Fergusson's 'scientific' methodology is discussed in contrast to what Fergusson perceived as Mitra's reliance on memory, a less reliable analytical method.

⁶⁶ The Royal Collection, album of 80 albumen prints, *Specimens from Marlborough House 1854*. RCIN 2800158.



Fig. 1-19 Francis Bedford, *Embroidered Fan and Quiver from India*, albumen print, 1854. The Royal Collection, RCIN 2800237.

Works in museums and institutions continued to be photographed regularly, both for inventory purposes and when they were loaned to other institutions. During the late 1850s and early 1860s, Charles Thurston Thompson (1816-86) completed several albums of photographs of decorative arts, arms and armour in the Royal Collection, while Roger Fenton was employed as an official photographer at the British Museum in the 1850s (**fig. 1-20**).⁶⁷

⁶⁷ The Royal Collection has two albums of photographs of works of art, taken by Thompson, RCIN 114820 and RCIN 1113354. Intriguingly, not all of the objects depicted can be located in the Royal Collection today.



Fig. 1-20 Charles Thurston Thompson, *Mirror*, albumen print, c.1854. The Royal Collection, RCIN 1114820. The mirror was constructed in the 19th century. It remains in the Royal Collection today (RCIN 79485).

These early documentary projects coincided with a far more ambitious scheme devised by Prince Albert to obtain copies of all known works by the Renaissance artist Raphael. It was decided that prints would be obtained, and where no print existed, a photograph would be taken. The project began by photographing all the Raphael drawings and prints in the Royal Collection; this was followed by communication with all public and private collections in Europe containing Raphael's work, offering to exchange copies of the Royal Collection photographs for copies of the works in each collection. Known today as 'the Raphael project', the task was far larger and more time consuming than anyone had anticipated, however, and it outlasted Prince Albert (who died on 14 December 1861). The project was not completed until 1876, having involved a number of photographers, including Charles Thurston Thompson, Philip Delamotte and William Bambridge, who between them produced 5,400 prints and photographs.⁶⁸ It remains one of the earliest attempts to

⁶⁸ Clayton 2010, p.176.

create a complete collection of the work of one artist, using photography to order and classify the results into an accessible system.⁶⁹

Photographs were also seen as an essential tool for disseminating information about Indian architecture within Britain. The India Museum in London had been set up by the East India Company in 1801 to be a repository for objects, books and images from India. After 1857, the museum was funded by the India Office until it merged its collections with the South Kensington Museum in 1879. In 1858, Dr John Forbes Watson (1827-92) was appointed its Director, and as well as collecting and organising the museum contents, he was to be responsible for shaping the British Indian contribution to a series of International Exhibitions in London (1862), Paris (1867), Vienna (1873) and Philadelphia (1876). This brought Watson into contact with both the South Kensington Museum and people like James Fergusson, Henry Hardy Cole and Alexander Cunningham. Under Watson's leadership, a department of photo-lithography was established for the museum in 1865, in order to illustrate the 'arts and manufactures' of India.⁷⁰ The main photographer/printer was William Griggs. The partnership of Watson and Griggs produced a number of richly illustrated architectural works covering the Buddhist architecture at Sanchi (Fergusson's *Tree and Serpent Worship* of 1868); H.H. Cole's volumes on Kashmir and Muttra⁷¹ and James Burgess's reports on Western India.⁷² The India Museum was also responsible for *The People of India* in 8 volumes (1868-75); James Breeks's work on the people of the Nilgiri Hills published in 1873 and a monumental facsimile edition of Patanjali's *Mahabhashya*, a Sanskrit grammar treatise, which reproduced 4,700 pages of manuscript, in 1874.⁷³ Fifty copies were printed.

Photographic technology is what still allows us to study art and architecture today, although the importance of the reproduction of works of art has always been underestimated.⁷⁴ In the early twentieth century - the era of mass reproduction - Walter Benjamin wrote about the impact that photography had on traditional art in

⁶⁹ Montagu 1995, p.37.

⁷⁰ 'Dr Forbes Watson', *Journal of Indian Art*, October (1890), pp.7-8.

⁷¹ Cole 1869 and 1873.

⁷² Burgess 1874 and 1876.

⁷³ Desmond 1982a, p.125.

⁷⁴ Hamber 1995, p.89. Hamber writes, 'photography has been adopted and adapted to become an essential yet little understood tool which rarely undergoes objective discussion and analysis'.

one of his most influential essays, 'The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction' (1936).⁷⁵ Benjamin discusses the photographic copying and reproduction of works of art. He sees as a negative thing the ability of photography to 'put a copy of the original into situations which would be out of reach for the original itself', arguing that the work of art in question loses its 'aura', the quality that gives it significance and status. The opposite of this is generally evident today, when images of art proliferate at an alarming rate, especially online, but the 'original' object still retains its 'aura'. Although Benjamin discusses photography and its relationship to art at length, he does not in this essay appear to consider the photograph itself as a work of art. Consequently the question of how the 'original' object is defined in respect to photography does not arise. This is a complex question that asserts itself frequently today, not only because of the impact it can have on the financial value of a photograph, but because of the difficulties encountered when assigning cultural value to an object that is not unique.⁷⁶

Benjamin discusses photography as art in another essay that deals specifically with photography, 'Brief History of Photography' (1931).⁷⁷ He locates the 'aura' in portrait photography, notably in the work of Octavius Hill and in the later work of Atget in Parisian streets at the turn of the century. This qualifies as 'photography as art', but only in respect to very specific types of photographs and not just particular photographers, but particular images. Benjamin returns to 'art as photography', remarking how paintings, sculpture and art are all more easily assimilated through photography than in reality.⁷⁸ According to Benjamin, the camera reduces the aura of the object in front of the camera and this gives the viewer some sort of understanding

⁷⁵ Benjamin 2009, pp.228-259.

⁷⁶ Defining the original remains a significant contemporary concern, whether it is the display or purchase of vintage prints as opposed to photographs printed at a later date, or dealing with digital photography where the notion of an 'ur-object' has seemingly vanished completely. It is notable that this anxiety did not appear to exist in the nineteenth century but only surfaced in the modern era at the same time that photography began to be defined as a distinct art form and practice. Nineteenth-century archives, with copy negatives and copy prints often used interchangeably with the 'original' object do not display this same concern. For example, albums within Queen Victoria's photograph collection contain carbon print copies from the 1870s-80s pasted on top of earlier albumen prints, made because the Queen was worried her photographs were fading away. The copy negatives made during the copying of the photographs have been preserved alongside photographers' original negatives. See Gent & Gray 1998.

⁷⁷ Benjamin 2009, pp.172-192.

⁷⁸ Benjamin 2009, p.188. 'Everyone will have had the opportunity to observe how much more easily an image (but above all a piece of sculpture, and now even architecture) can be grasped in a photograph than in reality.'

or control over the original object. This has especial relevance when considered in respect to photographs taken in India during the colonial period.

CHAPTER 2 CASE STUDY

LUCKNOW: A CITY OF MOURNING

I have already said that the photographic apparatus presents the only means of giving an idea of the city, but some of these photographs are invaluable, inasmuch as they represent places which our contests have reduced to ruins.

William Russell Howard
The Times, 31 May 1858

Examining the various collections of architectural photographs of India, it quickly becomes apparent that a very large number of views of Lucknow, the principal city in the state of Awadh, have survived. More than Agra, home of the Taj Mahal, or the great commercial centre of Bombay, it is the buildings in the north Indian city of Lucknow that were photographed repeatedly in the nineteenth century, and which appear over and over again in personal photograph albums, amateur work and commercial stock. Probably only the two imperial capitals of Calcutta and Delhi were photographed more frequently. There is one overriding reason for this - Lucknow was the location of some of the severest fighting that occurred during the Uprising of 1857, and the city was witness to one of the most mythologised events of the British Empire: the Siege of Lucknow.¹

This case study explores photographic depictions of Lucknow's architecture, looking at both pre- and post-1857 examples by many different photographers.² The case study

¹ The Siege of Lucknow was one of the central events of the 1857 Uprising. A brief outline of both the siege and the broader events of 1857 follow in this chapter. The events that occurred during defence and relief of the Residency became famous throughout the British Empire.

² Material from this chapter has been published in Gordon 2003; 2005a; 2005b; 2006; 2010c. Research on the architectural history of Lucknow's four main royal palaces was initially conducted as part of a dissertation written for an MA in the History of Art at the School of Oriental and African Studies, 2001. This involved identifying suitable nineteenth-century photographs to map the history of the different structures.

attempts to answer questions posed at the beginning of the thesis about the use of photographs to shape interpretations of the city over successive generations, looking at how and why this might change. This draws heavily on British responses to the events of 1857 and its impact on successive generations. It also examines how the processes of photography can affect the appearance and interpretation of photographs, something that is particularly noticeable in the move from amateur photography in the 1850s into the commercial era of the 1860s and later. There has been an effort to be as wide-ranging as possible in selecting photographs for discussion. This includes a particular focus on one of the earliest Indian photographers, Ahmad Ali Khan. His pre-1857 vision of the city provides an insight into how the city was conceived by those who lived there before the Uprising changed how the city was thought about and represented. Nevertheless, one of the points that I shall be exploring is that nationality is not necessarily an indication of how an individual will represent the city, and that there may be other factors, such as religion, class and commercial considerations that are important for an individual when determining what and how to photograph.

Lucknow before 1857

Lucknow emerged an important city of governance for the region of Awadh in the mid-eighteenth century. The ruler was known as the *nawab*, appointed initially as a local governor in the sixteenth century by the Mughal emperor Akbar. Under the governorship of Nawab Safdar Jung (c.1708-1754), Awadh broke away from the authority of the Emperor in Delhi and effectively established itself as an independent 'successor' state, although it continued to pay a token form of obeisance to the Mughal emperor.³ Safdar Jung's successor, Shuja ud daula, governed from the city of Faizabad, which flourished during this brief period. Shuja ud daula's rule also saw the first steps towards Awadh engaging with the East India Company, as the nawab made alliances with both Robert

³ Awadh is often described as a 'successor state', meaning that as a former Mughal province the state was at one time under the administration of the Emperor in Delhi, but it subsequently established itself as an independent state with an autonomous governor (i.e. the nawab), and engaged in its own military, diplomatic and financial activities. Ramusack 2004, p.25.

Clive (the military commander of the British victory at the Battle of Plassey in 1757) and Warren Hastings. This led to the appointment of a British Resident in Faizabad in 1773. Furthermore, Shuja ud daula also employed around two hundred Frenchmen in various roles, which brought a strong European influence to the court, although the Nawab's successor was to be instructed by the British to dismiss them.

In 1775, the Nawab returned the seat of power from Faizabad to Lucknow. The court moved, followed by the British Resident. The Nawab was to remain in Lucknow until 1856 when the British, convinced of the unsuitability of the ruler to administer his state, annexed the region and kept the last Nawab, Wajid Ali Shah, and his retainers in exile in Calcutta until his death in 1887.

Awadh, like other provinces that achieved varying degrees of independence from Delhi during the eighteenth century (such as Murshidabad, Rampur, Patna and Hyderabad), patronised the arts of poetry, architecture, music and theatre.⁴ The Shi'a rulers created a number of large and impressive religious structures, including the mosques known today as 'Aurangzeb's mosque' (late 1600s) and the much later Jama Masjid (1845); the tombs of Saadat Ali Khan and his *begum* Khurshid Zadi (c.1815); and most notably the Bara Imambara (1784; also known as the Asafi Imambara), a building designed both to house congregations of mourners who are observing *mohurram*, as well as to protect the *ta'zia*, the model of Imam Hussain's mausoleum in Karbala (in Iraq), used in the *mohurram* processions.⁵ There are many imambaras in Lucknow, ranging from the extremely large to the very small and domestic. These religious buildings constructed under royal patronage drew on earlier Indo-Islamic design, particularly the tomb of Safdar Jung in

⁴ Asher 1994.

⁵ An *imambara* (known in Hyderabad and Southern India as an *ashur khana*) is a generic structure used for the observance of the rites of *mohurram*, a Shi'ite festival. This involves assemblies within the *imambara* during the month of Mohurram, to mark the deaths of the Imams Hasan and Hussain, grandsons of the Prophet, in the battle of Karbala in 680AD. Models of the tombs of the Imams – each known as a *ta'zia* – are also constructed to be paraded through the streets of the city, and the *imambaras* provide shelter to these often elaborate models in the weeks leading up to Mohurram.

Delhi, as well as incorporating Persian influences - the nawabs traced their lineage back to the nobility of Nishapur, in north-eastern Persia.⁶

The secular structures commissioned by Saadat Ali Khan, Asaf ud daula (r.1775-1797) and his successors were in contrast influenced by European architectural style. Each new building was more impressive than the last, suggesting, according to Catherine Asher, ‘a developing need to project an image of strength’ as in practice the nawabs were ceding more power to the British.⁷ Buildings such as Barowen (c.1798, also known as Musa Bagh); the Dilaram *kothi* (early 1800s); the Dilkusha (c.1805), and the Daulat Khana palace complex (c.1789) all clearly displayed neo-classical features and ornament.⁸ Most of these buildings only exist in a ruinous state today.⁹

The Awadhi court also patronised European artists and as a result, in the late eighteenth century, a number of British artists made the journey there. Tilly Kettle was the first, invited to Faizabad by Shuja ud daula in 1772. He was followed by Thomas and William Daniell, William Hodges, Ozias Humphreys, Johann Zoffany, George Duncan Beechey (who was the court painter until his death in 1852) and Robert Home.¹⁰ This rich artistic heritage means that the city has been relatively well documented in drawings and paintings.

The history of Lucknow has been examined extensively in word and image, presenting some dramatically shifting methodologies, ideologies and opinions that have taken place over a 200-year period. During the nineteenth century, the majority of the British accounts of the city are at least partially politically motivated. Written accounts of

⁶ Safdar Jung was born in Khurasan, Persia. Lucknow has always been very aware of its Persian heritage. A photograph album in the Alkazi Collection, containing portraits taken of Indian sitters by a Lucknow-based firm, ends with a carte-de-visite portrait of the Shah of Persia Nasser al-Din Shah Qajar (album ACP D2005.54.0001).

⁷ Asher 1992, p.323.

⁸ A *kothi* is a house or a mansion.

⁹ Llewellyn-Jones 2005, pp.255-258, lists many of the significant architectural structures of Lucknow, with a note on their current condition. I have made several visits to Lucknow to examine the surviving buildings in relation to nineteenth-century photographs.

¹⁰ Music at Lucknow and the ‘industrial arts’ (crafts) were not apparently influenced by European style or demand. A summary of British artists working for the Nawabs is provided by Almeida 2005, pp.75-80.

Lucknow during the immediate pre-1857 period frequently demonstrate a heavy bias in presenting the city and its rulers as effete, weak and corrupt. This has been interpreted as part of the British attempt to portray nawabi rule as unstable and inept in order to justify their claims of authority and the subsequent annexation. In contrast, descriptions from the late eighteenth century and early part of the nineteenth century, when the nawab was an influential British ally, show that Lucknow delighted and amused the British and other foreign visitors. One visitor, Emily Eden, the sister of the Governor-General, was overwhelmed by her first sight of the Chattr Manzil palace in 1838, and later wrote: ‘Such a place! The only residence I have coveted in India. Don’t you remember reading in the Arabian Nights, Zobeide bets her Garden of Delight against the Caliph’s Palace of Pictures! I am sure this was the Garden of Delight.’¹¹ The palaces of Lucknow fulfilled British fantasies of an exotic and oriental India. The work of many early artists contributed to this image of Lucknow, which came to be perceived as a rich, opulent and flourishing city. Thomas and William Daniell, William Hodges and Henry Salt had their views of Lucknow published as part of their portfolios, and each showed the nawabi royal palaces as impressive, monumental structures in Picturesque settings (**fig. 2-1**).

¹¹ Eden 1866, pp. 88–89.



Fig. 2-1 Thomas Daniell, *Lucknow, Palace of Shuja-ud-daula, from the river Gomti*, 1789, watercolour. The British Library, WD189. The watercolour shows the Macchi Bhawan, later referred to by the British as the 'Fort'.

The artists had initially been drawn to Lucknow by the stories of the cultured, cosmopolitan court that had the funds to commission and acquire new works, but frequently the landscape painters left without receiving the much-hoped-for commission – the nawabs preferred portraits.

During the 1840s, negative accounts of the kingdom began to appear in print. One of the earliest and most influential was that of William Henry Sleeman (1788-1856), who was British Resident in Lucknow from 1849 to 1854. Sleeman's book *A Journey through the Kingdom of Oude* (first published in 1852, but subsequently reissued posthumously in 1858 with additional correspondence relating to the annexation) provided a report on the state shortly after his arrival. Throughout the book, Sleeman is emphatic about the extent of his disapproval for Awadh, describing Lucknow as 'an overgrown city, surrounding an overgrown court, which has, for the last half-century, exhausted all the resources of this

fine country.’¹² The purpose of the report was to provide Lord Dalhousie (then Governor-General of India and responsible for appointing Sleeman to Lucknow) with enough material to justify the annexation, a policy that had already been decided upon some years previously. Attitudes towards the rulers of Lucknow changed swiftly and decisively from admiration and possibly envy to ridicule and contempt.

Shortly after, the publication of the scurrilous and gossipy *The Private Life of an Eastern King* (London, 1855) written by William Knighton provided all the anecdotal evidence required to affirm that the ruler of Lucknow was not only ineffective, but indifferent and debauched, concerned only with the pleasures of women, dancing and poetry. The book was so successful that a second edition was published only one month after the first.¹³ Should there have been any dissenting voices concerning the policy of annexation, this book effectively silenced them.

Photography before 1857: Ahmad Ali Khan

As with any location in India, it is extremely difficult to pinpoint when the first photographs were taken. With Lucknow, however, it is possible to make a fairly reasonable supposition as there survives amongst the work of Baron Alexis de La Grange a two-part panoramic view focusing on the most impressive architectural feature of the city - the Rumi Darwaza (**fig. 2-2**). This elaborate gateway, which sat facing west on one of the principal routes into the city, was also the entrance into the Asafi Imambara complex. This was the largest and most impressive religious structure in the city at this time, so it is not particularly surprising that La Grange chose to photograph this particular view. There are paintings from the early nineteenth century showing the same viewpoint, often including a procession about to pass through the Rumi Darwaza.¹⁴

¹² W. H. Sleeman to J. W. Hogg, Lucknow, 28 October 1852, in Sleeman 1858, vol.2, p.38.

¹³ Llewellyn-Jones 2000, p.66. The main source of information for Knighton's book is revealed to be disaffected ex-Royal Librarian who had been sacked from his post.

¹⁴ After 1857, the British continued to use the processional route for their own ceremonies and events, adopting the nawabi tradition.



Fig. 2-2 Alexis de La Grange, *Lucknow, The Rumi Darwaza, with the Asafi Imambara to the right and river Gomti to the left*, 1849-51, two albumen prints. The Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montreal.

The La Grange photographs, made from paper negatives, are frustratingly unclear and are lacking the detailed sharpness of later views made with glass negatives. Without any further photographic evidence from this visit, it is not possible to come to any conclusions on La Grange's approach to the city, unless the lack of views suggests that he may have been unimpressed. Other locations he visited, such as Ellora or Udaipur, compelled him to make several views.¹⁵

While La Grange was in the city, it is possible that he met the *darogha* (superintendent) of the Husainabad Imambara, Ahmad Ali Khan, and taught him the basics of photography. It is known that Khan received instruction from a European from P.C. Mookherji's early account of the beginnings of photography in Lucknow: 'local photography began to flourish from about 1850, when an Englishman of the military line came here. *Chotay Miya*, designer of Hoseinabad and Kaisarbagh buildings, acquired the art from his and practised it to great profit and pleasure. His portrait taking was very creditable and his architectural views were in high demand.'¹⁶

La Grange was neither English nor of the military, but after a gap of thirty years or so, it is possible that the story had become slightly twisted. As the *darogha* of Husainabad

¹⁵ Ballerini 2003.

¹⁶ Mookherji 1883, p.183. 'Chotay Miya' was the nickname applied to Ahmad Ali Khan. It is an affectionate Urdu term that translated means 'little man'. The spelling can vary considerably between transcriptions, and today would probably appear as *chhote miyan*.

Imambara, Khan held a prominent position in Lucknow society: the Husainabad Imambara was the richest and most popular religious institution in the city so it is not impossible that a foreign visitor would at some point make his way to this complex and be introduced to the superintendent.¹⁷

It has been possible to piece together further details from contemporary accounts that indicate that Khan was a well-known and respected amateur photographer. Khan seems to have pursued photography as a hobby, as befitting the status of a gentleman, and even possibly a distant member of the Awadhi royal family.¹⁸ One account states that he was appointed Court Photographer to the nawab: ‘Through Ali Naki Khan, the corrupt Prime Minister, he was appointed Court Photographer, and the King, Wajid Ali Shah, permitted him to take, under the strictest injunctions of secrecy, the likenesses of his Queen and the ladies of the Royal Harem.’¹⁹

He is listed in the *Bengal Directory* for 1856 under the heading, ‘Respectable Native Inhabitants’ as ‘Ahmud Ally Khan, Darogah of Hoosunabad’.²⁰ The British community sought him out for his photographic skills, and several of them managed to have their portraits taken by him. The Rev. Henry Polehampton, the British Chaplain at Lucknow, described in a letter to his mother in England how he tried to get a portrait made in October 1856. Polehampton wrote: ‘he [Khan] is the only man in the station who does daguerreotypes and everybody wants them, so he is becoming an important person. ... He is a gentleman, and does not take pay; so one has no hold on him.’²¹

¹⁷ The status of the Husainabad Imambara (sometimes incorrectly referred to as the *chhota* Imambara) is and was a concern to Indian authors, but is not usually mentioned by European critics who rarely saw the Husainabad complex as an architecturally important structure. The impressive wealth of the Husainabad Trust is mentioned by Abbas Ali 1874a and Tandan 2001, for example.

¹⁸ A report from 1859 states that a man called Ahmad Ali Khan, aged 45 years old, was the illegitimate grandson of Nawab Saadat Ali Khan. It is impossible to confirm conclusively that this is the same man as the photographer, but the unusual access that Khan was granted in photographing the women of the royal *zenana* is surprising (but not impossible) unless he was indeed a relative of the Nawab. British Library, IOR P/203/44 Nos. 615-9. Political Consultations, 8-15 April 1859.

¹⁹ Low 1914, p.xi.

²⁰ *Bengal Directory*, 1856, p.70.

²¹ Polehampton 1858, pp. 141-142.

It seems to have been a point of significance to Polehampton that Khan did not receive any pay for his work, presumably because it meant Polehampton had to deal with Khan on a more socially equal level, when he would have been happier paying him, reducing the transaction to a business matter and Khan to a lower social status. Polehampton made the point about not receiving pay several times in his letters to his family in England. When he visited Khan on 17 April 1857 to obtain his portrait accompanied by his dog Chloe, Polehampton wrote: 'I sent my mother a daguerreotype of the Imaum Barraah, where they are done. The Imaum Barraah is a building in which are the tombs of one or two of the Kings of Oudh. The man who takes likenesses is steward of the place, a Mahomedan, and most liberal. He won't take anything for his likenesses. He gives you freely as many as you want, and takes no end of trouble. I have no doubt his chemicals, &c. must cost him more than £100 per annum, at the least. This morning I was done with our dog, Chloe, at Emmie's special desire. The likeness of me is a profile, the best-tempered looking one I ever saw of myself, and the dog came out very fairly.'²²

Two albums have survived in the collection of The British Library, demonstrating that Khan's portrait work was extensive.²³ His portrait work is fairly well known, having been discussed in a number of the standard texts on photography in India.²⁴ His portraiture work has also been the subject of two articles, both of which focus principally on his portraits of the British, despite the number of local inhabitants that were also photographed.²⁵ An article by the historian John Fraser discusses the portraits of the British men and women in light of the approaching events of 1857 - something of which, it is worth remembering, the photographer had no foresight. Fraser dwells at length on the biographies of the sitters in seven portraits, all, save one, being military men. Blunt's article, part of a publication discussing the relationships between photography, geography and identity, is more aware of the tendency to link these portraits to the fate of the sitters in 1857. Instead, she presents the family groups as part of a broader imperial discourse on

²² Polehampton 1858, pp. 212-3. In J.G. Farrell's novel *The Siege of Krishnapur* (1973), based loosely on the Siege of Lucknow, the son of the local ruler is a photographer who makes portraits of the British inhabitants. One of the characters, Mr Fleury, who is photographed by Hari, owns a dog called Chloe.

²³ British Library, Photo 269/1 and Photo 269/2.

²⁴ For example, Desmond 1985 and Falconer 2001.

²⁵ Fraser 1980 and Blunt 2003.

domesticity and the family. Both scholars ignore the large body of Khan's work that consists of portraits of Indian nobles and members of the royal family, as well as the smaller, but nonetheless significant, number of images that depict the structure of the city in 1855-56.

During the Uprising, some of Khan's pre-1857 photographs were sent to a meeting of the Bengal Photographic Society on 17 February 1858. The meeting was reported in *The Bengal Hurkuru* newspaper, where it was noted that the photographs 'were taken by the Darogah who has since gone over to the rebels.'²⁶ Khan's association with the rebel troops was recalled by a Captain Weston many years later: 'during the Mutiny ... Ahmud Ali naturally enough, fought against the defenders of the Lucknow Residency, and on the capture of the city in March 1858, his house was one of those from which ... I cleared out some of the rebels. My loot consisted of two small cases containing negatives, and a bundle of hastily collected photographs, which, unhappily turned out to be "failures". But I recognised that even these imperfect copies were of great interest and value; many of the buildings had been injured or destroyed during the siege; many of the native gentlemen portrayed had been killed, had died, or were in hiding; and the photographs of the ladies of the harem were, of course, unique. Thus, indifferent as they undoubtedly were as works of art, I brought these photographs home with me.'²⁷

Sadly, the original photographs referred to in this statement cannot be located today, but two of them were published in William Low's *Biographical Sketch of Gould Hunter-Weston* (Selkirk, 1914). One photograph was a view of the Dilaram Kothi where Hunter-Weston had stayed between 1849-55 and the other a remarkably intimate scene of the Nawab with his wife and a young daughter (**fig. 2-3**).

²⁶ *The Bengal Hurkuru*, 23 February 1858.

²⁷ Low 1914, p.xi.



Fig. 2-3 Ahmad Ali Khan, *Lucknow*, Wajid Ali Shah with his daughter and begum, pre-1857. As reproduced in Low 1914.

Weston's opinion that the photographs were only worthy as documents that recorded now vanished buildings or individuals is one that recalls the approach of more recent scholars who have in turn seen these photographs merely as evidence of what was lost in the Uprising. There has been little attempt to see Khan's photographs of Lucknow as representative of the cultural context of the time, but both of these points will be explored subsequently.

While it is the architectural views that I shall go on to examine here, it is worth briefly highlighting in greater detail a separate, small set of four portraits by Khan in the British Library, as they provide an indication of the aesthetic and cultural context in pre-Uprising Lucknow.²⁸

²⁸ British Library, Photo 500/(1)-(4).



Fig. 2-4 Ahmad Ali Khan and unknown artist, *Wajid Ali Shah, the Nawab of Lucknow*, 1854-5, salted paper print with added paint and gold leaf. The British Library, Photo 500/(1).

These four portraits, one showing the Nawab Wajid Ali Shah (**fig. 2-4**), and the others depicting royal women, are now faded salt prints, but they have been pasted onto pages that have been elaborately decorated, incorporating flowers, foliage, crowns and a fish motif (the symbol emblematic of the royal house of Awadh). Descriptions in Urdu have been added, identifying the sitters. A nimbus has been applied in delicate gilt leaf to the portrait of the Nawab to indicate his radiant and kingly status, and on the border outside the photograph, directly above his head, a large crown has been added. The richness of this work contrasts strikingly with the plainness of the portraits in the ‘British’ albums. There the portraits have been pasted onto the album pages, many with captions that identify the sitters and their subsequent fate in the Uprising, creating an object that is an

intimate and domestic record of many individuals. In the four royal portraits, the photographs have through the addition of paint, ink and gilt leaf, been incorporated into a much older Indian tradition of the painted miniature portrait. This, in contrast, creates an artefact that through its decoration and adornment represents the status of the sitter. The object also combines Western technology with Indian tradition in a manner that is very typical of Lucknow, and in particular, of Awadhi architecture.

To date, it has been possible to identify fifty-two architectural photographs attributable to Ahmad Ali Khan, although some of these are duplicates (**Appendix 2**).²⁹ Of these, the majority were taken before 1857, when Khan was at the peak of his photographic fame. Comparing the number of topographical views with the number of portraits that he took, however, it is evident that portraiture was his favoured genre.

The photographs that were taken after 1857 are technically of a much higher standard. The resulting prints are clearer, sharper and larger, suggesting that Khan had learnt new processes and had started to use wet collodion glass negatives in place of paper negatives. There are nineteen prints from the post-Uprising period that can be attributed to Khan, some of which are duplicates (i.e. more than one print from a negative has survived). All the post-1857 work that has survived is architectural; there are no portraits from the post-1857 period attributable to Khan.

From a review of this small number of works, an attempt can be made to reveal the identity of the city in its final years before it was irrevocably changed. Rather than presenting these architectural views as evidence of what was destroyed or changed in the city, it is suggested that the photographs which Khan chose to make before 1857 represent the identity of the city at a time of great political upheaval and disturbance; the state of Awadh was annexed, and political power slipped once and for all away from the hands of the nawabs into the possession of the British. The photographs also represent

²⁹ For the post-1857 photographs, the attribution to Khan has been based on the identification of images in the British Library album, Photo 147/1. Beneath certain photographs, the words 'chhote meer' [i.e. chhote miyan, Khan's post-1857 alias] have been written in black ink. In several cases, identical photographs have been found in the Alkazi Collection of Photography, and this consequently allows further attributions, based on style, print size, date and subject matter.

Khan's own conceptual map of the city as a prominent citizen at this crucial time in its history.

Chattar Manzil complex

Looking at the pre-1857 photographs as a group, half of them show views of one of the royal palaces, and that the majority of these concentrate on the Chattar Manzil complex (fig. 2-5).



Fig. 2-5 Ahmad Ali Khan, *Lucknow, Chattar Manzil from the river Gomti*, c.1855-6, albumen print. The British Library, Photo 269/1(24).

This vast, impressive palace was constructed around a private house, originally built by Claude Martin in 1781, and known during his life as *Lakh-e-pera*.³⁰ Following the death of Martin in 1800, the house and its surrounding land was purchased by Nawab Saadat Ali Khan (r.1798-1814), who began an ambitious programme of construction and enlargement, with Martin's house at the core of the expanding complex. The palace

³⁰ The date of construction is recorded in an inscription over one of the basement arches. Today the building is used by a Government scientific research department, and is very difficult to access.

complex was continued after his death by his son, Ghazi ud din Haider (r.1814-1827). Under nawabi ownership, the house became known as *Farhad Bakhsh*. Saadat Ali Khan initially made a few modest additions by constructing the Lal Barahdari to the south of Farhad Bakhsh, as well as a large tank between the buildings, which provided a physical link between the two structures. Over a twenty-year period, several new palace buildings were constructed along the riverside, and an elaborate garden was laid out, with further pavilions, houses, at least two mosques and an imambara to the south. The complex was, at its peak, considered to be everything that an Oriental palace should be, and it drew excited, breathless descriptions from its European visitors (**fig. 2-6**).



Fig. 2-6 Ahmad Ali Khan, *Lucknow, View from the Chattar Manzil towards the Qaiserbagh*, c.1856, albumen print. The Alkazi Collection, 2000.06.0001(10). The building with the two skeletal towers is the Darshan Bilas; the structures on the horizon are part of the Qaiserbagh complex.

For almost fifty years, the Chattar Manzil was the principal royal residence, until the mid-1850s when the last Nawab Wajid Ali Shah moved the court into his newly constructed Qaiserbagh complex – the very palace that was designed by Ahmad Ali Khan between

1848 and 1852.³¹ Khan photographed the Chattar Manzil by climbing onto the roof of either the Farhad Bakhsh or the Bara Chattar Manzil and pointing the camera out across the rooftops towards the British Residency compound (**fig. 2-7**) or the newly built Qaiserbagh.



Fig. 2-7 Ahmad Ali Khan, *Lucknow, View of the river Gomti and the British Residency*, c.1855-6, albumen print. The Alkazi Collection, 2000.06.0001(18). The Residency is the two-storey building on the far right.

His roof top views, apart from providing unparalleled evidence of the true extent of the Chattar Manzil palace complex, place him – and, consequently, us the viewers - at the very centre of royal power in Awadh. As he looks out across the roofs, domes and minarets, he is presenting a breathtaking vision of Lucknow as a royal city with its centre at the Chattar Manzil. The views that look towards the Residency acknowledge the British as one source of power in the state, while the views that look towards the

³¹ Mookherji 1883, p.183.

Qaiserbagh see the seat of royal power, but this is now a power that has, over time, been considerably damaged and eroded. The Chattar Manzil represents, in contrast, a time when the nawabs could still consider themselves the true successors of the Mughal Emperors in Delhi (**fig. 2-8**).



Fig. 2-8 Ahmad Ali Khan, *Lucknow, View of the Dilaram kothi from the Chattar Manzil*, c.1855-6, albumen print. The Alkazi Collection, 2000.06.0001(12).

Husainabad Imambara

The other structure that Khan photographed often is the Husainabad Imambara complex. The Husainabad Imambara was constructed during the reign of Nawab Mohammad Ali Shah (r.1837-1842) and it was endowed with a large sum of money, making the Husainabad Trust one of the richest institutions in the city. The Nawab and his mother were both buried inside the Imambara. Begum Zenat Algiya, the daughter of Mohammad Ali Shah, was buried in a tomb within the main courtyard of the complex (**fig. 2-9**).



Fig. 2-9 Ahmad Ali Khan, *Lucknow, Husainabad Imambara complex, inside the main entrance, c.1855-6*, albumen print. The Alkazi Collection, 2000.06.0001(20/2). The pillars on the left are part of the Tomb of Zenat Algiya.

Khan was well known as the *darogha* of the Husainabad Imambara, a post of considerable status, given the wealth of the institution. He appears as a man of influence and standing in a short story by Naiyer Masud, *The Myna from the Peacock Garden* (1997). He is portrayed as a man of importance, operating at a court level, and he is at one point in the story also described as ‘the one who has an English box that makes pictures’.³² Khan's photographs of the Husainabad Imambara document the leading sacred institution in the city, and stand as the religious counterpart to his views of the royal palaces (**fig. 2-10**). In both institutions lay the power and the heart of the city.

³² Masud 1997, p.184.



Fig. 2-10 Ahmad Ali Khan, *Lucknow, Husainabad Imambara*, c.1855-6, albumen print. The British Library, Photo 296/2(98).

Khan's photographic interest in the building is clear when compared with the interest given to it by European photographers. Photographing more than one or two images of the Husainabad Imambara would have been quite surprising for a non-Indian photographer. For most visitors and European inhabitants in the city, the principal religious edifice in the city was the Asafi Imambara (1784), the same structure that appears in the panorama by Alexis de la Grange. To any Indian in Lucknow, it would have been obvious that the most important religious institution was the Husainabad, yet for the Europeans the Asafi Imambara stood out because of its size and its architectural merits.³³ The Asafi Imambara is perhaps the only building in Lucknow to receive consistent praise. James Fergusson, who disliked most of what Lucknow had to offer, wrote: 'even at Lucknow, however, there are some buildings into which the European leaven has not penetrated, and which are worthy of being mentioned in the same volume as the works of their ancestors. Among these is the great Imambara, which, though its

³³ Commentators such as Tandan write that the Husainabad Imambara 'is more important in strictly religious terms. ... It is now the most revered and well-endowed Shiah shrine in Lucknow.' Tandan 2001, p.40.

details will not bear too close an examination, is still conceived on so grand a scale as to entitle it to rank with the buildings of an earlier age.³⁴

The importance of the Husainabad Imambara is also underscored by its role in the Mohurram ceremonies, and even by its very name: Husain ibn Ali is the martyr who is mourned during Mohurram. The Husainabad Imambara serves as the home of one of the principal *ta'zias* (the model of Husain's tomb) in Lucknow and is one of the main points for the processions that take place through the city during Mohurram.

The building is thus overlaid with religious significance and authority. The city becomes a site for religious processions and is marked out by the various religious and royal structures that appear in the photographs. An interesting comparison can be made between these early photographs and some pre-photographic, nineteenth-century depictions of Lucknow by Indian artists. They do not share similarities in terms of composition and style, but rather they both display a similar conception of the city. The paintings and drawings show religious processions that move through the city's spaces, rather than concentrating on individual buildings as British artists tended to do. An unfinished watercolour and pencil panorama in The British Library (Add.Or.739, dating to c.1848, **fig. 2-11**) depicting a procession of Mohammad Ali Shah begins at the Asafi Imambara and moves through the city towards the Husainabad Imambara, showing several of the structures at this site. It highlights the religious importance of the city, as well as depicting the nawabi presence, and suggests that Muslims had a conceptual map of the city that was based on religious associations with particular buildings.³⁵

³⁴ Fergusson 1910, vol.2, p.328.

³⁵ Other panoramas are reproduced in Markel and Gude 2010.



Fig. 2-11 Unknown artist, *Unfinished panorama of Lucknow, section showing the Husainabad Imambara*, 1848, watercolour and pencil. The British Library, Add.Or.739.

The Annexation of Awadh in 1856 and the Uprising of 1857

One of the principal catalysts for the Uprising was the decision by Lord Dalhousie to annex the princely state of Awadh. His reasons for this were two-fold: the British perceived the Nawab as unfit to rule and the British had territorial ambitions in Awadh, based on its evident wealth. The last Nawab, Wajid Ali Shah, was deposed from his throne on 4 February 1856. He had refused to sign the abdication treaty presented to him by the British, and instead he proceeded to Calcutta to confront the Governor-General and initially at least he proposed to travel to England to plead his case directly with Queen Victoria. In the end, his mother, brother and son travelled to England, and then to

France, while Wajid Ali Shah remained in Calcutta for the rest of his life.³⁶ He built a small palace complex in the Awadhi style and an imambara, which still stands in the Metiabruz quarter (known as the Matiya Burj in the nineteenth century).

Resentment following the annexation and the subsequent behaviour of the British in appropriating many of the possessions that previously belonged to the royal family, created a desperation within Lucknow that led eventually to the torching of the British military cantonment at Mariaon on 30 May 1857, four miles north of the city. Following this, the British community, both military and civilian, were gathered into the Residency compound under the command of Sir Henry Lawrence, along with some Indian soldiers and servants, numbering around 3000 souls in total. They remained there, under siege and heavy fire, until the end of September when British troops commanded by Generals Outram and Havelock arrived at the Residency. The Generals were unable to lift the siege, however, and the garrison was merely reinforced at this time.

This situation continued until 19 November 1857, when the Commander-in-Chief of India Sir Colin Campbell, having led reinforcements through Lucknow, evacuated the Residency. The survivors now numbered only about 1000 in number, two-thirds having died due to the fighting and disease inside the Residency compound. The civilians were sent off to safety in Calcutta, while the troops regrouped at the Alambagh, on the eastern outskirts of the city. Eventually in March 1858, Campbell led his troops for a second time through the city and by 20 March 1858, he had gained control of the city for the British.

While the troops were stationed at the Alambagh, they came under fire. It was here that the only photographs taken during the conflict were made, by the Irishman Dr Patrick Gerald Fitzgerald (1820-1910), who had accompanied the British relief force as it moved from Cawnpore to Lucknow on 27 December 1857. Fitzgerald made a handful of views

³⁶ See Llewellyn-Jones 2000, pp.125-151 for a discussion of the years 1855-6 in Awadh, concentrating on the effects of British annexation for the people of Lucknow. Queen Victoria met the Begum of Lucknow and her son at Windsor Castle before the royal party travelled to Paris where the Begum died. She was buried in Père-Lachaise cemetery.

between January and March 1858, while stationed on the outskirts of Lucknow, at the Alambagh (**fig. 2-12**).³⁷



Fig. 2-12 Patrick Fitzgerald, *Lucknow, Officers on the roof of the Alambagh*, January-March 1858, albumen print. The Alkazi Collection, from the album 96.20.0405. The officer on the upper right is identified as 'Maude' - Francis Cornwallis Maude, who had won the Victoria Cross for bravery on 25 September 1857 in Lucknow.

The events at Lucknow did not occur in isolation. Uprisings took place in other north Indian cities, particularly Meerut, Cawnpore, Jhansi and Delhi. Although the Uprising began as a military mutiny, the fighting quickly involved civilians, both British and Indian. There was bloody and brutal fighting and reprisals from both sides. Even today, the events of 1857 stir up a great deal of emotion and they are hotly debated by historians and the public alike.

³⁷ Cane 1977, p.135.

Ahmad Ali Khan after 1857

After the Uprising, Ahmad Ali Khan disappeared for some months, presumably in fear for his life, as stories of British officers arbitrarily murdering Indians who were suspected of involvement in the Uprising were common. In November 1858, after the Viceroy Lord Canning announced a general amnesty for all those who fought in the rebellion, save the most senior leaders, Khan reappeared in Lucknow and took up photography again, although now he only worked under his alias *chhote miyan*.

In 1862 he was elected a member of the Bengal Photographic Society, the first Indian to be admitted post-1857. 'Mahomedoodolah Ahmud Ali Khan, *alias* Chota Meah' was proposed as a member by J.W. Inglis, which was seconded by the society's secretary, at the meeting held in Calcutta on Tuesday 29 July.³⁸ Around the same time, a group of his architectural views and a series of portraits were included in the society's annual summer exhibition. The prints were good enough to receive the attentions of the reviewer, who commented in a subsequent issue of the journal: 'of Chota Meah's contributions we can conscientiously praise No.328, which has a good sentiment, and the effective foreground makes it a good picture. No.317 is a fair architectural picture, but it wants figures. Of the portraits, No.354 pleases us as a very speaking likeness. We must ask Chota Meah, however, why he introduces us to such very plain ladies...'.³⁹

No one seems to have made the connection, at least in a public context, between this 'Chota Meah' and the photographer of the prints previously admired at the society's meeting in 1858. It seems quite likely though that Khan never recovered from his experience in the Uprising, and Mookherji suggests that having lost his fortune in 1857, he subsequently 'died a miserable man'.⁴⁰ As so far no photographs later than c.1862 have come to light, it seems probable that he either stopped photographing or died around this year.

³⁸ JBPS, 1:2 (1862), pp. 39-40.

³⁹ 'Exhibition of the Bengal Photographic Society'. JBPS, 1:2, (1862), p. 45.

⁴⁰ Mookherji 1883, p.183.

Khan's photographs post-1857 concentrate on a number of colonial structures, such as Christ Church which was intended to serve as a memorial to all those who died in the Uprising and the Cantonment Church (**fig. 2-13**).



Fig. 2-13 Ahmad Ali Khan, *Lucknow, Christ Church*, 1860-1, albumen print. The Alkazi Collection, 99.07.0001(15).

He also returned to the Chattar Manzil, whose roof he had photographed from, and produced a serene study of the building from the riverside (**fig. 2-14**).



Fig. 2-14 Ahmad Ali Khan, *Lucknow, Chatrar Manzil complex, with Farhad Bakhsh*, c.1860, albumen print. The Alkazi Collection, 99.07.0001(3).

Photography after 1857

Almost all the surviving photographs that depict Lucknow were taken post-1857. Photographers – European, British and Indian – came to the city primarily because of the notoriety it attained after the conflict. There was a public appetite for images, and towards the end of the nineteenth century this fuelled further tourism and the consequent demand for more photographs.

The first photographs were taken by soldiers from the Royal Engineers involved in the immediate aftermath of the Uprising. Photography had been introduced at the Royal Engineers' training establishment in Chatham in 1856, and subsequently engineers within each company often took photographs to document their activities abroad.⁴¹ Lance-Corporal E. Jones, of the 23rd Company, made a small group of photographs under

⁴¹ Photography continued to be taught at Chatham until the end of the Anglo-Boer war in 1902.

difficult conditions, the majority showing troop encampments and debris surrounding some of the buildings used as headquarters (**fig. 2-15**).



Fig. 2-15 Corporal Jones, *Lucknow, Barowen, also known as Musa Bagh*, c.1858-9, albumen print. Private Collection. The 23rd Company (Jones's Company) were stationed at the Musa Bagh.

Captain J. Milliken produced a handful of architectural views as well as photographs of the bridges over the river into the city, including structures that the engineers had rebuilt (**fig. 2-16**).⁴²

⁴² A group of prints by Jones is held in the National Army Museum, London. Milliken's work can be found in the Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montreal. An example is reproduced in Gordon 2003, fig. 5, p.139.



Fig. 2-16 Captain J. Milliken, *Bridge reconstructed by the Royal Engineers outside Lucknow*, 1858. The Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montreal, PH1988-0380-034.

Occasionally, groups of photographs dating to this immediate post-Uprising period come to light without any indication of whom the photographer might be. The Alkazi Collection contains a number of photographs that date to 1858-9, probably taken by someone connected with the military forces, including a series of twenty-four stereoscopic views taken in March or April 1858.⁴³ They can be dated according to the architectural evidence within the images. There is one stereoscopic card that shows the courtyard behind the Bara Chattar Manzil – the area that was completely razed by 1860 (**fig. 2-17**).

⁴³ Three photographs, about 8x10 inches (204x254mm) in size, appear to date to c.1858, showing the tomb of Saadat Ali Khan; the Husainabad bazaar; and the Kazmain karbala (catalogue numbers ACP 97.27.0037-0039). The stereoscopic cards were part of lot 308, Christie's 1996. One is reproduced in Llewellyn-Jones 2005, fig.132, p.228.

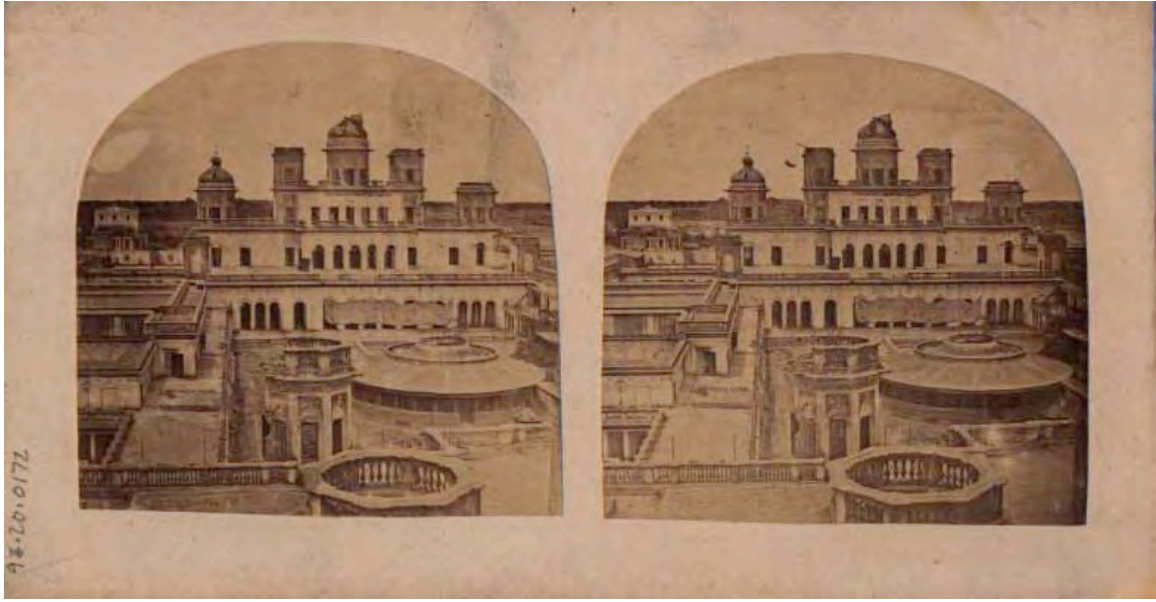


Fig. 2-17 Unknown photographer, possibly with the initials 'J. S.', *Lucknow, Courtyard behind the Bara Chattar Manzil*, March-April 1858, albumen stereoscopic prints. The Alkazi Collection, 96.20.0172.

The photograph shows structures that cannot be properly identified, as they do not appear in any other source, written or visual. Many of the stereoscopic photographs show the Residency compound. Comparison with the work of Felice Beato, who first arrived in Lucknow in April 1858, confirms a date of around March-April 1858 for this unknown photographer (**fig. 2-18**).



Fig. 2-18 Unknown photographer, *Lucknow, Baillie Guard gateway*, March-April 1858, albumen stereoscopic prints. The Alkazi Collection, 96.20.0347. (Compare with fig. 2-26.)

Felice Beato (1832-1909)

Beato began his photographic career working in the Middle East for his brother-in-law James Robertson, based in Istanbul (then Constantinople), in or around 1853.⁴⁴ His brother Antonio was also worked with James Robertson. Beato travelled at least once to the Crimea to document the battlefields there between April and July 1856. The photographs are signed 'Robertson', even though Beato took them alone. He also travelled in the Holy Land with Robertson and Antonio in 1857, a journey that resulted in a portfolio of views signed 'Robertson, Beato & Co.' On hearing of the conflict in north India, he sailed to Calcutta, arriving there on 13 February 1858. His arrival was listed in *The Bengal Hurkuru* as 'Mr Felix Beats and two servants'.⁴⁵ Beato was to remain in India for about two years.

One of the first things Beato did on arriving in the city was to attend a meeting of the Bengal Photographic Society, which was mentioned in the newspaper a couple of days later. The reporter stated: 'Mr. Beato's Photographs ... eclipsed all other works that were

⁴⁴ The most detailed chronology of Beato's entire career is in Clark 2001. Other accounts drawn on here include Crombie 1987, Harris 1999, Harris 2000, Masselos 2000, Gupta 2003, Bennett 2009 and Lacoste 2010.

⁴⁵ *The Bengal Hurkuru*, 15 February 1858.

shown, and elicited the just admiration of those who could see them. ... Mr. Beato proceeds to Cawnpore in the course of next week, and we trust that his voyage and its objects will be attended with thorough success.⁴⁶

Beato also applied for the necessary permission from the East India Company to travel to Lucknow and received on 16 March 1858 a permit allowing 'Felix Beato, 24 years old, with two Maltese servants, a native of Corfu, to proceed to Lucknow and other places for eight months.'⁴⁷ He travelled to Lucknow in late March or early April and remained in the city to photograph for two or three months (**fig. 2-19**). While Felice was in Lucknow, his brother Antonio arrived in Calcutta on 30 June 1858. He established a business at 37 Cossitollah Street in order to sell his brother's photographs, according to the *New Calcutta Directory*, which lists Antonio as a 'photographic artist'.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ Report of a meeting of the Bengal Photographic Society on 17 February 1858, in *The Englishman* 19 February 1858.

⁴⁷ Cited in Dobson 2004.

⁴⁸ 'Beato, Antonio, 37 Cossitollah Street, photographic artist'. *New Calcutta Directory* (1858) part VIII, p.126.



Fig. 2-19 Felice Beato, *Lucknow, Mosque at the Asafi Imambara*, 1858, albumen print. The Alkazi Collection 98.77.0001(50).

Beato's Lucknow views were being advertised by August in a newspaper advert: 'We have the pleasure to inform our readers that M. Beato's views of Lucknow of the principal sites there, taken since the siege, have just been brought to Calcutta. Mr Beato intends publishing them at once, and copies may be seen at No. 37 Cossitollah.'⁴⁹ Beato also displayed his work in the Bengal Photographic Society's exhibition, receiving a report in *The Bengal Hurkuru*: 'A great many of the best scenes are the work of Signor Beato of Crimean fame, and will be for ever of historical interest. They are masterpieces in themselves, beautiful specimens of the perfection to which this new art is already brought as a scientific copy of the actual rather than a free expression of the possible.'⁵⁰

⁴⁹ *The Englishman*, 27 August 1858.

⁵⁰ *The Bengal Hurkuru*, 27 August 1858.

Felice continued to travel throughout India. In October he was in Allahabad and Cawnpore before spending the winter in Delhi, moving to Meerut and then Benares, probably in February 1859. Beato returned to Calcutta before setting off again to Agra in April; Simla in May; Amritsar and Lahore in October and back to Calcutta by November, when he attended further meetings of the Bengal Photographic Society. A more recent portfolio of views was shown to the Society at the beginning of January 1860: ‘A very numerous collection of views in the Punjaub, Oude and Upper India was also circulated for inspection. They were by Signor Beats, and were deservedly admired for the high order of excellence for which this eminent Photographer is so well and so widely known.’⁵¹

Antonio left Calcutta in December 1859, sailing to Malta before travelling onwards to Luxor in Egypt, and Felice eventually left India in February 1860 for China, where he was to photograph the aftermath of the Anglo-Chinese War.⁵² His imminent departure was announced in the papers: ‘he wished it to be known that he leaves India in a few days for China, and that copies of his Indian photographs may be had on application to himself at Wilson’s hotel.’⁵³

Beato made approximately seventy topographical views of Lucknow. Of these views, by far the largest group is that devoted to the Residency, of which there are at least ten distinct views. This reflects Beato’s potential clientele, the British inhabitants in India and their focus on the siege of the Residency as the main event of the Uprising (**fig. 2-20**).

⁵¹ *The Bengal Hurkuru*, 4 January 1860.

⁵² Also known as the Second Opium War, 1856-60.

⁵³ *The Bengal Hurkuru*, 2 March 1860.



Fig. 2-20 Felice Beato, *Lucknow, The Residency*, 1858, albumen print. The Alkazi Collection, 96.20.0396(6).

Beato's photographs were widely seen, being exhibited in 1858 in Calcutta and Leeds (in Britain)⁵⁴; in 1859 in London at the sixth exhibition of the Photographic Society⁵⁵, and in 1860 in Birmingham, at the photographic society.⁵⁶ As surviving albums indicate, many who were present in Lucknow during 1858, in particular British officers, or those who had relatives involved in the Uprising, purchased Beato's photographs. When considered alongside the numerous written accounts that began to appear immediately after the Uprising, it is clear that Beato's photographs constituted a powerful visual aid in determining how the Victorian public thought of and understood this recent history. The Uprising, in particular the Siege of Lucknow, very quickly became thought of as one of

⁵⁴ Lacoste 2010, p.184.

⁵⁵ *Journal of the Photographic Society*, 5:79 (1859), p.185.

⁵⁶ Lacoste 2010, p.184.

the truly great imperial stories. When Lord Canning, as part of his tour of the areas affected by fighting, gave a speech at a *darbar* in Lucknow on 24 October 1859, he felt able to proclaim: 'there does not stand recorded in the annals of war an achievement more truly heroic than the defence of the Residency at Lucknow.'⁵⁷

By mid-April 1862, the views of Lucknow were on display in London at the premises of the dealer, printseller and photographer Henry Hering, at 137 Regent Street, as part of a larger exhibition of Beato's photographs from India and China.⁵⁸ According to the accompanying catalogue of the photographs, the material from Lucknow was presented as a sequence that tracked the progress of the British troops as they fought their way across the city.⁵⁹ In Hering's catalogue, the two great panoramic views of Lucknow begin the sequence, one an eight-part panorama taken from the Asafi Imambara and the other a six-part panorama from the roof of a building in the Qaiserbagh (**fig. 2-21**).⁶⁰

⁵⁷ Cited in Hilton 1916, p.16.

⁵⁸ An advertisement for the exhibition was published in *The Athenaeum*, 19 April 1862, p.515. The same notice was republished on 3 May, p.578: 'Now On View, a COLLECTION of PHOTOGRAPHIC VIEWS of Peking, the Summer Palace, the Peiho Forte, Canton, Hong Kong, and the whole of the Views taken by Signor Beato during the campaign in China; also, all the Views taken during the Indian Mutiny in 1857 of Delhi, Cawnpore, Lucknow, Agra, and Punjaub, and Portraits of the Celebrities engaged during the Mutiny in India and the late War in China. The whole Collection now publishing at Mr. H. Herings, Photographer, At, 137, Regent street, London, where the List is open for Subscribers* Names. — A detailed Catalogue of the Views and Portraits will be forwarded on the receipt of one postage-stamp.'

⁵⁹ Hering 1862.

⁶⁰ There is also a two-part panorama depicting the Husainabad Imambara. The Imambara stands, apparently almost untouched by the recent conflict, surrounded by ruined buildings and rubble.



Fig. 2-21 Felice Beato, *Lucknow, View from the Roshan-ud-daula Kothi across the Qaiserbagh*, 1858, six albumen prints. The British Library, Photo 1087.

This is followed by views of the Dilkusha and La Martinière School, both situated on the eastern edge of the city. The viewer is then taken along the river, across the Bridge of Boats, and then along the main street known as Hazratganj. Following this comes the Qaiserbagh, the Chattar Manzil, the British Residency, the Asafi Imambara and then the Husainabad Imambara, before ending with the Jama Masjid – the congregational mosque – located at the western edge of the city. The photographs mix distant views that take in the topography and a large number of buildings with much closer views of gateways and details (**fig. 2-22**). This westerly movement across the city copies that of the relief force in November 1857 and March 1858.



Fig. 2-22 Felice Beato, *Lucknow, Jama Masjid, central archway*, 1858, albumen print. The Alkazi Collection, 98.77.0001(57).

The gallery-going public would have seen only a few years earlier Roger Fenton's photographs from the Crimean War, taken in 1855, which were exhibited in the gallery of the Watercolour Society.⁶¹ Fenton's work seems to have provided a model for Beato. The exhibition of Fenton's war photographs contained scenes of various Crimean locations, interspersed with portraits of those officers and others involved. There were also two impressive panoramas: an eleven-part panorama with the title, 'The Plateau before Sebastopol' and a five-part panorama, titled 'The Plains of Balaklava'. The Crimean photographs were displayed in eight venues across the country in 1855-6 and were extensively reviewed in the newspapers and illustrated journals, where some were also reproduced as engravings.⁶² A catalogue of the Crimean photographs was also issued, with an order form at the back which a potential client could complete and send in to the

⁶¹ *Exhibition of the Photographic Pictures taken in The Crimea by Roger Fenton, Esq. during the Spring and Summer of the present year, at the Gallery of the Water Colour Society, No.5 Pall Mall East.* Thomas Agnew & Sons, London, 1855.

⁶² Baldwin 2004, p. 203. Roger Taylor's essay in Baldwin 2004 describes how Fenton's work reached the public through exhibitions, photographic societies, illustrated journals and photography dealers. A similar practice was followed by Felice Beato and other photographers in the late 1850s. Roger Taylor, 'A Most Enthusiastic Cultivator of His Art: Fenton's Critics and the Trajectory of His Career', in Baldwin 2004, pp.199-210.

printseller in order to purchase photographs. This practice was also followed by Henry Hering, when he exhibited and sold Beato's photographs.⁶³

There were reviews of Beato's exhibition in the newspapers and journals at the time, but the majority of them concentrated on the Chinese photographs, as these views would have been more topical at the time of the exhibition in 1862. One review included a brief comment that the Indian views included: 'the stirring events which have rendered them either reminiscences of painful interest of localities connected with heroic achievements. We can therefore recommend this gallery to general notice.'⁶⁴ The panoramas were also particularly noticed by the reviewer in the *Athenaeum*: 'some of the panoramas, especially those of Lucknow, which are in no less than six pieces each, must have demanded extraordinary care in preparation. That taken from the Kaiser Bagh gives an idea of the splendour of the building itself and the extent of the city, which is most impressive.'⁶⁵

There are photograph albums that have survived which reflect the east-to-west order of the photographs, indicating that customers wanted or requested views that presented a narrative that told the story of the 'Relief of Lucknow'. An almost complete album which follows the Hering sequence of photographs is held the Alkazi Collection of Photography; the photographs have letterpress captions on the album page that correspond exactly to the captions published in the Hering catalogue.⁶⁶ These captions emphasise the military progress, as the particular event that took place at each location is described. For example, photograph number 33 in the catalogue is captioned, 'The Interior of the Ferad Buksh [Farhad Bakhsh] - First Attack of Sir Colin Campbell in November 1857' (**fig. 2-23**), and photograph number 42 is described, 'The Iron Bridge - The Second Attack of Sir C. Campbell, in March, 1858'.⁶⁷ Thus, the album becomes

⁶³ Hering 1862.

⁶⁴ *The Standard*, no. 11792, Thursday 29 May 1862, p.3. 'Besides these [i.e. the Chinese photographs], there is a large collection of photographs from India, including all the principal places which have become generally known through the Indian rebellion.'

⁶⁵ *The Athenaeum*, 14 June 1862, p.793.

⁶⁶ Album, *Lucknow and Delhi*. The Alkazi Collection of Photography 98.77.0001.

⁶⁷ Hering 1862, p.2.

transformed into a dramatic narrative, allowing the viewer, from the comfort of his armchair, to follow the British troops during the Relief of Lucknow. The sequence has been described as a 'proto-filmic narrative'.⁶⁸



Fig. 2-23 Felice Beato, *Lucknow, Farhad Bakhsh interior, 'First Attack of Sir Colin Campbell in November 1857'*, 1858, albumen print. The Alkazi Collection, 98.77.0001(35).

While the captioning and presentation of these photographs indicate that they were being used to tell the history of the Uprising, the same photographs have been used for other purposes, in particular for the describing of Lucknow's architectural history. The reviewer in *The Athenaeum* hints at this when he writes that: 'Scanty as are the notices of Indian architecture amongst us, that splendid specimen known as the Martiniere School, the scene of Sir Colin Campbell's First and Second attacks, has an interest of its own.'⁶⁹

The majority of Beato's photographs are primarily architectural in their content, and it is through the captions and the presentation that the material takes on its historical content. Fergusson was familiar with Beato's work. Writing about the architecture of Lucknow in 1862, Fergusson expresses his intense dislike for the hybrid style employed in the later

⁶⁸ Pinney 2008, p.127.

⁶⁹ *The Athenaeum*, 14 June 1862, p.794.

secular buildings. He believes that the bad architecture, the ‘tawdry imitations’ he has seen, is evidence of the morally corrupt court.⁷⁰ Fergusson begins his discussion of Lucknow by recognising Constantia (usually known today as ‘La Martinière’) as an early building, which he describes as pseudo-Italian, important for the influence it had on the nawabs and their subsequent building programmes. Claude Martin had begun construction of the building in 1796 as a country home for himself; substantial alterations were made in the 1840s when the building was taken over by a private boys’ school. The woodcut illustration used by Fergusson is a copy of Felice Beato’s photograph of 1858; it shows soldiers standing around in front of the building (**fig. 2-24**).⁷¹

⁷⁰ Fergusson, although he makes associations between morality and the resulting architecture which serves the colonial ideology, clearly does not approve of all colonial policy in India. In referring to the annexation of Awadh, he describes Dalhousie’s policy as a ‘daring injustice’. Fergusson 1862, p.418.

⁷¹ Fergusson 1862, p.419, no.264. The illustration on p.421 is also a copy of a Beato photograph, showing the Begum Koti (1844) on Hazratganj. The entire street was designed to emulate a European processional thoroughfare.

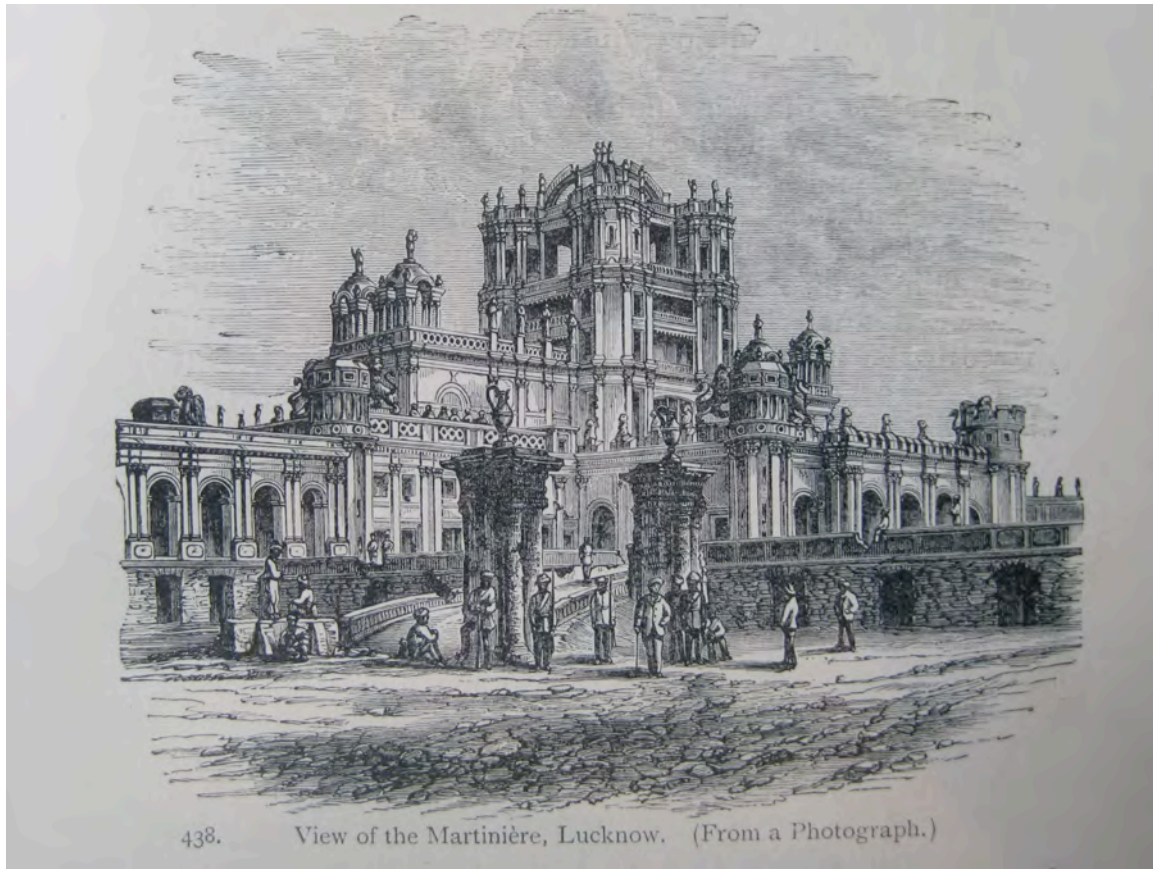


Fig. 2-24 *La Martinière, Lucknow*, woodcut engraving from Fergusson's *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* (London, 1862).

Fergusson goes on to demonstrate how the buildings of Lucknow fall dismally short of the European neo-classical style, due to the builders' ignorance of the classical orders: 'It is in fact like a man trying to copy an inscription in a language he does not understand, and of which he does not even know the alphabet ... 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.'⁷²

The association between bad architecture, bad taste and corrupt morals was propounded by Fergusson in subsequent publications, including his history of Indian architecture published in 1876 and it was to be hugely influential in shaping public attitudes towards 'old' Lucknow. Fergusson was aware of the difficulties in writing about places that had

⁷² Fergusson 1862, p.420.

such emotive associations: 'our associations or our prejudices are so bound up with our admiration for, or our feelings against them [i.e. the buildings], that it is extremely difficult for us to get outside and take a calm survey of the whole, so as to read all the lessons that might be learned from their study', but he then goes on to use India to prove his point that architecture reflects 'national character and taste': 'there is perhaps no place where he would see this more clearly and distinctly than in studying the history of Architecture in Hindostan during the last six centuries'.⁷³

Beato made numerous views of architectural and archaeological subject matter beyond Lucknow, Delhi and Cawnpore at places that had no associations with the Uprising. He photographed the large Buddhist *stupa* at Sarnath, as well as the *ghats* in Benares and the Golden Temple in Amritsar. He also made several views of the Taj Mahal and the Fort in Agra. Prints of these subjects are today, however, much harder to locate than are the Lucknow, Cawnpore and Delhi views that are connected with the Uprising. The audience in 1858-9 was focussing on the Uprising and had less interest in purely architectural subjects than it would in the following decade.⁷⁴ Beato's photographs were, however, the main source for the public for information on the buildings of Lucknow. They were on sale in India and in Britain, through Hering's gallery, and were also the basis of woodcut engravings in the illustrated press (**fig. 2-25 & 2-26**).

⁷³ Fergusson 1862, p.422.

⁷⁴ Beato also photographed numerous individuals, both well known and unknown, during his time in India. Apart from portraits of the British officers he met, he photographed Indian soldiers and produced examples of different Indian 'trades and professions' - a little known aspect of his work in India. Numerous examples of his ethnographic work appeared at auction in 2001 but have since disappeared. Christie's 2001, lot 5. See also Lacoste 2010, p.6 & pp. 90-91.



Fig. 2-25 'The Bailey Guard Gate', illustration after a photograph by Felice Beato in *The Illustrated London News*, 23 April 1859, p.396.



Fig. 2-26 Felice Beato, *Lucknow, Baillie Guard gateway*, 1858, albumen print. The British Library, Photo 27/(1).

Robert Tytler (1818-1872) and Harriet Tytler (1826-1907)

Robert Tytler reported that he took up photography in 1858 in order to assist his wife with her desire to record the Red Fort in Delhi.⁷⁵ Harriet had been trying to paint the fort in oils, but failed, so photography was seen as a possible method to document the building quickly, providing a record to which she could return at a later date. Tytler learnt to photograph while based in Delhi, with the assistance of the professional photographer Charles Shepherd (with whom he photographed Bahadur Shah, the last King of Delhi).⁷⁶ Over several months in 1858, the husband and wife team travelled to various towns and places in northern India that had been affected by the Uprising. By their own account, they produced over 500 large paper negatives, including Delhi, Cawnpore, Agra and Lucknow.⁷⁷ Many of the Delhi views are strikingly similar to Felice Beato's works, and it is possible that the photographers were travelling or photographing together. In Lucknow, however, the Tytler photographs are quite different to Beato's work, lacking his originality, but the prints show a confident approach to making pictures, although not a particularly individual one. For example, in the view of the Macchi Bhawan (the old fort, **fig. 2-27**), Tytler includes a strong diagonal driving through the image. It is the road along which the British troops marched when they relived the Residency in November 1857 and again in March 1858. The empty street creates an imaginative space in which the viewer can place the troops and relive the arrival of the victorious British. Although the image is different to anything produced by Beato, the intention of emphasising the story of the Uprising is the same.

⁷⁵ *The Englishman*, 31 March 1859, reporting a meeting of the Bengal Photographic Society held on 24 March 1859.

⁷⁶ Charles Shepherd subsequently went into partnership with Samuel Bourne to form 'Bourne and Shepherd'. This partnership was first announced in *The Englishman* on 11 November 1863, where a notice explained the formation of the photographic firm, 'Howard, Bourne and Shepherd'.

⁷⁷ The British Library in London and the National Gallery of Canada in Ottawa hold the two largest collections of the Tytlers' work.



Fig. 2-27 Robert and Harriet Tytler, *Lucknow, the Macchi Bhawan*, 1858, albumen print. The British Library, Photo 193/(14), (where it is captioned 'Prison of the Palace, Delhi'). The Macchi Bhawan was blown up by the British in July 1857 when they abandoned it for the safety of the Residency, but after the British had retaken control of Lucknow in March 1858, it was swiftly repaired in order that it could be used as a military depot during the rebuilding of the city, by the orders of Robert Napier, an officer in the Royal Engineers.

The other views of Lucknow produced by the Tytlers show a concentration on the sites connected with the Uprising: the Residency, from various angles; the graves of British officers; La Martinière; the Dilkusha, and so on. Comparing the Tytlers' photograph of the Baillie Guard gateway (**fig. 2-28**, the entrance into the British Residency) with that taken by Beato provides an example of their relative successes (**fig. 2-26**).



Fig.2-28 Robert and Harriet Tytler, *Lucknow, the Baillie Guard gateway*, 1858, albumen print. The British Library, Photo 193/(23).

While the Tytlers select a straightforward, direct view of the gateway, Beato has chosen to photograph the gateway obliquely and from a higher vantage point. The Tytlers' photograph is quite abrupt and stark; it is also empty, without the figures that Beato habitually places next to monuments in his work. Beato's photograph is carefully composed to create an accomplished image that fulfils the pictorial conventions of the time but also provides a view of the barren and ravaged landscape beyond. While the Tytlers' image illustrates less of Lucknow, its strength comes from its simplicity. It presents the building alone, and the message is that something happened here - the viewer is invited to imagine what that was, employing his or her knowledge of the Uprising, free from any distractions within the image.

As well as knowing the work of Beato, at a meeting of the Bengal Photographic Society on 24 May 1859, the Tytlers also acknowledged the assistance of Dr John Murray while

they were learning to take photographs. Murray had been on furlough in England at the time of the Uprising, but on his return to India in November 1857, he dined with Lord and Lady Canning and he was asked by the Governor-General to take photographs of many of the sites connected with the Uprising before they were demolished in the reconstruction program. This was particularly urgent in the case of Delhi from whence news had arrived that the Red Fort was to be pulled down. According to surviving correspondence, Murray was asked to photograph at Benares, Allahabad, Cawnpore, Agra and Delhi, but not Lucknow.⁷⁸ Having visited the other sites first, Murray finally arrived in Delhi in February and began photographing at the Jama Masjid. He made all his views of the city before Beato or the Tytlers arrived there, so consequently his work has an immediacy and rawness that is lacking in their work. Murray remained in Delhi for about a month, returning to Agra in mid-March 1859. He must have met the Tytlers during those few weeks in Delhi, although the Tytlers made their photographs of the city after Murray had left. Murray's technical experience would have been valuable to the Tytlers before they set off on their own photographic tour. It is also possible that Murray's documentary approach to the sites at this time impressed itself upon the Tytlers (fig. 2-29).

Murray's 1858 series of photographs is quite different to his Agra views. The Picturesque has almost entirely disappeared in favour of a much more starkly composed frame. Murray's standard approach in this series involves placing the principal subject of the composition in the middle ground, somewhere along the horizon line which usually bisects the frame across its centre. This means the viewer is looking at the building or site of conflict from a slight distance. The details are rarely clear and the foreground is

⁷⁸ Murray's letter to C. Beadon, Secretary to the Government of India: 'The most Noble the Governor General requested me to take some Photographic views, at Benares, Allahabad, Cawnpore, Agra, and Delhi, and I have fitted up the requisite Apparatus' (The British Library, IOR P/188/49: Government of India, Home Department Proceedings, 22 January 1858). The reply to Murray confirmed that photographs should be taken in Cawnpore and Benares, 'apply yourself to taking a set of views of the Raj Ghat entrenchment'; at Allahabad, 'to take a set of views of the principal buildings in the Fort' as well as barracks and hospitals; Agra, and Delhi, to 'take views of the Palace Buildings and Palace Walls, of the City Walls and principal gates, and of the Jumma Musjid and other Public Buildings of note' (The British Library, IOR P/188/49: Government of India, Home Department Proceedings, 22 January 1858).

usually empty or partially filled with debris, occasionally timber, tents, or a single crouching figure. There is considerable detachment from the subject matter.



Fig. 2-29 Dr John Murray, *Delhi, Humayun's Tomb, with Gateway in front*, 1858, albumen print. The British Library, Photo 52/(18). The Emperor Bahadur Shah Zafar II had taken refuge in Humayun's Tomb with his family in September 1857 following the British capture of Delhi. On 21 September, he was taken prisoner here by Captain William Hodson of Hodson's Horse.

Murray's work produced to fulfil the Governor-General's commission is very direct in its approach. Hardly any clearing or restoration had been done at this point, so there was an understanding that the buildings were in still in the same state in which they had witnessed the various events of the conflict: the landscape still remained as it was at the time of the fighting, and only the people and bodies have departed. In the view of Humayun's Tomb the road leading up to the main gateway is clear, but around it the scenery is barren, the walls are falling down and a single squatting figure lends an air of desolation to the scene.

In the photograph of *lath* (the column) at Allahabad, the column is lost within the image. Although Murray has placed it at the centre of the composition, it is almost unrecognisable, surrounded by tents, empty palanqueens and a pile of wood (**fig. 2-30**).



Fig. 2-30 Dr John Murray, *Allahabad, the Lath*, 1858, albumen print. The British Library, Photo 52/(37).

The views are desolate, empty of human figures, only hinting at what has so recently occurred. The emptiness provides greater scope for the viewer's imagination to engage with the scene and the events that took place there.⁷⁹ The use of emptiness and detachment to engage the imagination was a technique employed by Fenton in the

⁷⁹ Pinney recognises the use of empty spaces in colonial photographs as imaginative catalysts. Pinney 2008, p.89.

Crimean War, notably in his famous photograph, 'Valley of the Shadow of Death' (fig. 2-31).



Fig. 2-31 Roger Fenton, *Valley of the Shadow of Death* [Crimea], 1855, salted paper print. The Getty Museum, 84.XM.504.23.

In Murray's photographs, the lack of any apparent aesthetic paradigm to present the scene is itself an aesthetic choice. This decision has a particular effect on the viewer. It allows the viewer to believe that the photographer is presenting the unmediated truth, by bringing the viewer as close to the event as it was possible to be. The Tytlers' views of Lucknow have this same sense of immediacy.

The Tytlers' negatives were shown at a meeting of the Bengal Photographic Society on 24 March 1859, where they were greatly admired and described as 'perhaps the finest series that has ever been exhibited to the Society'.⁸⁰ The positive prints were shown at a subsequent meeting on 19 May 1859.⁸¹ In 1860, the couple won a gold medal from the Bengal Photographic Society for best series of ten landscape views.⁸² Their photographs were advertised for sale: 'A portfolio of Major Tytler's views may be seen at his own house 13, Loudon Street, or at 15, Writers Buildings, Tank Square, at the office of the Secretary to the Society, who will receive orders for them', but their scarcity in collections today suggests that not many orders were received.⁸³ The photographs do not seem to have been published or reproduced in illustrated journals in the way that Beato's work was used.

According to Harriet Tytler's memoirs, a set of photographs and the painting of the Delhi fort (which Harriet described as a 'cyclorama') were sent to Queen Victoria at Buckingham Palace. On the day that Robert Tytler was to have an audience with the Queen to explain the images to her, the Queen's mother the Duchess of Kent became very ill and the appointment was cancelled. Everything was returned without the Queen ever seeing them.⁸⁴ Despite its power and its simplicity, their work was almost completely unknown in the nineteenth century, and remains relatively unseen today.⁸⁵

⁸⁰ *The Englishman*, 31 March 1859.

⁸¹ *The Englishman*, 28 May 1859. 'Major Tytler then proceeded to exhibit a small portion of the remarkably fine collection of Photographs taken by himself and Mrs Tytler in the North-West.'

⁸² *The Bengal Hurkuru*, 7 April 1860.

⁸³ *The Bengal Hurkuru*, 28 May 1858.

⁸⁴ Tytler 1988, p.169. Robert Tytler acquired Bahadur Shah II's crown, and two of his chairs, in an auction in Delhi in 1858, and he subsequently sold them to Queen Victoria in 1861. Marsden 2010, p.311.

⁸⁵ A few examples can also be found in private collections. A paper negative from the Paul Sack Collection in San Francisco is reproduced in Markel and Gude 2010, p.159, of the Qaisar Pasund, attributed to the Tytlers; the Alkazi Collection contains five large format albumen prints which are reasonably attributed to the Tytlers, one of which is illustrated in Llewellyn-Jones 2005, fig.46, p.86 (catalogue numbers ACP 94.01.0001-5).

Early Commercial Views

The commercial photographers based in Lucknow can be identified from the photographs that have survived and by a survey of the various trade directories and almanacs that were compiled on an annual basis, with listings of professionals trading in each town (see **Appendix 1**). Only a few photographic firms set up permanent studios in Lucknow in the nineteenth century, although a large number visited the city to photograph a selection of views for their stock catalogues.⁸⁶ Other photographers were based in the nearby hill station Nainital, and would make expeditions to Lucknow during the cold season. Photographers would send printed catalogues listing their stock to clients, who would then select which images they wanted, identifying the photograph by a number which was assigned to each image. This number - the negative number - would often be scratched onto the negative glass plate before positive prints were made. In this way, the number would be permanently visible within the positive image. Not only did this ensure that anyone could identify the subject of the photograph by relating it back to the catalogue, it was also a way of identifying the photographic studio and preventing pirate copies being made (**fig. 2-32**).

⁸⁶ Three European firms went on to establish themselves in Lucknow in the nineteenth century: John Edward Saché (1824-1882), G. W. Lawrie, and Fry & Rahn. A fourth business, H. Schulze & Co., appeared only in the last years of the century, from 1895 onwards. Of these, Saché and Lawrie were the most successful, and will be discussed in more detail.

FRITH'S PHOTO-PICTURES.

INDIA.

BOMBAY, ELEPHANTA, ELLORA, AND JUBBALPORE.		BENARES— <i>continued.</i>	
No.		No.	
3001	Bombay—Elphinstone Circle and Cathedral	3033	The Nepaulese Temple
3002	" from Mazagaon Hill	3034	The Rajah Amethi's Temple
3003	" The Port	3035	The Queen's College
3004	" Malabar Hill	3036	Suméree Temple
3005	" The Harbour, from the Fort	3037	" " Carvings on ditto
3006	" The Cotton Green and distant City	3038	Ancient Bhud at Benares
3007	" Cotton Merchant	3039	Sculptured Wall of ditto
3008	" Cotton Shed and Merchants	LUCKNOW.	
3009	" Hackerry, or Native Bullock-cart	3040	The Residency
3010	" Elphinstone Circle and Town Hall	3041	" Banqueting Hall
3011	" Large Water-tank at	3053	" Ruins
3012	" The Governor's Palace	3242	" Cemetery—Monument of Neill, &c.
3013	" Byculla Hotel	3043	The Kaiser Pasund, from the S.E.
3014	" The Caves of Elephanta, Entrance to	3044	" " from the S.W.
3015	" " Eastern Cave	3045	The Kaiser Bagh
3016	" " Linga Chapel in Great Cave	3046	" " N.E. Gate
3017	" Caves of Ellora	3047	" " Western Lakee Gate
3018	" " Northern Excavations	3048	The Lall Baraduree—Throne Room of the Kings of Oude
3019	" Caves of Ellora	3049	The Chutter Munzil Palace
3020	" " "Shiva, the Destroyer"	3050	Tomb at Lucknow
3021	" " "Shiva, the Destroyer"	3051	La Martinière
3022	Jubbulpore—The Marble Rocks	3052	The Shah Najaf—Mausoleum of Gazeed-dun-Hydn
3023	" " Another view	3054	Entrance to the Secundra Bagh
3024	" " " "	3055	The Mosque of Emambara
3025	" " " "	3056	Gateway of the Hooseinabad Bazaar
BENARES.		3057	Garden of Hooseinabad Emambara
3026	The Mosque of Aurungzebe, &c.	3058	Gateway of ditto
3027	The City, from across the Ganges	3059	Tomb of Zana Ali (Wife of Mahomed Ali Shah)
3028	" with Ghats	3060	The Roumi Darwaza in the Fort
3029	The Burning Ghat	CAWNPORE.	
3030	" " " "	3061	The Memorial Well
3031	Temple near the Vishnu Pud	3062	" " Statue by Marochetti
3032	Temple at the Manikarnika Ghat	3063	" " " " full face

Fig. 2-32 Page from *Frith's Photo-Pictures India*, n.d., c.1870-75, p.3. Private collection. The British photographer Francis Frith established a printing and publishing company in Reigate, England, which published his own views of Britain as well as acquiring the work of photographers from across the world. This catalogue, printed in c.1875, lists just under 1500 possible views of India for purchase. The photographer(s) of Frith's India series remains unknown.

For most commercial photographers, the greater part of their income would have come from studio portraiture. Studios were established where there was a reliable source of clients. Lucknow was, at least initially, relatively small while the city was still undergoing restoration and reconstruction, so it is not surprising that there were few resident photographers. For all commercial photographers, it was undoubtedly good business sense to provide a series of Lucknow photographs in their studio catalogue, as the majority of customers whether living in India or visiting tourists would have wished

to include at least one or two views of the Residency and other significant Lucknow locations associated with the Uprising in their souvenir albums.

One of the earliest commercial photographers to be based in the city was the Armenian resident Joseph Johannes, who had been present throughout the Siege of Lucknow. Johannes first appears in the records as ‘painter to the King of Oudh’ in 1855, but by 1863 he had made the transition to photography, for he was being listed as ‘photographer, ice contractor, vakeel, &c.’ Johannes worked in the city until 1870 (in partnership with H. S. Clarke, 1868-69) but unfortunately no photographs have surfaced that can be attributed to him or this partnership.⁸⁷

Commercial photographers who worked Lucknow between 1858 and the 1870s whose work has survived include J. C. A. Dannenberg; the firm Shepherd and Robertson; Samuel Bourne; Edmund David Lyon; John Edward Saché; Frith's Series and G.W. Lawrie.

Dannenberg (d.1905) was present in Lucknow before the Uprising and was one of the first commercial photographers after Beato to commence work.⁸⁸ Dannenberg took a number of photographs of the ruined structures in the city in 1858-59, although judging by the small number of prints that have emerged, it seems that his work was overshadowed by that of Beato, who through exhibitions and word of mouth, was able to reach a bigger audience (**fig. 2-33**).

⁸⁷ The title page of *Ajaibat-i-Farang* [The Wonders of Europe] by Yusuf Khan Kambalposh (Lucknow, 1873) reads: ‘The book was printed at Delhi in 1847 and because its author was a resident of Lucknow and the owner of the printing press having met him and thought highly of this excellent souvenir by an inhabitant of this *subah*, Mr Joseph Johannes, unequalled in good qualities and kindness, and unparalleled in the photographic arts, encouraged it.’ Cited in Llewellyn-Jones 2000, p.99. Johannes may have continued photographing after 1870, although he was not listed in the trade directories after this date.

⁸⁸ A portrait of Dannenberg by Ahmad Ali Khan c.1856 survives in an album in the British Library, Photo 269/2(92). Dannenberg is first listed as a daguerreotype photographer in Benares in 1856.



Fig. 2-33 J.C.A. Dannenberg, *Lucknow, the bridge and tank, in the central courtyard of the Qaiserbagh*, c.1858, reprinted in c.1892, albumen print. The Alkazi Collection, 2001.14.0246(54).

Many years later, in 1892, Dannenberg issued a photograph album for sale with the title *Mutiny Memoirs*, containing a number of his own photographs from 1858-9 interspersed with copy prints of Beato's Lucknow work. The Beato photographs have been copied and poorly edited, usually by the removal of the human figures, leaving marks, scratches and sometimes black scars on the image (**fig. 2-34 & fig. 2-35**).



Fig. 2-34 Felice Beato, *Lucknow, La Martinière college*, 1858, albumen print. The Alkazi Collection, 96.77.0001(9).

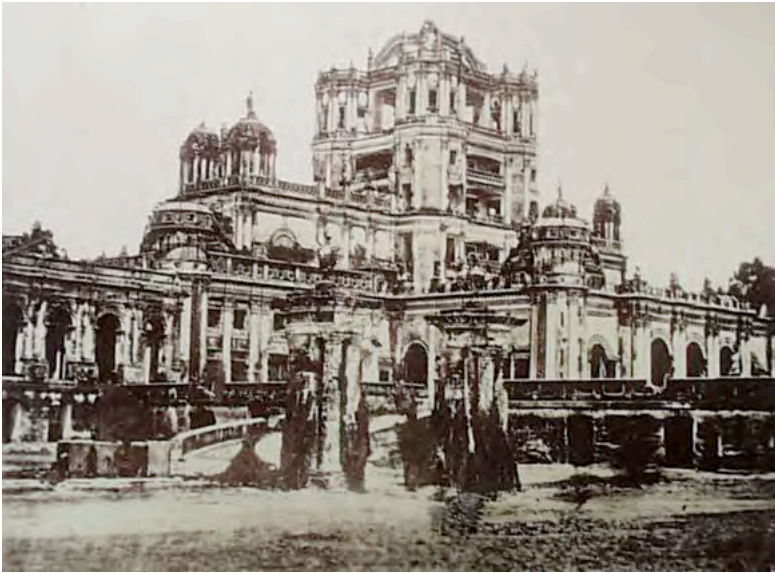


Fig. 2-35 Beato's 1858 photograph of La Martinière as copied and altered by J.C.A. Dannenberg in *Mutiny Memoirs*, 1892, albumen print. The Alkazi Collection, 2001.14.0246(41).

No credit was given to Beato for these images, which Dannenberg tried to pass off as his own. A copy of the album in the British Library is accompanied by a printed leaflet dated 1892, which includes a review reprinted from the Indian newspaper *The Pioneer* as well

as a fulsome description of the sixty-eight photographs.⁸⁹ Dannenberg's negatives are described as having been sent to England thirty years previously and were believed lost until they were rediscovered and returned to Dannenberg in India. The existence of the album and the pamphlet suggest that someone thought that there would still be great interest in photographic images connected to the 1857 Uprising, which is reasonable given that copies of photographs depicting the sites affected were still selling and appearing in souvenir photograph albums. It is possible the 'edited' photographs were seen as too crude to be acceptable, but whatever the reason, the album did not do well and few copies have survived.

Commercial Photographers of the 1860s

Other photographic firms who visited Lucknow included the partnership of Shepherd and Robertson, established in Agra in 1862 before transferring to Simla the following year⁹⁰; Edmund David Lyon (1825-1891), who photographed in Lucknow in 1862-3, and Samuel Bourne (1834-1912), who arrived in Lucknow in December 1864 and remained in the city into early 1865, producing a series of at least eighty-four views.⁹¹ The Shepherd and Robertson views of Lucknow were subsequently incorporated into the Bourne and Shepherd stock, when Charles Shepherd went into partnership with Bourne in 1863 (see **Appendix 3**).

The Shepherd and Robertson views are of interest as they were made at a time when the immediacy of the Uprising was starting to fade, and many of the buildings had already been restored or pulled down, softening slightly the harsh reality of the events. This starts to be reflected in the photographs. In the firm's catalogue, these views are presented in a

⁸⁹ British Library, Photo 254/1.

⁹⁰ The Shepherd and Robertson views of Lucknow were subsequently incorporated into the Bourne and Shepherd stock and given a reference number in the 1866 studio catalogue, from 321 to 357. The views date to 1862-3, which is confirmed by architectural evidence within the photographs. Bourne & Shepherd, 1866.

⁹¹ 84 different views are listed in the 1866 catalogue. The sequences are numbered 1012-1073, 1098-1100 and 1146-1164. There is not always a photograph for every available number. Bourne & Shepherd 1866.

similar order to Beato's photographs, beginning with the Dilkusha *kothi* in the east, moving past the Qaiserbagh and the Chattar Manzil palaces, before reaching the Residency. The sequence then moves on to the Asafi Imambara and then the Husainabad Imambara (**fig.2-36**).

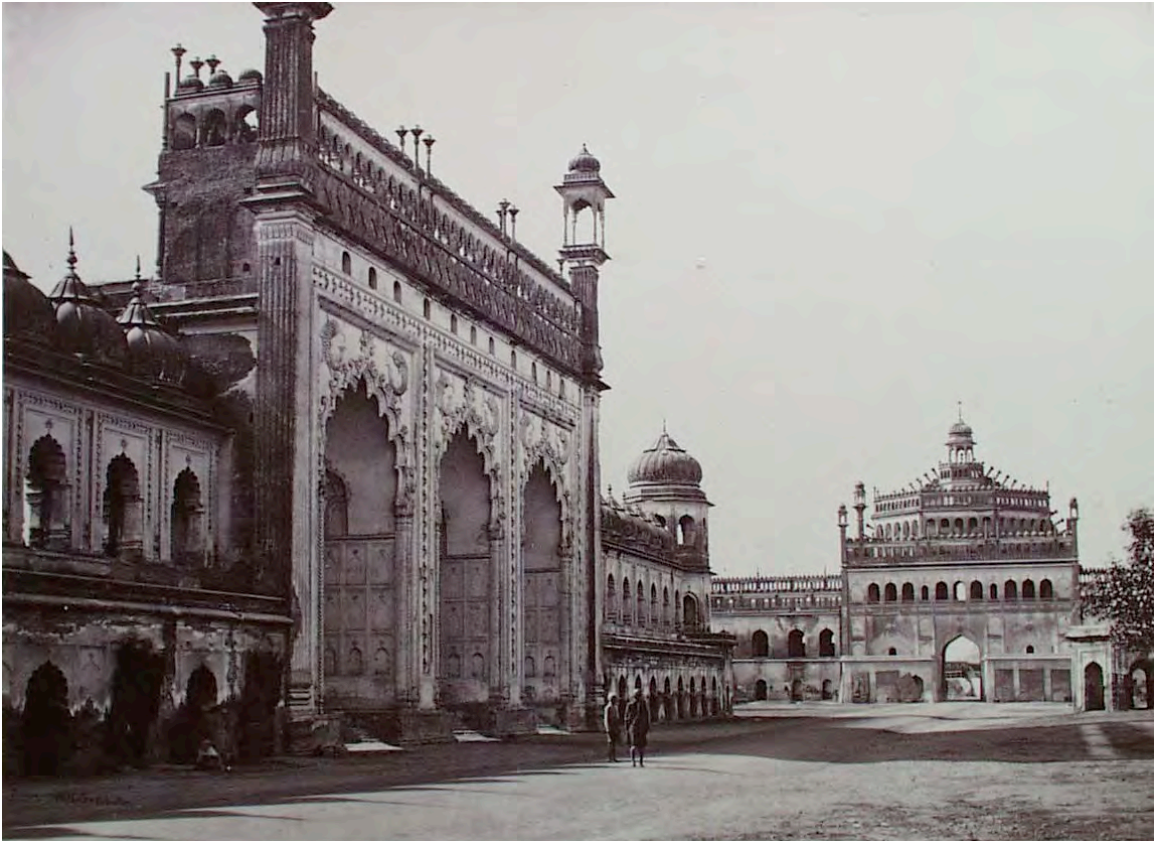


Fig. 2-36 Shepherd and Robertson, *Lucknow, Gateway into the Asafi Imambara and rear of the Rumi Darwaza*, 1862-3, albumen print. The Alkazi Collection, 98.72.0008.

The end of the list consists of a handful of views in an apparently random order, covering sites with colonial associations, including Christ Church and the graves of the British heroes of 1857, Henry Lawrence and Henry Havelock.

Shepherd and Robertson's photographs of Lucknow are larger than most commercial photographs of the time. The size is always 12x15 inches (305x381mm) and, in general, the surviving prints are exceptionally well preserved albumen prints, produced from wet collodion negatives. The photographs are impressive and beautiful, and because of the

technique and the shifting attitudes towards Lucknow, they present the city in a different way to the photographs produced by Beato. The Shepherd and Robertson photographs, simply through their size, give Lucknow a grandeur and monumentality that was lacking in the ruins photographed by Beato. Lucknow is no longer a scarred battle site, but is moving ahead by retaining the glories of the nawabi past alongside the modern city that the British were creating.

The wet collodion process was employed by subsequent commercial photographers. Lyon, who arrived in India from Dublin in *c.* 1862, produced a series of views of Delhi, Agra, Cawnpore and Lucknow in 1863-4.⁹² His views of Lucknow covered the usual sites immediately associated with the conflict, such as the Residency, as well as numerous views of the prominent Islamic buildings such as the Husainabad Imambara and the Qaiserbagh palace. Lyon's photographs are less sophisticated in their composition and appearance in comparison to Shepherd and Robertson. They also link more explicitly to the Uprising. He shows the rubble that has yet to be cleared around the Residency, and the embankments built for protection around the Baillie Guard Gate (**fig.2-37**).

⁹² His work can be dated to 1863-4 from his printed studio catalogue. The final series that is advertised is views of Dharamsala. The catalogue states these were taken at 'the express desire of Lady Elgin'. Lady Elgin was the widow of the Viceroy Lord Elgin who died on 20 November 1863 and was buried in Dharamsala. This places the photographs soon after this event. Lyon n.d.



Fig.2-37 E.D. Lyon, *Lucknow, Baillie Guard Gate*, c.1863, albumen print. The Alkazi Collection, 95.0046(35).

Lyon's view of La Martinière college presents the building as a grand country house, with its reflection in the lake occupying half of the photograph (**fig. 2-38**). When the viewer examines the photograph more closely, it becomes apparent that the figures standing around in the garden are in uniform, and must be the pupils of the school. This is the link to the stories of the Uprising, in which the boys of the college fought for the British and were greatly admired for their bravery. There is also a camera on a tripod at the top of the steps, outside the main entrance (**fig. 2-39**).



Fig. 2-38 E.D. Lyon, *Lucknow, La Martinière*, c.1863, albumen print. The Alkazi Collection, 95.0046(32).



Fig. 2-39 Detail of Lyon's photograph of *La Martinière*. A camera on a tripod is visible to the right of the man.

Lyon's photographs of northern India are relatively unusual in collections today which suggests that his work was not popular with the public or well marketed. His efforts to connect his views so closely to the Uprising might have made his work unsuccessful with an audience who were now looking for something less aggressive and more suggestive of a potentially peaceful future, something which could be found in the work of Samuel Bourne.

Bourne, in his views of Lucknow, continued the approach of Shepherd and Robertson, gradually starting to move away from the realities of the Uprising. He combines photographs of the Residency with a far greater number of views of the nawabi palaces and the Imambaras, as well as including views of the colonial structures: Christ Church, Wingfield Park and Hazratganj, the main commercial street (**fig. 2-40**).



Fig. 2-40 Samuel Bourne, *Lucknow, Hazratganj*, 1864-5, albumen print. The Alkazi Collection, 95.0027(14).

Bourne may have arrived in Lucknow with the intention to coincide with the Oudh Industrial Exhibition, which was held from 24 December 1864 to 2 January 1865.⁹³ He made a number of views of the park in which the exhibition was held, and these were later sent to London to the *Illustrated London News* where an example was reproduced (fig. 2-41).



Fig. 2-41 'The Oudh Industrial Exhibition at Lucknow', in *Illustrated London News*, Supplement, 4 March 1865, p.213, after a photograph by Bourne, taken between 24 December 1864 and 2 January 1865. The ILN credits the illustration to 'Messrs. Howard, Shepherd, and Bourne'. The Chattar Manzil palace is in the background, to the left.

The exhibition was part of a series of industrial exhibitions organised both in Britain and cities throughout the empire, display everything from agricultural machinery to glass chandeliers, which began with the Great Exhibition of 1851 in London. There had been

⁹³ The Oudh Exhibition had four main classes for exhibitors: live stock; machinery; agricultural produce and raw material, and arts and manufactures (*Allen's Indian Mail*, 23 February 1865, p.135). The *Illustrated London News* stated that machinery and the fine arts were not well represented, but that decorative arts were present in large numbers, including 'Oudh silks' and 'gold ornamented cloths' from Lucknow (ILN, Supplement, 4 March 1865, p.213).

similar industrial exhibitions in cities across India in the mid-1860s. The display in Lucknow offered the audience (anyone who could afford the one or two *anna* entrance fees) the chance to be impressed at the industrial progress of British India. It was part of the process of shaping Lucknow into a modern city and it was also a conscious effort to heal old wounds. The organizing committee involved British residents and elite members of the Hindu and Muslim communities of Lucknow.⁹⁴ The exhibition is indicative of the attempt to look forward to Lucknow's future rather than concentrating solely on the past and it illustrates the context within which the commercial photographers were working.

John Edward Saché and G.W. Lawrie

John Edward Saché began making views in the city as early as 1866 although he is only listed in the directories as being present in Lucknow between 1879-1882.⁹⁵ His movements can be more clearly determined from newspaper advertisements in *The Pioneer*, which announced the arrival and departure of photographers from towns, movements that usually coincided with seasonal changes. The winter season would be spent in the plains, in towns and cities; the hot season would be spent in a hill station, catering to the British clientele many of whom would be present only for a few months. From architectural evidence in the photographs, it is possible to confirm a date of 1865-68 for the earliest Lucknow views by Saché (**fig. 2-42**).⁹⁶

⁹⁴ The names on the provisional committee who met on 2 March 1864 included "Col Barrow, Col. Paton, Major Reid, Major Aikens VCW Lang, Capt. Bernterton [sic] Dr Bonavia, Baboo Dukhinarunjun Mookherjee, Aga Ally Khan, Darogah Wajid Ally." The National Archives, New Delhi, Home Public Consultations B 29 July 1864. Nos. 163-164.

⁹⁵ From 1867, Saché had his principal establishment in Nainital. The earliest confirmation of a studio in Lucknow is, however, not until 1871 in *The Pioneer*: 'J. Sache [sic], Photographer, ...will open also at Lucknow, January 1871, for one month only', 24 December 1870. Much of my research on Saché, particularly the dating of certain photographs, was presented in an exhibition of his work at Sepia International Inc., New York, from 22 November 2002 to 11 January 2003. Saché's life and works are also covered in Roy 2004.

⁹⁶ Saché's view of the northern end of the Qaiserbagh courtyard (Saché's reference number 162; ACP 94.87.0014), shows a gateway that does not appear in other 1865 photographs but another view from this same sequence contains architectural evidence that indicates the photograph could not have been made after 1868, thus dating this first Lucknow series to between 1865 and 1868.

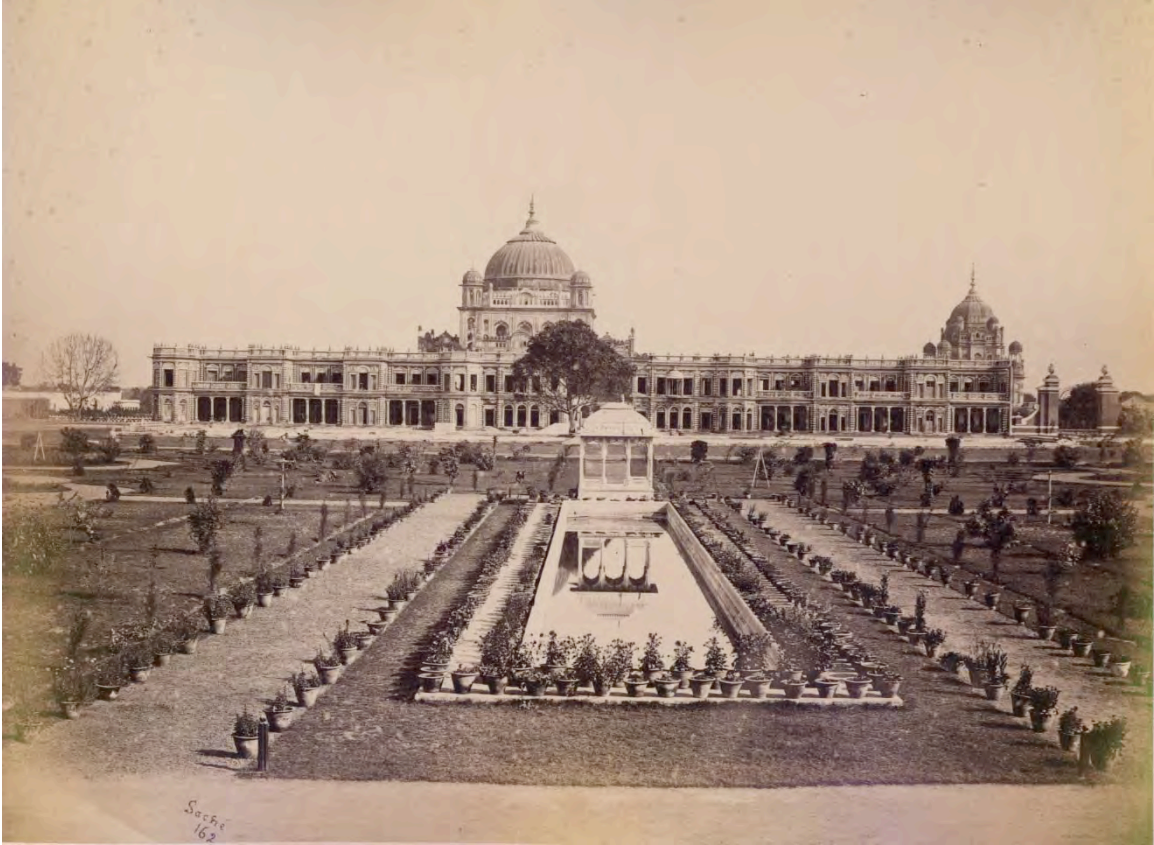


Fig. 2-42 J.E. Saché, *Lucknow, Northern end of the central courtyard of the Qaiserbagh*, 1865-8, albumen print. Signed and numbered, 'Saché 162'. The Alkazi Collection, 94.87.0014. The newly constructed gateway can be seen on the far right of the photograph.

The newspaper adverts in *The Pioneer* newspaper also provide useful dates for Saché's new work. Each new series of views would be advertised shortly after it was completed, a practice that was common to other photographic studios as well. A Lucknow series of photographs was advertised in January 1869, which supposes a date of 1868 at the latest: 'J.H. Clarke & Co., Agents for the sale of J. Saché's views of Calcutta, Benares, Mirzapore, Cawnpore, Lucknow, Agra, Futtehpoore Sikri, Nynee Tal, Bheem Tal &c. Size 12 x 10. Price Rs. 2-8 each. Will be published shortly a complete series of the route from Allahabad via Jubbulpore to Bombay; also a series of Bombay, &c. &c.'⁹⁷

⁹⁷ *The Pioneer*, Monday, 4 January 1869. In April 1869, a further series was advertised: 'a new series of Views of Bombay, Bassein, the Caves of Elephanta, Ellora and Adjunta; Dowlutabad, Aurungabad ... the Marble Rocks at Jubbulpore, Mussoorie, Almorah, Bhem Tal and Bareilly, for sale'.

By 1871, Saché was confident enough to open a permanent studio in Lucknow; he had already established premises in Nainital in 1869. In 1880 Saché went into partnership with G.W. Lawrie.⁹⁸ This was only a short-lived business, however, probably ended by the death of Saché in early 1882.

Saché's Lucknow photographs were numbered in the negative between 150 and 200. There was also an additional Lucknow series, which can be identified with the letter 'a' prefixing the number, e.g. 'a-1', which was taken slightly later. In total, there are about 49 Lucknow views identified to date.⁹⁹ Saché's views concentrate on sites associated with the Uprising, but are more contemplative and peaceful in comparison to those of almost ten years earlier. Several of the photographs show the graves of the British officers and other memorials to those who died in the fighting, many of which were constructed in the 1860s (**fig. 2-43**).



Fig. 2-43 J.E. Saché, *Lucknow, Graves in the Residency cemetery, c.1867*, albumen print. The Alkazi Collection, 99.23.0004(20).

⁹⁸ 'J. Saché and G. W. Lawrie, Photographers, Naini Tal and Lucknow, having entered into Partnership, beg to inform the Public that their Studio at Naini Tal is open for the season.' *The Pioneer*, 3 May 1880.

⁹⁹ Roy 2004, pp.204-209. The sequence using the letter 'a' appears to show colonial structures such as Wingfield Park; Christ Church, and the rebuilt Hazratganj.

The city has been tidied and restored, the gardens and parks have grown back, and Saché's seeks out the Picturesque in his compositions, often adopting a more distant standpoint of many of his views (**fig. 2-44**).



Fig. 2-44 J.E. Saché, *Lucknow, View of La Martinière and column*, c.1867, albumen print. The Alkazi Collection, 94.87.0026.

The introduction of a single, lonely figure in the landscape provides a counterpoint to the column in the lake, and it introduces a contemplative element. The city is evidently peaceful again, under British control, and the Picturesque reasserts itself as a consequence. With the distance of time, the photographs have become less about the realities of war depicted by Beato, and more about the memory of the events and sustaining the story of the Uprising from a British and European perspective. As more commercial photographers arrived in the city, they continued this approach to Lucknow (**fig. 2-45**).



Fig. 2-45 Frith's Series, *Lucknow, La Martinière*, c.1875, albumen print. The Alkazi Collection, 96.36.0009. This is negative number 3051, as listed in the Frith's Series catalogue (fig. 2-32).

Towards the end of February 1882, an advertisement appeared announcing Lawrie's newly independent status, and referring to the death of Saché: 'Mr. G.W. Lawrie, (late partner with the late John Saché), will open a studio in person at Naini Tal (about the middle of April) replete with all the best appliances and skill for the production of high class work. Regent House, Umballa, dated 9th February 1882.'¹⁰⁰

Lawrie & Co. was to become one of the leading north Indian photographic firms of the late nineteenth century, covering most of northern India in a series of topographical and architectural photographs, as well as publishing guides, postcards and supplying

¹⁰⁰ *The Pioneer*, 27 February 1882. Saché's third wife Amelia had died on 25 January 1882. Three of Saché's sons took up photography: Alfred (by his first wife); Alfred John and Edward (both by his second wife).

photographic equipment including cameras.¹⁰¹ By 1901, there were studios in Lucknow, Nainital, Bareilly and Ranikhet. The firm produced a significant series of views on Lucknow itself and many examples from this series can be found today in the photographs acquired by Viceroy Lord Curzon, who visited Lucknow in December 1899.¹⁰² Most of the photographs in the albums are from Lawrie's commercial stock - they were not necessarily produced at the time of the Curzons' visit (**fig. 2-46**).



Fig. 2-46 G.W. Lawrie & Co., *Lucknow, the Bara Chattar Manzil from the River Gomti*, 1890s, gelatin silver print. The British Library, Photo 752/15(37).

Lawrie's views are very similar to those taken by Saché. He concentrates on the sites associated with the Uprising, but frames the buildings within a Picturesque composition. The peace and tranquillity of the city - in this example, represented by the boat floating slowly along the river - pervade his views of Lucknow. Lawrie also photographs the

¹⁰¹ Several pages of advertisements for Lawrie & Co.'s various services are found in Lawrie & Co. *Lucknow The Garden of India*. Lucknow, n.d., pp.73-83.

¹⁰² British Library, Photo 430/50 and Photo 430/51. Curzon was appointed Viceroy of India in January 1899 and held the post until August 1905.

colonial city and the river from other perspectives, none of which are connected with the Uprising (**fig. 2-47**). The city of Lucknow, although never completely detached from its association with the Uprising, had by the late nineteenth century established itself as a successful colonial, administrative centre and photographs from the 1890s confirm this.¹⁰³



Fig.2-47 G.W. Lawrie, *Lucknow, Wingfield Park*, 1890s, gelatin silver print. The British Library, Photo 752/15(43). The late Mughal pavilion, or *barahdari*, seen here was removed from the Qaisarbagh after the Uprising, and placed in the park.

In one of the Curzon albums, the first and the last photographs in the sequence were taken during Curzon's 1899 visit. These two images, situated at either end of the album, provide the context in which the other views are to be read. The first photograph, titled 'Bailey Guard Pensioners', shows a group of older men, all of them veterans of the 1857 Uprising. This photograph indicates that the following twenty-five architectural views are

¹⁰³ This transformation was a deliberate policy, dating to immediately after the Uprising when British engineers began the process of clearing streets, buildings, and other ruins in order to create a city with wide streets, open parks and maidans, for both security and cleanliness. See Oldenburg 1984.

to be considered within the context of the Uprising, even though many of them seem apparently distanced from the conflict, both in time and in subject matter.

As might be expected, the largest concentration of views in the album is of the Residency complex. Following this is an assortment of architectural views that show buildings associated with the events of the Uprising. The sequence of the Lawrie views is almost the exact opposite to that presented by Beato's photographs. The narrative takes the viewer from the Residency (in the west of the city) back towards the east, ending with views of La Martinière and then three views of the restored Government House, formerly known as Banks' House. The final photograph is a group portrait of various officials with Lord and Lady Curzon seated in the centre of the group, dated 14 December 1899,¹⁰⁴ which provides the necessary evidence linking the Curzons' visit to the monuments. It was important for Lord Curzon to be seen visiting Lucknow so early in his viceroyalty - the visit is in the nature of a pilgrimage to the sacred sites of Empire, intended to reassure that the new administration would not be forgetting the heroic deeds of the past.

Indian studios in Lucknow

Not mentioned in the colonial directories or the newspapers are the Indian studios that operated in Lucknow. The names of two photographers can be found in P.C. Mookherji's sympathetic account of the arts of Lucknow: the brothers Mushkooor-ud-dowlah and Asgar Jan. After writing about Ahmad Ali Khan, Mookherji continues: 'after him, Mushkooor-ud-dowlah was the famous photographer of Lucknow and Oudh. His figures and views are excellent. He had an evenness of tone which common photographers cannot attain. ... He died a rich man.'¹⁰⁵

Mushkooor-ud-dowlah was a commercial studio photographer who relied on portraiture for his business.¹⁰⁶ He also produced a number of architectural and topographical views of Lucknow, apparently working with his brother (**fig. 2-48**).

¹⁰⁴ British Library, Photo 430/50(27).

¹⁰⁵ Mookherji 1883, p.183.

¹⁰⁶ Some of the portraits are pasted onto cards, which provide details of the photographic studio. See albums in the Alkazi Collection: ACP 97.23.0001-41 and D2005.54.0001.



Fig. 2-48 Mushkooor-ud-dowlah and Asgar Jan, *Lucknow, Pavilions in the River Gomti, by the Dilaram kothi*, 1860s, albumen print. The Alkazi Collection, 94.43.0051. An ink stamp on the verso contains the names of both photographers.

Some examples also survive in an album in the Lucknow State Museum, including views of the Iron Bridge; the Asafi Masjid; the Farhad Baksh, and the Qaiser Bagh, all dated 1866-7.¹⁰⁷ Since Mushkooor-ud-dowlah was evidently dead in 1883 when Mookherji's book was published, the listing in O'Rourke and Hayward's trade directory for 1895 for 'Mushkurud Doulah' is probably a relative who continued to operate the business under the same name. It seems likely that there was a long-lasting firm working in Lucknow under this name between the 1860s and 1890s, but that the work was rarely purchased by Europeans and consequently is rarely found in collections today. Although the firm evidently produced topographical and architectural views that held a potential connection

¹⁰⁷ Lucknow State Museum, A2-36A, album 1. The photographer is identified as 'Mashkur ud daulah'.

to the Uprising, the main part of their business would most probably have been portraiture for the local inhabitants of Lucknow.

These commercial photographs, whether they were taken by resident photographers such as Saché and Lawrie, or by visiting photographers, such as Shepherd and Robertson or Samuel Bourne, were intended for a different audience compared to those who purchased Beato's photographs. Beato's audience were viewing photographs taken to convey information about the recent conflict and to evoke in the viewer a set of emotions connected with the British loss and heroism. Beato needed his photographs to be as immediate as possible, with ruined buildings, scars from shellfire and even dead bodies. The audience for the commercial photographs of the 1860s and later was not looking for war photographs; they wanted photographs to remember the conflict, but at the same time, the photographs needed to show them the results of the British success in Lucknow, as the city was reconstructed and prospered throughout the remaining decades of the nineteenth century. The scenes were of restored buildings, tidy streets and picturesque parks.

Occasionally photographs surface that do not appear to fit in with this approach to the city. There are two unusual views listed in Bourne and Shepherd catalogue: #351 'The Purana Karbala' [the old karbala] and #352 'The Karbala Mulka Jeehan' [Malka Jahan karbala]. It has not been possible to locate prints that fit either of these titles, indicating that the views were not in very high demand in the nineteenth century. It is surprising that the photographer working for the Shepherd and Robertson partnership thought it worthwhile to include two views of karbalas, neither of which were associated with the Uprising, at least in the imagination of the British. The 'Purana Karbala' almost certainly refers to the Talkatora Karbala, which having been built c.1800 was, and still is, the oldest karbala in Lucknow.¹⁰⁸ There are two buildings with the name Malka Jahan (the name of the wife of Nawab Muhammad Ali): both are situated in Aishbagh, to the south of Lucknow.¹⁰⁹ Neither has any Uprising connections.

¹⁰⁸ Rosie Llewellyn-Jones, personal communication, 20 September 2005.

¹⁰⁹ Tandan 2001, p.234-235.

The making of these images does indicate, however, that Lucknow was still, in some small way, being recognised as a religious city, with Islamic associations. This hints at an understanding of the city that is also found in the work of Abbas Ali, the final photographer whose work will be examined here.

Darogha Haji Abbas Ali

Working approximately fifteen years after Ahmad Ali Khan, Abbas Ali began photographing the buildings of Lucknow while employed as an engineer in the Municipal Office in Lucknow.¹¹⁰ His photographs were first published in a book of fifty plates titled *The Lucknow Album containing a series of Fifty Photographic Views of Lucknow and its Environs* (Calcutta, 1874). From internal evidence within the photographs, however, it is possible to state that he was photographing in Lucknow as early as the late 1860s. Plate 5 of the Dilkusha *kothi* shows a building more or less intact, but when compared with the c.1870 photograph by Saché of the same structure we see a building in ruins, indicating that Abbas Ali's photograph was taken earlier (**fig. 2-49 and 2-50**).

¹¹⁰ Like *chhote miyan*, Abbas Ali endures several different spellings of his name, with various titles. In the nineteenth century, Ubbas Alli was often used. *Darogha* indicates that he was a superintendent, although whether of a specific institution/complex is not clear. *Haji* is a courtesy title given to those Muslims who successfully complete the pilgrimage to Mecca in Saudi Arabia.



Fig. 2-49 Abbas Ali, *Lucknow, Dilkusha kothi*, 1860s, albumen print. The British Library, Photo 988/(5). Published in *The Lucknow Album* (1874), plate 5.



Fig. 2-50 J.E. Saché, *Lucknow, Dilkusha kothi*, c.1869-70, albumen print. Signed and numbered in the negative, 'Saché 198'. The Alkazi Collection, 97.87.0012.

The Lucknow Album contains fifty albumen prints, pasted in and accompanied by descriptive text, also written by Abbas Ali. The book concerns itself almost entirely with sites associated with the 1857 Uprising, although following his engineering inclinations, Abbas Ali also includes a number of photographs of bridges.¹¹¹ The introduction clarifies

¹¹¹ Not just bridges associated with the Uprising: he includes a photograph of Bruce's Bridge, constructed in 1866 (plate 29 in Abbas Ali 1874a).

the purpose of the book, stating hopefully that it intends to fulfil the role of a guidebook for the large number of visitors now coming to the city. Abbas Ali goes on to address himself directly to those affected by the Uprising: 'this work will not prove an intellectual treat alone ... this Album will bear a sacred interest, and many a tear will fall at the contemplation of some well-remembered spot, over which a sort of holy radiance will appear to linger as the book is sorrowfully closed.'¹¹² This language with its strong religious overtones is designed to appeal directly to the British audience who are being encouraged to consider Lucknow as a sacred site, and their visit consequently as a pilgrimage.

The sequence of the photographs follows a now familiar route.¹¹³ The first images are of the Alambagh, the country house at the eastern edge of the city, and burial site of General Havelock. Following the order of the book, the viewer moves through the city in a westerly direction, along the principal streets, past the Qaiserbagh and the Asafi Imambara, through the older parts of the city and ending finally at the Husainabad Imambara, retracing the route of the British troops in March 1858. The text in the book encourages the visitor to pause for reflection at various points, an activity that could almost be compared with the 'stations of the cross' progress enacted by Christians in Jerusalem, intended to commemorate the route taken by Jesus before the crucifixion. Such a comparison is not at all hyperbolic; the metaphors that are employed in the text indicate that Christian, as well as sometimes Classical, associations are evoked. For example, the Generals Outram and Havelock are described as having drunk 'a draught of immortality' from 'the Divine Stream'.¹¹⁴ Shortly afterwards, a book recounting the Uprising is likened to Homer's epic account of the Battle of Troy.

Into this landscape of Christian mourning, a group of three photographs have quietly appeared, recalling the earlier Islamic associations in the city. The final three images in

¹¹² Abbas Ali 1874a, p.2.

¹¹³ The complete list of plates is reproduced in Sharma 1983, p.68.

¹¹⁴ Abbas Ali 1874a, p.35.

the book show Shi'ite buildings: the mosque known as Dargah Hazrat Abbas [the shrine of Hazrat Abbas] (**fig. 2-51**), the Kazmain karbala, and the Talkatora karbala.¹¹⁵



Fig. 2-51 Abbas Ali, *Lucknow, the shrine of Hazrat Abbas*, c.1870, albumen print. The British Library, Photo 988/(48). Published in *The Lucknow Album* (1874), plate 48.

The placement of these images at the end of the book breaks the east-west progression of the British tourist, their sudden appearance highlighting the previous bias of the publication. As with the Talkatora karbala, which was previously encountered on the list of Shepherd and Robertson photographs, these important Shi'a monuments have no connections with the Uprising (**fig. 2-52**). The presence of these photographs in Abbas Ali's book suggests that, underlying his presentation of the route for British 'pilgrims', he possessed a different conceptual map of the city that drew its form and content from

¹¹⁵ The *dargah* or shrine is devoted to Hazrat Abbas, the brother of Husain and commander of the army that fought at the battle of Karbala in 680AD. The shrine was probably endowed by Nawab Asaf ud daula in the late eighteenth century. It was supported by all subsequent nawabs of Lucknow. It is said by the keepers of the shrine that Wajid Ali Shah left his crown and sword here for safekeeping, prior to leaving for Calcutta in 1856.

Islamic associations. This vision of the city shares the approach of Ahmad Ali Khan, and looks back to the pre-photographic period when Lucknow's public spaces were described in religious terms, linked to the Mohurram processions.

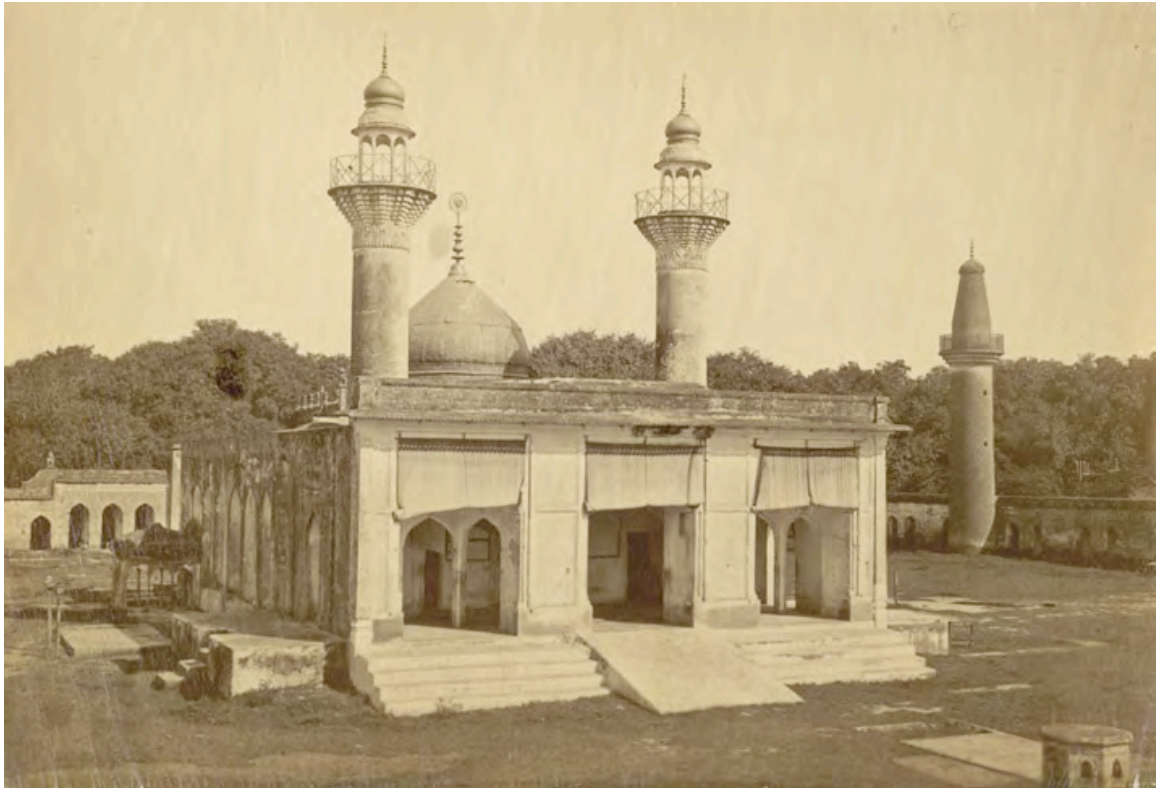


Fig. 2-52 Abbas Ali, *Lucknow, Talkatora karbala*, c.1870, albumen print. The British Library, Photo 988/(50). Published in *The Lucknow Album* (1874), plate 50.

It has been suggested that the British colonial administration in India had difficulties in absorbing Mohurram as a ceremonial activity due to the extreme emotions it evoked, and the tension and conflict that arose when the procession passed through different communal areas.¹¹⁶ Textual descriptions cited by Brown, and later photographic depictions of Mohurram processions in other cities such as Bombay, Baroda and Hyderabad, demonstrate that (as the British perceived it) the defining characteristics of Mohurram were large, excitable and unstable crowds.¹¹⁷ Recreating Lucknow as a sacred

¹¹⁶ Brown 2003.

¹¹⁷ Photographs of Mohurram processions exist, although they are not common, but they were hardly ever made in Lucknow. This may be because the British prevented large gatherings in Lucknow for some time, or that photographs depicting the procession in Lucknow were simply unwelcome.

city with 'radiant' sites for quiet contemplation may have successfully reassured the British that Lucknow was now a controlled, orderly and, above all, safe city.

As a postscript to this section, it is helpful to look at another publication by Abbas Ali, although not one that is architectural in subject matter. His volume *The Beauties of Lucknow* (Calcutta, 1874) containing twenty-four portraits of women, with descriptive text, differs to *The Lucknow Album* in that it was intended for a predominantly Indian clientele (**fig. 2-53**).¹¹⁸



Fig. 2-53 Abbas Ali, *portrait of a woman*, early 1870s, albumen print, from *The Beauties of Lucknow* (1874). The Alkazi Collection, 2000.17.0002.1-21.

Copies of the book rarely appear in the Western market, although in India copies can be located in private hands. The book, which exists in two editions, one in English and one in Urdu, contains a preface in which it is stated that the patrons of the volume are 'the

¹¹⁸ The title page of the book has no given author, but it is attributed to Abbas Ali by P. C. Mookherji 1883, p.183. *The Lucknow Album* was intended for a British audience. Abbas Ali refers to 'our troops' throughout when discussing the movements of the British forces.

nobility and gentry of Oudh'.¹¹⁹ The photographs show women in a variety of costume, some with fairy wings as if dressed for a theatrical production (**fig. 2-54**).



Fig. 2-54 Abbas Ali, *Portrait of a player in the 'Indar Sabha'*, c.1874, albumen print. From *The Beauties of Lucknow* (1874). The Alkazi Collection, 2000.17.0002.1-26.

In fact, as the preface states in both editions, many of these singers, dancers and actresses were involved in productions of the *Indar Sabha*, a dramatic production popularly attributed to the Lucknow-based poet Amanat Ali, dating to 1853. The *Indar Sabha* incorporated many of the different musical, literary and dramatic styles that were current at the Awadhi court under Wajid Ali Shah.¹²⁰ While the actual origins of the *Indar Sabha* have been debated over the years, what remained important in performances post-1857 was that the audience 'believed they were beholding a direct link to the Awadh court and

¹¹⁹ Although it is difficult to locate complete copies, there is a copy of the English edition in the Victoria and Albert Museum (P43) and an Urdu edition (disbound) can be found in the Alkazi Collection (ACP 2000.17.0002.1).

¹²⁰ The origins of the *Indar Sabha* in Lucknow, its popularity and its influence on later Indian theatre is discussed in Hansen 2001. Other singers and dancers mentioned in the preface include a troupe of Domnis, and a group of wine-servers.

its sumptuous ambience.¹²¹ Productions of the play were popular in late nineteenth-century Lucknow. In the case of the photographs, the images were intended to function as glimpses of the now-extinct Awadhi court, once famed for its extravagance. It has also been traditional to read into the *Indar Sabha* direct connections between the story and the court of Wajid Ali Shah. The plot unfolds at the court of King Indra - or the Nawab - who is surrounded by fairies - or the *zenana* women - and so on. It is said that Wajid Ali Shah enacted the role of King Indra and sat on stage as the drama occurred, drawing the audience across the boundary between reality and imagination.

While the Nawab was, on the strength of the *Indar Sabha*, regarded by Lucknow citizens as a great patron of the arts (and still holds this reputation today), in the eyes of the British this very same production contributed to his downfall. As the British witnessed the ruler dressed up and surrounded by dancing fairies, they saw only a weak and ineffective king. In producing such photographs, Abbas Ali is appealing to the minds of the Lucknow gentry who would understand what it was that the images represented. The existence of the images indicates the divide that existed in conceptualising Lucknow, as has been suggested by this study of the architectural views. Today, writers who have attempted to demonstrate the existence of a very literal 'colonial' or 'orientalist' gaze, have misunderstood Abbas Ali's portraits, believing a manipulative Englishman must have made the portraits.¹²² When accepted as an Indian publication for an Indian audience, the photographs begin to evoke a melancholy and longing, as they seek to recapture a 'Lucknow immemorable for the Oriental magnificence of the entertainment' of the pre-1857 court.¹²³ The volume is highly suggestive of how an Indian audience may have read the architectural photographs of the city, looking back to the past glories, before the Uprising altered the landscape of the city forever.

¹²¹ Hansen 2001, p.82.

¹²² Altaf 2000, p.79.

¹²³ Abbas Ali 1874b, preface.

CHAPTER 3 CASE STUDY

VIJAYANAGARA: THE DOCUMENTATION OF INDIAN ARCHITECTURE

Destruction is stalking over the land; and unless something is done, and done quickly, to perpetuate by representation the forms of those beautiful buildings, it may be too late, and their memory pass away for ever.¹

James Fergusson, 1869

Vijayanagara is today a UNESCO World Heritage Site in the state of Karnataka, one of India's most visited tourist sites as well as an active pilgrimage site for Hindus. Situated in rocky, boulder-strewn landscape a long train journey north of the city of Bangalore, it was once the capital city of one of India's largest empires, a Hindu kingdom that grew, flourished and disappeared within a three-hundred-year span between the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries.²

Over the past three hundred years, a history has been pieced together that places the city of Vijayanagara at the centre of an empire, which emerged in the fourteenth century after the Sultan of Delhi recalled his armies back to the north from Madurai in 1334.³ This left a power vacuum in southern India into which the five powerful Sangama brothers moved to take control. A capital city was established at Vijayanagara, a site that already had strong religious associations. Before the empire was founded, there was a thriving tradition of worship towards a local goddess known as Pampa, who was the consort of Virupaksha, the local name for Siva. Stories from the *Ramayana* were (and still are) linked to the physical landscape into which the city grew. This allowed the rulers of the new empire to combine their imperial identity with a strong religious identity, which

¹ Fergusson 1869, p.24.

² The disappearance of the empire is usually dated to the death of Sriranga III, c.1672, although the major defeat of the kingdom occurred in 1565.

³ The early history of Vijayanagara is discussed in Stein 1993, pp.13-30.

helped them to consolidate their rule through ceremony and ritual.⁴ At the height of the kingdom's power, Europeans (particularly Portuguese traders who were based in Goa) visited the city and descriptions from this time have survived, giving us the first Western perspectives on life in the city.⁵

The kingdom grew rapidly, and at its peak, it incorporated possibly up to 25 million people covering a geographical area of 360,000 km².⁶ Towards the end of the fifteenth century, pressure was felt from Islamic kingdoms to the north and from the Europeans, whose presence in the Vijayanagar kingdom began with the arrival of the Portuguese from Goa in 1498. In the early sixteenth century, the Vijayanagar king secured his southern territory by appointing governors (*nayakas*) at Gingee, Madurai and Tanjore before turning his attention to the north. Conflict with the different Deccani kingdoms followed, and after repeated incursions by the Vijayanagar troops, the Deccani armies united against their common enemy so that in 1565 the kingdom was comprehensively defeated. The capital city was occupied for six months and during that time was thoroughly sacked. What remained of the empire shifted to Penukonda under the leadership of Tirumala.⁷ Other dynasties claiming descent from the Vijayanagar line established themselves elsewhere in the south.

After the fall of the empire, the governors emerged as local powers in their own right. The Vijayanagar empire slowly vanished, whilst shifting its centre from Penukonda to

⁴ Stein describes Vijayanagara as a 'regal-ritual centre and an administrative centre and a commercial centre' (Stein 1993, p.38). He also debates the nature of the kingdom and its ruler, proposing that the kingdom was not run by one absolute ruler, but instead the king was the symbolic head of a 'segmentary state' - a collection of smaller chiefdoms.

⁵ These accounts are covered systematically by Joan-Pau Rubies, in Rubies 2000, pp.20-28. The earliest European description of the city is by Nicolò de Conti, written in 1437. Two of the most substantial accounts were written by Portuguese horse traders in the early sixteenth century: Domingos Paes in 1520-1 and Fernão Nunes in 1531. Translations of these two accounts were published in Sewell 1900 and are discussed in Rubies 2000, pp.223-250 and throughout the book. Rubies discusses how Europeans made sense of what they saw and how they interpreted what they saw in their writings. He deals only with accounts that were written while the city was thriving, rather than with European accounts of the ruined, post-conquest city. One of the later accounts dealt with is that of the missionary Antonio Rubino who wrote an account in 1608 (Rubies 2007).

⁶ Mack 2010, p.43.

⁷ Stein states that other sources claim Tirumala led the defeated army to Tirupati initially, before establishing a court in Penukonda, after a failed attempt to return to Vijayanagara. Stein 1993, p.120.

Chandragiri and finally Vellore. During the late sixteenth and first half of the seventeenth centuries, there was a great deal of instability in the region, as invasions from the north and from the Marathas in the west continued. Various dynasties emerged including the nawabdom of Arcot in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, followed by the kingdom of Mysore under Haidar Ali and his son Tipu Sultan. At the same time, the British and French were engaged in a power struggle in south India that ended with the British victory at the Fourth Mysore War in 1799 and the death of Tipu Sultan at Srirangapatnam.

In the early nineteenth century, scholars and travellers started visiting the unoccupied ruins and began a process of documentation, research and interpretation of the site and its structures that still continues today. One of the Vijayanagaran kingdom's greatest contributions to Indian culture was its architectural style and this was recognized by James Fergusson in the 1860s, once he discovered the buildings through photographs of the monuments.⁸ Fergusson was one of the few architectural historians to write about the site until the late 1890s when archaeological investigations began under the Archaeological Survey, led by Robert Sewell and Alexander Rea.⁹ From this point, research into the kingdom was to continue more or less up to the present day without interruption.¹⁰

This chapter examines the work of photographers who documented Vijayanagara from the 1850s until the early 1900s. Starting with Alexander Greenlaw, a British military officer who was the first photographer to arrive at the site in 1855, a succession of

⁸ According to Stein, 'it is difficult to identify the ways in which Vijayanagara *as a state* made a difference. It is perhaps strange ... that one way in which Vijayanagara influence may be seen to have mattered was in changes of architectural styles of temples'. Stein 1993, p.110. The architectural historian George Michell has done most to identify these styles and the apparent break with the architectural traditions of earlier southern dynasties.

⁹ Rea 1891. Rea was responsible for giving many of the buildings the 'incorrect' names by which they are known today, e.g. the 'Lotus Mahal'.

¹⁰ See Stein 1993, pp.4-12 for a historiographical survey of Vijayanagaran scholarship, concentrating on historians. Architectural historians and archaeologists have played a particularly important role since the 1980s, following the establishment of the Vijayanagara Research Project team in 1980 under the direction of George Michell and John Fritz. Between 1980 and 1999, the team produced a number of monographs on the site, principally Sinopoli 1993; Dallapiccola 1992; Michell 1992; Verghese 1995; Davison-Jenkins 1997; Dallapiccola 1998; Tobert 2000; Michell 2001; Kotraiah 2003, and Fritz 2005.

photographers encompassing the official, the commercial and the amateur visited the ruins. At the same time, historians were uncovering a history of southern India that incorporated the rise and fall of the Vijayanagaran kingdom, and James Fergusson was placing Vijayanagaran monuments into an appropriate place in the hierarchy of Indian architectural styles, aided by photographic documentation. Consequently, a survey of the photographic work produced at Vijayanagara raises questions about the place of Vijayanagara within architectural history, particularly over the perceived importance of the site in the nineteenth century compared with more recent scholarship. To answer this, we need to examine more fully the role played by James Fergusson and his relationship to photography in India, looking at his use of photographs in his own scholarly work; his curating of exhibitions of architectural photography, and the role he played in directing the documentation of Indian architecture.

The photographs themselves also raise questions about the changing technical processes of photography and the different resulting visual languages. The move from the paper negative process to the wet collodion process and the subsequent role of the commercial photographer are particularly important in this respect. This will introduce a consideration of official surveying methods and the documentation of architecture, set against the aesthetic requirements of the artists and the different audiences. It also encourages a comparison between the work of photographers and other types of visual media to see if a particularly photographic visual language can be identified.

Alexander Greenlaw (1818-1870)

The history of photography at Vijayanagara opens with perhaps the most remarkable figure of all, Alexander Greenlaw.¹¹ Stationed at the British cantonment in the nearby town of Bellary from 1853, Greenlaw took the opportunity to visit the relatively unknown ruins he found at Vijayanagara. During the mid-1850s, he made over one hundred paper

¹¹ Two publications have presented the work of Alexander Greenlaw: Rao 1988 and Michell 2008. The photographs in both books are used primarily to illustrate the site and provide a history of the buildings. See also Fritz 1989.

negatives while working at the site. Most can be dated with certainty to 1855 and 1856.¹² More negatives were certainly produced, but unfortunately they have not survived the passage of time. The body of work that has survived until today consists only of the paper negatives; no positive salted paper prints have so far been discovered, despite the fact that Greenlaw was an active participant in the photographic community, exhibiting examples of his work.¹³ It has been speculated that one of the reasons for the lack of any surviving prints is that Greenlaw's work may have faded quite quickly. A report from one of the exhibitions in which he showed his work states: 'Captain Greenlaw exhibits a great variety of head size portraits ... but several have been spoilt by being left too long in the hyposulphite solution'.¹⁴ Hyposulphite solution - "hypo" - was used at the end of the development process to prevent the image from developing further. If excess hypo was not washed off properly, then the darker areas of the image could start to turn much paler.¹⁵

Greenlaw joined the East India Company in January 1835, and a few months later in May he was assigned to the 46th Madras Native Infantry. He followed his regiment as it moved around South India, concentrating particularly on his language skills. He passed examinations in both Hindustani and Tamil, and in 1842 became the official interpreter to the corps. He was promoted to the rank of Captain in 1851 and shortly afterwards began working for the Revenue Board of the Public Works Department. The remainder of his military career saw him dealing with matters of financial administration. He was made

¹² Greenlaw signed and numbered many of his negatives. His numbering system included his own reference number, usually followed by the year the negative was exposed, e.g. 3-55 would mean 'number 3', taken in '1855'. Of the 76 Greenlaw views that depict Vijayanagara, 65 of them are dated to 1856. Currently his complete known oeuvre consists of 132 negatives in the Alkazi Collection; four negatives in The National Media Museum (Bradford, UK); one negative in The Peabody Essex Museum (Salem, USA), and five negatives in various private collections.

¹³ In 1910 two sets of photographs were made from the Vijayanagara negatives by the Art Library at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London. A record in the Art Library Register states that the Greenlaw negatives were lent 'by Mrs Armitage for prints to be made' in July 1910. As a result, the Art Library obtained a set of 45 prints and Mrs Armitage retained a larger set of 70 prints. This larger set is now part of the Alkazi Collection of Photography. Further, later, positive prints have been made from the negatives, prior to their acquisition by the Alkazi Collection: 22 prints were made in 1982 by the original owner; 57 prints were made in 1983 by the photographer John Gollings, and a set of the 1983 prints was sold to the Canadian Center for Architecture, Montreal.

¹⁴ Madras 1855, pp.133-134.

¹⁵ Ware 2008, p.189.

Paymaster to the Ceded Districts while based in Bellary and he continued as Paymaster when transferred to the Pegu District in Burma in 1859-63.¹⁶ In 1863 he was transferred to the Madras Staff Corps, but immediately took a three-year furlough in England, eventually returning to India in 1866. He died four years later in 1870 at the age of only fifty-two and is buried in the cemetery of All Saints Church in Coonoor.¹⁷

Greenlaw's first recorded appearance as a photographer is in the Journal of the Photographic Society of Bombay in 1855. He had sent a group of prints to the society for judgement, and the correspondence was published in the Society's journal: 'your society asks for Prints and processes; mine, I fear, are so inferior that I am too bashful to send them. I will wait till I hear from you regarding those sent.'¹⁸

The photographs that Greenlaw had sent were soon displayed at the meeting of the society on 7 August 1855. As only landscape and architectural views by Greenlaw are known to have survived today, it is interesting to note that much of the work that Greenlaw was displaying here consisted of portraits. The prints were described as six views of Bellary (**fig. 3-1**); a 'ruined Hindoo temple with elaborate sculpture'; 'six groups of from six to twelve in a group including children', and six portraits of adults. The verdict was given: 'these were all very perfect and elicited much praise. Proposed by Dr Buist, seconded by Mr Hutchinson, and carried – that the Society's thanks be communicated to Captain Greenlaw for his very liberal offer and that his promised gift of photographs would be very acceptable and thankfully received.'¹⁹

¹⁶ The 'Ceded Districts' were the territories handed to the British by the Nizam of Hyderabad in 1800 following the 4th Mysore War. The Nizam had received military protection from the British and provided land in return which was incorporated into the Madras Presidency. The area included the Bellary district where Vijayanagara is located.

¹⁷ Biographical information on Greenlaw is found in the British Library, L/MIL/11/45/183; L/MIL/11/51-66; L/MIL/11/76 f.15; L/AG/34/817. Greenlaw has remained until now a relatively unknown figure in India's history of photography, while his contemporaries Biggs, Neill and Pigou have featured relatively prominently in recent publications. Much of this biographical information on Greenlaw has been recently published in Gordon 2008a. Greenlaw was also an active member of the Freemasons. See Greenlaw 1870.

¹⁸ JPSB, September 1855, pp.125-126.

¹⁹ JPSB, September 1855, pp.125-126.



Fig. 3-1 Alexander Greenlaw, *Bellary, Church and other buildings*, c.1855, paper negative. Initialed 'A J G' and numbered '58' in the negative. The Alkazi Collection, 99.01.0014.

The same year Greenlaw also exhibited a number of portraits in the Madras Exhibition of Raw Products. His work, for which he won a 2nd class medal, was displayed in the exhibition hall alongside examples by Linnaeus Tripe and Andrew Neill who had been working together in Halebid and Belur in December 1854.²⁰ The report of the exhibition, compiled by Dr Alexander Hunter, described his work: 'Captain Greenlaw exhibits a great variety of head size portraits, half lengths, and groups, many of which have been carefully focused and exhibit the half tints and delicate shades which give rotundity to the figures, but several have been spoilt by being left too long in the hyposulphite solution; the attitudes however are good and the proportions artistic. Some of the groups contain from 8 to 11 figures well arranged though not all in focus. Capt. Greenlaw exhibits a very

²⁰ Dewan 2003a, p.167. Sixty-eight of Tripe's photographs were exhibited at the 1855 Madras Exhibition of Raw Products, Arts and Manufactures.

good clear positive on glass with delicate half tints and well focused features, but the dress and background are a little flat. The jury recommend a 2nd class medal for Capt. Greenlaw's groups.²¹ None of Greenlaw's portraits are known to have survived. Tripe's work at Halebid and Belur received the greatest attention in the report (**fig. 3-2**), along with portraits by a Mr W. E. Cochrane. The work of both was recommended for the first class medals in a report that was concerned about both the aesthetics of the image and the technical achievement of the prints.

²¹ Madras 1855, p.134. Interestingly for this early date, the photographs were all in the Fine Arts section (Class XXX) of the exhibition, with a special jury for 'Photography Architectural Antiquities and Landscapes', (p.133).



Fig. 3-2 Linnaeus Tripe (with Andrew Neill), *Halebid, Statue of Ganesh at the Hoysaleshwara temple*, December 1854, waxed paper negative. The Royal Photographic Society collection, National Media Museum.

Two years later, in 1857, Greenlaw again submitted his work to the jury at the Madras Exhibition. This time his work was enthusiastically received and compared favourably with Linnaeus Tripe's: 'The views of Capt. Tripe excel in finish and delicacy, but those of Capt. Greenlaw, in boldness, freedom and effect; the former are perhaps the best photographs, but the latter are the best pictures.'²²

By 1855, Greenlaw was already reasonably accomplished as a photographer. He had ordered a custom-made camera from London in order that it would cope with the extreme heat of India.²³ He was also already producing extremely large and dense paper negatives that would have required a high degree of skill in the manipulation of the equipment and the chemicals. Greenlaw was using a similar process to that employed by Tripe and Neill, a version of the calotype process introduced by William Henry Fox Talbot in 1841 but subsequently modified over several years for use in hot climates.

Greenlaw's calotype process

Greenlaw published an account of his calotype process in 1869, many years after the calotype had been superseded in all parts of the world by the wet collodion glass plate process.²⁴ 'Greenlaw's process' was not particularly innovative in its modifications of earlier calotype processes, but it was a simplified form of Frédéric Flacheron's process, which he had developed in the hot weather of Rome in the late 1840s.²⁵ It was a successful and reliable process that had served Greenlaw (and presumably others) well in India, where the constant heat required certain modifications of Talbot's original calotype process.

²² Madras 1857.

²³ *Journal of the Bombay Photographic Society*, No.9, September 1855, p.155. 'The maker is R. Thomas, 10 Pall-Mall, who states that with fair usage it cannot warp or get out of order even in our hottest weather.'

²⁴ Greenlaw 1869.

²⁵ Flacheron was in Rome amongst a circle of photographers. In 1850, Richard Thomas (from whom Greenlaw bought his modified camera) visited this Rome Circle and wrote about the adapted calotype process they were using, itself based on modifications by Dr Guillot-Saguez. The report of the exhibition of the Bombay Photographic Society stated 'Flacheron's process was exemplified by Capt. A.J. Greenlaw ... Capt. Greenlaw's were good pictures - sharp, well focussed and minutiae of detail perfect', *JPSB*, XIII-XVIII, February-June (1856), p.28. Greenlaw also exhibited in the collodion process at the same exhibition. See Ware 2008 for a detailed explanation of the history of Greenlaw's calotype process.

In India, the use of paper negatives continued into the 1860s - Dr John Murray was photographing the Taj Mahal using this process in 1864. Paper offered distinct advantages over glass - paper was light, easy to carry, not fragile and likely to break, relatively easy to manipulate and easier to retouch before printing. Although wet collodion negatives offered greater sensitivity, shorter exposures and sharper images, the requirements of a cumbersome, portable darkroom and excessive amounts of chemicals on the spot meant that for non-commercial photographers it was not necessarily the better option at this time.

'Greenlaw's process' as it appeared in 1869 was later reproduced in Captain Abney's *Instruction in Photography* (London, 1886, 7th edition), one of the standard handbooks on photography during the nineteenth century. After this, 'Greenlaw's process' was cited in subsequent technical manuals whenever a description of the calotype was required.

According to his own description of the process, unlike many practitioners in the 1850s, Greenlaw did not pre-wax his negatives, a modification that had been introduced by the French photographer Gustave Le Gray in 1850 and further adapted in 1851. Le Gray proposed coating the photographic paper with beeswax before iodizing and sensitizing the paper. The advantages of this were that much thinner paper could be used, facilitating the printing process; a uniform surface was created on the paper, removing any imperfections, and perhaps most importantly for a travelling photographer, the paper could be prepared in advance and would last for a couple of weeks without spoiling or fogging. The process also meant that the paper could be used dry; unwaxed negatives often needed to be moist before they could be exposed. The size and thinness of the paper used by Greenlaw suggests that he would be more likely to use the pre-waxed method, but Greenlaw clearly states otherwise in his written account. It is possible that there is some discrepancy between the practice he employed in the mid-1850s and the process he wrote up in 1869.

In hot climates, pre-waxing the paper could lead to the wax melting at high temperatures. It was also time-consuming to prepare and it required a longer exposure. This did not stop

the pre-waxed process being used by some of the most successful early photographers in India, including Linnaeus Tripe and Dr John Murray, for large-scale architectural photographs. Both also used on occasion wet collodion negatives, but the paper negatives offered a particular aesthetic look as well as the many technical advantages outlined above. The resulting image was particularly appealing to the gentleman amateur photographer, and is one of the contributing factors to the long-lasting appeal of the calotype in India.

Greenlaw's negatives from India are very large, usually either 12x15 inches (30.5x38 cm) or 16x18 inches (40x46cm).²⁶ This latter size was generally bigger than the sizes used by most fellow calotypists in India. An amateur would probably use negatives around 8x10 inches (20x26 cm) or smaller²⁷; a professional, employed by the Government for example, would be making negatives of 16x12 inches (40x30.5 cm). The larger size meant that a smaller aperture was required to get a sharp image, which led to long exposures and dense images. Compared to the negatives of his contemporaries Dr John Murray and Linnaeus Tripe, Greenlaw's negatives are extraordinarily dense: it is impossible to see the image without transmitted light. The use of the very large size, however, allowed Greenlaw to capture a greater amount of information within the photograph. Greenlaw did wax his negatives after processing (in common with most calotype practitioners at this time).²⁸

The Vijayanagara negatives

Greenlaw would have arrived at Vijayanagara from Bellary after a long and dusty journey on some sort of horse-drawn conveyance. Bellary is about 37 miles from central Hampi, and a non-stop walk would take just under 15 hours; on horseback it would have

²⁶ The solution that Greenlaw provides for sensitizing paper is, he says, for pictures of 18x16 inches. Greenlaw 1869, p.29.

²⁷ For example, Dr John McCosh while working in Burma in 1852 used a format approximately 5x3 inches (12.7x7.6 cm).

²⁸ Greenlaw's negatives from Burma, of which eleven are known to survive, are in contrast to the Indian views, made on much thicker paper and are also much smaller, not more than 8x10 inches. These would appear to be calotypes (The Alkazi Collection, 99.01.0120-0130). Greenlaw was appointed Paymaster for the Pegu Districts, based in Rangoon, Burma, on 15 July 1859, so presumably moved to Rangoon during that year.

been faster. Once at Vijayanagara, it is likely that he would have spent several days, if not longer, at the site, because of its vast size. It is spread out across several miles of hilly and rocky terrain.

Approaching the site, Greenlaw had little in the way of literature or earlier images on which to base his expectations. The history of the site was in the 1850s more or less unknown beyond a handful of scholars and it was to be the work of the first photographers who brought the site to the attention of architectural historians. Colin Mackenzie (see Introduction) had studied the history of the Vijayanagar kingdom in the early 1800s as part of his survey of the Mysore region. His artists had produced a map and some sketches (**fig. 3-3**).



Fig. 3-3 Unknown artist for Colin Mackenzie, 'Ancient pagoda at Bisnagar' [Gangitti Temple, Vijayanagara], watercolour and pencil, based on a sketch of 1800. The British Library, WD596.

The sketches show a tendency to make the buildings lighter, more airy and more elegant than perhaps they are in reality. Some buildings have also been slightly 'classicized' when depicted; the columns in particular have had European elements introduced or identifying Hindu features smoothed over. When compared with Greenlaw's photograph of the same structure, the changes made by the artist are obvious (**fig. 3-4**).



Fig. 3-4 Alexander Greenlaw, *Vijayanagara, Gangitti Temple*, c.1856, paper negative. The Alkazi Collection, 99.01.0057.

The temple is heavier and more squat than Mackenzie's artist has shown it. The carvings and sculpture that appear on the pediment are also more elaborate and much larger in reality.

At the same time as Mackenzie's survey, Francis Buchanan had been asked by Lord Wellesley to undertake a less formal survey concentrating on the people of the Mysore and Malabar regions. Buchanan's survey was designed to highlight the benefits of the East India Company's incursions into Mysore to the British public as well as the company's directors. Buchanan passed through Hospet and Bellary, but appears not to have visited the site of central Vijayanagara. The results of Mackenzie's survey were not published so it is very unlikely they were known to Greenlaw, although Buchanan's work appeared as three-volumes in 1807. There was also Marks Wilks' early history of South India published in 1810, which partially outlined a history of the kingdom.²⁹ It is possible that Greenlaw knew of this history, but it is just as likely that it was local knowledge that brought him to Vijayanagara for the first time.

Greenlaw numbered some of his negatives but when they are placed in numerical order there does not appear to be any organizing pattern behind the sequence. The numbers do not reflect monuments in physical proximity, nor do they reflect a particular route around the site. There are certain buildings that Greenlaw has concentrated on, however. These include the Vithala temple and the Virupaksha temple, the two main surviving temple complexes; the structures in the Royal centre of the site; many of the most impressive monolithic sculptures (**fig. 3-5**) and several landscape studies, including the river Tungabhadra, trees and plants, and the rocky surroundings.

²⁹ Mark Wilks, *Historical Sketches of the south of India, in an attempt to trace the history of Mysoor*, London, 1810. The journal of the Asiatic Society in Bengal published an article on the inscriptions at Vijayanagara: E.C. Ravenshaw, 'Translation of Various Inscriptions found among the Ruins of Vijayanagar', *Asiatic Researches*, 20:1 (1836), pp.1-40. The article provides a genealogy of the rulers.



Fig. 3-5 Alexander Greenlaw, *Vijayanagara, Monolithic statue of Narasimha*, 1856, paper negative. Numbered in the negative, '29-56'. The Alkazi Collection, 99.01.0044.

Perhaps the most impressive architectural monument at Vijayanagara is the Vithala temple, dedicated to Vishnu. Much of what can be seen there today dates to the early sixteenth century. Greenlaw apparently spent most of his time photographing this religious complex, as there are more negatives of this site than of any other at Vijayanagara - sixteen in total. These negatives can be placed into a sequence that is

suggestive of Greenlaw's working methods. He approaches the temple complex as if he is surveying the site, moving through each aspect of the structure in turn, concentrating on obtaining information on the whole site but also focusing in on details as well.

He begins by approaching the site on the road towards the main entrance, stopping to photograph the impressive water tank at the roadside (**fig. 3-6**).



Fig. 3-6 Alexander Greenlaw, *Vijayanagara, Vithala temple tank*, c.1856, gelatin silver print made in 1910, from a paper negative. The Alkazi Collection, 99.02.0014.

Greenlaw continues along the road, reaching the main entrance to the temple in front of which is a lamp column. He photographs the column alone and then makes two other views of the column with the entrance gateway behind from slightly different angles, obtaining a different set of information in each (**fig. 3-7 and fig. 3-8**).



Fig. 3-7 Alexander Greenlaw, *Vijayanagara, Main gopura and lamp column at the Vithala temple, c.1856*, paper negative. The Alkazi Collection, 99.01.0054.

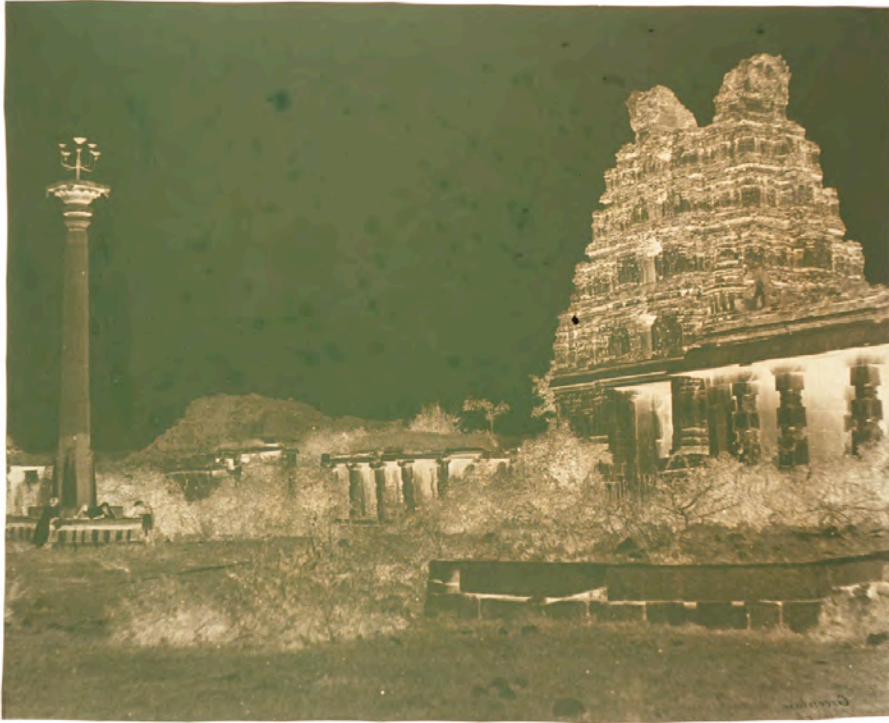


Fig. 3-8 Alexander Greenlaw, *Vijayanagara, Main entrance and lamp column at the Vithala temple, c.1856*, paper negative. The Alkazi Collection, 99.01.0110.

Greenlaw then enters the temple complex and begins his survey of the interior courtyard. Inside, there is the principal temple and two subsidiary shrines, known as the south-east *mandapa* and the north-east mandapa.³⁰ In between the main entrance and the principal temple, there is also a stone chariot with fixed wheels that serves as a vehicle for the god Garuda. Greenlaw made at least three negatives of the stone chariot, from different angles. He begins by photographing it from the front, with the main temple behind (**fig. 3-9**).

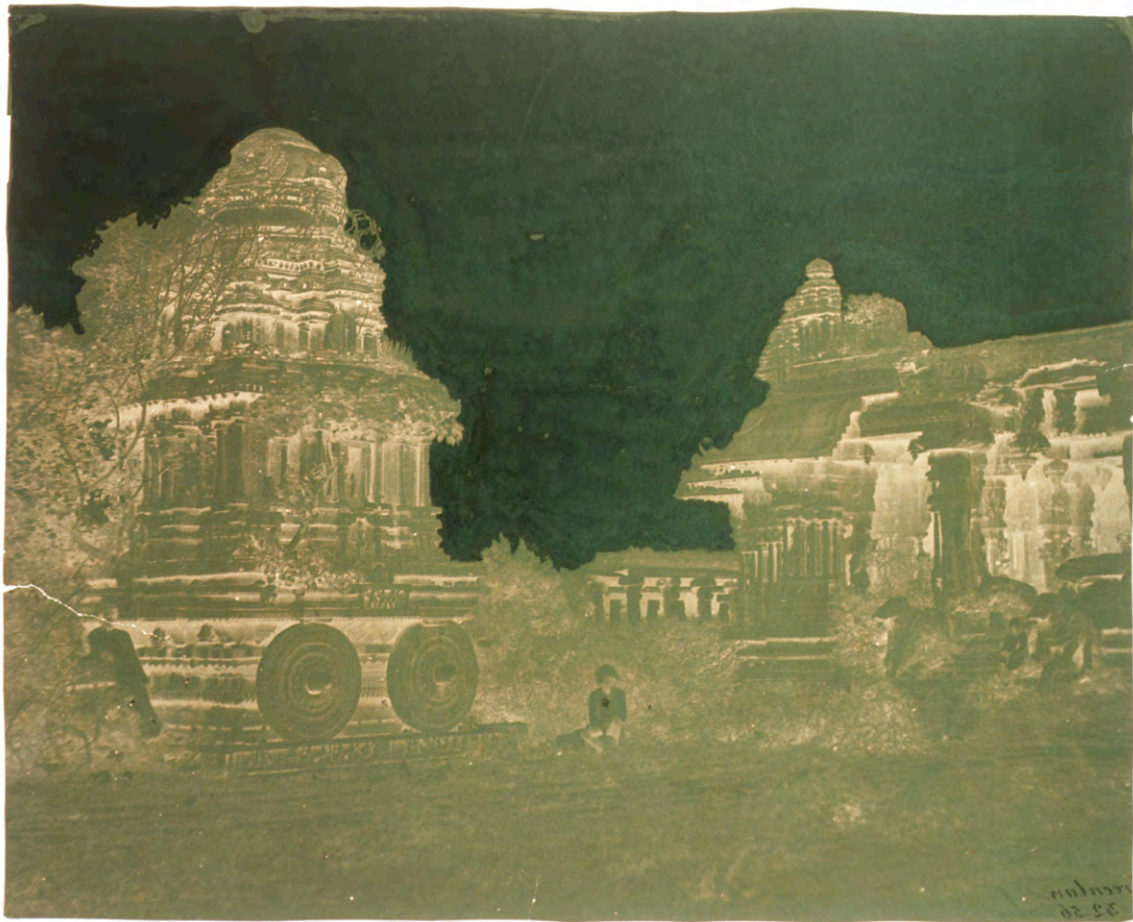


Fig. 3-9 Alexander Greenlaw, *Vijayanagara, Garuda's Stone chariot and main temple, Vithala temple*, 1856, paper negative. Signed and numbered in the negative, 'Greenlaw 32-56'. The Alkazi Collection, 99.01.0015.

³⁰ A *mandapa* is a term that describes the pillared hall or pavilion that adjoins, or stands next to, the shrine of a Hindu temple.

The subsequent views of the chariot show it as the visitor would encounter it on his way out of the temple. Emerging from the south, the visitor would come round a corner and see the chariot pointing towards the exit (**figs. 3-10**). As he moved forward, the entrance gateway would finally loom into view.



Fig. 3-10 Alexander Greenlaw, *Vijayanagara, Vithala temple stone chariot, with the main temple and subsidiary mandapas visible*, c.1856, paper negative. The Alkazi Collection, 99.01.0050.

But before the pilgrim or tourist leaves the temple, there are the other structures to visit. The main temple, the mandapas and details of the carved columns are all documented. The south-east mandapa in particular is photographed a number of times because of the impressive *yalis* (rearing mythological beasts) carved into the pillars. Greenlaw begins with a general view of the structure, incorporating the entire columned hall (**fig. 3-11**).



Fig. 3-11 Alexander Greenlaw, *Vijayanagara, Vithala temple, the south-east mandapa*, 1856, paper negative. Signed and numbered in the negative, 'Greenlaw 67-56'. The Alkazi Collection, 99.01.0045.

He then goes on to examine the main pillars more closely, ending with a study of the carvings (**fig. 3-12**).

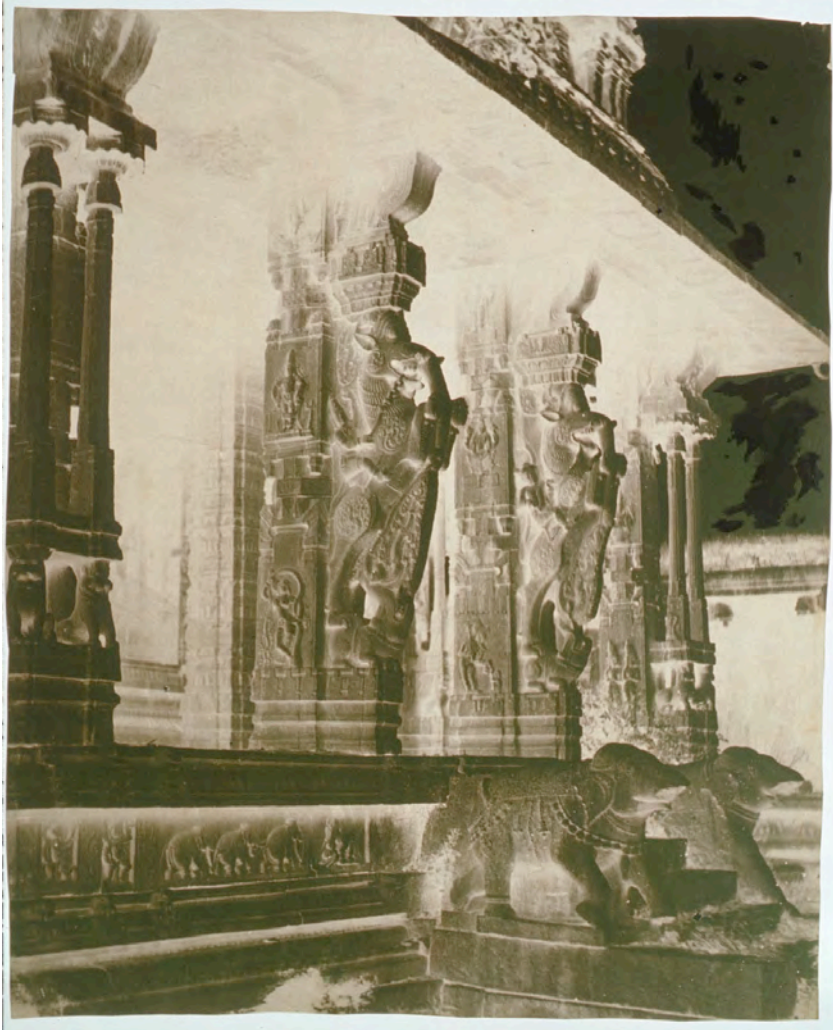


Fig. 3-12 Alexander Greenlaw, *Vijayanagara, Vithala temple, detail of carved pillars at the south-east mandapa*, c.1856, paper negative. The Alkazi Collection, 99.01.0012.

Greenlaw's work is predominantly documentary, in the sense that he is trying to survey the site. He does introduce on occasions a more poetical element, which transforms his work. One of the negatives depicting the interior of the main temple includes the figure of an Indian man, lying on the floor, apparently sleeping (**fig. 3-13**). The photograph becomes more than an architectural study, as the sleeping figure prompts questions in the viewer's mind over the nature of the composition. What is the man doing there? Is he really sleeping? Is that how these temples are used or did the photographer ask him to lie there? The image becomes suggestive and poetical, and it stands out amongst Greenlaw's Vijayanagara negatives.

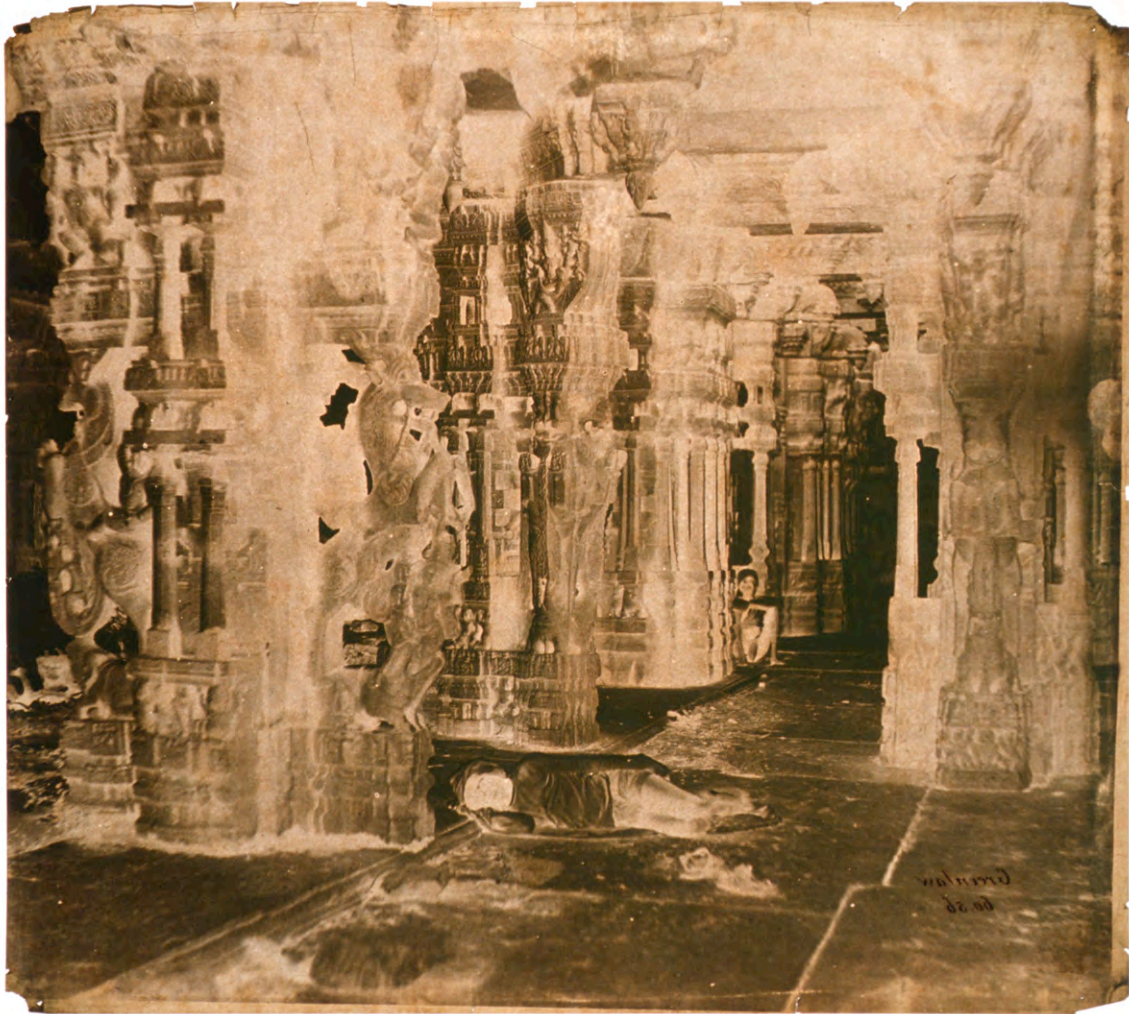


Fig. 3-13 Alexander Greenlaw, *Vijayanagara, Vithala temple, interior of main temple*, 1856, paper negative. Signed and numbered in the negative, 'Greenlaw 60-56'. The Alkazi Collection, 99.01.0073.

Greenlaw documented the other major temples at Vijayanagara. The Krishna temple, the Virupaksha temple and the Pattabhirama temple all contain impressive architectural structures that caught his eye. The Vijayanagaran king's own temple, the Ramachandra temple, built in the early fifteenth century, offered a very different style of building to the photographer. The temple is known primarily for its walled enclosure, the exterior and interior of which is covered in carved friezes. Greenlaw attempted to document the temple from different angles, work his way around the building by photographing it from the north (**fig. 3-14**), the north-west, and the south, as well as including the eastern gateway (the main entrance) and the subsidiary temple to the north-west.

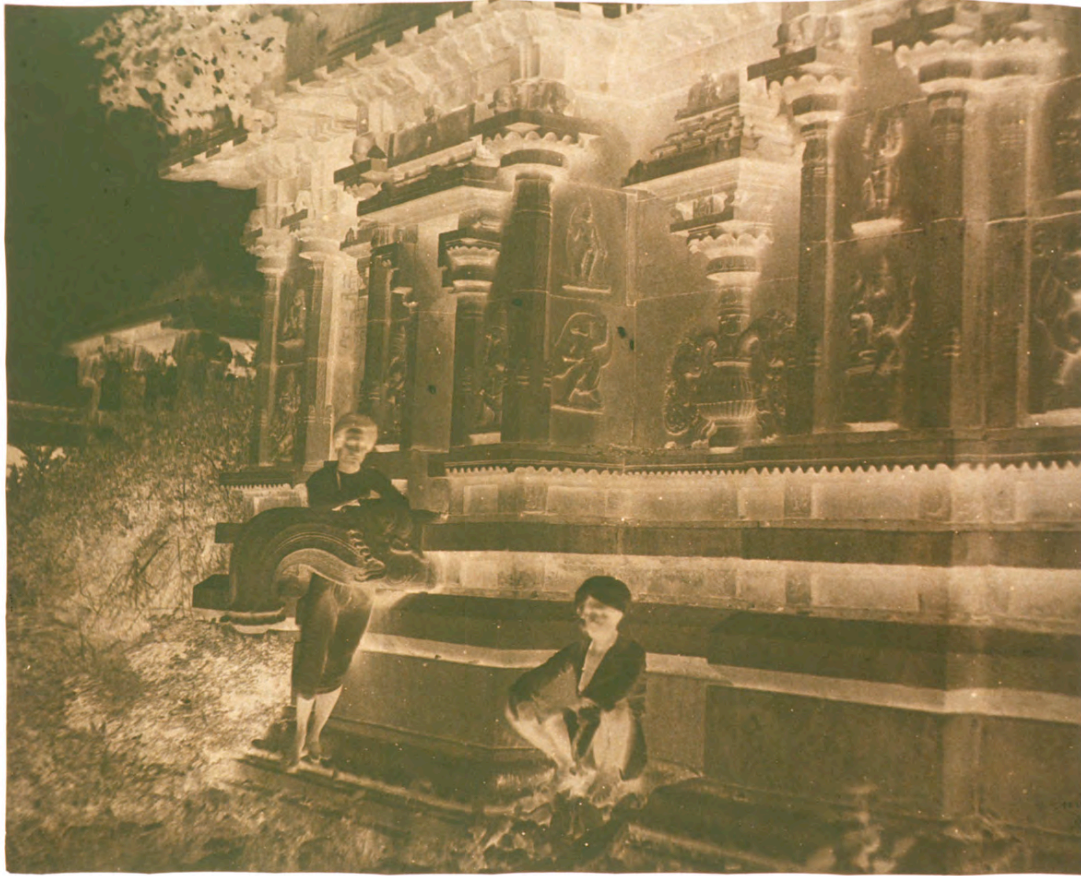


Fig. 3-14 Alexander Greenlaw, *Vijayanagara, Ramachandra temple, from the north*, c.1856, paper negative. The Alkazi Collection, 99.01.0013.

Greenlaw then goes on to document the carvings on the wall (**fig. 3-15**).



Fig. 3-15 Alexander Greenlaw, *Vijayanagara, Ramachandra temple enclosure wall, showing carvings depicting scenes from the 'Ramayana'*, c.1856, paper negative. The Alkazi Collection, 99.01.0060.

Again, Greenlaw adopts a documentary approach. The systematic approach to the structure is something that he could have seen in the series of photographs taken at Halebid by Tripe and Neill, which were exhibited alongside his own portraits at the Madras exhibition in 1855. Tripe approaches the temples in a similar way, providing a few general views of the structure (**fig. 3-16**), its main entrance and main shrine, before moving in to focus on the details of the extraordinary sculptures that cover the temple walls (**fig. 3-17**).



Fig. 3-16 Linnaeus Tripe (and Andrew Neill), *Halebid, Hoysaleswara temple*, December 1854, waxed paper negative. The Royal Photographic Society collection, National Media Museum.

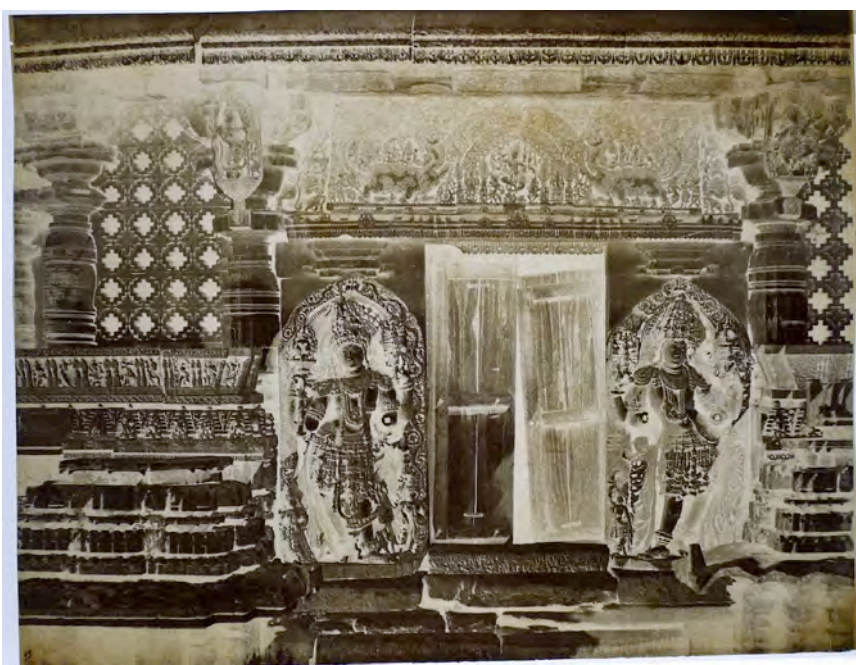


Fig. 3-17 Linnaeus Tripe (and Andrew Neill), *Halebid, Hoysaleswara temple, entrance of main temple*, December 1854, waxed paper negative. The Royal Photographic Society Collection, National Media Museum.

Both photographers were adopting a survey approach to the structures they were photographing. Both men were military officers, part of the Madras army, photographing (at this stage) without any official commission behind them. They did not *need* to survey the buildings in this way, but they chose to do so anyway. This approach was ingrained into them, through their background and their training. Behind them there was a history of surveying the architecture of India, conducted by the military but organized by the East India Company. It is worth examining this in greater detail because it will help determine how to read Greenlaw's photographs which, beyond the few exhibitions in which they were shown, has had little in the way of an audience or interpretation. The surveying and documenting of India also provides a context for the work of those photographers who followed Greenlaw at Vijayanagara - William Pigou and Andrew Neill.

Surveying India

The first official survey in India was James Rennell's survey of Bengal in 1764, which took almost thirteen years to complete. Rennell was appointed Surveyor-General by Robert Clive, the Governor of Bengal, in 1767. He continued to work on mapping and surveying for the East India Company, until he was wounded in 1776 on the Bhutan border and retired to London. Rennell's surveys resulted in reliable published maps and plans. His most significant volumes, *A Bengal Atlas* (1780-1) and a map of 'Hindustan' in 1782, accompanied by his memoirs, were authoritative texts for many decades.

Rennell was followed by others including Colin Mackenzie and Francis Buchanan (both mentioned above), who undertook route surveys. They were accompanied by assistants, scientists and artists, who each had different types of skills and knowledge which allowed them to gather different types of information. Even amongst those who drew and sketched, different types of information was produced. Some of the images presented the landscape in familiar picturesque scenes; other works were detailed pencil drawings for capturing accurately intricate details (see Introduction, figs. 4 & 5).

In the early nineteenth century, a new technique was introduced involving the use of trigonometry, establishing a baseline and measuring angles and distances using a theodolite and other instruments. Mackenzie, who had successfully incorporated triangulation into his own surveys, recommended this be adopted as a standard surveying technique. Out of this eventually grew the Trigonometrical Survey of India, regarded by the British as the most scientific and accurate method to map the country.³¹

The Trigonometrical Survey crossed the whole of India starting in the south and ending at the Himalayas. The survey officially began on 10 April 1802, near Madras. In 1819, it was named the Great Trigonometrical Survey. The East India Company supported this hugely time-consuming and expensive enterprise until the Company was dissolved in 1857 because they believed that the survey would provide them with information that would assist their role in India, whether that was commercial, political or military. After 1857, the Crown took over responsibility for the survey when it assumed control of India.

The other types of surveys - topographical (or route) surveys - continued to take place in the nineteenth century, but they were always regarded as less scientific and inferior to Trigonometrical surveys.³² In a somewhat parallel situation, while artists continued to document India after the arrival of photography, the new technique ensured that their work was seen as unreliable in the face of a scientific approach. The early artists shared with the early surveyors a picturesque approach to the landscape, but the early photographers had more in common with the scientific approach of the Trigonometrical surveyors. With the introduction of photography to military training academies, the camera became one of several potential scientific techniques for gathering data.³³

³¹ Barrow 2003, p.65.

³² Barrow 2003, p.69. Barrow gives examples of these early surveyors who used the Picturesque in their work: R.H. Colebrooke, working in Gaur and Mysore; Reuben Burrow and the Rev. William Smith. Barrow notes that although they incorporate the Picturesque, they also strived to be scientific.

³³ The introduction of photography to Addiscombe, the East India Company military college, was discussed in the Introduction; the teaching of photography to the Royal Engineers at Chatham was discussed in chapter two.

Early photographic surveys

There was a certain amount of precedence in Europe in respect to photographic surveying to serve as an example for what might happen in India. Initially, it was individuals who recognised a potential commercial prospect or who saw the possibilities of photographs as sources for their own studies. In France, the daguerreotype was seen very early on as possessing great potential to record accurately the landscape and architecture of foreign lands. Noel Paymal Lerebours commissioned daguerreotypists working in Europe, North Africa and the Middle East to make views which were subsequently used as the basis for a set of prints, sold in two volumes, titled *Excursions daguerriennes: Vues et monuments les plus remarquables du globe* (Paris, 1840-4). Lerebours is reported to have commissioned over 1200 daguerreotypes from which he selected a group to reproduce in a variety of processes, including line engraving, aquatint and lithography.

Other individuals, such as the French historian of Arab culture Joseph-Philibert Girault de Prangey (1804-92) made several hundred daguerreotypes of buildings and architectural details in order to use the plates as the basis for engravings in his publications. The British art historian John Ruskin employed an assistant to make daguerreotypes of buildings in Venice in the 1840s. He also subsequently used the photographs as the basis for engravings in his own works.

One of the first official photographic surveys was instigated in 1844 by the Dutch Ministry of Colonies (the equivalent of the India Office in Britain) who sent a photographer to the Dutch East Indies, part of modern Indonesia. Adolph Schaefer was commissioned to photograph all the Hindu sculptures in the Batavian Society for Arts and Sciences, producing at least sixty-six plates (**fig. 3-18**).³⁴

³⁴ Present-day Jakarta, on the island of Java (part of Indonesia), was known as Batavia during the period under Dutch control.



Collectie Prentenkabinet Universiteit Leiden

Fig. 3-18 Adolph Schaefer, *Small statue of the Hindu god Ganesh*, 1844-5, daguerreotype. Prentenkabinet, Leiden University Library.

He then went on to photograph some of the sculptural reliefs at Borobodur, Java. Schaefer calculated that to record the entire structure he would need to make between four and five thousand daguerreotypes, and that it would take him between four and five years.³⁵ This hints at some of the difficulties that official photographic projects would encounter later in India, although the project is notable as one of the earliest occasions when a Government employed a professional photographer for official purposes. Ultimately the daguerreotype was not a suitable technique for topographical surveys. The

³⁵ Hamber 1996, p.62.

daguerreotype images were unique and resulted in a laterally reversed image of reality. In contrast, the calotype process offered the possibility of multiple positive prints from a single negative, and this process was to be tested in France in an architectural survey known as *La Mission Héliographique*.

La Mission Héliographique

The first substantial government-commissioned survey using the camera was *La Mission Héliographique* organized in France in 1851.³⁶ It anticipates the photographic surveys conducted in India by a few years and it emerged out of similar concerns faced in India over the potential disappearance of important architectural and archaeological structures and the consequent loss of history.

The background to the survey lay in the destruction of historical buildings and monuments in the late eighteenth century, following the Revolutionary period. One immediate response to this was the attempts of archaeologist Alexandre Lenoir (1761-1839) to gather together medieval sculptural fragments and objects into a newly created museum, which became known as the *Musée des monuments français*. The museum tried to house as many objects as possible from publicly owned institutions, including religious foundations and former royal palaces. The collection brought together a wealth of medieval and Gothic art, a style that grew to be associated in France at this time with the pinnacle of French cultural achievement. Lenoir ran the museum until its closure in 1816, when the restoration of the Bourbon monarchy led to a demand for all property in the museum to be returned to its previous owners.³⁷ The interest in architecture continued, however, and only a few years later one of the most ambitious of documentary projects began in 1820 with the publication of lithographs in *Voyages pittoresques et romantiques dans l'ancienne France* (Normandy, 1820). Over 3,000 lithographs were to be published by the end of the project in 1878. Many of the images were architectural, but there was also a substantial number of landscape and topographical scenes as well (**fig. 3-19**).

³⁶ The most important study of this survey is De Mondenard 2002.

³⁷ The museum was resurrected under the same name by Viollet-le-Duc in 1879, when he proposed bringing together plaster casts of architectural details and sculpture. The museum was opened in 1882 and the cast collection is now housed at the Palais de Chaillot, part of the architecture museum known as Cité de l'Architecture et du Patrimoine. The collection also contains about 200,000 photographs.



Fig. 3-19 Engelmann, after Fragonard, *Collège des Jésuites, Dôle*, 1825, lithograph, from *Voyages pittoresques et romantiques dans l'ancienne France* (Normandy, 1820 and later).

The steps taken in France towards documenting and preserving their architectural heritage are similar to the activities that came later in India in the 1860s with the work of Cunningham and the formation of the Archaeological Survey. In 1830, the French Ministry of the Interior created the post of Inspector of Historical Monuments and Ludovic Vittel was the first to hold the position. In 1834, the writer Prosper Mérimée took over the post. He immediately began working in earnest, undertaking field trips every year and employing a number of people across France. The situation was formalised in 1837 with the creation of *La commission des monuments historiques*, which published its first list of monuments (1034 of them) in 1840. All the structures were in public ownership, and the work of the commission continued to restrict itself in this way until the remit was extended to include privately owned monuments and objects in the 1920s.

The commission soon began to consider using photography as a means to record structures. In 1851, it created *La Mission Héliographique*, which sent out five photographers to various parts of France during the summer and autumn of 1851. Édouard Baldus went to the Loire and Rhône valleys; Hippolyte Bayard (the vice

president of France's photographic society) was sent to Normandy; Henri Le Secq to Champagne and Alsace; Gustave Le Gray and Auguste Mestral worked in southern and western France. The photographers were not given lists of monuments to include, although they were given sketchy details about certain buildings. By September 1852, around 300 negatives had been deposited with the commission.³⁸ The photographs conform to the pictorial conventions of the time, consisting of many Picturesque views incorporating the entire exterior façade of a building, or creating a more Romanticised vision of the French landscape in the manner of *Voyages pittoresques*. Architectural details and sections were photographed less frequently, but they were included and information about the buildings was conveyed as much through the sequence of images as through individual images (**fig. 3-20**).



Fig. 3-20 Gustave Le Gray, *Aubeterre, Church of Saint-Jacques*, salted paper print, 1851. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1996.1058.

³⁸ Boyer 2003, p.21.

It is not clear why the commission printed up so few negatives; once deposited in the commission's archive, they remained by and large unused - a problem which was to be faced also by the photographers working in India. There may be a practical reason, however, which is that the costs of printing from so many negatives would have been extremely high. Blanquart-Évrard did print a few negatives by Baldus and Le Gray, but his business was eventually to fail because of the high costs involved.³⁹

It has been suggested that the commission emerged not only out of the destruction of monuments during the Revolution and its immediate aftermath, but also out of a growing awareness of the past, as industrialisation and population growth began to change the towns and cities of France.⁴⁰ Documenting and depicting the past was therefore a nostalgic exercise but at the same time it contributed towards creating a stronger sense of French identity that focused on a shared cultural heritage. The project made manifest a collective memory for the country. Within this, medieval and Gothic architecture was seen as particularly French and as a crowning cultural achievement that surpassed the efforts of other countries.

La Mission Héliographique showed that the calotype could be successfully deployed to document the architecture of a country. The pre-waxed paper process and modifications introduced by Le Gray (outlined above) ensured that the calotype was the ideal method with which to travel the country over several months. This technique was adopted by successive military and Government photographers in India (although not Greenlaw) including Linnaeus Tripe, William Pigou, Thomas Biggs and Andrew Neill.⁴¹

³⁹ Boyer 2003, p.52.

⁴⁰ Marien 2006, p.57.

⁴¹ As a postscript to this section, it is interesting to reflect that in Britain there was no official, centrally organized photographic survey of the country until the end of the nineteenth century. The National Photographic Record Association was set up in 1897 under Benjamin Stone to record British heritage. The reasons were the same ones identified by the French and by the colonial administration in India: fear of losing a history and a culture at a time of fast change. The project coincided with other late nineteenth-century surveys and conservation projects such as The National Trust, established in 1897, and the three Royal Commissions that were instigated in 1908 on the Historical Monuments of England, Scotland and Wales. There were other more localized attempts, such as the work in Glasgow of Thomas Annan in 1868

Photographic surveys in India: the Cave Temple Commission

In both India and Britain, scholars had been working on India's architectural history on their own in an uncoordinated way. The Royal Asiatic Society in London took a certain amount of responsibility upon itself to instigate documentation projects. The Society sent several requests to the East India Company and representatives of the Government proposing action to document and preserve Indian antiquities. Eventually in 1847, the Company directors responded by sending a directive to the Governor-General in India to begin listing important monuments and sites.⁴² James Fergusson was aware of this directive and he highlighted it with a reference in his first publication, on the cave temples in Western India: 'A Memorial was presented by the Council of this Society to the Court of Directors on the subject of these caves, to which I am happy to hear they have responded; and orders have, I believe, been forwarded to the different Presidencies to employ competent persons to draw and copy the antiquities and paintings in each district. ... I only hope the subject will not now be allowed to drop until every monument of ancient India has been thoroughly examined and detailed, and we may thus escape the hitherto too well merited reproach of having so long possessed that noble country, and done so little to illustrate its history or antiquities.'⁴³

Several different actions were taken as a result of the 1847 directive. Some appointments were made, including Markham Kittoe's appointment as Archaeological Enquirer to the Government, which led him to undertake excavations at Sarnath, and Captain F. C. Maisey was appointed in 1849 to draw the sculptures and monuments at Sanchi and Kalinjar (see Introduction).

Furthermore, two specific projects were put into practice, leading to the documentation of the caves at Elephanta, Ajanta, and other sites in Western India. The first was the

for the Glasgow City Improvement Trust, and the Society for Photographing Old Relics of London, established in 1875 which employed several photographers, but principally Henry Dixon & Son.

⁴² British Library, Public Despatches to Bengal, no.1 of 1847, 27 January 1847, IOR/L/P&J/3/1021.

⁴³ Fergusson 1845, pp.62-3.

establishment of the Cave Temple Commission under Dr John Wilson; the second was the copying of the paintings at the Ajanta Caves by Robert Gill.

In July 1848, the Bombay branch of the Asiatic Society formed a commission, known as the Bombay Cave Temple Commission, to direct the documentation of the rock-cut cave temples in the Bombay Presidency. The commission was established under the auspices of the Asiatic Society, with Dr John Wilson (1804-75), the Honorary President of the Bombay Asiatic Society, as President of the Commission.⁴⁴ Other committee members included Mr Harkness of Elphinstone College; Mr C. J. Erskine of the Civil Service; Captain Lynch of the Indian Navy, and Venaik Gungadhur Shastree.⁴⁵ As a first step, the committee had many of the caves cleared and tidied before commencing the programme of documentation. The documentation was to include a copy of all the inscriptions, as well as plans, elevations, and drawings of sculptures and other features of interest.

A Mr Brett was duly employed to copy the inscriptions and the scholar Vishnu Sastri Bapat to translate the inscriptions.⁴⁶ The commission also employed an artist, William Fallon, between 1851-54 to produce accurate copies of the sculptures at the Elephanta caves.⁴⁷ Fallon was employed initially for one year only in 1851; this was subsequently extended for another year. He spent most of his time working on oil paintings, rather than drawings. The Journal of the Bombay branch of the Asiatic Society carried interim reports relating to the work of the Cave Committee, and it was recorded that on 12 February 1852, the society had viewed: 'three oil paintings, together with the Plan and Elevation of the Caves of Elephanta' which 'gave much satisfaction'.⁴⁸ In a later lecture, Wilson refers to Fallon's work as 'oil-pictures, some of which are very elaborate' and

⁴⁴ Pinney mentions Dr Wilson in respect to his role as a witness in the Maharaj Libel case in 1862 and places him in a wider photographic community that was emerging in Bombay. Pinney 2008, p.116-8.

⁴⁵ Smith 1878, p.466. Wilson was a prominent figure in Bombay for his work as a missionary and as an educationalist.

⁴⁶ In five years, Bapat translated eighty-eight Pali and Sanskrit inscriptions into Marathi from the sites, but none was ever published, despite a recommendation from the committee. Black 1891, p.367-368.

⁴⁷ Falconer 1995, p.12.

⁴⁸ JBBRAS 1853, IV, no.XVII, p.462.

implies that the paintings are with the India Office in London.⁴⁹ Following his work at Elephanta, Fallon was also sent to document the caves at Karle. Despite being sent to London, copies of Fallon's work cannot be located today. The works would have been part of the Indian Museum's collections and following the museum's closure in 1879, would presumably have been transferred to the South Kensington Museum.

At an early stage in the committee's work, on 23 August 1850, Wilson presented a paper to the Asiatic Society.⁵⁰ In the lengthy paper, he provided a description of all the principal caves of which he knew and believed could be classed together. The sites mentioned and described included Salsette, Elephanta, Karle, Bhaja, Badami, Nasik, Ajanta, Ellora, Aurangabad and even Bamyán in Afghanistan. The Asiatic Society printed off sixty extra copies of the paper which were to be distributed to local governments around India, including the princely states, in order that they should be inspired to carry out similar investigations in their own regions. The success of this action was noted in Wilson's follow-up account, read to the Society on 19 September 1852, where he particularly mentions a communication he had from the British Resident at the Hyderabad Court, who wrote to him about caves in the Nizam's state.⁵¹

Wilson was in no doubt about the importance of the work he was undertaking. Like Fergusson, he saw in the stone remains the only reliable source of historical information that India had to offer. He wrote in 1850: 'Historical truth is to be found in India, in a state of comparative purity, only in the ancient monuments of the country.'⁵² While there were other kinds of evidence, the monuments and remains were, to him, pure; they were first-hand sources and unadulterated by subjective human interpretation.

Although William Fallon's contract was extended on more than one occasion, the time required to produce the copies was extensive and it was concluded eventually that this approach was impractical. The project was brought to a close. The financial pressures and the time involved were the deciding factors. In the few years that had passed since 1847,

⁴⁹ Wilson 1866, p.15. 'Major Gill's accurate copies of the Ajanta paintings are with the Indian government at home. So are the oil-pictures, some of which are very elaborate, made by Mr. William Fallon.'

⁵⁰ Wilson 1851.

⁵¹ Wilson 1853.

⁵² Wilson 1851, p.103.

photographic technology had advanced sufficiently for both the Directors of the East India Company and the Committee President, John Wilson, to recommend that photography should now be used as a tool within the scope of the Cave Temple Commission's work. A Captain Thomas Biggs was recommended, and the East India Company even offered to supply photographic equipment, should it be unavailable in India.⁵³ The suggestion was not immediately met with the necessary funding, however, and Biggs had to wait a little longer before he was required for photographic duties.

The Cave Temple Commission continued to exist until 1861, although by the mid-1850s, most of their principal work had been done, as expressed in Wilson's two extensive papers.⁵⁴ The role of the commission became redundant with the appointment of Alexander Cunningham as Archaeological Surveyor in 1861. Wilson, in 1861, published a book on the caves at Karle, illustrated with photographs taken by the professional photographer William Johnson.⁵⁵ Johnson, working as a photographer since 1852, had been one of the founders of the Bombay Photographic Society, and had previously issued *The Indian Amateur's Photographic Album* with a colleague William Henderson, under the patronage of the Society. It ran for thirty-six issues between 1856 and 1858, containing architectural, topographical and ethnographical photographs taken in and nearby Bombay.

Perhaps the greatest legacy of the commission was Wilson's own passionate insistence that a unified, all-India body was required to coordinate archaeological and architectural research, and that until such a body was formed, everyone should continue to work towards those ends. In a letter dated 9 April 1856 to the Secretary of the Bombay Government, Wilson wrote: 'Let the copying of inscriptions proceed, especially by photography, which has been practically shown by Captain Briggs [*sic*] to be peculiarly applicable to the larger inscriptions of the Hindus. Let the copies of the inscriptions which have been already made be collated with the originals, especially in all dubious cases. Let the more laborious work of decipherment and translation receive adequate

⁵³ The British Library, Bombay Public Despatches, 29 December 1854, no.59, IOR E/4/1101 ff.1449-51.

⁵⁴ Wilson 1851 & 1853.

⁵⁵ Wilson 1861.

attention; and let decipherments and translations already made and that in some instances in very disadvantageous circumstances be duly revised and perfected.⁵⁶

Robert Gill (1804-1879) and the Ajanta Caves

By this time, the second official project was already well under way at the Ajanta caves, close to the city of Aurangabad. In 1844, Captain Robert Gill of the Madras Native Infantry was removed from military duties and set to work at the Ajanta caves, to produce copies of the paintings on the walls inside the caves. The military service record for Gill notes that on the 19 November 1844 he was: ‘entrusted with the duty of taking drawings of the Architectural and Pictorial remains in Caves of Adjunta [*sic*] and while engaged in the above duty to draw a salary of Rupees 200 per annum in addition to other allowances.’⁵⁷ Prior to this, Gill had spent twenty years in the Army, beginning his career in the 44th Regiment, following his arrival in Madras as a Cadet in May 1825.⁵⁸ From 1845 until his death, Gill based himself for most of the time at Ajanta, even though he was invalided out of the Army on 1 October 1852 and could have returned to Britain. Gill died on 10 April 1879 and was buried in the European cemetery at Bhusaval.

Gill arrived at Ajanta in 1845, to make drawings and plans of the caves and copies of the frescoes, for the Madras Government.⁵⁹ Gill began by making a thorough inspection and submitted an initial report that same year.⁶⁰ After he had been based for a year at Ajanta, an Inspection report noted that Gill ‘is an excellent draughtsman’.⁶¹ An album of his early drawings survives in the British Library, containing twenty-six ground plans of the caves, and another sixteen folios of drawings, depicting sculptural and architectural details (**fig. 3-21**).⁶²

⁵⁶ Smith 1878, p.469.

⁵⁷ British Library, Madras Service Army Lists, IOR/L/MIL/11/42.

⁵⁸ British Library, Madras Service Army Lists, IOR/L/MIL/11/42.

⁵⁹ Although the Ajanta caves were under the jurisdiction of the Bombay Government, the Madras Government does not seem to have encountered any problems in assigning Gill to work at the caves.

⁶⁰ Patel 2009.

⁶¹ British Library, inspection report dated 2 December 1845, Madras Service Army Lists. IOL/L/MIL/11/42.

⁶² British Library, WD 1092.

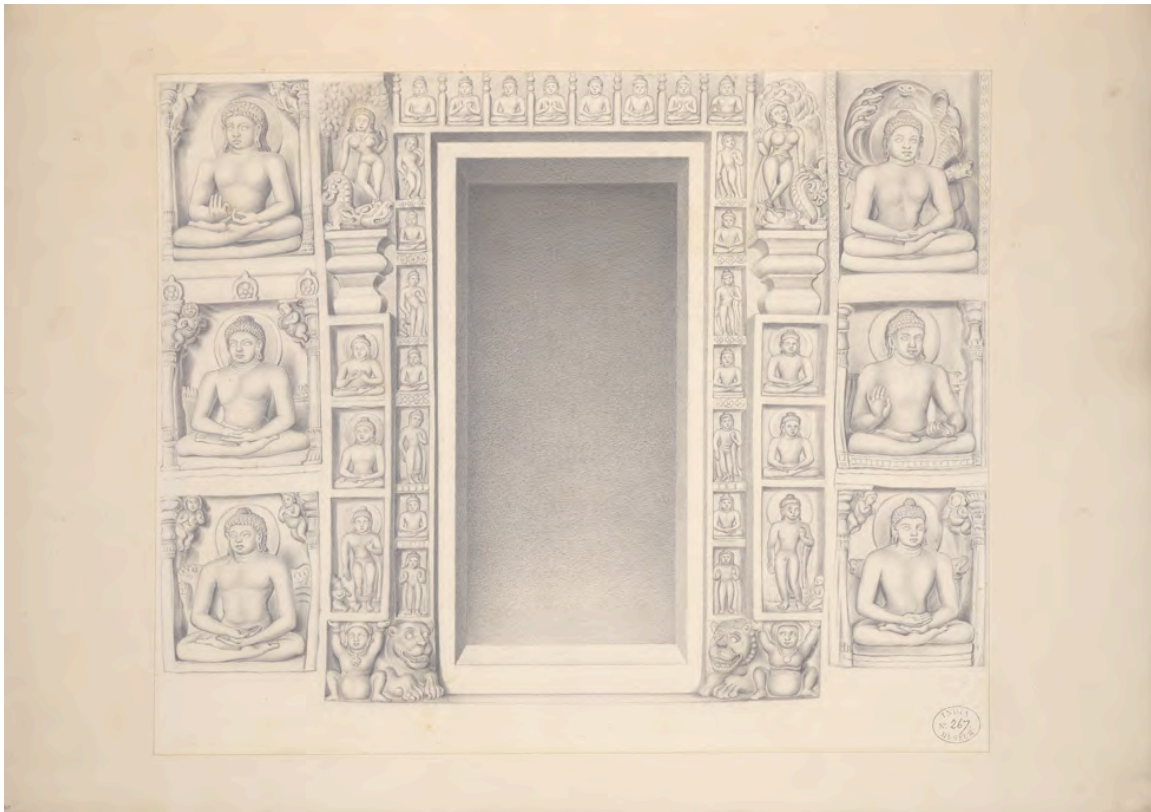


Fig. 3-21 Robert Gill, *Ajanta, Shrine Door, Cave 7*, 1850, pencil drawing. The British Library, WD1092, f24.

Of his paintings of the Ajanta cave interiors, only four survive today in the Victoria and Albert Museum from an original total of twenty-seven canvases.⁶³ Between 1847 and 1849, Gill had been sending shipments containing his paintings back to the East India Company's Museum in London, where they were put on display. Sketches of some were published in the *Illustrated London News* (**fig. 3-22**).

⁶³ Details of the surviving Gill paintings and their history are outlined in Patel 2006.



Fig. 3-22 *Paintings in the Ajunta Caves*, engraving after Robert Gill's painting of the interior of the Ajanta caves, from *The Illustrated London News*, 8 September 1849, p.173.

In 1853, the East India Company was asked to lend some of the paintings to be displayed in the Indian section in the Crystal Palace at Sydenham.⁶⁴ About twenty paintings were sent to be displayed, but tragically the majority of them were destroyed in the 1866 fire at the Crystal Palace, which affected the northern transept. Another painting was destroyed by fire in 1885 at the South Kensington Museum.⁶⁵ None of these paintings had been photographed.⁶⁶ The remaining paintings, seen in 2005 when they were taken out of storage for conservation treatment, indicate that the copies were made almost at full scale and are a remarkably colourful and lively treatment of the original frescoes.

At some point around 1857, Gill learnt to use a camera and by the time he had finished his paintings in 1863, he was also undertaking an unofficial photographic documentation of the site. His photographs were used by James Fergusson in a publication, *Rock-cut Temples of India* (London, 1864) (**fig. 3-23**) and subsequently in Gill's own publication, *Rock-cut Temples of India, One Hundred Illustrations of Architecture and Natural History in Western India* (London, 1864).

⁶⁴ The Crystal Palace was the name given to the building constructed in Hyde Park, London, to house The Great Exhibition of 1851. The exhibition closed on 15 October 1851, and the building was eventually transferred to Sydenham in South London, where it re-opened, much enlarged, on 10 June 1854.

⁶⁵ Apart from the painting by Gill, over one hundred paintings of the Ajanta frescoes made between 1872-85 by students from the Bombay School of Art were also destroyed. The Government of Bombay had commissioned the principal John Griffiths to continue Gill's efforts. 300 hundred paintings were sent to London and many were displayed at the Imperial Institute in London.

⁶⁶ Linnaeus Tripe made some photographic copies in 1858 while in Madras of the paintings that had remained in India.

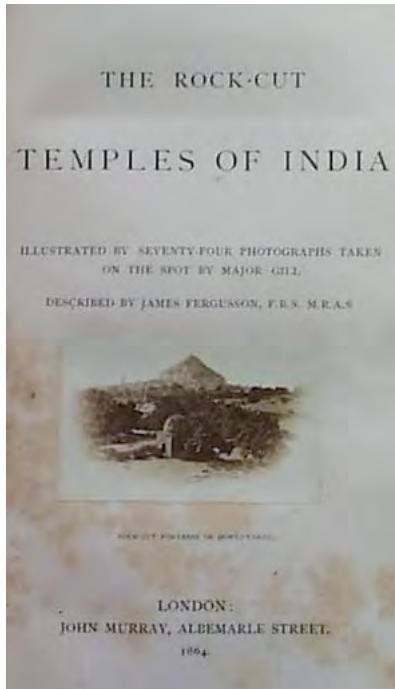


Fig. 3-23 Title page of *The Rock-cut Temples of India* (London, 1864), with photographs by Robert Gill.

The move from drawings to paintings and then to photography by one person documenting the same site is interesting, as it highlights the different types of information disseminated through the different media. Each has its advantages and disadvantages, requiring the consideration of speed, time, cost, perceived accuracy, colour or lack thereof, interiors or exteriors, ease of dissemination, and so on. While photographs could be published in a book form, and claimed a high level of scientific accuracy, it was very difficult to photograph the interiors of the caves and impossible to represent the colour of the paintings.⁶⁷

The scale of the tasks undertaken by both Fallon and Gill was overwhelming and too much for a single artist to undertake. The number of years required to document thoroughly any of the cave temples was the principal issue, particularly when the artist had to be removed from military duties, but the fact that the resulting copies were not

⁶⁷ In 1868, Gill was finally commissioned to photograph the caves at Ajanta, as well as Ellora and other nearby locations. This was to occupy him for two years.

reproducible, that they were unique and that they had been mediated by the hand of an artist were all problems that together meant that these documentary projects ultimately failed. Thus the arrival of the camera in India appeared to be the ideal solution to these difficulties and in a dispatch of 1854 the Company Court of Directors in London somewhat wearily encouraged 'the use of photography on paper to expedite and economise the labours of the Cave Committee.'⁶⁸

Official Photography at Vijayanagara

This recommendation from the Company directors led to the appointment of a 'Photographer to the Government' in the Bombay Presidency. The first photographer appointed to the position, Colonel Thomas Biggs (1822-1905) of the Bombay Artillery, was employed throughout 1855, working at sites including Aihole, Badami and Bijapur. He was recalled to military duty before he had reached Vijayanagara, however, so it was his successor, Dr William Harry Pigou (1818-58) of the Bombay Medical Service, appointed on 28 December 1855, who arrived at the site in 1856.

Pigou made two photographic expeditions during his tenure as 'Photographer to the Government'. His first tour took him to Vijayanagara and nearby Anegondi in early 1856; his second expedition led him to Mysore, Seringapatam and Halebid. By the time his position came to an end in September 1857, he had produced at least 124 paper negatives. Of these images, eleven views of Vijayanagara can be confidently attributed to Pigou.⁶⁹

The Bombay Government planned to print and then published from negatives by both Pigou and Biggs, but in the end this was not to happen for another ten years when the project was resurrected in London by the civil servant Theodore Hope (see chapter four).

⁶⁸ British Library, Bombay Public Despatches, 29 December 1854, IOR/E/4/1101 ff.1449-51.

⁶⁹ Six of Pigou's Vijayanagara views were published in *Architecture in Dharwar and Mysore* (1866). This publication is the subject of chapter four. Seven additional photographs of Vijayanagara by Pigou were published in an additional portfolio of photographs that was issued at the same time in 1866, alongside the principal volume. Examples of this 'supplemental series' can be found in the British Library (Photo 208) and in the Victoria and Albert Museum (1517-1930 to 1538-1930).

The Government of Bombay first requested that copies of the official photographs should be sent to them for distribution to the Central Museum, the Photographic Society and the Court of Directors in London. Later, in July 1857, they requested that the negatives be sent to them, and proposed to Pigou and Biggs that a professional Bombay-based photographer would make twenty copies from each of the negatives. These prints would then, they hoped, be sold in India. A final suggestion was then made that the negatives, after printing, should be sent to London where the Directors could instruct more prints to be made in order to sell them. This would allow some of the costs involved in the project to be recovered, as well as disseminating the photographs to the public, which they stated was the main purpose of the work. Prints were evidently sent to the Bombay Government, but Biggs objected to his negatives being printed in Bombay and refused to hand them over to the Government. Pigou followed suit; his negatives were part of his estate at the time of his death on 10 September 1858.⁷⁰

Working in the Mysore region at the same time as Pigou was Dr Andrew Charles Brisbane Neill (1814-91) of the 1st Madras Light Cavalry. Neill photographed at several of the more significant architectural sites, including Belur and Halebid, as well as Vijayanagara in 1855-6. Neill was not an official photographer working to a Government commission, but his work eventually became known to official sources and was published by the Government.⁷¹ At least nine photographs of Vijayanagara can be attributed to Neill. In addition, there is a group of nine additional photographs of Vijayanagara taken c.1855-6 currently unattributed in the Victoria and Albert Museum, of which six can be attributed with certainty to Neill; the other three could be by Neill or Pigou, but are also almost certainly by Neill.⁷²

⁷⁰ Dewan 1993.

⁷¹ It is included in Taylor 1866a.

⁷² The six that can be attributed with certainty are 80.097 the Square Watch Tower; 80.102 the mandapa at the Vithala temple; 80.101 small mandapa, Vithala temple; 80.103 Virupaksha temple, main gopura; 80.104 Virupaksha temple, north gopura; and 80.10180.105 Ganesha Temple. These six photographs correspond to identical prints sold in an album of Neill's work at Bonhams, *India and Beyond*, 5 October 2010, lot 64. The other photographs in the group are numbered 80.098; 80.099; 80.100. All of these photographs can be identified as being part of Fergusson's exhibition at the South Kensington Museum, of items from the International Exhibition in Paris in 1867. They can be identified from the way they are mounted and labeled on the mounts. The album at Bonhams contained six further Vijayanagara views; five

Their work is often very similar in its approach. Pigou and Neill both produce very straightforward studies of the buildings they encounter, such as Neill's photograph of the structure described as the 'treasury' (**fig. 3-24**) or Pigou's image of the mandapa at the Vithala temple (**fig. 3-25**). The subject matter is presented simply, from the front, with as little distraction as possible, in order to record the buildings.



Fig. 3-24 Andrew Neill, *Vijayanagara*, 'Treasury', 1855-6 negative, 1866 albumen print. The British Library, Photo 965/1(86).

are already known through the book and supplementary portfolio published in 1866, but one - a study of the monolithic Narasimha - was previously unknown.



Fig. 3-25 William Pigou, *Vijayanagara, Vithala temple, mandapa*, 1856 negative, 1866 albumen print. The British Library, Photo 965/1(63).

Pigou produces detail studies of the monolithic stone sculptures, including the statue of Narasimha and a rarely photographed statue of Ganesh (**fig. 3-26**). These are powerful photographs, although much of the impact comes from the impressive statue of the monolithic sculptures.



Fig. 3-26 William Pigou, *Vijayanagara, Sasivekalu Ganesha monolith*, 1856 negative, 1866 albumen print. The British Library, Photo 208/(6).

Pigou's other photographs at the site illustrate the approach of a surveyor, who is attempting to convey as much information as possible within the frame of the image. His views taken on the hill overlooking the Virupaksha temple complex shows the photographer surveying his surroundings before honing in on the temple itself. He begins by photographing a general view of the hillside (**fig. 3-27**).



Fig. 3-27 William Pigou, *Vijayanagara, Hemakuta Hill and the Virupaksha temple*, 1856 negative, 1866 print. The British Library, Photo 965/1(80).

This photograph follows on from the study of the triple-shrined Siva temples on hill, before the photographer turns to the temple and the main entrance gopura from several angles, before photographing a general overview of first courtyard inside the temple (**fig. 3-28 and fig. 3-29**).



Fig. 3-28 William Pigou, *Vijayanagara, Virupaksha temple complex*, 1856 negative, 1866 albumen print. The British Library, Photo 208/(11).



Fig. 3-29 William Pigou, *Vijayanagara, Virupaksha temple, main gopura*, 1856 negative, 1866 albumen print. The British Library, Photo 965/1(79).

Pigou is circling the principle gopura, photographing it first from the hillside, and then from the roof of another gateway within the temple complex. Approaching the temple in this way, he is adhering to the surveying mentality that is appropriate for a Government-commissioned photographer.

Neill photographed the monolithic statues and made several studies at the Vithala temple complex (**fig. 3-30**).

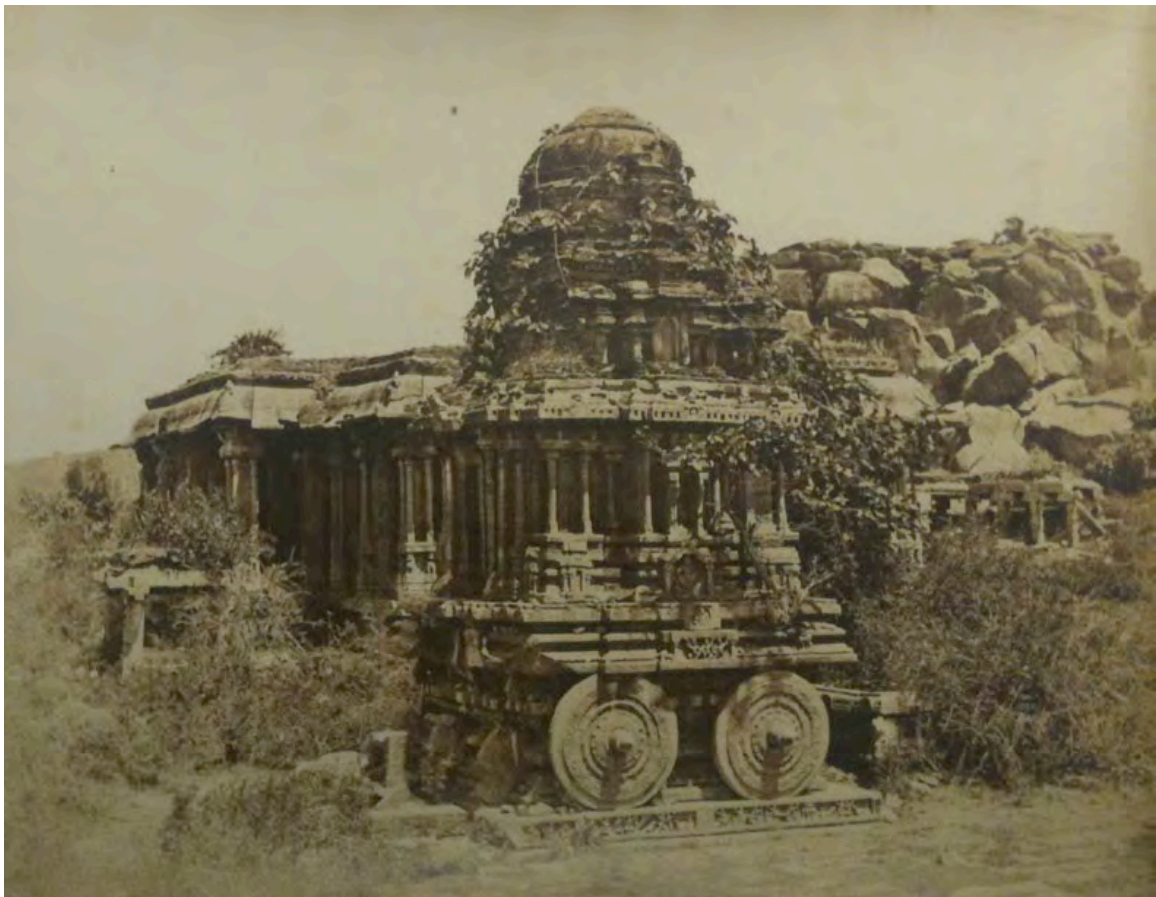


Fig. 3-30 Andrew Neill, *Vijayanagara, Vithala temple, stone chariot*, 1855-6, albumen print. From the Neill album sold at Bonhams, 5 October 2010, lot 64.

His photographs, compared to Pigou's work, often display a greater richness of texture within the compositions. In the study of the stone chariot, the structure sits surrounded by spreading shrubbery both on the ground and growing on top, with the rocks in the landscape beyond. Neill's other photographs at the Vithala temple emphasise the variety

of the stone carvings in the principal structures by focusing closely on the pillars (**fig. 3-31**).



Fig. 3-31 Andrew Neill, *Vijayanagara, Vithala temple, mahamandapa*, 1855-6 negative, 1866 albumen print. The British Library, Photo 965/1(65).

In addition, Neill photographed several of the royal structures, and made at least one three-part panorama, which shows the Virupaksha temple and the bazaar (**fig. 3-32**).



Fig. 3-32 Andrew Neill, *Vijayanagara, Virupaksha temple and bazaar*, 1855-6, three albumen prints. From the Neill album, sold at Bonhams, 5 October 2010, lot 64.

The panorama presents the whole of the temple complex as seen from above on the hillside, showing its extent, and its position at the end of the bazaar road. The sequence of three photographs contains a great deal of information about the site, and it also displays a considerable amount of skill and patience in matching up the three different sections into an almost seamless panorama.

Pigou and Neill's photographs remained unpublished for almost ten years. In the mid-1850s, Vijayanagara and the architecture of the region surrounding it was not well known or considered to be an important part of the architectural canon. Once, however, James Fergusson became convinced of the significance of the region, the publication of the photographs took place (which will be considered in the following chapter) and as a result of this and Fergusson's subsequent work, more photographers were directed to the site.

The Madras School of Arts and James Fergusson

Fergusson did not write about Vijayanagara in his early publications. It is unlikely that he ever visited the site while he was in India; certainly no sketches of it survive in his collection of drawings nor is it mentioned in his surviving journal. At some point during the 1860s, he discovered the monuments at Vijayanagara and began to include them in his work. It is possible that Fergusson first saw a set of photographs exhibited at the International Exhibition of 1862, held in London. The catalogue lists photographs by Captain Robert Sellon (1832-77) of the Bombay Engineers. One of the views was titled 'Grand Hindoo Temple (150ft high) at Beejanugger'.⁷³ So far, however, no photographs have yet appeared which seem to fit this brief, yet tantalising description and date. It is more likely that Fergusson saw the photographs in the Art Library at the South Kensington Museum, received in 1863 from the students at the Madras School of Industrial Arts (or was sent a set of the photographs himself).

⁷³ Watson 1862, p.201. Sellon's photographs, which also included views of Bombay and Badami, won him an 'Honourable Mention' in the exhibition. The Indian section of the exhibition was published as a separate volume, which became Volume III in the set of catalogues for the entire exhibition.

The Madras School had been established as a private institution by Dr Alexander Hunter in 1855, amalgamating two educational establishments previously set up by Hunter.⁷⁴ Photography had been introduced at the school in 1856 when Linnaeus Tripe was employed by the Government to photograph the architecture and landscape of southern India and part of his prescribed duties were to provide tuition for a few months each year. After Tripe's official position as Madras Government Photographer was abolished in late 1859, he was obliged to return to military duties. Nevertheless, the school decided to retain photography on the curriculum, with much of the tuition being taken on by C. Iyahsawmy Pillay, one of Tripe's first pupils.⁷⁵

The purpose of introducing photography into the activities of the Madras School was a practical one: by instructing students to use a camera, a group of trained individuals was being created who could usefully be incorporated into the government's surveying and documentary activities. A second, equally important factor was the ability of the newly trained photographers to contribute images to the school's reference library, which could then be used by other students as source material for creating designs, as well as for other educational purposes.

As part of the tuition, groups were regularly sent out on field expeditions to practice their craft. One such trip was recorded in a report of 1864: 'A photographic and sketching tour was undertaken with success during the year by certain of the students. During the tour, photographs were taken of scenery around Coonoor and of the antiquities of Humpee [Hampi] and Tarputree [Tadpatri]. Some of the best specimens were sent to the Kensington School of Design where they were esteemed highly.'⁷⁶

⁷⁴ This is the same 'Dr A Hunter' who wrote the report for the Madras Exhibition of Raw Products in 1855, praising Tripe and Greenlaw. Hunter combined the School for Fine Arts, set up in 1850, with the School for Industry, established in 1851. The combined school - the Madras School of Industrial Arts - was run by Hunter until 1870.

⁷⁵ Dewan, D. 2001, p.52-3.

⁷⁶ Madras 1864, p.58. The South Kensington School of Design was affiliated with the South Kensington Museum, later known as the Victoria and Albert Museum. It was one of the schools of art established by the Government (see chapter three). It is now the Royal College of Art. There is a set of photographs of Vijayanagara that might be part of the set sent by the Madras School. Photographs 40.568-570 and 40.578-579 appear to be by the same photographer - a duplicate print of 40.569, a study of the stone chariot in the

The photographs sent to the South Kensington Museum in 1863 were all stereoscopic views, a popular format that allowed the image to be placed into a hand-held viewer to create the illusion of a three-dimensional scene. The use of this format suggests that the photographs might have been intended for public consumption, or the students were being prepared to produce photographs for a commercial market. The stereoscopic format may have offered the possibility of appearing to present more information within each scene as well. In the mid-1860s, stereoscopic views were extremely popular for illustrating scenes at tourist sites particularly in Europe and the United States. Less well-known architectural sites had also been photographed in this way, including Tripe's views of temples in the Mysore region published in 1858, which as he had been a former teacher might have influenced their choice of format.⁷⁷ The choice was seen as a successful one, as it was mentioned in a report for the years 1862-63: 'Photography was cultivated with success, and some stereoscopic views were taken of ancient buildings and other striking objects.'⁷⁸

The views concentrated on the Vithala temple, which presented the greatest wealth of material at a single monument as well as being the single most architecturally significant structure at the site (**fig. 3-33**).

Vithala temple, was sold at Bonhams, on 13 April 2010, lot 162, and its mount had a stamp for the Madras School of Industrial Arts.

⁷⁷ Linnaeus Tripe, *Stereographs of Trichinopoly, Tanjore and other places in their neighbourhood* (Madras, 1858). A set can be found in the British Library, Photo 956.

⁷⁸ Madras 1863, p.56.



Fig. 3-33 Madras School of Arts, *Vijayanagara, the mahamandapa of the Vithala temple, from within*, c.1863-4, albumen stereoscopic print. The Alkazi Collection of Photography, 2000.04.0001(15).

One image attempts to capture the elephant stables but the difficulty of the subject matter is evident in the awkwardness of the resulting print (**fig. 3-34**).



Fig. 3-34 Madras School of Arts, *Vijayanagara, Elephant Stables*, c.1863-4, stereoscopic albumen prints. Victoria and Albert Museum, 40.551.

Only the end of the building was included in the view, and neither the full extent of the monument or its impressive size is clear from the photograph. The stereoscopic format was not suited to conveying information about the site, and the general views the students produced would not have been useful as examples of ornament and design.

In 1865, Fergusson was asked by the civil servant Theodore Hope to be involved with the publication of the photographs taken by Biggs, Pigou and Neill in 1855-6. Fergusson was to assist with the selection of the images and write an accompanying text on the architecture, whilst others would cover the history of southern India. The volume *Architecture in Dharwar and Mysore* (1866) is covered in detail in the following chapter. In the same year, Fergusson also delivered his important lecture on Indian architecture illustrating it with photographs (see Introduction).⁷⁹ The lecture was later published by the South Kensington Museum, suggesting that Fergusson and the museum shared an approach towards the use of photography to provide information and to educate.

In 1867, working with Dr John Forbes Watson of the India Museum, Fergusson curated an exhibition of architectural photographs as part of the International Exhibition in Paris. He incorporated photographs by Pigou and Neill of Vijayanagara. To Class LXV, Fergusson provided a 'series of photographs of Indian architecture'.⁸⁰ Alongside his display, there were also 'photographs of the architecture of Ahmedabad, Dharwar and Beejapoor', referring to the three publications to which Fergusson contributed in 1866.⁸¹ Additionally, the Madras School of Art contributed 'photographs of antiquities' although the exact locations were not specified.⁸²

Fergusson, in the course of writing a subsequent report, identified the extent of the exhibition by listing the regions and towns of India represented.⁸³ The exhibition contained about 500 photographs, including views from Orissa by Henry Dixon; Gaur by Ravenshaw; Lucknow by Bourne and Shepherd; Delhi by Felice Beato; Rajasthan by Eugene Impey; Sanchi by James Waterhouse; six views of Halebid by Tripe, and about 19 views of Vijayanagara, including work by Pigou and Neill.⁸⁴ Some of the photographs

⁷⁹ Fergusson 1869.

⁸⁰ Paris 1867, p.300. Fergusson's display was included in Class LXV: Civil engineering, public works, and architecture. '2. Fergusson, James, Esq., London. Series of photographs of Indian architecture.'

⁸¹ Paris 1867, p.300. The books are Taylor 1866a, 1866b and Hope 1866.

⁸² Paris 1867, p.275.

⁸³ Watson 1869, pp.5-19.

⁸⁴ Watson 1869, pp.8-19. Fergusson wrote, 'this consisted of about 500 representations of Indian buildings, which were selected out of a collection exceeding 1000 in number'. The list covered Orissa, Bihar, Sarnath, Benares, Gaur, Kashmir, Amritsar, Lahore, Delhi, Agra, Fatehpur Sikri, Lucknow, Gwalior, Vrindavan,

from the exhibition can be identified in the collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum, because they still retain the original card window mounts with Fergusson's captions written below the image.⁸⁵

Neill's photograph of the Lotus Mahal was one of the photographs displayed in Paris (**fig. 3-35**).



Fig. 3-35 Andrew Neill, *Vijayanagara, Lotus Mahal*, 1856 negative, 1866 albumen print. Victoria and Albert Museum, 48.545.a.

Fergusson was to write about this structure in his architectural histories and the photograph was reproduced as an engraving in the 1876 edition (**fig. 3-36**).

Dig, Udaipur, Mandu, Kanpur, Benares, Sanchi, Karli, Elephanta, Ellora, Aihole, Hubli, Hungul, Pattadakal, Ahmedabad, Bijapur, Mysore, Halebid, Vijayanagara, Tanjore, Vellor, Bangalore and others.

⁸⁵ The captions are written exactly as they appear in Watson 1869, pp.8-19.



Fig. 3-36 '*Garden Pavilion at Vijayanagar from a Photograph*', woodcut engraving after a photograph by Neill, from Fergusson's *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* (London, 1876), illustration no. 215.

Other photographs from the Paris exhibition include Neill's photographs of the Vithala temple, and Pigou's views of Hemakuta Hill and the Hampi Bazaar (**fig. 3-37**).



Fig. 3-37 William Pigou, *Vijayanagara, Hemakuta Hill, showing the triple-shrined Siva temple*, 1856 negative, printed 1866, albumen print. Victoria and Albert Museum, 48.541.a.

Fergusson's contribution was reviewed separately from the rest of the exhibition for *The Art Journal*: 'The exhibition is indebted to Mr James Fergusson for the most complete and instructive collection of photographs from India ever seen.'⁸⁶ In this way, information about Indian architecture, including Vijayanagara, was presented to the public through official channels such as international exhibitions, the India Museum and the South Kensington Museum. Some photographs then reached a further, wider audience through reproduction as engravings in Fergusson's own publications. Vijayanagara as a result became part of the recognized canon of architectural sites in southern India.

One other result of Fergusson's involvement in the exhibitions and publications of 1866-7 was his participation in the official report, written for the Archaeological Survey of India

⁸⁶ *The Art Journal*, October 1867, p.236.

in 1868 and published by the India Museum the following year.⁸⁷ The *Report on the Illustration of the Archaic Architecture of India* was produced under the main authorship of Dr Forbes Watson. Watson outlined two main points for consideration in the report: the best means of pictorial representation, and the utilization of these materials and the information contained within them. Of the different means of representation, he considered photography the most important: 'it is scarcely necessary to refer to the cast importance of photography as a means of affording a truthful description of structures of every description'.⁸⁸

Watson made specific suggestions on how to take appropriate images (not smaller than 8x10 inches, including two measuring rods) and what to do with them. He wanted both negatives and a set of proof prints to be supplied to the museum in London, as well as one set retained in India, preferably printed as carbon prints because of the apparent permanence of the process. He concluded by recommending that 'the knowledge thus acquired' should be made available through a series of volumes, under the direction of two or more editors. Watson's suggestions were to be heard by some photographers, such as Henry Hardy Cole, who produced appropriately scientific images with measuring rods, which were returned to Britain, and published as carbon prints by the India Museum.⁸⁹

Fergusson was asked to supply a report on which structures should be photographed. He did this by identifying those monuments already photographed, basing his list on the photographs he had displayed in Paris (see above). Fergusson also discussed the photographic format that photographers should produce: 'The photographs to be taken should not, if possible, be less in size than 8 inches by 10. Stereoscopes and those of less dimensions, though very beautiful, are not suited for scientific purposes. It is hardly ever possible to make out the details of architecture in small photographs with sufficient distinctness to reason upon them in a satisfactory manner.'⁹⁰ Alexander Hunter and Fergusson were in direct communication at this time, as elsewhere in the report

⁸⁷ Watson 1869.

⁸⁸ Watson 1869, p.2. He gave five means of 'pictorial representation': photographs; drawings; plans, sections and architectural drawings; models; moulds and casts.

⁸⁹ Cole 1869 and 1873. The publishing activities of the India Museum are described in the Introduction.

⁹⁰ Watson 1869, p.19.

Fergusson describes receiving 100 photographs sent directly to him from Hunter.⁹¹ Fergusson continued, 'He [Hunter] has trained some of his pupils to be very expert in the art, and every year sends them out to photograph the most interesting remains. All that is within reach of Madras may safely be left in his charge.'⁹²

This report informed subsequent photographic activity at Vijayanagara, as well as elsewhere. A few years later, another group of students from the Madras School of Arts made the journey to Hampi, and again concentrated their cameras on the Vithala temple complex. Following this, the South Kensington Museum purchased a group of 102 photographs from the school for 176 Rupees; sixteen of the prints were of Vijayanagara. The photographs arrived in London in 1871.⁹³

This second group of prints consisted of larger prints rather than stereoscopic views, following Fergusson's advice, and they were far more accomplished than the earlier set of photographs. Eleven of the photographs concentrate on specific architectural features, particularly the highly ornamented pillars and the sculptures on columns. This closer focus on the details of the architecture is new. It is likely that it was directed by the school's requirement for the photographs to serve as educational documents, providing examples of ornament to students in Madras. Specific examples of design were presented to the students, through both the original objects (in museums, for example) and through copies, including photographs, models and casts.

The details include columns and pillars, as well as sculptures (**fig. 3-38**).

⁹¹ Watson 1869, p.18.

⁹² Watson 1869, p. 18.

⁹³ 'Purchased of Dr Hunter, Superintendent of Art School, Madras, 29th Aug.1871', The Photograph Register, nos.71275-77283, Victoria and Albert Museum. A third set of Vijayanagara photographs was acquired by the museum from the Madras School in 1906, all of the prints, save one, duplicating the 1871 set. This one photograph (catalogue number 2537-1906) came from a negative exposed at the same time as the rest of the 1871 set and is included in all discussions of the Madras School photographs.



Fig. 3-38 Madras School of Art, *Vijayanagara, Vithala temple, Krishna dancing on a snake, on south face of the mahamandapa*, late 1860s-1870, albumen print. Victoria and Albert Museum, 71.890.

Compared to the earlier photographs, this example is well composed. The subject is clearly presented, with the light falling directly onto the carved figure. The adjacent pillars can just be seen, but do not distract from the main focus. The camera is perhaps a little too low, given that the base of the temple is visible while parts of the column are missing from the top of the photograph, but this could be either intended in order to provide some physical context for the sculpted column, or it could be technical. The camera could be without a rising front, which if present would have allowed the student to incorporate more of the column without moving further away or tilting the camera.⁹⁴

The students taking the photographs would all have been Indian students. This opens up the possibility of a different vision of the site, compared to the British military

⁹⁴ The rising front is an adjustment on the front of the camera that allows the operator to raise or lower the lens relative to the plate. It allows more of the subject to be included, either at the top or bottom of the image respectively.

photographers. In practice, however, the photographs are similar to those taken by Pigou, Neill and Greenlaw, which suggests that the institutional demands directed how the photographs were taken (**fig. 3-39**).



Fig. 3-39 Madras School of Arts, *Vijayanagara, Vithala temple and chariot*, late 1860s-1870, albumen print. Victoria and Albert Museum, 71.894.

In the study of the Vithala temple, the photographer has adopted a very similar position to that of Greenlaw in fig. 3-10. It can also be compared with Neill's photograph of the same mandapa (**fig. 3-40**).



Fig. 3-40 Andrew Neill, *Vijayanagara, Vithala temple and chariot*, c.1856 negative, 1866 albumen print. The British Library, Photo 965/1(64).

Neill has cropped the composition more tightly on the right, keeping the chariot just within the frame, while the student at the Madras School has included empty space to the right of the chariot that presents no information about the site at all. The students were still learning how best to approach the subject, but both the military photographers in the 1850s and the students of the Madras School were photographing to the same ends: surveying the site, and taking photographs to record information about the buildings.

Edmund David Lyon (1825-1891)

At the same time that Fergusson was writing his report, the Madras Government was already addressing the need for a more structured and comprehensive to the documentation of antiquities under its care. The Presidency had previously appointed Linnaeus Tripe to be its official photographer in 1856 but the post had been abolished in

1859. When Tripe faced this possibility, he requested to be granted leave until the end of July 1860 in order that he photograph 'the ruins of Beejnugger' [Vijayanagara], where he expected to work 'with advantage no amateur can command'.⁹⁵ Unfortunately, Tripe's plea was ignored and he returned to his regiment.

Ten years on, the Government sought advice from concerned individuals, including Dr Hunter, on the best way to proceed. One of the recommendations made by both Watson and Fergusson in the report of 1869 was that it was always better in the long run to appoint professional photographers to document monuments. The argument was that, although it might initially be more expensive, the work would ultimately be of a superior quality when compared against amateurs work and would thus be of greater educational use.

Recommendations were taken from two commercial photographers, Mr Nicholas of Nicholas & Co., Madras, and Captain Edmund David Lyon, a commercial photographer located in Ootacamund. As a result of these consultations, Lyon was appointed General Photographer for the Madras Presidency in November 1867.⁹⁶

Lyon toured South India between November 1867 and August 1868, taking a route that included Trichinopoly, Madurai, Tanjore, Halebid, Bellary and Vijayanagara. Because of the route he followed, he was most probably in Vijayanagara in 1868. Pigou and Biggs had already visited most of the same sites on behalf of the Bombay Government. By now, however, changes in photographic technology meant that the glass plate negative had now completely replaced the paper calotype, even in India. Frederick Scott Archer had worked out a way to use collodion on glass as a binding medium for the light-sensitive chemicals needed to create a negative. Although this was a much more complicated process to employ requiring a mobile dark-tent and a whole range of chemicals, the resulting images were perceived to be superior, with two major advantages: the glass plate negative ensured the positive prints were sharp and detailed; and the chemicals used

⁹⁵ Dewan 2003a, p.17.

⁹⁶ Dewan 1992, p.315.

were more sensitive to light, leading to shorter exposure times – maybe only a second or two, depending on the amount of light available. This allowed Lyon to produce more photographs for each monument that he documented and to include more images taken from within the monuments where it was darker (**fig. 3-41**).



Fig. 3-41 E.D. Lyon, *Vijayanagara, Vithala temple, inside the mahamandapa*, 1868, albumen print. The British Library, Photo 212/7(22).

Lyon produced at least thirty-three views of Vijayanagara. In 1870, these were issued commercially as a set, along with his other views of South India.⁹⁷ An accompanying

⁹⁷ The India Office received seven volumes of Lyon's views of south India containing 282 photographs in total.

booklet was also printed, of notes written by Lyon, edited by James Fergusson: *Notes to Accompany a Series of Photographs Designed to Illustrate the Ancient Architecture of Southern India. Taken for the Government* (London, 1870). Fergusson already knew about Lyon's work in 1868, and with reference to the official documentation of architecture, he remarks, 'If the negatives of these, or a sufficient number of copies, could be obtained, what we possess would probably suffice for the present, in so far as the Madras Presidency is concerned.'⁹⁸

Together, the photographs and the notes presented a route designed to lead the visitor through the site, beginning with the Elephant Stables and ending with the Vithala temple. Lyon occasionally incorporates into the text advice for the traveller as well, for example suggesting the best approach to the site, where to stay overnight and how long the journey should take. Each photograph was assigned a number that appears on the mount of the photograph; the number then corresponds to the relevant paragraph in the booklet. Lyon's views of Vijayanagara run from 484 to 516.

Reading the descriptive text, it is impossible to know how much of it was written by Lyon and how much is Fergusson's. What is clear, however, is Lyon's systematic approach to the site and his attempt to photograph as much of it as possible. He has photographed several monuments that had not previously been documented, even by Greenlaw, such as the nine-domed pavilion (**fig. 3-42**).

⁹⁸ Watson 1869, p.18.



Fig. 3-42 E.D. Lyon, *Vijayanagara, Nine-domed pavilion*, 1868, albumen print. The Alkazi Collection, 97.33.0071.

A close study of the sequence of his prints shows that he prefers to work systematically around a temple complex, producing a selection of views that function together as a series. As Lyon was documenting the site for the Government, this is appropriate, and he follows the survey approach already seen in the work of Greenlaw and others.

Approaching the Vithala temple, Lyon begins the sequence with an exterior view of the principal eastern entrance - the same entrance that any visitor would have used (**fig. 3-43**).



Fig. 3-43 E.D. Lyon, *Vijayanagara, Vithala temple and lamp column*, 1868, albumen print. The Alkazi Collection, 97.33.0080.

The next photograph provides a general view of the temple buildings, as seen after passing through the entrance (**fig. 3-44**).



Fig. 3-44 E.D. Lyon, *Vijayanagara, Vithala temple and chariot, looking towards the mahamanadpa*, 1868, albumen print. The Alkazi Collection, 97.33.0081.

Lyon then approaches the mahamandapa, and after a couple of general views of this structure, he focuses in on the interior, illustrating the complexities of the carvings. Next he turns to the other mandapas within the complex (**fig. 3-45**), before leaving by the southern gopura, making one last view from this gateway.



Fig. 3-45 E.D. Lyon, *Vijayanagara, Vithala temple, the southeast mandapa*, 1868, albumen print. The British Library, Photo 212/7(24).

It would seem, through this sequence, that not only is Lyon providing a systematic record of the structures, he is also trying to recreate the visitor's experience of actually walking through the temple, using his camera to record what a visitor would have seen.⁹⁹ His work goes some way to providing the complete documentation that Fergusson wished for, although criticisms creep into the text, echoing Fergusson's earlier complaint that 'no one unfortunately has ever thought of making a plan of this temple [i.e. the Vithala temple], or even measuring it.'¹⁰⁰

⁹⁹ Gordon 2000, vol.1, p.11.

¹⁰⁰ Lyon 1870, p.95.

Conservation and photography

While Henry Hardy Cole was Curator of Ancient Monuments, he visited Vijayanagara in the first half of the year 1881.¹⁰¹ While there, he produced a small group of images that were subsequently sent to the India Office and incorporated into the archive.¹⁰² The photographs illustrate the concerns of the curator, looking at buildings that required conservation work. Almost all of Cole's few photographs concentrate on structures that are about to collapse or are in danger of deteriorating further (**fig. 3-46**).

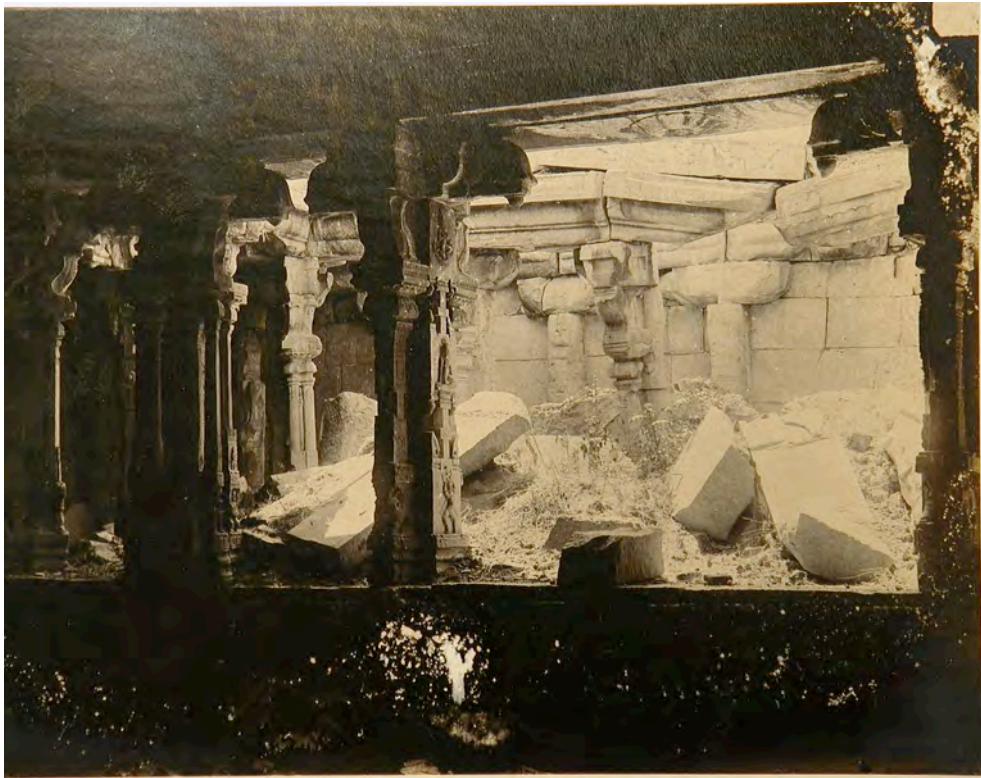


Fig. 3-46 H.H. Cole, *Vijayanagara, Vithala temple, interior of mahamandapa*, 1881, albumen print. The British Library, Photo 1002/40(2206).

During his visit, however, Cole was already aware of a much larger group of photographs taken only during the previous year by a photographer who visited the site with the 3rd

¹⁰¹ On 8 February 1881, Cole left Calcutta for Madras, from here setting out on a tour of South India to visit the major temple towns and important palaces before arriving at Vijayanagara. After this, he turned westward, and journeyed through Bijapur, Pune, Bombay, Ambernath, Ahmedabad and into Rajasthan. He ended his tour in Simla only two months later on 16 April.

¹⁰² British Library, Photo 1002/40(2199-2207).

Duke of Buckingham (**fig. 3-47**) and this may have stopped him from taking any further photographs himself.¹⁰³



Fig. 3-47 Duke of Buckingham's photographer, *Vijayanagara, The Queen's Bath, interior*, 1880, albumen print. The British Library, Photo 1000/13(1371).

Buckingham, as the Governor of Madras, had developed a strong interest in the antiquities and ruins within the Madras Presidency. In 1878 he had suggested the restoration of the temple in Vellore fort, and the same year, the Madras Government had ordered the removal of vegetation from the ruins at Vijayanagara (although not very successfully, to judge from the evidence of the photographs). After his visit to Vijayanagara in 1880, Buckingham produced a report that Cole subsequently

¹⁰³ British Library, Photo 1000/13(1370-1412). Richard Temple-Grenville, 3rd Duke of Buckingham and Chandos (1823-89), served as Governor of Madras from 1875 to 1880. The photographs are not attributed to a photographer in the British Library catalogue, but the group can be identified by the inclusion of images in Cole 1881.

incorporated into his own end-of-year report.¹⁰⁴ Cole's report, organised by building or structure, discusses the state of preservation of each significant monument, and makes suggestions for future action. It also includes a number of engravings, which in the case of Vijayanagara are copies after the Buckingham series of photographs.

Cole's report follows a similar route around the site as that taken by Lyon in 1868. Beginning with the elephant stables, then moving through the Royal Centre before ending at the Vithala temple, Cole makes notes on the style of the architecture, its current state of repair and sometimes makes suggestions that photographers should document specific features. For example, when discussing the Ramachandra temple, he writes: 'The walls of the enclosure are covered with sculpted chariots and sharply cut medallions and figures well worth photography. This temple should be preserved and further ruin stopped by propping up the dangerous blocks of masonry, by cleaning away jungle and eradicating roots in the masonry joints and by cleaning up.'¹⁰⁵ The Buckingham photographer had provided one example (**fig. 3-48**).

¹⁰⁴ Cole 1881, pp.24-28. The report covers Mahabalipuram, Vellore, Trichinopoly, Kumbakonum, Madurai, Tanjore, Kanchipuram, Chidambaram and Vijayanagara.

¹⁰⁵ Cole 1881, p. 25.



Fig. 3-48 Duke of Buckingham's photographer, *Vijayanagara, Ramachandra temple, detail*, 1880, albumen print. The British Library, Photo 1002/40(2201).

Like Cole's photographs, many of the images from the Buckingham series also concentrate on areas that require conservation. The shrine of the Pattabhirama temple is shown with grasses growing from its roof, for example (**fig. 3-49**).



Fig. 3-49 Duke of Buckingham's photographer, *Vijayanagara, Pattabhirama temple, main shrine*, 1880, albumen print. The British Library, Photo 1000/13(1383).

Other photographs recall the documentary nature of the task: often a single male figure is included, standing straight at the side of the monument – an indication of scale.

Occasionally the less visually attractive side of a building is photographed, in order to provide a more complete representation of the structure, such the photograph of the Lotus Mahal (**fig. 3-50**) where the plain exterior of the staircase is included in the frame, rarely seen in the work of other photographers.



Fig. 3-50 Duke of Buckingham's photographer, *Vijayanagara, Lotus Mahal*, 1880, albumen print. The British Library, Photo 1000/13(1374).

Some details of columns have been selected also, with occasionally the background being blacked out in the negative, so in the print the column stands alone, bereft of its context (**fig. 3-51**). In this way, the image contains very focused information about a particular aspect of the building, comparable to the drawings of architectural details that were produced by Robert Gill in the 1840s-50s.



Fig. 3-51 Duke of Buckingham's photographer, *Column from the Pattabhirama temple, Vijayanagara*, 1880, albumen print. The British Library, Photo 1000/13(1407).

While these photographs indicate the approach of a surveyor to the site, different types of photographs are also appearing. The changes in technology allowed successive photographers to take more images on each visit rather than being restricted to a handful of views - in the hands of a capable practitioner, the wet collodion process would be quicker and cheaper. The Duke's photographer responded to the river and the remarkable rocky landscape that is such a notable feature of Vijayanagara for visitors today. The boulders and the rock formations are unusual, and the cream and yellow colours of the stones are particularly striking. While it would not be possible for a nineteenth-century photographer to capture the colours of the landscape, the photographer has attempted to depict the topography surrounding the site to the best of his ability. One view looks along the Tungabhadra River, across the massive stones on the riverbank, towards the Virupaksha temple. The main gopura can be seen in the distance, its presence almost a natural part of the landscape, as it seems to grow out of the rocks (**fig. 3-52**).



Fig. 3-52 Duke of Buckingham's photographer, *Vijayanagara, The River Tungabhadra, the Virupaksha temple gopura in the distance*, 1880, albumen print. The British Library, Photo 1000/13(1396).

The next photograph in the sequence also places the Virupaksha temple in its topographical context, as the photographer stands on the top of Matanga Hill and looks down at the temple (**fig. 3-53**), surrounded by fields and bordered by the river.



Fig. 3-53 Duke of Buckingham's photographer, *Vijayanagara, the bazaar from Matanga Hill*, 1880, albumen print. The British Library, Photo 1000/13(1397).

There is very little in the way of architectural information in these images, nor do they function as records of the state of preservation of buildings, yet they were retained as part of the series. They help place the temples into the broader context of their surroundings, but at the same time they draw on elements of the Picturesque in forming an attractive landscape scene. Whilst the scientific approach was still necessary, a romantic approach also begins to appear. The change of photographic process from the calotype to wet collodion plate is partly responsible for this, as this was now the technology of the commercial photographer, who was responsible for producing and selling picturesque views in large numbers. The faster process was also beginning to shift the visual language available to photographers from purely static monuments to images that included more movement, more people and were sometimes even verging towards the

type of visual image that would be described as documentary in the twentieth century. This is exemplified by photographer working for the commercial firm, Nicholas & Co.

Commerical photography

None of the photographers discussed so far was working for primarily commercial reasons. The interest in the monuments at Vijayanagara was predominantly archaeological, and as a result the photographs produced of the site were not readily available beyond the scholarly environment of the Archaeological Survey, Government collections and museum archives. Vijayanagara did not become a popular tourist destination during the nineteenth century, and souvenir photograph albums from the mid- and late-nineteenth century rarely contain photographs or other images of the site. Preferred destinations in South India included Madras, Trichinopoly and Seringapatnam (British visitors were drawn to the locations associated with the Anglo-Mysore wars and particularly the life and death of Tipu Sultan), the Sri Minakshi temple in Madurai, the cantonment city of Bangalore and the nearby hill stations of Coonoor and Ootacamund. This makes it all the more surprising that Nicholas & Co., the most commercially successful firm in South India, decided to produce a series of photographs that covered Bellary and Vijayanagara.

John P. Nicholas had begun working in Madras in the late 1850s. He established the photographic business Nicholas Brothers (always represented as Nicholas Bros), later known as Nicholas & Co. The firm prospered in the 1860s, rivalling in the south the pre-eminent photographic firm of the day, Bourne and Shepherd. The firm, initially operating under the name 'Nicholas & Curths', photographed visiting rulers, nobility and Indian princes, including the visit of The Duke of Edinburgh to Madras in 1870.¹⁰⁶ They also exhibited work at the International Exhibition in Vienna in 1873.¹⁰⁷ Nicholas was a prominent member of the British community in Madras because of his successful

¹⁰⁶ *The Madras Times*, 2 April 1870, p.1.

¹⁰⁷ Watson 1873, p.198 & 209.

business; he was the Municipal Commissioner of Madras (1874-1892) and as described earlier, he had been consulted by the Madras Government over the photographic documentation of architectural monuments. Today the firm is particularly known for its studies of Indian ‘types’ – portraits of unknown Indian men and women representing different professions, castes and classes – as well as for its views of the colonial city of Madras, the hill stations of southern India and portraits of the British communities in these places.

An album has survived which contains thirty-one photographs by Nicholas & Co. from the Vijayanagara series, dating most probably to the late 1870s or 1880s.¹⁰⁸ A handful of loose prints have also been identified, mostly duplicating images in the album, but two of the loose prints are not represented in the album, bringing the total number of known photographs of Vijayanagara by Nicholas & Co. to thirty-three. The order of the photographs in the album is apparently random, not following any particular route across the site. The series is fairly comprehensive, however, including the principal structures in the Royal Centre, such as the Lotus Mahal and the Elephant Stables, as well as the Vithala temple complex and a number of the temples and gateways that are encountered between the two areas.

The architectural views in this series differ slightly to the archaeological documentation by earlier photographers. The unknown photographer working for Nicholas & Co. includes human figures in almost all of the compositions, even in his study of the colossal Narasimha statue (**fig. 3-54**).

¹⁰⁸ The photographs are not listed in Nicholas & Co.’s 1881 studio catalogue (Nicholas 1881), but they must have been taken before 1890 when the brick tower of the Garuda shrine in the Vithala temple was pulled down. The tower is clearly visible in the Nicholas & Co. photographs.



Fig. 3-54 Nicholas & Co. *Vijayanagara, Narasimha statue*, 1880s, albumen print. The Alkazi Collection, 2001.08.0001(17).

This may have been for scale, as the size of some of the structures at Vijayanagara is unexpectedly large, but it also has the effect of personalising the photographs. The presence of human figures, including one in a smart white uniform who was probably assisting the photographer in some capacity, transforms the photograph from a de-contextualised, scientific architectural study into a different type of image that is linked to both place and time. It makes the photographs more appealing in a commercial context.

The photographer for Nicholas & Co. responds to the topographical setting of the site as much as to the architecture itself, as did Buckingham's photographer. One striking image

shows the so-called 'Sister Rocks' that stand next to the road leading to Hampi (**fig. 3-55**).



Fig. 3-55 Nicholas & Co. *Vijayanagara, the 'Sister' rocks*, 1880s, albumen print. The Alkazi Collection, 2001.08.0001(27).

The rocks stand side by side, seeming to embrace. The photographer has positioned himself at an angle so as to create the impression of two massive forces pressing up against each other; this provides tension within the composition. Other views of the landscape incorporate aspects of the Picturesque aesthetic, something that rarely intrudes in earlier work. The photographer creates a scene that shows the river Tungabhadra meandering through the rocky landscape, with the main pagoda of the Virupaksha temple almost lost on the horizon (**fig. 3-56**).



Fig. 3-56 Nicholas & Co. *Vijayanagara, River Tungabhadra and the Virupaksha temple gopura beyond*, 1880s, albumen print. The Alkazi Collection, 2001.08.0001(28).

Of perhaps greater interest though is that, for the first time, we encounter the people who live in and around Hampi. In one image, the photographer has been attracted by the coracles – the small open boats that are still used today to cross the river (**fig. 3-57**).



Fig. 3-57 Nicholas & Co. *Vijayanagara, Coracles to cross the river Tungabhadra*, 1880s, albumen print. The Alkazi Collection, 2001.08.0001(34).

Commercial photographers were able to find a market for images of forms of transport unusual to the British, as part of the broader practice of photographing different types of Indian people for tourist consumption. Nicholas and Co. may have seen a place for the coracles in that particular category. The photograph is also part of the shifting response to photographing the site - the photographs are capturing the life and the people here, as well as the architecture.

A view of the village of Kamalapuram, where the Pattabhiraama temple is located, is a much more unusual composition for a commercial firm. The photographer is standing on the roof of a house, and looks along the road, taking in the villagers and their humble homes (**fig. 3-58**).



Fig. 3-58 Nicholas & Co. *Kamalapuram village near Vijayanagara*, 1880s, albumen print. The Alkazi Collection, 2001.08.0001(40).

The people in the photograph (all men or young children) seem to be not so much posed for the benefit of the photographer, as watching the operations taking place on the roof of their neighbour's home. Usually when village scenes are constructed by Western photographers, the vision created is one of rural simplicity, perhaps best described as a genre scene of the domestic picturesque.¹⁰⁹ The photograph will often include lush fertile vegetation and reassuringly healthy looking animals. Here the image is slightly more ambiguous, and it could not have been entirely comfortable viewing for the potential colonial customer. As the photographer seems to peer almost surreptitiously over the parapet of the building to obtain a proper view of the villagers, we encounter living conditions that would have been at best confusing to a Victorian audience.

¹⁰⁹ Typical examples would be the rural Bengal scenes photographed in the 1860s by Samuel Bourne and J.E. Saché.

The scarcity of these Nicholas photographs in collections today suggests that they were commercially not a success. It is possible that the photographs were a commission that remains untraced, for a scholarly purpose, but even so it is unlikely that a commercial photographic studio would not have sold the resulting images – this is what Lyon intended to do with his Government-commissioned photographs. There was just probably very little demand for these particular images at this time, because the site was not yet part of the tourist circuit and Nicholas & Co. were looking to expand their catalogue of views.

Commercial photographic studios in India were at this time mirroring, or following, practices established in Britain and seeking out new locations to photograph to ensure new business. Firms which had begun as relatively small enterprises were continually expanding their catalogue of views to encompass places across the country, and in some cases, across the world. Francis Frith established a business that grew to be one of the largest publishers of topographical views in the world, selling photographs of Britain, Europe, the Middle East and several Asian countries. Other successful firms included those set up by George Washington Wilson in Aberdeen and James Valentine in Dundee. In India, the successful model was the Bourne and Shepherd studio, which by the late nineteenth century, had expanded to include views of Burma and Sri Lanka, with permanent studios in Simla, Bombay and Calcutta, and temporary studios in other locations. Nicholas & Co. would have seen this as a model to emulate.

The overall lack of material from Vijayanagara produced for commercial purposes is indicative of the small number of tourists visiting the site in the nineteenth century. This was to a certain extent a vicious circle – the lack of attractive visual material to persuade people to visit the site meant that few actually made the journey, and consequently it was not worth the while of a commercial photographer to expend the energy and time required to photograph the site adequately. Even with the advent of the railway, it was still a considerable journey to reach Vijayanagara unless coming from the cantonment at Bellary. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, very few photographers visited the

site.¹¹⁰ When Robert Sewell employed the title *A Forgotten Empire* for his 1900 publication, it was perhaps this lack of popular interest that was uppermost in his mind. Of all people, Sewell was more aware than most of the photographic expeditions made over the previous decades. In his publication, he included copies of photographs by Nicholas & Co., Colonel W.W. Hooper, Mr F. Dunsterville and an unknown military photographer attached to the Duke of Cornwall's Light Infantry.

These photographs, including those by Nicholas & Co., from the final decades of the nineteenth century represent a new photographic aesthetic emerging at this time in response to the changing photographic technology and also to more general shift within the commercial environment, as photography became more widely available to a mass-market. The antiquarian and scholarly interests of the 1850s have almost entirely disappeared and the consumer market was demanding a different type of image. This was not necessarily a Picturesque landscape because, as the market developed in the nineteenth-century, the Picturesque eventually became old-fashioned. At the same time, aesthetic expectations changed and lowered as the type of people buying photographs broadened. Photographs of specific events and occasions were often required, while timeless, topographical scenes became less popular. Gradually, people were beginning to take their own photographs, removing the need for professional views until the appearance of the picture postcard at the very end of the nineteenth century.

In contrast, archaeological photography gradually became a separate photographic discipline, one that could only be conducted by trained professional photographers. Archaeology itself had become increasingly a more defined discipline, with trained scholars conducting systematic fieldwork on sites, working within accepted methodologies that were regarded as objective and scientific. Photography became an important tool to record the entire archaeological process, rather than only the final results.¹¹¹ The resulting photographs were generally not sold to the public, but were published in scholarly books,

¹¹⁰ In 1882, the French archaeologist Maurice Chaper stopped for some time at Vijayanagara, and a group of ten photographs from this visit have survived in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. There are four views concentrating on the Vithala temple and five views of the Ramachandra temple.

¹¹¹ Boast 2001, p.15.

used as teaching aids and stored in museums and libraries to assist students and academics.

Vijayanagara was still visited by archaeologists who had identified it as an important site requiring further investigation and conservation. Alexander Rea, who worked for the Archaeological Survey of Madras, visited the site in the 1890s and took some photographs himself, but only two of his Vijayanagara photographs have survived in the ASI collection.¹¹² The site was studied further in the early twentieth century, following the reorganization of the Archaeological Survey of India under the new directorship of John Marshall (who took up his appointment in 1902). One of the consequences of this newly reinvigorated survey was the regular appearance of short reports accompanied by photographs, providing updates on the work conducted at various sites. Vijayanagara was included in the annual reports, and as a result, a large number of photographs dating to the early twentieth century has survived (**fig. 3-59**). These photographs mark the beginning of a new era of archaeological photography.



Fig. 3-59 Archaeological Survey of India, *Broken column, possibly outside the Vithala temple, c.1910*, gelatin silver print. Victoria and Albert Museum, 2605-1910.

¹¹² They have survived at the British Library, part of the ASI collection: a view of the Lotus Mahal (Photo 1002/44(2477)) and a photograph of the stone chariot in the Vithala Temple complex (Photo 1002/44(2478)). See also Rea 1890 and 1891.

CHAPTER 4 CASE STUDY

THE PUBLICATION OF INDIAN ARCHITECTURE

This chapter will explore the production history of the photographically illustrated book *Architecture in Dharwar and Mysore*, published in 1866 by the London firm of John Murray. It was one of three important volumes to appear during that year using photographs taken by Thomas Biggs, William Pigou and Andrew Neill with written contributions from the architectural historian James Fergusson and other experts on Indian history and culture.¹ The books appeared under the auspices of the ‘Committee of Architectural Antiquities of Western India’, a project board that consisted of various prominent individuals based in Bombay including Dr Bhau Dajee² (who acted as the Secretary) and Henry Newton³ (the President of the Committee). The Committee, with the crucial assistance of Sir Theodore Hope⁴ in London acting as a general editor to the entire project, planned further volumes, but in the event only three were produced (**fig. 4-1**).

¹ William Harry Pigou, Andrew Charles Brisbane Neill, Thomas Biggs, Philip Meadows Taylor and James Fergusson, *Architecture in Hardwar and Mysore*; P.D. Hart, A. Cumming, Thomas Biggs, Major Loch, Philip Meadows Taylor and James Fergusson, *Architecture at Beejapoor, an ancient Mahomedan capital in the Bombay Presidency*; Thomas Biggs, Theodore C. Hope and James Fergusson, *Architecture at Ahmedabad, the capital of Goozerat*, all published by John Murray, London, 1866. The first two volumes were folio in size, while the Ahmedabad volume is a quarto. Taylor 1866a; Taylor 1866b; Hope 1866.

² Dr Bhau Dajee (1823-1874) was a medical doctor and amateur photographer, who took a great interest in historical and antiquarian matters. He was closely involved in the establishment of the Victoria and Albert Museum and Gardens in Bombay, which were subsequently renamed after him in 1975.

³ The Hon. Henry Newton (1822-1900) was also a photographer. Examples of his work survive in the British Library in the Archaeological Survey of India collection. His work includes views of Ahmedabad, Waii, Karli, Bombay and nearby hill stations. The British Library holds Newton’s copy of the ‘supplement’ volume of photographs *Dharwar*, containing 23 photographs by Biggs and Pigou (The British Library, Photo 208).

⁴ Theodore Cracraft Hope (1831-1915) was a British civil servant who spent his career working for the Government of India. In 1860-2, he served as Private Secretary to the Governor of Bombay Sir George Clerk, before being given a position in Ahmedabad that allowed him to pursue his archaeological interests. He returned to England in 1865-6 and during that time, published the three volumes on antiquities in Western India. He returned to India and worked there until 1888 when he retired and returned to England.



Fig. 4-1 Title page of *Architecture in Dharwar and Mysore* (London, 1866) with frontispieces by Neill, *Hanuman sculpture, Vijayanagara* and Pigou, *Ganesha sculpture at Halebid*. The Royal Collection, RCIN 1070453.

The photographs that were used in *Architecture in Dharwar and Mysore* were taken in the mid-1850s, a full ten years prior to the publication of the volume. This gap of a decade hints at possible difficulties which may have hindered the project to publish the volumes. These difficulties are made more explicit through the collection of Theodore Hope's papers that are kept at the British Library.⁵ In the papers, a series of letters between Hope, Biggs, Fergusson, Sir Bartle Frere (the Governor of Bombay from 1862 to 1867), Dr Bhau Dajee and others outlines the sometimes slow and lengthy task to get the book into its final form. The papers, which appear to have been kept due to Hope's care and concern to document his work for the Committee, show that the publication history was tortuous and dependent on the hard work and commitment of a few individuals. Of these, Hope was key. The papers also cover other aspects of the

⁵ British Library, Mss Eur D705/28.

publication process, including lists of the sponsors of the volume, information on the distribution of the book to institutions and libraries, and the reception in the British press.

In this chapter, the process towards the publication of *Architecture in Dharwar and Mysore* will be outlined as it demonstrates the different and sometimes conflicting interests involved in bringing the project to completion – not only those of the colonial Government, but also individual interests including those of the historians, photographers, and wealthy Indian backers, all of whom had a stake in the project. As such, the production of the book serves as a case study for the practice of the publication and dissemination of architectural photographs in book form.

The books published for the Committee of Architectural Antiquities can be positioned at the centre of a complex process that involves the Government authorities commissioning photographs and official attempts to document Indian architecture; the commercial implications of working with photographers; the subsequent lives of those photographs as some were selected for publication and others were rejected; the creation of an archive of architectural images, as most of the photographs ended up in the India Office archive (which also holds most of the photographers' negatives for this project); the life of the publication as a contribution to ongoing intellectual debates about Indian art, architecture and design, as well as contributing to epigraphical research, and the life of the publication as part of the wider, ongoing attempt to publish about the arts in book form, in Britain and elsewhere.

Photographically Illustrated Books

Between 1859 and 1866, a number of photographically illustrated books on Indian architecture were published (see **Table 1**).

TABLE 1

Photographically illustrated books on Indian architecture, published between 1858 and 1866

Authors⁶	Title	Date of Publication	Contents⁷
Linnaeus Tripe (phot.) with Martin Norman	<i>Photographic views in Madura (parts I to IV)</i>	1858 Madras	48 albumen prints, from paper negatives
Linnaeus Tripe (phot.) with W. Tracy	<i>Stereographs of Madura</i>	1858 Madras	70 stereographic albumen prints, from dry collodion glass negatives
Linnaeus Tripe	<i>Stereographs of Trichinopoly, Tanjore and other places in their neighbourhood</i>	1858 Madras	70 stereographic albumen prints, from dry collodion glass negatives
Linnaeus Tripe (phot.) with George Uglow Pope	<i>Photographic views in Tanjore and Trivady</i>	1858 Madras	23 albumen prints, from paper negatives
Linnaeus Tripe	<i>Photographic views of Poodoocottah</i>	1858 Madras	10 albumen prints, from paper negatives
Linnaeus Tripe (phot.) with John Alexander Corrie Boswell	<i>Photographic views of Ryakotta and other places in the Salem District</i>	1858 Madras	10 albumen prints, from paper negatives
Linnaeus Tripe	<i>Photographic views of Trichinopoly</i>	1858 Madras	9 albumen prints, from paper negatives

⁶ If only one name is given, then it is the photographer. If two or more names are provided, then the photographer is indicated and the other names will be the writer(s).

⁷ This number provides the actual number of photographs rather than the number of plates; often photographs on the titlepage or frontispiece were not counted in the plate list.

Linnaeus Tripe	<i>Photographs of Seringham</i>	1858 Madras	9 albumen prints, from paper negatives
Linnaeus Tripe	<i>Photographs of the Elliot marbles, and other subjects in the Central Museum, Madras</i>	1858-9 Madras	75 albumen prints, from dry collodion negatives
Dr John Murray (phot.) with John Theophilus Boileau	<i>Picturesque Views in the North-Western Provinces of India</i>	1859 London	25 salted paper prints and frontispiece, from paper negatives
Richard Banner Oakeley	<i>The Pagoda of Hallibeed</i>	1859 London	56 albumen prints, from paper negatives
Henry Hinton	<i>The Ruins of Beejapoor</i>	1860 Bombay	19 albumen prints, from glass negatives
Henry Dixon	<i>Orissa: Its temples and rock-cut caves</i>	1860 London	23 albumen prints, from glass negatives
Charles Scott	<i>Views of the Caves of Karlee</i>	1860 London	5 albumen prints, from glass negatives
Charles Scott	<i>Views in the Island of Bombay</i>	1860 London	7 albumen prints, from glass negatives
Charles Scott	<i>Views on the Bhore Ghaut</i>	1860 London	10 albumen prints, from glass negatives
Charles Scott	<i>Views in the old Fort of Bassein</i>	1860 London	9 albumen prints, from glass negatives
William Johnson (phot.) with John Wilson	<i>The Caves of Karla Illustrated</i>	1861 Bombay	8 albumen prints, from glass negatives ⁸

⁸ Only one reference to this work can be found, which was printed at the Exchange Press, in the Fort, Bombay. A copy was sold at Bonhams (London), *Travel and Photography, India and Beyond*, 5 October 2010, lot 70. The text was a separate pamphlet, printed in Bombay, describing eight photographs.

Allan Newton Scott (phot.) with Charles Richard Weld	<i>Sketches in India, taken at Hyderabad and Secunderabad in the Madras Presidency</i>	1862 London	101 albumen prints, from glass negatives
Melville Clarke	<i>From Simla through Ladac and Cashmere 1861</i>	1862 Calcutta	37 albumen prints, from glass negatives
William Johnson	<i>The Oriental Races and Tribes, Residents and Visitors of Bombay</i>	1863 and 1866 London	Vol. 1 – 26 albumen prints Vol.2 – 25 albumen prints, from glass negatives
Philip Henry Egerton	<i>Journal of a Tour through Spiti to the Frontier of Chinese Thibet</i>	1864 London	37 albumen prints, from glass negatives
Robert Gill (phot.) with James Fergusson	<i>One Hundred Illustrations of Architecture and Natural History in Western India</i>	1864 London	100 albumen prints, from glass negatives
Robert Gill (phot.) with James Fergusson	<i>Rock-cut temples of India</i>	1864 London	74 albumen prints, from glass negatives
Eugene Impey (phot.) with James Fergusson	<i>Delhi, Agra, and Rajpootana</i>	1865 London	81 albumen prints, from glass negatives
Various photographers with John Forbes Watson	<i>The Textile Manufacturers and Costumes of the People of India</i>	1866 London	9 albumen prints, from glass copy negatives

From the table, it can be seen that by 1860 the paper negative had been almost entirely replaced by the glass negative, following the introduction of the wet collodion glass plate process, published in Britain by Frederick Scott Archer in 1851 (although the process did not become common in practice until c.1854).⁹ Also of note is that, with the exception of Tripe's photographic volumes, almost all of these volumes were published in London, rather than in India. This indicates the location of the potential audience for these works, and suggests that the quality of production was also higher in Britain than in India at this time, both for the printing of photographs and for the pages and bindings of the books. This was primarily because of the shift in photographic technology and resulting audience expectations that was taking place in Britain at this time, with the development of the commercial market.

Photographers such as Francis Frith, Francis Bedford and George Washington Wilson were in the late 1850s changing the nature of the photographic scene in Britain, which was shifting from the domain of the gentleman amateur towards that of a more commercially-minded group of individuals.

This shift was marked by the use of the wet collodion negative process which was ideal for making topographical views to be printed in large numbers. The quantity of prints could be far greater than from paper negatives. This in turn allowed a lower production cost and as a consequence, the audience for the work began to broaden. Photographically illustrated books were being published in Britain from the late 1850s. The reliable printing processes in Britain enabled books to be produced for an upper-middle class audience, rather than portfolios of photographs for an elite and aristocratic audience.

While some of the listed publications contained a large amount of text with only a handful of illustrations, others were primarily collections of photographic plates. The photographs in Henry Hinton's *The Ruins of Beejapoor* (Bombay, 1860) were accompanied by letterpress captions, but the emphasis was firmly on the images rather than the text. Volumes containing large images, which drew on the tradition of published aquatints and lithographs, were usually accompanied by a small amount of text. The large photographic plates deliberately copied lithographic plates by

⁹ Archer 1851.

including a 'plate mark' on the page, something that for a photograph pasted onto a page would not be present as part of the printing process. Books illustrated with smaller prints, which was the general trend following the introduction of the albumen print made from wet collodion glass plate negatives, included far more text in order to convey information to a scholarly audience.

Some of these smaller books could even be used as guidebooks while travelling. It is possible that Gill's books would have been used in this way for visiting Ajanta or Ellora because they fitted easily into the hand. The books generally had a very small print run, however. Oakeley's *The Pagoda of Hallibeed* (London, 1859) was limited to only twenty-five copies, which suggests that there was not a natural market for such specialist topics unless the images were combined with reliable scholarly text. The major disadvantage for a small book however was that, with smaller images, less information could be conveyed and the aesthetic appeal of the image was greatly reduced.

The Pagoda of Hallibeed contains photographs that were taken in 1856-7, the same time that Tripe, Biggs, Pigou and Neill were all working. All of these photographers used paper negatives. Oakeley wrote in the preface to the book that it was his friend Dr Neill (the same Neill who also photographed at Halebid with Tripe in 1854) who encouraged him to visit the site: 'I was told of a wonderful Temple said to exist there, but very few of the many from whom I sought information, knew anything about it, and it was with very great difficulty, and after a march of some twenty days along the most miserable cross country roads conceivable, that I succeeded in finding this splendid Temple.'¹⁰

He went on to say that, having a camera with him, he 'lost no time in committing to waxed paper faithful reproductions of almost every portion of the Sculpture, which literally covers its wall.' The photographs produced by Oakeley concentrate on sculptural details, which he evidently found extraordinary and overwhelming (**fig. 4-2**).

¹⁰ Oakeley 1859, preface.



Fig. 4-x Richard Banner Oakley, *Halebid, Hoysaleshwara Temple, detail*, 1856, albumen print. The British Library, Photo 959/(29).

Some of the images are very similar to Neill and Pigou's work, and were it not for the physical differences of the prints caused by the printing process, the authorship of some of the images would be difficult to determine. However, Oakley's status as an amateur photographer is evident from the amount of foreground in his architectural studies. He may not have been using a rising front on his camera, which would have allowed him to reduce the appearance of the foreground and increase the amount of the building within the frame. His studies of sculptures were more successful (**fig. 4-3**).



Fig. 4-3 Richard Banner Oakley, *Halebid, Gnash sculpture*, 1856, albumen print. The British Library, Photo 959/(1).

Oakley's photographs of Gnash and Nandi, both monolithic sculptures, were selected by the *Illustrated London News* to reproduce as engravings in a piece about the publication of Oakley's book (fig. 4-4).

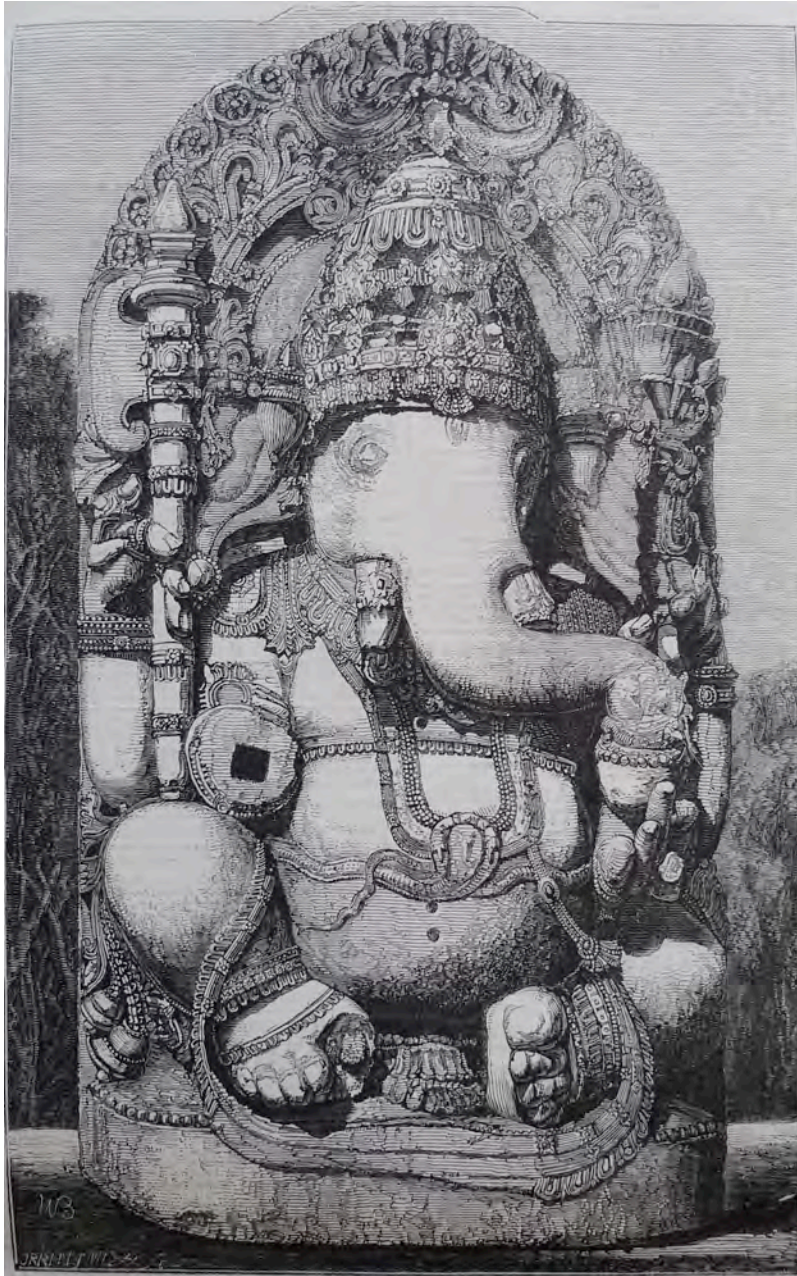


Fig. 4-4 *Ganesa, a Hindoo Idol - From a Photograph*, engraving after Oakley's 1856 photograph, reproduced in *Illustrated London News*, 19 June 1858, p.620.

No other photographs by Oakley are known to have survived, and few copies of his book can be found today.

To illustrate the shift that was occurring in photographically illustrated books, the published work of Linnaeus Tripe and Dr John Murray will be examined, before turning to the photographs

of Thomas Biggs and William Pigou, and the publications in which their work was later reproduced.

Linnaeus Tripe

Tripe's work at Halebid in 1854, when he was accompanied by Andrew Neill, was covered in chapter three. Following this early photographic excursion, Tripe was appointed the official photographer to accompany the British Mission to the Court of Ava [Burma] in 1855. Tripe left Calcutta with the Mission to Burma in August 1855. The British party spent three months travelling between Rangoon, Pegu, Prome, Pagan and Ava. On his return, Tripe produced a portfolio of 120 photographs selected from a total of 220 negatives, the majority being landscape or architectural views (**fig. 4-5**).



Fig. 4-5 Linnaeus Tripe, *Burma, Pagan, Thapinyu Pagoda*, 1855, salted paper print. The British Library, Photo 61/1(15).

The average size of the photographs is 255 x 245 mm, and all are made from waxed paper negatives. Below each print is a letterpress caption indentifying the subject, often containing a short explanatory note. The presentation of the portfolio was very much in the tradition of the volumes of aquatints by Hodges and Thomas and William Daniells, matching both in sheer size of the print. A total of fifty portfolios were produced, with a further 500 individual prints for distribution by the Government. At the 1857 Madras Exhibition of Raw Products, Tripe won a 1st class medal for his work from Burma.

The photographs taken in Burma established a precedent for Tripe's Indian work. Tripe, as part of an official Government entourage, approaches Burma with the mentality of a surveyor. He continues the approach established in his Halebid series of views and documents the site, incorporating his photographs into a broader project that encompasses maps and drawings by an official artist with the mission, Colesworthy Grant.¹¹ Yule, in charge of the mission, was gathering intelligence about the country for political and military purposes, and Tripe and Grant were both contributing to this task. Within the published accounts of the mission, both Tripe and Grant demonstrated a degree of interaction and awareness of each other's work. This was the first time that the British Government had recognised the importance of a photographer for gathering information. It was also the first, and perhaps only, time that a photographer and an artist were working together on the same official task.

After his return to India, Tripe subsequently received an official commission on 21 August 1856 from the Madras Government to serve as Government Photographer. He thus embarked upon a project to photograph the 'objects in the Presidency that are interesting to the Antiquary, Architect, Sculptor, Mythologist and Historian'.¹² It was intended from the very beginning that his work should be an important and scholarly contribution to the ongoing discovery of India's

¹¹ Grant's drawings and watercolours and Tripe's photographs, many of which are now in the British Library, were used as the basis for illustrations in Henry Yule's *A Narrative of the Mission sent by the Governor-General of India to the Court of Ava in 1855* (London, 1858). Yule mentions Tripe particularly in respect to the gift of photographic equipment which was made to the King of Burma, and the interest that the Burmese displayed in the photographic negatives that Tripe made. James Fergusson is thanked in the preface for promising to 'superintend' the plates, and for providing a note about the temples at Pagan. Colesworthy Grant wrote *Notes explanatory of a series of views taken in Burmah during Major Phayre's Mission to the Court of Ava in 1855* (London, 1856) in which he describes his role and mentions Tripe on several occasions. Yule also published an earlier, less 'edited' account of the mission, *Reports of the mission to Ava in 1855* (Calcutta, 1856).

¹² Tripe to F.A. Murray, 22 July 1856. British Library, IOR/P/249/57, 26 August 1856, No.31.

history. To this end, his photographs were eventually published in nine large portfolio volumes, with text written by others (see **Table 1**). The plates were all large prints made from waxed paper negatives. While the Burma photographs had been produced to fulfill military and political ends, the Indian views were intended for a different audience, one with intellectual and antiquarian interests. Again, the large portfolios of photographs were similar in presentation to the volumes of lithographs by Thomas Daniells and William Hodges. Both these lithographs and Tripe's photographs were carefully made, handcrafted items (as opposed to mass-produced prints) aimed at an elite audience.

But the photographs were still taken while in Government employment. Throughout the period that Tripe was engaged as an official photographer, he continually reminded his employers of the importance of his documentary work. Writing a report of his work in May 1859, Tripe pointed out that, as an official photographer, he would be photographing monuments that those 'who work either for pleasure or profit' would ignore. He went on, 'those are the subjects which make my labours useful to the scientific world.'¹³ In this context, the 'scientific world' referred to by Tripe would be concerned with different modes of the colonial Government and military presence in India. These various modes manifested themselves in Tripe's work, encompassing the improvements made by the British in India; the 'scientific' element of surveying and documenting; colonial military successes, and the attempts to understand Indian culture, particularly the Hindu temples. This indicates that Tripe was very clear about in whose employment he was (**fig. 4-6**).

¹³ British Library, Madras Public Consultations, IOR/P/249/69, 24 June 1859, No.17.



Fig. 4-6 Linnaeus Tripe, *Madura, The Blackburne Testimonial*, 1858, albumen print. The British Library, Photo 953/2(9).

For example, the photograph of the 'Blackburne Testimonial' (that is, a memorial to Mr John Blackburne, a Collector in Madurai from 1835 to 1848) is initially perhaps a strange photograph. The subject matter seems uninteresting, maybe rather unimportant, and it is quite different to the Hindu temples and palaces that Tripe is photographing elsewhere in the town. The text that accompanies the photograph indicates, however, why this particular structure was selected: 'Mr. Blackburne's efforts to improve the town of Madura cannot be too highly estimated, instead of the confused jumble of houses, in ill-ventilated narrow streets, which generally form a native town, the well built houses and fine open thoroughfares of Madura might be imitated with advantage in towns of much higher pretensions to civilisation than hers.'¹⁴ Tripe is demonstrating the success of the British in Madura through the improvement of the layout of the town.

¹⁴ Tripe 1858a.

Tripe did acknowledge the artistic element that entered into his work. When writing in 1856 about his forthcoming photographic survey, Tripe stated that ‘the Picturesque may be allowed perhaps, supplementally’.¹⁵ In fact, the Picturesque and all that this suggests is often encountered in Tripe’s work. His compositions are consistently composed in a such a way so as to produce the most aesthetically pleasing view. A feature of his work, notable in the architectural views in particular, is the use of a strong axis through the composition, often separating and contrasting dark areas of the composition with much lighter areas, or intersecting with another axis to balance the composition. One example would be the view taken at the Sri Minakshi Sundareshvara temple in Madurai, entitled *The Great Pagoda, the inner facade of the gateway of the east gopuram*, published as plate six in *Photographic Views in Madura, part III* (Madras, 1858) (**fig. 4-7**).



Fig. 4-7 Linnaeus Tripe, *Madurai, The Great Pagoda, the inner facade of the gateway of the east gopuram*, 1858, albumen print. Victoria and Albert Museum, IS.40:7-1889. Plate 6 in *Photographic Views in Madura Part III*.

¹⁵ Tripe to F.A. Murray, 22 July 1856. British Library, IOR/P/249/57, 26 August 1856, No.31.

In this view, the light stone of the Viravasantaraya mandapa juts into the foreground, while on a counter-axis the dark stone of one of the principal gopuras threatens to overwhelm the slender pillars of the mandapa. There is an element of tension in the composition that is evident in many of Tripe's other South Indian views. This comes from the optical ambiguity that can surface when presenting a three-dimensional space in a two-dimensional plane.

In Tripe's final publication, *Photographs of the Elliot Marbles* (Madras, 1859), he makes use of iconographical photographic conventions that indicate to the viewer an objective documentary photograph. In order to achieve this, however, a degree of mediation is required on the part of the photographer. The subject of the photograph is de-contextualised by blacking out the background, either on the negative itself or through the use of a black cloth behind the objects being photographed. Sometimes the objects are photographed, and then rephotographing of a doctored negative takes place in order to remove extraneous information from the frame. Sometimes measuring rule would be added. For a Victorian viewer, this constituted a photographic iconography that was understood to imply the objectivity of the photographer (**fig. 4-8**).



Fig. 4-8 Linnaeus Tripe, *Standing figure, Madras*, May-June 1858, albumen print. Victoria and Albert Museum, 33.781. From *Photographs of the Elliot Marbles and other subjects in the Central Museum, Madras*.

This photograph can be compared with Tripe's study of the temple jewels belonging to the Sri Minakshi temple (**fig. 4-9**).



Fig. 4-9 Linnaeus Tripe, *The Pagoda Jewels, Madura*, 1858, albumen print. The British Library, Photo 953/3(11).

In this photograph, the jewels are photographed as a group gathered together on a cloth, rather than as individual studies with measuring sticks. The background has not been removed - the stone walls of the temple structure are still clearly visible, and light enters unevenly from the side. This is an unmediated photograph, meaning the photographer has done little to shape what is in front of the camera, even though to the audience the hand of the photographer was more apparent here than in the previous study.

Tripe spent several months travelling to complete his commission. Between 14 December 1857 and 28 April 1858, he produced almost three hundred waxed paper negatives, as well as a smaller number of glass plate negatives, which ultimately became two volumes of stereographic albumen prints.¹⁶ Tripe went to Bangalore in July 1858 in order to begin printing from the

¹⁶ Tripe 1858b and 1858c.

negatives and continued working for the Government until his printing establishment was closed down on 31 March 1860. He was asked to send his photographic equipment to Dr Hunter at the School of Industrial Arts so it could be used for teaching purposes.

While in Bangalore, Tripe evidently worked on some of his negatives. This handcrafted element brings this work back into the tradition of the antiquarian lithograph. Some photographs have had clouds added - this was done either by hand, or by creating a second negative of the clouds and adding them to the original image. (The blank sky was part of the visual rhetoric of the surveyor, but the artist might be persuaded by the aesthetic of the Picturesque to add some clouds. Because of the sensitivity of the blue in the sky, quite different exposure times were required for skies and landscapes.)

A brief but interesting comparison can be made between the large portfolio volumes and the two stereographic sets, each containing seventy cards, entitled *Stereographs of Madura* (1858) and *Stereographs of Trichinopoly, Tanjore and Other Places in their Neighbourhood* (1858). These images, printed from glass negatives, were small, sharp studies of both the architecture and the people, in many ways providing a far clearer picture of what life was like at these sites, as individuals and crowds populate the photographs. In the larger photographs, the absence of human figures is notable, so even in active temples such as the Sri Minakshi temple in Madurai there are no worshippers present.¹⁷ Only occasionally is the odd single figure present, to provide a focal point, scale or balance to the composition. The principal drawback with the stereographic views as scientific documents was their small size, which meant that details were hard to distinguish when viewed on the page. James Fergusson was aware of this problem and advised strongly against it.¹⁸ However, when the stereographic images were viewed through a stereoscopic book viewer, the photographs would provide quite a lot of information about the place, but not the same type of information found in the views made from waxed paper negatives. Consequently, the stereographs work well as documentary images about the social life of the sites.

¹⁷ Although it is possible that the temple was not as active in the 1850s as it is now, and that surveys of this type in the nineteenth century drew attention to the temple, which in turn encouraged worshippers to return.

¹⁸ Watson 1869, p.19.

Dr John Murray

Alongside Tripe, Murray is often regarded as the most accomplished photographer working in India in the 1850s, a key contributor to the 'Golden Age' of photography.¹⁹ Unlike Tripe, however, Murray was an amateur who produced most of his work during his own leisure time, driven by a personal interest in photography and a love of Indian architecture and topography. The one exception was the commission which he received from Lord Canning to document the towns affected by the 1857 Uprising, which was discussed in chapter two. Murray was particularly inspired by the Mughal buildings he encountered in Agra, in particular the Taj Mahal, which he photographed repeatedly over many years.

Murray probably took up photography towards the end of 1849, a year or so after he was appointed Civil Surgeon at Agra in 1848. Working with paper negatives, he photographed the Taj Mahal and the Fort in Agra, as well as making visits to nearby Fatehpur Sikri. Some of his early work was displayed at a meeting of the Bengal Photographic Society in May 1856.

Murray's early negatives, probably made using a post-waxed process, already show great skill and care in the presentation of the resulting image. Many negatives show evidence of intervention on the part of the photographer, either in painting out the sky (which in the positive images leaves a very clear and distinct outline around the buildings against the background) and occasionally in adding a yellow colourant to the negative which helps even out the shades while improving the detailed areas of the image in the printed positive image.²⁰ In April 1857, Murray returned to Britain on furlough, taking with him some of his negatives. While he was away from India, the Uprising began and the images Murray had with him took on an extra dimension as imaginative associations could be made with the Indian sites mentioned in the newspaper reports. By the end of the year the publisher Joseph Hogarth was to produce a set of thirty large, unbound plates which were presented as a portfolio (**fig. 4-10**).²¹ To accompany the plates, a small booklet was produced containing letterpress text written by J. Middleton (the Principal of the East India Company's college in Agra) with the title, *Photographic Views of Agra and its Vicinity* (London,

¹⁹ Murray is included in Haworth-Booth 1985.

²⁰ This aspect of Dr Murray's work has been studied by conservator Marie-France Lemay.

²¹ Murray's work was exhibited in Britain in two exhibitions in 1858: at the Photographic Society of Scotland's exhibition in Edinburgh, and at the Photographic Society's exhibition in London.

1857). Middleton's text made reference to the rebellion, and linked the places in the photographs with the recent events that were known to the British public even though the photographs had been taken prior to the outbreak of the Uprising. Subsequently, in 1859, a photographically illustrated book was published by Hogarth, with twenty-five of Murray's photographs and text by Major General J.T. Boileau, *Picturesque Views in the North Western Provinces of India* (London, 1859) which suggests that the initial portfolio met with some success.



Fig. 4-10 Dr John Murray, *Agra, Fort, Musamman Burj*, 1855, albumen print. The British Library, Photo 101/(5). Plate 5 in *Photographic views in Agra and its Vicinity* (London, 1857).

Murray's publisher, Hogarth, made the initial selection of photographs for the portfolio, drawing upon a group of around 600 negatives which were in London in the care of Murray's wife,

Marion Loveday Murray.²² The presentation, initially within a portfolio, is similar to Tripe's large volumes, designed to appeal to an antiquarian market. The sequence of the photographs describes a visit to the Agra Fort, beginning with exterior views, and then moving through the different pavilions within the main walls. The viewer is then taken to the Taj Mahal, through the main entrance (plate seven) before standing in front of the main tomb (**fig. 4-11**). The Taj is then shown from all sides in a sequence of plates.



Fig. 4-11 Dr John Murray, *Agra, Taj Mahal, south front*, 1855, albumen print. The British Library, Photo 101/(9). Plate 9 from *Photographic views in Agra and its Vicinity* (London, 1857).

²² Manuscript agreement between Mr Joseph Hogarth and John Murray, dated 3 October 1857 for the 'Photograph Book'. The agreement sets out that Hogarth would provide Mrs Murray with two prints from each negative selected, and if he sold twenty copies, he would provide a further four prints. The manuscript agreement was part of a lot sold at Sotheby's. See Sotheby's 1999, lot 22.

Murray employs a less documentary approach to the buildings he photographs, although the sequence in which the images are presented provides a narrative sequence, taking one imaginatively around the structures. His view of the Taj Mahal's south side only allows a fraction of the building to be seen, as it is shielded by trees and the water channels of the charbagh. Murray, by employing this more Picturesque approach, creates a stronger atmospheric scene suggesting to the viewer what it might be like to be a tourist at the Taj Mahal. The figures of the men seated on the water channel are introduced not for scale, but to provide colour and to emphasise the Indian context.

The sequence of photographs in the portfolio continues to cover Sikandra (again, the views begin with the entrance gateway and move subsequently closer towards the mausoleum, ending with a view of the cenotaph); Fatehpur Sikri; Mathura; Vrindavan and Nainital.

The portfolio of large views would have appealed to the antiquarian market, but the second volume issued by Hogarth in 1859 was a smaller, photographically illustrated book, containing smaller photographs (approximately 250x350 mm), which would have appealed to the newer, wider market that could afford the smaller illustrated books. As a publisher, Hogarth was clearly aware of the shift that was taking place with the growing demand for such books, and this particular volume would both respond to and fuel the consumer's interest. The photographs within the smaller volume were very similar (in some cases, the same) to the views in the portfolio. They were printed as salted paper prints, and consequently there was perhaps a mismatch between the more modern style of presentation and old-fashioned antiquarian Picturesque views within. The book is exceptionally rare today, so perhaps its appeal was limited and very few copies sold.²³

As his work was being published in Britain, Murray returned to India. He arrived in Calcutta in November 1857, when he met Lord Canning. By 18 March 1858, Murray had completed his tour of the affected sites. He left Delhi and arrived home in Agra two days later to resume his duties as Civil Surgeon. The negatives that he produced to record sites associated with the Uprising

²³ In 1999, Sotheby's auction house sold Murray's own copy of this book. In the catalogue, they stated that only one other copy had been located, in the British Library. Sotheby's 1999, lot 22.

were sent to the School of Industrial Art (later renamed the Government School of Art) in Calcutta, where they were printed by Linnaeus Tripe's students and sold.²⁴

Murray continued to photograph for a few more years, but by the mid-1860s he seems to have stopped exhibiting.²⁵ The latest dated photographs attributable to Murray are from January 1864.²⁶

Photographers to the Bombay Government: Biggs and Pigou

Captain Thomas Biggs

At the same time that Tripe was working for the Madras Government, the Bombay Government embarked upon project to record architectural sites across the Presidency. The despatch of 1854 which encouraged the use of the camera to record architectural sites also recommended Thomas Biggs (1822-1905) as a potential photographer who was capable of undertaking such duties. The despatch stated: 'To facilitate the selection of such a person by your government we may mention that Captn Biggs of the Bombay Artillery to whom we presented an apparatus for the purpose, has satisfied us of his competency to undertake photographic works of the required description.'²⁷

Biggs was duly appointed official 'Government Photographer' on 17 February 1855 'to the duty of taking copies by Photographic Process of the ancient sculptures and Inscriptions in Western India'.²⁸ He was to serve in this position until December 1855, when he was required to return to military duties. As with Tripe's appointment, there was also an educational aspect to the position. Biggs was requested to employ 'two intelligent lads whom you should undertake to

²⁴ These 'official' copies of Murray's photographs can be identified by the lithographed credit that appears on the mount: 'Printed at the School of Industrial Art, Calcutta, from a negative by Dr Murray, Civil Surgeon, Agra.'

²⁵ Murray exhibited twenty prints at the Architectural Photographic Association's exhibition in London in 1861. The views were architectural studies of Agra, Mathura, Vrindavan and Fatehpur Sikri.

²⁶ British Library, Photo 35.

²⁷ British Library, Bombay Public Despatches, 29 December 1854, IOR/E/4/1101, ff.1449-1451.

²⁸ British Library, Bombay Public Consultations, 3 March 1855, No.1264.

instruct in the art of Photography. These lads should receive for the present a salary of Rupees 20 per mensem each, to be increased as they become capable of acting by themselves.’²⁹

Biggs had joined the East India Company as a Cadet in 1839, receiving his training at the Addiscombe Military School.³⁰ He joined initially the Bombay Artillery, and became an interpreter, learning to speak both Hindustani and Canarese. He also developed an interest in archaeology and in the inscriptions he encountered while exploring the buildings. Biggs later recounted that it was while watching his brothers photographing at home in Britain that he realised that the camera would be a perfect tool for copying the inscriptions.

Having returned home to Britain on sick leave in October 1850, Biggs studied photography in Britain and in France, visiting the workshop of Noel Paymal Lerebours, and eventually settled on the calotype as the most appropriate process for India. His earliest surviving photographs are probably the nine views taken in 1854 in and around Bedhampton, where his uncle was Rector.³¹ It seems likely that these photographs were submitted to the East India Company by Biggs in order to impress upon them the need for a photographer in India, and his suitability to undertake the task.

Once in Bombay, with his appointment in hand, Biggs contacted Dr Wilson's Cave Temple Commission to obtain a list of the important temples in Western India that he should photograph. He duly received this information and embarked upon his tour, starting from Bijapur in March 1855. Thirty-five photographs were sent back to the Bombay Government in May, some of which were subsequently displayed in the June exhibition of the Bombay Photographic Society where they received much praise.³² Biggs's appointment as Government Photographer came to an end a month earlier than planned, when he was ordered to return to military duties in November 1855 because of a shortage of artillery captains.³³ Biggs, however, continued to work until late in December until his replacement arrived. After his return to duty, Biggs continued to photograph in an amateur capacity and, in 1864, made a substantial series of views at Ahmedabad before returning to Britain in 1865.

²⁹ *ibid.*

³⁰ Biographical information from Biggs 1882, Dewan 1993 and Taylor 2007.

³¹ British Library, Photo 51/(1-9).

³² JBPS, No.7 (August) 1855.

³³ British Library, IOR, Court Despatch to Bombay, No.42 (29 August), 1855.

Biggs had been about to embark on his winter photographic tour in November when he received the news of his recall to the Artillery. He made a shortened version of the tour and during this time, made in excess of one hundred paper negatives at various sites in Western India, including Pattadakal, Aihole, Badami and Vijayanagara, as well as over seventy copies of inscriptions (**fig. 4-12**). Many of these negatives were sent, along with a lengthy report, to the Bombay Government at the beginning of 1856.



Fig. 4-12 Thomas Biggs, *Pattadakal, Sangameshvara Temple, from south-east*, 1855 (printed 1866), albumen print. The British Library, Photo 965/1(58).

William Harry Pigou

When his duties came to an end, Biggs recommended Dr William Harry Pigou (1818?-58) as a suitable photographer to take over the role of Government Photographer. Pigou had joined the Bombay Medical Service in 1840 and must have taken up photography in the early 1850s, as Biggs, when recommending Pigou as his successor, states that Pigou ‘has the advantage of

several years' experience in Photography in this country'.³⁴ Pigou took over Biggs's position on 26 December 1855 and early the following year, embarked on his first of two tours that was to take in Vijayanagara and the surrounding areas, Lakkundi, Dambal, Balgami and other sites in the Dharwar and Mysore region (**fig. 4-13**).



Fig. 4-13 William Harry Pigou, *Lakkundi, Kashivishvara Temple*, 1855-6 (printed 1866), albumen print. The British Library, Photo 954/1(40).

Pigou made around fifty negatives; a number of these were sent back to the Bombay Government and a set was sent to the Bombay Photographic Society.

Pigou's second tour, which began in the autumn of 1856, took him to Chitaldroog, Seringapatam, Chamundi, Mysore, Halebid and other nearby sites. He made approximately seventy-five negatives before, in March 1857, he was informed that he was to be returned to the army. Pigou

³⁴ British Library, IOR, Collection to Bombay Public Letter, No.10, 16 February 1856. (V6064).

proceeded to Bangalore where he spent a couple of months organising and printing from his negatives, but in May he had to return to Bombay to join the Artillery.

After Pigou had ceased working as Government Photographer, both Biggs and Pigou were asked to submit final reports, detailing both the negatives they made and which of those had been printed up. Biggs listed ninety-four negatives; Pigou listed 123 negatives.³⁵ They were asked to send all their negatives to the Bombay Government who were planning to make prints, before passing the negatives on to London where further prints could be made for sale. The Government stated: 'by this means two objects will be effected, one the dissemination of the pictures, the other a recovery of a considerable portion of the expenditure incurred by Government on account of these Photographs.'³⁶ Eventually, however, when the negatives were finally received by the Government, nothing was printed until Biggs himself was available to make prints from both his and Dr Pigou's negatives.

Pigou ceased photographing for the Government in May 1857. He died at Pune on 10 September 1858, and his photographic equipment was sent by his Estate to the Government, who eventually passed it to the Bombay Sappers and Miners.³⁷ No successor to Pigou was appointed.

Publishing the 'Architectural Antiquities of Western India'

There was a gap of about seven or eight years between the sending of the negatives to London and the publication of the books *Architecture in Dharwar and Mysore* and *Architecture at Beejapoor* in 1866. The main reason for this was most probably the lack of financial support for what would have been an expensive undertaking. A secondary reason was perhaps that the shock of the 1857 Uprising changed British attitudes towards India, leading to a hardening of the former liberal approach.³⁸ This gave the Government other matters to focus on, as priorities and policies were reassessed. At the same time, technological developments were impacting upon the

³⁵ British Library, IOR, Collection to Bombay Public Letter, No. 98, 31 December 1857 (V3314); IOR, Collection to BPL, No. 98, 31 December 1857 (V3313).

³⁶ British Library, IOR, Collection to Bombay Public Letter, No. 98, 31 December 1857 (V3318).

³⁷ Dewan 1993, p.12.

³⁸ Metcalf 1995.

practice of photography in India. As discussed earlier, many photographers, particularly commercial practitioners, moved away from the paper negative and began using the wet collodion method instead.

In 1865, the Director of Public Instruction, Mr E.I. Howard³⁹, wrote a memorandum dated 30 January in which he outlined the wishes of the Governor of Bombay, Sir Henry Edward Bartle Frere, requesting a series of publications on the Architectural Antiquities of Western India.⁴⁰ The memorandum stated which geographical areas should be included in the publications and also recommended that both Biggs and Gill be involved in the project. The six subject areas suggested by Howard were:

- i. 'Ahmedabad and the Jain and Mahomedan architecture of Guzerat, including Aboo, Girnar and Palitana
- ii. Rajpoot Architecture of the West and South of Rajpootana (Jodhpur, Chittoor and Oodeypoor)
- iii. Caves of (a) the Dekhan, (b) the Conkan
- iv. Hill Forts of the Dekhan and Conkan
- v. Beejapoor with Golconda and Koolburga
- vi. Temples of the Canarese country, including the ruins of Anagoondi or Beejnugger and Iwullee.'⁴¹

The locations covered in this list incorporate a huge section of India, stretching from Rajasthan in the north west to as far south as the top of Kerala. The publication proposal was conceived on

³⁹ As Director of Public Instruction in Bombay, Howard was in charge of institutional education (predominantly High Schools and Higher Educational colleges) in the city. He resigned his post on 23 June 1865.

⁴⁰ Sir Henry Edward Bartle Frere (1815-84) began his career in Bombay, before becoming the Political Resident at the court of the Raja of Satara. Following this, Frere was Chief Commissioner of Sind (1850-62) before being appointed Governor of Bombay in 1862. He returned to England in 1867 where he became a member of the Council of India. He returned to India with the Prince of Wales in 1875-6, and on his return to England he was appointed High Commissioner for Southern Africa. While in Bombay, Frere notably oversaw the demolition of the old Fort in 1862 and the construction of many of Bombay's municipal buildings, as well as completing the building of various railway lines. Frere's Governorship came at the end of a period of great wealth in Bombay's mercantile classes, following a strong demand for British Indian cotton due to the blockade of the US southern ports during the American Civil War. This moneyed middle class was to finance many of the rebuilding schemes in the city, as well as other improving and educational projects.

⁴¹ British Library, Mss Eur D705/28.

a grand scale, and it is not surprising that of the six areas listed, only three were eventually turned into finished publications – numbers i, v and vi (**fig. 4-14**). Howard went on to state that for each of the volumes, a collection of photographs and other prints should be published alongside a descriptive text. It was intended that the work should be completed by the time of the Bombay International Exhibition, which was scheduled for 1868.⁴²

⁴² Although there are several references to the Bombay International Exhibition of 1868 in the planning stages of the publications, it seems likely that the exhibition was never realised, as was also the case with the planned exhibitions for 1865 and 1870 (I am grateful to Dr Christopher W. London for this information). This was principally due to the financial uncertainty in Bombay: although the American Civil War had led to a boom in Bombay through the expansion of the cotton trade, this was swiftly followed by a financial collapse from over-speculation. The Bombay Bank went bankrupt in 1866. An exhibition was held in Broach in 1868 (modern spelling: Baruch, in Gujurat) and Hope contributed to the catalogue: T. C. Hope, *Report on the Broach Exhibition 1868-9. With appendices A to H.* (Bombay, 1869). It is possible that this may have been a scaled-down version of the proposed Bombay exhibition.



Fig. 4-14 Map from *Architecture in Dharwar and Mysore* (London, 1866) illustrating the region covered by the book (no. vi on Howard's list).

Biggs was acknowledged as having 'already completed a large number of pictures which would be suitable for publication' and even though he was about to return to military duty, it was thought that 'his most valuable services would be made available for the suggested work, if funds were found to continue his present staff salary cost', which was about Rupees 500 a month. Howard went on to state that Gill 'has an immense collection of photographs and

drawings chiefly relating to the Caves of Ajunta and a few of Ellora.’ The memorandum ended by remarking that, although such a publication would be valuable, it would be expensive to produce, and that therefore, patronage must be sought. ‘There are several native gentlemen who probably would be glad to associate their names with so important an enterprise by paying the expense of one or more of the “parts” which would be dedicated to them accordingly.’⁴³ Eventually two backers were found: Mr Premchund Raichund donated £2000 which was to pay for almost the entire enterprise. This was supplemented by £500 from Mr Kursondas Madhowdas. Their patronage was acknowledged in the title page of the relevant publication.⁴⁴

The memorandum was distributed to a group of men, both British and Indian, who had historical or antiquarian interests, including Dr John Wilson from the Bombay Cave Temple Commission (see chapter three).⁴⁵ As a result, by 3 April 1865, A. Kinloch Forbes was able to report that the Committee had been formed (with himself as Chairman) and that, having spoken to Biggs about the proposal, they were in a position to produce three volumes, on Ahmedabad, on Bijapur and on the ‘ancient Hindoo Architecture of the South’.⁴⁶ These would make extensive use of photographs by Biggs and because of this, it was also proposed that Biggs should return to Britain in May 1865 in order to take advantage of the summer sun and print up from the negatives the large number of prints required for publication. Forbes ended his letter with a request that a Major Houghton of the Nasik Public Works Department be made available to the Committee in order to photograph the architecture between ‘Somnath’ (presumably Somanath temple, near Veraval in Gujurat) and Mount Abu, in Rajasthan. This latter request does not seem to have been pursued.⁴⁷

Over the subsequent months, the request for Biggs to be relieved from military duties and to return to England was made and permission was given, so that on 26 April 1865, Biggs was

⁴³ British Library, Mss Eur D705/28.

⁴⁴ Taylor 1866a was produced ‘under the patronage of Kursondas Madhowdas’ and Taylor 1866b and Hope 1866 were produced ‘under the patronage of Premchund Raichund’.

⁴⁵ The list of names in full: The Hon. W.E. Frere; A.K. Forbes; W.R. Cassels; Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy; Hon. Rustomjee J. Jeejeebhoy; Hon. Premabhai Hemabhai; Hon. Jugunath Sunketsett; Hon. H. Newton; The Revd Dr Wilson; T.C. Hayllar; Sir A. Grant; W. Wordsworth; Bhau Dajee; J. Trubshawe; E.I. Howard.

⁴⁶ British Library, Mss Eur D705/28, letter dated April 3, 1865 (No. 278 of 1865).

⁴⁷ The earliest photographs of the Somanath temple to have survived appear to be those taken by David Harold Sykes in c.1869, published in James Burgess, *Photographs from Samantha, Girnar, Junagadh and other places in Kathiawar* (Bombay, 1870).

informed of the decision. He returned to Britain on 29 April, bringing with him further negatives required for the publications.⁴⁸ At the same, Forbes wrote to Theodore Hope in London, asking him to manage the publishing project, based on his recent experience gained through working on Impey's photographically illustrated book, *Delhi, Agra, and Rajpootana* (London, 1865) with James Fergusson, who had selected the photographs and contributed a text. Hope readily agreed, offering his services for free (whereas Biggs was to be paid a salary of £30 a month). In May Hope made contact with Biggs with a view to working together on the books. All did not proceed according to expectations, however.⁴⁹

Problems over the preparation of the volumes

Upon arriving in England, Biggs did not begin work on printing up the negatives. Instead, he retreated to the countryside from whence he issued complaints about various 'difficulties' in proceeding with the work, stating that he might have to return to India. During this time, he instructed a photographer, referred to as 'Mr Tod' in Cheltenham, to print from some of the negatives, as well as visiting Melhuish and Cundall, two professional photographic firms in London. When Biggs was finally persuaded to come to London in order to present sample photographs to James Fergusson so the latter could make the selection of images for the Ahmedabad book, it transpired that Biggs had given away the sample prints to the Prince of Wales (**fig. 4-15**).⁵⁰

⁴⁸ British Library, Mss Eur D705/28, letter dated 13 May 1865 (No.3 of 1865, Educational Dept.).

⁴⁹ In Hope's papers, there is a bundle with the title, 'Correspondence between Hope and Col. Biggs about the supervision of the publication of Architectural works in England and the Controversy between Hope and Biggs, 7/1/1866 – 7/6/1866' from which much of the following information is extracted. British Library, Mss Eur D705/28.

⁵⁰ This volume of photographs still exists in the Royal Collection at Windsor, as part of King Edward VII's collection, RCIN 2113325. It contains 13 extra photographs which were not to be included in the published volume, *Architecture at Ahmedabad* (1866).



Fig. 4-50 Thomas Biggs, *Sarkhej Rauza near Ahmedabad*, 1864, albumen print. The Royal Collection, RCIN 2113325, plate 28. This is a composite print, made from more than one negative.

As a result, fresh sample prints had to be produced for Fergusson to make the initial selection, before the main work of printing could begin. This all required more money, and the £1000 which had been given to Biggs in Bombay by the Committee, had been placed in an account at Forbes bank under Biggs's sole control, much to Hope's annoyance. As far as Hope was concerned, however, the greatest hindrance created by Biggs was his sudden declaration that, having lent about eighteen negatives for the book which he described as his personal property, he would stop the publication of the project unless he was given a complete set of the finished books, worth twenty-seven Guineas, as payment for this loan.⁵¹ This was described by Hope as 'exorbitant'.

⁵¹ Hope subsequently wrote a note attempting to identify these private negatives. He believed Biggs lent six negatives to the Bijapur book; ten to the Dharwar book, and two to the Ahmedabad book (one of which was to replace one of the Government negatives). British Library, Mss Eur D705/28, note dated 27 October 1865.

In July, Hope and Biggs were attempting to work together, and they wrote jointly to Forbes in Bombay to state that they had made a decision to publish three volumes. This was in fact a decision already made previously in April. They went on to say that, due to the limited funds at their disposal, they would be printing fifty copies only of the Ahmedabad and Southern India volumes, each containing eighty photographs. They believed they had the necessary materials, including the negatives, in place and ready. For the Bijapur volume, they had only twenty-seven photographs available and requested the Committee to send to them ‘such negatives of other localities as they may decide on inserting.’⁵² The letter went on to request guidance over the text that was to accompany the photographs.

On 9 August, Dr Bhau Dajee (who had taken up the post of Secretary to the Committee) wrote to Hope referring cryptically to unforeseen circumstances ‘which will probably interfere with the execution by him [i.e. Biggs] of the Commission entrusted to him.’ Dajee went on to ask Hope to obtain the negatives and the money from Biggs and ‘to take steps to get the sets of photographs published in such mode as may appear to you to be best with as little delay as possible.’⁵³

This was because, on the same date, the Committee in Bombay had written to Biggs dispensing with his services. He had been too obstructive and demanding while Hope was attempting to move the project forward. Biggs received the letter on approximately 31 August (this was the date after which Hope considered Biggs to be no longer employed by the Committee). Biggs, however, disputed the authority of the Committee and stated that their letter was ambiguous – he argued that they could have been suggesting his leave from the Army had not been approved and he was in fact being ordered to return to duty in India. Biggs subsequently wrote to Hope, stating ‘I am very clear on one point, viz. that the Committee had no power or authority to act as they did.’⁵⁴ Hope, who appears to have attempted reason at every opportunity, responded by reminding Biggs that at every stage of the project he had consulted Biggs, whereas Biggs had frequently acted independently. Hope went on, ‘Thus you will see that you did not express my views when your last mail [to the Committee] wrote in my name to say that *we* “concluded that things ought to be allowed to proceed as before”’.

⁵² British Library, Mss Eur D705/28, letter to A. K. Forbes from T. Biggs and T. C. Hope, July 1865.

⁵³ British Library, Mss Eur D705/28, letter to T. C. Hope from Bhau Dajee, 9 August 1865.

⁵⁴ British Library, Mss Eur D705/28, ‘Extract from a letter of Col. Biggs, October 25th 1865’.

In December, Hope was asking Dajee whether Biggs should receive some sort of payment in order to conclude his services.⁵⁵ At the same time, he was continuing to work on the publications. The problem of the lack of negatives from which to make a selection remained an issue, especially when the English winter arrived and Biggs's glass negatives began to crack.⁵⁶ In the official report, Hope stated that about thirty of the negatives were completely ruined, but of these only nine had actually been selected to use in the book. The problem was dealt with by making copy prints, either from the original negatives when possible or from positive prints made before the damage appeared. Copy prints are usually inferior to prints made directly from the original negatives, and Hope was aware of this. He wrote that 'the prints from reproductions, which are of course inferior to those from originals, have for the most part gone into the first batch of 50 copies issued, and later batches are free from them except in special instances.'⁵⁷ As so many of the copies that are in circulation today contain copy prints, they have been regarded as second rate prints without it being stated explicitly that they are not originals. The quality of these prints has inevitably affected the value (aesthetic and financial) that is put on them today.

Hope also gave thought to the matter of bindings which he realised had to be of higher quality than those selected for Impey's publication of 1865. Hope wrote that those bindings 'will of course soon come to pieces' because the pages were glued in, but the bindings selected for the Bijapur and Dharwar volumes 'will be better done, but at a cost of from Rs 12-8 to Rs 15 each.'⁵⁸ Hope also made a decision regarding the text to accompany the images. In December, he engaged Colonel Philip Meadows Taylor (1808-76) to write the text for the Bijapur volume. Taylor was also to write for the Dharwar volume as well, providing the historical context.⁵⁹ In

⁵⁵ British Library, Mss Eur D705/28, letter to Bhau Dajee from T.C. Hope, 4 December 1865.

⁵⁶ Unlike most of the negatives for the Dharwar and Bijapur volumes, the Ahmedabad series was photographed on wet collodion glass plate negatives, which Biggs subsequently varnished. The varnish protected the emulsion layer which contained the image. Both varnish and collodion are susceptible to cracking, particularly from changes in temperature and humidity.

⁵⁷ British Library, Mss Eur D705/29, point 4. Hope drew up a table that identified which plates in the book had been copied, and when, on occasion, alternative views had been made and/or used. See **Appendix 4**.

⁵⁸ British Library, Mss Eur D705/28, letter to Bhau Dajee from T.C. Hope, 1 January 1866.

⁵⁹ Philip Meadows Taylor was in military service to the Nizam of Hyderabad 1824-60, Commissioner of Shorapur 1841-53 and 1858-60, and was *The Times* correspondent in India from 1840 to 1843. He was also the author of a number of historical novels, most of which would be described today as 'orientalist'. His first novel, *Confessions of a Thug* (1840), remains his best known work. He left India in 1860. His antiquarian scholarship remains largely

addition to the historical essay, Taylor was also asked to contribute notes on the photographic plates for both the Dharwar and Bijapur volumes, while Fergusson would write an architectural context. However, in due course Fergusson added more photographs to the Dharwar volume and consequently changed the order of the plates and had to add new notes, incorporating Taylor's existing contribution.⁶⁰ Hope himself was to write the text for the Ahmedabad volume, as an earlier professional posting had placed him in Ahmedabad and he consequently knew the architecture of the city well. It was to be a far smaller publication, in terms of its physical dimensions as well as the amount of text it would contain.

The beginning of 1866 saw Hope trying to assert greater control over the project, requesting Biggs to send him receipts and accounting information, correspondence on the project and all the remaining negatives in his possession whether they were 'rejected' or not. Hope had raised the question with the Committee whether Biggs actually could claim ownership of all the negatives which he said were his property, given that he was in Government employment when he made them. This question does not seem to have been satisfactorily answered. Hope, however, spent a great deal of effort in counting and keeping track of the negatives involved in the publications.

By February 1866, most of the negatives were with the printers, either with Mr Tod in Cheltenham or with the London firms of Melhuish and Cundall. Hope travelled to Cheltenham to deliver some extra negatives to Tod and retrieve others, but when he arrived there, he discovered that Biggs 'had by telegram and letter peremptorily [*sic*] prohibited Tod from giving up any of the negatives to me.'⁶¹ Shortly afterwards, Hope attempted the same thing with Melhuish and Cundall. He wrote afterwards to Biggs: 'I found that you had not merely prohibited his giving the Beejapoor negatives to me but desired him to send them down to you at Bedhampton in order, as you state, that you might give them to me. This I was obliged to prohibit as I am on the point of ordering another 50 copies to be printed from them, and their removal would have stopped the work. ... Today I find that you have called on the latter [Melhuish] for the negatives

unacknowledged, although he published widely in this field, concentrating particularly on prehistoric remains in the Deccan. He also contributed to *The People of India* (1868-72) and to Watson 1869.

⁶⁰ Taylor 1866a, p.47.

⁶¹ British Library, Mss Eur D705/28, letter to T. Biggs from T. C. Hope, 16 February 1866.

in his charge but not the glass-plate one & I have been obliged to recommend him not to comply with your request, for reasons exactly similar to those in the case of the Beejapoor ones.’⁶²

This letter drew an eleven-page response from Biggs, who attempted to justify himself. In turn, Hope replied with a single paragraph repeating his request that Biggs should forward the outstanding accounts and negatives to him. Hope repeated this a week later, reminding Biggs that Fergusson was still waiting for the negatives.⁶³

In March, the situation evidently came to a head. Biggs wrote a lengthy letter addressed to the Secretary of State for India.⁶⁴ Biggs repeated his belief that the Committee had no authority to direct him in this matter, and that he was a representative of Government: ‘Before leaving Bombay, Sir B. Frere committed to my care as the representative of Government as he termed it a large number of negatives which had been taken for the Govt from time to time by myself and the late Dr Pigou. Sir B. Frere gave me distinctly to understand that these negatives were to remain the property of Govt and that I was authorized to apply to the publication any portfolio of these that might be required.’⁶⁵

Biggs continued, insisting that he had done everything required of him: ‘I have already handed over to Mr Hope the negatives in use as a loan from Govt and I have now the honor to request the instructions of the Right Honble the Secretary of State for India as to the disposal of the remaining negatives which are not required for the publication and which are the property of Government.’⁶⁶

Hope continued to request the negatives and the accounts from Biggs. Biggs had evidently received a reply from the Secretary of State, however, because on 20 March he wrote to Hope, stating that he was ‘desired to send the negatives entrusted to my care by Sir B. Frere to the S. of State. ... I shall therefore be obliged by your furnishing me with a list of the negatives in use for

⁶² British Library, Mss Eur D705/28, letter to T. Biggs from T. C. Hope, 16 February 1866.

⁶³ British Library, Mss Eur D705/28, letters to T. Biggs from T. C. Hope, 21 February and 28 February 1866.

⁶⁴ At this time, the post was held by George Robinson (1827-1909), later 1st Marquess of Ripon, who subsequently served as Viceroy of India 1880-4.

⁶⁵ British Library, Mss Eur D705/28, letter to the Under Secretary of State for India from T. Biggs, 3 March 1866.

⁶⁶ British Library, Mss Eur D705/28, letter to the Under Secretary of State for India from T. Biggs, 3 March 1866.

the publication.⁶⁷ Two days later, Hope wrote to the India Office explaining that he was unable to send a list of the negatives because they were in use by the printers.⁶⁸ At this point, Hope appears to have consulted a solicitor about the situation, because there is a letter giving a legal opinion on the case, dated 17 April 1866. The solicitor advised that Biggs should be paid his fee up to 21 December 1865, but not until he returned the negatives and accounts, as requested repeatedly. This led to a stalemate, as Biggs declared he would only return the accounts when he had received his full payment. The solicitor did point out that ‘the terms of Colonel Biggs’ employment are obscure’ but, on receiving proof that Hope had attempted to take complete control of the project when requested to do so by the Committee, he confirmed that the only obstacle to the completion of the project appeared to be Biggs himself.⁶⁹

The correspondence continued between Hope and Biggs, slowly attempting to find a solution that was acceptable to both parties. Hope wrote to Biggs stating that he had no claim on any salary after 31 August 1865 (the date on which Biggs received the letter from Bombay when the Committee dispensed with his services) and that Biggs had no legal rights over the negatives nor should he expect payment for their use in the books. In order to avoid further argument, however, Hope agreed to give Biggs a copy of each of the three volumes, as he had requested several months earlier.⁷⁰ Biggs refused to acknowledge that the Committee had any claim on those negatives that he regarded as his own: ‘I have the honor to say – I consent to your retaining my private negatives in the publication on the terms therein. ... I have to request that you will kindly furnish me with a List of my private negatives ... I must observe that my having allowed my private negatives to be used for the Committee could in no way give the Committee any claim to them or to the use of them if I chose to revoke my permission.’⁷¹

Additionally, Biggs said that he required prints to be made from two of the glass negatives at four times the size of the negatives for his personal use. Hope, evidently somewhat exhausted by this stage, responded that he has asked for the copies to be made ‘at your expense’ while going on to say that Biggs could avoid further problems if he would just present all the remaining private

⁶⁷ British Library, Mss Eur D705/28, letter to T. C. Hope from T. Biggs, 20 March 1866.

⁶⁸ See **Appendix 5**.

⁶⁹ British Library, Mss Eur D705/28, letter to T. C. Hope from the solicitor (unnamed), 17 April 1866.

⁷⁰ British Library, Mss Eur D705/28, letter to T. Biggs from T. C. Hope, 28 April 1866.

⁷¹ British Library, Mss Eur D705/28, letter to T. C. Hope from T. Biggs, 30 April 1866.

negatives to the Government. It seems that identifying the private negatives from the Government negatives was difficult, even though the Government negatives were supposed to be numbered, while the private ones were not.⁷² Biggs refused to do this, replying: ‘regarding your suggestion of my presenting my private negatives to the Committee I am sorry to say I cannot entertain it at present. Under any circumstances I could not part with any of the negatives – as they are from pairs for the large reflecting stereoscope.’⁷³

The result of Biggs calling upon the office of the Secretary of State was eventually to have a positive effect for Hope rather than for Biggs. Newton, the President of the Committee in Bombay, wrote officially to the Secretary of State for India in London requesting him to instruct Biggs to ‘make over any negatives he has, which were taken for this Government, to any person who may be nominated by the Bombay committee to receive them.’⁷⁴

The Secretary of State had apparently already intervened however, because in early April, Hope wrote to Bhau Dajee, enclosing copies of the correspondence between himself and Biggs up to the beginning of the month, and stated: ‘You will perceive that through the intervention of the Secretary of State for India the remaining paper negatives, which Col. Biggs refused to deliver to me, are now in my hands. He now retains nothing except the accounts of the £1000 (with which he says I have nothing to do), sundry receipted bills & joint letters, the lists of the paper negatives received from the committee, &c. Also, perhaps, part of the sets of prints of the negatives which he brought home from Bombay.’⁷⁵

The question over the so-called private negatives was never satisfactorily resolved, to the extent that the question is briefly raised in the official report of the matter.⁷⁶ Biggs went on to request a

⁷² British Library, Mss Eur D705/28, letter to T. Biggs from T. C. Hope, 5 May 1866. In reference to the numbering of the negatives, Hope later wrote that ‘the negatives ... are numbered so unaccountably two or three bearing the same number in some cases that I cannot make anything intelligible of them.’ (Letter to T. Biggs from T. C. Hope, 7 June 1866.)

⁷³ British Library, Mss Eur D705/28, letter to T. C. Hope from T. Biggs, 17 May 1866.

⁷⁴ British Library, Mss Eur D705/28, letter to the Secretary of State for India from the Hon. Mr H. Newton, 19 April 1866.

⁷⁵ British Library, Mss Eur D705/28, letter to Dr Bhau Dajee from T. C. Hope, 3 April 1866.

⁷⁶ British Library, Mss Eur D705/29, report addressed to the Committee of Architectural Antiquities of Western India, Bombay, 18 December 1866, point 2, ‘the question of right of property in them and others in his possession is before Government’. As with the publications, the appearance of Hope’s report was also delayed, as when he

statement regarding the negatives from Hope, and in June Hope drew up a list to answer him (**Appendix 5**).

The account of the Ahmedabad negatives stated that there were 297 glass negatives and 33 paper negatives, all with the publisher John Murray. This tally, although one of the most complete, differs to the figures that were presented in the official report of December 1866.

Correspondence over the exact number of negatives in the possession of the printers, the publishers, and with Hope and Biggs was to continue for several months to come.

During April, Hope had also been sending copies of the correspondence between himself and Biggs to the Committee in Bombay. An arbitrator, Mr Walter R. Cassels, based in London was selected to resolve the dispute between Hope and Biggs.⁷⁷ Whether this was ultimately of any use is questionable, because in July of the same year, Biggs explicitly stated his refusal to follow any decision made by anyone other than Sir Bartle Frere.⁷⁸ Ultimately, the matter was dropped, but in the official report that Hope wrote, once he had returned to Bombay, the accounts list a figure of £179/19/10 as having been drawn by Biggs for no apparent official purpose.⁷⁹

At the same time, Hope was pushing on with the publications, asking for guidance over the number of copies that he should print. He suggested that in the case of the Ahmedabad volume: 'I would recommend an order for the largest number likely to be required, as it is impossible to say how many of the negatives may survive another winter.'⁸⁰ The practice was to print up a small number of plates initially and then, after seeing how many orders came in, further copies could be printed up at a later date. The paper negatives would be retained by the publisher or the photographic printers. The fragility of the glass negatives, however, and the likelihood that they

initially submitted the report on 18 December 1866 to Dr Bhau Dajee, nothing was done. Following the death of Dajee, the report was returned to Hope, who in turn submitted it a second time to the Bombay Government on 29 July 1874.

⁷⁷ British Library, Mss Eur D705/28, letter to T. C. Hope from the official secretary of the Committee, Bombay, 11 April 1866. Cassels' full name is stated in a letter to T. Biggs from T. C. Hope, 1 June 1866.

⁷⁸ British Library, Mss Eur D705/28, letter to unknown recipient from T. Biggs, 16 July 1866. 'In all official matters I cannot consent to any decision but from H.E. Sir B. Frere.'

⁷⁹ British Library, Mss Eur D705/29, report of 18 December 1866, Appendix B.

⁸⁰ British Library, Mss Eur D705/28, letter to Bhau Dajee from T. C. Hope, 3 May 1866. The cold weather would increase the chances of the negatives cracking or breaking completely.

would continue to crack further, making printing impossible, meant that Hope was anxious to anticipate the number of copies that would be required.

The volumes, their distribution and reception

The volume on Ahmedabad appeared at the end of May 1866, and reviews began to appear in June and throughout July. The two larger volumes were scheduled to appear later during the winter, and Hope was able to be confident about their publication, writing to Bhau Dajee: ‘I anticipate no impediment to the progress of the work as the funds & the negatives in actual use are not in Co. Biggs’ hands.’⁸¹

Although the figures vary in the unpublished papers, the final report states that the publisher John Murray produced 250 copies of the Ahmedabad book to be sold at a price of five guineas each, and 115 of the other two volumes, with the Bijapur volume selling for ten guineas and the Dharwar volume selling for twelve guineas.⁸² More copies of the letterpress were produced in case the books proved to be successful: an additional 250 copies of the Ahmedabad letterpress, and an extra 135 copies of the Dharwar and Bijapur letterpresses were printed.⁸³

There is variation within the published volumes as Hope had alternative plates for some of the illustrations when negatives were destroyed or there were other problems such as ‘slow printing’.⁸⁴ Hope outlined the contents of the different volumes (see **Table 2**).

⁸¹ British Library, D705/28, letter to Dr Bhau Dajee from T. C. Hope, 17 July 1866.

⁸² In today's values, this would be around £235 for the Ahmedabad volume; £450 for the Bijapur volume, and £550 for the Hardwar volume. These prices would place a book in the luxury market, rather than being within the reach of a general scholarly audience.

⁸³ British Library, Mss Eur D705/29, p.2-3, points 5-6.

⁸⁴ British Library, Mss Eur D705/29, report p.2, point 5.

TABLE 2**Plates appearing in the three volumes**

<i>Beejapoor</i>	78 Plates	
	46 negatives	Captain Hart's drawings
	29 negatives	By Colonel Biggs
	3 negatives	Miscellaneous
TOTAL	78	

<i>Dharwar</i>	100 Plates	
	23 negatives	By Mr. Neill
	61 negatives	By Dr. Pigou
	16 negatives	By Colonel Biggs
	18 Alternatives	
TOTAL	118	

<i>Ahmedabad</i>	120 Plates	
	120 Originals	By Colonel Biggs
	26 Alternatives	By Colonel Biggs
TOTAL	146	

Hope was evidently enthused by the subject matter as, given the amount of photographic material that he had to hand, he decided to produce three further volumes, which he refers to as 'Supplements'. These were not published books, but portfolios of extra photographs. Hope believed that these photographs were unlikely ever to be published, given that they were more academic in content than the three principal volumes. Consequently, the supplements were intended for distribution to institutions.

The first supplement, titled *Inscriptions in Dharwar and Mysore*, contained fifty-nine photographs, of which thirty-nine negatives were by Pigou, and twenty were by Biggs. Only ten copies were produced. The second supplement, *Ahmedabad*, contained twenty-seven photographs by Biggs and twenty-four copies were printed. The third supplement, *Dharwar*,

contained eight photographs by Biggs and fifteen by Pigou, and only five copies of this were produced (**fig. 4-16**).



Fig. 4-16 Thomas Biggs, *Badami, Cave III*, 1855 (printed 1866), albumen print. The British Library, Photo 208/(9). One of the photographs included in the *Dharwar* supplemental portfolio of images.

Copies of the supplements are rare, presumably because many have been broken up into single prints while others have just disappeared. The British Library has a copy of the *Dharwar* supplement volume, as does the Victoria and Albert Museum.⁸⁵ There was also a group of a further 104 Government negatives that were not used in any of the volumes, because the subject matter was thought to be already sufficiently illustrated through the selected illustrations or because the negatives were damaged or broken.

Hope started to promote the books in earnest over the summer months, as he was due to return to India in September 1866. He began with a letter to Lord Ripon, expressing his desire to present a set of copies to Queen Victoria: 'the Committee, and more especially the native members of it, ...

⁸⁵ British Library, Photo 208; the copy in the Victoria and Albert Museum is titled 'Antiquities of Dharwar, Mysore, and Bijapur', amalgamating two portfolios (museum numbers 1517-1930 to 1539-1930).

gladly embrace this opportunity of expressing ... their devotion to Her Majesty's person and their loyalty to the British Crown.'⁸⁶ The 'native' members, Premchund Raichund and Kursondas Madhowdas, had, of course, been responsible for funding the entire publication programme. Hope received a reply a few days later from the India Office informing him that an audience with Queen Victoria had been arranged at Windsor Castle, after the Queen returned from Balmoral in Scotland.⁸⁷ Hope was to be allowed to present the volumes in person, and the event was reported in the Court Circular. The volumes presented to the Queen on this occasion still remain in the Royal Library.⁸⁸

The volumes themselves are impressive objects, each containing a text section illustrated with woodcuts and maps, followed by plates with one, or occasionally two, photographs per plate. Each photograph has a letterpress caption pasted beneath it. The Dharwar volume is the largest of the three works in terms of sheer physical size. It is a folio volume, containing 100 photographs, while the Bijapur volume, also a folio, contains 78 photographs (**fig. 4-17**).

⁸⁶ British Library, Mss Eur D705/28, letter to the Secretary of State for India from T. C. Hope, 1 June 1866.

⁸⁷ British Library, Mss Eur D705/28, letter to T. C. Hope from Sidney Osborne, 19 June 1866.

⁸⁸ The Royal Collection. *Architecture in Dharwar and Mysore*, RCIN 1070453 and *Architecture at Beejapoor*, RCIN 1070454.

ARCHITECTURE AT **B**EEJAPoor,

AN ANCIENT MAHOMETAN CAPITAL IN THE
BOMBAY PRESIDENCY,

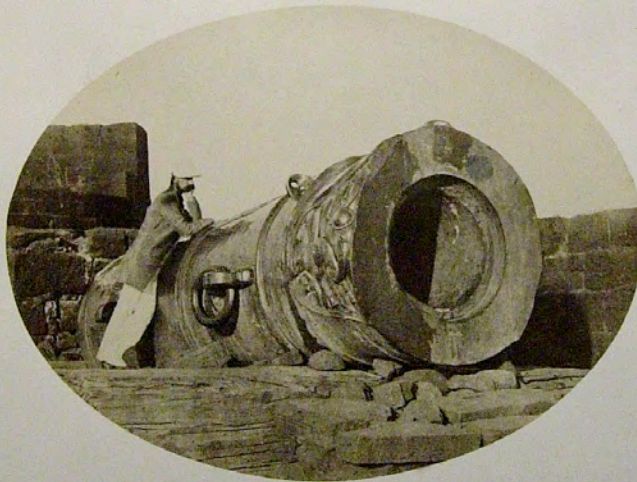
PHOTOGRAPHED FROM DRAWINGS BY CAPT. P. D. HART, B.E., A. CUMMING, C.E., AND NATIVE DRAFTSMEN,
AND ON THE SPOT BY COLONEL BIGGS, LATE OF THE ROYAL ARTILLERY,
AND THE LATE MAJOR LOCH, BOMBAY ARMY.

WITH AN HISTORICAL AND DESCRIPTIVE MEMOIR
BY CAPTAIN MEADOWS TAYLOR, M.R.I.A., F.R.G.S.I.

AUTHOR OF "CONFESSIONS OF A THUG," "TARA," ETC.

AND ARCHITECTURAL NOTES
BY JAMES FERGUSSON, F.R.S., M.R.A.S.

FELLOW ROYAL INST. BRIT. ARCHITECTS.



"MALIK-I-MYDAN"—"THE MASTER OF THE PLAIN."

Published for the Committee of Architectural Antiquities of Western India under the patronage of

KURSONDAS MADHOWDAS.

LONDON:
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

1866.

Fig. 4-17 Titlepage of *Architecture at Beejapoor* (London, 1866), with the frontispiece probably by Thomas Biggs, *Malik-i-Mydan - Master of the Plain [the Great Gun]*, c.1855, albumen print. The Royal Collection, RCIN 1070454.

The photographs, made mostly from paper negatives, are approximately 10x14 inches (about 250x350 mm; some 6x8 inch prints are also included). The Ahmedabad book is a quarto volume, containing 120 photographs, each approximately 5 1/2 x 7 1/2 inches (140x190 mm).

The two larger volumes each begin with an essay by Meadows Taylor. Taylor bases his work on the few sources known to him at the time, focusing particularly on the information gathered by Colin Mackenzie and the inscriptions translated by Walter Elliot. Because Taylor is relying on information from inscriptions, his narrative is closely based on rulers and the various periods of rule that can be identified. In the Dharwar volume, Taylor wrote, 'they [i.e. the ruling dynasties] will serve to illustrate the beautiful memorials that have survived them, which form the pictorial representation of the present volume.'⁸⁹ His essay is split into two sections, with the Muslim invasion of the south as the point where his narrative divides.

Following Taylor's essay comes Fergusson's contributions. In the Bijapur volume, Fergusson writes only 'notes on the architecture of Beejapoor' (the description of the plates is covered by Taylor) whereas in the Dharwar volume Fergusson contributes both notes on the architecture and descriptions of the plates. In both cases, there is a close relationship between text and image, with the photographs evidently having been selected first.

Architecture at Beejapoor

The architecture of Bijapur was relatively well known to British historians specialising in India at the time of writing. The various buildings were all concentrated within the citadel which had been the centre of a major Islamic dynasty, flourishing between the early sixteenth and late seventeenth centuries (**fig. 4-18**).

⁸⁹ Taylor 1866a, p.2.

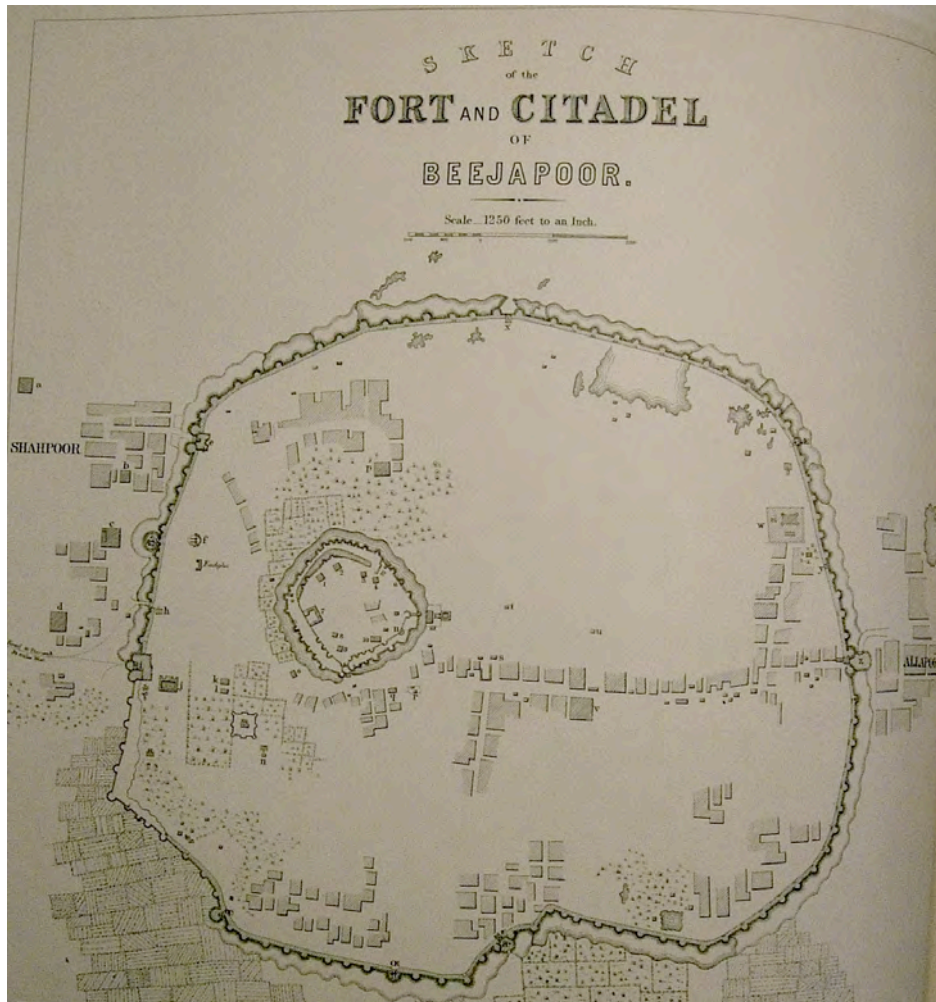


Fig. 4-18 'Sketch of the Fort and Citadel of Beejapoor', from *Architecture at Beejapoor* (London, 1866).

The structures were all accessible and convenient to access; several had been previously photographed. In 1860, Henry Hinton published the first volume of photographs of the city, *The Ruins of Beejapoor* (Bombay, 1860; see **Table 1**). Hinton, a school master based in Bombay and amateur photographer, concentrated on the principal monuments in the citadel, producing well composed photographs, incorporating aspects of the Picturesque into his views (**fig. 4-19**).



Fig. 4-19 Henry Hinton, *Bijapur, Part of the Citadel walls*, c.1860, albumen print. The British Library, Photo 254/3(53).

The photographs that are used in Taylor and Fergusson's volume, however, were taken a few years before Hinton, and instead of the Picturesque, the buildings are presented within a more documentary approach, in keeping with Biggs' military background and position as an official Government photographer. For example, it is possible to compare Hinton's and Biggs' photograph of the same structure, the Mehtar Mahal (known as the 'sweeper's palace', but it is in fact a turreted gateway into a mosque courtyard) (**figs. 4-20 and 4-21**).

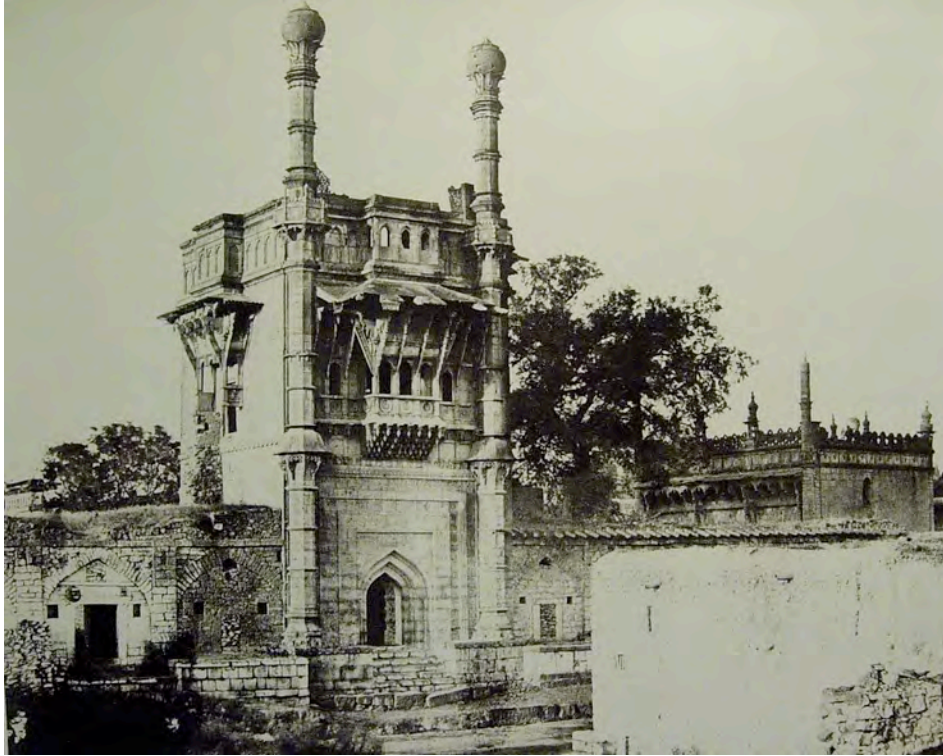


Fig. 4-20 Thomas Biggs, *Bijapur, Mehtar Mahal*, c.1855 (printed 1866), albumen print. Plate VII in *Architecture at Beejapoor* (London, 1866). The Royal Collection, RCIN 1070454.

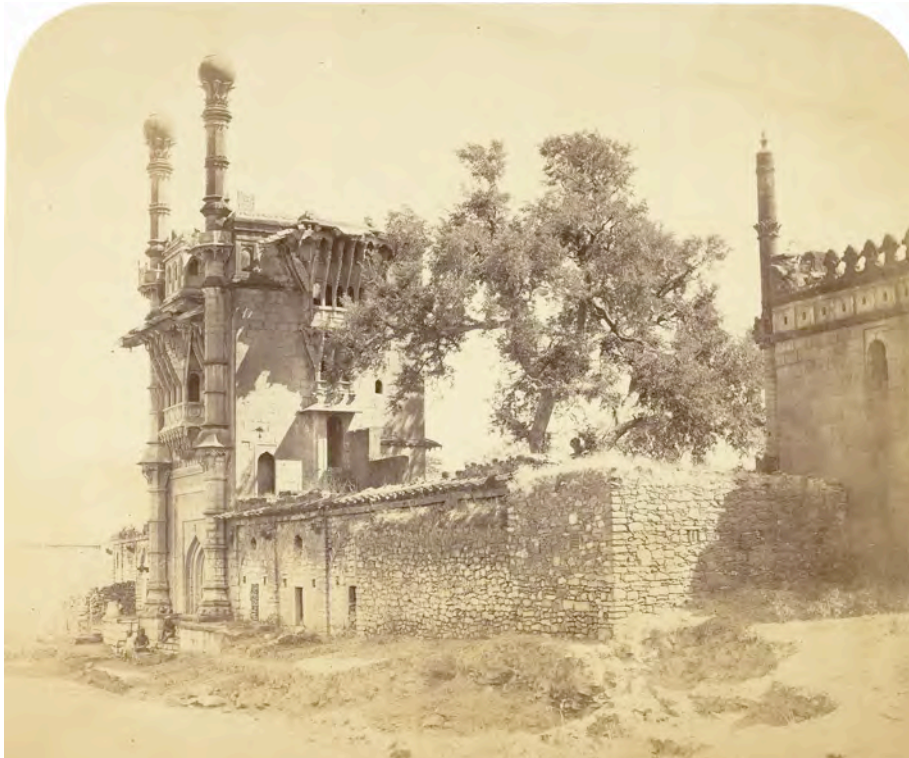


Fig. 4-21 Henry Hinton, *Bijapur, Mehtar Mahal gateway*, 1860, albumen print. The British Library, Photo 254/3(56).

Biggs' photograph which shows the front of the building includes much more information about the structure, presenting its facade and one of the sides. Hinton's photograph presents hardly anything of the facade and the side of the building is obscured by a tree which is itself the main focus of the photograph. Hinton also includes more of the road in front of the gateway, which presents the different textures of the stones and weeds along the edge of the building, a feature of the Picturesque.

Continuing the documentary approach, Biggs' photograph is followed by several photographic copies of architectural drawings of the building, which provides even more information about the structure, but without the context provided by the photograph (**fig. 4-22**). This approach is continued with the other buildings included. By beginning with a photograph made 'on the spot' which is followed by precise architectural drawings, the truth of the photograph is confirmed while its limitations are addressed. The authors of the drawings are credited on the titlepage of the book as P.D. Hart, B.E., A. Cumming, C.E. and 'native draughtsmen'.⁹⁰

⁹⁰ In Pelizzari 2003, P.D. Hart is identified by Lieutenant Philip Hart, Civil Engineer, Satara. The drawings were completed by Indian draughtsmen Harichand Nilaji, Mukhand Ramchanda and Kumar-ud-din under the direction of Hart and Cumming. Pelizzari 2003, p.136-7. The original drawings, which provide this information, are in the British Library, WD1620-1693.

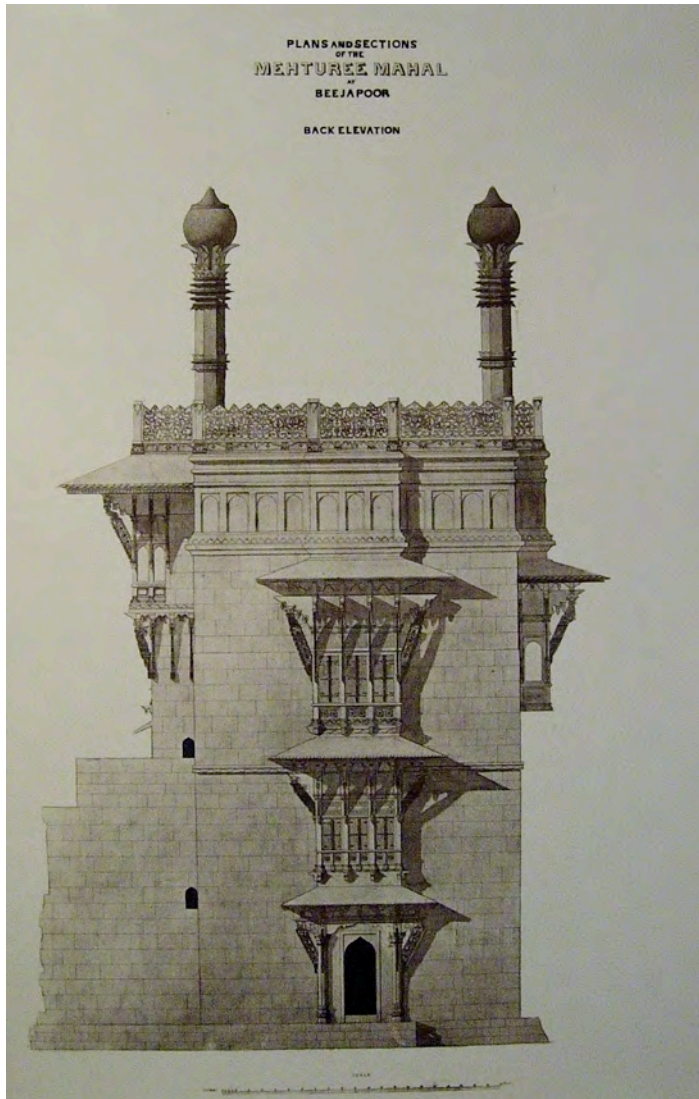


Fig. 4-22 Copy of a drawing of the back of the Mehtar Mahal, Bijapur, drawing completed in 1852 (photograph printed 1866), albumen print. Plate VII in *Architecture at Beejapur* (London, 1866). The Royal Collection, RCIN 1070454.

Architecture in Dharwar and Mysore

The Dharwar volume, with the contributions from Taylor and Fergusson, was the most significant of the three books in terms of its architectural content. Fergusson wrote both an 'Introductory note on the architecture of Southern India', as well as the descriptions of the photographic plates (incorporating Taylor's already-written notes). Fergusson's essay describes four architectural styles which he explains through reference to the photographs as well as using woodcut engravings within the text: Dravidian style, which incorporates the typical vimanas and

gopuras found in the south; Northern Hindu style, which follows the style seen in Orissa; Chalukyan style, as exemplified by the temples at Belur and Halebid, and Mixed Hindu and Mahomedan style, as found at Vijayanagara. Fergusson was the first architectural historian to apply the term 'Chalukyan' to architecture and identify Halebid and Belur as outstanding examples (**fig. 4-23**): 'it combines constructive propriety with exuberant decoration to an extent not often surpassed in any part of the world.'⁹¹



Fig. 4-23 Andrew Neill, *Belur, Chennakeshava Temple*, c.1855 (printed 1866), albumen print. The British Library, Photo 965/1(2). Plate 2 in *Architecture in Dharwar and Mysore* (London, 1866).

The Chalukyan style is illustrated through plates 1 to 53, with a concentration on Belur and Halebid. The rest of the volume documents buildings of a 'much more miscellaneous character',

⁹¹ Taylor 1866a, p.48.

illustrating the other three styles outlined by Fergusson.⁹² The last twelve plates in the book, which illustrate temple chariots and monolithic sculptures, 'can hardly be classed as objects of architectural art, and are therefore placed where they are by themselves at the end of the series.'⁹³

(fig. 4-24)



Fig. 4-24 William Pigou, *Chamundi, Colossal Bull*, 1856 (printed 1866), albumen print. The British Library, Photo 965/1(97). Plate 97 in *Architecture in Dharwar and Mysore* (London, 1866).

The photographs evidence a documentary style. The photographers have approached the buildings to record them, capturing as much information as possible. Sometimes, several different architectural styles have been incorporated into one photograph for this reason (fig. 4-25).

⁹² Taylor 1866a, p.60.

⁹³ Taylor 1866a, p.60.



Fig. 4-25 Thomas Biggs, *Pattadakal, Group of temples with chariot*, c.1855 (printed 1866), albumen print. The British Library, Photo 654/1(59). Plate 59 in *Architecture in Dharwar and Mysore* (London, 1866).

Fergusson identifies, from left to right, the Dravidian style in the pyramidal structure of the first temple; the Northern Hindu style in the next temple, and the Chalukyan style in the third temple nearest to the wooden chariot. Although Fergusson had travelled earlier in southern India, the photographs were undoubtedly the key to his identification of the different southern styles.

Apart from the documentary approach of the photographs, the text also places the volume clearly and firmly within the colonial and military context. Taylor, writing about the history of south India, stated: 'the south of India ... present a view of perpetual strife and change for 300 years preceeding the British conquest of Mysore ... But since the beginning of the present century there has been peace, which, under the security of the powerful and beneficent Government of England, has enable the people ... to marvel how it has endured, and to appreciate the more thankfully those rights and privileges which ensure to them protection, tranquility and

advancement'.⁹⁴ The British had only been secure in southern India since the defeat of Tipu Sultan in 1799. The book emphasised the British presence and what was perceived as the enlightened approach to understanding the country. While the architectural notes by Fergusson concentrate purely on style, the notes contributed by Taylor often make reference to the military and political contexts (**fig. 4-26**).



Fig. 4-26 Thomas Biggs, *Banashankari, temple and tank*, c.1855 (printed 1866), albumen print. The British Library, Photo 965/1(88). Plate 88 in *Architecture in Dharwar and Mysore* (London, 1866). The Banashankari Amma temple - the main temple in use today - is the structure on the far right, behind the tree, described by Taylor as 'modern'. Some of the other structures visible are part of the original, older temple complex. The building on the edge of the tank on the far left serves as a lamp tower.

Taylor's description for this photograph concentrates on the fort at Badami which is not even visible in the composition. He writes: 'in the war of 1818, it was captured from the Mahrattas by

⁹⁴ Taylor 1866a, p.37.

Sir T. Munro, after an insignificant resistance. The fortifications, since the conspiracy in 1857-58, have been dismantled.⁹⁵ The volume resonates with references such as this to various Anglo-Indian conflicts, placing the volume within the tradition of information gathering in the wake of military conflict (as seen with Colin Mackenzie's surveys, for example).

Contemporary reviews

In the summer of 1866, Hope sent out a few copies of the Ahmedabad book to carefully selected newspapers and journals. An even smaller number of the two larger volumes were sent out in September 1866. The reviews that appeared were generally positive of the enterprise as a whole. Most of the reviews saw the publications as objects of instruction for craftsmen and scholars, both English and Indian. This in fact followed the views of Hope, who had written: 'their usefulness will not be limited to the historian and the antiquary. The modern Indian architect and engineer also will now be enabled to grasp the genius of the native styles as a whole.'⁹⁶ The ultimate purpose of this was 'to mark Her Majesty's reign by edifices not inferior to those of dynasties gone by.'⁹⁷

The Pall Mall Gazette wrote of the photographs in *Architecture of Ahmedabad*: 'their value to practical English architects ought to be, we think, very great'⁹⁸ whilst *The Spectator* also thought the volume would be of great value to English craftsmen, but saw the high cost of the work as a problem, as the book would 'place the architectural photographs already collected within the reach not indeed of the mass of purchasers, but of the studios and the rich.'⁹⁹

The Builder was enthusiastic, and at the beginning of a lengthy review which included three wood engravings depicting buildings in Gujarat, described the involvement of the Indian sponsors, noting how they had each contributed one thousand pounds in order to reduce the final costs of the volumes. This was followed by a discussion of Jain architecture before comments about the danger of the photographs fading too quickly: 'in examining the photographs we cannot but fear, from indications already apparent, that time will have an effect on them. If for

⁹⁵ Taylor 1866a, note to Photograph 88.

⁹⁶ British Library, Mss Eur D705/28, letter to the Secretary of State for India from T. C. Hope, 1 June 1866.

⁹⁷ British Library, Mss Eur D705/28, letter to the Secretary of State for India from T. C. Hope, 1 June 1866.

⁹⁸ *The Pall Mall Gazette*, 9 June 1866, p.12.

⁹⁹ *The Spectator*, 16 June 1866.

the rest of the work the carbon process or some other mode of indelible printing could be employed, this fear might be removed.' The review concluded: 'honour and credit are due to all concerned in this very noble work of recording and making known, now for the first time, the architectural treasures of their country'¹⁰⁰ whilst *The Athenaeum* commented 'it is a magnificent book.'¹⁰¹

The Saturday Review noted the contribution of the Indian patrons in the production of the volumes (as did several other reviews): 'the first fruits of Premchand Raichund's splendid munificence is to be seen in the superb volume before us.'¹⁰² The review also singled out Fergusson's contribution to the book over the other writers and photographers: 'Mr. Fergusson is here in his element, and he does himself full justice. Oriental architecture is his strong point; of Indian architecture he may almost be called the discoverer. He had the merit of being the first to give any intelligent account of a very remarkable class of buildings.'¹⁰³

Many reviewers were not really reviewing the book but rather were judging the architecture itself, which was completely unfamiliar to them. Mughal monuments in India were easily understood, for with their clean lines, symmetrical forms and inlaid surface decoration there were enough similarities with Classical European styles to be reassuringly familiar. The buildings in Ahmedabad, however, such as the tomb and mosque of Rani Sipri, the Jami Masjid or the Queen's mosque at Sarangpur, presented themselves as Islamic constructions but with features and ornamentation that appeared to be taken directly from Jain and Hindu temples (**fig. 4-27**).

¹⁰⁰ *The Builder*, 14 July 1866, Vol. XXIV no.1223.

¹⁰¹ *The Athenaeum*, 18 August 1866, No. 2025, p.213.

¹⁰² *The Saturday Review*, 30 June 1866.

¹⁰³ *The Saturday Review*, 30 June 1866.



Fig. 4-27 Thomas Biggs, *Sarangpur, the Queen's Mosque*, 1860s (printed 1866), albumen print. The British Library, 10057.f.17. Plate 84 from *Architecture of Ahmedabad* (London, 1866). The carvings on the minarets either side of the gateway are similar to those seen on Hindu temples.

The richness of the carving – the *jalis* in particular¹⁰⁴ – was a revelation to British commentators. Gujarat was predominantly Hindu, with strong Jain communities, until the Khalji conquest in 1299. Gujarat was subsequently ruled as an Islamic Sultanate which lasted until the Mughal

¹⁰⁴ A *jail* is a perforated stone or wooden screen, often used as a window. The carvings can be highly elaborate.

Emperor Akbar conquered Ahmedabad in 1572. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, there was architecturally a merging of both Islamic, Hindu and Jain elements to produce a style now identified as Indo-Islamic. It is this style that appears throughout *Architecture of Ahmedabad* and was the cause of so much surprise from many reviewers in 1866.¹⁰⁵

Not all the reviewers were able to embrace this style, however, seeing the profuse decoration as an example of style over substance. Commenting on the Jain temples which appear in four plates at the end of the volume, *The Pall Mall Gazette* wrote: ‘Undoubtedly they are wonderful works, but to our eyes they are less satisfactory than they appear to Mr Fergusson, whose praise is, however, largely qualified. With all the richness and exuberance of their details they display a marked deficiency in form and an obtrusive clumsiness which are perhaps more prominent in the photograph than they are in reality.’¹⁰⁶ **(fig. 4-28)**

¹⁰⁵ The principal sites covered in the book are all in Ahmedabad: Ahmad Shah’s Mosque; Jami Masjid; Tomb of Rani Sipri and Mosque; Rani Rupmati Masjid; Muhafz Khan’s Mosque; Shaikh Hasan Muhammad Chishti’s Mosque, and Sarkhej (just outside Ahmedabad). The last four plates only show Hindu and Jain temples, in particular, Kejarsingh Hathisingh’s temple, which was constructed in 1848.

¹⁰⁶ *The Pall Mall Gazette*, 9 June 1866, p.12.

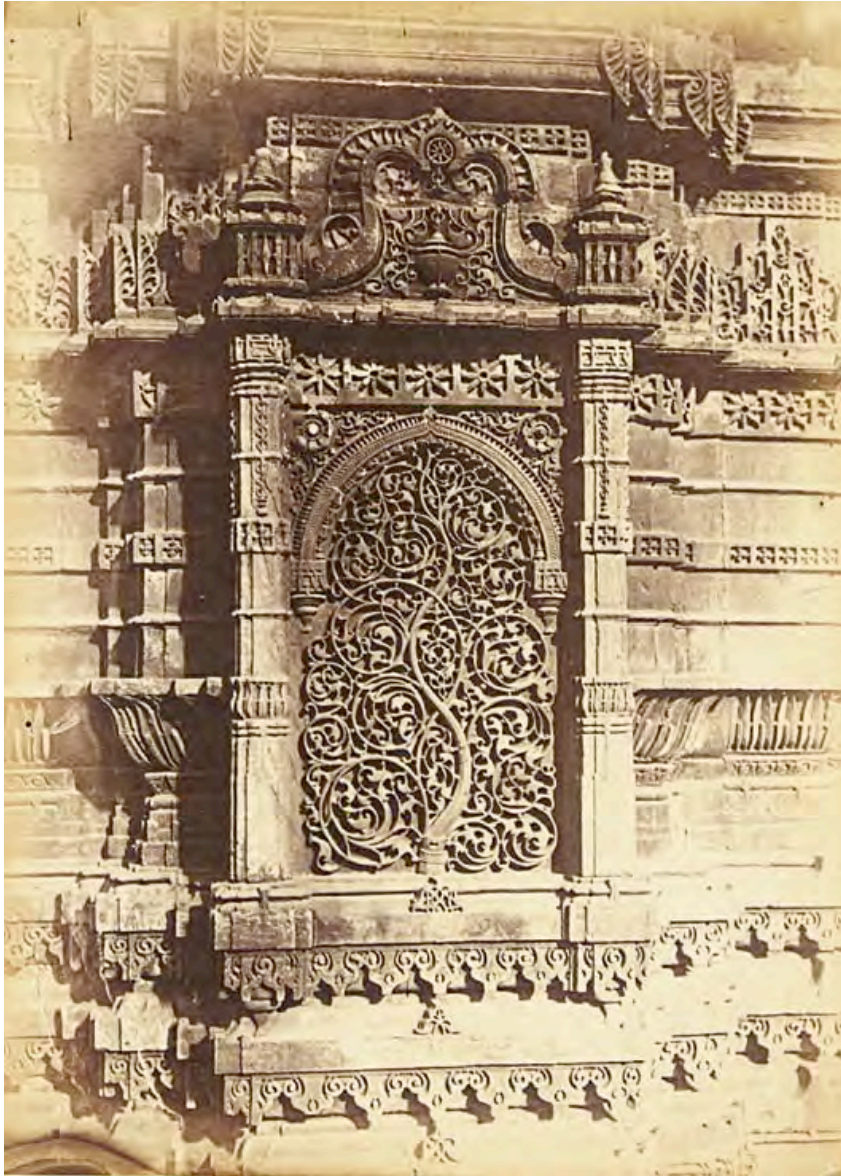


Fig. 4-28 Thomas Biggs, *Ahmedabad, Shapoor Mosque, niche from the base of the northern minaret*, early 1860s (printed 1866), albumen print. The British Library, 10057.f.17. Plate 107 in *Architecture at Ahmedabad* (London, 1866).

The Reader, more enthusiastic, made a comparison between Gothic architecture in Western Europe and the Indo-Islamic style, suggesting that in both styles the progress of history and religion ran alongside a development of style. The reviewer went on: ‘The more sceptical as to the value and significance of Oriental art cannot fail to be convinced by these united labours, that

if the glories of Gothic and Christian architecture are not eclipsed, at all events they are fairly rivalled by the unknown workers of Ahmedabad.’¹⁰⁷

The review ended with a sweeping but prescient comment about the significance of the book, the photographs and the buildings illustrated within: ‘There are questions it moots of religion, art, civilization and the ineffaceable characteristics of race, into which we cannot here enter, but which will be one day studied in the light such monuments can throw upon them.’¹⁰⁸

Hope also presented a few complimentary copies to institutions and prominent individuals in the hope of eliciting favourable reviews. The Asiatic Societies in London, Paris and Leipzig received copies, as did the Institute of British Architects, the South Kensington Museum, the French Emperor Napoleon III and John Ruskin. Ruskin’s response was the only overwhelmingly negative response that Hope received: ‘For practical service, details of Indian architecture are useless to the English. A nation which has lost and degraded its own native architecture, is wholly incapable of profiting by, or using the knowledge it may obtain of any other; in the present commercial temper of the English is any kind of architecture or design in any way possible to them. Their incurious acquaintance with foreign styles will only multiply their costly methods of making themselves ridiculous.’¹⁰⁹

Quite what response Hope was expecting to receive is difficult to say, as Ruskin had no liking or indeed little respect for Indian art and architecture. In a lecture given in 1858 Ruskin had acknowledged that Indian design could be refined, but his distaste for India and its art was explained with the belief that it was unnatural: ‘It never represents a natural fact.’¹¹⁰

Despite this minor criticism, Hope provided a set of the books to Dr John Forbes Watson for display in the forthcoming 1867 Paris Exhibition. Two large frames, containing between them fifteen loose prints, were also prepared for the display of architectural photographs that was being organised by Fergusson.

¹⁰⁷ *The Reader*, 7 July 1866, p.637.

¹⁰⁸ *The Reader*, 7 July 1866, p.637.

¹⁰⁹ British Library, Mss Eur D705/28, letter to T. C. Hope from John Ruskin, 14 June 1866.

¹¹⁰ Ruskin, *The Two Paths*, a series of lectures given in 1858, cited in Tillotson 1989, p.36.

By the time Hope was ready to return to India, seventy-two copies of the Ahmedabad volume had been sold in England, while twenty-five of the Bijapur volume and twenty-one of the Dharwar volume were sold. This included twenty copies ordered by the Secretary of State for India, most of which were shipped out to the Bengal and Madras Presidencies.¹¹¹ **Appendix 6** shows the complete distribution for all three volumes and the three supplemental volumes. It is particularly interesting to see that such a large number of volumes was being sent to India where they were obviously expected to sell.

Influence of the volumes

The books were undoubtedly intended to be educational, but as one reviewer pointed out, in practice the books only reached an elite audience that already had some understanding or familiarity with Indian history or an interest in architecture. The reason for producing such large, physically unwieldy objects was so that the existing large photographs could be included – these images were the most important tools for showing architects, craftsmen and historians what architecture in Western India looked like. The expense of the volumes and the small quantities produced, however, restricted the potential audience, which was in conflict with the educational aims of the project. How many craftsmen and engineers, particularly in India, actually saw the books is unknowable, but Hope’s belief that the works would lead eventually to buildings that would ‘mark Her Majesty’s reign by edifices not inferior to those of dynasties gone by’ demonstrates a certain amount of colonial anxiety over the legacy that the British were creating in India and a desire to ensure the British Raj made its presence felt in the same way the Mughals had.¹¹² It also highlights perhaps a certain confusion over whether the purpose of the books was to educate architects and craftsmen in India or in England, given that the majority of the books were sold and distributed in Britain.

The supplemental volumes were intended only for institutions, hence, for a largely self-selecting scholarly audience. The volume *Inscriptions in Dharwar and Mysore* was of importance to epigraphists as it came at a time when little had been published or translated. After the

¹¹¹ British Library, Mss Eur D705/29, report of 18 December 1866, pp.3-4, points 8 and 9.

¹¹² British Library, Mss Eur D705/28, letter to the Secretary of State for India from T. C. Hope, 1 June 1866.

substantial early efforts of Colin Mackenzie and Sir Walter Elliot, little had been done beyond the individual efforts that were published in journals of the various Asiatic societies.

Photography had been used to document inscriptions and manuscripts in Europe during the 1850s and later. Roger Fenton photographed the Epistles of Clement of Rome, from the Codex Alexandrinus, in 1856, and the French photographer Camille Silvy photographed two Italian manuscripts for publication, the *Manuscript Sforza* (published in 1860) and the details from the *Manuscript d'Avalos* (published in 1861). In 1865, the photographer Captain Henry Dixon (1824-83) photographed about 150 Pali and Kannarese inscriptions in the area around Mysore for the Archaeological Survey (**fig. 4-29**).



Fig. 4-29 Henry Dixon, *Begur, near Bangalore, sculptured stone slab with Canarese inscription*, 1865, albumen print. The British Library, Photo 1000/21(2049a).

Photographic reproductions of text were often difficult to read, however, and were not usually regarded as successful publications. These inscriptions photographed by Dixon were not translated until 1879 in *Mysore Inscriptions* (Bangalore, 1879) by Lewis Rice.¹¹³

The works did appear at a time when questions were being asked in Britain and in India about the purpose of architecture and the future of design and style for official buildings in particular. In Britain, anxieties over the future of design practices had been present since the 1830s. Higher standards abroad meant that British manufactures were being overlooked or designers were copying foreign products. Ultimately this led to the establishment of several schools for design by the Board of Trade, including schools in London at Somerset House in 1837 (known as the Government School of Design), Manchester and York in 1842, Nottingham in 1843 and Glasgow in 1845. Before 1851, a total of twenty government design schools had been opened. Key figures in creating courses for the schools included Owen Jones, Henry Cole, Richard Redgrave and Augustus Pugin.

Owen Jones (1809-74), trained as an architect, returned from travels abroad in the 1830s, inspired by the Islamic designs he had encountered in Egypt, Istanbul and at the Alhambra, Spain. Jones wanted to find a source for design that was not derived from the two principal architectural styles in use during the nineteenth century, Neo-classicism and Gothic Revival. He used sources principally from the Alhambra, which influenced his subsequent work on colour and ornament. Jones was responsible for the interior design of the Great Exhibition in 1851, as well as the display of the exhibits. He was particularly struck by the good design he encountered in the Indian exhibits. His publication, *The Grammar of Ornament* (London, 1856), presented what Jones believed were the principles of design behind the different styles, and the section on India made use of the objects he had seen in the Great Exhibition, as well as in the Paris International Exhibition in 1855. One of Jones's aims in producing *The Grammar of Ornament* had been to provide an easily accessible source for the best of international design to those who were not able to view original objects on display.

¹¹³ Epigraphy was not fully embraced by the Archaeological Survey until the establishment of the position of Epigraphist to the Government of India in 1883.

Jones, with Henry Cole, was involved in teaching at the Government School of Design. The British school had the same broad intentions as the schools set up later in India: to provide teaching and practical training to students in order to raise the standard of industrial design and to make British craft more competitive on the international market. Jones and Cole, along with Richard Redgrave (1804-88), were involved in selecting pieces of Indian art for the school's museum (initially known as the Museum of Manufactures, before being renamed as the Museum of Ornamental Art), which was to be used for teaching. The finest objects were subsequently sent on tours to provincial design schools so that the benefits could be widely felt. This collection was subsequently incorporated into the South Kensington Museum in 1857. With the advent of appropriate photography, the objects no longer needed to leave the museum, as photographic prints could be sent instead.¹¹⁴ A similar use for photography was found when the privately owned Soulages collection of decorative arts was up for sale and Charles Thurston Thompson was sent to Toulouse to document it in 1856. The photographs were used to sell the collection in Britain, and the objects were subsequently put on display in the Museum of Ornamental Art.¹¹⁵ The advantages of using photographs as a means to disseminate design information was apparent. Henry Cole received a copy of Hope's publication, as well as a set of the extra photographic prints of Ahmedabad.

In India, arts schools had been established in Bombay, Madras and Calcutta in the 1850s.¹¹⁶ These institutions adopted curricula taken from the British models, designed to provide basic tuition in drawing, followed by options that included etching, engraving, modelling, pottery, lithography and photography. All three schools also included a specialised course in architectural drawing, and in Bombay in particular, there were courses designed to focus on different aspects of ornamentation, even including one course on Gothic ornament. Initially, most of the teaching concentrated on Western art and architecture, employing European teaching methods such as life drawing. It was only towards the end of the nineteenth century that greater importance was given

¹¹⁴ Indian works of art in the Museum of Ornamental Art were photographed by Francis Bedford in 1854. See chapter 1 of this thesis.

¹¹⁵ John Charles Robinson. *Catalogue of the Soulages Collection; being a descriptive inventory of a collection of works of decorative art, formerly in the possession of M. Jules Soulages of Toulouse* (London, 1856) containing ten photographic illustrations.

¹¹⁶ Alexander Hunter established the Madras School of Industrial Arts (see chapter three) in 1855 by amalgamating two existing schools; in Calcutta the School of Industrial Art was opened on 14 August 1854, and in Bombay the philanthropist Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy provided funds in 1853 for a school which eventually opened in 1856.

to Indian arts and crafts, following the ideas of Lockwood Kipling and Thomas Holbein Hendley, for example.¹¹⁷ None of the schools appears on the list of places receiving copies of the books, although these were presumably the very places where there were students who would benefit from being shown examples of Indian design and ornament.

By the mid-1860s, several institutions, including the South Kensington Museum, had experimented with employing photographers and were producing copies of works of art for a variety of reasons. Drawings, sculptures and architectural fragments photographed well, as did decorative arts, but paintings could not for some time be photographed satisfactorily (even in 'black and white') because of the lack of panchromatic sensitivity in early photographic processes.¹¹⁸ Best known of these photographers is Roger Fenton who worked at The British Museum in the 1850s, but Robert MacPherson was photographing sculptures in Rome and at the Vatican in the 1850s, and Charles Thurston Thompson was working at the South Kensington Museum as well as previously photographing objects from the Royal Collection on loan at Gore House and Marlborough House in 1853-4 as part of the Government's Museum of Ornamental Art. Commercial photographers also began to specialise in photographing works of art during the 1850s, including Fratelli Alinari in Florence which was established in 1853; Adolphe Braun was working at the Louvre, the Kunstmuseum in Basel and in the Albertina in Vienna. By the mid-1860s it was not uncommon for books on art and architecture to be illustrated with photographs.¹¹⁹

The influence of the Arundel Society, founded in 1848, was also important in driving this movement. The Society existed to publish and disseminate copies of works of art in order to educate the public and improve their taste in artistic matters. They produced their first publication with photographic illustrations in 1855, *Catalogue of Specimens of Ivory Carvings in*

¹¹⁷ A School of Art in Jaipur was founded in 1866, but unlike the other schools, it was intended that the school would focus exclusively on local practices and traditions. See Tillotson 1989, p.63. Tillotson discusses Indian architecture and design in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, with an emphasis on the exchange of ideas and influence between Western and Indian traditions. In 1875, the Mayo School of Arts was established in Lahore (see Introduction).

¹¹⁸ This was apparent from the earliest attempts of photographers to photograph works of art. For example, Talbot's *Pencil of Nature* (London, 1844-46). When reproducing paintings, in general the chromo-lithograph process was preferred.

¹¹⁹ Hamber 2003, p.222.

various Collections by Edmund Oldfield, containing nine photographs. By the late 1860s, the Arundel Society had taken steps to publish a number of photographically illustrated books, including architectural publications: *The cathedral of Santiago de Compostella in Spain* (London, 1868); and *The sculptured ornament of the monastery of Batalha in Portugal* (London, 1868) each with twenty albumen prints by Charles Thurston Thompson. The purpose of the photographs was clearly stated in the publication: ‘under the sanction of the Science and Art Department, for the use of schools of art and amateurs.’¹²⁰

By the 1870s, photographic illustration had become standard with the appearance of the photomechanical print (such as the woodburytype) allowing a cheaper type of photographic process to be used.

Photographs became successfully incorporated into art history publications. Their acceptance was due to two main factors: the claim of neutrality made by the presence of a photograph rather than a drawing or print, and the fact that the public learnt to see these photographs as transparent documents rather than works of art in themselves. Viewing the photographs as transparent documents was possible because of a belief in the camera as a mechanical device which suppressed the subjective hand of the artist. This contrasts with the way in which these photographs are often viewed today as works of art.

Ultimately Hope’s grand publishing project was not a success. The photographs did not cover the subject matter comprehensively. The books were produced in too small a number to have any real impact and the timing, coming still quite soon after the Uprising, may have been unfortunate as there was in Britain still strong prejudice against India and all things Indian. The volume also fell between two types of publications, being neither one - a grand portfolio in the tradition of Hodges and Thomas Daniells - or the other - a small, portable photographically-illustrated book, like Robert Gill’s *Rock-cut temples of India* (London, 1864). The photographs were made during the era of the paper negative, which had an affinity with the lithographs produced for antiquarians. By the time of publication in 1866, however, the publishing world had moved on;

¹²⁰ Thompson 1868b.

photographic processes had changed with the rise of the wet collodion negative and the commercial photographer, and consequently audience expectations had altered.

Meanwhile in India in the mid-1860s, the colonial building programme was in full progress which meant there was not much call for photographs of this type to use as examples of design. It was not until the late nineteenth century that traditional Indian design once again became important and trained craftsman were required to work on architectural projects (see the work of S.S. Jacob in the Introduction, for example). The educational programmes at the art schools were geared towards colonial traditions until 1883, when the Government passed a resolution allowing craftsmen to be admitted to the Government Schools of Art.¹²¹ Most new colonial buildings of any significance were designed by British architects educated in Britain. Only very occasionally did an Indian architect, such as Muncherjee Cowasjee Murzban (1839-1917), manage to establish himself. Murzban, who began his career in the Public Works Department, had established a successful private practice in Bombay by the 1880s.¹²²

In Britain, however, architectural photographs had already been used as sources of inspiration and design in construction projects. In 1859, Henry Cole had travelled around Rome instructing the photographer Pietro Dovizielli to photograph architectural elements. These photographs were subsequently brought back to London and used in the design and construction of the new wing at the South Kensington Museum.¹²³ It is perhaps impossible to say whether the photographs used in *Architecture in Dharwar and Mysore* had any direct influence on buildings or design. There are certainly structures in India that contain identifiable Gujurati or Indo-Saracenic features and motifs that can be traced to buildings represented in *Architecture of Ahmedabad*. The Gateway of India (1927) and the Prince of Wales Museum (1914-37), both by architect George Wittet, show clear fusions of European classicism with Indo-Saracenic elements. In Europe, Gujurati elements were included in the design of the Indian pavilion at the International Exhibition of 1878 in Paris, by Caspar Purdon Clarke, later to become curator of the Indian collections at the South Kensington Museum. Clarke's pavilion was to house the Indian treasures given to the Prince of Wales on his tour of India in 1875-6 (**fig. 4-30**).

¹²¹ Tillotson 1989, p.93.

¹²² London 2002, p.140-141.

¹²³ Barnes 1998.

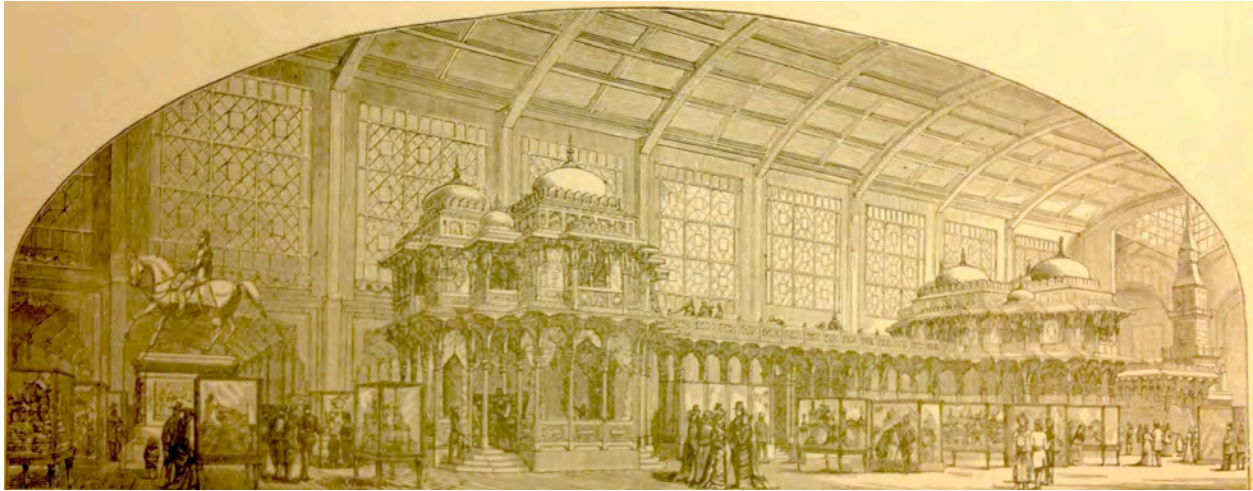


Fig. 4-30 C. Purdon Clarke (architect), *India pavilion at the International Exhibition of 1878, Paris*. Engraving from *Handbook to the British Indian Section* by George Birdwood (London and Paris, 1878).

Some architects made specific reference to the works when speaking about how to create buildings for the Indian climate. The architect T.R. Smith gave a lecture before the Royal Institute of British Architects in 1868, in which he extolled the wooden verandah as a space for outdoor living in tropical climates. He drew attention to opportunities it presented: ‘The verandah ... affords the chief, and a remarkably fine opportunity, for external architectural treatment in any building for the tropics. In some of the more artistic native houses, it is beautifully treated in carved wood. As an example of the treatment of it in masonry, I may refer to the Mahomedan buildings at Ahmedabad, shown in Mr. Hope’s photographs’.¹²⁴

¹²⁴ *The Builder*, 2 May 1868, Vol. XXVI no. 1317.

CONCLUSIONS

This thesis began by identifying several questions that emerged from the study of particular groups of photographs. The questions and concerns focused on the documentation of Indian architecture, the role of James Fergusson and the creation of a history of architecture for India, and the dissemination and interpretation of architectural photographs.

Creating a History of Architecture

In the introduction, James Fergusson was placed at the centre of the creation of a history of Indian architecture. He began his work in the 1840s, when little had been published in Britain or India on the subject of Indian architecture, although scholarly societies had begun discussing architectural topics and artists had been depicting India since the late eighteenth century. Fergusson's early works, produced at a time when photographic technology was in its infancy, drew heavily on his own sketches and travels across India, and the influence of Thomas Daniells and the Picturesque is evident in his own lithographic illustrations.¹

Once photography established itself as an appropriate tool for documentation, principally by following the objective principles established by the military in their surveys, Fergusson was able to study and acquire photographs from sites he had not personally inspected. This allowed him to expand his history of Indian architecture by using a comparative method in which different styles were identified and articulated. Key moments in Fergusson's career occur in 1865 when he is asked to contribute to Theodore Hope's grand publishing project; in 1866 when he delivers his lecture to the Society of Arts about the importance of documenting Indian architecture, and in 1867 when he is asked to curate the display of photographs on Indian architecture for the International Exhibition in Paris. These events together placed Fergusson in the position of the leading figure on Indian architecture in Victorian society. This is

¹ As seen in Fergusson 1847, for example. Illustrations are provided in the introduction to this thesis.

confirmed by his lengthy contribution to the report on the documentation of Indian architecture written for the Archaeological Survey, published in 1869.²

In the 1860s, Fergusson was already incorporating photographs into his work. When his Society of Arts lecture was delivered, the walls of the room were covered with photographs owned by Fergusson so the society's members could study them. When the lecture was published a few years later, fifteen photographic images printed as woodburytypes were included.³ By using the photographs compiled for Hope's volume, *Architecture in Dharwar and Mysore* (London, 1869), Fergusson was able to identify for the first time a new architectural style, which he named 'Chalukyan'.⁴ From this central position acquired in the 1860s, Fergusson was then able to play an important role in directing the future documentation of Indian architecture in order to acquire those images that he felt he was lacking. The appointment of an official Government photographer in south India in 1867 was partly due to Fergusson's influence.

In 1867, Fergusson was able to claim that he had written the first comprehensive architectural history.⁵ Throughout this great history, there are continual references to photography, and many of the engravings are captioned as 'after a photograph'. This is in itself an unusual emphasis for a nineteenth-century art historian, when most of Fergusson's contemporaries would be restricting their discussion of photographs to a brief note in the introduction to their works, if they mentioned photography at all.⁶ Photography clearly played a central role in enabling Fergusson to write his complete history. Photographs were produced in greater numbers than drawings, plans, elevations, casts or models; they provided more information about the subject depicted, and they also offered an assurance of objectivity and scientific truthfulness that was lacking in many other forms of visual media.⁷

² Watson 1869.

³ Fergusson 1869.

⁴ Taylor 1866a.

⁵ Fergusson 1867.

⁶ Hamber 1995, p.90.

⁷ The meaning of scientific truth in respect to photography is discussed in chapter four in reference to the surveying methods adopted by the Government photographers, particularly Linnaeus Tripe.

Fergusson's influence was great, both during his lifetime and after his death in 1886. His history of 1876 has remained an important text, particularly in its edited and revised version of 1910. Subsequent generations of scholars, such as James Burgess and Percy Brown, have followed Fergusson's categorization of Indian architecture and built on his foundations. James Burgess, when he succeeded Cunningham as head of the Archaeological Survey, moved away from a focus on archaeological fieldwork, towards a more art historical approach that concentrated on documentation, interpretation and preservation of the monuments. This included comparative study using photographic records.

By basing himself in London for almost his entire career, Fergusson studied only that which could be photographed and this inevitably limited his discussions of Indian architecture and restricted those discussions to terms of comparative connoisseurship. The photographs that he gathered around him reduced the great diversity and complexity of Indian architecture to a manageable project that required an order imposed upon it.⁸ Fergusson remained unaware of that which was beyond the camera, which might include not only those buildings which were unable to be photographed due to their physical situation, but also the experience and function of Indian architecture, its colours and sounds, its scale, the interiors and dark, unlit corners. But these are not necessarily Fergusson's own particular omissions, but rather they represent the reliance of art historians in general on photographs from the 1870s until the present. Even so, Fergusson still produced a history which is substantially factually correct while his methodology is used by many architectural students and historians working on Indian architecture today, particularly those who are based outside India.

Fergusson's contemporary Alexander Cunningham, made extensive use of photography as a documentary tool but did not use it as a tool for interpretation. Cunningham saw his role as a gatherer and organizer of information in various forms: photography was one possible medium to discover and convey information; inscriptions, sculptural fragments, coins, tiles and mosaics were others. The archive of

⁸ Benjamin discusses how it is easier to grasp architecture (or other types of artwork) through photographs than it is in reality, and that the result of this is that photographs 'help people to achieve that degree of mastery of artworks without which the works never find a use.' Benjamin 2009, p.188 (*Brief History of Photography*, 1931).

photographs compiled by the Archaeological Survey and passed to the India Office was a direct result of Cunningham's realization that photography was a central part of documenting architecture.⁹ The appointment of archaeologists who were also accomplished photographers such as J.D. Beglar; H. Cousens and H.B.W. Garrick was recognition of this. In his publications and the official reports of Archaeological Survey, Cunningham rarely refers to Fergusson's work, unless it is to correct an error. But Cunningham was documenting sites through fieldwork and the gathering of many different types of data, while Fergusson was exchanging fieldwork for the acquisition of photographs, and then attempting to interpret them. They were working towards different ends, but photography played a key role for both of them. This demonstrates the belief that nineteenth-century scholars held in the ability of photography to present a truthful and objective representation of reality.

The Dissemination of Architectural Photographs

At the end of the eighteenth century, images of Indian architecture were available to a relatively elite audience only, as coloured lithographs and other engravings. In the 1850s, when photography became a practical tool for documenting architecture, examples were initially published in large portfolios, following the pattern established by the lithographic works of William Hodges and others. This was partly because of the practical demands of the process - large paper negatives were used in the cameras so large volumes were necessary - but also because photography was practiced largely by gentleman amateurs such as Dr John Murray or by men of the officer class in Government employ such as Linnaeus Tripe, Thomas Biggs and William Pigou, who wanted photography to have the status of a respectable artistic practice. Their work was published in attractive volumes, displayed and discussed at photographic society meetings, and exhibited in India and in Britain.

Over time, however, photographic technology changed. The wet collodion process eventually replaced the paper negative, and commercial photographers responded to

⁹ The Archaeological Survey photograph collection is divided into different series, the main series being known as the India Office Series, held at the British Library, with the shelfmark Photo 1000/. This series consists of 5951 prints, housed in 76 volumes. See also Bloch 1900.

an increased demand as prices dropped and production rose. As a result, aesthetic standards varied more, perhaps because, as the audience changed, so did expectations over the standard of the work. The gentleman amateur moved away from the practice photography, which was increasingly regarded as a professional skill. As the costs of publishing photographs fell, illustrated books became accessible not only to an elite audience but to a broader, upper middle class audience.

Instead of large portfolios, photographs were increasingly published as smaller books with more text. With the appearance of new printing methods, such as the woodburytype and the carbon print, photographs could be produced in even larger numbers, in a process that was more reliable and not likely to fade over time. The number of photographs being reproduced as engravings in illustrated news journals also increased. Publications such as the *Illustrated London News* regularly reproduced illustrations made after photographs, and captioned them accordingly.

The volumes discussed in chapter four demonstrate the effects of this change in the market and in expectations. The first two publications, *Architecture in Dharwar and Mysore* (London, 1866) and *Architecture at Beejapoor* (London, 1866) are large portfolios using photographs taken in the 1850s. The photographic plates follow scholarly essays on the history and architecture of the regions covered. The books were extremely expensive and were not particularly successfully received. In contrast, the volume on Ahmedabad using photographs taken using the wet collodion method in the 1860s is consequently much smaller, more affordable (although still relatively expensive) and easier to use as a reference work. It was reviewed far more extensively than the other two books, and was used by architects and historians.

Using photographs to disseminate information through the publication of portfolios and books was an aim from the early years of the medium. Talbot attempted to show what photography was capable of in *The Pencil of Nature* (London, 1844-46), publishing six installments of photographs with text. Talbot had intended to produce more installments, but the project was not a commercial success. With the changes outlined above occurring in the 1850s-60s, Talbot's early aim became a commercial

possibility.¹⁰ The number of publications incorporating photography increased and the study of art and architecture developed into a broader discipline open to many more people.

The Processes of Photography

Two of the three case studies presented an examination of photographs produced over several decades, documenting two very different locations: the city of Lucknow, and the archaeological site of Vijayanagara. The photographs produced at each location share some characteristics, but in other ways they differ greatly.

At both locations, it is possible to trace a shift in the visual language as photography moves into the commercial era of the 1860s and beyond. While photographic techniques changed over time, the type of photograph being produced began to alter. In the photographs of Lucknow, the first shift occurs following the 1857 Uprising. The photographs move from depicting the city as a centre of Islamic royal authority to presenting the British 'pilgrimage' route through the city, focusing on the buildings and locations where significant events connected with the Uprising occurred. A second shift takes place when commercial photographers begin visiting the transformed city and they depict a transformed colonial city that is looking forward as well as memorializing the past. Some photographers, particularly Abbas Ali, have retained the pre-1857 understanding of the city and this remains apparent in their work. How these images have been interpreted depends very much on the cultural perspective of the viewer and their familiarity with the stories of Lucknow.

Apart from Lucknow, the only other locations that were photographed extensively for their associations with the 1857 Uprising were Cawnpore and Delhi. While Cawnpore was reduced (in photographic terms) to three sites at a very early point in the 1860s (the Memorial well, the Suttee Chaura ghat also known as the 'Slaughter' ghat, and the site of the Bibighar), Delhi was photographed both for its connection with the Uprising and for its magnificent Mughal architecture. The British admired the Mughal architecture of Delhi, and held it in high esteem, in contrast to their opinions of the late Islamic architecture in Lucknow. Photographers, historians and archaeologists

¹⁰ Other scholars have identified the period between 1850 and 1870 as a significant moment in the photography of art and architecture. Hamber 1995, p.95.

explored Delhi for its architectural merits, rather than its connection to the Uprising, although certain sites such as the Kashmir Gate were repeatedly photographed to commemorate the events that occurred there in 1857.

Representing a city through a series of buildings that map out a particular route (a processional route or a pilgrimage route) as we find in Lucknow was not unique to that city. Benares was consistently represented through sequences of photographs taken from the river looking towards the ghats (and was depicted this way in the pre-photographic period also). The photographs would depict each ghat in turn, as if one were viewing the riverside by floating along the river on a boat. An early example of this is the album in the British Library of views by B.G. Bromochary from 1869.¹¹ Later, Madho Prasad, who worked at the royal court in Benares, produced photographs for presentation albums between the 1890s and 1910s (**fig. 5-1**).¹²



Fig. 5-1 Madho Prasad, *Panchgangaghat, Benares*, 1905, gelatin silver print. The British Library, Photo 17/3(19).

¹¹ British Library, Photo 984. *Views of Benares, from the riverside*. By B.G. Bromochary Photographer to H.H. the Maharaja of Benares - 1869.

¹² Another family member, Babu Jageshwar Prasad, also worked in Benares slightly earlier, during the 1880s.

One such album was presented to the Viceroy Lord Reading by the Maharaja of Benares in 1921.¹³ While the 'journey along the river' is always the main section of the album, at the beginning and end of the albums there are often other views of Benares, taken a distance away from the river. Views of Sarnath and the objects excavated during the archaeological work of the early 1900s were included in Prasad's albums (**fig. 5-2**). The series of views along the river Ganges represented the city to the viewer (usually British or at least European) within a familiar context (although without the burning ghats favoured by many European photographers¹⁴), while the photographs of Sarnath and the early Buddhist remains make reference to an earlier, historically and religiously significant period. This is remarkably similar in function to the sequence of Lucknow views presented in 1874 by Abbas Ali.



Fig. 5-2 Madho Prasad, *Buddhist carvings in the museum at Sarnath*, 1905, gelatin silver print. The British Library, Photo 17/3(38).

¹³ British Library, Photo 10/6. Although presented to the Viceroy in 1921, most of the photographs in the album date to the early 1900s, and some are possibly as early as the 1880s.

¹⁴ Pinney 2008, p.34.

At Vijayanagara, the arrival of the commercial photographer also heralded the introduction of a different way of approaching the site. Earlier photographers, whether in Government employ or not, came to the site with the mentality of the colonial surveyor. The early photographers came from the same social class and educational background, and most were in British military employment. They were part of a wider scheme to document architecture photographically. Examples of similar projects occurred in Indonesia and Europe, but particularly in France through the work of *La Mission Héliographique* in the 1850s.

The commercial photographer at Vijayanagara was faced, however, with the dilemma of there being no natural market for his work. While tourists visited Lucknow, they rarely travelled to Vijayanagara so there was no demand for commercially produced photographs of the site. Some firms may have photographed here as part of an attempt to widen their commercial stock. The work of Nicholas & Co. demonstrates a new documentary element, photographing the people of the nearby villages. This shift is mirrored (although only to a certain extent) in the famine photographs of Lala Deen Dayal and in the documentation of street life in Britain by John Thomson and Thomas Annan.

The only photographer who worked at both Lucknow and Vijayanagara was Edmund Lyon. His work in Lucknow was produced at the very beginning of his photographic career, in the early 1860s. He focused on buildings associated with the Uprising, producing for sale only one view of each structure, as listed in his studio catalogue.¹⁵ When he was in Vijayanagara a few years later in 1868, he photographed the buildings and complexes systematically, producing several views of each, from both near and far, trying replicate the physical experience of walking through the structures. Each location had a different audience for the photographs, with different expectations; Lyon responded accordingly.

¹⁵ Lyon n.d., c.1864.

Later approaches and interpretations

Photography at Vijayanagara did not flourish in the early twentieth century. There was no audience beyond the context of the Archaeological Survey. The ASI continued to send photographers to the site, and small photographs were produced to accompany reports of the work carried out on the monuments. Postcards were not produced of the site, as there were no tourists visiting until the last quarter of the twentieth century.

In contrast, in Lucknow, the story of the Uprising continued (and continues) to assert itself upon the surviving monuments. Picture postcards were printed in large numbers although the buildings representing the city were gradually reduced to a key group of about seven structures: the Chattar Manzil; the Residency; the Baillie Guard gateway; the Husainabad imambara; the Sikandrabagh; the Bara imambara (**fig. 5-3**); La Martinière, and the Shah Najaf.

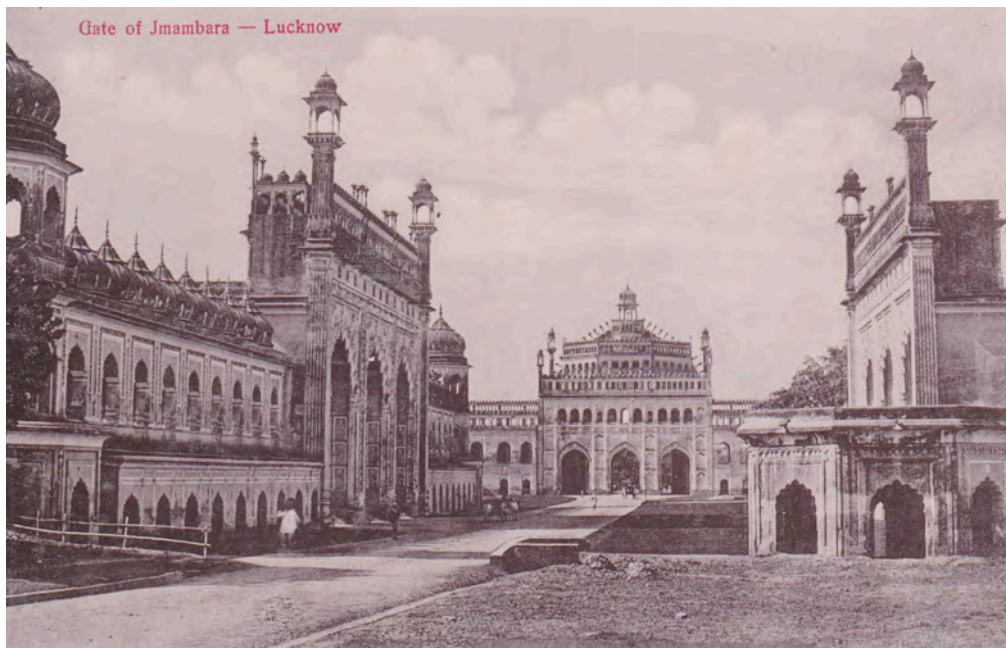


Fig. 5-3 Printed by Moorli Dhur & Sons (Ambala), *Lucknow, Back of the Rumi Darwaza and entrance to the Bara Imambara*, early twentieth century, postcard. Private collection.

The introduction of the Shah Najaf in the early twentieth century as one of the key images representing Lucknow is surprising, given that it did not feature very prominently in the Uprising or in earlier photographs of the city. The building serves both as the tomb for the Nawab Ghazi-ud-din Haider (r. 1814-27) and as an

imambara. It was photographed by Beato, because it had played a minor role during the Rebellion as the mess house for the 32nd regiment of Royal Artillery. Subsequent photographers generally ignored the building. In the 1890s, however, a photographer for Lawrie & Co. photographed the building and subsequently it was reproduced as a postcard by several different firms (**fig. 5-4**). This may be because it is unusual in appearance; it survived relatively intact unlike many other structures, and as the tomb of the first 'King' of Lucknow, it was a landmark in the history of the city.

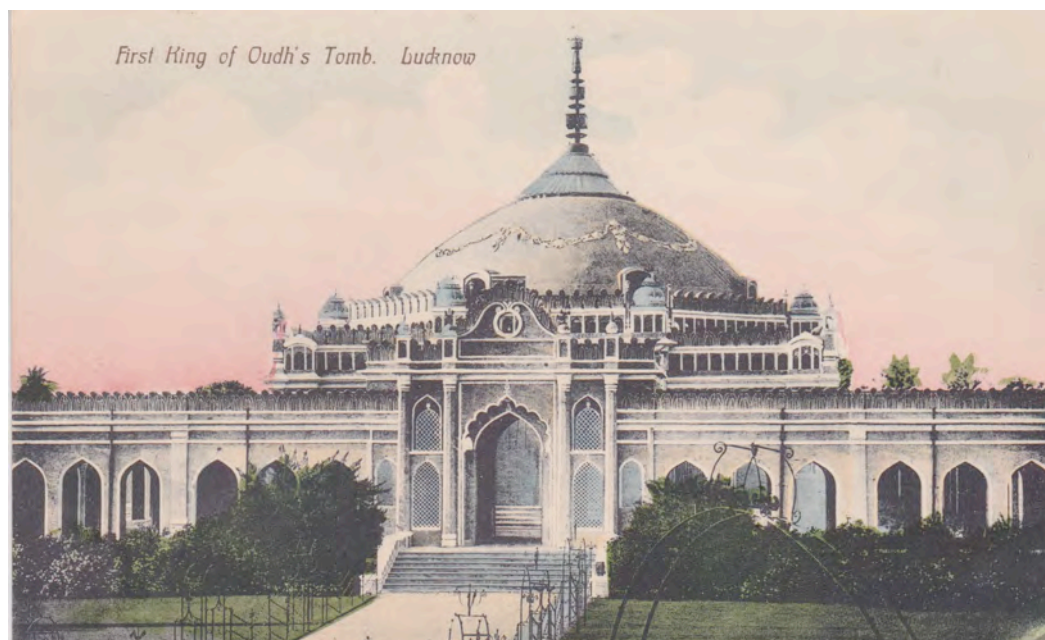


Fig. 5-4 Unknown photographer/printer, Lucknow, *First King of Oudh's Tomb*, early twentieth century, postcard. Private collection.

Today many of the nineteenth-century photographs of India are being reinterpreted in Britain for a contemporary audience drawn from various sections of society. The Royal Geographical Society has run a successful project called *Crossing Continents: Connecting Communities* in which it invites people from communities that identify themselves as Indian or Punjabi to come to the society to comment on the photographs. Also invited are school groups, journalists, academics, and others with strong connections to the location. The photographs are displayed and discussed in several different workshops with different people present; curators and 'experts' from the society are not always included. Using the comments and ideas generated at the sessions, exhibitions were prepared with more than fifty percent of the didactic material (wall panels, labels and leaflets) being drawn from the voices of the

community groups. One exhibition on South Asian material emerged in 2007 as 'From Kabul to Kandahar 1833-1933'.¹⁶ An exhibition focusing on the Punjab was created in 2008. Themes that arose included issues over migration and settlement in Britain; national history, religion and identity; the negative image of Afghanistan due to the conflict with the Taliban, and gender issues. The response from visitors, the groups involved, journalists and academics has been overwhelmingly positive, with many seeing this as a way to make connections with traditionally unengaged audiences, as well as bringing new information and interpretations to bear on the objects.

Today, however, the major interpretative shift that has occurred in respect to nineteenth-century photographs is their transformation from documents of academic interest into works of art in their own right. Photographically-illustrated books such as *Architecture in Dharwar and Mysore* may have greater value when broken up into individual plates. Photographs of Vijayanagara are usually judged as aesthetic objects instead of considered for the information they contain (except by a handful of scholars who work on the site).¹⁷ Photographs of Lucknow continue to follow a slightly different trajectory, however, as they continue to be regarded primarily as historical documents rather than as works of art.¹⁸ This divergence of approaches towards nineteenth-century architectural photographs only illustrates their complexity, however. I find it helpful to think about the photographs as palimpsests. Like cities and buildings, different meanings and layers of interpretation can exist together in either a single object, in a volume, or in an entire collection or archive. Bringing photographs together into some sort of order, whether through a specific sequence of images or through a publication, is one way of attempting to direct the interpretation, but any interpretation that emerges will be only one of several possibilities.

¹⁶ Royal Geographical Society (with IBG), Media Release, 13 December 2006.

¹⁷ This also coincides with Vijayanagara becoming a major tourist destination in the late twentieth century.

¹⁸ Llewellyn-Jones 2005, for example.

APPENDIX 1

PHOTOGRAPHERS IN LUCKNOW AND NAINITAL, 1850-1901

YEAR	SOURCE DIRECTORY	LUCKNOW	NAINITAL
1850	Bengal Directory	No entry for Lucknow.	No entry for Nainital.
1851	Bengal Directory	No entry for Lucknow	No entry for Nainital.
1852	Bengal Directory	No entry for Lucknow	No entry for Nainital.
1853	Bengal Directory	No entry for Lucknow.	No entry for Nainital.
1854	Bengal Directory	No entry for Lucknow.	No entry for Nainital.
1855	Bengal Directory	No photographer listed for Lucknow. 'Joseph Johannes, Lucknow, painter to the King of Oudh', p.44 & 79.	No photographer listed for Nainital.
1856	New Calcutta	No photographer listed for Lucknow. Joseph Johannes listed as 'portrait painter &c.', p.69. 'Respectable Native Inhabitants ... Ahmud Ally Khan , Darogah of Hoosunabad', p.70.	No photographer listed for Nainital.
1857	New Calcutta	No photographer listed for Lucknow. Joseph Johannes listed as 'merchant, vakeel and ice contractor', p.148.	No photographer listed for Nainital.
1858	New Calcutta	No photographer listed for Lucknow. Joseph Johanness - sic - listed in Residents as 'Lucknow, merchant, vakeel and ice contractor', p.299.	No photographer listed for Nainital.
1859	New Calcutta	No photographer listed for Lucknow. Joseph Johannes listed in Residents, as 'Lucknow, merchant, vakeel and ice contractor', p.306.	No photographer listed for Nainital.

1860	New Calcutta	No photographer listed for Lucknow. Joseph Johannes listed in Residents, as 'Lucknow, merchant, vakeel and ice contractor', p.284.	No photographer listed for Nainital.
1861	New Calcutta	No photographer listed for Lucknow. Joseph Johannes listed in Residents, as 'merchant, vakeel and ice contractor', p.323.	No photographer listed for Nainital.
1862	New Calcutta	No photographer listed for Lucknow. Joseph Johannes listed in Residents, as 'merchant, vakeel and ice contractor', p.377.	No photographer listed for Nainital.
1863	Thacker's	No photographer listed for Lucknow.	No photographer listed for Nainital.
	New Calcutta	Joseph Johannes , 'photographer, ice contractor, vakeel, &c.', p.205. [Lieut. R. H. de Montmorency, 10th NI, Asst. Secy to Chief Commissioner, p.202]	No photographer listed for Nainital.
1864	Thackers	Jos. Johannes , photographer, p.156. [Lieut. R. H. de Montmorency, Asst. Secy to Chief Commissioner, p.153.]	No directory entry for Nainital.
1865	Thackers	Jos. Johannes , photographer, p.185. [Lieut. R. H. de Montmorency (offg.), Asst. Commissioner, Civil & Judicial Officers, p.182.]	No commercial photographer listed for Nainital. [Maj.-Gen. A. Cunningham, retired list, p.225]
1866	Thackers	Jos. Johannes , photographer, p.159. [Lt. Col. C. W. Hutchinson, Offg. Secy., PWD, Administration of Oudh, p.155]	No commercial photographer listed for Nainital.
1867	Thackers	Jos. Johannes , photographer, p.161. [Lt.Col. C. W. Hutchinson, Secy. P. W. Administration of Oudh & Chief Engineer, p.158]	No commercial photographer listed for Nainital.
1868	Thackers	Jos. Johannes and H. S. Clarke , photographers, p.166. [Lt.Col. C. W. Hutchinson, Secy. P. W. Administration of Oudh & Chief Engineer, p.162]	No commercial photographer listed for Nainital.

1869	Thacker's	Jos. Johannes and H S Clarke , photographers, p.160. [Capt. R. H. de Montmorency (Europe), Asst. Commissioner, Civil & Judicial Officers, p.157.]	No photographers listed for Nainital. [Saché and Westfield , photographers, 15-1 Waterloo Street, Calcutta, p. 184].
1870	Thacker's	Jos. Johannes , photographer, p.162. [Capt. R. H. de Montmorency (Europe), Assistant Commissioner, under 'Civil and Judicial officers', p.158.]	J. Sache , photographer, p.206.
1871	Thacker's	No photographers listed under Lucknow.	J. Murray , photographer and general merchant, p.261. J. Saché , photographer, asst. J. Turner, p.262. T. Murray , photographer, p.262.
1872	Thacker's	No photographers listed under Lucknow.	J. Saché , photographer, Asst. A. Saché, p.293.
1873	Thacker's	No photographers listed under Lucknow. [Capt. R. H. de Montmorency , listed under Judicial and Revenue Officers, Deputy Commissioner, p.240]	J. Sache , photographer, asst. T. Turner, p.315. T. Murray , photographer, house proprietor and agent, p.315.
1874	Thacker's	No photographers listed under Lucknow.	J. Saché , photographer, assts. A. Saché and G. A. Llewelin, p.1068. T. Murray , photographer, house proprietor and agent, p.1068.
1875	Thacker's	No photographers listed under Lucknow.	J. Saché , photographer, Asst. A. Saché, p.1144.
1876	Thacker's	No photographers listed under Lucknow. Darogha Abbas Ali listed under 'Municipal Office, Asst. Engineer', p.324.	J. Saché , photographer, p.406.
1877	Thacker's	No photographers listed under Lucknow. Daroga Abbas Ali , listed under 'Municipal Office, Asst. Engineer', p.265.	J. Saché , photographer, assts. T. Turner and J. Loof, p.330.
1878	Thacker's	No photographers listed under Lucknow. Darogha Abbas Ali listed under 'Municipal Office, Municipal Engineer', p.268.	J. Sache , photographer, assts. T. Turner and J. Loof, p.336.
1879	Thacker's	J. Sache , photographic artist, p.222. [Sache, J., photographer, Mussoorie,	J. Sache , photographer, assts. T. Turner and J.

		Nynee Tal and Lucknow, p.755]	Loof, p.272.
1880	Thacker's	J. Saché , Photographic Artist, p.699	J. Saché , Photographic Artist, Asst. W. Holmes, p.736
1881	Thacker's	J. Saché , Photographic Artist, p.707	
1882	Thacker's	J. Saché , Photographic Artist, p.710 [Saché, A. photographer, Mussoorie, Nainital, Lucknow & Dalhousie, p.1159]	
1883	Thacker's	G. W. Lawrie , photographer, Nainital and Lucknow, p.716	G.W. Lawrie , Photographer, Nainital and Lucknow, Asst. F. Bremner, p.761
1884	Thacker's	G. W. Lawrie , photographer, Nainital and Lucknow, Asst. F. Bremner, p.707 Fry & Rahn , photographers, Lucknow and Nainital, p.707	Fry & Khan , photographers, Lucknow and Nainital, p.751
1885	Thacker's	G. W. Lawrie , photographer, Nainital and Lucknow, Asst. F. Bremner, p.628. Fry & Rahn , photographers, Lucknow and Nainital, p.628.	G.W. Lawrie , photographer, Nainital and Lucknow, Asst. F. Bremner, p.669 Fry & Khan , photographers, p.669 [Fry, A. , photographer, Nainital, p.1116]
1886	Thacker's	G. W. Lawrie , photographer, Nainital and Lucknow. Assts. F. Bremner and T. R. Roger, p.632. Fry & Rahn , photographers and artists, Nainital and Lucknow. Sole propr W. Rahn, asst. L. Herse, p.632.	G. W. Lawrie , photographer, Nainital and Lucknow, Asst. F. Bremner, p.674. Fry & Rahn , artists and photographers, Nainital and Lucknow. Sole propr. W. Rahn, asst. Ludewig Herse, p.674.
1887	Thacker's	G. W. Lawrie , photographer, Nainital and Lucknow, Assts. F. Bremner and F. W. Cox, p.650. Fry & Rahn , photographer and artist, Nainital and Lucknow. Sole propr. W. Rahn, asst. L. Herse, p.650. Premises in Omnibus Cottage, Nainital.	

1888	Thacker's	G. W. Lawrie , Assts. F. Bremner and F. Cox, p.647. Fry & Rahn , Asst. C. J. Aldham, p.647.	G. W. Lawrie & Co. , Photographers, Nainital. Asst. F. W. Cox. Premises in Newberry Lodge, p.693. Fry & Rahn , artists and photographers, Nainital. Sole Propr. W. Rahn, asst. C. J. Aldham. Premises in Phoenix Lodge, p. 693.
1889	Thacker's	unavailable	unavailable
1890	Thacker's	G. W. Laurie [sic] and Co. , Assts. F. Bremner and F. Cox, p.689. Fry & Rahn , Artists and photographers, Assts. C. J. Aldham, F. Cox and H. Schulze, p.689.	G. W. Lawrie & Co. , Photographers, Lucknow, Nainital and Mussoorie. Assts. S. H. Dagg and L. W. Clayton, p.732. Fry & Rahn , artists and photographers, Sole propr. W. Rahn. Assts. C. J. Aldham, F. Cox and H. Schulze, p.732.
1891	Thacker's	G. W. Laurie [sic] and Co. , Lucknow, Nainital and Mussoorie, Assts. S. H. Dagg, L. W. Clayton, H. F. Joyce and G. Dean, p.728. Fry & Rahn , photographers. Partners, W. and V. Rahn, asst. R. Jones, p.728.	G. W. Lawrie & Co. , photographers, Lucknow, Nainital and Mussoorie. Assts. W. Deane, H. F. Joyce, L. W. Clayton and G. Deane, p.773. Fry & Rahn , artists & photographers. Sole propr. W. Rahn, p.773.
1892	Thacker's	G. W. Laurie [sic] & Co. , Lucknow, Nainital and Mussoorie, Assts. S. H. Dagg, L. W. Clayton, H. F. Joyce and G. Dean, p.747. Fry & Rahn , Partner, W. Rahn and two assistants, p.747.	G. W. Lawrie & Co. , photographers, Lucknow, Nainital, Allahabad and Mussoorie. Sole propr. G. W. Lawrie. Assts. S. H. Dagg, H. F. Joyce, L. W. Clayton and E. Dean [sic], p.791.

1893	Thacker's	G. W. Laurie [<i>sic</i>] & Co., Lucknow, Nainital, Allahabad and Mussoorie. Assts. S. H. Dagg, L. W. Clayton, H. F. Joyce and G. Dean, p.758. Fry & Rahn , Partner, W. Rahn, p.758.	G. W. Lawrie & Co. , photographers, Lucknow, Nainital, Allahabad and Mussoorie, Sole Propr. G. W. Lawrie. Assts. S. H. Dagg, H. F. Joyce, L. W. Clayton and G. Dean, p.803.
1894	Thacker's	G. W. Lawrie & Co. , Lucknow, Nainital, Allahabad and Mussoorie. Assts. S. H. Dagg, F. C. Harding, H. F. Joyce and G. Dean, p.775. Fry & Rahn , Partner, W. Rahn, p.775. [Ram Pratap , Archaeological Survey, Photographic Assistant, p.772]	G. W. Lawrie & Co. , photographers, Lucknow, Nainital, Allahabad, and Mussoorie. Sole Propr. G. W. Lawrie, Assts. S. H. Dagg, H. F. Joyce, L. W. Clayton and G. Dean, p.822.
1895	Thacker's O'Rourke & Hayward's	G. W. Lawrie & Co. , estabd.1859, Lucknow, Nainital, Bareilly and Ranikhet. Assts. H. F. Joyce, G. W. Dean, L. W. Clayton and A. G. W. Lawrie, p. 805. Fry & Rahn , partner W. Rahn, p.805. H. Schulze & Co. , photo artists, Huzrutganj and The Mall, Mussoorie. Propr. H. Schulze. Assts. E. Schroder and T. Coyne, p.804. G. W. Lawrie & Co. , Huzrutgunge; Fry & Rahn (W. Rahn), New Civil Lines (Clyde Road, p.7); H. Schulze & Co. , Huzrutgunge; Mushkurud Doulah , Kaiserbagh, p.25.	G. W. Lawrie & Co. , photographers, Lucknow, Nainital, Allahabad and Mussoorie. Sole propr. G. W. Lawrie. Assts. S. H. Dagg, H. F. Joyce, L. W. Clayton and G. Dean, p.856.

1896	Thacker's	<p>H. Schulze & Co., photo artists, Huzrutganj and The Mall, Mussoorie. Propr. H. Schulze. Assts E. Schroder and T. Coyne, p.829.</p> <p>G. W. Lawrie & Co., photographers, Nainital, Bareilly and Ranikhet. Sole propr. G. W. Lawrie, Assts. H. F. Joyce, G. Dean and L. W. Clayton, p.830.</p> <p>Fry & Rahn, Asst. R. Jones, p.830.</p>	<p>G. W. Lawrie & Co., photographers, The Mall, Lucknow, Bareilly and Ranikhet. Propr. G. W. Lawrie, Assts. H. F. Joyce, L. W. Clayton and G. Dean, p.884.</p>
1897	Thacker's	<p>H. Schulze & Co., photo artists, Huzrutganj and The Mall, Mussoorie. Propr. H. Schulze, Assts. E. Schroder and T. Coyne, p.859.</p> <p>G. W. Lawrie & Co., photographers, Sole propr. G. W. Lawrie, Assts. H. F. Joyce, G. W. Dean and L. W. Clayton. Branches at Nainital, Bareilly and Ranikhet, p.860.</p> <p>Fry & Rahn, Asst. R. Jones, p.860.</p>	<p>G. W. Lawrie & Co., photographers, The Mall, Lucknow, Bareilly and Ranikhet. Propr. G. W. Lawrie. Assts. H. F. Joyce, L. W. Clayton, G. Dean and A. Lawrie, p. 919.</p>
1898	Thacker's	<p>H. Schulze & Co., photo artists, Huzrutganj and The Mall, Mussoorie. Propr. H. Schulze, Assts. S. Coyne, C. Coyne, A. Forshaw and U. Rahn, p.878.</p> <p>G. W. Lawrie & Co., photographers. Sole propr. G. W. Lawrie, Assts. G. W. Dean and D. Mall. Branches at Nainital, Bareilly and Ranikhet, p.878.</p> <p>Fry & Rahn, Asst. R. Jones, p.878.</p>	<p>G. W. Lawrie & Co., photographers, The Mall. Assts. G. Dean and D. Moll, p.935.</p>
1899	Thacker's	<p>H. Schulze & Co., photo artists, Huzrutganj and The Mall, Mussoorie. Propr. H. Schulze, p. 895.</p> <p>[W. Rahn listed as 'asst. Henry Schulze & Co., Lucknow', p.1820]; G. W. Lawrie & Co., photographers, Branches at Nainital, Bareilly and Ranikhet, p.896.</p>	<p>G. W. Lawrie & Co., photographers, The Mall. Assts. G. Dean and D. Moll, p.956.</p>

1900	Thacker's	<p>H. Schulze & Co., photo artists, Huzrutganj and The Mall, Mussoorie, Propr. H. Schulze, p.908.</p> <p>G. W. Lawrie, photographers, Branches at Nainital, Bareilly and Ranikhet, p.913.</p> <p>[M. X. de Noronha & Son, merchts and genl agts and govt auctnrs. Head Office Cawnpur. Sole propr. W. C. de Noronha, p.913]</p>	<p>G. W. Lawrie & Co., photographers, Bank House. Assts. A. G. W. Lawrie, G. Dean and D. Moll, p.965.</p>
1901	Thacker's	<p>H. Schulze & Co., photo artists, Huzrutganj and The Mall, Mussoorie, Propr. H. Schulze, p.924.</p> <p>G. W. Lawrie & Co., photographers, Branches at Nainital, Bareilly & Ranikhet, p.925.</p>	<p>G. W. Lawrie & Co., photographers, 'Bank House'. Asst. A. Lawrie, p.987.</p>




APPENDIX 2


ARCHITECTURAL PHOTOGRAPHS ATTRIBUTED TO AHMAD ALI






KHAN







ACP = Alkazi Collection of Photography







BL = British Library



	Title	Date	Collection No.	Comments	Image
1	Kunkerwalla Kotee in the Huzrut Gunge, Lucknow	c.1860	BL Photo 147/1(24)		
2	View of the Chutter Munzil Palace after it had been repaired & beautified by HM Govt. in 1858	c.1860	BL Photo 147/1(31)	Identical to ACP 99.07.0001(3) and ACP 99.09.0003(22).	
3	Aurangzeb's Mosque, Machhi Bhawan, Lucknow	c.1860	BL Photo 147/1(36)		
4	Church in the Cantonment, designed by Major Crommelin, consecrated Nov. 1860	c.1860	BL Photo 147/1(38)	Reproduced in London 2003, fig. 6, p.81. Identical to ACP 99.07.0001(9).	
5	Rumi Darwaza, Lucknow	c.1856-7	BL Photo 269/1(1)		
6	Distant view of Roshan-ud-daula's kothi, Lucknow	c.1856-7	BL Photo 269/1(15)		
7	Qaisar Pasund, Lucknow	c.1856-7	BL Photo 269/1(16)		
8	La Martiniere, Lucknow	c.1856-7	BL Photo 269/1(18)		
9	Capt. Hayes House, Lucknow	c.1856-7	BL Photo 269/1(19)		
10	Capt. Hayes House, back	c.1856-7	BL Photo 269/1(20)		
11	Dilaram	c.1856-7	BL Photo 269/1(22)		
12	View from top of Banqueting Hall	c.1856-7	BL Photo 269/1(23)		
13	Kavanagh's house before the siege & Chattar Manzil	c.1856-7	BL Photo 269/1(24)		

14	Husainabad Imambara	c.1856-7	BL Photo 269/1(25)	Reproduced in Blunt 2003, fig. 10.5, p.259, incorrectly captioned as Photo 269/1(27).	
15	Mosque in Husainabad	c.1856-7	BL Photo 269/1(26)		
16	Jama Masjid unfinished	c.1856-7	BL Photo 269/1(27)		
17	Pavilion in Husainabad	c.1856-7	BL Photo 269/1(28)		
18	Pavilion in Husainabad	c.1856-7	BL Photo 269/1(29)		
19	From roof of Farhad Bakhsh	c.1856-7	BL Photo 269/1(30)		
20	From roof of Farhad Bakhsh or Chattar Manzil	c.1856-7	BL Photo 269/1(31)	Gordon 2003, fig.2, p.136.	
21	Husainabad Gateway	c.1856-7	BL Photo 269/1(32)		
22	Moti Mahal	c.1856-7	BL Photo 269/1(35)		
23	Mr. Couper's House	c.1856-7	BL Photo 269/1(36)		
24	Bibipur Kothi	c.1856-7	BL Photo 269/1(37)		
25	Dilaram	c.1856-7	BL Photo 269/1(40)		
26	Mr. G. Couper's House	c.1856-7	BL Photo 269/2(51)		
27	Husainabad Imambara	c.1856-7	BL Photo 269/2(98)	Reproduced in Gordon 2006, p. 88.	
28	Monument raised on the place to the memory of Sir M. Jackson, Capt. Orr, &c.	c.1858	BL Photo 147/1(26)	Uncredited in BL catalogue.	
29	West view of Martiniere College	c.1858	BL Photo 147/1(39)	Uncredited in BL catalogue.	

30	Rear façade of Chattar Manzil	c.1858	BL Photo 147/1(40)	Uncredited in BL catalogue.	
31	Dilkusha	c.1858	BL Photo 147/1(41)	Uncredited in BL catalogue.	
32	Broken Bridge	c.1858	BL Photo 147/1(42)	Uncredited in BL catalogue.	
33	Col. Abbott's House	c.1858	BL Photo 147/1(47)	Uncredited in BL catalogue.	
34	Dilaram Kothi	c.1856-7	ACP 2000.06.0001(6)		
35	Pavilions in the Gomti	c.1856-7	ACP 2000.06.0001(9)	Reproduced in Llewellyn-Jones 2005, fig. 122, p.212.	
36	Rooftop view towards Qaiserbagh	c.1856	ACP 2000.06.0001(10)	Reproduced in Gordon 2006, p.89.	
37	Tomb of Zinat Algiya, Husainabad Imambara	c.1856	ACP 2000.06.0001(13)		

38	View along Gomti towards the Khurshid Manzil	c.1857	ACP 2000.06.0001(14)		
39	Pavilions in Gomti & Summer Palace behind	c.1856-7	ACP 2000.06.0001(15)		
40	Entrance Gateway of Husainabad Imambara	c.1856	ACP 2000.06.0001(16)		
41	Chattar Manzil, from river	c.1860	ACP 99.07.0001(3)	Reproduced in Gordon 2004, p.186, fig. 3; Gordon 2006, p.85; Llewellyn-Jones 2005, p.18. Identical to BL Photo 147/1(31) and ACP 99.09.0003(22).	
42	Monument to Lieut. Orr, M. Jackson, &c.	c.1860	ACP 99.07.0001(5)	Reproduced in Gordon 2006, p.89.	
43	Cantonment Church	c.1860	ACP 99.07.0001(9)	Identical to BL Photo 147/1(38).	

44	Integrity Bungalow	c.1860	ACP 99.07.0001(11)		
45	View of Qaiserbagh & cleared areas	c.1860-1	ACP 99.07.0001(13)		
46	Civil Church, Lucknow	c.1860-1	ACP 99.07.0001(15)		
47	Moti Mahal Gateway	c.1855	ACP 2005.06.0001(2)	Attribution.	
48	Moti Mahal, Wing	c.1855	ACP 2005.06.0001(4)	Attribution.	
49	Chattar Manzil, in disrepair	1858	ACP 99.09.0003(21)	Numbered in pencil, 'No.11'.	

50	Chattar Manzil, from the Gomti	c.1860	ACP 99.09.0003(22)	Identical to ACP 99.07.0001(3) and BL Photo 147/1(31). Numbered in pencil, 'No.13'.	
51	Dilaram Kothi, from the side	c.1860	ACP 99.09.0003(28)		
52	Dilaram Kothi	c.1855	Known only through publication in Low 1914.		

APPENDIX 3

GUIDE TO DATING BOURNE AND SHEPHERD PHOTOGRAPHS

The photographs are listed by negative number – the number that the photographer scratched into the negative in order to identify the image in the studio catalogue. There are gaps in the number sequence, as there were not always negatives published for every number.

1-152	Simla	March – July 1863
181-319	Himachal Pradesh	29 July – 12 October 1863
321-403	Lucknow, Delhi, Agra, etc.	1862-3 by Shepherd and Robertson
407-438	Amritsar and Lahore	1864, probably January and February
439-1011	Himachal Pradesh, Kashmir	1864, probably summer
1012-1100 1146-1164	Lucknow	December 1864 – early 1865
1101-1132	‘Native Groups’	1862-63 by Charles Shepherd
1133-1144	Sabathu, Sanaur	1863-64 or 1865
1145A-G	Bulandshahr	1865
1165-1202	Benares and Allahabad	Early 1865
1203-1246	Cawnpore	Early 1865
1247-1385 1393-1425	Sikandra, Bharatpur Mathura, Deeg, Gwalior, etc.	1865
1386-1392	Peshawar	1865 by Charles Shepherd
1426-1508 1509-1569 1570-1575 1576-1592 1613-1616 1617-1655	Himachal and Spiti Baspa Valley and Gangotri Jumnotri Mussoorie Haridwar and Roorkee Nainital and Bhimtal	From July 1866
Unnumbered	Agra Exhibition	1867, probably by Charles Shepherd
1682-1697	Jabalpur	1867, by Charles Shepherd
1698-1750	Calcutta	1867, probably November and December
1787-1838	Simla	1867-68 winter
1858-1868	Ambala	1867-68
1869-1927	Darjeeling	1868-69, probably early 1869

1928-1936	Ajanta	1869 probably (attributed to Bourne)
1937-1950	Ellora	1869 probably (attributed to Bourne)
1951-1953	Aurangabad	1869 probably (attributed to Bourne) This group is only attributed to Bourne, because the photographs are not usually found signed in the negative and there is no external evidence placing Bourne at these locations.
1954-2038	Ootacamund Nilgiri Hills	1869 summer
2039-2066	South India Tanjore, Trichinopoly Srirangam	1869 autumn and winter

[Bourne left India on 27 November 1870. It is not clear whether he was responsible for the Ceylon series (which was renumbered) or if he was responsible for the Bombay series.]

2067-?	Ceylon (original numbers)	
2113-2170	Ceylon (renumbered series)	1870-71
2171-2231E	Bombay	1870-71
2232-2318	Rajasthan	December 1872 – March 1873 By Colin Murray
2319-2388 2485-2488	Burma	1873 attributed to Colin Murray
2444-2451	Mandu	1873-74 'Bourne and Shepherd' After this date, it is not possible to identify the work of individual photographers within the Bourne and Shepherd studio.

APPENDIX 4

Table indicating which of the negatives used in *Architecture at Ahmedabad* (London, 1866) were copied or replaced.

From the papers of T. C. Hope, The British Library, Mss Eur D705/28.

Plate number	Original negative	Copy negative	Alternative negative	
1	1	1	-	√
2	-	2	-	
3	1	1	1	√
4	1	1	-	
5	1	1	-	
6	1	1	-	
7	1	1	-	√
8	-	1	-	
9	1	1	1	√
10	1	1	-	√
11	1	1	-	
12	1	1	1	
13	1	1	-	√
14	1	1	-	√
15	1	1	-	√
16	1	1	-	
17	1	1	-	√
18	1	1	-	√
19	1	1	1	
20	-	1	1	
21	1	1	-	√
22	1	1	1	√
23	1	1	-	
24	1	1	1	
25	1	1	-	
26	1	1	-	
27	1	1	-	
28	1	1	-	
29	1	1	-	√
30	1	1	-	
31	1	1	-	
32	1	1	-	
33	1	1	-	
34	1	1	-	
35	1	1	-	
36	1	1	-	
37	-	1	2	
38	1	1	-	√

39	1	1	1	
40	-	1	-	
41	1	1	-	
42	1	1	-	
43	1	1	-	
44	1	1	-	
45	1	1	-	
46	1	1	-	
47	1	1	-	
48	1	1	1	√
49	1	1	-	√
50	-	1	-	
51	1	1	-	√
52	1	1	-	√
53	-	1	-	√
54	1	1	-	
55	1	1	-	√
56	-	1	-	
57	1	1	-	√
58	1	1	-	
59	1	1	1	√
60	1	1	-	
61	1	1	-	√
62	-	1	-	
63	1	1	-	√
64	1	-	-	
65	-	1	1	
66	1	1	-	√
67	1	1	1	
68	1	1	-	
69	1	1	-	√
70	1	1	-	√
71	1	1	-	√
72	1	1	1	
73	1	1	-	√
74	1	1	-	√
75	1	1	-	√
76	1	1	-	√
77	1	1	-	
78	1	1	1	√
79	1	1	-	
80	1	1	-	√
81	1	1	-	√
82	-	1	-	
83	-	1	-	
84	1	1	-	√
85	1	1	1	
86	1	1	1	√

87	1	1	1	√
88	1	1	1	√
89	1	1		√
90	1	1	1	√
91	1	2	-	
92	1	1	-	√
93	1	1	-	
94	1	1	-	
95	1	1	-	√
96	-	1	-	√
97	1	1	-	√
98	-	1	-	
99	1	1	-	√
100	1	1	1	√
101	-	1	1	
102	1	1	-	√
103	1	1	-	√
104	1	1	-	√
105	1	1	-	
106	1	1	-	
107	1	1	-	
108	-	1	-	
109	1	1	-	
110	1	1	-	
111	1	1	-	
112	1	1	1	√
113	-	1	-	
114	1	1	-	
115	1	1	-	√
116	1	1	-	√
117	1	1	-	√
118	1	1	-	√
119	1	1	1	
120	1	1	-	

‘All those not ticked are either Cheltenham negs or have been reproduced from paper photos.’

APPENDIX 5

T.C. HOPE'S LIST OF NEGATIVES, JUNE 1866

From the papers of T. C. Hope, The British Library, Mss Eur D705/28.

Beejapoor – with Cundall		
1	Glass frontispiece	12 x 10
46	Glass plates	12 x 15
30	Large paper	From Mr. Melhuish
1	Small paper	From Mr. Melhuish
2	Large paper alternatives	<i>I will give</i>
[TOTAL] 80		

Received of A C Melhuish Esq to be returned to him when 115 copies have been completed the following negatives of Dharwar & Mysore		
1	Glass frontispiece	15 x 12
11	Glass negatives	8 ½ x 6 ½
60	Paper negatives	15 x 12
[TOTAL] 72		

Also with Melhuish -	Dharwar	
23	Negatives	Mr. Neill's
6	Negatives	Mr. Biggs
18	Alternatives	
[TOTAL] 47		

APPENDIX 6

Distribution of the volumes¹

	Ahmedabad	Bijapur	Dharwar	Ahmedabad Supplement	Inscriptions	Dharwar Supplement
British Museum Library	5	5	5			
Her Majesty the Queen	1	1	1			
The Emperor of the French	1	1	1			
Royal Asiatic Society	1	1	1		1	
Oriental Society of Germany, Liepzig	1	1	1		1	
Royal Institute of British Architects	1	1	1	1		1
Paris Exhibition of 1867	1	1	1			
Mr. Fergusson		1	1	1		1
Mr. John Ruskin	1	1	1			
Mr. Henry Cole, Kensington Museum	1	1	1	1		

¹ British Library, Mss Eur D705/29, report, Appendix II.

The India Library, Cannon Row					1	
The Times	1	1	1			
The Edinburgh Review	1	1	1			
The Saturday Review	1	1				
The Pall Mall Gazette	1					
The Athenaeum	1					
The Art Journal	1					
The Builder	1					
The Spectator	1					
The Revue des deux Mondes	1					
Colonel Meadows Taylor		1	1			
Mr. Niell [sic]			1			
Mr. Edward Thomas					1	
Colonel Biggs	1	1	1			
Mr. Hope	1	1	1			

Mrs. A. K. Forbes	1	1	1			
Mr. Walter Cassels	1	1	1			
Mr. W. E. Frere	1	1	1			
Already sent to India for distribution	2	2	2	1		
En-route <i>do.</i> <i>do.</i>	14	14	14	20	5	2
<i>Do. do.</i> for sale	60	40	40			
On hand in England	74	10	14			
Already sold in England	72	25	21			
TOTAL of each edition²	250	115	115	24	10	5

² The totals provided in the table as are quoted in the report. The figures do not tally, however, in five of the columns. The totals should be: Ahmedabad – 249; Bijapur – 114; Dharwar – 114; Ahmedabad supplement – correct; Inscriptions – 9; Dharwar supplement – 4.

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Abbreviations

ACP	Alkazi Collection of Photography
ASI	Archaeological Survey of India
Bengal Directory	<i>Bengal Directory and Annual Register</i> , published by Bengal Hurkuru Press, 1843-58
ILN	<i>Illustrated London News</i>
IOR	India Office Records (British Library)
JBBRAS	Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society
JBPS	Journal of the Bengal Photographic Society
JPSB	Journal of the Photographic Society of Bombay
New Calcutta	<i>Bengal Annual Register (New Calcutta Annual Register)</i> , published by Hindoostanee Press, 1831-60
O'Rourke & Hayward's	<i>O'Rourke and Hayward's Resident and Street Directory of Lucknow</i> , published Lucknow, 1895
SOAS	School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London
Thacker's	<i>Thacker's Bengal Directory</i> , published by Thacker, Spink & Co., 1869-84

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