

**FASHIONING INDIA'S NATIONAL ART: BARODA'S ROYAL
COLLECTION, ART INSTITUTIONS AND CRAFTS AT COLONIAL
EXHIBITIONS (1875-1924)**

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CONTENTS

Acknowledgements	ii
Summary	ix
List of Illustrations	x
Abbreviations	xiv
Note on Usage of Spellings and Citations	xv

INTRODUCTION

I. Introduction, Research Statement and Research Questions	1
II. Literature Review	4
III. Theoretical Framework and Methodology	27
IV. Organization of Chapters	31

CHAPTER 1: MODERNIZATION OF PRIVATE CONSUMPTION AND STATE ADMINISTRATION: SAYAJIRAO'S IMAGINATION OF AN INDIGENOUS MODERNITY

1.1. Introduction and Methodology	36
1.2 The Backdrop: Baroda, Sayajirao and his Inner Coterie	39
1.3 Baroda's Exotic Treasures: Nucleus of Sayajirao's Private Collecting Practice	45
1.3.1 Jewels	47
1.3.2 Paraphernalia for Ceremonial Pageants	48
1.3.3 Pearl Carpet	50
1.4 Westernization of Private Consumption: Sayajirao as a Modern Elite	52
1.4.1 Patronage of Euro-Modern Scientific Institutions: Baroda as a Modern Princely State	63
1.5.1. T. Madhavarao's Foundational Contributions	63
1.5.2. Sayajirao's Contributions to Administration	64
1.5.3. Sayajirao's Contributions to Education	68

1.5.4. Sayajirao's Contributions to Indigenous Crafts and Industry	71
1.5.5. Sayajirao's Contributions to Amenities and Infrastructure	74
1.6. Indigenization of Euro-Modern Practices: Sayajirao's Project of Nationalism	77
1.6.1 Scientific know-how-mechanization- industry	79
1.6.2 Finance and Wealth-accumulation	80
1.6.3 Indigenous Practices and Institutions	82
1.6.4 Case Study of the <i>Kansārās</i> of Visnagar	83
1.7. Conclusion	84

CHAPTER 2: GROOMING CONSUMPTION INTO COLLECTING: SAYAJIRAO'S ARTICULATION OF A NATIONAL HIGH ART

2.1. Introduction and Methodology	87
2.2 Academic Portraiture	90
2.2.1 European Portraitists	92
Case Study I: Valentine Cameron Prinsep	97
Case Study II: Charles Giron	98
2.2.2 Early Native Portraitists	102
Case Study I: Portrait of Pilajirao Gaekwad	103
Case Study II: Portrait of Sayajirao Gaekwad II	104
2.2.3 Self-Taught Native Oil Portraitists	107
Case Study I: Tiroovengada Naidu	110
Case Study II: Raja Ravi Varma	112
2.2.4 Art School-Trained Native Portraitists	128
Case Study I: Samuel Fyzee Rahamin	130
2.3. Salon Sculpture	132
2.3.1 European Sculptors	133
Case Study I: Augusto Felici	133
Case Study II: Derwent Wood	137
2.3.2 Art School-Trained Native Sculptors	138
Case Study I: Ganpatrao Kashinath Mhatre	139
Case Study II: Fanindranath Bose	140

2.3. Conclusion	142
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CHAPTER. 3. INDIGENIZING THE TOPOS OF MECHANIZATION: SAYAJIRAO'S PROMOTION OF BARODA CRAFTS AND INDIAN DESIGN

3.1. Introduction and Methodology	146
3.2. Verdict of the Great Exhibition of 1851: An Essentialist Locus for Indian Nationalism.	149
3.3. Ivory work, Mica Painting and Baroda Pottery: Modernization within Private Consumption & State-sponsored Projects	152
Case Study I: Neelakandan Asari & Trichinopoly Mica Painter	153
Case Study II: Local Baroda Pottery	156
3.4 Kalābhavan: Indigenization of Colonial Technics	160
Case Study I: Baroda-based Applicants for “Technical Education”	161
Case Study II: Baroda-based Applicants for Technical Education	163
Case Study III: Inclusion of Kalābhavan disciplines at VJTI	170
Case Study IV: Integration of Kalābhavan–Nazarpaga with VJTI Examinations.	171
3.4. Nazar Paga, State Furniture Works: In the Topos of Mechanization and Markets	174
Case Study I: Nazarpaga Workshop	176
Case-Study II: State Furniture Works	178
3.5. Tea Service & Baroda Screen: Internationalizing Indian Design	181
Case-Study I: Commission of Walking Stick for Messrs. P.Orr & Sons, Madras	184
Case-Study II: Commission of <i>Howḍāh</i> for Messrs Deschamp &	186

Co. Bombay	
Case-Study III: Commission of Tea Service for Messrs. P.Orr & Sons, Madras	187
Case Study IV: Baroda Screen	190
Case Study V: Baroda Balcony	191
3.6. Conclusion	196

CHAPTER 4: CONSOLIDATING IDEAS, ARTS AND CRAFTS: REALIZATION OF SAYAJIRAO'S INDIGENOUS MODERNITY WITHIN A BARODA CATEGORY

4.1 Introduction and Methodology	200
4.2 Baroda's Autonomous Investigative Modality: Identification and Promotion of Local Crafts	204
Case-Study: Baroda Embroidery and Lace-Work	206
4.3 Towards a Baroda Category and Museum: Shift to Provincialism in the Domain of Exhibitions	208
4.4 Towards an Independent Baroda Court: Examination of Exhibition Loans and Catalogues	214
Case-Study I: Colonial and Indian Exhibition, 1886	214
Case-Study II: Chicago World's Fair, 1893	219
Case-Study 3: Delhi Durbār Exhibition, 1902-03	222
4.5 Integration of "Traditional, Industrial, Royal" Domains: A Return to Sayajirao's	235

Imagination of Indigenous Modernity	
4.6 Conclusion	251
CONCLUSION	254
Bibliography	265
APPENDICES	
APPENDIX I - Biographies of Artists and Craftsmen engaged with Sayajirao's Collecting Practice	276
APPENDIX II - List of Award-winning Items Presented by Kalābhavan-NaZarpaga at Colonial Exhibitions	280
APPENDIX III – Baroda Genres and Craftsmen as documented in George Watt's Catalogue of the Delhi Durbār Exhibition of 1902-03	282
APPENDIX IV- Baroda Craft Genres documented in George Birdwood's Industrial Arts of India (1880)	286
GLOSSARY	288
ILLUSTRATIONS	292

SUMMARY

In this dissertation I argue that native collectors enjoyed agency in the making and representation of indigenous art genres and indigenized European genres in the global domain of colonial exhibitions, which ultimately led to value-ascription in favour of what was fast becoming India's national art.

Firstly, an analysis of the acquisition history of the Baroda Palace Collection and its patron-collector Sayajirao Gaekwad III, who was actively supported by an international network of resource personnel, gives insight into an "exemplar of international collecting" who negotiated the "modern-European" genre of academic portraiture with "indigenous" styles and content, through the work of Raja Ravi Varma, to be reconfigured as an autonomous genre of national high art, characterized by a unique "indigenous modernity".

Secondly, an examination of Sayajirao's engagement with artisans and institutional projects, namely, the Kalābhavan Polytechnic, and the Nazarpaga and State Furniture Workshops, illuminates astute adaptation of European industrial school pedagogy and industrial processes of production to indigenous crafts, in a bid to modernize their contexts of production to make them globally competent. All the same, generic and vernacular Indic design is lent to the domains of industrially-produced luxury goods and exhibitions to pitch its superior aesthetic standard vis a vis European, scientific and industrial standards.

Thirdly, exhibition correspondence reveals that these experiments in reconfiguration are simultaneously reflected on the local and international exhibitions' trail through the native collector's adroit negotiation of local loans' inventories with colonial exhibition storylines. These loans' inventories—albeit presented within the attendant apparatuses of taxonomies and catalogues—which in turn reinforce the binary and hierarchy of west-east, modern-traditional and artist-artisan—successfully qualify indigenous or indigenized genres as "local representative types". This growing body of "typical local specimens" aids the evolution of an independent "Baroda Court" at exhibitions, which also becomes the defining force for the Baroda Museum Collection. One sees a distinct consolidation of three sites: Sayajirao's private collection, institutional projects and indigenous craft industries, in the making of a Baroda category, which in turn integrates with the making of a new national art in the contingent space of colonial India.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Sayajirao Gaekwad III, Photograph by Vincent Brooks, Day and Son London, c. 1889
Source: Jackson, Anna & Amin Jaffer. (2009). *Maharaja: The Splendour of India's Royal Courts*. London: V&A Museum.
3. Silver *zenānā* carriage
Source: Weeden, Edward St. Clair. (1911). *A Year with the Gaekwar of Baroda*. London: Hutchinson & Co.
4. Silver bullock cart
Source: Weeden, Edward St. Clair. (1911). *A Year with the Gaekwar of Baroda*. London: Hutchinson & Co.
5. Golden *howdāh*
Source: Alkazi Archives, New Delhi.
6. Golden *howdāh*
Source: Weeden, Edward St. Clair. (1911). *A Year with the Gaekwar of Baroda*. London: Hutchinson & Co.
7. Golden gun and bullocks with ceremonial paraphernalia.
Source: Weeden, Edward St. Clair. (1911). *A Year with the Gaekwar of Baroda*. London: Hutchinson & Co.
8. Water colour illustration of bullock with saddlery, Marianne North, 1878.
9. Details of Baroda's Pearl Carpet.
Source: Jackson, Anna & Amin Jaffer. (2009). *Maharaja: The Splendour of India's Royal Courts*. London: V&A Museum.
10. Façade of the Lakshmivilās Palace
Source: Alkazi Archives, New Delhi.
11. Exterior view of the Lakshmivilās Palace
Source: Jackson, Anna & Amin Jaffer. (2009). *Maharaja: The Splendour of India's Royal Courts*. London: V&A Museum.
12. Portrait of Pilajirao Gaekwad
Source: Doshi, Saryu. (c1995). *The Royal Bequest: Art Treasures of the Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery*. Bombay: India Book House.
13. Portrait of Sayajirao Gaekwad II
Source: Doshi, Saryu. (c1995). *The Royal Bequest: Art Treasures of the Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery*. Bombay: India Book House.
14. An Indian artist copying a European portrait, Painting on mica, Tanjore, 1875.
Source: Ramaswamy, Sumathi. (Ed.). (2003). *Beyond Appearances? Visual Practices and Ideologies in Modern India*. New Delhi: Sage Publications India Pvt Ltd, cover page.

15. Time-space grid used to explain the theory of body kinetics in dance.
Source: Priya Maholay. (2000). *Rasa in the Works of Raja Ravi Varma*. MA Directed Readings. London: School of Oriental and African Studies.
16. *Bhishma's Vow*, Oil on Canvas, Raja Ravi Varma. Note the triangles yielded in space by the pose struck by Varma's character.
Source: Priya Maholay. (2000). *Rasa in the Works of Raja Ravi Varma*. MA Directed Readings. London: School of Oriental and African Studies.
17. Sketch and improvised drawing of Mohini and Rukmangada, Raja Ravi Varma.
Source: Sharma, R.C. (Ed.). (1993). *Raja Ravi Varma: New Perspectives*. New Delhi: National Museum.
18. Diagram explaining the stylised walk typically employed in Indian classical dance, mostly Bharata Natyam.
Source: Priya Maholay. (2000). *Rasa in the Works of Raja Ravi Varma*. MA Directed Readings. London: School of Oriental and African Studies.
19. *Mandodari*, Oil on Canvas, Raja Ravi Varma.
Source: Rupika Chawla. (2010). *Raja Ravi Varma: Painter of Colonial India*. Ahmedabad: Mapin Publishing.
20. *Lady with a Water Pot*, Bronze, Fanindranath Bose
Source: Doshi, Saryu. (c1995). *The Royal Bequest: Art Treasures of the Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery*. Bombay: India Book House.
21. Drawing for a Swami Tea Service, P. Orr & Sons, Madras. Presented by Sayajirao Gaekwad III to His Highness the Prince of Wales.
Source: Dehejia, Vidya (Ed.). (2008). *Delight in Design: Indian Silver for the Raj*. Ahmedabad: Mapin Publishing.
22. Baroda Screen (Loaned by the Baroda Committee to the 1886 Colonial and Indian Exhibition)
Source: Gupte, B.A. "The Baroda Court" in the *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, Volume I, London: W. Griggs, 1886.
23. Festooning scroll pattern in Baroda Balcony (Loaned by the Baroda Committee to the 1886 Colonial and Indian Exhibition)
Source: Gupte, B.A. "The Baroda Court" in the *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, Volume I, London: W. Griggs, 1886.
24. Pigeon House, Woodwork, Keshav Mistry (Loaned by the Baroda Committee to the 1886 Colonial and Indian Exhibition)
Source: Gupte, B.A. "The Baroda Court" in the *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, Volume I, London: W. Griggs, 1886.
25. Brocade and embroidered jacket (Loaned by the Baroda Committee to the 1886 Colonial and Indian Exhibition)

Source: Gupte, B.A. "The Baroda Court" in the *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, Volume I, London: W. Griggs, 1886.

26. Satin mashru and printed saree (Loaned by the Baroda Committee to the 1886 Colonial and Indian Exhibition)

Source: Gupte, B.A. "The Baroda Court" in the *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, Volume I, London: W. Griggs, 1886.

27. Silk patola saree (Loaned by the Baroda Committee to the 1886 Colonial and Indian Exhibition)

Source: Gupte, B.A. "The Baroda Court" in the *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, Volume I, London: W. Griggs, 1886.

28. Embroidered cushion cover (Loaned by the Baroda Committee to the 1886 Colonial and Indian Exhibition)

Source: Gupte, B.A. "The Baroda Court" in the *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, Volume I, London: W. Griggs, 1886.

29. Silver and gold accessories (Loaned by the Baroda Committee to the 1886 Colonial and Indian Exhibition)

Source: Gupte, B.A. "The Baroda Court" in the *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, Volume I, London: W. Griggs, 1886.

30. Silver work (Loaned by the Baroda Committee to the 1886 Colonial and Indian Exhibition)

Source: Gupte, B.A. "The Baroda Court" in the *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, Volume I, London: W. Griggs, 1886.

31. Brass repousse work (Loaned by the Baroda Committee to the 1886 Colonial and Indian Exhibition)

Source: Gupte, B.A. "The Baroda Court" in the *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, Volume I, London: W. Griggs, 1886.

32. Patan pottery and Sankheda lacquered wares (Loaned by the Baroda Committee to the 1886 Colonial and Indian Exhibition)

Source: Gupte, B.A. "The Baroda Court" in the *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, Volume I, London: W. Griggs, 1886.

33. Leather Manufactures (Loaned by the Baroda Committee to the 1886 Colonial and Indian Exhibition)

Source: Gupte, B.A. "The Baroda Court" in the *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, Volume I, London: W. Griggs, 1886.

34. Durbār Hall, Lakshmivilās Palace

Source: Alkazi Archives, New Delhi

35. Durbār Hall, Lakshmivilās Palace

Source: Alkazi Archives, New Delhi

36. Hallway to the private chambers in Lakshmivilās
Source: Michell, George. (1994). *The Royal Palaces of India*, London: Thames and Hudson.
37. Mosaic from the Murano Workshop, Italy, Durbar Hall, Lakshmivilās Palace.
Source: Michell, George. (1994). *The Royal Palaces of India*, London: Thames and Hudson.
38. Drawing room of the Makarpurā Palace
Source: Alkazi Archives, New Delhi
39. Drawing room of the Makarpurā Palace
Source: Alkazi Archives, New Delhi

ABBREVIATIONS

Ahmedabad Wood Carving Company (AWCC)

The Board of Trade (BoT)

Department of Practical Art (DPA)

Department of Science and Arts (DSA)

Public Works Department (PWD)

Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute (VJTI)

Journal of Indian Art and Industry (JIAI)

Abbreviations used in Appendix I

Associate of the Royal Institute of Painters in Watercolours (ARI)

Member of the Royal Institute of Painters in Watercolours (RI)

President of the Royal Institute of Painters in Watercolours (PRI)

NOTES ON USAGE OF SPELLINGS AND CITATIONS

1. Author name is given as “Gulammohammed” Sheikh in Gulammohammed Sheikh (Ed.). (1997). *Contemporary Art in Baroda*. Chennai: Tulika Books; and as “Gulam Mohammed” Sheikh in In R.C. Sharma (Ed.). (1993). *Raja Ravi Varma: New Perspectives*. New Delhi: National Museum; and as “Gulam Sheikh” in In Saryu Doshi (Ed.). *The Royal Bequest: Art Treasures of the Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery*. Bombay: India Book House. The dissertation follows the spelling as per the source cited.

2. The dissertation follows the spelling “Gaekwad”, unless quoting from the following sources which adopt the spelling “Gaekwar”:

Anthony X. Soares (Ed.). (1933). *Speeches and Addresses of Sayajirao III, Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda*, London, Bombay, Calcutta, Madras: Oxford University Press, Humphrey Milford.

Edward Clair Weeden. (1911). *A Year with the Gaekwar of Baroda*. London: Hutchinson & Co.

Philip. W. Sergeant. (1928). *The Ruler of Baroda: An Account of the Life and Work of the Maharaja Gaekwar*. London: John Murray.

R.C. Dutt. (1907). *Baroda Administration Report 1905-06: Compiled under the orders of His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar*. Bombay: Printed at The British India Printing Works.

(1912). *Baroda Administration Report 1910-1911*: Published by Order of His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar. Bombay: Printed at the Times Press.

(1922). *Baroda Administration Report 1920-21*: Published by Order of His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar. Bombay: Printed at the Times Press.

3. For place name, the spelling “Patan” is employed in the dissertation, unless quoting from the following sources which adopt the spelling “Pattan”:

Gujarat State Archives, Southern Circle, Vadodara, Huzūr Political Office (GSA/SCV/HPO): Section 85; Daftar 472, File 7: *Education Department: Miscellaneous Correspondence regarding Education*.

B.A. Gupte. (1886). The Baroda Court. *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*. 1, (126-133).

4. Municipal Commissioner’s name is spelt as “Taleyarkhan”, unless quoting from the following sources which spell the name as “Talyarkhan”:

NAI: File 107, July 1885, Foreign Dept. Internal A: NAI: File 107, July 1885, Foreign Dept. Internal A: Letter from: Major General J. Watson, 23 June 1885; Letter from Under Secretary, 29 June 1885.

GSA/SCV/HPO: Section 65, Daftar 111, File 7: Exhibitions: Exhibitions General Correspondence (1900-1915): Precise Report of Three Exhibitions (1886, 1893 &

1900) attached to Letter 5324, From: Chief Engineer of Baroda State, Name illegible, Huzūr P.W. Department, Baroda, 10 February 1903, To: St. Louis World's Fair, 1904.

5. The dissertation uses the spelling *dumṇi* for palanquin, unless quoting from the following source which adopts the spelling *damṇi*:

GSA/SCV/HPO: Section 65, Daftar 112, File 8-A: *Exhibitions: Exhibitions in London (1884-1911)*: Circular No. 92Ex. /IX-2; From: E.C. Buck, Secretary to the Government of India, Revenue and Agriculture Dept./Museums & Exhibitions, Simla, 26 June 1885, To: Gaekwar of Baroda.

6. The dissertation uses the spelling Huzūr, with the exception of the following source which employs the spelling Huzoor:

GSA/SCV/HPO: Section 65, Daftar 111, File 5: Exhibitions: Chicago Exhibition (1892-1895): List of articles to be presented to the Museum at Chicago in conformity with Huzoor order dated 23.4.92.

7. The Dewan's name is spelt as R.V. "Dhamnaskar", with the exception of its appearance in:

GSA/SCV/HPO: Section 65, Daftar 111, File 7: Exhibitions: Exhibitions General Correspondence (1900-1915): Letter 1622, From: R.V. Dhamnasker, Dewan, Huzūr Cutchery, Baroda, 13 September 1902, To: Honorary Secretaries, Indian Industrial Exhibition, Jesinghbhai's Vadi, Ahmedabad.

8. Vadodara is the contemporary name for Baroda city. Though, this thesis uses its colonial name "Baroda", which is also more popular in art-historical discussions and studies. Likewise, the dissertation adopts colonial names of cities such as Oudh, instead of Avadh.
9. For Ratan Parimoo and Gulammohammed Sheikh's titles in Saryu Doshi (Ed.). *The Royal Bequest: Art Treasures of the Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery*. Bombay: India Book House, range of page numbers is not indicated as in the case of chapters or articles from edited volumes. This is because Parimoo and Sheikh contribute individual catalogue entries to the book and these entries are dispersed across different sections. Hence page number of the particular entry being referred is cited.
10. Archival citations follow the convention of name of archive, section number, daftar (portfolio) number, file number, title of file, letter number/memo number, name of sender, date and name of recipient. Details of letters are reproduced as in the original archival correspondence. If numbers, dates or destinations are not reproduced, it means that they are not stated in the original document.

In addition to the section and daftar headings, names to individual files are given in some cases only, such as exhibition files.

E.g., Section 65, Daftar 111, File 5: *Exhibitions: Chicago Exhibition (1892-1895)*

Section 65, Daftar 111, File 6: *Exhibitions: Poona Fine Arts Exhibition (1879-1896)*

Unless stated, like in the exhibition files, all files are recognized by their numbers and the headings of the section and daftar to which they belong.

E.g. Section 84, Daftar 470, Files, 6, 9: *Education Department: Europe Students*

(In this case, files 6, 9 are known by same larger title and do not have individual names).

By the same logic used in secondary source references, when a section/daftar/file number and title repeats itself in the subsequent citation, I use *ibid.* And when a document/letter/memo repeats itself in the subsequent citation, I truncate the details to state the letter number if available or name of sender and date.

INTRODUCTION

I. Introduction, Research Statement and Research Questions

I inaugurate this dissertation with examples of art projects and genres from three domains: India's modern art, indigenous crafts and Indian contemporary art. In 1993, art restorer Rupika Chawla and artist A. Ramachandran curated a large exhibition of Raja Ravi Varma's works at the National Museum, New Delhi. With this landmark show the Museum revised its policy of showing pre-1857 artworks to include Varma's works, painted between the 1870s-1906, as part of India's "national" heritage.¹ A decade later, in 2003, the National Gallery of Modern Art, Mumbai, hosted an exhibition which showed 31 Ravi Varma paintings from the private collection of the royal family of Baroda, the Gaekwads. Likewise, in the domain of traditional crafts, Baroda gains prominence through two of its most widely merchandised genres: the Patan Patola and Sankheda lacquered wares. Efforts by the Government of India to promote its handicrafts and artisans from the 1940s panned out in numerous public and private sector enterprises. Projects such as the Industrial Cottage Extension (a Government of Gujarat enterprise),² Gurjari (also a state undertaking)³ and the Central Cottage Industries Emporium in Delhi⁴ (which represents "state" or "national" crafts and master craftsmen) dedicate space to Sankheda lacquered wares on their inventories and in their emporia. Sankheda furniture and the Sankheda baby cradle, which gained attention at the 1886 Colonial and Indian Exhibition and 1902-03 Delhi Durbār Exhibition, have especially been successful in Indian and international commercial markets. These genres have become markers of "Gujarati" culture in residential

¹ R.C. Sharma and Rupika Chawla. (1993). Editorial. In R.C. Sharma (Ed.). *Raja Ravi Varma: New Perspectives* (pp.10-11), New Delhi: National Museum, p.10.

² <http://craftofgujarat.com/showpage.aspx?contentid=1> (Accessed 11 October 2011).

³ <http://www.indiainfoweb.com/gujarat/art-crafts/gurjari.html> (Accessed 11 October 2011).

⁴ <http://www.cottageemporium.in/> (Accessed 5 October 2011)

spaces in India and overseas. The Patan patola, which was an integral part of Gujarati bridal trousseaus, increasingly enjoys a pan-Indian presence in bridal and other wardrobes. It has made several appearances at international bridal fairs and fashion shows to represent indigenous weaves. India's premier fashion show, Lakme India Fashion Week, named the Patan Patola as the top weave for bridal wear in 2008; it was courted by India's leading designer, Sabyasachi Mukherji for that season. 2009 saw a dedicated show for Patan Patolas in Ahmedabad.

My last example draws on the domain of Indian contemporary art: the exhibition *Throne of Frost*, by one of India's senior living artists, Anju Dodiya in 2007.⁵ This exhibition was shown at the *durbār* hall of the royal palace, Lakshmivilās, residence of the Gaekwad family of Baroda. This contemporary art project established the palace, its décor and collection as a catalyst: it positioned the palace as an eclectic and opulent space which inspired the artist and also lent itself to her multi-media installation. This site-specific installation consisted of thirty eight-foot tall panels with water colour and charcoal paintings on one side and embroidered fabric on the other. Arranged in a square, the panels looked down at shards of mirror spread across the floor on the inside. These shards not only reflected Dodiya's works, but also the architecture, furnishings, stained glass and artworks of the *durbār* hall, making it a part of the visual imagery of the installation. Dodiya's installation, which was displayed within a few metres of Varma's paintings, tells us that as much as the artistic eclecticism of the Lakshmivilās was enjoyed by Varma,⁶ it has been an inspiration for Dodiya's creation.

⁵ Anju Dodiya, Nancy Adajania, Sharada Dwivedi. (2007). *Throne of Frost*. Mumbai: Bodhi Art.

⁶ C. Raja Raja Varma. (1896). *A Narrative of The Tour In Upper India of His Highness Prince Martanda Varma of Travancore*. Bombay: Printed at The Education Societies Steam Press, pp. 29-30. C. Raja Raja Varma. (1895-1906). *Diary of C. Raja Raja Varma*. Copied by S. Srinivasan Potty, Trivandrum, p.2.

The common denominator in these examples is that the artworks, genres or artists qualify as “national treasures” or “practitioners of national repute” and that they affiliate with the royal Gaekwad family, with Baroda and/or the Lakshmivilās Palace. Simultaneously, this group of works brings to the fore a lacunal question: despite their shared provenance, do these three examples remain independent and disjoint in the art and cultural domain? To put it differently, is there an alternative agency to link these genres, artists and their association with Baroda and subsequent qualification as national arts more actively? The answer lies in the figure of the patron, Sayajirao Gaekwad III, Maharaja of the erstwhile princely state of Baroda, in whose reign (1875-1939) Ravi Varma, Sankheda lacquered wares and the Patan Patola debuted on the national and international trail of exhibitions; and Dodiya’s exhibition-venue, the Lakshmivilās Palace, was also built by Sayajirao as a royal residence and a space for art patronage. While art commissions at the Lakshmivilās established Sayajirao as a collector, he also extended ideas and projects from the palace to Baroda’s traditional crafts and institutional projects. I clarify this point further: Sayajirao engaged with artists such as Varma to formulate a modern Indian style of painting as part of his private collecting activity; all the same, he engaged with the relocation of traditional crafts such as Sankheda lacquered wares at polytechnics to modernize their production. Additionally, as royal patron and head of Baroda State, Sayajirao entrenched himself as a lender of Baroda’s arts and crafts to colonial exhibitions. Over the years, some of these loans qualified as genres of national and international repute. This brief yet interesting historical premise, which bears contemporary relevance, sets the stage to position Sayajirao as the protagonist of this dissertation and qualify his private consumption in the Lakshmivilās Palace as the central theme of research.

I thus formulate my research statement: Sayajirao Gaekwad's shared role as private royal collector and head of state demonstrates a distinct consolidation of his private collecting practice, institutional projects and indigenous craft industries in the making of a representative Baroda category of art, which is at once indigenous and modern. Regular display at colonial exhibitions lends value and recognition to this local body of art, which in turn accretes and integrates with the making of a new national art, which also expresses itself through a unique indigenous modernity.

Given this seemingly stark situation of the indigenous collector in a global arena, and his national art project at colonial exhibitions, I pose my basic research questions: From where does the indigenous collector draw his motivation to formulate a modern national art? What are the defining characteristics of this body of national art? How does he negotiate this new national art in the colonial-global space of exhibitions? Lastly, what are the attendant results of this negotiation? To answer these questions it becomes imperative to locate the research statement within key themes and their supporting literature. This survey of literature allows one to see how best the dissertation can gain from existing scholarship and also amplify its insights.

II. Literature Review

The first category of literature review is dedicated to Sayajirao and Baroda. Philip Sergeant conflates Sayajirao's ideas of administrative reform and modernization in the context of his nation-building project, thus leading us to the Maharaja's profile as a modern nationalist, also stated in my research statement.⁷ With the exception of Sergeant's biography, which was written

⁷ Philip. W. Sergeant. (1928). *The Ruler of Baroda: An Account of the Life and Work of the Maharaja Gaekwar*. London: John Murray, pp. 91-93, 107, 131.

with Sayajirao's help,⁸ most biographies make a dichotomous presentation of Sayajirao's modernization and nationalism projects. Stanley Rice casts Sayajirao in a royalist discourse which identifies him as a model head of a rapidly modernizing princely state in colonial India.⁹ Vidya Chavda also fortifies Sayajirao's profile as a modern and progressive reformer.¹⁰ Dick Kooiman studies the emergence of communalism in India in the 1930s with reference to the princely states of Hyderabad, Travancore and Baroda; in the historical background he emphasizes Baroda's case as colonial India's foremost modernized state.¹¹ Likewise, Govindbhai Desai, who served the Baroda administration in various portfolios from 1889-1929, also focuses on Sayajirao's administrative reforms and describes his district surveys to underline modernization at the grassroots level.¹² M.H. Shah adds to this corpus with detailed reports on industrial development in Baroda.¹³ While Dick Kooiman presents Sayajirao as a moderate nationalist,¹⁴ Fatesinghrao Gaekwad, Sayajirao's great grandson, presents him as a radical nationalist.¹⁵ Either way, this literature helps to establish the fact that Sayajirao was a reformer and nationalist and aids my contention that Sayajirao systematically fashioned a new national art. Among colonial records, F.A.H. Elliot's compilation of the first dedicated Gazetteer for Baroda State, as part of the Bombay Presidency series, presents details of Baroda's foundational efforts

⁸ Julie F. Codell. (1998). Resistance and Performance: Introduction and Native Informant Discourse in the Biographies of Maharaja Sayaji Rao III (1863-1939). In Julie F. Codell and Dianne Sachko Macleod (Eds.). *Orientalism Transposed: The Impact of the Colonies on British Culture* (pp.13-45), Aldershot and Vermont: Ashgate, p. 20.

⁹ Stanley P. Rice. (1931). *Life of Sayaji Rao III: Maharaja of Baroda, Volumes I & II*. London: Oxford University Press.

¹⁰ V.K. Chavda. (1972). *Sayaji Rao Gaekwad III*. New Delhi: National Book Trust.

¹¹ Dick Kooiman. (2002). *Communalism and Indian Princely States: Travancore, Baroda and Hyderabad in the 1930s*. New Delhi: Manohar, pp. 65-66.

¹² Govindbhai Desai. (1929). *Forty Years in Baroda: Being Reminiscences of Forty Years' Service in the Baroda State*. Baroda: Pustakalaya Sahayak Sahakari Mandal, pp. 170-171.

¹³ M.H. Shah. (1942). *Baroda by Decades: 1871-1941*. Baroda: Published by M.H. Shah, pp. 102-113.

¹⁴ Kooiman. (2002), pp. 19, 113, 115.

¹⁵ Fatesinghrao P. Gaekwad. (1989). *Sayaji Rao of Baroda: The Prince and the Man*. Bombay: Popular Prakashan, pp. x, 183, 188, 207, 238.

towards modernization initiated by Dewan T. Madhavarao Rao and a supporting team of administrators and palace staff.¹⁶ This underlines the role of Sayajirao's inner coterie in the modernization project and becomes an important pointer to discern its role in Sayajirao's collecting practice.

Sayajirao's eminence in the arena of modernization associated with art is established through Makarand Mehta's study of Sayajirao's patronage to the polytechnic, Kalābhavan.¹⁷ He analyses the context of technical education and its usage to advance industry in Baroda.¹⁸ This article particularly aids my argument in Chapter 3 to demonstrate how traditional craft was promoted in industry as part of Baroda's modernization. The link between art institutions and modernization is pursued in R.N. Mehta's examination of the making of the Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery as part of the state's expansion of institutional projects, particularly educational ones.¹⁹ Julie Codell's discussion on the installation of the European collection for the Baroda Museum is also viewed as part of the state's modernization plan.²⁰ Mehta's work gestures towards the donation of artworks from the private chambers of the palace to the Baroda Museum.²¹ These donations are also recorded in the Annual Administration Reports of Baroda.²²

¹⁶ F.A.H. Elliot. (1883). *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Volume VII, Baroda, Under Government Orders*. Bombay. Printed at the Government Central Press, pp. prefatory page, 286-287, 419-437, 446-493, 501-513.

¹⁷ Makarand Mehta. (1992). Science Versus Technology: The Early Years of the Kalā Bhavan, Baroda, 1890-1896. *Indian Journal of History of Science*, 27(2), 145-170.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 146-147, 157, 161-165.

¹⁹ R.N. Mehta. (1995). *Genesis and Activities of the Museum and Picture Gallery Vadodara*. Vadodara: The Department of Museums, pp. 1-3.

²⁰ Julie F. Codell. (2003). *Ironies of Mimicry: The Art Collection of Sayaji Rao III Gaekwad, Maharaja of Baroda, and the Cultural Politics of Early Modern India*. *Journal of the History of Collections*, 15(1), 127-146, pp. 127, 129.

²¹ Mehta. (1995), pp. 20, 22, 33-34.

²² R.C. Dutt. (1907). *Baroda Administration Report 1905-06, Compiled under the orders of His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar*. Bombay: Printed at The British India Printing Works, p. 171. (1922) *Baroda Administration Report 1920-21*, Published by Order of His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar. Bombay: Printed at the Times Press, pp. 305-306.

The private collector's status as a donor to the museum not only reveals his strength but also exposes how Baroda's private collection and its links with institutional projects remains an understudied area. I thus strengthen my research statement that Sayajirao's private collecting was indeed pegged into Baroda's institutional projects and hence merits detailed study. My period of enquiry, i.e., 1875-1924, gains credibility since Mehta begins his study from 1887, when the idea of the museum was first conceived;²³ Codell studies the European art acquisitions from 1897 onwards.²⁴ She states, "Sayajirao had been collecting European art and objets d'art since 1896".²⁵ Thus Codell's study does not probe the period before 1896 and she relies on museum catalogues and articles by the museum directors to understand acquisition histories. Codell does not consult archival data and as a result is unable to cover the scope of patronage external to the secondary sources. My research fills this lacuna through consultation of archival records which shed light on both Indian and European art acquisitions and patronage from as early as 1877, as presented in Chapters 2 and 3.

In addition to art patronage, surveys of architectural history by Giles Tillotson, Fatesingh Rao Gaekwad and George Michell locate Baroda and Sayajirao in the paradigm of architectural patronage with regards to the Lakshmilās Palace, viewed as one of the most flamboyant examples of Indo-Saracenic architecture.²⁶ A first hand-record of the interior chambers of the palace is made by Edward Claire Weeden, who spent a year in 1910 as state

²³ Mehta. (1995), pp.3,11.

²⁴ Codell. (2003).

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p.133.

²⁶ Fatesingh Rao Gaekwad. (1980). *The Palaces of India*. London: Collins, pp. 15, 156-157. G.H.R. Tillotson. (1989). *The Tradition of Indian Architecture: Continuity, Controversy and Change since 1850*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, pp. 50-54. George Michell. (1994). *The Royal Palaces of India*. London: Thames and Hudson, pp. 200, 218, 220.

guest of Baroda.²⁷ Maud Diver's work also presents lengthy descriptions of the palace's exotic collections.²⁸ Gulammohammed Sheikh's comprehensive essay on the backdrop to artistic activity at the palace brings together all the aforementioned threads of art patronage in the consumption space of the Lakshmilās.²⁹ Sheikh comments on Sayajirao's willingness and ability to mediate European and indigenous traditions to initiate a cross-cultural dialogue.³⁰ This observation is developed further in my idea of the reconfiguration of art genres, especially the indigenization of academic portraiture through the works of Ravi Varma and the modernization of crafts through their relocation at the polytechnic, Kalābhavan, discussed in Chapters 2 and 3.

Despite these well-illuminated trajectories, a recent work by Julie Codell creates an unsurpassed theoretical framework to discern Sayajirao and Baroda's position in the wider context of modernization and nationalism. Her reading of Sayajirao's commissioned biographies concludes that Sayajirao presented himself in these profiles, which ranged from a modern, Anglicized prince to a nationalist, to suit his diverse audiences.³¹ She profiles him as a prince who took definite cues from British institutions but reproduced them in a distinctly localized mode in Baroda.³² Codell extends Sayajirao's understanding of progress as securing autonomy in areas of Indian industries, army, etc. This understanding in turn positions him as a nationalist.³³ Thus, she conflates Sayajirao's various profiles in a single person to demonstrate his leanings towards modernization and nationalism. More importantly, Codell opens a dialogue with Edward

²⁷ Edward Clair Weeden. (1911). *A Year with the Gaekwar of Baroda*. London: Hutchinson, pp. 12, 16, 45.

²⁸ Maud Diver. (1943). *Royal India: A Descriptive and Historical Study of India's Fifteen Principal States and their Rulers*. London: Hodder & Stoughton, pp. 114, 116.

²⁹ Gulammohammed Sheikh. (1997). The Backdrop. In Gulammohammed Sheikh (Ed.). *Contemporary Art in Baroda* (pp. 17-51), Chennai: Tulika Books, pp. 18-20, 35-38.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p.20.

³¹ Codell. (1998).

³² *Ibid.*, pp.17,32.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

Said's landmark study of Orientalism to amplify its insights:³⁴ she demonstrates how the native agent's localized replication of British institutions partialized and even subverted the original frame of reference.³⁵ Codell's revelation of native agency and the theme of localization converge with Sheikh's comments on a cross-cultural dialogue, and together they guide my research to delineate indigenization of European genres in Sayajirao's collecting practice.

In addition to Sayajirao and Baroda, the next key theme to emerge from my research statement is collecting. Although collecting is examined and theorized mostly through case-studies in European art history, these studies serve as standard readers on the subject. John Elsner and Roger Cardinal's investigations on collecting include theoretical, psychological, historical and descriptive enquiries.³⁶ For instance, Jean Baudrillard's essay maintains a psychological focus on the reasons for collecting.³⁷ It also theorizes a system of objects, which discusses aspects of utilization and possession to bring into play the human agency of consumption.³⁸ One of Baudrillard's fundamental ideas in the system of collecting is that outside of the moment when the object enjoys an objective function or use by its owner, the object represents "subjectivity" as now the meaning of the object is determined by the owner or self. He adds, "For while the object is a resistant material body, it is also, simultaneously, a mental realm over which I hold sway, a thing whose meaning is governed by myself alone".³⁹ Baudrillard's idea of the extension of the mental realm over the object becomes a guiding force to discern how Sayajirao extended his own ideas over European arts and objects, especially academic-style

³⁴ Edward Said. (1991). *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient*. London and New York: Penguin Books.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp.17,32-33.

³⁶ John Elsner and Roger Cardinal (Eds.). (1994). *The Cultures of Collecting*. London: Reaktion Books.

³⁷ Jean Baudrillard. (1994). The System of Collecting. In *Ibid.*, (pp. 7-24), pp.11,24.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 7-8.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

portraits and sculptures, to indigenize them and determine an alternative course of display and consumption. In Elsner and Cardinal's publication, Susan Stewart, John Elsner and John Forrester also court a psychological focus in exploring themes such as nostalgia and desire as motivations to collect.⁴⁰ Contrarily, Thomas da Costa Kaufmann occupies a historical position to examine the socio-political and cultural factors which led to the collection of the Austrian Habsburgs.⁴¹ These studies bring a wide range of practices and motivations under the purview of collecting. Their aim to define the characteristic features of collecting offers broad and valuable guidelines to approach my own case-study, despite its non-European location.

Susan Pearce makes an important contribution to the approach to collection studies.⁴² She suggests a two-part framework: first is to examine the individual objects or genres, their rank and usage and second is to examine their reception, display and consumption after they become part of a collection.⁴³ Pearce first sees the objects in relation with each other, and later with us; the latter defines a new relationship called collecting. In the next corpus of literature I will demonstrate how this approach links with Arjun Appadurai's study of commodities and contributes to my enquiry. Daniel Miller's essay in Pearce's publication draws on Baudrillard's framework and urges a material studies approach which integrates the anthropological and archaeological approaches; i.e., instead of lending an autonomous role to objects, he suggests that they may be studied as symbols of societies and in relation to people and the field of

⁴⁰ Susan Stewart. (1994). Death and Life, in that Order, in the Works of Charles Willson Peale. In *Ibid.*, (pp. 204-223), p. 204. John Elsner. (1994). A Collector's Model of Desire: The House and Museum of Sir John Soane. In *Ibid.*, (pp. 155-176), p. 155. John Forrester. (1994). Mille e tre: Freud and Collecting. In *Ibid.*, (pp. 224-251), p.224.

⁴¹ Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann. (1994). From Treasury to Museum: The Collections of the Austrian Habsburgs. In *Ibid.*,(pp.137-154).

⁴² Susan Pearce (Ed.). (1994). *Interpreting Objects and Collections* (pp.2-8). London and New York: Routledge.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 2-3.

consumption.⁴⁴ Generally, my work benefits of Baudrillard and Pearce's positions which include the consumer's agency and his ideas towards meaning-making of the object. Susan Stewart's work, which also focuses on the western tradition of collecting, builds around the themes of nostalgia and longing to discuss how collections are formed to recreate temporal and spatial experiences.⁴⁵ She contends that whereas objects in their varied forms which range from the miniature to the gigantic and souvenirs, stand in as metonyms for temporal and spatial experiences, they also accrue new meaning and value through a classification and display process which forms a collection.⁴⁶ I will underline the importance of this classification process in the literature dedicated to exhibitions and state how it benefits my work. In Stewart's writing, exercises of longing, collection, classification and display, encode definite human agency like the previous corpus. Also, much like Baudrillard's contention, the selection and subjectivity of the collector are seen as extending a new context and meaning to the collection.⁴⁷ These twin ideas of the human agency and the agent's ideas occupy a central position in my research methodology as it investigates Sayajrao's collection of particular genres and the ideas which guide these acquisitions and practices.

Literature dedicated to themes of objects and consumption also aids my theoretical position to study collecting. In his seminal essay on commodities and the politics of value, Arjun Appadurai contends that commodities, like humans, have a social life and their value is

⁴⁴ Daniel Miller. (1994). Things Ain't What They Used To Be. In Susan Pearce (Ed.) (pp. 13-18), pp.13-16.

⁴⁵ Susan Stewart. (2003). *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 151, 162.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 151-154.

politically mediated.⁴⁸ He acknowledges human agency as crucial to this mediation and the consequent meaning-making and value-ascription of objects.⁴⁹ This view also constitutes an important idea in James Clifford's essay which contends that in addition to the inherent meaning of objects their "present contexts" and classification procedures are crucial to assign renewed value, status and meaning to objects.⁵⁰ These contentions to include the classification, display and consumption pole in the life of material objects naturally creates space to study the consumer-collector. It helps to solve the long-standing problem in colonial Indian art history which has maintained a focus on the production pole, i.e., the artist, art product, art instructor and art school. This approach restricts itself within a Saidian framework which views the presence of European artists and official art education policy as the chief agents in shaping art practices in colonial India. The weaning of focus from the production pole defines the crux of my dissertation as it focuses on the illumination of the native collector and his resource personnel's agency in the formulation of a new national art. Thus, from here, I keep Edward Said's landmark work in the background, to see how the following publications may be in a dialogue with the influential Saidian framework. Did the conquering colonial authorities define the knowledge of the orient, its resources and people through text and images, and validate these paradigms, as Said claims?⁵¹ Or were the oriental subjects active agents in this knowledge-creation enterprise, which, in my case, includes the art-craft paradigm? Alongside Said, the following literature review will continue to maintain a dialogue with the aforementioned themes of collecting and consumption.

⁴⁸ Arjun Appadurai. (1986). Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value. In Arjun Appadurai (Ed.). *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (pp. 3-63), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁵⁰ James Clifford. (1999). In Simon During (Ed.). *The Cultural Studies Reader* (pp. 57-76), London, New York: Routledge, pp. 57-58, 63.

⁵¹ Said. (1991), p. 3.

Two strong theoretical paradigms have been formulated in studies of Indian collectors who come close to Sayajirao's time-frame. Indira Peterson studies the influence of the European cabinet of curiosity on the science and art collection of Maharaja Serfoji II of Tanjore (1798-1832).⁵² She especially locates Serfoji's practice in the cross-currents of Pietist Christianity, Enlightenment ideas and Indian responses, thereby contributing to the history of ideas through collecting.⁵³ The same case-study of Serfoji is nuanced as Savithri Preetha Nair draws on Bruno Latour's definition of a "centre of calculation" to demonstrate how Serfoji maintained a network of individuals and institutions, which cut across binaries such as centre/periphery, local/global, national/colonial, and traditional/modern, to further his collection; with the help of this network, despite its peripheral location, Tanjore produced useful scientific knowledge to modernize itself.⁵⁴ Nair also demonstrates localization of scientific practices as Serfoji rejects the then-popular museum-based knowledge-production in favour of a field-centered episteme in his well-groomed collecting practice.⁵⁵ When viewed in dialogue with Said, Nair's work not only amplifies native agency but also circumvents the conventional methodological approach of "diffusion"; instead it courts the idea of "networks" to comprehend Serfoji's modes of acquisition and partializes the role of metropolitan agencies and colonial institutions as dominant reference groups. This approach is especially useful to Chapter 4 of my dissertation, which positions Sayajirao's administration as a centre of identification, knowledge-production and validation of the local crafts through a network of local and international resource persons.

⁵² Indira Viswanathan Peterson. (1999). The Cabinet of King Serfoji of Tanjore: A European Collection in Early Nineteenth-Century India. *Journal of the History of Collections*, 11(1), 71-93.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ Savithri Preetha Nair. (2005). Native Collecting and Natural Knowledge (1797-1832): Raja Serfoji II of Tanjore as a 'Centre of Calculation'. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 15(3), 279-302, pp. 279-281-282.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 285-286.

An empirically rich study on collecting and consumption in royal households of colonial India is undertaken by Amin Jaffer.⁵⁶ In addition to the production of indigenous objects, Jaffer illuminates native agency in design discussions with European luxury goods' firms for the production of custom-made objects which ranged from toiletries and jewels to carpets and chandeliers.⁵⁷ The consumption of these goods is situated in the context of changing residential spaces and décor, especially furniture; this theme is examined in his previous publication wherein Jaffer contends that closer interaction with the British and changing Indian lifestyles guided the transition of domestic spaces and subsequent patterns of consumption.⁵⁸ Furthermore, Jaffer links these new modes of consumption with ideas of articulation of modernity for the Indian prince.⁵⁹ A similar study on modes of prestige consumption and the projection of a westernized modern identity is undertaken by Maurizio Peleggi in the context of the Fifth Reign of the Siamese monarchy, which shares its historical time-period with Sayajirao.⁶⁰ This study expands consumption to include architecture, visual arts, clothing and the royalty's public ceremonies. It is well-endowed with empirical and archival data as well as strong theoretical ideas which tap themes such as identity, modernization and consumption. My dissertation benefits of this work as I contend that the acculturation of a western lifestyle becomes a marker of modernity for Sayajirao; this western lifestyle also provides a context for the adoption of European art practices and their localized consumption. Peleggi conceives the royalty's

⁵⁶ Amin Jaffer. (2007). *Made for Maharajas: A Design Diary of Princely India*. New Delhi: Roli Books.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ Amin Jaffer. (2001). *Furniture from British India and Ceylon: A Catalogue of the Collections in the Victoria and Albert Museum and the Peabody Essex Museum*. London: V & A Publications, pp. 106-124.

⁵⁹ Amin Jaffer. (2009). Indian Princes and the West. In Anna Jackson and Amin Jaffer (Eds.). *Maharaja: The Splendour of India's Royal Courts* (pp. 194-226), London: V&A Publishing, p. 207.

⁶⁰ Maurizio Peleggi. (2002). *Lords of Things: the Fashioning of the Siamese Monarchy's Modern Image*. Honolulu, Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press.

modernization through domestic consumption within the palace.⁶¹ Likewise, Jaffer's scholarship locates itself in the foundational scholarship on the architecture of royal palaces, new modes of domestic consumption and the resultant fashioning of new identities.⁶² This crucial role of architecture in determining modes of consumption and articulation of identity makes it imperative to revisit scholarship on colonial Indian architectural history.

Giles Tillotson and Thomas Metcalf read the Indian princes' scope to project a dual identity in the paradigm of Indo-Saracenic architecture.⁶³ These buildings become markers of the maharajas' indigenous culture as well as their alignment with their British overlords or what Metcalf regards as their role as traditional princes who could also fulfill a vision for the imperial future.⁶⁴ A keen study of the architectural designs, facades and building materials lays out the blueprint of their interior chambers and subsequent modes of consumption.⁶⁵ As we have seen, these consumption modes are developed further by scholars such as Jackson, Jaffer, Peleggi and Sheikh; this approach to situate modes of consumption within architectural styles guides Chapter 1 of my dissertation. Interestingly, this literature, especially Tillotson's work, engages with the subservient position of the Indian craftsmen vis a vis the European architect and that of Indian design to European form; this observation highlights the muted and submissive position of native craftsmen and Indian design.⁶⁶ However, in his discussion of exceptional projects, such as the Albert Hall, Jaipur, Tillotson demonstrates the engagement of the Indian craftsman as master

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 24-36.

⁶² Jaffer. (2007), p. 18. Jaffer. (2009), pp. 196-198.

⁶³ Tillotson. (1989), p. 49. Metcalf. (1989). *An Imperial Vision: Indian Architecture and Britain's Raj*. London, Boston: Faber and Faber, p.106

⁶⁴ Metcalf. (1989), p. 106.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 124-126.

⁶⁶ Tillotson. (1989), pp. 60-61.

designer of the building and exposes the heterogeneous nature of the discourse on Orientalism.⁶⁷ This heterogeneity builds further in the next associated theme of indigenous crafts and design.

The state of the indigenous crafts is almost always constructed from publications focused on the major art schools of India and their allusions to craft and design, in addition to craft monographs which appeared after 1880. Art school reports and secondary sources together highlight the Mayo School of Lahore and the Madras School of Art as successful colonial institutions in the promotion of local crafts.⁶⁸ Two seminal art historical works by Tapati Guha-Thakurta and Partha Mitter, profile the crafts as occupying a subordinate position to the Euro-modern high arts at the Calcutta and Bombay Schools.⁶⁹ Generally speaking, this literature discusses revivalist craft and design projects at the various art schools. In sharp contrast, the economist R.C. Dutt, whose writings are contemporary to the colonial regime, paints a general profile of the decline of Indian crafts amidst British machine-made products.⁷⁰ In his influential critique of colonial rule, which also found expression through speeches and letters, Dutt expounded his “theory of the powers of production” according to which Britain reared its own manufacturing power by crushing India’s manufacturing potential.⁷¹ Dutt lists prohibitive duties on Indian manufactures exported to Europe, duty-free import of English manufactures in India

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 65-66, 69-70.

⁶⁸ Papers relating to the Maintenance of Schools of Art as State Institutions, *Selections from the Records of the Government of India*, Home department no. ccclvi, 1893-96. Edgar Thurston. (1897). The Cotton Fabric Industry of the Madras Presidency. *Art and Industry*, 59, 20-32. *Proceedings of the Art Conference held in the Technical Institute at Lahore, on the 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th January 1894*. (1894). Calcutta: Government Central Printing Office.

⁶⁹ Tapati Guha-Thakurta. (1992). *The Making of a New ‘Indian Art’: Artists, Aesthetics and Nationalism in Bengal c1850-1920*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 46-49. Partha Mitter. (1994). *Art and Nationalism in Colonial India: Occidental Orientations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 33, 63.

⁷⁰ R.C. Dutt. (1956). *The Economic History of India: Under Early British Rule*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

⁷¹ R.C. Dutt with an Introduction by D.N. Gupta. (1986). *Open Letters to Curzon and Speeches and Papers*. Delhi: Gian Publishing House, pp. 124-125.

and excise duties on steam mills as chief reasons for the curbing of Indian manufactures.⁷² Tirthankar Roy, writing in 1999 adopts a contraposition as he profiles the traditional industry as thriving in British India.⁷³ He suggests that traditional industry modernized itself through technological and organizational changes; hence colonialism bore a creative impact on the crafts as opposed to a destructive one and only improved their capability.⁷⁴ He analyses how political decentralization of the Mughal dominion led to a dispersal of traditionally-known craft cities, and increasing commercialization due to colonization allowed rural bases to enjoy wider, non-local markets.⁷⁵ Thus several rural crafts were now relocated in new regional configurations. My dissertation demonstrates how Sayajirao, who appointed Dutt as Revenue Minister and later Dewan, was influenced by his writings. For, Dutt, supported modernization and Sayajirao chose to salvage the crafts through a modernization plan and renewed methods of production. My work also gains from Roy's idea as the narrative reveal of Chapters 3 and 4 demonstrates the emergence of a new Baroda configuration of arts and crafts which comprised numerous rural genres.

Amidst this heterogeneous profile of the indigenous crafts, recent scholarship by Arindam Dutta and Saloni Mathur illustrates the paradoxical gains of Indian craft through Indian design's usage in capitalist, metropolitan contexts.⁷⁶ Both authors persuasively construct the twin ideas of taste-making and value-ascription in favour of Indian design and craft through pattern books, pedagogical institutions, museum collections, exhibitions, merchandise and emporia, all

⁷² *Ibid.*, pp. 79-80

⁷³ Tirthankar Roy. (1999). *Traditional Industry in the Economy of Colonial India*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 1,3, 231-232.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 25-27. Tirthankar Roy. (2006). *The Economic History of India: 1857-1947*. Second Edition. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, p. 40

⁷⁶ Saloni Mathur. (2007). *India by Design: Colonial History and Cultural Display*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press. Arindam Dutta. (2006). *The Beauty of Bureaucracy: Design in the Age of its Global Reproducibility*. London: Routledge.

led by the imperial economy.⁷⁷ Likewise, Vidya Dehejia argues for the re-instatement of Indian craft at international exhibitions through its proxy, i.e., Indian design.⁷⁸ This study on the crafts is strengthened further as Dipti Khera underlines artisanal agency in the industrialized domain of silverware production.⁷⁹ Likewise Roberta Mayer demonstrates the craftsman's firm position in the production of commercial furniture at the Ahmedabad Wood Carving Company (AWCC).⁸⁰ Incidentally, Roy also argues for the craftsman's agency when he contends that the crafts were fairly secure in colonial India since most innovations in production methods only modified the original tools.⁸¹ Moving away from the locales of production, Mathur underlines a marked slippage of the craftsman's agency in the domain of emporia and exhibitions; she cites the craftsman's subservient position and "the display of human beings" (craftsmen) as one of the reasons to the subsequent claiming of the craftsman as a figure of Indian nationalism among other revivalist, and commercial interests.⁸² I especially use Roy and Khera's argument in Chapter 3 to substantiate the craftsman's agency in Baroda's industrialized contexts of production. In Chapter 4, contrary to Mathur's contention, I argue for individual craftsmen's recognition at colonial exhibitions due to Sayajirao and his team's active sharing of information on local loans and craftsmen for exhibition catalogues.

Abigail McGowan complements Dutta and Mathur's works by shifting focus to craft-development in the colony. She appraises craft as a national concern for both, conservative and

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

⁷⁸ Vidya Dehejia. (2008). *Delight in Design: Indian Silver for the Raj*. Ahmedabad: Mapin Publishing, p. 11.

⁷⁹ Dipti Khera. (2008). Designs to Suit Every Taste: P. Orr & Sons and Swami Silverware. In Vidya Dehejia (Ed.). *Delight in Design: Indian Silver for the Raj* (pp.38-47), Ahmedabad: Mapin Publishing, pp. 33-34.

⁸⁰ Roberta Mayer. (1996). The Aesthetics of Lockwood de Forest: India, Craft and Preservation. *Winterthur Portfolio*, 31(1), 1-22, pp. 17-18, 21.

⁸¹ Roy. (1999), p. 44.

⁸² Mathur. (2007), pp. 21-22, 29, 50.

reformist factions, either through policies of protection or modernization, which manifest in the projects of polytechnics, art schools, commercial workshops and museums.⁸³ Her study covers a wide range of participants from British officials to native capitalists and art school instructors.⁸⁴ McGowan includes Sayajirao in this register of craft crusaders; she frames his concern for the crafts in the knowledge-power dynamic wherein both British officials and Indian elites become intermediaries to rectify artisanal backwardness and thereby assert political control.⁸⁵ Once again, while I see Sayajirao as head of state and hence an intermediary who relocates the crafts at polytechnics and commercial workshops, I do not see him championing the crafts for political control. Instead, his concern for craft-development is tied to the ideas of collection, improvement of the crafts and their representation at exhibitions to achieve a national art. Interestingly, Dutta, Mathur, Dehejia and McGowan's publications amplify Said's category of Orientalism as they elucidate a two-way process of inscription: while the colonial establishment and its attendant agencies employ Indian design for its own commercial interests, these agencies also arbitrate taste and value for the crafts; simultaneously, native agents also partner colonial-industrialized processes to modernize the crafts in the interest of a national project. These ideas become increasingly crystallized in my argument in Chapter 3 which explains Sayajirao's efforts to position the crafts as an expression of the "indigenous" and the "modern" through a combination of Indian design and industrialized processes of production.

As much as the crafts were embraced by the project of nationalism, so were other genres of art. The preoccupation with the identification of an authentic national art is an overarching theme in the literature produced in the colonial and the post-colonial periods. For instance, James

⁸³ Abigail McGowan. (2009). *Crafting the Nation in Colonial India*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 4, 7, 97-100.

Fergusson, and Alexander Cunningham, two of the establishment's leading documenters of India's architecture and archaeological sites, offer foundational scholarship towards the search for India's most ancient and authentic art tradition.⁸⁶ Their studies devise racial and regional categories to classify architecture and antiquities and arrange them further in a hierarchy of age, style and authenticity with the help of architectural or epigraphic evidences.⁸⁷ Guha-Thakurta revisits these works in her own publication to assess the search for a national art.⁸⁸ She brings to the fore similar documentation projects and studies by native archaeologists who worked for the colonial establishment's agencies such as the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI), and also became part of regional projects; these native officials classify architectural and sculptural styles with new dynastic appellations which position material remains as part of regional art traditions.⁸⁹ Guha-Thakurta also presents the post-colonial engagement with the search for a representative national art in exhibition and museum displays, which variously inflate or deflate the value of previously formulated religious, dynastic and regional appellations.⁹⁰

While most of these case-studies engage with the search for an Indian high art tradition, Guha-Thakurta makes room to accommodate the colonial establishment's interest to document and display local craft traditions through provincial and regional museums, to eventually build a

⁸⁶ James Fergusson. (1845). *Illustration of the Rock-Cut Temples of India*. London: Weale. James Fergusson. (1848). *Picturesque Illustrations of Ancient Architecture in Hindostan*. London: Hogarth. James Fergusson (1876). *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*. London: Murray. Alexander Cunningham. (1873). *Four Reports*. Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing. Alexander Cunningham (1854). *The Bhilsa Topes: A Brief Historical Sketch of the Rise, Progress and Decline of Buddhism*. London: Allen.

⁸⁷ Fergusson. (1845), pp. 2-3. Fergusson. (1848), pp.21-22, 57; Alexander Cunningham. (1873). I:xxix; Memorandum by General Cunningham on the Archaeological remains of India. In Archaeological Survey of India, *Report on the Illustration of the Archaic Architecture of India*.

⁸⁸ Tapati Guha-Thakurta. (2004). *Monuments, Objects, Histories: Institutions of Art in Colonial and Postcolonial India*. New York: Columbia University Press, pp. 16-18, 38.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 123, 125.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 184, 200-202.

national craft collection.⁹¹ This section on provincial museums serves as an important backdrop to Chapter 4 to locate Sayajirao and his administration's role in the identification of local crafts and their eventual display at the Baroda Museum as well as international exhibitions. Guha-Thakurta's idea of the formulation of artworks along appellative names and Roy's demonstration of the emergence of regional crafts guide my idea of the making of a Baroda category. The theme of museums occupies a new and interesting position in Kavita Singh's enquiry.⁹² She situates the museums outside of the absolute nexus between knowledge and power to highlight the struggles and failures in the careers of museum projects and their personnel.⁹³ Through various case-studies, she profiles local responses in the shaping of museums.⁹⁴ This theme of the local response in shaping museums is also examined by Giles Tillotson through a study of the Jaipur Museum. He analyses the Museum's architecture, acquisition policies and engagement of local advisors and craftsmen to highlight native participation in the project.⁹⁵ Through this data Tillotson highlights Jaipur's revivalist leanings; this ideological orientation helps one to emphasize the Baroda project's diametrically opposite position due to Sayajirao's reformist leanings.

Aside from the architecture, sculpture and the crafts, the creation of India's national art also courted western painting traditions, chiefly academic portraiture. Guha-Thakurta and Mitter explore this trend in the contexts of the Calcutta and Bombay Schools of Art, respectively; both authors rely on the essentializing thrust of the art schools which positioned the European art

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 116-117.

⁹² Kavita Singh. (2009). *Material Fantasy: The Museum in Colonial India*. In Gayatri Sinha (Ed.). *Art and Visual Culture in India: 1857-2007*. Mumbai: Marg Publications. 51.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 40, 42

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁹⁵ Giles Tillotson. (2004). The Jaipur Exhibition of 1883. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 14(2).

genres of landscape painting and oil portraiture as superior to the low-brow indigenous crafts.⁹⁶ Guha-Thakurta charts the rise of these European genres and their subsequent rejection by the Bengal School under the stewardship of artist Abanindranath Tagore, who is presented as the ideologue of this new national art movement.⁹⁷ All the same, she analyses popular writing of the time to demonstrate the sustained presence of European genres among the Calcutta elite and middle-classes to draw home the point that western art was received as modern and scientific, despite its rejection by the premier artists' group of Calcutta.⁹⁸ Mitter, too, lends value to the scientifically precise nature of academic portraiture which made it the most sought-after fine art course at the Calcutta and Bombay Schools.⁹⁹ Mitter extends the essentializing thrust to the exhibitions' domain wherein native artists enjoyed a separate category for display of their paintings.¹⁰⁰ Clearly, both these authors accord a dominant place to the art school and exhibitions' agencies as taste-makers of European art traditions among Indian practitioners and patrons. In addition, Guha-Thakurta accords agency to European ateliers and artists in grooming the Calcutta collectors.¹⁰¹ One sees that the collector features as a recipient of tastes formulated by colonial agencies, while my research positions the collector as a taste-maker through his role as a regular lender to exhibitions. More importantly, in my study, the native collector does not court European genres alone, and instead, he simultaneously champions the cause of indigenous crafts.

As pointed out earlier, the primary position accorded to official art education policy guides the framing of colonial Indian art history. The aforementioned contexts of art schools and

⁹⁶ Thakurta (1992). Mitter (1994).

⁹⁷ Thakurta. (1992), pp. 9, 45-55, 193-194, 242.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 216.

⁹⁹ Mitter. (1994), pp. 80-81.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 68.

¹⁰¹ Thakurta. (1992), pp. 51-52.

exhibitions inform the first Indian modern artist, Raja Ravi Varma's appraisal. Varma's predilection for academic portraiture is also contextualized within the influence of European artists and colonial institutions and their goals to westernize Indian elite and middle classes through (art) education. R.C. Sharma *et al.* produced seminal essays to make a re-appraisal of Varma's paintings for the first time since the Bengal School rejected it for the incompatibility of its western technique with Indian content.¹⁰² Supriya Nair analyses Varma's systematic courting of European technique to complement Indian themes.¹⁰³ Gulam Mohammed Sheikh and Marta Jakimowicz-Karle appraise Varma's evolving grasp over western techniques of perspective through a study of his commissions at Baroda and Mysore.¹⁰⁴ Earlier biographies and monographs also emphasize Varma's travails with mastering the techniques of academic portraiture.¹⁰⁵ While most of these works emphasize the presence of western elements in Varma's sources of reference, Guha-Thakurta, Shiva Kumar and Suresh Awasthi analyze Varma's conspicuously indigenous frames of reference such as puranic literature, performing arts such as Kathakali and Tullal and Parsi theatre.¹⁰⁶

This thread of indigenous influences is taken up in my own analysis of the influence of classical Indian dance and literature on Varma's works to demonstrate a distinct indigenization

¹⁰² Sharma (Ed.). (1993).

¹⁰³ Supriya Nair (1993). European Influences on the Work of Raja Ravi Varma. In *Ibid.*, pp. 72-75.

¹⁰⁴ Gulam Mohammed Sheikh. (1993). Ravi Varma in Baroda. In *Ibid.* (pp. 77-85), pp. 80-83. Marta Jakimowicz-Karle. (1993). Ravi Varma in Mysore. In *Ibid.* (86-95), pp. 86, 88.

¹⁰⁵ S.A. Pillai. (1928). Ravi Varma and His Art. Quilon: S.A. Pillai, p. 6. Padmanabhan Tampy. (1934). *Ravi Varma: A Monograph*. Trivandrum: Kripin and Co., pp. 8-9, 17. Marthanda K. Varma. (1964). *Raja Ravi Varma*. Trivandrum: K.M. Varma, pp. 6-7. No Author/ Date. *Ravi Varma: The Indian Artist*. Madras: G.A. Natesan & Co. Madras, p. 7.

¹⁰⁶ Tapati Guha-Thakurta. (1993). Raja Ravi Varma and the Project of a New National Art. In R.C. Sharma (Ed.), (pp. 45-59), pp. 51-52. Shiva Kumar. (1993). Home and the World of Ravi Varma. In R.C. Sharma (Ed.) (pp. 60-71), p. 61. Suresh Awasthi. (1993). Theatrical Influences on Ravi Varma. In R.C. Sharma (Ed.) (pp. 110-115), pp. 110, 112-114.

of academic portraiture.¹⁰⁷ I strengthen this argument about the localization of European art with the help of diaries written by Varma's brother and assistant, C. Raja Raja Varma; these diaries meticulously record his working style and often indirectly underline a systematic indigenization process.¹⁰⁸ The work also draws on Erwin Neumayer and Christine Schelberger's interpretation of the diary.¹⁰⁹ With reference to Varma's connection with Baroda, in addition to the previously mentioned work by Sheikh, Rupika Chawla's latest publication offers detailed information on Varma's India-wide commissions.¹¹⁰ The two most important points to be made by this corpus are: first, the contention that Varma qualifies as India's first modern artist and second, that he attempts a hybrid style in the interest of fashioning a national high art. Two aspects which elide these empirically-rich works are the absence of a theoretical framework and an analysis of the collector as a co-agent in the production of Varma's paintings. My study aims to fill the lacunae by situating Varma in Sayajirao's project of nationalism and undergirding the adoption of academic-style art with a definite theoretical idea.

Gyan Prakash and Partha Chatterjee analyse the adoption of what they refer to as "colonial modernity" and "post-Enlightenment science" respectively, by the colonized elite.¹¹¹ Colonial modernity is discussed in the domain of museums, infrastructure and ideology. The authors go a step further to demonstrate how these modern-colonial institutions serve national

¹⁰⁷ Priya Maholay-Jaradi. (2009). Raja Ravi Varma: A Study of the Influence of Classical Indian Dance and Literature on His Works. In Ratan Parimoo and Sandip Sarkar (Eds.). *The Historical Development of Contemporary Indian Art* (pp. 43-49), New Delhi: Lalit Kala Akademi.

¹⁰⁸ Priya Maholay-Jaradi. (2005). *Portraits of the Parsees from the Studio of Raja Ravi Varma*. A research paper for the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, Mumbai. C. Raja Raja Varma. (1896). C. Raja Raja Varma (1895-1906).

¹⁰⁹ Erwin Neumayer, Christine Schelberger. (2005). *Raja Ravi Varma: Portrait of an Artist: The Diary of C. Raja Raja Varma*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

¹¹⁰ Rupika Chawla (2010). *Raja Ravi Varma: Painter of Colonial India*. Ahmedabad: Mapin Publishing.

¹¹¹ Partha Chatterjee. (1986). *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World: A Derivative Discourse*. London: Zed Books. Gyan Prakash. (1999). *Another Reason: Science and the Imagination of Modern India*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

agendas and in the process become localized.¹¹² Like Mitter, Prakash and Chatterjee highlight the colonized native agent's recognition of the scientific virtues of these western systems and the scope to indigenize them.¹¹³ Thus native agency is activated to reinscribe colonial institutions and practices. This idea becomes a theoretical anchor to explain Sayajirao and Varma's adoption of academic-style art, stated earlier. While Prakash and Chatterjee allow the native agent a full and firm scope to participate in colonial institutions and localize them, Bernard Cohn and Nicholas Dirks demonstrate the native agent's participation in colonial field surveys and highlight their marginalized position in the final knowledge-production and its validation.¹¹⁴ Cohn and Dirks' contexts of field surveys becomes a crucial backdrop for the Baroda administration's participation in the identification and validation of its local crafts, discussed in Chapters 3 and 4. In summary, some of the aforementioned works such as those by Mitter and Guha-Thakurta, maintain the Oriental's acceptance of the essentializing construct at the art school, exhibition and field loci, which not only discriminated native genres, but also native practitioners and informants. Contrary to this acceptance of the essentializing framework, I see the native agent's active engagement with "othering" to his own advantage in the next corpus of works.

This category of literature discusses colonial exhibitions. Carol Breckenridge recognizes the dichotomous approach to exhibition displays which juxtaposed machine-produced goods

¹¹² Chatterjee. (1986), p. 42. Prakash. (1999), pp. 11, 178-179.

¹¹³ Chatterjee. (1986), pp.50-51. Prakash. (1999), pp. 6-7.

¹¹⁴ Nicholas B. Dirks. (1993). *Colonial Histories and Native Informants: Biography of an Archive*. In Carol Breckenridge and Peter van der Veer (Eds.). *Orientalism and the Postcolonial Predicament* (pp. 279-313), Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. Bernard Cohn. (1996). *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

from the metropole against exotic handicrafts from the colonies.¹¹⁵ In the context of this process of othering, she astutely comments on the forging of national identities within the global space of exhibitions¹¹⁶, an idea which is used by Maurizio Peleggi to demonstrate the display of Siamese identity at international pageants.¹¹⁷ Likewise, Timothy Mitchell reads exhibitions as having a method of organization and nomenclature which projected the Orient as part of a world-picture.¹¹⁸ This juxtaposition and its sometimes overdone aspects of othering are underlined by Mitchell through the Egyptian travellers' and Arabic students' accounts.¹¹⁹ Peter Hoffenberg too focuses on the maintenance of difference between the tripartite arrangement of metropole, settler and subject colonies.¹²⁰ This construction of difference indirectly functions as a marker of national identity. Thus, this literature views the essentialist framework as beneficial to the making of national projects; it also asserts the native agent's active response to exhibitions in the interest of forging national identities. This idea guides my discussion of Sayajirao as a lender to colonial exhibitions and his creative usage of the instruments of othering to underline the strengths of the indigenous arts and create a distinct national identity for them.

This literature survey highlights two empirical and theoretical lacunae. Empirically, one notes the absence of data on patron-collectors in colonial India and consequent elision of these indigenous players' agency in the shaping of the history of Indian art produced during the colonial period. Theoretically, this section exposes the linear narrative of colonial art history and its emphasis on the "centre-periphery" model, which gives agency to colonial institutions, art

¹¹⁵ Carol Breckenridge. (1989). The Aesthetics and Politics of Colonial Collecting. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 31(2), 195-216, p. 202.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 196.

¹¹⁷ Peleggi. (2002), pp. 13, 144.

¹¹⁸ Timothy Mitchell. (1998). Orientalism and the Exhibitionary Order. In Nicholas Mirzoeff (Ed.). *The Visual Culture Reader* (pp. 293-303). London, New York: Routledge, 1998.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 294-300.

¹²⁰ Peter Hoffenberg. (2001). *An Empire on Display: English, Indian, and Australian Exhibitions from the Crystal Palace to the Great War*. California: University of California Press, pp. xiv-xv.

instructors and artists as the chief protagonists in the development of Indian art history of the colonial period and highlights the native agent as a recipient of European ideas and practices. Given these lacunae, my research statement demonstrates how I aim to focus on the native collector and his ideas which shaped a new national art, often indigenizing European genres in the colonial space of art schools and exhibitions. I acknowledge the concerns raised by scholars such as Frederick Asher, who sees the patrons' perspective as one which constricts art history as an elitist discipline with an elitist canon.¹²¹ He suggests the framing of art history through other more populist perspectives and alternative questions. I defend my story of the collector as necessary to colonial Indian art history, for, Sayajirao was a "native elite" and not elite in the sense of the European artist, instructor, ideologue or colonial officer-bureaucrat who has hitherto authored the story of art in colonial India. Hence, I seek to bring the peripheral native elite to the centre-stage, and as the dissertation unfolds, one will discover how this story also belongs to a group of resource persons who assisted and advised Sayajirao. Numerous sub-plots in the narrative concern lesser-known craftsmen and genres and hence this dissertation may serve as the starting point to include the subalterns to frame an alternative art history.

III. Theoretical Framework and Methodology

While each chapter in the dissertation demonstrates a detailed application of theoretical ideas, this section is a prefatory discussion of the overall theoretical framework which anchors the empirical data. As I take a cue from Julie Codell's interpretation of Sayajirao's multiple personae¹²² and apply it to the art domain, I observe that what seems to be missing in these

¹²¹ Frederick M. Asher. (2007). The Shape of Indian Art History. In Vishakha N. Desai (Ed.). *Asian Art History: In the Twenty-First Century* (pp. 3-14), Massachusetts: Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, p. 11.

¹²² Codell. (1998), pp. 5-6.

important themes, which animate Sayajirao's agencies as consumer, patron, nationalist and modernizer, is a "link" to integrate his various roles in a shared context which might additionally also re-cast the historical actor in a new mould and position his state beyond known parameters. I see Sayajirao's collecting practice as this link which identifies, activates and conflates all of the aforementioned roles in the role of a "collector". This linkage occurs primarily through the extension of ideas and practices from Sayajirao's private chambers of consumption to institutional and state-wide modernization plans to reconfigure European and local arts and crafts in the interest of a national project. Thus, as Sayajirao's collecting practice facilitates a link between his roles as princely collector and head of state, it also unravels him in a hitherto scarcely documented role, that of a lender to regional and international colonial exhibitions. This role immediately positions Sayajirao as a collector in the global arena, consequently re-casting his projects of collecting, consumption, modernization and nation-building on a global playfield.

Theoretically, as the dissertation positions Sayajirao in a colonial-global space, it engages with Codell's idea of the availability of the colonial discourse of Orientalism to the native agent who partializes and destabilizes its colonial frames of reference.¹²³ Thus, I make this discourse available in the form of art practices, art schools and exhibitions to the native collector, Sayajirao. This framework creates a backdrop for the amplification of insights into Saidian Orientalism by contending that the native collector participates at the sites of art patronage, art and industrial schools and colonial exhibitions and reinscribes them with indigenous ideas and practices. This point creates a context for two primary exercises by the native agent: first, the acceptance of colonial institutions and second, their systematic localization. To anchor these points theoretically, I employ Gyan Prakash and Partha Chatterjee's ideas concurrently. They

¹²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 27, 32-33.

support the native agent's acceptance of colonial institutions or post-Enlightenment ideas, which are perceived to be scientific and modern; moreover, both authors contend that these institutions, ideas and practices are espoused to serve national agendas and in the process become localized.¹²⁴ While I anchor Sayajirao's patronage of large-scale, private and institutional projects in Prakash and Chatterjee's theoretical contentions, I locate his practices of private royal consumption in Maurizio Peleggi's formulation of the articulation of modernity through consumption of Euro-modern genres, objects and practices within the domestic space of the palace.¹²⁵ Peleggi also argues for the localization of these Euro-modern lifestyle accoutrements through distinct modes of display and consumption.¹²⁶

Thus, Prakash, Chatterjee and Peleggi help to answer the primary question raised by my research statement: From where does the native collector draw his motivation to formulate a modern national art? The native collector is motivated by the scientific and modern characteristics of colonial art genres and recognizes the scope to indigenize them so as to fashion a national art which is at once modern and indigenous. Within this larger plot of the acceptance of colonial-modern institutions and its specific context of courting Euro-modern art genres, I locate smaller, particular contexts which inform the native collector and groom his gaze in favour of these genres. This exercise draws on Carol Breckenridge's idea of the refinement of the collector's gaze against the proliferation of international and colonial institutions.¹²⁷ The identification of these grooming grounds simultaneously reveals the biographies of European genres which traverse through them and consequently acquire value, so as to be courted by the collector. Arjun Appadurai advocates this theory of the social life or biographical journey of

¹²⁴ Prakash. (1999), pp. 6, 8, 11, 178-179. Chatterjee. (1986), p. 42.

¹²⁵ Peleggi. (2002), pp. 4, 11-13, 24, 59-63, 66-67.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 11-13, 24, 59-63, 66-67.

¹²⁷ Breckenridge. (1989), pp. 212-213.

“things”, which cannot be set into motion without the human agent.¹²⁸ This idea of the human agent brings into play the native collector’s agency to demonstrate the reconfiguration of Euro-modern genres through new localized experiments. While this localization adds a new dimension to the biography of genres, it also gives value to Prakash, Chatterjee and Peleggi’s ideas of the reinscription of Euro-modern practices to serve local agendas, in this case the making of a national art. In addition to the localization of European genres, Prakash and Chatterjee’s method is also employed to frame data on the adaptation of Euro-modern institutions, chiefly polytechnics and workshops, to local craft genres; this adaptation indigenizes the former (i.e., Euro-modern institutions) and modernizes the latter (i.e., crafts). These experiments in adaptation and localization answer my question about the characteristic feature of Sayajirao’s new national art; indeed, its defining strength is a unique indigenous modernity. Thus far, the discourse of Orientalism is available to the native collector primarily in the form of European art practices and art/industrial schools. Now this discourse and its essentializing thrust become available to the native agent through the space of colonial exhibitions.

The aim of these colonial displays is to formulate knowledge about the empire and its colonies’ resources, and represent and validate both, the knowledge and the resources through systematic classification. Nicholas Dirks’, Bernard Cohn and Tapati Guha-Thakurta’s positions which demonstrate the native agent’s presence in the colonial establishment’s knowledge-creation project,¹²⁹ aid to position Sayajirao and his personnel in the identification and knowledge-production of the local Baroda arts and crafts. Furthermore, Carol Breckenridge’s idea of the forging of national identities within the essentializing framework of exhibitions is

¹²⁸ Appadurai. (1986), p. 5.

¹²⁹ Dirks (1993), pp. 281-282, 292-299. Cohn (1996), pp. 81-87, 95-96. Thakurta (2004), pp. 85-108, 111-112.

employed to demonstrate the native collector's representation of the local arts and crafts at colonial displays to attain a distinct national identity for them. This underlines the native collector's creative usage of the exhibitions' apparatus to his own advantage and once again underscores the reinscription of this colonial institution. This process of reinscription answers the question as to how Sayajirao negotiates the space of colonial institutions. Empirically, while this dissertation posits Sayajirao's ideas of the indigenous and modern at the very beginning and aims to read their interpretation in the native collector's art projects, theoretically, I undertake a reverse exercise. Every art commission and project is analysed to discern underlying and associated ideas which are formulated by the collector; according to Susan Pearce's theoretical position, when artworks link with definite ideas, their acquisition and consumption qualify as collecting.¹³⁰ In conclusion, this theoretical framework qualifies Sayajirao's consumption and art patronage as a collecting practice due to its underlying ideas which support the making of a modern national art; this collecting practice becomes the link between his private and institutional projects which find representation and validation at colonial exhibitions.

IV. Organization of Chapters

This section introduces the reader to the chapters of the dissertation and their main empirical themes. These themes have been formulated with the help of data accumulated chiefly from the Gujarat State Archives, Southern Circle, Vadodara and the National Archives of India, New Delhi. This data is in the form of letters, memos, contracts, applications and inventories dedicated to art commissions, scholarships, exhibitions and logistical arrangements. Diaries and accounts of artists such as C. Raja Raja Varma, Marianne North and Valentine Prinsep have also

¹³⁰ Susan Pearce. (1994). *The Urge to Collect* (pp.157-159), p. 157.

furnished crucial empirical data.¹³¹ Colonial records such as Baroda's Annual Administration Reports and Gazetteers also offer primary data as their authors belong to Sayajirao's staff and also shaped his art collecting practice.¹³² Permanent displays at the *durbār* hall of the Lakshmivilās Palace, Fatesingh Museum and the Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery have also helped me to formulate thematic links in Sayajirao's art patronage activities. Information from secondary sources has also supported primary source information.

The period of study undertaken in this dissertation i.e., 1875-1924, is also guided by the archival data. Sayajirao is adopted as minor prince in 1875 and his tenure's active engagement with arts, crafts and exhibitions begins in 1877 through Dewan Regent T. Madhavarao's efforts. I end my enquiry in 1924 as the Empire of India Exhibition of 1924 not only recognizes Baroda's crafts through its catalogue, but also serves as a detailed guide to methods of production and the commercial popularity of these genres. Hence, this catalogue marks the arrival of a mature and independent position for the Baroda crafts in the exhibitions' domain. Additionally, the decade of the 1920s marks a shift in approaches to the formulation of a modern and national high art. This phase sees an espousal of imagery from primitive and folk forms.¹³³ As Partha Mitter remarks, "the modernists idolized rural India as the true site of the nation, evolving artistic primitivism as an antithesis to colonial urban values".¹³⁴ Given this shift in artistic approaches, it may be necessary to examine Sayajirao's collecting practice with different considerations from the 1920s.

¹³¹ C. Raja Raja Varma. (1896). C. Raja Raja Varma (1895-1906). Marianne North. (2010. First published in 1892). *Recollections of a Happy Life: Being the Autobiography of Marianne North*, Volume 2. Digital resource: Forgotten Books. Valentine Cameron Prinsep. (1879). *Imperial India: An Artist's Journals*. London: Chapman and Hall.

¹³² Elliot. (1883). Dutt. (1907).

¹³³ Partha Mitter. (2007). *The Triumph of Modernism: India's Artists and the Avant Garde: 1922-47*. London: Reaktion Books, pp. 10, 77.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

Chapter 1 constitutes a biography of Sayajirao Gaekwad III (1875-1939) and the princely state of Baroda in the Western Presidency. It underlines a marked reorientation in the ideology and lifestyle of the prince and the administrative policies of the state. The espousal of European practices and institutions in a bid to articulate modernity make the thrust of this reorientation. All the same, the chapter pays keen attention to the adaptation of European systems to local practices. These exercises in westernization and indigenization, which were not as dichotomous in actual practice, are discussed in the private and public domains of Sayajirao's minority and education, Baroda State's administration and participating officials, Sayajirao's personality, taste and lifestyle as a major prince and his state-wide modernization projects. This chapter serves as a backdrop to comprehend Sayajirao's formulation of nationalism and its eventual crystallization to accommodate the textured idea of "indigenous modernity". This idea of the indigenous modern pans out in Sayajirao's collecting practice which becomes the nucleus of his project to fashion a new national art.

Chapter 2 investigates Sayajirao's collection and patronage of the high arts, chiefly, academic-style portraiture and salon sculpture through the works of European and Indian artists. Due to the production of a very high volume of academic portraits in colonial India and Sayajirao's keen engagement with the genre, it becomes central to this discussion; on the other hand salon sculpture's comparatively lower output in colonial India, but Sayajirao's active engagement with salon sculptors, qualifies the genre as crucial to this argument. While this chapter continues to pursue the theme of the articulation of modernity through patronage of European genres, it also demonstrates a distinct indigenization of the two genres through the works of portraitists Tiroovengada Naidu and Raja Ravi Varma and sculptors Augusto Felici and Fanindranath Bose. As much as this chapter profiles Sayajirao as a well-groomed collector who

was informed by various contexts of art production and display, it also contends that Sayajirao and his inner coterie created a context for the reconfiguration of genres and their taste-arbitration through private collecting and loans to exhibitions. The chapter undertakes an analysis of archival data on individual commissions, acquisition histories and contracts with artists, to unravel ideas which guided Sayajirao and his resource persons' experiments.

Chapter 3 discusses Sayajirao and his officials' role in the modernization and promotion of indigenous crafts through the domains of private collecting and institutional projects. Ivory craftsman Neelakandan Asari and a Trichinopoly mica painter's presence at the palace, their experimental output and representation at exhibitions testify modernization in the context of private collecting; while an institutional programme to elevate the standards of local pottery, demonstrate modernization in the context of traditional crafts. Like the reinscription of European high arts demonstrated in Chapter 2, this chapter examines the localization of European industrial school pedagogy through Baroda's polytechnic, Kalābhavan. Simultaneously, the chapter argues for a modernization of the local crafts through their relocation in renewed contexts of production such as the polytechnic and its associated workshops, the Nazarpaga and State Furniture Works. The theme of modernization through the espousal of European practices and its subsequent indigenization continues to anchor the study. In the context of the advancement of Indian crafts internationally, Sayajirao and his resource personnel's commitment to the promotion of both Indian and local design is discussed in the context of private commissions to luxury goods' firms and special commissions for exhibition displays. Private commissions cover the range of objects such as a gem-studded walking stick, a *howdāh* and a tea service for the Prince of Wales. Commissions for exhibition loans constitute a Baroda Screen and Baroda Balcony. Through case-studies located in the domains of royal collecting,

institutional projects, commercial firms and exhibition displays, this chapter demonstrates the formulation and qualification of a set of modernized Baroda crafts.

Chapter 4 concerns itself with the integration of both high art and craft genres from the domains of Sayajirao's private collecting, institutional projects and Baroda's traditional industry in a composite Baroda category which was displayed at exhibitions. To examine the evolution of this Baroda category, the chapter analyses Sayajirao and the Baroda State's loans inventories for exhibitions. Sayajirao and his administrative staff's exercises in the survey, identification and promotion of local craft genres is learnt through inventories dated as early as 1877. Furthermore, inventories and correspondence dedicated to the 1886 Colonial and Indian Exhibition, the 1893 Chicago Exposition and the 1902 Ahmedabad Industrial Exhibition are examined. The increase in local surveys and the expansion of the Baroda category is demonstrated through the increasing numbers of genres in these inventories; moreover, the Baroda administration's sharing of information on artists, craftsmen and artistic styles for exhibition catalogues is also learnt from the correspondence. The chapter returns to Sayajirao's fashioning of a national art as it reveals how this local Baroda category, which also finds representation at the Baroda Museum, is validated for comprising a national high art and a national craft collection.

CHAPTER 1

MODERNIZATION OF PRIVATE CONSUMPTION AND STATE ADMINISTRATION: SAYAJIRAO'S IMAGINATION OF AN INDIGENOUS MODERNITY

1.1. Introduction and Methodology

This chapter is a condensed yet comprehensive biography of Sayajirao. It highlights those aspects of his life and administration which have a direct or indirect bearing on his role as a collector and patron of the arts. I pay particular attention towards charting European influences on Sayajirao's ideas, tastes and policies. I also point the reader to trajectories which hint at the creation of projects in the local or national interest, as part of Sayajirao's reform and modernization plan as head of Baroda State. It may be noted here that the central concern of this thesis is to locate Sayajirao, as a collector and patron of the arts, in a crucible of European practices and distinctly indigenous responses to them. I pause to clarify and qualify the aforementioned ideas and terms. These concepts of the "European" and "indigenous" may also be loosely understood as "modern" and "traditional" respectively, for the purpose of this thesis. These ideas of the "European-modern" and "indigenous-traditional" may be expanded to accommodate the ideas of "mechanized-scientific" in the former, and "handiwork-nationalist" in the latter. The "European-modern" was characterized by scientific know-how or was machine-produced; the "indigenous-traditional" was mostly a product of handiwork and hence seen as being traditional and national. To unpack this further, through distinct examples of artistic genres collected and represented at global exhibitions by collector-lenders such as Sayajirao, this thesis demonstrates how, otherwise perceived to be incompatible, "European-modern" genres as well

as “indigenous-traditional” genres, reconfigure in a reformist, “indigenous modernity” which undergirds India’s new national art. This sets the premise to argue that in attempting an adaptation of the European-modern with the indigenous-traditional Sayajirao emerges as an “exemplar in the paradigm of international collecting”. An analysis of his biography and the history of the state allow one to revisit the beginnings of the conception of an indigenous modernity. I also clarify here that the indigenous and modern were not as dichotomous as presented in colonial writings; the situation was certainly more subtly textured as will be revealed in Sayajirao’s own negotiation of the two ideas and practices.

Having proposed this premise, the chapter undertakes the task to profile Sayajirao and Baroda. Within this biographical sketch, the chapter unravels micro-level themes such as Sayajirao’s education, which highlights those episodes and protagonists which play a crucial part in founding and shaping Baroda State and grooming Sayajirao, namely: T. Madhavarao and F.A.H. Elliot. These officials become key resource persons in Sayajirao’s collecting practice as the latter chapters will unravel. Secondly, the chapter dedicates considerable space to comprehend Baroda State’s premier position in princely India, politically, as well as in terms of its core collection of jewels and riches, which has a direct bearing on grooming Sayajirao’s collecting and institutional projects. Third, Sayajirao and his new residential palace, Lakshmilās, are located in the wider milieu of reorientation of princely Indian lifestyles, characterized by a preference for westernization, which, generally doubles for modernization and progress. These modern ideas from the private chambers of the Lakshmilās are extended to the next section to examine Baroda State’s modernization project initiated by Dewan Regent T. Madhavarao and continued by Sayajirao. Finally, the seemingly naive dichotomies of the “European-modern” and “indigenous-traditional” are tied together in an analytical fashion to

qualify Sayajirao's idea of nationalism; i.e., one sees how the European-modern and indigenous-traditional do not merely "cohabit"; instead the European-modern "adapts" to the indigenous to reconfigure as a new "hybrid" or localized expression. In the process the European-modern becomes indigenized within the colonial space. Sayajirao's genre of nationalism proposes a holistic plan to retain the merits of the indigenous systems of education, manufacture, infrastructure and finance and modernize them where necessary. Modernization here refers to the idea of adapting Euro-American institutions and systems chiefly associated with industrialization and education, to indigenous practices, so as to make the latter globally competent and situate them in the (global/universal) telos of modernity, where national progress is measured in terms of "western scientific and industrial progress". This creates an "indigenous modernity" which is at once local and also favourable in the global context.

This chapter makes use of Sayajirao's numerous biographies, speeches and addresses alongside annual administration reports of the Baroda State, also published by Sayajirao's Government, and archival data to construct the aforementioned micro and macro-level themes. The interpretation of these sources is guided by Julie Codell's examination of Sayajirao's biographies wherein she contends that despite Sayajirao's self-fashioned projections of himself, which vacillated between the moderate Anglicised enlightened reformer, moderate or radical Indian nationalist, exotic raja, and collaborator or dissenter of British rule, to suit diverse audiences, the central fact remains that he supported the making of a comprehensive national project and relied on both Euro-American and indigenous institutions, ideas and practices for the same.¹ In short, these multiple personae, while paying lip-service to the British masters and

¹Julie F. Codell, Dianne Sachko Macleod. (1998). Introduction: Orientalism Transposed: The 'Easternization' of Britain and Interventions to Colonial Discourse; Julie F. Codell. (1998). Resistance and Performance: Introduction and Native Informant Discourse in the Biographies of Maharaja Sayaji

demonstrating a degree of integration with western culture to gain empathy from British audiences, served national agendas.² Drawing on Codell's framework, I first profile Sayajirao as a minor prince of a native princely state whose grooming avails of a mixed indigenous and colonial-English education; second, he is profiled as an inheritor or Raja of an exotic court and collection, which is juxtaposed with his next profile as an Anglicized private royal consumer; fourth, he is positioned as a modern reformer and statesman, and lastly as an ideologue of reformist nationalism. Within these various roles and their expanded discussion, I also inaugurate theoretical paradigms which not only help to anchor these discussions but also undergird the remainder arguments in the dissertation. Firstly, Sayajirao as an Anglicized consumer is situated in Maurizio Peleggi's framework which comprehends "western" modes of consumption as an expression of modernization and locates Sayajirao as part of a growing fraternity of modernized, cosmopolitan and transnational elite worldwide.³ Secondly, Sayajirao as a modernized, enlightened reformer is understood through Partha Chatterjee and Gyan Prakash's ideas of the elite nationalist's acceptance of colonial or euro-American institutions as markers of science and modernity, which could effectively serve local and national agendas through indigenization.⁴

1.2.The Backdrop: Baroda, Sayajirao and his Inner Coterie

This section recapitulates the political background of the Gaekwad dynasty and its eventual consolidation of power, the emergence of what becomes Baroda State, the adoption of the heir apparent to the throne and the main protagonist of this thesis, i.e., Sayajirao Gaekwad III

Rao III (1863-1939). In Julie F. Codell and Dianne Sachko Macleod (Eds.). *Orientalism Transposed: The Impact of the Colonies on British Culture* (pp.1-10), (pp.13-45), pp. 6, 14, 17, 21, 25, 29.

² Codell and Macleod (1998), pp. 5-6

³ Maurizio Peleggi. (2002). *Lords of Things: the Fashioning of the Siamese Monarchy's Modern Image*. Honolulu, Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press, pp. 13, 21, 24, 34.

⁴ Partha Chatterjee. (1986). *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World: A Derivative Discourse*. London: Zed Books. Gyan Prakash. (1999). *Another Reason: Science and the Imagination of Modern India*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

and his formative years as a minor prince. The Gaekwad dynasty's accession to the throne of Baroda State may be contextualized in the larger historical trajectory of Maratha conquest in the western and northern territories of India. Shivaji, the founder of the Maratha Empire, conquered the town of Surat in present-day Gujarat State of western India in 1664. Repeated invasions marked a strong Maratha presence in these Mughal dominions wherein some Maratha chiefs forged alliances with local officers to aid them in the annexation of territory within Gujarat. Upon return to Maratha territory, these chieftains were promoted to higher ranks as Commanders-in-Chief since they also helped the Maratha kings to negotiate a right to collect levies from Gujarat. One such Commander-in-chief was Damajirao Gaekwad, who was promoted by Raja Shahu of Kolhapur.⁵ His successor, Pilajirao, established the Gaekwad line in Baroda in 1734.⁶ Baroda State emerged as a result of rival claims between the Gaekwads, Peshwas⁷ and later, the East India Company. The Gaekwad and Peshwas came to an understanding in the middle of the century when they divided the region between themselves, based on the "revenue-yielding capacity".⁸ By furthering the policy of tributary territories and maintenance of vassal kings/chiefs, the Gaekwads brought the entire Baroda State under their control in 1813. Later, the East India Company usurped the Peshwa power in the region which led to a redistribution of the provinces between the Company and the Gaekwad. Major ports and even inland cities such as Ahmedabad and Surat went to the British-ruled segments while the Gaekwads received five territorial divisions which became Baroda and remained scattered between the British-ruled territories.

⁵ Santa Kothekara. (1977). *The Gaikwads of Baroda and the East India Company: 1770-1820*. Nagpur: Nagpur University, pp. 2-3.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

⁷ The Peshwas were another Maratha dynasty with their political seat in Poona.

⁸ Dick Kooiman. (2002). *Communalism and Indian Princely States: Travancore, Baroda and Hyderabad in the 1930s*. New Delhi: Manohar, p. 37.

After a few appointments among rival Gaekwad claimants, the first significant ruler, Sayajirao II, came to the throne in 1819. He was succeeded by his son, Ganpatrao Gaekwad (1847-1856), followed by Sayajirao II's brothers, Khanderao (1856-1870) and Malharrao (1871-1875). They are significant rulers for our purposes as they collected and commissioned important pieces of jewellery and artillery which provided a nucleus of resources for Sayajirao's future collecting practice, as discussed in Section 3. Despite Khanderao's corrupt governance, he earned the rulers of his line the title of "Maharaja". During the Uprising of 1857, his continued support towards the British earned him a reward in which the administration remitted a fine imposed in 1839. In the *sanad*⁹ the title appears for the first time, "His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda".¹⁰ This episode is important to comprehend Baroda's premier position among the native princely states. This position was reinforced through Baroda's reputation for riches such as a fine collection of jewels and other objects. Next, Malharrao, who came to the throne in 1871, was finally deposed in 1875 due to incessant misrule. In the absence of a legal heir, the widow of Khanderao, Jambabai was given the right to nominate an heir to the throne. Bearing in mind legitimacy and authenticity, issues of utmost concern to the British government and princely households, Maharani Jambabai consulted the family preceptor or *upādhyāya*¹¹ and a Commission appointed by the Government of India. A crucial role was also played by Madhavarao Tanjorkar, who was now invited to govern Baroda and would go on to become the

⁹ Dick Kooiman explains that in return for the princes' loyalty to British rule, adoption *sanads* were issued by the British Crown; these *sanads* or deeds guaranteed the princes' perpetuation of rule in accordance with their laws of succession. Kooiman, 2002:15.

¹⁰ Philip. W. Sergeant. (1928). *The Ruler of Baroda: An Account of the Life and Work of the Maharaja Gaekwar*. London: John Murray, p. 11.

¹¹ The *upādhyāya* served the house of Gaekwad (Baroda), Scindia (Gwalior), Holkar (Indore) and Rana (Nepal). These royal households were connected through matrimonial ties.

famous Dewan T. Madhavarao and also support the heir apparent and future Sayajirao with his collecting practice. With a joint approval, the Maharani selected Gopalrao, a young boy from the second line of Gaekwads as heir to the throne.¹² He became Sayajirao III, the protagonist of this dissertation.

The illiterate Gopalrao was groomed to become a statesman and connoisseur of great repute. Sayajirao's education began formally in 1875, at the age of twelve. Two Indian tutors, Keshavrao Pandit and Vyankatesh Joshi, began lessons at the old Sākarwāḍā Palace.¹³ This education being viewed as incomplete, F.A.H. Elliot, a British civil servant was selected as the Prince's tutor.¹⁴ Sayajirao shared his class with his brother, cousin and few other boys, who were sons of eminent men. The comprehensive curriculum required Sayajirao to engage with languages, i.e., Hindi, Marathi, English, social sciences and elementary mathematics, in addition to a special focus on Indian history.¹⁵ There was also a special programme on instructions for a prince which dealt with aspects of administration, social welfare, public health, etc. Training in sports included indigenous games such as sword exercise as well as western sports like billiards.¹⁶ The young prince also observed fasts and ceremonies which were viewed as an integral part of his understanding of religious life and rituals.¹⁷ Interestingly Sergeant attributes the possibility of devising this curriculum to Dewan T. Madhavarao; this brings to the fore Madhavarao's close engagement in grooming Sayajirao.¹⁸

¹² Stanley P. Rice. (1931). *Life of Sayaji Rao III: Maharaja of Baroda, Volumes I & II*. London: Oxford University Press, vol I, p. 32.

¹³ Sergeant. (1928), p. 26.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

Around 1880, Elliot was tasked with expediting the coaching programme, bearing in view the termination of Sayajirao's minority by 1881. Interestingly, this last segment of lessons in public administration was based on T. Madhavarao's memorandum which consisted principles on which Sayajirao should govern the state.¹⁹ This curriculum was exclusively for Sayajirao and not imparted to the other boys. This last lap of lectures engaged stalwarts from the field of public administration, revenue and law, such as Dewan T. Madhavarao, Kazi Shahabudin Sar Subha or equivalent of Revenue Commissioner of Baroda, Cursetji Rustomji, Chief Justice, J.S. Gadgil, Judge of the High Court on Hindu Law, V.J. Kirtane, Naib or Assistant Dewan on police matters, Pestonji Jehangir, Settlement Officer and Military Secretary; A.H. Tamhane lectured on accounts and C. R. Thanawalla on law.²⁰ Some of these officers marked a sustained presence in Sayajirao's administration and palace for several years. As much as they initiated Sayajirao into Baroda's administration during his minority, they also represented his ideas in later years, including those in the domain of arts and culture. For instance, Madhavarao's role in devising Sayajirao's curriculum clearly points to an imparting of Madhavarao's ideas about modernization in the sense of western-colonial institutions to Sayajirao. And one will see how Sayajirao took Madhavarao's foundational trajectory of Baroda's modernization to new heights. Likewise, Elliot's tenure as royal tutor ended in 1882. However, he assisted who was now "Maharaja" Sayajirao with various administrative tasks; one of the most important being the compilation of the first dedicated Gazetteer of Baroda in 1883.²¹ Once again, the information for this publication was provided by the same inner coterie of officers who groomed Sayajirao and

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

²¹ F.A.H. Elliot. (1883). *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Volume VII, Baroda, Under Government Orders. Bombay*. Printed at the Government Central Press.

Baroda's administrative set-up.²² With the help of these contributing officials, this publication documented the state-wide Baroda crafts for the first time and these freshly validated genres found increasing representation at colonial exhibitions as discussed in Chapter 4. From the point of view of art collecting, archival sources shed light on how Elliot and Madhavarao emerged as important resource persons for Sayajirao. In Chapters 2 and 3, we will see their invaluable role in sourcing artworks for Sayajirao's collecting practice. Especially Elliot continued to remain Sayajirao's mentor and confidante in later years as can be learnt from several letters exchanged between the two. These engagements point to a distinct network which constituted what may be referred to as Sayajirao's "inner coterie", "cabinet" or "palace staff", members of which were closely involved with grooming Sayajirao and a modern Baroda State. More importantly, they became increasingly entrenched in Sayajirao's private collecting practice, institutional projects and exhibition loans as resource personnel, advisors and managers. The shared position of several officials between the royal palace and state administration also facilitated their agency effectively across private and institutional projects. It is important to take note of the fact that while Sayajirao's voice does not come across directly in some art commissions and projects, his office, i.e., the Huzūr Office was always involved in these communications. Sayajirao's decision was mandatory for the resolution of all issues referred to the Huzūr Office. I will also qualify why I use the phrase "Sayajirao and his resource persons", for, in some cases, decisions were made by the Dewan's office or Khāngi (Household) Department, while at other times, the Dewan was signing off on behalf of the Huzūr office, but not without the Huzūr's consent. For, as Philip Sergeant explains, the Huzūr Orders or Royal Orders (49,472 in all) "to embody an instructive diary of His Highness' opinions during the period of his personal administration; for it has been his practice, in giving the orders, to point out the general principles on which he acts, to be

²² *Ibid.*, prefatory page.

circulated afterwards for the guidance of his affairs.” This means that in addition to a specific corpus of instructions and opinions, the orders explain a post-instruction comment on why these opinions-instructions were issued and to position these instructions as a manual for other officials.²³

Thus, without the well-rounded mentoring by the likes of Elliot, Sayajirao would have been unable to conceive a modernization plan which was viable for the state. More importantly, his ideas associated with nation-building may not have gained the comprehensive character they eventually did; i.e., they may not have gained from the best of both systems, European and indigenous. We will see how the context of Sayajirao’s education positioned him to field Euro-modern systems in a local Baroda framework; this was crucial to the shaping of both, the modernization plan and his idea of nationalism within which he situated his private collecting practice to fashion India’s new national art. While Sayajirao may have been groomed appropriately to become a connoisseur of great repute, his collecting practice clearly required means and resources at its disposal. Baroda’s premier position in the native political hierarchy has been hinted at previously. Additional aspects contributed to its profile as a premier state, one being its core collection of world-renowned jewels, artillery and ceremonial paraphernalia. I turn to examine this core collection which Sayajirao inherited.

1.3.Baroda’s Exotic Treasures: Nucleus of Sayajirao’s Private Collecting Practice

It would be appropriate to introduce Sayajirao and Baroda State with a description provided by Edward Clair Weeden. “...The Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda, G.C.S.I., one of the three Premier Princes of India, with a salute of twenty-one guns, the ruler of two millions of men, reputed to possess the finest collection of jewels in the world and to have a fabulous revenue at

²³ Sergeant. (1928), p. 58.

his disposal”.²⁴ Weeden’s introduction to Sayajirao highlights his eminence among princes and maharajas and the premier position of Baroda State in terms of its wealth. It profiles Sayajirao in Codell’s category of the “exotic Raja”; and indeed these items from Baroda’s collection were sought out in original, miniature or photographic form for colonial exhibitions to complete the oriental, exotic segments of display, which in turn completed the picture of the empire.

To re-assert Sayajirao and Baroda’s rank among the native states I employ Maud Diver’s explanation here. Baroda was among the leading three princely states and their leaders enjoyed the title of “Maharaja”, as opposed to chiefs of smaller kingdoms and principalities who enjoyed such titles as “Nawabs”, “Raja”, etc.²⁵ Furthermore, Diver clarifies that there were two ceremonial aspects which decided the rank of the Indian princes. “(First was) the public indication of his precedence and prestige by the exact position of his seat at Imperial Durbārs; (second was) the number of guns that make up his royal salute. Out of six hundred chiefs, only seventy-three are entitled to that coveted mark of royalty: only five of them being accorded the maximum of twenty-one gun. These are known as the twenty-one-gun Princes: Hyderabad, Mysore, Kashmir, Gwalior, Baroda”.²⁶ Additionally we can take note of how Baroda was a prestigious stopover for Viceroys and the British royalty. This gives us an idea of the significance of the state. Next, the various components of the legacy of treasures which were typically identified with Baroda merit discussion.

²⁴ Edward Clair Weeden. (1911). *A Year with the Gaekwar of Baroda*. London: Hutchinson & Co, p. I.

²⁵ Maud Diver. (1943). *Royal India: A Descriptive and Historical Study of India’s Fifteen Principal States and their Rulers*. London: Hodder & Stoughton, p. 2.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

1.3.1. Jewels

Whenever a new royal residential building was completed, the Baroda jewels moved to it. According to Sergeant's record, the jewel chamber of the Gaekwad household was located on the second level of the old Sākarwādā Palace.²⁷ At the time that Weeden wrote in 1911, the crown jewels were stored in the Nazarbāg Palace, behind the old Sākarwādā Palace.²⁸ Some outstanding pieces made up this famous collection of jewels. The seven-stringed Pearl Necklace was an important piece in the collection, and at the time that Weeden wrote in 1911, it was valued at fifty lacs.²⁹ The Diamond Necklace was another significant piece valued at thirty-five lacs. It included the famed ninth largest diamond of the world called the Star of the South, a black pearl and diamond aigrettes.³⁰ It is important to recall that Khanderao purchased this 125-carat diamond, "Star of the South" for 80,000 British pounds, after it was discovered in Brazil.³¹ This necklace was worn by Sayajirao at the Durbār of 1903.³² Sergeant also draws our attention to a collection of emeralds and a belt or stomacher of graduated pearls as important pieces.³³ The Prince of Wales during his visit of 1875 saw the Crown Jewels at the Motibāg.³⁴ Sayajirao showed the jewels personally to Viceroy Lord Dufferin during his visit of 1885. The Prince of Wales on his visit to Baroda in 1921 was taken to see the Crown Jewels at the Nazarbāg Palace.³⁵ C. Raja Raja Varma, Ravi Varma's brother records viewing these jewels at the

²⁷ Sergeant. (1928), p. 27.

²⁸ Weeden. (1911), p. 50.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 311. Diver. (1943), p. 130.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 311. Diver. (1943), p. 130.

³¹ Sergeant. (1928), p. 9.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 112.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 162.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 162.

Nazarbāg Palace in 1895.³⁶ I recount these visits to underline how the Baroda royals saw this core collection as emblematic of the family and state's wealth and power; hence its display for guests had become a regular practice. It is also interesting to learn how the image of this collection grew in the public perception with the guests' documentation of their viewing sessions.

1.3.2. Paraphernalia for Ceremonial Pageants

The second segment of the core collection, i.e., the paraphernalia for ceremonial pageants, also made an indelible mark on public perception due to the precious materials used in their making. These items became important loans from Baroda to colonial exhibitions. Weeden saw this collection about five hundred yards from the Lakshmilās Palace, in a compound which housed the animals and trappings typically displayed during state pageants.³⁷ For our understanding, I divide this segment into three sections. The first section was seen in the first court which housed the famous gold and silver carriages which have solid gold and silver wheels. The bullock carts were also stationed here. (Illustrations 2, 3). "The prettiest of all are the bullock cart, with the cloth of gold with which the bullocks are covered from head to foot and the scores of gold and silver bells with which they are decked. Behind each carriage is a large glass case, in which all these beautiful things are displayed".³⁸ In addition to these things, coach houses, motor-cars, carriages for state officials and horses were all parked in these courts.

The second section of this segment of pageantry regalia consists of the elephant *howdāh* (seat) and other elephant accessories stored near the carriages and bullocks (illustrations 4, 5).

³⁶ C. Raja Raja Varma. (1896). *A Narrative of the Tour in Upper India of His Highness Prince Martanda Varma of Travancore*. Bombay: Printed at The Education Societies Steam Press, pp. 31, 32.

³⁷ Weeden. (1911), p. 34.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

This segment enjoyed documentation by various authors due to its impressive scale. Maud Diver records this segment of the collection in the following words, “Now he rode aloft on his elephant in his golden state *howḍāh*, the size of a small motor car, that took twenty-four men to lift it; yet the great beast, already heavy laden, bore it as though it were made of basket-work”.³⁹ The state elephant’s accessories and paraphernalia were all cast in gold. “...his neck hung with a massive chain of gold *mohurs*; tusks cased in gold, the huge flapping ears weighed down with earrings the size of breastplates; anklets hung with golden bells: the saddle cloth of gold hanging almost to the ground: the worth of him as he stood amounting to about pound 200,000”.⁴⁰

The third section of this segment is the artillery. According to Weeden, across the road from Nazarbāg Palace, in a mud building, the famous guns, two gold and two silver ones are housed. The guns are 280 lbs each; the carriages, ramrods and other accompanying instruments and apparatuses are also cast in the same precious metals.⁴¹ C. Raja Raja Varma notes how this impressive gold and silver artillery was drawn by bullocks with resplendent trappings.⁴² Khanderao commissioned the casting of two silver guns.⁴³ To surpass his brother’s commission of silver guns, Malharrao commissioned two gold ones. (Illustration 6) They were originally cast to fire the salute for the Prince of Wales, i.e., the future King Edward VII, tour to Baroda in 1875.⁴⁴ Instead, they were displayed in Bombay along with the Baroda State’s army during the Prince’s visit.⁴⁵ The Prince of Wales is recorded to have “expressed his admiration for the gold and silver guns”. Sergeant records that in later years, Sayajirao melted one silver and gold gun

³⁹ Diver. (1943), p. 133.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 133.

⁴¹ Weeden. (1911), pp. 312-313.

⁴² Varma. (1896), p. 31.

⁴³ Sergeant. (1928), p. 9.

⁴⁴ Weeden. (1911), p. 312

⁴⁵ Sergeant. (1928), p. 29.

each to liquidate their value; this reinforces the point that these early possessions were the foundational basis for Sayajirao's later collecting practice. The remaining one silver and gold guns each, continued to be displayed at the state pageants.⁴⁶ One learns from Weeden and Varma's notes that these guns are regarded as sacred and hence incense, flowers and garlands are offered daily.⁴⁷ Much like the jewels, the significance of these ceremonial pieces as indicative of power and riches can be learnt from commissions made to itinerant artists: Marianne North, a natural history painter was commissioned to document the Baroda gold and silver guns, bullocks, saddlery, state elephants with their ornaments and the Maharani's gold carriage⁴⁸ (illustration 7). The Baroda Court also invited Monsieur Druet to paint pageants and cavalry soldiers.⁴⁹

1.3.3. Pearl Carpet

The third segment in the core collection was a stand-alone piece which continues to make news even today. The famous Baroda Carpet or Pearl Carpet was commissioned by Khanderao as a present for the Prophet's tomb in Mecca.⁵⁰ It was studded with rubies, emeralds, diamonds and turquoise⁵¹ (illustration 8). Khanderao's successors did not donate this carpet to Mecca and instead kept it in the royal collection. It was acquired by other collectors in later years and continues to change hands through direct purchase or auction.

In closing, it is appropriate to draw our attention to two points. Firstly, these treasures inherited by Sayajirao came to be associated with Baroda over the years and thereby lent the

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

⁴⁷ Weeden. (1911), pp. 312-313. Varma. (1896), p. 31.

⁴⁸ Marianne North. (2010. First published in 1892). *Recollections of a Happy Life: Being the Autobiography of Marianne North*, Volume 2. Digital resource: Forgotten Books, p. 76.

⁴⁹ Gujarat State Archives (GSA), Southern Circle, Vadodara (SCV), Huzūr Political Office (HPO): Section 16, Daftar 23, File 6: *Khāṅgi Department: Royal Family: Photographers, Artists*: Letter 532, From: P.I. Cox, 22 August 1896, To: (probably) Dewan Shrinivasa Raghavaiyengar; Memo signed by Dewan Shrinivasa Raghavaiyengar, 13 April 1897.

⁵⁰ Sergeant. (1928), p. 10.

⁵¹ Diver. (1943), p. 130.

state and its royal household a reputation of owning a rich and fine collection. This reputation obviously identified Sayajirao as a “collector”. Secondly, this inherited collection bore immense significance as a foundational basis to reinvigorate Sayajirao’s collecting practice as can be learnt from the fact that several pieces were melted down to be recast as new collectibles. Even precious stones and gems were reset in new designs. To quote Weeden once again, “We wandered for some time through the vast cellars beneath the palace, which are filled with cupboards crammed with the ancient gold and silver vessels and ornaments belonging to former maharajas. They form an inexhaustible supply of wealth on which the Gaekwar can draw when he is in the mood for a little more household plate. They are just popped into the melting-pot and sent to London, from which they return in a few months in the form of a new dinner-service, dressing case, or whatever it may be”.⁵² Weeden’s record does not disparage Sayajirao’s practice, nor does he perceive Sayajirao as fickle. The overall tone of his biography proves that Weeden was awed by the Gaekwad family’s wealth and lifestyle, themes which enjoy an overarching presence in his writing. Since there is not much comparative data in the Indian tradition of collecting, it is hard to say if this was a particularly Indian practice wherein a collector regards segments of his collection as expendable in order to make new things. As examined in the literature survey, the western tradition of collecting most often saw collectibles as recreating personal spatial and temporal experiences; collectibles also fulfilled personal desires and longings.⁵³ Hence, the idea of expendable collectibles remains rare. This leads us to the further grooming of Sayajirao as a collector-patron who successfully built on his inherited collection, albeit with a renewed vision, to ensure that his personal collecting practice could lend

⁵² Weeden. (1911), p. 312.

⁵³ Susan Stewart. (2003). *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection*. Durham and London: Duke University Press, p. xii. Jean Baudrillard. (1994). *The System of Collecting*. In John Elsner and Roger Cardinal (Eds.). *The Cultures of Collecting* (pp. 7-24), London: Reaktion Books, pp. 11, 16, 24.

ideas to the larger project of modernization and the fashioning of India's national art. While large parts of this core collection remained in the Lakshmivilās and its associated spaces, some parts of the collection served as finance or design resources for the production of new items. The core collection was thus pegged in the facilitation of new commissions especially in the context of re-orientation of lifestyle and consumption practices, which I explore next.

1.4. Westernization of Private Consumption: Sayajirao as a Modern Elite

A macro-level study of a reorientation towards English-Indian hybrid lifestyles in elite princely India and a further exploration of trends in hybridity, chiefly the patronage of hybrid residential spaces, lend itself to explore micro-level themes such as Lakshmivilās' architecture, and a markedly westernized décor and the lifestyle which it supported for Sayajirao. This provides an important context to understand the support for hybrid or reconfigured art and craft genres in Sayajirao's private collecting practice. To this end, the section inaugurates a theoretical idea by Maurizio Peleggi, which, serves as a framework to comprehend Sayajirao's "English-Indian" modes of consumption; this idea helps one to locate Sayajirao as part of a growing fraternity of modernized, cosmopolitan and transnational elite worldwide.⁵⁴

Among the Indian royalty, one can view the assimilation of European practices and things in two distinct phases; i.e., pre-1850 and post-1850. For our purposes, the post-1850s phase is more relevant for reasons of its intensity of assimilation of English ways and also since Sayajirao debuted in this phase as minor prince and Maharaja. However, for the sake of drawing on a historical background and establishing continuity to this trend of Europeanization, it is crucial to examine the pre-1850s foundational phase briefly. The first phase of assimilation pre-1850 was confined to architecture, furniture and European objects. It did not extend to areas of

⁵⁴ Peleggi. (2002), pp. 13, 34.

education, language, dress and food. Two outstanding examples of Indian royalty in the early period of British rule, who represent Indian patronage of English goods, are the Nawabs of Arcot and Oudh. The Nawab of Arcot employed a British advisor from 1770-1774 and furnished his palace with European furniture and accessories. A similar affinity for English things resonated in the architectural patronage by Saadat Ali of Oudh in 1803. He built several palaces and villas in different architectural designs ranging from the classical to the English house style and castle designs to country villas. The interiors were European so as to be able to entertain British visitors. The penchant for European furniture and English commodities had gained root. This would peak out in the phase post-1850s.

From the 1850s, we see a more well-rounded assimilation of various aspects of the English lifestyle, which included food, clothes and language in addition to house and décor items. Particularly, among the Indian royalty, this assimilation was due to hegemonic political control by the Company and closer interaction between the Indian royalty and British officials. In the political sphere, the checking of the Maratha and Sikh powers by 1818 and 1849, respectively, delivered the control of the subcontinent into British hands. The maharajas were subjugated and ceased to operate as sovereign powers; they were debarred from waging wars with other local rulers. With an overall reduced political and economic role, the Indian royalty did not require fortified palace mansions and instead, the new residential projects were geared towards accommodating recreational activities and English-style entertainment.⁵⁵ Now, with British rule established as the overwhelmingly dominant temporal regime, the maharajas entertained British officials frequently and familiarized themselves with English manners and customs. Moreover, their own travels to Europe groomed their tastes for European lifestyle-

⁵⁵ G.H.R. Tillotson. (1989). *The Tradition of Indian Architecture: Continuity, Controversy and Change since 1850*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, pp. 26-27.

associated things and practices. In addition to the above factors which Giles Tillotson regards as “passive westernization’, the Indian princes also responded to a “deliberate policy of active westernization on the part of the British Government”: this chiefly consisted of introducing European literature and science through education.⁵⁶ Another crucial cause for Europeanization may be seen in the hierarchy among princely states with regards to varying degrees of political power in terms of legislative and administrative independence. This hierarchy was reinforced through alternative means of expression such as architectural projects and resources such as the Baroda jewels which we examined earlier. One sees some very illustrative examples of this trend as one learns more about patronage of new palace architecture, interior decors, furnishings and accessories which especially gained momentum post-1850s.

Post-1850s, the sheer volume of refurbishment and building projects patronised by Indian royalty gestures towards the unprecedented momentum with which Indian elite assimilated English ways of living. This second phase of assimilation was marked by a frenzied patronage of distinct English-Indian hybrid architectural traditions, popularly known as the Indo-Saracenic. Tillotson explains this as the enthusiasm for a new imperial architecture in India, which engaged European architects who adapted Indian styles to British buildings. This genre aspired to an uneasy combination of twin aims: first, a “revival” of indigenous traditions, and second, maintenance of British presence and its civilizing-westernizing mission in the colony.⁵⁷ On the part of the patrons, Tillotson also reads an element of social or political prestige which ensued from this cultural alignment with the British, chiefly because standards of civilization were now “western”.⁵⁸ This concurs with Peleggi’s idea that these European-style buildings became

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 29-33.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 40-41.

expressions of prestige consumption to belong to the registers of transnational elite.⁵⁹ I contend, as does Tillotson, that as European styles now merged with vernacular-Indic architectural patterns, Indian princes could conform to a dual identity; that of the “modernized elite” as well as the “Indian prince” who displayed his native, indigenous identity through these architectural representations. In terms of architectural appreciation, Tillotson questions the real degree to which these two canons, the western and indigenous, were integrated and resolved in the final design. The reason why I dwell on this discussion is to eventually bring to the fore the full and final integration of indigenous and western ideas in Sayajirao’s project of nationalism, whose visual expression, albeit fractionally, began with the Lakshmivilās Palace.

The Lakshmivilās Palace, a significant example of this new paradigm of English-Indian residential spaces and emerging artistic tastes, was begun in 1878 by Charles Mant and completed by Robert Chisholm in 1890. It was commissioned by Sayajirao and built at a cost of 180,000 British pounds. The palace is a majestic English-style building with Indian features such as domes, deeply curved eaves, balconies, arches, pierced screens and mouldings (illustrations 9, 10). In Chisholm’s own assessment, Tillotson reads a superficial grafting of Indian details and forms on the English country house-like exterior. I agree with Tillotson as this grafting is obvious even to the untrained eye. He contends that “the building presents a lexicon of Indian architecture, but without the grammar”, for, it does not adhere to traditional planning principles and hence is hardly a revival; “the result is not a fusion but a medley, not a compound but a mixture”.⁶⁰ While it may be argued that in terms of conceptual and architectural merit, this project, like several others of its paradigm, may not have achieved much in terms of real adaptation and integration, and merely stopped at being a superficial co-habitation of the

⁵⁹ Peleggi. (2002), pp. 21, 24.

⁶⁰ Tillotson. (1989), pp. 51, 54.

European and Indic, the Lakshmivilās marks the starting point of grooming definite ideas which eventually undergirded the formulation of a new national art. Central to these ideas was the adaptation of European form, practices and systems to indigenous modes, to arrive at new localized reconfigurations. Again, while the Lakshmivilās may not have displayed this character of adaptation fully, it marks the beginnings of ideological signposting of art and craft projects, most of which found support at this very site of domestic consumption. With this discussion I introduce another theoretical idea briefly, that by W. Durost: if material things or objects gain value from their association with ideas or other objects, as opposed to their inherent or independent value, then they become the subject of a collection; to understand this differently, a set or series of objects, when associated with ideas and with each other, qualify the whole as a collection.⁶¹ This theoretical criterion to qualify collecting, originally conceived by Durost and also employed by Susan Pearce⁶², becomes a leitmotif in my dissertation. For, one of the aims of this study is to unravel common ideas underlying commissions, acquisitions and the production of artworks, which linked them in a series or a set in Sayajirao's private and institutional domains. The other aim is to demonstrate how these ideas and their material representations dovetailed into a cumulative national project. Hence, the idea underlying the conception and design of the Lakshmivilās becomes important to see how it guides other art activities within its private chambers.

The hybrid exterior of the Lakshmivilās with its underlying "idea" laid a definite blueprint for the interior chambers and the lifestyle which it supported. It included dining rooms for its European guests, billiard rooms, multiple kitchens and guest apartments unlike the old Nazarbāg Palace suited only to a traditional Indian lifestyle. The choice of materials used was

⁶¹ W. Durost. (1932). *Children's Collecting Activity Related to Social Factors*. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teacher's College, Columbia University, p. 10.

⁶²Susan Pearce. (1994). *The Urge to Collect* (pp. 157-159), p.157.

also hybrid; the main construction of the Lakshmivilās used indigenous brick and red sandstone, blue trapstone from Pune and marble from Rajasthan. The interiors saw Venetian mosaic-covered flooring for the durbār hall, English stained glass windows, old masters displayed as wall decor, period furniture and Venetian chandelier. The presence of English-style furnishings and accessories such as dining and crockery sets to practise English table-manners were also seen. A closer examination of the palace and its décor helps one to nuance this re-orientation towards English-Indian lifestyles in the context of the residential spaces and associated patterns of consumption. For this I rely on Weeden’s vivid accounts of the interior and private chambers of the palace. Clair spent twelve months from October 1910 as state guest of Baroda. He lived in the guest suite of the Lakshmivilās Palace and was entertained by Sayajirao and his family closely.⁶³ He was part of the royal entourage and saw the royal lifestyle closely. Hence Clair’s account is a detailed picture of the palace in general, the royal family’s private chambers and their lifestyle. He also discusses architecture, décor and the palace collections at length.

First, I recapitulate Weeden’s description which is focused purely on décor aspects. With reference to the Maharani’s drawing room, Weeden records, “The chairs, the tables, the china behind the glass doors of the cupboards, the pictures, the statuettes and vase, the whole decoration of this delightful room was so absolutely in harmony with the Maharani herself that one forgot for the moment to wonder at the perfect taste which had laid all Europe and the artistic knowledge of a hundred friends under contribution to create these pleasing surroundings in the heart of an Eastern principality”.⁶⁴ This clearly underlines Europeanization of the decor of royal residential spaces.

⁶³ Weeden. (1911), p. 10.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p, 16.

Secondly, having noted this change in the physical settings of the royal family's residence, I use Weeden's account to comprehend the change in living habits. Weeden attests the breakfast and dinners served at the palace as comparable to meals served in a first-class restaurant in London, such as Prince's or the Carlton. He records how they are prepared by a French cook and supervised by an English *maitre d'hotel*.⁶⁵ He also records the presence of two menus as the ladies prefer to have Indian dishes.⁶⁶ It is important to clarify that the two menus were not planned due to Weeden's presence at the table; instead, they were a norm for the royal family. Also with regards to the table arrangements, one sees a blend of European items with Indian traditional supplies. The linen woven in Belfast sits comfortably with silver and gold plates and dishes.⁶⁷ This brings to the fore a conspicuous Anglicization of lifestyle, localization of European objects and their modes of consumption.

Thirdly, Weeden's description of the banqueting hall gives us a sense of how Europeanised spaces adapted to prevalent rituals and social mores which remained firmly entrenched in indigenous customs.

It (banqueting hall) is a fine, well-proportioned room, brilliantly lit by crystal chandeliers and with a number of old paintings by famous native artists hanging on the walls, illustrating stories from Hindu mythology. The floor had been specially decorated with a long oblong pattern made with coloured sands and gold and silver dust, and behind this large tray of solid silver were placed, one for each of the fifty guests. Silver bowls filled with flowers were placed between each tray, and sticks of burning incense smoked in slender silver holders. Behind the trays were small squares of inlaid wood, on which we took our seats like so many tailors. His Highness and Shivajirao sat at the top of the room and dined off trays of gold, with gold flagons, cup and water bowls. At the other end of the room sat the Brahmins, still in their war-paint, so placed that their own servants

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 58.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p.30.

could cook their own food on the verandah outside and bring it to them without passing any low-caste person such as myself.⁶⁸

This third account points to the indigenization of what could serve as distinctly European spaces within the Lakshmilās.

Added to this are excerpts from Sayajirao's daily routine which also point to distinct English-Indian routines: for instance, his morning prayers were followed by a European-style breakfast and engagement with western literature such as Gibbon;⁶⁹ he pursued riding, hunting, cricket and billiards in his leisure time and demonstrated equal ease in a Euro-Indian combination in dressing. Before we conclude this section and open the next, we find ourselves looking at Sayajirao in two distinct arenas; the "indigenous-national" as well as the "European-global"; To explain Sayajirao's deft maneuvering across these two arenas, I employ Peleggi's framework which investigates the Siamese monarchy's transition in the realm of modernity as projected in its westernized modes of prestige consumption in the domains of architecture, visual art and social practices. Peleggi's book argues that the refashioning of the public image of the royalty (1850-1920) was a statement to belong to the growing fraternity of transnational, modernized elite worldwide, as well as to claim national leadership as a civilized class.⁷⁰ Since Sayajirao was already head of a native state, this dissertation is less concerned with the idea of claiming political leadership; instead, it is concerned more with unraveling the links between westernized modes of consumption and the idea of positioning one's self as a part of the global cosmopolitan and elite fraternity. Sayajirao sought identification from a larger elite pool of members worldwide through membership to it, by adoption of the same set of consumer habits,

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 70.

⁶⁹ Rice. (1931), vol, 1, p.76.

⁷⁰ Peleggi. (2002), pp. 4, 13, 34.

which as pointed out by Peleggi, united them.⁷¹ We will see how these consumer habits came to be guided by distinct ideas and resource persons and hence did not remain random or indiscriminating as in the case of Peleggi's case-study of the Thai monarchy.⁷² I interpret Peleggi's idea of adoption of westernized modes of consumption as a means to integrate with the home-grown group of "western" elites, i.e., British officials; this, in turn, became the first step towards integration with the international fraternity of elite. My interpretation links with Codell's reading of Sayajirao's projection of an Anglicised Raja to help his (international) British readers to better identify with him.⁷³

Once again, this reference point of western modes of consumption did not stop at mere emulation; on the contrary, these consumables were indigenized through their distinctly local contexts of display and usage in the palace. For instance, the banquet hall served more as a heavily indigenized space which displayed the works of native artists and could accommodate the hierarchical and ritualistic arrangement for its host, the Brahmins and other invitees such as Weeden. Thus localization began at the site of private consumption in the interior chambers of the palace, as also noted by Peleggi.⁷⁴ This idea of indigenization of Euro-modern forms constitutes the fulcrum of Chapters 2 and 3 which engage with the indigenization of western visual art genres and technical education which were commissioned and consumed at the site of the Lakshmilās Palace and through institutional projects in Baroda State, respectively. Thus while my study converges with Peleggi's in attempting to discern the localization and indigenization of these Euro-modern practices⁷⁵, it diverges from Peleggi's argument by demonstrating a distinct aim on the part of the collector, to extend these indigenization processes

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 76.

⁷³ Julie F. Codell, Dianne Sachko Macleod. (1998). Introduction, pp. 5-6.

⁷⁴ Peleggi. (2002), p. 24.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 11-13, 59-63, 66-67.

from the private chambers and lifestyle context, to formulate a “national” project. Contrarily Peleggi’s case study positions the Siamese monarchy’s adoption and adaptation of western practices and their subsequent localization, within the monarchical sphere as they do not extend to public projects, thereby being “antithetical to nation-building”.⁷⁶

To clarify this point further, I employ excerpts from Sayajirao’s speech rendered at the Ahmedabad Industrial Exhibition (1902) to demonstrate how the idea of western modes of consumption within royal residential spaces was deployed by Sayajirao in his idea to secure nation-wide elevation in the standards of living. With reference to the Paris Exposition (1900), Sayajirao remarked at the Ahmedabad Industrial Exhibition:

But beyond all this triumph of Man over Nature and her powers, one fact struck me with a curious emphasis---the enormous gulf which separates the European and the native of India in their ideas of comfort. There rose up before me the interior of a typical Indian home, and as I contrasted it with the truly surprising inventions around me, all devoted to that one object, refinement, our much-boasted simplicity seemed bare and meager beyond description. I contrasted those empty rooms---without even a chair or a table---with the luxury, the conveniences, which are the necessaries of a European cottage. My mind went back to the bazaar in my own city of Baroda, the craftsmen working at their old isolated trades with the methods which have sufficed them for centuries without a change, their low irregular houses and their dreamy life, and then contrasted it with all this keen and merciless tide which was sweeping and eddying around me, drawing its needs from a thousand machines and gathering its comforts from the four quarters of the globe. And with the contrast I had a vivid sense of the enormous gulf which we have to bridge over before India can be said to be on the same plane as the European nations.⁷⁷

It can be argued that here Sayajirao suggests a direct and personal interest in the west-east contrast and favours the western. However, definite case-studies throughout this dissertation

⁷⁶*Ibid.*, p. 165.

⁷⁷ Speech by Sayajirao Gaekwar. (1902). *The Revival of Industry in India: Delivered at the Opening of an Industrial Exhibition at Ahmedabad on the 15th of December 1902*. In Anthony X. Soares (Ed.). (1933). *Speeches and Addresses of Sayajirao III, Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda*, (pp. 37-75), London, Bombay, Calcutta, Madras: Oxford University Press, Humphrey Milford, p. 39.

will follow up on my central concern to demonstrate the adoption and localization of western practices. I return to Sayajirao's support for the furniture revolution as indicative of a new era of comfortable living as evidenced in his speech and patronage. "The appearance of our houses is being altered by the revolution which is being made in their furniture. It is slow, for there are many who deplore it and speak of it in tones of regret as a process of denationalization and a fall from simplicity to burdensome and costly luxury".⁷⁸ From this excerpt it is evident that Sayajirao regarded the features of a European home as lending comfort and refinement. He saw a mark of progress and modernization in these features and hence advocated their import to suit Indian residential spaces. Moreover, for Sayajirao, this aspiration for refinement was not confined to the elite registers of the population; he also saw it as necessary for the humble classes such as the craftsmen, to achieve a nationwide sense of progress. While I do recognize that there is no direct link between the ideas of "prestige consumption" within the Lakshmilās discussed earlier and this furniture revolution for the humble masses, my point is that Sayajirao extended several ideas, even if loosely, from his private chambers, towards national progress. The idea of re-orientation of lifestyles which began in the private chambers of the palace, albeit differently, was reinforced further through Sayajirao's travels to Europe and visits to international exhibitions, and he saw merit in its application to a national audience. His support for the (Baroda) State Furniture Works, examined in Chapter 3, will fortify this argument. Here, one sees a conflation of Sayajirao's roles as a private elite consumer and head of native state. The shared context of these two roles, lends value to the fact that unlike the Siamese monarchy, Sayajirao's private consumption practices were situated in nation-building projects through able mediation. Whereas in the case of the Thai monarchy, its mediation of western genres and practices towards

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

localization was counter to nation-building, due to its confined role within the royal palace.⁷⁹ With this example, we step out of the Lakshmivilās Palace to see the application of Sayajirao's ideas to state projects.

1.5. Patronage of Euro-Modern Scientific Institutions: Baroda as a Modern Princely State

As seen in the previous section, a new lifestyle context in the royal palace and its associated ideas of progress translated into a state-wide modernization plan. This section explores the reforms introduced in Baroda by Sayajirao in the spheres of education, the indigenous crafts economy and industry, the social, cultural and religious lives of the people and civic infrastructure. It also points to how Sayajirao's private collecting practice may be located within this modernization plan, for, as much as it benefitted from this plan, it was also pegged into it as a link to realise various independent projects and harness their collaborative strength, which in the end would fulfill the cumulative modernization plan.

1.5.1. T. Madhavarao's Foundational Contributions

Before we discuss Sayajirao's contributions to the state, it is important to step back and examine the foundational efforts which were launched by the Regent Dewan T. Madhavarao during Sayajirao's minority. At this time, Baroda was practically bankrupt, state records were ill-maintained, people suffered over-taxation, sanitation conditions were negligible and disease and epidemic were rampant. In this situation, T. Madhavarao was the popular choice to steer Baroda towards progress due to his wide-ranging experience as an educationist in Madras and as Dewan in the states of Travancore (1857-72) and Indore (1873-75), where he had effectively restructured the administrative and revenue systems. Madhavarao established a Central Government, Civil and Criminal justice were re-organised, land assessment was lowered and a

⁷⁹ Peleggi. (2002), pp. 164-165.

general cleaning up operation of the city was undertaken.⁸⁰ He also made the Public Works Department (PWD) more effective. Under its auspices, the city got a public park, the nucleus of a state library, a Vernacular Education Department, Baroda College and a Medical Department and good main streets in the city.⁸¹ Madhavarao engaged actively with craftsmen, artists, art commissions and exhibitions, themes discussed in Chapters 2, 3 and 4. Thus, Madhavarao's portrait as an administrator at Baroda Court is crucial in trying to identify his simultaneous contributions towards Sayajirao's collecting practice. For now, I engage with how Sayajirao continued to build on Madhavarao's pioneering efforts in the sphere of Baroda's modernization.

1.5.2. Sayajirao's Contributions to Administration

Upon assumption of powers as a major in 1881, Sayajirao was tasked to look into all details of administration. He began a systematic process of decentralisation and delegation. He had a cabinet of ministers and dedicated departments for various causes of statecraft. The separation of executive and judicial functions was carried out in the interest of more effective administration.⁸² Sayajirao desired to retain the village government or Panchayat system and added the elective principle in 1901. Representative institutions were also introduced in this system of local self-government in 1904. One repeatedly reads the attestations of various authors to the impeccable management of finance and resources in Baroda State. This is often attributed to the combination of neat delegation of duties to clerks and departments with an overall check and control of funds.⁸³ In this context of management of resources, it is important to state that Sayajirao overhauled the system of finance and established a State Reserve. Each department

⁸⁰ Sergeant. (1928), p. 53.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 55-56.

⁸² Govindbhai Desai. (1929). *Forty Years in Baroda: Being Reminiscences of Forty Years' Service in the Baroda State*. Baroda: Pustakalaya Sahayak Sahakari Mandal, p. 17.

⁸³ Fatesingh P. Gaekwad. (1989). *Sayaji Rao of Baroda: The Prince and the Man*. Bombay: Popular Prakashan, p. 92.

prepared its annual budget independently. A regular audit was established; the portfolios of Accountant-General and Finance Minister were now merged. Furthermore, in 1910 Sayajirao transferred the state treasury work to the then recently founded Bank of Baroda (1908); the state now maintained a minimum balance of five and a half lakh rupees in the Bank.⁸⁴ In 1909 Sayajirao actively codified rules of departmental work, especially that of the Khāṅgi or Household Department. This point is especially relevant for the thesis since the Khāṅgi Department managed a large part of Sayajirao's collecting practice. It engaged with art purchases from the market, organization of art commissions within the palace and the final logistical support for the movement and rotation of artworks. It worked closely with the Dewan and Huzūr Cutchery which gave instructions on the collection, purchase, commission and display of works.⁸⁵ This overview of administrative revamp points to an internal assessment of prevalent standards and their potential to be elevated through adaptation to fresh systems and practices. To put it differently, these administrative services actually bespeak of much time and commitment for local, grassroots' level surveys alongside overseas travel, to facilitate reforms for Baroda State.

⁸⁴ Sergeant (1928), p. 122.

⁸⁵ From available archival data I have arrived at the following points:

When Sayajirao began to actively travel to Europe, he could source artefacts and décor items from the exhibitions and open market directly, with the help of commercial agents and advisors. Officers from the Baroda Court traveled with Sayajirao and corresponded on the proposed acquisitions with the Dewan's office in Baroda. This was primarily to manage the acquisition budget and disburse payments (from the bank account in Bombay) to the concerned agents, packers, movers and artists. Receipts in archival files show that funds from the Bank of Baroda were utilised to pay packers and movers engaged for purchase and representation of artworks for exhibitions. Furthermore, as may have been the norm to forward all necessary correspondence to the Khāṅgi office, the Dewan forwards copies of letters from Europe to the Khāṅgi Karbhari, who was responsible for the final receipt of articles. The communication systems associated with collecting were impeccably managed at the Baroda Court (GSA/SCV/HPO: Section 65, Daftar 111, 112: *Exhibitions*; Section 17, Daftar 29, File 17: *Europe Trips: Purchase of Articles in Europe, (1892)*).

From 1881, when Sayajirao was formally crowned Maharaja, he familiarized himself with the local conditions in Baroda. State and district tours known as *swāris* were undertaken in the company of the dewans, ministers or Sayajirao's mentor and friend F.A.H. Elliot. As noted earlier, soon after the commencement of these *swāris*, in 1883, Elliot compiled Baroda's first ever dedicated Gazetteer. As acknowledged by Elliot, in the absence of preceding surveys and publications, the information was put together with the help of various officials.⁸⁶ I contend that the *swāris* may have played an important role in the construction of facts, including those of the local crafts and manufactures, which are relevant to this dissertation. This Gazetteer fortifies the role of the *swāris* in the modernization plan and explains how they helped Sayajirao to make a first-hand survey of the various districts and introduce necessary amenities. From the theoretical standpoint, the *swāris* may be identified as local surveys or "investigative modalities" to borrow Bernard Cohn's phrase;⁸⁷ the *swāris* inaugurate the idea of state-knowledge being produced and validated by native authorities as opposed to the colonial establishment alone, thereby amplifying Said's monolithic construct of Orientalism. This theme is examined in Chapter 4. Govindbhai Desai was appointed Chief Officer for the Huzūr District *Swāri* on two occasions, i.e., 1908 and 1927.⁸⁸ He describes Sayajirao's routine while engaged in the *swāri* as well as the objectives of these tours. Sayajirao undertook these *swāris* annually for two to four weeks; he gave an audience to eminent members of village communities, members of the district local boards and municipalities; he visited schools and offices and met with members of local institutions.⁸⁹ These surveys culminated in the provision of infrastructure for individual districts and the entire state. Perhaps as a matter of personal interest, during these *swāris*, Sayajirao

⁸⁶ Elliot. (1883), prefatory page.

⁸⁷ Bernard Cohn. (1996). *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp. 4-5.

⁸⁸ Desai (1929), p. 170.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 170-171.

devoted time to ethnological study of various provinces and tribes with detailed notes on costumes, paraphernalia and customs as discerned from his *Notes on the Famine Tour*.⁹⁰ The narrative reveal of Chapter 2 will demonstrate how these studies have a strong link with his private collecting practice which supported the creation of a national high art by Raja Ravi Varma.

These early engagements with grassroots' level surveys explain how Sayajirao assessed internal, local contexts and knew they could be elevated through large-scale modernization. This sets the stage to understand the local elite collector's ideology and plan to set in motion the project of nationalism. I quote Partha Chatterjee, "Nationalism denied the alleged inferiority of the colonized people; it also asserted that a backward nation could 'modernize' itself while retaining its cultural identity. It thus produced a discourse in which, even as it challenged the colonial claim to political domination, it also accepted the very intellectual premises of 'modernity' on which colonial domination was based".⁹¹ Gyan Prakash positions himself at a parallel baseline: he sees the colonized elite as imagining and producing the nation through institutions of colonial modernity, valued for being scientific; most importantly, this imagination of the national counts on the possibility of localizing both, colonial modernity and science.⁹² This western-colonial premise of modernity mostly forayed into Sayajirao's plans due to Madhavarao's tutelage and Sayajirao's international travels. Thus Sayajirao nurtured a strong appreciation of Euro-American institutions which he regarded as viable in the Indic context. This discussion employs Sayajirao's impressions and notes of his travels and speeches to underline examples of Euro-American systems which are used as definite reference points to recast

⁹⁰ Sayajirao Gaekwad (1898-1899). *Notes on the Famine Tour*. In Rice (1931), vol. I.

⁹¹ Chatterjee. (1986), p. 30.

⁹² Prakash. (1999), pp. 3, 6-9, 11.

indigenous institutions and practices. While, here, the ideas of modernity and progress dwell on “colonial/western/Euro-American/post-Enlightenment” practices and institutions as chief reference points, the idea to be noted is that indigenous institutions were in no way derided or rejected as being-non-progressive. Instead, Sayajirao’s plan reflects an “exchange of best practices” between the western and indigenous systems. Indigenous institutions were sought to be reconfigured so as to become competent when measured by prevalent universal standards. Under this modernization plan, four projects which have relevance to the central theme of the thesis are examined: education, indigenous crafts economy and industry, socio-cultural reforms and civic infrastructure and architecture. Sayajirao’s private collecting practice is linked with these four projects in trying to support each of them and also realize their combined strengths in the larger plan of modernization.

1.5.3. Sayajirao’s Contributions to Education

Sayajirao viewed education as a primary building block to affect industrial, social and religious reform and modernization. He is recorded to have said, “My earliest convictions, as far as I recall them were concerned with the promotion of education among my people. I had begun to realize that it was the lever—the only lever—by which our country and our people could be moved from the inertia of Ages that had weighed them down”.⁹³ The cause of female and vernacular education espoused by Madhavarao was continued with deep commitment by Sayajirao. In the decade of the 1890s— in colonial India—Baroda became a pioneer in the area of compulsory education.⁹⁴ With these achievements, along with Travancore, Baroda surpassed British India in the educational sphere. Furthermore, Sayajirao linked the context of education,

⁹³ R.N. Mehta. (1995). *Genesis and Activities of the Museum and Picture Gallery Vadodara*. Vadodara: Department of Museums, p.1.

⁹⁴ Rice.(1931), Vol. II, pp.63,225.

particularly technical education, with the promotion of the indigenous crafts economy and expansion of the local base of industries at the Ahmedabad and Calcutta Sessions of the Congress in 1902 and 1906, respectively.⁹⁵ Sayajirao had done profound research on technical education in Europe as can be learnt from his address at the Calcutta Congress Session (1906). The list of technical education centres in Berlin, Paris, Naples, London and Manchester and his vivid impressions of their strengths bear testimony to this background research.⁹⁶ He also noted the workshop-factories of craft products which were state enterprises such as the Sevres Royal Porcelain Factory and the Gobelins Tapestry Factory, and the display of their manufactures at exhibitions held in the Grand and Petit Palais of Paris.⁹⁷ In the case of the Casanova Institute at Naples, Sayajirao noted the exchange between craftsmen and apprentices, geared towards betterment of trade.⁹⁸ That he was closely connected with some of these schools is known from the fact that students from Baroda were enrolled at the Municipal School of Technology at Manchester⁹⁹ among several others such as L'Ecole Municipale D'Horlogerie, Geneve¹⁰⁰, the Northbrook Society, Imperial Institute, London¹⁰¹ etc. Through announcement of scholarships, Sayajirao sponsored local candidates at these institutions; this theme is explored in Chapter 3.

⁹⁵ Speech by Gaekwar. (1902), p. 60. Speech by Sayajirao Gaekwar. (1906). *The Needs of Indian Industries and the Lines of Advance in Education: The Inaugural Address at the Second Indian Industrial Conference, at Calcutta, in December 1906.* In Anthony X. Soares (Ed.). (1933), (pp. 115-154), p. 137.

⁹⁶ Speech by Gaekwar. (1906), pp.138-140.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p.139.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 139-140.

¹⁰⁰ GSA/SCV/HPO: Section 84, Daftar 471, File 20: *Education Department: Europe Students*: Archival pg 22; Section 84, Daftar 470, File 10: *Education Department: Europe Students*: Letter 7684, From: Manibhai Jasbhai, Huzūr Cutchery, Baroda, 23 May 1893; To: Messrs. Thomas Cook & Sons, Bombay; Copy sent to: T.K. Gajjar, Kalābhavan; Section 84, Daftar 470, File 6: *Education Department: Europe Students*: Memo of Agreement entered into between the Government of H.H. the Maharaja Gaekwad of Baroda on the one part & Madhavarao Ranchhodrai Kushaldas of the other part, 28 April 1893.

¹⁰¹ GSA/SCV/HPO: Section 84, Daftar 470, File 9: *Education Department: Europe Students*: Memo signed by T.S. Tait, Principal, Baroda College Office, 29 November 1900; Letter 4988, From: Huzūr Cutchery, Baroda, 9 January 1901, To: Secretary and Treasurer, Bank of Bombay.

Kalābhavan was instituted as the central technical education school in Baroda. It was started as a project to diffuse technical knowledge through vernacular medium; it was established on the grant-in-aid principle as a state concern. It was also established with a view to develop new remunerative industries and salvage old ones. The syllabus combined theory and practice and the subjects included artisanal genres and those which complemented industry.¹⁰² To return to other technical centres in Baroda State, district industrial schools were founded at Petlad, Patan and Amreli. They taught carpentry, smithy work, weaving, tailoring, turning, etc. Thirdly, Gaekwad's Baroda State Railway Workshop also operated as a training centre in addition to its core function of repair and maintenance. The *mistri* engaged for repairs imparted training in carpentry and smithy to students of the Agricultural Institute, Baroda.¹⁰³ Fourthly, the Chimnabai Women's Industrial Home was established for women in 1892 to train in handicrafts.¹⁰⁴

To link the founding of these technical education centres with modernization, it is important to note that these centres represent a coming together of scientific, technical, art and craft disciplines; i.e., they demonstrate a definite coming together of “handi”-crafts as well as mechanized systems of production. Through their establishment, craft reformists such as Sayajirao saw the arrival of scientific know-how and “modernization” of production techniques for the traditional crafts. His private collecting practice and his role as head of state partnered Kalābhavan, so that the latter became an active lending agency to exhibitions and gave much visibility to the new, reconfigured Baroda crafts. Sayajirao thus employed collecting (and its

¹⁰² GSA/SCV/HPO: Section: 65, Daftar 112, File 11: *Exhibitions: Exhibitions held in the Baroda State (1914-1928)*: A short account of the Kalābhavan, Baroda, published on the occasion of the visit of Lord Willingdon, Governor of Bombay, 24 February, 1917, Lakshmi Vilās Press, Baroda.

¹⁰³ M.H. Shah. (1942). *Baroda by Decades: 1871-1941*. Baroda: Published by M.H. Shah, pp.80, 143-144.

¹⁰⁴ V.K. Chavda. (1972). *Sayaji Rao Gaekwad III*. New Delhi: National Book Trust, p. 79.

attendant activity of participation at exhibitions) as a link between the two projects of technical education and the advancement of the indigenous crafts economy and industry.

1.5.4. Sayajirao's Contributions to Indigenous Crafts and Industry

The modernization of the crafts economy through their relocation in renewed contexts of production and industry became an important segment in Baroda's modernization project. Sayajirao's contributions to this project may be examined through M.H. Shah's publication.¹⁰⁵ Shah studies the augmentation of industry in Baroda State in three periods. The first being 1870-1890; the second from 1890-1905; and the third from 1905-1926.¹⁰⁶ In the first phase from 1870-1890, Sayajirao launched new industries such as those of sugar (1884) and cotton (1892). These state enterprises were sold to private sector capitalists; thus this first phase was marked by state initiative which was intended to stimulate private sector entrepreneurs. Much like education, the state's role in Baroda's industrialization process is especially significant since British India left industrialization initiatives to the private sector.¹⁰⁷

The second phase from 1890 to 1905 was dedicated to the betterment of the crafts economy, growth of small industries, flour and rice mills, cotton ginning units, etc.¹⁰⁸ Since the focus of this period was turned away from large-scale enterprise, it was dedicated to the advancement of alternative means which could aid the development of industry. This alternative mean was primarily the development of technical education as a state concern, and the readying of artisans for industry-oriented work. As an example, large numbers of Kalābhavan candidates

¹⁰⁵ Shah.(1942).

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 102-113.

¹⁰⁷ Dick Kooiman. (2002). *Communalism and Indian Princely States: Travancore, Baroda and Hyderabad in the 1930s*. New Delhi: Manohar, p.66.

¹⁰⁸ Shah.(1942), p.108.

found placement as dyers, weavers and mechanical engineers in mills and factories.¹⁰⁹ Chapter 4 will demonstrate the expansion of Baroda's inventory of locally-produced genres in this period, thereby affirming a keen focus on the growth of crafts and ancillary industries.

The third phase from 1905-1926 saw rapid expansion of industries. A dedicated Department of Commerce and Industries was founded in this period. Larger enterprises such as the Alembic Chemical Works (1907) a Furniture Factory (1909) and Shri Sayaji Iron Works (1914) were established. To reinforce the link between technical education and the promotion of industry, it is important to note that T.K. Gajjar, founder and principal of the Kalābhavan also founded the Alembic Chemical Works. As noted earlier, chemists, dyers and weavers trained at the Kalābhavan found placements at industries in Baroda and beyond: Alembic in Baroda, Tata Mills in Nagpur, in addition to establishments in Calcutta, Kanpur, Delhi, Ahmedabad, Bombay and Amritsar.¹¹⁰ Another link between technical education and commercial enterprises is underscored through the furniture factory, which was managed by former state scholars who were trained in Europe as part of Sayajirao's technical education scholarships.¹¹¹ Essentially, industry was seen to encompass mechanization, scientific systems of production and cost-effective scale and organization; in turn all these virtues were seen as producing competent products and generating revenue. Hence industry was seen as a vital project for Baroda's modernization.

This discussion on a western-style founding of technical education in Baroda and its links with industry, allows us to inaugurate the second important theoretical paradigm: one where I

¹⁰⁹ Makarand Mehta. (1992). Science Versus Technology: The Early Years of the Kalā Bhavan, Baroda, 1890-1896. *Indian Journal of History of Science*, 27(2), 145-170, pp. 163, 165.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 146,157,165.

¹¹¹ Shah. (1942), p.109.

use Gyan Prakash and Partha Chatterjee's ideas concurrently. The basic premise of this theory as pointed out by Prakash is that the espousal of science is seen as a sign of colonial modernity by the colonized elite, who eventually indigenize this modernity to suit their nationalist agendas.¹¹² Partha Chatterjee makes a similar claim that nationalist thought derives from European post-Enlightenment ideas, particularly rationality and science.¹¹³ Now, whereas Prakash sees a definite appropriation and indigenization of colonial science and modernity, Chatterjee approaches the theme differently; Chatterjee makes a distinction between the "claims" of nationalist ideology and the "programmatic forms" adopted for their realization, which are referred to as the "problematic" and the "thematic", respectively.¹¹⁴ The thematic or the colonial justificatory structure is employed to examine how it either shapes the possibilities of nationalist thought or limits its projects.¹¹⁵ At various points, Chatterjee also questions if nationalist thought actually remains imprisoned in the structures of post-Enlightenment or colonial powers which it seeks to repudiate.¹¹⁶ Following Prakash and Chatterjee's framework, the larger aim of this dissertation is to ask two questions through its various case-studies and discussions: firstly, how does the adoption of this post-Enlightenment/colonial justificatory structure pan out in the context of the formulation of national art and cultural expressions? And secondly, do these new expressions of national art acquire a distinct identity or remain in the shadow of the colonial justificatory structures which in the first place were employed to arrive at these national formulations? To answer the first question, in the context of this chapter, one can recapitulate how the idea of modernization of Baroda State demanded extensive town-planning and large-scale building activity to accommodate new facilities for education, public health, transport,

¹¹² Prakash. (1999), p. 3, 6- 9, 178-179.

¹¹³ Chatterjee (1986), pp. 38,41-43.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p.38.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*

judiciary, industry, art and crafts. The next section examines how this expansion modeled itself on western-colonial architecture to meet the aims of local and national development.

1.5.5. Sayajirao's Contributions to Amenities and Infrastructure

Syajirao appointed the British engineers R.F. Chisholm and Major Charles Mant as state architects. Like Madhavarao, Mant emerged as an important resource person in Sayajirao's private collecting practice. The Lakshmivilās Palace begun by Mant, was completed by Chisholm, who also built the Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery and the Baroda Senate House¹¹⁷. Public gardens and lakes beautified the city and ensured organized spaces for recreation. As in the case of technical education, one can sample some direct connections between the Maharaja's Europe tours and arts and culture infrastructure for Baroda State in this succinct paragraph recorded by Stanley Rice who collates the Maharaja's impressions of European systems of art and architecture from his notes and diaries., "There are definite institutions in Baroda which owe their inspiration to European travel- The Fine Arts Gallery, and the Library may be named".¹¹⁸ Infrastructural development which supported the cause of industry and agriculture also saw much growth. Sayajirao expanded the railway network in Baroda State. Impressed with British work in irrigation, Sayajirao referred to it as one "one of the most splendid and irreproachable chapters in the history of British rule".¹¹⁹ He also showed awareness of the significance of irrigation in the times of Emperor Ashoka.¹²⁰ This ability to credit indigenous history, tradition and practices, as well as to look to foreign cultures for

¹¹⁷ Now under Chisholm's design and execution, the Baroda Senate House displayed much better design resolution vis a vis the Lakshmivilās project. Indian-oriental features were not merely grafted on to a western frame as embellishments; instead, they served the functions they would have in their original buildings and contexts Tillotson. (1989) p. 56. This underscores my argument that the idea of adaptation and integration only bettered with time, to help several art genres qualify as independent types than being mere derivative ones.

¹¹⁸ Rice. (1931), vol. I, p.83.

¹¹⁹ Rice, (1931), vol. II, p.139.

¹²⁰ Speech by Gaekwar.(1902), p.53.

inspiration helped him to amalgamate ideas and practices in the best and most suitable manner. He appointed an expert engineer to build the Sayaji Sarovar or Ajwa Lake in 1890, a large reservoir with modern, scientific waterworks, which continues to supply water to Baroda City till date.¹²¹

In this discussion of the modernization of Baroda, and its resultant casting of a Euro-modern infrastructural grid, I perceive an espousal of science and hence a marker of modernity. To locate this further in Prakash's terms, "Constituting India through empirical sciences went hand in hand with the establishment of a grid of modern infrastructures and economic linkages that drew the unified territory into the global capitalist economy".¹²² "...India emerged as a space assembled by modern institutions, infrastructures, knowledges and practices".¹²³ Prakash also describes this as the "enframing" of nature and humans as resources through the technologies of government or modern technics or technological organization which consisted of railways, irrigation projects, mines, educational institutions.¹²⁴ While according to Prakash, this technological grid consolidated the physical space of the colony (British-India) for better governance,¹²⁵ I contend that it allowed the imagination of a modern princely Baroda State. Furthermore, I will locate the specific institutional projects within this grid which lent scope to the formulation of new modern genres of art and craft, such as the Kalābhavan, which is discussed in Chapter 3. While these grids and their technics actively serviced Baroda's modernization agenda, they also shared space with Sayajirao's project of nationalism. This underscores the shared context of local and national development or the fact that local progress

¹²¹ Sergeant. (1928), p.73.

¹²² Prakash. (1999), p.4.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, p.4.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp.159-160.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp.159-170.

was geared towards nation-wide reform. Thus, this reformist genre of nationalism did not harbour reservations about importing western institutions and adapting them to suit native agendas. One neither locates resistance nor rejection in Sayajirao's project of nation-building. This lends value to Chatterjee's perspective on nationalism which he sees as drawing on post-Enlightenment justificatory structures to realize its projects.

In addition to this infrastructural grid, Sayajirao also cast an ideological grid through socio-cultural reforms which went a long way in supporting the overall modernization through significant shifts in belief systems and practices. Through systematic legislation Sayajirao introduced a ban on child marriage; he supported divorce, and the widow remarriage act. He condemned the caste system and his role as a champion of the untouchables was widely known in the public sphere. Sayajirao's efforts to liberate the lower castes from the authority of the Brahmins was strengthened by his incessant bid to reform the religious sphere; as an example, he funded translations of the marriage service from Sanskrit to the vernacular for the benefit of the non-priestly castes. Sayajirao guided a Maratha Brahmin to compile an account of the various religious ceremonies performed in the royal family. This demonstrates that the idea of "progress" and "modernization" was not all about rejecting indigenous customs in favour of courting Euro-American practices; instead, Sayajirao displayed adherence to Indic traditions, while altering their frameworks to make them compatible with what were perceived to be universal standards of progress. In this case he made the knowledge of rituals more accessible and its participants more inclusive. In the arts domain, this example is comparable to his support of technical education which was made available to all candidates, regardless of caste.

1.6. Indigenization of Euro-Modern Practices: Sayajirao's Project of Nationalism

The aforementioned sections of this chapter may appear to present a naive dichotomy of the European and indigenous influences in Sayajirao's life and projects, much like the pastiche effect of the Lakshivilās Palace. However, these two threads now come together in a more analytical manner to demonstrate the ideological signposting of Sayajirao's project of nation-building. First I discuss Sayajirao's recognition as a nationalist in the popular perception. It remains known that groups of early nationalists, particularly from the Western Presidency, the Indian National Congress and the Nationalist Press looked to Sayajirao for leadership and active support. Sayajirao was a close friend of the famous Poona circle of nationalists such as Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Gopalkrishna Gokhale and Veer Savarkar. In the first decade of the 1900s, some members of this group led an extremist nationalist movement which was inspired by then professor at Baroda College, Aurobindo Ghose (1892-1906). Given Ghose's base in Baroda, the group rallied there and sought Sayajirao's support. However, this group's focus on Hindu patriotism did not enjoy secular support and eventually Sayajirao aligned less with the group. Sayajirao fiercely advocated the people's participation in the government and autonomy for the native princes. For these purposes, he looked to the Indian National Congress and gained from the resolutions passed by it.¹²⁶ In this context of self-rule and self-reliance, Rice remarks "his strong advocacy of national expression and self-help in the sphere of internal progress, (which) caused the Nationalist Press to court Sayajirao as their "special friend".¹²⁷ Sayajirao's crusade for nationalism may also be discerned in his support to Gandhi's swadeshi movement.¹²⁸ Though, Sayajirao did not agree with its approach to reject foreign-manufactured cloth. We have noted

¹²⁶ Kooiman. (2002), p. 19.

¹²⁷ Rice. (1931), vol. II, p. 5

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 113,115.

how he had alternative ideas in favour of improvement of indigenous manufactures which could become comparable with their foreign counterparts.

Fatesinghrao Gaekwad paints Sayajirao's "nationalist" portrait in more radical tones. The famous Delhi Durbār incident which has enjoyed several interpretations over the years is recorded by Fatesinghrao as Sayajirao's deliberate act of disrespect towards the sovereign authority. According to Fatesinghrao, the Dewan Sir V.T. Krishnamachary records that Sayajirao admitted to intentionally violating the dress code and the code for the ceremonial homage to the King-Emperor George V.¹²⁹ Fatesinghrao, records Aurobindo Ghose's sojourn in Baroda differently: Ghose was appointed as the Maharaja's Private Secretary, confidante and trusted aide and much later followed his formal appointment as Vice-Principal of the Baroda College.¹³⁰ And Sayajirao persuaded Ghose to stay on in Baroda, though, sensing the tensions between Sayajirao and the British administration due to his presence, Ghose departed.¹³¹ Considering there were several registers of nationalist crusaders and equally diverse nationalist ideas, it becomes important to comprehend Sayajirao's ideology of nationalism.

Syajirao was a reformist and progressive nationalist leader in the sense that he did not advocate protectionism and instead, encouraged import of Euro-American practices wherever they could enrich prevalent ones. His many speeches especially illuminate this idea: "Swadeshi-ism", as Sayajirao referenced nationalism in his many speeches.¹³² Swadeshi-ism was a holistic plan with the development of education, scientific know-how, mechanization, industry and

¹²⁹ Gaekwad. (1989), p. x.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, p.183.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, p.207.

¹³² Speeches by Gaekwar. (1902, 1906). Speech by Sayajirao Gaekwar. (1908). Swadeshi and Western Methods: Delivered at the Opening of the new Bank of Baroda, on the 9th of July, 1908. In Anthony X. Soares (Ed.). (1933), pp. 155-165.

finance as its various projects, each supporting the other.¹³³ We have seen these individual projects in Section 5 in the discussion of Baroda's reforms. Instead of repeating these projects, I examine excerpts from Sayajirao's speeches to gain insights into the foundational ideology which guided each of them, and in turn, dovetailed into the larger idea of nationalism, which in turn fashioned India's new national art.

1.6.1. Scientific know-how-mechanization-industry

In the context of the development of indigenous crafts and manufactures, Sayajirao aggressively courted Euro-American scientific know-how in the form of machines or improved workmanship and techniques at the sites of workshops, industries and technical centres of education. Instead of preserving obsolete and incompetent methods of production, Sayajirao believed in raising their standards to make the output comparable with its Euro-American counterparts. His reformist zeal brings us to the point that Sayajirao's idea of a national project was certainly different from Gandhi's. He discouraged protectionism which he thought became an excuse for the continued support of poor quality goods. In his speech at the Ahmedabad Industrial Exhibition (1902), he critiqued the movement to boycott foreign manufactured cloth as being ineffective. "But at the same time I would warn you against some false methods of encouraging industry, such as the movement to use no cloth not produced in the country. The idea is quite unsound so far as any economic results go; and the true remedy for any old industry which needs support is to study the market, find out what is wanted and improve the finish of the work and the design until an increasing demand shows that the right direction has been found.

¹³³ Speech by Gaekwar. (1908), p. 159. Rice (1931), vol. II, p. 139.

This applies particularly to the artistic trades, such as wood-carving and metal-work, for which the country has been so famous and which it would be a pity to allow to die altogether.”¹³⁴

Another excerpt from Sayajirao’s speech illustrates Chatterjee’s point about the nationalist’s denial of the alleged inferiority of the nation and the potential to rectify its weaknesses and modernize itself, even if by courting colonial systems.¹³⁵ “Swadeshi-ism covers, to be sure, a great variety of activities, and is capable of a great variety of definitions, but to my mind it is essentially a recognition of our national weakness in matters scientific and industrial and determined effort to overcome it. To acquire economic freedom is the end and aim of swadeshi-ism. And this can only be done by mastering the technique of western industrialism.”¹³⁶ In closing, it is important to remind the reader that Sayajirao’s firm belief was to court scientific know-how, mechanization and industry on the foundation of education. As recorded by Stanley Rice, “The Maharaja regarded an industrial revival as one of India’s greatest hopes for the future – an industrial revival which should be based upon general education”.¹³⁷ This attests education as a foundational idea in Sayajirao’s project of nationalism.

1.6.2. Finance and Wealth-accumulation

According to Sayajirao, the next important project in nation-building was finance and wealth-accumulation, which he included in what he perceived as an all-encompassing idea of industrialism. He expanded this in a speech thus:

Industrialism, broadly speaking, is the application of scientific invention to the production and distribution of all the articles required by society to satisfy its wants. Inherent in the system and inextricably bound up with it are the scientific methods of finance... So that in my use of the word industrialism I shall be

¹³⁴ Speech by Gaekwar. (1902), p.63.

¹³⁵ Chatterjee. (1986), p. 30.

¹³⁶ Speech by Gaekwar. (1906), p.159.

¹³⁷ Rice.(1931), vol.II, p.139.

understood to mean, not only machinery, the product of scientific invention, but also banking and the other agencies of credit, the products of scientific organization.¹³⁸

This brings us to the point of finance, revenue and wealth-accumulation, which Sayajirao regarded as the basis of progress.

Firstly, Sayajirao's idea of wealth-accumulation was closely tied to the building of contingency funds for citizens of all classes and vocations, especially due to his encounter with famine in 1899-1900 in Baroda. He highlighted India's absolute dependence on agriculture which he thought was disadvantageous in a famine situation. He drew on England's example in the field of manufacturing; the idea of particular cities dedicated to specific industries, such as Manchester to cotton, Sheffield to cutlery, Glasgow to ship-building, etc, were the basis of the country's prosperity. "With their wealth she is able to buy her food from abroad and disregard rains and droughts, good season or bad season".¹³⁹ On the occasion of the opening of the Bank of Baroda, Sayajirao clarified how the labourer/artisan, with modern methods of work, could accumulate wealth which would make shifting of foodstuffs possible in the event of famine.¹⁴⁰

He also saw the need to expand manufacturing for wealth-creation which would indirectly help to cultivate a demand for art and other industries which according to him depended on leisure and wealth.¹⁴¹ "Before we have a large demand at home for the arts we must produce the wealth to support them, and we shall never have that wealth until we have an economic system on a much broader basis than our present limited industry".¹⁴² Moreover he also saw wealth as a means of placing the lower classes in the context of the new "agencies of

¹³⁸ Speech by Gaekwar. (1906), p. 159.

¹³⁹ Speech by Sayajirao Gaekwar. (1901). Delivered on the occasion of laying the foundation stone of the Orsang Irrigation Waterworks. In Anthony X. Soares (Ed.). (1933), (pp. 8-17), pp. 9-10.

¹⁴⁰ Speech by Gaekwar. (1908), p. 162.

¹⁴¹ Speech by Gaekwar. (1906), pp. 64-65.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*

culture such as schools, and colleges, libraries, museums, art galleries, hospitals, etc”.¹⁴³ Hence, to be able to avail of education, recreation and healthcare, the citizens needed wealth and the reverse was also true in his opinion; to find support and patronage for these agencies, the state needed wealthy individuals. Thus finance and wealth-accumulation, regarded as products of scientific organization, were seen by Sayajirao as crucial to the welfare of the people and consequently to the project of modernization and nation-building.

1.6.3. Indigenous Practices and Institutions

Having reflected on those Euro-American systems or ideas which Sayajirao was keen to import for India’s development, namely scientific know-how, mechanization, industry, ideas of finance and wealth-accumulation, it is imperative to gesture towards his understanding of indigenous practices. This understanding aided him to lay emphasis on the need to “adapt” instead of “emulate”. In the aforementioned speech on the need to court Euro-American machines, he continues, to add the need for “intelligent anticipation and skilful adaptation” of machines.¹⁴⁴ Sayajirao was well aware that mechanization had to adapt to Indian products and markets. In the context of the textile industry of India, he highlighted how “with intelligent adaptation of improved methods” Indian crafts and manufactures could compete with European products.¹⁴⁵ To clarify this point further it might be useful to reference his speech at the Calcutta Industrial Exhibition (1906) wherein he urges nationalist crusaders to create large-scale industries, but not at the cost of eradication of the vocations of hereditary artisans, who Sayajirao saw as a larger portion of India’s industrial population vis a vis mill and factory workers and

¹⁴³ Speech by Gaekwar. (1908), p. 162.

¹⁴⁴ Speech by Gaekwar. (1906), p. 128.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 119-120.

agriculturists.¹⁴⁶ He saw the need to create a larger demand for artisanal crafts and manufactures and widen the sphere of their work.¹⁴⁷ Evidently, Sayajirao did not favour a full-scale industrialization plan, i.e., one which would obliterate the artisan. Thus, “European style industrialization” had to necessarily “adapt” to the “indigenous economy” of which artisans and cottage industries were an integral part. The following case-study demonstrates Sayajirao’s sensitivity towards indigenous material culture and its associated traditions.

1.6.4. Case Study of the *Kansārās* of Visnagar

All of the above-stated points on the foundational ideology which guided the projects of Scientific know-how, Mechanization and Industry; Education; Finance and Wealth-accumulation; and Indigenous Practices and Institutions, with regards to nation-building, are illustrated in this concluding example of the creation of an alternative mode of income for the hereditary craftsmen, i.e., the *kansārās* of Visnagar. During the famine of 1899-1900, as per Govindbhai Desai’s account (1929), the state engaged closely with artisans, as it did with all other subjects for relief work. Sayajirao advanced Rs 5,000 to start an aluminium factory for the *kansārās* who constituted a majority in Visnagar. Their occupation of making and selling utensils was severely affected during the famine as sales dipped.¹⁴⁸ Desai goes on to record his active engagement with the creation of an alternative mode of income for these *kansārās*. He records, “With the literature and instructions obtained for me by the Dewan Saheb from Madhavarao (afterwards Sir) Alfred Chatterton, I started a small factory with a borrowed lathe and other tools, in which about 50 people of this artisan class were given wages. *Thālis*, *loṭās* and other utensils of domestic use were manufactured and sold at cost price. No loss was made and when it was time for closing the small factory, the advance of Rs 5,000 from Government was fully

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 126-127.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁸ Desai. (1929), p.138.

returned to the treasury”.¹⁴⁹ It is recorded that initially the artisans resisted working in a different medium but relented later.

This example brings together all the different threads of the modernization plan envisaged by Sayajirao. It demonstrates how new scientific know-how and mechanization are embraced in the form of lathes and tools to produce aluminium utensils which can generate revenue for traditional utensil makers in a famine situation. It becomes an alternative skill-set and revenue-generating solution for hereditary craftsmen who continue to have a sense of working in a caste-based vocation in a small factory-style workshop. Moreover, it also shows the gradual shift in socio-cultural ideas as the hereditary craftsmen agree to work with new material and partner new professionals. Additionally, Sayajirao acknowledges that traditional, long-standing media of brass and copper used for utensils since ancient times cannot be replaced by “the cheap enameled ironware from Europe”. Hence, he welcomes the development of the aluminium industry which is more acceptable by the craftsmen and consumers.¹⁵⁰ In closing, it is appropriate to point to the remainder chapters which will demonstrate how the ideas of “localization” reflected in this experiment with the Visnagar *kansārās*, are employed in the larger plan of nationalism which used scientific know-how, new methods, new materials, new training and production centres, and new partners in the form of European art instructors and engineers to enable the formulation of a new national art, which forged its own identity.

1.7. Conclusion

Since the rest of this dissertation signposts nationalism as the guiding ideology for Baroda’s art-craft paradigm, this chapter serves well as the primary block to understand the

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 138.

¹⁵⁰ Speech by Gaekwar. (1906), p. 123.

formulation of Sayajirao's concepts and ideas in the making of a national project. It brings to the fore the central thrust of Sayajirao's ideology, which is the adaptation of Euro-modern, western and colonial institutions to indigenous systems and practices, to enable the facilitation of local and national projects as seen in the arenas of education, industry and civic infrastructure. This underlines two facts: one is a complete acceptance of Euro-modern institutions and the second is their repetition, although differently, so as to not only arrive at new indigenous reconfigurations, but also subvert the dominant sources of reference. Theoretically, this answers Partha Chatterjee's question; i.e., the post-Enlightenment colonial justificatory structures indeed provide the wherewithal to expand the possibilities of national development, which through its localized identity, partializes the dominant colonial-western reference frame. This sets the stage to present Sayajirao's formulation of practices which are at once effective locally and yet reconfigured to suit western Enlightenment standards of modernity and progress. My first conclusion presents my understanding of Sayajirao's genre of nationalism as representing "indigenous modernity". Secondly, Sayajirao's systematic elucidation of ideas through his speeches, biographies, policies and projects profile him as an ideologue of nationalism.

Thirdly this chapter's close examination of Sayajirao's Euro-modern sources of reference through his international travels and notes, and his equally keen engagement with local surveys, to create a modernization project, position him as a "native agent" in the forging of a national identity in the colonial-global space. This affirms Carol Breckenridge's standpoint, also adopted by Peleggi to claim that there was no contraposition between globalization and the formulation of national identities.¹⁵¹ I conclude that Sayajirao's project of nationalism was the story of a "localized modernity and a native protagonist" in a global playfield, as will be demonstrated in

¹⁵¹ Carol Breckenridge. (1989). The Aesthetics and Politics of Colonial Collecting. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 31(2), 195-216, p. 196. Peleggi. (2002), pp. 13, 144.

the remainder chapters of the dissertation. Moreover, Sayajirao's personal grooming as a global cosmopolitan modernized citizen was brought to bear on his national project. This brings us to our fourth conclusion, that Sayajirao created a shared space between his roles as a private elite consumer and head of state; his projects dedicated to nationalism benefitted of this vortex as they drew on ideas and practices from the private chambers of the palace and were simultaneously pegged in the institutional domains outside. This also means that Sayajirao's roles as Anglicized consumer, exotic oriental Raja and enlightened reformer, conflated within this single vortex to drive the project of nationalism. For instance, the furniture revolution as an idea gained from western modes of consumption within the palace and Sayajirao's international travels; it translated into an institutional project in the form of the State Furniture Works, which catered to a wide client-base, but also found principal support through the palace's patronage. This point creates a firm ground to situate the key concern of this thesis: why private consumption and collecting practice become the nucleus to understand the creation of Baroda's institutional projects and consequently a new national art. All in all, this chapter sets the stage to anchor both, the research questions raised in this dissertation, as well as the answers it seeks from various sources.

CHAPTER 2

GROOMING CONSUMPTION INTO COLLECTING: SAYAJIRAO'S ARTICULATION OF A NATIONAL HIGH ART

2.1 Introduction and Methodology

This chapter argues that the local-indigenous collector, Sayajirao's consumption of European naturalism, chiefly through genres of academic portraiture, salon sculpture and copies of European history painting, was not just a naïve enchantment and random sampling of what were received as scientific and Euro-modern visual traditions in the colony; instead it was a systematic courting of Euro-modern artistic technique, composition and style to indigenize them for the creation of a new "national high art". This indigenization is especially exemplified in the mythological painting series of Raja Ravi Varma and genre subjects in salon sculpture by Augusto Felici and Fanindranath Bose. Through these definite examples, this chapter argues for a full-fledged experiment in the formulation of a national art, much before the arrival of the Abanindranath Tagore-led Bengal School, which is conventionally viewed as the first movement to aspire to a *swadeshi* ideology and aesthetic. Secondly, the acquisition processes involved in the collecting of Euro-modern genres are far from random. They are well-guided by various contexts such as art schools, exhibitions, catalogues and reproductions which groom Sayajirao's gaze in favour of these genres.

The chapter adopts Arjun Appadurai's framework of the "social life of things" to organize the content along two categories, namely, the genre history and the individual history

of artworks.¹ Appadurai demonstrates how objects circulate through space and time to acquire meaning and value. While he acknowledges that it is essentially human agency which encodes an object with meaning, he also sees that the objects travel on a trajectory and acquire meanings through their form, use and the overall journey they make.² Here Appadurai formulates two categories, i.e., the social history of things which are essentially long-term trajectories of an entire category or class, and the cultural biography of things which refer to the short-term trajectories occupied by individual objects, which belong to this larger category or class.³ I employ this framework by relying on art historical scholarship to first present the historical trajectory of the art genre. Against this larger backdrop, I situate archival data, chiefly in the form of acquisition histories of individual artworks, which also include information on artists, organization of commissions and the contracts and recommendations involved therein. Appadurai's framework also converges with Susan Pearce's methodology to study collections: first, she suggests an examination of the individual object or genre, its background, rank and usage; and second, the examination of its reception, display and consumption by the collector.⁴

The theoretical underpinning of the consumption of the two genres under discussion, i.e., academic portraiture and salon sculpture, and their individual artworks is provided by Maurizio Peleggi's study of the Siamese monarchy and its employment of western goods and

¹ Arjun Appadurai. (1986). Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value. In Arjun Appadurai (Ed.). *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (pp. 3-63), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

² *Ibid.*, p.5.

³ *Ibid.*, p.34.

⁴ Susan Pearce (Ed.). (1994). *Interpreting Objects and Collections* (pp.2-8). London and New York: Routledge, pp. 2-3.

visual art traditions as “prestige consumption” to refashion its public image.⁵ Peleggi tells us, by “contemplating themselves in their new clothes, new domestic settings, and new urban spaces, the Siamese court ended up convincing themselves, above all, of being modern”.⁶ Also discussed in Chapter 1, is Gyan Prakash’s theory of the perception of “modernity” in these scientifically precise, Euro-modern genres, by the elite native collector, to justify their consumption. The second component of Prakash’s idea is the eventual indigenization of colonial modernity to suit local and national agendas.⁷ Here I expand my argument which shares the same ground as Peleggi in attempting to discern the localization and indigenization of these Euro-modern genres through Sayajirao’s commission, display and consumption.⁸ However, it diverges from Peleggi’s argument by demonstrating a distinct aim on the part of the collector, to extend these indigenization processes from the private chambers and lifestyle context, to formulate a “national” art. In Sayajirao’s case, the individual biography of artworks helps to locate outstanding commissions which demonstrate indigenization of Euro-modern visual traditions to formulate a new aesthetic of indigenous modernity. Furthermore, these derivative styles grow to become independent, representative genres.

This examination of the social life of art genres and the individual biographies of collected artworks, illuminates contexts of the art schools, art exhibitions, exhibition catalogues and the collection itself which not only play host to the art genres in the course of their journeys but also “groom the gaze” of the native collector, Sayajirao. The unravelling of these contexts demonstrates the application of Carol Breckenridge’s idea of the “refinement of

⁵ Maurizio Peleggi. (2002). *Lords of Things: the Fashioning of the Siamese Monarchy’s Modern Image*. Honolulu, Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press, pp. 20-21, 24-27, 35.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

⁷ Gyan Prakash. (1999). *Another Reason: Science and the Imagination of Modern India*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, pp.11, 178-179.

⁸ Peleggi. (2002), pp. 11-13, 59-63, 66-67.

collecting practices against the backdrop of the institutionalization of art due to world fairs and their apparatuses such as exhibition, documentation and cataloguing”.⁹ Breckenridge’s institutionalized apparatuses, which groom Sayajirao, also constitute Appadurai’s value-arbiting domains through which the artworks travel.

I contend that private collecting practice, exemplified by Sayajirao, demonstrates maturity from the days of the “wonder-cabinet” and “random collecting” to more informed practices which rely on the long-term trajectories of art genres to appreciate them. Simultaneously, Sayajirao’s collecting practice exercises its own agency to reconfigure individual artworks and consequently reinscribe entire genres. This argument testifies how Sayajirao’s “consumption” of visual art traditions qualify as “collecting” with regards to not only informed and selective acquisitions, but also with reference to systematic planning of display and consumption, all of which give expression to the idea of indigenous modernity.

2.2 Academic Portraiture

Before I present the social life of academic portraiture¹⁰ as a much sought-after European genre in India, I profile the general trend of European artists in India, or artworks painted for European patrons in the colony. Later I delve deeper into the genre by recapitulating the difficult conditions which governed its practice in Britain. Secondly, the opening up of India as a British colony is presented as an opportune economic and political arrangement for British artists who could now enjoy smooth passage to India and gain

⁹Carol Breckenridge. (1989). The Aesthetics and Politics of Colonial Collecting. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 31(2), 195-216.

¹⁰ Academic portraiture is a genre which was popularized through the English Royal Academy in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in Europe. It was based on European naturalism or realism which involved figural drawing with the use of live models. It followed the principles of anatomy, perspective and chiaroscuro very keenly. This technique had its origins in Renaissance Art beginning around 1400, which was governed by the new scientific and rational order. Hence this genre is also termed as academic realism and Renaissance naturalism.

commercially from rich Indian patrons. From this general overview, I move on to discuss those particular portraitists who found patronage at the court of Baroda and discuss their respective commissions and contracts with the collector, Sayajirao. Given a combination of the background of European portraiture in India and its patronage by Sayajirao, I illuminate those contexts which guide the collecting of this genre and in turn also influence its consumption.

Mildred Archer, the foremost scholar to undertake an extensive study of European artists in India, records the period beginning around 1765 as one which facilitated easy passage of European artists in the colony.¹¹ The East India Company's now definite fiscal and political hold over the colony generally increased the traffic of British travelers to India, including artists. In the late eighteenth century, the rise of the "picturesque" and "sublime" schools in Britain, which determined a certain romanticized way of observing the world, made the colony a perfect picture to satisfy European curiosity and lend pictorial illustrations to the travellers' experience.¹² British officers engaged with the Company came from upper middle class backgrounds and became the new patrons of these subjects. They increasingly engaged local Indian artists who adapted their style to suit European taste and palette. This School came to be known as the Company School of painting. Thus, pictorial documentations or paintings which depicted colonial India ranged in the form of informal sketchbooks, illustrated memoirs, and sets of locally-produced paintings for European patrons. Several informally-produced sketches or paintings became part of published books on India at a later date. As much as the Company

¹¹ Mildred Archer. (1992). *Company Paintings: Indian Paintings of the British Period*. London/Ahmedabad: Victoria and Albert Museum with Mapin Publishing, p. 16.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 16. For a discussion of the picturesque and sublime see Mildred Archer. (1980). *Early Views of India: The Picturesque Journeys of Thomas and William Daniell 1786-1794*. London: Thames and Hudson. Carl Paul Barbier. (1963). *William Gilpin: His Drawings, Teaching and Theory of the Picturesque*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. Giles Tillotson. (2000). *The Artificial Empire: The Indian Landscapes of William Hodges*. Surrey: Curzon.

officer felt the need to engage Indian artists to document colonial life, the increasing volume of European artists in the colony attracted Indian collector-patrons to engage with them.

2.2.1 European Portraitists

During the middle years of the eighteenth century, it was difficult for British portraitists to break into the art market, which was mostly confined to the two cities of London and Bath. Bagging large-scale commissions meant networking in the elite circles, and artists were often not a part of these. In addition to this, the clientele for portrait art was divided into the urban and countryside segments, both of which had their set of regular portraitists. This left little room for new portrait artists to secure commissions. British artists also faced lack of a suitable platform for training and exhibition. There were a few private academies and hence artists had to resort to apprenticeships for training, which was uneven at best. Given this situation, it becomes important to ask what made India conducive for British portrait practitioners and gradually for their European counterparts.

With the expansion of the fiscal and political powers of the Company between 1765-1805, there was increased corruption and the Company merchants' exuberant wealth made an impact on British society. These returning "nabobs" as the Company officers were satirically addressed due to their extravagant lifestyles, encouraged artists in their search for patronage and fortunes, especially in the fast-emerging cities of Madras and Calcutta, looked upon as extensions of Britain.¹³ The portrait artists' interest to seek economic gains as well as document these Indian-oriental patrons and their exotic portraits converged. It is important to note that these portraitists differed from the Company School artists in their practice and this difference was recognized by the Indian patrons. The first group of British portrait artists

¹³ Mildred Archer. (1979). *India and British Portraiture: 1770-1825*. London/New York: Sotheby Parke Bernet, Totowa N.J. pp. 39-40.

arrived in India from 1769. Starting with Tilly Kettle, Charles Smith, Ozias Humphrey and George Chinnery, several other artists followed. Most of them went to Madras or Calcutta and sought commissions along the upcountry route at Banaras, Lucknow, Oudh and Faizabad. The Nawab of Oudh, Shuja-ud-daula appointed portraitist Tilly Kettle to paint his portraits from 1769-1776, on the recommendation of the Governor of Fort William. The Nawab of Oudh also commissioned the artists Ozias Humphrey and Charles Smith in 1786 at the behest of Acting Governor-General of the Calcutta Presidency, Sir John Macpherson. The selection of artists among this first batch of European portraitists relied heavily on the context of British courtier officials for guidance and was clearly arbitrary.

In contrast to the aforementioned fertile centres for art production it becomes interesting to discover how Bombay, which shared its location with Baroda in the Western Presidency, as the economy of underdevelopment, remained an artistic backwater. With the building of the Bombay dockyard and its emergence as a developed entrepot after 1750, it became a popular choice of residence for traders and professionals, and artists too followed suit as can be surmised from various signed and dated portraits produced in this period in Bombay.¹⁴ To align with Said here, one can attribute the European portraitists' presence in India in large numbers to ready patronage in a wealthy and exotic colony to which he was first lured through travel memoirs and illustrations, and later exposed to by the returning *nabobs*, all of whom expanded the burgeoning pictorial archive of oriental imagery.¹⁵ However, to also take note of the most frequently cited critique against Said, i.e., the absence of the Oriental's

¹⁴ Pheroza Godrej. (2002). Faces from the Mists of Time. In Pheroza Godrej and Firoza Punthakey-Mistree (Eds.). *Zoroastrian Tapestry: Art, Religion and Culture*, (pp. 325-348). Ahmedabad: Mapin Publishing. Priya Maholay. (2002). *Portrait of a Community: Paintings and Photographs of the Parsees*. Bombay: Chemould Publications & Arts Trust.

¹⁵ Edward Said. (1991). *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient*. London and New York: Penguin Books.

voice, it is imperative to unravel the native collector's position. What exactly set the stage for the large-scale reception of these portraits by native collectors?

In Chapter 1 I present Peleggi's formulation of prestige expenditure and prestige consumption in new domestic spaces as the point of departure to discuss Sayajirao's consumption of academic portraits.¹⁶ I term this as the "new lifestyle context", which also includes an acculturation of western socio-cultural practices such as recreation and food habits. Given this general acculturation, what was the immediate context to guide the native collector to consume academic portraits as prestige or lifestyle goods? Perhaps the answer to Sayajirao's motivations to court academic portraits lies partially in the motivations of company officials. Between 1797 and 1805, the transition of the British East India Company, from a trading outpost to a political power led the Company officials to regard themselves as the ruling elite of India. Upon subsequent territorial conquests, the British officials expanded their enclaves, and through these, their socio-cultural clout. Most officials came from the professional middle classes of Britain and now built large mansions in the Victorian and country-villa style. Much like luxury homes, their middle-class status in Britain also eluded inheritance and possession of furnishing items and décor accessories; oil paintings provided a good solution as wall décor¹⁷ and satiated the officials' desire to flaunt their new-found status. They also allowed officials to mimic the fashionable, elite set of patrons in Britain. Thus, on the British side, officials aspired to elitist lifestyles as statements of their growing power and wealth; and on the Indian side, royalty attempted to integrate in British society. Integration with this home-grown group of western elites was the first step for princes such as Sayajirao, towards integration with a

¹⁶ Peleggi. (2002), pp. 20-21, 24-27 35.

¹⁷ Archer. (1979), p. 56.

burgeoning class of “transnational elite” worldwide.¹⁸ This also marked the commencement of Sayajirao’s modernization through new consumption patterns in his private chambers, which would see near-simultaneous extension to public spaces.¹⁹

Within this crucible of modernization, the British officials’ home may be regarded as an important but informal context to guide the native collector in his appreciation of academic portraits as appropriate décor items, signs of noble ancestry and examples of the epitome of refined English tastes. Moreover, there was a general reorientation in the consumption patterns of Indian royals as they became increasingly exposed to English goods which were afforded due to the globalizing thrust of colonization. With regards to furniture and Europeanization of Indian domestic spaces, Amin Jaffer and Anna Jackson explain this shift to western-style prestige consumption which was likely due to the inevitable impact of expanding British enclaves. Lifting of the Company’s trade monopoly with India in 1813 also resulted in European goods flooding the Indian presidencies with a wider variety, which included household goods.²⁰ Small “Europe Shops” paved way for furnishing emporia which engaged with new, attractive display mechanisms including creation of “period rooms” even before the museums achieved these.²¹ With the advent of advanced technology for printing, postal services and transport — as part of the larger episode of the Industrial Revolution — the Indian

¹⁸ Peleggi. (2002), p. 13.

¹⁹ It should be clarified here that Peleggi examines the declining value of erstwhile socio-cultural referents in South East Asia and hence the arrival of a new western socio-cultural referent and its employment by the Siamese monarchy becomes a step towards displaying modernity to lay claim to political authority. However, in contrast, in case of Sayajirao, the western socio-cultural referent comes in place due to colonization; moreover, in his continued presence as head of Baroda State, albeit in a reduced role, Sayajirao’s interest does not lie in claiming political power; instead with the refashioning of his image, Sayajirao marks his debut as an Indian modern.

²⁰ Anna Jackson and Amin Jaffer (2004.) *Encounters: The Meeting of Asia and Europe 1500-1800*. London: Victoria & Albert Museum, p. 44.

²¹ Amin Jaffer. (2007). *Made for Maharajas: A Design Diary of Princely India*. New Delhi: Roli Books, p. 143. Jackson and Jaffer (Eds.). (2004), pp. 37, 44.

royalty was increasingly exposed to consumption of machine-made luxury goods. This systematic evolution of a hybrid Indo-English lifestyle laid the blueprint for patterns of consumption; it might be appropriate then to situate the consumption of this genre in a package of lifestyle accoutrements — architecture, furnishing items, décor accessories and luxury goods.

The second context which earned the native collector's immediate favour for academic portraiture was its inherent nature vis a vis that of indigenous portrait traditions. Native portrait artists who engaged in the genre of fresco, mural and miniature painting on palm leaf or paper, employed organic materials such as mineral and metallic pigments. The dense nature of these colours afforded only a fair degree of blending and shading. These paintings were mostly in a flat, linear style. This does not go to say that a sense of volume and mass was missing altogether; perspective was constrained as the effect of light and shade, natural flesh tones, evocation of textures and an overall realism, were all limited by the nature of colours, as well as the prevalent technique. Scientific precision and photo-real finish would reach its maximum potential with the help of oil paints and large-scale portraits.

Lastly, as pointed out by Vidya Dehejia and Padma Kaimal, generally speaking, the “absence of verisimilitude” in Indian portraiture, which was introduced only in the Mughal manuscript (miniature) paintings, heightened the “uniqueness” of academic oil portraiture, as it was characterized by both the traditionally missing attributes, i.e., “resemblance” and “large size”.²² Dehejia offers a historical perspective on the limitations of the “generic” or “divine” idioms of Indic portraiture which constrained its reception among viewers; portrait-subjects

²² Vidya Dehejia. (1998). The Very Idea of a Portrait. *Ars Orientalis* 28, 40-48. Padma Kaimal. (2000). The Problem of Portraiture in South India, Circa 970-1000 A.D. *Artibus Asiae*, 60(1), 139-179.

were recognizable through their “context of usage” as opposed to their quality of “likeness”.²³ Thus, I argue, that the Indic traditions of portraiture and their techniques and compositional styles created ample space for the reception of academic portraiture, which, as noted in footnote 10, represented the acme of a highly scientific genre. To view this from Prakash’s point, it is easy to see why a strong sense of modernity was perceived in this scientific genre. It will suffice to say that the inherent quality of the medium of oil paints and their scientific-modern output became a firm guiding context for the native collector.

Case Study I: Valentine Cameron Prinsep

Against this backdrop of British and other European itinerant portraitists in India and a ready sphere for the collection and consumption of this genre, I use archival data to discuss two European portraitists who found representation in Sayajirao’s collection. The first artist, Valentine Cameron Prinsep (1838-1904),²⁴ an Indian-born British portrait artist, had marked his presence in India such that he could seek references from government officials to organize sittings with Indian princes. Prinsep requested Philip S. Melvill, the Baroda-based Agent to the Governor General for a sitting with Sayajirao after his stopover in Hyderabad.²⁵ This reference from Melvill testifies the continued role of British officials as facilitators between European artists and native collectors. As in the case of several other commissions, this one too was organized by Dewan of Baroda, T. Madhavarao. Madhavarao informed Melvill of Sayajirao’s

²³ Dehejia undertakes the study of a Chola “Goddess” sculpture in the Freer Gallery, New York. The author proposes that the subject is a Chola Queen, Sembian Mahadevi, idealized as divinity in the icon. This proposition is supported by the historical evidence of gifts of bronze portrait-sculptures of the Chola royalty. To this Dehejia adds Queen Sembian’s exceptional career as an arts patron, which qualifies her as a subject for portraits. She uses inscriptional evidence to build the context in which Sembian’s portrait was used, i.e., the celebration of the Queen’s birthday. The author attests how this “context” of the royal procession facilitates “identification” of the real subject in the goddess-like portrait. Dehejia. (1998).

²⁴ See Appendix I for artist’s biography.

²⁵ GSA/SCV/HPO: Section 99, Daftar 128, File 31: *Correspondence with Merchants: Miscellaneous Merchants, Photographers*: Letter from: Val Prinsep, 2 December 1877, To: P. Melvill.

sojourn in Nowsari where Prinsep could paint him. Accommodation, carriage and supplies were arranged by Madhavarao who also requested Sayajirao's tutor, F.A.H. Elliot to render assistance to the artist.²⁶

In a separate letter to F.A.H. Elliot, Madhavarao requested him to arrange for a "proper room with light" and the Maharaja's dress and ornaments.²⁷ In turn, Elliot suggested an elaborate inventory of items required by the artist; this ranged from dietary requirements to lamps and lights for the artist's work.²⁸ This correspondence points to the palace officials such as Dewans and mentors' maturing experience with the organization of portrait sittings. These portrait commissions demanded elaborate arrangements of paraphernalia and props, unlike genres such as landscape painting wherein the artists chose their own locations and materials. The whole exercise of sitting for a portrait was prestigious for the subject and artist alike, thereby strengthening the "prestige" position of the genre. Madhavarao informed Elliot that he would send some recently-shot photos of His Highness. It remains known that due to their hectic work schedules, sitters and artists interacted over a limited number of sittings; photographs always came in handy to supplement the studies begun during a live sitting.

Case Study II: Charles Giron

Engagement with itinerant European portraitists such as Valentine Prinsep, groomed Indian collectors and prepared them to source portraitists of repute in art capitals of Europe and invite them as state employees. One such example is seen in the case of Charles Giron (1850-1914)²⁹, a Swiss portrait and landscape artist. In 1891, Giron was recommended to Sayajirao

²⁶ *Ibid.*, Letter 1532, From: Madava Row, Dewan's Office, 3 December 1877, To: F.A.H. Elliot.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, Letter 1579, From: Madava Row, Dewan's Office, 3 December 1877, To: P. Melvill.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, Letter from: F.A.H. Elliot, 15 December 1877, To: Madava Row.

²⁹ See Appendix I for artist's biography.

by the wife of the then Finance Minister³⁰, whose portrait was painted by the artist. Sayajirao wished to be painted by Giron in Geneva while on His Europe trip.³¹ It remains to be verified if Sayajirao enjoyed a meeting or sitting with the artist in Geneva. However, the recommendation was followed through with an invitation to Giron to join the state service in Baroda. The Agent to the Governor General at Baroda was the medium through who the Minister of Baroda communicated with The Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, who was headquartered in Simla. The Minister of Baroda State wished to have the consent of the Government of India for Giron and his assistant's employment on the terms and conditions drafted in the memorandum prepared by Sayajirao's office, i.e., the Huzūr Cutchery³².

This correspondence points to the procedures involved in hiring foreign artists in state service. I examine the details of the conditions of service listed in the memorandum produced by His Highness's office.³³

- The memo discusses the artist's employment tenure of six months in the winter of 1891-92.
- It hints at the reproduction of figural art by the artist, as guided by the patron-collector, His Highness.
- The memo states that the artist should teach one or two natives.

³⁰ The name is illegible in the archival correspondence. National Archives of India (NAI): *Foreign Department: File 132-135: Internal, Part B, Simla, 1891: Employment of Mr. C. Giron as Artist, Dec. 1891*: Letter From: E.S. Reynolds, Agent to the Governor General of Baroda, 23 November 1891, To: A. Tucker, Under Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department.

³¹ *Ibid.* Letter From: E.S. Reynolds, Agent to the Governor General of Baroda, 23 November 1891.

³² *Ibid.*, Letter 1612, From: Colonel E.S. Reynolds, Agent to the Governor General of Baroda, 16 October 1891, To: The Secretary to the Government of India; Letter 1622, From: Manibhai J. Dewan, Huzūr Cutchery, Baroda, 12 October 1891, To: Colonel E.S. Reynolds, Agent to the Governor General of Baroda.

³³ *Ibid.*, Memo 134, Memo of Conditions on which His Highness' Government desires to engage the services of M. Charles Giron and his assistant, True Copy by Manibhai Jasbhai Dewan.

- The memo promises that expenses towards the supply of models and accessories for painting will be borne by His Highness' Government.
- The memo states that travel to distant locations will also be organized by His Highness' Government.
- It decides upon the working hours at six hours per day.
- The remuneration of 4250 francs per month for the artist's services is fixed with details on passage to India and onward journey to Baroda.
- 500 francs per month is decided as the remuneration for the assistant.
- Details on provision of free accommodation and crockery are listed.
- Upon fulfillment of six months' service, the artist and his assistant will be provided return passage to Paris.
- Upon breaking the contract before term, the artist would have to bear expenses for return passage.
- On the other hand, If His Highness's Government arranges for the artist's early departure, it would bear expenses for his return.
- The memo states rights to ownership; i.e., "all the works produced by the artist and his assistant to belong to His Highness' Government and it shall be the option of His Highness' Government to allow M. Giron to retain possession of any sketch xxxx (illegible text)".
- There are further details related to disbursement of the said remuneration.

The above contract demonstrates the role of the Foreign Department in the approval of employment of European artists to the state service in Baroda. One sees how these contracts were drawn out formally between the collector's office, in this case the Huzūr Cutchery of

Baroda and the concerned artist. These commissions, wherein artists became state employees, by invitation, on a fixed salary, were very different from the engagement of itinerant artists who were already in the colony and sought temporary lodging and boarding facilities for one-off commissions. This case indicates the maturing of the native collector's patronage to make room for formal appointment of European artists over a prolonged period of time. As opposed to Valentine Prinsep's commission of 1877, Charles Giron's appointment in 1891 demonstrates the native collector's engagement with full-scale genres as opposed to individual works of art. It gestures towards the collector's interest to procure multiple series of works from particular artists/genres vis a vis singular pieces. This marks the first step in the maturing of Sayajirao's consumption to collecting as it begins to consider the importance of a "series" which can then stand in to represent a genre.

I use W. Durost's clarification to demonstrate the importance of a series in a collection. According to Durost, if an object is valued by the possessor for its intrinsic value, (which may be related to use, aesthetics, or circumstances of custom, training or habit) it is not a collection. However, if the object is valued for its representative or representational value, it qualifies as being part of a collection. Durost explains this thus "if the said object or idea is valued chiefly for the relation it bears to some other object or idea, or objects, or ideas, such as being one of a series, part of a whole, a specimen of a class, then is it the subject of a collection".³⁴ This definition lays thrust on the idea of a sequence, series or class as being crucial to a collection. Giron's engagement illuminates Sayajirao's interest in the acquisition of multiple academic portraits from a single artist to form a set or representative series. One also sees that the consumption of academic portraits which had begun in the private chambers was gradually

³⁴ W. Durost. (1932). *Children's Collecting Activity Related to Social Factors*. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teacher's College, Columbia University, p. 10.

extended to the state-wide modernization plan as European artists were engaged to train native practitioners. The conditional obligation to teach native candidates became part of most artists' contracts.

2.2.2 Early Native Portraitists

I have analysed the inherent strengths of the genre of academic portraiture in India, which provided a novel context for its reception. To buffer that unprecedented context of the academic portrait's realism and scale, and show its presence at the Baroda Court, I present the second register of native portrait artists. Their early works reveal the "assimilation" of European materials and perspective in prevalent local idioms to support my argument of the enthusiastic reception of the new genre among native practitioners and collectors. Though these works are not directly collected by Sayajirao, their discussion is essential to comprehend the social life of the genre in India and its rising popularity.

This discussion illustrates the case of two unsigned portraits by exponents of the local Maratha-Tanjore idiom of portraiture. These works are significant for their compositional and stylistic features, which define the threshold between the prevalent local idioms and the newly arrived European styles of painting. While there is little information on specific artists within this genre, Saryu Doshi enlightens us on the general trend wherein Maratha mansions and palaces displayed the mural and miniature painting tradition (of which portraiture was a part), characteristic of two distinct expressions: the first being refined and the second being folkish.³⁵ Doshi acknowledges that these comparable features between both genres points to a common pool of artists who painted the murals and miniatures. It is possible that such artists were in the employ of the Gaekwads and may have rendered the murals and painted these portraits.

³⁵ Saryu Doshi. (1985). Miniature Painting. In Saryu Doshi (Ed.). Maharashtra: Traditions in Art (pp. 49-64), *MARG*, XXXVI (4), p. 63.

Gulam Mohammed Sheikh too confirms the existence of a wide network of guilds in Baroda, which supplied mural painters, masons, woodworkers, etc for the building and decoration of vernacular residential spaces or *wāḍās*.³⁶ Hence, while it is difficult to establish the presence of a “Baroda School” as such, it is evident that local guilds practiced their individual styles of painting.³⁷ To summarise, with the disintegration of full-fledged ateliers in the late eighteenth century, provincial schools of portraiture emerged and localized their stylistic and technical characteristics. A similar local Maratha style of portraiture developed and found active patronage at the Baroda Court even before the arrival of Sayajirao Gaekwad III.³⁸ The offshoot of this Maratha idiom at Baroda may have been a minor tradition and is exemplified through the two portraits. Against this genre background, I locate the assimilation of European technique in the portraits under discussion.

Case Study I: Portrait of Pilajirao Gaekwad

The first portrait of Pilajirao Gaekwad (r.1721-1732) is painted in the medium of gouache on paper in the early 19th century (illustration 11). As pointed out by Ratan Parimoo, “Though within the framework of traditional Indian painting, it exemplifies a local idiom practiced at Baroda under Maratha rule during the early 19th century”.³⁹ The assimilation of European technique is highlighted in Parimoo’s analysis of the rendition of the contours which

³⁶ Gulam Mohammed Sheikh. (1997). The Backdrop. In Gulam Mohammed Sheikh (Ed.). *Contemporary Art in Baroda* (pp. 17-51), Chennai: Tulika Books, p. 22-24.

³⁷ Sheikh. (1997), p. 12.

³⁸ Saryu Doshi summarises this Maratha School as appearing in the sixteenth century—after its initial disappearance at Ellora in the ninth or tenth century—in the form of miniature painting for the Islamic rulers of the Deccan. She regards the Maratha School as one being influenced by “diverse stylistic influences: from the Rajput and Mughal courts in the north, from Andhra and Karnataka in the south and from Persia”. Since this genre did not gain support in the form of established ateliers, there was no sustained style of Maratha painting at any single court, except one which developed at Poona under the Peshwas and briefly at Kolhapur in the nineteenth century and under the influence of the Wodeyar kings of Mysore. Doshi. (1985), p. 49.

³⁹ Ratan Parimoo. (1995). Portrait of Pilajirao Gaekwad. In Saryu Doshi (Ed.). *The Royal Bequest: Art Treasures of the Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery*. Bombay: India Book House, p. 109.

serve more as shadows than clear lines. This feature points to the influence of the Company School on the stylistic expression employed by the Marathas.⁴⁰ Sheikh explains the technical rendition of this work as one which “hovers between drawing and painting.” “Although reticent, the hand of the artist has imbibed Tanjore School robustness and European naturalism in his expression...”⁴¹ Evidently, this early work attempts to integrate an academic style chiaroscuro in the medium of gouache on paper. The next example illustrates how the amalgamation of European technique and style with the local idiom— seen in the medium of paper—now embraces the Euro-modern materials of oil and canvas.

Case Study II: Portrait of Sayajirao Gaekwad II

The second portrait, that of Sayajirao Gaekwad II (1800-1847) points to the arrival of oil paints and canvas among Indian portrait artists (illustration 12). One observes how the emphasis on the rendition of gems and ornaments bears a strong resonance of the local artist’s original medium of work, i.e., mineral and metallic pigments. The anatomical rendition—while employing oil paints—does not explore the scope of oils quite fully towards foreshortening; instead, the artist uses oil paints to introduce chiaroscuro—which is not afforded by his traditional medium—which affords limited perspective. While this painting may be read as an example of the floundering stages of the native artist’s practice in the new medium which he sought to copy and assimilate, it may also be argued as a conscious localization of the usage of European materials and technique. The native artist consciously brought his predilection for the heightened renditions of gems and ornaments to the newly emergent aesthetic. While he chose to retain the technique of application from his native medium, he also aspired to the precise anatomical renditions of the Euro-modern genre. This localized aesthetic characterized by a

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p.109.

⁴¹ Gulam Sheikh. (1995). Tanjore-Maratha Portraits. In Doshi (Ed.), p. 25.

forceful evocation of textures of jewels and eventually fabrics would dominate the aesthetic of “indigenized” academic portraiture in the practice of the leading society portraitist of princely India, Raja Ravi Varma, who also graduated from the use of mineral pigments to oil colours and was self-taught like the Maratha-Tanjore portraitist. This stylistic and technical modification is illustrative of a definite shift in the handling of materials, i.e., the treatment of canvas by oil paints. Seen together, the emergence of this new stylistic and technical component helps us to depart from the idea of “assimilative tendencies” of the native practitioner, which I stated at the beginning of this section, to his participation in the indigenization of a Euro-modern genre and its eventual reinscription by local aesthetic sensibilities.

The idea of the “inter-ocular” or “inter-visual” field, discussed by Christopher Pinney in the context of the subaltern artist who participates in the creation of popular God pictures can be applied here.⁴² I take a cue from Sumathi Ramaswamy, who employs this idea profitably to unpack the indigenous artist’s agency in the rendition of Company School paintings.⁴³ The inter-ocular is clarified as the overlapping or shared space of images and media whereby the nature of the visual image becomes porous and can travel or migrate to other visual domains to forge new associations or reconfigurations.⁴⁴ With regards to the print medium, theatre and photography of late nineteenth and early twentieth century India, Pinney attributes this “spillage between genres” to conscious visual inter-referencing by

⁴² Christopher Pinney. (2004). *Photos of the Gods: The Printed Image and Political Struggle in India*. London: Reaktion Books, pp. 34-44.

⁴³ Sumathi Ramaswamy. (2003). Introduction. In Sumathi Ramaswamy (Ed.). *Beyond Appearances? Visual Practices and Ideologies in Modern India* (pp. xiii-xxix), New Delhi, California, London: Sage Publications, pp. xvii-xix.

⁴⁴ Christopher Pinney. (1997). The Nation (Un)Pictured: Chromolithography and “Popular” Politics in India. *Critical Inquiry*, 23(3), 834-867.

practitioners.⁴⁵ In light of this, our Tanjore-Maratha practitioner may be seen as occupying an inter-ocular field which comprises: his native idiom of practice, the Company School tradition, and the new academic portraiture. He consciously “selects” technical and stylistic strengths from these various visual fields and extends his own aesthetic formulation to reconfigure them in a new work.

A parallel example is seen in Ramaswamy’s analysis of an 1875 Tanjore mica painting, titled by W.G. Archer and Mildred Archer as “An Indian Artist Copying a European Portrait”,⁴⁶ (illustration 13). This portrait depicts a native artist seated at a table with a blank canvas, about to begin “copying” the portrait of a European soldier.⁴⁷ As pointed by Ramaswamy, in the absence of the final image, it is presumptuous to call the native artist’s practice as “copying”. While she acknowledges the art of portraiture as being the new prestige genre for artists and consumers alike, she dismisses the reduction of the artist’s agency to “passive imitation”; drawing on Pinney and Bhabha’s scholarship, Ramaswamy urges one to make room for invention, hybrid reconfigurations, new interpretations and partialization as the artist takes cognizance of the multitude of visual fields around him and is not interested in producing sameness.⁴⁸

I argue that this idea of reconfiguration through indigenous agency is crucial to the overall development of the social life of academic portraiture in the colony. In the absence of definite records on the two portrait commissions under discussion, it is not easy to invoke the agency of the patron, though the artist’s agency in the localization of the Euro-modern materials and genre is apparent. However, in the case of Ravi Varma, I will illuminate the

⁴⁵ Pinney. (2004), pp. 34-35.

⁴⁶ Ramaswamy. (2003). Introduction, p. xvii.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. xvii.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. xviii.

collector-patron's definite agency in the reconfiguration of academic portraiture to create a full-scale indigenized genre of a national high art. For this, the idea of "inter-ocularity" as a guiding context, clarified here, is vital.

2.2.3 Self-Taught Native Oil Portraitists

While the early native portrait artist who was affiliated to provincial schools of miniature painting was left to explore the scope of oil colours on his own in a relatively limited inter-ocular field, later portraitists such as Tiroovengada Naidu and Ravi Varma who enjoyed residencies at the Travancore and Baroda Courts in the decade of the 1870s were privileged to watch European portrait artists at work and access European copies and prints. This marks a definite strengthening of the overlap of visual fields, which it must be recalled, was enabled by the rising consumption of western visual art traditions at princely courts. Formal, medium or long-term appointments of European artists, as seen in the case of Charles Giron, facilitated the native artist's education, chiefly the knowledge of "mixing" of oil colours which was crucial to achieve shading and perspective. Another point of differentiation between the practice of early native portraitists and later day practitioners was that the early artist attempted to imbibe the principles of oil painting within his own local genre of practice, namely, provincial miniature style portraiture; the later portraitists such as Naidu and Varma positioned themselves as academic portraitists and attempted full-scale oil painting with large-sized canvas sheets and oil paints, by now readily available in the Indian market.

In this continued and expanded discussion of the long-term trajectory of the genre of academic portraiture in the colony, I concentrate on the materials and techniques available to later self-taught artists whose careers overlapped with the establishment of Art Schools and the opening of the Indian market to European goods. These developments revolutionized the

production of oil portraits by native practitioners, and in the process repositioned consumption practices, which could now find the western prestige portrait's equal match in the indigenously-produced artwork. Art restorer, Rupika Chawla, points to sophisticated technology and shipping — two important aspects of the larger Industrial Revolution — which led to the import of neatly packaged consumer goods, including art materials: From 1840, oil paints came in collapsible tin tubes, which were portable. The wide range of shades and paints marketed from this time, like Cerulean, Viridian, Ultra marine blue, Chrome yellow and Cadmium, helped native artists to produce the same colourful assortment of flesh tones, jewels and brocades as their European counterparts. Chawla also analyses the properties of traditional paints vis a vis oil paints to explain how each required a unique process of blending, application and drying to produce best results. She explains,

Oil was a fairly unknown medium for Indian artists, who had traditionally painted with different forms of tempera. All water-based paints dry fast without really allowing the painter to blend and manoeuvre his paint and brush. The painting of an arm, for example, depended on the gradation of flesh colour from light to dark in order to give it realism. This was the technique which later painters continued to use when they first switched over from tempera to oils, at a time when they were still trying to understand the potential of oil paints. Through trial and error, Varma worked with this supple medium, while understanding the blending, smoothening and the play that were possible with this slow-drying substance.⁴⁹

Against this backdrop of the opening up of the Indian market for new medium and materials and the native practitioners' grasp over the technique of oil painting, I expand the trajectory of academic portraiture in India with examples of two artists to demonstrate their place in Sayajirao's collecting practice. As compared to the early consumption of academic portraits by European artists, this consumption of portraits by native self-taught artists unravels institutional contexts, chiefly, the colonial exhibition and its attendant apparatus of certifying

⁴⁹ Rupika Chawla. (1993). Form and Substance. In R.C. Sharma (Ed.). *Raja Ravi Varma: New Perspectives* (pp.116-125), New Delhi: National Museum, pp. 118-119.

prize-winning works, as informing the collector about emerging native oil portraitists. I incorporate Carol Breckenridge's idea about the institutionalization of art practices in India and Britain from 1851-1925 due to the proliferation of world fairs and its resultant transformation of the exercises of collecting and display from being those of random eclecticism to becoming 'scientific' and refined.⁵⁰ Among these processes, the provision of ideological and practical apparatuses by world fairs is crucial for application to the case of the Indian royalty. The ideological apparatus advocated "taste" on the part of the collector and the practical apparatus, emphasized criteria of "authenticity", "period", "provenance" and "medium" of artworks.⁵¹ To deal with the first apparatus, the emphasis on "refinement" and "taste" had a direct bearing on the process of "modernization" among Indian collectors such as Sayajirao. Coming to the second apparatus, Breckenridge engages with empirical tools of "reproduction" and "taxonomy" or the Linnaeus-like classification employed in the exhibition catalogues, which singularly changed the face of collecting. Thus random sampling came to be replaced by issues of, authenticity and provenance among other details. Through the two examples of Naidu and Varma, I will not only highlight these new guiding principles in the collecting practice of Sayajirao, but also demonstrate how the native collector institutionalized and internationalized his own position as a regular lender to exhibitions, thereby providing a reciprocal appraisal of artists and genres. This inaugurates Sayajirao's role as arbiter of new, emerging aesthetic formulations, such as the indigenized academic portraiture, which would reinforce itself as an independent genre through repeated loans.

⁵⁰ Breckenridge. (1989).

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 205-206, 211-212.

Case Study I: Tiroovengada Naidu

The earliest artist in this category of Indian self-taught oil painters at Baroda appears to be Tiroovengada Naidu.⁵² Naidu illustrates the case of traditional guild painters from Madura in South India, who availed short-term apprentices with senior artists to establish themselves as oil portraitists.⁵³ It may be speculated that Naidu was introduced to Baroda through Dewan T. Madhavarao who was instrumental in introducing several artists and craftsmen, especially from Travancore, to Sayajirao. It is ascertained from correspondence dedicated to exhibitions that Naidu was at the Baroda Court at least three years before Ravi Varma. He painted a portrait each of Sayajirao Gaekwad and Madhavarao; these were loaned to the Fine Arts Exhibition, Poona in 1878.⁵⁴ *Portrait of Sir Elliot* by Naidu and his *Sree Krishna and Yesoda* were loaned to the Fine Arts Exhibition of Poona in 1881 alongside Ravi Varma's *A Nair Girl Tuning a Fiddle*. Naidu was also sent to Poona for a week-long stay with a servant to see the pictures which were exhibited.⁵⁵ Naidu's representation at exhibitions was only the beginning of a long and sustained commitment on the part of Sayajirao and his resource persons, such as Madhavarao, to represent native self-taught artists in the medium of portraiture and genre subjects at international exhibitions. Ravi Varma was to become the most scintillating example of this practice.

⁵² See Appendix I for artist's biography.

⁵³ The Census of 1901 puts the number of painters from Madura at 919. These painters belonged to the Naicker or Naidu clan and some among them enjoyed patronage at the Travancore Court. A. Ramachandran. (1993). *Raja Ravi Varma Exhibition: A Prologue*. In R.C. Sharma (Ed.) (pp. 13-23), p. 22.

⁵⁴ GSA/SCV/HPO: Section 65, Daftar 111, File 6: *Exhibitions: Poona Fine Arts Exhibition (1879-1896)*: Letter 34, From: T. Madava Row, Dewan's Cutchery, 2 August 1878, To: T. Waddington, Honorary Secretary, Fine Arts Exhibition, Poona.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, Letter 462, From: Madhavarao, Dewan's Cutchery, 27 August 1881, To: Honorary Secretary, Western Indian Fine Arts Exhibition, Poona and Memo 99 from T. Madava Row.

Exhibition correspondence informs us of the genre-based ethnic subjects and mythological themes which Naidu painted in addition to portraits; these were *Mahratta lady*, *Guzerati lady* and *Sree Krishna and Yesoda*.⁵⁶ The similarities in subjects explored by Naidu and Ravi Varma gesture towards the importance of three themes: “portraits”, “genre subjects” and mythological subjects. In terms of subject matter, genre subjects were renditions of native Indians and drew their thematic continuity from the Company School which engaged heavily with depiction of castes and occupational types, which may also be seen as a pictorial extension of the colonial obsession with categorization of the colonized peoples. While classification and naming was a colonial device to facilitate administration, its other component, i.e., the “technological grid” of railways, roads, postage and telegraph, which Prakash sees as a means to consolidate the physical space of the colony for better governance⁵⁷, also forged a new understanding of “India” as an assembly of distinct regional types. These “regional types” were actually connected by new modes of transport and hence accessible to artists; the regional types also congregated in cosmopolitan cities such as Bombay, which became an important base for artists such as Varma.⁵⁸ Additionally, their visual representations occupied the new medium of photography which added to the inter-visibility of the space occupied by the native artists. Thus in its new reconfigured avatar, this prevalent theme now depicted genre subjects, as native “regional” types, dressed in regional costumes and complementary locations.⁵⁹ In addition to portraits and genre subjects, the third

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, Letter 462.

⁵⁷ Prakash (1999), pp. 159-170.

⁵⁸ C. Raja Raja Varma. (1896). *A Narrative of The Tour In Upper India of His Highness Prince Martanda Varma of Travancore*. Bombay: Printed at The Education Societies Steam Press, pp. 21, 23. C. Raja Raja Varma. (1895-1906). *Diary of C. Raja Raja Varma*. Copied by S. Srinivasan Potty, Trivandrum.

⁵⁹ Proliferation of this theme can be seen in the works of The Bombay Art School-trained artists such as M.F. Pithawala, Pestonjee Bomanjee and M.V. Dhurandhar starting from the late 1880s. Partha

nascent theme of mythological subjects would also gain momentum. All three themes drew on the tradition of academic portraiture for their materials and technique while also referencing each other to facilitate “migration of images”, to borrow Pinney’s idea.⁶⁰ I present the systematic engagement of Ravi Varma in Sayajirao’s collecting practice to demonstrate the reconfiguration of these three themes within the technique of academic portraiture to demonstrate the formulation of a distinct aesthetic.

Case Study II: Raja Ravi Varma

Raja Ravi Varma’s (1848-1906)⁶¹ engagement with Baroda merits a lengthy and detailed discussion. His case illustrates the consolidation of localized aesthetics, which grew within the fold of the social life of academic portraiture into a full-scale independent and indigenized genre, which became representative of a new national high art. Much like Tiroovengada Naidu, the Travancore-based Ravi Varma was introduced to the Baroda Court by Dewan T. Madhavarao, who had also served as Dewan of Travancore State from 1857 to 1872 and knew the artist and his works. In addition to commissions at Travancore, Varma began to paint works systematically for exhibitions. These exhibition entries eventually helped with the artist’s introduction to Baroda. Varma had gained recognition especially through two works which depicted ethnic genre subjects- *Nair Lady at her Toilet* and *Tamil Lady playing on a Sarabat*, both of which won the gold medal at the Madras Fine Arts Exhibition in 1873 and 1874 respectively.

In 1880, Varma’s first connection with Baroda was made in two capacities, as prize-winner of the Gaekwad’s gold medal and potential artist-in-residence at Baroda Court. T.

Mitter.(1994). *Art and Nationalism in Colonial India: Occidental Orientations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 81-94. Here, Naidu and Varma are positioned as earliest exponents of this theme in oils.

⁶⁰ Pinney. (1997), pp. 834-867.

⁶¹ See Appendix I for artist’s biography.

Madhavarao sent the painting *Nair Lady*, from the Travancore Collection, to the 1880 Arts Exhibition at Poona. It won the Gaekwad's gold medal.⁶² In all possibility, Madhavarao played a crucial role in awarding this Baroda-sponsored prize to the Travancore-based artist to endorse his work. Madhavarao also acquired *Sita Bhoopravesham* from the Travancore Palace premises and presented it to Sayajirao.⁶³ In some ways, Madhavarao was attempting to salvage Varma's important works which were left ignored and unsupported by the new ruling king, Visakhram Thirunal who ascended the throne in May 1880; he was also trying to relocate Varma's "patronage base" to Baroda. The crucial point to note here is that *Sita Bhoopravesham* and *Shakuntala writing to Dushyanta*⁶⁴ appear to be the first two mythological compositions by Varma; they may have provided the seed-idea to Sayajirao and Varma to explore a full-scale series of mythological works which eventually represented the new genre of India's national high art. In the following analysis, I argue for the making of this new national high art by Varma, with the collector Sayajirao's agency as collector and lender to exhibitions. I situate the genre's evolution in the continued trajectory of the social life of academic portraiture and its sustained consumption by Sayajirao.

Sree Krishna and Yesoda by Naidu and *Sita Bhoopravesham* by Varma were one-off mythological compositions already on the exhibition trail. At the same time, the colonial administration, through spokespersons such as Lord Napier (Governor of Madras), in 1871, advised Indian artists trained in European painting to draw from the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, described as "the most inexhaustible and diversified stories for pictorial

⁶² Marthanda K. Varma. (1964). *Raja Ravi Varma*. Trivandrum: K.M. Varma, p. 12.

⁶³ No Author/ Date. *Ravi Varma: The Indian Artist*. Madras: G.A. Natesan & Co. Madras, p. 14.

⁶⁴ *Shakuntala writing to Dushyanta* was exhibited in Madras in 1876. This picture was purchased by the Duke of Buckingham, then Governor of Madras. Sir Monier Williams used this painting as a frontispiece for his English translation of Kalidasa's *Shakuntala*, bringing considerable international acclaim to the artist and creating a demand for Indian classical subjects.

representation which any country should possess”.⁶⁵ Lord Napier reinforced the merits of visual representation of the Indian epics and classical literary themes, with the “powers of European Art” to formulate an indigenous-national counterpart of European history painting.⁶⁶ I contend that despite the colonial backing for these indigenous themes and their prevalent output by native artists, it required Sayajirao’s agency to conceive the mythological project as a “series” and exhibit it publicly to mark its inception as an autonomous genre. The evolution of this genre of mythological paintings reflects systematic phases of experiment and study on the part of Varma, which were backed by Sayajirao.

Due to Madhavarao’s presence, Varma was invited as state guest for the investiture of Sayajirao in 1881. At this time, he was commissioned to paint seven portraits of the royal household.⁶⁷ With these works produced over four months, Varma was entrenched in Sayajirao’s private collecting practice. A studio space was facilitated for the artist and subsequently he made several visits to the state. Between 1881 and 1888, the period between the two landmark commissions for Baroda, Varma worked towards a prolific output of genre subjects. As explored in the career of Naidu, these genre subjects were renditions of native Indian regional types and drew their thematic continuity from the Company School. These genre subjects depicted actors in routine chores, hobbies and domestic settings as opposed to the Company School’s caste-based occupational depictions. It is crucial to point to the application of the academic style portraiture to the production of genre subjects; to put it differently, genre subjects emerged within academic portraiture. This marked a clear two-way shift in the long-term trajectory of portraiture; firstly, portraiture now included genre subjects,

⁶⁵ Supriya Nair (1993). *European Influences on the Work of Raja Ravi Varma*. In R.C. Sharma (Ed.) (pp. 72-76), p. 73.

⁶⁶ E.M.J. Venniyoor. (1981). *Raja Ravi Varma*. Trivandrum: Government of Kerala, p. 96.

⁶⁷ Rupika Chawla (2010). *Raja Ravi Varma: Painter of Colonial India*. Ahmedabad: Mapin Publishing, p. 86.

not as generic types, but, as “real” sitters, at least in the case of Varma. Secondly, the category of genre subjects did not remain a derivative one; it emerged as a distinct, autonomous type.

The unhelpful situation of not having ready models to practise anatomical rendition actually accidentally provided Varma with a large documentation of real sitter subjects in domestic situations. These subjects were eventually formalised on canvas as “genre subjects”, which also formed a favoured category for native artists at colonial exhibitions. This pictorial documentation of real sitters in the form of sketch books by Varma, was accompanied by notes of the location, culture, and architecture, maintained by the artist’s brother and assistant, Raja Raja Varma.⁶⁸ These sketches provided Ravi Varma with a copious archive of images to depict diverse regional Indian types.⁶⁹ In their visual flavour, while these depictions moved away from the stereotypical images of castes and professions which were the highpoint of the Company School repertoire, they reinforced the Oriental’s interest in expanding the archive of Orientalism, albeit with a different motivation; this motivation was to achieve the scientifically precise and life-like qualities of the academic oil portrait to depict “Indian” types. Hence, the conventions of academic oil portraiture, in terms of volume, mass, depth, chiaroscuro, real flesh tones and textured surfaces, were brought to bear on Indian subjects. The localization of aesthetics continued in the treatment of jewels, fabrics and even anatomical proportions.

The exhibitions’ repeated endorsement of these works is reflected in Varma’s sustained presence as prize-winner in the category of genre subjects. Thus, while Varma’s own masterful documentation of regional genre types was on going and exhibitions encouraged this as an independent category, Sayajirao’s agency as a collector and lender facilitated the display of

⁶⁸ C. Raja Raja Varma. (1896). C. Raja Raja Varma. (1895-1906).

⁶⁹ Varma’s Madras-based friend, Aloo Khareghat became the model for the Parsi type in the work *Going Out*. Interview with Mary Clubwalla, Madras. June 2004. For Priya Maholay-Jaradi. (2005). Portraits of the Parsees from the Studio of Raja Ravi Varma. A research paper for the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, Mumbai.

Varma's works. The native collector not only displayed his awareness to the burgeoning culture of taxonomies and classification at exhibitions, but also astutely responded to the growth of individual categories through commissions and loans of multiple paintings or entire series. The genre subject was regularly commissioned and displayed. That these individual biographies were able to reinscribe the social lives of entire genres and lend them new meaning, bears testimony to Appadurai's proposition that although difficult, it was not impossible for individual objects to influence the long-term trajectory of an entire set.⁷⁰ From the time of Naidu, the thin output of genre subjects had clearly proliferated and become an independent category in which artists and collectors vied for representation and certification. The exhibition committees as well as collector-lenders and artists cultivated a taste in favour of this new style. This means that the ideological and practical apparatuses of exhibitions firmly supported the depiction of Indian subjects in the scientific-naturalist technique of academic realism.

This brings me to the nature and perpetuation of exhibition categories which flourished on the principle of "othering" the native artists and genres. This principle served the imperial rationale of civilizing the "other". I anchor this discussion which highlights the emergence of a national genre and the native collector's agency within the prevalent system of classification, taxonomy and binaries, to point to that "interstitial zone of images and practices" which Prakash urges us to look for in "the contradictory exercise of British power".⁷¹ Prakash acknowledges the formulation of binaries to justify the British administration's "civilizing mission" in the eighteenth century; he also notes the gradual displacement of these binaries in the nineteenth century to offer the passage of science to the colonized people, to instill a sense

⁷⁰ Appadurai. (1986), Introduction, p. 36.

⁷¹ Prakash. (1999), p. 20.

of equal participation to make them “modern subjects”.⁷² This sense of equal participation is lent by the colonial officials at exhibition committees who display a sustained confidence in the “native artist” as the most suitable exponent of “native types”, a belief resonant of the Company School. However, the artist and collector’s interest lies in positioning the native artist as equally capable of courting the scientific Euro-modern oil portraiture and localizing it. Varma’s success at exhibitions proves the arrival of the indigenous patron and practitioner as agents of the new scientific and indigenized genre. This arrival of the native agent resonates in Prakash’s formation of western-educated Indian elite and the indigenization of science, albeit in a space which, according to him, becomes neutral and free of the binary oppositions in nineteenth century colonial governance.⁷³

At this juncture I contest Prakash’s position to show that the indigenization of European genres by the native collector was negotiated in the exhibitions’ domain which never quite effaced its founding binaries.⁷⁴ Thus, while this category of the “genre subject” or the rubric of “excellent of their class” or “native work in a particular medium”⁷⁵ marked the native artist and indigenized genre’s acceptance in the space of colonial exhibitions, it was through a conscious process of “othering”. However, the paradox of this taxonomical and classificatory colonial device lay in lending an independent category to the emerging national high art. The native collector-lender relied on this category to represent a localized aesthetic of European academic

⁷² *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4, 8.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

⁷⁴ Official Policy for education and the establishment of art schools were geared towards the creation of a coveted place for European salon arts which led to a resultant, tacit classification of the indigenous arts as low-brow. Also, judging by western standards of the high arts, a complete absence of high art traditions was perceived in India. This led to the idea that all art practices in India were traditional, industrial and decorative, and all practitioners were artisans. Thus there was a continued sustenance of the binary between European and native. For a detailed discussion on European views towards Indian art, see Partha Mitter. (1977). *Much Maligned Monsters: A History of European Reactions to Indian Art*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

⁷⁵ Mitter. (1994), p. 68.

portraiture, which, on the strength of this classification, could actually hold its own as an autonomous home-grown genre. This classificatory structure aided the endorsement of a new national genre and aesthetic in the global domain of exhibitions. In unraveling the native agency against this discussion of colonial devices, one has looked beyond the conventional Saidian formulation of the native subject as a passive object of colonial domination and of British India's career either in submission or opposition to colonialism, as also suggested by Prakash.⁷⁶ Thus, viewing the collector's functioning within the prevalent colonial system and his adroit negotiation of its apparatuses, points to that otherwise invisible "interstice" which hosts native agency and nationalism within a predominantly colonial space.⁷⁷ This argument is strengthened further through Sayajirao's role as lender of Varma's set of ten genre paintings to the Chicago Exposition of 1893. This series was acclaimed for its "ethnological value" while also taking note of the "progress of instruction in art (in the colony)".⁷⁸ This evidences the arrival of the native practitioner in the genre of academic portraiture while also underlining his non-assimilation among mainstream European practitioners. Despite the employment of these rubrics and their strategy to maintain a "difference" between the native and European

⁷⁶ Prakash. (1999), p. 19.

⁷⁷ Sayajirao's deft maneuvering across this colonial space becomes even more noteworthy when one compares the ground with the making of a national art by the Bengal School. In sharp contrast, these categories for native artists were systematically replaced by categories such as "pure oriental art" to showcase the *swadeshi* works of the Bengal School. Hence, at the level of display and documentation, a more relenting classificatory structure lent itself to the making of a "national" art by the Bengal ideologues. This is because due to its conscious rejection of European naturalism the Bengal School was not seen as a threat to the European high arts.

⁷⁸ "This series of ten paintings in oil colours by Ravi Varma, court painter to several presidencies in India, is of much ethnological value; not only do the faces of the high caste ladies which are portrayed give the various types of localities, but the Artist's careful attention to the details of costume and articles used in the social and ceremonial life he has depicted render the paintings worthy of special commendation." Certificate of Commendation in Venniyoor. (1981), p. 32. A diploma certificate of "specific merit" was awarded to the artist. "The series of well-executed paintings give a good idea of the progress of instruction in art. They are true to nature in form and colour and preserve the costumes, current fashions and social features". The other diploma described Varma's series as "Illustrations of the life of the native people" Venniyoor. (1981), p. 32.

exponent, it is proven that Baroda's loan of a distinct series of genre subjects to Chicago facilitated international appraisal for this genre.

It is crucial to take note of exhibition committees as well as other collectors' perception of Baroda as Varma's "chief lending agency" to exhibitions. Enquiry from the Cutch Exhibition Committee of 1884 for a loan of Varma's works testifies this.⁷⁹ Moreover, Baroda makes efforts to elicit a response from Varma; in turn it informs the committee of a current loan of Varma's works to the Calcutta International Exhibition of 1883 coupled with the non-availability of other works.⁸⁰ This communication points to the royal Baroda Collection's role as a manager and facilitator of Varma's paintings in a hectic schedule of regular exhibition displays. As pointed out by Mitter, while Indians could participate in colonial exhibitions, costs were prohibitive for artists, making it impossible to exhibit outside of their own home towns.⁸¹ Without the collector as facilitator and lending agency, the likes of Varma may not have been able to manage the high visibility he gained on the exhibition circuit. Thus I establish the context of the royal Baroda Collection and exhibitions as mutually reinforcing the value of Varma's genre subjects and endorsing it as an independent category.

My interest lies in taking this argument further to demonstrate how this series of mostly single-sitter "genre subjects" which drew on the practice of academic portraiture, was applied to the formulation of multi-actor mythological paintings, which simultaneously also derived from European history painting. Sayajirao met Varma personally while holidaying in the southern Indian hill station of Ootacamund in 1888, to paint a series of fourteen *purāṇic*

⁷⁹ GSA/SCV/HPO: Section 65, Daftar 111, File 1: *Exhibitions: India & Europe (1878-1884)*: Letter from: Manibhai Jasbhai, Bhuj, Cutch, 8 January 1884, To: Seytoo Raoji.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, Letter 3132, From: Name illegible, Huzūr Office, 19 January 1884, To: Manibhai Jasbhai; Letter from: Ravi Varma, 27 January 1884.

⁸¹ Mitter. (1994), p. 67.

pictures. A clear extension and application of the genre subject to the formulation of the mythological series can be discerned from the India-wide tour undertaken by Varma soon after this meeting, to refine his study of regional types and find appropriate costumes to dress his mythological actors. Gulam Mohammed Sheikh recognises this link between the India tour and 1888 commission.⁸² A closer look at some examples in the 1888 series reveals the borrowing of “real models” from Varma’s sketchbooks and field studies of genre subjects.⁸³ Moreover, these mythological episodes are provided “real settings” through the insertion of backdrops and props, which are accumulated and documented during fieldtrips and which are also important to Varma’s genre subjects. In addition to the localization of the academic portraiture through the genre subject, another distinct process of indigenization is seen in the application of distinct flesh tones and animated stances to Varma’s actors. I explain this indigenization through a previous study undertaken to demonstrate the influence of classical literary and dance-drama traditions on Varma’s works⁸⁴.

A keen scholar of Sanskrit literature, Varma was very aware of canonical and other literary traditions.⁸⁵ The representation of his high-caste characters as fair-skinned and low-caste or menial characters such as Meganathan in *Victory of Indrajit*, as dark-skinned, followed specific canonical injunctions found in texts such as the *Abhinayadarpanam*. Such texts which

⁸² Gulam Mohammed Sheikh. (1993). Ravi Varma in Baroda. In R.C. Sharma (Ed.) (pp. 77-85), p. 77.

⁸³ Prince of Aundh, Bhavanrao was sketched at Varma’s Bombay studio; later this sketch was used to depict Duhshasana in *Draupadi Vastraharan*. Bhavanrao Pant Pratinidhi. (1946). *Autobiography of Balasaheb: Raja of Aundh*. Pune: D.G. Kulkarni Press, p. 474. A swordsman drawn from life after a Maharashtra type served as a model to the artist for painting King Rukmangada in *Mohini and Rukmangada*. Padmanabhan Tampy. (1934). *Ravi Varma: A Monograph*. Trivandrum: Kripin and Co., p. 40.

⁸⁴ Priya Maholay-Jaradi. (2009). Raja Ravi Varma: A Study of the Influence of Classical Indian Dance and Literature on His Works. In Ratan Parimoo and Sandip Sarkar (Eds.). *The Historical Development of Contemporary Indian Art* (pp. 43-49), New Delhi: Lalit Kala Akademi.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 47, 49. Varma’s interest in engaging scholars to learn Sanskrit literature and treatises is documented in his biographies. Rangini Rajagopal. (1993). Raja Ravi Varma: A Brief Biography. In R.C. Sharma (Ed.) (pp. 126-142), p. 131.

dealt with the visual and performing art traditions were known to Varma.⁸⁶ His ample-proportioned women were shaped by classical literary traditions and their contemporary interpretations. Authors like Kalidasa's works are replete with a picturesque language which describes the ideal *nāyika* as bearing ample proportions. These characteristic features or *lakshana* of the heroine became standard conventions not only in literature, but also the plastic and the performing arts. Varma's *nāyikas* are also reminiscent of the celebration of *sringāra* (erotic mood) in *Kathakali* through the contemporary compositions of the day. Courtier writers like Irayimman Thampi (1788-1856) and Vidwan Raja Raja Varma, along with Swati Thirunal, saw the beginnings of new trends in devotional compositions, which began to be interspersed with the *sringāra rasa* which gave expression to the *nāyika's* body-type.⁸⁷ Besides, in Malayalam literature, there is a great tradition of poetry in *Manipravalam* (a language tissue rich in Sanskrit words selected for its musical qualities); and the anatomical type advocated in this literary evolution was the ample-proportioned.⁸⁸

Moreover, in the overall composition and individual treatment of his actors, Varma was also influenced by the indigenous performing arts such as *Kathakali* and *Thullal* with which he engaged as a child.⁸⁹ The spatial arrangements of protagonists and supporting characters, and the majestic, animated quality of their limbs which appear to undertake a crisp traversal

⁸⁶ That Varma was definitely influenced by the *Mahā Vajra Bhairav Tantra* suggests that he may have been influenced by the theories of the *Chitralakshana*, the *Vishnudharmottaram*, etc. among other texts like Bharata Muni's *Nāṭyashāstra*, and Nandikesvara's *Abhinayadarpanam*, the contents of which Varma would have been familiarised with through his *Kathakali* training. Nandikesvara's *Abhinayadarpanam* also prescribes the suggestion of sex, race, sect and class as part of the *āhārya abhinaya*, or attendant paraphernalia. Manmohan Ghosh. (1975). *Nandikesvara's Abhinayadarpanam: A Manual of Gesture and Posture Used in Ancient Indian Dance and Drama*. Calcutta: Manisha Granthalaya, p.13. Priya Maholay. (2000). *Rasa in the Works of Raja Ravi Varma*. MA Directed Readings. London: School of Oriental and African Studies, p. 8.

⁸⁷ Suresh Awasthi. (1993). Theatrical Influences on Ravi Varma. In R.C. Sharma (Ed.) (pp. 110-115), p. 110.

⁸⁸ Krishna Chaitanya. (1960). *Contemporary Indian Art Series: Ravi Varma*. New Delhi: Lalit Kala Akademi, p. 9.

⁸⁹ Shiva Kumar. (1993). *Home and the World of Ravi Varma*. In R.C. Sharma (Ed.) (pp. 60-71), p. 61.

through space, are stylistically and technically attributable to *Kathakali*.⁹⁰ This idea of painting a tableau, like in a dance-drama, wherein the characters interact or see each other, denies the presence of the beholder. This “absorptive strategy” is explained by Pinney as a mark of distinction of western art and the very antithesis of ritual or cultic art which facilitates eye-contact between the subject of the artwork and the beholder.⁹¹ He also recognizes its influence on Varma’s works.⁹² I have noted the evolution of Varma’s mythological compositions at Baroda from single-subject paintings which may afford interaction between the beholder and subject of the artworks, to narrative-style, multi-subject tableaux. Clearly, if Varma adopted his technique and compositions from European history painting, which is the case as we will see in the subsequent discussion, this absorptive element was keenly observed by him from the European source-genre of reference; however, I also contend that the artist’s local milieu and its rich performing arts repertoire also guided the gradual evolution of Varma’s tableau-like mythological compositions. For, Varma’s appreciation of the indigenous performing arts forms was profound. I have argued my case, especially in footnote 90, to show that Varma comprehended their technical aspects to the extent of facilitating their application to another medium. His improvisations in final renditions also point to a distinct stylization of gestures and stance, which borrow from the indigenous performing arts⁹³ (illustrations, 16, 17).

⁹⁰ Given Varma’s engagement with *Kathakali* and *Thullal*, Maholay-Jaradi analyses the facial expression, hand gestures and position of the feet of Varma’s protagonists to demonstrate how keenly he employed the “treble structure” of Indian classical dance in his compositions. Kanak Rele’s theory of body kinetics is also employed here to analyse the geometrical patterns formed by the limbs and bodies of Varma’s characters on canvas. (Illustrations 14, 15) This analysis shows a definite influence of the classical dance-drama traditions such as *Kathakali* on Varma’s compositions. Maholay-Jaradi. (2009), pp. 43-46.

⁹¹ Christopher Pinney. (2003). A Secret of their Own Country: Or How Indian Nationalism Made itself Irrefutable. In Sumathi Ramaswamy (Ed.) (pp. 113-150), p. 116.

⁹² *Ibid.*, pp. 116-117.

⁹³ The preliminary pencil-sketch of *Mohini and Rukmangada* (illustration 16) preserved at the Sri Chitra Art Gallery, Trivandrum, is invaluable to comprehend the injection of stylisation in the poses of Varma’s characters. Clearly, here the positioning of his characters keeps pace with the conventions of

As pointed out by Mitter, scholarship on Indian art of the colonial period has often used “external standards” or the imprint of “international modernism” for its analyses, thereby failing to unravel the artist’s individual choices.⁹⁴ With this analysis of the collector and artist’s agency in the reformulation of the European genre to localize it, I have shed light on local-regional aesthetic domains and their conscious courting, to demonstrate the arrival of the modern national who formulates a distinct indigenous-modernity. One returns to Durost’s definition of collecting which supports that objects need to be valued for representational ideas.⁹⁵ Sayajirao’s commissions to Varma begin to give expression to ideas of nationalism and thereby qualify as a collection.

While one does not attempt to diminish the agency of the artist in the creation of these landmark works, it becomes important to recall that the conception of this emerging “compositional style” by Varma as a “series” was crucial to its inception as a genre. Secondly, every mythological commission sponsored by Sayajirao, marks a distinct phase of evolution in this compositional style. Thirdly, Sayajirao exercised his agency as a lender to exhibit the landmark 1888 series in Bombay and Baroda in 1890-91; the display gained immense favour and popularity with audiences.⁹⁶ Without a complete “series”, an exhibition display would not have been possible; moreover, this body of works and its ability to hold as an independent display endorsed the potential of a “compositional style” to grow into a full-fledged “genre”.

stylisation as seen in the classical dance styles. Here the application of the *cāri* is discerned, i.e., drawing attention to foot contact with the earth and exploration of space. Kapila Vatsyayan. (1974). *Indian Classical Dance*. (Illustration 17). New Delhi: Publications Division, The Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, p. 16. This *cāri* brings the waist, hips, thighs and feet in a line with the action suggested, to heighten the mood and movement. Maholay. (2000), pp. 11-12.

⁹⁴ Mitter. (1994), pp. 7, 10.

⁹⁵ Durost. (1932), p. 10.

⁹⁶“They were publicly exposed for some days and immense crowds of people assembled from all parts of Bombay Presidency to see the paintings. They produced quite a sensation for a period, for it was the first time that subjects from the great Indian epics had been depicted on canvas so truthfully and touchingly...”. The First Biography quoted in Venniyoor. (1981), pp. 29-30.

This landmark acquisition and display supported by the native collector, set forth this newly-incepted genre on a long-term trajectory and an independent social life, which led to new experiments accompanied by indigenization of European genres. Varma met Sayajirao again while he was part of Prince Marthanda Varma's entourage in 1895-1896. From 1895, Varma began to study and make copies of European works in the Lakshmivilās Palace. Against a brief backdrop of the culture of collecting copies by Sayajirao, I argue for the systematic referencing of European history paintings by Varma for mythological compositions.

The culture of making copies of European originals existed from the time of the Mughal collector-patrons, especially Jehangir. These copies fulfilled the desire to collect and display landmark European compositions which could not be acquired in their original form. Moreover, collector-patrons supported their more gifted artists to make copies so that these native practitioners could assimilate the technical, stylistic and compositional strengths of the originals and apply them to later commissions for their patrons. It is interesting to see how the reliance on copies was geared to fulfill the void of significant originals or geared towards the formulation of new, original styles and themes. Likewise, works of old European masters remained out of reach for the local Indian collector, thus making room for acquisition of "copies". In her survey of some private collections in and around Calcutta, Tapati Guha-Thakurta unravels portraitist George Chinnery's role in helping the private collector Gopi Mohun Tagore to import copies of old masters from Europe.⁹⁷ She also points to the active role of European ateliers in making copies of Renaissance paintings. Mitter too highlights a whole

⁹⁷ Tapati Guha-Thakurta. (1992). *The Making of a New 'Indian Art': Artists, Aesthetics and Nationalism in Bengal c1850-1920*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 51.

segment of “copies of masters” on display at the 1874 Calcutta Exhibition which enjoyed prize sponsorship from the Calcutta *zamindārs* and elite collectors.⁹⁸

Sayajirao was especially interested in narrative-style European history painting⁹⁹ and engaged his network of resource persons to source or commission copies. Archival sources point to the role of architects such as F.A.H. Fillion in commissioning copies of European masters.¹⁰⁰ In addition to “copies” in the form of paintings, Sayajirao relied on copies of these works in the form of photographs or through reproductions in catalogues, subscription to art magazines or even popular prints for selection. These also served as references to produce copies for Sayajirao. While Pinney situates the artist in this inter-ocular space, I also identify the native collector as being aware of the inter-ocularity which was afforded by his own consumption patterns and which could be offered to the artist. In fact, Julie Codell gives agency to the collector’s awareness of this inter-ocular field as she explains that since artists such as Varma relied on copies to learn European painting, Sayajirao decided to acquire a collection of original European art.¹⁰¹ In Sayajirao’s building of a European art collection from the 1910-1911 onwards, Kavita Singh astutely reads “Sayajirao’s competitive gesture of collecting Europe”.¹⁰² She builds on Sayajirao’s case in the context of the colonial government’s failure to provide native audiences with a high art collection. Singh’s argument

⁹⁸ Mitter. (1994), pp. 74-75.

⁹⁹ The History Painting School emerged between the post-Renaissance to the mid-nineteenth century. It usually depicted a climactic moment from a biblical or mythological scene. After mid-eighteenth century, contemporary history scenes too came to be included in the paradigm. History painting occupied a premier position amongst genres of painting and was viewed as the equivalent of the “epic” in literature. Perhaps this is why collectors such as Sayajirao aspired to formulate India’s own history painting in the new medium of oil on canvas which embraced the technique of realism.

¹⁰⁰ GSA/SCV/HPO: Section 17, Daftar 29, File 17: *Europe Trips: Purchase of Articles in Europe, 1892*: Huzūr Order, From: Dewan Manibhai Jasbhai, 3 February 1891, To: V.V. Samarth.

¹⁰¹ Julie F. Codell. (2003). *Ironies of Mimicry: The Art Collection of Sayaji Rao III Gaekwad, Maharaja of Baroda, and the Cultural Politics of Early Modern India. Journal of the History of Collections*, 15(1), 127-146, p. 136.

¹⁰² Kavita Singh. (2009). *Material Fantasy: The Museum in Colonial India*. In Gayatri Sinha (Ed.), p. 51.

strengthens two points which I wish to underline: Sayajirao grasped the need for a European art collection/display to educate native audiences and practitioners and as a reformist royal elite he knew he could facilitate this collection.¹⁰³ Thus, although the formal expansion of the European collection happened in the form of the Picture Gallery at the Baroda Museum in 1920, Sayajirao acquired copies and originals in smaller numbers from the 1880s.

From 1895, Varma began to systematically study and make copies of European works in the Lakshmilās. The French orientalist painter, Benjamin Constant's *Judith* noted as one of the most significant paintings on display in the *durbār* hall of the Makarpurā Palace, was copied by Varma.¹⁰⁴ The rendition of the female protagonist in a light, marble-like complexion, naked down to the waist is referenced for Varma's famous mythological composition, *Victory of Indrajit*. The celestial nymph is modeled on Judith as her sari drops off to reveal her marble-complexioned body. Gulam Mohammed Sheikh contends that the nymph is modeled on a classical Venus and the Indian sari is used as a neo-classical drape.¹⁰⁵ What is important to note is that European copies became definite reference points for indigenous compositions, as, to borrow Pinney's terms, actors could now migrate from one genre to another through the overlap of visual traditions which was afforded by the large scale of consumption at the Baroda Court. Various authors analyse the influence of particular European paintings on Varma's mythological compositions. *Charity* became a reference point for the work, *Mandodari*, also titled *Poverty*, wherein a fair-skinned high-caste Brahmin woman flips a coin to a dark-complexioned beggar boy (illustration 18). Rupika Chawla claims that *Reclining Nair Woman*

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, pp. 50, 51.

¹⁰⁴ Edward Clair Weeden. (1911). *A Year with the Gaekwar of Baroda*. London: Hutchinson, pp. 281, 285.

¹⁰⁵ Sheikh. (1993), p. 81.

is modeled after the impressionist work, Manet's *Olympia*.¹⁰⁶ In these works, the localization of the aesthetic of European history painting is evident. While the making of copies was with the idea of "copying" or "emulating" the original theme to grasp its technique and style, its eventual application to indigenous subjects involved a definite adaptation and indigenization process. One sees that the mimetic tone of making copies was offset by definite ideas and visuals from Varma's field studies and documentation, indigenous performing arts or literary sources. These guiding principles lent to the painting a heavily indigenized context. Moreover, the context of prints and reproductions disciplined the gaze of the collector in favour of academic portraiture; he thus encouraged inter-referencing of images which occupied the inter-ocular field of consumption in the palace.

As much as the collector's idea of indigenous modernity was extended to Varma's art, critics and audiences too began to perceive a national high art in this project. Ramananda Chatterjee, a leading art critic of the time, especially appreciated Varma's works. He hailed Varma as the greatest painter of modern India who contributed to nation-building.¹⁰⁷ Balendranath Tagore, and other Bengali critics who contributed to contemporary popular journals such as *Sādhana*, *Prabāsi* and *Bhārati*, received Varma's works as an "independent variety of high art" with a "new national iconography".¹⁰⁸ Tapati Guha-Thakurta especially takes note of Balendranath Tagore's essay which framed a dominant aesthetic code for the new national high art; this code was framed on ideas of modernity and Indianness.¹⁰⁹ Evidently, Ravi Varma's works won critical acclaim for their distinct indigenous-modern aesthetic.

¹⁰⁶ Chawla. (1993), pp. 117-118.

¹⁰⁷ Ramananda Chatterjee. (1907). Ravi Varma. *The Modern Review*, January 1907, p. 86.

¹⁰⁸ Thakurta. (1992), p. 110.

¹⁰⁹ Balendranath Tagore's *Chitra-o-Kavya*. (1884), referred by Guha-Thakurta. (1993), p. 54.

2.2.4 Art School-Trained Native Portraitists

I have already demonstrated academic portraiture's position as a prestige genre in the consumption sphere of princely India from the days of the nascent and informal context of British itinerant artists. Now I will explain the institutional context of art schools which occupied eminence in academic portraiture's social trajectory in colonial India and lent itself to fortify the genre's prestigious position. Art schools also provided a well-entrenched institutional context to guide the native collector in his consumption of what became an increasingly "indigenously-produced" European genre. Partha Mitter's comprehensive documentation of the Bombay School of Art and its practitioners clarifies the repositioning of the genre as belonging equally to the native art-school trained artist as much as to his European counterpart.¹¹⁰ Mitter's scholarship becomes relevant to Sayajirao's practice as a collector, as Baroda shared its location with Bombay in the Western Presidency and the Bombay School of Art provided a formidable pool of formally-trained portraitists. These portrait artists established commercial studio practices and posed as the new register of professional salon artists; these shifts in the production locus shaped the strengthening status of the indigenously-produced academic portrait. It becomes clear that despite changing contexts to guide the collector and equally transient contexts to nurture portrait artists, for the consumer, it remained a prestige genre which straddled the personal lifestyle context as well as the state-wide modernization agenda associated with art education and exhibitions.

A general overview of the imperial policy towards education and the establishment of art schools in particular, will serve our purpose of understanding the pivotal position of academic portraiture vis a vis other genres. The foundation of art school education lay in the larger Official Policy for English education. This policy aimed to introduce India to an English

¹¹⁰ Mitter. (1994).

education system, so as to produce a large English-educated middle class to aid the British in the governance of the country.¹¹¹ As part of this imperial project, English schools and colleges came to be established in the major cities of India, alongside art schools which were founded in the 1850s in Bombay Madras, Calcutta and Lahore. Art Education was viewed as an instrument to inculcate western socio-cultural values among Indians. Despite this widely recorded view, the agenda for art education in the colony remained uneven in its founding mission as well as implementation. While several quarters saw a definite need to promote the “western fine arts” which were seen as completely lacking in the colony, other factions committed the cause of art schools to elevate the standards of traditional industrial and decorative arts. Fissured with differences, the agenda for art education played out differently at the four main schools, depending on the stewardship of the institution as well as response from students. While the Madras and Lahore Schools catered more to the artisanal classes, the Bombay and Calcutta Schools accommodated elite students who pursued the fine arts. Especially the Bombay School became a reputable institution for academic portraiture and salon sculpture.

I take special note of the imperial policy and the advent of art school education, which created a hierarchy among various artistic genres and lent a prestigious position to academic oil portraiture in the Western Presidency. This position was fortified with economically higher considerations in the pursuit of academic portraiture: relatively higher examination charges, expenses incurred on art materials and language of instruction led English-educated and elite

¹¹¹ Lord Macaulay, on the laying of the foundation of the British-Indian educational system, aimed at bringing up a class “who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern; a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals and in intellect”. Thomas Babington Macaulay. (2005). Minute on Indian Education, February 2, 1835. In Gaurav Desai & Supriya Nair (Eds.). *Postcolonialisms: An Anthology of Cultural Theory and Criticism* (pp.121-131), New Brunswick and New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, p. 130.

students to pursue the fine arts.¹¹² These factors combined to form an aura of social and artistic prestige around art school education in general and academic oil portraiture in particular. This aura extended to the market for portraits. Portrait painters are known to have charged Rs.100-200 whereas genre subjects fetched Rs. 25.¹¹³ Now, the indigenous portrait artist as salon painter contributed to the consolidation of this coveted position. This generation of art school-trained Indian artists established themselves as “salon artists” due to the dual benefit of formal training and establishment of studios or commercial practice. Another important development which shared the context of art schools was the founding of art societies. Mitter views art societies as an extension of European institutions in India, which were gradually taken over by Indians to serve their own needs, such as the diffusion of salon art in India.¹¹⁴ Baburao Sadwelkar’s extensive documentation of the Bombay Art Society shows its close links with the Bombay Art School; students found a place at the society’s annual shows beginning in 1889.¹¹⁵ The Society became an important meeting ground for patrons and artists. Through a discussion of the Bombay Art School-trained Samuel Fyzee Rahamin, I will analyse the place of the art school and art society context in grooming Sayajirao and augmenting his collection.

Case Study I: Samuel Fyzee Rahamin

Samuel Fyzee Rahamin (1880-1965)¹¹⁶ engaged with Sayajirao as an artist and art advisor for a decade from 1908-1918. After his training at the Bombay Art School and prestigious apprenticeship with artists at the Royal Academy, Rahamin specialized in portraiture, landscape and mural painting. He even enjoyed the rare opportunity to exhibit at the Academy

¹¹² Mitter. (1994), pp. 55, 58.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 80.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 65.

¹¹⁵ Baburao Sadwelkar. (1989). *Story of a Hundred Years: The Bombay Art Society: 1888-1988*. Bombay: The Bombay Art Society.

¹¹⁶ See Appendix I for artist’s biography.

in 1906.¹¹⁷ By the 1911 Bombay Exhibition, Rahamin had already painted a few portraits of the members of the Gaekwad household and these were loaned to the exhibition by the Khāngi Department. This loan included: *Portrait of His Highness Maharaja Saheb*, *Portrait of the Late Prince* (Baroda Museum), *Portrait of Prince Shivaji Rao* and *Portrait of Shrimant Sampat Rao* (Baroda Museum). In the capacity of an art advisor, Rahamin selected these four works alongside four other paintings of Ravi Varma: *Arjun-Subhadra*, *Kauns-Shakti*, *Radha-Krishna* and *Laxmi*.¹¹⁸ 22 articles from the Baroda Museum were also loaned for the exhibition.¹¹⁹

The presence of Rahamin's works in the private collection of Sayajirao and the Museum shows a definite extension of the consumption practices from the private chambers of the palace to Baroda's museums, either through donation of works or sharing of artists for the making of both collections.¹²⁰ The social trajectory of the academic portrait in India enjoyed a rising profile and Sayajirao had accommodated the education of native artists in this trajectory, as noted in Charles Giron's contract. This education of native artists and audiences was now assumed through the Baroda Museum, which was a distinct component of the state-wide modernization plan. This underscores my argument to position Sayajirao's consumption of visual traditions as extending to state-wide projects and thereby qualifying as a systematic "collecting practice". This also marks the meeting point of royalist narrative and nationalist historiography through private collecting and its extension to public projects. As much as "consumption" had moved to institutional spheres, so also informal contexts of grooming native collectors were now occupied by institutional spaces. Sadwelkar's documentation of the

¹¹⁷ Mitter. (1994), p. 100.

¹¹⁸ GSA/SCV/HPO: Section 65, Daftar 111, File 3: *Exhibitions: Exhibitions in India and Europe, Part III: 1890-1911*: Letter 1519, From: Narottam Morarjee Gokaldas, Secretary to Executive Committee of Old Bombay, 20 October 1911.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, Letter 1519.

¹²⁰ Annemarie and Hermann Goetz. (1961). *Catalogue of the Maharaja Fatesingh Museum*. Baroda: Maharaja Fatesingh Museum. Codell. (2003), p. 133.

Bombay Art Society as an important meeting ground for artist and patrons is exemplified here.¹²¹ Rahamin, who was trained at the Bombay School, exhibited with the affiliated Bombay Art Society after his return to India. The presence of these two institutions in the Western Presidency informed Sayajirao about the artist. Later, Rahamin tapped on this connection to facilitate the display of artworks from Sayajirao's collection for the 1911 Bombay Exhibition. The shared context of art school-art societies enriched the domain of private collecting and its participation at public exhibitions.

2.3 Salon Sculpture

Having explored the category of painting, I will now discuss European salon sculpture. Much like academic portraiture, I locate this genre in the lifestyle context, supported by hybrid Euro-Indian residential spaces. Partha Mitter draws our attention to some of the earliest Euro-Indian mansions which were patronized in Calcutta; he contextualizes European marble sculptures in this context of hybrid residential projects which were part of the Victorian ambience created by the Calcutta elite.¹²² The consumption of sculpture was markedly different from that of portraits in the sense that there was no ready pool of itinerant sculptors who naturally exposed the Indian consumer to this genre. Instead, sculptural art was primarily facilitated through architects and agents to furnish new mansions. Mitter also draws on contemporary print advertisements which enabled distance-sourcing of these works.¹²³ Thus, in Calcutta the context for consumption may be attributed to the high Victoriana of the era. Likewise, Peleggi's framing of the consumption of sculpture by the Fifth reign of the Siamese monarchy is part of an "omnivorous aesthetic" which simply devoured everything western to

¹²¹ Sadwelkar. (1989).

¹²² Mitter. (1994), pp. 268, 270.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 273-274.

be displayed in the interior spaces, without adhering to standards of taste.¹²⁴ I adopt a contraposition here to underline systematic acquisitions as opposed to the Siamese monarchy's random selections.

In Sayajirao's case, the point of departure to consume salon sculptures was in the lifestyle and furnishing context. The sculptures were systematically selected to suit distinct themes which governed the order of furnishing. These sculptures were also taken to a second level by localizing their aesthetic to include indigenous themes. The localization of this aesthetic closely followed the trajectory of paintings. Moreover, the modernization plan, in the case of Baroda, saw an augmentation of civic infrastructure which demanded new architectural projects such as schools, hospitals, gardens, and other recreational zones. These new spaces hosted European-style sculptures in their premises. These sculptural pieces completed the décor of interior spaces and the landscaping of open spaces. Specimens of European-style sculptural art in public spaces are especially important to this study as they exemplify how Sayajirao's private collecting practice shared common ground with his larger modernization plan and how it effectively shaped collecting and patronage practices among sponsor-patrons and the citizens of Baroda.

2.3.1 European Sculptors

Case Study I: Augusto Felici

Sculptor, Augusto Felici (b.1851)¹²⁵ inaugurates the discussion of this genre. The case of Augusto Felici and his appointment at Baroda Court from 1893-97 is comparable to that of the Swiss artist, Charles Giron, who preceded Felici. Correspondence exchanged between the Foreign Department, Simla, the Agent to the Governor General at Baroda, Sir Harry

¹²⁴ Peleggi. (2002), pp. 34-36.

¹²⁵ See Appendix I for artist's biography.

Prendergast and Dewan of Baroda, Laxman Jagannath illuminates a contract drawn out by the Huzūr Cutchery of Baroda to be approved by the Foreign Department for the appointment of Felici to the state service for a period of three years.¹²⁶

The following letter proves how collectors such as Sayajirao made a case for the residency of foreign artists in the country.

With reference to your office letter no. 13832 dated 19 December last, I have the honor to inform you that Signor Felici is a sculptor, practicing in Venice, and was recommended to His Highness the Maharajah when in Europe by Mr. Fillion, an Architect of Geneva who is acting as our agent for purchase of furniture in Europe. The accompanying letter (in original) and its translation in English received from Mr. Chisholm, being a recommendation in favour of Signor Felici, from the Mayor of Venice, testifies to the excellence of the Signor's character and works.¹²⁷

In addition to the ground created by host-collectors in India, the appointment of foreign artists required the backing of strong referees. Hence the above-mentioned letter from Sayajirao's office also encloses the reference from the Mayor of Venice, Lorenzo Tripole: Extracts from the reference read thus, "I have the honour to present to Your Lordship Signor Augusto Felici, the most worthy of sculptors. He is a native of Rome. He has been for many years resident in Venice where he is well known and his monuments much praised".¹²⁸

Here I wish to highlight the distinctly Italian character of the *durbār* hall of the Lakshmivilās Palace, which brought a thematic order to its furnishing. Correspondence

¹²⁶ NAI: *Foreign Department: Diary No. 124-I, Baroda, 1890: Notes and Orders: Employment of Mr. Augusto Felici, 1889-1890*: No. 9158, From: The Agent to the Governor General, 29 August 1890; Letter 3742 with enclosed contract conditions, From: Laxman J. Dewan, Huzūr Cutchery, Baroda, 16 December 1889, To: General Sir H. D. Prendergast, Agent to the Governor General, Baroda.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, Letter 487, From: Manibhai J. Dewan, Huzūr Cutchery, Baroda, 16 August 1890, To: General Sir H. D. Prendergast, Agent to the Governor General, Baroda.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, Letter from: Mayor of Venice, Lorenzo Tripole, 24 January, 1890.

recorded with shipping agents and forwarders, Tyabjee & Co., Bombay¹²⁹ throws light on the delivery of Murano glassware and marble mosaic with eight accompanying Italian workmen. In the segment of painting too, there was a marked preference for academic portraiture which marked descent from the Italian Renaissance. The French architect F.A.H. Fillion had sourced copies of European masters on a previous occasion.¹³⁰ He was also given charge for the purchase of items including vases, statues, and furniture pieces.¹³¹ The purchase of these articles in 1891-92 and Felici's appointment in 1893 shows that as an architect and advisor, Fillion took cognizance of this Italian décor theme and planned Felici's sculptures as part of it. This combination of specialists, Italian furnishings, Renaissance naturalism and Florentine masters strengthen the advent of salon sculpture in the lifestyle context of consumption.

While in Baroda, Felici worked in multiple genres. He painted wall and easel paintings. He produced marble and bronze busts to fulfill the need to have sculptural portraits of the Gaekwads. Felici produced four key marble reliefs for the Lakshmilās; these are interspersed with wooden balconies on the western side of the *durbār* hall. The reliefs depict muses, each holding a brush, lute, scroll and a hammer. They are believed to represent painting, music, law and engineering respectively.¹³² Felici's adaptation of Indian subjects in bronze such as *Indian Cheetah Tamer*, *Gujarati Lady* and the famous *Tanjore Dancing Girl* produced a distinct genre of Indian themes or genre subjects in European naturalistic style. The content of these genre sculptures points to Sayajirao or his architect Fillion's engagement of a European sculptor to employ European-style sculptural technique to produce typically Indian subjects. This

¹²⁹ GSA/SCV/HPO: Section 99, Daftar 129, File 39: *Correspondence with Merchants, Etc: Correspondence with Messrs. Tyabji & Co. (1888-1892)*: Letter from: Manibhai Jasbhai, Huzūr Cutchery, Baroda, 5 August 1890, To: Messrs. Tyabji & Co., Bombay.

¹³⁰ GSA/SCV/HPO: Section 17, Daftar 29, File 17: Huzūr Order of 3 February 1891.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, Five memos with letter from: F.A. Fillion, Paris, 13 June 1892, To: V.V. Samarth.

¹³² Sheikh. (1997), p. 9.

experiment is comparable to Madhavarao and Sayajirao's engagement with painting through Tiroovengada Naidoo and Ravi Varma. Thus, Sayajirao and the palace staff's, by now well-groomed acumen to employ European technique to Indic themes informed the commission of Indian genre scenes by Felici. Here it is crucial to highlight the "nature of sculptural art," which was explored to give representation to two themes: portraits and genre subjects. This is resonant of the trend in painting, wherein the native collector attached significant value to the creation of portraits and genre scenes, learnt from their sheer volume in the aforementioned discussions on academic portraiture. Portraits fulfilled the function of commemoration; genre scenes typically fulfilled the Indian collector's aspiration to see Indic themes in scientific and naturalistic renditions, whether painting or sculpture. It is imperative to explore the conscious juxtaposition of the "European" and "Indian" which can be learnt from the distinct yet equal place accorded to Indian genre subjects and European reliefs in the palace decor.

We have noted the placement of the European muses on the wall space, interspersed with the balconies. As for the Indian genre subjects, it is feasible to rely on Edward Weeden's account. Weeden, who pays careful attention to details of décor, notes how "the (*durbār*) hall is paved with very rare green marble of great beauty which is found only in the Gaekwar's territory, and in the middle is a table of the same marble, at which His Highness can transact any pressing business that may await him on his return".¹³³ This section of the hallway and the table, both made with "locally-produced material" plays host to the "Indian genre subjects" sculpted by Felici. The importance of this locally-produced green marble can be learnt from the fact that Weeden even visited the quarry which supplies the green marble, during one of his

¹³³ Weeden. (1911), p. 26.

tours with the royal retinue.¹³⁴ This placement demonstrates that modernization was not about Europeanization alone, but it equally espoused indigenization. Lastly, much like paintings, sculptures, too, were loaned to exhibitions, although in lesser volume. Partha Mitter records that despite Felici's departure from Baroda, Sayajirao lent his works for display at the 1896 Bombay Art Society Exhibition.¹³⁵

Case Study II: Derwent Wood

Derwent Wood (1871-1926)¹³⁶ is presented here as the second European sculptor to find representation at Baroda. Wood produced a landmark equestrian statue of Sayajirao which continues to grace the centrally-located square opposite the Kamātibāg in Baroda City. The exact year of production of this piece remains contested. 1907, 1914 and 1920 are suggested by Govindbhai Desai, Maud Diver and Philip Sergeant and Gulammohammed Sheikh, respectively.¹³⁷ However, it is firmly established that the bronze sculpture was commissioned by a group of citizens at the cost of Rs. 60,000 to commemorate Sayajirao's Silver Jubilee.¹³⁸ Sergeant adds that the sculpture was unveiled by Maharaja Holkar of Indore on March 17, 1913-1914. The pedestal bears the following line: "This statue was raised by Highness' grateful subject and admirers in India and beyond the seas in commemoration of his Silver Jubilee celebrated on the 5th March 1907, and in token of loyalty and appreciation of his ever

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 143. We will unravel the further significance of this local, indigenous green marble and Sayajirao's efforts to promote it in the international trails of exhibition in Chapter 4.

¹³⁵ Mitter. (1994), p. 72.

¹³⁶ See Appendix I for artist's biography.

¹³⁷ Govindbhai Desai. (1929). *Forty Years in Baroda: Being Reminiscences of Forty Years' Service in the Baroda State*. Baroda: Pustakalaya Sahayak Sahakari Mandal, pp. 60-61. Philip. W. Sergeant. (1928). *The Ruler of Baroda: An Account of the Life and Work of the Maharaja Gaekwar*. London: John Murray, pp. 145-146. Maud Diver. (1943). *Royal India: A Descriptive and Historical Study of India's Fifteen Principal States and their Rulers*. London: Hodder & Stoughton, p. 124. Sheikh. (1997), p. 9.

¹³⁸ Sergeant. (1928), pp. 145-146. Diver. (1943), p. 124.

progressive rule”.¹³⁹ The fact that this commission was significant for Wood can be learnt from his publication of articles about the sculpture in two issues of the famous *Academy Architecture and Architectural Review*.¹⁴⁰ From the lifestyle context of the consumption of salon sculpture and its guidance by architects and agents, I move on to explore the role of the Bombay School of Art which provided institutional backing to Sayajirao’s collection of this genre.

2.3.2 Art School-Trained Native Sculptors

Much like European-style portrait painting, European-style sculptural art became immensely popular among native practitioners. The presence of European sculptors was much less when compared to the volume of painters. Hence besides the role of European architects and agents, the popularity of this genre among native practitioners may be attributed to the art schools in India, especially the Bombay School of Art, which trained some of the best sculptors and created a demand for their works through architectural projects and public commissions.¹⁴¹ Mitter profiles the growth of sculptural art at the Bombay School. By 1867-8, John Lockwood Kipling and John Griffiths introduced “decorative sculpture” at the Bombay School.¹⁴² Full-fledged salon sculpture was not seriously taught as native students were seen more as part of a tradition of decorative sculpture and perhaps unable to master the salon style.¹⁴³ The availability of plaster casts advanced training in sculptural art. Additionally, instructors such as

¹³⁹ Desai. (1929), pp. 60-61.

¹⁴⁰ *The Academy of Architecture and Architectural Review* was founded in 1896 as a publication for the British Arts and Crafts Movement. Gradually it included aspects of archaeology, design and architecture in its discussions (<http://www.architectural-review.com/about-the-ar/history/ar-history/8603298.article>) Access Date: 24 May, 2011.

¹⁴¹ Mitter. (1994), p. 81.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 42.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 105.

Griffiths lauded the Renaissance achievements to inspire students in this genre.¹⁴⁴ The work of student sculptors from the Bombay School became noticeable as they were involved in architectural undertakings by the Public Works Department (PWD) in Bombay. Their talent was especially used for architectural decoration.¹⁴⁵ This work was followed by public commissions in the 1900s for sculptors such as B.V. Talim and G.K. Mhatre¹⁴⁶, which may be seen as part of the "statuemanía" at the turn of the century, which saw a proliferation of sculptures honoring personalities in public spaces and commemorating their deeds or perpetuating their memories as part of nation-building.¹⁴⁷

Case-Study I: Ganpatrao Kashinath Mhatre

Ganpatrao Kashinath Mhatre marked a successful debut at the Bombay Art Society in 1896, with the genre subject *Going to the Temple* which was received with immense critical acclaim and also earned him and indigenously-produced salon sculpture much exposure in the *Magazine of Art* in 1897.¹⁴⁸ This magazine was edited by M.H. Spielmann who became art advisor to Sayajirao in 1918 and hence there is a possibility that he introduced Mhatre to Baroda. As explained by Mitter, the genre of salon sculpture had remained a weaker component in the art school syllabus. Mhatre's debut changed the course of sculptural art for the native practitioner. Subsequently he exhibited at the Exposition Universelle in Paris in 1900 and the Delhi Durbār in 1903.¹⁴⁹ Mhatre established a foundry in Bombay and produced large-scale sculptures which displayed mythological as well as genre subjects.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 42, 58.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 60.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

¹⁴⁷ Peleggi. (2002), p. 109.

¹⁴⁸ Mitter. (1994), pp. 103, 106.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 107.

Mhatre was commissioned to produce a marble bust of Sayajirao by a philanthropist, Zaveri Vithaldas Chaturbhuj. This sculpture was funded as part of a charitable project, which was not only inspired by Sayajirao's modernization plan, but also partnered a project in this larger plan. On the occasion of the opening of the Patan Water Works by the Municipality, with the support of a grant-in-aid and loan scheme sanctioned by Sayajirao, Chaturbhuj contributed a public garden with a fountain and a kindergarten school building at Patan. As part of this charitable project, he commissioned a marble bust by Mhatre. Sardar Sir Chinubhai of Ahmedabad unveiled this commemorative piece at the opening ceremony in the Chaturbhujbāg in 1918.¹⁵⁰ Mhatre also produced an equestrian sculpture of Shivaji, which was originally commissioned for the Shivaji Memorial Park in Poona. Due to differences between the Poona-based committee and sculptor, the committee rejected the piece and Sayajirao supported the artist by buying the sculpture and placing it in the Committee Baugh/Kamātibāg.¹⁵¹ Gulammohammed Sheikh establishes the date of this sculpture as 1934.¹⁵² Another Bombay-based sculptor, V.P. Karmarkar, together with G.K. Mhatre, produced a sculptural piece titled *Brave Boy of Amreli, Dhari* which represents a genre scene. The theme depicts two village boys fighting a tiger during one of Sayajirao's hunting expeditions.¹⁵³

Case Study II: Fanindranath Bose

Fanindranath Bose¹⁵⁴ benefitted of art education in Europe and made a marked presence at exhibitions in Britain. As a result his works forayed into several European collections. Sayajirao invited Bose to produce eight sculptures for the Lakshivilās gardens

¹⁵⁰ Desai, (1929), pp. 184-186.

¹⁵¹ Fatesinghrao P. Gaekwad. (1989). *Sayaji Rao of Baroda: The Prince and the Man*. Bombay: Popular Prakashan, pp. 370-371.

¹⁵² Sheikh. (1997), p. 9.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

¹⁵⁴ See Appendix I for artist's biography.

and two for the Baroda Gallery in 1920. In keeping with his expanding collection of copies of significant international works, Sayajirao commissioned Bose to make a copy of *The End of the Day* which was inspired by Jean Francois Millet¹⁵⁵ and *The Hunter* from sculptor-collector William Goscombe John's Collection. In the absence of a conducive bronze casting foundry in Baroda, Bose completed the commission in Edinburgh. Sayajirao also invited him to engage with the Kalābhavan.¹⁵⁶ Bose used his "new sculptor style", which according to Mitter, "emulated Mercie's small-scale statuettes, in which the taut, slightly twisted pose of the figures affords opportunity for the fullest display of modeled musculature and body work in rippling, reflective bronze".¹⁵⁷ This modeling can be appreciated in Bose's *Lady with a Water Pot* (Illustration 19). He also supplemented this technique with the stylistic feature of "broken surfaces" on the statuettes; it was inspired by Rodin and Mercie.¹⁵⁸ These avant garde features were incorporated in the treatment of Indian subjects by Bose. Bose sculpted native subjects engaged in routine chores thus giving representation to the mundane in European-style art. This depiction of "mundane chores" establishes a definite shift from the caste-based occupations or activities which were integral to the Company School of painting. Instead of "caste", the category of the "regional type" with its distinct costumes and backdrops became increasingly visible in the works of painters Tiroovengada Naidu and Ravi Varma, to sculptors such as Fanindranath Bose and G.K. Mhatre.

In addition to the above, Sayajirao gave commissions to Bombay-School sculptors: Phadke, Kolatkar, Karmarkar and Gokhale.¹⁵⁹ One sees that native exponents of European-style sculptural art were actively supported by Sayajirao's collecting practice as well as other

¹⁵⁵ Codell. (2003), p. 132.

¹⁵⁶ Sheikh. (1997) 50.

¹⁵⁷ Mitter. (1994), p. 117.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 117.

¹⁵⁹ Shah. (1995). Foreword. In Doshi (Ed.), p. 8.

public and institutional domains. In closing, I locate Sayajirao's knowledge of indigenously-produced European-style sculpture in this context of the Bombay Art School, which offered him a ready group of practitioners.

2.4 Conclusion

This chapter clearly evidences the position of European genres, chiefly academic portraiture and salon sculpture, as "prestige consumption" in the new Euro-modern lifestyle context of elite colonial India. In addition to this prestigious status, these two artistic traditions also qualify as scientific and modern for the native collector, who acknowledges its natural, real and life-like quality and scale. Sayajirao's commissions to portraitist, Ravi Varma and sculptors, Augusto Felici and Fanindranath Bose demonstrate how these Euro-modern techniques adapted to indigenous themes to create a fresh aesthetic and technique which mirrored indigenous and modern principles. Especially Varma's detailed discussion presents systematic phases in his experiments to localize academic portraiture; Sayajirao's agency in these experiments is evidenced through specific commissions such as the 1888 series, its distinct working style and outcome. Having proven the marked indigenization of European artistic practices, one has also demonstrated that during their own lifetime, these experiments found approval as India's new national high art. Thus nationalism did not remain a mere ideological guidepost in Sayajirao's practice but found expression through a reconfigured indigenous modern aesthetic.

The successful emergence of Sayajirao's national "high art" is presented chiefly between 1877-1906, thereby pre-dating it to the emergence of the revivalist Bengal School (1890), which is hitherto positioned as the premier national art movement in India.¹⁶⁰ Abanindranath Tagore's conscious rejection of European techniques and the formulation of a

¹⁶⁰ Thakurta. (1992). Mitter. (1994).

pan-Asian Orientalism help to emphasise Sayajirao and his team's reformist stance; i.e., it did not lean towards revivalism of Indian art principles, or a rejection of European practices; instead it aimed at adaptation of Euro-modern techniques to indigenous ideas. Hence, Sayajirao's national art project is located within the period of the rise of Renaissance naturalism or what is regarded as a period of "occidental orientations";¹⁶¹ it also contests space with Tagore's pan-Asian Orientalism.¹⁶² As a consequence it allows one to re-think of some alternative technical and aesthetic schools, such as Sayajirao's "indigenous-modern" which was in the making at the same time and which dilutes the predominance of either the European or the Asian-Indian.

With the identification of this idea of indigenous-modernity as the basis of Sayajirao's art projects, I also qualify his "consumption patterns" as a full-fledged "collecting practice". Through a two-part framework, this chapter manages to first illuminate the background of each artistic genre and then chart the changes made to the genre through its connection with Sayajirao's projects. This two-part methodological approach suggested by Susan Pearce for collection studies brings art genres in relation with the collector through individual commissions.¹⁶³ Firstly, the idea of indigenous-modernity which undergirds individual artworks and also affiliates them with each other and the collector, qualify the whole as a collection. Secondly, these artworks do not remain stand-alone; they affiliate with a set or series which are guided by the same idea. Thirdly, this idea of indigenous modernity, which

¹⁶¹ Mitter. (1994). Renaissance naturalism is explained in footnote 10.

¹⁶² C. 1890s, under the stewardship of Abanindranath Tagore the Bengal School emerged to formulate an authentic expression of nationalism. This school rejected representational art or European naturalism and veered towards Orientalism under the influence of the Japanese ideologue, Kakuzho Okakuro. The practitioners chose Indian literary and mythological themes and rendered them in distinctly Indian or Asian techniques such as those of manuscript painting, Japanese brush technique, etc, in a bid to create a pan-Asian aesthetic. Mitter. (1994), p. 265. Thakurta. (1992), pp. 167-170.

¹⁶³ Pearce. (1994), Introduction, pp.2-3.

was first conceived in Sayajirao's private lifestyle context, is systematically extended to state-wide modernization plans such as the education of native artists, audiences and native sponsors through engagement of European practitioners and museum displays. Fourthly, Sayajirao's awareness of informal and formal art contexts, which become the guiding force for his consumption patterns, reveals well-informed sourcing of artists, planning of commissions and their display. I have demonstrated how this awareness was groomed through a shared social and professional network of resource persons who were based in Baroda or overseas to source a wide range of works from European masters to native practitioners such as Tiroovengada Naidu. Like Raja Serfoji of Tanjore, Sayajirao's network cut across binaries of local/global, national/colonial, indigenous/European, to facilitate eclectic acquisitions. Furthermore, this network sourced art from the secondary market, i.e., paintings and copies which were already made; on the other hand, through direct commissions to artists, it created a primary market. Thus these systematically forged links between ideas, art series, and associated sourcing, consumption and display methods, qualify Sayajirao's practice as collecting.

Having qualified the historical actor as a collector, this chapter repositions Sayajirao and his team of resource persons as taste-makers and value-arbiters in the international domain of exhibitions and collecting. As a private royal collector and head of state, Sayajirao institutionalized his position as a regular lender to exhibitions. He seems to have understood the implications and advantages of the classification and display procedures for native artists, which in the end established them as native artists of national repute with a distinct national art style. This role of exhibition lender was backed by that of a prize-sponsor to create value in favour of select genres. This proves an astute negotiation of nationalism by the native collector-lender in the space of colonial exhibitions.

In closing, I contend that Sayajirao emerged as an exemplar in the paradigm of international collecting as he displayed well-groomed choices in the acquisition and representation of “content” which in turn demonstrated active “affiliation” with ideas of modernization and nationalism. The organization and management of his practice also bears testimony to intelligent collaboration with an impressive network of resource persons. In summary, Sayajirao’s collecting practice achieved a high degree of refinement; albeit situated against the backdrop of colonial practices and apparatuses of art. This practice defined its own contexts of collecting to negotiate the formulation of a new national art.

CHAPTER 3

INDIGENIZING THE TOPOS OF MECHANIZATION: SAYAJIRAO'S PROMOTION OF BARODA CRAFTS AND INDIAN DESIGN

3.1. Introduction and Methodology

This chapter argues for Sayajirao's shared agency as elite royal collector and head of state in the formulation of a modern, local category of Baroda crafts. The making of this category unfolds against the landmark verdict of the 1851 Great Exhibition which declares the superiority of "aesthetically competent, hand-produced indigenous crafts" vis a vis "technically competent, machine-produced Euro-American commodities". Consequently, this verdict reinforces the orientalist-essentialist framework, which becomes the sole locus for the appraisal of Indian and western industrial and decorative arts. The central thrust of this chapter is to demonstrate Sayajirao and his team's agency in two exercises: first, the industrialization of select Baroda crafts to meet the prevalent western scientific standard; and second, to pitch Indian design as the new international aesthetic standard to facilitate recognition for the non-modernized crafts.

The chapter identifies the following projects and their merits in the making of a representative Baroda category: Experimental commissions offered to individual master artisans at the royal court sets the tone for modernization of traditional Baroda crafts. State-sponsored training programmes are initiated to endorse new, scientific processes of production for local genres such as pottery. These endeavours, which derive from colonial institutions of industrial school pedagogy, anticipate the arrival of a polytechnic, Kalābhavan. I contend that the popular perception of "technical education" as a category of "aesthetic-artisanal" and

“industrial-scientific” subjects, leads the Kalābhavan to adopt only select crafts which enjoy the potential to forge ties with industry. Thus, the relocation of “handi”-crafts at the mechanized sites of polytechnics and its associated workshops enables them to meet the universal scientific standards of technically competent machine-produced goods. It also marks a simultaneous relocation of indigenous design, both, “generic-Indian” and “typical-vernacular” through specially commissioned items such as the Baroda Screen and Baroda Balcony. Indian design becomes the new aesthetic standard in the global domain of exhibitions. Its internationalized position serves as a proxy for indigenous crafts and for the idea of nationalism. Additionally, the increasing visibility of typical Baroda design, albeit produced at the modernized sites of polytechnics or workshops, makes it emblematic of lesser-known traditional Baroda crafts in the visual space of exhibitions. Although this appears like a paradoxical formulation of nationalism, in which lesser-known “traditional crafts” are included in a Baroda category on the strength of their affiliation with these “industrially-produced typical designs”, it brings to the fore Sayajirao’s agency as a lender of Indian design to exhibitions and commercial contexts of production. Ultimately, this internationalized aesthetic standard of Indian design garners support for the crafts and artisan to formulate a new national art which also sees the evolution of local categories within the national and international domains.

The discourse of Orientalism is thrown open to the native collector for participation through colonial exhibitions. The essentialist framework of colonial exhibitions, fortified further by the 1851 Exhibition, offsets Indian aesthetics against western scientificity. The theoretical framework of this chapter illuminates the native agent as negotiating the two standards to achieve a body of crafts which is modern and yet representative of the local and indigenous. Theoretically, this chapter anchors itself in Partha Chatterjee’s idea of the

acceptance of a colonial, post-Enlightenment knowledge-driven justificatory structure, in this case, technical education or industrial school pedagogy, to identify and realize a national programme, in this case, the modernization of traditional craft and industry.¹ In an extended discussion, I use Gyan Prakash's idea of the indigenization of colonial modernity to re-assess Chatterjee's claim that nationalist thought remains imprisoned in post-Enlightenment ideas or the colonial structure of knowledge.² Kalābhavan's organization, curriculum and negotiation with the larger structure of technical education to include Baroda-specific genres are examined through archival case-studies. These cases demonstrate a definite reinscription of this colonial technic and its eventual localization.

The chapter also re-asserts the agency of the craftsman and indigenous design at the mechanized and commercially-oriented workshops such as Nazarpaga and State Furniture Works. To demonstrate this native agency I employ Dipti Khera's study of silverware's manufacture in mechanized workshops which also include native silversmiths.³ Khera's framework helps to situate Baroda's crafts in the "topos of manufacture, design and the economic imperative".⁴ Thus, the justificatory structure of industrial school pedagogy in the form of the polytechnic and commercial workshops, undoubtedly qualifies the select relocated crafts as being scientifically-produced and hence modern, while sustaining their aesthetic superiority. All the same this section takes note of the limiting influences of this justificatory structure on the modernization of local-regional crafts, a large number of which do not find

¹ Partha Chatterjee. (1986). *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World: A Derivative Discourse*. London: Zed Books, p. 38.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 38, 42, 169. Gyan Prakash. (1999). *Another Reason: Science and the Imagination of Modern India*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, pp. 6-8, 11, 13-14, 71-72, 178-179.

³ Dipti Khera. (2008). Designs to Suit Every Taste: P. Orr & Sons and Swami Silverware. In Vidya Dehejia (Ed.). *Delight in Design: Indian Silver for the Raj* (pp.38-47), Ahmedabad: Mapin Publishing, p. 32.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

representation at the mechanized sites. This non-representation occurs due to want of a fit with industry-oriented disciplines or for want of a fit with European traditions such as cabinet-making. Nevertheless, these lesser-known traditional crafts ultimately gain recognition through their visual affiliation in exhibition spaces with typical Baroda design. Theoretically, Carol Breckenridge's concept of the ideological apparatus produced at world fairs aids the advocacy of Indian design as a marker of taste; whereas the practical apparatus of taxonomies aids the identification of a Baroda provenance.⁵ Thus, theoretically, the primacy of native agency is established in two areas: first, the indigenization of the justificatory structure to create an "indigenous modernity" and second, active engagement and negotiation with the exhibitions' binary.

3.2. Verdict of the Great Exhibition of 1851: An Essentialist Framework for Indian Nationalism

This section presents the ongoing debates on the significance of Indian crafts including Indian design vis a vis the rising profile of Euro-American mechanized industry in the metropole and colony. I take the public reception of the Great Exhibition of 1851 as the starting point of this debate. The Great Exhibition juxtaposed machine-made Euro-American goods with hand-crafted objects from the colonies. As a result of these contrasting pavilions several ideological cross-currents were set in motion. Thus the Exhibition opened to a mixed public reception but its most widely endorsed and long-lasting verdict---which had a bearing on the making of India's national art---was one which lent considerable credibility to Indian design, while giving generous currency to European processes of production. To explain the rationale which supported this development, I quote Saloni Mathur, "This allowed for a Victorian

⁵ Carol Breckenridge. (1989). *The Aesthetics and Politics of Colonial Collecting. Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 31(2), 195-216, pp. 205-206, 211-213.

assessment of Indian cultural objects, their aesthetic and utilitarian values, without challenging the prevailing ideological framework of European dominance and industrial progress”.⁶ Clearly, this verdict owed its rationale to the founding ideology of Orientalism and its essentialist framework.

In the metropole this debate may be located on two axes: the British Arts and Crafts and Design Reform Movements and the cause of British industry espoused by the Department of Science and Art (DSA). The British Arts and Crafts Movement heralded Indian artisanal specimens as a perfect counterpoint to machine-produced goods which were uniform and standard. Artisanal specimens and their makers were seen to ennoble the ideas of autonomy and originality. The second axis on which Indian craft, especially design gained global visibility was the Department of Science and Art (DSA), established under the Britain’s Board of Trade (BoT). Arindam Dutta’s detailed study on the DSA-BoT is crucial to explain the post-1851 promotion of the cause of Indian design in the interest of British industry.⁷ To facilitate easier production of mass-preferred goods, the DSA served the cause of Indian design. This agenda of the DSA also informed the contexts of art school syllabi, museums and exhibitions worldwide, as DSA aesthetes and bureaucrats occupied eminent positions in these institutions. Moreover, as examined in chapter 2, these DSA-influenced institutions such as art schools, became grooming grounds for the native collector, such as Sayajirao; hence the DSA’s role is crucial to understand the paradoxical emergence of Indian design in the formulation of a national art alongside its service to metropolitan industrial gains.

⁶ Saloni Mathur. (2007). *India by Design: Colonial History and Cultural Display*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, p. 10.

⁷ Arindam Dutta. (2006). *The Beauty of Bureaucracy: Design in the Age of its Global Reproducibility*. London: Routledge, pp. 2-7, 125, 129.

Art exhibitions included the production of catalogues, which were a product of field research and documentation, which in turn were part of the larger frame of “investigative modalities”⁸ undertaken by the British administration, to create a knowledge-base of its colony’s people and resources, including crafts and traditional industries of India. George Birdwood represented the foundational efforts on the documentation of Indian crafts in his textual survey *The Industrial Arts of India*.⁹ This survey emphasized the purity of Indian artisanship which was contextualized in extensive research on the classical texts, mythology, local deities, festivals, and folklores. To complement Birdwood’s stance, Ananda Coomaraswamy, celebrated the cause of craftsmanship in his *The Indian Craftsman* (1909). He appreciated the caste-based structures of work in India.¹⁰ These efforts of classifying and interpreting Indian crafts at the art schools and exhibitions increasingly became a part of nationalist concerns.

In addition, the site of “traditional industries and commercial workshops” in the colony, also saw strong support for the Indian crafts. European and Indian commercial firms which engaged native craftsmen under European supervisors and mechanized modes of production, supported contemporary experiments in artisanal design and their application to

⁸ Bernard Cohn. (1996). *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp. 4-5.

⁹ The Baroda Court subscribed to these colonial publications. The archival file, “Correspondence with Merchants”, especially suppliers of books and stationery reveal that George Birdwood’s *The Industrial Arts of India* (1880), which is mentioned in the file as “Indian Art Manufactures” was ordered from Thacker & Co. (GSA/SCV/HPO: Section 99, Daftar 126, File 5: *Correspondence with Merchants, Etc.: Thacker & Co. 1880-1890*); The Baroda Durbār orders 12 copies of Indian Art Journal i.e., *Journal of Indian Art and Industry* (JIAI), from Messrs. Griggs and Sons. (GSA/SCV/HPO: Section 100, Daftar 132, File 31: *Books: Journal of Indian Art & Industry 1884-1916*; Letter 9297, From: O.V. Bosanquet, Resident at Baroda, 8 September 1910, To: S.H. Butler, Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign Department).

¹⁰ Ananda Coomaraswamy (1909). *The Indian Craftsman* referred by Abigail McGowan. (2009). *Crafting the Nation in Colonial India*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, p. 81.

Indian and European forms, thereby locating craft, craftsman and design in industry and its burgeoning segment of brochures and sales catalogues.

The indigenous crafts, craftsman and design became cornerstones in the idea of nationalism. Their increased visibility internationally may be understood through Abigail Mc Gowan's idea of crafts difference, which argues that the "national" interest of either preservation or reformation, ultimately courted the idea of "exchange of best practices" among Indian craftsmen and British industry/industrial artists. Indian design principles were subjected to European methods of production to be placed in multiple visual domains of pattern books, exhibitions, catalogues and commercial goods. These domains reinforced the distinct strengths of European, scientific pedagogy and processes of production and Indian design and aesthetics in an essentialist framework. Thus, Dutta and Mc Gowan's scholarship gives agency to a range of metropolitan and colonial participants in garnering support for the indigenous crafts. Sayajirao is identified as a reformist supporter within the pro-industry camp by Mc Gowan;¹¹ this chapter seeks to unravel Sayajirao's agency in his role as an elite collector and head of native state to support the cause of the crafts in the interest of nationalism. The next section demonstrates how the artisanal cause found support at the royal court and was extended to state-sponsored projects.

3.3. Ivory work, Mica Painting and Baroda Pottery: Modernization within Private Consumption & State-sponsored Projects

Archival data demonstrates that the traditional crafts found active patronage at the court of Baroda due to Dewan T. Madhavarao. From the file dedicated to the Poona Fine Arts

¹¹ McGowan. (2009), pp. 187-189.

Exhibition of 1878¹², I argue for the relocation of caste-based hereditary artisans from the traditional industries, in this case, ivory carver, Neelakandan Asari and a mica painter from Trichinopoly, within the armature of the royal Baroda Court and Sayajirao's collecting practice.

Case Study I: Neelakandan Asari & Trichinopoly Mica Painter

The first discussion is dedicated to the ivory craftsman Neelakandan Asari from Travancore. "Neelacunden" was in the "private employ" of Dewan T. Madhavarao at Baroda.¹³ From the archival records and dates, it can be conjectured that this artisan, referred to as "Neelacunden", is Neelakandan Asari, son of the Travancore-based master craftsman Kochu Kunju Asari. Among some landmark commissions, Neelakandan assisted his father in the making of the famous ivory throne during the reign of Uthram Tirunal Marthanda Varma (1847-1860) which was also loaned to the Great Exhibition of 1851. Neelakandan Asari was a friend of Ravi Varma and a close acquaintance of Dewan T. Madhavarao.¹⁴ I suggest that like artists Tiroovengada Naidu and Ravi Varma, Neelakandan may have been taken along to Baroda by T. Madhavarao. Archival records mark Naidu and Neelakandan's presence at Baroda at the same time, i.e., 1878; they also enjoyed representation at the same exhibitions.

Ten articles made by Neelakandan were loaned to the Fine Arts Exhibition of Poona in 1878 by Baroda. These include (i) Four Paper knives, (ii) Umbrella handle, (iii) Comb (Swāmy pattern¹⁵), (iv) Paper weight with a group representing Maharaja Holkar on elephant, (v) Group-

¹² GSA/SCV/HPO: Section 65, Daftar 111, File 6: *Exhibitions: Poona Fine Arts Exhibition (1879-1896)*.

¹³ *Ibid.*, Letter 45, From: Raja Sir T. Madava Row, Dewan's Cutchery, Baroda, 5 August 1878, To: The Honorary Secretary Fine Arts Exhibition, Poona.

¹⁴ Information compiled by K. Hari, grandson of Neelakandan Asari and a self-taught ivory carver currently based in Trivandrum.

¹⁵ "Swāmy" pattern (spelt as "Swāmī" in Dehejia. 2008) was produced in southern India by native jewelers but later came to be popularized through silverware produced by the European firm P.Orr & Sons. *Swāmī* pattern essentially comprised of Hindu iconographic representations and other themes from the late Company School of painting such as genre scenes or botanical representations. Dehejia. (2008),

Dogs in chase, (vi) Parrot on a tree, (vii) Book-shelf with ivory blades on ebony plate.¹⁶ There is a possibility that the artisan sojourned in Indore, while Madhavarao served the Maharaja Holkar from 1873 to 1875 and the paper weight representing Maharaja Holkar on elephant may have been produced there. On the other hand this compositional theme may be a reproduction from an original pictorial/photographic representation in Madhavarao's personal collection. Neelakandan definitely enjoyed his referee and connoisseur Madhavarao's support to innovate in the medium of ivory. He produced articles which ranged from the utilitarian to the decorative, often adopting European forms such as a book shelf. One sees how the artisan adapted the *Swāmī* pattern, traditionally represented on silverware, in ivory work. The reconfiguration of materials such as ebony and ivory is also a mark of customized crafts afforded by the domain of royal consumption. The depiction of royal subjects on these items was also made possible due to the courtly patronage which Neelakandan enjoyed. Lastly, these reconfigured works were shown at exhibitions due to Sayajirao and Baroda State's position as a native collector-lender. While this discussion does not directly point to the modernization of crafts, it suggests a widening of the experimental scope of traditional crafts in terms of design, material and technique. This case-study also demonstrates display of crafts at colonial exhibitions.

The second discussion in this section on artisans at the Baroda Court is dedicated to a painter from Trichinopoly who worked in the medium of mica or talc. Trichinopoly was a premier centre for mica painting in South India due to its proximity to the mine at Cuddapah. In

pp. 20, 25, 34. P.Orr & Sons produced a document which was gifted to the Prince of Wales during his visit of 1875-76 and explained the origins of *Swāmī* Pattern in traditional Hindu iconography with reference to the tea service presented by Sayajirao Gaekwad to the Prince on this occasion. Dehejia. (2008), p. 23. A detailed study of this Tea Service is made in this chapter in Section 3.5.

¹⁶ GSA/SCV/HPO: Section 65, Daftar 111, File 6: Memo with letter 45, From: Raja Sir T. Madava Row, Dewan's Cutchery, Baroda, 5 August 1878, To: The Honorary Secretary Fine Arts Exhibition, Poona.

the east, Murshidabad, Patna and Benares produced this art. Traditionally, mica paintings were made to preserve tracings of family paintings.¹⁷ However, in the colonial era, there was a shift from the traditional context of practice. Artists produced standard sets of paintings which derived their themes from the popular Company School of Painting. Caste and occupational types, festivals and rituals, Gods and floral and faunal themes were now painted for sale to British patrons. Trichinopoly mica painting marked its presence at the 1851 Exhibition with the display of a fine set of four volumes called *Trichinopoly Exports (1850)*. The recognition of this genre as worthy of display at exhibitions and its popularity among European patrons is noteworthy. The genre must have produced its share of exemplary exponents and one such may have been introduced by Madhavarao to Baroda. Archival records document that Madhavarao sent the works of this artist to the Fine Arts Exhibition of Poona in 1878. This loan included 11 large paintings on mica (11 x 8 inches) and 12 small paintings on mica (8 x 6 inches).¹⁸ We see that this mica painter too shared his tenure with Tiroovengada Naidu and Neelakandan Asari at Baroda. Moreover, just as Neelakandan's family had marked their presence at the 1851 Exhibition with the display of the ivory throne, mica painting too established itself at the exhibition.

It is not an accident that Madhavarao brought these two practitioners who had either personally, or through their genres, found mention at the prestigious 1851 display. The consumption sphere afforded by the private Baroda Court which included the royalty and high-ranking officials such as Dewan T. Madhavarao, facilitated the presence of these artisans in the state and their representation at exhibitions. Much like Varma's repeated loans of mythological

¹⁷ Mildred Archer. (1992). *Company Paintings: Indian Paintings of the British Period*. London/Ahmedabad: Victoria and Albert Museum with Mapin Publishing, p. 193.

¹⁸ GSA/SCV/HPO: Section 65, Daftar 111, File 6: Letter 133, From: T. Madava Row, Dewan's Cutchery, Baroda, 9 August 1878, To: The Honorary Secretary, Fine Arts Exhibition, Poona.

works to exhibitions by Baroda State and its eventual recognition as an autonomous genre, these exhibition loans of artisanal crafts and their endorsement by the elite native collector, led to their qualification as independent genres. Mica painting found a place as an independent category in E.B. Havell's report on the Arts and Industries of Madras in 1885-8.¹⁹ Thus, Baroda may not have been the sole lender of mica painting. However, I wish to underline its contributory role towards taste-making and value-ascription for this genre. Once again, I note that this discussion does not contribute directly towards the formulation of an indigenous modernity in the crafts. But it points to Sayajirao and his inner coterie's interest in the crafts and their representation at exhibitions alongside the high arts. As much as Madhavarao sought to introduce art and crafts from other parts of India to Baroda, he also worked towards the improvement of local Baroda crafts.

Case Study II: Local Baroda Pottery

Examples of Tiroovengada Naidu, Neelakandan Asari and the mica painter testify to Madhavarao's active presence as a resource person for Sayajirao's collecting practice in the late 1870s. The file dedicated to "Industries" unravels three case studies between 1877-1887, which demonstrate the introduction of modern, scientific processes to the making of local Baroda pottery. This data especially reveals Madhavarao's seminal efforts towards the modernization of the site of traditional industries and artisans. It provides insights into the foundational basis of Sayajirao's continued commitment to the local crafts and their relocation within the modernizing agenda.

¹⁹ Archer. (1992), p. 194.

In 1877, Madhavarao invited an accomplished native workman from Lucknow. The proposed plan for training, target artisan-trainees, materials for clay modeling, educational and sales components of the programme and other issues can be learnt from a memo prepared by Madhavarao: He proposed to position the Lucknow workman as a teacher under the order of the Principal of the Native Science College of Baroda. He proposed that the art be imparted to at least a dozen local candidates almost immediately. Bearing in mind the caste dynamics, Madhavarao mentioned that the pupils could be selected from those castes who gained livelihood by working in the medium of clay, such as potters and toy-makers. He suggested a cross-section of young and old pupils, so that the older ones who already possessed knowledge of clay-modelling could master the new forms. Madhavarao also proposed the institution of two scholarships and a waiver of fees to facilitate easy enrolment. He expressed his desire for a group of personally selected objects to serve as standard models for training through display at provincial museums. Additionally, he regarded the Lucknow workman as an agent to augment this body of works with fresh pieces. Together, these would serve as standard designs/items against which visitors could place purchase orders. He suggested the import of European plaster of Paris in due course to prepare models and support better guidance and training. He also encouraged the promotion of newly-produced items for sale; for better organization of these sales, he proposed the establishment of a manufactory. Madhavarao also discussed the need to source good quality clay. Finally, he appointed himself as supervisor of the school.²⁰

This memo reflects Madhavarao and the state administration's keen interest towards the reconfiguration of local crafts by relocating them within state-sponsored programmes which

²⁰ GSA/SCV/HPO: Section 233, Daftar 345, File 2: *Industries: Correspondence Regarding the Manufacture of Pottery*: Memo 587 signed by Dewan T. Madava Row, Dewan's Office, Baroda, February 1877.

were guided by the precepts of industrial school pedagogy. Madhavarao sought to expand the portfolio of the local craftsmen by introducing them to a wider range of possibilities within the traditional medium of practice, i.e., clay. He also aimed to secure a market for these products through sales at the school and eventual sales in markets. More importantly, through displays of “standard sets” of items at provincial museums, coupled with the Lucknow workman’s own experiments, Madhavarao encouraged a reconfiguration of older designs and forms. As a result Madhavarao sought to contribute to Baroda’s profile as a centre for the crafts. As an ardent advocate of modern-European systems, already established in chapter 1, Madhavarao relied on standard methods of industrial school pedagogy, which regards referencing models as an important guide. This practice was reinforced through Madhavarao’s second seminal effort towards the improvement of pottery in Baroda. He purchased articles, namely, flower pots of various sizes and patterns and goblet jars, (a mix of glazed, enameled and unglazed wares) from the Perozeshaw Pottery Works in Bombay, which would serve as models.²¹

The third endeavour by the Baroda State to introduce new production techniques in local pottery is reflected in the award of scholarship to traditional potters from Pattan to learn glazing at the School of Industry in Bombay.²² In response to this announcement, an application was made by the office of the *Subhā* (in-charge of a division) to secure scholarship for two Pattan-based potters, Hira Kishore and Moolchand Bhookan.²³ Despite the failure to place Hira Kishore and Moolchand Bhookan at the Bombay School, which may have been due to administrative/financial constraints or language constraints on the part of the potters, this

²¹ *Ibid.*, Supply list from: D.C. Rutnagur & Co., Perozeshaw Pottery Works, Bombay, 24 April 1877, To: M.P. Taback, Esq, City Baroda.

²² GSA/SCV/HPO: Section 85; Daftar 472, File 7: *Education Department: Miscellaneous Correspondence regarding Education.*

²³ *Ibid.*, Letter 164, From: Office of the *Subhā*, Kadi Division, Camp Pattan, 21 February 1882, To: Huzūr Assistant, Baroda.

example bears testimony to the Baroda administration's firm commitment to place traditional craftsmen within modern systems of art school training. And a decade after Madhavarao's foundational efforts towards the development of pottery in 1877, in 1887, one Anirudha Jeevatram of Nadol, Dehegam, was sent to Jeypore to study stone pottery produced at Jeypore and Delhi. He returned to experiment with Visnagar clay. Dewan Raghunath Kelkar proposed Anirudha's employment as pottery teacher by the Baroda State.²⁴

The above case-studies point to the positive reception of crafts at the Baroda Court as well as the guiding ideology for their improvement. Firstly, royal consumption at the Baroda Court encouraged new experiments in crafts and their representation at exhibitions. Secondly, support for artisanal crafts which began in the sphere of private consumption was extended to the formulation of state-wide policies. Madhavarao advocated a modernization plan for the traditional crafts, in keeping with his larger state-wide modernization project. From 1877, when Madhavarao introduced one-off programmes for the improvement of pottery at the College of Science, to the appointment of Anirudha Jeevatram as pottery teacher by the state in 1887, by which time Sayajirao has graced the throne for six years, reflects a definite consolidation of efforts to improve the crafts through new scientific processes and dedicated projects. Examples such as that of Jeevatram anticipate a more robust relocation of the artisan in scientific, modern and mechanized processes of production which were advanced through the development of modern infrastructure, including industrial schools, already profiled in chapter 1.

The above case studies point to a definite acknowledgement of the state of local crafts, which were in need of "improvement".²⁵ In terms of ideology, Madhavarao accepted what is the

²⁴ *Ibid.*, Letter 3221, From: Raghunath Kelkar, 11 December 1887.

²⁵ Prakash. (1999), p. 20.

colonial-modern and post-Enlightenment standard of “scientific processes of production” to enrich and raise the profile of local crafts; this illustrates the point where Prakash and Chatterjee’s scholarship converge to show a basic acceptance of “science” by the colonized elite to formulate an improved, modern, national art.²⁶ I contend that improvement of the traditional crafts was important for the artisans and the genres’ commercial prospects, and hence seen as stimulating modernism rather than impeding it. Much like Chatterjee’s methodology, it becomes the task of the following sections to see how this justificatory structure of industrial school pedagogy and its scientific, mechanized processes of production guided Madhavarao and later Sayajirao’s claims and plan to “improve” the native crafts. For this it is crucial to illuminate the reception and implementation of this justificatory structure of technical education by Sayajirao and Baroda State.

3.4.Kalābhavan: Indigenization of Colonial Technics

The institutionalization of industrial school pedagogy in the form of the polytechnic, Kalābhavan in 1890 was preceded by the positive reception of “technical education”. The subject was understood as a category of aesthetic and scientific disciplines which converged due to a systematic sharing of rational and scientific processes of production. I rely on Abigail Mc Gowan’s explanation of the reception of drawing in the colony to facilitate this discussion: “In art terms, western design professionals increasingly saw aesthetics as a science, the mastery of whose laws ensured both beauty and economic success. To bring that science to the benighted colonies, art schools took on the job of opening up traditional practice to principles,

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 3, 6-8, 20, 190-191. Chatterjee. (1986), pp. 30, 38, 50-51.

rules and order”.²⁷ Mc Gowan and Dutta explain this scientificity as being incorporated in drawing and geometry lessons or abstract design lessons which became the basis of all foundational training associated with the indigenous arts and crafts at art schools.²⁸ Drawing was also seen as an instrument that would help to articulate aspects of joinery and finish and translate it into the making of the final product. This new pedagogy of industrial design was perceived as heralding a new system of production which was characterized by order, rationality, scientific instruments and precision. These virtues were seen as articulating “modernity” which was viewed as an essential dimension to enrich the traditional crafts. Thus, the particular skill set of drawing and the broader discipline of technical education were seen as representing the shared space of the scientific and the aesthetic. The next case -study illuminates a strong presence of the idea of “technical education” in Sayajirao’s education policy, even before the establishment of the Kalābhavan.

Case Study I: Baroda-based Applicants for “Technical Education”

Sayajirao’s call to send a 6-trainees’ delegation with the Principal of Kalābhavan to Europe “for instruction in various branches of technical industry” in 1888, received numerous applications as evidenced in the dedicated archival correspondence “Applications for Patronage”.²⁹ This file also sheds light on the heterogeneity of applicants and their diverse backgrounds and vocations, which in turn reflect the diversity in the perception of “technical

²⁷ McGowan. (2009), p. 112.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 112; Dutta. (2006), pp. 22, 139-140, 144-148. In the case of Baroda, drawing was included in the curriculum of the Kalābhavan and the Nazarpaga Workshop. Archival sources also shed light on the importance of drawing in upgrading the skills of Kalābhavan candidates and district-level schools in Baroda (GSA/SCV/HPO: Section 85, Daftar No: 472; File 19; *Education Department: Miscellaneous Correspondence regarding Education*; Letter I, To: The Agent of the Governor General Baroda, 4 August, 1903; Letter II, From: Chhaganlal Modi, Vidyādhikāri, Baroda, 27 August, 1903).

²⁹ GSA/SCV/HPO: Section 59, Daftar 101, File 8: *Applications for Patronage: Applications from candidates desirous of going to England (1888-1896)*.

education/industry”. Applicants ranged from drawing masters appointed in schools, to art school students, artisans and students of engineering, chemistry, botany and zoology, and practicing engineers in the private sector. The applicants’ interpretation of “technical industry” is as diverse as their backgrounds; some requested training in drawing, artisanal skills, science-based mechanical arts and technical subjects.³⁰ This reinforces McGowan’s assertion about the increased comprehension of aesthetics as a science, and especially of “drawing” as a scientific tool to articulate aesthetic concepts.³¹ Native craft practitioners saw the possibility of plugging their artisanal skill sets in a more scientific technique of production. At the opposite end of the spectrum, students from the hard sciences now regarded drawing as an important skill and tool. Excerpts from two applications which underscore this convergence of aesthetic and scientific disciplines under the category of “technical education”, are presented.

1. One application from a student, Bendre Vasudev Mahadev, of Sir J.J. School of Arts, Bombay, is to upgrade artisans’ skills. He lists his credentials as having passed examination in free hand drawing, model and object drawing, practical geometry. He also lists his skills in tailoring and carpentry. “I am willing to study any art that Your Excellency may wish and I am ready to enter into any conditions”.³²

2. The second application from Vardraj Govind Naidu is to study the “arts” connected with chemical industry, especially dyeing.³³

³⁰ *Ibid.*, Letter from: Balagee Keshava Bhosle, Nariad, 20 March 1888, To: HH Maharaja Sayajirao Gaekwad of Baroda; Letter 55157, From: Ameen Chhotalal Bhailalbai, Petlad, To: H.E. Dewan Saheb of Baroda State.

³¹ McGowan. (2009), p. 112.

³² GSA/SCV/HPO: Section 59, Daftar 101, File 8: Letter from: Bendre Vasudev Mahadev, Sir J.J. School of Art, Bombay December 1888, To: Dewan Laxaman Jagannath Vaidya.

³³ *Ibid.*, Letter from: Vardraj Govind Naidu, Bombay, 17 May 1888, To: Prof T.K. Gajjar.

Case Study II: Baroda-based Applicants for Technical Education

The second archival file titled “Application for Technical Education Scholarship Part II” demonstrates the qualification of “carpenters” alongside “forestry students” for advancement in technical education in Bombay at the expense of the Government.³⁴ Clearly, this position adopted by the administration, views artisans practicing in woodwork and candidates from the hard sciences on a level footing to avail of technical education. All in all, the above applications explain a general blurring of lines between aesthetic and scientific skill sets wherein one is seen as enhancing the other. This positive reception of technical education and its scientific basis explains its definite espousal through the establishment of the polytechnic, Kalābhavan.

Sayajirao’s acceptance of science, particularly technical education to modernize the crafts is evidenced through his speech at the Ahmedabad Industrial Exhibition of 1902. Although the Kalābhavan was already founded by now, this speech clarifies Sayajirao’s thoughts on the links between technical education, modernization of the crafts and industry. During his tour to Europe in 1900, Sayajirao spent most of his time in Paris at the Exposition Universelle. He presented his impressions of the exhibition to the audience in Ahmedabad,

Two years ago I stood looking at the wonders of that great exhibition in Paris which summed up in so striking a manner the progress of a century in civilization, industry and commerce. . . . that which struck me most profoundly was the enormous difference between India and Europe to-day. Those vast halls crowded with shining steel work, the fruits of the combined industry and genius of a dozen nations; the amazing richness of texture and delicacy of

³⁴ GSA/SCV/HPO: Section: 59, Daftar 101, File 11: *Applications for Patronage: Applications for Technical Education Scholarships Part II* (1889-1896): Applications in this file show that two scholarships are sponsored at Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute, Bombay; one for science and the other for the arts.

design in the products of those machines; the vigorous life and aspiration which glowed in the Art, as well as the clear precision of the knowledge reflected in the Science: all this impressed me more than I can say". . . the true remedy for any old industry which needs support is to study the market, find out what is wanted and improve the finish of the work and the design until an increasing demand shows that the right direction has been found. This applies particularly to the artistic trades, such as wood-carving and metal-work, for which the country has been so famous and which it would be a pity to allow to die altogether.³⁵

Sayajirao acknowledged that the success and viability of Indian artisanal genres could not rest on aesthetic competency alone. These genres had to be competent economically and qualitatively in global markets. He supported the idea that while handiwork and traditional crafts cannot replace all industry, it can be bettered with new techniques of production. At the formative stages of Kalābhavan, it cannot be ascertained if the nationalist economist RC Dutt's ideas had already influenced Sayajirao; however, Dutt was appointed Revenue Minister and subsequently Prime Minister to Baroda State from 1904-1907 and then in 1909. These appointments prove that Sayajirao was impressed with his ideas on national economic development at some point. Although Dutt's two-volume landmark publication, *Economic History of India* was published in 1902, 1904, i.e., after the founding of Kalābhavan, his systematic critique of the colonial policy of "deindustrialization" was widely read through his preceding writings. Deindustrialization constituted a curbing of growth in modern sectors of the economy while simultaneously disadvantaging the traditional industries and artisans.³⁶

Dutt's position, which highlighted the lack of industry in India, also informed native capitalists such as Sayajirao. The agenda of development of industry became a nationalist one.

It was especially courted by elite members of the Indian National Congress, of which Sayajirao

³⁵ Speech by Sayajirao Gaekwar. (1902). *The Revival of Industry in India: Delivered at the Opening of an Industrial Exhibition at Ahmedabad on the 15th of December 1902*. In Anthony X. Soares (Ed.). (1933). *Speeches and Addresses of Sayajirao III, Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda*, (pp. 37-75), London, Bombay, Calcutta, Madras: Oxford University Press, Humphrey Milford, pp. 38, 63.

³⁶ Dutt. (1956).

was an active member; he participated in the Congress-led industrial exhibitions such as the one in Ahmedabad. This register of industrial-minded reformers and native capitalists not only perceived the need for new modern industries in India, but also saw an urgent need to modernize the craftsman and his context of production to combat the stiff competition posed by machine-produced commodities. Hence, Sayajirao proposed scientific techniques of production for the crafts and also saw the need to link artisans' training with that of industry. This helps us to locate Sayajirao within Mc Gowan's category of industrial-minded craft reformists; it also supplements Mc Gowan's reading of Sayajirao's emphasis on industry for national progress, with the inclusion of the crafts.³⁷ Sayajirao saw the obvious need to promote Technical Education and at a speech in 1886, he announced plans to open an industrial training school or polytechnic.³⁸ The idea of linking Baroda's traditional industries with science and potential industries was shared by the scientist-entrepreneur, T.K. Gajjar, who served as professor of chemistry at the Baroda College of Science. Under his stewardship of Kalābhavan, Baroda State was able to realize this agenda of modernization of crafts and their relocation to the site of technical education.

Within the same backdrop of deindustrialization and a throttled artisanal industry, Makarand Mehta documents the Kalābhavan as epitomizing a fairly widespread "transition of traditional forms of production into the factory system" in colonial India.³⁹ He records the presence of 30 industrial schools in the Western Presidency which were founded between 1823-1894, mostly due to private initiative.⁴⁰ Moreover, the Government was perceived as not

³⁷ McGowan. (2009), pp. 187-189.

³⁸ Makarand Mehta. (1992). Science Versus Technology: The Early Years of the Kalā Bhavan, Baroda, 1890-1896. *Indian Journal of History of Science*, 27(2), 145-170, p. 157.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 145-147.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 147-150.

investing enough funds and efforts in this sphere since they saw India as industrially backward and hence in no need for technical education.⁴¹ This strengthened the resolve on the part of educated elite Indians to further the cause of technical education so as to secure the traditional industries and promote new industrial initiatives. T.K. Gajjar, a chemist from the traditional caste of *suthārs* made a “Proposal for a Polytechnic Academy at Surat” which was left unrealized due to the untimely demise of its principal sponsor.⁴² Upon his appointment as professor of chemistry at Baroda College in 1887, Gajjar proposed the founding of a similar polytechnic in Baroda, which was founded as the Kalābhavan in 1890.⁴³ Kalābhavan may be located in the “grid” through which India emerged as a space assembled by modern institutions, infrastructures, knowledges and practices according to Gyan Prakash.⁴⁴ Thus while the establishment of this industrial school or polytechnic, marks the acceptance of Euro-modern scientific processes, it becomes important to evidence Prakash’s larger claim of the indigenization of science by the local elite, which also lends value to his idea about the reinscription of the technological order by nationalists.⁴⁵ Thus Kalābhavan was modeled on “standard” principles of industrial school pedagogy and it made distinct adaptations to the local needs of Baroda crafts and industry.

A short account of Kalābhavan’s history which makes a reference to its founding mission points to Sayajirao’s pledge to improve the native artisanal crafts: “The Kalābhavan (the literal meaning of the words being Temple of Art⁴⁶) is a Polytechnic Institute which is being developed from a trade-school basis. The Huzūr Order of 25th March 1890, records its

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 150.

⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 155-156.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 157.

⁴⁴ Prakash. (1999), pp. 4, 170.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 7, 11, 178-179.

⁴⁶ *Bhavan* does not translate as temple. Instead *Bhavan* means a centre or institution.

primary object 'to help the people to improve the existing industries and introduce new ones that may be remunerative.... This Institute is the Central Technical School of the Baroda State. There are three smaller (District) Industrial Schools and six Manual Training Classes attached to it'.⁴⁷ The influence of Dutt's writings and Sayajirao's own ideas to salvage and promote industry in the interest of national progress, constitute the underlying thrust of Kalābhavan. These ideas are also resonant of Gajjar's original proposal for the Surat School, which emphasized training of artisans in "scientific principles of industrial arts alongside practical training in workshops".⁴⁸

Next, the curriculum of Kalābhavan reflects the inclusion of artisanal, mechanical, technical and art school disciplines, which signifies the coexistence of science and aesthetics examined earlier under the rubric of "technical education". This reconfiguration was facilitated bearing in mind the indigenous industries of Baroda and the potential modern industries. Gajjar undertook extensive tours of the state to understand the nature of traditional industries, especially dyeing and printing,⁴⁹ which had a direct link with his area of specialization, chemistry. Gajjar may have also taken note of vernacular architectural traditions which had made woodwork popular in this region. These indigenous traditions were rightly reflected in the curriculum which began with courses in drawing, bleaching, dyeing, calico printing and carpentry.⁵⁰ Kalābhavan was divided into seven schools: (1) School of Art to teach drawing, modeling, and sculpture. (2) School of Architecture (3) School of Mechanical Technology (4) School of Chemical Technology (5) School of Pedagogy (6) School of Agriculture (7) Practical

⁴⁷ GSA/SCV/HPO: Section: 65, Daftar 112, File 11: *Exhibitions: Exhibitions held in the Baroda State (1914-1928)*: A short account of the Kalā Bhavan, Baroda, published on the occasion of the visit of Lord Willingdon, Governor of Bombay, 24 February, 1917, Lakshmi Vilās Press, Baroda.

⁴⁸ Mehta. (1992), p. 155.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 157.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 161.

School.⁵¹ The staff included professors and laboratory assistants alongside caste-based artisans such as *mistris* who were categorized as assistant masters.⁵²

One sees constant revisions and alterations to the programmes of instruction at Kalābhavan which included increasing numbers of traditional crafts and industry in addition to new industrial modes of production. In 1897, weaving was included at Kalābhavan to introduce the fly-shuttle to handloom work and watch-making was also inaugurated.⁵³ In the year 1905-06, the chief artisanal genres taught at the School included enamel work, repousse work, lacquer work, wood-carving and fret carving in addition to the prevalent programmes in weaving, dyeing and calico printing.⁵⁴ Kalābhavan's close links with industry were forged; Gajjar became consulting chemist to a German firm, Messrs Farhen Fohrican Bayer and Company, Ethrefeld as well as to the noted industrialist J.N. Tata's Mills in Nagpur and Bombay.⁵⁵ Kalābhavan candidates were increasingly placed in mills and other industries as dyers, weavers and mechanical engineers.⁵⁶ They also acquired technical know-how to produce consumer goods such as soaps, safety-matches, glass, dyes, woolen carpets, which were previously imported from overseas.⁵⁷ Kalābhavan's position as a school for technical education was successful in making links with Baroda-based traditional industries and artisans as well as the modern infrastructure of education and its links with modern industry.

This colonial technic of the Kalābhavan points to the adoption of universal scientific processes of production and pedagogy. It also shows a distinct adaptation to the local crafts,

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p.162.

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p.164.

⁵⁴ (1912). *Baroda Administration Report 1910-1911, Published by Order of His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar*. Bombay: Printed at The Times Press, p.157.

⁵⁵ Mehta. (1992), p. 157.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp.163,165.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p.164.

industries and caste dynamics of Baroda State. The curriculum was organized such as to include Baroda's traditional industries, especially those which found a fit with Gajjar's experiments in chemistry. Furthermore, traditional crafts such as woodwork found a place in the curriculum to fit in with a more generic programme in carpentry. As much as the Raj set in motion these technics of governmentality to further colonial administration,⁵⁸ their localization tells the story of how the local-nationalist agenda too re-shaped these technics which gained a different character in the colony. The localized nature of Kalābhavan and its growth makes a case against Dutta's claim of craft-based technical education being a cover and cause of colonial underdevelopment, especially perceived by the pro-industry camp and members of the Indian National Congress.⁵⁹ For, even if a large number of technical schools failed, as recorded by Mehta,⁶⁰ policy-makers such as Sayajirao realized the need to adapt this institution to link craftsmen with industry, thereby giving immense value to localization. This localization allows a reassessment of Partha Chatterjee's idea of the nationalist thought being imprisoned in post-Enlightenment ideas⁶¹, for not only were these ideas and their representative institutions reinscribed with a local character, but they additionally managed to make room for the emergence of a distinctly Indian, local modernity. Although localization is confined to the Kalābhavan here, one can extend the idea of indigenization to the larger "technic" of industrial school pedagogy, through the medium of Kalābhavan. Constant pressure was exerted on this larger pedagogical structure which went beyond the confines of Kalābhavan, to make revisions to accommodate specific disciplines and practitioners from Baroda. This is comparable to

⁵⁸ As documented by Mehta, technical education schools were not very actively sponsored by the British Government. However, it cannot be disregarded that the ones in operation drew on DSA expertise and modules and hence, were colonial-modern technics. Dutta. (2006), p. 72.

⁵⁹ Ibid., pp.31,253-254.

⁶⁰ Mehta. (1992), pp.147-150.

⁶¹ Chatterjee. (1986), pp.38,42, 169.

Prakash's idea of the exertion of pressures by indigenous cultures on the colonial sciences⁶² and is examined in the next section.

Case Study III: Inclusion of Kalābhavan disciplines at VJTI

The first effort towards reinscription of technical education is seen in Sayajirao and the Baroda State Administration's proposal to include specific genres or disciplines which were unique to Kalābhavan, in recognized technical education curricula. As will be seen in the correspondence below, the principal of Kalābhavan creates a need for new "lines", i.e., genres/subjects to be recognized as part of mainstream technological programmes by creating special examinations for them. These are niche genres which are specific to Baroda or the region and there is a concerted effort to secure recognition for them in mainstream courses.

Victoria Jubilee Technical Institution at Bombay, which is a recognized centre, is a fairly good one for the textile and mechanical branches, but the said Institution possesses no means for examining students for chemical technology and branches pertaining to it. I think that the selection of Kalābhavan as an examining centre side by side with Victoria Jubilee Technical Institution will supply a want, and will be an (*sic*) useful means to hold examinations in several of the subjects of chemical line not examined at present.⁶³

Ironically, though the proposal to make Kalābhavan a centre of examination is made by the principal of Kalābhavan, it is not supported by His Highness' Government when the proposal is near implementation. This is due to language constraints faced by students who, it is argued, speak and write in the vernacular. In addition, Sayajirao sees the Victoria Jubilee Technical

⁶² Prakash. (1999), pp. 50-51,64.

⁶³ NAI: *Proceedings of the Foreign Department, September 1903*: Proceeding. No. 91, Kalābhavan School of Chemical Technology at Baroda, Letter from: Naranbhai Dayabhai Nanavati, B.Sc., Professor of Chemistry and Head Master of the School of Chemical Technology, Kalābhavan, Baroda, 2 April 1903, To: The Superintendent of Examinations Department, London.

Institute (VJTI) in Bombay as part of the Western Presidency, and hence in near proximity of Baroda for candidates who wish to take examinations there.⁶⁴ The above case points to the importance of chemical technology as an independent scientific discipline under the stewardship of its chemist-principal T.K. Gajjar. On the other hand, chemical technology is also seen as integral to Baroda's traditional industries such as dyeing, calico printing and lacquerwork. Thus, creation of a dedicated exam in chemical technology would secure qualifications for local caste-based artisans and apprentices placed in factories. This discipline of chemical technology in its indigenized form was sought to be placed within the larger colonial technic of industrial school pedagogy.

Case Study IV: Integration of Kalābhavan–Nazarpaga with VJTI Examinations

Secondly, Sayajirao and his officials made incessant efforts to accommodate students from Kalābhavan and practitioners at the associated Nazarpaga Workshop at examinations conducted by recognized institutions of technical education. The first example to illustrate this effort is seen in a proposal to secure affiliation for Kalābhavan students and apprentices from factories and mills in the Mechanical Engineers' Exams held under the Boiler Inspection Act (1910) in Bombay. These exams could be taken by students of the VJTI and the College of Science, Poona. The Principal of Kalābhavan wished to place his candidates, especially apprentices at factories and mills, on the same footing as those of the aforementioned two institutions.⁶⁵ This example reflects Kalābhavan's interest to secure a mainstream educational

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, Proceeding No. 93, From: R.V. Dhamnaskar, Esq., Minister of the Baroda State 7 August 1903, To: Lieutenant-Colonel M.J. Meade, C.T.E., Resident, Baroda.

⁶⁵ GSA/SCV/HPO: Section 79, Daftar 464, File 3: *Education Department: The Kalābhavan, Etc.*; Section 65, Daftar 111, File 5: *Exhibitions: Chicago Exhibition (1892-1895)*: Letter 10072, From: C. Ducat, The 1st Assistant to the Resident at Baroda, 15 June 1899, To: The Minister of the Baroda State.

qualification for candidates and practitioners engaged in what were perhaps increasingly seen as “in-between genres or industries” which required both, “artisanal” and “scientific” know-how.

The above application from Kalābhavan and its associated Nazarpaga Workshop is eventually rejected; it is argued that Nazarpaga is run on commercial lines and hence is not comparable to the VJTI and the College of Science, Poona which are primarily educational institutes and hence have dedicated workshops run on educational lines as opposed to the commercially-oriented Nazarpaga. A history of Nazarpaga and its organization and arrangements are forwarded to the Collector of Bombay to convince him further of this application to accommodate its candidates in the Mechanical Engineers’ Exams held under the Boiler Inspection Act (1910) in Bombay.⁶⁶ This case-study does not demonstrate Sayajirao’s direct engagement, but his resource persons such as the principal of Kalābhavan emerge as crucial players. Moreover, the history of the Nazarpaga Workshop is sent by the Dewan, R.C. Dutt, from the Huzūr Cutchery, which is Sayajirao’s office. This reinforces the point presented in Chapter 1 about the agency of Sayajirao; while he may not have exercised direct agency in some projects, the correspondence underlines the Huzūr Cutchery, i.e., his office’s direct or close involvement.

In this adaptation of industrial school pedagogy to the particular needs of Baroda crafts and its eventual localization, one locates what Prakash regards as a “split between the subject of representation (universal science) and the process (colonial and particular) by which it was signified”.⁶⁷ Prakash points to the overshadowing of science’s “representation as a body of universal laws of nature” by its functioning as a “technology of colonial governance and as an

⁶⁶ GSA/SCV/HPO: Section 65, Daftar 111, File 5: Letter 480; From: Dewan Romesh Dutt, Huzūr Cutchery, Baroda, 20 September 1909, To: O.V. Bosanquet, Resident of Baroda.

⁶⁷ Prakash. (1999), p. 20.

ideology of improvement”.⁶⁸ Furthermore, as discerned from the archival case-studies, the universality of science, in this case that of the Industrial Pedagogical Structure was overshadowed by a process of localization. Hence, what was espoused as a system of universal laws, or a universal science, increasingly represented the particularity of the formulation of a local modernity. This localized particularity of the manner in which courses were re-aligned to absorb local craft and industrial disciplines within the larger curriculum, overshadowed the claims of universality of industrial school pedagogy. This is alternatively also stated by Prakash as the opening up of science to the “pressures of indigenous cultures”⁶⁹; and with this science enjoys indigenous authority and it ceases to function as a “sign of colonial power”⁷⁰, instead, it signifies the space of the modern-national. Clearly then, the technics of colonial modern governmentality had been reclaimed by the local space which also served national agendas.

In the case of Baroda, it can be said that the technics of colonial governmentality, through reinscription, allowed for a modernization of the indigenous traditional crafts. As Prakash puts it, “the governmentalization of the colonial state set the background for the cultural imagination of the modern nation”.⁷¹ “...the nationalist imagination operated as a form of reinscription (of the colonial technics)”.⁷² This helps to once again clarify that nationalism was derivative at its point of departure and operated within the colonial technics which were guided by post-Enlightenment knowledge bases. These technics were also reinscribed to make space for the modern-national. This indigenization of science and colonial modernity is also explained by Chatterjee as nationalism’s “different discourse”: he explains nationalist thought

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 84.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 178.

⁷² *Ibid.*, pp. 178-179.

as deriving from post-Enlightenment rationalism, followed up with a struggle which displaces this dominating framework and also subverts its authority.⁷³ Indeed, then, Chatterjee also agrees that the western framework of knowledge is not borrowed wholesale; it undergoes change in the project of nationalism. There was no blanket re-casting of the artisanal crafts and ancillary industries of Baroda at the site of technical education. Instead, the framework of technical education was revised and altered to adapt to the local crafts and industry. More than the indigenization of technical education or science, science also enjoyed shifting locations. As much as it inhabited the curriculum of western industrial schools and western genres, it came to inhabit the indigenous traditional arts and crafts, which in the first place were the very objects that the colonial discourse and science sought to appropriate. What would the result of science inhabiting these native genres be? The next section attempts to answer this question.

3.5 Nazarpaga, State Furniture Works: In the Topos of Mechanization and Markets

On the strength of science, native crafts qualified as belonging to the modern-mechanized sphere of industry. This placed traditional crafts in what Dipti Khera describes as the “modernizing topos of design, manufacturing, and the economic imperative”.⁷⁴ Khera uses this phrase in the context of silverware and its production in the Madras-based mechanized workshop, P.Orr & Sons, complete with native artisans and European supervisors; the firm advertised the convergence of mechanized processes of production with indigenous pattern in cost-effective ways.⁷⁵ The context of the commercial firm and workshop allows us to look beyond the culture and tradition-bound nature of the crafts and craftsman which was hyped in

⁷³ Chatterjee. (1986), p. 42.

⁷⁴ Khera. (2008), p. 32.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 29, 32.

the Craft vs Industry debate as compared to the competency of the factory worker and large-scale production, both of which were courted by the industrial-minded craft modernist.

A handful of exemplary workshops had also adopted the factory-style organization, i.e., a combination of hiring artisans or caste-based practitioners as master designers who engaged with a team of craftsmen and mechanized means of production to produce aesthetically and qualitatively competent items. The silver manufacturing firms of Oomarsee Mawjee, Kutch and Baroda, the Ahmedabad Wood Carving Company (AWCC), Ahmedabad, and the Bombay Furniture Workshop, Bombay are examples of this commercial workshop-style production. Similar workshop-style production was exemplified in the Nazarpaga Workshop and the State Furniture Works, which were mechanized, profit-oriented and espoused the cause of artisanal craft and design. These workshops were supported by the joint sphere of Sayaji Rao's private consumption and the Kalābhavan.

To profile the nature of these Baroda-based workshops and firms and provide comparative data, I engage with the famous AWCC. Founded by Lockwood de Forest, the American furniture designer and entrepreneur, and the Ahmedabad-based merchant, Muggunbhai Hutheesing, the AWCC pledged its support to artisanal autonomy and improvement of consumer tastes.⁷⁶ Lockwoode gave autonomy to the head *mistris* to conceive designs and only set the larger direction for the firm so as to respond to market needs.⁷⁷ "...the AWCC was hailed by crafts enthusiasts as a resounding success in its early years. Commercial yet based in traditional aesthetics, centralized under efficient management yet artistically individualistic, producing at the highest quality yet able to employ up to a hundred artisans at a

⁷⁶ McGowan. (2009), pp. 132-133.

⁷⁷ Roberta A. Mayer. (2008). *Lockwood de Forest: Furnishing the Gilded Age with a Passion for India*. Cranbury, N.J.: Associated University Presse, pp. 13, 60, 67-69.

time, the firm provided a totally different mode for preserving and revitalizing crafts”.⁷⁸ Its works found active representation at exhibitions. The AWCC’s summary introduction is used to compare similar, factory or workshop-style production units in Baroda.

Case Study I: Nazarpaga Workshop

The Nazarpaga Workshop is an amalgamation of existing workshops: one which belonged to the Khāṅgi Department or the Department of Household of the royal palace and the second which belonged to the Public Works Department (PWD), both of which are recorded to be functional from at least 1889, or even earlier.⁷⁹ In 1892, what we know as the Nazarpaga Workshop came into being as His Highness saw the need to centralize the workshops “so as to have one extensive workshop fitted up with necessary machines and appliances and working it efficiently on a commercial scale, so as to execute all orders of the various State Depts (Departments)”, in addition to these reasons, the Kalābhavan too wanted a workshop for the practical training of its students.⁸⁰ Archival records demonstrate that the founding mission of the Nazarpaga panned out reasonably well. In their old and new forms, these workshops made new articles or carried out repair works for their respective departments as well as other departments of the state which did not have workshops of their own. It also executed the private orders of the royal palace. The nature of this output made the workshop profit-oriented; its links

⁷⁸ McGowan. (2009), p. 138.

⁷⁹ GSA/SCV/HPO: Section 65, Daftar 111, File 5: “A short history of the origin, general organization and progress of Nazarpaga Workshops” by A.M. Masani, Vidyādhikāri, 17 September, 1909, attached with Memo 102, From: A.M. Masani, Vidyādhikāri’s Office, Baroda, 17 September, 1909; Letter 480, From: Dewan Romesh Dutt, Huzūr Cutchery, Baroda, 20 September 1909; To: O.V. Bosanquet, Resident of Baroda.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

with the market are also clear from the Baroda Administration Reports which meticulously record the value of works produced annually as well as the profits made.⁸¹

As recorded earlier, the Nazarpaga Workshop, in addition to its commercial segments, also operated as an extension of the Kalābhavan; i.e., it facilitated practical training to the Kalābhavan students in the use of engines, machinery, smithy, carpentry, joinery.⁸² The state administration report records, “The Nazarpaga Commercial Workshops give the students of the Kalābhavan manual skill and progressive and methodical, practical, industrial training”.⁸³ Apart from the Kalābhavan candidates, the workshop has regular apprentices, mechanical staff and artisans. An early archival record of 1909, titled “List of Machine Tools at work in different Sheds of the Nazarpaga Workshop” demonstrates extensive mechanization. The equipment listed here is: machine shed which includes drilling machines such as watch-maker’s drilling machine; shaping and slotting machines for furniture production; fly press, etc; lathe shed; brass foundry; iron foundry; smithy shop; steam engines; gas engines and extra machines.⁸⁴ “List of Workmen in the Nazarpaga Workshop”⁸⁵ also reflects caste-based artisans alongside apprentices, handymen and students. This list reads thus: fitters, *coolies* in the permanent establishment; turners, machine man in turning and machine shop; pattern maker in pattern-making shop, smiths, *ghankaries* in the smithy shop, foundry foreman, moulders, assistants, chippers in foundry shop; carpenters, wood-cutter, apprentice boys, polishers in carpentry shop,

⁸¹ For the year 1911, the value of the work done at the workshops is recorded at Rs. 55,538. The net profit is recorded at Rs. 12,090, a substantial increase from the year before, which was recorded at Rs. 8,999.(1912). *Baroda Administration Report 1910-1911*. Published by order of His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar. Bombay: Printed at the Times Press, pp. 157.

⁸² (1922). *Baroda Administration Report 1920-21*. Published by order of His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar. Bombay: Printed at the Times Press, pp. 302, 303.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, pp. 303.

⁸⁴ GSA/SCV/HPO: Section: 65, Daftar No: 111; File No: 5: *Miscellaneous Department: Exhibitions*; “A short history of the origin, general organization and progress of Nazarpaga Workshops” by A.M. Masani, *Vidyādhikāri*, 17 September, 1909; Letter 480.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

engine driver, fireman; mason, *nowganies*, coolie in temporary establishment; gate-keepers and peons. This neatly-delegated workshop-style system and caste mobility is comparable to the commercial firms such as the Ahmedabad-based AWCC.

Case-Study II: State Furniture Works

The second case-study explores the State Furniture Works, also patronised by Sayajirao. A history of the workshop is learnt from the Baroda Administration Report.⁸⁶ This was originally a small outfit under the Bungalow Department of the palace. It fulfilled furniture-related needs of the old palaces and residential quarters under Maharajas Ganpatrao and Khanderao, which can help us to trace back its presence from at least the 1850s. This outfit becomes a full-fledged factory-style workshop with “up-to-date machinery” and electric power. It is inaugurated in the 1880s and its focus is “the local manufacture of elegant furniture after the latest style”.⁸⁷ This objective clearly underlines the employment of local skill in woodwork to produce European, modern forms. The report also records the training of local artisans in the art of cabinet-making and “turning indigenous talent in new direction”.⁸⁸

Like the Nazarpaga Workshop, this workshop too is profit-oriented. In fact the Annual Report of 1920-21 Report calculates the profits generated by the workshop as comparable with commercial Bombay firms and considers these as indirect profits for the state.⁸⁹ The range of works produced here and the range of clientele to which the workshop caters reflect much diversity. Some of the items listed in the Report of 1920-21 are: new furniture for the new kitchen at the Lakshmilās Palace; new furniture for the Visnagar Rest House; three-fold

⁸⁶ (1912). *Baroda Administration Report*, p. 174.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 174.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

⁸⁹ (1922). *Baroda Administration Report*, p. 258.

carved screens for the Makarpurā Palace; moulding for *durbār* hall at the Lakshmilās Palace; new cupboard and cases for the Jaya Mahal Palace, Bombay; etc. The workshop also undertook repair works of “artistic furniture” of the various palaces.⁹⁰ The production of new furniture pieces attests the employment of the traditional *mistri*’s skills in the burgeoning market for furniture which was actively supported by the trend of building Euro-Indian residences. Workshops such as these readied the traditional woodworker to adapt his skills to new forms through a distinct set of pedagogical tools which included drawing and even independent lessons in joinery as noted in the case of the Nazarpaga.

The founding of the Nazarpaga Workshop reflects the coming together of the private chambers of the palace or the Department of Household and the PWD. Moreover, the Khāngi or Household Department continued to support both, Nazarpaga and State Furniture Works actively, due to its large scale of consumption created by the augmentation of residential spaces and their need for new furniture and fittings. It illustrates the crucial role of the private consumption of the palace in recruiting artisans and furthering their positions in factory-style production and industry. Its founding mission is fulfilled as the workshops are mechanized and they cater to private courtly consumption, state-wide orders and commercial clients on a profit-generating basis. Furthermore, Sayajirao’s position as private collector and lender coupled with the role of native head of state facilitates a shared space between the polytechnic, workshops and colonial exhibitions. Much like the AWCC and other firms such as the Omersee Mawjee silversmiths, the Nazarpaga Workshop, and the Kalābhavan regularly produced items for exhibition loans and received awards for their loan and sales items.⁹¹

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 260.

⁹¹ See Appendix II for list of awards to Kalābhavan exhibition loans.

In conclusion, this section illustrates the placement of the traditional crafts and artisans in the “modernizing topos of design, manufacturing, and the economic imperative”⁹² as well as the “exhibition”. This development gives value to Tirthankar Roy’s suggestion that traditional industry modernized itself through technological and organizational changes; hence colonialism bore a creative impact on the crafts as to improve their capability.⁹³ Indeed, within this colonial impact, I identify native agency as facilitating these technological and organizational changes through the founding of polytechnics and workshops. As a result, the traditional crafts are relocated in new regional (in this case, local) patterns of industrialization. The espousal of science is clearly at the basis of this relocation.

Prakash points to the general consensus among nationalists about the need for general and technical education as well as industry to achieve a modern, national state, as a result of which science was accorded a prominent role and had to be applied through modern technics.⁹⁴ As evidenced from his speech at the 1902 Industrial Exhibition and the direction set for the Kalābhavan, Sayajirao was clear about the placement of the traditional artisan within the mechanized domain and eventually also promote him within industry. In terms of the context of craft production, there was no orientation towards pure revivalism as in the case of the craft promotion project undertaken at the Jaipur School of Art (1866) and later the Jaipur Exhibition (1881) and Museum (1886).⁹⁵ Whereas in the case of Jaipur, the autonomous position of the craftsmen and his contexts of production were carefully guarded, the context of craft production itself was modernized and mechanized and linked with factory-style units or heavy industry in

⁹² Khera. (2008), p.32.

⁹³ Tirthankar Roy. (1999). *Traditional Industry in the Economy of Colonial India*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.1, 3, 231-232.

⁹⁴ Prakash. (1999), pp.190-191.

⁹⁵ Giles Tilloston. (2004). The Jaipur Exhibition of 1883. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 14(2), pp. 111-126

Baroda. As much as colonial modernity and science was indigenized, craft was modernized. Thus, in the end, the technics of colonial governmentality and their central focus on science, allowed the elite native collector to imagine a modern category of the arts and crafts. On the one hand, these may be seen as the positive influences of technical education's justificatory structure on the shaping of nationalism. On the other, as per Chatterjee's methodology, if I were to identify the interaction between the justificatory structure and the political possibilities in nationalist thought, or examine the limiting influences of this thematic on the formulation of cultural nationalism⁹⁶, I will pose two questions: How did these new "scientifically manufactured crafts" represent the "indigene"? Did the entire gamut of traditional Baroda crafts find representation at the polytechnics and workshops to be included in the project of nationalism? The next section will unpack these critical questions.

3.6 Tea Set & Baroda Screen: Internationalizing Indian Design

Thus the Kalābhavan and its associated workshops emerge as modern, successful and profitable educational and industrial enterprises. All the same, it is important to question their role in the formulation of a national art/craft. This question brings us to the elite nationalist's dilemma which is pointed out by Chatterjee in the case of Bankim Chandra: does the adoption of the intellectual premise of colonial domination, i.e., post-Enlightenment "European" science, obliterate the mark of the national?⁹⁷ The answer in the case of Baroda and Sayajirao is "no". In the case of Baroda, despite the overarching presence of the mechanized, modernized domain of craft-production through the modern technics, the sign of the indigene was retained through the role of "Indian design".

⁹⁶ Chatterjee. (1986), pp. 38, 41-43, 51-52.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 51, 64-65.

The various art and craft commissions and projects examined thus far demonstrate Sayajirao and his team's acceptance of the scientifically superior western practices, the aesthetically superior Indian arts and design, and the scope to indigenize the former and modernize the latter through adaptation. Thus, Sayajirao's national project was formulated within the colonial essentialist conception. To improve the crafts, he relied on their relocation at the mechanized sites of production. In adopting this thematic of technical education and mechanized workshops, Chatterjee sees a contradictoriness in nationalist thought; he sees nationalism basing itself in the essentialist, objectifying framework of post-Enlightenment "European" knowledge and in turn this knowledge base "corresponds to the very structure of power nationalist thought seeks to repudiate".⁹⁸ Although Chatterjee sees this as a contradiction, I see it as a deft usage of the essentialist conception of the scientific western arts vis a vis the design-oriented indigenous arts and crafts; the elite native collector not only accepted the scientific "universal" standard to enrich and raise the profile of native crafts, but also pitched the "indigenous aesthetic" as a "new standard" through the same essentialist framework to lend value to Indian craft. In the process, he showcased Indian craft's global, adaptive leverage as well as its native-national particularity.

As highlighted in the introduction to this chapter, Indian design had gained increasing visibility through the global interest in industrial design. Interestingly, Indian design's non-referential nature whereby it could enjoy a wide-ranging or often interchangeable provenance diluted its native particularity.⁹⁹ Additionally, drawing and the proliferation of pattern books and the inherent nature of Indian design to allow easy reproduction, lent it much fluidity to be

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

⁹⁹ Mathur. (2007), p. 10. Dutta. (2006), pp. 116, 148, 223. Yuthika, Sharma. (2008). A House of Wonder: Silver at the Delhi Durbār Exhibition of 1903. In Vidya Dehejia (Ed.) (pp. 48-64), pp. 52-53.

transferred to a diverse range of goods.¹⁰⁰ This point strengthens Indian design's non-referential character and hence may be seen as undercutting my argument which contends that Indian design was representative of native-national particularity. To explain this paradox, on the one hand, Indian design did not enjoy a definite provenance, especially in the commercial circuit; however, the colonial investigative modalities of surveillance and documentation of regional crafts lent increasing recognizability to typical regional patterns and designs. Hence, in some quarters, Indian design was subsumed in the larger whole of oriental design or generic Indian design. In other contexts it was also being documented and displayed with its accurate regional provenance. Against these two contradictory flows, the elite native collector became a lender of Indian design to machine-produced luxury goods. And in his role as native head of state and lender to exhibitions, he loaned typical or vernacular Baroda design. While the former practice relocated the larger portfolio of artisanal design, albeit in a more generic fashion, to the high-end segment of luxury goods, the latter practice represented "vernacular" portfolios of artisanal design at colonial exhibitions. Both practices, in the end, signified the cause of the crafts and the artisan.

I situate the first practice in Amin Jaffer's unravelling of design discussions shared between princes and the producers of luxury items—primarily European design stores and fashion houses such as Cartier, Van Cleef and Arpels, Boucheron and Osler & Co.¹⁰¹ These design discussions are brought to the fore with the usage of line-drawings, letters and photographs sourced from royal and corporate archives. They shed light on the transfer of Indian design to the manufacture of western-style luxury goods such as jewellery, toiletries,

¹⁰⁰ Dutta. (2006), pp. 129, 223.

¹⁰¹ Amin Jaffer. (2007). *Made for Maharajas: A Design Diary of Princely India*. New Delhi: Roli Books.

decorative objects and architectural pieces.¹⁰² Following Jaffer's trajectory, I employ archival data to show Sayajirao and his resource persons' keen involvement with three commissions made to European luxury goods firms.

Case-Study I: Commission of Walking Stick for Messrs. P.Orr & Sons, Madras

Madhavarao wrote to P. Orr & Sons commissioning the firm to make a jeweled stick and enclosed an extract from a detailed "design" note prepared by architect Major Charles Mant. This data illustrates the "design discussion" which preceded the production of this customized collector's item.

"... being colored as it will appear when made, it is not necessary to give a very detailed description of it. The upper part of the shaft is intended to be of ivory, carved to represent two intertwining snakes whose heads are opposite to each other, one on each side the spaces between their folds being filled in with gold chased work. The parrot handle will be of chased gold on a wooden or other case as may appear best to the gold smiths. The different jewels used are clearly intimated by their respective coloring".¹⁰³

It can be learnt from the acknowledgement sent by P.Orr & Sons that a drawing was enclosed with the extract.¹⁰⁴ This suggests that architect Mant's skill as a draughtsman was employed to illustrate the design. The proposed design employs Indian patterns, represented through the intertwining snake heads and parrot, common to Indian ornaments. Moreover, the reconfiguration of Indic materials such as ivory, woodwork and gemstone inlay work is noteworthy. A piece encompassing such an expensive and eclectic range of materials could be afforded only by the consumption domain of the royalty. Here I argue that the royal palace became an important lender of Indian patterns to European firms; this idea adds to Dutta's

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, True Extract, by Dewan from a note by Major Mant, 7 October 1880.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, Acknowledgement from P. Orr & Sons, Madras, 24 December 1880.

scholarship which presents the DSA-South Kensington¹⁰⁵ cohort as a lender of indigenous design by virtue of its collection of pattern books and line-drawings.¹⁰⁶ It also buffers my argument presented in chapter 2, with regards to a wide inter-ocular field provided by the Lakshmivilās Palace to artist Ravi Varma. For, just as the artist drew from oil paintings and copies displayed in the palace, these new luxury goods’ designs must have drawn from the rich collection of jewels and personal and ceremonial items already within the palace collection. Pinney’s idea of the “migration of images in an inter-visual field”¹⁰⁷ afforded by the palace and its private collection, explains native royal agency in the augmentation of the portfolio of generic Indian design in machine-produced commercial goods globally. As I acknowledge that a single item cannot position the royal collector and his palace as a lender of Indian design, I contend that royal consumption made it feasible to commission luxury goods frequently and thus offered scope for design discussions. This is evidenced in the large numbers of Baroda commissions which ranged from jewellery pieces to dinner sets, thrones, etc, as recorded in the correspondence with P.Orr and Sons among other firms.¹⁰⁸ Amin Jaffer too profiles Sayajirao and his wife Chimnabai as regular patrons of luxury goods’ firms¹⁰⁹ and I present two more commissions to strengthen my point.

¹⁰⁵ The latter refers to the Museum of Manufactures (1852), founded in London, which later became the South Kensington Museum (1855). It comprised the Company’s collection of applied art and science. Today, this collection is the Victoria and Albert Museum.

¹⁰⁶ Dutta. (2006), p. 224.

¹⁰⁷ Christopher Pinney. (1997). The Nation (Un)Pictured: Chromolithography and “Popular” Politics in India. *Critical Inquiry*, 23(3), 834-867.

¹⁰⁸ GSA/SCV/HPO: Section 99, Daftar 129, File 39: *Correspondence with Merchants, Etc: Correspondence with Messrs. Tyabji & Co. (1888-1892)*; Section 99, Daftar 128, File 38: *Correspondence with Merchants, Etc: P. Orr & Sons (1896-98)*.

¹⁰⁹ Amin Jaffer. (2009). Indian Princes and the West. In Anna Jackson and Amin Jaffer (Eds.). *Maharaja: The Splendour of India’s Royal Courts* (pp. 194-226), London: V&A Publishing, pp. 207, 212.

Case-Study II: Commission of *Howḍāh* for Messrs Deschamp & Co., Bombay

The second example demonstrates the royal collector as lender of Indian “form” in addition to design, to the segment of machine-produced goods. Dewan T. Madhavarao makes a purchase order for a carriage for seven persons from Messrs Deschamp & Co., Bombay. This carriage is chosen from the company’s catalogue. The catalogue illustration is filed with the order.¹¹⁰ One sees how these modes of transport which consisted of carriages, *howḍāhs*, etc was a special segment of goods which catered to select clientele from the colony, mostly Indian princes and nobility. It is crucial to recall, Baroda’s exceptional collection of carriages and *howḍāhs* which was inherited by Sayajirao and its frequent display for ceremonial pageants, noted in Chapter 1.¹¹¹ The augmentation of this group of carriages through the domain of machine-produced goods reinforces the fact that without the patronage and agency of royal collectors, the domain of mechanized luxury goods’ firms may not have enjoyed the scope to produce these typically indigenous items, which originally belonged to the site of artisanal handiwork. While this displayed the courting of mechanization for traditionally hand-produced utilitarian items, it also expanded the portfolio of what was viewed as “European machine-produced luxury goods”. Hence, in addition to Indian design, Indian artisanal forms too were lent to this industry due to native royal agency. In the absence of archival data it cannot be verified if these particular pieces were displayed at exhibitions; however, other visual domains, such as the sales catalogue in this case, lent them visibility. For European firms these

¹¹⁰ GSA/SCV/HPO: Section 99, Daftar 127, File 12: *Correspondence with Merchants: Messrs. Deschamp & Co., Bombay*: Letter 1337, From: Dewan Madava Row, Baroda, 26 April 1887.

¹¹¹ Marianne North, a natural history painter was commissioned to document the modes of transport and carriages in the royal collection of Baroda. Marianne North. (2010. First published in 1892). *Recollections of a Happy Life: Being the Autobiography of Marianne North*, Volume 2. Digital resource: Forgotten Books, p. 76.

catalogues and brochures served as advertisements of their royal clients as well as served the purpose of references for future design discussions.

Case-Study III: Commission of Tea Service for Messrs. P.Orr & Sons, Madras

The third commission was not confined to the domain of private consumption, though very much facilitated by its socio-political network and economic scale. This was the landmark *Swāmī* Tea Service manufactured by the Madras-based European firm, P.Orr & Sons and gifted by Sayajirao to the Prince of Wales during his visit of 1875-1876. It consisted of 12 teacups, saucers, teaspoons, a teapot, sugar bowl with tongs, milk jug and three salvers.¹¹² Its ornamentation was that of *Swāmīs* or Gods of the Hindu pantheon (illustration 20). Khera discusses the creation of *Swāmī* pattern which was clearly borrowed by the native silversmiths from multiple visual sources to create their own contemporary portfolio of design.¹¹³ This testifies Pinney's idea of the rich inter-visuality enjoyed by the colonial artists, especially in the realm of God pictures.¹¹⁴ However, since Hindu icons were traditionally viewed in the iconographic narrative, this design portfolio enjoyed mixed reception; often times it was critiqued as being de-based in its application to European form by preservationist craft crusaders such as George Birdwood.¹¹⁵ All the same, the revivalist crusader, Thomas Holbein Hendley, who spearheaded the Jaipur project, applauded the craftsmanship of this new iconographic decoration.¹¹⁶

¹¹² Vidya Dehejia. (2008). Whose Taste? Colonial Design, International Exhibitions and Indian Silver. In Vidya Dehejia (Ed.) (pp. 8-19), p. 13.

¹¹³ Khera. (2008), pp. 23-26.

¹¹⁴ Christopher Pinney. (2004). *Photos of the Gods: The Printed Image and Political Struggle in India*. London: Reaktion Books, pp. 34-44.

¹¹⁵ Khera. (2008), pp. 22, 29.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

The tea service's patronage, more likely by Madhavarao, since Sayajirao was still a minor prince, may be due to the "modernizing, manufacturing topos" within which the native silversmith and his design were effectively placed. This ready support lent to native artisanal work in mechanized processes of production by the likes of Madhavarao, contrasts Birdwood's struggle to categorise Indian handicraft as "art, industry or manufacture", as incisively pointed out by Khera.¹¹⁷ Furthermore, the trio "Sayajirao-Madhavarao-Ravi Varma's" predilection for mythological/God themes in the formulation of the high arts is evidenced earlier and its extension to the site of artisanal wares is easy to comprehend. Incidentally, this genre of *Swāmī* silverware referenced Varma's mythological lithographs post-1900 to augment its portfolio.¹¹⁸ Once again, Baroda's status as a princely state and Sayajirao as its native head facilitated the placement of this Tea Service in the context of international gift exchange and subsequently of colonial displays such as those of the Paris Universal Exhibition of 1878. Khera observes, "Nevertheless, the exchanged gifts were employed in setting standards for the "best" in handicrafts and industrial art in British-Indian empire, thereby acquiring a symbolic value beyond their ceremonial significance."¹¹⁹ Thus despite the fact that the *Swāmī* portfolio was a contemporary design experiment in silverware, the artisan's agency in its creation and his placement in the mechanized, economic locus, made it valuable to the elite native collector's national narrative. This narrative expressed itself through such landmark commissions geared for international display. Royal native agency as arbiter of taste for generic Indian design in the international domain is clearly evidenced here.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

This clarifies that despite the modernizing, manufacturing thematic of the aforementioned commissions, through their representation of Indian design, these “scientifically manufactured crafts” gave expression to a new “indigenous modernity” which undergirded Sayajirao’s idea of nationalism. Design bore an “Indic imprint” and gave representation to Indian crafts and artisans. Its increasing adaptation to machine-produced forms as a marker of British and Indian taste, pitched it as an “international aesthetic standard”. However, the second question posed earlier, that of excluding a fair number of typical Baroda crafts from the site of polytechnics, workshops and commercial firms, remains. How then did they find a place in the evolving Baroda category? This question is answered next through the famous Baroda Screen and Baroda Balcony produced by Pattan potters and Keshav Mistry. These craftsmen, like the *Swāmī* silversmith, were guided by scientific processes and European supervision, components which were integral to the colonial technic of industrial school pedagogy and to the national agenda of the modernization of crafts.

The concept of “Art Rooms”, (borrowed from period rooms created in department stores) became a popular device at colonial exhibitions to articulate local vernacular arts in the space of a room, which was designated as a Court or Pavilion. Undoubtedly the interior spaces of these rooms were filled with varied specimens. However, it was the façade and partitions used to create these, which gave fullest expression to a distilled version of what could be considered “typical or representative” ornament/design of a particular region. These facades, as stand-alone pieces were non-Indic devices which served the function of exhibition design and arrangement. One sees the merging of Indian design with a non-Indic décor feature in an ironic bid to display “authentic” regional samples. This was especially the case with the 1902-03 Delhi Durbār Exhibition which emphasized the preservationist approach in areas of production

and design.¹²⁰ Yet, ironically, the exhibition resorted to hybrid examples such as screens and facades to give visual expression to ideas of authenticity and regional types.

The production of these screens was typically a collaborative project among art school instructors, students and traditional artisans or master craftsmen. Often times these collaborations extended to the PWD to engage engineers who became interpreters between the native producers and exhibition committees to explain requirements of the exhibition space and its lay out. These collaborations reflect the shared space of art schools-art exhibitions and traditional industries-commercial workshops. As much as the context of production of these screens was far from traditional and as much as the overall form was hybrid, it became representative of vernacular artisanal design portfolios. This was its key difference when compared to the segment of commercial luxury goods which were at best representative of generic reconfigurations or contemporary experiments in indigenous design, as seen in the case of the walking stick and *Swāmī* Tea Service.

Case Study IV: Baroda Screen

The 1886 Exhibition displayed the famous Baroda Screen which was a product of collaboration between native artisans from Pattan and Mr. Wimbridge of the East India Art Manufacturing Company¹²¹ (illustration 21). Details of the design were taken from houses in

¹²⁰ George Watt. (1904). *Indian Art at Delhi, 1903: Being the Official Catalogue of the Delhi Exhibition 1902-1903*. London: John Murray, p. 20.

¹²¹ Another famous example of a hybrid screen is seen in the one produced by the lead master craftsman, Bhai Ram Singh at the Mayo School of Arts, Lahore. Lockwood Kipling, then principal of the Mayo School, supervised this project. Naazish Ata-Ullah discusses its contexts of production, display and consumption. Naazish Ata-Ullah. (1998). Stylistic Hybridity and Colonial Art and Design Education: A Wooden Carved Screen by Ram Singh. In Tim Barringer and Tom Flynn (Eds.). *Colonialism and the Object: Empire, Material Culture and the Museum* (pp. 68-81), London: Routledge.

neighbouring Surat.¹²² Wimbridge is credited with preparing “working details”. Archival records also mention the participation of Mr. J. Griffiths, Superintendent of the Bombay School of Art as supervisor for the making of the Baroda Screen in Bombay.¹²³ The Royal Commission found one of the panels of this screen so very characteristic in design and complete in workmanship that they took 145/6¹²⁴ copies in plaster for reproduction and decoration of the Indian Bazār.¹²⁵ This commission demonstrates the display of regional and typical vernacular design from Baroda in a European form. Its repeated display through copies made for the Indian bazaar, also reinforces its provenance. A post-exhibition report dedicates a paragraph to the discussion of carved screens. “Each of these Provincial Art-Ware Courts was enclosed by a carved screen of wood, marble or other material which in most cases illustrated the style of decorative work employed in the province from which it came.”¹²⁶ Hence, the designs of screens were received as authentic of their provenance.

Case Study V: Baroda Balcony

A second practice in the creation of facades was the making of replicas of landmark architectural pieces such as balconies, doorways, gateways, which were representative of ancient and medieval regional schools of architecture. A famous example is the reproduction of the Gwalior Gateway for the 1886 Exhibition.¹²⁷ The 1902-03 Delhi Durbār Exhibition saw the

¹²² B.A. Gupte. (1886). The Baroda Court. *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*. 1, (126-133), pp. 82, 128.

¹²³ GSA/SCV/HPO: Section 65, Daftar 112, File 8-A: *Exhibitions: Exhibitions in London (1884-1911)*: Letter 34, From: Captain J. Hayes Sadler, President of the Exhibition Committee, 2 April 1886, To: Major. T. H. Jackson, Officiating Agent Governor General Baroda.

¹²⁴ The meaning of 145/6 is unexplained in the original text.

¹²⁵ Gupte. (1886), p. 128.

¹²⁶ GSA/SCV/HPO: Section 65, Daftar 112, File 8-A: Report by Mr. J.R. Royle, C.I.E., on the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, 1886, Indian Section, p. 2.

¹²⁷ Deborah Swallow. (1998). Colonial Architecture, International Exhibitions and Official Patronage of the Indian Artisan: The Case of a Gateway from Gwalior in the Victoria and Albert Museum. In Tim Barringer and Tom Flynn (Eds.). *Colonialism and the Object Empire: Material Culture and the Museum*

reproduction of a balcony from an old house in the main street of Baroda City. “Over the door into one of the offices of the Exhibition, and thus against the south wall of the Main Gallery, has been thrown a Baroda Balcony”.¹²⁸ George Watt along with the state chief engineer, G.R. Lynn selected the original balcony. Under Lynn’s supervision, a replica was constructed by “the carpenter who constructed the pigeon-house shown at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition of London”, i.e. Keshav Mistry.¹²⁹ The festooning scroll work is said to be pan-Gujarati and Kathiawari¹³⁰ (illustration 22). One sees how this festooning scroll work is regarded as being representative of the region and hence qualifies the balcony as a typical example to serve as the façade for the main gallery. One also sees that while the original example is indigenous and a prominent feature of vernacular architecture, its subjection to plaster of Paris and European supervision hybridizes the context of production.

The Baroda Screen and Balcony, although produced under European supervision in the standard workflow of industrial school pedagogy, reference regional or local vernacular designs. Through their popularity at exhibitions, their documentation in significant catalogues, and their repeated displays, they became identifiable as belonging to a Baroda category (of design). The Baroda Screen was documented in B.A. Gupte’s detailed profile of the Baroda Court in the *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*.¹³¹ It became a “frontispiece” to the Baroda crafts in the exhibition space as well as an emblematic piece for the Baroda crafts in popular perception. It was requested as a loan item by the Poona exhibition committee of 1888 and the

(pp. 52-67). To understand the wide range of gateways and architectural facades at the 1886 Exhibition, see Frank Cundall. (1886) *Reminiscences of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition*. London: William Clowes.

¹²⁸ Watt. (1904), p. 9.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 126.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 126.

¹³¹ Gupte. (1886), pp. 126-133.

Chicago Exposition of 1893. The Baroda Balcony was documented in George Watt's extensive catalogue of the Delhi Durbār Exhibition.¹³² This lends support to the simultaneously evolving category of "local" Baroda crafts which is explored in depth in the next chapter. In the context of international exhibitions, these loans were pitched as exemplary specimens of typical local design achieved through "European supervision". The same loans were presented as "specimens of India's progress in manufacture" at regional and national exhibitions. To repeat the post-exhibition report and its discussion of carved screens, "... the exhibition was successful in attracting attention to the...possibility of utilizing under proper instruction the artistic taste and skill of native artisans in the production of articles suited to European requirements".¹³³ Evidently, the essentialist framework underpinned the coining of exhibition taxonomies and categories. Thus Indian design and native skill were applauded, but their direction was almost always set by the European supervisor.

Hence, if read from the colonial-imperial position, there were two limiting influences of this justificatory structure of industrial school pedagogy on the formulation of a local Baroda category: firstly, it left negligible room for the traditional artisan to emerge as the master craftsman in his own right. He continued to be regarded as the executor of the European supervisor's work-plan, as seen in the case of Keshav Mistry. However, from the nationalist position, as pointed out earlier, the fact that Indian design was supervised and produced under European supervision aided it to emerge as a superior standard. Although the figure of the artisan did not gain recognition as the master-producer, Indian design, and in this case typical Gujarati/Baroda design earned a nuanced qualification. And this design's position as a proxy

¹³² *Ibid.*, pp. 82, 128.

¹³³ GSA/SCV/HPO: Section 65, Daftar 112, File 8-A: Circular No. 15/5-8 Ex. Extract from the Proceedings of the Government of India, Revenue and Agricultural Department, 17 February 1888, Museums and Exhibitions, p. 4.

for craft set the stage to unravel and qualify a whole group of local crafts as a distinct Baroda category in the visual space of the exhibition. This buffered the identification of provincial and local categories of crafts which was underway in the projects of colonial surveillance and documentation. The second limitation of the justificatory structure was that the craft genres which were included in the Kalābhavan curriculum, were either those which found a fit with industry, such as dyeing, and calico printing; or those which found a fit with European traditions of cabinet-making and furniture, such as carpentry and woodwork. As a result, several other typical rural regional crafts were excluded from this space.

The paradox is that products born in the space of the polytechnics and workshops such as the Baroda Screen and Baroda Balcony, and their affiliation with “typical Baroda design” ultimately became the points of departure to identify the lesser-known crafts as belonging to a common Baroda pool. Thus despite their exclusion from the curriculum of the polytechnic, these less-recognized crafts qualified on the strength of technical education’s hybrid products. These hybrid items, in contemporary curatorial parlance, became “star-pieces” at exhibitions and positioned the Baroda category as a recognizable one. In the case of these star pieces, hybridity was played up to the extent of highlighting European supervision to explain the scientific process of production and its guidance to native skill. However, their display-value lay in the merits of showcasing authentic vernacular design. These hybrid pieces, which were meant to serve as facades to local pavilions at exhibitions, quite literally became the “representative facades” of sets of local crafts. This firmly reinforces the point that design became a proxy for craft.

The roles played by Madhavarao as resource person and Sayajirao as chief lender of Baroda State, shed light on the relocation of generic artisanal Indian design in machine-

produced luxury goods and typical regional design at exhibition. With this point, one can revisit Chatterjee's assessment of the formulation of nationalism within the orientalist-essentialist framework and challenge his claim that nationalism remained imprisoned in this "colonial" structure of knowledge.¹³⁴ For, I argue, that in the end, more than the acceptance of the essentialist framework, which set "western scientific standards and supervision" against "native artisanal design", the native collector and his team's astute negotiation with this framework to give expression to Indian design and craft is noteworthy. Given the fact that the colonial apparatuses of industrial schools, exhibitions and catalogues, were founded on the essentialist principles of polarities, binaries and a process of "othering", Sayajirao as a participant conceived the cause of the crafts within the same essentialist framework. He first espoused the cause of science through a systematic relocation of crafts in the new mechanized processes of production, and as a result, closed the gulf between indigenously-produced crafts and Euro-American machine-produced goods. Hence, if judged by the post-Enlightenment "universal" standard of science, the indigenously-produced crafts qualified as being industrially (scientifically) produced and hence globally competent.

Second, Sayajirao's collecting practice displayed a keen response to the potential of pitching Indian aesthetics and design as a "standard" alongside the prevalent "scientific standard". As represented in the DSA mandate and the prolific produce of commercial firms, British machine-produced goods actively courted oriental-Indian design to achieve aesthetic superiority. The native collector rode the crest to promote Indian design as a "standard" without which both Indian and British goods lacked aesthetic finish. As much as the 1851 critique of Indian craft highlighted its "lack of finish" despite its superior design, nationalism, through the

¹³⁴ Chatterjee. (1986), pp. 38, 42, 169.

operational strategy of “othering”, now made a tacit reappraisal of machine-produced goods and European forms as “lacking aesthetic finish”. With the widespread promotion of Indian design in the luxury goods’ segment and exhibition spectacles, its “adaptive leverage” was showcased in the colonial space while also underlining its native particularity. Indian design was at once “indigenous” and “modern”, the key requirements for the reformist crafts crusader’s formulation of a national project.

3.7 Conclusion

This chapter illuminates the clarity in Sayajirao’s claim that the indigenous crafts were in need of scientific techniques of production to become globally competent and hence the justificatory structure which relied heavily on the western system of industrial school pedagogy was adopted. The reader’s attention is drawn to the fact that there was no disjuncture between Sayajirao’s claim and justification. The courting of the western-scientific with the indigenous-national exemplified in the Kalābhavan, is not a “contradiction”, instead, I have demonstrated it as a “negotiation and indigenization” which remained unthreatened in the face of what Chatterjee regards as the threat of obliteration of the very marks of national culture which made it distinct.¹³⁵ Sayajirao saw no threat in courting western systems, for, “adaptation” and not “adoption” guided his programme of modernization from its inception. Western systems of technical education exemplified through the Kalābhavan and its associated workshops were adapted to suit local-regional crafts and industry, and in the process indigenized. Thus there was no pronounced disjuncture between Sayajirao’s predominantly “colonial” justificatory structure and plan to realize a “national” paradigm of the arts and crafts. In sharp contrast to Bankim Chandra’s case-study, there was no tension between the thematic and problematic of

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 51, 64-65.

nationalism at its point of departure for Sayajirao¹³⁶; one sees that the specificity of the colonial-modern was nativised to be recast as the specificity of the “modern-local”. I have demonstrated how the simultaneous display of generic and vernacular design became a proxy for the national and local crafts. Hence, the emergence of a local Baroda category of crafts shared space with the emergence of the national crafts.

Furthermore, like the previous chapter, this chapter undermines Prakash’s point about the eventual effacement of binaries in the colonial apparatuses of administration.¹³⁷ Instead, I read the presentation and documentation of loans such as the Baroda Screen and Balcony as entrenching the binaries ever more firmly in colonial practice. All the same, my argument on the promotion of generic and vernacular artisanal design in European forms proves the native collector’s gainful use of these binaries to strategically peg Indian design as the new aesthetic standard and to give expression to the new scientifically-produced indigenous goods as the “modern-national”. Indeed, as much as the colonial project of empire owed its founding mission and operational strategies to Orientalism, so did Sayajirao’s idea of nationalism owe its invocation of native agency and programmatic to this construct. Thus, while Chatterjee systematically demonstrates nationalism’s indebtedness to Orientalism, which I fully accept here, his idea of contradictoriness between the native agent and his adoption of a colonial knowledge base is recast in my argument as the native agent’s negotiation with the colonial knowledge base. This negotiation sets new standards which promote local craft traditions and internationalize them, as well as meet existing international standards which advocate scientific precision.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 80.

¹³⁷ Prakash. (1999), pp. 8, 47-48.

Finally, this chapter may be seen as supplementing prevalent art historical views in the following ways: Arindam Dutta's scholarship, points to the DSA-South Kensington cohort as the chief archive and lending agency for Indian design globally¹³⁸; however, this chapter supplements Dutta's point by positioning the royal palace and its links with traditional industry as lender of Indian design to global firms and exhibitions. Amin Jaffer examines royal native agency in design discussions for luxury goods as well as their presence at exhibitions¹³⁹. This chapter takes that trajectory further to demonstrate how royal native agency in the reconfiguration of design with European form, was not confined to private consumption nor the exhibition alone. On the contrary, both were employed to further the project of nationalism in the international domain, as seen through the *Swāmī* Tea Service. Moreover, Dipti Khera argues for the (silverware's) commercial firms' ultimate circumvention of the pendulum of taste, on the strength of mechanization and cost-effective production.¹⁴⁰ Contrarily Sayajirao is seen as including the cause of "taste for Indian design" within this locus of manufacturing and the economic imperative, to which I also add the "exhibition". Mc Gowan, views Sayajirao as being less sympathetic to the artisans and more committed to the cause of industry in his final imagination of the project of nationalism.¹⁴¹ This chapter demonstrates technical education and commercial workshops as the link between artisans and their industry-oriented training and production to show a co-habitation of both, the artisan and industry, in the Maharaja's formulation of nationalism. The two previously stated points, supplement Dutta's point, that as much as industrial capital used "tradition" (Indian design and artisan) to expand at its

¹³⁸ Dutta. (2006), p. 224.

¹³⁹ Jaffer. (2007).

¹⁴⁰ Khera. (2008), pp. 23-29, 32.

¹⁴¹ McGowan. (2009), pp. 187-189.

peripheries¹⁴², Sayajirao's formulation of nationalism used mechanization to enhance the ubiquity and adaptability of Indian craft, design and the artisan.

All of the above contributions are explained through Sayajirao's twin roles as a royal collector and head of state to underscore the links between royal consumption and state-wide policies for improvement of crafts. Moreover, these twin roles also help to conclude that though Sayajirao's direct agency is not be seen in some-case-studies, the shared context of his roles facilitates the agency of his resource persons. For instance, Madhavarao's agency is exercised due to the royal scale of consumption as well as Baroda's administrative machinery. But for Sayajirao's positions as royal elite collector, head of Baroda State and Baroda's chief lender to colonial exhibitions, his resource persons' projects may not have enjoyed fruition nor gained international visibility.

¹⁴² Dutta. (2006), p. 16.

CHAPTER 4

CONSOLIDATING IDEAS, ARTS AND CRAFTS: REALIZATION OF SAYAJIRAO'S INDIGENOUS MODERNITY WITHIN A BARODA CATEGORY

4.1 Introduction and Methodology

Chapter 3 has laid out the role of Indian design, both generic and vernacular, in paving a path for the qualification of national and local crafts in the international domain. The Baroda Screen is presented as the frontispiece to the Baroda Court in the visual space of the 1886 Exhibition. On the strength of its typically local design, executed under European supervision, it becomes a representative piece for the range of Baroda crafts. This chapter follows “the story behind the screen” which is a metaphor for the three sites of the polytechnic-PWD, the traditional crafts, and the private royal collection, in the making of this local body of works. By including the latter two sites, this chapter goes beyond the scope of items such as the Baroda Screen which was produced at the polytechnic-PWD, to examine other art and craft genres which also find inclusion in the Baroda category.

Archival data in the form of correspondence between the Huzūr Office and exhibition committees is analysed to reinforce Sayajirao's twin roles as an elite royal collector and head of state in the following two ways: firstly, for the facilitation of local surveys for the identification of typical crafts for representation at exhibitions and commercial promotion; and secondly, for the employment of these surveys in a nation-wide documentation of the crafts by the central imperial command. The “loans' inventory” for exhibitions drawn out by Sayajirao and his network of resource persons becomes the central document of analysis since

it consolidates the aforementioned surveys to encapsulate art and craft items from the private collection, the Kalābhavan-Nāzarpaḡa cohort and traditional industries within Baroda. The gradual expansion of these inventories results in the evolution of an independent “Baroda Court” or pavilion at exhibitions and the recognition of a “Baroda” provenance and category.

The theoretical framework of this chapter draws on Nicholas Dirks, Bernard Cohn and Tapati Guha-Thakurta’s scholarship which refine Edward Said’s unilateral model of Orientalism thus: they demonstrate how imperial officers were not the sole participants in defining the knowledge of the colony and validating it; the colonized also had stake in the creation of this knowledge through their engagement in field surveys, retrieval and study of indigenous texts, creation of new categories and taxonomies and the proliferation of vernacular literature.¹ With these examples, Guha-Thakurta points to the emergence of alternative scholarship and modalities within the category of Orientalism.² Like the rest of the dissertation, I undergird this chapter with Gyan Prakash’s idea of the acceptance of scientific colonial modernity and its eventual indigenization to serve national ambitions.³ Hence, I regard the site of exhibitions-catalogues-museums as scientific-modern institutions to identify, classify and name the local crafts. And both native agency and their alternative tools of survey and identification indigenize this colonial institution to formulate a national art.

¹ Nicholas B. Dirks. (1993). *Colonial Histories and Native Informants: Biography of an Archive*. In Carol Breckenridge and Peter van der Veer (Eds.). *Orientalism and the Postcolonial Predicament* (pp. 279-313), Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, pp. 281-288, 292-299. Bernard Cohn. (1996). *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp. 81-84, 87, 89, 95-96. Tapati Guha-Thakurta. (2004). *Monuments, Objects, Histories: Institutions of Art in Colonial and Postcolonial India*. New York: Columbia University Press, pp. 85-101, 111, 211.

² Thakurta. (2004), pp. 90-95, 132-134, 147-151.

³ Gyan Prakash. (1999). *Another Reason: Science and the Imagination of Modern India*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, pp. 3, 6-8, 13-14.

I locate exercises undertaken by Sayajirao's exhibition resource team to identify the state's crafts against two axes: first, the national agenda for promotion of local crafts and second, to borrow Guha-Thakurta's phrase, the "twin axes of the provincial museums and regional surveys".⁴ The first axis points to a prevalent autonomous trajectory of surveys in Baroda State. These surveys would have served the interest of identification and promotion of crafts and the resultant elevation of the state's profile as a centre of typical and commercially viable genres. The second axis explains surveys proposed by the Department of Revenue and Agriculture to stimulate a nation-wide three-tier plan to afford "Art Exhibition-Museum-Publication" for every province, and eventually provide an inventory of best specimens for the Indian Museum in Calcutta.⁵ These surveys, in the case of Baroda, were conducted entirely by Sayajirao's administration, especially native members of the local exhibition committees. As a result, the autonomous local surveys and surveys for exhibitions and museums, (under the aegis of the Department of Revenue and Agriculture) converged under a common native team. This convergence demonstrates a firm reliance on local networks in the facilitation of colonial surveys. This reading of convergence aligns with Guha-Thakurta's illumination of native agency in the shared space of regional initiatives and the colonial establishment in the development of art history and archaeology and their institutional projects such as museums.⁶ It also finds a parallel in Peter Hoffenberg's study of exhibitions

⁴ Thakurta. (2004), pp. 116-117.

⁵ NAI: *Department of Revenue and Agriculture: Museums and Exhibitions, 1883-1884*: Cir. No. 1 Ex., Extract from the Proceedings of the Government of India, in the Revenue and Agricultural Department, dated Calcutta, 3 January 1884, T.W. Holderness, Offg. Secretary to the Government of India, p. 1. Thakurta. (2004), pp. 70, 199.

⁶ Thakurta. (2004), pp. XVIII-XIX, 115-117, 121-124.

wherein he gives agency to native bureaucrats, specialists and professionals as authors of exhibition storylines and catalogues.⁷

Yuthika Sharma nuances this study of the knowledge and exhibitions' domain by first showing native agency in initial surveys of local art manufactures and then moves beyond this paradigm of experts to draw particular attention to the private collections of maharajas, *nawābs*, *dewans* and *tahsildars* from Indian provinces as being instrumental in the formation of the Loan Gallery at the Delhi Durbār of 1903.⁸ It is important to note that Sharma confines the surveys to native experts. By following the larger framework established by the aforementioned scholars, and especially adopting Sharma's position, I carve a well-defined niche for the native collector in the domains of survey and exhibitions. The private royal collector's "exhibition loans' inventories" emerge as "alternative modalities" in what is regarded as the knowledge-creation project by the British officials and native specialists. My study adds to this gamut of officials and specialists by positioning the native collector and his team in the survey and knowledge-creation exercise. I examine the contents of the inventories to understand the expansion of the Baroda category which leads to an independent "Baroda Court".

Next, I borrow Guha-Thakurta's principle of the "integrative notion" of the thematic mode of display in European museums which presents history through period rooms.⁹ I expand on the idea of the décor scheme of the Lakshmilās Palace, which resembles period

⁷ Peter Hoffenberg. (2001). *An Empire on Display: English, Indian, and Australian Exhibitions from the Crystal Palace to the Great War*. California: University of California Press, pp. xix, xxi, xxii, 33-34, 63.

⁸ Yuthika, Sharma. (2008). A House of Wonder: Silver at the Delhi Durbār Exhibition of 1903. In Vidya Dehejia (Ed.). *Delight Delight in Design: Indian Silver for the Raj* (pp. 48-64), Ahmedabad: Mapin Publishing, pp. 48, 52.

⁹ Thakurta. (2004), pp. 72, 73.

rooms and analyse its reflection in the creation of a Baroda Court. The creation of this court relies on an eclectic inclusion of traditional crafts spotlighted through surveys, crafts manufactured by the Kalābhavan-Nazarpaga cohort and objects from the private collection of Sayajirao. This affords an integration of the traditional, industrial and the royal within a single denomination, thereby creating value for the entire Baroda category of arts and crafts. I also argue for the formulation of this Baroda Court or category as the basis of the Baroda Museum collection. The Baroda Museum becomes a repository of representative genres and lends itself to exhibition loans. Finally, the Baroda Museum and the Baroda category dovetail in a national craft collection.

4.2 Baroda’s Autonomous Investigative Modality: Identification and Promotion of Local Crafts

As stated in the introduction, my case-study supplements existing scholarship to better illuminate native agency in the colonial knowledge-creation project and its representation. This section introduces Cohn’s concept of investigative modalities as the basis of production and validation of knowledge.¹⁰ Locating his scholarship in a Saidian framework, Cohn explains the British position as one of conquering not just a territory, but also an epistemological space¹¹: “This knowledge was to enable the British to classify, categorise, and bound the vast social world that was India so that it could be controlled”.¹² This knowledge-production brings into play his idea of investigative modalities. Cohn explains two stages as being part of an investigative modality: “An investigative modality includes the definition of a body of information that is needed, the procedures by which appropriate

¹⁰ Cohn (1996), pp. 4-5.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 4-5.

knowledge is gathered, its ordering and classification, and then how it is transformed into usable forms such as published reports, statistical returns, histories, gazetteers, legal codes, and encyclopedias”.¹³ In his comprehensive foreword to Cohn’s work, Dirks explains that instruments such as census, surveillance, etc. are the “investigative modalities”, which also include documentation, certification and representation which become the “state modalities” through which the accumulated data becomes “usable knowledge”.¹⁴

The case of Baroda demonstrates participation in both stages: the “investigative” and the “state” modality in the identification and representation of crafts. In both, Cohn and Dirks’ study the relationship between these two stages was always mediated by the European elite, even if “deficient”, to borrow Dirks’ term.¹⁵ Whereas the emergence of an independent category of Baroda crafts demonstrates an entirely unmediated procedure. To better explain this, it is important to recall the *swāris*, or district tours undertaken by Sayajirao and his inner coterie from 1881 onwards, as discussed in Chapter 1. These *swāris*, together with inputs from senior officials, contributed towards the compilation of the first Baroda Gazetteer in 1883 which included information on the crafts.¹⁶ Thus, Baroda’s autonomous surveys had begun even before F.A.H. Elliot’s 1883 compilation and before the Revenue and Agricultural Department’s 1884 directive. The emergence of Baroda crafts rode what Cohn identifies as the “survey”, “enumerative” and “museological” modalities in the sense that it encompassed practices of identification and collection of samples, identification of reasonable numbers of representative crafts and fulfillment of classificatory and taxonomical ordering of the crafts

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

¹⁴ Nicholas B. Dirks. Foreword. In Bernard Cohn. (1996) (pp. ix-xvii), pp. ix, xi, xiii.

¹⁵ Dirks. (1993), pp. 299, 301, 310-311. Dirks. (1996), Foreword, p. xvi, Cohn (1996), pp. 83-87.

¹⁶ F.A.H. Elliot. (1883). *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Volume VII, Baroda, Under Government Orders. Bombay*. Printed at the Government Central Press, prefatory page.

and their visual representation.¹⁷ Archival data sheds light on Madhavarao's early interest in the identification of local crafts, which pre-dates the *swāris* begun in 1881. We have noted his identification of local pottery and its re-location at the site of industrial school pedagogy in Chapter 3. Here, I turn to two examples of Baroda embroidery and lace-work.

Case-Study: Baroda Embroidery and Lace-Work

A memo is testimony to Madhavarao's agreement to send some specimens of Baroda embroidery for the Livingstone National Bazār in 1877; he regards this as a good opportunity "to bring into prominence in European markets Baroda Manufactures"¹⁸. Madhavarao also sends samples of lace borders made in Baroda, as well as samples of raw materials used for the lace-work, such as silver and gold wires, to the Simla Fine Arts Exhibition, 1879.¹⁹ The 25 pieces of lace and its raw materials' samples sent to the Simla Exhibition entail a precise documentation of the various patterns/designs and kinds of workmanship which are impressively furnished in the memo.²⁰ This memo reflects a detailed survey of design portfolios in lace-work available in Baroda and brings to the fore my argument that the loans' inventory became a document which also provided information on local genres. Madhavarao sends specimens of lace-work produced by Government workmen attached to the royal palace as well as Gokaldas Atmaram, a specialist supplier of embroidery and lace borders. This loan demonstrates that identification of locally-produced crafts was not confined to artisans

¹⁷ Cohn. (1996), pp. 7-10.

¹⁸ GSA/SCV/HPO: Section 65, Daftar 111, File 1: *Exhibitions: India & Europe (1878-1884)*: Memo 2568 from T. Madhavarao, Dewan's Cutchery, Baroda, 18 July 1877.

¹⁹ GSA/SCV/HPO: Section 65, Daftar 111, File 4: *Exhibitions: Simla Fine Arts Exhibition (1879-1895)*: Memo with letter 651, From: T. Madhava Row, Baroda, 2 September 1879, To: Major Anderson.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, Memo titled "Lace sent for Simla Fine Arts Exhibition" signed by Manager, 29 January 1880 & "Bill of Gokaldas Atmaram for gold and silver border supplied by him" signed by Manager, 28 July 1880.

associated with the royal workshops, and instead extended to other producers in the state. A note on the memo instructs the concerned officer to store the samples for future displays.²¹ And indeed, this future display may have been Madhavarao's immediate effort to enquire about the viability of this genre in London. In 1880, T. Madhavarao corresponds with the Chamber of Commerce in Bombay for the presentation of locally-produced eighteen samples of gold and silver lace-work in London, to ascertain prospects for sale and potential price. The samples are forwarded by the Chamber of Commerce in Bombay through Messrs. Charles Forbes & Co. to friends in London²². That these lace samples are found unsuitable for the English market²³ is one thing, but this effort represents autonomous efforts in the promotion of local crafts. Two portfolios of lace-work are also sent to the 1883 Poona Exhibition of Native Arts and Manufactures.²⁴

These case-studies align with the foundational period when ivory craftsman Neelakandan Asari, the mica painter from Trichinopoly and Ravi Varma were all introduced to the Baroda Court and represented at exhibitions. A project was also initiated to improve local pottery. These examples demonstrate concerted efforts towards the patronage of painting and identification of local crafts, a documentation of their stylistic strengths, their promotion in commercial contexts and the consequent elevation of Baroda's profile as an arts and crafts

²¹ *Ibid.*, Memo, 29 January 1880 with note by Dewan T. Madhava Row, 31 January 1880.

²² GSA/SCV/HPO: Section 99, Daftar 127, File 15: *Correspondence with Merchants: Correspondence with Chamber of Commerce, Bombay*: Letter 326, From: Sir T. Madava Row, Dewan's Cutchery, Baroda, 18 July 1880, To: Secretary Chamber of Commerce, Bombay; Letter from: J. Gordon, Secretary, Chamber of Commerce, Bombay, 4 September 1880, To: Sir T. Madava Row; Letter from: Chamber of Commerce, Bombay, 9 April 1881, To: Sir T. Madava Row; Letter 243, From: Sir Charles Forbes & Co. Bombay/London, 11 March 1881, To: Sir T. Madava Row.

²³ It is explained that naval, military and court tailors use gold lace, but since their designs are custom-made and manufactured on the spot, it is difficult to employ the Baroda lace for their purposes.

²⁴ GSA/SCV/HPO: Section 65, Daftar 111, File 1: Annexure of list of objects attached to Letter 4512, From: Kazi Shabudin Dewan, Dewan's Cutchery, Baroda, 17 April 1883, To: The Joint Secretaries, Poona Exhibition Committee, Poona.

hub. This chain of developments also supports my argument that there was an autonomous local trajectory of craft surveys within the Baroda administration. Information on these genres was shared in the loans' inventories, as exemplified in the case of lace designs. As discussed in Chapter 3, surveys of traditional manufactures and ancillary industries were also undertaken. We have seen this in the case of Madhavarao's identification of local pottery genres and T.K. Gajjar's state-wide surveys to understand the nature of traditional industries,²⁵ to formulate the curriculum of the Kalābhavan. The following sections will explore how these local surveys were later expanded to meet the growing demands of nurturing an independent Baroda Court at colonial displays. The surveys were also extended to meet with the central directive to establish provincial museums. Both, the idea of a provincial court and provincial survey marked a thrust towards the "local-provincial-regional"²⁶ and promised a central and unmediated role to Baroda's autonomous investigative modality.

4.3 Towards a Baroda Category and Museum: Shift to Provincialism in the Domain of Exhibitions

The need to have an independent Baroda Court may be located in the agendas of exhibition displays, which, being informed by provincial surveys moved away from

²⁵ Makarand Mehta. (1992). Science Versus Technology: The Early Years of the Kalā Bhavan, Baroda, 1890-1896. *Indian Journal of History of Science*, 27(2), p. 157. Section: 233, Daftar: 345; File No. 2; *Industries*; Section: 85; Daftar No: 472; File No: 7; *Education Department: Miscellaneous Correspondence regarding Education*.

²⁶ The Museums and Exhibitions Resolution and the post-Exhibition reports use the term "local" and "provincial" interchangeably for districts, provinces and states in the contexts of surveys, Courts and Museums (NAI, *Department of Revenue and Agriculture: Museums and Exhibitions, 1883-1884*: Cir. No.1 Ex.). Tapati Guha-Thakurta also uses the terms "provincial" and "local" in these contexts; additionally, she employs the term "regional" to explain surveys and indigenous scholarship in the context of Bengal. In keeping with the terms used in primary source material, I use the terms "local" and "provincial", except, in cases where I quote the term "regional" from Thakurta. Thus in this chapter, "local" is used to represent district-based genres such as Sankheda lacquerware, Patan patola, etc; and it is also used to designate the aggregate "Baroda" category. Thus, for my purposes of discussion on Baroda, I use "local", unless quoting from the aforementioned or any other sources.

showcasing “national displays” to more nuanced information on local and provincial²⁷ specialties. Though this shift towards provincial courts and provincial surveys debuted in the 1880s, Abigail McGowan records that the need to know local manufactures arose even for the 1851 display, so as to assemble nation-wide products and manufactures.²⁸ The East India Company only prepared broad categories of genres required; it did not possess the knowledge of where to source these.²⁹ Regional committees relied on local committees to survey manufactures and products and put together loans or donations of exhibits.³⁰ This brings to the fore the role of collectors and lenders in putting together “loans’ inventories” and reinforces my argument about the centrality of this document which represented the post-survey and pre-representation stages.

Thus, although the 1851 and its subsequent displays resorted to classification of courts or pavilions along national categories, various factors led to an increasing emphasis on provincial calibrations, especially in the decade of the 1880s. The “1884 Resolution for Museums and Exhibitions” by the Revenue and Agricultural Department of the Government of India was aimed to initiate a three-tier plan which consisted of nation-wide provincial art museums, exhibitions and art publications with a view to know and promote the trade and

²⁷ This chapter uses the term “provincial” (interchangeable for the “ local”), as the 1884 Museums Resolution uses the term “provincial” for in the context of nation-wide surveys and its resultant museums. *The Journal of Indian Art and Industry (JIAI)* also employs the term “provincial” to designate its various courts and pavilions. Exhibition circulars and reports also designate the courts and pavilions as “provincial”. (NAI): *Department of Revenue and Agriculture*: Cir. No. 1 Ex. (1884), pp. 1-4. B.A. Gupte. (1886). The Baroda Court. *Journal of Indian Art and Industry* 1, (126-133). GSA/SCV/HPO: Section 65, Daftar 112, File 8-A: Circular No. 15/5-8 Ex. Extract of the 1886 Colonial and Indian Exhibition Report from: Proceedings of the Government of India, Revenue and Agricultural Department, 17 February 1888, Museums and Exhibitions, E.C. Buck, Secretary to the Government of India.

²⁸ Abigail McGowan. (2009). *Crafting the Nation in Colonial India*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 36, 37.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

industries of the country, especially the artistic industries.³¹ This resolution highlighted the “insufficient cataloguing and collection” of indigenous artistic industries and consequently led to a proliferation of provincial surveys.³² These surveys and their resultant building of provincial collections were geared towards the formation of a central representative collection at the Indian Museum in Calcutta.³³ Moreover, Baroda State’s own museum plan was underway from 1887, in the context of its educational projects.³⁴ Also, in the interest of creating a learning resource for artisans, art school and polytechnic students, best specimens of provincial crafts were sought out for provincial museums. These display specimens were aimed to encourage new experiments in design and workmanship.³⁵ Lastly, identification of these genres and their representation at museums was seen as a direct means to promote sales and secure their place in the commercial markets.

The aforementioned shift towards provincial surveys and their documentation directly impacted exhibitions. The 1886 Indian and Colonial Exhibition’s post-exhibition report records,

The system adopted for the arrangement of exhibits, however, deserves notice, as it differed in some respects from the classification adopted at previous exhibitions. Exhibits of artware including fabrics were arranged primarily in Provincial Divisions or Courts according to localities of production, instead as heretofore being grouped according to a technical classification. ... In thus

³¹ NAI: *Department of Revenue and Agriculture*: Cir. No. 1 Ex. (1884), pp. 1-4 & Proceedings of the Committee convened under Circular No. 78 Ex., dated 5 October 1883, dated 7, 11, 14, 18, and 22 December 1883; Revised Draft Scheme.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 2.

³³ Thakurta. (2004), pp. 70, 199.

³⁴ R.N. Mehta. (1995). *Genesis and Activities of the Museum and Picture Gallery Vadodara*. Vadodara: The Department of Museums, pp. 3, 11.

³⁵ NAI: *Department of Revenue and Agriculture*: Cir. No. 1 Ex. (1884), p. 3. In fact, this fluid exchange of design between genres and provincial styles, especially underlined in the Final 1884 Resolution, underscores my argument from the previous chapter, that on the one hand, while vernacular, provincial designs were identified and documented as being typical, new design experiments led to exchange and a burgeoning pool of generic Indian design.

departing, in the case of artware, from the usual method of arrangement, the Government of India was influenced by a desire to illustrate and emphasize the essentially conservative nature of the artistic ideas of the country which, though beginning to yield to the influence of a new industrial development, are still distinguishable by peculiar local characteristics which lend them a special value and attractiveness, and which it is for many reasons desirable to foster and preserve as far as possible”.³⁶

From the imperialist position, reflected in the 1886 post-exhibition report, this emphasis on the provincial categories was clearly driven by the need to highlight the “otherness” of Indian manufactures³⁷ which were products of handiwork and tradition-bound contexts. This served the interest of pro-industry camps to emphasize industrial progress in Britain. From the nationalist position, these provincial categories highlighted the co-existence of handiwork and superior aesthetics alongside the arrival of scientific-modern practices of production. They showed the adaptability of traditional crafts to industry as well as commercial markets. Most importantly, their display along categories of definite provenance aided the building of a knowledge-base of nation-wide crafts. This complex web of agendas, which ranged from imperial-capitalist to nationalist, supported the cause of the crafts as discussed in Chapter 3. These agendas also made it imperative to reflect the crafts’ changing landscape at the sites of exhibition, documentation and museums. Without a comprehensive reflection of these changes, neither the imperial nor the nationalist positions would have benefited of this project of provincial surveys. The evolution of the Museums and Exhibitions Resolution through revised drafts shows an acceptance of this transient landscape: it takes note of the opening of crafts to industrial processes of production, increase in workshops, the experiment and

³⁶ GSA/SCV/HPO: Section 65, Daftar 112, File 8-A: Circular No. 15/5-8 Ex. Extract of the 1886 Colonial and Indian Exhibition Report.

³⁷ From this point, I extend the category of crafts to include manufactures, since the discussion engages with industrial processes of production. Extract from the 1888 proceedings also recognize the inclusion of industrial processes in the production of handicrafts. *Ibid.*

exchange among provincial designs, etc.³⁸ The idea of a static, pre-capitalist craft scene in India, as conceived post-1851, had also clearly changed by the 1880s when both, the imperial and nationalist positions recognized the industrialization of crafts and its resultant hybrid produce.

The changing contexts of craft practices made fresh surveys mandatory, and together, they show the contingent space of the colony and its awareness on the part of both camps. I contend that this contemporaneous nature of provincial craft surveys and their need to keep abreast of changes set them apart from the older antiquarian and archaeological survey-based collections. On the one hand, the nationalist camp required up-to-date compilations of traditional crafts, industrialised crafts and other genres to secure a comprehensive national profile. On the other, the imperial position required knowledge of provincial design portfolios and materials to benefit art schools and British trade, as argued by Arindam Dutta.³⁹ This alters the Saidian notion of a static colonial field.⁴⁰ It also makes a revision to Cohn's museological modality, which revolves around the idea of the colony as a vast storehouse and "living museum".⁴¹ Instead, it shows the crafts and manufactures as a living industry; its transient nature demanded that the practices of survey be current and contemporary to documentation and exhibition projects. My case-study gives agency to Sayajirao and Baroda State's administrative apparatus to undertake fresh surveys and create new crafts' knowledge. Hoffenberg credits the English secretaries for the department of exhibitions, and native exhibition commissioners and catalogue-writers as key players in re-working the south Asian

³⁸ NAI: *Department of Revenue and Agriculture*: Cir. No. 1 Ex. (1884). Circular No. 78 Ex. (1883).

³⁹ Arindam Dutta. (2006). *The Beauty of Bureaucracy: Design in the Age of its Global Reproducibility*. London: Routledge, pp. 2-7, 125, 129.

⁴⁰ Edward Said. (1991, First published in 1978). *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient*. London and New York: Penguin Books.

⁴¹ Dirks (1996) Foreword. Cohn (1996), pp. 78-79.

image at exhibitions to reflect changes.⁴² Hoffenberg's register excludes the Indian prince.⁴³ Contrarily, in my study, the native prince becomes the chief resource agency to ensure representation of a changing Indian craft scene and greater absorption of peripheral genres within the mainstream.

This contention not only explains the presence of Sayajirao's native administration in the survey and documentation of local crafts, but a complete reliance on its apparatuses. While these surveys obviously buffered the central colonial project of documenting nationwide crafts and manufactures, it also served Baroda's own local concerns to promote its traditional industries. Thus, oftentimes, local apparatuses meant to fulfill local and national agendas, were co-opted by the colonial administration. Moreover, it shows how national and colonial interests shared the same modalities. This inscription of the local, provincial, regional and national within the colonial space is one of the central plots of Guha-Thakurta's scholarship: she illustrates it through the rise of regional initiatives in vernacular-indigenous scholarship or English writings, which enjoyed twin locations in the colonial establishment as well as the indigenous circuits of knowledge-production.⁴⁴ Similarly, my study locates the survey undertaken by local exhibition committees as straddling the colonial practice of exhibitions, private collecting practice and the local administration of Baroda State. The next discussion sheds light on the "work in progress" nature of Baroda's surveys, and some of the practical negotiations of working within the parameters of colonial institutions.

⁴² Hoffenberg. (2001), pp. 50-51.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 51-52.

⁴⁴ Thakurta, (2004), pp. XVIII-XIX, 90-91, 127-131.

4.4 Towards an Independent Baroda Court: Examination of Exhibition Loans and Catalogues

This section charts Baroda's participation from being part of the Bombay Court⁴⁵ in the 1886 Exhibition, to its arrival as an independent Baroda Court by the Chicago World' Fair of 1893. I track this development through the reciprocal relationship between exhibitions and their resultant publications. While I focus on the loans' inventories and their content to explain the gradual expansion of Baroda loans, I also highlight the definite agency of the Huzūr Office in the survey and selection of these items. It is known that the exhibition commissioners decided the larger storyline and contents of the exhibition,⁴⁶ but, the extent to which the native collector could negotiate a place for artefacts and genres of his choice within this pre-decided framework is highlighted in the following discussion. I will focus on the identification and selection of genres through an analysis of correspondence shared between Sayajirao's office and the exhibition commissioners and the eventual formulation of a loans' inventory by the former. I take the 1886 Colonial and Indian Exhibition, 1893 Chicago World's Fair, and the 1902-03 Delhi Durbār Exhibition as my case-studies. I particularly focus on the correspondence, inventories, catalogues and post-exhibition reports to demonstrate how select genres, gradually qualified as representative of the Baroda category.

Case-Study I: Colonial and Indian Exhibition, 1886

The Foreign Department's correspondence dedicated to the 1886 Exhibition demonstrates the proposed engagement of Sayajirao as Royal Commissioner for the

⁴⁵ Colonial exhibitions followed a classificatory lay-out in their physical arrangement. Exhibits were displayed at pavilions or courts dedicated to individual countries, regions or even continents. These courts used screens or facades to mark their territory; oftentimes they were conceived as rooms.

⁴⁶ Hoffenberg. (2001), pp. xxi, 33-34, 63.

exhibition and his spontaneous acceptance of the title. This evidences that in addition to British officials and commercial showmen, native princes too were appointed as exhibition commissioners.⁴⁷ Furthermore, this correspondence highlights Sayajirao's efforts to assemble a committee to ascertain art manufactures and products from Baroda State which will make for a "representative collection" at the dedicated Baroda Court⁴⁸. From here, one forays into the practical problems encountered in defining a representative range of Baroda crafts.

As yet sufficient numbers of local genres had not qualified as typical samples. At this time survey mechanisms gained momentum to collect and define what could become "representative" of Baroda. It was not always easy to furnish an "exclusively representative of Baroda" collection for exhibition loans. As much as documentation of provincial manufactures led to the identification of provincial typicalities, it also highlighted pan-regional commonalities. Baroda possessed few craft genres which were exclusive to the state, as most others were common across Gujarat or also found in other parts of the Western Presidency. In the context of the 1886 Exhibition, the Huzūr Cutchery is known to record fewer artisans in Baroda when compared to Ahmedabad and Surat.⁴⁹ Firstly, while this encouraged a constant search for "exclusive representative crafts", their shortfall led to the

⁴⁷ GSA/SCV/HPO: Section 65, Daftar 112, File 8-A: Letter from: Francis Knollys, Private Secretary, Marlborough House, Pall Mall, 25 July 1884, To: Sir (His Highness, the Maharajah of Baroda); NAI: *Foreign Department: File 107, Internal, Part A, July 1885*: Letter from: Major General J. Watson, V.C, C.B., Agent to the governor general at Baroda to H.M. Durand C.S.I., Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, 23 June, 1885 & Letter from Under Secretary dated 29 June.

⁴⁸ NAI: File 107: Letter from: Major General J. Watson, V.C, C.B., Agent to the governor general at Baroda, 23 June 1885, To: H.M. Durand C.S.I., Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department; Letter from Under Secretary, 29 June 1885.

⁴⁹ GSA/SCV/HPO: Section 65, Daftar 112, File 8-A: Letter 610, From: Dewan Kazi Shahabudin, Huzūr Cutchery, 31 August 1885, To: Captain J.H. Sadler.

participation of Baroda as a section of the Bombay Court.⁵⁰ This decision made by the Huzūr Cutchery, reconfirms Baroda's inability to hold its own as an independent court. Secondly, the commonality of pan-Gujarati genres, paradoxically, helped to highlight those few genres which were indeed exclusive to Baroda. The President of the 1886 Exhibition Committee, Hayes Sadler records, "Most of the art products obtainable in Baroda being common to the whole of Gujarat it was found impossible to make a collection which would be peculiar to Baroda, in fact but few articles – Pattan pottery work excepted can be classed as solely the products of this state"⁵¹. One sees how Pattan pottery qualifies as a truly representative genre of Baroda in the absence of higher numbers of exclusive genres. It becomes crucial to note the consistent representation of select genres, inclusion of new ones from polytechnics, workshops and the royal palace. The repeated display and documentation of these genres led to the maturation of an independent Baroda Court. This not only evidences a strategy to meet reasonable numbers of representative genres, but also displays how each segment signified handiwork and/or mechanization, without which the expression of indigenous modernity would be incomplete.

The 1886 loans' inventory tells us that a total 772 articles were loaned by Baroda State (229 by the *Durbār* and 543 purchased/specially commissioned articles, also funded by the *Durbār*)⁵² (illustrations 21-31) I discern the following predominant genres or groupings from this inventory:

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, Letter 34, From: Captain J. Hayes Sadler, President of the Exhibition Committee, 2 April 1886, To: Major. T. H. Jackson, Officiating Agent Governor General Baroda; Letter 4938, From: Kazi Shahabudin, 4 April 1885, To: Captain J.H. Sadler.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, Letter 34.

⁵² GSA/SCV/HPO: Section 65, Daftar 112, File 8-A: Inventory. Section 65, Daftar 111, File 7: *Exhibitions: Exhibitions General Correspondence (1900-1915)*: Precis Report of Three Exhibitions

- Traditional crafts of Baroda: Patan pottery, Billimora ivory inlay work and sandalwood work, bison horn products, Visnagar brassware and brass and copperware from Dabhoi and Kadi;
- Objects of royal private consumption: specimens of jewellery and textiles lent by the *Durbār* as well as purchased;
- Royal ceremonial and pageantry items: silver model of a state elephant, silver bullock carriage, and a silver *dumṇi* (palanquin); photographs of actual state processions to depict the original event;
- Ethnological collection: plaster models of occupational and ethnic types;
- Native craftsmanship and design at the site of industrial school pedagogy: specially commissioned Baroda Screen, Baroda Balcony and Pigeon House;
- Miscellaneous: marble knick knacks, gold and silver thread embroidery; calico printing, fabrics and weaves (Here, I take note of embroidery specimens, though, it cannot be ascertained if these belong to the same genre which Madhavarao promoted in 1879-80).⁵³

Another definite pattern can be discerned in the formulation of the loans' inventories from their formative to final stages: this pattern points to definite decisions made between Sayajirao and the Dewan or officials of the Huzūr Office. Informal notes in internal communications gesture towards instructions from the Maharaja and his selections and rejections. Firstly, the

(1886, 1893 & 1900) attached to Letter 5324, From: Chief Engineer of Baroda State, Name illegible, Huzūr P.W. Department, Baroda, 10 February 1903, To: St. Louis World's Fair, 1904.

⁵³ I reiterate, that these categories are formulated by me to emphasise the various segments or groupings within which the loan items may be located. These categories are not mentioned per se in the original inventory. In the inventory objects appear in random order.

committee appointed to survey and select local crafts was appointed by the Maharaja.⁵⁴ Dinshah Ardeshir Talyarkhan, Municipal Commissioner of Baroda State was the Honorary Secretary to the Committee. He was also in charge of the Arts and Manufactures Collections along with the President, Captain Hayes Sadler.⁵⁵ Secondly, the *Durbār* was the chief sponsor, facilitator and lender of all 772 objects from Baroda.⁵⁶ This suggests definite participation of the Maharaja in the final selection process and one such example is presented here. Baroda's impressive collection of pageantry and transport items were clearly sought after for exhibitions. The Maharajas' silver *shikār damṇi* and the silver *ḡenāna* carriage were originally requested as loan items to illustrate the segment of palanquins and native modes of conveyances.⁵⁷ However, since both carriages were in use for the Maharajas' cheetah hunt and the ladies of the palace, respectively, a silver *dumṇi* was lent by one Shet Haribhakti to substitute the original request.⁵⁸ This evidences how selections were clearly guided by decisions which came from the royal family, especially since items of personal use constituted exhibition loans. In addition to selections, definite agency of the Huzūr Office can be located in the loans' inventory's negotiation with exhibition storylines, as seen in the case of the 1893 World's Fair which is discussed next.

⁵⁴ NAI: File 107: Letter from: Major General J. Watson, 23 June 1885; Letter from Under Secretary, 29 June 1885. The Baroda Committee members for the 1886 Exhibition were: Captain Hayes Sadler, President of the Exhibition Commt & Asst Agent to the Governor General; Major F.H. Jackson; Rao Bahadur Laxman Jagannath, Rao Bahadur J.S. Gadgil; T.S. Tait; Playford Reynolds, Abbas Tyabji, Rao Bahadur Raoji Vithal; Rao Saheb Har Govindas Dwarkadas, Ambalal Sakarlal Desai, Mr Dinshah Ardeshir Taleyarkhan (Municipal Commissioner), Hon Secretary to The Committee. The constitution of the Committee shows inclusion of British officials, officials from the Huzūr Office, Engineers who could facilitate production of items such as the Baroda Screen; and other eminent men who could be potential lenders for the display.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ GSA/SCV/HPO: Section 65, Daftar 112, File 8-A: Letter 34.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, Circular No. 92Ex. /IX-2; From: E.C. Buck, Secretary to the Government of India, Revenue and Agriculture Dept./Museums & Exhibitions, Simla, 26 June 1885, To: Gaekwar of Baroda.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, Letter From: Huzūr Cutchery, dates illegible, 1885; Kazi Shabuddin, To: illegible; though can be conjectured that it must be Captain Hayes Sadler, President of the Baroda Committee for the 1886 Exhibition.

Case-Study II: Chicago World's Fair, 1893

The Chicago World's Fair, also known as the World's Columbian Exposition, 1893, announced the official appointment of S.J. Tellery & Co. (by the Govt. of India) as Commissioner to represent Indian Art ware and Art Manufactures. S.J. Tellery's engagement attests the role of commercial showmen in scripting exhibition storylines and conceiving exhibition design. By 23 April 1892, the loans' inventory for the exhibition, including those items to be presented to the Chicago Museum was drawn out by the Huzūr Office.⁵⁹ Once again, Dinshah Talyarkhan, who was in charge of the arts and manufactures for the 1886 Exhibition, was entrusted with the presentation of objects to the Chicago Museum.⁶⁰ This 1893 inventory reflects Baroda's preparation for display along the lines of a full-scale provincial court. And rightly so, as Tellery & Co.'s initial plan was to highlight the "place of manufacture" of exhibits although they would be shown together in a single court; Tellery & Co. also offered the option of having independent provincial groups within the larger court.⁶¹

Soon after, Tellery & Co. requested articles along ethnological categories, i.e., they requested Baroda to send "illustrative exhibits" to complement categories drawn out by them⁶². The point to note is that despite preparing a back-up list to respond to the ethnological

⁵⁹ GSA/SCV/HPO: Section 65, Daftar 111, File 5: *Exhibitions: Chicago Exhibition (1892-1895): List of articles to be presented to the Museum at Chicago in conformity with Huzoor order dated 23.4.92 out of the Exhibits sent to the Chicago Exhibition 1893*".

⁶⁰ GSA/SCV/HPO: Section 65, Daftar 111, File 7: *Precis Report of Three Exhibitions (1886, 1893 & 1900)*.

⁶¹ GSA/SCV/HPO: Section 65, Daftar 111, File 5: *Chicago Exposition Business*, From: S.J. Tellery & Co., Delhi, 27 July 1892, To: The Agent, Governor General, Baroda.

⁶² *Ibid.*, Letter from: S.J. Tellery & Co. Delhi, 11 August 1892, To: Dewan, Baroda State, Baroda.

categories⁶³, Huzūr Kutchery replied on 8 Oct 1892 to S.J. Tellery & Co. saying H.H.'s Govt. had already selected articles for the exhibition and did not intend to change the list. Baroda persisted with its proposition to have an independent court and finally showed the entire range of items from its original list.⁶⁴ This decision attests Baroda's marked inclination to promote the inventory originally readied on 23 April 1892; it also underlines Baroda's focus on the display of a wide range of its wares despite the fact that Tellery & Co. had sourced large numbers of objects from vendors in Baroda and across Gujarat independently.⁶⁵ This case shows Baroda's negotiation of its independently formulated loans' inventories with the exhibition commissioners and their storylines. It also usurps the pivotal position of exhibition commissioners as selectors and evaluators of exhibition contents⁶⁶; we see that the private collector-lender acts as a co-producer of exhibition content. While the Huzūr Cutchery did not alter its list, it negotiated a fit for its inventory within the given framework by Tellery & Co.

The local committees and lenders recognized the accommodative scope of the structure of classification and taxonomies at exhibitions. As a result they used it gainfully to negotiate exhibition loans. The all-encompassing rubric of "ethnological collections" or "oriental manufactures" allowed the native lenders to create space for loan items of their own choice. Furthermore, I contend that this practice led to the creation of new categories by local committees and lenders. These new categories were consolidated through inception of awards and prizes for them, also sponsored by the native lender. Thus, there was a distinct

⁶³ *Ibid.*, Letter from: Name illegible, Huzūr Cutchery's Office; Letter 17, From: Sudharai Kamdar's Office, Baroda, 1 June 1893; Letter 597, From: H.E. Office, 25 August 1892; This back-up list is in turn forwarded to the Municipal Department for necessary action.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, Chicago Exposition Business, From: S.J. Tellery & Co., 30 September 1892, To: The Dewan of Baroda State.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, Letter dated 30 September 1892.

⁶⁶ Hoffenberg. (2001), pp. xxi-xxii, 63.

relationship between the identification of local genres, their inclusion in loans' inventories and the native collector-lender's sponsorship of prizes to ensure recognition of these new genres as independent categories. The foremost example is seen in the Gaekwar's gold medal awarded to Ravi Varma at the Poona Exhibition of 1880.⁶⁷ Madhavarao sent the painting *A Nair Beauty* from the Travancore Collection to Poona.⁶⁸ As discussed in Chapter 2, Madhavarao was preparing the ground to introduce Varma to Baroda. At the 1881-82 Madras Fine Arts Society Exhibition, the Gaekwar's prize was sponsored to support native artists such as Tiroovengada Naidu who had sojourned in Baroda in 1878 and was also represented at exhibitions.⁶⁹ In the indigenous craft genres, prizes were announced for brass and copper work.⁷⁰ It can be conjectured that these prizes may have been sponsored in the interest of promoting Kadi and Visnagar brass and copper works from Baroda. At the 1890 Western India Fine Arts Society Exhibition in Poona, Sayajirao sponsored prizes for carving in wood, metal work and gold or silver work;⁷¹ it may be recalled that woodwork became an important component at Kalābhavan from the 1890s. The 1892 Exhibition also showed continuity of prizes for the same categories.⁷²

Clearly, these prizes enhanced the value of particular artists and genres and in the process the value of the lending collection. Prize-sponsorship was thus self-serving for the collector. The above discussion points to a systematic process of selection of items to

⁶⁷ Marthanda K. Varma. (1964). *Raja Ravi Varma*. Trivandrum: K.M. Varma, p. 12.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

⁶⁹ GSA/SCV/HPO: Section 65, Daftar 111, File 1: Prospectus of the Madras Fine Arts Society Exhibition, 1881-82.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷¹ GSA/SCV/HPO: Section 65, Daftar 111, File 6: *Exhibitions: Poona Fine Arts Exhibition (1879-1896)*: Prospectus of the Seventeenth Annual Exhibition of the Western India Fine Arts Society, 1890, p.2.

⁷² *Ibid.*, Prospectus of the Nineteenth Annual Exhibition of the Western India Fine Arts Society, 1892, p.2.

comprise exhibition loans and become prize-winning pieces. From the theoretical perspective, these ideas of selection and value ascription are important to object and collection studies. Susan Pearce goes beyond the technology, material, content and form, to regard the exercise of “selection” as ascribing value to an object.⁷³ Susan Stewart too argues for the selection and subjectivity of the collector as extending a new context and meaning to the collection/its objects.⁷⁴ In my discussion, the native agent selects particular genres, includes these in his loans’ inventory and provides them the contexts of exhibition displays and awards. These contexts ascribe fresh value for the selected and represented genres. This view also links with James Clifford’s contention that in addition to the inherent meaning of objects their “present contexts” are crucial to assign renewed value, status and meaning to objects.⁷⁵ These theoretical ideas strengthen the role of human agency, i.e., the native collector and his team in this case, and their participation at exhibitions. I nuance this view further to demonstrate how the exhibitions’ classification and taxonomies also lend value to the selected genres.

Case-Study 3: Delhi Durbār Exhibition, 1902-03

In addition to the accommodative nature of prevalent classificatory structures, Hoffenberg points to the possibility of creation of new taxonomies to suit native loans which was actively explored by exhibition commissioners.⁷⁶ Increasingly detailed information on more numbers of Baroda crafts became available. Their place in the expanding structure of classifications became consolidated. This is reflected in subsequent publications such as

⁷³ Susan Pearce. (1994). Museum Objects. In Susan Pearce (Ed.). *Interpreting Objects and Collections* (pp. 9-11), London and New York: Routledge, p. 10.

⁷⁴ Susan Stewart. (2003). *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection*. Durham and London: Duke University Press, pp. 151-154.

⁷⁵ James Clifford. (1999). In Simon During (Ed.). *The Cultural Studies Reader* (pp. 57-76), London, New York: Routledge, pp. 57-58, 63.

⁷⁶ Hoffenberg. (2001), p. 26.

George Watt's documentation of the Delhi Durbār Exhibition of 1902-03⁷⁷ (see appendix III). It demonstrates inclusion of new genres, keen attention paid to the processes of production, discussion of technical or stylistic strengths and recognition of individual artisans. Hence, in effect, localized loan inventories drew new connections between taxonomies and value-attribution.

Theoretically this discussion draws on Cohn and Guha-Thakurta's ideas: Cohn addresses issues of "fabrication" of the value and meaning of objects against the backdrop of survey modalities; in the process, he critically summarizes practices of taxonomy, classification and collection determined by the British, to create or de-inflate the value of objects.⁷⁸ Guha-Thakurta expands on Cohn's idea of the interconnection between taxonomies and value-attribution; she examines how religious and racial heads, like other connotative taxonomies, became charged with new values.⁷⁹ For instance, in the case of Baroda, "anklets", which were hitherto classed as part of "ornaments", were now positioned by Watt as an autonomous sub-category in the moulded and chased work in silver and copper which finds special mention. "This medium is used to produce "massive anklets".⁸⁰ The new independent category of anklets, with a new taxonomy, now realigns with the highly commended technique of moulded and chased work to derive value from it. One sees that these anklets qualify as a specialty on the basis of their prize-winning status; emphasis is also laid on the pattern or design of commended pieces and their producers. "Commended-silver

⁷⁷ George Watt. (1904). *Indian Art at Delhi, 1903: Being the Official Catalogue of the Delhi Exhibition 1902-1903*. London: John Murray.

⁷⁸ Cohn. (1996), pp. 76-77, 90-91, 96-97. Bernard Cohn. (1992). *Transformation of Objects into Artifacts, Antiquities and Art in Nineteenth-Century India*. In Barbara Stoler-Miller (Ed.). *The Powers of Art: Patronage in Indian Culture* (pp. 301-329), Oxford: Oxford University Press.

⁷⁹ Thakurta. (2004), pp. 16-18, 49-50, 76-77.

⁸⁰ Watt. (1904), p. 34.

anklet (maize pattern), made at Dabhoi in Baroda (No 1501), Rs 85; Hurgovind Hira of Dabhoi's massive copper kalla (anklet), chrysanthemum pattern is commended (No.1078); Rs 10".⁸¹

It must be acknowledged that this burgeoning segment of information on technique, style, design and artisans must have been furnished through local committees, which in the first place identified the genres and its producers. This detailed classification and nomenclature reinvigorated the value of these displayed genres. The theoretical position on objects and collections also gives immense value to these apparatuses of classification and taxonomy. Susan Stewart contends that objects in their varied forms accrue new meaning and value through a classification and display process which forms a collection.⁸² Likewise, James Clifford gives agency to classification procedures which occupy various contexts to extend meaning and value to objects.⁸³ These practices of classification and naming become what Carol Breckenridge refers to as the practical apparatus of the exhibition.⁸⁴

I contend that this practical classificatory apparatus helped to identify and qualify increasing numbers of genres and techniques as typical of Baroda: rhinoceros-hide shields and boxes and Baroda spoons produced from buffalo horns were documented as distinct Baroda types in Watt's catalogue; silver and copper repousse work of Baroda found mention as "Peculiar Repousse" for its unique characteristics⁸⁵ (illustration 32). Here I employ Tirthankar Roy's twin axes of "colonial encounter" and "globalization" to demonstrate how increasing

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 58, 61.

⁸² Stewart. (2003), pp. 151, 162

⁸³ Clifford. (1999), pp. 57-58, 63.

⁸⁴ Carol Breckenridge. (1989). The Aesthetics and Politics of Colonial Collecting. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 31(2), 195-216, pp. 211-212.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

numbers of rural, lesser known crafts became part of the mainstream Baroda category.⁸⁶ I acknowledge that Roy contextualizes the rural crafts' relocation in regional patterns of industrialization, which I have examined in the previous chapter.⁸⁷ In this case, although several genres are not industrialized, the royal collector and his team exercise their selection to place these crafts in a Baroda configuration. By virtue of this placement, the crafts are promoted in the colonial and global space of exhibitions and commercial markets.

I return to debate with Partha Chatterjee's idea discussed in Chapter 3, i.e., nationalist thought remains imprisoned in post-Enlightenment ideas or the colonial structure of knowledge.⁸⁸ The above discussion shows that the Linnaeus-like classifications in the exhibitions' domain is undoubtedly accepted as the justificatory structure to promote indigenous crafts and manufactures. All the same, this post-Enlightenment structure is actually indigenized to suit the emergence of local art and craft genres. This reinscription of the technological order of the exhibition gives value to Prakash's claim of the indigenization of science by the local elite and compares with the adaptation of industrial school pedagogy to the local needs of Baroda arts and crafts, through the Kalābhavan.⁸⁹ This "reinscription of the colonial technics" becomes the chief instrument to wield the nationalist imagination according to Prakash.⁹⁰ According to Hoffenberg, the nationalist imagination can also be achieved in the exhibitions' domain, for, he regards the exhibition as a space for the reworking of the national

⁸⁶ Tirthankar Roy. (2006). *The Economic History of India: 1857-1947*. Second Edition. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, pp. 2, 37, 39-40.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 2, 37, 39.

⁸⁸ Partha Chatterjee. (1986). *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World: A Derivative Discourse*. London: Zed Books. (1986), pp. 38, 42.

⁸⁹ Prakash. (1999), pp. 7, 11, 178-179.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 178-179.

and imperial identities.⁹¹ This idea is resonant of Breckenridge's claim of national identities being forged in the space of colonial exhibitions.⁹² And indeed, the reworking of the Indian identity occurs through increasing representation and value-ascription for local genres through the native collector's multiple agencies as lender, member of local exhibition committee and prize-sponsor.

An examination of the 1893 Baroda loan demonstrates the continued presence of well-received genres from the 1886 loan as well as the inclusion of ongoing experiments in the private collecting and institutional practices undertaken by the Maharaja. One sees that the jewels, costumes and curiosities from the royal palace are represented in photographs. Ceremonial and pageantry items continue to grace the list though, this time, in the form of "models" of a state carriage and state elephant in blackwood. Gold and silver jewels may have come from the royal collection or may have been purchased. Pattan pottery, sandalwood carved and inlaid boxes of Billimora, and Kadi and Pattan brasswork sustain their presence to represent the site of traditional industries. Kalābhavan makes a distinct debut with lacquered ware and furniture. General woodwork is shown in varied applications from fruits to photo frames. One also sees that the element of typical vernacular design, which was first displayed through the Baroda Screen and Baroda Balcony in 1886, now matures into a composite display of original site-specific remains and complementary reproductions or models. Thus original pieces of wood carvings on doors, panels, cornices, verandahs, balconies, and pillars from sites such as Dabhoi, Petlad, Sogitra, Vaso, Pattan, Sidhpur, Vadnagar and Baroda are displayed with a carved screen and models of ancient carvings. Hoffenberg and Guha-

⁹¹ Hoffenberg. (2001), pp. xiv, 2-3, 18, 20, 22-23.

⁹² Breckenridge. (1989), p. 202. For an opposite perspective, i.e., exhibitions as spaces to promote the identity of empire, see Paul Greenhalgh. (1991). *Ephemeral Vistas: the Expositions Universelles, Great Exhibitions and World's Fairs: 1851-1939*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Thakurta highlight archaeology's focus on conservation and documentation in the 1880s which brought about an urgent need to document sites and monuments through drawings, photography and the production of casts for models. These reproductions would eventually be housed in museums as records of the originals.⁹³ Sayajirao published a photographic album of Baroda's chief archaeological site, Dabhoi, in 1887. We see architectural fragments from Dabhoi and other sites alongside their reproductions at the 1893 Exhibition. This display confirms a definite influence of the contours of art and archaeological history and the development of museums in the shaping of Baroda's loans' inventory and reinforces the latter's contemporaneous nature.

The evolving nature of Baroda's loans' inventory is also reflected in its high art exhibits. As opposed to small loans of 2-3 genre paintings of women at the 1879 Simla Exhibition and subsequent Poona Exhibitions, the 1893 loan reflects the arrival of a full-grown, independent series of ten paintings of Indian women by Ravi Varma. The artist had produced ethnic types throughout his exhibitions' career starting in 1873. But this was the first time that the subject was displayed as a series and, indeed, reinforced Baroda's position as Varma's leading collector and lender. Moreover, Varma's art became an important high art component of the Baroda loans. Varma's painting of diverse ethnic types in a single composition, *Galaxy of Musicians*, became an iconic representation of this series. Interestingly, it was not the first such composition, as has been a long-held view. "An oil painting representing a group of native females of different nationalities of India"⁹⁴ was sent

⁹³Thakurta (2004), pp. 55-61. Hoffenberg. (2001), pp. 39, 156-157, 164-165.

⁹⁴ "Nationalities" in this case means different regional types of India.

for the Simla Fine Art Exhibition of 1879.⁹⁵ The same painting or another similar composition titled *Group of Native Ladies of Different Castes* also appears in the loan sent to the Poona Fine Arts Exhibition, 1880.⁹⁶ The artist name is not mentioned in the sources, but it can be conjectured that since Ravi Varma had not arrived at Baroda yet, this painting was likely by Tiroovengada Naidu who painted genre subjects and was actively represented by Madhavarao between 1878 and 1881, as established in Chapter 2. These examples demonstrate how particular themes maintained a sustained presence in Baroda's collection and were developed further to constitute a series, which expanded Baroda's loans.

Having noted the expansion of the loans' inventory from the 1886 to the 1893 exhibitions, the next task is to unravel how these emerging categories lasted beyond the ephemera of visual displays to be reinforced as Baroda's representative arts. Here, the function of documentation or exhibition catalogues comes into play in addition to the local committee's survey and formulation of loans' inventories. It is impossible to point to a precise sequential exchange between local surveys, loans' inventories, displays and catalogues. Hence my argument is to show that both these trajectories of survey-loans' inventories and display-documentation enjoyed a reciprocal relationship in entrenching a Baroda category. This argument does not undermine the primacy of the local survey and its resultant loan inventory; instead, what I wish to underline is that the loans' inventories take precedence in creating and augmenting the Baroda category; simultaneously the domain of the catalogue and its classificatory taxonomies ascribe value for the Baroda provenance even after the exhibition

⁹⁵ GSA/SCV/HPO: Section 65, Daftar 111, File 4: Memo with letter 651, From: T. Madhava Row, Baroda, 2 September 1879, To: Major Anderson.

⁹⁶ Section: 65, Daftar 111, File 1: Letter 5244, From: Dewan's office, Baroda, 29 April 1880, To: The Secretary, Poona Exhibition.

display. George Birdwood's 1878 survey, which became the handbook of the 1880 Paris Exposition, qualifies some crafts as typical of Baroda and others as being representative of Bombay Presidency/Gujarat/other provinces of Gujarat. From among those genres noted by Birdwood, we find the continued presence of Bombay inlaid boxes, furniture and earthen baked jars in the 1886 Baroda loan. Interestingly, several genres which were to become typical samples in 1886 or later are missing from Birdwood's then-comprehensive documentation. This reinforces the point that the category of local crafts was an evolving one (see appendix IV).

The 1886 display benefited from the *Journal of Indian Art and Industry (JIAI)*, which was launched in the same year as a follow-up to the provincial surveys mandated by the 1884 Museums and Exhibitions Resolution.⁹⁷ *JIAI* remained true to its founding mission: documentation of "the history of particular arts and handicrafts, especially with reference to designs and forms, and the economical advancement of existing arts and handicrafts, prominence however, being given to the latter".⁹⁸ *JIAI* often reported on the "provincial courts" at colonial exhibitions to meet its requirement of identification and documentation of arts and handicrafts of particular regions. This reinforces my argument that the native collector's loans' inventory, which formed the basis of the contents of the provincial court, aided the *JIAI's* craft-identification project. This is exemplified in B.A. Gupte's documentation of the Baroda Court, its loans and their accompanying coloured illustrations.⁹⁹

⁹⁷ NAI: *Department of Revenue and Agriculture: Cir. No. 1 Ex.* (1884), pp. 3-4.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, pg 4. For further discussion on the *JIAI* and its role in the documentation of crafts and design, see Depali Dewan. (2003). Scripting South Asia's Visual Past: *The Journal of Indian Art and Industry* and the Production of Knowledge in the Late Nineteenth Century. In Julie Codell (Ed.). *Imperial Co-Histories: National Identities and the British and Colonial Press* (pp. 29-44), London: Associated University Presses.

⁹⁹ Gupte. (1886), pp. 126-133 and coloured plates.

Gupte represents what Guha-Thakurta qualifies as the new breed of the modernized scholar, western-educated Indian or gentlemen scholars and professionals.¹⁰⁰ He was especially recognized for his knowledge of the manufactures of the Western Presidency and deputed for jobs associated with this segment.¹⁰¹ I contend that Gupte may have exercised his own discretion in the choice of items which he highlighted in the discussion: for instance, Gupte commends Visnagar brassware and brass and copperware from Dabhoi and Kadi.¹⁰² Secondly, his presence in London also made him aware of the reception of these items: as an example, Gupte informed Baroda about the publication of Illustrations of the Pigeon House and silver carriage in London.¹⁰³ And the Pigeon House is also discussed at length in Gupte's essay (illustration 23). My last contention is that his contact with Baroda provided Gupte with information on artisans and processes of production. For instance, Gupte shows his awareness of the local Baroda surveys through his writing: Rao Bahadur Lakshman Jagannath deputed Sorabji Jamasji of Billimora, who was a prize-winner at the Calcutta Exhibition of 1883, to produce select works for 1886.¹⁰⁴

A very large proportion of the workers at Bombay and Surat are now Paris (*sic*)¹⁰⁵, while at Billimoria, in the Baroda Territory, where one Sorabji Jamasji is acknowledged to be the best workman, they are all Parsis. His Highness, the Gaikwar's Committee, under the Presidentship of Rav Bahadur Lakshuman Jajanatu, the Resident Minister of the State, contributed a large and varied collection of the inlaid ivory and sandal-wood work to the Calcutta International Exhibition in 1883, and deputed Sorabji Jamasji of Billimoria, the chief workman, to arrange and remain in charge, with the result of a very large sale and his obtaining a medal of merit. Thus encouraged, Sorabji has

¹⁰⁰ Thakurta. (2004), pp. XXIII, 86, 89, 96, 112, 116.

¹⁰¹ GSA/SCV/HPO: Section 65, Daftar 112, File 8-A: Report by Mr. J.R. Royle, pg 2, 6.

¹⁰² Gupte. (1886), p. 132.

¹⁰³ GSA/SCV/HPO: Section 65, Daftar 112, File 8-A: Letter 2659, From: B.A. Gupte, Official Delegate for the Government of Bombay, South Kensington, 22 October 1886, To: Raobahadur Lakshman Jagannath, Minister to H.H. The Gaekwar.

¹⁰⁴ Gupte. (1886), pp. 131-132.

¹⁰⁵ "Paris" incorrectly spelt for "Parsis".

manufactured for this Exhibition a very representative and carefully-constructed collection, with which the Baroda Committee did well in not overstocking their space. As is usually seen at all Exhibitions, work which is very much inferior in design, badly joined and clumsily got up, is generally seen lying in heaps on stalls, to the discomfort of a careful examiner of art work, to the disappointment of the unwary purchaser, and to the ultimate discouragement and ruin of the industry. It was, therefore, essentially necessary and prudent to select only the best of each variety of design and shape, and we are glad to see that the Baroda Committee has done so. The collection sent is quite sufficient to show what a skilful artisan can produce under qualified supervision.¹⁰⁶

Agency for the native artisan's "supervision", in this case, clearly belongs to the local Baroda Committee and particularly to Lakshman Jagannath, unlike the agency of European supervision in the case of Keshav Mistry and the Baroda Screen and Pigeon House. This detailed knowledge of Sorabji's presence at the 1883 Exhibition and his subsequent engagement with the 1886 display confirms Jagannath's agency in the identification and selection of craftsmen. Moreover, information compiled through these local "survey and sourcing exercises" was shared with catalogue-writers such as Gupte. This proves the unmediated representation of local surveys and information at the display and documentation stages. The local survey (and compilation of information) became an "alternative modality" in the formulation of a crafts' knowledge. And dedicated essays such as the one in *JIAI* or exhibition catalogues documented this knowledge to make it "usable", to borrow Dirks' term.¹⁰⁷

I contend that the display and its documentation, together, became resource guides for future exhibition committees and groomed their knowledge of provincial specialties and specialists. One sees how the Poona Exhibition Committee of 1888 had begun to associate Baroda with specific genres. "The Committee would be very anxious to receive from you

¹⁰⁶ Gupte. (1886), pp. 131-132.

¹⁰⁷ Dirks. (1996), Foreword, pp. ix, xi, xiii.

state samples of pigeon house, woodcarving, brass ware, arms, inlaid boxes, stone carving, pottery, calico printing and silk cloths”¹⁰⁸. Thus, despite the fact that the Pigeon House produced for the 1886 display was a reproduction of an actual architectural genre, and hence, was more of an ethnological exhibit, it was perceived as being a “typical example” of Baroda craft and enjoyed immense popularity. Simultaneously, with the help of catalogue records, native officers were regularly identified as specialists for the job of survey and collection of provincial wares. The Honorary Secretary of the Poona Exhibition Committee proposed Dinshah Ardeshir Taleyarkhan’s appointment as supervisor to make the collection since “he knows exactly what articles would be of artistic and industrial interest”.¹⁰⁹ Gupte was regarded as the specialist for the entire Western Presidency and now Taleyarkhan came to be known as the Baroda specialist. As I take note of the agency of Sayajirao’s personnel and the unmediated representation of their crafts’ knowledge in the domain of catalogues, I also locate this agency in existing scholarship.

For Cohn, Said’s model becomes the crucible to situate the tension between imperial officers who undertook the final decision-making process for institutional collections, and native informants, who despite their indispensable role in fieldwork and acquisition, were excluded from the final classification and valuation process.¹¹⁰ It is crucial to point to Dirks’ more nuanced study of the native informant whose surveys and resultant interpretations were valuable to select segments of British officials, if not all. This is evidenced in Colin Mackenzie’s Mysore Survey (1799-1809), which positioned his native informant, interpreter

¹⁰⁸ GSA/SCV/HPO: Section 65, Daftar 111, File 6: Letter 502 of 1888; From: Rao Saheb Mahadeo Ballal Namjoshi, Honorary Secretary, Exhibition Committee, Poona; dated 9th August 1888; To: Dewan Bahadur Lakshmanrao Jagannath, Baroda.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, Letter 502.

¹¹⁰ Cohn. (1996), p. 86. Dirks (1993), pp. 301, 310.

and linguist, Kavelli Venkata Boria and later Letchmia, at the forefront of the project as reliable and indispensable.¹¹¹ For, according to Mackenzie, the project of writing an Indian history, which entailed collection of source material, could not be detached from Indians.¹¹² Additionally, Dirks sheds light on Mackenzies' modes of collection which gave ample room to native voices.¹¹³ This reading by Dirks is especially significant since he locates Mackenzie within that register of officials who were fully aware of the knowledge-building project in the interest of ruling India¹¹⁴ and is thus comparable to the current site of exhibitions-catalogues. These exhibitions-catalogues also became instruments to know India's crafts and manufactures to serve British interests.

Despite the recognition of the native informant in Mackenzie's project, Dirks explains the final loss of the native voice in the transfer of knowledge and authority from the local to the colonial context; this is especially seen in the final instance, when Mackenzie fails to produce a master-catalogue of the surveys before his death and the establishment hires a "deranged antiquarian", William Taylor, for completing the project, instead of the native agents.¹¹⁵ My discussion adopts a contraposition to show that the royal collector and his local network of surveyors did not remain intermediary figures in the production of a provincial crafts' knowledge and the creation of a provincial category. Their authority was recognized by the colonial establishment to survey, select and provide information about the crafts through exhibition loans and catalogues. Taleyarkhan and Jagannath's examples especially prove the recognition of their authority. Furthermore, commercial showmen such as Tellery &

¹¹¹ Dirks. (1993), p. 292-295.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 281-281, 292-295.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 308.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 282-284, 290.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 306-307, 310.

Co., engaged for the Chicago Exposition of 1893 and colonial officials such as J.W. Griffiths for the Calcutta International Exhibition of 1883 specially requested the service of local officers to get acquainted with local manufactures and receive relevant information.¹¹⁶ Hoffenberg reminds us of this sustained community of experts, both imperial and national, which was supported by the floating institutional foundation of exhibitions.¹¹⁷ One also takes note of these specialists' voices in the final catalogue texts. Thus, in my study native agency is not merely confined to the investigative procedures, but also extended to the sphere of representation, i.e., the exhibition and catalogue in this case.

Moreover, as in the case of Mackenzie's extensive surveys, with regards to the value of which the British Government showed ambivalence¹¹⁸, the government saw definite value in these provincial surveys in the interest of knowing the colony's art, craft and manufactures. Dirks sees the dependence of colonial historiography on the native informant only in its early stages, i.e., the first quarter of the 1800s.¹¹⁹ Contrary to Dirks, my study of local surveys in Baroda demonstrates reliance on the native informants as late as the 1880s when this project for provincial museums was initiated. This point lends value to historical variations within colonial policies, which is neglected in Said's static Orientalism. And in fact, this agency, in the sphere of exhibitions and museums, provided the required scope for the arrival of a full-grown Baroda Court as well as Baroda's status as a host for exhibitions.

¹¹⁶ GSA/SCV/HPO: Section 65, Daftar 111, File 5: Chicago Exposition Business, From: S.J. Tellery & Co., Delhi, 27 July 1892, To: The Agent, Governor General, Baroda; Section 65, Daftar 111, File 1: Letter 6173, From: Captain, name illegible, Assistant to the Agent to the Governor General at Baroda, 8 August 1883, To: The Minister of the Baroda State.

¹¹⁷ Hoffenberg (2001), p. 32.

¹¹⁸ Dirks. (1993), pp. 282, 285, 301-303.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 280.

4.5 Integration of “Traditional, Industrial, Royal” Domains: A Return to Sayajirao’s Imagination of Indigenous Modernity

Baroda’s participation in the 1902 Ahmedabad Industrial Exhibition, which was held in conjunction with the annual Indian National Congress session, explains the shared infrastructure between provincial, national and international exhibitions. Reliance on local committees and exhibitions was massive in order to realize loans for international displays. Local venues were linked to international host venues and museum projects and became a selection ground for the best specimens of provincial wares. For instance, exhibits for the Calcutta International Exhibition of 1883 were proposed to be sent for a subsequent exhibition at Amsterdam and brought back for the Calcutta Museum.¹²⁰ This link between local and international exhibitions explains the importance of examining the 1902 Exhibition, since it was a national project to appraise the state of industry in India. The selection of this exhibition as a case-study reaffirms the shared space of national and colonial displays and their agendas and also demonstrates their shared infrastructure.

In the interest of such national appraisals of industry and of the improvement of local manufactures, provincial exhibitions demonstrated much enthusiasm towards displaying “up-to-date” representations of provincial wares with “up-to-date processes” of production. As a result, while items from previous loans’ inventories were repeated in new ones, fresh committees to identify local-provincial artwares were appointed. In the present letter the spokesperson for the host committee requests “the cordial help and co-operation of our

¹²⁰ Section 65, Daftar 111, File 1: Circular No. 9 Ex, 3 February 1883, Calcutta, From: E.C. Buck, Esq. Secy to Government of India, To: The Secretary to the Government of Madras/Bombay/North west Frontier Provinces & Oudh/Punjab & Chief Commissioner of Central Provinces/British Burma/Assam.

Baroda officers in the collection of useful and valuable Exhibits of arts and industries in our part of the country”.¹²¹ Ahmedabad’s proximity to Baroda and the invitation to Sayajirao to preside over its inauguration entrenched him further in this exhibition project. Communication associated with this exhibition not only demonstrates Baroda’s mature position as a lender and supporter to the Ahmedabad Exhibition, but also Baroda’s confidence to function as a host-venue.

Dewan Manibhai’s communication from Ootacamund, where Sayajirao was holidaying then, brings to the fore the Maharaja’s thoughts to hold such an exhibition of Baroda’s “arts and industries” in connection with the Kalābhavan or otherwise.¹²² Later, Vidyādhikāri (Minister of Education) is given room to take a decision about the Baroda edition of the industrial exhibition.¹²³ This reaffirms a distinct correlation between the Vidyādhikāri’s survey and the decision to organize a Baroda edition; i.e., a co-relation between survey and the formulation of a loans’ inventory. This edition was meant to be a prelude or component of the Ahmedabad Exhibition. Finally it was merged with the Ahmedabad edition to enrich it, but with an independent Baroda Court.¹²⁴ This example confirms the role of local officials in the promotion of arts and crafts through the state apparatus and exhibitions. It also points to the firm inclusion of Kalābhavan and its products as “representative” of Baroda. The Kalābhavan-Nazarpaga’s role as a manufactory of genres

¹²¹ GSA/SCV/HPO: Section 65, Daftar 111, File 7: Letter 100, From: Manibhai J., Glenview, Ootacamund, 22 August 1902, To: Rao Bahadur R.V. Dhamnaskar, Minister, Baroda.

¹²² *Ibid.*, Letter 100.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, Instructions by R.V. Dhamnaskar , 31 August 1902 in Letter 100.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, Letter 1622, From: R.V. Dhamnaskar, Dewan, Huzūr Cutchery, Baroda, 13 September 1902, To: Honorary Secretaries, Indian Industrial Exhibition, Jesinghbhai’s Vadi, Ahmedabad.

which were fast becoming accepted as “representative”, became an impetus for the Baroda State to host exhibitions in close connection with the local polytechnic.¹²⁵

This inclusion of the Kalābhavan merits a return to the Baroda Screen, which was touted as an “authentic” example of Baroda workmanship and design created under European supervision. It was produced in a context which replicated industrial school pedagogy in 1886, when the Kalābhavan had not yet been founded. Now, the products from Kalābhavan were fully integrated into the evolving category of Baroda crafts, and on the native agent’s own terms. This reflects Sayajirao’s emphasis on the placement of crafts in modern contexts of production, their representation at exhibitions and inclusion in the range of Baroda crafts. While Kalābhavan products supplemented Baroda’s loans, the colonial establishment too aspired to reflect modern, manufactured crafts through provincial museums. The revised draft scheme, for the promotion of industrial art through provincial museums, positioned local manufactories and workshops as sourcing grounds to select best workmen and exemplary provincial specimens.¹²⁶ These spaces were seen as extensions of traditional industries, albeit within renewed contexts of production. From the loans’ inventory of the 1893 Chicago Exposition, the inclusion of Kalābhavan-Nazarpaga products testifies its role as a manufactory of “representative genres”.

Undoubtedly, Kalābhavan’s inclusion resolved the problem posed by the limited numbers of provincial samples to define a Baroda category. Its significance also lay in projecting the Baroda crafts as scientific and modern, complete with polytechnic and

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, Instructions by R.V. Dhamnaskar dated 31 August 1902 in Letter 100.

¹²⁶ NAI: *Department of Revenue and Agriculture*: Draft Scheme for the promotion of Industrial Art in India, as finally revised in accordance with the Proceedings of the Art Committee, held in Calcutta on the 11, 14, 18, and 22 December 1883.

workshop-style production. This explains why Sayajirao wished to host the industrial exhibition in association with the Kalābhavan. The polytechnic's products were loaned to international, and industrial exhibitions and those held in conjunction with the Congress sessions across India. The list of awards conferred upon the Kalābhavan demonstrates how lacquer work and furniture particularly found favour and came to be recognized as typical of the Baroda State. Kalābhavan's articles were eventually also displayed at the Baroda Museum,¹²⁷ thereby fulfilling the 1883 Resolution's three-tier plan to realize provincial museums, exhibitions and publications. Additionally, Kalābhavan facilitated representation of artisans at exhibitions. The Kalābhavan's workshop, undertook the responsibility to collect loans from artisans within the region to forward them to Mysore, bear the expenses of these external loans and arrange for their safe return.¹²⁸ Thus, in addition to its own products, the Kalābhavan became a nodal agency to represent traditional industries.

I open this discussion to the idea of integration of diverse kinds of genres in a single category. The aforementioned examples reflect a conspicuous convergence of the two sites of traditional industries and polytechnics-workshops in the formulation of a representative Baroda range of crafts. This consolidation reflects Sayajirao's idea to make the Baroda category an inclusive one. Thus, as much as the traditional crafts were a marker of the local and the indigene, their adaptation to industrial processes of production was a measure of their modernization; the latter was not achieved without an indigenization of the industrial process itself. Hence, modernization did not necessarily mean Europeanization. Ideas of Indianness and universal standards of progress and competency were now mapped on to this inclusive

¹²⁷ GSA/SCV/HPO: Section 65, Daftar 112, File 9: *Exhibitions: Mysore Exhibitions (1907-1914)*: Letter 6011, From: Principal, Kalābhavan, Baroda, 30 July 1908, To: The Manager, Huzūr English Office, Baroda.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, Letter 6011.

Baroda category, which emerged as a harbinger of tradition, handiwork, indigenous design and aesthetics, scientific-industrial-modern processes, all of which together expressed a characteristic “indigenous modernity”. This idea of indigenous modernity could only be realized through a consolidated display of diverse genres in the singular space of a Baroda Court.

This collective derived value from its affiliation with a common “Baroda” provenance. I examine how this “provincial” category concurred with the weight of a royal denomination, which reinvigorated its value. For example, a silver filigree model of a state elephant with gold gilt *howḍāh* finds mention in George Watt’s catalogue.¹²⁹ Whether this silver model is the same as the one loaned to the 1886 Exhibition cannot be ascertained; however, it emphasizes the point that select items from the royal collection became permanent fixtures at the Baroda Court, and were extended to the Baroda Museum. The continued presence of the elephant and *howḍāh* is indicated by the loan made to the Paris Exhibition of 1900¹³⁰ as well as the 1911 Old Bombay Exhibition. Thus, at the basis of this integration of the provincial and royal, was the formulation of the loans’ inventory, followed by the catalogue.

Like the elephant and *howḍāh*, textiles of personal use from the private chambers such as the Maharani’s patola saris, brocades and silks, which were seen at the 1886 display, continued to typify the Baroda category. Their presence lent value to qualify contemporary experiments within the same genre: for instance, Rama Chand Mul Chand’s patolas from Pattan were “commended” by the exhibition judges as contemporary examples of the same

¹²⁹ Watt. (1904), p. 444.

¹³⁰ GSA/SCV/HPO: Section 65, Daftar 111, File 7: Precis Report of Three Exhibitions (1886, 1893 & 1900).

craft (seen in the Maharani's patola saris).¹³¹ Thus, items from the royal private chambers were seen as older, scintillating examples of "handi"-craft, and helped to ascribe value to contemporary products in the same genre. One of the benefits of taxonomies and classification was the regrouping or realignment of diverse items, in this case, objects of private royal consumption and contemporary patola weaves, whereby one gained from its affiliation with the other.

Objects of royal private consumption also found increasing representation in the category of ethnographic pictures or collections. For instance, photographs of ceremonial pageants were regularly displayed with actual pageantry items or their large or miniature reproductions. As late as 1924, at the British Empire Exhibition, we see pictures of gold and silver guns, a royal drum, etc.¹³² These items are classed as "Typical views of Baroda" and hence presented as ethnographic pictures.¹³³ This trend started with the 1886 display, where photographs of royal processions were shown for their ethnological value; the 1893 Chicago Exposition also displayed pictures of royal costumes and jewellery in addition to pageantry items. Thus, these pictures illustrated the pageantry items' original context of use and shed light on associated paraphernalia. These ethnological objects had enjoyed a prized place even within Baroda's royal palace, since private collecting dedicated a fair amount of its resources to document Baroda's pageantry items. As noted in Chapter 1, Marianne North, a natural history painter, was commissioned to document the famous Baroda gold and silver guns,

¹³¹ Watt. (1904), p. 337.

¹³² GSA/SCV/HPO: Section 65, Daftar 112, File 12: *Exhibitions: The British Empire Exhibition, London (1924)*: Indian Section: Hand book of the Baroda Court. Issued by The Local Committee in Baroda appointed by His Highness the Gaekwad's Government, p. 31.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, The British Empire Exhibition, London (1924), p. 31.

bullocks, saddlery, state elephants with their ornaments and the Maharani's gold carriage.¹³⁴ The Baroda Court also invited the portraitist, Monsieur Druet to paint pageants and cavalry soldiers.¹³⁵ Thus, natural history and portrait painting were used to incorporate royal events held at the Baroda Court, which included animals, carriages, artillery, soldiers, etc.

I argue that collectors such as Sayajirao offered new subject matter for natural history painters and portraitists and enriched these genres; simultaneously, he enriched the genre of "Typical Baroda Scenes" by incorporating courtly themes as its subject matter. The genre of Baroda scenes, from the days of the eighteenth and first half of nineteenth century, as recorded by Mildred Archer, typically consisted of natural history, people engaged in religious or social rituals and customs and caste-based or occupational types. These themes interested army officers and civil servants stationed in Baroda or passing through the city. Some renowned scenes are: Captain R.M. Grindlay's *A View of Bridge at Baroda*; Thomas Postans' *Part of Hindoo Temple at Baroda*.¹³⁶ I contend that the portfolio of these typical Baroda scenes was expanded with the inclusion of new techniques and themes, much like that of academic portraiture, examined in Chapter 2. Sayajirao employed natural history and portrait painting and their technical strengths to document royal pageantry. These pageantry items, which were already positioned as items of royal conspicuous consumption, enjoyed enhanced value in the private chambers through their pictorial documentation. Furthermore, these pictures affiliated with the category of ethnological "Baroda" views at exhibitions and

¹³⁴ *Recollections of a Happy Life: Being the Autobiography of Marianne North*, Volume 2. Digital resource: Forgotten Books, p. 76.

¹³⁵ GSA/SCV/HPO: Section 16, Daftar 23, File 6: *Khāṅgi Department: Royal Family: Photographers, Artists*: Letter 532; Memo of 13 April 1897.

¹³⁶ Gulammohammed Sheikh. (1997). *The Backdrop*. In Gulammohammed Sheikh (Ed.). *Contemporary Art in Baroda* (pp. 17-51), Chennai: Tulika Books, p. 40.

derived fresh value from it. And doubtless, the continued presence of pageantry items (actual or reproductions) was facilitated due to the loans' inventories.

The pageantry items had been incepted in the scheme of colonial exhibitions starting with the 1851 display. George Birdwood's survey of the industrial arts of India of 1878, also dedicated a section to *Trappings and Comparisons*.¹³⁷ To say that these items were proposed by exhibition commissioners, imperial officers and commercial showmen in the interest of juxtaposing oriental treasures with western industrial goods would be to miss the "other agency", that of the native collector-lender who positioned these items as recognizable fixtures in an evolving category of typical provincial crafts. The private chambers of the Lakshmilās were an important component in lending typicality to this provincial category. Gradually, provincial courts enjoyed association with their native royal items: Vizianagaram was increasingly identified with its royal *howḍāhs* and Travancore was known for its ivory thrones. As mentioned earlier, this search for the typical had become a shared agenda by the colonial and national projects. Thus, in effect the two agencies operated in the common space of the exhibition to negotiate their own positions through the complementary scope of "alternative readings" offered by the exhibitions' apparatus and its taxonomies.¹³⁸

Given the budgetary constraints of the exhibitions, the representation of "Indian produce and manufactures" was viewed as complete when supplemented by royal collections¹³⁹. Also, collecting objects from the "Baroda *Durbār*" was a central task for officers deputed to collect representative samples for exhibitions. For instance, John Griffiths, Superintendent of the J.J. School of Art and deputed to make representative collections of the

¹³⁷ George Birdwood. (1880). *The Industrial Arts of India*. London: Chapman and Hall, p.179.

¹³⁸ Hoffenberg. (2001), p. xviii.

Western Presidency for the Calcutta Exhibition of 1883, requests the Baroda Court to make a preliminary selection of samples of “artware, jewellery, fabrics and other articles of adornment and luxury” to make the final representative collection from Baroda.¹⁴⁰ Thus I contend that without a representation of its associated royal collection, a provincial court, and consequently a provincial category, would have remained incomplete.

The “Baroda Court” incorporated items from the royal collection, traditional crafts and manufactures. The court emerged as an eclectic display of art and crafts which also mirrored Sayajirao’s private collecting practice as laid out in the Lakshmilās Palace. To put it differently, the Baroda Court resembled the entrance hall, *durbār* hall and interior chambers of the Lakshmilās Palace (illustrations 33, 34, 35). A description of the palace’s interior décor scheme is useful to underscore its marked resemblance with items placed in the Baroda Court.¹⁴¹ The façade of stained glass mosaic produced at a workshop in Murano, Italy, sets the tone for the eclecticism of the *durbār* hall (illustration 36). It depicts an Indian royal wedding in heavy academic-style conventions. Augusto Felici’s marble muses grace the western side of the *durbār* hall and intersperse with wooden screens set in balconies. The eastern wall bears stained glass windows produced in European workshops. Fanindranath Bose’s bronze sculptures of indigenous subjects are placed on the locally-quarried green marble. Ravi Varma’s mythological paintings adorn the walls. The mouldings of the palace come from the State Furniture Works.¹⁴² Several portrait busts come from Indian sculptors such as M.K.

¹⁴⁰ GSA/SCV/HPO: Section 65, Daftar 111, File 1: Letter 1016, From: John Griffiths, The Superintendent, Sir. J.J. School of Art, Bombay, 30 August 1883, To: The Agent to H.E. the Viceroy, Baroda.

¹⁴¹ This scheme witnessed alterations from time to time, but a general description of its highlights is given here.

¹⁴² (1922) Baroda Administration Report 1920-21, Published by Order of His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar. Bombay: Printed at the Times Press, p. 260.

Kolhatkar who practiced at Kalābhavan. Beyond the *durbār* hall, the interior chambers of the palace also repeat this eclectic aesthetic. We have seen the manufacture of mouldings, screens, chests and furniture for the palace interiors at the State Furniture Works.¹⁴³ Likewise, furniture pieces such as beds, wardrobes, verandah seats and knickknacks were also purchased in Europe through advisors such as F.A. Fillion.¹⁴⁴ Sayajirao also decided on the placement and usage of crafts for the interior spaces. Correspondence associated with the Poona Agricultural Exhibition of 1880 records: “His Excellency thinks that the workbox may be useful to Her Highness Junior Maharani Saheb, ivory things may be liked as toys by Her Highness Tarabai Saheb and Ahmedabad vase (may be used) for Maharaja’s room”.¹⁴⁵

This same range of indigenized academic paintings, vernacular architecture, crafts and Kalābhavan products characterized the Baroda Court, as learnt from the loans’ inventories examined thus far. Exhibition design also allowed ample scope for native agency to display natural resources and raw materials such as the green Baroda marble. Much like its usage in the *durbār* hall of the Lakshmilās, it was proposed that the green marble should pave the central portion of the floor where the Baroda exhibits would be displayed for the Paris Exposition of 1900; as a result, marble flooring slabs were included in the loans’ inventory.¹⁴⁶ A singular space’s easy accumulation of diverse genres, which ranged from indigenized academic paintings to the Ahmedabad vase, could be afforded by a compatible display mechanism, which was also shared by the domain of exhibitions. In Chapter 3 I have pointed to “period rooms” in exhibitions, which focused on thematic displays around provincial

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 260.

¹⁴⁴ GSA/SCV/HPO: Section 17, Daftar 29, File 17: *Europe Trips: Purchase of Articles in Europe, 1892*: Five memos with letter from: F.A. Fillion, Paris, 13 June 1892, To: V.V. Samarth

¹⁴⁵ GSA/SCV/HPO: Section 65, Daftar 111, File 1: Memo 1417, From: N.P. Pillay, Dewan’s office Baroda, 18 October, 1880.

¹⁴⁶ GSA/SCV/HPO: Section 65, Daftar 111, File 7: Letter 741, From: Huzūr Cutchery, Baroda, 20 April 1899, To: Lieut. Col. N. E. Martelli; *Precis Report of Three Exhibitions (1886, 1893 & 1900)*.

specialties. It is known that period rooms appeared in the context of furnishing emporia much before museums displayed these. Spaces in royal residences of Baroda may also be regarded as period rooms due to their eclectic display of art and furniture (illustrations 37, 38).

As a matter of fact, luxury goods firms and furnishing emporia shared a close association with royal residential projects and hence architects and designers may have been guided by similar display concepts. While these firms made special bids for royal residential projects¹⁴⁷, in turn, architects and designers working on royal projects also took charge of luxury goods' purchases. While it is beyond the scope of this thesis to establish the precise evolution of the period room in princely undertakings such as Lakshmivilās or furnishing emporia, what I wish to underline is the ubiquity of the period room in these two contexts and its increasing usage at exhibition displays. I do not claim that the exhibition courts, likened to period rooms, evolved from the royal residential projects, but my contention is that the similarity of their display mechanisms afforded a sharing of their contents.

Furthermore, I want to draw attention to the strengths of the period room, which, I contend, served the formulation of provincial categories. In this regard, I employ Guha-Thakurta's understanding of the period room wherein she highlights two display modes employed in nineteenth-century European history museums: one was the distribution of objects according to centuries and the other favoured an eclectic assemblage of objects around a cluster of relics, from the same period, to create a period room.¹⁴⁸ The former "century mode" engendered the trope of metonymy whereby the displayed objects as a "part" were associated to its "whole" through the common link of contiguity and juxtaposition; the latter

¹⁴⁷ F.C. Osler made a bid to produce chandeliers for Gaekwad's wedding in 1879; GSA/SCV/HPO: Section 59 Daftar 100, File 1: *Applications for Patronage (1875-1878)*: Letter from: Mr. Elworthy, 26 August 1878, To: Madava Row.

¹⁴⁸ Thakurta. (2004), p. 72.

“thematic mode” engendered the trope of synecdoche to create an organic whole whereby each object was linked with the other or the whole “to create an integrative notion of a homogenous historical period”.¹⁴⁹ The thematic mode allowed more room for eclecticism as new objects and genres could be affiliated with each other, though, no one object could stand in for the whole. The various exhibition loans’ inventories analysed thus far reflect immense diversity and yet manage a consistent affiliation with the court and category of Baroda. This affiliation could be sustained by what Guha-Thakurta conceptualizes as the “integrative notion”¹⁵⁰ of the thematic mode. This integration of diverse genres also guided the décor and furnishing of the Lakshmivilās Palace, discussed as the “lifestyle context”, in Chapters 1 and 2. The integrative notion found an echo in the Baroda Court as well as the subsequent collections for the Baroda Museum and the Fatesingh Museum. I take this argument further to demonstrate that the “period room” and its “integrative notion” not only stemmed from display mechanisms, but distinct ideas also undergirded this concurrence of diverse genres which was far from random eclecticism.

Guha-Thakurta clarifies that the period room necessarily entails the assimilation of objects “to create an integrative notion of a homogenous historical period”.¹⁵¹ Quite contrarily, in Sayaji Rao’s collecting practice in the Lakshmivilās Palace, objects and artworks from different time periods, ranging from the Renaissance to the contemporary, are accumulated and displayed. I contend that while the objects come from diverse historical periods and places, they represent ideas which are conceived in the “current time period” to formulate a specific project, i.e., nationalism. Firstly, this reinforces Durost’s definition of a

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 72-73.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

¹⁵¹ Thakurta. (2004), 72.

collection, wherein ideas actively associate with material objects.¹⁵² This primacy of the idea over the inherent value of the objects makes a conceptual contribution to how the period room and its integrative notion may be applied and perceived alternatively; that is to say, instead of understanding the period room as comprising of objects from a single homogeneous time-period, it could contain objects from different time-periods, as in the case of the Lakshmivilās, while still representing ideas from a single time-frame. To elucidate further, these ideas (associated with indigenous modernity and Sayajirao's project of nationalism) allowed the diverse objects to stand in a relation with each other and qualify the whole as a collection.

This brings us back to the opening of Chapter 1, i.e., the palaces of princely India, in this case the Lakshmivilās. Giles Tillotson argues convincingly that this Indo-Saracenic building is no more than a visual pastiche, called variously as “medley”, “mixture” and even “scrapbook of Indian forms” in a western structure.¹⁵³ Even though, from the disciplinary position of architectural history the palace may have indeed been no more than a pastiche, I suggested that there was a distinct set of ideas, even if in their formative stages, which guided this intended convergence of vernacular and European elements. These ideas which ranged from the articulation of colonial modernity to its localization is discussed in Chapter 1 and demonstrated through distinct art commissions and projects such as Ravi Varma and the Kalābhavan experiments in Chapters 2 and 3. And finally this chapter brings the products of these experiments in the common space of the Baroda Court.

Thus, now the Baroda Court directly inter-calibrates with the sites of traditional industries, modernized contexts of production such as polytechnics-workshops and the royal

¹⁵² W. Durost. (1932). *Children's Collecting Activity Related to Social Factors*. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teacher's College, Columbia University, p. 10.

¹⁵³ G.H.R. Tillotson. (1989). *The Tradition of Indian Architecture: Continuity, Controversy and Change since 1850*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, pp. 54, 74-75.

palace, and derives value from this “integrated affiliation”. This value is derived from the many ideas which undergird the aforementioned sites: ideas of tradition and handiwork, artisanal autonomy, Indian design and aesthetics, scientific and modern systems of production, and prestige consumption. Clearly then, the Baroda Court, which is an extension of the Lakshmilās Palace, its architecture and décor scheme, is more than a superficial medley of diverse arts and crafts. Instead, the above-mentioned ideas collectively lend the quality of “indigenous modernity” to the Baroda category. This obvious framework of ideas which guided Sayajirao’s eclectic acquisitions and consequently the Baroda Court, is markedly different from the Siamese monarchy’s courting of an omnivorous aesthetic which lacked the exercise of selective acquisition and was hence random, as argued by Maurizio Peleggi.¹⁵⁴

I assert that the Baroda category which resulted from the consolidation of the royal collection, the traditional crafts and mechanized contexts of production, also qualified as a national collection. I have stated in the Introduction to the dissertation, that while it may be difficult to pinpoint the final qualification of every Baroda genre as a national art, every chapter aims to at least position these genres and the Baroda collective in the “formulation of a national project”. This also means that the final recognition of individual genres and the aggregate Baroda category may occur in indirect ways. One of these is the recognition of the Baroda crafts as a “national” collection through its repositories, the Baroda Museum and the Fatesingh Museum.

In a continued discussion of the above point, I expand on how Baroda’s museum collections too are an extension of the entire range of objects and ideas from the Maharaja’s

¹⁵⁴ Maurizio Peleggi. (2002). *Lords of Things: the Fashioning of the Siamese Monarchy’s Modern Image*. Honolulu, Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press, pp. 34-36.

private collecting practice, exhibition loans, Kalābhavan products and the Baroda crafts. The Khāṅgi Jāverkhānā's transfer of objects to the Baroda Museum is recorded in the Baroda Administration Report.¹⁵⁵ Likewise, paintings by artists such as Samuel Rahamin and Ravi Varma also find a place in the Museum. Valentine Prinsep's 1879 portrait of Sayajirao is displayed here. A marble bust of Sayajirao's brother, Sampat Rao Gaekwad, produced in Florence is in the museum.¹⁵⁶ Significant pieces from loans' inventories, such as a "Silver Model of His Highness's *Savāri* Elephant for *Dussehrā* Procession, with a Gilt *Howḍāh*"¹⁵⁷, is on display at the museum currently. Another ivory model of elephant with *howḍāh* is also displayed.¹⁵⁸ Portrait plaques in brass and portrait busts in marble produced at the Kalābhavan are also part of this collection.¹⁵⁹ Contributions by the Kalābhavan, such as wood work, metal work and fabrics donated to the Art Section of the Museum, also find documentation in the reports.¹⁶⁰ Among some noticeable crafts are a chessboard table of Sankheda gold lacquer work¹⁶¹ and a Billimora sandalwood box paneled with ivory plaques depicting Durga fighting the demons.¹⁶² Their expensive materials and elaborate design suggest that these may have been specially commissioned works intended for royal consumption. They remind us of the experimental scope offered to traditional artisans such as ivory craftsman Neelakandan Asari. Similarly, in 1961, miscellaneous objects from Baroda's royal palaces were loaned to the Fatesingh Museum.¹⁶³ It simulates the lifestyle context of the interior chambers of the palace

¹⁵⁵ R.C. Dutt. (1907). *Baroda Administration Report 1905-06, Compiled under the orders of His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar*. Bombay: Printed at The British India Printing Works, p. 171.

¹⁵⁶ Collection of the Baroda Museum, Accession Number: PG.2.36

¹⁵⁷ Collection of the Baroda Museum, Accession Number: A.3.45

¹⁵⁸ Collection of the Baroda Museum, Accession Number: A.17.144

¹⁵⁹ Collection of the Baroda Museum, Accession Number: A.8.188; CH.5

¹⁶⁰ Dutt. (1907), p. 171.

¹⁶¹ Collection of the Baroda Museum, Accession Number: A.16.61

¹⁶² Collection of the Baroda Museum, Accession Number: A.15.1

¹⁶³ Sheikh. (1997), pp. 43-45.

through its chief prestige components: period furniture, significant décor pieces and paintings by Ravi Varma, bronze sculptures by Augusto Felici and Fanindranath Bose. Julie Codell records that the collection of the Maharaja Fatesingh Museum is “considered the most valuable according to the market indexes contemporary with the 1961 museum catalogue compiled by Hermann Goetz and Annemarie Goetz.”¹⁶⁴

In the end, Baroda’s museum holdings, which enjoyed a shared royal, industrial and traditional pedigree in terms of materials and ideas, found a place in the national project. The Indian Museum in Calcutta finally failed to secure a representative national craft collection. In this scenario, the idea of the national was sought in the local. This point is clarified by Guha-Thakurta thus, “Overall the museums establishment in the 1940s seem steeped in the primacy of local collections. The national was etched primarily in the countrywide elaboration of sites and holdings and in the placement of each unit within the established frame of a composite heritage and an integrated management”.¹⁶⁵ This gives value to Kavita Singh’s argument which highlights failed museum projects within the colonial establishment to demonstrate that museums may not necessarily be viewed within a very strict knowledge-power dynamic.¹⁶⁶ More importantly, for this thesis, Singh’s argument makes space for the native agency to fill the gaps created by the establishment’s failures. Thus, ultimately, the local and provincial projects, exemplified in the case of Baroda, finely dovetailed into the making of a larger national collection.

¹⁶⁴ Julie F. Codell. (2003). Ironies of Mimicry: The Art Collection of Sayaji Rao III Gaekwad, Maharaja of Baroda, and the Cultural Politics of Early Modern India. *Journal of the History of Collections*, 15(1), 127-146, p. 133.

¹⁶⁵ Thakurta. (2004), p. 200.

¹⁶⁶ Kavita Singh. (2009). Material Fantasy: The Museum in Colonial India. In Gayatri Sinha (Ed.), p. 40.

4.6 Conclusion

This discussion, which gives agency to the royal collecting practice at the Lakshmivilās Palace in the evolution of the Baroda Court and Baroda museums, makes a revisionist contribution to the development of collections. Surveys, explorations, exhibitions and catalogues are seen as the basis of private and public collections. For instance, Cohn sees the antiquarian and archaeological collections achieved by the likes of Colin Mackenzie as products of surveys; museum collections too are seen as stemming from these surveys.¹⁶⁷ Likewise, Breckenridge too identifies the exhibition and catalogue as resource guides for collectors.¹⁶⁸ However, my study reverses this relationship between the collection and surveys to demonstrate that the royal collection and the state administrative apparatus become the basis for provincial surveys; i.e., the royal collecting practice acts as a resource and support system for investigative modalities which identify typical crafts and culminate in exhibition displays and documentation, and later the provincial court, provincial category and the provincial museum. Here my study links with Yuthika Sharma's recognition of the primacy of private and royal loans in the context of the Delhi Durbār Exhibition of 1902.¹⁶⁹ Guha-Thakurta traces the genealogy of the Museum in India to western orientalist scholarship and points to the conspicuous absence of royal collections.¹⁷⁰ On the contrary, the provincial museum, as exemplified in the case of Baroda, owes its pedigree to the royal collection, its ideas and associated practices. Thus, in closing, one notes that the formulation of a Baroda category of arts and crafts and Baroda's museums was made possible with the nucleus of Sayajirao's private collecting practice, its ideas and resources. Lastly, without Sayajirao and

¹⁶⁷ Cohn. (1996), pp. x, 9-10, 101-102.

¹⁶⁸ Breckenridge. (1989), pp. 205-206, 211-213.

¹⁶⁹ Sharma. (2008), pp. 48, 52.

¹⁷⁰ Thakurta. (2004), p. 46.

the Baroda *Durbār's* role as lending agency, this paradigm would not have enjoyed display and documentation on the international exhibition circuit.

I revisit the introduction to this dissertation which cited examples of practitioners and genres such as Raja Ravi Varma, Anju Dodiya, Sankheda lacquered wares and Patan patolas. They remind us that Baroda and the Lakshmivilās are entrenched in the national art scene in various roles: as lending agency, a city known for its craft manufactures and as an exhibition-venue. My search for an alternative agency to link these genres ends with Sayajirao's loans' inventory, which in turn underlines his roles as royal collector, head of state and chief lending agency. Varma and the Sankheda and Patan genres were part of Sayajirao's loans' inventory and the eclectic display of the Lakshmivilās and the Baroda Court. This eclecticism informs Dodiya's art, and the latter's inclusion in the Lakshmivilās also strengthens the integrative notion of the palace's period room-style eclecticism.

Thus, the royal collector's loans' inventory for colonial exhibitions continues to inform the post-colonial context of national arts and crafts. These inventories emerged as a foundational alternative modality to institutionalize the colony's art and crafts' knowledge. The local exhibition committee's sourcing, classification and representation of local artisans, their genres, style, technique and design, together produced a resource guide for exhibitions and catalogues. This demonstrates that Sayajirao's administration and resource personnel engaged with his private collecting practice became primary information brokers for bureaucrats, catalogue-writers and other exhibition specialists. As noted in Chapter 2, as much as private collecting was informed by institutionalized contexts of exhibitions and catalogues, it informed the institutionalization of a national art-craft knowledge through the same domains. This knowledge led to indigenization of the colonial technic of exhibitions-

catalogues-museums and their taxonomies through locally-formulated loans' inventories. We have seen that while the creation of this knowledge was closely tied with the pro-industry nationalist agenda to modernize and promote indigenous crafts and manufactures, this knowledge-creation project was also important to the colonial government for promotion of British trade and art schools. This explains the native loans' inventory's shared occupancy of the local, national, colonial and global spaces; moreover, it reminds us that private collecting, which had a stake in the preparation of loans' inventories, did not remain confined to the private chambers of the palace and was extended to a national project. Considering there was no dedicated department to look into matters related to handicrafts in the Baroda State, and that it was part of the Revenue Department, and Baroda State's expenditure on handicrafts economy was negligible,¹⁷¹ Sayajirao's private collecting practice becomes even more significant in light of their promotion through exhibitions. This establishes the primacy of native agency, private collecting practice and its loans in the domain of exhibitions-catalogues-museums and their resultant knowledge-creation project which continues to qualify select "Baroda" genres and artists as "national" arts, crafts and practitioners.

¹⁷¹ From 1881 to 1941, M.H. Shah tracks nil expenses to a rise by 2.96% for handicrafts out of a total rise in expense of 82% by the state for commerce and industries M.H. Shah. (1942). *Baroda by Decades: 1871-1941*. Baroda: Published by M.H. Shah, p. 179.

CONCLUSION

Although every chapter in this dissertation is concluded individually, I will present a broad and general conclusive summary here. The private collection of Sayajirao and the making of a local Baroda category of representative arts and crafts are revealed in this dissertation as a story with national ambitions. Moreover, this national project with a local beginning unfolds and finds validation on the global stage due to the native collector's emergence as an astute taste-maker and value-arbiter in the international network of colonial exhibitions. With this summary, I return to the Saidian discourse of Orientalism which was firmly set out in the Introduction, literature survey and methodology. I use the title and introduction of Julie Codell and Sachko Macleod's book loosely to assert that "Orientalism (is indeed) transposed",¹ in this case, through the agency of the native collector. Without tearing down the essentialist edifice of Orientalism and consequently colonialism, through a subtle modulation, its equation is reworked as the "native other" now emerges as a significant "national other" who not only co-habits the colonial space, but also reinscribes it through his own presence and through a marked localization of Euro-modern art practices and systems. This is proven through high art experiments by Raja Ravi Varma, Augusto Felici and Fanindranath Bose, as well as the localization of industrial school pedagogy through the Kalābhavan. Moreover, without upsetting the standard universal measures of post-Enlightenment progress, the native agent positions alternative standards such as (Indian) design to appraise the arts and crafts in the international telos of modernity.

¹ Julie F. Codell, Dianne Sachko Macleod. (1998). Introduction: Orientalism Transposed: The 'Easternization' of Britain and Interventions to Colonial Discourse. In Julie F. Codell and Dianne Sachko Macleod (Eds.). *Orientalism Transposed: The Impact of the Colonies on British Culture* (pp.1-10), Aldershot and Vermont: Ashgate.

This art historical enquiry applies theoretical ideas from non-art historical domains: chiefly cultural studies, consumption studies and historical studies on the making of modern nationalism. As a result it creates alternative frameworks to assess art historical themes. The dissertation's emphatic courting of the human agency in the life of material objects and their consumption, makes the collector the protagonist of this story. Secondly, the dissertation's employment of theories on the making of modern nationalism within colonial spaces facilitates the application of collecting (as a national project) and exhibitions (as a colonial institution) as alternative frameworks to formulate colonial Indian art history. This case-study in Indian art history contributes a new paradigm to international studies on collecting which are mostly dedicated to European or American collections. Sayajirao's case broadens the parameters to qualify a new kind of practice as collecting: one which is different from a majority of collecting patterns and projects by being experimental, by extending its application beyond the self or collector and by continuing to remain relevant even today. As pointed out by Susan Stewart and Jean Baudrillard, in the western tradition, collecting is seen primarily as a way of reliving past experiences, replicating a world-order, or being oriented towards the self.² Baudrillard questions, "Can the (objects) ever be fashioned into a discourse oriented otherwise than toward oneself"?³ I have demonstrated that Sayajirao's private collecting practice was extended to causes beyond the self through systematic extension of ideas and commissions from the royal chambers to institutional projects.

The contemporary relevance of Sayajirao and Baroda's case-study, which inaugurated the dissertation, re-asserts why this particular collecting practice is worthy as the basis of my enquiry into the making of a new national art. To put it differently, the pre-occupation with

² Susan Stewart. (2003). *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection*. Durham and London: Duke University Press, p. xii. Jean Baudrillard. (1994). The System of Collecting. In John Elsner and Roger Cardinal (Eds.). *The Cultures of Collecting*. (pp. 7-24), London: Reaktion Books, pp. 16, 24.

³ Baudrillard. (1994), p. 24.

the search for India's national arts and crafts continues even today; hence, this collecting practice, which closely positioned itself with defining a national art, remains relevant. Various agencies in the post-colonial context look towards Baroda, especially the works of Raja Ravi Varma and Baroda's crafts in their search for representative national genres. Art historical scholarship and art and curatorial practices especially recognise Varma as the point of departure in the fashioning of India's modern art. This direct or indirect appraisal of the Baroda category establishes its qualification as representative of the national. Clearly then, Sayajirao's collecting practice has a bearing on contemporary arts and scholarship and is not a thing of the past. This point about the contemporary presence of collections is pointed and proven by Elsner and Cardinal's study which admittedly views collecting as "one that not only has its less than obvious material history, but is also a continuing presence... If collecting is meaningful, it is because it shuns closure and the security of received evaluations and instead opens its eyes to existence – the world around us, both cultural and natural, in all its unpredictability and contingent complexity".⁴ The authors admit to have found stories of less perfect collections as more enlightening, as opposed to the more famous collections of collectors such as the Fricks and Gettys.⁵ In a similar vein, Sayajirao's collection, often criticised for being random and "inchoate",⁶ was actually governed and guided by clear ideas of consumption and display, which in turn were geared towards projects of modernization, education and nationalism. His collecting practice shunned the closure and the security of established (aesthetic) evaluations, which at that time supported occidental orientations or a pan-Asian Orientalism in the high arts. On the contrary, Sayajirao courted experimentation through the works of Tiroovengada Naidoo, Ravi Varma and Augusto Felici. Another established evaluation in espousing the cause of national art was the revival and

⁴ Elsner and Cardinal (1994). Introduction, pp. 5-6.

⁵ Ibid., p. 6.

⁶ Julie F. Codell. (2003). *Ironies of Mimicry: The Art Collection of Sayaji Rao III Gaekwad, Maharaja of Baroda, and the Cultural Politics of Early Modern India. Journal of the History of Collections*, 15(1), 127-146, p. 132.

championing of indigenous crafts. Sayajirao's practice shows the simultaneous courting of the high arts and craft projects through artisans such as Neelakandan Asari and modernization of crafts through the Kalābhavan.

The aforementioned integration of the high arts and the indigenous crafts is a rare occurrence to both contexts: that of Sayajirao's making of a modern nationalism as well as to a colonial art historical enquiry. Colonial India's modern and national art movements have almost always exclusively courted either the high art traditions or the indigenous crafts. Sayajirao's private commissions, institutional projects and loans inventories bear testimony to a tenacious inclusion of the high art and craft traditions. Thus the fashioning of his national art project is markedly different from the Bengal School or that of the revivalist craft projects seen at the Jaipur Museum or the Mayo School of Art in Lahore. The reason why this integration of high arts and crafts lends immense value to my study is because generally speaking, while colonial Indian art history has made voluminous documentations of its high art practitioners and their commissions, there is limited data on individual craftsmen's careers and their works. As pointed out by Tim Barringer and Tom Flynn "While representations of all kinds have been subjected to critical scrutiny within the general project of post-colonial enquiry, the broader category of functional, or non-representational three-dimensional objects (whether considered as 'the applied arts', 'the decorative arts', or less restrictively as 'material culture') has largely been ignored in the context of debates about colonialism."⁷ This study redresses the imbalance in colonial Indian art history in particular, and studies on colonialism in general, by paying equal attention to craft genres and craft producers through the activity of collecting and display. Thus despite its positioning of the elite collector as the

⁷ Tim Barringer and Tom Flynn. (1998). Introduction. In Tim Barringer and Tom Flynn (Eds.). *Colonialism and the Object: Empire, Material Culture and the Museum* (pp. 1-10), London: Routledge, p. 3.

main historical actor, the dissertation has unravelled art histories of the subalterns, which might lead to alternative questions and frameworks for future enquiry.

However, to maintain the importance of formulating this art historical study from the elite collector's position, I return to Sayajirao's shared context of private consumer and head of state. These dual roles facilitated a chain of developments which help me to conclude that Sayajirao's private collecting practice was indeed the nucleus for the creation, taste-making and value-ascription of a Baroda category and a new national art. In his role as private royal consumer, Sayajirao benefited of a personal idea, i.e., indigenous modernity, which was first conceived and articulated in his private chambers and the context of a Euro-Indian lifestyle. Secondly, he benefited of a large and royal scale of consumption which could engage with this idea through private art commissions. As head of state, Sayajirao benefited of bringing under the purview of his art patronage, other institutional projects and the traditional industry of craft. The shared context of Sayajirao's private and administrative roles became more visible as he institutionalized his position as a Baroda-based native lender to colonial exhibitions. His exhibition loans consolidated the royal collection, institutional products and traditional crafts through a singular Baroda provenance which became entrenched as a recognizable category through frequent displays. The palace and the state administration's shared networks together provided local and international resource persons and advisors who facilitated and managed all the aforementioned activities to produce an indigenous modernity.

The formulation of an indigenous modernity in this thesis may appear to be confined to a Baroda-centric art historical discourse; however, I am aware of the contribution it makes to the larger historical and art historical discourse on alternative modernity. Through the case study of Baroda, I amplify some of the key tasks laid out by pioneers in the study of peripheral/alternative modernities, such as Geeta Kapur and Partha Mitter. Kapur's stimulating work *When was Modernism* seeks to expand the career of modernity outside of

the western mainstream and western geography through a highly contextualized reading of modern and contemporary visual arts and practices in India.⁸ Likewise, Mitter's work, *Decentering Modernism* seeks to advance the idea of the difference of Indian modernism through "contextually grounded studies", thereby qualifying it as foundational instead of being merely derivative.⁹ These works bring to the fore ideas such as multiple tracks along which modernity was developed and thereby address the key issue of a time-lag in the perception of the so-called peripheral, mimetic modernisms.¹⁰ Methodologically, both works urge for a rejection of the linear determinism in the formulation of modernity, and the spatial narrative of the centre-periphery model.

In this thesis, the identification of Baroda as a "centre" of forward-thinking modernism in colonial India and its positive reception in the global circuit of exhibitions, challenges the monolithic narrative of the universal canon of modernism. More importantly, Baroda's case-studies, all of which rely on the archival encounter as opposed to the final artwork, enjoy a deep contextual analysis, as resorted to by Kapur and Mitter; these context-driven readings point to the production of highly original and localized art genres, practices and systems of production, which not only manage to hold their own but also re-appraise and critique the predominant western frames of modernism. Thus Baroda's case is most certainly not an example of a distant modernity or one inserted in a predominantly western framework. Instead, its function of reinscribing European systems and practices qualifies it as an alternative modernity which is in active dialogue with its European counterpart. Thus the study rectifies the modernist canon's concern with the derivative nature of the so-called

⁸ Geeta Kapur. (2000). *When Was Modernism: Essays on Contemporary Cultural Practice in India*. New Delhi: Tulika, p. xiii.

⁹ Partha Mitter. (2008). *Decentering Modernism: Art History and Avant-Garde Art from the Periphery*. *The Art Bulletin*, 90 (4), 531-548, pp. 539, 543-544.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 544. Kapur. (2000), p. xiii.

peripheral modernisms; more importantly, it also corrects the notion of the time-lag which peripheral modernisms are perceived to suffer from due to their geographical locations.

To advance this idea of an original, foundational and alternative modernity, I wish to discuss the idea of cosmopolitanism, which is amply illustrated in the thesis as “reconfiguration”. Cosmopolitanism is increasingly seen as enjoying a crucial place in discourses on cross-cultural encounters, globalization and alternative modernities.¹¹ In the Indian context, the artist-poet Rabindranath Tagore may be regarded as the most striking example of a modern cosmopolitan practitioner; generally speaking, Tagore’s contributions to the visual, literary and performing arts have been lauded for their reception of diverse aesthetics and ideas. Similarly, Kapur presents the formulation of Indian modernism through the practice of K.G. Subramanyam and his drawing on multiple sources which range from the European art school to the Bengal School-driven pan-Asianism¹² and the Indian artisanal and rural.¹³ Likewise, Mitter illustrates cosmopolitanism through the art of Gaganendranath Tagore and Jamini Roy: their aesthetic is defined by a reconfiguration of diverse styles which range from the Western Cubist to the Indian miniature and folk primitivism. Mitter astutely reads the assimilation of these styles as not only creating a new modernism but also making playful comments on the canon of Western modernism and its representative practices. In a similar vein, my study of Sayajirao and Baroda demonstrates assimilation of a wide range of ideas, materials and practices which range from the European high arts to Indian performing and literary art traditions to the socio-cultural milieu of artisans and their design-oriented canons, all of which reconfigure in a highly effective cosmopolitan art. Even a superficial

¹¹ Dilip Parameshwar Gaonkar (Ed.). (2001). *Alternative Modernities*. Durham: Duke University Press. Gerard Delanty. (2008). The Cosmopolitan Imagination. *Revista CIDOB d’Afers Internacionals*, 82/83, 217-230. Kobena Mercer (Ed.). (2005). *Cosmopolitan Modernisms*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press.

¹² Bengal became a leading centre in colonial India to subscribe to a pan-Asian aesthetic in its project of cultural nationalism under the influence of the Japanese art critic, Kakuzo Okakura, who especially influenced the ideology and art of Abanindranath Tagore. For a detailed discussion, see Partha Mitter. (1994).

¹³ Kapur. (2000), pp. 120, 124.

reading of Jean Francois Lyotard will reveal modernity as being reductive and even violent and anti-cosmopolitan;¹⁴ contrarily this material reveals an alternative modernity through the lens of Baroda as it is a provincial yet cosmopolitan sensibility which also successfully grounds the national.¹⁵

I acknowledge that several arguments view cosmopolitanism as being incompatible with nationalism;¹⁶ to ease this tension, here I employ Gerard Delanty's idea of a critical cosmopolitanism to argue how it can further a national project, instead of impeding its thrust towards authenticity and tradition.¹⁷ Delanty views critical cosmopolitanism as occurring in the force of globalization and it does not in any way terminate the idea of a national identity; on the contrary, Delanty argues that globalization results in a transformation of national identities, and cosmopolitanism is an important expression of the new transformed national identity.¹⁸ He also sees empirical expression of cosmopolitanism as an important criteria to qualify it as a "critical cosmopolitanism".¹⁹ Once again, the empirical data from the Baroda State Archives has proven how Sayajirao sought a reorientation of the national identity through a reconfiguration of the arts and crafts. While his art collecting practice panned out successfully with the inclusion of cosmopolitan ideas, it maintained its commitment to formulate a new local and national art-craft.²⁰ This cosmopolitanism is comparable to Leo

¹⁴ W.G. Archer's analysis of modern Indian art is also guided by a reductionist criteria wherein the periphery is seen as imitating the west. William George Archer. (1959). *India and Modern Art*. London: George Allen and Unwin, p. 43.

¹⁵ The idea of the local as a site for the national would strengthen further from the 1920s with the emergence of what Partha Mitter refers to as the Indian avant garde (Mitter, 2008: 543).

¹⁶ This idea is discussed in chapter 3 of the thesis through the writings of Abigail McGowan (2009): the preservationist camp of craft crusaders adopted a protectionist stance towards contexts of production and the final output so as to offer a more authentic, national craft tradition; on the other hand, the reformist camp welcomed cosmopolitan practices in production and design to make the national crafts more competent globally.

¹⁷ Delanty. (2008).

¹⁸ Delanty. (2008), p. 220.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 219.

²⁰ In advancing the idea of modernisms of the peripheries, Partha Mitter makes an interesting comparison between Pablo Picasso's cross-cultural references with those of Gaganendranath Tagore. While the former's drawing on African sources is not viewed as compromising his integrity as a European artist, the latter's usage of cubism is read as a loss of self as an Indian; Mitter terms this as the Picasso-Manque syndrome. Mitter, like Kapur, argues for a positive reception of the cosmopolitanism seen in the art of the third world or the peripheries

Ou-fan Lee's 1930-40s Shanghai which never really saw its own Chinese identity in question and hence confidently maintained an openness towards western art and popular culture unlike other parts of China;²¹ this confidence is resonant of Sayajirao's own faith in the merits of the Western systems, the inclusion of which could never quite usurp the new national identity in the making, a point which I have consistently used to address Partha Chatterjee's concerns about the obliteration of the national in the face of the western post-Enlightenment.²²

Additionally Baroda's cosmopolitan and hence non-reductive modernity transcends Gyan Prakash's idea of colonial modernity, as this paradigm demonstrates distinct trans-national connections: these are especially noted in Madhavarao's introduction of Travancore/southern Indian practitioners to Baroda, Ravi Varma's pan-Indian fieldwork supported by Sayajirao, and Baroda's connections with factory-style artisanal workshops across Madras, Bombay and Kutch. The future course of study for this thesis could well be the unraveling of intra-Asian connections which are already anticipated through Sayajirao's trip to Japan undertaken in 1894²³, a marked inclusion of South East Asian art in the Baroda Museum collection from 1911 onwards²⁴ and the commissioning of the Bengal stalwart, Nandalal Bose in Baroda in 1936. If these pan-Asian connections are to be analysed through individual case studies and the archival encounter in much the same way as the present study brings to light the trans-national and European connections of Baroda's modernism, then the thesis will illuminate the interconnectedness of plural modernities, without slipping into the dangers of solely reifying its difference.

(Mitter, 2008: 537, 538); likewise, Sayajirao's formulation of the national-modern deserves appraisal as a critical, cosmopolitan project as opposed to a derivative one.

²¹ Leo Ou-fan Lee. (2001). *Shanghai Modern: Reflections on Urban Culture in China in the 1930s*. In Dilip Gaonkar (Ed.). (pp. 86-120), p. 118.

²² Chatterjee. (1986), pp. 51, 64-65.

²³ Sergeant. (1928), p. 92. GSA/SCV/HPO: Section 17, Daftar 30, File 27-40: *Trips to Europe, Japan and America (1884-1910)*.

²⁴ Mehta. (1995), p. 32.

Given its present shape, this thesis simultaneously expands the discourse on the multiplicity of cosmopolitan projects and its empirical expressions, much like that of the multiplicity of modernity itself while also recognizing its interconnectedness. Thus this project challenges the Eurocentrism of art history and makes it more inclusive of other historiographies. It also employs the art historical discourse to make a “critical intervention” (to borrow Geeta Kapur’s description of her own work on modernism) on the universal modernist canon. As modernism itself becomes decentered, Baroda’s peripheral image is shed through this study and it comes to be regarded as a centre of alternative modernity shaped by an elite royal collector and his collecting practice.

In addition to its larger empirical and theoretical plot, the dissertation also contributes individual empirical themes which are of deep interest to art history. This hitherto unknown empirical data is unearthed from the Gujarat State Archives and the National Archives. Tiroovengada Naidu adds to our knowledge of native practitioners who produced academic-style portraiture at the royal courts. Naidu’s position as Ravi Varma’s predecessor at Baroda, his artistic style and content as precursors to Varma’s Baroda commissions and his representation at exhibitions are crucial revelations which point to Sayajirao’s systematic development of particular genres. The master craftsman Neelakandan Asari’s presence at the Baroda Court is learnt for the very first time through this study. Details on individual art commissions and contracts such as those of Valentine Prinsep, Charles Giron and Augusto Felici are also unravelled. Luxury goods’ commissions are also presented in the study. Another important plot which emerges is that of Sayajirao and Baroda State’s administrative staff as key resource persons in the network of collecting and participation at exhibitions: namely, Dewan T. Madhava Rao, Sayajirao’s tutor, F.A.H. Elliot, architect, Charles Mant, Baroda’s Municipal Commissioner, Dinshah Ardeshir Taleyarkhan and founder-principal of Kalābhavan, T.K. Gajjar. This dissertation makes a difference by including equally keen

discussions of craft projects such as the improvement of Baroda pottery, production of the Baroda Screen, Baroda Balcony, Pigeon House and craftsmen Keshav Mistry and Sorabji Jamasji.

In closing, it will be appropriate to summarise the contributions of my research through particular themes which it covers, such as, collecting, academic portraiture, salon sculpture, indigenous crafts, luxury goods, Indian and vernacular design, art schools, polytechnics, commercial workshops, museums, national art and colonial exhibitions. Some of the generic themes which the dissertation covers and which are of deep interest to South Asian Studies are consumption, nationalism, modernism, industrialization, identity, native agency in colonial institutions, taste-making, value-ascription, hybridity and localization.

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APPENDIX I

BIOGRAPHIES OF ARTISTS AND CRAFTSMEN ENGAGED WITH SAYAJIRAO'S COLLECTING PRACTICE

Augusto Felici (b.1851)

There is little biographical information available on Felici. He was born in 1851 in Rome and completed his training in art by 1872. *St. Anthony of Padua* is one of Felici's most renowned works in Italy. It is a colossal, extant figure which replaced a fifteenth century sculpture on the façade of the Santo in Padua. (Ladis, 2008:146).

Charles Giron (1850-1914)

Charles Giron trained in Paris for several years. He exhibited his *L'Education de Bacchus* in the Salon of 1879. Later he spent his time in Switzerland. The Alpine theme influenced his landscapes. *Paysans et Paysage* was one such famous work exhibited at the Salon of 1885. A small scale work, *Cime de l'est* was exhibited at the Swiss Section of the Paris Exhibition in 1900. His portraits were especially feted for creating a Swiss national type. (Mobbs, 1902:81-84).

Fanindranath Bose (1888-1926)

Bose trained in Edinburgh and apprenticed with sculptor Percy Portsmouth at the College of Art. He went on a scholarship to Paris and was heavily influenced by Rodin and the Frenchman, Mercie's works. He later made Scotland his home and actively participated in exhibitions across Britain. His impressive debut and sustained presence at the Royal Scottish Academy in 1913 drew significant collectors and artists to Bose's works. Sir William Goscombe John, who had himself apprenticed with Rodin, acquired Bose's 1916 entry, *The Hunter*.

Francis Derwent Wood (1871-1926)

Francis Derwent Wood was born in 1871 in Cumberland in England's Lake District. He pursued his art training in Germany and upon his return to London, he apprenticed with Edouard Lanteri and Sir Thomas Brock. He taught at the Glasgow School of Art from 1897-1905 and was appointed professor of sculpture at the Royal College of Art from 1918-1923. Wood became R.A. in 1920. His sculptural output included architectural as well as free-standing pieces.

Neelakandan Asari (d. 1907)

Neelakandan Asari was the son of master craftsman Kochu Kunju Asari, who was also titled Anantha Padmanabhan Asari. Kochu Kunju practiced and promoted ivory carving in Travancore. The significance of this family of ivory master craftsmen lies in the fact that they were the first guild of ivory workers in Travancore; before them the royal family depended entirely on the ivory workers of Mysore. This guild was based in Pettah in Tavancore.

Neelakandan assisted his father Kochu Kunju in the production of the renowned golden chariot for the Maharaja Swathi Tirunal (1829-1847). This golden chariot became iconic and its motif was reproduced in subsequent works by the craftsmen. Neelakandan also assisted in the execution of a famous ivory throne which was commissioned during the reign of Uthram Tirunal Marthanda Varma (1847-1860) and loaned to the Great Exhibition of 1851. Neelakandan was a friend of Raja Ravi Varma and a close acquaintance of Dewan T. Madhavarao. Neelakandan's father Kochu Kunju headed the Department of Ivory Carving at the Industrial School of Arts, Travancore, which is now the Fine Arts College, Thiruvananthapuram.¹ The idea to start this Art School was initiated by Dewan T.

¹ The author has also accumulated information on Neelakandan Asari through conversations with a descendant from the second line of the family, Sharat Sunder Rajeev. Sharat Sunder Rajeev's source of information is Neelakandan Asari's great grandson, and Kunjan Asari's son, Hari, also an artist and art teacher currently based in Trivandrum. Sharat Sunder is also in the possession of a log book maintained from 1923 by Neelakandan's sons.

Madhavarao. Since Kochu Kunju passed away in the decade of the 1870s, it is conjectured that Neelakandan may have taken over the Department in the same decade. It may have been soon after his Baroda sojourn which is definitely centred around the year 1878. It is interesting to learn that despite his placement in the artsSchool, his affiliations with the traditional guild continued in the capacity of its head. Neelakandan passed away in 1907. A newspaper obituary dated March 21, 1907² lauds Neelakandan's exquisite ivory carvings which were famous across the country and known to have enjoyed exhibition displays and fetched several awards. The most prestigious displays enjoyed by Neelakandan were at the 1851 Crystal Palace Exhibition and the 1903 Delhi Durbār Exhibition.

Raja Ravi Varma (1848-1906)

Ravi Varma was born in 1848 at Killimanoor in present-day Kerala and his family was associated with the ruling house of Travancore through matrimonial ties. Varma's aptitude for art was spotted by his uncle who introduced him to King Ayilyam Thirunal in 1862. Varma secured a place in the Travancore Palace informally and embarked on his career as a salon painter.

Samuel Fyzee Rahamin (b. 1880)

Samuel Rahamin was born in 1880 in Pune. He is believed to be F.R. Samuel from the Bene Israeli Jew community of India and converted to Islam after marriage. According to Fatesingh Gaekwad, Rahamin came to Baroda and married one of his subjects, the sister of

²Neelakandan Asariyudae maranam. Thiruvananthapuram karakaushalashālayil jolliyundayirunna ālum karakaushala vidyayil asamanya samardhyam prakadipichukondirunna ālumaya Neelakandan Asari ē Meenamasam 4-am thiyathi marichupoyirikunnu. Pala pala pradarshanankalkum evidae ninumayachittulla sāmanagalilokkaeyum ē Asariyudae vāsanavaibhavam cheluthiyittudayirunnathayittanariyunnathu; Malayala Manorama March 21, 1907. Translation: 'Neelakandan Asari, an employee of 'Thiruvananthapuram Karakaushalasalā' (Industrial School of Arts) and a skilled craftsman passed away on 4th of Meenam (Malayalam Month). His skill was best displayed on the artifacts send for various exhibitions'; Malayala Manorama, March 21, 1907.

Begum of Janjira and hence changed his name to Rahamin/Rehman.³ According to Gulammohammed Sheikh's account, Rahamin married the musician Atiya Begum and moved to Karachi in 1947.⁴ After a brief sojourn at the Bombay School of Art, he left for London to train under Solomon J. Solomon and John Singer Sargent at the Royal Academy.⁵ He practiced portraiture in the academic style and also engaged with landscape and mural painting. After his return to India in 1908, he switched to the genre of miniature painting, which was popularly advocated by the Revivalist Bengal School. He exhibited with the Bombay Art Society and had a solo show at the Galerie Georges Petit, Paris in 1914. He was invited to paint the frescoes for the Imperial Secretariat, New Delhi in 1926-27 and 1928-29. Rahamin also played a crucial role in the re-organisation of the oriental sections of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London and the Metropolitan Museum, New York. In addition to the visual arts, Rahamin had a keen interest in music and drama.

Valentine Cameron Prinsep (1838-1904)

Valentine Prinsep belonged to the Pre-Raphaelite School. Popularly known as Val Prinsep, he studied with G.F. Watts and Gleyre in Paris. Prinsep returned to England and exhibited over a hundred pictures at the Royal Academy from 1862 to 1904. He was elected A.R.A. in 1879 and R.A. in 1894.

³ Fatesinghrao P. Gaekwad. (1989). *Sayaji Rao of Baroda: The Prince and the Man*. Bombay: Popular Prakashan, p. 30.

⁴ Gulammohammed Sheikh (Ed.). (1997). In Gulammohammed Sheikh (Ed.). *Contemporary Art in Baroda*. Chennai: Tulika Books, p. 266.

⁵ Partha Mitter. (1994). *Art and Nationalism in Colonial India: Occidental Orientations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 99.

APPENDIX II

LIST OF AWARD-WINNING ITEMS PRESENTED BY KALĀBHAVAN- NAZARPAGA AT COLONIAL EXHIBITIONS

This list provides year of award, venue of host exhibition and prize-winning item.

Six Gold Medals

- 1902, Ahmedabad, Furniture
- 1904, Bombay, Furniture
- 1904, Pandharpur, Furniture
- 1907, Baroda, Miscellaneous Articles
- 1907, Surat, Iron Castings
- 1908, Bhownagar, Metal & Wood Work

Eight Silver Medals

- 1902, Ahmedabad, Iron Castings
- 1902, Ahmedabad, Clock Work
- 1902, Ahmedabad, Dyed Yarn
- 1903, Madras, Lacquer Work
- 1903, Madras, Carved Work
- 1903, Madras, Clocks
- 1903, Madras, Calico-Printing
- 1908, Bhownagar, Dyed Yarn

Three Bronze Medals

- 1903, Madras, Watch-making implements
- 1903, Madras, Furniture

1903, Madras, Iron Castings

Three Certificates of Merit

1903, Bhownagar, Furniture

1904, Bombay Clock-Work

1904, Bombay, Wood Engraving

Source: “List of Gold, Silver & Bronze Medals & Certificates of Merit awarded to these Workshops for different sorts of articles, manufactured & sent to the different Exhibitions.” GSA/SCV/HPO: Section:65; Daftar: 111; File:5: *Miscellaneous Department: Exhibitions*: “A short history of the origin, general organization and progress of Nazarpaga Workshops” by A.M. Masani, Vidyadhikari, 17 September, 1909, attached with Memo 102, From: A.M. Masani, Vidyadhikari’s Office, Baroda, 17 September, 1909; Letter 480, From: Dewan Romesh Dutt, Huzūr Cutchery, Baroda, 20 September 1909; To: O.V. Bosanquet, Resident of Baroda.

APPENDIX III

BARODA GENRES AND CRAFTSMEN AS DOCUMENTED IN GEORGE WATT'S CATALOGUE OF THE DELHI DURBĀR EXHIBITION OF 1902-03

As compared to George Birdwood's documentation of the industrial arts (1880) Appendix IV, note the expansion in numbers of genres and craftsmen identified from Baroda in George Watt's documentation (1904).

Baroda specimens at Exhibition

- Bombay School of Art displayed wrought iron gates, windows, etc designs for which were procured from a series wrought-iron balustrades from Baroda (1904:14)
Second Prize with bronze medal for iron grills from Baroda procured through the Chief Engineer.
- Silver and copper repousse work of Baroda found mention as "Peculiar Repousse" for its unique characteristics. "The article is first made in wood richly carved, then silver or copper plates are held over the surface and hammered until they assume the pattern given to the wood (1904:34).
- Once again, this medium finds mention in the discussion of the Bombay section. "In the Presidency of Bombay there are several centres noted for copper and brass manufacture. Those of greatest repute, from an artpoint of view, are Poona, Bombay and Baroda..." (1904:58).
"In Baroda, repousse brass is largely produced by hammering thin plates of brass on to carved wood-work and fixing the plates permanently over the wood (1904:58).
Award for silver repousse stool on shisham wood by Mistry Raghunath Tribhuvan & Sons of Visnagar. Price rs 302 (1904:34).
Commended for stool in wood coated with brass repoussed on the wood (No.1589), Rs. 50 made by Mistry Raghunath Tribhuvan & Sons, Baroda (1904:62).
- The moulded and chased work in silver and copper also finds special mention. This medium is used to produce "massive anklets" (1904:34).
- Commended-silver anklet (maize pattern), made at Dabhoi in Baroda (No 1501), Rs 85.
- Copper anklets too are highlighted as significant craftworks from Baroda.
Hurgovind Hira of Dabhoi's massive copper kalla (anklet), chrysanthemum pattern is commended (No.1078); Rs 10 (1904:58, 61).
- Unglazed or terracotta ware of Pattan, Baroda is acknowledged (1904:84, 85).

- “Baroda has sent a few unimportant examples of sandal-wood such as glove-boxes and the like, by Hurgovind Hira Dabhoi” (1904:152).
- Ahmedabad, Baroda, Bombay and Surat acknowledged as sadeli work centres. Sadeli boxes are explained to be carved-wood boxes which are part of the wide-ranging genre of “Bombay-boxes” which included ivory and sandal in addition to wood (1904:156).
- Turnery and carving of Poona, Kanara, Surat, Baroda, Karachi, Halla, etc (1904:184).
- Buffalo horn used to produce the famous Baroda spoons in addition to Rajkote combs, Kathiawar knife handles and Surat and Ahmedabad boxes (1904:195).
- “Baroda sometimes, however, attempts articles of a higher character, such as the chameleon with scorpion in its mouth, made by Jagjivan Narbheram, carpenter of Nandod, Rajpipla, price Rs. 10. (Plate no 43_A, figure4) (1904:195).
- Rhinoceros-hide shields, boxes, etc produced at Ahmedabad, Baroda, Surat and Kach (No 43-B, figure 7). “The designs most generally used are panels showing intricate and elaborate carving after the windows of the Said Sibi Mosque, with dividing and elevated gilded lines between the panels, or the designs are bold floral scrolls derived most probably from the rose and run round the shield as a broad border pattern without any dividing lines (1904:204).
- Baroda lac turnery is appreciated for its technique (Details on pp. 217-218). The lac turned objects are ornamented with tinfoil underneath the varnish. (By colouring the varnish yellow, the tinfoil appears as if in gold shades) “Sankheda” does not find mention as a centre of lac-turned objects. The child’s swinging cot is documented as an exemplary work in this genre (No. 1526, Rs.62) (1904:218).
- Commended for a lacquered cradle-Itcharam Premji of Baroda (1904:218).
- Calico printing in Bombay Presidency at Ahmedabad, Bombay town, Surat, Broach and Baroda.
Baroda and Kaira are especially appreciated for their blue-black or dark green colour schemes, “the design being mostly minute specks and the borders and end-pieced glaringly distinct, such as stripes in canary yellow, with green and red in alternating bands and similarly coloured rosettes or medallions in the middle of the field (1904:251). Example of Baroda sari from Indian Art Journal, Volume I (1886) is referenced here (1904:251).
- “A sari in the Loan Collection Gallery, sent by His Highness the Maharaja (Gaekwar) of Baroda will be seen to have a patola centre and rich gold borders and

end-pieces. The colours are soft yet full and effective” (1904:257). The HH’s loans in the Loan Collection Gallery are considered significant and of historic interest since they were worn by the Maharanis mostly for their wedding ceremonies (1904:332).

All the same contemporary patolas in the Sales Section are also praised. Rama Chand Mul Chand’s patolas from Pattan are “Commended” by the Exhibition judges (1904:257, 337)

Technique of production of patola – B.A. Gupte referenced on p.257.

“In the Pattan form there is no diaper, the pattern is laid sideways (i.e., facing the sides not the ends of the sari) and the border stripes are carried within the field and portray a series of elephants, flowering shrubs, human figures and birds, repeated in that sequence and so placed that the feet are inwards or towards the centre of the sari, not outwards as is customary with border patterns. The field colour in the Pattan sari is dark blue-green with the patterns in red, white and yellow (1904:258).

- From the collection of gold brocades exhibited by His Highness the Maharaja of Baroda, the following may be specially commended: No. 1055- A Shallu gold auze sari in asvali pattern (1904:330)
- Silks by HH (1904:484)
- Powder flasks made from horn and inlay work (1904:482)

Baroda’s Pearl Carpet

“Perhaps if any one article could be singled out as more freely discussed at the Exhibition than any other, it would be the Pearl Carpet of Baroda” (1904:444).

- Large collection of silver sent by HH Gaekwar to the Exhibition. But Watt notes that they have a striking similarity to works from Tanjore or Madura or the Poona repousse work and Trichinopoly silver.
- Silver filigree model of State elephant with gold gilt howdah (Baroda Museum)

Other provinces of Gujarat

Kach

- Enamel work of Bhuj
- Prizes for Silver work by Soni Oomersi Mawji of Bhuj & Soni Mawji Raghavji of Bhuj (1904:41)

Kathiawar

- Copper boxes (1904:58)
- Wood carvers of Mangrol produce black-wood as in Ahmedabad

Ahmedabad

Large and selected assortment of goods such as cabinets, glove-boxes, etc (1904:152)

Objects which enjoy a general “Gujarat” attribution:

- Tray by Fazal Ahmad for Rs 131 (provenance not identified) (1904:45)
- Third Prize with bronze medal for surahi in dewali and koft and a shield made by Muhamad Azim of Gujerat (provenance unidentified)
- In Bombay and some towns of Gujarat tortoise-shell is used to make ornaments, card-cases, etc. Regarded as unimportant trade (1904:194)
- Likewise, combs, buttons, walking sticks, etc from buffalo horn (1904:194).

Source: Excerpts from George Watt. (1904). Indian Art at Delhi, 1903: Being the Official Catalogue of the Delhi Exhibition 1902-1903. London: John Murray.

APPENDIX IV

BARODA CRAFT GENRES DOCUMENTED IN GEORGE BIRDWOOD'S INDUSTRIAL ARTS OF INDIA (1880)

- “In the Bombay Presidency glass-making has its headquarters at Kapadvanj in the Kaira district of Gujarat. It is made into bangles, beads, bottles, looking-glasses, and the figures of animals, chiefly peacocks, for export to Bombay and Kathiwar. Glass trinkets are also made in the Kheda district of Kandesh, and at Bagmandli in the Ratnagiri collectorate.” (Birdwood, 1880:168).
- Mentions chadar or veil commissioned by Khanderao Gaekwad as exemplary in embroidery work. This commission was for the tomb at Medina (1880:284).
- Dedicates a sub-section to Bombay Inlaid Work and Ahmedabad Mother of Pearl Work (1880:205-207).
“A good deal of ornamental furniture is also made in “Bombay inlaid work”, so familiar now in the ubiquitous glove-boxes, blotting-cases, book-stands, work-boxes, desks, and card-cases, which go by the name of “Bombay boxes” (1880:205, 206). He traces its origins in Persia and documents its spread from Sindh to Bombay, Surat, Baroda and Ahmedabad (1880:206).
- Documents sandalwood carving at Surat, Ahmedabad, Bombay and Canara in Bombay Presidency (1880:216). Also informs of how it is applied to the Bombay inlaid work/Bombay boxes (1880:216).
- Baked earthen jars of Ahmedabad and Baroda (1880:310).
- Birdwood cites the example of a kincob in the collection of the Prince of Wales. It is manufactured in Ahmedabad and was presented to the Prince of Wales by SGIII of Baroda (1880:264).

The following crafts genres are qualified as representative of Bombay Presidency/Gujarat/other provinces of Gujarat

- Documents handsome painted leather shields from Ahmedabad and other parts of Gujarat. Arms such as shields, daggers, matchlocks from Cashmere, Katch, Vizianagram (Birdwood, 1880:171). Goldsmiths of Katch and their skills in decorating arms in silver, parcel gilt and gold and speaks of their colonies all over Gujarat and Kathiwar (1880:151).
- Metalwork of Gujarat (1880:155).
- Praises the copper and brasswork of Bombay Presidency, i.e., Nasik, Poona and Ahmedabad (1880:160).

- Iron work of Ahmedabad (1880:161)
- Silver and Gold Repousse work of Katch & Katch silversmiths (1880:151, 171).
- Gold and silver work of Gujarat, especially Dholka, Viramgam and Amhedabad (1880:151).
- Twisted gold wire jewellery of Ahmedabad and Surat (1880:185)
- Appreciates the skills of carpenters of Ahmedabad and Dholera who work in blackwood (Birdwood, 1880:201, 202).
- “Mongrel” blackwood furniture of Bombay, Ahmedabad, Surat, and Madras (1880:203).
- Appreciates perfection of Ahmedabad mother of pearl inlay work (1880:207).
- Wooden hair combs and manufacture of blackwood combs in villages of Jeswada and Gangdi in the Dohad district of the Panch Mahals in Gujarat (1880:218). This is also documented as a “special industry of Dohad” by H.A. Acworth, informs Birdwood. This segment gives employment to nine families at Dohad and six a Jhalod (1880:225).
- Lacquered wooden bracelets and wooden toys, and other lacquered turnery manufacture at Surat and Ahmedabad in Bombay Presidency (1880:225)
- Ivory carving of Surat and Ahmedabad (1880:218)
- Tortoise shell work in armllets and bracelets and other ornaments in parts of Gujarat and Bombay city (1880:218).
- Stone carvers of Katch and Kathiwar (1880:219)
- Industry of mock ornaments for idols, Bombay Gazetteer (1879) especially highlights in Ahmedabad (Birdwood, 1880:229, 230)
- Cotton cloth weaving in Ahmedabad (1880:253)
- Calico at Broach (1880:260)
- Printed silks of Surat (1880:261)
- Kincobs of Ahmedabad (1880:262)
- Lace industry and tinsel ornaments of Ahmedabad, Surat and Poona; particularly gold and silver thread, gold and tin foil (1880:279)
- Embroidery of Nauanagar and Gondal in Kathiwar/Cutch (1880:282)
- Unglazed earthenware of Ahmedabad (1880:301, 302)
- Birdwood’s chapter on *Trappings and Caparisons* (1880:179)
- All Indian collections are overloaded with gaudy trappings, state caparisons and housings, horse-cloths, elephant-cloths, howdahs, high umbrellas, standards, peacock tails, yaks tails, and other ensigns of royalty. But they look very brave in procession through the narrow, picturesque streets.....” (Birdwood, 1880:179)
- Mentions the Yuktikalpataru as giving detailed prescriptions on making royal and common umbrellas (as cited by Rajendralala Mitra in his *Antiquities of Orissa*) (1880:181)

Source: Birdwood, C.M. George. (1880). *The Industrial Arts of India*. London: Chapman and Hall Limited.

GLOSSARY

Abhinayadarpaṇam - *Mirror of Gesture*, a treatise on stage-craft, written by Nandikeshvara and dated back to 2nd century AD.

āhārya abhinaya- *āhārya* translates as paraphernalia and *abhinaya* refers to histrionics. The various Indian treatises on stage-craft and performing arts prescribe a code of paraphernalia towards the realization of appropriate moods and situations in dance and drama.

bāg - garden.

Bazār- marketplace; in this context *bazar* refers to a designated area for popular Indian wares as opposed to the formal set-up of the Indian Court or Pavilion in the exhibition space.

Chitralakṣhaṇa - is the last section of the *Vishnudharmottaram* and may have been a later addition, written around 7 century AD. It prescribes rules for painting.

Coolie - In this context coolie refers to a caste-based group of handymen or porters

Cutchery - colonial English term for hindi *kachehri*, meaning court. In the context of the thesis, Cutchery refers to office.

Dewān - In the Mughal dominion, *Dewāns* served as Revenue officers. In the colonial period, *Dewāns* were prime Ministers of princely states.

durbār - ceremonial assembly or audience held by a ruling chief; occasionally applied to the ruler himself.

Dussehrā - tenth day of the festival dedicated to the Goddess or Devi during autumn. The Goddess is appeased to bless the new harvest season. Lord Rama, the seventh incarnation of Vishnu is also believed to have killed the demon Ravana on this day.

Ghankary - a caste-based suffix for persons engaged in oil-pressing jobs.

howḍāh - a canopied seat or carriage stationed on the back of the elephant; it is used to carry people for hunting, warfare or ceremonial pageants.

jāverkhānā - treasury.

Kalābhavan - Centre for the Arts.

Kansārā - a caste-based suffix or surname for coppersmiths of Gujarat and Rajasthan.

Kathakali - one of the seven classical dance styles of India. It is a dance-drama tradition from Kerala which involves the enactment of mythological stories to the beats of the

chendā, a long cylindrical drum. The paraphernalia and make-up of the artists is especially elaborate.

Khāṅgi - household; in the context of this thesis refers to Department of Household Matters

lakshaṇa - characteristic feature. The term *lakshaṇa* is popularly used to describe the characteristic features of musical *raagas* (notes). In the tradition of sculpture, the term is popularly used to define the iconography of Buddha.

Lakshmilās - home of fortune. Lakshmi refers to the Goddess of wealth and prosperity in the Hindu pantheon. The royal palace was named after Sayajirao's first wife, Lakshmi Bai from the Maratha House of Tanjore who became Maharani Chimna Bai I. She passed away in 1885.

loṭā - A spherical brass or copper utensil commonly used across South Asia to carry or store water.

Mahābhārata - popular Indian epic poem dating back to at least 2000 BC. The Mahabharata is said to have been written by the scribe Ganesha under the dictation of sage Vyasa. The central plot of the story revolves around a war between two rival branches of a family, the Kauravas and Pandavas. The last portion of the epic is the discourse between Lord Krishna and Arjuna, and comprises the *Bhagavad Gita* or the Song of the God.

Maha Vajra Bhairav Tantra - A Buddhist Tāntric text dated to 11th century AD. It contains a section on codes of conduct for a painter.

Mistry/mistri - a caste-based suffix or surname. *Mistris* are associated with building activities and carpentry. They claim descent from the celestial master craftsman, Vishwakarmā.

mohur - refers to a variety of gold coin minted by Mughal Emperors, British India and the native princely states of colonial India. One *mohur* was equivalent to fifteen silver rupees. It was issued until the 1940s when the princely states became part of independent India.

Nawābs - *Nawāb* was a popular honorific title for the Muslim ruling chiefs of Indian principalities after the disintegration of the Mughal dominion. It is equivalent of *raja* typically used for Hindu rulers.

nabob - corrupt for *nawāb*.

Nāṭyashāstra - *Manual for the Performing Arts*, was written by sage Bharata around 200 BC. It discusses aspects of stage-craft, music, dance, and a theory of aesthetics.

nāyika - heroine. *Nāyika* is a term especially used in devotional poetry and Indian classical dance to describe the heroine who seeks spiritual union with the lord. The

Sanskrit treatise *Nāṭyashāstra* classifies eight types of heroines based on eight situations and their resultant moods.

Naṣarpaga - According to F.A.H. Elliot three sets of *paga* formed the state cavalry. One of these may have comprised of horses which were received or given away as *naṣar/naṣarānā* (gifts). Hence, the *Naṣarpaga* derives its name from this *paga* of horses. The *Naṣarpaga* may have been erected on a site which was originally a horse stable.

Nowgany - a caste-based suffix for person engaged in oil-pressing jobs.

purāṇic - of the *purāṇas*. *Purāṇas* are a corpus of Hindu, Jain and Buddhist narratives of cosmology, philosophy and geography. The corpus consists of eighteen texts. Their narratives have been passed down through oral tradition; their compilation is dated to the 3rd century AD.

Rāmāyaṇa - an ancient Indian epic. The *Rāmāyaṇa* is attributed to sage Valmiki. The protagonist Rama is an incarnation of Lord Vishnu. In the avatar of a noble king, dutiful husband, son and brother, Rama descends on earth to conquer evil.

rasa - essence/juice/emotion. The Sanskrit treatise *Nāṭyashāstra* engages with the theory of *rasa* or aesthetics. *Rasa* may be understood as the final aesthetic inference of an artwork on the part of the beholder.

shikār damṇi - palanquin for hunting expeditions.

sringāra - In this context *sringāra* refers to the romantic or erotic mood, among several others in which a protagonist may be portrayed. As mentioned earlier, the Sanskrit treatise *Nāṭyashāstra* classifies eight types of heroines based on eight situations and their resultant moods, *sringāra* being one.

Swadeshi - self-rule; popularly used to describe the nationalist movement in colonial India.

Swāmī - God. *Swāmī* is also used as a prefix for an ascetic or teacher of a monastic order; it is as used as an honorific title to address one's husband in some Indian cultures.

swāri - derived from the Hindi *savāri* which refers differently to transport, ride, carriage, procession, conveyance or even the occupant. In the context of this thesis, it means Sayaji Rao's "travels" or "rides" to the various districts of Baroda State as part of his administrative surveys.

Subhā- Designation/rank within the princely states' administration. In-charge of a district/division.

suthār - a caste-based suffix or surname for woodworkers/carpenters across western and northern India.

thāli - plate.

tahsildār - tax-collector of *tahsils*, which mean sub-divisions within a district

Thullal - a southern Indian performing art tradition which is a composite form of poetry, recitation, dance and music.

upādhyāya - preceptor or teacher of the Brahmin caste; usually associated with expertise in Sanskrit Grammar.

Vidyādhikāri - Minister of Education

Vishnudharmottaram - is a subsidiary *purāṇa* dating back to 4 century AD. In addition to chapters on cosmology, astronomy, genealogy, it consists of rules on music, sculpture and painting.

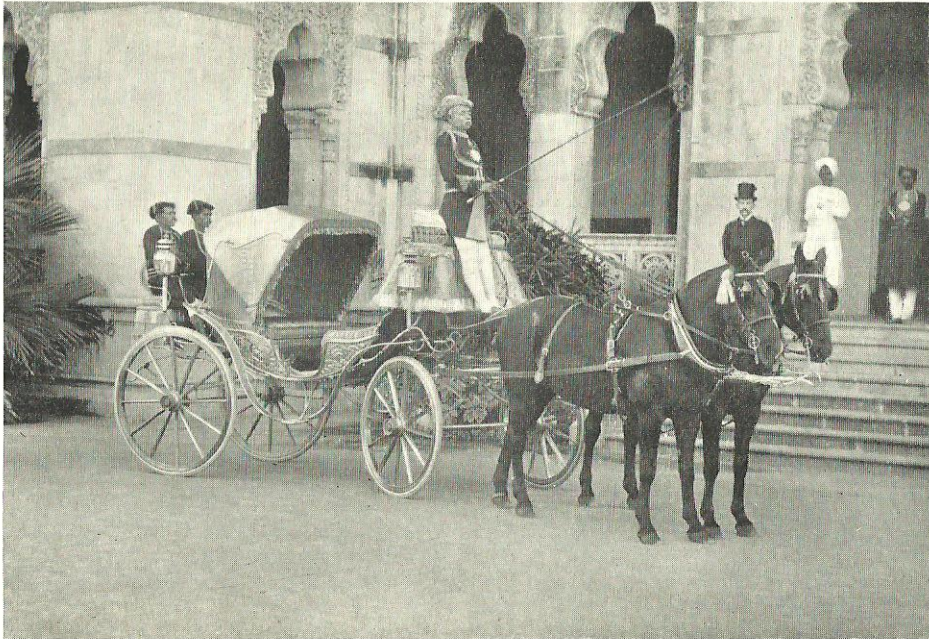
wāḍās - courtyard style houses which represent vernacular architectural traditions of Western India, chiefly Maharashtra and Gujarat.

zamindārs - land-owners.

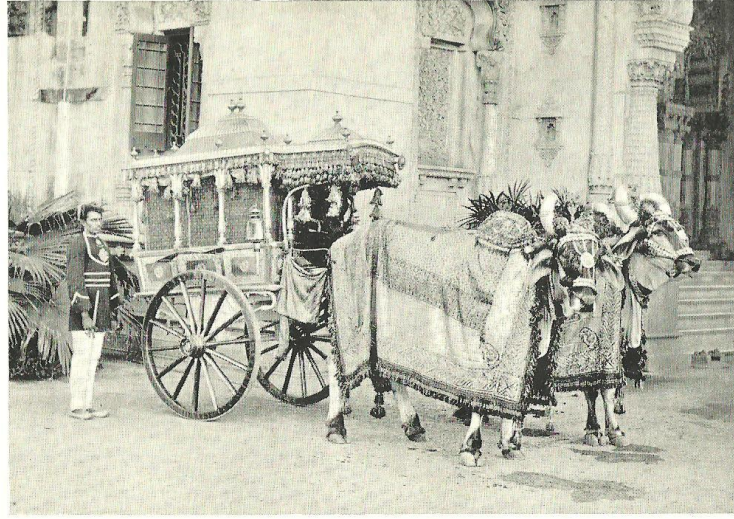
zenānā - inner chambers of a house or palace reserved for the women of the household.

Illustration 1

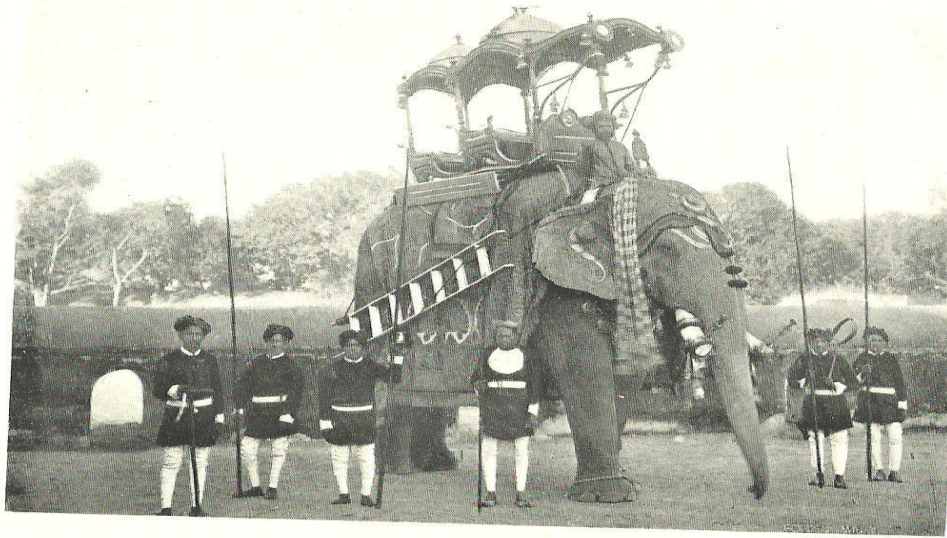




A SILVER CARRIAGE.



SILVER BULLOCK CART.



THE GOLDEN AMBARI.





A GOLD GUN.



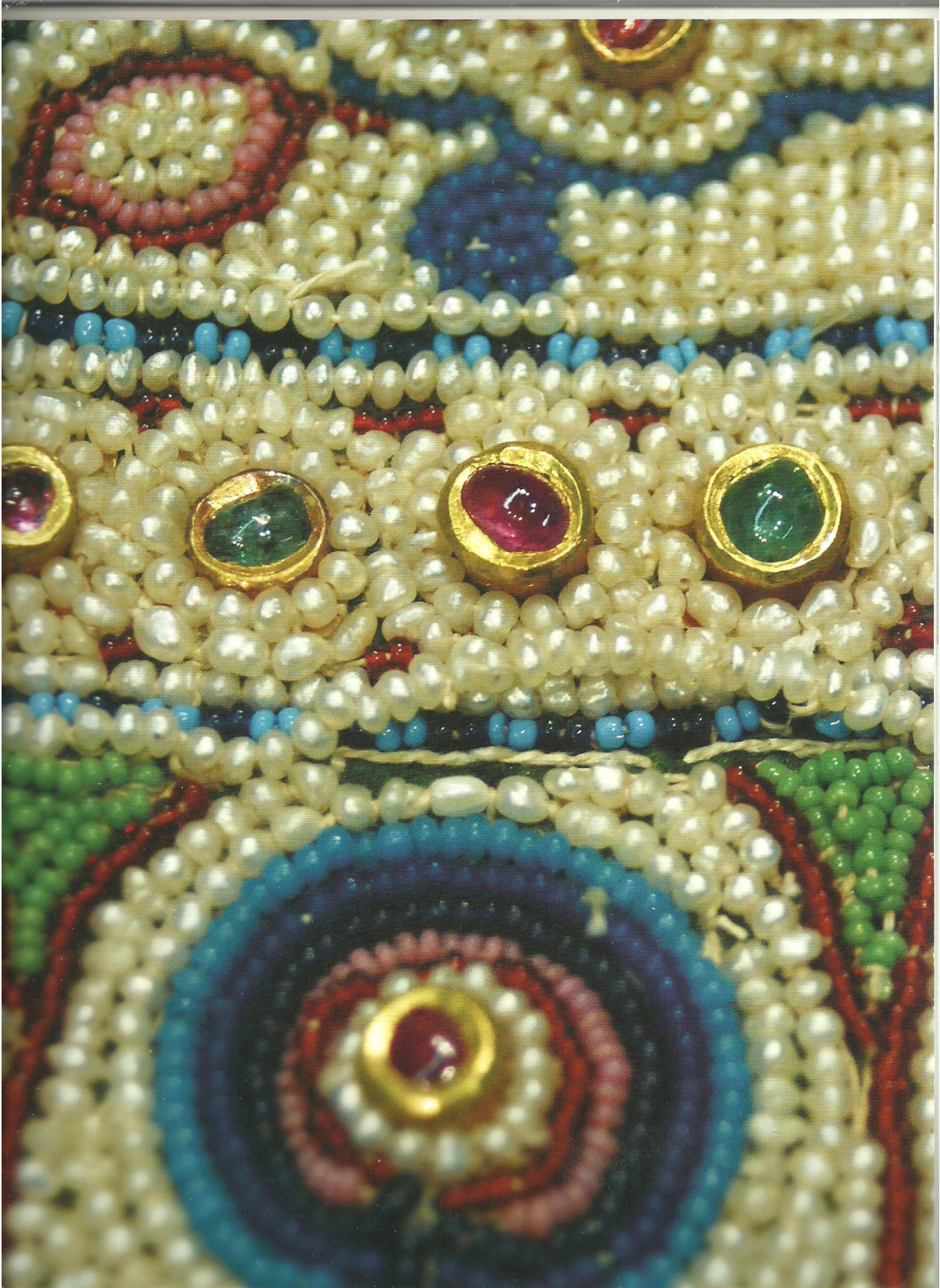




Illustration 10



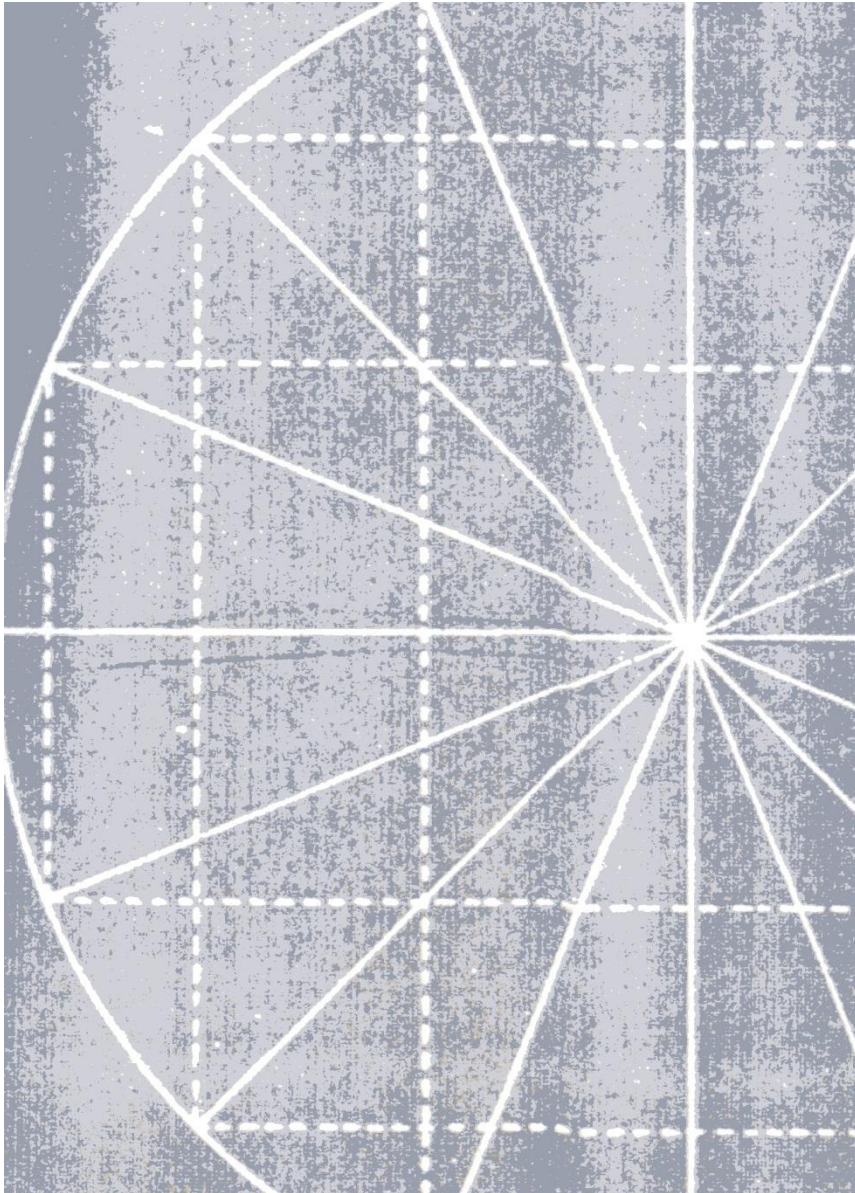


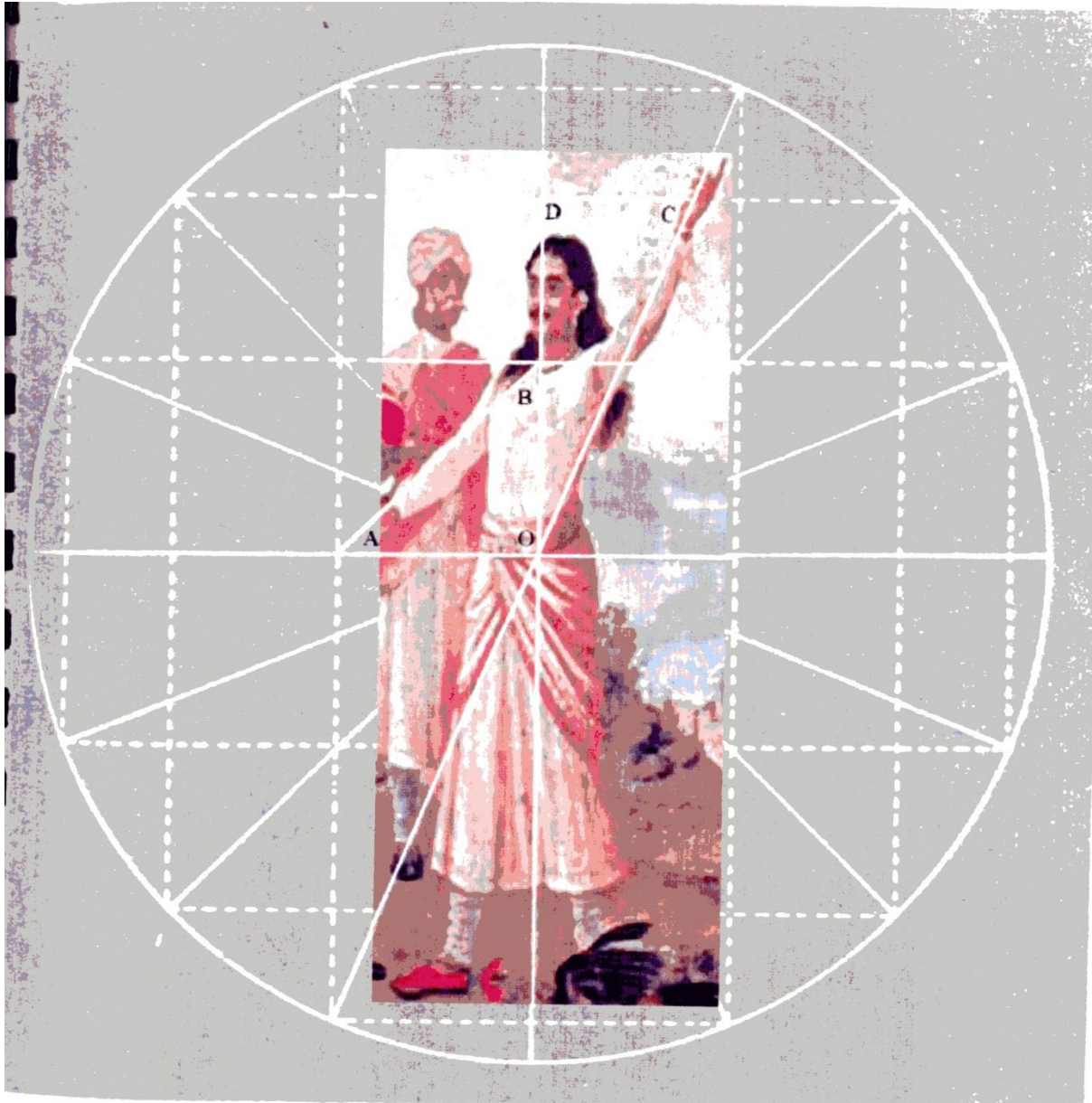
Pilajirao Gaekwad
Company School; early 19th century
Gouache on paper; 49.0 x 41.0 cms; no PG/5B/94



Portrait of Maharaja Sayaji Rao Gaekwad II (1800-1847); Oil on canvas







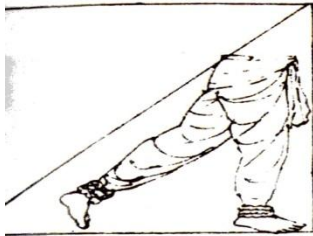


RAJA RAVI VARMA

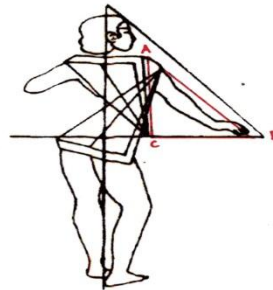
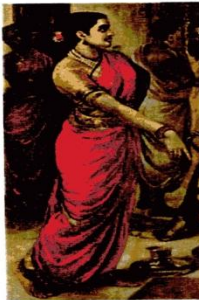
Mehuni & Rukmangada (Preliminary sketch in Oil)
Sri Chitra Art Gallery



RAJA RAVI VARMA
Study of Mehuni & Rukmangada (Drawing)
Sri Chitra Art Gallery



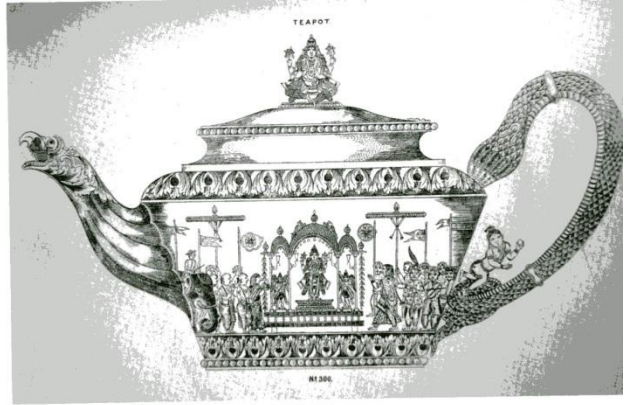
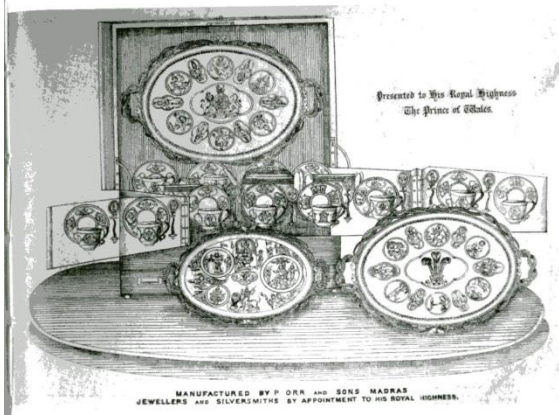
This standing position is in 90° space with the right foot in sama pada and the left in agrathala is used for various types of walking and gait in a dance. These positions alternate while walking forward.

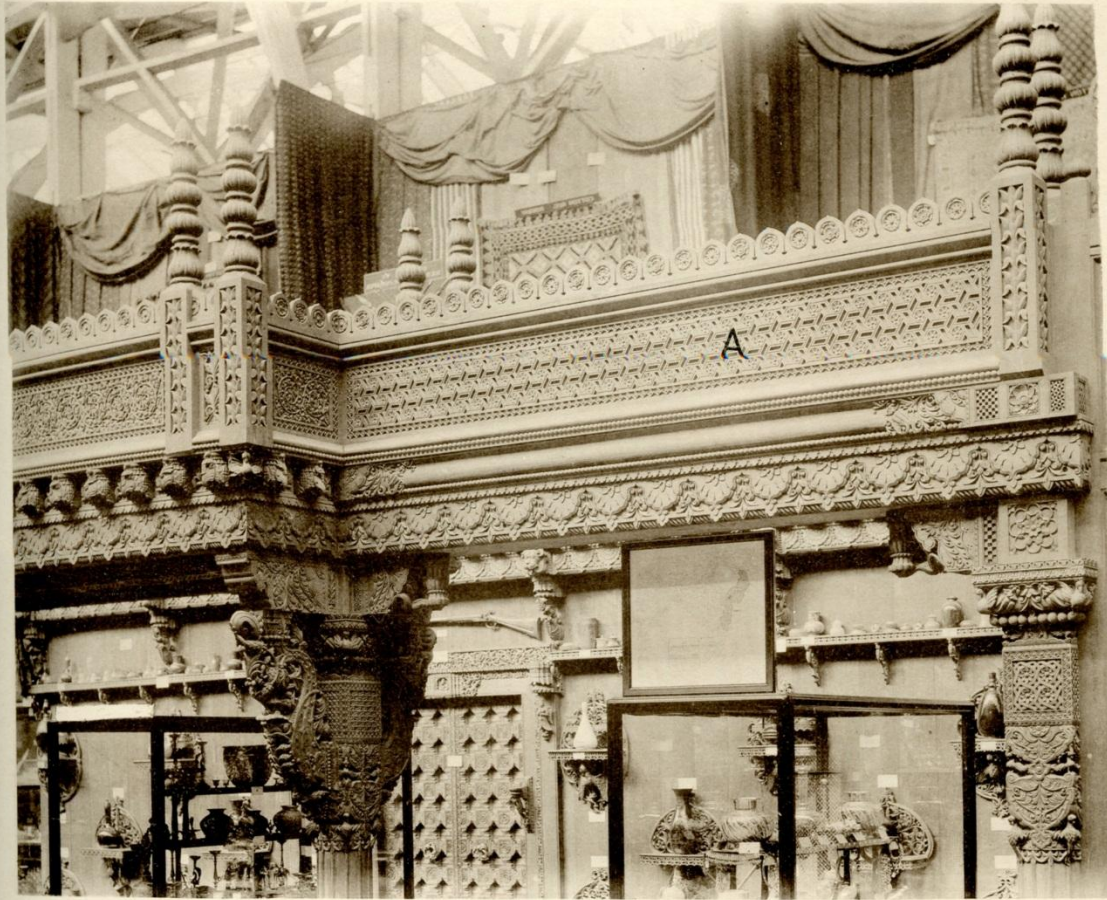






Lady with a Water Pot
by Fanindranath Bose



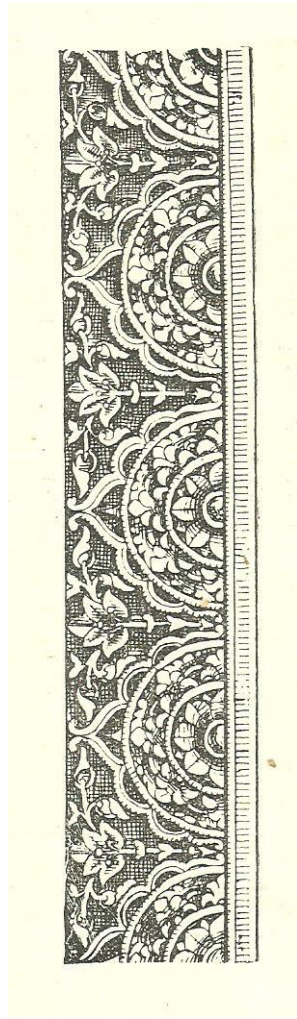


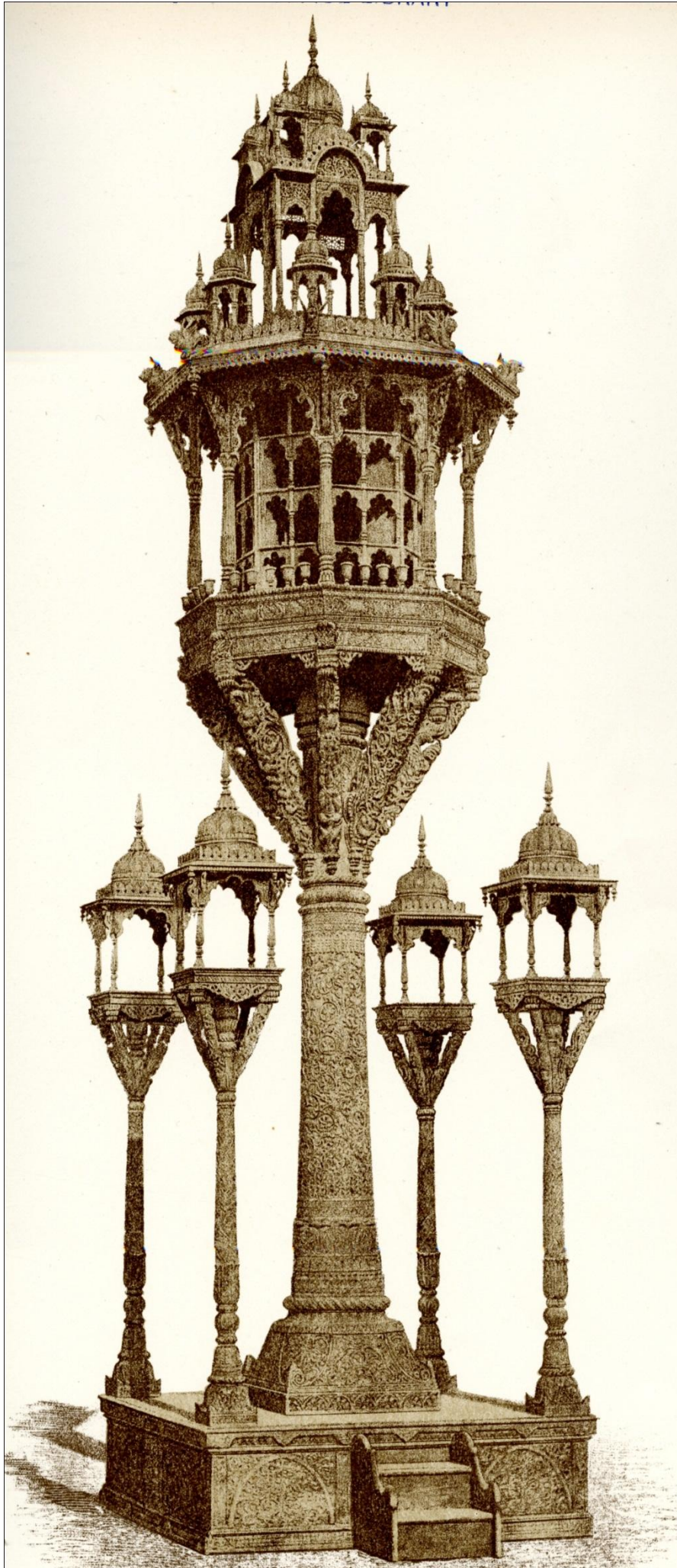
THE BARODA SCREEN.

In the background are seen the doorway and brackets of the "Back Screen." The show case to the right contains Baroda gold and silver work, and that on the left brass work.

Panel A has been reproduced by order of the Royal Commission for providing Screens (3,000 feet long, in 148 panels) for the Indian Bazaar.

Collotype by W. Griggs, London, S.E.



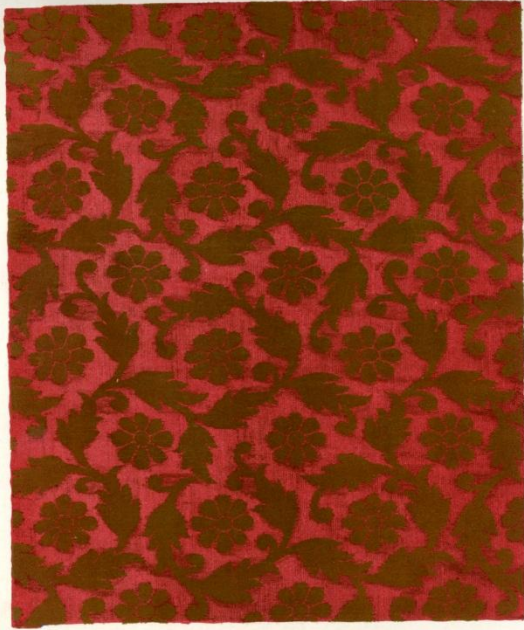




SATIN. *MASHRU*.
EXHIBITED BY THE BARODA COMMITTEE.



PRINTED *SADI*.
EXHIBITED BY THE BARODA COMMITTEE.



GOLD AND SILK BROCADE.



GOLD EMBROIDERED JACKET.

EXHIBITED BY THE BARODA COMMITTEE.

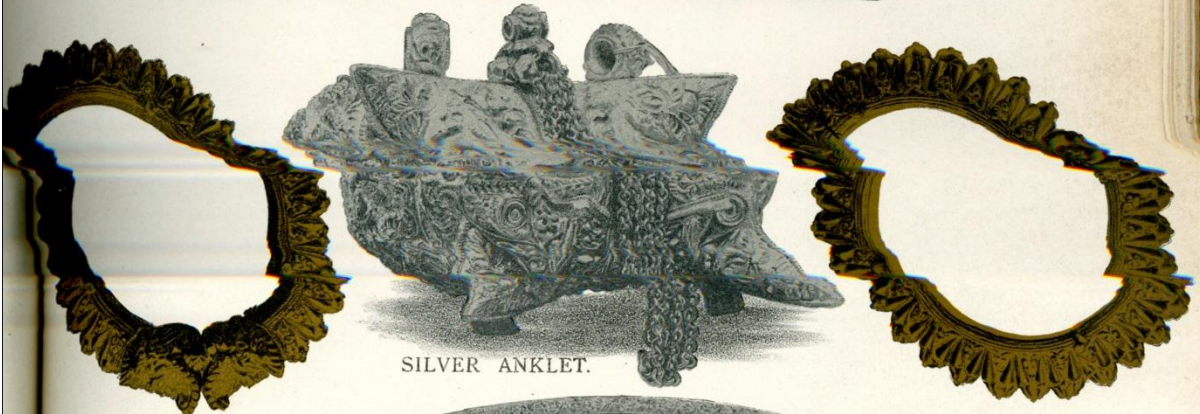


PATOLO, SILK MARRIAGE SARI.
EXHIBITED BY THE BARODA COMMITTEE.



EMBROIDERED CUSHION COVER.
EXHIBITED BY THE BARODA COMMITTEE.

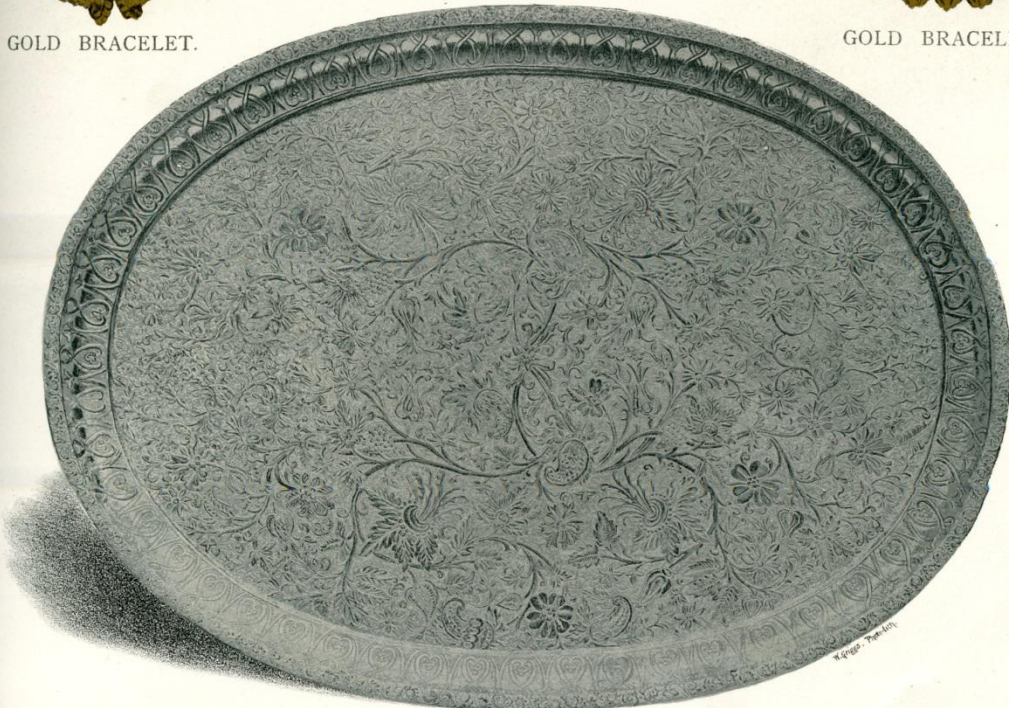
SANDALWOOD AND INLAID BLOTTING BOOK. PATENT OFFICE LIBRARY



GOLD BRACELET.

SILVER ANKLET.

GOLD BRACELET.



SILVER TRAY.

EXHIBITED BY THE BARODA COMMITTEE.





BRASS TRAY AND PLATE—REPOUSSÉ WORK.
EXHIBITED BY THE BARODA COMMITTEE.



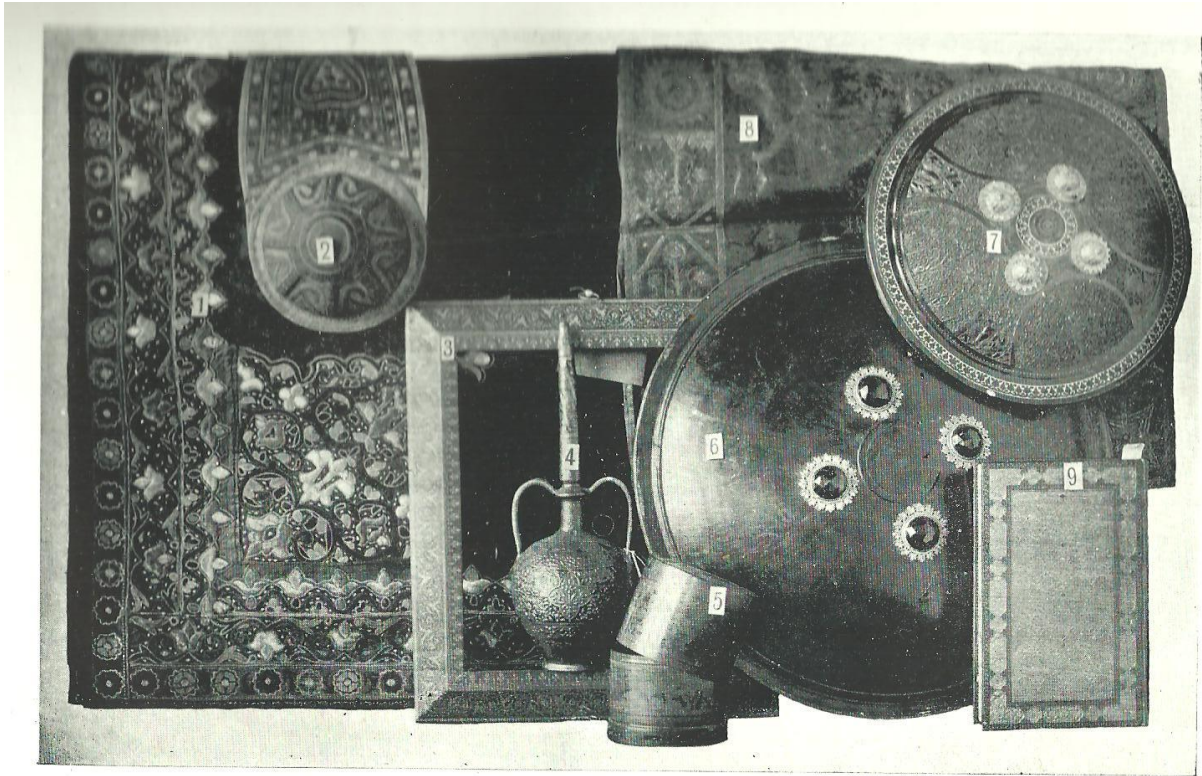


Plate No. 43-B.

Leather and Skin Manufactures.





