



Criterion-1: Curricular Aspects

Key Indicator – 1.3: Curriculum Enrichment

Metric: 1.3.3

Programme: MA History

Syllabus	https://www.du.ac.in/uploads/RevisedSyllabi1/Annexure-67.%20History%20Department%20CONSOLIDATED%20FILE%20OF%20PG%20COURSES%20--%20Core-Elective%20and%20Open%20Elective%20courses,%20MA1+2-15JULY2019.pdf
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Annexure

Sample Field Reports

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Term Paper

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This paper is an analysis of Alexander Cunningham's "Ladak: Physical, Statistical and Historical with Notices of the Surrounding Countries". The paper focuses primarily on the Origin, Physical Description and Dress, as discussed by Cunningham in chapter XI.

Ladakh is a region located in the northernmost part of India. The region is characterized by high-altitude deserts, rugged terrain, and cold, arid climate which create a challenging living condition. Its cultural uniqueness and close resemblance to Tibet, has long captivated the attention of European travellers. The first westerner to visit Ladakh was a Portuguese layman named Diogo d' Almeida, who spent two years, likely around 1600. Next came the Jesuit priests, Fathers Francesco de Azevedo and Giovanni de Oliveiro, who travelled there from Tsaparang in 1631. However their stay was a short one. It was not until much later that two Englishman, employees of the British East India Company, visited and stayed there. They have left interesting description of the royal family and the governing circles ¹.

It was much later that Alexander Cunningham, a British Archaeologist and historian came into picture in 1846. Cunningham along with other explorers established the frontiers between Ladakh and the domains of the Dalai Lama followed by the frontier between Ladakh and Spiti to the south a year later. Cunningham's account, "*Ladak: Physical, Statistical and Historical with Notices of the Surrounding Countries*", was one of the earliest of its kind in which attempts to provide a comprehensive portrait of the region, including its geography, commerce, history, religion and society,

1. David L. Snellgrove and Tadeusz Skorupski, *The Cultural Heritage of Ladakh* (England: Arris & Phillips), xiii

While his documentation of the region provides valuable insights, it is important to view Cunningham's account critically, as it reflects colonial perspective that is often biased and limited in its understanding. It is also important to keep in mind that his focus is primarily on the Botis, the Buddhist population of the region. Therefore, his works lacks the documentation of other communities that constitutes the entire population of Ladakh.

As aforementioned, regarding the origin of the populace, Cunningham focuses only on one single community of people, the Buddhists which he categorise as 'Botis' or 'Botiyas', to be synonymous to the whole region of Ladakh, thereby providing just a general picture. Though he writes about other communities, here too he fails to delve further and tends to oversimplify. Cunningham writes it as follows:

But in the northern provinces of Ladak there is a numerous class called Bem, or "low," which includes all the dancing women and their attendant musicians, all smiths and carpenters, and in fact handicraftsmen of every kind.*

Cunningham categorises all the musicians and smiths under a single social category of *Bem*. However, he overlooks their distinctiveness. For instance, the Musicians are known as *Mon and Beda*, and the blacksmiths as *Gaara*. Cunningham also fails to notice the social hierarchy based on this caste factor and the discrimination associated with it.

He mentions about the *Argon* population in Le and Chachot, which he describes as the mixed race of Kashmiris and Native Botis. Although he talks about a non-Buddhist community for the first time, he ignores the Shia population of western Ladakh which forms the majority of the population.

Cunningham's account ignores the composite nature of the Ladakhi society which provides one of the major setbacks to his account. Not only has it lacked about the Muslim community, but also the Dard community who consisted the earliest population of Ladakh. The folklore of Dards too preserves the tradition that the whole of Ladakh was originally occupied by them.²

2. A. H. Francke, *The Dards of Khalatse*, MAS1 1 (1906). n. 19 as cited in Luciano Petech, *The Kingdom of Ladakh* (Italy, ROMA ISTITUTO ITALIANO PER IL MEDIO ED ESTREMO ORIENTE 1977)

According to Rizvi, the Dards, Tibetans, and other races possibly mixed together and eventually blended over time to form a new community with unique characteristics. The blending process likely continued over centuries as Ladakh was traversed by trade routes, with caravans consisting of representatives from various ethnic groups from south and central Asia. Given the slow paced nature of travel and long delays imposed by the closing of passes in the winter, some stayed back while others left their half-Ladakhi children behind them³. It is very crucial to note that these people, who form an important constituent of the Ladakhi population, are invisibilized by Cunningham.

Alexander Cunningham then proceeds to describe the physical description of the people begins by describing it in these terms:

*Of the physical characteristics of the Botis, little has been made known beyond the facts that they have “a strongly-marked Tartarian or Mongolian countenance, and that they are superior both in vigour of body and in strature to the other Mongolian races of Kalmaks and Tunusis[...] Their superiority in bodily strength is perhaps owing partly to the bracing climate of their elevated country, and partly to the former infusion of Hindu blood.”*⁴

When he attributes the superiority of body strength of the Botis partly due to the infusion of Hindu blood, it doesn't explain anything. Also, it is vague by what he means by “Hindu Blood”. Further illustrating his point, he writes:

In 1846 the short Lahuli women carried with the greatest ease, day after day, the roof of my tenet, which the taller and finer-looking men of Kullu and Simla refused on account of its weight.

Stereotyping the Botis having superior bodily strength is problematic as not only it contributes to the creation of stereotypes; it also creates a generalized picture for the whole region, a narrative drawn from the illusion that “to see is to know.”

While discussing the physical features and physiognomy of the people, Cunningham writes:

3. Janet Rizvi. *Ladakh: Crossroads of High Asia* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1996) 55, as cited in Tsering Jolden and Rinchen Tundup, *Cultural Relationship between the People of Ladakh and Tibet*, (Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 2018) 65-71

4. Alexander Cunningham, *Ladak, Physical, Statistical and Historical with Notices of the Surrounding Countries* (New Delhi: Manohar Publishers and Distributors, 2022, 291

*In general the Botis have short, squat, stout figures, with broad, flat, ugly faces; but occasionally amongst the better classes I have seen both men and women who were well made and well featured, and with a fine rosy colour in their cheeks. Indeed, I have even seen a few of women that were really handsome, with good regular features and fine figures. But in general they are all, both men and women, not only ugly but hideous, and more especially the old women.*⁵

While narrating some instances of meeting people with “regular” features, it definitely goes with his European notion of beauty which tends to be, to some extent, non-Boti physiognomic features. His description of people as not only ugly but hideous, adds to further creation of stereotypes. This narrative not only brings an elitist viewpoint, but also points at the ‘European Gaze’ deeming others as inferior and sub-human. Furthermore, by giving references of Dr. Gerard, Asiatic Researches, Cunningham reinforces the ugliness and horribleness of the people. Gerard writes that, “In figure they are stout, waddling, and dumpy; in face they are not beautiful, even when young; when past their climacteric, very unseemly; and when old, a picture of horrid ugliness. Their hair, glistening with rancid oil, hangs loosely round their sunburnt necks. Sometimes it is woven into tresses which braid the contour of the face; but it is commonly unregarded, and blows out in the wind, giving them a shaggy appearance like wild beasts”.⁶

One can notice that the author brings in a Eurocentric notion of a “proper” appearance where at one instance; the Botis are even similarized with wild beasts. Furthermore, he attempts at comparing the physiognomy of the Botis with that of the Europeans and while doing so, highlights the superiority of the latter and normalizes it. He writes:

*The eyes are always black; but brown, and even blue eyes are seen occasionally. The inner corners are drawn downwards, by the tension of the skin over the large cheek-bones; the eyelids are therefore not in one straight line, parallel to the mouth, as is the case with Europeans, but their lines meet in a highly obtuse angle pointing downwards. This gives an appearance of obliquity to the eyes themselves that is very disagreeable.*⁷

While referring to the hair, Cunningham maintains his position. He writes:

5. Cunningham, Ladak, 295

6. Dr. Gerard, Asiatic Researches, XVIII, 250, cited in Cunningham, Ladak, 295

7. Cunningham, Ladak, 296

*Bushy heads of hair are sometimes seen, but i believe that the frizzly appearance is not due even in part to any natural tendency to curl, but solely to the tangled and thickly agglomerated matting of the hair, consequent upon its never having been combed or washed first to second childhood.*⁷

Amongst the women of Ladakh, he ascribes the short stature to the system of polyandry which sounds very illogical. Even so, this factor can't be generalised for the whole region as he himself states that the practice of polyandry was not so prevalent amongst the Botis of Ladakh.

Another problematic narrative that he tries to set up is that he has generalized the physiognomy of the entire region with the few skulls and skeleton he was able to procure during his journey, the first being a specimen of the nomadic dwellers from Hanle, and the second of the settled inhabitants of Le. He writes:

*In the lofty districts of Rukchu and Chang-Thang, where no wood is procurable, and where burning with the Tibetan furze would be a tedious operation, the bodies of the dead are always exposed on hills to be eaten by vultures and wild dogs. The Hanle hill was literally covered with bones, from amongst which I obtained the skull and pelvis of the most perfect skeleton.*⁸

It suggests that he was lucky to be passing through Hanle where he could collect the skull and the skeleton. However, from his writings, it doesn't seem that he tried to find specimens of other races including the Dards. Exploring more areas and finding more specimens from different areas would have helped producing a detailed work which isn't oriented towards a single-community. Therefore, even here, his account fails to portray the composite and heterogeneous nature of Ladakhi society.

While comparing the stature of the Botis of Ladakh, he compares it with the Chinese and Hindu neighbours. In addition, categorizing some group of people as Hindu paints a vague picture about whom he is referring to? For instance, while distinguishing the Chinese and the Botis, he points:

The Mongolian origin of the Chinese and the Botis is, i believe, universally admitted; and i would attribute the differences between them and the present nomadic Mongols partly to the early civilization of the Botian race, and partly to the admixture of Hindu blood.

7. Cunningham, Ladak, 296

8. Cunningham, Ladak, 310

Here, Cunningham doesn't provide any scientific evidences to support his claim which renders it a pseudo-scientific narrative.

While assessing the physiognomic features of the few skulls that he possessed, Cunningham also explores the subject of cranial capacity. The need to discuss it might have stemmed from Eurocentric tendencies he harboured. He argues:

The amount of the cranial capacity is another distinguishing characteristic of different races. In this respect the Botis are remarkably deficient, but perhaps not more so than might be expected from the small size of the race generally. Taking the average height of Europeans at five feet and a half, and the average capacity of their skulls at eighty-eight cubic inches, then the cranial capacity of a Boti five feet in height should be ten-elevenths of the other, or eighty cubic inches. But the average of the three Botain skulls in my possession falls much below this number; that of the most capacious being only seventy-four cubic inches and a half. ⁹

While assessing the cranial capacity of the three skulls in his possession, he keeps the European average as the standard measure. He points at how the cranial capacity of the Boti skulls falls below this number. There is also an attempt to establish hierarchy among races, i.e., the Europeans as the superior race and the people they are studying, in this case the Botis, as inferior ones. Cunningham tries to assert this notion by categorizing it through physiognomy, where everything European is desirable and normal and anything other as inferior and insignificant.

One of the topics which interested Cunningham the most was Longevity.

About it, Cunningham begins by writing:

One of the most interesting subjects of inquiry which I pursued daily in Ladak was the extreme ages attained by the oldest people in all the villages in my route. To test the value of the information thus collected, I have added the number of persons per cent. of each sex who reach the respective ages of seventy, eighty, and ninety years throughout the whole of Great Britain. [...] But the general average is still much below that of Britain. ¹⁰

While discussing about the longevity of the people of Ladakh, he finds that the general average is much below that of Britain. Again Britain is used as the standard of measure. However, comparing the Longevity of Ladakh on the

9. Cunningham, Ladak, 299

10. Cunningham, Ladak, 301

basis of Britain' average would be unfair as it overlooks the economic disparity both the region has. Furthermore, from his data it is unclear whether all the regions have been encompassed under his umbrella word 'Ladak'. He mentions about creating the data of people of the villages along his route which further underlines his pursuit as incomplete and partial. His inclusion of the entire region which constitutes the region of Ladakh seems doubtful which threatens to render his calculations incomplete.

Cunningham further proceeds by giving description of the people dresses. Throughout his entire description, he has kept alive a sense of inferiority and emphasized throughout the description, how dirty and shabby the dresses were. He writes:

*The men of Ladak wear a cloak of woollen, thick and warm. It is usually white, or rather it has once been whit; for as the people wash themselves once a year, and never wash their clothes, their cloaks are always of a dirty hue.*¹¹

One can argue that his description was elitist in nature. He has focused mainly on the ways and forms of dressing which he finds disgusting in nature which stems from his Eurocentric viewpoint. His description of people as dirty, their clothes torn and unwashed, invokes a comparison of the 'untidy and inferior' Ladakhis and 'superior' Europeans, gesturing the potential development of Ladakhis to European standards. He rigorously attempts to place his narrative in the European framework of dressing and hygiene. While describing the short stature of Botis, he brings into consideration the effect of poverty and privation but he overlooks these factors while describing about the attire of people.

Describing women's apparel and headgears, he writes:

*From the forehead, over the division of the hair, they all wear a long narrow band of cloth studded with coarse many-flawed turquoises, which hangs down behind as low as the waist, and is usually finished off with a tassel of wool or a bunch of cowress. The ears are covered by semicircular woollen lappets [...] These are made coarse or fine according to the circumstances; for the Ladakhi women seem to pride themselves upon the style and material of these lappets just as much as European ladies do upon the fashion of their bonnets.*¹²

11. Cunningham, Ladak, 303

12. Cunningham, Ladak, 304

His description hints at evident exoticization and a constant need to compare it with that of Europe. He takes a superior position while describing the headgear and points at the turquoises which he finds flawed. The comments made by Moorcroft, an employee of the English East India Company, cited in his work that reads “a Ladakhi female in full costume would create no small sensation among the fashionable dames of Europe” reflects the notion of European superiority held by them and Cunningham’s attempt to reinforce these remarks in his own work. It places the things European, central to every aspects and maintains it as standard that everyone should follow. It fails to observe how material culture develops from complex relations of socio-economic and geographical factors and how much unique it is to a place. Placing everything that is European as central and as a standard fails to understand this uniqueness and lays the foundation for cultural imposition.

Even after his writings about the description of the dresses of common people, one of the major shortcomings in his account is the exclusion of other communities, like Dards, the Muslim population of western Ladakh, who have dresses and headgears distinct form that of the mainland Botis., especially the Dards, who claim to have walked through a different cultural pathway.

Furthermore, his Eurocentric notion is kept alive during his description of the local liquor. In the most disagreeable manner, he writes:

*All classes are exceedingly fond of spirituous liquors, although they have nothing better of their own indigenous Chang. This is made from fermented barley and wheat flour, and has a most disagreeable sour smell, like that of a bad beer, and a thick appearance like dirty gruel. This is the usual beverage; but it is sometimes distilled, by which process a clear spirit is obtained, something like whiskey, but of a most villainous flavour*¹³.

The local beer Chang, has been described in the most condescending way, describing its flavour as villainous and its texture as a dirty gruel. He expresses the otherness and its difference from the western culture. He also shows the west as more desirable.

Throughout his description, the inferiority of tribal existence of the locals was highlighted while underlining European superiority. He portrays the

13. Cunningham, Ladak, 306

west as more desirable in every aspect. The relative absences of anything non-European is made to appear less developed as well as less well defined. One can also notice that throughout his work, a meticulous study is lacking. It appears that he just wrote on the subjects that he encountered and procured along his journey. A further initiative to explore it even further and deeper is absent, for instance, the position of women in a Ladakhi society. Though the society was mostly patriarchal in nature but the position of women according to Frederic Drew were little different from that of native India. Women had a great liberty in the society of Ladakh¹⁴. We can find similar narratives when Moorcroft brings a positive picture of women in the society of Ladakh by citing that they had much freedom and choice of work depending on their will and use their leisure time in productive domestic works¹⁵.

Even during his physical description of the people, not even he fails to grasp and explore the question, “Why it existed in such a way?” He even attributes it to his own reasoning. He highlights the simple material culture of Ladakhis in comparison with that of the European counterpart and provides European notion of linear progress. In his account, not even once, is there an occasion where Cunningham tries to interact with the people he was writing so much about, probably due to his assumption of it as insignificant. He produced his description just on the basis of what he saw. If it was made possible, it would have enriched his account with the people’s perspective and would have made it more impactful. However, his ignorance of the people’s voice makes his account a mere study from above, which lacks the personal knowledge of the people.

Abdul Ghani Sheikh writes that Ladakh occupies an important geographic and strategic position, bordering on Tibet in the east, Xinjiang in the north, Baltistan (now part of Pakistan) in the north-west, Kashmir and Doda district in

14. Frederic Drew, *The Jammoo and Kashmir Territories* (Delhi, Oriental Publishers, 1875) 250-253 as cited in Ansar Mehdi, *Europeans Travellers’ Account on Ladakh: A Brief Analysis of the Socio-Economic Aspects in the 19th Century* (www.iiste.org, 2020)

15. Moorecraft, William and George Trebeck, *Travels in the Himalayan Provinces of Hindustan and the Panjab; Ladakh and Kashmir, etc.*, (New Delhi, Nirmal Publishers and Distributors, 1986) as cited in Ansar Mehdi, *European Travellers*, www.iiste.org

the west, and Himachal Pradesh and Punjab to the south. He adds that Ladakh was an important part of the Central Asian cultural and economic sphere¹⁶ .

Cunningham fails to grasp the fact that Ladakhi society is inherently complex as he doesn't explore the inter-regional connections it possesses, especially due to the silk trade; and its influence on the socio-cultural aspects of Ladakhi life. He ignored the significance of Leh, the capital of Ladakh, as a central Asian trade centre which fostered the rise of cultural diffusion from other parts. He sees the Ladakhi society in a simplistic manner and therefore, his account fails to provide a broader picture.

Alexander Cunningham was writing during the colonial period, and his account reflects the biases and prejudices of his time. He often describes the Ladakhi people in exotic and orientalist terms, emphasizing their otherness and difference from Western Culture. Cunningham's account also reflects a Eurocentric perspective that sees the Ladakhi people as primitive and backward. He frequently contrasts their way of life with that of the West, portraying Ladakhi society as lacking in technology and civilization. This perspective ignores the rich cultural and historical traditions of Ladakh, which have developed over thousands of years and have their own unique value and significance.

16. Abdul Ghani Sheikh. *Reflections on Ladakh, Tibet and Central Asia*. (New Delhi, Skyline Publications, 2010) 133 as cited in Tsering Jolden and Rinchen Tundup, *Cultural Relationship between the People of Ladakh and Tibet*, (Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 2018) 65-71

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Battle of Imphal, 1944: Commemorations, and Popular Memory in Manipur

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Introduction

The Battle of Imphal 1944¹ was a remarkable event in the history of Manipur during the second world War. Its capital Imphal became the battlefield of the two leading forces – The Imperial Japanese Army and the Allied forces. On the other hand, the Manipuri soldiers fought along both sides of the opposing forces. The purpose of this essay is to look into the process of commemoration pertaining to the battle and how in different ways people memorialize the event. Drawing on a range of sources, I'll also highlight the construction of memorials sites, museums and how the practice of commemoration were taking place years after the event and also about the major groups participating in it? Most importantly the paper shall attempt to explore the popular memory shared by the locals and their diverse perspectives and experiences they have had. As a part of this study, I also conducted an interview with Taorem Gouramuhon Singh, a local who experienced the battle.

Historical background

During the course of the second world War, Manipur occupy a strategic position because of its geographical constraints. Its capital Imphal became an important site for both the Japanese forces and the Allied powers. On the one hand Japanese were trying to enter India through Manipur, while the Allied powers took a strong grip in defending the Japanese forces. In 1942, as the Japanese swept across South East Asia, Manipur's location became a great focus towards their expansion. The battle began with a Japanese invasion of the

¹ The Battles of Imphal and Kohima of 1944, is one of the greatest battle of the second world War fought between the Allied forces and the Japanese forces. In this battle the Japanese forces had a major defeat against the Allied forces. I'll specifically focus on the Battle of Imphal which took place in the area of Manipur

Indian state of Manipur, which was defended by the British Indian Army. The Japanese faced stiff resistance and were eventually forced to retreat, suffering heavy casualties. The fighting was intense and included some of the bloodiest hand-to-hand combat of the war. The battle ended in a decisive victory for the Allied forces, and it marked a turning point in the Second World War's Burma Campaign. The battle was also significant in the wider context of the war as it halted the Japanese advance into India and prevented a possible invasion of mainland India.

Commemorations and Memorialization

Years after the war, the commemorations of the Battle of Imphal came into light in Manipur. War battlefield sites were explored, large-scale excavations were done and museums were constructed. The most notable thing is that, visitors from Japan and Britain came to pay tributes to the soldiers who died in the war. In this essay I shall try to see how the process of commemorations have evolved over the year, the cultural ties embedded within the participating countries and the symbolic meaning attached to it.

Commemoration of the Battle of Red Hill

Amongst the many battlefield sites associated with the battle of Imphal, the battlefield at the base of red hill, locally known as Maibam Lotpa Ching , which is located 17kms away from Imphal , has gained more attention than the others ². At this site, the India Peace Memorial was constructed alongside with the Japanese War Memorial to commemorate the soldiers who died in the battle.(Photo 1)

The Japanese War Veterans has taken a great initiative in taking up various projects relevant to the battle. In 1944, to mark the 50th Anniversary of the Battle, the Japanese Government inaugurated the Imphal Peace Memorial at the base of Red hill at Maibam Lotpa Ching to commemorate the soldiers who died in the war. The effort to build the memorial has come

² The Red hill or Point 2926 , locally known as Maibam Lotpa ching ,which is 17kms away from Imphal on Tiddim road. It is where the Battle of Red Hill (May 21 -29, 1944) was fought between the 33rd division of Japanese Imperial Army and 17th Indian Divison ,where Japanese suffered major defeat .This battle was part of the Battle of Imphal during the second world War. The battle at this site was so fierce that all the available ammunites were exhausted and the two forces even went for hand to hand fight .After a week of fighting, hundreds of soldiers lost their lives in both the forces but Japanese suffered the major defeat .For more details of the battle see. p56-57 Katoch, Hemant Singh,Imphal 1944 – *The Japanese invasion of India*,Osprey/Bloomsbury, 2018

from the surviving war hero Lt. General Iwaichi Fujiwara and various other delegates through years of several petitions and memorandum seeking for the allocation of land to build the memorial³. The memorial was inaugurated on 21st March 1944, against the backdrop of three national flags of the United Kingdom, Japan and India in the presence of 161 members coming all over from Japan. The flags signify the symbolic representation of the participating countries and it shows the friendship ties made through the commemoration. The memorial contains a main gate. As you enter inside the memorial one can see large white concrete walls, red sandstone floor. And three large uncut sandstone blocks at the far end of the site (Photo5). It is said that the three red sandstone brought over from Rajasthan, signifying the blood of Indo- Japanese and Allied forces who laid down their lives in the battle. All these minute details of what the sandstone signifies, what the concrete walls meant to symbolize were not written anywhere inside the memorial. But the plaque which is there inside the memorial read:

In Memory of all those soldiers who fought and laid down their lives during the Battle of Red Hill from May 21 to 29, 1944 (Photo 3)

As we can see the details on the plaque is giving us an overview of the memorial, any visitor will get to know the significance of the place. On the right and left side of the white concrete walls INDIA PEACE MEMORIAL was inscribed with English and Japanese respectively. The use of the Japanese script could be an indication of their contribution in the memorial and the shared history they had with the place.

Cherry blossoms, the most favoured flowering tree of Japan _ brought over by war veterans also find their place around the memorial. But these cherry blossoms could no longer be seen today. The special memorial service in unique Japanese custom and style was also conducted according to Buddhist rites by four monks in their traditional attire with rosaries in their hands praying for eternal peace of the departed souls of the fallen heroes.

³ In March 1975 ,Lt. General Iwaichi Fujiwara visited Manipur as the deputy leader of the Japanese Government sponsored bone recovery mission . Along with the other delegates they asked for the allocation of the land to build the memorial .By Dec 1892 , the Indo Burma War Area Veterans Associations of Japan (IBAWAVAJ) jointly made another request for the allocation of land measuring 5000sq.km. On 15th March 1984, the matter was transferred to Government of Manipur and in June 1992, the agreement was done. For more details see H.Dwijasekhar Sharma , "Synthesizing roles of the I.N.A. Martyrs Memorial : Moirang and Indo Japanese Peace Cenotaph : Lotpaching (Red Hill)" in New insights to the glorious Heritage of Manipur ,e-Pao books

Photographs and scrolls depicting the insignia of their old Divisions and Regiments were also put up with ceremonial yard. Lighted candles, wreaths of beautiful chrysanthemum flowers (local Madhabi), Haikus (specially prepared for the occasion), gohan (Japanese rice), sake (Japanese wine), salt, cigarettes, snacks and sweets _ all supposedly favourites of soldiers have been placed on the altars.⁴ The way of offering shows that the ceremonial function is carried out dominantly in the Japanese tradition.

From 2014 onwards the commemoration ceremony had a shift in the way it organised. Marking its 70th anniversary of the battle, the commemoration ceremony was organised jointly by Imphal Tourism Forum and 2nd World War Imphal Campaign Foundation⁵ on 29th May. Since then, they have been taking a major role in the commemoration of Battle till today. It was attended by government officials and delegates from the participating countries. But over the years the participation was not only limited to government officials students , local clubs and associations were also participated. What one clearly sees is that even though the commemoration ceremony wasn't done in such a wide scale public gathering , it has never been limited to government officials only.

We have heard how tragic the battle was at this site and the impact of the war inflicted upon the civilians, but the less participation of the people in remembrance of the battle has left me with questions. Is it because we, the locals, were ignorance of our own historical past? Every individual will have a varying answer to these questions and their answers will be the reflections of how they perceive the battle and the shared memory they had. As Nora writes “what we call memory today is therefore not memory but already history “⁶. This is particularly relevant in understanding the ways in which the battle of Imphal has been remembered and commemorated. In the larger context, the memory of the battle has been seen from the militaristic view , that way the history of it has been casted even in the the

⁴ See H.Dwijasekhar Sharma , "Synthesizing roles of the I.N.A. Martyrs Memorial : Moirang and Indo Japanese Peace Cenotaph : Lotpaching (Red Hill)" in New insights to the glorious Heritage of Manipur , e-Pao books

⁵ The 2nd World War Imphal Campaign foundation was started in 2009 with its co founders , Arambam Angamba and Yumnam Rajeshor . They conducted wide scale excavations and explorations of the major battlefiled sites related with the second world War in Manipur and collected the relics to be preserved at Imphal War Museum . To know more about this campaign visit their official page: <https://m.facebook.com/imphalpeacemuseum>

⁶ Nora , P.(1989). Between Memory and History : Les Lieux de Memoire .Representations (26), 7-25

India Peace Memorial . But the locals shared a different memory of the war time, which has become their history. Do their history been widely known as the popular history of the same time? Even though we have heard stories from people who experienced the war, we often overlooked them and less acknowledged of the shared past they had. What kind of memories the people in Manipur experienced during the battle? We have different versions of the story relating to this decisive battle. The locals, especially those who lived nearby warzones experienced various hardships impacted by the war. In the book ‘The Battlefields of Imphal The second world War and North East India ‘, Hemant Singh Katoch mentions the responses of some of the locals and the experiences they had during the war. Once such could be of Asem Tomchou Singh, a local who lived near the red hill shares his experience

Once the British knew the Japanese have arrived, they started firing towards our village from different directions. We hid ourselves in the trenches. Some Japanese started dismantling the doors of the houses. We don't know the reason why. In the morning, we started preparing to flee from our village. When we Start packing up our things, the Japanese stopped us and took the things and kept half for themselves of each of the items like rice, Oil, molasses, etc

Pukhrambam Birachandra of Ningthoukhong recalls:

It was on Cheiraoba day, the British came and announced that the war has reached Moirang. They ordered us to vacate our houses. ‘Leave this place, your houses will be burnt down tomorrow’ was what they said. We started digging pits to bury our things. Many people started moving towards Loktak and Thanga Chingjao but three families stayed back. On the next morning we moved out and fled. In the afternoon, the British arrived and burnt down the houses. One woman of one of the families which stayed back gave birth inside the trench. British big guns Started firing. . . . They even used planes and drop bombs suspecting that the Japanese have arrived and are hiding inside the trenches. Then the families also fled. One child was left behind. He was nowhere to be found after the wars.

Most of people who were caught up in the war has passed away. Fortunately, I could get the chance to interview Taorem Gouramuhon Singh, a local from Maibam village, which is near the Red Hill. Hearing the war stories from him has opened another perspective.

Gouramohon recalls:

When we see what they were digging in the hills ..they gave us the food they were eating.... as a child we don't feel hesitant to eat. we saw the cigarettes too ..they tried to give a slap when we utter “ cigarettes “ ..then we came back ...this way we spend our time.

What I intend to say is, the side of the story from the locals though gained less recognition from the mainstream narrative of the battle, it remained as a living memory for the people involved, their history has been confined to them only. As mentioned above, we can see how the war caused destruction among the civilians. The human costs of the conflict, and the diverse experience of the local people who were caught up in the war has been left out by many. Moreover, people also had the memory of their interaction with the soldiers (as in the case of Taorem Gouramuhon). It's important for us to take into consideration of such histories from a wider perspective.

Nevertheless, the place which was once a battlefield, remains as a memorial site and the significance of the place isn't adhered only to the particular historical moment associated with it, but over time cultural exchanges were taking place through the commemoration, which will be discussed later in the essay.



photo 1.

Another memorial lies which lies adjacent to the India Peace Memorial is the white structure(Photo 7) which looks more traditional and Japanese inscriptions on it. As it's

written in Japanese only, one doesn't have the idea what's written there.

Like many monuments the Imphal Peace Memorial represents only a selective memory of the events it commemorates. The monuments were built to honour the soldiers who fought in the Battle of Imphal. Memorial sites can be a subject of interpretation over time. If we think deeper into the context of how a particular site has linked to a specific historical moment, the narrative or the knowledge produced from such memorial sites is not suffice enough to understand the and remember a particular historical event.

Photo 2

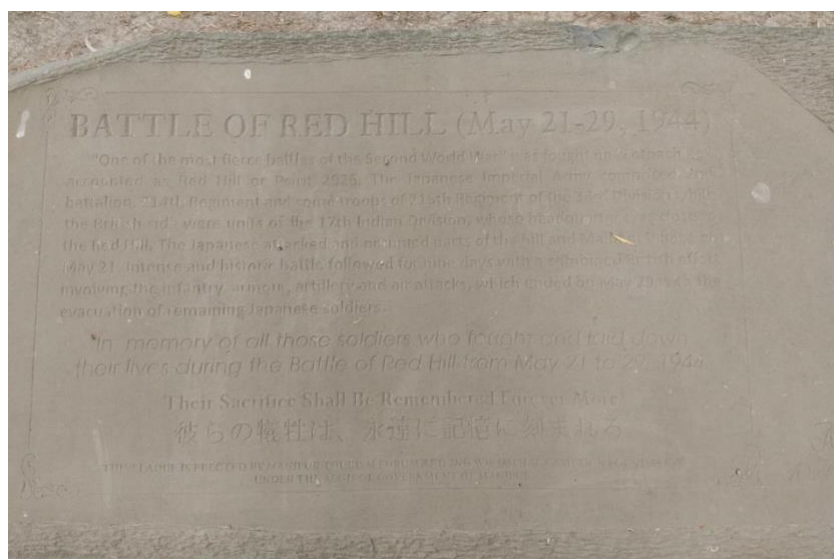


Photo 3

Photo 4



Photo 5



Photo 6



Photo 7

Popular memory and cultural exchanges

The memory and history of the Battle is primarily transmitted through popular cultures and oral histories, rather than through monuments and memorial sites. These alternative forms of commemorations have played a significant role in shaping the collective memory of the Battle, and in preserving its historical significance over time. It offers a way of capturing the memories and stories of ordinary people who lived through the conflict. The memories of

the battle has been reflected in popular culture, including music, film and literature, which played a major role in shaping the collective memory of the Battle. For example, A Manipuri film *Japan Landa Imphal* (Imphal in Japan Lan) which was a historical romantic fiction film depicts the story of a girl who fell in love with a Japanese soldier during the time of the war. What is clear is the reflection of the historical event through media and this way the war times were remembered widely among the locals

Another remarkable development throughout this process of commemoration is the launch of Battle of Imphal tours in 2014, to mark the 70th anniversary of the event. ⁷The organization of battle tours signifies the growing interests in the historical significance of the event. These tours can be seen as a form of commemoration that seeks to keep the memory of the battle alive as well as providing education for reflection of the historical past .

With time, the commemorations of the Battle of Imphal continues over the last years. A major initiative taken by the 2nd World War Imphal campaign foundation, a non profit organization, which is registered under the government of Manipur was the construction of Imphal Peace Museum at the base of Maibam lotpa ching, near the Japanese War Memorial.⁸ I shall also present how this process of commemoration is taking a new form, creating a form of cultural exchange between the Japanese, Manipuris and the British .

The Imphal Peace Museum, with the initiative of the Tourism department of Manipur and its co- founder Arambam Agamba was inaugurated on 22nd June, 2019, in celebration of the 75th Anniversary of the Battle of Imphal. The Inaugural ceremony was attended by Shri Karam Shyam, Honorable Minister of Manipur, Yohei Sasakawa San, Chairman Nippon Foundation, H.E Kenji Hiramatsu the Japan Ambassador to India and Sir Dominique Asquith , the British Ambassador to India. Over the last three years, the Japanese delegates were invited in the yearly anniversary celebration. Gifts were presented, cultural shows were performed. The establishment of the museum not only strengthen the relationship between

⁷ Hermant Singh Katoch founded the Battle of Imphal tours, conducting battlefiled tours around Imphal and Kohima .

the two participating countries, but it also become as space of cultural exchange taking place within the process. What left me in questions is this gradual transformation and the production of new memories over molding other memories of the shared past they shared.

The fact that Japanese Government were able to laid down such project to a foreign land, where they faced the greatest defeat in the second world War is indeed depicting the relationship built within these two Governments, and the shared historical past acted as the tie that binds them together. The practice of commemoration surrounding the Battle of Imphal does reflect a cultural exchange between Japan and Manipur. Thus, we can see a growing recognition in Japan of the role that Japanese soldiers played in the conflict, and the desire to pay tribute to those who lost their lives in the battle. This has led to various acts of commemoration, such as the construction of the Imphal Peace Memorial and the annual visit of Japanese officials at these memorial sites. All these efforts suggested that while the legacy of the Battle continues there is also desire on both sides to find common ground and build bridges between different cultures and communities.

There are several other war memorials and sites in Imphal and the surrounding area that are related with the battle of Imphal . These include the Indian National Army MemorialComplex, which is a museum and memorial dedicated to the Indian National Army, thatfought alongside the Japanese. Kanglatombi War Memorial, Shanghak War Memorial .

In conclusion, the commemorations of the Battle of Imphal 1944 have evolved over the years. Apart from the state sponsored ceremonies and functions to commemorate the event, individual interests in unfolding different perspectives of the battle have been taking place. One can also see the cultural ties embedded throughout the process of commemorations between the participating nations. Additionally, it is worth considering how the memorial sites serve to connect communities across national and cultural boundaries. Moreover, popular cultures played a significant role in this process. Meanwhile, interpretation of monuments and memorial sites are not only about the past, but also about the present and the future, as they shape the way we remember and make sense of our shared history. The way memorial sites played an important role in shaping popular memory of the Battle of

Imphal, we should consider and think upon what's been left out and what's been represented to the public.

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THE COLONIAL GAZE VIA CANVAS AND LENS: FROM PICTURESQUE TO ETHNOGRAPHIC

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ABSTRACT. This research paper is an attempt at analysing the ways in which India was perceived by the British residents, travellers, military and civil officials as well as the state in colonial India and how there was a gradual shift in this portrayal in the presentation before audiences back home based essentially on how it was manifested in the paintings and photographs of the 18th and 19th centuries by means of perusal of the works of few artists and photographers. The paper also aims at bringing to the readers' attention that it is important to stop viewing camera as an objective and passive lens but as a weapon which holds the power of weaving narratives and acting as an alternative guide to understanding the colonial gaze.

I

Paintings in Colonial India

In the initial period of the colonial rule in India, there was a lot of emphasis on capturing the picturesque landscapes and exotic land of India. There is this palpable feeling of a romantic longing in the paintings from this era. These painters tried to capture the essence of India as apposed to the industrial cityscape back home. The 18th and 19th centuries saw the arrival of many British landscape artists in India who painted the forts, palaces, temples, pagodas and mosques, topographical views like pastoral lands, Himalayas, rivers, flora and fauna meant to be shared with Europeans creating a lot of demand pictures and an interest in back home in 1770–1880.¹

Landscape artists like William Hodges, Charles D'Oyly, Thomas and William Daniell and James Baillie Fraser travelled across India minutely observing, exploring and painting remote regions while focusing exclusively on the picturesque. The accompanying texts and travel narratives to these paintings, published in books and pamphlets, helped further create an enigma of an Oriental land far from home and acted as a powerful force in shaping British perceptions of India.

¹ Tillotson, G.H.R. "The Indian Picturesque: Images of India in British Landscape Painting, 1780-1880," in *The Raj: India and the British 1600-1947*, ed. By C.A. Bayly (London: National Portrait Gallery, 1990), 142. http://projects.mcah.columbia.edu/indianart/pdf/raj_bayly.pdf.

Photography in Colonial India

Photography was introduced into the Indian subcontinent as a result of European interest in the subcontinent in 1844.² The Photographic Society of Bombay was founded in 1854 and other such societies soon developed in Madras and Calcutta. Photography was embraced by the East India Company and the Imperial Government in order to record topographical details, conduct military and archeological surveys, supplement government projects, and aid the general documentary purposes.³

The initial photographs included that of cultures, landscapes, buildings and wildlife. It is important to note that initially the photographic aesthetic here was one of order, not chaos. India wasn't depicted as untamed land but as a resemblance of the English countryside. Colonial India's early cameras were used for mundane purposes such as postcards, arts and keepsakes and also for practical roles for record-keeping for British military and civil purposes. Gradually camera started to play an important role in depicting British ideas about Indian society. This gradually led to the rise of photography not just as a means of artistic expression but also as an administrative implement.

Changes in Photography in Colonial India before and after 1857

The initial British emphasis was on the creation of a romanticised image of India as the British wished to see it. It is crucial to view the advent of this new technology with its coincidence with the 1857 Indian Rebellion. The rebellion resulted in the growing demand by the government for ethnographic photographs in order to categorise people.⁴ Pinney asserts that photography saw a shift from its use as intimate portraiture involving personalised captions and texts to systematic and impersonal documentation for the purpose of identification.

Thus there was shift from the landscape to the use of camera as an agent of colonial domination and political propaganda. It no longer provided a simple reflection but acted only as a lens through which the British viewed India and Indians. Photography was being used to forge a new definition of Indian identity based on the British colonists' views. This led to the creation of *The People of India*, initiated by Lord Canning, between 1868 and 1875 comprising of eight volumes based on racial types as well as the formalisation of colonial ethnography in British India based on 'Scientific racism'.⁵ This period also saw an

² Francisco, Jason. "Of Cheroots and Current Coins: Reconsidering the Photography of Colonial India," *Journal of the Society of Photographic Education*, Volume 36:1, 10-22, 2003. <https://jasonfrancisco.net/of-cheroots-and-current-coins>.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ball-Phillips, Rachel M. "Digital Archives: Teaching Indian Colonial History Through Photographs." *Education About Asia* 20, no. 3 (Winter, 2015). <https://www.asianstudies.org/publications/eaas/archives/digital-archives-teaching-indian-colonial-history-through-photographs-teaching-resource-essay/>.

⁵ Mohan, Kamlesh. "THE COLONIAL ETHNOGRAPHY: IMPERIAL PURSUIT OF KNOWLEDGE FOR HEGEMONY IN BRITISH INDIA (LATE 19TH TO EARLY 20TH CENTURY)." *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* 63 (2002): 827–36. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/44158151>.

increase in the identification of groups in terms of their political loyalty, danger and risk, which is reflected in the accompanying letterpress captions and descriptive texts.

II

Photo 1



Dasashvamedh Ghat, at Benares on the Ganges, India, 1795

About the Artist- Thomas Daniell

Thomas Daniell was an artist who travelled extensively through India with his nephew William Daniell from 1786 to 1793 creating a multitude of watercolour drawings which they turned into aquatints. Their 'Oriental Scenery' comprised of 144 plates of, most of which were of Benares. The subjects of the paintings weren't the colonised people but the picturesque landscapes as there was a large scale demand for peace inducing paintings of exotic flora, fauna, topographical views of the land and architecture.

The paintings and aquatints of the Daniells capture the exotic aspects while simultaneously focusing on archaeological aspects as well. The intent was to please not just the connoisseurs but also the scholarly sections of the society which was abundantly evident in their works present in the six volumes of Oriental Scenery.

About the Painting

Looking at this painting creates a sense of longing for the past. It makes you want to reminisce the past as the painting appears, very serene, quiet and peaceful. The emphasis of the painting seems to be on the buildings and vegetation around the banks. People can be seen going about their activities but it is curious how minuscule they look in proportion to the buildings around. It is interesting how at first glance one could even have glossed over their presence. To a viewer this seems like the painting of a distant land in a far off place. Owing to its archaic and traditional feel, to a Westerner it might seem as something which is not a part of the conventionally understood modern times. Based on the viewer, it could also be perceived as a place stuck in time solely based on the feelings the painting evokes.

Another interesting aspect regarding this painting is the depiction of the water not as stagnant but moving. As opposed to later paintings and photographs this painting thus does not produce the image of a changeless society. What is also evident is the fact that viewing this painting does not arouse an overt sense of pity or superiority. It is simply a picturesque landscape feeding to the aesthetic sensibilities of the viewers & their longing for the past when times were apparently simpler.

The accompanied descriptive text by the Daniells in the the Oriental Scenery suggests: *“The gauts at Bernares are the most considerable of any on the Ganges.... An opinion prevails amongst them, that drawing their last breath at Cossi is a circumstance much in favour of their employment of future happiness... This is one of the most sacred place in India. A popular belief convinced among the Hindus, that if the dying breath is in this holy city, then there is a future contentment in life.”* The calmness that the painting arouses within the viewers goes hand in hand with the description of Benares as a city of spiritual importance.

Photo 2



View of the Taj Mahal from the bank of River Yamuna, Agra, 1858-1862 (As seen in the Spectatorship and Scenography: In The Archives, an exhibition held by The Alkazi Collection of Photography on 3rd February, 2023)

About the Photographer- John Murray

Dr. John Murray was a Scottish-born doctor who was introduced to photography around 1849, when he was working in the Medical Service of the East India Company Army of . He was interested in the Mughal architecture and systematically recorded various buildings in and of Central India. Mesmerised by the majestic white mausoleum, Murray tried to capture the “picturesque” through his camera. He focused equally on the foreground and thus included the crumbled ruins and vegetation around the Taj Mahal as he believed that it was complete only amidst its surroundings. Since he clicked the photographs in 1858, shortly after the Revolt of 1857; they show how the mosque was used as an arsenal.

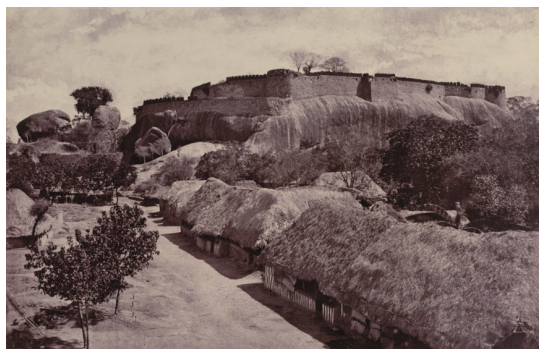
About the Photograph

The photographs here show the view of the Taj Mahal from various angles attempt to be taken in a picturesque manner. The fact that these pictures were clicked just after the revolt adds to the suspicion regarding the intent behind picking these photographs. The aim of the photographer here seems to not be clicking the image of the monument to highlight its grandeur as it is interesting to note how the object that is supposed to have been under spotlight appears only in the backdrop of the frame. The foreground is replete with ruins which instantly catch the viewers' attention as they are closer to the camera. it is curious to observe how there is no sign of any human civilisation in the picture which is building on to the notion of ruination, forgotten past as well as ignorance on the part of the people as it appears that no one really cares about its degrading state.

The setting up of the frame almost seems intentionally done in a way to capture the dilapidated condition of the surroundings. Looking at the images does not leave us mesmerised but with a sense of ruination. Whatever the motive of the photographer while clicking these photographs, there seems to be no indication of superiority and need for the civilised British to pull country out from its eminent ruin. The photographs are taken from such angles so as to show the loss of the former glory of a majestic & glorious past as if to bring to the attention of the viewers a need to remove the shackles of ruination and ignorance binding the monument.

Rather than successfully depicting his fascination with the grandeur of the monument, Murray fails to arouse such emotions in the viewers. To someone unfamiliar with the magnitude of the beauty and grandeur of the Taj Mahal, the photo mostly shows a picture of a place in a state of ruin. In this way the title of the text accompanying the picture also seems to contradict itself. The photo claims to capture the “*view of Taj Mahal*” but fails to give it the spotlight it deserves.

Photo 3



Trimium: Fort, Interior Hold, with the Main Street,
Taken from the Top of the Gateway, February 1858.
The British Library, London. On www.metmuseum.org



Hullabede: Suli Munduppum from the Northeast,
December 1854. Canadian Centre for Architecture,
Montréal. On www.metmuseum.org

About the Photographer- Captain Linnaeus Tripe

Linnaeus Tripe was an officer cadet with the East India Company who in the 1840s familiarised himself with the landscape of southern India around Mysore and Madras Presidency and gathered a total of 290 negatives from this journey.⁶ In July, 1856 the Madras Government proposed that Tripe should become an official photographer to the Presidency.⁷ He regarded himself as a soldier foremost and thus his work is more documentary than artistic as he believed that photographs were meant for informational rather than aesthetic purposes as he was trained as a surveyor. He clicked photographs of temples and religious monuments but these structures were shown in a decaying state, often displayed in bleak lighting.

Linnaeus Tripe replaced the landscape artists but his emphasis continued to be on the picturesque. He was driven by the motivation of documenting India's architectural heritage, races and natives, their dress, weapons, agricultural and manufacturing implements and recording the primitive cultural landscape of the "chaotic East" through dilapidated buildings and heritage sites and thus focused on furthering the agenda that India in desperate need of colonial intervention.⁸

About the Photograph

Due to his training as a military surveyor, it is evident in his photographs now tripe was focused on clicking photographs with a sense of definite comprehensibility, free of any ambiguities. Looking at the pictures one can also see how emphasis was also put on

⁶ Woodward, Richard B. "'Captain Linnaeus Tripe: Photographer of India and Burma, 1852-1860' Review," *WSJ*, April 28, 2015, <https://www.wsj.com/articles/captain-linnaeus-tripe-photographer-of-india-and-burma-1852-1860-review-1430263889>.

⁷ Howell, David. "CAPTAIN LINNAEUS TRIPE, 1822-1902 12TH MADRAS NATIVE INFANTRY A SOLDIER PHOTOGRAPHER." *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research* 94, no. 377 (2016): 25-36. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/44233098>.

⁸ Purkait, Sruti. "India through an Occidental Lens: British Photographers of 19th Century," *Art Fervour*, April 27, 2021, <https://www.artfervour.com/india-through-an-occidental-lens-british-photographers-of-19th-century/>.

capturing the topography of the landscape as well as the details of the architectural structure in question.

The first photograph was taken in order to capture brick battlements, stone walls, and bastions of the fortress but fails to shed light on them. While clicking the picture of the fort, the surrounding settlements were captured as well. At first glance it becomes hard to tell what the image is about and it only on closer look that one can decipher where the fort exists. It is interesting to see how the fort becomes the background. The importance of the fort thus seems to be overshadowed as it appears to be a wall simply. This image is clicked from the top of a gateway and provides the feeling of overlooking the town from above and in the process gives a higher status and accompanying sense of superiority to the viewer. Therefore arousing a sense of control over the place when a British viewer looks at it. What is astonishing is how the place looks eerily devoid of any form of civilisation.

The second photograph shows a deserted temple site in Hullebede, Mysore, South India, in December while he was accompanied by the early photographer Dr. A.C.B. Neill of Indian Medical Service.⁹ In the second picture the emphasis remains on the architectural marvel and therefore its details are succinctly captured. It is curious to note how the intricacy of the temple in the foreground is in direct contrast with the austerity of their backdrop. We can see that some of the natural topography of the region is also visible in the background. In this manner there seems to be desecralisation of the temple owing to its degraded appearance. It seems to depict ruins of an architectural past as if to show its degeneration over time.

III

Photo 4



“Coombhars or Potters,” William Johnson Photographs of Western India, Vol. 1. Costumes and Characters DeGolyer Library, SMU <http://tinyurl.com/pju6900>



“Nagar Brahmin Women” 1863. Original portrait by William Johnson and W. Henderson, c. 1857, montage by William Johnson, 1863. Plate III in *The Oriental Races and Tribes, Residents and Visitors of Bombay*, vol. I, 1863. In *Camera Indica*, p. 32.

⁹ Howell, David. “CAPTAIN LINNAEUS TRIPE, 1822-1902 12TH MADRAS NATIVE INFANTRY A SOLDIER PHOTOGRAPHER.” *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research* 94, no. 377 (2016): 25–36. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/44233098>.

About the Photographer- William Johnson

William Johnson was a member of the Bombay Civil Service and a leader in the field of ethnological photography and documented the various castes and religions western India through his photographs. His album, *Photographs of Western India, Volume I: Costumes and Characters*, consisted of eighty-seven photographs of different groups.¹⁰ What was unique about his photographs was that these were composite images featuring various tribes and castes set against appropriate landscapes. The accompanying letterpresses detailed the native differences in artefacts, physiognomy and costume.¹¹

William Johnson was driven by desire to record the tribal communities and working class and primitive cultural landscape of the country. The agenda behind these photographs seems to be portrayal of primitive, disorderly and chaotic East and racial stereotypes to differentiate people of Western India by stereotyping caste groups on the basis of their costumes & attires. This could have also been done to help with identification of loyal groups of people from others which had become an obsession of the colonial state.

About the Photograph

After the revolt of 1857 there was a shift in the objects of focus of the colonial camera. In contrast to the earlier photographs which focused on landscapes and buildings, there was a contrast as now people tended to become the main focus with the start of ethnographic photography as is seen in photos of Johnson.

In the first picture men and women belonging to the some caste- Coombhars or potters. Women here are seen wearing saris & covering their heads. The women are either seen standing or sitting in the feet of men which can reflect gender connotations of its own. Men are seen wearing headgears. But everyone is seen barefoot. Looking at this photograph it doesn't seem that they were forced to pose a certain way as they all are seated differently and seen like they were just allowed to be themselves. It seems like they are simply being observed with no intent of disturbing them. This can also be deduced from the fact that the subjects are not making eye contact with the photography or the camera while this picture was being clicked. The background briefly shows us the topography of the place which seemingly appears to be the landscape of a village.

The second picture is of Nagar Brahmin women who based on their attire seem to be from well to do families. In the second picture the two women are set in the middle of the frame and appear to be of similar age and could be related as sisters or sisters-in-law. The women

¹⁰ Ball-Phillips, Rachel M. "Digital Archives: Teaching Indian Colonial History Through Photographs." *Education About Asia* 20, no. 3 (Winter, 2015). <https://www.asianstudies.org/publications/ea/archives/digital-archives-teaching-indian-colonial-history-through-photographs-teaching-resource-essay/>.

¹¹ Tillotson, G.H.R. "The Indian Picturesque: Images of India in British Landscape Painting, 1780-1880," in *The Raj: India and the British 1600-1947*, ed. By C.A. Bayly (London: National Portrait Gallery, 1990), 142. http://projects.mcah.columbia.edu/indianart/pdf/raj_bayly.pdf.

in the painting are wearing saris with their heads covered. If compared with the women in the previous picture, it can be seen that their saris are much more elaborate and seem to be of finer quality. Moreover, the women in the second picture can be seen wearing a lot more jewellery which suggests their affluence and higher status in the society than the ones seen in the Photo 4 (i). These women are also barefooted. What is interesting is how these women seem to look so sad and forlorn. The landscape in the background is not very elaborate but we can see a tree trunk and the topography and vegetation of the place.

These photographs therefore show how clothing can be used as a means to distinguish them from higher-caste Indians which is especially seen in costumes of women.¹² These pictures also seem more personalised and humanised as their profession isn't shown by using props but rather by emphasising variation in their dress up as well as lifestyle. It is widely seen that how people dressed has a significant impact on how they are perceived.

Photo 5



Sergeant Wallace, "Two Chamars", c. 1896, albumen print. Royal Anthropological Institute 2722. In *Camera Indica*, p. 60



Sergeant Wallace, "Mallah", c. 1896, albumen print. Royal Anthropological Institute 2726. In *Camera Indica*, p. 61

About the Photographer- Sergeant Wallace

Not much information is available regarding Sergeant Wallace. We can access his pictures in the books of William Crooke who was an administrator-ethnographer and J.D. Anderson. A peculiarity about all his photographs is the fact that the individuals from various castes often pose in ad hoc arrangements in fields, at the edge of streams, or in front of trees holding artefacts symbolising traditional caste occupations. Christopher Pinney has analysed Wallace's photographs and observes that since the photographs capture the subjects in

¹² Ball-Phillips, Rachel M. "Digital Archives: Teaching Indian Colonial History Through Photographs." *Education About Asia* 20, no. 3 (Winter, 2015). <https://www.asianstudies.org/publications/ea/archives/digital-archives-teaching-indian-colonial-history-through-photographs-teaching-resource-essay/>.

generally rigid full poses there is a sense of presenting them as physical specimens of their “type”.¹³

Sergeant Wallace’s pictures although recorded the name of the subject being photographed, there was still the motivation of typifying different castes of people based on the subjects clicked burdening them with the responsibility of depicting the entire group. Here one can also notice how the ideology of ‘White burden’ is reimposed and how natives are shown as people “not in their right minds” as they did not appreciate the Western civilisation and were untouched by progress which is evident by their naked state.

About the Photograph

The focus of Wallace was on presenting the natives as authentic in what he thought was their natural state. One glance at the first photograph, "Two Chamars", is enough to arouse pity of the viewer. The pitiable and lead condition of the men is evident in the way they are dressed. They are unclean and poorly clothed. The man here opposed to the earlier picture is also seen without a headgear and is seen holding a pair of shoes in his hands. Both the figures appear really frustrated as if being forced to pose and look at the camera. It seems as if they are being exhibited as they stare at the lens of the camera. Not much is seen in the background in this photograph as the only thing visible is a tree trunk. The fact that the Chamar is shown holding shoes in his hands, looking puzzled as if questioning its use, reflects the performative aspect in generating meaning in ethnographic photographs further promoted and reinforced the idea of the Orient.¹⁴ Philippa Levine has observed that there is a Western-style jacket has been discarded on the ground.¹⁵ This might be a depiction of rejection of Western sensibilities by such people in the eyes of the photographer and as an extension the British.

In the second picture the boatman can be seen holding a prop, here an oar, in order to portray his occupation- something that would've aided the British official in identifying people of this caste. It seems as if he was asked to pose in order for this picture to be clicked. Here as well the emphases is on capturing the person, not the landscape so the backdrop only shows the topography of the riverside.

¹³ Francisco, Jason. “Of Cheroots and Current Coins: Reconsidering the Photography of Colonial India,” *Journal of the Society of Photographic Education*, Volume 36:1, 10-22, 2003. <https://jasonfrancisco.net/of-cheroots-and-current-coins>.

¹⁴ Bagga, Punya, *The Colonial Ethnography of India- Co-opting Identity through Images* (2014). Available at SSRN: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=3801016>.

¹⁵ Levine, Philippa. “States of Undress: Nakedness and the Colonial Imagination.” *Victorian Studies* 50, no. 2 (2008): 189–219. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40060320>.

IV

Photo 6



Inmates of a relief camp during the Madras famine, 1876-1878

About the Photographer- Willoughby Wallace Hooper

Willoughby Wallace Hooper was the secretary at East India House and became a military officer of the 7th Madras Light Cavalry in 1858 and photographer who served in the colonial army in southern India and British Burma. He later got into the production of ethnographic photographs and over 450 photographic plates to the *The People of India* (eight volumes, 1868–75).

It is not certain if Hooper's motivation was primarily journalistic but what is clear is that his way of setting up the photographs as well as the captions was essentially problematic. The sympathy on the part of the photographer seems to have been lost while the message of the colonial mission is reinforced. He photographed victims of the Madras famine of 1876-78 showing their emaciated bodies in very dehumanising images as he often referred to the people in his pictures as objects leading to rising concerns about the ethical behaviour of photographers.¹⁶

About the Photograph

This is the most disturbing photograph as here victims of a famine are made to pose for picture. It is hard to look at this image without feeling a sense of gut-wrenching pain and sympathy at the sight of these people who look nothing more than emaciated bodies. These people seem to be fast approaching their certain death. Hopeless, desperate and exhausted it seems they couldn't even pose for photo owing to their terrifying state of being. They are seen sitting on a couch, sitting as well as laying down on the floor as they are being photographed against a plain backdrop. Some are maintaining their eye contact while the

¹⁶ Mukherjee, Sujaan. "Who was the photographer who took these dehumanising images of the Madras famine?," Scroll.in, Nov 20, 2017. <https://scroll.in/magazine/855532/who-was-the-photographer-who-took-these-dehumanising-images-of-the-madras-famine>.

others seem to be devoid of any life as they refuse to look at the camera. His picture peculiarly gives the sense of a still life as the victims are made to pose on a bench. The focus is solely on the individual while no emphasis is given to the explanation or causes of their condition. The victims seem to look hopeless and inactive, lifeless even as if they're almost dead. Therefore this picture is highly problematic as it lacks any form of empathy as the subjects seem to be dehumanised and treated as objects.

The British public probably perceived these photographs as demonstrating the reason why British rule was required in India. The captions of these famine photographs are highly problematic as they refer to the people being photographed as objects and lack empathy. The photographs of the Madras famine taken by Hooper were entitled "Deserving Objects of Gratuitous Relief", "Forsaken" and "The last of the herd".¹⁷

V

CONCLUSION

As seen in this essay, one can see that there was a shift in the way paintings and photographs in the colonial India were made and clicked which was brought about practically due to the repercussions of the Revolt of 1857 as it heightened the state's anxieties and led to shift from aesthetic to ethnographic purpose of photography.

It can also be concluded that the camera was not objective, as is often claimed, but was essentially a weapon in the hands of the colonial state. Photographs thus cannot be viewed as a reflection of the reality but as carefully constructed images which aligned with the narrative of the state which is attested by the contents of the texts accompanying these photographs. In this sense what becomes crucial for the viewer is to view these pictures as visual primary sources and analyse them as a textual source.

¹⁷ Mukherjee, Sujaan. "Who was the photographer who took these dehumanising images of the Madras famine?," Scroll.in, Nov 20, 2017. <https://scroll.in/magazine/855532/who-was-the-photographer-who-took-these-dehumanising-images-of-the-madras-famine>.

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" The Moplah Rebellion "

Topic:- correspondence on moplah rebellion

The Moplah Rebellion is also called the Mappila Rebellion OR Malabar Rebellion by the british. In the 19th and early 20th centuries, mappila Muslims of Kerala started revolting against the British and the Hindu landlords in Malabar. A number of riots were organized in the southern taluqs of Malabar in August 1921. This rebellion took the shape of guerrilla-type attacks on Jannis.

The rebellion considered upper caste Hindu feudal landlords, the police and troops as Jannis. Moplah Rebellion was Varayamkunnath Kunjahammed Haji. In January 1922, the government troops captured Haji who was the hero of the Moplah Rebellion.

Historical Background of the Moplah Rebellion:- In the 7th century AD, Muslims arrived in Kerala as traders via the Arabian sea route. They started to trade, married local women, and settled in Kerala. The descendants of such muslim traders came to be known as Moplahs.

Moplahs literally means son-in-law in Malayalam. These Moplahs were mostly cultivators in the traditional land system of Malabar. In the 18th century, Malabar was invaded by Hyder Ali. To avoid persecution and forced conversions. During this invasion, many Hindu landlords fled from Malabar to neighboring areas. This incident accorded ownership rights of the lands to Moplah tenants. In 1799, Malabar came under British authority after the death of Tipu Sultan. Malabar became part of the Madras Presidency. In such a situation, Hindu landlords called Jemmis tried to get ownership rights from Moplah Peasants. This led to a series of riots between 1836 and 1896. Many government officers and Hindu landlords exploited Moplah peasants which led to their oppression. The launch of the Khilafat and Non-cooperation movement served as the basis for the political mobilization of Moplah. They got an opportunity to invoke a religious idiom and express their suffering because of the oppressive system of administration.

How Emergence of Vairiyam Kunnath Kunjahammed Haji :- Vokk Haji was one of the three most important leaders of the Moplah rebellion. Haji was viewed as the most murderous rebel by the British officers. Kunjahammed Haji was the protagonist of the Moplah Rebellion. He was born in 1866 in a family who was familiar with the commemoration of Shaheeds who fought against the tyranny of landlords. He belonged to a fanatically iconoclastic family.

In a book, The Moplah Rebellion, 1921 author C. Gopalan Nair wrote that Haji played a key role in the Moplah Rebellion. A fresh stimulus to the grievances of mappilas was provided by the Khilafat movement in 1919. The Mappilas linked a sense of local injustice with the pan-Islamic sentiments. Besides, the stimulus was also provided due to the collapse of the Ottoman Empire.

Haji was inspired by the zeal of the agitation that rendered the ottoman caliphate irrelevant. During the Moplah rebellion, Haji organised attacks on Hindu landlords and Muslims supporting British officers.

The Moplah Rebellion:- In 1919, the Khilafat movement was started demanding the restoration of the Caliphate in Turkey. The Indian National Congress supported the cause of the Khilafat movement. The Khilafat meetings in Malabar were responsible for inciting the communal feelings among the Moplahs. Due to this, the Moplahs directed movement against the British and Hindu landlords of Malabar.

The course of the Moplah Rebellion began at Tirurgadi in Kerala's south Malabar on 20 August 1921. The Rebellion lasted for over four months. The martial law was imposed in six out of 10 taluqs in the then Malabar district by British officers. This led to large-scale violence with systematic persecution of Hindus and British officials. Many homes and temples were destroyed. This resulted in the displacement of more than a lakh Hindus.

The prominent leaders Ali Musaliyer and Vaniyankunnath Kunjahammed Haji took control of large parts of Malabar till August 1921. By the end of the 1921, the British established the Malabar Special Causings of the Moplah rebellion by the British resulted

in Wagon Tragedy. In November 1921, the British killed 67 Moplah prisoners while transporting them to the Central Prison in Podanur. This event is famously known as Wagon Tragedy.

Impact of the Moplah Rebellion:-

- The Moplah Rebellion was one of the first nationalist revolts against the British.
- The Moplah Rebellion was inspired by a conception and the religious ideology that intended to form an alternative system of administration. They demanded a Khilafat government which could be a blow to the nationalist movement in Malabar.
- Due to the fanaticism of rebels and oppression by the British, the rebellion fostered by the British the rebellion fostered a communal rift. Besides, it created enmity towards the Indian National Congress.
- Mahatma Gandhi's support of the Khilafat movement was considered one of the causes of the violence during the Moplah Rebellion.

- The Rebellion spread a Counter-Campaign against the 'Fanaticism' of muslims in other parts of the country.
- The rebellion also persuaded educated sections of the muslims community in Malabar to get involved in the violence to save their Community.
- The moplah Rebellion provided the thrust to the post-rebellion muslims reform movement in Malabar.

Criticisms of the Moplah Rebellion:-

There was large scale violence against the British colonial officers and the Hindu landlords while large-scale destruction was held at the temples.

This gave this rebellion a communal angle which was criticised by many of the nationalists leaders and the later historians.

Remarks on Moplah Rebellion:- V.D. Savarkar was one of the first critics of the Moplah Rebellion. He described it as an Anti-Hindu genocide.

- ② Annie Besant:- She was one of the most respected theosophists in India's struggle for freedom. She had presided over

The first 'Reform Conference' in Malabar in the spring of 1921.

In her work, the future of Indian Politics, Annie Besant described the events in the Moplah Rebellion.

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar:- In his work, Pakistan or the partition of India, Dr. B.R. Ambedkar provided details on the Moplah Rebellion. He observed that Moplah rebellion was the result of the agitation carried out by two Muslim organizations, the Khuddam-i-Kaba and the Central Khulafat Committee. Dr. Ambedkar observed that Moplas incited violence against the Hindus of Malabar.

The latest controversy associated with Moplah Rebellion:- The Indian Council of Historical Research (ICHR) which is part of the ministry of education, recently removed the 387 names from the Dictionary of Martyrs of India's Freedom struggle.

The Malabar Insurgency, also known as the Moplah revolt, took place in 1921 in northern Kerala, which was then under British India's Madras Presidency. Vayiamkunnath K. Haji and Ali Musaliyar were two of the commanders.

FROM PLUNDERING TO MUSEAMISING THE REPROCURED HERITAGE IN COLONIAL INDIA

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This paper aims to bring it to our notice how colonial regime tried to plunder and looted all its heritage and antiquities and sold it in their homelands and seen Indians having little awareness of conservation of its culture. However this also this paper interestingly tries to demonstrated how under Curzon there were initiatives to make Britain's imperial history visible to the Indian public, such as the exhibit of statuary, the incorporation of a museum of history, as well as the reconstruction of historical markers, did help to strengthen a colonial narrative about the British empire's timelessness in India during the initial two decades of the 20th century. The major primary source that I relied upon was Speeches: By Lord Curzon of Kedleston, Viceroy and Governor General of India Vol. II, 1900-1902, George Nathaniel Curzon, 1st Marquess Curzon of Kedleston (11 January 1859 – 20 March 1925) was known commonly as Lord Curzon, was a British statesman who served as Viceroy of India from 1899 to 1905. He is well remembered in Indian history for his controversial decision to partition Bengal into two provinces.

Against the general understanding that memorialization and commemorations should be preserved to preserve past and history, such indicators enforced a British narrative of glorious victory at a period when mass campaigns against British rule were taking place. This same construction of statues in India introduced a colonialist public history of events such as the Black Hole incident of 1757 or the rebellions of 1857, at the end of an extended nineteenth century of statue mania in which many European nations tried to install memorials to national heroes. Drawing inspiration from Viceroy George Curzon's historical preservation aspirations. The article shows how he stabilized a British narrative of India amid anticolonial campaigns of protest. Monuments commonly honor supposedly heroic lives, and sometimes they remember victims of conquest, oppression, exploitation, crimes against humanity or genocide. Now objects of deserved controversy, statues of figures like Roberts, Rhodes and Colston were originally intended to be celebrations of heroic figures whose actions benefitted others, but they do not acknowledge the lives of those who suffered the consequences of their deeds. Each represents different features of Britain's imperial past, which subjugated peoples across distant parts of the

globe, subjecting them to colonial rule, plundering their wealth and natural resources—and in Colston's case trafficking human beings for profit.¹

On Tuesday night, February 26th, 1901 a special gathering of Asiatic Society of Bengal was held at the Dalhousie Institute to witness a speech from the Viceroy V on the matter of the proposed Memorial Hall to Queen Victoria in Calcutta. There was a large crowd of Europeans and Indian subjects present, and on the stage with viceroy were Lady Curzon, Sir John and Lady Woodburn, the Metropolitan, the Chief Justice of Bengal, as well as other leading officials were also present. Their Excellencies were warmly welcomed by the Asiatic Society's Council and led to their respective seats.² His Excellency had offered to address the Society on the topic of the Victoria Memorial Hall, the design of which was his own and was a noble one, the Lieutenant-Governor said in inviting His Excellency to deliver his address. The community had been eagerly awaiting the development of His Excellency's plan, which would now be presented to them, as evidenced by the sizable crowd of guests at the Asiatic Society on this occasion. No group in the community had a warmer opinion of the plan than the Society, whose primary interests had been India's history and traditions .³

He addressed that different parts of India and different localities should institute their own Memorials, although it is not always easy to determine what they shall be. India would desire not merely to express its deep devotion to the late Queen's memory, but also to demonstrate to the world, in some striking manner, the truth of that Imperial unity which was so largely the creation of her personality and reign. He also said building personal memorials by various provinces would not have condensed or typified the emotions of the nation and in time, the name and memory of the Great and Good Queen would have faded out of the public mind, because there was no visible object to bring it perpetually under the eye of future generations.⁴

In his view if succeed in raising a great National Fund, which is partly devoted to the building of the Victoria Hall, and partly to the still-further endowment of the Famine Trust, government shall, at the same time, have erected an impressive and enduring memorial to the name of Queen Victoria, and shall have consecrated the feelings aroused by her death to the service of the people in a manner that will beneficially affect the largest number.⁵

However, the question arises if it was for the Viceroy to place himself at the head of the movement? Curzon politely denies such claims and in response to this he is seen claiming that it was voiced by the masses. However, Narayani Gupta, points out, with sculptural commissions,

¹ Penny Enslin, Monuments after Empire? The Educational Value of Imperial Statues, *Journal of Philosophy of Education*, Volume 54, Issue 5, October 2020, Pages 1333–1345, <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9752.12520>

² Curzon of Kedleston, George Nathaniel Curzon, *Speeches* (4 vols., Calcutta, 1900–6), II, p. 208.

³ Curzon of Kedleston, George Nathaniel Curzon, *Speeches* (4 vols., Calcutta, 1900–6), II, pp.208

⁴ *Speeches: By Lord Curzon of Kedleston, Viceroy and Governor General of India Vol. II, 1900-1902* pp.209 | INDIAN CULTURE | indianculture.gov.in

⁵ *ibid*, pp.209

Curzon secured his own legacy: two statues of Curzon were installed at the Victoria Memorial site in the 1910s, even before the building for memorial was completed. It was unusual to install a monument to someone who was still alive. Even though he had resigned the viceroyalty, the partition of Bengal that he had initiated had been reversed, and the British capital was relocated to Delhi; there are two statues to him at the Victoria Memorial Hall. One statue is at the north entrance, mounted on a pedestal with bas-reliefs that showed Curzon's accomplishments in India: receiving the leaders of the Northwest Frontier Province, promoting railways and commerce, and unveiling the Black Hole monument in Calcutta.⁶

That statue remains where it originally stood. Another, much larger, statue of Curzon was designed and sculpted by the Royal Academician Hamo Thornycroft and was situated in the gardens. Inspired by Thornycroft's statue of the former prime minister in London, William Gladstone, which had four allegorical figures representing inspiration, education, brotherhood, and courage, Curzon's statue in the gardens of the Victoria Memorial represented peace, agriculture, famine relief, and commerce. That statue was removed after Indian independence and placed out of sight from the public.⁷

While revealing the plan for Victoria Memorial Hall, Curzon compared Emperor Ashoka with Queen Victoria. He planned of procuring original documents, letters related to Queen so that they might be placed in glass-cases below. He said "The Emperor Asoka has spoken to posterity for 2,200 years through his inscriptions on rock and on stone. Why should not Queen Victoria do the same?"⁸

Viceroy Curzon also mentions in his speech to members of Asiatic Society in planning that Memorial Hall would be devoted to the commemoration of notable events and remarkable men, both Indian and European, in the history of this country. He further adds that he is not hesitate for a moment to include those who have fought against the British, provided that their memories are not sullied with dishonor or crime, he goes on to say :

"I would not admit so much as the fringe of the pagri of a ruffian like the Nana Sahib. But I would gladly include memorials of the brave Rani of Jhansi, and of Hyder Ali and Tippu Sultan of Mysore."⁹

He also further adds the British persons eligible for recognition under Victoria Memorial building plan :

⁶ Ghosh D (2023). Stabilizing History through Statues, Monuments, and Memorials in Curzon's India. *The Historical Journal* 1–22. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0018246X22000322>

⁷ Ghosh D (2023). Stabilizing History through Statues, Monuments, and Memorials in Curzon's India. *The Historical Journal* 1–22. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0018246X22000322>, as cited in www.victorianweb.org/sculpture/thornycroft/42.html (accessed 30 March 2023).

⁸ Speeches: By Lord Curzon of Kedleston, Viceroy and Governor General of India Vol. II, 1900-1902 | INDIAN CULTURE| pp.216| indianculture.gov.in

⁹ Speeches: By Lord Curzon of Kedleston, Viceroy and Governor General of India Vol. II, 1900-1902 | INDIAN CULTURE| pp.218| indianculture.gov.in

"I now pass to British history. Here we shall endeavor to secure portraits, or busts, or mementoes— and where the originals are not forthcoming, reproductions may perhaps be available— of the long line of distinguished men who have made the British Empire in India. They will fall into several categories; the pioneers of commerce and empire such as Sir T. Roe, Job Charnock, Sir Josiah Child; Governors, Governors' General, and Viceroy from Governor Holwell and Lord Clive to modern times; famous personages, such as Sir Philip Francis and Sir Elijah Impey ; eminent Governors or Lieutenant-Governors or Administrators of provinces." ¹⁰ They are merely typical instances, of the service and the character that have helped to build up the fabric of British dominion in India, and that seem to him to be entitled to the honour -of grateful commemoration at the hands of posterity. Curzon on one hand asks to not include those , whose memories are not sullied with dishonor or crime, at the same time he is least hesitant in including Robert Clive and other such people who upset people with their haunting memories. Even historians William Dalrymple and Jon Wilson, in their recent accounts, argue that the Bengal famine was caused by exploitation, mismanagement and EIC greed under Clive's leadership. Assessing Clive's contribution requires an understanding of the causes of famine.

For Curzon, documenting, preserving, and displaying the history of British India was an important obligation; as he explained: 'I regard as a great Imperial duty, viz.,...to provide for us, that is, a standing record of our wonderful history, a visible monument of Indian glories, and an illustration, more eloquent than any spoken address or printed page, of the lessons of public patriotism and civic duty.' ¹¹

This paper claims that via Curzon's career, developments to make Britain's imperial history noticeable to the public through the display of art pieces, busts, and statues cemented a specific story about the British empire's stability in India all through twenty years of anticolonial unrest in India that challenged British occupation of the subcontinent. Curzon's proposals for the Victoria Memorial Hall's history museum predated Victoria's death in 1901. He publicly acknowledged to a group at the Asiatic Society that he had always thought about creating one such historical museum. Curzon saw the queen's death as a suitable event to memorialize the empire.

These speeches contain Even as he repeatedly referred to the significance of museums, exhibitions, and public spectacles in representing the British empire's implicit achievements, he differentiated a "historical museum" from other types of display, such as an archaeological or industrial museum. Curzon clarified that the memorial would not be an antiquities museum filled

¹⁰ Speeches: By Lord Curzon of Kedleston, Viceroy and Governor General of India Vol. II, 1900-1902 | INDIAN CULTURE| pp.218| indianculture.gov.in

¹¹ Ibid., II, p. 213.

with illegible inscriptions, bronze idols, and crumbling stones. It will not be an industrial museum with grain, wood, and manufacturing samples. It will not be an art museum filled with various types of metalware. He says...

"I have now, I trust, said enough to show both what Victoria Hall will be, and what it will not be. It will not be a museum of antiquities, filled with undeciphered inscriptions and bronze idols and crumbling stones. It will not be an industrial museum, stocked with samples of grains, and timbers, and manufactures. It will not be an art museum, crowded with metalware of every description, with muslins, and kincobs, and silks, with pottery, and lacquerware, and Kashmir shawls. It will not be a geological, or ethnographical, or anthropological, or architectural museum. All these objects are served by existing institutions; and I do not want to compete with or to denude any such fabric. The central idea of the Victoria Hall is that it should be a Historical Museum, a National Gallery, and that alone, and that it should exist not for the advertisement of the present, but for the commemoration of that which is honourable and glorious in the past."¹²

He clearly stated the several ways that 19th century exhibits had displayed the empire's advancement in this lengthy list of entities that were not going to the historical museum. The history museum was exceptional in that it was to be a permanent colonial exhibition that stabilised a colonialist story of the past into a storyline about the imperial foundations of India's coming decades. The history of institutionalized preservation in India begins with the establishment of the ASI in 1861 by the British government of India. Alexander Cunningham, a British officer, He contended that, while the preservation mission was undoubtedly important throughout the world, its importance was greater in India for three reasons.¹³ First, antiquity's material objects needed to be preserved, especially in India, where written histories were either scarce or untrustworthy. Second, colonial administrators emphasised Indians' ignorance and laziness towards their own heritage, arguing that preservation in India needed to be done systematically through an institutionalised body of experts and administered at the government level. Cunningham's claims were well received by Viceroy Curzon (viceroyship: 1899-1905), who agreed that while the "public" in Western countries could be trusted to care for their local heritage, Indians lacked both the foresight and the means to do so. Curzon went on to draught and implement the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act (AMPA) in 1904, which remains the foundation for India's preservation policies to this day.¹⁴

As per Cunningham, the final and most significant motive for setting up a protection and conservation body in India was his notion that perhaps the colonial government owed it to its

¹² Speeches: By Lord Curzon of Kedleston, Viceroy and Governor General of India Vol. II, 1900-1902 | INDIAN CULTURE| pp.229| indianculture.gov.in

¹³ Rajagopalan, Mrinalini. (2017). Building Histories: The Archival and Affective Lives of Five Delhi Monuments, University of Chicago Press: Chicago, 2017, pp. 6-7

¹⁴ Rajagopalan, Mrinalini. (2017). Building Histories: The Archival and Affective Lives of Five Delhi Monuments, University of Chicago Press: Chicago, 2017, pp. 7

colonised subjects to protect India's monuments. As a result, Cunningham and later Curzon saw restoration as the public mission of an informed authorities towards the subjects. The establishment of the ASI in the 19th century, on the other hand, symbolized a clear break from the British governments over a century of plundering, misappropriation, and, at times, serious damage of historic structures. Although it is ambiguous if the ASI was formed as a form of formalised repentance for a prior record of damage, vandalism, and misappropriation of Indian antiquities, The nineteenth-century conservation and preservation mission, according to Mrinalini, was unquestionably a tactic used by the colonial government to position itself as the kind and responsible guardian of Indian culture and heritage and, by extension, of India itself.¹⁵

One of most notable example of looting from of the Red Fort is the in-lay marble panel depicting Orpheus, which again was taken by Colonel John Jones, who managed to sell it along with several similar panels from of the Red Fort to the British government for 500 sterling. Those were all later placed inside the South Kensington Museum, and Viceroy Curzon ordered their replacement in the Diwan-i- Khas in 1902.¹⁶ Indeed, when Curzon presented ,He upheld the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act. Restoration projects at the Taj Mahal, Agra Fort, and Akbar's Mausoleum also included refurbishment of gardens, cleanup of watercourses, and the removal of recent unaesthetic additions to the complex. Justifying the huge cost requisite for maintenance.¹⁷ This same initiatives for formation of colonial institutions such as the ASI facilitated the purpose of trying to preserve Indian monuments and ancient artifacts, guaranteeing their existence within India instead of in British museums or markets. From this viewpoint, the story of cultural heritage in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries appears to be a positive and effective manner. Notwithstanding the the spectacular initiatives taken about by the colonial authorities in the monitoring of India's heritage and culture, there still is plenty of proof indicating that monuments were maintained and handled long well before British intervention through royal patronage as well as by local communities. For instance –, in 1809, the Hindu ruler of Gwalior, Daulat Rao Sindhia, made available financial aid for both the upkeep of, and expressly forbidden stone quarrying from, the Arhai din ka Jhonpra, a twelfth century mosque built by the subcontinent's first Islamic rulers.¹⁸ Likewise, in 1857, India's last Mughal emperor, Bahadur Shah Zafar, approved a declaration having to order farmers to stop sowing crops just next to the Qutb Minar (another 12th century Islamic structure).¹⁹

¹⁵ Ibid, 7-8.

¹⁶ Ibid, pp.41

¹⁷ Rajagopalan Mrinalini , From loot to trophy The Newsletter | No.57 | Summer 2011 24 | https://www.ias.asia/sites/ias/files/nwl_article/2019-05/IIAS_NL57_2425.pdf

¹⁸ Finbarr Barry Flood, “Lost in Translation: Architecture, Taxonomy, and the Eastern ‘Turks’” in *Muqarnas*, Vol. 24, 2007, as cited in Rajagopalan Mrinalini , From loot to trophy The Newsletter | No.57 | Summer 2011 24 | https://www.ias.asia/sites/ias/files/nwl_article/2019-05/IIAS_NL57_2425.pdf

¹⁹ Husain S. M. Azizuddin , 1857 Revisited: Based on Persian and Urdu Documents (New Delhi: Kanishka Publishers, 2007). as cited in Rajagopalan Mrinalini , From loot to trophy The Newsletter | No.57 | Summer 2011 24 | https://www.ias.asia/sites/ias/files/nwl_article/2019-05/IIAS_NL57_2425.pdf

"The terms and conditions of preservation established by the British in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries have survived unchanged in contemporary India, and colonial preservation has left a complicated legacy in postcolonial India. Monuments continue to exist in sanitized spaces cordoned off from their once vibrant cultural traditions, physically segregated from their larger social environments with ticketed entry, while their pasts are accessible only through colonial histories. And whilst we may never recover those pieces of Indian cultural heritage that were auctioned at the East India Docks in October, 1843, postcolonial India must surely reclaim the terms upon which its cultural heritage is evaluated."²⁰

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