



The Image of Mughal Architecture

The construction of Fatehpur. Opaque watercolour and gold on paper. Folio from the *Akbar-Nameh*, c. 1590–95. Composition by Tulsi, painting by Bhawani. 32.7 × 19.5 cm. Victoria and Albert Museum, London: IS.2-1896: 86 (detail).



Susan Stronge

The architecture depicted in paintings of the Mughal emperors plays a significant role in reflecting the changing fortunes of a dynasty across two and a half centuries, from the sixteenth to the mid eighteenth century.

Some aspects of the structures relate to those in the real world, occasionally providing invaluable information about the appearance of buildings that have long since been destroyed. More often, the architecture is a crucial part of an allegorical setting that projects a carefully contrived imperial image. Towards the end of Mughal rule, it delineates the enclosed world of a court that had become powerless.

One of the earliest depictions of the court shows Emperor Humayun in a tree house being presented with a painting of the same scene by his young son, Akbar. In the pavilion next to them, set in a beautiful garden, preparations for a banquet are underway to the accompaniment of music [1]. The exclusively Iranian garb of the participants in this gathering, or *majles*, suggests that it took place in Kabul during Humayun's exile from Hindustan. In 1539 he had been driven out of the lands conquered by his father Babur only thirteen years earlier, and fled to Iran. With the support of the Safavid ruler Shah Tahmasp he established himself in Kabul, and from there launched several attacks on Delhi before finally regaining his kingdom in 1555.¹

While in Kabul, probably before 1551, Mir Sayyed 'Ali and 'Abd os-Samad, two master artists whom the ousted ruler had met in Iran, joined his service.² The conventions in which they trained are seen in the *majles* done by 'Abd os-Samad. It has the high viewpoint, stylized rendition of perspective, and figures conveying emotion through standard gestures rather than the facial expression of Iranian book painting. The scene presents an idyllic image of a highly refined milieu, with small details reflecting contemporary reality.



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[1] *Majles* of Humayun and Akbar. Opaque watercolour and gold on paper. From Jahangir's *Morraqa'-e Golshan* (Rose Garden Album). By 'Abd os-Samad, c. 1552–55 with borders c. 1600–10. Golestan Palace Library, Tehran: Manuscript No. 1663, folio 70.

[2] An artist decorates a pavilion. Opaque watercolour and gold on paper. c. 1600 with 18th-century borders. Painting: 22 × 10.6 cm; Page: 35.6 × 24.5 cm. Victoria and Albert Museum, London: IS.48-1956 folio 56a.

On the interior wall of the pavilion, hunting and feasting scenes are painted on an ivory ground on the upper level of the pavilion and on lilac-blue below, with angels in the architraves bearing a gold vessel and salver on one side, and a musical instrument on the other. Decoration like this was certainly found on Mughal buildings: 'Abd os-Samad himself would later paint the walls of at least one Mughal structure, and throughout the early Mughal period court artists working on paper also decorated the walls of monuments [2].³

The Iranian masters accompanied Humayun to Delhi in 1555. Only months later, the emperor was dead. The thirteen-year-old Akbar succeeded him, ruling at first under the guidance of Humayun's close friend and leading general, the aristocratic Bayram Khan.

Although Akbar never learned to read or write, he grew up to be a highly cultivated man with a keen intellect, energetic curiosity and prodigious memory. He added extensively to the royal library, and knew the contents of his books by having them read out to him. Works from other languages including Sanskrit, Hindi and Kashmiri were translated into Persian, the language of the educated elite which had long been the administrative language of the Hindustani Sultanates.⁴ Akbar also commissioned a large number of new illustrated manuscripts from the royal *kitabkhaneh*, or "House of the Book", the institution of the royal household which included the library as well as producing manuscripts.⁵ Mir Sayyed 'Ali and 'Abd os-Samad were successively superintendents of the *kitabkhaneh*, and together oversaw a revolution in the Indian art of the book as dramatic as that seen in architecture during Akbar's reign.

The calligraphers, illuminators, painters, binders and others in the *kitabkhaneh* were initially occupied in creating the multiple volumes of the *Hamza-Nameh*, describing in words and vivid pictures the adventures of the Muslim hero Hamza. Akbar probably gave the order for the tales to be written down and illustrated in the early 1560s. It would take fifteen years for the multiple volumes with 1400 painted pages to be finished.⁶

The dramatic events of the narrative take place in an other-worldly landscape, inhabited by dragons, giants and fairies, as

well as humans. The buildings depicted in these pictures are loosely inspired by structures within the Mughal Empire, though their densely covered surfaces, like those in 'Abd os-Samad's *majles*, often seem closer to manuscript illumination than any plausible architectural decoration. However fanciful the buildings may be, they have the hue of the red sandstone then being used to construct the fortified palaces of Agra and Delhi, and Akbar's new city at Sikri, known today as Fatehpur Sikri. The paintings also reproduce the trabeate construction of many of the monuments, which is combined on the page and in the cities with domes, vaulting and arcuate features. The most characteristic elements of the new buildings – *chattris* (domed kiosks on pillars), sharply angled projecting eaves (*chajjas*) and perforated stone screens (*jalis*) – are all replicated in the *Hamza-Nameh*. Very occasionally, obviously Hindu structures appear, like the shrine with its stepped, angular roof at the corner of the walled citadel in the episode where a fisherman rescues a new-born baby [3].⁷ The women carrying water pots and the goatherd with his animals provide a glimpse of rural life in the Mughal Empire of the 1560s and 1570s.

A striking architectural feature in one scene can be linked directly to Fatehpur. When Hamza's spies silently enter the fort of an enemy, they murder the sleeping guards who are supposed to be protecting him [4].⁸ The platform of the watchtower on which the victims slumber is supported by corbels resting on a thick column. The watchtower calls to mind the intriguing column standing at the centre of the so-called Diwan-i Khass, or Hall of Private Audience, whose function remains unclear [5].⁹ In 1572–73 Akbar had led his army to spectacular victories in the Muslim kingdom of Gujarat and, on his return, changed the name of Sikri to Fatehpur, or "City of Victory". The expansion of the empire allowed new influences to enter the Mughal architectural vocabulary, brought by stonemasons and others from the conquered regions. Here, the form of the watchtower derives ultimately from fifteenth-century Gujarat.¹⁰ This is reflected in the history of the reign. When Akbar's official chronicler Abo'l-Fazl praised the new fort at Agra, he wrote: "It contains more than five hundred buildings of masonry after the beautiful designs of Bengal and Gujarat, which masterly sculptors

[3] The fisherman Iskandar finds the infant Darab in the water. Gouache and gold on cotton backed with paper. A folio from the *Hamza-Nameh*, c. 1562–77. 68.5 × 52 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: Horace G. Tucker Memorial Fund and Seth Augustus Fowle Fund, 24.129.





and cunning artists of form have fashioned as architectural models".¹¹

After the completion of the *Hamza-Nameh*, the emperor commissioned a series of illustrated histories that led to the creation of his most famous manuscript: in 1589, Akbar ordered the history of his own reign to be written. By now, the role of the Mughal emperor was firmly established. Abo'l-Fazl meticulously researched the events of the past to provide an accurate account, but also used them to present the figure of the emperor as the ideal ruler appointed by God. The concepts of sovereignty he draws on are those of the ancient Iranian world that carried through into the Islamic period. In addition, he states that the history is explicitly intended as a moral and ethical treatise.¹² All this is reflected in the illustrations to the incomplete manuscript now in the Victoria and Albert Museum which was almost certainly the presentation copy.¹³ The text covers the years 1560 to 1577, divided by chapters covering a single regnal year. Each chapter has an overarching theme in the life of the sovereign who is presented as the intermediary between the material and the spiritual world. The paintings depict major events, but also relate to the principle of kingship in the relevant chapter.

The historian stresses that each aspect of sovereignty can only occur at its proper time. Thus, huge undertakings such as the construction of the palace at Agra [6] and the entire city of Fatehpur (see p. 66) can only begin when Mughal power has become securely established. The walls of the old fort at Agra, described as being "at the centre of Hindustan," were torn down in 1565. Akbar's mathematicians and architects devised strong foundations for structures that would be as stable and permanent as the rule of the royal family. Four gateways opened out towards the four quarters of the world, meaning that the emperor occupied the centre of the universe.¹⁴ Similarly, Akbar's order for the construction of Fatehpur allows the historian to describe the emperor, the "Khediv [lord] of the world", as an architect of the spiritual as well as the physical world. The city had beautiful gardens, schools and religious buildings, all of which would rest on foundations as solid as those supporting the system of justice under this Solomon-like emperor.¹⁵



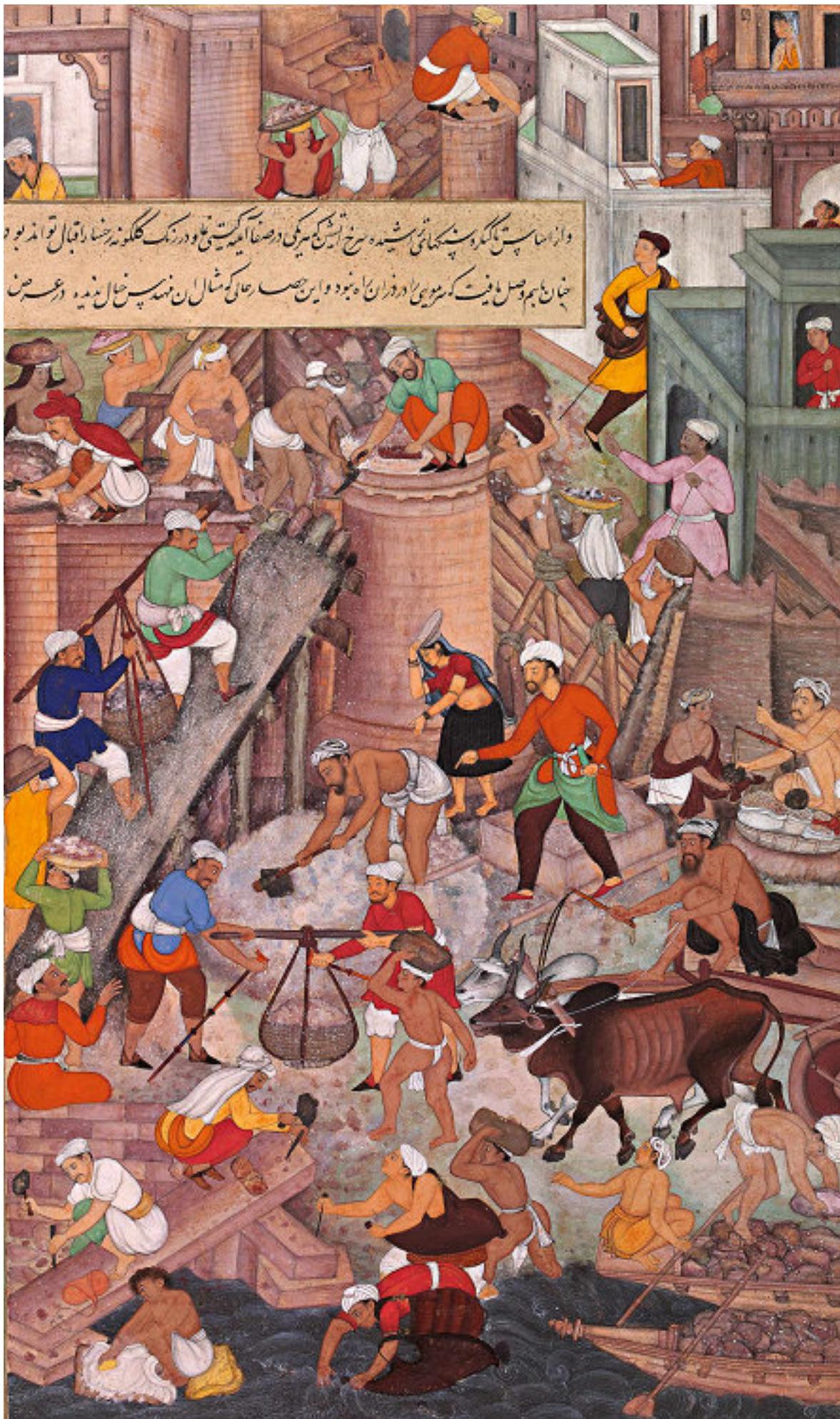
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In the illustrations accompanying the text, the artists again include small details observed from life, some of which can still be seen in India today. The stonemasons squat on the ground to chisel or split the blocks of sandstone; women labourers carry on their heads baskets of stones to be broken up into yet smaller pieces. The tethered elephants at the gatepost must have been there to help move heavy masonry, and would be replaced by sculpted forms in keeping with indigenous Indian tradition, where all forts have gateways associated with elephants.¹⁶

[4] Hamza's spies steal into Qimar's city and kill his sleeping guards. Gouache and gold on cotton backed with paper. A folio from the *Hamza-Nameh*, c. 1562-77. 67.6 × 51.1 cm. MAK-Austrian Museum of Applied Arts/Contemporary Art, Vienna: B.I.8770/25.

[5] The pillar in Akbar's Diwan-i Khass at Fatehpur Sikri, India.





The paintings also include small details of painted decoration that can no longer be seen on any surviving structure, though faint traces at Fatehpur confirm that it was originally present. On the gold ground of the architraves of the gateway being completed at Agra are angels (*paris*), and the supervisor giving orders to workmen in a pavilion next to the water wheel in Fatehpur sits in an interior painted with *trompe l'oeil* niches filled with gold and glass vessels.

Despite all these intrusions from the real world, the composition is as formulaic in its own way as that of 'Abd os-Samad's *majles* scene. The scale of the monument in relation to the humans bears no relation to the actual size of the gateway, which would have dwarfed those walking through it. The painting primarily represents a concept.

Similar considerations are suggested by the illustrations to the various copies of the Memoirs of Akbar's grandfather Babur, the founder of what would become a great dynasty. The highly literate Central Asian prince loved architecture, as is apparent from his Memoirs when he describes his pleasure at seeing the beautiful monuments of Herat, before the Timurid cultural capital was lost to the Uzbeks in 1507. He wrote in Turki, a language understood by few in the Mughal Empire of the late sixteenth century, and Akbar therefore ordered a translation to be made into Persian. The finished work entitled the *Babur-Nameh* was presented to Akbar in the autumn of 1589, only days after the emperor had visited Babur's tomb in Kabul.¹⁷ Four illustrated versions are known to have been made in the next decade or so.¹⁸

Babur's fascination for the wildlife, trees and flowers of his new conquest was not matched by admiration for the urban landscapes of Hindustan. He famously disliked most of its architecture, comparing it very unfavourably with that of Kabul and its environs. However, he admired Hindustani artisans, and quickly set them to work:

"In Agra alone there were 680 stonemasons at work ... every day. Aside from that, in Agra, Sikri, Bayana, Dholpur, Gwalior, and Koil, 1491 stonemasons were labouring on my buildings. There are similar vast numbers of every type of craftsman and labourers of every description in Hindustan."¹⁹

Finally, Agra was transformed:

"In unpleasant and inharmonious India, marvellously regular and geometric gardens were introduced. In every corner were beautiful plots, and in every plot were regularly laid out arrangements of roses and narcissus."²⁰

The royal author wrote that the city's inhabitants now called it "Kabul", the highest accolade.

When Akbar's artists added their paintings to the Persian text of the Memoirs, they transformed the cities through which Babur travelled, whether Samarkand, Herat or Kabul, into those of late sixteenth-century Hindustan.

In a scene of an assembly that took place in Fergana immediately after the death of Babur's father to discuss who should succeed him, the anonymous artist has included Mughal structures with clustered columns that seem to be hewn from the same red sandstone as Akbar's imperial cities [8], and the three-pronged finials are the *trisula*, the sacred weapon of the Hindu God Shiva. The clothes of the participants are those of Iranians depicted visiting Akbar's court, with a few purely Mughal turbans also in evidence, worn by onlookers inside and outside the chamber.

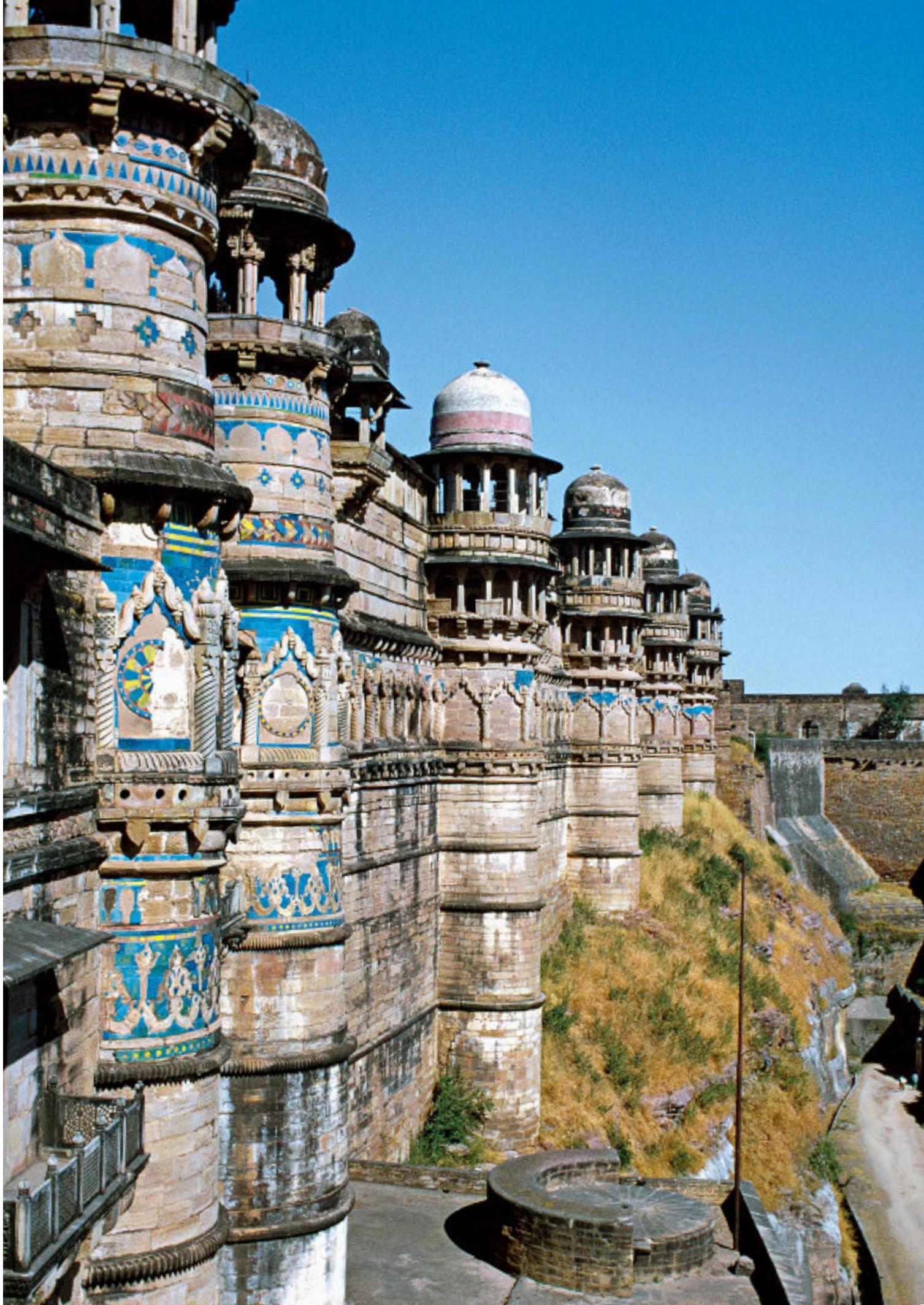
When Babur visited Herat in AH 912 (AD 1506–07) he describes a wine party given for him by his cousins.²¹ In the *Babur-Nameh*, the pavilion in the Bagh-i Safid, or White Garden, where it took place, is done in a fantasy 'foreign' manner. Features such as the small dome with blue finial resting on an implausibly narrow drum have no parallel in Herati architecture of any period [9].

Despite Babur's general dislike of most Hindustani architecture, he did admire Gwalior Fort [7], which he visited in 1528.²² In the painting of the event, the structures are in a stylized manner that nevertheless does suggest the real fort.

Babur's love of nature and architecture were combined in the gardens he laid out in and around Kabul, and in many places in his new empire. These were *chahar-baghs*, set within a built perimeter, divided into four smaller squares or rectangles by watercourses or paths and sometimes terraced.²³ The *Babur-Nameh* paintings of the emperor in his various gardens are almost certainly intended to evoke a standard metaphor.

[6] The construction of Agra Fort. Opaque watercolour and gold on paper. Double-page composition from the *Akbar-Nameh*, c. 1590–95. Composition by Miskina with painting by Sarwan (right side) and Tulsi Khord (left side). Right side: 32.8 × 19.6 cm; Left side: 32.8 × 20 cm. Victoria and Albert Museum, London: IS.2:45-1896 (right) and IS.2:46-1896 (left).

[7] Gwalior Fort, Madhya Pradesh, India.







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Abo'l-Fazl mentions Humayun's desire to reconquer Hindustan as inspired by wanting to remove "weeds from that garden," and he later compares Akbar's sovereign role to that of a gardener judiciously arranging trees, shrubs and plants.²⁴ An inscription on the gateway to Akbar's tomb proclaims: "He sowed the seed of goodness in the garden of the world, and reaped the fruit of it in the gardens of paradise."²⁵

In his Memoirs, Babur describes one of his gardens in the foothills of the mountains near Kabul. Plane trees provided shade for the beautiful setting, and a stream meandered through the middle [10]. Timur's grandson, Ulugh Beg, had confiscated it from its original owners, to whom Babur paid compensation.²⁶ He now straightened the stream by making it flow through stone channels, creating order and harmonious symmetry in the manner of Abo'l-Fazl's ideal sovereign.

Akbar's son Salim succeeded him as Emperor Jahangir in 1605. Like Babur, he wrote an account of his life. The

Jahangir-Nameh recorded public and private events, including the alterations to the palaces in Agra and Lahore that he ordered immediately after his accession.²⁷ His artists depicted some of the events and unusual or interesting phenomena he came across in his travels across the empire.

There are marked differences of style between paintings done for Akbar and for his successor. Jahangir's artists introduced a greater naturalism, and focused more closely on their subjects. Both factors allow small details in a general setting to be seen with considerable clarity. In rare instances, this provides an unprecedented view of lost imperial architecture.

In 1607 Jahangir visited Kabul, and was entertained in the mansion of his son Khurram, the future emperor Shah Jahan. Many such princely mansions were built; few survive from any period. Jahangir recorded his pleasure in the house and garden in the *Jahangir-Nameh*, and an anonymous artist recorded the scene where the emperor bestowed for the first time the honour

[8] Begs holding a council after the death of Babur's father in AH 899 (AD 1494). Opaque watercolour and gold on paper. Folio from the *Babur-Nameh*, c. 1595. Page: 25.7 × 15.7 cm; Painting: 18 × 10 cm. State Museum of Oriental Art, Moscow: II 1546.

[9] Babur's feast in the palace of Muzaffar Mirza in the White Garden in Herat in AH 912 (AD 1506–07). Opaque watercolour and gold on paper. Folio from the *Babur-Nameh*, c. 1595. Page: 25.9 × 17.3 cm; Painting: 17.8 × 9.8 cm. State Museum of Oriental Art, Moscow: II 574.



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of a birthday weighing ceremony on his eldest son [11]. A degree of authenticity is suggested by the similarity between the bases of the pillars in the painting, and those of a surviving pavilion in Lahore Fort, in the “Jahangiri Quadrangle”.²⁸

The rest of Khurram’s house seems to be brick built, covered with plaster and painted decoration, as was usual in Mughal architecture in the northern provinces. The depiction of the interior, with its painted dado, gold brocade-covered bolster resting on a day bed, fine carpet and niches containing sixteenth-century Chinese white porcelain *blanc-de-chine* statuettes, reveals in detail the luxury furnishings of the private quarters of a member of the royal family.

Another *Jahangir-Namih* page moves attention away from the architectural setting of the court to emphasize those standing within it [12], though the *jharoka* itself has convincingly been identified as Jahangir’s addition to pre-Mughal structures in the royal city of Mandu.²⁹



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Such paintings focus on the opulence of the court, where plain structures were adorned with carpets, wall hangings and canopies lined with sumptuous Chinese, Iranian or European textiles. All were an intrinsic part of imperial life, whether the court resided in the great cities or in the encampment. Here, the small wall painting of the Virgin above Jahangir’s head represents the Christian themes of decoration in his monuments in Agra, Ajmer and Lahore.³⁰

In Jahangir’s court assemblies, his face is always in full profile, his gaze never connecting with anyone in his presence. In a scene depicting one of the most important formalities in the daily life of the court he is even more aloof [13].³¹ The ceremony of *darshan*, “beholding”, was derived from Hindu ritual and introduced by Akbar as one of the syncretic practices he adopted as the Muslim ruler of a predominantly Hindu population. Imperial architecture therefore included a high balcony or *jharoka* in the palace walls from which the emperor appeared

[10] Babur watching the water channels being straightened in his garden in Istalif in AH 910 (AD 1504–05). Opaque watercolour and gold on paper. Folio from the *Babur-Namih*, c. 1595. Page: 24.2 × 15.3 cm; Painting: 18 × 10 cm. State Museum of Oriental Art, Moscow: II 1539 (cat. 21).

[11] Jahangir weighing Khurram in the prince’s mansion in the Orta Bagh in Kabul in 1607. Opaque watercolour and gold on paper. Folio from a *Jahangir-Namih* manuscript, c. 1615. Page 44.3 × 29.5 cm; Painting 30 × 19.6 cm. British Museum, London: 1948, 1009, 0.69. Bequeathed by P.C. Manuk and Miss G. M. Coles through the Art Fund.



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every day at daybreak to the populace outside.³² It became the focus of many paintings of Jahangir's successor.

A depiction of Shah Jahan witnessing an elephant fight is strikingly similar in its composition to the *jharoka* scene of Jahangir. Here, too, Shah Jahan is a static figure in a symbolic setting, rather than the leading protagonist of a specific incident in a continuing narrative, as had been the case under Akbar [14]. The nobles, again identified by minute inscriptions, are ranged meticulously according to their rank within the rigidly hierarchical Mughal Empire, with those of highest status honoured by their proximity to the emperor.³³

After his accession, Shah Jahan began to sweep away most of what had been built by Akbar and Jahangir in the royal cities, and ordered the construction a new city in Delhi called Shah-jahanabad. He was also forced to build a tomb for his beloved wife Mumtaz Mahal after she died in childbirth in 1631. The Taj Mahal became his most famous architectural legacy, though

many other imperial structures have survived.³⁴ His daughter, Jahanara, and other nobles also commissioned major monuments. Little of this prolific building is seen in paintings definitely produced in his reign.

In the few contemporary illustrations to the *Padshah-Nameh*, the history written by Abdul Hamid Lahori, a single structure predominates.³⁵ The emperor – Shah Jahan, or his father in the retrospective scenes depicting Shah Jahan's life as a prince – sits in a *jharoka* beneath a stone canopy which has projecting cloth canopies lined with sumptuous textiles. There is a general verisimilitude in the architecture, combined with occasional very precise detail, all recognizable from existing structures.³⁶ As in earlier court scenes, the courtiers are arranged according to rank, with the most senior standing inside the golden railings that denote their exalted status. However, as the distinguished architectural historian Ebba Koch points out, the assembly is now arranged with the same rigidly

[12] Court assembly of Jahangir. Opaque watercolour and gold on paper. Folio from a *Jahangir-Nameh* manuscript, c. 1615–20. 35 × 29 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: 14.654. Francis Bartlett Donation and Picture Fund.

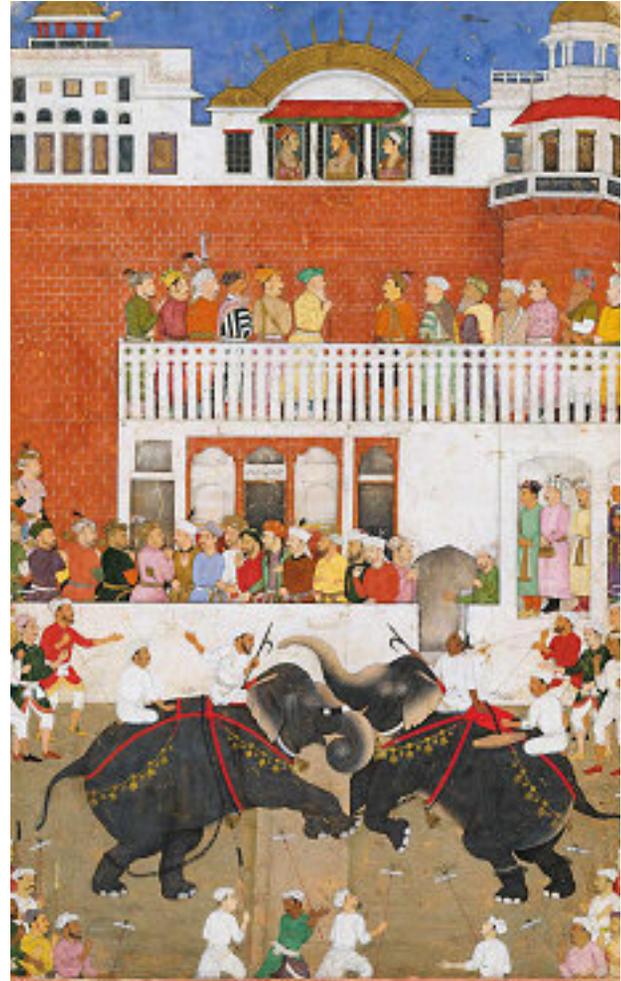


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bilateral symmetry that characterizes Shah Jahan's imperial architecture [15].³⁷

The canopy above his head usually has a sun motif at its centre, indicating that it represents the sky, and by extension the universe. The emperor is the embodiment of his title: the "King of the World" (*shah-e jahan*), as architectural inscriptions also proclaim.³⁸

The decoration of this allegorical court space emphasizes his kingship as emphatically as did the ornamentation of the real palaces. The flowers painted on the wall behind the emperor, like those painted on real walls, or inlaid in vividly coloured semi-precious stones into white marble and carved in relief in stone, all project the same notion. Under the just and benign rule of Shah Jahan, "Hindustan became the flower garden of the earth," as his historian Muhammad Saleh Kanbu states.³⁹ The calm atmosphere projected by paintings of Shah Jahan's court was abruptly interrupted in 1658 when he was deposed by



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his son Aurangzeb, who seized the throne and adopted the title 'Alamgir. Although the opulence of court ritual continued for a time, 'Alamgir's increasing piety made him gradually eliminate the more extravagant ceremonials, and there is little evidence of his patronage of the art of the book.⁴⁰ In 1681 the emperor left Shahjahanabad to lead military campaigns against the sultanates of the Deccan and never returned to the north. After his death in 1707, bloody wars of succession as well as raids on Delhi by Afghans, Marathas, Jats and Sikhs ensured that the series of weak emperors stayed away from Shahjahanabad. Real power devolved to the increasingly autonomous governors of the empire's provinces.⁴¹

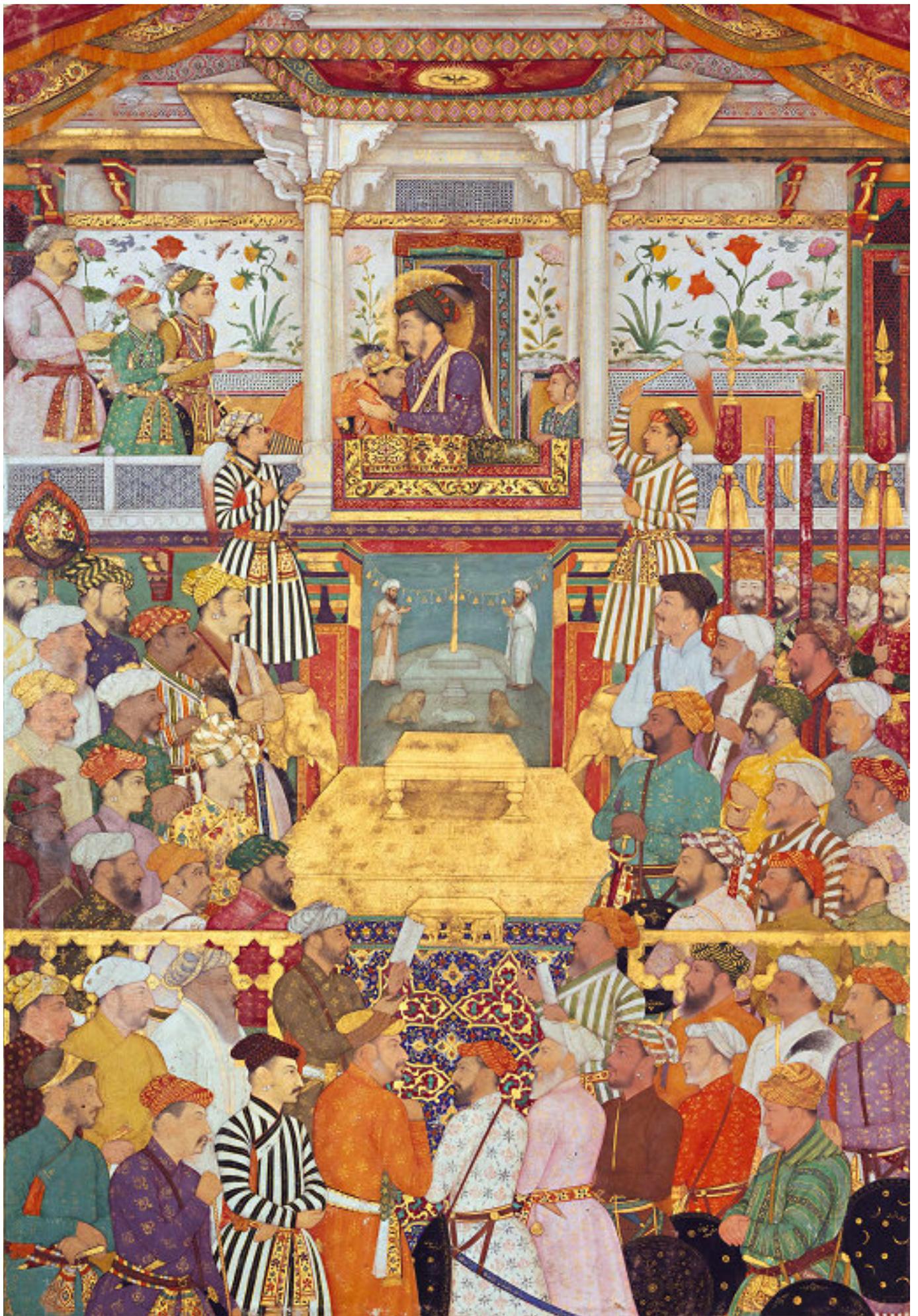
Paintings were still produced by traditional Mughal artists who harked back to the golden age of the empire under Shah Jahan. The royal figures painted by artists such as Bhavani Das have all the conventional attributes of royalty, from jewelled thrones to turban ornaments [16].⁴² However, as in other

[13] Jahangir appearing to courtiers from a *jharoka* window. c. 1615–20. Ascribed to Nader az-Zaman, the Wonder of the Age (Abo'l Hasan). Opaque watercolour and gold on paper. Page 55.9 × 35.1 cm Painting 31.2 × 20.6 cm. Aga Khan Museum: M.141.

[14] An elephant fight in the presence of Shah Jahan and his sons. Opaque watercolour and gold on paper. Signed by Bolaqi, son of Hoshang. Dated AH 104[?9] (AD 1639–40). 38.2 × 24.7 cm. Metropolitan Museum, New York:

1989.135. Harris Brisbane Dick, Louis V. Bell, Pfeiffer and Dodge Funds, 1989. Formerly in the collection of Nasr al-Din Shah of Iran.

[15] Shah Jahan receives his three eldest sons, and his brother-in-law Asaf Khan, during his accession ceremonies in March 1628. Opaque watercolour and gold on paper. A page from the *Padshah-Nameh*. c. 1630–40. Signed by Bichitr. Painting 30.8 × 21.1 cm. Royal Collection Trust: RCIN 1005025.k (folio 50b).







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paintings of the time, the symbolic architectural setting has contracted to a generic terrace overlooking a garden, and a single canopy.

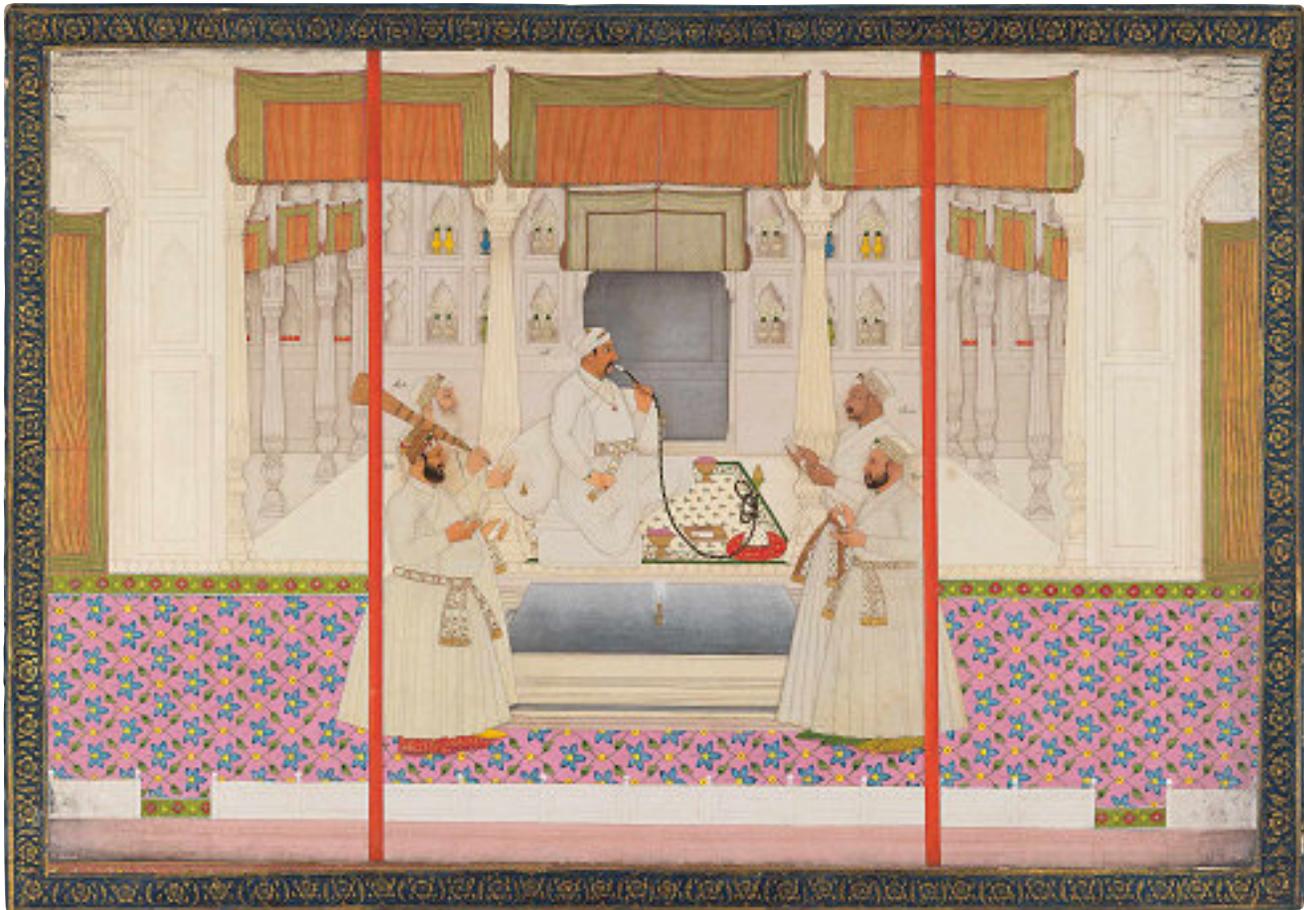
With the accession of the seventeen-year-old Mohammad Shah (1719–48), the cultural life of the Mughal court miraculously revived, despite the political background of turmoil, warfare and general corruption. In Shahjahanabad, his artists resuscitated many conventions of traditional Mughal portraiture.⁴³ Nevertheless, when the emperor is shown in a garden next to a pavilion with floral decoration and white stone columns [17], the architecture is not specifically that of the palace of Shahjahanabad.⁴⁴ And when he is portrayed in a formal assembly with the symmetrical arrangement of paintings of Shah Jahan's reign, the architectural space has shrunk to a small chamber [18]. The hierarchical arrangement of a large gathering can no longer be shown: the system whereby everyone was given an extremely precise *mansab*, or rank, and land grants to provide income, had now become completely corrupted. Titles were conferred on more than one person at a time in absolute contravention of earlier protocol, leading a historian of Mohammad Shah's reign to remark: "*mansab* and title have absolutely no value".⁴⁵

The devastating raid of Nadir Shah of Iran on the Mughal capital in 1739 fatally weakened Mohammad Shah's rule. The invader carried off Mughal treasures including the Koh-i nur diamond and the fabulous Jewelled Throne made for Shah Jahan. Court artists now seem to have dispersed to safer regions and richer patrons, not least the Iranian-born nawabs of Avadh who lived in Faizabad and Lucknow, in de facto independence, but kept strong Delhi connections. So did artists living in Avadh, who worked for royal or aristocratic patrons.⁴⁶

By the late eighteenth century, they also worked for Europeans. Among those hoping to make their fortune in the cosmopolitan court of Avadh was the Swiss-French engineer Antoine-Louis-Henri Polier, who was seconded in 1773 from the East India Company to Faizabad, and was for a short time the nawab's Chief Surveyor and architect.⁴⁷ Polier's library was full of Persian and Arabic manuscripts, and he collected Indian paintings. He also commissioned new works from local artists, including copies of paintings from earlier periods and various different regions of India.⁴⁸ All this seems to have generated a short-lived fashion in the representation of landscapes

[16] The sons and grandsons of Shah Jahan. Opaque watercolour and gold on paper. Delhi or Avadh, c. 1700–10. Signed by Bhavani Das. 48.9 × 34 cm. San Diego Museum of Art, Ed Binney 3rd Collection: 1990:365.

[17] Mohammad Shah in a palanquin. Opaque watercolour and gold on paper. Delhi, c. 1730. 38.3 × 42.5 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: 26.283. Arthur Mason Knapp Fund.



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and buildings. For the first time in Mughal painting scientific conventions of Western perspective are strictly followed in a highly distinctive style.⁴⁹

The real and imaginary scenes that suddenly appear in the late 1770s with the characteristic bird's eye view sweeping along a central axis over a landscape that seems to stretch into infinity can be linked directly to Polier. Many are preserved in his own albums or were given by him to friends. The landscapes are ultimately inspired by engravings of the great vistas (*grandes perspectives*) that characterized seventeenth-century French landscape architecture, particularly in the garden designs of André Le Nôtre for Versailles, Vaux-le-Vicomte and Chantilly [19].⁵⁰ Such engravings would easily have been found in Faizabad or Lucknow when Polier lived there: his close friend, the French adventurer Claude Martin, had a library of over 4000 European printed books that included volumes on architecture, reflecting his keen interest in the subject.⁵¹

Polier, like others in the cosmopolitan circle of Lucknow, employed local artists such as the Delhi exile Mihr Chand. When

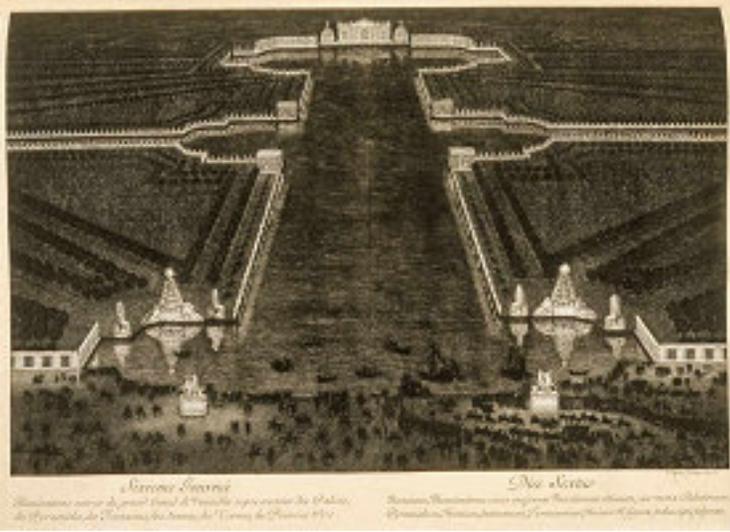
Polier temporarily entered the service of the emperor Shah 'Alam II (r. 1759–1806) in Delhi between 1776 and 1780, Mihr Chand is thought to have returned to the capital with him, and to have produced vistas of the Red Fort, Jami Masjid and the imperial encampment.⁵² Other artists copied these works: one of four closely similar views of the Red Fort is signed by Mohammad Yusuf Khan, who dated his work to the twenty-second regnal year of Shah 'Alam II (1759–1806), or 1781.⁵³ In all these versions, the tiny figure of the emperor who had returned to Delhi in 1772 after an absence of fourteen years can be made out in the Hall of Private Audience to the right in the foreground [20]. Polier recorded that “the King's possessions are confined mostly to the environs of Delhy” and that his court, never “even in the best times very brilliant,” now lacked any grandeur.⁵⁴

In 1803, when the British East India Company took over Agra and Delhi, Shah 'Alam II's fortunes had fallen still further. Blinded by an enemy in 1788 and desperately impoverished, he now became a pensioner of the Company, his domain limited to the Red Fort in Delhi. The occupiers, and others who wielded the

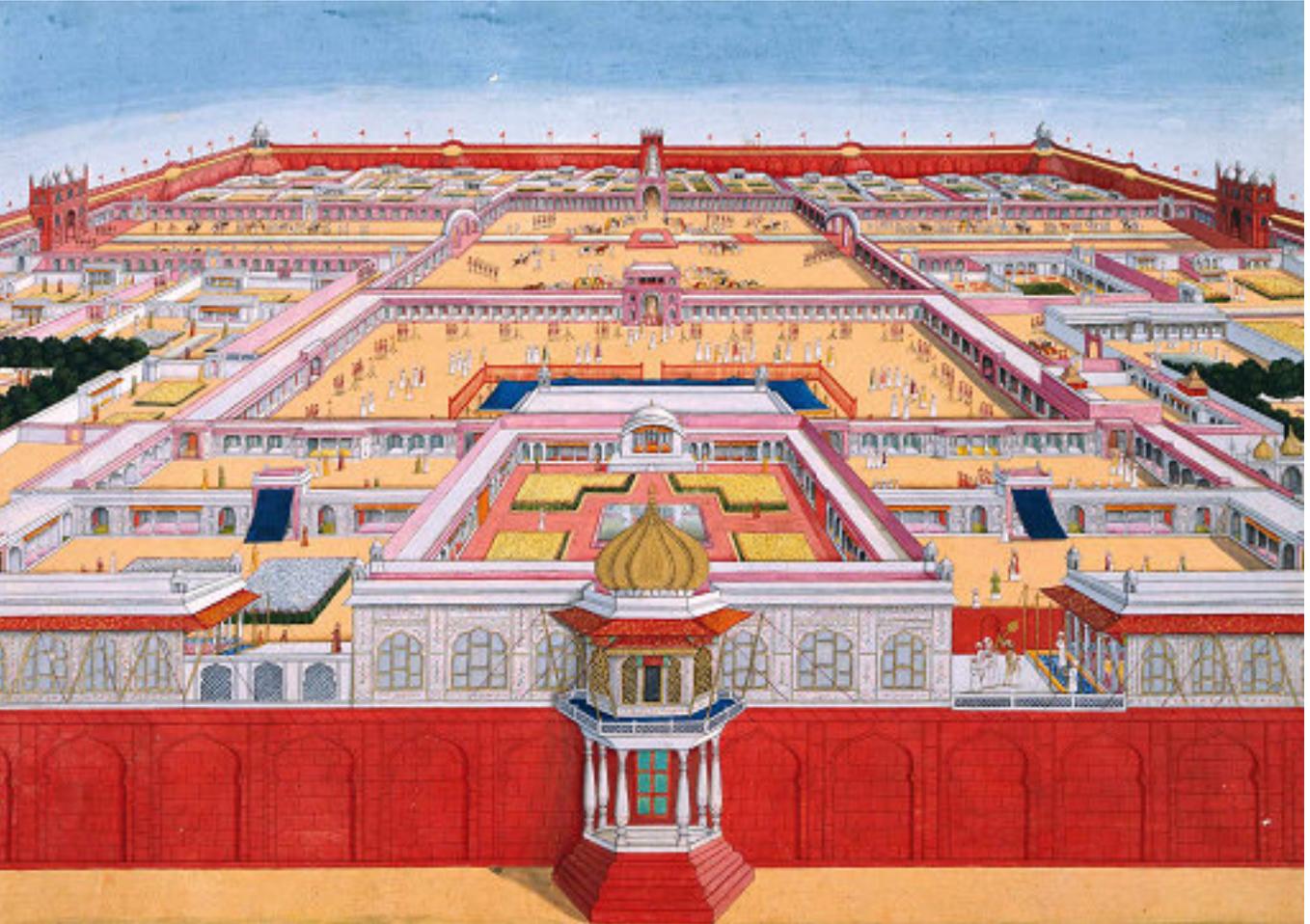
[18] Mohammad Shah with four courtiers. Opaque watercolour and gold on paper. Delhi, c. 1730. 31.2 × 46.8 cm. Bodleian Library, Oxford: MS Douce Or.a.3, folio 14.

[19] Engraving of “Illuminations autour du Grand Canal de Versailles”. British Museum, London: 1889, 1218.150.

[20] Bird's eye view of the Red Fort, Delhi. Watercolour on paper. Delhi or Lucknow, c. 1780. Page 32.5 × 44.5 cm; Painting 29.2 × 41.5 cm. British Library, London: Add.Or.948.



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- [21] Darbar of Akbar II in the presence of his sons and the British resident Sir David Ochterlony. Gouache and gold on paper. Delhi, c. 1818–22. 48.3 × 40.6 cm. British Library, London: Add.Or.3079.
- [22] Sir David Ochterlony in Indian dress watching a *nautch* in his house in Delhi. Watercolour and body colour. Delhi, c. 1820. 22.2 × 31.8 cm. British Library, London: Add.Or.2.
- [23] Bahadur Shah II, the last Mughal emperor, with his sons. Signed "Done by the hereditary slave Ghulam 'Ali Khan the portraitist, resident at Shahjahanabad", Delhi, dated regnal year 1, AH 1253 (AD 1837). 31 × 36.5 cm. The Art and History Collection. Courtesy of the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington DC: LTS1995.2.105.



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real influence, had themselves depicted by local artists in the guise of rulers.⁵⁵

Sir David Ochterlony, the first British Resident of Delhi, was given the title *Nasir ad-Daula* by Shah 'Alam II and an award of revenue-producing land (*jagir*).⁵⁶ He settled into Indian life and had his own harem. A portrait shows him in the Neoclassical architecture of his Delhi house with its European paintings. Yet, he wears Indian dress, and the setting projects his own powerful role: it includes attributes commonly given to the emperor, and now to nawabs in their own contemporary portraits, notably a royal flywhisk, hookah, spittoon and decorated spice box [22].

The rapidly encroaching influence of Europeans led to the production of topographical studies for French, and then British patrons. The large-scale documentary drawings made by Indian artists of famous monuments and their architectural ornamentation leave the conventions of Mughal painting behind.⁵⁷

Within Shahjahanabad, royal patronage continued to flicker until the very end of the Mughal Empire. Akbar II (1806–37), like Mohammad Shah, commissioned illustrated copies of the histories of Shah Jahan's reign. He, too, was depicted in court

assemblies in the manner of his ancestor, but Shah Jahan's Jewelled Throne, popularly known as the Peacock Throne after the bejewelled and enamelled birds on its canopy, had left Hindustan long before. Akbar II's replacement is probably made of painted and gilded wood [21].⁵⁸

He was succeeded by the dignified and cultured Bahadur Shah II. His accession portrait is signed by the artist Ghulam 'Ali Khan who describes himself as a resident of Shahjahanabad [23]. The emperor is enthroned in the heart of the palace in the Red Fort, beneath the emblematic Scales of Justice carved into the white marble wall, all faithfully reproduced by the artist in this new age of realistic representation [24]. Ghulam 'Ali's notations on the painting describe this as an image of "His Divine Highness, caliph of the age, Padshah as glorious as Jamshid, surrounded by hosts of angels, prince shadow of God... scion of the dynasty of the Saheb-Qiran [Timur], greatest emperor, mightiest king of kings, emperor son of emperor [etc, etc]".⁵⁹ In reality, the "King of the World" is now simply the powerless "King of Delhi", sitting on a plain wooden chair, his face full of melancholy. With the up-rising of 1857 his reign, and the Mughal Empire, came to an end.

[24] The white marble Scales of Justice panel in the Red Fort, Shahjahanabad, Delhi, India.

Endnotes

- 1 For the general history of the Mughal emperors, see R.C. Majumdar (ed.), *The Mughul Empire* (Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1974); and John F. Richards, *The Mughal Empire* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1993).
- 2 For the very precise date of their arrival in the month of Shawwal, AH 959/AD 1552, which Humayun mentions in a letter quoted by the sixteenth-century historian Bayazid Bayat, see Michael Brand and Glenn D. Lowry, *Akbar's India: Art from the Mughal City of Victory* (The Asia Society Galleries, New York, 1985), p. 24; S. Verma, *Mughal Painters and Their Work. A Biographical Survey and Comprehensive Catalogue* (Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1994), pp. 40–1; and A. S. Melikian-Chirvani, "Mir Sayyed 'Ali: Painter of the Past and Pioneer of the Future", in Asok Das (ed.), *Mughal Masters. Further Studies* (Marg, vol. 49, no. 4, Mumbai, 1998), p. 31. However, other evidence suggests they arrived as early as AH 956/AD 1549 (H. Beveridge, *The Akbar Nama of Abu-l-Fazl [History of the reign of Akbar including an account of his predecessors] translated from the Persian* [Ess Ess Publications, Delhi, 1977, 3 vols.], vol. I, p. 552; H. Blochmann [trans.], *The A'in-i Akbari by Abu'l-Fazl 'Allami* [second edition revised and edited by Lieut. Colonel D.C. Phillott, 3 vols, Oriental Books Reprint Corporation, New Delhi, 1977; reprinted from the second edition of 1927 published by the Asiatic Society, Calcutta], vol. I, p. 555; see also Canby in Milo Beach, Eberhard Fischer and B. N. Goswamy [eds.], *Masters of Indian Painting* [Artibus Asiae Publishers Supplementum, 48 I/II, 2011], vol. I, pp. 99–100). The earliest evidence for their work done while in Humayun's service is a signed work by 'Abd os-Samad, dated AH 959/AD 1551. One of the figures wears the typical turban of Humayun's reign (reproduced, for example, in Beach, Fischer, Goswamy [eds.], *Masters of Indian Painting* op. cit., vol. I, p. 102, fig. 2).
- 3 Jahangir's Memoirs frequently mention that he ordered artists to decorate new structures.
- 4 Blochmann, *The A'in-i Akbari by Abu'l-Fazl 'Allami* op. cit., vol. I, pp. 110–113. See also Susan Stronge, *Made for Mughal Emperors* (Roli Books/Lustre Press, New Delhi, 2010), chapter II.
- 5 Blochmann, *The A'in-i Akbari by Abu'l-Fazl 'Allami* op. cit., vol. I, pp. 109–113.
- 6 Most art historians, including most recently J. P. Losty and Malini Roy, *Mughal India. Art, Culture and Empire* (The British Library, London, 2012), p. 15, follow the dating of c. 1562–77 originally suggested by Pramod Chandra in 1976. John Seyller (*The Adventures of Hamza. Painting and Storytelling in Mughal India*, Smithsonian Institution in association with Azimuth Editions, London, 2002, pp. 32–41), followed by Milo Cleveland Beach (*The Imperial Image: Paintings for the Mughal Court*, Mapin Publishing, Ahmedabad, 2012), proposes an earlier dating, but his identification of the numerals on some paintings as dates is not universally accepted (Melikian-Chirvani, "Mir Sayyed 'Ali", op. cit.; and Faridany-Akhavan, forthcoming).
- 7 Seyller, *The Adventures of Hamza* op. cit., cat. 56 for the translation of the Persian text on the reverse, and of the caption to the picture.
- 8 *Ibid.*, cat. 58.
- 9 Attilio Petruccioli, *Fathpur Sikri. La Città del sole e delle acque* (Carucci Editore, Rome, 1988), p. 119; Catherine B. Asher, *Architecture of Mughal India (The New Cambridge History of India, Vol. I:4)* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1992), pp. 62–64; and Bianca Alfieri, *Islamic Architecture of the Indian Subcontinent* (Laurence King Publishing, London, 2000), pp. 212–215, offer or summarize different interpretations.
- 10 Ebba Koch, *Mughal Architecture* (Prestel-Verlag, Munich, 1991), p. 60.
- 11 Beveridge, *The Akbar Nama of Abu-l-Fazl* op. cit., vol. II, p. 191. See Koch, *Mughal Architecture* op. cit., pp. 54–55, and Asher, *Architecture of Mughal India* op. cit., pp. 50–51 for precise influences of Bengal, Gujarat and elsewhere on Akbar's monuments.
- 12 Beveridge, *The Akbar Nama of Abu-l-Fazl* op. cit., vol. III, p. 464.
- 13 Susan Stronge, *Painting for the Mughal Emperor. The Art of the Book 1560–1660* (V&A Publications, London, 2002), pp. 36–85.
- 14 Beveridge, *The Akbar Nama of Abu-l-Fazl* op. cit., vol. II, pp. 372–373.
- 15 *Ibid.*, pp. 530–531.
- 16 Asher, *Architecture of Mughal India* op. cit., pp. 58–59. See Ratish Nanda in J. P. Losty (ed.), *Delhi. Red Fort to Raisina* (Lustre Press/Role Books, New Delhi, 2012) for a photograph taken between 1870 and 1880 of one of the two stone elephants that originally stood outside Agra Fort.
- 17 Beveridge, *The Akbar Nama of Abu-l-Fazl* op. cit., vol. III, pp. 858, 862.
- 18 M. S. Randhawa, *Paintings of the Babur Nama* (National Museum, New Delhi, 1983), pp. 12–13; and S. N. Vorobieva and I. I. Sheptunova, *Baburnama. Mingatiuri iz Sobraniya gosudarstvennovo Muzeya Vostoka* (Baburnameh. Miniatures from the Collection of the State Museum of Oriental Art) (Agni House Editions, Samara, 2005).
- 19 Wheeler M. Thackston (ed. and trans), *The Baburnama: Memoirs of Babur, Prince and Emperor* (Oxford University Press, New York, 1996), pp. 351–352.
- 20 *Ibid.*, pp. 359–360.
- 21 *Ibid.*, p. 234.
- 22 *Ibid.*, pp. 403–418. For the dating of this *Babur-Nameh* manuscript see Randhawa, *Paintings of the Babur Nama* op. cit., p. 14 and n. 3, quoting Rai Krishnadasa.
- 23 Asher, *Architecture of Mughal India* op. cit., p. 37; and Ebba Koch, *Mughal Art and Imperial Ideology. Collected Essays* (Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2001), pp. 203–228.
- 24 Beveridge, *The Akbar Nama of Abu-l-Fazl* op. cit., vol. I, p. 543; vol. II, pp. 332 and 487. See also Asher in Attilio Petruccioli (ed.), *Mughal Architecture. Pomp and Ceremonies* (Environmental Design. Journal of the Islamic Environmental Design Research Centre, IXth Year, no. 11, 1988), pp. 46–53; and Stronge, *Painting for the Mughal Emperor* op. cit., p. 89.

- 25 Edmund W. Smith, revised by W. H. Nicholls, *Akbar's Tomb, Sikandarrah, near Agra* (Archaeological Survey of India, vol. XXXV, Allahabad: F. Luker, Supdt., Govt. Press, United Provinces, 1909), p. 35 (Persian text and English translation).
- 26 Wheeler M. Thackston (ed. and trans.), *The Jahangirnama. Memoirs of Jahangir, Emperor of India* (Oxford University Press, New York, 1999), pp. 178–179.
- 27 Translated into English by Rogers and Beveridge: Alexander Rogers and Henry Beveridge (eds. and trans.), *The Tuzuk-i Jahangiri, or Memoirs of Jahangir* (Royal Asiatic Society, London, 1909 [vol. I] and 1914 [vol. II]); and Thackston, *The Jahangirnama* op. cit.
- 28 Asher, *Architecture of Mughal India* op. cit., pl. 59, p. 114.
- 29 Ghulam Yazdani, *Mandu: the City of Joy* (1929), followed by Brand in Petruccioli (ed.), *Mughal Architecture* op. cit., pp. 14–16.
- 30 There is an extensive literature on Western influence on Mughal art. Engravings, paintings and objects were initially brought by a series of Jesuit missions to the court from Portuguese Goa. For a broad introduction to the subject, with good illustrations and excellent bibliography, see Jorge Flores and Nuno Vassallo e Silva, *Goa and the Great Mughal* (Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation in association with Scala Publishers, Lisbon, 2004).
- 31 Sheila Canby, *Princes, Poets and Paladins: Islamic and Indian Paintings from the Collection of Prince and Princess Sadruddin Aga Khan* (British Museum Press, London, 1998), cat. 105, pp. 141–142, gives a full bibliography of this painting, updated in Beach, Fischer and Goswamy (eds.), *Masters of Indian Painting* op. cit., vol. I, p. 214.
- 32 See Koch in Milo Beach and Ebba Koch, *King of the World. The Padshahnama* (with new translations by Wheeler Thackston, Azimuth Editions, London, 1997), pp. 133–137.
- 33 For the artist, see Milo Cleveland Beach, *The Imperial Image: Paintings for the Mughal Court* op. cit., p. 204; for the painting and its inscriptions see Beach and Koch, *King of the World* op. cit., pp. 184 and 204.
- 34 For a broad summary of architecture in the reign see Asher, *Architecture of Mughal India* op. cit., chapter 5; see also Koch, *Mughal Architecture* op. cit. Alfieri, *Islamic Architecture of the Indian Subcontinent* op. cit., devotes a chapter to Shah Jahan's reign in her detailed summary of Mughal architecture from 1526 to the nineteenth century, with extensive colour illustrations. For the definitive account of the Taj Mahal see Ebba Koch, *The Complete Taj Mahal and the Riverfront Gardens of Agra* (Thames & Hudson, London, 2006). Excellent colour illustrations of Shah Jahan's monuments are in George Michell and Amrit Pasricha, *Mughal Architecture and Gardens* (Antique Collectors' Club, Martlesham, 2011).
- 35 The *Padshah-Nameh* manuscript in the Royal Library, Windsor Castle, is signed by the calligrapher Muhammad Amin of Mashhad and dated AH 1067/AD 1656–57 (see Beach in Beach and Koch, *King of the World* op. cit., p. 15, who converts the date to 1657–58). In 1799 the nawab of Avadh presented it to Lord Teignmouth, Governor-General of India, for King George III. Beach points out that the paintings and text are not contemporary: the margins are later additions and there are peculiarities in the way the paintings have been inserted in the text (ibid., pp. 15–19). He concludes (pp. 126–129) that the manuscript was assembled after Shah Jahan's death in 1666, but that all the paintings in the volume date to the emperor's reign. It seems more likely that the entire volume was substantially altered in Avadh at the end of the eighteenth century, with paintings of Shah Jahan's reign being made into double-page compositions by the addition of new paintings and new episodes. Some of the seventeenth-century pictures give the impression of having later embellishments, but a scientific analysis of these pages remains to be carried out. The same observation may be made of an equestrian portrait of Jahangir now in the Chester Beatty Library, where Akbar's tomb in the background looks like a later addition. This painting also has an Avadhi connection: it was mounted in an album of Shuja al-Dawla, nawab of Avadh from 1754–75 (Elaine Wright, *Muraqqa' Imperial Mughal Albums from the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin*, Art Services International, Alexandria, Virginia, 2008, cat. 24, pp. 258–259).
- 36 See, for example, Koch in Beach and Koch, *King of the World* op. cit., p. 208.
- 37 Ibid., especially pp. 167–168, 191, 199 and 204.
- 38 For the proclamation of the emperor as “King of the World” in Persian inscriptions even on religious monuments see Wayne Begley, “The Symbolic Role of Calligraphy on Three Imperial Mosques of Shah Jahan”, in Joanna G. Williams (ed.), *Kaladarsana. American Studies in the Art of India* (Oxford & IBH Publishing Co, in collaboration with American Institute of Indian Studies, New Delhi, Bombay and Calcutta, 1981).
- 39 Koch in Beach and Koch, *King of the World* op. cit., p. 200.
- 40 See, for example, Losty and Roy, *Mughal India* op. cit., p. 85, though the austerity did not extend to music being completely banned. See Katherine Butler Brown, “Did Aurangzeb Ban Music? Questions for the Historiography of His Reign” (in *Modern Asian Studies* 41, no. 1, 2007), pp. 77–120; and William Dalrymple and Yuthika Sharma (eds.), *Princes and Painters in Mughal Delhi, 1707–1857* (Asia Society Museum, in association with Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 2012), p. 2.
- 41 Richards, *The Mughal Empire* op. cit., pp. 273–278.
- 42 For Bhavani Das see Navina Haidar in Beach, Fischer and Goswamy (eds.), *Masters of Indian Painting* op. cit., vol. II, pp. 531–546.
- 43 See Terence McNerney, “Mughal Painting During the Reign of Muhammad Shah” (in Barbara Schmitz (ed.), *After the Great Mughals. Painting in Delhi and the Regional Courts in the 18th and 19th Centuries*, Marg Publications, Mumbai, 2002), pp. 16–17, for the first major reassessment of painting under Mohammad Shah.
- 44 Ibid., pp. 13–33; and Dalrymple and Sharma, *Princes and Painters in Mughal Delhi* op. cit., cats. 6–14, for depictions of the emperor.
- 45 Zahiruddin Malik, *A Mughal Statesman of the Eighteenth Century. Khan-i-Dauran. Mir Bakhshi of Muhammad Shah 1719–1739* (Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh, 1973), p. 48; the chapter “Crisis of the Old Order 1707–1725”, pp. 42–53, gives a detailed account of the process based on contemporary Persian sources.
- 46 Schmitz (ed.), *After the Great Mughals* op. cit., provides the first major reassessment of painting of the period; and Stephen Markel and Tushara Bindu Gude, *India's Fabled City. The Art of Courtly Lucknow* (Prestel, New York, 2010) give an overview of Lucknow's art and culture at this period, with extensive bibliography. See Beach, Fischer and Goswamy (eds.), *Masters of Indian Painting* op. cit., vol. II, chapters V and VI; and Losty and Roy, *Mughal India* op. cit., chapters 3 and 4, for later Mughal painting. Chanchal Dadlani, “The ‘Palais Indiens’ Collection of 1774. Representing Mughal Architecture in Late Eighteenth-Century India” (in *Smithsonian Institution, Ars Orientalis*, vol. 39, *Globalizing Cultures: Art and Mobility in the Eighteenth Century*, 2010), deals specifically with representations of architecture.
- 47 For an account of Polier see Pratul C. Gupta (ed.), *Shah Alam II and His Court. A narrative of the transactions at the court of Delhi from the year 1771 to the present time by Antoine Louis Henri Polier* (The Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1989); Lucian Harris, “The Exploration of Nawabi Culture by European Collectors in 18th-Century Lucknow” (in Rosie Llewellyn-Jones [ed.], *Lucknow Then and Now*, Marg Publications, Mumbai, 2003); and Sanjay Subrahmanyam, “The

- Career of Colonel Polier and Late Eighteenth-Century Orientalism" (in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain & Ireland*, vol. 10, 2000). Muzaffar Alam and Seema Alavi (trans. and eds.), *A European Experience of the Mughal Orient: the I'jaz-I Arsalani (Persian Letters 1773–1779) of Antoine-Louis Henri Polier* (Oxford University Press, New Delhi and New York, 2001), provide an English summary of his letters in Persian.
- 48 Jean-Marie La Font, "The French in Lucknow in the Eighteenth Century", in Violette Graff (ed.), *Lucknow. Memories of a City* (Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1997); R. D. Gadebusch, "Celestial Gardens: Mughal Miniatures from an Eighteenth Century Album" (in *Orientalism*, vol. 21 no. 9, November 2000); Harris, "The Exploration of Nawabi Culture by European Collectors in 18th-Century Lucknow" op. cit.; and Almut Von Gladiss, *Albumblätter. Miniaturen aus den Sammlungen indo-islamischer Herrscherhöfe* (Edition Minerva, Berlin, 2010). Malini Roy, "Origins of the Late Mughal Painting Tradition in Awadh" (1999; unpublished PhD thesis, in Markel and Gude, *India's Fabled City* op. cit., pp. 176–178) and "Some Unexpected Sources for Paintings by the Artist Mihr Chand (fl. c. 1759–86), Son of Ganga Ram" (in *South Asian Studies*, vol. 26, No. 1, March 2010), has made the most detailed study to date of the artists in Polier's circle, notably Mihr Chand.
- 49 Losty, *Delhi. Red Fort to Raisina* op. cit., who nevertheless does not suggest this specific source of inspiration.
- 50 Patricia Bouchenot-Dechin and Georges Farhat (eds.), *Andrée Le Nôtre in Perspective* (Editions Hazan, Paris, 2013).
- 51 For Martin, see especially Rosie Llewellyn-Jones, *A Very Ingenious Man. Claude Martin in Early Colonial India* (Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1992).
- 52 Roy, "Some Unexpected Sources for Paintings by the Artist Mihr Chand" op. cit.
- 53 Sold at auction in Paris on 9 June 2011: Pierre Bergé & associés, *Art d'Orient – Miniatures – Objets de vitrine*, lot 39 (<http://www.pba-auctions.com/html/fiche.jsp?id=1880669>). Another copy, by Nidha Mal, is in the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto (personal communication from Malini Roy): ROM2004-1040-5.
- 54 Gupta, *Shah Alam II and his Court* op. cit., pp. 62, 64.
- 55 For an account of Delhi at this period see Dalrymple and Sharma, *Princes and Painters in Mughal Delhi* op. cit.; and Losty, *Delhi. Red Fort to Raisina* op. cit.
- 56 Dalrymple and Sharma, *Princes and Painters in Mughal Delhi* op. cit., cat. 28, p. 102.
- 57 Dadlani, "The 'Palais Indiens' Collection of 1774" op. cit., provides an excellent analysis of French patronage and its influence on architectural representation in Delhi and Avadh, as well as giving a comprehensive bibliography on the same process in the British milieu slightly later.
- 58 For detailed descriptions of the painting see Dalrymple and Sharma, *Princes and Painters in Mughal Delhi* op. cit., no. 35; Losty, *Delhi. Red Fort to Raisina* op. cit., fig. 71; and Losty and Roy, *Mughal India* op. cit., pp. 210–213.
- 59 Translated by Wheeler Thackston in Abolola Soudavar, *Art of the Persian Courts. Selections from the Art and History Trust Collection* (Rizzoli, New York, 1992), pp. 358–359.