RUINS OF POWER:

Picturesque Portraits of Sultanate Architecture

by

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B.A., University of Victoria, 1988

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

in the Department of History in Art

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Abstract

The British produced a vast pictorial record of eighteenth and nineteenth century India. The diverse range of subject matter, that included portraiture, landscapes and scenes of British social life, reflected the varied interests of the British artist in India. British residents also hired native or Company artists to paint picturesque views of ancient buildings, famous Indian emperors or maharajas, and sets of pictures that portrayed the indigenous castes, costumes and occupations of India's people.

The largest number of Company paintings was produced at Delhi. In the early nineteenth century Delhi was still a frontier outpost in the East India Company's territories. In 1803, with the defeat of the Hindu Marathas, the British occupied the capital, which subsequently developed into a typical British station. As the British explored the Delhi environs, they were moved by its picturesque ruins, which in turn evoked a melancholy state of mind and induced romantic daydreams. Tours of the monuments became a popular pastime, and picnics were held on the grounds of the Quwwat al-Islam Mosque and the fort of Tughluqabad. The fascination with the emotive and picturesque qualities of the architecture spurred the production of numerous

paintings, sketches and prints of Delhi's magnificent ruins.

British artists and adventurers were among the first Europeans to visit the more remote Muslim monuments of northern India. William Hodge's Select Views (1786) and the Daniells' Oriental Scenery (1795-1808) promoted a heightened interest in these locales. Their works delighted enthusiasts of the picturesque, prompting Indian artists to paint standard series of architectural compositions for British patrons. Although the monuments of the Mughals aroused the greatest admiration (different views of the Taj Mahal were painted by the hundreds), the earlier structures of the Delhi Sultanate (1206-1526) were often depicted for both their architectural interest and "picturesque" appeal.

British and native Indian painting in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries incorporated naturalistic colouring, perspective, shading, modelling and a concern for pictorial verisimilitude. As accurate visual documents of Delhi Sultanate buildings, these works constitute valuable aids in the study of early Islamic architecture in India. Indo-British painting also provides fertile ground for an exploration of the artistic exchanges that may occur between two disparate cultures. These images, therefore, are particularly meaningful when analyzed within the

context of the manifestation of British aesthetic attitudes in an Oriental setting.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND COLLECTION LOCATIONS

IOL	India Office Library, London
VMH	Victoria Memorial Hall, Calcutta
V & A	Victoria and Albert Museum, London

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis is the product of advice, help, encouragement and contributions by a great number of persons and institutions. It is my pleasure to thank them now. In particular, I would like to thank Dr. Anthony Welch, my supervisor, for his belief in the value of my work, his confident support and his astute comments. I would also like to thank my other committee members, Dr. Kathlyn Liscomb and Dr. S. W. Jackman, who shared their time and expertise to improve this thesis.

I wish to express my gratitude to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and the Department of History in Art for financial assistance during my research and writing. At the same time, I would like to convey my appreciation to Karen McDonald for her generous support and encouragement, both as a colleague and a friend.

This thesis could not have been written without the resources and helpful staffs of the India Office Library in London and of the Victoria Memorial Hall in Calcutta. Many thanks to both of these institutions.

Various friends and peers helped immeasurably through their support and sympathy while I endured the loneliness of the long-distance writer. I am especially grateful to Janis Elliott, Heather Orr and Jill Bain--all of whom freely offered their camaraderie along the way. To Pam Baillie goes a special gratitude not only for her

assistance and friendship during my work on this thesis, but also over the years. A special appreciation also goes to Elaine Wright for her invaluable overseas support, friendship and encouragement. Ted Lochner deserves a special thanks for he acted as a sounding board for my feelings and ideas as I struggled to clarify them.

Above all, I am greatly indebted to my daughter Jasmine who not only provided the initial impetus for my academic career, but who, in addition, demonstrated a patience and understanding beyond her years during the writing of this thesis. She is truly the "wind beneath my wings."

For Jasmine Mia,
with love

Hearken to me, do not go into the ruins of Delhi.
At every step, priceless pearls lie buried beneath
the dust...

Khwaja Altaf Husain 'Hali'
"The Devastation of Delhi--A Lament," 1874

Introduction

The translation of three-dimensional architectural forms into two-dimensional pictorial representations is a practice common to both Eastern and Western artistic traditions. India's magnificent monuments and ruins--her temples, mosques and tombs--were a continual source of inspiration for painters of the British Raj.[1] In Delhi, where the architecture symbolized centuries of glorious Muslim rule, the British sought picturesque drawings and sketches of the Muslim monuments of Sultanate and Mughal India. Muslim dominion in India originated in the last decade of the twelfth century when Muhammad bin Sam, the Ghurid king, conquered Delhi and its neighbouring regions. The Ghurid conquest heralded the establishment of the principal Muslim kingdom in northern India, the Delhi Sultanate (1206-1526). The dynasties of the Delhi Sultanate--the Mu'izzis, the Khaljis, the Tughluqs, the Sayyids and the Lodis--ruled Delhi until the Lodi's submergence in the Mughal empire under Babur.[2] With the exception of numismatic evidence and a few pottery shards, the only source of material for the study of Sultanate art is the period's monuments, which are situated primarily in

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[1] Raj referred to Britain's "Empire in the East," specifically that of India. The word raj is derived from the Hindi word rajya, meaning "kingdom" or "rule."

[2] See Appendix 1 for a detailed list of the dates and rulers of these Delhi Sultanate dynasties. Chapter III also includes a discussion on the most important patrons of Sultanate architecture in Delhi.

Delhi. The evolved Indo-Islamic architectural style, as found in Mughal works, was shaped during Sultanate times. Sultanate architecture thus plays an important and significant role in the analysis of Indo-Muslim building traditions.

The value of Sultanate architectural paintings in the fields of Islamic architecture and Indo-British colonial art is immense, both historically and artistically. Images of Sultanate buildings represent only a small portion of the phenomenal outpouring of British artistic interest in India --her people, religions, antiquities and customs--in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Although professional artists are well represented in this examination of Sultanate architectural views, many of the most fascinating items are the works of itinerant travellers or interested colonists who would not have viewed themselves primarily as artists. Rather, these devoted sketchers earned their livelihood as scholars, engineers, architects, soldiers or surveyors. They were, nevertheless, dedicated, in varying degrees, to a candid observation of contemporary Indian culture, which they recorded with a certain artistic knack for their own benefit as well as for a small group of enthusiasts.

A close inspection of pictorial content shows a variety of pressures acting on these artists that was revealed in their choice of subjects and techniques. Both

British and native artists of the Raj possessed a visual perception that mirrored and advanced aspects of the social and cultural life of their times. The concept of the "picturesque" dominated the British artistic response to the Indian landscape in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Accordingly, the artists carefully selected their data or effects, and stylized and arranged them to conform with powerful British modes of sensibility. As a result, the works, at times, inform the viewer less about the "reality" of the subject matter than about the artists' own stand on the aesthetic issues confronting art during this period.

Over time, the characteristics of buildings and landscapes alter, and many obvious changes are clearly manifested in these visual recordings. A detailed comparison between the images and contemporary written accounts, conjectural restorations and architectural plans served as the means to check pictorial verisimilitude and topographical accuracy. The images were also compared with other representations--paintings, prints, period or modern-day photographs--of the subject in order to discern changes and to trace additions and subtractions to and from the buildings themselves. As part of this analysis the paintings were examined for distortions in scale and proportion: to determine this the position of the artist in relation to the subject was ascertained. By their

choice of viewpoint, time and season the artists permanently recorded and disclosed previously unnoted features of the architectural subject matter.

Important achievements in building deserve to be represented by equally notable endeavours in painting, drawing or printing. The importance of this type of painting, as an adjunct to the study of Indo-Islamic architectural history, is often not adequately recognized by either scholars or informed laypeople. These images offer an intimate and singular source of knowledge about Sultanate architecture, furnish insight into the values of both British and native artists, and provide a framework for future exploration and interpretation. Architecture in painting, regardless of its visual stress or import, forms a part of the artist's visual vocabulary, and is therefore worthy of consideration as a subject for investigation. These paintings are a valuable reservoir of information for Sultanate architecture, both as documentation and illustration. Moreover, the place of architecture in these works supplies clues to the role, aim and meaning of art within the larger context of Anglo-Indian culture.

By its very nature, the documentation in this study cannot be considered exhaustive or complete. As yet, too little bibliographical and visual source material exists with respect to many of the artists included in this discussion. It is my hope that this thesis will serve as a

stimulus for further research by both scholars and students, who might discover in this collection of images a rich field for their continuing investigations. Perhaps in the process of their own inquiries, these scholars may clarify or amend these initial conjectures presented for their critical interest.

When included, Indian terms are underlined and contained within parentheses after their English equivalents. The names of dynasties and geographical locations follow common English spelling. Arabic, Persian or Turkish proper names or literary titles as well as certain Indian terms have been transliterated without diacritical marks. Specific dates are shown according to the Gregorian, or common-era, calendar (A.D.) and not the Islamic calendar, known as the Hijra Era (anno hegirae, A.H.).

I

British India: Its Socio-Political Framework in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Britain's political and commercial enterprises in India prompted both British and native Indian artists to record, describe and celebrate the ancient lands of Hindustan. The resulting art was unavoidably influenced by the political and social conditions of the times. The following account of this period of British India will not, however, be a chronological survey of wars, Governors-General, British policies and political events. Rather, this introductory chapter will focus on the most pertinent cultural, religious, economic and political factors at play during these years and thereby contribute to an understanding of the general artistic milieu.

India was subject to imperial rule long before the British arrived as traders in the early seventeenth century. In the twelfth century, Turkish-speaking Muslims invaded the Hindu states of the subcontinent and subsequently settled around the prosperous city of Delhi.[1]

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[1] H. H. Dodwell, ed., The Cambridge Shorter History of India (Delhi: S. Chand, 1964), 164-65. The year 1192 marks the formal Muslim occupation of India by the Ghurid empire under Muhammad Ghuri's governor and general Qutb al-Din Aybak.

The later Muslim kingdoms or Delhi Sultanates[2] ruled northern India until the arrival of Babur (1526-31), the first of the Mughal line. Babur, a direct descendant of both Timur and Chingiz Khan, was proclaimed Emperor after his victory over Sultan Ibrahim Lodi at the battle of Panipat in 1526.[3] The Great Mughal Emperors (Humayan [1531-56], Akbar [1556-1605], Jahangir [1605-27], Shah Jahan [1627-58], Aurangzeb [1658-1707]), who succeeded Babur, gradually extended their domains in every direction from his early but tentative foothold in the northwest.[4]

Mughal rule never extended to India's southernmost provinces, and conflicts persisted with various independent Hindu principalities and Muslim sultanates.[5] Other Hindu dynasties were scattered throughout the Empire where local rajas governed by long-established feudal traditions and paid the Mughals huge levies in exchange for their

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[2] These dynasties, centred around Delhi, include the Mu'izzis (1206-1290), the Khaljis (1290-1320), the Tughluqs (1320-1411), the Sayyids (1414-1451) and the Lodis (1451-1526).

[3] William Erskine, A History of India under Baber (1854; London: Oxford University Press, 1974), 435-438.

[4] For accounts of the Mughals' military conquests under these rulers see Dodwell, Cambridge, 251-324.

[5] The most vigorous of these states, the Hindu Marathas and the Deccani sultanates, were finally subdued during Aurangzeb's reign. See ibid., 341-51 for a description of Aurangzeb's campaigns against the Marathas and the Muslim kingdoms of the Deccan.

autonomy.[6] In general, the masses continued to live as in previous times. They tilled small plots of land, wove textiles, bartered for merchandise, or fashioned ornaments from metal. Yet, this society would soon encounter new political and cultural influences, albeit from overseas.

In fact, the European vanguard, represented by the Portuguese, arrived before the advent of Mughal rule in India. In 1498 Vasco da Gama landed at Calicut on India's southwestern coast to secure spices for the home market and to convert the native population to Christianity.[7] The Portuguese founded colonies at a number of centres on India's western coast.[8] In 1510 they captured Goa, a prosperous Hindu and Muslim trading centre, which became the focus of Portuguese commercial enterprise for more than four centuries.[9] The Portuguese colonists showed extreme intolerance towards the Hindu and Muslim religions and even imported the Inquisition to assist with conversions.[10] With their ruthless proselytizing, the Portuguese rapidly

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[6] Geoffrey Moorhouse, India Britannica (London: Grafton, 1983), 24.

[7] Michael Edwardes, A History of India: From the Earliest Times to the Present Day (London: Thames & Hudson, 1961), 143.

[8] Dodwell, Cambridge, 380-4. These sites include Dui, Daman, Bassein and Chaul.

[9] Edwardes, A History of India, 144.

[10] Dodwell, Cambridge, 390.

earned a reputation for cruelty and treachery among the local inhabitants.

In 1595 the Dutch sailed East to Java and the Moluccas and returned to Europe laden with cloves and spices, the sale of which produced a profit of approximately 2,500 per cent.[11] Determination to surpass both Portuguese and Dutch successes in Eastern trade led to the formation of the British East India Company in 1600.[12] In 1612, Sir Thomas Roe, on behalf of the Company, obtained trading concessions from the Mughal Emperor Jahangir.[13] Within the year, the British established a small trading post at Surat as well as a profitable factory for cottons and other fabrics at Masulipatnam.[14] Pepper and spices were obtained from the Malabar coast, Madras provided sugar and Gujarat indigo dye, while silks and saltpetre originated from Bengal. In exchange for these commodities Indians desired metals (tin, lead and quicksilver), tapestries, ivories and silver bullion. From these small beginnings, the British expanded their operations into a chain of trading posts and factories along India's coastal regions. By the late seventeenth century, Englishmen were actively trading in

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[11] Moorhouse, India Britannica, 25.

[12] Dodwell, Cambridge, 399. A charter was granted to the Company on the last day of 1600 by Queen Elizabeth I.

[13] Ibid., 401.

[14] Ibid., 404.

the three Presidencies of Madras (Fort St. George), Calcutta (Fort St. William) and Bombay.[15] The Mughal Emperors in Dehli and Agra tolerated the accelerated British presence in exchange for English protection of Mughal shipping in the neighbouring seas.[16] The local governors or Nawabs similarly granted economic concessions for English military assistance with the suppression of insurrections.[17]

Still the political and military status of the East India Company remained precarious. Roe previously warned the Company "...that if you will profit, seek it at sea, and in quiet trade; for without controversy, it is an error

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[15] Moorhouse, India Britannica, 27, 31, 210. Madras was leased to the British in 1640 by a Hindu ruler who wished to retain his sovereignty in the face of Mughal advances. A Company settlement was secured by Job Charnock at Calcutta in 1690. In 1665 Bombay was given to the British by the Portuguese as a dowry gift in the marriage of Catherine of Braganza to King Charles II. As a sidenote, in Victorian times the English in Bengal were known as "Qui-his," after the manner of calling servants in that presidency (koi hai, which translates "is there anyone there?"). The English in Madras were called "Mulls," a contraction of "mulligatawny," the famous hot pepper soup. The British in Bombay carried the name of "Ducks," after a dried fish called Bombay Duck. See Michael Edwardes, Bound to Exile: The Victorians in India (London: Sidgwick & Jackson), 22.

[16] Percival Spear, India, A Modern History (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1961), 168. In 1613 the East India Company defeated the Portuguese in the estuary of the Swally (Surat) in an event that favourably disposed the Mughals towards the British.

[17] Moorhouse, India Britannica, 32.

to affect garrisons and land wars in India."[18] In 1707, Aurangzeb, the last of the great Mughals, died at Ahmednagar, leaving his numerous sons and grandsons to fight over their inheritance.[19] With the decline of the Mughal Empire,[20] the Hindu Marathas, under Sivaji, asserted their dominion over west-central India and threatened the Company's positions at Surat, Bombay, Madras and Calcutta.[21] Not all threats to the British, however, arose from within. In the mid-eighteenth century, the East India Company became involved in extensive military operations[22] with the French, who had similarly prospered from eastern

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[18] Sir Thomas Roe, The Embassy of Thomas Roe, ed. W. Foster (London, 1926), cited in Denis Judd, The British Raj (London: Wayland, n.d.), 19.

[19] Christopher Hibbert, The Great Mutiny India 1857 (London: Allen Lane, 1978), 17. In the first half of the eighteenth century the Mughal empire would be further weakened by continous Afghan invasions from the north. In 1739 Delhi was sacked by the armies of the Persian ruler Nadir Shah; thereafter the Empire's influence extended barely beyond Delhi and its surrounding territory. See Dodwell, Cambridge, 362-3.

[20] According to Percival Spear, this decline could have been reversed had "different minds been in different positions or contained different ideas." For a discussion of Mughal power at this time see Percival Spear, The Nabobs: A Study of the Social Life of the English in Eighteenth Century England, (London: Oxford University Press, 1963), xv-xviii.

[21] In 1664 the Marathas had unsuccessfully attacked the British factory at Surat. See Dodwell, Cambridge, 407.

[22] By 1662 four companies of British troops had arrived in Bombay to serve the East India Company. See Moorhouse, India Britannica, 34.

trade.[23] With Britain and France fighting each other in the War of the Austrian Succession in Europe (1740-48), hostilities broke out between the adjacent trading posts of British Madras and French Pondicherry. In 1757 Robert Clive, Governor of Bengal from 1757-60, and again from 1765-67, defeated the French Governor of Pondicherry, Dupleix (Governor 1742-54), and his Mughal allies at the Battle of Plassey.[24]

This victory ended any future French military ambitions in India and brought enormous political and monetary benefits for the British. In exchange for vast sums, Clive placed a puppet Nawab, Mir Jafar, on the throne of Bengal.[25] The East India Company became landlords (zamindars) of the "Twenty-four Parganas," an area that consisted of nearly 2,250 square kilometres of land south of Calcutta,[26] while Robert Clive became the master of the wealthiest province in the land and effectively founded the British Empire in India. A similar series of events

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[23] In 1664 the French East India Company was founded in order to colonise Madagascar. Later in 1673 they established a trading post at Pondicherry which subsequently became the Company's headquarters in India. See Dodwell, Cambridge, 416-17.

[24] Sir Penderel Moon, The British Conquest and Dominion of India (London: Duckworth, 1989), 31.

[25] Dodwell, Cambridge, 430.

[26] Moorhouse, India Britannica, 38. The Mughals referred to the region as "a paradise on earth," while sixty per cent of all British imports from Asia originated from Bengal.

resulted in British control over the Nawab of Oudh, after the Battle of Baxar in 1764.[27] A pattern was thus established in which the British installed compliant rulers on the thrones of India's Hindu and Muslim states who accorded them financial and political advantages.[28]

The eighteenth century brought opportunistic young men eager for a share of India's considerable wealth. By 1770, prominent statesmen, judges, scholars, artists and merchants were settled in Calcutta, Madras and occasionally in the hinterlands. Free merchants, Company officials and highly-placed dignitaries amassed individual fortunes at a dizzying rate. The avarice of the Company's employees is noted by Mir Jafar's successor, Mir Kasim, in a letter to the Governor of Bengal in 1762:

> And this is the way your Gentlemen behave; they make a disturbance all over my country, plunder the people, injure and disgrace my servants... Setting up the colours and showing the passes of the Company, they use their utmost endeavours to oppress the peasants, merchants and other people of the country...They forcibly take away the goods and commodities of the peasants, merchants etc., for a fourth part of their value, and by

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[27] Bamber Gascoigne, The Great Moghuls (London: Jonathan Cape, 1971), 246.

[28] Ibid., 227, 246. During Aurangzeb's reign, the Hindus were heavily taxed and persecuted as the result of the emperor's narrow-minded religious views. This practice resulted in the Rajput and Maratha princes, who were previously allowed the right of self-government in return for recognizing Aurangzeb as their emperor, defecting to form independent empires. This profusion of states helped the East India Company to extend its authority throughout the subcontinent.

> ways of violence and oppression they oblige the peasants to give five rupees for goods which are worth but one rupee.[29]

These Nabobs, a word derived from "nawab" meaning Muslim prince, were similarly despised at home as an ill-bred, corrupt and ostentatious lot. In the British mind, they were lumped together with African slave traders, Caribbean plantation owners and other entrepreneurs who accumulated enormous profits from British expansion overseas.

The most outstanding Nabob was Robert Clive, who had acquired approximately 400,000 pounds sterling by the time he embarked for England in 1760.[30] With his wealth, the now Lord Clive, the former son of a penniless country squire, renovated Styche Hall, the family home, bought a country estate a few miles away, purchased a mansion in Ireland and a London house in Berkeley Square, and secured a Parliamentary seat at Shrewsbury.[31] On the Company's behalf, Clive returned to Bengal in 1764 to settle a dispute with the Bengal Council and the acting nawab.[32] In 1765 Clive obtained the Company's right to assume the office of imperial diwan, which authorized the Company to

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[29] Cited in Philip Mason, The Men Who Ruled India (1953/4; London: Pan, 1987), 42.

[30] Ibid., 44.

[31] Mildred Archer, Treasures from India: The Clive Collection at Powis Castle (London: Herbert, 1987), 17-20.

[32] Dodwell, Cambridge, 438-444.

collect the Shah's imperial revenues in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.[33] On 1 February 1767, Clive left Calcutta for the final time. His new concerns centred around his declining health and the growing criticism of his conduct in India. Within seven years Clive was dead, presumably from a self-administered overdose of laudanum.[34]

In the late eighteenth century, the British attitude to India was formed, not just on subjective opinion and prejudice, but also on the basis of a serious inquiry into India as a distinct civilization.[35] At the same time, learned people were contemplating the degree of Britain's responsibility to its Indian territories.[36] These scholars fully realized England was receiving enormous wealth from the country without any reciprocal contribution. In 1773 the Houses of Parliament passed the Regulating Act to curb wide-spread corruption among the servants of the East India Company.[37] The process of reform was continued under Warren Hastings, the Governor-General of Bengal from 1772 to 1785. Hastings' administration witnessed the founding of the civil service as well as the establishment of civil

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[33] Moon, British Conquest, 124.

[34] Archer, Treasures from India, 23.

[35] Peter Mudford, Birds of a Different Plumage: A Study of British-Indian relations from Akbar to Curzon (London: William Collins, 1974), 81.

[36] Ibid.

[37] Dodwell, Cambridge, 442.

and criminal courts. The legal system was administered by English judges but was based on Hindu and Muslim codes of law.[38] Hastings, himself fluent in Bengali, Urdu and Persian, believed that an intricate knowledge of Indian culture formed the proper foundation for a strong Indian government.[39]

Hastings' attitude to India and her indigenous peoples contrasts remarkably with that of his predecessor Clive. To Clive, the natives were lazy, weak and cowardly, while their country was tedious and unappealing.[40] Hastings, on the other hand, was inspired by a love and affection for India and her people.[41] In 1773 Hastings attempted to establish a Chair of Persian at the University of Oxford and encouraged a grounding in the Oriental languages for all newcomers to India.[42] He also urged Indian scholars to

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[38] Moorhouse, India Britannica, 49.

[39] Percival Spear, The Oxford History of Modern India, 1740-1975, 2nd ed. (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1968), 69.

[40] Mudford, Different Plumage, 82.

[41] Ibid., 84.

[42] Ibid., 85. Most explanations of Hastings' achievements stress his interest in oriental learning for its practical benefits; for instance, Persian instruction at Oxford would prepare men for Company service in India. But Hastings was a person of genuine intellectual curiosity and pursued knowledge for its own sake. See P. J. Marshall, "Warren Hastings as Scholar and Patron," Statesmen, Scholars and Merchants: Essays in Eighteenth-Century History presented to Dame Lucy Sutherland (Oxford: Clarendon, 1973), 252-256.

translate Indian poetry and mythological works, including the Bhagavad Gita, from Sanskrit into more popular languages.[43]

Hastings surrounded himself with a group of men with similar concerns and interests. In 1784 he appointed Sir William Jones, a High Court Calcuttan Judge, to the Presidency of the newly-formed Asiatic Society of Bengal, which soon became one of the most prominent centres of learning in the East.[44] With his intricate knowledge of Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic, Jones advanced the theory that there was a common and Aryan source for the Indo-European languages.[45] In addition, men such as Sir Elijah Impey, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Calcutta from 1774-1782, and Richard Johnson (1753-1807), a Company official, took a lively interest in many areas of Indian culture. Along with Hastings these men formed important collections of Indian miniatures, metalwork and textiles, collections which contributed to British knowledge of Indian culture in the eighteenth century.[46]

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[43] Mudford, Different Plumage, 86. The Mughal emperor Akbar previously encouraged the translation of Indian literary works for Turkish and Persian readers. Like his father Humayun, Akbar was a strong supporter of Indian scholarship.

[44] Spear, Oxford History of Modern India, 69.

[45] Moorhouse, India Britannica, 51.

[46] Archer, Treasures from India, 10-12.

By the end of the century, however, a change took place in British attitudes toward India. Until 1750 the British often mixed with the Indian populace by marrying native women or adopting Indian customs. These comfortable relations declined when the British started to believe in their own racial superiority.[47] In 1786 Lord Cornwallis (Governor-General 1786-1795) barred Indians from the higher civil posts as he was convinced that every "native of Hindustan" was corrupt.[48] This viewpoint was further compounded by his successor Lord Wellesley who arrived in India in 1798. Wellesley's immense egotism and contempt for Indians underlay his conviction that "no greater blessing could be conferred on the native inhabitants of India than the extension of British authority."[49] Wellesley was similarly hostile to the literature and arts of ancient and medieval India, whether Hindu or Muslim.

Other factors contributed to a growing estrangement between the Indians and the British. In 1813 the British

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[47] In the first half of the eighteenth century, the Mughal empire was still quite formidable; its splendid and vigorous culture held European traders in awe of this distant power at Delhi. When the Mughal empire splintered into warring factions, the previous attitude of respect and awe changed to one of ridicule and contempt. See Dodwell, Cambridge, 352-73 for an account of the last days of Mughal power in India.

[48] Michael Edwardes, British India, 1772-1947: A survey of the nature and affects of alien rule (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1967), 32-33.

[49] Mason, Men Who Ruled India, 97.

home government opened India freely to all British merchants and to the pious work of missionaries. Consequently, the Company's exclusive Indian monopoly was abolished, the Church of England was established in India and 10,000 pounds were allotted for education on the subcontinent.[50] The funding for education, although not explicitly stated, was intended for the instruction of Western knowledge in the English language. The government initially hesitated in implementing the education clause for fear of encroaching on traditional patterns of Indian society. Thomas Babington Macaulay's (1800-1859) education minute of 1835 finally persuaded Governor-General Lord William Bentinck (1828-35) to establish English as the official language of India.[51] Higher education was conducted in English, which also replaced Persian in official business and civil affairs. The institution of English as the language of power functioned to separate the culture of the elite from that of the masses and at the

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[50] Edwardes, British India, 1772-1947, 112.

[51] Peggy Woodford, Rise of the Raj (Kent: Midas, 1978), 111. Macaulay travelled to India in early 1834 to sit on Bentinck's Supreme Council as legislation advisor. According to Macaulay's obviously biased viewpoint, "there was not a single question which did not resolve itself into one great question: English or Sanskrit, Newton or Ptolemy, the Vedas or Adam Smith, the Mahabharata or Milton, the sun around the earth or the earth around the sun, the medicine of the Middle Ages or the medicine of the nineteenth century."

same time effectively downgraded native languages and literatures.

The educational reforms marginally affected the majority of the Indian people. The greatest desire for British learning occurred in Bengal, where an English education was viewed as a passport to official posts and as an asset in matters of commerce. The influx of devout missionaries and evangelical Christians after the Charter Act of 1813, however, aroused a high level of hostility among the general Indian populace.[52] Christian missionaries were horrified by the barbaric nature of the Indian religions. In the words of William Wilberforce, a prominent Anglican leader, the subcontinent was viewed as a place which should "exchange its dark and bloody superstition for the genial influence of Christian light and truth."[53] India was deemed "half-civilized," and writings in contemporary journals and histories stressed the bizarre and shocking conditions of the native societies these missionaries discovered in India.[54]

The expansion of British society in India in the early nineteenth century resulted in a growing number of British

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[52] Interestingly, similar ecclesiastical circumstances contributed to the tensions between the Portuguese and the Indians approximately three hundred years earlier. See Dodwell, Cambridge, 389-90.

[53] Moorhouse, India Britannica, 69.

[54] See James Mill, History of British India, 2nd ed. (London, 1820), II, 144-6,

women in the settlements, which similarly contributed to British-Indian alienation. Past chroniclers of British India--most notably Rudyard Kipling--blamed these women for transporting their religious prejudices, strict morals and adherence to social proprieties to the Indian scene.[55] In the early days of the Company, the British mixed freely with the natives and even approximated their lifestyles. English society in India from the beginning of the nineteenth century attempted to simulate life at home with endless dinner parties, picnics and sporting events. A stint in India enabled many British individuals of less than aristocratic background to rise into the upper classes: their Indian way of life gave them wealth, status and training in upper class mores. With the overt denunciation of Indian society, the British became increasingly isolated from their Muslim and Hindu subjects.

"Uncivilized" Indian customs continued to be censured under Lord Bentinck's Governor-Generalship. In 1829 the practice of sati, the sacrifice of a widow on her husband's funeral pyre, was declared illegal in Bengal.[56] In the early eighteen-thirties, female infanticide was suppressed, slavery abolished and a campaign instituted against the

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[55] Although prejudice was common, some British women of intelligence and determination showed a lively interest and genuine concern for the Indian people and their culture. See Marian Fowler, Below the Peacock Fan: First Ladies of the Raj (New York: Viking Penquin, 1987).

[56] Judd, British Raj, 56.

Thug gangs who robbed and murdered in the name of the goddess Kali.[57] These changes threatened the traditional values of Indian life and further separated the British from the Indians.

The new British outlook on India in the nineteenth century combined the principles of imperialism and social reform. The transformation of India through Western science, technology, education and political institutions became the paramount British objective after 1830. These objectives, which led to the building of railways, roads, canals and other public works, necessitated the political unification of India under British hegemony. Indeed, the number of military campaigns between 1824 and 1856 is notable: 1824-26 First Burma War; 1839-42 First Afghan War; 1843 Sind defeated; 1844 province of Gwalior conquered; 1845-46 First Sikh War; 1848-49 Second Sikh War (Punjab annexed); 1852 Second Burma War. In addition, the states of Nagpur and Oudh were annexed in 1853 and 1856 respectively. By 1857 approximately two-thirds of the subcontinent was administered by the British while the remaining provinces were governed by various Indian princes under British suzerainty (fig. 1).[58] India's deeply-rooted indigenous cultures were thus disrupted under the

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[57] Edwardes, British India, 103-6.

[58] Charles Allen, Lives of the Indian Princes (London: Century, 1984), 12.

political, social and economic changes precipitated by British rule.

The causes of the Indian Mutiny, or the First War of Independence, of 1857 have been the object of a thorough investigation by both English and Indian historians.[59] The war consisted of varied factors and grievances: resentment of the Company's modernizing policies; threats to Indian religions; dislike of the superior attitudes of the British; anger at the government's reorganization of land and property rights; and an objection to recent annexations under Lord Dalhousie's Governor-Generalship (1848-56). By the end of 1856, the majority of India, particularly the north, was in a state of unrest because of the reforms and political changes enacted by the British government.

The hostilities, however, were fuelled by military circumstances. The Enfield rifle was introduced into the East India Company's armies in 1857. To load the new rifle, the sepoys had to bite open the end of a cartridge, allegedly lubricated with the fat of cows and pigs. The consumption of beef was degrading to Hindus while pork was offensive to Muslims.[60] The sepoys from both religions were convinced that the use of the Enfield rifle would violate their beliefs. On 9 May 1857, eighty-five members

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[59] For a detailed account of the Mutiny and its causes see Hibbert, The Great Mutiny India 1857, 1978.

[60] Ibid., 55.

of the Meerut Cavalry were imprisoned for refusing to use the controversial weapons. The following day three native regiments at Meerut rebelled, attacked and killed their British officers and departed for Delhi forty miles away.[61]

The mutinies were restricted primarily to the Bengal Army and concentrated in northern and central India.[62] Outside northern India, small uprisings in Hyderabad, Bombay and Indore were quickly suppressed.[63] Neither the Sikhs, the Gurkhas, the Rajputs nor the Marathas joined the rebellions against the British.[64] The armies of Madras and Bombay remained loyal to their officers while other detachments slaughtered the British inhabitants of Delhi, Lucknow and Cawnpore. There was a specifically Muslim uprising in Allahabad and Faizabad where the faithful sought the leadership of the old and sickly Mughal figurehead, Bahadur Shah II (1837-58).[65] The British

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[61] Richard Collier, The Great Indian Mutiny: A Dramatic Account of the Sepoy Rebellion (New York: Dutton, 1964), 31.

[62] In 1856 the ratio of British to Indian soldiers had fallen to one in six because of British military engagements in the Crimea, Persia, Burma and China. The low number of British soldiers in India was later viewed as one of the contributing causes to the Mutiny. See Hibbert, The Great Mutiny India 1857, 19.

[63] Dodwell, Cambridge, 580.

[64] Moorhouse, India Britannica, 84.

[65] Ibid., 85.

fought the various Indian factions for over a year until the rebels were finally subdued.

In 1858 the British Crown replaced the Honorable East India Company as the government of India. The Mughal Emperor was exiled to Rangoon, where he died in 1862; his sons were summarily executed. The Indians who mutinied were tortured and hanged while those who stayed loyal were rewarded. The Crown sent groups of soldiers, judges, teachers, clergyman, bankers and tradesmen to India who were more conservative, disciplined and controlled than their predecessors. The British turned to the traditional segments of Indian society, the princes and landowners, for additional support. These hereditary rulers of independent states were guaranteed their rights by the British who directed foreign affairs and only interfered internally in cases of gross misrule.[66] The rajah's power now emanated from the approval of his English overlord. The Indian princes vied for titles dispensed by the British Empire; knighthoods, orders and gun salutes all helped to mask the loss of past glories. In the end, the Mutiny cemented the social and cultural barriers between the British and their

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[66] During the British period, India consisted of approximately six hundred native states that ranged from the "Dominions of the Nizam of Hyderabad and Berar," occupying 206,750 square kilometres of the Deccan plateau, to the small states of Western India that covered less than five square kilometres of land apiece.

subjects. Neither side could forget the terrible atrocities of the years 1857-8.

Within twenty years Queen Victoria added the title Indiae Imperatrix to her official list of royal dignities.[67] In 1897 at her Diamond Jubilee Queen Victoria ruled the largest Empire in the world, an Empire that comprised nearly a quarter of the earth's land mass along with a quarter of its population.[68]

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[67] Moorhouse, India Britannica, 96.

[68] James Morris, Pax Britannica, The Climax of an Empire (Middlesex: Penquin, 1968), 21.

II

India Under the Viewing Glass

The late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries witnessed a certain conjunction of political agendas, artistic values and intellectual pursuits which resulted in a dramatic escalation of British contact and fascination with India.[1] The rapid penetration of India by a politically and commercially expansive Britain increased the variety of scholarly and artistic interests in this non-Christian land. The popularity of the Picturesque aesthetic spread the fascination with topography to include the touring and recording of unfamiliar regions, while the development of scientific and historical studies demanded careful and accurate observations of peoples and places in remote areas. Muslim and Hindu India subsequently became one of the most fruitful locations for scholarly and artistic British expression in the nineteenth century.

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[1] There are a variety of methods of exploring the artistic exchanges that occur between two disparate cultures. The art may be studied within its cultural setting, or it may be viewed as the manifestation of one culture's imperialist domination over another. The evidence in this study suggests, however, that the latter approach is too simplistic an explanation of the intent, function and meaning of Indo-British art in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. For the "cultural imperialistic" argument, see Linda Nochlin, "The Imaginary Orient," Art in America (May 1983), 119-31, 187-91; Edward Said, Orientalism (New York: Pantheon, 1978).

The Cult of the Picturesque

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, a new approach to landscape and nature developed in England. Instead of formal gardens and classical architecture, admired in the past, a freer rougher Nature, known as the Picturesque, became fashionable.[2] This new attitude not only encompassed scenery but was also manifested in an interest in the products of the Industrial Revolution and the customs, trades and occupations of the peasantry and working classes.[3] Mere gazing at a scene or subject, however, was inadequate to sustain the pleasures derived from the Picturesque. As a result, amateur sketching and the collecting of picturesque prints and pictures became popular diversions.

Further changes occurred during the decline of highly formalized art and the rise in popularity of landscape painting in England. By the end of the eighteenth century the watercolour, previously used chiefly to tint line drawings, most commonly in the works of draughtsmen and architects, achieved recognition and status as an artistic medium in its own right. In subsequent watercolour

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[2] Luke Herrmann, British Landscape Painting of the Eighteenth Century (London: Faber & Faber, 1973), 110.

[3] William Gaunt, A Concise History of English Painting (London: Thames and Hudson, 1964),110. The widespread availability of inexpensive prints also played a major role in the development of acceptable new subject matter.

applications, the white of the paper was used for highlights, and layers of coloured washes were employed to obtain translucent gradations of tone and colour. The demand for topographical watercolours grew with the proliferation of illustrated journals, newspapers and travel books. With the introduction of the aquatint into England,[4] the soft transparency of watercolours could be duplicated as a method of reproduction preferred to the harder line engraving. Travel frequently determined the selection of the medium for sketching a scene. Watercolour, both portable and available, was by far the most popular material in the first half of the nineteenth century. The only requirements were the newly invented Reeves paints, some sable brushes, a paint box and a drawing pad.[5]

Serious picturesque travellers equipped themselves with the proper guide-books, drawing supplies and assortment of viewing glasses. Various mechanical devices helped to capture the essential components of a picturesque

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[4] Paul Sandby (1725-1809), a highly-skilled watercolourist, introduced the aquatint into England from the Continent in approximately 1775. See Thomas Sutton, The Daniells: Artists and Travellers (London: The Bodley Head, 1954), 88.

[5] In 1781 William and Thomas Reeves received an award from the Society of Artists for the development of their "Superfine Water Colours in Cakes." See H. L. Mallalieu, Understanding Watercolours (Suffolk: Antique Collectors' Club, 1985), 32 for a discussion on subsequent innovations in the field of watercolours.

composition. The "Claude glass," named after the well-known landscape painter, was a convex blackened mirror, which emitted a golden glow to distant views as found in the master's works. After the selection of the scene, optical drawing aids were used to record the landscape and the intricacies of buildings. Their sixteenth-century ancestor, the camera obscura (from the Latin for "dark room"), allowed an image to be conveyed through a group of lenses onto the artist's paper. Smaller, portable and more efficient versions of this instrument were produced in the early nineteenth century. Both the camera lucida, patented in 1807, and the "Graphic Telescope," invented by the artist Cornelius Varley (1781-1873) in 1811, permitted an enlarged field of vision and superior adjustment capabilities.[6]

In the late eighteenth century, a number of theoretical books advanced practical guidelines on the application of Picturesque conventions: Richard Payne Knight's didactic poem, The Landscape (1794), Sir Uvedale Price's Essay on the Picturesque (1794), and William Gilpin's Tours (1782-1809) and Three Essays (1792) on Picturesque beauty, travel and landscape.[7] Gilpin's basic

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[6] Michael Clarke, The Tempting Prospect: A Social History of English Watercolours (London: British Museum, 1981), 18. See pp. 18-19 (figs. 9-11) for illustrations of these drawing devices.

[7] Mildred Archer, Indian Painting for the British, 1770-1880 (Oxford: University Press, 1955), 9.

idea of the Picturesque was "a term expressive of that peculiar kind of beauty, which [was] agreeable in a picture."[8] In his painting, Gilpin was unconcerned with a literal rendering of the topography. Rather, he created imaginative views of nature that shunned exactitude for "[that] sort of plagiarism [was] below the dignity of painting."[9] Gilpin deemed nature defective in composition; her flaws thus required correction by the guided hand and trained eye of the connoisseur. Gilpin's works provided detailed instructions for the adoption, treatment and development of landscape features. The composition was divided into three parts: a foreground comprising rocks, cascades, broken ground and ruins; an off-skip containing valleys, woods and rivers; and a background featuring mountains and lakes.[10] Gilpin attached great importance to the dramatic use of light and shade through which a wide

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[8] William Gilpin, Three Essays to Which is Added a Poem on Landscape Painting (1792; Westmead: Gregg International, 1972), 6.

[9] William Gilpin, Three Essays: on Picturesque Beauty; on Picturesque Travel; and on Sketching Landscape: with a Poem, on Landscape Painting. To these are added Two Essays, giving an account of the principles and mode in which the author executed his own drawings, 3rd. ed. (London: Cadell & Davies, 1808), 160, cited in Carl Paul Barbier, William Gilpin: His Drawings, Teaching, and Theory of the Picturesque (Oxford: Clarendon, 1963), 106.

[10] For the picturesque improvement of a scene see Richard Payne Knight's "Contrasts" of a picturesque and "improved" scene in The Landscape, cited in Christopher Hussey, The Picturesque: Studies in a Point of View, 2nd ed. (London: Frank Cass, 1967), frontispiece and plate facing page 2.

range of moods might be conveyed. Roughness or irregularity, as in gnarled trees, ragged people, shaggy animals or bold plants, was also essential to the picturesque success of a work.

In architecture, too, a monument fulfilled the requirements of the canon when the rational building scheme surrendered to a decadent, dilapidated or fragmentary state. These effects were frequently evidenced in the landscape architecture of the period in the form of fabricated ruins, which imparted a romantic aura to the landscape. Ruins increasingly played a crucial role in the Picturesque aesthetic, as Gilpin notes in his Three Essays of 1792:

> But among all the objects of art, the picturesque eye is perhaps most inquisitive after the elegant relics of ancient architecture; the ruined tower, the Gothic arch, the remains of castles and abbeys. These are the richest legacies of art. They are consecrated by time; and almost deserve the veneration we pay to the works of nature itself.[11]

Peregrinations to view ruins thus became another source of delight for the picturesque-inclined man or woman. Ancient ruins possessed many qualities esteemed by

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[11] Quoted in Clarke, Tempting Prospect, 33. Gilpin's views on ruins, at times, were carried to extremes. "A piece of Palladian architecture," states Gilpin, "may be elegant to the last degree... Should we wish to give it a picturesque beauty... we must beat down one half of it, deface the other, and throw the mutilated members around in heaps. In short, from a smooth building we must turn it into a rough ruin." Cited in Gilpin, Three Essays, 7.

picturesque travellers: gloom and deterioration, mystery and melancholy, intricacy and irregularity. The buildings, as tangible reminders of past events and of the people who built and used them, stirred the onlooker's imagination. The Picturesque became the nineteenth century's "mode of vision."[12] Armed with their drawing paper, pens, viewing glasses and guidebooks, enlightened people set off in search of the new aesthetic.

India and the Picturesque

From the second half of the eighteenth century, "antiquities" were a source of great pleasure and enthusiasm. In England, cultured ladies and gentlemen pursued Gothic ruins or, on the Grand Tour, studied the classical monuments of Greece, Rome and the European Middle Ages. This enthusiasm eventually extended to the topography, customs and inhabitants of North Africa, the Near East and India.

India, in particular, became the cynosure of artistic tastes, for many travellers were excited about the picturesque potential of the Indian scene. Captain Mundy, an ADC to Lord Combermere, the Commander-in-Chief of the Bengal Army, exclaimed:

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[12] Hussey, Picturesque, 2.

> But in the picturesque properties of the scene, how greatly does this Indian assemblage transcend our own! Instead of red, rectangular buildings, square doors, square windows, formal lines of booths, and, what is worse than all, the dark, dingy dress of the figures,... we have here domes, minarets, fanciful architecture, and a costume, above all, flaunting in colours, set off with weapons, and formed, from the easy flow of its drapery, to adorn beauty and disguise deformity...Every hut, equipage, utensil, and beast of India is picturesque.[13]

India's native characters, villages, festivals, religious ceremonies and strange new architectural forms fascinated the British. The rites of Hook-swinging (charak), where a devotee was suspended from a pole by a hook pierced through the skin and spun above the crowd in religious ecstasy, and sati, where a widow was immolated on her husband's funeral pyre, supplied rich though gruesome material for picturesque recordings. The nautch or Indian dance, with its seductive, graceful and flowing movements, similarly enthralled the British.

The vast subcontinent, with its immense rivers, barren plains, soaring mountain peaks and rugged outcrops provided excellent raw material for picturesque subject matter. The profusion of architectural monuments, temples, mosques and tombs, overgrown with creepers and discoloured by the elements, eminently suited the cult of the picturesque. India, in fact, offered so many picturesque themes that in

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[13] G. C. Mundy, Pen and Pencil Sketches (London, 1832), i. 155-6, cited in Archer, Indian Painting for the British, 5.

extreme cases sketching dominated the lives of both men and women.[14]

The majority of artists in India were amateurs; some were draughtsmen, surveyors, engineers and architects. Others were distinguished professional painters like Tilly Kettle (1735-86), William Hodges (1744-97), Johann Zoffany (1733-1810), Thomas and William Daniell (1749-1840; 1769-1837), Arthur William Devis (1762-1822) and George Chinnery (1744-1854). The Picturesque movement encouraged the British to view India with an exhaustive curiosity, which resulted in a vast assortment of sketches, watercolours and prints. Indeed, no other colonial authority or group of artists has bequeathed such vivid images of a ruling order and its adopted domains.

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[14] In Anglo-Indian literature of the period, the word picturesque predominates. Fanny Parks, an avid tourist and amateur painter, entitled her journals Wanderings of a Pilgrim in Search of the Picturesque (1850), while military officer and amateur artist Colonel Charles Ramus Forrest (active 1802-27) named his book A Picturesque Tour along the Rivers Ganges and Jumna (1824).

British Professional Artists and India

> Yet to India, artist sail,
> And if judgement there abide,
> India will thy talents hail,
> Cheering thee with bounteous pride.
>
> (Anonymous)--1796[15]

No professional artists visited India before the second half of the eighteenth century.[16] After 1770 a large number of artists embarked on the long and arduous journey to India for a variety of reasons.[17] As British political power and influence increased, the number of administrators, civil servants and military officers in the settlements similarly multiplied. Residencies were established in the native states and enormous mansions increased the stature of the Presidency towns of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay. When Warren Hastings, the first Governor-General of India, sailed for England in 1785, Calcutta was known as the "City of Palaces."[18] While a few Anglo-Indians collected Indian miniatures and patronized

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[15] V & A, Library: Press cuttings, vol. 3, 760, cited in Mildred Archer, India and British Portraiture: 1770-1825 (London: Sotheby Parke Bernet, 1979), 395.

[16] Pratapaditya Pal and Vidya Dehejia, From Merchants to Emperors: British Artists and India, 1757-1930 (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1986), 22.

[17] Archer, India and British Portraiture, 67. The first professional artist in India, Tilly Kettle, arrived in Madras in June of 1769.

[18] Pal, From Merchants to Emperors, 23.

native artists, the majority preferred to adorn their homes with European works.[19] A market for painting thus arose, not only for portraiture but also for images of specific locations and peoples.

At the end of the eighteenth century, British taste for the exotic and picturesque inspired a new genre of artist-entrepreneur to travel to India on voyages of "guiltless spoliation."[20] In India, these artists explored the spectacular countryside, sketched picturesque views and painted oils and watercolours. Eventually they returned to England with their "spoils" in search of wealth and fame through the sale of paintings and volumes of lithographs. Thomas and William Daniell travelled the length and breadth of India from 1786 to 1793 with a desire to "transport to Europe the picturesque beauties of these favoured regions."[21] The Daniells offered the first clear representations of Hindu temples and Muslim mosques and tombs in their natural landscape settings.[22] From these

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[19] Warren Hastings was an avid collector of both Indian and Persian paintings. See Archer, Treasures from India, 10.

[20] Thomas Daniell, A Picturesque Voyage to India by the Way of China, 1810, introduction, cited in Mildred Archer, Early Views of India: The Picturesque Journeys of Thomas and William Daniell, 1786-1794 (London: Thames and Hudson, 1980), 224.

[21] Ibid., intro., cited in Archer, Early Views, 224.

[22] The British artist William Hodges (1744-97) previously sketched the monuments of Bengal and Upper India during his visit from 1780 to 1783. Hodges' works,

drawings they produced engravings for the profitable publications Views of Calcutta (1786-8), Oriental Scenery (1795-1808) and A Picturesque Voyage to India (1810).[23] The Daniells' travels deeply impressed the British public both at home and abroad. People of culture acquired the volumes for their libraries or framed the aquatints for their houses, businesses or clubs.[24] The Daniells' work was profoundly affected by the experience of their single visit to the East; for the remainder of their lives they returned frequently to the captivating scenes and subjects of India.[25] Their ability to portray India's ancient

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however, feature an unfinished impressionistic style that blends the architecture with the landscape. Consequently, his scenes convey minimal detail and supply less factual data for scholars and connoisseurs. See Isabel Combs Stuebe, The Life and Works of William Hodges (New York: Garland, 1979) for a detailed examination of the artist's works.

[23] For a discussion of the Daniells' travels see Archer, Early Views, 1980. Archer's book reproduces all of the Daniell's Indian aquatints engraved by the artists from their own sketches.

[24] The Daniells' sketches had an even wider significance for their influence on British architecture at the turn of the century. Thomas Daniell advised the architects Samuel Pepys Cockerell and Humphry Repton on the design of Sezincote in the Cotswolds. Sezincote's Mughal multi-foil arches, minarets and domes were distilled from the pages of Oriental Scenery. This influence presumably extended to the design of the Royal Pavilion at Brighton, whose architect John Nash was also familiar with the Daniells' aquatints. See Mildred Archer, "India Revealed: Sketches by the Daniells," Apollo vol. 76 (Nov. 1962), 692.

[25] Mildred Archer, British Drawings in the India Office Library, vol. I (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1969), 43. In 1837, the year of his death, William Daniell showed a painting of Agori Fort in India, a site which he had visited forty-eight years previously.

monuments in an atmosphere of solemn grandeur, at once so familiar and evocative, was largely responsible for instilling a new romantic interest in the architecture of the subcontinent.

Tours by professional artists were popular not only in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. William Simpson (1823-1899), an artist-traveller in the tradition of the Daniells, toured India for three years from 1859 to create drawings for a large-scale project of chromolithographs.[26] Simpson, who was a prolific journalist and budding archaeologist, investigated India's ancient culture and remote areas in a truthful and sympathetic light. As a skilled watercolourist, Simpson supplied imaginative paintings of India's landscape and her peoples to the Illustrated London News. Indeed, Archer extols him as the Time and Life correspondent of his era.[27]

Another professional artist, Edward Lear (1812-1888), journeyed extensively in India from November 1873 to January 1875.[28] He was an intrepid tourist who had previously visited and sketched the domains of Italy,

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[26] Mildred Archer, Visions of India: The Sketchbooks of William Simpson, 1859-62 (Oxford: Phaidon, 1986), 6. Simpson's Indian paintings remain for the most part unpublished as the project was a financial disaster. His publishers Day & Sons went into bankruptcy and as a result sold Simpson's works.

[27] British Drawings, I, 45.

[28] Pal, From Merchants to Emperors, 124.

Malta, Greece, Corsica, Egypt, Palestine and Syria. Lear, who aimed to "topographize all the journeyings of [his] life,"[29] exclaimed upon his initial arrival in India at the "impossible picturesqueness"[30] of the country. In India, he created approximately 2000 drawings that ranged from small on-the-spot sketches to large watercolours. He similarly recorded his vivid impressions of the landscape in his diaries and lively correspondence with his sister and friends. Lear's numerous sketches, paintings and literary descriptions of India's wonders are all equally fascinating.

The combined attractions of eastern romance and commercial gain prompted some professional artists to visit India for a limited time. A love for the country and its exotic people, on the other hand, compelled others to stay for life.[31] A third type of British professional artist never travelled to India, but nonetheless earned a living based on Indian scenes. These artists translated amateur

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[29] Lady Strachey, ed., Later Letters of Edward Lear (London, 1911), 91, cited in Mary Anne Stevens, ed., The Orientalists: Delacroix to Matisse, European Painters in North Africa and the Near East (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 1984), 196.

[30] Ray Murphy, ed., Edward Lear's Indian Journal (London: Jarrolds, 1953), 37.

[31] These "hardy residents" include George Chinnery (fl. 1802-25), James Moffat (1775-1815) and Neil Cormack (fl. 1818-37). See Archer, British Drawings, I, 47-50 for a discusssion of these and other artists who settled and worked in India.

sketches into lithographs or engravings for subsequent publication. The work demanded considerable competence on the part of the artist in the retention of the subject matter, the vivacity and the aura of the original painting. Skilled professionals were in constant demand and a number of English artists rendered their services for the "translation" of Indian watercolours.

Few artists succumbed to the temptations of India during the final century of British hegemony in the subcontinent. As the British became more familiar with the country, their early enthusiasm and curiosity quickly waned. Professional artists now visited India as visual recorders or royal artists for a specific reason or a special occasion. In 1880 an excerpt from the Indian newspaper the Pioneer aptly summarized the history of the British professional artist in India:

> It seems singular, but as far as our enquiries have gone, our possessions in the East appear to have attracted none of our artists, till towards the end of the last century. Then there came a shoal of them; and afterwards the fancy died away...[32]

British Amateur Artists and India

The history and evolution of art in nineteenth century British India is a story told predominantly by the

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[32] W. H. Carey, The Good Old Days of Honourable John Company (Calcutta: Quins, 1964), 210.

amateur artist. Beginning in the mid-eighteenth century, drawing formed one of the expected social graces for members of the middle and upper classes. Like dancing, music or the mastery of foreign languages, the ability to draw from life and nature was indicative of social rank. The growing demand for instruction inspired many professional watercolourists to produce drawing books and teaching guides in addition to offering tuition. A majority of the British who travelled to India during the Georgian and early Victorian periods were thus trained watercolourists.

In an era of great expansion and investigation, paintings, drawings and prints enabled people to experience newly-discovered worlds vicariously. In letters from England, curious relatives constantly appealed for pictures, because drawings, one hundred years ago, were the equivalent of modern-day photographs. Skilled amateurs used paintings of their new surroundings to enhance written descriptions in correspondence with friends and family. Other residents chronicled their years in India by creating personal, illustrated diaries as souvenirs for loved ones. These diaries often recorded certain aspects of Indian life such as the journey out, an officer's first station, or important holidays. Emily Eden memorialized her trip "up the country," with her brother, the Governor-General Lord Auckland in 1837 and 1838, in her journal where she

described the exotic sights and personalities she encountered along the way.[33] Sir Thomas Metcalfe compiled his Reminiscences of Imperial Dehlie (1844) for his daughters as a kind of tableau vivant of former Delhi.[34] As British Resident, Metcalfe was intimately familiar with Delhi's architecture and inhabitants. The "Dehlie Book" featured native renditions of the region's most prominent monuments; Metcalfe provided the historical backdrop for each view. In the nineteenth century both individual watercolour paintings and album sets became ideal souvenirs, for the British set great store by these personal mementoes of travel, friendship and family.

Drawing skills were also important for the engineers, surveyors and gunners of the British Army and members of the Indian Civil Service. The East India Company's colleges at Addiscombe and Hailebury included both drawing and painting classes in their curriculums.[35] The officers

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[33] See Emily Eden, Up the Country: Letters written to her Sister from The Upper Provinces of India (Oxford: University Press, 1930).

[34] Reproduced in M. M. Kaye, ed., The Golden Calm: An English Lady's Life in Moghul Delhi (Exeter: Webb & Bower, 1980).

[35] Archer, British Drawings, I, 7-8. Addiscombe College was established in 1809 for the training of artillery and engineer cadets, while Haileybury College in Hertford was founded in 1806 for members of the Indian Civil Service. By 1823 instruction in Persian calligraphy had been added to the curriculum at Haileybury. For representations of Haileybury College in the year 1855 see Archer, British Drawings, I, plates 2 & 3.

inherited both the tutelage and techniques of an accomplished English artist of the late eighteenth century. From 1768 to 1797 Paul Sandby taught as the head drawing-master at the Royal Academy at Woolwich, the training institution founded for British army officers in 1741.[36] As a skilled watercolourist, he conducted classes in topographical drawing to numerous cadets. Prior to photography, an aptitude for recording the terrain and the locations of forts or military bases was an indispensable skill. An officer's reports needed to be clear and factual since they were often used in the determination of tactical positions and operations; this was no realm for artistic licence nor aesthetic considerations.

Sandby's sensitive and accurate paintings prompted Gainsborough to praise him as "the only man of genius" who had painted "real views from Nature in this country."[37] Unlike his contemporaries, Sandby did not alter his compositions by molding nature into the popular conventions of the day. The combination of objective observation, sensibility to subject matter and mastery of the watercolour medium made Sandby an ideal instructor for the young men at Woolwich. Sandby maintained his post for twenty-nine years; his powerful and pervasive influence on

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[36] Herrmann, British Landscape Painting, 43.

[37] Cited in Peter and Linda Murray, A Dictionary of Art and Artists (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penquin, 1959), 404.

the art of topographical landscape painting continued well into the nineteenth century.

Amateur artists in India could express their artistic bents in a variety of ways. When resting from their duties as soldiers or civilians, they sketched landscapes or painted scenes of life around them. In official realms, they recorded topographical landscapes, architectural views or ethnographical subjects. Whatever their motivation, the talents of amateur artists ranged from the clumsy and naive to the experienced and sophisticated. Still, the majority of these endeavours were infused with both vigour and enthusiasm.

Paintings as Contributions to Archaeology

In the Age of Enlightenment, people were encouraged to examine other cultures in a spirit of eager enquiry. The Asiatic Society in India directed its members to:

> ... investigate whatever is rare [and to] correct the geography of Asia [and] trace the annals and traditions of those nations who have peopled and desolated it... the intended objects of enquiries [being] Man and Nature, whatever is performed by the one and produced by the other.[38]

As part of this growing curiosity, amateur painters and draughtsmen depicted scenes of the various occupations and costumes of the native peoples. Archaeology, too,

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[38] William Jones, "Discourse" in Asiatick Researches, i (1788), ix-xiii, cited in Archer, Treasures from India, 10.

aroused serious research for India was rich in the historical remains and ruins of past civilizations.[39] British artists avidly sketched the Muslim tombs and mosques of Delhi, the baroque palaces of Lucknow, the great Hindu temples of southern India, the formidable Deccani forts and the Buddhist rock-cut temples of western India.[40] These amateur drawings were significant adjuncts to professional studies and contributed, moreover, to the origins of Indian ethnography and archaeology.

Official surveys in history, ethnography, geography and agriculture were conducted throughout India from the latter half of the eighteenth century. The most important surveys that incorporated drawings were those of an archaeological nature. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries both Colin MacKenzie, the first Surveyor-General of India, and Dr. Francis Buchanan, in charge of statistics in the Bengal Presidency, included historical and archaeological researches in their large,

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[39] For the amateur role in Indian archaeology see S. Roy, The Story of Indian Archaeology, 1784-1947 (New Delhi, 1961).

[40] According to Archer in British Drawings, I, 17 only a small number of English amateur artists attempted to sketch the intricate architecture of Delhi and Agra presumably because inexpensive though highly-detailed works by native artists were widely available. A perusal of the material evidence in the present study confirms Archer's view.

general surveys.[41] During the eighteen-forties and 'fifties gradual measures were introduced to protect and record Indian antiquities. In May of 1844 the East India Company made the first serious commitment to the field of Indian archaeology. Following pressure from the Royal Asiatic Society in England, the East India Company's Court of Directors recommended the employment of skilled officers to produce a series of illustrations of India's ancient monuments.[42] The Indian Government responded to the suggestion by authorizing a small sum for the preservation of the cave-temples of western India, in particular Ajanta, while preliminary reports were eventually ordered for the monuments of Bihar (1846-47), Kalinjar (1845-47), Sanchi (1849-51) and Bijapur (1848-49).[43] Between 1829 and 1845 James Fergusson (1808-1886) conducted extensive surveys of India's antiquities in an effort to place the field on a firm scientific foundation.[44] Fergusson wrote the first

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[41] See Archer, British Drawings, I, 27-31 for a discussion of these surveys; also see Archer, British Drawings, II, 472-552, 397-400 for a list of the catalogued drawings from the MacKenzie and Buchanan collections respectively held in the India Office Library.

[42] Royal Asiatic Society, Pub. Desp. from Court, no. 15, 29 May 1844, cited in Sourindranath Roy, "Indian Archaeology from Jones to Marshall (1784-1902)," Ancient India (Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India), no. 9 (1953), 9.

[43] See Archer, British Drawings, I, 33-36 for more detailed information on these initial archealogical operations.

[44] Roy, "Indian Archaeology," 9.

illustrated history of Indian architecture[45] and evolved a classification system for both Hindu and Muslim buildings, which established a standard for his successors in the discipline.

During the chaos of the 1857 Mutiny and the subsequent political changes, these first tentative archeaological ventures were all but abandoned. At length, in 1861, Alexander Cunningham forwarded plans to Governor-General Lord Canning for a methodical survey of India's ancient monuments. The Governor-General appointed Cunningham to the post of Director of Archaeology in charge of producing "an accurate description, illustrated by plans, measurements, drawings or photographs... of such remains as most deserve notice."[46] Cunningham employed both European and Indian surveyors and draughtsmen to produce numerous drawings of India's antiquities. The Archaeological Survey of India was formally instituted in 1870.[47] In 1880 Captain Henry Cole, as Curator of Ancient Monuments, advised the government on the restoration and preservation of India's architectural remains. Like Cunningham, he was

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[45] Handbook of Architecture (London, 1855). Preceded by Illustrations of Rock-Cut Temples of India (London, 1845) and Picturesque Illustrations of Ancient Architecture in Hindostan (London, 1847).

[46] Alexander Cunningham, Archaeological Survey of India, Four Reports made during the years 1862-63-64-65, volume 1 (Delhi: Indological, 1972), frontispiece.

[47] Archer, British Drawings, I, 37.

a member of the Royal Engineers, and a man of great stamina and enthusiasm. Cole produced twenty-two illustrated reports on the architecture of the North-West Provinces, the Punjab, Bombay, Madras, Rajputana and Hyderabad, and ten folio volumes titled Preservation of national monuments in India (Calcutta, 1882-85).[48] Three years after his appointment, government retrenchments terminated Cole's archaeological work; the responsibility of conservation reverted to local authorities. Many years passed before the problems of preservation were pursued with Cole's same energy and dedication.

Native Painting for the British

With English painting so clearly defined by the cult of the picturesque, the British reaction to Indian painting was initially unenthusiastic and disparaging. British amateurs and professionals rarely questioned the notion that their methods and style were superior. The perceived absence of perspective, light, shade and harmony in Indian works was viewed as a major weakness. In 1807 Captain Williamson complained:

> An Indian artist may display great ingenuity, consummate patience and often, great delicacy: but with respect to design, taste, composition, perspective consistency, and harmony; in all

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[48] Cole's work The Architecture of Ancient Delhi (London, 1872) contains the first comprehensive photographs of the monuments of the Delhi Sultanate.

> these, whether in drawing, sculpture, or in any mode of representation, he will prove himself to be completely ignoramus.[49]

James Mill (1773-1836), who considered Indian art offensive and often disgusting, delivered the authoritative stamp of disapproval:

> In one remarkable circumstance [Indian] painting resembles that of all other nations who have made but a small progress in the arts. They are entirely without a knowledge of perspective, and by consequence of all those finer and nobler parts of the art of painting which have perspective for their requisite basis.[50]

Despite the barrage of criticism, the British slowly began to purchase Indian works. After the mid-eighteenth century, Mughal painting was practiced in an increasingly hostile political and social climate. The sack of Delhi in 1739 by the Persian adventurer Nadir Shah and the political upheavals of the 1750's, as a result of incursions by the Afghans, Sikhs and Marathas,[51] diminished the Mughal emperor's capacity as patron of the arts. With the dwindling of indigenous sponsorship, native artists soon drifted to the more lucrative British centres of Benares,

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[49] T. Williamson, East India vade Mecum (London, 1810), ii. 30-31, cited in Archer, Indian Painting for the British, 13.

[50] History of British India, I, 356.

[51] Dodwell, Cambridge, 362-3.

Calcutta and Patna.[52] At first, Indian artists were hired as house-decorators to paint friezes or to ornament punkah-frames.[53] Later, the East India Company employed native artists to prepare maps and architectural drawings, since these artists possessed the required patience, delicacy and neatness for this highly-detailed work. Indian artists were also employed for economic reasons. The technique of the Indian miniature was similar to that of the English miniature on ivory. English-style miniatures by Indian painters were less expensive than those produced by British professional artists.[54] Finally, not all scholars and visitors to India were adept at sketching and drawing. For the uninitiated, Indian artists in Murshidabad, Calcutta, Lucknow, Benares, Delhi and southern India were busily engaged in depicting the occupations, crafts, costumes,

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[52] According to Francis Buchanan, by 1811-12, Patna, a large and prosperous British trading centre on the Ganges, included twelve families of fine arts painters and twelve families of mediocre painters. See Account of the Districts of Patna and Gaya (Patna, 1936), II, 612.

[53] Archer, Indian Painting for the British, 20. Indian painting for the British first developed in the major centres of Tanjore, Madras and Trichinopoly in southern India. Although regional differences can be noted, most of these paintings are characterized by a stylistic unity that may be attributed to the tastes of British patrons.

[54] The portrait miniature was a popular and highly fashionable art form. George Chinnery, who lived and worked in Madras from 1802 to 1825, became the most skilled practitioner of this delicate and sentimental type of art. For accounts of Chinnery and other British portrait painters in India see Archer, India and British Portraiture, 1979.

festivities, deities, and conveyances of the country.[55] The paintings, the modern-day equivalents of picture postcards, were purchased by both British residents and travellers for gifts or souvenirs.

Other factors predisposed the British towards hiring local artists. Mughal painting had much in common with British painting. Indian artists were familiar with Western art almost three centuries before their exposure to British artistic tastes in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Artists at the court of the Mughal emperor Akbar, and at the contemporary courts of Bijapur and Golconda, were introduced to European art by sixteenth-century Jesuit missionaries and foreign merchants.[56] Mughal and British subject matter was identical in its emphasis on portraiture, hunting scenes, landscape, architecture and birds and animals. Both English and Mughal patrons similarly valued solid craftsmanship and verisimilitude.[57] By the first half of the seventeenth

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[55] At Barrackpore and Sibhur outside Calcutta an atelier of Indian artists was employed in natural history painting. See Mildred Archer, Natural History Drawings in the India Office Library (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1962).

[56] The Indian Heritage: Court Life & Arts under Mughal Rule (London: The Victoria & Albert Museum, 1982), 30.

[57] Mughal artists were important in both Indian and British centres. In the late eighteenth century the Muslim princes of India were known for their extensive patronage of literature, education and the arts. The Mughal principalities of Oudh, Hyderabad, the Carnatic and Bengal

century, Mughal artists incorporated European techniques of naturalistic colouring, shading and modelling to give their works the illusion of a solid physical presence. In general, Indian artists were not interested in mastering the use of linear perspective to convey depth.[58] Still, their strong sense of naturalism became a valuable asset for their descendants in the employ of British patrons.

Indian artists slowly modified their ancient techniques to accommodate their new patrons' needs and tastes.[59] Native artists traditionally painted with gouache on handmade paper, used paint bound by gum arabic and burnished the work to enhance the composition. Indian artists, employed by British patrons, replaced gouache with watercolour on European paper, drew in pencil or sepia

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employed Mughal artists forced to emigrate from Delhi and provincial Mughal centres, such as Murshidabad. See Naveen Patnaik, A Second Paradise: Indian Courtly Life, 1590-1947 (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1985) for an analysis of Indian painting in non-British centres during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

[58] Mughal artists used aerial or atmospheric perspective where distant objects are more bluish and less defined than similar closer objects. In linear or scientific perspective all parallel lines converge on a vanishing point in the distance, and a far object appears smaller than a near object of the same size.

[59] Mildred Archer, Company Drawings in the India Office Library (London: William Clowes, 1972), 6. Archer tends to overemphasize the importance of the specifically British transmission of Western artistic styles and techniques to India in the nineteenth century. As noted above, Indian painters were already experimenting with volume, shading and aerial perspective as early as the sixteenth century under the influence of the Mughal emperor Akbar who owned a large collection of European prints.

wash, attempted Western perspective and shading and tempered their previously brilliant colours with drab browns, blues and greens. In the same painting, an Indian artist often compromised by using "scientific" perspective for a door, a rug or a chair while maintaining an overall flattened pictorial space in the traditional mode. This new style, derived from indigenous Indian traditions and imported British tastes, developed into an independent school commonly referred to as Company painting.

Company paintings were available in varying degrees of quality, from cheap bazaar productions to exceptionally fine works commissioned by individual patrons.[60] The quality of the artist's work depended equally on the patron's taste and pocketbook. Not all British patrons were connoisseurs. When Valentine Prinsep criticized a painting by the Delhi artist Ismael Khan, the old man retorted: "These are done for the sahibs who do not understand. I know they are wrong, but what does it matter? No one cares."[61] The finest Company paintings successfully combine British techniques with native vision. British and Company paintings illustrate a moment of a

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[60] Mildred Archer feels that Company painting is characterized by a lack of artistic taste. Company painting, however, can only be valued and understood when it is analyzed as a distinct art form in its own right. For Archer's argument see Indian Painting for the British, 108-114.

[61] Imperial India (London: Chapman & Hall, 1879), 47.

remarkable sensibility to the Indian landscape, architecture and people. The works of both schools, moreover, serve as valuable adjuncts in the study of the political, social and cultural interchanges between the two countries during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

III

Representations of Early Sultanate Architecture: The Mu'izzi and Khalji Periods

Cities and Thrones and Powers
Stand in Time's eye,
Almost as long as flowers,
Which daily die:
But, as new buds put forth
To glad new men,
Out of the spent and unconsidered Earth
The Cities rise again.

(Rudyard Kipling,
"Cities and Thrones and Powers")

Delhi: The Imperial City

As enduring records of transitory powers, the monuments of Delhi hold a central and prominent place, for these buildings testify to important phases in the art, history and culture of upper India. As the popular distich notes, Delhi (fig. 2) is linked to nearly every epoch in Indian history:

> Pahle Dilli Tuwar, piche Chauhan
> Aur pichle Moghal Pathan
>
> First the Tuwar held Delhi, then the
> Chauhan, then the Pathan and Moghal[1]

The earliest reference to a settlement at Delhi occurs in the great Indian epic the Mahabharata where Delhi emerges as the Pandava Capital of Indraprastha and dates to

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[1] Cited in H. C. Fanshawe, Delhi: Past and Present (London: John Murray, 1902), 293.

the first millennium B.C.[2] The name "Dilli"[3] appeared in historical records for the first time during the first and second centuries A.D. when the Greek geographer Ptolemy referred to a Daidala or Dilli situated near Indraprastha.[4] In 993-94 Anangpal of the Tomara Rajputs, the first historically substantiated ruler of Delhi, appropriated the site for his new citadel, the Lal Kot (Red City). In the middle of the twelfth century, the Chauhans, a line of petty chieftains from Sambhar in Rajputana, seized the Tomara's territories around Delhi. The Chauhan leader Prithvi Rajah,[5] Delhi's last Hindu king, enlarged the Lal Kot with the construction of Qila Rai Pithora, a fortified city of massive ramparts, palaces and temples.

The indigenous peoples were not the only architects of urban kingdoms centred in Delhi. As early as the eighth century, Arab traders and missionaries had settled the Malabar coast, and Umayyad forces had invaded Sind in the

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[2] The existence of an urban settlement in this area at this time is confirmed by archaeological data. See R. E. Frykenberg, ed., Delhi Through the Ages: Essays in Urban History, Culture and Society (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1986), 14.

[3] Dilli was the original name of which the Muslim translation was Dehli. The standard spelling is Delhi.

[4] H. K. Kaul, ed., Historic Delhi: An Anthology (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1985), xx-xxi.

[5] Dodwell, Cambridge, 103. The Muslims referred to Prithvi Rajah by the name of Rai Pithora.

Indus Valley.[6] In the eleventh century, tales of India's spectacular wealth led to the arrival of travellers, adventurers and marauders in search of fabulous booty. Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni (998-1030), son of the Afghani king, Sabuktigin, consequently conducted seventeen forage raids into India.[7] Although Mahmud failed to establish an Indian empire, his successors founded a capital at Lahore. In the third quarter of the twelfth century, a local Afghan dynasty, the Ghurids, supplanted the Ghaznavids as masters of northern India. Like many other Islamic rulers, the Ghurid Sultans used Turkish slaves (mamluks) as soldiers; the ablest of these slaves rose from the ranks to the top military and administrative posts. In 1206, when Sultan Mohammed of Ghur was assassinated on the Indus, his prominent slave commander, Qutb al-Din Aybak (1206-1209), seized the Ghurids' Indian kingdoms and declared himself Sultan. As a sign of Muslim consolidation in India, Qutb al-Din erected a large mosque, the Quwwat-al Islam, on the site of the captured Chauhan fort of Qila Rai Pithora. As the first of the Mu'izzis, or so-called "Slave-Kings," and the founder of the Delhi Sultanate, Aybak was the first

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[6] For a discussion on the Arab invasions of Sind in the eighth century see Wolseley Haig, ed., The Cambridge History of India: Turks and Afghans, vol. 3 (Delhi: S. Chand, 1958), 1-10.

[7] Ibid., 162.

leader to proclaim Delhi as the capital of a Muslim dominion in India.[8]

The most distinguished of Delhi's "Slave-Kings," Iltutmish (1211-1236), molded the Sultanate into a vigorous military state. In addition to being an accomplished administrator and general, Iltutmish was a patron whose support of art, literature and science enriched the cultural life of Delhi. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, Delhi's cultural and spiritual efflorescence owed much to the many Central Asian, Iranian, and Arab artists, craftsmen and scholars seeking refuge in the city from the Mongol armies whose invasions of the Near East began in 1220. With the arrival of these newcomers, Delhi evolved from a distant minor province to a city of wealth, prestige and influence.

The Khalji dynasty was formally established when Jalal al-Din Firuz Khalji (1290-1296), a non-Turkish nobleman from Afghanistan, ascended Delhi's throne. Jalal al-Din's illustrious successor, Sultan Ala al-Din Muhammad Shah (1296-1316), withstood repeated Mongol invasions of northern India, emulated Iranian administrative models, and conducted highly-organized military campaigns throughout the subcontinent. With the resources acquired from his

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[8] For a thorough historical analysis of the Sultanate period see Mohammad Habib and Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, eds., A Comprehensive History of India: The Delhi Sultanate, vol. 5 (New Delhi: People's, 1970).

conquests, Ala al-Din constructed a fort and capital at Siri, four miles southwest of Indraprastha, and invested in large-scale building projects to perpetuate his name in history.

In the confusion after the great Khalji's death, all legitimate claimants to the throne perished. After a brief struggle for power, Ghiyath al-Din Tughluq Shah (1320-25), a former governor of the Punjab under Ala al-Din, officially founded the Tughluq dynasty when he became Sultan of Delhi in 1320.[9] About seven kilometres to the east of Siri, Ghiyath al-Din erected yet another new citadel-fortress known as Tughluqabad. His son and successor Muhammad (1325-51) constructed the fort of Adilabad[10] close to his father's capital, and incorporated the fortifications of both Siri and Qila Rai Pithora in his city of Jahanpanah. The reign of Firuz Shah Tughluq (1351-88) was marked by an interval of general peace and prosperity.[11] Firuz replaced his predecessors' passion for military conquests with an intensive interest in building and administration. Not only did he found a new city at

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[9] For a detailed examination of the Tugluq monarchs see Agha Mahdi Husain, Tughluq Dynasty (New Delhi: S. Chand, 1976).

[10] See Hilary Waddington, "Adilabad: a part of the 'fourth' Delhi," Ancient India, no. 1 (1946), 60-76 for photographs and plans of this site.

[11] For a study of Firuz Shah's reign see Jamini Mohan Banerjee, History of Firuz Shah Tughluq (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1967).

Firuzabad, eleven kilometres to the northeast of Jahanpanah on the west bank of the Jumna, but he also built mosques, madrasas and palaces throughout the Delhi countryside.

The Tughluq dynasty barely survived after Firuz Shah's death in 1388. A decade later, Timur, emir of Samarkand and conqueror of Persia, Anatolia and Mesopotamia, invaded northern India and sacked Delhi. The Delhi Sultanate subsequently shrank into a petty, strife-torn principality centred around the capital city. When the Sayyids succeeded the Tuqluqs as Sultans of Delhi, the first Sayyid, Khizr Khan (1414-21), governed as a Timurid viceroy. In 1451, the fourth and last of the Sayyid rulers, Ala al-Din Alam Shah (1445-1450), abdicated his throne to an Afghan chieftain of the Lodi tribe. Bahlol Khan (1451-1489) annexed the Punjab and the Jumna-Ganges Doab to his small empire, while the campaigns of his able son, Sikandar (1489-1517), restored the Sultanate to a prosperous and flourishing state. Even though the Sayyid and Lodi kings failed to construct additional cities in the Delhi region during their reigns, they nonetheless contributed a number of impressive tombs and mosques to the Delhi landscape.

Babur's victory over the Lodis at Panipat in 1526 extinguished the imperial Sultanate of Delhi and inaugurated the reign of the Mughals, which nominally survived until 1858. In 1540, Humayan, the second Mughal

emperor, was deposed by the Afghan Sher Shah Sur of the Bihar Sultanate. Sher Shah was a capable and efficient ruler who built the sixth city of Delhi, Shergarh, on the site of Humayan's city of Dinpanah (World Refuge). Fifteen years later Humayan recovered the Delhi Empire and completed Dinpanah, where he died the following year. With the successions of Akbar and Jahangir, Delhi's importance declined when Agra, Fatipur Sikri and Lahore became Mughal administrative centres. The fifth Mughal Emperor, Shahjehan, returned to Delhi to erect Shahjehanabad, which remained the capital of the Empire until it fell to the British in the Third Maratha War on 11 September 1803.

For a long time, the mystique of Delhi and the "Grand Mughal" held a powerful romantic attraction for the British. From the late sixteenth century the opulent Mughal Emperors with their magnificent palaces and rich culture fascinated both British traders and tourists. By the latter half of the eighteenth century the dazzling grandeur of the Mughals had largely disappeared: in 1739 Nadir Shah had appropriated the famous Peacock throne and the Kohinoor Diamond, while in 1764 the Jats had carried away the silver roof from the Rang Mahal ("Painted Palace") in Shahjehan's Red Fort.[12] During the final years of the century, the Hindu Marathas dominated both the city and the

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[12] Nandalal Chatterji, The Architectural Glories of Delhi (Calcutta: Alpha, 1969), 61.

Mughal Emperor. Indeed, a well-known distich at the time describes the extent of imperial Mughal authority:

> Badshah Shah Alam
> Az Delhi ta Palam
>
> King Shah Alam [Monarch of the World]
> From Delhi to Palam[13]

When the East India Company captured Delhi in 1803, the British quickly satisfied their penchant for the sites associated with the palmy days of Delhi's former glory. As British residents explored the Delhi environs, they were moved by its picturesque ruins:

> From the top of the Kutb Minar [observed Captain Mundy] the eye of the traveller embraces on all sides one sea of stupendous ruins, the Jumna gliding like a huge serpent through the midst. The Mausoleums of Humaion and Sufter Jung appear almost the only perfect edifices among the general wreck of ancient Delhi.[14]

In fact, in 1838 Fanny Parks exclaimed that "you cannot turn your eye in any direction but you are surrounded by ruins of the most picturesque beauty."[15] Delhi's dilapidated condition evoked a melancholy state of mind and produced romantic daydreams. Emily Eden viewed

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[13] Fanshawe, Delhi, 4-5. The site of Delhi's international airport, Palam is barely sixteen kilometres to the southwest of Delhi.

[14] Pen and Pencil Sketches, I, 92-93, cited in Archer, Indian Painting, 64-65.

[15] Wanderings, II, 197.

Delhi as "a very suggestive and moralizing place...such stupendous ruins of power and wealth passed and passing away."[16] Charles Metcalfe, when Assistant Resident at Delhi in 1806, similarly mused:

> The ruins of grandeur that extend for miles on every side fill it with serious reflection. The palaces crumbling into dust, every one of which could tell many tales of royal virtue or tyrannical crime, of desperate ambition or depraved indolence...the myriads of vast mausoleums...these things cannot be looked at with indifference.[17]

Delhi's long history of empire and upheaval, the imposing ruins, the tomb-lined avenues and the grand remains of former dynasties deeply affected the city's British inhabitants. Under these circumstances, the British eagerly sought picturesque views of Delhi's greatly-admired monuments.

The Quwwat-al Islam Mosque

As a powerful symbol of the Islamic faith, the mosque was an object of ongoing curiosity for nineteenth-century European travellers. The mosque's striking forms and ornamentation strongly attracted visitors and colonists alike, only to forbid them access on religious grounds. By the end of the eighteenth century the Quwwat al-Islam

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[16] Up the Country, 98.

[17] E. J. Thompson, The Life of Charles, Lord Metcalfe (London, 1937), 63.

Masjid in Delhi had fallen into disuse, neglect and decay. The British were now free to roam the mosque precinct in pursuit of the enigmatic and exotic world of Islam.

In 1192, on the plinth of the dismantled Hindu temple of Rai Pithora (Prithvi Raj), Qutb al-Din Aybak erected a great 'jami mosque to proclaim the "Might of Islam" (Quwwat-al Islam; fig. 3). The cloister around the courtyard, in which stands a fourth-century iron pillar dedicated to Vishnu, consisted of a simple flat roof on archless shafts, with shallow domes over the entranceway and in the sanctuary. The pillars, lintels and corbelled ceilings of twenty-seven demolished Hindu and Jain temples contributed the building material for the mosque's arcades.[18] Two Hindu columns were superimposed in order to secure an adequate height and thus increase the building's aura of majesty and grandeur. In conjunction with Muslim religious beliefs, any animal or human images on the columns were mutilated or covered with plaster, now long since vanished. In 1199 Aybak laid the foundations of the Qutb Minar (plate 1),[19] which ultimately soared to a height

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[18] Archaeological Survey of India Memoirs, 22, 29; cited in R. Nath, History of Sultanate Architecture (New Delhi: Abhinav, 1978), 1978), 9.

[19] According to inscriptional evidence, Aybak conceived this structure as an axis or victory tower to extend symbolically the shadow of God over the East and the West. See J. A. Page, An Historical Memoir on the Qutb: Delhi, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 22 (Calcutta: Government of India, 1926), 30-34 for translations of the inscriptions on the minar. The design

of seventy-two metres. Upon its completion, the elegantly tapered minar featured four storeys that consisted of stellate, circular and star-shaped flanges. Each section was further articulated by a muqarnas balcony. In the same year, an imposing stone screen of five pointed and slightly ogee arches was constructed between the qibla (prayer wall) and sahn (courtyard) of the mosque (plate 2). Richly sculptured bands of nashqi and Kufic inscriptions, intermixed with spiraling floral forms of Hindu design, enlivened the massive piers of the screen. In its use of both Hindu and Muslim architectural motifs, the screen facade marked the harmonious fusion of two great aesthetic traditions.

To accommodate Delhi's expanding Muslim population in the 1220's, Iltutmish tripled the area of Qutb al-Din's original mosque. He not only extended Aybak's qibla screen to the north and south, but also enveloped the mosque and its minar within a spacious colonnade. Hindu shafts, capitals and architraves were still used for the cloisters, but on Iltutmish's screen facade purely Islamic forms replaced the exuberant Hindu patterns of Aybak's screen. Iltutmish's other building activities included the erection of Islam's first monumental royal tombs in India. In 1231

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of the minar is derived from Central Asian prototypes as in the Kalan Minaret at Bukhara (1127) and the Ghurid tower at Jam (c. 1170). See John D. Hoag, Islamic Architecture (New York: Abrams, 1977), 146.

he built a tomb for his son, Nasir al-Din Mahmud, which was popularly called the Sultan Ghari (Cave of the Sultan).[20] Iltutmish's own tomb of 1235 stands to the west of his qibla wall extension at the Quwwat-al Islam.[21]

The last of the Delhi sultans to enlarge the great mosque was Ala al-Din Khalji. In a burst of megalomania, Ala al-Din planned to encompass the two mosques of his predecessors with a huge colonnade, enlarging Aybak's initial mosque by sixfold. In the centre of the northern extension of his courtyard, Ala al-Din set the foundations for the 'Alai Minar, a structure intended to be twice the height of the existing minar. Six gateways were planned at regular intervals along the exterior walls. Of these the southern-most gateway or the 'Alai Darwaza (plate 3) remains today the most well-preserved Khalji structure. Unfortunately, Ala al-Din's grandiose projects for the Quwwat al-Islam died with the Sultan in 1316. Only the 'Alai Darwaza, the stump of the minar, the foundations of the screen facades and portions of his southern colonnade survive as reminders of the former glory of this "second

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[20] Studies on individual Delhi Sultanate monuments are rare. The history of the tomb of Nasir al-Din Mahmud, up to and including Mughal times, is discussed in S.A.A. Naqvi's article "Sultan Ghari, Delhi," Ancient India, no. 3 (January 1947), 4-10.

[21] Although the tomb is traditionally attributed to Iltutmish, the structure features no commemorative inscriptions. See Page, Qutb, 13, fn. 1.

Alexander."[22] In the ensuing years, Sultanate political power focused on other parts of Delhi. Still, the site of the Quwwat al-Islam flourished until the end of Akbar's reign in the sixteenth century.[23] With the construction of Shahjehanabad in 1638 and the erection of the great 'jami masjid close to the fort six years later, the Quwwat al-Islam was eventually abandoned as a gathering place for the Faithful.

Only the most venturesome foreigners braved the hazards and difficulties of travel in northern India in the late eighteenth century. In August of 1788, Thomas and William Daniell embarked on their first tour "up country" by budgerow along the Ganges. At Cawnpore the Daniells left the river to travel overland towards Delhi and Agra through unsettled regions beyond British control where hostile Marathas and dangerous Thug gangs freely roamed the countryside. The city of Delhi provided the Daniells with an inexhaustible well of architectural subject matter. During their three week stay, they produced numerous pencil sketches of the capital's outstanding palaces, tombs and mosques.

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22 Hoag, Islamic Architecture, 148. Ala al-Din's coins were inscribed with this name.

23 S. K. Banerji, "The Quwat-ul-Islam or the Oldest Mosque in Delhi," Asiatic Society of Bengal: Journal and Proceedings (1938), 305.

William Daniell's journals describe the artists' days of observation during their Indian tours of 1788 to 1792.[24] On the 24th of February 1789 William noted: "Marched this morning to Old Delhi... Encamped abt 1/2 Mile [800 m] beyond the Minoret erected by Sultan Shumsudin abt 650 years ago."[25] In The Cuttub Minar, near Delhi (1808, plate 4), the Daniells focus on three of the most prominent monuments at the Quwwat al-Islam complex: the 'Alai Minar, the Qutb Minar and the 'Alai Darwaza. As a young student Thomas Daniell painted ideal classical landscapes in the style of Claude and Poussin.[26] By the time he travelled to India, Daniell had also cultivated a taste for the Picturesque and the Sublime. The Cuttub exemplifies both the application of Picturesque conventions and the smooth precision of classical landscape painting. The viewer's eye is gently guided from a rocky outcrop in the foreground towards a middle distance, that emphasizes the main view,

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[24] The deficiencies of William's literary style are unfortunate with regard to the Daniells' Delhi visit. William's entries for Delhi consist of cursory descriptions of the monuments, a record of the views sketched and a list of the dignitaries with whom they visited.

[25] Diaries of William Daniell, cited in Thomas Sutton, The Daniells: Artists and Travellers (London: The Bodley Head, 1954), 41. The diaries not only reveal the artists' attitudes towards the subject matter, but also indicate the general state of knowledge with regard to Indian architecture in the late eighteenth century.

[26] Archer, Early Views, 226. The Daniells even brought a copy of Earlom's mezzotints of Claude's landscapes with them to India.

and finally to the background where the flat land meets a vast sky on a hazy horizon. The camel driver in the middle ground serves as a standard means to convey, through the use of contrast, the monumentality of the architecture. The site is depicted with topographical accuracy. In addition to the main buildings, the print features Iltutmish's southern colonnade and gateway, the iron pillar of Aybak's court, and a portion of Iltutmish's southern screen extension to the western chamber of the mosque. The Daniells favoured "singular" forms, which were prized in the new aesthetic sensibility to landscape painting.[27] In The Cuttub the secondary structures are clearly subordinated to the giant minars and 'Alai's gateway, all prominently silhouetted against the sky.

The Daniells found the camera obscura essential for producing quick and accurate drawings of Indian landscape and antiquities. Difficult perspective and fine points could be transferred rapidly to paper to serve as a basis for the final sketch.[28] The Daniells are consistently

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[27] For a study on the cultivation of "singularity" in art and science in the eighteenth century see Barbara Maria Stafford, "Toward Romantic Landscape Perception: Illustrated Travels and the Rise of 'Singularity' as an Aesthetic Category," Art Quarterly, vol. I, no. 1 (1977), 89-124.

[28] In his diary of 1788, that records a journey from Calcutta to Hardwar, William Daniell frequently refers to his use of the camera obscura. See "W. Daniell's journal: a voyage from Calcutta to Hurdwar, 1788, returned by way of Lolldong to Neijeibabad and from thence to Srinagar," cited in M. Hardie and M. Clayton, "Thomas and William Daniell:

praised for their precise architectural representations. In The Cuttub, however, the scrupulous depiction of detail is abandoned in favour of an overall composition that stresses the grandeur and monumentality of the site.

The Cuttub was one of 144 aquatints for Oriental Scenery, a book of views published by the Daniells in six parts between 1795 and 1808. The work contained a selection of the Daniells' most appealing Indian scenes, reproduced in aquatint and hand-coloured after the original sketches. In the early nineteenth century, English printmaking was determined by the needs of watercolour painters and by their concentration on landscape subjects. The aquatint was ideally suited to the precise recording of data about a particular place, as found in the Daniells' topographical works. Aquatinting was a complicated and intricate etching technique that required consummate experience, patience and judgment. Thomas Sutton described the process in his pioneer study on the Daniells:

> A highly-polished copper plate is coated with wax, which is then held in the smoke of a taper until the surface is an even, golden brown. Upon this the original subject is then drawn or traced in reverse. The highest lights are 'stopped out' with an acid-resisting substance and the plate placed in a box of powdered resin; the particles settle like dust upon the waxed surface of the plate. This is now placed in a bath of acid, which bites into the plate where the dust has disturbed the wax. The plate is then removed,

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Their Life and Work," Walker's Quarterly, no. 35-36 (1932), 2-34.

> thoroughly rinsed, and the sufficiently bitten parts are 'stopped out.' The process is repeated until the strongest darks are reached. The wax is then removed and the copper-plate is seen to be pitted everywhere by minute holes, except where 'stopping out' has been employed.[29]

The finished product approximated the transparent subtleties and light shadows of watercolour washes as opposed to the sharp contrasts of an etching or engraving. While the earliest aquatints used a reddish-brown ink, the Daniells employed warm greys, pale sepias and light blue-greys in their prints. These tints imitated the foundation washes or "dead-colouring" common in watercolours of the late eighteenth century. With hand colouring, the aquatint became an exact duplicate of the original painting. The Cuttub exudes an aura of quiet, but monumental, composure partly because of the extensive use of subdued greys, tans, browns, and deep greens in the printing process. According to J. W. M. Turner, the Daniells' engravings "reflected the East as clearly as a moon in a lake."[30] Unfortunately, India's vibrant colours and contrasts failed to materialize in the Daniells' works; rather the atmosphere is bathed in a soft, misty grey light, so reminiscent of continental Europe or England. Still, in their exotic subject matter and familiar manner of presentation, these scenes appealed

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[29] The Daniells, 88.

[30] Cited in ibid., 92.

immensely to the British public, both as documentary records and fascinating pictures.

By the late 1820's the British started to view India in a new light, a development connected to the political and social upheavals of the times. Increased British colonization and the rise of utilitarian and evangelical values contributed to a growing estrangement between the Indians and the British.[32] While many residents, travellers and officers were still avid sketchers, they were influenced more by attitudes and literature popular in England than by their own initial response to the Indian scene. Britain's fascination with India in the early nineteenth century prompted fanciful evocations in poetry and fiction. Robert Southey's The Curse of Kehama (1810) and Thomas Moore's Lalla Rookh (1817) stirred a desire for Eastern romance and exoticism. The aesthetic climate encouraged British painters and sketchers to similarly cast a romantic eye towards the landscape and peoples of India.[33]

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[32] All these movements advocated sweeping social reforms with regard to native Indian, particularly Hindu, cultures. For the manifestation of English political ideas in nineteenth-century India see Eric Stokes, The English Utilitarians and India (Oxford: Clarendon, 1959).

[33] French artist-travellers to the Near East and North Africa were similarly influenced by the romantic literature of the times. Before his visit to Algeria and Morocco in 1832, Eugene Delacroix (1798-1863) was attracted by an exotic imaginary Orient portrayed in Byron's poems and Hugo's work Orientales (1829). See Stevens, The Orientalists: Delacroix to Matisse, for a study of British

The burgeoning interest in romanticism stimulated the popularity of lithography, a printing technique invented by the Bavarian Alois Senefelder in 1798.[34] In lithography the image was drawn directly onto the stone, which was then transferred to paper under pressure. Lithography allowed for greater variety and spontaneity in the final image and was therefore more suitable for romantic landscape, which required a personal identification with the subject and a greater concern for the emotive effects of nature. The inexpensiveness of the new technique prompted publishers to court a less affluent market for books of views, which previously only the wealthy could afford. By 1830 lithography had entirely replaced the aquatint for illustrating both viewbooks and travel journals.

John Luard's (1790-1875) lithograph of the Quwwat-al Islam, Ruins of Delhi, from Adam-Khawn's Tomb (c. 1833, plate 5), captures both the immensity of the ruins and the romanticism of the site. In 1821 Luard joined the 16th Lancers and subsequently voyaged to India in the following year.[35] In Views in India, Saint Helena and Car Nicobar, Luard created the most dynamic series of black and white

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and French artistic expression in the Near East and North Africa in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

[34] Michael Twyman, Lithography, 1800-1850 (London: Oxford University Press, 1970), 11.

[35] Mildred Archer and Ronald Lightbown, India Observed: India as viewed by British Artists, 1760-1860 (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1982), 142.

lithograph scenes published in the 1830's.[36] The views were drawn on stone by Luard himself because:

> ...of the enormous expense of line engraving [and although] this number contained his earliest attempts, and though they [were] inferior to what he hoped practice [would] enable him to produce, yet the truth of the original sketch [was] not injured by a want of perfection in the art of lithography.[37]

The authenticity of Luard's works was not sacrificed for the heightening of pictorial effects, for Luard aimed to record precisely the details of both the architecture and topography.[38] In Ruins of Delhi he also demonstrates a

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[36] Fanny Parks, who sailed with Luard on his first voyage out, noted in her diary of 1822: "Colonel Luard's beautiful and faithful sketches have since been presented to the public. Watching his ready pencil, as it portrayed the passing scene, was one of the pleasures of the "Ely;" and I feel greatly obliged to him for having given me permission to add copies of some of his original sketches to my journal." Wanderings, I, 7.

[37] Views in India, Saint Helena and Car Nicobar (n.p., n.d.), frontispiece. The majority of these lithographs feature the signatures of Luard and C. J. Hullmandel (1789-1850), an important pioneer in the field of English lithography. Lithographs are most commonly produced through the collaboration of artist and printer. For a discussion of this relationship see Gasro Z. Antreasian and Clinton Adams, The Tamarind Book of Lithography: Art and Techniques (New York: Abrams, 1971), 75-85.

[38] Luard's concern for a precise documentation of the facts in his prints may be noted in his introduction to A History of the Dress of the British Soldier, from the Earliest Period to the Present Time (London, 1852). He states that "many persons may be disappointed in the [black and white line] drawings of this volume, because they are not coloured. After much consideration, I came to the decision, that a distinct outline would more clearly show the forms of the various dresses than any other method which could be adopted." I sincerely thank Elaine Wright

keen sense for stylish compositional arrangements. The smattering of local colour, in the foreground's native characters, provides an ideal accent to the exotic landscape below. These colourful figures would have met with the acceptance of Gilpin, who implored his artists to shun ladies with parasols and focus on banditti with flowing cloaks.[39] The scene's dramatic cloudbursts, dilapidated ruins, and strong contrasts of light and shade similarly enhance the atmosphere of romanticism.

A commanding vista of the Quwwat al-Islam could be obtained from the exterior arcade of Adham Khan's tomb.[40] In Luard's view, the sixteenth-century mausoleum of the Mughal Emperor Humayun stands on the left horizon near the banks of the Jumna River. The structures of the site are carefully arranged along the middle distance of the scene: (from left to right) the 'Alai Minar, the Tomb of Iltutmish, the screen facades, Ala al-Din's tomb and madrasa, the Qutb Minar and the dome of the 'Alai Darwaza. A grove of palm trees obscures the view to Aybak's centre

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for bringing the above information to my notice.

[39] "Instructions for Examining landscape," 17-18, cited in Barbier, William Gilpin, 144.

[40] This Mughal tomb, which dates to 1565, is situated between the Qutb Minar and the village of Mehrauli, and is about five minutes walking distance from the Minar. For two nineteenth-century paintings of the tomb see Mildred Archer, "An Artist Engineer--Colonel Robert Smith in India (1805-1830)," Connoisseur (Feb. 1972), 78; Kaye, The Golden Calm, 194.

court. To the north of the old Delhi Gurgaon Road, illustrated here, stand the remains of a late Mughal mosque and serai.[41] In the early nineteenth century, this road was thoughtlessly extended through the complex, bisecting Ala al-Din's extension to the mosque chamber, skirting the tomb of Iltutmish and passing over Iltutmish's colonnade.[42] The road was subsequently removed to the west during the large-scale conservation work conducted in the area from 1910 to 1916.[43] The Quwwat al-Islam's original layout suffered considerably from both deliberate and natural changes over the years. Luard possessed a discriminating eye for scenes that were usually bypassed or ignored.[44] The majority of British artists sketched views of the complex's southern face, often focusing on Aybak's striking Minar. Luard's depiction contributes to a better

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[41] In 1912 the southern portion of this structure was dismantled to create an approach to the Qutb grounds. See Page, Qutb, 26.

[42] The last king of Delhi removed Iltutmish's northern colonnade for a direct route to his palace at Mehrauli. See Gordon Sanderson, "Archaeological Work at the Qutb, Delhi, 1912-13," Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report, 1912-13 (Delhi: Indological, 1972), 123.

[43] Page, Qutb, 46. The establishment of Delhi as the new British capital of India in 1911 gave a great impetus to archaeological operations in the region.

[44] In his book of lithographs, Luard chose to focus on the buildings of the Delhi Sultanate instead of the more popular Mughal monuments. The volume also features the generally undepicted subjects of Indian armour, animals and humble figures such as musicians, snakecatchers and pilgrims.

understanding of the Quwwat al-Islam's western configuration in the first half of the nineteenth century.

The Screen and Court of Qutb al-Din Aybak

Sir Thomas Theophilus Metcalfe, an important patron of native artists, was appointed to the post of Governor-General's Agent of Delhi in 1835.[45] In the late 1830's Thomas acquired a small octagonal Muslim tomb on the grounds of the Quwwat al-Islam, which he converted into a weekend-retreat for his family.[46] He respected the tomb's actual cenotaph, but added a drawing room, three bedrooms and an oratory to the verandah above its main hall. Metcalfe's family album, "Reminiscences of Imperial Dehlie," contains detailed paintings of his Qutb house, which he named Dil-Koosha (Delight of the Heart, plate 6).[47]

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[45] Mildred Archer, "Artists and Patrons in 'Residency Delhi,' 1803-1858," in Frykenberg, Delhi Through the Ages, 275.

[46] The tomb formerly belonged to Muhammad Quli Khan, a foster brother of the Mughal Emperor Akbar. See Sanderson, "Archaeological Work at the Qutb," 121. Metcalfe later purchased the Tomb of Adham Khan to save it from destruction and to maintain his privacy at Dil-Koosha. See Kaye, The Golden Calm, 146.

[47] For his "Dehlie Book" Sir Thomas commissioned the best native Company painters to draw a broad range of Delhi's monuments. Although it is difficult to ascribe any one painting to a particular artist, a number of the album's works are signed by a Mazhar Ali Khan. A survey of artists working in Delhi two decades later lists the name of this artist. See ibid., 12.

According to Emily, Lady Clive Bayley, Metcalfe's eldest daughter, "the grounds on which the tower and ruins stood had been laid out, at [her] father's suggestion, as a beautiful garden, and the place was kept scrupulously clean and in excellent repair."[48] To complement his country home, Metcalfe effected many changes to the site. As his favourite diversion was "brick and mortar," he erected a lighthouse and a small castellated building in the Qutb precinct.[49] He also designed gardens, paths and plots for the Qutb's surroundings and constructed mounds at random locations from which to capture the best views of the monuments. Unfortunately, Metcalfe's "beautification" program seriously impeded early twentieth-century scholarship at the Quwwat al-Islam, for his additions and improvements obscured the mosque's original layout and structures.

Metcalfe's in-depth knowledge of Delhi, acquired over the years, made him the most suitable person to compile a work like the "Reminiscences." Two views of Qutb al-Din's

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[48] Ibid., 148. Her father's fastidiousness with regard to the Qutb grounds is similarly revealed in the following passage from Emily's journal: "Many a time have I, taken a basket of oranges to the top of the Kutub Minar, to indulge in a feast in that seclusion, taking care to bring down all the peel, etc., as nothing disorderly was allowed within the precincts of those beautiful ruins and buildings." See ibid., 128.

[49] Ibid., 148. Fifty years later Emily discovered a watercolour of the fort, entitled "The Metcalfe Battery," at an exhibition on Bond Street.

court from his "Dehlie Book" offer a more intimate and personal glimpse of the Quwwat al-Islam complex. In a view of Aybak's mosque from the west (plate 7) the most prominent features of the site are represented: the western sanctuary, the great central screen arch, the iron pillar, the eastern colonnade and the Qutb Minar. In the foreground the domed remains of Aybak's sanctuary border a rock-strewn pathway that transects the chamber. The precise delineation of the chamber's exquisitely-carved lintels, pillars and entablatures reveals the Indian artist's fondness for meticulous detail. Other elements in the painting, however, are far from precise. The artist fails to reproduce the three extant subsidiary arches (two on the north and one on the south) of the screen facade. As a concession to British aesthetic tastes, for the admiration of ruins was totally alien to Indian artistic traditions, the painter greatly exaggerated the dilapidated state of the main, central arch. The placement of the minar is similarly askew: it belongs to the rear of the iron pillar and eastern colonnade. Indian artists were extremely selective in borrowing from the repertoire of European artistic conventions. The generally muted colour scheme, the interest in ruins, and the full landscape setting are mainly the result of British influence. On the other hand, the inconsistent perspective, the tilted

picture plane, and the occasional pockets of bright colour recall indigenous painting traditions.

A similar amalgamation of styles can be noted in a northern view of Aybak's court (plate 8), also from the "Dehlie Book." The arrangement of the bushy vegetation, ornamented columns, grid-like pavement and globulous clouds imparts a delightful, rhythmical quality to the painting. The artist's incorporation of atmospheric perspective, cast shadows, modelling and subdued colours, however, represents the anglicization of inherited Indian techniques. The composition focuses on a great iron pillar of the Gupta age built in the fourth century A. D.[50] In the distance, the rubble remains of Iltutmish's screen facade project from behind Aybak's northern colonnade. To the west stand the two northern subsidiary arches of Aybak's screen. At first glance these arches appear bricked-in, but this distorted rendering of their inner walls simply denotes a tendency on the part of native artists to flatten receding architectural surfaces against the frontal picture plane. The skewed perspectives and multiple viewpoints of Company

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[50] This pure iron pillar, which features inscriptions of the exploits of a Hindu king called Chandra, was originally crowned by an image of Garuda, Vishnu's mythical bird. According to Nath, Sultanate Architecture, 12, the pillar, which stands in its original place at the site, was viewed by Muslims as a symbol of the minaret and as a victory column. In the eighteenth century the adventurer Nadir Shah fired upon the pillar, which is damaged by a number of pit marks. See C. F. Gordon Cumming, In the Himalayas and on the Indian Plains (London: Chatto and Windus, 1884), 225-6.

works force Western viewers to adjust their traditional ways of seeing.

Colonel Robert Smith's (1787-1873) views of India, on the other hand, are firmly ensconced within the eighteenth-century British landscape tradition based on the style of Claude and Poussin. In 1803 Smith enlisted as a cadet at the East India Company's college at Marlow, where he received instruction in mapmaking and topographical watercolour drawing.[51] He arrived in India in 1805 to work with the Bengal Engineers at Calcutta, where he distinguished himself as a skilled draughtsman and surveyor.[52] The East India Company also required their engineer officers to serve as architects, archaeologists, builders and artists. In 1822 Smith accepted the position of Garrison Engineer of Delhi and assumed responsibility for the repair of the city's Muslim architecture.[53] The posting afforded him many opportunities to draw the capital's splendid monuments, which supplied endless sources of inspiration for his art.

Smith's works record both the magnificence and melancholy of India that captured so many British hearts and imaginations in the early nineteenth century. Two

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[51] Raymond Head, "From Obsession to Obscurity, Colonel Robert Smith: Artist, Architect and Engineer, Part I," Country Life (May 21, 1981), 1432.

[52] Archer, "An Artist Engineer, 79.

[53] Head, "From Obsession to Obscurity," 1434.

large-scale oils, painted in approximately 1828, display different viewpoints of Qutb al-Din's Screen and the Iron Pillar.[54] The first painting (plate 9) depicts an intricate scene from beneath the dome of the eastern entranceway into Aybak's courtyard; the second piece (plate 10) shows a striking view of the screen from the northern colonnade. These intensely bold views underscore the pride and elation Smith felt as he conducted improvements to the Qutb precinct.[55] Both pictures feature animated groups of army officers and villagers, rich colours with vibrant blue skies, a shimmering play of light and shadow and an interest in incidentals, such as pots, dislocated bits of bases and blocks, parasols and animals. In the view from the northern colonnade Smith frames the scene with a large, swirling banyan tree, so cherished by every Anglo-Indian

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[54] Prior to a furlough in England in 1819 Smith worked entirely in pencil or watercolours. During this leave Smith met the Daniells who were producing and showing oils of Indian monuments and picturesque landscapes. Smith was presumably influenced by the Daniells' example in his choice of medium for these scenes. See Archer, "An Artist Engineer," 82.

[55] In the late 1820's Smith effected repairs to the Qutb Minar and portions of Iltutmish's colonnade. Smith's work, however, omitted the restoration of Aybak's greatly ruined screen, pictured here. A line engraving from the Illustrated London News, vol. 31 (July-Dec. 1857), 136, depicts a conservational attempt to forestall the subsidiary arches' further decay by the presence of scaffolding along their eastern fronts. During his tenure, Lord Mayo, Viceroy of India from 1869-1872, ordered the restoration of the screen's centre arch. See Gordon Risley Hearn, The Seven Cities of Delhi (London: W. Thacker, 1906), 55.

watercolourist. The careful delineation of the mosque's western sanctuary, gravesites, richly-ornamented columns and intricate arch designs reveal Smith's early training in the topographical landscape tradition.[56] In discussing the Quwwat al-Islam, Smith remarked on "the grave character of the surrounding ruins and the wide field of desolation."[57] Smith delighted in picturesque decay, but still managed to combine his Romantic zest for Indian antiquities with a concern for truthful representation.

The Qutb Minar

The numerous sketches, drawings and paintings of the Qutb Minar, produced in the British period, permit an analysis of the historical function of these images as documentary records. "If you ask a native, 'who built the Kutab?' his answer will generally be,--'God built it; who else could have built it.'"[58] In fact, the great pillar, which stands to the southeast of the original mosque, was constructed in the early thirteenth century by the Mu'izzi sultans Qutb al-Din Aybak and Iltutmish. The two upper

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[56] By 1926 there were four cenotaphs located in the courtyard, each featuring a high stone plinth and a bier-like stone sarcophagus. A tank was also located close to the courtyard's southern entrance. See Page, Qutb, pl. VVII for the arrangement of these structures. Smith's scenes feature three of the graves; the additional grave and tank were of a later date.

[57] Cited in Archer, "An Artist Engineer," 85.

[58] Wanderings, II, 208.

storeys, enriched with white marble, were restored in 1368 by Firuz Shah Tughluq, who crowned the Minar with a cupola.[59] In 1803 the building was severely damaged by an earthquake; the main entranceway, a number of the balustrades and the Tughluq cupola collapsed. In the late 1820's Robert Smith repaired the entire structure and enhanced its surroundings by the addition of terraces, avenues and hedges.[60]

British period paintings, which trace the intricate changes to the Minar and its vicinity, are best analyzed within the context of Smith's renovations. In addition to reinforcing the whole column, Smith embellished the Minar with an octagonal stone cupola (chhatri) of his own design, which he surmounted by a wooden pavilion with a short ornamental flagstaff (plate 11). Unfortunately, Smith's idiosyncratic restoration of the Minar became the object of

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[59] The lowest storey features an inscription containing the name of Aybak; the second, third and fourth storey inscriptions eulogize Iltutmish; and the fifth storey's inscriptions relate to its repair in 1368 by Firuz Shah. An inscription on the entrance doorway to the minar records a restoration by the Lodi emperor Sikander Shah in the year 1503. For translations of these inscriptions see Page, Qutb, 30-34.

[60] He also recommended an agency "to protect the improvements from the wanton spoliation of occasional visitors" and "the encroachments of the Fakeers of the Town, who would soon again cover it with stone and partition walls with thatched huts and other nuisances."; cited in Archer, "An Artist Engineer," 83. His plans anticipate the endeavours of the Archaeological Survey of India some years later. He suggested a parking area for sightseers' carriages and devised a plan for the orderly ascension of the Minar by ten people at one time.

ridicule, consternation and abuse in Delhi. Fanny Parks, the outspoken wife of a Company writer, expressed serious reservations in her journal:

> His [Smith's] judgment and taste failed when repairing the top of the edifice; even from a distance the sort of pavilion which he erected on the top appears heavy and unfitted to the proportions of the rest of the minar, which is fine by degrees, and beautifully less. Not content with this, he placed an umbrella of Chinese form on the top of the pavilion; it was not destined to remain,--the lightning struck it off, as if indignant at the profanation.[61]

Colonel Sleeman concurred with Park's negative impression of the cupola when he wrote: "If Captain Smith's storey was anything like the original, the lightning did well to remove it."[62] Delhi's jewellers compounded the criticism by fashioning salt and pepper shakers in the shape of the reconstructed Minar.[63] Smith, nevertheless, strongly defended his restoration of the building. He justified his alterations on historical bases by citing comparable examples and maintained that the Mughal Emperor approved the additions.[64]

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[61] Wanderings, II, 205. In the year of its construction the upper wooden pavilion had been destroyed by lightning. See R. Nath, Monuments of Delhi: Historical Study (New Delhi: Ambika, 1979), 26.

[62] Quoted in Fanshawe, Delhi: Past and Present, 266.

[63] Hearn, Seven Cities of Delhi, 89.

[64] Archer, "Engineer," 84. Smith cited the corner turrets of the Mausoleum of Safdar Jang (c. 1750) in Delhi as one of the precedents for his cupola design. For a

The controversial cupola consisted of a red sandstone dome supported by an ornamented cornice on eight fluted pillars, a high stone railing and a parapet of spearhead conformation. Smith's conception, however, is not substantiated by drawings of the original cupola in the Daniells' Oriental Scenery (plate 4) and by Ensign Jasper Blunt in the Asiatic Researches of Bengal (plate 12).[65] In the late eighteenth century when the Daniells and Blunt sketched the building, Firuz Shah's chhatri existed in a ruinous state on the Minar's summit. Smith rejected Blunt's interpretation of the cupola as "too similar to a large stone harp",[66] for Blunt's painting conveyed a crude impression of the former structure. The Daniells' version, however, agrees with a description given by the local inhabitants who remembered the chhatri as "a plain square top on four square pillars."[67] In his design, Smith

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reproduction of the tomb see Percy Brown, Indian Architecture: Islamic Period (Bombay: D. B. Taraporevala, 1956), Plate XCI, fig. 1.

[65] IV, (1794), 324, cited in Page, Qutb, 25. Blunt stated that the minar was "crowned by a majestic cupola of red granite."

[66] Alexander Cunningham, Archaeological Survey of India, vol. I (1862-65; Delhi: Indological, 1972), 198.

[67] Robert Smith's Report in the Journal of the Archaeological Society of Delhi, cited in ibid. Both the tomb of Khan-i-Jahan Tilangani (c. 1368) and the Khirki Masjid (c. 1352-54), built during the reign of Firuz Shah, feature solid stone chhatris, which give a clearer indication as to the type of cupola that crowned the Minar in the fourteenth century. See Page, Qutb, pl. 22, a & b.

eschewed the contemporary visual, oral and written documentation by following a middle course that conformed to the polygonal and circular character of the pillar.[68]

Smith's restorations of the entrance doorway and balcony balustrades were similarly viewed as incompatible with the massive nature of the Minar. In reference to the merlons or kanguras that surmounted the main doorway, both Cunningham and Fergusson denounced the reconstruction as entirely of "Smith's own design" in "the true style of Strawberry Hill Gothic."[69] Smith's "quasi-Gothic" balcony railings also evoked harsh criticism, for Cunningham believed that "the present [Smith's] balustrades might be sold with advantage in Delhi, as they belonged to the flimsy style of garden-house architecture of the present day."[70] The Daniells and Blunt depict the Minar's former balustrades as large battlemented railings reminiscent of Firuzian architectural modes.[71] In his restoration of the

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[68] Cited in Archer, "Engineer," 85.

[69] Archaeological Survey of India, I, 200. Page, Qutb, 21, believes Cunningham's criticisms to be unfounded. According to Page all the masonry above the architrave of the main entranceway is composed of original material, while this type of kangura also exists on the Minar's second storey doorway.

[70] Ibid.

[71] Both the Kalan Masjid at Nizamuddin (1370-71) and the Khirki Masjid at Delhi (c. 1375) incorporate this type of battlemented design. See Nath, Sultanate Architecture, Pls. LXX & LXXIV.

Minar, Smith's aesthetic zeal apparently overrode his concern for architectural veracity.

During the Victorian era, attention to authenticity and prohibitions against tampering with ancient structures escalated in force and energy. In 1848 Viceroy Lord Hardinge succumbed to public pressure and ordered the removal of Smith's cupola.[72] The "grotesque ornament" was placed on a small hillock, to the north of the Minar, where it is represented in an eastern view of the Quwwat al-Islam complex (c. 1848, plate 13). In 1914 the stone cupola was removed to a remote location to the southeast of the mosque near the Dak bungalow where it presently stands as a reminder of the great controversy of the mid-nineteenth century.[73]

The Tomb of Iltutmish

The tomb of Iltutmish, constructed in approximately 1235, is located to the west of the Sultan's northern extension at the Quwwat al-Islam mosque.[74] The compact cubical building, 12.5 metres square, features an arched entranceway on its north, east and south sides. The closed

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[72] Carr Stephen, Archaeology and Monumental Remains of Delhi (1876; Allahabad: Kitab Mahal, 1967), 64.

[73] Page, Qutb, 26.

[74] Ibid., 13. The attribution of the tomb to Iltutmish is not clearly documented as the structure features no historical inscriptions.

western qibla wall contains three mihrabs (prayer niches) on its interior face. The monument over the crypt, to which a stairway descends on the north side of the tomb, consists of a marble cenotaph divided into three distinct tiers. As a contrast to the simple austere exterior, the tomb's interior sandstone walls feature elaborately carved Quranic inscriptions interspersed with Hindu spiral, half-chakra and lotus designs.[75] A shallow circular dome of corbelled masonry courses originally covered the tomb; the surviving fragments are dispersed around the building.[76]

The abundance of brilliant light, provided by the absence of the dome, proved advantageous for artists in the depiction of the tomb's profusely carved interior. The representations of Iltutmish's tomb feature the only detailed interior views of a Delhi Sultanate building. In two Company paintings from Metcalfe's "Dehlie Book," the artists' primary consideration was to accurately describe the tomb's intricate architectural decoration. The careful outlines, subdued palette of stone colours and use of cast

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[75] Only the lower extremities of the wall in the two western angles and the sides of the eastern entranceway remain undecorated.

[76] Page, Qutb, 13. Remains of the lowest course remain in situ on the top of the southern side of the chamber. The Futuhat-i-Firozshahi of Firuz Shah Tughluq states that the Sultan built a sandalwood canopy (chhaparkhat) over the cenotaph of Iltutmish. See Nath, Monuments of Delhi, 29. According to Nath, the construction of the canopy proves the existence of a dome over the tomb in the fourteenth century.

shadows betray not only their nineteenth-century British inspiration, but also the conventions of Mughal art. The first scene (plate 14) depicts a broad sweep of the tomb's eastern and northern walls. The Qutb Minar is glimpsed through the eastern entranceway, three sepoys guard the chamber, and a temporary sentry station is placed to the east of the cenotaph. The second painting (plate 15) features a elongated view of the tomb's qibla wall and northern doorway. This entrance was previously blocked by stones as part of a conservation effort to protect the site from the destructive effects of the Delhi Gurgaon Road that skirted the building in the nineteenth century. The pictures offer a contrast between the tomb's lavishly decorated interior of calligraphic patterns, miniature arcades and colonnettes and the relative austerity of the simple stone cenotaph. Yet the views are based on an interesting conjunction of multiple perspectives. In their attempt to satisfy their patron's taste for scientific perspective, the artists struggled with the representation of the tomb's floor and the cenotaph's tiers. The walls, on the other hand, are flattened across the pictures' surfaces to show the fullest view. Here, an accurate translation of the tomb's cubical organisation is forfeited for the traditional manner of pictorial representation. Notwithstanding these spatial inconsistencies, the two

paintings convey a comprehensive, detailed and vivid impression of the interior of Iltutmish's tomb.

In the late 1850's William Simpson travelled throughout the Northwest Frontier, central India and Rajasthan, often attached to the tours of the Viceroy, Lord Canning, and the Commander-in-Chief, Lord Clyde. To Simpson "it appeared at times as if the whole camp was merely a gigantic sketching excursion,"[77] for Lady Canning's serious devotion to art elevated drawing to an important daily event in the encampments. Overall, the years after the Mutiny witnessed the decline of British artistic interests in India. Depictions of traditional landscapes and now-familiar architectural monuments were supplanted by scenes that documented the sites and aftermath of the Mutiny.[78] Artists like William Simpson sought novel and unusual subject matters, which demanded not only strong topographical skills, but also a highly-developed imagination. In his view of Iltutmish's tomb (c. 1860, plate 16), Simpson moves beyond the simple straightforward documentation of architectural facts: the tomb functions as a stage for human action. Two mysterious groups of native figures linger by the building's arched

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[77] George Eyre-Todd, ed., The Autobiography of William Simpson (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1903), 105.

[78] Delhi artists quickly changed their standard sets of paintings in order to include sites, such as the Kashmir gate and Hindu Rao's house, that had figured prominently in Mutiny operations. See Archer, Company Painting, 195.

entranceways. The painting shows the mausoleum not as a place of pilgrimage, as it was reputed to be,[79] but as a centre of thievery and skullduggery. Both the diagonally recessive composition and the sharp contrasts of light and shade enhance the theatrical mood of the setting.[80] The juxtaposition of present-day life and past Islamic civilisation often signified criticism of contemporary natives who failed to realize the standards set by their illustrious predecessors.[81] The existence of an intentional moralising theme in this work, however, is unclear, for Simpson believed he embraced "exceptional" or non-prejudicial views on the topic of racial character.[82] His animated scenes, nevertheless, rekindled the British public's interest in depictions of Indian antiquities in the latter part of the nineteenth century.

During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the British impression of Indian architecture

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[79] Anthony Welch and Howard Crane, "The Tughluqs: Master Builders of the Delhi Sultanate," Muqarnas, vol. 1 (1983), 124.

[80] Simpson's paintings denote both compositional innovation and an astute awareness of the properties of India's brilliant light. When Simpson settled in Southampton after three years in India's vibrant sunshine he remarked: "To my eye after the bright colours of India, the contrast was great, and it seemed to me that the people went about with the appearance of black beetles." See Eyre-Todd, William Simpson, 103.

[81] Nochlin, "The Imaginary Orient," 123.

[82] Eyre-Todd, William Simpson, 55.

was based primarily on the aquatints of William Hodges and the Daniells. Before embarking for India, Simpson acknowledged that "he spent a considerable time in the library of the India House, then in Leadenhall Street, looking over books about India, such as the Daniels' [sic], to see what had been already done, and to get hints as to places [he] ought to visit."[83] In the Victorian era, the Daniells' picturesque scenes, based on the tradition of the classical ideal landscape, appeared dated, dull and dreary. Their sombre depictions of wide vistas and lofty monuments were subsequently replaced by more intimate and lively views of the landscape and its people. Edward Lear expressed this change in outlook in his journal entry of December 14, 1873:

> How well I remember the views of Benares by Daniell, R.A.; pallid, gray, sad, solemn. I had always supposed this place a melancholy, or at least a staid and soberly-coloured spot, a gray record of bygone days. Instead, I find it one of the most abundantly bruyant, and startlingly radiant of places full of bustle and movement. Constantinople or Naples are simply dull and quiet by comparison.[84]

For his spirited portrayal of mundane subjects, the British public particularly appreciated the freshness and vitality

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[83] Ibid., 92. Simpson retraced the Daniells' journeys in his 14,000 mile trek across the Indian subcontinent.

[84] Murphy, Edward Lear's Indian Journal, 46.

of Simpson's novel approach, which was inspired by his own personal response to the Indian scene.[85]

The 'Alai Darwaza

The 'Alai Darwaza occupies a prominent place in the development of Islamic architecture in India.[86] The 16.76 metre square gateway was constructed in 1311 as one of four entrances to Ala al-Din's great extension to the Quwwat al-Islam Masjid.[87] In both its structural and decorative components the 'Alai Darwaza is incomparably one of the "true gems"[88] of early Indo-Islamic architecture. An immense slightly horseshoe-shaped arch pierces the centre of each outer wall of the monumental gateway. These portals are framed by decorative recessed colonnettes and a fringe of stylized lotus buds at the intrados. The three exterior faces are skillfully articulated with elaborately carved inlays of arabesques and Quranic inscriptions in white marble against red sandstone. An Indian amalaka finial crowns the shallow marble dome. In spite of its

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[85] For a bibliography of Simpson's works see Archer, Visions of India, 137.

[86] The building not only served as a model for later funerary monuments, but also established the subsequent direction of Indo-Islamic architecture. See Nath, Sultanate Architecture, 48, for a detailed summary of the building's primary influential features.

[87] Nath, Monuments of Delhi, 27. The building is dated by the inscriptions on its archways.

[88] Fergusson, Handbook of Architecture, I, 433.

present solid appearance (plate 3), the 'Alai Darwaza suffered considerable deterioration since its construction in the early fourteenth century. In 1827 a certain Major Burt noted that the building was "in a state of dilapidation and destruction" and predicted that "none of it will stand."[89] John Luard expressed similar concerns in his written commentary on the gateway in his book of views:

> It is rapidly falling to decay; being constructed of brick and mortar, and faced with stone, when the facing falls off, the internal structure becomes exposed to the atmosphere, and it will not, many years longer, withstand the variations of a tropical climate.[90]

With its emphasis on stillness, silence and decay, Luard's picturesque portrayal of the ruined gateway (c. 1826, plate 17) appealed widely to contemporary British tastes.[91] Nineteenth-century observers delighted in the decadent charm of crumbling masonry, revelled in the melancholy of ruins and gushed at the sight of dilapidated arches or dark tombs silhouetted against the evening skies. In Luard's lithograph, grey, lichenous stonework drops from

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[89] Quoted in Stephen, Archaeology and Monumental Remains of Delhi, 57.

[90] Views in India, n. pag.

[91] Luard erroneously refers to his painting of the 'Alai Darwaza as "a pure specimen of a Mohammedan tomb." See ibid. Some fifty years later James Fergusson still refers to the gateway as a tomb. See History of Indian and Eastern Architecture (1876; London: John Murray, 1910), 209.

the gateway's walls to expose its structural fabric, while plants and creepers emerge from its fissures to tug at its disintegrating facade. The unbridled growth of plants and vegetation, heavy monsoons, and the destructive forces of ants and termites often caused serious damage to Indian buildings by undermining their foundations, walls and roofs. Nevertheless, India's intense climatic conditions, so destructive to her monuments, were a boon to nineteenth-century artist-travellers in search of the disorder, irregularity and roughness embodied in the country's ruined monuments.

In 1828 Robert Smith undertook extensive repairs of Ala al-Din's gateway. He reinforced the upper wall-facing of the southern facade, but made no attempt to replace the intricate stone ornamentation of the monument's windows. According to Carr Stephen, the exterior walls were originally crowned by a battlemented parapet that was removed during Smith's repairs.[92] In Luard's view no traces of the parapet remain; the print, however, shows the original arrangement of the southern facade's central rectangular bay in its elevation above the flanking wings.[93] Luard's lithograph thus contributes useful

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[92] Archaeology and Monumental Remains of Delhi, 57.

[93] See Page, Qutb, pl. VII, for a conjectural restoration of the gateway's southern facade.

information with regard to the 'Alai Darwaza's pre-restoration state.

Later paintings of the gateway similarly function as valuable historic records of the site. A Company painting in the Victoria and Albert Museum (c. 1840, plate 18) depicts the 'Alai Darwaza beside the small 1538 sandstone and marble tomb of the Muslim holy man, Inam Zamin.[94] As viewed from the south, the combination of the delicately-carved tomb and the massive ruined gateway imparts a highly picturesque effect to the scene. In a realistic landscape setting, the painter has accurately described the southern entrances, walls and colonnades of the Quwwat al-Islam Masjid. To the west, a pillared cloister terminates at the crumbling gateway of Iltutmish's courtyard. A long ornamental wall that connects with the colonnades of the court extends from both sides of the 'Alai Darwaza. The western portion of this wall features seven large windows: the first five are roughly hewn and unscreened, while those closest to the 'Alai gateway consist of red sandstone latticework. Within four metres of the cloistered court to the north of Iltumish's wall stands the Qutb Minar surmounted by Smith's distinctive cupola.

According to Percy Brown, the 'Alai Darwaza's northern facade within the mosque court originally included a

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[94] The tomb is dated by an inscription placed over the building's entranceway. See ibid., 38, for a translation of this inscription.

pillared portico with a small dome.[95] In a previously discussed work by a Delhi artist (plate 13), Ala al-Din's gateway is situated directly to the south of the great Minar. The painting depicts one of the rare nineteenth-century views of the building's northern face, which here is distinguished by a flight of heavy stone steps that ascends to a narrow gallery encircling the squat dome.[96] The scene also features a series of railings on the top of the gateway's eastern wall, which are more clearly discerned in an intimate view of the 'Alai Darwaza from Metcalfe's "Dehlie Book" (c. 1844, plate 19).[97] Metcalfe's penchant for "brick and mortar" likely prompted these embellishments, for Luard does not incorporate the balcony railings in his earlier sketch of the gateway.[98] Metcalfe

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[95] Indian Architecture: Islamic Period, 17.

[96] For a similar view by a native artist see Stuart Cary Welch, Room for Wonder: Indian Painting During the British Period 1760-1880 (New York: Rizzoli, 1978), 116. In his commentary, Welch mistakenly refers to the tomb of Adham Khan, noted in the distance, as Thomas Metcalfe's summer residence or Dil-Koosha. In addition, Welch believes that both views were produced by the same artist. An in-depth stylistic analysis of these works, however, reveals the hands of different painters.

[97] An undated photograph in Habib, Comprehensive History of India, pl. 2, shows an almost identical view to the painting under discussion. This photograph confirms that the native artist truthfully represented the configuration of the 'Alai Darwaza's northern entrance in the middle of the nineteenth century.

[98] Page, Qutb, 18, reports that the wall of the eastern chamber of the 'Alai Madrasa (c. 1315) at the Quwwat al-Islam site contains a staircase that leads to the roof. Whether the 'Alai Darwaza originally featured an

would obtain an impressive view of the mosque's stupendous ruins from the gateway's gallery while enjoying the cool, evening breezes provided by the higher elevation of the landing. Later conservators presumably removed the gallery because of its ruined condition, or its distressing incompatability with British architectural sensibilities.[99] Nineteenth-century paintings of the 'Alai Darwaza not only offer important documentary evidence with regard to the gateway's former condition, but also provide valuable data for future investigations.

The Quwwat al-Islam Masjid represented the beginning of a new era in the culture and politics of northern India. Three prominent Delhi Sultans--Qutb al-Din Aybak, Iltutmish and Ala al-Din--all contributed to the site's development, prestige and glory. The Qutb group also found a key place in the itineraries of British tourists, artists and writers. The lure of ruins and the romantic past compelled numerous people to visit the site and revel in its wonders. For nineteenth-century British travellers the Quwwat al-Islam Mosque was one of the most notable architectural achievements of the Delhi region, eclipsed in scale and

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exterior stairway and gallery unfortunately cannot be determined at the present time.

[99] In Preservation of National Monuments (Delhi, 1884), H. H. Cole refers to the recent restoration of the gateway. The railings and staircase were possibly removed at this time, for conservation records of the early twentieth century fail to mention any restoration work on the structure. See Page, Qutb, 46-49.

grandeur only by the exquisite seventeenth-century Mughal masterpiece, the Taj Mahal.

IV

Representations of Later Sultanate Architecture: The Tughluq, Sayyid and Lodi Periods

Sultan Ghiyath al-Din Tughluq founded the most creative, prolific and energetic building dynasty of Delhi. This spate of architectural activity was initiated by Ghiyath al-Din's decision to construct the massive fortress city of Tughluqabad. Later, Firuz Shah Tughluq claimed in the Futuhat that "among the many gifts which God bestowed upon me, His humble servant, was a desire to erect public buildings."[1] According to the contemporary historian 'Afif, Firuz Shah built a great number of tombs, mosques, cities, palaces and forts during his reign.[2] Like the Mu'izzi and Khalji structures at the Quwwat al-Islam Masjid, the British viewed these medieval Tughluq monuments with great enthusiasm, awe and wonder.

After the major political and social upheavals precipitated by Timur's invasion and sack of Delhi in 1398, large-scale architectural productions in the capital ceased. Nevertheless, significant Sayyid and Lodi monuments on a smaller scale were constructed in Delhi. During this period numerous mausoleums of kings, ministers and nobles were erected on the plains southwest of Firuz

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[1] H. M. Elliot and J. Dowson, The History of India as Told by Its Own Historians, 8 vols. (Allahabad, n.d.), 3:382.

[2] Ibid., 354.

Shah's city of Firuzabad. Consistent with the dearth of outstanding architectural material in this era, few artists during Indo-British times reproduced the period's extant monuments on paper.

The Fort and City of Tughluqabad

In 1321 Ghiyath al-Din Tughluq chose a site approximately eight kilometres to the east of Qila Rai Pithora for the construction of his new capital and the fourth city of Delhi, Tughluqabad (figure 4).[3] Tughluqabad was divided into three main sectors: on the east a fortified rectangular enclosure functioned as the citadel; a larger area directly to the west housed a strongly defended palace, and beyond this to the north lay the city precinct. The arrangement of the streets and houses and the remains of a large ruined mosque indicate a previously well-populated urban centre.

John Luard's panoramic view of Tughluqabad (c. 1826, plate 20) correctly traces the site's irregular ground plan that follows the configuration of the region's rocky outcrop. Luard's novel vantage point, from the top of the citadel looking east, enabled him to describe accurately the site's immense bastions, ramparts and walls. On its north, east and west fronts the fort was defended by a large ditch; a sluice on the south regulated the waters

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[3] Nath, Sultanate Architecture, 52.

from a lake, which was flooded during the monsoon season. By the nineteenth century, the fort's interior area was covered with masses of unintelligible ruins. In Luard's view a number of the citadel's original features may still be discerned in the remains of embrasured passages, loopholes and the presence of a lone entranceway with a cusped arch.[4] As an artist trained in the topographical landscape tradition, Luard aimed to furnish a direct, factual documentation of the site. The animated figures, misty background and expressive shading were added to the later lithograph to intensify the scene's atmospheric qualities, as a concession to the popular tastes of the general public.

The ruins of Tughluqabad's enormous, splayed bastions, overgrown by bushes and grasses, were the most impressive features of the southern portion of the upper citadel. A view from Louis Rousselet's India and Its Native Princes (1875, plate 21), drawn by the artist E. Therond, emphasizes the great strength and solidity of the fort's massive, plain masonry.[5] The imposing stone walls, triple-tiered towers and high fortified parapet prompted the British artist Thomas Bacon to muse on the existence of

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[4] See ibid., pl. XL, for a photograph of this entranceway, which still stands amongst the ruins of Tughluqabad today.

[5] For an almost identical photograph of this view see ibid., pl. XXXVII.

"giants in those days."[6] In all his travels throughout northern India during the 1830's, Bacon "met with nothing which so deeply excited [his] interest; not even the [Mughal] ruins of Futtehpore Sikri."[7] For Captain Archer the fort was similarly "one of the grandest sights ever witnessed."[8] For nineteenth-century British tourists, the city of Tughluqabad embodied the ultimate ideals of picturesque beauty and sublimity.

When Muhammad bin Tughluq transferred the capital to Daulatabad in 1327 and subsequently to Jahanpanah,[9] the city of Tughluqabad became depopulated and eventually ruined. For centuries after its abandonment the site was used as a quarry for the great architectural programs of the later Kings of Delhi.[10] The removal of Tughluqabad's interior structures, internal walls and exterior stone casings considerably hastened its deterioration, which was further compounded by the region's harsh climate. The greatest sufi saint of the Tughluq period, Shaikh

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[6] First Impressions and studies from nature in Hindostan, 2 vols. (London: W. H. Allen, 1837), vol. 2, 305-6, cited in Kaul, Historic Delhi, 35.

[7] Ibid.

[8] Cited in Stephen, Archaeology and Monumental Remains of Delhi, 90.

[9] Habib, Comprehensive History of India, 488.

[10] Sidney Toy, The Strongholds of India (London: William Heinemann, 1957), 116.

Nizamuddin Auliya, had previously prophesied the fort's demise in his ominous statement:

> Either be inhabited by Gujars
> Or be abandoned
>
> Yah base Gujar
> Yah rahe ujar[11]

By 1876, the site had become an insignificant Gujar settlement[12] and important only for its imposing ruins, which continued to lure artists and writers with their echoes of the grandeur of the Tughluq era.

The Tomb of Ghiyath al-Din Tughluq Shah

In contrast to the ruined state of his large-scale work of Tughluqabad, Ghiyath al-Din's tomb is one of the few Tughluq monuments preserved in almost perfect condition. The fortress-tomb was situated within a vast artificial lake and connected by a fortified, arched

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[11] Cited in Stephen, Archaeology and Monumental Remains of Delhi, 92. Popular accounts of the Tughluq period often stress the animosity that arose between Ghiyath al-Din and Nizamuddin Auliya. Habib, Comprehensive History of India, 480-82, argues against this view because it lacks historical validation. The quote attributed to Nizamuddin on the eventual habitation of Tugluqabad by Gujars was probably coined at a later date.

[12] The Delhi Gujars, a much maligned hill tribe, reputedly favoured cattle stealing and blackmail as a means of livelihood. See Oswald Wood, Final report on the settlement of land revenue in the Delhi district carried on 1872-77 by Oswald Wood and completed 1878-80 by R. Maconachie (Lahore: Victoria Press, 1882), 87-89, cited in Kaul, Historic Delhi, 73-74.

causeway with the citadel of Tughluqabad. Built of rubble masonry and covered with red sandstone and horizontal bands of white marble, the sixteen metre square tomb consists of sharply-battered walls and a prominent, marble-sheathed dome, which is surmounted by an elaborate sandstone finial. The north, east and south walls feature tall, pointed entranceways with "spearhead" fringes, while the interior western or qibla wall contains the mihrab. A small octagonal mausoleum (1323-25), erected for Ghiyath al-Din's son, Zafar Khan, is situated in the fortress's northeast corner.

As late as 1902, Tughluq Shah's tomb was still noted for its "picturesque" qualities. Fanshawe surmised that "when the tomb stood reflected on all sides in the lake below, it must have presented a spectacle of unusual beauty."[13] William Daniell's engraving of the Mausoleum of Tughluq Shah (1837, plate 22) in the Oriental Annual adheres to the precepts of nineteenth-century Picturesque conventions. The landscape includes a hazy sky, a middle distance dominated by the fortress-tomb, a foreground dotted with native characters, and "side-skips" of massive ruins, which tie the composition together.

Despite his previous first-hand knowledge of India, in later years William's work became highly romantic and noticeably different from that of his uncle. Under Thomas'

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[13] Delhi: Past and Present, 289.

influence, the Daniells' early prints accorded with the meticulous requirements of the topographical drawing tradition. William, on the other hand, preferred a soft pencil line, bright colours and imaginative compositions. From 1834 to 1837 William provided the drawings for the Oriental Annual, a series of landscape publications devoted to India. The Oriental Annual offered a dubious mixture of travel illustrations and lively adventures, patterned on the nineteenth-century practice of enhancing a tour-book with fictitious material. The text, written by the Reverend John Hobart Caunter,[14] described a fanciful journey through the subcontinent in the late eighteenth century. The drama of these exciting escapades assuaged British wanderlust, if only in the realm of the imagination.

In Daniell's portrayal of Tughluq Shah's tomb, aesthetic considerations played an important role in the scene's departure from a factual record of the location. Indeed, compositional requirements forced Daniell to alter a number of the site's architectural features. In reality, the causeway, which Daniell places on the far right, connects to the main entrance of the tomb enclosure. At the same time, only the northeast corner pavilion is domed,

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[14] Caunter (1794-1851) served as a cadet in India from 1809-12 but resigned from the East India Company because he "discovered, much to his disappointment, nothing on the continent of Asia to interest him." See Archer, India Observed, 120.

and the finial that crowns the dome of Ghiyath al-Din's tomb does not incorporate a cross. Through the printing process William's original sketch was transmuted into a romantic composition of striking depth and dignity; the engraving, however, lacks the topographical clarity of the Daniells' earlier aquatints.[15]

Other inaccuracies, besides the clearly architectural ones, occur in Daniell's work. When Alexander Cunningham visited the tomb in 1862 he found the building to be "in very good order, but the whole interior of the little fort in which it [stood was] filled with filthy hovels and dirty people, and the place [reeked] with ordure of every description."[16] Daniell's romanticized scene fails to describe the poverty, filth and disease, which the majority of visitors to India encountered on their journeys. The engraving's highly-polished finish and detailed rendering of architectural forms invited the spectator to accept it as an objective, truthful image.

In the middle of the nineteenth century, the heightened interest in Indian antiquities attained a new scientific basis. The most distinguished vernacular

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[15] The Daniells were known to collect Indian architectural drawings, which they used as models for their oil-paintings of Indian scenes. This practice might possibly account for the discrepancies noted here in William's reproduction of Tughluq Shah's tomb. See Archer, Company Drawings, 174.

[16] Archaeological Survey of India, I, 216.

publication of the 1840's was the architectural study Atharal-Sanadid by Syed Ahmed Khan (1817-98).[17] The book represented the first attempt by an Indian scholar to document accurately those monuments of Delhi built between 1192 and 1846. Approximately 130 drawings by the artist Mirza Shah Rukh Beg Musawwir were used for the woodcuts that illustrated the first edition of the text.[18] A representation of the Tomb of Ghiyathu'd-Din Tughluq (plate 23) from the Atharal-Sanadid features a view looking south towards the arched causeway and main entrance of the tomb enclosure. Like all the drawings in Syed Ahmed's study, the principal building is placed in the middle distance against a plain white background. Although the work displays European influence in its attempts at naturalism, shading and perspective, it also incorporates the distinct, precise style of Mughal painting at Delhi.

Under the patronage of a declining Muslim aristocracy and a few interested Britishers, Mughal art endured until the final years of the eighteenth century. Throughout this period, Mughal painters produced colourful portraits and

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[17] For a translation of the original 1846 Urdu work see Nath, Monuments of Delhi, 1979. Syed Ahmed's study became the main authority for European scholars of medieval Indian architecture in the nineteenth century. Both Alexander Cunningham and his assistant James Beglar relied extensively upon the work in the preparation of their archaeological reports.

[18] About fifty of the original woodcuts were used to illustrate Nath's translation of the study.

lively scenes of court life, landscape and buildings. In their portrayal of architecture these Indian miniaturists demonstrated the same two- and three-dimensional spatial techniques previously noted in Company painting. In a late eighteenth century Mughal work, that features Akbar's Tomb at Sikandra (plate 24), the artist combines both linear and bird's eye view perspectives to create a complicated arrangement of multiple vanishing points. The resulting image simultaneously depicts the tomb's floor plan and elevation, and thus serves as an important historical document of the site. Working in either Company or Mughal styles, native painters confidently portrayed intricate architectural forms with skill and artistry.

The City of Firuzabad

The fifth city of Delhi, built by Firuz Shah Tughluq in 1354 and now ruined, reputedly contained eighteen palaces, eight public mosques, one thousand madrasas, seventy hospitals and two thousand asylums and hospices.[19] Firuzabad, situated nine kilometres north of Indraprastha, extended from the banks of the Jumna River to the western ridge of the Delhi plain. The Kotla Firuz Shah (fig. 5), or the city's citadel, was heavily protected by high battlemented walls, augmented by semicircular bastions at

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[19] 'Afif, in Elliot and Dowson, History of India, 3: 354.

regular intervals.[20] The citadel's main entrance, on the west, consisted of an immense, fortified gateway.[21] On the east, or river, side a large rectangular area contained the palaces, the 'jami masjid, the Lat Pyramid and an audience hall. The remainder of the citadel included barracks, pavilions, gardens, a baoli (well) and servants' quarters. An unfinished watercolour sketch from the MacKenzie Collection in the India Office Library (1797, plate 25) provides important documentation of the state of the citadel's northeast quadrant at the end of the eighteenth century.[22] The view extends from the rubble remains of an arched gateway at the Kotla's southern wall to a large rectangular building that dominates the composition.[23] This structure's arched facades, domed entranceways, corner

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[20] For a detailed account of the site see J. A. Page, A Memoir on Kotla Firoz Shah, Delhi (Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, 1937).

[21] Ibid., 9. According to Page, an illustration of the gateway appears in Blagdon's Brief History of Ancient and Modern India (London, 1805). It is interesting to note that Page was one of the few scholars to use eighteenth and nineteenth century paintings in his archaeological investigations.

[22] The front of the painting is inscribed in ink: "Ruins of Firozabad & View of the Grand Mosque, 1797"; on the reverse in ink: "Mem. Ferozabad was the Residence of Sultan Feroze. See Ferishta, Vol. 1, p--for an account of this Building. It is near the Bhima--the stone of Asqullaceous & in thin Plates." See Archer, British Drawings, II, 493.

[23] See Nath, Sultanate Architecture, pl. LXI, for a photograph of a similar gateway that leads into the residential area.

pinnacles and crenellated parapet recall the distinguishing features of Firuzian architecture. The citadel's Lat, mosque and royal palaces may be glimpsed in the background to the east of the building. Unfortunately, the present, demolished state of the Kotla prevents a positive identification of the major edifice represented in this painting.[24] By 1876, most of the citadel lay in complete ruins. Carr Stephen observed in his view from the summit of the Lat Pyramid:

> They present a scene of desolation which has not been surpassed...To the west, north, and south the ground is covered with dismantled buildings...half of a wall...a detached domed room...the foundations of a series of buildings...The ruins are heaped up close together nearer the river, but are less numerous as they extend further in-land.[25]

On 1 March, 1789 Thomas and William Daniell camped on a small hillock on the grounds of the citadel about 1.6 kilometres to the west of the Lat Pyramid.[26] The picturesque qualities, singular forms, and dilapidated state of the structures featured in their aquatint Remains of an Ancient Building near Firoz Shah's Cotilla, Delhi

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[24] A perusal of contemporary accounts failed to identify the function of the structure. See Elliot and Dowson, History of India, 3: 343.

[25] Archaeology and Monumental Remains of Delhi, 139.

[26] Diaries of William Daniell, cited in Sutton, The Daniells, 42.

(1795, plate 26) clearly intrigued the Daniells.[27] A domed sepulchral pavilion[28] and a three-tiered circular baoli, surmounted by a four-cornered kiosk (chhatri), dominate this highly-skilled composition;[29] the remains of the citadel's 'jami mosque and royal residences stand in the background to the east. The Daniells' accuracy as draughtsmen was unequalled in their depictions of these ancient Tughluq monuments. Their views were based on numerous architectural notes and pencil sketches of shafts, pillars, arches and decorative moldings.[30] In the Kotla scene, the careful delineation of the structures' ribbed domes, stone chhatri, bracketed eaves (chhajjas) and battlemented parapet demonstrates the Daniells' underlying

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[27] In "The Monuments of Muslim India," The Cambridge History of India: Turks and Afghans, vol. 3 (Delhi: S. Chand, 1958), 589, the Director General of the Archaeological Survey of India, John Marshall, states Firuzian architecture lacks "picturesque charm or elegance." The Daniells' evocative print of Firuz Shah's Kotla documents this change in aesthetic taste from the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries.

[28] For a depiction of a group of contemporary sepulchral pavilions in the Hauz Khas at Delhi see Nath, Sultanate Architecture, pl. LVI.

[29] These rubble masonry buildings are no longer extant. Hearn, Seven Cities of Delhi, 126-27, connects this particular group of structures with one of Firuz Shah's palaces, the Kushk Anwar or Mehndian.

[30] During their stay at Allahabad on 6 November, 1789 William recorded in his journal: "Spent the day in the fort, chiefly employed in making correct drawings of the Ornaments in the Buildings which we have made views of." See Mildred Archer, "India Revealed: Sketches by the Daniells," Apollo, vol. 76 (November 1962), 690.

concern for precision and verisimilitude. Except for the placement of a few minor figures, the aquatint is an exact and detailed reproduction of a watercolour (1789, plate 27) in the collections of the Victoria Memorial Hall at Calcutta. From initial sketch to finished aquatint, the Daniells maintained direct control over the entire printing process. Such involvement enabled them to retain the true subject matter, vibrancy and atmosphere of the original work.

The burgeoning interest in foreign cultures also found a lively expression in the field of ceramics where the Daniells' scenes played an important role. Staffordshire blue and white pottery was often decorated with topographical views culled from the pages of engraved travel books.[31] On a meat platter (c. 1810-20, plate 28) that illustrates the Daniells' Remains of an Ancient Building near Firoz Shah's Cotilla, Delhi, the roots of a banyan tree droop across the sky, while daisy, lily and primrose blossoms embellish the rim. These popular wares widely contributed to India's romantic image in the first decades of the nineteenth century.

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[31] Scenes of the Continent, Asia Minor and America were all featured on this pottery. For a discussion with regard to Indian views and this medium see Michael Archer, "Indian themes in English pottery," Apollo (August 1970), 114-123.

The Lat Pyramid and 'Jami Masjid

For nineteenth-century British travellers, the Lat Pyramid (c. 1367) struck a strong chord of romanticism. Both the Pyramid and the 'jami masjid were the most well-preserved monuments within the Kotla precinct. The mosque, built in 1354 by Firuz Shah, was an imposing two-tiered plinth structure; prayer took place in the upper level, while a series of cells in the first storey was used for shops.[32] Captain Franklin, who visited the mosque in 1793, stated that its four cloisters included domed roofs, which were supported by two hundred and sixty stone pillars.[33] The mosque's main entrance on the north, which was approached by a long flight of steps, consisted of a projecting square-domed chamber with a battlemented parapet. Today, only the exterior shell of the mosque remains (plate 29); British engineers supposedly incorporated its columns into the bastions of New Delhi.[34]

An arched bridge connected the mosque directly with the Lat Pyramid on the north.[35] The Pyramid featured a

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[32] Welch and Crane, "The Tughluqs: Master Builders of the Delhi Sultanate," 130.

[33] Cited in Page, Memoir on Kotla Firoz Shah, 7.

[34] Hearn, Seven Cities of Delhi, 126.

[35] Firuz Shah erected a second lat at the Kushak-i Shikar. It survived intact until the end of the eighteenth century when it was destroyed by an explosion from a powder magazine. See Husain, Tughluq Dynasty, opp. 421, for a curious image of this lat from the collections of the

series of arcaded galleries that ascended in a stepped form around a solid masonry core on which Firuz Shah raised one of Asoka's famous sandstone pillars.[36] According to the Sirat-i Firuz Shahi, black and white stonework embellished the pavement at the base of the gilded lat, which was also crowned by a gilt finial.[37] When William Finch viewed the lat in 1611, there was still a globe surmounted by a crescent on the building's summit.[38]

A Company painting (c. 1789-1820, plate 30) in the India Office Library features a western view of the 'jami masjid, the Lat Pyramid and a group of subsidiary structures. The monuments are shown in a complete landscape setting with a cloudy sky, animated figures and a rocky foreground. The painting demonstrates a good mastery of Western techniques in its use of perspective, shading and modelling. An analysis of the image permits a reconstruction of a number of the site's original features. Here, the Pyramid is represented in a far better state of

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Archaeological Survey of India. The structure upon which this second pillar stands is remarkedly similar to the Lat Pyramid at Firuzabad.

[36] The Sirat-i Firuz Shahi graphically records the 1367 removal and subsequent re-erection of the lat. See Page, Memoir on Kotla Firoz Shah, 33-42, for a translation of this text.

[37] The structure was consequently called the minar-i zarrin ("Golden Minar"). See ibid., 41-2.

[38] Cited in Stephen, Archaeology and Monumental Remains of Delhi, 133.

preservation in comparison to its present deteriorated condition (plate 31). The building's second and third storeys incorporate domed pavilions mounted on short, solid corner towers, in which stairways lead to the upper stages. On the western edge of the roof the remnants of a stone railing encircle the massive pillar, which was damaged sometime in the eighteenth century by lightning.[39] A small circular baoli stands in front of the Pyramid to the south of a group of crumbling, domed arched structures, now long since vanished. The mosque's main gateway and exterior wall appear in fairly good repair; as late as 1741 the mosque was still a centre for worship.[40] In 1875, when the artist E. Therond visited the region, the Lat and its surroundings, for the most part, were reduced to dilapidated rubble remains (plate 32).

A different view from Metcalfe's "Dehlie Book" (c. 1844, plate 33) represents a collapsed portion of Firuz Shah's palace, which was situated to the south of the Lat Pyramid and 'jami mosque.[41] Since Metcalfe's arrival in Delhi in 1813, the roof, walls and rooms of Firuz Shah's

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[39] Ibid.

[40] This evidence is based on a date found on one of the mosque's roof supports during a study conducted by the Archaelogical Society of Delhi in 1847. See ibid., 128.

[41] See Page, Memoir on Kotla Firoz Shah, pl. III, for a perspective view of the river front. Today the citadel's ruins lie further inland, southeast of modern Delhi on the road to Mathura, as the Jumna River changed its course further east over the last century.

Audience Hall, depicted here, had partially caved in.[42] This building was the site of Emperor Alamgir II's murder. His body was thrown onto the beach through the doorway close to the river.[43] The background of the painting features the minarets and domes of the Zinat'ul Masjid,[44] built in 1710, and the Bridge of Boats, which was constructed over the Jumna by the local government. A similar but earlier watercolour by the Daniells (1789, plate 34) shows the eastern face of the river front palace in which open arcaded chambers look out onto the water. The terraced roofs provided a spot to catch the cool evening breezes and were presumably protected from the sun by large crimson shamianas during the day.[45] These eighteenth and nineteenth century reproductions of Firuz Shah's Kotla enhance our understanding of the site's original features by supplying evidence unavailable through contemporary written sources or later excavations.

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[42] Metcalfe, "Dehlie Book," n. pag., cited in Kaye, The Golden Calm, 133.

[43] Ibid. Alamgir II (1754-59) was subsequently interred at Humayun's tomb. See Dodwell, Cambridge, 369-70, for an account of this unfortunate emperor's reign.

[44] See Metcalfe, "Dehlie Book," n. pag. in Kaye, The Golden Calm, 97, and Nath, Monuments of Delhi, fig. 39, for nineteenth-century drawings of this mosque.

[45] Page, Memoir on Kotla Firoz Shah, Delhi, 8.

The Tomb of Mubarak Shah Sayyid

The adverse political climate of the fifteenth century prevented the Sayyid and Lodi dynasites from emulating the vast and ambitious building programs of their predecessors. The most notable examples of architecture during this period are the funerary structures of the kings and nobles. Except for the presence of two octagonal tombs, the Sayyid era (1411-1451) is practically devoid of monumental architecture.

The 1434 tomb of Mubarak Shah Sayyid was the first royal octagonal mausoleum constructed during the Sayyid and Lodi periods.[46] The tomb was originally surrounded by a stone battlemented compound wall, which was pierced by two entranceways on its north and south sides.[47] A Company painting in the Victoria and Albert Museum (c. 1820, plate 35) represents the wall in a crumbling, deteriorated state, while native dwelling quarters crowd the tomb precinct. In a later drawing from the Atharal-Sanadid (1846, plate 36) the mausoleum, now guarded by a lone sepoy, appears in the landscape as a single isolated structure with no

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[46] Ghiyath al-Din Tughluq and Firuz Shah Tughluq were both buried in tombs designed on a square plan. The 1323-5 tomb of Zafar Khan in the fortress of Tughluqabad was the first sepulchre of octagonal conformation built at Delhi. See Welch and Crane, "The Tughluqs: Master Builders of the Delhi Sultanate, 84.

[47] Y. D. Sharma, Delhi and Its Neighbourhood (New Delhi: Caxton, 1964), 74.

supplementary features. Here the tomb stands in close proximity to a pair of Firuzian-style chhatri, or sepulchral pavilions. By this later date the walls and gates had completely disappeared, and the small thatched cutcha huts along with their inhabitants had been uprooted from the site.

Mubarak Shah's tomb, which stands on a plinth, is surrounded by a covered verandah that consists of three arched openings on each octagonal face. At each angle of the octagon the exterior pillar is reinforced by a solid stone buttress. The projecting eave (chhajja) above the colonnade is supported by large stone brackets. Eight octagonal chhatris encircle the dome's windowed drum, and a dozen stone pinnacles rise from the dome's battlemented base. An open octagonal lantern of red sandstone surmounts the low squat dome. Percy Brown criticized the tomb for its lack of architectonic proportion:[48] the dome and chhatris appear flat and compressed when compared to the tomb's wider octagonal base.

In the portrayal of Mubarak's mausoleum from the Victoria and Albert Museum (plate 35), the artist has incorrectly reproduced the tomb structure by adding and subtracting certain elements at will. In the painting, the

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[48] Indian Architecture: Islamic Period, 27. Also see Ziyaud-din A. Desai, Indo-Islamic Architecture (New Delhi: Government of India, 1970), 14; Satish Grover, The Architecture of India (New Delhi: Vikas, 1981), 140.

tomb features an unusually high plain drum, while the buttress support system that encompasses the external colonnade is noticeably absent. Unfortunately, these oversights impair the overall aesthetic effect of the building and moreover diminish the work's potential value as a documentary record. Indeed, the artist's negligence in the depiction of the tomb recalls the words of the Delhi painter Ismael Khan to Valentine Prinsep: "These are done for the sahibs who do not understand."[49] Syed Ahmed Khan's architectural study, on the other hand, required highly-detailed, precise and distinct images based on a scientific observation of the sites. As a result, the drawing of Mubarak Shah's tomb in the Atharal-Sanadid (plate 36) provides an accurate visual account of the building.

The Tomb of Muhammad Shah Sayyid

The tomb of Muhammad Shah (1444), built for the third king of the Sayyid dynasty, bears a close resemblance to the mausoluem of Mubarak Shah, Muhammad's uncle and predecessor. In the later building, however, the dome's drum and its surrounding chhatris were raised to improve the proportion and cohesion between the structure's two main sections. Similar to the drum's pinnacles, ornamental finials (guldastas) embellished each side of the verandah's parapet. With these modifications, the tomb ranks as one

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[49] Imperial India, 47.

of the finest examples of a funerary monument during this period.

In Tomb of a Patan Chief, Delhi (1836, plate 37) from the Oriental Annual, William Daniell accurately depicts Muhammad Shah's tomb as an octagonal building of great size that ascends into a smooth and graceful dome. The dome is crowned by a prominent lotus (padmakosa) finial, which is now missing. The tomb resides upon an eminence surrounded by the ancient remains of royal pavilions, mosques and mausoleums. At the same time, the elevation commands a striking view of the great 'jami masjid in the city of Shah Jehanabad to the northeast. Daniell placed the mausoleum of Muhammad Shah in a picturesque landscape setting of ruined monuments, exotic characters and swaying palm trees. For British observers of the Indian scene, both the coconut palm and banyan trees held a powerful fascination.[50] The palm tree, with its graceful trunk, bushy head of fronds and towering slender lines, induced romantic flights of the imagination. For the nineteenth century British traveller Anne Elwood:

> ...the tall and airy cocoa, either single dancing aloft in the air or representing en masse a continuous shade, the stems resembling the

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[50] Uvedale Price emphasized the importance of trees in picturesque scenes in his Essay on the Picturesque (II, 195): "How many buildings have I seen, which with their trees, attract and please every eye! But deprive one of them of those accompaniments, what a solitary deserted object would remain!"

> pillars of a gothic cathedral, must always be interesting and nothing can exceed the beauty of the more youthful ones, just throwing out its branchy leaves, with a graceful and coquettish air, like a young belle in the pride of her charms, claiming and ready to receive the homage of mankind, to her light and wavy elegance.[51]

In picturesque works, palm trees served as playful complements to landscape ruins and also imbued these paintings with an exotic Indian charm.

The Daniells' classical images of India were exploited both in England and France for illustrations that accompanied more modest publications.[52] In Plain of Delhi (c. 1857, plate 38), an engraving for a volume of British history in India, W. Hughes adds a huge array of exotic details to William's relatively staid rendition of Muhammad Shah's mausoleum. The large foreground composition of the Hughes' print consists of an enormous Indian cavalcade stopping to admire the panoramic view of the city. The scene reflects the romantic idealism that made these engravings so popular, for such large groups were rarely encountered in day-to-day life. The works of both Daniell and Hughes widely contributed to the romantic myth of the East in mid-nineteenth century Britain.

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[51] Narrative of a journey overland from England to India (London, 1830), i, 390, cited in Archer, British Drawings, I, 56.

[52] See Archer, Early Views of India, 236-7, for a list of images produced by other artists based on the Daniells' original works.

In History of Indian and Eastern Architecture (1876), James Fergusson sought to familiarize the West with the architecture of India in an easily understood manner.[53] The lithographer Thomas Colman Dibdin (1810-93) thus produced rich picturesque compositions for Fergusson's architectural studies.[54] The Tomb at Khairpur, Delhi (1876, plate 39) represents an accurate and detailed view of Muhammad Shah Sayyid's mausoleum in a picturesque landscape setting.[55] Fergusson employed the camera lucida for all his sketches and insisted on the lithographer's exact reproduction of the architecture in these works.[56] For this indefatigable scholar, in the Daniells' earlier works:

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[53] Although Fergusson's love for Indo-Islamic architecture was great, he still promulgated the West's cultural and moral superiority as noted by the following quote: "It cannot of course be for one moment contended that India ever reached the intellectual supremacy of Greece, or the moral greatness of Rome; but though on a lower step of the ladder, her arts are more original and more varied, and her forms of civilization present an ever changing variety, such as are nowhere to be found." See 3 ff.

[54] Dibdin's prints were reproduced in woodcuts for Fergusson's 1910 edition of History of Indian and Eastern Architecture

[55] Because of the documentary nature of the work, however, there are no people in the scene with whom the spectator can associate, or use to judge architectural scale.

[56] Picturesque Illustrations of Ancient Architecture in Hindostan (London, 1847), preface, iv, cited in Archer, India Observed, 127. Fergusson was the first architectural historian to realize the camera's value in the documentation of a building.

> ...the defect [was] not the want of correct rendering, but an avowed attempt to make pleasing artistic compositions out of the sketches...which [destroyed their] value as one of information or instruction.[57]

Fergusson was convinced that his views portrayed the most precise delineations of Indian architecture ever presented to the public.[58] From the Daniells' time, the battle between truth and art was a serious dilemma for painters of the Indian scene. In the following years, various efforts were made to reconcile the two and assure the viewer of a work's fidelity. John Luard exemplified this concern in his own struggle for truth and authenticity in his series of lithographs. Still, Fergusson's comments heralded the steady demise of the picturesque viewbook in favour of more factual, prosaic and photographic representations in the true spirit of the Victorian age.

The Bara Gumbad and Masjid

The Lodi era was noted for its square mausoleums; only one tomb of octagonal design, the tomb of Sikandar Lodi (c. 1517), was erected during this period. The Bara Gumbad tomb (1494), in the Lodi Gardens,[59] is attached to the

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[57] Ibid., cited in ibid., 128.

[58] Ibid.

[59] These relatively new gardens were centred around five monuments of the Sayyid and Lodi periods--the tomb of Sikander Lodi, Muhammad Shah's tomb, the Bara Gumbad (tomb and mosque) and the Shish Gumbad. The foundation stone for

'jami masjid of Sikandar Lodi (Bara Gumbad Masjid).[60] The mausoleum is a successful example of the square-planned tomb type. The high arched entranceway in the centre of each of the tomb's sides is contained within a slightly projecting rectangular frame. The remainder of the facades are articulated into two or three storeys defined by a series of shallow arched recesses and window openings. In its high drum and dome, battlemented parapet, pinnacles, brackets and lotus finial, the Bara Gumbad recalls the octagonal tombs of the Sayyid period.

While no large congregational mosques were constructed in Delhi during the Lodi era,[61] private mosques were associated with a number of the tombs. Annexed to the Bara Gumbad was a walled courtyard with an ornately decorated mosque on the west; a small arched structure connected the two buildings on the east. The eastern facade of the Bara Gumbad Masjid is divided into five arched bays, which are embellished with fine stucco ornament of foliage patterns and Quranic verses. The building also incorporates a basement chamber (tahkhana), sloping turrets at the rear corners and three spherical domes with lotus finials. The

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the gardens was set by Lady Willingdon on 9 April, 1936. See S. Muthiah, ed., Delhi (Madras: Tamilnad, 1985), 54.

[60] A Persian inscription over the southern mihrab records the date (1494) and name of the mosque. See Nath, Sultanate Architecture, 108.

[61] Brown, Indian Architecture: Islamic Period, 28.

stepped platform in the middle of the court formed the cenotaph of the structure's builder.[62]

In an engraving (1836, plate 40) by William Daniell from the Oriental Annual, the massive dome of the Bara Gumbad towers impressively over the adjacent mosque.[63] The Shish Gumbad (c. 1490), a square two-tiered polychrome tomb, flanks the 'jami masjid on the west. The image conforms to the nineteenth century conventions that were required for the picturesque treatment of landscape subjects: a foreground of ancient remains; a middle distance that features the main subject silhouetted against the sky, and a background of soft mists and clouds. In his romanticized interpretation of the landscape, however, William advanced far beyond the passively picturesque mood of the Daniells' earlier works. The sepoys, camel driver, prancing ponies and palanquined elephant, placed in the large, expansive foreground, considerably heightened the overall mood of the engraving. Westerners were rarely portrayed in these picturesque views of India. The absence of any European presence forced the spectator to overlook

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[62] Sharma, Delhi and Its Neighbourhood, 78.

[63] In 1871-2 J. D. Beglar found the interior of the mosque, which was being used as a cowshed, blackened by soot. See Archaeological Survey of India (1871-2; Varanasi: Indological, 1966), 68.

the artist's role in the generation of the scene, which was consequently accepted as an objective, literal fact.[64]

Mirza Shah's portrayal of the Bara Gumbad and Masjid (1846, plate 41) from the Atharal-Sanadid, on the other hand, is a precise, detailed depiction of these Lodi structures. In the Daniell version, the battlements and windows, that embellish the drum of the Bara Gumbad's dome, are mistakenly replaced by a series of slender delicate finials, which nevertheless provide a pleasant contrast to the overall solidity of the tomb. While Daniell characteristically sacrifices architectural veracity for pictorial concerns, Musawwir faithfully records the Bara Gumbad's most prominent features as demanded by the scientific exigencies of Syed Ahmad Khan's architectural treatise.

With the discussion of the Bara Gumbad and Masjid the analysis of representations of later Delhi Sultanate architecture comes to a close.[65] In 1540 a new ruler, the Afghan Sher Shah from the race of Sur, ascended the throne of Delhi.[66] With its grand ceremonial gateways, Sher Shah's citadel, the Purana Qila (c. 1542), provided British

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[64] Nochlin, "The Imaginary Orient," 122.

[65] The Atharal-Sanadid contains six additional representations of Lodi monuments that demonstrate the same concern for accuracy and detail. For documentation of these and a number of unidentifiable tombs of the period see Appendix 2.

[66] Dodwell, Cambridge, 260.

sightseers with a tangible reminder of the days of oriental pomp and splendour. Under the sustained patronage of the later Mughal emperors, the Indo-Islamic architectural tradition evolved into a sumptuous art form. For British colonists and tourists alike, Mughal monuments aroused a romantic enthusiasm, which in turn led to an insatiable demand for picturesque reproductions.[67]

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[67] Renderings of Mughal architecture in Delhi are restricted primarily to Shahjehan's Red Fort and Palace, the Jami Masjid, and the tombs of Humayun and Safdar Jang. For other Mughal architectural images the Raj painters looked to Agra, Sikandra and Fatipur Sikri where the mausoleums of Akbar, Iti'mad al Daulat and Salim Chishti, the Moti Masjid, the Panch Mahal and, above all, the Taj Mahal afforded picturesque delight.

CONCLUSION

On 1 November 1858 the British Crown assumed the powers and privileges of the Honourable East India Company.[1] During the last twenty years of Company rule, as it consolidated its power in India, British administrators became intent on reforming Indian society through both moral and political measures. The Mutiny, or First Indian War of Independence, simply crystallized the gulf between the Indians and the British. One of the earliest signs of this division was a gradual intolerance towards Indian religions. The early British residents viewed the religious festivals of Muharram and Durga puja with picturesque delight. After 1858, under the growing influence of Evangelism, many Britishers scorned the Hindu as a heathen with an "abominable creed," practicing "revolting superstitions."[2] This judgement of moral depravity, on the part of some Britishers, contributed to the decline in interest in India's peoples and culture.[3]

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[1] Dodwell, Cambridge, 592.

[2] F. J. H. Darton, The Life and Times of Mrs. Sherwood (London, 1910), 280, cited in Archer, Indian Painting for the British, 100.

[3] Still, the majority of British scholarship on Indian art, both Muslim and Hindu, was developed after 1858. For example see Cunningham, Archaeological Survey of India, 1862-1865; Cole, Architecture of Ancient Delhi, 1872. Likewise, some of the best writing on India, for instance Kipling's Kim with its acute observation of Indian life and sympathetic depiction of natives, was produced after 1858.

The British view of art and its role in education similarly influenced this change in outlook.[4] The formerly fashionable picturesque was replaced by a narrative art infused with ethical and moral precepts as part of an emerging Victorian conscience. Drawing and watercolour painting were now considered unmanly accomplishments and frivolous pastimes only suitable for women. The leisurely tours in palanquin and budgerow disappeared with the advent of the East Indian Railway in 1854 and, as a result, the once numerous opportunities for sketching vanished. As India ceased to be an unknown quantity, the practice of illustrating letters home with depictions of exotic characters, ornate buildings and colourful festivals was eventually discontinued. All these factors combined to detrimentally affect British painting of the Indian scene. The mid-nineteenth century invention of photography, however, dealt the final blow to this once flourishing pursuit. As creators of visual records, artists played a role that was subsequently usurped, as the nineteenth century progressed, by photography. In the Victorian era,

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[4] The Company's first training academy at Hertford included watercolour instruction in the syllabus; later, at Haileybury, the course was dropped altogether from the curriculum. See Archer, Indian Painting for the British, 102-3.

photographers supplied images of Anglo-India in its heyday or "High Noon of Empire."[5]

The introduction of the daguerreotype in 1839, and later of Fox Talbot's calotype technique in 1841,[6] undermined the status of the visual artist in India. While the Calcutta Directory's 1840 edition registered four professional portrait painters active in the city, the 1849 issue failed to list a single painter.[7] In 1854, the first photographic society on the subcontinent was established in Bombay; Bengal and Madras founded similar associations the following year.[8] In 1855, the British East India Company replaced the draughtsman with the more productive and efficient photographer. In a letter to India in the same year the East India Company credited:

> ...photography as a means by which representations may be obtained of scenes and buildings, with the advantages of perfect accuracy, small expenditure of time and moderate cash. We have recently desired the Government of Bombay to discontinue the employment of

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[5] Michael Edwardes, High Noon of Empire: Indian under Curzon (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1965).

[6] With the daguerreotype, an individual photograph could not be reproduced. Talbot's light-sensitive paper and the invention of the negative-positive process solved this dilemma. See Ray Desmond, "Photography in India during the nineteenth century," India Office Library and Records Report (1974), 8.

[7] Clark Worswick and Ainslie Embree, The Last Empire: Photography in British India, 1855-1911 (New York: Aperture, 1976), 3.

[8] Ibid., 4.

> draughtsmen in the delineation of antiquities of Western India, and to employ photography instead, and it is our desire that this method be generally substituted throughout India...[9]

Photographs, as complements to standard measured drawings in archaeological investigations, thus became an indispensable feature of the published journals of the Archaeological Survey of India. Unlike their painted counterparts, however, photographic documentation failed to portray India's incomparable properties of light, gradually unfolding distances, and dramatic contrasts of brilliant colour. Architectural photographs, intrinsically static and two-dimensional, could never give viewers a true feeling for the totality and spatial rhythm of a particular building. Still, some artists used photographs as a primary resource for recreating Indian landscape and monuments. Valentine Prinsep, who met the native artist Ismael Khan in 1877, lamented the fact that Delhi artists "work from photographs and never by any chance from nature."[10] British artists in India similarly employed photographs as visual aids. After attempting to sketch the monolithic temples of Mahabalipuram, Edward Lear sadly recorded in his journal that his drawings would be useless unless he could procure photographs of the architectural

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[9] India Office Records (IOR): E/4/829 India and Bengal Despatches vol. 90. Public letter no. 22 of 1855, para. 3, cited in Desmond, "Photography in India," 17.

[10] Imperial India, 152.

remains.[11] Lear and other British artists used photographs for recording exotic and unusual buildings in much the same manner as their earlier counterparts relied on the camera obscura. Photographs furnished precise delineations of ancient monuments, local rites or customs, and indigenous peoples for varied groups of archaeologists, tourists, anthropologists, and indeed artists themselves.

Between 1860 and 1890, Indian commercial photography establishments assumed the work of professional painters who, like the Daniells, had previously specialized in picturesque and exotic scenes of the subcontinent.[12] A list of views offered by commercial studios in Calcutta and Bombay recapitulates the same sites visited by the first artists to journey to India one hundred years previously.[13] Photographers adopted the same artistic traditions embraced by earlier generations of British artists. The commercial photographer Samuel Bourne (1834-1912), the ultra purveyor of nineteenth century Indian scenes, remarked on his stay in Kashmir: "The first three days after my arrival at

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[11] Edward Lear's "Indian Journals," 26 August 1874, cited in Vidya Dehejia, Impossible Picturesqueness: Edward Lear's Indian Watercolours, 1873-1875 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989).

[12] Indian photographers were also active in this period. See Judith Mara Gutman, Through Indian Eyes (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982) for an insightful interpretation of photographic images produced by the country's native visual chroniclers.

[13] Worswick and Embree, The Last Empire, 9.

Srinugger were spent in 'wanderings in search of the picturesque.'"[14] Photographers assumed not only the subjects, conventions and cliches of the first British artists to portray India, but also their identical sources of patronage and support. By the 1860's, photographs were used to illustrate volumes that featured the topography, architecture and ethnography of India. In 1868, The People of India: A Series of Photographic Illustrations with Descriptive Letterpress of the Races and Tribes of Hindustan appeared with Lord Canning's full viceregal approval.

In 1858, the seasoned photographer Felice Antonio Beato (1830-1904) hastened to India to record the aftermath of the Indian Mutiny: the pummelled barracks at Cawnpore, the Kashmir Gate at Delhi, the Residency of Lucknow and the Secundra Bagh. In the late nineteenth century, Indian architectural photography was generally concerned with the country's most famous monuments--the Taj Mahal, the Benares ghats, the Tanjore Temple. Beato rarely depicted buildings entirely for their architectural appeal. A photograph of the Qutb Minar at the Quwwat al-Islam Masjid (c. 1858-60, plate 42) forms one of his most striking views. In order to accommodate the fantastic height of the pillar, he vertically juxtaposed two negatives for the reproductive

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[14] British Journal of Photography, Jan. 4, 1867, 4, cited in Pal and Dehejia, From Merchants to Emperors, 186.

process. Beato's dramatic, angled shot of the Minar, emphasized by deep contrasts of light and shadow, exaggerates the scale and massiveness of the great, stone column. Plastic diversity, architectonic values and textural surfaces are all accentuated in this professional shot. Photography, proclaimed as an objective and truthful medium, was hardly exempt from the blandishments of romanticism and the picturesque.[15]

The preceding chapters have analyzed the significance of aesthetic considerations, patronage, and the artist's choice of medium in the painted translation of Sultanate architectural forms. The production of these pictures depended on a favourable environment of patronage, which resulted from a delicate interaction of traditions, cultural institutions, prevalent social and economic trends, and on-going political developments. Without an awareness of the patron's role in these reproductions, one cannot evaluate the merits of British painting of the

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[15] In general, though, the medium of photography allowed for a more honest, direct portrayal of India's topography, architecture and ethnography. Realistic photographic images awakened the British public to a less palatable India. Through the lens of the amateur photographer, Britishers learned that India was more than a land of sahibs and memsahibs, mendicants and maharajas, tiger hunts and pigsticking and secluded hillstations and picturesque ruins. Sadly, India was also a land of great poverty and starvation, floods, cyclones and famines, desolation and death. See Pal, From Merchants to Emperors, 211, pl. 222.

Indian scene, or appreciate the mixed style of Company works. Indeed, the varied patronage of Indo-British painting is particularly meaningful when analyzed within the context of architectural subject matter. The realities portrayed in these paintings were essentially fashioned to promote the opinions, values and tastes of Anglo-Indian patrons on the subcontinent, or English patrons back at home. The theory and conventions of the picturesque prevailed. Those monuments with the greatest picturesque or sublime potential--the Quwwat al-Islam Masjid, Tughluqabad or the Lat Pyramid-- were deemed most worthy as pictorial subject matter. Popular aesthetics also determined the emphasis of certain elements of Sultanate architecture, as well as a building's disposition in its natural landscape setting. Crumbling arches, dilapidated tombs and exotic columns formed the order of the day. In the final analysis, patrons strongly determined the subject matter, scope, quality and even accuracy of works incorporated in picturesque viewbooks, architectural treatises and personal journals.

For the most part, the picturesque forts, tombs and mosques of the Delhi Sultanate were drawn and painted with truthfulness and sympathy by both British and native artists. Renderings of the same monuments by different artists or draughtsmen often demonstrate an instructive and fascinating difference. This applies not only to the

harmony and proportion of architectural forms, but also to the building's disposition or arrangement in the landscape. Sultanate architectural images in this study demonstrate that both British and Company artists stamped their own individual conceptions of reality on the subject matter.

Finally, Sultanate architectural views serve as a repository of documentation of valuable cultural resources. In many instances, the images are all that exist in the public record of lost, destroyed or ruined Indo-Islamic monuments. As factual visual records of important Indian antiquities, the paintings also make an enduring contribution to the field of architectural history. These images function as one of the few aids to reconstruct the previous appearance of these ancient edifices. In some cases, ironically, the less durable works of painter and printer survive to outlast the hardier constructions of architect and stonemason.

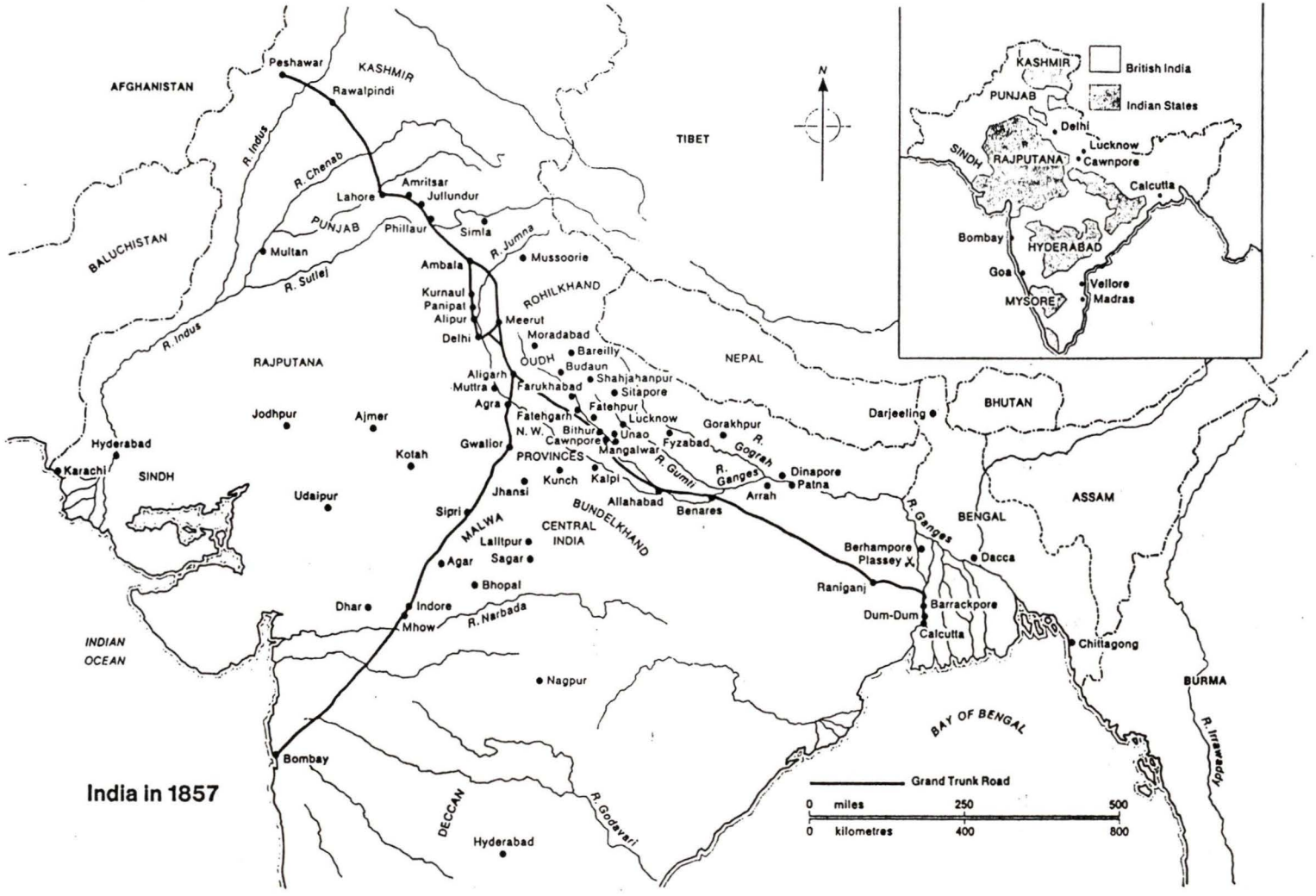

Figure 1. Map: India in 1857

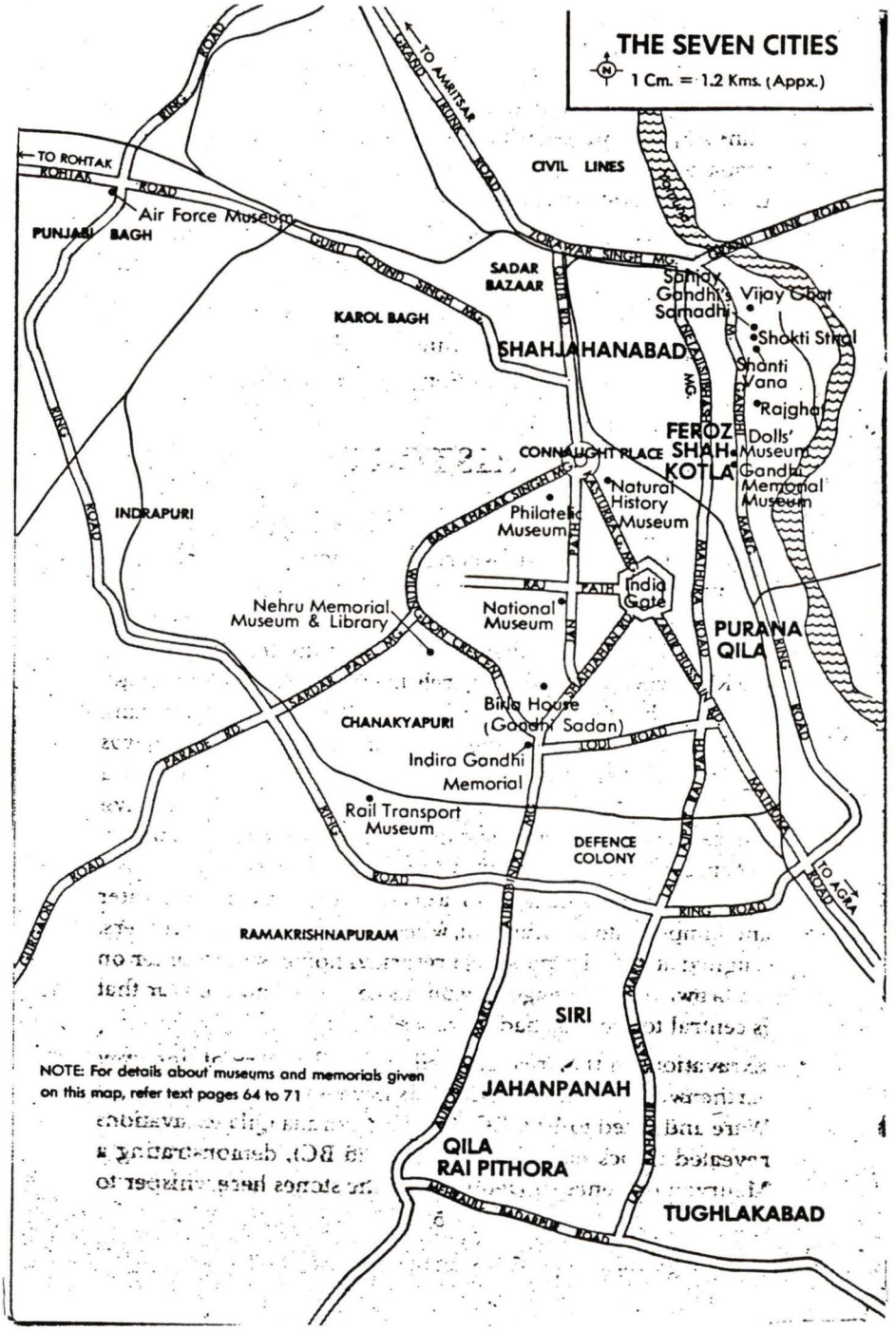

Figure 2. Map: The Seven Cities of Delhi.

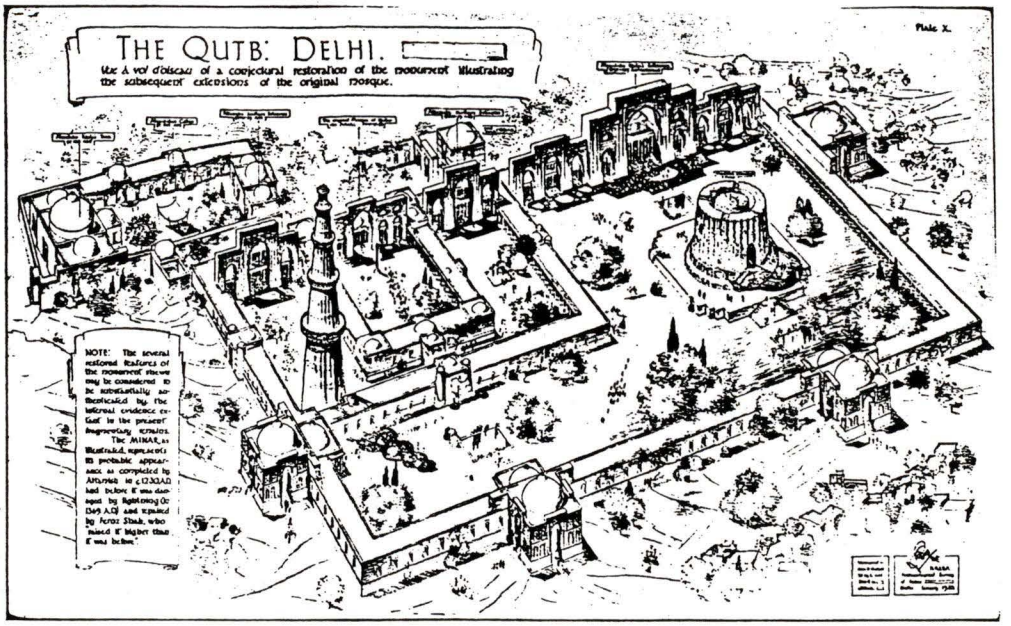

Figure 3. The Quwwat al-Islam Masjid, Conjectural Restoration.

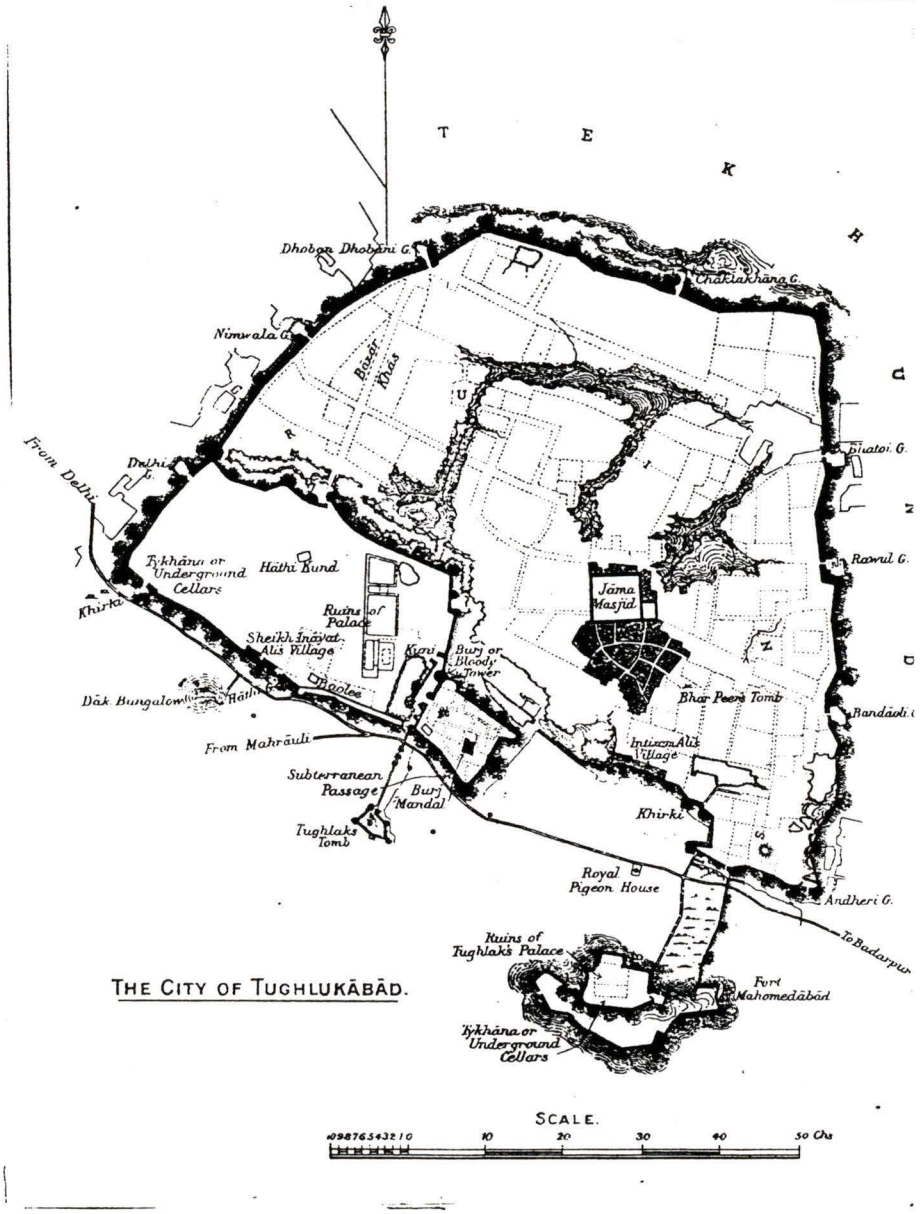

Figure 4. The City of Tughluqabad. c. 1320-25.

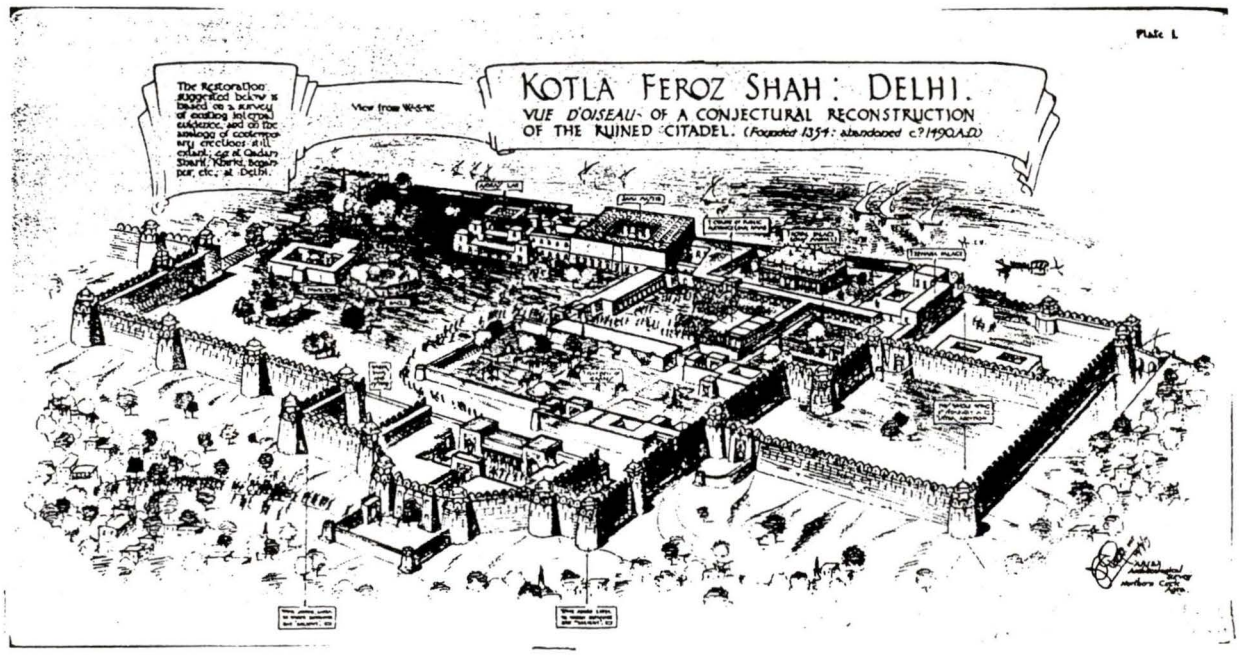

Figure 5. Kotla Firuz Shah, Delhi. c. 1354.

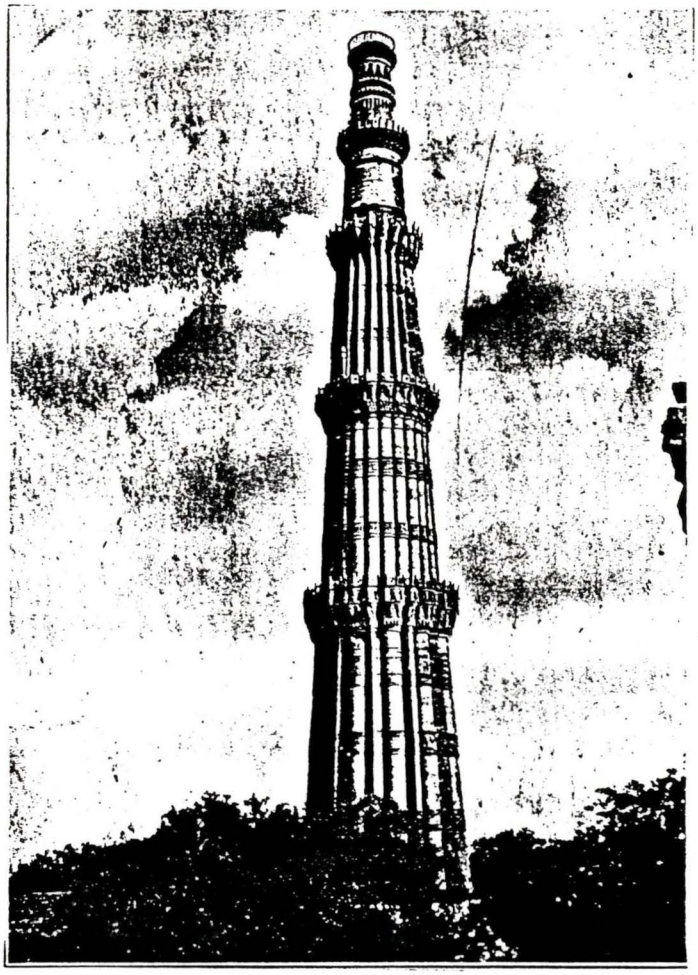

Plate 1. The Qutb Minar, Delhi, 1199.

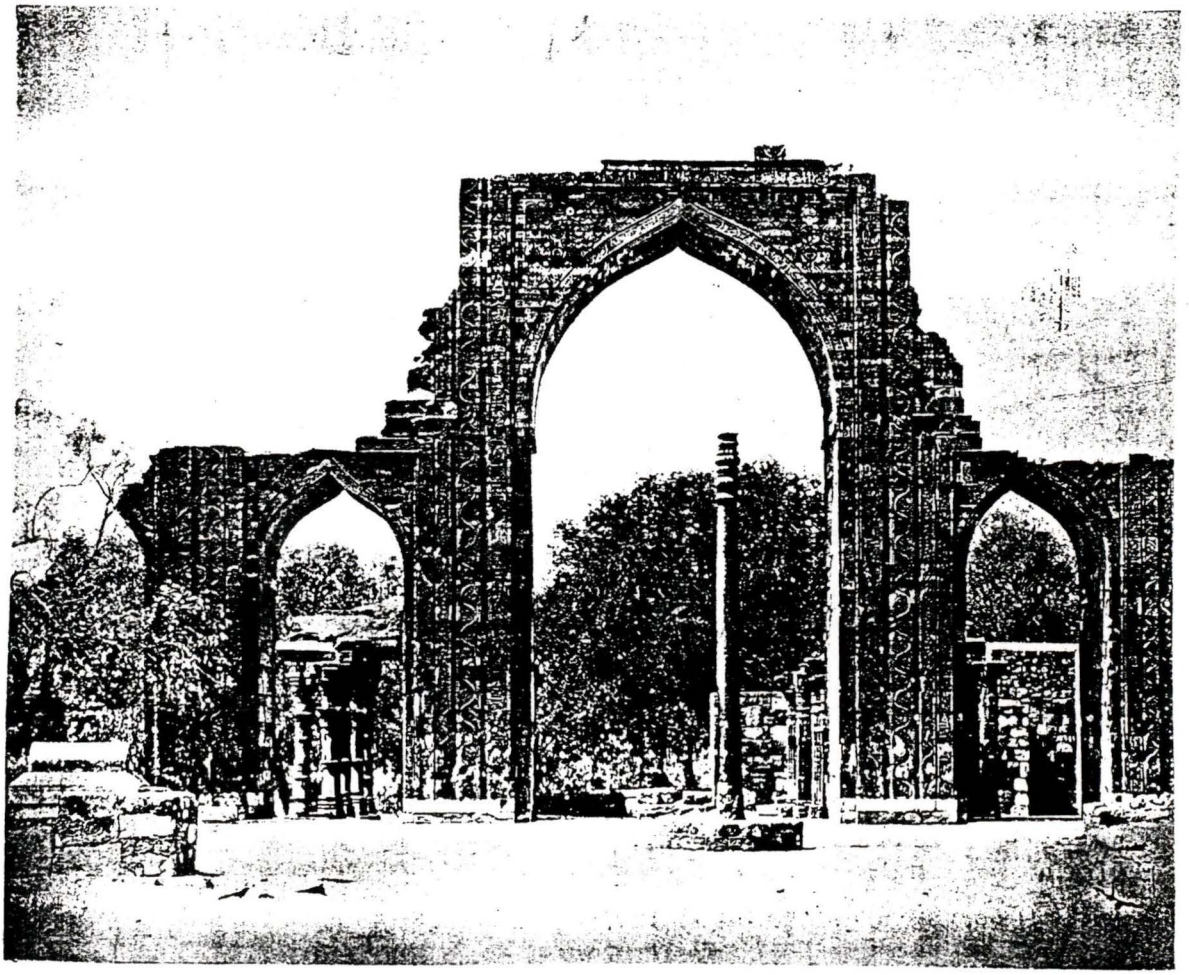

Plate 2. Screen and Court of Qutb al-Din Aybak, 1199, and Iron Pillar, 4th c.

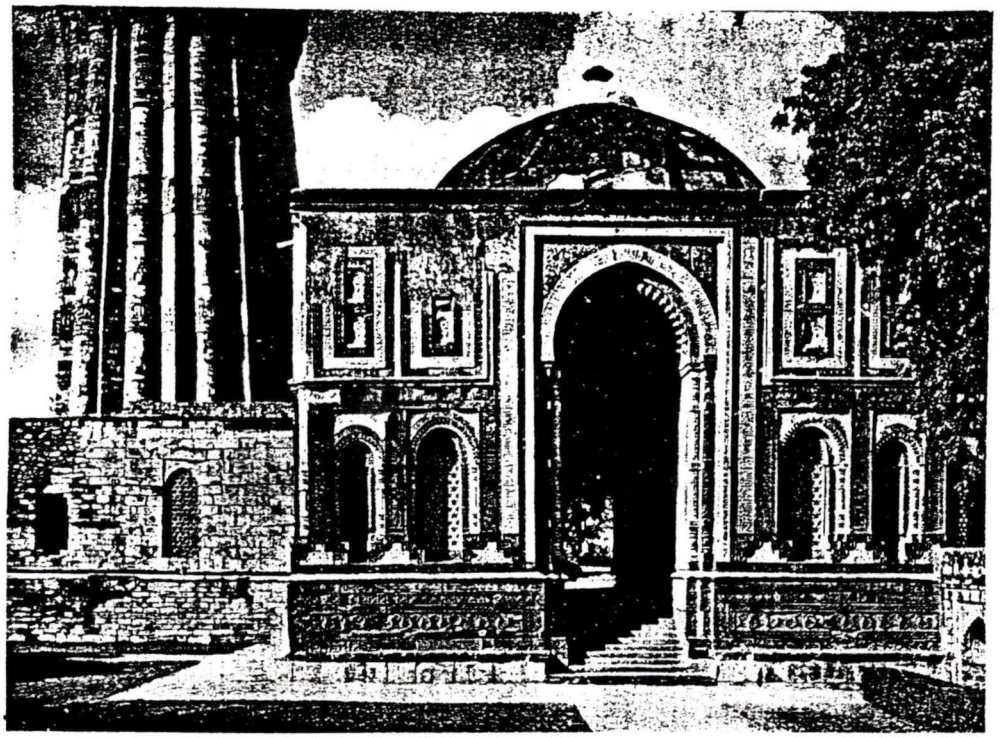

Plate 3. 'Alai Darwaza, c. 1311.

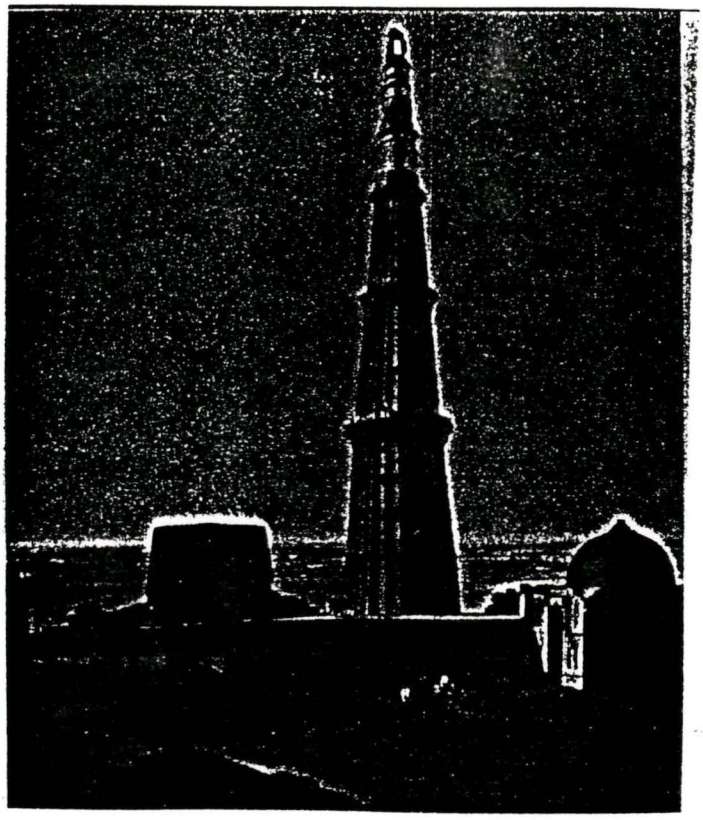

Plate 4. Thomas and William Daniell. The Cuttub Minar, near Delhi, 1808. Aquatint. 45 x 61 cm

Plate 5. John Luard.
Ruins of Delhi, from Adam-Khawn's Tomb.
c. 1833. Lithograph. 25 x 17 cm

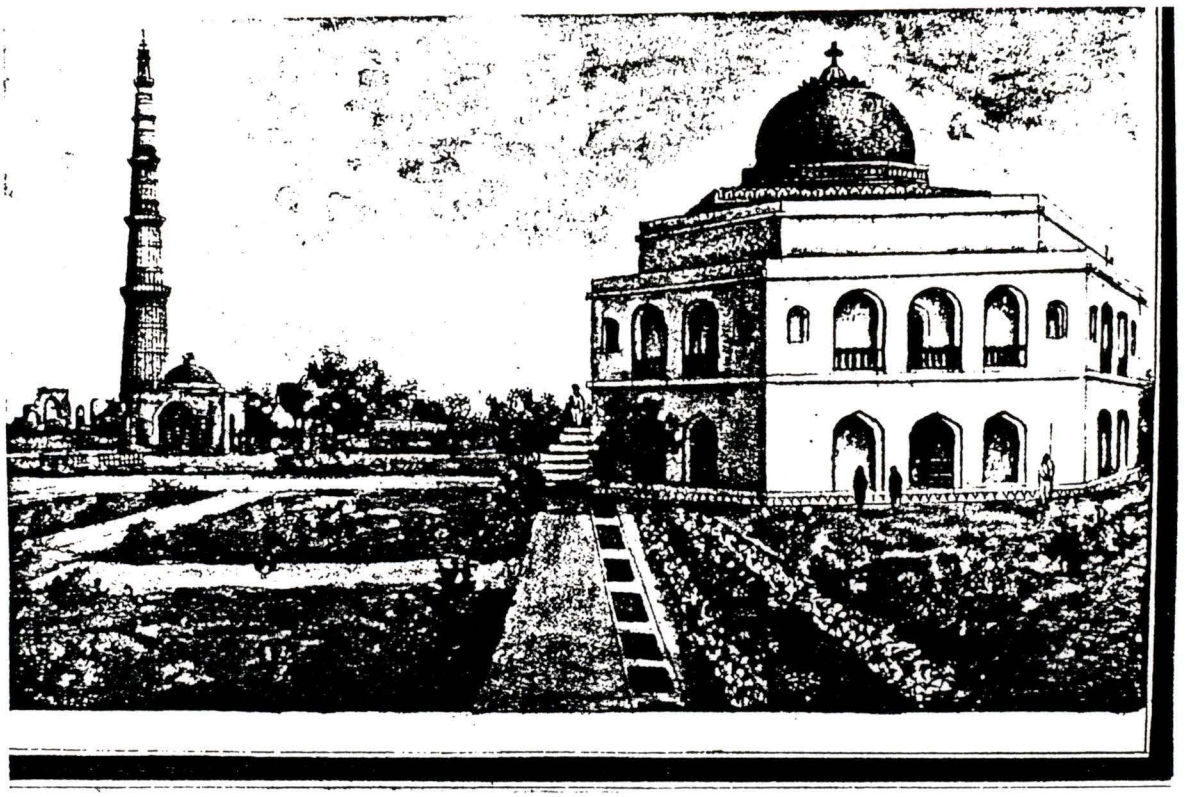

Plate 6. Company artist. Dil-Koosha.
c. 1844. Watercolour.

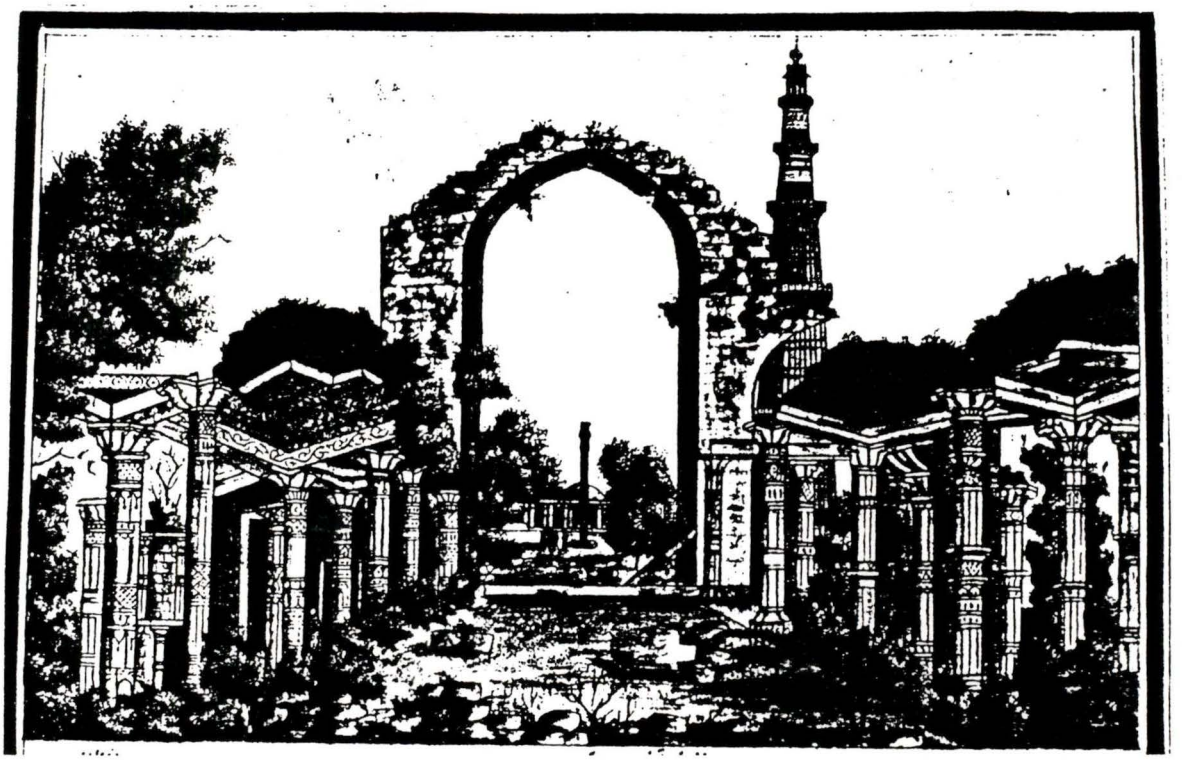

Plate 7. Company artist. Mosque of Qutb al-Din Aybak. c. 1844. Watercolour.

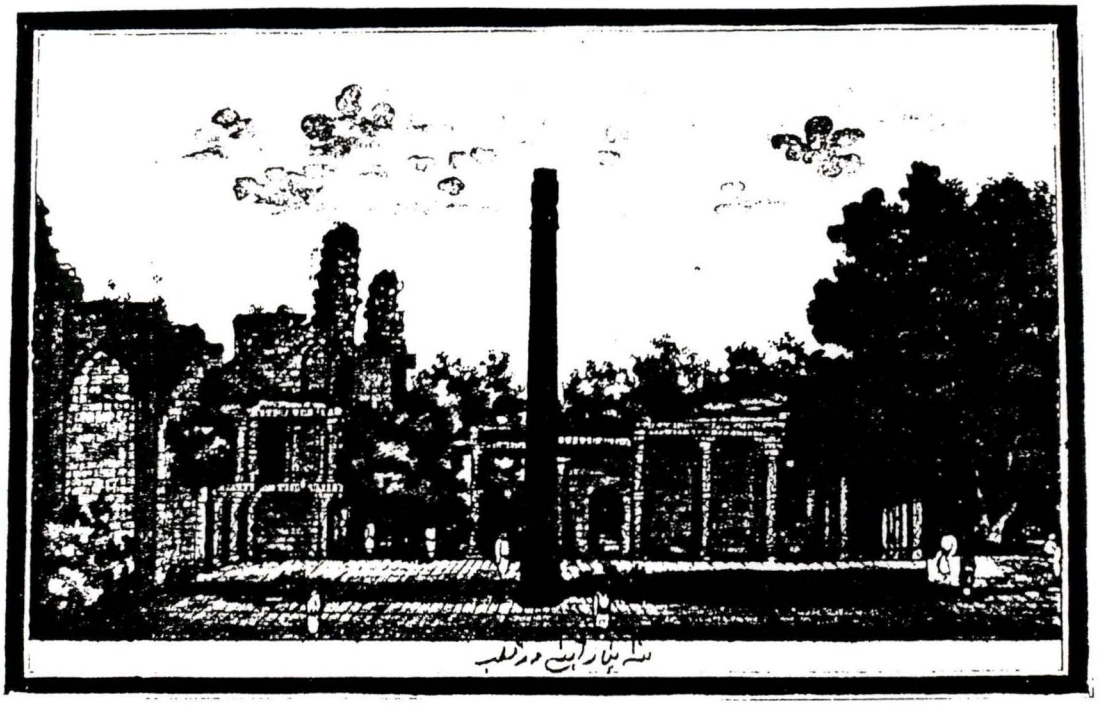

Plate 8. Company artist. Northern view of Aybak's court. c. 1844. Watercolour.

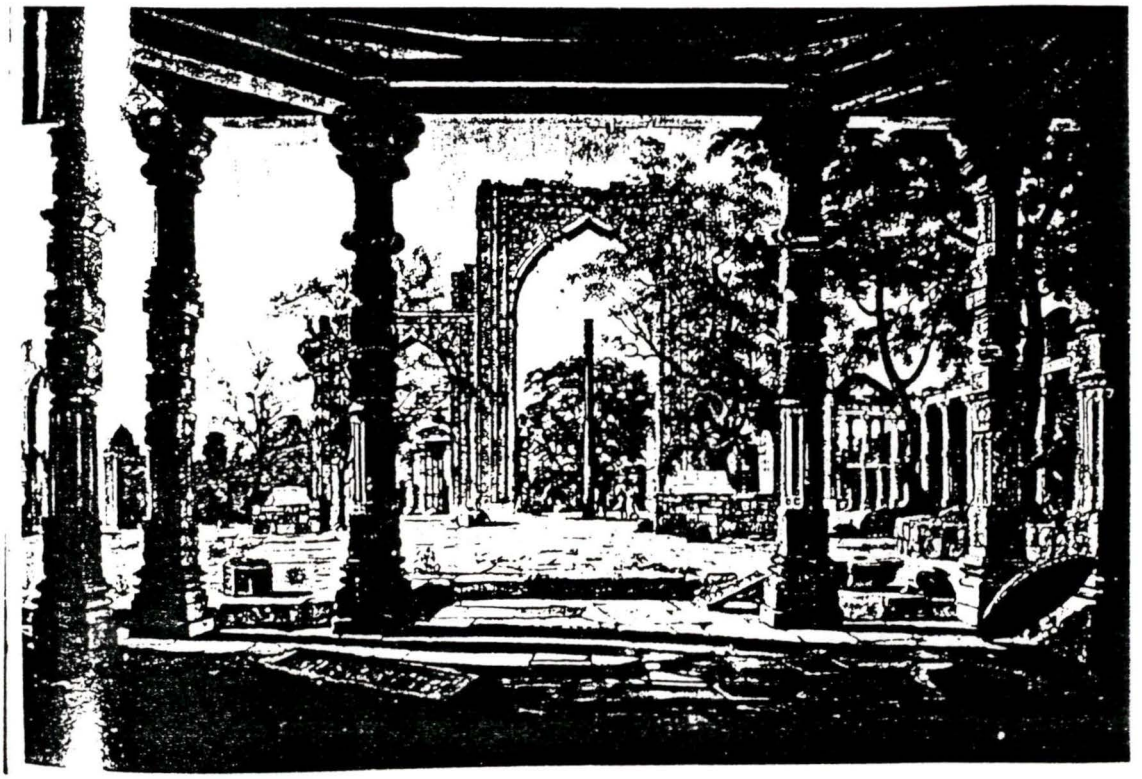

Plate 9. Robert Smith. Aybak's screen and court. View from eastern colonnade. c. 1828. Oil on canvas.

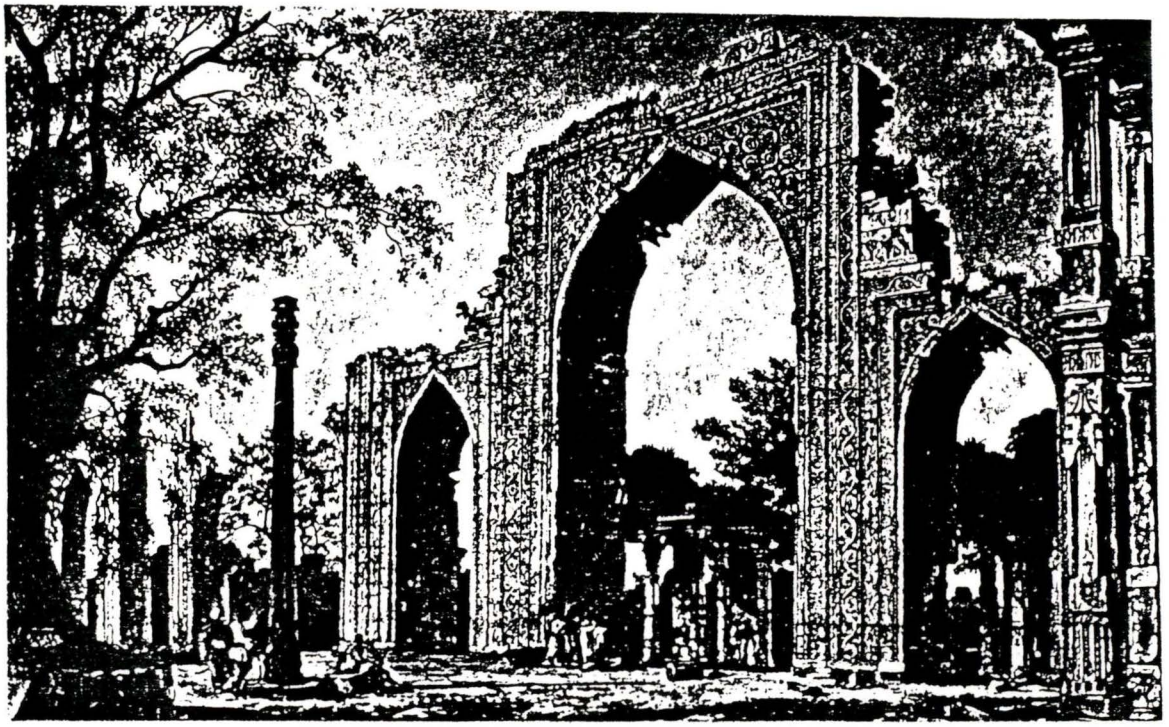

Plate 10. Robert Smith. Aybak's screen facade. c. 1828. Oil on canvas.

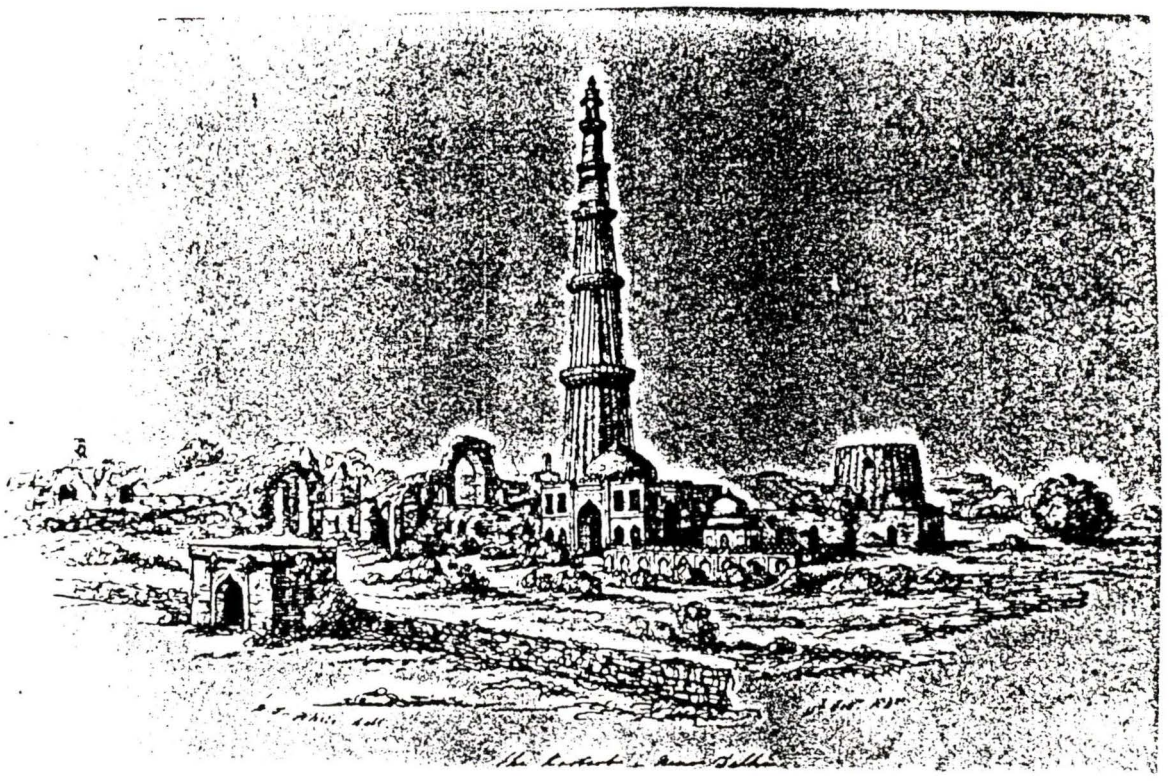

Plate 11. Captain G. F. White. The Outb Minar, featuring Smith's two cupolas. 1838. Pencil and ink.

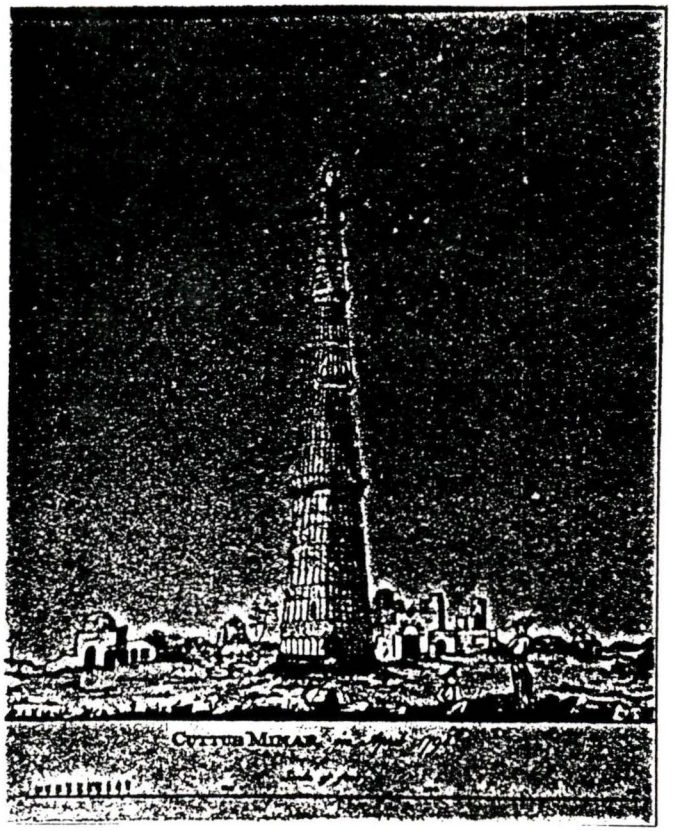

Plate 12. Ensign Jasper Blunt. Qutb Minar. 1794. Pencil Sketch.

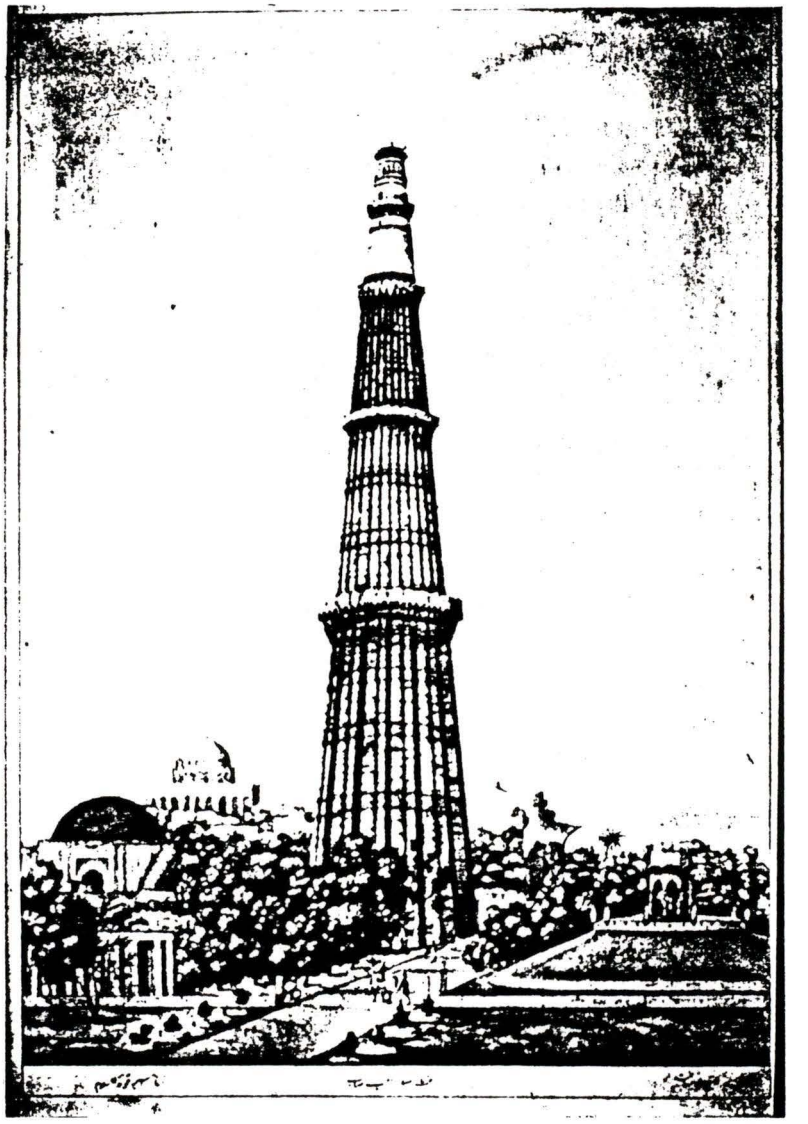

Plate 13. Delhi artist. Eastern view of Qutb grounds. c. 1848. Watercolour. 76 x 53.7 cm

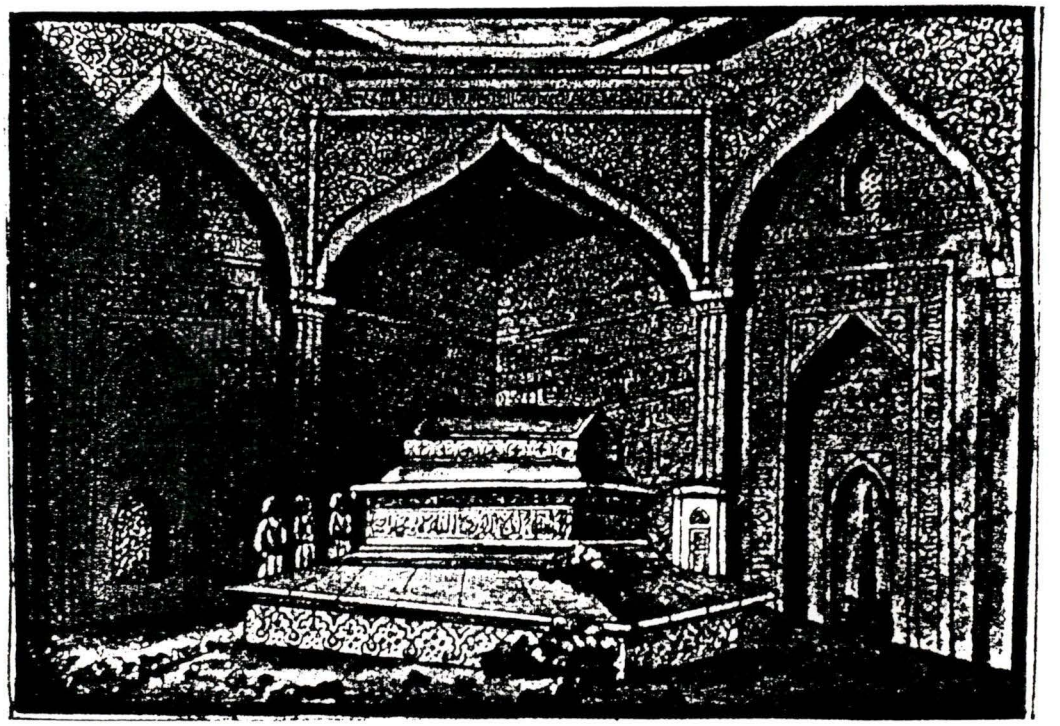

Plate 14. Company artist. Tomb of Iltutmish. Eastern and northern interior walls. c. 1844. Watercolour.

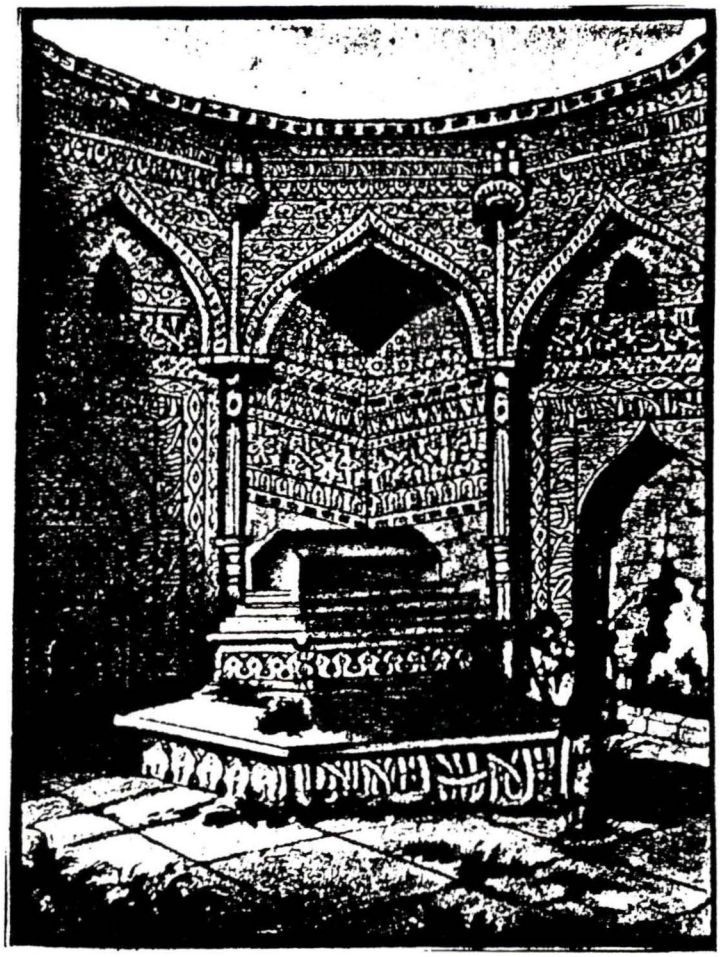

Plate 15. Company artist. Tomb of Iltutmish. Qibla wall and northern entranceway. c. 1844. Watercolour.

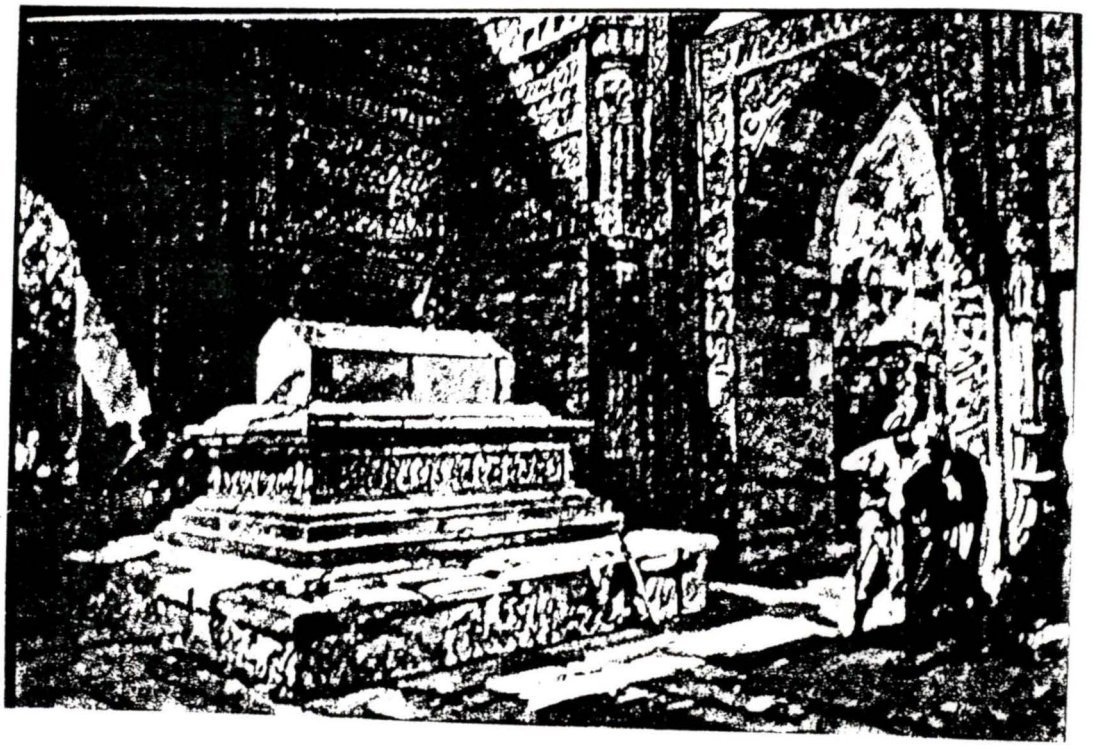

Plate 16. William Simpson. Tomb of Iltutmish. c. 1860. Watercolour.

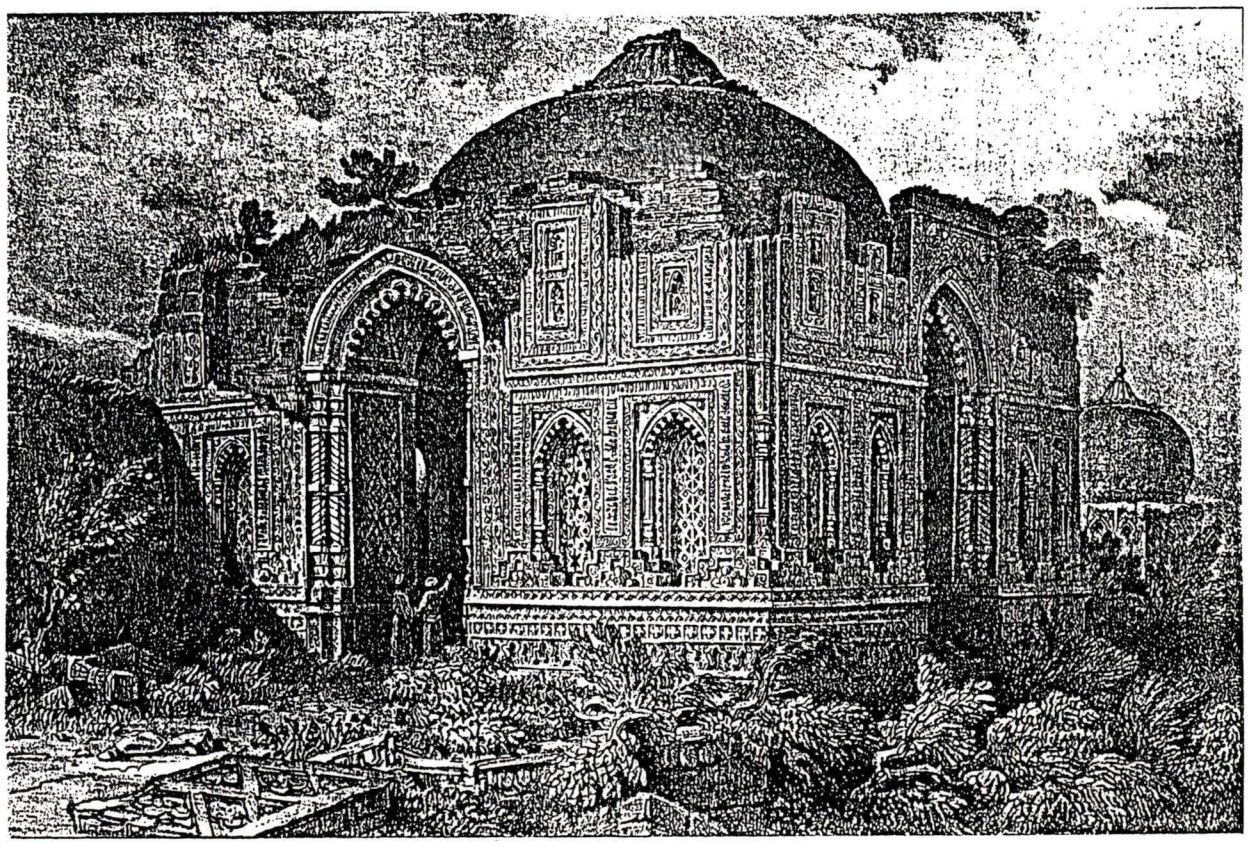

Plate 17. John Luard. 'Alai Darwaza.
c. 1826. Lithograph. 25 x 17 cm

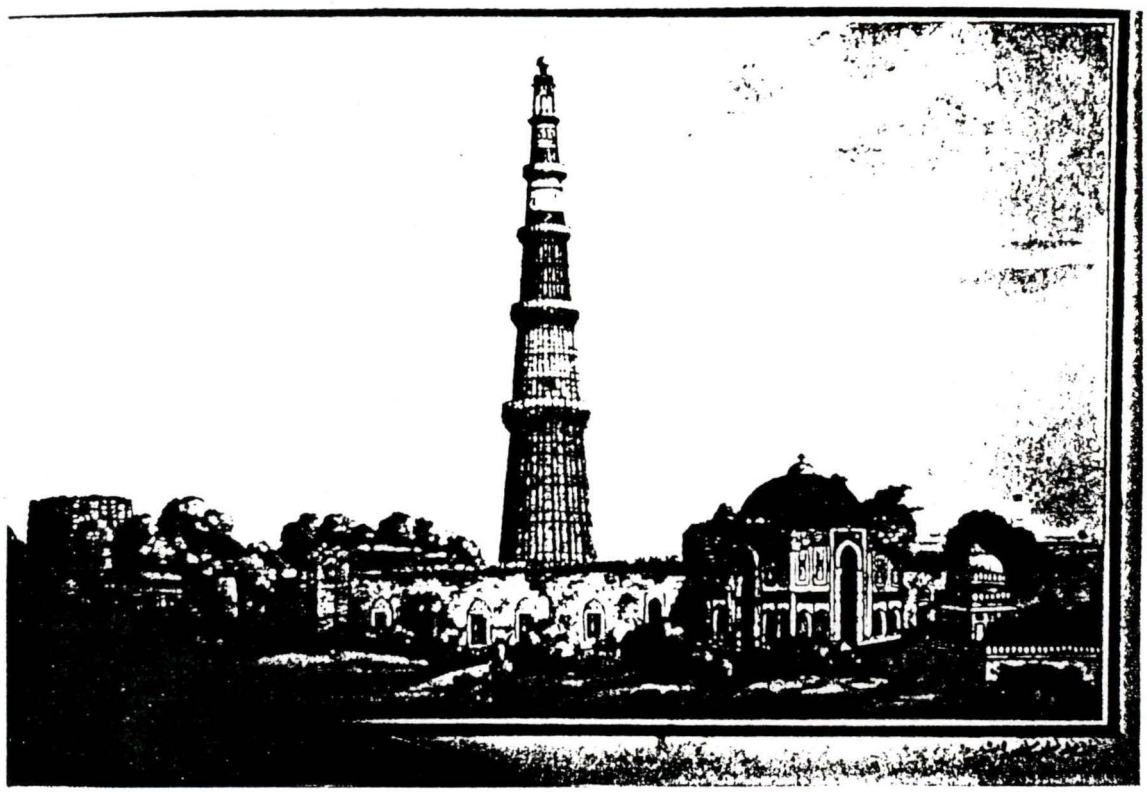

Plate 18. Company artist.
Southern view of Quwwat al-Islam Masjid.
c. 1840. Watercolour.

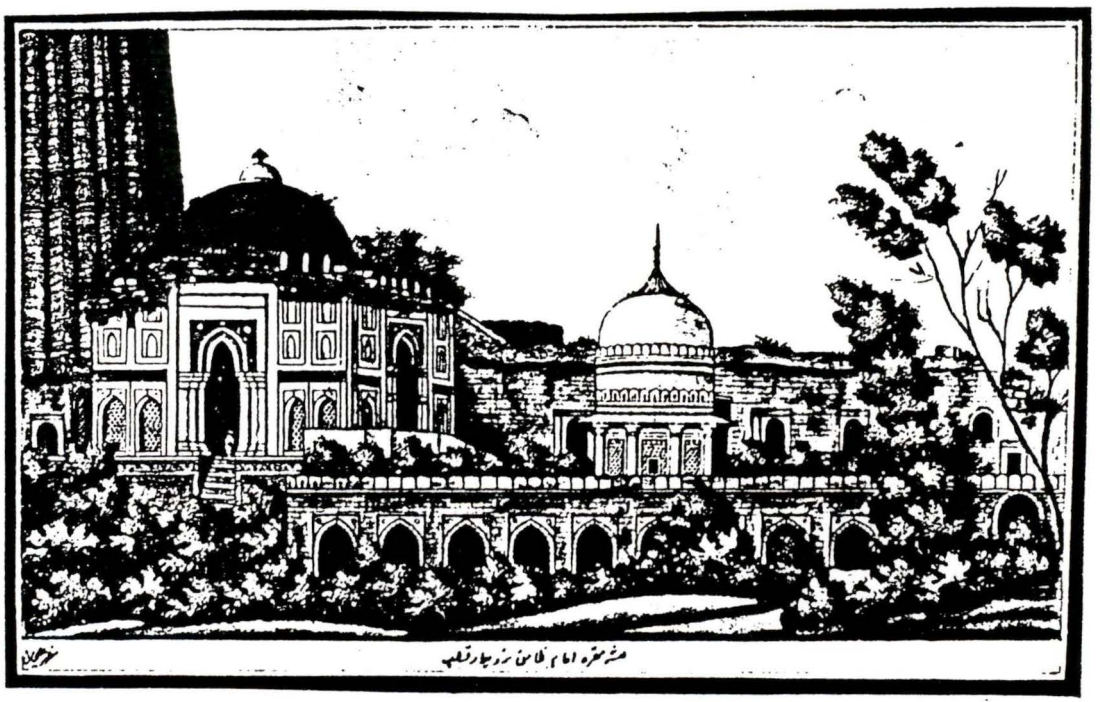

Plate 19. Company artist. 'Alai Darwaza and Tomb of Inam Zamin.
c. 1844. Watercolour.

Plate 20. John Luard. Toglakabad.
c. 1826. Lithograph. 25 x 17 cm

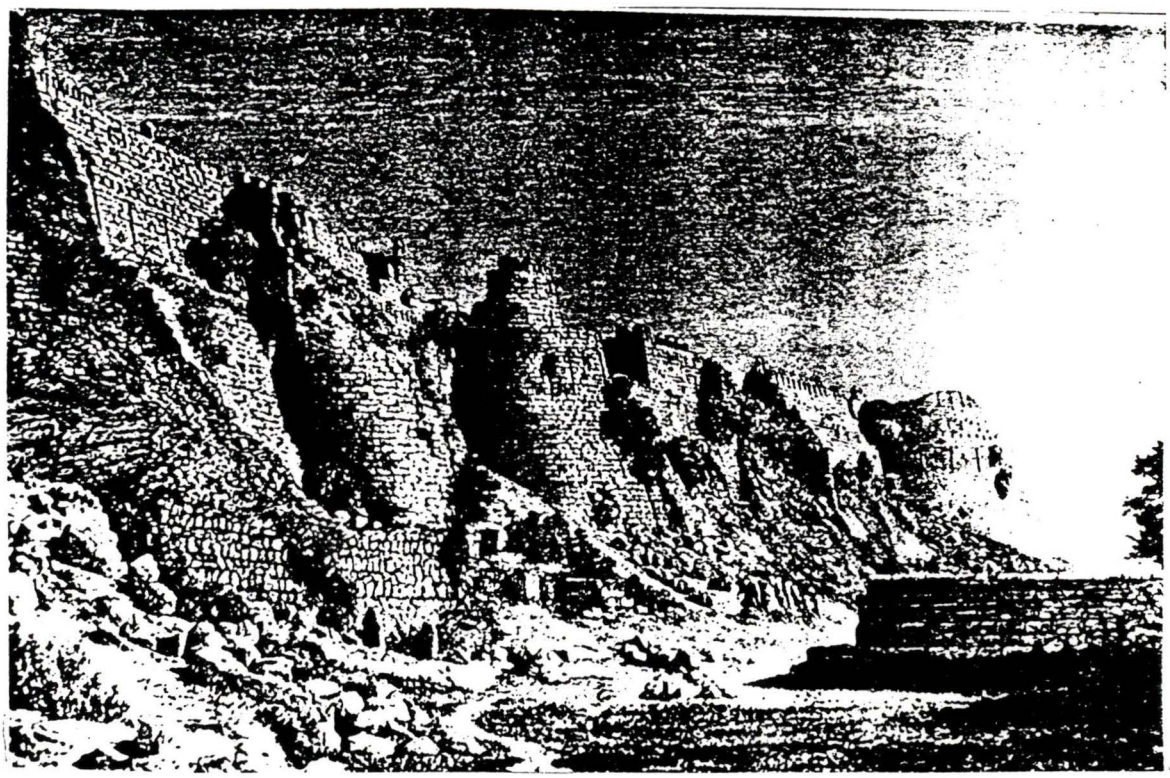

Plate 21. E. Therond. Towers of Tughlaqabad. 1875. Lithograph.

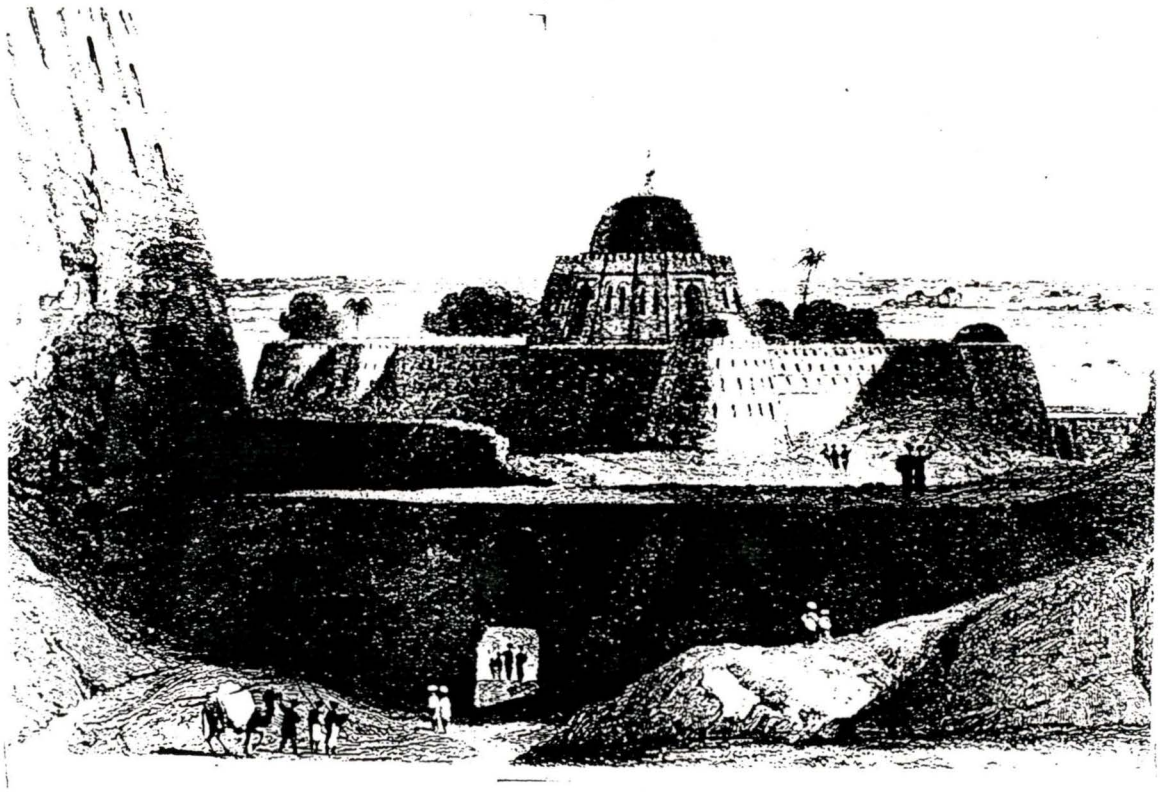

Plate 22. William Daniell. Mausoleum of Tughluq Shah. 1837. Steel Engraving. 10 x 15 cm

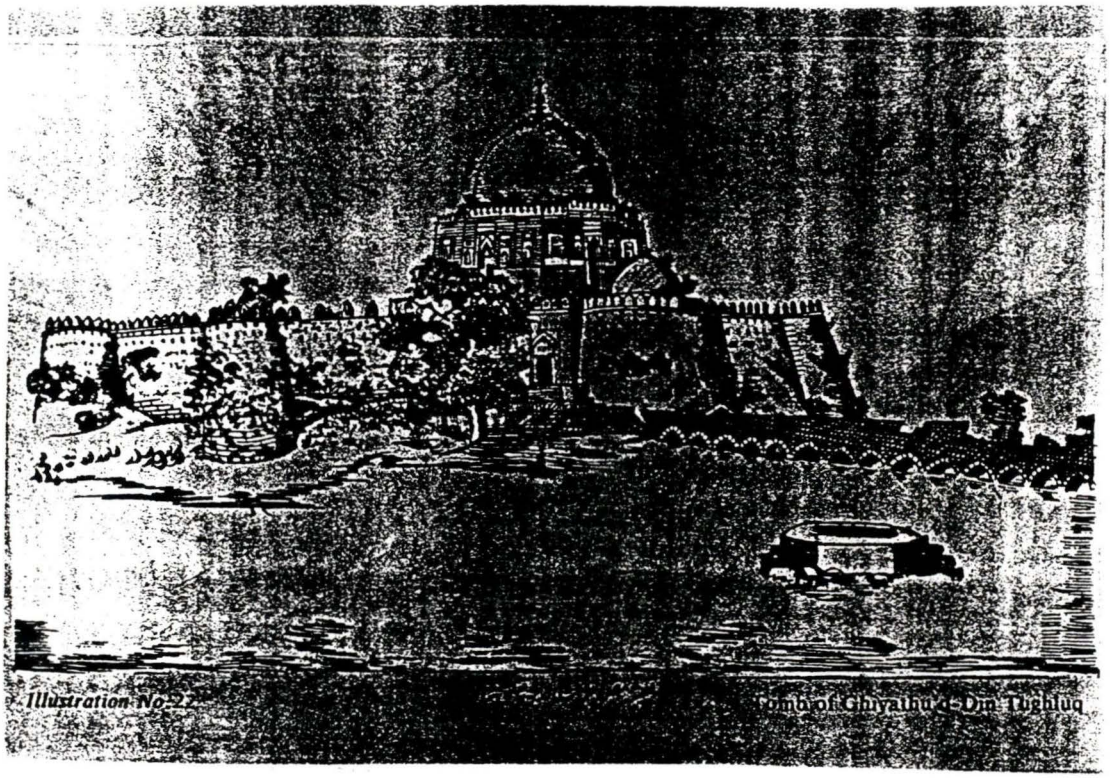

Plate 23. Mirza Shah Rukh Beg Musawwir.
Tomb of Ghiyathu'd-Din Tughluq.
1846. Woodcut.

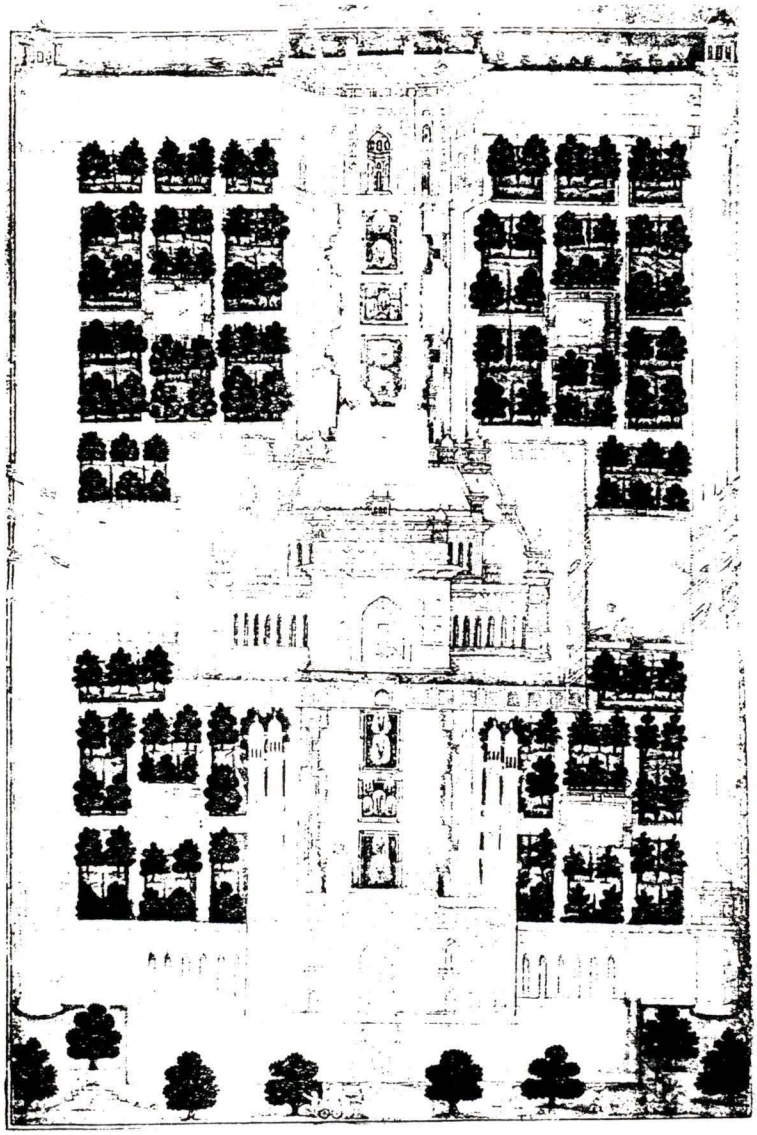

Plate 24. Mughal. Late 18th century.
Akbar's Tomb at Sikandra. Gouache.
53.4 x 37 cm

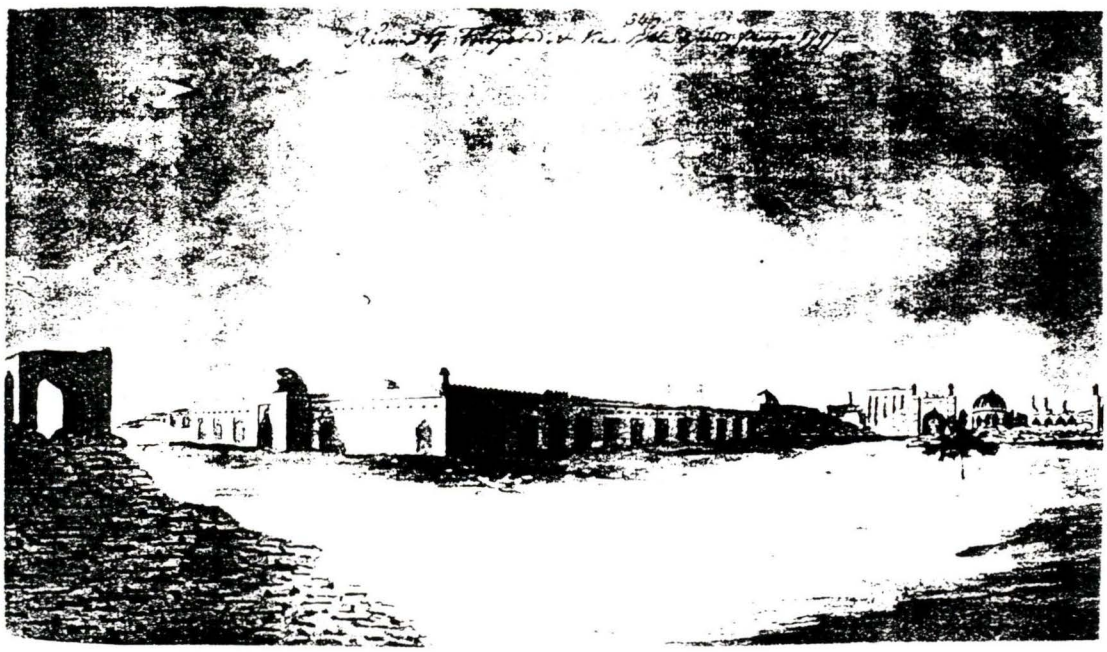

Plate 25. Anonymous. Mosque and Ruins at Firozabad. 1797. Watercolour. 24 x 43.6 cm

Plate 26. Thomas and William Daniell.
Remains of an Ancient Building near
Firoz Shah's Cotilla, Delhi.
1795. Aquatint. 45 x 61 cm

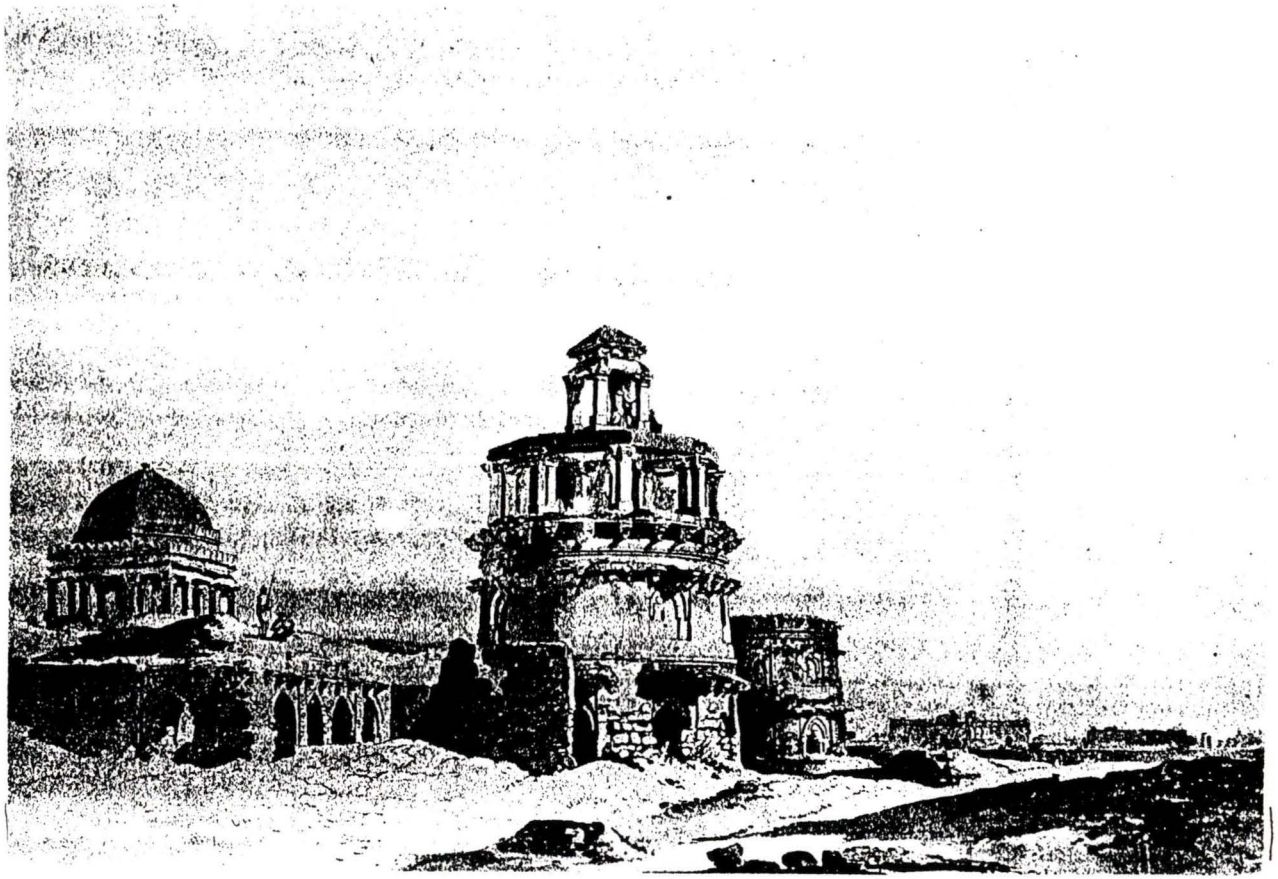

Plate 27. Thomas and William Daniell.
Remains of an Ancient Building near
Firoz Shah's Cotilla, Delhi.
1789. Watercolour.

Plate 28. Staffordshire pottery featuring Daniells' Remains of an Ancient Building near Firoz Shah's Cotilla, Delhi. c. 1810-20.

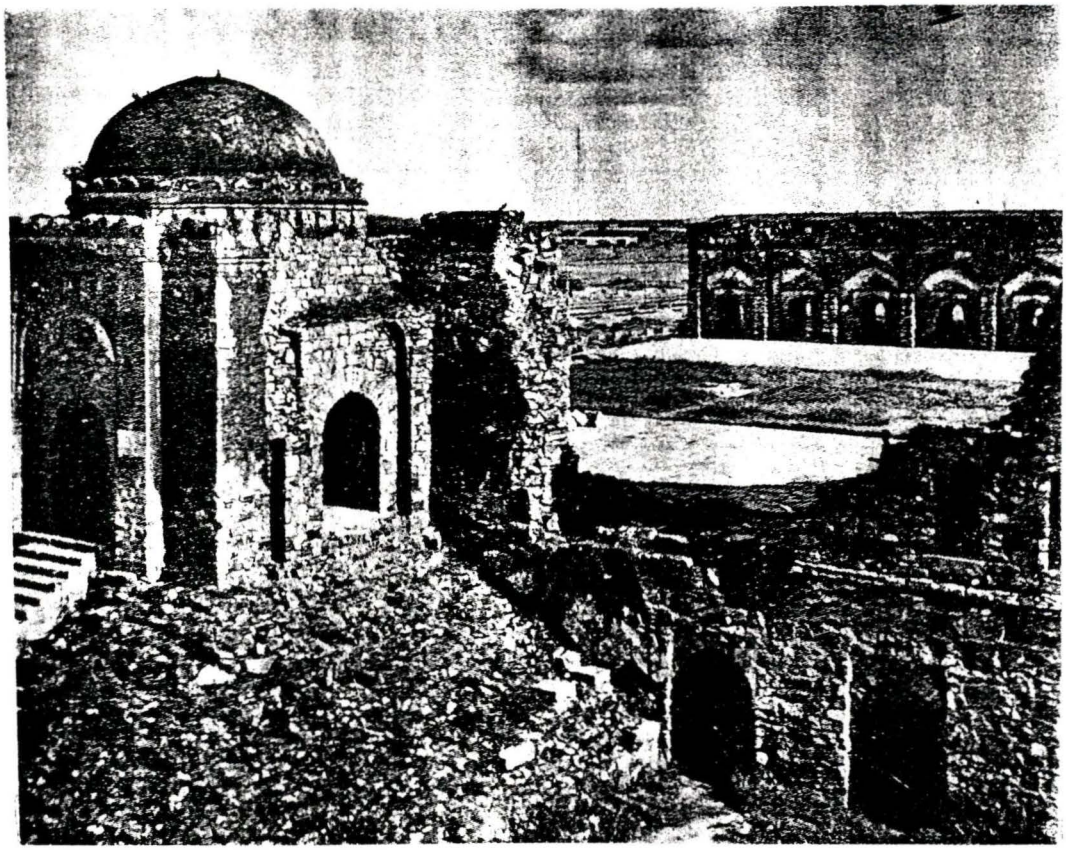

Plate 29. Mosque of Firuzabad. c. 1354.

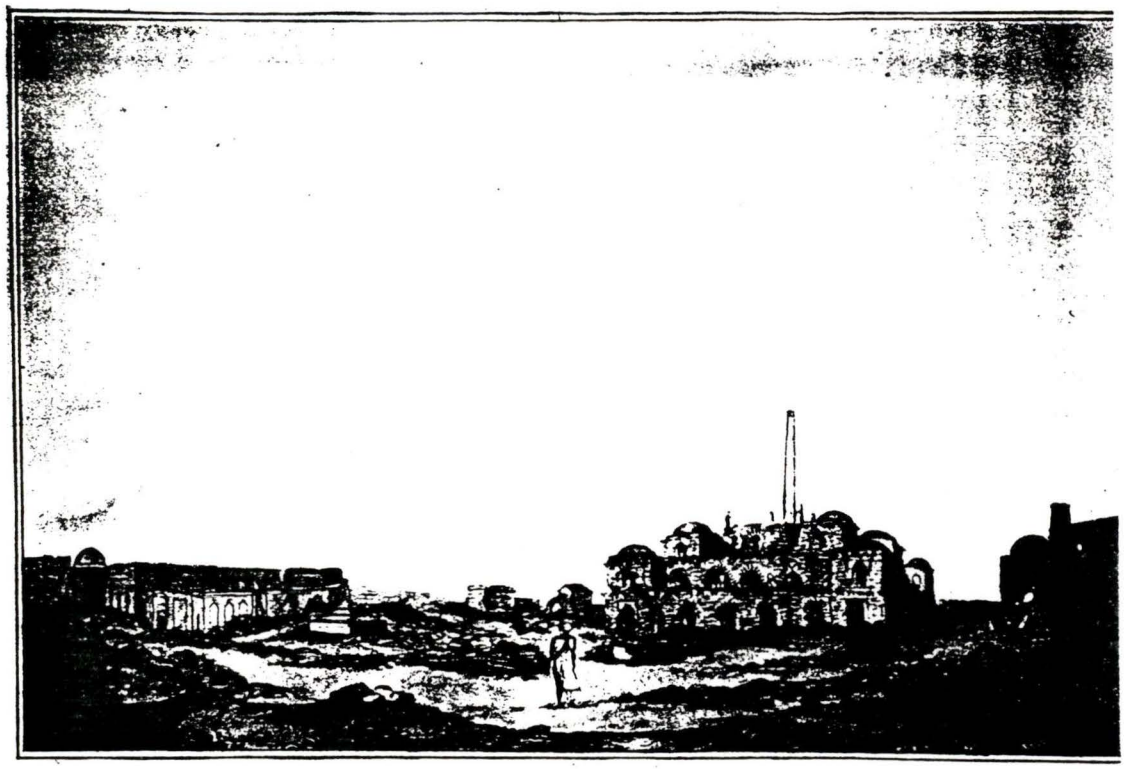

Plate 30. Company artist. Lat Pyramid.
c. 1789-1820. Watercolour. 35.9 x 53.2 cm

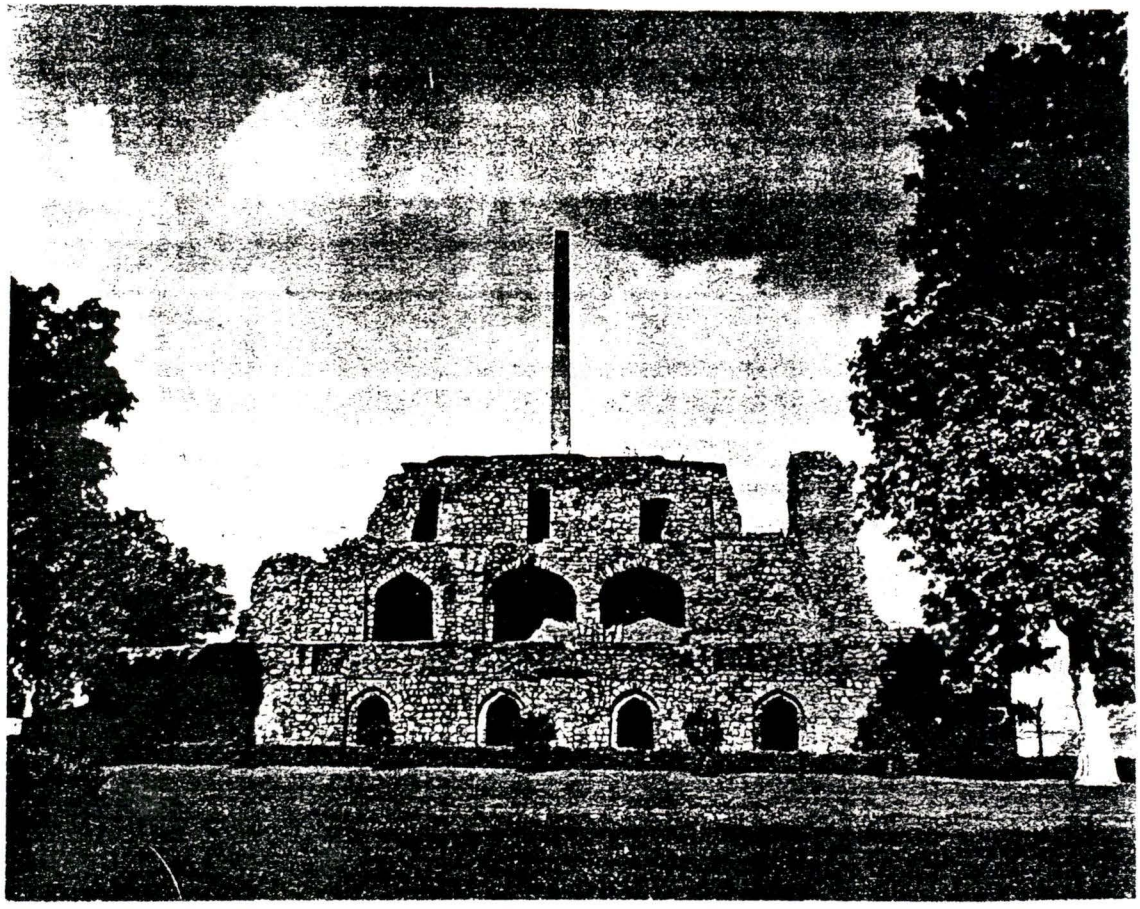

Plate 31. Lat Pyramid with Asokan pillar. c. 1367.

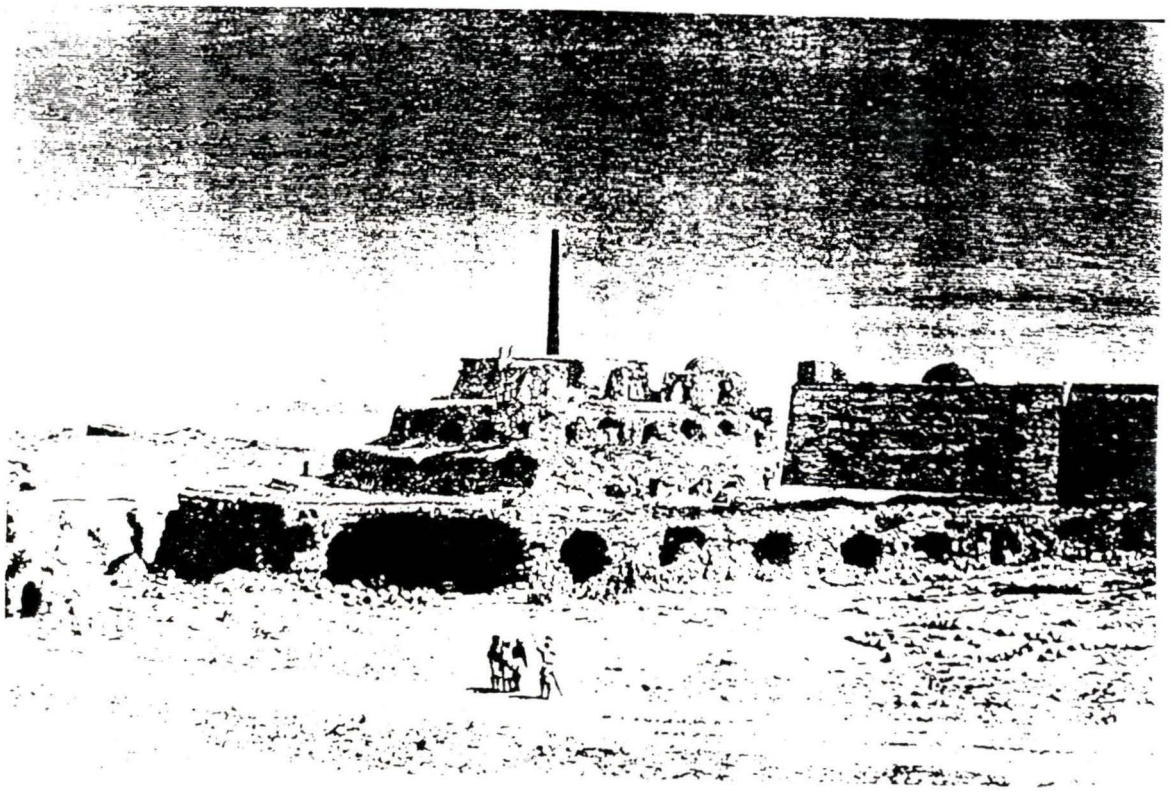

Plate 32. E. Therond. Ruins of the Palace of Ferozeshah. 1875. Lithograph.

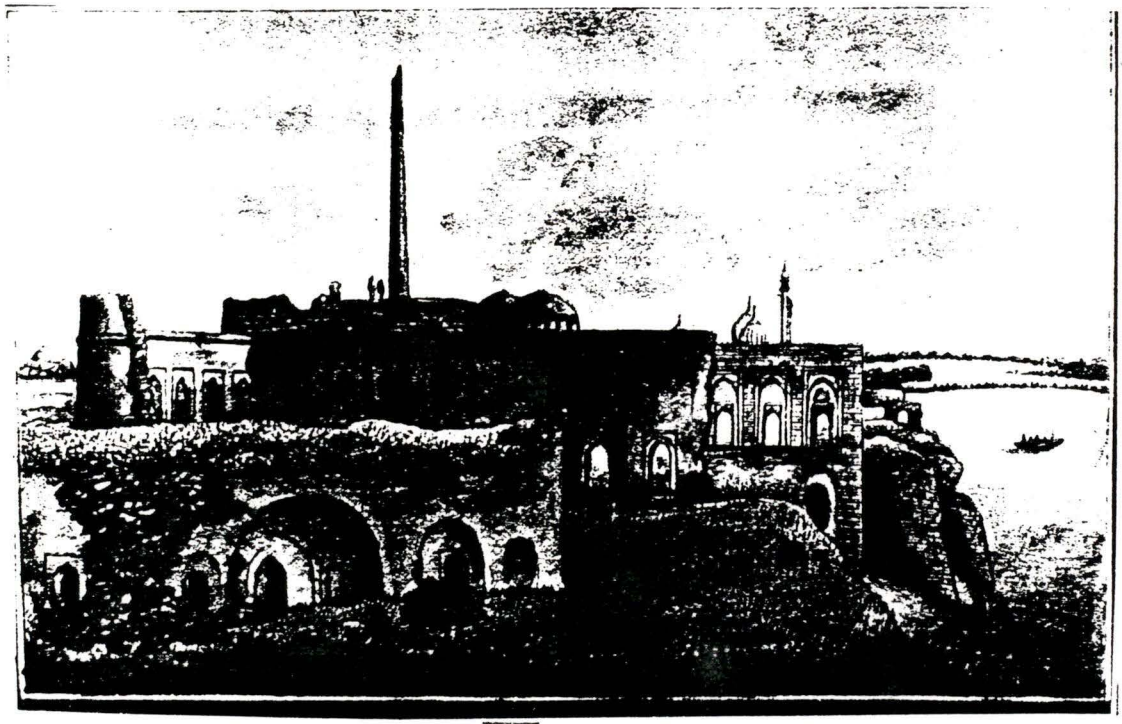

Plate 33. Company artist. Lat Pyramid. 1844. Watercolour.

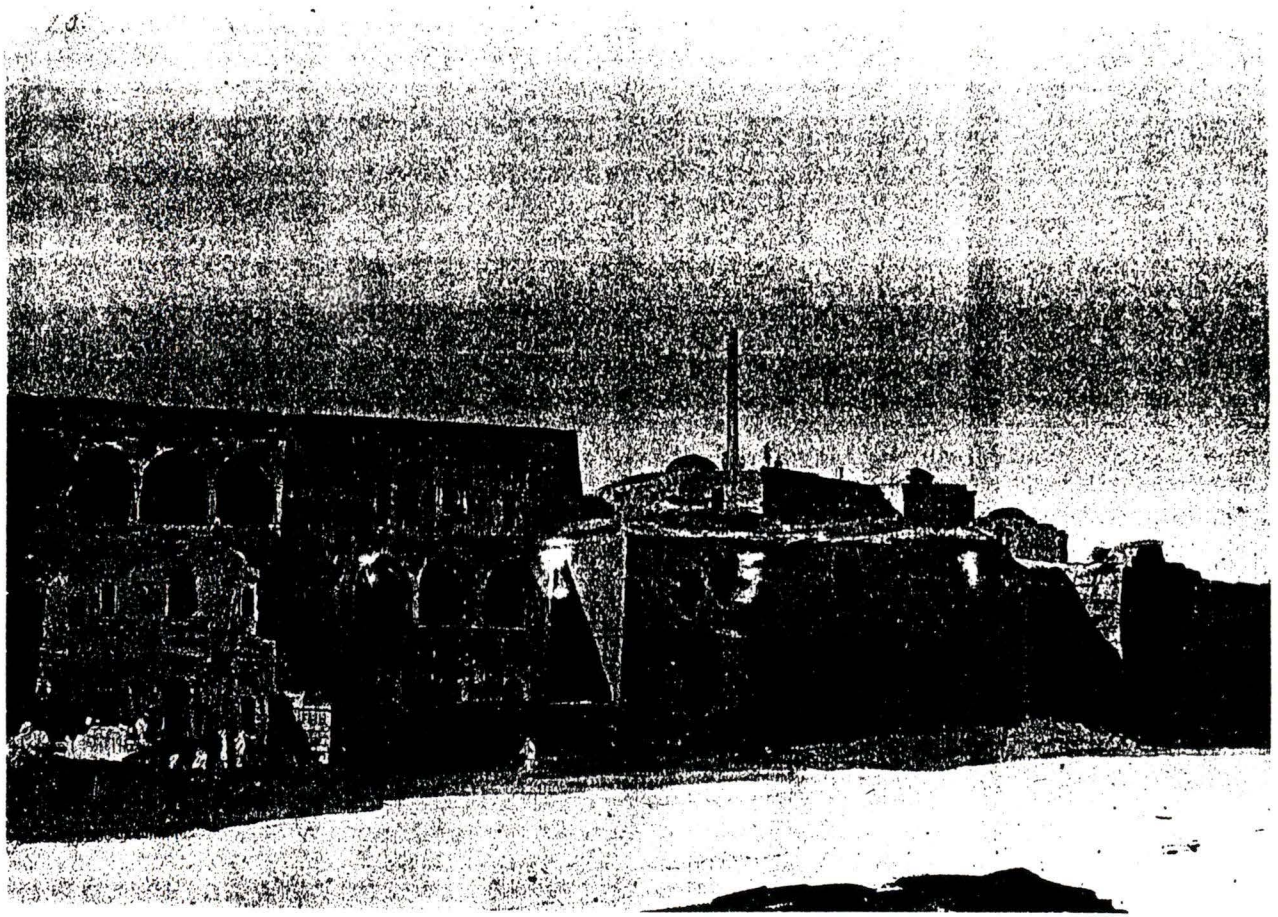

Plate 34. Thomas and William Daniell.
Firoz Shah's Cotilla: Window from which Alamgir was thrown.
1789. Watercolour.

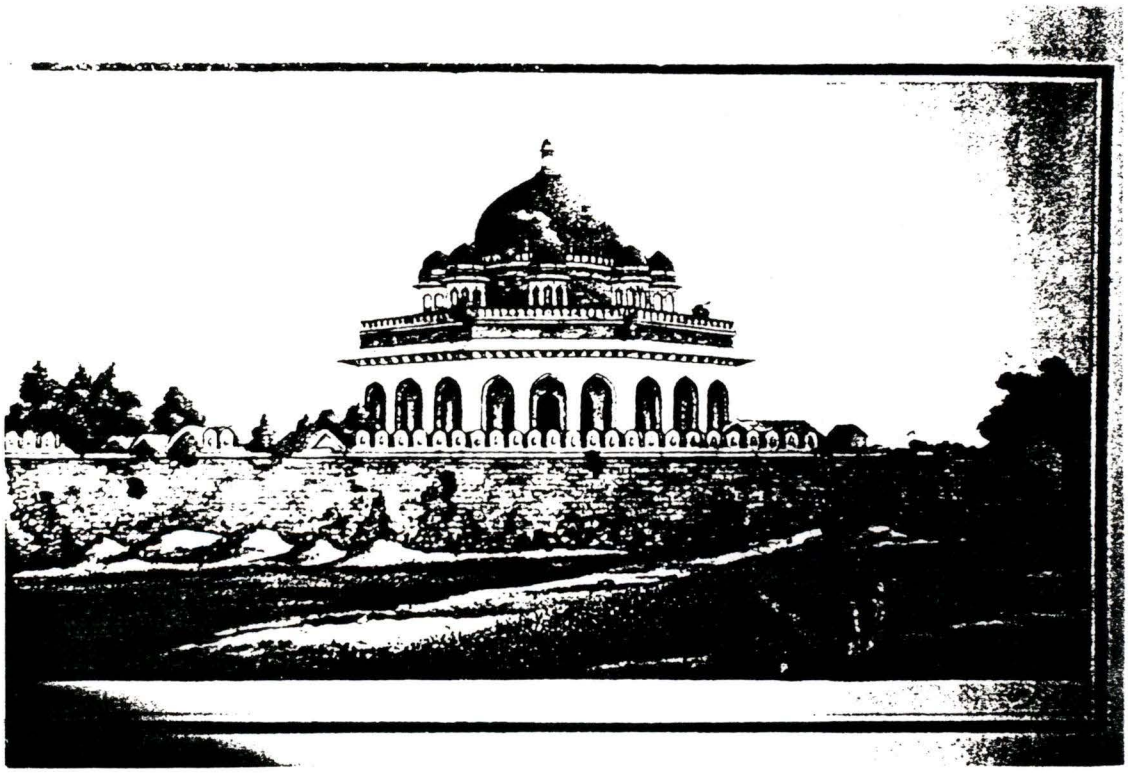

Plate 35. Company artist. Tomb of Mubarak Shah Sayyid. c. 1820. Watercolour.

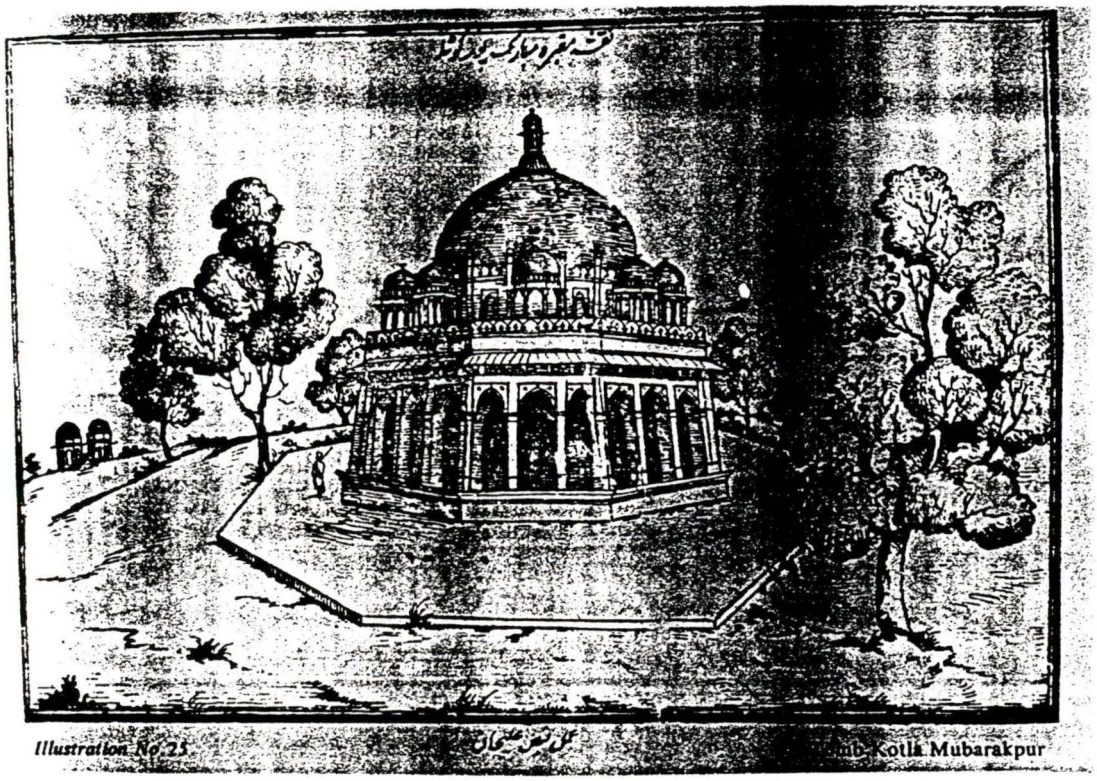

Plate 36. Mirza Shah Rukh Beg Musawwir.
Tomb of Mubarak Shah Sayyid.
1846. Woodcut.

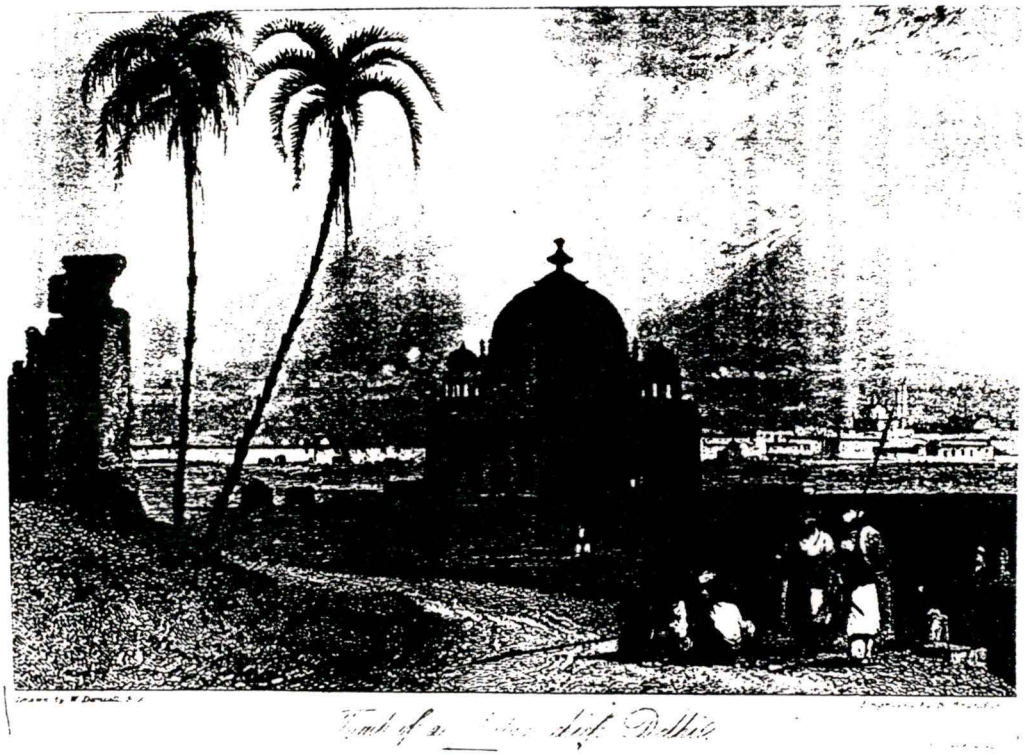

Plate 37. William Daniell.
Tomb of Patan Chief, Delhi.
(Mausoleum of Muhammad Shah Sayyid).
1836. Steel Engraving. 10 x 15 cm

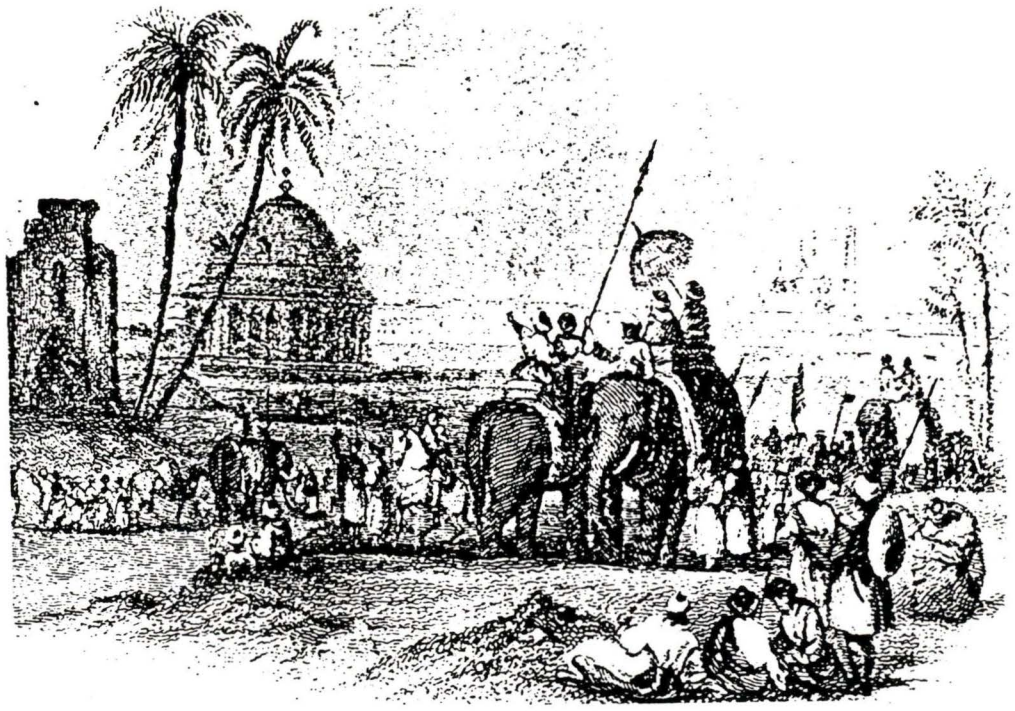

Plate 38. W. Hughes. Plain of Delhi.
1857. Steel Engraving.

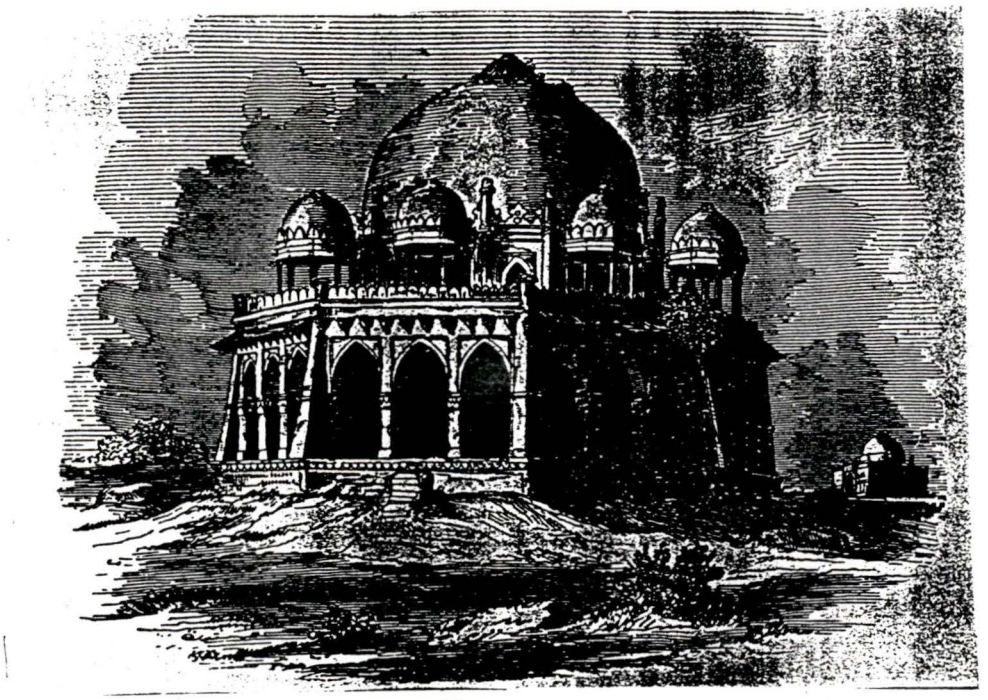

Plate 39. James Fergusson. Tomb at Khairpur, Delhi. (Tomb of Muhammad Shah Sayyid). 1876. Woodcut.

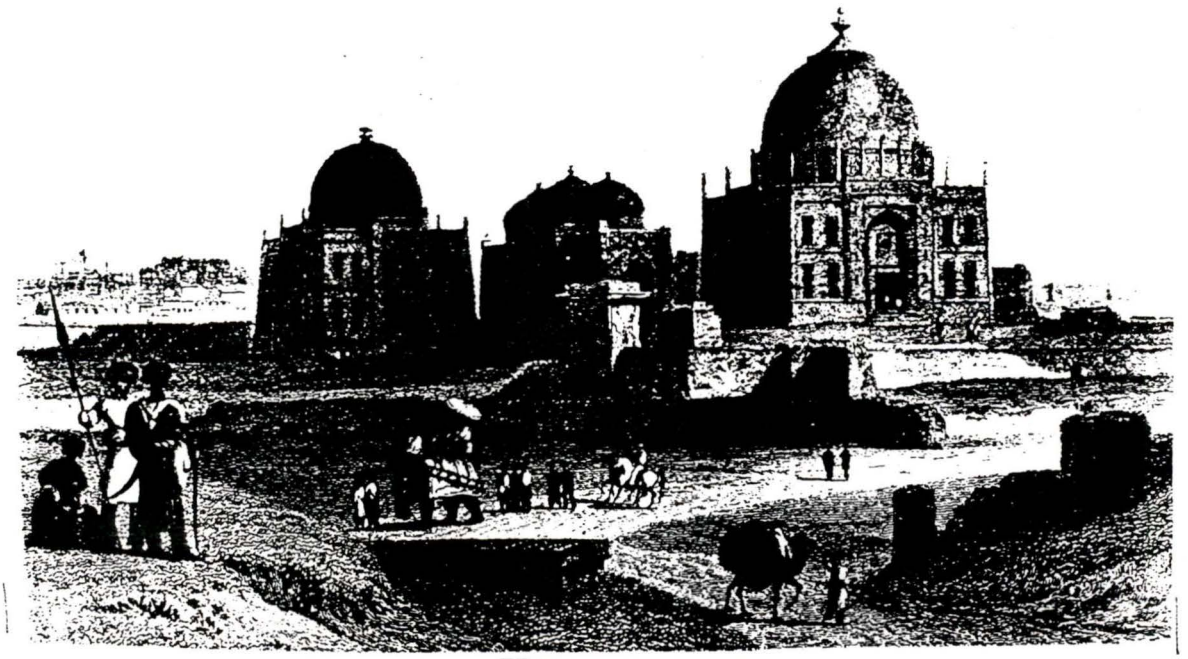

Plate 40. William Daniell.
Tombs of Patan Chiefs, Old Delhi.
(Bara Gumbad and Masjid, Shish Gumbad)
1836. Steel Engraving. 10 x 15 cm

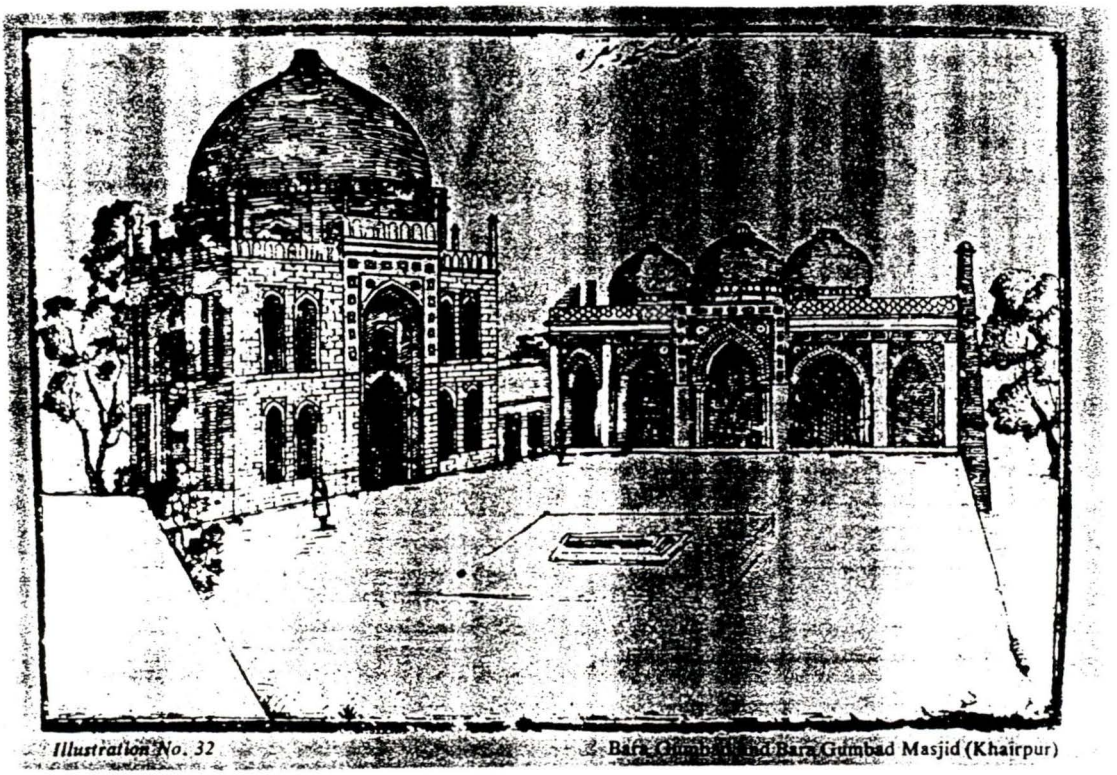

Plate 41. Mirza Shah Rukh Beg Musawwir.
Bara Gumbad and Bara Gumbad Masjid (Khairpur).
1846. Woodcut.

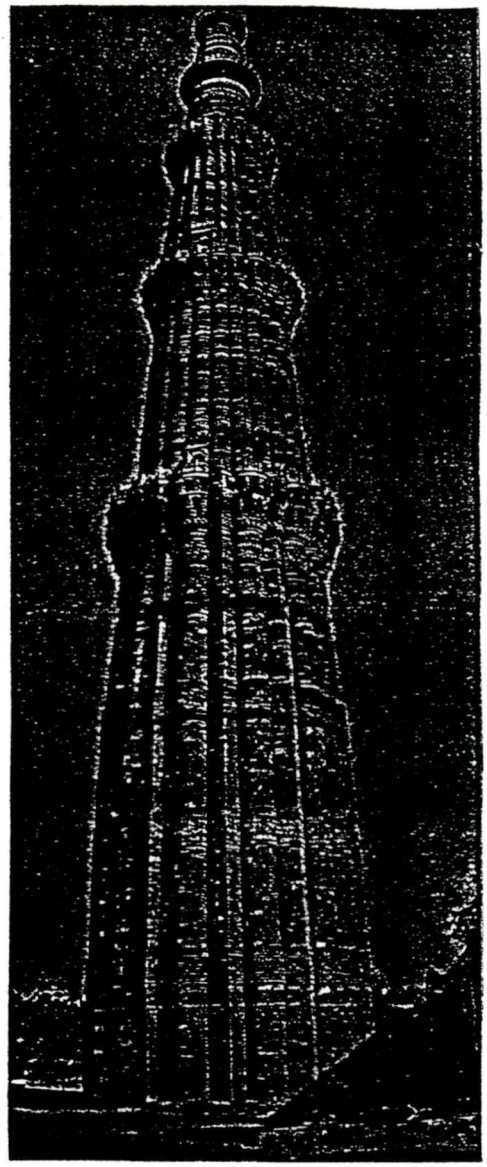

Plate 42. Felice Antonio Beato. Kutub Minar. c. 1858-60. Albumen print.

APPENDIX 1

THE DELHI DYNASTIES

Delhi's rapid rise to prominence began with the expansion of Muslim power after the city was captured by Muhammad Ghori in 1192. The list below traces the various Sultanates that ruled Delhi from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries.

1206 **The Mu'izzis**

Qutb al-Din	1206-10
Iltutmish	1211-36
Sultana Raziya	1236-40
Nasir al-Din	1246-65
Balban	1265-86
Kaiqubad	1286-90

1290 **The Khaljis**

Jalal al-Din	1290-96
Ala al-Din	1296-1316
Mubarak Khan	1316-20

1320 **The Tughluqs**

Ghiyath al-Din	1320-25
Muhammad bin	1325-51
Firuz Shah	1351-88
Mahmud Shah	1394-96; 1399-1411

1398 **Sack of Delhi by Timur**

1414 **The Sayyids**

Khizr Khan	1414-21
Mubarak Shah	1421-33
Muhammad Shah	1434-43
Alam Shah	1443-51

1451 **The Lodis**

Bahlol	1451-88
Sikandar	1489-1517
Ibrahim	1517-26

APPENDIX 2

DOCUMENTED IMAGES OF SULTANATE ARCHITECTURE NOT INCLUDED IN THIS STUDY

Mu'izzi and Khalji Periods

The Quwwat al-Islam Masjid

Anonymous. Ruined Arch Near the Kotub Minar (from a photograph). 1857. Steel Engraving. Illustrated in Illustrated London News (vol. 31), 1857, 136.

Mirza Shah Rukh Beg. Quwwat 'ul-Islam Masjid. 1846. Woodcut. Illustrated in R. Nath, Monuments of Delhi: Historical Study (New Delhi, 1979), no. 18.

Mirza Shah Rukh Beg. Tomb of 'Alau'd-Din Khalji. 1846. Woodcut. Illustrated in ibid., no. 21.

Company artist. 'Alai Minar. 1844. Watercolour. Illustrated in Thomas Metcalfe, Dehlie Book, n. pag., in M. M. Kaye, The Golden Calm: An English Lady's Life in Moghul Delhi (Exeter, 1980), 185.

Company artist. Quwwat al-Islam Masjid--Southern View. 1844. Watercolour. Illustrated in ibid., 184.

Company artist. 'Alai Darwaza, Delhi. c. 1840. Watercolour. V & A I.S. 4644.40.

Fanny Eden. Gateway by the Kutb Minar. 1838. Pen and Ink. 25.4 x 17.7 cm. IOL MSS. Eur. C. 130.3, f. 45v.

Fanny Eden. Ruined Gateway to Kutb Minar. 1838. Pen and Ink. 25.4 x 17.7 cm. IOL MSS. Eur. C. 130.3, f. 43.

James Fergusson. Central Range of Arches, Quwwat-ul Islam Masjid. 1876. Woodcut. Illustrated in James Fergusson, History of Indian and Eastern Architecture, vol. II (London, 1910), 204.

James Fergusson. Iron Pillar at the Qutb. 1876. Woodcut. Illustrated in ibid., 207.

James Fergusson. Interior of a Tomb at Old Delhi ('Alai Darwaza). 1876. Woodcut. Illustrated in ibid., 209.

Alfred Frederick Pollock Harcourt. Pillar in the square of the Kootub facing the 3 great arches. 1865. Wash. 17.7 x 12.7 cm. IOL WD 2482.

Alfred Frederick Pollock Harcourt. Hindoo pillars near Kutub Minar. 1865. Watercolour. 17.7 x 25.4 cm. IOL WD 2483.

Alfred Frederick Pollock Harcourt. Interior enclosure of the Bhoot Khana or Idol Temple at the Kootub near Delhi. Converted by the Mahomedans into a Mosque. 1865. Watercolour. 22.8 x 45.6 cm. IOL WD 2484.

John Luard, Hindu Ruins (Eastern Colonnade of Aybak's Mosque). c. 1826. Lithograph. 25 x 17 cm. Illustrated in John Luard, Views in India, Saint Helena and Car Nicobar (n.p., n.d.), n. pag.; H. K. Kaul, ed., Historic Delhi: An Anthology (Delhi, 1985), btwn. 54/55.

John Luard. Tomb of Shams-ud-din Altutmish. c. 1826. Lithograph. 25 x 17 cm. Illustrated in Luard, Views in India, n. pag.; Kaul, Historic Delhi, opp. 262.

William Simpson. Quwwat al-Islam, Delhi. c. 1860. Watercolour. V & A 1152-1869.

E. Therond. Gate of Ala-ud-din Qutub. 1875. Engraving. Illustrated in Louis Rousselet, India and Its Native Princes (London, 1875), n. pag.; Kaul, Historic Delhi, opp. 247.

The Qutb Minar

Anonymous. Mussulman--from the Minar, Hindu from the ruins near the Kootub. c. 1820. Pencil. 26.9 x 36.9 cm. MacKenzie Collection. IOL WD 1330.

Anonymous. Qutb Minar, Delhi. c. 1830. Watercolour. 33.4 x 25.9 cm. IOL WD 1034.

Anonymous. Qutb Minar. c. 1840. Watercolour. Delhi Museum. Cat. no. J 51. Illustrated in J. A. Page, An Historical Memoir on the Qutb: Delhi. Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, no. 22. (Calcutta, 1926), pl. 21, fig. b.

Anonymous. After Thomas and William Daniell. Qutb Minar. 1806. Engraving. Illustrated in Blagden, Brief History of Ancient and Modern India (1806); Page, Qutb, pl. 21, fig. c.

Anonymous. Qutb Minar. 1857. Steel Engraving. Illustrated in Illustrated London News (vol. 31), 1857, 137.

Anonymous. Qutb Minar--Principal Monuments of India. 19th c. Oil on ivory mounted on ebony frame. Illustrated in Pratapaditya Pal and Vidya Dehejia, From Merchants to Emperors: British Artists and India, 1757-1930 (Ithaca and London, 1986), 161, fig. 163.

William Carpenter. Qutb Minar, Delhi. c. 1855. Watercolour. V & A L91-1881.

Nicholas Chevalier. The Kutb Minar, Delhi. 1870. Pencil and wash. 37.4 x 27.4 cm. IOL WD 1074.

Company artist. Qutb Minar. c. 1850. Watercolour on Ivory. Illustrated in Mildred Archer, Indian Painting for the British, 1770-1880 (London, 1955), pl. 11, fig. 24.

Company artist. Qutb Minar. 1886. Watercolour. 63.3 x 45.6 cm. IOL Add. Or. 538.

Company artist. Qutb Minar. c. 1850. Watercolour. V & A. Illustrated in Page, Qutb, pl. 21, fig. a.

James Arden Crommelin. Kootub Minar near Delhi. 1828. Watercolour. 17.2 x 24.8 cm. IOL WD 1381.

William Daniell. The Cuttub Minar. 1834. Engraving. 10 x 15 cm. Illustrated in Rev. Hobart Caunter, The Oriental Annual or Scenes in India, vol. I (London, 1834), vignette title.

Delhi artist. Qutb Minar. c. 1830-40. Watercolour. Illustrated in W. H. Sleeman, Rambles and Recollections of an Indian Official (London, 1844), pl 21.

Delhi or Agra artist. Qutb Minar. 1811. Watercolour. 50.7 x 73.5 cm. IOL Add. Or. 1749.

Delhi or Agra artist. Qutb Minar. c. 1820-1825. Watercolour. 25.9 x 35.9 cm. IOL Add. Or. 3122 (Revised Foster cat. no. 743).

Delhi artist. Qutb Minar. 1858. Watercolour. 7.6 x 12.2 cm. IOL MSS. Eur. D. 512.1.

Fanny Eden. The Kutb Minar. 1838. Pen and Ink. 25.4 x 17.7 cm. IOL MSS. Eur. C. 130.3, f. 44. Illustrated in Janet Dunbar, Tigers, Durbars and Kings: Fanny Eden's Indian Journals (London, 1988), 134.

Fanny Eden. Detail of carving on the Kutb Minar. 1838. Pen and Ink. 25.4 x 17.7 cm. IOL MSS. Eur. C. 130.3, f. 45.

Fanny Eden. Distant view of the Kutb Minar. 1838. Pen and Ink. 25.4 x 17.7 cm. IOL MSS. Eur. C. 130.3, f. 46v.

James Fergusson, Qutb Minar. 1876. Woodcut. Illustrated in Fergusson, History of Indian and Eastern Architecture, 205.

Alfred Frederick Pollock Harcourt. The Kootub Minar. 1865. Watercolour. 40.5 x 30.4 cm. IOL WD 2485.

Latif. Qutb Minar, Delhi. c. 1820-5. Watercolour. 53.2 x 70.9 cm. IOL Add. Or. 1807.

Edward Lear. The Kootoob Minar, Delhi. 1874. Watercolour. The Houghton Library. Illustrated in Vidya Dehejia, Impossible Picturesqueness: Edward Lear's Indian Watercolours, 1873-1875 (New York, 1989), 33.

John Luard. Cutteb Minar, Dhelie. c. 1826. Lithograph. 25 x 17 cm. Illustrated in Luard, Views in India, n. pag.

Muhammad Yakub. The Qutb Minar. c. 1850. Watercolour. 65.4 x 87.8 cm. Collection of The Marquis of Dufferin and Ava. Illustrated in Stuart Cary Welch, Room for Wonder: Indian Painting during the British Period 1760-1880 (New York, 1978), 116.

Jam'at Khana Masjid

The majority of scenes that illustrate the tomb complex of Nizamuddin Auliya also feature the fourteenth century Khalji structure, the Jam'at Khana Masjid.

Mirza Shah Rukh Beg. Dargah Hazrat Nizamu'd-Din Auliya. 1846. Woodcut. Illustrated in Nath, Monuments of Delhi, no. 23.

Company artist. Jam'at Khana Masjid. 1844. Watercolour. Illustrated in Metcalfe, Dehlie Book, n. pag., in Kaye, The Golden Calm, 105.

Company artist. Tomb of Nizamuddin Auliya. 1844. Watercolour. Illustrated in ibid.

Company artist. Tomb of Nizamuddin Auliya. c. 1840. Watercolour. V & A I. M. 41-1923.

William Daniell. Mausoleum of Nizam-ud-deen Oulea. 1838. Engraving. 10 x 15 cm. Illustrated in Caunter, Oriental Annual, V, 206; Kaul, Historic Delhi, btwn. 214/215.

Delhi artist. Tomb complex of Nizam-ud-din Aulia. c. 1820-25. Watercolour. 25.4 x 34.9 cm. IOL Add. Or. 2663.

Miscellaneous

Mirza Shah Rukh Beg. Maqbara Sultan Ghazi (Sultangarhi). 1846. Woodcut. Illustrated in Nath, Monuments of Delhi, no. 20.

Mirza Shah Rukh Beg. Hauz-Shamsi. 1846. Woodcut. Illustrated in ibid., no. 19.

Company artist. Hauz-Shamsi (Reservoir of Light). 1844. Watercolour. Illustrated in Metcalfe, Dehlie Book, n. pag., in Kaye, The Golden Calm, 188.

Company artist. Baoli, Tomb of Nizamoodeen. 1844. Watercolour. Illustrated in ibid., 131.

Company artist. Tomb of Sultan Ghari. 1844. Watercolour. Illustrated in ibid., 198.

Thomas and William Daniell. A Baolee near the Old City of Delhi. 1801. Aquatint. 45 x 61 cm. Illustrated in Thomas and William Daniell, Oriental Scenery, III (London, 1801), 18; Mildred Archer, Early Views of India: The Picturesque Journeys of Thomas and William Daniell 1786-1794 (London, 1980), no. 34; Kaul, Historic Delhi, opp. 118.

Fanny Eden. Baoli, Delhi. 1838. Pen and Ink. 25.4 x 17.7 cm. IOL MSS. Eur. C. 130.3, f. 48. Illustrated in Dunbar, Tigers, Durbars and Kings, 137.

James Fergusson. Great Arch in Mosque at Ajmir. 1876. Woodcut. Illustrated in Fergusson, History of Indian and Eastern Architecture, 213.

Tughluq Period

Tomb of Ghiyath al-Din Tughluq and Tughluqabad

Anonymous. Tomb of Ghiyath al-Din Tughluq. c. 1807-14. Pencil Drawing. Surveys of Francis Buchanan. IOL MSS. Eur. D. 95.

Anonymous. Tomb, Tughlakabad. c. 1800. Pen and Ink. 15.2 x 8.8 cm. MacKenzie Collection. IOL WD 811.

Anonymous. Tomb, Tughlakabad. c. 1800. Pen and Ink. 15.2 x 8.8 cm. MacKenzie Collection. IOL WD 812.

Anonymous. Ruins of Fort at Tughluckabad and Mahomidabad. 1813. Pen and Ink. 29.1 x 46.8 cm. MacKenzie Collection. IOL WD 763.

Anonymous. Bastion of the Citadel of the Emperor Tugluk. 1813. Pen and Ink. 29.1 x 46.8 cm. MacKenzie Collection. IOL WD 764.

Shaik Abdullah. Antiquities. Delhi. Ancient Tomb near Tugluckabad. 1819. Watercolour. 12.1 x 15.2 cm., 15.2 x 17.7 cm. MacKenzie Collection. IOL WD 704 (30 a & b).

Thomas Bacon. Ruins of Tughlaqabad. 1837. Engraving. Illustrated in Thomas Bacon, First Impressions and Studies from Nature in Hindostan, 2 vols. (London, 1837); Kaul, Historic Delhi, btwn. 38/39.

Mirza Shah Rukh Beg. Tomb of Ghiyathu'd-Din Tughluq Shah and Tughluqabad Fort. 1846. Woodcut. Illustrated in Nath, Monuments of Delhi, no. 2.

Company artist. Tomb of Ghiyath al-Din Tughlug. 1844. Watercolour. Illustrated in Metcalfe, Dehlie Book, n. pag., in Kaye, The Golden Calm, 171.

Company artist. Tughluqabad. 1844. Watercolour. Illustrated in ibid., 170.

Thomas and William Daniell. Tuglukabad. 1789. Watercolour. VMH no. 64.

Thomas and William Daniell. Tuglukabad. 1789. Watercolour. VMH no. 72.

Thomas and William Daniell. In the Fort of Tuglukabad. 1789. Watercolour. VMH no. 28.

E. Therond. Tomb of Ghiyas-ud-din Tughlaq. 1875. Engraving. Illustrated in Rousselet, India and Its Native Princes, n. pag.; Kaul, Historic Delhi, opp. 39.

Sir Henry Yule. The Tomb of King Togluk at Toglukabad. 1845. Pen and Ink. 24.8 x 41.1 cm. IOL WD 1038, 38.

Sir Henry Yule. Tomb of Tojhluk Shah Jany. 1860. Pen, Ink and Wash. 15.2 x 15.2 cm. IOL WD 1605, 73.

Sir Henry Yule. Mahmudpur near Toghlakabad, Delhi. c. 1860. Pen and Wash. 21.5 x 27.9 cm. IOL WD 1605, 72.

The Lat Pyramid

Mirza Shah Rukh Beg. Lat Pyramid. 1846. Woodcut. Illustrated in Nath, Monuments of Delhi, inscription no. 2.

Company artist. Lat Pyramid, Firuzabad. 1844. Watercolour. Illustrated in Metcalfe, Dehlie Book, n. pag., in Kaye, The Golden Calm, 133.

Company artist. Lat Pyramid, Firuzabad. c. 1830. Watercolour. V & A.

Company artist. Lat Pyramid. c. 1830. Watercolour. IOL Add. Or. 4033.

Delhi or Agra artist. Lat Pyramid. c. 1820-25. Watercolour. 25.9 x 35.9 cm. IOL Add. Or. 552.

Fanny Eden. Kotla of Firoz Shah and Lat, Old Delhi. 1838. Pen and Ink. 25.4 x 17.7 cm. IOL MSS. Eur. C. 130.3, f. 40.

William Orme. The Western Gate of Feroze Shah's Cotilla. 1789. 30.5 x 42.5 cm. Coloured aquatint. Illustrated in Twenty-four Views of Hindoostan, after Paintings by Col. Francis Swain Ward and Thomas Daniell (London, 1805), n. pag.

Miscellaneous

Mirza Shah Rukh Beg. Dargah Qadam Sharif. 1846. Woodcut. Illustrated in Nath, Monuments of Delhi, no. 24.

Mirza Shah Rukh Beg. Vijaya Mandal (Badee Manzil), Jahanpanah. 1846. Woodcut. Illustrated in ibid., no. 3.

Company artist. Kalan or Black Mosque. 1844. Watercolour. Illustrated in Metcalfe, Dehlie Book, n. pag., in Kaye, The Golden Calm, 139.

Company artist. Quadim Sharif. 1844. Watercolour. Illustrated in ibid., 65.

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Anonymous. Panoramic View of New and Old Delhi and the Surrounding Country. c. 1859. Steel Engraving. Illustrated in E. H. Nolan, The Illustrated History of the British Empire in India and the East (London, n.d.), opp. 95.

Mirza Shah Rukh Beg. Basti Baoli. 1846. Woodcut. Illustrated in ibid., no. 28.

Mirza Shah Rukh Beg. Tihburja. 1846. Woodcut. Illustrated in ibid., no. 30.

Mirza Shah Rukh Beg. Panjaburja Zamurradpur. 1846. Woodcut. Illustrated in ibid., no. 27.

Mirza Shah Rukh Beg. Tomb of Sikandar Lodi. 1846. Woodcut. Illustrated in ibid., no. 31.

Mirza Shah Rukh Beg. Tomb of Bahlol Lodi. 1846. Woodcut. Illustrated in ibid., no. 26.

Mirza Shah Rukh Beg. Masjid Moth. 1846. Woodcut. Illustrated in ibid., no. 29.

Thomas Shotter Boys, Ruins South Side of Old Delhi. c. 1833. Engraving. Illustrated in H. K. Kaul, Travellers' India: An Anthology (Delhi, 1979), opp. 378; Michael Edwardes, British India, 1772-1947: A survey of the nature and effects of alien rule (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1967), 334-335, pl. 10.

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William Daniell. Bridge at Old Delhi. 1837. Engraving. 10 x 15 cm. Illustrated in ibid., btwn. 182/183.

William Daniell. Houses of Patan Chiefs at Old Delhi. 1838. Engraving. 10 x 15 cm. Illustrated in Caunter, Oriental Annual, V, 15.

William Daniell. Deserted Mansions at Old Delhi. 1838. Engraving. 10 x 15 cm. Illustrated in ibid., 30.

William Daniell. Ruins at Old Delhi. 1839. Engraving. 10 x 15 cm. Illustrated in Caunter, Oriental Annual, VI, pl. 12.

Fanny Eden. Ruins of Old Delhi. 1838. Pen and Ink. 25.4 x 17.7 cm. IOL MSS. Eur. C. 130.3, f. 41.

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